

*BETWEEN IMPERIAL AND PROVINCIAL:  
THE QUESTIONS OF CENTER AND PERIPHERY IN CONSTANTINIAN NUMISMATICS*

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Between Imperial and Provincial: Questions of Center and Periphery in Constantinian  
Numismatics

Thesis directed by Professor Diane Conlin

In the study of Roman numismatics, coins are either categorized as “imperial”—coins minted under the direct authority of the emperor—or “provincial”—coins minted by local authorities, who report to the emperor. Provincial coins are understood as a closer reflection of local attitudes than imperial coins minted throughout the empire and are frequently subject to a complex set of inquiries surrounding the issues of center and periphery. According to the scholarship, it is generally accepted that provincial coinage stops being produced after the reforms of Diocletian in 296 C.E. These assumptions are based on three major factors: the almost complete collapse of the civic mint system due to financial crisis during the 260s, the noted change in the execution of imperial authority under Constantine I, and the overall lack in variety the iconography of coins throughout the empire during the fourth century. All coins minted at this date are considered “imperial,” or a complete reflection of the emperor’s ideology.

While these assumptions are in part true, they rely on a macro-scale interpretation of the material, which does not account for certain trends that may be found in the numismatic record. It is the goal of this thesis to critique the assumptions of the scholarship by examining coins from the Constantinian Dynasty (306-364 C.E.). By assessing how the notions of center and periphery have become more ambiguous during the third and fourth centuries, how variety continues to be manifested in the numismatic record, and how certain activities of the mints in Rome and Constantinople may indicate the persistence of modified civic traditions—this project aims to question the validity of the rigid binary system that categorizes coins as either “imperial” or “provincial.”

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### Chapter One:

#### Introduction

While there has always been some attention given to coins minted throughout the Roman Empire, the self-conscious study of Roman provincial coinage is still in its infancy. Lacking a consistent vocabulary, early treatment of these coins has been until the past 25 years infrequent and haphazard, often made up of isolated case studies that promoted little understanding of their place within the imperial and provincial bureaucracy.<sup>1</sup> For example, in earlier stages of scholarship these coins were often referred to as “Greek Imperials,” which really does not reflect provincial coins as an empire-wide phenomenon. In the 1980s, interest in this topic began to grow, resulting in studies that began to build the foundation of the discipline.<sup>2</sup> One of the first major architects of this foundation was Butcher with his 1988 study in which he advocated for the importance of provincial coinage and the need for a standardized method of studying them.<sup>3</sup> Beginning in 1992 with the efforts of Burnett, Ripolles, and Amandry, the systematic cataloging of these issues (the *Roman Provincial Coinage Project*) remains in progress. After nearly two decades, the current project is the provincial coinage of the Antonine period (the fourth of a

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<sup>1</sup> For a good historiography of this early stage of provincial coin studies see Kevin Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coins: An Introduction to the “Greek Imperials”* (London: Seaby, 1988), 9-11. Of this stage in the scholarship he notes (*Roman Provincial Coins*, 10-11) that provincial coins were largely ignored by most numismatists: “The student of Roman numismatics could point to the apparent empire-wide validity of the Roman imperial coinage and discount the provincial pieces as freakish items which only had restricted circulation. The subject of provincial coinage that no-one could master it.”

<sup>2</sup> Butcher cites increased activities of scholars in the 1940s, such as Colin Kraay and Michael Grant, but these remained localized studies of Augustan issues.

<sup>3</sup> Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coins*, 7-8. He suggests that the term “Greek Imperial” is “a delightful antiquarian description...but...woefully inadequate as a means of describing the coinage in general.” He expresses a preference for the term “provincial,” which “lacks a certain ring, but it has the advantage of satisfactory description.”

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proposed ten volumes).<sup>4</sup> Most recent scholarship on the topic very much reflects the theoretical framework established by these catalogs.

Over time, the general understanding of what constitutes a “provincial” issue has become increasingly refined. In the first volume of *Roman Provincial Coinage* (RPC), some attempt was made to give a clear definition of the coins subject to this distinction. Born out of a desire to codify and catalog the coins not included in *Roman Imperial Coinage*, *Roman Provincial Coinage* completes this dichotomous split, establishing a firm boundary between center and periphery (imperial and provincial).<sup>5</sup> While not explicitly stated in a single place, there may be three major aspects that define provincial coinage: minting location, minting authority, and the manifest promotion of “provincial” identity.

First and foremost, the divide is largely predicated on minting location, focusing on issues minted outside of Rome itself. Here, Rome is defined firmly defined as “center,” and as a result, all other places are defined as “periphery.” As a consequence of this logic, the RPC project subsumes many different types of coins under the label “provincial.” This includes: “city coinages” (coins minted by civic authorities with the permission of the emperor), “coinages of provincial leagues (*koina*)” (coins minted under certain alliances), “provincial issues” (coins minted by provincial magistrates under imperial authority), and “coinage of client kings” (local kings who maintained some degree of power under Roman control).<sup>6</sup> It is important to

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<sup>4</sup> The seventh volume (Gordian I-Gordian III) was published out of order in 2006.

<sup>5</sup> This follows the trend promoted by Butcher (*Roman Provincial Coins*, 11), who noted the strangeness of this distinction, but upheld its validity as a conventional means of differentiating imperial from provincial coins: “a Roman imperial coin is one that is listed in RIC, and a Roman provincial coin is one that is not.” The terms “center” and “periphery” are far from unproblematic, but they will be still consciously used in this thesis. For a full critique of this term, see Chapter Two.

<sup>6</sup> Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry Pere Pau Ripolles, and Ian Carradice, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. I, (London: The British Museum, 1992), 4, 14-16. Also see, “What is Roman Provincial Coinage?” *Roman Provincial Coinage Online*. University of Oxford, 2005. <<http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/intro/whatisrpc/>>. The text of this site is pulled directly from Volker Heuchert’s contribution to *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 40.

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understand that while there are some similarities among these distinctions, each of these types denotes a different kind of relationship between central (imperial) and peripheral (provincial) authority.

A second defining aspect of provincial coinage—closely related to the first—is the nature of the relationship between imperial authority and provincial autonomy. Civic coinage operates within the imperial bureaucratic system of local, aristocratic magistrates, provincial governors, and a line of many other officials ending with the emperor. The authors of *Roman Provincial Coinage* do assume a certain amount of freedom for provincial mints throughout most of the empire's history, but the exact relationship among imperial control and provincial autonomy remains complex, varied, and largely unknown.<sup>7</sup> Any firm conclusions drawn remain heavily interpretive and are (and must be) subject to constant scrutiny: “While it is clear that coin issues were essentially either Roman, federal, or civic, these categories embrace different sorts of coinage and not infrequently overlap. The attempt to make too rigid a distinction between them is futile.”<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the assumption of relative autonomy among provincial and civic mints is a key component (for most scholars) of what distinguishes coinage as “provincial” rather than “imperial.”

In most recent scholarship, the nature of provincial coinage is predicated on larger assumptions about the relationship between coins and identity. It is broadly understood that coin iconography and legends reflect the identities and agendas a mint's most powerful administrative body. Because of the lack of overt imperial control over these mints, provincial coins most often

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<sup>7</sup> Amandry, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. 1, 1-5. Burnett, Amandry, and Ripolles (1992, 1, 2) illustrate the complexities of this assumption in the first volume of *Roman Provincial Coinage*: “Of course, it is true that the emperor ‘could do what he liked in the provinces he controlled’ [M.H. Crawford, *CMRR*, p. 257]; this was as true in Maecenas's time as it was in Dio's (Dio 52.30.9), and the way the larger silver and bronze coinages were controlled (see pp. 6ff., 13ff.) illustrates the use of this power...[however] different forms of immediate authority occur also on the civic coinages, which from time to time refer to various persons or bodies, permissions or requests.” *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. II, 1-7.

<sup>8</sup> Amandry, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, 5.

are interpreted as visual and textual invocations of both elite (and to some extent non-elite) local identities. Given the aforementioned complexities of imperial control and provincial autonomy, however, provincial identity also reflects the dialogues of power and culture between the center (emperor) and the periphery (provincial citizens and officials). In light of the often-complex nature of this “dialogue,” this notion of a single local identity—as distinct from the imperial—on coins is far more problematic than it may initially seem.

This relationship between provincial coinage and provincial identity is solidified and explored in a recent collection of essays called *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*.<sup>9</sup> These essays collectively seek to support and expand upon Fergus Millar’s assertion that coins were “the most deliberate of all symbols of public identity” in reference to the coins of the Roman provinces.<sup>10</sup> This type of coinage is understood as an indication of civic pride, the promotion of local patrons (divine and mortal),<sup>11</sup> currying favor with imperial authority, or perhaps even covert opposition to imperial control.<sup>12</sup> Most significantly, this collection of essays underscores the importance of location (minting location and location in general) in constructing and proliferating social identity through the medium of coinage. Considering these three factors, most scholars would agree that provincial coinage consists of coins minted by non-imperial

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<sup>9</sup> Christopher Howgego, Volker Heuchert, and Andrew Burnett, *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Note that these are the same scholars involved in the *Roman Provincial Coinage Project*.

<sup>10</sup> Howgego, “Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces” in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, 1, n. 3. Reference to Millar, 1993, 230, cf. 257. “The most explicit symbol of a city’s identity and status was its coins.”

<sup>11</sup> For essays on local religion and local identity, see Ulrike Peter’s “Religious-Cultural Identity in Thrace and Moesia Inferior” (107-114), Simon Price’s “Local Mythologies in the Greek East” (115-124), and Dietrich O.A. Klose’s “Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East During the Roman Empire” (125-134).

<sup>12</sup> For a study of the complexities of the relationship of acceptance and resistance in provincial coinage, see Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou’s “‘Belonging’ to Rome, ‘Remaining’ Greek: Coinage and Identity in Roman Macedonia” (95-114).

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authorities with enough autonomy to communicate and promote some sense of local identity that is independent from imperial identity.<sup>13</sup>

According to most conventional scholarship, the chronological scope of Roman provincial coinage is from “its beginnings in 44 BC to its end in AD 296/7.”<sup>14</sup> This chronology reflects formation of the early empire until the eventual collapse of most civic mints beginning in the mid-third century through the Diocletianic monetary reforms. While these reforms were comprehensive efforts to combat inflation through the demonetization and reminting of severely debased coins, a major component was the consolidation of provincial mints under tighter imperial control. Harl locates this end more specifically with Diocletian’s closure of the mint in Alexandria, “the last of the regional mints in the Roman East.”<sup>15</sup> This marks the complete replacement of locally controlled mints with imperial ones.<sup>16</sup> As a result, given the importance of local autonomy in the definition of this type of coinage, coins minted under this new system are perceived no longer reflect the interests and identities of local populations. Therefore, Roman provincial coins, by this definition, cease to exist by the end of the third century, marking the end of the *Roman Provincial Coinage Project*.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> As alluded to above, this does not mean that the ambiguity of autonomy and authority are completely unexplored, but these nuances do not seem to factor into the classification of a coin as provincial or imperial.

<sup>14</sup> Howgego, “Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces” in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, 2. Also see: “Welcome.” *Roman Provincial Coinage Online*. Oxford: University of Oxford, 2005. <<http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>>. In Butcher 1988, this end date seems to be already a well-established understanding about provincial coins.

<sup>15</sup> Kenneth Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East A.D. 180-275* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 95.

<sup>16</sup> Under these reforms, new “imperial” mints were likely rearranged under a tighter administration system called “dioceses,” which were 12 regional divisions with their own magistrate that reported to the emperor. While it is unclear whether it was Diocletian or Constantine who established these dioceses, it is apparent these were firmly in place by the end of the fourth century. These issues of reform and control will be more thoroughly explored in Chapter Three.

<sup>17</sup> Howgego, “Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces” in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, 2. “Welcome.” *Roman Provincial Coinage Online*. Oxford: University of Oxford, 2005. <<http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>>. Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 95. One notable exception can be found in a series of coins minted under the usurper Maximinus Daia, who seems to have had a vested interest in reviving the traditions of local mints in some form. See Johan Van Heesch, “The Last Civic Coinages and the Religious Policy of Maximinus Daza” *Numismatic Chronicle* 153(1993): 65-75.

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Related to this *terminus post quem*, are assessments that coin iconography never fully “recovers” after the third century crisis. By “recovery,” it is meant that coins following the Diocletianic reforms are no longer responsive to specific (minting) location and event, resulting in an overall lack of iconographic variety. Under his reforms, Diocletian not only standardized coin size, weight and purity but also standardized the legends and iconography on all new issues, replacing the previous iconographic variety with a single type.<sup>18</sup> The obverse of this type has a simple legend with a portrait of Diocletian in the nondescript tetrarchic style. The reverse has the legend GEN(IO) POP(VLI) ROM(ANI)—to the spirit of the Roman people—with a genius figure holding an orb.<sup>19</sup> While the proliferation of a single coin type was discontinued almost immediately following Diocletian’s retirement in 305, it is still generally accepted by most scholars that the coin iconography of the fourth century did not have the variability or responsiveness of iconography before the reforms and perhaps the crisis.

There have been a few attempts to explain this phenomenon in general numismatic literature. There is, as implied above, the notion that the coin iconography never fully “recovered” from the collapse of the civic mints and the subsequent monetary reforms. Not necessarily a theory in the strictest sense, this attitude manifests in forms based on a rather vague assessment of the contrast between the coinage of the third and fourth centuries. Many scholars focused on the lack of localized agency under the new imperially controlled system of mints established by the reforms.<sup>20</sup> This theory, however, has very limited explanatory power. Not only is this “theory” very vague, but it fundamentally misunderstands the nature of the third-century crisis and subsequent “recovery period.” Furthermore, its pessimistic tone promotes an

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<sup>18</sup> For a good description of the Diocletianic monetary reforms see. Kenneth Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy 300 B.C.-A.D. 700*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 148-157.

<sup>19</sup> Kenneth Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy 300 B.C. to A.D. 700*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 150.

<sup>20</sup> C.H.V. Sutherland, *Roman Coins*. (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1974), 260-262.

almost Gibbon-like notion of the decline of the Roman Empire that no longer reflects how scholars conceive the events of the fourth century. As a result, it has been widely challenged in the numismatic literature.<sup>21</sup>

Harl posits another theory in the conclusion of his study of third century coins. In the epilogue of his *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East A.D. 180-275*, he briefly—but rather convincingly—argues that changes in the attitudes of local aristocracy led a shift in coin iconography.<sup>22</sup> According to Harl, the administrative changes under fourth-century emperors undermined the traditional roles of the local, hereditary aristocracy, resulting in “a fundamentally different outlook in their service to the emperor and their patronage of provincial cities.”<sup>23</sup> Under this new scope of imperial administration, “potent local beliefs and energies were harnessed to the universal purpose.”<sup>24</sup> In comparison to other theories, Harl’s interpretation exhibits a far greater understanding of the political climate of the fourth century.

While these assessments may be to some extent true, there needs to be an in depth assessment of the relationship between coin iconography and minting location after Diocletian. On the macro-scale, Harl’s interpretation isolates one important process, but it neglects some smaller-scale processes that are evident in the numismatic record. As will be demonstrated in the following chapters, standard types—coins that were consistently issued from every mint in the empire—dominated the total output of these mints. Although numerous, these standard types were by no means ubiquitous. The persistence of types that were idiosyncratic to a single minting location must also be considered significant indications of multiple processes rather than

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<sup>21</sup> Patrick M. Bruun, *Roman Imperial Coinage*. Vol. 7. (London: Spink and Son, LTD, 1966), 20. “this conclusion is most certainly erroneous; the rigidly uniform pattern does not appear until the introduction of GLORIA EXERCITVS in 330.”

<sup>22</sup> Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 95.

<sup>23</sup> Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 101.

<sup>24</sup> Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 104.



a single process that can be subsumed under the monolithic umbrella of the “imperial.” In his own way, Harl calls attention to this variety, but he often dismisses idiosyncratic types as “pseudo-coins” that “did not function as true currency.”<sup>25</sup> Ignoring the remaining variety leads Harl to construct a macro-scale view of fourth-century coinage. This view is useful, but it is only one view that only acknowledges one type of interaction between center and periphery.

In many ways, this thesis will continue this line of inquiry where Harl’s study ends, but it will be altogether different in its tone and trajectory. While Harl draws some very sound conclusions, they are delivered as a lamenting comparison between the fourth-century reality and the supposedly richer past of civic coinage and politics.<sup>26</sup> This study will strive to move beyond such unproductive judgments and focus on how location *is* present and even utilized in post-reform coins rather than how it is not. The following chapters will highlight the multitude of processes and interactions that constitute the full picture of coinage during the Constantinian Dynasty. This is not to ignore or disguise the diminished capacity of minting location and civic identity in fourth-century coinage but rather characterize its presence within the administrative system in a more complete and nuanced manner.

To explicate the relationship between iconography and site, this thesis will primarily examine coinage from the Constantinian Dynasty (ca. 306-364) according to minting location. Of particular interest here will be the shift from Rome to Constantinople as political and cultural centers. This study will be necessarily divided into a series of parts corresponding to the key

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<sup>25</sup> Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 96. This conclusion is built on the assumptions made by Alföldi about the so-called “contorniates,” or token minted for non-monetary purpose to commemorate festivals and other local events. According to recent research, the “unofficial” nature of these medals must be questioned. This will be discussed further in chapters three and five.

<sup>26</sup> Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 105. “Yet there is a sad irony in the story of the Hellenic notables of the third century. Their resilience and tenacity in confronting crisis had undone the intellectual and economic basis for their dominance of civic life. For, in supreme crisis, as the appeals and iconography of civic coinage indicate, the local notables summoned up great reservoirs of strength, and in so doing, they sacrificed it, and Rome was much the poorer for the loss.”

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issues of this topic. The following chapter will respond to the evolving notions of center and periphery (imperial and provincial) before and during the rise of Constantine as the sole subject of imperial power. The next must give a comprehensive assessment of the material—the coins themselves, especially their reverse iconography. Finally, a chapter is dedicated to analysis and interpretation through a closer examination of localized minting activities, which will show how location (civic, minting, etc.) is represented and utilized in the fourth century.

In assessing the notions surrounding center and periphery in the late Roman Empire, it will be necessary to address two factors within this issue. The first of these issues is the wide body of scholarship on the Romanization, which is (on many levels) quite troubling, and needs to be carefully dissected.<sup>27</sup> Then, it will be necessary to examine key events at which notions of center and periphery may have shifted. These dual lines of inquiry will hopefully answer the following questions: To what extent are political and conceptual boundaries drawn according to the biases of scholars? What is the nature of the shift of political power and cultural relevance from Rome to Constantinople? Can it be a ‘shift’ in the true sense of the word? Or does it constitute an increasingly ambiguous notion of place and space in the construction of identity? Can there be any claims made to a unified “Roman” identity in the fourth century? Most importantly, how does this discussion impact a discussion of the numismatic material?

The next chapter will use this last question as a springboard into assessing the numismatic evidence. In many ways, it will be a classic review of the material. Partially quantitative, this section will look at the evolution of portrait and reverse types according to minting location. Looking for cases of variation and homogeneity, this section will isolate some

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<sup>27</sup> Coined by the German historian Theodor Mommsen, the term Romanization has been associated with the Eurocentric notion of civilizing the “other.” While this idea has been critically attacked since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, much debate has occurred in the past decade over how to negotiate the complex system of agencies, resistance, acceptance, and indifference in the regulation of the Roman provinces. The status of these relations during the fourth century may have had a consider impact on the political and spatial identity of provincial minting cities.

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overall trends in post-Diocletian numismatics. Some broad questions will be asked here. At what point do the Tetrarchs (after Diocletian) begin to break down the homogeneous system erected by the reforms? What role do the coins of Constantine play in this shift? Under Constantine, are there any reverse types that are more prevalent in certain locations? Are there any changes that can be assessed in coin iconography after 330?

To help answer this last question, the case study portion of the thesis will take a closer look at the minting activities of Constantinople and Rome to examine potential for civic identification. As the only remaining cities with an iconographic presence on coins, Rome and Constantinople afford particularly compelling insights into the dynamics of local identity on coins in the fourth century.<sup>28</sup> Both mints yield a disproportionably high amount of idiosyncratic types that may promote some kind of civic identity. Looking at these idiosyncratic types, this analysis will explore the potential for a continuation or persistence of a severely modified form of civic coinage. Important to this notion is the recent work of Ramskold and Lenski, whose forthcoming article on the dedication medallions of Constantinople gives a compelling case for the “maintenance of civic traditions” during the fourth century.<sup>29</sup> This thesis will interpret the total issues of Rome and Constantinople in light of their conclusions. Because of the often complex and ambiguous dynamics of administrative power, this discussion will also yield insight into how the tropes of location may have been subverted for imperial and local purposes and what implications this may have for concepts of center and periphery at this time in late antiquity.

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<sup>28</sup> Harl (*Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 96) does refer to Rome as a location where “the afterglow of municipal coinage flickered” in the fourth century, but he does not give this phenomenon the sustained attention it deserves. His tone and macro-scale focus, as mentioned above, serves to discount rather than emphasize the importance of this activity.

<sup>29</sup> Lars Ramskold and Noel Lenski, “Constantinople’s Dedication Medallions and the Maintenance of Civic Traditions” *Numismatic Chronicle* (Forthcoming): 1-24.

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These dual modes of interpretation will be combined to give the full range of possible processes and interactions between center and periphery, acknowledging the multiplicity and ambiguity that is apparent in fourth-century numismatics. While the increased scope of imperial power cannot be ignored, it must be understood that there is still a need for bureaucracy to organize the empire in which local authorities must interpret imperial mandates, limiting the implications of *direct* imperial control. A shift in the degree of imperial control over regional mints does not completely erase the issues that have been a part of provincial and imperial relations over the history of the empire. While the nature of the conversations between these two bodies has fundamentally changed, it has by no means stopped. The following analyses will bear the possibility of such a conversation mind when explaining any perceived shifts between center and periphery. The result will lead to a new means of formulating a discourse for late Roman coinage that incorporates the questions of center and periphery.

## Chapter Two:

### The Ambiguities between Center and Periphery in Late Antiquity

#### Introduction

In order to fully understand how the coins of the Constantinian Dynasty do or do not reflect the relationship between center and periphery, it is necessary to understand the cultural geography of the Roman Empire at this time. The term cultural geography encompasses a variety of topics related to the correlation among cultural products, identity, and location.<sup>30</sup> While few scholars of Late Antiquity (ca. 150-750 CE) explicitly employ this term, these issues greatly impact their understanding of this often-complex period in history.<sup>31</sup> While it is not the goal of this chapter to rewrite the work of these scholars in the language of cultural geography, it will latently use some of the insights garnered from this cultural geography to elucidate and reassess some pertinent aspects of their work.

The goal of this chapter is to orient the reader to some of the major developments in the relationship between center and periphery in the late Roman world, especially the during the Constantinian Dynasty. Through a discussion of these developments, it will be important to examine where notions of location and identity intersect. While this discussion is largely

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<sup>30</sup> Some basic resources on the subject include: Mike Crang, *Cultural Geography* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Pamela Shurmer-Smith, ed., *Doing Cultural Geography* (London: Sage Publications, 2002); Linda McDowell, ed., *Undoing Place? A Geographical Reader* (London: Arnold, 1997).

<sup>31</sup> While these issues may be addressed in many basic sources, some important explorations that focus on geographic issues in late antiquity include: John Rich, ed., *The City in Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1992); Linda Ellis and Frank L. Kidner, *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity: Sacred and Profane* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); and Ralph W. Mathisen and Hagith S. Sivan, *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996).

concerned with the shifting conceptions of place and space as physical and cultural phenomena, there will be some attention given to important conceptual and ideological shifts that occur at this time. It is the contention of this chapter that these shifts constitute—in terms of location—an increasingly ambiguous comprehension of what it means to be imperial and provincial or Roman and not Roman under Constantine the Great and his immediate successors.

While a certain amount of flexibility must be given to concepts of (individual or national) identity, distinguishing what is “Roman” from what is “not Roman” seems to be of perennial importance throughout the history of the Roman Empire. The process of defining and manifesting this sense of Roman identity, however, was rarely as straightforward as it may seem. A fifth-century example of this complexity can be found in the writings of Sidonius Apollonius, whose definition and evocation of *Romanitas* shifts from context to context. As noted by Harries, these constructions often simultaneously exhibit a certain amount of mutability as well as a (perhaps unrealistic) desire for fixity. A bishop and a member of Roman Gaul’s literary elite, Sidonius had various types of literary and political encounters with the “barbaric other.” When it was politically advantageous, he would emphasize the *Romanitas* of Gothic kings in the case of Theoderic II.<sup>32</sup> At other times, he would staunchly maintain rigid boundaries between the so-called “barbarians” and Romans as in his descriptions of Sigismar.<sup>33</sup>

Unfortunately, not all scholars have such a sophisticated view of how *Romanitas* is constructed and modified in the literary and historical record. Therefore, before beginning a deeper assessment, it is necessary to understand the role of the scholar in constructing or (at the very least) reinforcing certain notions about center and periphery. As sets of binary terms, “center and periphery,” “imperial and provincial,” as well as “Roman and non-Roman” often

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<sup>32</sup> Jill D. Harries, “Sidonius Apollinaris and the Frontiers of *Romanitas*” in *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* by Ralph W. Mathisen and Hagith S. Sivan, eds. (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), 36.

<sup>33</sup> Harries, “Sidonius Apollinaris and the Frontiers of *Romanitas*,” 35-36.

mask the complexities of cultural interactions among diverse populations. While it is convenient to use any one of these concepts as rigid binaries that may be used to defined discrete objects or physical locations, these terms should not signify rigid and isolated phenomena but rather organic continuums that are composed of multiple contexts and voices, an understanding which becomes increasing vital to any discussion of Roman identity in the fourth century.

In the postmodern discourse of Derrida, the notions of center and periphery are seen as mobile and are constantly subjected to the fundamental processes known as “*freeplay*” and “decentering.”<sup>34</sup> When the terms are used in this thesis, they do not convey a sense of fixity but rather this sense of “*freeplay*.” While there will be no attempt to actively deconstruct these concepts here, the deconstruction is implied in their use. As will be fully addressed later, all of these terms imply a series of multiple and varying interactions between groups that cannot be fully distinguished or categorized as one or the other.

In many ways, the association between center and imperial or periphery and provincial may be seen as equally problematic. When viewed with the false sense of rigidity introduced above, these linkages imply a privileged position in the discourse that does not (or should not) exist. Rather, the associations among these concepts should be seen as a comment on the nature of imperial power and ideology, which is how they should be seen in this project. The imperial viewpoint—as a dominant organizing principle of the empire—generates power by normalizing

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<sup>34</sup> Jacques Derrida, “Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences” in *A Postmodern Reader* by Joseph P. Natoli and Linda Hutcheon, eds. (Albany: State University of New York, 1993), 224-225. *Freeplay* is a process that is facilitated and governed by the center in which the parts of a structure may be rearranged and reconfigured. While freeplay is seen as a process that is limited by an immutable center, decentering (or “rupture”) is based on the understanding that there is no true center but rather “that there was no center, that the center would not be thought in the form of a being-present, that the center had no natural locus, that it was not a fixed locus but a function, a sort of non-locus in which an infinite number of sign-substitutions came into play.”

(or “centers”) itself against what is considered to be the other (the “peripheral”).<sup>35</sup> In the process of legitimizing imperial ideology, a false dichotomy is erected. It is the goal of this thesis to question the validity of such a rigid dichotomy while not completely rejecting the use of those terms but rather referring to them in the Derridean sense as means of organizing a discourse. This will be made evident by the following survey and critique of these notions in Roman art history.

### Center and Periphery in the Scholarship

Defining what makes Roman images and culture strictly Roman has been a long preoccupation of classical art history. In his *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art*, Brendel explicitly asks, “What, precisely, is Roman in Roman art?”<sup>36</sup> In the course of making this distinction, he problematizes the words “Rome” and “Roman,” distinguishing the various spatial and temporal denotations and connotations these words carry. This can be seen as a part of the reactions against the form of “Classical” or “Greco-Roman” or “Antique” art history that had been developing since the late eighteenth century. Beginning largely with Winckelmann’s *History of Ancient Art* (originally published in 1764), the apogee of human culture and art production was squarely located in the realm of Periclean Athens, characterizing the Romans as vulgar copyists without any true “art” of their own.<sup>37</sup> Brendel’s reaction should not be construed in any major way in the context of the impending body post-colonial theory but rather as a

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<sup>35</sup> In Derridean (“Structure, Sign, and Play,” 224) terms, “center” is defined as “unique, constituted the very thing within a structure which while governing the structure, escapes structurality. This is why classical thought concerning structure could say that the center is, paradoxically, within the structure and outside it.”

<sup>36</sup> Otto J. Brendel, *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1953), 9.

<sup>37</sup> Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of Ancient Art* translated by G. Henry Lodge, M.D. (Cambridge: University Press, 1880).



justification and redefinition of Roman art history as a discipline worthy of study in its own right.<sup>38</sup>

Brendel constructed a definition of Roman art that addressed the problems of “aesthetic evaluation,” “historical development,” and “terminological difficulty.”<sup>39</sup> As a part of Brendel’s definition, it is not meant to be implied that Brendel was erecting an entirely essentialist doctrine on the quality of Roman art but rather a “pairs of contrasts or as multiple currents, parallel or merging with each other. It is together, in their totality, that they have created what is now known as Roman art; none is more intrinsically Roman than the other.”<sup>40</sup> Others have contributed to the discourse concerning *Romanitas* by accepting, rejecting or modifying Brendel’s defining characteristics.

This scholarly trend understandably had a profound impact on the study of Roman provincial art. Brendel’s *Prolegomena* may have served to define and elevate the study of Roman art, but he did not have any interest in breaking down the relationship between center and periphery regarding provincial art in the scholarship. This was a view shared by the vast majority of his colleagues as evidenced by the general distaste for Roman provincial art in the writings of Wheeler and Collingwood. Words like “crude,” “naïve”, and “primitive” were still being used by art historians to describe the material culture of Roman Britain, Spain, among others.<sup>41</sup> The notion of Romanization, which will be discussed later, was still the prominent model for cultural change and adaptation for the provinces.

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<sup>38</sup> Also see Franz Wickhoff, *Roman Art: Some of its Principles and their Application to early Christian Painting* translated by Mrs. S. Arthur Strong, LL.D. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1900) and Alois Riegl, *The Late Roman Art Industry* translated by Rolf Winkes (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1985).

<sup>39</sup> Brendel, *Prolegomena*, 5.

<sup>40</sup> Brendel, *Prolegomena*, 128-129.

<sup>41</sup> A good synopsis of this sentiment can be found in: Catherine Johns, “Art, Romanization, and Competence” in *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art* by Sarah Scott and Jane Webster, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 23.

## The Ambiguities between Center and Periphery in Late Antiquity

The development of post-colonial theory in the 1970s and 1980s did make a substantial impact on the way provincial art was conceived in relation to its “dominant” counterpart. Emerging as largely as a part of literary and social theory, this body of post-colonial theory changed the questions classical archaeologists and art historians asked about the distribution of power, influence, and agency in the Roman world. Since then, there has been a major reassessment of what has been called “acculturation.”

In the discourse, there are two major terms that have been used to describe this process: Romanization and Creolization. Romanization was conceived under the intellectual climate of imperialism (colonialism) while Creolization was founded as a critique of that discourse (postcolonialism). Although originally coined by the German historian Mommsen,<sup>42</sup> British scholar Haverfield most substantially developed the discourse on Romanization.<sup>43</sup> During the peak of British Empire, Haverfield described an acculturation process that equated the acquisition of Roman traits as becoming civilized. He states, “We have begun to realize the true achievements of the Empire. The old theory of an age of despotism and decay has been overthrown, and the believer in human nature can now feel confident that, whatever their limitations, the men of the Empire wrought for the betterment and the happiness of the world.”<sup>44</sup> The similarities are evident between this model and the model the British held for their own empire as well as the progressive view of history of this time.

This notion began to be criticized in the 1930s for its value-laden implications and inability to adequately describe the agency of the colonized. One of the leading voices in this critique was Collingwood, who favored the term “fusion” to describe the syncretism of Roman and provincial. Collingwood’s “fusion” can be defined as an unproblematic syncretism or

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<sup>42</sup> Theodor Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909).

<sup>43</sup> Francis Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1912).

<sup>44</sup> Haverfield, *The Romanization of Britain*, 16.

hybridization of two different cultures.<sup>45</sup> For example, the colonized British were neither Roman nor British but Romano-British. With the advent of postcolonial critique in the 1970s and 80s, much harsher criticisms of Romanization emerged with new models to explain cultural and artistic change in the provinces. One such model was developed by the Nativists, who completely rejected Haverfield's Romanization. Instead, they described the presence of *Romanitas* in the British provinces culture as a "veneer" over a purely British "woodwork."<sup>46</sup>

In the 1990s, Roman historian Millett decided the term needed to be modified in a major way that addressed the critiques of the Nativists. In his book *The Romanization of Britain*, he redefines Romanization as a process of politically motivated emulation. Here, provincial elites choose to take on Roman aesthetic and cultural practices in order to gain fuller participation in the political system. Lower classes would experience these changes in a "trickle down" manner. This made the process active on the part of the colonized as opposed to the past models of passive interaction. It is Millett's model of Romanization that is the dominant theoretical framework—with some variation—in the study of Roman provincial art and "acculturation."<sup>47</sup>

Woolf considers Romanization to be a convenient "umbrella term" for numerous cultural processes. The word itself is meaningless, based on an artificial sense of "Roman" and "not-Roman" (or "other") without specific application and explication of these different processes to

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<sup>45</sup> R.G. Collingwood and J.N.L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1928), 9.

<sup>46</sup> C. Forcey, "Beyond Romanization: Technologies of Power in Roman Britain." In *TRAC 1996: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference Sheffield 1996*, edited by K. Meadows, C. Lemke, and J. Heron (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 17. Also see: Webster, "Creolizing the Roman Provinces," 105. The other major proponent of this school of thought was R. Reece. See R. Reece, "Town and Country: The End of Roman Britain." *World Archaeology* 12 (1980): 77-91.

<sup>47</sup> Martin Millett, *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1990).

concrete events.<sup>48</sup> Subsequent studies of the Roman provinces by MacMullen and Curchin also (to a lesser extent) problematize the dubious and often forced distinctions between Roman and not Roman.<sup>49</sup> These critiques are often mounted based on a new sense of empiricism as opposed to applying outside theory.

Another response to or critique of Romanization suggests that the term itself is inadequate and needs to be replaced with a model based on cross-cultural analysis. Webster proposes that this new model be called “Creolization” based on linguistic studies of the colonized Caribbean.<sup>50</sup> Born out of her critiques of Romanization from Haverfield to Collingwood to Millett, Webster believes that whatever progress scholars have made were not sophisticated enough. For Webster, Romanization—through its historical definition—is the simply replacement of one culture (native) with another culture (Roman).<sup>51</sup> Creolization, however, describes a process of active synthesis that takes place in a space of “asymmetrical power relations.” While she does not wholly dismiss Millett’s model, she believes them to be only one way of many to describe cultural change.<sup>52</sup> In essence, Webster’s critiques are not necessarily about the latest incarnation of Romanization on their own but rather their limited scope.

As a model for the study of Roman provincial art and culture, Webster’s Creolization seems to be no more of a model than Woolf’s Romanization. Semantically, Creolization does

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<sup>48</sup> Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). In the introduction of his book, Woolf also writes a comprehensive bibliography on Romanization.

<sup>49</sup> See Ramsay MacMullen, *Romanization in the Time of Augustus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Leonard A. Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain: Complexity, Diversity and Change in a Provincial Hinterland* (London: Routledge, 2004); and Mario Torelli, *Studies in the Romanization of Italy* translated by Helena Fracchia and Maurizio Gualtieri (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1995).

<sup>50</sup> Jane Webster, “Creolizing the Roman Provinces” *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2001): 209-225. Also see: Jane Webster, “Art as Resistance and Negotiation” in *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art* by Sarah Scott and Jane Webster, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>51</sup> Webster, “Creolizing the Roman Provinces,” 211.

<sup>52</sup> Webster, “Creolizing the Roman Provinces,” 214.

avoid a certain connotation of the transformation of one culture to another, as the word Romanization implied. Semantic differences aside, they appear to be nearly identical terms, so replacing Romanization with Creolization is really just replacing one umbrella term with another. Webster's real contribution is her continued exploration of multiple, concurrent processes in provincial art, namely resistance and negotiation.<sup>53</sup> Despite these assertions, however, the name of this umbrella term in the end is quite arbitrary. What truly matters is the quality of the applications of theory and the specific models devised for different cultural interactions and processes.

In discussing these possible processes, it is important to consider the spectrums of agency and restriction, indifference and attention, and adoption and resistance. The adoption of "Roman" traits can be the result of outside force, willing adoption, passive contact, or grudging necessity. Likewise, the rejection (or non-adoption) of traits can be characterized as open resistance to authority, indifference to authority, lack of sustained contact with authority, or the indifference of that authority. Of course, each of these "causes" can be almost infinitely broken down into smaller and smaller interactions, making acculturation or "Romanization" of any area or people essentially a multilayered matrix of different processes and motivations contributing to the formation and proliferation of identity.

An often-overused and under-explained term, "identity" presents its own very similar problems to the discourse. Its importance is well noted by Miles:

Identity has always given us a location in the world and presents the link between us and the society in which we live. Identity is there to answer that fundamental question "Who am I?" The academic world might have rediscovered identity, but

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<sup>53</sup> This recent trend is evident in her contribution to the anthology *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art* called "Art as Resistance and Negotiation."

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men and women have never ceased thinking about and articulating themselves in those terms.<sup>54</sup>

It is precisely this gap between the scholar and the experience that causes much confusion in the use of the term. The scholarly process of defining and proclaiming identity is often lost in a desire for a universal fixity regarding a people or a historical period. While not universal in its manifestations, this problem appears to plague all historians and cultural commentators in some form.<sup>55</sup> Although often presented as such, identity is not meant to promote a monolithic or homogenous sense of self or group, but rather much like the processes mentioned above, it is constructed of many different factors that manifest in a variety of ways.

Like identity, ideology is another term that must be clarified. In the study of Roman art and culture, ideology (especially imperial ideology) seems to be most often used as a catchall term for the views of the emperor, rarely referring to its rather contrived nature. The social sciences have widely acknowledged the problematic nature of the term and have attempted many times to establish a cohesive definition.<sup>56</sup> One such definition is formed by Hamilton:

An ideology is a system of collectively held normative and reputedly factual ideas and beliefs and attitudes advocating a particular pattern of social relationships and arrangements, and/or aimed at justifying a particular pattern of conduct, which its proponents seek to promote, realize, pursue or maintain.<sup>57</sup>

While this is a good foundation, it is important to add that although the nature of *an* ideology is fundamentally coherent, this does not mean that the ideas within an ideology cannot be flexibly

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<sup>54</sup> Richard Miles, "Introduction: Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity" in *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity* by Richard Miles, ed. (London: Routledge, 1999), 1.

<sup>55</sup> Some particularly thought-provoking examinations of identity, post-colonialism, and postmodernism can be found in contemporary cultural commentary such as, Neil Lazarus's "National Consciousness and the Specificity of (Post)colonial Intellectualism" (1994), Rasheed Araeen's "A New Beginning Beyond Postcolonial Cultural Theory and Identity Politics" (2000), Wang Ning's "Orientalism versus Occidentalism?" (1997), Russell Ferguson's *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Culture* (1992), and Stuart Hall's "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" (2003).

<sup>56</sup> John Gerring, "Ideology: A Definitional Analysis" *Political Research Quarterly* 50 (1997): 957-994; Malcolm B. Hamilton, "The Elements of the Concept of Ideology" *Political Studies* 35 (1987): 18-38; F. Lewins, "Recasting the Concept of Ideology: A Content Approach" *The British Journal of Sociology* 40 (1989): 678-693; and Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Verso, 1991).

<sup>57</sup> Hamilton, "The Elements of the Concept of Ideology," 38.

applied in differing contexts. In other words, certain ideas may appear to be permanently or temporarily sacrificed (or downplayed) to serve another goal, which may be (or perceived to be) more important.

Furthermore, the role of the historian in constructing *interpretations* of ideology must also be made apparent. As Enenkel and Pfeijffer caution scholars of ancient history, “Surely it will not do to project the modern concept of propaganda on political communication in antiquity.”<sup>58</sup> By nature, scholars attempt to understand the ideology of particular emperors by cobbling together different sources, constructing a sense of cohesion. Historically, almost all scholars’ evidence is second-hand and highly subject to interpretation. In terms of this chapter, ideology should be understood as Hamilton’s definition with this addendum: ideology may manifest in inconsistent ways due to the nature of the audience as well as the interpretations of the scholar.

### **Center and Periphery in Late Antiquity**

Perhaps more than any other point in Roman history, the developments of late antiquity underscore the importance of noting the mutability and the mobility of physical and conceptual boundaries. Before the fourth century, most general assumptions about Roman identity throughout the empire can be reduced to this analogy: imperial is to Roman as provincial is to non-Roman. While the above critique questions this claim’s validity throughout Roman history, its credibility truly becomes compromised in the light of the events of third and fourth centuries. Much recent scholarship has made strides towards acknowledging and attempting to explain the nature of these boundaries.

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<sup>58</sup> Karl A.E. Enenkel and Ilja Leonard Pfeijffer, *The Manipulative Mode: Political Propaganda in Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 2.

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Late antiquity has been long considered an era of transition between the ancient and medieval worlds.<sup>59</sup> Brown, the formative scholar on this period, note that an emergent theme of this time is “the shifting and redefinition of boundaries of the classical world after AD 200.”<sup>60</sup> These boundaries are both conceptual and physical. Conceptually, there is the shift from paganism to Christianity, from singular rule to cooperative rule back to singular rule, and the shift between a “classical” style of visual expression to the flatter “medieval” style, among others. Physically, there are changes in the imperial borders caused by the countless incursions of “barbarian” hords, the constant division (and re-division) of the empire among its rulers, and the eventual shift in power from west to east with the establishment of Constantinople. Here, the primary focus will be where the conceptual and the physical meet, meaning the conceptual impact of changing physical boundaries will be assessed.

### *Earliest Shifts*

For Van Dam, small ideological shifts away from Rome as a political and cultural center began as early as the late second century with Septimus Severus, who “may have studied at Athens before becoming emperor.”<sup>61</sup> While the contribution of Septimus Severus’ “Athenian education” to a shift away from Rome may be debated,<sup>62</sup> certain developments of the third and fourth centuries do constitute more concrete points at which imperial (or Roman) place and space

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<sup>59</sup> Some basic sources include: Bowersock, G. W., Peter Robert Lamont Brown, and Oleg Grabar. *Late antiquity : A guide to the postclassical world*. Harvard university press reference library. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999. Brown, Peter Robert Lamont. *The world of late antiquity, AD 150-750*. History of european civilization library. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971. Brown, Peter Robert Lamont. *The making of late antiquity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978.

<sup>60</sup> Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity*, 19.

<sup>61</sup> Raymond Van Dam, *Rome and Constantinople: Rewriting Roman History during Late Antiquity* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2010), 24.

<sup>62</sup> The praise of Greek culture and the importance of a “Greek education” have long played a part in imperial ideology since the beginnings of the empire under Augustus. In fact, Hadrian (76-138) was often referred to as “the Greekling” in reference to his education in and love of Greek culture.



becomes more ambiguous. Here four developments are of particular interest: the 212 Decree of Caracalla, the formation of the Tetrarchy under Diocletian, the reunification of the empire under Constantine I, and the establishment of Constantinople. While no one of these events can be seen on their own as resulting in a complete transformation of Roman identity, they must be seen as major contributing factors in the increasingly complex nature of location and identity in late antiquity.

*The Constitutio Antoniniana, 212*

*In orbe Romano qui sunt, ex constitutione imperatoris Antonini cives Romani effecti sunt.* [Those who are in the Roman world, are made Roman citizens by the Constitution of Emperor Antonius.]<sup>63</sup>

With this statement (paraphrased by Ulpian), Caracalla bestowed the privileges and responsibilities of Roman citizenship to nearly every freeman throughout the empire. While largely seen by historians (both ancient and modern) as a means to increase both his tax base and legionary conscriptions,<sup>64</sup> other implications of Caracalla's edict must not be ignored. By extending citizenship beyond the city limits of Rome, he problematized what it meant to be "Roman." In the words of O'Flynn, "It no longer meant the inhabitant of a particular city or region; henceforth all [freemen] could claim a share in this Romanness."<sup>65</sup> As Harl has proven in his study of civic coins, however, this does not mean that this "Romanness" took hold

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<sup>63</sup> Ulpian (Digest 1.5.17) quoted in Herbert W. Benario, "The Dediticii of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*" *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 85 (1954): 189. It is assumed that Ulpian, a jurist and close confidant of Caracalla, helped draft the *Constitutio*, so his words may be assumed to be relatively close to the nature of the original decree.

<sup>64</sup> Cassius Dio (77.9.5) was a particularly harsh critic of the Caracalla emphasized the emperor's true motivation for granting this "universal" citizenship. Most modern scholars tend to accept Dio's assessment of the ruler's motives. See: Paul Keresztes, "The *Constitutio Antoniniana* and the Persecutions of Caracalla" *The American Journal of Philology* 91(1970): 446-459.

<sup>65</sup> John O'Flynn, "A Greek on the Roman Throne: The Fate of Anthemius" *Historia* 40 (1993): 122.

instantaneously or consistently throughout the empire.<sup>66</sup> Instead, every citizen's (and every city's) understanding and exhibition of their own *Romanitas* was by nature idiosyncratic.

A secondary result of the *Constantutio Antoniniana* was that *Urbs Roma* itself was no longer necessarily the seat of imperial power.<sup>67</sup> Van Dam notes how many emperors of the third century were neither present in Rome nor educated in its history and culture, relying almost solely on the support of the military.<sup>68</sup> While Rome maintained a certain degree of symbolic significance to the empire, the emperor determined the role that symbolism played in the construction of imperial power. While this is often interpreted as the final stage in the process of Romanization,<sup>69</sup> this may be seen as the first significant stage in the eventual displacement of Rome as a center of imperial power and activity. In many ways, this also constitutes the beginning of an increasingly ambiguous connection between location and imperial power.

#### *The Formation of the Tetrarchy under Diocletian, 284-305*

Another key event in this process was Diocletian's physical division of empire and the ideological division of imperial power in the formation of the Tetrarchy. Much like this survey, the formation of the Tetrarchy speaks of a slower evolution punctuated by a few important

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<sup>66</sup> Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 96-109.

<sup>67</sup> O'Flynn, "A Greek on the Roman Throne," 122.

<sup>68</sup> Van Dam, *Rome and Constantinople*, 25. For more on the absence of the emperor in Rome see: Erika Manders and Olivier Hekster ("Identities of Emperor and Empire in the Third Century A.D.," 4): "In the period AD 200-250 emperors were present at Rome in 21 out of 50 years, for stays which were much shorter than in earlier times, whereas in the period AD 250-300, emperors were present in 18 out of 50 years; but most of these stays were extremely short periods in between campaigns.<sup>14</sup> This absence is often commented upon, and may well be one of the main reasons for the lessening importance of the city of Rome – which in a sense reached its low during the Tetrarchy." Also see: H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1986), 241-244 and Olivier Hekster, *Rome and its Empire, AD 193-284. Debates and Documents in Ancient History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 14-16.

<sup>69</sup> Benario ("The Dediticii of the Constitutio Antoniniana," 188) asserts, "In the year 212 A.D. the culminating step in the extension of Roman citizenship was taken." This sentiment is echoed by O'Flynn ("A Greek on the Roman Throne: The Fate of Anthemius," 122), who states: "The history of Roman expansion from its earliest beginnings was one of gradual equalization of peoples brought under Roman sway. The process culminated in the year 212 with the decree of Caracalla."

events. In 284, Diocletian—a “career soldier from humble non-Italian stock”—came to be Augustus the way many of the so-called “soldier emperors” of the third century.<sup>70</sup> By that time, co-emperorship was not necessarily a new or radical idea,<sup>71</sup> so his appointment of Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximian as Caesar in 285 (and promoted to Augustus the following year) was probably not surprising.<sup>72</sup> This informally divided the empire into two parts—a “Dyarchy”—with Diocletian in the east and Maximian in the West.<sup>73</sup>

With the appointment of Galerius (under Diocletian in the east) and Constantius Chlorus (under Maximian in the west) as Caesars, the formation of the first Tetrarchy was complete in 293.<sup>74</sup> Eventually, the empire was divided into more formal quadrants: Maximian in Milan, Constantius in Trier, Galerius in Sirmium, and Diocletian in the Nicomedia.<sup>75</sup> As a result of this division of territory, the government could and did execute a series of (mostly successful) military campaigns and administrative reforms throughout the empire.<sup>76</sup>

By dividing the empire into four different regions with four different administrative regions, Diocletian effectively changed the way that the role of the emperor and the empire as a whole was viewed. While his major motivation for forming the Tetrarchy was to more effectively defend the expansive borders of the empire from foreign incursions, Diocletian seemed dedicated to making a *unified* four-part government work in the long term. Rees implies that Diocletian may have purposefully sought to de-center Rome for the sake of presenting a

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<sup>70</sup> Roger Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 5.

<sup>71</sup> Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus agreed to share power as early as the second century, but in the third century, this form of rule became far more common with the Gordian and his sons, Trebonianus Gallus and his son, to name a few.

<sup>72</sup> Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*, 6.

<sup>73</sup> Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*, 6.

<sup>74</sup> Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*, 7. Also see Simon Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 5.

<sup>75</sup> Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*, 8.

<sup>76</sup> Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, 5.

unified collegial rule: “Almost de facto none of the Tetrarchs could live in Rome without jeopardizing the harmony of the government.”<sup>77</sup>

Regardless of the reasons behind them, these changes had a profound impact on the political and cultural geography of the empire. Beyond the further displacement of Rome as the center, imperial power was now associated with four centers rather than just one. Contributing to this phenomenon, Diocletian’s reforms coincided with what Liebeschuetz calls “the end of the ancient city,” which is characterized by the decline in civic participation of local elites as well as the consolidation of wealth and power among fewer individuals.<sup>78</sup> It is difficult to say whether this “end” was caused by the reforms or were merely concurrent with them, but it is perhaps most accurate to characterize both changes as actively contributing to one another while responding to the same political and social pressures of this time.<sup>79</sup> While Liebeschuetz seems to describe the changes to civic institutions as a replacement of civic/provincial authority with imperial authority, it may be more appropriate to characterize it as the closer association of both entities. This is an important distinction because, in most cases, the distinctions between imperial and provincial become ambiguous due to such close cooperation but the provincial was not likely entirely assimilated neatly into the imperial superstructure.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*, 30. Van Dam (*Rome and Constantinople*, 28) implies that Rome was not necessarily a politically friendly place for the third-century emperor, including the Tetrarchs. In fact, lack of detailed knowledge of the city may have cost Galerius a military campaign.

<sup>78</sup> Wolfgang Liebeschuetz, “The End of the Ancient City” in *The City in Late Antiquity* by John Rich, ed. (London: Routledge, 1992), 7. Liebeschuetz, however, acknowledges that this is not really an “end” per se, but rather a transformation (or evolution) of the civic structure. These sentiments are, of course, reflected in Harl’s (*Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 107) argument about the demise of civic coinage, and Liebeschuetz (“The End of the Ancient City,” 7) concurs with the end date of civic and provincial coinage in the mid-third century.

<sup>79</sup> For example, both may be considered responses (or solutions) to the general political chaos that resulted from the “crisis,” but the tightening of administrative authority under the reforms actively contributed to the transformation of the ancient city.

<sup>80</sup> Rees (*Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*, 25) underscores the potential flexibility of these arrangements over time by stating, “provincial organization was subject to more than one change over the period.” He does, however, express some uncertainty over what can be known exactly about these events, “This need not force the assumption that reorganization under Diocletian was a process and not a single event. We do not know.” Regardless of these doubts, it seems to stand that the implementation of reform—no matter how rigid in intent—cannot be seen as

*The Reunification of the Empire under Constantine I, 305-324*

When Diocletian and a reluctant Maximian abdicated in 305, the transfer of power could not have been characterized as smooth or peaceful. On the outset, it seemed to be successful; Constantius and Galerius were promoted to the rank of Augustus while Severus (under Constantius in Italy) and Maximinus Daia (under Galerius in Africa) were became Caesars, but this second Tetrarchy and the tentative tranquility it represented collapsed with the death of Constantius in 306.<sup>81</sup> Instead of Severus ascending clearly to the rank of Augustus, Constantine—son of Constantius—was declared emperor by his father’s troops and took hold of his territories. While Galerius, now the senior Tetrarch, uneasily accepted the seizure of Constantius’ lands, he acknowledged Constantine as Caesar and Severus as Augustus.<sup>82</sup>

This break with Diocletian’s design ushered in a new era of civil war and political unrest among the remaining Tetrarchs and their progeny. Maxentius, son of Maximian, quickly deposed Severus in 307. This incited the ire of Galerius, who in 308 promoted Licinius directly to the position of Augustus to oppose Maxentius.<sup>83</sup> Lacking a clear line of succession, the panegyricist Lactantius claimed that there could have been as many as six emperors at this, emphasizing the chaotic nature of this time. Within five years, however, Maximian (310), Galerius (311), Diocletian (312), Maxentius (312), and Maximinus Daia (313) were all dead either by their enemies or natural causes.<sup>84</sup>

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consistent and monolithic in all places at all times. Each implementation constitutes a different variation on the possible processes alluded to above.

<sup>81</sup> Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, 6. Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*, 8.

<sup>82</sup> Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*, 10. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, 6.

<sup>83</sup> Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, 7. Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*, 11.

<sup>84</sup> Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, 7. Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*, 11. Maximian was defeated by Constantine and was forced to kill himself. Galerius died of natural causes. The exact cause or date of Diocletian’s death remains uncertain, but it is assumed that it was not the result of conflict. Maxentius was deposed and killed by

## The Ambiguities between Center and Periphery in Late Antiquity

By the end of 313, Constantine and Licinius were the only remaining Augusti, but neither seemed to be content as co-rulers for very long. At that time, relations between Constantine, who controlled the entire western empire, and Licinius, who possessed the east, were marred by tension grounded in conspiracy.<sup>85</sup> In 316, Constantine invaded Licinius' territory in Pannonia (eastern Europe), taking the capital Siscia. This first civil war between the two Augusti culminated in a settlement, in which Constantine gained Licinius' Balkan territories.<sup>86</sup> Despite this "settlement," there was little accord between the two emperors, both ignoring the sovereignty of the other.<sup>87</sup> In 324, Constantine was ready to strike at Licinius once more, beginning a second and final civil war.<sup>88</sup> Licinius was able to hold off his opponent for only a few months before he was taken, forced to abdicate, and executed the following year.<sup>89</sup>

So, it seems, as soon as one political geography (the Tetrarchy) was erected, it was almost immediately in the process of being dismantled. During this period, not only had the location of the power moved, it was constantly in motion. The overall instability of the developments was most likely not lost on citizens of all classes. While the relationship between physical location and imperial power may be interpreted as ambiguous or even irrelevant, there is one interesting trend that must be discussed. As Constantine advanced east, he took care to convert certain cities into temporary "capitals." The expression "my [Constantine's] Rome," as these cities were often called, is an example of the continued symbolic importance of Rome even

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Constantine at the Battle of Milvian Bridge. Maximinus Daia unsuccessfully tried to seize Licinius' lands and was forced to commit suicide in July 313.

<sup>85</sup> Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, 7.

<sup>86</sup> Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, 7. Lenski, "The Reign of Constantine," *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, 74.

<sup>87</sup> Acts on both side included: Licinius not acknowledging the consuls appointed by Constantine, Constantine breaching Licinius' lands during a conflict against the barbarians, and Licinius' increased persecution of Christians. See Lenski, "The Reign of Constantine," *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, 75.

<sup>88</sup> Lenski, "The Reign of Constantine," *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, 75.

<sup>89</sup> Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, 9. Lenski, "The Reign of Constantine," *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, 76-77.

as the old city became more and more obsolete politically.<sup>90</sup> In essence, the position of power—while physically ambiguous—was grounded in an older, more recognizable tradition. The forms this “tradition” took, however, can hardly be described as monolithic.

*The Foundation of Constantinople, 330*

This trend of establishing a “New Rome” continued with the foundation of his final capital, Constantinople. A mere six years after the second civil war against Licinius, Constantine dedicated his new capital on the Bosphorus, but—as has been shown—Rome had long since been displaced from its central position in the empire. Van Dam noted that the site itself was not necessarily historically significant to the empire or its new religion, Christianity.<sup>91</sup> Despite these obstacles, Constantinople was to become a major center of imperial power for centuries.<sup>92</sup>

In the fourth century, the Roman senate was increasingly dependent on the favor emperor to maintain their wealth and status. Roman officials’ ability to conduct the business of their post—seeing to the local interests of Rome—also depended on the goodwill of the emperor. This is evident in the rich epistolary record of Roman prefects like Symmachus (384-385), who often had to negotiate and accommodate his own interests, the interests of the state, and the interests of the Roman senate. His presentation of this position to his imperial counterparts was transparent: “as your prefect I am transacting public business and as an envoy I am presenting the message of my fellow-citizens.”<sup>93</sup> Best known in modern scholarship for his speech advocating the restoration of the altar of Victory, Symmachus efforts are a testament to the

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<sup>90</sup> In reference to Serdica, see Lenski, “The Reign of Constantine,” *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, 75. For more examples, see Van Dam, *Rome and Constantinople*, 47-48.

<sup>91</sup> Van Dam, *Rome and Constantinople*, 50-52.

<sup>92</sup> Van Dam, *Rome and Constantinople*, 71. “Transforming Constantinople into both a colossal city and the new imperial capital of the eastern Roman provinces required a sustained commitment by generations of emperors.”

<sup>93</sup> Symmachus quoted in, Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 37.

increasingly difficult struggle of Roman officials to promote local (and especially pagan) interests.<sup>94</sup>

Whether the establishment of the new capital constitutes a complete shift in center and periphery is a multilayered question with a multilayered answer. For Van Dam, the shift from Rome to Constantinople—while not necessarily abrupt—was more or less complete by the beginning of the fifth century: “Now the goddess Roma, the personification of the city, was imagined to have gray hair and to be carrying a rusty spear. Not only was the capital in decline and seemingly on the verge of falling; even worse, it was being replaced, both in people’s imaginations and literally.”<sup>95</sup> While the degraded status of the city cannot be denied, it would be shortsighted to state that the legacy of Rome was remotely escapable at this time.

The ubiquity of Rome still existed as a conceptual space within the minds of people throughout the empire. As stated before, the title of “Rome” was often given to the primary location of an emperor in the third and fourth centuries. To some extent, the history and origins of Rome were still important to imperial ideology. While the physical city of Rome was increasingly provincialized politically, it persisted as a symbol for imperial power, a point that Van Dam may not emphasize enough. In attempting to understand the nature of this “shift,” it is important to examine these two different conceptions of Rome as well as the multiple voices proliferating them. Just as the processes of Romanization are multivalent, the processes occurring during this shift are also complex and deserve the sustained attention it will receive in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

## Conclusions

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<sup>94</sup> For an account of this struggle, see Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome*, 39-51.

<sup>95</sup> Van Dam, *Rome and Constantinople*, 47. Van Dam (*Rome and Constantinople*, 49) also describes Rome as having “hit bottom” around 500.



## The Ambiguities between Center and Periphery in Late Antiquity

While these four developments do not constitute the entire range of interactions between the perceived center and periphery in the late Roman Empire, they do illustrate how the relationship between these two concepts was disrupted on the macro-scale. The recognition of Rome as the geographic center of power was not only modified in a profound way, but the ability to clearly identify location with imperial authority became more difficult. The mobility of centers, especially in the fourth century, contributed to an increasingly ambiguous understanding of the connection between imperial power and physical location.

This increased ambiguity may have a multitude of meanings. One contention is that this ambiguity bred indifference toward location and local identity in favor of a universal identity founded on a wider conception of empire, contributing to the growing irrelevance of location in the construction of identity. According to Harl's assessment of fourth-century coinage, these observations would be correct. The indifference caused by this spatial ambiguity in addition to universalizing reforms and fiscal administration would seem to be a sufficient explanation for the increasingly standardized coin types and overall lack in local variation.

A closer look at the numismatic record, however, renders a slightly less uniform picture of numismatics during the fourth century. While Harl's assessment of type variety may work on a macro-scale, the existence of idiosyncratic types denotes a multitude of interactions between center and periphery, yielding a more dynamic view of the coins during this period of transition. As the following chapters will attest, ambiguities in the relationship between center and periphery may contribute to a multitude of processes relevant in the negotiation between power, autonomy, and location.

### Chapter Three

#### Variation and Standardization: A Survey of the Material

##### Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the boundaries between center and periphery were becoming increasingly ambiguous to the point that distinction between imperial and civic administration were no longer readily apparent. While Harl and other scholars have interpreted this to mean that all coinage can be subsumed under a universal “imperial” authority, this thesis asserts that ambiguity makes the local less discernable but nonetheless still present in coinage. Understanding that the administration of the empire does not consist of a single type of interaction between center (imperial) and periphery (provincial), this chapter will isolate the multitude of processes that are apparent in the numismatic record. In order to fully understand how the dynamic between center and periphery is realized on coins, it is important to survey the available material.

Most numismatic catalogs organize coins by minting location, emperor, or date (or some combination among the three).<sup>96</sup> These methods offer a very specific way to conceptualize the material as the products of a single mint, a component of an emperor’s iconographic program, or a part of a much wider chronology. While these specific views are useful for many studies, they do very little to directly compare the activities of mints or assess variety among types. In order

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<sup>96</sup> The major example of the chronological/geographical style of cataloging is, of course, the most widely used series of numismatic catalogs *Roman Imperial Coinage*. Understandably, *Roman Provincial Coinage* also works according to this methodology. Works that use a more strictly chronological method of organization—perhaps the most popular method—include: JPC Kent’s *Roman Coins*, CHV Sutherland’s *Roman Coins*, among many others.

to completely understand the full range of variation of coin iconography throughout the Constantinian Dynasty, reverse types must be isolated and juxtaposed by minting location. While by no means comprehensive, this survey is meant to isolate key trends in standardization and variation, initiating a dialogue about imperial authority in the minting process.

This survey will begin with coins minted the family of Constantine I between the death of Constantius I in circa 306 and the death of Jovian in 364. Reverse types will be included from mints active enough to be included in *Roman Imperial Coinage (RIC)*.<sup>97</sup> While the most common types are recorded in *RIC*, additional types and variations were included from the collections of the British Museum in an effort to be as complete as possible. This information is recorded in Appendix V. Before beginning a thorough analysis of this material, however, there are some important methodological questions regarding the framing of such a study that must be resolved.

### *Coin Types*

In this study, coin obverses and reverses will—for the most part—be referred to as separate entities. Although the interaction between obverse and reverse iconography are very important for most numismatic inquiries, the major focus of this study is to assess the broader trends in iconographic variation among mints. Some have argued that by the reign of Constantine that the imperial portrait had become relatively standardized as “venerated imperial images.”<sup>98</sup> Due to the nature of imperial portraiture at this time, obverse styles may not have

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<sup>97</sup> This includes Trier, Constantinople, Rome, Milan, Ticinum, Aquileia, Arles, Amiens, London, Sirmium, Siscia, Thessalonica, Alexandria, Heraclea, Nicomedia, and Cyzicus, excluding Ostia.

<sup>98</sup> Patrick Bruun, *Roman Imperial Coinage: vol. 7 Constantine and Licinius* (London: Spink and Sons, Ltd., 1966), 32. Bruun assumes this based on the writings of Cassiodorus (Var. vii. 32), which imply that it was “sacrilege” to modify the imperial image: “tamen omnino monetae debet integritas quaeri, ubi et vultus noster imprimitur...quidnam erit tutum si in nostra peccetur effigie?”

been nearly as important in relation to a coin's reverse. Minting authorities may have merely chosen among the accepted portrait types rather than creating portraits to specifically correlate to the reverse. These choices may have some attention to reverse iconography, but they may be seen as less important as they once were. One notable exception may have been certain gold medallions, due the precious nature of the material as well as the denomination's closer association with imperial power. This relationship will be referred to when regarding issues of minting authority and some unusual pairings, but a complete survey of individual coin types will not be attempted here. For a chronological itemization of imperial control over mints, see Appendix IV.

### *Denomination*

Material and denomination are crucial to understanding the placement of imperial authority in the minting process. As it is typically understood, bronze coins—as issues of lower value—were not subject to the same imperial oversight as the minting of gold and silver coins.<sup>99</sup> While this increased scrutiny on the minting of gold and silver may be mainly attributed to the desire to regulate the weight and purity of such precious issues, increased imperial attention to iconography and legends may also be assumed. Furthermore, the minting of gold and silver coins has been correlated with physical presence of the imperial court in the minting city. Scholars have even attempted to trace the movements of the emperor throughout the empire by the presence of these high-value issues. As Bruun asserts, “Constantine's path to supremacy left a glittering trail of gold.”<sup>100</sup> Therefore, the iconography and overall message of most gold issues—with few exceptions—must be interpreted as a reflection of the court's creative input or,

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<sup>99</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII*, 13-14. It is also important to note that the “standard types” that are addressed later in this chapter are most typically bronze coins.

<sup>100</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII*, 14.

at the very least, its endorsement. Variation among these commemorative issues is integral to understanding the emperor's idiosyncratic relationships with different locations throughout the empire and is noted in Appendix V.

### *Date*

While the reverse and obverse types are not organized chronologically, date still remains an important factor in understanding how coins minted in particular locations either agree with or differ from imperial policy and ideology. Often contingent on how coins are situated in the chronology of the emperor's rule, their messages become subject to specific changes and events. As will become increasingly evident throughout this survey, the distinction between imperial and non-imperial opinions can be very ambiguous, especially during the reign of Constantine the Great. At this time, reverse types with conflicting, especially religious, messages sometimes coincide chronologically in different minting locations. To make this matter more complex, the numismatic record is often actively used to reconstruct an emperor's ideology. Any interpretation of these differences depends upon our understanding of two major factors.

First is our characterization of imperial ideology as the consistent and dogmatic adherence to specific goals and attitudes. For example, the religious attitudes of Constantine I are hotly contested due to noted disparities between the mythologizing literary record and the often ambiguous nature of his religious policies.<sup>101</sup> If his attitudes are perceived as deliberately mutable, then the numismatic record may be seen as an accurate reflection of that mutability.

The second factor is the degree to which imperial policy was either able or inclined to penetrate

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<sup>101</sup> For examples of the controversy and differing accounts of Constantine's conversion see panegyrics such as Eusebius of Caesarea's *Vita Constantini* and scholarship like Noel Lenski's (2006) "The Reign of Constantine" in *The Cambridge Companion to Constantine*; Elizabeth Marlowe's (2006) "Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Cityscape"; and Andreas Alföldi's (1932) "The Helmet of Constantine with the Christian Monogram."

the activities of certain mints. If Constantine's conversion to Christianity resulted in a consistent and permanent change in imperial ideology and policy, then the conflicting attitudes on coins in different locations may be interpreted as a breakdown in imperial authority or the emperor's indifference regarding the activities of specific mints. These issues will be more fully discussed later in this survey. Regardless of which understanding one may choose to entertain, however, it remains that variation does exist whether it is in defiance of imperial ideology or merely a differing interpretation of it. The goal of this study is not to resolve the conflict that revolves around the specific attitudes of the imperial court but rather explore the likelihood of all the possible interpretations of variety in the numismatic record.

### *Variety among Dies*

When making claims about variation in the numismatic record, it is important to distinguish significant differences from the insignificant ones. Within a single type of either a coin's obverse or reverse, there is an infinite amount of slight variations in the rendering, iconography, and legend breaks that may be attributed more to the individual hand of die engravers rather than explicit orders from the imperial court or local magistrates. While these are of great importance to tracing material production in die link studies,<sup>102</sup> they are of very little importance here.

In the case of reverse iconography, some insignificant differences include: the directionality of the figures, their exact placement within the field, individual die axes, and minute details such as the placement of a figure's hands or the angle of scepters and spears.

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<sup>102</sup> Some typical die-link studies include: Ian Stewart's (1993) *A Critical London Die-link of Constantine*; Giles Carter's (1979) *Comparison of Methods for Calculating the Total Number of Dies from Die-link Statistics*; Malcolm Todd's (1964) *A Late Roman Bronze Hoard from the East Continent Die-Links*; and (perhaps the most useful for the beginner) Douglas Smith's (1995) "Die Links: A Tool for the Numismatist."

These differences especially are evidence of different levels of skill and craftsmanship rather than dramatic differences in attitude among individual engravers. Furthermore, many of these differences occur within the activities of a single mint and are not necessarily characteristics of variation of types from mint to mint. However, there are other variations that may not be as easily characterized as significant or insignificant. For example, when a spear is exchanged for a scepter, there may be some shift in meaning (from military might to political authority) and may not be entirely discounted. Such characteristics may be represented in varying degrees in this survey but will never overshadow the variations between completely different types in the discussion. While noted as variations in the appendices, these slight variations can be seen as insignificant as objects of deep analysis due to their lack of connection to local or imperial authority and their irrelevance to the overall message of the coin type.

### **Minting Culture: 306-364 CE**

In order to understand the significance of continuity and variation among mints, it is also necessary to understand the histories of individual mints and minting culture as a whole during this era. The literary record provides very little information about the fiscal administration and no information about the regulation of iconography of individual mints.<sup>103</sup> One document that does survive is the *Notitia Dignitatum*, a list of officials throughout the eastern empire at the end of the fourth century.<sup>104</sup> Supposedly centrally controlled and efficient, the bureaucratic system described by this document was based on a hierarchy of positions that eventually led directly to the emperor. In regard to fiscal administration, there was supposedly a *comes sacrarum*

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<sup>103</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII*, 6.

<sup>104</sup> Christopher Kelly, "Bureaucracy and Government" in *The Cambridge Companion to Constantine* by Noel Lenski, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 184.

*largitionum*, who supervised the state mints, among other financial and industrial institutions.<sup>105</sup>

Although this gives some expectation of imperial attention regarding mints, it does not explain the priorities or diligence of such an administration.<sup>106</sup> With so few detailed documents, the bulk of the conclusions made by scholars about the emperor's relationship to individual mints are drawn from the numismatic and historical record.

This period can be characterized by the transition from the Tetrarchic administration to a more unified system based on the authority of a single governing body. Making this matter more complicated is the relatively unstable political situation of the early fourth century. When Constantine I was declared emperor by his dying father and the army in 306, he inherited a precarious position that was subject to an infinite circle of political intrigue and external violence.<sup>107</sup> As a result, the relative turmoil of his position must be considered when assessing his authority over the coinage minted in his name. It is generally understood that mints were quickly usurped and reorganized by Constantine as he defeated the competing Augusti and expanded his control over the empire.<sup>108</sup> For example, coins with the visage of Constantine were minted all over the empire since the early third century, but it is difficult to ascertain the authority he had over how his image was used in the eastern empire until the defeat of Licinius at Chrysopolis and his subsequent execution in 324. The output and administration of individual mints is often ascertained based on this understanding of fourth century political and military history.

### *The Western Mints*

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<sup>105</sup> Kelly, "Bureaucracy and Government," 190.

<sup>106</sup> Bruun (*RIC VII*, 16) assumes some amount of laxity in the administration process.

<sup>107</sup> Noel Lenski, "The Reign of Constantine" in *The Cambridge Companion to Constantine*, 59.

<sup>108</sup> For the case of Alexandria, see Bruun, *RIC VII*, 700.



Constantine's authority over coinage has the longest tradition in the western empire. The lands he gained upon seizing power in 306 included the mint-cities of London, Trier, Lyon, and Arles. These cities represented the earliest mints with Constantine as the sole controlling body, but as it will become evident in the survey, they played varying roles in the production of currency. Producing mostly bronze coins for local use, London was active from the beginning of his reign until it was closed in 325.<sup>109</sup> Lyon's activity was intermittent throughout the reign of Constantine, halting production twice between 316 and 320 as well as 325 and 330.<sup>110</sup> Arles and Trier, however, consistently remained open throughout his reign. Trier, especially, remained an important center for political and minting activity for Constantine, especially before 330.

As a result of his successful campaigns against Maxentius, Constantine expanded his territories to include Italy and North Africa. By October of 312, he was the sole Augusti of the mints at Ticinum, Aquileia, and Rome. Both Ticinum and Aquileia were subject to periodic closures throughout Constantine's reign. Ticinum may have experienced a temporary closure between 322 and 324 before production halted completely in 327.<sup>111</sup> The mint at Aquileia was established 316 and was closed twice (in 319 and 322) before it reopened in 334—production extending into the reigns of his successors.<sup>112</sup> Rome remained an important minting center with only two possible gaps in production between 322 and 324 as well as 327 and 329.<sup>113</sup>

### *The Eastern Mints*

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<sup>109</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII*, Appendix II.

<sup>110</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII*, Appendix II.

<sup>111</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII*, Appendix II.

<sup>112</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII*, Appendix II. The closures from 319 until 320 and 322 until 324 are only possible gaps in production and are, therefore, only unconfirmed possibilities.

<sup>113</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII*, Appendix II.

With Maxentius deposed in the West, Licinius remained the only obstacle for Constantine's total domination of the Roman Empire. During his 316-campaign against the final opposing Augusti, he acquired most of the Balkans along with the cities of Sirmium, Siscia, and Thessalonica. The shortest lived of these three mints was at Sirmium. Only opened for six years—between 320 and 326—Sirmium was primarily used as a temporary capital during his conflict with Licinius, producing emergency gold coinage for the over-taxed mints throughout Constantine's realm.<sup>114</sup> Although Siscia was never considered a capital for Constantine, the city remained an important mint and outpost beginning in 317 and continued to be throughout his reign and into the reigns of his sons. The last mint to be ceded to Constantine during this campaign was Thessalonica, which also continued to be a crucial source of coinage throughout the remainder of the first and second civil wars between Constantine and Licinius.

Constantine's eastward expansion continued with his 324-campaign, beginning the second civil war. Culminating in the Battle of Chrysopolis, he gained the remainder of Licinius' territory and the eastern mints: Heraclea, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Antioch, and Alexandria. Due—at least in part—to Constantine's need to solidify his power in the newly acquired East, each of these mints were quickly reoriented to accommodate the emperor's needs and wishes regarding the territory.<sup>115</sup> Nicomedia and Antioch were particularly active in the process of integrating the eastern territories into the Western Empire. With the beginning of coin production in Constantinople in 326, however, these mints (although still active) work at an increasingly diminished capacity in the East. By this time, the position of *comes sacrarum largitionum*

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<sup>114</sup> Brunn, *RIC VII*, 464.

<sup>115</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII*, 663.

supposedly became well enough established to be a powerful force in mint administration, which may have increased some measure of consistency among the mints.<sup>116</sup>

While this brief historical outline of Constantine's campaigns and acquisition of minting cities explains how he became the sole imperial authority over coin production, it does not give a nuanced view of the nature of that authority and how it was employed in individual cities. It is often difficult to ascertain whether local authorities acted on direct orders from the emperor or merely operated within a more or less loose set of parameters, or to what extent it was the prerogative of the central government to micromanage such affairs. As has been stated above, much of what is known about how mints were managed is a product of interpreting the numismatic record. To make this matter more complicated, knowledge of history is often gleaned from coin iconography, so interpretation is often like the proverbial snake eating its tail. Any claims to imperial authority or local autonomy will have to be mindful of these challenges.

## **The Material**

### *The "Standard" Types*

When examining macro-scale trends in fourth-century coin iconography, Harl and others rightly assert that coin types generally do decrease in variety and widespread, and standardized types *do* increase.<sup>117</sup> As Constantine gained control over mints throughout the empire, there is a definite increase in common reverse types concurrently produced at several mints in both the East and West. This is largely due to the emperor's increase in authority among more cities in a wider geographic area, but a conscious move toward standard types must also be examined as an

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<sup>116</sup> Kelly, "Bureaucracy and Government" in *Cambridge Companion to Constantine*, 190.

<sup>117</sup> Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 95.

important factor. There are about 30 very notable cases of widespread—if not completely standard—types throughout the Constantinian dynasty (see Appendix V).

Those from the reign of Constantine can be categorized roughly using the same system by which the mints came under his control. One of the earliest was the CLARITAS REIPUBLICAE type (Appendix V, no. 123), which was present in London, Trier, Arles, Rome, Ticinum, Aquileia, and Thessalonica during the first Civil War against Licinius in 317.<sup>118</sup> From 321-324, the CAESARVM NOSTRORVM type (Appendix V, no. 117) was fairly common (ranging from R5-C3) in mints operational at the time (London, Lyon, Trier, Rome, Aquileia, Siscia, and Thessalonica). Immediately after Licinius was deposed at Chrysopolis, the PROVIDENTIAE AVGG type (Appendix V, no. 50) became popular in varying degrees at London, Lyon, Trier, Arles, Rome, Ticinum, Siscia, Sirmium, Thessalonica, Heraclea, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Antioch, and Alexandria.<sup>119</sup> This was one of the last standard types to be minted in London before the mint permanently closed in 325.<sup>120</sup>

While most of these later standard types extolled generalized virtues of the emperor, the empire, and the military, some made far more timely and site-specific statements. When Constantinople became one of the more important mints (and cities), coins featuring the new capital became ubiquitous throughout the empire. The most popular type (Appendix V, no. 236) depicts a bust of Constantinopolis—as a helmeted and laureate female—on the obverse with

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<sup>118</sup> Another example from this time is the well-recorded SOLI INVICTO COMITI type, which was a very common type until Sol was phased out of coin iconography around 317-318. For more information about this coin type see Patrick Bruun, “The Disappearance of Sol from the Coins of Constantine” *Arctos* (N.S. ii): 15-37.

<sup>119</sup> This was a popular type at the eastern mints under Licinius as well but continued after Chrysopolis in these mints under Constantine.

<sup>120</sup> Others include: SALVS REI-PUBLICAE (Appendix V, no. 165) at London, Lyon, Trier, Arles, Sirmium, Thessalonica, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Antioch, and Alexandria; SECVRITAS REIPUBLICAE (Appendix V, no. 167) at London, Lyon, Trier, Arles, Rome, Ticinum, Siscia, Sirmium, Thessalonica, Heraclea, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Antioch, and Alexandria; VIRTVS-EXERCIT (Appendix V, no. 116) at London, Lyon, Trier, Arles, Aquileia, Siscia, and Thessalonica; VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP (Appendix V, no. 109) at London, Trier, Arles, Ticinum, Siscia.

Victory standing on a prow with a spear and shield on the reverse. Concurrently, there was a series (Appendix V, no. 235) featuring Roma in a very similar fashion. On the obverse of this type is the traditional representation of the city as an armed, helmeted woman with the she-wolf suckling the twins.<sup>121</sup> Given their similar distribution throughout the empire at the same time, there is little doubt that these two series were meant to be understood in relation to one another. The significance of this juxtaposition will be explored further in the following chapter.

The use of standard or widespread types continued throughout the rest of the dynasty with similar use of generalized platitudes.<sup>122</sup> Much like the standard types under Constantine, there were a few exceptions to this rule. Representing this more “specific” type, the FEL TEMP REPARATIO type is also one of the more diverse in terms of its iconographic variations.<sup>123</sup> Commemorating the eleven-hundredth anniversary of Rome on April 21, 348—this type celebrated the “restoration of fortunate times” and continued to do so throughout the coins of Constans and Constantius II.<sup>124</sup> Featuring a wide variety of iconography that emphasized the

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<sup>121</sup> Another concurrent reverse type with the same geographic distribution (Lyon, Trier, Arles, Aquileia, Siscia, Thessalonica, Heraclea, Constantinople, Cyzicus, Antioch, and Alexandria) is one with the legend GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS (Appendix V, no. 237).

<sup>122</sup> GLORIA EXERCITVS (Appendix V, no. 237) at Trier, Lyon, Arles, Rome, Siscia, Thessalonica, Heraclea, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Antioch, Alexandria; GLORIA REIPVBLICAE (Appendix V, no. 363) at Arles, Thessalonica, Constantinople, Trier, Rome, Sirmium, Siscia, Constantinople, Cyzicus, Antioch, Nicomedia, Heraclea, Lyon, Aquileia; SECVRITAS REIPVB (Appendix V, no. 496) at Lyon, Arles, Aquileia, Siscia, Sirmium, Thessalonica, Heraclea, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Antioch; SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE (Appendix, no. 167) at Lyon, Arles, Rome, Aquileia, Sirmium, Thessalonica, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Antioch; SPES REIPVBLICE (Appendix V, no. 166) at Trier, Lyon, Rome, Aquileia, Siscia, Sirmium, Thessalonica, Heraclea, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Alexandria; VIRTVS EXERCITVS ROMANORVM (Appendix V, no. 490) at Rome, Thessalonica, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Antioch, Siscia, Sirmium; VIRTVS EXERCITVS (Appendix, no. 234) at Lyon, Arles, Rome, Sirmium, Thessalonica; VOTIS series (Appendix V, nos. 336, 524) at Siscia, Heraclea, Constantinople, Cyzicus, Antioch, Alexandria, Thessalonica, Lyon, Arles, Nicomedia, Sirmium, Aquileia, and Rome.

<sup>123</sup> The range of iconography includes: the emperor on a ship (Appendix V, no. 397, 401), a falling horseman (Appendix V, no. 402), the capture of enemies (Appendix V, no. 391-392, 396, 398, 437), two soldiers (Appendix V, no. 417), a phoenix on a rocky mound (Appendix V, no. 400), and a phoenix on a globe (Appendix V, no. 399).

<sup>124</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, 38-42, Seth William Stevenson, C. Roach Smith, and Frederic W. Madden, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins Republican and Imperial* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969), 378-379.

glory and might of the empire, this type was produced—in one form or another—at every single active mint in the empire between 348 and 361.<sup>125</sup>

When interpreting the meaning of these “standard” types, one must be mindful of a few key points. With the possible exception of the Roma/Constantinopolis series, each of the standard types mentioned project themes of a generalized significance that is applicable to the entirety of the empire. In other words, they are standard types because they all translate well iconographically and thematically in all parts of the empire. Regardless of location, these would have been seen as issue or ideas of common importance or identity. It may be argued that even the Roma/Constantinopolis series falls under this rubric as it may be seen as an important communication about the unification of the empire.<sup>126</sup>

### *Idiosyncratic Types*

While it is tempting to interpret the increasing popularity of these standardized types as a sign of the increasing irrelevance of minting location, it is important to understand that these types only represent a portion of the coins minted during the fourth century. In fact, there are far more coin types produced by a single mint (or a limited number of mints) than coin types produced by all active mints at the time of production. Although many coin types minted in a single location bear themes very similar to those of some standard types or other single-location types, just as many are unique and sometimes evoke the concerns or qualities of that location.

While it is not the goal of the following section to give a comprehensive analysis of all

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<sup>125</sup> Another standard type that refers to a specific event or concept is the type dedicated to the deceased Constantine the Great (Appendix V, no. 265), depicting the veiled emperor in a quadriga with the hand of God reaching down to him.

<sup>126</sup> This series is, of course, far more complex than is stated here. Issues regarding this series as well as the representation of Rome and Constantinople will be explored further in the next chapter.

idiosyncratic coins from the Constantinian Dynasty, it will explore the types of variation one may expect to find among this coin set.

Much like the standard coins discussed above, many of the themes on these coins are of general significance to the empire, its goals, and its values. Themes such as the victory or prowess of the military;<sup>127</sup> the peaceful or successful nature of the state;<sup>128</sup> and the piety of the emperor or empress<sup>129</sup> are all express on coins from different mints but the iconography of no two mints are entirely alike. Despite the similarities among these types, they do not appear to be responding to a single, central order from the emperor or his closest bureaucrats. Although it may not convey an almost autonomous image of local identities, this type of variety seems to indicate that there was some freedom to work within the restraints of imperial at the local level. This is very similar to Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou's insistence that provincial mints had a

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<sup>127</sup> For example: FIDES EXERCITVVM, Two standards; between them a pole on top of which is a wreath surmounted by an eagle (Appendix V, no. 493) at Arles; GLORIA EXERCITVM Emperor in military dress stg., holding standard with Chi-Rho on banner, and resting hand on shield. (Appendix V, no. 348) at Thessalonica; VICTORIA EXERCITVS ROMANORM, Solider helmeted stg. head, holding trophy over shoulder; he places his other hand on the head of a captive crouching, (Appendix V, no. 504) at Siscia; etc. For more examples see Appendix V.

<sup>128</sup> For example: FELICITAS AVGG NN, Felicitas std. holding globe and olive branch, (Appendix V, no. 22) at London; FELICITAS AVGVSTA Felicitas stg., holding olive branch, transverse scepter. (Appendix V, no. 161) at Rome; FELICITAS SAECVLI Felicitas stg., holding olive branch in raised hand, and scepter (Appendix V, no. 69) at Rome; FELICITAS PVBLICA, Euphrates semi-nude reclining, elbow on water jug, holding fish and rudder, reeds in background, (Appendix V, no. 248) at Constantinople; PAX PERPETVA, Pax stg. front, looking, legs crossed, olive branch in hand holding transverse scepter, leaning on column, (Appendix V, no. 101) at Rome, etc. See Appendix V for more examples.

<sup>129</sup> For example: LARGITIO, Emperor, diademed, enthroned facing, holding scroll and feet rest on footstool. Roma helmeted stands, one hand on the Emperor's shoulder and her other holding spear. Res Publica, turreted, bows towards the Emperor and extends a fold of her robe to receive largesse from his hand, (Appendix V, no. 405) at Rome; PIETAS AVGVSTAE, Empress nimbate, facing on throne set on platform decorated with garlands, holding child in lap, Felicitas stg. with caduceus, Pietas stg.; on either side of platform, Genius with wreath, (Appendix V, no. 144) at Trier; PIETAS AVGVSTES, Empress stg., dr., carrying child on arm, offering apple, (Appendix V, no. 162) at Rome; PIETAS AVGVSTI N, Emperor in military dress, stg., holding scepter, assisting kneeling, turreted female, crowned by Victory, holding palm branch, (Appendix V, no. 152) at Nicomedia; etc. See Appendix V for more examples.

relative autonomy that was constrained by limitations set by the state.<sup>130</sup> While these constraints may be much more restrictive, the some remains of such negotiations may be seen in these coins.

The distribution of certain themes seems to indicate that some issues or forms of visual language—while of some imperial significance—had a special resonance with certain cities or parts of the empire. One matter that seems to be (for the most part) geographically contingent are the on-going battles against the many “barbarian” tribes of northern Europe. Coin reverses portraying the defeat of the Sarmatians, the Franks, the Goths and the Alamanni seem to be most heavily represented in London, Trier, Arles, Lyon, Ticinum, and eventually in Siscia and Sirmium.<sup>131</sup> Most commonly depicting a defeated personification of a tribe under a spear-bearing trophy, the coins minted in these locales coincide with—or follow—decisive victories over Franks and Alamanni (315-318) in the lower Rhine region and over the Samartians (323-324) in the region of Pannonia.<sup>132</sup> This type of coin iconography becomes more frequent the closer the city is to the violence of these incursions. While these victories are of greater importance to the emperor and the empire, it seems understandable that these types of coins would be prominent in these areas, showing how certain mints often echo local concerns and sources of pride.

Another localized phenomenon occurs late in Constantine’s life, following the consecration of Constantinople as the imperial capital. While the most overtly pagan gods and symbols were gradually removed from Constantinian coin iconography by 324, the presence of

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<sup>130</sup> Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou “‘Belonging’ to Rome, ‘Remaining’ Greek: Coinage and Identity in Roman Macedonia” in *Roman Provincial Coinage* by Christopher Howgego, Volker Heuchert, and Andrew Burnett, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 95-114.

<sup>131</sup> See Appendix V, nos. 138, 94, 147.

<sup>132</sup> Michael Kulikowski, “Constantine and the Northern Barbarians” in *The Cambridge Companion to Constantine* by Noel Lenski, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 358-359.



prominently displayed Christian symbolism remained almost non-existent during his reign.<sup>133</sup>

One notable exception to this trend is the SPES PVBLIC type (Appendix V, no. 207), which features a labarum with a clearly displayed Christogram piercing a serpent. Only minted in Constantinople, this coin type is a clear contrast from the neutrality that characterized the nature religious symbolism in the numismatic record at the time. While this could mean many things, one aspect of this situation seems to be clear. The emperor did not have a consistent and unified relationship with all of his mints. Location seems to play a major role in what coin iconography used whether it is a particular location communicating with imperial powers or imperial power communicating with a particular location.

Another idiosyncratic type—or rather series of idiosyncratic types—worth mentioning here is a series of bronzes from 377 to 364 featuring a variety of Egyptian deities.<sup>134</sup> Issued only by Rome, this series has been dismissed by Harl as “pseudo-coins” that “did not function as true currency.”<sup>135</sup> He believes that they were tokens (or contorniates) commissioned by the Roman senate to be given away for the festivals of Isis and Serapis.<sup>136</sup> Despite the possibility of these coins not serving as legal tender, their medium speaks for itself. Minting coin-like tokens to distribute among the masses shows an initiative to use the numismatic medium for the promotion of local interests. Also, their value as raw material would have remained the same despite their intended purpose. Although these coins confound attempts to ascertain local significance, the

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<sup>133</sup> One prominent exception is the Christogram sometimes subtly present on Constantine’s helmet at coins minted at Ticinum. See Andrea Alföldi, “The Helmet of Constantine with the Christian Monogram” *The Journal of Roman Studies*. 22 (1932): 9-23. Especially plate IV, fig. 17.

<sup>134</sup> Appendix V, 306, 338, 441, 464, 509-516.

<sup>135</sup> Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 96.

<sup>136</sup> Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 96. Also see: Andreas Alföldi, *A Festival of Isis in Rome under the Christian Emperors of the Fourth Century* (1937), 30-59 and Andreas Alföldi, *Die Kontorniat-Medallion* (1976): 15, 48-57. The major thrust of Alföldi’s interpretation is that fourth-century contorniates were produced by local officials at “unofficial” mints, outside the authority of the emperor. Recently, however, Alföldi’s findings are being overturned by studies by Peter Mittag and Antonia Holden. See Peter F. Mittag, *Alte Köpfe in neuen Händen: Urheber und Funktion der Kontorniaten*. (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1999) and Antonia Holden, “The Abduction of the Sabine Women in Context: The Iconography of Late Antique Contorniate Medallions,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 112 (2008): 121-142. For more discussion within this thesis, see Chapter Five, pages 91-92.

sheer number and variety of these so-called “Isis-types” exhibits a dedication to this highly idiosyncratic theme that is unparalleled throughout the empire at this time.

The final single-location coin type—those representing the qualities of the local—is perhaps the most infrequently used. Only three mints seem to yield these idiosyncrasies: Trier, Rome, and Constantinople. The importance of these three cities to Constantine and his progeny must not be overlooked. As known imperial centers, these cities would have had the material resources and the indulgence (if not encouragement) of the emperor, facilitating a certain amount of self-promotion.

The capital of Constantine’s initial territories, Trier remained an important location both strategically and symbolically throughout his reign. As a mint, the city is known for its relative independence from the rest of the empire’s minting activities, producing many coin types with theme not seen elsewhere.<sup>137</sup> An early medallion (Appendix V, no. 29) shows how a city may be represented on a coin through architecture and landscape. The reverse of the coin presents a landscape featuring what are probably Trier’s city gates complete with the statue of the emperor and a river with a bridge (likely the Rhine). While this may never have bore any compelling resemblance to the city itself, the amount of detail present evokes a sense of specificity not present in other representations of architecture on coins at this time. Its unassuming legend (GLORIA AVGG) could generally refer to the “glory of the emperors,” but juxtaposed with this scene it may refer to Trier itself as the “glory of emperors.”

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<sup>137</sup> Some examples include: AETERNA GLORIA SENAT P Q R Two Emperors nimbate, stg. Facing in elephant quadriga; on either side, licitor; Emperor raising hand, (Appendix V, no. 183); INNVMERI TR-IVMFI AVG-N Emperors nimbate stg. in elephant quadriga; on either side, licitor; One raises hand with victory and palm branch crowning Emperor in chariot; four mahouts (or lictors), (Appendix V, no. 188), PON MAX TEIEPPPPROGS Em Emperor, std. togate, holding orb, (Appendix V, no. 5); VBERTAS SAE-CVLI Three Monetae, each holding balance and cornucopia, (Appendix V, no. 133), VBERTAS SAECVLI Ubertas stg., dr., holding balance with two scales and cornucopia, (Appendix V, no. 132), etc.

With its long and rich iconographic tradition, it is not surprising that Rome has the greatest variety of these coin types. While Roma and the twins are present on coins minted throughout the empire, there are plenty of distinctly Roman attributes that are only found on the coins minted in Rome. This tradition seems to become richer after the death of Constantine the Great. During his life there were coins featuring stories of Rome's origins: Aeneas and the she-wolf nursing the twins, but afterward, there was further exploration and elaboration of those themes. With his successors, there are coins featuring not only staples such as Roma,<sup>138</sup> Romulus and Remus,<sup>139</sup> and Aeneas,<sup>140</sup> but there was also the addition of the rape of the Sabine women.<sup>141</sup>

Like Roma, the personification of Constantinopolis was minted on coins all over the empire. As the youngest capital of the empire, Constantinople was quick to build a visual language in order to have a visual presence throughout the rest of the empire. Certain types featuring the city, however, were only minted in Constantinople itself. One features the Tyche of Constantinople seated on a throne with her feet on a prow (Appendix V, no. 224) while another depicts the personification of the city accompanied by Victory, accepting offerings from a suppliant (Appendix V, no. 517). Although most likely a reflection of rank conferred more or less directly by the emperor, the ability mint coins that celebrated some form of civic identity was likely to have been a source of local pride and considered a privilege as well as a right.

## Conclusions

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<sup>138</sup> Appendix V, nos. 108, 256, 307, 324, 386, 394, 405, 414, 442, 462.

<sup>139</sup> Appendix V, nos. 229, 235.

<sup>140</sup> Appendix V, no. 228.

<sup>141</sup> Appendix V, no. 467.

## Variation and Standardization: A Survey of the Material

As has been demonstrated by this brief survey, standardization and variation among reverse types existed on multiple levels. While there were a considerable amount of types that were completely standard among mints, there were just as many types that appear to be independent from the activities of other mints. Some mints were more autonomous than others, and no two mints had an identical output in type or number. While there seems to be an expectation among scholars that there was an efficient, centrally controlled bureaucracy, the apparent inconsistencies of its implementation must be addressed.

Much like the processes of Romanization and acculturation discussed in the previous chapter, the results of this survey cannot be subsumed under a single explanation or process but rather multiple processes occurring at once. As alluded to above, there are several possible scenarios that may have resulted in the inconsistent state of the numismatic record. One simple explanation is that of oversight and simple human error in the handing down and execution of some central orders. If an efficient system can be reasonably assumed, then there may have been less error and more indifference regarding certain local affairs, allowing a relative amount of autonomy in some decisions. A third possibility is that the record is inconsistent because it was meant to be, and the relationship between the emperor and individual mints was contingent on each mint's (physical and political) location. Given the size and complexity of the systems at work, it is likely that each one of these scenarios played a role in constructing such idiosyncratic minting activities.

Regardless of what processes were at work and when, there are some facts that can be assumed. The assertion of localized identities—no matter how centrally controlled—must have contributed greatly to how location was conceived and the role it played in the geopolitical landscape of the empire at this time. This is especially true regarding the proliferation of coins

depicting both Rome and Constantinople in multiple guises. As the focus of the following chapter, this phenomenon lends a unique insight into how center and periphery were viewed, constructed and perhaps intentionally obscured at this stage in late antiquity.

## **Chapter Four**

### **The Continuation of Civic Coinage in Constantinople and Rome**

#### **Introduction**

As two cities that retain some identity on coins throughout the Constantinian Dynasty, the minting activity of Rome and Constantinople between 326 and 364 yield a particularly interesting perspective on the continued presence of political geography on coins in late antiquity. While the juxtaposition of these two cities' coins may not be considered a self-conscious "dialogue" in the truest sense of the word, the high concentration of civic iconography emerging from both mints sets them apart from the rest empire. This common bond may be seen as a type of interaction that—while most likely unconscious—exemplifies some processes of civic and imperial promotion during this period. The major objective of this chapter is to isolate these different processes and negotiate their often-ambiguous role in cultivating and promoting local or imperial identity.

The localities of Rome and Constantinople were present on coins in variety of guises. One of the most ubiquitous of these guises would have to be the cities personified in the female form. For the sake of clarity, these personifications will be referred to as Roma and Constantinopolis while the cities themselves (as locations) will be referred to as Rome and Constantinople throughout this chapter. The figures of Roma and Constantinopolis have enjoyed some sustained attention in the field of Roman art history with some increased attention in recent

years.<sup>142</sup> According to these scholars, manifestations of both personifications are not always straightforward and are subject to some measure of variety. For this reason, it is necessary to examine this scholarship as well as the development of both images in their varying forms.

Local identity is also proliferated through historical/mythological narratives. As the city with the longest narrative, this type of identity is best represented in Rome. Scenes related to the city's mythic origins—the she-wolf nursing the twins, the rape of the Sabine, and the flight of Aeneas—have been present (in some cases exclusively) on coins minted in Rome.<sup>143</sup> With a history that is comparatively shorter than Rome, Constantinople relies primarily on the image of Constantinopolis, but references to the victory at Chrysopolis at Constantinople may also constitute an origin story through which identity can be explored.<sup>144</sup> These different types of identity and their special relationship with minting location will be fully explained in the sections below.

In order to understand the fullest possible range of processes or interactions present in the numismatic record, the different types of interactions isolated in the previous chapter will have to be examined. This means it will also be necessary to understand the presence of Rome and Constantinople on empire-wide “standard issues.” Because one may assume a higher degree of

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<sup>142</sup> **General sources:** Jessica Hughes, “Personifications and the Ancient Viewer: The Case of the Hiaraneum ‘Nations’” *Art History* 32 (2009): 1-20; Percy Gardner, “Countries and Cities in Ancient Art” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9 (1888): 47-81; **Roma:** Patrick Kent, “Urbs Roma and Constantinopolis Medallions at the Mint of Rome” in *Scripta Nummaria Romana: Essays Presented to Humphrey Sutherland* by R.A.G. Carson and Colin M. Kraay, eds. London: Spink and Sons, 105-113. Kenneth J. Pratt, “Rome as Eternal” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 26 (1965): 25-44; Roger Rees, “Images and Image: A Re-Examination of Tetrarchic Iconography” *Greece & Rome* 40 (1993): 181-200; Cornelius Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire* (London: Spink and Sons, 1974); **Constantinopolis:** Fotini Ntantalia, *Bronzemedallionen unter Konstantin dem Grossen und seinen Söhnen: die Bildtypen der Constantinopolis und die kaiserliche Medallionsprägung von 330-363 n. Chr.* (Saarbrücke: Archäologisches Institut der Universität des Saarlandes, 2001); **Roma and Constantinopolis:** Gudrun Bühl, *Constantinopolis und Roma: Stadtpersonifikationen der Spätantike* (Liverpool: National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside, 1995); Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, “Charlemagne’s Silver Tables: The Ideology of an Imperial Capital” *Early Medieval Europe* 12 (2003): 159-178; S. MacCormack, “Roma, Constantinopolis, the Emperor, and His Genius” *The Classical Quarterly* 25 (1975): 131-150; and JMC Toyenbee, “Roma and Constantinopolis in Late-Antique Art from 312 to 365” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 37 (1947): 135-144.

<sup>143</sup> Twins: Appendix V, nos. 229, 235, Aeneas: Appendix V, no. 228, Sabine: Appendix V, no. 467.

<sup>144</sup> Appendix V, no. 205, 216, 236, etc.

centralized control from these types, a voice regarding the intersections of local and imperial identity can be isolated. These may be considered both different and similar to voices that may be considered more “local.” Given the increased ambiguity between notions of center and periphery during this period (as discussed in chapter two), the presence of differing voices may not be entirely unexpected. These “voices”—or attitudes—may include expressions of civic or imperial pride by local officials or the emperor. Considering the total variety of processes, it is the contention of this chapter—as well as this thesis as a whole—that despite the increased efficiency and strength of centralized authority, coins were still a source of multiple attitudes regarding location within the empire.

### **The Images of Roma and Constantinopolis**

Defining physical localities in terms of humanity has a long history in the ancient world and its art. In fact, this history is so long that human physicality is integrally linked to the concept of the city itself. As Gardner aptly states,

Cities may be regarded in two lights. Firstly, they may be considered as collections of houses, with public buildings, market-places, and walls; as features of the natural landscape; as definite localities, with form, arrangement, and parts. Secondly, they may be regarded as bodies politic; as masses of inhabitants rather than groups of buildings; as personal rather than local. And it is obvious that by far the greatest interest attaches them in the second aspect. In the first, however beautiful, they are but material, outward and visible; in the second they are living, spiritual, and people who make their city in its physical aspect, and it is only interesting as incorporating history, and representing their character.<sup>145</sup>

These “bodies politic” were naturally understood quite literally in terms of the human body.

Gardner roots this tradition in the Greeks’ understanding of a city’s human character but even

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<sup>145</sup> Gardner, “Countries and Cities in Ancient Art,” 47. Toynbee (“Roma and Constantinopolis in Late-Antique Art from 312-365,” 135) echoes this sentiment: “Tychai of other localities symbolized [a people’s] collective existence and psychology, and either the communal dignity and good fortune which they enjoyed, through heaven’s grace, as member’s of the Empire.”



more so to their proclivity toward representing the human form.<sup>146</sup> These civic personifications often seem to transcend distance the between the metaphor and its subject to embody the total identity of a city. Because of this close connection between the character of personification and physical locality, the visual manifestations of these figures are of vital importance.<sup>147</sup> The following section will trace the development of the images of Roma and Constantinopolis in Roman art.

### *Roma*

According to Mellor, Roma—as personification and a cult figure—originated in Smyrna with the dedication of the Temple to Roma in the late third century.<sup>148</sup> Long preceding the foundation of the empire, the attributes of Roma as an armed woman were assembled from the representations of previously existent goddesses, personifications, or other female figures. The primary foundation for this image of Roma is the goddess of wisdom and strategic warfare Minerva (Athena in Greek).<sup>149</sup> (Figure 1) Mellor and Vermeule attribute certain characteristics—a single bare breast, a short tunic, etc—of Roma to certain representations of Amazons.<sup>150</sup> (Figure 2) Beginning in the late republic, Roma (when standing) also resembles Virtus,

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<sup>146</sup> Gardner, “Countries and Cities in Ancient Art,” 48. While his interpretation of the trajectory of Greek art is rather value-laden and antiquated, his observation about the human form remains largely sound: “As we approach the culminating point of Greek art [the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE], it centers more and more in the representation of human beings. The tendency to represent every force of nature and every material scene in human guise grows stronger and stronger. And we can easily understand that cities regarded in their higher and more human aspect lent themselves very naturally to this tendency.”

<sup>147</sup> Gardner (“Countries and Cities in Ancient Art,” 48) identifies four major manifestations of cities: 1) a guardian deity, 2) eponymous hero or founder, 3) an allegorical figure, 4) a Tyche (Fortuna). Each of these four categories seem to be used in the various depictions of Rome and Constantinople.

<sup>148</sup> Mellor, *Thea Roma*, 16-17. Because of these eastern foundations, Mellor (*Thea Roma*, 19) believes that Roma and Rhome—the “founder” of Rome in the Aeneas myth—have no real connection with one another.

<sup>149</sup> Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, 65-67. Gardner, “Countries and Cities in Ancient Art,” 65. G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems of the Classical Style* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art Press, 1920), 174.

<sup>150</sup> Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, 29, 31. Mellor, *Thea Roma*, 163.

especially in the absence of clear distinguishing features.<sup>151</sup> (Figure 3) It is possible that these common features emerged due to a mixture of coincidence, direct appropriation, or intentional mutability.

The implications of these common features can be inferred. As armed, warlike females, both Athena and Amazons represented concepts (and localities) associated with strength and militaristic prowess. Mellor implies that the association between warlike behavior and the persona of Roma has merit given the reputation of Rome in the East, where he believes the image first emerged. In Italy, one of the first images can be found on a didrachm from Locri Epizephyrri: “This Amazonian figure crowned by another female figure which can be identified as personified Fides...The coin was issued about 204 BC and, given Rome’s political activity at the time, the military emphasis seems quite appropriate.”<sup>152</sup> (Figure 4) Mellor believes that this coin was minted around 204 when Rome punished Pleminius for his savagery toward the Locrians.<sup>153</sup> With the figures labeled Ρομα (Roma) and Πιστις (Pistis/Fides), the combined iconography and legends celebrate the loyalty and protection of the Locrians.

As an Eastern creation, Mellor also believes that the figure’s strong resemblance to the goddess Athena (in the Phidian image) is also very apropos.<sup>154</sup> In the Greek context, the Athena-type may have been a subversive act: “The Athenians could honor themselves while honoring Roman power: Roma presided over her empire as did Athena in the Parthenon.”<sup>155</sup> Regardless of these very Greek origins, the empire as a goddess and a personification of Rome and its people adopted this image Roma. For the Romans, “the associations of Roma with Athena/Minerva served the purpose of transporting Roma away from the realm of deification to that of deity.

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<sup>151</sup> Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, 29, 65. Mellor, *Thea Roma*, 164.

<sup>152</sup> Mellor, *Thea Roma*, 103-104, 162-163.

<sup>153</sup> Mellor, *Thea Roma*, 109.

<sup>154</sup> Mellor, *Thea Roma*, 163.

<sup>155</sup> Mellor, *Thea Roma*, 104.

And the arts of Athena, both marital and pacific, would have appealed to Rome.”<sup>156</sup> From her origins in Roman art in the third century BCE through the fourth century CE,<sup>157</sup> Roma has been presented in several subtly different permutations.

Vermeule organizes the development of Roma as an image around the cult statue from Hadrian’s Temple of Venus Felix and Roma Aeterna (135-136 CE), stating: “few artists henceforth portrayed Dea Roma in any other way other than directly under the inspiration of the seated cult type.”<sup>158</sup> Four basic types of depiction form the foundation solidified by this cult statue: (1) Roma—in short tunic, crested helmet and high boots—seated on a cuirass with a Corinthian helmet at her feet and surrounded by three or more shields that act as armrests<sup>159</sup> (Figure 5); (2) Roma—in crested helmet and slipped chiton with a himation over the knees—seated on a cuirass, arm resting on shield holding a short spear vertically<sup>160</sup> (Figure 6); (3) Roma—in crested helmet, short tunic, himation, and high boot—seated on a cuirass with two shields holding a spear and a Victoriola (Figure 7); (4) Roma—in short tunic, crested helmet, himation, and high boots—seated on cuirass with a cornucopia, holding a Victoriola<sup>161</sup> (Figure 8).

Although the cult statue from the Temple of Roma Aeterna no longer exists, it survives via the numismatic record. (Figure 9) From this evidence, Vermeule surmises that the statue featured Roma—in a crested helmet, long tunic with mantle—seated on a high-back throne with a footstool propping up her extended left foot. In her right hand, she holds a Victoriola or

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<sup>156</sup> Mellor, *Thea Roma*, 104.

<sup>157</sup> There seems to be some dispute to this dating. While many (Vermeule, for example) allude to the beginning of Roma on coins, but Mellor (*Thea Roma*, 162, n. 224) contests that, stating that Roma did not appear on Roman coins until the second century. Any previous coins were associated with Eastern unaffiliated civic bodies and satrapies.

<sup>158</sup> Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, 30.

<sup>159</sup> Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, 31.

<sup>160</sup> Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, 32.

<sup>161</sup> Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, 34.

palladium while she hold a scepter aloft in her left.<sup>162</sup> Regardless of the problems of ascertaining the degree of likeness between statue and coin,<sup>163</sup> the relative stasis of Roma's image on coins after this time is hard to dispute. One might argue, however, that the image of Roma—as an armed woman—has remained relatively stable since her inception early in Roman history.

The image of Roma in late antiquity—especially the fourth century—has been well explored by scholars. Although most seem to accept the relative continuity of Roma in the image of the Hadrianic cult statue—and perhaps more immediately its Maxentian incarnation—this does not account for, as even Vermeule admits, slight variations in subsequent depictions of the personification on coins.<sup>164</sup> (Figure 10) This has been mostly attributed to the proclivities and skills of die engravers, but one may also interpret it as a reasonable range of variation that has always been associated with the representation of Roma on coins as well as other media.

From the total visual evidence from the fourth to the sixth centuries, certain more variable and less variable attributes can be associated with Rome. The least variable of these attributes is, of course the chiton and the helmet.<sup>165</sup> These most stable of attributes are subject to some variation; the chiton may be long or short while the helmet may have a single plume or multiple plumes. Subject to more variation are the objects she holds in her hands. Most often, she has been portrayed with a variety of orbs, Victory (often on an orb), a spear, or a scepter. These attributes seem to be applied at the whim of the artist or patron and could be readily

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<sup>162</sup> Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, 40.

<sup>163</sup> The reliability of coins as primary evidence of no longer existent monuments has been questioned by a great number of scholars. For a firm grounding in these issues, see the following anthology: George M. Paul, *Roman Coins and Public Life under the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999).

<sup>164</sup> Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, 36-37.

<sup>165</sup> This, of course, cannot be taken as an absolute. There are rare instances where Roma is represented as a Tyche with a turreted crown. For example, a notable example of this is a gold goblet from the fifth century (Bühl, *Roma and Constantinopolis*, fig. 63), which portrays the personifications of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Kypros as Tyches. This does not, however, seem to be an exception that extends to the numismatic record.

associated with the personification in any permutation.<sup>166</sup> In their totality, these examples show the relative variety subject to the figure of Roma. Much of this scholarship about fourth-century Roma (now “Old Rome”), however, is concerned with how she relates to “New Rome.” As will be fully explained in the following section, how Roma is portrayed is often dependent upon how Constantinopolis is portrayed and vice versa.

### *Constantinopolis*

With a much shorter history than that of Roma, the image of Constantinopolis had to manifest much more rapidly rather than develop slowly as her predecessor had. Her newness, however, does not mean that the personification was completely divorced from the iconographic tradition. The image of Constantinopolis manifested in two distinct ways: wearing a turreted crown resembling a Tyche (Fortuna) and as a helmeted female similar to Roma. Joseph Strzygowski, who labeled them the “Tyche-type” and “Roma-type” respectively, first isolated these two modes of depiction.<sup>167</sup> (Figures 11 and 12) While the use of these two types as fixed categories has been thoroughly problematized by Bühl,<sup>168</sup> they remain a useful way to conceptualize the major guises of this complicated figure. These two basic modes of depiction present different aspects of the city with many different overlapping connotations. As Bühl suggests, these overlapping connotations are by no means simplistic or directly referential to a single source image.

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<sup>166</sup> One rare case—a mosaic from Madaba (Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, fig. 62)—portrays Roma with a cornucopia. This does not seem to be common at all and does not seem to extend to the numismatic record or imperial iconography.

<sup>167</sup> Joseph Strzygowski, “Die Tyche von Konstantinopel” *Analecta Graeciensia* 42(1893): 141-153. Cited in Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, 6.

<sup>168</sup> Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, 6. “However this group and types/identifications prove to be, as will be shown, on closer examination questionable and inadequate.” [“Diese Gruppierung und Typen-Bezeichnung erweist sich allderings, wie gezeigt werden wird, bei näherer Betrachtung als fragwürdig und unzulänglich.” Also see Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, 21-40 for her complete critique.]

While the so-called “Tyche-type” does bear many common features with the Hellenistic Tyche, the turreted crown, cornucopia, and branch are neither exclusively Hellenistic nor solely attributed to Tyche. Bühl strongly argues for the multiplicity of associations beyond the monolithic Tyche, citing Res Publica, the Genius of the Roman people, Victoria, Fortuna (Roman Tyche), Liberalitas, and Concordia as examples of figures possessing one or a number of these attributes.<sup>169</sup> This should situate this type within a broad repertoire of female personifications that have been long been since assimilated into Roman imperial iconography.

Although it is important to keep in mind broad potential of these collective attributes, one must not completely deny the importance of Tyche and the Hellenistic tradition to the foundation of Constantinople as a city and the establishment of Constantinopolis as a symbol. As Ramskold and Lenski rather convincingly assert, other aspects of coins featuring Constantinopolis allude to the coins of Hellenistic monarchs.<sup>170</sup> Comparing the dedication medallions of Constantinople (ca. 330 CE) with a tetradrachm minted for Demitrios I Soter (ca. 162-156 BCE), Ramskold and Lenski note commonalities between the two types, which both feature similar seated personifications as well as vertical legends that flank each figure. (Figures 13-14) From this comparison, it seems quite obvious that—at least in some cases—the turreted form of Constantinopolis was meant to recall the tradition of the Hellenistic kingdoms.<sup>171</sup> Confronted with this analysis, it seems prudent to acknowledge that some of the possible meanings of these common traits are more important or applicable to a discussion of Constantinopolis.

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<sup>169</sup> Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, 24. The breakdown of these attributes are as follows: Cornucopia: Concordia, Victoria, Fortuna, Liberalitas, and the Genius of the Roman people. Turreted crown: Res Publica and Genius of the Roman people. Branch: Pax, as well as all of the personifications above.

<sup>170</sup> Lars Ramskold and Noel Lenski, “Constantinople’s Dedication Medallions and the Maintenance of Civic Tradition,” *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 118 (2011). Forthcoming.

<sup>171</sup> Ramskold and Lenski, “Constantinople’s Dedication Medallions,” 10.

## The Continuation of Civic Coinage in Constantinople and Rome

As has been established in the second chapter of this thesis, Roma and Constantinopolis have always been intertwined conceptually. The literary evidence supports the claims that Constantine's new capital was on occasion called a "new Rome" or a "second Rome."<sup>172</sup> Also well grounded in the scholarship, the connection between the two capitals is present in the numismatic record. This is especially evident on the obverse image of Constantinopolis on early bronze folles and bronze medallions minted throughout the empire. On the obverse of coins, bust of Constantinopolis was most frequently depicted wearing a flat-fronted, crested helmet encircled by a laurel wreath. (Figure 12) The figure wore a chiton with an embroidered neckline (or jeweled necklace), draped over the shoulders with a mantel. A knobbed scepter often rested on her shoulder.<sup>173</sup> On concurrent obverses, Roma's bust was similarly—but perhaps more simply—draped with a chiton and mantel. (Figure 15) In contrast, her helmet, while still crested, has a visor but no laurel wreath. Also, there is no scepter resting on her shoulder.<sup>174</sup>

As a long-standing fixture in Roman iconography, a helmeted woman would normally be recognizable to all visually literate Roman citizens as Roma. Given this understanding of Roman iconography, the reference to the older capital is obvious, lending a rough congruency to the figures. While presentation of Roma and Constantinopolis as dual entities will be addressed at greater length later in this chapter, it must be stated here that the differences between these depictions should be seen as just as important as their similarities. When presented together on coin iconography, Constantinopolis usually reverts back to her turreted form, establishing a firm contrast between the two cities. (Figure 16) While this contrast has been used to make claims

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<sup>172</sup> While Bühl (*Constantinopolis und Rome*, 35-40) rejects the epithet "second Rome," the exact terms do not necessarily matter. "Rome" as an epithet has been long associated with cities of imperial occupation and association (see Chapter Two). For a refutation of Bühl's claims, see Ramskold and Lenski, "Constantinople's Dedication Medallions," 18.

<sup>173</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII*, no. 91, p656.

<sup>174</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII*, no. 92, p656.

about which representation of Constantinopolis is “official,”<sup>175</sup> practical implications of materiality should not be ignored. Because of the nature of die engraving, some details are merely less likely to be clear on the reverse of a coin. The presence of two helmeted female figures might have caused some confusion about the identity of the respective personifications.

*The State of the Civic Personification in Late Antiquity*

During the fourth century, however, there were some profound changes to the nature of the relationship between the personification and her city. Unlike the relationship established throughout most of antiquity, there seems to be a greater conceptual distance between personification and city at this time.<sup>176</sup> Inextricably linked to profound changes to imperial organization and their subsequent impact on civic politics, this shift appears to be especially applicable to locations defined as “centers” or capitals—here Rome and Constantinople. As discussed in chapter two, the organization of the empire around a single location is increasingly unstable during the fourth century, resulting in a great deal of ambiguity in the relationship between place and power. With the boundaries between center and periphery becoming increasingly ambiguous, the concept of the city became more mobile, helping to cause this disconnect.

This is especially true in the case of Roma/Rome, which became increasingly irrelevant as a political power—or became “provincialized”—during this period. As a result, the

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<sup>175</sup> Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, 11-15. Also see: Ramskold and Lenski, “Constantinople’s Dedication Medallions,” 19, n. 93.

<sup>176</sup> Vermeule, (*The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, 10-11, 2) has hypothesized that these changes might have resulted from the Christianization of these symbols, making them more “impersonal.” According to this interpretation, the consideration of these personifications as Christian virtues is a universalizing gesture, which complicates the direction connection be between personification and city. Toynbee (“Roma and Constantinopolis in Late-Antique Art from 312 to 365,” 135) attributes personifications’ “secondary” status as a factor in their adoption as universal virtues. Harl (*Civic Politics and Civic Coins*, 104) also cites Christianity as a “universalizing” force. While Christianization may be seen as a contributing factor, the historical and cultural developments discussed in Chapter Two must also be considered.



personification inhabited a nebulous position between provincial and imperial identities. On one hand, the Rome can be seen as being increasingly irrelevant as a “political body.”

Simultaneously, Roma—as a repository for imperial history and identity—was actively used by the state as a symbol even if its city was becoming increasingly obsolete in the grand scheme of imperial politics. This shift effectively creates two separate entities: Roma, the symbol, and Rome the physical location and political body. While—to some extent—this distinction may have always existed for the image of Roma, Rome’s position as the physical and political “center” of the empire before the beginning of the second century remained largely unquestioned. As a result, such a distinction would have been considered irrelevant in defining Roma’s/Rome’s status and meaning throughout the empire.

A similar comment may be made about Constantinople. Arguably, the so-called “City of Constantine” could be openly accepted as a symbol the power and administration of the empire as a whole under Constantine. While the link between the two is undeniable, it is by no means absolute and immutable. Although it may seem impossible or even foolish to attempt to find local significance within a personification with such a broad significance, a discussion of the numismatic evidence will show, however, the meaning and use of these entities are far from are far from static. Depending on the context—i.e. minting location—the connection between physical locality and personification may be closer or more distant. These varying degrees of this conceptual distance as well as the overall ambiguity of these symbols raise a rather interesting discussion about the role of minting location and local identity in fourth-century numismatics.

### **Roma and Constantinopolis on Standard Types**

## The Continuation of Civic Coinage in Constantinople and Rome

As has been introduced in the preceding chapter, the images of both Roma and Constantinopolis were proliferated throughout the empire after the city's dedication in 330 CE. When present on coin these so-called standard types, the images of Roma and Constantinopolis tend to promote the duality of the two Roman "capitals." The juxtaposition of these two figures can be categorized in two ways: a parallel series of coins featuring Roma and Constantinopolis and the incorporation of both personifications on reverses.

Mentioned briefly in the above discussion of the so-called "Roma-type" of Constantinopolis, the phenomenon of the parallel series was meant to further intertwine the images of the two most significant cities in the empire. To commemorate the dedication of Constantinople abroad, all active mints released a parallel series of bronze *folles* in 330 with one type featuring Roma<sup>177</sup> and another featuring Constantinopolis<sup>178</sup>:

- 1) *Obv.* VRBS ROMA, a bust of Roma—facing left—wearing the Roman crested helmet with a visor and a tunic covered with a mantel.  
*Rev.* [no legend], the she-wolf nursing the twins Romulus and Remus. (Figure 17)
- 2) *Obv.* CONSTANTINOPOLIS, a bust of Constantinopolis—facing left—wearing a Corinthian crested helmet crowned with a laurel wreath and an embellished or bejeweled chiton covered with a mantel. Over her left shoulder is a knobbed scepter.  
*Rev.* [no legend], a winged Victory advancing with her feet on the prow of a many-oared warship.<sup>179</sup> (Figure 18)

These coins are not only parallel in their concurrent minting throughout the empire. Both the Roma-type and the Constantinopolis-type in this series also share parallel iconographic and

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<sup>177</sup> Appendix V, no. 235.

<sup>178</sup> Appendix V, no. 236.

<sup>179</sup> The identification of what is often identified as a merely a "prow"—an apparent mistake by Brunn (*RIC VII*, 578, no. 53)—as a warship can be attributed to Ramskold and Lenski ("Constantinople's Dedication Medallions," 2 n. 4).

stylistic elements. On their obverses, the female personification of each city is represented as a bust. The rendering of these busts, as previously mentioned, were carefully cultivated to resemble one another as well as signify their individual city. In this case, the form of Constantinopolis is molded according to the traditional image of Roma, which would have been very recognizable to anyone who viewed these coins.<sup>180</sup>

The reverses of each type depict some aspect of the city's origins or foundation. The Roma-type features the twins Romulus and Remus being nursed by the she-wolf. The legend of the twins as one of the most popular of the foundation myths has been well discussed in other scholarship<sup>181</sup> and does not need to be address here, but it should be stated that this is the only attribute of Rome (other than Roma herself) that is can be found on coins minted outside of Rome during the fourth century. On the Constantinopolis-type, the Victory with her foot on the warship most likely recalls the decisive naval victory against Licinius at Chrysopolis in 324, which gave Constantine control over the whole of the Roman Empire. This included Byzantium—the city that would become Constantinople.<sup>182</sup> While Victory on a prow, or ship, has been used to refer to naval victories since the republic, the timing and placement of this symbol indicate the recollection of this specific battle.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Parallels of this minting activity can be found in the series of imperial medallions of the Tetrarchy, which featured types with almost identical busts of the Tetrarchs on similar obverse legends. This has also been interpreted as promoting unity, reciprocity, and equality among the co-rulers. See: Catherine Walden, "The Tetrarchic Image" *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 9 (1990): 221-235.

<sup>181</sup> See Timothy Peter Wiseman, *Remus: A Roman Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Wiseman (*Remus*, xiii) echoes this sentiment: "With the possible exception of the Trojan Horse, there is no scene in the whole iconography of classical myth more recognizable than the she-wolf and twins." Also see Jane DeRose Evans, *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1992).

<sup>182</sup> Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, 9. Lenski, "The Reign of Constantine," *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, 76-77.

<sup>183</sup> This tradition may be traced back even further to Hellenistic sculptures such as the Nike of Samothrace.

## The Continuation of Civic Coinage in Constantinople and Rome

In its own way, the recollection of this naval victory can be seen as a foundation story, especially for a city that did not provide any particularly grandiose or mythic origins.<sup>184</sup> Combined with the parallels drawn between the likenesses of the personifications, the juxtaposition of origin stories connects the rather recent origins of Constantinople to the long established origins of Rome. This entire series may be seen as a legitimizing gesture, proclaiming the “Roman” identity of the new eastern capital.

When included within the same composition, different aspects of this relationship between Roma and Constantinopolis begin to emerge. There are two standard types that best illustrate the latter phenomenon:

- 1) Obv. D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG, Bust of Constantius II either facing with helmet, shield and spear or in profile with diadem.  
Rev. GLORIA REI PVBLICAE, Roma and Constantinopolis enthroned holding a wreath with a Vota inscription between them. Often, Constantinopolis faces a mostly frontal Roma.<sup>185</sup> (Figure 19)
- 2) Obv. IOVIANVS P F AVG, bust of a diademed Jovian in profile.  
Rev. SECVRITAS REI PVBLICAE, Roma and Constantinopolis enthroned holding a wreath with a Vota inscription between them. Often, Constantinopolis faces a mostly frontal Roma.<sup>186</sup> (Figure 20)

Minted all over the empire under several emperors throughout the second half of the fourth century, these *solidi* often commemorated several anniversaries of an emperor’s rule.<sup>187</sup> As

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<sup>184</sup> This problem facing Constantine and his new city is thoroughly discussed by Van Dam (*Rome and Constantinople*, 50-62).

<sup>185</sup> Appendix V, no. 363.

<sup>186</sup> Appendix V, no. 502.

<sup>187</sup> Toynbee, “Roma and Constantinopolis,” 138-139. Constantius II, Constans, Constantine II, Julian, and Jovian all used this iconography as different point in their reign.

alluded to earlier in the chapter, Roma and Constantinopolis are presented in two distinct ways. While Roma is in her conventional helmet, seated much like the Hadrianic cult statue, Constantinopolis, turreted, faces left holding a cornucopia and scepter with a warship/prow at her feet. In its many incarnations, however, there are slight variations among the iconography. While some may attribute some significance to these differences, their manifestation seems to be rather random and may be the result of simple die variations.

The juxtaposition of these two figures indicates, much like the parallel series, some kind of association, but the nature of this duality has several degrees of interpretation in the scholarship. In her seminal work on the image of Roma and Constantinopolis, Toynbee asserts “the primacy of Roma as still ‘*prima urbes inter divum domus, aurea Roma*.’”<sup>188</sup> On the iconography of these reverses, Toynbee states, “Now for the first time Roma and Constantinopolis appear on the imperial coinage side by side, not as equals, indeed, but as pendant, or sister cities.”<sup>189</sup> This perceived inequality is based on how Toynbee characterizes Constantinopolis as “[gazing] deferentially towards her senior partner.”<sup>190</sup> Toynbee is not alone in her interpretation of Roma’s dominance. Dagron and Stern seem to agree based on Roma’s placement to the left of Constantinopolis, which is in some cases a position of honor and power.<sup>191</sup>

While these may be valid interpretations of this type of reverse, Bühl has a different assessment of the material. Looking at several different incarnations of this iconography, she concludes that Constantinopolis and Roma are not always positioned in the same way. While

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<sup>188</sup> Toynbee, “Roma and Constantinopolis,” 142. The Latin quote is from Ausonius, *Ordo urbium nobelium*, 1.

<sup>189</sup> Toynbee, “Roma and Constantinopolis,” 138.

<sup>190</sup> Toynbee, “Roma and Constantinopolis,” 138.

<sup>191</sup> Gilbert Dagron, Naissance d’ une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451. *Bibliothèque Byzantine, Etudes* 7 (1974): 51. and Henri Stern, Le calendrier der 354. Etude sure son texte et ses illustrations *Bibliothèque archéologique et histoire* 55(1953): 125. Both sources cited from Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, 48.

much of the time Roma is facing forward, sometimes the personifications are facing each other. (Figure 21) As a result, Bühl concludes that Constantinopolis faces left not in deference but out of representational necessity. In order to be able to see prow under the feet of Constantinopolis, her figure needs to be seen from the side.<sup>192</sup> According to this interpretation, it is most important that Constantinopolis be properly identified via the prow than the maintenance of symmetry. For this reason, Bühl believes that the relationship between Roma and Constantinopolis on these reverses is one of iconographical contrast but also one of equality in power and significance.

A look at different media may reinforce this interpretation. Throughout late antiquity, Roma and Constantinopolis were often portrayed in a variety of media as pendant figures. This is most evident in the great number of ivory diptychs from the fourth through the ninth centuries. The so-called “Vienna diptych”—dated from around the ninth century—dedicates a panel to each personification.<sup>193</sup> (Figure 22) On the left panel, Roma stands heavily draped wearing her traditional helmet. She holds a scepter in her right hand and a Victory on a globe in her left. The right panel is a depiction of Constantinopolis in her usual turreted crown with a torch in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left. A winged putti rests on her right shoulder. The mostly frontal position of their bodies and heads promote the rough equality of Constantinopolis to Roma. The identical architectural setting—a gabled roof supported by two Corinthian columns with fine scrollwork and egg and dart patterning—that houses the figures reinforces this sense of equality.<sup>194</sup>

Both figures may have also directly associated with consular power. This trend seems apparent on sixth-century consular diptychs of Clementinus, Orestes, and Magnus, which portray

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<sup>192</sup> Toynbee, “Roma and Constantinopolis,” 47.

<sup>193</sup> The dating of this diptych seems to be open to some interpretation; Bühl (*Roma und Constantinopolis*, 187) entertains the possibility of an earlier date.

<sup>194</sup> There is a slight turn of Roma’s head toward Constantinopolis, but this is very subtle.

Roma and Constantinopolis in the background flanking a seated consul. (Figures 23-25) While there is some controversy as to exact identification of each personification, it is generally accepted that the two figures are Roma and Constantinopolis.<sup>195</sup> The personification—often identified as Constantinopolis—on the left wears a multi-plumed helmet and holds an orb and a scepter. On the right, the figure has a single-plumed helmet, raising one hand while carrying a branch in the other. Like the above diptych, the personifications are presented frontally; any turn of the head among the three examples seems to be very slight and adhering to no specific pattern. It is important to note that the prow is absent from both depictions of Constantinopolis, which may have been obscured by the frontal position. While it is difficult to be certain why the prow has been eliminated by from the iconography of Constantinopolis, one might speculate that the victory at Chrysopolis may have become less important to imperial propaganda as time passed, especially since the prow severely limited the variety of compositions available for the personification.

As established the previous chapter, the issuing of standard types constitutes a different sort of interaction between center and periphery. Because these types were minted in all areas, with little variation, and roughly concurrently, they may be assumed to be a concerted effort on behalf of the emperor and his administration to proliferate a more or less cohesive message throughout the empire. Whatever interpretation one may adopt of this “duality,” it is clear that Roma and other attributes of Rome on these standard types operate as symbols for the collective history of the empire as a whole through the identification with the history of “Old Rome.” This takes precedent over any reference to the city itself as a civic unit that has any special claim to

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<sup>195</sup> Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, 208. The difficulty stems from the complicated series of attributes for each figure. Both are helmeted but the figure on the left has a helmet with multiple plumes while the one on the right has only one. Toynbee identifies the multi-plumed helmet, which may most recall the turreted crown, with Constantinopolis.

this past over the rest of the empire. This particular invocation of Rome underscores the distinction made above between the physical and symbolic. In this case what one may have considered the local in another context is universalized and dislocated in order to serve a much broader (imperial) purpose.

The promotion of this “dual nature” through these standard types, however, is only evidence of one of many possible types of interaction that occur between center and periphery in the numismatics of the Constantinian Dynasty. A closer look at the minting activities of Constantinople and Rome will highlight some of the other potential interactions. Here special attention will be given to the idiosyncratic types, which appear to promote some unique notions about the positioning of the local within the imperial iconographic framework and vice versa.

### **Constantinople**

The revival or “maintenance” of civic coinage has been recently discussed in relation to coins struck in Constantinople, and this promises to be a field for the discussion about the remnants of “civic” coinage in late antiquity. This new line of inquiry is marked by Ramskold and Lenski’s forthcoming publication about a parallel series of dedication medallions, which “constitute something of a brief return to the tradition of civic coinage.”<sup>196</sup> (Figure 13) Their contention is based on the appropriative use of the aforementioned Tyche figure, a traditional civic symbol, as a form for the newly personified Constantinople and the idiosyncrasy of the issue. While Ramskold and Lenski’s argument and these specific dedication medallions will not be fully recounted here, there are a few examples from this mint that may corroborate their

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<sup>196</sup> Ramskold and Lenski, “Constantinople’s Dedication Medallions,” 1.



findings. There are other coins only minted in Constantinople that also appear to explore or promote the identity of Constantine's city.<sup>197</sup>

*Constantinopolis in Constantinople*

Although Constantinopolis was a common figure on coins throughout the empire, the personification (understandably) seems to have a special significance in her home city. There are, of course, the dedication medallions discussed by Ramskold and Lenski, but another medallion from the close of the dynasty shows how this tradition has endured or (at least) reoccurred in some form. Minted for Jovian sometime between the death of Julian (June 27, 363) and his own death (February 16, 364), a gold solidus issued only in Constantinople also represents the image of Constantinopolis:

Obv. D N IOVIANVS P F PERP AVG, bust of Jovian—rosette diadem—with cornucopia over left shoulder.

Rev. GAVDIVM ROMANORVM, Constantinopolis, diademed, enthroned holding scepter in her left hand while extending her right to a kneeling suppliant who brings offerings. Beside the throne is a shield, and between and behind the figures stands Victory facing, holding a palm-branch.<sup>198</sup>

While Constantinopolis is not depicted as a “Tyche” on the reverse of this coin, the subject matter itself is rather unique. There are some images of Constantinople diademed and enthroned

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<sup>197</sup> One type of coin that will not be discussed, but may also be an example of this type of “civic” activity is the so-called Dafne coins minted by Constantine beginning in 328-329: Obv. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG, bust of Constantine I—draped, cuirassed in a rosette diadem. Rev. CONSTANTINIANA DAFNE, Victory std. on cippus, palm branch in each hand, looking; trophy in front, at the foot of which kneeling captive turning head, spurned by Victory. (RIC7 no. 29-38 pp574-575, Appendix V, no. 221) There is an extensive and interesting discussion about these coins in the context of asserting the “Greek” or “Hellenistic” identity of Constantinople in a recent MA thesis by Victor Clark, *Constantine the Great: The Coins Speak*, University of Tennessee, Mufreesboro (2009): 37-42.

<sup>198</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, no. 168 p463, Appendix V, no. 517.

with Victory,<sup>199</sup> but none seem to include supplicants and offerings, nor do other Constantinopolis types use the legend “The Joy of Rome.” After the fall of Julian, the only pagan member of the family, Jovian never physically made it back to Constantinople,<sup>200</sup> which calls into question the authority of this issue. It is possible that this issue resulted from the relayed commands of short-lived emperor, but it may even more possible that this was a more “intuitive” action on behalf of Jovian by a local official.

What is even more interesting is the minting activity of Julian during his three years of control over the mint at Constantinople. In this location, Julian appeared to have no interest in promoting the image of Constantinopolis on the coins.<sup>201</sup> The few coins struck under his exclusive control in Constantinople glorified the military,<sup>202</sup> the militaristic image of the emperor,<sup>203</sup> his own religious agenda,<sup>204</sup> Julian’s distaste for the “decadent” city of Constantine and its lavish court of rituals has been widely discussed by scholars.<sup>205</sup> Whether the absence of Constantinopolis was out of a forceful restriction or indifference is difficult to ascertain, but it is interesting that one of the first and few gold coins minted between the deaths of Julian and Jovian features the image of the city victorious. It seems that Jovian’s victory over Julian may have been Constantinople’s victory as well.

### *The Victory at Chrysopolis as Origin Story*

Beginning with the naval victory against Licinius in 324, water was the first important component of Constantinople’s identity. The significance of this victory has been thoroughly

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<sup>199</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, nos. 293, 286, p275, Appendix V, nos. 291, 384.

<sup>200</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, 444.

<sup>201</sup> Julian does depict Constantinopolis beside Roma on a coin from Rome, but Constantinopolis is never promoted alone by Julian on coin iconography.

<sup>202</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, nos. 156-158, p462, Appendix V, no. 504.

<sup>203</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, no. 160 p462, Appendix V, no. 487.

<sup>204</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, nos. 161-164, p462-463, Appendix V, no. 496-497.

<sup>205</sup> Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 96-98.

discussed above as well as its connection to the identity of Constantinople and Constantinopolis on coin iconography. Much like Constantinopolis and Roma, this naval victory has been promoted throughout the empire,<sup>206</sup> but there is an idiosyncratic type issued by Constantinople that strengthens this connection between the city and the victory that led to its existence. A bronze folles minted in 327, represents Victory standing on a galley with a wreath in each hand on the reverse, proclaiming: LIBERTAS PVBLICA, or “public liberty.” On the obverse, there was a bust of Constantine that broadcasted his imperial power with a rosette diadem and the epithet: CONSTANTIVS MAX AVG.<sup>207</sup> (Figure 26) As a coin type minted nowhere else in the empire, this coin seems to proclaim a special relationship between this event and this location.<sup>208</sup>

While perhaps not a “model” in the most formal sense, Lenski and Ramskold’s ideas about the continuation of civic coinage are an important first step in beginning a serious discussion about the “end” of provincial coinage. Their findings as well as the other possible examples discussed above indicate that the conversation does not end with the reforms of Diocletian but rather continues in a different form. As will be proven in the following section, the phenomenon of “civic coinage” at Constantinople very much applies to the activities of other mints, especially the mint in Rome.

### Rome

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<sup>206</sup> Appendix V, nos. 205, 216, 232, 236.

<sup>207</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII* nos. 18, 25, pp572-573, Appendix V, no. 205.

<sup>208</sup> There is a curious pair of dedication bronzes (ca. 330) that may also allude to Constantinople’s civic identity (Kent, *RIC VIII*, nos. 21-22 p448, Appendix V, no. 208 and 238). Featuring a laureate male bust, the obverse type of this series may be a reference to the entirety of the Roman people with the legend POP ROMANVS but may also refer to Constantinople with the cornucopia held by the obverse figure. The interpretation of the reverses is far less clear. Neither reverse type has a legend but rather some very ambiguous iconography. One has a wreath with a star in it, a very common motif on vota coinage. The other has a river and a bridge, which is much less common on coinage of any type. Kent suggests that the wreath-type refers to Constantinople while the river is a reference to Rome. There is no numismatic evidence to support this claim, so these coins remain ambiguous.

## The Continuation of Civic Coinage in Constantinople and Rome

While there are a few select examples of idiosyncratic coins that signify the identity of Constantinople as a city, the mint in Rome is far more active in producing unique types that promote and develop a sense of Roman civic identity. While it is still true that much of Rome's production consisted of standard types, this mint has the highest volume of idiosyncratic types from throughout the empire. As Kent comments, "Later medallions are no less restricted in their general themes, though they continue to show considerable stylist variety."<sup>209</sup> In this way, the minting activity of Rome may be an even more fruitful example of local interaction on coins.

Unlike the conditions in Constantinople, the issue of authority is far more problematic and in many ways far more interesting. While Ramskold and Lenski make the case for the "maintenance of civic traditions" in Constantinople,<sup>210</sup> this "maintenance" is very much an imperial action, a concerted effort by Constantine to revive civic coinage for his own agenda. As the long eclipsed capital, Rome has a unique relationship with this new "center" and the emperor. While Rome/Roma still maintains some importance as a symbol for the collective past and identity of the empire, Rome as a civic body and Roma as civic figure is increasingly irrelevant on the imperial stage.

The physical presence of the emperor in Rome was scarce and always brief, especially after the foundation of Constantinople. Constantine's final visit to Rome was in 327, staying less than a month.<sup>211</sup> It would be another 30 years (in 357) before a "legitimate" emperor set foot in Rome; Constantius II stayed a little over a month before being called back to the frontier.<sup>212</sup> There was, of course, a period of disruption from 350-352 in which a series of usurpers seized

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<sup>209</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, 246.

<sup>210</sup> Ramskold and Lenski, "Constantinople's Dedication Medallions," 1.

<sup>211</sup> T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 77.

<sup>212</sup> Van Dam, *Rome and Constantinople*, 28.

Rome and controlled the mints.<sup>213</sup> This combination of distant control and control by usurpers may have contributed to the increased presence of Roman civic identity on coins minted in the city. Perhaps the most important and relevant precedent for this type of interaction is the minting and propagandistic activities of the usurper Maxentius, who sought to solidify his rule by encouraging Roman civic pride through panegyrics, building projects and most importantly numismatics.<sup>214</sup> While some of the coins minted during the Constantinian Dynasty may be seen as a continuation of the activities of Maxentius, the choice to mint these coins must also be seen as a self-conscious attempt to emphasize a personal connection between authority and city.

During the first years following the dedication of Constantinople, the minting activity of Rome was controlled through the empire's vast but efficient bureaucracy. As explored in the previous chapter, this can indicate a few types of interaction. At its most restrictive, the mint was given indirect instructions by the emperor through prefects while at its most lax, prefects operated within parameters of what was considered more or less acceptable. Having control limited to the western empire, the usurpers may have used the vast repertoire of "Roman" iconography to their advantage, encouraging the modified continuation of civic identity on coins. That said, for the most part, these actions did not completely depart from the range of iconography that would have been considered acceptable by more legitimate members of the Constantinian Dynasty. These potential processes will be continually addressed throughout the discussion of Roman civic identity on coins minted at Rome.

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<sup>213</sup> Magnentius seized power from February 27, 350 but lost power briefly to another usurper Nepotianus from June 3, 350 until June 30, 350. After that short period of time, Magnentius regained power over Rome until he was driven out in September of 352.

<sup>214</sup> As a usurper with limited control or legitimacy outside of the city of Rome, Maxentius attempted to set himself up as a patron of sorts to the city as a whole with a special focus on the cult of Roma. He rebuilt the Temple of Venus and Roma that was originally dedicated by Hadrian. He also began to increase the image of Roma on Roman coins, including a MONETA series much like those later revived under Julian and continued by Jovian. See n. 68. For coins, see Sutherland, *RIC VI*, 166, p372, no. 173 p373, no. 190 p375.

Another consideration is the aforementioned divide between the local (physical) and imperial (symbolic) concept of Rome. Although Rome inhabits an ambiguous territory between signifying the entire empire and a civic entity, minting location may impact where on this continuum this combination of image and meaning might lie. The numbers of idiosyncratic types from this city alone indicate that minting location did have a great impact on this matter. Like the issues from the mint at Constantinople, these idiosyncratic types seem to promote two major types of civic identity through the image of its personification Roma and through the various origin stories that have been generated throughout the city's history.<sup>215</sup>

### *Roma in Rome*

Considering the standardization of types, the number of idiosyncratic types depicting Roma that emerge from the Roman mint is rather remarkable. Roma is represented on at least ten coin types that are in some way unique to Rome. On five of the ten, Roma is alone. On the remaining types, she is accompanied by either Constantinopolis (four) or crowned by Victory (one). These distinctions make different claims about Rome's identity as a discrete geographic, political and cultural identity.

On the coins where Roma is the major focus of the composition, she is typically seated in the mien of the Hadrianic (or Maxentian) cult statue on a high-backed throne, but on some examples, she is seated on a shield or a cuirass. One of the earliest numismatic depictions of Roma was first minted between the dedication of Constantinople in 330 and Constantine's death

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<sup>215</sup> While this study is not focused on a study of legends, it is interesting to note that there are some interesting legends that do not conform to the following iconographic. These may be called the MONETAE-type, which seem to celebrate the issuing of money for the city of Rome with such legends as MONETA AVG (Kent, *RIC VIII*, no. 457-459 p297, no. 467 p298, no. 470 p299, Appendix V, no. 477) and especially MONETA N VRBS ROMANAE (Kent, *RIC VIII*, no. 423 p293, Appendix V, no. 460). Also interesting is the fact that the word VRBS (city) is only used in direct reference to Rome. VRBS does appear at other mints but never with the minting city's name. Not even Constantinople gets that distinction.

in 337. This reverse, with the descriptive legend VRBS ROMA, represents Roma as the cult statue with her usual helmet, spear, shield, and Victory. On the earliest coins with this reverse type, the obverse was a bust of the helmeted Roma, making the type very similar to the widely minted parallel series issued at Constantinople's dedication.<sup>216</sup> (Figure 27) The reverse type endured throughout the rest of the dynasty, minted by all rulers of Rome (usurper and legitimate dynast alike) with their own busts.<sup>217</sup>

The theme of Roma was further explored under Constantine's sons Constans and Constantius II between 337-350.<sup>218</sup> This type's reverse features a seated Roma—adorned by her helmet and spear—holding a Victory on an orb. With legends like ROMA BEATA and VRBS ROMA BEATA (shown), the “blessedness” of Roma is emphasized. (Figure 28) Constans continued to issue coins with Roma between 348 and 350.<sup>219</sup> On the reverse, Roma is seated wearing her conventional helmet and holding a spear. Resting against her seated form is a shield, which is as traditional as the rest of this image. The legend ROMAE AETERNAE may perhaps specifically recall the Hadrianic statue and temple or more immediately the temple as it was rebuilt Maxentius, but it may also be a much more generalized notion of the city.<sup>220</sup>

As intimated above, this trend did not abate under the usurpers Nepotianus and Magnentius. Many of the same Roma coin types were minted under these emperors. If anything, this activity intensified (in its own way) with new variations on the theme of Roma.

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<sup>216</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII*, no. 361, p. 340. Also with the legend VRBS ROMA.

<sup>217</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, 201-203 (Nepotianus) 206 (Magnentius) p282, 402 (Constantius II) 403 (Constans) p289, no. 441 (Constantius Gallus, only a Caesar) p295, no. 455-456 (Constantius II) p297, no. 473 (Jovian) p299. The only notable absence was Julian, who was not a very prolific minter in Rome.

<sup>218</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, no. 372 p286, Obverse: D N FL CONSTANS AVG, bust of Constans—facing right—draped and cuirassed in a laurel and rosette diadem. Also see: Kent, *RIC VIII*, nos. 379, 376 (Constantius II) 377, 380 (Constans) p287.

<sup>219</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, no. 147A, p258. Obverse: D N CONSTANS P F AVG, bust of Constans—facing right—draped and cuirassed with a laurel and rosette diadem. Coin resides in a private collection, so image is unavailable for this coin.

<sup>220</sup> For more information about the lasting effects of the Hadrianic temple to Roma Aeterna see Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, 39-40. It is important to note that the use of Monumenta as a iconographic device was a very common theme on civic/provincial coinage.

While the issue of authority is less than clear for this three-year span,<sup>221</sup> it may be assumed that either Magnentius or Nepotianus had a reasonable amount of control over the coins issued with their images. During this period, the authority of Constantius may be contested, given his physical distance from the mint. That said, there was very little of what may be called seditious minting activity on the part of these short-lived rulers.<sup>222</sup>

Even though he controlled the Roman mint for less than a month, Nepotianus did not waste any time issuing coins in June of 350. One notable example combines the image of Roma with the image of Christian victory. On this reverse, Roma appears as she has in the previous depictions, but instead of a Victory on a globe, she holds a globe surmounted by a Chi-Rho (✠).<sup>223</sup> (Figure 30) Another noteworthy innovation occurred under Magnentius and his Caesar Decentius between 351-352, which proclaimed RENOBATIO VRBIS ROME (“The renewal of the city, Rome”)<sup>224</sup> with the conventional image of Roma as the Hadrianic cult statue.<sup>225</sup> (Figure 31) These variations seem to indicate not only an acceptance of previous conventions but also an investment in the civic image of Rome separate from the empire.

While Roma and Constantinopolis together is a very common image on coins throughout the empire, there are some interesting developments in this pairing that happen solely in Rome, which indicates a stronger connection to civic concerns. A group of standard types discussed in

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<sup>221</sup> Coins with both Constantius II and Magnentius (as well as Nepotianus) were issued concurrently.

<sup>222</sup> One notable exception may be found in the LARGITO type (*RIC VIII* nos. 404-405) that was most likely issued by Magnentius. According to Kent (*RIC VIII*, 290), the emperor sits on a throne backed by Roma. A turreted figure, who Kent believes to be Res Publica, bows to him. Under this interpretation, the iconography is unique but scarcely controversial. Bühl (*Roma und Constantinopolis*, 58-60) provides a more scandalous interpretation in which Res Publica is in fact Constantinopolis, whose bowing to Magnentius would have been seen as quite seditious. It would have placed Roma above Constantinopolis, making a very powerful claim about these two cities. The mutability of this gesture must be acknowledged, but the implications—no matter how muted—remain the same. Of course, this is one possible interpretation of what is a very ambiguous coin.

<sup>223</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, no. 166-167 p261. Obverse: F L POP NEPOTIANVS P F AVG, bust of Nepotianus—facing right—draped and cuirassed with a pearl diadem.

<sup>224</sup> Translation from Victor Failmezger, *Roman Bronze Coins: From Paganism to Christianity 294-364* (Washington, Ross & Perry, Inc., 2002), 154.

<sup>225</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, 207-208, p267.



the previous chapter was the FEL TEMP REPARATIO issues, which were to celebrate the 1100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Rome. Despite the occasion that prompted these issues, a wide range of iconography appeared under this legend, except iconography that invoked Rome directly. Only in Rome—and about five years after the initial production of that type—is there any evidence of Roma represented with this legend. As a Caesar, Julian issued a FEL TEMP REPARATIO type with the much discussed vota image with both Roma and Constantinopolis holding between them a wreath or shield with a star.<sup>226</sup> (Figure 32) This was, of course, a very common composition for the GLORIA ROMANORVM issued minted throughout the empire, including Rome. While the iconography is standard throughout the empire, the pairing of image and legend is not. In any other context, this image may have been seen as cooperative, promoting that rough duality that has been previously discuss. Here, however, it seems to be giving Rome a place in a dialogue from which it was previously excluded.<sup>227</sup> In this way, it seems to be a much more assertive, even combative, gesture.<sup>228</sup>

While the usurpers may have had a special motivation to focus on the image of Roma, there is no denying that they were also following a trend that was well established and continued under Constans and Constantius II. Whether a concerted effort on the part of the emperor or actions of local officials working within the lax constraints of imperial policy, the use of Roma on idiosyncratic types definitely exhibits a unique relationship between city and empire that is not seen at any other mint at this time.

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<sup>226</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, no. 292, 295 p276.

<sup>227</sup> It is also interesting that it was Julian that minted this coin and not any other ruler in the dynasty.

<sup>228</sup> Another idiosyncratic type with this iconography uses the legend FELICITAS ROMANORVM (Kent, *RIC VIII*, no. 296-298 p277). This coin, issued by Constantius II, was issued concurrently with the FEL TEMP REPARATIO type by Julian. It is difficult to say what this issue may imply about the relationship between Rome and Constantinople, but it may be seen as much less controversial in contrast.

### *Other Types of Civic Iconography: Foundation Myths*

Like Roma, other components that form Roman civic identity are the most elaborate and well explored in Rome. The only iconographic representation of Rome's origins issued from non-Roman mints was the she-wolf nursing the twins. In Rome, however, there was a proliferation of origin myths, emphasizing the variety of traditions that comprise the identity of the city. While—like the she-wolf and twins—these different legends can be interpreted as a part of the matrix of shared traditions that constitute the history of the entire Roman Empire and its people, the context of these idiosyncratic issues cannot be generalized or reduced to mere coincidence. Minted in Rome and only Rome, these origin stories take on a local meaning within the broader imperial framework.

Much like the first appearance of Roma at the Roman mint after 330 CE, origin myths manifest as a localized elaboration of the standard “Roma-types.” The obverses of these initial coins also featured the helmeted bust of Roma, but their reverses explore the repertoire of origin myths. One of these explorations is a variation on the theme of Romulus and Remus.<sup>229</sup> (Figure 33) Instead of a sparse composition consisting of just the icons of the wolf and the twins, this reverse gives more context to this narrative. Here the wolf nurses the twins inside a cave with two shepherds on either side, bearing witness to the event. While the image of the wolf and twins has been at least present at other mints, the legend of Aeneas was not represented on coins outside of Rome. Another Roman variation on those standard bronze dedication medallions

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<sup>229</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, 336-337 p282. Also see, Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, 18, fig. 10 and Evans, *The Art of Persuasion*.

features Aeneas fleeing Troy with his father and son.<sup>230</sup> Aeneas walks to the right carrying his feeble father, Anchises, on his shoulders while leading his son by hand. (Figure 34)<sup>231</sup>

Like the reverses of these standard medallions, both the reverses discussed here do not have legends. This promotes some sense of unity between these types and the more widely produced issues, but ambiguous nature of authority during this time in Rome must still be considered. As stated before, there was no physical presence of direct imperial authority between 330 and the 350s. While it is possible that the prefects of Rome were acting on the relayed commands of the emperor to mint this series of reverses, it is just as likely that the minting authorities were acting more on their own volition. Regardless of the how these coins were minted, they were—most likely—within the acceptable parameters and would not have offended imperial authority.

This does not mean that the emperor was never inclined to promote a special relationship between himself and the city on coinage. A bronze medallion most likely minted after Constantius' 357-visit to Rome may have been an indication of this affinity.<sup>232</sup> The reverse features yet another story from the early days of Rome: the rape of the Sabine. In a rather complex composition, two men seize two women in the foreground while six women flee in the background. In the middle ground, there are three obelisks. Instead of Roma, the obverse is a bust of the draped and cuirassed Constantius II wearing a pearl diadem.

According to fourth-century historian Ammanius Marcellinus, Constantius' 357-visit to Rome was short but pleasant.<sup>233</sup> Van Dam compares it to the more awkward visits of other emperors: "Constantius quickly adjusted. He toured the sights with senators as his guides, and

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<sup>230</sup> Bruun, *RIC VII*, 362.

<sup>231</sup> An image of the exact reverse proves elusive, but a so-called contorniate medallion (MFA Boston, 66.278) may give some insight into how this composition may have looked.

<sup>232</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, no. 452 p297. Legend SABINAE in exergue.

<sup>233</sup> Ammanianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 16.10.4-20. Cited from Van Dam, *Rome and Constantinople*, 29.

he spoke in the senate house. In contrast to Diocletian, he even enjoyed the witty banter of the people. For a month Constantius behaved like a proper Republican emperor at Rome.”<sup>234</sup> This coin may be seen as a commemoration of that visit. Kent notes that the three obelisks from the scene may be a reference to the obelisks brought to Rome by Constantius for his visit.<sup>235</sup> According to this interpretation, the not all instances of Roman civic identification may be seen as contentious or out of line with imperial ideology. In fact, these idiosyncratic types—as Ramskold and Lenski argue—could be initiated by the emperor, who may wish to assert a special relationship with the city.

Each of these examples constitutes a different relationship between center (imperial) and periphery (local) as well as the possible flexibility of authority in fourth century numismatics. Every coin should be understood as a negotiation between central authority and peripheral locality. The persistence of both Roma and these origin stories on idiosyncratic reverses throughout the dynasty is a strong indication that at least some of the aspects of civic coinage were still alive and in use in Rome. Depending on one’s interpretation of imperial power over the Roman mint, these coins may be understood as either the emperor’s/usurper’s desire to establish a more intimate connection with the city at its mint or the desire of local officials to assert local identity on coins.

Regardless of this authority or how it was employed, these idiosyncratic types indicate a kind of localized activity that is not seen at other mints throughout the empire at this time. Furthermore, the well-developed iconography of these coins recall sites specific to the topography of Rome and its history. The cave on the Romulus and Remus issue refers not only

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<sup>234</sup> Van Dam, *Rome and Constantinople*, 29.

<sup>235</sup> Kent, *RIC VIII*, 246. Obelisks cited in Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, 17.4.1.

to a specific point in the narrative but also a specific location on the Palatine Hill.<sup>236</sup> On the medallion with the rape of the Sabine, the three obelisks—a possible gift from Constantius II—ground the composition in not only the topography of Rome but also the topography of Rome at the time of the emperor’s visit.<sup>237</sup> In recalling these particular locations, these reverses exhibit a type of site specificity that is unprecedented outside of Rome during the fourth century.

This localized activity should be seen in the larger matrix of overlapping processes and interactions between center and periphery still evident and complex during the fourth century. While these motifs are by no means new in Rome, they must be considered in the context of the decreased political relevance and autonomy of fourth-century Rome. Rome’s status as an increasingly provincialized location—along with the ambiguous nature of authority there—makes this mint even more of a model for the so-called “maintenance of civic tradition” introduced by Ramskold and Lenski than Constantinople.

## Conclusions

Despite the numerous examples in the above discussion, it must be reiterated that these idiosyncratic types are largely considered “exceptions” to the general “rule” that is fourth-century numismatics. This was a time in which standard types were the most numerous products of all mints. There was a more or less efficient bureaucracy that made it possible to manage a vast empire without direct imperial presence. As a result, the themes on coin were largely generalized and limited to the extolling of imperial virtues and military prowess. These macro-

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<sup>236</sup> A cave at the base of the Palatine was believed to be a source of shelter to the twins while they were cast out of human society and nurtured by the she-wolf. This was a very important site because of this history as well as the festivals and rituals that grew up around it. See: T.P. Wiseman, “The God of the Lupercal” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 85 (1995): 1-22.

<sup>237</sup> Kent (*RIC VIII*, 246) postulates that this scene may have been a specific reference to a theatrical account of this myth, which may or may not have been seen by Constantius during his visit. This may add to the site specificity implied through the choice of story and the style in which it was presented.

scale trends are precisely what make these exceptions all the more noteworthy in the dialogue about civic identity on Constantinian coinage. The existence of highly idiosyncratic types within this seemingly restrictive system indicates a far more complex series of interactions than just the imperial impressing upon the local.

It is now important to consider: Why were these mints allowed to promote some form of local identity in such an environment? The short answer to this question would be that there was something especially significant about these cities. This is undoubtedly true on some level. Rome represented the past of the empire while Constantinople represented its present and future. Their status as such would have afforded them special status among the other cities of the empire. This, however, would serve only to gloss over the inherent and complex mutability of these locations as physical and symbolic entities.

As stated before, the iconography of Constantinople and Rome simultaneously represented the imperial administrative structure and themselves as discrete localities with individual political concerns and cultural identities. The isolation of these two types of identity would not have been an easy or perhaps even possible task. The key to these cities' ability to maintain a civic identity on imperially controlled coins may have been in part due to the mutability of these identities. Contributing to this mutability is the increasingly ambiguous distinctions between center and periphery mentioned in chapter two. When multiple localities are identified with the "center," the peripheries do not merely shift; they become almost impossible to define spatially or conceptually. Imperial becomes much more difficult to separate from the local. While the coinage may not be considered a direct response to this phenomenon (or vice versa), both may be thought of as inextricably linked to one another in a reciprocal fashion.

## The Continuation of Civic Coinage in Constantinople and Rome

Individually, a coin representing Roma or Constantinopolis could have been accepted an invocation of city, empire, or a fusion of the two. In the numbers isolated above, however, these coins in these specific contexts constitute a significant variation from the coins issued from other mints. The focus on locally significant imagery—in Rome especially—indicate an investment in the continuation civic traditions albeit in a severely modified way. In a discussion of Roman provincial coinage, this activity may not necessarily conform to the framework of current scholarship. Given these findings, however, it will be the goal of the concluding chapter to situate these fourth-century “civic traditions” into the existing scholarship and how inquiries into location should proceed in late antique numismatics.

## Conclusion

### Chapter Five

#### Conclusion

In his assessment of numismatics after the reforms of Diocletian, Harl was undoubtedly correct in his observation that the political and administrative structure of the Roman Empire had changed profoundly.<sup>238</sup> The conventional (static) notions held about center and periphery in the empire before this time—or before the third century for that matter—were no longer tenable at this date. These observations contributed greatly to his macro-scale account of the “death of Roman provincial coinage,” which characterizes all relevant fourth-century coins as “universally” imperial. While his macro-scale assessment of coinage under Constantine and his successors does isolate a very important process in fourth-century numismatics, it is only one process out of many overlapping processes that are relevant at this time. In this thesis, it has been made evident that there are multitude of interactions and processes that transcend and subvert these overly rigid notions of center and periphery.

As it has been defined, the framework currently established by provincial numismatic scholarship is not immediately accommodating to the phenomena described in this thesis. Beyond the rather rigid *terminus post quem* for provincial coinage, there are some rather deep-seated, preconceived notions about the form provincial (or civic) coinage takes. These expectations can be categorized under the three defining aspects introduced in Chapter One. First, it seems that provincial coinage must be minted in a location that is not Rome (i.e. considered provincial). Second, provincial coinage must be produced by a more or less

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<sup>238</sup> Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 96.



## Conclusion

autonomous administrative system given, whose authority is granted by the emperor. Third, provincial coinage must exhibit some kind of local identity, which is distinct from a “universal” imperial identity.

While often tacit and perhaps to some extent unconscious, these aspects constitute biases that privilege a static relationship between center and periphery that is most strongly represented in the empire before the third century. As it has been alluded to throughout this study, these biases are deeply entwined with the biases about center and periphery present in the scholarship of Roman provincial art and history. In concluding this thesis, it is the goal of this chapter to critique the biases inherent in this three-part definition while exploring their potential for modification and flexibility, which will result in a definition of provincial coinage for post-Diocletian numismatics.

### Location

In the early stages of the empire—prior to the third century—the analogy stating that: “Rome : imperial :: everywhere else : provincial” might be more applicable to the political geography of empire at that time. This is an assumption that is deeply rooted in the study of Roman provincial art, numismatics, and history. All of these disciplines consider Rome as the political and cultural center of the empire and the geographic center of the truest form of *Romanitas*. The concentration of *Romanitas* in outlying areas is largely defined by how they resemble or differ from Rome.

As described in Chapter Two, the events of the third and fourth century—especially the establishment of Constantinople—make it increasingly difficult to label a single location as either provincial or imperial. For the bulk of scholarship, this means that all numismatics can be

## Conclusion

more or less subsumed under the label of imperial, the provincial ceasing to exist on any meaningful level. The results of this study, however, show that—although the political geography of the empire has upset previous notions of provincial and imperial space—the provincial has not completely disappeared. Every idiosyncratic type denotes a different interaction between center (imperial) and periphery (provincial), and sometimes the iconography of these idiosyncratic issues has a significance specific to its minting location.

Despite all of the strictures placed on location in defining what it means to be provincial, there has been some flexibility regarding this aspect. One notable example of this is the understanding that imperial mints can be established in “provincial” locations. This is most apparent in the account of the collapse of provincial coinage in the west, which cites the closure of provincial mints and their subsequent replacement by imperially controlled mints.<sup>239</sup> This serves to upset the direct and exclusive connection between Rome and imperial authority. The identity of Rome as the seat of imperial power is still intact, but according to this development imperial power can also be considered mobile. If the imperial label can be extended to other locations in the empire because of diminished provincial control, then it is possible that the imperial label can be taken away from Rome because of its eventually diminished imperial clout in the fourth century.

## Control

Although the defining aspect of location may be subverted by the changing status of control, the notion of control is not without its problems. Theoretically, the declaration that provincial coinage ends in the west during the second century has just as many problematic implications as the declaration that all provincial coinage ends with the Diocletianic reforms. It

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<sup>239</sup> Amandry, Burnett, Ripolles, *RPC I*, 5.

## Conclusion

does not take into account the potential for local variation that may or may not persist under stronger imperial control, which may also result from the negotiation among multiple local and non-local voices. The problems with this case study underscore the much broader problems of restriction and autonomy in the study of provincial coinage.

As stated before, provincial mints—as defined by the discipline—maintain some ideal balance of autonomy over its own activities while existing under the indirect control of imperial rule. When this balance of control shifts and some (often imaginary) tipping point is reached, a mint becomes imperial rather than provincial. While this distinction can be useful in addressing the broadest interpretation of authority, much nuance is lost in the strict use of such binary terms. Because of the rather monolithic use of the label “imperial,” the possibility of localized minting activity after the reforms of Diocletian becomes nearly impossible to consider in terms of the field of provincial coinage.

This is not to say that the field is entirely without subtleties regarding the issue of control. There is some sense of caution when trying to determine and label the authority through which a coin is minted, but it is often only a small qualification within a very rigid framework. This phenomenon is exhibited in a statement by the authors of the *RPC*, “While it is clear that coin issues were essentially either Roman, federal, or civic, these categories embrace different sorts of coinage and not infrequently overlap. The attempt to make too rigid a distinction between them is futile.”<sup>240</sup> Introduced in the first chapter, this statement demonstrates that (according to the scholarship) there is a point where these type of distinctions begin to fall apart, but rather than questioning the system by which coins are labeled, scholars seem to be content to draw hard lines and then obscure them when it is deemed appropriate. While this probably causes few

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<sup>240</sup> Amandry, *RPC vol. 1*, 5.

## Conclusion

direct methodological problems within the accepted range of provincial coins, this framework begins to break down in the ambiguity of the fourth century.

### **Identity**

Perhaps more than any of these interrelated biases, the definition of provincial can be reduced to preconceived notions about identity. Both physical location and the degree of imperial authority or provincial autonomy play into how identity manifests in the material and is perceived by scholars. Location—within a particular historical context—often indicates how much control locals have over coins. The degree of control given to a civic or provincial body over their numismatic output determines the freedom to exert some kind of local identity. A strict interpretation of provincial versus imperial coinage, art or attitudes depends on a fixed definition of both terms.

There have been great strides toward better, more nuanced assessments and definitions of identity, especially in terms of provincial identity. Most of these advances have taken place within the history, art history, and archaeology of the Roman provinces. Many scholars realize that conventional analyses of what it means to be “provincial” depend on rigid definitions of and distinctions between Roman and “native.” There have been a few attempts to counter this by looking closely at how identity is constructed by both the individual and the scholar. Addressed in chapter two, these problems underscore the fact that it is difficult—perhaps impossible—to conduct a discussion of identity without codifying or essentializing individual attitudes and attributes.

### **New Definitions**

## Conclusion

From the above critique and assessment, redefining Roman provincial coinage may mostly be a matter of viewing each of these points as a continuum as opposed to a series of isolated binaries. These continua seem to already exist within the literature as small caveats and addenda, but they are often not acknowledged when defining the major aspects of the field. Considering coins in term of this continuum, “provincial” coins often yield just as much information about the nature of imperial power as it does about local autonomy. Understood within their own historical context, coins minted anywhere in the empire cannot be reduced to simple terms of “imperial” or “provincial” but rather a negotiation between the two.

For coins after the conventional “end” of provincial coinage, rigid enforcement of these binaries serves to close off certain types of analysis associated with the field of provincial coinage. Rather than a monolithic term that defines a discrete set of objects, perhaps provincial can indicate an approach to the material. A “provincial approach” would constitute a means of analyzing an object or phenomena in terms of the processes and interchanges between center and periphery along the lines of location, control, and identity. According to this approach, every object would yield different insight regarding location—some perhaps more dynamic than others.

As stated in Chapter Three, the so-called “standard types” would lend different insights into the dynamic between center and periphery than idiosyncratic types. For example, issues that were minted without significant variation—like the GLORIA EXERCITVS type—speaks of a more unified sense of power than the GLORIA AVGG type minted only in Trier, which conveys a more unique interaction between center and periphery.<sup>241</sup> Idiosyncratic types that display location-specific iconography may provide another type of interaction in this dynamic. The minting activities of Rome, as mentioned in Chapter Four, may represent an intentionally

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<sup>241</sup> For GLORIA EXERCITVS, see Appendix V, no. 237. For GLORIA AVGG, see Appendix V, no. 29.

## Conclusion

different relationship between emperor and mint, or these activities may indicate a degree of autonomous behavior within the mint of Rome.

While it may be argued that the production and regulation of coinage at the civic level was profoundly modified by the middle of the fourth century, the questions asked by the scholarship of provincial coinage are still relevant even at this late of date. The multilayered interactions between center and periphery are still occurring and must be noted. Under this more flexible form of analysis, each type of coin could give different accounts of the matrix of processes of which they are a part. This “provincial approach” may be the most extreme deconstruction of the term provincial, but it is an interesting consideration of the methodological problems that face the field.

## New Directions

While a total deconstruction of the term “provincial” may not be completely productive, recent trends in numismatic scholarship—as indicated by Ramskold and Lenski—suggest that there are profound changes ahead for the study of localized identity on late Roman coinage. By exploring possible instances of local and imperial interaction, an issue that is usually limited to earlier coins, Ramskold and Lenski question the limitations imposed by provincial coinage scholarship. Furthermore, they enrich the concepts of imperial and provincial beyond the realm of the static universal, noting that locality does have a role in how imperial power is constructed and displayed.

Another emerging line of inquiry that may be very illuminating to this type of discussion is the reassessment of the so-called “contorniates” issued as commemorative medallions in

## Conclusion

fourth-century Rome.<sup>242</sup> Mentioned only briefly in this thesis, contorniates represent a contentious space in the dynamic among center/periphery and official/unofficial activity. Considered by many to be seditious communications from “unofficial” mints,<sup>243</sup> these tokens are noted for their unusual pagan imagery, such as the rape of the Sabine, Aeneas, and a variety of Egyptian deities. More recently, Mittag and Holden, who have significantly broadened the scope of their function to both private and imperial motives, counter such claims.<sup>244</sup> Their findings imply that there is a much more complicated set of interactions occurring than the one-way (top-down) interactions previously asserted.

Such avenues are just beginning to be explored by scholars. In part, this thesis is meant to participate in this emerging dialogue and encourage more conversation about the relevance of minting location and the remnants of civic coinage beyond the third century CE. With more studies and the resulting data, better decisions can be made about how individual coins fit within these continua and what information they may yield about the dynamic between center and periphery.

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<sup>242</sup> According to Holden (“Iconography on Late Antique Contorniate Medallions,” 122-123) these tokens are given their name by the “*contorni* (grooves) that run around the interior edges of their circumference rims.”

<sup>243</sup> This is the opinion held by Alföldi (“A Festival of Isis in Rome under the Christian Emperors of the Fourth Century,” 37-39), who saw them as an organized attempt on the part of pagans to undermine Christian authority and were minted outside the imperial structure. For more examples of similar arguments, see Holden, “Iconography of Late Antique Contorniate Medallions,” 124, n. 15. It is also important to note that Harl (*Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 96-97) uses this argument to discount the importance of similar medallions with imperial portraits.

<sup>244</sup> Mittag (*Alte Köpfe in neuen Händen*, 227-238) implies that there is no evidence to support existence of separate, “unofficial” mints and implies that both emperors and local officials probably had their own reason for producing these tokens. Also see, Holden, “Iconography on Late Antique Contorniate Medallions,” 122-124.

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## Appendix I: Timelines

### Appendix I: Timelines

The following appendix isolates some of the major events and personages of the third and fourth century.

- I. The Events of Roman Empire during the Third and Fourth Century
- II. The Primary Rulers of the Roman Empire 211-364 C.E.

## Appendix I: Timelines

### I. The Events of Roman Empire during the Third and Fourth Century

- 213 -- Caracalla's *Constitutio Antoniniana*, which declared all people living within the boundaries of the Roman Empire Roman citizens.
- 235-284 -- Rise of the so-called "Soldier Emperors," ushering in the "third-century crisis". A series of military-backed and subsequently removed emperors characterized this as an era of great political and economic instability and marked the decline of Rome as a politically influential center.
- 284-293 -- The rise of Diocletian and the formation of the first tetrarchy. The division of the empire into four distinct regions of imperial power caused further separation between a set location (Rome) and imperial power.
- 305 -- Diocletian and Maximian retire as Augusti. Constantius and Galerius become Augusti. Severus and Maximinus Daza become Caesars.
- 306 -- Constantius I dies. His son Constantine seizes of his territories. The tetrarchy begins to collapse.
- 307 -- Maxentius, son of Maximian, deposes Severus.
- 308 -- Galerius promote Licinius to the position of Augustus to challenge Maxentius.
- 310 -- Maximian defeated by Constantine I, executed by forced suicide.
- 311 -- Galerius dies of natural causes.
- 312 -- Diocletian dies by natural causes (?) Maxentius is defeated and killed by Constantine I.
- 313 -- Maiminus Daza is defeated and executed by Licinius in an unsuccessful attempt to seize his lands. By the end of 313, Licinius and Constantine I are the only remaining Augusti.
- 316 -- First civil war between Constantine and Licinius. Constantine seizes Pannonia and Illyria by the end of 317.
- 324 -- Second civil war between Constantine and Licinius. Constantine's son Crispus defeats Licinius at the Battle of Chrysopolis. Constantine becomes the sole Augustus.
- 326 -- The mint at Constantinople issues its first coins.
- 330 -- Constantinople is dedicated at the new official capital of the empire.
- 337 -- Constantine I dies. His sons inherit his empire Constantine II (Espania, Italia, Gaul, and Britannia), Constans (Pannonia and Illyria), and Constantius II (Asia).
- 340 -- Civil war between Constantine II and Constans. Constantine II dies and Constans seizes control of his lands.
- 350 -- Revolt of Magnentius against Constans. Constans is killed, and Magnentius seizes his lands in the West while Vetrano takes his lands in Pannonia and Illyria.
- 351 -- War against Constantius II and Magnentius the usurper begins.
- 353 -- Constantius II defeats Magnentius at the Battle of Mons Seleucus.
- 355 -- Julian is declared Caesar by Constantius II.
- 360 -- Julian is declared emperor by his troops and begins to seize power in the empire.
- 361 -- Constantius II dies and Julian I seizes control.
- 363 -- Julian is killed in the Battle of Ctesiphon against the Persians. Jovian is declared Augustus by his troops.
- 364 -- Jovian declares Valentinian as his heir and later dies.



## Appendix I: Timelines

### II. The Primary Rulers of the Roman Empire 211-364 C.E.

This is a chart--showing the rulers of the Roman Empire from 211-364, their rise to power and their fall—was adapted from Stephen Williams’ *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery* (Appendix III, pp228-229).

Year	Ruler	Rise	Fall
211-217	Caracalla	dynastic heir	killed by army
211	Geta	dynastic heir	killed by Caracalla
217-218	Macrinus	elected by Guards	killed by army
218	Diadumenianus	dynastic heir	killed by army
218-222	Elagabalus	dynastic heir	killed by Guards
222-235	Severus Alexander	dynastic heir	killed by army
235-238	Maximin “The Thracian”	elected by army	killed by army
238	Gordian I	elected by Senate	killed in civil war
	Gordian II (co-ruler)		
238	Pupienus	elected by Senate	killed by Guards
	Balbinus (co-ruler)		
239-244	Gordian III	dynastic heir	killed by Guards
244-249	Philip “The Arab”	elected by Guards	killed in civil war
249-251	Decius	elected by army	killed by Guards
251-253	Trebonianus Gallus	elected by army	killed in battle
253	Aemilianus	elected by army	killed by army
253-260	Valerian	elected by Senate	died as Persian captive
253-268	Gallienus (co-ruler)	dynastic heir	killed by army
268-270	Claudius II	elected by army	died of plague
270-275	Aurelian	elected by army	killed by bodyguard
275-276	Tacitus	elected by Senate	killed by army
276-282	Probus	elected by army	killed by army
282-283	Carus	elected by army	died naturally (?)
282-284	Numerian (co-ruler)	dynastic heir	killed by Prefect
282-285	Carinus (co-ruler)	dynastic heir	killed in civil war
284-305	Diocletian (tetrarch)	elected by army	retired in 305
286-305	Maximian (tetrarch)	adopted	retired in 305
293-306	Constantius (tetrarch)	adopted	died naturally
293-311	Galerius (tetrarch)	adopted	died naturally
305-307	Severus (tetrarch)	adopted	killed in civil war
305-313	Maximinus Daza	adopted	killed in civil war
306-312	Maxentius	dynastic heir	killed in civil war
306-337	Constantine I	dynastic heir	died naturally
308-324	Licinius	adopted	killed after civil war
337-340	Constantine II	dynastic heir	killed in civil war
337-350	Constans	dynastic heir	killed by army
337-361	Constantius II	dynastic heir	died naturally
350	Nepotianus	usurper, West	killed by Magnentius
350-353	Magnentius	usurper, Rome	suicide
350-351	Vetranio	usurper, Pannonia	deposed by Constantius II
351-354	Constantius Gallus	dynastic heir	executed
355-363	Julian	dynastic heir	killed in battle
363-364	Jovian	elected by army	died naturally

## Appendix II: Family Tree

### Appendix II: Imperial Genealogies

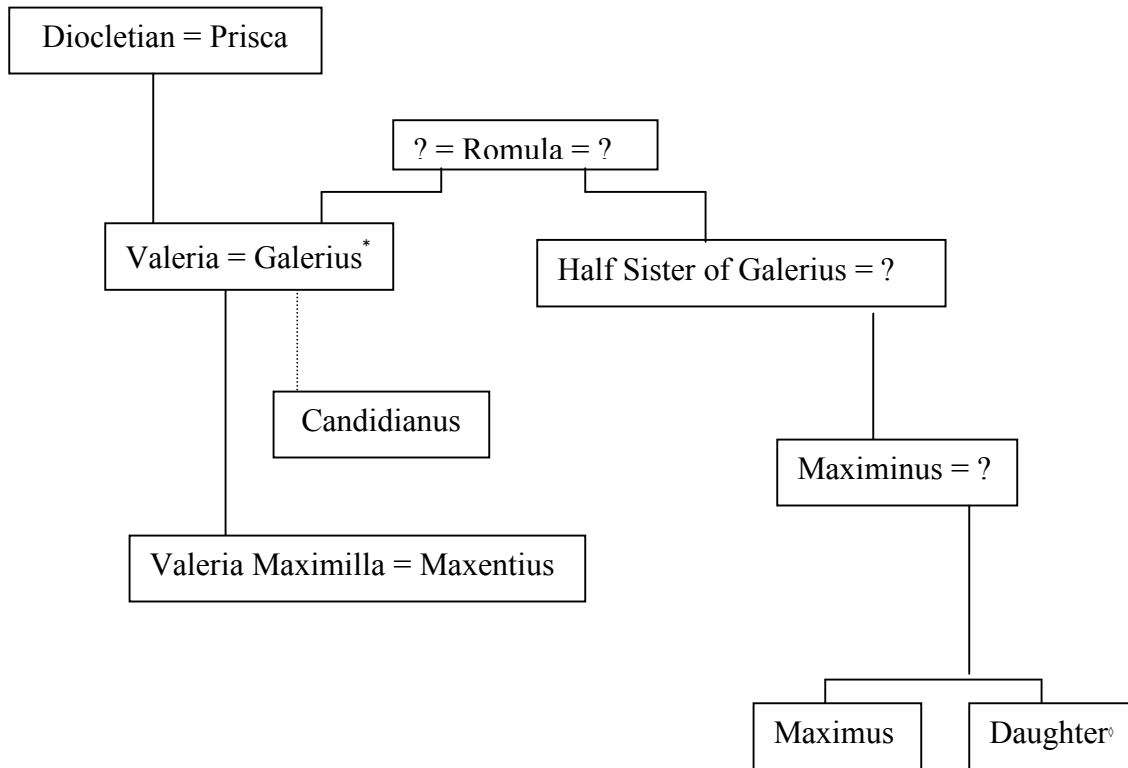
The following charts explain the interconnected lineages from the Tetrarchy through the Constantinian Dynasty. Each of these charts is a modified version of the charts presented by T.D. Barnes in *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Stemmata I-III).

- I. Family of Diocletian and Formation of the Tetrarchy 244-311 CE
- II. Family of Constantius I and the End of the Tetrarchy 250-305 CE
- III. Family of Constantine I and the Rise of the Constantinian Dynasty 300-363 CE

## Appendix II: Family Tree

### I. Family of Diocletian and Formation of the Tetrarchy 244-311 CE

This chart shows the family of Diocletian, especially as it applies to the formation of the Tetrarchy. Although the Tetrarchy was formed as a more stable alternative to hereditary succession, loyalty was commonly solidified by intermarriage between an Augustus' daughter and his appointed Caesar.



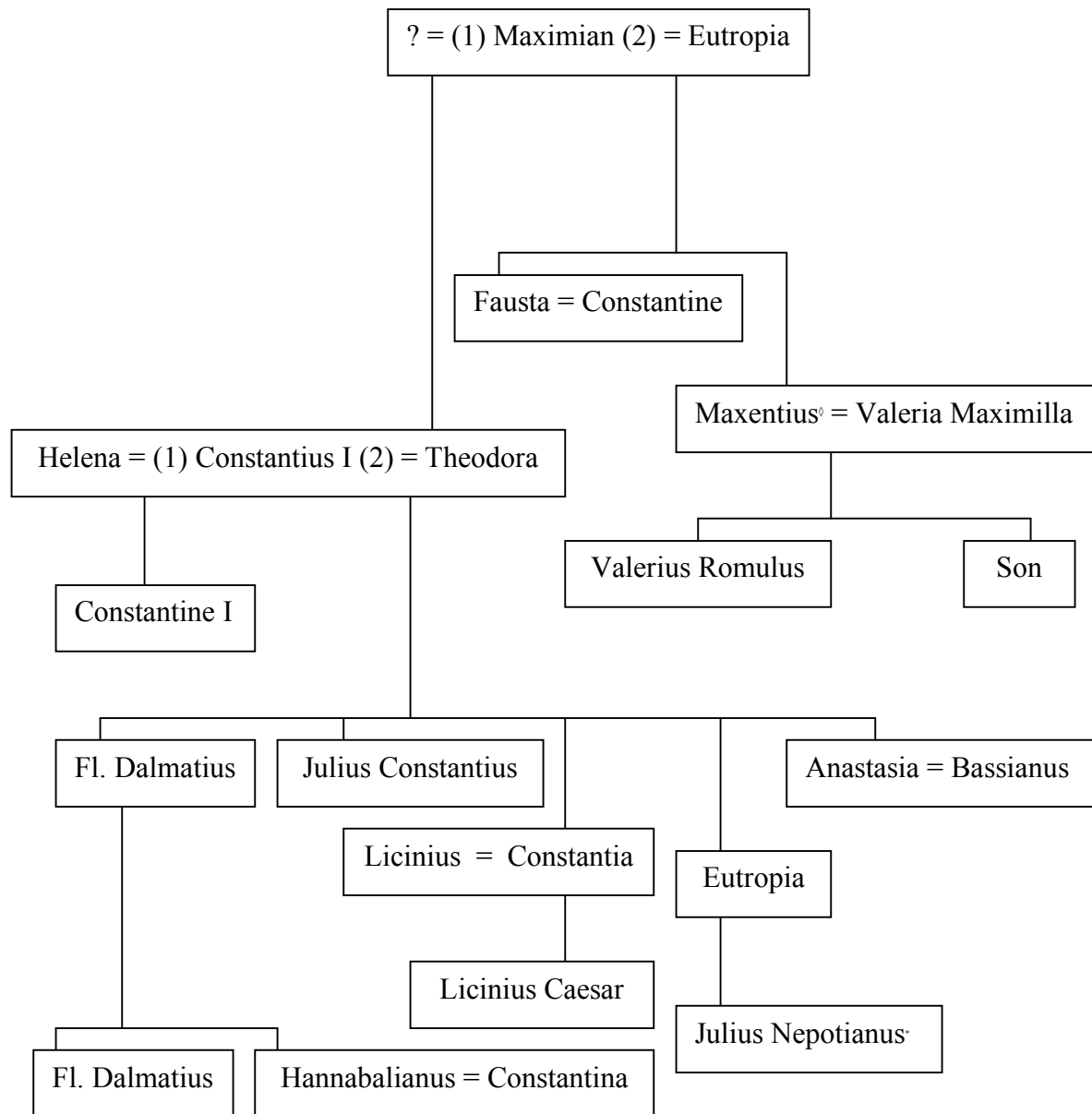
\*Named Caesar to Diocletian Galerius on March 1, 293 and married Valeria the same year.

◇ Betrothed to Candidianus

## Appendix II: Family Tree

### II. Family of Constantius I and the End of the Tetrarchy 250-305 CE

Although Diocletian likely outlived Constantius I by at least six years, the actions of his progeny led to the eventual collapse of the Tetrarchy under Constantine I and Licinius I. Note the interconnections between Licinius, Maxentius, and Constantine through marriage and birth.



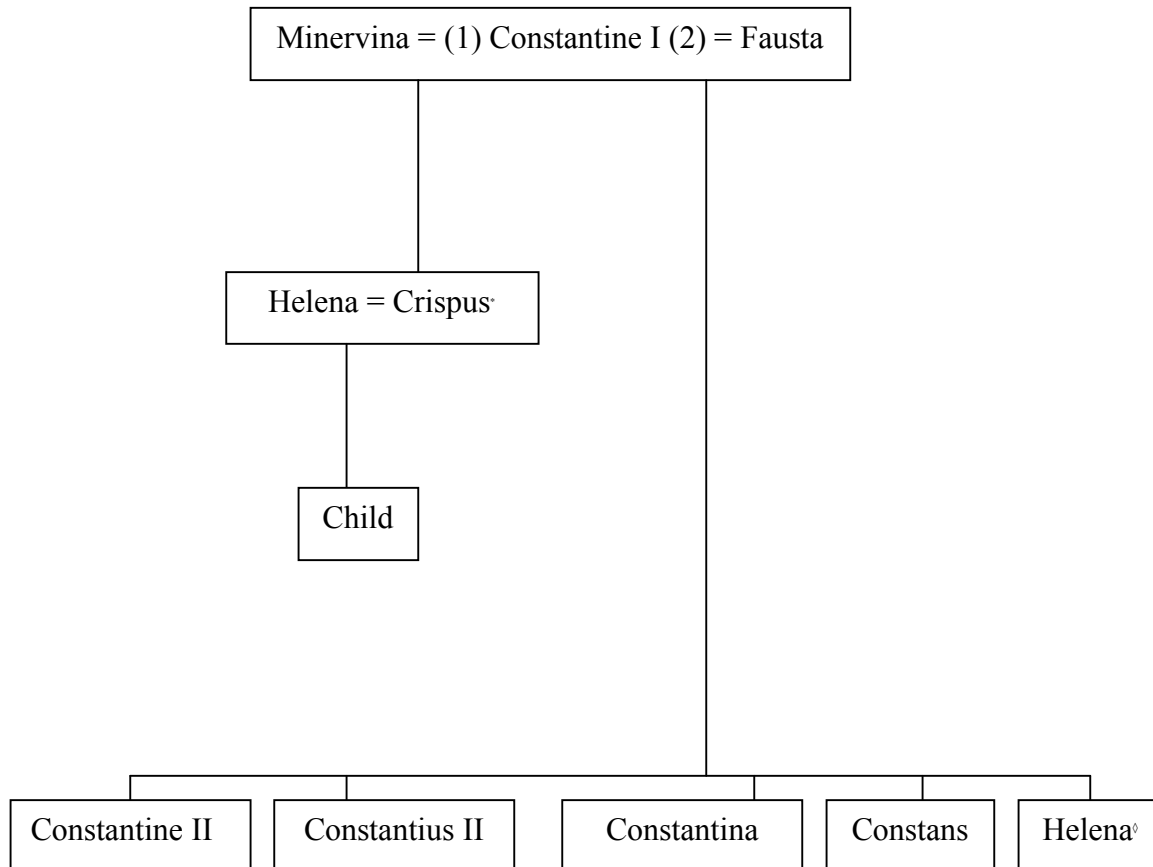
\*Proclaimed Augustus and killed in 350 CE.

◊Controlled Rome between 310 and 312.

## Appendix II: Family Tree

### III. Family of Constantine I and the Rise of the Constantinian Dynasty 300-363 CE

This chart outlines the marriages and progeny of Constantine I, which constitute the legitimate members of the Constantinian Dynasty. Note the absence of the usurpers Nepotianus, Magnentius, and Vetranio. See the ruler list in Appendix I Chart II for more details.



\*Executed by the order of his father in 326 CE.

◇Married to Julian I, who ruled the empire between 361-363 CE.

## Appendix III: Maps

### Appendix III Maps

In order to show the shifts in the political geography of the Roman Empire, this appendix presents a series of maps of the empire from 284-364.

- I. Tetrarchy 284-306
- II. The Rise of Constantine I 306-337
- III. Empire under Constantine's Son's 337-350
- IV. Empire under the Usurpers between 350 and 353

## Appendix III: Maps

### I. The Roman Empire under the First Tetrarchy 284-306



Map 1 Map of the First Tetrarchy. © Tetrarchy.com. Reproduced in <http://www.tetrarchy.com/coppermine/displayimage.php?pos=-807> (accessed March 27, 2011)

## Appendix III: Maps

### II. The Rise of Constantine 306-324 CE



Map 2 Map of Constantine's Rise to Power. © Tetrarchy.com. Reproduced in <http://www.tetrarchy.com/coppermine/displayimage.php?pos=-808> (accessed March 27, 2011)



## Appendix III: Maps

### III. Empire under the Sons of Constantine I 337-350 CE



Map 3 The Sons of Constantinus I Magnus (A.D. 337-340): The Empire Splits. With Keys © Javi @ tesorillo.com/aes Reproduced in [http://tesorillo/aes/\\_map/map.htm](http://tesorillo/aes/_map/map.htm). (accessed April 20, 2011)

The cities numbered in the map correspond to the mints of this period				
1-Trier	2-Amiens	3-Lyon	4-Arles	5-Aquileia
6-Rome	7-Siscia	8-Sirmium	9-Thessalonica	10-Heraclea
11-Constantinople	12-Cyzicus	13-Nicomedia	14-Antioch	15-Alexandria

	<b>337 C.E.</b>   Constantius I dies in 337, and the Roman Empire is divided between his heirs.
	<b>337 C.E.</b>   From the death of his father, Constantius II governs in Aegyptus, Oriens, Pontus, Asia and Thracia.
	<b>337-340 C.E.</b>   From the death of his father, Constantinus II governs Hispania, Britannia and Gallia.
	<b>377 C.E.</b>   From the death of his father, Constans governs Italia, Illyria, and Africa.
	<b>340-350 C.E.</b>   Territories controlled by Constans from the defeat of Constantinus, to the arrival of the usurper Magnentius.

## IV. Empire under the Usurpers 350-353



Map 4 Constantius II Reunifies the Empire (A.D. 350-355): Usurpations of Magnentius and Vetranio. With Keys © Javi @ tesorillo.com/aes Reproduced in [http://tesorillo.com/aes/\\_map/map.htm](http://tesorillo.com/aes/_map/map.htm). (accessed March 27, 2011)

The cities numbered in the map correspond to the mints of this period				
1-Trier	2-Amiens	3-Lyon	4-Arles	5-Aquileia
6-Rome	7-Siscia	8-Sirmium	9-Thessalonica	10-Heraclea
11-Constantinople	12-Cyzicus	13-Nicomedia	14-Antioch	15-Alexandria

	<b>350-353 CE</b>   Death of Constans, the usurper Magnentius governs in Hispania, Britannia, Gallia, and Italia, aided by his brother Decentius.
	<b>350 CE</b>   Territories of Pannonia and Illyria controlled by the usurper Vetranio
	<b>350 CE</b>   Provinces still loyal to Constantius II
	<b>353 CE</b>   Defeat of Magnentius, Constantius II becomes the only Roman Emperor and reunifies the Roman Empire under his rule. (Julian II becomes the Caesar of the western empire in 355 CE)

## Appendix IV: Mint Administration

### Appendix IV Mint Administration

In order to better visualize the changes in mint administration throughout the Constantinian Dynasty, the chart in this appendix gives the controlling ruler for every mint active between 306-307 CE. Shifts in control are shown year by year; periods of control that last less than a year will be addressed in the footnotes. This chart is a modified version of the chart presented by Victor Failemezger in *Roman Bronze Coins from Paganism to Christianity, 294-364* (Appendix C, 137-139). The chart in this appendix, however, will focus on all minting activity rather than just bronze coins, using the following abbreviations:

Abbreviations	
C	Constantius
CI	Constantine I
CII	Constantine II
CG	Constantius Gallus
CN	Constans
CS	Constantius II
G	Galerius
J	Julian
JO	Jovian
LI	Licinius
M2	Maximinus II
M3	Maxentius
MG	Magnentius
S	Severus II
V	Vetranio

# Appendix IV: Mint Administration

Date	Trier	Constantinople	Rome	Milan	Ticinum	Aquileia	Lyons	Arles	Amiens	London	Simnium	Sisica	Thessalonica	Alexandria	Heraclea	Nicomedia	Cyzicus	Antioch
306	C	-	S	-	S	G	C	-	-	C	-	G	G	M2	G	M2	M2	M2
307	CI	-	M3	-	M3	M3	CI	-	-	CI	-	G	G	M2	G	M2	M2	M2
308	CI	-	M3	-	M3	M3	CI	-	-	CI	-	G	G	M2	G	M2	M2	M2
309	CI	-	M3	-	M3	M3	CI	-	-	CI	-	G	G	M2	G	M2	M2	M2
310	CI	-	M3	-	M3	M3	CI	-	-	CI	-	G	G	M2	G	M2	M2	M2
311	CI	-	M3	-	M3	M3	CI	-	-	CI	-	G	G	M2	G	M2	M2	M2
312	CI	-	M3	-	M3	M3	CI	-	-	CI	-	LI	LI	M2	LI	M2	M2	M2
313	CI	-	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	-	CI	-	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI
314	CI	-	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	-	CI	-	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI
315	CI	-	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	-	CI	-	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI
316	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	-	CI	-	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI
317	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	-	CI	-	CI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI
318	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	-	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI
319	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI
320	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI
321	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	-	CI	-	CI	-	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI
322	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	-	CI	-	CI	-	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI
323	CI	-	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	-	CI	-	CI	-	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI
324	CI	-	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI
325	CI	-	CI	-	CI	-	CI	CI	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI
326	CI	CI	CI	-	CI	-	-	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI
327	CI	CI	-	-	CI	-	-	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI
328	CI	CI	-	-	-	-	-	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI
329	-	CI	CI	-	-	-	-	CI	-	-	-	CI	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI
330	-	CI	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI
331	CI	CI	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	-	CI	CI	CI	CI
332	CI	CI	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	-	CI	CI	CI	CI
333	CI	CI	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI
334	CI	CI	CI	-	-	CI	CI	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI
335	CI	CI	CI	-	-	CI	CI	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI
336	CI	CI	CI	-	-	CI	CI	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI
337	CI	CI	CI	-	-	CI	CI	CI	-	-	-	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI	CI
338	CH	CS	CN	-	-	CN	CH	CH	-	-	-	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS
339	CH	CS	CN	-	-	CN	CH	CH	-	-	-	CS	-	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS
340	CH	CS	CN	-	-	CN	CH	CH	-	-	-	CS	-	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS
341	-	-	CN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
342	-	CS	-	-	-	-	CN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CS	CS	-
343	-	CS	-	-	-	-	CN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CS	CS	-
344	-	CS	-	-	-	-	CN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CS	CS	-
345	-	CS	-	-	-	CN	CN	-	-	-	-	-	-	CS	-	CS	CS	-
346	-	CS	-	-	-	CN	CN	-	-	-	-	-	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	-
347	CN	CS	CN	-	-	CN	CN	CN	-	-	-	CN	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS
348	CN	CS	CN	-	-	CN	CN	CN	-	-	-	CN	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS
349	CN	CS	CN	-	-	CN	CN	CN	-	-	-	CN	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS
350	MG	CS	MG	-	-	MG	MG	MG	MG	-	-	V	V	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS
351	MG	CS	MG	-	-	MG	MG	MG	MG	-	CS	CS	CS	CG	CS	CS	CS	CG
352	MG	CS	MG	-	-	MG	MG	MG	MG	-	CS	CS	CS	CG	CS	CS	CS	CG
353	MG	CS	CS	-	-	CS	MG	MG	MG	-	CS	CS	CS	CG	CS	CS	CS	CG
354	CS	CS	CS	-	-	CS	CS	CS	-	-	CS	CS	CS	CG	CS	CS	CS	CG
355	J	CS	CS	-	-	CS	J	J	-	-	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS
356	J	CS	CS	-	-	CS	J	J	-	-	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS
357	J	CS	CS	-	-	CS	J	J	-	-	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS
358	J	CS	CS	-	-	CS	J	J	-	-	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS
359	J	CS	CS	-	-	CS	J	J	-	-	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS
360	J	CS	CS	-	-	CS	J	J	-	-	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS
361	-	J	J	-	-	J	J	J	-	-	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J
362	-	J	J	-	-	J	J	J	-	-	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J
363	-	J	J	-	-	J	J	J	-	-	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J
364	-	JO	JO	-	-	JO	JO	JO	-	-	JO	JO	JO	JO	JO	JO	JO	JO

## Appendix V: Reverse Types by Mint

### Appendix V: Reverse Types by Mint

To better visualize the total variety of reverse types, this chart reorganizes the types found in the British Museum's collection and the types from *RIC* (volumes VII and VIII) by minting location. The vocabulary of *RIC* will be used when applicable in the type descriptions. When available, the degrees of rarity from *RIC* will be used. (see the key below)

x	type not found
M	medallion (rarity not recorded for medallions in RIC VII)
NA	rarity not available
r <sup>5</sup>	unique
r <sup>4</sup>	2-3 coins known
r <sup>3</sup>	4-6 coins known
r <sup>1</sup>	11-15 coins known
s	16-21 coins known
c <sup>1</sup>	22-30 coins known
c <sup>2</sup>	31-40 coins known
c <sup>3</sup>	at least 41 coins known

## Appendix V: Reverse Types by Mint

No.	Description	Legend	Date	Trier	Constantinople	Rome	Milan	Ticinum	Aquileia	Lyon	Arles	Amiens	London	Sirmium	Sisica	Thessalonica	Alexandria	Heraclea	Nicomedia	Cyzicus	Antioch
245	Constantine being presented an orb with winged victory by a god. Bound captive at his feet.	FELICITAS PERPETVAS AEGVLI	306-337	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
246	Constantine on a dais flanked by two soldiers with kneeling supplicants.	FELICITAS REIPUBLICAE	306-337	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
247	Trophy standing between two bound captives	GAVDIVM REIPUBLICAE	306-337	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
248	Emperor mounted, one arm raised.	GLORIA EXERCITVS GALL	306-337	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
249	Emperor, std. togate, holding orb.	PON MAX TEIEPPPROGS	306-337	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
250	Sol in a quadriga crowned by Victory.	SOLI INVICTO AETERNO AVG	306-337	x	x	x	x	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
251	Spes stg. Holding palm branch and raising robe.	SPES PVBLICA	306-337	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
252	Victory, std. on cuirass, holding wreath inscribed VOT XX. To standard and captive.	VICTORIA AVG ET CAESAR	306-337	x	x	x	x	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
253	Victory stg. With wreath flanked by two captives.	VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG	306-337	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
254	Victory walking, holding wreath and palm branch.	VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG	306-337	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
255	Victory std. on cuirass, holding wreath inscribed with VOT X.	VICTORIA CONSTANTINI CAES	306-337	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
256	Emperor, stg., holding globe and vertical standard, crowned by Victory.	VICTORIA OMNIVM GENTIVM	306-337	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
257	Victory stg., facing, holding wreath with xxx.	VICTORIBVS AVGG NN VOTIS	306-337	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
258	Emperor mounted, galloping, cloak flying, charging enemy with spear.	VIRTVS AVGVSTI	306-337	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
259	Mars helmeted, adv. Holding trophy and a spear over shoulders flanked by two bound captives.	VIRTVS EXERCITVS	306-337	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
260	Mars helmeted, adv. holding trophy and a spear over	VIRTVS EXERCITVS GALL	306-337	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>245</sup> **Arles:** BMR.154 [306-337 CE]

<sup>246</sup> **Trier:** BMR.149 [306-337 CE],

<sup>247</sup> **Trier:** BMR.148 [306-337 CE]

<sup>248</sup> **Trier:** BM1867,0101.894 [306-337 CE]

<sup>249</sup> **Trier:** BM 1867,0101.893 [306-337 CE],

<sup>250</sup> **Ticinum:** BM 1866,0721.14, [306-337 CE]

<sup>251</sup> **Trier:** BM R.153 [306-337],

<sup>252</sup> **Ticinum:** BM 1981,0605.1 [306-337 CE]

<sup>253</sup> **Trier:** BM R.150 [327-337 CE]

<sup>254</sup> **Trier:** BM 1855,0512.61 [324-337 CE]

<sup>255</sup> **Sirmium:** BM 1867,0101.913 [324-337 CE]

<sup>256</sup> **Ticinum:** BM 1860,0329.55 [306-337 CE]

<sup>257</sup> **Trier:** BM R.143, [306-337 CE]

<sup>258</sup> **Trier:** BM 1864,1128.188, [306-337 CE]

<sup>259</sup> **Trier:** BM R1874,0715.123, [306-337 CE]

<sup>260</sup> **Trier:** BM 1860,0329.49, [306-337 CE]



## Appendix V: Reverse Types by Mint

[illegible]

<sup>261</sup> **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 1 p675, [ 316 CE] **Trier:** BM R.144, [324 CE]

<sup>262</sup> **London:** BM1977,1005.22-23, BM B.122, [310-312 CE]

<sup>263</sup> **London:** BM B.121 [310-312 CE]

<sup>264</sup> **London:** BM B.111 [310-312 CE], **Trier:** BM THO.2902 [317-324 CE], **Ticinum:** BM 1950,1201.29 [317-324 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 192-193 p525 [332-333 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 183-184 p632 [335 CE], **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 42-44 p684, no. 47 p685, no. 51 p685 [324 CE].

<sup>265</sup> **London:** BM 1977,1005.25 [310-312 CE], **Trier:** BM 1864,1128.187 [310-312 CE], **Aquileia:** BM THO.3011 [324-361 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 176 p522, no. 190-191, 209-213, pp525-528 [330-335 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 65-66 p580, no. 109-112 p585, 113 p586 [333-337 CE], **Nicomedia:** BM1872.0302.6 [317-340 CE], **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 94-95 p694 [335 CE],

<sup>266</sup> **London:** BMB.125 [312-313 CE].

<sup>267</sup> **Rome:** BM B.2141 [312-313 CE]

<sup>268</sup> **London:** BM 1856,0712.1 [312-313 CE],

<sup>269</sup> **London:** (var. BM B.135) *[312-313 CE]* **Trier:** RIC7 no. 2 p162, (var. 184, 189 p178), (var. no. 246-247 pp185-186), (var. no. 502 p211), *[313-320 CE]* **Arles:** RIC7 no. 317, 299, 307 p266-270, *[326-329 CE]* **Rome:** RIC7 no. 402-404 p346 *[337 CE]*

<sup>270</sup> **Arles:** RIC7 no. 1, 4 p234 [313 CE],

<sup>271</sup> **Trier:** BM R1874,0715.129 [313 CE] **Arles:** RIC7 no. 7-9 p235 [313 CE]

<sup>272</sup> **Arles:** RIC7 no. 4, 6 p235 [313 CE]

<sup>273</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 1 p162 [313-314 CE]

<sup>274</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 13-14 p164-165 [313-315 CE], **Ticinum:** RIC7 (var. no. 27 p363) [315 CE],

## Appendix V: Reverse Types by Mint

[illegible]

<sup>275</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 15 p165 [313-315 CE],

<sup>276</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 66-67 p169 [313-315 CE] **Rome:** RIC7 no. 14 p297 [313 CE],

<sup>277</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 16, (var. 17) [313-315 CE], **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 29 p363 [315 CE],

<sup>278</sup> **Arles:** RIC7 no. 13 p235, no. 33-41 p237 [313-315 CE],

<sup>279</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 62-65 p169 [313-315 CE] **Rome:** RIC7 no. 16 p297 [313 CE]

<sup>280</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 6-7 pp163-164, (var. 1 no. 9-10), (var. 2 no. 38 p167) [313-315 CE]

<sup>281</sup> **Trier**: RIC7 no. 11 p164, [313-315 CE]

<sup>282</sup> **Arles:** RIC7 no. 49-51 p238, [313-315 CE]

<sup>283</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 61 p169 [313-315 CE], **Rome:** RIC7 no. 12 p297 [313 CE],

<sup>284</sup> **London:** RIC7, no. 4, p97 (var. no. 25, p99) [*313-315 CE*], **Lyon:** RIC7 no. 10-12 p123, (var. 2 no. 13-14 p123) [*313-314 CE*], **Trier:** RIC7 no. 49-55 p168, no. 68-69 p169, no. 77-83 p170, no. 108-118 p173, **Arles:** RIC7 no. 23, 25, 27, (var. 4 no. 29) p236 [*313-316 CE*], **Rome:** RIC7 no. 6, 9, 10 p296, no. 25 p299 [*313-315 CE*], **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 5-6 p360, no. 11-13, 18, 23 pp361-362, no. 47 p366 [*313-316 CE*].

<sup>285</sup> **Triet:** RIC7 no. 22 p165, (var. 1 23-25), (var. 2 26), p166 [313-315 CE] **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 31-32 p363, no. 39 p365, no. 55 p368 [315-316 CE].



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<sup>286</sup> **Arles:** RIC7 no. 48 p238, no. 69 p239, [313-316 CE]

<sup>287</sup> **London:** RIC7; no. 5-18, p97-98, no. 27-29, 32-35 p99, no. 43-47, 53 p100, 54-59, 62-63, 68-77 p101, no. 78, 88-95, p102, 99 p103, no. 106-114 p103, no. 115-123 p104, 137-147 p105, no. 149-153 p106, [313-318 CE] **Lyon:** RIC7 no. 1-7 p122 (var. 1 no. 8-9 p122), 15-25 p123, (var. 2 no. 26 p123), (var. 1 no. 27 p123), no. 30-47, 51-62 pp124-126, [313-316 CE] **Triier:** RIC7 no. 39-48 p168, 70-76 p169, no. 92-107 pp172-173, no. 127-137 p174, no. 157-168 pp176-177, [313-318 CE] **Arles:** RIC7 no. 14-16 p235, (var. 3 19-21 p235-236), (var. 4 no. 22 p236), no. 35-47 p237, no. 56-58, 62-66 pp238-239, no. 71-73, 75 p240, no. 79-81, 84-85, 89-90, 92-93, 96-103 pp240-243, no. 108-112 p244, no. 136-139 p247, no. 144-146, 149-152, no. 164-165 p250, no. 180, 184 p253, [313-319 CE] **Rome:** RIC7 no. 1, 2, 5 p296, no. 18-20 p298, no. 27-28, 31, 33, 34 p299, 37, 39-41 p300, no. 45-58 pp301-303, no. 78-79 p307, no. 97 p309, no. 136 p313, [313-318 CE] **Ticinum:** RIC7 1-3 p360, 7-10 p361, 14-17 p361, 20-22 p362, no. 43-45 p366, no. 61-64, 67-68, pp370-371, [313-318 CE] **Siscia:** RIC7 (var. no. 24-25 pp426-427), no. 31-34, 36 p428 [317 CE].

<sup>288</sup> **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 5 p675, no. 22 p679 [313-319 CE],

<sup>289</sup> **London:** RIC7, 1, p.97 (var. RIC7, no. 21, p98) [313-315 CE] **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 27 p396 [318-319 CE] var. **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 48 p685 [324-325 CE]

<sup>290</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 18, (var. no. 19-21 p165), (var. no. 242, 244, 245) [313-320 CE] **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 30 p363, no. 38 p365 [315 CE],

<sup>291</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 12 p164 [313-315 CE], **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 26, (var. no. 104 p375) [320-321 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 28 p396, no. 34 p397 [320 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC7 (var. no. 1, 4 p467) [324-325 CE], **Antioch:** RIC7 (var. no. 39 p683), (var. no. 41 p684) [324 CE], var. 2 **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 43 p473, no. 57 p476 [324-325 CE], var. 3 **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 46 p685 [324 CE], var. 4 **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 20A p470 [321 CE], **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 39 p683 [324 CE].

<sup>292</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 3 p163, no. 195-198, p179 [313-317 CE] **Rome:** BM 1864,1128.191, [313 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 164 p520, [327 CE]

<sup>293</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 34 (var. 1 no. 36-37) (var. 2 no. 38) p167, no. 503 p212, [313-327 CE] **Rome:** no. 262 p324, no. 263 p324, [324-326 CE]

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294 **London:** RIC7 no. 293-294 p116, (var. 1 no. 295-298 p116) [324-325 CE] **Lyon:** RIC7 no. 225-226, (var. 227-233 pp136-137) [324-325 CE], **Trier:** RIC7 no. 449, (var. 450-457 p205), no. 461, (var. no. 462-464), no. 475-476 p209, (var. no. 477-480), no. 504 p212, (var. no. 505-507 p212), 509-511 p212, (var. no. 512-514 p213) [324-328 CE], **Arles:** RIC7 no. 30-31 p237, no. 264-265 p263, (var. no. 266-276 p263), no. 280 (var. no. 281-284) p264, no. 286 p265, (var. no. 287-290) p265, no. 301 p266, 310-311 p267, (var. no. 302, 311 p267-268) [313-329 CE], **Rome:** RIC7 no. 264 p325, (var. no. 265-269 p325), no. 287, (var. no. 288-290 p330), (var. no. 323-326 p335) [325-330 CE], **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 200-201, 207-208 pp386-387 [326-327 CE], **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 183 (var. 184-186), no. 193-195 p448, no. 200 p449, 201-203 p450, RIC7 no. 214-217 p452 [325-330 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 53 p475, [324-325 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 153-154 p518, (var. no. 155-156 p519), no. 169-170 p521, (var. no. 171-172) [324-330 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 16 p544, (var. no. 18, 20, 23, 26), 28, (var. no. 30, 32), 33, (var. no. 35, 37), 38, (var. 40), 42, (var. 44, 46) pp544-547, (var. 65, 67-68 pp549-550), (var. 88 p553), (var. no. 96-98, 107-108, pp554 [324-330 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 7 (var. 8-10) p571, (var. no. 20-21 p572), (var. 39-40 p575) [324-330 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 31-31, 35-36 pp604-605, no. 90 (var. no. 91-94 p615), no. 121, (var. no. 122-128) pp620-621, no. 144-145 p623, (var. no. 146-147 p624), no. 153-156 p625, (var. no. 157-158 p626) [324-330 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC7 no. 24, (var. 25-27) p647, 34, (var. 35-38) p649, 44, (var. 45-48) p650, no. 51 p651, (var. no. 52-53 p651), no. 55-62, (var. no. 63-64) pp652-653, [324-330 CE] **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 63 p688, (var. no. 64-66 p688), no. 71 p690, (var. no. 72-74 p690), no. 78-79 p691, 81 p691, no. 84 p682, [324-330 CE] **Alexandria:** RIC7 no. 34 (var. no. 35-37) p709, no. 41 (var. 42-43) p710, no. 45 (var. no. 46-47) p710, 49 (var. no. 51-52) p710, no. 54, (var. no. 55-56) p711 [324-330 CE],

<sup>295</sup> **Triier:** RIC8 no. 4-6, 9, 11 p140, (var. 1 **Triier:** RIC8 no. 7-8, 10 p140) [337-340 CE] **Triier:** RIC7 no. 27-31 p166, no. 578 p221, [313-336 CE] **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 33 p364, no. 57 p368, no. 57A p369, [315-316 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 135 p514, [324 CE] **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 100 p555, [326-330 CE] **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 81-83 p614 [324-325 CE],

<sup>296</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 32, (var. 33) p167, no. 190 p178, no. 191 p179, [313-317 CE] **Rome:** RIC7 no. 44 p301, no. 262 p324, no. 273-274 p273, [316-326 CE] **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 34 p364, [315 CE] **Siscia:** RIC no. 28 p427, [317 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 13-14 p500, RIC7 no. 189, (var. no. 205, 208), pp525-528, [317-335 CE] **Antioch:** RIC7 (var. no. 93 p694), [335 CE]

<sup>297</sup> **Rome:** BM 1868,0331.1 [306-337 CE]

<sup>298</sup> **Lyon:** RIC7 no. 28 p124, [314-315 CE]

<sup>300</sup> **London:** RIC7, no. 2, p97, no. 22, 30 p99, no. 36-40, no. 50, 51 p100, nos. 65-66, p101, no. 85 p102, [314-317 CE] **Arles:** RIC7 no. 52-53 p238, no. 78 p240 [315-316 CE].

<sup>301</sup> **London:** RIC7, no. 27, p99 [314-315 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC7 (var. no. 36 p398) [320 CE], **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 245-247, 251, p457 [335 CE].

## Appendix V: Reverse Types by Mint

302	Trophy, captive sitting on ground on either side; FRAN ET ALAM in exergue above m.m.	GAVDIVM ROMANORVM	315	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
303	Emperor in military dress, stg. on platform, trophy across shoulder, crowned by Victory with palm branch; nine soldiers stg. Around, four in foreground holding horses, others with shields, the two in background on either side of dais holding standard.	SA-LVS REI-PVBLIC-AE	315	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
304	Victory std. on cuirass, shield behind, inscribing X/XX on shield set on knee; in front, trophy between two captives std. on ground. (var. 1 shield inscribed X/MVL/XX)	VICTO-R-E-AV-G-N (var. VICTORE-AVG N VOTIS, var. VICTORE-AVG N VOTIS X MVL XX VICTORE AVG N VOTIS)	315-316	M	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
305	Two victories stg. With palm branch, together holding shield inscribed VOT/X MVL/XX on column	VICTO-RIAE LAETAE-AVG NN	315-317	x	x	NA	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x
306	Prince helmeted, in military dress, stg, cloak spread, holding reversed vertical spear, hand resting on shield.	PRINCIPI I-VVENTVTIS	315-336	Cl	x	NA	x	NA	NA	x	R5	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	NA	x	x	x
307	Emperor stg. on platform, raising hand, two soldiers and captives in background three standards.	ADLOCVTIO AVG	316	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
308	Four children stg., holding the attributes of the four seasons; TEMPORA in exergue above m.m.	FELICIA	316	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
309	Fortuna std. on throne, cornucopia on arm, rudder in hand.	FORTVNAE REDVCI	316	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
310	Soldier, helmeted, shield on arm, dragging captive to Emperor.	GAVDIVM ROMA-NORVM	316	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
311	Liberalitas wearing long robe stg., cloak across shoulder, cornucopia on arm, account board in hand.	LIBERALITAS XI IMP IIII COS P P P	316	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
312	Emperor in military dress, std. on cuir., shield, holding zodiac, crowned by Victory stg. behind.	RECTOR TOTIVS O-RBIS	316	x	x	x	x	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>302</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 28 p363, no. 37 p365 [315 CE],

<sup>303</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 36 p364 [315 CE],

<sup>304</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 86, (var. 87) (var. 2 88) p171 [316 CE] var. 1 **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 40 p365, no. 50 p367, no. 58 p369 [315-316 CE],

<sup>305</sup> **Rome:** BM R.158, [315 CE] **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 25 p362, [315 CE] **Thessalonica:** 7 p499, [317 CE]

<sup>306</sup> **London:** RIC7, no. 106 [318 CE] **Trier:** RIC7 no. 138-145 p175, no. 169-174 p177, no. 186-188 p178, no. 199 p179, no. 447-448 p204, no. 470-474 p208, no. 495-496, 500-501 p211, no. 572-576 p221, **Arles:** RIC7 no. 55 p238 [317-336 CE], **Rome:** RIC7 no. 137-138 p313, 249, 252-255 p323 [318-326 CE], **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 105-107 p375, 111-112 p376 [320-321 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 30 p396, 117 p406 [318-325 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 114-116 p619 [325-326 CE],

<sup>307</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 48 p367 [316 CE]

<sup>308</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 41-42 p366 [316 CE],

<sup>309</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 51 p367 [316 CE],

<sup>310</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 52 p368 [316 CE],

<sup>311</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 53 p368 [316 CE]

<sup>312</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 54 p368 [316 CE]

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313	Sol stg. in quadriga, seen from front, raising hand holding globe and whip.	SOLI INVIC-TO COMITI	316	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
314	Emperor in tunica stg. Facing turreted female, stg., offering wreath; Victory, stg., crowning Emperor.	VICTORIOSO SEMPER	316	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
315	Emperor stg., in military dress, leaning on scepter, erecting trophy at the foot of which cuirass, shield.	SECVRITAS-PERPETVA	316-319	x	x	x	x	M	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
316	Emperor in tunica, stg. Facing; turreted Res Publica, stg., offers Victory on globe; Pax, stg., offers wreath.	VOTA-PVBLICA (var. VOTA-PV-BLICA) (var. VOTA-PV-B-LICA)	316-324	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x
317	Sol stg., chlamys spread, presenting Victory on globe to Emperor in military dress, cloak spread; between them, suppliant.	SOLI COMITI AVG N (var. 1 SOLI COMITI CONSTANTINI AVG)	316-325	x	x	x	x	M	M	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
318	Constantinople turreted winged std., feet on prow, holding branch and cornucopia. (var. but crowned by Victory stg. Behind with palm branch)	VICTORIA AVG	316-337	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
319	Sol rad. stg., chlamys across shoulder, raising hand, holding globe; at feet, kneeling barbarian.	CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE	317	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x
320	Emperor stg. in military dress, holding transverse spear pointing down, globe in hand; behind, Victory, with Emperor stg. With branch, crowning emperor.	FELICITAS AVGVSTORVM	317	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x
321	Emperor in military dress, stg., chlamys across shoulder, receiving Victory on globe from Sol stg., cloak displayed; between them kneeling captive.	FELICITAS PERPETVA SECVLI (var. FELICITAS PERPETVA SAECVLI)	317	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x
322	Emperor stg. facing, presenting globe to one of his sons; on the other side, the other Caesar.	GAVDIVM REIPVBLICAE	317	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
323	Victory std., shield in lap, inscribed MVL/XX; behind, cuir., shield.	GLORIA PERPETVA AVG N	317	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x
324	Prince stg., in military dress, cloak across shoulder, holding standard inscribed VOT/XX and transverse spear.	PRINCIPI-IVVE-NTVTIS	317	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>313</sup> **London:** RIC7, no. 81, 82, 84 p102 [316 CE]

<sup>314</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 59 p369, [316 CE]

<sup>315</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 49 p367, [316 CE] **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 33 p397 [319 CE],

<sup>316</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 89, (var. 90), (var. 91) p171 [316 CE] **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 66-67 p611 [324 CE]

<sup>317</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 108 p375, [320-321 CE] **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 35 p397, [320 CE] var. 1 **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 56 p368, [316 CE] **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 8 p468, [324-325 CE]

<sup>318</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 303-305 p303 (var. no. 342-343 p337), no. (var. no. 357 p340), (var. no. 356 p340) [316-337 CE]

<sup>319</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 8 p500, [317 CE]

<sup>320</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 11 p500 [317 CE],

<sup>321</sup> **Arles:** RIC7 no. 114 p245 [317 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 10 p500 [317 CE],

<sup>322</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 185 p178 [317 CE],

<sup>323</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 6 p499 [317 CE],

<sup>324</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 20-21 p502 [317 CE],

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325	Mars nude, adv., chlamys flying, trophy across shoulder, holding transverse spear; captive std. on ground on either side.	VIRTVS EX-ERCITVS GALL	317	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	M	M	x	x	x	x	x
326	Sol stg., chlamys across shoulder, raising hand, holding globe.	CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE	317-318	Cl	x	R3	x	R2	R3	x	R1	x	R4	x	R3	R2	x	x	x	x	x
327	Emperor in military dress stg., cloak spread, holding transverse spear and globe. (var. 1 prince helmeted, in military dress, stg. cloak spread, leaning on reversed vertical spear, hand resting on shield. var. 2 with SARMATIA)	PRINCIPIA IV-VENTVTIS	317-318	NA	x	R3	x	R2	C2	x	R1	x	R4	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x
328	Mars nude, adv., chlamys flying, holding transverse spear and trophy across shoulder.	VIRTVS MILITVM DD NN	317-318	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x
329	Busts bare-headed, facing one another. (var. 1 busts laur., dr. cuir.)	CRISPVS ET CONSTANTINVS CC (var. 1 CRISPVS ET CONSTANTINVS IVN NOBB CAESS)	317-324	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	M	x	x	x	M	x	x
330	Laur. Confronted consular busts, holding globe and scepter with eagle.	CRISPVS ET CONSTANTINVS NOBB CAESS COSS II	317-324	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	M
331	Emperor in military dress, mounted with cloak flying, raising hand, holding scepter.	FELIX ADVENTVS AVG N	317-324	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	M	x	x
332	Emperor togate, with orb and sword	FELIX PROCESSVS COS III	317-324	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
333	Three Monetae stg., each holding balance in hand, cornucopia on arm; on the ground, ingots.	MONETA AVGG (var. MONETA AVGVSTORVM) (var. MONETA CAESARVM) (var. MONETA VRBIS VE-STRAE) (var. SACRA MONETA-VRBIS) (var. MONETA AVGG ET CAESS NN)	317-324	x	x	M	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
334	Three Monetae stg.	SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN	317-324	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
335	Emperor stg. in military dress, holding transverse	VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG	317-324	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	M

<sup>325</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 192-194 p179 [317 CE] **Arles:** RIC7 no. 115-117 p245, [317 CE] **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 29-30 pp427-428, [317 CE]

**Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 15-18 p501, [317 CE]

<sup>326</sup> **London:** RIC7, no. 101-104 p103, no. 124-131, 148 p105, [317-318 CE] **Trier:** RIC7 no. 124-126 p173, no. 146-156 p175-176, no. 175-183 p177, [316-318 CE] **Arles:** RIC7 no. 104-105 p243, no. 118-122 p246, no. 140-147 p248, no. 144 p248, no. 156-158 p250, no. 166, 171 p251, no. 181-182 p253, [316-319 CE] **Rome:** RIC7 no. 59 p303, no. 80-85 p 307, no. 98 p309, no. 129-130 p312, [317-318 CE] **Ticinum:** no. 66, 79-80 pp370-372, [317-318 CE] **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 14-20 p394, [317 CE] **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 35, 37-38 p428, [317 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 9 p500, no. 23 p502 [317-318 CE],

<sup>327</sup> **London:** RIC7, no. 132 (var. 133-136) p105 [318 CE], **Trier:** RIC7 no. (var. 2 no. 358-361 p196), (var. 2 no. 446 p204), (var. 2 no. 532-533 p215), no. 536 p216 [322-333 CE], **Arles:** RIC7 no. 106-107 p243, no. 113 p244, no. 129-135 p247, no. 143 p248, no. 161-163 p250, no. 168 p251, no. 172 p252, no. 179, 183 p253 [316-318 CE], **Rome:** RIC7 no. 60 p303, 61-62 p304, no. 87-96 p308, no. 102-103 p309, no. 134-135 p313, [317-318 CE], **Ticinum:** no. 65, 73-78 pp370-371 [318-317 CE], **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 39-40 p429 [317 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 9-10 p393 [317 CE]

<sup>328</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 22 p502, [317-318 CE]

<sup>329</sup> var. 1 **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 14 p469 [320-324 CE],

<sup>330</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 18 p470 [324-325 CE], **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 37 p682 [324 CE],

<sup>331</sup> **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 27 p427 [317 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 52 p609 [324 CE],

<sup>332</sup> **Sirmium:** BM1867,0101.912 [317-324 CE]

<sup>333</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 65-73 p306 [317-324 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 32 p397 [319 CE],

<sup>334</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 77 p306 [317-324 CE]

<sup>335</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 12 p500, [317 CE] **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 45A p684 [324 CE],

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	spear pointing down, globe in hand; behind, Victory, with Emperor stg. With branch, crowning emperor.																					
336	Concordia std. on throne, caduceus in hand, cornucopia on arm.	CONCOR-D-I-A AVGG NN	317- 325	x	x	x	x	NA	S	x	x	x	x	x	NA	x	x	x	x	NA	NA	NA
337	Victory std. on cuir., shield, holding shield inscribed VOT/X	VICTORIA BAEATISSIORVM CAESS	317- 326	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
338	Alamannia std. on ground; behind her, trophy with spearheads, stg. At the foot of which bow, shield; Alamannia has hand in lap, turning head; in exergue ALAMANNIA (var. with FRANCIA instead) (var. with SARMATIA instead)	GAVDIVM ROMANORVM	317- 333	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
339	The two Caesars facing one another, Crispus, robed, holding eagle-tipped scepter and globe, Constantius, dr., cuir.	CRISPVS ET CONSTANTINVS NOBB CAESS	317- 337	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	M	x	x	x
340	legend in wreath.	VOTIS X CAESS NN	317- 340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	NA	x	x	x
341	legend in three lines; wreath above (var. 1 Two interlaced wreaths; above, star, var. 2 victory advancing holding wreath, palm branch, var 3 Victory advancing with a standard.)	CONSTANTINVS AVG, CONSTANTINVS AVGVSTVS, CONSTANTIVS CAESAR	317- 347	R4	R2	R2	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	NA	R3	R5	x	R3	M	R2	M	M
342	Prince stg., in military dress, holding standard and vertical spear; behind, two other standards.	PRINCIPI-IVVE-NTVTIS	317- 350	NA	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	NA	x	NA	x	x	x	x	NA	NA
343	within a laurel wreath VOT V MVLX T. (var. 1 within wreath SIC V SIC X, var. 2 within wreath SIC X SIC XX var. 3 within wreath SIC V MVLX T.)	GAVDIVM POPVLI ROMANI	317- 355	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	R5	x	x	R4	R3	R3	x	R4	x	x	x	x

<sup>336</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 101, 103 p375, [320-321 CE] **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 11-13 pp393-394, no. 116 p406, [317-325 CE] **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 38-39 p473, [323 CE] **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 59-62 pp610-611 [324 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC7 no. 20 p646 [324-325 CE], **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 50 p685 [324-325 CE].

<sup>337</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 n. 74-76 p306, no. 258-260 p324, [317-326 CE]

<sup>338</sup> **Triier:** RIC7 no. 237-239, (var. 240-241), no. 243, no. 362-367 pp196-197, 516 p213, no. 535 p216 [322-333 *CE*] **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 23 p426 [317 *CE*].

<sup>339</sup> **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 68 p612 [324-325 CE], **Siscia:** BM1864.1128.192 [317-337 CE]

<sup>340</sup> **Nicomedia:** BM THO.2911 [317-340 CE].

<sup>341</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 485-487 p209, (var. 1 no. 497) (var. 2 498-499) [326-327 CE] **Rome:** RIC7 no. 281-286 p329 [326 CE], **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 189 p447 [325 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC7 (var. 1 no. 62 p476) [324-325 CE], var. 2 **Constantinople:** BM1860,0329.62 [326-340 CE], **Nicomedia:** R.169 [324-340 CE] **Thessalonica:** BM1861,1113.3 [324-340 CE] **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 15-16 p448 [337-340 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 1 p248 [337-340 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 53-59 p353 [337-340 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 11 p431 [337-340 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 1 p489 [337-347 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 141 p516 [325 CE], **Rome:** RIC7 no. 377 p343 (var. no. 378-380 p343) [336-337 CE], **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 193 p385, (var. 193-196 p385) [326 CE], **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 210, [326-327 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 147-148 p517, no. 152 p518, no. 168 p521, (var. 194 p526), no. 214 p528, (var. 215-216 p528), (var. 2 no. 218 p528) [326-336 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 145, (var. 146), (var. 2 147), p560 [336-337 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 2 (var. no. 3) p569, **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 13 p571 [326-327 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 98 p615, (var. 1 no. 108 p618) [324-326 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC7 no. 30 p648 [325-326 CE], **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 52 p686, 57 p687 [324-325 CE], var. 3 **Thessalonica:** BM1867,0101.898 [317-337 CE],

<sup>342</sup> **Trier:** BM R.160 [333-335 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 2 p467, 5-7 p468, no. 16 p469, no. 40-41 p473 [324-325 CE], **Thessalonica:** BM 1950.1201.30 [317-340 CE], **Constantinople:** BM R.168 [317-340 CE], **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 45 p684 [324 CE],

<sup>343</sup> **Aquila:** RIC8 no. 47 p320 [340-350 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 16 p350, no. 22 p350, no. 49 p353, no. 261 p368 [337-340 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 10 p402 [337-340 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 1 p429 [337-340 CE], (var. 1 **Arles:** RIC8 no. 59, 61 p207 [340-350 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 45-46 p352, no. 51-52 p353, no. 72-73 p354 [337-340 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 7-9 p402, 16-17 p403, no. 42-43 p405 [337-340 CE], var. 2 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 14-15 p350, no. 20A-21 p350, no. 42-44 p352, no. 48 p353, no. 71 p354 [337-340 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 44-45 p406 [337-340 CE], var. 3 **Siscia:** BM1860,0329.53 [337-340 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 19-20 p350, no. 47 p353, no. 70 p354, 145 p360, no. 149-154 p360 [337-340 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 76-77 p409, [340-350 CE] var. 4 **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 10 p385 [351-355 CE])

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<sup>344</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 140-142 p313, [318 CE]

<sup>345</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 143-144 p314 [318-319 CE],

<sup>346</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 158-159, 161, 163-164 p315 [318-319 CE]

<sup>347</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 57-58 p505, [318-319 CE]

<sup>348</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 48-51 p505, [318-319 CE]

<sup>349</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC no. 36-47 p504 [318-319 CE]

<sup>350</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 52-56, p505, [318-319 CE]

<sup>351</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 27-35 p504, [318-319 CE]

<sup>352</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 146-151, 152, 155-157, pp314-315, no. 194-195, 197, 200 p317 [318-320 CE],

<sup>353</sup> **London:** RIC7, no. 154-156, p106, (var. 157-165, p107), (var. 2 166-182 p108), [318-320 CE] **Lyon:** RIC7, no. 63-90 pp126-128, [319-320 CE] **Triar:** (var. 3 no. 208 p181), no. 208A-209 p181, no. 213-222 p. 182-183, (var. 4 no. 223-236 p183-184) [318-319 CE] **Arles:** RIC7 no. 185-195, 198-201 pp254-256, [319-320 CE] **Ticinum:** RIC7 (var. no. 82-87 pp372-373), 90-91, 93, 95 p374, [318-319 CE] **Siscia:** 47-61, 63-68, 71-74, 76-78, 80-84, 87, 90-95, 97, 99, 100-102, 104, 107-108, pp431-437, [318-320 CE]

<sup>354</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 30 p396, [318-319 CE] **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 37 p473, no. 47 p474, [324-325 CE]

<sup>355</sup> **Aquila:** RIC7 no. 291 p265 (var. no. 292-297 p265), no. 304, (var. p205) p267, no. 313-314 p268, (var. no. 315-316 p268) [325-327 CE] **Rome:** RIC7 no. 165-168, 170-171, 173-178, 180-181, 183-187, 190-191, 193 pp315-317, [318-319 CE]

<sup>356</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 62, 65 p506, [319 CE]

<sup>357</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 59-60 p506, [319 CE]

<sup>358</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 66-71 p507, [319 CE]

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<sup>359</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 60 p369, [316 CE]

<sup>360</sup> **London:** RIC7, no. 183-184 (var. no. 185-198) pp109-110, [320-321 CE] **Lyon:** RIC7 (var. no. 101-124 pp129-130), [320 CE] **Triar:** RIC7 no. 249-302, pp187-190, [320-321 CE] **Arles:** RIC7 no. 202, 204-204, 207 p257, [320 CE] **Ticinum:** RIC7 (var. no. 114, 117, 121-122, 124, 126-127, 129 p378, [319-320 CE] **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 41-45, 47-49, 52-53, 56-58, 62 pp399-401, [320 CE] **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 109, 111-113, 116-118, 120, 122-124, 126, 127, 130-131, 133, 134, 136-137 pp438-441, [320 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 72-83 pp507-508 [320 CE]

<sup>361</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 88 p509 [320 CE].

<sup>362</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 201 p317, 204, 206 p318, no. 207 p318, no. 209 p318, 210, 211, 213, 214, 216, 218-220, 222, 224 pp318-319, [320 CE]

<sup>363</sup> **Lyon:** RIC7 no. 91-93 p128, (var. no. 571) [320 CE] **Arles:** RIC7 no. 208 p257, no. 213, 216 p258 [320-321 CE], var. 1 **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 84 p508 [320 CE], var. 2 **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 140 p441 [320 CE].

<sup>364</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 96 p374 [320-321 CE].

<sup>365</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 80 p403, no. (var. no. 82-84) [320-321 CE]

<sup>666</sup> **London:** RIC7 no. 291-292 p115 *[323-324 CE]* **Lyon:** RIC7 (var. 95, 98-100 pp128-129), no. 210-211, 213, 215-218, 220-221 p135, no. 223-224 p136 *[320-324 CE]* **Triier:** RIC no. 440-441 p202, *[323-324 CE]* **Arles:** RIC7 no. 210, 212, 215, 220, 222, 225, 227, 230, 232 p258-259, no. 235, 237, 241, 243, 244, 245, 247-251 p261, 253-256, 259-263 p261-262, *[320-323 CE]* **Rome:** RIC7 no. 229, 231, 234, 236, 238-242, 243-244, 246-247 p319-322, *[320-322 CE]* **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 68-70, 74-79 p402, no. 87-90, 93-103, 105-115 pp404-406, *[320-324 CE]* **Siscia:** 142, 144, 145-147, 151-153, 156-158, 161, 163-167, 169-170, 172-173, 175-176, 178-179, 181-182 pp443-446, *[320-324 CE]* **Thessalonica:** RIC7 (var. no. 98-100), (var. no. 105-108 p511), (var. no. 109-116, 118-120 p512), 121-122 p512, no. 125-128 p513, (var. 129-130 p513), *[320 CE]*

<sup>367</sup> **Vatican:** RP7 134-135, 138-139 pp378-379, no. 148-162 p380, no. 164-166, no. 168-173, 175-176 [320-325 CE], **Heraclea:** no. 57-59, var. no. 61-63 [324 CE]. **Thessalonica:** RP7 no. 85-87 p508, 90-95 p509 [320 CE]

<sup>368</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 17 p469, [320-324 CE]

<sup>369</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 98-99 p374, [320-321 CE] **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 3 p467, [324-325 CE]



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370	Victory std. on cuir., inscribing VOT/XX on shield, supported by Genius. (var. no genius)	VICTORIAE PERPETVAE	320-325	x	x	x	x	M	M	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
371	Victory std. on cuir., shield, holding shield inscribed VOT/XX; in front trophy, at the foot of which captive.	VICTORIB AVGG ET CAESS NN	320-325	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	M	M	x		
372	Laurel wreath enclosing VOT/XX (var. 1 with VOT/XXX)	D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG	320-330	R5	x	S	x	C3	C2	x	C4	x	x	x	C2	R1	x	C3	x	x	x		
373	Emperor stg. Under arch between his three sons, each holding scepter globe	FELICITAS ROMANORVM	320-331	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	M	M	M	x		
374	Emperor in military dress, mounted, raising hand, holding spear; cloak flying.	FELIX ADVENTVS CAESS NN	321	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
375	Two Victories stg. Facing one antother, together holding shield inscribed VOT/V and supported by kneeling barbarian.	GLORIA CONSTANTINI AVG	321	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
376	Ubertas stg., dr., holding balance with two scales and cornucopia.	VBERTAS SAECVLI	321-322	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
377	Three Monetae, each holding balance and cornucopia.	VBERTAS SAE-CVLI	321-322	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
378	Victory advancing, holding wreath, branch, pushing captive std. on ground.	VICTORI-AE-LIBERAE	321-322	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
379	in laurel wreath	VOT V CAESS NN	321-322	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
380	Globe on altar inscribed VOT/IS/XX in three lines; above, three stars.	BEATA TRA-NQVILITAS (var. BEAT TRA-NQVILLITAS) (var. BEAT TRA-NQLITAS) (BEATA TRANQVILLITAS)	321-323	C3	x	x	x	x	x	C2	x	x	C3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
381	Prince stg., holding standard with eagle and scepter; behind, two standards with eagle and wreath.	PRINCIPI-IVVE-NTVTIS	321-325	x	x	x	x	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	NA	x	x	x	NA	x	x		
382	Emperor in military dress, stg., raising hand toward soldier with shield, dragging	DEBELLATORI GENTIVM BARBARVM	322-333	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>370</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 109 p375, [320-321 CE] **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 37-38 p398, [320 CE] **Sirmium:** RIC7 (var. no. 12-13 p469), [324-325 CE]

<sup>371</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 110 p376, [320 CE] **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 10 p468, [324-325 CE] **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 63-65 p611, [324 CE] **Cyzicus:** RIC7 no. 22-23 p646, [324 CE]

<sup>372</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 439 p202 [323-324 CE], **Arles:** RIC7 no. 223 p259, no. 228 p259, no. 233, 239, 246, 252 p260-261 [321-322 CE], **Rome:** RIC7 no. 225-227 p319, no. 232, 237, 245 pp319-322, 318-320, 322, p335 [320-330 CE], **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 130-131 p378, 140-144 p379, no. 163 p381, no. 167 p381, no. 174 p382 [320-325 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 64-65 pp401-402, no. 85 p404, no. 104 p405 [320-322 CE], **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 148, 159, 168, 171, 174, 177, 180 pp443-446 [320-324 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 96 p510, 101 p510, no. 109 p511 [320 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 56, no. 60, 64, 66 p549, no. 84 p552, 87 p553, 90-92 p553, 93 p554, no. 106 p556 [325-330 CE], var. 1 **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 69-73 p550 [325-326 CE],

<sup>373</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 275 p327 [326 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 15 p469 [320-324 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 105 p556 [329 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 88-89 p614, no. 142-143 p623, no. 169 p628 [324-331 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC7 no. 42-43 p650 [325 CE],

<sup>374</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 19 p470 [321 CE],

<sup>375</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 20 p470 [321 CE],

<sup>376</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 335 [321-322 CE]

<sup>377</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 336 [321-322 CE]

<sup>378</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 337-338 p193 [321-322 CE]

<sup>379</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 339-340 p193 [321-322 CE]

<sup>380</sup> **London:** RIC7, no. 199-214 pp110-111, (var. 1 215-216 p111) (var. 2 no. 217-219) (var. 3 no. 220-237 pp111-112) (var. 2 238-288 pp112-115) [321-324 CE] **Lyon:** no. 125-208 pp131-134 [321-323 CE] **Trier:** RIC7 no. 303-334 p190-192, no. 341-355 p195, no. 368-428 pp197-201 [321-323 CE]

<sup>381</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 180-181 p383 [324-325 CE], **Sirmium:** 58-59 p476 [324-325 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 71-76 p613 [321-324 CE]

<sup>382</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 356-357 p195, (var. 531 p215), no. 534, p216 [322-333 CE],

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<sup>383</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 28-30 p472, [323 CE]

<sup>384</sup> **London:** RIC7 no. 289-290 p115, [323-324 CE] **Lyon:** RIC7 209, 212, 214, 219, 222, p135, [323-324 CE] **Trier:** no. 429 p201, 435-438 p202 [323-324 CE] **Arles:** RIC7 no. 257-258 p262, [322-323 CE] **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 48 p475, [324-325 CE]

<sup>385</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 442 p203 [324 CE],

<sup>386</sup> **Sirmium**: RIC7 no. 45 p474 [324 CE], 44 p474 [324 CE],

**Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 46 p474 [324 CE],

<sup>388</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 443 p203, 444-445 p204 [324 CE]

<sup>389</sup> **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 57 p610, [324 CE]

<sup>390</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 431-433 p294 [352-354 CE], **Arles:** BM 1866,1023.1 [324-361 CE], (var. 1 **Rome:** RIC8 no. 430 p294 [352-354 CE])

<sup>391</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 49-52 p475 [324-325 CE]

<sup>392</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 179 p383 [324-325 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 56 p476 [324-326 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 150 p514 [324 CE],

**Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 70 p612 [324-325 CE].

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393	legend in three lines; star in crescent above.	FL HELENA AVGVSTA	324-325	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4
394	legend in three lines; star in crescent above.	FLAV MAX FAVSTA AVG	324-325	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5
395	Emperor in military dress, stg., holding scepter, assisting kneeling, turreted female, crowned by Victory, holding palm branch.	PIETAS AVGVSTI N	324-325	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x
396	Emperor in military dress, stg., crowning trophy at the foot of which cuirass, shield; Emperor holds scepter.	SECVRITAS PERPETVAE	324-325	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	M	x	M
397	Sol rad. Stg., chlamys spread, presenting Victory on globe to emperor, laur., in military dress.	SOLI COMITI AVG N	324-325	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M
398	Sol rad., stg., chlamys spread, crowning Constantine in military dress, stg., holding transverse spear and globe.	SOLI INVICTO COMITI	324-325	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
399	Sol stg., chlamys across shoulder, crowning Emperor stg., facing, in military dress, and holding standard in hand.	SOLI INVICTO COMITI	324-325	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
400	Victory advancing, holding wreath, palm-branch; a captive on ground.	VICTORIA AVG ET CAESS NN	324-325	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	M	x	x
401	Victory std. on cuir. With shield beside, holding shield inscribed VOT/X (var. supported by genius)	VICTORIA CONSTANTINI CAES	324-325	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
402	Victory std. on cuir., with shield beside, holding shield inscribed VOT/X (var. supported by genius)	VICTORIA CRISPI CAES	324-325	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
403	Prince galloping, cloak flying, charging kneeling enemy with spear; another enemy with shield under horse.	VIRTVS CAESARI N	324-325	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	M	x	x
404	legend in two lines; star above.	CRISPVS/CAESAR	324-326	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	R5	x	R5	x	R5	R4
405	Felicitas stg., holding olive branch, transverse scepter.	FELICITAS AVGVSTA	324-326	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
406	Empress stg., dr., carrying child on arm, offering apple.	PIETAS AVGVSTES	324-326	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
407	Prince stg., in military dress, holding scepter and standard	PRINICIPI IVVENTVTIS	324-326	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	M	x

<sup>393</sup> **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 61 p687 [324-325 CE],

<sup>394</sup> **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 56, 62 pp686-687 [324-325 CE],

<sup>395</sup> **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 69 p612 [324-325 CE],

<sup>396</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 42 p473, [324-325 CE] **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 53-55 pp609-610, [324 CE] **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 38 p683, [324 CE]

<sup>397</sup> **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 49 p685, [324-325 CE]

<sup>398</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 21-22 p471 [324-325 CE],

<sup>399</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 31 p472 [324-325 CE]

<sup>400</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 35-36 pp472-473, [324-325 CE] **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 56 p610 [324 CE]

<sup>401</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 25 p471, (var. no. 27 p471), (var. no. 34 p472) [324-325 CE]

<sup>402</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 23 p471, (var. no. 26), (var. 32-33 p472), [324-325 CE]

<sup>403</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 136 p515, [324 CE] **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 84-85 p614 [324-325 CE],

<sup>404</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 488 p210 [326 CE], **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 190 p447 [325 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 142 p516 [325 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC7 no.

<sup>81</sup> p551 [325-326 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC7 no. 31 p648 [325-326 CE], **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 53 p686, no. 58 p687 [324-325 CE],

<sup>405</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no.248 p323 [324-326 CE],

<sup>406</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 250-251 p323 [324-326 CE],

<sup>407</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 132-133 p514, 138-139 p515 [324 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC7 no. 21 p646, 41 p649 [324-326 CE],

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<sup>408</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 256 p323, 257 p324 [324-326 CE]

<sup>409</sup> **London:** RIC7 no. 300 p116 /324-325 CE/ **Lyon:** RIC7 no. 235 p135, /323-324 CE/ **Trier:** no. 459 p205, no. 483 p209, /324-326 CE/

**Arles:** RIC7 no. 298 p266. [325-326 CE] **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 178 p383. [324-325 CE] **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 55 p475 [324-325 CE].

**Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 160 p519, [326-328 CE] **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 12 p571, [326-327 CE] **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 77-78 p613, no. 96 p615, no. 130 p621, no. 149 p624 [324-327 CE], **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 68 p689, no. 76 p690, [325-327 CE] **Alexandria:** RIC7 no. 39 p709, [325-326 CE]

<sup>410</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 460 p205, no. 466 p207, no. 484 p209. [324-326 CE] **Arles:** RIC7 no. 285 p264, 300 p266, no. 308 p267. [324-326 CE]

**Rome:** RIC7 no. 271 326, no. 292-294 p330, [324-326 CE] **Ticinum:** RIC7 (var. no. 178 p383), 191, 203-204 p387, [324-326 CE] **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 1-5 pp392-393, [324-326 CE] **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 188 p447, no. 197 p448, no. 205 p450, [324-327 CE] **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 61 p476, [324-326 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC 161-160 p519, [324-327 CE] **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 81 p551, [324-327 CE] **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 69A p612, no. 98 p615, no. 131 p621, no. 150 p624, [324-327 CE] **Cyzicus:** RIC7 no. 29 p647, 40 p649, no. 50 p650, [324-327 CE] **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 69 p689, no. 77 p690, [325-327 CE] **Alexandria:** RIC7 no. 40 p709, [325-326 CE]

<sup>411</sup> **London:** RIC7 no. 299 p116 *[324-325 CE]* **Lyon:** RIC7 no. 234, *[324-325 CE]* **Trier:** 458 p205, no. 465 p206, no. 481-482 p209, no. 508, 515 p213, no. 577 p221, *[324-326 CE]* **Arles:** RIC7 no. 13 p263, no. 12 p264, no. 299 p266, *[324-326 CE]* **Rome:** RIC7 no. 270 p325, no. 291 p330, *[324-326 CE]* **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 177 p383, no. 183 p383, no. 190, 202, 209 p387, *[324-327 CE]* **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 187 p447, no. 196 p448, no. 204 p450, no. 218 p453, *[324-329 CE]* **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 54 p475, no. 60 p476, *[324-329 CE]* **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 134 p514, no. 149 p517, no. 159 p519, *[324-328 CE]* **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 79 p551, 89, 95, 109-110 pp553-557, *[325-330 CE]* **Constantinople:** 11 p571, *[326-327 CE]* **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 79-80 p613, no. 95 p615, no. 129 p621, no. 148 p624, no. 159 p626, *[324-328 CE]* **Cyzicus:** RIC7 no. 28 p647, 39 p649, 49 p650, no. 54 p651, *[325-329 CE]* **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 67 p689, no. 75 p690, no. 80, 82 p691, *[325-329 CE]* **Alexandria:** RIC7 no. 38 p709, no. 44, 48, 53, 57 pp701-711, *[323-330 CE]*

<sup>412</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 203 p527, /335 CE/ **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 41 p576, /330 CE/ **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 58 p610 /324 CE/

<sup>413</sup> **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 242 p456, [335 CE] **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 66 p477, [324-325 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC7 (var. no. 140 p516), no. 179 p523, [325-331 CE] **Constantinople:** RIC7 (var. no. 51-52 p577), [330 CE] **Nicomedia:** RIC7 (var. no. 103, 107 p617), no. 171-172 pp629-630, no. 175-179 p631, no. 180 p632, 185 p632, [325-335 CE]

<sup>414</sup> **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 197 p386, [326 CE] **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 253 p457, no. 257-258 p458, [335-336 CE] **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 9 p468, no. 11 p468 [324-325 CE],

<sup>415</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 580 (var. 581-584) (var. 2 585) p222, [336-337 CE] **Arles:** RIC7 no. 409 p278, [336-337 CE] **Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 185 p384 [325 CE], **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 211 p452 [326 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 150 p517, no. 218 p528 [326-336 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 103 (var. 104) p555, (var. 3 no. 148-149) p560 [329-337 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC7 (var. no. 55-56 p578), no. 99 p584, no. 122 p587, (var. no. 123-128 p587) [330-337 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 86 p614, (var. no. 87 p614) [324-325 CE].

<sup>416</sup> **Nicomedia:** BM 1844,1015.309 [324-337 CE]

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<sup>417</sup> **Nicomedia:** BM1867,0101.899, [324-337 CE]

<sup>418</sup> **Nicomedia:** BM 1950,1201.34 [324-337 CE]

<sup>419</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 17-18A p486 [337-340 CE], var. 1 **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 3 p470 [337-340 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 2 p489 [337-347 CE], var. 2 **Constantinople:** BM1867,0101.920 [326-361 CE], **Sirmium:** BM1922,0821.1 [324-361 CE] **Nicomedia:** BM1896,0608.106 [324-361 CE] var. 3 **Sirmium:** RIC7 no. 63 p477, (var. 1 no. 65 p477), (var. 2 no. 65 p477) [325-326 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 110-111 p618, (var. no. 112 p618), (var. 2 112 p618), (var. var. no. 113 p619) [325-326 CE], **Ticinum:** BM1964.1203.149 [324 CE]

<sup>420</sup> **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 6-10 p430 [337-340 CE] (var. 1 **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 4 p430, var. 2 **Rome:** RIC8 no. 299-300 p277 [357 CE])

**Constantinople:** BM 1859,0329.297 [324-337 CE], var. 3 **Rome:** BM 1868,1214.8 [324-337 CE]. **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 1-3 p348, no. 12 p349 [337-340 CE]. **Constantinople:** BM 1867,0101.903 [324-337 CE] **Nicomedia:** BM 1974,0904.2 [324-337 CE] **Thessalonica:** BM 1955,0808.4 [324-337 CE]

<sup>421</sup> **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 104 p617, [325 CE]

<sup>422</sup> **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 70 p689 [325-326 CE],

<sup>423</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 145 p517 [326 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 99-100 p616 [333-337 CE],

<sup>424</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 272 p326, [326 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 146 p517, [326 CE] **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 102 p616, [325 CE]

<sup>425</sup> **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 105-106 p617, no. 134-138 p622 [325-327 CE],

<sup>426</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 1 p569 (326), RIC7 no. 103-106 p585 (335), **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 170 p629 (330-331),

<sup>427</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 207-208, pp467-468 [326 CE]

**Ticinum:** RIC7 no. 198 p386 [326 CE].

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	number of stone layers.																							
429	Felicitas stg., holding olive branch in raised hand, and scepter.	FELITCIT-A-S-SAECVLI	326	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
430	Genius with modius on head stg., chlamys across shoulder, globe in hand, cornucopia on arm.	GENI-VM-P-R	326	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
431	Emperor std. on couch by cuir., lower part of body dr., holding scepter, offering globe with phoenix to Caesar stg. In front of Emperor, trophy across shoulder; panther crouching at feet of Emperor.	GLORIA SAE-CVLI VIR-TVS CAESS	326	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
432	Emperors nimbate stg. in elephant quadriga; on either side, licitor; One raises hand with victory and palm branch crowning Emperor in chariot; four mahouts (or lictors).	INNVMERI TR-IVMFIAVG-N	326	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
433	Two Victories together holding shield inscribed VOT/X (var. laurel wreath enclosing VOTIS/X)	CONSTANTINI CAES	326-327	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
434	Emperor stg., in military dress, cloak across shoulder, holding vexillum and long scepter.	GLORIA-SECVLI	326-327	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
435	legend enclosing wreath, wherein PIETAS PVBLICA.	SOROR CONSTANTINI AVG	326-327	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
436	Emperor helmeted, in military dress, adv., cloak across shoulder flying forward trophy across shoulder flying forward, holding trophy and transverse spear, pushing captive on ground with foot.	VIRTVS D N-CONSTANTINI AVG	326-327	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
437	Four-fold wreath enclosing legend and m.m.; eagle stg. or star in medallion at top of wreath.	VOTIS X CAESS NN	326-327	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x
438	Emperor helmeted, in military dress, advancing, trophy across shoulder, cloak flying dragging captive by hair, pushing captive on ground with foot.	GLORIA CONSTANTINI AVG	326-329	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	M	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x
439	Emperor, in military dress, std. on cuir., receiving Victory on globe from turreted female. and	SALVS ET SPES REIPVBlicAE	326-330	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>429</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 277-278 p328 [326 CE],

<sup>430</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 276 p327 [326 CE],

<sup>431</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 279 p328 [326 CE]

<sup>432</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 469 p208 [326 CE],

<sup>433</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 492 (var. 493-494) [326-327 CE]

<sup>434</sup> **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 207 p451 [326-327 CE].

<sup>435</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 15 p571, [326-327 CE]

<sup>436</sup> **Siscia**: RIC7 no. 208 p451, [326-327 CE]

<sup>437</sup> **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 118-120 p620, [326-327 CE]  
<sup>438</sup> **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 206 p451 [326-327 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 163 p520 [327 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 132 p621, no. 151 p624, 152 p625 [327-329 CE],

<sup>439</sup> **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 99 p555 [326-330 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 43 p576 [330 CE],

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<sup>440</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 180 p523 [330-331 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 6 p570 [326 CE],

<sup>441</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 280 p328 /326 CE/, **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 204 p527, /335 CE/

<sup>442</sup> **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 212-213 p252, no. 248-249 p457, [326-335 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 177-178 p522, [330-331 CE]

<sup>443</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 579 p222 [336-337 CE] **Rome:** RIC7 399 p345 [337 CE], **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 198-199 p449 [326 CE],

<sup>444</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 564-568 p219 /335 CE/, **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 4 p570, no. 17 p572, 23-24 p573, 101 p585, no. 101 p585 /326-337 CE/,

**Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 101 p616, no. 133 p622 [325-327 CE].

<sup>445</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 182 p523, [330-331 CE] **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 101-102 p555, [326-330 CE] **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 102-104 p696 [336-337 CE].

<sup>446</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 15 p572 [327 CE],

<sup>447</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 165 p520, [327 CE]

<sup>448</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 166-167 p520, [327 CE]

<sup>449</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 18, 25 pp572-573 [327-328 CE],

<sup>450</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 517 p213 [327-328 CE],

<sup>451</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 19, 26 pp572-573 [327-328 CE],

<sup>452</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 21 p448 (330).

<sup>453</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 295 p331 [327-333 CE],

<sup>454</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 296 p331 [327-333 CE].

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<sup>455</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 297 p331 [327-333 CE],

<sup>456</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 298 p331 [327-333 CE],

<sup>457</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 299 p332 [327-333 CE],

<sup>458</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 300 p332 [327-333 CE]

<sup>459</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 306 p333 [327-333 CE]

<sup>460</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 301-302 p332 [327-333 CE]

<sup>461</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 308 p333 [327-333 CE]

<sup>462</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 307 p333 [327-333 CE]

<sup>463</sup> **Rome:** RIC no. 309 p333 [327-333 CE]

<sup>464</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 310-314 p333-334, (var. no. 344-348 p338), 359, 360 p340, [327-337 CE]

<sup>465</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 29-38 pp574-575 [328-329 CE],



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<sup>466</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 321 p335 [329 CE].

<sup>467</sup> **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 160 p626 [330 CE]

<sup>468</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 53 p578 [330 CE],

<sup>469</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 42 p576 [330 CE],

<sup>470</sup> **Trier:** RIC7 no. 569-570 p219 [335 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 162-163 p627, no. 165-168 p628 [330 CE],

<sup>471</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 64 p580, no. 87 p583 [333-336 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 161 p627 [330 CE],

<sup>472</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 317 p334 (327-333),

<sup>473</sup> **Rome: RIC8 336-337 p282 [330-337 CE]**

<sup>474</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 196 p526, no. 219-220 p529 [335-336 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 57 p578, no. 129-130 p587, no. 133-134 p588 [330-337 CE].

<sup>475</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. ? p282 [330-337 CE].

<sup>476</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. ? p282, [330-337 CE]

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477	Victory advancing with trophy, palm branch.	VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG	330-337	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	M
478	Soldier helmeted, stg., holding spear and resting hand on shield.	VIRTVS EXERCITVS	330-337, 350-363	x	M	R	x	x	x	R3	R3	x	x	x	R3	R	x	x	x	x	x
479	Wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; above, two stars.	[no legend]	330-340	R2	x	S	x	x	x	x	R	x	x	x	x	C2	x	x	x	x	x
480	Victory stg. with foot on prow, holding transverse scepter in one hand and resting the other on shield.	[no legend]	330-347	R2	x	S	x	x	x	x	R	x	x	x	x	C2	x	x	x	x	R
481	Two helmeted soldiers stg., heads turned towards each other; each holds an inverted spear and rests on a shield; between them, a standard. (var. 1 with two standards)	GLORIA EXERCITVS	330-347	C3	C3	C1	x	x	C	C2	C2	x	x	x	C3	C3	C2	C2	C2	C2	C4
482	Star in wreath	[no legend]	330-361	x	C3	R2	x	x	x	R2	R	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R
483	Emperor, diademed, and his Caesar, bare-headed, both wearing military dress and stg. Facing, their heads	FELICITAS ROMANORVM	331-355	x	x	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	R4	x	R3

<sup>477</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 173-175 p523, 173 p523, 208 p527, [330-335 CE] **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 114 p586, [336-337 CE] **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 98-101 p695, [336-337 CE]

<sup>478</sup> **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 208-209 p193 [360-363 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 250-252 p223 [355-360 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 238-239, 244-246 p271 [352-355 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 323 p373 [351-355 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 101 p392 [361-363 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 46-48 p406, no. 140 p415, no. 160-161 p417, no. 203-204 p421 [350-355 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 197 p526, [335 CE] **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 58-58A p578, no. 131 p587, no. 135 p588, [330-337 CE]

<sup>479</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 66 p143 [337-340 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 8, 15, 25, 30, 38 pp205-206 [337-340 CE] **Rome:** RIC8 no. 17, 29, 39, 55 pp250-251, no. 390-391 p288 [337-340 CE] **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 8, 10, 16, 26 pp539-540 [337-340 CE] **Lyon:** RIC7 no. 242, 252, 257, 260, 267, 270, 274, 275, pp138-140 [330-337 CE] **Trier:** RIC7 no. 522, 524, 529, 547, 541, 542, 553, 561, 562 [330-337 CE] **Arles:** RIC7 no. 342, 351, 356, 362, 368, 373, 379, 385, 392, 400, 407, 415, pp270-279 [330-337 CE] **Rome:** RIC7 no. 314-315, 331, 338, 349, 354, 370, 390, 396, 398, 406, 408 pp334-346 [330-337 CE] **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 122, 128, 136, pp407-409 [330-337 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 187, 229 p530 [330-337 CE] **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 115, 120, 125, 130, 135, 144, 157 pp557-561 [330-337 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 62 p579, no. 85 p582, no. 78 p582, no. 143 p589, no. 154 p590 [330-337 CE] **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 195, 205 pp634-635 [330-337 CE] **Cyzicus:** RIC7 no. 71, 72, 90, 91, 105, 106, 118, 119 pp654-658 [330-337 CE] **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 91, 113 pp693-697 [330-337 CE] **Alexandria:** RIC7 no. 63, 70 p712 [330-337 CE]

<sup>480</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 67, 92 pp143-144 [337-340 CE] **Arles:** RIC8 9, 16, 26, 27, 31, 39 pp205-206 [337-340 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 18, 30, 40 p250 [337-340 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 38, 55A p515 [337-347 CE], **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 9, 10, 16, 26 p539-540 [337-340 CE], **Lyon:** RIC7 no. 241, 251, 256, 259, 266, 273, 279, pp138-141 [330-337 CE], **Trier:** RIC7 no. 523, 530, 548, 554, 563 [330-337 CE], **Arles:** RIC7 no. 344, 352, 357, 363, 369, 374, 380, 386, 393, 401, 408, 416 pp271-279 [330-337 CE], **Rome:** RIC7 no. 332-334, 339, 355, 371, 387, 397, 407 pp336-346 [330-337 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 123, 129, 137 pp407-409 [330-337 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 188, 230 pp524-530 [330-337 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 115, 120, 125, 130, 135, 144, 157 pp557-561 [330-337 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 63 p579, no. 86 p582, no. 79 p582, no. 144 p589, no. 155 p590 [330-337 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 196, 206 pp634-635 [330-337 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC7 no. 73-74, 92-93, 107-108, 120-121, 134 pp654-659 [330-337 CE], **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 92 p693 [330-337 CE], **Alexandria:** RIC7 no. 64, 71 p712 [330-337 CE],

<sup>481</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 38-41, 45-46, 49-52, 57-60, 69-72 80-86, 93-95, 96-99, 101A-118 pp143-145 [340 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 4-11, 13-16, 18-31 pp178-178 [340 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 1-7, 10-14, 18-24, 28-29, 33-37, 43-58 pp205-206 [340 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 2-3, 24-26, 36-38, 46A, 48-52, 57-58 p251 [340 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 10-34 pp316-317 [340 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 74-104 pp354-354 [337-340 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 55-59 p407 [337-340 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 15-39 pp431-432 [337-340 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 23-32, 40-47, 51A, 53-54 pp449-450 [337-340 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 5-17, 19-24 pp471-472 [337-340 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 5-18, 20-24, 26-29, 31-34 p491 [337-340 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 40-63 p516 [337-340 CE], **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 5-7, 13-15, 18-21, 23-25A pp539-540 [337-340 CE], var. 1 **Lyon:** RIC7 no. 236-240, 243-245, 248-250, 253-255, 258, 261-265, 268-269, 271-272, 276-278, 280-282, 285-288 pp137-142, [330-337 CE] **Trier:** RIC7 no. 518-521 p214, no. 525-528 p215, no. 537-540, 544-546, 549-552, 555-560, 586-588, 590-595 pp216-222, [330-337 CE] **Arles:** RIC7 no. 341-342, 345-350, pp270-271, 353-355, 358-361, 364-367, 370-372, 375-378, 381-384, 387-391, 394-399, 402-406, 412-414, pp272-278, no. 327-330, 335-337, 350-353, 363-369, 372, 381-385, 391-395, 400-401 p336-346 [330-337 CE] **Aquileia:** RIC7 no. 118-121, 124-127, 131-135, 139-147 pp407-410 [334-337 CE], **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 219-221 p453, no. 235-239, 252-256, 261-266 pp455-459 [330-337 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC7 183-186 p524, 198-202 p526, (var. no. 222-228 p529) [330-337 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC7 no. 111-113, 116-118, 121-123, 126-128, 131-133, 136-142, 150-155 pp557-561 [330-337 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 59-61 p579, 73-77, 80-84, 137-142, 149-153 pp581-590 [330-337 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 188-194, 199-202 pp603-605, **Cyzicus:** RIC7 no. 65-70, 76-89, 94-104, 109-117, 122-133, 135-146, pp653-660 [330-337 CE], **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 85-90 p693, no. 108-112 p697 [330-337 CE], **Alexandria:** RIC7 no. 58-62, 65-69 p712 [333-337 CE],

<sup>482</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 22 p448 [330 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 110 p520, 185, 187 p527 [351-361 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 181-182 p190 [354 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 204-205 p218, no. 255-257 p223 [354-360 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 236-237 p270 [354 CE],

<sup>483</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 182 p332 [352-355 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 77-79 p477 [337-340 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 11-14 p385 [331-355 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 102 p518 [347-350 CE],

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[illegible]

<sup>484</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 72 p581, [333 CE]

<sup>485</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 67 p580, no. 89 p583, [333-336 CE]

<sup>486</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 340-341 p337, 374-375 p342, (var. 373 p342) [333-337 CE]

<sup>487</sup> **Antioch:** BM 1887,0510.6 [333-350 CE]

<sup>488</sup> **Antioch:** BM 1860,0329.79 [333-350 CE],

<sup>489</sup> **Siscia:** BM 1957,0601.1 [333-350 CE].

<sup>490</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 195 p526 [335 CE],

<sup>491</sup> **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 173-174 p631 [335 CE],

<sup>492</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 100 p584 [335 CE]

<sup>494</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 107 p585, [335 CE] **Nicomedia:** BM 35.291 [335 CE]

<sup>495</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 116 p586, [335 CE]

<sup>496</sup> **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 244 p457, [335 CE]

<sup>497</sup> **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 181-182 p632 [335 CE].

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498	Constantine nimbate in tunica, holding scepter and mappa, std. facing on high-back throne set on platform. On each side bareheaded Caesar in military dress, holding spear and shield.	SALVS ET SPES REIPVBLICAE	335-336	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
499	Victory adv. with trophy and palm branch; in field to VOT/XXX in two lines.	VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG	335-336	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M
500	Roma std. on shield, leaning on scepter, Victory on globe in hand.	VRBS-ROMA	335-337	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
501	Victory walking, holding wreath and palm branch.	VICTORIA AVGVSTI (var. 1 VICTORIA AVGVSTI N)	335-361	R3	x	R	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
502	Three standards	FIDIS MILITVM	336	x	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
503	Euphrates std. on ground, leaning on scepter, urn at his side, reed in background.	SECVRITAS PVBLICA	336-337	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
504	Victory adv, holding wreath.	VICTORIA CAESAR NN	336-337	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	M	
505	Victory std. by cuir., shield inscribing VOT/XX on shield supported by genius.	VICTORIA CONSTANINI CAES	336-337	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
506	Victory std. by cuir., shield, inscribed VOT/XX/XX on shield by Genius.	VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG	336-337	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
507	Prince stg. between captives sitting on ground, holding standard and parazonium, spurning captive with foot.	VIRTVS CAESARVM NN	336-337	x	M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
508	Three palm-branches.	CONSTANTIVS AVG (var. 1 CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES)	336-340	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	M	x	x			
509	Emperor, veiled, to in quadriga; the hand of God reaches down to him.	[no legend]	337-340	S	R5	x	x	x	x	S	R2	x	x	x	x	M	C3	S	C2	C	C3			
510	Emperor in military dress, stg. holding globe and spear.	AETERNA PIETAS	337-340	R2	x	x	x	x	x	S	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
511	Four Standards	CONSTANS AVG	337-340	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
512	legend within wreath.	CONSTANS AVG	337-340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x			
513	Victory advancing, holding wreath and palm-branch	CONSTANS AVG (var. 1 CONSTANTS AVGVSTVS var. 2	337-340	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	NA			

<sup>498</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 44-45 p577, no. 88 p583 [335-336 CE],

<sup>499</sup> **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 96 p694 [335-336 CE],

<sup>500</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 361-362 p340-341, [335-337 CE]

<sup>501</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 25-27 p141 [337-347 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 240-242 p271, no. 301 p277, no. 453 p297 [352-361 CE], **Siscia:** RIC7 no. 250 p457, [335 CE] **var. 1 Rome:** RIC8 no. 472 p299, **Rome:** RIC8 no. 325-326 p280, no. 335 p281, no. 461 p297, [354-364 CE]

<sup>502</sup> **Rome:** RIC7 no. 376 p342 [336 CE],

<sup>503</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 145-148 p589-590, [336-337 CE]

<sup>504</sup> **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 97 p695, [336-337 CE]

<sup>505</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 119-120 p586, [336-337 CE]

<sup>506</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 108 p585, [336-337 CE]

<sup>507</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 102 p585, no. 121 p586 [336-337 CE],

<sup>508</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 2 p248 [337-340 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 60-64 p354 [337-340 CE],

<sup>509</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 44, 68 p142 (340), **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 12, 17 p178 (340), **Arles:** RIC8 no. 42 p206 (340), **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. ? 407 (337-340), **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 14 p431 (337-340), **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 1 p447, no. 37 p449, no. 39, 52 p450 (337-340), **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 4, 18, 25 p471-472 (337-340), **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 4, 19, 25, 30 pp490-491 (340), **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 37, 39 p515 (337-347), **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 4, 12, 22 p539 (337-340),

<sup>510</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 37 p142 [337-340 CE] **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 1-3 p178 [337-340 CE] **Arles:** RIC8 no. 17, 32, 40-41 pp205-206 [337-340 CE]

<sup>511</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 24 p141 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 50 p353, 65-69 p354,

<sup>512</sup> **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 3 p539 [337-340 CE],

<sup>513</sup> **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 12 p431 [337-340 CE], var. 1 **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 19-20 p448 [337-340 CE], var. 2 **Antioch:** RIC7 no. 107 p696, [336-337 CE], var. 3 **Constantinople:** RIC7 no. 136 p588 [337 CE],

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		CONSTANS CAESAR var. 3 CONSTANS NOB CAESAR)																						
514	Three Standards	CONSTANTINVS P P AVG	337- 340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
515	legend within wreath.	CONSTANTIVS AVG	337- 340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
516	Constantine II enthroned, nimbate, facing, his hand raised in benediction and his footstool inscribed VOT V; on either side Constantius II and Constans, diademed, are std. facing, their heads turned towards Constantine II and in the hand of each in a mappa.	FELICITAS PERPETVA	337- 340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
517	Three Emperor enthroned facing in exergue, VOT V.	FELICITAS PERPETVA	337- 340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
518	Victory std. on cuirass, supporting on her knee a shield on which she inscribes VOT X MVLTVT XX; before her stands a small genius supporting the shield.	FELICITAS PERPETVA	337- 340	x	x	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
519	Emperor stg., holding standard with Chi-Rho on banner and scepter. Victory, crowning him with wreath and holding a palm-branch.	GAVDIVM POPVLI ROMANI	337- 340	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
520	Victory std. on cuirass, supporting on her knee a shield on which she inscribes VOT XX MVLTVT XXX; before her stands a small genius supporting the shield.	GAVDIVM POPVLI ROMANI	337- 340	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
521	Victory std. on cuirass, inscribing VOT XX on shield which she rests on her knee.	GAVDIVM ROMANORVM	337- 340	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
522	Emperor, diademed and in military dress, stg., holding standards with banner inscribed VOT XX and scepter; to a captive wearing a pointed cap is std., his head turned towards Emperor and raising his arm to his head.	GLORIA CONSTANTINI AVG	337- 340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
523	Emperor stg. in quadriga; scatters coins, holding an eagle-tipped scepter.	GLORIA ROMANORVM	337- 340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4
524	Pax stg., holding branch and scepter; legs crossed and she leans with her elbow on a	PAX AETERNA AVG	337- 340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>514</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 49-51 p406 [337-340 CE].

<sup>515</sup> **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 2 p538 [337-340 CE], var. 1 **Nicomedia:** RIC7 no. 187 p633 [336-337 CE],

<sup>516</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 18-18A p350, no. 41 p352 [337-340 CE].

<sup>517</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 18 p403, no. 52 p406 [337-340 CE].

<sup>518</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 5 p315 [337-340 CE].

<sup>519</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 1-2 pp314-315 [337-340 CE].

<sup>520</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 4 pp315 [337-340 CE].

<sup>521</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 370-371 p286, no. 373-374 p284 [337-340 CE],

<sup>522</sup> **Sisicia:** RIC8 no. 5-7 p349, 17 p350 [337-340 CE],

<sup>523</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 77-78 p518 [350-353 CE].

<sup>524</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 46A p353 [337-340 CE].

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	column.																					
525	Pax stg. facing branch and transverse scepter.	PAX PVBLICA	337-340	C2	S	R	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
526	Pietas stg. facing, head, carrying an infant at her breast.	PIETAS ROMANA	337-340	C2	S	R	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
527	Three Emperors bare-headed, in military dress, stg. Each holds a spear, and rests hand on a shield. The center figure faces forward, the two outer figures turn towards him.	SALVS ET SPES REIPVBLICAE	337-340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x
528	Securitas stg. Facing, head turned, legs crossed and leaning on scepter. At feet, std. captive.	SECVRITAS AVGVS	337-340	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
529	Securitas stg. Facing, legs crossed and with head turned, holding scepter and elbow leaning on a column.	SECVRITAS REIP	337-340	x	x	C	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
530	legend within wreath	SIC X SIC XX	337-340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x
531	Emperor, diademed and in military dress, stg., holding standard with Chi-Rho on the banner and spear. Victory stands, crowning him with a wreath and holding a palm-branch.	SPES REIPVBLICAE	337-340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x
532	Emperor in military dress galloping, thrusting with spear at barbarian, who kneels before the horse holding spear and sometimes raising.	VICTORI GENTIVM BARBAR	337-340	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
533	Constantinopolis, winged and turreted, std., holding branch and cornucopia, foot on prow.	VICTORIA AVG	337-340	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
534	Victory std. on cuirass, behind which is a shield. On her knee she supports a shield inscribed VOT XXX; before her stands a small winged genius supporting the shield with both hands.	VICTORIA AVG	337-340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5
535	Constantinopolis turreted std., holding branch and cornucopia foot on prow; behind her stands. Victory crowning her with a wreath and holding a palm-branch.	VICTORIA AVGVSTI	337-340	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>525</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 42, 47, 55, 63-64, 78, 90 pp143-144 [340 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 27, 53 pp250-251 [340 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 33-35, 38, 48-49 pp449-450 [337-340 CE],

<sup>526</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 43, 48, 56, 65, 79, 91 pp143-144 [340 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 28, 54 pp250-251 [340 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 36, 50-51 pp449-450 [337-340 CE],

<sup>527</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 20-21 [337-340 CE]

<sup>528</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 351 p285 [337-340 CE]

<sup>529</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 9-13, 22-23, 33-35, 44-46 pp249-250 [337-340 CE],

<sup>530</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 40 p351 [337-340 CE]

<sup>531</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 9-11 p349 [337-340 CE]

<sup>532</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 356-358 p285, [337-340 CE]

<sup>533</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 361-363 p285, [337-340 CE]

<sup>534</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 9 p512 [337-347 CE],

<sup>535</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 364-369 p286 [337-340 CE],

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536	Victory std. on cuirass, behind which is a shield. On her knee she supports a shield inscribed VOT X; before stands a small winged genius supporting the shield with both hands. (var. 1 shield inscribed VOT XV, var. 2 shield inscribed VOT XX MVLT XXX)	VICTORIA CONSTANTIA AVG	337-340	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x
537	Victory walking, holding wreath and palm branch.	VICTORIA CONSTANTIA AVG	337-340	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
538	Victory adv., holding a shield inscribed VOT XXX and kicking a bound and seated captive; the captive is bare-headed and bearded with head turned upwards	VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG	337-340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
539	Victory std. on cuirass, behind which is a shield. On her knee she supports a shield inscribed VOT XX; before stands a small winged genius supporting the shield with both hands.	VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG	337-340	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
540	Victory walking, holding trophy on a long staff and palm-branch over shoulder.	VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG	337-340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
541	Victory adv., holding a shield inscribed VOT V MVLT X, and kicking a bound and std. captive; the captive is beardless and wears a pointed cap.	VICTORIA CONSTANTIS AVG	337-340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x
542	Victory std. on cuirass, behind which is a shield. On her knee she supports a shield inscribed VOT V; before stands a small winged genius supporting the shield with both hands. (var. 1 shield with VOT XV, var. 2 shield with VOT V MVLT X)	VICTORIA CONSTANTIS AVG	337-340	x	R3	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x
543	Victory walking, holding a shield inscribed VOT V MVLT X and kicking a bound and std. captive who wears a pointed cap and is beardless.	VICTORIA CONSTANTIS AVG	337-340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
544	Victory walking, holding wreath and palm branch. (var. 1 holding wreath and	VICTORIA DD NN AVGG	337-340	S	x	x	x	x	R3	C	R4	x	x	x	R3	C	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>536</sup> **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 1 p470 [337-340 CE], (var. 1 **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 4-6, 9 p447, var. 2 **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 10 p447 [337-340 CE])

<sup>537</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 2 p447 [337-340 CE],

<sup>538</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 3-4 p349, no. 13 p349 [337-340 CE],

<sup>539</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 3 p447 [337-340 CE],

<sup>540</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 8 p349 [337-340 CE],

<sup>541</sup> **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 3 p430 [337-340 CE],

<sup>542</sup> **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 2 p470 [337-340 CE], (var. 1 **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 7-8 p447 [337-340 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 41 p318 [340 CE], var. 2 **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 5 p430 [337-340 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 33-36 p351 [337-340 CE])

<sup>543</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 37-38 p351 [337-340 CE],

<sup>544</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 283 p160 [350-353 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 210-215A p193 [360-363 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 69-71 p208 340-350 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 9 p316 [340 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 32 p351 [337-340 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 6 p402, no. 36-37 p404, no. 39-41 p405, no. 53-54 p406 [337-340 CE] (var. 1 **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 34-35 pp179-180 [337-350 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 2-5 p402, no. 11-13 p402, 25-29 p404, no. 93-98 p410, **Trier:** RIC8 no. 122-123 p146, 139-143 p148, 175-179 p151, no. 281 p159 [337-350 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 40 p318 [337-350 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 39 p352 [337-350 CE], **Thessalonica:** BM 1974.0904.19 [337-340 CE])

## Appendix V: Reverse Types by Mint

	(trophy)																								
545	Victory adv., holding a shield inscribed VOT V MVLX, and kicking a bound and std. captive; the captive is beardless and wears a pointed cap.	VICTORIA DDD NNN AVG	337-340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x			
546	Two Victories stg. Facing one another, holding between them a wreath inscribed VOTIS XX MVLX	VICTORIAE DDD NNN AVGGG	337-340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x			
547	Emperor stg., holding standard with Chi-Rho on banner and scepter, bare-headed captive std.	VIRTUS CONSTANTIS AVG	337-340	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
548	Emperor in military dress stg., holding trophy on spear and resting hand on shield; on either side, a seated captive.	VIRTUS EXERCITVM	337-340	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x			
549	Mars helmeted adv., chlamys flying, holding spear and trophy across shoulder; on either side, captive std. on ground.	VIRTUS EXERCITVS GALL	337-340	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
550	Isis stg. on galley with mast and sail.	VOTA PVBLICA	337-340	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
551	Victory std. on cuirass, inscribing VOT XX on shield which she rests on her knee.	VRBS ROMA BEATA	337-340	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
552	Emperor in military dress walking, holding transverse spear and globe. (var. 1 spurns a std. captive)	PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS	337-340, 351	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
553	Four Standards	CONSTANTIVS AVG	337-340, 355-360	R2	R3	x	x	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
554	Emperor, helmeted, in military dress, holding spear and shield, stg. on galley sailing; on the prow, Victory with wreath and palm, behind the Emperor, two standards. Beneath the Emperor are three oarsmen. Behind the ship to, a tower. Below the ship in the water, Oceanus.	BONONIA OCEANEN	337-343	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
555	Emperor in military dres, stg., holding trophy in hand and resting other hand on shield	GLORIA EXERCITVS	337-343	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x				

<sup>545</sup> **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 2 p430 [337-340 CE].

<sup>546</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 26 p351 [337-340 CE],

<sup>547</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 3 p315 [337-340 CE].

<sup>548</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 22-24 p403, 32-35 p404 [337-340 CE],

<sup>549</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 12-14 p140 [337-340 CE].

550 **Rome:** RIC8 no. 475A p300 [361-363 CE],  
551 **Rome:** RIC8 no. 376-377 p287 [337-355 CE],

<sup>552</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 298 p161, no. 302-303 p162 [351 CE] (var. 1 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 33-36 p142 [337-340 CE])

<sup>553</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 22-23 p141 [337-340 CE] **Arles:** RIC8 no. 243-249 p222 [355-360 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 13-14 p448, no. 131 p459 [337-340, 355-360 CE].

<sup>554</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 338 p283 [337-340 CE]

<sup>555</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 119-120 p146 [342-343 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 1 p401 [337-340 CE],



## Appendix V: Reverse Types by Mint

556	Emperor in military dress riding, raising hand. Victory holds wreath and leads the horse.	VICTORIA AVGG	337-343	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
557	Emperor in military dress riding, galloping thrusting with spear at barbarian holding spear, who crouches before the horse.	VIRTVS AVGG	337-343	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
558	Victory stg., holding palm and crowning Emperor, who is std. on throne behind throne, a trophy.	VIRTVS AVGG	337-343	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
559	Emperor in military dress galloping thrusting with spear at barbarian holding shield, who crouches before the horse; beneath the horse, a fallen barbarian.	DEBELLATORI GENTT BARBARR	337-343, 355-361	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
560	Legend within wreath.	CONSTANTINVS AVG	337-347	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	R4
561	within wreath VOTIS XV MVLTI XX.	FELICITAS ROMANORVM	337-347	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3
562	Roma and Constantinopolis enthroned, the former facing the latter. Between them they hold a wreath inscribed VOT XXX MVLTI XXXX. Roma holds spears in hand and Victory on globe in other hand, and Constantinopolis holds scepter in hand and Victory on globe in other and rests foot on prow. (var. 1 no wreath, crowned by victory, var. 2 a shield inscribed VOT XXX MVLTI XXXX which rests on short column)	GLORIA ROMANORVM	337-347	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4
563	Roma enthroned, holding Victory on globe and spear. (var. 1 with scepter and shield instead of spear)	GLORIA ROMANORVM	337-347	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5
564	Emperor in military dress, stg., holding standard with Chi-Rho on banner.	PAX AVGVSTORVM	337-347	R	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
565	Victory advancing, holding wreath and palm.	VICTORIA AVG	337-347	x	x	R	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R
566	Emperor in military dress galloping, thrusting with spear at barbarian, holding spear and raising hand.	VIRTVS AVG N	337-347	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>556</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 340-341 p283 [337-343 CE],

<sup>557</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 342 p284 [337-343 CE],

<sup>558</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 343 p284 [337-343 CE],

<sup>559</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 339 p283, 344-349 p284, no. 352-354 p285, no. 442 p295 [337-343, 355-361 CE],

<sup>560</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 32-34 p513 [337-347 CE], **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 1 p538 [337-340 CE],

<sup>561</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 30-31 p513 [337-347 CE],

<sup>562</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 231-232 p221 [355-360 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 161 p525 [355-361 CE], (var. 1 **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 139 p415 [350-355 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 72-73 p517 [347-355 CE], var. 2 **Rome:** RIC8 no. 421 p293 [352-354 CE])

<sup>563</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 19 p403 [337-340 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 1 p511 [337-347 CE],

<sup>564</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 30-32 p142, 161-163 p150, no. 170 p150 [337-347 CE],

<sup>565</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 20, 31, 42, 56 pp249-251 [340 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 3-8 p512 [337-347 CE]

<sup>566</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 359-360 p285, no. 378 p287 [337-347 CE],

## Appendix V: Reverse Types by Mint

567	legend within VOT XV MVLX XX. (var. 1 within wreath VOT XX MVLX XXX. Var. 2 VOT XX MVLX XXX in four lines laurel wreath.)	FELICITAS REIPVBLICE	337- 350	x	R3	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5	R3	x	x
568	Roma helmeted, std., holding Victory on globe and spear; beside her, a shield.	ROMA BEATA	337- 350	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
569	Two Victories facing one another, holding between them a wreath inscribed VOT XXV MVLX XXX (var. 1 with VOTIS XV MVLXIS XX, var. 2 with VOT X MVLX XV, var. 3 with VOT V MVLX X, var. 4 VOT X MVLX XX)	VICTORIAE D N AVG	337- 350	R	x	x	x	x	R	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	R4	x	x	x	x	x
570	Two Victories facing one another, holding between them wreath inscribed VOT X MVLX XX (var. 1 VOT XV MVLX, var. 2 VOT XX MVL XXX, var. 3 VOT XXX, var. 4 VOTIS V MVL X, var. 5 VOTIS X MVLXIS XX, var. 6 VOTIS X MVLXIS XXX)	VICTORIAE DD NN AVGG	337- 350	S	x	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	R2	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x
571	Aequitas stg., holding balance. (var. 1 with scroll, var. 2 with tranverse scepter)	IVST VEN MEM (var. 2 IVST VENER MEMOR)	337- 351	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	S	R	R	R	S	
572	Victory walking, holding wreath and palm.	FELICITAS PERPETVA	337- 353	x	x	x	x	x	R	R2	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
573	Securitas stg. with elbow on column and hand on head.	SECVRTAS REIPVBLICAE (var. SECVRI-TAS REIPVB)	337- 353	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
574	Victory std. on cuirass, inscribing VOT V MVLX X on shield which she rests on her knee.	VICTORIAE DD NN AVG	337- 353	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
575	Four Standards	GLORIA EXERCITVS	337- 355	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	R4	x	x	

<sup>567</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 11-12 p447, no. 56 p451, no. 58 p451 [337-340 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 37 p473 [340-350 CE], var. 1 **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 40 p432 [340-350 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 59 p451 [340-350 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 38-39 p473 [340-350 CE] **var. 2 Rome:** RIC8 no. 3-3A p490 [342 CE],

<sup>568</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 372 p286, no. 379-380 p287 [337-350 CE],

<sup>569</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 75 p409 [340-350 CE], (var. 1 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 117-118 p357 [340-350 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 15 p403, 30-31 p404 [337-340 CE], var. 2 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 166-167 p150 [342-343, 347 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 53-56 p320 [340-350 CE], var. 3 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 164-165 p150 [340-350 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 6-7 p315, no. 52A p320 [340-350 CE], var. 4 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 167A-168 p150 [340-350 CE])

<sup>570</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 120, 124, 125 p358 [340-350 CE], **Trier:** RIC8 no. 15 p140, RIC8 no. 129, 131, 134-136, 138 p147, **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 36-37 p318, no. 43 p319, no. 45 p319, no. 57-57A p320, **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 130, 132, 134, 136, 138, 139 p359, 142-143 p359 [340-350 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 62-63 p408, no. 72-74 p409 [340-350 CE] (var. 1 **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 46 p319, var. 2 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 119, 121-123 p358, no. 128 p358 [340-350 CE], **Trier:** RIC8 no. 128, 130, 132-133, 137 p147, **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 44 p319, **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 140 p359, 141, 141A p359, no. 259 p367 [340-350 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 69-71 p409 [340-350 CE], var. 3 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 328 p164, var. 4 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 112 p357, **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 14 p403, var. 5 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 107 p357, no. 108, 110 p357, var. 6 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 109, 111 p357 [340-350 CE])

<sup>571</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 62 p452 [342 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 45 p474 [348-351 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 64 p516 [337-347 CE] (var. 1 **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 41 p433 [345-347 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 35 p491 [342-347 CE], var. 2 **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 28 p540 [345-347 CE])

<sup>572</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 8 p315, no. 66 p321, no. 139-140 p327 [337-352 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 120 p186 [350-353 CE] **Arles:** RIC8 no. 163 p215 [352 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 64-65, 67-71 p321, no. 138 p327, no. 146 p328 [340-352 CE],

<sup>573</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 1-3 pp139-140, 16-19 pp140-141, no. 255 p156, no. 299 p161 [337-353 CE],

<sup>574</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 160 p215 [350-353 CE] (var. 1 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 28 p351, var. 2 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 29-31 p351 [337-340 CE])

<sup>575</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 38 p405 [337-340 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 76 p477 [351-355 CE],

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576	Victory walking, holding wreath and palm-branch.	VICTORIA AVGG NN (var. 1 VICTORIA AVGG)	337-355	R3	x	R	x	x	R	x	R3	x	x	x	S	x	x	x	x	x	x
577	Victory std. on cuirass, supporting on knee a shield inscribed VOT V MVL T X a small winged genius supports the shield.	VICTORIAE DD NN AVGG	337-355	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	R4	x	x	x	x	x
578	Victory std. on cuirass, behind which is a shield. On her knee she supports a shield inscribed VOT V MVL T X; before her stands a small winged genius supporting the shield with both hands. (var. 1 shield inscribed VOT VX MVL T XV, var. 2 shield inscribed VOT XX MVL T XXX, var. 3 shield inscribed VOT XXX, var. 4 shield inscribed with a star, var. 5 shield inscribed with VOT V, var. 6 shield inscribed with VOT X, var. 7 shield inscribed with VOT XXXX)	VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM	337-361	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	R2
579	Emperor, bare-headed and in military dress stg. holding vertical spear and Victory on globe; at feet, std. captive.	VIRTVS AVG	337-361	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
580	legend within wreath.	VOTIS XV MVL TIS XX (var. 1 VOTIS XX MVL TIS XXX, var. 2 VOTIS XXV MVL TIS XXX, var. 3 VOTIS XXX MVL TIS, var. 4 VOTIS XXX MVL TIS, var. 5 XXXX var. 6 VOTIS XXXV MVL TIS XXXX)	337-361	x	C	R2	x	x	R	C5	C4	x	x	C	S	R	x	x	S	R3	C
581	Victory std. on cuirass, behind which is a shield. On her knee she supports a shield inscribed VOT XXX; before her stands a small winged genius supporting the shield with both hands.	VICTORIA AVGVSTI	337-364	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4

<sup>576</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 28-29 p141 [337-340 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 64-68 p208 [347-348 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 103 p255, no. 247-248 p271, no. 395 p289, 396-398 p289 [348-355 CE], (var. 1 **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 72-73 p322 [345 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 175-178 p362 [347 CE])

<sup>577</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 156 p416 [350-355 CE] (var. 1 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 23-25 p351 [337-340 CE], var. 2 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 125 p147 [347-348 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 64 p409 [340-350 CE], var. 3 **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 155, 157 p416 [350-355 CE], var. 4 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 126 p147 [347-348 CE])

<sup>578</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 29 p513 [337-355 CE], (var. 1 **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 27-28 p513, var. 2 **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 22, 25-26 p513, var. 3 **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 23-24 p513, var. 4 **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 13-21 pp512-513, var. 5 **Antioch:** BM 1860,0329.92, **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 96, 101 p518 [355-360 CE], var. 6 **Arles:** RIC8 no. 240 p221, 242 p222 [355-360 CE], var. 7 **Arles:** RI8 no. 241 p222 [337-347 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 101-102 p481 [355-360 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 176, 178, 180 pp526-527 [355-361 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 92-95, 97-100 p518 [355-361 CE])

<sup>579</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 446-447 p296, no. 375 p286, 399-401 p289, no. 434-438 p295, 454 p297, 462 p293 [337-361 CE]

<sup>580</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 35 p513, no. 114, 116, 119-120 p521 [337-348 CE], var. 1 **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 36 p513, 105 p520 [340-355 CE], var. 2 **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 60-61 p452 [340-351 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 40-44 p474 [340-351 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 43-44 p493 [347-355 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 106-107 p520 [347-355 CE], var. 3 **Thessalonica:** RIC7 no. 206-207 p527, [335 CE], var. 4 **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 180 p190, no. 216-217 p193 [353-363 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 203, 207-210, p218, no. 253-254, 258-259 p223, no. 262-265 p224, no. 291-293 p226 [353-363 CE], **Rome:** RIC7 no. 302-330 p277 [357 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 183-184 p333 [352-355 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 360 p376 [353-363 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 15-20 p385, no. 66-67 p389, 68 p389 [355-361 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 163 p417, no. 205 p421 [353-363 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 101-104 p456, no. 133 p459 [351-361 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 80-81 p478, no. 103 p481 [351-361 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 44A-45 p493 [347-353 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 108-109 p520, no. 183-184, 187 p527 [347-361 CE], var. 5 **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 211 p335 [337-348 CE],

<sup>581</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 10-12 p512 [337-347 CE], (var. 1 **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 99 p455, var. 2 **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 130 p459 [351-364 CE])

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	(var. 1 VOT XXX MVL T XXXX, var. 2 VOT XXXX)																						
582	Isis stg. on galley, holding the sail in both hands.	VOTA PVBLICA	337-364	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
583	Victory stg. with foot on prow, holding wreath and palm.	[no legend]	340	x	x	R	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
584	Securitas stg. Facing, legs crossed and with head turned, holding scepter, elbow leaning on a column.	SECVRITAS REIPVB	340	x	x	C	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
585	Soldier, helmeted, stg., holding spear in hand and resting on shield.	VIRTVS AVGG NN	340	R	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
586	Emperor, bare-headed and in military dress stg., holding spear and resting hand on shield.	VIRTVS AVGVSTI	340	x	x	C2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
587	Emperor bare-headed, nimbate, riding, with cloak flowing out behind him, and raising hand.	FELIX ADVENTVS AVGN	340-347	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
588	Victory std. on curiass, inscribing VOT X on shield which she rests on her knee.	VICTORIA AVGN	340-347	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
589	Res Publica turreted, std., holding branch and cornucopia.	VICTORIA AVGG NN	340-347	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
590	Res Publica turreted, std., holding branch and cornucopia; behind her stands Victory facing, head turned, crowning her with a wreath and holding a palm-branch.	VICTORIA AVGG NN	340-347	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
591	Two naked winged genii supporting between them a wreath VOTIS X MVL TIS XX	FELICIA DECENNALIA	340-350	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
592	Emperor in military dress stg., holding standard with Chi-Rho on banner, and resting hand on shield.	GLORIA EXERCITVM	340-350	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
593	Two nimbate Emperors stg. in quadriga; they wear consular dress, hold scepters in their hands and raise hands. Behind each horse stands a soldier, head turned towards the Emperors, and holding a spear.	GLORIA ROMANORVM	340-350	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
594	Two Victories facing one another, holding between them wreath inscribed VOT	OB VICTORIAM TRIVMFALEM	340-350	S	x	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>582</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 475 p300, no. 476 p301, no. 479-482 p301, no. 512-513 p305 [337-364 CE].

<sup>583</sup> **Rome: RIC8 no. 19, 41 pp249-250 [340 CE],**

**Rome: RIC8 no. 6-8 p250 [340 CE].**

<sup>585</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 53-54, 61-62, 73-77, 87-89, 100-101 pp143-144 [340 CE],

<sup>586</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 4-5, 14, 32, 43, 47 pp249-251 [340 CE],

<sup>587</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 288 p276 [340-347 CE].

<sup>588</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 381-382 p288 [340-347 CE].

<sup>589</sup> **Rome: RIC8 no. 384 p288 [340-347 CE].**

<sup>590</sup> **Rome: RIC8 no. 383 p288 [340-347 CE].**

<sup>591</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 60 p408 [340-350 CE].

<sup>592</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 125 p409, 126-127, 138 p414 [340-350 CE].

**Aguileja:** RIC8 no. 42 p319 [340-350 CE].

<sup>594</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 124 p146 [342-343 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 38-39 p318 [340 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 116 p357 [340-350 CE], (var. 1 **Siscia:** RIC8 113-115 p357 [340-350 CE], var. 2 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 126 p358 [340-350 CE], var. 3 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 111A p357 [340-350 CE])

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<sup>595</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 61 p408 [340-350 CE]

<sup>596</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 144-150 pp148-149 [340-347 CE] **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 78-92 p410 [340-350 CE]

<sup>597</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 35 p317 [340-350 CE],

<sup>598</sup> **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 107 p184 [350-353 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 143-145 p328, (var. 1 **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 50 p320, var. 2 **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 51-52 p320, no. 61-63 p321 [340-350 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 65-66 p409 [340-350 CE])

<sup>599</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 388-389 p288 [340-350 CE].

<sup>600</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 171-174 p150 [347-348 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 33 p179 [340-350 CE],

<sup>601</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 48-49 p320, 141 p328 [340-351 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 146-148 p360 [340-351 CE],

<sup>602</sup> **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 42-43 p433 [345-347 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 63-66 p452 [342 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 46-47 p474 [342 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 36-37 p491 [340 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 65-66 p516 [337-347 CE], (var. 1 **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 29-31 p540 [340-351 CE])

<sup>603</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 385-387 p288 [340-351 CE],

<sup>604</sup> Nicomedia: RIC8 no. 36 p473 [340-351 CE].

<sup>605</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 55 p451 [340-351 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 26-28 p473 [340-351 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 79 [347-355 CE],  
(var. 1 **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 35 p473 [340-351 CE])

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<sup>606</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 313-314 p372 [350-351 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 25 p386 [351-355 CE] (var. 1 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 164-168 p361 [340-351 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 36-37 p180 [340-351 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 60, 62-63 [340-351 CE], p207, **Rome:** RIC8 no. 231 p270, no. 410 p291 [350-355 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 127 p358, 144 p359, 155-161 p361, 162-163 p359, no. 264-269 p368 [340-350 CE], var. 2 **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 169-174 p362 [340-350 CE])

607 **Arles:** RIC8 no. 281-283 p225 [360-361 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 149, 151 p416, 194, 197 p420 [355-361 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 97 p455 [351-355 CE], **Trier:** BM1867,0101.926 (var. 1 **Rome:** RIC8 no. 225A-227 p269 [352-355 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 297-298 p370 [350-351 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 1 p384 [351-355 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 57 p451, no. 95-96, 98 p455 [340-355 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 38 p492 [347-355 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 83-91 pp158-519 [353-355 CE], **Nicomedia:** 1864,1128.201, var. 2 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 346 p166 [353-355 CE], var. 3 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 347 p166 [353-355 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 178 p190, [353-355 CE] **Arles:** RIC8 no. 225-226 p220, no. 280 p225 [360-363 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 289-291, 293 p276 [355-357 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 179-181 p332 [352-355 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 39 p492 [347-355 CE], **Antioch:** BM1923,1109.3, var. 4 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 362 p168 [360-363 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 81 p436 [351-355 CE], var. 5 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 343-345 p166 [353-355 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 233, 234, 236, 238 p221 [355-360 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 228-230 p269, 232-233 p270 [352-355 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 320-322 p373 [353-355 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 2-9 p384 [351-355 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 147-148, 150, 152-154 p416, 193, 195-196 p420 [350-361 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 29-34 p473, 74-75 p477 [340-355 CE], **Aquileia:** BM1860,0329.65 **Constantinople:** BM1860,0329.70, var. 6 **Arles:** RIC8 no. 284-287 p226 [340-355 CE], **Milan:** RIC8 no. 2 p233 [352-357 CE], var. 7 **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 210 p335 [355-361 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 357-359 p376 [355-361 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 55-64 p388 [355-361 CE], var. 8 **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 198 p420 [350-355 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 129 p459 [355-361 CE], **Antioch:** 1923,1109.15, **Nicomedia:** BMBNK.R.213, var. 9 **Arles:** RIC8 no. 233A, 235, 237, 239 p221 [355-360 CE], **Nicomedia:** BM1852,0630.2, **Arles:** BM1957,1102.1, var. 10 **Antioch:** BM1865,0810.7, var. 11 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 338-342 p166 [355-361 CE], var. 11 **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 179 p190 [353-355 CE], var. 12 **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 205-206 p192 [360-363 CE], var. 13 **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 225A p194 [360-363 CE], var. 14 **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 177 p189 [353-355 CE], **Constantinople:** BM1852,0630.1, var. 15 **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 164, 167, 169, 171 p526 [355-361 CE], var. 16 **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 163, 166 p526 [355-361 CE], var. 17 **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 162, 165, 168, 170 p526 [355-361 CE]) (var. 18 **Rome:** RIC8 no. 294 p276 [355-357 CE])

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	star, var. 17 VOT XXXX MVL T XXXX var. 18 FELICITER V)																					
608	Emperor in military dress, stg., with foot on prow, holding standard with Chi- Rho on banner; he is crowned from behind by Victory.	TRIVMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM	342- 343	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
609	Standard, with banner inscribed VOT V MVL T X, flanked by two std. captive. (var. 1 Standard, with banner inscribed VOT X MVL T XX, flanked by two std. captive. Var. 2 Standard, with banner inscribed VOT XX MVL T XXX, flanked by two std. captive., captive to the wears pointed hat., var. 3Standard, with banner inscribed VOT XX MVL T XXX, flanked by two std. captive)	GAVDIVM ROMANORVM	342- 343, 347	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
610	Victory walking, holding a wreath in each hand.	VICTORIA AVGG	345- 347	x	x	x	x	x	R	x	x	x	x	x	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
611	Victory stg. with foot on globe inscribing VOT XX on shield supported on his head by a figure kneeling.	FEL TEMP REPARATIO	347	x	x	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
612	Victory adv., head turned, holding wreath and palm; behind her, a bowing captive.	FL IVL CONSTANS P F AVGG	347	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
613	Victory adv., head turned, holding wreath and palm; behind her, a bowing captive.	VICTORIA DD NN AVGG	347	x	x	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
614	Two Victories stg. Facing one another, each holding wreath and palm.	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN	347- 348	S	x	C5	x	x	C3	C2	C5	x	x	x	C2	C2	x	x	x	x	x	
615	Victory stg., foot on globe, inscribing on shield supported on short column VOT XX MVL T XXX (var. 1 VOT X MVL T XX)	VICTORIAE DD NN AVGG	347- 348	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
616	Emperor, veiled, stg., raising hand.	VN MR	347- 348	x	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C3	S	S	C	C	
617	legend within wreath.	VOT XX MVL T XXX	347- 348	x	C	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C3	S	C	C	C4	

<sup>608</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 121 p146 [342-343 CE].

<sup>609</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 147 p148 [342-343 CE],  
**Trier:** RIC8 no. 160 p149 (var. 1 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 156-159 p149, var. 2 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 151-152 p149, var. 3 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 153-155 p149)  
 [342-343, 347 CE]

<sup>610</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 74-75 p322 [345 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 179-181 [347 CE],

<sup>611</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 59-63 p252 [347 CE],

<sup>612</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 70 p252 [347 CE].

<sup>613</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 64-69 p252 [347 CE].

<sup>614</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 180-211 pp151-152 [347-348 CE] **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 38-68 pp180-181 [347-348 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 72-98 pp208-209 [347-348 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 72-102 pp253-255 [347-348 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 76-93 p322 [347-348 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 182-196 p363 [347-348 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 99-106 p411 [347-348 CE],

<sup>615</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 126 p147 (var. 1 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 127 p147) [347-348 CE]

<sup>616</sup> **Heraclea**: RIC8 no. 44, 51, 53, 58 p433 [347-348 CE], **Constantinople**: RIC8 no. 68, 71, 75 p453 [347-348 CE], **Nicomedia**: RIC8 no. 48, 54, 57 p475 [347-348 CE], **Cyzicus**: RIC8 no. 46 p493, no. 54, 59, 62 p494 [347-348 CE], **Antioch**: RIC8 no. 112, 117 p521 [347-348 CE], **Alexandria**: RIC8 no. 32, 35, 38, 41 p541 [347-348 CE].

<sup>617</sup> **Heraclea**: RIC8 no. 45-50, 52, 54-57, 59-60 p433 [347-348 CE], **Constantinople**: RIC8 no. 67, 69-70, 72-74, 76-77 p453 [347-348 CE], **Nicomedia**: RIC8 no. 49-53, 55-56, 58-59 p475 [347-348 CE], **Cyzicus**: RIC8 no. 47-50 p493, no. 51-53, 55-58, 60-61, 63-64 p494 [347-348 CE], **Antioch**: RIC8 no. 113, 114A, 115, 118 p521 [347-348 CE], **Alexandria**: RIC8 no. 33, 36-37, 39-40, 42-43 p541 [347-348 CE].

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618	Emperor, nimbate, stg. Facing in six-horse chariot; each raises hand. They are flanked by two Victories who fly towards them, each bearing wreath and palm-branch. In the exergue, between letters of the mint-mark, are votive objects.	D N CONSTANTIVS VICTORY SEMPER AVG	347-350	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5
619	Two Emperors, nimbate, stg. Facing in six-horse chariot; each raises hand. They are flanked by two Victories who fly towards them, each bearing wreath and palm-branch. In the exergue, between letters of the mint-mark, are votive objects.	DD NN CONSTANTINVS ET CONSTANS AVGG	347-350	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5
620	Constantinopolis turreted, stg., holding branch and standard; at feet, to, prow.	FEL TEMP REPARATIO	347-350	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
621	Victory helmeted, stg., holding branch and standard placing foot on bound and std. captive, who wears pointed cap.	GLORIA ROMANORVM	347-350	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
622	Victory helmeted, stg., inscribing VOT XX on shield which rests on short column; beside her, a shield. (var. 1 VOT V MVLX on shield)	GLORIA ROMANORVM	347-354	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
623	within a laurel wreath VOT V MVLX. (var. VOT X MVLX XX, VOT XX MVLX XXX)	FELICITAS PERPETVA	347-355	x	x	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
624	Two Emperors in military dress stg. Facing, holding trophy with and hands respectively; each rests his outer hand on a shield	FELICITAS R P	347-355	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5
625	Emperor diad., riding, with cloak flowing out behind him, and raising hand.	FELIX ADVENTVS AVG N	347-355	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x
626	Emperor stg., holding transverse spear and resting on shield.	VIRTVS EXERCITVS	347-355	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5	x
627	Three standards.	VIRTVS EXERCITVS	347-355	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	R5	x
628	Constantinopolis enthroned, her foot resting on prow, holding globe on which stands Victory with wreath	GLORIA ROMANORVM	347-361	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	R3

<sup>618</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 68 p517 [347-350 CE],

<sup>619</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 67 p517 [347-350 CE], no. 75 p517 [347-350 CE],

<sup>620</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 392 p289 [347-350 CE],

<sup>621</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 394 p289, no. 414 p291 [347-350 CE],

<sup>622</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 393 p289, (var. 1 **Rome:** RIC8 no. 422 p293) [347-354 CE]

<sup>623</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 142 p328, no. 58 p321, no. 59-60 p321 [340-352 CE],

<sup>624</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 111 p520 [347-355 CE],

<sup>625</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 227-228 p220 [355-360 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 287 p276 [355-361 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 144 p416 [350-355 CE],

**Antioch:** RIC8 no. 76 p518 [347-355 CE],

<sup>626</sup> **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 41-42 [347-355 CE],

<sup>627</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 206 p218 [353-355 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 158-159 p417, 201-202 p420 [350-355 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 39A-40 [347-355 CE],

<sup>628</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 285-286 p275 [355-361 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 54 p388 [355-361 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 99 p480 [355-361 CE],

**Antioch:** RIC8 no. 69-71A p517, 157-160 p525 [347-361 CE],



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<sup>629</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 269-271 p158 [350-353 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 158-163 p330 [350-352 CE],

<sup>630</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 ? p282, 402-403 p289, no. 441 p295, no. 455-456 p297 [347-361 CE],

<sup>631</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 104 p392 [361-363 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 103-104 p520, no. 181-182 p527, no. 210 p531 [347-363 CE],

<sup>632</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 104 p256 (348).

<sup>633</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 103A p255 [348 CE].

<sup>634</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 103B p256 [348 CE],

<sup>635</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 125, 127 p522 [348-350 CE],

<sup>636</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 186-190 p264 [350 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 107 p324, no. 119-120 p325, no. 149 p329 [348-350 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 223-226 p365 [348-350 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 70-71, 75-76, 80, 83-84 pp495-496 [348-350 CE], **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 54-57 p542, 62-65 p542 [348-350 CE].

<sup>637</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 153-155 p259, 184-185 p264 [348-350 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 113-116 p324 [348-350 CE],

<sup>638</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 147A p258 [348-350 CE].

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<sup>639</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 71 p252 [348-350 CE].

<sup>640</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 71 p232 [348-350 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 63, 69, 72, 75 pp434-435 [348-351 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 84, 87, 89-90 p454 [348-351 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 67-68, 71 p476 [348-351 CE].

<sup>441</sup> **Trier:** RIC no. 212-217 p153, no. 239-240 p153 [348-350 CE], **Lyon:** RIC no. 69-78 p182 [348-350 CE], **Arles:** RIC no. 99-100 p210, no. 116-117 p211, no. 124 p211 [348-350 CE], **Rome:** RIC no. 107-135 p257, no. 148-152 p259 [348-350 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC no. 97-99 p323, no. 108-109A p324 [348-350 CE], **Siscia:** RIC no. 197-209 p364, no. 229-230, 233-234, 237-239, 243-246, 248, 250 p366 [348-350 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC no. 122 p412, 133, 136 p414 [348-350 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC no. 62, 66, 68 p434 [348-351 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC no. 80, 83 p454 [348-351 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC no. 61, 64 p475 [348-351 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC no. 66 p494 [348-350 CE], **Antioch:** RIC no. 121, 124 p522 [348-350 CE], **Alexandria:** RIC no. 45 p541, no. 50-53 p542 [348-350 CE],

<sup>642</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 220-221 p153 [348-350 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 104-108 p210 [348-350 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 100-106 p323, no. 121 p325 [348-350 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 212, 214, 216, 218, 220 p365 [348-350 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 117-118 [348-350 CE], **Trier:** RIC8 no. 222-225 p153 [348-350 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 137-140 p258, 146-147 p258, no. 156-159 p259, no. 160-161 p260 [348-350 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 213, 215, 217, 219, 221-222 p365 [348-350 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 64, 70-71, 73-74, 76-78 p434-435 [348-350 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 85-86, 88, 91-92 p454 [348-351 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 69-70, 72 p476 [348-351 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 72-74, 77-79, 81-82, 85-87 p496 [348-350 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 126, 128 p522 [348-350 CE], **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 58-61 p542, no. 66-68 p542 [348-351 CE], <sup>643</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 231-236 p154 [348-350 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 92-94 [348-350 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 111-115 p211 [348-350 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 142A-147 p258 [348-350 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 110-111 p324, [348-350 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 79-80 p435 [348-351 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 93-94 p454 [348-350 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 73-73B p476 [348-351 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 88-90 p496 [348-350 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 129-130 p522 [348-350 CE], **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 69-71 p543 [348-350 CE],

**644** **Trier:** RIC8 no. 226-230 p147 [348-350 CE], **Lyons:** RIC8 no. 90-91 p183 [348-350 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 109-110 pp211 [348-350 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 141-142 p258 [348-350 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 112 p324 [348-350 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 227-228, 231-232, 235-236, 240-242, 247, 249 p366 [348-350 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 26-27 p386 [348-350 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 91 p496 [348-350 CE].

**Trier:** RIC8 no. 218-219A p153, no. 241-244 p154, no. 260 p157 [348-353 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 104-106 pp183-184 [348-350 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 125-128 p212 [348-350 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 250 p272 [350-355 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 117-118 p324 [348-350 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 251-252, 255-256 p367, no. 327-331 p374 [348-350 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 107-113 p412, 122 p412, 133, 136 p414, 165, 168-170, 174-175 p418 [348-353 CE].

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646	Helmeted soldier, shield on arm, spearing falling horseman; shield on ground at Horseman is bare-headed, turns to face soldier, and extends arms. (sometimes wearing pointed cap)	FEL TEMP RE-PARATIO	348-361	C2	S	C	x	x	C	C3	S	C	x	C2	C2	C2	C2	C3	C3	C2	C3
647	Victory, holding palm-branch over shoulder, stg.; Libertas, holding transverse scepter in hand, stg. They support between them a shaft carrying a trophy. Victory's hand supports the shaft above that of Libertas.	BIS RESTITVTA LIBERTAS	350	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
648	Emperor, bare-headed, and in military dress, stg., holding in hand standard with Chi-Rho on banner, and with hand raised kneeling turreted figure.	GLORIA ROMANORVM	350	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
649	Emperor, diademed, enthroned facing, holding scroll and feet rest on footstool. Roma helmeted stands, one hand on the Emperor's shoulder and her other holding spear. Res Publica, turreted, bows towards the Emperor and extends a fold of her robe to receive largesse from his hand.	LARGITIO	350	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
650	Emperor, diad. And in military dress stg., holding standard with Chi-Rho on banner, and spear. Victory stands, crowning him with a wreath and holding a palm-branch.	SALVATOR REIPVBLICAE	350	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x
651	Emperor, bare-headed and in military dress stg., head his arm outstretched and his holding an olive-branch. a bound and bare-headed	VICTORIA AVG LIB ROMANOR	350	x	x	R	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>646</sup> **Amiens:** RIC8 no. 46-48 p124 [353 CE], **Trier:** RIC8 no. 350-360 p167 [353-355 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 84-89 p182 [348-350 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 271-284 pp274-275, 304-317 p278 [352-357 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 187-209 pp333-334, 212-232 p336 [352-361 CE] **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 332-333 p374, 334-354 pp374-375, no. 361-385 p380 [351-354 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 32, 35-53 pp387-388, no. 69-79 p389-390 [347-361 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 180-183, 185-187, 189-192 p419, no. 203-210 p421 [351-354 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 82-91 p436, no. 92-97 p437 [355-361 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 82 p454, 108, 118, 120-128 pp457-459, 135-136, 137-138, 141, 145A p460 [351-354 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 62, 66 p476, no. 84-98 pp478-479, 104-111 p481 [348-361 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 92-101, 102-116 p497 [351-354 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 122, 132-134, 138-139, 142, 144-145, 148-149, 152, 153-154 pp522-524, no. 187A, 190 p528 [348-355 CE], **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 72-85 pp543-545 [348-350 CE], **pointed cap:** **Amiens:** RIC8 no. 49 p124 [353 CE], **Trier:** RIC8 no. 259-259A p157, no. 348-349 p166 [350-353 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 79-83 p182, 100-103 p183, no. 183-200 pp190-191 [348-350 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 102-103A p210, no. 118-123 p211, no. 133 p213, no. 140-148 pp213-214, no. 211-224 p219, no. 266-274 p224 [348-360 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 135A-136 p257, 174-176 pp262-263, no. 249 p272, no. 254-271 pp273-274 [348-355 CE], **Aquileia:** no. 94-96 p322, no. 113-116 p324, no. 147 p329 [347-351 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 210-211 p364, no. 253-254, 257-258 p367 [348-361 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 114-116 p412, no. 123, 128-129, 134, 137 p414, no. 166, 171, 176-177, no. 187-188, 184-184A p419, 211-212 p421 [348-355 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 61, 65, 67 pp434-435 [348-351 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 78-79, 81 pp453-454, no. 106-107, 109-117 p457, no. 139-140, 142-145, 146-148 p460 [348-351 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 60, 63, 65 pp475-476 [348-350 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 65 p494, 67-69 p495 [348-350 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 123, 135-137, 140-141, 143, 146-147, 150-151, 155-156 pp522-524, no. 188-189, 191-192 p528 [347-361 CE] **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 44 p541, no. 46-49 p541 [348-350 CE],

<sup>647</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 168 p261 [350 CE]

<sup>648</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 186 p333 [352-355 CE],

<sup>649</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 404-405 p290 [350 CE],

<sup>650</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 260 p367 [350 CE],

<sup>651</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 193 p264, [350 CE]

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<sup>652</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 178, 180 p263, [350 CE]

<sup>653</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 177, 179 p263, no. 182-183 p263, [350 CE]

<sup>654</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 411 p291 [350 CE].

<sup>655</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 418 p291 [350 CE].

<sup>656</sup> **Rome: RIC8 no. 406-407 p290 [350 CE],**

<sup>657</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 295-296 p370 [350 CE],

<sup>658</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 207-208 p267 [350-351 CE],

<sup>659</sup> **Siscia**: RIC8 no. 299 p371 [350-351 CE], (var. 1 **Siscia**: RIC8 no. 315-317 p372 [350-351 CE])

<sup>660</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 487-488 p302 (350-352).

<sup>661</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 151-157 p330 /350-352 CE],

<sup>662</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 350 p284, 355 p285 [337-340 CE],

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663	Emperor, nimbate, facing in frontal quadriga; from hand falls a shower of coins and in his hand he holds an eagle-tipped scepter.	GLORIA ROMANORVM	350-352	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	NA
664	Soldier, helmeted, walking, holding bow and spear and dragging captive, who holds out hands in supplication.	GLORIA ROMANORVM	350-352	x	x	x	x	x	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
665	Two Victories stg. Facing one another, holding between them wreath inscribed VOT X	GLORIA ROMANORVM	350-352	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
666	Emperor, nimbate, rides on a stallion. Res publica wearing mural crown and holding cornucopia in arm, bows before him.	LIBERATOR REIPVBLICAE	350-352	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
667	Emperor, bare-headed and in military dress, stg., holding Victory on globe and standard with Chi-Rho on banner.	RESTITVTOR LIBERTATIS	350-352	x	x	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
668	Emperor stg., holding standard with Chi-Rho on banner and placing his hand on the head of a captive who kneels before him.	VIRTVS AVGVSTI NOSTRI	350-352	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
669	Emperor in military dress stg., holding Victory on globe and standard with Chi-Rho on banner.	FELICITAS REIPVBLICE	350-353	R2	x	x	x	x	x	C4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
670	Emperor in military dress stg., holding Victory on globe and standard.	FELICITAS REIPVBLICE	350-353	x	x	x	x	x	x	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
671	Emperor in military dress stg., holding Victory on globe and standard.	GLORIA ET REPARATIO TEMPORVM	350-353	x	x	x	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
672	Emperor in military dress, on arm, shield, galloping, spearing barbarian with outstretched arms kneeling beneath horse; below horse, shield and broken spear.	GLORIA ROMANORVM	350-353	x	x	x	x	x	x	C3	C	R	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
673	Chi-Rho, flanked by [Alpha] and [Omega] in wreath. (var. 1 no wreath)	SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES, SALVS AVG NOSTRI	350-353	C	x	x	x	x	x	C	S	C	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
674	Victory, holding palm-branch over shoulder, stg.; Libertas, holding transverse scepter. They support between them a plain shaft	VICT AVG LIB ROM ORB (var. 1 VICT DD NN AVG ET CAES)	350-353	R3	x	x	x	x	x	C	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>663</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 145 p416 [350-355 CE], **Antioch:** BM1867,0101.918 [350-355 CE]

<sup>664</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 150 p329 [350-352 CE],

<sup>665</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 194 p264 [350-352 CE],

<sup>666</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 122 p326, no. 127-128 p326 [350-352 CE],

<sup>667</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 124 p326 [350-352 CE],

<sup>668</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 130 p327 [350-352 CE],

<sup>669</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 260A-268 p158 [350-353 CE], **Lyon:** 109-114 p185 [350-353 CE],

<sup>670</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 134-139 p213 [350-353 CE],

<sup>671</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 129-130 p212 [350-353 CE],

<sup>672</sup> **Amiens:** RIC8 no. 1-3 p121 [350-353 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 115-117 p185 [350-353 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 149-157 p214 [350-353 CE],

<sup>673</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 192-193 p217 [350-352 CE], (var. 1 **Amiens:** RIC8 no. 34-45 p123 [351-352 CE], **Trier:** RIC8 no. 318-327A pp163-164 [352 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 153-176 pp188-189 [350-355 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 188-191, 194-202 p213 [350-353 CE]) **var. 1 Trier:** RIC8 no. 332-337 p165 [352 CE],

<sup>674</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 295-297 p161 [351-353 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 119 p185 [351-353 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 150 p214 [351-353 CE], var. 1 **Trier:** RIC8 no. 297A p161 [350-353 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 151-152 p188 [350-353 CE],

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<sup>675</sup> **Triier:** RIC8 no. 253-254 p156, **Triier:** RIC8 no. 245-252 p156, no. 275-280 p159 [350-353 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 118 p185 [350-353 CE], **Arlès:** RIC8 no. 131-132 p213, 158 p214 [350-353 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 162-165 pp260-261, 169-173 pp261-262, no. 191-192 p264 [350-353 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 125-126 p326, 132-137 p327 [350-352 CE], **Triier:** RIC8 no. 285-293 p160 [350-353 CE],

<sup>67a</sup> **Triar:** RIC8 no. 315-316 p163 [352 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 145-150 p188 [350-351 CE], **Amiens:** RIC8 no. 20-32 pp122-123 [350-351 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 183-187 p217 [350-351 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 175-176 p331 [351 CE], (var. 1 **Amiens:** RIC8 no. 5-8 p122 [350-353 CE], **Triar:** RIC8 no. 306-311 p162 [351 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 121-125 p186 [350-353 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 164-166 p216 [350-353 CE], var. 2 **Amiens:** RIC8 no. 9-19 p122 [350-353 CE], **Triar:** RIC8 no. 312-314 p163, 316A-317 p163 [352 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 126-144B pp186-187 [360-363 CE] **Arles:** RIC8 no. 161-162 p215, no. 167-182 p216 [350-351 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 167-174 p331 [351 CE])

<sup>677</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 257 p157 [350-353 CE],

<sup>678</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 256 p156, no. 258 p157, no. 304-305 p162 [350-353 CE],

<sup>679</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 413 p291, no. 416, 427 p294 [350-354 CE],

<sup>680</sup> **Siccia:** RIC8 no. 270-271, 273-274, 276-277, 280-281 p369, 284-285, 289-290 p369, 301-303, 307-308, 310 p371, **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 21-22 p386, 28-29, 33-34, **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 130-132, 135 p414, no. 167 p418,

<sup>681</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 172-173, 178-179 p418 [350-355 CE],

<sup>682</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 355-356 p375, no. 386-389 p378 [350-355 CE],

<sup>683</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 293-294 p370 [350 CE].

<sup>684</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 272, 275, 278-279, 282-283, 286-287, 291-292 p369, no. 304-306, 309, 311-312 p371 [350-351 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 23-24 p386, 30-31 p387 [351-355 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 146 p416 [350-355].

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<sup>685</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 477-478 p301, no. 468 p302 [337-340 CE],

<sup>686</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 166-167 p261, 201-203, 206, no. 473 p299 [350-364 CE],

<sup>687</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 318-319 p372. [351 CE]

<sup>688</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 123 p326, 129 p326 [351 CE].

<sup>689</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 177-178 p331 [351 CE],

<sup>690</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 408-409 p290, 417 p292 [351-352 CE],

<sup>691</sup> **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 108 p108 [351-353 CE],

<sup>693</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 211-213 p267, 214-221 p268, no. 253 p272 (var. 1 **Rome:** RIC8 no. 222-225 p268, var. 2 **Rome:** RIC8 no. 251-252 p272) [351-355 CE]

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694	[only legend]	VOT XXX MVL T XXXX	351-355	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R	x	x	x	x	x	x
695	Emperor stg., holding Victory on globe and standard with Chi-Rho on banner and with foot placed on captive who is std., and another captive kneeling with hands stretched out towards Emperor.	GLORIA ROMANORVM	351-361	x	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
696	Soldier, helmeted, stg., holding inversed spear and resting hand on shield.	VIRTVS EXERCITVM	351-363	x	R	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
697	Legend within wreath.	VOTIS V MVL TIS X	351-363	C2	R	x	x	x	x	C5	C3	x	x	C	R4	R	x	R	R2	x	x	x
698	Aequitas stg. holding balance and cornucopia.	AEQVITAS AVG NOSTRI	352	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
699	Emperor, bare-headed and in consular dress, std. on curule chair, raising hand and holding scepter.	BEATITVDO PVBLICA	352	x	x	x	x	x	R	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
700	Emperor in military dress, holding globe and down-turned spear. Victory advancing, holding wreath and palm-branch.	VICTORIA AVG NOSTRI	352	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
701	Victory advancing, holding wreath and palm. (var. 1 with trophy instead of palm)	GLORIA ROMANORVM	352-353	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
702	Victory advancing holding wreath and palm.	VICTORIA AVG NOSTRI	352-353	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
703	Emperor, bare-headed and in military dress, stg. holding spear and olive-branch.	VIRTVS AVG NOSTRI	352-353	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
704	Three Monetae stg. each holding scales and cornucopiae; at the feet of each, a pile of coins. The head of the central Moneta is facing and the other two look towards her. In exergue a galley.	MONETA N VRBIS ROMANAE	352-354	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
705	Constantinopolis turreted, std., holding branch and cornucopia, foot on prow. Behind her with a wreath and hold a palm-branch.	VICTORIA AVG N	352-354	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
706	Roma helmeted, std., holding Victory on globe and spear; beside her, a shield. Behind her stands	VICTORIA AVG N	352-354	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>694</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 324-325 p373 [351-355 CE],

<sup>695</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 148 p329 [351-361 CE],

<sup>696</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 289-290 p226 [360-363 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 100 p456 [351-355 CE],

<sup>697</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 363-365 p168 [360-363 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 218-219 p193, 227-230 p195 [360-363 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 260 p223, no. 294-297 p227 [355-363 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 185 p333 [352-355 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 299 p371 [350 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 15-20 p385, no. 102-103 p392 [351-363 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 164 p417, no. 206 p421, no. 221 p423 [360-363 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 105 [351-355 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 82-83, 102A p481 [355-361 CE],

<sup>698</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 300-301 p162 [352 CE]

<sup>699</sup> **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 164-166 p331, [352 CE]

<sup>700</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 329-331 p165 [352 CE],

<sup>701</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 420 p293 (var. 1 **Rome:** RIC8 no. 419 p293) [352-353 CE]

<sup>702</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 425 p293 [352-353 CE],

<sup>703</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 439-440 p294 [352-353 CE],

<sup>704</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 423 p293 [352-354 CE],

<sup>705</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 425 p293 [352-354 CE],

<sup>706</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 424 p293 [352-354 CE],



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<sup>707</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 428-429 p294 [352-354 CE],

<sup>708</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 483-485 p302 [361-364 CE],

<sup>709</sup> **Milan:** RIC8 no. 1 p233 [352-357 CE].

<sup>710</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 124 p409 [337-340 CE],

<sup>711</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 452 p297 [354-361 CE].

<sup>712</sup> **Rome: RIC8** no. 443 p295, no. 451 p296 [354-361 CE]

<sup>713</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 445 p296 [354-361 CE].

<sup>714</sup> **Rome: RIC8 no. 444 p296 [354-361 CE],**

<sup>715</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 460 p297 [354-361 CE],

<sup>716</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 463-464 p298 [354-361 CE],

<sup>717</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 449-450 p296 [354-361 CE],

<sup>718</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 448 p296 [354-361 CE],

## Appendix V: Reverse Types by Mint

	in military dress, stg., holding vertical spear and Victory on globe and vertical spear.		361																				
719	Emperor, bare-headedand in military dress, stg., holding transverse spear and globe; at feet on either side, bound and std. captive.	VIRTVS AVGVSTI N	354-361	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
720	Emperor, bare-headed and in military dress, stg., holding transverse spear and globe; at feet on either side, bound and std. captive.	VIRTVS CAESARIS	354-361	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
721	The three Monetae stg. each holding a pair of scales and a cornucopia; at the feet, a pile of coins.	MONETA AVG	354-364	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
722	Roma and Constantinopolis enthroned, the former facing, the latter turned. Between them they support a wreath with star. Roma holds spear in hand; Constantinopolis holds scepter on shoulder and rests foot on a prow. with eagle with wreath.	FEL TEMP REPARATIO	355-357	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
723	Three Standards.	D N IVLIANVS CAES (var. I D N IVLIANVS NOB CAES)	355-360	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
724	Emperor diad., riding, with cloak flowing out behind him, and raising hand.	GLORIA REIPVBLICAE	355-360	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
725	Victory stg. resting foot on globe decorated with stars and holding a shield inscribed VOT V MVLT X; before her stands a small genius supporting the shield.	GLORIA REIPVBLICAE	355-360	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
726	Emperor diad., riding, with cloak flowing out behind him, and raising hand. Turreted female figure kneels before him with torch and flying cloak.	GLORIA REIPVBLICAE	355-361	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	NA	
727	Victory stg. Facing, head, holding wreath in hand and in hand shield inscribed VOT XXXX	VICTORIA AVGVSTI	355-361	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
728	Victory std. on cuirass, bearing a star supported by a small genius.	VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM	355-361	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	
729	Victory std. on curiass, supporting on knee a shield inscribed VOT V MVLT X; a small winged genius	VICTORIA IVLIANI NOB CAES	355-361	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>719</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 465 p298 [354-361 CE],

<sup>720</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 466 p298 [354-361 CE],

<sup>721</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 457-459 p297, no. 467 p298, 470 p299 [354-364 CE],

<sup>722</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 292, 295 p276, BM1896,0608.108 [355-357 CE]

<sup>723</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 247 p222 [355-360 CE] **var. 1** **Arles:** RIC8 no. 248-249 p222 [355-360 CE],

<sup>724</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 229 p220 [355-360 CE].

<sup>725</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 230 p221 [355-360 CE].

<sup>726</sup> **Antioch:** BM1967,0703.1 [355-361 CE].

<sup>727</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 132 p459 [355-361 CE].

<sup>728</sup> Antioch: RIC8 no. 174-175, 177, 179 p527 [355-361 CE],

<sup>729</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 200 p420 [355-361 CE].

## Appendix V: Reverse Types by Mint

[illegible]

<sup>730</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 134 p459 [355-361 CE],

<sup>331</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 361 p168 [360-363 CE], **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 201-203 p192, no. 220-225 p194 [360-363 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 275-279 pp224-225, no. 298-302 p227 [355-366 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 318-322 p279 [355-357 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 233-241 pp336-337 [355-361 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 390-408 pp378-379 [355-361 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 80-91 p390 [355-361 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 207 p421, no. 213-216 p422 [355-361 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 98-100 p437 [355-361 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 149-155 p461, no. 160 p462 [361-363 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 112-114 p482, 116-117 p483 [355-363 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 117-124 pp499-500 [355-363 CE], **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 87-89 p545 [355-363 CE].

<sup>732</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 220 p423 [361-363 CE] (var. 1 **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 199 p420 [355-361 CE])

<sup>733</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 226 p194 [360-363 CE], **Arles:** BM 1867,0101.927 [355-363 CE] **var. 1 Arles:** RIC8 no. 303-304 p227 [360-363 CE],

<sup>734</sup> **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 92-100 p391 [361-363 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 217-218 p422 [361-363 CE], **var.1 Rome:** RIC8 no. 327 p280 [355-361 CE], **var. 2 Rome:** RIC8 no. 323-324 p279 [355-357 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 219 p422 [355-360 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 156-158 p462 [360-363 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 115 p483 [355-361 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 195-203 p530 [350-355 CE], **Sirmium:** BM 1964.1203.156 [355-363 CE], **Siscia:** BM R.200 [355-363 CE].

<sup>735</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 296-298 p277 [357 CE].

<sup>736</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 105-106 p256 [358 CE].

<sup>737</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 305 p228 [360-363 CE],

<sup>738</sup> **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 204 p192 [360-363 CE].

<sup>739</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 328 p230 [360-363 CE].

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[illegible]

<sup>740</sup> **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 236-238 p195 [360-363 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 313-317 p229 [360-363 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 242-243 p337 [361-363 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 411-413 p380 [361-363 CE], 417-419 p380, **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 105-107 p392 [361-363 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 222-226 p423 [361-363 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 101-104 p438 [361-363 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 161-164 p462-463 [361-363 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 118-122 pp483-484 [361-363 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 125-128 [361-363 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 216-218 p531 [361-363 CE].

<sup>741</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 318-323 p229 [360-363 CE].

<sup>742</sup> **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 207 p193 [360-363 CE].

<sup>743</sup> **Trier:** RIC8 no. 366 p169 [360-363 CE],

<sup>744</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 306-308 p228 [360-363 CE]

<sup>745</sup> **Arles:** RIC8 no. 309-312 p228, 324-326 p229 [360-363 CE],

<sup>746</sup> **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 240 p196 [363-364 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 327 p230 [360-363 CE], **Rome:** RIC7 no. 331 p281 [363-364 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 246 p338 [363-364 CE], **Sirmium:** RIC8 no. 113-116 p393, **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 230-232 p424 [363-364 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 170-171 p464 [363-364 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 126 p485 [363-364 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 222-224 p532 [363-364 CE].

<sup>747</sup> **Lyons:** RIC8 no. 231-235 p195, no. 239 p196 [360-363 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 330-332 p230 [360-363 CE], **Rome:** RIC8 no. 328-330 p280, 332-334 p281 [361-364 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 244-245 p337 [361-363 CE], **Siscia:** 414-416, 420-422 p380 [361-363 CE], **Sirmium:** 108 p393 [361-363 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 227-228 p423 [361-363 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 105-106 p438 [361-363 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 159 p462, no. 165-167 p463 [361-363 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 122A-125 p484 [361-363 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 129-131 p501 [361-363 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 211-214 p531, 219-221 p532 [361-363 CE], **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 90-91 p546 [361-363 CE].

<sup>748</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 409 p379 [361-363 CE],

<sup>749</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 468 p298 [361-363 CE].

<sup>750</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 207-209 p530 [361-363 CE].

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751	Emperor std. in consular robes, holding mappa and scepter. (var. 1 Emperor stg.)	VIRTUS EXERCITVS ROMANORVM	361-363	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R4
752	Emperor stg., holding spear, and Victory on globe.	VIRTUS ROMANORVM	361-363	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R5
753	Harpocrates stg., setting finger to mouth and holding cornucopia.	VOTA PVBLICA	361-363	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
754	Isis stg., holding a branch and small disc.	VOTA PVBLICA	361-363	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
755	Isis stg., holding sistrum and bucket.	VOTA PVBLICA	361-363	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
756	Two naked deities stg. Facing, emerging from a lotus flower, holding a snake. Between them, a vase containing a serpent.	VOTA PVBLICA	361-363	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
757	Anubis stg., holding sistrum and caduceus.	VOTA PVBLICA	361-364	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
758	Isis std. on the dog Sothis. She holds sistrum and scepter.	VOTA PVBLICA	361-364	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
759	Isis stg. facing on high-backed throne, suckling Horus.	VOTA PVBLICA	361-364	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
760	Isis stg. in tensa drawn by two mules, holding the reins and a sistrum. (var. 1 accompanied by Anubis, var. 2 accompanied by Serapis)	VOTA PVBLICA	361-364	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
761	Constantinopolis, diademed, enthroned, holding scepter in hand, and extending other hand to kneeling suppliant who brings offerings. Beside the throne is a shield, and between and behind the figures stands Victory, facing, holding wreath and palm-branch.	GAVDIVM ROMANORVM	363-364	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
762	Emperor in military dress stg., holding spear and globe, beneath an arch with fluted decoration on columns.	GLORIA ROMANORVM	363-364	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3
763	Emperor in military dress stg. Facing, head turned to holding standard with Chi-Rho on the banner, and globe; before him, head turned back sits a captive wearing a pointed cap.	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE	363-364	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R3	x	R4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>751</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 204 p530 [361-363 CE], **var. 1 Antioch:** RIC8 no. 205-206 p530 [361-363 CE],

<sup>752</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 215 p531 [361-363 CE],

<sup>753</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 511 p303 [361-364 CE],

<sup>754</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 495 p303 [337-340 CE],

<sup>755</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 498 p303 [361-363 CE],

<sup>756</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 496 p303 [361-363 CE],

<sup>757</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 493 p303, no. 499 p303, no. 510 p304 [361-363 CE],

<sup>758</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 494 p303, no. 504 p304 [361-364 CE],

<sup>759</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 489-490 p302, 503 p304, no. 507 p304 [361-364 CE],

<sup>760</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 500-501 p303, no. 508 p304 [361-364 CE], **var. 1 Rome:** RIC8 no. 509 p303 [361-363 CE], **var. 2 Rome:** RIC8 no. 502 p303 [361-363 CE],

<sup>761</sup> **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 168 p468 [363-364],

<sup>762</sup> **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 226 p533 [363-364 CE],

<sup>763</sup> **Sirmium:** BM R.202, RIC8 no. 109-112 p393 [363-364 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 229 p424 [363-364 CE],

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764	Two bound captives std. on either side of standard, which ends in a cross and is inscribed with Chi-Rho.	VICTORI AVGVS	363-364	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
765	Emperor in military dress stg., holding standard and Victory on globe.	VICTORIA ROMANORVM	363-364	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
766	Emperor, diad. And in military dress, stg., holding standard with cross on banner and Victory holding wreath and palm-branch stg. on globe.	VICTORIA ROMANORVM	363-364	x	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	R	x	x	x	x	S	
767	legend within wreath.	VOT V	363-364	x	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	S	x	S	S	x	R	x				
768	Legend within wreath.	VOT V MVLT X	363-364	x	S	x	x	x	S	S	R2	x	x	C	R	S	x	S	x	S	S				
769	Isis and Nephthys stg., facing one another, wearing Uraeus head dress.	VOTA PVBLICA	363-364	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
770	Chi-Rho flanked by [Alpha] and [Omega]	[no legend]	364	x	x	R5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
771	Emperor, bare-headed and in military dress, riding raising one hand and carrying scepter in the other In front of him marches a soldier, holding a standard ending in a cross and inscribed with Chi-Rho , and behind him Victory, holding wreath and palm.	ADVENTVS AVGVSTI	364	x	x	R2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>764</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 471 p299, [363-364 CE]

<sup>765</sup> **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 234-238 p425 [363-364 CE],

<sup>766</sup> **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 107 p439 [363-364 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 175-177 p465 [363-364 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 228-229 p533 [363-364 CE],

<sup>767</sup> **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 423-424 p381 [363-364 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 108-109 p439 [363-364 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 178 p465 [363-364 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 133 p501 [363-364 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 230-231 p534 [363-364 CE], **Alexandria:** RIC8 no. 92 p546 [363-364 CE],

<sup>768</sup> **Lyon:** RIC8 no. 241 p196 [363-364 CE], **Arles:** RIC8 no. 329 p230, 333-334 p231 [363-364 CE], **Aquileia:** RIC8 no. 131 p327, no. 247 p338 [363-364 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 326 p373, no. 425-426 p381 [363-364 CE], **Siscia:** RIC8 no. 117-120 p394 [363-364 CE], **Thessalonica:** RIC8 no. 239 p425 [363-364 CE], **Heraclea:** RIC8 no. 110-111 p439 [363-364 CE], **Constantinople:** RIC8 no. 172-174, no. 179 p465 [363-364 CE], **Nicomedia:** RIC8 no. 127-129 p485 [363-364 CE], **Cyzicus:** RIC8 no. 132 p501 [363-364 CE], **Antioch:** RIC8 no. 225 p533, 232-233 p534 [363-364 CE],

<sup>769</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 492 p302, 505 p304 [363-364 CE],

<sup>770</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 474 p299 (364),

<sup>771</sup> **Rome:** RIC8 no. 469 p299, [364 CE]

## Appendix VI: Images

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Figure 1                      Lansdowne Amazon. c. 440 BCE. Roman Copy. Marble. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Rader, *Finding the Originals: A Study of Roman Copies of the Tyrannicides and the Amazon Group*, fig. 35, p.61)



Figure 2                      Statue of Virtus with Parazonium, Marble, Rome, Museo delle Terme. (Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, Pl. XI)





Figure 3                      Athena Parthenos, modern reconstruction by N. Leipen, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Hurwitt, "Beautiful Evil: Pandora and the Athena Parthenos," fig. 1, p. 172)



Figure 4                      Didrachm with Roma and Pistis, c. 204 BCE, Locri Epizephyrii, The British Museum, London (Crawford, *Money under the Roman Republic: Italy and the Mediterranean Economy*, fig. 8, p. 33)



Figure 5                      Sestertius of Nero with Early Roma Type I, 1<sup>st</sup> c. CE, Rome, Vindonissa Museum, Windisch, Switzerland. (Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, pl. I, fig. 6)

## Appendix VI: Images



Figure 6 Sestertius of Galba with Early Roma Type II, 1<sup>st</sup> c. CE, Rome, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, Pl. I, fig. 16)



Figure 7 Sestertius of Galba with Early Roma Type III, 1<sup>st</sup> c. CE, Rome, The British Museum, London. (Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, Pl. II, fig. 3)



Figure 8 Aureus of Hadrian with Early Roma Type IV, 2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE, Rome, A.H. Baldwin and Sons, Ltd., London. (Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, Pl. II, fig. 19)



Figure 9 Sestertius of Antonius Pius with the Cult Statue Type, 2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE, Rome, Private Collection. (Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, Pl. II, fig. 24)



Figure 10 Gold Medallion of Constans with Maxentian cult statue, 4<sup>th</sup> c. CE, Rome, Private Collection. (Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, Pl. IV, fig. 12)



Figure 11 Folio from the Codex Barbarini (lat. 2156) with “Tyche-Type” Constantinopolis, 17<sup>th</sup> c. copy of the Calendar of 356, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Rome. (Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, fig. 49, p. 84).



Figure 12 Obverse with bronze medallion with the “Roma-Type” Constantinopolis, 340-350 CE, Rome, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, fig. 14, p. 42)



Figure 13 Silver Dedication Medallion of Constantine I, c. 330 CE, Constantinople, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. (Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, fig. 1, p. 12)



Figure 14 Tetradrachm of Demitrios I Soter, c. 162-150 BCE, CNG Triton. (Ramskold and Lenski, *Dedication Medallions*, fig. 2B)



Figure 15 Bronze Medallion of Constantine I with a Bust of Roma, 330-337 CE, Rome, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. (Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, fig. 5, pg. 15)





Figure 16 Roma and Constantinopolis on a Double Solidus of Constantius II, 337-350 CE, Antioch, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. (Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, fig. 21, pg. 53)



Figure 17 Bronze Dedication Medallion of Constantine I—Roma Type, c. 330 CE, Siscia, Private Collection. (Ramskold and Lenski, *Dedication Medallions*, fig. 4B)



Figure 18 Bronze Dedication Medallion of Constantine I—Constantinopolis Type, c. 330, Siscia, Private Collection. (Ramskold and Lenski, *Dedication Medallions*, fig. 4A)



Figure 19 Gold Medallion of Constantius II, 324-361 CE, Thessalonica, British Museum, London. (The British Museum Collections, BMC1848,0819.101)



Figure 20 Gold Medallion of Jovian, 363-364 CE, Rome. (RIC 8, pl.11, no. 331)



Figure 21 Gold Medallion of Constantius Gallus (Roma and Constantinopolis face each other), 351-354 CE, Trier, British Museum, London. (The British Museum Collection, BMC1867,0101.926)



Figure 22 Vienna Diptych with Roma (left) and Constantinopolis (right), Ivory, 9<sup>th</sup> c. CE, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. (Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, fig. 98, pg. 186)



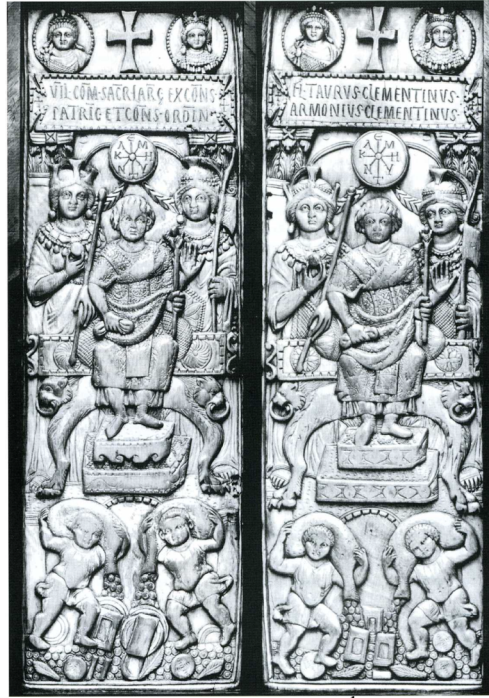


Figure 23 Diptych of Clementinus, 6<sup>th</sup> c. CE, National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside, Liverpool. (Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, fig. 103, pg. 198)



Figure 24 Diptych of Orestes, 6<sup>th</sup> c. CE, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. ((Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, fig. 104, pg. 199)

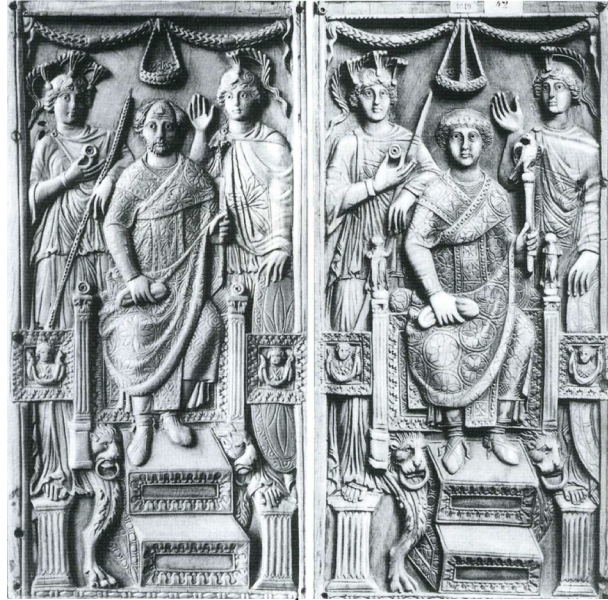


Figure 25 Diptych of Magnus, 6<sup>th</sup> c. CE, BN-Cabinet des Medailles, Paris (left) Castello Sforzesco, Mailand. (Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, fig. 105, pg. 202)



Figure 26 Folles of Constantine I with winged Victory in galley, 327 CE, Constantinople, British Museum, London. (RIC 7, no. 18, pl. 18)



Figure 27 Bronze Medallion of Constantine I, 330-337 CE, Rome. Staatliche Museen, Berlin. (Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, fig. 9, pg. 17)



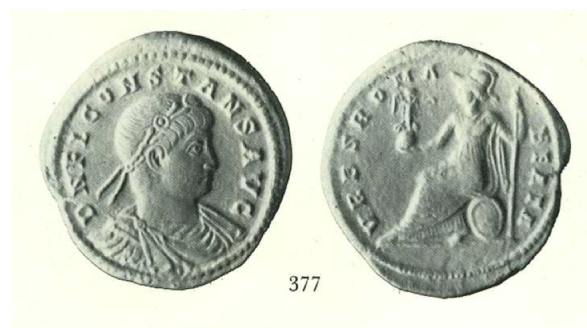


Figure 28 Bronze Medallion of Constans with legend VRBS ROMA BEATA, 337-340 CE, Rome, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. (RIC 8 no. 377, pl. 11)

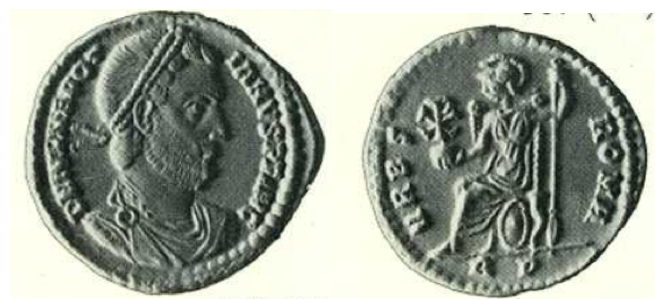


Figure 29 Gold Solidus of Nepotianus, 350 CE, Rome. (RIC 8 no. 167, pl. 9)

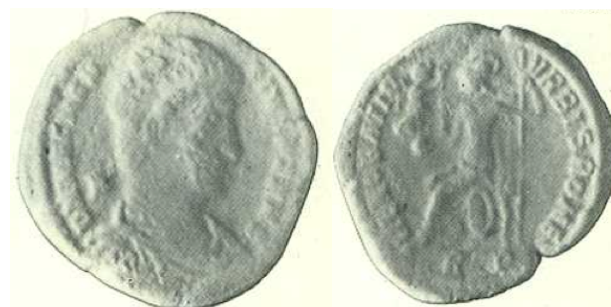


Figure 30 Bronze Medallion of Magnentius, 351-352 CE, Rome. (RIC 8 no. 207, pl. 10)

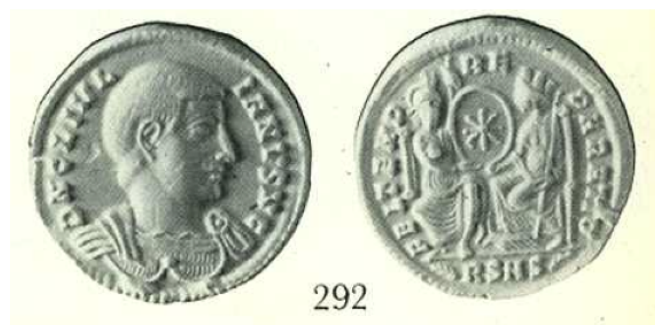


Figure 31 Gold Solidus of Julian, 355-357 CE, Rome. (RIC 8 no. 292, pl. 10)



Figure 32 Bronze Medallion with Romulus and Remus, 330-337 CE, Rome. (Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, 18, fig. 10)



Figure 33 Contorniate Medallion with Aeneas and his family fleeing Troy, 330-337 CE, Rome. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (MFA Boston Collections, 66.278)



Figure 34 (a) Bronze Medallion of Constantius II with the Rape of the Sabine, 354-360 CE, Rome, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. (Holden, "Iconography on Late Antique Contorniate Medallions," fig. 2, p. 124). (b) Bronze Medallion of Antonius Pius with the Rape of the Sabine, 138-161 CE, Rome, Archaeological Museum, University of Zagreb (Holden, "Iconography on Late Antique Contorniate Medallions," fig. 3, p. 124). (c) Contorniate with the Rape of the Sabine, ca. 4<sup>th</sup> c. CE, Rome, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, University of Glasgow. (Holden, "Iconography on Late Antique Contorniate Medallions," fig. 1, p. 123).

## Appendix VII: Translation of Reverse Legends

### Appendix VII: Translation of Reverse Legends

The following list provides some of the more common reverse legends, their extended Latin form, and their English translation with special attention to the legends of coins used in the body of this thesis.

## Appendix VII: Translation of Reverse Legends

AETERNA GLORIA SENAT P Q R [AETERNA GLORIA SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS] – *The Eternal Glory of the Senate and the People of Rome*

CAESARVM NOSTRORVM – *Our Caesar*

CLARITAS REI PVBLICAE – *Renown of the State*

CONSTANTINIANA DAFNE – *Constantinian Victory*

FEL TEMP REPARATIO [FELIX TEMPORVM REPARATIO] – *The Restoration of Happy Times*

FELICITAS AVGG NN [FELICITAS AVGVSTORVM NOSTRORVM] – *The Happiness of our Emperors*

FELICITAS AVGVSTA – *The Happiness of our Empress*

FELICITAS PVBLICA – *The Happiness of the Public*

FELICITAS ROMANORVM – *The Happiness of the Romans*

FELICITAS SAECVLI – *The Happiness of the Age*

FIDES EXERCITVVM – *The Loyalty of the Army*

GAVDIVM ROMANORVM – *The Joy of the Romans*

GLORIA AVGG [GLORIA AVGVSTORVM] – *The Glory of the Emperors*

GLORIA EXERCITVM – *The Glory of the Army*

GLORIA REI PVBLICAE – *The Glory of the State*

GLORIA ROMANORVM – *The Glory of the Romans*

INNVMERI TRIVMFI AVG N [INNVMERI TRIVMFI AVGVSTI NOSTRI] – *The Countless Triumphs of our Emperor*

LARGITIO -- *Largess*

LIBERTAS PVBLICA – *Public Liberty*

MONETA AVG [MONETA AVGVSTI] – *Mint of the Emperor*

MONETA N VRBIS ROMANAE [MONETA NOSTRIS VRBIS ROMANAE] – *Mint of our City of the Romans*

## Appendix VII: Translation of Reverse Legends

PAX PERPETVA – *Everlasting Peace*

PIETAS AVGVSTAE – *Piety of the Empress*

PIETAS AVGVSTI N [PIETAS AVGSVSTI NOSTRI] – *The Piety of our Emperor*

POP ROMANVS [POPVLVS ROMANVS] – *The Roman People*

PROVIDENTIAE AVGG [PROVIDENTIAE AVGVSTORVM] – *The Providence of our Emperors*

RENOBATIO VRBIS ROME – *The Renewal of the city, Rome*

SABINAE – *The Sabine*

SALVS REI PVBLICAE – *The Safety of the State*

SECVRITAS REI PVBLICAE – *The Security of the State*

SOLI INVICTO COMITI – *Of the Companion of [the Emperor], the Invincible Sun*

SPES REI PVBLICE – *The Hope of the State*

VBERTAS SAECVLI – *The Abundance of the Age*

VICTORIA EXERCITVS ROMANORM – *The Victorious Army of the Romans*

VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP [VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINCIPI PERPETVAE] – *The Joyous Victories to the Eternal Prince*

VIRTVS EXERCITVS – *The Virtuous Army*

VIRTVS EXERCITVS ROMANORVM – *The Virtuous Army of the Romans*