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Byzantine Archaeology

The mint of Antioch: Production, Iconography in context and
circulation (324 – 610 AD)

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Dissertation

25th September 2018

Athens

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Acknowledgements

The completion of this Thesis could not have been possible without the assistance of so many people whose names may not all be enumerated. However, I would like to express a deep appreciation particularly to all the members of my three members committee. I would like to offer special thanks to Prof. Vaso Penna, who, although no longer with us, continues to inspire by her example and whose remarks were very valuable.

Introduction

a) The main objectives of the study

The present thesis focuses on the coins struck in the mint of Antioch between 324 and 610 AD. This specific period was chosen for several reasons. The first reason is that these dates are pivotal in the history of the mint of Antioch. During 324 AD, Constantine the Great started to rule as a sole emperor after a Civil War, introduced new features on his coinage and gained power of the city of Antioch which immediately started to strike coins in his name. The year 610 was the last year when the activity of the mint of Antioch is attested and after that year, the city was in the hands of Persians. The era between the 4th and the early 7th centuries can be also understood as a transitional period between the Antiquity and Byzantium when various economic and administrative changes took place.

The basic aim of the dissertation is to present the main features of the Antiochene coinage, to point out the peculiar elements which made the coins look different from the issues struck in Constantinople, and in other mints, and to put various particularities of the Antiochene coinage in the historical contexts. In addition, attention is paid to the role of the Antiochene mint within the late Roman and early Byzantine empires which raises questions regarding the main features of the circulation of the Antiochene issues within the Eastern Mediterranean. The coins from such a provincial mint enable to study the process of development of a local coinage over a longer time and let to formulate conclusions on the changes which impacted the coins' production in the turbulent transitional period when the Empire was facing invasions, economic crisis, inflations and internal conflicts. Furthermore, the city of Antioch is also interesting from the point of view that it figures in a series of written sources and it is possible to reconstruct a detailed history in certain periods which allows a better understanding of the city's coinage.

It is important to mention that the goal of the present work is not to create a corpus of all types struck in the mint of Antioch, but to emphasize the similarities and differences of the local coins while comparing them to the issues struck in the capital.

The denominations and types struck in the mint of Antioch have been systematically published in catalogues focused on late Roman and Byzantine coinage (RIC, BNP and MIB) and these works have provided a detailed picture of the typology of the Antiochene coins. The present research has produced evidence of several types that were unknown until then, but these are actually rare cases and therefore the creation of a new corpus would not really be beneficial.

b) Material

For the purpose of the present study, Antiochene coins struck between the 4th and the early 7th centuries held at various collections were included in the research. The main source was the collection in the Numismatic Museum of Athens; however, I had the opportunity to visit several collections abroad: Princeton University, the British Museum in London, the Barber Institute in Birmingham, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and the Hermitage (in the last two mentioned museums I had the opportunity to study the Antiochene coins from the first half of the 6th century exclusively).

Furthermore, I was able to study coins found during the excavations at Antioch which are held at Princeton University, a fact which was very beneficial for my research. Moreover, I attempted to include data from the basic catalogues of the late Roman and early Byzantine coinage (series RIC, BNP and MIB) and the online catalogue of the American Numismatic Society (<http://numismatics.org/search/>). In addition, I studied material which appeared on the market focusing on auction catalogues and the websites of auction houses. I attempted to exclusively include the auction houses which are considered to be credible (e.g. Classical Numismatic Group). The latter provided in several cases various unusual and unpublished issues which have not been published or which are very rare.

In general, most of the material which I had opportunity to study was lacking any archaeological information.

c) Structure of the study

The thesis is divided into several basic sections. After the introductory texts, Chapter 1 focuses on the socio-economic history of Antioch considering the facts and

events which could have influenced the conditions in the city and therefore could have impacted the Antiochene coinage. The main aim of this chapter is to provide the background information of the study of the Antiochene coins in order to better understand the factors which could have impacted some of the coins' features. Chapter 1 is divided into several sections covering topics such as the geographical factors which impacted the serious earthquakes devastating the whole region, as well as the city of Antioch, and the development of the city in the period from its' foundation in the Hellenistic era till its' capture by the Persians in 610. Two last sections consider specific topics like the connection between the economic change and demographic evolution during the 6th century and their impact in Byzantine Syria (Chapter 1g) and the identity of the Antiochenes, who were conscious and proud of their Greek origin and were predominantly non-Latin speaking (Chapter 1h). All of Chapter 1 charts specific development in the provincial city which served as an important military center at the Empire's borders, its' attitude to the central power and socio-economic problems. All of the information gathered provides a detailed context into which the specific economic conditions and overall features of the Antiochene coinage can be put. One of the goals of the present thesis is to see how the changes in coinage and its circulation could actually be related to the historical context and conditions in the city or whether it is important to search for the main source of the changes elsewhere.

The following Chapter 2 examines the Antiochene coinage, its main features and its' specifics (Chapter 2: Coinage of Antioch). The first subchapter introduces the basic features of the Antiochene coins struck prior to the period under study. The main purpose of this section is to understand if some peculiar features appear also later. The remaining subchapters consider the Antiochene coinage in the period under study (324-610) and the division corresponds to the dynasties ruling in the late Roman and early Byzantine era. One of the subchapters deals with the discussion of the possible activity of the Antiochene mint after the Persian conquest. Two of the subchapters examine specific topics related to the Antiochene coins. One investigates the role of Tyche on the local coins (Chapter 2g) and another the metrology of sixth century folles struck in Antioch as it seems that the Syrian bronze coins did not always follow the Constantinopolitan standard faithfully (Chapter 2h). After each subchapter there is a basic conclusion which enables the reader to concentrate on the data and ideas for each period and problem. Actually, Chapter 2 represents the main core of the present thesis as it provided a lot of information for the conclusion. The data and specific features are

presented in the catalogue at the end of the thesis. The coins included in the catalogue come from different sources, but most of the photos come from the archives of the auction houses; however, pictures from the British Museum, the American Numismatic Society and various numismatic scholar catalogues have been included too. The main reason for using the photos from the auction houses is the fact that these pictures are of high quality.

Chapter 3 examines the basic features of the circulation of the Antiochene coins. Actually, the data collection already indicated that the topic would be relatively difficult as systematic publications on the coins findings only exist in some regions. I was not able to include data on the 5th century as the information on the coins from this century is relatively poor.¹ In the end, this chapter has mainly an indicative character since the focus was just on specific localities within well published material and the main goal is to compare the development of the Antiochenes coins' proportions in the 4th and in the 6th century at various sites.

The Appendix of the thesis examines the collection of the late Roman and early Byzantine coins held in the Numismatic Museum as this collection has not yet been the subject of research.

The thesis concludes with the statements on the role of the Antiochene coins in the late Roman Empire and early Byzantium and put some of the peculiar features in historical context. It provides evidence on how numismatic iconography and circulation can illustrate the development in the transitional period between Antiquity and Byzantium. Furthermore, this helps our understanding of the interconnections between the province of Syria and the capital in the period when the city of Antioch was the center from which campaigns were launched on one of the most dangerous enemies of Byzantium.

d) History of the research of Antioch and its coinage

¹ E.g. a systematic study of *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* proved that the coins struck in the second half of 4th and during the whole 5th century were most often presented as late Roman coins with no further specification.

The history of Antioch has become the subject of many scholarly publications and the theme continues to raise interest today. The site of Antioch was described by travellers already in the 17th century² and the first plans of the city's ruins were made already in the 18th century when the site continued to be visited by various European travelers.³ The first modern study of the area is dated as early as 1839 and was conducted by a Göttingen researcher whose interest was triggered by reading John Malalas' Chronicle.⁴ Despite the fact that Antioch had been well known from the written sources, the details of the physical city remained unclear till the 20th century; however, the identification of some buildings was conducted already at the end of the 19th century.⁵ The location of Antioch provoked the interest of the French army due to its' strategic place and thus, the French soldiers were at the birth of the first modern guide over the site.⁶

The first real modern archaeological research of the site was conducted by the expedition of Princeton University in 1932-1939.⁷ It is worth mentioning that the excavations were interrupted mainly due to the problematic political situation in the region.⁸ The material was published in Princeton in several volumes, one of which is dedicated to the coins found at the site.⁹

These excavations brought to light parts of the unearthed porticoed streets and remains of many public and private buildings which illustrate the magnificence of the city. These excavations also provided evidence of numerous pottery findings and other

² See de Giorgi 2016, 1 and Bowersock 1994, 412.

³ Bowersock 1994, 412-413.

⁴ Carl Gotfried Müller, *Antiquitates Antiochenae*, Göttingen 1839; Downey 1961, 44-45; Bowersock 1994, 415-417.

⁵ Paul Richard Foerster, *Antiochia am Orontes*. In *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes*. Band 12 (1897), S. 103-149

⁶ Lt.-Col. P. Jacquot, *Antioche, centre de tourisme*, 3 v., Comité de tourisme 1931.

⁷ The excavations were in general carried out by the Princeton University; however some other institutions cooperated, e.g. National Museums of France or American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. For details on the expedition see Morey 1938, v-vi; De Giorgi 2016, 27-33. Archaeological archives accessible via website of the Princeton University <http://www.princeton.edu/researchphotographs/archaeological-archives/antioch/>; Becker – Kondoleon 2005, 4-14; Kondoleon 2000, 5-8; Campbell 1934, 201.

G.W.Elderkin, *Antioch on the Orontes I. The excavations of 1932*, Princeton 1934; J.R.Stillwell (ed.), *Antioch on the Orontes III. The excavations 1937-1939*, Princeton 1941; De Giorgi 2007, 283-284.

⁸ De Giorgi 2016, 32-33.

⁹ The excavations of 1932 by George W. Elderkin 9in (in 1934); The excavations, 1933-1936 by Richard Stillwell (in 1938); The excavations, 1937-1939 by Richard Stillwell (in 1941); Ceramics and Islamic coins by Frederick O. Waage (in 1948); Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' coins by Dorothy B. Waage (in 1952); Les portiques d'Antioche by Jean Lassus (in 1972).

objects, but almost three hundred mosaics were found there, which since then, have become an important source of late Antique art.¹⁰

The decade of the 1930's brought lots of innovative studies on Antioch and the whole region of Syria and the first studies focusing on the urbanization of Syria appeared during this period.¹¹ Furthermore, in 1935-1938 Georges Tchalenko undertook a project focusing on the study of churches in Northern Syria.¹² The project topic might not seem related to the socio-economic history of Syria at first sight; however, the data gathered by Tchalenko allowed for conclusions on the economic and demographic conditions in the region to be made, as well as providing evidence of rapid demographic growth in the period under study.¹³ Tchalenko's evidence put light on the situation in the region in late Antiquity and the early Byzantine period and his study indicated that the region witnessed a kind of development which was in contrast to the general perception of the late Roman economic decline.¹⁴

Another scholar who paid attention to the Antioch valley and headed expeditions in Syria was Robert Braidwood whose works confirm the importance of the region since the Prehistoric times.¹⁵ His work from 1937 is nowadays appreciated for its innovative approaches and is considered to be one of the first landscape studies.¹⁶

Georges Tate, director of French archaeological research in northern Syria in the second half of 20th century, focused on the economic conditions in this region. Tate's studies help to better understand the economics in the whole region and provided important evidence on the demographic development which was directly linked to the prosperity of Antioch.¹⁷ In general, the urbanism of Antioch and questions concerning the identification of buildings, living conditions and connections of the city and its rural areas became topics of various French studies.¹⁸

¹⁰ One of the first publications on Antiochene mosaics included also a very detailed introduction on the history of Antioch, see Morey 1938.

¹¹ Weulersse 1939, 27-79. For earlier works on urbanism in Syria, see Leblanc-Poccardi 1999, 91.

¹² See de Giorgi 2016, 15, 23-26.

¹³ Tchalenko 1953; G.Tchalenko, *Eglises de village de la Syrie du nord*, 3 vol., Paris : Librairie orientaliste P. Geuthner, 1979-1990.

¹⁴ De Giorgi pointed out in his monograph that actually Tchalenko's evidence brought data which were in contrast to the general overview provided by Libanius whose notes were mainly of critical character, see De Giorgi 2016, 23-27.

¹⁵ R.J. Braidwood, *Mounds in the Plain of Antioch*, Chicago 1937; R.J.Braidwood – L.S.Braidwood, *Excavations in the plain of Antioch*, Chicago 1960.

¹⁶ De Giorgi 2016, 16-17.

¹⁷ Tate 1989; Tate 1992.

¹⁸ see e.g. Leblanc-Poccardi 1999; Leblanc-Poccardi 2004.

The landscape of Antioch stands also in the centre of the most recent projects focused on the archaeology of Antioch and close regions.¹⁹ Very important are the studies of the plain conducted by the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago.²⁰ These projects focused on the landscape survey and provided important evidence on the spread of the settlements in the region after the Hellenistic period which put light on the increasing agricultural exploitation of the region and the demographic growth – factors which decisively influenced the economic development of Antioch and its surrounding areas in the period under study. These are also the topics studied by De Giorgi in his monograph. De Giorgi paid lots of attention to the enlargement of the settlements in Northern Roman Syria including Antioch and to the negative consequences of the soil exploitation and its impact on the local ecosystem reaching a critical point in the 2nd century AD – trends which continued to pose problems also in the following centuries.²¹

The main modern works on the Antiochene history which combined the information provided by the written sources with the results of the American archaeological expedition are the articles and monographs of the Princeton scholar Glanville Downey²² and his books were a stepping stone for me in studying the history of the site of Antioch.

Regarding the coins, the reconstruction of the Hellenistic Antiochene coins took place at the beginning of the 20th century and the main scholar who paid his attention to this subject was Edward Theodore Newell.²³ Another wave of attention was paid to the Hellenistic Antiochene coins in late 1990's by Georges Le Rider who published a corpus of gold and silver Antiochene issues.²⁴ And, of course, the Antiochene Hellenistic issues have been included in the basic catalogues of Seleucid coins.²⁵ In addition, various scholars studied the coinage in Syria, in general, and in the framework of these researches, attention was also paid to Antioch.²⁶

¹⁹ De Giorgi 2016; Vorderstrasse 2004b; Casana 2004; Casana 2007.

²⁰ The Amuq Valley Regional Projects, Volume 1: Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995–2002, ed. Kutlu Aslıhan Yener, Oriental Institute Publications 131, Chicago 2005.

²¹ De Giorgi 2016, 80–81, 88–89

²² E.g. Downey 1939; Downey 1951a–b; Downey 1958; Downey 1959, Downey 1961; Downey 1961.

²³ E.T.Newell, *The Seleucid mint of Antioch*, The American Numismatic Society, New York 1918.

²⁴ Le Rider, *Antioche de Syrie sous les Seleucides : Corpus des monnaies d'or et d'argent*, Paris 1999.

²⁵ E.g. A.Houghton – C.Lorber, *Seleucid coins : A comprehensive catalogue*, New York 2002; A.Houghton – C. Lorber – O. Hoover, *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalog*, (Lancaster, 2002 - 2008).

²⁶ Furthermore, works on Hellenistic coinage appeared, see C.Augé, *La monnaie en Syrie à l'époque hellénistique et romaine*, in J.-M.Dentzer - W.Orthmann (eds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement d'Islam*, Sarrbrücken 1989, 149–190; papers on coinage in Syria in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see C.Augé -F.Duyrat (eds.), *Les monnayages syriens. Quel*

Edward Theodore Newell focused also on the pre-Imperial Antiochene coinage.²⁷ It is actually interesting that the Imperial Roman coinage of Antioch had been attracting scholars for a long time and various studies on the specific topics related to the Antiochene coinage have been published, but no comprehensive corpus was written during the 20th century.²⁸ Among the scholars who specialized on the Antiochene coinage in the imperial times was Kevin Butcher.²⁹ Kevin Butcher also published in 2004 a monography which examines the typology and circulation of coins in Roman Syria from the period of the Roman conquest (64 BC) till the half of the 3rd century.³⁰ A few years later, a monograph dedicated exclusively to the coinage of the Roman Antioch was published.³¹ Richard McAlee's work represents the first systematic and comprehensive catalogue of the Antiochene coins in the Roman period with commentaries. The monograph focuses on the Antiochene coinage from the annexation of the city by the Romans (64 BC) till the death of Maximinus Daza († 313).

The Antiochene coins struck in the following periods, the 4th and the 5th centuries, have been systematically catalogued in the series of the Roman Imperial Coinage in the volumes VII - X published between 1966 and 1994. There have not been many articles published focusing on the Antiochene coinage in these centuries and most of the studies published in various numismatic journals mainly focused on the description of new unknown types.³² Systematic series of the Antiochene Byzantine coins

apport pour l'histoire du Proche-Orient hellénistique et romain? Actes de la table ronde de Damas, 10-12 novembre 1999, Beirut 2002.

²⁷ E.T.Newell, *The Pre-imperial Coinage of Roman Antioch*, NC 19 (1919), 69-113.

²⁸ E.g. Roger Farrant Bland, *The Coinage of Gordian III from the mints of Antioch and Caesarea*, Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD, Institute of Archaeology – University College, London 1991; A.Bellinegr, *Notes on Some Coins from Antioch in Syria*, MN V (1952), 53-63; R.Bland, *The Coinage of Vabalathus and Zenobia from Antioch and Alexandria*, NC 171 (2011), 133-186; William E.Metcalf, *A Note on Trajan's Latin aes from Antioch*, ANS – MN 22 (1977), 67-70; Christian Augé - Frédérique Duyrat (eds.), *Les monnayages syriens : quel apport pour l'histoire du Proche-Orient hellénistique et romain ? Actes de la table ronde de Damas, 10-12 novembre 1999*; H.R.Baldus, *MON(eta) URB(is) – ANTIOXIA. Rom und Antiochia als Prägestätten syrischer Tetradrachmen des Philippus Arabs*, Frankfurt 1969.

²⁹ K.Butcher, *The Colonial Coinage of Antioch-on-Orontes c.AD 218-53*, NC 148 (1988), 63-75; K.Butcher, *Numerical letters on Syrian coins: officina or sequence marks?*, *Revue Belge de Numismatique* 158 (2012), 123-144; K.Butcher, *Syria in the Roman Period, 64 BC - AD 260*, in W.E. Metcalf (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, Oxford / New York 2012; 468-484; K.Butcher (with M. J. Ponting), *The Silver Coinage of Roman Syria under the Julio-Claudian Emperors*, *Levant* 41.1 (2009), 59-78; K.Butcher, *Circulation of Bronze Coinage in the Orontes Valley in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods*, in C. Augé, F. Duyrat (edd.), *Les monnayages syriens – Quel apport pour l'histoire du Proche-Orient hellénistique et romain?*, Actes de la table ronde de Damas, 10-12 novembre 1999, Beirut 2002, 145-152.

³⁰ Kevin Butcher, *Coinage in Roman Syria. Northern Syria 64 BC – 253 AD*, London 2004.

³¹ Richard McAlee. *The Coins of Roman Antioch*. Lancaster, Penn./London: Classical Numismatic Group, Ltd., 2007.

³² E.g. Champo 2015; Lacam 1990; Brenot 1968; Rolland 1976. A short overview of bronze coins struck in the mint of Antioche was published by Eckart Schlösser in the proceedings of the eleventh international numismatic congress, see Schlösser 1993.

were for the first time published by Alfred R. Bellinger (DOC I) in 1966. The coins were methodically described and catalogued in the series published for the first time in the 1970's by Wolfgang Hahn (MIB I, MIB II, MIBE and MIBEc) and in the comprehensive catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale by Cécile Morrisson (BNP). There have been several articles published in the second half of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century focusing on some specific topics related to the sixth century Antiochene coinage (e.g. its metrology, the phenomenon of the blundered legends on the Justinianic coins, hybrid coins combining Justinianic reverse and Anastasius obverse etc.).³³ It is definitely necessary to emphasize the works of Belgian numismatist Henri Pottier whose monographs and articles enlighten the Byzantine bronze coinage in Syria in the 6th and early 7th century and provided interesting evidence on Antioch and its' pentanummia.³⁴

As far as the site of Antioch and its coin findings the situation is slightly complicated. The only systematic catalogue of the Roman and Byzantine coins found at the site of Antioch was published by Dorothy Waage who conceived the catalog as a list of coins sorted by the period of origin and type.³⁵ The project of the re-examination of numismatic material found at the excavations and its' interpretation within the archaeological context has been currently ongoing at Princeton University under the supervision of Dr. Alan Stahl.³⁶

³³ Alfred R. Bellinger on the Theoupolis' mintmark in Bellinger 1966, 98-99 or on the Antiochene copper of Justinian in Bellinger 1966, 93-96; George E. Bates' supplement on the Bellinger's study of Justinianic copper, in Bates 1970, 69-79; D.M. Metcalf on the metrology of Justinianic folles, see Metcalf 1960; Maciej Salamon on the interpretations of the mintmarks after 528, Salamon 1993; on the hybrids, see Mansfield 2011 and 2013.

³⁴ Pottier 1977; Pottier 1983; Pottier 2004 and Pottier 2010.

³⁵ Waage 1952. Except of that, random references on coins' findings in the volumes on the excavations in the Antioch can be found: S.H. Weber, *The Coins*, in ed. by G.W. Elderkin, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 1 *The Excavations of 1932*, Princeton 1934., 76-81.

³⁶ See e.g. Alan M. Stahl, *New Archaeology from Old Coins: Antioch Re-Examined*, in eds. P.J. Crabtree – P. Bogucki, *European Archaeology as Anthropology. Essays in Memory of Bernard Wailes.*, Philadelphia 2017, 225-243.

1. Social, economic and cultural history of Antioch (4th – 6th centuries AD)

a) Geographical factors

The ruins of Antioch (today Antakya) are situated in present-day southern Turkey (36°12'N 36°9'E), ca 25 km from the seashore on the river Orontes.³⁷ Antioch was located on the slope of Mt Silpius close to the fertile Antioch plain (nowadays Amuq or Amik valley) and Limestone Massif on the navigable Orontes River which connected the city to the sea. Moreover, Antioch was in control of several ports during various historic phases (e.g. Seleucia Pieria in Antiquity or Al-Mina in the late Roman period). All these facts predestined Antioch to become a strategic place for trade, communication between the Mediterranean and Eastern provinces and for the protection of the Roman Empire's Eastern border.³⁸ Moreover, the geographic location made Antioch a place where the Greek culture met the Oriental one, so the geographic position influenced the intermingling of various cultures - a fact which continued to be obvious in the period under study.³⁹

The city was also surrounded by forests, mainly cypresses, and quarries of basalt were found in the vicinity; the local climate was temperate and rather pleasant and water was widely accessible.⁴⁰ It is worth mentioning that the neighbouring areas were rather fertile and close springs were used for the irrigation.⁴¹ As a result, Antioch's economy was rather connected to the agriculture in its vicinity and so the prosperity of the city was impacted by the growth of its rural surroundings.⁴²

³⁷ actually there is only one written source referring to the origin of the river's name is Malalas X 10 (p.234) who mentioned that during the reign of Tiberius the river's name ceased to be Drakon and became Orontes, which meant East in Latin- see Downey 1961, 184; on details of the geographical position see Morey 1938, 3-4; De Giorgi 2007, 284. The city is referred to as Antioch on the Orontes not to be mistaken with the Pisidian Antioch, the Roman colony in Anatolia.

³⁸ Downey 1961, 18; Butcher 2003, 12-13; Kondoleon 2000, 3; De Giorgi 2007, 284. On possibility to navigate on the river Orontes, see Or.xi.260-2. The city was situated on important trade routes, including the long-distance (route to India and China) Browning 1975, 147.

³⁹ Trombley 2004b. 60, 64-66

⁴⁰ Leblanc-Poccardi 2004, 248; Downey 1961, 20- 22; Kondoleon 2000, 3. Regarding the water, G.Downey stressed among others that geological bedrock caused the winter falls were kept in antural underground resevoirs etc., see Downey 1962, 8-9. The suitable climatic and geographic conditions were emphasized also by Libanius in the first half of his sermon in praise of Antioch, see Or.XI,16-42.

⁴¹ Downey 1961, 20-21.

⁴² on importance of the rural areas see Tate 1992, 191-271; Whittow 1996, 55; Liebeschuetz 1972, 40.

The unique combination of the abundant water supply, pleasant climate and convenient location on important trade routes created ideal conditions.⁴³ All the aforementioned facts made Antioch a place desirable to live and contributed to the reality that Antioch became one of the most important cities in the East with economic and cultural impacts on the surroundings areas. On the other hand, it is important to note that because of its position it was no easy to defend the whole area.⁴⁴

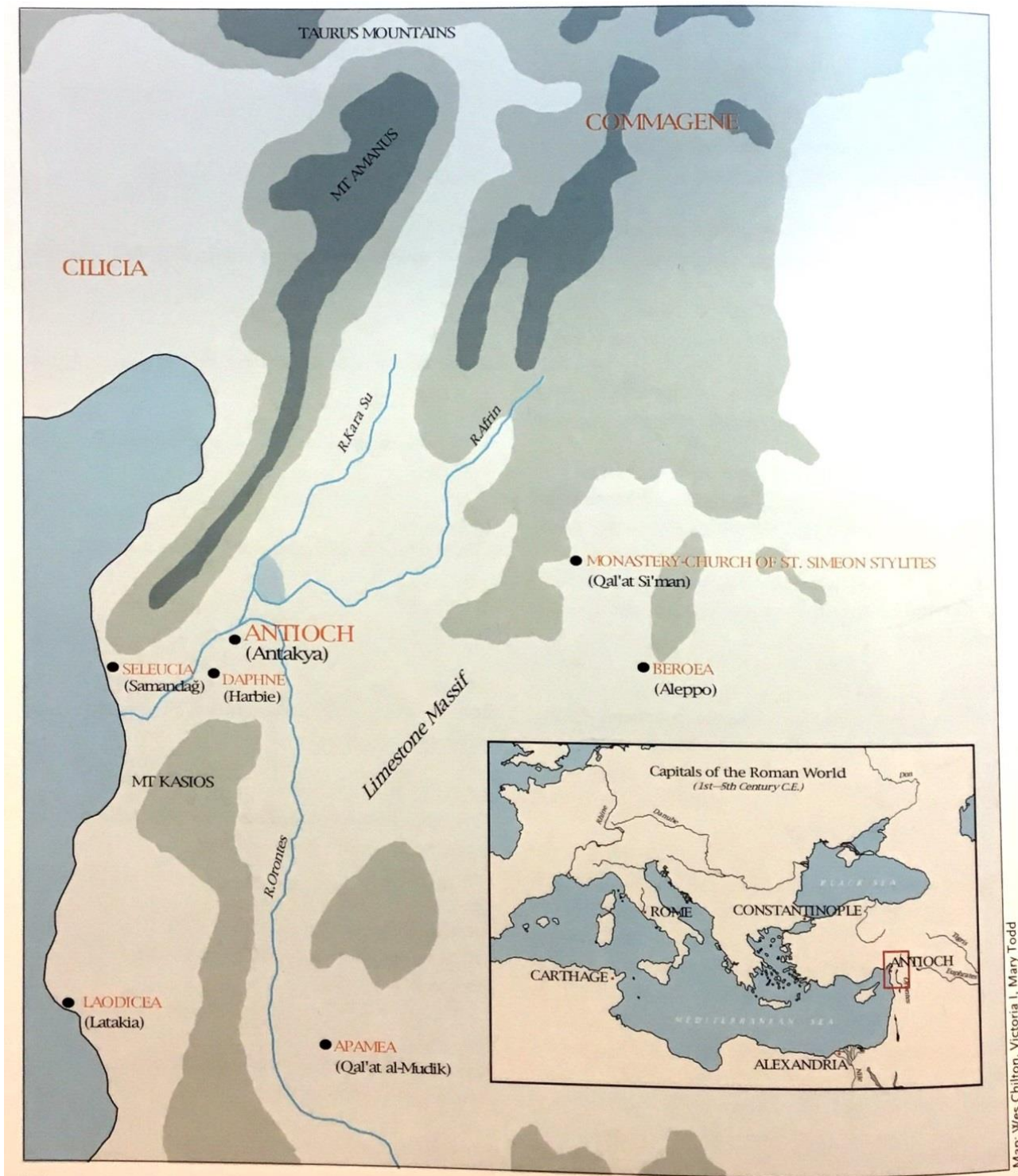
A rather important disadvantage related to the geographic position and geological preconditions of the region was the intensive seismic activity and Antioch had to face this danger regularly throughout the city's history.⁴⁵ Irregular instances of earthquakes were the frequent cause of severe damage throughout the city and surrounding areas and sometimes they had devastating consequences for the everyday life and economics in the city. Antioch in the period under study (4th – 6th century) was hit by several huge earthquakes with catastrophic aftereffects which negatively impacted demographic and economic conditions in the area.⁴⁶

⁴³ See e.g. Downey 1962, 6-7.

⁴⁴ Beebe 1983, 203; Downey 1961, 17.

⁴⁵ Sbeinati –Darawcheh-Mouty 2005, 347-435; Kondoleon 2000, 4.

⁴⁶ Brands 2016, 34 (evidence of earthquakes in Antioch in years 447, 458, 526 and 528); Ambraseys 2009, 904 (evidence of earthquakes in Antioch in years 341, 363, 388, 395, 458, 459, 513, 525, 526, 528, 534, 557-8, c.570, 577, 588) De Giorgi points out that since the first century till the sixth century AD was hit by twenty big earthquakes; see De Giorgi 2016, 189.



Map 1. Antioch and surrounding region. Map copied from Kondoleon 2000.



Map 2. Antioch. Map copied from Kondoleon 2000.

b) Sources

Sources on the socio-economic and cultural history of Antioch are of various forms. For the purposes of the present thesis, they will be divided in two basic categories: the written and the material sources.

1. Written sources

The written sources are rather sparse in the case of the ancient history of the Syrian city as some of the important works have been lost.⁴⁷ Most of the surviving accounts are datable to the period after the Roman conquest of Syria. Various interesting notes on Antioch were written in the first centuries under the imperial dominion,⁴⁸ but these works do not represent the main systematic sources on the city's history; nevertheless, they might provide interesting facts and confirm the important role of Antioch as an administrative, military and economic centre in the region.⁴⁹

The period under study (4th- 6th centuries) is actually relatively abundant for the sources as several important works which provided detailed information on history, culture and socio-economic conditions of Antioch were written in these centuries.⁵⁰ The most significant fourth century authors who paid attention to the city of Antioch were the local natives Libanius (314-194)⁵¹ and John Chrysostom (349-407). In addition, rather important testimonies were provided by the emperor Julian the Apostate (361-363) who had a specific relation to Antioch and resided there for a short period; however, this was a rather important part of his reign (362-363).⁵² Libanius' works are considered to be the

⁴⁷ various sources refer to the work of Pausanias on Antioch and other lost ancient texts, see Downey 1961, 36-37

⁴⁸ e.g. Rather important testimony on the Ancient Antioch was provided by Strabo (1st c. BC), *Geography*, book 16, 2/4-6. The other Roman authors who referred on Antioch were e.g. Iosephus Flavius, Dio Cassius, Plutarch, Cato Minor and others. For the systematic list see Downey 1961, 136-144, 165, 172; Rather important Roman source on the foundation of Antioch is the work of the Roman geographer Pausanias (2nd c.AD) which is lost and its' existence was mentioned by other later authors, see Downey 1961, 35-45.

⁴⁹ for example Flavius mentions Antioch times in relation to the wars and mentions presence of some of the emperors there (e.g. Vitellius), see for example *Antiquities of the Jews*, various passages in books 12-18) and his work also provided a testimony on presence of an important Jewish community there, see *The wars of the Jews*, book 7, 43. book 7, ch.100 and he described Antioch as the third place in the empire after Rome and Athens, see 3.2.4

⁵⁰ Brands 2016, 1-3.

⁵¹ Libanius, *Or. XI (Antiochikos)* and information in various sermons and epistulae.

⁵² Downey 1961, 40-43.

most systematic and detailed sources on Antioch and the author also paid lots of his attention to the topography of the site as the only author in 4th century.⁵³ Moreover, the historian Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. † 400), who was a Syrian native, mentioned in his work various events that took place in Antioch;⁵⁴ however, the history of the city was not the main interest of this author.

In contrast to the 4th fourth century, the 5th century did not provide enough sources to create a precise picture of the socio-economic situation of Antioch in this period; however, various authors (Sozomen, Socrates Scholasticus and others) in the 5th century mentioned Antioch in their works, but they were usually referring to random specific events.

On the contrary, the 6th century sources are the basic ones regarding the study of Antioch in the late Antique period. As one of the most important sources on history of Antioch, the 6th century Chronicle of Ioannes Malalas, who was educated in Antioch and resided there for an important period of time, should be mentioned. Malalas described not only events which happened in Antioch during his life, but provided relevant information on the older history of the city too and contributed in a significant way to the knowledge of Antioch's topography. Other than Malalas, interesting information on Antioch has been provided in various passages in Procopius' works. Another important source dated to the 6th century is Evagrius' Ecclesiastical history which provided important information on random events which took place in Antioch. Furthermore, some other late Roman/early Byzantine chronicles dated to the late 5th and 6th centuries provided scanty notes on events which took place in Antioch (e.g. Chronicle of Zachariah of Mytilene or a Chronicle in Syriac by Joshua the Stylites) and various later authors - as John of Nikiu (7th c. AD), Theophanes Confessor (8th c.) or Michael the Syrian (12th c.) - included mentions on Antioch in their works.

Another category of written sources is the epigraphy. The Greek, Latin and Syriac inscriptions have become subjects of various studies;⁵⁵ however, the frequent

⁵³ Downey 1959, 653.

⁵⁴ See e.g. Downey 1961, 40 (note 59).

⁵⁵ The Greek and Latin inscriptions from the city itself and its' vicinity have been published in comprehensive publications by 1950's: Jalabert-Mouterde 1950. Glanville Downey for example mentions that no official inscription of the Roman Imperial period is known, see Downey 1961, 25. Moreover, the inscriptions from various frontier parts of Syria indicate the existence of diverse population and the reality that some Arab settlements existed prior to the Arabic conquest, see Liebeschuetz 1988, 69. For Syriac epigraphic sources, see Chatonnet – Desreumaux 2011

earthquakes caused the lack of important inscriptions available which would have revealed more about the economic and politic life in the city.

2. Material sources

The excavations of the city of Antioch provided lots of evidence; however, the material culture does not always create a clear picture of the situation in Antioch in the later Roman Empire. The narrations of Libanius and Procopius are the main sources concerning the building activities in the city in the late Roman and early Byzantine period.⁵⁶ The architecture dated in the period under study indicates the role of Antioch as an imperial residence on the one hand (the late Roman phases of Diocletian's palace and hippodrom, new forum of Valens, urbanistic expansion under Theodosius II, rebuilding under Justinian) and the destruction on the other (most often as a consequence of earthquakes or military attacks).⁵⁷ The reconstruction of the city under Justinian I between the late 520's and 540's is actually the last significant intervention in the urbanistic city's plan. These reconstructions are evident in public buildings in particular, but there isn't much evidence on the development of private housing.⁵⁸

In some cases, the new buildings constructed in the 4th century corresponded to the cultural and religious changes.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the precise identification of location of some of these buildings is just hypothetical.⁶⁰

Concerning the sculpture and arts in general, there is not much evidence on the existence of any important local workshops in late Antiquity; however, this fact might be related to the level of destructions in the city.⁶¹

Furthermore, the pottery findings provided interesting evidence: the findings of late Roman pottery are abundant; however, it seems that actually little material can be dated without any doubts in the 5th century and especially the period after the 550's.⁶²

⁵⁶ see e.g. Brands 2016, 7-8; Downey 1961, 546.

⁵⁷ Brands 2016, 7-15, 41-2; Downey 1961, 403-407.

⁵⁸ Brands 2016, 55.

⁵⁹ E.g. the construction of kynegion under Valens was related to the fact that other popular entertainments were prohibited as a result of spread of Christianity (e.g. gladiator games), see Downey 1961, 407.

⁶⁰ E.g. Downey 1961, 408.

⁶¹ Brands 2016, 68-71. Gunnar Brands has stressed e.g. the fact that there are no important findings of sculpture, but there were found lots of tiny pieces which could be interpreted as possible parts of sculpture.

⁶² See for the evidence Waage 1948, 43-58.

Some of the late Roman shards could be placed in the context with the coin findings and mosaics. In general, the pottery found at Antioch was of Mediterranean origin and the pieces represent types widely distributed in the Mediterranean basin.⁶³ Frederick O.Waage's publication of the ceramics from 1948 is so far the only systematic study of the pottery findings in the site of Antioch.

At the present state of research, it is very often impossible to link the specific findings with the particular place on site. At the moment, the project of putting the numismatic material in precise archaeological context is ongoing.

From the aspect of the present study, it is important to mention mainly the mosaics. The mosaics found during excavations at Antioch, mainly in the district of the Antiochene suburb Daphne, represent another important and rather unique source of information on the late Antique Antioch.⁶⁴ The mosaics illustrate the heterogeneity of the society, as some of the mosaic patterns were related either to Christian and Jewish backgrounds or to the Hellenic traditions, and some of them contained motifs adopted from the Persian iconography.⁶⁵

The ancient motifs (e.g. representations of deities, virtues, personifications etc.) provided evidence on the persistence of pagan imagery and its embodiment in Christian ideology.⁶⁶ Some of these representations could also appear on mosaics dated in the 5th and 6th centuries⁶⁷ indicating a continuation of the strong Hellenistic tradition. The mosaics depicting scenes from ancient mythology and Menander's comedies confirm the popularity of ancient art in Antioch in the late Antiquity.⁶⁸

The reality that the mosaics were found both in private and public buildings and that they were actually situated on the floor indicates that the living standards were rather high in Antioch or at least that a rather important and large stratum of society existed there which could afford such a luxury in their living place.

⁶³ For the origins and typology, see *ibidem*.

⁶⁴ The mosaics were fully published and analysed by D.Levi in *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton 1947; before that systematic publications of mosaics were included in the excavations reports. See also Morey 1938; Downey 1961, 33.

⁶⁵ Downey 1961, 34-35; Levi 1947, 1; Gutzwiller – Çelik 2012, 573; Cimok 2000, 17.

⁶⁶ Downey 1945, 279-286; Levi 1947, see descriptions of mosaics dated from the period of Constantine the Great till the sixth century (p.226-369) and Levi's comments on personifications of abstract ideas and their relation to the spirit of Christianity (p.253-256)

⁶⁷ Downey 1945, 283.

⁶⁸ On scenes from Menander's comedies see Gutzwiller – Çelik 2012, 574; examples of mythological topics see in Levi 1947, 308 and Campbell 1988, 27 (*Amazonmachy*).

In general, the material sources indicate the monumentality of Antioch and, on the other hand, the fact that the city faced several huge destructions in the period under study.

c) From the foundation of the city to the period of Diocletian

1. The beginnings

The city of Antioch was founded by Seleukos Nikator in the late 4th c. BC. (May 300 BC) and it quickly became the principal city in the region of Northern Syria.⁶⁹ It seems that the locality was sparsely inhabited in before 300 BC, but these settlements were most probably just temporary.⁷⁰ Regarding the foundation of the city the archaeological research did not shed much light on the details and the only sources are written legendary versions.⁷¹ The ambiguity of these myths typically often brought inconsistent information.⁷² Antioch soon became a big and significant Hellenistic cultural, artistic and economic centre where important trade routes connecting Eastern and Western parts of the Mediterranean met and where the workshops of famous skilled craftsmen existed and the city held such a role till the late Antiquity.⁷³ It's worth mentioning that as a Hellenistic city, Antioch followed the architectural patterns common in this period and the Hippodamian system was employed there. Furthermore, the meteorological conditions were also taken in consideration by the constructors. All these factors made the city a pleasant place for living.⁷⁴

The Seleucid period was also marked by the extensive urbanization of the region of Syria,⁷⁵ and since its beginning, the city of Antioch also played an important role in the geopolitical conflicts. The position close to the Antioch Plain predestined its² role as

⁶⁹ Originally there was a city called Antigonea founded by Antigonus. Seleukos after the battle at Ipsus in 301 and defeat of Antigonos I moved the settlers to another location where they mixed with other Greek colonists and local Syrian population. Seleukos preferred to name the city in honour of his father: see New Pauly, article on Antioch, Morey 1938, 3; ODB I, 113; on the legends related to the possible plans of Alexandre the Great and circumstances around the foundation see Pauly-Wissowa – heslo Syria, 1609; Downey 1961, 55; Wallace-Hadrill 1982, 1-2; Brands 2016, 1-2.

⁷⁰ Casana 2007, 195; Downey 1961, 16, 49, 56-57; Libanius and Malalas, whose works represent the most systematic studies on the history of Antioch, paid their attention to the pre-Macedonian history of the site and to settlements on the site of later Antioch as to the foundation of the cities Libanius Or XI 44-68; similar information on the pre-Macedonian history of the northern Syria region is provided in Or V.42. Some of the stories mentioned by these authors in connection to the settlements in Syria have mainly legendary character; for analyse see Saliou 1999/2000.

⁷¹ Libanius Or.XI; Malalas VIII, 13-20 (p.198-205) and others.

⁷² De Giorgi 2016, 35.

⁷³ i.g. Hunter 2003, 486; New Pauly 2006, article Antioch; Downey 1961, 98; on the size and development of population' size, see Downey 1958, 85; Kondoleon 2000, 4; Bowersock refers to Antioch and other several Syrian cities as to "Hellenistic foundations designed to secure Greek influence to some degree" (Bowersock 1989, 65); on the workshops see, e.g. Bowersock 1989, 69. In accordance to some scholars, the city of Antioch was not planned to become the capital of the region, but it acquired this status rather soon, see Wallace-Hadrill 1982, 2; on the economic importance of the region of Syria in general, see Bedford 2007, 325-326. Balty 2004; Brands 2016, 58; Kondoleon 2000b.

⁷⁴ Demir 2004, 221-222.

⁷⁵ Butcher 2003, 26.

military headquarters in the periods when problems with the Eastern neighbours escalated.⁷⁶

It is supposed that the Macedonian colonization of Syria for a long time influenced the social structure of big Syrian cities and gave rise to the accumulation of wealth and power in the hands of big families of Macedonian origin.⁷⁷ It is questionable whether this structure also had any impact in the coming centuries as it is obvious that a hereditary oligarchy played a rather important role in the social structure of the Near Eastern cities in general.⁷⁸

2. Antioch as a religious centre

Antioch with its' suburb Daphne already became in the Hellenistic period an important religious centre of various cults.⁷⁹ Antioch was a site where the traditional Greek deities were worshipped next to the Syrian ones. It is important to mention that the cult of Tyche played a significant role during the whole history of Antioch and its personification was depicted on some Antiochene coins as early as in the Hellenistic period.⁸⁰ Furthermore, an important Jewish community existed in the city since the Hellenistic times.⁸¹

The multicultural and multi-ethnic environment of Antioch gave way for the creation and co-existence of various religious groups at one place.⁸² Various thinkers

⁷⁶ for example in the period of conflict between Ptolemaids and Seleukos in the 3rd c. BC when a part of Syria was occupied by Ptolemeos III, for details see Sartre 1995, 26-27; Ager 2003, 43-44; Downey 1961, 89-92; later it became the main centre of the Roman headquarters in the organization of the military actions against Parthians and Sassanians and also the city of Apamea played an important role, see Downey 1961, 150, 158-159; Balty 1988, 97; Browning 1975, 187-188; Dignas – Winter 2007, 18-32; Gebhardt 2002, 112-114.

⁷⁷ This fact is mentioned by Balty in connection with Apamea, but he refers several times in his article to Antioch too; see i.g. mentions in Balty 1988, 96.

⁷⁸ on the hereditary oligarchy, see e.g. Whittow 1990, 5.

⁷⁹ Takács 2000, 198-200; Downey 1961, 82-86, 88; Libanius Or. XI 94-99 (on Apollo's shrine in Daphne), XI 108-118 (on various cults), XI 125 (on various temples built there); Malalas VIII 20 (p.204); Morey 1938 provided evidence on the reality that Antioch was sometimes called "Antioch at Daphne", Morey 1938, 4; Kondoleon 2000, 10.

⁸⁰ for the importance of the cult see notes in Malalas and Pausanias who described the famous statue of Antiochene Tyche made by sculptor Eutychides already in 3rd century BC; on statues of Tyche – the girl sacrificed at the foundation, see Malalas VIII, 14 (p.201) and XI 9 (p. 276); Pausanias VI .2.7.; Downey 1961, 73; for the representation of Tyche in art and coins, see Stansbury-O'Donnell 1994, 50-63.

⁸¹ Kraeling 1932, 130-131; Kondoleon 2000, 10.

⁸² e.g. On the various ethnicities, see Ceram 2013, 36-41. Various religious leaders were connected with Antioch (e.g. Nicolaus of Antioch, Basilides of Alexandria and others) and the philosophic background contributed to the development of Gnosticism, see Downey 1961, 289-292.

from other Eastern cities were active in Antioch.⁸³ Later, also people of Persian origin played an important role in the city's life.⁸⁴

Christianity found a solid ground in the city and the Christian community was evidently present in Antioch as soon as in the first half of the 1st century AD;⁸⁵ however, various scholars stress that it is not possible to speak about a real and strong Christian environment prior to the second half of the 3rd century and an intensive and systematic Christianisation of the whole region is usually dated to the 4th century.⁸⁶ Rather important is the fact that the Antiochene Christians had the financial means to contribute to the spread of their religion.⁸⁷ Certainly, it is worth mentioning that these various religious and ethnic groups could sometimes have conflicts among themselves and these clashes have resulted in the emergence of serious disturbances in the city.⁸⁸

3. Antioch as a centre of power and public life under the Romans

Evidently, Romans were aware of the economic potential of Antioch since the annexation in 64 BC and the Roman population soon appeared in the city to be active in the local trade and in reorganization of the administrative structure.⁸⁹ It seems that the significance of Antioch under the Romans was mainly related to its role in the administrative and military organization of Roman Syria. Some scholars have stressed the fact that other cities (as Caesarea Maritima) might have played much more of an

⁸³ e.g. Origenes was invited to Antioch by Julia Mamaea, mother of Alexander Severus (see Downey 1961, 305-306).

⁸⁴ Downey 1961, 232, 254 and others.

⁸⁵ Downey 1961, 189; Dictionnaire de l'Antiquité 2005, 132-133. Tendencies to monotheism were supported among others by the long-term existing Jewish community and a large number of Hellenist Jews, Kondoleon 2000, 10; Downey 1961, 273-274. Gruen 2003, 273; Downey 1961, 107-111; Brooten 2000, 29-30. Evidently, there existed various and different groups of Christians including Jewish-Christians, see Downey 1961, 277. On the pagan, Jewish and Gnostic backgrounds of Antioch see Wallace-Hadrill 1982, 14-26. The Acts of the Apostles also provided an interesting information on the reality that it was in Antioch where the Christ's followers were called Christians for the first time (Acts 11:26) and that it was directly related to the activities of some apostles. Furthermore, two of the apostles, Peter and Paul, had an important dispute there, for all the above see Acts 15:1-21; Downey 1961, 283; J.Dunn, Jesus, Paul and the Law. Studies in Mark and Galatians, Westminster 1990, 129-136; Kondoleon 2000, 10. S.A.Harvey mentions the spread opinion that Gospel of Matthew was written in Antioch too, see Harvey 2000, 39.

⁸⁶ Trombley 2004b, 59. Complex overview of the opinions expressed on the beginnings and spread of Christianization, see Gatier 2013, 68-73; Gatier 2014, 146-149.

⁸⁷ Downey 1961, 287.

⁸⁸ Takács 2000, 197.

⁸⁹ Downey 1961, 146-149. 156; Liebeschuetz 2015, 223. On the attempts of Romans to create from Syria a client kingdom even before 64 BC see Downey 1951, 149-163.

important role in the commerce than Antioch in the Roman period, but Antioch was a more important centre of power in the region.⁹⁰

The status of Antioch changed several times under the Romans as the division of the Empire underwent administrative reorganizations. These changes had as a result the increased administrative importance of the whole region of Syria and consequently the importance of the city of Antioch was elevated too.⁹¹

Furthermore, the importance of the city of Antioch for the Roman Empire is obvious also from the intensive building activities which took place at various phases of the Roman dominion;⁹² however, some of the reconstructions were not related exclusively to the will of the emperors to honour the city, but to the consequences of various earthquakes and other catastrophes (e.g. fires) which were, unfortunately, quite common.⁹³

The city also became a centre of entertainment in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire. The famous Olympic Games whose tradition continued till the 6th century AD were established by Augustus and they became one of the most important social events in the East.⁹⁴ G.Downey supposed that since the epoch of Theodosius the Great (379-395), the Games in Antioch became more famous than the original Olympic Games.⁹⁵ The written sources provided information on the contemporary abolitions of the Olympic Games as a part of punishment for Antiochenes due to their opposition of the imperial policy⁹⁶ or due to the riots in the city.⁹⁷ Malalas dates the clashes between the supporters of Blues and Greens to the Julio-Claudian dynasty⁹⁸ and they continued to appear also in the following centuries.⁹⁹ Various riots in the city were a relatively common phenomenon, but sometimes the clashes shifted into public disorders.

⁹⁰ E.g. Beebe 1983, 204.

⁹¹ for example in the period of Augustus Downey 1961, 163-165, 169.

⁹² in the period of Julio-Claudian dynasty: Downey 1961, 169-201.

⁹³ Downey 1961, 212, 317. A rather destructive earthquake hit Antioch in the period of Trajan in 115, Downey 1961, 213-218; Millar 1994, 104-105, 261.

⁹⁴ On the history and details, see Ceran 2013, 57.

⁹⁵ Downey 1961, 168; Downey 1939, 428; Downey 1962, 3.

⁹⁶ Downey 1961, 227-228, 230

⁹⁷ Downey 1961, 241.

⁹⁸ Downey 1961, 193; Malalas X 20 (p.244). Actually J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz stressed in his monograph that most of the evidence on faction riots comes from the chronicle of Malalas who is the main source on this topic, so the riots in Antioch and Constantinople are the best known as the evidence on the similar riots in other cities is sparse (Liebeschuetz 2001, 250-251).

⁹⁹ e.g. in the period of Septimus Severus, see Downey 1961, 241.

The importance of the Syrian region for the Romans is apparent also because of the fact that Antioch was related to the ascension of various Roman emperors¹⁰⁰ or, at least, various emperors had a special relation to the city.¹⁰¹ It's worth mentioning that due to the position and role as an important military and administrative centre, Antioch was visited many times by the emperors who often resided there while preparing military campaigns on their Eastern enemies.¹⁰²

4. Antioch as a rebel

Rather interesting is the fact that since its incorporation into the Roman empire¹⁰³, the city of Antioch tended to emphasize its' independence, and in several cases, it directly opposed the official Roman policy.¹⁰⁴ This attitude brought imperial wrath and punishments to the citizens of Antioch many times; however, it did not prevent the Antiochenes from sometimes displaying their sympathies to the Roman enemies.¹⁰⁵

The idea of independency is also obvious from the events related to the conflict between Caesar and Pompey, when Caesar declared freedom of Antioch which stayed in opposition to Pompey who was actually responsible for the annexation of Syria.¹⁰⁶ A kind of self-determination was presented by Antioch through its' coinage too, as it was striking the so called autonomous coinage in the period after the Roman conquest and it took many decades before Antioch started to strike Roman coins.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ e.g. in case of Hadrian, see Downey 1961, 219. Moreover, Pescennius Niger (193-94) was proclaimed there emperor by the eastern troops and the city became an imperial center under Macrinus (217-218) see Downey 1961, 236 and 248.

¹⁰¹ Some of the emperors started their career as military representatives in Syria. Caligula decided to strike in Antioch issues commemorating his father, Downey 1961, 187; Tiberius Claudius Pompeianus, closed friend of Marcus Aurelius, married to his daughter was born there, Downey 1961, 228; lots of emperors started their career as military representatives in Syria.

¹⁰² See e.g. Bérenger 2004, 43-45, 51.

¹⁰³ The power of the Seleucid dynasty faced its' gradual decline after the death of Antiochos IV Epiphanes. The period between 164 and 64 BC. was marked by an absence of a strong ruler who would ensure political stability to the region of Syria. For the circumstances of gradual takeover by the Romans see Butcher 2003, 19-21; Downey 1961, 119-142.

¹⁰⁴ Syria on the side of rebel Cassius in the period of Verus and Antioch was one of the centres of the revolt which had negative consequences for the city after Cassius' death, see Downey 1961, 227-230. Downey 1961, 143.

¹⁰⁵ G.Downey is writing about a kind of sympathies towards the Persians in the half of 3rd c.AD for example; however those later sack the city; see Downey 1961, 254-255. Moreover, Antiochenes also did support the Palmyrenes who gained lots of power in Syria and took possession of the city in 260's and 270's; see Downey 1961, 261-268.

¹⁰⁶ Downey 1961, 152-153.

¹⁰⁷ For the details on the phenomenon of the so called autonomous coinage which appeared already in first century BC, so in the first century AD see Downey 1961, 144; Downey 1961, 153; Newell, The pre-

The Antiochenes also supported the rebels or usurpers who opposed the official Roman emperors several times.¹⁰⁸ Second century Syria stood on the side of rebel Cassius in the period of Verus (161-169) and Antioch became one of the centres of the revolt – a fact which had negative consequences for the city after Cassius' death.¹⁰⁹ The most difficult situation for Antioch came in the year of five emperors (193), when after the death of Commodus, the Empire was in a state of chaos and various persons made their claims for the throne. Antioch was unequivocally on the side of Pescennius Niger who opposed Septimus Severus.¹¹⁰ The wrath of the new emperor and founder of the Severian dynasty brought Antioch various restrictions, among others, the loss of its status which was related to the loss of rights to mint its own coins.¹¹¹

Despite the aforementioned episodes, it is possible to say that Antioch had in general good relations with the imperial power like other provincial centres; however, it found itself in an open opposition towards the central Roman power during specific moments in its history.

5. Antioch in the 3rd and early 4th century

This period was marked by intense conflicts with Antioch's Eastern neighbours. Already from the 3rd century, there are known cases of deportations of Antiochene people to Persia as a consequence of the Roman-Persian conflicts,¹¹² a phenomenon which will repeat in the history of Antioch in the 6th century.

The city was sacked by the Persians twice in the 3rd century. Once in the 250's¹¹³ and another plunder by the Persians in 270 affected the city for more than one decade and it seems that the reconstructions were still ongoing in the period of Diocletian (r.284-305).¹¹⁴ Obviously, emperor Diocletian had a specific interest in the city and the new division of the Empire contributed to the increase of the importance of the city.¹¹⁵

imperial coinage of Roman Antioch, Num.Chron,ser.4,vol.19 (1919); Waage coins, p.23 and Seyrig 1950; Bellinger 1951, 55-57; Downey 1961, 166-167.

¹⁰⁸ see Béranger 2004, 52-56. Agnès Béranger – Badel mentions the situations of the open hostility of the Antiochenes towards the emperor as periods of crisis having always negative consequences on the city.

¹⁰⁹ see Downey 1961, 227-230. Downey 1961, 143.

¹¹⁰ Balty 1988, 97.

¹¹¹ Harl 1987, 24.

¹¹² Downey 1961, 258-259, 261.

¹¹³ Harl 1987, 109-113. K.W.Harl provided also numismatic evidence which in connection with the information from the written sources could help to date precisely the catastrophe in 253 ad.

¹¹⁴ Downey 1961, 317-326.

¹¹⁵ e.g. Brands 2016, 8; Liebeschuetz 2015, 288-291. Various constructions and building activities have been dated in the period of Diocletian and the city was evidently undergoing an important development.

Some of the third century constructions were directly connected to the fact that Antioch was a military centre and it was needed in order to build utility buildings there (e.g. new armament manufactures).¹¹⁶

There aren't many sources on the activities of Christians in Antioch in the 3rd century, but information exists on the intense persecutions initiated by Diocletian and some of the executed Antiochenes became martyrs.¹¹⁷ Persecutions of Christians continued in Antioch also in the first and second decades in the 4th century.¹¹⁸ The period of Diocletian also witnessed a short revolt which broke out in the army in the whole region of Syria, again, negatively affecting life in Antioch.¹¹⁹ This difficult situation led to the severe persecutions of the Antiochene elite.¹²⁰

Again, Antiochenes did not hesitate to show their dissatisfaction with the trends of Roman policy and the city was often critical to some of the Roman emperors.¹²¹ On the other hand, Antioch was the main centre in the Near East under the Roman control and as such, it played an important role in the Romanization of the surroundings areas; however, Latin always remained the language of administration but Syrian and Greek continued to represent the main communicative means.¹²²

No evidence has been provided on the possible impact of the Diocletian reforms on the economy and life in Antioch. There is no reason to suppose that Antioch did not face the same problems like other big Roman cities as the Roman economy was facing serious difficulties since the 3rd century AD.¹²³ In general, the Diocletian reforms impacted the creation of more localized economies in the frontier areas which affected the economy of Syria too.¹²⁴ Various modern scholars also do not agree on the use of the

E.g. a construction of an extensive residence is dated in the period of Diocletian, see Downey 1961, p.318-325.

¹¹⁶ Downey 1961, 317-326.

¹¹⁷ Downey 1961, 328-329.

¹¹⁸ for example see Digeser 2004, 57-77.

¹¹⁹ Downey 1961, 328-332; the evidence on those is provided by Eusebius, *Hist.Ecc.*8.12.2-13.4 (col.769-774) and in some homilies of Chrysostom, e.g. *Hom.Encomiastica* PG 50 (col.579-584); Libanius *Or.* XIX 45-46.

¹²⁰ Downey 1961, 330.

¹²¹ e.g. they openly showed their dissatisfaction with Licinius who defeated Maximinus and replaced him – Downey 1961, 335; Malalas XII 49 (p.314).

¹²² Maas 2000, 15, 17.

¹²³ for the main reasons of the late Antique crisis (development of the situation on frontiers, barbarian invasions, epidemics, fiscal changes, heavy taxation development of position of colonus, demographic changes, climatic changes, different system of soil cultivation, cultural-religious changes, corruption see e.g. Giardina 2007, 745-764 and Depeyrot 1991, 9-48, 97-101, 103-122. On the negative economic development (debasement and inflation) since the late 2nd century, see Harl 1996, 126-136.

¹²⁴ Liebeschuetz 1987, 455.

word “crisis” for the economic development in the 3rd century¹²⁵ and some of them emphasize that the Roman Near East actually continued to be a wealthy province with a prospering economy, which was negatively affected mainly by the conflicts with its neighbours.¹²⁶ Moreover, it is important to stress that the conflict with the Persians lasted with breaks for ca four centuries from the 3rd till the 7th century when the wars culminated and Antioch was captured by the Persians in 610.¹²⁷

d) Antioch in the 4th century

1. The main trends

The city of Antioch was a very important centre of power in the 4th century AD and various authors from this period referred to the city as a thriving place in the Empire.¹²⁸ Some scholars suppose that the foundation of Constantinople in 324 and the transfer of the imperial residence there influenced the further integration of Syria into the Roman Empire.¹²⁹ The importance of the Eastern province is also obvious from the introduction of a new office ‘comes orientalis’ which was awarded for the first time in Antioch prior to 324.¹³⁰

The whole 4th century was marked by an intensive building activity in Antioch.¹³¹ This fact indicates the importance of the Syrian city in the Roman Empire, on the one hand, and the frequent occurrence of natural disasters that had repeatedly hit the city.¹³² Other than the regular earthquakes (e.g. a big took place in the East in 363), evidently a destructive tsunami - caused by a huge earthquake in Crete- hit the Eastern Mediterranean coastland.¹³³

The references in sources are rather dichotomous – on the one hand, an idea of a huge, lively and highly developed city is created and on the other hand, serious problems

¹²⁵ Liebeschuetz 2015, 19-28.

¹²⁶ Whitting 2010, 72.

¹²⁷ Whitting 2010, 93-94. Diocletian was also focusing on the creation of an effective defensive system in Syria, see Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII 5, 2.

¹²⁸ e.g. Ammianus Marcellinus 22.9.14 (...orientis apicem pulcrum,...) ; Libanius Or. XI 230 (Ὁὐ τοῖνον ἡ μὲν πόλις οὕτω διὰ πάντων θαυμαστή...), Or. XXXI.7 (...Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ καλῇ καὶ μεγάλῃ...).

¹²⁹ Tate 1989, 98.

¹³⁰ Downey 1961, 354-355. Malalas XIII 3 (p.318-319); Dictionnaire de l'Antiquité 2005, 133.

¹³¹ see Downey 1961, 342-350, 403; Brands 2016, 15-30.

¹³² Van Nuffelen dates various earthquakes in 60's in the period after Julian Apostata's death, see Van Nuffelen 2006.

¹³³ Hughes 2013, 36; Ammianus Marcellinus 26.10.15-19.

which affected the city are known too (repeated famines, social problems, persecutions, etc.).¹³⁴ In general, Syria in the 4th and 5th century also witnessed a demographic explosion which resulted in the enlargement of the surrounding rural settlements¹³⁵ and this trend continued till the 6th century.¹³⁶ Antioch is considered to have reached its demographic peak in the 4th and the estimations of the Antiochene population and its rural territories usually range from 100 to 500 thousand.¹³⁷

Archaeological material indicates that exports of various local products (olive oil and wine) had to play an important role in the Antiochene economy in late Antiquity¹³⁸ and it is supposed that the economy in Antioch was largely monetarized.¹³⁹ The commerce of olive oil and wine confirms the fact mentioned above: the importance of the surrounding agricultural areas for the Antiochene economy.

There is not much information on the situation in Antioch in the period between 324 and the death of Constantine the Great in 337. This specific period was marked by the existence of various religious quarrels among the Syrian Christians (e.g. the Council of Nicea in 325 AD) but religious disputes continued to exist after the death of Constantine as well.¹⁴⁰

One of the most important events related to the socio-economic situation in Antioch in the second quarter of the 4th century was the outburst of a great famine in 333.¹⁴¹ It is known that during this famine, the situation led to an enormous increase in price of grains in Antioch which was incomparable to the price increases in other cities which faced similar situations throughout the 4th century AD.¹⁴² This indicates an existence of problems in overall market control in the city. Such great famines and important deficits in food supplies appeared in Antioch evidently also in years 354/5, 362/3¹⁴³, 375, 382/3, 384/5, 386, 388/9 and 392.¹⁴⁴ Most probably, one of the factors

¹³⁴ E.g. on social consequences of a famine Libanius Or.I 205-211; Or.XXVII.6.

¹³⁵ Tate 1989, 107; Liebeschuetz 1972, 72-73.

¹³⁶ Tate 1992, 347; Foss 2000, 26.

¹³⁷ Downey 1958, 87-90; Morey 1938, 15; Liebeschuetz 1972, 92-100; Horden – Purcell 2000, 111; Ceram 2013, 34-35.

¹³⁸ Libanius Or.XI 20 (on wine); Liebeschuetz 1972, 79; Decker 2001, 70-83.

¹³⁹ Liebeschuetz 1972, 84; Libanius Or.XXIX.2; XLVI.12.

¹⁴⁰ Downey 1961, 350-353, 357-359; conflicts among bishops and existence of various Christian groups in 4th century: see Downey 1961, 396-7. On the situation in the second half of 4th century see also Shepardson 2014, 92-126.

¹⁴¹ famine described by Theophanes a.5824, p.29.13-23; Downey 1961, 353-354.

¹⁴² Burgess 1998, 295-297.

¹⁴³ Some scholars tend to interpret the crisis in 362/3 as a crisis related to the general dissatisfaction of Antiochenes with the emperor Julian and reality he had not taken effective measures to avoid the food shortage, Van Hoof – Van Neuffelen 2011, 172; on details see Decker 2009, 83-86 and Garnsey 1988, 22-

which could have negatively influenced the repeated famines and food shortages in Antioch was the role of the city as a military centre.¹⁴⁵ The fact that the military headquarters were concentrated there led to the presence of large numbers of soldiers whose figures dramatically increase in periods of preparation for military campaigns against Sassanians. The higher number of troops combined with poor crops could have easily caused the emergence of the famine. Furthermore, the campaign organizations sometimes required an augmentation of tax burdens imposed on the Antiochene citizens, which provoked protests among the Antiochenes.¹⁴⁶ It is worth mentioning that some of the famines (e.g. the one dated in 384) were related not only specifically to Antioch, but the whole region of Syria was evidently often facing the problem of having bad crops.¹⁴⁷

Other than the repeated famines, scholars have identified various other problems which affected the socio-economic conditions in the city: the growth of bureaucracy, the decline of local officials and growth of power of imperial attendants, heavy taxation, inflation, problems with food supplies, deep-rooted nepotism, the deteriorating economic situation of the population and the growing gap between the wealthy and the rest of the inhabitants, the deterioration of the small farmers' situation and the increase of power of big landowners and a general intellectual decline.¹⁴⁸ Some of the aforementioned negative trends were common for most of the cities in the Empire and

23. On the dissatisfaction of the Antiochenes with the emperor and his reaction, see Ammianus Marcellinus 22.14.1-3.

¹⁴⁴ Burgess 1998, 298; on famine in 354 see Ammianus Marcellinus 14.7.2; on famine in 382 see Libanius Or.I.205-211; 384 Or.XXVI.6; Tate 1989, 105; Liebeschuetz 1972, 128-129; G.Tate on the crisis of 362/3, see Tate 1989, 112. Most probably, as a consequence of these problems there was established a tradition of distribution of corns in 370's which lasted till the 6th century, see Mitchell 2015, 348.

¹⁴⁵ Mitchell 2015, 348; Burgess 1998, 298; Downey 1961, 353-354, 400-401; Kaegi 1967, 260; Tate 1989, 112-113; Lenski 2002, 289-290. In 337 Antioch became a principal residence of part of the empire which inherited Constantius II after the death of Constantine and for a long period of his reign Antioch was the centre of organization of the campaigns against Sassanians, see on the division of the Empire after the death of Constantine the Great and Constantius II' policy, see Hunt 1998, 11-13, 39-43; Isaac 1998, 437-442; on the policy with Sassanians see Dignas – Winter 2007, 32-34. Famines did appear in Syria also in previous centuries, see e.g. Garnsey 1988, 21.

¹⁴⁶ this happened for example in the period of Constantius: see Downey 1961, 356; Julian Or.1.21 D (Julian speaks in general, not only about Antioch), or after the battle at Adrianople (378 AD) when the taxation was increased in general, see Downey 1961, 426. Lib Or.19.25, 22.4; Chrysostom PG 49.58.

¹⁴⁷ Downey 1961, 420; on famines in late Antique and early Byzantine Syria see Tate 1989, 114.

¹⁴⁸ Downey 1961, 376-378, 422-425. On the increasing influence and wealth of the new senatorial aristocracy and big landowners and poor conditions of peasants see analysis of Liebeschuetz 1972, 45-49, 68-71, 167-175, 186-191, 192-208, 256 and his references on Libanius' works. On changes in the civic structure in Syria, see Tate 1989, 99-101; Liebeschuetz also emphasized the negative impact of the taxation in kind and possibility to exploit this by the powerful officials, see Liebeschuetz 1961, 242-256. For the same topic and increase of landowners from the military and church sphere on behalf of small farmers and curials, see Kauffmann 2004.

were related to the decline of the cities in the later Roman Empire,¹⁴⁹ however, it seems that Antioch continued to be a thriving multicultural centre with unusual extensive building activity in the 4th century and its prosperity, in accordance to some scholars, lasted to the first decades of the 6th century.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, many of the fourth century emperors visited the city and resided there and several emperors decided to celebrate their decennalia there (e.g. Valens, Theodosius I).¹⁵¹

In contrast to other big cities, and mainly to those in the Western part of the empire, Antioch did not face the general outflow of local aristocracy who were moving from cities to villages in rural areas.¹⁵² Sources also indicate an increase in importance of local assembly and simultaneously a decline of civic officials which consequently had as a result the concentration of power and wealth into the hands of a small group of people.¹⁵³ Libanius also provided interesting information on the local Olympic Games which continued to play a rather important role in Antioch and all of the Eastern Mediterranean.¹⁵⁴

Based on Libanius' sermons, some scholars also suppose that Christianity was mainly spread among the low classes and higher classes preferred the Hellenic culture.¹⁵⁵ Libanius also provided interesting information on various classes which existed in fourth century Antioch and their interrelationships as the rather numerous class of craftsmen and shopkeepers¹⁵⁶ and their relatively humble social rank which was mentioned also by John Chrysostom.¹⁵⁷

It seems that fourth century Antioch continued to be a place with a strong local character with accented Hellenism and a kind of antipathy towards the dominating Roman element. Fourth century authors (mainly Libanius) also provided evidence that

¹⁴⁹ cumulation of land in the hands of wealth-lanowner, deteriorating conditions of small land owners, corruption, chnages in the structures of power etc., see Garnsey – Whittaker 1998, 322-328; Ward – Perkins 1998, 373-388; Petit 1959, 42-43, 300-301.

¹⁵⁰ see e.g. Kennedy 2000, 590; Saliou 2000, 811. On the culture and sources on daily life at Antioch of the period Libanius, see Balty 2000. Liebeschuetz 1959, 345-352 (Liebeschuetz stressed that even in this period Antioch continued to profit from main sources of the city's income which seems to be civic estates and their cultivation.)

¹⁵¹ Downey 1961, 400, 427; on the visits of Jovian and Valens, see Lenski 2002, 17-19, 77-78.

¹⁵² Liebeschuetz 1972, 256-257. In general, this phenomenon was not as intensive in the East as in the Western part of the Empire, e.g. Kennedy 1985, 4-27.

¹⁵³ Liebeschuetz 1972, 108, 112, 167-174, 192-208; Mitchell 2015, 349; Libanius Or.XLVIII11,IV21, II.42 and other passages.

¹⁵⁴ Liebeschuetz 1972, 136-137; Libanius Or.LIII.4, X 9 -12, I 13.

¹⁵⁵ Downey 1961, 379.

¹⁵⁶ Liebeschuetz 1972, 52-61; e.g.Libanius Or. XI.254, XXVIII, 18; XXXI, 25; and others passages; Tate 1989, 106.

¹⁵⁷ E.g. Homilia XXXIV col.292e, PG lxi.292e; for more details and analysis of the social status of the shopkeepers and artisans , see Ceran 2013.

suggests that Latin was not as spread out as Greek among the inhabitants of Antioch in the 4th century A.D. and that many people exclusively spoke Syriac.¹⁵⁸

2. Julian the Apostate and Antioch

The Hellenic sentiment might also be one of the reasons which attracted emperor Julian the Apostate who spent a rather important part of his short reign in Antioch and made it his principal residence (July 362 – March 363).¹⁵⁹ The main reason more was the war with the Persians who continued to pose a danger to the Roman Empire.¹⁶⁰ It seems that emperor Julian experienced a general disappointment as it was no longer possible to restore the ancient cults in Antioch to the extent he expected since Christianity was a dominating religion there and Antiochenes had negative reactions to his attempts;¹⁶¹ however, paganism continued to play an important role at this site too and Julian found a supporter in Libanius.¹⁶² Hellenism survived in Antioch as a cultural idea, but not as a religious concept. It is important to note that Antioch was also a center of Greek literary production and education in this period and, of course, Libanius' school belonged to the most famous; however, the school was following the long tradition of education in Antioch and also other sophists were active in the city.¹⁶³

Again, the presence of the imperial court and a large army in combination with poor crops worsened the economic situation. Furthermore, there occurred a bad drought that caused a serious famine under Julian.¹⁶⁴ In general, Julian attempted to facilitate the economic situation of the cities which were impacted by the economic policy of the

¹⁵⁸ Libanius Or.XLII 31 and other passages in Libanius. Liebeschuetz 2000, 217; Browning 1975, 147.

¹⁵⁹ on Julian's residence at Antioch and his plans for the city's enlargement and building activities, see Brands 2016, 15-18; Downey 1961, 380; Hunt 1998b, 46; Geffcken 1914, 113-116 and many others.

¹⁶⁰ Downey 1961, 381; Hunt 1998b, 67; Bowersock 1978, 95 (and on his residence there, Bowersock 1978, 96-108); on preparations of the campaign at Antioch, see Browning 1975, 191-195.

¹⁶¹ Socrates Scholasticus lib. III. 17, 423-426.

¹⁶² Julian described the attitude of Antiochenes to the old gods mainly in his work *Misopogon*, see e.g. Julian, *Misopogon* 357A-D; on *Misopogon* and Christian reactions in Antioch see for example Gleason 1986, 106-119; and other passages; disappointment Downey 1961, 394; the problems Christians vs pagans Downey 1961, 387-88; various written sources on the blame of Christians for setting fire in Temple of Apollo: see Ammianus Marcellinus 22.13.1-5; Libanius Or.60 (*Monodia de templo Apoll.Daphnaeo*); Julian, *Misopogon* 361B; Norman 2000, xiv; Hunt 1998b, 72; on Julian's expectations and consequent frustrations after arrival to Antioch see Browning 1975, 149-151 and on the gradual change in the attitude of Antiochenes to Julian from the loyalty to open hostility, see Browning 1975, 157; Bowersock 1978, 94-105; the relation of Julian and Antiochenes was attracting scholars already in 19th century, see Gardner 1895, 295-312.

¹⁶³ Downey 1962, 58; Downey 1959, 652; Cribiore 2007, 25, 30-41; Cribiore 2014, 61-66; Millar 2013, 32-34.

¹⁶⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus. 22.13.4; Downey 1961, 384-390; Athanassiadi-Fowden 1981, 203; R.Browning also mentions the negative consequences of Julian's attempts to control market, see Browning 1975, 153-155; on detailson the economic crisis at Antioch in the period of Julian, see Downey 1951b, 312-321.

previous emperors – e.g. it seems that already in the period of Constantine the Great the cities lost their income from taxes and the financing of expenses became more complicated.¹⁶⁵ Under Julian, the land and taxes were given back to the cities which should have enhanced his popularity, but this practice ceased to be followed after the emperor's death as these changes negatively influenced the imperial incomes.¹⁶⁶ The Eastern part of the empire was in a relatively difficult economic situation and an intensive tax collecting initiative started after the death of Julian.¹⁶⁷ In general, Libanius' remarks indicate that the tax burdens on Antiochene citizens had to be heavy in some specific periods.¹⁶⁸

After the death of Julian, his successor Jovian made an ostentatious visit to Antioch to impress the local inhabitants and to demonstrate the switch in official religious policy.¹⁶⁹ The period after 363 in Antioch was significantly marked by the unstable situation at its borders and it seems that the emperors were extensively employed there by organizations of military campaigns against Persia.¹⁷⁰ Most probably, the majority of the military forces in the East were localised there.¹⁷¹ Moreover, various difficult situations arose in the East (e.g. in the 360's the rebellion of Procopius; in the 360's and the 370's Gothic tribes crossed the Danube which resulted in the battle of Adrianople in 378) and they affected the development in the whole region and, of course, troops situated in Antioch often participated in its² suppression.¹⁷²

3. Antioch under Valentinians and Theodosius I

The emperor Valens (364-378) made Antioch his head-quarters in order to organize his campaigns against the Persians. It is not surprising that many scholars date the famous *Tabula Peutingeriana* to his reign. This is significant as the *Tabula* represents the personifications of Rome, Constantinople and Antioch, all enthroned.¹⁷³ Antioch is

¹⁶⁵ Jones 1964a, 131.

¹⁶⁶ Jones 1964a, 131; Hughes 2013, 28.

¹⁶⁷ Hughes 2013, 35-36. The written sources provided information on rather problematic situation as it seems that the attitude of Romans, mainly of Petronius, father in law of Valens, was ruthless and provided a ground for creating an opposition, see Ammianus 26.6.7.

¹⁶⁸ Liebeschuetz 1972, 162-165; Libanius, Ep. 160.

¹⁶⁹ Curan 1998, 79-80

¹⁷⁰ Downey 1961, 399-401; Curan 1998, 89; sources on the campaigns against Persians see Greatrex – Lieu 2002, 1-30. 146-158.

¹⁷¹ see Hughes 2013, 43-44.

¹⁷² Hughes 2013, 43-44;

¹⁷³ See Vanderspoel 1995, 59-60.

depicted as protecting an unidentified figure which is sometimes interpreted as a symbolic representation of Antioch protecting Roman citizens from Persian danger.¹⁷⁴

The name of Valens is also associated with very negative events in Antioch since 371 when brutal persecutions were carried out.¹⁷⁵ These persecutions were initiated by accusations of magic practices and later they spread from Antioch to other parts of Eastern Empire.¹⁷⁶ Definitely, this was neither the first nor the only time when severe and brutal persecutions and confiscations took place in Antioch in the 4th century.¹⁷⁷ In some cases, persecutions were directed against supporters of different Christian groups whose beliefs were in conflict with the official orthodoxy (e.g. persecutions of Arrians in the 370's).¹⁷⁸

The multi-ethnic environment and the coexistence of various religious groups (Jews, pagans, heretics) in Antioch¹⁷⁹ provided the foundation for the emergence of various heresies and philosophical trends which sometimes caused clashes among these groups like in the previous centuries.¹⁸⁰ Antioch was also famous for the ascetics living in its vicinity which later lead to the emergence of the phenomenon of stylites.¹⁸¹

Again, as already in the previous centuries, Antiochenes did not hesitate to show their dissatisfaction with official Roman policy and several important riots are dated in the 4th century. The general dissatisfaction with the economic and politic situation led to disturbances several times and it seems that for some reason, the reactions of the Antiochenes usually were more intense and violent than in other cities.¹⁸² Some of the

¹⁷⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁵ Lenski 2002, 213-216, 224-231.

¹⁷⁶ see Downey 1961, 401-402. CTh 9.16,8. In general, scholars prefer to interpret the extensive persecutions in relation to the political background and to interpret them as the reaction on the conspiracy against the Valen's of the pro-Julianic opposition, see Lenski 2002, 213-214 (Lenski is mainly referring to the conclusions of Franz Joseph Wiebe, *Kaiser Valens und die heidnische Opposition*. *Antiquitas* 44. Bonn 1995) and idem, 224-231.

¹⁷⁷ One of the darkest period of Antioch in 4th century was related to the person of half-brother of Constantine the Great, Constantius Gallus who served in Antioch as Caesar and another period which was marked by intensive persecutions took place in sixth and seventh decades of 4th century under Valens who resided in Antioch and these persecutions often concerned members of aristocratic families: Downey 1961, 356, 360-362, 368, 401; Lenski 2002, 213-214. Furthermore, pagans were facing various forms of persecutions and a series of the most intensive persecutions is attested in the half of the fourth century: Downey 1961, 368-370.

¹⁷⁸ Downey 1961, 410, 412, 416.

¹⁷⁹ on the diverse ethnic structure and the reality that the city of Antioch was a polyglot community, see Bowersock 1978, 94.

¹⁸⁰ Downey 1961, 413-416; Liebeschuetz 2015, 341-352,

¹⁸¹ Downey 1961, 432.

¹⁸² e.g. despite the problematic relationship of Antiochenes and Julian, the inhabitants of the Syrian city reacted rather negatively to the presence of Jovian, however the later one was supporter of Christians, see Downey 1961, 398-99; on the dissatisfaction in the Theodosian period, see Downey 1961, 426-430; J.H.W.G.Liebeschuetz mentions various riots under governors in 380's, see Liebeschuetz 1972, 116.

most violent episodes took part in the period of Theodosius I, especially after 387 (the so called Riot of the Statues) when a new tax was introduced in Antioch causing a considerable wrath of the local inhabitants.¹⁸³ The situation had rather bad consequences for the city – it lost the military status, various public buildings were closed and some public services were abolished.¹⁸⁴ Various scholars have also emphasized the fact that the process of power centralisation in Constantinople began in the eastern part of the empire already in the period of Theodosius I,¹⁸⁵ so it is questionable whether these violent reactions could be studied within the context of the general consolidation of imperial power in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In addition, it seems that the economic and monetary policy in the period of the Valentinian dynasty was marked by the intensification of general trends in the late Antique economy: the cumulation of the property in the hands of the society's richest layers not only at the expense of lower classes, but mainly at the expense of the state – a phenomenon which is supported by plenty of evidence in written sources concerning the city of Antioch.¹⁸⁶

e) Since the division of the Empire (395) to the end of the Leonid dynasty (518)

The year 395 is considered to be the symbolic end of the united Roman Empire, since after the death of Theodosius I, the Empire was divided between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius who were elevated into the ranks of augusti already before his death.¹⁸⁷ The Empire was facing rather difficult situations in this period: mainly regarding the defense of its frontiers and the empire's division was actually an inevitable fact proceeded by the administrative division already under the Valentinians.¹⁸⁸ The pressure of barbarians continued to pose lots of problems, but the Western part was, from this

¹⁸³ French 1998, 468-471; Browning 1952, 14-16; Downey 1961, 430, 433; Leppin 2003, 122; Libanius Or.XIX (πρὸς Θεοδοσίον τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τῆς στάσεως...); XX.6-7; Chrysostom, Ad populum Antiochenum, Hom.XVII, PG 49, 174-175; Maas 2000, 19; Liebeschuetz 1972, 104-105; Depeyrot 1991, 19; Brown 1992, 105-108; Cameron 1993, 176; Curran 1998, 107.

¹⁸⁴ Downey 1961, 430.

¹⁸⁵ Blockley 1998, 112.

¹⁸⁶ Garnsey – Whittaker 1998, 322-328; Ward – Perkins 1998, 373-388.

¹⁸⁷ Blockley 1998, 113. For comments on the traditional interpretation of 395 as a breaking point, see Drijvers 2015, 82, 85-86.

¹⁸⁸ Errington 2006, 1; Hughes 2013, 25-28; Lenski 2002, 167-168; Barnes 2014, 142-143; Drijvers 2015, 86-90.

aspect, affected more as an intensive Germanization of its army - a process that started prior to the division. Moreover, the Germanic tribes continued to create a constant danger there throughout the 5th century.¹⁸⁹ In general, despite the various conflicts with the neighbouring barbarians, the Eastern part of the Empire witnessed much more stability in the period after the division thanks to various factors: e.g. the elaborated administration (regarding finances, the army and the state agency in general) or more developed urbanism. The Gothic element was very problematic also in the East and it is important to stress the campaigns of Alaric who threatened the Capital and plundered parts of Greece in 396-7.¹⁹⁰ The Goths were not the only danger which had to be faced in the East and there were ongoing conflicts with the Persians and, moreover, the Huns which even approached Antioch sometimes after the Empire's division and continued to pose danger in the Mediterranean in the coming decades.¹⁹¹

It is necessary to emphasize that the Eastern emperors were not extremely capable rulers and the main policy trends were decided by strong personalities in the background (as Rufinus, Eudoxia, Pulcheria or Aspar); however, a similar trend was obvious also in the West.¹⁹²

One of the remarkable changes which took place in this period and affected Antioch is that emperors were mainly based in central residencies and did not spend much time in the provincial cities.¹⁹³ This situation was in a sharp contrast to their predecessors prior to 395, and in the case of Antioch, it meant that it gradually lost its role of an imperial residence.

Another factor which had an impact on provincial coinage in general, was the change in the way soldiers were paid. Till the late 4th century the circulation of bronze coins was closely related to payments to the army and expenditures of soldiers, but it seems that payments-in-kinds increased in this period and the development negatively influenced the production of bronze coins whose importance for the monetary system of the Empire was decreased in this way.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ Blockley 1998, 112-113, 118-128 (and others); Carson 1990, 210.

¹⁹⁰ Mitchell 2015, 101-102; Williams – Friell 1999, 11-12.

¹⁹¹ Blockley 1998, 128; Downey 1961, 437; Mitchell 2015, 110-111; Lee 2000, 33.

¹⁹² Blockley 1998, 117, 133-135; Williams – Friell 1999, 8-9, 14, 228-231; on the better financial administration in the East, see Jones 1964b, 206-207.

¹⁹³ Mitchell 2015, 109 (Stephen Mitchell is pointing out the reality that neither Arcadius nor Honorius were making long term visits out of their residences in Constantinople and Ravenna).

¹⁹⁴ Williams – Friell 1999, 125; Jones 1964b, 623.

There is no evidence on the precise conditions in Antioch during the first decades after the Empire's division. Despite their scarcity, sources indicate rather serious problems – e.g. the existence of bandit groups in the vicinity of Antioch at the beginning of the 4th century¹⁹⁵ and economic problems which had a negative impact on the organization of the local famous Olympic Games.¹⁹⁶ Economic difficulties were intensified by a famine that burst out as a result of bad crops in 431.¹⁹⁷

Actually, primary sources provided little information on the events in Antioch which took place in the period of Theodosius II (408-450) and his successors in the second half of the 5th century. The evidence obtained from the primary sources does not create a coherent picture of Antiochene history and the city's economics in this period. Nevertheless, the archaeology provided evidence on intensive building activity and fortification works in the city under Theodosius II.¹⁹⁸

It is supposed that the region of Syria witnessed a period of relative peace and primary sources provided information related mainly to the topics regarding the Church and Christianity.¹⁹⁹ Some scholars also relate the local support of monophysitism to the rise of the local nationalism which was apparent not only in Syria, but also in Egypt and they stress the general anti-imperial sense which used religious dissimilarity as a mean of self-expression in the late Roman Empire.²⁰⁰ Some references shed some light on the situation in Antioch during the period of the Leonid dynasty's founder, Leo I (457-474). In the late fifties (458), the city was hit by a rather strong earthquake whose consequences were disastrous and Antioch underwent important restoration works.²⁰¹

Sources also indicate the presence and strong influence of pagans in Antioch on the one hand, and their unpopularity among dominating Christian inhabitants on the other.²⁰² It is worth mentioning that the Antiochene mosaics with clear paganistic themes

¹⁹⁵ Bandits represented a rather important problem in the Eastern empire also in the second half of fourth century, see e.g. Lenski 2002, 196-210.

¹⁹⁶ Downey 1961, 442-3; Downey 1939, 428-438.

¹⁹⁷ Downey 1961, 456; Brown 1992, 148; epistle of John of Antioch at Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum I.I*, pt.5, p. 125.14-21.

¹⁹⁸ Brands 2016, 31; Downey 1961, 452-454.

¹⁹⁹ e.g. on Nestorianism and stylites phenomenon see Downey 1961, 450, 460-466; disputes over the human/divine nature in Christ, see e.g. Lee 2000, 44-45; Patriarchate of Antioch was not included in the communion of Rome, see Downey 1961, 457; events related to the council at Chalcedon in 451 or the phenomenon of Symeon the Stylites, see Downey 1961, 473-475, 480-481.

²⁰⁰ Downey 1961, 474-475, 507; Woodward 1916, 47; Liebeschuetz 1988, 84-85

²⁰¹ Brands 2016, 34, 37; Downey 1961, 476-482; Malalas XIV 36 (p.369); Evagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II.12; Theophanes Chron., a.5950, p.110.22.

²⁰² the period of Leo I is related to the activity of Isocassius, a pagan sophist who had his school in Antioch and held important offices there, and later faced a disgrace of local Christian community and emperor and after accepted baptism; see Maas 2000, 19; Downey 1961, 483-4; Brown 1992, p.132-133; Malalas XIV 38

confirm the Hellenistic art tradition incorporated in the Christian environment;²⁰³ and it seems that the mythological themes ceased to be popular in Antioch in late 5th century.²⁰⁴

The city of Antioch played an important role in the installation of the new emperor Zeno who also spent the first two years of his reign there.²⁰⁵ During the turbulent period of the conflict between Zeno and Basilicus, Antioch witnessed strong riots in 475/6 between monophysites and orthodox Christians which also reflected the different political attitudes in the region. Later, Antioch became the place of opposition to emperor Zeno and supported his competitors, who had claims for the throne.²⁰⁶

The conflicts between Orthodox Christians and Monophysites continued to constitute serious problems in Antioch during the whole second half of the 5th and the first decades of the 6th century as Monophysitism had a rather strong position in the Eastern part of the Empire.²⁰⁷ In accordance with some scholars, the hostility of the two Christian groups was also reflected by the circus factions, whose conflicts brought outbreaks of violence and instability to the city.²⁰⁸ Towards the end of the century, the intensity of the conflicts with the local Jews also escalated and these clashes continued into the following decades.²⁰⁹

Antioch, in the period of the last member of the Leonid dynasty, Anastasius²¹⁰, was mainly affected by various violent unrests and religious tensions.²¹¹ The riots were so

(369); see Azéma's introduction to the Theodoret's epistles, Théodoret de Cyr, Correspondance I, Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes, Paris 1955, 45; Theophanes Chron., a.5960, p.115.9-18

²⁰³ Downey 1945, 279-286; Levi 1947, p.253-256, 323-346; Kondoleon 2000b, 63; Cimok 2000, 15..A mosaic with the Biblical inscription can be dated into this period too, see Campbell 1988, 34-35; Levi 1947, 320

²⁰⁴ Wolf Liebeschuetz emphasized that the popularity of representations of wild beasts in the late fifth century could be related to the fact that mythological scenes stopped to be considered to be appropriate for decoration, see Liebeschuetz 2015, 381.

²⁰⁵ Later, emperor Zeno held the office of magister militum per orientem and he originated from Isauria, a region not situated very far away from Antioch. The emperor Leo was also looking for a support in the Eastern provinces married his daughter Ariadne to Zeno, see Downey 1961, 484-487; Lee 2000, 49-50.

²⁰⁶ Downey 1961, 488-496; Theophanes Chron., a. 5973, 128.16-129.5.

²⁰⁷ Downey 1961, 491. For the monophysitism in the East, see Wallace-Hadrill 1982, 140-143. On religious disputes in Antioch in fifth century, see Liebeschuetz 2015, 408-422.

²⁰⁸ In accordance to various scholars the blues represented the Orthodox Christians and Greens the Monophysites, for more details on the conflicts see Downey 1961, 498-499; on the other hand Alan Cameron does not agree with the unambiguous categorization, see Cameron 1976, 126-127. J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz mentions that one of the first big riots took part in 489 ad, see Liebeschuetz 1972, 160 ; Liebeschuetz 2001, p.254; Liebeschuetz 2015, 358. The main source of the riots of the circus factions in 5th and 6th century is the Chronicle of John Malalas, for the riot in the second half of 5th century, see Malalas, XIV 34 (p.368).

²⁰⁹ Downey 1961, 197-199. Worthy mentioning is the fact that Jews also played the role of enemies of Monophysites which brought them close to the Orthodox Christians.

²¹⁰ Anastasius became emperor as a consort of Ariadne, widow of Zeno and daughter of Leo I, see Lee 2000, 52-53.

intense that they led to an attack of Greens on the new comes orientis in 490's.²¹² The clashes of circus factions caused another series of extensive riots in 507 and were contemporary to unrests in Constantinople.²¹³ Various disorders were related to the religious background and a strong position of Monophysites who were favoured by the Emperor.²¹⁴

The conflict with the Persians intensified under Anastasius again and a new long war broke out in 502 after a period of relative peace²¹⁵ and, furthermore, the Eastern part of the empire started to face danger in the form of the Arabic tribes which started to be rather active in the region.²¹⁶

The archaeological research indicates rather large agricultural activity in the city's vicinity and the fact that the existence of trade with olive oil continued to represent an important source of income for Antioch also in this period.²¹⁷

f) The period of the Justinian dynasty (518-602) and Phocas (602-610)

The emperors of the Justinian dynasty²¹⁸ were facing constant problems with the Sassanians who enforced a rather aggressive policy for most of the 6th century.²¹⁹ Antioch continued to play the role of a military centre in Syria and was very often threatened by invaders. The problems became rather serious already in the period of Justin I (518-527).²²⁰ The whole reign of Justin I was also accompanied by riots caused by

²¹¹ Downey 1961, 503-507. Anastasius was a supporter of Monophysites. Riots related to Greens; Several synods took part in Antioch under Anastasius, see Downey 1961, 509-513.

²¹² Downey 1961, 504; Malalas XVI 2 (392-393).

²¹³ Downey 1961, 504-506; Greatrex 1997, 64 and 68; Malalas XVI 6 (395-398); Bell 2013, 36-37; On the historic background and the role of a professional charioteer Porphyrius who was involved not only in the riots in 507, but also in riots at Constantinople during the period of Justin I, see Vasiliev 1948, 46-49 and Cameron 1973, 164, 234.

²¹⁴ Downey 1961, 505-512.

²¹⁵ Greatrex-Lieu 2002, 62.

²¹⁶ Liebeschuetz 2015, 300.

²¹⁷ Downey 1961, 501-503; Tchalenko 1953/I, 422; Decker 2001, 82-83; however G. Tate doubts the importance of olives' production for the region and considers it overestimated, see Tate 1992, 294-295.

²¹⁸ on the ascension of the dynasty's founder Justin I, see

²¹⁹ on the phases and written sources related to the wars on Persians, see Dignas – Winter 2007, 34-44, 100-115; Greatrex – Lieu 2002, 62-81. J.H.G.W. Liebeschuetz made an interesting remark on the reality that the 6th century Roman defensive system in Syria was actually effective, however reduced in comparison to previous periods, see Liebeschuetz 1977, 498-499.

²²⁰ There is evidence of military problems related to the incursions, especially in the period after 525. It is known that in 529 al-Mundhir III, king of Lakhmids, reached the regions around Antioch, but he was unable to conquer the city: cf. Geoffrey Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at war, 502-532*, (ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs) 37 (Cambridge, repr.2006), p. 152.

violent clashes between local circus factions.²²¹ Tensions were caused, among others, by the fact that Justin I was a supporter of Orthodoxy which was in opposition to the Monophysitism prevailing in Antioch and severe persecutions in the first years of his reign are attested.²²² In addition, evidence concerning serious economic problems in the region exists. It is supposed that the riots led to another interruption of the Olympic Games tradition, which had ancient origin and represented an important source of revenue for the city.²²³

Natural catastrophes hit the city towards the end of Justin I's reign. There is evidence of a series of destructive earthquakes and a consequent great fire which destroyed a huge part of the city in 525²²⁴, and another catastrophic earthquake increased the damages in 526.²²⁵ It is supposed that the consequences of these natural catastrophes influenced the trade and economy in all of Syria.²²⁶ The damage was so severe that the city actually was never really restored to its original extent.²²⁷ The fact that the second earthquake took place on the day before Ascension caused the very high loss of lives as incoming visitors were concentrated in the city due to the celebration and consequently, the tragedy evoked an important exodus of the population.²²⁸ This exodus represented the first wave of massive emigration from Antioch in the 6th century.

The first half of Justinian's reign was, in the case of Antioch, even more turbulent than the reign of his predecessor. During his reign, the conflicts with Monophysites

²²¹ Downey, *A History of Antioch*, p. 516-518; Theophanes, *Chron.*, a.6012, p.166. The problem of the riots related to the circus factions was so serious that Justinian issued a decree which brought the end of factional disorders in big cities Malalas XVII 18 (p.422); however it was not long lasting.

²²² Antioch actually became the center of riots which were spread from here also to other cities: Downey 1961, 515-516; Theophanes *Chron.*, a.6012, p.166. On persecutions see Vasiliev 1950, 236

²²³ For this, see Malalas, XVII 13 (p.417); Downey 1961, 518-519; Vasiliev 1950, 118-119; Liebeschuetz 1972, 136-144. Peter Sarris writes about evidence of clashes between the aristocracy and poor in the fifth and sixth centuries based on the information in Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* V.9; for this, see Sarris 2006, 232. John Barker mentioned in his monograph also an "incompetent administration of the revenue system" which worsened the economic situation of Antioch during Justin I's reign: Barker 1966, 73.

²²⁴ Downey 1961, 519-521; Theophanes *Chron.*, a.6018, 172; John of Nikiu XC.24-25.

²²⁵ Downey 1961, 521-525; Malalas XVII 16 (p.419-422); Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.5; Theophanes *Chron.*, a.6018-6019, 172-173; John of Nikiu XC.26-34; for the evidence on earthquakes, see Downey 1961, 597-598.

²²⁶ Downey, *A History of Antioch*, p. 520; Vasiliev 1948, 351.

²²⁷ Downey 1961, 525 and others.

²²⁸ Theophanes *Chron.*, a.6018-6019, p. 172-173; Procopius, *De Bello Persico* II.14; *Anecdota* XVIII (p.111); John Lydus, *De mag.*, III.54; Cedrenus, p.640.10-22. Moreover the sources describe that lots of the inhabitants leaving the city after the catastrophe were robbed and killed by bandits who even entered the city to plunder it, see Malalas XVII 16 (p.421); Morey 1938, 19. Malalas provided an evidence that Justinian and Theodora made gifts to Antioch at the occasion of Justinian's proclamation of co-emperor to support the reconstructions (Malalas XVII 19 (p.423)).

gained intensity²²⁹ and another earthquake with devastating consequences hit the city at the end of 528.²³⁰ The whole tragic situation led to the change of the city's name to 'Theoupolis' as the series of catastrophes which hit the city were understood as signs of the wrath of God;²³¹ however, an opinion was expressed that this name for Antioch was possibly used earlier as well.²³²

Repeated riots, fires, the lingering Persian danger and ongoing reconstruction activities are attested to the end of the second and the beginning of the third decade of the 6th century.²³³ On the other hand, Procopius' evidence suggests that Antioch was a city whose inhabitants lived relatively luxuriously.²³⁴

Conflicts with the Persians culminated in 540, after several years of peace.²³⁵ The city was captured by troops of Chosroe and was completely devastated.²³⁶ Moreover, many of the Antiochenes and citizens of other Byzantine cities in Syria were taken into captivity and resettled in Persia.²³⁷

The written sources mention intensive building activities after the earthquakes in the 520's and after the Persian occupation in the 540's; however, excavations confirm reconstructions after 542, but it seems that the site was not restored to its original extent and that many buildings were never reconstructed again.²³⁸

In general, the imperial policy of imperial representatives towards Persians in Syria and the inability to protect the Syrian city deepened the antipathy of the

²²⁹ Downey 1961, 527-528; G.Downey stressed the fact that the local religion tendencies in Syria were related to the local patriotism and orientation on Syriac literature, see Downey 1961, 534.

²³⁰ Downey 1961, 528; Theophanes Chron., a.6021, p.177-178; Malalas XVIII, 27 (p.442-443)

²³¹ Malalas XVIII 29 (p.443); Theophanes Chron., a.6021, p.178; Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, 6; Procopius, *De aedificiis* II 10.2; Foss 1997, 191, Grierson 1982, 66.

²³² Bijovsky - Benovitz 2015, 63-66.

²³³ Antioch found itself in rather difficult situation – just few months after the earthquake in 529 the troops of Arabs under the commandment of Persians and later troops of Persians themselves continued to threaten the city and about the same time the circus factions provoked conflicts again, see the region was invaded by al-Mundhir, see: Theophanes Chron., a 6021, p.178; Malalas XVIII 32 (p.445), XVIII 60 (p.462-463); John of Nikiu Chronicle, XC.79; Downey 1961, 530-531. Moreover Malalas provided information on abduction of some Christians, by Arabs and payment of ransom money, see Malalas XVIII 57-59 (p.460-461); on the Persian danger prior to 540 and related sources, see Greatrex – Lieu 2002, 82-101; Downey 1961, 532-533; Foss 2000, 23-24.

²³⁴ Mentioning that the only thing these people know are festivals and high-end living, see Procopius, *Bell.Pers.*, 1.17.37-38.

²³⁵ for the conflicts in the period of Justin I, the beginning of the reign of Justinian I and 'the eternal peace', see Greatrex 2005, 486-488.

²³⁶ the description in sources Procopius, *De bellis*, II.5-10; Malalas XVIII 87 (p.479-480); Lieu 2002, 104-106; Foss 1997, 191; Greatrex 2005, 488-490; Tate 2004, 753-756.

²³⁷ see Procopius, *De Bello Persico* II.14; Downey 1961, 545.

²³⁸ Procopius, *De adificiis* II.10; Poccardi 2001, 171-172; Brands 2016, 37; Tate 1989, 109; Kondoleon 2000b, 63; Foss 1997, 193; Tchalenko 1953 I, 429; Tate 2004, 756-7.

Antiochenes towards the Roman government.²³⁹ Stephen Mitchell characterized the Byzantine policy towards Syria at this difficult moment with the words “Syria had effectively been left to its own devices by the emperor”.²⁴⁰ Scholars have been pointing out the relation between the sack of Antioch in 540 and the increase of local patriotism and animosity towards the Byzantine emperor.²⁴¹

The precise reconstruction of the history of Antioch between the capture of the city by the Persians (540) and the death of Justinian (565) is a difficult task; however, evidence about the serious problems which impacted the economy and high mortality in the Syrian region²⁴² such as the bubonic plague in 542²⁴³, the series of earthquakes in the 550’s²⁴⁴ and a cattle plague in 553 exists.²⁴⁵ In general, the last few years of Justinian I’s reign were marked by troubled situations in the whole empire.²⁴⁶

The sources for the period after the death of Justinian (565) do not create a precise picture of Antioch’s history; however, various testimonies on serious problems again mainly mention the conflicts with the Persians,²⁴⁷ public riots,²⁴⁸ epidemics²⁴⁹ and devastating earthquakes (577 and 588) exist.²⁵⁰ Moreover, tensions evidently existed between the imperial government and the Antiochene patriarch which resulted in intensive riots.²⁵¹ Obviously, Antioch still played the role of a military centre important for the organisation of Byzantine policy towards the Persians and the Arabs in the second half of the 6th century.²⁵²

The environment of Antioch continued to be a multi-ethnic centre where various religious groups were present. Sources confirm the presence of pagans in

²³⁹ One of the main problems was the relai that Antiochenes had an intention to pay a ransom to Persians which would turn away the danger, but the Roman officials thwarted the plans, see Procopius II, 6.16 Malalas on behaviour of the Justinian’ representative Germanus who was just buying silver from the fleeing inhabitants, see Malalas XVIII 87 (p. 480.1-5); Procopius indicates (Procopius, *De Bello Persico* II 7) some problems in fortification- however its role is under discussion, see Downey 1961, 539-540

²⁴⁰ Mitchell 2015, 351.

²⁴¹ Downey 1961, 532-4; Tate 2004, 758.

²⁴² Downey 1961, 557; Foss 1997, 191.

²⁴³ Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.29; Procopius, *De Bello Persico* II 22.3 and 6; Mitchell 2015, 410-411.

²⁴⁴ Malalas XVIII 112 (p.485)

²⁴⁵ Downey 1961, 558 referred to various Arabic and Syriac sources.

²⁴⁶ religious conflicts, disorders, earthquakes and big fires in Constantinople, see Tate 2004, 807-822.

²⁴⁷ Downey 1961, 561; Whitby 2000, 88, 95-96, 102-104; Kennedy 2000, 595-597; on sources related to the Persian danger in the period of Tiberius II and Maurice, see Greatrex – Lieu 2002, 151-181.

²⁴⁸ Downey 1961, 561.

²⁴⁹ Tate 1992, 338. he states that the plague epidemics broke out in Syria also in 558, 560-1, 573-4, 592 and 599.

²⁵⁰ rather big earthquakes are attested for 577 and 588, see Foss 1997, 191; Downey 1955, 598; Downey 1961, 562, 568; Evagrius V 17 and VI 8; Foss 1997, 194,

²⁵¹ Downey 1961, 560-561, 566, Bell 2013, 37; Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* V.18.

²⁵² Downey 1961, 562-570.

Antioch also in the 6th century.²⁵³ Furthermore, in the late 6th century, conflicts occurred with the local Jewish community are attested.²⁵⁴ The situation in the city at the end of the 6th century was also aggravated by bad crops.²⁵⁵

After the deposition of Maurice by Phocas in 602, the situation in Syria became even more unstable. Antioch, until the late period of Phocas' reign, continued to be an important military center and it was subjected to various raids and riots.²⁵⁶ Phocas sought the support of the Eastern regions to be able to deal with the serious problems posed by the Persian king.²⁵⁷ In 606/607, the region was invaded by the Persians and a part of the population was again enslaved.²⁵⁸ Towards the end of the first decade, extensive riots and disturbances related to circus factions appeared, as well as conflicts between the local Jews and Christians.²⁵⁹ Phocas being overthrown in 610 did not bring any stability to Antioch, and just a few days after the death of Phocas, the city was captured by the Persians whose invasion of Syria caused a significant loss of people.²⁶⁰ Byzantines regained power over the city in the late 620's, but their dominance lasted just for a relatively short period of time as the city was conquered by the Arabs in 641.²⁶¹

g) Crisis or prosperity?

Despite all the mentioned catastrophes and instability, various scholars emphasize the fact that Syria - and the city of Antioch in particular- witnessed an era of prosperity in the 4th, the 5th and the first half of the 6th century and the whole region belonged to the wealthiest in the Empire; however, negative circumstances (natural catastrophes, invasions and demographic changes) influenced the problematic development in the 6th century.²⁶² In general, archaeological surveys have indicated the

²⁵³ Michael the Syrian provided testimony on execution of pagan priests in Constantinople in 562 some of whom were Antiochenes, see Michael the Syrian IV. 33 (vol.II, p.271); Downey 1961, 558-559. On paganism in late Asia Minor and Antioch see Bowersock 1990, 1-5, 35-40, Bell 2013, 239-240; Liebeschuetz 2015, 364-366.

²⁵⁴ Downey 1961, 572; Dagron – Déroche 2010, 19.

²⁵⁵ Michael the Syrian X. 23 (vol.2., p.374); Downey 1961, 571.

²⁵⁶ see for the problems Downey 1961, 571 – 574.

²⁵⁷ for the historic background and the attitude of Chosroe II towards Phocas who was considered to be usurpator and enemy, see for example Norwich 1988, 280; Foss 2003, 151-152; Dignas – Winter 2007, 44.

²⁵⁸ Downey 1961, 571-572; Theophanes 6098, p.293.23-26 plus ad.6099,p.295.14-16

²⁵⁹ Foss 2033, 157; Dagron – Déroche 2010, 19-20; Theophanes Chron., a.6101, p.296.

²⁶⁰ Downey 1961, 575; Theophanes Chron., a.6102, p.299; Michael the Syrian XI 1 (vol.2, p.400-401 – on Syria in general, not specifically on Antioch).

²⁶¹ Downey 1961, 576-577; Kennedy 1996, 182-183

²⁶² Tate 1992, 344; Foss 1995, 216-217; Foss 2000, 23-26; Foss 1997, 268; Foss 2008, 3; Tate 1989, 112; Whittow 2001,137-153, Mitchell 2015, 358; Decker 2007, 234-235. M.Whittow also discussed the problematic evidence of catastrophic consequences of the plague in the Near East as some rural areas on

end of settlement expansions in northern Syria after 550 and this development has been related, by some scholars, to the invasions of the Persians in 540 and the conquest of Antioch.²⁶³ Georges Tate preferred in his monograph to use the term “stagnation” instead of crisis.²⁶⁴

Actually, Antioch was one of few cities which maintained its ancient magnificence till the 6th century, or at least to the first half, as many ancient cities faced drastic changes already in previous centuries.²⁶⁵ Furthermore, the information on the conditions of Antioch in the early 7th century is scarce and it is difficult to create a precise picture of the situation in the city.²⁶⁶

Deep social problems are indicated by the clashes between the aristocracy and the poor in the 5th and 6th centuries AD.²⁶⁷ This phenomenon might be related to the changes in the demographic structure of the city. The entire region of Syria experienced a population expansion between the 4th and half of the 6th century,²⁶⁸ which was closely tied to the prosperity and growth of the rural areas,²⁶⁹ and influenced the demographic expansion and migration of people from villages to the big centers²⁷⁰; however, there are

the contrast indicate prosperity, see Whittow 1996, 67 and he stressed that ‘the Roman empire in 600 was a powerful state, facing favourable political conditions...’ Whittow 1996, 68.

²⁶³ Tate 1992, 329-350; Izdebski 2013, 226-227; Liebeschuetz 2015, 264-267; Kennedy 2007, 95; Foss 1997, 200. The changes and catastrophic events hit mainly the northern part of Byzantine Syria where also Antioch was found and archaeological evidence indicates that the settlements situated in southern Levant continued to live a kind of prosperity as they were not suffering from such intensive raids by Persians, see Mitchell 2015, 362. Sometimes it is mentioned that actually the prosperity of Syria and namely Antioch continued even in the second half of 6th century; however there exist contradictory opinions, see Whittow also mentioned that despite the traditional opinions, some art objects should be dated in the period after 550’s and he stressed the continuing circulation of bronze coins which indicate the existence of monetary economy without any significant changes, see Whittow 1990, 13-14, 20; On the scholarly discussion whether the half of 6th century is possible to be considered a borderline between the age of prosperity and a general decline, see Mitchell 2015, 484-490. Worthy mentioning is the fact that the last mosaics at Antioch are dated in the first half of 6th century, see Campbell 1988, 5-6 (date 500-526); church mosaics (500-526), Campbell 1988, 12; Kondoleon 2000b, 63; Cimok 2000, 15. The difference between the first half and second half of 6th century is obvious also from study of the churches built in the Northern Syria: the numbers of churches constructed prior 540 is much higher than the numbers in the second half of 6th c., and mainly the period after 580 is marked by an important decrease of the construction activity, see Bavant 2013, 46-47.

²⁶⁴ Tate 1992, 335.

²⁶⁵ Liebeschuetz 2001, 37; Liebeschuetz 2000, 213; Liebeschuetz 1996, 9; Banaji 2012, 603-607; Morony 2004, 168-172; Kennedy 1996, 182.

²⁶⁶ Kennedy 1996, 183.

²⁶⁷ Sarris 2006, p. 232

²⁶⁸ Tate 1992, 347; Foss 2000, 26; Tate 1989, 197; Liebeschuetz 1996, 25-26; Liebeschuetz 2015, 61; Liebeschuetz 2015, 264. On the villages expansion see Foss 1995, 218-220; on immigration to Antioch in 4th century, see Petit 1959, 312-314 (includes references to Libanius’ work).

²⁶⁹ on the situation in rural areas in Syria, the history of the research, contemporary research limitations and the regional diversity of the situation in the region in the late Antiquity, see Izdebski 2013, 13-21, 217-225.

²⁷⁰ Tate 1992, 330-332; Liebeschuetz 1996, 31; Liebeschuetz 2015, 234-235, 238; Mitchell 2015, 488; actually the agriculture is considered to be the main component of the Near eastern economy, see Whittow 1996, 55. On the expansion of rural economy, see Morony 2004, 172.

evident population drops due to the pandemics and other catastrophes (enslavements and migration).²⁷¹ Moreover, it is obvious that concerning the rural areas in the Mediterranean, and namely in Syria, specific areas faced different problems.²⁷²

Hypotheses on a possible correlation between the population expansion and its vulnerability due to the malnutrition have been also expressed.²⁷³ Furthermore, G.Tate has emphasized that the concentration of land in the hands of big owners could have also impacted the malnutrition of some of the lower strata of the population.²⁷⁴

The social structure and economic situation in sixth-century Antioch were designated by the trends which were apparent already in the 4th century (e.g. decline of local civic government, rise of power of local aristocracy and landowners at the expense of small proprietors and farmers, heavy taxation and corruption).²⁷⁵ The impact of the climatic situation also should be considered to be one of the main aspects related to various natural catastrophes in the Mediterranean and which could have impacted the social conditions and vulnerability of the population; however, a precise study of these changes is rather difficult.²⁷⁶ Moreover, the North Syrian landscape studies indicate soil exhaustion as a consequence of enormous exploitation of natural resources (deforestation,

²⁷¹ Cameron 1993b, 111-112; on the discussion on the mortality due to the plague in 540's, see Kennedy 2007, 87-95.; Sarris speaks openly about «agrarian depopulation in the mid-sixth century», see Sarris 2007, 129. The massive deportations of population were not used by Persians only in the case of Antioch, but in the second half of 6th century Apamea lost almost 300 thousands inhabitants in the period of Justin II as a result of another Persian invasion during which the suburbs of Antioch were burnt, see Tate 1989, 111; Justin II found himself in a rather difficult position as denied to pay a tribute to Persians, which provoked a new invasion in Syria in 573 during which the suburbs of Antioch were burnt, see Greatrex – Lieu 2002, 135-150 and Foss 1997, 191.

²⁷² see among others Izdebski 2013, 226-227

²⁷³ see Tate 1989, 115; Tate 1992 342.

²⁷⁴ Tate 1989, 115.

²⁷⁵ see for example Bell 2013, 82-88, 93-108, 346-347; Liebeschuetz 2015, 35, 38-40. Various scholars also emphasize the changes in the development of the cities in late Antiquity/ early Byzantium and do stress the reality that Antioch was actually not anymore ruled by the local elites, but by people holding the imperial offices – this development started already in 4th century AD, see Maas 2000, 21; Liebeschuetz 1996, 6-15. P.Sarris remarked in his monograph that actually the creation of great estates was a relatively positive development from an economic point of view, however the main benefactors of that were the landowners themselves and not the state, see Sarris 2006, 198-199; on the position of the minor land-owners etc., see Sarris 2004. Actually Tchalenko in his works stressed the role of the big landowner as one of the factors for the decline (see Tchalenko 1953, 310-312, 322-25, 381-, 401-402); however G. Tate expressed doubts on their role and pointed out there is no precise material evidence on the phenomenon, see Tate 1992, 290-294. However, C.Foss mentioned in his article that there is no evidence for the high-taxes neither for the exploitation of small farmers by the big landowners, Foss 1995, 220-221.

²⁷⁶ Various scholars refer to a drier climate in the Eastern Mediterranean, for information on climate in late Antiquity see Koder 1996, 276-278; McCormick et alii 2012, 188-199; Τελέλης 2004, 854-855. On the problems related to the study of climatic changes in Byzantium, see Telelis 2007; Decker 2009, 8-11.

increase of population, extensive agricultural activities as grazing, etc.) which had negatively influenced the often occurrence of erosions and food shortages.²⁷⁷

The separation of the region of Syria from the rest of the Empire after Antioch's defeat in 610 definitely impacted its economy.²⁷⁸ After 610, Antioch lost its economic importance as an administrative and military centre as the city's revenue was related to incomes in the form of state's contracts for building activities and army provision.²⁷⁹ Both, the prosperity and crisis of Antioch in the late Roman period and early Byzantium, were related to the role of the military in the city and its strategic position on the Eastern frontier. The presence of the imperial army in the period under study (4th – 6th century) could be one of the factors which negatively influenced local society in the form of food shortages on the one hand, but at the same time, the presence of the imperial army was related to economic prosperity as it meant the increase of trade, industrial development and profit for the local workshops (e.g. a rather important period of the city's prosperity was the epoch of Constantius II who made Antioch his headquarters for the organisations of campaigns on the Sassanians). This kind of ambiguousness is typical in the economic development of the city of Antioch in the whole period under study (4th and 6th century AD) and it is possible to infer that despite the problematic relationship with the central power, the fact that Roman emperors situated their military headquarters there could have influenced the economic situation of Antioch in both ways: negatively and positively too.

h) The Greek identity

Various data indicates that despite the strong presence of the Syriac culture²⁸⁰ and the intensive Romanisation after the conquest of Syria in the 1st century BC²⁸¹, the

²⁷⁷ Casana 2004, 110-115, 120-121.

²⁷⁸ Liebeschuetz 1972, 79-80; Tchalenko 1953 I, 431-8; Liebeschuetz 1988, 89-90.

²⁷⁹ Liebeschuetz 1972, 80.

²⁸⁰ Trombley 2004b, 60, 64-66 and others.

²⁸¹ T.Vorderstrasse stressed in her article that the Romanization was related mainly to the material culture, but not to the self-identification, see Vorderstrasse 2004, 87-88.

citizens had a rather strong sense of their Hellenic origin²⁸² and Antioch has been considered to be an important centre of Hellenic culture.²⁸³

The Greek element was rather stressed in the foundation myth, whose various versions have a rather legendary character, but they continued to be emphasized by Libanius and Malalas amongst others.²⁸⁴ French scholar Catherine Saliou has pointed out that Libanius deliberately demonstrated the Greek character of the city's foundation and she speaks about a "collective memory" regarding the common consciousness of fourth century Antiochenes on their Greek provenance.²⁸⁵ Attempts to evoke the connection to the Ancient Greece are also obvious from local tradition which is again preserved in the work of Libanius.²⁸⁶ The story claimed that Alexander the Great had already visited the site of what later was named Antioch after the battle at Issos (333 BC), and while passing over this site, he decided to found a city there after the end of his campaigns.²⁸⁷

Greek settlers who came to the new city were, in accordance to the tradition, of Athenian origin and it is evident that the idea was still vivid also in the 5th century AD. The importance of this common consciousness is stressed by the story about Eudocia who stopped in Antioch on her way to Jerusalem in 438.²⁸⁸ The empress Eudocia mentioned an affinity to the Antiochenes as they were also of Athenian descendant like her.²⁸⁹ This reference means that the idea and memory of the original colonization of the site by Greek inhabitants was still alive and important for self-identification of the local community.

It seems that the idea of the Antiochenes having ancient Athenian origin continued to be a source of pride and self-identification for them.²⁹⁰ It is important to point out that Athens continued to play the role of an education centre in late Antiquity

²⁸² see among others, Browning 1982, 114; Bowersock 1978, 95. Hellenism as a self-definition is used mainly in the works of Libanius, see Stenger 2014, 289-290.

²⁸³ E.g. Ceran 2013; Dagron 1969, 35-9 he speaks about Hellenized city). A.F.Norman provided in his commentaries to the English translation of some Orations view of Antioch as a Hellenic centre (see Norman 2000).

²⁸⁴ Libanius Or. XI, 58 (on Athenians), 85- 88 (on the foundation myth), Or. I, 82 (on Athenians); Malalas on the foundation myth and Athenians who came to live there, see Malalas VIII, 13-20 (p.199-204).

²⁸⁵ Saliou 1999/2000, 386.

²⁸⁶ Downey 1962, 8.

²⁸⁷ Libanius provided a detailed story on how Alexander the Great liked the water from the local streams reminded him Macedonia and planned after a successful campaign to found a city there, see Libanius XI, 72-77.

²⁸⁸ Downey 1961, 450-1; Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.20.

²⁸⁹ for sources see Downey 1961, 451; for the explicit source on emphasizing her descendant at Antioch, see Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.20.

²⁹⁰ E.g. Downey 1962, 12.

and Antiochene rhetors like Libanius were educated there.²⁹¹ Another inflow of native Greeks to Antioch was related to the Roman expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 2nd century BC.²⁹²

Libanius' and John Chrysostom's works also provided many examples which confirm that knowledge of Latin was not a natural thing in 4th century Antioch.²⁹³ Some scholars speak about a kind of animosity between the two languages, Latin and Greek, in the Eastern Roman empire which was predominantly hellenophone and Latin played mainly the role of an administration language there; however, since the end of 4th century, Greek was often used in the administration too.²⁹⁴ The most eloquent is the passage in Malalas' Chronicle, in which it is possible to conclude that Latin was not understandable to all Antiochene inhabitants as he informs that it was necessary to state some public information in Greek in Antioch.²⁹⁵

Various epigraphic sources attest the common use of Greek and Syriac in the region throughout late Antiquity.²⁹⁶ Some scholars expressed an opinion that Greek was mainly the language of the city's citizens, while Syriac was the language of the villagers;²⁹⁷ however, this division is not supported by the inscriptions' findings.²⁹⁸ Some scholars believe that inhabitants of the Limestone Massif were often bilingual using both languages – Syriac and Greek.²⁹⁹ Tasha Vorderstrasse has emphasized that building inscriptions were often in Greek, while simple graffiti was in Syriac concluding that the local elites desired to have the formal inscriptions in Greek; however, it does not confirm whether they were bilingual or whether the majority was Greek speaking;³⁰⁰ but it indicates the prestige of the Greek language.

Furthermore, Antiochene mosaics provided lots of evidence on the popularity of the Hellenistic culture in late Antiquity and the scenes of Greek mythology on late

²⁹¹ On the School of Athens and its' impact on Libanius, see Cribiore 2007, 47-52.

²⁹² Wallace-Hadrill 1982, 2.

²⁹³ Libanius, Or.X 14, Or. XLIX 29 and other passages in Libanius. Liebeschuetz 1972, 247; Liebeschuetz 2000, 217; Browning 1975, 147.

²⁹⁴ Dagron 1969, 23-25, 28, 41-42; Millar 2013, 28.

²⁹⁵ Malalas XVIII 67 (p.470-471).

²⁹⁶ For the Greek inscriptions see Jalabert-Mouterde 1950. For Syriac see Briquel Chatonnet – Desreumaux 2011 (particularly Antioch is considered to be the main source for Syriac inscriptions, see Briquel Chatonnet – Desreumaux 2011, 30-31). The strong Greco-Syriac environment is well illustrated by the figure of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, born in Antioch, and who is being understood as a Greek Christian with strong connections to the Syriac culture (see Millar 2007, 124-125) and there exists evidence on the reality that he was capable of speaking Syriac (Millar 2013, 118-119).

²⁹⁷ Liebeschuetz 1972, 62; Liebeschuetz 2000, 217; Browning 1975, 147.

²⁹⁸ For this opinion see Vorderstrasse 2004b, 121.

²⁹⁹ Millar 2013, 118, 122.

³⁰⁰ Vorderstrasse 2004b, 121-122.

Roman mosaics found at Daphni also emphasize the popularity of the Greek culture among the Antiochene elites.³⁰¹ It should be noted that the idea of having Hellenistic identity gained an essence in the 4th century. In this period, the number of Christians was rapidly growing and presented a relatively new, but dominant element in the society.³⁰² The idea of Hellenism was actually in a contradictory position to this new trend;³⁰³ however, Hellenism could also be understood as a reminiscence of the glorious past.

The case of Antioch and Syria belongs to the examples where the processes of Romanization and a continual resistance were parallel.³⁰⁴ Furthermore, Carlos Noreña emphasized the fact that the expressions of local identity actually contributed to the naturalization of the Roman Empire as a whole.³⁰⁵ The continuation of Greek cultural consciousness after the 4th century did not unequivocally mean that the population would be affiliated to the paganism and neo-platonic philosophy. However, it seems that the awareness of its origin and continuity played an important role in the case of self-identification of the Antiochenes. The consciousness of Greek identity served many times as a medium for expression of opposition towards the central power or the external enemy on the one hand, and it was related to the idea of prestige on the other. In 1916, Ernest Llewellyn Woodward noted in his monograph that a kind of nationalism existed in Antioch which led to an “anti-imperial” feeling.³⁰⁶

The persistence of Greek in the Syro-Palestinian region is also obvious from the theological works written in Greek there in the 7th century when the tradition of using Greek could have also played a supportive role among the local population which was threatened by a new enemy.³⁰⁷

³⁰¹ De Giorgi 2016, 169.

³⁰² Stenger 2014, 268-269

³⁰³ however the precise interpretations of its meaning in Libanius works are under discussion as it seems that the term could be multivalent, see Stenger 2014 and Stenger 2009, 306-314.

³⁰⁴ Actually various scholars stress the reality that assimilation and resistance against the Roman conquerors went “hand in hand”, see e.g. Gruen 1990, 1.

³⁰⁵ Noreña 2016, 295 and 304.

³⁰⁶ Woodward 1916, 47.

³⁰⁷ Cameron 1991, 289, 307

2. Coinage of Antioch: Production and Iconography

2a. Antiochene coinage prior to 324 AD

1. The mint under the Seleucids

The mint of Antioch started its activity very soon after the city's foundation and the first coins are dated to 300 BC.³⁰⁸ The output became much more intensive in the following decades.³⁰⁹ The Seleucid kingdom minted coins in various cities and Antioch gradually became the principal mint of the Seleucid Empire sometime after the half of the 3rd century BC; however, it is worth mentioning that many other mints continued to be rather active too.³¹⁰

Furthermore, it is important to emphasize that the financial system of the Seleucid Empire was open and coins of other kingdoms and of autonomous cities widely circulated there too as most of the currencies were struck on the same Attic standard, so their values were parallel.³¹¹ This means that Seleucid mints were not the only source of coins for the areas under the Seleucid's control and their output was not often regular.³¹²

Evidently, trade was not the main reason for the Seleucids to strike their own coinage and circulation was often enhanced by foreign issues.³¹³ Apparently, the role of Seleucid coins was sometimes specific; scholars suppose that in many cases the reasons for minting some series were related mainly to ideological purposes (e.g. early coins depicted motifs related to the conquest of Orient, while many times Seleucid coins were also connected with the expressions of amity between the king and his subject or commemorating successful campaigns) or to the actual needs of state expenditures (e.g. military campaigns, constructions and administrative organization).³¹⁴ So it is not surprising that the mints - including Antioch - were evidently witnessing contemporarily closures as the main purpose for striking was not for wide circulation and the facilitation of daily exchanges.³¹⁵

³⁰⁸ SC I/1, 3, 18; Newell 1941, 93.

³⁰⁹ Becker – Kondoleon 2005, 276; Downey 1961, 87.

³¹⁰ Metcalf 2000, 106; Houghton 2002, 5-7; RPC I, 606; LeRider 1997 (1999), 813 (1091).

³¹¹ LeRider 1997 (1999), 817 (1095); SC II/1, xx.

³¹² SC I/1, xvii.

³¹³ SC I/1, xviii.

³¹⁴ SC I/1, xvii-xix, 5-7; SMA, 30; LeRider 1997 (1999), 814 (1092); SC II/1, xxi.

³¹⁵ E.g. the Antiochene mint was evidently closed towards the end of Antiochus III's reign, see SC II/1, 13.

The specific position of the Antiochene mint in the Seleucid monetary system is indicated also by the fact that a relatively rich variety of coins were struck in all metals. Seleucid Antioch struck mainly silver tetradrachms;³¹⁶ however, in some periods it also minted gold and bronze coins.³¹⁷ The regular gold coinage ceased in general under the Seleucids in the 3rd century – the mint of Antioch was the last one to produce gold staters until 240 BC.³¹⁸ Later, there were just gold commemorative issues struck occasionally in Antioch and some honorific issues were struck also in Ptolemais, Ecbatana, Seleucia on Tigris and in an unspecified Western Seleucid mint. The Antiochene mint was also the only northern Syrian mint which struck silver coins (tetradrachms and drachms) on a regular basis during the entire duration of the Seleucid Empire.³¹⁹ The production of the Antiochene mint is rather interesting concerning the Seleucid bronze issues which also almost disappeared from other mints during the 3rd century BC,³²⁰ but the Syrian mint continued to strike Seleucid bronze coins on a large scale until the beginning of the 1st century BC when it was replaced by the so called Civic coinage.³²¹

The introduction of the municipal coinage in Syria and its² increasing importance for local circulation in the 1st century BC illustrates the fact that the power of the Seleucid dynasty had gradually diminished and, on the contrary, the cities' responsibility for striking their own coins increased in the same period.³²² The coins struck in the mint of Antioch also provided enough data to conclude that the local tetradrachms underwent a serious weight reduction and their purity declined throughout the second century and first decades of the 1st century BC. This development is also considered to be just another mark of the gradual decline of the Seleucid economic power in the region.³²³ In general, the first decades of the 1st century BC were rather problematic as the situation was unstable and disputes existed over the succession and, in some cases, the precise

³¹⁶ Metcalf 2000, 105; SC II/1, xvii.

³¹⁷ SMA, 129.

³¹⁸ see SC II/1, xvii.

³¹⁹ SC II/1, xviii. In some years also some other mints in the Syrian region employed in striking silver tetradrachms, but such an activity was usually a result of a specific situation and was limited mainly to Damascus in Southern Syria, see SC II/1, xix.

³²⁰ However it does not mean that the bronze coins would disappear completely, but they were issued for the local needs by the regional authorities and not standardized (their weights and sizes were different), see SC II/1, xxiv.

³²¹ SC II/1, xix. A.R. Bellinger dates the beginnings of the municipal coinage already in the 2nd century BC stating that during the reign of Antiochus IV (175-164 BC) bronze coins with the cities' names started to be struck, see Bellinger 1951, 61-62. The term quasi-municipal is used by the authors of SC for these issues struck by Antiochus IV, SC II/1, 62.

³²² Till the period of Antiochus IV (175-164 BC) the Syrian coinage was royal and in during his reign bronze coins with the cities' names started to be struck, see Bellinger 1951, 61-62.

³²³ SC II/1, xxvi-xxviii; SC II/2, 1.

attribution of coins to Antioch is under question. In the 1st century BC, the mint of Antioch struck silver tetradrachms not only for the Seleucids, but also for the Armenian kings.³²⁴

Concerning the iconography, it is relevant to stress the fact that the Seleucid Empire represented the continuation of the Hellenistic culture in the region and thanks to that, the types were often related to Alexandrian coinage and iconographic motifs were adopted from the repertoire of Greek mythology.³²⁵ In addition, the coins' iconography was in some cases impacted by contemporary art.³²⁶ The first series was often impacted by the idea of the Seleucid victory and establishment of their Empire in the East.

The Antiochene coins provided many examples of coins bearing various representations of Greek deities (mainly Apollo, Zeus, Athena, Dionysus, Dioscuri and Tyche) whose cults played an important role in Antioch and some of them were specifically connected to the self-presentation of Seleucid rulers.³²⁷ Noteworthy is also the fact that some Seleucids, notably Antioch IV Epiphanes (175-164 BC), identified himself with Zeus and supported the expansion of Greek cults and their syncretism with the local ones.³²⁸

The dominant position of the Antioch mint in the Western part of the Seleucid Empire is also obvious from the fact that the novelties introduced in the iconography on the Antiochene coins were often adopted by the other smaller mints in the region.³²⁹ Moreover, it should be emphasized that sometimes the opposite process took place and the iconographic repertoire of the Antiochene coins was inspired by the coins struck in the neighboring Hellenistic successor's states; it was mainly the Egyptian coins which had impact on Antiochene iconography (e.g. a common motif on the Antiochene issues - an eagle standing upon a thunderbolt of Zeus - is considered to be a motif borrowed from Ptolemaic coinage).³³⁰ The Ptolemaic influences were not obvious only in the case of the iconography of the coins, but also in connection with the practice of dates

³²⁴ Butcher 2004, 307.

³²⁵ SC I/1, 336, 386: it seems that the latest Alexandrine's types of silver tetradrachms with the head of Heracles on obverse were for the last time struck under Seleukos III (225 – 223 BC) and Alexandrine's gold issues with the head of Athena under Antiochus III (222-187 BC).

³²⁶ Cornelius Vermeule speaks openly about the connection between the Antiochene coinage and sculpture in the Hellenistic and Roman times: see Vermeule 2000, 101. On the Alexander-type tetradrachms, see e.g. SC I/1, 5 or Newell 1941, 108.

³²⁷ SC I/1, 8; Le Rider 1997 (1999), 815 (1093); for Tyche, see pages in dissertation

³²⁸ SMA, 23-24; SC II/1, xxii.

³²⁹ E.g. SC II/2, 46.

³³⁰ SMA, 26, 30-31 and SC II/1, 45, 210-211.

referring.³³¹ Dates appeared on Seleucid coins as early as at the beginning of the 2nd century BC and the mint of Antioch started to strike such issues sometime in the half of this century.³³²

2. The mint under the Romans

2.1 A transitional period: from the Seleucids to the Romans

The identification and interpretation of coins from the first decades of the 1st century BC are sometimes rather problematic. The Antiochene mint evidently struck posthumous tetradrachms of Philip I (95 – 83 BC) which are usually dated in 69-57 BC,³³³ during the years around the Roman conquest of Syria (64 BC). The Romanization of the local coins was a very gradual and slow process and the political changes were not reflected immediately on coins – which was a normal practice in this period. The first traces of the Roman influence were obvious in the 50's when the Roman proconsuls started to strike silver tetradrachms similar to the posthumous Philip I's coins, but control marks of the Roman administrators were added on these issues.³³⁴

In the early 40's BC, the Antiochene tetradrachms started to bear symbols which are usually interpreted as abbreviations for ANTIOXOY AYTONOMOI indicating that these coins were most probably autonomous issues of Antioch and they have been related by some scholars to the symbolic grant of autonomy by Julius Caesar in 49.³³⁵ The position of the Romans in Antioch was still not unequivocal and the city was taken for a short period of time by the Parths in 40 BC under whose short reign the word “autonomous” disappeared from the coins.³³⁶ Later in the 30's, the legend ANTIOXEΩN MHTPOΠIOAEΩΣ was stated on drachmae of Antonius which had depicted his portrait on the obverse and the bust of Tyche on the reverse;³³⁷ so it means that Antonius attempted to directly express his power in the region in combination with the local type and a legend related to the expression of local identity.

³³¹ SC II/1, xxiii.

³³² SC II/1, xxxiii.

³³³ SC II/1, 621. The fact that the Roman conquerors preferred to follow the coinage of Philip I and not of the last Seleucid ruler Antiochus XIII (69-64 BC) is being often explained by scholars by the argument that Philip I's tetradrachms were the last substantial Seleucid silver coins, see RPC I/1, 606.

³³⁴ SC II/1, 622; RPC I/1, 612-613.

³³⁵ SC II/1, 623.

³³⁶ Downey 1961, 159-160.

³³⁷ RPC I/1, 613 (no.4135).

Various coins struck in the first century BC demonstrate that even several decades after the conquest of Syria, the mint of Antioch struck coins which in some way continued the tradition established by the Seleucids and combined it with elements that unambiguously express Roman domination.³³⁸ This practice – thus means toleration of the local currency without significant changes – was a rather common attitude in the newly conquered territories and scholars have emphasized that the Romans had no reason to abandon local institutions which both worked effectively as well as were familiar to the local population.³³⁹ In addition, it seems that for some reason Roman denominations were adopted by Syrian mints later than in other annexed regions³⁴⁰ and Roman coins did not play a really important role in the local circulation till the second century AD when they became rather widespread in the Near East and their circulation had to be related mainly to military affairs.³⁴¹

The examples of Antiochene coins given here illustrate the common Roman practice of tolerating local monetary systems and the idea of local identity. This practice is actually in accordance to the conclusions of Carlos Noreña who pointed out in his article the fact that the Roman Empire preferred to be in a position of the discursive hegemony and that the possibility of expressions of local identity actually enhanced the gradual naturalization of Roman power in the region.³⁴²

2.2 Antioch as an Imperial Roman mint

The period of August (27 BC – 14 AD) is understood as a turning point in the history of Roman coinage in general and the Antiochene mint also witnessed significant innovations. In 5 BC under Quinctilius Varus, the Roman legate of Syria, the Roman imperial portraits and legends appeared for the first time on Antiochene coins.³⁴³ August replaced the portrait of Philip I on tetradrachmai with his own and Zeus on the reverse

³³⁸ These coins very often bore a traditional representation on their obverse which did not connect them with Romans directly (e.g. head of Zeus or turreted Tyche) and their reverse had a traditional iconography (e.g. Tyche seated above the river Orontes). Characteristic is the use of Greek legends which directly connect the coins with Antioch (e.g. words like ANTIOXEΩN) and included an inscription which related them the Roman representative (e.g. ΕΙΠΙ ΣΙΑΝΟΥ for Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus or ΕΙΠΙ ΚΟΥΑΔΡΑΤΟΥ for Ummidius Durmius Quadratussee), see RPC I, 626 (no. 4269) and 628 (no.4287). On the phenomenon of the so-called autonomous coins, see Downey 1961, 144, 153, 166-8; Bellinger 1951, 55-57, 64; Macdonald 1904, 107- 132; Burnett 2002, 116.

³³⁹ Metcalf 2000, 107.

³⁴⁰ Burnett 2002, 118-121.

³⁴¹ The archaeological evidence indicates that the Roman bronze coins did not circulate there on large scale, see Butcher 2003, 214-215.

³⁴² On the relation between the expressions of the local identity and its' connection with the expansion of the Roman political ideology, see Noreña 2016, 295.

³⁴³ e.g. RPC I/1, 584, 606-7; McAlee 2007, 52; Butcher 2004, 216, 321.

was substituted by Tyche.³⁴⁴ It was also when bronze coins with the letters SC were struck in Antioch for the first time.³⁴⁵ The abbreviation SC (most probably for *Senatus Consulto*)³⁴⁶ was not really very common on provincial coins and it has been suggested that the introduction of these coins was connected to a military manoeuvre, so it was not needed to emphasize the idea of the local origin as the coins were not intended to enhance the local market.³⁴⁷ In general, all the innovations introduced in the Antiochene coinage under August are interpreted not as a result of the imperial policy towards the Syrian coinage or attempts to represent the Roman power towards the local inhabitants, but as a consequence of the presence of the Roman army in the Northern part of Syria and the need for military payments.³⁴⁸ It is significant to mention that a presence of a huge number of troops and preparation of an expedition could cause a need for a large amount of coins also in the following decades and centuries; so various scholars generally connect the intensification of the output in Roman Antioch with the preparation of military campaigns.³⁴⁹ What is even more interesting is the fact that other smaller mints situated in the Near East did not adopt the Roman imperial portraiture immediately, but it was a gradual process led by Antioch at the regional level³⁵⁰ through which confirms the position of Antioch – the biggest city of the area - as a chief mint in the region through which other local centers could be influenced.

The next step in the expansion of the Roman influence in the monetary system of Syria took place sometime after 69 AD when Roman coins started to circulate regularly in the Near East.³⁵¹ This expansion of Roman coins was again most probably related to the military activities and campaigns of the Flavians in Judea.³⁵² Under the Flavians, the so called orichalcum coinage also appeared following the coins struck in Rome and there is a debate whether these coins were struck in Antioch or imported directly from Rome.³⁵³

³⁴⁴ RPC I/1, 607.

³⁴⁵ Butcher 2003, 217; Carson 1990, 271; Howgego 1982, 7-9.

³⁴⁶ There have been expressed various opinions on the precise meaning of the abbreviation SC, see Butcher 1988b, 98; McAlee 2007, 3-5.

³⁴⁷ Sayles 1998, 69.

³⁴⁸ Butcher 2003, 216; Butcher 2012, 470. Howgego 1982, 10-12. Worthy of mentioning is the reality that the imperial cult was instituted in Antioch under Augustus, see Butcher 2004, 13.

³⁴⁹ Metcalf 2000, 109; Butcher 2012, 470; On relation of mint activity and organizations of wars on Parths in the following centuries, see Gebhardt 2002, 111-157.

³⁵⁰ Butcher 2004, 217.

³⁵¹ Butcher 2003, 214; RIC II, 4, 10, 56-58.

³⁵² e.g. Amandry 2002, 141.

³⁵³ See on the discussion RPC II/1,284 and RPC III/1, 448-50. Such coins were struck till the beginnings of the 2nd century AD.

2.3 The Antiochene provincial coins under the Roman Empire

The new Augustan SC's issues continued to be struck simultaneously with local bronze Civic coins.³⁵⁴ The Civic coins bore various features which were related to the local identity and culture³⁵⁵: e.g. numerals on some Civic coins were usually expressed in Greek³⁵⁶ and their iconography continued to be impacted by the regional types (many issues depicted on their reverses the head of Tyche).³⁵⁷ These issues were designated mainly for local circulation.³⁵⁸ Kevin Butcher has stressed in his work that "some cities may have struck coins simply as a means of asserting their sovereignty, and providing their citizens with small change embossed with symbols of local pride".³⁵⁹ Furthermore, some tetradrachmai contemporary to the Augustan SC's could bear the reverse legend "ANTIOXEΩN MHTPOΠIOAEΩΣ" and scholars have again related these coins to an expression of local pride.³⁶⁰ It means that coins were struck parallelly which were directly impacted by the Roman Imperial power and issues expressing local identity.

The mint continued to strike silver tetradrachms. Nevertheless, it is important to note that there are documented breaks in production of the local silver coins.³⁶¹

Other than the Augustan age, the Julio-Claudian dynasty also played an important role in the development of the Antiochene coinage in the 1st century AD and various interesting coins related to the dynastic presentation were struck there in this period.³⁶² Under the emperor Nero, an eagle was introduced on the reverses of silver tetradrachms and since then, it became one of the most common reverse types of the Antiochene silver issues.³⁶³ The eagles on the Roman issues were rather similar to those which appeared on Seleucid coins. Furthermore there were struck bronze civic coins with obv./rev. legends referring to the citizens of Antioch: ANTIOXEΩN.³⁶⁴ It means that the Antiochene coinage in the 1st century AD witnessed a kind of Romanization; however, various features related to the local tradition were employed too.

³⁵⁴ Noreña 2016, 296.

³⁵⁵ see Noreña 2016, 296; Howgego 2005, 1-2, 12-13, 16-17; Butcher 2005, 145.

³⁵⁶ however there is one exception of use of Roman numerals mentioned by Kevin Butcher, see Butcher 2003, 272.

³⁵⁷ McAlee 2007, 2; Butcher 2004, 228.

³⁵⁸ Butcher 2003, 217-218.

³⁵⁹ Butcher 2003, 218.

³⁶⁰ Noreña 2016, 297-298.

³⁶¹ Sometimes under Hadrian (117-138) the production of tetradrachmai stopped in Antioch to be revived under Commodus in 170's, RPC III/1, 449; McAlee 2007, 225.

³⁶² RPC I/1, 584-585. E.g. worthy mention are also the commemorating issues from the period of Caligula struck in Antioch as the city was the place of the death of Germanicus, Caligula's father see Downey 1961, 187; RPC I/1, 607. Butcher 2004, 321-347.

³⁶³ RPC I/1, 606-7.

³⁶⁴ RPC I/1, 622.

In some cases, the intensity of production was directly linked to specific historic situations. The year 193, which is also sometimes called “year of the five emperors”, can be mentioned as a suitable example. Antioch constituted the main mint and centre of power under Pescennius Niger in 192/3 AD, so coins struck in his name are rather abundant there; however, the rulership was taken by Septimus Severus (193-211) who punished the city for rebellion, withdrew the city’s privileges and there are no recorded Antiochene bronze coins struck in his name.³⁶⁵ In addition, Antiochene coins can serve as an indication of changes in the city’s status, for example, under Elagabalus (218-222) the mint of Antioch struck coins in large quantities and the city started to be referred to as a Roman colony, meaning that the status of the city was recovered after the period of punishment imposed by Septimus Severus.³⁶⁶

An interesting element appeared on Antiochene coins in the 3rd century – some silver tetradrachmai often bore a reverse legend ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑC,³⁶⁷ which would again indicate a responsibility of local authorities for striking such issues. Furthermore, the reverse of these coins usually also bore the letters SC which had been traditionally interpreted as a Roman element on the Antiochene coins.³⁶⁸ For two decades, the production of silver coins in Antioch was ceased and later reintroduced under Gordian III (238-44).³⁶⁹ Later, Antioch became an important centre of minting antoniniani in the period of this emperor³⁷⁰ and its activity became more regular under Trajan Decius (249-251) when it also started to employ the system of officinae.³⁷¹ Sometimes during this period (in ca 252/3), the production of Antiochene silver tetradrachms ceased.³⁷²

The third century also provided evidence on the connection between the military activities and minting as the mint evidently changed its precise location within the city of Antioch several times due to the military danger as the city was conquered a couple of times by the Persians.³⁷³ The last issues of the provincial coins are usually dated in the period of Valerian I (253-260) during whose reign the city of Antioch was defeated and

³⁶⁵ Butcher 2004, 217.

³⁶⁶ Butcher 2004, 44, 384.

³⁶⁷ McAlee 2007, 5.

³⁶⁸ E.g. they were introduced under August and continued to be referred on the Antiochene coins with Latin legends, see e.g. RPC I/1, 625-629 (August to Nero).

³⁶⁹ Butcher 2003, 216-217; RIC IV/3, 12-14.

³⁷⁰ RIC IV/3, 12; Carson 1990, 271; Butcher 2003, 219; Metcalf 1977, 84-86; Butcher 2012, 475.

³⁷¹ RIC IV/3, 118-119. During the 3rd century there were up to nine active officinae in Antioch, see Carson 1990, 270-272, RIC V/2, 131; In some cases the number of officinae is unclear, see RIC V/1, 24.

³⁷² Butcher 2002, 176-178; McAlee 2007, 380; Butcher 2012, 470; Butcher 1988, 63; Butcher 1988b, 96.

³⁷³ RIC V/1, 17; The capture of Antioch by Persians in 250’s meant also an interruption in coinage; however the local mint was most probably transferred to Emesa already before the Persian attack and later the production was again interrupted at 260 when Antioch was conquered again, see Downey 1961, 257-258, 262; Carson 1970, 271; Lorient 1997, 57.

captured by the Persians and the wars resulted in the economic collapse of the city.³⁷⁴ Later, the Syrian capital was included in the Palmyrene empire and between 270 and 272, coins were struck in the names of the Palmyrene rulers (Zenobia and Vaballathus).³⁷⁵ Also, antoniniani appeared struck in the names of Aurelius and Vaballathus.³⁷⁶

2.4 After the reforms of Diocletian

Antioch was one of the seven mints which were active at the ascension of Diocletian in 284³⁷⁷ and it continued to be a source of coins for trade and everyday life in Syria.³⁷⁸ Diocletian's reorganization of the Empire was rather sophisticated and significantly affected the administrative structure, economy and coinage of the Roman Empire.³⁷⁹ After the reforms in 294³⁸⁰ the output of Antioch, like in other provincial mints, became more regular and the Syrian mint was struck in gold, silver and bronze³⁸¹ and its position among the imperial mints had to be rather important.³⁸²

In general after the Diocletian reforms, the coinage became rather uniform and the iconographic repertoire of the Antiochene coins did not depart importantly from the one employed in other provincial mints; however, some elements could be different. Worth mentioning is the fact that the idea of consular power was evidently emphasized on the Antiochene issues (e.g. rich varieties of consular types) which has been related to the position of Antioch as the main source of coins in a military area.³⁸³ This could also

³⁷⁴ McAlee 2007, 390; Butcher 2004, 403; Butcher 2003, 219.

³⁷⁵ RIC V/2, 584-585.

³⁷⁶ RIC V/1, 25, 260-261; RIC V/2, 584-585. The mint of Antioch was striking as coins in the name of the Palmyrenes' rulers and also joint coins of the Palmyrene' ruler Vabalathus and Aurelian, see RIC V/1, 260.

³⁷⁷ RIC V/1, 207.

³⁷⁸ RIC VI, 66.

³⁷⁹ The Roman Empire was facing problems in forms of the low-standard of gold coins and the long-term debasement of silver coins. Diocletian attempted to stabilize the economic situation by the Price Edict, however the edict was ineffective and the Diocletian's efforts in accordance to numismatists lead to a decline in confidence in the currency, see RIC VII, 1; Sear 2000, 23; Corcoran 2006, 46-49. Nevertheless, there is no direct evidence from Antioch on the consequences of the process of adaptation of the reforms there. Diocletian's reforms related to coins attempted to react to the continuous inflation, see Rees 2004, 40-41; Harl 1996, 148-157; Drča 2004, 69-99.

³⁸⁰ for the discussion on the date of Diocletian's coinage reform see, RIC VI, 1-2.

³⁸¹ The «Jovian» and «Herculan» types started to play important role already before the reforms, see RIC VI, 6. Nevertheless, the types they became widespread after the reforms as a result of the general division of the empire. Diocletian and Maximian were understood to represent sons of Jupiter and Hercules, so the representations of Jupiter dominated on Diocletian coinage, while these of Hercules on Maximian; see RIC V/1, 217, 256, 293, 302, 309. On the concept of Jovian and Herculan dynasties and the division of power between Tetrarchs, see Hekster 1999, 718-720; Stephenson 2009, 90-94.

³⁸² RIC VI, 596.

³⁸³ RIC VI, 68, 71-72, 612-616, 622-623. 626, 630, 635, 641.

be an interpretation for the introduction of an unusual reverse legend “GENIO EXERCITVS” on Antiochene coins.³⁸⁴

Despite the fact that the coins struck after the Diocletian reforms were rather uniform and the civic coinage ceased to exist decades before the ascension of Diocletian to power, the local types could appear even in this time: on some multiples of gold aurei struck sometime after ca 295/6 a female head, turreted and veiled appeared on the reverse and the representation has been identified with Tyche.³⁸⁵ C.H.V Sutherland interpreted this medallion together with another Antiochene multiple depicting Sol as a commemorative issue celebrating the victory over the Persians.³⁸⁶ This is interesting as the representation of Tyche on coins was in general absent on Diocletian’s issues and the examples of the representation of Latin Fortuna on coins was limited to the mints in Trier and Siscia, but the representations were different there (Fortuna was either seated or standing holding a rudder over a globe).³⁸⁷

In addition, an obvious impact of the Greek culture continued to exist as in some cases the Antiochene mint preferred Greek numerals on some types of aurei struck at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century, however, this practice was not limited just to the Syrian mint.³⁸⁸

During the short-time reign of Maximinus Daza (310-313), interesting bronze issues were struck in Antioch and some other Eastern cities (Nicomedia and Alexandria). These issues bore representations of deities which ceased to be represented on coins decades ago (e.g. in the case of Antiochene Tyche and Apollo).³⁸⁹ These issues are presumably related to the anti-Christian policy of Maximinus.³⁹⁰ The coins struck in the years following the death of Maximinus (313) illustrate the fact that the mint of Antioch continued to play a rather important role in the coinage of Licinius (d. 324).³⁹¹

3. Some remarks on the Seleucid and Roman Antiochene coinage

³⁸⁴ RIC VI, 638 (no.147)

³⁸⁵ RIC VI, 599, 615 (no.23a).

³⁸⁶ RIC VI, 599.

³⁸⁷ On the examples from the two Western mints, see RIC VI, 185 -186, 190-192, 480,482-483.

³⁸⁸ RIC V/1, 207; RIC VI, 707; Carson 1990, 168.

³⁸⁹ Harl 1987, 95; Van Heesch 1997, 65-67.

³⁹⁰ Van Heesch 1993, 73-75. Originally, these issues used to be interpreted as Julian’s coins, e.g. Waage 1952, 131.

³⁹¹ Various Antiochene coins reflected his policy: e.g. in the period of complicated relations between Licinius and Constantine there were struck folles with two busts of Licinius and his son on obverse and Jupiter, Licinius’ patron, with trophy on the reverse. The same practice was employed also in the other two mints in Asia Minor (Nicomedia and Cyzicus), see Carson 1990, 168.

It is evident that Antioch was the central mint of the Seleucids in the Western part of their Empire. This fact caused a very intense adoption of Greek motives in Antiochene coinage since the mint's foundation and the monetary types which appeared there had often a rather elaborate ideological background. The mint of Antioch represents an interesting example of a Seleucid mint which continued to strike without any significant interruptions till the Byzantine era. This fact suggests the extremely important position of the Antiochene mint as it was the only late Roman mint with the Hellenistic tradition in the region of Syria.

Strong Hellenistic tendencies were also obvious after the Roman annexation in 64 BC. The production of Antioch's mint remained rather stable and constant despite the political changes in the region.³⁹² Under the Romans, the Antiochene mint became the main source of coins for Roman Syria and one of the main mints in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire;³⁹³ however, its output was not regular and not big enough to cover all the needs of the region and sometimes the local circulation in Roman Syria had to be enhanced by coinage struck in other regions.³⁹⁴

While studying the activity of the Antiochene mint, it is obvious that the local Hellenistic tradition played an immense role also in the period under the Romans and the Romanization of Antiochene coins was a long-term process. As there was a strong Hellenistic cultural background, Greek letters and Greek deities continued to be represented also after the Roman annexation which was not strange since Romans generally tended to keep the local coinage without any major interference in the newly acquired region. The Antiochene Civic coins struck under the Romans also often bore elements related to local identity and pride (e.g. Tyche, coins struck in the name of citizens, etc.). However, it is necessary to emphasize that it had to mainly be the local elite's identity and that these coins were incorporated in the ideological system of the Roman Imperium.³⁹⁵ This means that Civic coins bearing Greek legends could parallelly circulate side by side with issues having Latin legends.³⁹⁶ Furthermore, these Antiochene Civic coins indicate that it was important to stress in some way the autonomy and the

³⁹² Houghton 2002, 7, 9; Butcher 2012, 474; McAlee 2007, 60.

³⁹³ McAlee 2007, 1; Butcher 2004, 298. Various numismatists, including Richard McAlee, emphasize the fact that the city evidently bore the title of metropol, as some of the Antiochene coins were marked by this word – this practice can be dated as into the period prior to the Roman invasion, so in the period after 64 BC.

³⁹⁴ RPC I/1, 582; Metcalf 2000, 109; Kevin Butcher mentions the possible existence of other mints outside Syria striking Syrian coins, see Butcher 2003, 216. or the phenomenon of Syrian tetradrachms whose style resembles that of Antioch, but the issues were definitely struck outside Syria, see Sayles 1998, 70.

³⁹⁵ see among others Weiss 2005, 68; Butcher 2005, 145; Heuchert 2005, 40; Butcher 2004, 266-267.

³⁹⁶ See on that e.g. McAlee 2007, 1; Metcalf 1977, 69.

responsibility of the locals (e.g. the legends ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ, ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ, ANTIOXEΩΝ and ANTIOXEΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ).

From the aspect of the iconography, Roman Antiochene coins are considered to be rather repetitive and a rather limited repertoire of types existed which could appear on the coins reverse under the Romans (e.g. combinations of letters – mainly SC - in a laurel wreath, Zeus, Tyche, an eagle, a cornucopia).³⁹⁷ Some of the monetary types had their origin in the Seleucid period.

The intensity of mint activity, closures of the mint or the introduction of new types (e.g. “SC” coins) were phenomena often directly connected to military activities of the Romans in the region confirming the position of Antioch as the local military headquarter³⁹⁸ - a role which had a rather decisive impact on the Antiochene coinage also in the period under study.

³⁹⁷ Butcher 2004, 298-303.

³⁹⁸ Kevin Butcher on the introduction of the “SC” coins under Augustus, see Butcher 2004, 240-241 and 245.

2b. From Constantine the Great till Jovian (324 – 364)

1. Constantine the Great

The age of Constantine the Great represents a rather complicated period which is considered by various scholars to be a transitional point between Antiquity and Byzantium and its various aspects (e.g. religious policy and economic changes) have been broadly studied by modern researchers.³⁹⁹⁴⁰⁰ Various scholars have considered Constantine I to be the most important and influential emperor of Late Antiquity.⁴⁰¹

The present Thesis focuses on coins struck after 324, which means the era when Constantine reigned as a sole ruler that followed a rather turbulent period of conflicts and wars in which Constantine defeated his political enemies and competitors and stabilized his unassailable position in the Empire.⁴⁰²

In general, the fight between Constantine and his rivals was very often interpreted and understood as a combat of Christianity and Paganism,⁴⁰³ which was also reflected on coins;⁴⁰⁴ however, the intensity of Christian beliefs and Constantine's conversion became a topic of various studies and provoked many debates.⁴⁰⁵

Many modern scholars have been mainly studying the process of Constantine's gradual ascension to power, stabilization of his position and his religious policy rather than to the events after the end of the second civil war in which Licinius was defeated in Adrianople in 324. The period after 324 did not attract scholars to the same extent like

³⁹⁹ Constantine I's era actually has been characterized as a period of general changes which could be related as to the culture and religion, so to the economy, numismatics, administration and military organization, see Lenski 2006a, 1-3; Piganiol 1932, 121-131; Syvanne 2015, 232-238; Cameron 1998, 1-4.

⁴⁰⁰ Lenski 2006a, 1-3; Piganiol 1932, 121-131; Syvanne 2015, 232-238.

⁴⁰¹ Constantine himself has been considered by various scholars to be the most important emperor of the Late Antiquity, see i.g. Pohlsander 1996, 1; systematic survey of various and often contradictory opinions on the personality of the emperor Constantine, see Lenski 2006a, 6 – 11.

⁴⁰² on the historical background, see Lenski 2006a, 3; Lenski 2006b, 60-71; Piganiol 1932, 119-131; Pohlsander 1996, 12-20; Baker 1967, 174-182; Potter 2013, 129-214.

⁴⁰³ see i.g. Odahl 1976, 107.

⁴⁰⁴ i.g. introduction of chi-rho monogram on coins or striking the famous issue with a labarum piercing the serpent Lenski 2006a, 19-20; Piganiol 1932, 143-148, 171; Maurice 1908/1965, CXXXIV-CXXXV; Alföldi 1932, 10-11; Alföldi 1951, 303-311; Bruun 1997, 42; RIC VII, 572; Odahl 2004, 201.

⁴⁰⁵ Wiemer 1994, 521-522; Drake 2006, 111-136; Lee 2006, 172-174; Piganiol, 171 (he mentioned as a date of Constantine's conversion the year 326, thus means the year when he lost his beloved son and wife).

the previous decades; however, an extensive bibliography exists on some random events which took place after 324 (e.g. the death of Crispus and Constantine I's conversion).⁴⁰⁶

1.1 General features of Constantine I's Coinage

(Plate I)

The period of Constantine witnessed various reforms related to the organization of the coins' production (e.g. temporary closures of some mints, changes in the administration and the introduction of new officials responsible for minting Comes Sacrarum Largitionum).⁴⁰⁷ The introduction of a new gold denomination – solidus – in 312 was a turning point in the monetary system of the Late Roman Empire⁴⁰⁸ and by striking these coins, Constantine attempted to stabilize the rather problematic gold coinage which was struck at a low standard.⁴⁰⁹ Written sources also provided evidence on Constantine's fiscal policy which provoked negative reactions among his subjects.⁴¹⁰

At his ascension to power, Constantine the Great adopted the coin types of Diocletian which corresponded to the new division of the Empire and to the new concept of imperial power distribution.⁴¹¹ Already prior to 324, some Christian symbols were introduced on Constantine's coins⁴¹² and a gradual abandonment of some pagan

⁴⁰⁶ i.g. the topic of death of Crispus and Fausta in 326 ad has been broadly studied, see Piganiol 1932, 168-170; Guthrie 1966, 325-331, for systematic bibliography on this topic see Woods 1998, 72-83; or the topic of anti-Pagan policy of Constantine between 324 and 337 i.g. Barnes 1984, 69-72; Bradbury 1994, 120-139; Alföldi 1948, 105-109, Schott 2008, 128-135 and the topic of conversion of Constantine the Great to Christianity, see Elliot 1987 or Keresztes 1983.

⁴⁰⁷ One of the main source which provided evidence on Constantine's interest in the mints' organization was Codex Theodosianus (Cod.Theod.Lib.X, tit.20, lex.1 Monetarios in sua simpler conditione durare oportet). Some important mints were closed (i.g. London in 325, Ticinium in 326, Sirmium in 326) and some new were open (i.g. Arelate in 314) and some remained inactive for a period of time (e.g. Aquileia between 324 and 334), see e.g. Carson 1990, 158, 161, 169. On changes in administration and Comes Sacrarum Largitionum see Notitiae Dignitatum, Orientis, XIII; Maurice 1908/1965, XI, XV; ODB, 486.

⁴⁰⁸ on solidus and its' introduction see Alföldi 1963 and RIC VII, 1-3.

⁴⁰⁹ on solidus and its' importance in the Late Roman economy, see Lenski 2006a, 2; on its'coexistence with the gold aureus in the first decade of its' circulation see Carson 1990, 158; Maurice 1908/1965, XXXVI-XXXVII.

⁴¹⁰ Wiemer 1994, 520.

⁴¹¹ There continued to exist the Diocletian' concept of the "Herculian" and "Iovian" dynasties between which was divided the Empire and the division influenced the coin types (preference by Herculian types in the West and Iovian in the East); see e.g. Maurice 1908/1965, XLIX-I; Lenski 2006b, 61. The coins also illustrate well the different attitudes of Licinius and Constantine to the concept of power and policy in the Empire. Licinius continued to strike coins which were recalling the coinage of the Tetrarchs, while Constantine preferred new types of iconography and a gradual removal of pagan deities already in the second decade of the 4th century is apparent; see Odahl 2004, 171. Some numismatists consider the Licinius' attempts to follow the older patterns of coinage to be actually an evidence for his effort to continue the Tetrarchic system, see Bastien 1973, 88.

⁴¹² e.g. Chi-Rho monogram appeared for the first time on coins in ca 315 and became common after 330 AD, see Carson 1990, 163; Bruun 1997, 42; Alföldi 1951, 310-311. However various interpretations of the

motifs took place.⁴¹³ The disappearance of such motifs indicates not only the departure from the old religion, but it also confirms the departure from the old political system which is further indicated by the changes in the imperial portraiture. Imperial portraits became more uniform and less realistic⁴¹⁴ and some of these changes are related to a different concept of the rulership such as the representation of diademe and the heavenward gaze (fig.1-4) and parallel examples can be found on the Hellenistic coins.⁴¹⁵

1.2 Coins struck in 324

(Plate I-II)

Antiochene coins in general followed the principal tendencies of the Constantinian coinage⁴¹⁶ and they reflected most of the innovations introduced in the coinage; however, departures from the models existed too. The coins of Antioch struck in the period after 324 pose some problems regarding the precise interpretations of reasons why some specific iconographic elements were employed on them.

Gold issues

Sol – the comeback of a paganistic theme

The mint of Antioch started to strike gold coins on a relatively massive scale after its annexation by Constantine in 324.⁴¹⁷ Evidently just right after the end of the Civil wars (324/5), gold solidi with a reverse legend referring to Sol and depicting the

monogram and its' importance as an indicator of Christianity have been expressed, for resume see Vorderstrasse 2004b, 132-133.

⁴¹³ see Bastien 1973, 88.

⁴¹⁴ see RIC VII, 32, 43; Maurice 1908/1965, XXVIII-XXX; The tendency to a uniformity is sometimes being related with the general centralization of the coins' production (see Maurice 1908/1965, XVI);

⁴¹⁵ Scholars consider these changes to be a result of the cultural-religious development (see Bering 2012, 132-133). The mentioned diadem similar to a ribbon became a common feature of imperial portraits after 324 and in accordance to scholars, the representation of diadem was related to a reflection of the different idea of rulership and several times ideas have been expressed on its' relation to the concept of Hellenistic kingship (see Bardill 2012, 11-19; Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire*, p.170; RIC VII, 43-44; Smith, *Hellenistic Royal portraits*, 1998, p.37 and Alföldi, 1935/1970, p.145; The heavenward gaze has been also interpreted within the Christian context (see Bastien 1992, 58-59) and they evoke representations of Alexander the Great. In general, it is considered that Constantine the Great deliberately attempted to evoke resemblances with the portrait of Alexander the Great (Fowden 2006, 378; Bastien 1992, 33); and in some cases similar portrait features are traced on 1st and 2nd century Roman imperial coins (Bardill 2012, 11)

⁴¹⁶ for the systematic lists of coins struck in Antioch under Constantine the Great after 324 AD see RIC VII, 663-697; Hunter V, 212-214.

⁴¹⁷ Antioch was in possession of Licinius till ca. 324, Carson 1990, 174; RIC VII, 661.

personification of Sol presenting to the emperor a globe surmounted by Victory (fig 5) were struck in Antioch.⁴¹⁸

The Antiochene solidi struck early after the stabilization of Constantine I's position in the Empire are rather interesting as the gold and bronze coins referring to Sol ceased to be struck in most of the Western mints before 320 with an exception of the mint in Sirmium which provided some issues dated in 322/3.⁴¹⁹ It is important to note that many of these Western coins with the representation of Sol were struck also in the name of Licinius⁴²⁰ who was known for having a specific relation to the Solar cult and the personification of Sol was common in his coins' iconography (fig.6).⁴²¹ The mints situated in the Eastern Mediterranean followed a slightly different policy; the representations of Sol were rather common on coins struck before 313 and lots of examples of such iconography can be seen on the coins struck in the name of Maximinus Daza. Consequently after his death in 313, the representation of Sol ceased to be popular, however, random examples of coins with such a representation can be found.⁴²²

In accordance to some scholars, Constantine attempted to incorporate some Christian features into the Solar cult already in the 310's and evidence exists on the importance of the cult during Constantine's period.⁴²³ The Solar cult evidently played a significant role in the propaganda and idea of legitimacy in the Constantinian period and the cult was in some way incorporated in the concept of the emperor as a sole ruler on the earth.⁴²⁴ Furthermore, some scholars have emphasized the parallelism of Helios with Christ under Constantine I.⁴²⁵

This raises the question whether the Antiochene solidi with the reverse representation of Sol should be interpreted as a kind of continuation of the older models since the mint of Antioch struck bronze coins with the representation of Sol also in the

⁴¹⁸ RIC VII, 685 (no.49). SOLI COMITI AVG N. SOLI INVICTO COMITI; Bastien 1973, p.88; Holloway 2004, 15; Wienand 2011, 57.

⁴¹⁹ Most examples with the figure of Sol comes from period prior to 320, the latest examples come from Sirmium (struck 322/3): see RIC VII; and Bastien 1973, p.88; Carson 1990, 159.

⁴²⁰ E.g. the bronze coins struck in Rome dated in 317: see RIC VII, 307 (78-85).

⁴²¹ This fact is indicated by various sources – except of coins, also by epigraphy; see Bastien 1973, p.89; Piganiol 1932, 130-121.

⁴²² For the period before 313 see RIC VI, 528 (for Heraclea), 554-5, 558, 560, 566-7 (for Nicomedia), 592 (for Cyzicus), 615, 638, 644 (for Antioch) and 681 (for Alexandria). For the period after 313, see RIC VII, 603 (no.22 – Nicomedia aureus dated in 319); Most of the other Eastern mints provided no evidence on striking the Sol' coins in the second decade of 4th century.

⁴²³ Drake 2009, 220-226; Piganiol 1932, 120; Bardill 2012, 326; on the theological aspect of solar cult, see Stephenson 2009, 84-86; Bering 2012, 129-130; Wienand 2011, 53-61.

⁴²⁴ Bruun 1992, 222-326.

⁴²⁵ see: Leeb 1992, 27-28.

names of Licinius and Constantinus before 313⁴²⁶ or whether the representation of Sol on the Antiochene issues was more of a loan from the Western repertoire where the figure could appear till 322 in Sirmium or whether a specific message should be conveyed by employing the figure related to the Solar cult. It seems that Constantine needed to quickly initiate striking coins in his own name in Antioch after the end of the Civil Wars in 324 and this might be the explanation for the reasons why the Syrian mint just incorporated the iconographic type common in the West in the previous years. At the present state of research, any further interpretation and hypotheses on the role of the Solar cult in Constantine's policy after 324 is impossible; however, it is worth mentioning that the cult of Apollo, whose important shrine was found in the Antiochene district Daphne, continued to exist in Antioch throughout the fourth century.⁴²⁷

Anachronism and the role of Western models

An interesting feature related to the first issues struck in Antioch after 324 was the reality that reverse types were common in Western mints in the previous years. This phenomenon was mainly related to the reverse types of gold multiples and solidi. Actually, Western inspirations can be observed in the case of reverse legends and iconography on various other Antiochene solidi and multiples struck in this early phase (324/5) and most often, the parallels can be found on coins struck in the Western part of the Empire around 320.⁴²⁸

As characteristic examples, multiples and solidi were struck commemorating consulships held by Constantine and his sons prior to 324 in the West. One of the first gold multiples struck in Antioch after 324 commemorated the second consulship of the Caesars bearing a legend CRISPVS ET CONSTANTINVS NOBB CAESS COSS II

⁴²⁶ RIC VI, 644 (no.167a,b,c and 168).

⁴²⁷ On the cult of Apollo there, see among others Mayer 2009, 357-359.

⁴²⁸ E.g. The Antiochene multiples with the reverse legend SECVRITAS PERPETVAE and depicting a standing figure of emperor erecting trophy, RIC VII, 683 (no.38). This legend appeared in 324 not only at Antioch, but also on a multiple struck in Nicomedia, RIC VII, 609 (no.53); however the mint of Sirmium (and some other Western mints) employed this motif already a year before that (fig.12): Sirmium struck such a type on solidi in 323, see RIC VII, 473 (no.42); Aquileia produced multiples with such a legend in 320, see RIC VII, 397 (no.33). Similar situations can be faced while studying also other Antiochene solidi dated in the first year after 324. See also the other solidi, RIC VII, 684-5 (no.42-47, 50). E.g. compare reverse legends on RIC VII, 684 (no.45A) struck in Antioch in 324 and RIC VII, 473 (no.37) struck in Sirmium; or compare the reverse types on Antiochene solidi RIC VII, 684-5 (no.42 and 45) with those struck previously in Sirmium RIC VII, 473 (no.40 and 41). Similar iconographic reverse types were struck also elsewhere, but just the representations used in Antioch and Sirmium are actually the same.

(fig.7).⁴²⁹ Both Caesars, Crispus and Constantine II held the consulship for the second time in their lives in 321,⁴³⁰ a couple of years before the end of the Civil Wars in 324. The second consulship of Crispus was also commemorated on solidi struck in Antioch in 324.⁴³¹ The problem is that in the period when the multiples and solidi commemorating the second consulship were struck in Antioch, both of the Caesars-already held a third consulship, meaning that the Antiochene gold issues represent a specific example of an anachronism. The anachronism of these commemorating issues is related to the reverse legends (e.g. parallels on issues struck again in 321 in Sirmium),⁴³² as well as to the iconographic prototypes (e.g. consular representations on silver miliarenses struck sometime around 320 in Sirmium and Siscia).⁴³³ (fig.8-9)

Other commemorative issues are the gold multiple and solidi celebrating the sixth consulship of Constantine I. Again, these coins were struck in Antioch in 324/5 and both – multiples and solidi - with the reverse legend FELIX PROCESSVS COS VI AVG.⁴³⁴ (fig.10) Such a legend with the representation of the standing figure of the emperor holding a sceptre and a globe appeared also on solidi struck in Western mints around 320 for the celebration of the sixth consulship (fig.11).⁴³⁵

The aforementioned examples indicate that the consulships celebrated in the West around 320 were commemorated by coins in Antioch with ca four years delay. It is also important to note that the above mentioned second consulship of Constantine I's sons in 321 was not recognised by the Eastern provinces at all as Licinius and his son declared themselves as consuls.⁴³⁶ The consular reckoning in the East was employed right in Antioch – a fact which led Patrick Bruun to propose an explication that the evidence on the consulships held in the West probably did not exist, so the coins struck in Antioch did not reflect the consulships introduced in the West and started to refer to them after Constantine got Antioch into his sphere of power after the defeat of Licinius in 324.⁴³⁷ Moreover, the absence of Constantine's consular issues could be related to the animosity between Constantine and Licinius who was ruling the Eastern part of the

⁴²⁹ Alföldi 1963, 91; Bruun 1963, 70; Bruun 1961, 62-63; RIC VII, 682 (no.37).

⁴³⁰ CIL VI, 1687, 1685, 1688

⁴³¹ RIC VII, 683 (no.40).

⁴³² RIC VII, 470 (no.18 and 20).

⁴³³ RIC VII, 412-413, 427 (no.26).

⁴³⁴ RIC VII, 683 (no.39) and 684 (no.41).

⁴³⁵ Sirmium, see RIC VII, 467 (no.4); Aquileia, see RIC VII, 397 (no.34); Ticinum, see RIC VII, 375 (no.104).

⁴³⁶ Pohlsander 1984, 87.

⁴³⁷ Bruun 1963, 71.

Empire before 324. Besides, solidus was actually a relatively new coin introduced by Constantine, so it was still not a common denomination in Syria prior to 324 as the main gold coin circulating there under Licinius was aureus.⁴³⁸ All these factors might have impacted the fact that various commemorative issues of Constantine and his family members were not struck in the East before Constantine became the sole emperor in both parts of the Empire. It seems that Western influences might also be related to the fact that the Eastern provinces remained under the control of Licinius till the end of the Civil Wars in 324. Evidently, an immediate request for a new coinage existed after 324 and it was desirable to strike coins which faithfully followed the Constantinian models struck in the mints found under his control already before that year: this means mainly mints found in the Western Mediterranean. By this act, Constantine I would declare that he was the main ruler also in the East and it was necessary to strike issues promoting him and his family. Evidently, the mint of Antioch found itself in the direct influence of the imperial officials who had experience with Western coinage.⁴³⁹

Most of the cases of the anachronistic coins have similarities to coins struck previously in Sirmium,⁴⁴⁰ but issues inspired by types struck in Aquileia and Ticinium can be found too.⁴⁴¹ Patrick Bruun stressed that coins of Antioch actually indicate the mechanism of transferring patterns of gold coinage from one mint to another and that the Roman army may represent the important link as the big amounts of soldiers could bring with them the Western models to the Eastern cities.⁴⁴² The anachronism is obvious also in some cases in Nicomedia, but the intensity of this phenomenon in Antioch was evidently much stronger.⁴⁴³ I believe that it is possible to interpret within this context also the aforementioned representation of Sol on the Antiochene solidi from 324/5.

⁴³⁸ RIC VII, 663.

⁴³⁹ Bruun 1963, 71.

⁴⁴⁰ Patrick Bruun saw a relation between the legends and reverse types of the Antiochene coins from the period shortly after 324 and pre-war issues from Sirmium as there were struck gold solidi at the occasion of the second consulship of the Caesars and the obverse legends were same Bruun 1963, 72-75; Bruun 1961, 63; RIC VII, 663.

⁴⁴¹ E.g. see the mentioned multiple type SECVRITAS PERPETVAE (note 37) or a solidus type CONCORDIA AVGG NN, see RIC VII, 685 (no.50) struck in Antioch in late 324/early 325 was struck in the same period in Cyzicus, see RIC VII, 646 (no.20) and Nicomedia, see RIC VII, 610 (no.59). But in the West was struck by Sirmium already in 323, see RIC VII, 473 (no.38 and 39) and in Ticinium already in 320, see RIC VII, 375 (no.101).

⁴⁴² Bruun 1963, 71 and 77.

⁴⁴³ RIC VII, 664.

Adventus type

Another type of gold issues which is specifically related to the Eastern mints of Nicomedia and Antioch⁴⁴⁴ is the solidi with the representation of *Adventus* (in both cases the legend was ADVENTVS AVGVSTI) with the reverse representation of the emperor riding left and dated again in 324/5 (fig.13). This type indicates that Constantine most probably visited the cities of Antioch and Nicomedia in 324 after the victorious battle at Chrysopolis.⁴⁴⁵ Such coins illustrate well the important position of both of the cities.⁴⁴⁶ It is worth mentioning that the imperial *adventus* had an elaborated symbolism in the Later Roman Empire and it was understood to be an expression of the emperor's position as an indisputable ruler to his subjects.⁴⁴⁷

Bronze issues

Dynastic types

Rather interesting is the first bronze series struck in 324/5 (fig.14-17).⁴⁴⁸ These so called dynastic types are the coins which bore on their reverses the name and title of the imperial family members written in two or three lines and had no legend on the obverse.⁴⁴⁹ Among the imperial members who were honoured on these dynastic issues were also the augustae Helene and Fausta (fig.16 and 17).⁴⁵⁰ This is actually rather striking as the females were not included on the corresponding dynastic series struck in other mints: in Sisicia⁴⁵¹, Heraclea,⁴⁵² Thessalonike⁴⁵³ and in Cyzicus.⁴⁵⁴ The coins struck in the

⁴⁴⁴ for Nicomedia see RIC VII, p.610 (type 58 – solidus); for Antioch see RIC VII, p.685 (type 48).

⁴⁴⁵ Carson 1990, 174; there are known also other coins of adventus type with the representation of Constantine on a horseback, but those were struck prior to 324 (e.g. RIC VI, p.134 (London, types 133 - 145). The presence of Constantine in Antioch is attested also in Codex Theod., however this source indicates an earlier date (CTh.x, 14, 1). Patrick Bruun has expressed an opinion that the visit most probably could take place between 8 November 324 and 25 February 325 and he believed that the most probable date would be sometimes between the end of January and beginning of February (RIC VII, 664-665).

Adventus types were common also in previous period, e.g. several samples from 3rd century, see RIC IV/3, 146 (type 193 – Trajan Decius), 167 (type 79 – Trebonianus Gallus), 183 (type 214 – Volusian).

⁴⁴⁶ Bruun 1961, 64: Bruun also stresses period of religious disputes and there were ongoing preparations for a council (324-5).

⁴⁴⁷ Kelly 1998, 142, 144, 150-151.

⁴⁴⁸ RIC VII, 669.

⁴⁴⁹ RIC VII, 686-687.

⁴⁵⁰ Carson 1990, 170; Maurice 1908/1965, CXXVI; RIC VII, 687.

⁴⁵¹ RIC VII, 447.

⁴⁵² RIC VII, 551 (only one type - 81).

names of these two important augustae also appeared on the Constantinian coins struck elsewhere,⁴⁵⁵ but not on these specific dynastic issues which, instead of an iconographic representation, bore a legend in lines on their reverses. Patrick Bruun attempted to connect this phenomenon with Constantine's visit of Antioch.⁴⁵⁶ The representations of empresses on coins were often related to the accentuation of dynastic stability and dynastic legitimacy in general⁴⁵⁷ and specifically, in the case of Constantine's dynasty, scholars emphasize the role of empresses for the legitimization of the imperial authority.⁴⁵⁸

1.3 Constantine I's coinage after 325

Gold

(Plate II)

There are no significant peculiarities in the Antiochene coinage in the period after 325. It seems that gold coins were not struck on a large scale and regularly between 326 and 334 with some minor exceptions.⁴⁵⁹ Evidently, gold multiples which were struck in 326 for the commemoration of the joint consulship of Constantine and Constantius II⁴⁶⁰ (fig.18) exist. These issues with the legend referring to both emperors (CONSTANTINVS ET CONSTANTIVS NOBB CAESS) had a similar iconography with the consular issue struck in Antioch in 324 (fig.7) and parallels did not exist in other mints.

Later, solidi in the name of Constantine in 329 were struck,⁴⁶¹ but they do not represent any specificity. A rich series of gold issues were produced during the last years

⁴⁵³ RIC VII, 516.

⁴⁵⁴ RIC VII, 648 (types 30-33).

⁴⁵⁵ see e.g. coins struck in Nicomedia in the same period, see RIC VIII, 615 (types 95 – 97), but those had included the name of augustae in standard obverse legends, while on the reverse where reverse representations with a corresponding legends (e.g. SALVS REI-PVBLICAE). Similar coins were struck also in Lyons, Arles and at many other mints.

⁴⁵⁶ RIC VII, 669.

⁴⁵⁷ On the role of women as guarantees of legitimacy and continuity in the late Roman and Byzantine period, see Laiou 1981, 233-234; Spieser 2002, 597 – 598.

⁴⁵⁸ Frakes 2006, 96-98.

⁴⁵⁹ see evidence in RIC VII, 689-690, 692-696.

⁴⁶⁰ RIC VII, 689 (no. 70).

⁴⁶¹ RIC VII, 692 (no.83); e.g. this issue is considered to be struck at an occasion of the victories over Germanic tribes and celebrations of seventh consulate of Constantin I and fourth consulate of Constantine II, see Bastien 1988, 80 (note d).

of Constantine's reign.⁴⁶² In 335/6, a solidus celebrating the tricennalia of Constantine's reign was struck in Antioch (fig.19);⁴⁶³ however, a series of tricennial issues were struck in other various mints too (Siscia, Nicomedia, Aquileia and Constantinople).⁴⁶⁴

Constantine's gold Antiochene coinage indicates the importance of the city, but on the other hand, the breaks in production of gold issues indicate that the Syrian mint was not the main source of gold coinage in the Near East between 325 and 337. It seems that the main centre for the production of gold coins in this period was Nicomedia.⁴⁶⁵ Still, despite the mentioned breaks, the Antiochene gold coinage was important as, for example, the mint of Cyzicus provided even less rich typology of gold coins and their production was even more irregular.⁴⁶⁶

Silver

Emperor Constantine also attempted to strike in silver more regularly than his predecessors.⁴⁶⁷ Evidence on rare silvered bronze coins from Antioch exists dated in 326/7 (fig. 20) and only three reverse types of silver coins, similar to each other, appeared in Antioch towards the end of Constantine's reign (336-337) (fig.21).⁴⁶⁸ Some other mints, Nicomedia for example, definitely provided more types of silver coins than Antioch.⁴⁶⁹

Bronzes

The common feature of the late Roman bronze issues was the fact that they were rather depreciated – a phenomenon which definitely appeared in earlier decades and continued to pose problems in the economy till the end of the fifth century.⁴⁷⁰ In general,

⁴⁶² RIC VII, 694-696.

⁴⁶³ RIC VII, 694, no.694.

⁴⁶⁴ Bruun 1961, 71. It seems that the tricennalia in 335 were actually celebrated in the East, but most probably in Nicomedia where exists an evidence for a big output of the commemorating issues.

⁴⁶⁵ see the intensive gold production in Nicomedia in RIC VII, 608-632.

⁴⁶⁶ see RIC VII, 646-656.

⁴⁶⁷ Carson 1990, 174; Maurice 1908/1965, XLIV-XLV.

⁴⁶⁸ These coins did not bear any legend on their obverse and all of them had depicted a Victory holding wreath and a palm branch on their reverse. Just the versions of the obverse legends could vary little bit (e.g. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG and CONSTANTI-NVS CAESAR etc.). RIC VII, 696.

⁴⁶⁹ RIC VII, 614, 619, 623, 632, 634.

⁴⁷⁰ on the depreciation of bronze under Constantine, see Jones 1959, 37.

most of the mints followed the same monetary policy regarding bronze coinage.⁴⁷¹ All of the mints struck similar types and actually, the typology after 324 seems to be even more limited than before.⁴⁷² Of course, it does not mean that the bronze reverses would become completely uniform after 324 as there are still apparent minor regional differences. All reverse types of bronze coins which appeared in Antioch after 325/6 were struck also elsewhere and did not bear any specific features.

Officinae

It is impossible to reconstruct the precise distribution of officinae (workshops) in Antioch under Constantine I, but based on the study of material held at various collections, opinions have been expressed concerning the officinae “a redistribution was carried out and that off”.⁴⁷³ The complex character of the use of officinae is obvious also in the period of Constantine’s successors. In general, the number of officinae – workshops - active in Antioch throughout the 4th century was relatively high and up to ten officinae letters are attested in Antioch in the period of Constantine the Great.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷¹ RIC VII, 686-692. After 330, the reduced bronze coins were introduced and the most common reverse type struck between 330 and 335 became GLORIA EXERCITVS which is again a well attested type in the Antiochene mint and elsewhere, see RIC VII, 692-693; Carson 1990, 171.

⁴⁷² Carson 1990, 170. In most of the mints prevail the similar repertoire after 324/5 (Providentiae AVG or CAESS, SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE, SALVS REIPVBLICAE, GLORIA EXERCITVS), while before 324 the mints were employing more rich variety of reverse types and some of them were not common in other mints and there existed obvious differences between the Eastern and Western parts of the Empire.

⁴⁷³ RIC VII, 670- 673, notes on 688. Patrick Bruun is actually the only one who devoted a systematic attention to the study of the distribution of officinae on the Antiochene coins.

⁴⁷⁴ see RIC VII, 671; in period of Constantius II up to fifteen officinae, see RIC VIII, 524.

2. Constantine's successors

After the death of Constantine, a complicated situation in the Empire occurred.⁴⁷⁵ After the meeting of Constantine's three sons in Pannonia in September 337, the new division of the Empire was introduced⁴⁷⁶ and the Eastern part of the Empire was ruled by Constantius II (324-337 Caesar; 337-350 co-Augustus; 350-361 sole Augustus).⁴⁷⁷ In general, the relationships between the brothers and co-rulers at the same time continued to be problematic.⁴⁷⁸ The city of Antioch was found in the sphere of power of Constantius II, Constantine's middle son who evidently played the decisive role in the positions' settling after the death of his father.⁴⁷⁹

Antioch continued to exercise its important military role and the period of Constantine's sons was marked mainly by the organization of expeditions against the Persians and wars on Shapur.⁴⁸⁰ These facts evidently had a positive impact on the economic and political status of the Syrian city⁴⁸¹ - a fact which was also reflected on its coinage. On the other hand, the reality that military campaigns were organized from there caused, in some cases, food shortages and sometimes the introduction of special war taxation.⁴⁸²

2.1 Main peculiarities of the Antiochene gold coinage (337-361)

(Plate II-III)

⁴⁷⁵For the details on the political situation, see Hunt 1998, 2-4; Carson 1990, 175; Syvanne 2015, 300; Burgess 2008, 9-10, 24-30, 33-35 and Woods 2011, 192. The recension of the three Constantine's sons to recognise power or claims for power from any other member of the family were obvious already before his the death (337) as his sons in their principal residences (Trier of Constantine II, Rome of Constans and Antioch of Constantius II) did not strike coins in precious metal in the name of Dalmatius who was claimed Caesar already in September 335 and who later became one of the victims of the massacre of Julius Constantius' family members, see Burgess 2008, 21-22; Woods 2011, 188-190; Barnes 2014, 17-18.

⁴⁷⁶ Hunt 1998, 4.

⁴⁷⁷ On the division of the Empire, its' background and historic sources, see Maraval 2013, 23-37, 63.

⁴⁷⁸ After the death of Constantine II in 340, the two brothers, Constans and Constantius II, became joint Augusti; however the joint reign (340-350) was not without conflicts, see Portmann 1999. Later, Constantius had to face the problematic situation in the Western Empire after the assassination of Constans in 350 (usurper Maxentius). Constantius II remained the ruler of the Eastern part of the Empire and elevated in 351 his cousin Constantius Gallus, half-brother of Julian to the rank of Caesar, since that coins in the name of Caesar Constantius were struck too, see Hunt 1998, 17; RIC VIII, 516, 519-524.

⁴⁷⁹ Hunt 1998, 1-3; Syvanne 2015, 300.

⁴⁸⁰ on the preparation of the wars, see Downey 1961, 356-357; Hunt 1998, 11; Syvanne 2015, 304-307, 312-319.

⁴⁸¹ Downey 1961, 356.

⁴⁸² see Julian Or. 1.21D.

Antiochene gold coinage in this period was relatively rich and it provided interesting typological varieties. In general, the Antiochene gold coinage followed patterns common in the mints in the Eastern Mediterranean,⁴⁸³ but various specific features confirm the distinctive position of the city and peculiar problems.

Vota coins

In general, vota coins⁴⁸⁴ became rather common under Constantius II and his period provided various examples of vota coinage which was very rich in the Antiochene mint⁴⁸⁵ (for examples see fig.22-27) and their abundance could most probably be related to the position of Antioch as Constantius II's residence. Some of the vota varieties were produced exclusively in Antioch and had no parallels in other mints.⁴⁸⁶

“FL IVL CONSTANTINVS PERP AVG”

J.P.C. Kent pointed out the existence of transitional issues struck in Antioch in the very early phase after the death of Constantine I with individual vota for the three co-emperors (Constantinus II, Constantius II and Constans).⁴⁸⁷ A rather interesting mistake appeared on these coins as the name Julius (IVL) was included in the legends of all three emperors (fig.30), however, only two of them were really its bearers (Constantius II: Flavius Julius Constantius Augustus; Constans: Flavius Iulius Constans Augustus) and the abbreviation IVL never appeared on Constantine II's coins struck elsewhere as Julius was not his name (Constantine II: Flavius Claudius Constantinus Augustus).⁴⁸⁸ It seems strange that in such an important centre as Antioch a mistake in an emperor's name

⁴⁸³ E.g. the first series of solidi had on their reverse various types of VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM, see RIC VII, 512-513 (no.3-19) and the same trend can be observed e.g. in Nicomedia, see RIC VII, 470 and 472-3.

⁴⁸⁴ vota coins = coins struck at an occasion of a celebration of an anniversary bearing the date of the anniversary (e.g. XXX = tricennalia)

⁴⁸⁵ Some of the vota motifs were incorporated in the representation of Victory holding inscribed shield on gold solidi, see RIC VIII, 502. Vota could appear on gold, silver and rarely on bronze too, see RIC VIII, 512-514 (9-36), 518-521 (81-100, 105-110, 113-116, 118-120), 525-527 (162-180, 183-186). In general, Victories inscribing vota in shield became rather common under Diocletian: Bellinger 1962, 60-61.

⁴⁸⁶ E.g. FELICITAS ROMANORVM with VOTIS/XV/MVLTIS XX, see RIC VIII, 513 (no.30-31). Such a legend could appear under Constantine I's successors exclusively on vota-solidi in Rome, see RIC VIII, 277 (no.296-298) but the iconographic type was completely different. In the case of the same reverse legend on several silver issues, the vota was not mentioned at all and the iconography was completely different, see RIC VIII, 520 (no.102), 477 (no.77-79); 385 (no.11-14), 332 (no.182). Such unusual varieties can be found many more in the case of the Antiochene coins, e.g. RIC VIII, 513 (no.22-29) and others.

⁴⁸⁷ RIC VIII, 502, 512.

⁴⁸⁸ see RIC VIII, 502-503.

could appear and, together with the unusual use of the numeral seventy two, it raises questions on the control and organization in the late Roman Empire.

“LXXII”

Some types of the early Antiochene solidi struck under Constantius II in the early period of his reign (337-347) can be classified as rather unusual. These issues bore on their reverse a numeral “LXXII” referring to the fact that their standard was 72 to one pound (fig.28-29).⁴⁸⁹ This feature actually had no parallels in this period in other mints and it is interesting that just in Antioch the official proclamation of the weight standard was incorporated in the design of the coins. It poses the question of why it was desirable in Antioch to stress the weight standard. The gold coin aureus was not struck anymore and the other gold denomination, nine-siliquae, was struck later than these solidi with the numeral seventy two.⁴⁹⁰ It seems as it was necessary to stress that these gold coins are solidi struck at a different standard than the aurei which used to circulate in Syria before. The problem is that the present state of research does not allow for a precise picture of the gold coins’ circulation in the East, so it is difficult to conclude if older gold aurei circulated in Syria parallelly with the gold solidi, thus it could be important in the 340’s to emphasize their standard.

“Star within wreath”

In some cases, various details in the iconography on the Antiochene coins are interesting as they had no parallels anywhere else. One of the specific iconographic elements is the representation of “a star in wreath” on the gold coins struck sometime between 351 and 354 in the name of Caesar Constantius Gallus.⁴⁹¹ The star within the wreath on Gallus’ coins substituted the representation of vota in a shield held by Victory in the case of gold semisses or held by Roma and Constantinopolis in the case of solidi (fig. 31; compare fig.30 and 31).

The motif of these personifications (Victory; Roma + Constantinople) holding a shield with vota was very common in the Mediterranean and Antioch did not represent

⁴⁸⁹ RIC VIII, 512 (types 3-8); Carson 1990, 178.

⁴⁹⁰ for striking nine-siliquae see RIC VIII, 505, 519.

⁴⁹¹ RIC VIII, 519 (no.91 and 96).

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=660000001&objectId=1189034&partId=1

an exemption. The representation of a star instead of vota in the shield is actually very specific and furthermore, the issues of semisses bore a legend different to the one common on the regular issues.⁴⁹² This means that these gold coins struck in the name of the younger co-ruler did not follow the models of solidi faithfully and its fractions struck in this period.

The same phenomenon actually appeared on the Antiochene coins struck in the name of Julian the Apostate when he held the title of Caesar (355-361). In this case, the “star” was depicted again in the shield held by the figures of Roma and Constantinople on solidi (fig.32).⁴⁹³ Solidi with the reverse type representing these two personifications were struck for both, Constantius II and Julian, but in the case of the senior emperor, regular vota was referred in the shield (VOT/XXX/MVLT/XXXX) and the “star” could appear only on the coins struck in Julian’s name.⁴⁹⁴ In the case of solidi, the reverse type was actually the same with the one on the Gallus’ coins (compare fig.31 and 32). In the case of semisses the reverse iconography was also the same, but the legend was different.⁴⁹⁵ Furthermore, J.P.C. Kent mentioned an existence of a semisses struck in the name of Constantius II which also had depicted a star in the wreath,⁴⁹⁶ however, I have not managed to find any other evidence on such a coin.

Gold coins with regular vota struck in the names of caesars Constantine Gallus and Julian were actually common in both halves of the Empire and furthermore, the mint of Antioch provided examples on vota issues struck in the name of Gallus.⁴⁹⁷ It is important to point out once more that the mint of Antioch provided the only samples of coins where in some cases vota was substituted on the shield by a star and the phenomenon is not simply explicable; however, the common feature is that it was

⁴⁹² Both of the mentioned cases (solidus and semissis) struck in the name of Gallus and bearing the symbol of star in a wreath had as their reverse legend GLORIA REI PVBLICAE. In the case of solidi this was a regular legend, but in the case of the gold semisses this legend was unusual as the other issues of this denomination struck in Antioch in the period of Gallus’ caesarship bore the legend VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM, see RIC VIII, 519 (no.92-95).

⁴⁹³ See RIC VIII, 526 (no.163, 164, 166, 167, 169, 171).

⁴⁹⁴ See RIC VIII, 525-526 (162-171).

⁴⁹⁵ Semisses struck in Julian’ name bore the reverse legend VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM, compare RIC VIII, 519 (no. 94-95) and 526 (no. 176).

⁴⁹⁶ RIC VIII, 526 (no.175).

⁴⁹⁷ Thessalonike which was together with Antioch the only mint in the Eastern Mediterranean to strike gold coins in the name of Julian when he was just Caesar (355-361) referred vota for the young emperor (VOT/V/VOT/X) – such a vota was appeared on Gallus’ solidi couple of years before; see issues RIC VIII, p.420 (no.194 and 197) and p.416 (no.149, 151). The mint of Arles in Gallia provided some examples of gold solidi struck in the name of Caesar Julian and their vota was VO/TIS/V, see RIC VIII, 221 (no.233A, 235, 237, 239). The same vota appeared on Julian silver coins struck in Nicomedia, see RIC VIII, 481 (no.102A). This vota was used earlier on silver coins struck in Antioch in the name of Gallus, RIC VIII, 520 (no.109).

depicted mainly on gold coins struck in the name of the Caesars sometime in the 350's. It is difficult to conclude why in some cases there coins could be struck with references to vota of Gallus and Julian and why in some other cases the numeral had to be substituted by the star.

The rest of the gold coinage, with the exception of multiples, did not depart significantly from issues struck in other mints situated in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁴⁹⁸ In general, the coinage from the period between 350 and 360 did not bring many novelties in the Eastern mints. The main features of Nicomedian, Cyzicene and Antiochene coins are similar and the typology is close to that of Balkan mints.⁴⁹⁹ Also, more varieties of gold nine-siliquae pieces and silver coins existed in this period in Antioch in contrast to Nicomedia, Cyzicus and Constantinople.⁵⁰⁰ The coinage in this period was marked mainly by the new mints' organization in the Western part of the Empire which was in the hands of Constantius II after the defeat of Magnentius in 353.⁵⁰¹

2.2 Gold Multiples

(Plate IV)

Rather striking is the amount and variety of the Antiochene gold multiples whose numbers are incomparable with the production of any other contemporary mint: twenty various types of gold multiples struck in Antioch have been published for the period between 337 and 361⁵⁰² and many times, unpublished types are discovered, meaning that the typology had to be even richer than it had been thought in the past (fig.36-50, recently discovered types fig.46-48). The precise dating of many of these multiples is

⁴⁹⁸ However there existed some minor specific elements helping to establish the precise chronology of the issues struck at Antioch. see the chronology of Constantius Gallus issues in RIC VIII, 504-505.

⁴⁹⁹ Carson 1990, 187-188.

⁵⁰⁰ in Antioch four varieties related to legends appeared on nine-siliquae pieces and there were struck light miliarenses, siliquae and reduced siliquae in silver, see RIC VIII, 527; while in Constantinople only one variety of nine-siliquae was struck and silver was represented only by heavy miliarenses and reduced siliquae, see RIC VIII, 459.

⁵⁰¹ Carson 1990, 182-187.

⁵⁰² see RIC VIII, 39 517-518, 520, 525; Carson 1990, 181.

under discussion, but it seems that most of these Antiochene multiples seem to belong to the period after 347.⁵⁰³

In general, the Antiochene multiples from the period of Constantius II are considered to give the basis for the main typology of late Roman medallions struck.⁵⁰⁴ Moreover, the quality of the engraving is very high and it indicates that the craftsmen working in Antioch had to belong to the most distinguished in their field (see details and style on fig. 41 and 46).

The study of the multiples can sometimes be rather difficult as some of the issues are unique and they were published without any photos. Most of the known multiples are included in the catalogue of the present Thesis, however, it was impossible to find illustrations for some issues.⁵⁰⁵

Phase 337-347

Just two types of multiples have been dated in accordance to RIC VIII in the early phase of the reign of Constantine I's sons (337-347).⁵⁰⁶ Both of the types dated in this period were not struck elsewhere during these years and so far, it was impossible to find them recorded in other sources than RIC VIII. One of these multiples represented Constantius' bust left oriented on the obverse with a standard obverse legend and a figure of a Roma standing on a shield and holding Victory on a globe on the reverse. Such a reverse iconography could be found also on later multiples struck after 347 not only in Antioch (fig.46)⁵⁰⁷, but also in Trier⁵⁰⁸ or Thessaloniki⁵⁰⁹. Interesting is the fact that such a combination of a reverse legend (GLORIA ROMANORVM) and iconography (figure of Roma with a Victory on a globe) could be found only on these gold medallions from these three mints mentioned above in the period of Constantine I's

⁵⁰³ see RIC VIII, 503-504, 511-512. P.Bastien dated some multiple types in different years, see Bastien 1988, 86.

⁵⁰⁴ RIC VIII,39. Some of these multiples bore interesting scenes which were later employed by other emperors, see Bastien 1992, 177. RIC VIII, 517, no.68.

⁵⁰⁵ e.g. RIC VIII, 511-12 (no.1-2).

⁵⁰⁶ RIC VIII, 511-512 (no. 1-2).

⁵⁰⁷ RIC VIII, 517 (no.74).

⁵⁰⁸ RIC VIII, 159 (272-275).

⁵⁰⁹ RIC VIII, 403 (no.19)

successors.⁵¹⁰ The iconographic type was actually common on gold and bronze coins and multiples struck in the period during the life of Constantine I.⁵¹¹

The second type of medallion dated in the first decade after Constantine I's death was struck in the name of Constantine II.⁵¹² The obverse legend belongs to the common ones (CONSTANTINVS AVG). The reverse legend is FELIX ADVENTVS AVG N which indicates that the multiple might be struck during the imperial visit of Antioch in 338.⁵¹³ The emperor was depicted in the standard way on the coins celebrating imperial adventus: the figure of the emperor riding to the left with a cloak flowing out behind him and raising his right hand. An interesting point is that it is the only multiple celebrating the arrival of Constantine II which has been so far documented – all of the other published samples were struck in the name of his brother Constantius II.⁵¹⁴ Again, it was impossible to find an image of this rare issue.

It is worth mentioning that just a few mints struck multiples in the Empire during this decade. Only the mints of Thessaloniki⁵¹⁵, Siscia⁵¹⁶, Aquileia⁵¹⁷ and Trier⁵¹⁸ minted multiples datable between 337 and 347. In the case of some of these mints, silver multiples were struck too (Aquileia⁵¹⁹ and Siscia⁵²⁰), however, the mint of Antioch did not provide any evidence on the existence of silver medallions. It seems that the mints did not follow a common policy concerning the iconography as the repertoire of depicted subjects and legends employed on these multiples could vary mint to mint.

Phase 347-355

The period after 347 seems to be the most fruitful from the aspect of the multiples' production in Antioch; however, the precise dating might raise questions in some cases,⁵²¹ but for practical reasons, this Thesis is following the typology and

⁵¹⁰ see indexes of types and legends in RIC VIII.

⁵¹¹ See RIC VII, 219, 565, 567, 570, 572, 585, 616, 622.

⁵¹² See RIC VIII, 512 (no.2).

⁵¹³ Bastien 1988, 84 (note C).

⁵¹⁴ RIC VIII, 502.

⁵¹⁵ RIC VIII, 401 (no.1).

⁵¹⁶ RIC VIII, 350 (no. 14-18), 356 (no.105-111).

⁵¹⁷ RIC VIII, 314-315 (no.1-3); 317-319 (no.35-37, 42-43).

⁵¹⁸ RIC VIII, 146 (no.119-120).

⁵¹⁹ RIC VIII, 319-320 (no.47-49).

⁵²⁰ RIC VIII, 352 (no.41-46).

⁵²¹ Some of the types dated by J.P.Kent in 347 and later (see RIC VIII, 517-518) were dated by P.Bastein and H.R.Baldus in 346 as this was the year of the shared consulship of , see Bastien 1988, 86 (note C). and Baldus 1984, 83-85.

chronology established by J.P.C. Kent in RIC VIII. Thirteenth types of multiples have been identified to be struck between 347 and 355 in RIC VIII⁵²²; but, as mentioned above, also unpublished types do appear sporadically in auction houses.

Firstly, Antioch is the only mint which struck medallions in the name of the two co-emperors: Constantius II and Constans. Two known types of the Antiochene multiples bear an obverse legend which included the names of both of the emperors and both of them are also represented on the reverse of these coins (fig.36).⁵²³ It is worth mentioning that the abbreviated titles on the reverse legends were doubled (DD NN for dominus noster) in both cases. The reverse of this multiple depicted the two emperors in a six-horse chariot, each raising one hand, flanked by two Victories holding a wreath and a palm branch and with votive objects in the exergue (fig.36). Actually, this representation is unique while considering the coins and multiples struck under Constantine I's successors. Pierre Bastien emphasized that these issues actually confirm the direct linkage between the multiples and the official textual imperial propaganda and interpreted the iconography as a parallel to an oration of Themistius who compared the emperor to the Sun accompanied by two Victories.⁵²⁴ J.P.C. Kent pointed out the triumphal character of this issue and proposed relating it to the celebration of a victory at Singara in 348; however, he stressed that the date is questionable as Constantius II did not visit Antioch between 350 and 360, so the representation of the two imperial brothers like charioteers is difficult to explain.⁵²⁵ The obverse legend was DN CONSTANTIVS MAX AVGVSTVS – such a legend can also be found in other mints and in the case of Antioch, it also appeared on another gold multiple dated in the period after 347 whose iconography was very close to the issue described above, but instead of two emperors, just one was represented on the reverse in the chariot and the accompanying reverse legend was DN CONSTANTIVS VICTOR SEMPER AVG⁵²⁶ – this is again the only time when such a reverse legend version was employed on coins in this period.⁵²⁷

The second type of multiple struck in the name of both emperors represented the imperial brothers standing, facing, nimbated and dressed in consular robes, each

⁵²² RIC VIII, 517-518.

⁵²³ see RIC VIII, 516-517 (nos.67 and 75).

⁵²⁴ Bastien 1992, 571.

⁵²⁵ RIC VIII, 504.

⁵²⁶ RIC VIII, 517 (no.68).

⁵²⁷ The closest versions of the legend are DN CONSTANTIVS VICTOR AVG or DN CONSTANTIVS VICT PF AVG on medallions struck in Rome, see RIC VIII, 525.

holding a sceptre and a globe (fig.43).⁵²⁸ On the obverse, the imperial bust is represented in consular robes, wearing a pearl diadem and holding a globe and an eagle sceptre. The obverse legend is also worth mentioning (CONSTANTIVS AVGVSTVS) as it was uncommon in the East and most probably the legend was adopted from Western coins where such versions existed.⁵²⁹ J.P.C. Kent came to the conclusion that this issue should be dated to the consulship in 346 when Constantius II held the title of consul for the fourth time and Constans for the third time and that the procession for the appointment of a consul (*processus consularis*) was organized in Antioch.⁵³⁰ Furthermore, during the study I managed to find another multiple with the same reverse representation, but a slightly different obverse (fig.47).⁵³¹ The obverse legend was the same, but the representation of the bust is different. Firstly, it was oriented to the left, the diadem was rosette, the emperor held in one of his hands a globe, but the second hand was not holding the eagle sceptre like in the published case mentioned above, instead it was just raised. The most suitable interpretation for these types representing the imperial brothers might be for propagandistic purposes as it was desirable to stress imperial unity as Constans was responsible for the Western part of the Empire and Constantius II for the East.

In the period after 347, a multiple celebrating the imperial adventus with the reverse legend FELIX ADVENTVS AVG N struck in the name of Constantius II (fig.44) was dated.⁵³² The existence of such an issue indicates the arrival of Constantius II to the city which could be related to his campaigns against the Persians and the fact that he often visited the city.⁵³³ It is important to emphasize that multiples with such reverse legends were struck - in accordance to the catalogues- in this period exclusively in Thessaloniki, Rome and Arles;⁵³⁴ and moreover, evidence on the existence of such a coin with the mintmark of Sirmium exists.⁵³⁵

⁵²⁸ RIC VIII, 517 (no.75).

⁵²⁹ RIC VIII, 504.

⁵³⁰ RIC VIII, 504.

⁵³¹ Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 31, lot 157;

<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=115764|132|157|2629f4de6f274d67a072b009da9b486d>

⁵³² RIC VIII, 517-518 (no.76).

⁵³³ RIC VIII, 23; Downey 1961, 355-361.

⁵³⁴ RIC VIII, 220, 276, 416.

⁵³⁵ A medallion with such a legend appeared at an auction, see Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XV, lot 1563

<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=453450|823|1563|0788d6b241d5c9ad87841630a8be49f7>

Various types of multiples struck after 347 had the same reverse legend, *Gloria Romanorum*. One of them had a reverse type depicting the enthroned Constantinople resting with her foot on a prow and holding a globe on which Victory was standing. These coins were struck in the names of Constantius II, Constans and Constantius Gallus (fig.38-41).⁵³⁶ The other iconographic reverse type with the same reverse legend depicts Roma and Constantinopolis enthroned, each holding a scepter and a globe, on which Victory stands holding a wreath and a palm-branch (fig.42).⁵³⁷ This type was struck in the names of Constantius II and Constantius Gallus. Another reverse type with the legend *Gloria Romanorum*, and struck in the name of Constans, depicts a standing and helmeted Roma holding Victory on the globe.⁵³⁸ These combinations of types and legends are attested also from other mints (e.g. Nicomedia, Constantinople, Thessaloniki and others).⁵³⁹

The reverse legend *Gloria Romanorum* was also used on multiples depicting an emperor standing facing in quadriga and scattering coins with his right hand and holding an eagle-scepter in his left hand (fig.45).⁵⁴⁰ This type was struck in the name of Constantius II and a variety exists which had also depicted a Chi-Rho monogram in the right field. In 2002, an Antiochene issue with the same reverse iconography appeared in an auction house, but this multiple bore an important distinctive feature – the reverse legend was completely absent (fig.48) and so far, this has been the only known case of an Antiochene multiple without any legend on the reverse. Furthermore, the combination of the legend *Gloria Romanorum* and a representation of an emperor in quadriga has been documented only I Antioch and Thessaloniki.⁵⁴¹ These are also the only instances when a figure of an emperor scattering money from a quadriga appeared in the period of Constantine I's successors on multiples. Under Constantine the Great, the scene was employed exclusively on gold multiples struck in Constantinople and Nicomedia.⁵⁴² The scene re-appeared on gold aurei struck in Treveri under the following dynasty of the Valentinians.⁵⁴³ Coin representations of emperors in quadriga were quite popular in the

⁵³⁶ see RIC VIII, 517 (no.69-71A).

⁵³⁷ see RIC VIII, 517 (no.72-73).

⁵³⁸ see RIC VIII, 517 (no.74).

⁵³⁹ RIC VIII, 403, 415, 480 and others.

⁵⁴⁰ RIC VIII, 518 (no.77-78).

⁵⁴¹ RIC VIII, 416 (no.145, gold multiple).

⁵⁴² RIC VII, 585 and 629.

⁵⁴³ see RIC IX, 30 (no.89 – in the name of Valentinian) and 33 (no.100 – in the name of Eugenius). Another example can be seen on a Constantinopolitan bronze issue struck in the name of Valentinian; however this issue is unpublished and so far I have managed to find just one sample from an auction house (Roma Numismatics Ltd, Auction XIII, lot 952):

previous centuries and they are considered to be part of imperial propaganda which had as a target to present the emperors as triumphant military and divine leaders.⁵⁴⁴

It is questionable whether some of the mentioned types should be dated to the following period.⁵⁴⁵ Only two different reverse types of gold multiples (both with the reverse legend GLORIA ROMANORVM) have been attributed to the period between 355 and 361; they were both struck in the name of Constantius II and correspond to the iconography of some types struck in the previous decade (fig.49-50).⁵⁴⁶

Tyche again?

One of the gold solidi struck in Antioch provided interesting evidence on the possible come-back of the figure of Tyche into the reverse repertoire. An interesting figure appeared on a multiple struck in the name of Constantius II and dated sometimes between 347 and 355 (fig.33). The reverse of the issue depicts an emperor riding towards a figure with a flying drapery holding an object in her left hand.⁵⁴⁷ It is plausible to identify the figure as Tyche as the mural crown on her head is visible— an iconographic element typical for the representations of Tyche;⁵⁴⁸ however, such an iconographic element could appear also on the representations of other personifications. It means that the personification was closely linked to the city of Antioch and it appeared after more than four decades when the personification appeared for the last time on civic coins.⁵⁴⁹ Also, the scene including the riding emperor was completely different to those which could appear on the last civic issues which usually represented a seated Tyche (fig.34). The type resembles the gold multiples struck by Magnentius in Aquileia (fig.35) where the figure was depicted holding a cornucopia,⁵⁵⁰ while in Antioch she held a torch.⁵⁵¹ These issues had to be struck either parallelly or in a short time span as the Western usurper was defeated by Constantius II in 353. It is very interesting that both of the

<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=971395|1884|952|f2de8713adb196701d598b523c0f4230>

⁵⁴⁴ Manders 2012, 81-82.

⁵⁴⁵ RIC VIII, 517 (not of J.P.C.Kent that “Some perhaps struck in the following period”).

⁵⁴⁶ RIC VIII, 525, no.157-160 and 161.

⁵⁴⁷ RIC VIII, 518, no.80. The object could be a most probably a torch.

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=659895001&objectId=1189135&partId=1

⁵⁴⁸ On the mural crown as an iconographic attribute on the Tyche's representations, see e.g. Broucke 1994, 36, 39.

⁵⁴⁹ On the last Antiochene civic coins from ca 313, see Van Heesch 1993.

⁵⁵⁰ J.P.S.Kent identified in his catalogue the figure like Res publica, see RIC VIII, 325-26 (no.12) and sometimes the figure is referred to as Aquileia (see Jeločnik 1967, 214).

⁵⁵¹ see RIC VIII, 505.

mints employed almost the same special iconographic type in the same period. These facts pose questions concerning the criteria in which the reverse types were being chosen by the responsible officials in the mints.

It seems that Tyche evidently played an important role in the propaganda under the Constantinian dynasty in general,⁵⁵² so it might be desirable to re-introduce her figure on coins; however, this one specific solidus is the only example of Tyche on Antiochene coins under Constantine I's successors.

Multiples as a part of imperial propaganda

The striking quantity of gold multiples' types which appeared in Antioch indicates a specific position of the city in this period. No specific interpretations exist of the reasons which lead to such a massive striking of medallions in Antioch; however, their existence could be related to the important role of the city within the imperial policy and the need for propaganda in this period as Constantius II resided in Antioch in specific phases of his reign and the city represented the important centre for organization of military campaigns, so it can be expected that various major military officers had to be present there permanently. The presence of a big amount of soldiers and important military representatives would justify the need for the promotion of imperial power among them. The complicated dating and the existence of contradictory opinions on the chronology of some of these multiple pieces make it difficult to express without ambiguity which specific years of Constantius II's reign were the most fruitful regarding the production. Furthermore, it is rather problematic to put the specific multiple issues in a precise historic context; however, most of the types have been traditionally dated in the period 347-355. This was the period when Constantius II was preoccupied with the conflict with the Persians (e.g. second battle at Singara in 348) and the conflict with the usurper Magnentius in the West († 353). Nevertheless, no specific information on his activities in Antioch in these years are known.⁵⁵³

The issues struck in the names of both emperors (Constantius II and Constans) could be linked to their shared consulship in 346. Constans died in 350, so the multiples struck in his name in Antioch should be dated prior to this year. Furthermore, Gallus

⁵⁵² Lenski 2015. Constantine was striking in Capital figures of personifications of Roma and Constantinopolis in a way to be understood as Tychai of these cities and the same was repeated on solidi struck under Constantius II, see Broucke 1994, 46.

⁵⁵³ see Downey 1961, 361-362.

(351-354†) moved to Antioch right after his coronation of Caesar and his presence in the city was considered rather negative as his behaviour was very opportunistic and a new series of trials were launched against the local elites, and, furthermore, Antioch was hit by another famine in this period.⁵⁵⁴ The city was again finding itself in a position where it was on the verge of revolt,⁵⁵⁵ so the need for the promotion of the imperial authority could be related also to this context.

It is important to point out that multiples were struck in Antioch also under Constantine I, but they usually followed models common also elsewhere and their typology was rather limited.⁵⁵⁶ Moreover, other mints struck multiples in the names of Constantine I's successors too, but their production never reached the intensity of the Antiochene mint where the typological variety was much richer than anywhere else.⁵⁵⁷ Some of the types which were produced in Antioch did not appear anywhere else or they were limited just to a small number of mints. Some mints, however, did not strike multiples in this specific period at all.⁵⁵⁸ On the other hand, the mint of Rome was producing on a large scale bronze medallions – almost two hundred types of bronze multiples have been documented there for the period between 337 and 361.⁵⁵⁹ On the contrary, the mint of Antioch struck exclusively gold multiples.

2.3 Silver issues and some particular features

(Plate V)

Silver coins were not very common in the first decade after Constantine I's death (337-347).⁵⁶⁰ An interesting point is that some Eastern silver issues bear similar features which were not very usual: e.g. some silver coins struck in Nicomedia, Cyzicus and Antioch (fig.51) from the late 330's bore no obverse legends.⁵⁶¹ Furthermore, these coins

⁵⁵⁴ Downey 1961, 362-365.

⁵⁵⁵ Downey 1961, 367.

⁵⁵⁶ E.g. RIC VII,

⁵⁵⁷ E.g. comparing with the production of Thessalonike – the Macedonian mint provided many types of multiples which have no parallels in Syria, e.g. RIC VIII, 406 (44-45) or RIC VIII, 408 (60).

⁵⁵⁸ Constantinople was striking gold multiples under Jovian (363/364) and no multiples from the period of Constantine's sons have been published in RIC. Other mints were often striking gold and silver multiples with completely different legends to those common at Antioch (see Aquileia, RIC VIII, 317-318 (35-37), 319-320 (47-49) etc.

⁵⁵⁹ RIC VIII, 282-305.

⁵⁶⁰ RIC VIII, 503, 514

⁵⁶¹ see Carson 1990, 178; RIC VIII, 514 (types 32-36). The fact that the coins had no obverse legend made the coins to look similar with some silver issues struck in Alexandria in this early period.

bore the type of upward looking bust which was not very common in this period anymore.

Vota coins were struck in silver too under Constantine I's successors throughout the whole period (337-363) and some of them have no parallels in other contemporary mints (fig.52).⁵⁶²

Striking in silver became evidently more common in Antioch after 347 when more types and varieties are attested. Some of the issues struck in the period after 347 provoke interest as some types were struck in a limited number of mints: e.g. light miliarenses with the reverse legend FELICITAS ROMANORVM and depicting on their reverse two emperors standing, facing, dressed in military dress beneath an arch and dated sometime after 350 (fig.53).⁵⁶³ The iconography of standing emperors under an arch was employed in the period of Constantine's sons exclusively on this type of silver coin and struck in Antioch, Nicomedia, Sirmium and Aquileia⁵⁶⁴ and it is possible to find parallels on silver and gold issues struck several decades earlier bearing the same reverse legend (fig.54).⁵⁶⁵

Facing figures standing beneath an arch were depicted also on other silver Antiochene issues struck between 347 and 363: e.g. light miliarenses with the representation of a standing emperor in military dress approaching Victory holding a wreath and a palm-branch (fig.55).⁵⁶⁶ What is more interesting is the fact that silver coins with such a reverse type were struck also in Sirmium (fig.56) in the period when Julian was ruling as a sole emperor (361-363).⁵⁶⁷ So in that case, it is possible to say that actually the Antiochene mint anticipated a type which was later adopted in the West. In addition, an interesting fact is that such a legend (VICTORIA ROMANORVM) was not very common in this period.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶² See e.g. RIC VIII, 514 (no.35) with VOTIS/XV/MVLTIS/XX which was not struck anywhere else. Some vota were struck exclusively in the East (e.g. VOTIS/XXV/MVLTIS/XXX), see RIC VIII, 452 (no.60-61) for Constantinople; 474 (no.40-44) for Nicomedia; 493 (no.43-44) for Cyzicus and 520 (no.106-107). Some others (e.g. VOTIS/XXX/MVLTIS/XXXX) were struck practically everywhere).

⁵⁶³ RIC VIII, 520 (no.102).

⁵⁶⁴ RIC VIII, 477 (no.77-79), 385 (no.11-14), 332 (no. 182).

⁵⁶⁵ Nicomedia RIC VII, 623 (no.142) and 628 (no.169); Heraclea RIC VII, 556 (no.105); Sirmium RIC VII, 469 (no.15).

⁵⁶⁶ see RIC VIII, 520 (no. 103-104), 527 (no. 181-182), 531 (no.210). In the past some of these coins were classified as silver multiples (Gnecchi 1912, vol. I, 69 (no.59) and others) – however; nowadays this classification is not accepted anymore.

⁵⁶⁷ RIC VIII, 392 (no.104).

⁵⁶⁸ It appeared just on some rare base billon medallions in Rome struck between 352 and 355, see RIC VIII, 294 (no.430-433), but the iconography was completely different. The same legend was also used at Antioch for the gold denomination nine-siliquae, but with a different iconographic type, RIC VIII, 530

The motif of two standing figures beneath an arch was employed also later on some silver coins struck in Constantinople and Antioch under the Valentinians.⁵⁶⁹

An interesting fact indicated by these coins is that in the case of silver, just selected mints in both parts of the Empire struck the same or similar reverse types in the same period and that parallels in the mints situated in the Eastern part of the Empire can often be found; while in some other cases, connections between the Antiochene issues and those struck in the West - mainly in Sirmium- are obvious. It seems that in the case of silver coinage, a different monetary policy was employed and tracing parallels or common features is sometimes rather complex.

2.4 Bronze issues and their specific elements

(Plate V)

Some of the bronze types common during the life of Constantine disappeared or were gradually abandoned. On the other hand, some of the older iconographic types continued to be used (e.g. GLORIA EXERCITVS) and various new types appeared, but most of them were widely spread and struck in various mints throughout the Mediterranean: e.g. the commemorative representation of the deceased Constantine I (fig.57).⁵⁷⁰ Some differences between the Western and Eastern bronze coinage can be distinguished in this period⁵⁷¹ and Antioch usually followed the trends common for all of the mints in the Eastern part of the Empire.⁵⁷² It is considered that the production of bronze coins was evidently undertaken there on a large scale.⁵⁷³

The system of officinae continued to be rather complicated which confirms the complex system of the bronze coins production.⁵⁷⁴ Vota exclamations were common

(no.207-208). Jovian adopted this legend for his bronze coins struck between 363 and 364 in the East, but the iconography of these coins was completely different: emperor in military dress standing facing, holding a standard and a globe with victory on, see RIC VIII, 533 (no.228-229) for Antioch; RIC VIII, 465 (no.175-177) for Constantinople; RIC VIII, 438-439 (no.107) for Heraclea; RIC VIII, 424-425 (no.234-238) for Thessaloniki.

⁵⁶⁹ RIC IX, 211 (no.9), 273 (no.5), 279 (no.30-31).

⁵⁷⁰ see RIC VIII, 506, 522-524.

⁵⁷¹ e.g. Constantius II was striking in his mints in the Eastern part of the Empire the commemorative types of deified Constantine I till 347/8 when the new types FEL TEMP REPARATIO were introduced; however in the Western mints the commemorative issues ceased to be struck by 340; see RIC VIII, 39.

⁵⁷² e.g. use of the same legends, see for example Maraval 2013, 63.

⁵⁷³ In some phases of Constantius II's reign there were up to fifteen active officinae, see RIC VIII, 503.

⁵⁷⁴ RIC VIII, 505-506.

also on bronzes and Antioch provided rich material for their study – furthermore, some of the vota employed in Syria were unusual (fig.58).⁵⁷⁵

A bronze multiple

There are several interesting Antiochene bronze issues as, for example, the base billon multiple with the reverse legend FELICITAS R P (fig.59).⁵⁷⁶ This legend is unusual for this period and there is no other published type with such a version.⁵⁷⁷ The obverse depicts two busts with a pearl diadem and a legend including the names of the two brother emperors Constantius II and Constans (CONSTANTIVS ET CONSTANS AVGG). Both of the emperors are depicted on the reverse facing and holding a trophy between them and having their outer hands positioned on shields. This coin is interesting as the multiples struck in other metal than gold or silver are not usual in Antioch⁵⁷⁸ and the names of both emperors were not very often stated together and the only other examples are attested exclusively on the gold multiples.

The coin has been interpreted as an expression of the brothers' unity and successful policy and dated in 347.⁵⁷⁹ Some other scholars preferred the dating in 346 when both brothers held consulships.⁵⁸⁰ Imperial unity was also stressed by gold medaillons, which bear a reverse legend including both emperors' names depicting the emperors standing and facing (no.36 and 43).⁵⁸¹

The fact that Antioch was striking also in billon/bronze multiples, however extremely rare, is rather striking and raises questions on the reasons which led to the use of such metals and who should actually be the recipient of the information on the stability and successful policy of the two brothers. Antioch was in reality the only mint

⁵⁷⁵ Kent 1967, 84.

⁵⁷⁶ RIC VIII, 520 – no.111. Similar legends are usually fully stated – e.g. FELICITAS REI PVBLICE on bronze issues struck in Trier (RIC VIII, 157, 158 –nos.260-263) or in Lyons (RIC VIII, 185 –nos.1009-114). This full legend could also appear on gold and silver issues in Heraclea, Constantinople and Cyzicus (see RIC VIII, 432 – no.40, 447 – no.11 and 12; 451 – nos. 56, 58 and 59, 490 – no.3 and 3a,

⁵⁷⁷ Similar legends are usually fully stated – e.g. FELICITAS REI PVBLICE on bronze issues struck in Trier (RIC VIII, 157, 158 –nos.260-263) or in Lyons (RIC VIII, 185 –nos.1009-114). This full legend could also appear on gold and silver issues in Heraclea, Constantinople and Cyzicus (see RIC VIII, 432 – no.40, 447 – no.11 and 12; 451 – nos. 56, 58 and 59, 490 – no.3 and 3a. Some scholars consider the legend to be related to the coins FEL TEMP REPARATIO, see Portmann 1999, 312.

⁵⁷⁸ in the case of Antioch there is just another multiple struck in billon/bronze, see RIC VIII, 531 – no.215 dated in the period of Julian the Apostate

⁵⁷⁹ RIC VIII, 506; Bastien 1992, 651.

⁵⁸⁰ H.R. Baldus was actually stressing also the reality that this was the tenth anniversary of the beginning of their power in 346, when Constantius I held his fourth consulship and Constans his third consulship, Baldus 1984, 78-83.

⁵⁸¹ see RIC VIII, 517 (nos.67 and 75).

which emphasized in such an explicit way the joint reign of the two brothers which was also reflected in the iconography of the gold multiples.

The reform of 348

(Plate V)

The year 348 is considered to be a turning point in the Constantinian's bronze coinage⁵⁸² as the stereotyped group with the reverse legend FEL TEMP REPARATIO started to dominate the production in most of the imperial mints.⁵⁸³ The reverse representations were predominantly of military characters: e.g. a soldier spearing a falling horseman, an emperor in military dress holding a labarum with a Chi-Rho monogram; and a soldier dragging a small figure from a hut (fig.60-65).⁵⁸⁴ The only non-military representation was the bird Phoenix on a globe (fig.62).⁵⁸⁵ This representation has been understood to be in accordance with the idea of perpetual renewal and continuity of the Empire on the one hand, and the beginning of a new and better age on the other hand - like that the coins could be interpreted within the framework of the general political situation when the Empire was facing various dangers at its frontiers.⁵⁸⁶ Again, all these iconographic types were also common on coins struck in other mints;⁵⁸⁷ however, Antioch provided rather rich varieties and it seems that the production of these coins was very intensive there.⁵⁸⁸ Based on the types described in the available catalogues, it seems that the repertoire in the West was not as rich as in the Eastern Mediterranean (e.g. compare the types struck in Antioch with those in Arles or Trier);⁵⁸⁹ however, the new types were firstly introduced in the West and the Eastern mints started to strike the new bronze coins slightly later.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸² Mattingly 1946, 115.

⁵⁸³ The striking of new types was related to the attempts to reform the problematic bronze coinage (Mattingly 1933, 197-198). The introduction has been usually interpreted in the past as related to the celebration of the 1100th anniversary of foundation of Rome (Mattingly 1933, 183-187; Kent 1967, 83-88; Carson 1990, 178-179).

⁵⁸⁴ see Weiser 1987, Thoma 1967, 77.

⁵⁸⁵ for this motif see Hollard – López Sánchez 2014, 183-185.

⁵⁸⁶ Mattingly 1933, 189-194; Kent 1967, 85. On the interpretations of the iconography see Mattingly 1933, 189-194 and Kraft 1958 (Die Taten der Kaiser Constans und Constantius III, JNG 1958, 141).

⁵⁸⁷ for the Antioch see RIC VIII, 521 and onwards.

⁵⁸⁸ e.g. the mints of Cyzicus, Heraclea or Thessalonike did not provide as many types as Antioch.

⁵⁸⁹ Antioch was employing on its coins six different iconographic scenes; while Trier just three, see RIC VIII 153-154 and Arles four, see RIC VIII, 210-211.

⁵⁹⁰ Mattingly 1993; Kent 1967.

3. Julian the Apostate

(Plate VI)

Coins struck in the name of emperor Julian in the period when he held the title of Caesar (fig.66) did not differ importantly from the coins of Constantius II and the same is true about his early emissions struck when he became co-Augustus sometime around 360.⁵⁹¹

Despite the existence of waste secondary literature on Julian's career and religious and philosophical beliefs, his policy regarding the choice of the iconographic motifs on his coins remains often obscure and has become subject of various numismatic studies. The novelties introduced into the numismatic iconography after the death of senior co-Augustus Constantius II in 361⁵⁹² - e.g. bearded bust and bull (fig.67)- illustrate Julian's worldview; however, the precise interpretation is not unambiguous. The iconography itself is puzzling from the point of view of its prototypes, precise symbolism and interpretation within the wider religious and philosophical contexts.⁵⁹³ The new iconography appeared on coins struck in various mints, so it does not represent any exemption from the aspect of the Antiochene coinage.⁵⁹⁴ Whatever interpretation is accepted, nevertheless the introduction of the new iconography aroused objections among Antiochenes,⁵⁹⁵ which clearly illustrates the fact that Antioch was predominantly a Christian city.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹¹ see RIC VIII, 507, 526-527 (no.163-4, 166-167, 169, 171, 176 etc.); RIC IX, 45; Kent 1959, 109; López Sánchez 2012, 162. In general, the topic of Julian coinage has been topic of various studies, see Gilliard 1964; Babelon 1903; Comte de Castellane 1924.

⁵⁹² Gilliard 1964, 135-136.

⁵⁹³ Actually, there is a waste bibliography related to possible interpretations of the animals (bull and eagle) which were newly represented on coins in the period of Julian. Ammianus Marcellinus noted that the bull on Julian's coin should be understood as Apis, see Amm.Marc. 22.314.6. This interpretation was later accepted by various scholars. Some scholars preferred to interpret the bull as a representation of the imperial power, see Kent 1954, 216-217; however some others did not accept this opinion, see Vanderspoel 1998, 115 or Marco Simón 2012, 228-232. Harl has expressed opinions on the reality that the figure of the bull which traditionally has been related to Zeus as an expression of "divinely inspired kinship, see Harl 1987, 34.. D.Woods has related the symbol to the Solar cult as the Sol could be represented by a bull, see Woods 2000, 164-168 as the emperor Julian had a close relation to Sol, see Αθανασιάδη 2001, 248, 252-255 or Negri 1954, 188-202. Some others believed that the image of bull has a complex meaning and combine diverse messages, see Harl 1987, 96; Vanderspoel 1998; Marco Simón 2012, 229-232. Some other scholars preferred to interpret the bull as a zodiacal representation of the emperor, see Gilliard 1964, 141. On the debate, see Vanderspoel 1998, 115-117; Woods 2000, 159-161, Tougher 2004, 328-330, López Sánchez 2012, 172-179, Marco Simón 2012, 225-228 and Fleck 2008, 38-41. Moreover the representation of two stars above the bull provoked a discussion on its' symbolism, see Marco Simón 2012, 228. Worthy mention is Julian's relation to neoplatonism and his preference of Sol, Hermes and Zeus from which he evidently derived the origin of the dynasty, see Negri 1954, 156-320; Αθανασιάδη 2001, 233-272, Woods 2000, 168 and many others, e.g. DeVita, Giuliano imperatore filosofo neoplatonico, Milano 2011.

⁵⁹⁴ see coins with bulls: RIC VIII, 531-2 (types 216-218).

⁵⁹⁵ Socrates, Historia Ecclesiastica III 17 (PG 67, 423-426). Socrates mentioned that Julian had the bull depicted on his coins as he made many pagan sacrifices of bulls. Julian mentions the negative reactions in

Rather specific are the Antiochene solidi with a consular representation of Julian on the reverse (fig. 68-70).⁵⁹⁷ Two basic reverse types have been identified: one type of these solidi depicts the emperor standing in the consular robe, while the other one represents the emperor enthroned. These coins have no parallels in any contemporary mint. The solidi are usually considered to be struck towards the end of Julian's reign and to celebrate his fourth consulship (362/3) which was actually his first to be celebrated after being proclaimed August.⁵⁹⁸

A specific interest is related to the legends' lettering. Obverse legends have been documented: FL CL IVLIANVS PF AVG (fig. 68 and 69).⁵⁹⁹ This obverse legend could appear on both types of these consular solidi. In the case of the Antiochene solidus with the representation of a standing emperor, the variety DN FL CL IVLIANVS P F AVG is also attested (fig. 70).⁶⁰⁰ The version with the abbreviation DN (Dominus Noster) can be seen also on the billon bronze issues struck at various places in the Empire; however, it was not common on gold coins.⁶⁰¹ This means that the Antiochene mint for some reason did not always faithfully follow the way in which the legends were stated in other big mints and it also employed on gold coins legends' version common on bronze coins.

Another peculiar feature is related to the obverse representation of the emperor. In RIC VIII, all cases are described as busts in consular robes which is definitely true (see fig. 68 and 70),⁶⁰² but in the case of the issue on fig. 69, the emperor's clothes are not consular, but he is wearing a cuirass which is easily recognisable. Furthermore, in all the cases of imperial representation, the emperor is holding consular insignia: mappa –and an eagle sceptre. So, the coin on fig. 69 represents an interesting example of combining features of military and consular representations.

The reverse legend in both cases was the same: VIRTVS EXERCITVS ROMANORVM. This legend is actually common for all the gold issues struck in Antioch under Julian and it evokes a rather direct connection with the army and might be

Misopogon 355d; On the dissatisfaction of the Antiochenes, see López Sánchez 2012, 175-176; Gleason 1986, 113-114; Harl 1987, 34.

⁵⁹⁶ Sandwell 2004, 43-58; Trombley 2004b, 72-73.

⁵⁹⁷ RIC VIII, 530 (types 204-206).

⁵⁹⁸ It is supposed that the coins were struck sometimes between the end of 362 and first half of 363. For more details see Guidetti 2015, 28-29; Fleck 2008, 42-43; RIC VIII, 509. Date of the consulship – 1st Jan 363, see Hunt 1998b, 72.

⁵⁹⁹ This legend version was common also on gold coins struck elsewhere, see RIC IX, 46.

⁶⁰⁰ With the break either IVLI-ANVS or IVLIA-NVS, see RIC VIII, 529.

⁶⁰¹ See e.g. Heraclea in RIC VIII, 438, Constantinople RIC VIII, 462 and others.

⁶⁰² see RIC VIII, 530 – portrait type Y3L.

related with the presence of Julian and his army in the Syrian city.⁶⁰³ Opinions have been expressed on the triumphal character of these consular coins and its² possible connection to the expression of the army's loyalty.⁶⁰⁴

There was also one more case of gold Antiochene issues which bore specific legends. The plain legend IVLIANVS AVG (or CAES in the case of earlier coins) could appear on the Antiochene gold nine-silique pieces and earlier on semisses.⁶⁰⁵ These are the only cases (fig.71) when Julian's name without any preceding abbreviations of titles (like DN for dominus noster) could appear.⁶⁰⁶ So this is another example of striking different obverse legend's version in Antioch.

Interesting is also the silver coins production in Antioch. Light miliarenses and several varieties of reduced siliquae (fig.72) were struck there during the period when Julian held title of August.⁶⁰⁷ This period did not provide many samples of silver coinage struck in the Eastern Mediterranean and silver coins were produced except of Antioch just in Constantinople and Thessalonike.⁶⁰⁸

In general, there are no documented multiples struck in precious metal for Julian. The only published Antiochene multiple from 361-363 was struck in bronze and represented the figure of a standing emperor holding a spear and Victory on a globe.⁶⁰⁹ The legend on this issue is VIRTVS ROMANORVM and it reminds the legend common on all the gold issues struck in Antioch by Julian (VIRTVS EXERCITVS ROMANORVM). Furthermore, striking multiples in bronze was not very common in this period and the only other places, where the bronze multiples were struck in the name of Julian, were Rome and Lyons.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰³ for the presence of Julian there, see: Amm.Marc.22.9.14; Downey 1961, 381. The opinion that such a legend was addressed to the army was expressed already by Comptes de Castellane 1924, 31.

⁶⁰⁴ Arce 1984, 194 and 227. On the relation of the representation of triumphant emperor and the enthronement, see except of Arce also Grabar 1936, 26.

⁶⁰⁵ See RIC VIII, 526 (no.176); 529 (nos.207-208).

⁶⁰⁶ In the period of Julian's sole reign (361-363), the gold denomination nine-silique was not very common anymore and except of Antioch, coins of such a value were struck just in Thessalonike where a regular legend was employed, RIC VIII, 423 (no.220).

⁶⁰⁷ RIC VIII, 531.

⁶⁰⁸ Sirmium, Arles, Trier and Lyons belonged to few mints producing a variety of miliarensia and reduced siliquae bearing the abbreviation of Julian's title augustus: RIC VIII, 392 (no.101-103); 228 (306-312), 195 (no.227-235), 168-9 (363-366). Some mints were striking just reduced siliquae (e.g. Constantinople, RIC VIII, 462) and in some cases there is no evidence on silver coinage (e.g. Cyzicus)

⁶⁰⁹ RIC VIII, 531 (no.215).

⁶¹⁰ RIC VIII, 302-303.

The difficult economic situation led Julian to the general reform of copper coinage.⁶¹¹ Two new issues started to be struck and they became the main billon/bronze types struck under Julian as August: one in module AE1 (8,25 gr.)- “bull” type (fig.67) and another in module AE3 (2,95 gr.)- with vota VOT/X/MVLT/XX. The Antiochene mint followed these changes and its² bronze production was limited to these two types between 361-3.⁶¹²

In addition, it is obvious that the number of officinae was much lower (four) in Antioch than in the previous decades.⁶¹³ This reduction is striking when realizing that in the second half of the fifties under Constantius II, more than ten officinae were active in Antioch. Such a reduction is obvious also elsewhere (e.g. Nicomedia, Constantinople and others) and it seems that it had to be related to the general trends in the Julian monetary policy.

4. Jovian

(Plate VI)

After the death of Julian († 363), Jovian continued to strike coins in the mint of Antioch on a relatively large scale while considering that his reign lasted for less than one year.⁶¹⁴ Antioch maintained playing an important role as a centre of organization of a policy towards the Sassanids.⁶¹⁵ Despite the short reign, evidence exists on varieties of coins struck in gold, silver and bronze. The variety of types struck in Antioch was generally larger than in other Eastern mints as Nicomedia or Cyzicus.

The gold solidi which were struck in Antioch under Jovian (reverse legend SECVRITAS REI PVBLICAE with the representation of Roma and Constantinopolis enthroned supporting between them a wreath or a shield with VOT/V/MVL/X inscribed)⁶¹⁶ were also struck in various mints throughout the Roman Empire

⁶¹¹ Downey 1961, 390; Elmer 1937, 25-42 (specifically on Antioch, see p. 30); RIC IX, 46-47; Elmer 1937; Mattingly 1946, 116-117.

⁶¹² RIC IX, 192, 531-532. However other mints were usually striking except of these types also one more which was depicting a standing figure of emperor: this type actually continued a type struck already in the period before Julian's elevation into the rank of Caesar.

⁶¹³ There are just four attested officinae for the bronze coins struck under Julian, see RIC VIII, 509; Hendy 1985, 471; Browning 1975, 156.

⁶¹⁴ see RIC VIII, 509.

⁶¹⁵ Jovian also visited the city in late 363, see Lenski 2002, 17-18.

⁶¹⁶ RIC VIII, 532 (no.222-224).

(Constantinople, Nicomedia, Aquileia, Rome, Arles and Lyons)⁶¹⁷, but only for Antioch do several varieties exist of the obverse Jovian's legends (fig.73-75).

The Antiochene mint also struck a variety of silver denominations: heavy *miliarenses*, light *miliarenses* and reduced *siliquae* (fig.76 and 77).⁶¹⁸ Some of these silver denominations were unusual in other Eastern mints which usually limited their production to the reduced *siliquae* (Nicomedia, Constantinople) and in some cases, there is no silver coinage documented at all (Cyzicus, Heraclea, Thessalonike); however, the richness of types does not say anything about the real frequency of the silver types at excavations and in collections as the Antiochene silver coins struck in the name of Jovian are actually not very common. Some of the silver denominations bore a standard reverse iconography common also in other mints; however, evidence of a peculiar reverse type also exists. Again, the motif of a figure standing beneath an arch with fluted decoration appeared on some silver issues (fig.76).⁶¹⁹ In the previous cases, the figures were usually two (see fig.54-56). In the case of the Jovian coins, just one figure is standing under the arch and such a type of iconography is unique and a representation of one person and has no parallels in this period. This iconographic detail (arch with spiral columns) continued to be a popular motif in Antioch.

Regarding the bronze coins, Jovian struck in Antioch at the two modules introduced under Julian (the heavy one of 8,25 gr. and the light one of 2,95 gr.) which corresponded to the weights of issues struck under Julian in Antioch;⁶²⁰ however, he did not continue striking coins with the representation of the bull (fig.78). Not all mints continued to strike such heavy bronze issues: only Constantinople, Heraclea and Thessalonike were minting in this module.⁶²¹ It seems that no Western mint was striking these heavy bronze issues under Jovian and some Western mints did not provide any samples of Jovian coinage at all (e.g. Trier). On the other hand, some mints followed a similar policy like Antioch (e.g. Cyzicus)⁶²².

In general, it is obvious that for some specific reasons, the number of officinae in which the bronze issues were struck remained limited as under Julian.

⁶¹⁷ E.g. RIC VIII 464 (no.169-170 for Constantinople); 484-5 (no.126); 338 (no. 247 for Aquileia); 281 (no.331 for Rome); 230 (no.327 for Arles); 196 (no.240).

⁶¹⁸ RIC VIII, 533 (no.225-7).

⁶¹⁹ The reverse type of light *miliarenses* bear legend GLORIA ROMANORVM, RIC VIII, 533 (no.226).

⁶²⁰ RIC VIII, 533-4 (no.228-3).

⁶²¹ RIC VIII, 465 (no.175-7), 438-9 (no.107), 424-5 (no.234-8).

⁶²² RIC VIII, 501.

5. Portraits

(Plates I-VII)

In general, the emperors' representations on the obverses of Antiochene coins did not differ importantly from the iconography of coins struck in other mints in the period of Constantine I and his successors.⁶²³ Most of the imperial busts represented on the Antiochene issues did not represent any specific features and they were common also elsewhere; however, minor exceptions might exist.⁶²⁴ Already during this period, a three-quarter bust appeared on Antiochene coins (fig. 26), however, they did not represent a common iconography there and they can be found sporadically also elsewhere.⁶²⁵

Some specific stylistic features which are characteristic of the Antiochene coins can be traced. For example, the rather pronounced lower jaw which often creates wide and bordered cheeks on Constantine's busts (fig.13, 14, 19). Wide cheeks can be seen also on coins struck in other mints, but it seems as in Antioch this feature was common for most of the coins produced there and in general, the Antiochene busts of Constantine evoke a robust impression.⁶²⁶ Constantine's sons in general continued to employ the same style of portraits and details like their predecessor.⁶²⁷

Various types of diadems can be seen on Antiochene coins under Constantine I and his successors, but rarely they do represent any prototype and the diadems followed the general tendencies of the late Roman coins' iconography.⁶²⁸

⁶²³ The most common bust employed on the Antiochene coins in the period of Constantine and Constantius II was draped and cuirassed with a pearl-diadem, sometimes with a rosette diadem, laureate, veiled (in the case of commemorative portraits of Constantine I) and sometimes bareheaded (see fig 9, 11, 19, 25, 31) - types B, E, J, A in RIC VII and D 1-5 in RIC VIII. There could be depicted the whole bust, sometimes just the head and in some cases even hands can be visible (see fig. 12, 14, 15, 18) - types U2-3 in RIC VIII. Some of the busts could be left oriented; while the majority was oriented to right (compare fig.14 and 15). After 324 also the heads upward looking with heavenward gaze became rather common.

⁶²⁴ Types used elsewhere and unknown from Antioch: e.g. Types M, C, G, Q, FF, O and others in RIC VIII. Portrait types common in Antioch and rare elsewhere: W and EE in RIC VIII.

⁶²⁵ in RIC VIII it is called "a facing bust", but it is actually more like three-quarter bust; see for Antioch, RIC VIII, 526 (nos.162, 165, 168, 170) and others; Trier RIC VIII, 166 (nos. 338-9, 341, 343-4); Lyons RIC VIII, 189 (no.177) and others.

⁶²⁶ some of these features are definitely apparent on the Antiochene coinage also in the third century AD, see RIC V/1, 207.

⁶²⁷ e.g. Bastien 1992, vol.I, 34. Constantine's successors did not employ much the busts with heavenward gaze struck in the name of Constantine's sons (fig.21); however Antioch, together with Nicomedia, represent the exclusive mints which provided examples of such iconography also from the period after the death of Constantine II in 340 and in accordance to some scholars, the last samples of such portraits were related to the vicennalia of Constantius II in 343/4, Bastien 1992, 59.

⁶²⁸ Pierre Bastien only paid an attention to a specific diadem decoration of three pearls on the top of the main stone in the rosette diadem (RIC VIII, p.518, no 76 and p.513, no 25) as this type of diadem was also rather characteristic for the emperors of the following dynasties, Bastien 1992, 152. In some cases the details employed on diadems of Constantius II and his colleagues were evidently borrowed from the Constantine's coinage. Pierre Bastien mentions an interesting crown with a gem and cross with lines

In general, hairstyles on the portraits of Constantine's successors are slightly more complicated and elaborated than those common under Constantine I⁶²⁹ and Antioch followed these general trends (compare fig.1-4, 10-12 with fig. 22, 23, 41). Despite the common trend to follow a uniform style, interesting features in the portraits of some of the portrayed rulers can be found. Antiochene mints provided bronze issues with two types of portraits of Gallus which can be distinguished from each other based on the change in hair-style (fig. 31, 79 and 80).⁶³⁰

The most striking innovations related to the imperial portraits are dated in the period of Julian (fig. compare 66 and 67).⁶³¹ Julian was famous for wearing a beard after his proclamation of Augustus and this element, which was unusual in the late Roman iconography, made the coins' obverses look rather different to those of the previous emperors.⁶³² The type of "bearded bust" became spread throughout the Empire, but just Antioch provided examples of style varieties: first, probably an earlier one, with a small head and a small beard (fig.81); while the second one depicts a robust head with a heavy beard (fig.82) and the third one combines features of the previous one (small head as on the first style, but beard as in the second case).⁶³³ The portraits on these coins are rather very well elaborated and it is interesting that opinions have been expressed on the possible relation of the Julian portrait on the Antiochene solidi and a famous cameo (Great cameo of Romania) and it is supposed that the craftsman who made the cameo had to come from the region of Syria.⁶³⁴

between cross arms at Antioch under Constans II on siliquae – a similar diadem was used on Constantine's portraits, see Bastien 1992, 83-84. Or details on vota coinage struck by Constantine I in 325 (the way in which thorax is represented), evidently had an impact on coins struck under Constantine's sons, see Bastien 1992, 230. Unfortunately I was unable to see the details on the black-white photo published by the author.

⁶²⁹ Bastien 1992, 34.

⁶³⁰ see RIC VIII, 506. The style with short hair is usually dated as prior to the one with hair finished in curls.

⁶³¹ In general, Julian portraits underwent a significant development and became a topic of various studies, see Babelon 1903; Guidetti 2015; Fleck 2008; Alföldi 1962; Lévêque 1960.

⁶³² There is an apparent development from the representations of Julian with a shaved face to the bearded bust and its' possible relation to dating became topic of various studies, see Babelon 1903, 140-163; Gilliard 1964, 136; Lévêque 1960, 116-118. There are various opinions on whether Julian might be shaven or bearded in the period of his proclamation and he started to bear a beard steadily when he became sole ruler, see Gilliard 1964, 135-136.

⁶³³ Kent 1959, 115-116.

⁶³⁴ Gramatopol 1965, 876, 884; Αθανασιαδης 2001, 272. Moreover, there were expressed opinions on similarities between the portraits of Julian on coins and a head situated now in Louvre, see Lévêque 1960, 115.

The following emperor, Jovian, returned to the traditional portrait of a shaven face. Despite the very short reign of Jovian, various types of his portraits on the Antiochene issues are recognised (fig.73-75).⁶³⁵

In general, the portraits employed in Antioch in this period did not differ radically from portraits used on coins struck in other mints in the Eastern Mediterranean and if a slight peculiarity appeared in the imperial portraiture, it was of minor importance and the innovations were usually common for other mints located in the Eastern part of the Empire too. The richness of varieties is what makes the portraits on Antiochene coins interesting.

6. Mintmarks

There is an obvious development in the use of mintmarks in Antioch after 324 as the versions used on coins after that year do differ. All the Antiochene mintmarks on Constantine I's gold coins struck after 324 AD were SMAN - *Sacra Moneta Antiochiae* (fig.10), which is in contrast to the period prior to 324 when also SMAΣ and ANT appeared on coins struck in precious metals.⁶³⁶ The introduction of SM also impacted the Antiochene bronze issues as bronze coins exclusively bore the version SMANT after 324 (fig.20), while in the earlier phase, it was just ANT.⁶³⁷ In general, all the mintmarks versions which can be seen on gold, silver or bronze issues under Constantine I's successors constitute just the varieties of the known abbreviation: AN/ ANT; SMAN/T.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁵ „slight bust, slight or heavy bust and a heavy bust”, see RIC VIII, 510.

⁶³⁶ see RIC VII, 675-679, 696.

⁶³⁷ RIC VII, 684-686.

⁶³⁸ Various symbols as dots or stars (fig.13) could be added to the mintmark at various positions. Gold coins struck by Constantine's successors were usually bearing mintmarks SMAN(I), sometimes with a dot to the right (fig.25-29). Gold multiples either bore the same mintmark SMAN(T) (fig.46-49) or in some cases ANA. Also silver coins could bear both mintmarks, light *miliarenses* could bear mintmark SMAN, see RIC VIII, 520 (no.102-104); however the *siliquae* bore mintmark ANA, see RIC VIII, 520 (nos. 105-110). Bronze coins struck in the first decade after the death of Constantine bore exclusively the mintmark SMAN (fig.57-58) and later also ANT and AN appeared (fig.60-65), see RIC VIII, 515 (37-59). Bronze issues struck in the late phase of Constantius II's reign, exclusively the mintmark AN appeared, see RIC VIII, 528 (nos. 187-194). Under Julian the mintmark ANT was preferred also on gold coins (fig.68-71). Bronze coins, which were not struck on a large scale under Julian, were also bearing the mintmark ANT too (fig.67), however there are several samples with SMANT, see RIC VIII, 532 (no.218 and 221).

7. Concluding remarks on Antiochene coinage (324 – 364)

While studying the peculiarities and specifics of Antiochene coinage in the 4th century AD, it is necessary to emphasize that despite the obvious tendency for uniformity, differences between the mints exist. The occurrence of distinctive features in this period should not be interpreted as a clear indication that something unusual was going on in the mint. The coins struck in the fourth century are definitely more uniform than coins struck in the 3rd century, but their uniformity did not reach the levels of the Byzantine coins struck after the Anastasian reforms in 498. In other words, the reality that some features on the fourth century Antiochene coins were particular is not as striking as the distinctive elements on the Antiochene issues in the sixth century.

Nevertheless, some features which appeared on Antiochene coinage during the 4th century had no parallels in other mints and must be related to specific situations or conditions. Constantinian coins from Antioch indicate the necessity of a quick adoption of new types struck in the name of the victorious emperor after the end of the Civil Wars in 324 and it seems that a specific relation to the Western models existed – e.g. the adoption of older models from Sirmium and several other mints situated in the Western Mediterranean.⁶³⁹ The only other Eastern mint which provided some examples of an anachronism was Nicomedia, but the examples are not as rich as in the case of Antioch. Other mints situated in the Eastern Mediterranean did not strike such anachronistic coins at all, and this fact clearly indicates specific conditions in the mint of Antioch and, moreover, it poses questions regarding the communication between the imperial mints and the capital, the organization of a provincial mint and the process of iconographic types' choice. The phenomenon of the adoption of the Western models was repeated in Antioch during the fourth century several times, especially under Constantius II (337-361) and Julian (361-363), but in these cases, the similar models were struck simultaneously (e.g. Tyche on multiples struck in Antioch under Constantius II² and the personification on Aquileian issues of Magnentius) or the mint of Antioch anticipated a motif which later became common in Sirmium (e.g. some silver coins of Julian the Apostate with the representation of the standing emperor in military dress and approaching Victory holding a wreath and a palm-branch which was struck in Sirmium several years later). It seems that the mint of Antioch was in some way linked to the mint

⁶³⁹ e.g. in the period of his successor Constantius II when some minor peculiarities have analogues in the West - e.g. the way in which title AVGVSTVS was stated on some solidi).

of Sirmium as various examples of reciprocal borrowing of motives can be found throughout the period 324 – 363.

Some other specific peculiar types were definitely related to an important position which Antioch held in this period. As an example, the rich dynastic coinage from 324 and the reality that also female members of Constantine's family were represented on these dynastic coins is substantial – a fact which had no parallels in other imperial mints and indicates the importance of emphasizing the dynastic legitimacy and continuity in Roman Syria.⁶⁴⁰ The precise reasons why dynastic legitimacy and continuity should be stressed on Antiochene coins more than elsewhere have not been discussed in scholarly literature. The logical answer seems to be related to the fact that the city was held by Licinius till the end of the Civil Wars - this means that coins were struck in Licinius' name till the very late phase of the conflict with Constantine I and some types were visually supporting the legitimacy of Licinius and his family. Furthermore, the fact that actually the principle idea of Tetrarchy was greatly shaken and later completely abandoned by Constantine I could paint a bad picture of him in the eyes of some of his contemporaries who could see his ascension as illegitimate.⁶⁴¹ This might be another factor which could have influenced the importance to emphasize dynastic stability and continuity.⁶⁴²

It seems that it was rather desirable for Constantine to emphasize the change in government and to quickly introduce his own coinage in Antioch in 324 as the city was an important economic and military centre in the East. This would be also the answer for the reason why the mint was striking the anachronistic coins and why it was necessary for Constantine I to visit the city after the end of the Civil Wars and to strike coins there commemorating his "adventus". The need for the promotion of the new ruler definitely might influence the fact that most of the distinctive elements on Constantinian coins struck in Antioch can be dated in the first year after his acquisition of the city, thus

⁶⁴⁰ on the connection between representation of imperial women on coins and dynastic legitimacy see WOODS 2011, 194; BRUBAKER 1997, 60; on the general idea that women were understood as guarantees of legitimacy and continuity exists extensive bibliography: Laiou 1981, 233-234; Hill 1999, 15 – 17; Νικολάου 1993, 20; Herrin 2001, 23; on role of women and the idea of property transmission see Laiou 2009, 61-72. It is worthy mention that in the eastern Mediterranean aristocratic women are considered to play more important role than counterparts in the western Mediterranean. J.Banaji mentioned the evidence from papyri which confirms that women could administer major aristocratic households, see Banaji 2012, 611.

⁶⁴¹ On the topic of legitimacy and the importance to emphasize it, see Lenski 2006b, 59-80; Ledbetter 1998, 74-85; Abdy 2012; Barnes 2014; Bardill 2012.

⁶⁴² After the victory of Constantine over Licinius in 324/5 there were struck bronze coins in Antioch in the names of various members of the Constantine's family (Crispus, Constantius, Fausta, Helena), see RIC VII, 686-687.

meaning in 324 - 325. After 325 and for the rest of Constantine's life († 337), the mint more or less followed the patterns established also in other mints situated in the Eastern Mediterranean; however, some minor peculiarities can be found too, but their number is negligible while comparing it with the peculiarities which could appear in the Antiochene coinage in 324.

The period of Constantius II brought several interesting irregular issues some of them, in my opinion, might be related to the fact that the position of Antioch was elevated from an important military and economic centre to an official imperial residence in the periods of campaigns against the Sassanians (as the existence of rich vota coinage, rich varieties of multiples whose amounts are incomparable with the material from other mints, gold and bronze medallions struck in the names of the two emperors – brothers Constantius II and Constans - emphasizing the unity and integrity of the Empire, etc.).

Some of the peculiarities which appeared (e.g. wrongly attributed middle name to the emperor) indicate specific problems which might be related to the control and organization in the mint, because a mistake like the wrong attribution of a name is noteworthy as Antioch was often visited by emperors and was one of the most important political centres in the period, so anyone would expect knowledge of full imperial names and enough effective control in the mint to avoid such a mistake.

Some of the peculiarities (e.g. the reference of number “72”) are rather puzzling and again indicate that the circumstances under which the mint of Antioch was operating had to face specific conditions which made the weight standard introduced under Constantine I desirable to stress. At the present state of the research, it is impossible to conclude without any doubts why it was important to make such a statement in Antioch and if it could be related to the reality that Licinian aurei, which were struck on a different standard, could still be circulating.

The period of Julian the Apostate brought to the coinage distinctive changes in iconography which were related to his worldview, however, in the case of Antioch, the most interesting peculiarities are related to the issues representing the imperial power: vota coins and consular series. It is interesting that in the city which has been traditionally related to the Hellenistic tradition, the most distinctive coins struck in the name of Julian are not related to his cultural and religious ideas, but to the city's role as a military and political centre which in the period of this emperor, played an enormously important role in the organisation of the campaigns against its Eastern neighbours.

It is important to point out the fact that Christian symbolism did not really dominate on coins struck under Constantine and his successors. The coins' iconography continued to be related mainly to military symbolism (e.g. FEL TEMP REPARATIO). These coins with clear military iconography have been also dominating the fourth century findings (e.g. they played a rather important role among the findings on the site of Antioch itself).⁶⁴³ The military character is also induced by the legends on Julian's coins: VIRTVS ROMANORVM and VIRTUS EXERCITVS ROMANORVM. It is characteristic that the main solidus types struck in most of the mints which produced gold coins bore the reverse legend referring to the army (VIRTVS EXERCITVS) and the legends and iconography connected with the army can be found on bronze coins struck throughout the period of study (e.g. GLORIA EXERCITVS). All these features confirm the connection between coins' production and the need to pay the army.

In general, the mint of Antioch provided in the period under study evidence on many iconographic varieties, rich typology and varieties of legends which were unusual elsewhere. Some of the varieties had no parallels in other mints; however, most of the types struck there were struck also elsewhere. The rich production indicates the need for coins and might be put into the context of the administrative and military importance of the city in which it was desirable to promote imperial authority.

⁶⁴³ Waage 1952, 131-132.

2c. From the Valentinian dynasty till Theodosius I (364-395)

(Plates VIII-X)

The period of the Valentinian dynasty brought several interesting elements to Antiochene coinage; however, the production of the Syrian mint in this period is rather similar to the production of other imperial mints.

It is also worth noting that Valentinian (364-375) and Valens (364-378) belonged to the few emperors who were considered by their contemporaries to be good administrators and an abundant amount of evidence of their collaboration in topics concerning law, imperial presentation in public, standardization of weights and measures, etc. exists.⁶⁴⁴ Their systematic nature was also obvious from tax collections which started to be strictly demanded from all provinces in contrast to the reign of Julian who took away some economic burdens from the cities.⁶⁴⁵ The target of the economic reforms was to stabilize the economic situation of the Empire which was negatively influenced by the expenditures carried out by the predecessors of Valentinian and Valens.⁶⁴⁶ These attempts to restructurize the economy, of course, impacted in some way their coinage.

1. Coinage in the first years of the Valentinian dynasty (364-367)

(Plate VIII)

1.1 Gold coinage

While looking at the coins struck in Antioch during the first few years (364-367) of Valentinian's rulership, it is obvious that the entire monetary system and iconographic repertoire were similar to the ones of Constantinople.⁶⁴⁷ Emperor Valentinian used

⁶⁴⁴ Lenski 2002, 266-272; Jones 1964b, 147; Ammianus Marcellinus 30.9.1 and 31.14.2.

⁶⁴⁵ Lenski 2002, 286-287.

⁶⁴⁶ Lenski 2002, 288-298.

⁶⁴⁷ Constantinople was definitely striking a more rich variety of reverses, which were not employed at Antioch at all. In Antioch only one reverse type of solidi appeared, RESTITVTOR- REIPVBLICAE and this reverse was also quite popular; however not the only one, in the case of silver and bronze issues, see RIC VIII, 272-274. There might be found just minor differences to the production of Antioch, e.g. the silver coins of denomination one and half scripula bore in Antioch a reverse representation of a Victory seated on cuirass, inscribing VOT/V on shield held by Genius (see RIC VIII, 273, no.3); while in the Capital the Victory was represented in a different way on the same denomination (see RIC VIII, 210, no.7) and the representation same with the one on the Antiochene coins became common for one and half siliquae struck in the following period (367-375) with vota VOT/V/MVLT/X (see RIC VIII, 217, no.30). Antioch was actually the only from the Eastern mints (Constantinople, Heraclea, Nicomedia and Cyzicus) which did not strike solidi with the reverse type REPARATIO FEL TEMP which were struck in the name of Procopius, the usurper as the Antioch was found in the sphere of power of Valens who expected to organize from there campaigns on Persians (for the historic background, see Curran 1998, 89-91). Minor

coinage for his promotion very intensively from the beginning of his reign. The first gold issues had a reverse legend informing that Valentinian I (or in some cases also Valens) was “the restorer of the state” (RESTITVTOR REIPublicae) which should illustrate the fact that a new emperor was installed (fig.1-3; NM Rom174-178). These solidi were widespread and Antioch did not represent an exemption.⁶⁴⁸ Actually, Antiochene solidi of this type are actually rather common in collections and they often outnumber the issues of the same type struck in other Eastern mints. The frequency of these solidi indicates that their production was carried out on a large scale (e.g. evidence on rich varieties, nine active officinae).⁶⁴⁹ Such a richness of varieties had no parallels on solidi struck in other mints in this period.⁶⁵⁰ On the other hand, the mint of Antioch did not strike some types of gold coins which were common in other Eastern mints.⁶⁵¹

Furthermore, Antioch struck a gold denomination introduced already by Constantine I: scripulum that was valued at 1 ½ solidus.⁶⁵² Some cities struck this denomination too (e.g. Constantinople or Thessalonike), but Antioch provided evidence on a rarity: the reverse type represented Victory seated on a cuirass writing *vota* on a shield held by a winged genius – the combination of this reverse type and VOT/V is actually unique and has no parallels elsewhere.⁶⁵³ All these gold issues were struck in Antioch either in the name of Valentinian or Valens. On the other hand, some other mints provided evidence on gold denominations which were evidently not struck in Antioch during this period (e.g. aureus in Constantinople).⁶⁵⁴ Furthermore, the Antiochene one and a half scripulum struck in the name of Valens could also bear an

differences were common for all the mints in this period and it is difficult to derive a conclusion based on such an evidence in this period.

⁶⁴⁸ RIC IX, 264; Lenski 2002, 291; These solidi were struck also in the name of Valens and Antioch belonged to the mints striking this type, however some mints in the Eastern part of the empire did not provide any issues of restitutor struck in the name of Valens, e.g. Nicomedia and Cyzicus. The motif appeared also on some silver coins, see e.g. Antioch, RIC IX, 273, no. 7.

⁶⁴⁹ These solidi are classified as common (C), see RIC IX, 272 (no.2a-e), while the same issues struck in Constantinople or Nicomedia are classified as rare, see RIC IX, 209-210, 250. For the number of officinae, see RIC IX, 269-271.

⁶⁵⁰ Only Nicomedia provided rather interesting variations; however not as rich as Antioch, see RIC IX, 250 (no.2a-2b).

⁶⁵¹ e.g. gold solidi with the reverse legend REPARATO FEL TEMP and the representation of a standing emperor holding spear and a shield, which was struck – however on a small scale – elsewhere in the East. These solidi were struck e.g. in Constantinople, see RIC IX, 209 (no.2a-b); Nicomedia, see RIC IX, 250 (no.1); Cyzicus, see RIC IX, 239 (no.1).

⁶⁵² RIC IX, 273 (no.3a-c).

⁶⁵³ VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM was actually quite popular reverse legend under Valentinians, but either it was stated alone and the representation of Victory was different (e.g. standing advancing Victory holding a wreath in Rome, see miliarensis RIC IX, 117 no.6a and other issues) or the *vota* was different, thus means the Victory was not inscribing number V, but a different *vota* (e.g. VOT/V/MVL/X in Constantinople and elsewhere, RIC IX, 225 no.50). For the *vota* numerals common on Valentinian coins depicting Victor inscribing the *vota* number on shield, see RIC IX, 316.

⁶⁵⁴ RIC IX, 209 (no.1).

obverse legend (VALENSAVGVVS) which is again an element with no parallels in other mints (fig. 4).

This means that gold coins from the first few years of the Valentinian era provided evidence on peculiar elements like rich varieties unrecorded elsewhere, or a unique variety of obverse legends and vota. These features do not show that Antioch had a different monetary policy, but they indicate that the mint of Antioch for some reason often employed features which were not usual elsewhere in the Roman world and they confirm the fact that Antioch was an important source of gold denominations in these early years of the Valentinian dynasty.

1.2 Gold multiple

Numismatists also date a rare gold multiple in this period (fig.5).⁶⁵⁵ This multiple was struck in the name of Valentinian and bears a reverse legend GLORIA REIPUBLICAE and depicts an emperor facing, holding a standard and Victory on a globe. Despite the fact that the motif of an emperor holding a globe with Victory belonged to the common repertoire of reverse types in this period, the combination of the representation and the legend makes the multiples rather unique. This reverse legend appeared on coins with different reverse iconography struck under the Valentinians and Theodosius I.⁶⁵⁶ Furthermore, it is notable that not all Eastern mints provided evidence on striking gold multiples during these first few years after the installation of the Valentinian dynasty.⁶⁵⁷ The existence of gold multiples in the period when they were not struck elsewhere again provides a testimony on a specific position of Antioch in the Empire and it suggests its significant role for imperial power promotion.

1.3 Silver and bronze issues

In contrast to the previous decade, the early phase in the reign of the Valentinian dynasty, provided an interesting variety of silver coins which typologically corresponds to

⁶⁵⁵ RIC IX, 272 (no.1). unfortunately I did not manage to find a picture of this sample

⁶⁵⁶ In Nicomedia, Constantinople and Trier it was common for the gold issues of types depicting Roma and Constantinopolis holding a shield with vota between them, see RIC IX, 15, 216 and 253; moreover there known barbarous imitations of this type, see RIC IX, 42 and 173. In Thessalonike the legend was used on bronze coins, see RIC IX, 186-187.

⁶⁵⁷ There are known silver multiples struck in Thessalonike in this early phase, see RIC IX, 174 (no.7 and 8).

the issues struck in Constantinople in the same period.⁶⁵⁸ The reverse iconography of the Antiochene miliarenses reconciles the issues struck in the previous decades as it depicted a standing figure of an emperor under an arch (fig.6 and 7 – compare with Pl.V/fig. 53-56 and Pl.VI/fig.76).⁶⁵⁹ It seems that for some reason the iconography of the arch was rather popular in the repertoire of the silver Antiochene issues (fig.8).⁶⁶⁰ The motif of two emperors facing each other under an arch was common on Antiochene coins also in the following decade (fig.9).⁶⁶¹ Nevertheless, it is important to point out that various silver types which were struck in other Eastern mints were not included in the repertoire of Antiochene coins at all.⁶⁶²

Bronze coins typologically followed the patterns established by the Capital mint and there are no specific elements that appeared in the case of Antiochene coins in this period.

1.4 The peculiarities at the beginning of the Valentinian dynasty: possible context

It is worth taking into consideration the fact that the city of Antioch held a position of an extremely important military centre in the Roman empire due to the serious conflicts with the Sasanians.⁶⁶³ Emperor Valens had to focus on the situation at the Eastern borders which became rather deteriorated in the period under Jovian after the conclusion of a humiliating peace agreement.⁶⁶⁴ The wars at the Eastern frontiers also required massive manpower which led to intense recruitment.⁶⁶⁵ The fact that there were ongoing preparations on military campaigns could be interpreted as context for striking a huge number of varieties of gold solidi introduced by Valentinian after his ascension in 364 and, furthermore, it would explain the existence of a gold multiple in a period when there are no documented gold multiples in other mints.

⁶⁵⁸ All silver types struck at Antioch were struck also in the Capital mints, see for the comparison RIC IX, 273 (for Antioch) and RIC IX, 210-211 (for Constantinople).

⁶⁵⁹ RIC IX, 273 (no.4a-c). The figures 6 and 7 in the catalogue actually do represent varieties unpublished in the basic catalogues as the mintmarks are accompanied by dots.

⁶⁶⁰ RIC IX, 211 (no.9).

⁶⁶¹ RIC IX, 279 (no.30).

⁶⁶² E.g. VICTORIAS AVGVSTORVM depicting two Victories holding a shield on miliarenses struck at Constantinople, RIC IX, 211 (no.10) or SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE depicting a standing Victory and a fallen enemy on miliarenses struck at Nicomedia, RIC IX, 251 (no.3).

⁶⁶³ on the problems with Sassanids and sources related to this topic, see Lenski 2002, 167-168; Dignas – Winter 2007, 33-34.

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⁶⁶⁴ On the Jovian's peace agreement and the general problematic situation at the Eastern borders, see e.g. Hughes 2013, 17; Lenski 2002, 167-210.

⁶⁶⁵ Lenski 2002, 309-315.

J.W.E. Pearce also made a remark that, in general, coins bearing Valentinian's name in this period are more frequent than coins struck in the name of Valens, which means that the intensive production had already started during the first weeks of Valentinian's reign as Valens became co-emperor one month after.⁶⁶⁶ This evidence suggests that the situation in Antioch and its vicinity required an immediate supply of gold coins – which could again be interpreted within the context of the military campaigns and the need for the remuneration of soldiers and imperial propaganda.

2. From the elevation of Gratian (367) to the battle at Adrianople (378)

(Plate VIII-IX)

2.1 East against West

In 367, Gratian became a younger co-August in the West as he was elevated to the rank by his father Valentinian I who attempted to strengthen the position of his new dynasty through this act.⁶⁶⁷ There are evident differences in the monetary policy in the Eastern and Western parts of the empire in the period 367-379. The Eastern mints were obviously reluctant to strike issues in the name of Gratian who represented the imperial power in the West. Coins, especially those struck in bronze, with his name in legends were relatively rare in the Eastern Mediterranean. J.W.E. Pearce relates this situation, amongst others, to the fact that the West was evidently more favoured by the emperor and the imperial power was concentrated mainly there.⁶⁶⁸ In general, an opinion that Valentinian focused more on the West than the East exists.⁶⁶⁹ Coins struck in Gratian's name in Antioch prior to 379 are actually very rare⁶⁷⁰ and scholars suppose that it might

⁶⁶⁶ RIC IX, 264.

⁶⁶⁷ Gratian was actually a small boy in this period and his elevation to August was rather unusual while considering the previous centuries and was related to the attempts of Valentinian I to establish a new and strong dynasty, for the historic background see McEvoy 2013, 49-51; Curran 1998, 83-84.

⁶⁶⁸ see RIC IX, xviii – xix; Pearce 1948, 66-67. J.W.E. Pearce has been stressing mainly its' impact on bronze coins which almost do not represent Gratian in the East and expressed interesting opinions on the use of bronze issues as widely accepted medium of propaganda under Valentinians, see Pearce 1948, 69.

⁶⁶⁹ Alföldi 1952, 50.

⁶⁷⁰ There is no evidence for an intensive production after the ascension of Gratian in 367 and even before it seems that the main production was concentrated on the Western mints. There have been especially attested gold and silver issues, see RIC IX, xviii.

be a result of an expression of dissatisfaction with the attempts to introduce Western models to Eastern coinage and in doing so, inducing the superiority of the West.⁶⁷¹

2.2 Christian symbols

The period after 367 is also interesting from the aspect of the increasing use of Christian symbols⁶⁷²; however, it does not mean that Christian symbols were not common in the previous decades, but they usually did not represent a regular element on the coins' designs.⁶⁷³ A rich variety of Christian symbols was employed on some varieties of the solidi struck between 364-7 (fig.1).⁶⁷⁴ Crosses and Chi-Rho monograms became evidently even more common after 367 on Antiochene coins and they can be found as decoration in fields on reverses of some multiples and gold solidi (fig.10-12).⁶⁷⁵ These motifs were definitely more prevalent in the Eastern provinces than in the West and Antioch employed Christian symbols as marginal decorative elements between 367 and 375 quite regularly on its gold coins.⁶⁷⁶ A parallel development can be seen in Constantinople,⁶⁷⁷ however, other mints were definitely more reluctant to the introduction of such symbols.⁶⁷⁸

2.3 Reform of gold coinage

The period between 366 and 371 was also affected by the attempts of Valens and Valentinian to reform the gold coinage.⁶⁷⁹ Codex Theodosii provides information on the emperors' decision to debase gold coins.⁶⁸⁰ Since 368, the word "obryzum" (transl. pure) also started to be used on gold solidi and solidi became purer than in the previous period

⁶⁷¹ see e.g. RIC IX, 264; however some elements related to the attempts to strike coinage on the same patterns (as both parts of the empire introduced the letters OB – sign of metal purity) were employed there, *ibidem*.

⁶⁷² See christograms on gold multiples and solidi struck after year 367 (RIC IX, 275-277/nos.13, 14, 17, 18, 21).

⁶⁷³ Despite the reality that first Christian symbols started to appear on Constantine's coins, his successors were not employing these symbols regularly. There are examples of the use of the Chi-Rho monogram as the central reverse motif on Magnentius coins, see RIC VIII, 123 (no.34-45). See Bruck 1955, 26-32.

⁶⁷⁴ For the typology see RIC IX, 269-271.

⁶⁷⁵ see RIC IX, 275 (no.13, 14), 276 (no.17, 18)

⁶⁷⁶ see multiples RIC IX,275 (o.13, 14) or solidi, RIC IX, 276-279 (no.17, 18, 20, 23, 26)

⁶⁷⁷ see RIC IX, 216 (no.22), 217 (no.27, 28) ad others

⁶⁷⁸ e.g. Nicomedia employed chi-rho monogram and a cross exclusively on its bronze coins, see RIC IX, 255 (no.23, 24). Other mints did not employ openly Christian symbols at all in their iconography (most of the mints in the Western part of the Empire) and some other employed these symbols late after 383, see Heraclea, RIC IX, 197 (no.25) and Thessalonike, RIC IX, 186 (no.62).

⁶⁷⁹ Lenski 2002, 299-300; Schmidt – Hofner 2008, 189-208; Jones 1964a, 148.

⁶⁸⁰ CTh 12.6.12 for the law issued in 366 and CTh 12.6.13 for the law issued in 367.

(fig.10-12).⁶⁸¹ It should be mentioned that gold was not the only metal which underwent the process of purification and it is obvious that attention was also paid to coins struck in other metals.⁶⁸² These reforms affected gold coinage in the entire empire.

The real targets and motivations of the Valentinians to conduct such an economic policy actually remains under discussion.⁶⁸³ It seems that this economic policy was rather beneficial for the richest layers of society, but not as profitable for the state.⁶⁸⁴ On the other hand, no attempts to reform copper coins continued and the trend of debasement was further deepened.⁶⁸⁵ The coins of Antioch in general followed all these trends.

2.4 Some peculiarities of gold coinage (367-375)

Most of the solidi dated in this period bore OB as a part of the mintmark in the exergue.⁶⁸⁶ The mint of Antioch again provided rather rich material regarding the variety of the mintmarks' versions which were employed on local gold coins.

Various solidi types bore the reverse legend "GLORIA ROMANORVM" in this period, but the iconographic typology could vary. One of the solidi types are issues struck in the names of Valentinian and Valens bearing the legend broken in half by the Chi-Rho monogram (fig.10).⁶⁸⁷ The reverse type depicted an enthroned Roma and Constantinopolis (whose foot rests on a prow), each holding a sceptre and both holding a shield with vota (VOT/X/MVL/XX). Minor details could vary such as types struck exclusively in the name of Valentinian could represent the personification of Constantinopolis with the "turreted crown", while types with Constantinopolis wearing a helmet were struck in the names of both emperors.⁶⁸⁸ Moreover, the whole iconographic

⁶⁸¹ Lenski 2002, 300-301; RIC X, 4; Carson 1990, 191.

⁶⁸² Schmidt – Hofner 2008, 190-191, 213.

⁶⁸³ Schmidt – Hofner 2008, 213. The sources (as *De rebus bellicis*) provided information on the negative effects it had on the market and it seems that in the end, however the change was profitable for the citizens, it negatively influenced the state's revenue which could actually benefit from the depreciation of the precious metal of the coins in circulation, see Lenski 2002, 299-303. On the consequences of the coins' metals purification, see also Schmidt – Hofner 2008, 213.

⁶⁸⁴ Lenski 2002, 306.

⁶⁸⁵ See the development of bronze coinage under Valentinian dynasty at Antioch: after the installation of the dynasty still beonres of the module AE1 could be struck (see RIC IX, 274), but very shortly AE3 and AE2 started to dominate (see RIC IX, 281 and 283-288) and the smallest module AE4 became very common denomination, see RIC IX, 288-290, 292-293. On the policy of the bronze coinage debasement, see Lenski 2002, 303-304.

⁶⁸⁶ See RIC IX, 276-277.

⁶⁸⁷ RIC IX, 276 (no.15-16).

⁶⁸⁸ See differences between the types RIC IX, 276 no.15 and 16.

type is interesting as not many mints in the Empire included the specific scene of both of the personifications (Roma and Constantinople) enthroned and holding a shield in their repertoire in the period after the ascension of Valentinian; however, the iconographic type had already appeared earlier on multiples and gold coins under Constantius II and Jovian (fig.13).⁶⁸⁹ The mint of Nicomedia also struck gold solidi in this period with a similar reverse iconography, but the reverse legend was different (fig.14).⁶⁹⁰ The reverse of these Antiochene coins has parallels mainly in the Western mints.⁶⁹¹

Other solidi types struck in Antioch with the reverse legend GLORIA ROMANORVM could also bear rather specific iconography. An example of this is a standing figure of an emperor draped in an imperial mantle, holding mappa and scepter (unfortunately, I was not able to find a proper picture of that issue)⁶⁹² – such a representation of an emperor was unusual under the Valentinian dynasty and a similar emperor's representation appeared on another (the older) gold denomination aureus struck in Constantinople in this period.⁶⁹³

Rather specific was also the solidus with the reverse legend SPES RP whose varieties were struck in the names of the three emperors Valentinian, Valens and Gratian.⁶⁹⁴ The reverse type depicted two nimbated emperors in military dress, enthroned and facing, each holding a sceptre and a globe (fig.15). Between them a small figure was represented and above its head a shield with vota was depicted (VOT/V/MVLT/X). Such a type actually has no parallels in other mints active in this period. The reverse legend which included the word “spes” (SPES ROMANORVM or SPES

⁶⁸⁹ Under the dynasty of Constantine's and Jovian the iconographic type was spread as in the East, so in the West - for Thessalonike, see RIC VIII, 416 (no.147-154); for Lyons, see RIC VIII, 189-190 (no.177-179) and many others.

⁶⁹⁰ RIC IX, 253 (no.13).

⁶⁹¹ The type corresponds to the Antiochene issue not only by its design, but also by its reverse legend, see RIC IX, 132 (no.60 and 61). The mint Trier provided several nice types of gold multiples of the enthroned Roma and Constantinopolis, but the two were not holding a shield and Roma was moreover holding in her hands a globe with Victory, see RIC IX, 15 (no.10-11), 21 (no.35), 33 (no.99). The same pattern like in the case of Trier, can be found on gold multiples struck in Mediolanum, see RIC VIII, 76 (no.4) and Aquileia, RIC VIII, 98 (no.19). The earliest examples come from Trier, where the iconography was employed already in the period 367-375 and the other Western mints started to employ the iconography after 375.

⁶⁹² RIC IX, 276 (17).

⁶⁹³ RIC IX, 217 (no.24). This issue bore different reverse legend and was struck in the name of Gratian. The figure of the emperor was moreover nimbated and held a spear and globe instead of mappa and scepter.

⁶⁹⁴ RIC IX, 277 (no.20).

REIPUBLICAE) were often found on bronze issues struck exclusively in mints in the Western Mediterranean; however, the iconographic type was completely different.⁶⁹⁵

Such representations as those mentioned above and their adoptions and mutual borrowings between the mints indicate a specific policy regarding the iconographic types' distribution which is actually an unknown topic and it confirms that a kind of communication between some mints had to have existed.

Some other solidi types and other gold denominations struck in Antioch actually more or less followed the types common in other mints, mainly in those situated in the East.⁶⁹⁶ Sometimes some details could vary from issues struck in other mints,⁶⁹⁷ but these differences seem not to be indicative of any specific monetary policy.

Furthermore, mintmarks on solidi in this specific period provoke interest as they were often accompanied by letters, but not only by those which were designating officinae at the end of the city's abbreviation, but also at the beginning, so varieties like PANOB or KANOB can be seen (fig.18 and 19).⁶⁹⁸

2.5 General trends of silver and bronze coinage (367 -375)

Altogether, Antioch struck several variations of three silver denominations (heavy miliarensis, light miliarensis and siliquae) during this period.⁶⁹⁹ Most of the silver coins (mainly siliquae) actually bore a vota in a laurel-wreath and these types are actually rather numerous in various collections (fig.20 and 21; NM Rom179). Light miliarensia depicted either one emperor or two emperors holding insignia and standing beneath an arch (fig.22) - a motif which appeared in Antioch and elsewhere on silver coins in previous decades (Pl.VIII/fig.6-9 for the early Valentinian period and Pl.V/fig. 53 for the period

⁶⁹⁵ These types were common e.g. in Rome RIC IX, 133-4 (no.63 and 64), in Aquileia RIC IX, 105 (no.55) and 107 (no.59), Arelate RIC IX, 69 (no.29), Lugdunum RIC IX, 50 (no.36), Treveri RIC IX, 30 (no.87).

⁶⁹⁶ E.g. the Antiochene solidi RIC IX, 277 (no.19 or 21) which were struck in the name of Gratian and same types are attested from various Eastern mints, e.g. Constantinople, RIC IX, 217 (no.24 and 26) Nicomedia, RIC IX, 253 (no.14) and rarely they were struck also in the West, e.g. Trier, RIC IX, 16 (no.13a).

⁶⁹⁷ E.g. in the case of solidi RIC IX, 277 (no.22) the vota on the Antiochene coins was VOT/X/MVL/XX; while everywhere else the vota version was VOT/X/MVLT/XX, see e.g. semis struck in Trier, RIC IX, 17 (no.20) or solidi struck in Constantinople, see RIC IX, 217 (no.28). Or in the case of Antiochene solidus RIC IX, 278 (no.23) two emperors were depicted seated on a throne with foot-stools while the foot-stools were not common in the case of other throne's representations in the case of similar reverse types struck elsewhere, e.g. iconographically closest type with a simple throne can be found in this period on solidi struck in Constantinople, see RIC IX, 217 (no.29).

⁶⁹⁸ see RIC IX 276-278 (nos.16, 17, 21, 22).

⁶⁹⁹ RIC IX, 279-281.

of Constantius II)⁷⁰⁰ and which was under the Valentinians limited to the iconography of specific Constantinopolitan and Antiochene issues.⁷⁰¹

The repertoire of bronze types was rather limited and in some cases it is difficult to distinguish types struck in the first few years of the Valentinian reign (364-367) and those struck between 367 and 375.⁷⁰² In general, bronze issues attributed to Antioch in this period do not provide any distinctive features and follow the general trends of Eastern coinage.

2.6 The problematic period 375 - 378

The RIC IX provided no evidence on coins for the period 375-378; however, this is also the case of some other mints in the East and in general, Eastern mints seem to not have been very active during these years. Definitely, the absence of published coinage for these three years poses questions whether the mint of Antioch was just inactive or whether a re-attribution of some already published types should be made. Guy Lacam has dated some consular solidi in 376 which were originally dated in the years 367-375 and 378-383 (fig.23).⁷⁰³ He also dated a newly acquired gold solidus struck at the occasion of the joint consulship of Valens and his nephew Valentinian II (fig.24) in 376.⁷⁰⁴ Valentinian II was depicted much smaller than Valens, which is logical since he was just four years old in the period of his ascension.⁷⁰⁵

Western mints continued to operate regularly, however, coinage is not rich for this period (375-378) either.⁷⁰⁶ This trend of reduced activity in the East has not yet been sufficiently explained and it is difficult to put in the historic context or to relate the phenomenon to the monetary and economic policy of this period.

2.7 Gold multiples (367-378)

⁷⁰⁰ It appeared as motif on light miliarenses struck under Constantius II in 350's and under Julian prior to 361, see RIC VIII, 520 (no.102-104, Antioch), 477 (no.77-79, Nicomedia), 385 (no.11-14), 392 (no.104, Sirmium), 332 (no.182, Aquileia).

⁷⁰¹ RIC IX, 211 (no.9), 273 (no.4-5), 279 (no.29-31).

⁷⁰² See RIC IX, 281.

⁷⁰³ Lacam 1990, 237.

⁷⁰⁴ Lacam 1990, 237. The specific issue which was unpublished in RIC IX represented a consular bust to l. of Valens on the obverse and the figures of two emperors in consular robes on the reverse.

⁷⁰⁵ see Lenski 2002, 358.

⁷⁰⁶ for numbers and types see RIC IX.

The period prior to 378 also provided several interesting multiples, however, their production was definitely not as rich as under Constantius II, but they still can provide interesting evidence and some of them provided the ground for hypothesis regarding their historic context. Auctions which took place in recent years also provided examples of issues unpublished in basic catalogues.

Two multiples (Fig. 16 and 17) that have been published are dated in the period between 367 and 375.⁷⁰⁷ One type represented Valentinian on its obverse and the second one Valens, both with standard obverse legends. Both of them also bore the same reverse legend (GLORIA ROMANORVM), but the iconographic types were different. In the case of the multiple struck in the name of Valentinian (fig.17), the reverse depicted an enthroned Constantinopolis holding a globe surmounted by Victory in the one hand and a sceptre in another. The coin attributed to Valens (fig.16) depicted the emperor on a horseback. Both of the coins had Christian symbols in the left field on their reverse: in one case it was a christogram and in the other it was a cross ending in P. A rather important difference is related to the version of the mintmark: the coin struck in the Valentinian name had in its' exergue ANT·OB, while the multiple struck in the name of Valens had ANOBS – this version of mintmark (ANOB) was also widespread on gold solidi struck in this period. The reverse legend was actually common in this period on the gold solidi and silver issues struck in Antioch in this period and bronze coins struck since Valentinian's ascension⁷⁰⁸ and in general, it is possible to say that this reverse legend was quite popular also on coins struck elsewhere.

Concerning the issue with the riding emperor, the iconography is rather interesting as gold issues with the representation of the riding emperor were almost exclusively connected to the idea of *adventus* types struck in the West.⁷⁰⁹ The motif of a riding emperor became common on regularly struck coins in the East much later – under Theodosius I and it was employed exclusively on bronze coins.⁷¹⁰

The last multiples which have been attributed to Antioch by J.W.E. Pearce were dated in 375-378 and interpreted as barbarous imitations both represented an emperor

⁷⁰⁷ RIC IX, 275 (no. 13 and 14).

⁷⁰⁸ RIC IX, 274, 276, 279.

⁷⁰⁹ See RIC IX, 50 (no. 37, Lyon), 75 (no.1, Mediolaneum) and 94 (no.1, Aquileia). There is also mentioned a solidus struck in Antioch between 367 and 375 with the representation of *adventus*, RIC IX, 276 (no.18); however it is mentioned that the coins should be held in the British Museum, but it is not included in their evidence.

⁷¹⁰ RIC, IX, 236, 247, 263, 304.

on a horseback and a turreted woman with a torch (fig.25 and 26).⁷¹¹ There are two known samples of the issue which are held in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna which differ from each other by the details on the obverse imperial representation: one sample has a plain bust and the another one depicts an emperor raising his one hand and holding a globe in the other one. In both cases, the obverse legend is DN VALENS PF AVG and the reverse bore GLORIA ROMANORVM. The issues were attributed to the mint of Antioch thanks to the mintmark A-N on the reverse. The published photos also show another figure in the exergue on the reverse which might be identified as the river god.⁷¹² The scene indicates that the represented figures are Tyche and the river Orontes. If this identification is accepted, it would mean that the personification of Tyche could also appear in the 370's. The issues were found in Romania at the end of the 18th century⁷¹³ and Noel Lenski interpreted them as medallions intended to be delivered to Gothia and related them to the general policy of Valens who was re-establishing connections with some tribes of the Tervingi after 369.⁷¹⁴ These multiples can be interpreted within the problematic historic situation when territories of the Empire were inhabited by barbarous tribes which on the one hand, presented a danger for the State and on the other hand, could be used as allies and provide manpower to the Roman army.

During the research, I had the opportunity to come across an issue which appeared on the market and has not been included in basic numismatic catalogues (fig.27).⁷¹⁵ It is a gold multiple struck in the name of Gratian bearing an Antiochene mintmark. The obverse legend (DN GRATIANVS AVG) corresponds to the Gratian's legends which appeared on one type of Antiochene gold solidi struck between 367 and 375.⁷¹⁶ This version of the obverse legend actually cannot be found in other mints where coins were struck in Gratian's name as his legends were usually slightly different.⁷¹⁷ The reverse type is rather similar to the reverses of solidi struck in Antioch between 367 and

⁷¹¹ RIC IX, 282 (no. 37 and 38).

⁷¹² e.g. see detail in Lenski 2002, 348-349 (fig.17).

⁷¹³ Harhoiu 1993, 225-229.

⁷¹⁴ Lenski 2002, 347. On the historic background and relations of Valens and Tervingi, see Curran 1998, 94-95.

⁷¹⁵ In 2002 it appeared on the auction at A. Tkalec AG, February 2002, lot 261 and later, in 2015, the same issue re-appeared on market in the auction house Numismatics Ars Classica, Auction 88, lot 515.

<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=30533|33|261|d4ce8d58dbccac2aacc2197cb4ddafa01> and <http://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=814356|1522|515|f60c893c7164d23f248bea4fb3901c91>

⁷¹⁶ RIC IX, 277 (no.21c).

⁷¹⁷ E.g. DN GRATIANVS PF AVG, DN GRATIANVS AVGG AVG and other versions, see RIC IX, 318.

375, thus meaning the solidi which represented an enthroned Roma and Constantinople⁷¹⁸ - the only difference is that on the solidi the personifications of Roma and Constantinopolis held together a shield with vota (fig.13 and 14), while on the unpublished multiple, they just look at each other and Constantinople is holding a globe surmounted by Victory. The reverse type of the multiple is actually very close to a multiple struck in Trier between 367 and 375 (fig.27a); moreover, these Western multiples were struck also in Gratian's name, however, the legend was not completely the same as the Antiochene issue (DN GRATIANVS PF AVG).⁷¹⁹ All this evidence indicates that the Antiochene multiple was struck most probably between the years 367 and 375. If this date is accepted, it makes the issue even more interesting as this was the period when Eastern mints were hesitant to strike coins in the name of Gratian. Furthermore, Antioch did not provide any other sample of a multiple struck in the name of Gratian. Multiples were in general not very common in this period and namely multiples struck in the name of Gratian are scarce.

Antioch did not provide samples of multiples struck in silver, which were produced in this period in Thessalonike,⁷²⁰ or in bronze which were struck in Constantinople before 367.⁷²¹ It seems that the aforementioned issues of multiples held in Vienna are actually the last samples of multiples struck in Antioch – there is no evidence of multiple issues struck after 378 which could be attributed to the Syrian mint. Constantinople did not strike multiples in this specific period (367-382), but multiples attributed to the capital city appeared again after 383⁷²², thus meaning in the period when no gold coinage is attested to Antioch.

The existence of these several multiples attest the importance of the Syrian city for the imperial policy and it is important to point out that the only evidence of multiples' production in the Eastern Mediterranean in this period is provided by the mint of Thessalonike which struck medallions in gold and silver between 367 and 378.⁷²³ A fact worth mentioning is that Antioch became the official residence of Valens after 370 who was responsible for the policy in the Eastern part of the Empire⁷²⁴ and thus Antioch

⁷¹⁸ RIC IX, 276 (no.16).

⁷¹⁹ RIC IX, 15 (no.11b).

⁷²⁰ RIC IX, 174 (no.7 and 8). Thessalonike also provided several examples of gold multiples, see RIC IX, 177 (no. 19-21).

⁷²¹ RIC IX, 214 (no.14)

⁷²² RIC IX, 230 (no. 65 and 66).

⁷²³ See RIC IX, 174 (no.7-8), 177 (no.19-21), 178 (no.28).

⁷²⁴ Lenski 2002, 167; Malcolm Errington 2006, 186-187.

became his central mint,⁷²⁵ which is logical that it was desirable to promote the imperial image of power there.

3. Antiochene coins after 378/9

(Plate VIII-X)

In 378, Valens died in the battle of Adrianople and Theodosius was elevated by Gratian to the rank of co-Augustus in the East.⁷²⁶ Actually, the history of Antioch in the period of Theodosius I (August 379-395) has been rather well documented and the socio-economic and historic background can be well reconstructed thanks to the works of Libanius and Ioannes Chrysostomos.

Theodosius unequivocally supported the orthodox faith and this influenced the situation in the East as the decade of the 370's was marked by religious disputes in Antioch.⁷²⁷ The decade of the 380's was affected by the attempts of various church hierarchs to achieve the position of the chief bishop of Antioch and consequent conflicts arose.⁷²⁸ The city of Antioch was also hit by very strong famines in the early phase of the decade of the 380's which very negatively affected the economic situation and provoked a general feeling of instability.⁷²⁹ It seems that most of the aforementioned events had no impact on Antiochene coinage; however, the period between 379 and 383 was rather distinctive in the production of the Antiochene mint if compared to the previous decade.

In general, coinage after 378 was influenced by several new trends. One of them was obviously the tendency for reverse types' uniformity, which is mainly obvious in the case of bronze coins and there are almost no differences in the repertoire of the Eastern mints.⁷³⁰ Gold coinage actually did not bear such uniform features and just three mints in the East struck gold issues (Constantinople, Thessalonike and Antioch) and each of them seems to follow a completely separate policy.⁷³¹

⁷²⁵ LRB, 50.

⁷²⁶ see e.g. Curran 1998, 101; Downey 1961, 414.

⁷²⁷ On the disputes, see Downey 1961, 414-415.

⁷²⁸ see Downey 1961, 416-417. The principal source are the works of Theodoret (Hist.Eccl, 5.3) and Dialogus de vita S. Ioannis Chrysostomi, 16.53.

⁷²⁹ Libanius Or.1.205-211, Or.27.6, Downey 1961, 419-421.

⁷³⁰ Carson 1990, 194. Compare the repertoire of bronze coins struck at Antioch, see RIC IX, 283-289 with those struck in Constantinople, RIC IX, 225-229 or those struck in Cyzicus, RIC IX, 242-244.

⁷³¹ The mint of Antioch struck in this period only two types of gold solidi with the reverse legend VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM depicting a Victory seated on cuirass and inscribing VOT/V on the shield, see RIC IX, 282-3 (no.39a-b). Neither Thessalonike nor Constantinople were striking these types of solidi in this period and each of them was striking different types, see RIC IX, 179-180 and 223-225.

3.1 A new trend: strong Westernization

The East was rather hesitant to strike coins in the name of Gratian and coins based on Western models in general in the early phase of the Valentinians and this fact evidently provoked a rather intensive westernization of coins struck in the Eastern Mediterranean after 379 when the position of Gratian was strengthened (fig.28).⁷³² Evidently, a kind of competition might have existed and maybe even hostility between Valens and Gratian⁷³³ and the death of Valens († 378) enabled Gratian to induce a common monetary policy in both halves of the Empire and to strike coins in his name in the East on a much larger scale than during the life of the senior emperor Valens.

After 378/9⁷³⁴, the differences between the East and West were not as obvious as before and mints in various parts of the Empire followed in general common models, however, varieties existed.⁷³⁵ Furthermore, the Gratian policy of inducing Western models in Eastern coinage is obvious in Antioch more than in other Eastern mints.⁷³⁶ Furthermore, Antioch included in its repertoire types that were not very common in other Eastern mints, but were quite common in the Western Mediterranean (e.g. the personification of Roma, fig.28).⁷³⁷

3.2 A return of tradition: Greek letters on coins

Despite the tendencies for a general Westernization, some elements in Antiochene coinage are exclusive and can be related to the local tradition and environment – e.g. the use of the Greek letters (Φ, Θ, Κ) in the field on reverses of some

⁷³² RIC IX, 266 – The westernization is mainly apparent regarding the bronze coins, on which Gratian name in the legends was almost ignored in the previous decade in Antioch. J.W.E.Pearcy mentions, beside others, rather intensive striking of Urbs Roma and various types of vota on larger scale in Antioch than in other Eastern mints. RIC IX 288 (no.51).

⁷³³ N.Lenski mentioned the situations when the emperors denied to helping each other and he mentioned as a one of the factors also the Valens' arrianism, see Lenski 2002, 366-7. On the other hand, I had not managed to find any direct evidence on their hostility (e.g. in primary sources).

⁷³⁴ In 378 Valens died at the battle of Adrianople and Theodosius was elevated by Gratian to the rank of co-Augustus in the East, see Curran 1998, 101.

⁷³⁵ RIC IX, xix (type AE3 Concordia Auggg). J. W. E. Pearce emphasized the importance for Valentinian to express the unity of the Empire which was actually administratively divided at least by the coinage, see Pearce 1948, 66.

⁷³⁶ RIC IX, 266.

⁷³⁷ E.g. reverse type VRBS-ROMA depicting a seated figure of Roma and holding Victory on globe, RIC IX, 288 (no.51, Antioch) was employed in the East only in Nicomedia, where it was not really common, see RIC IX, 266, 259 (no.34). This reverse type was very spread in the West already in the period prior to 378 on silver and bronze coins, see e.g. the mint of Rome, RIC IX, 119 (no.11, silver silqua), 121 (no.22, bronze), 124-5 (no.35, 42, silver and bronze) or Trier, RIC IX, 19 (no.27) and elsewhere.

bronze issues (AE3) struck between 378/9 and 383 in the names of Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius I (fig. 29-31 / NM Rom 186-187).⁷³⁸ J.W.E. Pearce connected the phenomenon to the tradition of the small local coinage struck in the past which could bear Greek letters too.⁷³⁹ He proposed that striking such coins could be an effort of Roman rulers to promote their authority in this region by including local elements on their coins. In this way, coins combined Western and Eastern elements as many of them actually represented the personification of Rome with the Greek letters next to her figure.

Recently, however, an unpublished coin has been discovered, which points out the complexity of Antiochene coinage under the Valentinians.⁷⁴⁰ This unique bronze coin with an Antiochene mintmark was struck in the name of the emperor Valens (d. 378) and bore Greek characters on its reverse (fig.32). All published issues of coins with Greek letters on the reverse struck in the 4th century have been dated in the period after the death of Valens. The legend used on the recently published issue for Valens (DN VALENS-PERF AVG) had been known before exclusively from the Antiochene gold and silver issues and multiples, but no bronze coins with such a version for Valens have been published.⁷⁴¹ The reverse type of this enigmatic coin is SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE which was a reverse widespread in the early phase of the Valentinian period and later common mainly in the Western part of the Empire; however, it could sporadically appear in Eastern mints too.⁷⁴² The precise date of this coin is under discussion;⁷⁴³ however, the existence of such a coin indicates that the phenomenon of using Greek letters on imperial coins in the 4th century might not be exclusively related to the period after 379, but that it might be common also some years before.

3.3 Augusta on coins with Christian symbols

⁷³⁸ RIC IX, 266-267, 284-288 (nos.44 – 51).

⁷³⁹ RIC IX, 266-7; Percy 1948, 68-69.

⁷⁴⁰ Campo 2015.

⁷⁴¹ see RIC IX, 272-274 (no.2d, 2e, 3c, 4b, 14, 16 C-D, 17, 18 and others.)

⁷⁴² RIC IX; Campo 2015, 21.

⁷⁴³ Renato Campo gives three possible explanations for this coin: either it is a hybrid or it a posthumous issue or it was struck already during the life of Valens or he emphasizes the possibility that this issue might fill the gap between 375-378 when no Antiochene coinage is known. If the chronology 375-378 is accepted, the dating of some issues now attributed in the period 379-383 must be revisited, see Campo 2015, 21-22.

From 379 till 386, Antioch also struck coins (fig.36) in the name of Flacilla (d. 385/6),⁷⁴⁴ wife of Theodosius I. These coins were common in most of the Eastern mints in this period (fig.33-36 / NM Rom 199 and 202). Western mints have provided just few examples of Flacilla's coinage (fig.37) which is logical when considering that she was a spouse of a co-emperor who had the Eastern part of the Roman Empire under his control.⁷⁴⁵ Two basic categories of bronze issues struck in Flacilla's name can be recognised; they both bore a reverse legend SALVS REI-PVBLICAE and the first had on its reverse the representation of a seated Victory inscribing a Chi-Rho monogram in the shield.⁷⁴⁶ This type was struck in all Eastern mints and the only catalogued examples which I have managed to find from a mint in the Western Roman Empire are several coins struck at Siscia.⁷⁴⁷

The second reverse type which was related to Flaccilla were bronze issues depicting on their reverse an empress standing with folded arms (fig. 38),⁷⁴⁸ which is in accordance to numismatists, a position expressing a posture of prayer.⁷⁴⁹ These coins were struck almost everywhere in the Eastern Mediterranean (fig.39 and 40). It is evident that Flaccilla's coins played a specific role in the policy of Theodosius as they combined dynastic interests by representing his consort and religious motifs.

In general, the use of Christian symbols as details in the reverse fields became more common on solidi and bronze coins struck in Antioch after 364;⁷⁵⁰ however, some other Eastern mints do not seem to include Christian symbols more than before (e.g. Thessaloniki).⁷⁵¹ Chi-Rho monogram and a crosses topped with P appeared in the designs of some Eastern coins rather early after the ascension of Valentinian in 364 and mints provided various examples with the Christian monogram in the left or right fields

⁷⁴⁴ see RIC IX, 284 (no.43).

⁷⁴⁵ There can be recognised two basic types of bronze issues struck in Flacilla's name: SALVS REI-PVBLICAE with the representation of a seated Victory inscribing a chi-rho monogram in the shield which was struck in all the Eastern mints and the only catalogued example which I have managed to find from a mint in the Western Roman empire are several coins struck at Siscia, RIC IX,153 (no. 34 and 35). N.Q.King openly states in his monograph that Flacilla appeared most probably only in the mints under Theodosius' direct control, see King 1961, 119. The second reverse type which was related to Flacilla were bronze issues depicting on the reverse empress standing with folded arms (in Antioch RIC IX, 291, no.62). These coins were struck almost everywhere in the Eastern Mediterranean with the exclusion of Constantinople and Thessalonike.

⁷⁴⁶ RIC IX, 284, no. 43.

⁷⁴⁷ RIC IX,153 (no. 34 and 35) N.Q.King openly states in his monograph that Flacilla appeared most probably only in the mints under Theodosius' direct control, see King 1961, 119.

⁷⁴⁸ in Antioch RIC IX, 291, no.62

⁷⁴⁹ RIC IX, 205.

⁷⁵⁰ RIC IX, 282-283 (no. 39), 283-4 (40, 41).

⁷⁵¹ see the production between 378 and 393, RIC IX, 179-188 as the chi-rho monogram appeared only on some bronze issues, see RIC IX, 184 (no.46), 186 (no.59, 62) ad 188 (no.65).

(fig. 16, 17, 19 and 27).⁷⁵² The motif appeared in the West definitely later.⁷⁵³ Between 383 and 392, the Chi-Rho monogram and crosses became a regular part of the reverse designs of Antiochene coins (NM Rom 205-208);⁷⁵⁴ however, these symbols were not really common between 392- 395 when Theodosius' family ruled the whole Empire on their own and it was incorporated just in the design of the smallest types of bronze coins struck in this period.⁷⁵⁵ The aforementioned examples of the Chi-Rho monogram belong to the not very rich evidence of the Theodosian religious policy which was rather intensive, but for some reason, was reflected just on some coins and just by a minor iconographic detail incorporated in the reverse type.⁷⁵⁶

4. General trends after 383

At the beginning of 383, Arcadius was elevated to the rank of August and several months later, Gratian was murdered.⁷⁵⁷ This political development caused the position of Theodosius and his family to strengthen.⁷⁵⁸ The year 383 brought not only political change, but also several new significant trends in the imperial coinage.

The main innovation related to the production of the Antiochene mint is the fact that only bronze coins were produced after 383. It is worth mentioning that the mints of Cyzicus, Nicomedia and Heraclea did not strike in gold or silver after 379.⁷⁵⁹ This means that Antioch continued to be, next to Constantinople and Thessalonike, the only main centre to strike gold and silver coins in the Eastern Mediterranean between 379 and 383. After 383, the only two mints in the Eastern Mediterranean which continued to produce coins struck in precious metals were Thessalonike and Constantinople.

An increased tendency for uniformity in Valentinian coinage in the Eastern Empire after 380 can definitely be observed. In general, reverse types became rather

⁷⁵² RIC VIII, 275 (no.13), 277 (no.21), 282 (nos.39a-b) and others; King 1961, 120.

⁷⁵³ King 1961, 120. E.g. the mint of Rome provided evidence on the incorporation of the Chi-Rho monogram in the Valentinian coinage in the period after 388, see RIC VIII, 132 (no.60); however it does not mean that it would not appear on coins of Constantinian dynasty. Some Western mints did not provide any evidence on the use of Christian symbols in the Valentinian period, see for examples Trier (RIC VIII, 13-34) or Lugdunum (RIC VIII, 42-53).

⁷⁵⁴ RIC IX, 292-293.

⁷⁵⁵ RIC IX, 293-294. The RIC catalogue provided an evidence on a type of small bronze coins (module AE 4) with the reverse depicting the Victory inscribing the christogram on the shield, but these coins are actually indistinguishable from the samples with the same representation from the previous decade, see RIC IX, 295 (note at no. 70).

⁷⁵⁶ see some remarks regarding the Christian symbolism on Theodosian coins, King 1961, 122-123.

⁷⁵⁷ Curran 1998, 105; ODB 173; Leppin 2003, 87-91, 127-128.

⁷⁵⁸ Leppin 2003, 115-116, 127.

⁷⁵⁹ see in RIC IX Nicomedia, p.256; Cyzicus, p.242; Heraclea, p.194; Alexadria, p.299.

limited and such a variety like in the previous decade did not exist;⁷⁶⁰ however, similar trends were also obvious in Western mints.

The repertoire of bronze reverses which appeared in Antioch after 383 is actually almost the same like in the case of coins struck in other Eastern mints. Furthermore, all bronze coins struck in Antioch belonged to the same modules' category like other bronze issues struck in the mints situated in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁷⁶¹ It seems that from 388 to 392, most of the Eastern mints mainly struck bronze coins of the smallest module AE4 whose weight was usually about 1 gr. (fig. 42 / NM Rom 216).⁷⁶² Some of the novelties introduced after 383 (e.g. the letter "T" in the field) were, again, common in all Eastern mints.⁷⁶³

In general, the late 380's was a rather troubled period due to the problematic political development in the West⁷⁶⁴ and the situation in Antioch was marked by a great dissatisfaction with the imperial power which lead to severe riots in 387.⁷⁶⁵ The main reasons why these riots broke out have been related to increased financial burdens.⁷⁶⁶ The period around 390 was also related to the intense and tough religious policy of Theodosius against paganism in the whole Empire.⁷⁶⁷ For the period between 392 and 395, thus the period when the whole empire was exclusively in the hands of Theodosius and his family, the reverse typology of Antiochene coins was rather limited: representations of a figure of an emperor either standing (fig.41 / NM Rom 209-213) or on a horseback (fig. 42 / NM Rom 215 and 215) or Victory dragging a captive (fig.43 / NM Rom 216).⁷⁶⁸ All these coins were struck in the names of Theodosius or his sons, Arcadius and Honorius and their iconography did not represent any novelties on late Roman coins. The situation was rather similar to other Eastern mints and the types struck there did not differ from those struck elsewhere.

⁷⁶⁰ for types see RIC IX, 292-295.

⁷⁶¹ e.g. compare the reverse types and modules at Antioch between 383 and 395 (RIC IX, 290-295) with that of Nicomedia (RIC IX, 260-263) and Heraclea (RIC IX, 196-199).

⁷⁶² see RIC IX for Heraclea, Constantinople, Cyzicus and Nicomedia. The only mint producing gold coins in these years in the Eastern Mediterranean was Thessaloniki, see RIC IX, p.188. The RIC IX does not refer to gold coins in Constantinople in the period between 388 and 395, see RIC IX, p.234.

⁷⁶³ RIC IX, 267, 290-1 (nos.59-61).

⁷⁶⁴ The Western part was under influence of the usurper Magnus Maximus and Valentinian II's position was restored by Theodosius in 388 and later usurper Eugenius evoked problems in 392-394, see Curran 1998, 108-109.

⁷⁶⁵ see the Statue riots, v Chapter 2.

⁷⁶⁶ Libanius Or. XIX, 25, XXII, 4.

⁷⁶⁷ Curran 1998, 108.

⁷⁶⁸ types Gloria-Romanorum for Ae 2 and 3 and SALVS REI-PVBLICAE, RIC IX, 294-295 (no.68, 69 and 70).

It is possible to say that the year 383 has a symbolic position in Antiochene coinage as it constitutes a threshold after which Antiochene coins are rather uniform and were struck exclusively in bronze.

5. Officinae

The period between 364 and 395 also brought interesting evidence on the use of officinae; however, a definite statement on their use in general in this period cannot be made.⁷⁶⁹ The system of officinae seems to be similar to the one used in the previous decades. Most probably, each officina letter was designated for one specific ruler in whose name the coin was struck.⁷⁷⁰ The gold coins struck in the early period of the Valentinian dynasty provided evidence on up to eight officina letters.⁷⁷¹ Bronze coins could usually bear officina letters A to E and in some cases evidence exists on the letter S.⁷⁷² It seems that in the last years of Theodosius I's reign (392-395) only four officina letters (A, B, Γ, Δ) could evidently appear on coins (see NM Rom 209-216).⁷⁷³

6. Vota coinage

Vota coins struck under the Valentinian dynasty provided many interesting elements. In general, Antiochene vota coinage of this period is rather puzzling⁷⁷⁴ and Antioch provided many issues of vota coins (fig.4, 10-14, 19-21 / NM Rom 194-195, 203-204) and several issues which pose questions regarding the precise background of its striking.⁷⁷⁵ Silver vota coins struck in Antioch during the period 367-375 are extremely

⁷⁶⁹ On the one the use could be irregular as there are two series of siliquae of same reverse type which one had officinae mentioned and the another one not, see RIC IX, p. xxxvi, 279-281 (no. 32-34); J.W.E. Pearce also came to conclusion that in the period 379-383 there existed a pattern in the use of officinae in relation to a specific emperor, thus means that e.g. on bronze coins struck in the name of the same emperor the same officinal appeared; however this system did not work at Antioch completely in the same way as in Constantinople and it seems that for some reasons the system was more complicated, see RIC IX, 267. It seems that in period after 383 Arcadius appeared at Antioch exclusively in off.S and Flacilla in E, etc., see RIC IX, 268.

⁷⁷⁰ e.g. RIC IX, 267-8..

⁷⁷¹ RIC IX, 270-271.

⁷⁷² RIC IX, 290-292.

⁷⁷³ RIC IX, 294-295.

⁷⁷⁴ In general the vota coinage of the Valentinian period poses various questions: e.g. the numbers referring to quinquennalia or decennalia did not often correspond to the reality: J.W.E. Pearce mentions various sample, e.g. siliqua with VOT XXMVL T XXX struck in the name of Valens who ruled less than fourteenth years, see RIC IX, xxxviii.

⁷⁷⁵ e.g. vot V for Arcadius was rare there, however it was common in other Eastern mints, see RIC IX, 267.

common and J.W.E. Pearce expressed an opinion on the possibility that these coins were mainly designated to support currency than to play just a commemorative role.⁷⁷⁶

After 378, many votae also appeared on bronze coins and most of them were struck at various mints throughout the Mediterranean; however, some of these votae have no documented parallels from other mints.⁷⁷⁷

The variety of votae which appeared on Antiochene coins is relatively rich in comparison to other mints. Furthermore, some of the versions were not employed elsewhere;⁷⁷⁸ however, other mints could also strike various peculiarities regarding vota coinage.

7. Portraits

In general, no significant changes or innovations are related to Valentinian coinage. Some minor details provoke interest,⁷⁷⁹ but they do not attest the general trends or a different attitude towards imperial representations in general. Most of the busts which can be seen on coins struck in Antioch are similar to those which appeared on coins struck elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean. If a minor innovation or a different feature in the imperial portraiture appeared, it was an element common for all mints situated in the Eastern part of the Empire too. Some minor details in the portraiture on Antiochene coins have been emphasized by scholars.⁷⁸⁰

8. Mintmarks

The main mintmark employed on Antiochene coins under the Valentinian dynasty was ANT which was used on the bronze as well as on gold issues. Since 367, the letters OB were added to ANT after the Valentinian reform of the gold solidi. This means that the system of mintmarks became rather simplified if comparing it with the period of the Constantinian dynasty.

⁷⁷⁶ RIC IX, 265.

⁷⁷⁷ E.g. coins of the smallest module (AE 4) bearing vota VOT/X/MVLT/XXX, see RIC IX, 289 (no.57).

⁷⁷⁸ e.g. there exists evidence on the use of VICTORIA AVGVTORVM VOT X MVLT XX, see RIC IX, 279 (no. 27 and 28, both in the name of Valens, period 367-375); while elsewhere was used exclusively MVL without T. Another example is the use of VOT X MVLT XXX (RIC IX, 289, no. 57, Theodosius, 378-383) – which is probably a hybrid as this vota

⁷⁷⁹ e.g. Bastien mentions the use of croix pattée on the buste of Valens (Bastien 1992, 83; RIC IX, 280/118).

⁷⁸⁰ For example the hairstyle of Flacilla on the Antiochene coins has been described as more simple than in other mints, but decorated, while elsewhere the details of decoration are missing (see Bastien 1992, 624).

9. Concluding remarks on Antiochene coinage (364-395)

The coinage of the Valentinian dynasty can be considered rather distinctive from various aspects. It was actually the first time when scholars were able to formulate opinions on the open reflection of the different developments in the East and West prior to the final division of the empire (395);⁷⁸¹ however, emperors intended to evoke unity on their coinage.⁷⁸²

Actually, fourth century coins reflect the reality mentioned already by various modern historians: that the division of the Empire did not happen for the first time in 395, but it was a gradual process which actually already started in 364 when the imperial brothers Valens and Valentinian divided the Empire's administration.⁷⁸³ In addition, some scholars search for the beginning of the administrative division as early as in the third century.⁷⁸⁴

The mint of Antioch usually struck the same types of coins like other mints in the Eastern part of the Empire; however, in the first decade of the reign of the Valentinian dynasty, Antioch's resistance to introduce coinage based on the Western models was evidently much more intense than in other Eastern mints. It seems that the Antiochene mint gives evidence on the strong opposition towards the influences from the West.⁷⁸⁵ This kind of resistance towards the trends established by the central power is a kind of leitmotif in Roman coinage of Antioch and attempts to maintain patterns of local coinage and to negatively face new trends implied by new rulers can be also found in the first few centuries after the conquest of Syria by the Romans.⁷⁸⁶

The period after the battle of Adrianople (378) brought some new trends in the coinage. After 379, the situation evidently changed and the Eastern mints followed the

⁷⁸¹ see notes of J.W.E.Pearcy in RIC IX, xviii-xx and his article Percy 1948. No interpretations like that were formulated for coins from the previous decades.

⁷⁸² see e.g. Percy 1948, 67-68.

⁷⁸³ „The split did not first happen in 395 on the death of Theodosius I, but was already in place in 364, after which no serious effort was made to stop the gradual development of separate administrations in East and West“, Errington 2006, 1. On the factual division of the Empire under Valentinian, see e.g. Hughes 2013, 25-28; Lenski 2002, 167-168; Barnes 2014, 142-143; Drijvers 2015, 86-90.

⁷⁸⁴ Williams – Friell 1999, 15.

⁷⁸⁵ There also exists evidence in Libanius works on the negative reception of some innovations introduced by Valentinians, e.g. changes in education laws which concerned also students at Antioch, which played a role of cultural centre in the East, see e.g. Lenski 2002, 270; Lib. Or. 1.169-170 and on rather heavy financial burdens of curials who were responsible for the matters in the cities in general, see Lenski 2002, 274-277, 290 and some of the financial problems were evidently related to the enormous expenses of Julian and the need for economic sources provoked massive debt collections, see Lenski 2002, 291.

⁷⁸⁶

Western models rather faithfully. Furthermore, the Antiochene mint which was among the eastern mints the most reluctant to adopt Western models before 379, started to strike coins which were largely influenced by Western models and evidently a more strict policy existed which induced Antioch to follow the Western patterns more than in other Eastern mints. This fact could be interpreted as an expression of power by Gratian who ruled in the Western part of the Empire and whose position in the East was strengthened after the death of Valens who was killed in battle. Like that, Antiochene coins can be understood as a good source of evidence on the complicated relationship between the Western and Eastern parts and their rulers prior to the Empire's division in 395. It seems that Roman emperors were more successful in the expression of unified power via coinage in the period after 379 and that for some reason, Eastern mints, especially Antioch, were capable of some kind of resistance towards the general trends in the monetary policy of the Empire prior to this date, but after 379 they were rather obligated to strike coins similar to those struck in the West. It is an open question whether this phenomenon could be placed within a historic context as the 360's was a rather troubled period for Valens who had to face several dangers in the East (e.g. Goths, Persians and the usurper Procopius) and the relationship between rulers of the various regions (Iberia, Armenia and Persia) were complicated.⁷⁸⁷ Valens was also confronted with a rather serious problem related to bandits in Syria.⁷⁸⁸ It could be suggested that the imperial power was not focused on the factual control in the mint as more serious problems were ongoing in the region and, furthermore, Valens might have seen Gratian as a competitor and so he might have been reluctant to strike in the Eastern coins in the name of his nephew; however, so far I have not managed to find direct evidence on any hostility between the two emperors. It is important to point out that internal conflicts and complicated relationships between co-rulers were openly expressed on coins.⁷⁸⁹ It seems that the role of coins as a propagandist medium underwent specific development in this period.

After the death of Valens, a new August in the East, Theodosius I, was appointed by Gratian in 379. Coins provided evidence on the increase of 'Theodosius' influence, his

⁷⁸⁷ Ian Hughes use the term "Crisis in the East" as a title for the chapter dealing with the situation in the Eastern part of the Empire in this period, see Hughes 2013, 160. For the description of the complicated situation in the Eastern part of the Empire, see Lenski 2002, 153-210.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibidem.

⁷⁸⁹ J.W.E.Pearce mentions various samples how the emperors attempted to indicate their superiority e.g. by depicting the co-ruler at the same position as their son or by striking a very small amount of coins or no coins in the name of the co-ruler etc., see RIC IX, xx-xxii.

attempts to promote his family and the fact that Christian symbols were integrated as a regular part in the iconography. Some coin types indicate that in the period of Theodosius I, despite the fact that serious riots and severe food shortages occurred in Syria, the mint of Antioch was under much better control than in the previous decades and its² coinage was fully included in the imperial propaganda program (e.g. the striking of coins in the name of Theodosius' consort Flacilla which were common in most of the Eastern mints).

The fact that after 379 coins with Greek letters were for several years systematically struck in Antioch also indicates the existence of a rather strong local tradition and the ability to revive features which were similar to elements common on Civic coins whose production had always been related to the expression of a kind of local identity, independence or peculiarity⁷⁹⁰ and their circulation was more or less regulated by local authorities as they were designated for circulation in specific areas.⁷⁹¹ The fact that the letters were Greek can be presented as another supportive argument on the preference of the Greek language in Antioch and the reality that employees in the mint were acquainted with the Greek alphabet.⁷⁹²

In general, it seems that the period around 380 was rather decisive for the mint of Antioch as various new trends mentioned above were introduced. Furthermore, there are no multiples struck in Antioch after that year and in general, gold coinage was limited to be later completely abandoned after 383. Overall, the production of the Antiochene mint after 383 was not as rich as before in terms of the types' variety and, moreover, the production of coins struck in precious metals was completely abandoned. Similar trends were again common for all mints in the Eastern part of the Empire,⁷⁹³ so it seems that new measures concerning the monetary policy in the Eastern part of the Empire were undertaken. These facts suggest that despite the obvious attempts of the Eastern mints to strike the same models like in the West, many local features and specific trends in the monetary policy existed. The last few years of Theodosius I's reign (392-395) did not provide any noticeable features or changes in the Antiochene mint and it seems that its²

⁷⁹⁰ On the general relation of provincial coins and the concept of identity, see Howgego 2005, 1-2, 16-17. On the use of Greek language on the provincial coins and its role as a self-definition, see Howgego 2005, 12-13; Harl 1997, 12-13. On the expression of identity via provincial coins, see Butcher 2005, 145

⁷⁹¹ See e.g. the situation in the first century BC: Butcher 2002, 145 and 150.

⁷⁹² Liebeschuetz 1972, 247-248; Maas 2000, 15, 17.

⁷⁹³ e.g. compare production of Antioch, Nicomedia and Constantinople with that of Aquileia, Rome or Mediolanum in RIC IX and also the variety of legends are less than in the West.

production followed the general trends and can be paralleled with the production of Nicomedia, Cyzicus or Constantinople.

The production in the Western part of the Empire was facing different problems towards the end of the Valentinian dynasty: the period after 383 was actually troubled when Gratian died (383). Various usurpers influenced the difficult political situation in the West during the 380's and 390's and coins were struck in their names (Magnus Maximus; and Eugenius).⁷⁹⁴ Coins struck in the Western part also often represented types different to those common in the East.⁷⁹⁵ To sum up, towards the end of Theodosius I's life, coinage of the Western and Eastern parts of the Empire represented rather distinctive formations which reflected the different political situations of the regions: the mints situated in the Eastern part controlled by Theodosius provided examples of a rather homogenous production; on the contrary, the mints situated in the West were influenced by various factors and while comparing the mints amongst themselves, many differences and varieties can be observed.

The coinage of the Valentinian dynasty and Theodosius I illustrates the problematic situation in which the Roman Empire was found in the last decades of the fourth century and it helps the understanding of the fact that the division of the empire in 395 was a result of a rather gradual and a long term process.

⁷⁹⁴ Curran 1998, 104-110.

⁷⁹⁵ Some of the Western mints were evidently striking just gold and silver coins during the last years of Theodosius I's reign, e.g. Mediolanum (see RIC IX, 83-84); some others limited their production to one bronze denomination of the smallest module AE4 with an iconographic type "Victoria augustorum" uncommon in the East, e.g. Arelate (see RIC IX, 70). Some mints were striking the coins in the names of the usurpers, see e.g. Eugenius in Trevir (RIC IX, 33-34) or Lugdunum (RIC IX, 52-53). These are just few differences whose list could be much longer.

2d. Theodosius dynasty (395-457)

1. The divided Empire and the Theodosian dynasty

The reality that the Empire was divided after the death of Theodosius I († 395) also affected the monetary policy. One of the main differences regarding Eastern coinage is the fact that there is no coinage for usurpers like in the West and Eastern emperors usually reigned for a relatively long period in contrast to Western rulers where often changes in the power structure became common.⁷⁹⁶ Eastern coins were struck mainly in the names of Eastern emperors and their family members; however, they continued to reflect Western rulers and coins were also struck in their names (e.g. the name of Honorius was employed on coins of Arcadius or Theodosius II and the name of Valentinian III was employed on coins of Theodosius II and Marcian), but the phenomenon was much more rare than before.⁷⁹⁷

The different development was also obvious in the case of bronze coinage which was struck in the smallest module (AE4) mainly in the West, but bigger modules (AE 3 and 2) continued to be struck in the East, however, in some phases the smallest module prevailed there too.⁷⁹⁸ The complicated monetary policy regarding bronze coinage also brought several phenomena which were in previous decades rare and exclusively related to the phases of demonetization; overstriking of earlier types by other dies.⁷⁹⁹ A characteristic problem related to the economy in this period was also heavy taxation.⁸⁰⁰

Just two mints struck in precious metals in the Eastern part of the Empire: Constantinople and Thessalonike. The other active mints, Antioch included, exclusively produced bronze issues.⁸⁰¹

The bronze coins of Antioch are recognized for their high quality of engraving; but at the same time, their weights often did not correspond to the standards in other mints and flans were often poor (too small, poor quality, etc.) – facts which lead to a conclusion on the inadequate supervision and organization in the mint.⁸⁰²

⁷⁹⁶ Carson 1990, 211.

⁷⁹⁷ Carson 1990, 211.

⁷⁹⁸ RIC X, 68.

⁷⁹⁹ RIC X, 68.

⁸⁰⁰ Jones 1964b, 206; Carson 1990, 201.

⁸⁰¹ Carson 1990, 211.

⁸⁰² RIC X, 41.

2. After the division of the Empire: the coinage of Arcadius (395-408)

(Plate XI-XII)

2.1 The early phase (395-401)

In general, Arcadius' reign is divided into four monetary phases (395-401, 401-403, 404-406 and 406-408).⁸⁰³ The first phase (395-401) covers the first six years of Arcadius' reign in the divided Empire. In this period, all Eastern mints produced bronze coins with the exception of Thessaloniki.⁸⁰⁴ The variety of types was radically limited if comparing the production of Eastern mints under Arcadius with the production under the Valentinian dynasty. For the period between 395 and 401, only two types of bronze coins have been attributed to the Eastern mints, both in the module AE3 (fig. 1 and 2).⁸⁰⁵ The type VIRTUS EXERCITI was struck either in the name of Arcadius or Honorius and the reverse represented the figure of a standing emperor holding a spear and being crowned by Victory (fig.3 / NM Rom 217-221). The type GLORIA ROMANORVM was struck exclusively in the name of Eudoxia and depicted on the reverse the empress enthroned with folded hands on her chest being crowned by Manus Dei (fig. 4 / NM Rom 222), which from then on became a regular symbol represented on coins struck in the names of Eastern empresses.⁸⁰⁶ The Antiochene mint in general followed common trends and struck the same types like other mints; however, some peculiarities appeared.

The Syrian mint struck unusual varieties for both types and these variations have no parallels elsewhere. Firstly, Antioch struck the type VIRTUS EXERCITI not only in the names of Arcadius and Honorius, but also in the name of Eudoxia.⁸⁰⁷ In the other mints, Eudoxia was exclusively represented on the type GLORIA ROMANORVM and coins with the legend VIRTUS-EXERCITI did not bear the empress' portrait at all.

The mint of Antioch provided one more exception: a variety of GLORIA ROMANORVM with the representation of Arcadius on the obverse (fig. 5)⁸⁰⁸ was also struck which is interesting when realizing that other mints struck this type exclusively in

⁸⁰³ In accordance to RIC X, 68-72.

⁸⁰⁴ RIC X, 68. There have been some gold solidi attributed to Thessaloniki and dated to the period of Arcadius, see RIC X, 243-4.

⁸⁰⁵ RIC X, 246-7. There is also evidence on one AE2 (GLORIA ROMANORVM with the representation of a standing emperor) dated to 395 and struck exclusively in the Capital mint, see RIC X, 246 (no.55).

⁸⁰⁶ On the obverse the hand of the God was depicted above the empress' head, RIC X, 52, which was interpreted by J.P.C.Kent and Kenneth G. Holum as a public manifestation of her status as during the conflict with John Chrysostom who considered improper to a woman was participating in rulership (RIC X, 52; Holum 65-67). On the symbol and its' use on coins in 5th century, see LRC, 76.

⁸⁰⁷ RIC X, 246-247. The coin is rather rare and I have not managed to find a nice sample to include in the catalogue.

⁸⁰⁸ RIC X, 248 (no.82).

the name of Eudoxia with her bust on the obverse.⁸⁰⁹ This means that the male bust and legend referring to Arcadius appeared on coins which had on their reverse the representation of an enthroned empress. Such a combination is exceptional in late Roman coinage. These mules were relatively of small and poor fabric and their precise reasons for their striking is unclear,⁸¹⁰ however, it seems to be related to the problematic administration and control in the mint.

It is worth mentioning that the types with Eudoxia's bust had to be struck in a short time period as Eudoxia was elevated to the rank of Augusta in 400⁸¹¹ and coins struck in her name referred to this title (AEL EVDO-XIA AVG).⁸¹² The augusta died just a few years later, in 404.⁸¹³

Another particularity is the fact that only in Antioch and Cyzicus bronze coins were struck with the imperial bust wearing a rosette-diadem (fig.6 / NM Rom 221) while other mints exclusively used the pearl-diadem on imperial portraits;⁸¹⁴ however, the rosette diadem could be seen on some gold and silver issues struck in Constantinople under Arcadius. It seems that the rosette diadem became a rather unusual element in the imperial portraiture⁸¹⁵ and that for some reason, the mints of Antioch and Cyzicus preferred a different iconographic detail in the imperial portraiture than the other Eastern mints. It is important to stress that this type of diadem was an element which was rather common on coins of fourth century emperors. A similar trend can also be observed on Honorius' coins struck in the West where the pearl diadem prevailed too, however, singular cases of the rosette diadem have been documented.⁸¹⁶ Such a specific element might not seem to be indicative, but it means that two Eastern mints (Cyzicus and Antioch) continued to employ an iconographic detail which was common in previous centuries.

2.2 After 401 till 403

⁸⁰⁹ See RIC X, 247-248.

⁸¹⁰ RIC X, 69.

⁸¹¹ Holum 1982, 65; Chronikon Pasch. a 400; LRC, 133.

⁸¹² RIC X, 247.

⁸¹³ ODB 740.

⁸¹⁴ for the Antiochene coins with the rosette diadems see RIC X, 247 (no. 71 and 73) and for the pearl-diadem RIC X, 247 (nos.70 and 72).

⁸¹⁵ See RIC X, 240 (no.6, gold multiple struck between 397 and 403);245 (no. 520, siliqua struck between 403-408)

⁸¹⁶ E.g. several bronze issues struck in Rome, RIC X, 327 (no.1272, 1275, 1278, 1281) and one solidus, see RIC X, 333 (no.1325).

The following years (401-403) provided, again, just two basic types in Eastern mints and again both in AE3 module: one with the legend *CONCORDI-AAVGG*⁸¹⁷ (fig.7 - 9) and another one with the legend *SALVS REIPVBLICAE* (fig.10-12 / NM Rom 223).⁸¹⁸

Both of these types represented female personifications on their reverses. In the first case, it was an enthroned Constantinople holding Victory on a globe and in the second case it was Victory inscribing a Chi-Rho monogram on a shield; this is also the only case of the use of a Chi-Rho monogram on Arcadian bronze coins.⁸¹⁹

The fact that the reverse legend in the first case referred to Concordia in this period did not go unnoticed as it was a virtue popular on coins struck in the name of Theodosius I and J.P.C. Kent connects its use on Arcadius' coins after 401 with the stabilization of relations between the Western and Eastern parts of the Roman Empire.⁸²⁰ This type was struck in the names of Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius II who was elevated to the rank of August in 402.⁸²¹

All known issues bear on their obverse the three-quarter imperial helmeted and diademed bust. In all cases, the diadem was pearl. Only Antioch provided examples with the pearl diadem, as well as samples with the rosette one (fig.8).⁸²²

The type *SALVS REIPVBLICAE* was exclusively struck in the name of Eudoxia and also bore her portrait on the obverse (fig.10-13 / NM Rom 223). The fact that the representation of Victory seated on a cuirass inscribing a Chi-Rho monogram was employed on the reverse offers a parallel to the coins struck in the name of Flacilla under Theodosius I (Pl.X/fir.33-36). Despite the small size, Antiochene and Constantinopolitan coins actually provided issues with a rather well represented cuirass on which Victory was

⁸¹⁷ Concordia was a virtue popular on coins struck in the name of Theodosius I and J.P.C. Kent connects its use on Arcadius' coins after 401 with the stabilization of relations between the Western and Eastern parts of the Roman Empire, see RIC X, 64.

⁸¹⁸ Look for the types: RIC X, 248-249.

⁸¹⁹ Otherwise, the Chi-Rho monogram appeared exclusively on gold issues in Constantinople, see RIC X, 240-241 (nos.4-5, 10-12, 14-15); 242-243 (no.28, 32, 32a).

⁸²⁰ RIC X, 64.

⁸²¹ Kent 1991, 51.

⁸²² RIC X, 71, 248 (no.98); Kent 1991, 52.

seated (fig.13), while coins struck in Nicomedia and Cyzicus represented the seat of Victory in a more simplified way (fig.10).⁸²³

These two types, CONCORDIA AVGG and SALVS REIPVBLICAE, were struck in Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus and Antioch.⁸²⁴ Other than Nicomedia, all these mints struck coins in one workshop, referring to it as “A” (fig.10 and 11).⁸²⁵ For some reason, Antiochene coins always referred to a third workshop, Γ officina (fig.12 and 13) and no other officinae have been documented.⁸²⁶ This fact again indicates that the mint of Antioch was for some reason operating in a different way than other mints. The mints of Heraclea and Alexandria did not provide any of these types; however, these two mints were active in the previous as well as the following years.⁸²⁷

2.3 After 404 till the death of Arcadius (408)

Evidently, the period after 404 brought several changes to the bronze coinage in the Eastern Roman Empire as coins struck in the smallest module AE4 (less than 1,7 cm.) started to dominate production.⁸²⁸ All issues bear the reverse legend CONCORDIA and the different types’ variations are related to the breaks in legends and the versions of abbreviated titles on the obverse.⁸²⁹ Antioch, like most of the other mints situated in the Eastern Mediterranean, struck coins in module AE4 with the reverse legend CONCORDIA AVGGG (fig.14). The reverse iconography became rather monotone – it was a plain cross in all cases. These coins were struck in the names of Arcadius, Honorius and Tiberius II. Eudoxia died in 404, so no coins were struck in her name anymore. It is necessary to take into consideration the fact that these coins were struck in various officinae and Antioch together with the Capital mint brought the highest number of workshops (Constantinople provided evidence on four and Antioch on three).

In the last two years of Arcadius’ reign (406-408), coins in the module AE3 were struck again. Only one reverse type was employed, but it appeared to be struck in all

⁸²³ J.P.C.Kent was using for the Nicomedian and Cyzicene coins an expression “amorphous columnar object”, see Kent 1991, 52.

⁸²⁴ RIC X, 248-249.

⁸²⁵ RIC X, 70.

⁸²⁶ Kent 1991, 52.

⁸²⁷ RIC X, 248-249.

⁸²⁸ see RIC X, 249-251.

⁸²⁹ See RIC X, 249-251: CONCOR-DIA AVG; CONCORDIA AVG; CONCOR-DIA AVGGG; CONCORDIA NVGGG.

Eastern mints which were striking in bronze: the reverse bore legend GLORIA ROMANORVM and the representation of three facing emperors standing (fig.15-17 / NM Rom 224).⁸³⁰ The inner figure was the smallest and all figures held a spear and the outermost also held a shield. These coins were struck in the names of Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius II - who was a small child at the time; however, some mints did not provide evidence on issues struck in the names of all the emperors.⁸³¹ Despite the factual division of the Empire, it continued to be necessary to declare formal unity and connection between emperors.⁸³²

In this period, the mint of Antioch again provided evidence on the activity of all four workshops and unique samples of the use of rosette diadem.⁸³³ The fact that the Syrian mint struck in four workshops poses interest as no other Eastern mint struck in such a high number of officinae in the late phase of Arcadius' reign (406-408) as there have been only three officinae attested for the mint of Constantinople in this late period of Arcadius' reign and only two in the other active mints.⁸³⁴

⁸³⁰ RIC X, 251.

⁸³¹ See e.g. Heraclea for which is documented in RIC X just an issue in Honorius' name, see RIC X, 251.

⁸³² This can e.g. obvious from the reality that after the death of Arcadius († 408), Theodosius II who was still child and Honorius held a joint consulship, see Williams – Friell 1999, 20.

⁸³³ RIC X, 252 (nos.152 and 154).

⁸³⁴ RIC X, 251 (Constantinople – nos.142-144).

3. Theodosius II (408-450)

(Plate XII)

Theodosius II represents the longest reigning emperor in the late Roman Empire/early Byzantine empire. From this aspect, his coinage arouses interest as it provides evidence on the period longer than four decades; however, many bronze issues in collections are difficult to be attributable to a specific mint as the mintmark is usually illegible (fig.18 and 20).⁸³⁵

Theodosius II's era provided many examples of both gold and silver coinage; however, their production was almost exclusively limited to the Capital mint and, in specific periods, also to Thessalonike.⁸³⁶

The production of Antioch under Theodosius II presents a rather complicated topic. In general, the activity of the Antiochene mint after the death of Arcadius seems to be decreased and the mint evidently gradually ceased to play an important role in the monetary policy of the Eastern Roman Empire.

3.1 Phase 408 – 425

Bronze issues struck between 408 and 423 were limited just to four reverse types, one of which was struck exclusively in Constantinople (SALVS REI-PVBLCIAE with the representation of Victory supporting a shield inscribed with a Chi-Rho monogram)⁸³⁷, another had an uncertain place of origin (VOT/X/MVLT/XX within the wreath)⁸³⁸ and just two types were struck in the rest of the provincial mints without any doubts. Both of these types were GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting two emperors whose representation differs in details on the two types (fig. 17-19).⁸³⁹ Moreover in this period (408-423), production of bronze coins in Thessalonike is documented as well, which is interesting as the Macedonian mint did not strike bronze coins for at least two decades (fig.19).⁸⁴⁰

⁸³⁵ See e.g. the photos of material held at the American Numismatic Society http://numismatics.org/search/results?q=issuer_facet%3A%22Theodosius+II%22+AND+department_facet%3A%22Roman%22&lang=en

⁸³⁶ See RIC X, 73-90; MIRB, 21-34.

⁸³⁷ RIC X, 273 (no.420).

⁸³⁸ RIC X, 272 (no.419).

⁸³⁹ RIC X, 271-273.

⁸⁴⁰ RIC X, 271 (no.395 and 396).

Just one type of bronze coin struck in Antioch has been identified in this period depicting the two emperors.⁸⁴¹ This type was struck either in the name of Theodosius II or Honorius between 408 and 423 in all the mints (fig.20), but in the case of Antioch, only the latter mentioned ruler is attested and the Antiochene issues from this period are in general considered to be very rare.⁸⁴²

In accordance to RIC X, there have not been any coins attributed to Antioch, Alexandria and Heraclea in the period 423-5; however, other mints continued their production with the Constantinopolitan mint having a chief role.⁸⁴³ In general, it seems that production was reduced in these two years as only one officina was active in Nicomedia and Cyzicus and two for Constantinople.⁸⁴⁴ The poor evidence indicates that the mint of Antioch had to be either periodically inactive or operated under specific circumstances.

Theodosian coins struck in Constantinople between 408 and 425 also reflected strong female personalities (Licinia Eudoxia, Eudocia, Pulcheria and Placidia) which had an influence at the court⁸⁴⁵ and in whose names some gold, silver and bronze coins were struck,⁸⁴⁶ but the other mints, including Antioch, did not strike coins in the empresses' names at all.

3.2 Phase 425-450

Mints of Antioch and Heraclea started to be active again after 425 and the smallest module AE4 dominated production again in all Eastern mints in this period. However, Antioch must have had rather limited coins typology and various types which were struck in Constantinople or Nicomedia did not appear there at all.⁸⁴⁷

In the second half of Theodosius II's reign, coins exclusively struck in his name are attested for Antioch (fig.21); however, this is not an exemption and the same

⁸⁴¹ RIC X, 272 (no.416). Unfortunately, I did not manage to find any photo of that issue.

⁸⁴² The another type of GLORIA ROMANORM could bear in other mints name of Theodosius or Honorius, only for Antioch just the coins bearing Honorius' name in the legends are known, see RIC X, 91, 272 (n.416); LRC, 142.

⁸⁴³ RIC X, 273.

⁸⁴⁴ RIC X, 273.

⁸⁴⁵ See Busch 2015, 22-23, 213-230.

⁸⁴⁶ RIC X, 254 (no.205-6), 255 (no.211, 214), 256 (no.220), 257 (no.224, 226-231), 258 (no.248), 259 (no.252-3, 255-6, 261-264), 260 (no.269), 261 (no.280-1), 262 (no.288-290, 295-298, 303-306), 263 (no.316-18, 322a), 264 (no.326-29, 332, 334-6), 265 (no.340,345-6), 269 (no.383-4), 270 (no.387-8, 390), 273 (no.420, 425-428).

⁸⁴⁷ RIC X, 274.

situation is also obvious in the cases of Heraclea, Nicomedia and Alexandria – on the other hand, Constantinople or Cyzicus also struck issues in the name of Valentinian III.⁸⁴⁸ The most common type which was produced in Antioch after 425 were very tiny coins with the representation of the imperial bust without any legend on the obverse and a cross within a wreath on their reverse (fig.21).⁸⁴⁹

There are no issues from the later phase of Theodosius II's reign (435 - 450) which could be attributed without any doubts to Antioch and it seems that only the mints of Constantinople and Nicomedia continued production.⁸⁵⁰ Sometimes it is supposed that the type of small bronze issues with the cross in a wreath (fig.21) continued to be struck till the late phase of Theodosius II's reign as this reverse can be found on coins with the bust of Theodosius II's successor, Marcian, on the obverse (fig.22);⁸⁵¹ however, it remains under discussion whether the mint of Antioch was active during the last two decades of Theodosius II's reign and if it was, to what extent.

⁸⁴⁸ See RIC X, 274-275.

⁸⁴⁹ See RIC X, 275.

⁸⁵⁰ Kent 1993, 514; RIC X, 276-277.

⁸⁵¹ RIC X, 93.

4. Marcian (450-457)

(Plate XII)

Theodosius II had no male offspring and the following emperor, Marcian, was proclaimed August about one month after the death of his predecessor. It seems that Valentinian III, ruling in the Western empire, denied recognizing Marcian's elevation at the beginning.⁸⁵² The new emperor became a member of the Theodosian house thanks to his political marriage to Pulcheria, daughter of Arcadius and sister of Theodosius II.⁸⁵³

As under his predecessors, the only mints which struck coins in precious metals were Constantinople and Thessalonike. Furthermore, the Constantinopolitan mint was the only one which included others other than Marcian's name in the legends.⁸⁵⁴ Bronze coins struck in the East employed only the name of Marcian in their obverse legends.

The evidence obtained from coins indicates that the regressive trend in the activity of the Antiochene mint continued, however, it must not be regarded as an isolated phenomenon as all provincial mints exclusively struck bronze issues of the smallest module (AE4) bearing Marcian's monogram on their reverse (fig.23-27).⁸⁵⁵ Altogether, there have been seven types of this monogram recognized (fig.28)⁸⁵⁶, but the coins which have so far been attributed to Antioch without any doubt bore only one of the known monogram types (the variety no.2).⁸⁵⁷ However, some peculiarities on these Antiochene issues exist such as the following: a simple cross or a cross in a circle could be posited above the monogram and the letter Z or H could be executed below the monogram instead of the usual S.⁸⁵⁸ The existence of the varieties indicates that the mint employees could not understand the imperial monogram well and it seems that they had a problem with the execution of some letters like S which were not common in the Greek alphabet.⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵² Lee 2000, 42-43; RIC X, 95.

⁸⁵³ On the historic background, see Lee 2000, 42-43; LRC, 157. On the legend connecting the choice of Pulcheria with the advice by St. John the Divine, see Cedrenus, p. 602.10-14.

⁸⁵⁴ Constantinople was striking gold and silver coins also in the names of Pulcheria and some gold issues in the name of Valentinian III and Eudoxia, see RIC X, 279-281 (no.505-6, 512-3, 516-7, 521-2, 531).

⁸⁵⁵ RIC X, 282-283; MIRB, 39. There has been some discussion over the attribution of one AE2 into the Marcian period, see RIC X, 98-99. The only exclusion is provided by Alexandria, which so far has not provided yet any sample of the bronze coins datable to the Marcian period, see Kent 1993, 513.

⁸⁵⁶ RIC X, 282. E. Schlösser has mentioned seventeen different Marcian monogram types but it is not clear whether he included also some variations which were understood to be derivations of one type in RIC X and moreover Schlösser himself pointed out that some variations might be just a result of a bad die-cutting, see Schlösser 1991, 383.

⁸⁵⁷ RIC X, 283.

⁸⁵⁸ RIC X, 283 (no.567-570).

⁸⁵⁹ RIC X, 99; Kent 1993, 513.

Sometimes the letters Z and H are understood as possible indications referring to specific mint years (S = 452/3, Z = 453/4 and H = 454/5).⁸⁶⁰ It remains an open question whether such an interpretation is acceptable or not as many of these issues are not very legible and there are not many illustrations. The next time when the indictional dates were employed in the East was in the case of Cyzicene and Nicomedian coins under Justin I,⁸⁶¹ but this was just a contemporary phenomenon and its purpose remains obscure. The regnal years were for the first time employed as a regular part of the reverse design under Justinian I in 538.⁸⁶² The regnal years were sometimes referred on the Antiochene coins in previous centuries (e.g. in the 1st century BC and the 1st c. AD).⁸⁶³

The precise reconstruction of the Antiochene mint production under Marcian is complicated as issues combining the reverse type of the late Theodosian bronze issues (cross in a wreath) and Marcian obverse types (fig.22) also exist and it seems that these coins should be dated in the early phase of Marcian's reign.⁸⁶⁴ Furthermore, some bronze issues bearing Marcian's monogram without the mintmark have also been attributed to Antioch.⁸⁶⁵

No bronze coins struck in the name of the empress and bearing her bust are known in general from the period of Marcian as it seems that the representations of imperial women were incorporated just in gold and silver coinage.

5. Exagia

(Plate XIII)

The exagia solidi used for weight control are usually connected to the introduction of a new law under the emperor Julian (363) which established the office of so called *zygostates* who were responsible for the control of solidi weight throughout the whole Empire.⁸⁶⁶

Most of the exagia do not bear any mintmarks so they cannot be attributed to a specific mint (fig.29); however, it is considered that most of them were made in the Capital and in the case of an existence of the mintmark on exagia, the abbreviation CON

⁸⁶⁰ RIC X, 99; Kent 1993, 514.

⁸⁶¹ MIBE I, 35-36.

⁸⁶² MIBE I, 56.

⁸⁶³ BMC Byz, 23 var 8; Mc Alec 2007 (1076).

⁸⁶⁴ Kent 1993, 513; RIC X, 99.

⁸⁶⁵ Kent 1993, 513.

⁸⁶⁶ RIC X, 8; LRC, 30; Entwistle 2002, 613; CTh 12.7.2 (p.723); Bendall 1996, 9.

is usually stated (fig.30). Collections and auction houses sometimes provide samples of exagia which can be attributed to Antioch. Unfortunately, the topic of the Antiochene exagia has not been sufficiently studied so far.

The gathering of evidence from auction houses provided five bronze exagia solidi which appeared on sale between 2000 and 2014 and should definitely be attributed to the mint of Antioch (fig. 31-35); however, no issues like that have been included in the basic catalogues.⁸⁶⁷ All these issues are round, which was a typical feature of exagia in the Eastern provinces, while the rectangular exagia were characteristic for the West (fig.36).⁸⁶⁸ All five issues (fig.31-35) belong to the same type. They bear on the obverse three facing imperial busts with a legend DDD NNN GGG (or CCC). The busts correspond to the obverses dated in the period 403-408 and are connected to Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius II.⁸⁶⁹ The reverse type is the one which makes the issues distinctive from the published exagia: a turreted figure of Tyche seated above the personification of Orontes. The composition of a seated facing Tyche with the depicted Orontes below could appear on coins struck in Antioch in the 3rd century;⁸⁷⁰ nevertheless, the representation of a seated Tyche in profile was definitely more common on coins struck in this century. The reverse type of the exagia is rather similar to the obverse types of the last civic coins struck in Antioch in 310- 313 under Maximinus (Plate III/ fig.34).⁸⁷¹ This was also the last time when such a reverse type was employed on Antiochene coins, so the exagia struck after 403 represent an interesting comeback of a motif which had not been used on coins for more than ninety years.

Three of the five issues (fig.32-34) of the Antiochene exagia had almost the same weights (4,2; 4,23 and 4,23 gr.). Two were lighter: one had 4,09 gr. (fig.35) and another one had rather reduced weight, just 3,43 gr. (fig. 31). Significantly reduced weight was explained by the auction house as the lowest acceptable weight for solidus.⁸⁷² In general, this weight is extremely low and I have not managed to find any other with such a low weight exagium solidi even among other types which are commonly accessible on the market.

⁸⁶⁷ See e.g. Bendall 1996 – no mention of any pieces which would be attributable to Antioch.

⁸⁶⁸ RIC X, 8-9.

⁸⁶⁹ see RIC IX, 8.

⁸⁷⁰ E.g. under Trebonianus Gallus, see McAlee 1181 or Herennius Etruscus, see McAlee 1158. On these coins the facing Tyche was depicted enthroned in a shrine.

⁸⁷¹ See for the similar issues Van Heesch 1993.

⁸⁷² <http://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=657156|1203|821|6067616ff8235e110ba1b277b8ea2745>

6. Officinae

The officinae distribution in the period from 395 to 450 is also rather puzzling. Coins struck under Arcadius at the beginning of his reign could bear numeral letters of all the four officinae (A, B, Γ, Δ).⁸⁷³ This is a high number while taking into consideration that other than the Capital city which had five officinae, the other mints usually struck in the first (A) or second (B) officina only.⁸⁷⁴ In some cases, specific officina letters were dedicated to concrete emperors⁸⁷⁵ - this was a practice common also in the previous century.

The Antiochene issues which are dated in the period between 401 and 403 exclusively bear the third officina (Γ).⁸⁷⁶ A similar complicated development and officinae distribution can also be seen in other mints and Antioch does not indicate any specific development different to that of contemporary active mints.⁸⁷⁷

Theodosius II's reign provided evidence on up to three active workshops in Antioch⁸⁷⁸, however, some types have been known exclusively with the first officina A.⁸⁷⁹ Under Marcian, just two officinae (A and B) have been identified on Antiochene coins.⁸⁸⁰

7. Concluding remarks on Antiochene coinage (395-457)

In general, the mint of Antioch evidently followed between 395 and 450 the patterns established in Constantinople. The distinctive details on Arcadius' coinage - the use of rosette diadem, mules (employment of the obverse representing empresses on issues which in other mints exclusively represented the emperor, etc.) - do not indicate a separate monetary policy; however, these specific elements provide evidence on the fact that even in the period when strong uniformity dominated, the Syrian mint for some reason also produced varieties which were unusual elsewhere in the Eastern Roman Empire, but on the other hand, in some specific periods the repertoire was rather limited.

⁸⁷³ RIC X, 247-8.

⁸⁷⁴ RIC X, 246-247.

⁸⁷⁵ See in Kent 1991, 50; RIC X, 69 (e.g. at Antioch A, B were designated for Arcadius and Γ, Δ for Honorius; however there existed exceptions).

⁸⁷⁶ RIC X, 248-9.

⁸⁷⁷ E.g. Constantinople – four officinae are also attested for the beginnings of Arcadius reign, just officina A between the years 401 and 403 and three officinae are attested for the coins struck under last two years of Arcadius' reign (406-8), see RIC X, 247-252.

⁸⁷⁸ RIC X, 272 and 275.

⁸⁷⁹ RIC X, 274.

⁸⁸⁰ RIC X, 283.

The study is often difficult as lots of coins were struck on the very small module and details are not always legible. On the other hand, some iconographic details confirm that a level of quality engraving and a sense for iconographic details still existed in Antioch.⁸⁸¹ Furthermore, the weight of the Antiochene bronze coins struck under Arcadius could slightly differ;⁸⁸² however, this cannot be really regarded as any indicative feature as it is considered that the late Roman bronze coins were struck without much attempt to control the weight.⁸⁸³

The existence of *exagia solidi* with the representation of Tyche above the god Orontes, indicates a specific position of Antioch as there are no parallel *exagia* which could be in this period attributed without any doubts to any other provincial center. So despite the fact that there were no gold coins struck since 383, it seems that it was important to produce the control measures there. The *exagia* bearing the mintmark of Antioch had to intend to enhance the control of *solidi* which were struck mainly in the Capital city in this period.

It is obvious that the role of the mint had to change radically as there are no attested issues for some phases of Theodosius II's reign and some types common elsewhere (e.g. Nicomedia) were not struck in Antioch at all. There is no evidence in the written sources⁸⁸⁴ which would indicate any changes in the city's or in the mint's status and moreover, a similar process of activity reduction can be also traced in other mints (e.g. Heraclea). It seems that the change in the provincial minting had to be related to a general monetary policy in the Eastern Empire: to concentrate the production of bronze coins in the Capital city and its closest mint Nicomedia and to continue striking coins in precious metals only in Constantinople and Thessalonike. It is worth pointing out that it was the first time in the history of the Antiochene mint when a possible long-term break of activity is under discussion as it seems that the mint was either inactive or very poorly active in the last few years of Theodosius II's reign (after 435 - 450).

The period of Marcian provided evidence on some specific elements such as the use of the letters S, H and Z above the monogram – a phenomenon which was

⁸⁸¹ E.g. the representation of cuirass on which Victory was seated on types SALVS REIPVBLICAE, see Kent 1991, 52.

⁸⁸² Kent 1991, 50-51.

⁸⁸³ LRC, 30. The authors explain that the bronze coins were struck *al marco*, thus means that a specific number of pieces were struck to the Roman pound and no precise measures to control the weight of each piece were employed.

⁸⁸⁴ However, in general, written sources from the period of Theodosius II are rather scarce and they do not enable even to reconstruct general traces of the economic situation at Antioch.

interpreted by J.P.C. Kent as a possible employment of the indiction years; however, this interpretation is not without any doubts and if accepted, it would be the only case of a date on coins struck in the 5th century AD. There is no precise historic context within which the phenomenon could be placed.

It is worth noting that the situation in the Western part of the Empire was different and it seems that the mints situated there followed a monetary policy dissimilar to the one in the East.⁸⁸⁵

Regarding the imperial portraiture in this period, not many things can be noted. Most of the portraits which appeared on the coins struck in the Eastern Empire were the profile busts oriented to the right. As Antioch produced only bronze coins, it did not provide issues bearing, for example, consular robes or three-quarter bust like some gold solidi, but just the simplified portrait without any personal features. The versions of the legends employed on Antiochene coins did not provide any unusual elements and in general, they followed trends established in other mints situated in the Eastern part of the Empire.

⁸⁸⁵ E.g. the production of bronze coins was concentrated mainly in one mint – Rome and gold and silver issues were struck in more mints, see LRC, 53. Furthermore, there can be observed some minor differences regarding the legends: Western coins were often including the first name in the obverse legend; while the Eastern coins tended to exclude them, see LRC, 77.

2.e The decline of the mint: Coinage of the Leonid dynasty

1. Antiochene coins in the period of Leo I (457-474)

(Plate XIV)

Emperor Marcian, who died in 457 had no successor and there were no available members of the Theodosian dynasty whose claims for the throne could be considered legitimate.⁸⁸⁶ The person in the background who influenced the choice of the next successor was magister militum Aspar who was of Gothic origin and who also played a role in the ascension of Marcian in 450.⁸⁸⁷ Aspar supported Leo the Thracian (457-474), a successful military comes whom he considered to be an ideal candidate through which it would be possible to control the court.⁸⁸⁸ Over the years, however, emperor Leo managed to eliminate the influence of Aspar and later, in 471, the Goth Aspar was assassinated.

In general, fifth century coinage continued the trends established in the previous decades such as coins were struck in precious metals only in Constantinople and Thessalonike,⁸⁸⁹ and other provincial mints (Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Heraclea and Antioch) exclusively struck in bronze. The mint of Constantinople struck various types of bronze issues too (fig.1-3) and its production was not limited just to the smallest module (AE4), but it also struck issues of bigger flan (AE2).⁸⁹⁰ The reverse types of the Constantinopolitan issues could vary and the iconography employed there was not common on bronze coins struck elsewhere in this period.⁸⁹¹

Other mints struck just bronze issues of the smallest module (AE4) and had a rather limited iconographic repertoire. Most of them struck variations of the so called

⁸⁸⁶ Aelia Pulcheria took a vow of chastity and her marriage to Marcian was just a political issue to legalize the position of the new emperor after the death of Theodosius without a target to produce a heir and the Western part of the Empire where till 455 was ruling by Valentinian III, grandson of Theodosius I, was found in a chaos, see Lee 2000, 45-46.

⁸⁸⁷ Lee 2000, 46-47; RIC X, 100.

⁸⁸⁸ RIC X, 100.

⁸⁸⁹ RIC X, 100-105, 284-290; MIRB, 4043.

⁸⁹⁰ RIC X, 291. Those issues with the bigger flan are considered to be determined for Cherson, see RIC X, 105.

⁸⁹¹ Constantinopolitan mint was striking in this period types representing a figure of standing emperor and a captive (VIRTUS EXERCITI and SALVS REIPUBLICA), RIC X 291 (no.652-654, 657-664) and a standing Victory supporting a shield with the Chi-Rho monogram (SALVS REIPUBLICA), see RIC X 291 (no.655-656).

“lion type“ depicting on the reverse either a standing lion or a crouching one (fig.4).⁸⁹² The mint of Antioch provided evidence only on the types with the crouching lion (fig.5).

Furthermore, various variations of Leo’s Latin or Greek monograms were often stated on the reverses in this period (fig.6-8).⁸⁹³ Some mints also provided the reverse type representing a standing figure of a facing emperor placing his hand on the head of a captive (fig.10).⁸⁹⁴ The figure of Leo’s wife Verina was also depicted on reverses of some bronze issues (fig.11).⁸⁹⁵ However, Antioch provided evidence exclusively on the reverse types depicting the crouching or standing lion and one variation of Leo’s monogram.⁸⁹⁶ This means the Antiochene types’ repertoire was rather poor in comparison with some other provincial mints. In the case of the “lion type“ two workshops (officinae letters A and B) are attested and in the case of the monogram type, just the first officina (A) has been documented.

Furthermore, not only does it seem that the typology of the Antiochene coins was rather limited,⁸⁹⁷ but the study of them is complicated as the mintmarks are often illegible, so the attribution to a concrete mint remains uncertain. This allows for the question of whether some coins attributed in the past to Constantinople and other mints could be re-attributed to the mint of Antioch. The small size of the flan (the weight of the coins was usually about 1 gr. and their diameter did not exceed 1 cm.) and the state of preservation usually do not allow a die study which would confirm the precise attribution to one specific mint.

Regarding the legends, in the case of some issues struck in the name of Leo I, the legends are illegible, but various issues provided a rich variety of legends which could appear on his bronze coins.⁸⁹⁸ Antiochene coins actually employed a version unusual elsewhere (DN LEO PE AVG);⁸⁹⁹ but while looking at the bronze coins struck in this period, the regional differences in the legends were rather common, so the case of peculiar legends on coins struck in Antioch should not be considered to be rather indicative.

⁸⁹² see RIC X, 292-3.

⁸⁹³ see RIC X, 293-6.

⁸⁹⁴ see RIC X, 294.

⁸⁹⁵ RIC X, 295.

⁸⁹⁶ RIC X, 293 (no.679) and 294 (no.691); LRC 166; LRBC 2813; MIRB 69 (no.42 – there is evidence exclusively on the lion’ type).

⁸⁹⁷ RIC X, 293 (no.680), 294 (no.692-3), 295 (no.712, 717-8).

⁸⁹⁸ RIC X, 291-296.

⁸⁹⁹ RIC X, 293 (no.679). The other mints usually employed different version of abbreviation for the word “perpetuus”.

Leo II, grandson of Leo I, reigned after the death of his predecessor as a seven year old child for less than one year.⁹⁰⁰ Despite the short reign, coins which can be attributed to this short period of time exist, but the issues were either gold and struck in Constantinople or in bronze with an illegible mintmark, so no issues can be attributed to Antioch without any doubts.⁹⁰¹

2. Antiochene coinage under Zeno

(Plate XV)

After the death of Leo II, the political situation was again complicated. Zeno's coinage is usually divided into two basic phases, 474-5 and 476-491, and this division has been related to the difficult state of affairs in the Empire after the death of Leo I and Leo II in 474. The first phase of Zeno's reign lasted just several months – from the suspicious death of his son Leo II in November 474 till January 475 when he was deposed by a revolting Basiliscus, brother in law of Leo I.⁹⁰² For more than one year and a half, Zeno was in exile before he managed to regain his power in Constantinople.

2.1 *The first phase (475-476)*

Several gold types with the Constantinopolitan mintmark have been identified in various collections and interpreted as issues struck by Zeno prior to Basiliscus' usurpation, meaning that the coins had to be struck sometime between November 474 and January 475.⁹⁰³ No other issues have been attributed to this period so far, which means that there is no confirmed activity of any other mint than Constantinople and the Antiochene mint does not represent an extempt.

The revolt of Basiliscus (Jan 475-August 476) is rather interesting from the aspect of the activity in the Antiochene mint. It seems that the Antiochene mint was the only mint which provided evidence on coinage struck in the name of Zeno during this problematic period when Zeno was in exile away from the Constantinopolitan court

⁹⁰⁰ On the political background see, Lee 2000, 49; Bury 1923, 389.

⁹⁰¹ RIC X, 172-3, 297-8.

⁹⁰² Zeno was rather unpopular as an Isaurian. Verina, wife of Leo I, stayed in the background of the conspiracy which had as a result the overthrow of Zeno, for the details on the historic background see Bury 1923, 390-391; Lee 2000, 49-50.

⁹⁰³ RIC X, 299.

(fig.12).⁹⁰⁴ It is rather difficult to reconstruct the precise situation in Antioch in this period as historic sources do not mention any concrete events which took place in this specific year in the Syrian city. After the death of Leo II and the re-installation of Zeno in 474, Antioch became the centre of various rebels' groups who were in opposition to Zeno.⁹⁰⁵ Antioch was also the centre of conflicts between the Orthodoxes and Monophysites which resulted in severe riots.⁹⁰⁶ The military headquarters of Zeno were situated in Antioch already prior to 474;⁹⁰⁷ however, I did not manage to find any sources which would confirm Zeno's presence in the city during the revolt of Basiliscus.

The unique solidus is held in the British Museum which has been attributed to Antioch and dated in the period of Zeno's exile from Constantinople in 375/6.⁹⁰⁸ The obverse depicts emperor in three-quarter profile, holding a spear and dressed in military clothes – which was the usual imperial representation employed on solidi since the end of the 4th century. The obverse legend is DN ZENO PERPET AVG and this version did not re-appear on any of Zenon's other published issues.⁹⁰⁹ The reverse type represented the figure of Victory holding a cross – this was actually the same reverse type used on the Constantinopolitan solidi struck prior to Basiliscus' revolt (fig.13).⁹¹⁰ It is definitely interesting that the mint of Antioch became the only place which struck coins in the name of the deposed emperor and it indicates that Antioch had to play a specific role in this historic period; however, as noted above, the precise relationship of Zeno to Antioch and the role of Antioch in the re-installation of his power cannot be made without any doubts. The other mints active in this period - Constantinople, Nicomedia and Cyzicus - actually struck coins for Basiliscus in this period.⁹¹¹

2.2 The second phase (476-491)

Again, Zeno's coinage from the second phase, which is dated after the deposition of Basiliscus, followed the basic patterns obvious already in the previous decades: gold

⁹⁰⁴ MIRB, 46; RIC X, 111.

⁹⁰⁵ Downey 1961, 488.

⁹⁰⁶ Theophanes a.5967, p.121.22-26.

⁹⁰⁷ Downey 1961, 484-487.

⁹⁰⁸ There is just one known issue held in the British Museum in London published in the basic catalogues. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=661726001&objectId=1188134&partId=1

⁹⁰⁹ There are other versions of the same legend which can be found on Zeno's coins, e.g. DN ZENO PERP AVG or DN ZENO PERPE AVG and others, see RIC X, 477.

⁹¹⁰ See RIC X. 299. (no.901)

⁹¹¹ RIC X, 305.

and silver coins were limited exclusively to the mints of Constantinople and Thessalonike and bronze coins were struck in the Capital city, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Thessalonike and Antioch.

The repertoire of Antiochene coins in this period was rather limited and in some cases it did not even employ types which were struck in other contemporary mints.

Bronze coins which bore on their reverse the monogram of Zeno were struck not only in the capital (fig.17), Nicomedia and Cyzicus, but also in Thessalonike (fig.18) and Antioch (fig.19 and 20).⁹¹² Altogether, fourteen varieties of Zeno's monogram have been recognized (fig.21). Most of them were actually employed in Antioch (fig.21/no.4a, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12).

Due to the small flans, mintmarks are often illegible and sometimes it seems that they were completely omitted. This fact has caused many problems related to the proper identification of some issues and for a long time, scholars believed that the only bronze coins between the death of Leo I (474) and Anastasian reforms (498) in the East were struck in the Capital city as the mintmarks were not employed on most of the then known issues.⁹¹³ Later, the pieces with legible mintmarks of other cities were discovered too and a re-attribution had to be undertaken in the case of some types which were originally assigned exclusively to Constantinople.⁹¹⁴

The same problem is related to the obverse of Zeno's legends on the bronze. Most of them are illegible and usually just one or two letters from the name of Zeno are legible (fig.17-18) and in some cases, there are no visible traces of legends (fig.20). These difficulties again represent a general trend and were not limited exclusively to Antioch.

It is worth pointing out that the names of Eastern emperors continued to also be employed on coins struck in the West as it was usual under the Theodosian dynasty as well as before.⁹¹⁵ Actually, the only cases of issues which had executed Zeno's legend well stating his full name on the obverses of bronze coins are attributed to the Western mint.⁹¹⁶

⁹¹² RIC X, 314-315.

⁹¹³ Schlösser 1993, 381.

⁹¹⁴ Walker 1967, 264; Brenot 1968.

⁹¹⁵ Some of the version employed in the West were different to those common in the East and some others were the same, see RIC X, 392, 427, 443.

⁹¹⁶ These are the special heavy bronze issues (17 gr.) of value 40 nummi which are sometimes interpreted as an anticipation of the Anastasius I monetary reforms, see RIC X, 218; Metcalf 1969, 8-9.

2.3 The Rebellion of 484

The mint of Antioch also played a specific role in the coinage in the middle of the 480's. Illus, a Byzantine general of Isaurian origin, who in this period resided in Antioch and played an important role in the conflict between Basiliscus and Zeno in 474, supported in 484 the patrician Leontius who claimed the throne having the support of Verina, a consort of the deceased Leo I.⁹¹⁷ Leontius, as a new emperor, came to Antioch which became a centre of the revolt against Zeno. The main forces of Illus were defeated the same year, but the conflict between Illus and Zeno continued for several years.⁹¹⁸

The Antiochene mint was the only one which was found in the direct influence of Illus and Leontius and struck coins for the rebel emperor (fig.22).⁹¹⁹ Several extremely rare solidi bore on their obverse a three-quarter profile bust of the emperor with the legend DN LEONTIO PERPS AVG and the reverse depicted a standing figure of Victory with a long cross. The figure of Victory was accompanied by a legend VICTORIA AVGG, but its elaboration was rather poor and the single letters were often dissimilar to the Latin letters (e.g. V was executed more like Ч). The mintmark in exergue was ANTOB.

For a long time, evidence on Leontius' bronze coins struck in Antioch did not exist, and later, in the 1960's, some small issues originally assigned to Constantinople were attributed to the Syrian mint.⁹²⁰ Just one bronze type of the smallest module (AE4) which bore Leo's Latin monogram with an added T has been identified.

3. Concluding remarks on Antiochene coinage (2nd half of the 5th century)

The activity of the Antiochene mint under the Leonid dynasty is a complex topic. Under Leo I, the mint evidently struck a rather limited repertoire of reverse types and the only module which was employed there was the smallest one (AE4). The study of these small bronze issues has been rather complicated mainly because of the tiny flan as the details are often illegible and the precise attribution can sometimes pose problems. This

⁹¹⁷ On the historic background and role of Illus between 474 and 488, see Downey 1961, 488-496; Bury 1923, 391-400.

⁹¹⁸ Bury 1923, 398; Downey 1961, 495-6.

⁹¹⁹ Carson 1990, 210; RIC X, 316; LRC, 190; MIRB, 49.

⁹²⁰ Walker 1967, 264-265; LRC, 190. In 1976 M. Rolland published an article on a unique bronze specimen which he assigned to the mint of Antioch, Rolland 1976, 6-7; however J.P.C. Kent refers to this one specimen as to a false, see RIC X, 316. Furthermore, as forgeries have been identified also some bronzes published in 19th century, see LRC, 190; so the actual number of coins which can be identified without any doubts as Antiochene bronze nummi of Leontius is very small (2), see LRC, 190.

is also one of the factors which impact the fact that it is not easy to find many samples in collections which would be legible and which would be attributable to the Syrian mint without any doubts, so the precise study of details is usually restricted to a very limited number of issues.

For a long time, the production of bronze issues was considered to have ended in the East with the death of Leo I in 474 and it was supposed that the mint of Antioch was closed for decades before its reopening.⁹²¹ Nevertheless, since the first half of the 20th century, attempts to attribute some bronze types to the provincial mints have been made.⁹²² Nowadays, it is widely accepted that the mint of Antioch and some other Eastern mints were also active during the reign of Zeno.

In general, it seems that the mints of Nicomedia and Cyzicus provided richer varieties of bronze types than Antioch. Nevertheless, it is interesting that the Syrian mint provided in some cases unknown varieties (e.g. unusual versions of legends or of Zeno's monogram).

Despite the fact that the coinage in precious metals was limited exclusively to Constantinople and Thessalonike, the mint of Antioch twice struck local gold issues during the 5th century and both of these instances can be dated to the period of Zeno. Antiochene gold coinage is dated to the years when the political situation in the Empire was unstable and the mint struck these issues for emperors who could not reside in Constantinople either because they were overthrown (Zeno) or because they represented the rebels unrecognized in the center (Leontius). These cases (475/6 and 484) provided issues of exceptional Antiochene gold coins whose iconography was inspired by the Constantinopolitan issues.

While looking at the Antiochene coinage throughout the whole 5th century, it can be said that bronze coinage underwent a rather distinctive simplification and its repertoire became less elaborated than it was in the 4th century.⁹²³ The mint of Antioch followed these general trends and its production became limited to the small poorly legible issues which is in great contrast to the production of the same mint in the previous century; however, such a development, again, was not limited just to Syria, but

⁹²¹ On the problems and development of the research, see Walker 1967, 264.

⁹²² E.g. J.G.Milne, *The Currency of Egypt in the Fifth Century*, NC, 5th ser., vol. 6 (1926), 43–92.

⁹²³ D.R. Walker commented the development as following: "For a period of over fifty years, from the last issue of Theodosius II until the year 498, the aes currency of the East consisted almost entirely of tiny coins, outstanding only in their wretchedness, with an average weight of 1 gram or less, and showing varying stages of stylistic degeneration.", see Walker 1967, 264.

was a general tendency which also affected mints like Nicomedia or Cyzicus. The cases of gold coinage in Antioch should be understood as random events related to specific historic background in the Syrian center and did not present general trends in the local mint.

2f. The epilogue: Byzantine coinage in Antioch in the 6th century

1. Anastasius (491-518)

(Plate XVI)

1.1 Introduction to Anastasius' reforms

Bronze coinage had faced serious problems since the 4th century when the depreciation of bronze metal became rather obvious. This trend continued and reached its peak during the 5th century.⁹²⁴ In the period of Anastasius, the ratio was ca 14.400 bronze nummi for one solidus resulting in the tiny size of bronze nummi. Some numismatists emphasize the fact that in the late 5th century, denominations which would cover the gap between the tiny nummi (fig.1) and the most valuable gold solidus practically did not exist.⁹²⁵

Anastasius' reforms (498) brought an end to the instability of bronze coinage and established a new system of denominations. Anastasius' reforms in 498 were actually a result of long-term efforts as it seems that attempts to reform bronze coinage had already taken place.⁹²⁶ These reforms are considered to be the formal beginning of Byzantine coinage⁹²⁷ and scholars search for its connection to military reforms as the new monetary system would attract more new recruits whose remunerations used to be paid in kinds, but after the Anastasian reforms, payments started to be in cash.⁹²⁸

The new reformed bronze coins had a completely different look: their size was augmented and the value mark on their reverse became the principal feature of the design: M for 40 nummi/follis, K for 20 nummi/half-follis and I for decanummi (see fig.2-4).⁹²⁹ It is worth noting that Anastasius actually continued to strike nummi on their

⁹²⁴ The inflation caused the collapse of the traditional monetary system in the third century AD, see LRB, 10 and no strong and stable bronze coin was struck after that. Problems with the depreciation of the bronze nummus were obvious in the first half of fourth century too and several emperors included bronze coins in their attempts to reform coinage throughout the fourth century, Hendy 1985, 462, 471, 473-474. Metcalf 1969, 10-12; MIBE, 13.

⁹²⁵ E.g. Whitting 1973, 89.

⁹²⁶ D.M.Metcalf pointed out the bronze issues bearing the value marks struck in Rome by the Roman Senate and by Zeno in the last quarter of 5th century and furthermore. He also paid lots of attention to the north-African coinage as there were introduced larger bronze issues bearing value marks in the same period and to the regional Ravenna's coinage which also reflected the coins' value, see Metcalf 1969, 8-9.

⁹²⁷ MIBE, 3; Blake 1942, 84.

⁹²⁸ Williams – Friell 1999, 116 and 205.

⁹²⁹ On the denomination system and changes introduced in the bronze coinage, see MIBE, 14; BNP I, 15-16; Blake 1942, 90; Whitting 1973, 89-91; Bellinger 1966, 84-87 (chapter 1: The copper of Anastasius I). The introduction of the value marks was mentioned by the contemporary Marcellinus Comes (MGH XI, p.95). Ioannes Malalas made notes on the introduction of new bronze coins which started to circulate in the Roman Empire and responsibility of John Paphlagonian, see Malalas XVI 117 (p.400). D.M.Metcalf

inflated value (this means 14.400 issues to one solidus),⁹³⁰ but he systematized the production by introducing the follis which corresponded to the value of forty nummi (thus 360 folles corresponded to the value of one solidus).

1.2 Activity of the Antiochene mint

The only issues which were struck in Antioch under Anastasius (491-518) prior to the adoption of his reforms are supposed to be the nummi depicting an imperial monogram in a wreath (fig.1);⁹³¹ however, various catalogues do not attribute any coins to Antioch for the period of the late 5th and early 6th century.⁹³² The problem is that the mentioned nummi did not bear a mintmark, so the precise attribution to a mint is problematic and therefore the activity of the Antiochene mint in the late 5th and early 6th centuries is debatable.

The first phase of the reforms took place between 498 and 512 and only the mints of Constantinople and Nicomedia struck the new bronze coins. The mint of Thessalonike, which was the only other active Byzantine mint in this period, exclusively struck gold coins.

The mint of Antioch (fig.6-9) started to strike the reformed coinage sometime during the second phase of the Anastasian monetary reforms (512-518), when Byzantine bronze issues were struck on a heavier standard⁹³³ and moreover, a new denomination was added to the monetary system: pentanummion with the numeral mark “E” on the reverse (fig.9).⁹³⁴

The precise date of when the mint of Antioch started to operate in the 6th century is unknown; however, it seems that the introduction of the reformed coinage had to take place sometime in the late phase of Anastasius’ reign. Wolfgang Hahn proposed

proposed that it was not first time when the value mark appeared on Anastasius’ coins and it seems that he attempted to introduce the value mark on his Constantinopolitan coins already prior to 498 (fig.5) however the regular and systematic production of bronze coins with the value mark cannot be dated before that year. D.M.Metcalf mentions a unique coin held nowadays in Berlin which has a standard obverse representation of the emperor and imperial legend, while the reverse bore the representation of an enthroned Constantinople and depicting small M in the left field, see Metcalf 1969, 10 and 100. However, W. Hahn is dating the same coins in 512 and placing them in the context of the change between the first and second reform phase, see MIBE 29.

⁹³⁰ Metcalf 1969, 12.

⁹³¹ MIBEc, 28.

⁹³² e.g. BNP I; DOC I.

⁹³³ The weight was actually doubled as the ratio follis to pound changed from 1:36 to 1:18, see Morrisson 1989, 248.

⁹³⁴ MIB I, 34-36; MIBE, 29-31, on the date and weight see ibidem, 14-15; BNP, 15-16; Morrisson 1989, 243-244.

the year 516.⁹³⁵ The relatively short time of the Antiochene mint's activity under Anastasius († 518) would also explain the sparsity of Antiochene issues struck in his name – especially half-folles (K) are very rare in collections.⁹³⁶

The general style and denomination system introduced in Antioch in 516 was actually the same as in Constantinople and Nicomedia. Despite the short period of activity and the general similarity of local coins with the Constantinopolitan issues, a peculiarity can be observed: bronze folles struck in Syria adopted privy marks – a star in the left field and a crescent in the right field⁹³⁷ (fig.6) – which were usually not employed on the most common issues struck in the Capital,⁹³⁸ but these privy marks were common on the so called subsidiary coins. This means that the early Antiochene folles bore the same symbols the Constantinopolitan coins had, which are considered to play a supplementary role, and that they exclusively bore the fifth officina letter (E) in the Capital (fig.10).⁹³⁹ Antiochene folles with these symbols could bear letters of all four officinae which were active in Antioch in this period (A, B, Γ and Δ). Furthermore, Wolfgang Hahn has expressed his opinion on the connection between the fifth Constantinopolitan workshop and the introduction of the reformed coinage in Antioch.⁹⁴⁰ It is worth mentioning that a relation between the subsidiary Constantinopolitan fifth workshop and a regular issue in a provincial mint can also be observed in the case of Nicomedia under the following emperor, Justin I (518-527).⁹⁴¹

Later, sometime in 517 when the tax indiction changed, new privy marks were introduced on all of Anastasius' bronze coins to denote the new tax period. A type of follis with different privy marks was struck in Antioch⁹⁴²: a cross in both the right and left fields on the reverse (fig. 11). This design was actually not common under Anastasius and it was employed on Constantinopolitan and Nicomedian issues later, under his successor Justin I.(fig. 18).⁹⁴³ This means that the mint of Antioch actually anticipated in some way a reverse design that became common a few years later.

⁹³⁵ MIB I, 36; MIBE, 30.

⁹³⁶ See e.g. Wroth 1908, 8-9; Metcalf 1969, 101.

⁹³⁷ Type MIBE 56.

⁹³⁸ The folles struck at Constantinople and Nicomedia in this period had as privy marks mainly stars in the right and left fields, see types MIBE 19, MIBE 27, MIBE 44-46.

⁹³⁹ MIBE, 30.

⁹⁴⁰ MIBE, 30.

⁹⁴¹ MIBE, 35.

⁹⁴² Type MIBE 57.

⁹⁴³ See types MIBE 13 and MIBE 38.

1.3 Peculiar issues in collections

Various collections and auction houses provide evidence on the existence of peculiar issues struck in Antioch under Anastasius. It seems that the die cutters in the mint of Antioch had some problems concerning the proper execution of dies in the case of half-folles which had letters incorporated in the representation of a cross (see fig.7). The American Numismatic Society holds in its collection an interesting issue of an Antiochene half-follis with an inverted value mark K on its reverse (fig. 12).⁹⁴⁴ The other features do not indicate any other peculiarities and it would be a mistake to classify the specific issue as an imitation. So far, I have not managed to find an Anastasian coin with a similar image on its reverse in other collections.

A half-follis (fig.13) in a private collection provided a different peculiarity: one of the letters (N) was inverted (I); however, such a mistake was rather normal in this period and an Antiochene half-follis with the same mistake can also be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁹⁴⁵ The wrong sequence of letters in the mintmark on half-folles can be seen on another issue from the American Numismatic Society (fig.14).⁹⁴⁶ Neither the weight nor the style of these coins indicates that they should be interpreted as imitations.

Furthermore, an interesting Antiochene dekanummion (I) appeared on the market (fig.15).⁹⁴⁷ It bore a different reverse legend than the usual pieces. The standard reverse legend was ACON-CORDI (see fig.8 and compare with fig.15). In the case of the issue included in the research (fig.15), there is the letter L in the right field and some of the letters were not executed well (from r. to l.: LCON-CORBI). Actually, so far I have not spotted such an irregularity on other issues of decanummia. Again, the weight does not differ from the common issues and all of the other features seem to be regular.

⁹⁴⁴ <http://numismatics.org/collection/2016.3.6?lang=en>

⁹⁴⁵ See BNP, 33, pl.IV (no.02).

⁹⁴⁶ <http://numismatics.org/collection/2016.3.7?lang=en>

⁹⁴⁷ Münzen & Medaillen Deutschland GmbH, Auction 16, lot 1125.

2. Justin I (518-527)

(Plates XVI –XVIII)

In general, the production of bronze coins evidently intensified under Justin I and the mint of Antioch was not exempt.⁹⁴⁸ Several more mints were re-opened and employed the reformed bronze coins (Cyzicus, Alexandria, Thessalonike and Cherson).⁹⁴⁹ Furthermore, a richer variety of types started to be struck; however, mainly in the Capital mint.⁹⁵⁰

2.1 *First lustral period (518-522)*

The period of Justin I is divided into two lustral periods (518-522) and (522-527).⁹⁵¹ The first lustral period is marked in Antioch by the striking of the same reverse type of folles like under Anastasius: crosses depicted in both the right and left fields (fig.16).⁹⁵² Even the mintmark in the exergue (ANTX) had the same version like under Anastasius (fig.11). This reverse design (cross in right and left fields, fig.16) was employed in Constantinople in this period mainly (but not exclusively) on coins bearing the officina E and thus, these Constantinopolitan coins are again considered to be just supplementary issues.⁹⁵³ The other mints which struck bronze coins did not employ such a reverse type during the first lustral period. Later - in the second lustral period - the design also appeared on the Antiochene decanummia (fig.25), the Cyzicene and Nicomedian issues (fig.17)⁹⁵⁴ and during the joint reign of Justin I and Justinian I in 527 (fig.18).⁹⁵⁵ These later cases were definitely not supplementary, but instead regular types and they could bear a variety of mintmarks. This means that under Anastasius in 516-517, the mint of Antioch for some reason employed a type that was later used in the Capital on subsidiary coins and that was not common anywhere else in this early period. The same type became common in the other mints just later (522-527) under Justin I.⁹⁵⁶ This fact again raises questions about the mint organization and the role of the Constantinopolitan fifth workshop in provincial coinage. Furthermore, the data indicates

⁹⁴⁸ MIBE, 33.c

⁹⁴⁹ BNP I, 36; MIBE, 33-39.

⁹⁵⁰ For the typology of bronze coins struck in Constantinople and Antioch, see DOC I, 39-41 and 52-53; BNP I, 40-42; MIBE, 34.

⁹⁵¹ MIBE 33-34.

⁹⁵² Compare types MIBE 57 (Anastasius) and MIBE 58 (Justin I).

⁹⁵³ See type MIBE 13.

⁹⁵⁴ See type MIBE 38.

⁹⁵⁵ types MIBE 8 and 9 (for the joint reign).

⁹⁵⁶ see types MIBE 38 (for Nicomedia) and MIBE 51 (for Cyzicus).

that specific ways of communication in which the Capital and provincial mints interacted and communicated had to exist in order to inform which types should be struck.

Antiochene half-folles (fig.19) did not undergo any important changes and they remained the same throughout both of the lustral periods. The type was actually the same like in the period of Anastasius.⁹⁵⁷ An uncommon phenomenon related to half-folles and indicating a specific situation in the mint was noted by W. Hahn and M. Metlich: often the obverse dies of half-folles and folles were the same and this resulted in the fact that the legends could be struck out of the flan, because the flans of the half-folles were too small to employ a flan of the folles' size. Furthermore, the obverse die links can also be found in the case of decanummia and pentanummia.⁹⁵⁸

This practice - to use common dies for various denominations- was rather widespread in Antioch in the 6th century, so it raises questions on the precise reasons that led to this phenomenon. Scholars have expressed an opinion on the connection between this practice and a rigorous die economy.⁹⁵⁹ This is interesting as so far, a similar habit in other contemporary mints has not been observed.

In addition, a group of decanummia exists that bear no mintmarks (fig.20), but some scholars suppose that they actually might be products of the Antiochene mint and W. Hahn offered a hypothesis that the mintmarks could be omitted on these issues due to the small size of these flans.⁹⁶⁰ This hypothesis is supported by the style and the fact that die-links exist between some of those decanummia without a mintmark and some which had the Antiochene mintmark stated on their reverse (fig.21).⁹⁶¹

All these phenomena indicate specific problems in the organization of the production in the mint.

2.2 Second lustral period (522-527)

In the year 522, the privy marks employed on bronze coins were changed as the new lustral period started and combinations of stars and crosses dominated in the Metropolitan mints (fig.34).⁹⁶² Furthermore, Nicomedia and Cyzicus followed a similar

⁹⁵⁷ MIBE, 36. See types MIBE 58 (Anastasius I) and 61 (Justin I).

⁹⁵⁸ MIBE, 37.

⁹⁵⁹ MIBE, 36.

⁹⁶⁰ MIBE, 34, 37.

⁹⁶¹ Ibidem (MIBE, 37).

⁹⁶² types MIBE 12, 16 and 17 (for Constantinople) and MIBE 39 (for Nicomedia).

repertoire; however, some local specifics could appear (fig.24).⁹⁶³ Antiochene folles employed completely different symbols than those used on bronze coins struck in the Metropolitan mints: the privy marks represented combinations of a star in the left field and a crescent in the right field (fig.22).⁹⁶⁴ These are actually the privy marks mentioned above: they also appeared under Anastasius on issues struck in Antioch between 516 and 517 (fig.6)⁹⁶⁵ and on Constantinopolitan subsidiary issues in the second phase of his reform (512-518) (fig.10).⁹⁶⁶ This fact confirms the fact that a specific relation between the Antiochene mint organization and the fifth workshop in the Capital mint continued to exist.

The second lustral period provided further innovations concerning Antiochene production: four officinae (A, B, Γ and Δ) were attested in the first lustral period, and after 522, the fifth workshop (of: E) was evidently opened in Antioch for the first time in the 6th century (type MIBE 60). The opening of the fifth workshop indicates a need for increased production. Moreover, it was also the first time when a new version of a mintmark appeared – the letter “T” was added: so instead of the abbreviation ANT~~X~~ common on Anastasius’ issues and coins from the early years of Justin I, “ANTIX” in exergue was referred (fig.23). The new mintmark version was also employed on decanumnia (fig.25).

In addition, rather interesting iconography appeared on Antiochene pentanumnia during the second lustral period: the figure of a seated Tyche in a shrine above the river Orontes on the reverse of the coins (fig.26/ NM col. Byz 1 and 2). The motif of an enthroned Tyche above Orontes was derived from the famous statue of Eutychides and it is considered that typologically the same representation appeared on Antiochene coins for the first time in the first century BC under king Tigranes.⁹⁶⁷ The fact that Tyche could appear on coins in the 6th century is rather interesting as most of the dieties and personifications ceased to be represented on coins by the fourth century, however, some exclusions can be found in the 6th century.⁹⁶⁸ It remains a question as to why Tyche re-appeared on Antiochene coins after more than one hundred and fifty years

⁹⁶³ see BNP I, 46-49; MIBE, 35-36; DOC I, 48-49 and 51-52.

⁹⁶⁴ types MIBE 59-60. Moreover, one of the varieties represents interposed privy marks: the crescent is represented in the left field, while a star is depicted in the right, see type MIBE N59.

⁹⁶⁵ type MIBE 56 (Anastasius).

⁹⁶⁶ types MIBE 29 and 30.

⁹⁶⁷ Stansbury-O'Donnell 1994, 51 and 55.

⁹⁶⁸ It is certainly worthy of mention that under Justin I personifications appeared also on bronze coins in Nicomedia: one rather rare type of folles struck between 522 and 527 was depicting two Victories flanking the head of emperor on the obverse, type MIBE 38b, pl.8.

when it was absent from the local repertoire. Wolfgang Hahn mentioned the possibility that the re-introduction of Tyche on coins might be related to the city's anniversary;⁹⁶⁹ however, there are no written sources which mention any special celebrations in the city. In addition, there was one more peculiarity related to Antiochene pentanummia: the value mark on the reverse is often inverted (fig. 26/ NM col. Byz 1 and 2).⁹⁷⁰

Minimi had the same design like under Anastasius: an imperial monogram within a wreath (fig.27). These issues did not bear a mintmark, so their attribution to a precise mint is often disputable and they are sometimes attributed just to Constantinople; however, in the case of some stylistically different nummi, a provenance from Antioch is supposed.⁹⁷¹

In the past, a discussion took place over pentanummia struck in the name of Justin I which bore on their reverse a big letter Π without any reference to a mintmark (fig.28).⁹⁷² Some scholars proposed the possible attribution to the mint of Antioch.⁹⁷³ Philip Grierson gathered arguments to prove that these coins could not be struck in Antioch (e.g. the fact that no specimens were found during excavations in Antioch) and attributed the issues to Constantinople which struck a variety of pentanummia in this period;⁹⁷⁴ however, a precise interpretation for the letter Π is lacking. Nowadays, these pentanummia are attributed exclusively to the mint of the Capital in most catalogues.⁹⁷⁵

In addition, the mints of Nicomedia and Cyzicus also witnessed a short-term attempt to introduce indictional dates on folles struck during the second lustral period (fig.24: INS in the exergue).⁹⁷⁶ These issues are considered to be rather peculiar and the phenomenon did not continue after 527. The mint of Antioch did not reflect this innovation in its coinage at all.

2.3 Peculiar issues in collections

⁹⁶⁹ MIBE, 37.

⁹⁷⁰ MIBE, 37.

⁹⁷¹ MIBE, 35.

⁹⁷² For the first publication, see Bertelé 1926, 3.

⁹⁷³ Longuet 1957, 41 (no.248 – mentioning Antioch as a possible place of origin with a question mark). Alfred R.Bellinger classified these pentanummia as „uncertain mint“ and mentioned Constantinople and Antioch as the only mints where more than two workshops were active, so there could be employed letter Γ for the third officina, see DOP I, 56 (no.59a and b).

⁹⁷⁴ Grierson 1967, 234.

⁹⁷⁵ BNP I, 44; types MIBE 29-31.

⁹⁷⁶ MIBE 35-36; Whitting 1973, 100.

Various peculiar elements that can be observed on Antiochene issues of Anastasius can also be found on coins struck in the name of Justin I. An interesting feature on some Antiochene issues in this period are the obverse legends with missing letters and again, this phenomenon is apparent in the case of Anastasius' coins as well as in the case of Justin I's coins. Issues of folles with missing letters in the imperial name or title (fig.29: DNVSTINVSPPAVCS, fig.30: IUNVSTINVS[...] and fig.39: DNANATASIVSPPAVI) exist. Furthermore, some Antiochene issues bore slightly blundered obverse legends: e.g. DN IV²TIN²VISPAVCS (see fig. 31 and 32 – same obverse and reverse dies). In some cases, the mistaken legends are repeated on various issues: e.g. DN IVSTNIVSPPAVC (Pl.XVII/fig.33 and Pl.XXV fig.152).⁹⁷⁷ These mistakes are interesting as missing or blundered letters in the imperial name were not really common on Anastasius' and Justin I's coins and most of the catalogued specimens bore the imperial name correctly; however, exceptions might be found in other mints too and the topic of the frequency of such mistakes on provincial coins surely deserves more attention.⁹⁷⁸

Inverted letters S or N were rather common phenomena in this period, so the fact that some coins with such a mistake exist is not surprising; but the cases of missing letters in the imperial name should be regarded as a significant error. Furthermore, it is possible to come across various local specialties while studying the obverse legends: e.g. in the case of Cyzicus, a specific execution of the first letters in the obverse legend can be seen, however, it is more like a specific local synthesis of the first letters in one (fig. 34) than a misunderstanding. Moreover, missing or inverted letters can be seen on contemporary imitations (fig.35); however, the Antiochene coins presented here must be regular issues as no other peculiar features (e.g. style or extremely lower weight) are observed.

Another phenomenon that can be observed in the case of Justin I are coins struck in Antioch which might have their roots in the period of Anastasius (fig.12) are the half-folles with a mirror image on the reverse (fig.36).⁹⁷⁹ The interesting point is that two identical issues struck with the same reverse-die exist: one is held in the Bibliothèque

⁹⁷⁷ Barber Institute, B0271.

⁹⁷⁸ Omitted I at the beginning of the Justin' name: DOC I no.33b3 (Nicomedia); an issue from the Classical Numismatic Group (Classical Numismatic Group; Electronic Auction 369, lot 526 <http://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=872895|1641|526|bee870e5319a31deb16da4a27fef5cd8>); missing ending S in IVSTINVS: Ashmolean Museum no.0009962 (Constantinople).

⁹⁷⁹ Gkantziou Drápelová 2016, 177.

Nationale and the other one is in the private collection of Petros Protonotarios (fig.36).⁹⁸⁰ Wolfgang Hahn and Michael Metlich have proposed an explanation in the case of the Paris' holding that such a mirror-image might be a result of a careless die-engraving.⁹⁸¹ The reversed images on Antiochene coins presented here are very rare and I have not managed to find any other issue with such a peculiarity struck in the name of Justin I and Anastasius.

Some problems concerning the coins' production are indicated by the existence of double-struck coins bearing the names of Anastasius and Justin I (fig. 37 and 39). The process of double-striking was different to the so called over-striking that usually took place after the change on the throne when it was necessary to issue coins for the new emperor in a short time period. The double-striking means that for some reason - at the moment of the minting - the flan was struck twice with the same die which resulted in the duplication of the same design. In general, double struck coins are not very common in this period; however, examples from other mints can be found too.⁹⁸²

Several numismatists have pointed out that Antiochene coins were generally minted less carefully under Justin I while comparing them to issues struck under Anastasius⁹⁸³ and it seems that for some reason, coins of Antioch from the aspect of this carelessness suffered more than the coins struck in other provincial mints in this period.

Furthermore, it seems that the increase of mint activity under Justin I also impacted the fact that imitations of Byzantine coins became a more common phenomenon (fig.35 and 38).⁹⁸⁴ It is interesting that so far I have not been able to find a sample of a coin that could be classified without any doubts as an imitation of an early Antiochene issue from the period of Anastasius or Justin.

3. Justin I and Justinian I (4 April – 1 August 527)

(Plate XVIII)

⁹⁸⁰ The image of the Paris' issue has not been published, but I had the opportunity to study both specimens.

⁹⁸¹ MIBE, 36.

⁹⁸² E.g. gold solidus from the Constantinopolitan mint (CNG, el.auction 403, lot no. 638) <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=341555>.

⁹⁸³ Whitting 1973, 99.

⁹⁸⁴ Jurukova 1969; Bellinger 1966, 87-90 (Chapter 2: Barbarous folles of Justin I).

When Justin I fell ill, Justinian was proclaimed Augustus in April 527.⁹⁸⁵ Despite the short duration, the joint reign was reflected on Byzantine gold coins struck in the Capital and in Thessalonike by the representation of the two enthroned emperors and legends combining the names of both rulers (fig.40). Bronze coins continued to depict the sole bust in profile and the joint reign was echoed just by the legend DN IVSTINVS ET IVSTINIAN(VS) AVG (fig.41).⁹⁸⁶ Antiochene coins represent a significant exclusion (fig.42-45).⁹⁸⁷ Bronze coins of various denominations bore on their obverse two frontal busts. This iconography is rather different to the representation of the enthroned co-emperors depicted on gold coins. Scholars have pointed out similarities between the obverse type of these Antiochene coins and *exagia solidi* from the 5th century (e.g. Pl.XVIII/fig.30).⁹⁸⁸

Furthermore, there are particular features related to the obverse legend. The legends of late Roman and Byzantine coins usually start in the left field on the obverse; while the legends on Antiochene coins struck in the name of the two emperors start to the right of the cross situated between the heads of the emperors – that the legend started above the heads of the emperors in the upper part on the obverse. In this way, the name of the younger emperor – Justinian – appeared in the left field, the position which is usually considered to be more honourable.⁹⁸⁹ Moreover, the beginning of the legend on Antiochene coins was slightly different as it started with the re-doubled abbreviation for the „dominus noster“ (DNDN) to each of the emperors mentioned in the legend had his own abbreviation. The same version was also employed on Cyzicene coins, but not in Constantinople and Nicomedia which also struck bronze coins in the names of the two co-emperors, but with a different iconographic type. At this point, it is worth mentioning that Antiochene multiples also struck in the name of the two co-emperors in 347-355 had doubled title's abbreviations, but their version was different: DD NN (see reverse of the multiple on Plate IV/fig.36),⁹⁹⁰ which raises the question of whether it might be a certain reminiscence of a practice to state titles for each emperor in case the issue was struck in the name of more than one person.

⁹⁸⁵ For the historic background see Malalas XVII 422.9-21, 424.

⁹⁸⁶ see Bellinger 1966, 90-92; MIBE, 40; BNP I, 51; Vasiliev 1950, 383.

⁹⁸⁷ see MIBE, 41; Gkantzi Drápelová 2016, 177-178.

⁹⁸⁸ MIBE, 41. The two scholars also pointed out the possible existence of lead seals of both emperors which might bore the representation of the two frontal busts; however their existence is just hypothetical.

⁹⁸⁹ MIBE, 41.

⁹⁹⁰ see RIC VII, 517 (no.67)

The two frontal busts appeared on all denominations struck in the Antiochene mint during this short joint reign and they can even be observed in the case of the small pentanummia which continued to bear the representation of Tyche above the Orontes river on their reverse (fig.45).

The decision by the mint of Antioch to completely follow a different iconographic type of the imperial representation by including two frontal busts on their obverse and the iconographic models that inspired this representation are questionable as well as if the main models were really the exagia solidi. No other Byzantine mint provided issues which could be compared to these Antiochene coins struck in 527.

4. Justinian I (527-565)

(Plates XVIII-XX)

The highest number of Byzantine mints operated in the time of Justinian as he opened at least five more mints.⁹⁹¹ The output is considered to be rather large: in general, Justinian's coins are preserved on a massive scale in collections worldwide.⁹⁹² It is supposed that the increased activity in coinage was related to the Justinian military and administrative policy and the Empire's expansion.⁹⁹³

4.1 The pre-reform phase (527-538)

Bronze coins struck in various mints in the pre-reform phase (527-538) usually bore a profile bust on the obverse and they could also bear various combinations of privy marks (crosses, stars, Chi-Rho monograms and dots) on their reverse (NM col. Byz 3 and 4).⁹⁹⁴ The Antiochene mint employed some unusual elements. For example, a crescent as a privy mark can again be observed on reverses (fig.46). Crescents did not appear on Justinian bronze coins struck in other provincial mints, but like in the period of Anastasius and Justin I, they could appear on Constantinopolitan issues struck exclusively in the fifth workshop.⁹⁹⁵

It is significant to mention that a rather different imperial representation could appear on coins from the Syrian mint: a figure of a seated emperor was employed on the obverses of some types of folles, half-folles and decanummia (fig.46-49/ NM col. Byz 5). Folles with the representation of the enthroned emperor could vary from the aspect of the privy marks (e.g. fig.46 and 47).⁹⁹⁶ The enthroned figure of the emperor represents a rather unique departure from the usual portraiture in profile which was employed on all other bronze coins struck in the name of Justinian prior to 538. Furthermore, the imperial diadem on Antiochene issues bore an interesting feature— three rays (see fig.46-49). This is an interesting detail which can also be found on coins struck in other mints, but for some reason, it was rather widespread in Antioch. It raises the questions of what kind of iconographic model was used in the case of the representation of the enthroned emperor and why the completely different iconographic type appeared in this period.

⁹⁹¹ DOC I, 66; MIBE, 46-74.

⁹⁹² Whitting 1973, 60, 106; BNP I, 65-67/

⁹⁹³ MIBE, 56.

⁹⁹⁴ For typology see tables in MIBE; BNP I, 75-76, 84-85, 91-93; DOC I, 78-81, 109-110, 134-135.

⁹⁹⁵ see types MIBE 88 (for the Capital) and MIBE VN125, N125 and 130 (for Antioch).

⁹⁹⁶ types MIBE 128-130.

Precise dating is rather problematic as various scholars proposed different chronology for the pre-reform types and attributed them to specific years (e.g. Hahn dated the type to 531/2-536/7 and various other numismatists to 529-533).⁹⁹⁷ Henri Pottier interpreted these coins as issues struck at the occasion of the city's reconstruction after the devastating earthquake in 528.⁹⁹⁸ The metrological study in the present Thesis (*Chapter 3b*) indicates that the folles with the enthroned figure on the obverse were slightly heavier than the other folles' types struck in Antioch prior to 538.

Moreover, another particular element can be found on Antiochene coins: the figure of Tyche continued to be depicted on pentanummia (fig.50) exclusively struck at the beginning of Justinian I's reign (527-529).⁹⁹⁹ After 529, the representation of Tyche disappears and it is never re-employed on Antiochene coins.

Rather interesting is also the change in Antiochene mintmarks which took place during the first few years of Justinian's reign. The first series of bronze coins struck in Antioch by Justinian bore the same mintmark ANTIX like the coins struck by his predecessor Justin I (fig.51). Sources state that the name of the Syrian capital was changed to Theoupolis after a catastrophic earthquake that damaged the city since natural catastrophes were usually considered to be the result of the wrath of the God.¹⁰⁰⁰ Coins struck prior to 538 could bear various versions of the mintmarks (see Tab.2). The interesting fact is that some of the versions seem to be a combination of Latin and Greek letters.¹⁰⁰¹ In general, several types of the mintmarks can be recognized: ANTIX (fig.51) or ANTIX (the latter one was exclusively used on half-follis and decanummia in the period before 528); THE4P and its varieties (fig.46-49; with crosses at the beginning or at the end of the city's abbreviation or with a small circle above P); ΘΥΠΙΟΑΣ (fig.52/ NM col. Byz 6 and 7) and ANTOAS (fig.53). In the past, scholars attempted to attribute different versions to specific years; however, opinions on the precise dating can differ in some cases (Tab.1).¹⁰⁰² Various varieties of mintmarks and iconographic types were most

⁹⁹⁷ MIBE, 60; BNP I, 65; DOC I, 136; Bellinger 1966, 93.

⁹⁹⁸ Pottier 1983, 173

⁹⁹⁹ type MIBE 140.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Bellinger 1966, 93; Grierson 1982, 66. The written sources provided evidence on the reality that the natural catastrophes were often interpreted as a consequence of God's anger, see e.g. Malalas XVII, 14. Several written sources mention directly the change of the city's name and the catastrophic events, see Malalas, XVIII 27 (p.443); Downey 1961, 529; see the list of sources in Honigmann, Θεούπολις in RE VI, 257;

¹⁰⁰¹ Morriison 1991, 255; Salamon 1993, 19; Bellinger 1966, 93-94.

¹⁰⁰² Grierson 1982, 93-94; BNP I, 65; DOC I, 134; MIBE, 60.

probably related to the lustral/tax periods and the inconsistency could also be related to the fact that a tax exemption existed.¹⁰⁰³

<i>Date</i>						
1 st phase (527-538)	<i>Mintmark</i>	MIBE	BNP	DOC	Bellinger 1966	<i>Denominations</i>
	ANTIX	527-529	527/8	527/8	527/8	M, K, I
	ANTX	527-529		527/8		K, I
	+THEY ^ϛ +	529-536/7		533-537	533-537	M
	THEY ^ϛ	529-531/2				K
		531/2-				K, I
		536/7				
	+ THEY ^ϛ	531/2-	529-533	529-533	529-533	M
		536/7				
	+THEY ^ϛ +	531/2-	533-537			M
		536/7				
	ΘYΠOΛS	536/7-539	537-539	537-539	537-539	M, K, I
	ANTOΛS	536/7-539				M
		542/3				M
		542/3				K

Tab.1 Antiochene mintmarks (527-537) and their dating.

Furthermore, Greek influence might be seen on the execution of some letters in the obverse legends: e.g. often the letter V in the name IVSTINIANVS usually looks like Y (fig.46, 49 and 53). From this aspect, a follis held in the collections of Hermitage illustrates the impact of Greek on Antiochene legends very well as the obverse legend is executed in form DN IY²TINIANOY²P(Pl.XV/fig.153). Not only that in this specific case “Y” was preferred instead of the letter “V” in the emperor’s name, but also “OY” for the same sound was used in the same legend. Furthermore, an inverted S can often

¹⁰⁰³ MIBE, 60.

be seen on Antiochene issues – but this phenomenon was rather normal in Antioch even in previous decades.

In general, the period 527-538 provided many Antiochene issues and these specific years are very well represented in collections and among the findings in Antioch.¹⁰⁰⁴

4.2 Antiochene coinage after 538

The main trends and problems

The year 538, when a new monetary reform was employed, is often interpreted as a kind of borderline in Justinianic coinage. Coins struck after the reform in 538 are rather different than those struck during the first ten years of Justinian's reign (527-537) as the emperor's portrait became frontal and the regnal year started to be referred on the reverse.¹⁰⁰⁵ The mints of Constantinople, Nicomedia and Cyzicus employed these changes in 538/9;¹⁰⁰⁶ however, the reform was gradual in other mints and various provincial mints did not follow the novelties introduced in the Metropolitan mints immediately.¹⁰⁰⁷ The mints of Antioch and Carthage implemented the changes introduced in the Metropolitan mints, but for some reason did not follow the new models immediately in the year of the reform in 538 and both mints provided no issues with the regnal year XII (538/9).¹⁰⁰⁸ The earliest Antiochene coins which reflected the Justinianic reform (fig.54) bore the regnal year XIII (539/40). This means that the Syrian mint employed the reformed coinage later than the Metropolitan mints, but much earlier than other provincial mints where the delay could be even greater.

Mint activity was evidently twice interrupted in the 540's: the first break is dated between 540/1-541/2 (the 14th and 15th regnal years) and is related to the sack of the city by the Persians¹⁰⁰⁹ and the second break is dated between 543/4-545/6 (the 17th -

¹⁰⁰⁴ see Waage 1952, 151; Pottier 1983, 175.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Grierson 1982, 60; Penna 2002, 128; Gandila 2012, 363-366.

¹⁰⁰⁶ see Penna 2002, 128; BNP I, 60; MIBE, 57-60; Grierson 1982, 60.

¹⁰⁰⁷ For example, the mint of Thessalonike started to strike the reformed folles in the final phase of the Justinian's reign, type MIBE 180. Some other provincial mints (e.g. Alexandria and Rome) began to employ the frontal bust just on some denominations; however there were no references to the regnal years, see types MIBE 163 (Alexandrian thirty-three nummi) and MIBE 220 (Roman folles). The mint of Rome later employed also dating, but it is attested only for decanummia (type MIBE 229a, b).

¹⁰⁰⁸ MIBE, 60. For Carthage see MIBE, 160 – the African mint did not employ the regnal years regularly.

¹⁰⁰⁹ On the Persian threat and sack of the city by Chosroe, see Evans 1996, 156-7, 226-7; Barker 1966, 119; Greatrex 2005, 488-489 and on its' possible relation to the closure of the mint, see MIBE, 61; Bellinger 1966, 95; BNP, 65.

19th regnal years) and is usually interpreted as a consequence of plague epidemics which seriously hit the region.¹⁰¹⁰ There are actually known issues of folles struck in the 15th regnal year (542/3) between the two breaks (fig.55; NM Col. Byz 16) and these issues are actually relatively common.

It seems that the separate weight policy was followed after the re-opening in 546 and Antiochene coins did not reflect the weight reduction that took place in Constantinople and the Metropolitan mints in the previous years.¹⁰¹¹ Other than that, Antiochene coins dated in 546/7 could also bear a rich variety of privy marks incorporated in the reverse designs on folles (fig.56), half-folles and decanummia (e.g. a star, a crescent, a dot below the regnal year, etc.) and a similar situation was repeated in 555/556 and 559/560 (dots around crosses above the heads of the emperor; a star next to the mintmark, fig.57 and coins in the NM catalogue Byz 30-32).¹⁰¹² The years 541/2-550/1 were marked by the use of specific privy marks also in the Metropolitan mints; however, their versions were often different.¹⁰¹³ Such a variety of privy marks did not exist in other mints. For example, the only mint other than the mint of Antioch which employed a crescent as a privy mark in its design was Cyzicus (fig.58).¹⁰¹⁴ Another interesting fact is that the Metropolitan mints did not continue to employ privy marks nor the rich varieties of types after the 24th regnal year (550/1). The only exceptions were the Nicomedian and Cyzicene decanummia which provided evidence on the existence of various privy marks and typological varieties (decanummia exist depicting a cross above the value mark “I” and another category represented decanummia depicting a star instead of a cross).¹⁰¹⁵

The new versions of mintmarks

Antiochene mintmarks employed on coins struck after the reforms in 538 present an interesting topic. Thanks to the fact that the issues are dated, the various versions of mintmarks could be attributed to specific years.¹⁰¹⁶ Some of the mintmarks continued to

¹⁰¹⁰ On the connection between the closure of the mint and plague see: Bellinger 1966, 95; BNP, 65; MIBE, 61-62; Durlat 1989, 110-111; Pottier 1983, 175.

¹⁰¹¹ Metcalf 1966, 210; Pottier 1983, 174.

¹⁰¹² See types MIBE 145b; MIBE 145c; MIBE 145d; MIBE 145e; MIBE 149; MIBE 147b.

¹⁰¹³ E.g. in 546/7 the Constantinopolitan coins bore three dots in the right field (type MIBE 95c).

¹⁰¹⁴ The mint of Cyzicus employed a crescent appeared in 546/7 on folles and half-folles struck in Cyzicus (MIBE, 120g and 121 g).

¹⁰¹⁵ see tables for Justinian in MIBE. For the Nicomedian issues see types MIBE 118b and 123b.

¹⁰¹⁶ see BNP I, 65; Grierson 1982, 67.

be similar with the variations employed on types struck prior to 538 and some more variations were employed (fig. 54-57; NM catalogue Byz 16 - 37). It is worth pointing out that in contrast to the pre-reform phase, the lower denominations (half-folles and decanummia) often employed mintmarks different to those common on folles (see tab.2).¹⁰¹⁷

In general, again a combination of Greek and Latin letters can be observed in the mintmarks versions like in the previous period.¹⁰¹⁸ It is worth emphasizing that after the re-opening of the mint after 546, letters seem to be executed with even less care than before and the new versions of mintmarks indicate the incapability to cut the Latin letters well. The most eloquent is the existence of versions of the letters P and Π in the abbreviations of the new city's name Theoupolis (compare fig.55 and 56). Furthermore, the fact that in the case of half-folles just these single letters could appear as the mintmark in the exergue (fig.59 and 60) indicates that they most probably stand for the word „polis“ (in the case of Π a small “o” was added above the letter and in the case of P varieties are observed: a single letter and a dash added in the lower part of the letter or a small dot above the letter). Furthermore the “TH”, which looked like CH on the issues struck in 542/3, started to look more like a very carelessly cut Ψ (fig.56).

Maciej Salamon attempted to interpret some of the specific mintmarks versions as abbreviations for concrete words which should further specify the message they conveyed and in the case of the mintmark “CH” he preferred to read it as an abbreviation for the words Christos or Christoupolis.¹⁰¹⁹ The same scholar offered similar interpretations also for some of the other mintmarks' versions and supposed that also other names for Antioch other than Theoupolis and Christoupolis might be used: e.g. Kirioupolis interpreting these versions within a theological framework and emphasizing the role of Antioch as a Christian religious center.¹⁰²⁰ However, the letter C might most likely be a result of bad cutting of the letter T and furthermore, there are no references in the written sources that any other name than Theoupolis was used in Antioch, so it is difficult to accept Salomon's reading and interpretations without any doubts. Actually, the richness of Antiochene mintmarks' varieties is very unusual and has no parallels in other mints active under Justinian.

¹⁰¹⁷ see e.g. Bellinger 1966,94.

¹⁰¹⁸ Bellinger 1966, 94-95.

¹⁰¹⁹ Salamon 1993, 15-17.

¹⁰²⁰ Salamon 1993, 17-19.

<i>Mintmark</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>regnal year</i>	<i>Year</i>
ΘΥΠΟ	M	13	539/40
ΘΥ	K	13	539/40
CHΕΥΡο	M	16	542/3
CH	K	16	542/3
CHΕΥΡ	I	16	542/3
ЧНЧП	M	20-24	546/7-550
Π	K	20-29	546/7-555/6
CHЧП	M	24-29	550/1-555/6
CHЧР	M	29-34	555-560/1
CHΕΥΡ	M	33	559/60
	M	35-39	561/2-565
	I	34-39	560/1-565
CHΕΥΡ'	I	34-39	560/1-565
Р, Ϙ	K	28-39	554/5-565
*	K	31	557/8

Tab 2 Antiochene mintmarks in the post-reform phase (538-565) and their dating.

Small denominations

The issues of Antiochene decanummia struck after 538 did not bear any strange features, but their varieties are interesting. Various types which differ from each other by the mintmarks' versions (fig.61 and 62; NM col. Byz 40-42) are attested and it also

employed privy marks common on the corresponding folles issues.¹⁰²¹ No other mint in the Byzantine Empire provided such a rich variety of decanummia.

Also, the issues of pentanummia provided interesting varieties (NM catalogue Byz 43-45).¹⁰²² Some pentas could bear various symbols in the right field on the reverse next to the mark of the value E. Some types struck in the post-reform period after 538 depicted on their reverses a cross or two different types of stars (fig.63 and 65; NM Catalogue Byz 44-45) or ligature δ (fig.64) or a monogram (fig.66).¹⁰²³ Pentanummia struck in other mints which were active in this period either did not bear any symbols or their repertoire was not as rich as the one of Antioch.¹⁰²⁴

4.3 Last years (560-565)

The last few years of the Justinian reign were marked by several phenomena which indicate a specific situation and peculiar problems in the Antiochene mint. One of these phenomena were the so called blundered legends. Sometime around 562, the obverse legends became illegible on all issues struck in Antioch (fig.62 and 67).¹⁰²⁵ The general style or α weight did not change at all, but for some reasons the die cutters were not able to cut the letters on the die properly. The problem was related not only to the final years of the Justinian reign, but it lasted for at least two decades and disappeared under the emperor Maurice.

In general, the phenomenon of the blundered legends and of the carelessly executed mintmarks have been interpreted by various numismatists to be a result of an absence of literate employees in the mint due to general population reduction caused mainly by the epidemics and natural catastrophes.¹⁰²⁶ Moreover, G. Bates expressed in 1970 the opinion that the wrong execution of the imperial name could actually be a kind of sabotage by pagans who were displeased with the emperor.¹⁰²⁷ He emphasized the fact that despite the lack of sources on the situation in Antioch in the final years of Justinian

¹⁰²¹ see decanummia types in BNP I, 98-99 or DOC I, 151-154 and mintmark types in the Table 2.

¹⁰²² On the varieties and their dating, see Pottier 1983, 173-177.

¹⁰²³ for types see MIBE 161a-b, MIBE 162, MIBE 163.

¹⁰²⁴ On the Nicomedian coins letters NI or N could be found in the right field of some types struck after 538 (MIBE VV119 and 119) or a monogram (MIBE V 119). The pre-reform Nicomedian pentas were bearing a Cho-Rho monogram which was an unusual feature too (MIBE 111 and MIBE N111).

¹⁰²⁵ MIB I, 64; MIBE, 62; DOC I, 147-8; Bates 1970, 73. P.Grierson dated the change in 561/2, see Greirson 1982, 67.

¹⁰²⁶ Bellinger 1966, 95-96; DOC I, 147. Grierson 1982, 67.

¹⁰²⁷ Bates 1970, 74.

I's reign, there is evidence on the execution of some pagan priests in Constantinople of whom two were from Antioch.¹⁰²⁸ Additionally, Alfred R. Bellinger observed that the obverse and reverse dies of the same issues had to be struck by different people as in some cases the obverse legend is completely wrong and illegible, while the mintmark on the reverse of the same coins was executed relatively well (see fig.67; NM collection Byz 35 -37) and the person who made the reverse die had to be acquainted with the alphabet.¹⁰²⁹

Furthermore, the officinae letters provided interesting evidence. The mint of Antioch continued to strike in five officinae and it was the only mint in the Byzantine Empire to employ such a high number of workshops. The twenty-sixth regnal year of Justinian (552/3) also provided issues bearing an unusual officina letter Z.¹⁰³⁰ It is interesting as usually there were five officinae letters in the Syrian capital and a numeral was added for the seventh workshop; however, evidence on the Greek numeral for the number six has not been attested. Towards the end of the Justinian reign, especially after 559, the officina letter Γ started to dominate the reverses and the phenomenon became even more obvious during the first few years of Justin II's reign.¹⁰³¹

In general, the Antiochene production in the late phase of the Justinian reign raises various questions. Evidence on the use of the same obverse dies for folles and half-folles exists like in the previous period¹⁰³² - a fact which indicates a specific economy in the mint. On the one hand, various peculiarities are observed, while on the other hand, it seems that the mint of Antioch continued to strike folles and half-folles in the final years of Justinian's life (561/2-565) when there is no evidence on striking these denominations in Nicomedia and Cyzicus.¹⁰³³ This means that Antioch continued to be an important production center of coin production in the Eastern Mediterranean; however, it is obvious at the same time that mint organization underwent some difficulties.

¹⁰²⁸ Bates 1970, 74; Downey 1961, 558-559.

¹⁰²⁹ Bellinger 1966, 89, 96.

¹⁰³⁰ MIBE, 62 and 147.

¹⁰³¹ MIBE, 100-101, 148 (type MIBE 148) and 149 (types MIBE 150 and MIBE 151).

¹⁰³² MIBE, 62.

¹⁰³³ There are catalogued issues of Antioch struck up to the year 39 (April – November 565). The latest folles and half-folles which of Nicomedia bore the regnal year 34 (560/1) and those of Cyzicus the regnal year 31 (557/8). The Constantinopolitan mint provided latest evidence on folles with the regnal year 38 (564/5) and half-folles with the regnal year 37 (563/4). The mints continued to strike decanummia till the last years of Justinian reign (565). For the evidence see MIBE, 130, 133, 136-139, 141-142, 149-150.

4.4 Justinianic hybrids with Anastasian or Justin obverse types

Peculiar issues of folles which had a regular reverse type corresponding to the types struck under Justinian prior to 538 have been identified; but their obverse was struck in the name of Anastasius and in one unique published case also in the name of Justin I. Such a hybrid coin with Anastasius' legend was described for the first time in 1966 in DOC I by A. R. Bellinger who considered it to be a contemporary imitation (fig.68).¹⁰³⁴ For the next several decades, no such coins have attracted the attention of scholars. In 2011 and 2013, S. J. Mansfield published more than a dozen coins with the Justinianic reverse types and Anastasian/Justin obverse types (fig.69-71)¹⁰³⁵ and in 2015, G. Bijovsky and N. Benovitz published a similar coin with the Anastasius obverse type which was found at the excavations in Oboda (Israel).¹⁰³⁶ Most of these hybrid coins have doubtful provenance (other than the one from the Oboda excavations), but the majority probably comes from the area of the Near East.¹⁰³⁷

All known versions bore mintmarks referring to Theoupolis thus mintmarks which were commonly used after 528 when the city was re-named. Concretely, the published issues bore versions of the mintmark ΘΥΠΙΟΛΣ (fig.69-71) and one specimen had a mintmark resembling +THEBP+ (fig.72).¹⁰³⁸ The weight of these coins range within the frames common for regular coins during Justinian's reign struck between 527 and 537.¹⁰³⁹ These hybrid coins are puzzling as to their precise dating and interpretation. The mintmarks which appeared on these hybrids are usually dated in 531/2-536/7 (+THECP+) and in 537-539 (ΘΥΠΙΟΛΣ). S. J. Mansfield interpreted the issues to be most probably "emergency coinage" of Antioch in the years when it suffered the attack and capture by the Persians in 540. He considered the hybrid issues to be a result of attempts of the local mint to continue its activity, but to avoid the name of the present Byzantine emperor whose position might be problematic in the region and furthermore, S. J. Mansfield proposed that maybe unofficial mints were also active in the period of the Persian occupation.¹⁰⁴⁰ The interpretations of G. Bijovsky and N. Benovitz are different: these scholars hypothesized that the new name of Antioch, "Theupolis", might have

¹⁰³⁴ DOC I, 140 (note 213).

¹⁰³⁵ These coins have been published for the first time by Mansfield 2011, 6-9; Mansfield 2013, 8-9.

¹⁰³⁶ Bijovsky-Benovitz 2015, 62-66.

¹⁰³⁷ Mansfield 2011, 7.

¹⁰³⁸ For the last specimen see Mansfield 2013, 9.

¹⁰³⁹ S.J.Mansfield noted that the weight of specimens which he studied ranged from 10 to 15 gr. which are similar data to the material gathered for Justinian I's coinage from the pre-reform period (527-537), see Graph 7.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Mansfield 2011, 7-8; Mansfield 2013, 9.

been used prior to 528 and that it might be an unofficial name of the city already under Anastasius.¹⁰⁴¹ On the contrary, written sources do not provide any evidence on the use of the name Theoupolis for Antioch prior to the period of Justinian.

4.5 Some peculiarities on single issues in collections

Like in the period of Justin I, various issues with missing letters in the name of Justinian can be found. Folles with the missing letter “I” in the name of Justinian have appeared on the market (fig. 73 and 74). Furthermore, in some cases the letters could be mistaken even before the beginning of the “blundered legends” phenomenon: e.g. on the issue of folles (fig. 75) struck in 546/7 the end of Justinian’s name was mistaken (DN IVSTINIAVNIS PPAV). Also, the inverted S can be observed on some issues; however, reverted letters were relatively common in this period. This means that some of the problems observed in the period of Justin I and Anastasius – e.g. the sporadic cases of missing or swapped letters in the imperial name – continued to occur under Justinian I too. The period of Justinian provided various examples of imitative coinage and some of the imitations bore the Antiochene mintmark (fig.76 and 77). The main feature of these coins indicates that the issues are imitations is their general “barbaric” style. Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether the particular coin was a regular issue or an imitation as sometimes the general style and size corresponds to the imperial issues, but the legend is executed so carelessly that it raises questions on the authenticity (e.g. Plate XXV/154).

Antiochene issues also provided evidence on the phenomenon of “double-striking” (fig.78-81) – a practice that had already occurred under Anastasius and Justin I. In all the cases included in the present research, the double-struck is obvious only on the reverses. I have managed to find several similar examples also from other mints (fig.82);¹⁰⁴² however, they were not many and the phenomenon was related, like in the case of Antioch, exclusively to the reverse. This means that double-striking was not limited just to the mint of Antioch, but it indicates a general problem which concerned the active mints in the period of Justinian I.

¹⁰⁴¹ Bijovsky-Benovitz 2015, 62-66.

¹⁰⁴² A.R.Bellinger mentions the double struck coins several times in the catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks Col., see DOC I, 79 (no.29a.4), 82 (no.34.3).

5. Justin II (565-578)

(Plates XX – XXI)

Justinian I did not designate his concrete successor and the only person present at the death bed of the emperor, eunuch praepositus sacri cubicula Callinicus attested that the dying emperor appointed as his heir his nephew Justin; however, modern scholars have expressed doubts about the legacy of Justin II's succession.¹⁰⁴³ Moreover, the development of the general political and economic situations impacted the fact that some of the mints active under Justinian I were not active under his successor.

5.1. *Victory on a globe*

Justin II introduced several novelties into his coinage: the cross on the globe in the emperor's right hand on gold solidi was substituted with a figure of Victory (fig.83).¹⁰⁴⁴ The reverse of these gold solidi started to represent the personification of Constantinople.¹⁰⁴⁵ This means that Justin II employed on his gold coins a design inspired by older iconography common in the 4th and 5th centuries (fig. 84-85).¹⁰⁴⁶ The new obverse type was employed exclusively on all gold solidi struck throughout the Empire¹⁰⁴⁷ and it did not impact the lower denominations with the exception of Antioch. The mint of Antioch struck bronze coins with the frontal representation of the emperor holding a globe surmounted by Victory in his right hand (fig.86). These coins were struck during the first two years of Justin II's reign (565/6-566/7) and there is no evidence on striking between 567 and 569. The motif of Victory on a globe crowning the emperor had a long tradition in Roman coinage (fig.87)¹⁰⁴⁸ and it was not common on Byzantine coins.

¹⁰⁴³ Whitby 2000, 86; Evans 1996, 263-264.

¹⁰⁴⁴ BNP, 124; MIBEc, 21.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Furthermore, it is difficult to answer the question how the contemporary users could react to these changes. John of Ephesus provided an evidence on the reality that the personification of Constantinople could be misunderstood, see Ioannes Ephesios, p. 19

¹⁰⁴⁶ C.Morrisson mentioned mainly the inspiration of Arcadius solidi, see BNP I, 124.

¹⁰⁴⁷ under Justin II the gold solidi were struck in Constantinople, Alexandria, Thesslaonica, Carthago and Ravenna, see MIB II, 37-42.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Victories were often depicted on globe in the hand of a standing or enthroned figure on the reverse (e.g. RIC X, 64 (no.10), 230 (no.66) and many others); however the examples of a Victory on globe crowning the emperor on the obverse existed too, but these cases are much rarer than the instance mentioned firstly, see fig.87.

The precise reasons which lead emperor Justin II to re-introduce this iconographic motif remain under question.¹⁰⁴⁹ It is also disputable why the obverse type of Antiochene coins were struck only at the beginning of Justin II's reign employed details which were otherwise common exclusively on gold solidi; however, a problematic mint organization and communication with the center seem to be a plausible explanation. The Victory on a globe in the hand of the emperor could appear on one variety of half-folles struck in Thessalonike,¹⁰⁵⁰ but other than this case, no other provincial mint adopted the representation of a globe surmounted by Victory on its bronze coins and thus the folles and half-folles of Antioch and the very rare issues of Thessalonike represent important exceptions.

5.2 Augusta on coins

Furthermore, bronze folles and half-folles struck in the Central mints radically changed their obverse type very soon after the ascension of the new emperor (fig.88 / NM coll. Byz 46). Justin II introduced on his bronze coins a new obverse type that represented the enthroned imperial couple: it was actually the first time in the sixth century when an empress was included in the coins' iconography. Empress Sophia was known for her influence on political affairs, especially in the period when Justin II became mentally ill.¹⁰⁵¹ In accordance to some scholars, her representation on coins could be related to the fact that she provided a heir to the throne¹⁰⁵² and furthermore, opinions on the shared nature of the reign of Justin II and Sophia have been expressed.¹⁰⁵³ The fact that Justinian did not officially appoint his successor could also impact the fact that it was desirable to emphasize the dynastic stability which could be expressed by the representation of the imperial consort.

The mint of Constantinople introduced the novelty on its bronze denominations immediately after the ascension of the new emperor in 565.¹⁰⁵⁴ Other mints started to

¹⁰⁴⁹ I believe that the changes in the iconography could be related to the attempts to express the continuity of the Roman Empire, see Gkantziou-Drápelová 2016, 80.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Type MIBEc 68c – however such issues are known only from the first and third year of Justin II' reign, MIBEc, 105.

¹⁰⁵¹ On the influence and role of Sophia, see Garland 1999, 56-57; Louth 2008, 125; Cameron 1075, 5-21.

¹⁰⁵² In accordance to some scholars giving birth to an heir was one of the factors which could influence granting the title of augusta to the empress and could impact the reality that the empress was afterwards depicted on coins, see e.g. Herrin 2000, 23; Grierson 1982, 44; BNP I, 125.

¹⁰⁵³ Brubaker-Tobler 2000, 583; Νικολάου 1999, 123; Garland 1999, 56-7. On the importance of Sophia for the legitimacy of Justin II' reign, see Olster 1982, 400.

¹⁰⁵⁴ MIBEc, 28; DOC I, 204; BNP I, 125.

strike the new iconographic type consequently:¹⁰⁵⁵ some mints started to strike in the name of Justin II in the year of introduction of the new type,¹⁰⁵⁶ while some other mints struck different type of folles prior to the introduction of the enthroned imperial couple.¹⁰⁵⁷ It is important to emphasize that various provincial mints followed a different policy regarding the obverse types and some of them (e.g. the Italian ones) did not introduce the representation of the enthroned couple at all.

The new obverse type (fig.89-92; NM catalogue Byz 46 - 62) with the enthroned couple was introduced in Antioch after the two year break in activity (567/8-568/9).¹⁰⁵⁸ Furthermore, the representation of the imperial couple on Antiochene issues was slightly different to the one employed in other mints (compare fig.88 and 89): the imperial couple holds the globus cruciger between them, but the cross is much longer than on the issues struck elsewhere as it ends above the heads of the imperial couple and they both – Justin II and Sophia – hold a scepter. On the issues struck in the Central mints, Justin II holds the globus cruciger and Sophia holds a scepter in her right hand.

The inactivity of the mint between 567 and 569 has not been sufficiently explained; however, W. Hahn proposed a hypothesis connecting the break with the imperial quinquennium as the mint was re-opened in the fifth regnal year.¹⁰⁵⁹ After the re-opening of the Antiochene mint, local coinage adopted the typology common in the Central mints and reduced its weight standard which was heavier during the first two years of Justin II's reign when the different type of follis was struck. There is one unusual element: the year on the Antiochene coins struck in 569/70 was not referred by the usual symbol V for the number five, but by "II/III" – this is again another feature which makes Antiochene coins look different in comparison to those struck in the Metropolitan mints (fig.89-91).

In addition, one type of half-folles struck in the fifth regnal year of Justin II and representing the imperial couple on its obverse bore a specific irregularity on the reverse:

¹⁰⁵⁵ Nicomedia in the second regnal year (566/7), Cyzicus in the third regnal year (567/8), Thessaloniki in 568/9, Antioch in 569/70 and Carthage in 572, MIBEc, 28-29; BNP I, 125; DOC I, 204, 221, 226, 234, 243.

¹⁰⁵⁶ E.g. there are not known issues of Nicomedia and Cyzicus struck prior to the period when the enthroned imperial couple was introduced there, see DOC I, 226, 234.

¹⁰⁵⁷ E.g. the mint of Carthage was employing the bust of Justin II the bronze coins struck prior to 572, see BNP I, 148-150. Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that the decanummia struck in the Central mints continued to bear profile bust at the beginning of the Justin II's reign, but very soon they changed their obverse type and started to employ the representation of the enthroned couple too, see MIBEc, 28.

¹⁰⁵⁸ DOC I, 243; MIBEc, 29.

¹⁰⁵⁹ MIBEc, 29.

instead of the mintmark there was an officina letter Δ in the exergue (fig.90).¹⁰⁶⁰ These issues are limited just to this one specific year, so it seems that this type might be a result of a quick need to introduce a new type after the break in activity.

5.3 Pentanummia and the imperial monogram

Rather interesting are also the pentanummia (fig.93). The representation of the imperial couple was not employed on their obverses – most probably due to the small size of the flan which did not allow any complicated iconographic designs.¹⁰⁶¹ Instead of the representation of the imperial couple, a monogram was employed and the monogram has been interpreted as a combination of the names of Justin II and Sophia.¹⁰⁶² This is the only case when the name of Sophia was included on a coin type widespread in the whole Empire and struck in various Byzantine mints.¹⁰⁶³ These pentanummia are also interesting from the aspect of the mint of Antioch as in the past some scholars believed that they were struck exclusively there,¹⁰⁶⁴ but nowadays these issues are attributed to various mints.¹⁰⁶⁵

5.4 Other specific features

Some of the specific features that appeared on Antiochene issues under Justin II continued to employ trends already established under Justinian I: e.g. the obverse legends continued to be illegible and a double-struck can be spotted (fig.96). The double struck issue included in the research presents an interesting example as the flan had to move ca 90° C (e.g. the mintmark on the reverse – once in the exergue and once in the right field). Furthermore, various privy marks existed - stars positioned in different ways around the regnal year on the reverse (fig.94) - that had no parallels in the Central mints.

The prototypes of the mintmarks employed on Antiochene coins under Justin II can be traced on the coins of the previous emperor (see Tab.2). The varieties THE Ψ P; TH Ψ P and THE Ψ Po can be found on folles and decanummia (fig.89, 91 and 94; NM

¹⁰⁶⁰ see type MIBEc 59; DOC I, 246 (no.161).

¹⁰⁶¹ see MIBEc, 28.

¹⁰⁶² Bury 1924, 301-302. Various numismatists attempted to interpret the monogram in a different way: e.g. Justin Sabatier read it as “Flavius Iustinianus”, see Sabatier 1862, 191.

¹⁰⁶³ Furthermore, Sophia’s name appeared on some types of coins struck exclusively in Carthage, MIBEc 107 (types MIBEc 77, 78, 77 and 80).

¹⁰⁶⁴ E.g. Metcalf 1962, 147-151; Waage 1952, 156.

¹⁰⁶⁵ E.g. MIBEc, tab.Justin II.

col. Byz 46, 62). The single letter “P” was exclusively used on half-folles like under Justinian (fig.92; NM col. Byz 59-61). In this period, Antioch was not the only provincial mint that provided varieties of the mintmarks and the city’s name: Thessalonike struck bronze coins bearing various unusual mintmarks (e.g. +M; ΘKC; Θ+C; Φ+C) which had no parallels on Justinianic issues.¹⁰⁶⁶

It seems that mint organization underwent specific changes as the maximum of the officina letters could reach number four in one specific year (569/70). Lots of the published coins struck in the name of Justin II bore the officina letter Γ (fig.94) which was evidently responsible for most of the production and like that evidently the trend established at the end of the Justinian I reign – to concentrate the production in the third workshop – continued under his successor.¹⁰⁶⁷ Moreover, in the case of some folles types issues bearing exclusively this officina letter have been recorded.¹⁰⁶⁸ Some types could also bear other officinae letters (most often A and B), but in the case of some specific years, again, only the third officina Γ has been confirmed: e.g. in the second regnal year 566/7 or between the eighth and eleventh regnal years (572/3-575/6).¹⁰⁶⁹

In general, a search through various catalogues and databases did not provide any important results which would shed light on some peculiarities not mentioned before. The only specific issue which I managed to spot in the databases is the half-follis in brockage strike (fig.95). The brockage strike - error strike when the one side of the coin bears the same, but mirror image on the other side – is not a very common phenomenon in the 6th century. The reverse is actually missing in that specific case, so the mintmark is absent, but the style of the imperial couple allowed the attribution of the issue to the mint of Antioch as no other mint represented the imperial couple with a long cross between them.

¹⁰⁶⁶ MIBEc, 30-31; DOC I, 220-225; BNP I, 134.

¹⁰⁶⁷ MIBEc, 29; DOC I, 244-245.

¹⁰⁶⁸ e.g. types MIBEc 55a; MIBEc 56b; MIBEc 57b.

¹⁰⁶⁹ E.g. MIBEc 100 (no.55a). or 101 (no56b).

6. Tiberius II (578-582)

(Plates XXI-XXII)

Tiberius was from the initiative of Sophia proclaimed co-emperor already in 574, during the life of Justin II whose abilities to reign were negatively influenced by a mental disorder.¹⁰⁷⁰ The joint reign lasted only ten days (26 September – 5 October 578) and the existence of rare gold issues struck exclusively in the capital are recorded (fig.97).¹⁰⁷¹ The mint of Antioch did not provide any issue which could be dated in this short period; however, it is important to mention the Syrian mint at this point because of its specific connection to these Constantinopolitan issues. The gold issues from 578 struck in Constantinople evidently bore iconography similar to the one of the Antiochene bronze coins struck during the short joint reign of Justin I and Justinian I in 527 (compare fig.97 and fig.42-45): the frontal busts of Justin II and Tiberius were depicted on the obverse like in the case of Antiochene coins struck in 527.¹⁰⁷²

In addition, some of these gold coins struck in the names of both emperors (light-weight solidi) that bore on their reverse a mintmark OB+* were attributed in the past to the mint of Antioch¹⁰⁷³; however, nowadays the attribution of any gold coins to the mint of Antioch in the 6th century seems to be problematic.¹⁰⁷⁴

Tiberius' early coins actually followed the patterns of his predecessor's coinage. The interesting point is that the lowest regnal year that can be found on Tiberian coins is the fourth regnal year (578) as he became sole emperor after the death of Justin II in the fourth year of the joint reign and he did not introduce counting from his ascension.¹⁰⁷⁵ The representation of the imperial couple ceased to be used in almost all mints¹⁰⁷⁶ and the frontal imperial bust, cuirassed, crowned and holding globus cruciger started to be represented on bronze issues struck in the Central mints (fig. 98 and 99) and Antioch (fig.100-102).¹⁰⁷⁷

¹⁰⁷⁰ Whitby 2000, 94.

¹⁰⁷¹ MIBEc, 35.

¹⁰⁷² MIBEc, 35; BNP I, 157.

¹⁰⁷³ e.g. DOC I, 263.

¹⁰⁷⁴ E.g. W.Hahn does not refer to any gold coins from Antioch in this period (MIBEc).

¹⁰⁷⁵ MIBEc, 40; BNP I, 159.

¹⁰⁷⁶ The only exception was represented by the mint of Thessalonike, see Grierson 1982, 45; MIBEc, 42 (type MIBEc 65); James 2001, 110; Νικολάου 1999, 123.

¹⁰⁷⁷ The bust in profile continued to appear on fractions of gold solidi (tremisses and semisses) like in the previous decades, see e.g. BNP I, 162. However, in the case of Central mints it could be found on pentanummia, see BNP I, 166(no.6) and the mint of Alexandria was employing the profile bust also on bronze denominations – e.g. on Tiberian twelve-nummia, see BNP I, 170 (no.6); DOC I, 286.

The mint of Antioch in this phase minted folles, half-folles and decanummia. Actually, the Antiochene mint was the only one together with Thessalonike that struck decanummia in the early phase of Tiberius II's reign after his ascension.¹⁰⁷⁸ The other mints did not strike a rich variety of denominations in the first few months after the death of Justin II: e.g. the mints of Constantinople and Nicomedia produced folles and half-folles and the mint of Cyzicus seems to have been inactive.¹⁰⁷⁹

Shortly after in 578/579, important changes were introduced in Tiberian bronze coinage (fig.103-107): the mints started to strike a richer variety of denominations, the letter M became **М**, a new denomination of value three-quarter follis was introduced, a consular portrait was employed on folles and Latin numerals started to be preferred in most cases.¹⁰⁸⁰ These changes are sometimes considered to be in some way related to the attempts of introducing coins of an increased weight standard;¹⁰⁸¹ however, the precise source of the inspiration for these innovations remains unknown. Constantinople introduced these changes already sometime during the year 578 – so coins struck in the older style and issues with the new design referring to the same fourth regnal year can be found.¹⁰⁸² The Central mints after 578 struck folles, thrity-nummia, half-folles, decanummia and pentanummia (see again fig.103-107) and the Antiochene mint followed this policy (fig. 108-115).

The mints of Nicomedia and Cyzicus adopted the changes in the fifth regnal year (578/9). The mint of Antioch provided evidence on a specific situation. Some of the Antiochene issues which introduced Latin numerals as their value marks (XX for half-folles) could be struck either without any reference to the word ANNO on the reverse (like in other mints) or cases of issues which bore the letters “ANNO” on the reverse, but the actual date was missing exist as well (fig. 109).¹⁰⁸³ The mintmarks on these issues could be THEΥP or P. In accordance to W. Hahn and M. Metlich, these undated coins should be attributed to the transitional phase at the end of Tiberius' fourth regnal year when the abandonment of the older design had to take place.¹⁰⁸⁴ In addition, the Antiochene folles, half-folles and decanummia struck in the new style after 578/9 bore the references to the regnal years (fig.113-115), so they can be easily dated in the concrete

¹⁰⁷⁸ MIBEc, 40-41.

¹⁰⁷⁹ MIB II, 55;

¹⁰⁸⁰ See BNP I, 160; DOC I, 282-285; MIBEc, 40.

¹⁰⁸¹ MIBEc, 40.

¹⁰⁸² MIBEc, 40 (types MIBEc 23a and MIBEc 24).

¹⁰⁸³ MIBEc, 41.

¹⁰⁸⁴ MIBEc, 40; see tables and types MIBEc 50 and 51.

year; but in the Central mints, only the highest bronze denomination – folles-- bore the date and the rest of the denominations remained undated.¹⁰⁸⁵ Antiochene thirty-nummia were undated like in the case of the Central mints.

Another difference is related to fact that the Antiochene coins of Tiberius did not bear the references to officinae letters which were usually stated on the issues struck in the other mints (compare fig.105 with 113 and 115).¹⁰⁸⁶

Other specific elements mainly concerned the obverse iconography. Each denomination bore a specific obverse type: the Central mints used to depict a consular bust on folles (fig. 103); a frontal bust with cuirass and paludamentum on thirty nummia (fig.104 and 106) and decanummia (fig. 106) and a frontal bust holding a globe and a shield on twenty nummia (fig.113-115).¹⁰⁸⁷ The mint of Antioch did not follow this scheme. In the case of folles (fig. 110), it used the same obverse type like the coins struck in the Central mints. The consular bust was common only on folles in the Central mints; but in the case of Antioch, this type of bust was used also on the thirty nummia (fig. 111) and some twenty nummia (fig.114).¹⁰⁸⁸ The Antiochene half folles and decanummia could bear two types of imperial busts: the emperor could be depicted frontal and cuirassed holding either the mappa or globus cruciger (fig. 113 and 116) or the emperor could be depicted as a consul (fig. 114 and 115). Most of the sub-categories were struck in specific years: e.g. twenty nummi with globus cruciger were struck exclusively in the fourth and seventh regnal years (578 and 580/1) and the consular bust appeared on the half-folles in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth regnal years (578/9 – 581/2).¹⁰⁸⁹ Furthermore, sub-types of Antiochene folles and twenty nummia due to the details on the imperial crown - cross or trefoil (see fig. 114 and 115) are recognized. The trefoil was common mainly towards the end of Tiberius II's reign when the cross also continued to be depicted.¹⁰⁹⁰

¹⁰⁸⁵ see table of Tiberius II in MIBEc; for comparison see BNP I, 165-166 (no.24-28 for Constantinople) and 170 (no.6-8 for Antioch); DOC I, 273-274 (for Constantinople) and 284-285 (for Antioch).

¹⁰⁸⁶ For the evidence see tables of Tiberius II in the MIBEc. All the bronze denominations struck in the Central mints bore officina letters, see DOC I, 270-276; while the mint of Antioch did not employ the officina letters at all, see DOC I, 282-285. The only mints which were also minting coins without the references of the workshop letter were also Constantinople in a short transitional phase between the abandonment of the old types struck in the first weeks of Tiberius II's reign and the year five (578/9) and the mints of Thessalonike and Alexandria which both followed a rather different monetary policy.

¹⁰⁸⁷ For the list of the types, see MIBEc, 119-123; for the division of the portraits' types, see MIBEc, 40.

¹⁰⁸⁸ For the Antiochene twenty nummia with the representation of emperor holding a globus cruciger, see MIBEc, 124-125 (types MIBEc 49, 50, 51b, 52, 53) and on consular bust: MIBEc, 124-125 (types MIBEc 51a, 54, 55a-b).

¹⁰⁸⁹ MIBEc, 124-125.

¹⁰⁹⁰ MIBEc, 41.

The other provincial mints followed a completely different policy regarding the obverse types and they did not provide such varieties for half-folles and decanummia.

In contrast to the Central mints, there were no references to officinae letters in Antioch between 578/9 and 581/2 (compare the Nicomedia issue on fig.105 and the Antiochene issues on fig. 108-116); however, the officinae letters (A and B) appeared on one specific type of half-folles and decanummia in Antioch in the eighth year.¹⁰⁹¹

Regarding the obverse legends, it is interesting that the phenomenon of the blundered legends continued to exist in Antioch; however, important differences between the single issues exist: in some cases, the letters of the obverse legends are slightly blundered, but the letters are executed in a normal and legible form (fig. 110: Π TIS CONS-TAHT PPV instead of DN TIB CONS-TAHT PPAV). In some other cases, the legends are very badly legible (fig.113-115). The legends usually contain combinations of well-cut letters and completely illegible symbols. It seems that the die engravers were not completely illiterate, but they definitely had problems executing the legends in Latin correctly.

Besides, decanummia and half-folles exist that bear letter Γ below the value mark (fig.114; NM col. Byz 64) and which were struck exclusively in the last year of Tiberius II's reign (581/2).¹⁰⁹² This raises the question of why the letter Γ in the exergue was referred at the place where the mintmarks were usually stated and whether the letter was understood as a reference to an officina or not. Maybe it could be a result of a misunderstanding and a bad execution of the letter "Γ" by die engravers.

Antiochene pentanummia were also completely different to those struck in the Central mints and Thessalonike. It seems that a common policy regarding pentanummia production did not exist. Constantinopolitan, Nicomedian and Cyzicene issues followed the same scheme: an imperial bust in profile was represented on the obverse and a numeral V for five on the reverse (fig. 107). Thessalonike struck coins similar to those of Justin II throughout the whole reign of Tiberius, so its issues remained rather dissimilar to those struck elsewhere. In accordance to MIBEc, the mint of Antioch struck pentanummia which had the same reverse as the coins struck in the Central mints, but its

¹⁰⁹¹ Types MIBEc 55 and 59.

¹⁰⁹² MIBEc, 126 (types MIBEc 60a – b).

obverse was completely different: instead of an imperial bust, there was an imperial monogram (fig.117).¹⁰⁹³

¹⁰⁹³ Actually, DOC I, neither BNP I, Pottier 1983 nor Wroth do not refer Antiochene pentanummia struck under Tiberius II at all. Neither the Barber Institute had among its' holdings pentanummia of Tiberius. The pentaummia issues with the Tiberian monogram have been described by W.Hahn in MIB II, 57 and MIBEc, 126 (type MIBEc 161).

7. Maurice (582 - 602)

(Plate XXIII)

Maurice, general and comes excubitorum, was proclaimed Caesar by Tiberius in 582 together with Germanus, son of Justinian's cousin, and after the betrothed to the imperial daughters, Maurice became the legal heir of the throne.¹⁰⁹⁴ In general, the main problem of his reign is considered to be the state finances and written sources provided information on his attempts to reform the financial and bureaucratic administration.¹⁰⁹⁵ Michael F. Hendy emphasized in his study the fact that in the last quarter of the 6th century, the economic situation was worsened due to serious military conflicts and often annual payments.¹⁰⁹⁶

7.1 Late adoption of new types

Maurice's coinage demonstrates a certain return to Justinianic models. It is obvious in both: gold and bronze coins.¹⁰⁹⁷ The Antiochene mint again provided various examples of the incapability to follow trends established in the Central mints and it attests specific local preferences. The Central mints, for example, started immediately after the ascension of Maurice to strike in bronze reverse types common under Justin II (fig. 118-122): which means that Latin numerals were abandoned (so instead of XX the letter K was re-introduced), the letter "M" was again executed as "M" and the emperor was not depicted as a consul, but holding a shield and a globus cruciger in his hands.¹⁰⁹⁸ The mint of Antioch continued till ca 589/90 to employ the features introduced by Tiberius II (consular portrait, Latin numerals, etc.)— a fact that sometimes causes complications concerning the precise attribution of some coins struck prior to this year (fig. 125-128).¹⁰⁹⁹ Furthermore, these early issues of Antioch did not bear any officina letters – a fact that is again in contrast to the issues struck in the Metropolitan mints.

The evidence shows that Maurice's bronze coins struck in the Central mints differed at first sight from the Tiberian issues; on the contrary, the situation in Antioch was completely different and local early issues of Maurice are very similar to those struck by the previous emperor. It is difficult to say why in the period around 588/9 the mint of

¹⁰⁹⁴ ODB II, 1318; Whitby 2002, 99.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Whitby 2002, 99-100; Hendy 1985, 263.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Hendy 1985, 263.

¹⁰⁹⁷ MIBEc, 44.

¹⁰⁹⁸ see MIBEc, 54.

¹⁰⁹⁹ BNP I, 178; MIB II, 70; MIBEc, 54; Kent 1959, 99.

Antioch ceased its² policy and introduced the types similar to those which were struck in the Metropolitan mints. It is worth mentioning that the year 588 was also marked by Maurice's attempts to cut the cost of the Eastern army and the year 590 was marked by negotiations with the Persians which posed very serious problems on the frontier,¹¹⁰⁰ but it is difficult to place the development of Antiochene coinage in a precise historic context and to interpret it without any doubts. Nevertheless, a hypothesis on its possible relation to the increase of imperial attention to the region of Syria and its economy due to the military campaigns on the Persians is legitimate. In the situation when military campaigns had to be prepared, it had to be desirable to pay more attention to local coin production and to make coins resemble issues struck in Constantinople.

7.2 The representation of the emperor

The Central mints again, like in the period of Tiberius II, followed a specific scheme in the imperial representation on the obverses. The folles and half-folles had on their obverse the frontal imperial bust holding globus cruciger and a shield (fig.118-119).¹¹⁰¹ In the case of Constantinople, varieties of the imperial crown (topped with cross or trefoil, etc.) existed.¹¹⁰² The decanummia (fig. 120) had on their obverse a simple imperial frontal bust without any insignia and pentanummia (fig.121-122).¹¹⁰³ The Central mints also provided two basic types of the cuirassed frontal bust – parallelly struck issues with the emperor wearing a crown (topped by a crown or trefoil) or a helmet.¹¹⁰⁴ At some point, an iconographic novelty appeared on coins struck in the Central mints – a helmet on the head of the emperor. This iconographic feature was employed on bronze coins for the last time on frontal representations of Justin II before it was substituted by the representation of the enthroned couple.¹¹⁰⁵ The “helmet” was a common element on the imperial representations on gold issues throughout the whole reign of Justin II,¹¹⁰⁶ but it was not used under Tiberius. Constantinople already started to employ types with the helmeted emperor (fig.123) during the third regnal year (584/5).¹¹⁰⁷ Consequently, the

¹¹⁰⁰ Whitby 2002, 100-103.

¹¹⁰¹ on the portraits on Maurice's coins, see Schindler 1949, 111-114; MIBEc, 53.

¹¹⁰² see typological table in MIBEc, Maurice.

¹¹⁰³ MIBEc, 151-152.

¹¹⁰⁴ see for the types MIBEc, 145-147 (types MIBEc 65B, 65C, 65Da, 65Db, 66D, N66Da, 67D and others). In this way the Constantinopolitan bronze coins followed the iconography of gold issues, Bellinger 1966, 106-107; MIBEc, 53.

¹¹⁰⁵ E.g. on Thesslaonike issues struck prior to 568, see DOC I, 220-221.

¹¹⁰⁶ See e.g. solidi struck in Constantinople, DOC I, 198-199 (no.1-5).

¹¹⁰⁷ BNP I, 185; MIBEc, 53.

mint of Nicomedia and Cyzicus adopted the new iconographic element too.¹¹⁰⁸ So, in some years, a parallel output of folles with the emperor wearing a crown and with the emperor wearing a helmet existed. All Central mints employed the consular portraiture at the end of Maurice's reign in the twentieth regnal year (601) on their folles and half-folles (fig.124).¹¹⁰⁹

The mint of Antioch did not reflect this development in the iconography at all and its coins of denominations folles, half-folles and decanummia represented the consular bust throughout the whole reign of Maurice (fig.125-127, 129-131; NM col. Byz 65 - 93).¹¹¹⁰ This means that regarding the imperial portraiture, the mint of Antioch preferred the design introduced under Tiberius II and only at the very end of Maurice's reign, the obverse types of the Antiochene coins and those struck in Constantinople, Nicomedia and Cyzicus were the same due to the changes introduced in the Central mints.

7.3 Obverse legends

The mint of Constantinople also followed a specific plan regarding the obverse legends were referred. The legend DN TiberMAV(RIC) PP AVCI was stated on the early folles and half-folles (fig.119) struck under Maurice. In the second year (583/4), the legend started to exclusively state the name of Maurice (DN MAVRIC PPAVC) and these issues (fig.118) are usually dated in the period between the second and fourth regnal years of Maurice(583/4 – 585/6). Since the second regnal year, the versions mAVRICTiber, or mAVRICITiberI were also employed on folles and these variations continued to appear till the end of Maurice's reign (fig.123).¹¹¹¹ The Constantinopolitan half-folles followed a similar concept.¹¹¹² Decanummia referred on their obverse legends just to the one half of the full emperor's name: this means legends either stated DN TiberPPAV or DN MAVRICIPPAVI (fig.120).¹¹¹³ The Constantinopolitan pentanummia bore various legends which sometimes resemble those on the half-folles

¹¹⁰⁸ Minor differences in the date of the introduction of the helmet in the imperial portraiture in provinces can be found in various catalogues, e.g. see BNP I, 190 has the earliest issues with the helmet emperor from 586/7; while W.Hahn and M.Metlich have as the earliest issues folles dated in 587/8, see MIBEc, 153. And a similar situation can be observed in the case of Cyzicus, see BNP I, 192 and MIBEc, 156.

¹¹⁰⁹ see BNP I, 186-187, 191, 193; MIBEc, 53-54.

¹¹¹⁰ MIBEc, 159-162.

¹¹¹¹ see the lists in MIBEc, 146-149.

¹¹¹² BNP I, 187; MIBEc, 149-151.

¹¹¹³ MIBEc, 151; BNP I, 188.

and sometimes are close to those on the decanummia.¹¹¹⁴ Nicomedia and Cyzicus stated their legends in a similar way; however, minor differences and some local specifics can be observed.¹¹¹⁵

Once again, the mint of Antioch followed a different policy concerning obverse legends. The legends on Antiochene coins continued to be blundered (see fig.125-127; NM coll. Byz 65-70); however, there is an obvious development and sometime around 590, the coins' legends became relatively legible and they followed the same pattern: δN $\mathfrak{MAUTI}$ CN PAU (fig.129; NM coll. Byz 71-87). It is important to point out that despite the fact that legends started to be executed in a better way, their versions were not completely the same like those which were employed in the capital and still, some problems are obvious at first sight. In addition, Maurice's legible legends provided more evidence on the impact of the Greek alphabet as instead of V and R in "MAVRI", which is the abbreviation of Maurice's name, the letters U and Γ were very often used. The same problem can be observed in the abbreviation of the words "perpetuus augustus" which is usually abbreviated as PPAV, but on Antiochene coins, it looks like N PAU. The letter "N" in front of the "P" for perpetuus raised the attention of W. Hahn who attempted to interpret it as an abbreviation of "NE" ("really", thus "really perpetuus") as the legends on coins of the following emperor Phocas really contained the full NE.¹¹¹⁶

7.4 Other specific features

Furthermore, Antiochene pentanummia continued to be rather specific as they again represent the only issues that employed Maurice's monograms on the obverse (fig. 128 and 132). What's more, several varieties of pentanummia existed – this is rather interesting as the Central mints had a rather limited repertoire in the case of this denomination which could differ from each other by the obverse legend version or a detail on the reverse. The mint of Antioch could employ the symbol for five Ψ on its early pentanummia and the Greek numeral letter E after 589. In both cases, different varieties of monograms (the differences were related to details in the letters) could be used.¹¹¹⁷ The only other mint which struck a rich variety of pentanummia in this period

¹¹¹⁴ MIBEc, 152; BNP I, 188;

¹¹¹⁵ E.g. in Nicomedia also the version δN $\mathfrak{Tlb}$ $CONSTANT$ $PPAV$ could appear on Maurice's coins and furthermore different legend could appear on pentanummia: $\delta nm..IA$, see MIB II, MIBEc, 152 (type MIBEc 75Ab) and 155 (type MIBEc 83C).

¹¹¹⁶ MIBEc, 54.

¹¹¹⁷ for the pentanummia varieties, see MIBEc, 162; BNP I, 199.

was Carthage.¹¹¹⁸ It is important to note that these Antiochene pentanummia represent one of the few cases when Maurice's monogram was employed.¹¹¹⁹

The Syrian mint had to be rather active under Maurice. Firstly, Maurice's coinage was fruitful in general and his coins survived in big quantities.¹¹²⁰ Secondly, the mint of Antioch provided evidence on a relatively high number of officinae, which started to be employed on Antiochene coins after 589. All five officinae were active under Maurice and in some specific years, officina numerals were added that were otherwise unusual: e.g. in the tenth year (591/2) officina Z was also active;¹¹²¹ in the twentieth year (601/2) officinae S and Z and the officina S also appeared in the twenty first regnal year (602).¹¹²²

Antiochene mintmarks on Maurice's coins do not pose any interest as they do not differ from versions that were known before (folles and decanummia usually employed THEYPS and half-folles P).¹¹²³ The letter "P" often had a dash (P̄) (fig.130) which sometimes looks more like a Q or R (NM coll. Byz 88-93).

Furthermore, the period of Maurice provided an interesting example of the adoption of Antiochene iconography: the mint of Thessalonike was one of the three provincial mints (the others were Cherson and Carthage) which under Maurice struck coins with the representation of the imperial couple. The iconography of the couple did not continue on the models which were known there before, but the iconographic representation of the couple was rather similar to the type common in Antioch under Justin II and W. Hahn mentioned the fact that the die-engraver in Thessalonike might have got inspired by these Antiochene issues.¹¹²⁴

In addition, the period of Maurice provided an example of a brockage (fig. 133). The weight of this coin is 11,2 gr. which corresponds to the regular folles of this period. The general iconographic style and the obverse legend have parallels on issues struck in Antioch in the name of Maurice after 590. The brockage was not very common, but its examples can also be found on coins which evidently were not struck in Antioch.

¹¹¹⁸ MIBEC, 167-168.

¹¹¹⁹ The another issue are the silver coins struck in Carthage, see DOC I, 356 (no.241).

¹¹²⁰ Whitting 1973, 114-117.

¹¹²¹ One of decanummia with the of.letter Z comes from the excavations conducted in Antioch, see Waage 1952, 159.

¹¹²² MIBEC, 160.

¹¹²³ see MIBEC, 159-162.

¹¹²⁴ MIBEC, 55.

8. Phocas (602-610)

(Plate XXXIV)

The year 602 is sometimes understood to be a fundamental moment in the history of the early Byzantium, as the overthrowing of Maurice meant an interruption of an imperial line going back to Constantine the Great.¹¹²⁵ Phocas, who was crowned by the army and consequently proclaimed emperor by the inhabitants of Constantinople, completely lacked any legal claims to the Byzantine throne.¹¹²⁶

Phocas' reign was marked by serious conflicts in the East where the conflicts with the Persians were ongoing bringing serious devastation to the region.¹¹²⁷ The focus on the problematic situation in the East and consequent transfers of the army from the Balkans were among the factors which facilitated the invasion of the Slavs.¹¹²⁸ Phocas continued to have impact also in the Western Mediterranean: e.g. in the Italian exarchate. Nevertheless, a vast area of this region was in the sphere of Lombard's power.¹¹²⁹ His positions in the East had to be rather strong as after he was overthrown by Heraclius, the city of Antioch became one of the main centers of opposition to the new ruler.¹¹³⁰

In general, the coinage of Phocas continued to follow the same patterns like that of his predecessor.¹¹³¹ The reverses of coins struck in the Central mints in the early phase of Phocas' reign (602/3) were influenced by the Tiberian prototypes: a globular **M** and Latin numerals re-appeared (fig.134 and 135). The mints situated in the Eastern Mediterranean (Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Thessalonike, Antioch and possibly Cherson) employed the empresses' figure on their obverse (fig.134). The representation of the imperial couple was slightly different to the one common on Justin II's coins: the couple was depicted not enthroned, but standing (fig.136-137) like on the coins struck in Cherson which also employed this iconography under Maurice.¹¹³² The mint of Antioch followed this policy and the only differences which can be apparent in the early phase of Phocas' reign is the fact that Antiochene issues did not bear officina letter and the obverse legend was slightly different.

¹¹²⁵ E.g. Olster 1993, 1-20, 23.

¹¹²⁶ Louth 2008b, 226 ; MIBEc, 60; Olster 1993, 1-2.

¹¹²⁷ Louth 2008b, 226; Norwich 1988, 280.

¹¹²⁸ MIBEc, 60.

¹¹²⁹ Louth 2008b, 221; MIBEc, 60.

¹¹³⁰ Kaegi 1973, 311-312.

¹¹³¹ MIBEc, 60; BNP I, 217-218. There have not been identified pentanummia for Nicomedi.

¹¹³² For the typology of Chersonese coins struck in the period of Maurice, see Anokhin 1980, 373-374.

In the second regnal year (603/4), some changes took place and bronze coins struck in the Central mints started to employ a different numeral for folles „XXXX“ (fig.138); but the mint of Antioch never introduced the four „X“ as a symbol for the denomination of folles and it continued to strike coins with the globular „M“. The fact that the numeral for folles struck in the Metropolitan mints became rather sizable (XXXX) means that the word ANNO started to be reffered above the value mark and the year continued to be stated in the right field.¹¹³³ This means that the Antiochene folles looked rather different at a first glance as they continued to bear the value mark M and the word ANNO in the left field and the number of the year in the right field. What's more, in this year the denomination of thirty-nummia re-appeared in Byzantine coinage after more than three decades (fig.139),¹¹³⁴ but this denomination was never struck in Antioch under Phocas eventhough the Syrian mint otherwise struck all denominations common in Constantinople, Nicomedia and Cyzicus.

The mints of Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus and Thessalonike ceased to represent the imperial couple in 604.¹¹³⁵ Instead of the imperial couple, a frontal bust of the emperor started to be represented. The main innovation is related to a realistic element that appeared in the emperor's representation: the emperor's face stopped being depicted shaven and a beard can be recognised.¹¹³⁶ The mint of Antioch like the sole one continued to strike coins with the representation of the imperial couple up to 608/9 – meaning a very late phase of Phocas' reign (NM coll. 94-103). The fact that the empress continued to be depicted on-Antiochene coins might be related to the fact that it was necessary to promote imperial stability and dynastic legitimacy as the region faced various problems and furthermore, Phocas had to have a support base there.¹¹³⁷

Varieties of the bust type regarding the different denominations and mints are recognized. In the case of folles and half-folles, a consular representation was employed in the Central mints (fig.135 and 138).¹¹³⁸ In the case of the thirty-nummia, just a plain

¹¹³³ DOC I, 147; BNP I, 226; MIBEc, 65.

¹¹³⁴ DOC I, 166; BNP I, 227; MIBEc, 65.

¹¹³⁵ BNP I, 220.

¹¹³⁶ DOC I, 147; MIBEc, 60.

¹¹³⁷ Drápelová 2016, 84-89.

¹¹³⁸ E.g. in the case of Constantinople there were depicted several varieties of a consular bust on the folles (the issues could differ e.g. by the fact if the emperor held either the eagle-scepter or a cross-scepter etc.), see types MIBEc 61 and 62. A variety of the consular representation could appear also in Nicomedia: the consular representation were depicted with the eagle-scepter on folles (types MIBEc, 192(no.69)) and with the cross-scepter on half folles (MIBEc, 193 (no.72)).

frontal bust without any insignia was depicted (fig.139).¹¹³⁹ The decanummia also bore a representation of a frontal bust, but on coins struck in Nicomedia and Cyzicus, the emperor also held a globus (fig.140).¹¹⁴⁰ The mint of Antioch preferred a different schema: the main difference was the fact that the standing imperial couple continued to be depicted on folles, half-folles and decanummia till 608/9 and the value numeral on folles continued to be **М** (fig.141). In this year, a frontal consular bust appeared on Antiochene coins (fig.142). Furthermore, two types of consular representations can be recognized- with an eagle scepter or with a cross scepter (fig.142 - 144) on folles and half-folles.¹¹⁴¹ The consular bust was also depicted on Antiochene decanummia struck after 608 (fig. 145; NM coll. 104);¹¹⁴² however, such a type of consular bust was not common on denominations lower than half-folles in other mints.¹¹⁴³

Other peculiarities are related to the Antiochene pentanummia. The earliest type of penta had the numeral letter E depicted on their reverse (fig.146), while the mints of Constantinople and Cyzicus used the symbol **Ч** (fig.147).¹¹⁴⁴ Antioch started to strike pentanummia with such a numeral after 603 (fig.148).¹¹⁴⁵ Another significant feature is the employment of Phocas' monogram (fig. 148) – like in the case of Maurice and Tiberius' pentanummia. On the contrary, Central mints employed a bust in profile on the pentanummia's obverse. The pentanummia did not bear any mintmarks and the attribution of the types to the specific mints was possible mainly thanks to the iconographic analysis of the style on the higher denominations.¹¹⁴⁶

The mintmarks on Phocas' folles, half-folles and decanummia followed the same model like in previous decades: **THEЧP(S)** was used on folles and **Р** on lower denominations (fig. 136-7; NM coll. 105).

The obverse legends are rather interesting as it seems that each of the Central mints employed slightly different versions and differences between the versions employed in the first regnal year (602/3) and after the second one (603/4) existed.¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹³⁹ MIBEc, 190 (no.63)

¹¹⁴⁰ MIBEc, 191 (no.66-67) and 193 (no.74).

¹¹⁴¹ MIBEc, 196 (no.86)

¹¹⁴² BNP I, 234; DOC I, 191 (no.104); MIBEc., 197 (no.88).

¹¹⁴³ no issues like that in DOC I, BNP, MIBEc.

¹¹⁴⁴ See BNP I, 228; types MIBEc 67 and 82. The Western-Mediterranean mints continued to refer V on their reverse.

¹¹⁴⁵ see MIBEc, 66 and table on Maurice in the same monography.

¹¹⁴⁶ MIBEc, 65.

¹¹⁴⁷ See for the versions and differences MIBEc, 65 a dalsi; BNP I, 226-228, 230-233; DOC I, 162-163, 176-177, 180-181.

Antiochene legends also bore particular features. Firstly, in contrast to the Central mints, there is no evidence on legends' variations and the same legend was employed on all folles, half-folles and decanummia throughout Phocas' entire reign. The legend was "ON FOCA NEPEAV" (fig.135, 138, 142). The "D" for dominus at the beginning looked more like an "O". The letters "NE" before the abbreviation for perpetuus were not common in other mints. The letters "PE" must be connected to attempts to state the abbreviation for perpetuus as "PERP" that was usually used on the Metropolitan mints.¹¹⁴⁸

It is worth mentioning that the mints of Thessalonike and Alexandria and the mints situated in the Western Mediterranean did not follow the patterns established by Constantinople and various derivations can be found that make coins look completely different at a first glance and these elements were also dissimilar to the features on Antiochene coins.¹¹⁴⁹

Phocas' reign also provided rich evidence on the overstriking of bronze coins.¹¹⁵⁰ This is not surprising when realizing that he did not change the size and weight of coins significantly and, furthermore,¹¹⁵¹ he needed to withdraw coins with Maurice's imperial portrait after Maurice was overthrown. The same situation occurred after the ascension of Heraclius. This practice was not limited exclusively to the Antiochene mint, but was a widespread phenomenon. On the issue (fig.149) included in the present research, the letters of the Antiochene mintmark (THEY) from the original coin are visible above the heads of the two Heraclii. The overstrike of the coin can be dated between 608 and 610, when the Civil War was waged between Phocas and Heraclius the elder. Furthermore, it is supposed that in this period evidently a mint situated somewhere in Syria struck coins in the names of Heraclius the elder and his son.¹¹⁵²

¹¹⁴⁸ DOC I, 147-148.

¹¹⁴⁹ E.g. the mint of Thessalonike employed the representation of the couple just on one sole type of half-follis, see MIBEc, and it referred the Greek numerals on its' earliest issues (K for half-folles), see MIBEc, 197 (no.92); Carthage followed a completely different reverse types and was employing mainly the Latin numerals for his denominations, see MIBEc; 198-199.

¹¹⁵⁰ MIBEc, 65.

¹¹⁵¹ MIBEc, 65.

¹¹⁵² Foss 2008, 6-7.

9. Epilogue of early Byzantine coinage in Antioch

(Plate XXIV)

The last coins struck in Antioch during Phocas' reign bore the eight regnal year (609/610).¹¹⁵³ The eighth regnal year of Phocas was the terminal one in the case of his coinage in most of the mints with the exception of Cyzicus whose coins could also bear the ninth regnal year (610).¹¹⁵⁴ The city of Antioch was conquered by the Persians on the 8th of October in 610, just a few days after the death of Phocas.¹¹⁵⁵ The mint was evidently closed sometime in 610¹¹⁵⁶ and the closure was sometimes interpreted as a consequence of a deliberate monetary policy.¹¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, Philip Grierson has expressed an opinion that the closure of the mint might be connected to the serious riots which broke out in the city in the final phase of Phocas' reign.¹¹⁵⁸

It is worth mentioning that the Persian occupation of northern Syria lasted for twenty years and Byzantine gold coins continued to be used for tax payments; while the Persians struck their own bronze coins, they were strongly inspired by Byzantine issues.¹¹⁵⁹ Heraclius initiated his campaign for the restoration of the Byzantine dominion in the early 620's and in 629, he managed to gain most of the area originally held in the East; however, Byzantine control over this region did not last long and Antioch was lost again in 636/7 in favor of the Arabs and the Byzantines did not manage to restore Byzantine coin circulation up to the level it was common before the Persian conquest.¹¹⁶⁰

In the late 1960's and 1970's, opinions on the possible activity of the Antiochene mint after the Persian conquest in 610 were expressed.¹¹⁶¹ Henri Pottier managed to find connections between some of the specific Syrian issues dated after 610 and the last Antiochene coins of Phocas (e.g. die links, stylistic similarities, etc.).¹¹⁶² Particular bronze coins struck with the standard images of Justin II, Maurice, Phocas and Heraclius have been identified; their obverse legends were mostly illegible and the mintmarks corresponded to those common in Constantinople, Antioch and Nicomedia. The regnal

¹¹⁵³ see MIBEc, 196 (type MIBEc 86); BNP I, 236; DOC I, 188-189 (no.90).

¹¹⁵⁴ See MIBEc, 194; DOC I, 183 (no.76).

¹¹⁵⁵ Foss 2008, 4; Foss 2004, 8.

¹¹⁵⁶ MIBEc, 66.

¹¹⁵⁷ e.g. Philip Grierson in DOC II, 40.

¹¹⁵⁸ DOC I, 40. On the difficult situation in Antioch under Phocas, see Downey 1961, 571 – 574 and Foss 2008, 4.

¹¹⁵⁹ Foss 2008, 10-22. On the numismatic continuity in the conquered area, see also Walmsley 2007, 321-322.

¹¹⁶⁰ On the historic background, see Downey 1961, 575.

¹¹⁶¹ On the history of the debate, see Goodwin 2005, 406;; Foss 2004, 16.

¹¹⁶² Pottier 2004, 31-32

years of these coins ranged from one to twenty and they maintained the same weight standard. Moreover, all of these issues evidently belong to the same series.¹¹⁶³ These are actually features which do not show that they are just imitations made by a random forger since imitations or forgeries. Instead, they had to be a result of an organized administration.¹¹⁶⁴ Some of the issues bear countermarks or a monogram used on Byzantine coins in 636 was spotted on one of them.¹¹⁶⁵ Some particular coins are of very good quality (fig.150) and only details distinguish them from the original Byzantine coins¹¹⁶⁶; while others were struck less carefully (fig.151). However, these coins cannot directly be considered products of the Antiochene mint without any doubts. Furthermore, most of these coins do not come from any excavations, but they appeared at local antiquities markets in Syria and Palestine, so it is also impossible to connect them to specific sites with certainty.

In the past, opinions have been formulated on the possible mint activity in Antioch under Heraclius in the 620's when the region of Syria was found under his control again.¹¹⁶⁷ Some other scholars (e.g. Clive Foss and Philip Grierson) openly denied the possibility of the re-opening of the mint of Antioch.¹¹⁶⁸

The striking of these issues - that bore elements of Byzantine coins of Heraclius and his predecessors- have been related to the attempts of the Persians to administrate the region and to maintain the institutions which would simplify local taxation and commerce.¹¹⁶⁹ This practice was also characteristic of the Romans, who after the conquest of various areas, maintained the local administrative and economic systems to enable the continuation of the local economies. Furthermore, Byzantine coins continued to reach the area of Syria even in time of its² Persian and Arab occupation. In the period of Heraclius' restoration, it is supposed that an important role was played by Byzantine coins imported from Cyprus.¹¹⁷⁰ The impact of Byzantine coins on the local economy was significant: e.g. the so called Arab-Byzantine coins are already dated in the late 630's.¹¹⁷¹

¹¹⁶³ for all the features mentioned above see: Foss 2004, 17; Pottier 2004, 31-51; Pottier 2010.

¹¹⁶⁴ Foss 2004, 17; Foss, 2008, 14.

¹¹⁶⁵ Foss 2004, 17.

¹¹⁶⁶ E.g. in this case the obverse type does not correspond to the types which were used on Phocas' coins struck in the second year of his reign and the iconographic style is different.

¹¹⁶⁷ Balty 1970; Bates 1970, 80-82; Pottier 1977, 57-59.

¹¹⁶⁸ Foss 2004, 17; Foss 1975, 729; Grierson 1982, 106; Downey 1961, 576.

¹¹⁶⁹ Foss 2008, 9-12.

¹¹⁷⁰ Foss 2008, 17.

¹¹⁷¹ Foss 2008, 22.

10. Conclusions on the sixth-century Antiochene coinage

The mint of Antioch was most probably inactive at the end of the 5th century and in the first decade of the 6th century. The fact that it was the third imperial mint which started to strike the reformed bronze coinage of Anastasius indicates its importance in the early Byzantine monetary.¹¹⁷²

In general, the sixth century Antiochene issues followed the Constantinopolitan models, but in some cases the mint seems to be incapable of adopting the prototypes and executing them without any mistakes. Specific situations can be observed from the very beginning after the opening.

The first noteworthy fact is that the mint at the beginning after its re-opening did not follow the main series struck in Constantinople, but the so called subsidiary one which was struck in the fifth officina (off. E). In the case of Nicomedia, the fifth Constantinopolitan workshop had to play a specific role too and it is supposed that in some cases, the Constantinopolitan subsidiary workshop was determined to endorse the provincial production.¹¹⁷³ It is good to note that, for example, in some localities the Constantinopolitan coins struck in the officina E prevailed—which was mainly in the case of Syria.¹¹⁷⁴ This means that early folles struck in Antioch bore the symbols that were not common in other provincial mints and that followed the supplementary Constantinopolitan series was not a result of bad mint organization, but a specific monetary policy induced from the Capital.

However, many other specific features that appeared on Antiochene coins must be interpreted as a result of bad organization or problematic communication between the province and the capital. One of the problems encountered when studying Antiochene coins of Anastasius, Justin and Justinian is the fact that various issues exist that were cut improperly (missing or swapped letters in the imperial names or the reverse with a mirror image). In general, it seems that Antiochene die-cutters had problems properly executing obverse legends and mintmarks. Furthermore, it seems that in some cases legends and mintmarks were a combination of Greek and Latin letters. In addition, it seems that the

¹¹⁷² Foss 2008, 4-5. Chapter 6 Circulation.

¹¹⁷³ Bates 1968b, 113.

¹¹⁷⁴ E.g. Whitting 1973, 108. On the prevailing numbers of the Constantinopolitan folles struck in fifth officina in Rhodes, see Kasdagli 2016, 40. A relatively high number of Constantinopolitan folles struck in the fifth officina were found also at the excavations in Antioch, see Waage 1952, 148 (in the case of well preserved Anastasius' folles found during the excavations one bore officina A, four the letter B, two were struck in the third workshop Γ, four issues had letter Δ and eleven folles bore the officina letter E).

problem was long-term and deeper as the legends were blundered from ca 560 till the late 580's and later, they did not follow the standard versions common in the capital. Most probably, the phenomenon was connected to the fact that the Antiochene environment was predominantly non-Latin speaking and furthermore, opinions have been expressed on the possible demographic changes due to epidemics which might have resulted in the absence of adequate employees in the mint.

The fact that specific iconography with no parallels in other contemporary mints could appear also raises questions. Furthermore, it is necessary to point out that all cases of unusual iconographic motifs (e.g. two frontal busts on coins in 527, a figure of Tyche on coins from ca 525 to 530, a representation of the enthroned emperor between 527-538 and the representation of Victory on a globe) do not have parallels on contemporary coins, but analogous images on coins or *exagia* struck in 4th and 5th century AD might be traced. This then seems as it was a kind of inspiration from the past.

Rather interesting is the fact that the mint of Antioch usually struck rich varieties of the same types – this is mainly obvious under Justinian – and the varieties were evidently related to the distinguishing of the new lustral periods. This practice continued in Antioch even after the introduction of regnal years on coins in 538 when the visual representation of the lustral phase ceased to play a role as the coin started to be simply datable by authorities. It is very interesting that Antioch for some reason felt it as a necessity to continue the old practice that was not followed elsewhere. It indicates, again, a different form of administration in the mint.

Another element whose roots might be traced in the past is the importance of the third workshop *officina* Γ as some coin types from the end of the Justinian reign and the beginnings of Justin II's reign mainly bore (and sometimes exclusively) the third *officina*. This fact definitely indicates specific circumstances regarding the mint organization, but a similar situation was met also in the 5th century when under Arcadius, some types of Antiochene coins exclusively bore *officina* Γ too.¹¹⁷⁵ Usually, when mints restricted the number of workshops, the first or the second workshops continued to be active. For some reason, the mint of Antioch worked in a different way.

Another peculiar feature of Antiochene coinage is the existence of rich varieties of privy marks, so the typology of Antiochene bronze issues is often richer than in the case of other provincial mints (e.g. varieties of *pentanummia* struck after 538). Again, the

¹¹⁷⁵ See the type *CONCORDIA AVGG* struck between 401-3, RIC X, 248 (no.97-100).

existence of rich varieties of reverse types was a characteristic feature of Antiochene coinage already in the 4th century and it seems that for some reason, it was not desirable (or possible) to strike uniform coins and sometimes unusual varieties appeared.

In some cases, the Antiochene mint adopted the repertoire, but the motif underwent a transformation (e.g. a different representation of the imperial couple under Justin II). Sometimes, just minor details were peculiar (e.g. the fact that for some reason the number “five” was not referred by the usual symbol V but by “II/III” in 569/70; or the use of unusual officinae letters on Justinian’s and Maurice’s coins which indicated that maybe even more than five workshops were active in specific years).

In some other cases, it seems that the responsible officials in the mint were not capable of following the newly introduced trends at all. For example, the coins of Tiberius and Maurice look at first to be the same as the issues struck in the capital, but various details show that the mint of Antioch was incapable of quickly adopting new prototypes. In general, we can see the following particularities:

a) preference of different obverse types for specific denominations (e.g. existence of portraits’ variations on denominations which could bear only one specific imperial portrait in the Central mints;

b) the fact that the mint of Antioch continued to refer to regnal years on the lower bronze denominations of Tiberius II while the Central mints did not employ them at all in this period; and on the contrary, Antioch did not employ the officina letters in the period when other mints continued to refer them;

c) using the letter Γ instead of a mintmark on some decanummia and half-folles struck in 582 which could be a result of a wrong execution of the letter Π which was common as a mintmark of Antioch;

d) a slow adoption of a new design of numerals under Maurice: the use of M and Latin letters (X, XX) at a time when all the other mints departed from the Tiberian models returned to the numerals common on Justin II’s coins (M, K, I);

e) the continuation of blundered legends up to the 580’s; after that legends became legible but different to those common in other mints.

One more interesting subject is the use of monograms on nummi and pentanummia in Antioch. In the case of nummi and pentanummia struck between 516 to 578, parallels can also be found in other mints in some cases (e.g. the same monogram existed on nummi struck under Justin I in Constantinople and Antioch; however, the mint of Antioch also employed a version of the monogram which was not common elsewhere). The situation became rather different after the death of Justin II (578). The Antiochene mint was the only one striking coins with monograms in the period of Tiberius, Maurice and Phocas. All these imperial monograms are of a cruciform form. Some of the monograms' versions had parallels (e.g. Maurice' monogram on coins struck in Carthage),¹¹⁷⁶ but the others are unique.

These specifics indicate that the Syrian mint might of faced specific situations concerning the administration and it is questionable whether these peculiar features were caused by bad communication with the Capital or by different needs of the local monetary base or a combination of both.

In addition, Antiochene coins provided evidence on specific elements concerning the representation of augustae. The first peculiarity is the fact that the representation of the imperial couple on Justin II's coins (569/70-577/8) was slightly different. The second took place in the period of Phocas as coins continued to be struck with the representation of the imperial couple in years when the motif was abandoned (602-608). It was not the first time in the history of Antiochene coins when female figures appeared on local issues in the period when it was desirable to emphasize the legitimacy: in 324/5 the Antiochene "dynastic types" were struck in the names of augustae and these issues had no parallels anywhere else in the Empire. This indicates that in similar situations, a similar solution was sought in Antioch.

Furthermore, sixth century Antioch also provided instances that indicated external problems (e.g. the inactivity in 540 due to the Persian attack or the closure of the mint because of epidemics in 543-545). Such cases of short-term breaks caused by external problems are not apparent anywhere else throughout the 6th century.

Actually, the picture of the Antiochene mint in the 6th century is rather dichotomous. On the one hand, it is a mint with rich typology and varieties, striking on a regular basis throughout the entire sixth century the same denominations like the Capital and its coins were found throughout the Empire, however, in a non-large quantity. On

¹¹⁷⁶ Types MIBEc 63 and 135.

the other hand, various irregularities and peculiar elements indicate problematic administration and communication with the centre. Furthermore, some elements indicate incapability of making proper dies and mistakes in legends indicate the ignorance of Latin. It seems that the Antiochene mint continued to be very important in the early Byzantine monetary policy, but various factors caused that it to not operate at an adequate level.

2g. Chapter Tyche

Plate XXV-XXVIII

In general, almost every city had a cult of its civic identity which was represented by a personification, a local Tyche.¹¹⁷⁷ The figure of Tyche has inseparably been linked to the history of Antioch and her cult held a significant position there. The foundation of the myth speaks about a sacrifice of a girl Aimathe who became Tyche of the city.¹¹⁷⁸ Afterwards, Tyche - as a patron of the city - played a specific role in Antiochene art. Some art historians consider the statue by Eutychides (fig. 3) to be the most influential image of Tyche which influenced her iconography across the Mediterranean.¹¹⁷⁹ The famous statue of her was already erected in Antioch in the period of Seleukos I (fig.3);¹¹⁸⁰ but it did not directly influence Tyche's representations on Seleucid coins (Fig. 1 -3).¹¹⁸¹ The Antiochene mint was not the only one which produced coins with the representation of Tyche and her images can be found on various issues struck in the Seleucid Empire;¹¹⁸² however, Tyche was not very spread on coins in the 3rd century BC, but various examples can be found.¹¹⁸³ Actually, other deities (e.g. Apollo or various types of Zeus) definitely dominated on Seleucid coins.

The representation of Tyche and her attributes became more common in Antioch and other Seleucid mints in the 2nd century BC and mainly in specific periods: e.g. under Demetrius I Soter (162-150 BC) who resided in Antioch and considered the local deity to be his patroness.¹¹⁸⁴

One of the broadly spread representations of Tyche was her figure enthroned, in profile and holding a sceptre and cornucopia with the backless throne being supported by a winged tritoness (fig.1).¹¹⁸⁵ The other representations – a bust with calathus (fig.2) or a standing figure (fig.3) - could appear on Seleucid coins struck in Antioch too, but these issues are not as common as those with the seated Tyche.¹¹⁸⁶

The figure of Tyche seated on a rock over the Orontes river and holding a palm branch – is a representation fully inspired by the Eutychides statue (fig.3) - was depicted

¹¹⁷⁷ Garstad 2005, 95.

¹¹⁷⁸ Cabouret 1997, 1015; Malalas VIII 12 (p.200-201).

¹¹⁷⁹ Broucke 1994, 39; Shelton 1979, 29-30; Cabouret 1997, 1016; Protting 1992, 149.

¹¹⁸⁰ McAlee 2007, 7; Pausanias 6, 2.7

¹¹⁸¹ her bust was depicted already on tetradrama of Seleukos I, see SC I/1,15 (type 1.3); seated Tyche could appear also in 2nd century BC on coins of Demetrius Soter, SMA 79-127.

¹¹⁸² Protting 1992, 148.

¹¹⁸³ E.g. on coins struck in an uncertain mint under Antiochus II (261-246 BC), SC I/1, 207 (no.585).

¹¹⁸⁴ SC II/1, 154.

¹¹⁸⁵ E.g. for Antioch see SC II/1, 170 (no.1641).

¹¹⁸⁶ For the bust of Tyche see e.g. SC II/1, 286-287 (nos.1922-23 – uncertain mint) and 475 (no.2264 Antioch), for standing Tyche, see SC II/1, 506 (2314 and 2315 – Antioch). Such representations of Tyche existed also in other mints.

for the first time on Antiochene coins struck by the Armenian king Tigranes (95 – 55 BC) who conquered Syria and ruled there for ca fourteen years (Fig.4).¹¹⁸⁷ Worth mentioning is the fact that a relatively long break of several decades existed between the representations on Tigranes' coins and the next phase when the same image was employed again on Antiochene coins in the era of August (27 BC – 14 AD) (fig.5).¹¹⁸⁸ The cult of Tyche continued to be popular and her representations appeared on Antiochene and regional coins in the following centuries (Fig.5-8);¹¹⁸⁹ however, in some specific periods her images on Antiochene coins were completely absent.¹¹⁹⁰

In addition, the details on Tyche's representation could change or develop throughout the centuries: e.g. under Trajan (98 – 117 AD), the palm-branch in the hands of Tyche was substituted by the ears of corn (Fig.9).¹¹⁹¹ The precise reason (e.g. change in symbolic significance) which lead to such changes is under discussion.¹¹⁹² Nevertheless, it is important to note that the figures of Tyche could also appear on coins struck elsewhere and not exclusively in Antioch and that the figure Tyche never represented the dominant or the only coin type in Roman Antioch.

In general, the representation of Tyche and its² popularity can be understood as one of the means which designated a local sense of identity and autonomy in some cases.¹¹⁹³

Furthermore, it seems that the Antiochenes understood the representations of Tyche enthroned on a rock above the Orontes and the one of the standing Tyche with a cornucopia differently. K. Butcher pointed out some bronze coins struck under

¹¹⁸⁷ Stansbury-O'Donnell 1994, 55; McAlee 2007, 7; Butcher 2004, 299; Dohrn 1960, 11; Le Rider 1969, 16. On Tigranes in Syria see, Downey 1961, 136-139.

¹¹⁸⁸ Butcher 2004, 299; Noreña 2016, 297-298.

¹¹⁸⁹ McAlee 2007, 7; Vermeule 2000, 102; Metcalf 2000, 106; Butcher 2003, 216. In addition, a relatively rare representation of the kneeling Tyche could appear on Hellenistic coins, but not on issues struck in Antioch, see Protting 1992, 141. Nicole Belayche has shown in her article that various city mints in Palestina could prefer in specific periods the different representations of Tyche: e.g. in Gaze the representation of seated Tyche was not as often as the other representations or under Caracalla the representation of the seated Tyche was more often in the Palestinian mints than the representation of the standing figure, see Belayche 2003, 115.

¹¹⁹⁰ Kevin Butcher pointed out that the representation of Tyche seated on the rock above the personification of Orontes appeared on the Augustean issues and in the case of bronze coins it re-appeared again after ca two hundred years on issues of Elagabalus (218-222), see Butcher 2004, 299. The representation of the seated Tyche was employed also on silver tetradrachms of August and later on issues struck under Tiberius and Trajan, see McAlee 2007, 7. Nevertheless, a similar situation existed also in the case of the representation of the standing Tyche, Butcher 2004, 299. It is interesting that in some phases the representations of Tyche were more popular than in other years: e.g. August or Elagabalus.

¹¹⁹¹ This novelty was related not exclusively to Antioch, but to other Eastern mints employing the representation of Tyche too Dorn 1960, 11; Belayche 2003, 113.

¹¹⁹² Stansbury-O'Donnell 1994, 57-59.

¹¹⁹³ Butcher 2005, 151-152; Gebhardt 2002, 119. Anna Gonosová stressed the reality that Tyche was understood to guard the happiness/fortune of the city and could be understood as a message of a political diversity, see Gonosová 2000, 116-121.

Alexander Severus (222-235) which depicted Tyche in a group and the fact that the seated and standing Tyche could be depicted together (Fig. 11): such representations, in accordance to him, imply the fact that each representation could be connected to a different perception.¹¹⁹⁴ He has proposed that the seated Tyche was understood as a city-goddess, while the standing one was more understood as a goddess of the demos.¹¹⁹⁵

A seated Tyche continued to appear on civic coinage which, in general, ended in the second half of the 3rd century. Some interesting Antiochene issues representing the seated Tyche above Orontes (Fig. 12) and turreted bust of Tyche (Fig.13) have been attributed to Maximinus Daza (d.313)¹¹⁹⁶ and they have been interpreted by scholars as Civic issues connected to the general anti-Christian Maximinus' policy.¹¹⁹⁷ Actually in this instance, the figure of Tyche could be understood as a communal symbol intelligible to a specific community, in this case, the population of Antioch.

After the isolated case of Maximinus Daza's Civic coins, the personification of Tyche disappeared from the repertoire of Roman coins and just several rare examples can be found on peculiar issues struck in the period under study (324-610). The first such case is the gold multiple struck in the name of Constantius II (337-361) and dated sometime between 347 and 355. This multiple represents an emperor riding towards a figure with flying drapery and holding an object in her left hand (Fig.14). This reverse type was not actually very common and a parallel representation can be found exclusively on Magnentius' coins struck in Aquileia in 351 (Fig.15).¹¹⁹⁸ The question is which iconographic model was used for this specific image as the representation of an emperor riding towards a female figure dressed in chiton did not belong to the very spread scenes on coins and multiples in general. The way in which Tyche is executed resembles iconography of Roman female deities in Roman art (Fig.16). In addition, a ruler riding towards Tyche was common on some Parthian coins in the 1st century AD (Fig.17).¹¹⁹⁹ A similar design was also found on semi-autonomous coins struck in Alexandria-Troas in Asia Minor in the 3rd century AD (Fig.18).¹²⁰⁰ Various compositions of a riding emperor, holding a spear and heading towards an enemy on contemporary coins exist,

¹¹⁹⁴ Butcher 2004, 299.

¹¹⁹⁵ Ibidem.

¹¹⁹⁶ originally these coins were attributed to Julian the Apostate, see McAlee 2007, 7.

¹¹⁹⁷ Van Heesch 1993, 66, 73-75.

¹¹⁹⁸ see in Dissertation, p. 84.

¹¹⁹⁹ E.g.

<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=1033187&AucID=2015&Lot=319&Val=023213d312916aa0c1a3b1369abf5825>

¹²⁰⁰ SNG Copenhagen 101.

but all of them were struck in the Western Mediterranean;¹²⁰¹ only the mints of Nicomedia and Thessalonica provided examples of an emperor riding towards an enemy struck in the name of Crispus in 324/5.¹²⁰² Worth mentioning is the Arras medal depicting the emperor Constantius I galloping towards the personification of London (fig. 21).¹²⁰³ This issue represents a kneeling personification in front of the city's walls, but the figure is completely different and does not resemble the representation on coins struck by Constantius II.

The second case of Tyche's representations is dated in the period of Valens in 375 – 378.¹²⁰⁴ In the case of these gold multiples (Fig. 19 and 20), a similar design was employed like in the case of Constantius II's issues: a riding emperor heading towards a female figure. Moreover, in the exergue there is a river's personification which can be identified as Orontes. This was the last instance when Tyche appeared on any Roman issue.

It is interesting that in the case of these late representations, rather unusual iconography of Tyche was employed and, furthermore, exclusively on gold multiples which indicate a specific significance of the iconography designated just to a limited audience. In the case of Valens' issues, a hypothesis was presented which connected these multiples to Valens' policy towards the Germanic tribes.¹²⁰⁵ The precise symbolism and the possible interpretation of the role of Tyche in the 4th century is complicated; but it seems that the representations combining the figure of a riding emperor and Tyche should evoke the connections between the Roman emperor, the imperial Fortune and the local city. Moreover, the striking of such a multiple should be connected to the emperor's arrival to the city as it is known that both, Constantius II and Valens, resided there in certain phases of their reigns. The question of who was the targeted audience arises, as the multiples did not circulate widely and the representation of Tyche did not appear on local bronze coins in this period. It seems that in this case, the possible role of the army and military elite should be emphasized.

¹²⁰¹ Such compositions were common as in 4th century AD, so on earlier issues, however they can be seen mainly in the Western mints like Amiens, Arelate, Rome, Treveri etc., e.g. RIC VIII 121 (1-4), 214 (149-157), 330 (158-163) and others.

¹²⁰² RIC VII, 515 (no.136) and 614 (nos.84-85).

¹²⁰³ RIC VI, 167 (no.34); online database of the British Museum http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1616647&partId=1&searchText=medallion+beaurains&place=34855&page=1

¹²⁰⁴ see Dissertation, p.113-114.

¹²⁰⁵ Lenski 2002, 347. On the historic background and relations of Valens and Tervingi, see Curran 1998, 94-95.

The representation of the seated Tyche in the 6th century raises other questions. Her figure re-appeared on pentanummia (Fig.22-24) struck in the second phase of Justin I's reign (522-527), during the joint reign of Justin I and Justinian I (4.4. – 1.8. 527) and in the first few years of Justinian I's reign (1.8. 527-529).¹²⁰⁶ The iconography of Tyche on the sixth century pentanummia directly follows the representations on the last Civic coins from 313 AD (Fig. 12) and the outlined temple – in which she is seated – resembles the representations from the previous centuries (Fig. 8). Nevertheless, it is difficult to interpret the reasons which lead to her re-introduction after such a long time; however, W. Hahn and M. Metlich mentioned the fact that it might have served as a substitution for the local mintmark and the possible relation to the city's anniversary¹²⁰⁷ even though no written source mentions any special celebrations in Antioch in this period. Noteworthy is also the fact that Marion Meyer has emphasized in her monograph on the representation of the Antiochene Tyche that the sixth century die-cutters might have used the statue of Tyche as a model and she considers the existence of these pentanummia as proof of the existence of the Tyche's statue in the age of Justinian.¹²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, I believe that one must be very cautious about such an interpretation because it is not clear whether it was not just a reminiscence of an older type and there is no information on the way iconographic types were chosen and who was responsible for making the decision of which motif would be introduced and which would not. The representation of the seated figure of Tyche above a personification of a river were relatively widespread in Roman art.¹²⁰⁹

The only source which can shed light on the perception of Tyche in the 6th century is the Chronicle of Malalas. Benjamin Garstad has emphasized the fact that Malalas related Tyche to Christianity and connected her to the victory of Christ.¹²¹⁰ Furthermore, the same scholar has indicated a parallelism between the Tyche who, in accordance to the foundation myth, was sacrificed by the pagan emperor and martyrdom of Christian girls.¹²¹¹ It should be mentioned that some Christian authors (e.g. Origenes)

¹²⁰⁶ MIBE, 37, 61, 111 and 145; McAlee 2007, 7; Meyer 2006, 204,

¹²⁰⁷ MIBE 37.

¹²⁰⁸ see Meyer 2006, 204.

¹²⁰⁹ E.g. see catalogue in Gonosová 2000, 116-120; or see relief depicting Tyche of Palmyre, see Matheson 1994, 27 (no.12). Various small bronze and marble statues of Tychai seated above a river personification, see e.g. Meyer 2006, 406- (Taf. 4-6), 415 (Taf.13), 419-20 (Taf.23), 424-5 (Taf.23). And similar representations exist on various items, e.g. lamps, see Mayer 2006, 425-26 (Taf.25) or frescoes, see Mayer 2006, 431-2 (Taf.27) or gems, see Meyer 2006, 432-33 (Taf.28-30). Nevertheless, most of the mentioned objects have been dated in 2nd and 3rd century AD. On various other representations of Tyche in late Roman art, see Shelton 1979, 34-36.

¹²¹⁰ Garstad 2005, 86-87; e.g. Malalas XVI 16 (405)

¹²¹¹ Garstad 2005, 89.

had a different view of Tyche and tended to interpret her within the paganistic background; however, Benjamin Garstad has stressed the fact that the cult of Tyche also could be understood as a competitor of Christianity.¹²¹² Despite this dichotomy, the personification of Tyche, like for example the personification of Victory, was included in Christian Imperial propaganda.¹²¹³ Furthermore, the cult of Tyche continued to play an important role in the period of Justinian I as Tyche was mentioned in his laws as a connection to God (Πάντων δὲ δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων ἡμῶν ἢ βασιλέως ἐξηρήσθω τύχη, ἣ γε καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς τοὺς νόμους ὑπέθηκε νόμον αὐτὴν ἔμψυχον καταπέμψας ἀνθρώποις...).¹²¹⁴ Nevertheless, the traditional role of tychai as civic goddesses and the city's protectors should be emphasized too and the fact that Tyche was understood as a city's fortune more than a regular goddess allowed her cult to co-exist in the Christian environment.¹²¹⁵ The Christian dimension in the perception of Tyche in the sixth century actually would make the re-introduction of the traditional iconography explicable; however, the question of why Justin I decided to employ such a motif in the second monetary phase of his reign sometime after 522 remains. Of course, it could be put in the context of the difficult situation which the city of Antioch faced under Justin I,¹²¹⁶ but similar difficult situations existed in Antioch throughout the entire sixth century and they never led to the re-introduction of any traditional personifications. The fact that the representation exclusively appeared in this region and on the lowest denominations, implies that it was a decision made by local authorities. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of the representation of a seated Tyche in a relatively short time period remains difficult to explain.

2h. The development of the weight of 6th century folles

¹²¹² see evidence provided in Garstad 2005, 94-95.

¹²¹³ Garstad 2005, 96-97; Shelton 1979, 35-36. Malalas mentioned Tyche in connection with the foundation of Constantinople and the female personification evidently played an important role in the ideology of Constantine I, see Malalas XIII 8 (p.322)

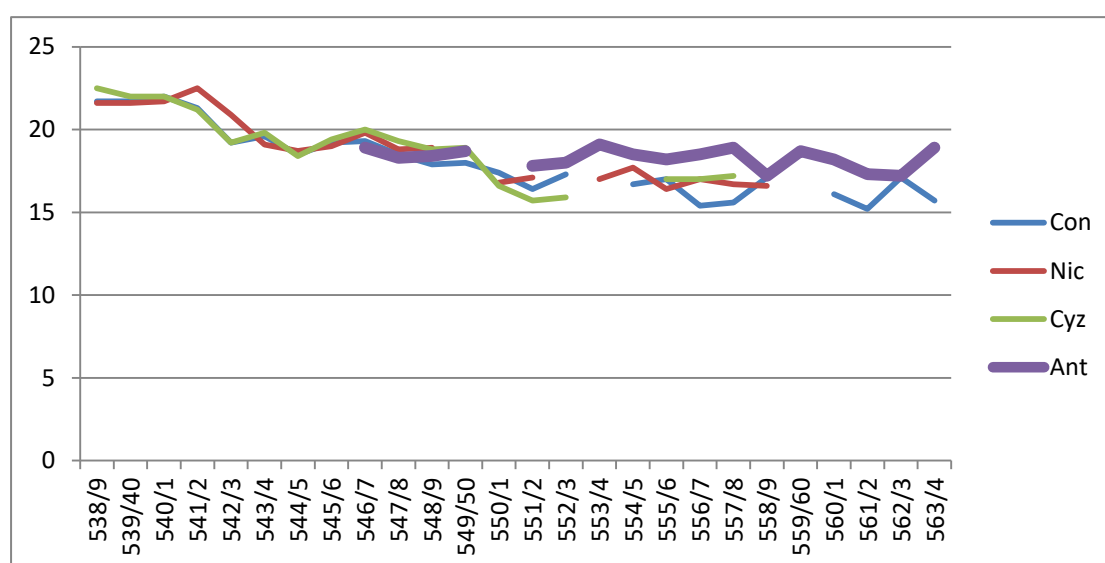
¹²¹⁴ Garstad 2005, 97; Corpus Iuris Civilis Nov. 105.2.4 (p.507).

¹²¹⁵ On the understanding of Tyche in late Antiquity, see Broucke 1994, 44-45; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1994, 53.

¹²¹⁶ Clashes between the circus factions, see Downey 1961, 516; Malalas XVII 12-13 (p.416-417); Theophanes, a.6012, p.165-166. Serious economic problems Barker 1966, 73, Vasiliev 1950, 118-9, Liebeschuetz 1972, 136-144. A great fire (525) and a catastrophic fire (526) affected the local economy too, see Vasiliev 1950, 360. Furthermore, the region was facing regular attacks of Persians, see Greatrex 1998, 148.

1. Introduction

Various scholars have attempted to calculate the average weight standard of folles struck in specific phases during the sixth century.¹²¹⁷ Most of the attention has been paid to the weights of folles struck in the period of Justinian.¹²¹⁸ The development of folles' weights struck under his reign became a topic of a study published by D. M. Metcalf in 1960.¹²¹⁹ The evidence provided by D. M. Metcalf shed light on some complicated questions regarding the quality of communication and control in the Antiochene mint. D. M. Metcalf proved that the folles struck in Antioch did not follow the monetary policy of Constantinople and continued to be struck on a heavier standard in the periods when weight was reduced in other mints (graph 1).¹²²⁰



Graph 1. The development of weight of folles between 538 and 564. Data from Metcalf 1960.

Metcalf's study considered many questions about the average weight standards in the 6th century and the results of the study confirmed the preferences of the Syrian mint striking coins between 546 and 565 on a heavier weight standard than the Metropolitan mints.

The present chapter's aim was to gather data on the weights of Justinianic folles (Tab.1) and to compare the data with the conclusions of D. M. Metcalf. Furthermore, another target was to gather data for the preceding and consequent periods to see if any similar trends of preference for the heavier weight standards is apparent also in other

¹²¹⁷ E.g. Morisson 1989, 248.

¹²¹⁸ Gandila 2012, 366-367; MIBE 16-17; Zuckerman 2004, 80-82.

¹²¹⁹ Metcalf 1960.

¹²²⁰ Metcalf 1960, 216.

decades. Unfortunately, I did not manage to gather enough material for the period of Anastasius as the mint of Antioch started to operate towards the end of his reign, so the material in collections is not abundant. I have gathered data on folles struck in Constantinople and Antioch, but I did not focus on the mints of Nicomedia and Cyzicus which Metcalf also included in his study. Just in the cases of Justin I, Maurice and Phocas, folles struck in Nicomedia were included in the present study too.

Emperor	Constantinople	Antioch	Nicomedia	Total
Justin I (518-527)	203	40	35	278
Justinian I (527-565)	244	193	-	437
Justin II (565-578)	273	128	-	401
Tiberius II (578-582)	51	22	-	73
Maurice (582-602)	238	366	57	661
Phocas (602-610)	59	62	23	144
				1994

Tab.3 Material included in the research.

I have attempted to include material from museums, private collections, excavations (site of Antioch) and auction houses (mainly Classical Numismatic Group) in the research.

2. The study

Justin I

The study of the folles' weight struck under Justin I is rather complicated as Constantinopolitan coins dominate most of the published collections. The issues struck elsewhere are not as common as the coins bearing the mintmark of the Capital city.¹²²¹

The reign of Justin I is divided into two basic monetary phases corresponding to the tax indictions (518-522 and 522-527).¹²²² In general, the coins dated between 522 and 527 are more frequently found in the collections than the issues struck during the first indiction (518 – 522). This is true not only in the case of Antioch, but the same trend can be observed in the case of Nicomedia and it seems that activity in the provincial mints was radically increased after 522.

Types of folles dated to the beginning of the third indictional period when Justin I and Justinian reigned as co-emperors (April – August 527) have also been classified.¹²²³ These coins have not been included in the present research as the available collections did not provide enough material to study the weight development in this specific phase.

Material:

Constantinople: In total, two hundred and three coins of value of folles struck in the Capital mint were included in the present research. The vast majority of the included material (83%) were the coins held at the American Numismatic Society. The remaining material were folles struck in the name of Justin I which were found and catalogued during the excavations of Antioch and which are now held at Princeton University.

Antioch: Forty Antiochene folles struck in the period between 518 and 527 have been included in the study. In general, collections did not provide much material from the Syrian mint for this specific period and the Antiochene coins of Justin I are not as common as his issues struck in Constantinople. The majority of the Antiochene issues included in the present study are the holdings of the American Numismatic Society (52 %). The rest of the material are issues held in the Barber Institute (23%), in the private collection of G. Bates (15%) and several findings from Antiochene excavations nowadays stored at the University of Princeton (10%).

Nicomedia: Thirty-five folles struck in Nicomedia have been studied for the purpose of this research. As in the previous cases, most of them are actually holdings of

¹²²¹ See e.g. collections of the American Numismatic Society (ANS, online database: <http://numismatics.org/search/>); the British Museum (see BM, 11-16, 18-20) or Bates 1981.

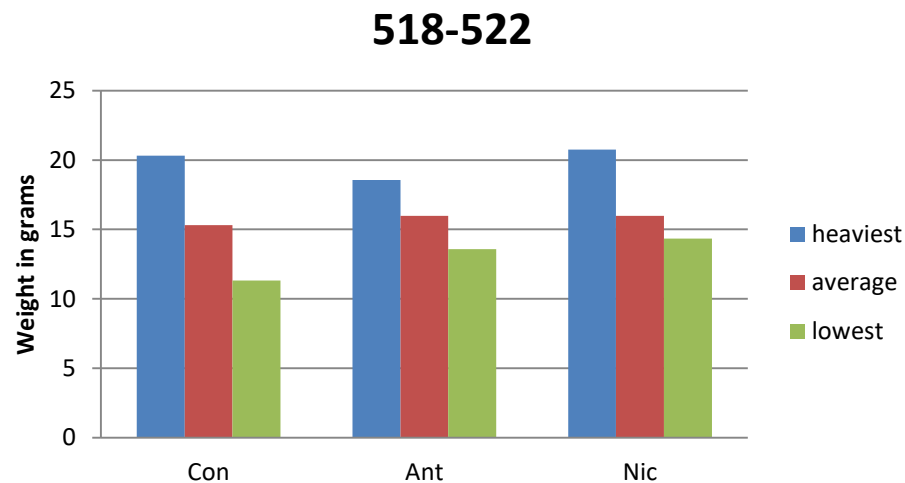
¹²²² MIBE, 34.

¹²²³ see types MIBE 4 and N4 for Constantinople, MIBE 7 and 8 for Nicomedia, MIBE 9 and 10 for Antioch.

the American Numismatic society (60%). The private collection of G. Bates provided thirty percent of the material included in the study and the rest of the coins (10%) are actually issues found during excavations in Antioch.

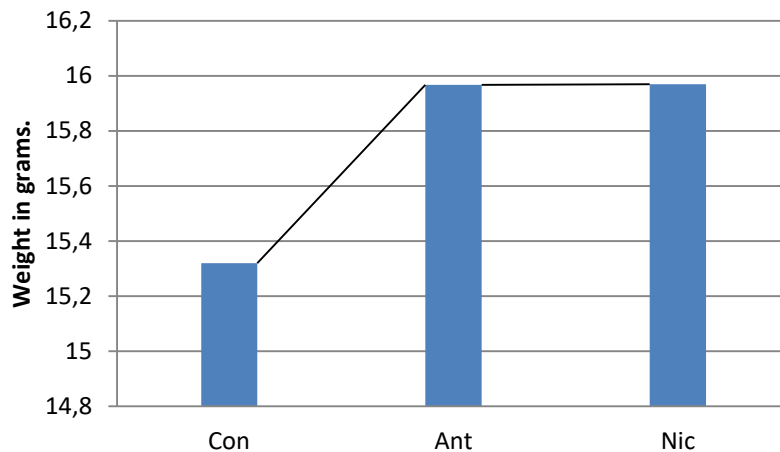
Conclusions

In general, numismatists speak about a reduction of folles' weight under Justin I when comparing it to the folles of the big module struck under Anastasius.¹²²⁴ The present research indicates that the Antiochene coins struck in the first phase (518-522) of Justin I's reign were slightly heavier than the coins struck in Constantinople (graphs 2 and 3). It is worth pointing out that the average weight of Nicomedian coins was about the same as of those struck in Antioch while the average weight of Constantinopolitan coins was slightly lighter.



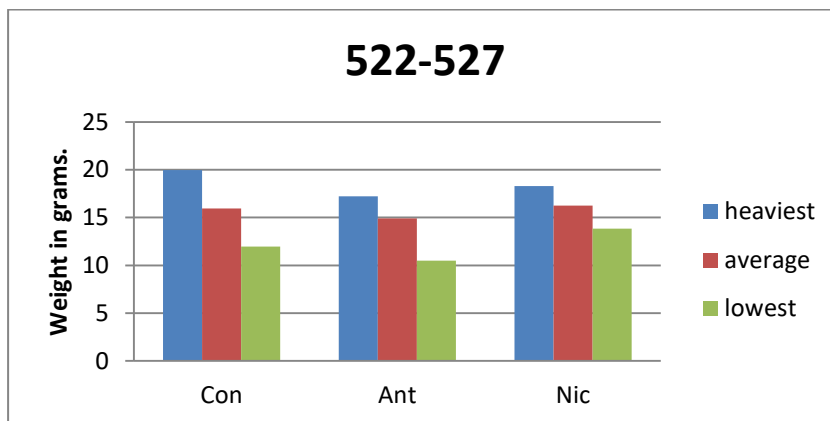
Graph 2. Weight of folles struck at Constantinople, Antioch and Nicomedia
(518-522)

¹²²⁴ E.g. Pottier 1983, 230.

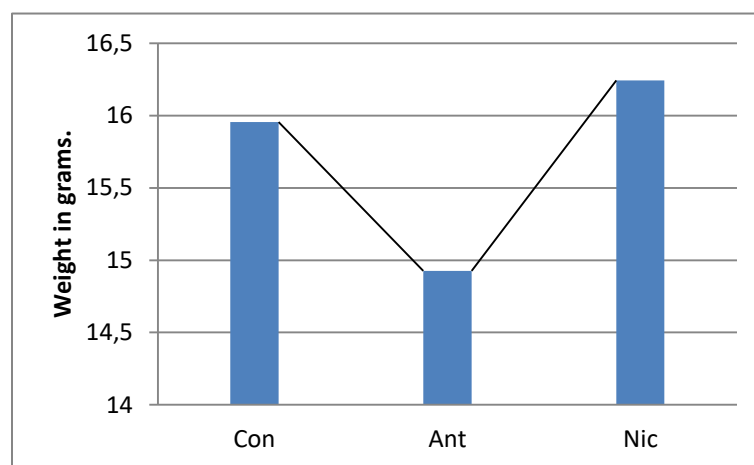


Graph 3. Average weight of folles struck at Constantinople, Antioch and Nicomedia (518-522)

The data gathered for the second phase (522-527) indicates that the development of the weight was slightly different (graphs 4-6). The average weight of Constantinopolitan coins seems to be a little bit heavier than in the first phase. A slight increase is also apparent in the case of Nicomedian coins. On the contrary, Antiochene coins show a minor decrease. It should be emphasized that these differences are actually rather minor - usually less than one gram, so they do not actually represent any striking deviations which would serve as an argument for general conclusions on a distinctive weight policy or changes in the weight standard in the two phases of Justin I's reign. The weight standard of bronze folles struck under Justin I continued to be 1/18 to pound throughout his entire reign.

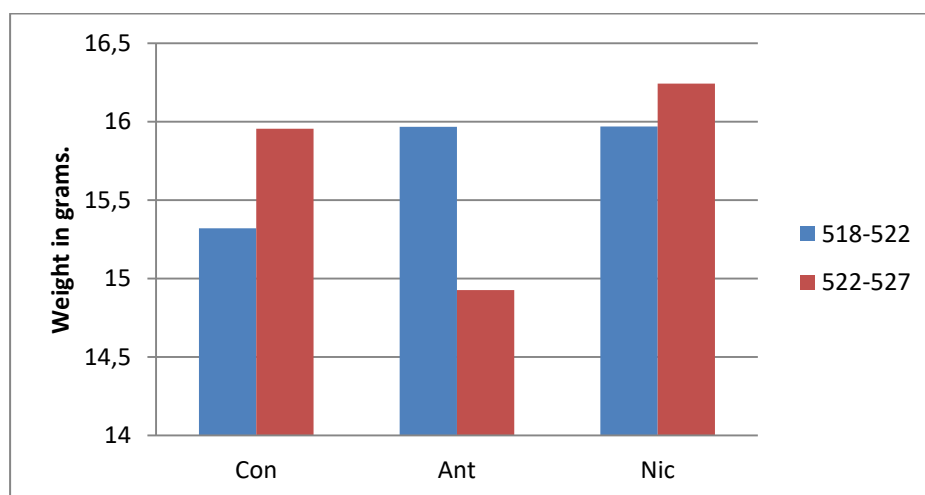


Graph 4. Weight of folles struck at Constantinople, Antioch and Nicomedia (522-527).



Graph 5. Average weight of folles struck at Constantinople, Antioch and Nicomedia (522-527).

While comparing the single issues included in the research, it is interesting that the data shows the existence of rather big differences between the issues struck in the same mint and same period: e.g. in some cases, the difference between the heaviest and lightest issue could approach 9 gr.¹²²⁵ (see graphs 2 and 4); however, the coins do not bear features of imitative coinage and were included in the regular collections.



Graph 6. Comparison of average weights of folles struck at Constantinople, Antioch and Nicomedia under Justin I in the first and second lustral periods.

¹²²⁵ Actually the Antiochene coins with the lowest weights are holdings of the American Numismatic Society and Barber Institute, so there is no reason to expect that these issues would be forgeries (catalogue numbers: ANS 1984.41.245, 1994.92.1 and BI 0263; 0266).

Justinian I

Material:

Constantinople: Altogether, two hundred forty-four folles struck in Constantinople under Justinian I were included in the study. A small number of the coins represent the issues found at the site of Antioch (8 %) and coins donated to the University of Princeton (2 %). The biggest proportion of the material under study were coins held at the American Numismatic Society (38 %) and coins from private collections published in several catalogues (52 %).¹²²⁶ Forty-one coins included in the study were struck in the period prior to the reform in 538. The remaining coins (203 issues) belong to the types with the reference of the regnal year struck between 538 and 565 AD.

Some periods were very well represented in the collections under study, while for some specific years the material was rather scarce. For instance, the collections included in the research provided only one specimen for the years 546/47 and 559/60 (ANS 1972.72.2; Bates 420) and none of them had in their holdings Constantinopolitan folles struck in 551/52, 562/63 and 564/65; however, coins bearing regnal years corresponding to these specific dates have been documented and published in other collections, but they are quite rare.¹²²⁷

Antioch: In total, one hundred ninety-three coins with the Antiochene mintmark from various collections have been included in the study. Fifty-seven coins represent the issues struck in the period before the reform in 538.¹²²⁸ Thirty-nine of these coins came from the excavations at the site of Antioch (almost 70%) and the rest come from the catalogued private collections.¹²²⁹ The coins struck prior to 538 were undated and all issues included in the present research belong to the three common types (MIBE 126, 130 and 131). It is worth mentioning that other types of bronze coins were also struck in Antioch prior to 538¹²³⁰, but these issues were not found on the site or in the collections which I used for the study.

In total, one hundred thirty-six coins struck in Antioch in the period after 539 were included in the statistics (7 % from the excavations in Antioch, 35% from the collections of the American Numismatic Society, 11 % from the collections of the

¹²²⁶ Mansfield col., Bates col. and Kantas col.

¹²²⁷ See the samples studied by W.Hahn in MIBE, 130.

¹²²⁸ In the studied collections nineteen coins belonged to the type MIBE 126; twenty nine coins belonged to the type MIBE 130 and the lowest number, nine, represented the type MIBE 131.

¹²²⁹ Bates col., Kantas col. And Mansfield col.

¹²³⁰ MIBE 125; MIBE 127; MIBE 128, MIBE 129.

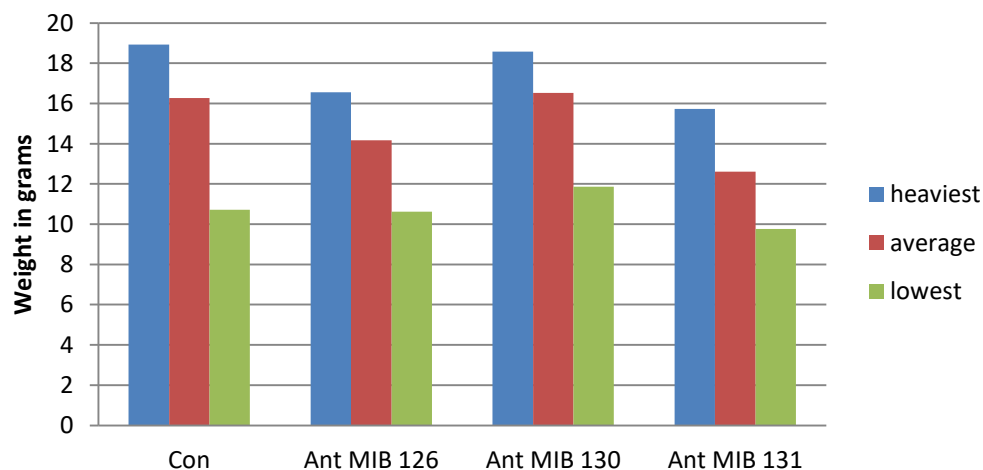
Numismatic Museum of Athens and the remaining coins are from the published private collections of G. Bates and Kandas and the English collection published by Mansfield).¹²³¹

As in the case of Constantinopolitan coins, some years were rather badly represented in the collections: e.g. year 549/50 (Bates col.720) or 560/1 (Bates col. 751) were represented just by a single specimen. Samples for the year 558/9 were absent from the collections included in the present research; however, the following year (559/60) was very richly represented in all collections. Some years are generally not represented in collections as it is supposed that the mint was inactive in specific years (540-2, 543-6).

Conclusions

The period of Justinian provided interesting data that allows the reconstruction of his monetary policy to a certain extent as well as conclusions to be made on the development of the weight standard.

Phase 527-538: The average weight of Constantinopolitan coins (graph 7) included in the research struck prior 538 is 16, 127 gr. with the heaviest coin reaching 18,92 gr. and the lowest weighing less than 11 gr. (10,71 gr.). Worth mentioning is that both of these coins, the heaviest and the lightweight one, belong to the excavated material from the excavations in Antioch (Id.no.8069 and C2365) and are held at Princeton University, so there is no reason to doubt their authenticity.



Graph 7. Weights of Justinian I's folles struck in Constantinople and Antioch prior 538.

¹²³¹ Bates 1981; Kandas 2000; Mansfield 2016.

The study of coins bearing the Antiochene mintmark and dated prior to 538 is slightly more difficult as different numismatic types were struck whose average weights could vary. Various scholars attempted to date the distinctive types to specific years between 527-538, but they often do not agree on the precise dating.¹²³² The present research indicates that bronze coins depicting an enthroned emperor (MIBE 130) were the heaviest ones (16,527 gr.) in comparison to the other Antiochene folles types (see graph 7). The Antiochene folles with profile busts (MIBe 126 and 131) were slightly lighter.

After 538: In 538, Justinian undertook important monetary reforms which influenced the general appearance and size of bronze coins.¹²³³ The main reasons which lead Justinian to reform the coinage are not precisely known, however, various opinions have been formulated.¹²³⁴ The innovation was related to the changes in the ratio between the value of a gold solidus and bronze follis which lead to new estimations of the weight standard and to an important increase of Justinianic folles' weight; however, various scholars calculated different numbers and formed different opinions on the ratio of solidus and bronze coins.¹²³⁵

The folles struck in the first few years after the reform (538-542) had the heaviest weight (see graphs 8 and 9).¹²³⁶ After four years, the weight was evidently reduced in 542 and it retained about the same standard (ca 19,5 gr.) till 550 when a second distinct reduction was applied (ca 16,35 gr.).¹²³⁷ The material included in the present research actually gives a rather similar number for the year 542 (19,2 gr.).¹²³⁸ D. M. Metcalf pointed out that some Antiochene folles struck in 552/53 AD (the 26th year) were very light.¹²³⁹

¹²³² E.g. in MIBE the type 126 is dated between 529-530/1 while in DOC into 533-537 (Class III).; the type 130 is dated in MIBE into 531/2-536/7, but in DOC into 529-533 (Class II).

¹²³³ Grierson 1982, 60; MIBE, 56-58; The precise year of the reform was possible to be stated thanks to the existence of note that since 538 the regnal year should be stated on all the imperial documents, see *Corpus Iuris Civilis* III, *Novelae*, 1972, 284-285 (Nov.XLVII/I); Ulrich-Bansa 1936, 76.

¹²³⁴ E.g. Andrei Gandila stressed among others the ideological purposes and the attempts of Justinian to differentiate his coinage from his predecessors, see Gandila 2012, 365.

¹²³⁵ The estimations range from 21,65 to almost 25 gr., see Gandilla 2012, 366; Zuckerman 2004, 83 (ratio 240:1; weight 21,65 gr.); MIBE, 16-17 (ratio 210:1; weight 24,07 gr.); Morrisson 1989, 248 (ratio 210:1; weight 22,09 gr.); Pottier 1983 (same like Morrisson 1989); Hendy 1985, 478 (ratio 180:1); Noeske 2000, 152 (24,95 gr.).

¹²³⁶ Gandilla 2012, 366.

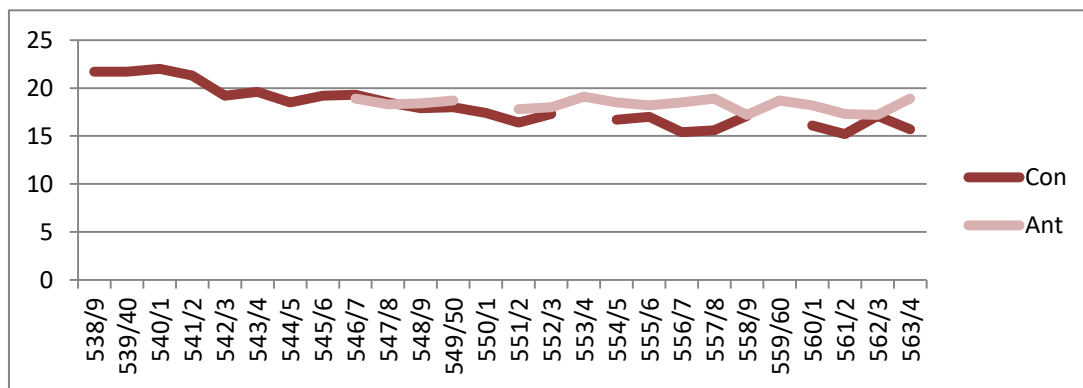
¹²³⁷ Data from Morrisson 1989, 248. For the reform see, Pottier 1983, 248-250; BNP, 60-1; MIBE, 57; Metcalf 1960, 209-210, 214.

¹²³⁸ See e.g. Morrisson 1989, 248; MIBE, 57.

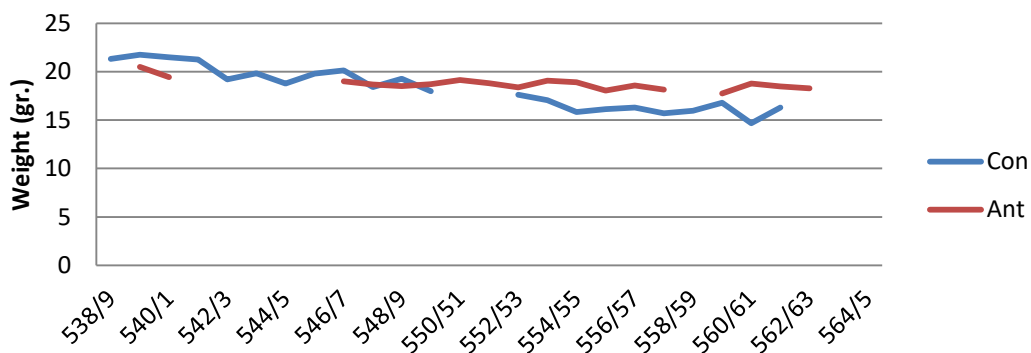
¹²³⁹ Metcalf 1960, 211.

The year 550 was another breaking point regarding weight development of Justinian folles: their weight was further reduced.¹²⁴⁰ However, the year 550 posed problems during the research as I managed to find only two coins struck without any doubts in this specific year. Their weights were rather distinctive and both issues come from private collections, so in the end they were not included in the final statistics.

The weight standard of folles struck in the last few years of Justinian reign was even further reduced and production was evidently not as high as before the 30th year (556/57) and it seems that not all of the mints were active as, for example, the mint of Cyzicus seems to have ceased its activity after the year 557/58.¹²⁴¹



Graph 8. The development of weight of folles between 538 and 564.
Data from Metcalf 1960.



Graph 9. The development of weight of folles between 538 and 564.
Data from various collections included in the present research.

¹²⁴⁰ Pottier 1983, 251.

¹²⁴¹ Metcalf 1960, 210.

The material included in the research confirms the general conclusions of D. M. Metcalf published in 1960 and it shows that the general trend of Constantinopolitan coins was a gradual decrease of the weight standard. On the contrary, Antiochene coins maintained a similar weight standard throughout the entire reign of Justinian I (compare graphs 8 and 9) and were struck on a heavier standard than the Constantinopolitan issues.¹²⁴² The different weight policy of the Antiochene mint has been related by scholars to the incapability of following the Constantinopolitan weight standard after the breaks in mint activity due to the Persian invasion and outbursts of the plague.¹²⁴³ D. M. Metcalf has pointed out the passage from Malalas' Chronicle (Book 18, 117) which mentioned the riots of poor people after the reduction of coins' weight.¹²⁴⁴ Malalas noted that after the riots, whose place he did not specify¹²⁴⁵, the emperor had to re-introduce the old weight standard to calm the situation¹²⁴⁶ and scholars speculate about possible placement of the event in Antioch.¹²⁴⁷

It is interesting to see the proportions of the coins held in the studied collections: actually the years which provided the most examples of the Constantinopolitan mint were not covered very well in the case of Antioch and the situation is valid also vice versa: the years which provided lots of material for Antioch in the collections are usually the years which were not very well represented among Constantinopolitan coins (graph 10). The evidence gathered in the research indicates that when the troubled period (invasion of the Persians, sack of the city and epidemics) ended in Antioch in the second half of the 540's, the production of the mint became much more intensive. On the other hand, the excavations in Antioch showed that most of the numismatic material found during the archaeological research and dated in the period of Justinian are the coins struck prior to his reforms in 538, which means prior to the sack of the Persians in 540.¹²⁴⁸

¹²⁴² Metcalf 1960, 210.

¹²⁴³ Pottier 1983, 241; Metcalf 1960, 210.

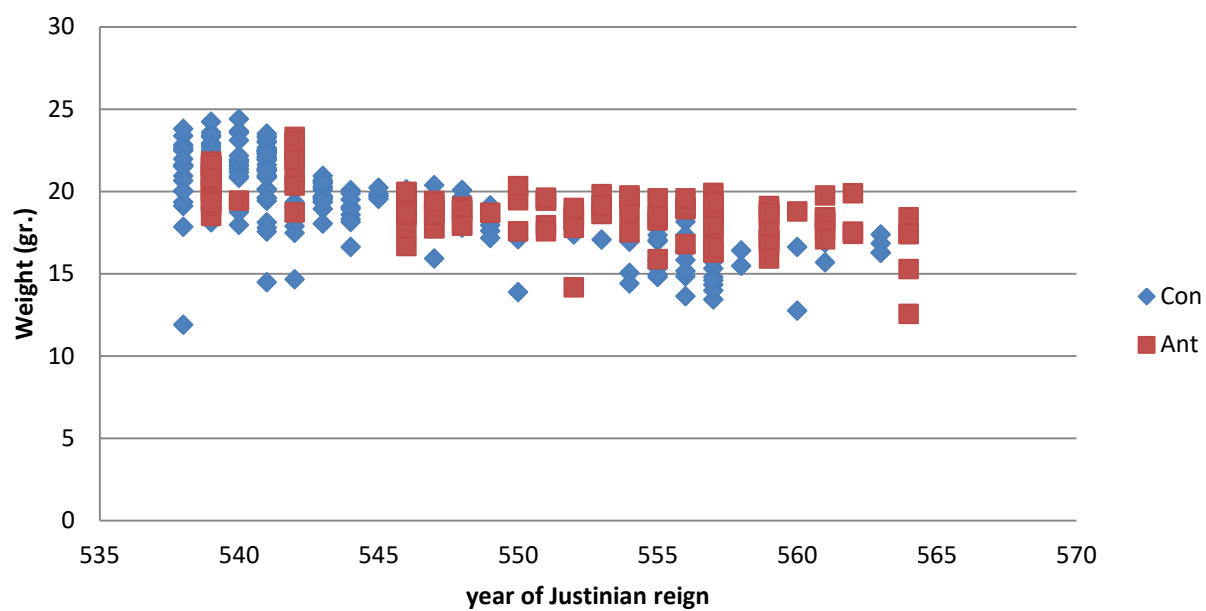
¹²⁴⁴ Metcalf 1960, 210-211.

¹²⁴⁵ E.. Hahn leaves open whether the event was related to Constantinople or to Antioch, see MIBE, 58.

¹²⁴⁶ Malalas, Book 18, passage 117.

¹²⁴⁷ Metcalf 1960, 210-211.

¹²⁴⁸ Waage 1952, 151.



Graph10. The frequency of Antiochene and Constantinopolitan coins in the collections included in the research.

Justin II

Material

Constantinople. Two hundred seventy-three coins struck in Constantinople under Justin II were included in the research. Only eight Constantinopolitan folles attributed to Justin II with no doubts have been classified among the excavated material from Antioch (3% of the examined coins). One hundred ninety coins included in the research are the holdings of the American Numismatic society (70 %). The rest of the issues included in the statistics were coins catalogued in the private collections of Ilias Kandas and George Bates (24 %) and the remaining material are the coins which appeared in auction houses (3 %).

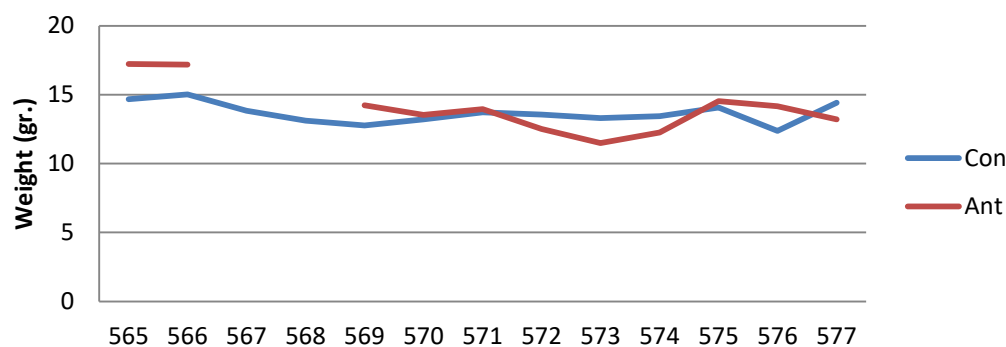
For some reason, the best represented period in the case of the Constantinopolitan issues were the years 569 to 575 as during these years collections provided a rather large number of coins. On the contrary, the first few years (565-568) and the last three years (575-578) of Justin II's reign are rather badly represented in the collections which have been included in the research. The last year of Justin II's reign (578) was represented only by one coin in the examined collections (ANS 1984.41.698).

In general, coins struck in Constantinople demonstrate a relative stability concerning their average weight standard. An interesting fact is that – like in the case of Justin I- the weight of coins struck in specific years could radically differ: e.g. the heaviest follis struck in 572 and included in the study had a weight of 16,13 gr. and the lowest one struck in the same year had a weight of 9,17 gr. (both coins are among the holdings of the American Numismatic Society).

Antioch. One hundred twenty-eight Antiochene coins struck under Justin II were included in the research. The majority of the studied material comes from the collections of the American Numismatic Society (29 %) ¹²⁴⁹ and Barber Institute (28%). Seventeen percent of the studied material were the coins which have appeared on the market in auction houses (e.g. Classical Numismatic Group) and about the same amount of material was represented by coins held in private and catalogued collections (Bates col. 1981, Kandas 2000 and Mansfield 2016). Nine percent of the folles come from the collections of the Numismatic Museum of Athens. Only three issues in total of Antiochene folles of Justin II were found at the excavations in Antioch.

¹²⁴⁹ The collections of the ANS included many more coins attributed to the Antiochene mint and dated in the period of Justin II, but lots of them have not reference to their weights, so they could not be included in the present research.

The first two years of Justin II's reign (565/6 and 566/7) were, in contrast to the material gathered for the mint of Constantinople, relatively well represented in the collections under study. The third and fourth years (567/8 and 568/9) are not represented at all in the case of Antioch in general and it is believed that the mint was closed in this period.¹²⁵⁰ The last year of mint activity in Antioch was represented just by several issues which in the total number represent ca 3% of all Antiochene coins included in the research; however, it is still more than in the case of Constantinople where only one issue was struck in this year (0,35 % of the total material) and was included in the research.



Graph 11. The development of weight of Constantinopolitan and Antiochene issues under Justin II.

Conclusions

The weight policy in the period of Justin II in general did not provoke much interest among scholars concerning the development of folles' weights in comparison to the period of Justinian and the only scholars who attempted to reconstruct Justin II's monetary policy in detail were Wolfgang Hahn¹²⁵¹ and Hans-Christoph Noeske.¹²⁵²

In accordance to the evidence gathered in the present research, Antiochene coins seem to continue the trend established already during the Justinian reign and their weight was evidently heavier during the first two years of Justin II's reign (graph.11).¹²⁵³

¹²⁵⁰ MIBEC, 29.

¹²⁵¹ MIBEC, 9-10, 28.

¹²⁵² Noeske 2000, 153-154.

¹²⁵³ MIBEC, 28

These early folles also bore different iconography – they depicted the frontal bust of the emperor, while the coins struck after 568 had depicted the imperial couple on their obverse.¹²⁵⁴ This means that the change in the weight standard was related to the general change in the folles' type and that the mint of Antioch was not capable of striking coins on the same standard like the Metropolitan mints during the first few years. The Metropolitan mints employed the representation of the enthroned imperial couple on their coins earlier than Antioch (Constantinople in 565, Nicomedia and Cyzicus in 566) and provided no samples of bronze coins with the frontal bust of Justin II.¹²⁵⁵ After the re-opening of the mint in 569, the weight standard of Antiochene coins was evidently reduced, most probably to ca 1/21 pound and was brought to the similar levels like that of Constantinople (1/24 pound) and the relation between the solidus and bronze folles had to reach the number 480.¹²⁵⁶

The coins included in the research indicate that in the following years the weight of Antiochene coins was evidently reduced and coins struck between 572 and 574/5 were usually lighter than the issues struck in Constantinople. This means that for several years, the average weight of Antiochene coins included in the present statistics was lower than the one in the Capital city.

Wolfgang Hahn proposed that the heavier coins struck in Constantinople after 570 may have been designated for circulation in Syria and for the troops localized there; however, excavations so far do not provide enough material to unequivocally prove the dominance of heavier issues in circulation.¹²⁵⁷ The same scholar also mentioned the possibility that Constantinople might have struck heavier coins for prestige and a possible relation with the fifth jubilee of the imperial reign in 570.¹²⁵⁸

Furthermore, Wolfgang Hahn mentioned the possibility that parallel striking of coins on the two weight standards (1/21 and 1/24 pound) existed after 570 and they differed with the use of privy marks: thus meaning lighter coins had different privy marks to those struck on the heavier standard.¹²⁵⁹ This would also be an explanation for the big differences in weight in the case of coins struck in the same year: e.g. thirty-eight folles struck in the Capital in 570 were included in the present research and their weight could

¹²⁵⁴ BNP, 125.

¹²⁵⁵ MIBEC 28-29.

¹²⁵⁶ On the development of the weight standard in Constantinople, see BNP, 125; Morisson 1989, 248-9 and MIBEC, 28-29. Morisson 1989, 248; MIBEC, 9-10, 28. Hans-Christoph Noeske mentioned the reality that Justin II decreased the weight of follis already at the beginning of his reign from 1/18 to 1/21 in pound (15, 59 gr.) and in 570 the reduction became even bigger – from 1/21 to 1/24, Noeske 2000, 153.

¹²⁵⁷ MIBEC, 28.

¹²⁵⁸ MIBEC, 28.

¹²⁵⁹ MIBEC, 28.

vary from ca 11gr. to ca 16, 5 gr. Almost all of the lightest coins included in the present research and struck in 570 bear a simple cross above the value mark M.¹²⁶⁰ The heaviest issues included in the research exclusively bear the Chi-Rho monogram above the M.¹²⁶¹ The Antiochene coins included in the research did not provide similar evidence as the differences in the weights of the folles struck in 570 were not as high as in the case of the Capital¹²⁶² and it seems that all of the issues had to be struck on the same standard.

The graph created on the basis of coins included in the research indicates that in 575, the weight standard of the examined coins was slightly increased in Antioch again; however, both - Constantinopolitan and Antiochene coins - dated in the last few years of Justin II's reign show some peculiar features in the development of the weight standard: a tendency to gradual weight reduction in the case of Antioch and reductions in the weight of Constantinopolitan coins took place in 576.

The material included in the research indicates that the weight policy in the period of Justin II was not as regular as in the period of his predecessor and it is not possible to make a statement without any ambiguity on if the Syrian mint deliberately followed the policy of striking heavier bronze coins or not as it seems that in some years Antiochene coins were definitely lighter than the coins struck in the Capital mint.

¹²⁶⁰ The lightest issues were from the American Numismatic Society: 1976.190.6 (11,24 gr.); 1984.41.622 (11,89 – cross); 1984.41.629 (12,07 gr.); from the Princeton col.: coin no. 8598 (12,19 gr.) and others. However a case with the representation of Chi-Rho monogram above M exists, ANS 1976.160.5 (11,66 gr.).

¹²⁶¹ Issues from the American Numismatic Society: e.g. 1984.41.634 (16,08 gr.); 1984.41.633 (16,57 gr.) 1974.209.26 (15,64 gr.); 1975.197.5 (15,43 gr.); 1975.197.4 (15,03 gr.); 1972.136.72 (14,89 gr.); 1972.136.73 (14,98 gr.) and others..

¹²⁶² The lightest Antiochene issue from 570 included in the study weighed 12,71 (Barber Institute, no.1475) and the heaviest one had 14,14 gr. (American Numismatic Society 1984.61.921).

Tiberius II

Material

Constantinople. Fifty-one Constantinopolitan folles have been included in the present research. Almost sixty percent of the issues come from the holdings of private collectors (Bates col. 1981, Mansfield 2016 and Kandas 2000). Thirty-seven percent of the material is represented by coins from the American Numismatic Society. The rest of the examined coins are Constantinopolitan folles found on the site of Antioch.

Antioch. There have been just twenty-two coins included in the present research. Most of the material included in the research represents coins from the American Numismatic Society and from private collections (together 68%). Almost 30% represent Antiochene coins found during the excavations in Antioch and the rest are issues held in the Numismatic Museum (5 %).

Conclusions

In general, the study of the weight standard under Tiberius is a rather complicated topic as Antiochene coins are not very common in collections as Tiberius did not reign for a long period of time.¹²⁶³

It seems that in 579, Tiberius attempted to strike folles on a heavier standard (1/18 pound) than his predecessor.¹²⁶⁴ W. Hahn connected the phenomenon to a special payment to soldiers which was related to the ascension of the new emperor.¹²⁶⁵

The study of the Constantinopolitan monetary policy is rather difficult - despite the existence of heavy issues¹²⁶⁶, since evidently issues were struck whose weight was much below the average.¹²⁶⁷

The issues included in the statistics indicate that Antiochene coins tended to be slightly heavier than the Constantinopolitan ones after 580; however, their average weights were very close in some phases.

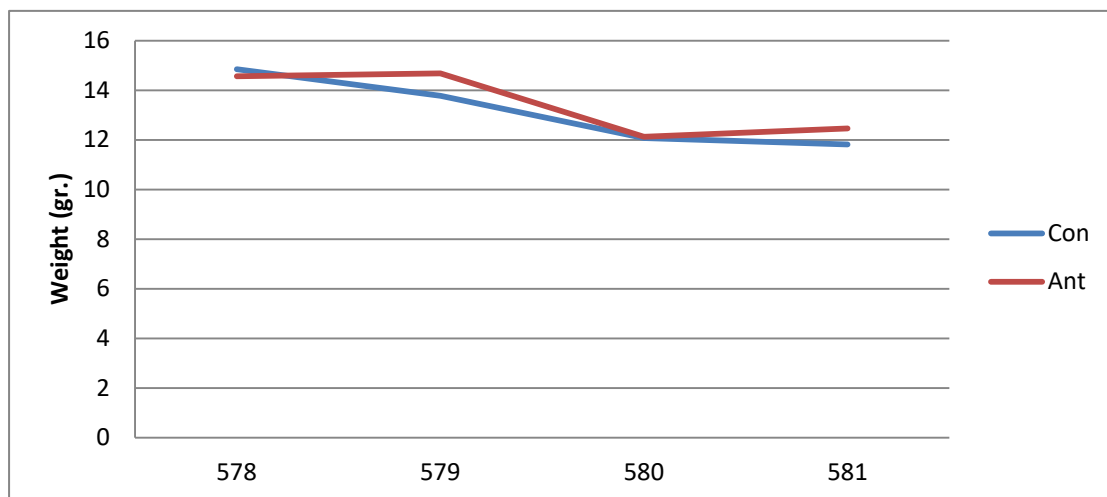
¹²⁶³ e.g. the collection of G.Bates includes just thirteen Antiochene folles while Constantinopolitan are forty one and the American Numismatic Society had among its holdings just eleven Antiochene folles while the Constantinopolitan issues are twenty three, see Bates 1981, 49-50 and 53; for the coins in the American Numismatic col. See the online database: <http://numismatics.org/search/>

¹²⁶⁴ MIBEc, 40; Morrisson 1989, 248

¹²⁶⁵ MIBEc, 10.

¹²⁶⁶ Two issues from the private col. Mansfield reached the weight ca 17,2 (no. 10,3 and 10,4).

¹²⁶⁷ Another two coins dated in the period (an issue found at the Antiochene excavations and an issue held in the American Numismatic Society ANS 1972.140.1) had a weight less than 11 gr.



Graph 12. The development of folles weight under Tiberius.

Maurice

Material

Constantinople. Altogether, two hundred thirty-eight folles struck in Constantinople were included in the study. Over sixty percent of the included coins come from the collections of the American Numismatic Society. Twenty-eight percent are the issues from the private collection of G. Bates.¹²⁶⁸ Eight percent of the folles under study come from the catalogues of various auction houses¹²⁶⁹ and only three percent of the material was represented by the excavations in Antioch as the archaeological research provided only eight folles which could be identified without any doubts.¹²⁷⁰

Antioch. Three hundred sixty-six coins struck in Antioch under Maurice were included in the research. Three quarters of the material included in the research come from the collections of the American Numismatic Society. All of the excavations in Antioch provided thirty-four coins for the research (ca 9 %). About the same proportion is represented by the coins from the private and published collection of G. Bates. Six percent of the coins under study are from the Numismatic Museum of Athens. Only four coins from auction houses have been included (1 %).¹²⁷¹

Nicomedia. In the case of Maurice's period, also some coins of Nicomedia were included in the research for comparison. Only fifty-seven Nicomedian coins struck under Maurice have been included in the study. All of the material included in the research comes from the collections of the American Numismatic Society.

Conclusions

The first interesting fact is that it is the first time in this research when Antiochene coins outnumber the Constantinopolitan issues in the collections under study (e.g. the American Numismatic society holds only ca 140 coins of Maurice which can be attributed to the mint of Constantinople without any doubts, while Antioch is represented by almost twice the amount of coins for this specific period.

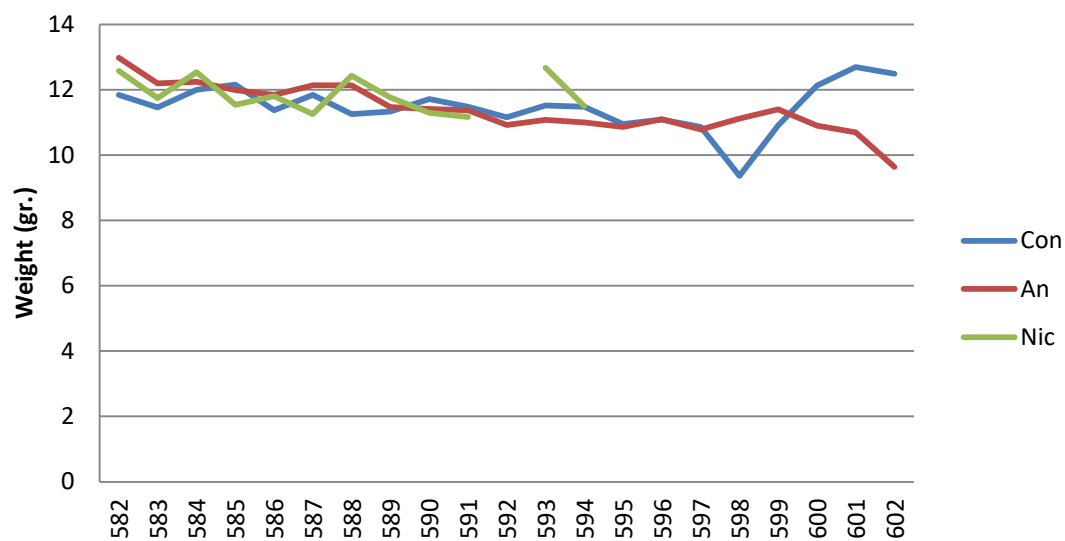
¹²⁶⁸ Bates 1981.

¹²⁶⁹ Classical Numismatic Group; Jean Elsen; Ira & Larry Goldberg.

¹²⁷⁰ Waage 1952.

¹²⁷¹ Classical Numismatic Group; Nomos.

The graph (graph 13) indicates that the development of the weight was rather regular in the period 582-597 and that all three mints followed a rather similar weight policy. The average weight of Antiochene coins was slightly higher between 582 and 589 with the minor exception in 585 when the average weight of the Antiochene coins included in the collection was about ca 1.8 grams lower than the Constantinopolitan ones. Between 595 and 597, the average weight of Antiochene and Constantinopolitan coins were almost the same. The last few years of Maurice's reign show an irregular development with random drops in the average weight of the coins. It is possible to conclude that there is no apparent general trend in the weight policy; however, it seems that the weight of Antiochene coins was slightly reduced in the last years of Maurice's reign.



Graph 13. The development of folles' weight under Maurice.

The picture of the development of weight of the Nicomedian folles is very complicated as not all years have been well represented in the collection under study. For instance, the period of the first half of Maurice's reign has been well covered by folles in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, but the last ten years of his reign (582 – 602) have not been represented well and it is difficult to express any general statement on the weight development in this period.

Again, the coins included in the research showed that in some cases the weight of the same issues struck in the same year could differ significantly. The coins struck in Constantinople in 595 could differ by almost 3,5 gr., for example, which represents almost one quarter of the heaviest issue's weight¹²⁷² and the difference between the heaviest and the lightest coins struck in Antioch in 592 could exceed four grams which represents almost one third of the weight of the heaviest coin.¹²⁷³

¹²⁷² The heaviest issue struck in Constantinople in this year and included in this study weighed 13,03 gr. (ANS 1974.209.47) and the lightest one weighed 9,46 gr. (ANS 1975.183.3).

¹²⁷³ The heaviest issue struck in Antioch in this year and included in this study weighed 12,29 gr. (ANS 1978.250.26) and the lightest one weighed 8,03 gr. (ANS 1992.900.299).

Phocas

Material

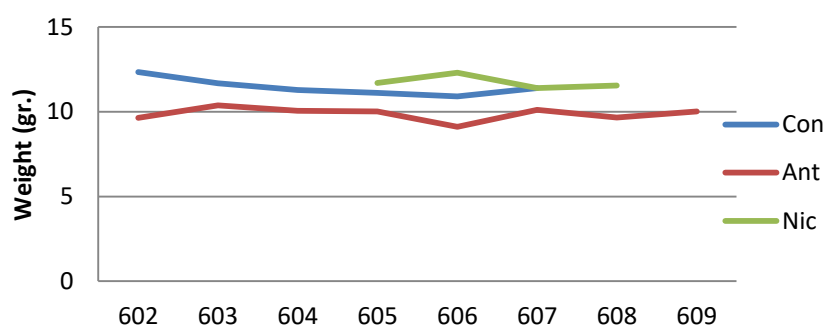
Constantinople. There are in total fifty-nine Constantinopolitan folles included in the research. All of them are the holdings of the American Numismatic Society.

Antioch. In total, sixty-two coins were included in the research. Most of them come from the American Numismatic society (ca 60 %). The remaining material is represented by coins held in the Barber Institute (ca 33 %) and the Numismatic Museum of Athens (7%).

Nicomedia. The mint of Nicomedia is represented in the research just by twenty-three coins and all of them come from the American Numismatic Society. Actually, the coins included in the research mainly represent the period after 605 as the first few years are not really well represented in collections in general (e.g. the col. of G. Bates includes only two Nicomedia coins dated in 602/3 and one issue from 604/5).¹²⁷⁴

Conclusions

The coins included in the research indicate that the average weight of the Antiochene issues was slightly lighter than the average weight of the Constantinopolitan and Nicomedian mint; however, the differences were in reality minor (the differences of the average weight usually ranged from 1 to 2 gr.) and it does not mean that mints would strike coins on different weight standards, but just for some reason the mint of Antioch tended to strike slightly lighter coins. The graph does not indicate any distinctive changes or reductions in the average weight of the folles struck in the three various mints with the only exception of the year 606 in Antioch when the local issues reached weights lower than during the other years.¹²⁷⁵



Graph 14. The development of folles weight under Phocas.

¹²⁷⁴ See Bates 1981, 77.

¹²⁷⁵ E.g. eight Antiochene coins included in the research were struck in 606 and four of them had a weight lower than 10 gr.

3. The conclusions on the weight of sixth-century folles

The present research included almost two thousand coins in total (Tab.1). The Constantinopolitan issues represent fifty-three percent of the material and the Antiochene coins represent almost forty-one percent. The rest of the material is represented by the Nicomedian issues.

The present research did not prove that the mint of Antioch would regularly and systematically strike coins on a heavier standard than the Constantinopolitan mint; however, in some specific periods Antiochene coins were evidently struck on a heavier weight standard or tended to be slightly heavier than the coins struck in the Capital city (e.g. under Justinian, the first two years of Justin II's reign and under Tiberius II); but these instances should be regarded as isolated episodes related to a specific policy in the mint and it seems that they do not represent a rule that would have been observed throughout the sixth century. Wolfgang Hahn mentioned that Antioch tended to adapt the heavier standard just till 580 and after it continued to follow the weight policy of Constantinople.¹²⁷⁶

Furthermore, another interesting fact is indicated by the present research: rather big differences between the weights of coins of the same denomination and type struck in the same mint in the same year could exist. Sometimes the differences are rather major. This is quite interesting as it indicates that in the case of bronze coins, their weight was not controlled as well as in the case of the coins struck in precious metals. This phenomenon is actually explicable as bronze issues were struck “al marco” (a specific number of bronze issues were struck from the Roman pound, without controlling the precise weight of each issue).¹²⁷⁷ This means that in the case of the bronze issues, their real weight was not as important as in the case of gold coins which were struck “al pezzo” (each issue had to have a particular weight corresponding to their ratio towards the Roman pound).

¹²⁷⁶ MIBEC, 11.

¹²⁷⁷ For the striking in “al marco”, see Hendy 1985, 329-330; LRC, 30.

3.Circulation of the Antiochene coins: Introduction to the problem

The circulation of Antiochene coins in the Mediterranean represents an interesting topic as these coins belong to regular findings on various sites; however, their numbers are usually not very high out of the site of Antioch. Obviously, Antioch was not the main mint that produced coins circulating in the Eastern Mediterranean either as single findings or in hoards. Nevertheless, single issues could be found even at places rather distant from Antioch.¹²⁷⁸

3a The main goals

For the purposes of the present Thesis, several regions and concrete sites were selected to be compared to each other. Focus will mainly be paid to the situation on the sites in Greece and in the Near East. One of the purposes of this chapter is to see how the proportions of Antiochene coins changed on the selected sites throughout the centuries under study (the 4th to the 6th c. AD) and to attempt to answer the question of what kind of role Antiochene coins played in the circulation in the late Roman and Byzantine Empire.

Worth mentioning is that bronze coins were exclusively included in the statistics – gold coins were in some cases found too, but these cases are rare and they are usually random issues.

3b Problems faced during the study

There have also been several difficulties which negatively impacted the study of coins circulation mainly concerning late Roman coinage. First, many fourth and fifth century coins from excavations have not been preserved in good enough condition to be attributed to a specific mint, so in many cases, it is complicated to study the mint distribution. In various cases (e.g. the Athenian Agora, Didyma and many other sites), the number of late Roman bronze coins with uncertain provenience often outnumbers the issues which could be classified without any doubts.

¹²⁷⁸ see for the example the hoard found at Étappes, northern France, where 27 Antiochene coins were in a hoard of ca 3900 coins, see Giard 1965, 206-224. Examples like that can be found throughout the whole Mediterranean Basin and Europe.

Furthermore, after collecting data from various sources (e.g. *Archaialogikon Deltion*, publications of hoards in various numismatic journals, etc.) it is possible to express an opinion on the impossibility of systematically tracing the circulation of Antiochene coins in the Mediterranean throughout the 5th century. In the case of coins struck after ca 350 A.D., the references on findings are often insufficient (e.g. just random information on the findings of several coins of a specific emperor without further description exists). This problem is even worse while studying the findings from the 5th century as these are often referred without any details (no type, denomination, often the mint is not mentioned, etc.). Several times, despite the publication of the material, the evidence was not cogent enough to be able to draw a conclusion concerning the circulation of the late Roman Antiochene coins.¹²⁷⁹

The situation is rather different while studying the circulation in the 6th century as thanks to the reforms of Anastasius (498), bronze coinage improved, so issues are rather easily identified and dated and an extensive bibliography on their findings exists; however, from the aspect of circulation a fundamental change is obvious: the coins did not circulate on such a large scale – i.e. their numbers are much lower.¹²⁸⁰

One of the main problems is also the state of publication: lots of sites have no systematically published coin material. In the case of some sites, just old publications exist; however, the archaeological works on sites have been continuing, but no updated data is available for research.

Another problem concerns the interpretation of the coin findings. Unfortunately, in most cases it was impossible to put the numismatic material in the proper archaeological context as the coin findings were usually catalogued separately without references to the context of the findings. Furthermore, there is no published material from the late Roman and early Byzantine period from various sites (e.g. Didyma).

All the mentioned problems make the systematic study of circulation of Antiochene issues in the transitional period from the late Antiquity to early Byzantium

¹²⁷⁹ E.g. in the case of Gortyn's Agora altogether 66 coins have been found, see Garraffo 2011. Only sixteen of them were dated in the period between 324 and 610 AD. Seven of the sixteen had illegible mintmarks and the most of the coins whose mintmarks were identifiable belonged exclusively to Constantinople.

In the case of excavations of the southe-eastern peribole at Delphi there were found more than ninety coins dated in the period under study, more than half of them had illegible mintmark and no one of the legible coins have been attributed to Antioch, see evidence in Destrooper 2014.

¹²⁸⁰ E.g. in the case of the Athenian Agora there have been published more than 7.500 bronze issues dated in the 4th century, while the whole 6th century was represented by ca 400 coins; see Thompson 1954. A similar situation can be seen on most of the sites in the Mediterranean.

difficult; however, some basic trends can be deduced. For these reasons, the present research should be considered just as indicative.

3c Locations included in the research

Region 1: Greece:

Case 1: Ancient Agora

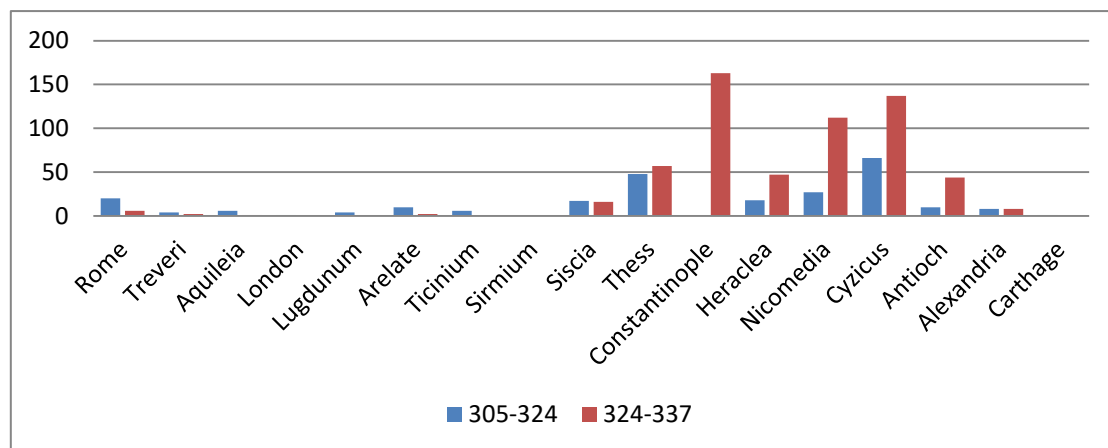
The excavations at Ancient Agora have provided rich numismatic material; however, the only systematic publication of single findings was published in 1954 by Margaret Thompson,¹²⁸¹ and since then, only publications of coin hoards have appeared.¹²⁸² The information on single findings found after 1954 is not available.

The mint distribution of coins attributable to the Constantinian dynasty indicates that Constantinople started to play a decisive role in the circulation on the site very shortly after its foundation and furthermore, that the coins struck in the Eastern Mediterranean mints – including Antioch – were more numerous on the site after the end of the Civil Wars in 324. When studying the list of the single findings of coins struck by the members of the Constantinian dynasty which have been found at the Agora, it is possible to conclude that coins of some Western mints ceased to appear after 324 – there are no issues of Ticinium, London or Lugdunum found on the Agora after that year and the only published identified examples were dated prior to 324.

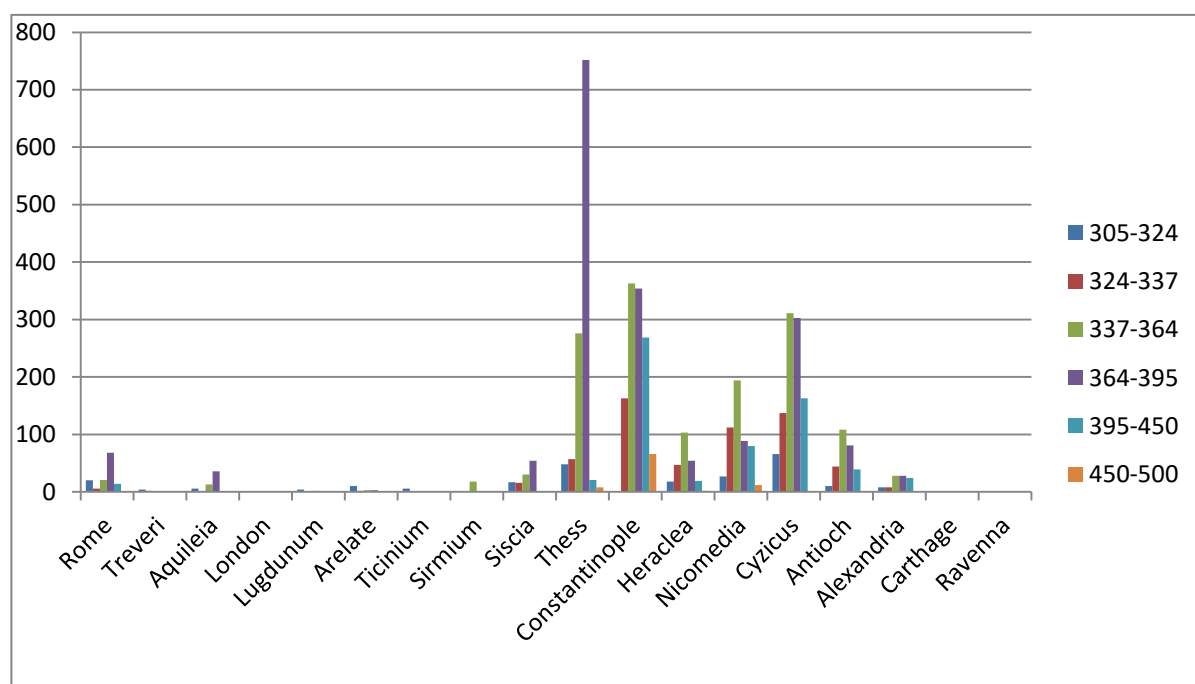
In the case of Agora, the material demonstrates that the Eastern issues were significant on the site; however, they are just subsidiary next to the Constantinopolitan coins. The issues of Antioch never exceeded the numbers of the Nicomedian and Cyzicene coins.

¹²⁸¹ The Athenian Agora. Vol. II – Coins. From the Roman through the Venetian period, ed. M. Thompson, Princeton 1954.

¹²⁸² For the systematic references on the hoards and its' publications, see Morrisson – Popović-Ivanišević 2006, 217-224.



Graph 15. The mint distribution of bronze coins struck in 306-324 and 324-337 on the Athenian Agora.



Graph 16. Mints distribution on the Athenian Agora (306-500 AD)

The coins struck in the mints situated in the Eastern Roman Empire continued to play a rather important role on the site throughout the period of the Constantinian dynasty and under Valentinians (graph 16). Issues struck in the mint of Thessalonike started to dominate on the site among the findings in this period.

An important drop is obvious after the death of Theodosius I (395). The coins dated in the period after 395 are much fewer than in the previous decades and most of the found issues dated in this period are from the mints of Constantinople and Cyzicus. Also, the Antiochene issues struck in the 5th century were found on the site but their numbers are marginal. The coins struck in the Western mints are very rare on the site in this period.

Problematic is the fact that relatively many coins have not been attributed to a concrete ruler or to a specific mint. There are ca six thousand bronze coins which were evidently struck in the fourth and fifth centuries, but their precise dating is impossible to know.¹²⁸³ These coins, of course, were not included in the statistics.

The last relatively well represented fifth century emperor is Leo I (457-474), but most of the coins attributed to him are without a certain mintmark.¹²⁸⁴ Only two coins of Zeno were found on the site (474-491).¹²⁸⁵ There is no material from such a late period that could be directly related to Antioch. Most of the issues which could be dated in the second half of the fifth and first half of sixth c. are actually coins of the Vandalic and Ostrogothic provenance.¹²⁸⁶

After the end of the 5th century, the next Antiochene coins found on the Agora were pentanummia attributed to Anastasius I and dated in the period after 516.¹²⁸⁷ Most of the sixth century Antiochene coins found on the Agora were struck in the name of Justinian and no Antiochene issues of Justin I were spotted on the site.¹²⁸⁸

¹²⁸³ Thompson 1954, 64.

¹²⁸⁴ there have been identified over one hundred fifty coins struck in the name of Leo I, see Thompson 1954, 63.

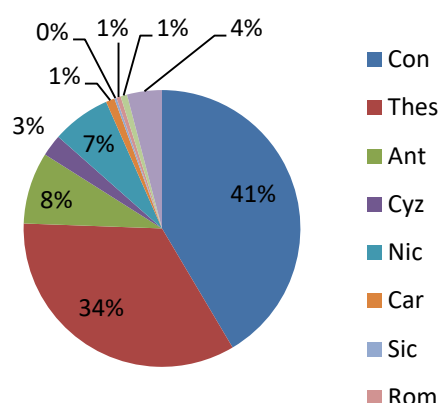
¹²⁸⁵ Thompson 1954, 64.

¹²⁸⁶ Thompson 1954, 64-67.

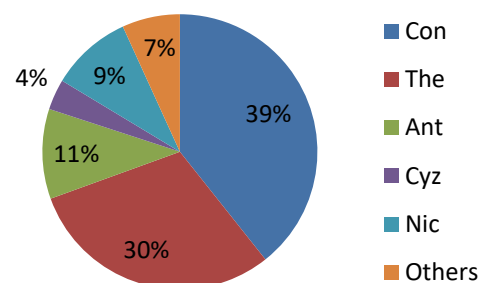
¹²⁸⁷ see Thompson 1954, 67 (no1743).

¹²⁸⁸ Thompson 1954, 68.

The Antiochene issues represented ca 8% of the total number of sixth century coins found on the site (graph.17). The value of the found Antiochene coins actually corresponded to 11% of the sixth century coins' total value (graph 18) – the fact that this number is higher than in the case of the amount of the Antiochene coins is caused by the fact that most of the Antiochene issues found on the site were folles – the highest bronze denomination of value forty nummi; while the other mints also provided many samples of half-folles (20 nummi) and decanummia.



Graph 17. Mints distribution on Agora in 6th century AD (number of coins)

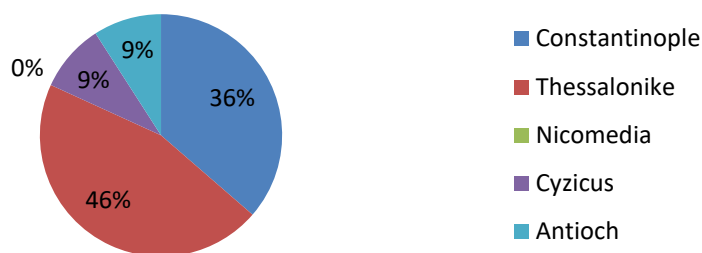


Graph 18. Mints distribution on Agora in 6th century AD (value of coins)

There are seven attested 6th century hoards in the Athenian Agora, but just three of them contained coins struck in Antioch without any doubts.¹²⁸⁹ Only the hoard of Agora in 1936 (graph 20) provided data on a rather important proportion of the Antiochene issues. Antiochene coins represented less than 10% in the composition of the other two Agora's hoards (graph 19 and 21). When looking at the coins in the three hoards from the aspect of their value in nummi, the Antiochene issues again represented 11% of the total value of the hoarded coins in three hoards under study (graph 22).

¹²⁸⁹ Morrisson – Popović- Ivanišević 2006, 217-224; Metcalf 1962, 156-157 ; Kroll - Miles - Stella 1979, p. 306-309.

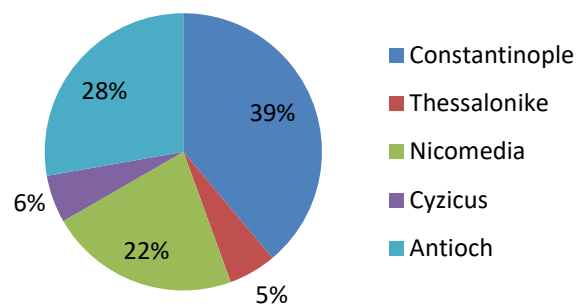
Moulin brûlé 1933



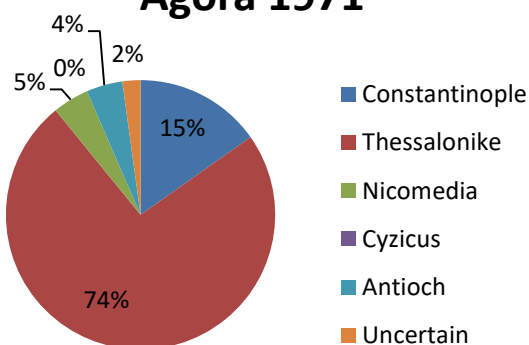
Graph 19. Mints distribution – the hoard Agora Moulin brûlé 1933.

Agora 1936

Graph 20. Mints distribution – the hoard Agora 1936.

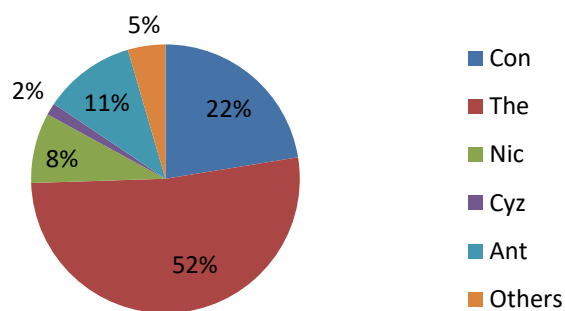


Agora 1971

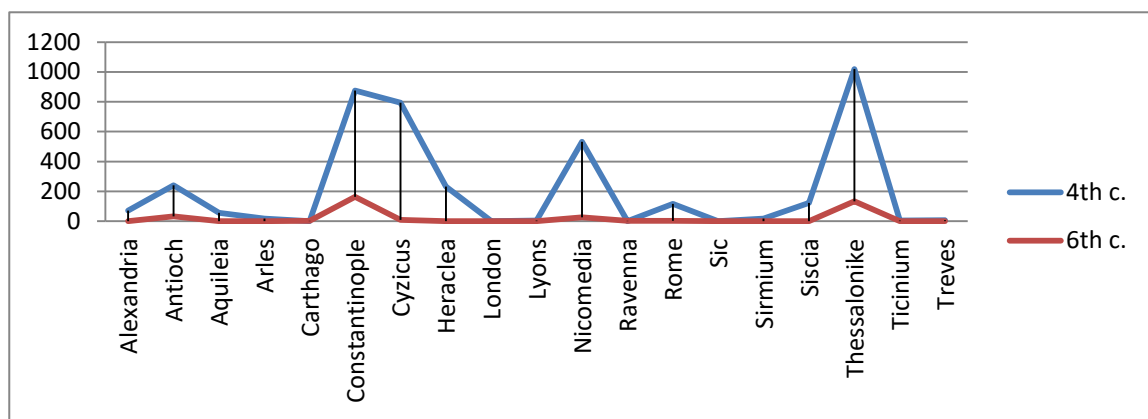


Graph 21. Mints distribution – the hoard Agora 1971.

Graph 22. Mints distribution – total value in nummi of the hoarded coins.



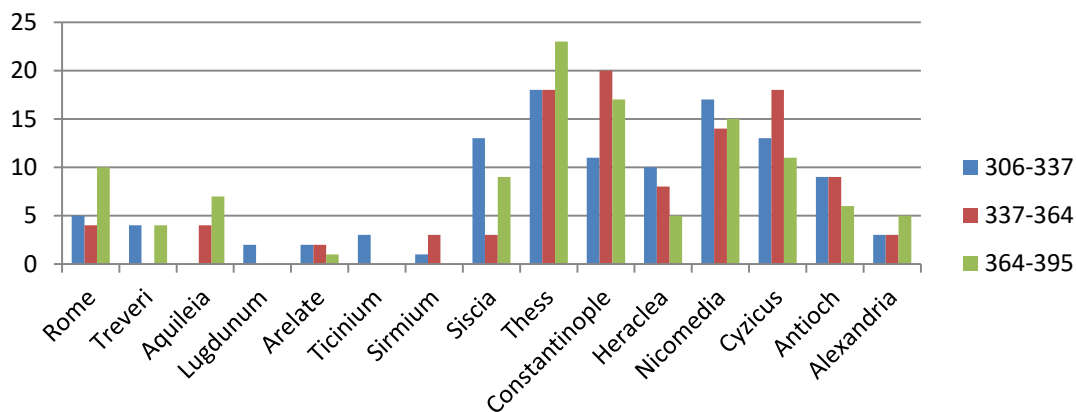
It is also very interesting to compare the data from the 4th and 6th century (graph 23). Firstly, the amount of coins struck in the 6th century is dramatically reduced while comparing it to the amount of 4th century coins. Another obvious change is the fact that almost no Western coins were found there. Both of these trends are common in the Eastern Mediterranean in this period. The best represented mints in both centuries are Constantinople and Thessalonike. The mints of Antioch and Nicomedia were the other main provincial mints to be represented on the site in the 6th century.



Graph 23. The mints distribution on the Athenian Agora in 4th and 6th centuries.

Case 2: Corinth

The published coin findings from Corinth, together with the material from the Athenian Agora, belong to the main and richest sources on coin circulation on the Greek mainland. The present study is based on information provided mainly by catalogues published in the 1930's¹²⁹⁰ and a series of articles published in *Hesperia* with data on the material found during the excavations undertaken between the 1970's and early 1990's.¹²⁹¹ It is interesting that the updated reports in the journal *Hesperia* did not bring to light any more issues of Antioch; however, they provided information on many new findings of Thessalonike and Cyzicene issues and this fact significantly impacted the numbers in the statistics concerning these mints.



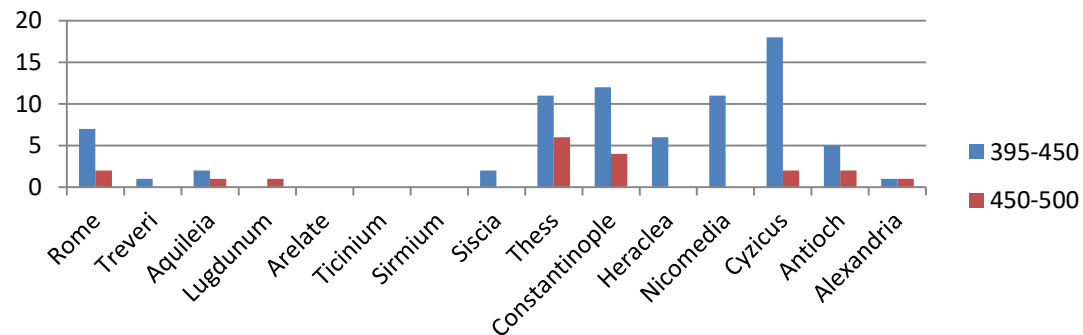
Graph 24. The mints distribution of 4th century coins found in Corinth.

While looking at the single findings of coins struck in the 4th century (graph 24), it is obvious that Antiochene issues did not play a very important role in the circulation on the site of Corinth. Nevertheless, its issues are represented there and they are definitely more numerous than issues struck in Alexandria or in the Western mints. Antiochene coins covered ca 6% of the total number of coins which were found in Corinth, struck in the 4th century and had a legible mintmark. The best represented mint is Thessalonike and its coins outnumbered even those struck in Constantinople. While studying the proportions of Antiochene coins, it is interesting to observe that most of the Antiochene issues found in Corinth come from the period of Constantine I and his

¹²⁹⁰ Edwards 1933 and Bellinger 1930.

¹²⁹¹ Edwards 1937; Harris 1941; Williams – Zervos 1991; Williams – Zervos 1990; Williams – Zervos 1989; Williams – Zervos 1988; Williams – Zervos 1987; Williams – Zervos 1986; Zervos 1986; Williams – Zervos 1985; Williams – Zervos 1984; Fisher 1984; Williams – Zervos 1983; Williams – Zervos 1982; Fisher 1980; Williams – Zervos 1976; Williams – Fisher 1975; Williams – Fisher 1971.

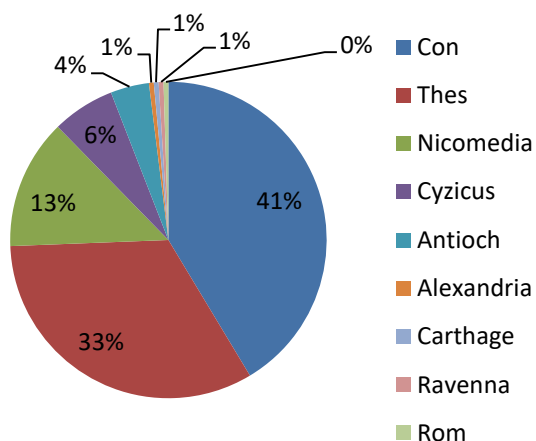
successors (324-364); however, their amount again did not exceed the numbers of issues struck in Nicomedia or Cyzicus. There is an obvious drop concerning the coins which can be dated after 364. The composition of the coin findings in Corinth changed like in the case of Agora (graph 16): Thessalonike's issues are the dominating ones among the coins struck between 364 and 395 and the Antiochene issues became even less often.



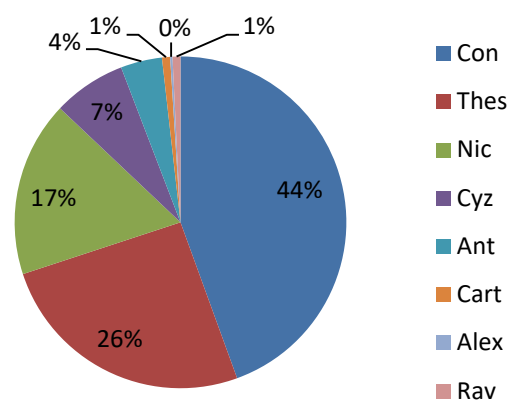
Graph 25. The mints distribution of 5th century coins found in Corinth (excluding the minimi and Vandalic coins)

Fifth century coins are again not very numerous. The number of Antiochene issues are not high (graph 25), but it is still important to note that various mints are not represented at all in this period. Fifth century coins do not belong among the frequent finds in general and the site of Corinth just confirms that reality.

The role of Antiochene coins was rather insignificant also in the 6th century (graph 26) when the number of its issues reached ca 4%. The findings are dominated by issues struck in Constantinople (41%) and Thessalonike (33%). Again, Nicomedian (13%) and Cyzicene (6%) issues are better represented than the Antiochene coins which are, despite their relatively small number (4 %), still the fifth best represented mint on the site. If looking at the sixth century coins found in Corinth from the aspect of their value (graph 27), the proportions of Antioch actually remain the same.

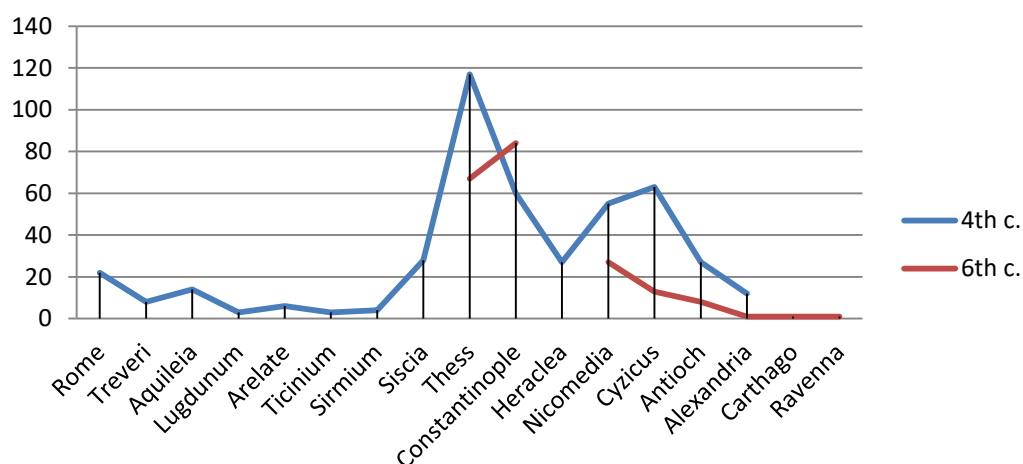


Graph 26. The mints distribution in Corinth in 6th centuries.
(amount of coins)



Graph 27. The mints distribution in Corinth in 6th centuries.
(value of coins)

If comparing the situation on the site in the 4th and 6th centuries (graph 28), some tendencies are similar to those observed on the Athenian Agora: the total amount of 6th century coins is lower; the Western coins are not represented at all after the 5th century and the issues struck in Nicomedia, Cyzicus and Antioch continued to circulate, however, the dominating issues are those struck in Constantinople and Thessalonike.

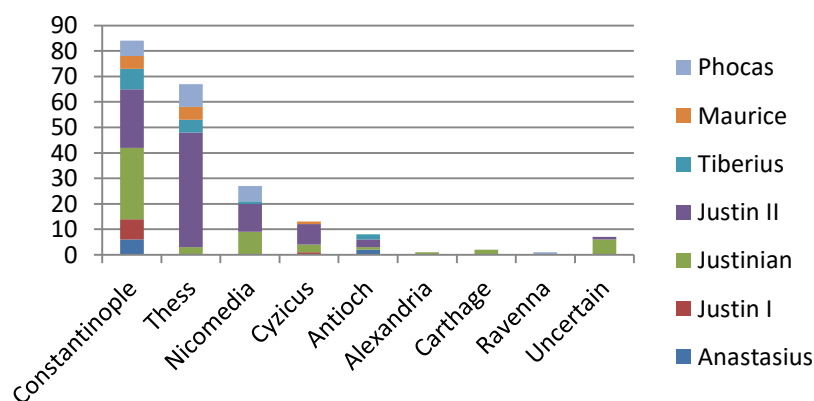
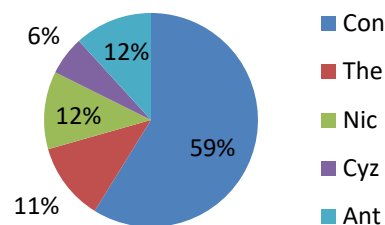


Graph 28. The mints distribution in Corinth in 4th and 6th centuries.

Furthermore, ten hoards were found which can be dated in the 6th century.¹²⁹² Most of the hoards contained mainly nummi and it is difficult to reconstruct the mints' distribution. Only two hoards included Antiochene issues without any doubts¹²⁹³ and just one provided informative material which enables conclusions to be made on the proportions (graph 29). If the minimi and coins with doubtful origin are excluded, it is obvious that the hoard was dominated by the Constantinopolitan issues (59 %), while the mints of Nicomedia, Cyzicus and Antioch were represented by about the same amount of coins (11-12%).

Most of the sixth century Antiochene issues on the site of Corinth were struck in the name of Justin II- (graph 30).

Graph 29. The mints distribution in the hoard Corinth 1971.



Graph 30. The mints distribution of sixth century coins found in Corinth.

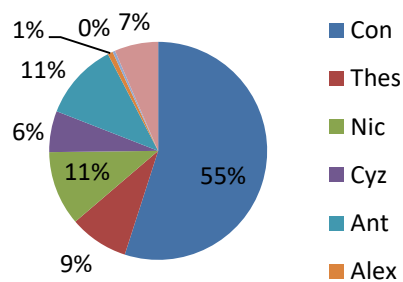
¹²⁹² Morrisson – Popović-Ivanišević 2006, 231-242

¹²⁹³ Morrisson – Popović-Ivanišević 2006, 240 (146. Corinth 1971) and 234 (140. Corinth avant 1930).

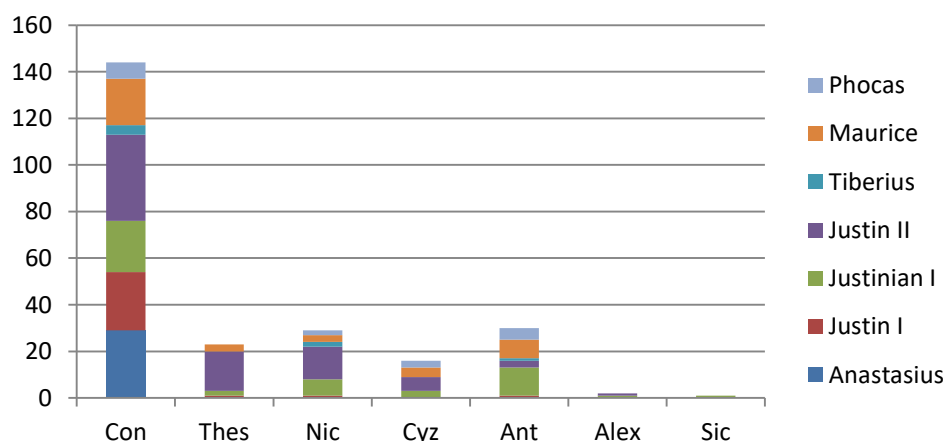
Case 3: Rhodes

The statics on coins found on Rhodes are based on the information provided by Maria Anna Kasdagli in her dissertation.¹²⁹⁴ This Thesis included detailed information on the numismatic findings on Rhodes dated from the Anastasius reforms (498) till the siege of Rhodes in 1522. Unfortunately, it was impossible to gather data on late Roman coins struck in the 4th and 5th centuries as this material has not been systematically published and there is an ongoing project focusing on the coin findings on Rhodes in this period.

The majority of bronze coins (graph 31) found on the site were issues of Constantinople (59 %). It is understandable that Thessalonike's coins did not play such an important role on Rhodes as in the case of the sites situated on the Greek mainland or on islands close to the coastland (Thasos). The issues struck in Nicomedia and Antioch (both almost 12 %) were more common on Naxos than the issues struck in Thessalonike (9 %). Most of the Antiochene coins found on Rhodes were struck in the name of Justinian I and Maurice (see graph 32).



Graph 31. The mints distribution of 6th century coins found on Rhodes.



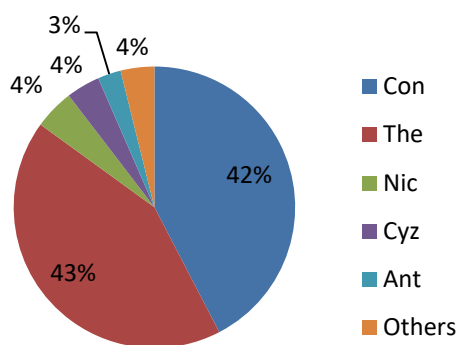
Graph 32. The mints 6th century coins found on Rhodes.

¹²⁹⁴ Κασδαγλη 2016, 39-54.

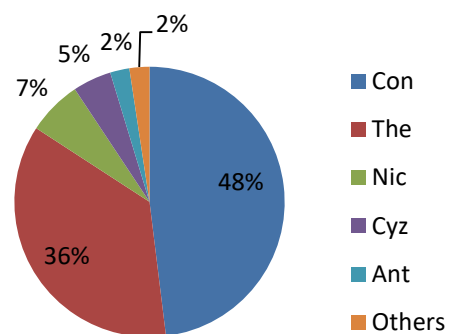
Case 4: Thassos

The study of 6th century coins found on Thassos is based on the Thesis of Jean-Michel Saulnier.¹²⁹⁵ Unfortunately, it was impossible to include coins dated in the 4th and 5th centuries in the statistics.

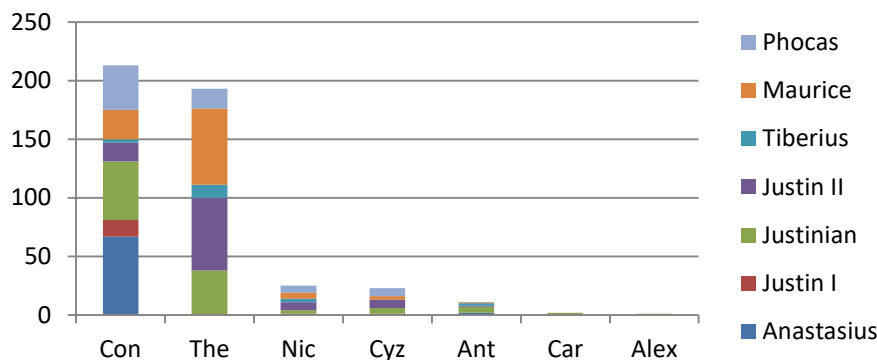
Actually, the mint of Antioch is not very well represented among the sixth century coins found on Thassos (graph 33 and 34) – the amount did not exceed 3% of the total number of findings. The total value in nummi of Antiochene coins which were found on Thassos did not exceed two percent, which means that Antioch played much less of an important role here than at the sites mentioned before. The best represented mints were, as in the case of the Athenian Agora, Constantinople and Thessalonike. The mints of Nicomedia and Cyzicus are much better represented on Thassos than the mint of Antioch.



Graph 33. The mints distribution of sixth century coins on Thassos. (amount of coins)



Graph 34. The mints distribution of sixth century coins on Thassos. (value of coins)

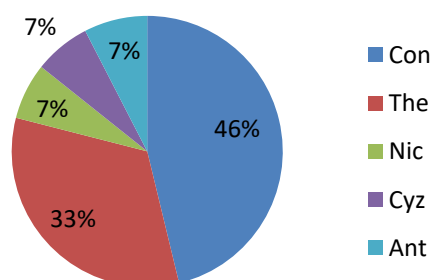


Graph 35. The mints distribution of sixth century coins on Thassos.

¹²⁹⁵ Saulnier 1993.

Most of the Antiochene coins found on Thassos were struck in the name of Justinian I (graph 35). It is interesting that the Antiochene issues of Maurice are not many, despite the fact that Maurice's coinage is otherwise represented very well on the island.

Furthermore, the evidence provided by the several hoards found on Thassos is also interesting.¹²⁹⁶ Only one of the hoards (graph 36) contained Antiochene coins identified without any doubts (Théâtre 1957).¹²⁹⁷ The total amount of Antiochene coins was 7% and the number was almost the same as in the case of Nicomedian and Cyzicene issues. Antiochene coins represented 9% of the value of the hoard – which is a relatively high number while taking into consideration the fact that among the total findings, the Antiochene issues are represented by ca 3%.



Graph 36. The mints distribution – hoard Théâtre 1957.

¹²⁹⁶ For the evidence on the hoards, see Morrisson – Popović- Ivanišević 2006, 194-198.

¹²⁹⁷ Morrisson – Popović- Ivanišević 2006, 196-7.

Case 5: Western Thrace

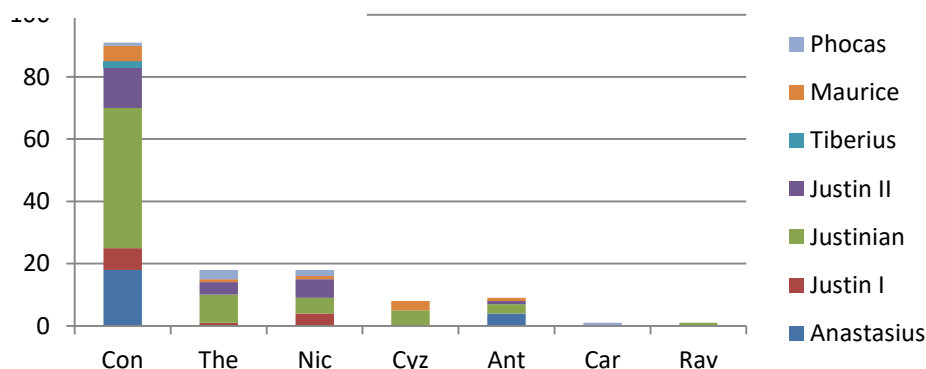
The main source of data for the region of Western Thrace was the PhD Thesis of E. Georganteli.¹²⁹⁸ The Thesis was focused on the period after 498 and it was impossible to gather enough data for the late Roman period, so the present statistics again concentrate exclusively on the sixth century.

The Antiochene issues are represented on various sites in Western Thrace, but their amount is not very high. The total number of Antiochene issues does not exceed 6% (graph 37) among the sixth century single findings and their value corresponds to just 4% of the total value of the found coins (graph 38). The Constantinopolitan issues unequivocally dominated the findings.



Graph 37. The mints distribution of single findings in Western Thrace.

Graph 38. The mints distribution of single findings in Western Thrace. (value in nummi)



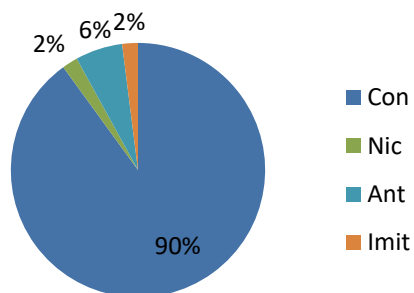
Graph 39. The mints distribution, Western Thrace.

¹²⁹⁸ Γεωργαντέλη 1998.

The best represented among the Antiochene issues are the coins struck in the name of Anastasius and Justinian I (graph 39).

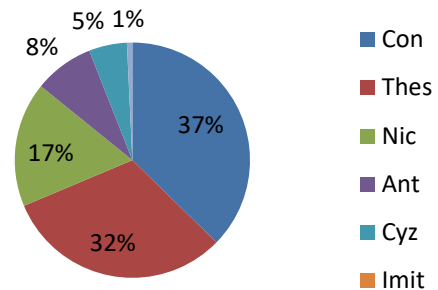
Just three hoards dated to the 6th century have been catalogued and only two of them contained Antiochene issues (graph 40 and 41).¹²⁹⁹ The Antiochene issues in the first case represented 6% and in the second 8% of the total amount of the hoarded coins which are numbers rather similar to the ratio of the Antiochene issues among the single finds. .

Petrochori 1994



Graph 40. The mints distribution – hoard Petrochori 1994.

Nikopolis



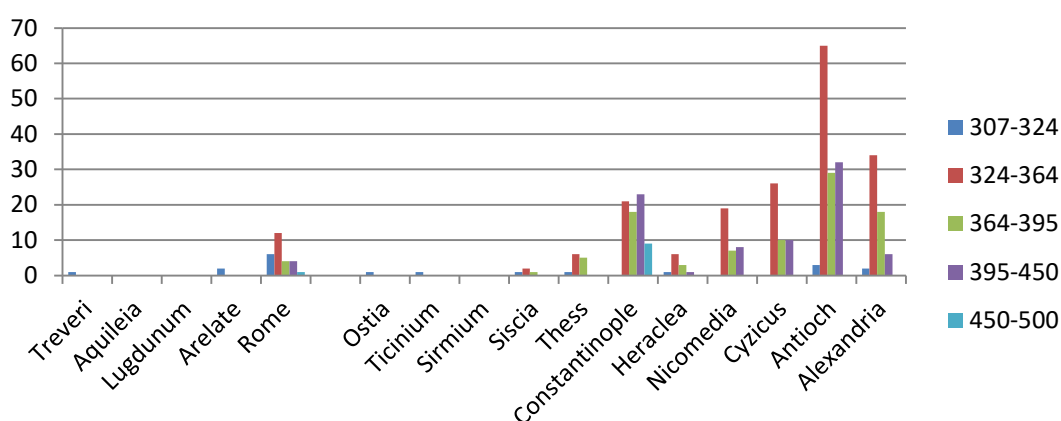
Graph 41. The mints distribution – hoard Petrochori 1994.

¹²⁹⁹ Πετροχώρι 1994 and Νικόπολις επί του Νέστου, see Γεωργαντέλη 1998, 353-354.

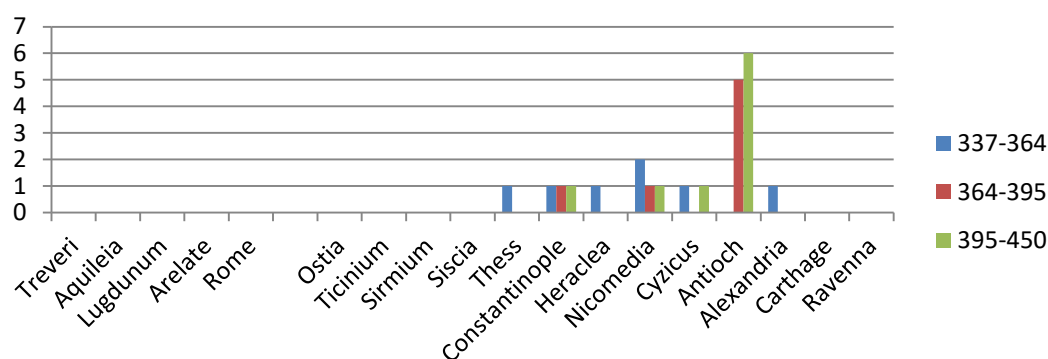
Region 2: Cyprus

For the purposes of this research two sites on Cyprus have been included: Curium and Paphos. The main reason to include these sites is the fact there have been systematically published coin findings from the excavations.¹³⁰⁰

The data indicates that the situation on Cyprus was rather different to the one on the Greek mainland and the mint of Antioch logically played much more of an important role there (graph 42). In the case of Curium, Antiochene coins dominated the site between 324 and 450 and mainly the period of Constantine's dynasty was the most fruitful. In the case of Paphos (graph 43), the data for the epoch Constantinian dynasty are not adequate, but it seems that coins struck under the Valentinian and Theodosian dynasties played a rather important role there.



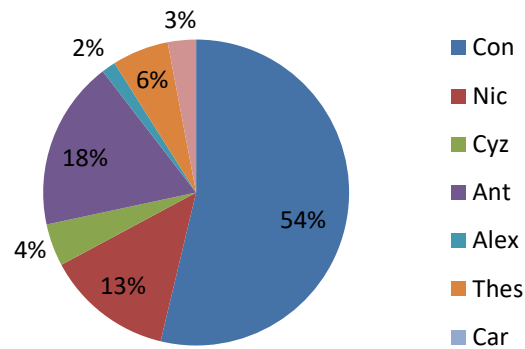
Graph 42. The mints distribution on site of Curium in 4th c.



Graph 43. The mints distribution on site of Paphos in 4th c.

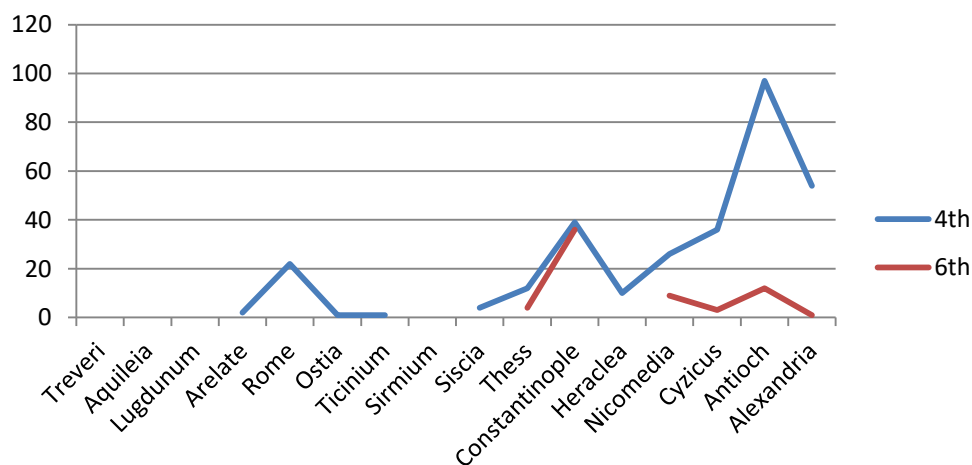
¹³⁰⁰ Cox 1959 and Paphos II.

The sixth century findings provided a slightly different picture. The prevailing issues in Curium were those struck in Constantinople, but Antioch is actually the second best represented mint. Unfortunately, the sixth century coins from Paphos are few and I did not include them in the statistics.



Graph 44. The mints distribution in Curium in 6th century.

While comparing the situation in Curium in the 4th and 6th centuries, the development is very interesting. The number of Antiochene issues evidently dropped. Nevertheless, the number of Constantinoplitan issues was the same in both centuries and this fact confirms the importance of the Constantinopolitan issues for local circulation.

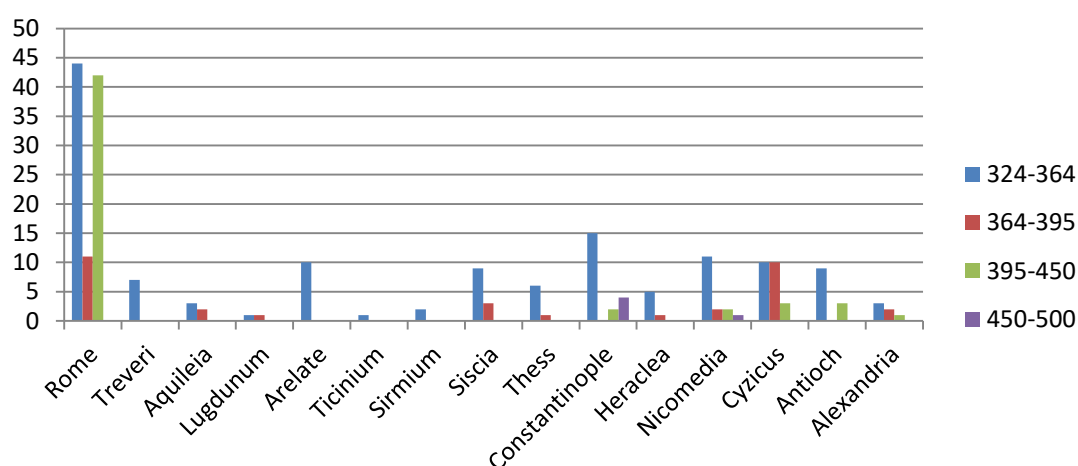


Graph 45. The mints distribution in Curium in 4th and 6th century.

Region 3: Carthage

The present statistics on the situation in the late Roman/early Byzantine Carthage are based on the information provided in the volumes on the excavations conducted by the expedition of the University of Michigan¹³⁰¹ and in the article on the numismatic findings in the Punic port and Tophet.¹³⁰²

The picture of mints' distribution in Carthage in the 4th century indicates that the issues of Rome played a dominating role on the site (graph 46). Actually, some Antiochene coins were found and most of them are dated in the period of Constantine I and his successors. No Antiochene issues which could be dated in the period of the Valentinian dynasty were found.

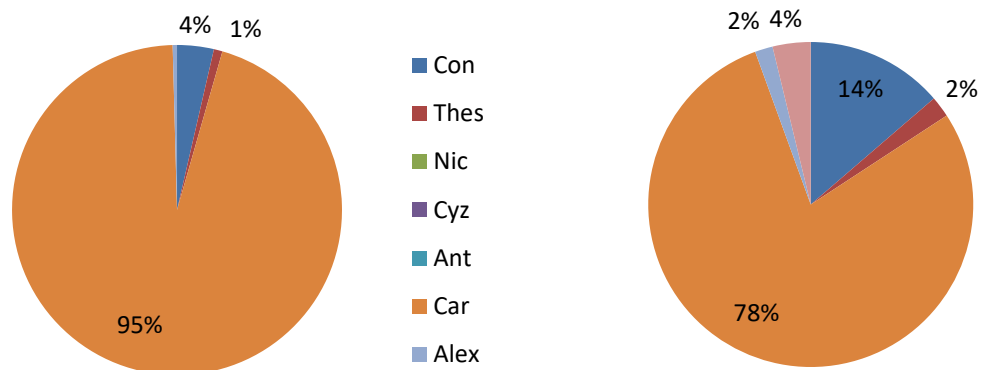


Graph 46. The mints distribution in Carthage in 4th century.

The situation in the 6th century became completely different: the findings on site were dominated by the issues struck in Carthage (graph 47). Actually, no sixth century coins struck in Antioch were found and furthermore, no coins of Anastasius and Justin I in general. Byzantine coins started to circulate there on a regular basis in the period of Justinian when the invasion of North Africa took place.

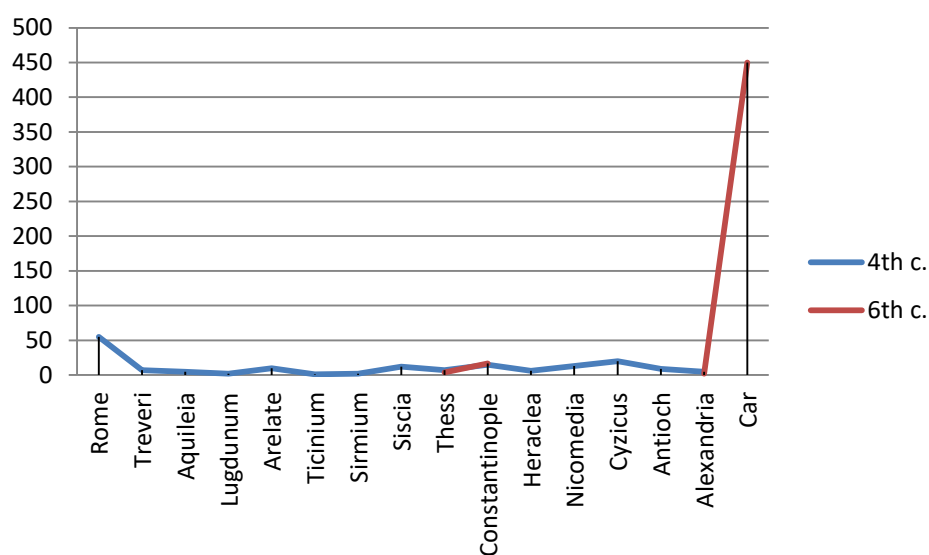
¹³⁰¹ Carthage 1975; Carthage 1976; Carthage 1977; Circus 1988a and Circus 1988b. The material published in the volumes of the British mission were not included as the coins from the period under study were not many (Excavations at Carthage: The British Mission vol.I/1 and vol II/1, published by the British Academy in 1984 and 1994).

¹³⁰² Betlyon 2008.



Graph 47. The mints distribution in Carthage, 6th c. (amount of coins).

Graph 48. The mints distribution in Carthage, 6th c. (value of coins in nummi).

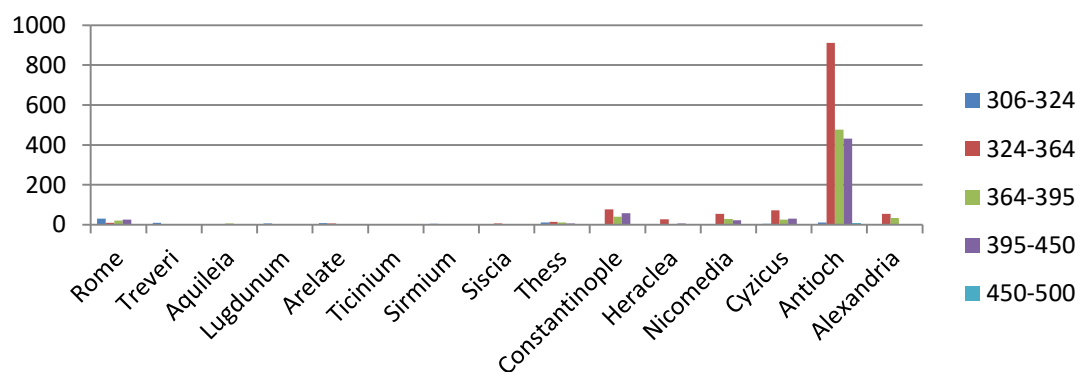


Graph 49. The mints distribution in Carthage, 4th and 6th c.

Region 4: Near East

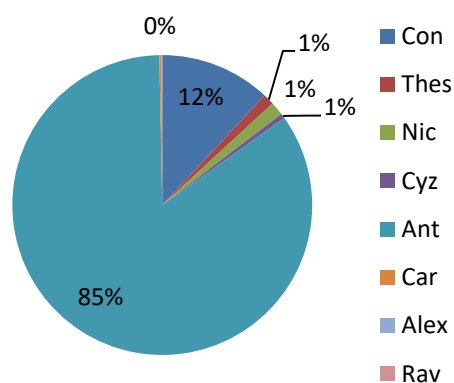
Case 1: Antioch

The present study is based on information provided in the publication of the excavated coins catalogued by Dorothy Waage in 1952.¹³⁰³ The data in the catalogue indicates that the mint of Antioch was extremely important for the circulation in the city throughout the period under study.

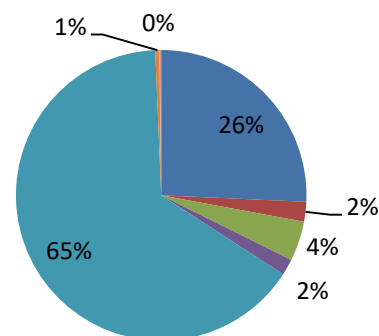


Graph 50. The mints distribution in Antioch in 4th and 5th c.

Antiochene coins continued to dominate on the site also in the 6th century. The second highest number concerning sixth century coins is represented by the Constantinopolitan issues.



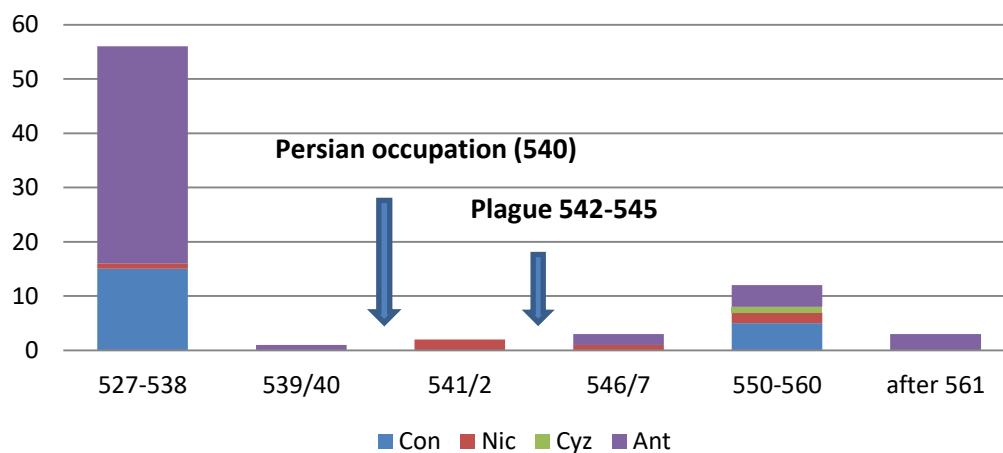
Graph 51. The mints distribution on the site of Antioch, 6th century (number of coins)



Graph 52. The mints distribution on the site of Antioch, 6th century (value of coins in nummi)

¹³⁰³ Waage 1952.

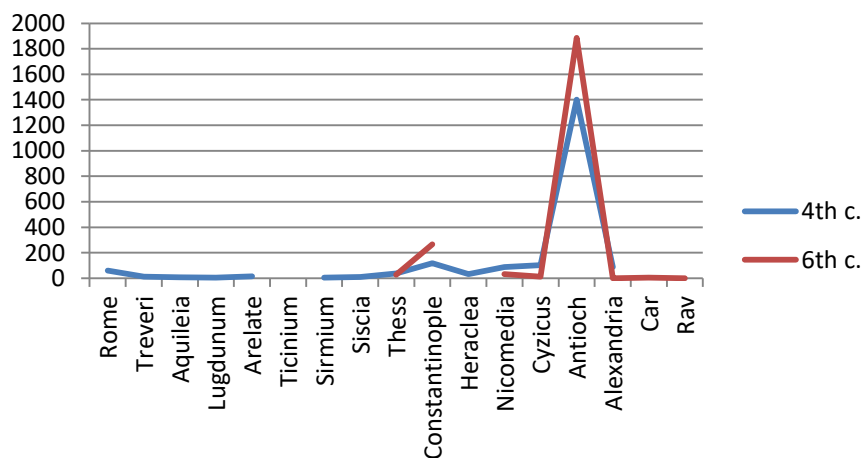
When looking at the situation in Antioch in more detail, it is interesting that most of Justinian's coins found on the site come from the period prior to his reforms in 538/9. In the case of Antioch, it means prior to the catastrophic capture of the city by the Persians (540) and prior to the epidemics which hit the city in the first half of the 540's. There is rather poor evidence on Justinianic folles struck in the 540's, but when the situation in Antioch was evidently stabilized after 550, the issues are definitely more numerous. The problem is that at the moment, it is impossible to put the studied coins into an archaeological context. It is unclear if the years of the minting were also the years when the coins circulated in Antioch and whether they could circulate also in the later decades; but the findings indicate that the mint was not very active in the 540's. Gabriela Bijovsky has related the prevalence of the issues struck prior to 538 to the fact that this was the period of Justinianic expansion and furthermore, a relatively peaceful time that proceeded the escalation of the conflicts with the Persians in 540.¹³⁰⁴



Graph 53. Justinianic folles found on the site of Antioch.

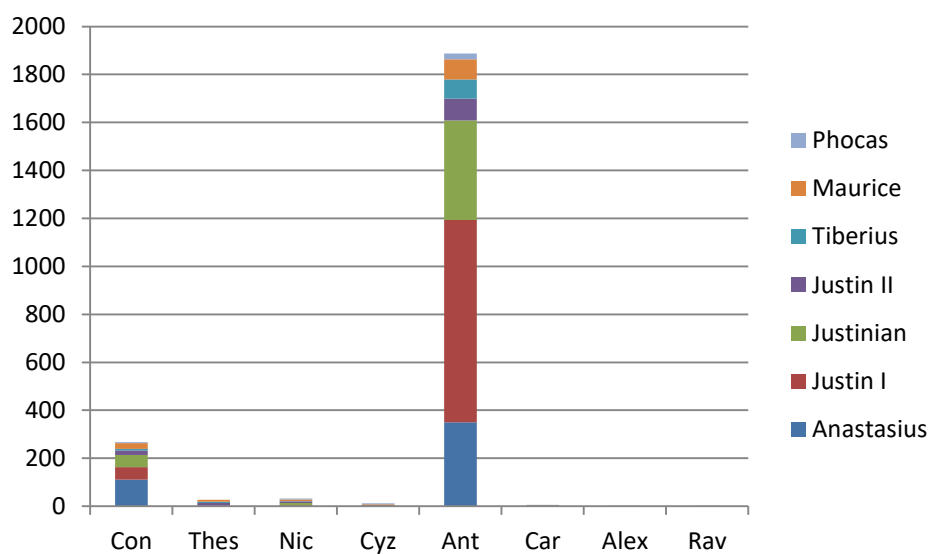
While comparing the 4th and 6th century issues found in Antioch (fig.54), it seems that similar patterns existed: most of the issues found on the site were struck in Antioch; the second were those of Constantinople and the Western mints were not very well represented.

¹³⁰⁴ Bijovsky 2012, 350.



Graph 54. The mints distribution in Antioch in 4th and 6th

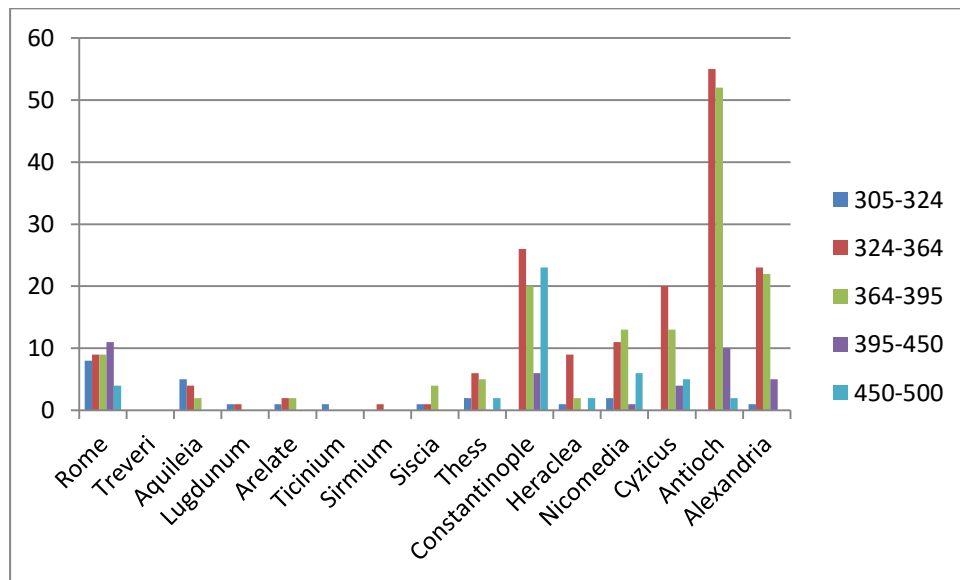
Most of the Antiochene coins found in Antioch were issued in the first half of the 6th century and the material from the period after the death of Justinian I († 565) is not well represented.



Graph 55. The mints distribution of sixth century coins found at Antioch.

Case 2: Caesarea Maritima

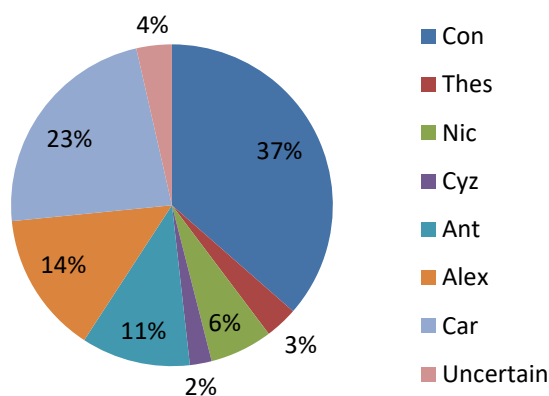
The site of Caesarea Maritima can serve as a good example of the coin circulation in late Antiquity as the numismatic material has been published in detail (graph 46).¹³⁰⁵ The site indicates the importance of Antiochene issues in the 4th century and the fact that they started to dominate after 324 when the region got in the sphere of Constantine's power. Antiochene issues also played a rather significant role there under the Valentinian dynasty. It is worth mentioning that again the identified issues which could be attributed to a specific mint without any doubts representing ca 30% of the total findings are dated in the 4th and 5th centuries.



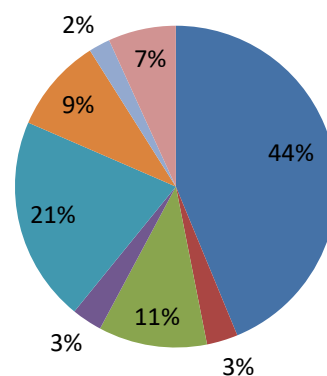
Graph 56. The mints distribution in Caesarea Maritima in 4th century.

Sixth century coins provide a rather different picture (graph 57). The highest number of coins found in Caesarea Maritima were struck in Constantinople. Nevertheless, the mint of Antioch continued to play a significant role in the local circulation, however, the amount of Antiochene coins did not exceed 11% of the total number (graph 57).

¹³⁰⁵ Evans 2006.

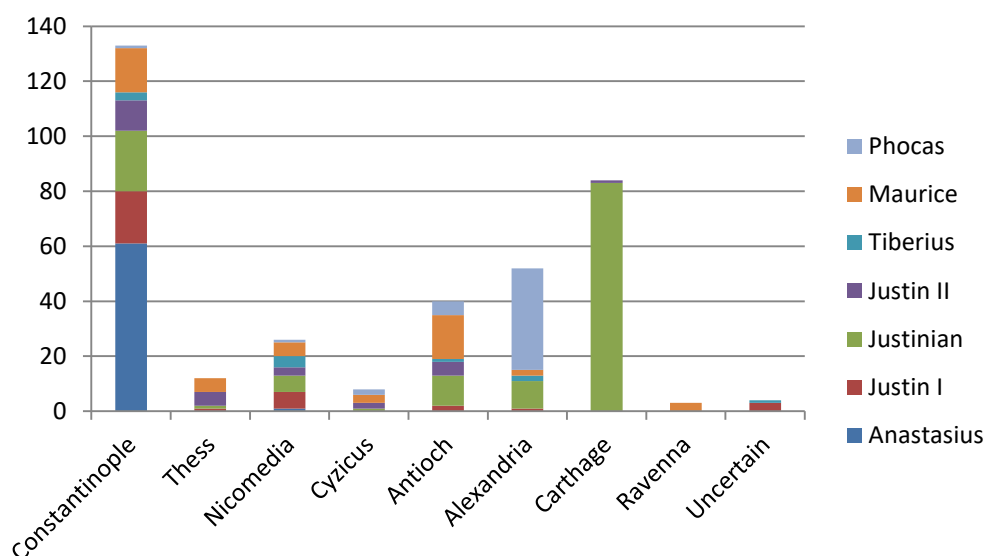


Graph 57. The mints distribution at Caesarea Maritima in 6th century (amount of coins).



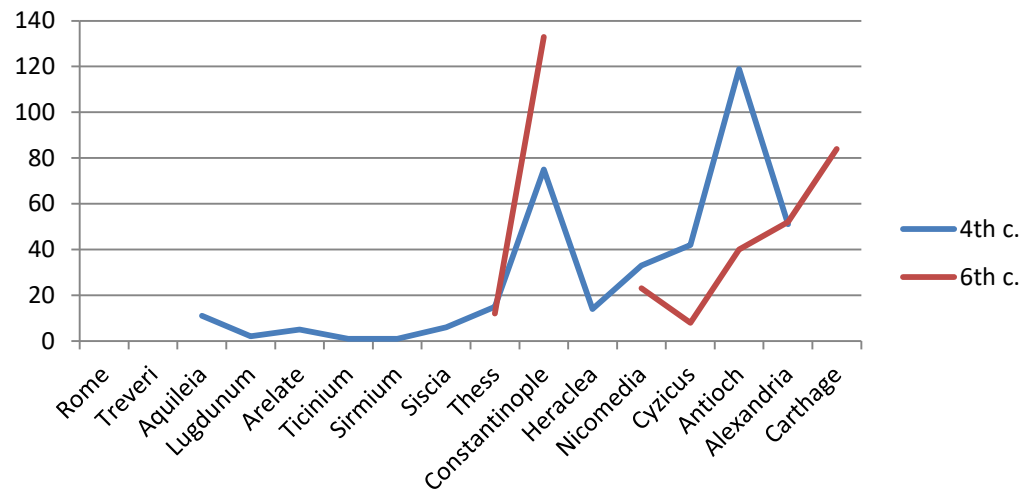
Graph 58. The mints distribution at Caesarea Maritima in 6th century (value of coins).

While looking at the single coin findings from the aspect of their value in nummi, the mint of Antioch shows a rather high number (graph 58) as most of the Antiochene coins found in Caesarea Maritima were folles and half-folles. On the contrary, the mint of Carthage shows a rather small number concerning the value of the coins as many Carthaginian nummi were found. Most of the Antiochene issues found in Caesarea Maritima were struck in the name of Maurice (graph 59).



Graph 59. The mints distribution in Caesarea Maritima, 6th c.

The comparison of situations in the 4th and 6th centuries confirms the change in the position of the Antiochene issues and the increase of the role of Constantinopolitan issues in the 6th century (graph 60).

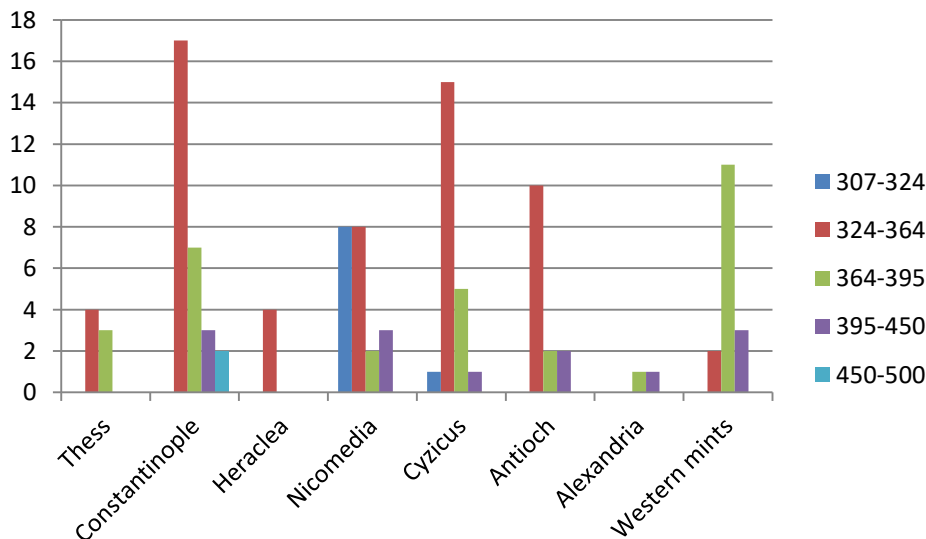


Graph 60. Comparison of mints distribution in Caesarea Maritima, 4th and 6th c.

Case 3: Didyma

The main source of information for the chapter on Didyma was the publication of coins findings from seasons 1962-1992 by Hans Roland Baldus.¹³⁰⁶

One of the problems concerning the study of fourth and fifth century coin findings on the site of Didyma is related to the fact that again a vast majority of bronze issues had illegible mintmarks and only a small fraction of the amount could be included in the present research. Again, the mint of Constantinople played a dominant role on the site of Didyma; however, other mints situated in the Eastern Mediterranean (Nicomedia, Cyzicus and Antioch) were rather well represented too (graph 61). Concerning the Antiochene mint, the richest material was provided by the period between 324 and 264.



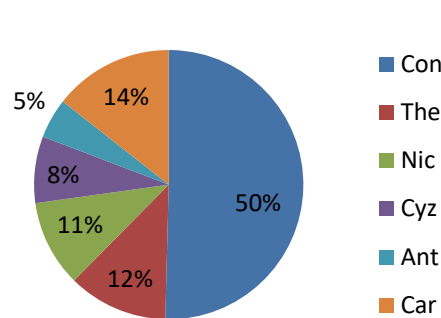
Graph 61. The mints distribution in Didyma in 4th c.

The situation rapidly changed concerning the Valentinian dynasty. The amount of coin findings from the period 364-395 is similar to the numbers from the period of the Constantinian dynasty. The radical change is related to the proportions and mint distribution. Constantinopolitan coins continued to dominate unequivocally, but there was an evident increase of issues struck in various Western mints. Many of the coins have no precise attribution to a specific mint, but their iconography and typology confirm that they had to be struck in one of the several mints located in the Western Mediterranean.

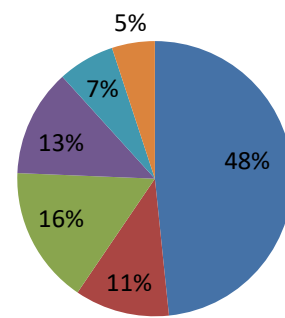
¹³⁰⁶ Baldus 2006.

It is difficult to state anything precise concerning the situation on the site in the 5th century as not enough coins could be identified and dated in this period without any doubts.

The situation became stabilized after the end of the 5th century and the findings of coins dated in the sixth century again allow the creation of a picture of their circulation. The dominance of Constantinopolitan coins is obvious. The number of Antiochene issues among the identified coins did not exceed 5% of all sixth century coins found on the site.

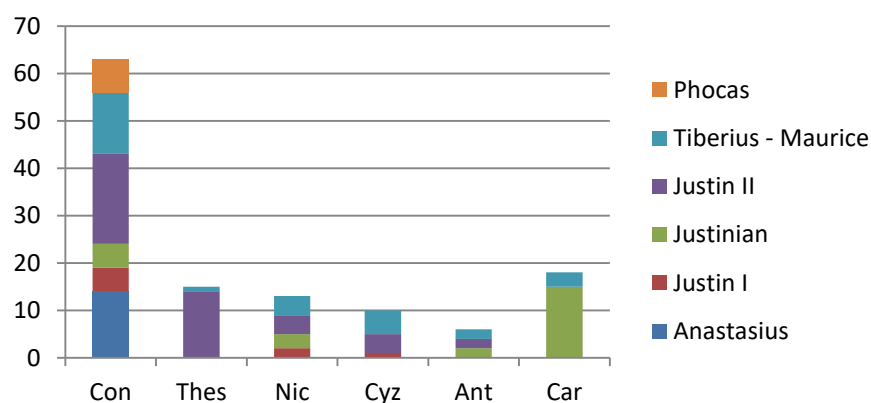


Graph 62. The mints distribution on the site of Didyma, 6th c. (amount of coins)



Graph 63. The mints distribution on the site of Didyma, 6th c. (value of coins in nummi)

Like in the case of Carthage, Antiochene issues of Anastasius and Justin I have not been found on the site (graph 64) and most of the Antiochene issues found at Didyma were struck in the name of Justinian I and his successors.



Graph 64. The mints distribution on the site of Didyma, coins struck in the 6th century.

3d The main features of Byzantine coins circulation in the Near East

Evidence from various sites indicates that Antiochene coins played more of an important role in the circulation in the 4th century than in the 6th century. Antiochene coins occupied a significant position in the hoards and single findings found in the Eastern part of the Empire prior to 315 and it seems that Antiochene coins continued to be rather spread throughout the entire 4th century among the findings in the East (Asia Minor and the Near East).¹³⁰⁷ Of course, evidence also exists on hoards found in the Near East which did not provide rich material concerning the issues of Antioch,¹³⁰⁸ but the available evidence indicates that the Antiochene coins struck in the 4th century widely circulated. Apparently, Antiochene gold issues widely circulated in 4th century Egypt.¹³⁰⁹ Bronze coins deposited in the Egyptian hoards were predominantly struck in Alexandria, but it seems that Antiochene issues might be important for the circulation in Egypt too.¹³¹⁰

The data included in the present research demonstrates that the issues struck in the mint of Antioch played more of an important role on the selected sites especially in the period after the end of the Civil Wars in 324 till the ascension of Valentinian I (364). It seems that on most of the selected sites, the amount of Antiochene coins struck after 364 was reduced.¹³¹¹

¹³⁰⁷ The numbers show that Antiochene coins were often dominating in the hoards from the first decades of 4th century found at Antalya, Aleppo, Homs, Syria, Lebanon and elsewhere, see Bastien 1967, 166-169. Pierre Bastien states in the case of several big hoards figures for the Antiochene issues which are moving around 40%. see Bastien 1967, 170. In the case of the hoard dated in ca 310 AD from Coele-Syria published by R.Bland the Antiochene issues were the best represented and outnumbered issues struck elsewhere as their number reached more than 40% of the composition, see Bland 1988, 153-154. In general, the Antiochene issues dominated the region of Syria during the first centuries of the first millennium; however they never predominated in the surrounding areas, see Butcher 2004, 14, 174.

¹³⁰⁸ E.g. Roger Bland provided evidence on the coin hoard found in Diarbekir, Turkey dated in ca 310 AD in which the Antiochene coins are represented by just 7%. The Diarbekir' proportions were: Rome (46 %), Ostia (15 %), Siscia (12 %), Antioch (7 %), Thessalonike (5 %), the rest mints together compose 15 % of the hoard (Aquilaia, Carthage, Alexandria, Nicomedia, Trier, Ticinium).

¹³⁰⁹ The Antiochene issues dominate the local gold coin hoards, see Ford 2000, 338-351.

¹³¹⁰ E.g. the three hoards of bronze coins dated in 4th century and published by J.G Milne indicate that the issues of Antioch were the first or second best represented in the hoards' composition after the Alexandrian coins, see data in Milne 1920, 172, 182 and Milne 1914, 24. Based on the information provided in those articles, it is possible to state that the proportions of the Antiochene issues in the hoards were about 20% (19%, and in two cases it was just 26%). On the other hand cases the figures for bronze coin hoards are not so clear in many as most of the bronze coin hoards do not mention the precise mint distribution see Ford 2000, 351-367. Antioch was the third most common mint after Alexandria in the case of the bronze coin hoard e.g. from the Roman Egypt, Mattingly 1956, 179-188. Furthermore, the evidence provided by C.Morrisson confirms the importance of fourth century Antiochene coins in Egypt, see Morisson 2016, 175.

¹³¹¹ Such an evidence was provided by the sites of the Athenian Agora, Corinth, Cyprus, Carthage, Antioch and Didyma.

Antiochene coins continued to circulate even in the 5th century, but their numbers are rather low. The situation is very unclear in the second half of the 5th century. Sixth century Antiochene issues can again be found on most of the selected sites; however, they usually do not represent the first or the second best represented mints (with the exception of Rhodos which was geographically close and Cyprus) and the coins mainly dominated on the site of Antioch and in its vicinity. The prevalence of sixth century Constantinopolitan coins in Syrian and Palestinian sites and local hoards is obvious.¹³¹² Even some sites situated in close proximity to Antioch (e.g. Apamea and Gerasa) indicate that the main role for circulation was played by the issues struck in the Capital and the mint of Antioch usually represented the second best represented mint.¹³¹³ In the case of the Western Mediterranean, the Antiochene issues struck in the 5th and 6th centuries are very rare.¹³¹⁴

In some parts of the Eastern provinces, evidence exists on the increase of the numbers of Antiochene and Nicomedian coins during the second half of the 6th century (e.g. Gerasa, Caesarea Maritima and the Rafah hoard)¹³¹⁵ and various scholars also pointed out the fact that Constantinople reduced its output in favor of other mints situated in Asia Minor and especially Antioch after 550 (graphs 65-67).¹³¹⁶ Despite this development, the proportions of the issues struck in Antioch or Nicomedia were never as high as the amount and value of the Constantinopolitan coins, which dominate all the statistics without exception. The material from the excavations indicates that Antiochene coins played the dominant role mainly at the site of origin and in its close vicinity¹³¹⁷ and some numismatists have written about the regionalized character of 6th and 7th century Byzantine coinage in general.¹³¹⁸ Constantinopolitan coins dominated even at some sites very close to Antioch.¹³¹⁹

¹³¹² Morrisson 1989, p. 196; Vorderstrasse 2004, p. 138; Guest 2012, p.113; or see the proportions at various hoards: e.g. Bates – Kovacs 1996, 165-167 (after exclusion of Arabic coins: Constantinople 40%, Nicomedia 26%, Antioch 19%, Cyzicus 14%);

¹³¹³ Morrisson 1989b, 196;

¹³¹⁴ E.g. in Italy, see Arslan 1998, 289-90.

¹³¹⁵ Evans DeRose 2006, p. 180-197; Pottier 1983, p. 42-45; Spaer 1978, p. 66-70.

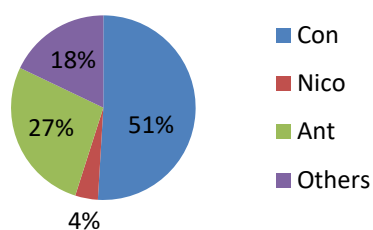
¹³¹⁶ Gandila2009, 171; Morrisson 1989b, 195-198; Bijovsky 2012, 352.

¹³¹⁷ Morrisson 1989, p. 195; Gandila2009, p. 171-172; Pottier 1983, p. 42.

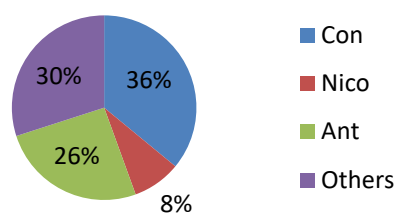
¹³¹⁸ e.g. Guest 2012, p.119.

¹³¹⁹ Vorderstrasse 2005, 498 – 500.

Apamea 491-565

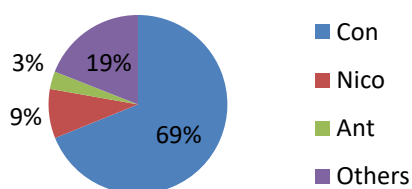


Apamea 565-610

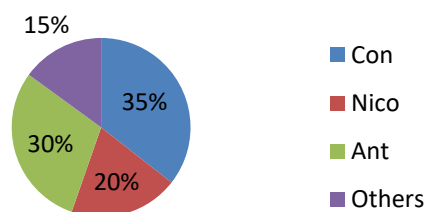


Graph 65. The mints distribution on the site of Apamea in 491-565 and 565-610.

Gerasa 491-565

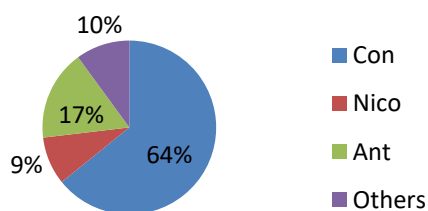


Gerasa 565-610

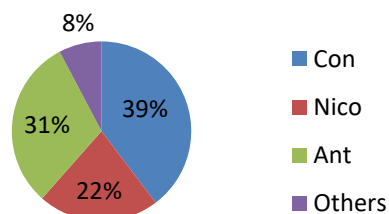


Graph 66. The mints distribution on the site of Gerasa in 491-565 and 565-610.

Cirrestica hoard 491-565

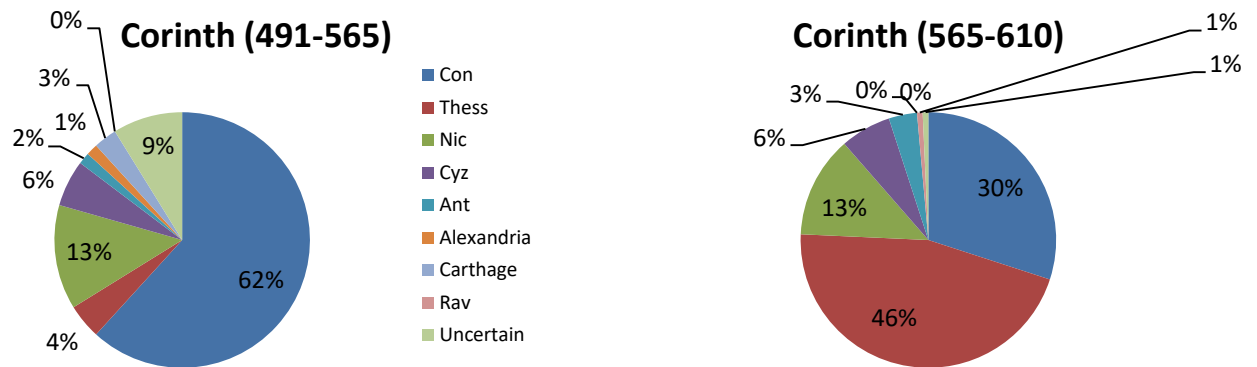


Cirrestica hoard 565-610



Graph 67. The mints distribution in the hoard Cirrestica 491-565 and 565-610.

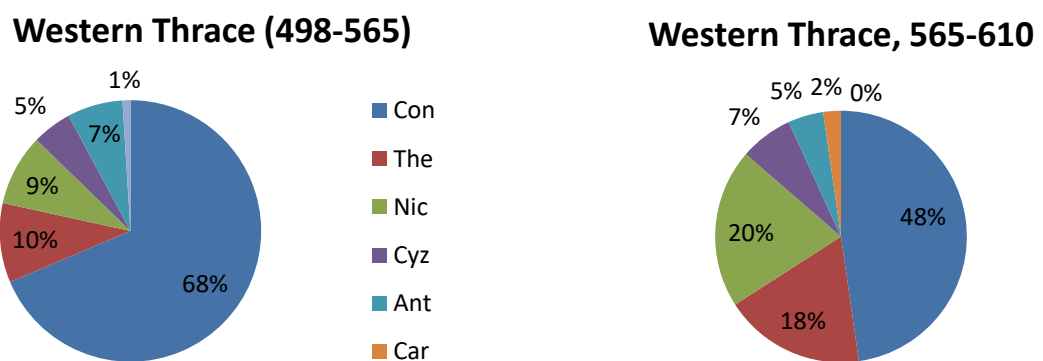
On the selected sites included in the present research, the reduction of the Constantinopolitan issues is also obvious; however, the proportions of Atiochene coins after 565 either remained the same or were even reduced (graphs 68-70).



Graph 68. The mints distribution in Corinth 491-565 and 565-610.



Graph 69. The mints distribution on Rhodes 491-565 and 565-610.



Graph 70. The mints distribution in Western Thrace in 491-565 and 565-610.

The published sixth century hoards from the Eastern Mediterranean indicate that the Antiochene issues were rather limited and that the mints of Cyzicus and Nicomedia were far more important together with Constantinople for the circulation in the Greek mainland.¹³²⁰ It is obvious that the coins of Antioch did not widely circulate during the period of Anastasius and Justin I; however, under the latter Antiochene issues started to assume importance in some regions (especially Asia Minor).¹³²¹ There is only one documented sixth century hoard in which the Antiochene issues were the dominant ones: Adamclisi in Romania (date of hoard 592/3).¹³²² In some rare cases, Antiochene issues represented the second most numerous category: e.g. Athenian Agora 1936 (581/2)¹³²³ and Anamur 1976 (ca 602).¹³²⁴

The most common sixth century Antiochene denominations that were hoarded or were found just as a single finding were follis (M) and then half-folles (K).¹³²⁵ G. Bijovsky noted that the Antiochene mint was actually the main source of half-folles found in neighbouring Palestine.¹³²⁶ This actually corresponds to the data obtained from the single findings on various archaeological sites.¹³²⁷

All of this data indicates that the 6th and early 7th century Antiochene issues did circulate throughout the Mediterranean, but in most cases, they played the role of supplementary coinage on the sites – even concerning the circulation in Asia Minor; however, it is important to emphasize that various other Eastern mints which were active in the 4th and 5th centuries were inactive then (e.g. Heraclea) or their issues are found on sites in much smaller amounts than the Antiochene coins (e.g. Alexandria). It means that the mint of Antioch continued to be significant for the Byzantine monetary policy, but it had just a supportive role.

¹³²⁰ The main evidence on the hoards from sixth and early seventh century is provided in the publications of hoards found in Balkans and Asia Minor by C. Morrisson, V. Popović and V. Ivanišević in 2006 and in the publication of the Numismatic Museum of Athens on the hoards deposited in the Museum, *Σύνταγμα* 2002.

¹³²¹ Morrisson – Popović- Ivanišević 2006, 61.

¹³²² the Antiochene issues in that case represented the highest number and composed 38% of the hoard, see Morrisson – Popović- Ivanišević 2006, 163.

¹³²³ the Antiochene issues in that case represented the second highest number and composed 28% of the total coins in the hoard, see Morrisson – Popović- Ivanišević 2006, 222.

¹³²⁴ the Antiochene issues in that case represented the second highest number and composed 38% of the total coins in the hoard, see Morrisson – Popović- Ivanišević 2006, 403.

¹³²⁵ Morrisson – Popović- Ivanišević 2006, 67 (fig.12). For the evidence on the single findings see e.g. Saulnier 1993; *Κάσδαγλη* 2016.

¹³²⁶ Bijovsky 2012, 351.

¹³²⁷ Thompson 1954; Edwards 1933; Saulnier 1993.

Concluding remarks

The primary goal of the present Thesis was to demonstrate that coins can be used as a particular source of evidence which can shed light on the development of the economic and political status of a provincial city in the transitional period from the end of Antiquity to early Byzantium. The general trends along with distinctive features of the local coinage were examined to better understand the situation in Antioch which was on the one hand, an important regional center and, on the other, faced serious problems related to its socio-economic development, natural catastrophes and landscape changes. The present Thesis manifests how the evidence obtained from coins can be put into the general historic and cultural contexts and how the study of the coins can help identify specific factors which played a role in the local economics and which might sometimes be neglected.

Summary

The period of Constantine the Great (324-337)

The end of the Civil Wars between Licinius and Constantine introduced a new situation into the Antiochene mint: it was necessary to quickly initiate the striking of new types dissimilar at a glance from the issues struck by the defeated co-emperor Licinius. Evidently, for this purpose, older models from the West –mainly from Sirmium- were adopted. This means that in 324-326, the Syrian mint struck multiples and coins inspired by Constantine's issues which were struck previously in the West sometime in ca 320. This new situation obviously required the demonstration of power of the victorious emperor and the coinage had to evoke his military character and dynastic stability (e.g. a rare adventus type confirming the imperial visit in the city and dynastic issues including the representation of augustae which was unusual in other mints). Production in this period was evidently rich and the Antiochene mint provided many varieties of gold multiples, solidi and bronze coins and in the case of the latter, up to ten officinae workshops were active.

The rest of the Antiochene coinage struck under Constantine between ca 327 and 337 did not bear any peculiar features and the coinage in general followed the same trends like other provincial mints in the Eastern Mediterranean. Gold coinage was not

very abundant after 326 and up to 335; but the production of bronze coins continued to be relatively intense as a high number of officinae continued to be employed. It appears that towards the end of Constantine I's reign, production was again intensified in the Antiochene mint; however, the typology of these coins is comparable to issues struck in other mints and no particular elements are apparent. The increased activity of the Antiochene mint after 335 is interpreted as a result of Constantine I's revived interest in the situation on the Eastern borders¹³²⁸ as in the mid 330's, relations with Shapur II became strained and conflicts between the Romans and the Persians escalated.¹³²⁹

Constantine's successors (337-364)

The epoch of Constantine's successors provided evidence on several new trends in Antiochene coinage. Rich coin types from this period confirm the important status of Antioch and the fact that it became the main imperial residence with military headquarters in the period when campaigns against the Persians were organized. Some of the issues indicate the necessity of communicating the imperial image to the army and other subjects: e.g. very intensive vota coinage celebrating imperial anniversaries, unusually rich varieties of multiples whose numbers and typology have no parallels in other mints and whose iconography often emphasized imperial power and unity, consular representations of Julian the Apostate which have no parallels, etc. Nevertheless, some elements of Antiochene coinage suggest a problematic control in the mint (e.g. the wrongly attributed middle-name in the case of Constantine II) and various other features are not simply explicable (e.g. the employment of the number 72 on some solidi). Research of the issues which appeared on the market during the last few years also brought to light some varieties of multiples which have not been published in the main catalogues (Plate IV/ fig.46-48), but whose iconography follow the established patterns.

The mint of Antioch continued to strike in silver. Silver Antiochene issues provided evidence on the existence of contacts between the mints situated in the West and the East as similar iconographic preferences are apparent (e.g. the representation of emperors beneath an arch).

¹³²⁸ RIC VII, 667.

¹³²⁹ Dignas – Winter 2007, 33.

Antiochene bronze coinage from this period did not provide many instances of any particular feature; however, some minor peculiarities can mainly be seen on issues dated in the period between 347 and 355. Among such particularities, the existence of a bronze multiple whose iconography stressed the imperial unity between Constantius II and Constans, like some of the Antiochene gold multiples, should be mentioned. Antioch was also the only mint – next to Constantinople – to strike six iconographic varieties of the widely spread “FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO” coins which were found in huge quantities across the Eastern Mediterranean and whose iconographic repertoire had clear military symbolism.

From the aspect of production, it seems that the mint was rather active after the death of Constantine I in 337 as the existence of ten workshops in which gold solidi and bronze issues were struck is attested.¹³³⁰ It appears that the activity was evidently even increased after 347 when the abundant types of the reformed bronze coins were introduced and when the unusually rich varieties of gold multiples were struck. In this period, the number of officinae letters on Antiochene bronze coins reached number fifteen – this is the maximum of officinae ever employed in Antioch and no other mint provided evidence on such a high number of workshops. Again, the whole reign of Constantius II (337-361) was marked by rather intense conflicts with Shapur II.¹³³¹ The patterns of production under Julian the Apostate between 361 and 363 had to change slightly as the number of officinae in the case of bronze issues was reduced to four, but gold coins continued to be struck in ten officinae.¹³³² In addition, iconographic varieties in-Julian’s portraiture on gold solidi existed – a fact that again has no parallels elsewhere.

In general, it is possible to conclude that the particular features of Antiochene coinage in the period of Constantine I’s successors should be connected mainly to the needs of imperial propaganda in the region bordering the Sassanian Empire which represented a constant military danger for the Roman Empire in the period of Constantius II and his successors. Especially interesting is the case of Antiochene coinage struck in the name of Julian the Apostate. It is remarkable that in the case of coins of the emperor and philosopher –who has been famous mainly for his worldviews and very specific relation to the city of Antioch- the main particular Antiochene types are not related to the expression of his personal attitude or beliefs, but to the representation of

¹³³⁰ RIC VIII, 512.

¹³³¹ Dignas – Winter 2007, 33

¹³³² RIC VIII, 529-532.

the imperial power (e.g. unusual consular issues). This fact must again be placed in the context of military campaigns, the necessity to cover the army's expenses and to present the imperial image and stability to the army via coins.

The Valentinian dynasty and Theodosius I (364-395)

The Valentinian coins in general indicated the gradual division of the Empire on the Eastern and Western parts as differences between the Western and Eastern coinages became progressively more obvious. Coins struck in the mint of Antioch provided rather rich evidence on this trend; however, it mainly followed the trends common for all mints located in the Eastern Mediterranean.

There are several remarkable facts about the Antiochene coins struck under the Valentinians: the first is the incomparable richness of gold coin varieties struck in the early phase of the Valentinian dynasty (364-367). This fact again confirms the significant position of Antioch as a center of imperial power in the years of wars against the Persians. This intensive production of gold issues followed the humiliating peace treaty concluded by the emperor Jovian (d.364) and the issues could be placed in the context of Valens' campaigns against the Persians. It should be emphasized that Valens made Antioch his residence and during this time, various public buildings were constructed.¹³³³ The rich production of gold and silver coins continued till the mid 370's.¹³³⁴ On the contrary, the striking of bronze coins was evidently not very intensive in the mint of Antioch in the first two decades of Valentinian's reign.

Moreover, the period of Valentinian provided several interesting pieces of gold multiples struck without any doubts in Antioch. This is interesting as multiples became rather rare in other mints in this period. Furthermore, two of the recorded multiples struck in Antioch represented an emperor riding towards Tyche and depicted the river Orontes in the exergue. These issues, dated between 375 and 378 and held in Vienna, were found in Romania and were put in the context of the policy of Germanic tribes and considered to be intended to be delivered somewhere to Gothia. Such evidence confirms the strong position of Antioch as a producer of multiples and its relation with military affairs of the period. Furthermore, also one unpublished multiple appeared on the

¹³³³ see Downey 1961, 403-407.

¹³³⁴ see RIC IX, 275-281.

market in the past and it was struck in the name of Gratian and corresponds to the types of solidi in Syria (pl. IX/ fig. 27).

Antiochene coinage in the years (367-378) was marked mainly by a kind of reluctance towards Western types which were generally induced in the Eastern part of the Empire in this period. This kind of resistance was reverted after 379 when an intensive adoption of Western models is obvious in the Syrian mint. This process should be put in the context of the general political development as after the death of Valens (378), the position of his nephew Gratian ruling in the West was strengthened, so it was easier and more desirable to induce Western models in the Eastern part of the Empire. The year 378 was also the period when the production of gold became rather limited and, on the contrary, rich bronze types appeared and their production was evidently intensive in the late 370's and in the 380's.¹³³⁵ The period after 378 offered various combinations of legends and iconographic types which were unusual in other mints, but these features do not indicate any specific problems or conditions in the mint and mainly confirm the fact that production was intensive and the mint of Antioch struck rich varieties. Various issues also indicate mutual borrowings between the Eastern and Western mints as Antiochene coins provided various cases of anticipations (and anachronisms) of types which were struck later (or earlier) elsewhere in the Western Mediterranean. This fact is very interesting because it suggests the possibility of communication between provincial centers and sharing common models – a situation which was indicated by some examples from the period of Constantine I and his successors.

The research suggests that the period around 380 must be considered as a kind of breaking point in the history of Antiochene coinage; however, most of the trends were in some way common for all mints located in the Eastern Mediterranean. After 383, no gold coins were struck in Antioch – the termination of gold coinage was again a general trend in the Eastern part of the Empire and various mints ended the production of coins struck in precious metals even earlier. Coins in general underwent a process of uniformity – a trend which started to be obvious already in the period of Constantine the Great and which was common for all mints. Theodosius I started to intensively promote his dynasty by, for example, depicting his consort on coins and Christian symbols became even more widespread than before.

¹³³⁵ RIC IX, 282-289.

Furthermore, another trend which is related to the local tradition and Greek environment can be followed: the come-back of Greek letters on the reverse of various bronze issues struck in Antioch. On the other hand, Antiochene coins struck under the Valentinians did not provide any peculiarities concerning their iconography and the types faithfully followed the iconography common on coins struck in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The last several years before the Empire's division in 395 did not provide any interesting features related to Antiochene coinage, but it is definitely important to point out that the repertoire of Antiochene bronze issues became rather limited and the number of active mint workshops evidently dropped.¹³³⁶

It is possible to suppose that under the Valentinians and Theodosius I, the mint of Antioch followed the general trends that were common also in other Eastern Roman mints (e.g. the end of gold coinage in the Eastern part of the Empire). Besides, various minor particular features indicate the specific position of the mint. Some of the specifics should be again directly connected to military activities in the region (rich varieties of gold issues; rich vota issues and striking multiples when other mints ceased their production). Furthermore, features indicating the rivalry between co-emperors appeared (e.g. the reluctance to strike types of one of them and intensive family promotion). Moreover, the reappearance of Greek letters on some bronze types just confirms the continuous presence of Greek culture in the region. On the other hand, it is obvious that the mint gradually lost its significance sometime during the reign of Theodosius I as the repertoire of types became rather limited.

After the division of the Empire (395) till the monetary reforms of Anastasius (498)

The period following the death of Theodosius I in 395 did not bring many interesting features to the Antiochene coinage. The mint continued to follow the trends established in the Eastern part of the Empire. Its production was rather limited and sometimes it is very difficult to identify Antiochene issues without any doubts.

Some minor interesting elements appeared on Antiochene coins throughout the 5th century which suggest some specific conditions, but these features are also difficult to explain without any doubts and they are of minor importance. For example, one of

¹³³⁶ RIC IX, 293-295.

the peculiarities on Arcadius' coins was the use of the rosette diadem in an era when the pearl diadem dominated or the existence of mules (different combinations of obverses and reverses). Such details indicate some specific local conditions, but those could be explained more as results of a different or an inappropriate control. Furthermore, the third workshop – officina Γ – was the prevailing one in some specific years under Arcadius which again indicates extraordinary conditions related to the organization of minting.

It is worth mentioning that the mint of Antioch was evidently closed for more than a decade under Theodosius II and it was the first – but not last – time in the period under study when the mint had to face contemporary closure. In general, it is rather difficult to study Antiochene coins from the period after the death of Theodosius II (d.450). The smallest issues (module AE 4) started to prevail and their attribution is often doubtful.

Furthermore, worth mentioning is the hypothesis of J. P. C. Kent that some letters on rare bronze issues of Marcian could actually be interpreted as dates.¹³³⁷ This would mean that for some reason, the practice of dating coins, which was common in Antioch under the Seleucids and in the first two centuries under the Roman dominion, was employed. The problem is that these Marcian coins are rather rare and I did not have an opportunity to see them up close; furthermore, published images are not of high quality to be able to formulate a sufficient opinion.

The period of Zeno provided two remarkable moments in Antiochene coinage: gold issues were struck in times of instability. This means that the mint of Antioch struck gold solidi after almost one century when it produced gold issues for the last time. Both instances of striking gold solidi were related to the complicated political situations under Zeno: once in 475/6 (when Zeno was unable to rule from Constantinople) and in 484 (when Antioch was held by the emperor-rebel Leontius). These instances of extraordinary striking indicate the importance of the city for the policy within the Empire.

Rather interesting are also the cases of exagia solidi, which served as coin-weights and which must be dated sometime between 403 and 426. These issues have not been published, but they appeared in various auction houses within the last two decades (plate XIII/ fig.31-35). Despite lacking a mintmark, they should be attributed to the mint of

¹³³⁷ Kent 1993, 514.

Antioch as they depict the seated Tyche above the river Orontes in the same way as the last Antiochene civic issues struck in 313. This means that the iconography common on bronze coins struck in the early 4th century was in some way emulated on rare coin-weights dated to the first half of the 5th century. Furthermore, there is no other conclusive evidence that any other mint other than Constantinople minted exagia, so the cases of these Antiochene coin-weights are exceptional and again, they indicate a specific status of the Syrian mint.

Antiochene coinage in the 6th century

The mint of Antioch was most probably closed sometime towards the end of the 5th century and initiated a regular output again in the 6th century in the late phase of Anastasius' reign. It was the third mint –after Constantinople and Nicomedia- to employ the reformed Anastasian coinage: a fact which indicates its importance in bronze coin production in the Eastern Mediterranean. Nevertheless, from the renewal of the activity in ca 516, Antiochene coins indicated some specific conditions as random cases of mirror images and missing letters existed. Moreover, the specific connection between the Antiochene first workshops and the Constantinopolitan fifth (the so called subsidiary officina) is interesting too; however, this practice was not limited just to Antioch as similar cases from Nicomedia exist.

Production was evidently not very intensive in the first few years after the re-opening and it seems that the Antiochene mint became more active under Justin I. The need for intensive minting in Antioch after 522¹³³⁸ must be put in the historic context since a rather unstable situation in the 520's and 530's existed. There were recorded clashes between circus factions, economic problems, repeated natural catastrophes, and repeated raids of the Lakhmids.¹³³⁹ The great fire in 525 and a catastrophic earthquake in 526 impacted the economy of the whole region and the next devastating earthquake in 528 almost destroyed the entire city which led to the change of the city's name.¹³⁴⁰

Important progress took place under Justinian as the mint of Antioch provided evidence on rich and widely spread coin types already in the early phase of his reign (527-538). The tendency to strike rich varieties continued also after the Justinianic monetary

¹³³⁸ for the increased production after 522 see p.156-7 in the Dissertation.

¹³³⁹ Downey 1961, 516-519; Malalas XVII 13; Liebeschuetz 1972, 136-144; Barker 1966, 73; Greatrex 1998, 148.

¹³⁴⁰ Vasiliev 1950, 118-119; Downey 1961, 558.

reforms in 538 when five officinae were regularly employed and the existence of the sixth officina is attested for some specific years.¹³⁴¹ The first reformed coins do not bear the regnal date XII (538/9) like in other mints, but the earliest Antiochene issues referred to the year XIII (539/40). These issues are relatively abundant in collections, but evidently contemporary breaks in the production caused by external factors (the capture of the city by the Persians in 540 and plague epidemics) followed, which resulted in the fact that there are absent bronze issues from specific years (540-541/2 and 543/4-545/6). After 546 – when the mint was re-opened after several years of inactivity – production was evidently intensified again and very rich varieties of privy marks which had no parallels elsewhere existed. All these features indicate not only the importance of the mint, but it appears that after the city's destruction and re-construction, a constant need for money supply continued to exist. It appears that Antioch maintained a significant role as the home of the military headquarters as the Byzantine Empire was threatened from the Sassanians for the entire 6th century.¹³⁴² The situation was evidently changed towards the end of Justinian I's reign when coins struck exclusively in the third officina started to prevail and this trend was even more accentuated under Justin II, and furthermore, some other peculiarities are obvious (e.g. illegible legends). It is difficult to put these changes into a precise historic context as there is no information on the precise state of Antioch in the late phase of Justinian's reign.

The mint continued to regularly strike coins under Tiberius; however, some specific elements can be seen. The mint faced a major upheaval under Maurice – which was a general trend in all provincial mints. During the period of Maurice, also the sixth and seventh officinae are confirmed for the mint of Antioch¹³⁴³ – which was the highest number of officinae employed in a Byzantine mint in the 6th century. This fact together with the richness of varieties again indicate a rather intensified activity. The situation in the East continued to be rather complicated and Maurice's army achieved several important victories in the battles against the Sassanians.¹³⁴⁴ Evidently, some important changes took place in the Antiochene mint sometime between 588 and 590: this is the period when blundered legends were fixed and when Antiochene issues started to more faithfully follow the Constantinopolitan models. It appears that better imperial control was imposed. Apparently, a mutiny of soldiers serving in Syria occurred sometime in

¹³⁴¹ see MIBE, 62.

¹³⁴² see Dignas – Winter 2007, 34-44, 100-115; Greatrex – Lieu 2002, 62-81.

¹³⁴³ e.g. MIBEc, 159.

¹³⁴⁴ Dignas – Winter 2007, 42-44; Higgins 1939, 55-70.

587/8¹³⁴⁵ and Antioch was the place where the army promised their obedience and loyalty to the emperor.¹³⁴⁶ Very soon after the mutiny's end, a problematic situation related to the ascension appeared among the enemies of the Romans and the emperor Maurice managed to take advantage of the crisis within the Sassanid Empire and started to pursue a successful policy in the East as he consolidated the situation at the Empire's frontiers.¹³⁴⁷ It seems that the stabilization of the Antiochene's coinage in ca 590 must be put into the context of this historic development and Maurice's focus on the affairs at the Eastern borders.

The mint also struck regularly under Phocas and the unusually long-term representations of the imperial couple on Antiochene coins could again be related to the needs for imperial dynastic propaganda directed at the army whose support was rather desirable as the East continued to face riots and conflicts with the Persians. The mint's closure in 609 was abrupt as there are no obvious signs of any previous gradual decrease in minting. It is difficult to explain the closure without any doubts. Some scholars consider the closure to be a result of a deliberate imperial policy.¹³⁴⁸ All of Byzantine Syria faced various problems under Phocas (e.g. riots and outbreaks of Monophysites, conflicts between different religious groups and attacks of the Persians) and the city of Antioch was captured by the Persians in 610.

Various iconographic types which appeared on sixth century Antiochene bronze coins and had no parallels elsewhere indicate that the mint faced specific problems concerning the adoption of models introduced in the capital: e.g. the preference of a different representation of Justin II in his early period or the distinctive portrait types of Tiberius and Maurice. In addition, some of the unusual types had a long tradition: e.g. the representations of an enthroned Tyche above the Orontes (522-529), an enthroned emperor (527-538), an emperor holding a globus surmounted by Nike (565—568); these types did not appear anywhere else in Byzantium throughout the 6th century and it is interesting that, in some specific periods, the mint of Antioch preferred for some reason older iconographic models.

The impact of the Greek language, which is apparent on some of the legends, is also worth mentioning. For example, some letters were executed in a way which made them look similar to Greek letters (e.g. δN instead of DN) or the fact that some letters in

¹³⁴⁵ Higgins 1939, 24- 33, 68-70; Downey 1961. 569.

¹³⁴⁶ Downey 1961, 569.

¹³⁴⁷ Higgins 1939, 35.

¹³⁴⁸ Philip Grierson in DOC II, 40.

the legends are interpreted as an abbreviation for a Greek word (e.g. N or NE on coins of Maurice and Phocas for the word NAI). Sometimes, Greek letters were fully employed in mintmarks (e.g. ΘΥΠΙΟ or ΘΥΠΙΟΑΣ). In general, the phenomenon of blundered legends which lasted from ca 561 till 589/90 confirms that it was difficult for the employees in the mint of Antioch to execute Latin legends in the same way like the workers in the Capital mint. Various scholars have suggested that some of the problems – as the mentioned period of ca 20 years when all the obverse legends were either blundered or illegible – might be related to demographic changes in the region and the fact that a lack of literate workers existed. Moreover, some particularities suggest a different organization of minting (e.g. maintaining lustral periods in a time when the practice ceased in other mints).

Many of the particular elements observed on the Antiochene issues struck in the second half of the 6th century are not simply explicable (e.g. the concentration of production under Justin II into the officina Γ, the use of different numerals for the number five under Justin II, the unusual officinae letters on Justinian's and Maurice's coins, the use of a different style of value marks; the use of imperial monograms in years when no monograms were common, etc.). It seems as after the death of Justinian, the communication between Antioch and the City was aggravated and the Syrian mint was incapable of following the Constantinopolitan models without any mistakes and many times employed elements which had no parallels elsewhere.

Despite all the peculiar features which might indicate problematic control in the mint and a problematic contact with the center, the mint of Antioch struck rich varieties and its output was relatively big and regular throughout the 6th century. The case of sixth-century Antioch illustrates the situation when the mint still held an important position well; but it evidently had problems communicating with the capital and furthermore, there was a tendency to employ motifs related to the city's past and to Greek culture.

Some remarks on circulation

The study of circulation of Antiochene coins was in the end rather difficult and it was not possible to study the data systematically. For purposes of the present Thesis, only several sites were selected to be studied in detail. It is possible to conclude that the present state of research does not allow a detailed study of the situation in the 5th

century. Nevertheless, the gathered data indicates that the coins of Antioch – together with the issues from Nicomedia and Cyzicus - started to play an important role in the circulation in the Eastern Mediterranean mainly after 324 and it seems that the significance of Antiochene coins for external circulation was again decreased sometime during the Valentinian period. The findings of Antiochene coins dated to the 6th century confirm that the output was increased sometime after 550 – which was again a general trend in the case of most of the Eastern provincial mints. The evidence demonstrates that Antiochene issues played a supportive role in the circulation within the Byzantine Empire in the 6th century and their numbers never dominated among the findings on the selected sites in the Eastern Mediterranean, but they usually represented the third or fourth best represented mint. It appears that Antioch continued to be an important mint within the Empire, however, its role was mainly subsidiary and its output was intended mainly for the circulation within the city and its vicinity.

List of the main peculiarities

While looking on the list of the particular features, it is obvious that the main specific features were the following:

Extraordinary feature	Examples Emperor, date of phenomenon, distinctive feature
<i>Portraiture</i> : Different representation of an emperor or the employment of features which made the imperial portraiture specific.	Julian (361-363): consular issues Justin I – Justinian (527): different iconography on coins struck during the joint reign Justinian I (527-538): the representation of the enthroned Justinian Justin II (565-568): portraiture similar to issues struck by Arcadius in ca 400 AD: Justin II (569-578): different representation of the imperial couple Tiberius and Maurice (578-602): preference of different portrait types

	Phocas (602-608): the representation of the imperial couple in years when it ceased to be employed elsewhere
<i>Multiples</i> : Striking rich varieties of multiples in the years when other provincial mints provided few or no examples.	Constantius II (337-361): incomparable rich varieties of gold multiples struck in the names of the co-emperors (Constantius II, Constantine II, Constans and Constantius Gallus) Julian (361-363): bronze multiple (only Rome and Lyon employed the practice) Valentinian (364-375): gold multiples/ production limited in the rest of Empire Valens (367-378): “ Gratian (367-375): “
<i>Delay in the adoption of types</i>. Incapability to quickly adopt new models introduced in the Capital and consequent striking of different iconographic varieties as the mint of Antioch continued to employ older patterns.	Constantine I (324-326): anachronistic coins inspired by older Western models 6th century: various examples (e.g. following the older weight patterns on Justinian I's coins, Justin II's delayed adoption of the new portraiture, the delayed adoption of the value numerals' style on Maurice' coins, etc.).
<i>Greek letters</i> . Irregular use of Greek letters and an obvious impact of the Greek alphabet on the local legends and mintmarks.	Valentinians (378-383): Greek letters in fields on the reverse Justinian I (527-565): letters in mintmarks were often impacted by the alphabet; obverse legends in the 2nd half of the 6th century: various letters in the obverse legends bear obvious influence of the alphabet (e.g. δN instead of DN; N and NE on Maurice and Phocas' coins interpreted as NAI)

<i>Different versions of legends.</i> Legends bearing distinctive features.	Constantine II (337-340): mistaken middle name Justin I and Justinian (518-565): irregular instances of missing letters Justinian I – Justin II- Tiberius – Maurice (561-589): phenomenon of blundered obverse legends Maurice – Phocas (589-610): different legends versions
<i>Tyche.</i> The representation of Tyche in periods when her figure was not common anymore.	Constantius II (347-355): emperor riding towards a figure identified as Tyche on a gold multiple Valens (375-8): two issues of gold multiples with the same representation as the example mentioned above; furthermore, an obvious river personification in the exergue Justin I and Justinian I (522-529): Tyche seated above the river Orontes on bronze pentanummia
<i>Rich typology.</i> The existence of extremely rich typology and varieties in specific periods	Constantius II (347-355): many incomparable types of gold multiples Valens and Valentinian (364-367): rich varieties of gold solidi Justinian I (527 – 565): many varieties of bronze folles
<i>High number of officinae.</i>	Constantius II (337-361): up to fifteen officinae active in bronze coinage (highest number in the Eastern Mediterranean) Justinian I (527-565): five officinae (such a high number of workshops only operated in Constantinople)
<i>Specific role of officina I.</i> In two specific periods, the only	Arcadius (401-403): bronze issues

confirmed workshop in Antioch was the third one.	Justinian I – Justin I (561-578): some bronze types of folles were exclusively struck in the third workshop
<i>Western influence.</i> The adoption of models spread in the Western Mediterranean.	Exclusively in the 4th century: Constantine I (324-326): various anachronistic coins Constantius II (337-361): various issues (coins and multiples) Gratian (379- ca 390): general westernization of Antiochene coins
<i>Military influence.</i> The evident correlation between military campaigns and striking specific types/intensification in production.	Constantius II (347-361): striking multiples in the decades affected by preparing for military campaigns against the Persians Valentinian and Valens (364-378): intensive striking of gold issues and several extraordinary multiples in the epochs of the intensive conflict with the Persians Julian (361-363): striking unusual gold consular multiples confirming the imperial power Justinian (540's): interruption of production in the early 540's as a consequence of the sack by the Persians

Conclusions

The present research suggests that coins of Antioch can be studied as an important source of evidence about the history and development of a late antique city. Two levels of information can be obtained: firstly, the coins of Antioch provide a rather interesting picture on the situation in the city and illustrate - or just indicate- the development of its political status and importance in the late Roman and early Byzantine

Empire (e.g. increased activity after 324 when the city was included in the power sphere of Constantine the Great, specific multiples in the period of Constantine's successors, striking emergency gold issues under Zeno, early employment of Anastasius' reforms, the existence of rich varieties of folles under Justinian I, etc.). The second level is related to the fact that some of the changes in Antiochene coinage can also be understood as a consequence of the general trends in the provincial monetary policy (e.g. the termination of gold coin production in the 380's). In addition, various particularities indicate that differences in the mint control and organization within the Empire existed (e.g. the preference of the third workshop in some phases; the recognition of lustrum after 538 when regnal years were introduced and symbols referring to the lustral periods were not employed anywhere else).

Antiochene coins struck under the Seleucid and Roman dominion provided examples of some features which later appeared on coins struck between 324 and 610. The fact that Greek letters could appear on some 6th century Antiochene issues is actually not surprising when realizing that the region was predominantly Greek- and Syrian- speaking and that the coins with Greek legends widely circulated in the region also in the 3rd century AD as local bronze Civic coins and silver tetradrachmai were still struck till the 250's. Furthermore, the representation of the seated Tyche on sixth century Antiochene coins was influenced by Tyche's representations which appeared for the last time in 313 AD and which had its roots in much older iconography. In addition, the practice of dating coins is also interesting. Some of the Antiochene coins struck under the Seleucids and the Romans bore regnal years. This practice disappeared sometime in the 2nd century AD, but it is remarkable that a random case of Antiochene bronze coins might have existed in the 450's which, in accordance to some numismatists, possibly bore a date.¹³⁴⁹ Local Civic coins struck between the 1st century BC and the 3rd century AD always bore features stressing local identity and the idea of autonomy – this is again a kind of perception which seems to also be important for Antiochenes in the Late Roman and early Byzantine period and maybe an explanation for some of the unusual elements. Nevertheless, promotion of the local identity (e.g. by the use of the local city's personification of Tyche) via the coins could be in accordance with the general ideological context as the Romans preferred to play the role of the discursive hegemon who implied their impact without the elimination of local symbols and power

¹³⁴⁹ RIC X, 99; Kent 1993, 514.

structures.¹³⁵⁰ So on the one hand, local features – some of which continued to appear till the 6th century – should not be interpreted as an open protest against the central power, but more as an expression of local identity awareness which was fully incorporated in the ideological background of the great Empire that included various ethnically and culturally diverse regions.

The evidence obtained from coins and especially the comparison of the mint's activity between the 4th and 6th centuries allows the creation of an interesting picture of the city in the period under study. Some of the particularities which were spotted on Antiochene coins could sometimes appear throughout the period under study (e.g. preference of different details in portraiture and rich varieties of types). It is important to emphasize that coins struck in the 4th century provide different information than which is provided by the issues struck in the 6th century. The fourth century mint struck very rich gold coinage. Gold coins and multiples reflected the fact that many emperors visited the city or resided there. Mistakes and badly executed legends were rarities. There were no important breaks in the activity and the mint of Antioch was extremely active. Furthermore, a specific connection between issues struck in the Western Mediterranean existed and from time to time, Antiochene coins could be inspired by the Western issues or, on contrary, Western issues sometimes bore elements which were previously used on Antiochene issues. Towards the end of the 4th century, the situation changed; local coins were exclusively struck in bronze and iconographic types were rather limited – a trend which was common in most of the provincial mints and continued throughout the 5th century. Fifth century issues struck in Antioch show that sometimes it was difficult to follow the Constantinopolitan models without making any mistakes and in the period of Arcadius, the so called mules existed which combined obverses and reverses of two different coin types. The mint was evidently not as active as some mints in the Eastern Roman Empire (as e.g. Nicomedia) and breaks in its activity existed. The only extraordinary moments took place when the mint again struck gold coins in emergency situations when disputes over the throne in the period of Zeno existed. Sixth century coins provided a completely different picture. The introduction of Anastasius' reforms actually meant a new stage in the Antiochene coinage was introduced as the mint started to strike a rich variety of bronze denominations and it was evidently very active – mainly after 522. The mint employed motifs completely unknown elsewhere many times and it often adopted the new models with a delay. Furthermore, a problem concerning legends

¹³⁵⁰ Pages in dissertation (Chapter on Roman practices in mint)

existed and it seems that it was not always possible to follow the Constantinopolitan versions without any mistakes and some of the letters were affected by the Greek alphabet. The fact that a lot of the sixth century Antiochene bronze coins could bear peculiar features and some of their motifs had a local character might be related not only to the problematic administration or critical situation, but also to the fact that the circulation of bronze issues was rather regionalized in this century which is also confirmed by the excavations throughout the Mediterranean.

An observation that most of the peculiarities can be found on gold coins in 4th century can be made, while bronze issues almost did not bear any specific features in this period. In the 6th century, the mint of Antioch exclusively struck bronze coins, so all of the irregular features were limited to the bronze coinage. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the particular elements which appeared in Antiochene coinage in the 4th century were mainly related to the rich and unusual varieties. The peculiar features on sixth-century coins are different: they mainly indicate a problematic connection between the province and center and, furthermore, a problematic organization in the mint. The mint's activity and coin circulation suggest that the mint continued to hold an important status within the Empire, but various factors negatively affected its production and it mainly played a role of a local center which gradually lost the magnificence of the city from Libanius' time. Moreover, in contrast to the situation in the 4th century, there is no evidence on imperial visits throughout the 6th century.

The study of the development of Antiochene folles weights in the 6th century did not bring unambiguous results; however, it indicates that the weight of the same type struck in the same period could differ importantly and it seems that in the case of bronze coins, the principle of striking "al marco" was mainly employed.

It is worth mentioning that the mint of Antioch should not be regarded as the only provincial mint with evidence of these peculiarities. Various provincial mints provided many peculiar issues. Nevertheless, the case of Antioch is interesting as it continued to be one of the major mints in the Empire, it regularly struck most of the basic denominations and it was active for most of the period under study. In addition, Antiochene coins provided interesting evidence on the connection between other provincial mints as mutual borrowings of iconographic types existed.¹³⁵¹ There is no

¹³⁵¹ e.g. in the case of 4th century there were obvious mainly the connections with the mints in the Western Mediterranean (e.g. Sirmium). In the 6th century there exist the sole case of an interesting type of bronze

information on the precise way the late Roman and early Byzantine mints worked, so this can be understood as specific evidence supporting the fact that some kind of cooperation or communication between provincial workshops had to have existed.

The Thesis has demonstrated that Antiochene coins can be used as a supplementary source on the situation in the city and furthermore, the issues can contribute to the knowledge of some specific situations which might not be so obvious at first. Among such evidence, the following must be mentioned: the fact that understanding Latin had to actually be a problem in sixth-century Syria, or the fact that the Antiochene economy and its coinage was inextricably linked to the presence of the army – a topic that has been widely studied in the case of Roman coins struck between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD, but did not attract too much attention concerning the late phase of the Roman Empire and the early era of Byzantium. The present research confirms the important role of the army concerning the choice of types and the fact that the organization of military campaigns was one of the main factors which could impact regional coinage.

The activity of the Antiochene mint illustrates the development of the city well; from a thriving place with prestigious status to the city which continued to be a flourishing place of immense military significance, but which was hit many times by catastrophic disasters (earthquakes, epidemics and invasions) and in some ways, left to its own destiny by sixth century emperors who did not even visit the city.

half-folles struck in Thessalonike under Maurice and whose design was probably impacted by the Antiochene issues of Justin II (for the latter one see MIBEc, 55)

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Abbreviations

<i>Agora 1954</i>	Agora II: Coins from the Roman through the Venetian period, by Margaret Thompson, The Athenian agora: results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton 1954.
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology
<i>AJN</i>	American Journal of Numismatics
<i>ANS NNM</i>	Numismatic Notes and Monographs (American Numismatic Society)
<i>BAR</i>	British Archaeological Reports – International Series
<i>BCEN</i>	Bulletin du Cercle d'Etudes Numismatiques
<i>BMC Byz</i>	Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum I, ed.W.Wroth, London 1908.
<i>BNP</i>	Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale I, par Cécile Morrisson., Paris 1970.
<i>BSFN</i>	Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique
<i>BZ</i>	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
<i>CENB</i>	Cercle d'Etudes Numismatiques. Bulletin.
<i>DOC</i>	Catalogue of Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection.
<i>DOP</i>	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
<i>Hunter</i>	Roman imperial coins in the Hunter Coin cabinet
<i>JAR</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology
<i>JHS</i>	Journal of Hellenic Studies
<i>JNG</i>	Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte
<i>JOB</i>	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft
<i>JRS</i>	Journal of Roman Studies
<i>LRBC</i>	Late Roman bronze coinage, A.D. 324-498
<i>LRC</i>	Catalogue of late Roman
<i>MIB</i>	Moneta Imperii Byzantini : Rekonstruktion Des Prägeaufbaues Auf Synoptisch-Tabellarischer Grundlage
<i>MIBE</i>	Money of the incipient Byzantine Empire (Anastasius I - Justinian I, 491-565)
<i>MIBEC</i>	Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire Continued (Justin II - Revolt of the Heraclii, 565 - 610)
<i>MIRB</i>	Moneta Imperii Romani/Moneta Imperii Byzantini – Die ostprägung des römischen reiches im 5. Jahrhundert (408-491)
<i>MN</i>	American Numismatic Society Museum Notes.
<i>NC</i>	Numismatic Chronicle
<i>NCirc</i>	Numismatic Circular, Spink
<i>NZ</i>	Numismatische Zeitschrift

<i>ODB</i>	Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
<i>ONS</i>	Oriental Numismatic Society
<i>RHist</i>	Revue Historique
<i>RIC</i>	Roman Imperial Coinage
<i>RN</i>	Revue Numismatique
<i>RPC I</i>	Roman Provincial Coinage, vol.I
<i>SC I/1 and 2</i>	Seleucid Coins. A Comprehensive Catalogue.
<i>SM</i>	Schweizer Münzblätter
<i>SMA:</i>	Edward T.Newell, <i>The Seleucid Mint of Antioch</i> , Chicago 1978.
<i>SNR</i>	Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau
<i>SNG</i>	Syllogae Nummorum Graecorum
<i>ZfN</i>	Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

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Fig.16 Fausta, bronze issue, mint of Antioch, rev. leg.: FLAV MAX FAVSTA AVG; RIC VII, 62. Roma Numismatics Ltd; E-Sale 30; Lot number: 585.

Fig.17 Helen, bronze issue, mint of Antioch, rev. leg. FL HELENA AVGVSTA; RIC VII 61. Roma Numismatics Ltd; E-Sale 23; Lot number: 631.

Fig.18 Constantine I and Constantius II, gold multiple (1 ½ solidi), mint of Antioch. obv. legend D N CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG; rev. legend CONSTANTINVS ET CONSTANTIVS NOBB CAESS; RIC VII 70. Classical Numismatic Group, Mail Bid Sale 70, lot: 1066.

Fig.19 Constantine I, gold solidus, mint of Antioch, rev. leg: VICTORIA CO Nstantini AVG (VOT XXX), RIC VII 96. Classical Numismatic Group > Triton XX, lot. 870

Fig.20 Constantine I, rare silvered bronze coin, mint of Antioch (326), RIC VII, 71. Roma Numismatics Ltd, E-Sale 32, lot. 1075.

Fig.21 Constantine I, rare silver siliqua, mint of Antioch (337), RIC VII, 105. Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XII, lot 777.

Fig.22 Constantius II, silver siliqua with vota on the reverse, mint of Antioch (337-347), RIC VIII 35. Stack's Bowers and Ponterio, January 2017 NYINC Auction. Lot 2117

Fig.23 Constantius II, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (337-347), RIC VIII 67. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH | La Galerie Numismatique; Auction New York 2009, lot 193

- Fig.24 Constantius II, silver siliqua with vota on the reverse, mint of Antioch (347-355), RIC VIII 106. Bertolami Fine Arts - ACR Auctions, E-Auction 38, lot 986
- Fig.25 Constantius II, gold solidus with vota on the reverse, mint of Antioch (347-355), RIC VIII 83. Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XIX, lot. 640
- Fig.26 Constantius II, gold solidus with vota on the reverse, mint of Antioch (355-361), RIC VIII 165. Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XX, lot 881.
- Fig.27 Constantius II, gold solidus with vota on the reverse, mint of Antioch (355-361), RIC VIII 172. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Auction 102, lot 552
- Fig.28 Constantius II, solidus, mint of Antioch (337-347), RIC VIII 3. Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 190, lot 550
- Fig.29 Constans, solidus, mint of Antioch (337-347), RIC VIII 5. Classical Numismatic Group, Mail Bid Sale 61, lot 2099
- Fig.30 Constantine II, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (337-347), RIC VIII 23. Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Sept. 2012
- Fig.31 Constantius Gallus, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (351-5), RIC VIII 91. British Museum 1865,0810.7
- Fig.32 Julian, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (355-361), RIC VIII, 166. British Museum 1960,1203.1

Plate III

- Fig.33 Constantius II, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (347-355), rev. emperor riding and a figure of Tyche. The British Museum 1967,0703.1
- Fig.34 Civic coin, mint of Antioch (310-12), obv. representation of a seated Tyche; type, see van Heesch 1993. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 109, lot: 245.
- Fig.35 Magnentius, gold multiple, mint of Aquileia (ca 351), rev. emperor riding and a figure of Res publica. Numismatica Ars Classica > Auction 78, lot 1186

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- Fig. 36 Constantius and Constans, gold multiple, mint of Antioch (347-355), RIC VIII 67. Copy Gneecchi 1912/I (no.2).
- Fig.37 Constantius II, gold multiple (347-355), RIC VIII 68. Gneecchi 1912 (tav.11/1).
- Fig.38 Constantius II, gold multiple (347-355), RIC VIII 69. Gneecchi 1912 (tav.11/9)
- Fig.39 Constantius II, gold multiple (347-355), RIC VIII 70. Gneecchi 1912 (tav.11/8)
- Fig.40 Constans, gold multiple, mint of Antioch (347-355), RIC VIII, 71. Gneecchi 1912/1.
- Fig.41 Constantius Gallus, gold multiple (347-355), RIC VIII 71A. Numismatica Ars Classica; Auction 24; lot 310.
- Fig.42 Constantius II, gold multiple (347-355), RIC VIII 72. Classical Numismatic Group; Mail Bid Sale 84; lot 1541
- Fig.43 Constantius II, gold multiple (347-355), RIC VII 75. Copy from RIC VII, pl.26/no.75.
- Fig.44 Constantius II, gold multiple (347-355), RIC VIII 76. Gneecchi 1912 (tav.10/10).
- Fig.45 Constantius II, gold multiple (347-355), RIC VIII 77. Cohen (460/no.137).
- Fig.46 Constantius II, gold multiple, unpublished variety of RIC VIII 74. Numismatica Ars Classica; Auction 41; lot 146.
- Fig.47 Constantius II, gold multiple, unpublished variety of RIC VIII 75. Numismatica Ars Classica; Auction 31; lot 157.
- Fig.48 Constantius II, gold multiple, unpublished variety of RIC VIII 78, Numismatica Ars Classica; Auction 24; lot 305.
- Fig.49 Constantius II, gold multiple (355-361), RIC VIII 159. Gneecchi 1912 (tav.11/10)
- Fig.50 Constantius II, gold multiple (355-361), RIC VIII 161. Gneecchi 1912 (tav.11/7)

Plate V

- Fig.51 Constantius II, silver siliqua, mint of Antioch (337-347), RIC VIII 34. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 328, lot 607.

- Fig.52 Constantius II, silver silique, mint of Antioch (337-347), RIC VIII 36. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 162, lot 324.
- Fig.53 Constantius II, silver light miliarensis, mint of Antioch (347-355), RIC VIII 102. American Numismatic Society (no. 1948.19.765)
- Fig.54 Constantine I, silver, mint of Sirmium (320-324), RIC VIII 15. Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XVIII, lot 1242.
- Fig.55 Constantius II, silver light miliarensis, mint of Antioch (347-355), RIC VIII 103. Classical Numismatic Group, Mail Bid Sale 70, lot 1072.
- Fig.56 Julian, silver light miliarensis, mint of Sirmium (361-363), RIC VIII 104. Spink Auction 12026, lot 398.
- Fig.57 Nummus struck in the name of deified emperor, mint of Antioch (337-347), RIC VIII 37. Roma Numismatics Ltd, E-Sale 34, lot 386
- Fig.58 Constans, bronze issue, mint of Antioch (347-355), RIC VIII 116.
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/constans/_antioch_RIC_viii_116.txt
- Fig.59 Constantius II and Constans, bronze medallion, mint of Antioch (346/7), RIC VII, 520 (no.111). Copy from Baldus 1984, tafel 11/1.
- Fig.60 Constans, bronze issue FEL TEMP REPARATIO, mint of Antioch (348-350), RIC VIII 124 (type FG). cgb.fr, Mail Bid Sale 31, lot 646
- Fig.61 Constantius II, bronze issue FEL TEMP REPARATIO, mint of Antioch (350-355), RIC VIII 135 (type FH4). cgb.fr, Mail Bid Sale 43, lot 1003.
- Fig.62 Constantius II, bronze issue FEL TEMP REPARATIO, mint of Antioch (348-350). RIC VIII 129 (type PG). Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung; Auction 115, lot 1816.
- Fig.63 Constantius II, bronze issue FEL TEMP REPARATIO, mint of Antioch (348-350). RIC VIII 127 (type EC). Hauck & Aufhäuser, Auction 19, lot 452.
- Fig.64 Constantius II, bronze issue FEL TEMP REPARATIO, mint of Antioch (350-355). RIC VIII 132 (type FH3). cgb.fr, Mail Bid Sale 32, lot 696.
- Fig.65 Constans, bronze issue FEL TEMP REPARATIO, mint of Antioch (348-350). RIC VIII 128 (type SH). Hauck & Aufhäuser, Auction 21, lot 556.

Plate VI

- Fig.66 Julian as Caesar, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (355-361), RIC VIII 169.
Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 87, lot. 1166.
- Fig.67 Julian as Augustus, bronze issue, mint of Antioch (361-363), RIC VIII 216.
Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 385, lot.608.
- Fig.68 Julian, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (361-363), RIC VIII 204. Numismatica Ars Classica; Auction 92 Part 1; lot 748.
- Fig.69 Julian, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (361-363); RIC VIII 205. British Museum, no. 1867,0101.928.
- Fig.70 Julian, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (361-363), RIC VIII 206. British Museum, no. 1921,0107.2.
- Fig.71 Julian, gold nine siliqua, mint of Antioch (361-363), RIC VIII 207. Classical Numismatic Group ; Triton VIII; lot 1260.
- Fig.72 Julian, reduced silver silique, mint of Antioch (361-363), RIC VIII 211/2.
Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Auction 86, LOT 1249.
- Fig.73 Jovian, solidus, mint of Antioch (363/4), RIC VIII 222. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Auction 102, lot 564.
- Fig.74 Jovian, solidus, mint of Antioch (363/4), RIC VIII 224. British Museum 1953,0104.1
- Fig.75 Jovian, solidus, mint of Antioch (363/4), RIC VIII 223. Classical Numismatic Group; Electronic Auction 307, lot 343.
- Fig.76 Jovian, light miliarensis, mint of Antioch (363/4), RIC VIII 226. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Summer Auction 2007, lot 1242.
- Fig.77 Jovian, reduced silique, mint of Antioch (363/4), RIC VIII 227. A. Tkalec AG, Auction February 2002, lot 255.
- Fig.78 Jovian, bronze issue, mint of Antioch (363/4), RIC VIII 228. Roma Numismatics Ltd., E-Sale 14, lot 697.

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- Fig.79 Constantius Gallus, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (347-355), RIC VIII 90. Roma Numismatics Ltd, Auction XI, lot 872
- Fig.80 Constantius Gallus, bronze coin, mint of Antioch (351-355), RIC VIII 134. Classical Numismatic Group; Electronic Auction 233, lot 469.
- Fig.81 Julian, solidus, mint of Antioch (361-363), RIC VIII 195. Baldwin's Auctions Ltd, Auction 99, lot 43.
- Fig.82 Julian, solidus, mint of Antioch (363-363), RIC VIII 199. Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 92 Part 1, lot 750.

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- Fig.1 Valentinian I, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (364-7), off.I, RIC IX 272 (no.2b). Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XIV, lot 855.
- Fig.2 Valentinian I, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (364-7), off. E, RIC IX 272 (2a). Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 92 Part 1, lot 785.
- Fig.3 Valens, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (364-7), off.I, RIC IX 272 (no.2d). Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 94, lot 1230.
- Fig.4 Valens, 1 ½ scripulum, mint of Antioch (364-7), RIC IX 273 (no.3b). Nomos AG, obolos 2, lot 493.
- Fig.5 Valentinian I, gold multiple, mint of Antioch (364-7), RIC IX 272 (no.1). Gnechi 1912 (tav.14/8).
- Fig.6 Valentinian I, silver light miliarensis, mint of Antioch (364-7), RIC IX 273 (no.4a): unpublished variety: in the exergue to the left of the mintmark – samples like that have been catalogued for the same type struck in the name of Valens. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH; Auction 75, lot 945.
- Fig.7 Valens, silver light miliarensis, mint of Antioch (364-7), RIC IX 273 (no.4c) (unpublished variety: two dots to the right of the mintmark in the exergue). Ponterio & Associates, Sale 152 - N.Y.I.N.C. Auction, lot 5960.
- Fig.8 Valentinian I, silver light miliarensis, mint of Antioch (364-7), RIC IX 274 (no.9).

Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 92 Part 2, lot 2497.

- Fig.9 Valentinian I, silver light miliarensis, mint of Antioch (367-375), RIC IX 279 (no.30). British Museum 1957,0611.7.
- Fig.10 Valentinian I, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (367-375), Chi-Rho monogram, above the shield. RIC IX 276 (no.16). Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 75, lot 347.
- Fig.11 Valentinian I, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (367-375), a cross to the right of the mintmark. RIC IX 277 (no.20a). British Museum 1925,0111.1.
- Fig.12 Valentinian I, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (367-75), Chi-Rho monogram in the right field. RIC IX 277 (no.22b). Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 102, lot 1106.
- Fig.13 Jovian, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (363/4), RIC VIII 532 (no.223). Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Auction 70, lot 3417.
- Fig.14 Valentinian, gold solidus, mint of Nicomedia (367-75), RIC IX 275 (no.13a). Heritage World Coin Auctions, New York Signature Sale 3030, lot 23979.
- Fig.15 Valens, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (367-375), RIC IX, 277 (no.20). British Museum no.1983,0543.4.

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- Fig.16 Valens, gold multiple (1 ½ solidus), mint of Antioch (367-75), RIC IX 275 (no.14). British Museum 1861,1113.4.
- Fig.17 Valentinian I, gold multiple (4 ½ solidus), mint of Antioch (367-75), RIC IX 275 (no.13). Gnechi 1912 (tav.14/9).
- Fig.18 Valens, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (367-375), RIC IX 276 (no.16). Bertolami Fine Arts - ACR Auctions, Auction 24, lot 959.
- Fig.19 Valentinian I, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (367-375), RIC IX 277 (no.22b). Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XVIII, lot 1255.
- Fig.20 Valentinian I, silver siliqua, mint of Antioch (367-375), RIC IX 279 (no.33a). cgb.fr, Mail Bid Sale 57, lot 361.

- Fig.21 Valentinian I, silver siliqua, mint of Antioch (367-375), RIC IX 280 (no.34a).
British Museum 1951,1115.100.
- Fig.22 Valentinian I, silver miliarensis, mint of Antioch (367-375), RIC IX 279
(no.30). British Museum 1860,0326.18.
- Fig.23 Valentinian I, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (378-383 in accordance to RIC
IX), RIC IX 282 (no.39). Roma Numismatics Ltd, Auction 3, lot 555.
- Fig.24 Valens, gold consular solidus, mint of Antioch (376?), type unpublished in
basic catalogues. Lacam 1990.
- Fig.25 Valens, gold multiple, mint of Antioch (375-378), RIC IX 282 (no.38). Copy
Harhoiu 1993.
- Fig.26 Valens, gold multiple of Antioch (375-378), RIC IX 282 (no.37). Copy
Harhoiu 1993.
- Fig.27 Gratian, gold multiple, mint of Antioch (367-375), RIC IX (unpublished).
Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 88, lot 515.
- Fig.27a Valentinian, gold multiple, mint of Trier (367-375), RIC IX 15 (no.10). British
Museum, no.1854,0529.5.
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3191764&partId=1&images=true&people=26900&place=36171&material=18603&page=1
- Fig.28 Valentinian II, bronze issue (AE3), mint of Antioch (378-383), RIC IX 288
(no.51).
Roma Numismatics Ltd, E-Sale 25, lot 583.
- Fig.29 Theodosius I, bronze issue (AE 3), mint of Antioch (378-383), RIC IX 284
(no.44a).
Roma Numismatics Ltd, E-Sale 25, lot 585.

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- Fig.30 Gratian, bronze issue (AE 3), mint of Antioch (378-383), RIC IX 286 (no.46a).
Solidus Numismatik, Online Auction 11, lot 503.

- Fig.31 Valentinian II, bronze issue (AE 3), mint of Antioch (378-383), RIC IX 285 (no.45b). Roma Numismatics Ltd, E-Sale 20, lot 620.
- Fig.32 Valens, bronze issue, mint of Antioch (ca 378), unpublished. Copy - Campo 2015.
- Fig.33 Aelia Flaccilla, bronze issue (AE 2), mint of Heraclea (378-383), RIC IX 195 (no.13). Nomos AG, obolos 5, lot 876.
- Fig.34 Aelia Flaccilla, bronze issue (AE 2), mint of Thessalonike (383-386), RIC IX 184 (no.46). Auktionen Münzhandlung Sonntag, Auction 23, lot 291.
- Fig.35 Aelia Flaccilla, bronze issue (AE 2), mint of Constantinople (378-383), RIC IX 226 (no.55).
- Fig.36 Aelia Flaccilla, bronze issue (Ae 2), mint of Antioch (378-383), RIC IX 284 (no.43). Roma Numismatics Ltd., E-Sale 14, lot 701.
- Fig.37 Aelia Flaccilla, bronze issue (AE 2), mint of Siscia (383-386), RIC IX 153 (no.34).
Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XX, lot 897.
- Fig.38 Aelia Flaccilla, bronze issue (AE 2), mint of Antioch (383-386), RIC IX 291 (no.62).
Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 301, lot 357.
- Fig.39 Aelia Flaccilla, bronze issue (AE 2), mint of Alexandria (383-386), RIC IX 302 (no.17). Roma Numismatics Ltd, Auction XII, lot 1058.
- Fig.40 Aelia Flaccilla, bronze issue (AE 2), mint of Heraclea (383-388), RIC IX 197 (no.25). Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 103, lot 783.
- Fig. 41 Arcadius, bronze issue (AE 2), mint of Antioch (392-395), RIC IX 294 (no.68c). Roma Numismatics Ltd., E-Sale 13, lot 543.
- Fig.42 Theodosius I, bronze issue (Ae 4), mint of Antioch (392-395), RIC IX 294 (no.69b).
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/theodosius_I/_antioch_RIC_069b.txt
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/theodosius_I/_antioch_RIC_069b.jpg
- Fig.43 Arcadius, bronze issue (AE 4), mint of Antioch (388-392), RIC IX 294 (no.

68d).

http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/arcadius/_antioch_RIC_067d_G.txt

http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/arcadius/_antioch_RIC_067d_G.jpg

Plate XI

- Fig.1 Honorius, bronze issue (AE 3), VIRTUS EXERCITI, mint of Cyzicus, RIC X 247 (no.68). Münzen & Medaillen Deutschland GmbH, Auction 44, lot 439.
- Fig.2 Eudoxia, bronze issue (AE 3), GLORIA ROMANORVM, mint of Alexandria, RIC X 248 (no.84). Nomos AG, obolos 4, lot 898.
- Fig.3 Arcadius, bronze issue (AE 3), VIRTUS EXERCITI, mint of Antioch, RIC X 247 (no.70).
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/arcadius/_antioch_RIC_X_70_B.jpg
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/arcadius/_antioch_RIC_X_70_B.txt
- Fig.4 Eudoxia, bronze issue (AE 3), GLORIA ROMANORVM, mint of Antioch, RIC X 248 (no.83). Pecunem | Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann), Gitbud & Naumann Auction 36, lot 826.
- Fig. 5 Arcadius, bronze issue (AE 3), mint of Antioch (395-401), RIC X 248 (no.82). Copy RIC X pl.4/no.82.
- Fig.6 Honorius, bronze issue (AE 3), VIRTUS EXERCITI, mint of Antioch, RIC X 247 (no.73). http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/honorius/RIC_0073.jpg
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/honorius/RIC_0073.txt
- Fig.7 Arcadius, bronze issue (AE 3), CONCORDIA AVGG, mint of Cyzicus, RIC X 248 (no.94). Pecunem | Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann), Gitbud & Naumann Auction 29, lot 682.
- Fig. 8 Arcadius, bronze issue (AE 3), CONCORDIA AVGG, mint of Antioch, RIC X 248 (no.98). Pecunem | Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann), Gitbud & Naumann Auction 3, lot 311.
- Fig.9 Honorius, bronze issue (AE 3), CONCORDIA AVGG, mint of Antioch, RIC

X 248 (no.99). Marti Hervera / Soler & Llach, Auction 1070, lot 457.

- Fig.10 Eudoxia, bronze issue (AE 3), SALVS REIPVBLICAE, mint of Nicomedia, RIC X 249 (no.102). Roma Numismatics Ltd, E-Sale 25, lot 592.
- Fig.11 Eudoxia, bronze issue (AE 3), SALVS REIPVBLICAE, mint of Cyzicus, RIC X 249 (no.104). Roma Numismatics Ltd, E-Sale 18, lot 1179.
- Fig.12 Eudoxia, bronze issue (AE 3), SALVS REIPVBLICAE, mint of Antioch, RIC X 249 (no.104). Roma Numismatics Ltd, Auction XII, lot 1068.
- Fig.13 Eudoxia, bronze issue (AE 3), SALVS REIPVBLICAE, mint of Antioch, RIC X 249 (no.104). Pecunem | Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann), Gitbud & Naumann Auction 14, lot 922.
- Fig.14 Arcadius, bronze issue (AE 4), CONCORDIA AVGGG, mint of Antioch, RIC X 251 (no.136).
<http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/arcadius/ antioch RIC 136.jpg>
<http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/arcadius/ antioch RIC 136.txt>
- Fig.15 Honorius, bronze issue (AE 3), GLORIA ROMANORVM, mint of Antioch, RIC X 252 (no.153). Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 146, lot 300.

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- Fig.16 Arcadius, bronze issue (AE 3), GLORIA ROMANORVM, mint of Antioch, RIC X 252 (no.151).
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/arcadius/RIC_0151.jpg
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/arcadius/RIC_0151.txt
- Fig.17 Arcadius, bronze issue (AE 3), GLORIA ROMANORVM, mint of Cyzicus, RIC X 251 (no.146).
<http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/arcadius/ cyzicus RIC 148.1.jpg>
<http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/arcadius/ cyzicus RIC 148.1.txt>
- Fig.18 Honorius (Theodosius II), bronze issue (AE 3), GLORIA ROMANORVM, mint (?) (408-423), RIC X 271-2. American Numismatic Society

1944.100.54904.

- Fig.19 Theodosius, bronze issue (AE 3), mint of Thessalonike (408-423), RIC X 271 (no.396). Pecunem | Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann), Gitbud & Naumann Auction 4, lot 408.
- Fig.20 Theodosius II, bronze issue (AE 3-4), mint (?) (425-435), RIC X 274. American Numismatic Society 1944.100.54841.
- Fig.21 Theodosius II, bronze issue (AE 3-4), min of Antioch (435-435), RIC X 275 (no.453).
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/theodosius_II/RIC_0453v.txt
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/theodosius_II/RIC_0453v.jpg
- Fig.22 Marcian, bronze issue (AE 4), mint (?). American Numismatic Society 1947.99.70.
- Fig.23 Marcian, bronze issue (AE 4), mint of Constantinople, RIC X 282 (no.546). Jean Elsen & ses Fils S.A., Auction 131, lot 238.
- Fig.24 Marcian, bronze issue (AE 4), mint of Constantinople, RIC X 282 (no.545). Roma Numismatics Ltd, Auction XII, lot 1091.
- Fig.25 Marcian, bronze issue (AE 4), mint of Nicomedia, RIC X 283 (no.559). Pecunem | Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann), Numismatik Naumann Auction 41, lot 927.
- Fig.26 Marcian, bronze issue (AE 4), mint of Antioch, RIC X 283 (no.567). copy – RIC X, pl.21/no.567.
- Fig.27 Marcian, bronze issue (AE 4), mint of Antioch, RIC X 283 (no.570). copy- RIC X, pl.21/no.570.
- Fig.28 Monograms of Marcian. Copy – RIC X, 282.

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- Fig.29 Exagium solidi –Honorius, Arcadius and Theodosius II, bronze, w.4,14 gr, mint of Constantinople (402-408), RIC X 8. Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 103, lot 891.
- Fig.30 Exagium solidi – Theodosius II and Valentinian III, bronze, w.4,30 gr., mint

of Constantinople (426), Bendall Byzantine weights 13. Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 97, lot 739.

- Fig.31 Exagium solidi – Honorius, Arcadius and Theodosius II, bronze, w. 3,43 gr., mint of Antioch (403-408). Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 318, lot 821.
- Fig.32 Exagium solidi – Honorius, Arcadius and Theodosius II, bronze, w.4,2 gr., mint of Antioch (403-8). Stack's, Moneta Imperii Romani Byzantini, lot 3018.
- Fig.33 Exagium solidi – Honorius, Arcadius and Theodosius II, bronze, w.4,23 gr., mint of Antioch (403-8). Baldwin's Auctions Ltd | Dmitry Markov Coins & Medals | M&M Numismatics Ltd, The New York Sale XI, lot.376.
- Fig.34 Exagium solidi – Honorius, Arcadius and Theodosius II, bronze, w.4,23 gr., mint of Antioch (403-8). Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 29, lot 663.
- Fig.35 Exagium solidi – Honorius, Arcadius and Theodosius II, bronze, w.4,09 gr., mint of Antioch (403-8). Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 100, lot.649.
- Fig.36 Exagium solidi – Honorius, Arcadius and Theodosius I, bronze, w.4,34 gr., mint ?. Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 46, lot 739.

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- Fig.1 Leo I, bronze issue (AE 2), mint of Constantinople (457-474), RIC X 291 (no.652). Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 379, lot 391.
- Fig.2 Leo I, bronze issue (AE 2), mint of Constantinople (457-474), RIC X 291 (no.657). Roma Numismatics Ltd, E-Sale 31, lot 658.
- Fig.3 Verina, bronze issue (AE 2), mint of Constantinople (457-474), RIC X 291 (no.655). Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 84, lot 1307.
- Fig.4 Leo I, bronze issue (AE 4), mint of Constantinople (457-474), RIC X 292 (no.667). http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/leo_I/RIC_0667var.txt
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/leo_I/RIC_0667var.jpg
- Fig.5 Leo I, bronze issue (AE 4), mint of Antioch, RIC X 293 (no.679). copy RIC X, pl.26/no.679.
- Fig.6 Table of monograms.

- Fig.7 Leo I, bronze issue (AE 4), mint of Alexandria (457-474), RIC X 294 (no.694).
Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 382, lot 462.
- Fig.8 Leo I, bronze issue (AE 4), mint of Constantinople (457-474), RIC X 296
(no.721). Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 206, lot 417.
- Fig.10 Leo I, bronze issue (AE 4), mint of Heraclea (457-474), RIC X 294 (no.698).
http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/RIC10/RIC10_LeoE.htm (Image courtesy
ACC)
- Fig.11 Leo I, bronze issue (AE 4), mint of Constantinople (457-474), RIC X 295
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- Fig.12 Zeno, gold solidus, mint of Antioch (475-6), RIC X 300 (no.904). British
Museum 1979,0503.1
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British Museum 1980,1025.1.
- Fig.14 Zeno, bronze issue (AE 2), mint of Constantinople (476-491), RIC X 312
(no.948). Pecunem | Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann),
Gitbud & Naumann Auction 36, lot 835.
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- Fig.16 Zeno, bronze issue (AE 3-4), mint of Nicomedia or Cyzicus (476-491), RIC X
313 (no.955 or 956). Gemini, LLC, Auction XIII, lot 248.
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(no.961).

Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 378, lot 527.

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- Fig.18 Zeno, bronze issue (AE 4), mint of Thessaloniki (476-491), RIC X 314
(no.959). http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/RIC10/RIC10_ZenoE.htm
(courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

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http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/RIC10/RIC10_ZenoE.htm (courtesy of ACC)
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 Pecunem | Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann), Gitbud & Naumann Auction 20, lot 918.
- Fig.21 Monograms of Zeno. Copy – RIC X 314.
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- Fig.1 Anastasius I, bronze issue (nummus), mint of Constantinople (491-518),
 MIBE 40. Jean Elsen & ses Fils S.A., Auction 132, lot 326.
- Fig.2 Anastasius I, bronze follis, mint of Constantinople (498-507), MIBE 22.
 Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 382, lot 463.
- Fig.3 Anastasius I, bronze half-follis, mint of Constantinople (507-512), MIBE 32.
 American Numismatic Society 2016.3.2.
- Fig.4 Anastasius I, bronze dekanoumion, mint of Constantinople (507-512), MIBE
 35. American Numismatic Society 2016.3.5.
- Fig.5 Anastasius I, bronze issue, mint of Constantinople (491-8 in accordance to
 Metcalf 1969/ 512 in accordance to MIBE). Classical Numismatic Group,
 Triton XIX, lot 688.
- Fig.6 Anastasius I, bronze follis, mint of Antioch (516-517), MIBE 56.
 Wilkes & Curtis Ltd, Auction 1, lot 519.
- Fig.7 Anastasius I, bronze half-follis, mint of Antioch (516-517), MIBE 58. Copy
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American Numismatic Society 2016.3.8.

- Fig.10 Anastasius I, follis, mint of Constantinople (507-512), MIBE 26. American Numismatic Society 2016.3.1.
- Fig.11 Anastasius, follis, mint of Antioch (517-518), MIBE 57.
Münzen & Medaillen Deutschland GmbH, Auction 16, lot 1125.
- Fig.12 Anastasius I, half-follis, mint of Antioch (516-518), MIBE 58. American Numismatic Society 2016.3.6.
- Fig.13 Anastasius I, half-follis, mint of Antioch (516-518), MIBE 58.
Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Summer Auction 2010, lot 1509.
- Fig.14 Anastasius I, half-follis, mint of Antioch (516-518), MIBE 58. American Numismatic Society 2016.3.7
- Fig.15 Anastasius I, dekanummion, mint of Antioch (516-518), MIBE 59.
Münzen & Medaillen Deutschland GmbH, Auction 16, lot 1125.
- Fig.16 Justin I, follis, mint of Antioch (518-522), MIBE 58. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 279, lot 644.
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- Fig.19 Justin I, follis, mint of Antioch (518-527), MIBE 61. Wildwinds.com (Courtesy of Münzen Ritter, Feb. 2010).
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/justin_I/SB_0104.txt
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/justin_I/SB_0104.jpg
- Fig.20 Justin I, decanummium, mint of Antioch ? (518-522), MIBE 20. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 202, lot 492.
- Fig.21 Justin I, mint of Antioch (518-522), MIBE 63. Classical Numismatic Group >

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- Fig.22 Justin I, follis, mint of Antioch (522-7), Classical Numismatic Group > Electronic Auction 292, lot 439.
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- Fig.26 Justin I, pentanummium, mint of Antioch (522-527), MIBE 67.
Wildwinds.com http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/justin_I/sb0111.1.txt
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/justin_I/sb0111.1.jpg
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- Fig.35 Justin I, imitation of follis, mintmark of Constantinople, MIB 11 (prototype).
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Fig.36 Justin I, half-follis, mint of Antioch (518-527), MIBE 61. Protonotarios col.

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Courtesy of Münzen Ritter

http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/justin_I/SB_0104.jpg

http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/justin_I/SB_0104.txt

Fig.38 Justin I, bronze imitation, mintmark of Constantinople, MIBE 11 (prototype).
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Fig.39 Anastasius, bronze follis, mint of Antioch (517-518), MIBE 57. Harlan J. Berk,
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Fig.40 Justin I and Justinian, solidus, mint of Constantinople (527), MIBE 2c.
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Fig.48 Justinian I, half-follis, mint of Antioch (527-538), MIBE 135.
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/justinian_I/sb0225.txt

http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/justinian_I/sb0225.jpg

- Fig.49 Justinian I, decanummium, mint of Antioch (527-538), MIBE 138. Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 303, lot 451.
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Beastcoins.com
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/justinian_I/sb0240.jpg
http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/justinian_I/sb0240.txt
- Fig.51 Justinian I, follis, mint of Antioch (527-529), MIBE 125. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 288, lot 511.
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- Fig.55 Justinian I, follis, mint of Antioch (542/3), MIBE 144. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 303, lot 455.
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- Fig.57 Justinian I, follis, mint of Antioch (559/60), MIBE 149. Pecunem |
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- Fig.58 Justinian I, follis, mint of Cyzicus (546/7), MIBE 120g. Classical Numismatic Group, Mail Bid Sale 61, lot 2212.
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- Fig.73 Justinian I, follis, mint of Antioch (529-531), MIBE 126. Nomisma S.p.a.; Auction 53; lot 258.
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- Fig.76 Justinian I, follis, imitation of an Antiochene issue, mint?. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 303, lot 449.
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- Fig.86 Justin II, follis, mint of Antioch (565/6), MIBEc 55b. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 337, lot 552.
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- Fig.98 Tiberius II, follis, mint of Nicomedia (578), MIBEc 34. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 189, lot 227.
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Wildwinds.com Contributed by David Elliot, November, 2005.
<http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/maurice/sb0501.jpg>
<http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/maurice/sb0501.txt>

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- Fig.126 Maurice, half-follis, mint of Antioch (583/4), MIBEc 97a. Numismatic Museum of Athens 12140β.
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- Fig.134 Phocas, follis, mint of Constantinople (602/3), MIBEc 60a.
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- Fig.135 Phocas, half-follis, mint of Cyzicus (603/4), MIBEc 79. Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann), Auction 48, lot 724.
- Fig.136 Phocas, follis, mint of Antioch (603/4), MIBEc 83a. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 369, lot 539.
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- Fig.140 Phocas, decanumnum, mint of Constantinople (602-610), MIBEc 66. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 211, lot 440.
- Fig.141 Phocas, follis, mint of Antioch (606/7), MIBEc 83. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 288, lot 544.
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- Fig.144 Phocas, half-follis, mint of Antioch (608/9), MIBEc 86. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 335, lot 639.
- Fig.145 Phocas, decanumnum, mint of Antioch (609/10), MIBEc 88. American Numismatic Society 1972.136.168.
- Fig.146 Phocas, pentanumnum, mint of Antioch (602/3), MIBEc 89. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 202, lot 517.
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- Fig.152 Justi I, follis, mint of Antioch (518-522). The Hermitage, Inv.No. ON-A-V-171

- (Justin I).
- Fig.153 Justinian I, follis, mint of Antioch (527-529). The Hermitage, Inv.No. ON-A-V-367 (Justinian I).
- Fig.154 Justinian I, follis (an imitation?), Antioch. The Hermitage, Inv.No. ON-A-V-368

Constantine I and his dynasty



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35





Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43



Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46



Fig. 47



Fig. 48



Fig. 49



Fig. 50



Fig. 51



Fig. 52



Fig. 53



Fig. 54



Fig. 55



Fig. 56



Fig. 57



Fig. 58



Fig. 59



Fig. 60



Fig. 61



Fig. 62



Fig. 63



Fig. 64



Fig. 65



Fig. 66



Fig. 67



Fig. 68



Fig. 69



Fig. 70



Fig. 71



Fig. 72



Fig. 73



Fig. 74



Fig. 75



Fig. 76



Fig. 77



Fig. 78



Fig. 79



Fig. 80



Fig. 81



Fig. 82

Valentinian dynasty and Theodosius I



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 27a



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43

Theodosian dynasty



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15





Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27

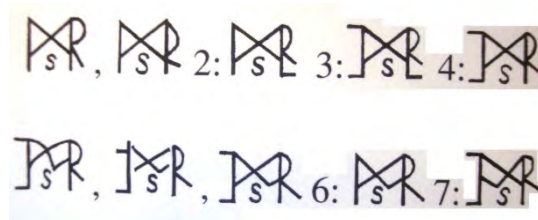


Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36

Leonid dynasty



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

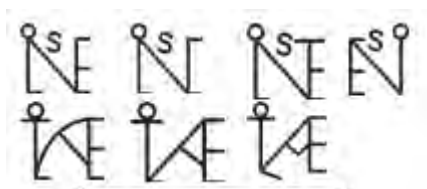


Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16





Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

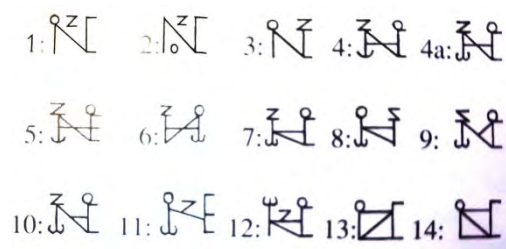


Fig. 21



Fig. 22

Sixth century



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43



Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46



Fig. 47



Fig. 48



Fig. 49



Fig. 50



Fig. 51



Fig. 52



Fig. 53



Fig. 54



Fig. 55



Fig. 56



Fig. 57



Fig. 58



Fig. 59



Fig. 60



Fig. 61



Fig. 62



Fig. 63



Fig. 64



Fig. 65



Fig. 66



Fig. 67



Fig. 68



Fig. 69



Fig. 70



Fig. 71



Fig. 72



Fig. 73



Fig. 74



Fig. 75



Fig. 76



Fig. 77



Fig. 78



Fig. 79



Fig. 80



Fig. 81



Fig. 82



Fig. 83



Fig. 84



Fig. 85



Fig. 86



Fig. 87





Fig. 88



Fig. 89



Fig. 90



Fig. 91



Fig. 92



Fig. 93



Fig. 94



Fig. 95



Fig. 96



Fig. 97



Fig. 98



Fig. 99



Fig. 100



Fig. 101



Fig. 102



Fig. 103



Fig. 104



Fig. 105



Fig. 106



Fig. 107



Fig. 108



Fig. 109



Fig. 110



Fig. 111



Fig. 112



Fig. 113



Fig. 114



Fig. 115



Fig. 116



Fig. 117





Fig. 118



Fig. 119



Fig. 120



Fig. 121



Fig. 122



Fig. 123



Fig. 124



Fig. 125



Fig. 126



Fig. 127



Fig. 128



Fig. 129



Fig. 130



Fig. 131



Fig. 132



Fig. 133



Fig. 134



Fig. 135



Fig. 136



Fig. 137



Fig. 138



Fig. 139



Fig. 140



Fig. 141



Fig. 142



Fig. 143



Fig. 144



Fig. 145



Fig. 146



Fig. 147



Fig. 148



Fig. 149



Fig. 150



Fig. 151

Plate XXV

Some peculiar issues from the Hermitage



Fig. 152



Fig. 153



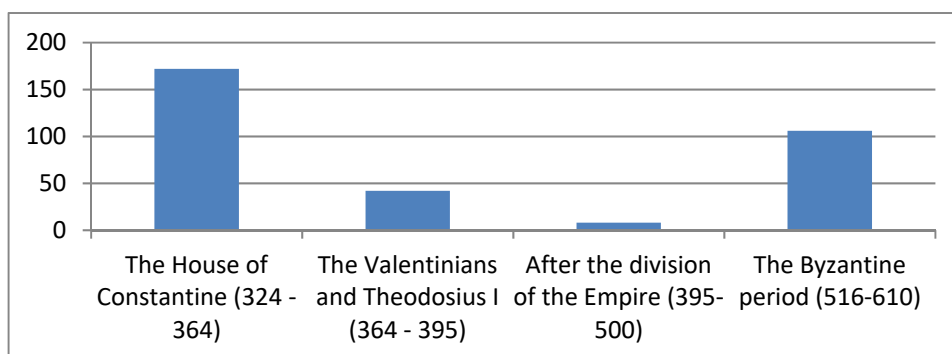
Fig. 154

The Antiochene coins in the Numismatic Museum of Athens

a) Introduction

Only coins from the so called “old dépôt” were included in the present study, meaning the study focused only on a part of the holdings in the Numismatic Museum of Athens (NMA). The study required an examination of hundreds of coins as it was necessary to identify the issues which should be included in the present study. The research has shown that the Numismatic Museum of Athens holds three hundred twenty-nine coins which can be attributed to the mint of Antioch and dated without any doubts between 324 and 610. Various coins which were rather similar to the issues struck in Antioch exist, but their mintmarks were illegible and the general state of preservation did not allow their precise classification (such coins have not been included in the research). The coins included in the dissertation have never been published, photographed or weighed and two of the issues were added to the collection a long time ago without any record number, so called “προσθήκες παλαιών ετών” (Rom 209 and Rom 212).

The collection of the late Roman and early Byzantine coins has not been a result of a systematic collecting. The issues have been acquired by the Museum randomly over a period of more than a hundred years. Some of the coins are donations, other issues were bought, some coins were excavated at archaeological sites and some are confiscations. This fact results in a kind of non-homogeneity of the issues as some numismatic types are very well represented in the collection and, on the contrary, many types are completely absent. This means that some periods are not covered at all, while others are represented by a very large number of coins.

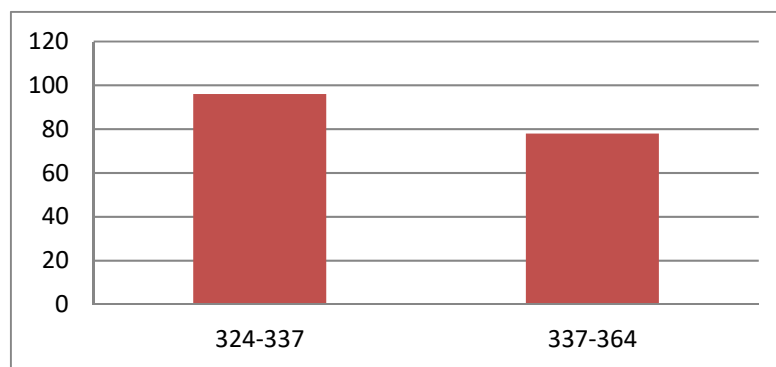


Graph 1. The composition of the Antiochene coins held in the “old dépôt” in the NMA.

Actually, the periods of the Constantinian dynasty (324-364) and the Byzantine era (ca. 516 – 610) are best represented in the “old dépôt“. The collection did not provide many examples of Valentinian coinage and issues of Theodosius I (364-395). Furthermore, lots of issues dated to the 5th century could not be attributed to a concrete mint without any doubts, so in the end, just eight issues dated in the period after the division of the Empire (395) could be included in the study.

b) Constantine I and his House (324 – 364)

The Numismatic Museum holds altogether one hundred seventy-three Antiochene coins which can be dated in the period between the end of the Civil Wars (324) and the death of Jovian (364).¹



Graph 2. The Antiochene coins of the Constantinian House in the NMA col.

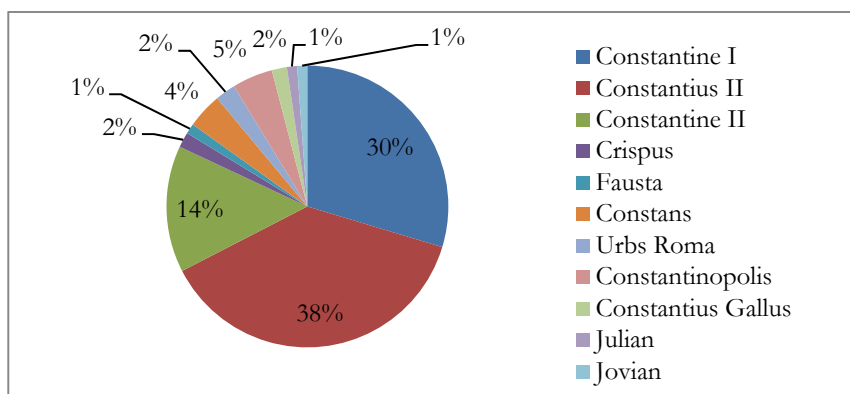
The vast majority of the coins included in the research were copper. More than half of them were struck between 324 and 337, thus meaning in the last phase of Constantine I's reign (graph 72). Only three coins dated in the period under study were struck in metal other than bronze. The two gold solidi (Rom 1 and 2) were struck in the name of Constantius II and one reduced siliqua was struck in the name of Julian the Apostate (Rom 3).

Most of the Antiochene coins held in the NMA were struck in the names of Constantine I, Constantius II and Constantine II; other members of the dynasty are represented in the collection too, but their numbers are marginal (see graph 73). Lots of the coins struck in the names of Constantius II and Constantine II come from the period

¹ Jovian who was not a member of the Constantine's dynasty, but was elevated by the army after the death of Julian who was Constantius II's cousin.

prior to the death of Constantine I (d.337) when both of the emperors held the title Caesar.

Some issues provided evidence on the problematic execution of legends (e.g. Rom 96 in which case the letters “GL” from “GLORIA” on the reverse look similar to “CK”).



Graph 3. The authorities in whose names the Antiochene coins (324 -364) held in the “old dépôt” were struck.

The best represented copper coin types from this period in the collection of the NMA are the varieties of the so called FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO.² These coins are also usually very well represented at excavated sites as they became one of the most common bronze coins for the period between 348 and 361.³ The mint of Antioch provided the richest iconographic typology among the late Roman mints.⁴ The «old dépôt» contains fifty-five issues of this type representing various emperors and reverse iconographic motifs (see Rom 116 – 170): this means that this type actually composes over 30% of all Antiochene issues struck by the members of the House of Constantine and held in the «old dépôt» of NMA. Despite the relatively large number, the vast majority of these issues in the NMA did not provide any specific elements with the only exception of an unrecorded officina (Rom 116).⁵ The most common among these issues in the NMA are

² Mattingly 1933, 183-187; Kent 1967, 83-88; Carson 1990, 178-179.

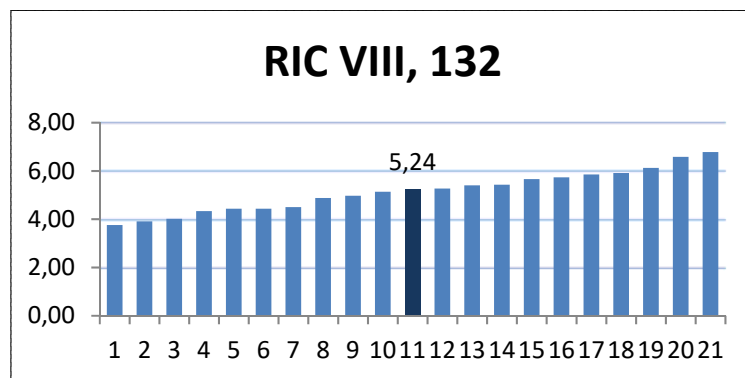
³ E.g. the excavations at Antioch provided good evidence on the large number of these issues on the site, see Waage 1952, 125-131.

⁴ RIC VIII, 521-528.

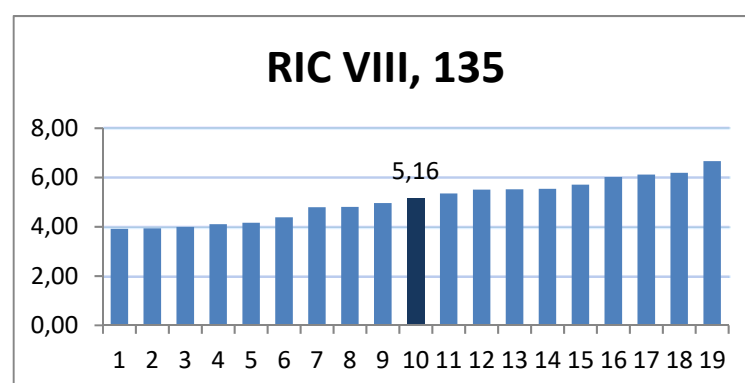
⁵ The only Antiochene coin in the NMA collection (no. Rom 116) bore an unusual element: the officina letter θ, but the public col. and catalogues (RIC VIII, Barber Institute etc.) include exclusively issues with off.letters A, Γ, Δ and S; however private collection provided evidence on various samples bearing this off.letter. I have managed to find random photos of the same coin type with the officina θ, on websites, but unfortunately without any further information:

the iconographic types which represent the helmeted soldier spearing a falling horseman.⁶ An element on the basis of which the two types can be distinguished is the enemy's head: in the case of type no.132, the enemy faces a soldier and in the case of type no. 135, the enemy turns his head back and he falls forward on the neck of a horse.

The fact that these coins are so common in the NMA is not surprising as such coins struck in the name of Constantius II are also very common in other collections and at excavated sites.⁷ These two large groups provided enough data for statistics on the weight. It is interesting as these types can illustrate the weight range of one specific type struck in a short-time period. The graphs indicate that rather big differences in the weight of the issues which belonged to the same type and were struck in the same period (graph 74 and 75) exists, but the sizes of these issues were about the same (2,1 – 2,5 cm). This fact indicates the instability of the bronze coinage's weight.



Graph 4. Weight values of issues (type RIC VIII, 132) held in the NMA. No. 11 = median.



Graph 5. Weight values of issues (type RIC VIII, 135) held in the NMA. No. 10 = median.

<http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/constans/ antioch RIC viii 124.jpg> ;
<http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/constans/ antioch RIC viii 124.txt> ;
<http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/RIC8/RIC8 Antioch.htm> .

⁶ Types RIC VIII, 523, no.132 (Rom 122 - 142) and RIC VIII, 523, no.135 (Rom 146 - 163).

⁷ Waage 1952, 128 (type 6); Hunter V, 323-325 (no.124-145).

Some of the coins which belong to the FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO group also give evidence on the use of very small flan which resulted in part of the reverse image not fitting well and was struck partly “out of the flan” (e.g. Rom 120, Rom 136, Rom 141). This is interesting as a similar problem existed in the 6th century when the same dies were used for flans of various denominations (e.g. in some cases, folles and half-folles were struck with the same obverse die) and in the case of lower denomination, usually a part of the design was struck out of the flan as the die was originally designated for a slightly larger flan.⁸

In general, all Antiochene issues struck in the names of Constantine I and his followers in the collection of the NMA represent types that were already recorded and widespread.

c) From the Valentinians to the division of the Empire (364 – 395)

Antiochene coins which can be dated in the period between the death of Jovian (364) and the division of the Empire after the death of Theodosius I (395) are not numerous among the holdings of the NMA. The vast majority of the recorded and published types are not represented at all in the NMA.

In contrast to the previous period, the collection provided five gold solidi preserved in extremely fine condition (Rom 174 – 178). All of these issues were struck in the name of Valens and represent the early issues of the Valentinian dynasty as they all are dated between 364 and 367. This was actually a rather fruitful phase concerning gold coinage.⁹ These solidi confirm the rich variety of mintmarks and officinae which is characteristic for these early solidi;¹⁰ however, all of the varieties held in the NMA have already been documented elsewhere and do not represent any exception. Another issue held in the NMA and struck in a precious metal was a siliqua of Valens (Rom 179). All the other issues in the collection under study, in total thirty-six coins, represent various bronze types (Rom 180 - 215).

⁸ Bellinger 1966, 96; MIBE, 41, 62; BNP I, 49, 93 – 94.

⁹ E.g. RIC VIII, 264 .

¹⁰ All the issues belong to the type RESTITVTOR REI-PVBLICAE, see RIC IX, p. 272 (no. 2d)



Illustration 1: Detail of reverse of coin Rom 189.

Most of the issues do not provoke interest as they belong to the recorded types; however, one peculiar coin (Rom 189) exists in the NMA collection. This bronze coin (ill.1) corresponds to the common type *CONCRODIA AVGGG*¹¹ which in the period 378 -383, often bore various letters in the fields on the reverse: usually the letter Θ in the left field and Φ -K /or none/ in the right field. The coin held in the NMA does not bear the letter Θ in the left field, but an unusual letter Δ is found in the right field. Such a combination of letters has not been documented in the basic museum's catalogue and, so far, I have not found any parallels in catalogues of private collections and auction houses. This is an unusual feature in the case of recorded Antiochene issues and parallels can only be found on coins struck in Thessalonike in the names of Gratian or Valentinian I in the same period.¹² The letters Δ and E could also be found on various others issues struck in the 3rd and the first half of the 4th century, but usually the letter Δ was executed in the left field on the reverse.¹³ Certainly worth mentioning is the fact that the letter Δ could be found on reverses of some Seleucid bronze issues as a control symbol.¹⁴

d) The last phase of late Roman coinage (395 – 498)

There are just a few issues in the NMA collection which could be attributed to this period. The reasons are various: firstly, this period is not very well represented in the «old dépôt» in general; secondly, bronze coins are very often tiny and badly preserved; and furthermore, in many cases the mintmarks are illegible, so it is rather difficult to identify the mint of origin. In the end, only eight coins held in the NMA could be

¹¹ RIC IX, p.286 (no.46).

¹² e.g. RIC IX, p.182.

¹³ e.g. McAlee 2007, 5; RIC VII, 692 (no.84 – mintmark Δ E in the left and right field).

¹⁴ SC II/1, 419.

attributed to the mint of Antioch without any doubts (Rom 216 – 223). All of them were struck in the early phase after the division of the Empire (395 – 408). These coins represent common recorded types struck in the names of Arcadius, Honorius and Aelia Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius. Actually, most of them belonged to the same reverse type VIRTUS EXERCITI representing a standing emperor being crowned by Victory (Rom 216 – 220). The coins of Aelia Eudoxia (Rom 221 and Rom 222) are actually the only Antiochene coins struck in the name of an empress held in the NMA.

All of these coins were struck prior to 404. The only coin in the collection which can be dated in the later period is the coin struck in the name of Heraclius (Rom 223) and represents on its² reverse the motif of three standing imperial figures.

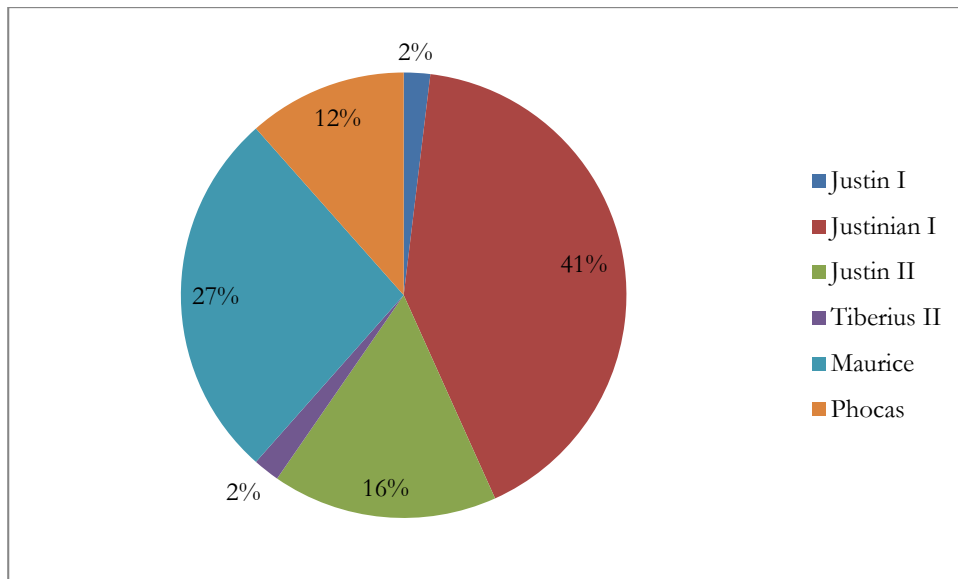
None of the coins dated in the period after 395 provided evidence on any specific feature.

e) The early Byzantine period (ca 516 – 610)

The mint of Antioch evidently already implemented the reformed bronze coinage during the reign of Anastasius, most probably in 516.¹⁵ The “old dépôt” does not include any Antiochene coins from the first years of its activity which is not surprising as mint activity was evidently increased after the year 522 under Justin I and the Antiochene coins struck under Anastasius I and in the early phase of Justin I are not very common in the collection.¹⁶ The earliest Antiochene Byzantine issues in the collection under study are two pentanummia struck in the name of Justin I sometime between 522 and 527 (Byz 1 and 2). Both of the issues belong to the same type and their reverse depicted the seated Tyche in a shrine.

¹⁵ MIBE, 30.

¹⁶ Justin I's coins struck in Antioch after 522 are in general more common in collection, e.g. the Barber Institute holds only one Justin I Antiochene follis struck in the first phase of Justin I's reign (518-522) and eight Antiochene folles struck between 522 – 527; the Dumbarton Oaks Col. includes in its' collection four Antiochene folles of Justin I from 518 – 522 and six Antiochene issues dated in 522 – 527, see DOC I, 53; the American Numismatic Society holds six Antiochene folles dated between 518 and 522 and nine Antiochene folles from 522-527; the British Museum holds two Antiochene folles dated in the first phase of the Justin I reign and four dated in the late phase.



Graph 6. The emperors in whose names the Antiochene Byzantine coins held in the NMA col. were struck.

The period of Justinian I (527 – 565) is the best period represented in the collection and this fact is not surprising as Justinianic coins belong to the most common holdings in museums in general. Only nine coins belong to the pre-reformed period (Byz 3 – 11) and the rest (Byz 12 – 45) were struck after the Justinianic monetary reforms (538). The vast majority of the issues are the denominations of folles and most of the coins do not provoke any interest since all of the issues belong to the recorded types. An interesting element concerning one of the Justinianic folles is that it was evidently double-struck (Byz 29).



Furthermore, a half-follis (Byz 39) which evidently had a dot next to the reference of year is also interesting: such a variety has not been recorded so far (ill.2).

Illustration 2: Detail of reverse of coin Byz 39.

Only seventeen coins (Byz 46 - 62) among the holdings of the NMA can be dated in the period of Justin II (565-578). There are no coins in the old dépôt“ from the first few years of Justin II’s reign as all of the holdings must be dated after 568. Thirteen issues are of the denomination of folles. All of the issues belong to the standard recorded types and all of the folles are in a rather nice state of preservation.

Worth mentioning are the issues Byz 46, Byz 47 and Byz 48. All of these mentioned folles were struck in the same fifth regnal year of Justin II (569/70), but in each case, a different numeral was used: II/III and ٩. This is interesting as most collections provided evidence exclusively on the use of II/III which was, by the way, an unusual expression for the number five in other mints;¹⁷ however, cases of the use of the numeral ٩ on Justin II’s Antiochene issues are known also from elsewhere.¹⁸

The coinage of Tiberius II (578 – 582) is represented in the „old dépôt” only by two issues (Byz 63 and Byz 64) of values of follis and half-follis. Both of the coins belong to the widespread types.

Twenty-eight issues (Byz 65-93) held in the Museum were struck in the name of Maurice (582 – 602). The majority of these coins (twenty-two) are, again, of denomination follis and they all belong to two common types. The one represents the type struck within ca the first nine years of Maurice’s reign (MIBEc 95A). These folles (Byz 65 – 70) usually bore a blundered obverse legend.¹⁹ The second type of folles (MIBEC 96C) was struck after 589 when legends gradually started to be fixed (Byz 71 – 87).²⁰

The epoch of Phocas (602-610) is represented in the collection of NMA just by twelve coins (Byz 94 – 105). Most of the issues are again folles and the vast majority represent a type depicting the imperial couple (Byz 94 – 103) which was used in the mint of Antioch during the first seven regnal years of Phocas (thus meaning 602 – 608/9).²¹ One issue (Byz 104) in the “old dépôt” represents the type of follis depicting the bearded bust of Phocas which started to be employed on Byzantine coins during the first years of his reign (ca 603); but was adopted in Antioch later, sometime by 608.²² The other denominations are not represented with the only exception of one half-follis (Byz 105).

¹⁷ Most of the published and visited collection include only the issues with II/III, see e.g. DOC I, 243; Barber col.; BMC.

¹⁸ BNPI, 142.

¹⁹ E.g. BNP I, 194-195.

²⁰ MIBEc, 54.

²¹ see MIBEc, 196; BNP I, 234.

²² see MIBEc, 66, 196.

f) Interesting overstrikes

The «old dépôt» of the NMA has provided evidence on two interesting overstrikes of Antiochene coins (Byz 103 and 106). The obverse of Byz 103 does not bear any marks of an overstrike, but the reverse was evidently overstruck as there are visible traces of two value marks ($\mathfrak{M}$) and it seems as there was a part of Heraclius' monogram in the left field ($\mathfrak{K}$); however, further study of this specimen is rendered impossible due to its state of preservation.



Illustration 3: Reverse of coin Byz 103.

Another example of an overstruck coin in the issue Byz 106 depicts two figures (Heraclius and Heraclius) struck above an imperial consular bust (ill.4). The consular bust belongs to Maurice as the barely legible original obverse legend corresponds to those used on his Antiochene coins and the reverse evidently represents an overstruck M. The Latin version of M in combination with the consular bust can be found just on Maurice's coins.²³ The mintmark which resembles CHUΠ is visible, but it was evidently overstruck. The mintmark and the traces of the standing figures are rather similar to Heraclius' coins struck somewhere in Syria, but most probably not in Antioch.²⁴



Illustration 4: Coin Byz 106.

²³ type MIBEc, 159-160(type 96); DOC I, 341 (type 16).

²⁴ The elements are rather similar to the class IV (Heraclius with Heraclius-Constantine), Pottier 2004, 109, 154 (54.4).

Constantine the Great and his House (324 -364)

Gold

Solidus

Date: 347 – 355

Obv. FL IVL CONSTAN-TIVS PERP AVC

Bust, draped and cuirassed, with pearl diadem.

Emperor: Constantius II

Rev. GLORIA-REI-PVBLICAE.

Roma and Constantinopolis enthroned, the former facing, the latter turned to the l. Between them a shield inscribed VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX. Roma's head is facing and her arm is beneath the shield. Roma holds spear in l. hand; Constantinopolis holds scepter in l. hand and rests r. foot on a prow. In exergue mintmark SMAN, *off*.

RIC VIII, p.518 (no.83)

Rom 1

Obv. FL IVL CONSTAN-TIVS PERP AVC

Rev. GLORIA-REI-PVBLICAE, *off*. Θ

w. 4,512 gr.; s. 2,2 cm; die axis 6 o'clock

NM id.no. 100-11300αα (49)

Obv. FL IVL CONSTAN-TIVS PERP AVC

Three-quarter bust, wearing helmet, cuirassed, holding spear and a shield depicting horseman spearing fallen enemy.

Emperor: Constantius II

Rev. GLORIA-REI-PVBLICAE.

Roma and Constantinopolis enthroned, the former facing, the latter turned to the l. Between them they support a shield inscribed VOT/XXX/MVLT/XXX. Roma's head is facing and her arm is beneath the shield. Roma holds spear in l.hand; Constantinopolis holds scepter in l. hand and rests r. foot on a prow. In exergue mintmark SMAN, *off*., and a dot.

RIC VIII, p.519 (no.88)

Rom 2

Obv. FL IVL CONSTAN-TIVS PERP AVC

Rev. GLORIA-REI-PVBLICAE, *off*. Z with a dot.

w. 4,303 gr.; s.2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock

NM id.no. 106-11367ρ29 (49)

Silver

Date: 361 – 363

Reduced siliquae

Obv. FL CL IVL-IANVS P F AVG

Bust, draped and cuirassed, pearl-diadmed.

Emperor: Julian Apostate
 Rev. VOTIS/X/MVLTIS/XX
 Legend within wreath. In exergue mintmark ANT.
 Date: 361-363
 RIC VIII, p. 531 (no. 211)
 Rom 3 Obv. FL CL IV [...] NVS P F AVG
 Rev. VOTIS/X/MVLTIS/XX
 w. 1,978 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
 NM id.no. PIANKOYP 1907/8 KE I 9839 (38) (62)

Bronze

Date: 324 – 5

Obv. No legend
 Bust to l. laureate, draped and cuirasses.
 Emperor: Constantin II
 Rev. CONSTAN/TINVS/CAESAR in three lines, a star above. In
 exergue mintmark SMANT, off.
 RIC VII, p. 686 (no.54)
 Rom 4 Obv. No legend
 Rev. CONSTAN/TINVS/CAESAR, off. illeg.
 w. 1,755 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11160 (40)

Obv. No legend
 Bust to left, laureate, draped, cuirasses.
 Emperor: Crispus (caesar)
 Rev. CRISPVS/CAESAR, a star above. In exergue a mintmark
 SMANT, off., a dot below the mintmark.
 RIC VII, 687 (no.58)
 Rom 5 Obv. No legend
 Rev. CRISPVS/CAESAR, off. E
 w. 2,2 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
 NM id.no. 74/11,116 (38)

Rom 6 Obv. No legend
 Rev. CRISPVS/CAESAR, off.B
 w. 1,392 gr.; s.1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 1891-1892 Θ!66 (39)

Date: 325/6

Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
 Laureate bust.
 Emperor: Constantin I
 Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG
 Camp gate, two turrets, no doors, star above; varying number of stone
 layers. In exergue mintmark SMANT, off.

- Rom 7 RIC VII, p.688 (no.63)
Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVC
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off.A
w. 2,81 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 10844 (19)
- Rom 8 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVC
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG, off. A
w. 2,868 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 10849α (19)
- Rom 9 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVC
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG, off. Γ
w. 2,676 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 10851 (19)
- Rom 10 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVC
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off. Γ
w. 4,124 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 10852α (19)
- Rom 11 Obv. Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVC
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off. S
w. 2,606 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 10854 (19)
- Rom 12 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG, off.Δ
w. 2,612 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1902-903 1! 208 (28)
- Rom 13 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG, off.A
w. 3,699 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no.A-E 328 H!(4) (33)
- Rom 14 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off. A
w. 3,727 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 329 H!(4) (33)
- Rom 15 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG, off. A
w. 2,418 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 330 H!(4) (33)
- Rom 16 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off.illeg.
w. 3,21 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 335 H!(4) (33)
- Rom 17 Obv. [...]TAN – TI[...] PA[...]
Rev. PROVIDEN – [...], off. B (?)
w. 2,913 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 337!H(4) (33)
- Rom 18 Obv. CONS [...] - [...]VS[...]
Rev. [...]AE[...], off.illeg.
w. 2,629 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 342!H(4) (33)

- Obv. FL IVL CRISPVS NOB CAES
Bust to l. laureate, draped and cuirasses.
Emperor: Crispus (caesar)
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS
Camp gate, two turrets, star above, varying number of stone layers. In
exergue mintmark SMANT, off.
RIC VII, p.688 (no.64)
- Rom 19 Obv. FL IVL CRISPVS NOB CAES
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS, off. Z
w. 3,483 gr.; s.2 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 554 H!(4) (39)
- Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Bust laur. to l., draped and cuirassed.
Emperor: Constantine II (caesar)
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG
Camp gate, two turrets, star above; varying number of stone layers. In
exergue mintmark SMANT, off.
RIC VII, p. 688 (no.65)
- Rom 20 Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCS, off. Δ
w. 2,543 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no.11189 (41)
Note: hole
- Rom 21 Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCS, off. H
w. 2,936 gr.; s. 2cm; die axis 5 cm
NM id.no. 11192
- Rom 22 Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCS, off. H
w. 3,5 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 1896-97 IB II 119 (45)
- Obv. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C
Bust laur. to l., draped and cuirassed.
Emperor: Constantius II (caesar)
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS. Camp gate, two turrets, star above;
varying number of stone layers. In exergue mintmark SMANT, off.
RIC VII, p.688 (no.66)
- Rom 23 Obv. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS, off. Γ
w. 2,823 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11304α (49)
- Rom 24 Obv. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS, off. E
w. 2,679 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 766 H4 (61)
- Obv. FLAV MAX-FAVSTA AVG
Female bare head, waved hair, mantled.

- Empress: Fausta
Rev. SALVS REI-PVBLICAE
Salus stg. to front, looking l., veiled; two children in her arms. In
exergue mintmark SMANT, off.
RIC VII, p.689 (no.68)
- Rom 25 Obv. FLAV MAX-FAVSTA AVG
Rev. SALVS REI-PVBLICAE, off. E
w. 2,98 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 535 H!(4) (38)
- Obv. FLAV MAX-FAVSTA AVG
Bare head, waved hair, mantled.
Empress: Fausta
Rev.SPES REIP-VBLICAE
Female personification stg. to front, looking l., veiled; two children in
her arms. In exergue mintmark SMANT, off.
RIC VII, p.689 (no.69)
- Rom 26 Obv. FLAV MAX-FAVSTA AVG
Rev.SPES REIP-VBLICAE, off. I
w. 2,605 gr.; s.1,9 cm, die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 536 H!(4) (38)
- Date: 326-7**
- Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Laureate bust.
Empress: Constantine I
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG
Camp gate, two turrets, no doors, star above, dot in the gate; varying
number of stone layers. Mintmark in exergue SMANT, off.
RIC VII, p. 690 (no.71)
- Rom 27 Obv. CONSTAN - TINVS AVC
Rev. PROVIDEN - TIAE AVCC, off. Z
w. 2,979 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 10853β (19)
- Rom 28 Obv. CONSTAN- [...]S[...]
Rev. Rev.PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG, off. Γ
w. 2,883gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 333 H!(4) (33)
- Rom 29 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off. E
w. 3,315 gr.; s.2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 338 H!(4) (33)
- Rom 30 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off.Z
w. 3,161 gr.; s.2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 339H!(4) (33)
- Rom 31 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVC AVC
Rev. [...]D[...]AVCC, off. A (or Δ)
w. 2,543 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 6 o'clock

- Rom 32 NM id.no. A-E 340 H!(4) (33)
Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVC
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off. Illeg.
w. 2,63 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E341H!(4) (33)
- Rom 33 Obv. CONST [...] TINVS AVC
Rev. PROVIDEN – TIAE AVCC, off. Γ
w.3,343 gr.; s.1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 10850 (19)
- Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Bust laur. to l., draped and cuirassed.
Emperor: Constantine II
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS
Camp gate, two turrets, a dot in the upper part of the doors, star above the gate; varying number of stone layers. In exergue mintmark SMANT, off.
RIC VII, p. 690 (no.73)
- Rom 34 Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS, off.H
w. 3,216 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. II780 (19)
- Rom 35 Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS, off. Δ
w. 3,347 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11191 (41)
- Rom 36 Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB AVG
Rev. PROVI[...]E[], off. Δ
w. 3,144 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 1894-1895 440 H! (44)
- Rom 37 Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS, off. Δ
w. 3,771 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1902-1903 Z! 104 (45)
- Rom 38 Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS, off.I
w. 2,762 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 647H!(4) (45)
- Rom 39 Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS, off. Δ
w. 3,437 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id. No. 11190 (41)
- Rom 40 Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS, off.S (?)
w. 3,5 gr.; s. 2cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 1896-97 IB II 120 (45)
- Obv. FL IVL CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Bust laur. to l., draped and cuirassed.
Emperor: Constantine II (caesar)

- Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS
Camp gate, two turrets, star above; varying number of stone layers. A dot in the upper part of the door. In exergue mintmark SMANT, off.
RIC VII, p. 690 (no.74)
- Rom 41 Obv. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C
Rev. PROVID[EN]-TIAE CAESS, off. H
w. 3,28 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 767 H4 (61)
- Date: 327 – 329**
- Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Head with a rossette-diadem.
Emperor: Constantine I
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG
Camp gate, two turrets, no doors, star above; varying number of stone layers.. In exergue mintmark SMANT, off.
RIC VII, p.691 (no.78)
- Rom 42 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off. Γ
w. 2,546 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 10852 (19)
- Rom 43 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS [...] PAVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off. Γ
Note: Unusual obverse legend, part of it illegible. No parallels.
w. 2,957 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 334!H4 (33)
- Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Head with a plain diadem.
Emperor: Constantine I
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG
Camp gate, two turrets, no doors, star above; varying number of stone layers. Letters Δ- E in the left and right fields. In exergue mintmark SMANT.
RIC VII, p.691 (no.79)
- Rom 44 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC
w. 2,616 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 10849 (19)
- Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Head with rossette diadem.
Emperor: Constantine I
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG
Camp gate, two turrets, star above; varying number of stone layers. A dot in the upper part of door. In exergue mintmark SMANTA, dot above, off.
RIC VII, p.691 (no.81)
- Rom 45 Obv. CONSTAN [...]

- Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off.ileg.
w. 3,124 gr.; s.2 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 1892-93 KΘ! 979 (29)
- Rom 46 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off. E
w. 4,051 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 336 H!4 (33)
- Rom 47 Obv. CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off.B
w. 2,812 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 331 H!(4) (33)
- Rom 48 Obv. [...]N-INVS AVCC
Rev. PRO[...]TIAE AVCC, off. B
w.3,538 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 332 H!(4) (33)

Date: 329-330

- Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Bust with rosette diadem, draped, cuirassed.
Emperor: Constantine I
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG
Camp gate, two turrets, star above; varying number of stone layers. In
exergue SMANTA, off.
RIC VII, p.692 (no.84)
- Rom 49 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Rev. PROVIDEN-TIAE AVCC, off.Z
w. 2,555 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 10853α (19)

Date: 330-335

- Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Bust to r., rosette diademe, cuirassed. Emperor: Constantine I
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS
Two soldiers standing facing each another, each holding reversed
spear and resting hand on shield set on ground; between them two
standards. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.
RIC VII, p.693 (no.86)
- Rom 50 Obv. CONSTANTI [...] XAVC
Rev. CLOR [...] XERC- [I]TVS, off.B
w.2,565 gr.; s.1,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
10796 (17)
- Rom 51 Obv. CONSTANTIN[...]MAX[...]
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. B
w. 1,942 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 10796α (17)
- Rom 52 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVC
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off.Γ
w. 2,41 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 5 o'clock

- Rom 53 NM id.no. 10796β (17)
Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVC
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off.Γ
w. 2,69 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 10797 (17)
- Rom 54 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVC
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. Δ
w. 2,765 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 10798α (17)
- Rom 55 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVC
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off.illegal.
w. 3,04 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 10806 (17)
- Rom 56 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off.Γ
w. 2,003 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 218 H! (4)
- Rom 57 Obv. CONSTAN[TI]- NVS MAX AVG
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off.Γ
w. 2,83 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 280 H!(4) (32)
- Rom 58 Obv. CONS [...] MAX [...]
Rev. legend illeg., off.Γ
w. 1,625 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 281 H! (4) (32)
- Rom 59 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. Δ
w. 2,632 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 288 H! (4) (32)
- Rom 60 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Rev. [...] ITVS, off. Δ.
w. 2,49 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 289 H! (4) (32)
- Rom 61 Obv. [...] -NVS MAX AVG
Rev. [...] ITVS, off.Γ (or A?)
w. 2,135 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 290 H! (4) (32)
- Rom 62 Obv. CONSTANTI – [...]
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. Δ
w. 2,695 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 1910/11 KE! 443 (26π)
- Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS IVN NOB C
Bust laur. to r., cuirassed. Emperor: Constantine II
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS
Two soldiers standing facing each other, each holding reversed
spear and resting hand on shield set on ground; between them two
standards. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.
RIC VII, p.693 (no.87)
- Rom 63 Obv. CONSTANTINV[S] IVN [NOB C]

- Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. E
w. 2,815 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 1904-5 ΛΘ! 74 (27)
- Rom 64 Obv. CONST[...]TINVS IVN NOB C
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. E
w. 2,93 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11174α (40)
- Rom 65 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS IVN NOB C
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. Θ
w. 2,379 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11175 (40)
- Rom 66 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS IVN NOB C
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. Θ
w. 2,125 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11176 (40)
- Rom 67 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS IVN NOB C
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. Θ
w. 2,622 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11177 (40)
- Rom 68 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS IVN NOB C
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. S
w. 2,311 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11178 (40)
- Rom 69 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS I [...] B C
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. S
w. 3,198 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 590 H!(4) (43)
- Rom 70 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS I [...] B C
Rev. GLOR-IA EX[ERC]-ITVS, off. S
w. 2,85 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 591 H!(4) (43)
- Rom 71 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS IVN NOB C
Rev. [...] EXERC-ITVS, off. S
w. 2,617 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 1899/1900 IF 3P.Βασιλεων
- Rom 72 Obv. CONSTANTI – [...] NOB C
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. S
w. 2,607 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 1910/11 KE! 449 (26π)
- Rom 73 Obv. CONSTA [...] OB [...]
Rev. GL[...] – [...] EXERC – ITVS, off. Θ (?)
w. 2,293 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 1910-1911 ΛΓ 17 (27)

Obv. FL IVL CONTANTIVS NOB C
Bust laureate and cuirassed. Emperor: Constantius II
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS
Two soldiers standing facing each another, each holding reversed spear and resting hand on shield set on ground; between them two standards. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.

- Rom 74 RIC VII, p. 693 (no.88)
Obv. FL IVL CONTANTIVS NOB C
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. H
w. 2,020 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 724H4 (61)
- Rom 75 Obv. FL IVL CONTANTIVS NOB C
Rev. GLOR-[I]A EXERC-ITVS, off. H
w. 2,43 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 725 H4 (61)
- Rom 76 Obv. [...] NTIVS NOB C
Rev. [...] CON [...], off.?
w. 2,451 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E726H4 (61)

Date: 335-337

- Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Bust to r., cuirassed, rosette diademe. Emperor: Constantine I
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS
Two soldiers standing facing each another, each holding reversed spear and resting hand on shield set on ground; between them one standard. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.
RIC VII, p. 697 (no.108)
- Rom 77 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Rev. GLOH-IAEXE[...]. In exergue SMAN [B?], off. badly legible
w. 1,832 gr.; s. 1,1 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 10795 (17)
- Rom 78 Obv. Illegible
Rev. GLO[...]. In exergue SMAN, illeg. officina
w. 1,345 gr; s. 1,1 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 10795a (17)
Note: Badly legible, it could be also RIC VII, p.697 (no.109-111)
- Rom 79 Obv. CONSTANT [...]
Rev. GLO [...] A [...] VS, off. Γ
w.1,512 gr.; s. 1,5 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no.1902-1903KE!24 (28)
- Rom 80 Obv. CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. Δ
w. 1,2 gr.; s. 1,1 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 291 H! (4) (32)

- Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Bust laureate and cuirassed. Emperor: Constantine II
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS
Two soldiers standing facing each another, each holding reversed spear and resting hand on shield set on ground; between them one standard. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.
RIC VII, p.697 (no.109)
- Rom 81 Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C

- Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. E
w. 1,827 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11162
- Rom 82 Obv. Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-[...], off. Illeg.
w. 1,7 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 639 H!(4)
- Obv. FL IVL CONSTANS NOB C
Bust laureate and cuirassed. Emperor: Constans I
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS
Two soldiers standing facing each another, each holding reversed
spear and resting hand on shield set on ground; between them one
standard. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.
RIC VII, p. 697 (no.111)
- Rom 83 Obv. FL IVL CONSTANS NOB C
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS
w. 1,83 gr; s. 1,5 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 686 H!4 (58)

Date: 330-337

- Obv. VRBS-ROMA
Helmeted bust of Roma to l., wearing imperial cloak.
Rev. She-wolf l., suckling twins; above two stars. In exergue
mintmark SMAN, off. θ
RIC VII, p.693 (no.91) and 697 (no.113)
- Rom 84 Obv. VRB[...]-ROMA
Rev. off.θ
w. 2,856 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11074α (25)
- Rom 85 Obv. VRBS ROMA
Rev. off.θ
w. 1,7 gr; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1891-92 Θ! 62 (28)
- Rom 86 Obv. VRBS-[ROMA]
Rev. off.θ
w. 1,485 gr.; s.1,5 gr.; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 486H!(4) (36)
- Rom 87 Obv. Illeg.
Rev. off.illeg.
w. 1,763 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 487H!(4) (36)
- Obv. CONSTAN-TINOPOLIS
Laur. helmeted bust of Constantinopolis to l., wearing imperial cloak,
reversed spear.
Rev. Victory standing l. on prow, holding spear in r. hand, resting
l.hand on shield. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off. I.

- Rom 88 RIC VII, p.693 (no.92) or 697 (no.114)
Obv. CONSTAN-TINOPOLIS
Rev. off.I
w. 2,413 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11061 (25)
- Rom 89 Obv. CONSTAN-TINOPOLIS
Rev. off.I
w. 2,676 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11062 (25)
- Rom 90 Obv. [...] -TINOPOLIS
Rev. off. I
w. 2, 263 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11062 α (25)
- Rom 91 Obv. CONSTAN-TINOPOLIS
Rev. off. I
w. 2,074 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11062 β (25)
- Rom 92 Obv. CONSTAN-TINOPOLIS
Rev. off. I
w. 2,171 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 11062 γ (25)
- Rom 93 Obv. CONSTAN-TINOPOLIS
Rev. off. I
w. 1,47 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 433 H!(4) (35)
- Rom 94 Obv. COSTAN-TINOPOLIS (missin N?)
Rev. off. I
w. 1,9 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 434 H!(4) (35)
- Rom 95 Obv. CONSTAN-TINOPOLIS
Rev. off. I
w. 2,252 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 435 H!(4) (35)

Date: 335

- Obv. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C
Laureate bust and cuirassed.
Emperor: Constantius II
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS
Two soldiers standing, facing one another, each holding reversed spear and resting hand on shield set on ground; between them, two standards. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.
RIC VII, p. 693 (no.88)
- Rom 96 Obv. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C
Rev. CKOR-[...]A EXERC-ITVA, off. Θ or E
w. 2,717 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11292 (49)
- Rom 97 Obv. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C

- Rev. CLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. Z
w. 3,66 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; dia axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11293 (49)
- Rom 98 Obv. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C
Rev. CLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. Z
w. 2,361 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11294 (49)
- Date: 337-347**
- Obv. DV CONSTANTI-NVS PT AVGG
Profile bust to r., draped and cuirassed, veiled. Emperor: Constantine I
Rev. No legend. Emperor, veiled, to.r. in quadriga; the hand of God reaches down to him. A star in the upper field. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.
AE 4 (15 – 16 mm)
RIC VIII, p.515 (no. 37)
- Rom 99 Obv. DV CONSTANTI-NVS PPAVCC
Rev. off. E
w. 1,121; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. II781 (23)
- Obv. DV CONSTANTI-NVS PT AVGG
Profile bust to r., draped and cuirassed, veiled. Emperor: Constantine I
Rev. No legend. Emperor, veiled, to.r. in quadriga; the hand of God reaches down to him. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.
AE 4 (15 – 16 mm)
RIC VIII, p.515 (no. 39)
- Rom 100 Obv. Illeg.
Rev. off. Γ
w. 1,685 gr.; s. 1,4 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 11023 (24)
- Rom 101 Obv. Illeg.
Rev. off. Δ (?)
w. 1,418 gr.; s. 1,5 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11023α (24)
- Rom 102 Obv. DV CONSTANTI-NVS PPAVC
Rev. off. Γ
w. 1,407 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 9 o'clock
NM id.no. 1907/8KE15 Συλ.Πιανκούρ (30)
- Obv. CONSTAN-TIVS AVG
Bust laureate, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Constantius II
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS
Two helmeted soldiers facing, heads turned towards each other; each holds an inverted spear and rests on a shield; between them a standard. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.
AE 4 (15 – 16 mm)
RIC VIII, p.515 (no.44)

- Rom 105 Obv. CONSTAN-TIVS AVG
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. H
w. 1,392 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11560 (56)
- Obv. CONSTAN-TIVS AVG
Bust draped and cuirassed, pearl diadem. Emperor: Constantius II
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS
Two helmeted soldiers facing, heads turned towards each other; each holds an inverted spear and rests on a shield; between them a standard. Two dots in the upper part (one in l.field and one in r.field).
In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.
AE 4 (15 – 16 mm)
RIC VIII, p.515 (no.52)
- Rom 103 Obv. CONSTAN [...]
Rev. [...]ITVS, off. Γ
w. 1,177gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11248β (47)
- Rom 104 Obv. CONSTAN [...] AV [...]
Rev. GLO[...], off. Γ
w. 1,613 gr.; s. 1,4 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 11249 (47)
- Rom 106 Obv. CONSTAN-TIVS AVG
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. AI
w. 1,254 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11559 (56)
- Rom 107 Obv. CONSTAN-TIVS AVG
Rev. GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS, off. ΔI
w. 2,1 gr.; s. 1,4 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 760 H4 (61)

Date: 347-348

- Obv. DV CONSTANTI-NVS PT AVGG
Profile bust to r., draped and cuirassed, veiled. Emperor: Constantine I
Rev. VN-MR. Emperor standing r., veiled, raising r. hand. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.
AE 4 (15 – 16 mm)
RIC VIII, p.521 (no. 112)
- Rom 108 Obv. leg.illeg.
Rev. VN-MR, off. Γ
w. 1,785 gr.; s. 1,5 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 11017 (24)
- Rom 109 Obv. DV CONST [...]
Rev. VN – MR (look more like MII), off. illeg.
w. 1,344 gr.; s. 1,61 cm; die axis 1,1
NM id.no. 1891-1892Θ!61 (29)

Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS AVG

- Head only, pearl diadem. Emperor: Constantius II
 Rev. VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX
 Legend within wreath. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.
 AE 4 (15 – 16 mm)
 RIC VIII, p. 521 (no.113)
- Rom 110 Obv. [...] AVC
 Rev. VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX, off.AI
 w. 2,185 gr.; s. 1,5 cm; die axis 1 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11581 (56)
- Rom 111 Obv. [...]CONS[...]
 Rev. VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX, off.illeg.
 w. 1,6 gr.; s. 1,4 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11582 (56)
- Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS AVG
 Head only, pearl diadem. Emperor: Constantius II
 Rev. VOT/XV/MVLT/XX
 Legend within wreath. In exergue mintmark SMAN, off.
 AE 4 (15 – 16 mm)
 RIC VIII, p. 521 (no.114).
- Rom 112 Obv. [...] CONST [...]
 Rev. VOT/XV/MVLT/XX, off. illeg., mintmark badly legible
 w. 2,1 gr.; s. 1,4 cm; die axis 2 o'clock
 NM id.no. A-E 782 H4 (57)
- Rom 113 Obv. Illeg.
 Rev. VOT/XV/MVLT/XX, off. I
 w. 1,486 gr.; s. 1,4 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. A-E 695 H4 (59)
 Note: the legend is illegible, the bust could also belong to Constans,
 RIC VIII, p. 521 (no. 116)
- Obv. DN CONSTA-NS PF AVG
 Head only, pearl diadem. Emperor: Constans
 Rev. VOT/XV/MVLT/XX
 Legend within wreath. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
 AE 4 (15 – 16 mm)
 RIC VIII, p. 521 (no.120)
- Rom 114 Obv. [...]CONS [...] NS PUAVC
 Rev. VOT/XV/MVLT/XX, off. illeg.
 w. 1,327 gr.; s. 1,4 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. A-E 697 H!4 (59)
- Rom 115 Obv.[...] NS PF AVC
 Rev. VOT/XV/MVLT/XX, off.Θ
 w. 1,663 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11279A

Date: 348 – 350

Obv. DN CONSTA – NS PF AVG

- Bust, pearl diademe, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Constans
Rev. FEL TEMP-REPARATIO
Emperor in military dress standing l. on gallery, holding phoenix on globe and standard with Cho-Rho on banner; in the stern sits Victory, steering the ship. In exergue mintmark AN, off.
AE 3 (22-23 mm)
RIC VIII, p.522 (124)
- Rom 116 Obv. DN CONSTA – NS PF AVG
Rev. FEL TEMP-REPARATIO, off. Θ; star in the right field
w. 4,181 gr.; s. 2,4 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11221 (46)
- Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Bust to l., with pearl diadem. draped and cuirassed, gl. in right hand.
Emperor: Constantius II
Rev. FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO
Emperor in military dress standing l., holding standard with various ornaments on banner and resting l. hand on shield; in front of Emperor are two captives kneeling. In exergue mintmark AN, off.
AE 3 (20-21 mm)
RIC VIII, 522 (no.125)
- Rom 117 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FEL TE[...] REPARATIO, off. A
w. 4,875 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 11318α (50)
- Obv. DN CONSTA – NS PF AVG
Bust to l., draped and cuirassed, gl. in right hand, with pearl diadem.
Emperor: Constans
Rev. FEL TEMP-REPARATIO
Helmeted soldier, spear in l.hand, advancing r., head turned to l.; with his r. hand, he leads a small bare-headed figure from a hut beneath a tree. The spear points downwards, between the soldier's legs. In exergue mintmark AN, off.
AE 3 (20-21 mm)
RIC VIII, p.522 (no.126).
- Rom 118 Obv. DN CONSTA – NS PF AVG
Rev. FELTEMP REPA [...], off.illegal.
w. 3,666 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 1892-93 Λ!403
- Obv. DN CONSTA – NS PF AVG
Bust to l., draped and cuirassed, gl. in right hand, with pearl diadem.
Emperor: Constans
Rev. FEL TEMP-REPARATIO
Helmeted soldier, spear in l.hand, advancing r., head turned to l.; with his r. hand, he leads a small bare-headed figure from a hut beneath a tree. The spear points downwards, between the soldier's legs. A star in l.field. In exergue mintmark AN, off.
AE 3 (20-21 mm)

- Rom 119 RIC VIII, p. 522 (no.128)
Obv. illeg.
Rev. FEL TEMP REPARATIO (badly legible), off. illeg.
w. 3,735 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1896-97 IB! II 134 (59)
- Rom 120 Obv. DN CONSTAN [...]
Rev. FEL TEMP – [...]O, off.Δ (?)
w. 3,284 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1909/10 IE! 4 (23π)
- Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Bust to l., draped and cuirassed, gl. in right hand, with pearl diadem.
Emperor: Constantius II
Rev. FEL-TEMPRE-PARATIO
Phoenix, radiate, stg. r. on globe. A star in right field. In exergue
mintmark AN, off.
AE 3 (17 – 18 mm)
- Rom 121 RIC VIII, p.522 (no.129)
Obv. DN CONSTAN – [...] PPAVC
Rev. FEL TEMP R [...], off. E
w. 2,197 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11553 (55)
- Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Bust to l., with pearl diadem, draped and cuirassed, gl. in right hand.
Emperor: Constantius II
Rev. FELTEMP-REPARATIO
Helmeted soldier to l., shield on l. arm, spearing falling horseman;
shield on ground at r. Horseman is diademed and bearded; he turns to
face soldier and extends l. arm. Letter Γ in l. field on reverse. In
exergue mintmark AN, off.
AE 2 (22-23 mm)
- Rom 122 RIC VIII, p.523 (no.132)
Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMP-REPARATIO, off. B
w. 5,85 gr.; s. 2,2 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 11355 (51)
- Rom 123 Obv. Leg.illegible
Rev. leg.illeg., off. Illeg.
w. 5,913 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 7 o'clock
NM id.no. 11356 (51)
- Rom 124 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTE [...] PARATIO, off. BI
w. 4,97 gr.; s. 2,5 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 11357 (51)
- Rom 125 Obv. [...] TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMPRE-PARATIO, off.Γ
w. 6,58 gr.; s. 2,2 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 11359 (51)
- Rom 126 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC

- Rev. FELTEMP-REPARATIO, off. Γ
w. 5,73 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 11363 (51)
- Rom 127 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS [...]
Rev. FELTEMP-REPARATIO, off. Γ
w. 4,014 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11364 (51)
- Rom 128 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMPRE-PARATIO, off. Δ
w. 6,78 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 11369 (51)
- Rom 129 Obv. DN CONS[...] - TIVS PPAVC
Rev. [...] PARATIO, off. ΔI
w. 5,135 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 4 o'clock
NM id.no. 11371 (51)
- Rom 130 Obv. DN CONSTAN-[T]IVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMPRE-PARATIO, off. ΔI
w. 3,758 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 11372 (51)
- Rom 131 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMP[RE]-PARATIO, off. ΔI
w. 5,662 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11373 (51)
- Rom 132 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMPRE - PARATIO, off. and mintmark badly legible
w. 4,88 gr.; s. 2,2 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 11374 (51)
- Rom 133 Obv. DN CONSTAN [...]
Rev. FELTEMPRE - PARATIO, off. A or (Δ)
w. 5,238 gr.; s. 2,2 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 11375 (51)
- Rom 134 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMPRE - PARATIO, off. E
w. 5,399 gr.; s. 2,2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11376 (51)
- Rom 135 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMPRE - PARATIO, off. H
w. 4,435 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11379 (51)
- Rom 136 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMPRE - PARATIO, off. H
w. 4,33 gr.; s. 2,2 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11380 (51)
- Rom 137 Obv. DN CONS [...] - TIVS PPAVC
Rev. [...] PRE – PARATIO, off. I (or Γ)
w. 5,271 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11384 (51)
- Rom 138 Obv. [...] CONSTAN – TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTE[M]PRE – [P]ARATIO, off. I
w. 4,501 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 12 o'clock

- Rom 139 NM id.no. 11385 α (51)
Obv. DN CON [...] - TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEM[...]A[...], off. I
w. 4,434 gr.; s. 2,4 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11385 β (51)
- Rom 140 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMP-REPARATIO, off. I
w. 5,43 gr.; s. 2,4 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 11386 (51)
- Rom 141 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO, off. θ
w. 3,907 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11387 (51)
- Rom 142 Obv. [...]N[...]TIVS[...]AVCC
Rev. FEL-TEMPRE-PA [...], off. S
w. 6,122 gr.; s. 2,4 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11389 (51)
- Obv. DN CONSTANT-IVS NOB CAES
Bust bareheaded, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Constantius Gallus
Rev. FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO
Helmeted soldier to l., shield on l. arm, spearing falling horseman;
shield on ground at r. Horseman is diademed and bearded; he turns to
face soldier. Letter Γ in left field. In exergue mintmark AN, off.
AE 2 (22-23 mm)
RIC VIII, p. 523 (no.134)
- Rom 143 Obv. DN CONSTANT [...]
Rev. FELT [...], off. E (?)
w. 5,772 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11597 (59)
- Rom 144 Obv. DN CONSTANTI-VS NOB CAES
Rev. FEL-TEMPRE-PARATIO, off. Δ I
w. 5,312 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 3/11598
- Rom 145 Obv. DN CONSTANTI-VS NOB CAES
Rev. FEL-TEMPRE-PARATIO, off. illeg.
w. 4,913 gr.; s. 2,4 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11599 (59)

Date: 350 – 355

Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Bust to l., draped and cuirassed, gl. in right hand, with pearl diadem.
Emperor: Constantius II
Rev. FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO
Helmeted soldier to l., shield on l. arm, spearing falling horseman;
shield on ground at r. Horseman is diademed and bearded; he falls
forward on neck of horse. Letter Γ in l. field. In exergue mintmark
AN, off.

- AE 2 (22-23 mm)
RIC VIII, 523 (no. 135)
- Rom 146 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO, off. A
w. 4,963 gr.; s. 2,4 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11349 (50)
- Rom 147 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO, off. A
w. 6,66 gr.; s. 2,4 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11350 (50)
- Rom 148 Obv. [...] – TIVS PPAVC
Rev. illeg., off. II
w. 3,993 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 11351 (50)
- Rom 149 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. [...] EPARATIO, off. BI
w. 4,384 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11352 (50)
- Rom 150 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMPRE-PARATIO, off. B.
w. 5,347 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11354 (50)
- Rom 151 Obv. DN CONSTAN-[TIVS PP] AVC
Note: the right part of the legend badly executed
Rev. FELTEMPRE-PARATIO, off. Γ.
w. 5,519 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11360 (51)
- Rom 152 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMP-REPARATIO, off. Γ
w. 6,19 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 11361 (51)
- Rom 153 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMP-REPARATIO, off. Γ
w. 5,504 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11362 (51)
- Rom 154 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTEMPRE-PARATIO, off. ΓI
w. 6,117 gr.; s. 2,2 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 11365 (51)
- Rom 155 Obv. [...] - TIVS PPAVC
Rev. Rev. FELTEMP [...], off. Δ
w. 4,805 gr.; s. 2,4 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11367 (51)
- Rom 156 Obv. [...] - TIVS PPAVC
Rev. leg. illeg., off. A (?)
w. 5,54 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11368 (51)
- Rom 157 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. [...] - REPARATIO, off. H
w. 3,936 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 11 o'clock

- Rom 158 NM id.no. 11378 (51)
Obv. DN CO [...] – TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FEL-TEMPRE-PARATIO, off. Θ
w. 3,916 gr.; s. 2,4 cm; die axis 7 o'clock
NM id.no. 11381 (51)
- Rom 159 Obv. DN CONSTAN – [...]
Rev. FEL-TEMPRE-PARATIO, off. Θ
w. 4,102 gr.; s. 2,2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11382 (51)
- Rom 160 Obv. DN CONSTAN- [...] PPAVC
Rev. FEL TEMP [...], off. Γ
w. 5,705 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11390 (51)
- Rom 161 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FEL-TEMPRE-PARA [...], off. I (?)
w. 6,021 gr.; s. 2,5 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 11391 (51)
- Rom 162 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PFAVC (letters badly preserved)
Rev. FEL-TEMPRE-PARATIO, off. illeg.
w. 4,792 gr.; 2,5 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11392α (51)
- Rom 163 Obv. [...]CO[...]
Rev. FEL [...], off. B (?). Note: rather badly legible, just traces of letter Γ.
w. 4,161 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1904-5 ΛΘ! 76 (57)
- Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Bust, draped and cuirassed with pearl diadem. Letter Δ behind the imperial bust. Emperor: Constantius II
Rev. FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO
Helmeted soldier to l., shield on l. arm, spearing falling horseman; shield on ground at r. Horseman is diademed and bearded; he turns face to soldier. In exergue mintmark AN, off.
AE 3 (20-21 mm)
RIC VIII, p. 523 (no.138)
- Rom 164 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FEL TEMP [...]A[...], off. A
w. 3,858 gr.; s. 2,2 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 11366 (51)
- Rom 165 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FEL-TEMPRE-PARATIO, off. ΔI
w. 4,274 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 11377 (51)
- Rom 166 Obv. [...] - TIVS PPAVC
Rev. FELTE [...] – PARA [...], off. Γ
w. 3,313 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11383 (51)

Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC

- Bust, draped and cuirassed with pearl diadem. Letter Δ behind the bust. Emperor: Constantius II
 Rev. FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO
 Helmeted soldier to l., shield on l. arm, spearing falling horseman; shield on ground at r. Horseman is diademed and bearded; he falls forward on neck of horse. In exergue mintmark AN, off.
 AE 2 – 3 (20-22 mm)
 RIC VIII, p.523 (no.140)
- Rom 167
 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
 Rev. illeg., off. ΔI
 w. 4,129 gr.; s.2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11370 (51)
- Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
 Bust, draped and cuirassed with pearl diadem. Emperor: Constantius II
 Rev. FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO
 Helmeted soldier to l., shield on l. arm, spearing falling horseman; shield on ground at r. Horseman is diademed and bearded; he falls forward on neck of horse. In exergue mintmark AN, off.
 AE 3 (17 – 18 mm)
 RIC VIII, p. 524 (no.153)
- Rom 168
 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
 Rev. leg.illeg., off. illeg.
 w. 2,527 gr.; s.1,7 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11353 (50)
 Note: invisible if the horseman is falling forward on neck of horse or turns to the standing soldier, so it could be also RIC VIII, p.524 (no.155).
- Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
 Bust, draped and cuirassed with pearl diadem. Emperor: Constantius II
 Rev. FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO
 Helmeted soldier to l., shield on l. arm, spearing falling horseman; shield on ground at r. Horseman is diademed and bearded; he falls forward on neck of horse. In exergue mintmark AN, off.
 AE 3 (17-18 mm)
 RIC VIII, p.524 (no.155)
- Rom 169
 Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PPAVC
 Rev. [...] REPARATIO, off. H
 w. 2,373 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11380^a

Date: 355 – 361

Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PF AVC
 Bust draped and cuirassed, pearl diadem. Emperor: Constantius II
 Rev. FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO

Helmeted soldier to l., shield on l. arm, spearing falling horseman; shield on ground at r. Horseman is diademed and bearded; he falls forward on neck of horse. In exergue mintmark AN, off.

AE 3 (17 – 18 mm)

RIC VIII, p. 528 (no.190)

Rom 170

Obv. DN CONSTAN-TIVS PF AVC

Rev. FEL-TEMP-REPARATIO, off. B

w. 2,152 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 6 o'clock

NM id.no. A-E702H4 (60)

Date: 361 – 363

Obv. DN FL CL IVLI-ANVS PF AVG

Bearded bust draped and cuirassed, pearl-diademed. Emperor: Julian Apostate

Rev. SECVRITAS REI-PVB

Bull standing right; above, two stars above the bull. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.

AE 1

RIC VIII, p.532 (no.216)

Rom 171

Obv. DN FL CL IVLI-ANVS PF AVG

Rev. SECVRITAS REI-PVB, off. B

w. 8,115 gr.; s. 2,7 cm; die axis 5 o'clock

NM id.no. 11649 (62)

Date: 363 – 364

Obv. DN IOVIAN-VS PF AVG

Bust with diadem, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Jovian

Rev. VICTORIA-ROMANORVM

Emperor in military dress stg. facing, head turned to r., holding standard in r.hand, and Victory holding wreath and palm-branch, standing on globe. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.

AE 1

RIC VIII, p. 533 (no. 228/pearl diadem or 229/rossette diadem)

Rom 172

Obv. Obv. DN IOVIAN [...]

Rev. [...]TORIA [...], off. illegible

w. 7,932 gr.; s. 2,7 cm; die axis 11 o'clock

NM id.no. 10/11667 (63)

Obv. DN IOVIAN-VS PF AVG

Bust, pearl diadem, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Jovian

Rev. VOT/V

Legend within wreath. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.

AE 3 (17 – 18 mm)

RIC VIII, p. 534 (no. 230)

Rom 173

Obv. [...]IAN-VS PF AVG

Rev. VOT/V, off. A

w. 3,41 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11668 (63)

The Valentinian I dynasty

Gold *Solidus*

Date: 364 – 367

- Obv. DN VALENS – PER F AVG
Bust draped and cuirassed, with pearl diadem. Emperor: Valens
Rev. RESTITVTOR – REIPVBLICAE
Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding labarum (or standard with cross) and Victory on globe. In exergue mintmark ANT, off., various symbols around mintmarks.
RIC IX, p. 272 (no. 2d)
- Rom 174 Obv. DN VALENS – PER F AVG
Rev. RESTITVTOR – REIPVBLICAE, cross in the l. field. In the exergue the mintmark with off.: *ANTΓ*
w. 4,375 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 15-11713 (1)
Note: pendant hole
- Rom 175 Obv. DN VALENS – PER F AVG
Rev. RESTITVTOR – REIPVBLICAE, mintmark with off.: *ANTA*
w. 4,048 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 16-11713 (1)
- Rom 176 Obv. DN VALENS – PER F AVG
Rev. RESTITVTOR – REIPVBLICAE, mintmark with off.: ANTS•
w. 4,468 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 1892-3 ΛΑ 19 (1)
- Rom 177 Obv. DN VALENS – PER F AVG
Rev. RESTITVTOR – REIPVBLICAE, mintmark with off.: ANTI*;
maybe the off. is Γ
w. 4,217 gr.; s. 2cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. E 13,1, a.a. Valens aureus (1)
- Rom 178 Obv. DN VALENS – PER F AVG
Rev. RESTITVTOR – REIPVBLICAE, mintmark with off.: ANTΓ*
w. 3,379 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. Συλ.Α.Ρταυ.KE45 190718 (1)

Silver *Siliqua*

Date: 367 – 375

Obv. Obv. DN VALENS – PF AVG
Bust draped and cuirassed, with pearl diadem. Emperor: Valens

Rev. VOT/X/MVLT/XX in laurel wreath. In exergue mintmark ANT,
without off. or with off.
RIC IX, p. 280 (no. 34b)
Rom 179 Obv. DN VALENS – PF AVG
Rev. VOT/X/MVLT/XX, off. illeg.
w. 1,562 gr.; s. 1,9 cm; die axis 1 o'clock
NM id.no. 1910/11 KE! 458 (26π)

Bronze

AES

Date: 364 – 367

Obv. DN VALENS – PF AVG
Bust draped and cuirassed, with pearl diadem. Emperor: Valens
Rev. GLORIA RO-MANORVM
Emperor advancing right, with r. hand dragging a captive and holding
standard in l.hand. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 3
RIC IX, p. 274 (no. 10b)
Rom 180 Obv. [...]VALENS [...]
Rev. GLORIA [...], off. illeg
w. 1,87 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 11701 (64)

Obv. DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG
Bust, pearl diadem. Emperor: Valentinian I
Rev. SECVRITAS – REIPVBLICAE
Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm. In exergue mintmark
ANT, off.
AE 3
RIC IX, p. 275 (no.12a)
Rom 181 Obv. DN VALE [...] VS PF AVG
Rev. SECVRITAS – REIPVBLICAE, off. Γ
w. 3,249 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11692 (63)

Obv. DN VALENS – PF AVG
Bust draped and cuirassed, with pearl diadem. Emperor: Valens
Rev. SECVRITAS – REIPVBLICAE
Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm. In exergue mintmark
ANT, off.
AE 3
RIC IX, p. 275 (no.12b)
Rom 182 Obv. DN VALENS – PF AVG
Rev. SECVRITAS – [...]CAE, off. E
w. 2,536 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1914-15 E 29 (32π)

Date: 378 – 383

- Obv. DN VALENTINIAN IVS PF AVG
Bust, helmeted with pearl diadem, draped and cuirassed, holding spear and shield in front. Emperor: Valentinian I
Rev. GLORIA RO-MANORVM
Emperor standing facing, head r., raising r. hand. Victory seated on helm. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 2
RIC IX, p. 283 (no. 40b)
- Rom 183 Obv. DN VALENTINIAN IVS PF AVG
Rev. GLORIA RO-MANORVM
w. 4,956 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11757 (3)
- Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG
Bust, helmeted with rosette diadem, draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front. Emperor: Theodosius I
Rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM
Emperor standing facing, head r., on ship, raising r. hand. Victory seated at helm. Letter Ω in the left hand. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 2
RIC IX, p. 283 (no. 40e)
- Rom 184 Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG
Rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM, off. Γ
w. 4,936 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 11797 (4)
- Obv. DN THEODOSIVS PF AVG
Bust, with pearl diadem, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Theodosius I
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVGGG
Constantinopolis, turreted, seated facing, on throne, head r., holding sceptre in r. hand and resting l. on knee. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 3
RIC IX, p. 284 (no. 44a)
- Rom 185 Obv. DN THEODOSIVS PF AVG
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVGGG, off. Γ
1,812 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11783 (4)
- Obv. DN VALENTINIAN IVS PF AVG
Bust with pearl diadem, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Valentinian I
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVGGG
Roma, helmeted, seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and partly seen spear; l. leg bare. Θ in the l. field and ΦK in the right field. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 3
RIC IX, 285 (no. 45b)
- Rom 186 Obv. DN VALENTINIAN IVS PF AVC

Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVCCC, off. S (type 4)
w. 2,514 gr.; s. 1,2 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 1908-9 Δ' 13 (20π)

Obv. DN VALENTINIAN IVS PF AVG
Bust rosette diademed, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Valentinian I
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVGGG
Roma, helmeted, seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and partly seen spear; l. leg bare. Θ in the l. field and ΦK in the right field.
In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 3

Rom 187 RIC IX, 285 (no. 45c)
Obv. DN VALENTINIAN IVS PF AVG
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVGGG; off. Γ'
w. 2,102 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 11755 (3)

Obv. DN GRATIA – NVS PPAVC
Bust with pearl diadem, cuirassed and draped. Emperor: Gratian
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVGGG
Roma, helmeted seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and partly seen spear; right leg bare. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 3

Rom 188 RIC IX, p. 286 (no.46a)
Obv. DN GRATIA – NVS PPAVC
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVCCC, off. A, letter Θ in left field (type 1)
w. 2,088 gr.; s. 1,2 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 1307/8 N161 (20π)

Obv. DN VALENTINIANVS PFAVC
Bust with pearl diadem, cuirassed and draped. Emperor: Valentinian I
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVGGG
Roma, helmeted seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and partly seen spear; right leg bare. Letter Θ in l.field. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 3

Rom 189 RIC IX, p. 286 (no.46c)
Obv. DN VALENTINIANVS PFAVC
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVGGG, off. A
w. 2,613 gr.; ,1,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 11755a (3)
Note: Missing Θ, but letter Δ in the right field. This is an unusual feature in the case of the Antiochene issues (unrecorded in RIC) and the only parallels can be found on coins struck in Thessalonike in the names of Gratian or Valentinian I in the same period (see e.g. RIC IX, p.182)

Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVC
Bust with pearl diadem, cuirassed and draped. Emperor: Theodosius
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVGGG

- Roma, helmeted seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and partly seen spear; right leg bare. Letter Θ in r. left and letters Φ/K in the right field. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.Δ.
AE 3
RIC IX, p. 287 (no. 46e)
- Rom 190
Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVC
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVGGG
w. 2,595 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 11777 (3)
- Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVC
Bust with pearl diadem, cuirassed and draped. Emperor: Theodosius I
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVGGG
Constantinopolis, helmeted, facing, seated on throne, head r., holding partly seen spear and globe; r. leg bare; r. foot on prow. Letters in the l. and r. fields (various combinations). In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 3
RIC IX, p. 287 (no. 47c)
- Rom 191
Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS [...]
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVGGG, off. B
w. 2,594 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1904-5 ΛΘ! 79 (5)
- Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVC
Bust rosette diademed, cuirassed and draped. Emperor: Theodosius I
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVGGG
Constantinopolis, helmeted, facing, seated on throne, head r., holding partly seen spear and globe; r. leg bare; r. foot on prow. Letters in the l. and r. fields (various combinations). In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 3
RIC IX, p. 287 (no. 47d)
- Rom 192
Obv. DN THEODO [...]
Rev. CONCOR-DIA AVCCC, off Δ
w. 2,35 gr.; s. 1,8 cz; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1910-11 ΛΓ 20 (27)
- Obv. DN GRATIANVS PF AVG
Bust with pearl diadem, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Gratian
Rev. VIRTVS RO-MANORVM
Roma seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear. Letter Θ in the left field and letter Φ in the right field. In the exergue mintmark ANT, off. A.
AE 3
RIC IX, p. 288 (no 50a2)
- Rom 193
Obv. [...]TIA - VS PF AVG
Rev. VIRTVS RO-MANORVM
w. 2,44 gr.; s. 1,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11754 (2)
- Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG

- Bust with pearl diadem, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Theodosius I
 Rev. VOT/X/MVLT/XX in wreath. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
 AE 4
 RIC IX, p.289 (no.56c)
- Rom 194 Obv. [...] - SIVS PF AVG
 Rev. VOT/X/MVLT/XX, off. illeg.
 w. 1,052 gr.; s. 1,2 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11824 (5)
- Obv. DN VALENTINI - ANVS PF AVG
 Bust draped and cuirassed; with pearl diadem. Emperor: Valentinian I I
 Rev. VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX in wreath. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
 AE 4
 RIC IX, p. 289 (no. 58b)
- Rom 195 Obv. DN VALENTINIAN IVS PF AVG
 Rev. VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX, off. A (?)
 w. 1,433 gr.; s.1,3 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11774 (3)
Note: In the case of Valentinian I, just the divided form of the legend has been documented, but in this specific case the name of the emperor was stated without any break.
- Date: 383 – 388
- Obv. DN THEODO - SIVS PF AVG
 Bust helmeted with rosette diademed, draped and cuirassed, holding spear and shield in front. Emperor: Theodosius I
 Rev. GLORIA-ROMANORVM
 Emperor standing facing, head r., raising r. hand. Victory seated on helm. Letter T in left field and cross in the right field. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
 AE 2
 RIC IX, p. 291 (no. 59d)
- Rom 196 Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG
 Rev. GLORIA-ROMANORVM, off. Δ
 w. 4,724 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11796 (4)
- Obv. DN ARCAD – IVS PF AVG
 Bust with rosette diadem, draped and cuirassed, holding spear, above hand holding wreath. Emperor: Arcadius
 Rev. GLORIA RO-MANORVM
 Emperor standing facing, head l., holding standard in right hand and resting l. on shield. To l. kneeling or seated captive. Letter T in left field, cross in right field. In exergue mintmark: * ANT, off. (E or S).
 AE 2
 RIC IX, p. 291 (no.60)
- Rom 197 Obv. DN ARCAD [...]
 Rev. GLORIA RO-MANORVM, off. S

- w. 4,77 gr.; s. 2,2 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11867 (8)
 Rom 198 Obv. DN ARCA [...] AVC
 Rev. GLORIA RO – [...], off. Δ (?)
 w. 5,432 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 4 o'clock
 NM id.no. 1909/1910 IΦ 277 (23π)
- Obv. AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG
 Empress bust, draped, with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle.
 Empress: Aelia Flaccilla
 Rev. SALVS REI- PVBLICAE
 Victory seated r. on cuirass, writing christogram on shield held on
 small column. In exergue mintmark ANT, off. Letters in fields
 (varieties)
 AE 2
 RIC IX, p. 291 (no.61)
- Rom 199 Obv. AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG
 Rev. SALVS REI- PVBLICAE, off. S, letter T in r. field (variety 4)
 w. 4,863 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11827 (6)
- Obv. DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG
 Bust draped and cuirassed, rosette diadem. Emperor: Valentinian I
 Rev. VIRTVS E – XERCITI
 Emperor standing r., holding standard and globe, l. captive on captive.
 In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
 AE 2
 RIC IX, p. 291 (no. 63b)
- Rom 200 Obv. DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG
 Rev. VIRTVS E – [XER]CITI, off. Δ
 w. 5,315 gr.; s. 2,3 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
 NM id.no. A-E 59 H! (64)
- Obv. DN ARCADIVS PF ACG
 Bust with pearl diadem, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Arcadius
 Rev. VIRTVS E-XERCITI
 Emperor standing r., holding standard and globe, l. foot on captive. In
 exergue mintmark ANT, off. S
 AE 2
 RIC IX, p. 291 (no. 63e)
- Rom 201 Obv. [...] DIVS [...]
 Rev. [V]IRTVS E- [XER]CITI
 w. 4,375 gr.; s. 2,2 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
 NM id.no. A-E 849 H! (10)
- Obv. AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG
 Empress bust, draped with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle.
 Empress: Aelia Flacilla
 Rev. SALVS REI-PVBLICAE
 Victory seated r. on cuirass, writing christogram on shield held on

- small column. In exergue mintmark AN, off. E.
AE 4
RIC IX, p. 291 (no. 64)
Rom 202 Obv. [A]EL F [...] CILLA [AVG]
Rev. [S]ALVS R [EI-PVBLICAE]
w. 1,205 gr.; s. 1,2 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 36-11,829 (6)
- Obv. DN ARCADIVS PF AVG
Bust with pearl diadem, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Arcadius
Rev. VOT/X/MVLT/XX in wreath. In exergue mintmark AN, off.
AE 4
RIC IX, p. 292 (no. 65c)
Rom 203 Obv. DN ARCADI [...]
Rev. VOT/X/MVLT/XX, off. illeg.
w. 1,34 gr.; s. 1,2 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. IB II Τσιβουρακης 1896-7 349 (9)
- Obv. Illeg.
Bust with pearl diadem, draped and cuirassed. Emperors: Theodosius or Arcadius
Rev. VOT/X/MVLT/XX in wreath. In exergue mintmark AN, off.
RIC IX, p. 292 (no. 65)
Rom 204 Obv. [...] VS PF AVG
Bust with pearl diadem, draped and cuirassed.
Rev. VOT/X/MVLT/XX, off. A or Δ
w. 1,277 gr.; s. 1,2 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 834 H4 (35)
- Date: 383 – 392
- Obv. DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG
Bust with pearl diadem, cuirassed and draped. Emperor: Valentinian I
Rev. SALVS REI-PVBLICAE
Victory advancing l., holding trophy on shoulder with r. hand and dragging captive with l. hand. A symbol in left field (cross, chi-rho monogram). In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 4
RIC IX, p. 292 (no. 67a)
Rom 205 Obv. DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG (letters very badly legible)
Rev. [...]C[...], off. illeg., cross in the left field (badly legible)
w. 0,673 gr.; s. 1,3 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 799 H4 (3)
- Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVC
Bust with pearl diadem, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Theodosius I
Rev. SALVS REI-PVBLICAE
Victory advancing l., holding trophy on shoulder with r. hand and dragging captive with l. A symbol in left field (cross, chi-rho

- monogram etc.). In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 4
RIC IX, p.293 (no. 67b)
- Rom 206 Obv. DN THEODO [...]
Rev. SALVS REI - PVBLICAE (almost illegible), cross in left field (variety 5), off.Δ
w. 1,054 gr.; s. 1,4 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 11808 (4)
- Rom 207 Obv. [...] THEODO - [S] IVS PP [...]
Rev. [S]ALVS REI - PVBLIC[AE], christogram in left field (variety 1 or 2), off. illegible.
w. 0.935 gr.; s. 1,3 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 1906/7 κστ 416 ευρ.δηλου (6)
- Obv. DN ARCADIVS PF AVC
Bust with pearl diadem, draped and cuirassed. Emperor: Arcadius
Rev. SALVS REI-PVBLICAE
Victory advancing l., holding trophy on shoulder with r. hand and dragging captive with l. A symbol in left field (cross or chi-rho monogram etc.). In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 4
RIC IX, p.293 (no. 67d)
- Rom 208 Obv. DN ARCADIVS PF AVC
Rev. [...] BLICAE, off. Γ, christogram in l. field
w. 1,298 gr.; s. 1,1 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11872α (8)
- Date: 392 – 395**
- Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVC
Bust pearl-diademed, cuirassed and draped. Emperor: Theodosius I
Rev. GLORIA - ROMANORVM
Emperor standing, facing, head r., holding standard and globe. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 2
RIC IX, p. 294 (no. 68a)
- Rom 209 Obv. D [...] – SIVS PF AVC
Rev. GL [...] ORVM, off. A
w. 4,252 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. no number 2 (13)
- Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVC
Bust with rosette-diadem, cuirassed and draped. Emperor: Theodosius I
Rev. GLORIA - ROMANORVM
Emperor standing, facing, head r., holding standard and globe. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 2
RIC IX, p. 294 (no. 68b)
- Rom 210 Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVC

- Rev. GLORIA – ROMANORVM, off. Δ
w. 4,136 gr.; s. 2,1 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 11786 (4)
- Rom 211 Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVC
Rev. GLORIA – ROMANORVM, off. A
w. 4,889 gr.; s. 2,2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11795 (4)
- Obv. DN ARCADI – VS PF AVG
Bust with pearl diadem, cuirassed and draped. Emperor: Arcadius
Rev. GLORIA – ROMANORVM
Emperor standing facing, head r., holding standard and globe. In
exergue mintmark ANT, off.
AE 2
RIC IX, p. 294 (no. 68c)
- Rom 212 Obv. DN ARCADI – VS PF AVC
Rev. GLORIA – ROM [...], off. B or Γ
w. 4,746 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. no number 1 (13)
- Obv. DN HONORIVS PF AVG
Bust with rosette diadem, cuirassed and draped. Emperor: Honorius
Rev. GLORIA – ROMANORVM
Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding standard and globe. In exergue
mintmark ANT, off.
AE 2
RIC IX, p.294 (no.68f)
- Rom 213 Obv. DN HONOR[...] AVC
Rev.[...] ORIA – ROMANORVM, off. Γ
w. 4,521 gr.; s. 2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 11840 (7)
- Obv. DN ARCAD – IVS PF AVG
Bust with pearl diadem, cuirassed and draped. Emperor: Arcadius
Rev. GLORIA – ROMANORVM
Emperor on horseback r.; raising r. hand. In exergue mintmark ANT,
off.
AE 4 (AE 3 in RIC IX)
RIC IX, p. 294 (69c)
- Rom 214 Obv. DN ARCA –[...] AVC
Rev. GLORI [...] – MANORVM, off. B
w. 2,018 gr.; s. 1,6 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 1902-1902Z!131 (8)
- Rom 215 Obv. [...]C[...] VS PF AVC
Rev. GLORIA – [...], off. B
w. 1,644 gr.; s. 1,4 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 1905/6 H! 243 (8)
- Obv. DN ARCADIVS PF AVG
Bust with pearl diadem, cuirassed and draped. Emperor: Arcadius

- Rev. SALVS REI – PVBLICAE
 Victory advancing l., holding trophy on shoulder with r. hand and dragging captive with l. A symbol in left field (cross or chi-rho monogram etc.). In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
 AE 4
 RIC IX, p. 295 (no. 70b)
- Rom 216 Obv. DN ARCADIVS PF AVG
 Rev. S [...] PVB [...], off. Γ
 w. 1,151 gr.; s. 1,3 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11876a (9)

After 395

Date: 395 – 401

- Obv. DN ARCADI - VS PF AVG
 Bust with pearl diadem, cuirassed and draped. Emperor: Arcadius
 Rev. VIRTVS – EXERCITI
 Emperor standing l., holding spear and resting l. hand on shield.
 Victory, holding palm-branch in l. hand, crowns him. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
 AE 4 (AE 3 in RIC IX)
 RIC X, p. 247 (no.70)
- Rom 217 Obv. DN ARCADI - VS PF AVG
 Rev. VIRTVS – EXE [...], off. B
 w. 2,232 gr.; s. 1,1 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11879 (9)
- Rom 218 Obv. DN ARCADI - VS PF AVG
 Rev. VIRTVS – EXER [...], off. illeg.
 w. 2,262 gr.; s. 1,2 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11880 (9)
Note: The first A in the name looks more like N.
- Rom 219 Obv. DN ARCADI - VS PF AVG
 Rev. VIRTVS – [E]XERCITI, off. A
 w. 1,743 gr.; s. 1,2 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11881 (9)
- Rom 220 Obv. DN ARCADI - VS PF AVG
 Rev. VIRTVS – EXER [...], off. Δ
 w. 2,35 gr.; s. 1,1 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
 NM id.no. 1890-1891 IA!3 (9)

Obv. DN HONORI-VS PF AVC
 Bust to r. draped and cuirassed, with rosette diadem. Emperor: Honorius
 Rev. VIRTVS – EXERCITI
 Emperor standing left, head right, holding spear and resting l. hand on shield. Victory, holding palm-branch in l. hand, crowns him. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
 AE 3
 RIC X, p. 247 (no. 73)

- Rom 221 Obv. DN HONORI-VS PF AVC
 Rev. VIRTVS – EXERCITI, off. A o Δ
 w. 1,586 gr.; s. 1,8 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11846 (7)
- Obv. AEL EVDO – XIA AVG
 Female bust, diademed (pearl diademe), draped, wearing necklace and earrings, crowned by the hand of God. Empress: Aelia Eudocia
 Rev. GLORIA RO – MANORVM
 Empress enthroned facing, hands folded over breast, crowned by the Hand of God; cross in r. field. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
 AE 4 (AE 3 in RIC X)
 RIC X, p. 248 (no. 83)
- Rom 222 Obv. AEL EVDO – [...] AVC
 Rev. GLORIA RO – [...], off. illeg. (maybe E?)
 w. 2,153 gr.; s. 1,2 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11888b (10)

Date: 401 – 403

- Obv. AEL EVDO – XIA AVG
 Female bust, with pearl diademe, draped, wearing necklace and earrings, crowned by the hand of God. Empress: Aelia Eudocia
 Rev. SALVS REI – PVBLICAE
 Victory standing r. on cuirass, supporting on low column a shield inscribed christogram, to which she points. In exergue mintmark ANT, off. Γ
 AE 4 (AE 3 in RIC X)
 RIC X, p. 249 (no.104)
- Rom 223 Obv. AEL EV [...] AVC
 Female bust, diademed (pearl diademe), draped, wearing necklace and earrings, crowned by the hand of God.
 Rev. SALVS [...] BLICAE
 w. 1,779 gr.; s. 1,1 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
 NM id.no. 11888d (10)

Date: 406 – 408

- Obv. DN HONORI-VS PF AVC
 Bust to r. draped and cuirassed, with pearl diadem. A star behind the bust. Emperor: Honorius
 Rev. GLORI – A ROMA-NORVM
 Three emperors standing facing. The two outermost are generally taller, hold spear, rest hand on shield and turn towards each other. The innermost figure is generally smaller, holds spear, and sometimes a globe; his head is turned r. In exergue mintmark ANT, off.
 AE 3
 RIC X, p. 252 (no. 153)

Rom 224 Obv. DN HONORI-VS PF [AVC]
 Rev. GLORI [...]NORVM, off. A
 w. 1,465 gr.; s. 1,3 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. Π819 (7)

Early Byzantine period (498 – 610)

Anastasius (498 – 518)

no coins

Justin I (518-527)

First phase: 518 – 522

no coins

Second phase: 522- 527

Pentanummion E

Obv. DN IVSTINIANVS PPAVC. Profile bust r. in cuirass, paludamentum and diadem (not well visible). Rev. Θ, Tyche seated in shrine.

MIBE 67

Byz 1 Obv.leg.: IV[...]I
 w. 1,98 gr; size 1,2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock.
 NM id no. 11967 (4)

Byz 2 Obv.leg.: illegible.
 w. 1, 945 gr; size 1,3 cm; die axis 11 o'clock.
 NM id no. 11967a (4)

Justinian I (527-565)

Pre-reformed period 527-538

Follis M

Obv. DN IVSTINIANVS PPAVC.

Profile bust r. with cuirass, paludamentum and diadem.

Rev. M, beneath off., above cross, star l. and r. fields. Mintmark in exergue ANTIX.

Date: 527-529

MIBE 125

Byz 3 Obv. DN IVSTINI[...]V[...]PP[...]
 Rev. off.A
 w.17, 435 gr; size 3 cm; die axis 1o'clock.
 NM id.no. IB' 11 Τσιβουράκης 1896-1897 365 (18)

Obv. DN IVSTINIANVS PPAVC.

Profile bust r. with cuirass, paludamentum and diadem.

- Rev. M, beneath off., above cross, star l. and r. fields. Mintmark in exergue +THEΥΡ.
Date: 529-531/2
MIBE 126 (?)
- Byz 4 Obv. [...]IVSTI[...]ANVSPPAV
Rev. off.A, mintmark almost illeg.
w.12,868 gr; size 3,1 cm; dies axis 12 – 1 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E H750 (18)
- Obv. DN IVSTINIANVS PPAVC.
Emperor enthroned, holding sceptre and globus cruciger.
Rev.M, beneath off., above cross, star in the l. field, crescent in r. field.
Mintmark in exergue +THEΥΡ.
Date: 531/2 – 536/7
MIBE 130
- Byz 5 Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
Rev. off.B
w. 16,21 gr; size 3,3 cm; die axis 12 o'clock.
NM id.no. IB' 11 Τσιβουράκης 1896-1897 364 (18)
- Obv. DN IVSTINIANVS PPAVC.
Profile bust r. with cuirass, paludamentum and diadem.
Rev. M, beneath off.illegible, above cross (illeg.), star l. and r. fields.
Mintmark in exergue ΘΥΙΟΑΣ.
Date: 536/7-539
MBE 131
- Byz 6 Obv. [...]INIA-NVSPPAVCS
Rev. off.illegible
w. 13,857 gr.; size 3,1 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1911/2 N! (A) 146 (18)
- Byz 7 Obv. DN IVSTINI[...]
Rev. off.B (?)
w. 15,088 gr; size 3,1cm; die axis 12 o'clock.
NM id.no. 1911-1912 ΛΑ' 29 (18)
- Half-follis K*
- Obv. DN IVSTINIANVS PPAVC.
Profile bust r. with cuirass, paludamentum and diadem.
Rev. K, cross between mintmark T H/E Υ / P to l., off. in r. field.
Date: 529-531/2
MIBE 134
- Byz 8 Obv. [...]INI-ANVSPPAV[...]
Rev. off.B
w.7,160 gr; size 2,7 cm; die axis 5 o'clock.
NM id.no. A-E H7 67 (18)
- Obv. δN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
Emperor enthroned, trefolium on diademe, holding sceptre and globus cruciger.

- Rev. K, cross between mintmark T H/E Ψ / $\circ$ P to l., off. in r. field.
 MIBE 135
 Date: 531/2 – 536/7
- Byz 9 Obv. δ N IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
 Rev. off. Γ
 w. 9,968 gr; size 2,9 cm; die axis 5 o'clock.
 NM id.no. 12043 (18)
- Byz 10 Obv. PN IYSTI[...]ANVPPAV
 Rev. off. Γ
 w. 9,88 gr; size 2,6 cm; die axis 6 o'clock.
 NM id.no. 12045 (18)
- Byz 11 Obv. DN IY ζ TINI-ANV ζ PPAV
 Rev. off. Γ
 w. 7,380 gr; size 2,6 cm; die axis 5 o'clock.
 NM id.no. 12044 (18)

Post-reform period (538-565)

Follis M

- Obv. DN IVSTINIANVS PPAVC.
 Frontal bust with cuirass and helmet, holding globe and shield, in field
 r. cross. Cross in r. field.
 Rev. M, beneath off., above cross. ANNO to l., year to r.. Mintmark in
 exergue $\Theta\tilde{\Upsilon}\Pi O$.
 MIBE 143
- Byz 12 Obv. DNIVSTINI-ANVS[...]
 Rev. off.A; year: XIII (13).
 Date: 539/40
 w. 19,304 gr; size 4,3 cm; die axis 11 o'clock.
 NM id.no. A-E 45 H17 (19)
- Byz 13 Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC.
 Rev. off. Γ ; year: XIII (13).
 Date: 539/40
 w. 20,801 gr; size 3,9; die axis 6 o'clock.
 NM id.no. 11987 β ' (19)
- Byz 14 Obv. DN IVSTINI-...]P[...]
 Rev. off. Γ ; year: XIII (13).
 Date: 539/40
 w. 20,652 gr; size 3,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock.
 NM id.no. A-E 47 H17 (19)
- Byz 15 Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
 Rev. off. Γ ; year: XIII (13).
 Date: 539/40
 w. 19,135 gr; size 4,2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock.
 NM id.no. 1907-1908 M' 5 (19)

Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVI
 Frontal bust with cuirass and helmet, holding globe and shield, in field
 r. cross. Cross in r. field.

- Rev.M, beneath off. , ANNO to l., year to r., below a star. Mintmark in exergue $\text{CH}\epsilon\text{P}\alpha$.
MIBE 144b
- Byz 16 Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVI
Rev. off.Γ; year: XϢ (16)
Date: 542/3.
w. 22,569 gr; size 4,1 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E H7 48 (19)
- Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
Frontal bust with cuirass and helmet, holding globe and shield, in field r. cross. Cross in r. field.
Rev.M, beneath off., ANNO to l., year to r. Mintmark in exergue $\text{CH}\epsilon\text{P}\alpha$.
MIBE 145a
- Byz 17 Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
Rev. off.Γ; year: XX (20); mintmark illegible.
Date: 546/7
w. 18,707 gr; size 3,4 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 12013A (19)
- Byz 18 Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSP[...]
Rev. off.Γ; year: XXI (21)
Date: 547/8
w. 19,336 gr; size 3,6 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 12014Aα (19)
- Byz 19 Obv.[...]INI[...]ANVS[...]
Rev. off.Γ; year: most probably XXII (22).
Date: 548/9 (?)
w. 18,867 gr; size 3,4 cm; die axis 11 o'clock.
NM id.no. 11983α' (18)
- Byz 20 Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAV[...]
Rev. off.Γ; year: XXII (22)
Date: 548/9
w. 17,916 gr; size 3,5 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 1894-95 H 3068 (19)
- Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
Frontal bust with cuirass and helmet, holding globe and shield, in field r. cross.
Rev. M, beneath off., above cross, ANNO to l., year to r. Mintmark in exergue $\text{CH}\epsilon\text{P}\alpha$.
MIBE 146
- Byz 21 Obv. DN IVST[...]NVSPPAVI
Rev. off.Γ; year: XXIII (24)
Date: 550/1
w. 20,321 gr; size 3,5 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 12016 (19)
- Byz 22 Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVI
Rev. off.Γ; year: XXϢ (25)

- Date: 551/2
 w. 19,607 gr; size 3,5 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12020β' (19)
 Byz 23 Obv. DN IVSTINI-[...]
 Rev. off. Γ, year: XXϚ (26)
 Date: 552/3
 w. 18,377 gr; size 3,4 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
 NM id.no. 1904-5 ΛΘ! 92 (19)
- Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
 Frontal bust with cuirass and helmet, holding globe and shield, in field
 r. cross.
 Rev. M, beneath off., above cross, ANNO to l., year to r. Mintmark in
 exergue ΖΗΥΡ
 MIBE 147a
- Byz 24 Obv. DN IVSTINI-[...]VSPPAV
 Rev. off.A, year XXX (30).
 Date: 556/7
 w. 19,572 gr; size 3,8 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
 NM id.no. Π. 1901/1902 KB' 32 (19)
- Byz 25 Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVS PPAVI
 Rev. off.Γ, year XXXI (31)
 Date: 557/8
 w. 16,59 gr; size 3,4 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12029 α' (19)
- Byz 26 Obv. DN IVSTINI-[...]PAVI
 Rev. off.Γ, year XXXI (31)
 Date: 557/8
 w. 17,9 gr; size 3,4 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12029 γ' (19)
- Byz 27 Obv. ONIVSTIN[...]ANVSPPAV
 Rev. off.Γ, year XXXIII (33)
 Date: 559/60
 w.19,126 gr., size 3,9 cm, die axis 10 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12033 (20)
- Byz 28 Obv. DN IVSTINI[...]
 Rev. off.B, year XIII (34)
 Date: 560/1
 w. 19,203 gr., size 3,4 cm, die axis 11 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12038a (20)
- Byz 29 Obv. [blundered]SNSA
 Rev.off.Γ, badly legible year, double-struck
 Date: struck possibly after 560
 w.17,557 gr, size 3,5 cm, die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12041 (20)
- Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
 Frontal bust with cuirass and helmet, holding globe and shield, in field
 r. cross.

- Rev. M, beneath off., above cross, ANNO to l., year to r. Mintmark in exergue $\text{ZH}\Psi\text{P}^*$
MIBE 149
- Byz 30 Obv. DN IVS[...]PPAVS
Rev. off. Γ , year XXXIII (33)
Date: 559/60
w. 17,745, size 2,3 cm, die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 12033 α (20)
- Byz 31 Obv. DNIVSti [...] NVSPPA [...] $\text{Rev.off. } \Gamma$, year XXXIII (33)
Date: 559/60
w. 17,938 gr., size 3,4 cm, die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E H 749 (20)
- Byz 32 Obv. DNIVSTINIANVSPPA [...] $\text{Rev. off. } \Delta$ or Δ , year XXXIII (33)
Date: 559/60
w. 16,664 gr., size 3,4 cm, die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 12034 (20)
- Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
Frontal bust with cuirass and helmet, holding globe and shield, in field r. cross.
Rev. M, beneath off., above cross, ANNO to l., year to r. Mintmark in exergue $\text{ZHE}\Psi\text{P}$
MIBE 150
- Byz 33 Obv. DN[...]SPPAV
Rev. off. Γ , year XXX Ψ (35)
Date: 561/2
w. 18,626, size 3,1 cm, die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 12039A (20)
- Byz 34 Obv. [...]CNCPII
Rev. off. Γ , year XXX Ψ I (36)
Date: 562/3
w. 18,618, size 3,4 cm, die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 12039 γ (20)
- Byz 35 Obv. [...] Rev. off. illeg. , year XXX Ψ I (36)
Date: 562/3
w. 17,286 gr., size 3,4 cm, die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 12040 $\alpha\alpha$ (20)
- Byz 36 Obv. [illegible] PPAV
Rev. off. Γ , year year XXX Ψ II (38)
Date: 564/5
w. 17,629 gr, size 3,6 gr, die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 1902-1903 K Δ ' 22 (20)

Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
Frontal bust with cuirass and helmet, holding globe and shield, in field

- r. cross.
Rev. M, beneath off., above cross, ANNO to l., year to r. Mintmark in exergue ΤΗΕΥΡ.
MIBE 151
- Byz 37 Obv. ΙΙΝΙΛΑΡ[...]
Rev.off.Γ, year XXXϚII (38)
Date: 564/5
w.17,212 gr, size 3,5 cm, die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 12040a (20)
- Half follis K*
Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
Frontal bust with cuirass and helmet, holding globe cruciger and shield, in field r. cross.
Rev. K, above cross, ANNO l., year to r., below II.
MIBE 154
- Byz 38 Obv. [...]IVSTINI-AN[...]
Rev. year XXϚ (26)
Date: 552/3
w. 8,655 gr; size 2,6 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 1891-1892 KϚ! 676 (19)
- Byz 39 Obv. [...]ΑVI
Rev. year XXϚII (28)
Date: 554/5
w. 9,537 gr; size 2,8 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
NM id.no. 12021 γ' (19)
- Decanummium I*
Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
Frontal bust holding globe and shield, in field r. cross.
Rev. I, cross above. ANNO to l., year to r. Mintmark in exergue ΤΗΥΠ.
MIBE 158
- Byz 40 Obv. [...]VS[...]
Rev. year XXIII? (24 ?)
Date: 550/1
w. 4,085 gr.; size 2,1 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 1914-1915 IO 24 (19)
- Byz 41 Obv. [...]IV[...]PP[...]
Rev. year XXIII (24)
Date: 550/1
w. 3,863 gr; size 2,3 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 12018 (19)
Note: it could be MIBE 157
- Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
Frontal bust holding globe and shield, in field r. cross.
Rev. I, cross above. ANNO to l., year to r. Mintmark in exergue

- THEΥΡ
 MIBE 159
 Byz 42 Obv.DN IVS[...]VSPP
 Rev. year XXXIII (34)
 Date: 560/1
 w. 3,877 gr., size 2 cm, die axis 11 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12039 (20)
- Pentanummium E*
 Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
 Profile bust, in cuirass, paludamentum and diadem.
 Rev. € , off. to right.
 Date: 539-546 (?)
 MIBE 141
 Byz 43 Obv. Illegible
 Rev. off. A
 w.1,92 gr.; 1,5 cm; 12 o'clock
 NM id.no.12060 (20)
- Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
 Profile bust, in cuirass, paludamentum and diadem.
 Rev. € , star (*) to right.
 MIBE 161a (light one)
 Date: 538-543
 Byz 44 Obv. Illegible
 w. 2,2 gr.; 1,7 cm; 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12062 (20)
- Obv. DN IVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC
 Profile bust, in cuirass, paludamentum and diadem.
 Rev. € , star (*) to right.
 Date: 543-565
 MIBE 161b (heavy one)
 Byz 45 Obv. Illegible
 w. 1,796 gr.; 1,6 cm; 6 o'clock
 NM id.no.11956 (20)

Justin II (565-578)

First phase (565 – 568)

No coins.

Second phase (568 – 578)

Follis M

Obv. blundered legend

- Imperial couple enthroned, both hold scepter and large globus cruciger between them, heads crowned and nimbate.
Rev.M, above cross, ANNO I., year to r., below off. Mintmark in exergue ΤΗΕΥΡ'.
- Byz 46 Type MIBEc 56a
Obv. blundered/omitted
Rev. off.Γ, year II/III (5).
Date: 569/70
w.14,336 gr.; 3 cm; 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 12089A (30)
- Byz 47 Obv. Blundered
Rev. off. Γ, year II/III ? (5 ?)
Date: 569/70
w. 13, 486 gr.; 3,3 cm; 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 1894-95 H3082 (30)
- Byz 48 Obv. blundered
Rev. off.Γ, year Υ (5).
Date: 569/70
w.14,135 gr.; 2,9 cm; 12 o'clock
Π1901-1902 KB43 (30)
- Byz 49 Obv. blundered
Rev. off.Γ, year ΥII (7).
Date: 571/2
w. 12,52 gr.; 3,1 cm; 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 12097 (30)
- Byz 50 Obv.VNMSS-TOOΛA
Rev. off.Γ, year ΥII (7).
Date: 571/2
w.14,241 gr.; size 3,2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 12098α (30)
- Byz 51 Obv. blundered
Rev. off.Γ, year ΥII (7).
Date: 571/2
w.12,278 gr.; size 3 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1899/1900Π!3 (30)
- Byz 52 Obv. blundered
Rev. off.Γ, year ΥII (7) or □III (8). Mintmark badly legible – could be MIBE 57a.
Date: 571/2 or 572/3
w. 14,646 gr.; size 3,2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 92 H 7 (30)
- Byz 53 Obv. [blundered] ΣΤΝΔ
Rev. off.Γ, year ΥII (7).
Date: 571/2
w.14,467 gr.; size 3,1 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 12098 (30)
- Byz 54 Obv.blundered
Rev. off.Γ, year ΥIII (8).
Date: 571/2 or 572/3

- w.13,56gr.; size 3,1 cm; 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12117 (30)
 Byz 55 Obv. blundered
 Rev. off.Γ, year XI (11).
 Date: 575/6
 w. 14,376 gr.; size 2,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12130α (30)
- Obv. blundered legend
 Imperial couple enthroned, both hold scepter and large globus cruciger between them, heads crowned and nimbate.
 Rev.M, above cross, ANNO l., year to r., below off.. Mintmark in exergue ΖΗΕΥΡº.
 Type MIBE 57a
 Byz 56 Obv. blundered
 Rev. off.Γ, year ΨII (7).
 Date: 571/2
 w.15,669 gr.; size 3,2 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 1901/1902 H12 (30)
- Byz 57 Obv. blundered
 Rev. off.Γ, year ϚIII (9).
 Date: 573/4
 w. 13,936 gr.; size 2,9 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12117α' (30)
- Byz 58 Obv. blundered
 Rev. off.Γ, year ϚIII (9).
 Date: 573/4
 w. 11,713 gr.; size 3 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12117A (30)
- Half–follis K*
 Obv. blundered legend
 Imperial couple enthroned, both hold scepter and large globus cruciger between them, heads crowned and nimbate.
 Rev. K, above cross, ANNO to l., year to r., Ϡ below K.
 MIBEc 60a
 Byz 59 Obv. blundered
 Rev. year IIIU (8)
 Date: 572/3
 w.5,359 gr.; size 2,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12116 (30)
- Byz 60 Obv. blundered
 Rev. year IX (11)
 Date: 575/6
 w.7,016 gr.; size 2,8 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12117Aα (30)
- Obv. blundered legend

Imperial couple enthroned, both hold scepter and large globus cruciger between them, heads crowned and nimbate.
 Rev. K, above cross, ANNO to l., year and star to r., P below K.
 MIBEc 60b
 Byz 61 Obv. blundered
 Rev. year IX (11)
 Date: 575/6
 w. 6,935 gr.; size 2,5 cm; die axis 5 o'clock
 NM id.no. A-E 112 H7 (30)

Decanumium I
 Obv. blundered legend
 Imperial couple enthroned, both hold scepter and large globus cruciger between them, heads crowned and nimbate.
 Rev. I, above cross, ANNO to l., year to r. Mintmark in exergue
 T H E Y P.
 MIBEc 63a
 Byz 62 Obv. blundered
 Rev. year X (10)
 Date: 574/5
 w. 2,78 gr.; size 1,8 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12122a (30)

Tiberius (578-582)

Follis M
 Obv. dm TIBCONSTANTPPAVI (blundered)
 Frontal consular bust, with trefoil on diadem, holding map and a scepter.
 Rev. M, above cross, ANNO to l.; year to r. Mintmark in exergue
 T H E Y P(·).
 MIBEc 47b
 Byz 63 Obv. ATCADN – VDISINIA
 Rev. year VII (8)
 Date: 581/2
 w. 12,24 gr.; size 3 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
 NM 12148 (33)

Half-follis XX
 Obv. dmTIB CONSTANTPPAVI (blundered)
 Frontal consular bust, cross-topped crown, holding mappa and eagle scepter.
 Rev. XX, above cross, ANNO to l., year to r.. In exergue Γ.
 MIBEc 55a
 Byz 64 Obv. illegible

Rev. year ϚII (8)
Date: 581/2
w. 5,446 gr.; size 2,3 gr.; die axis 1 o'clock
NM id.no. 12148α' (33)

Maurice (582 – 602)

Follis M

Obv. Dm TIb CON(S) TANT PPAVI (blundered till 8th year)
Frontal consular bust, trefoil on crown, holding mappa and eagle scepter.

Rev. M, above cross, ANNO to l., year to r. Mintmark in exergue
ϚHEϘP'.

MIBEc 95Ab

Byz 65 Obv. blundered
Rev. year II (2)
Date: 583/4
w. 11,948 gr.; size 3,1 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. Π1901-1902 KB'44 (36)

Byz 66 Obv.mTib [illeg] TAN [illeg]
Rev. year II (2)
Date: 583/4
w.14,353 gr.; size 3,1 cm; die axis 1 o'clock
NM id.no. 12139γ' (36)

Byz 67 Obv. ΠINAN [...]
Rev. year IIII (4)
Date: 585/6
w.12,744 gr.; size 2,9 cm; 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 12140γ' (στ') (36)

Byz 68 Obv. illeg.
Rev. year U (5)
Date: 586/7
w. 11,356 gr.; size 2,9 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 12142b (36)

Byz 69 Obv.illeg.
Rev. year IIIU (8)
Date: 589/90
w. 11,594 gr.; size 3 cm; die axis 1 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 114 H7 (36)

Byz 70 Obv. illeg.
Rev. year IIIU (8)
Date: 589/90
w. 11,399 gr.; size 3 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1910-11 KE! 477

Obv. dN mAVRI CNPPAVT (or blundered)

- Frontal consular bust, trefoil topped crown, holding mappa and eagle scepter.
 Rev. M, above cross, ANNO to l., year to r., below M officina.
 Mintmark in exergue ΤΗΕΥΡ' or ΤΗΕΥΡS.
 MIBEc 96C
- Byz 71 Obv. δN mAURI CNPPAUT
 Rev. off. Γ, year X (10)
 Date: 591/2
 w. 11,399 gr.; size 3 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12181ε' (36)
- Byz 72 Obv. δc TIB[...]PAUT
 Rev. off.A, year XI (11)
 Date: 592/3
 w. 11,018 gr.; size 2,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 12181 στ' (36)
- Byz 73 Obv. δNMAUTΓ-CNPAUTΓ
 Rev. off.Γ, year XII (12)
 Date: 593/4
 w. 11,745 gr.; size 2,9 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
 12181θ (36)
- Byz 74 Obv. illegible
 Rev. off.Γ, year XIII (13)
 Date: 594/5
 w. 11,280 gr.; size 2,9 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
 12182 (36)
- Byz 75 Obv. δN mAU [...] N [...]
 Rev. off.Γ, year XIII (13)
 Date: 594/5
 w. 10,795 gr.; size 2,8 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
 IB' 11 Τσιβ 1896-97 376 (36)
- Byz 76 Obv. [...] CAUT
 Rev. off. ill. (B or E), year XIII (13)
 Date: 594/5
 w. 11,849 gr.; size 2,8 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
 12183 (36)
- Byz 77 Obv. δN MAUTΓ – CNPAUT
 Rev. off.A, year XIII (14)
 Date: 595/6
 w. 11,644 gr.; size 2,8 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
 NM id.no. Π1901-1902 KB! 48 (36)
- Byz 78 Obv. [...]mAUT[...]
 Rev. off. Γ, year XIII (14)
 Date: 595/6
 w. 9,889 gr.; size 2,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12184α'
- Byz 79 Obv.[...] NPAUT
 Rev. off.Γ, year XU (15)
 Date: 596/7
 w. 10,802 gr.; size 3,3 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. Συλλογή Ριανκούρ 1907-8 KE (149) 156 (36)

- Byz 80 Obv. δN MAΥΓ [...]
 Rev. off.E, year XU (15)
 Date: 596/7
 w. 10,762 gr.; size 2,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12184δ (36)
- Byz 81 Obv. δ m[...]PAVTI
 Rev. off. Γ, year XUI (16)
 Date: 597/8
 w. 8,873 gr.; size 2,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12187 (36)
- Byz 82 Obv. ΙΙΙΙΙ [...] TTAUT
 Rev. off.E year XUI (16)
 Date: 597/8
 w. 11,444 gr.; size 2,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 1904-5 ΛΘ!3 (36)
- Byz 83 Ob. δΙ mI [...] –INUT
 Rev. off.A, year XUII (17)
 Date: 598/9
 w. 10,554 gr.; size 2,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 1891-1892KB!8 (36)
- Byz 84 Obv. δΙ m[...]
 Rev. off.E, year XUII (17)
 Date: 598/9
 w. 10,434 gr.; size 2,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12188α (36)
- Byz 85 Obv. [...] CNTAUT
 Rev. off.Γ, year XUIII (18)
 Date: 599/600
 w. 11,014 gr.; size 2,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12188 (36)
- Byz 86 Obv. [illeg]
 Rev. off. Γ, year XUIII (18)
 Date: 599/600
 w. 9,33 gr.; size 2,9 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12189 (36)
- Byz 87 Obv. δN m[...]
 Rev. off.Γ, year XX (20)
 Date: 601/2
 w. 11,056 gr.; size 2,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
 NM id.no. 12191 (36)

Half follis XX

Obv. blundered (after dm TIbCO – TANTPPAVI)
 Frontal consular bust, trefoil topped crown, holding mappa and eagle scepter.
 Rev. XX, above cross, ANNO to l., year to r. Mintmark in exergue R or Q.
 MIBEc 97

- Byz 88 Obv. blundered
Rev. year II (2). Mintmark in exergue illegible.
Date: 583/4
w. 6,233 gr.; size 2,1 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 12140β (ε) (36)
- Byz 89 Obv. illeg.
Rev. year U (5). Mintmark P.
Date: 586/7
w. 4,716 gr.; size 2,3 cm; die axis 1 o'clock
NM id.no. IB' 11 Τσιβ. 1896-1897 374 (36)
- Half follis K*
Obv. blundered (dN mAVRI CNPAU)
Frontal consular bust, with trefoil topped crown, holding mappa and eagle scepter.
Rev. K, above cross, ANNO l., year r. Mintmark in exergue K: Ϟ or R.
MIBEc 99c
- Byz 90 Obv. [...]AUT
Rev. year IIIX (13), mintmark Ϟ (looking more like Q)
Date: 594/5
w. 5,298 gr.; size 2 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 12184 (36)
- Byz 91 Obv. illeg.
Rev. year XIII (14), mintmark Ϟ
Date: 595/6
w. 5,245; size 2,1 cm; die axis 10 o'clock
NM id.no. 12184β (36)
- Byz 92 Obv. δN m[...] UI
Rev. year XIII (14), mintmark Ϟ
Date: 595/6
w. 5,532 gr.; size 2,1 cm; die axis 11 o'clock
NM id.no. 12184γ (36)
- Byz 93 Obv. blundered
Rev. year XU (15), mintmark Ϟ
Date: 596/7
w. 3,426 gr.; size 2,3 cm; die axis 1 o'clock
NM id.no. 12186 (36)

Phocas

- Follis M
Obv. ONFOCA NEPEaV(C)
Imperial couple standing, cross between heads, crowned and sometimes nimbate; emperor holds globus cruciger, empress holds cross-scepter.
Rev. M, above cross, ANNO l., year r. Mintmark in exergue ΤΗΕΥΡ'
Type MIBEc 83a
- Byz 94 Obv. [...] FOCA [...] NPEaV(C)

- Rev. year I (1)
Date: 602/3
w. 11,093 gr.; size 2,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1910-1911 ΛΘ 16 (38)
- Byz 95 Obv. CN FOC [...] NEPEAV
Rev. year II (2)
Date: 603/4
w. 10,748 gr.; size 2,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1901-1902 KB! 50 (38)
- Byz 96 Obv. CNFOCA NEPEaV
Rev. year II (2)
Date: 603/4
w. 11,167 gr.; size 2,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. A-E 130 H7 42/AE 130 (38)
- Byz 97 Obv. illeg.
Rev. year II (2)
Date: 603/4
w. 9,447 gr.; size 2,8 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 12212δ (38)
- Byz 98 Obv. [...]FOCA NEPEaV
Rev. year IIII (4)
Date: 605/6
w. 10,532 gr.; size 2,6 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 43Π1901-2KB!52 (39)
- Byz 99 Obv. [...]FOCA NCP [...]
Rev. year IIII (4)
Date: 605/6
w. 8,945 gr.; size 2,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. Συλ.Α.Ο.Ριαν.1907/8KE176 (168) (39)
- Byz 100 Obv. [...]NEPEaV
Rev. year U (5)
Date: 606/7
w. 8,979 gr.; size 2,6 cm; die axis 6 o'clock
NM id.no. 12213α (39)
- Byz 101 Obv. CNFOCA NEPEaV
Rev. year U (5)
Date: 606/7
w. 10,203 gr.; size 2,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 1891-1892Θ!86 (39)
- Byz 102 Obv. UN F[...]NEPEaV
Rev. year IU/II (8)
Date: 609/610 (toto zajímavé, protože v katalogu jen do sedmi, takže otázka, zda 7 či 8)
w. 10,895; size 2,6 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 12213 (39)
- Byz 103 Obv. illeg.
Rev. year illeg. Reverse overstruck. Badly visible – possibly a part of a Heraclian countermark in the left field down ().
Date: (602-608)

w. 10,190 gr.; s. 2,7 cm; die axis 12 o'clock
NM id.no. 12213β (39)

Obv. ONFOCA NEPEaV(C)

Bearded frontal consular bust, cross-topped crown, holding mappa and eagle scepter.

Rev. M, above cross, ANNO to l., year to r. Mintmark in exergue
ⲪⲈⲉⲫⲓ.

Type MIBEc 84a

Byz 104

Obv. [illegible] NEPEaVC

Rev. year ⲒII (8)

Date: 609/610

w. 9,86 gr.; s. 2,8 cm; die axis 6 o'clock

NM id.no. A-E 115 H7 (33)

Half follis XX

Obv. DNFOCA NEPEaV(C)

Imperial couple standing, cross between heads, crowned and sometimes nimbate; emperor holds globus cruciger, empress holds cross-scepter.

Rev. XX, above cross, ANNO to l., year r. Mintmark in exergue Ⲓ.

Type MIBEc 85

Byz 105

Obv. DNFO [...]

Rev. X · X, year II (2)

Date: 603/4

w. 5,957 gr.; size 2,2 cm; die axis 11 o'clock

NM id.no. 12213γ (39)

Overstrike

Byz 106

Obv. Maurice's bust overstruck by Heraclius (two standing figures above the consular portrait of Maurice)

Rev. M, also overstruck. Badly legible mintmark

Sizes 10,947 gr; s. 3,1 cm; die axis 6 o'clock (in the case of the overstruck image)

1902-903 ΚΔ! 11 (20) overstrike



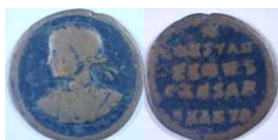
rom 1



rom 2



rom 3



rom 4



rom 5



rom 6



rom 7



rom 8



rom 9



rom 10



rom 11



rom 12



rom 13



rom 14



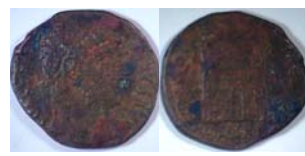
rom 15



rom 16



rom 17



rom 18

rom 36



Two circular metal discs, likely ancient coins or medallions, showing intricate designs and significant corrosion. The left disc features a central figure, possibly a deity or ruler, surrounded by a circular border. The right disc shows a more complex design with a central square or rectangular motif and surrounding patterns. Both discs are heavily corroded, with dark, irregular patches and a mottled appearance.



Two circular metal coins, likely from the Gupta period, are shown side-by-side. The coin on the left features a profile of a ruler facing right, surrounded by a circular border with inscriptions in an ancient script. The coin on the right shows a central square emblem, possibly a temple or a royal seal, also surrounded by inscriptions. Both coins exhibit a dark, patinated surface with some visible wear and tear.



The image shows two views of a circular Roman coin. The left view displays the obverse side, which is almost entirely covered by a thick, dark green patina. Faint traces of a profile head facing right are visible through the corrosion. The right view shows the reverse side, featuring a central rectangular stamp or inscription surrounded by a border of small, illegible characters. The overall condition is poor due to significant environmental degradation.

Two views of a Roman coin, likely an aureus. The left view shows the obverse with a profile of a man facing right, wearing a laurel wreath. The right view shows the reverse with a building, possibly a temple or forum, with columns and a pediment. The coin is heavily corroded and discolored.

The image displays two views of an ancient Roman coin. The left view shows the obverse, featuring a profile of a man's head facing right, surrounded by a laurel wreath. The right view shows the reverse, depicting two standing figures, possibly deities or personifications, flanking a central column or altar. The coin is dark and shows signs of age.

rom 54



rom 55



rom 56



rom 57



rom 58



rom 59



rom 60



rom 61



rom 62



rom 63



rom 64



rom 65



rom 66



rom 67



rom 68



rom 69



rom 70



rom 71



rom 72



rom 73



rom 74



rom 75



rom 76



rom 77



rom 78



rom 79



rom 80



rom 81



rom 82



rom 83



rom 84



rom 85



rom 86



rom 87



rom 88



rom 89



rom 90



rom 108

Two circular views of an ancient coin, likely made of a dark metal like iron or steel, showing severe corrosion and pitting. The left view shows a faint, illegible inscription or design, while the right view shows a more distinct, though still heavily worn, circular pattern or inscription.

The image shows two views of a dark, heavily corroded Roman coin. The left view shows the obverse side with a faint profile of a head facing right. The right view shows the reverse side with a faint inscription and a central emblem, possibly a temple or altar. The coin is surrounded by a white border.

Two circular images of a Roman coin. The left image shows the obverse (front) with a profile of a man facing left, wearing a laurel wreath. The right image shows the reverse (back) with a seated figure, possibly a deity or emperor, holding a staff or scepter.

Two views of a heavily corroded, dark, circular metal object, likely a coin or medallion. The left view shows a dark, irregular shape with a rough, textured surface. The right view shows a more circular object with a dark, textured surface, possibly a coin or medallion, showing significant wear and discoloration.

rom 126

Two views of a gold coin (aureus) featuring a profile of a ruler wearing a laurel wreath. The obverse (left) shows the ruler's head facing right, with the inscription 'AVGVSTVS' visible at the top. The reverse (right) shows a seated figure, likely a deity or personification, with the inscription 'PACIS' visible at the top.

Two circular metal discs, likely ancient coins or medallions, are shown side-by-side. The disc on the left has a dark, mottled green patina and features a prominent, stylized profile of a head facing right. The disc on the right is a darker, more uniform brown color and shows a more complex, possibly embossed or engraved, design that is less distinct than the one on the left.

The image displays two views of a Roman coin. The left view is the obverse, showing a profile of a woman facing right, wearing a laurel wreath. The right view is the reverse, depicting a seated figure, possibly a deity or emperor, surrounded by an inscription.

Two circular images of a Roman coin. The left image shows the obverse (front) with a profile of a man facing right, wearing a laurel wreath. The right image shows the reverse (back) with a seated figure, possibly a deity or emperor, holding a scepter. The coin is dark and appears to be made of a metal like bronze or silver.

Two circular Roman coins are shown side-by-side. The left coin is the obverse, featuring a profile of a man facing right, wearing a laurel wreath. The right coin is the reverse, showing a seated figure, likely a deity or emperor, with a scepter. Both coins are heavily corroded and discolored.

The image displays two views of a Roman coin. The left view is the obverse, showing a profile of a man facing right, wearing a laurel wreath. The right view is the reverse, showing a seated figure, likely a deity or emperor, with a shield and a spear. The coin is dark and shows signs of wear and corrosion.

The image displays two views of an ancient Roman coin. The left view is the obverse, showing a profile of a man's head facing right, with the inscription 'S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI' around the edge. The right view is the reverse, showing a seated female figure, likely Roma, holding a cornucopia, with the inscription 'S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI' around the edge.

rom 144

Two views of an ancient Roman coin, likely an aureus. The left image shows the obverse (front) with a profile of a man facing right, wearing a laurel wreath. The right image shows the reverse (back) with a seated figure, possibly a deity or emperor, holding a scepter. The coin is dark and shows signs of age and wear.

Two views of a heavily worn, dark, circular metal object, likely a coin or medallion. The left view shows a profile of a figure, possibly a ruler, facing left. The right view shows the reverse side, which is mostly illegible due to corrosion but appears to have some text or a design. The object is dark and shows significant signs of age and wear.

rom 162



The image shows two views of a Roman coin, likely an aureus. The obverse (left) features a bull standing on a platform, facing right, with a seated figure (possibly a deity or emperor) behind it. The reverse (right) shows a seated figure (possibly a deity or emperor) on a platform, facing left, with a bull behind it. The coin is heavily worn and discolored.

rom 180



rom 181



rom 182



rom 183



rom 184



rom 185



rom 186



rom 187



rom 188



rom 189



rom 190



rom 191



rom 192



rom 193



rom 194



rom 195



rom 196



rom 197



rom 198

Two views of a dark, heavily corroded ancient coin. The left view shows the obverse side with a faint profile of a head facing right. The right view shows the reverse side with a faint profile of a head facing left. The coin is circular and shows significant signs of age and wear.

Two views of a dark, heavily corroded ancient coin. The left view shows a profile of a head facing right, with some illegible text above it. The right view shows the reverse side, which is mostly obscured by corrosion, with some faint traces of text or a design visible.



Two views of a dark, heart-shaped object, likely a fossil or mineral specimen. The left view shows a more textured, possibly crystalline surface, while the right view shows a smoother, more uniform surface. Both views are set against a light background.

Two circular images showing the obverse and reverse of a dark, heavily corroded coin. The surfaces are covered in a thick, dark patina with some lighter, brownish-orange spots where the corrosion is less severe. The coin appears to be made of a dark metal, possibly iron or steel, and is in a state of significant degradation.

Two sides of an ancient coin, likely a Roman aureus. The left side shows a profile of a man facing left, with the inscription "IMP. CAESAR" visible. The right side shows a standing figure, possibly a deity or emperor, with the inscription "P. SEPTIMIUS GETA" visible.

Two views of a Roman coin, likely a denarius. The left view shows a profile of a figure, possibly a deity or emperor, facing left. The right view shows a full-length figure, possibly a deity or emperor, standing and facing left. The coin is heavily corroded and discolored.

Two views of a dark, circular metal object, likely a coin or medallion. The left view shows a dark, possibly black or dark brown, surface with some lighter, brownish areas. The right view shows a similar surface but with more visible texture and some lighter, brownish areas. The object appears to be made of metal and has a circular shape.

rom 216



rom 217



rom 218



rom 219



rom 220



rom 221



rom 222



rom 223



rom 224



byz 1



byz 2



byz 3



byz 4



byz 5



byz 6



byz 7



byz 8



byz 9



byz 10



byz 11



byz 12



byz 13



byz 14



byz 15



byz 16



byz 17



byz 18



byz 19



byz 20



byz 21



byz 22



byz 23



byz 24



byz 25



byz 26



byz 27



byz 28



byz 29



byz 30



byz 31



byz 32



byz 33



byz 34



byz 35



byz 36



byz 37



byz 38



byz 39



byz 40



byz 41



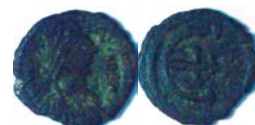
byz 42



byz 43



byz 44



byz 45



byz 46



byz 47



byz 48



byz 49



byz 50



byz 51



byz 52



byz 53



byz 54



byz 55



byz 56



byz 57



byz 58



byz 59



byz 60



byz 61



byz 62



byz 63



byz 64



byz 65



byz 66



byz 67



byz 68



byz 69



byz 70



byz 71



byz 72



byz 73



byz 74



byz 75



byz 76



byz 77



byz 78



byz 79



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byz 83



byz 84



byz 85



byz 86



byz 87



byz 88



byz 89



byz 90



byz 91



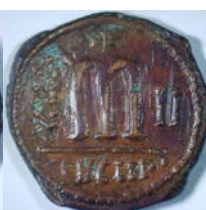
byz 92



byz 93



byz 94



byz 95



byz 96



byz 97



byz 98



byz 99



byz 100



byz 101



byz 102



byz 103



byz 104



byz 105



byz 106