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THE AVGVSTVS / CAESAR AND CAESAR / X X SILVER MULTIPLES AND THE INTERREGNUM 337 CE

Abstract: An enigmatic group of 1/24-pound silver multiples has long been thought to commemorate the vicennalia of Constantine Caesar in 336/337. This study adds the mint of Rome to the list of producing mints but removes Constantinopolis and Nicomedia. Six further mints produced these multiples: Treveri, Arelate, Lugdunum, Aquileia, Siscia, and Thessalonica. The date and issuer of the multiples can be deduced from the geographic area encompassing these seven mints. In 335 CE, Constantine I prepared for his succession by dividing his empire amongst his three remaining sons plus his nephew Dalmatius. Six of these mints were in areas under the authority of Constantine Caesar, either directly or through his inferred tutelage of Constans. The mint of Thessalonica was, however, in Macedonia which was allotted to Dalmatius. Following the murder of Dalmatius soon after the death of Constantine I, Constans received Thessalonica, in reality meaning that his guardian Constantine Caesar gained control of the city. As a result, all seven mints producing the multiples were controlled by Constantine Caesar during the three-month period between the murder of Dalmatius and the proclamation of the three remaining Caesars as Augusti on 9 September 337. After this date there were no Caesars and no Augustus controlled all mints producing the multiples. The production of the silver multiples can thus be pinpointed to the three-month interregnum period following the death of Constantine I and Dalmatius.

Keywords: Constantine, dynasty, silver medallion, interregnum, libra, hoards, forgeries

The impressive AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / X X multiples are among the most spectacular and also most enigmatic of all late Roman silver donatives¹. One reason for this is that they carry only the titles but not the

¹ Cash handouts to the military are known as *donativa* and those to civilians were called a *congiarium*.



Fig. 1. The first illustrations of the AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / X X multiples by Du Cange 1680, attributed by him to Constans. The specimens may be the ones now in the Paris BNF, Cat. nos. 13 and 37 herein.

name of the rulers. They were first described over 300 years ago by Du Cange² (1680) and Banduri³ (1718) who assigned the types to Constans (Du Cange) or Constantine I and one of his sons (Banduri).

The specimens figured by Du Cange may be the ones still in Paris BNF (fig. 1). In 1755, de France⁴ figured the specimen still in the Vienna KHM (fig. 2). Various authors have subsequently attributed the AVGVSTVS / CAESAR type to Constantine I, Constantine II, or Constantius II, and the CAESAR / X X type to Constantine II, Constans, Constantius Gallus, or Julian. Depending on the identification, the date has varied from 336 to 357 CE.

In 1949, Jean Lafaurie published a seminal study of the 14 examples then known to him⁵. He pointed out that some examples carried the mint mark CONST⁶. This mint mark was used in Arles only in 327-340 and again in 353-370. Further, there were no Caesars in 337-351 or after 360. The possible dates could be further constrained by the mint mark TSE for Thessalonica, known only from 335-337. Lafaurie accordingly attributed the AVGVSTVS / CAESAR type to Constantine I. He further regarded the X X on the second medallion as referring to the vicennalia of Constantine Caesar, celebrated 1st March 336 – 1st March 337. These conclusions have been followed by subsequent authors.

² Ch. Du Fresne Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina duplici commentario illustrata: prior familias ac stemmata imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum, cum eorundem Augustorum nomismatibus et aliquot iconibus*. Louis Billaine, Paris 1680.

³ A. M. Banduri, *Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum a Trajano Decio ad Palæologos Augustos, Accessit Bibliotheca Nummaria, Sive Auctorum qui de Re Nummaria scripserunt, vol. II*, Paris 1718.

⁴ J. de France, *Num. cimelii Caesarei regii Numismata cimelii caesarei regii austriaci vindobonensis*. Trattner, Wien 1755. 177+27 pp, 137 pls.

⁵ J. Lafaurie, *Une série de médaillons d'argent de Constantin I et Constantin II*. *Revue Numismatique*, Sér. 5, 11 (Paris 1949) 35-48. Lafaurie figured 12 examples and listed two further: the Vienna specimen, Cat. no. 15 herein, and the Montagu example, Cat. no. 19 herein. Lafaurie was unaware of the example published by Gerasimov in 1939; T. Gerasimov (Герасимов, Тодор Димитров), *Dva kasnorimski medaliona ot Bulgaria*. IBAI (Izvestiya na Bulgarskiya Arkheologicheski Institut) XIII, 1939 [Publ. 1941], 337-339.

⁶ Lafaurie *op. cit.* knew three specimens from Arles. In 2004 four additional examples were described and figured; M. Amandry - G. Gautier, *Les multiples en argent frappés à Arles en 336-337*. *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique* 59 (Paris 2004), 6, 134-138.



Fig. 2. Illustration by de France 1755 (pl. 108, fig. 1) of the medallion in Vienna KHM (Cat. no. 15).

Most of the multiples carry a mint mark. These show that the multiples were struck at the mints of Arles, Lyon, Trier, Aquileia, Rome, Siscia, and Thessalonica⁷. In addition, there is a small number of multiples lacking a mint mark. On stylistic grounds, Lafaurie attributed the latter to the mints of Constantinopolis and Nicomedia. Lafaurie's attributions were accepted by Bruun⁸ 1966 who used them in RIC VII in his list of types from each mint⁹.

Material

Since Lafaurie's study in 1949, the number of known multiples has increased from 15 to 38 (see the Catalogue). There are now twenty-three AVGVS TVS / CAESAR specimens known and fourteen CAESAR / X X examples¹⁰, plus possibly one hybrid. Exactly half of the specimens are in public collections, the remainder in private collections. There are also some seven modern forgeries known. The material now permits a renewed study of these multiples.

⁷ All except Rome were known by Lafaurie 1949, *op. cit.*, and Bruun 1966; P. Bruun, *Constantine and Licinius A.D. 313-337. The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. VII*, ed. C.H.V. Sutherland, R.A.G. Carson. London 1966. The example with the Rome mint mark was published by Gerasimov already in 1939, *op. cit.*

⁸ Bruun 1966, *op. cit.*

⁹ Between the time of Lafaurie's study and Bruun's, only one further medallion was discovered, the Lyon specimen in the Kaiseraugst hoard (Cat. no. 20).

¹⁰ In this study, only medallions necessary for the discussions are figured. The remainder have been well illustrated in the studies referred to. The fragmentary CAESAR / X X multiple from Trier (Cat. no. 9) is cut in half and then cut again. The legend CAESAR and the mint mark TR are intact on the preserved part.



Fig. 3. 1/24-pound AVGVS TVS / CAESAR multiples assigned here to the mint of Rome. A, Cat. no. 24 (Gerasimov 1939). B, Cat. no. 35 (Cesano 1957). C, Cat. no. 36 (NAC 88, lot 699).

The unmarked multiples

In order to deduce the date and purpose for the multiples, it is first necessary to know where they were minted. Most are easily attributed because they carry a mint mark, but a small number (Cat. nos. 23, 35-38) lack such evidence. For the latter, the only indication of where they were produced is the iconography.

Lafaurie (1949) attempted to attribute the unmarked examples to particular mints. He wrote:

“Les médaillons de Constantin, commémorant la consécration solennelle de Constantinople, le 11 mai 330 (pl. V, no 13) présentent une effigie tout à fait comparable à celles des pièces que nous étudions, notamment à qui est figure pl. IV, no 2, ce qui inciterait à attribuer ce médaillon à l’atelier de Constantinople. L’autre médaillon, sans marque d’atelier à exergue (pl. IV, no 1), présente de nombreuses analogies de style avec les monnaies de Nicomédie, et il est tentant de l’attribuer à cet atelier. [...] L’absence de marque monétaire peut s’expliquer par les séjours que fit Constantin, l’année de sa mort, dans ses deux résidences voisines. Pour ce monnayage exceptionnel, frappé aux lieux mêmes où se trouve l’empereur, il n’a pas été jugé nécessaire, comme pour les monnaies, d’y imprimer une marque de contrôle”

Lafaurie’s attribution of these unmarked examples to Constantinople and Nicomedia was followed by Bruun in RIC VII (1966) and it has not been ques-

tioned¹¹. I will here forward indications showing a better substantiated attribution for the 'Constantinople' type, as well as indications that Nicomedia did not strike these multiples.

Reattribution from Constantinopolis to Rome. The detailed similarities in Constantine's portrait between two of the unmarked multiples and the gold, silver and bronze emissions of Rome from the last years of Constantine's reign were pointed by me out in a recent study¹². The attribution by Lafaurie and Bruun of these multiples to Constantinople is contradicted by the fundamentally different style of the latter mint (see Ramskold *op. cit.* for details). On stylistic grounds, these multiples (fig. 3B, C) were therefore re-assigned by me from Constantinople to Rome. This attribution is supported by the until now overlooked medallion published by Gerasimov in 1939, showing the mint mark R, which can only indicate Rome, between the *lemnisci*¹³ (fig. 3A). On the Gerasimov medallion, the head of Constantine shows all the details characteristic for the mint of Rome in the hair, the diadem and its ties, the profile, and the eye. All of these features, and in addition the shape of the truncation of the neck, are present also in the two unmarked medallions, and they can be securely attributed to Rome. In addition, the Gerasimov medallion shows close similarities to the VOT / XXX silver medallion figured by Gneecchi 1912¹⁴, also attributed here to Rome¹⁵.

The 'Nicomedia' multiple. Following discussions by Lafaurie (1949), one unmarked multiple of each type (fig. 4A, B) was attributed by Bruun (1966) to Nicomedia. The CAESAR / X X example (fig. 4B) lacks the part where the mint mark would have been. In the period 336-338, the mint of Nicomedia does not show any unique features permitting an assignment of the specimen to that mint. In the present author's view, the greatest similarities are with the AQ marked medallion (fig. 4C) and therefore the broken example is tentatively attributed here to Aquileia.

Nor does the unmarked AVGVSTVS / CAESAR medallion (fig. 4A) attributed by Lafaurie to Nicomedia, in the present author's view, show any characters pointing to that mint. In contrast to the mint of Rome, which shows a very distinct local style, the coinage of Nicomedia from the late 330's does not ex-

¹¹ Amandry - Gautier, *op. cit.*, gave a correct list of the mints striking these multiples, including Rome and excluding Constantinopolis and Nicomedia, but without giving the basis for this.

¹² L. Ramskold, *The silver emissions of Constantine I from Constantinopolis, and the celebration of the millennium of Byzantium in 333/334 CE*. *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 68 (2018) 166, fig. 6.

¹³ These are the ribbons binding the wreath at the base. "Any wreath or garland could be made more honorific by the addition of *lemnisci*, coloured ribbons binding the leaves or flowers"; T. P. Wiseman, *Monuments and the Roman annalists*, *Past Perspectives: Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing*, ed. I. S. Moxon - J. D. Smart - A. J. Woodman (Oxford University Press 1986), 93, with references.

¹⁴ F. Gneecchi, *I medaglioni romani descritti ed illustrati, vol. I: Oro ed argento*, Milan 1912, pl. 29, fig. 7.

¹⁵ The Constantinian gold and silver emissions of Rome will be published by me in "The gold and silver emissions of Rome under Constantine I from 313 to 337" (Ramskold MS).

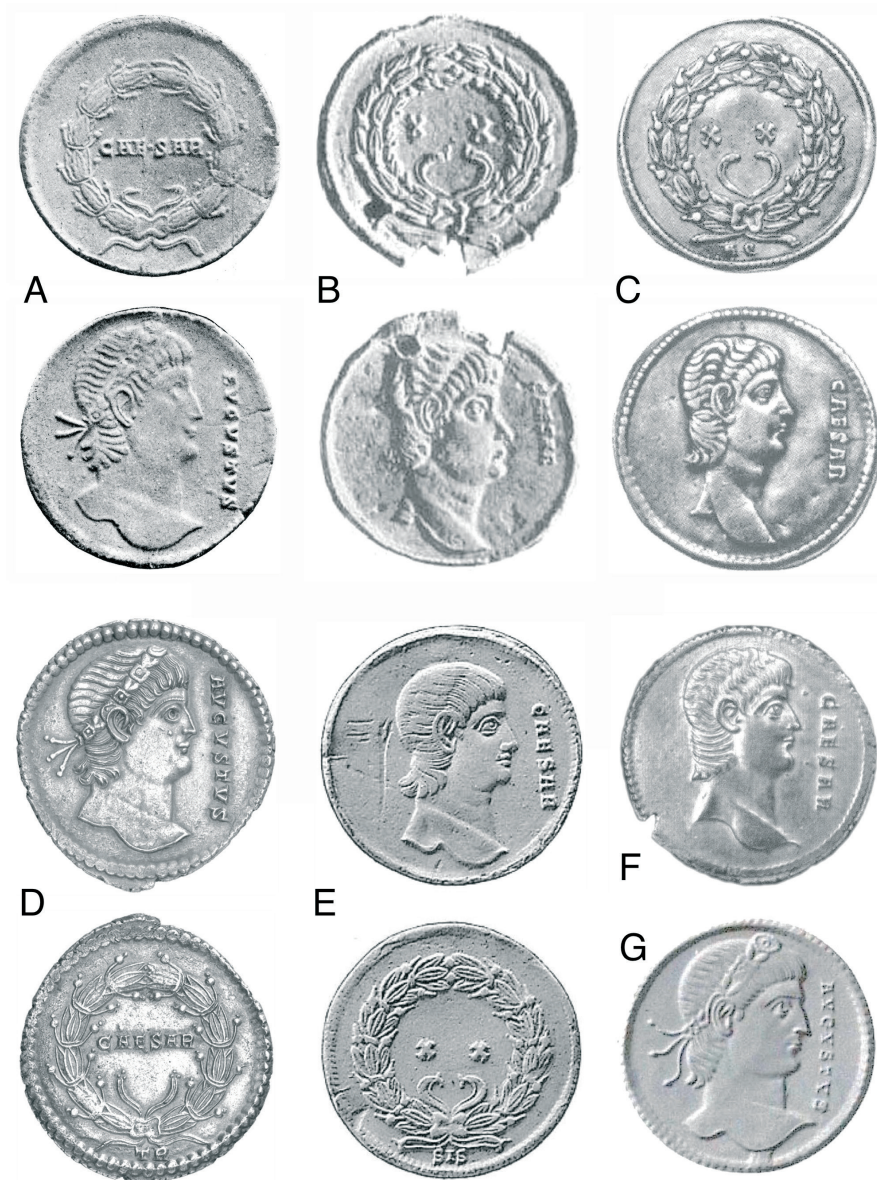


Fig. 4. A, B, multiples previously attributed to Nicomedia. C-G, multiples for comparison. A, Cat. no. 37, RIC VII Nicomedia 197 (Ricci 1913). B, Cat. no. 23, RIC VII Nicomedia 198 (Lafaurie 1949). C, Cat. no. 22, RIC VII Aquileia 138 (Asolati 2013). D, Cat. no. 1, Trier (not in RIC VII) (Numismatica Genevensis 5) (authenticity questioned by BOC 1991). E, Cat. no. 30, RIC VII Siscia 260 (Trau 1935). F, Cat. no. 38, multiple with no mint mark (Reinert 2008). G, Cat. no. 12, RIC VII Arles 410 (Amandry - Gautier 2004).

hibit a particularly distinct style. The medallion shows three diverging diadems, a feature seen also in the two multiples from Arles (fig. 4G), and in two of the Trier examples (fig. 4D, authenticity questioned by BOC 1991; the second example is one of the multiples in the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard which is mint marked TR). There are marked similarities between the unmarked specimen and both the two known Arles examples and the first of the Trier examples. All other mints can be excluded, and the earlier attribution to Nicomedia is rejected here, but at present it is not possible to determine if it was the Arles or the Trier mint that struck the medallion.

One further unmarked example has been discovered later. It is one of the nine specimens in the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard (see below). The obverse has been published (Reinert 2008b, centre medallion; fig. 4F) but not the reverse¹⁶. There are similarities to Arles and Aquileia and less so to Trier, but any attribution is uncertain.

In conclusion, the attributions to Constantinople and Nicomedia are rejected here. Two of the unmarked examples can be firmly identified as products of the Rome mint. The three remaining unmarked examples are not firmly attributed here, but only western mints show iconographical similarities.

Remarks on unmarked gold and silver donatives. The unmarked 1/24-pound multiples constitute an exception to the rule. There was an obvious need for both the imperial treasury and the local mint to keep track of the exact amounts of gold and silver used for the various donatives produced. For this reason, virtually all coins and coin-like products carried the abbreviated name of the producing mint, and often also a letter denoting the officina or the perhaps the batch of precious metal.

There are very few unmarked examples among the vast diversity of Constantinian coin-like donatives. Searching for a parallel, with emissions of both marked and unmarked examples, one finds the VOT / XXX gold multiples from Constantine's tricennalia (335-336 CE). Thessalonica struck gold multiples mint marked TSE (RIC 207). The similar medallion RIC VII Thessalonica 206¹⁷ lacks a mint mark and was recently re-assigned to the mint of Rome by Ramskold (2018, fig. 6F). There is in addition a unique silver example of this medallion, also lacking a mint mark, but the style points unambiguously to Rome¹⁸. Another example of an unmarked type is the famous so-called Ticinum

¹⁶ The obverse is the central specimen in the assemblage from the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard figured by Reinert in 2008; F. Reinert, *Der Schatz von Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil*, Moselgold. Der römische Schatz von Machtum. Ein kaiserliches Geschenk [Exhibition catalogue, Luxembourg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art Luxembourg, 10 October 2008 – 18 Januar 2009] (Publications du Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art Luxembourg 6), ed. F. Reinert (Luxembourg 2008), 222, fig. 2. The reverse has kindly been made available to the present author by M. Amandry.

¹⁷ *Sammlung Franz Trau. Münzen der Römischen Kaiser*. Gilhofer & Ranschburg, Wien, Austria and A. Hess A.G., Luzern, Switzerland. (22 May 1935), pl. 44, no. 3889.

¹⁸ Gnecci *op. cit.*, pl. 29, fig. 7.

medallion (RIC VII 36). Again, the lack of a mint mark has created difficulties in identifying the producing mint, and although most authors agree on a Ticinum origin, the mints of Rome or Constantinople have recently been suggested¹⁹.

A further group of donatives from the reigns of Constantine and his sons should be mentioned. These are the uniface gold medallions, intended as gifts to “barbarians” outside the limes²⁰. Most of these lack a mint mark. There are exceptions, and medallions marked SIS for Siscia²¹ and AQ (?), possibly for Aquileia²², are known. The style of the unmarked medallions has been taken to indicate the mints of Trier, Sirmium, and others. The relevance here of these donatives is the fact that they were all produced in the imperial mints, but in most cases without an identifying mint mark. Like the silver multiples described herein, they were donatives produced in precious metal from the imperial treasury, and all of these donatives must have been subject to the same rigorous control.

Constantine I favouring Constantine Caesar?

It has been argued (i.e., by Cara 1993²³) that the multiples celebrated the vicennalia of Constantine II, and that they showed that Constantine intended only his eldest son to become Augustus after his own death. Cara’s arguments were countered by Burgess²⁴. A similar view, expressed already by Lafaurie in 1949, was forwarded in 2009 by Kampmann²⁵ who wrote: “Constantine intended to divide the empire five ways upon his death, among his three sons and two nephews, with Constantine II as the senior Augustus to make the final decisions in cases of dispute. That is why Constantine’s II role was stressed.”

However, the evidence presented in this study contradicts the idea that that these multiples were struck under the authority of Constantine I. His plans for succession had been unveiled when Dalmatius²⁶ was elevated to Caesar.

¹⁹ See discussion in N. Lenski, *The date of the Ticinum medallion*. *Quaderni ticinesi. Numismatica e antichità classiche* (NAC) 47 (2018), 251-295.

²⁰ See R. Münsterberg, *Einseitige Goldmünzen Constantins und seiner Söhne*. *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 56 (1923), 25-28; R. Bland, *Gold for the Barbarians? Uniface Gold Medallions of the House of Constantine found in Britain and Ireland*. *Britannia* 43 (November 2012), 217-225.

²¹ The Siscia examples are for Constantine II as Augustus, thus dating from 337-340.

²² See Künker 248 (14 March 2014) lot 7585. The letters A and Q are flanking a large Chi-Rho. The attribution to Aquileia is most likely, but it is perhaps possible that the Q is a misrepresentation of an omega, and that the A represents alfa, in which case the letters are not a mint mark.

²³ P. Cara, *La successione di Costantino*. *Aevum* 67 (1993), 173-80.

²⁴ R. W. Burgess, *The Summer of Blood. The “Great Massacre” of 337 and the Promotion of the Sons of Constantine*. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 62 (2008), 8-9.

²⁵ U. Kampmann, *A donative of Constantine the Great*. *CoinsWeekly*, 14 October 2009. <https://coinsweekly.com/a-donative-of-constantine-the-great/>

²⁶ On coins his name is usually spelled Delmatius and more rarely Dalmatius. The latter is used here because the name alludes to Dalmatia and it was the spelling used for his father Dalmatius the censor.

The plan appears to have been simple and clear: Constantine would be succeeded by an imperial college of two augusti - Constantine and Constantius - and two Caesars - Constans and Dalmatius²⁷. Of these, Constantine junior was the most senior and would have had some priority, but the coinage shows that Constantine I promoted the two elder sons equally. Every gold emission after the elimination of Crispus shows parallel types of the two elder Caesars, with no priority of either. The silver is rarer and less known but was also produced equally, with only one possible exception²⁸.

One other unequal production of donatives is of interest here, involving Dalmatius. The exact extent of the realm allotted by Constantine I to Dalmatius is unknown, and it is not known if it included the province of Europa, the eastern-most part of Thracia which included the minting cities of Heraclea and Constantinopolis. In Moesia, definitely part of Dalmatius' area, there was the mint of Thessalonica. The silver emission Thessalonica RIC 214-217, struck for Constantine's tricennalia, is known from the following number of examples for each ruler: Constantine I - 11; Constantine Caesar - 6; Constantius Caesar - 5; Constans Caesar - 6; Dalmatius Caesar - 11. The numbers are small and any conclusions must be tentative. However, Dalmatius is clearly well represented and it even appears that twice as many examples were struck for Constantine I and Dalmatius as for each of the three remaining Caesars. This was possibly an attempt by Constantine I to promote the authority of his newly appointed Caesar in the realm allotted to him. Similar silver emissions were struck also in Constantinople and Heraclea, but in these mints Dalmatius was apparently not unequally treated²⁹.

In conclusion, during the last years of Constantine I, there are a few rare examples of one or the other Caesar being unequally treated in emissions of struck silver donatives. In all mints, the gold is too rare to permit any conclusions regarding Dalmatius, but it is clear that Constantine Caesar and Constantius Caesar were treated equally. As detailed below, the date proposed here for the *AVGVSTVS / CAESAR* and *CAESAR / XX* silver multiples removes them from the reign of Constantine I, and accordingly they were not a sign of the emperor favouring Constantine Caesar.

Date of the AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / XX silver multiples

The date and purpose of these multiples have been debated for over 150 years. The style of the busts unquestionably indicates a date no earlier than 333 C, but it could be several years or even decades later. Due to the *XX* legend, the multiples have usually been thought to celebrate the vicennalia of Constantine Caesar in 336. This paper proposes a new date for the multiples as well as a new

²⁷ In addition, Hanniballianus would presumably be installed as the ruler of Armenia.

²⁸ Two of the later silver emissions from Constantinople (emissions 6 and 7 of Ramskold *op. cit.* appear to have included one particular type (the 4 standards) for Constantine Caesar but not for Constantius. Other types from the same emissions were produced for both Caesars, so the significance of the 4-standards type is unclear.

²⁹ Number of specimens, RIC VII Heraclea 146-147 and unlisted: Constantine I - 2; Constantine Caesar - 6; Constantius Caesar - 2; Constans Caesar - 3; Dalmatius Caesar - 2. Constantinopolis Emission 7 of Ramskold 2018: Constantine I - 14; Constantine Caesar - 12; Constantius Caesar - 9; Constans Caesar - 4; Dalmatius Caesar - 3.

purpose. The key to the date proposed here for the multiples lies in the distribution of the producing mints. The previously published list of mints producing the multiples suffered from some errors. The list of mints was emended by Ramskold (2018), but at the time no new date was proposed.

Constantine's partition of the empire

First, we need to examine the division of the empire which Constantine designed as a plan for the succession after his death. As far as can be reconstructed, this was a system of succession based on the tetrarchic system, with two senior Augusti, Constantine II and Constantius II, and two junior Caesars, Constans and Dalmatius³⁰. A complex system of intermarriage would secure the stability of the system³¹. As part of the plan, a preliminary partition of the empire was made. In all probability, the scheme was launched in connection with the elevation of Dalmatius to Caesar in September 335³².

As events unfolded, the partition of the empire passed through three stages. The first began with the elevation of Dalmatius on 18 September 335, the second with the murder of Dalmatius soon after the death of Constantine 22 May 337, and the third lasted from the proclamation of the three Augusti on 9 September 337 until the death of Constantine II in 340. The ancient sources³³ are incomplete and conflicting and do not specify the stages of the division. The account presented here of the three stages of the division has been arrived at by weighing the evidence presented in several previous studies, using the numismatic evidence to check and complement each stage of the partition³⁴.

³⁰ H. Chantraine, *Die Nachfolgeordnung Constantins des Großen*. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse Jahrgang 1992, Nr. 7 (Mainz – Stuttgart 1992); T. D. Barnes, *Constantine: dynasty, religion and power in the later Roman Empire*. Wiley-Blackwell 2011, 165; against Cara *op. cit.*

³¹ See Burgess *op. cit.*

³² T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Harvard University Press 1981, 251-52; and T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Harvard University Press 1982, 198. At about the same time, Hanniballianus received the title nobilissimus.

³³ Primarily Eusebius [Eusebius Caesariensis], *Life of Constantine [Vita Constantini, VC]. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by A. Cameron and St. G. Hall*, (Clarendon Ancient History Series), Oxford 1999, 4.51.1.; *Origo Constantini Imperatoris*, also known as *Anonymus Valesianus*, http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Excerpta_Valesiana/1*.html, 35; Zosimus, *New History. A Translation with Commentary by R. T. Ridley*, (Byzantina Australiensia 2), Canberra 1982, 2.39.2; J. Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum. English translation, Thomas Banchich and Eugene Lane, The History of Zonaras. From Alexander Severus to the Death of Theodosius the Great*. Routledge, London - New York 2009, 13.5.16-17; Philostorgius *Hist. Eccl.* 3.1 (Artemii Passio 8), and *Epitome de Caesaribus*, translated by Thomas M. Banchich, 3rd ed. 2018; <http://www.roman-emperors.org/epitome.htm>, 41.19-20; see also B. Bleckmann, *Der Bürgerkrieg zwischen Constantin II. und Constans (340 n. Chr.)*. *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 52 (2003), 225-250.

³⁴ A slightly different approach, based on dioceses rather than provinces, was presented by D. Slootjes, *Governing the Empire: The Effects of the Diocletianic and Constantinian Provincial Reforms Under the Sons of Constantine*, *The Sons of Constantine, AD 337-361*. In *the shadows of Constantine and Julian*, ed. N. Baker-Brian – S. Tougher (Palgrave

Stage 1. In the division worked out by Constantine I, his eldest son Constantine Caesar was allotted the provinces of Britannia, Gallia and Hispania. Constans received the praetorian prefecture of Italy, which also included Northern Africa, and Illyria. However, as Constans was only a boy at the time³⁵, it is likely that he was initially under the guardianship of Constantine Caesar³⁶. A nephew of Constantine I, Dalmatius, was allotted the provinces of Thracia and Moesia (including Macedonia, and Achaëa)³⁷. Several authors have suggested that Constantine I allotted the city of Constantinopolis (in Thracia) to Dalmatius to avert a power struggle of his three sons for the city³⁸. Constantius Caesar received the east. This was the situation when the emperor Constantine died on 22 May 337 in Ancyra near Nicomedia. At that time, Constantine Caesar resided in Trier, Constans possibly in Milan, Dalmatius probably in Naissus, and Constantius in Antioch³⁹. Constantius had been informed of his father's illness and hastened to Constantinople and arrived shortly after the emperor's death.

Stage 2. With no living Augustus to assume power, a 3½-month political vacuum ensued. Burgess (2008) has detailed how a massacre followed very soon after the death of Constantine in which all male descendants of Constantius I and Theodora were murdered, sparing only Gallus and Julian⁴⁰ (and Nepotian who was probably not born yet). One of the victims was Dalmatius. His territory was divided between Constans and Constantius⁴¹. Constans received Moesia (Achaëa and Macedonia with Thessalonica). He probably moved his residence to Naissus⁴². Constantius received most or all of Thracia including Constantinople.

Macmillan, Cham Switzerland 2020), 261-265.

³⁵ Burgess *op. cit.*, p. 7 states his age as "either ten or thirteen". Vanderspoel 2020, p. 36 concludes that Constans was most likely born in 323, thus being thirteen or fourteen in the summer of 337; J. Vanderspoel, *From the Tetrarchy to the Constantinian Dynasty: A Narrative Introduction*, The Sons of Constantine, AD 337-361. In the shadows of Constantine and Julian, ed. N. Baker-Brian – S. Tougher (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham Switzerland, 2020) 23-55.

³⁶ T. D. Barnes, *Constans and Gratian in Rome*, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 79 (1975), 327. There are no ancient sources mentioning such a guardianship. It was deduced in 1897 by Seeck (O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt. Band IV*, Stuttgart 1897, 40) from the constitutions of the Codex Theodosianus. Seeck (*op. cit.* 42) stated that "So hat denn Constantin II auch für den Reichsteil des Constans Gesetze und Verordnungen erlassen; Constantius dagegen wahrte seine volle Unabhängigkeit." Zozimus, *op. cit.* 2.39.2 states that the areas listed here for Constantine junior and Constans were jointly ruled which may indicate a guardianship although Barnes 1982 (*op. cit.* 198) ascribes this statement to ignorance of Zozimus' source Eunapius.

³⁷ Epitome de Caesaribus, *op. cit.*, 41.19-20; Origo Constantini Imperatoris, *op. cit.*, 35; see Bleckmann *op. cit.*, 232, note 18.

³⁸ For example D. Vagi, *Coinage and History of the Roman Empire. Volume 1: History*. Sidney, Ohio 1999, 492.

³⁹ Barnes 1982 *op. cit.* 84-87.

⁴⁰ Nepotian, son of Eutropia, may have been born after the massacre, see Burgess 2008 *op. cit.* 10.

⁴¹ Bleckman *op. cit.* 233, note 19.

⁴² Zonaras *op. cit.* 13.5.9.

Stage 3. On 9 September 337, after meeting in Pannonia, Constantine, Constans and Constantius were proclaimed augusti. A new division of the empire was formalised as follows: Constantius lost what he had gained after the murder of Dalmatius and ruled the eastern provinces, including Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Cyrenaica; Constantine received Britannia, Gaul, Hispania, and Mauretania; and Constans received Italy, Africa, Illyricum, Pannonia, and Moesia (Macedonia and Achaëa). The control of Thracia - including the city of Constantinople - needs to be considered here.

Thracia. In order to understand the AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / X X types, we must first study the shifting fate of Thracia, the province with the minting cities of Constantinople and Heraclea. The written sources⁴³ are silent or unclear and deliberately⁴⁴ or unknowingly incorrect, but the following can be regarded as reasonably certain.

In the division of 335, Thracia became part of Dalmatius' realm. Constantine himself resided in Constantinople, and we can be confident that Dalmatius had very little say in how the city of Constantine was run. The gold and silver coinage (donatives) throughout the empire shows that Constantine promoted the two elder sons equally⁴⁵, proving that the control of the mints remained firmly in the hands of the emperor⁴⁶. When Dalmatius was murdered after the death of Constantine I, the sons split Dalmatius' territory so that Constantinople and most or all of Thracia, including the Danubian frontier, were allotted to Constantius, whereas Moesia (including Macedonia and Achaëa) was given to Constans.

The control of Constantinopolis shifted again three months later, in connection with the proclamation of the three Augusti, when at least parts of Thracia - including Constantinople and Heraclea - apparently came under the authority of Constantine II, as shown by the coinage (see below). Finally, after perhaps only a year⁴⁷ but no later than after the death of Constantine II, the city again came under the authority of Constantius II⁴⁸.

⁴³ Eusebius *op. cit.* 4.51.1; Origo Constantini Imperatoris, *op. cit.*, 35; Epitome de Caesaribus 41.20; see Barnes 1982 *op. cit.* 198.

⁴⁴ The divisions of 335 and 337 were deliberately confused by Eusebius in VC, see Barnes 1982 *op. cit.* 198.

⁴⁵ Burgess *op. cit.* This is confirmed by the author's database of Constantinian gold donatives, regularly showing similar numbers of examples struck for the two brothers.

⁴⁶ Libanius Orat. 59.46, from 349 CE, indicates that Constantine remained in complete control of the empire; *Panegyric on Constantius and Constans. Libanios. Discours. Tome IV: Discours LIX. Texte établi et traduit par Pierre-Louis Malosse* [In Greek and French]. Les Belles Lettres, Paris 2003.

⁴⁷ Chronicon Paschale, Olympiad 279, 337; *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD*. Michael Whitby & Mary Whitby. Liverpool University Press 1989.

⁴⁸ Kent 1981 (RIC VIII), 440 states that of Constantine I, Constantinople "passed first to Constantine II and on his death to Constantius". This description omits the interval between the death of Constantine and the accession of the three Augusti. See J. P. C. Kent, *The Roman Imperial Coinage vol. VIII. The Family of Constantine I. A.D. 337-364*, ed. C.H.V. Sutherland - R.A.G. Carson. Spink and Son Ltd, London 1981.

Constantinopolis. The absence of AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / X X multiples from Constantinopolis⁴⁹ is significant for the dating proposed here. The reason is that during the proposed period - the interregnum in 337 - Constantinopolis was not under the control of Constantine Caesar (or Constans), but under Constantius. In order to evaluate the possibility of a production date after 9 September 337 (but before the death of Constantine II in 340), we need to look at the fate of the city of Constantinopolis during this period.

In the treaty of 9 September 337, Constantine II became the official ruler of the western parts of the empire. The domain of Constans comprised Italy, Africa and the Balkans. Thracia was controlled by Constans, who had taken over the military campaign along the Danubian frontier from Constantius. It is likely that Constans now was no longer under the tutelage of Constantine II. However, although Thracia was ceded by Constantius to Constans in the 9 September 337 treaty, the Thracian mints of Heraclea and Constantinopolis appear to have come under the control of Constantine II. There are no written records specifying such a division after the death of Thracia although Chronicon Paschale does mention in Olympiad 279, year 337, that after the death on Constantine I, “the younger Constantine was emperor in Constantinople for 1 year”⁵⁰. In order to evaluate the veracity of this statement we must turn to the coinage of Constantinopolis, the crown jewel of Constantine’s legacy.

The coinage of Constantinopolis between 9 September 337 and the death of Constantine II in 340 shows the allocation of officinae to the three Augusti. The largest and best-known silver emission during this period (exact date unknown, but if it was struck to advertise the three new Augusti the date should be 337-338) is that of Victory type (RIC VIII, nos. 15-20). The emission was struck in all eleven officinae. Seven of these struck for Constantine II, and two each for Constantius II and Constans (Table 1).

Augustus	Officina											RIC
	A	B	Γ	D	E	S	Z	H	TH	I	IA	no.
Constantine II	4	6		3	6		1	3	6			15
Constantius II			10			5						18
Constans										6	4	20

Table 1. Distribution of the Victory type siliquae (RIC VIII 15, 18 and 20) from the mint of Constantinopolis, with numbers of examples in the author’s database. This table corrects the errors and omissions of RIC VIII. Seven officinae struck for Constantine II and two officinae each for Constantius II and Constans. The predominance for Constantine II may indicate that the city of Constantinopolis was under his authority when this emission was produced. Note: all listed specimens show a rosette diadem. Eight otherwise similar

⁴⁹ Also the absence from the other Thracian mint, Heraclea, is significant. The absence from all Asian mints, including Nicomedia, further supports the conclusions in this study. Even considering the rarity of the specimens, the distribution of the mints known to produce medallions is too ordered to be coincidental.

⁵⁰ The whereabouts of Constantine II during this time are in essence unknown. We may never know if he visited Constantinopolis during the time he presumably ruled the city.

specimens for Constans, all from off. I (not in RIC VIII), and one for Constantius II, from off. Γ (RIC VIII 17), show a laurel wreath and are not included since they may be from a later emission.

The distribution of officinae in Table 1 becomes intelligible when compared to the allocation of officinae when Constantine I was still alive. Table 2 presents the allocation of officinae in the three 2-standards Gloria emissions of Constantinopolis⁵¹, struck from 330 to 336/337⁵².

Emission	Aug/caesar	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	S	Z	H	TH	I	IA	RIC no.
CONSA	330												
Gloria 2	Const. Aug.	A	B	(Γ)	Δ				H				59
Gloria 2	Const. Caes.			Γ						TH	(I)		60
Gloria 2	Constantius				(Δ)		S				I		61
VRBS	VRBS ROMA					E						IA	62
Cons'polis	Cons'polis							Z				IA	63
CONSA•	After 18 Sept 335												
Gloria 2	Const. Aug.	A	B		Δ				H				73
Gloria 2	Const. Caes.			Γ						TH	(I)		74
Gloria 2	Constantius						S				I		75
Gloria 2	Constans											IA	76
Gloria 2	Dalmatius										I		77
VRBS	VRBS ROMA					E						IA	78
Cons'polis	Cons'polis							Z				IA	79
•CONSA•	336 (-337?)												
Gloria 2	Const. Aug.	A	B		Δ				H				80
Gloria 2	Const. Caes.			Γ						TH			81
Gloria 2	Constantius						S				I		82
Gloria 2	Constans											IA	83
Gloria 2	Dalmatius										I		84
VRBS	VRBS ROMA					E						IA	85
Cons'polis	Cons'polis							Z				IA	86

Table 2. The three 2-standards Gloria emissions from Constantinopolis. An officina letter in brackets indicates a single known example. The allocation of the officinae in the first (330) emission remains unchanged throughout, with Constans and Dalmatius simply added to the scheme in 335. Compare with Table 1 and note how the four officinae allocated to

⁵¹ This table is based on over 300 coins in the author's database. It agrees exactly with the second table given by Kent *op. cit.* p. 441. Almost every difference from the listings in RIC VII is due to unique r⁵ listed coins in the latter. They are of a certain interest but they also obscure the allocation of officinae. Table 2 includes four such unique coins, verified by me, whereas many of the r⁵ coins listed by Bruun are regarded here as misread letters.

⁵² The final emission, of 1-standard Gloria type (RIC VII 137-155) needs further study to be understood.

Constantine I (A, B, Δ, H) were taken over by Constantine II when he became Augustus, and to these he added E, Z and TH, leaving only Γ and S for Constantius II, and I and IA for Constans.

The allocation of officinae shown in the two tables indicates clearly that after becoming Augustus, Constantine II took over his father's officinae, an obvious display of seniority. This is a strong indication that he had executive control of the mint. It is also relevant to note that Constantine I tended to allocate the officinae in alphabetical order according to rank, giving himself the first officina (A or P), and then the caesars the second, third and fourth officina, etc., in order of seniority. This sign of senior status was taken over by Constantine II.

The distribution of officinae indicates that for some time after the 9 September agreement, the mint seems to have been under the control of Constantine II⁵³, and with the mint, also the city of Constantinopolis, confirming the statement in *Chronicon Paschale*. This should be an anomaly since Constantinopolis was situated far from the other areas directly ruled by Constantine II. However, it must have been a result of the negotiations leading up to the division formalized on 9 September 337, enabling Constantine II to gain control of Constantinopolis. Kent (1981), stated: "...the best solution to the historical problem is to ascribe Heraclea and Constantinople to the Prefecture of Italy, Africa and Illyricum, under the nominal rule of Constantine II, but effectively subject to an administration loyal to Constans"⁵⁴. This situation may have lasted one year (if *Chronicon Paschale* is correct)⁵⁵, but it ended at the latest in 339 when Constans revolted against Constantine II, a revolt that led Constantine to attack Constans (or vice versa⁵⁶), which resulted in the death of Constantine II.

Had Constantine Caesar been in control of Constantinopolis already during the interregnum, we would have expected to see AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / X X multiples struck there, and also at Heraclea. But we don't⁵⁷. Lafaurie, followed by Bruun⁵⁸, attributed an unmarked specimen to

⁵³ This pattern is a continuation of how Constantine I used to strike for himself in many officinae and for the Caesars in only one or two each; see the *Providentiae* coinage from Siscia and Antioch, and the *dafne* coinage from Constantinopolis, to mention but a few.

⁵⁴ Kent 1981 (RIC VIII), Heraclea, p. 427.

⁵⁵ It is possible that there was a meeting between the three brothers in Viminacium in June 338. C. Th. X.10.4 gives the presence there of Constantine II on 12 June 338; *Codex Theodosianus. Based on the Latin text of Mommsen and Meyer's edition: Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae ediderunt Th. Mommsen et P. M. Meyer*, Berlin 1905 (<http://droitro-main.upmf-grenoble.fr/>); see A. Piganiol, *L'Empire Chretien (325-395)*. Presses universitaires de France, Paris 1973, 81-82. Perhaps a re-shuffling of provinces took place and Constantine II lost Constantinopolis on this occasion.

⁵⁶ W. Lewis, *Constantine II and His Brothers: The Civil War of AD 340*, The Sons of Constantine, AD 337-361. In the shadows of Constantine and Julian, ed. N. Baker-Brian – S. Tougher, 57-94. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham Switzerland 2020.

⁵⁷ Although the small number of known medallions means that the absence of medallions from Constantinopolis in itself is no proof that such were not produced.

⁵⁸ Bruun *op. cit.*, RIC VII Constantinople 132. It is unclear to me if Bruun cites one

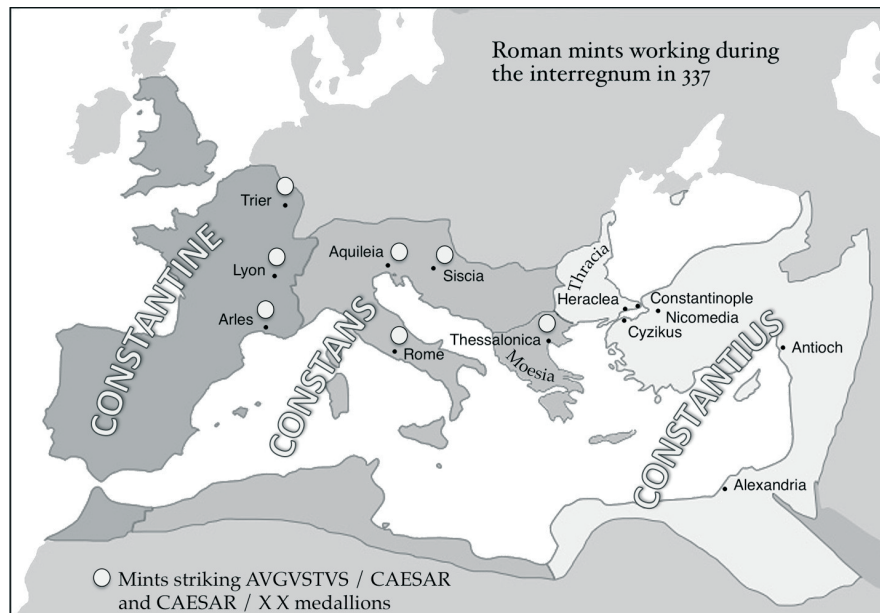


Fig. 5. Donatives struck in the name of Dalmatius in the “home mints” of Constantine Caesar and Constans Caesar. A, siliqua, Rome mint, not in RIC but similar to Rome 379-380. 3.09g, 19.8mm. Private collection. B, Trier mint, not in RIC but similar to Trier 572-576. The metal is stated to be silver, weight 2.02g, 20mm. Adapted from Robertson 1982, 271, pl. 63, fig. D.1.

Constantinopolis but it has a portrait incompatible with any mint but Rome. The reason forwarded here for the absence of these multiples from the mint of Constantinopolis is that the city – during the interregnum – was under the authority of Constantius.

Authority of the mints 18 September 335 – 22 May 337

In 2008, Burgess published a ground-breaking study of the events leading up to and following the death of Constantine I, based to a large extent on the coinage of the period. Burgess concluded that after Constantine’s partition of the empire in 335, the four Caesars had at least some executive power over the coinage produced at the mints situated in their respective realms. The evidence forwarded by Burgess was largely based on the entries in RIC VII. Burgess stated that “Constantine’s three sons showed a marked hostility toward Dalmatius from the very beginning of his reign, refusing to strike gold or silver coins in his name at their home mints”⁵⁹:

or two examples, first the Piancastello specimen of Cesano 1957 (S. L. Cesano, *Catalogo della collezione numismatica di Carlo Piancastelli*, Forlì 195) and then the one of J. Hirsch, München, Germany, auction 29 (9 Nov. 1910). They are the same specimen (Cat. #25 herein).

⁵⁹ Burgess *op. cit.* 42.



Fig. 6. Areas controlled by the three Caesars during the 3-month interregnum in 337 CE. After the murder of Dalmatius, his provinces were taken over by Constans (Moesia) and Constantius (Thracia), and the division entered Stage 2 (see text). Only in Stage 2 were the seven mints producing the 1/24-pound AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / X X donatives controlled by Constantine Caesar, either directly or indirectly through Constans.

“The sons of Constantine did not name Dalmatius on any gold or silver struck at their home mints [Trier, Rome, Antioch] while Dalmatius was Caesar and still alive. From the beginning we find evidence for hostility toward Dalmatius on the part of the other Caesars and a coordinated response to his accession as Caesar on the part of all three.”⁶⁰

This conclusion cannot, however, be upheld. Examples unknown to Burgess or found more recently show that both Trier⁶¹ and Rome⁶² did strike in precious metal for Dalmatius (fig. 5). Only two examples are known to me but the emissions are exceedingly rare and incompletely known. It appears likely that donatives in Dalmatius’ name were produced normally in all mints including the “home mints”. Burgess is surely right when he states that the other Caesars were against the elevation of Dalmatius, but they clearly had no power in deciding the composition of the gold and silver donatives. This production was controlled by their father Constantine I, a fact which has bearings on the authority of the production of the AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / X X multiples.

Constantine’s tricennial donative emissions show no evidence of executive control of the mints by the Caesars. On the contrary, the gold and silver emissions indicate that Constantine I remained in control of all mints until he died. The material also shows that Constantine I did not favour any of his sons in the output of donatives. It is inconceivable that he would have authorized the massive output of the AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / X X multiples

⁶⁰ Burgess *op. cit.* 27.

⁶¹ A. S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, University of Glasgow. Vol. 5. Diocletian (Reform) to Zeno*. Oxford University Press 1982, 271, pl. 63, D.1. Not in RIC VII. Similar to Trier 572-576 but with obv. Legend FL DELMATIVS NOB CAES. The metal is stated to be silver, weight 2.02g, 20mm. However, the reverse type – 3-standards PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS – was struck in many mints but is otherwise known only for gold, so the specimen needs to be investigated.

⁶² A newly discovered unique siliqua (Fig. 5A) was struck in Rome for the tricennial celebrations in 336. An example from this emission for Constantius is also known (Gorny & Mosch, Giessener Münzhandlung GmbH, München, Germany, auction 125, 13 Oct. 2003, lot 590). The 3-branches type was also struck for the vicennalia in 326, RIC VII Rome 379-380 but with plain diadems on the obverse.

in mints allotted to Constantine and Constans and Dalmatius but not in the ones allotted to Constantius. The inescapable conclusion is that the multiples were produced after the death of Constantine I.

1/24-pound multiples carrying a mint mark are known from the following mints: Arles, Lyon, Trier, Aquileia, Rome, Siscia, and Thessalonica⁶³. No examples are known from the following mints active at the time: Constantinopolis, Heraclea, Nicomedia, Cyzikus, Antioch, and Alexandria. Plotting the geographical distribution of the mints, it is evident that no mints under Constantius' control struck such multiples (fig. 6). Between 18 September 335 and 22 May 337, all striking mints except Thessalonica were in areas under the authority of Constantine Caesar, either directly or through his inferred guardianship of Constans⁶⁴. Thessalonica was not under the control of Constantine Caesar but under Dalmatius. When Constantine I died, the Caesars gained executive control of the mints in their respective realm. Following the murder of Dalmatius, Constans received Macedonia including Thessalonica, in reality meaning that his guardian Constantine Caesar gained control of the city. This meant that between the murder of Dalmatius and the proclamation of the three remaining Caesars as Augusti (9 September 337), all seven mints producing the multiples were de facto controlled by Constantine Caesar.

It is concluded here that the AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / X X multiples were struck in every mint under the direct or indirect control of Constantine Caesar during the interregnum, the roughly three-month long period between the murder of Dalmatius and the proclamation of the three Augusti.

The AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / X X silver multiples constituted a completely new type of donative. There are no other emissions, in any metal, that appear to be associated with the multiples. It has been suggested that they were likely given out in pairs, and we know from papyri that the weight of two such multiples equaled the sum paid to a *praepositus* (a military officer) on the occasion of a jubilee in Constantinian times⁶⁵. In view of the highly unstable situation following the death of Constantine I and the murder of Dalmatius, it must have been crucial to secure the loyalty of the army. It is proposed here that this was the objective behind the multiples.

It appears that Constantine Caesar may possibly have overstepped his position in issuing multiples stating his own 20-year jubilee, but with no reference to his brothers⁶⁶. The explanation may be the situation at the time of issuing. The

⁶³ The medallion published by Gerasimov *op. cit.* carries the mint mark of Rome (fig. 3A). Two further examples lacking mint mark (fig. 4B-C) were assigned to Rome by Ramskold *op. cit.*

⁶⁴ This was only a nominal authority. As long as Constantine I was alive, he retained control of the minting of gold and silver, as outlined in this paper.

⁶⁵ Kampmann *op. cit.*

⁶⁶ There are several indications that Constantine Caesar regarded himself as somewhat elevated above his brothers. One example from the interregnum is that he restored the controversial bishop Athanasius to Alexandria, asserting that he was fulfilling his father's wishes (see Lewis *op. cit.* 69). Alexandria was in Constantius' realm, and the action of Constantine Caesar is clear evidence that he saw himself as the primary heir to Constantine I. This is also clear from his title MAXIMVS, which – apparently in error (see RIC VIII p. 339)

long-reigning Augustus Constantine had recently died, and the fourth Caesar, Dalmatius, had just been assassinated together with his brother Hanniballianus and numerous relatives. And for the first time in several hundred years, there was no Augustus to rule the Empire. The situation must have been tense, to say the least. There was a clear danger of the Empire being thrown into turmoil. The loyalty of the army was crucial. Donatives stressing both the succession from the Augustus to the Caesar and the 20-year long position and experience of the Caesar Constantine could be forwarded to reinforce the legitimacy of the continuation of the dynasty in general and of Constantine Caesar in particular. So even if it was several months late to celebrate the actual vicennalia of Constantine Caesar, the jubilee could be used as an excuse to present donatives, that is, to buy the loyalty of the army. In the east, controlled by Constantius Caesar, no similar donatives were struck, perhaps indicating that he was unaware of the emission or that he was already certain of the loyalty of his troops.

The Debelt multiples

The existence of several expertly made forgeries makes it exceedingly difficult to determine the authenticity of individual multiples. Since all conclusions regarding date and places of manufacture depend on the authenticity of the specimens, some paragraphs must be devoted here to the question of the Debelt multiples.

The Debelt hoard. As far as is known, the largest hoard of struck silver from Constantinian times ever found is the Debelt hoard from Bulgaria. Accounts of the Debelt hoard were published by Bistra Božkova in 1989, 1993, and 1996⁶⁷, but the hoard appears to have escaped attention of numismatists outside Bulgaria. The published composition of the hoard will be called into question here. Specifically, the three large silver multiples mentioned already in 1983 by Yurukova⁶⁸ are thought here to be forgeries and not part of the hoard. This is the published information:

– was used briefly also for Constans and Constantius but their coins soon replace MAX with P F. Unambiguous evidence for the superiority of Constantine II is provided by three milestones from Cyprus which give Constantine II the titles MAXIMO TRIUMFATORI AVG, while his brothers are only VICTORIBVS SEMPER AVGG (T. B. Mitford, *Milestones in Western Cyprus*. The Journal of Roman Studies 29 (1939) 187; and T. B. Mitford, *Some new inscriptions from Early Christian Cyprus*. Byzantion 20, Actes du VIIe Congrès des Études Byzantines Bruxelles 1948, II (1950), 143-147.

⁶⁷ Бистра Божкова [Bistra Božkova], *Римски медальони IV в. от българските земи [Roman medallions of the IV C. from Bulgarian territory]*, Нумизматика [Numizmatika] 23, 3 (1989), 31-36; idem, *Монетно съкровище от с. Дебелт (Бургаска област) [Coin treasure from the village of Debelt (Burgas region)]*. Нумизматика и сфрагистика [Numizmatika i sfragistika], 1-4 (1993), 58-73; idem, *Gold and Silver Medallions (Multiples) from the 4th Century AD found in the Territory of Bulgaria*. Macedonian Numismatic Journal 2 (1996), 71-85.

⁶⁸ Йорданка Юркова [Jordanka Yurukova], *Монетни находки открити в България през 1981 г. [Coin finds discovered in Bulgaria in 1981]*. Археология [Archeology] 24, 1-2 (1983), 116.

In her 1989 study, Božkova wrote: “Thanks to the kindness of Mr. I. Dior (numismatic cabinet - Geneva⁶⁹), three silver medallions were added to the already known find of miliarenses from the first half of the IV C., found in the village of Debelt (Burgas region).”

In the 1993 study, Božkova wrote: “Thanks to the efforts of the staff of the National Museum of History⁷⁰, part of an extremely rare and interesting coin find is stored today in its holdings - 100 pieces of silver coins (miliarenses) from the time of the Roman Emperor Constantine I. Later, based on the information of the late colleague Mr. Dior from the numismatic cabinet in Geneva, three more pieces of this find became known - three medium-sized medallions from the time of Constantine I.” Božkova continued: “The find was tracked down and redeemed for NIM thanks to the efforts of our late colleague, Ph.D. Stefan Damyanov, head of the excavations in Debelt.”

This sparse information can be supplemented by accounts found online⁷¹, telling the story as follows, based on an interview in 1982 with the finder of the hoard: Sometime between 1976 and 1980, a pig farmer reportedly found a hoard of Roman silver coins in Bulgaria. The farmer was a Thracian expatriate and could have brought the coins from afar, but it is believed that they were found somewhere not too far from Debelt in the Burgas Province in southeastern Bulgaria. Debelt is a village next to the ancient city of Deultum. At the time, the Bulgarian archaeologist Stefan Damyanov⁷² had begun excavating in the area. The farmer approached Damyanov, who first offered 10BGN for each coin, but the price was raised to 80BGN each. The farmer agreed and Damyanov paid BGN 8,000⁷³ for 100 coins. This was the full number of coins brought by the farmer and it may have been the entire hoard. When the deal was agreed, the farmer took out three additional coins and gave to Damyanov. Damyanov then transferred the first 100 coins to NIM (where he worked until his death)⁷⁴. The three added coins never entered NIM but were transported abroad and sold at auctions in Basel and Geneva.

The contents of the hoard have been published by Božkova (1993) and were as follows. There were 100 miliarenses⁷⁵: 86 of Constantine I (56

⁶⁹ Musée d'art et Histoire Genève, Cabinet des Médailles.

⁷⁰ The National Museum of History (NIM) in Sofia, Bulgaria.

⁷¹ This information was gathered online from three Bulgarian discussion fora: moyat-debat.online; forumnauka.bg; and imperio.biz. The information on the fora cannot be verified.

⁷² The Bulgarian archaeologist Stefan Damyanov from the National Museum of History (NIM) in Sofia.

⁷³ In March 1980, 8,000 Bulgarian leva officially equaled GBP 4,124 or USD 9,101, today equaling GBP 18,000 or USD 28,000 (these conversions depend on several parameters). This was a huge amount of money. In 1977, the average annual wage in Bulgaria (excluding peasantry) was 1,856 leva. The amount received by the farmer for the hoard was thus on the order of four years wages. For the National Museum of History in Sofia, it must have been an enormous expense.

⁷⁴ Photographs of the coins were apparently exhibited at the Archaeological Museum of Debelt, but the coins are still kept at the National Museum of History (NIM) in Sofia (Bistra Božkova pers. com. 11 May 2020).

⁷⁵ This is a staggering number. The total number of other known 4-standards mili-

Ticinum; 30 Thessalonica); 8 of Constantine Caesar (all Thessalonica), and 6 of Constantius Caesar (1 Ticinum; 5 Thessalonica). All were of the 4-standards type (Table 3). The three other rare coins were 1/24-pound silver multiples, from Siscia.

Miliarenses in the Debelt Hoard							
Božkova 1993 no.	Reverse legend	N		Range W (g)	Mean W (g)	Mint mark	RIC no.
Ticinum mint. All with undecorated diadems.							
1-56	CONSTANTINVS AVG	56		4.33 – 6.03	5.30	SMT	185
57	CONSTANTIVS CAESAR	1		-	5.61	SMT	-
Thessalonica mint. Constantine: hatched diadem. Caesars: undecorated diadems.							
58-61	CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG	4		5.20 – 5.49	5.34	SMTS	150
62-87	CONSTANTINVS AVG	26		5.15 – 5.71	5.38	SMTS	151
88-95	CONSTANTINVS CAESAR	8		5.14 – 5.47	5.33	SMTS	-
96-100	CONSTANTIVS CAESAR	5		5.02 – 5.57	5.34	SMTS	-

Table 3. The one-hundred 4-standards miliarenses of the Debelt Hoard. All have the obverse anepigraphic, head with plain diadem, looking upwards (bust E⁴); all reverses have four standards.

The report of 1/24-pound silver multiples originating from Bulgaria being sold in Basel and Geneva appears to reflect the actual circumstances. It is clear that these multiples were never officially recorded in Bulgaria. Božkova (1989) stated that the information that three 1/24-pound silver multiples (termed four siliquae pieces) were part of the hoard came from the Numismatic Cabinet in Geneva. Obviously, staff at the cabinet followed the sales of the major auction houses and became aware of the unprecedented appearance of a group of such multiples. Apparently, information about a provenance from the Debelt hoard surfaced and was forwarded to the staff at NIM. Božkova described the three multiples⁷⁶, referred to the sales data, and used the auction photos as illustrations.

In 1991, the experts publishing BOC had studied a number of 1/24-pound multiples and they came to the following conclusions⁷⁷:

“In late 1980 two quite spectacular silver medallions appeared on the European market. Both were four siliquae pieces from the mint of Siscia, one of Constantine I and the other of his eldest son, Constantine Caesar, and both soon entered the collection of Nelson Bunker Hunt. What was not realized at the time was that these two coins had been used as the models for an extensive and dangerous group of struck forgeries, presumably coming from Bulgaria.”

arenses from Constantine's reign, from eight mints, is less than 90, so the Debelt hoard more than doubles that number.

⁷⁶ Božkova 1989 *op. cit.* 34-35, nos. 3, 4, and 5.

⁷⁷ *The False Silver Four Siliquae Pieces of Constantine I & II*. Bulletin on Counterfeits (BOC) 16, No. 1 (1991), 2-10. The International Bureau for the Suppression of Counterfeit Coins (IBSCC), an organ of the IAPN.

Two of the three multiples sold by European auction houses in 1980-1983 (Cat. F1 and F6) were condemned in 1991 as forgeries by BOC, whereas the two specimens acquired by Nelson Bunker Hunt (Cat. 30 and 33) were deemed genuine. There is no information available about the provenance of the Hunt specimens. I will here forward the following speculative scenario:

The view here is that the large multiples associated with the Debelt Hoard were not part of the hoard. The Debelt Hoard miliarenses all date from 327 CE and the 4-siliquae multiples from 337 CE. Both the miliarenses and the larger multiples were donativa, given out to individuals by the emperor or his representative from the court. It appears improbable that a person would have received first 100 miliarenses and ten years later some multiples, with nothing in between, and then buried all of these together. A more parsimonious approach is that two hoards are involved. The first, composed of 100 (or more) miliarenses of the 4-standards type dates from 327 CE. The miliarenses hoard was found in Bulgaria in or just before 1980, and it was bought by NIM. Another hoard of at least two 4-siliquae multiples was also found, most likely in Bulgaria, at about the same time. These multiples were used by forgers as templates for a series of forgeries. Two genuine multiples were taken out of the country and these ended up with Nelson Bunker Hunt. At around the same time, at least three of the newly produced forgeries based on the genuine examples were submitted to European auction houses for sale. Further forgeries were released into the commercial market in Germany (BOC 1991). The person/s bringing these multiples to Geneva gave the provenance as the Debelt Hoard, information which was forwarded by the Geneva coin cabinet to the museum in Sofia.

The forgeries. The two examples described by Božkova⁷⁸ as coming from the Debelt Hoard were condemned as forgeries in BOC 1991. Apart from the engraving differing from genuine examples, these two forgeries were found to have a silver content of only 93.1-95.3%, compared to 97.5-98.3% for genuine specimens (based on the two Hunt examples)⁷⁹.

"The reappearance of the two Hunt examples (Sotheby's, New York, June 19-20, 1991) gave us the opportunity to reexamine the vexed question of the forgeries, helped by a metal analysis of the two genuine pieces carried out by the Swiss Federal Laboratories for Material Testing and Research (EMPA).

Metal analysis shows a clear difference between real examples and the forgeries. 1a [Hunt 947], 1f [Garrett] and 2a [Hunt 948] contain from 97.5 to 98.3% silver while 1b [MM 1982] and 2f [NFA XII] have between 93.1 and 95.3%. The relatively radical break between the two groups again points an admonishing finger at the forgeries."

It can be firmly established that two of the Debelt multiples of Božkova 1996 (nos. 4 and 5). are forgeries (Table 4). Regarding Božkova no. 6, the information received by the NIM from Geneva refers to one of the genuine Hunt specimens, which was also figured by Božkova. The reason for this mix of genuine and fake examples is that they were offered for sale at about the same time (1980), by sellers claiming an origin from the Debelt Hoard. However, as

⁷⁸ Božkova 1996 *op. cit.* nos. 4 and 5.

⁷⁹ IBSCC Bulletin on Counterfeits (BOC) Vol. 16 No. 1, 1991.

discussed by BOC, two genuine multiples had been found and these were used as templates for several copies. Both the genuine and the fake specimens were then offered for sale in Switzerland and Germany.

Božko- va nr	Type	W (g)	Identification	W (g)	Ag %	BOC 1991	Cat. no.
4	AVGVSTVS / CAESAR	12.44	MM 61:494	12.44	93.1 -95.3	forgery	F1
5	CAESAR / X X	12.69	NFA XII:447	12.69		forgery	F6
-	AVGVSTVS / CAESAR	13.10	Hunt 947	13.10	97.5 -98.3	genuine	30
6	CAESAR / X X	13.05	Hunt 948	13.05		genuine	33

Table 4. The Debelts multiples (Božkova 1996), and the Hunt multiples (Sotheby's 1991). Božkova nos. 4 and 5 are forgeries were based on the latter genuine examples. Note that Božkova nr. 5 (NFA XII) is double die matched to four further forgeries listed by BOC (1991, pp. 5-8), and Božkova nr. 4 is an obverse die match to the Leu 3 mule forgery, the reverse of which is a die match to Božkova no. 5 and the four forgeries listed by BOC.

The Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil Hoard

During rescue excavations in the late antique Germanic settlement Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil (Haute-Normandie, France) in 1994, a cup or mug containing a gold and silver hoard was found⁸⁰. Unfortunately, the hoard has never been published. Through courtesy of the then Director of the Numismatic Cabinet of the BNF Michel Amandry, it was possible for Reinert⁸¹ in 2008 to publish photos of the hoard but showing only one side of the specimens. Only the Arles 1/24-pound silver medallion from the hoard has been illustrated from both sides, published in 2004 by Amandry - Gautier⁸² and refigured by Ferrando 2010 from plaster casts⁸³.

In 2018, Michel Amandry kindly provided me with photos of the nine silver multiples of AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / X X type from the

⁸⁰ The find was reported in 2001: "Un trésor monétaire (vers 345-350) trouvé dans une fosse et contenu dans un gobelet trévir est notamment composé de 16 solidi, 23 médaillons en argent, 3 cuillères en argent" [A monetary treasure (around 345-350) found in a pit and contained in a Treveran cup is notably composed of 16 solidi, 23 silver multiples, 3 silver spoons.]; V. Gonzalez - P. Ouzoulis - P. Van Ossel, *Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil (Haute-Normandie, Frankreich) – eine germanische Siedlung aus der Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts in der Lugdunensis Secunda*. Germania 79 (1) (2001), 43-61. The date 1994 was provided by Amandry - Gautier *op.cit.* 136.

⁸¹ Reinert 2008 *op. cit.* 222-223.

⁸² Amandry - Gautier *op. cit.* 135, fig. 3.

⁸³ Ferrando did not identify the specimen as coming from the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard; P. Ferrando, *L'Atelier Monétaire d'Arles. De Constantin le Grand à Romulus Augustule, 313-476*, Graveson, Decumanus Editions 2010.

hoard. Although illustrations must await official publication of the hoard, I have been given permission to study both sides of the multiples from the photos and can give some information here.

	Type	Mint mark	Mint	Reference	Cat. no.
1	AVGVSTVS / CAESAR	CONST	Arles	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> 223, centre Amandry - Gautier <i>op. cit.</i> 135, fig. 3 Ferrando <i>op. cit.</i> 65, no. 14	12
2	AVGVSTVS / CAESAR	TR	Trier	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> at 7 o'clock	2
3	AVGVSTVS / CAESAR	TR	Trier	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> 222, at 10 o'clock	3
4	AVGVSTVS / CAESAR	TR	Trier	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> 223, at 12 o'clock	4
5	AVGVSTVS / CAESAR	TR	Trier	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> 223, centre	5
6	CAESAR / X X	TR	Trier	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> 222, at 1 o'clock	6
7	CAESAR / X X	TR	Trier	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> 222, at 5 o'clock	7
8	CAESAR / X X	TR	Trier	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> 223, at 6 o'clock	8
9	CAESAR / X X	-	?	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> 222, centre	38

Table 5. The nine multiples of AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / X X type from the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard (Haute-Normandie, France). The specimens are kept in the BNF (Paris) under INV-45-2178-023.

Of the nine multiples, one is from Arles, seven from Trier, and one lacks any mint mark (Table 5). It is of some interest that if we disregard the Arles example, there are four multiples of each type, and all but one are mint marked TR (the unmarked one may also be from Trier, or even from Arles). Kampmann (*op. cit.*) pointed out that such multiples would have been given out in pairs.

“In the case of Constantine’s II vicennalia, two medallions would have been distributed to each praepositus – leader of a military unit – one portraying the father, the other the son. Our medallion was worth 12 scruple of gold. One solidus had the weight of 4 scruples meaning two of these medallions were worth 6 solidi or 5 old aurei. According to the Oxyrynchus papyrus, that was the amount of money paid to a praepositus in Constantinian times on the occasion of a jubilee.”

It is tempting to see four such pairs of multiples in the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard.

The 1/24-pound denomination

In order to relate the weight of the silver multiples to the Roman pound, or libra, we first need to know the weight of the latter. Various estimates of the weight of the libra have been made, based on surviving weights in different materials. One commonly used figure has been 322.8g. This was calculated by

Duncan-Jones⁸⁴ based on stone weights⁸⁵. However, Duncan-Jones excluded numerous outlying weights from the calculation, which reduces the reliability of the figure. Other authors have published reasons for preferring 327g⁸⁶ or 328.9g⁸⁷.

In view of the varying opinions, I have tried a different approach here. Recognising that weights may lose weight in many ways but more rarely gain weight through time, one could search for weights or weight-based objects with no visible weight loss, and then consider the ones with the highest weight only. Looking at donative silver bowls from the 4th century, one finds that most intact bowls weigh from 305 to 323g, but one weighs 330g⁸⁸. The lighter bowls have lost weight in a number of ways (corrosion, polishing, etc.) but is inconceivable that the heavier bowl could have increased in weight after it was manufactured. It has been estimated that “surviving Roman coin scales from the 4th century C.E. or thereabouts, have sensitivities of the order of 0,020 - 0,030g”⁸⁹, so a difference of 1g in one-pound weights could certainly be detected. Assuming minimal weight loss in the 330g bowl, it should reflect a Roman pound very close to 330g. Other metal weights of 1 libra also point to a slightly higher weight than usually estimated. For example, one weight, early Byzantine and inscribed 1 L, has a weight of 331.70g⁹⁰. Another weight, possibly from the 4th C, weighs 332.92g⁹¹. A possibly unique early Byzantine 5-pound weight suffers some loss from corrosion but still weighs 1,645g, that is, indicating a pound weight of

⁸⁴ R. Duncan-Jones, *Money and Government in the Roman Empire*. Cambridge University Press 1994, 214-215.

⁸⁵ In the Naples National Archaeological Museum.

⁸⁶ A. M. Riggsby, *Mosaics of Knowledge: Representing Information in the Roman World*. Oxford University Press 2019, 101.

⁸⁷ F. G. Skinner, *Weights and measures: their ancient origins and their development in Great Britain up to A.D. 1855*. London 1967, 65; R. E. Zupko, *British weights & measures: a history from antiquity to the seventeenth century*, University of Wisconsin Press 1977, 7.

⁸⁸ Beyeler 2011, no. 22, from Triton VII, lot 1044, made in Ephesus for the quinquennialia of Licinius Caesar; M. Beyeler, *Geschenke des Kaisers. Studien zur Chronologie, zu den Empfängern und zu den Gegenständen der kaiserlichen Vergabungen im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, (Klio. Beihefte, Neue Folge, 18), Berlin 2011. Reinert describes two similar silver bowls for the same occasion, made in Nicomedia, with weight 323.3g and 321.74g; these donative bowls were clearly made to a weight of one Roman pound; F. Reinert, *Largitionsschalen des Licinius aus dem Münchener Silberschatz*, Moselgold. Der römische Schatz von Machtum. Ein kaiserliches Geschenk [Exhibition catalogue, Luxembourg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art Luxembourg, 10 October 2008 – 18 January 2009] (Publications du Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art Luxembourg 6), ed. F. Reinert (Luxembourg 2008), 167-174.

⁸⁹ L. Holland, *Precision Weighing in Antiquity*. In: Exhibition Catalog. Measuring and Weighing in Ancient Times. Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum. Museum of Haifa 2001; see also H. R. Jenemann, *The Determination of Mass: 3.1. The Development of the Determination of Mass*, Comprehensive Mass Metrology, ed. M. Kochsiek – M. Glaser. Wiley, Berlin 1999, 120-129.

⁹⁰ Aufhäuser 6, lot 714; Peus 421, lot 1280.

⁹¹ CNG Electronic Auction 407, lot 786; see L. M. Yarrow, *219 out of 410 days: The Roman Pound*. <https://livyarrow.org/2014/01/23/219-out-of-410-days-the-roman-pound/>



Fig. 7. A possible inspiration for the design of the AVGVSTVS / CAESAR multiples. Æ As of Augustus (27 BCE – 14 CE), Pergamum mint (RIC I 486; RPC I 2235). Struck circa 27-23 BCE. CNG 78 (14 May 2008), lot 1631, 9.99g, 27mm.

at least 329g⁹². While acknowledging that the weight of the Roman libra may have varied both geographically and through time, the examples could indicate that at the time and place where these particular weights were used, the Roman pound might have had a weight of no less than 332-333g. Much more study would be needed to evaluate this suggestion. In this paper, 330g is considered closer to the actual weight of a Roman pound than the conventionally used 323-329g.

Returning to the multiples, they represent the introduction of a new denomination. There is ample evidence that donatives in silver were produced in multiples or fractions of a Roman pound⁹³. Many authors have remarked that the silver multiples apparently were struck at 24 to the pound⁹⁴. In 337 CE, when the first 1/24-pound multiples were produced, the siliqua was struck at 96 per pound. Each multiple would thus have equaled four siliquae. As discussed above, the libra equaled about 330g, so 1/24 of this was 13.75g. The average weight of the 12 superbly preserved silver multiples in the Kaiseraugst hoard is 13.09g⁹⁵, that is, 4.8% less than expected⁹⁶. Even if one accounts for some loss due to corrosion, cleaning and polishing, the difference appears too large to be

⁹² L. Holland, *A Bronze Five-Pound Roman Weight*. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 167 (2008), 225-226

⁹³ Beyeler *op. cit.*

⁹⁴ This denomination is regularly described as 6 siliquae or 3 light miliarenses by scholars and auction cataloguers. However, the weight of these multiples remained stable throughout their existence, whereas the weight of the siliqua and the miliarensis did not. This denomination should therefore simply be called the 1/24-pound denomination rather than being arbitrarily converted into siliquae and miliarenses.

⁹⁵ H. A. Cahn, *Münzen und Medallions M1-186*, *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst* (Basler Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte 19), ed. H. A. Cahn – A. Kaufmann-Heinimann, Derendingen 1984. Textband 337-345, Tafelband pls. 194-205.

⁹⁶ Using the weight of 322.8g calculated by Duncan-Jones *op. cit.*, 1/24 libra equals 13.45g, that is, the medallions show a weight 2.7% less than expected.

explained by losses, and the low weight is therefore real and difficult to evaluate. A similar problem is seen in the siliqua, which was presumably struck at 96 to a pound, meaning a weight of 3.44g. However, actual weights from the three most numerous emissions 326-327 CE have the following mean weights: Rome 3.05g⁹⁷, Siscia 3.06g⁹⁸, Constantinopolis 3.07g⁹⁹. These figures agree exactly with the mean weight 3.06g reported for similar silver pieces in the KHM by Vondrovec¹⁰⁰. These weights are at least 10% lower than expected if the siliqua was struck at 96 to a pound.

In conclusion, both denominations - the 1/24-pound multiples and the siliqua – were struck at a lower weight than expected from a simple division of the pound. The deviation is too large to be due to chance or to preservational factors or to the uncertain weight of the pound. There are several possible explanations for the discrepancy but further discussion falls outside the scope of this paper.

The 1/24-pound donative denomination continued to be produced intermittently well into the 5th century. Apart from the thirty-eight AVGVSTVS / CAESAR and CAESAR / X X specimens, there are some 70 further known examples of 1/24-pound multiples¹⁰¹. Their next appearance after 337 was in a small emission struck before 340 CE in Siscia by Constans¹⁰². Interestingly, it appears that during the joint reign of Constans and Constantius II, these multiples were produced only in mints controlled by Constans. The majority of the known 1/24-pound donatives (at least 54 specimens of over 70) were struck by Constans for him and Constantius on two occasions¹⁰³, their regnal jubilees in the 340's¹⁰⁴. These must have been very large emissions, and examples existing today were struck in Trier (9 ex.), Aquileia (4 ex.), Siscia (22 ex.) and Thessalonika (19 ex.). Slightly later, in the early 350's, Magnentius (350-353 CE) produced an unusual type at Trier¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁷ Mean weight of 19 well-preserved examples of the Rome Victory emission which includes RIC 378 and unlisted.

⁹⁸ Mean weight of 19 well-preserved examples of the Siscia Victory emission including RIC 210 and unlisted.

⁹⁹ Mean weight of 18 well-preserved examples of the Constantinopolis Victory emission including RIC 5 and unlisted.

¹⁰⁰ K. Vondrovec, *Argenteus und Siliqua, Zum Silbergeld im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Stabilität und Instabilität von Geldsystemen. Tagungsband zum 7. Österreichischen Numismatikertag* (Wien, vom 19. – 20. Mai 2016). Oesterreichische Nationalbank 2018, 24.

¹⁰¹ Beyeler *op. cit.* 22 knew of a total of around 80 1/24-pound multiples and observed that at least 60 of these came from three hoards: the Trier Neutor hoard of 1635 (21 ex.), Kaiseraugst (17 ex.), and Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil (22 ex.).

¹⁰² RIC VIII Siscia 41, Gnecci *op. cit.* pl. 30, fig. 2.

¹⁰³ The presence of two mint marks, TES and TSE, in the Thessalonican SIC/V/SIC/X multiples for Constans could indicate one emission at the beginning of the celebration year and one emission at the end of that year.

¹⁰⁴ The vota formulae SIC/V/SIC/X and SIC/X/SIC/XX were used for Constans and SIC/X/SIC/XX and SIC/XX/SIC/XXX for Constantius. The inconsistent use of VOTA formulae in Late Roman coinage makes it impossible to date the multiples solely on the vota.

¹⁰⁵ RIC VIII Trier 255, reverse with SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE; London BM no. 1844,1008.70, 12.94g.

After the death of Constantius II in 361 CE, the 1/24-pound denomination was produced also in the east. There are emissions for Valens (for the quinquennialia of Valentinian I, in 368-369)¹⁰⁶; for Valentinian's II decennialia in 385¹⁰⁷, and for Arcadius quinquennialia early 387-388¹⁰⁸.

Precursors. Many authors have pointed out that the AVGVSTVS / CAESAR multiples draw on coin types from the reign of Augustus¹⁰⁹. An as from the mint of Pergamum (fig. 7) is often seen as the closest inspiration for the silver multiples.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Constantinople not in RIC IX, Gorny & Mosch 118, lot 2429, 12.03g; Obolos 20, lot 392, 12.94g.

¹⁰⁷ Aquileia not in RIC IX, NAC 95, lot 354, 13.58g.

¹⁰⁸ Aquileia not in RIC IX, NAC 62, lot 2117, 13.49g.

¹⁰⁹ E.g., Lafaurie *op. cit.*; A. R. Bellinger, *Roman and Byzantine Medallions in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*. Dumbarton Oaks Papers 12 (1958), 125, 127–156.

¹¹⁰ *Acknowledgements.* I thank the organisers of the symposium NIŠ AND BYZANTIUM XIX for inviting me to present this study. Photographs of the medallions from the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard were kindly supplied by Michel Amandry. Bistra Božkova kindly supplied copies of Bulgarian publications difficult to find. An earlier draft of this paper was read by Enrico Zuddas, who provided numerous insightful comments, and Wolfram Tilack suggested several important improvements of the manuscript. All errors remain mine.

Catalogue

The Public Collections and Auction Catalogues referred to are listed after the Catalogue.

Cat. no.	Reference or auction	Repository	Found, sold or published	W (g)	RIC No.
	WITH MINT MARK				
	Treveri, mint mark TR				
Type A. AVGVSTVS / CAESAR					
1	Lanz 26, lot 907 BOC 1991 <i>op. cit.</i> 9, fig. 3 “Under suspicion” NAC 15, lot 486 Freeman & Sear List 7, Spring 2003, no. 279 Numismatica Genevensis 5, lot 296	Private coll.	1983-12-05 1991 1999-05-18 2003 spring 2008-12-02	14.11 - 14.10 14.11 14.10	-
2	Reinert 2008 <i>op. cit.</i> fig. 2. From the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard	Paris, BNF, INV-45-2178-023	1994	-	
3	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> fig. 2. From the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard			-	
4	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> fig. 2. From the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard			-	
5	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> fig. 2. From the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard			-	
Type B. CAESAR / X X					
6	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> fig. 2. From the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard	Paris, BNF, INV-45-2178-023	1994	-	-
7	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> fig. 2. From the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard			-	
8	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> fig. 2. From the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard			-	
9	eBay online market, fragment, m.m. TR Tantalus online registry, ID gunner	Private coll.	2011-11-09 2011-11-08	(6.47)	
Authenticity uncertain, mint mark TR					
Hybrid AVGVSTVS / X X					
10	Lafaurie 1949 <i>op. cit.</i> 47-48 (no illustration)	?	1949	12.79	
Arelate, mint mark CONST					
Type A. AVGVSTVS / CAESAR					

11	Gnecchi 1912 <i>op. cit.</i> 64, pl. 31, fig. 6 Lafaurie 1949 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 5, fig. 8 Amandry & Gautier 2004 <i>op. cit.</i> 135, fig. 2, p. 136, no. 1	Museum of Nijmegen	1912	13.50	410
12	Reinert <i>op. cit.</i> fig. 2. From the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard Amandry & Gautier 2004 <i>op. cit.</i> 135, fig. 3, p. 136, no. 2 Ferrando 2010 <i>op. cit.</i> 65, no. 14	Paris, BNF, INV-45-2178-023	1994	13.28	
Type B. CAESAR / X X					
13	? Du Cange 1680 <i>op. cit.</i> 35 (fig.), 36 (description) Gnecchi 1912 <i>op. cit.</i> 72, pl. 33, fig. 16 Lafaurie 1949 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 5, fig. 9 Amandry & Gautier 2004 <i>op. cit.</i> 135, fig. 4, 136, no. 3 Ferrando 2010 <i>op. cit.</i> 189, no. 797	Paris BNF 191	1680 1912	13.50	411
14	Triton 2, lot 1064 Triton 4, lot 705 Amandry & Gautier 2004 <i>op. cit.</i> 137, fig. 6, 138, no. 5	Private Coll.	1998-12-02 2000-12-05	13.02	
15	de France 1755 <i>op. cit.</i> xxvi, pl. 108, fig. 1 Kubitschek 1909 ¹ , no. 338, pl. 18 Amandry - Gautier 2004 <i>op. cit.</i> 137, fig. 5, 138, no. 4	Vienna 32427	1755	13.22	
16	Bastien 1994 ² , pl. 185, fig. 3 Amandry & Gautier 2004 <i>op. cit.</i> 137, fig. 8, 138, no. 7	Utrecht 1972-0709	1972	12.45	
17	Amandry & Gautier 2004 <i>op. cit.</i> 137, fig. 7, 138, no. 6	Private coll.	-	12.95	
Lugdunum, mint mark LVG					
Type A. AVGVSTVS / CAESAR					
18	Bastien 1982 ³ , pl. 19, fig. 279a Lafaurie 1949 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 5, fig. 11	Paris BNF	1949	10.97	283
19	Rollin et Feuardent, 1896, lot 854 (Montagu coll.) Bastien 1982 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 19, fig. 279b	Lyon	1896	12.79	
20	Bastien 1982 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 19, fig. 279c Cahn 1984 <i>op. cit.</i> 341, pl. 199, M84 (Kaiseraugst) Cahn 1984 ⁴ 74, M84 Peter 2008 ⁵ , 164, fig. 24	Roman Museum, Augusta Raurica, inv. 1962.77. M84	1962	12.76	
Type B. CAESAR / X X					
21	Colson 1857 ⁶ , fig. on p. 407 Toynbee 1944 ⁷ , pl. 14, fig. 2 Lafaurie 1949 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 5, fig. 12 Mazzini 1958 ⁸ , v. 5, 206, pl. 55, fig. 60 M & M Basel 19, lot 264 (to Turin) Fava et al. 1964 ⁹ , no. 468, p. 108, pl. 34, fig. 9 Bastien 1982 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 19, fig. 280	Turin, Mazzini coll.	1857 1959-06-05	12.08 - 12.14	284
Aquileia, mint mark AQ					
Type B. CAESAR / X X					

22	Gnecchi 1912 <i>op. cit.</i> 72, pl. 33, fig. 15 Ricci 1913 ¹⁰ , figure on p. 271 Lafaurie 1949 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 4, fig. 7 Paolucci - Zub 2000 ¹¹ 100, no. 316 Asolati 2014a ¹² , fig. 32	Paris, BNF	1913	12.45	138
23	Lafaurie 1949 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 4, fig. 3 (mint mark area broken)	Paris, BNF	1949	12.33	
Rome, mint mark R					
Type A. AVGVSTVS / CAESAR					
24	Gerasimov 1939 <i>op. cit.</i> 339, fig. 369 Božkova 1989 <i>op. cit.</i> 33, fig. 2 Božkova 1990 ¹³ , front cover photo Božkova 1996 <i>op. cit.</i> 74, no. 3, (not figured)	Sofia, NAM, no. 3228 (ex 3262)	1939	13.40 13.37	-
Siscia, mint mark SIS					
Type A. AVGVSTVS / CAESAR					
25	Grueber 1874 ¹⁴ 87, pl. 59, fig. 2 Gnecchi 1912 <i>op. cit.</i> 64, pl. 31, fig. 8 Lafaurie 1949 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 4, fig. 4 Kent - Hirmer 1978 ¹⁵ no. 660	London BM, B.11465	1874	12.78 12.85	259
26	Naville Ars Classica 17, lot 1929 (Evans coll.) Lafaurie 1949 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 4, fig. 5 Bellinger 1958 <i>op. cit.</i> no. 12 Breckenridge 1979 ¹⁶ 41, no. 37 BOC 1991 <i>op. cit.</i> 4, fig. 1e Bastien 1994 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 166, fig. 3	Dumbarton Oaks	1934	13.16	
27	New York Sale 4, lot 402	Private coll.	2002-01-17	13.20	
28	Lorber 1983 ¹⁷ 273, no. 160 Sotheby's New York Sale 6147, lot 947 BOC 1991 <i>op. cit.</i> 3, fig. 1a	Private coll.	1991-06-20	13.04 13.10	
29	NFA 28, lot 1349 G. Hirsch 177, lot 1313	Private coll.	1992-04-23 1993-02-10	?	
Type B. CAESAR / X X					
30	Trau 1935 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 50, no. 4336 Toynbee 1944 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 14, fig. 1 Lafaurie 1949 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 4, fig. 6 Moisil et al. 2002 ¹⁸ 108, no. 2	Library of the Romanian Academy	1935-05-21	12.7	260
31	Bank Leu 28, lot 571 Lorber 1983 <i>op. cit.</i> 272, no. 159 Sotheby's New York Sale 6147, lot 948 Božkova 1996 <i>op. cit.</i> no. 6 (Debelt Hoard, Burgas, Bulgaria)	Private coll.	1981-05-06 1991-06-20	13.05	
Thessalonica, mint mark TSE					
Type A. AVGVSTVS / CAESAR					

32	J. Hirsch 29 lot 1410 (coll. Herzfelder fide Gneocchi 1912) Naville 8 (Bement Coll.), 1924, lot 1495 Lafaurie 1949 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 5, fig. 10 Bank Leu and NFA (Garrett 2) 1984, lot 338 (fide BOC) BOC 1991 <i>op. cit.</i> 4, fig. 1f (Garrett)	Private coll.	1910-11-09 1924-06-25 1984-10-16	13.11	221
33	Gemini 3, lot 460 Asolati 2012 ¹⁹ 34, fig. 27 Asolati 2014 <i>op.cit.</i> fig. 33 Asolati 2014 ²⁰ fig. 3	Private coll.	2007-01-09	12.87	
34	NAC 78, lot 1157	Private coll.	2014-05-27	13.42	
NO MINT MARK					
Re-attributed here from Constantinople to Rome					
Type A. AVGVSTVS / CAESAR					
35	J. Hirsch 29, 1910, lot 1409 Naville 8, 1924 (Bement Coll.), lot 1496 Naville Ars Classica 15, 1930, lot 1927 Lafaurie 1949 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 4, fig. 2 Cesano 1957 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 22, no. 2976 (Piancastelli coll.) Ramskold 2018 <i>op. cit.</i> p. 166, fig. 6A	Private coll.	1910-11-09 1924-06-25 1930	12.96 13.00	Constantinople 132
36	NAC 88, 699 Gorny & Mosch 241, lot 2705 Ramskold 2018 <i>op. cit.</i> p. 166, fig. 6B	Private coll.	2015-10-08 2016-10-12	12.98 12.96	
Uncertain mint, not Nicomedia					
Type A. AVGVSTVS / CAESAR					
37	? Du Cange 1680 <i>op. cit.</i> 35 (fig.), 36 (description) Gneocchi 1912 <i>op. cit.</i> 64, pl. 31, fig. 5 Ricci 1913 <i>op. cit.</i> 271, figd. (Gallus, Aquleia) Lafaurie 1949 <i>op. cit.</i> pl. 4, fig. 1 Bruun 1966 <i>op. cit.</i> Nicomedia no. 197	Paris BNF	1680 1912	11.90 11.92	Nicomedia 197
Re-attributed here from Nicomedia to ?Aquileia					
Type B. CAESAR / X X					
23	Bruun 1966 <i>op. cit.</i> Nicomedia no. 198. See Cat. no. 23 (Aquileia)	Nicomedia 198			
Uncertain mint (Trier?)					
38	Reinert 2008 <i>op. cit.</i> fig. 2. From the Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil hoard. No mint mark.	Paris, BNF, INV-45-2178-023	1994	-	-
FORGERIES with Siscia mint mark					
Type A. AVGVSTVS / CAESAR					

F1	M & M Basel 61, lot. 494 BOC 1991 <i>op. cit.</i> 3, fig. 1b (condemned as forgery) Božkova 1996 <i>op. cit.</i> no. 4, Debelo Hord, Burgas, Bulgaria	Private coll.	1982-10-07	12.44 12.44	-
Type B. CAESAR / X X					
F2	BOC 1991 <i>op. cit.</i> 9, fig. 2b	?		13.26	-
F3	BOC 1991 <i>op. cit.</i> 9, fig. 2c	?		13.11	-
F4	BOC 1991 <i>op. cit.</i> 9, fig. 2d	?		12.95	-
F5	BOC 1991 <i>op. cit.</i> 9, fig. 2e	?		12.93	-
F6	NFA 12, lot 447 (bought back) BOC 1991 <i>op. cit.</i> 9, fig. 2f (condemned as forgery) Božkova 1996 <i>op. cit.</i> no. 5, Debelo Hord, Burgas, Bulgaria	?	1983-03-23	12.69 12.69	-
Hybrid AVGVSTVS / X X					
F7	Leu 3, lot 285	Withdrawn	2018-10-27	13.40	-

¹ J. W. Kubitschek, *Ausgewählte Römische Medaillons der Kaiserlichen Münzensammlung in Wien*. Schroll & Co., Wien 1909.

² P. Bastien, *Le buste monétaire des empereurs romains*, vol 3. Numismatique Romaine 19. Wetteren 1994.

³ P. Bastien, *Le monnayage de l'atelier de Lyon: De la recouverture de l'atelier en 318 à la mort de Constantin (318-337)*, Numismatique romaine 13, Wetteren 1982.

⁴ H. A. Cahn, *Münzen und Medallions M1-186, Der Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst*, ed. A. Kaufmann-Heinimann – A. R. Furger. Augster Museumshefte 7 (1984), 70-77.

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¹¹ R. Paolucci – A. Zub, *La monetazione di Aquileia Romana*. Paolucci Editore, Padova 2000.

¹² M. Asolati, *L'attività della zecca di Aquileia nell'età di Flavio Costantino*. Aquileia Nostra, Anno LXXXIII-LXXXIV (2012-2013), 415-431.

¹³ Бистра Божкова [Bistra Božkova], *Нумизматика* [Numizmatika] 24, 3 (1990), front cover photo of 1/24 pound silver medallion from Rome.

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Ларс Рамсколд

(независни истраживач)

АВГУСТ /ЦЕЗАР И ЦЕЗАР: СРЕБРНЕ МУЛТИПЛЕ И МЕЂУВЛАШЋЕ 337 Н.Е.

Тумачење енигматичне групе 4 – силикве сребрне мултипле, обично се заснивало на указивање на виценолије односно годину када је Константин постао цезар 336/337. Ипак дошло је и до погрешних тумачења везаних за ковнице. У овој студији ковнице Константинопол и Никомедија су елиминисане са листе ковница, али је додата ковница Рим. Седам ковница се појављују као могућа места настанка поменутих мултипли: Тревери, Арелате, Лугдунум, Аквилеја, Рим, Сисција и Тесалоника. 335. године н.е. Константин I је раздвојио Царство између синова и Далмација, шест ковница је било у простору где је Константин Цезар или су биле под покрићем Констанса. Тесалоника је била под управом Далмација. Након његовог убиства, Констанс је прихватио Македонију укључујући и Тесалонику, што је самим тим указивало да је Константин Цезар задобио контролу над градом. Продукција сребрних медаљона може се приписати четворомесечном периоду од убиства Далмација после смрти Константина I 22. маја 337. и именовања три августа 9. септембра 337.