

# The Milan coinage of Honorius

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Even if the vaunted links with the families of Trajan and Hadrian existed largely in the imagination of court flattery, the House of Theodosius certainly stemmed from Spain, and there great numbers of its coins are found. It seems appropriate to offer a Theodosian paper to the scholar who has done so much to preserve and expound the numismatic heritage of his country, and advance the understanding of it both nationally and internationally.

For the first three years of their joint reign, Valentinian I and Valens maintained a single solidus type, RESTITVTOR - REI PVBLICAE, in all the mints striking gold throughout their empire. The reform of the gold coinage, part of a wide-ranging series of administrative changes carried out between 366 and 368, restored purity of metal, and virtually restricted issues of gold and silver to the imperial residences for the time being.<sup>1</sup> Another outcome was that, as far as the precious metals were concerned, the former typological unity of the empire disappeared; policies of East and West for the next hundred years in this respect completely and definitively parted company. There were already three Augusti when the reforms took effect, but the design for the western solidi had presumably been determined before the elevation of Gratian (24 August 367) and was not correc-

1. J.P.C. KENT, «Gold coinage in the later Roman Empire», *Essays in Roman coinage presented to Harold Mattingly*, ed. R.A.G. & C.H.V. SUTHERLAND, Oxford 1956, pp. 190-204; C. MORRISON et al., *Purification et altérations de Rome à Byzance, L'or monnayé I*, Cahiers Ernest-Babelon 1, Paris 1985, pp. 85-111.

ted. It presented the image of two enthroned emperors crowned by Victory, and a corresponding legend, VICTOR-IA AVGG. With minor modifications this type and legend were retained immobilised by western rulers until the downfall of Eugenius (6 September 394), though there were seldom fewer than three, and sometimes as many as four reigning emperors.

In the East, the principal solidus types of Valens, GLORIA ROMANORVM, Roma and Constantinopolis enthroned, and VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM, Victory seated on cuirass and pointing to vota, were replaced on the accession of Theodosius I (19 January 379) by CONCORDIA AVGGG, Constantinopolis enthroned, holding spear and globe. This type, too, underwent successive modifications, but contrary to western practice, this legend was constantly updated at Constantinople (though not consistently at Thessalonica) to match the changing numbers of emperors. The last emission, following the death of Valentinian II (15 May 392), was inscribed CONCORDI-A AVGG i.e. Theodosius I and Arcadius.<sup>2</sup> It was perhaps the usurpation of Eugenius (22 August 392) that led to a radical change of the now inappropriate «Concordia» type before the end of the year at Theodosius's principal mint, though not at Thessalonica.<sup>3</sup> The new design (pl. I. 1), seminal to western solidus typology for generation, was as follows:

VICTOR-IA AVGG, sometimes with terminal officina number. Emperor in military dress standing to right, holding standard and Victory on globe; with his left foot he tramples a kneeling, bound and bearded captive.

Whereas Theodosius's principal gold mint had hitherto undoubtedly been situated at Constantinople, the mint of the new coinage was denoted by the letters SM, and the problem of its identification has not finally been resolved; however, after initial strong influence from the style and typology of Thessalonica, the bulk of the coinage after the accession of Honorius (22 January 393) was entirely Constantinopolitan in style, wherever the mint may have been physically sited. In accordance with eastern comitatensian practice, the legend was altered to read...AVGGG after the new emperor was proclaimed. The revised legend passed through two phases, distinguished by the division of VICTORIA, viz. R-I and I-A, and the corresponding effigies of Honorius show an increase in size from small to medium to normal as the issue progressed (pl. I. 2, 3, 4).

2. *RIC*. IX p. 231 note 71(b); A.R. BELLINGER et al., «Late Roman gold and silver coins at Dumbarton Oaks: Diocletian to Eugenius», *DOP*. 18, p. 231 no. 276; Sotheby, 9-10 April 1992, lot 269. See J.P.C. KENT, «Constantinopolitan "Concordia" solidi of Theodosius I: a reappraisal», *NC* forthcoming.

3. J.P.C. KENT, «The coinage of Arcadius (395-408)», *NC* 1991, pp.35-57.

394-395

It was the practice of emperors to introduce their characteristic types at newly acquired mints. Theodosius had struck CONCORDI-A AVGGG solidi at Milan and Aquileia between 388 and 391, and Eugenius in turn re-introduced the western VICTOR-IA AVGG. Two enthroned emperors, at Milan after his occupation of Italy in 393. The introduction of Theodosius's VICTORI-A AVGGG at Milan, where he resided after the overthrow of Eugenius, was therefore in line with usual practice, and it is worthy of note that a few of the earliest reverse (though not obverse) dies appear to be by a hand close to that which engraved the contemporary S M solidi. These early dies retain, for example, the X on the standard, which had begun to be replaced by V on the reverses of characteristic western style struck even before Theodosius's death, and even in a very few cases the kneeling rather than the later seated captive. The earliest Milan solidi of the Theodosian type name all three emperors, and grade the size of their busts in order of age and seniority; Theodosius and Honorius are dielinked, and we may probably conclude that the latter's medium-sized effigy matches the one then in use on the S M coinage.

The mint-mark MD / COMOB, is a simple adaptation of the eastern SM / COMOB, and is a form unknown to earlier western issues. The close initial relationship between S M and M D is emphasised by the pairing, already noted by Pearce,<sup>4</sup> of a Milan style obverse of Theodosius with a purely «Constantinopolitan» S M reverse (pl. I. 5).

A range of gold denominations, not all of which may yet be known to us, was struck at Milan in the four months between the fall of Eugenius (6 September 394) and the death of Theodosius (17 January 395).

## 9.- SOLIDUS PIECE

RESTITVTOR REI-PVBLICAE. Emperor, nimbate, in military dress standing facing, raising a kneeling, turreted figure (Res Publica) holding cornucopiae, and with the left hand holding a standard with Chi-Rho on the banner. Theodosius I only (pl. I. 6).

This is a purely western type, so far as we know, previously used for Valens and others at Trier and Aquileia.<sup>5</sup> Corresponding eastern multiples of both earlier and later date showed the emperor standing facing in a chariot.

4. *RIC*. IX p. 157.

5. Trier: *RIC*. IX p. 23. no. 48(a) - surely earlier in date than Pearce suggests; p. 24 nos. 48(b), (c); Aquileia: *RIC*. IX p. 98 nos. 28(a), (b).

*SOLIDI*

VICTORI-A AVGGG. Emperor in military dress standing to right, holding a standard and Victory on globe; with his left foot he tramples a (almost always) seated, bound and bearded captive.

Theodosius I, Arcadius and Honorius (pl. I. 7, 8, 9).

*SEMISSSES*

Coins of Arcadius and Honorius with their respective vota X-XV and V-X are probably to be dated after the death of Theodosius, in spite of the small bust of Honorius; they will be discussed below.

*TREMISSSES*

VICTORIA-AVGVSTORVM. Victory advancing to right, holding wreath in right hand and cross on globe on the left hand.

Theodosius I, Arcadius and Honorius (pl. I. 10, 11, 12).

This is an eastern Victory type, with the goddess proceeding to right rather than to left, and holding cross on globe in place of a palm-branch. It retained, however, the western gold mint-mark MD/COM. This type was replaced in the east, shortly before the death of Theodosius, by a variant on which the head of Victory was turned to the left (pl. I. 13). This new design was to remain essentially unchanged far into the sixth century, but had presumably not yet been introduced at the time of Eugenius's fall.

Pearce believed that half-siliquae were struck at Milan in this period, but it will be argued below that no silver was coined there between the downfall of Eugenius and the death of Theodosius.

*395-402*

Honorius's court can be shown to have been in almost unbroken residence at Milan between the death of his father and the early part of 402, and no doubt the greater part – though, as we shall see, certainly not all – of the post-Theodosian coinage of its mint was struck during these years. Alaric invaded Italy on 18 November 401, and for thirteen months the western civil administration effectively disappears from view.

The third, fourth and fifth consulships of Honorius fall within these years, and the first two were certainly celebrated in Milan. A consular solidus showing the imperial bust facing to the left, wearing consular robes and carrying mappa and eagle-tipped sceptre was struck at least on each of the two earlier occasions.

The third consulship, of 396, was held in conjunction with the fourth of Arcadius; it retains a comparatively small bust for Honorius (pl. I. 14).

VOTA - PV-BLICA. Two emperors, nimbate, enthroned facing, wearing consular robes, each holding mappa and eagle-tipped sceptre; between them, a palm-branch.

This type is based on previous western solidi; the palm-branch is an intrusion from the regular «two emperors» coinage not found on earlier consular issues.<sup>6</sup>

The fourth consulship, of 398, was held without an imperial colleague, and the imperial bust is the normal size (pl. I. 15).

GLORIA RO-MANORVM. Emperor, nimbate, enthroned facing, wearing consular robes, and holding mappa and eagle-tipped sceptre.

A special issue of solidi with normal bust, known in his name alone, marked Honorius's decennalia (pl. II. 16).

VICTOR-IA AVGG. Emperor, nimbate, in military dress, standing facing, holding standard inscribed VOT X and shield inscribed MVL XX; with his left foot the tramples a seated, bound captive.

The type is based on that of the normal solidi, but differs in several significant respects. The emperor's head is turned to the front instead of to the right, and is nimbate. The standard bears the legend VOT X, and in place of Victory on globe the emperor supports a shield inscribed MVL XX. Finally, the legend corrects the immobilised ...AVGGG that had remained unchanged after the death of Theodosius, and which was immediately to reappear on the resumption of the non-vota coinage. It is possible, even if unlikely, that the revival of the old legend in and after 402 reflects the advancement of Theodosius II; but even if this were the case, immobilisation reasserted itself upon the death of Arcadius in 408. Late January 402, after the consular celebrations, is the most likely date, for the common coincidence of vota and consulship has been convincingly argued,<sup>7</sup> and it appears that this too was the time of Arcadius's vicennalia. The battle of Pollentia (6 April 402) was amongst other things fought, according to Claudian (*de bell. Get.* 561), to avenge the *obsessi principis nefas*. The emperor had almost certainly never left Milan; Stilicho, it was said (*de bell. Get.* 296-315), had instilled courage into a court contemplating flight. He brought relief (*de VI cons. Hon.* 455-61) by coming from the north with his forces and crossing the River Addua (some 25 km to the east of

6. P. BASILEN. «Les solidi de "Vota Publica" de Valentinien I à Théodose I». *QT.* XIV (1985), pp. 305-41. The only exceptions are his numbers 4\* and 5, without consular obverses; 5 in particular is a typological curiosity. The dating of 13 to 395, a year without an imperial consulship, is not acceptable.

7. R. BURGESS. «Quinquennial vota and the imperial consulship in the fourth and fifth centuries». *NC* 1988, pp. 77-96.

Milan). Although Claudian (*de bell. Get.* 450-4) strangely seems to locate emperor and court in Rome itself, where extensive restorations to the defences were being made at this very time (Dess. *ILS.* 797; *de VI cons. Hon.* 531-4), he is quite explicit (*de VI cons. Hon.* 53-76, 392-5) that during the one hundred years preceding 404 only three emperors had entered Rome in triumph,<sup>8</sup> and that Honorius had not seen the city since the visit as a little boy with his father in 389. Thus consulship and decennalia will have been celebrated, perhaps with less than the customary pomp, in the relative security of Milan, which the court is unlikely to have left before the Goths, defeated far to the west at Pollentia, had recrossed Lombardy and left Italy. The first certain indication that the court had moved to Ravenna, soon to become

*Of all the cities in Romanian lands  
The chief and most renowned...  
Adorned... with arms and arts;*

(*Dryden*)

and resumed its normal functions is a law of 6 December 402 (CTh. VII 13, 15); it remained there throughout the following year, and no doubt the earliest issues of gold and silver from its mint belong to this period.

The termination of the VICTORIA legend on solidi of the eastern empire was altered after the death of Theodosius I to ...AVGG, to accommodate itself to the rule of but two emperors, but legend as well as type remained unchanged on their western counterparts.

## SOLIDI

VICTORI-A AVGGG. Emperor in military dress standing to right, holding standard and Victory on globe; with his left foot he tramples a seated, bound and bearded captive.

Arcadius and Honorius (pl. II. 17, 18).

In the West, the representation of the emperor as *Latiae sublimis signifer aulae* (*de VI cons. Hon.* 22) continued down to 425. Coinage in the style used under Theodosius seems not to have ceased immediately upon his death, for similar pieces naming Honorius are more numerous than those naming his father, and we have seen that the small bust characteristic of this period was still in use on the consular solidus of 396. We will find it also on semisses and on vota siliquae. The

8. Emperors made triumphal entries into Rome in 312 (Constantine I), 357 (Constantius II) and 389 (Theodosius I).

later Milan solidi of the same general type show not only an enlarged effigy of Honorius, indistinguishable from that of his brother, but a considerable increase in the size of the reverse figures, and a style both coarser and bolder. On these later pieces there is much variation of detail, especially in the representation of the captive, though how far these varieties have chronological significance is unsure. Under Theodosius, the captive always appears to have two legs; these may be a) both stretched out or b) the left leg stretched out, the right sharply bent at the knee (but very rarely crossed over the other, as may be found on some later issues at other mints). Both legs are often to be seen on later reverses in the purely Milanese style, but the bend of the right knee, where visible, is less sharp. A few dies show one leg only, often with the knee drawn up. Since this posture is commonly found on solidi of Rome and Aquileia, and on early pieces of Ravenna (pl. II. 19, 20, 21), as well as on the Milan vota solidi of 402, such dies may be assumed to be the latest in this Milan sequence.

Several multiples are shown by style and mint-mark to belong to this period.

#### *41/2- SOLIDUS PIECE*

GLORIA ROMANORVM. Roma, helmeted, enthroned facing, holding globe and inverted spear.

Honorius only (pl. II. 22)

This type of Roma enthroned is purely western; corresponding eastern multiples have a left-facing representation of Constantinopolis.

#### *TRIPLE SOLIDUS*

This denomination has been reported, but its typology and very existence are doubtful.<sup>9</sup>

#### *SESQUISOLIDUS*

ADVENTVS DN AVG. Emperor, nimbed, in military dress, riding to left, raising right hand.

Honorius only (pl. II. 23)

This is the traditional type and legend for the denomination.

9. See J.-P. Callu and X. Lorient, *La dispersion des aurei en Gaule romaine sous l'empire. L'or monnayé II*, Cahiers Ernest-Babelon 3, Paris 1990, p. 161 no. 56.

*AUREUS*

VICTORIA -AVGVSTORVM. Victory advancing to left, holding wreath and palm-branch.

Arcadius only (pl. II. 24)

VICTORIA - ROMANORVM. Type as before.

Honorius only

There seem to have been two Milan issues of aurei of  $\frac{1}{60}$  1b., both with the eastern type of Victory to left. VICTORIA ROMANORVM appears to have occurred in the Parma (Via Mazzini) hoard,<sup>10</sup> though no weight is given, and the piece is described as a solidus. If the Parma piece is in fact an aureus, it will probably be the later of the two, since this legend is subsequently used for the aureus at Ravenna.<sup>11</sup> The question is somewhat complicated by the fact that the VICTORIA ROMANORVM legend had been used in the east for aurei as early as the 380 s.

*SEMISSIS*

It is not completely out of the question that some western-pattern semisses were struck at Milan between the fall of Eugenius and the death of Theodosius I, for the pieces naming Arcadius and Honorius are so rare that the apparent absence of the father is in itself scarcely significant. However, the small bust sometimes employed for Honorius was, as we shall see, used on the silver siliquae bearing the same vota, and certainly struck after Theodosius's death; these corresponding semisses probably therefore belong to the same period.

VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM. Victory seated to right on cuirass, supporting on her left knee with the aid of a small genius a shield; on this are inscribed vota, VOT X MVLTV (Arcadius) or VOT V MVLTV (Honorius), to which she points.

Arcadius and Honorius (pl. II. 25, 26, 27)

As also on heavy miliarenses with these vota, Honorius is found both with a small bust and with one of normal size; it seems likely that the enhancement of his effigy took place on the occasion of his quinquennalia, but there is no direct evidence as to when these were celebrated. 397 or 398 are possible years; the latter was a year in which he held a consulship, but its choice would mean a very heavy concentration of coinage in the precious metals between 398 and 401. Arcadius seems to have celebrated his corresponding vota in 397 without associating them with a consulship.

10. G. BERMOND MONTANARI, *AtIN* 9/11 (1962/4), p. 251 no. 193.

11. Sternberg X, 25-26 November 1980, lot 625; F.S. KNOBLOCH, «Aureus or medallion?», *Journ. Soc. Anc. Num.* 12 (1981), 58.



VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM. As before, but shield inscribed  
VOT X MVLT XX for both emperors.  
Arcadius and Honorius (pl. II. 28)

This issue should be contemporary with the vota solidus, and have been struck for the decennalia, January 402.

### *TREMISSSES*

VICTORIA-AVGUSTORVM. Victory advancing to right, holding wreath,  
and cross on globe.  
Arcadius and Honorius (pl. II. 29).

Eastern type Milan tremisses of Theodosius, and of Arcadius and Honorius with small busts, show Victory's right arm bent at the elbow in a right-angle, and the right leg virtually straight. Pieces struck after Theodosius's death show the arm much less bent, and the leg perceptibly bent at the knee. There is no sign of a progression in the treatment of Victory, and I conclude that the issue of tremisses was intermittent at this period.

Silver coin, all with mint-mark MDPS except the half-siliqua (MD) was struck at this time in several denominations, and, in the case of the VIRTVS ROMANORVM siliquae, in great abundance.

### *WITH SMALL AND NORMAL EFFIGIES OF HONORIUS*

395-397/8

### *HEAVY MILIARENSES*

VOT V MVLT X within wreath.  
Honorius only (pl. II. 30., 31)

Both small and large busts are found. This issue was struck no later than Honorius's quinquennalia; siliquae suggest that a corresponding X-XV for Arcadius is to be expected.

### *SILICVAE*

Milan vota siliquae of Theodosius I fall between 388 and 391, and bear the figures X-XX. There are similar reverses for Valentinian II, and corresponding V-X siliquae for Arcadius.<sup>12</sup> The wreath typical for this issue is formed of pairs of

12. J.W.E. PEARCE. «The gold coinage of the reign of Theodosius I», *NC* 1938. pp. 205-46, esp. 225.

leaves sharply diverging from a central stem (pl. III. 32, 33), and is quite distinct from the arrangement found on vota coins of Honorius. Even on those with a small bust, the usual style shows triple groups of leaves, sometimes with the outer pair diverging, but often with all three parallel to one another.

VOT X MVLT XV (Arcadius) or VOT V MVLT X (Honorius), within wreath.  
Arcadius and Honorius (pl. III. 34, 35)

There are a few examples of a Honorius obverse coupled with the reverse proper to Arcadius. Vota X-XV would not have been appropriate to Honorius at any time before his decennalia, and in view of the small bust these must be regarded simply as mules, even though no undoubted instance of the converse coupling has yet been recognised.

#### *WITH NORMAL BUST FOR HONORIUS*

397/398-402

#### *MULTIPLES OF 1/24 LB*

TRIVMFATOR-GENT BARB. Emperor in military dress standing facing, head to left, holding a standard with Chi-Rho, and globe; at his right side is a crouching, bound captive.

Honorius only (pl. III. 36)

To the best of our knowledge, such large silver pieces were struck only in the west for most of the fourth century, and this is a purely western type.

#### *HEAVY MILIARENSES*

VOT X MVLT XX within wreath.

Arcadius and Honorius (pl. III. 37)

#### *LIGHT MILIARENSES*

VIRTVS - EXERCITVS or ..VM. Emperor in military dress standing facing, head to left, holding spear and resting left hand upon a shield.

Arcadius and Honorius (pl. III. 38, 39)

This is a western type and legend, and marks the definitive abandonment of the eastern GLORIA ROMANORVM that had seen some use in the west between 388 and 394. All multiples are very rare, and the rather crude effigies suggest that all may be associated with the decennalia and the Gothic war.

*SILIQUEAE*

Theodosius I's Milan siliquae of the *VIRTVS ROMANORVM*. Roma seated to right, type are linked by die or variety with Arcadius and Eugenius, but not, so far as has been recorded, with Honorius.<sup>13</sup> Dies matched with obverses of Theodosius and Eugenius (pl. III. 40) are distinguished by what appears to be the second leg of the Victory on globe held by Roma. On all dies of Honorius and most of those of Arcadius, this is replaced by a swirl of drapery. A small, well-formed point to Roma's spear is an invariable characteristic of the «Eugenius» style; this is only one of several variants to be found with the «Honorius» style, which may instead have a large, spread point, no point at all, a rather formless single spur, or a large hook about halfway up the shaft.

*VIRTVS RO-MANORVM*. Roma, helmeted, seated to left on cuirass, holding Victory on globe and inverts spear.

Arcadius and Honorius (pl. III. 41, 42, 43, 44, 45)

The type was probably coined intermittently from the cessation of the vota siliquae in 397/8. Output may have ceased by 402, for although the type was perpetuated at Ravenna, Rome and Aquileia, emissions from these mints are scarce, even rare, and show no stylistic or detail continuity.

*VOT/X/MVLT/XX* within wreath

Arcadius

This hitherto unknown issue of 402 has been revealed by the recently discovered Hoxne hoard.

*HALF-SILIQUEAE*

Pearce believed that this denomination was struck at Milan for Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius in 394/5, but on present evidence this is unlikely to have been the case. The type remains the same throughout, Victory moving to the left, but the legend may be *VICTORIA AVGG* or *...AVGGG*, and the division may be R-I or I-A. On pieces naming Theodosius and Eugenius the legend is divided only by Victory's head, and her left foot is ahead of the right (pl. III. 46); on those of Arcadius and Honorius the legend-break begins at Victory's wreath, and the right foot is always the foremost. The latter layout also characterises Honorius's *...AVGGG* half-siliquae of Rome (where both divisions are found) and Ravenna (divided I-A only). All the recorded busts of Honorius are of the normal size, and

13. J.W.E. PEARCE, «Eugenius and his eastern colleagues», *NC* 1937, pp. 1-27, esp. 25-27; *RIC*. IX p. 74.

the conclusion seems to be that after the death of Eugenius the striking of this denomination was not resumed until after Honorius's *vota siliquae* had ceased to be minted.

VICTOR-IA (or I-A) AVGGG. Victory advancing to left, holding wreath and palm-branch.

Arcadius and Honorius (pl. III. 47)

VICTOR-IA (or I-A) AVGG. As before.

Arcadius and Honorius (pl. III. 48)

Although issues from Ravenna and Rome employ the formula ...AVGGG, the pieces with ...AVGG have been put into second place, since they seem to match the *vota solidi* of 402. Later half-siliqueae revive the legend acknowledging three emperors after the proclamation of Theodosius II. Unlike the *solidi*, they revert once more to a two-emperor formula after the death of Arcadius.

#### *ISSUES SUBSEQUENT TO 402*

The principal Milan coinages of Honorius are no doubt restricted to between 394 and 402, but a few *solidi* and perhaps some *siliquae* were struck there from time to time later in the reign. First come some very rare *solidi* whose reverses most nearly resemble a group of Rome dies, themselves not far removed in style from the first coinage of Priscus Attalus (pl. IV. 49, 50, 51). The court was briefly in Milan during the summer of 408, around the time of the mutiny of the army and the death of Stilicho, and this date is perhaps the most likely. Yet later *solidi* may be distinguished by the letter G, which on coins struck in Italy after about 410 has a marked drooping tail to the cross-stroke. Milan has three main groups of such coins, all very rare, in the contemporary styles of the Ravenna mint. The earliest retains the backward-leaning imperial figure that first came into use at Ravenna shortly before Arcadius's death, but is shown to be somewhat later by the lettering and the heavy bust (pl. IV. 52, 53). Then comes a group with the limp imperial figure characteristic of reverses of between about 410 and 421 (pl. IV. 54, 55). The latest has the large imperial bust and high-stepping emperor of the very end of the reign. As with the corresponding very much more numerous Ravenna *solidi* (pl. IV. 56, 57), this last group includes a piece naming Theodosius II (pl. IV. 58, 59), which is best dated between the death of Honorius and the accession of Johannes (15 August - 20 November 423). Johannes, too, has a unique Milan *solidus* in the style of Ravenna (pl. IV. 60, 61). Both Milan and Ravenna *solidi* die-link Theodosius II and Johannes,<sup>14</sup> and the possibility that the latter struck gold as well as

14. O. ULRICH-BANSA, «La monetazione di Giovanni (423-425)», *QT*, V (1976), pp. 277-90.

(Rome) bronze in the name of his eastern «colleague» must be entertained. However, one must note that at least one Ravenna tremissis die is shared by Honorius, Theodosius II and Johannes; die-linkage does not necessarily denote strictly contemporaneous minting.

Milan VRBS ROMA siliquae of Honorius have been reported,<sup>15</sup> and if regular, should probably be dated to 408. The type of Roma seated to left on a throne, appears to be similar to Ravenna siliquae of around that date. The legend VIRTUS ROMANORVM was never again used for Roma-type siliquae after the death of Arcadius, and it perhaps worth recalling that Zosimus (*Hist.* 5. 41) records the destruction in the aftermath of Alaric's first siege of Rome of the precious statue known to the Romans as Virtus.

Down to the death of Arcadius, western issues in the precious metals can generally be attributed to periods of residence of the court at Ravenna (402-403, 405-406) and Rome (404, 407-408). Coinage at Aquileia (solidi and siliquae only) is stylistically related to part of the Ravenna output. It is traditionally ascribed to 402, principally on the grounds that there is no other year with so long an extended period during which the location of the court is unknown. But the Aquileia pieces resemble neither late Milan nor early Ravenna and Rome issues, and if the presence of the court is in fact essential, there are other possible dates –the second half of 403 or the summer and autumn of 406 and 407, for example. The apparent stylistic relationship of Aquileia solidi with Ravenna issues that shortly follow the death of Arcadius lead me to prefer the latest possible date. In 407, Honorius appears to have journeyed from Rome (March) to Ravenna (April) and then back to Rome (November). There was ample time for the court to visit Aquileia, though the motivation for such a trip, or indeed if it actually took place, cannot now be known. The coinage of solidi at Arles, including pieces in the name of Arcadius,<sup>16</sup> must have taken place before its occupation by Constantine III in 407/8, and was perhaps motivated by a need for the legitimate government to make urgent payments following his usurpation and entry into Gaul; there is no question of an imperial visit.

15. C.E. KING, *Roman silver coins V: Carausius to Romulus Augustus*, London 1987, p. 185 no. 70td.

16. J. Lafaurie, «Solidus d'Arcadius frappé à l'atelier d'Arles», *BSFN*, May 1969, pp. 392-3.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

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