

PRESENTING POWER TO THE PEOPLE: A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE LATE ROMAN BASE-METAL COINAGE AND ITS POLITICAL MESSAGES (284-450)

Volume II: Maps, Figures and Appendices

BY

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A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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February 2025

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Maps



Map 1 - The Late Roman Empire, displaying all forty-four sites in the site-finds database, overlaying the division between *Pars Occidentis* and *Pars Orientis* and individual dioceses following Diocletian's administrative reforms.



Map 2 - The Late Roman Empire, displaying all mints active during the years 284-450 that appear in the site-finds database, overlaying the division between *Pars Occidentis* and *Pars Orientis* and individual dioceses following Diocletian's administrative reforms.



Map 3 - The Later Roman Empire, displaying proposed micro-regional groups of sites within the site-finds database, based on patterns of common supply in mint representation analysis.

Figures

Introduction

Reece Periods	Dates	Casey Periods	Dates	My Periods	Dates	Transition Marker for Ends of My Periods
14	275-294	19	273-286	N/A		
		20	286-296	**1**	284-294	Start of Diocletianic Monetary Reforms
15	294-317	21	296-317	**2**	294-307	End of the Third Tetrarchy with death of Severus II
				3	307-317	Accession of Constantine II, Constantius II and Licinius II as Caesars
16	317-330	22	317-330	**4**	317-324	Defeat of Licinius I and Constantinian unification of the Roman Empire
				5	324-330	Dedication of the city of Constantinople
17	330-348	23	330-348	**6**	330-340	Death of Constantine II and division of empire between Constantius II and Constans
				7	340-348	FEL TEMP REPARATIO base-metal monetary reforms
18	348-364	24	348-364	**8**	348-363	Death of Julian and the end of the Constantinian dynasty
19	364-378	25	364-378	**9**	363-378	Death of Valens
20	378-388	26	378-388	**10**	378-388	Defeat of Magnus Maximus and reunification of empire under Theodosian supremacy
21	388-402	27	388-402	**11**	388-408	Death of Arcadius
N/A		N/A		**12**	408-425	Accession of Valentinian III
				13	425-450	Death of Theodosius II

Figure 0.1 – Table of the periodic divisions used throughout the thesis, including explanations of moments of change from one period to another, and compared alongside existing periodisation systems of Reece and Casey for the Late Roman period.

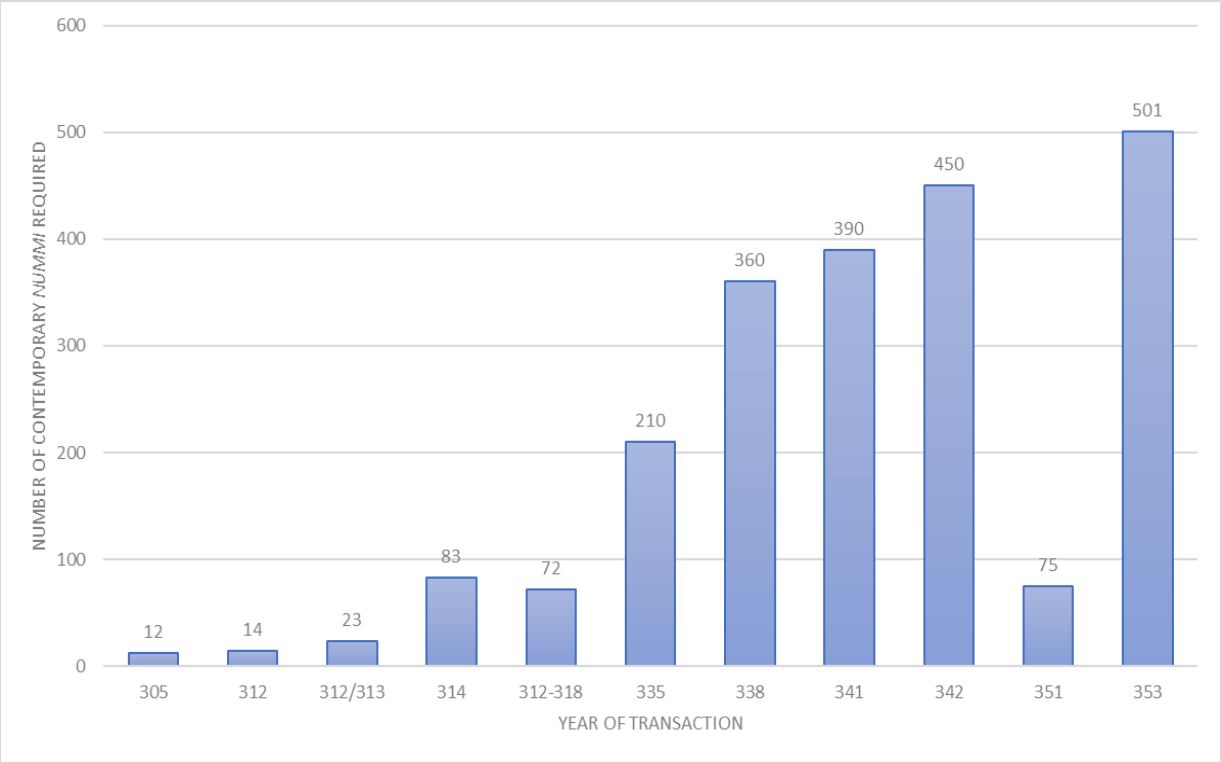


Figure 1.1 – Number of *nummi* required to purchase one *artaba* of wheat in Egypt in the face of rising inflation (305-353). For price information, sources, and discussion of calculation process see Appendix 1.

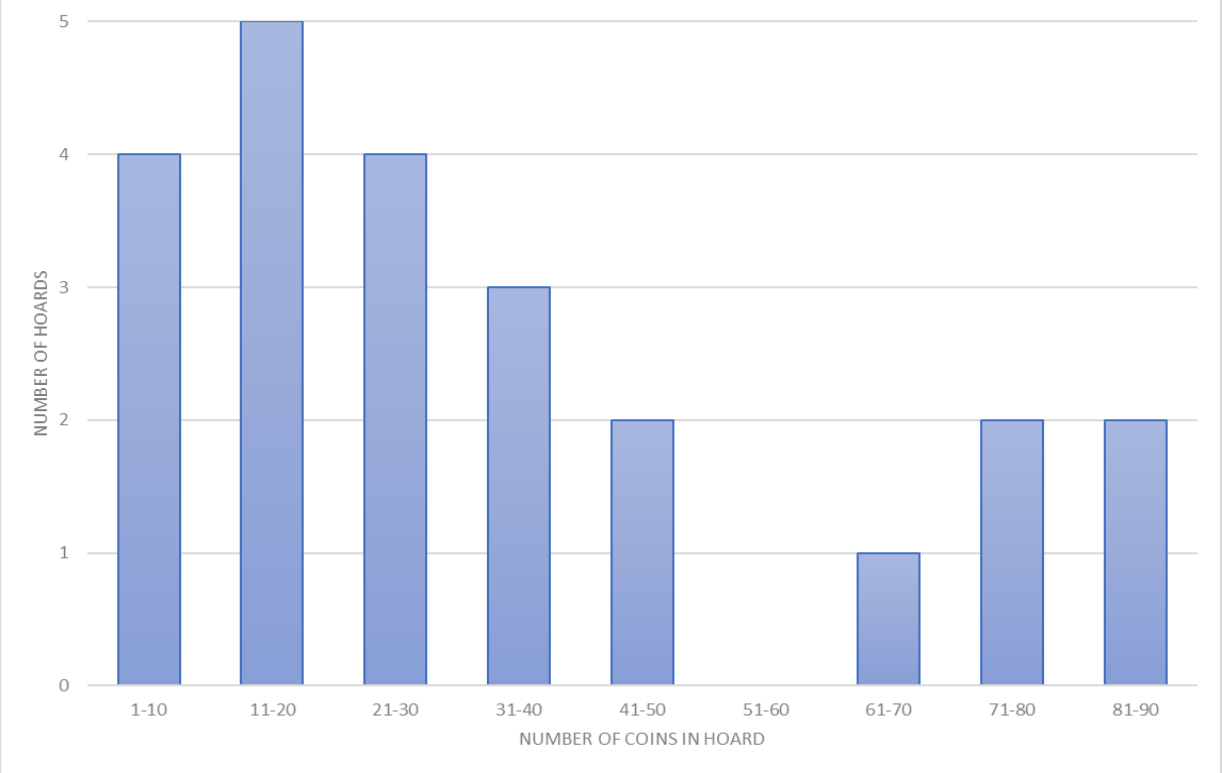


Figure 1.2 – Sample of twenty-three purse hoards with *terminus ante quem* of 294-491 grouped according to number of *nummi* they contain.



Figure 1.3 - Illustrated coin designs of the *De Rebus Bellicis*, from Manuscript C (Bodleian Library MS. Canon. Misc. 378) [accessed 21/06/2024], CC-BY-NC 4.0. From left to right, the designs show: a) a garlanded altar flanked by two victories (identical to RIC I (second edition) Augustus 229-248); b) a personification bearing scales and eagle in right and left hands (similar to depictions of Aequitas – see Noreña 2011: 63-71); c) Victory holding a shield (identical to RIC I (second edition) Nero 312-316).



Figure 1.4 - Illustrated coin designs of the *De Rebus Bellicis*, from Manuscript M (München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek BSB Clm 10291) [accessed 21/06/2024], CC BY-NC-SA 4.0. From left to right, the designs show: a) a togate (imperial?) figure holding a spear in right hand and leading a horse (comparable to RIC II, Part 3 (second edition) Hadrian 1684-1694; RIC III Marcus Aurelius 648, 1578-80; b) a seated figure with club over left shoulder (Hercules?); c) a togate (imperial?) figure raising a kneeling figure (comparable to the REPARATIO REIPVB type [90]).



Figure 1.5 - Illustrated coin designs of the *De Rebus Bellicis*, from Manuscript P (Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 9661) [accessed 21/06/2024], Public Domain. From left to right, the designs show: a) a nude figure with shield and club/spear (Hercules or Mars?) (comparable to MARTI CONSERVATORI and HERCVLI VICTORI types [13, 118]); b) a (personification?) figure holding unidentifiable items; c) an (imperial?) male and female figure (?) with hands extended (comparable to marriage scenes, as per Figures 1.8-1.9 below).



Figure 1.6 - Obverse of an *as* of Nero, with portrait countermarked by SPQR inscription.

Obverse: NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER P M TR P IMP P P // Head of Nero, bare, right; small globe at point of neck.

RIC I (second edition) Nero 477 - Münzkabinett der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, ID580 [accessed 21/06/2024], Public Domain.



Figure 1.7 – Bronze Holy Rider amulet dating to the Early Byzantine period (sixth-seventh century), from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, BZ.1950.15 [accessed 08/12/2023], © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington, DC., permission for re-use granted.



Figure 1.8 – Head of an Early Byzantine (sixth century?) gold marriage ring, displaying *dextrarum iunctio* scene with Christ flanked by couple, from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Accession Number: BZ.1953.12.3 [accessed 11/12/2023], © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington, DC., permission for re-use granted.



Figure 1.9 – Reverse of a *solidus* of Theodosius II, depicting the marriage of Valentinian III and Licinia Eudoxia

Reverse: FELICITER – NUBTIIS // Theodosius II, nimbate, lightly bearded, standing between Valentinian III and Eudoxia, both nimbate and clasping hands.

RIC X Theodosius II (East) 267 - Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 18202348 [accessed 11/12/2023], Public Domain.

Rarity Categories	RIC VI[1]	RIC VII[2]	RIC VIII[3]	RIC IX[4]	RIC X[5]
R5 (Rare)	Unique	Unique	Unique	Unique	Unique
R4 (Rare)	2-5 specimens	2-3 specimens	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria
R3 (Rare)	6-10 specimens	4-6 specimens	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria
R2 (Rare)	11-25 specimens	7-10 specimens	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria
R1 (Rare)	26-50 specimens	11-15 specimens	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria
S (Scarce)	In most major collections	16-21 specimens	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria
C (Common)	In every major collection	22-30 specimens	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria
C2 (Common)	Common in every major collection	31-40 specimens	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria
C3 (Common)	N/A	41+ specimens	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria	Impressionistic – no set criteria

Figure 2.1 - Table of Rarity/Frequency Indexes used in RIC VI to X

[1] RIC VI: xvii.
[2] RIC VII: ix-x and 'degrees of rarity' section. Note that rarity is only given to standard base-metal coins in this volume. No rarity rating is provided for gold, silver or base-metal multiple coins.
[3] RIC VIII: ix: 'the determination of frequency is necessarily subjective; it has been arrived at by considering the composition of hoards and site-finds, by totalling separate specimens in public collections and sales catalogues, and…by drawing upon expertise of colleagues…I have not simply set a total of specimens against a numerical scale'.
[4] RIC IX: vi states that 'the degrees of rarity which I have attributed to these coins must necessarily be based on general impressions only'.
[5] RIC X: ix: 'the degree of *Frequency* indicates whether a single specimen only is known to me (R5) or whether a few or many others have been seen'.

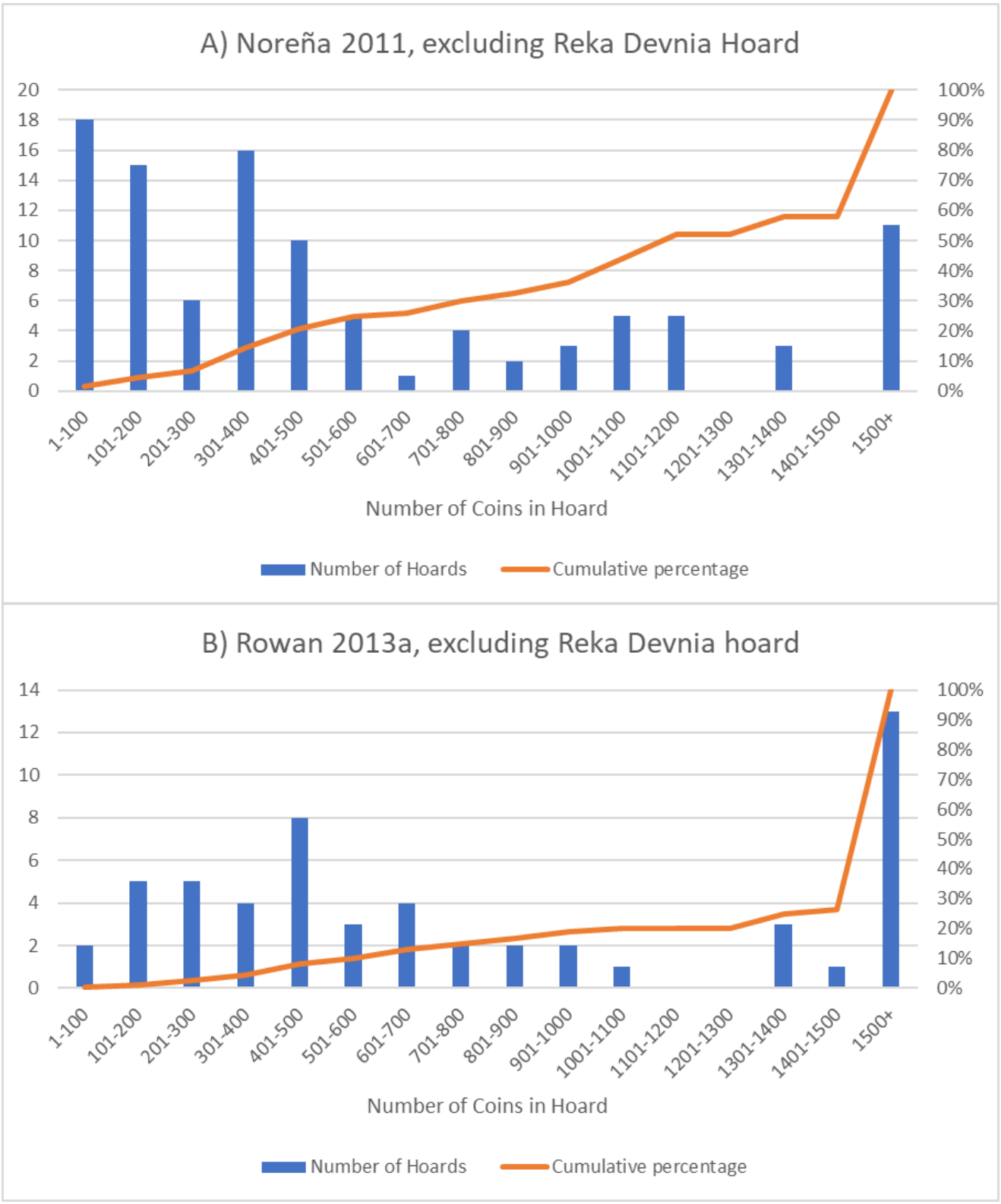


Figure 2.2 - Histograms of hoards by size, based on coin totals from the datasets of Noreña 2011 (silver coins) and Rowan 2013, both excluding the Reka Devnia hoard.

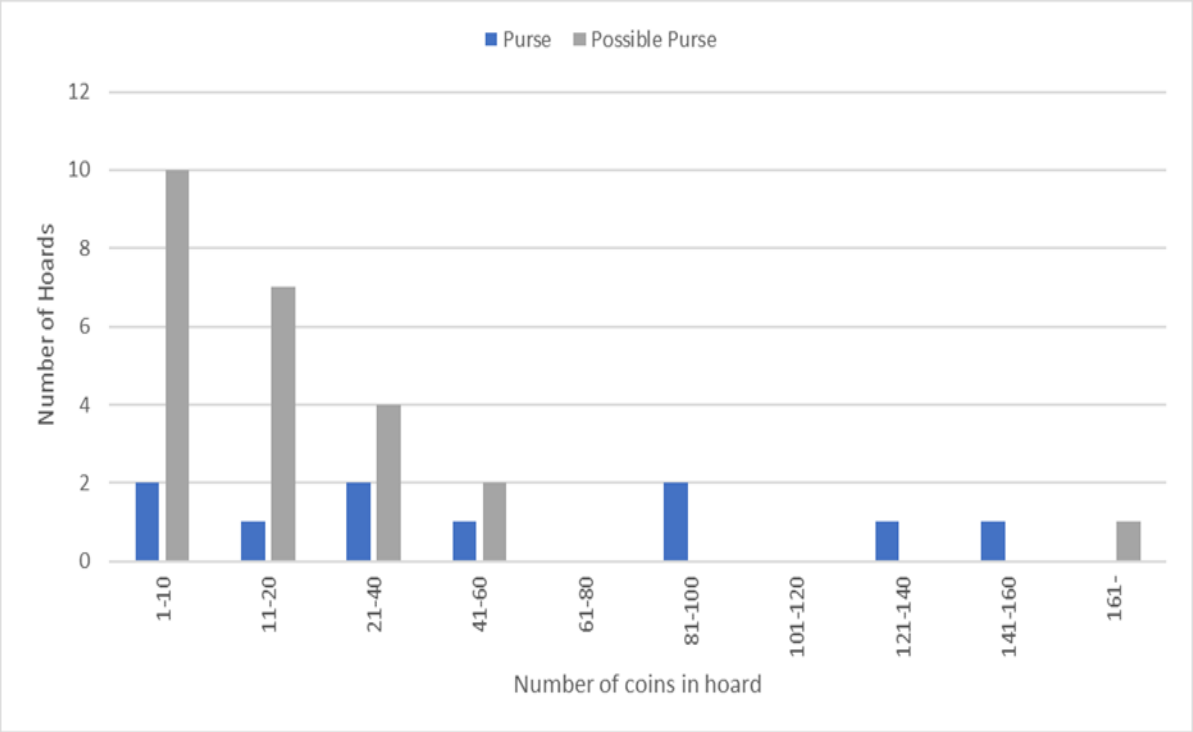


Figure 2.3 - Coin Totals from purse hoards and possible purse hoards with *terminus ante quem* 200-285, using data from the CHRE database [accessed 22/09/2022].

Site	Catalogue/Article	Site ID	Coin No	Coin ID	Original Catalogue No.	From Date	To Date	My Period	Reference	Denomination	Material	Mint	Portrait	Title	Quantity	Reserve Type No.	Reverse-Type	Notes
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	593	26//593	3	313	317	3	Cohen 64	Nummus	Base Metal	Cyzicus	Licinius I	Augustus	1	8	IOVI CONSERVATORI (AVG)	
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	594	26//594	4	324	330	5	N/A	Nummus	Base Metal	Uncertain	Constantine I	Augustus	1	29	PROVIDENTIAE AVGG Gate	
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	595	26//595	5	350	350	8	LRBC II 1181 var	AE3	Base Metal	Siscia	Vetranio	Augustus	1	173	VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM Emperor and Captive	
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	596	26//596	6-11	353	358	8	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Constantius II	Augustus	6	69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	597	26//597	12-14	358	361	8	N/A	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Constantius II	Augustus	3	76	SPES REIPVBLICE emperor	
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	598	26//598	16	337	339	6	N/A	Nummus	Base Metal	Rome	Uncertain	Caesar or Augustus	1	54	VIRTVS AVGVSTI	
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	599	26//599	17	337	339	6	LRBC I 238	Nummus	Base Metal	Uncertain	Constantine I	Divus Augustus	1	57	AETERNA PIETAS	
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	600	26//600	18	337	338	6	LRBC I 238A	Nummus	Base Metal	Lugdunum	Constantine I	Divus Augustus	1	57	AETERNA PIETAS	
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	601	26//601	19-20	353	358	8	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Caesar or Augustus	2	69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	602	26//602	21	404	406	11	N/A	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Arcadius	Augustus	1	105	CONCORDIA AVGGG Cross	
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	603	26//603	22-27	364	378	9	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Augustus	6	82	GLORIA ROMANORVM emperor and captive	
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	604	26//604	29	386	387	10	LRBC II 789	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Augustus	1	101	VICTORIA AVGGG two victories	
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	605	26//605	30	388	395	11	LRBC II 2898	AE4	Base Metal	Alexandria	Uncertain	Augustus	1	100	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive w/Christogram	
Carthage	Guimond 1979	26	606	26//606	31	425	435	13	LRBC II 862	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Valentinian III	Augustus	1	61	VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm	AVGG
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	607	26//607	5	330	335	6	N/A	Nummus	Base Metal	Uncertain	Constantine I	Augustus	1	52	GLORIA EXERCITVS two standards	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	608	26//608	6	341	348	7	LRBC I 638	Nummus	Base Metal	Rome	Constans	Augustus	1	64	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN Victories	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	609	26//609	7	342	348	7	LRBC I 798-799	Nummus	Base Metal	Siscia	Constantius II	Augustus	1	64	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN Victories	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	610	26//610	8	341	348	7	N/A	Nummus	Base Metal	Uncertain	Constantius II	Augustus	1	64	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN Victories	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	611	26//611	10-15	358	361	8	N/A	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Constantius II	Augustus	7	76	SPES REIPVBLICE emperor	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	612	26//612	16	358	361	8	LRBC II 2638	AE4	Base Metal	Antioch	Constantius II	Augustus	1	76	SPES REIPVBLICE emperor	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	613	26//613	17	353	356	8	LRBC II 2309	AE3	Base Metal	Nicomedia	Constantius II	Augustus	1	69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	614	26//614	18-21	353	358	8	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Constantius II	Augustus	4	69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	615	26//615	22	353	358	8	LRBC II 1224	AE3	Base Metal	Siscia	Constantius II	Augustus	1	69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	616	26//616	24	337	340	6	N/A	Nummus	Base Metal	Uncertain	Constantine II	Augustus	1	53	GLORIA EXERCITVS one standard	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	617	26//617	25	353	358	8	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Caesar or Augustus	1	69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	618	26//618	27	353	358	8	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Constantius II	Augustus	1	69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	619	26//619	28-29	353	358	8	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Caesar or Augustus	2	69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	620	26//620	30	353	356	8	LRBC II as 2632	AE3	Base Metal	Antioch	Uncertain	Caesar or Augustus	1	69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	621	26//621	31-33	364	378	9	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Valens	Augustus	3	81	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	622	26//622	34	383	384	10	LRBC II 2738	AE4	Base Metal	Antioch	Valentinian II	Augustus	1	5	*Vota Mvlt* wreath	VOT X MVLT XX
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	623	26//623	35	383	383	10	LRBC II 2378	AE4	Base Metal	Nicomedia	Valentinian II	Augustus	1	5	*Vota Mvlt* wreath	VOT XX MVLT XXX
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	624	26//624	36	388	392	11	N/A	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Valentinian II	Augustus	1	100	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive w/Christogram	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	625	26//625	37	395	423	12	LRBC II as 173	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Honorius	Augustus	1	61	VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm	AVGG
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	626	26//626	38	393	408	11	N/A	AE4	Base Metal	Rome	Honorius	Augustus	1	100	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive w/Christogram	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	627	26//627	40	364	378	9	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Augustus	1	81	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	628	26//628	41-43	364	378	9	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Augustus	3	82	GLORIA ROMANORVM emperor and captive	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	629	26//629	44	383	387	10	N/A	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Augustus	1	5	*Vota Mvlt* wreath	VOT X MVLT XX
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	630	26//630	45	388	408	11	N/A	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Augustus	1	100	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive w/Christogram	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	631	26//631	46	388	408	11	LRBC II 796	AE4	Base Metal	Rome	Uncertain	Augustus	1	100	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive w/Christogram	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	632	26//632	47	388	408	11	N/A	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Augustus	1	100	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive w/Christogram	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	633	26//633	48	383	402	11	N/A	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Augustus	1	61	VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm	AVGG
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	634	26//634	49	381	382	10	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Augustus	1	74	VRBS ROMA	
Carthage	Guimond 1981	26	635	26//635	54	383	402	11	N/A	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Augustus	1	61	VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm	AVGG
Carthage	Brenot 2012	26	636	26//636	4	330	335	6	RIC VII Arelate 387	Nummus	Base Metal	Arelate	Constantine I	Augustus	1	52	GLORIA EXERCITVS two standards	
Carthage	Brenot 2012	26	637	26//637	5	330	340	6	N/A	Nummus	Base Metal	Uncertain	Constantinopolis	City Personification	1	49	Victory on Prow w/Constantinopolis Obv.	
Carthage	Brenot 2012	26	638	26//638	6	430	437	13	RIC X Rome 2132	AE4	Base Metal	Rome	Valentinian III	Augustus	1	153	VICTORIA AVGG two victories	
Carthage	Brenot 2012	26	639	26//639	7	353	356	8	RIC VIII Siscia 352	AE3	Base Metal	Siscia	Constantius II	Augustus	1	69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	
Carthage	Brenot 2012	26	640	26//640	8-10	353	358	8	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Constantius II	Augustus	3	69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	
Carthage	Brenot 2012	26	641	26//641	11	355	358	8	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Julian	Caesar	1	69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	
Carthage	Brenot 2012	26	642	26//642	12-18	353	358	8	N/A	AE3	Base Metal	Uncertain	Uncertain	Caesar or Augustus	7	69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	
Carthage	Brenot 2012	26	643	26//643	21	358	361	8	N/A	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Constantius II	Augustus	1	76	SPES REIPVBLICE emperor	
Carthage	Brenot 2012	26	644	26//644	26	386	387	10	N/A	AE4	Base Metal	Uncertain	Theodosius I	Augustus	1	101	VICTORIA AVGGG two victories	
Carthage	Brenot 2012	26	645	26//645	27	440	455	13	N/A	AE4	Base Metal	Rome	Valentinian III	Augustus	1	114	Cross in wreath	

Figure 2.4 - Example cross-section of the site-finds database.

Diocese	Site	Coin Total
Britannia	Durnovaria	771
	Lindum	586
	Portus Adurni	441
	Venta Silurum	804
	Verulamium	1980
	Total	**4582**
Gallia	Augusta Treverorum	3464
	Rotomagus	984
	Total	**4448**
Viennensis	Arelate	351
	Massalia	237
	Total	**588**
Italia	Rome	3286
	Tridentium	1308
	Verona	329
	Total	**4923**
Hispania	Baelo Claudia	806
	Conimbriga	2365
	Saguntum	339
	Zilil	3410
	Total	**6920**
Africa	Carthage	1204
	Sabratha	103
	Total	**1307**
Moesia	Athens	10290
	Sparta	217
	Bouthroton	444
	Corinth	3902
	Heraclea Sintica	109
	Kenchreai	255
	Nemea	229
	Total	**15446**

Diocese	Site	Coin Total
Thracia	Nicopolis Ad Istrum	393
	Histria	322
	Iatrus	390
	Total	**1105**
Asiana	Arykanda	998
	Ilium	143
	Sagalassos	403
	Sardis	7059
	Total	**8603**
Oriens	Abu Mina	631
	Alexandria	825
	Antioch	7012
	Apamea	958
	Berytus	1688
	Caesarea Maritima	1044
	Capernaum	552
	Gerasa	1097
	Jerusalem	161
	Kourion	1134
	Pella	261
	Samaria-Sebaste	272
	Total	**15635**

Figure 2.5 - Table of individual coin totals of the forty-four sites in the site-finds database, grouped to their respective Late Roman dioceses.

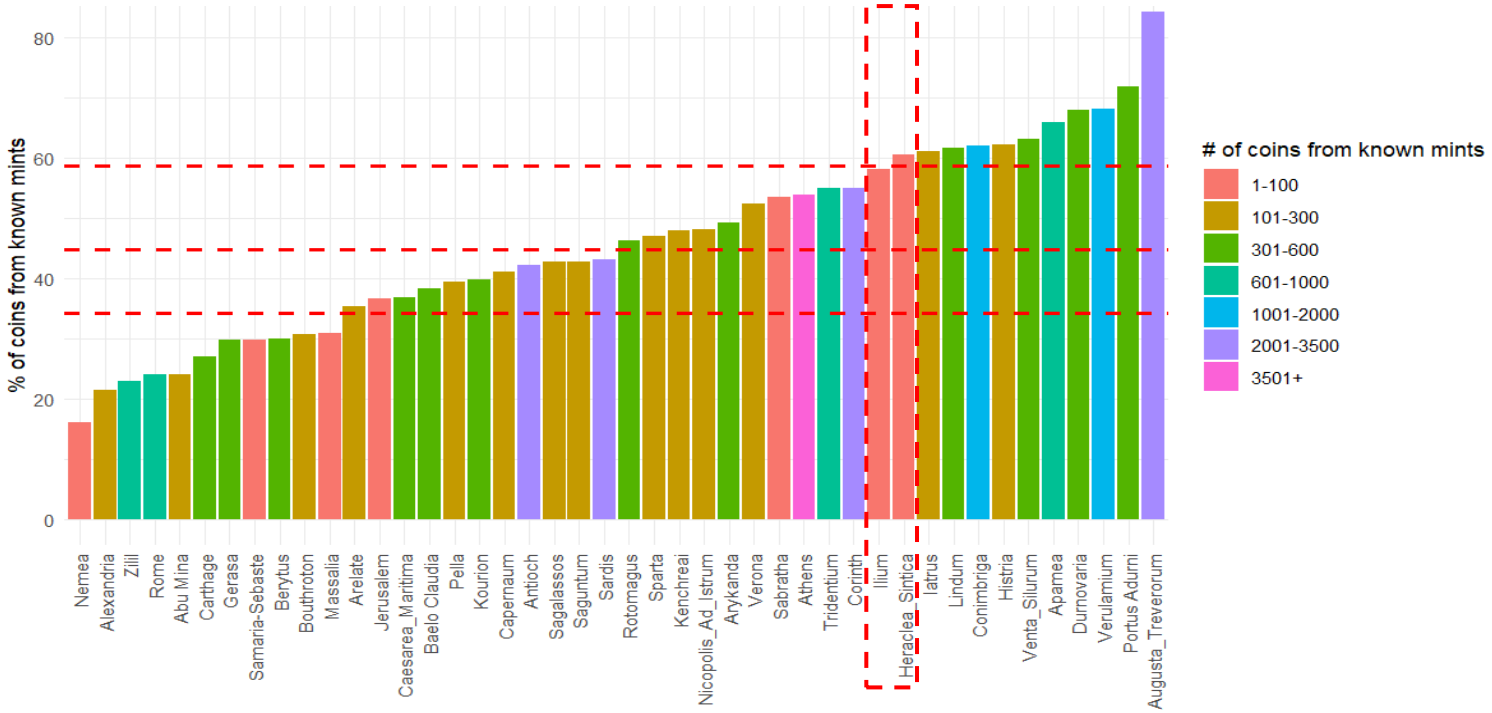


Figure 2.6 - Bar graph depicting the proportions of coinage with known mints on a site-by-site basis. The red lines represent quartile values (first quartile = 34.2%; median value = 44.8%; third quartile = 58.7%). The colour coded bars indicate the raw number of coins with known mints at each site.

Principal Region	Diocese	Mint
Pars Occidentis	*Britannia*	*Londinium*
	Gallia	*Amiens*
		Trier
		Lugdunum
	Viennensis	*Arelate*
	Africa	*Carthage*
	Italia	*Ticinum*
		Mediolanum
		Rome
		Ravenna
		Ostia
		Aquileia
Pars Orientis	*Pannonia*	*Siscia*
		Sirmium
	Moesia	*Serdica*
		Thessalonica
	Thracia	*Heraclea*
		Constantinople
	Pontica/Asiana	*Nicomedia*
		Cyzicus
	Oriens	*Antioch*
		Tripolis
		Alexandria

Figure 2.7 - Two-tier hierarchy applied to group together Late Roman mints into larger geographic groupings, using administrative divisions contemporaneous to the fourth century.

Site	*Pars Occidentis*	*Pars Orientis*
Kourion	7.6%	92.4%
Alexandria	13.6%	86.4%
Abu Mina	14.5%	85.5%
Antioch	4.8%	95.2%
Apamea	2.9%	97.1%
Berytus	9.9%	90.1%
Caesarea Maritima	14.8%	85.2%
Jerusalem	30.5%	69.5%
Gerasa	10.1%	89.9%
Samaria-Sebaste	11.1%	88.9%
Pella	15.5%	84.5%
Capernaum	18.9%	81.1%
Sardis	5.0%	95.0%
Sagalassos	7.0%	93.0%
Ilium	4.8%	95.2%
Arykanda	5.5%	94.5%
Nicopolis ad Istrum	5.3%	94.7%
Histria	7.5%	92.5%
Heraclea Sintica	6.1%	93.9%
Iatrus	5.0%	95.0%
Bouthroton	44.1%	55.9%
Athens	4.7%	95.3%
Corinth	9.3%	90.7%
Kenchreai	5.7%	94.3%
Nemea	32.4%	67.6%
Sparta	5.9%	94.1%
Carthage	61.5%	38.5%
Sabratha	40.0%	60.0%
Zilil	76.0%	24.0%
Verona	75.0%	25.0%
Rome	75.1%	24.9%
Tridentium	79.2%	20.8%
Rotomagus	95.0%	5.0%
Augusta Treverorum	93.1%	6.9%
Massalia	89.0%	11.0%
Arelate	85.5%	14.5%
Conimbriga	70.8%	29.2%
Baelo Claudia	73.5%	26.5%
Saguntum	75.9%	24.1%
Portus Adurni	95.9%	4.1%
Durnovaria	97.1%	2.9%
Verulamium	96.9%	3.1%
Lindum	95.3%	4.7%
Venta Silurum	98.2%	1.8%

Figure 2.8 – Contingency table of mint representation data, presenting each site's total coins from different mints as a percentage of each site's total coins from all known mints. Here individual mints have been grouped under the larger geographic divisions of either the *Pars Occidentis* or *Pars Orientis*, as per Figure 2.7.

Site	*Britannia*	*Gallia*	*Viennensis*	*Africa*	*Italia*	*Pannonia*	*Moesia*	*Thracia*	*Pontica/Asiana*	*Oriens*
Kourion	0.0%	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%	6.9%	1.8%	2.7%	18.2%	23.1%	46.7%
Alexandria	0.6%	3.4%	1.1%	0.0%	8.5%	2.3%	4.0%	9.6%	14.1%	56.5%
Abu Mina	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	13.8%	1.3%	9.2%	28.9%	10.5%	35.5%
Antioch	0.0%	0.9%	0.5%	0.0%	3.4%	0.6%	1.9%	7.7%	13.4%	71.6%
Apamea	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	0.6%	0.5%	8.2%	11.6%	76.2%
Berytus	0.0%	0.6%	1.2%	0.0%	8.1%	1.2%	4.3%	13.8%	16.8%	54.0%
Caesarea Maritima	0.0%	0.5%	1.8%	0.0%	12.5%	1.8%	3.4%	16.9%	17.1%	46.0%
Jerusalem	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	28.8%	1.7%	3.4%	15.3%	13.6%	35.6%
Gerasa	0.0%	0.6%	0.3%	0.0%	9.2%	0.6%	7.4%	15.0%	18.7%	48.2%
Samaria-Sebaste	0.0%	1.2%	1.2%	0.0%	8.6%	1.2%	4.9%	12.3%	11.1%	59.3%
Pella	0.0%	1.9%	2.9%	0.0%	10.7%	2.9%	8.7%	4.9%	13.6%	54.4%
Capernaum	0.4%	1.3%	1.8%	0.0%	15.4%	0.9%	3.5%	16.7%	15.4%	44.5%
Sardis	0.1%	0.2%	0.5%	0.0%	4.2%	0.8%	4.0%	33.5%	46.2%	10.6%
Sagalassos	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	6.4%	1.2%	0.6%	26.7%	47.1%	17.4%
Ilium	0.0%	1.2%	2.4%	0.0%	1.2%	3.6%	2.4%	37.3%	41.0%	10.8%
Arykanda	0.2%	0.4%	0.2%	0.0%	4.7%	0.2%	3.7%	28.5%	38.1%	24.0%
Nicopolis ad Istrum	0.5%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%	15.3%	19.0%	31.7%	27.5%	1.1%
Histria	1.0%	0.5%	1.0%	0.0%	5.0%	13.0%	10.0%	42.5%	22.0%	5.0%
Heraclea Sintica	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	10.6%	36.4%	18.2%	28.8%	0.0%
Iatrus	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	4.2%	12.6%	9.7%	36.6%	30.7%	5.5%
Bouthroton	0.0%	0.7%	0.7%	0.0%	42.6%	4.4%	16.2%	15.4%	14.7%	5.1%
Athens	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%	4.1%	2.6%	25.0%	28.6%	31.4%	7.5%
Corinth	0.0%	1.2%	0.6%	0.1%	7.4%	3.6%	27.5%	21.1%	32.8%	5.7%
Kenchreai	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	4.9%	4.1%	19.7%	28.7%	27.9%	13.9%
Nemea	0.0%	5.4%	0.0%	0.0%	27.0%	0.0%	27.0%	10.8%	29.7%	0.0%
Sparta	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.9%	9.8%	12.7%	32.4%	30.4%	8.8%
Carthage	0.0%	3.7%	4.6%	1.5%	51.7%	5.5%	3.7%	8.9%	14.5%	5.8%
Sabratha	0.0%	3.6%	3.6%	1.8%	30.9%	9.1%	3.6%	10.9%	21.8%	14.5%
Zilil	0.5%	13.6%	37.1%	0.1%	24.6%	3.7%	2.2%	7.0%	7.0%	4.1%
Verona	0.0%	3.5%	6.4%	0.0%	65.1%	14.5%	5.2%	1.2%	2.9%	1.2%
Rome	0.0%	1.1%	5.3%	0.3%	68.4%	7.8%	4.4%	6.1%	3.0%	3.5%
Tridentium	0.0%	3.9%	5.2%	0.0%	70.2%	8.5%	3.5%	5.0%	3.2%	0.6%
Rotomagus	2.2%	48.9%	32.9%	0.0%	11.0%	3.9%	0.2%	0.4%	0.2%	0.2%
Augusta Treverorum	2.6%	66.9%	12.6%	0.5%	10.4%	3.6%	0.7%	0.8%	1.1%	0.7%
Massalia	0.0%	26.0%	35.6%	1.4%	26.0%	2.7%	0.0%	2.7%	5.5%	0.0%
Arelate	1.6%	21.0%	50.8%	2.4%	9.7%	4.8%	2.4%	4.8%	2.4%	0.0%
Conimbriga	0.3%	16.9%	23.1%	0.1%	30.4%	2.6%	3.0%	8.6%	10.8%	4.2%
Baelo Claudia	1.0%	10.0%	27.5%	1.0%	34.0%	5.5%	1.9%	6.8%	8.7%	3.6%
Saguntum	1.4%	14.5%	17.2%	1.4%	41.4%	5.5%	2.8%	6.9%	6.9%	2.1%
Portus Adurni	14.5%	63.7%	11.0%	0.3%	6.3%	2.2%	0.6%	0.6%	0.3%	0.3%
Durnovaria	3.1%	70.9%	13.4%	0.0%	9.8%	1.5%	0.2%	0.6%	0.6%	0.0%
Verulamium	5.9%	71.7%	14.7%	0.0%	4.7%	2.1%	0.0%	0.4%	0.4%	0.1%
Lindum	9.7%	58.4%	20.2%	0.0%	6.9%	3.9%	0.0%	0.6%	0.3%	0.0%
Venta Silurum	2.4%	67.7%	22.9%	0.0%	5.3%	1.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%

Figure 2.9 - Contingency table of mint representation data, presenting each site's total coins from different mints as a percentage of each site's total coins from all known mints. Here individual mints have been grouped to their respective dioceses, as per Figure 2.7.

Sites	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Kourion	1.7%	1.9%	2.9%	3.9%	2.5%	10.7%	8.6%	22.3%	19.5%	5.2%	18.6%	1.2%	1.2%
Alexandria	0.0%	1.6%	2.6%	7.7%	4.6%	8.8%	8.0%	11.7%	21.5%	12.5%	17.7%	0.2%	3.0%
Abu Mina	1.1%	0.4%	0.6%	0.4%	0.5%	3.1%	3.2%	9.6%	4.7%	21.1%	35.5%	2.7%	17.1%
Antioch	0.7%	3.1%	3.6%	2.9%	2.5%	16.9%	15.4%	15.1%	13.8%	6.3%	16.4%	0.6%	2.8%
Apamea	0.5%	0.4%	2.5%	1.3%	0.8%	13.5%	14.7%	20.6%	8.9%	5.2%	21.5%	2.2%	8.0%
Berytus	0.7%	2.4%	1.4%	2.7%	1.5%	9.2%	10.4%	15.3%	13.4%	11.0%	25.2%	2.4%	4.5%
Caesarea Maritima	0.7%	0.8%	2.4%	1.9%	0.5%	10.3%	11.5%	20.8%	11.8%	13.8%	22.2%	0.7%	2.6%
Jerusalem	4.0%	0.0%	5.5%	2.3%	5.3%	14.2%	8.9%	16.3%	19.0%	11.1%	12.3%	0.5%	0.8%
Gerasa	0.5%	1.0%	1.4%	3.0%	3.9%	9.7%	10.3%	19.5%	15.4%	9.7%	22.1%	0.5%	3.0%
Samaria Sebaste	3.8%	2.2%	7.1%	2.7%	3.2%	13.3%	13.7%	30.1%	4.7%	5.7%	9.0%	1.7%	2.8%
Pella	0.5%	3.0%	3.9%	3.5%	4.9%	10.8%	15.4%	29.8%	6.2%	6.9%	14.0%	0.3%	0.7%
Capernaum	1.0%	0.4%	4.7%	2.6%	4.4%	8.6%	6.2%	19.0%	11.9%	11.5%	26.3%	0.5%	3.0%
Sardis	0.0%	1.3%	1.4%	3.6%	1.9%	11.6%	12.0%	14.0%	11.5%	10.0%	25.8%	3.3%	3.6%
Sagalassos	0.8%	2.1%	2.4%	2.8%	0.7%	4.3%	4.9%	14.8%	9.5%	13.8%	31.0%	6.3%	6.6%
Ilium	0.0%	8.3%	6.2%	12.1%	5.1%	15.4%	19.2%	11.3%	5.1%	8.5%	6.9%	1.4%	0.5%
Arykanda	1.2%	2.2%	2.0%	2.8%	0.8%	7.8%	9.2%	16.1%	17.8%	6.8%	26.1%	4.3%	3.0%
Nicopolis ad Istrum	0.3%	1.3%	1.0%	7.4%	2.3%	13.1%	10.3%	29.2%	12.4%	4.8%	13.3%	2.2%	2.3%
Histria	4.4%	12.7%	13.8%	23.5%	9.0%	8.7%	1.7%	7.6%	8.3%	3.7%	5.2%	0.6%	0.9%
Heraclea Sintica	2.2%	9.4%	8.9%	7.9%	3.7%	7.8%	6.9%	11.8%	10.4%	18.9%	11.1%	0.7%	0.4%
Iatrus	1.9%	1.2%	4.5%	10.6%	4.9%	16.5%	6.5%	13.2%	10.1%	9.4%	15.7%	4.8%	0.8%
Bouthroton	0.7%	0.0%	1.0%	7.2%	2.2%	7.1%	6.7%	15.4%	17.9%	9.7%	21.8%	4.1%	6.0%
Athens	0.3%	2.3%	1.0%	2.8%	2.1%	11.8%	14.2%	23.6%	10.4%	15.8%	13.6%	1.2%	1.0%
Corinth	0.2%	3.8%	2.0%	4.5%	2.7%	12.5%	13.1%	24.0%	8.4%	18.0%	9.5%	0.7%	0.6%
Kenchreai	0.5%	4.6%	2.7%	6.2%	0.0%	10.9%	8.8%	15.6%	6.2%	17.4%	21.2%	1.9%	3.8%
Nemea	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%	1.0%	18.9%	9.1%	18.7%	3.7%	19.5%	21.3%	2.5%	3.9%
Sparta	0.0%	6.1%	1.0%	5.6%	4.1%	26.6%	27.8%	22.0%	1.3%	3.5%	1.5%	0.0%	0.5%
Carthage	0.0%	0.8%	1.7%	3.5%	1.5%	18.8%	15.0%	28.4%	8.4%	8.5%	7.6%	0.8%	5.1%
Sabratha	1.1%	6.6%	5.3%	15.2%	8.9%	21.3%	8.0%	17.1%	4.3%	5.3%	6.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Zilil	0.0%	0.3%	1.3%	6.2%	1.9%	26.6%	12.8%	39.4%	2.3%	6.5%	2.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Verona	3.0%	0.6%	1.5%	5.3%	3.7%	14.5%	10.2%	13.9%	9.7%	23.5%	11.2%	0.9%	2.0%
Rome	0.0%	1.0%	2.0%	3.3%	1.3%	5.5%	8.0%	36.4%	29.5%	6.2%	6.5%	0.2%	0.1%
Tridentium	0.0%	0.2%	0.4%	1.2%	0.2%	10.4%	11.4%	9.0%	10.9%	22.3%	33.4%	0.3%	0.4%
Rotomagus	0.0%	0.3%	2.3%	6.2%	1.6%	31.5%	9.1%	7.6%	16.5%	10.9%	13.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Augusta Treverorum	1.3%	4.4%	5.4%	26.8%	3.9%	21.2%	8.2%	3.4%	17.7%	4.1%	3.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Massalia	0.5%	5.5%	2.2%	13.3%	4.6%	15.9%	7.5%	18.2%	11.3%	4.9%	7.1%	3.5%	5.5%
Arelate	0.0%	0.5%	1.8%	7.8%	2.0%	30.6%	29.2%	15.7%	1.2%	4.5%	6.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Conimbriga	0.1%	0.6%	1.8%	3.2%	1.3%	25.5%	27.6%	26.1%	3.9%	6.9%	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Baelo Claudia	0.0%	1.5%	3.3%	9.0%	1.4%	32.3%	18.5%	28.1%	1.3%	2.6%	2.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Saguntum	0.3%	1.7%	1.3%	10.6%	3.2%	30.7%	10.5%	28.0%	0.9%	11.6%	1.0%	0.2%	0.0%
Portus Adurni	0.5%	4.1%	11.4%	18.3%	4.3%	37.4%	5.2%	4.3%	11.6%	1.4%	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Durnovaria	0.0%	0.7%	1.8%	5.9%	1.2%	49.3%	18.7%	10.3%	7.6%	1.1%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%
Verulamium	0.1%	0.7%	2.2%	7.7%	2.4%	42.3%	12.1%	17.4%	11.9%	0.6%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Lindum	0.4%	1.0%	4.5%	9.9%	2.5%	41.3%	11.4%	9.6%	16.1%	0.7%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Venta Silurum	0.0%	0.2%	1.5%	5.0%	1.9%	46.8%	15.6%	4.6%	13.0%	2.1%	9.3%	0.0%	0.0%

Figure 2.10 - Contingency table of coin-loss data, presenting each site's per-period coin-loss totals as a percentage of the site's coin-loss total for all periods. The thirteen periods are as per Figure 0.1.

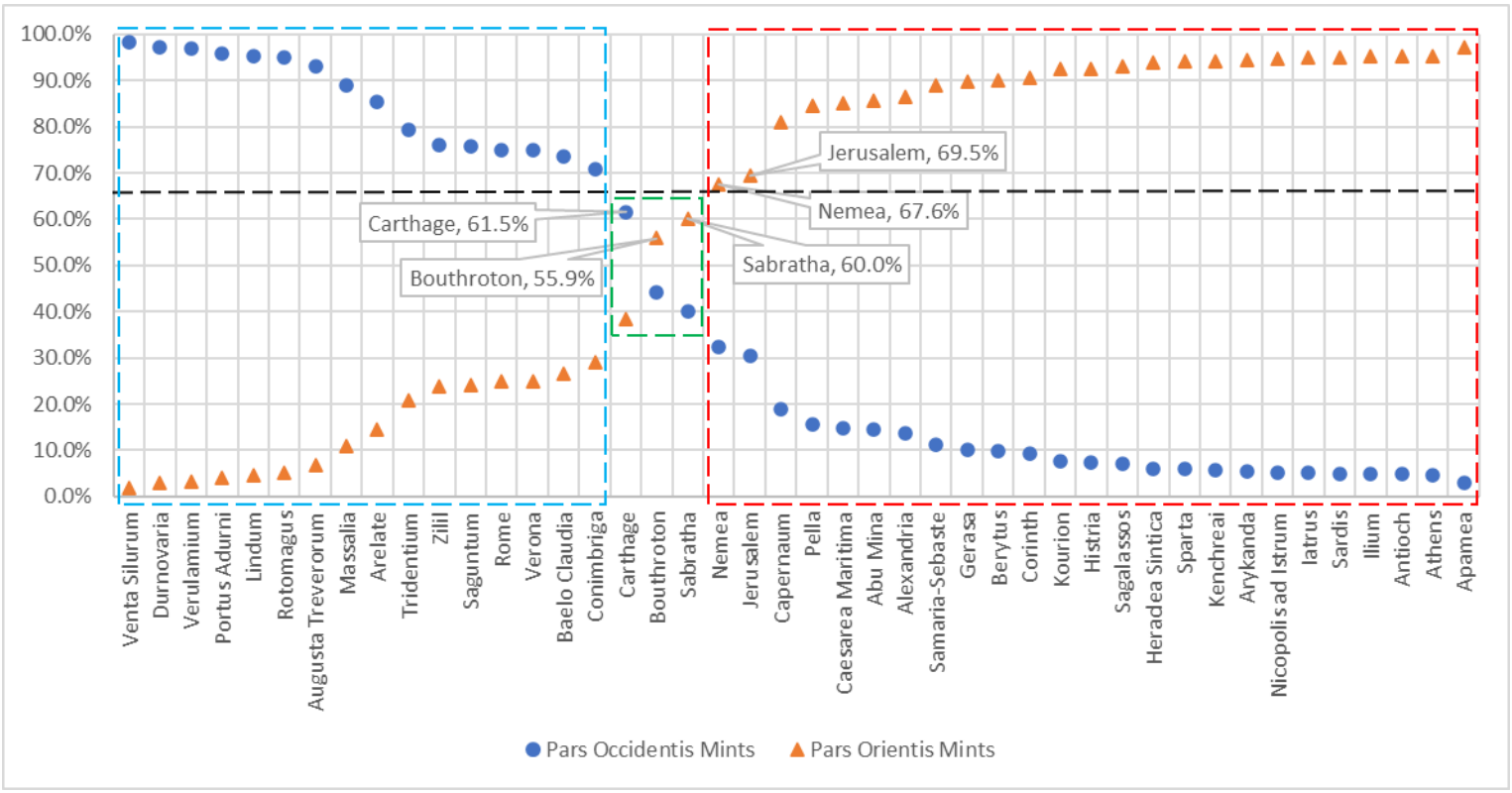


Figure 2.11 - Scattergram presenting the proportions in which each site was supplied by mints from either the western empire (*Pars Occidentis*) or eastern empire (*Pars Orientis*), calculated using only coinage with identifiable mints. Blue box = predominant western supply; red box = predominant eastern supply; green box = mixed supply. 'Predominant supply' = more than 66.6% (black line).

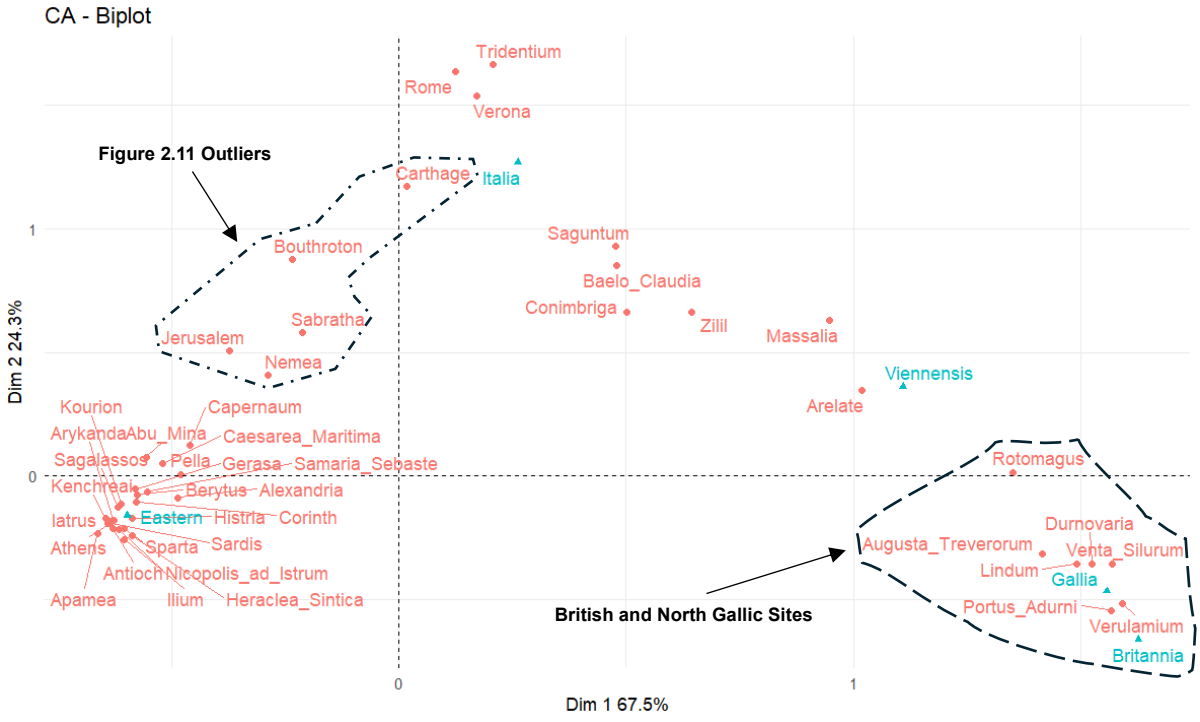


Figure 2.12 - Correspondence Analysis symmetric biplot of mint representation per-site. Coins from western mints are grouped to their affiliated dioceses, while all coins from eastern mints are grouped under the variable 'Eastern'.

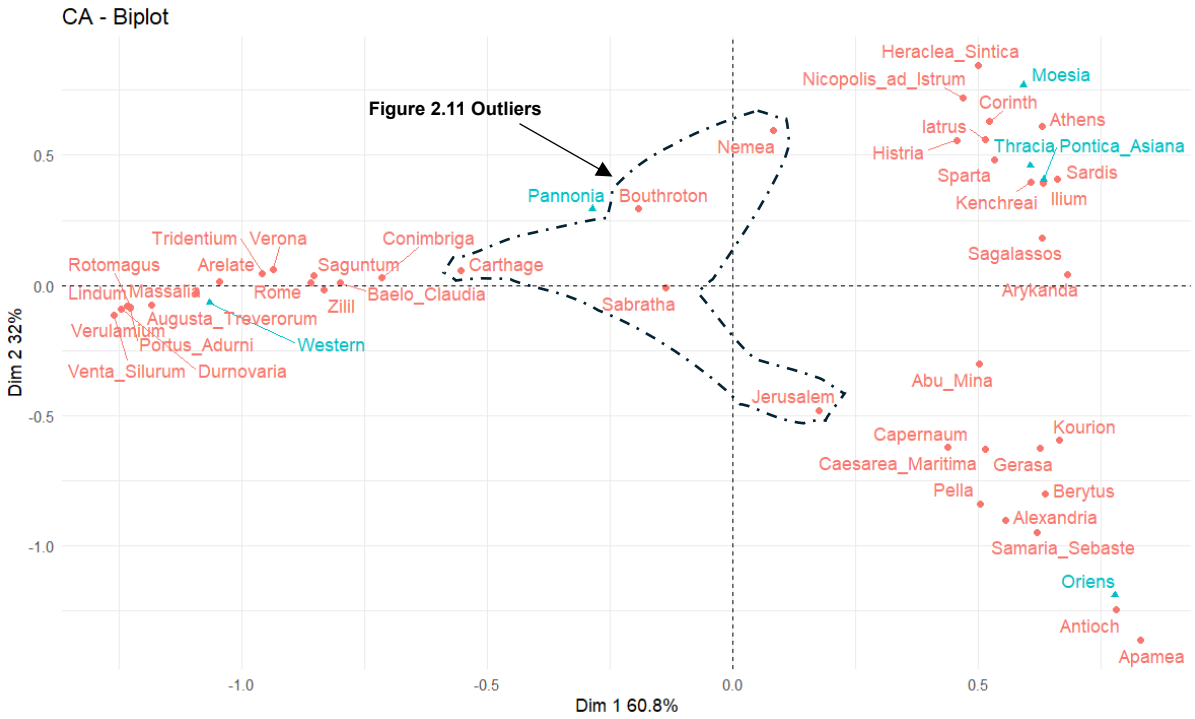


Figure 2.13 - Correspondence Analysis symmetric biplot of mint representation per-site. Coins from eastern mints are grouped to their affiliated dioceses, while all coins from western mints are grouped under the variable 'Western'.

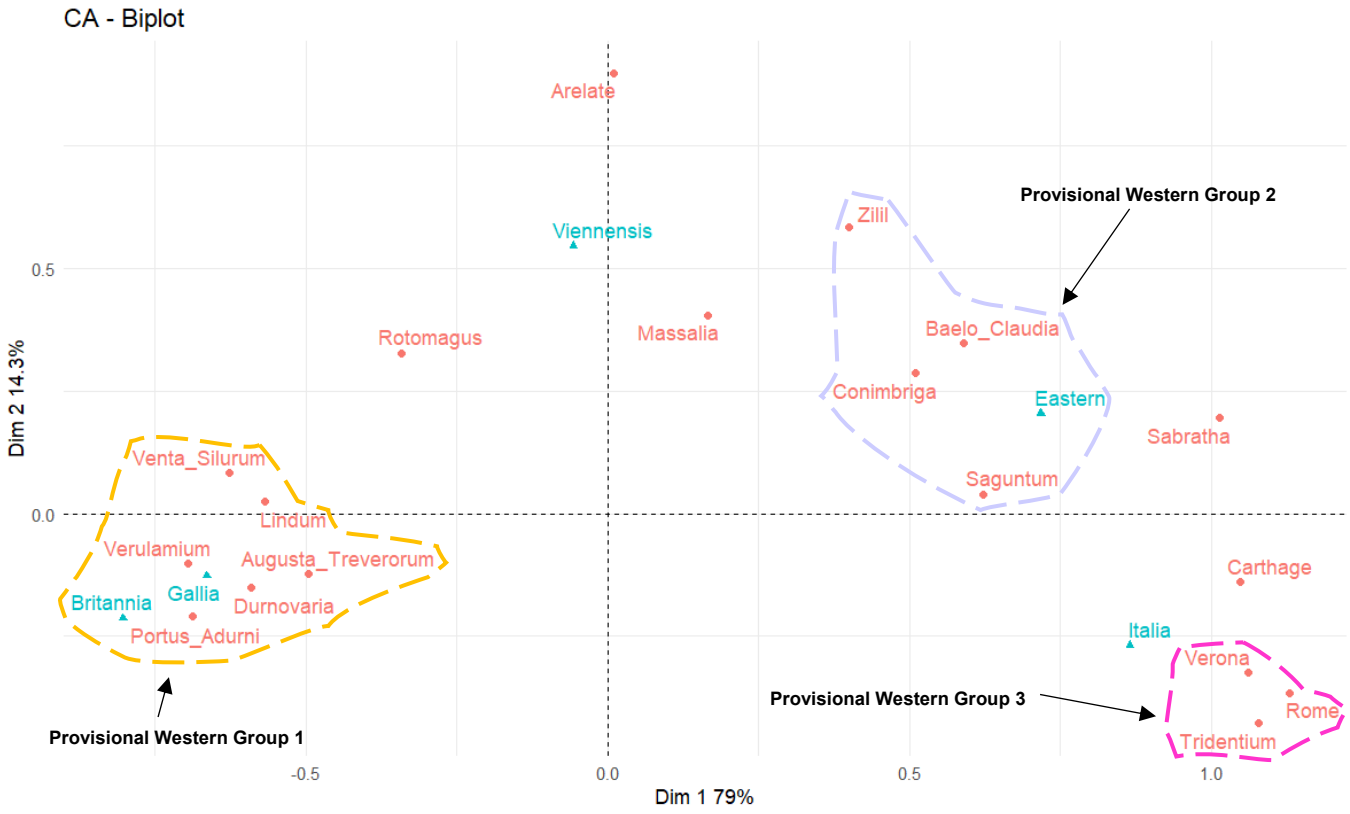


Figure 2.14 - Correspondence Analysis symmetric biplot of mint representation per-site for only western sites. Coins from western mints are grouped to their affiliated dioceses, while all coins from eastern mints are grouped under the variable 'Eastern'.

	Western Group 1								
	Portus Adurni	Durnovaria	Verulamium	Lindum	Venta Silurum	Augusta Treverorum	Rotomagus	Massalia	Arelate
Britannia	14.5%	3.1%	5.9%	9.7%	2.4%	2.6%	2.2%	0.0%	1.6%
Gallia	63.7%	70.9%	71.7%	58.4%	67.7%	66.9%	48.9%	26.0%	21.0%
Viennensis	11.0%	13.4%	14.7%	20.2%	22.9%	12.6%	32.9%	35.6%	50.8%
Africa	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	1.4%	2.4%
Italia	6.3%	9.8%	4.7%	6.9%	5.3%	10.4%	11.0%	26.0%	9.7%
Pannonia	2.2%	1.5%	2.1%	3.9%	1.0%	3.6%	3.9%	2.7%	4.8%
Moesia	0.6%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.7%	0.2%	0.0%	2.4%
Thracia	0.6%	0.6%	0.4%	0.6%	0.0%	0.8%	0.4%	2.7%	4.8%
Pontica/Asiana	0.3%	0.6%	0.4%	0.3%	0.0%	1.1%	0.2%	5.5%	2.4%
Oriens	0.3%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.6%	0.7%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%

	Western Group 2				Western Group 3				
	Conimbriga	Baelo Claudia	Saguntum	Zilil	Verona	Rome	Tridentium	Carthage	Sabratha
Britannia	0.3%	1.0%	1.4%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Gallia	16.9%	10.0%	14.5%	13.6%	3.5%	1.1%	3.9%	3.7%	3.6%
Viennensis	23.1%	27.5%	17.2%	37.1%	6.4%	5.3%	5.2%	4.6%	3.6%
Africa	0.1%	1.0%	1.4%	0.1%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	1.5%	1.8%
Italia	30.4%	34.0%	41.4%	24.6%	65.1%	68.4%	70.2%	51.7%	30.9%
Pannonia	2.6%	5.5%	5.5%	3.7%	14.5%	7.8%	8.5%	5.5%	9.1%
Moesia	3.0%	1.9%	2.8%	2.2%	5.2%	4.4%	3.5%	3.7%	3.6%
Thracia	8.6%	6.8%	6.9%	7.0%	1.2%	6.1%	5.0%	8.9%	10.9%
Pontica/Asiana	10.8%	8.7%	6.9%	7.0%	2.9%	3.0%	3.2%	14.5%	21.8%
Oriens	4.2%	3.6%	2.1%	4.1%	1.2%	3.5%	0.6%	5.8%	14.5%

Figure 2.15 - Percentage of coins per diocese for each western site. The colour scheme of each column indicates most (green) to least (red) represented diocese.

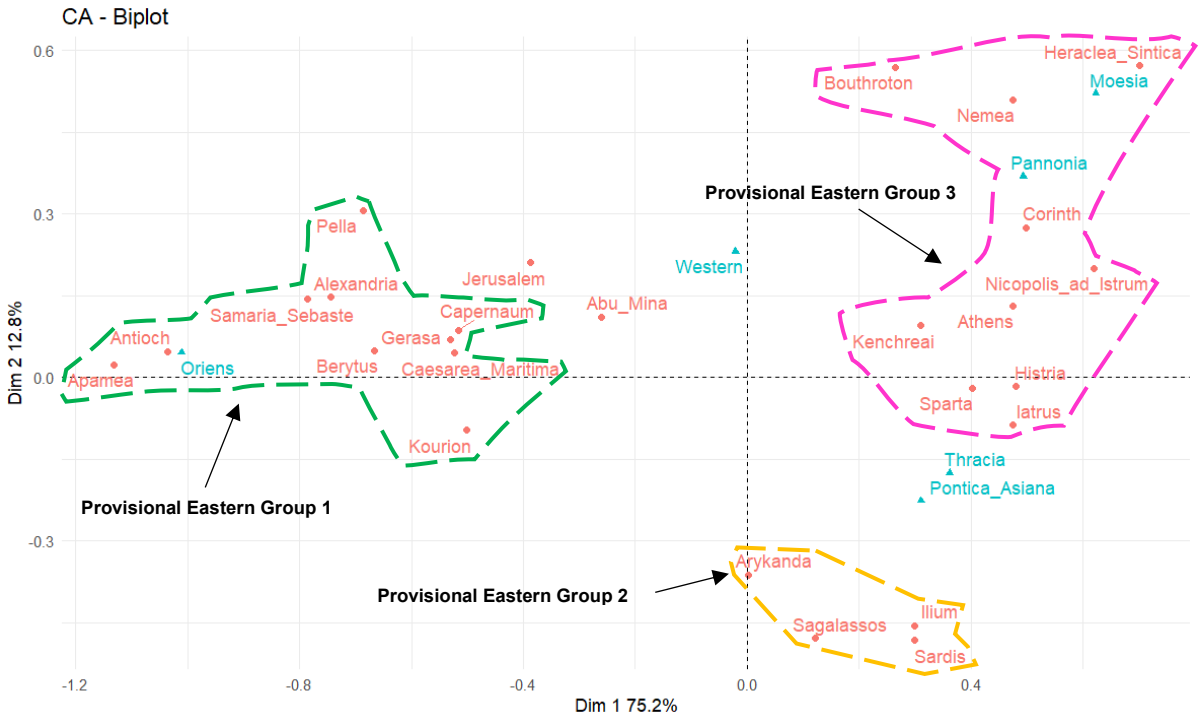


Figure 2.16 - Correspondence Analysis symmetric biplot of mint representation per-site for only eastern sites. Coins from eastern mints are grouped to their affiliated dioceses, while all coins from western mints are grouped under the variable 'Western'.

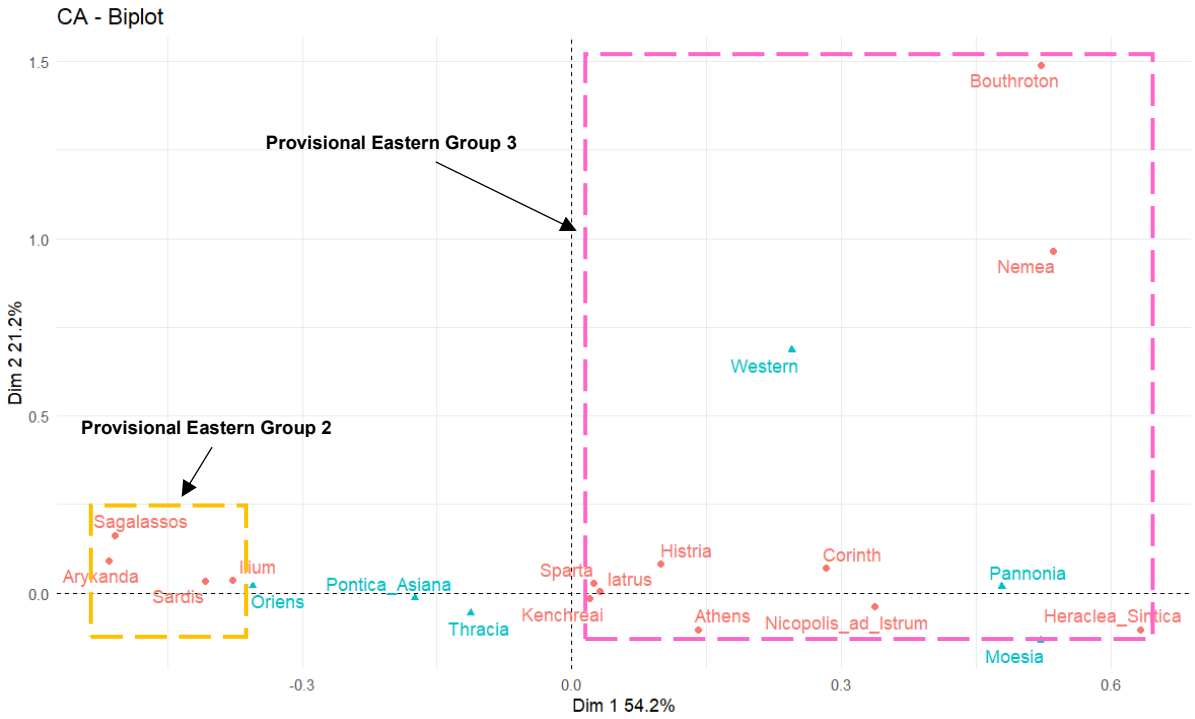


Figure 2.17 - Correspondence Analysis symmetric biplot of mint representation per-site for only sites in Eastern Groups 2 and 3. Coins from eastern mints are grouped to their affiliated dioceses, while all coins from western mints are grouped under the variable 'Western'.

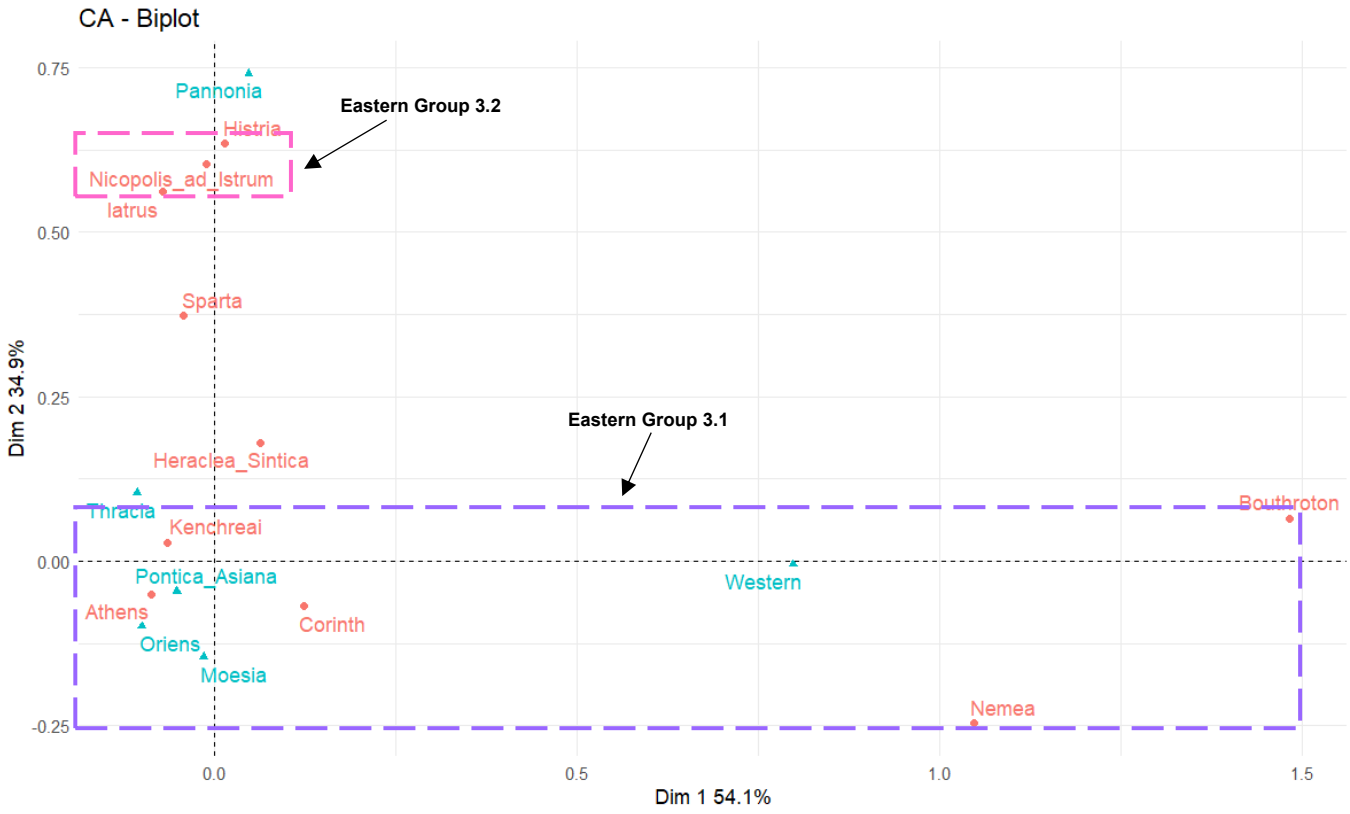


Figure 2.18 - Correspondence Analysis symmetric biplot of mint representation per-site for only sites in Eastern Group 3. Coins from eastern mints are grouped to their affiliated dioceses, while all coins from western mints are grouped under the variable 'Western'.

	Eastern Group 1											
	Alexandria	Antioch	Apamea	Berytus	Caesarea Maritima	Gerasa	Samaria-Sebaste	Pella	Capernaum	Kourion	Jerusalem	Abu Mina
Britannia	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Gallia	3.4%	0.9%	0.2%	0.6%	0.5%	0.6%	1.2%	1.9%	1.3%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Viennensis	1.1%	0.5%	0.0%	1.2%	1.8%	0.3%	1.2%	2.9%	1.8%	0.4%	1.7%	0.0%
Africa	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%
Italia	8.5%	3.4%	2.7%	8.1%	12.5%	9.2%	8.6%	10.7%	15.4%	6.9%	28.8%	13.8%
Pannonia	2.3%	0.6%	0.6%	1.2%	1.8%	0.6%	1.2%	2.9%	0.9%	1.8%	1.7%	1.3%
Moesia	4.0%	1.9%	0.5%	4.3%	3.4%	7.4%	4.9%	8.7%	3.5%	2.7%	3.4%	9.2%
Thracia	9.6%	7.7%	8.2%	13.8%	16.9%	15.0%	12.3%	4.9%	16.7%	18.2%	15.3%	28.9%
Pontica/Asiana	14.1%	13.4%	11.6%	16.8%	17.1%	18.7%	11.1%	13.6%	15.4%	23.1%	13.6%	10.5%
Oriens	56.5%	71.6%	76.2%	54.0%	46.0%	48.2%	59.3%	54.4%	44.5%	46.7%	35.6%	35.5%

	Eastern Group 2				Eastern Group 3									
					Eastern Group 3.1							Eastern Group 3.2		
	Sardis	Ilium	Sagalassos	Arykanda	Bouthroton	Nemea	Athens	Corinth	Kenchreai	Heraclea Sintica	Sparta	Nicopolis ad Istrum	Histria	Iatrus
Britannia	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	1.0%	0.0%
Gallia	0.2%	1.2%	0.0%	0.4%	0.7%	5.4%	0.3%	1.2%	0.0%	3.0%	2.0%	1.1%	0.5%	0.0%
Viennensis	0.5%	2.4%	0.6%	0.2%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	0.8%
Africa	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Italia	4.2%	1.2%	6.4%	4.7%	42.6%	27.0%	4.1%	7.4%	4.9%	3.0%	3.9%	3.7%	5.0%	4.2%
Pannonia	0.8%	3.6%	1.2%	0.2%	4.4%	0.0%	2.6%	3.6%	4.1%	10.6%	9.8%	15.3%	13.0%	12.6%
Moesia	4.0%	2.4%	0.6%	3.7%	16.2%	27.0%	25.0%	27.5%	19.7%	36.4%	12.7%	19.0%	10.0%	9.7%
Thracia	33.5%	37.3%	26.7%	28.5%	15.4%	10.8%	28.6%	21.1%	28.7%	18.2%	32.4%	31.7%	42.5%	36.6%
Pontica/Asiana	46.2%	41.0%	47.1%	38.1%	14.7%	29.7%	31.4%	32.8%	27.9%	28.8%	30.4%	27.5%	22.0%	30.7%
Oriens	10.6%	10.8%	17.4%	24.0%	5.1%	0.0%	7.5%	5.7%	13.9%	0.0%	8.8%	1.1%	5.0%	5.5%

Figure 2.19 - Percentage of coins per diocese for each eastern site. The colour scheme of each column indicates most (green) to least (red) represented diocese.

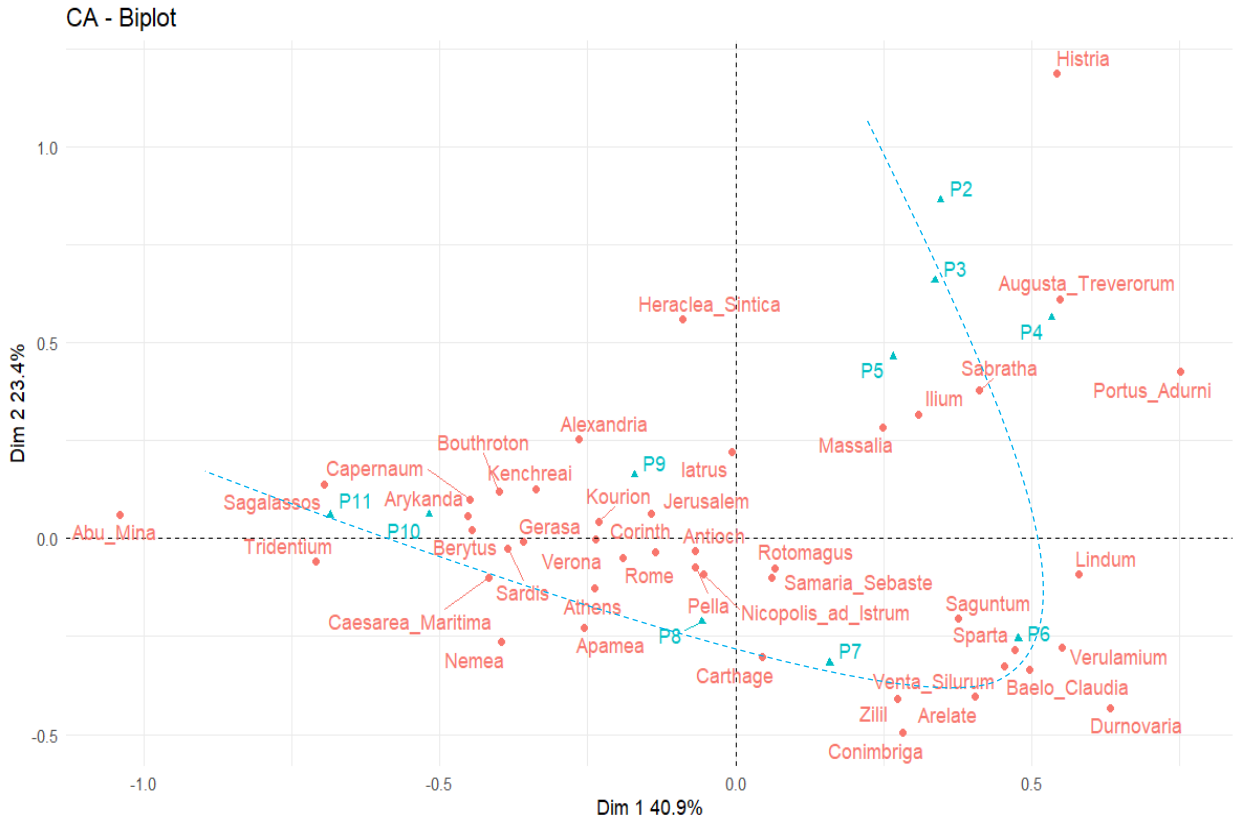


Figure 2.20 - Correspondence Analysis symmetric biplot of coin-loss data per-period (Periods 2-11) for all sites.

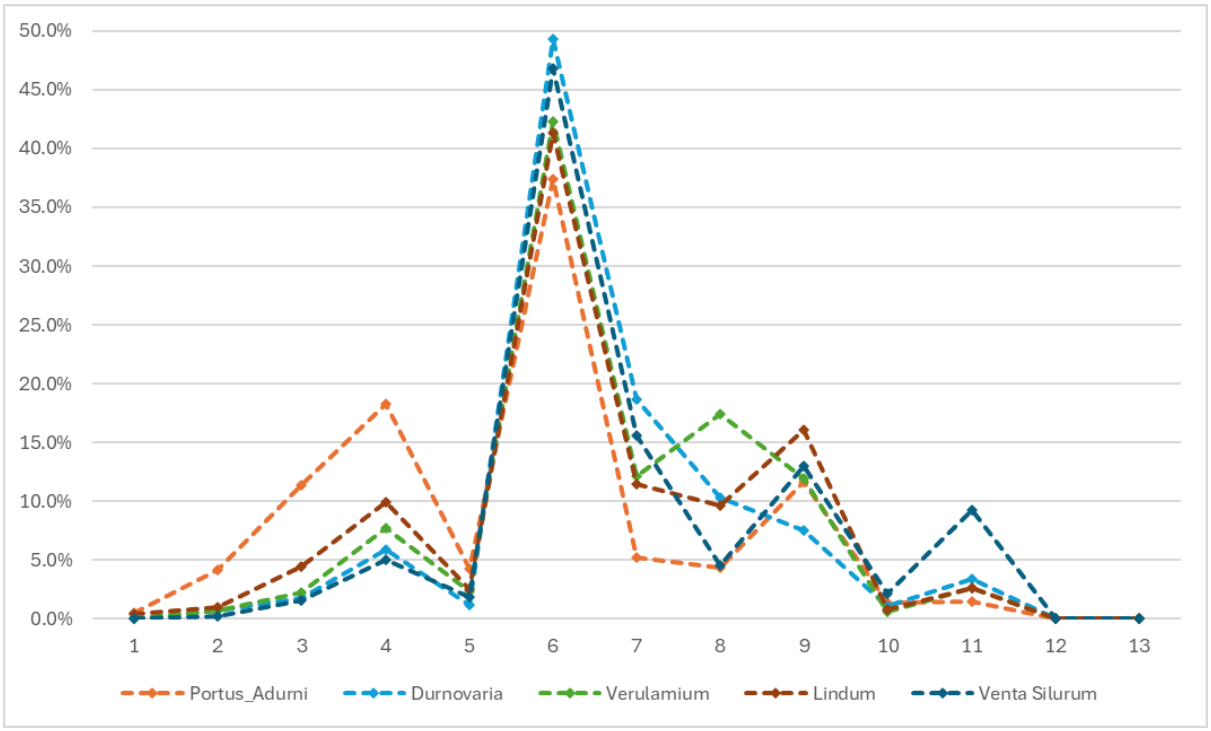


Figure 2.21 - Line graph of coin-loss over all periods at British sites, using figures adjusted to annual average coin-loss as a percentage of each site's total, as per data in Figure 2.10.

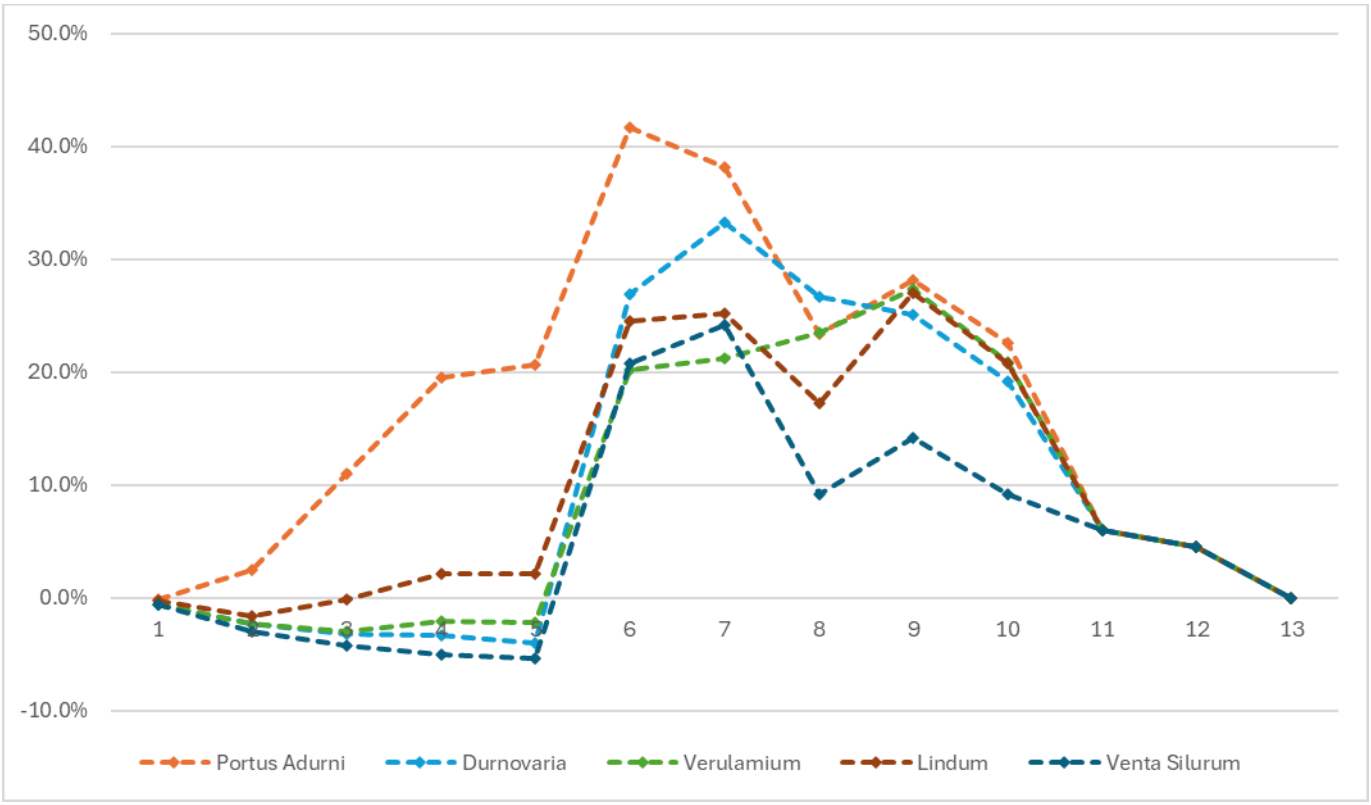


Figure 2.22 - Line graph showing per-period cumulative percentage of coin-loss from British sites in relation to the pan-imperial mean (X axis).

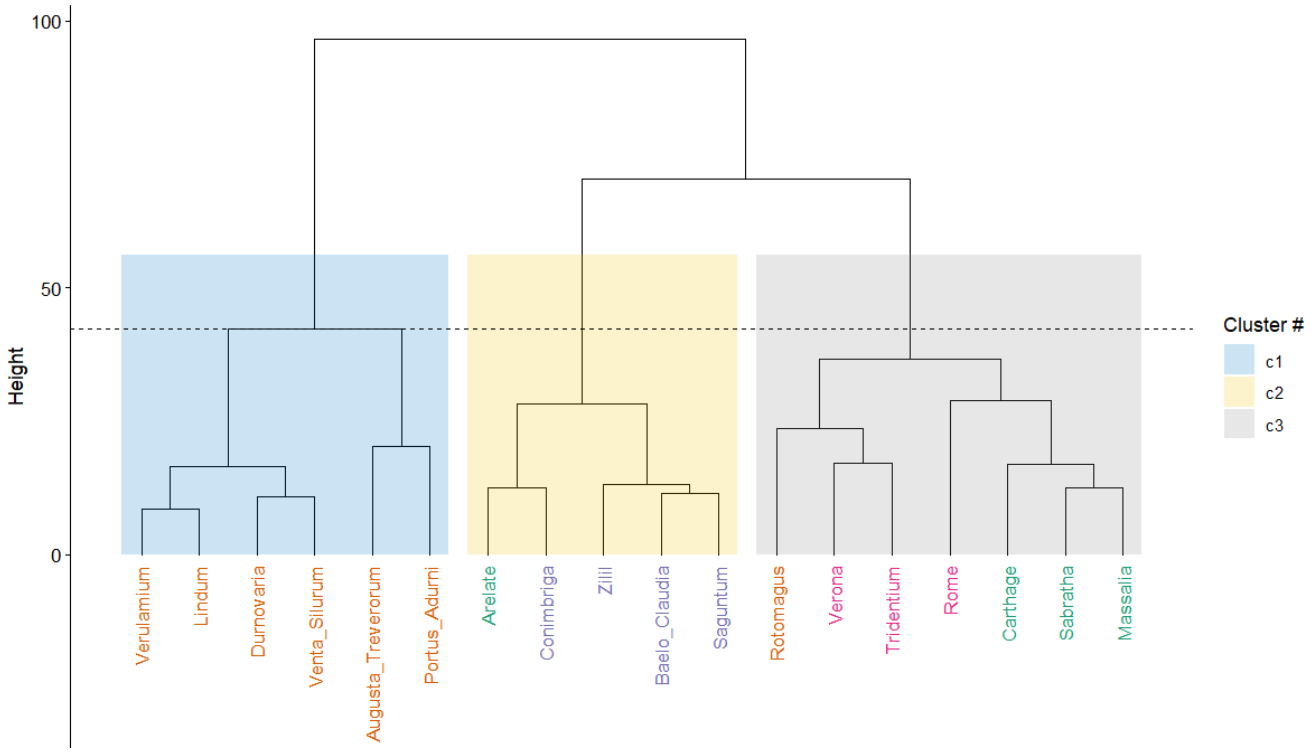


Figure 2.23 - Cluster Analysis dendrogram of western sites, using Euclidean distance as the similarity measure and Ward's Method of clustering. The colour of the site names correspond to the intra-western regional groupings identified in the preceeding analysis of mint representation: Western Group 1 = Orange; Western Group 2 = Muave; Western Group 3 = Pink; No Group = Green.

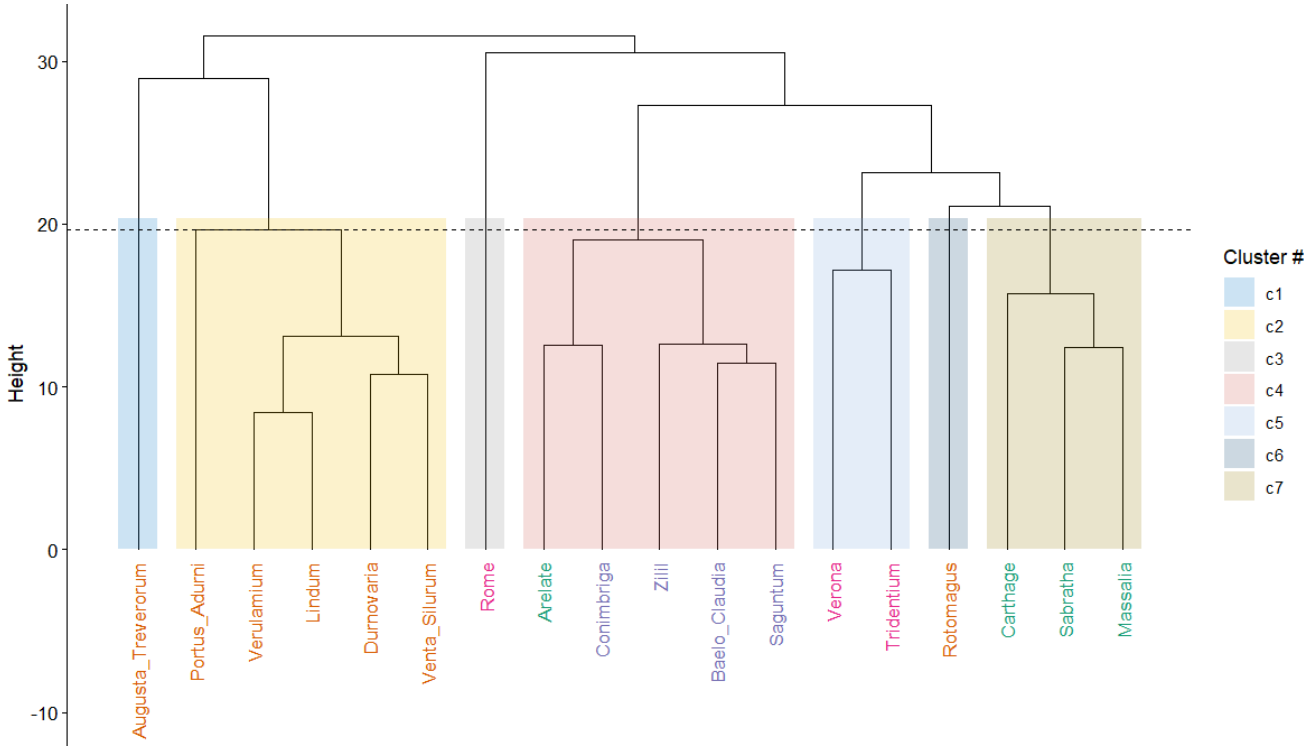


Figure 2.24 - Cluster Analysis dendrogram of western sites, using Euclidean distance as the similarity measure and Average Linkage method of clustering. The colour of the site names correspond to the intra-western regional groupings identified in the preceeding analysis of mint representation: Western Group 1 = Orange; Western Group 2 = Muave; Western Group 3 = Pink; No Group = Green.

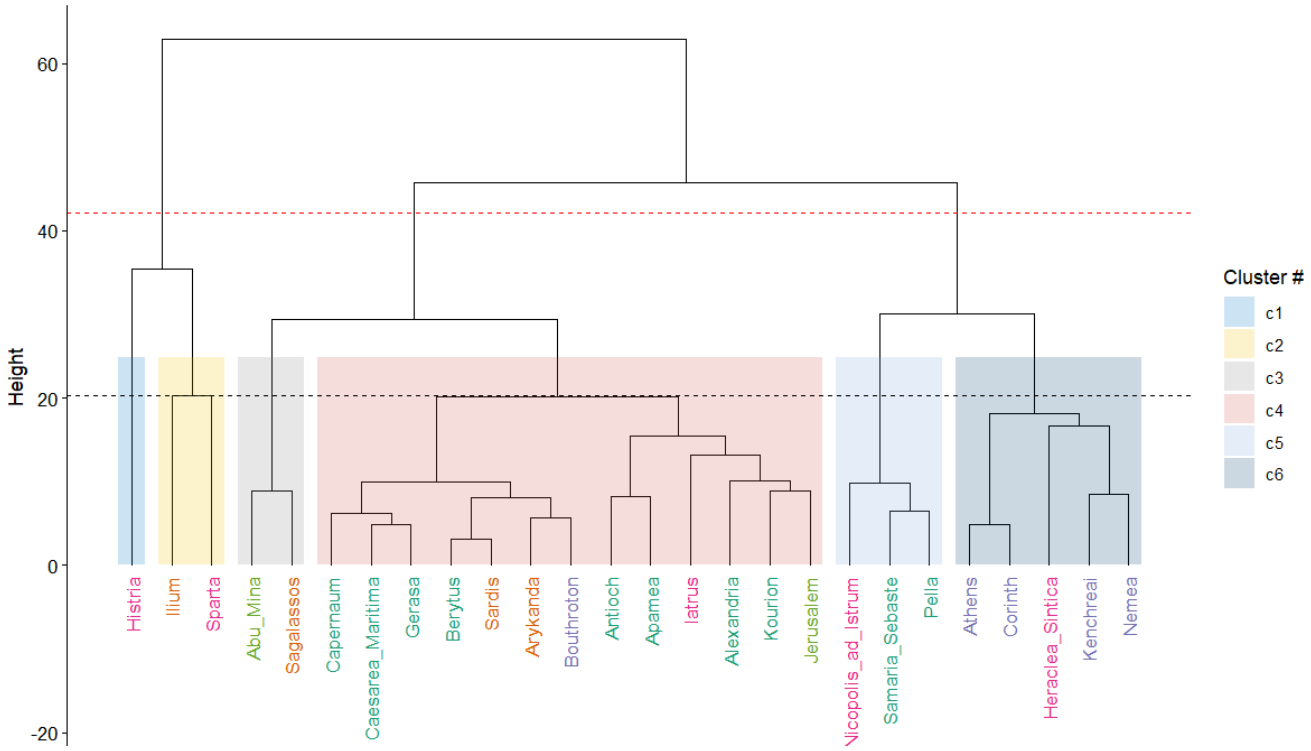


Figure 2.25 - Cluster Analysis dendrogram of eastern sites, using Euclidean distance as the similarity measure and Ward's Method of clustering. The colour of the site names correspond to the intra-eastern regional groupings identified in the preceeding analysis of mint representation: Eastern Group 1 = Green; Eastern Group 2 = Orange; Eastern Group 3.1 = Muave; Eastern Group 3.2 = Pink; No Group = Abu Mina and Jerusalem. The black cutline is the first cut and the red cutline is the second cut, made at the same height as Figure 2.23.

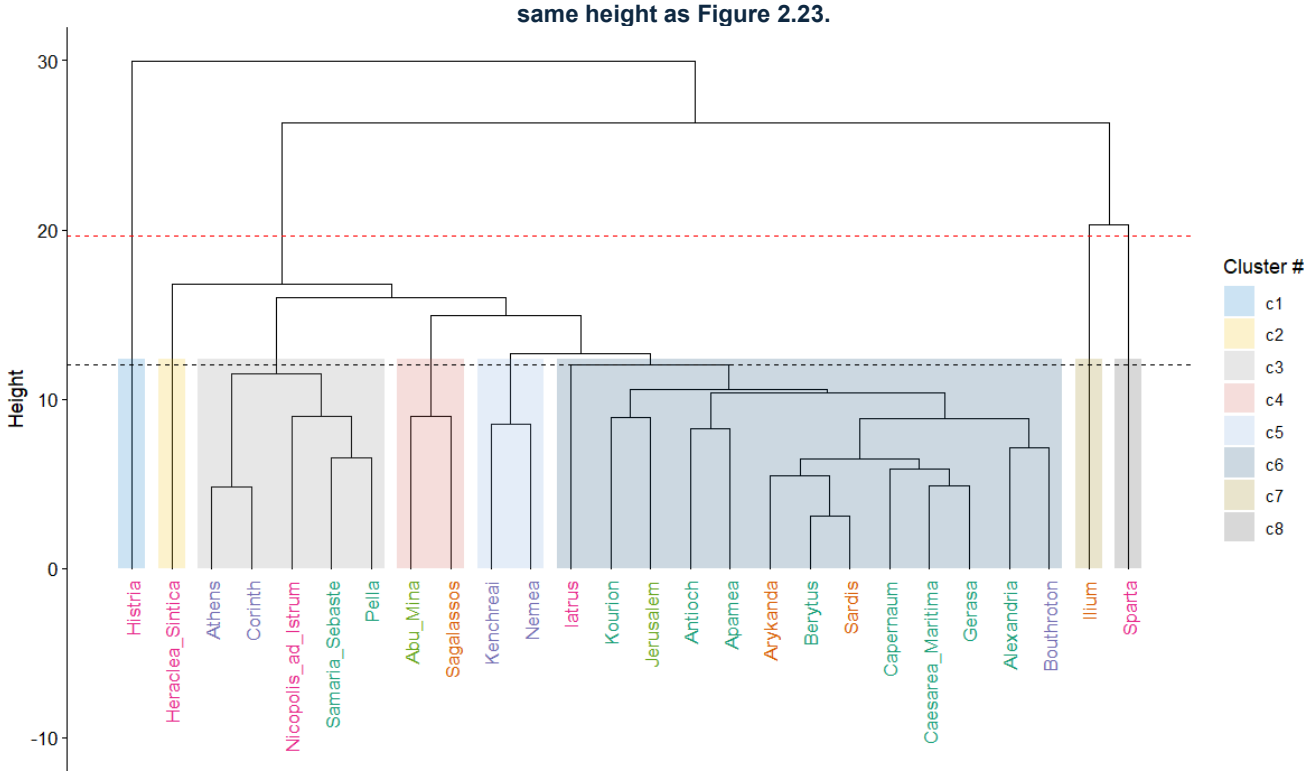


Figure 2.26 - Cluster Analysis dendrogram of eastern sites, using Euclidean distance as the similarity measure and Average Linkage method of clustering. The colour of the site names correspond to the intra-eastern regional groupings identified in the preceeding analysis of mint representation: Eastern Group 1 = Green; Eastern Group 2 = Orange; Eastern Group 3.1 = Muave; Eastern Group 3.2 = Pink; No Group = Abu Mina and Jerusalem. The black cutline is the first cut and the red cutline is the second cut, made at the same height as Figure 2.24.



Figure 3.1 - Reverse of a *denarius* of Marcus Aurelius, 165-166.

Reverse: PIETAS AVG TR P XX COS III // Pietas, veiled, draped, standing left, sacrificing out of patera in right hand over lighted altar right and holding box in left hand at side.

RIC III Marcus Aurelius 148 – ANS 1956.127.811 [accessed 15/11/2023], Public Domain.



Figure 3.2 - Reverse of a *denarius* of Marcus Aurelius, 140-144.

Reverse: PIETAS AVG // Emblems of priesthood: from left to right, knife, sprinkler, jug, lituus, and simpulum.

RIC III Antoninus Pius 424B - Interaktive Kataloge der Münzkabinette ID979 [accessed 15/11/2023], Public Domain.

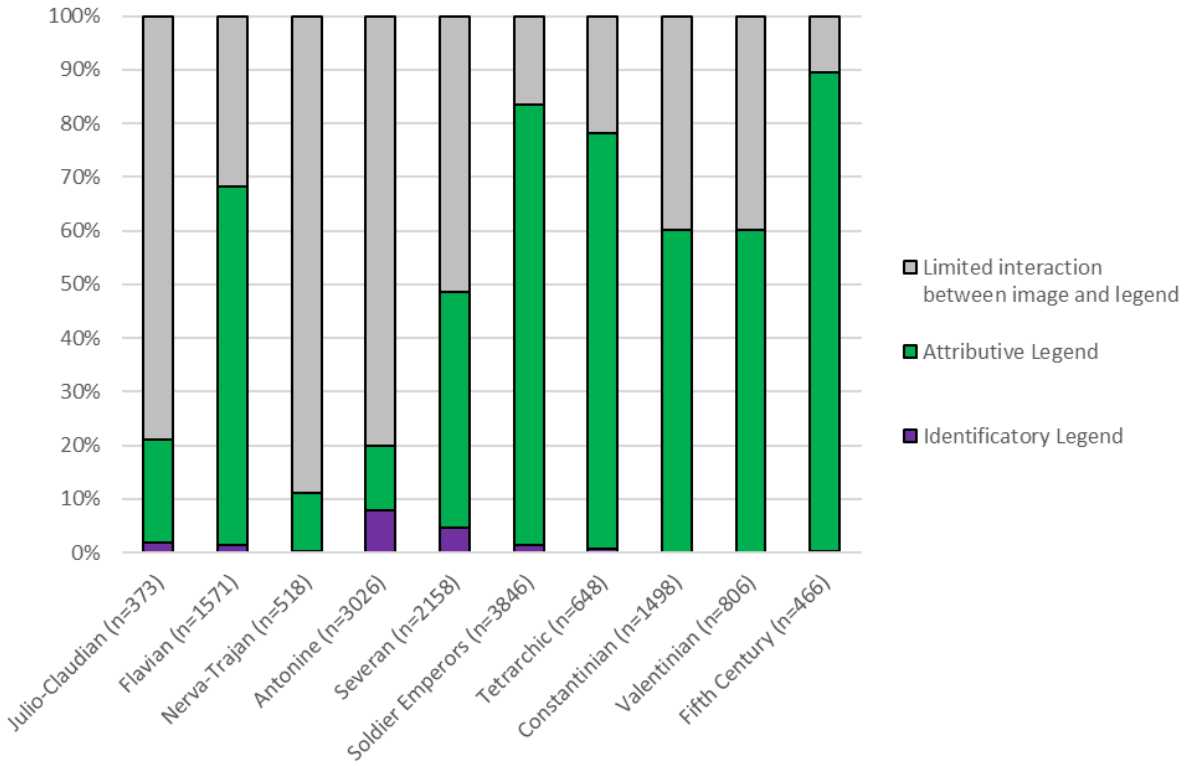


Figure 3.3 - Classification of reverse legends of 14,910 RIC coin types that make reference to virtues and benefits either in their imagery and/or inscription, grouped using the dynastic periodisations of Betjes 2022.

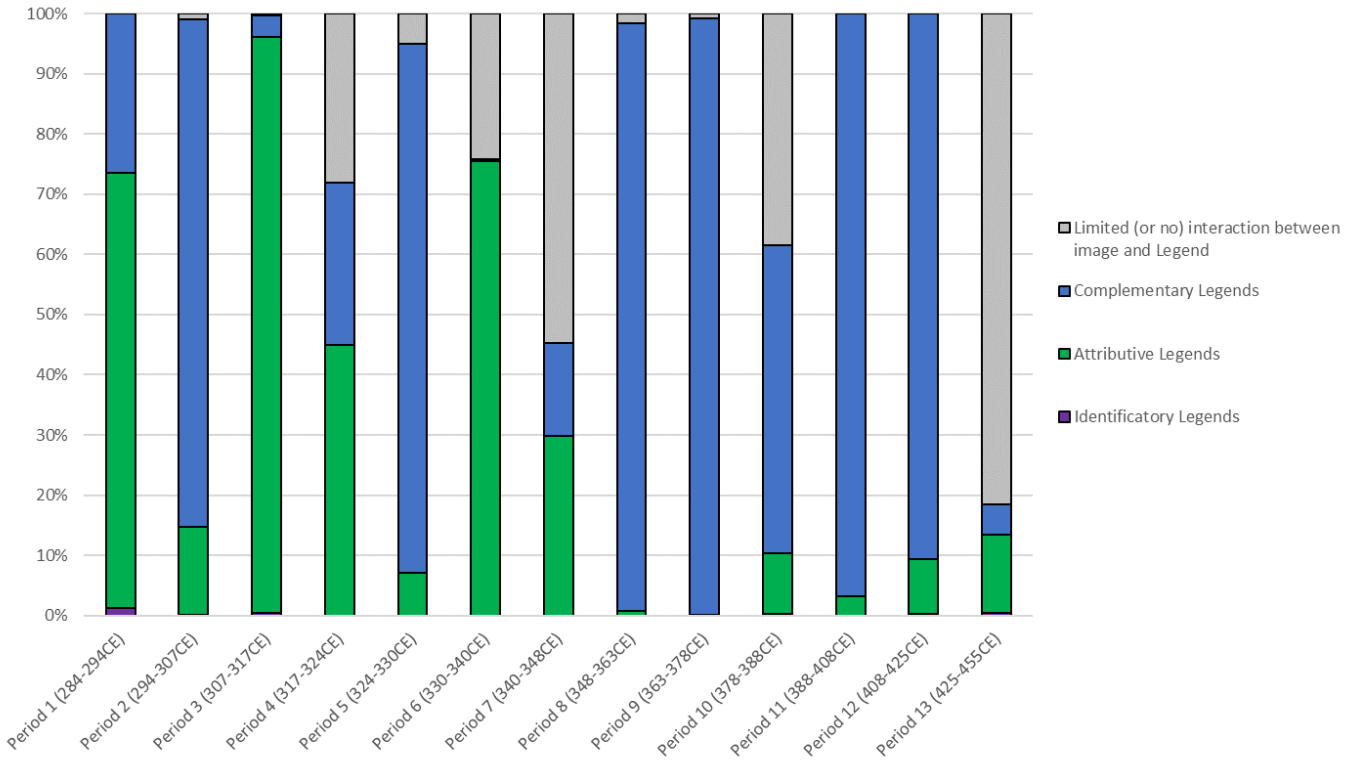


Figure 3.4 - Classification of reverse legends of all coinage in the site-finds database, grouped using periodisations of Figure 0.1.

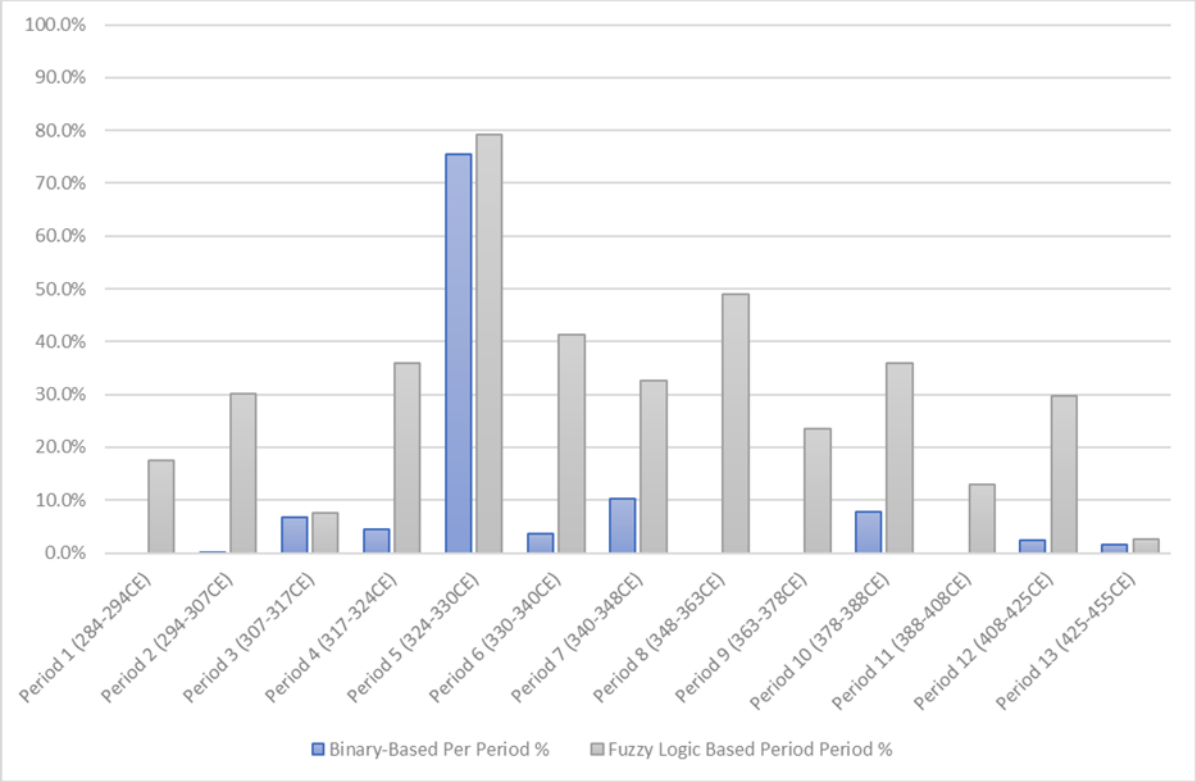


Figure 3.5 - Comparison of per-period 'Elevation' category scores in site-finds dataset derived using binary and fuzzy logic classification methods.

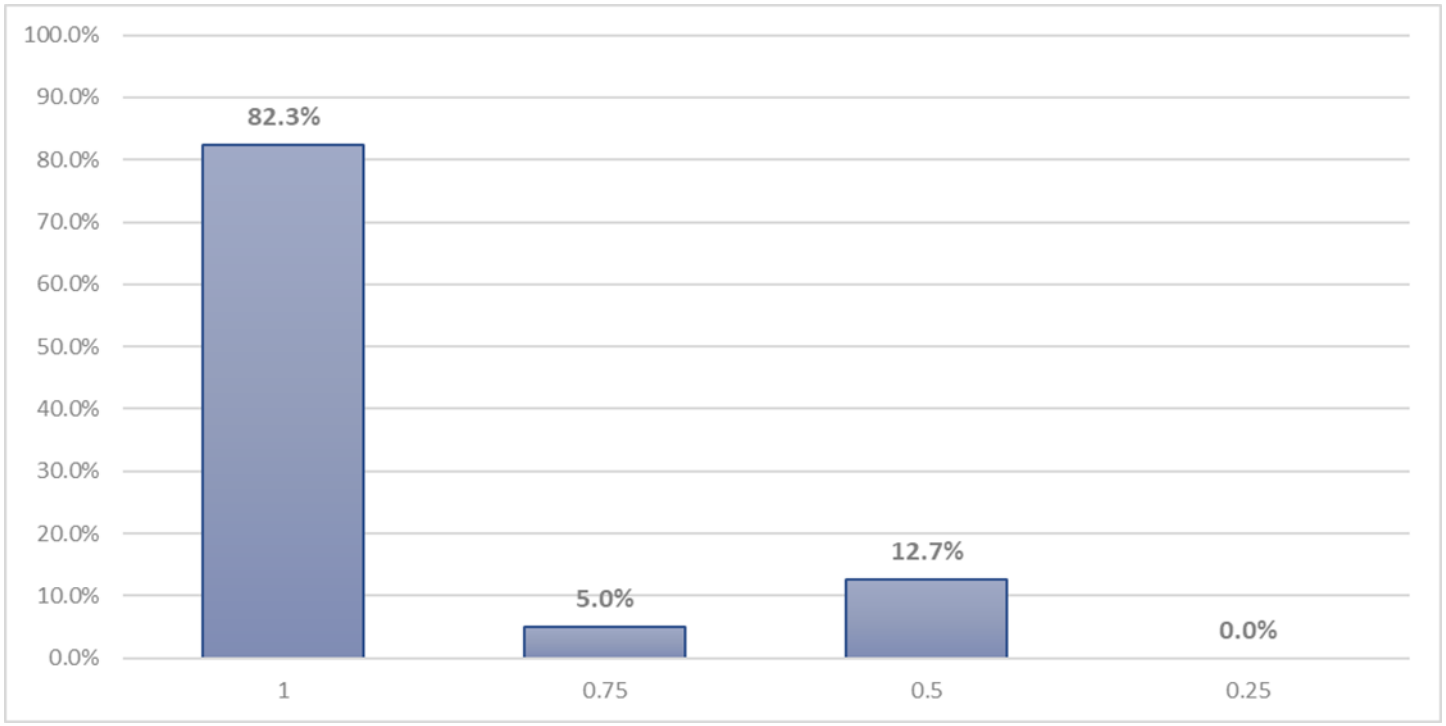


Figure 4.1 - Proportional comparison of coins' fuzzy logic scores for the 'Military Representation' thematic grouping, using all coins in 'cleaned' site-finds dataset that make some degree of reference to 'Military Representation' (excluding {0} - non-scoring coins).

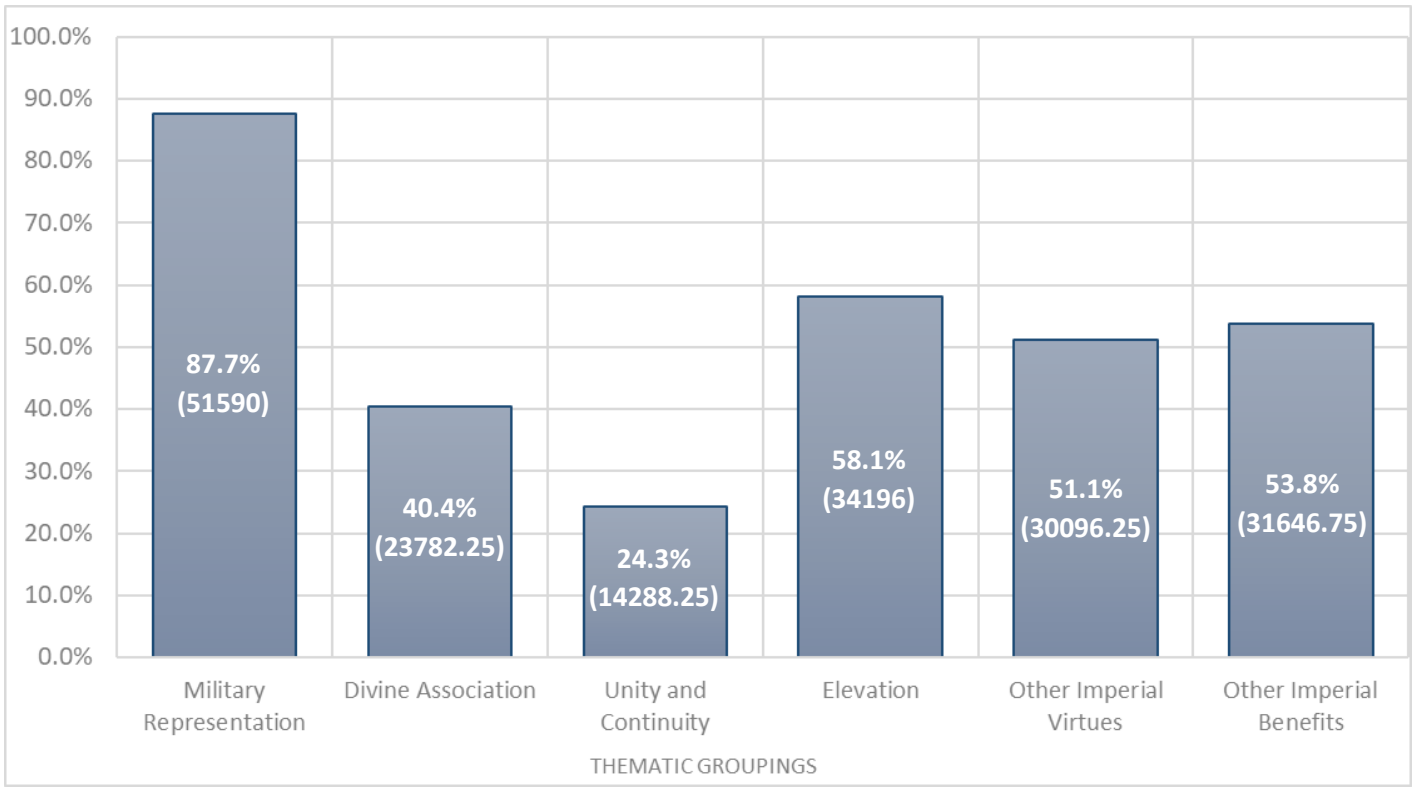


Figure 4.2 - Thematic groupings total scores as percentages of 'cleaned' site-finds dataset total (raw score numbers out of 58,854 coins are presented in brackets).

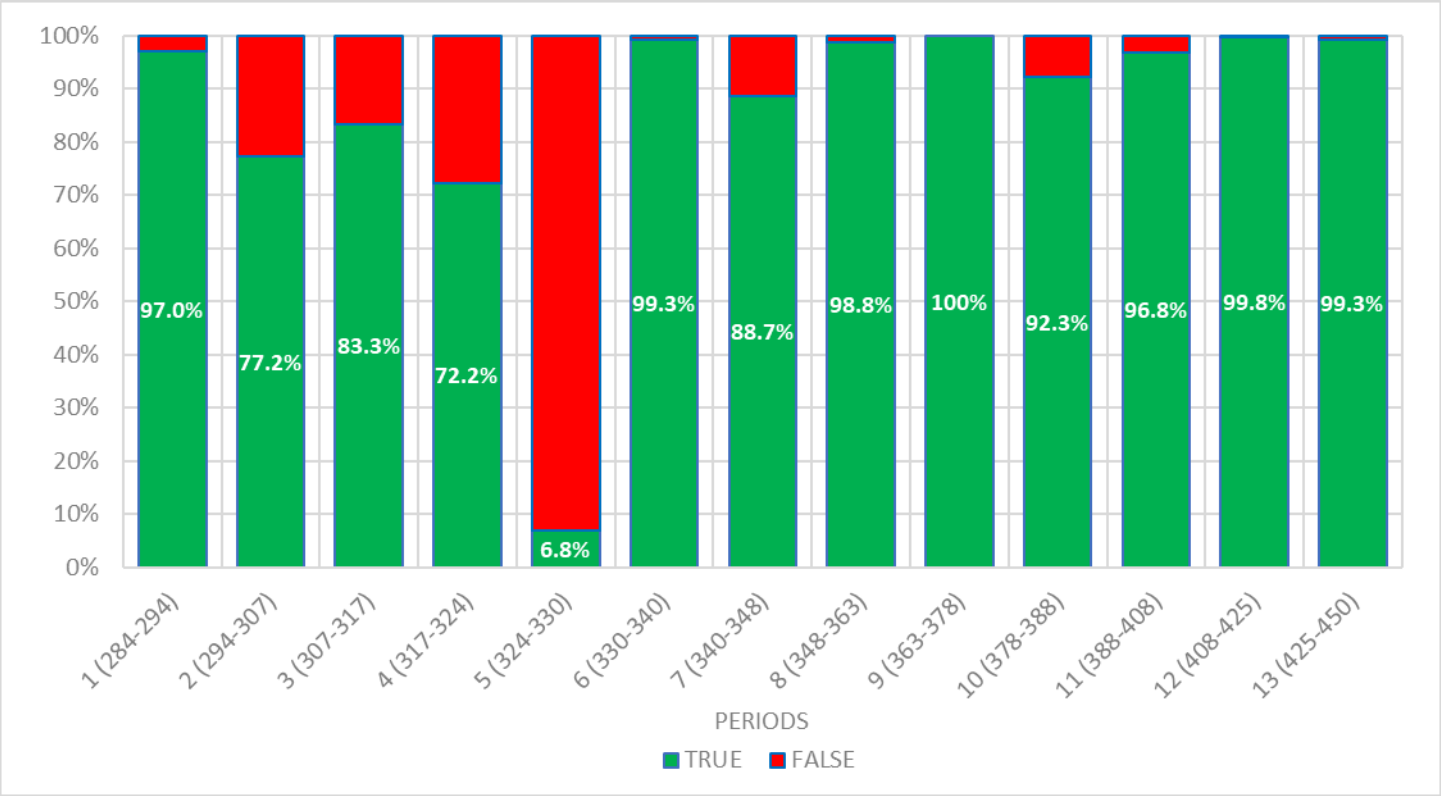


Figure 4.3 - Per-period proportions of coinage in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset whose reverse iconography attests 'Military Representation' messages to some degree (scoring {0.25} – {1}).

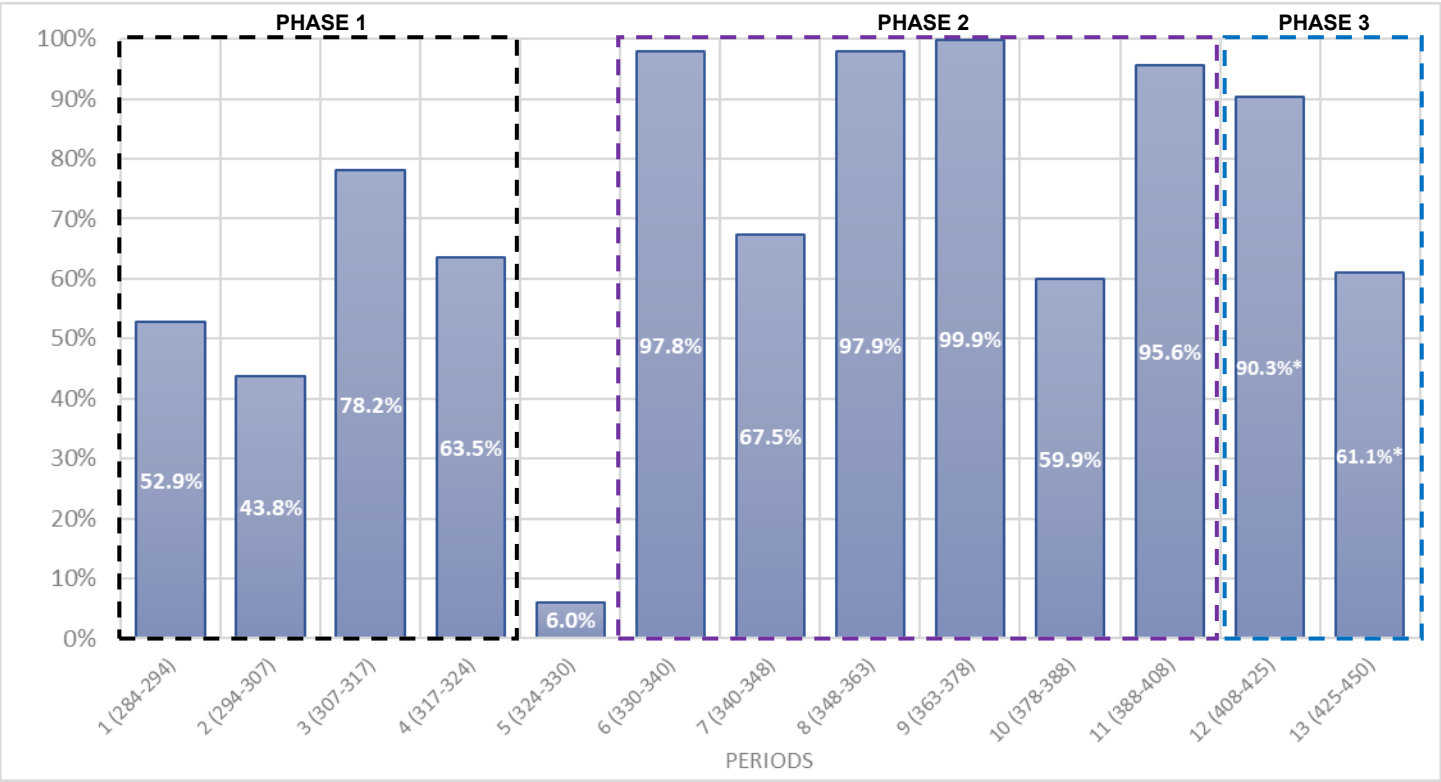


Figure 4.4 - Per-period 'Military Representation' scores in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset (per-site pan-imperial mean average). All asterisk-marked (*) scores for Periods 12-13 are derived from a reduced number of sites, as per §4.3, n.682.

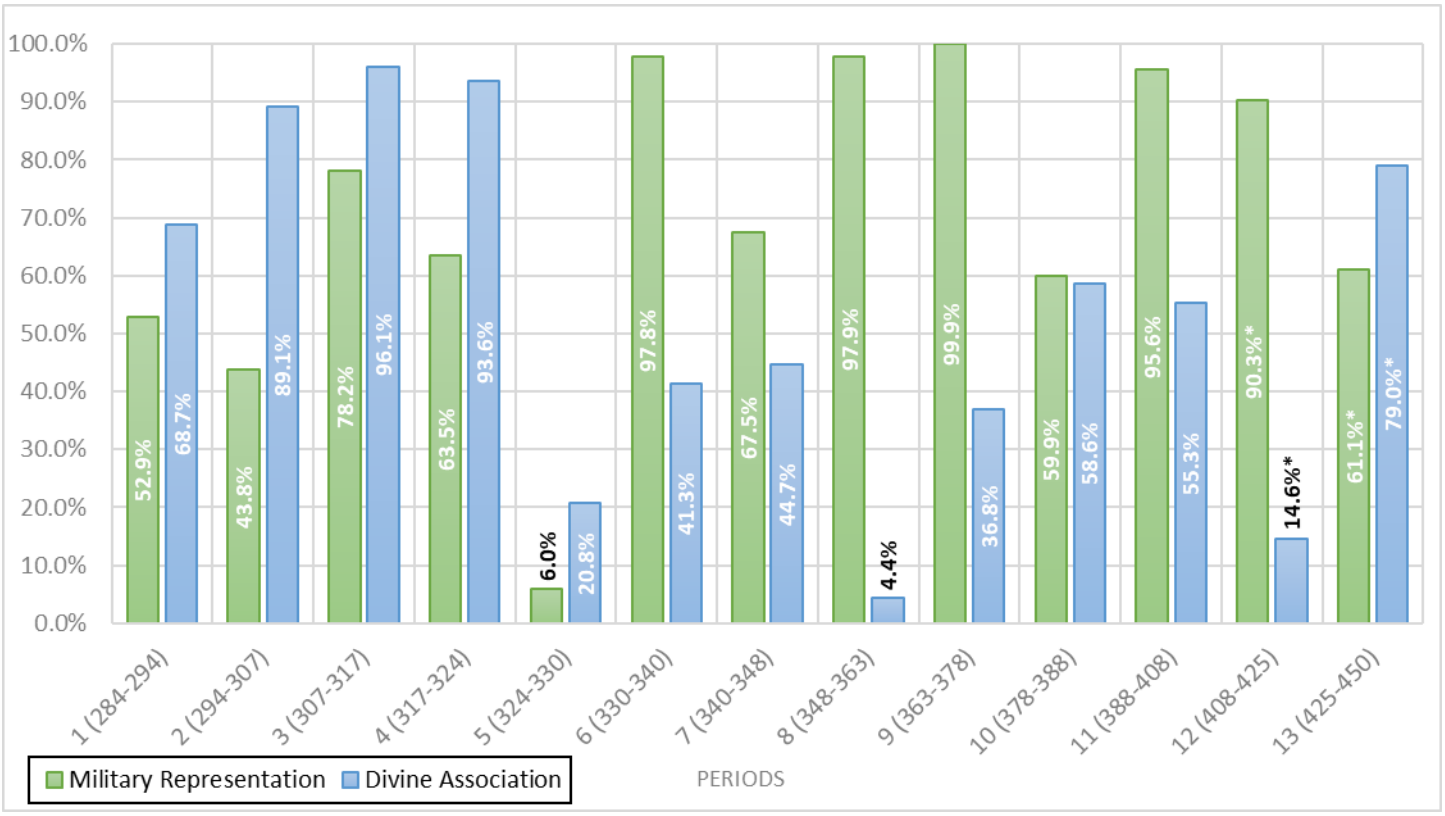


Figure 4.5 - Comparison of per-period 'Military Representation' and 'Divine Association' scores in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset (per-site pan-imperial mean averages). All asterisk-marked (*) scores for Periods 12-13 draw are derived from a reduced number of sites, as per §4.3, n.682.

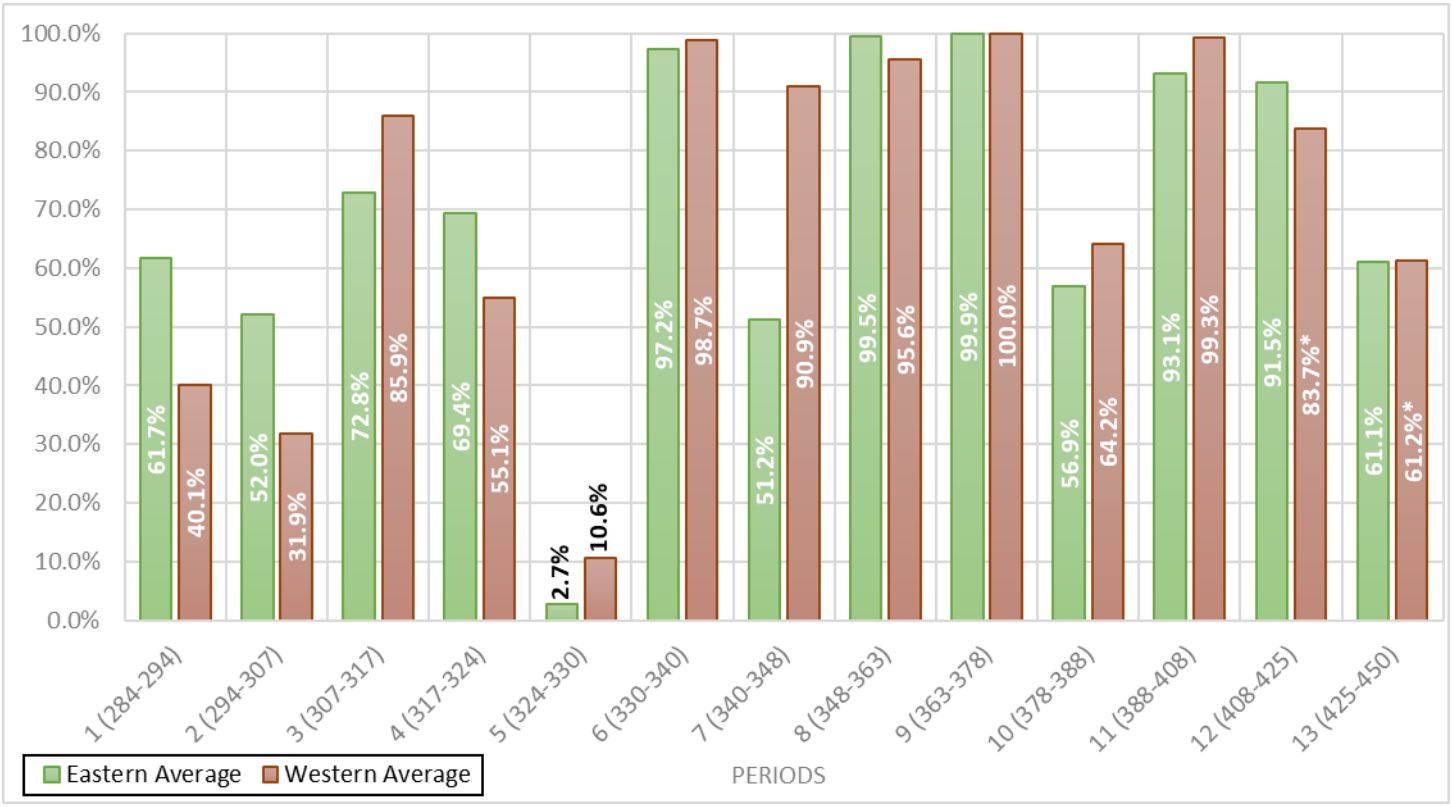


Figure 4.6 - Per-period comparison of mean average 'Military Representation' scores at eastern and western sites in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset. All asterisk-marked (*) scores for Periods 12-13 are derived from a reduced number of sites, as per §4.3, n.682.

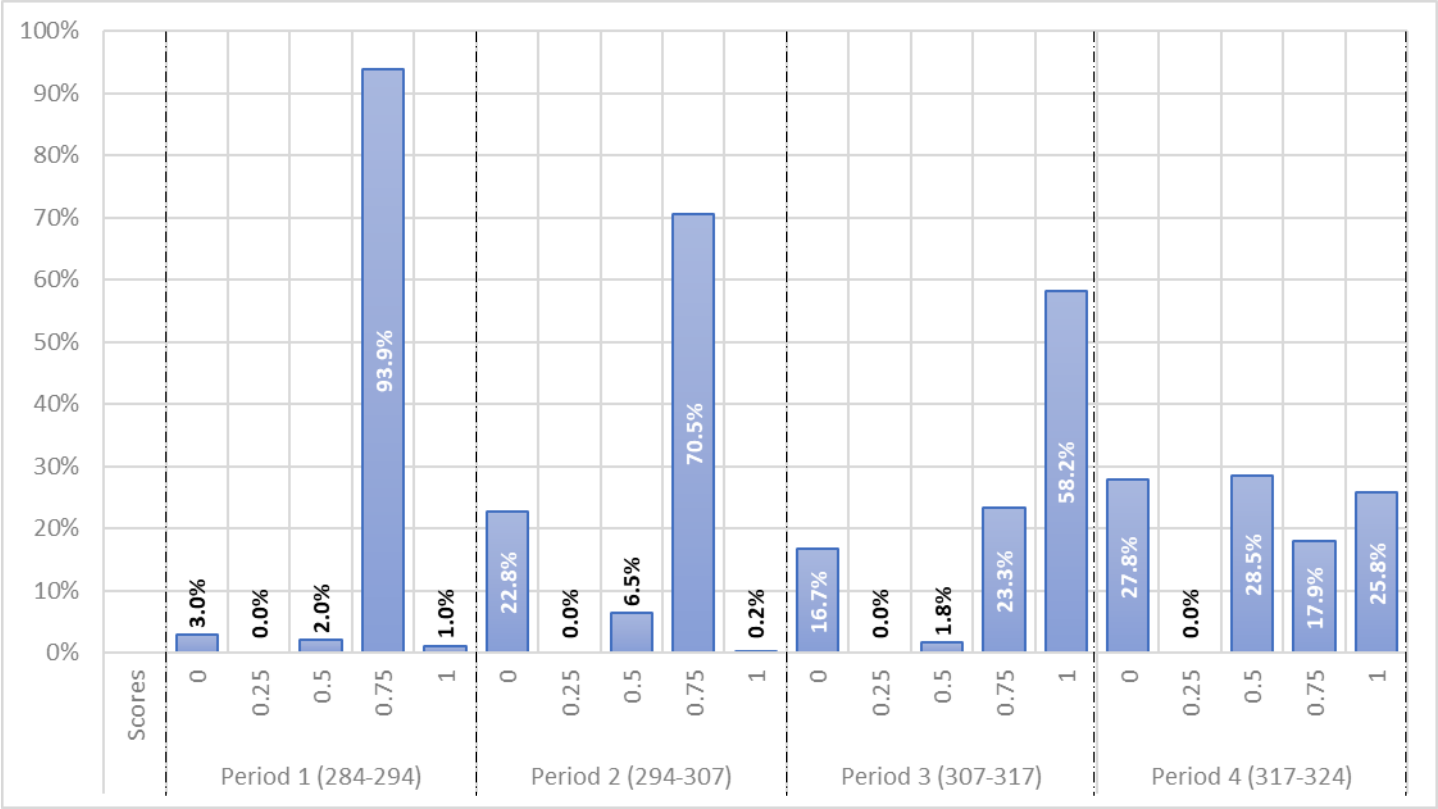


Figure 4.7 - Proportional comparison of individual coins' scores for the 'Military Representation' thematic grouping, for all coins dating to Periods 1-4 in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset.

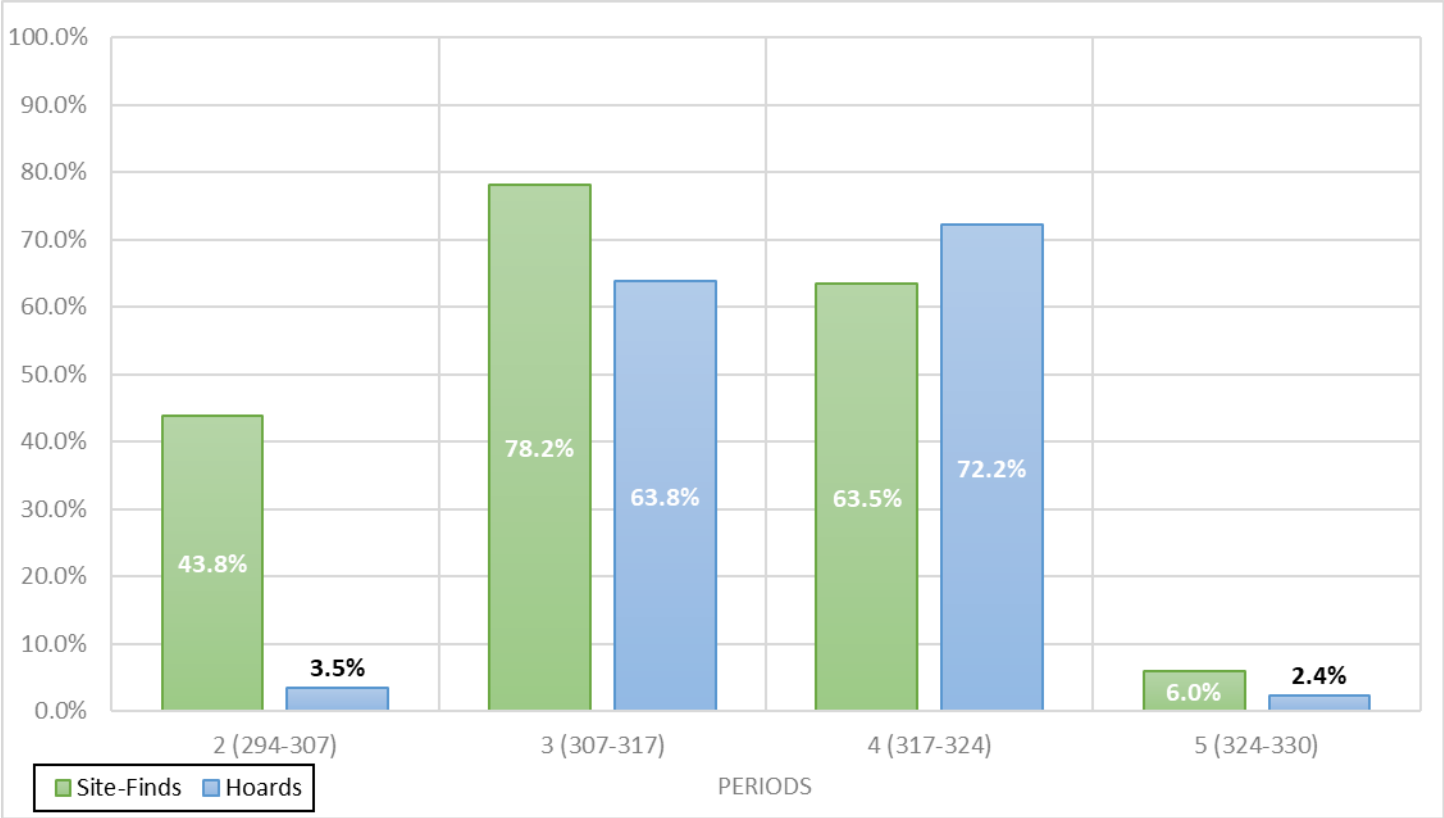


Figure 4.8 - Per-period comparison of pan-imperial mean average 'Military Representation' scores for the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset and hoards dataset.

Period 2 Iconographic Type Proportions - Hoards Dataset				
Type No.	**Type Name**	**Pan-Imperial**	**Western**	**Eastern**
3	GENIO POP(VLI) ROM(ANI)	72.9%	62.9%	77.7%
7	SACRA MONETA	10.4%	11.0%	10.1%
2	GENIO AVGG ET CAESARVM NN	4.2%	0.2%	6.2%
9	PROVIDENTIA DEOR(VM) QVIES AVGG	4.2%	11.0%	1.0%
126	SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL/AVCTA KART	2.8%	5.4%	1.5%
1	CONCORDIA MILITVM emperor and Jupiter	1.0%	0.3%	1.2%
6	FELIX ADVENT AVGG NN Africa	0.6%	0.6%	0.5%
12	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma in Temple	0.5%	1.3%	0.1%
193	FIDES MILITVM (AVG N)	0.5%	1.1%	0.1%
214	MARTI (PATRI) PROPVGNATORI Mars advancing	0.4%	1.1%	0.0%
8	IOVI CONSERVATORI (AVG)	0.3%	0.0%	0.5%
10	CONSERVATOR(ES) KART SVAE	0.3%	0.8%	0.0%
13	MARTI CONSERVATORI Mars standing	0.3%	0.8%	0.0%
118	HERCVLI VICTORI	0.3%	0.0%	0.4%
185	QVIES AVGG	0.2%	0.7%	0.0%
4	Vota wreath	0.2%	0.5%	0.0%
187	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma and Emperor in Temple	0.2%	0.5%	0.0%
212	GENIO AVGVSTI/CAESARIS/IMPERATORIS	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%
225	FORTVNAE REDVCI AVGG NN	0.1%	0.4%	0.0%
248	CONCORD(IA) IMPERI Concordia	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%
218	VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN Emperor charging	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
159	VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN Mars	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%
272	FORTVNAE REDVCI CAESS NN	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%
123	HERCVLI CONSERVAT	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
229	VICTORIA SARMAT	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
233	PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS Emperor with two standards	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
250	ROMAE AETER Roma in temple	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
271	VICTORIA AVGG Victoriola and Captives	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%

Period 2 Iconographic Type Proportions - Site-Finds Dataset				
Type No.	**Type Name**	**Pan-Imperial**	**Western**	**Eastern**
1	CONCORDIA MILITVM emperor and Jupiter	48.9%	12.3%	77.5%
3	GENIO POP(VLI) ROM(ANI)	26.7%	38.4%	17.5%
4	Vota wreath	15.3%	34.9%	0.0%
126	SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL/AVCTA KART	1.9%	1.6%	2.2%
187	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma and Emperor in Temple	1.9%	3.6%	0.5%
7	SACRA MONETA	1.9%	2.2%	1.6%
195	VIRTVS MILITVM Camp gate and sacrificing emperors	1.2%	2.8%	0.0%
9	PROVIDENTIA DEOR(VM) QVIES AVGG	1.1%	2.6%	0.0%
185	QVIES AVGG	0.3%	0.8%	0.0%
12	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma in Temple	0.2%	0.6%	0.0%
6	FELIX ADVENT AVGG NN Africa	0.2%	0.0%	0.4%
218	VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN Emperor charging	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%
2	GENIO AVGG ET CAESARVM NN	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%

Figure 4.9 -Tabulated comparison of proportions of iconographic types found as site-finds and as hoards for Period 2 (294-307), presented as mean averages of all sites/hoards (pan-imperial), western and eastern sites/hoards.

Period 3 Iconographic Type Proportions - Hoards Dataset				
Type No.	**Type Name**	**Pan-Imperial**	**Western**	**Eastern**
22	SOLI INVICTO COMITI	47.4%	62.3%	13.8%
212	GENIO AVGVSTI/CAESARIS/IMPERATORIS	19.0%	0.4%	61.0%
3	GENIO POP(VLI) ROM(ANI)	11.6%	16.7%	0.0%
12	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma in Temple	3.1%	4.3%	0.2%
155	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG/CAESS	3.0%	0.1%	9.4%
13	MARTI CONSERVATORI Mars standing	2.8%	4.0%	0.0%
8	IOVI CONSERVATORI (AVG)	2.4%	0.2%	7.2%
233	PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS Emperor with two standards	2.0%	2.9%	0.0%
14	MEMORIA FELIX	1.1%	1.6%	0.0%
178	COMITI AVGG NN Sol	1.1%	1.6%	0.0%
23	VIRTVS/VIRTVTI EXERCITVS Virtus/Mars	1.0%	0.0%	3.4%
11	VENERI VICTRICI	1.0%	0.0%	3.2%
189	AETERNITAS AVG N Castor and Pollux	0.6%	0.9%	0.0%
192	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma and Victory	0.6%	0.9%	0.0%
214	MARTI (PATRI) PROPVGNATORI Mars advancing	0.6%	0.9%	0.0%
160	PRINCIPI IVVENTVT(IS) spear and globe	0.4%	0.6%	0.0%
27	SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI	0.4%	0.5%	0.0%
18	GENIO EXERCITVS	0.3%	0.0%	0.9%
251	VICTORIA AETERNA AVG N	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%
268	CONSTANTINO P AVG B R P NAT	0.2%	0.3%	0.0%
118	HERCVLI VICTORI	0.2%	0.0%	0.5%
120	CONCORD MILIT Concordia	0.2%	0.2%	0.0%
137	ADVENTVS AVG	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%
187	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma and Emperor in Temple	0.2%	0.2%	0.0%
193	FIDES MILITVM (AVG N)	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
269	SECVRITAS AVGG	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
158	BONO GENIO PII IMPERATORIS	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%
185	QVIES AVGG	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
203	AETERNAE MEMORIAE Shrine	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
219	MARTI CONSERVATORI Bust of Mars	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
267	TEMPORVM FELICITAS	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
270	MEMORIA DIVI CONSTANTI	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%

Period 3 Iconographic Type Proportions - Site-Finds Dataset				
Type No.	**Type Name**	**Pan-Imperial**	**Western**	**Eastern**
22	SOLI INVICTO COMITI	51.7%	70.0%	38.5%
8	IOVI CONSERVATORI (AVG)	14.3%	6.6%	19.9%
155	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG/CAESS	9.6%	0.0%	16.5%
212	GENIO AVGVSTI/CAESARIS/IMPERATORIS	6.1%	0.0%	10.4%
3	GENIO POP(VLI) ROM(ANI)	4.0%	9.1%	0.3%
12	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma in Temple	1.8%	3.6%	0.5%
11	VENERI VICTRICI	1.5%	0.0%	2.6%
174	SOLI INVICTO COMITI Bust of Sol	1.3%	0.3%	2.0%
23	VIRTVS/VIRTVTI EXERCITVS Virtus/Mars	1.1%	0.0%	1.9%
25	APOLLONI SANCTO w/Antioch Genius obv.	0.9%	0.0%	1.6%
27	SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI	0.9%	1.1%	0.8%
217	DEO SANCTO NILO w/DEO SANCTO SARAPIDI obv.	0.9%	0.0%	1.5%
13	MARTI CONSERVATORI Mars standing	0.8%	2.0%	0.0%
192	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma and Victory	0.6%	1.4%	0.0%
193	FIDES MILITVM (AVG N)	0.6%	1.4%	0.0%
178	COMITI AVGG NN Sol	0.5%	1.3%	0.0%
24	SOLE INVICTO Sol w/Serapis	0.5%	0.0%	0.8%
26	PACI PERPET	0.5%	1.1%	0.0%
118	HERCVLI VICTORI	0.4%	0.0%	0.7%
141	FVNDAT PACIS	0.4%	0.0%	0.7%
170	PROVIDENTIA DEORVM (QVIES AVG)	0.3%	0.0%	0.6%
163	SAPIENTIA PRINCIPIS	0.3%	0.7%	0.0%
189	AETERNITAS AVG N Castor and Pollux	0.3%	0.0%	0.4%
160	PRINCIPI IVVENTVT(IS) spear and globe	0.2%	0.6%	0.0%
5	Vota Mvlt wreath	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%
162	GLORIA PERPET Two Victories	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%
61	VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm	0.1%	0.0%	0.3%

Figure 4.10 - Tabulated comparison of proportions of iconographic types found as site-finds and as hoards for Period 3 (307-317), presented as mean averages of all sites/hoards (pan-imperial), western and eastern sites/hoards.

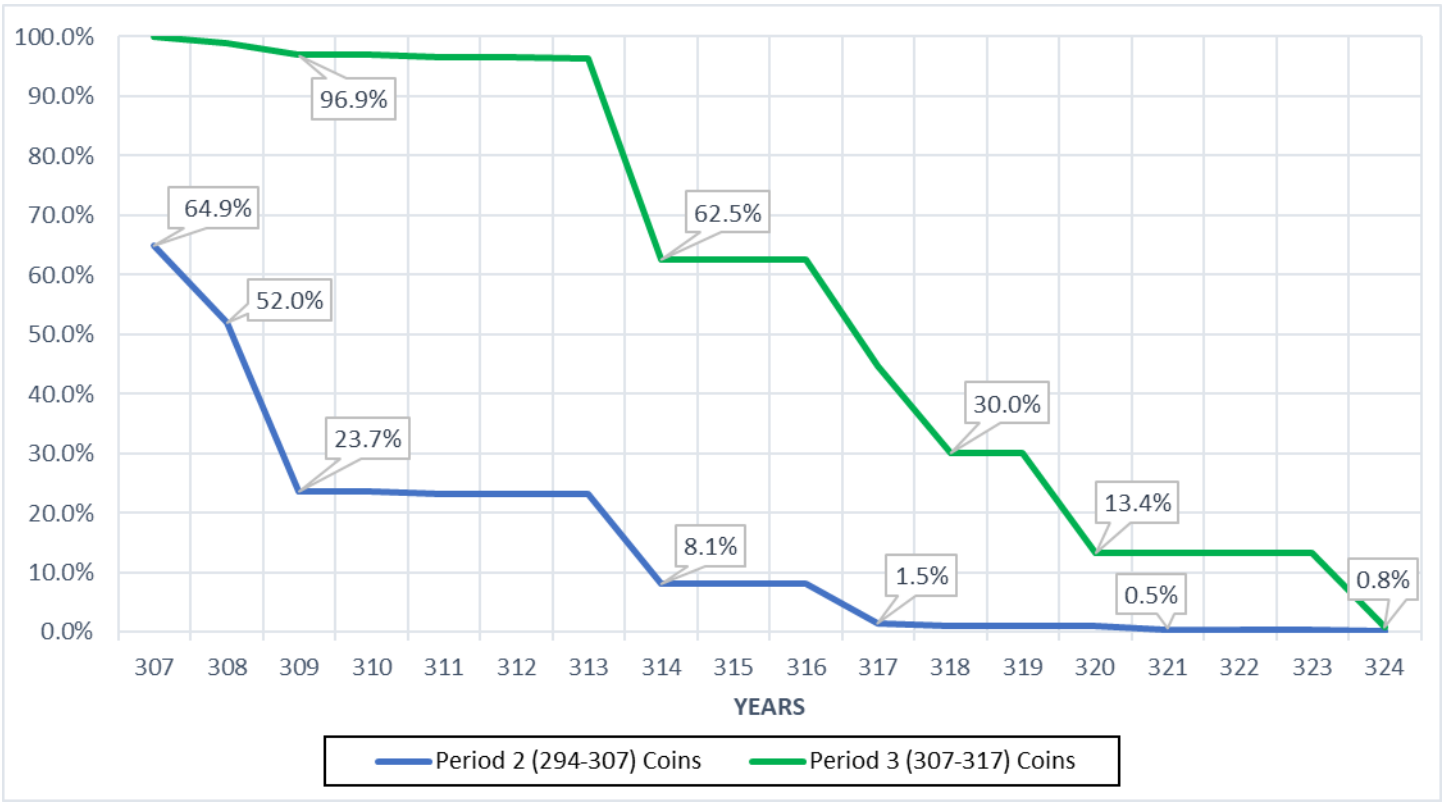


Figure 4.11 - Comparison of the proportion of *nummi* dating to Periods 2 and 3 in live circulation, dated based on *terminus post quem* of the hoards to which they belong (using coin hoards dataset, as per §4.1.4.1, n.527).

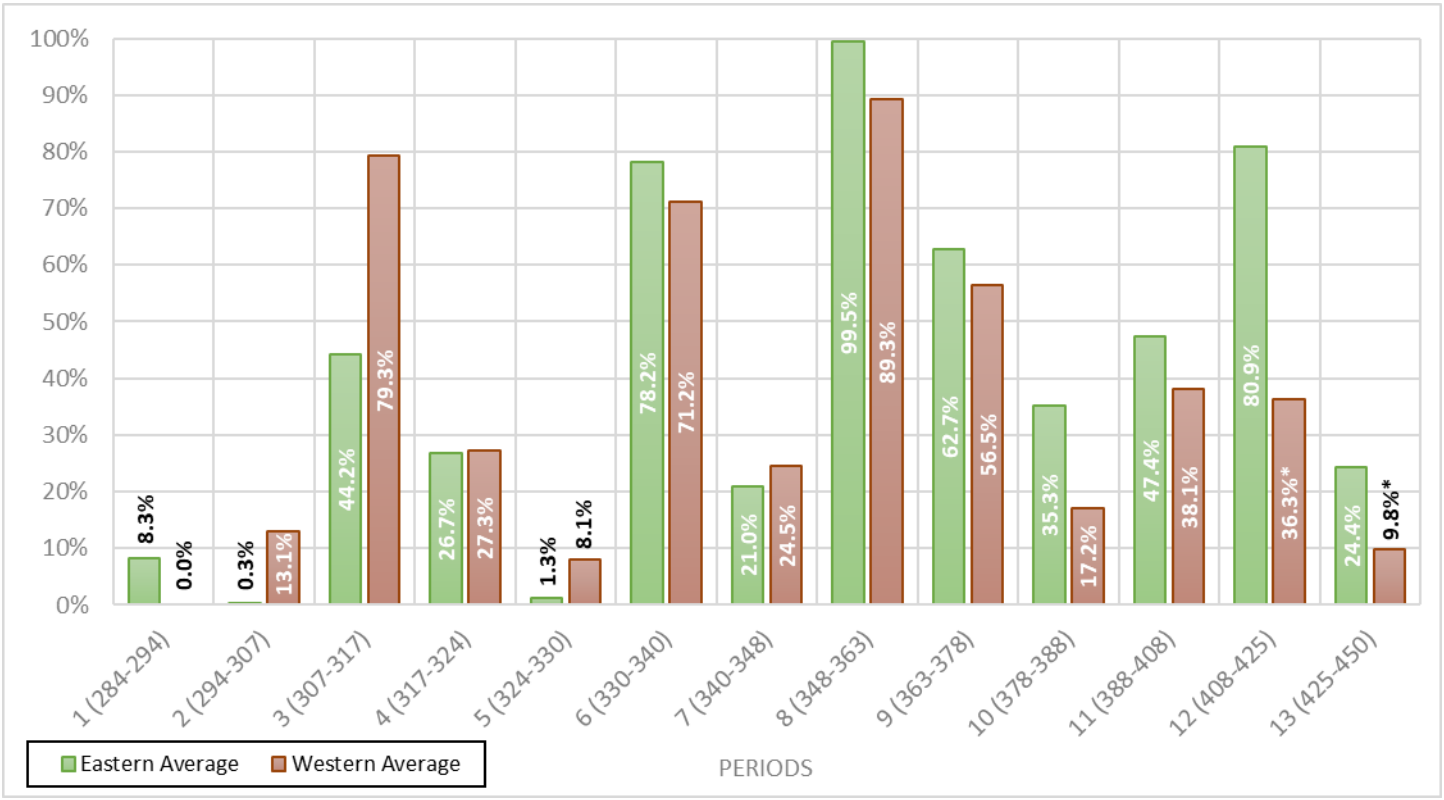


Figure 4.12 - Per-period comparison of mean average *virtus* category scores at eastern and western sites in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset. All asterisk-marked (*) scores for Periods 12-13 are derived from a reduced number of sites, as per §4.3, n.682.

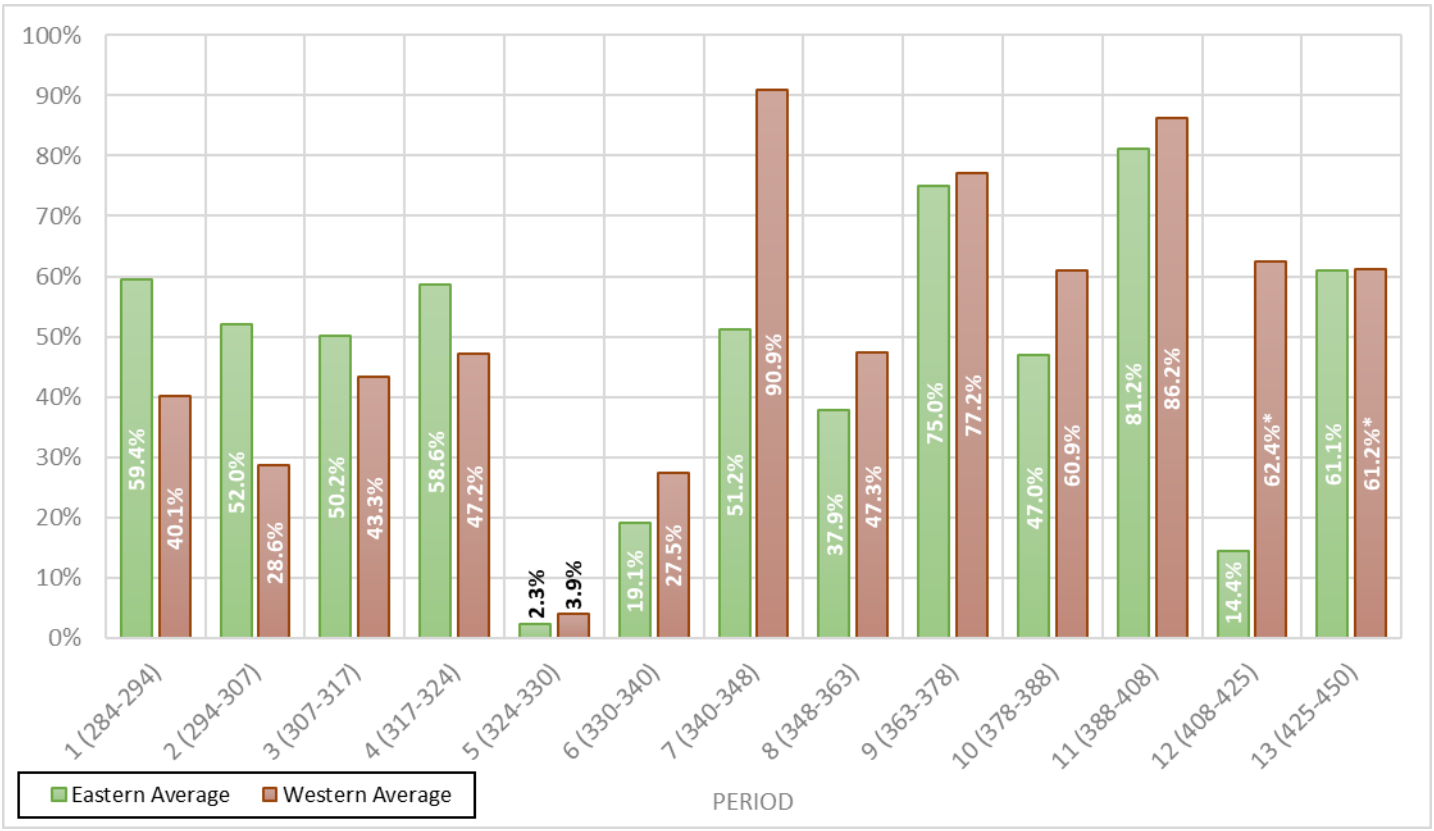


Figure 4.13 - Per-period comparison of mean average *victoria* category scores at eastern and western sites in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset. All asterisk-marked (*) scores for Periods 12-13 are derived from a reduced number of sites, as per §4.3, n.682.

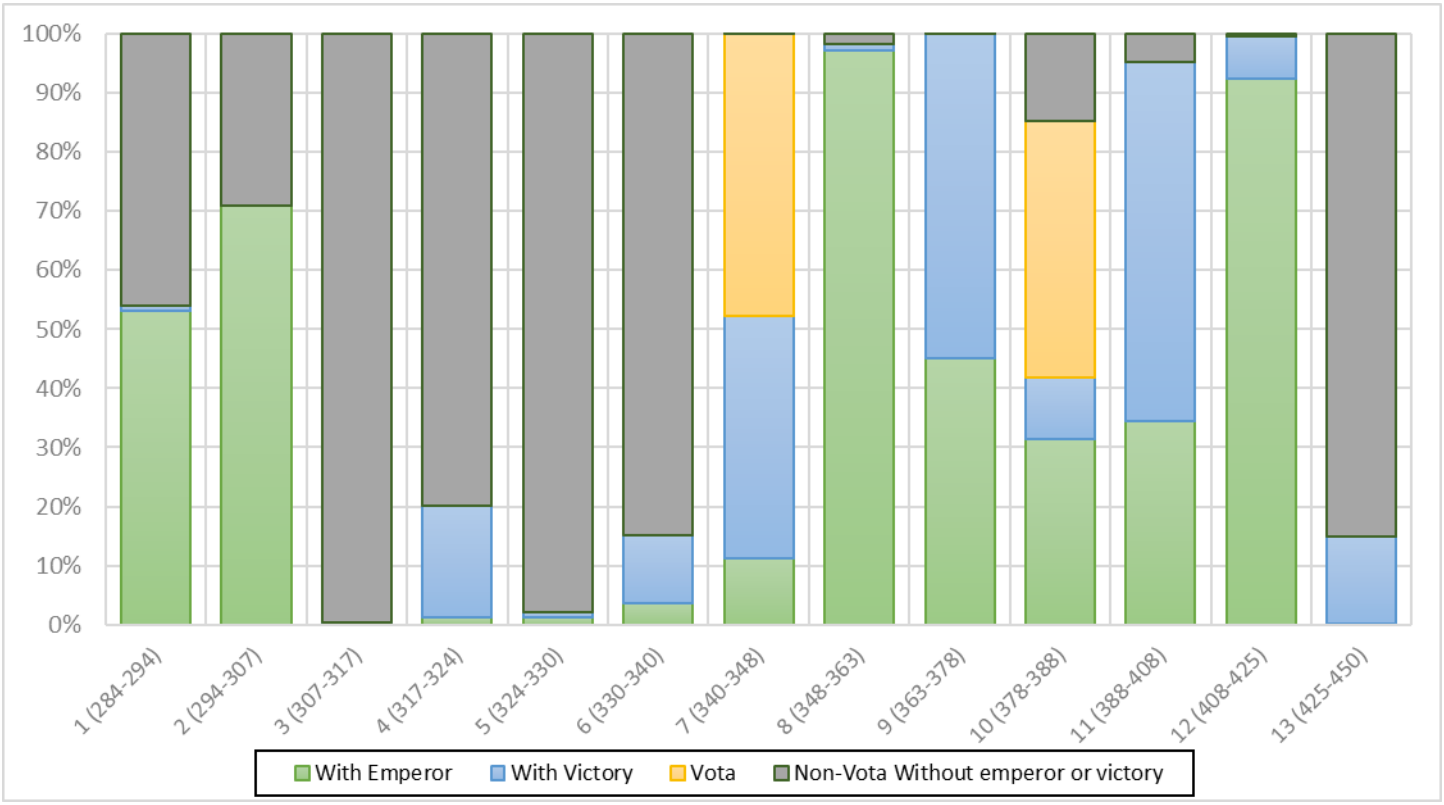


Figure 4.14 - Per-period proportion of coins in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset with or without reverse-types depicting the emperor, Victory or *vota* messages (pan-imperial data).

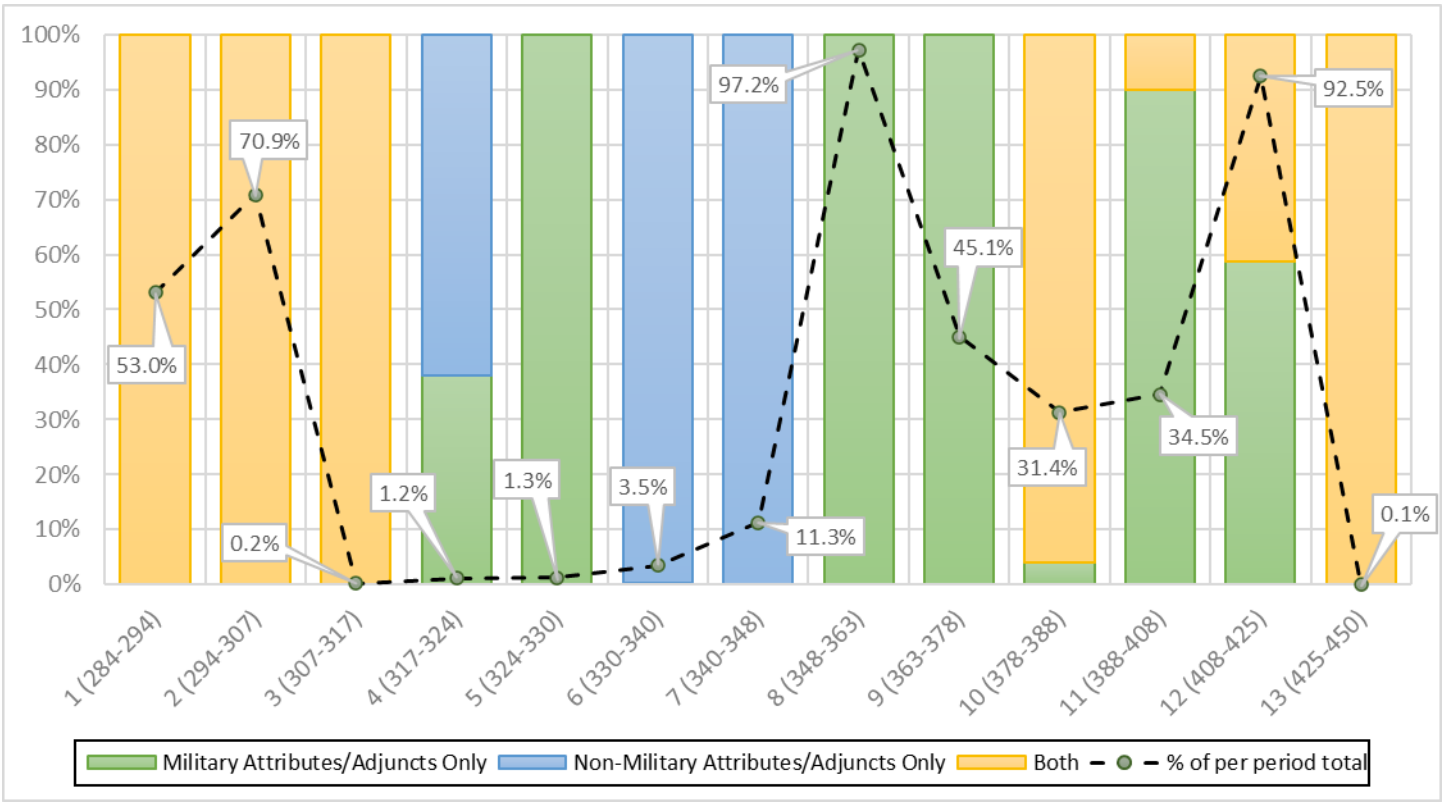


Figure 4.15 - Per-period proportion of emperor-bearing coins that depict the emperor with military/non-military attributes or adjuncts, or both (pan-imperial data). The line-graph overlay denotes the percentage of coins from each period that have emperor-bearing reverse-types.

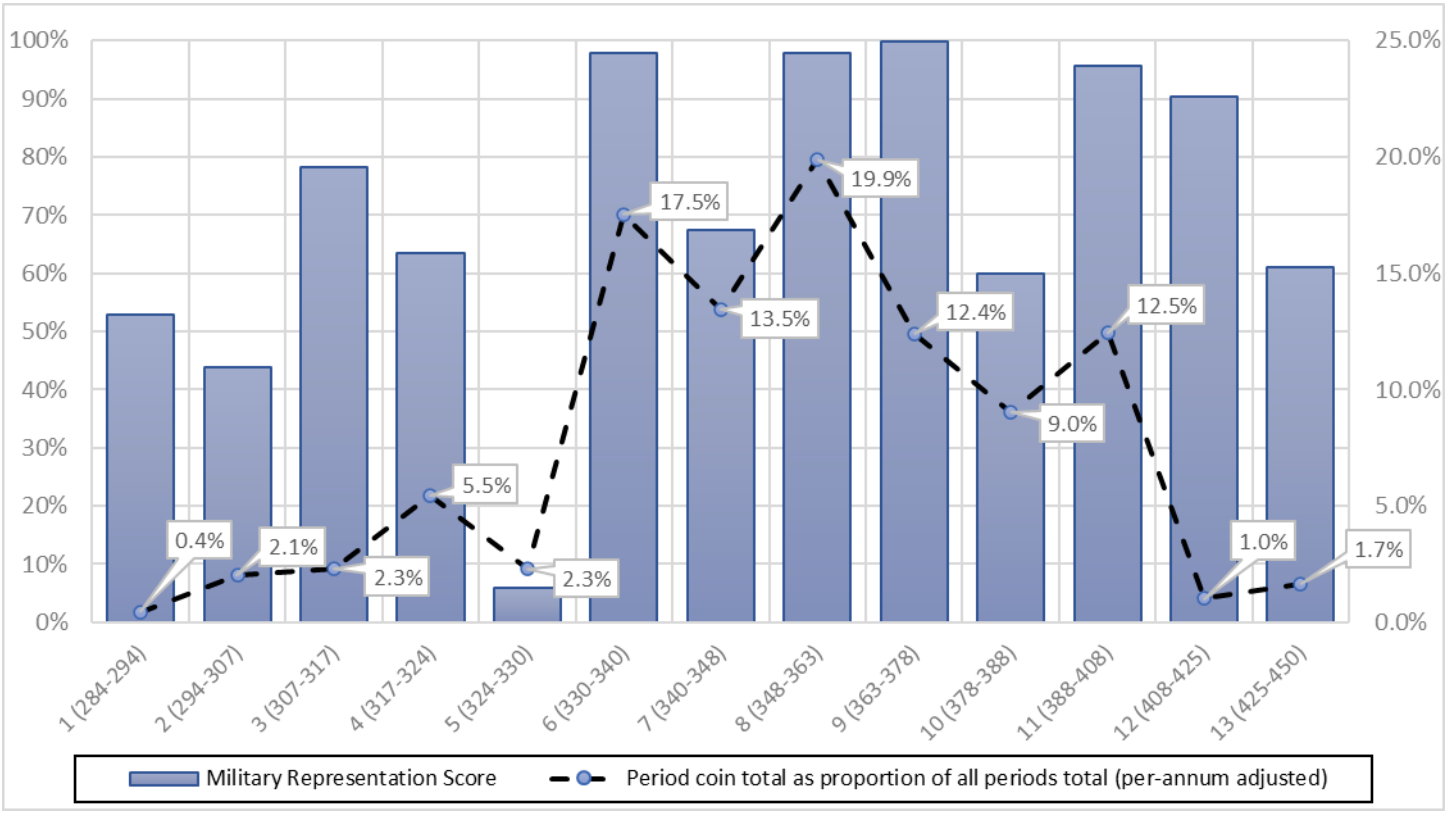


Figure 4.16 - Per-period 'Military Representation' scores in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset (per-site pan-imperial mean average). The line-graph overlay denotes each period's coin total as a percentage of the entire 'cleaned' site-finds dataset.

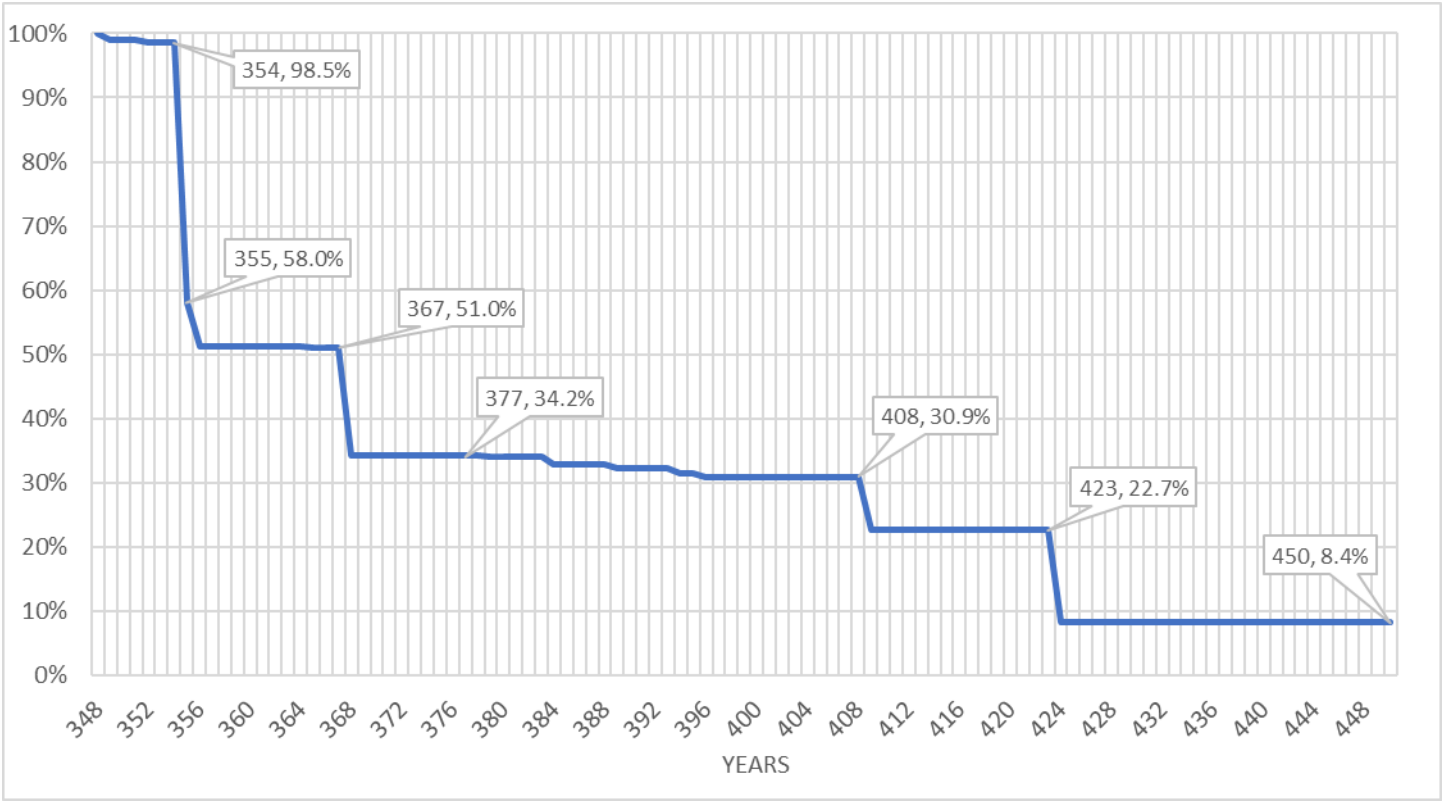


Figure 4.17 - Proportion of FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman type [69] coins remaining in live circulation beyond their period of issue. Each coin's removal from live circulation is dated based on the *terminus post quem* of its parent hoard (using coin hoards dataset of 1,455 from 38 hoards, downloaded from the CHRE database 24/04/2023).

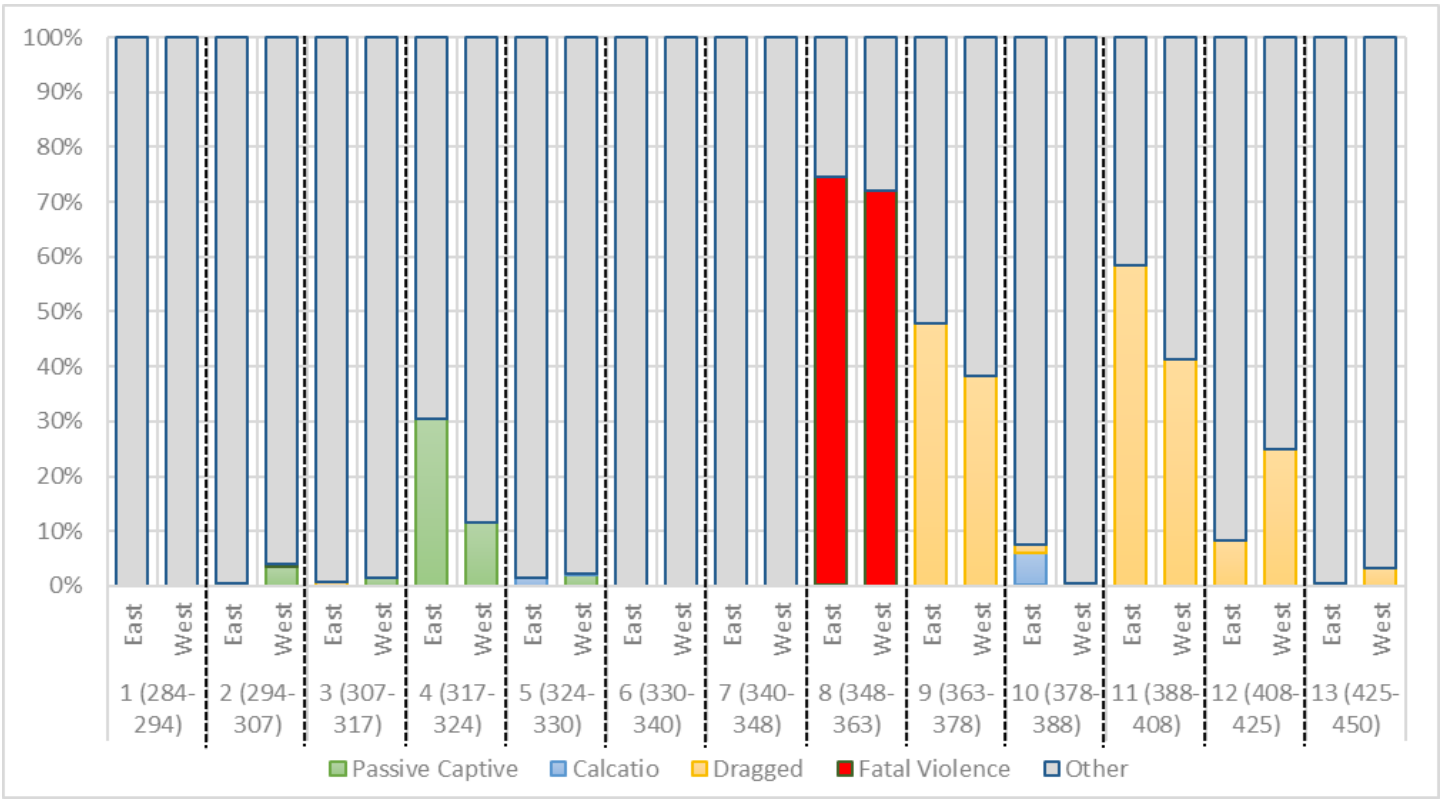


Figure 4.18 – Per-period proportion of coinage depicting the different treatment of captives/enemies, for coinage from eastern and western sites in 'cleaned' site-finds dataset.

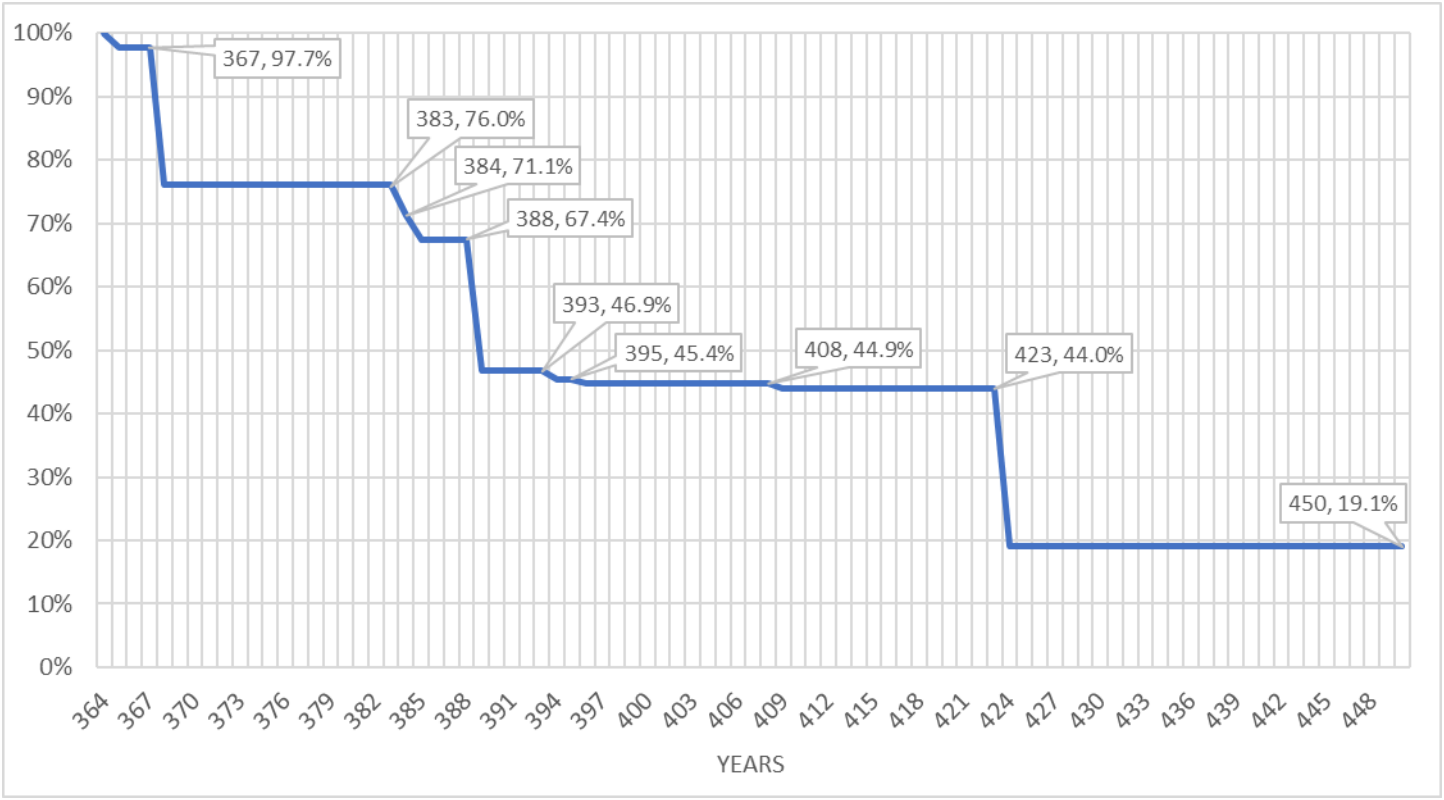


Figure 4.19 - Proportion of GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor and captive type [82] coins remaining in live circulation beyond their period of issue. Each coin's removal from live circulation is dated based on the *terminus post quem* of its parent hoard (using coin hoards dataset of 350 coins from 32 hoards, downloaded from the CHRE database 02/05/2023).

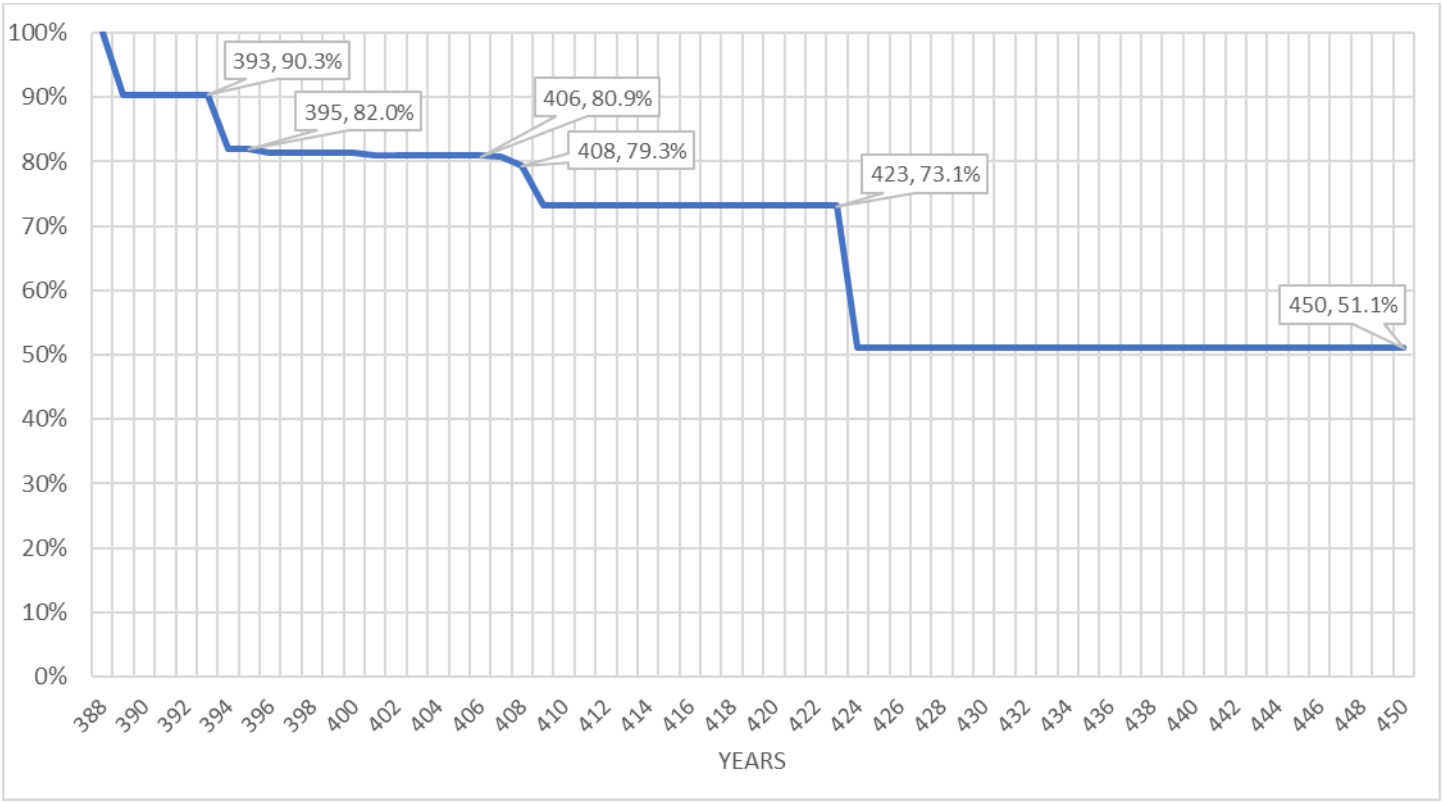


Figure 4.20 - Proportion of SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory dragging captive type [100, 200, 201] coins remaining in live circulation beyond their period of issue. Each coin's removal from live circulation is dated based on the *terminus post quem* of its parent hoard (using coin hoards dataset of 618 coins from 28 hoards, downloaded from the CHRE database 02/05/2023).

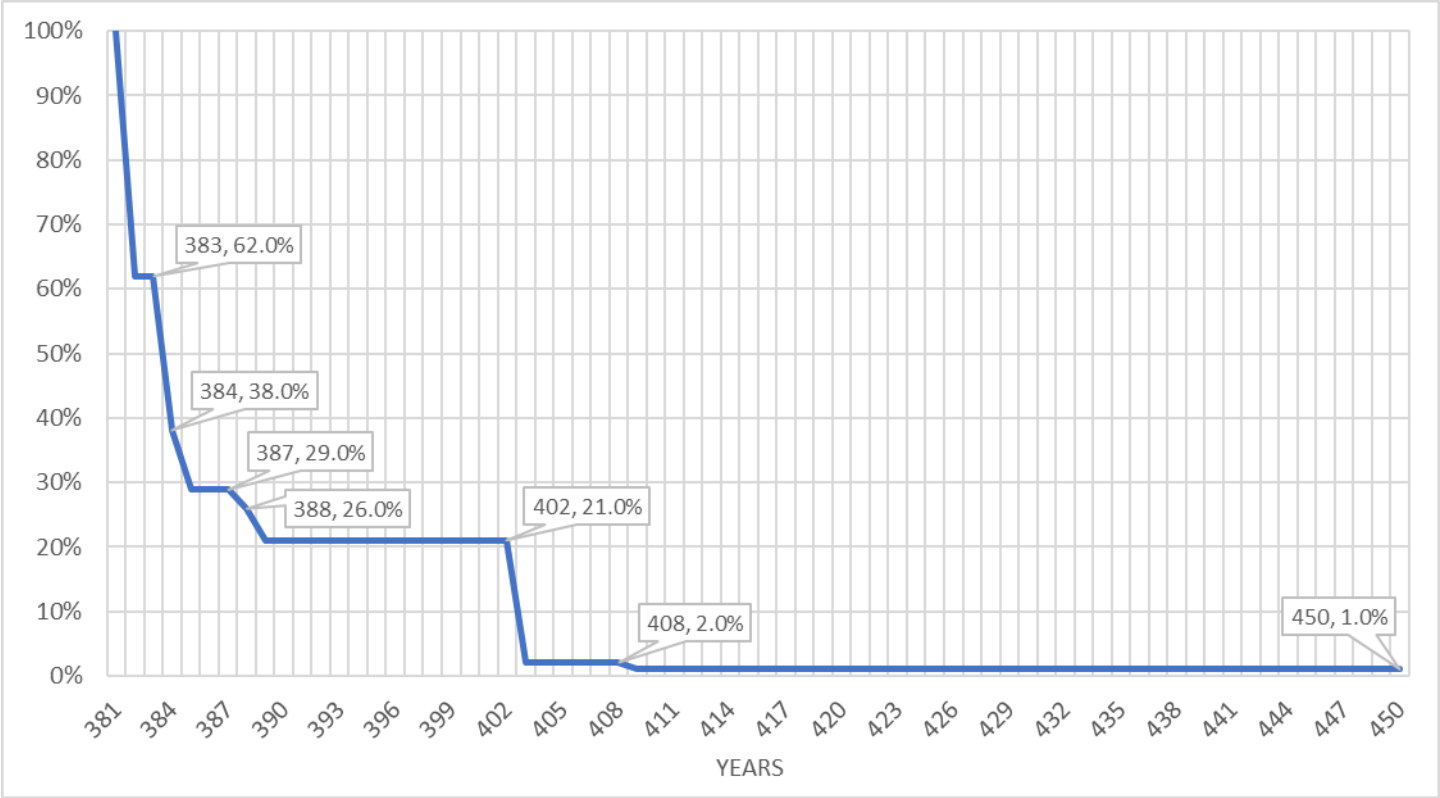


Figure 4.21 - Proportion of REPARATIO REIPVB type [90] coins remaining in live circulation beyond their period of issue. Each coin's removal from live circulation is dated based on the *terminus post quem* of its parent hoard (using coin hoards dataset of 100 coins from 14 hoards, downloaded from the CHRE database 02/05/2023).

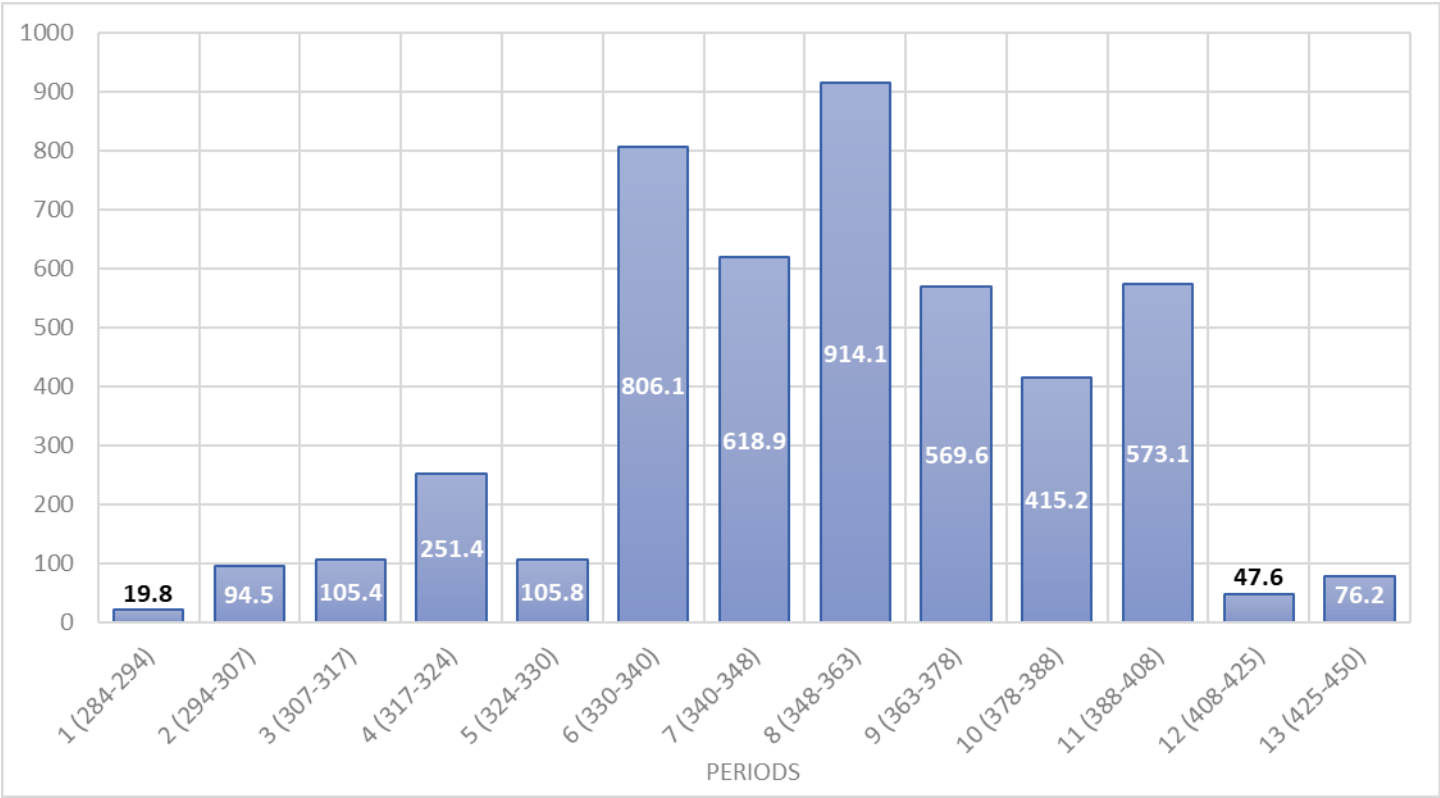


Figure 4.22 – Per-period comparison of average per-annum coin-loss across all sites in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset (pan-imperial), calculated by dividing total coins from period by the number of years in that period.

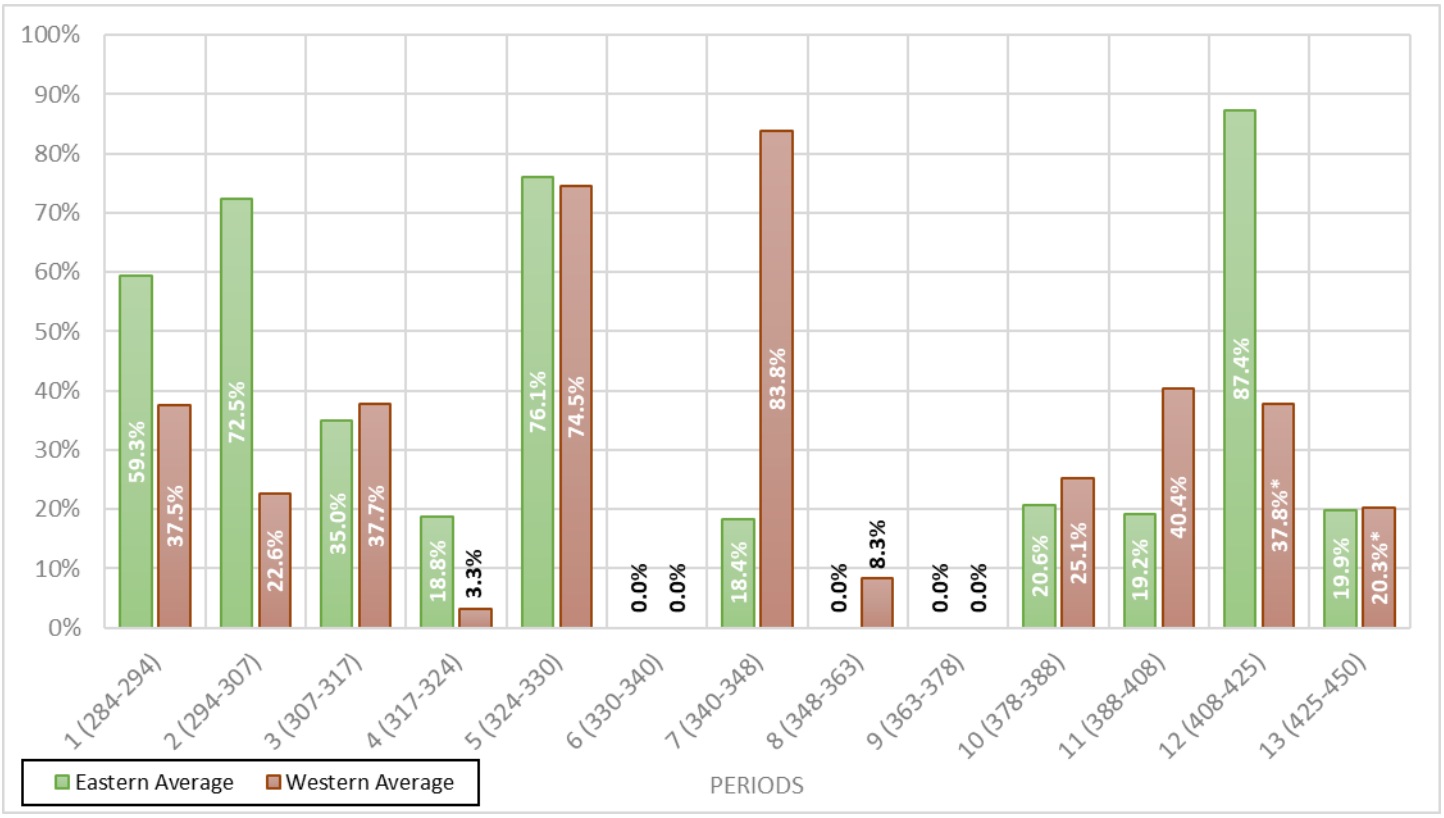


Figure 4.23 – Per-period comparison of mean average *concordia* category scores at eastern and western sites in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset. All asterisk-marked (*) scores for Periods 12-13 are derived from a reduced number of sites, as per §4.3, n.682

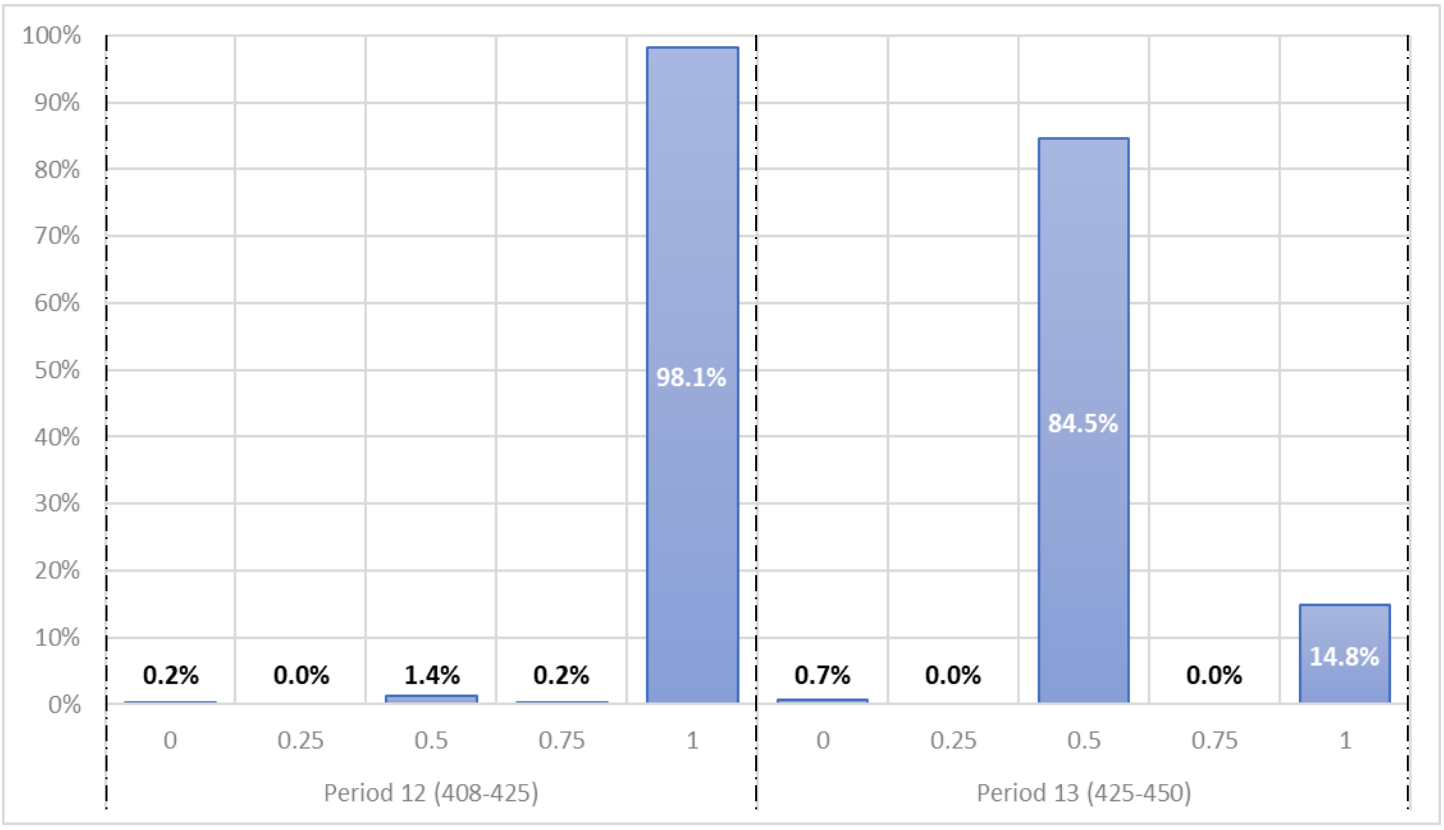


Figure 4.24 - Proportional comparison of individual coins' scores for the 'Military Representation' thematic grouping, for all coins dating to Periods 12 and 13 in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset.

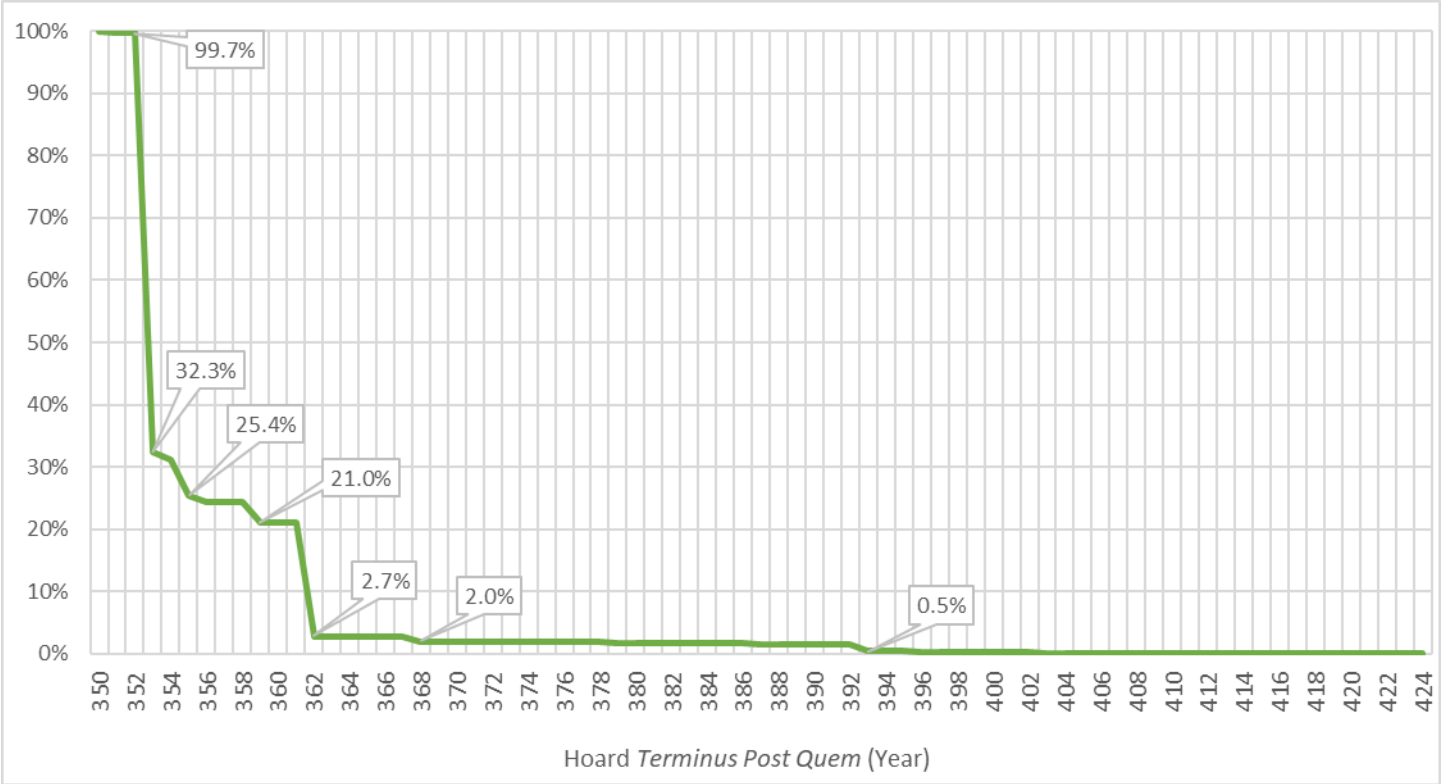


Figure 4.25 - Proportion of Magnentian coins remaining in live circulation beyond their date of issue, with removal from live circulation dated based on the *terminus post quem* of the hoards to which they belong (using coin hoards dataset of 11,052 coins from 163 hoards, downloaded from the CHRE database 14/08/2023).

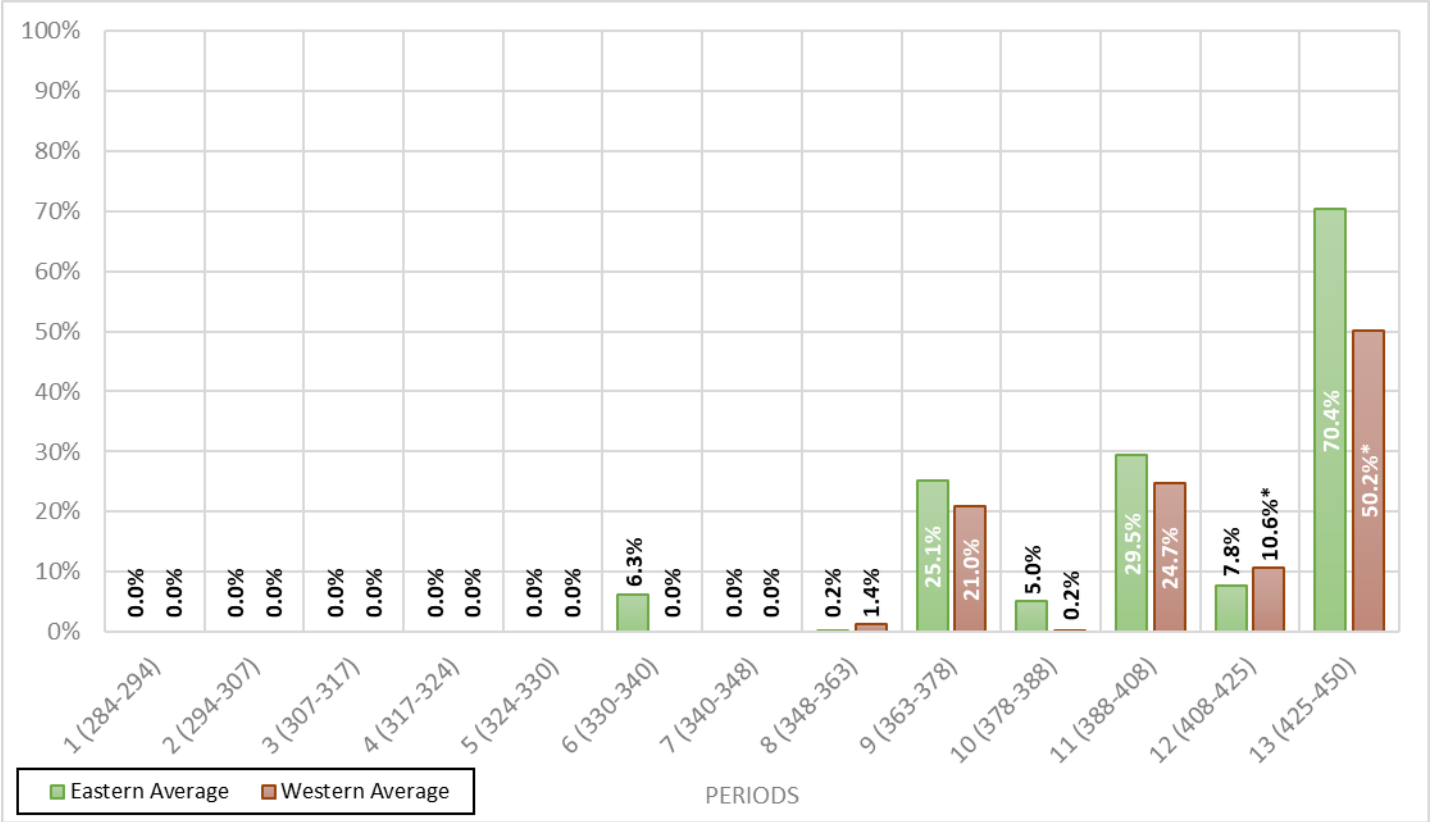


Figure 4.26 – Per-period comparison of mean average *fides* category scores at eastern and western sites in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset. All asterisk-marked (*) scores for Periods 12-13 are derived from a reduced number of sites, as per §4.3, n.682

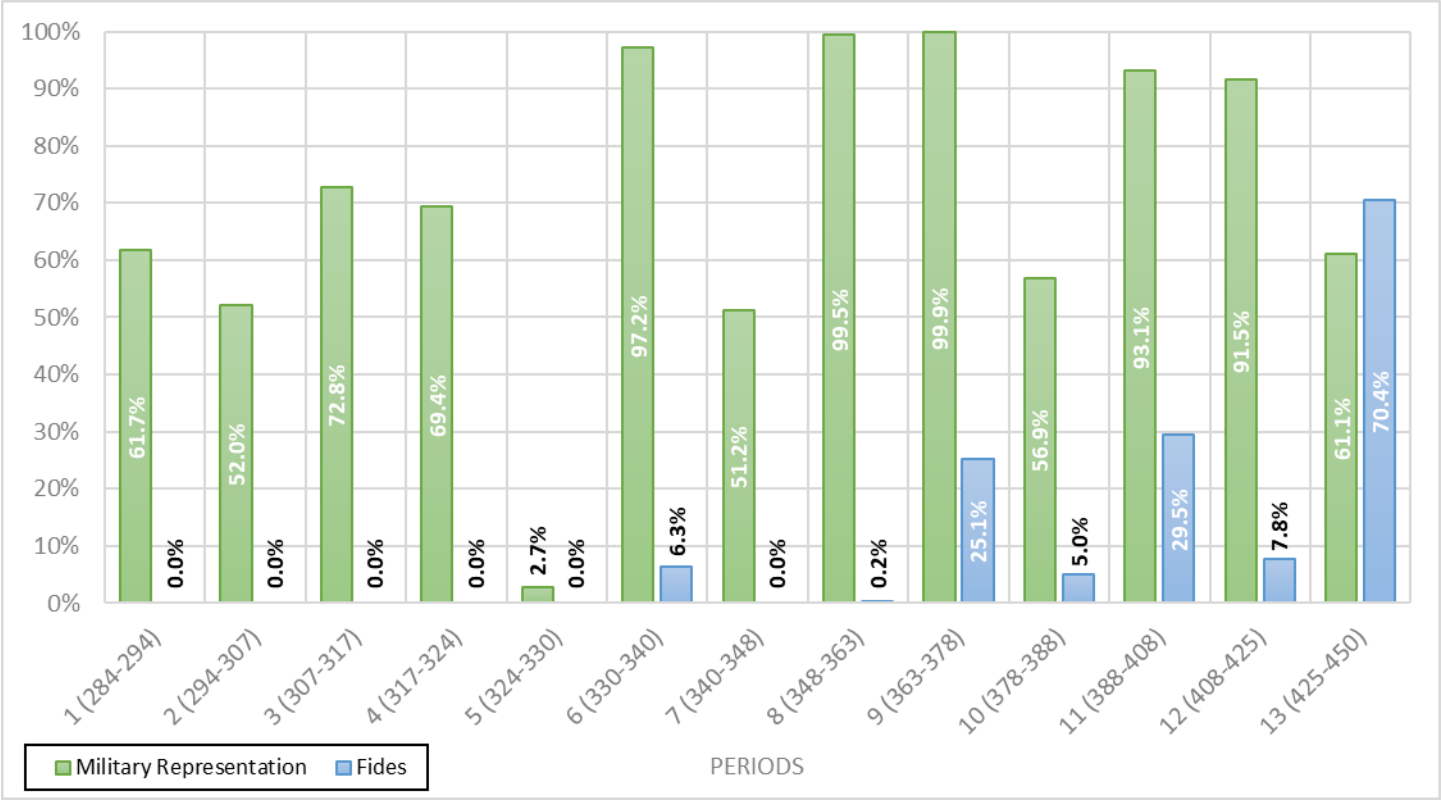


Figure 4.27 – Per-period comparison of mean average 'Military Representation' theme and *fides* category scores from eastern sites in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset.

Appendix 1: Estimations of the quantities of base-metal coinage required for purchasing one *artaba* of wheat in Egypt (305-353)

This short study demonstrates that, despite the state's re-tariffing of their values, increasing quantities of base-metal coinage were required to purchase basic commodities because of progressive inflation during the fourth century. This has been exemplified by taking the cost of one *artaba* of Egyptian wheat at several different dates during the first half of the fourth century, and translating these prices into how many base-metal coins would be required to make such a purchase. An *artaba* is a volumetric measure used in Egypt for dried foodstuffs, and in private transactions equated to 29.2 litres.[6] A single *artaba* of wheat provided enough calorific intake to sustain a single adult male for a month.[7] It was therefore a relatively small volume of grain for a nuclear family and provides a useful example of a single purchase of a basic, essential commodity.

The method of calculation for each of these theoretical transactions is outlined below, which involves converting the price of one *artaba* of wheat from *drachma*/talents (the units of account in Egyptian papyri) to *denarii* (the unit of account for base-metal coinage). These *denarii* values are then divided against the *denarii* values of the base-metal *nummi* being issued contemporary to the theoretical purchase. These calculations are of course ultimately imperfect, as they assume that earlier base-metal coinage that may be of a higher value but still in circulation were not being used, although any such coinage often ended up in hoards. Furthermore, the *denarii* value used for the coins here is the state assigned nominal value, which was likely not always used in such transactions, especially given the often considerably lower intrinsic value of these coins. However, given that any alternative valuation of said coinage would have had a lower *denarius* value than the state's nominal value, and therefore meant more coinage would have been involved in any one transaction, these calculations provide the useful perspective of the *minimum* number of coins required to make the theoretical purchase. These comparable calculations can only be made for goods up until around 358, shortly after which the use of the *denarius* as a unit of account appears to have finally collapsed and the value of base-metal coinage was instead expressed as a fraction of a single gold solidus.[8]

[6] Duncan-Jones 1976: 242.
[7] Shütze 2016: 42-43.
[8] Depeyrot 1992: 80-81; 1996: 8; Bagnall and Bransbourg 2019.

All prices per *artaba* of wheat in talents are as calculated by Bagnall 1985a: 64, with the individual papyrus references cited below. All *denarius* values of the base-metal *nummus* contemporary to the proposed transaction have been taken from Caza 2021: 36-46.

The basis of all the following calculations for translating *drachma*/talents to *denarii* is:

6,000 *Drachma* (dr) = 1 Talent (T) = 1,500 *Denarii* (Ӿ)[9]

The calculations all follow the same two-step process:

1. $\frac{\text{Price of one } artaba \text{ in talents}}{1500}$ = Price of one *artaba* in *denarii*
2. $\frac{\text{Price of one artaba in } denarii}{\text{nominal value of one contemporary } nummus \text{ in } denarii}$ = number of coins in transaction

So, if in 305 one *artaba* = 1,200 dr / 0.2 T.

$\frac{0.2\ \text{T}}{1500}$ = 300 Ӿ.

$\frac{1\ artaba \text{ at } 300\ \text{Ӿ}}{1\ nummus \text{ at nominal value of } 25\ \text{Ӿ}}$ = 12 *nummi* coins required to make the transaction.

As has already been emphasised in **§1.4.3**, this relatively low number of coins required suggests the ability to make the transaction simply by physically counting them out and handing them over. However, as per the table below, the consequences of inflation suggest the steady escalation of coins required to make the same transaction and the likely need to weigh out coin totals rather than count them individually, despite the state's recurrent re-tariffing of the *nummus*'s value. The immediate effects of this re-tariffing are suggested by the dramatic reduction in coins required for an *artaba* of wheat in 351. Yet the dramatic inflation in prices between 351-353 and the return to requiring hundreds of coins per transaction captures the market's inevitable reactivity to the state's re-tariffing strategy, a subject explored in detail in Bagnall and Bransbourg 2019.

For a graphical representation of the number of *nummi* per *artaba* of wheat tabulated below see Figure 1.1.

[9] Bagnall 1985: 16.

Year	Price of Wheat per *Artaba* (in *Drachma*/Talents)	Price of Wheat per *Artaba* (in *Denarii*)	Nominal Value of Contemporary *Nummus* in *Denarii*	Number of *Nummi* per *Artaba* of Wheat
305[10]	1200 dr (0.2 T)	300 Ⱪ	25 Ⱪ	12
312[11]	1333 dr (0.22 T)	330 Ⱪ	25 Ⱪ	14 (13.2)*
312/313[12]	2000 dr (0.33 T)	495 Ⱪ	25 Ⱪ	23 (19.8)*
314[13]	1 T 2000 dr (1.33 T)	1995 Ⱪ	25 Ⱪ	83 (79.8)*
312-318[14]	1 T 1000 dr (1.16 T)	1740 Ⱪ	25 Ⱪ	72 (69.6)*
335[15]	14 T	21000 Ⱪ	100 Ⱪ	210
338[16]	24 T	36000 Ⱪ	100 Ⱪ	360
341[17]	26 T	39000 Ⱪ	100 Ⱪ	390
342[18]	30 T	45000 Ⱪ	100 Ⱪ	450
351[19]	50 T	75000 Ⱪ	1000 Ⱪ	75
353[20]	334 T	501000 Ⱪ	1000 Ⱪ	501

* Note that the bracketed numbers are the cases were the quantity of *nummi* required to make the proposed transaction do not amount to whole numbers. All these transactions suggest the requirement of fractional denominations of the *nummus*. The unbracketed coin totals propose the usage of the maximum number of whole *nummi* possible, with the shortfall then made up of the radiate fraction, which was common in the east during the early fourth century. This was tariffed at 5 Ⱪ, so 1/5 of a *nummus*.[21] This radiate fraction was primarily produced between 294-301 and more intermittently until 307 (RIC VI: 93-105). Bruun (RIC VII: 11) suggested that fractions of the *nummus* were also produced on an intermittent basis during the 310s. Yet little is understood about the nominal value of these later *nummus* fractions until 318, when Licinius began producing a 12.5 Ⱪ base-metal piece at the same time that Constantine re-tarriffed the *nummus* to 100 Ⱪ (Caza 2021: 39-40). Because of this lack of knowledge, I have assumed that all fractions issued

[10] p.oxy.36.2798 [accessed 06/01/2024].
[11] p.cair.isid.11 [accessed 06/01/2024].
[12] p.nyu.1.18 [accessed 06/01/2024].
[13] cpr.8.2 [accessed 06/01/2024].
[14] p.stras.6.559 [accessed 06/01/2024].
[15] p.lond.6.1914 [accessed 06/01/2024].
[16] sb.16.12648 [accessed 06/01/2024].
[17] sb.14.11593 [accessed 06/01/2024].
[18] stud.pal.20.75 [accessed 06/01/2024].
[19] p.abinn.68v [accessed 06/01/2024].
[20] p.princ.3.183 [accessed 06/01/2024].
[21] Caza 2021: 37; Reece 2002: 56; Bagnall 1985: 21; Crawford 1975: 582, *contra* Abdy 2012a: 586 which suggests that the radiate fraction was valued at 4 Ⱪ.

between 307-318 held the earlier radiate fraction value of 5 ₹. All proposed coin quantities in the above table that date to the multi-denominational period 307-318 also present the minimum assumed number of base-metal coins required per transaction.

Appendix 2: Statistical Analysis Methods and the Data Normalisation Process

The core analysis of this thesis, Chapter 4, is structured around quantitative-based evidence derived from the site-finds database and includes the citation of numerous datapoints and figures to support its argumentation. However, the site-finds database is full of disparities. Most obvious is that its forty-four sites vary in their individual coin totals, making drastically different contributions to the total of 63,557 coins (Table 1). So too, the thirteen periods used to structure analysis (Fig.0.1) are of different lengths, and we may reasonably expect that periods of longer lengths will often produce higher coin totals than those with short lengths. This means that the statistics used to support the Chapter 4 discussion cannot simply be taken as raw, unedited figures from the site-finds database, as larger sites and longer periods would be over-represented, prone to dominate and distort the subsequent analysis.

SITE	COIN TOTAL
Athens	10,290
Sardis	7,059
Antioch	7,012
Corinth	3,902
Augusta Treverorum	3,464
Zilil	3,410
Rome	3,286
Conimbriga	2,365
Verulamium	1,980
Berytus	1,688
Tridentium	1,308
Carthage	1,204
Kourion	1,134
Gerasa	1,097
Caesarea Maritima	1,044
Arykanda	998
Rotomagus	984
Apamea	958
Alexandria	825
Baelo Claudia	806
Venta Silurum	804
Durnovaria	771

SITE	COIN TOTAL
Abu Mina	631
Lindum	586
Capernaum	552
Bouthroton	444
Portus Adurni	441
Sagalassos	403
Nicopolis Ad Istrum	393
Iatrus	390
Arelate	351
Saguntum	339
Verona	329
Histria	322
Samaria-Sebaste	272
Pella	261
Kenchreai	255
Massalia	237
Nemea	229
Sparta	217
Jerusalem	161
Ilium	143
Heraclea Sintica	109
Sabratha	103

Table 1 - Individual Coin Totals of Sites in the Site-Finds Database

Instead, to better facilitate inter-site/inter-regional and inter-period comparisons, and to eliminate a natural bias of the raw site-finds data towards larger sites or longer periods, adjustments have been made to the data provided by each individual period and each individual site within the site-finds database. This process of statistical ‘normalisation’ has ultimately produced the datapoints cited throughout Chapter 4. This appendix outlines the calculations and steps that have been made, which notably includes the amendment of all

data to directly comparable scales, as well as the 'cleaning' of each site's coin-level data to produce more standardised and comparable results.

2.1. Comparing Sites of Different Sizes

The process of making larger and smaller sites comparable is in fact incredibly simple – supporting evidence is primarily presented and compared as percentages rather than raw numbers. This follows a method widely used within quantitative numismatics since the 1970s.[22] It means that, rather than comparing the results of each site on an undefined and potentially limitless absolute scale, they are translated to a common form of measurement and are made relative to a persistently fixed upper limit (100.0%). These cited percentages typically equate to either a propaganda category/theme's score, or an individual/group of iconographic types, as a proportion of a set coin total. The coin totals change in relation to a second variable, which is the site/group of sites and/or period being discussed. For example:

> The 'Military Representation' theme scores 97.7% at Antioch for all Period 6 (330-340) coins before dropping to 42.7% at the same site for all Period 7 (340-348) coins.
>
> OR
>
> The VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm type **[61]** constitutes on average 37.5% of all Period 11 (388-408) coins at 'western' sites but only 0.3% at 'eastern' sites.

Comparison of these percentages is typically either between different periods at the same site/group of sites, or within the same period but between different sites/groups of sites.

2.1.1. Using Averages to Represent Groups of Sites

At all times these conversions to percentages are done on a per-site basis. This means that in the instances when groups of sites are discussed or compared, the datapoint cited is always the mean average of the individual results of each site in the relevant group. It is never simply what percentage X iconographic type or category/theme score is of the combined coin total for all sites in said group. This latter approach would undermine the coherence provided by using each individual site's own coin totals as its upper limit and once again give greater credence to sites with higher coin totals.

[22] For example, Reece 1973; Casey 1974; DeRose Evans 2018: 115. These studies have typically presented data as per mill values, which I have effectively replicated throughout this thesis by citing percentages to one decimal point.

For example, the FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman type **[69]** constitutes an average of 67.2% of Period 8 (348-363) coins at the British sites because:

BRITISH SITES	NUMBER OF TYPE **[69]** COINS AT SITE		TOTAL NUMBER OF PERIOD 8 COINS AT SITE		PERCENTAGE OF TYPE **[69]** COINS AT SITE
Portus Adurni	13		24		54.2%
Durnovaria	74	/	94	=	78.7%
Verulamium	346		426		81.2%
Lindum	56		72		77.8%
Venta Silurum	18		41		43.9%

0.542 + 0.787 + 0.812 + 0.778 + 0.439 = **3.358**

3.358 / 5 = 0.672 = **67.2%**

NOT

The FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman type **[69]** constitutes 77.2% of Period 8 coins at the British sites because 507 of the total 657 coins dating to Period 8 at British sites are of the FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman type **[69]**.

The issue with this latter example is that Verulamium alone provides 426 of the British sites' 657 Period 8 coins (64.8%), as well as having a notably higher proportion of FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman type **[69]** (346 – 81.2%). To simply add together the relevant raw coin totals would significantly over-represent this one British site and under-represent the results of its four counterparts. Instead, the use of a mean average calculated from a single percentage of each site gives all sites within that group equal representation in the final result.

2.1.2. Persisting Large Site Bias

The main caveat here is that some bias towards larger sites inevitably continues to exist. Even when being measured using the same scale, a larger site will always provide more nuanced results than a smaller site. For example, Sardis provides 1,029 Period 8 (348-363) coins, compared to Ilium's 22 Period 8 coins. So, whereas each coin from Sardis equates to 0.097% of its total for Period 8, at Ilium each coin equates to 4.55%. The possible fractional variations in the results derived from Sardis allow for far more subtlety and refinement than the more harshly stepped results from Ilium. This is however the unavoidable reality of the 'gross coin analysis' approach to quantification used here (see **§2.1.1.1**, **§2.1.1.2**), whose basic assumption is that a larger sample size is more accurate since it more closely represents the actual number of coins issued and in circulation.

A solution would be to only compare sites that have produced similar coin totals, but which were also of comparable size (spatially), and that have been excavated to a comparable

standard and extent. However, the reality is that few ideal sites like this exist. The site-finds database was purposefully assembled to include all major excavations of sites with large Late Roman coin profiles, yet many disparities in data-quality between sites remain. The only option to further remove this bias within the site-finds database would be to reduce the number of sites being compared, which would then undermine the thesis's spatial scope and inter-regional comparison. Imposing these site selection restrictions would also seem unnecessary given the many points of commonality detected in **§2.3** and Chapter 4 between both larger and smaller sites within the same regions, regardless of their varied coin totals and data quality.

2.2. Comparing Periods of Different Lengths

When comparing coin totals from periods of different lengths, they can be made analogous through dividing each by the number of years in the period to which they belong:

$$\frac{Total\ number\ of\ coins\ in\ period}{Total\ number\ of\ years\ in\ period}$$

This produces a per-annum figure – the average number of coins produced within each period at a common unit of measurement, a single year. This process is well established within quantitative numismatic analysis and has been applied in **§2.3.5**, where I have compared coin-loss on a period-by-period basis.

However, when looking to compare category/thematic grouping scores or the number of a specific iconographic type between two different periods, this adjustment is not necessary. Instead, just like the above issue of sites with vastly different coin totals, the solution is to measure each of these elements as a percent proportion of the total coins from the relevant period at the relevant site. Each period, regardless of its length in years, is again converted to a common scale and fixed limit of 100%. So too, because each percentage is calculated only in relation to its period coin total, the fact that the quantity of coins from another period total may be larger or smaller because of the number of years that it covers is made irrelevant.

2.3. Data-Cleaning Mechanism

In addition to using percentages to facilitate comparison of sites with significantly different coin totals and periods of different lengths, further steps have been taken to address the issue of the potentially disruptive presence of rare coinage within a site's coin-list.

A principal assumption of site-finds data is that it is representative of accidental coin-loss, and that there is a general correlation between the frequency with which an iconographic type was

lost and with which it was issued and handled.[23] As has already been re-asserted above, the use of gross coin analysis is rooted in the notion that the more coins we have for a site or period, the more representative the data is because it more closely approaches the ultimately unknown but absolute number of coins originally in use.

However, beyond the caveats to this representativeness, such as the greater care in recovering high-value coinage, there is also the reality that chance loss has resulted in the presence of anomalous, rare coins. Furthermore, these rare coins may have communicated aspects of imperial propaganda that diverged from the prevailing ideological trends being espoused by the state to its wider populace during that extended issuing period. Such outliers are less problematic at sites that provide thousands or tens-of-thousands of coins, as their presence is suppressed in any statistical analysis by the volume of other, more common, iconographic types. Conversely, any rare iconographic types recorded from a site with smaller coin totals are likely to have a more disruptive presence in subsequent analysis.

To negate this issue and suppress anomalous coinage at the smaller sites, the data used from the site-finds database in Chapter 4 has been subjected to a cleaning process. This consciously 'simplifies' the site-finds dataset to make patterns more clearly discernible.[24] A mechanism has been introduced that excludes from the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset any iconographic types that do not constitute at least 5% of the total coins for any period at any site.[25]

For example, of the 50 coins dating to Period 8 (348-363) in the coin-list of Massalia, there are four iconographic types **[68, 71, 72, 75]** which are represented by a single coin each, so do not constitute at least 5% of the period's total coinage. They are thereby removed to leave a total of 46 coins of more prominent iconographic types. Most noteworthy here is the removal of the VICTORIA AVG LIB ROMANOR Emperor with *labarum* type **[72]**, which is an exceedingly rare Julianic iconographic type, and whose presence would give this site a 4.0% *fides* score for Period 8 if left in. The cleaning process instead eliminates this coin, so that the *fides* score for Period 8 at Massalia stands at 0.0%. Thus, the fleeting presence of a highly unusual iconographic type has not impacted the category scoring data and suggested the presence of an element of propaganda that would have more than likely remained effectively

[23] See **§2.1.2.1**.
[24] On support for simplification and 'idealisation' of datasets to construct models that allow for better analysis see Cox 2006: 178 and Lockyear 2022.
[25] The selection of '5%' here follows the established statistical convention to use $P < 0.05$ as the threshold for delineating low probability (Di Leo and Sardanelli 2020). In this case, the question being asked is: 'what is the probability that the lost coin(s) of a specific iconographic type are representative of the non-lost coins issued in the same period and in use at the same site?' If the sample data in the site-finds database then indicates the iconographic type to constitute less than 5% of the coin for that site and period, it can be concluded that there is a low probability that it was representative of its non-lost counterparts. Then the coin is considered a rare and anomalous iconographic type, so is removed from consideration.

invisible to the local citizens using the base-metal coinage. The difference between a 0.0% and 4.0% score may seem negligible, but these differences add up. The 'cleaned' site-finds dataset consequently offers a much more coherent and refined depiction of the proportions in which the different iconographic types and propaganda categories were presented compared to the numerous, minor, obscuring irregularities caused by the presence of rare interloper types in the unedited site-finds database.

The result of this cleaning process is a reduction of the site-finds database's coin total from its initial size of 63,557 to 58,854. Furthermore, the cleaning entirely removes eighty-four iconographic types that may be considered extremely rare, leaving a total of 152 different iconographic types present within the database.

2.4. Calculating Propaganda Category Scores

With the above minor adjustments in mind, it would now be prudent to outline the brief process undertaken to obtain the category scores from the raw data of the site-finds database.

The first step is to calculate a category's total score for all coins in a single period at an individual site. This is a simple process of looking at the 'cleaned' site-finds database and adding together what each individual coin from Period X at site Y scored in category Z.

For example, if we were to calculate the total *virtus* score for Period 11 (388-408) at Kourion by adding together the individual *virtus* scores of all 253 coins within the 'cleaned' site-finds database, we obtain a value of 189.25:

TYPE NO.	TYPE	QUANTITY		TYPE *VIRTUS* SCORE		*VIRTUS* SCORE TOTAL PER TYPE
156	CONCORDIA AVG Cross	24		**{0}**		0
108	GLORIA ROMANORVM three emperors (height difference)	30	X	**{1}**	=	30
100	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive w/Christogram	53		**{0.25}**		13.25
104	VIRTVS EXERCITI emperor and victory	146		**{1}**		146
	TOTAL	253		TOTAL		189.25

The second step is to then determine the total category score as a proportion of the coin total for the respective period and site, and then present this as a percentage.

For the Period 11 Kourion example then, 189.25 / 253 = 0.748 = 74.8%. Thus, the *virtus* category is present to a degree of 74.8% over all Period 11 coins from Kourion. This roughly equivalates to an overt *virtus* message being visible on every three of four coins in daily use at Kourion that were issued between 388-408.

This two-step calculation process has been repeated for each of the thirteen periods at each of the forty-four sites in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset, and for each of the fifteen propaganda categories identified in **§3.2**. It allows comparison between or within the same categories, either between periods at the same site, or between different sites but within the same period, free of concern over varying coin totals or period lengths. So too, groups of sites can similarly be compared by deriving mean averages from the same category scores of individual periods and sites, as outlined above.

2.5. Calculating Thematic Grouping Scores

A final point must be made regarding the thematic grouping scores. These are calculated in a similar manner to the category scores, but with an additional stage. Whereas the first step in calculating a category score was to add together the single scores in said category for every single coin in the relevant period of the relevant site, the thematic groupings have the issue of being comprised of multiple categories and so could have multiple scores per coin. If each of these category scores were simply then added together, the results could then exceed the coin total for said period at said site.

For example, the raw *virtus* and *victoria* scores at Alexandria for Period 11 (388-408) are 51.75 and 207 respectively. Against the period total of 207 coins, simply adding together the two category scores to obtain the 'Military Representation' theme score would provide a percentage score of 125%.

The resulting thematic grouping score of over 100% would undermine the sense of a fixed upper limit and jeopardises the meaningful use of percentages in this instance. Instead, each coin's individual thematic grouping score has been calculated by using the score of the highest scoring category that belongs to that grouping. For example, the *Vota Mvlt* wreath type **[5]** is scored at **{0.25}** for *virtus* and **{0.5}** for *victoria*, so the higher **{0.5}** is then used for that type's 'Military Representation' score. By taking the highest score rather than combining the scores for all categories in that grouping, themes containing a larger number of categories, like 'Other Imperial Virtues', are normalised against themes containing less categories. Moreover, this also maintains the fuzzy set theory upper scoring value of 1. This prevents the thematic grouping scores from exceeding the total number of coins being compared to, and the proportional relationship with the 100% barrier is maintained.

Appendix 3: Type Dating Adjustments and Inflation/Depression of Coin-loss in Different Periods

Throughout the data collection process, several decisions had to be made when dating coinage to ensure clarity and structure within the site-finds dataset. These decisions principally revolved around two types of issue:

1. Instances when the dating of iconographic types bridges two periods. Iconographic types have been grouped to periods based on their latest possible date of issue. This means that coins overlapping periods would be assigned to their latest possible period of issue. I have sought to minimise these instances by devising a periodisation system in which period boundaries are marked by clear iconographic shifts. These shifts were also typically in conjunction with monetary reform or changes in weight standards. However, limited pre-modern communication methods and the consequent delays in the response of varying mints to central directives (not to mention the existence of competing administrative centres during the tetrarchy), means these iconographic shifts between periods were sometimes blurrier and more complicated than can be reflected by the database. When the number of occurrences for certain iconographic types bridging periods has been minimal and will not drastically inflate certain periods totals, these have been left unedited. However, in instances when a type may only just infringe into the dating of the next period but is more certainly associated with the iconographic programme of the previous period, the dating of said coinage has been artificially foreshortened by a year or so to ensure its presence in the 'correct' period.
2. Instances when certain iconographic types could potentially occur in a number of different periods but whose worn condition results in issues with certain identification, so that the coin cannot be dated to a specific period with absolute confidence.

The below table lists the main types affected by either of the above issues and outlines the dating decisions taken as well as how this may affect the proportional representation of certain periods:

PERIOD	ICONOGRAPHIC TYPE(S)	COMMENTS
1 (284-294)	AETERNITAS AVGG Elephant **[254]** AVSPIC FEL **[255]**	These are two types produced at the Gallic mints between 295-296. Though officially produced within the date range of Period 2, they are pre-reform *antoninianus* types, as the mints of Gaul were the last to implement Diocletian's reformed monetary system. To reflect their

		identity as pre-reform coinage, the dates of these coins have been artificially restricted to 294. Note that these are rare types that are absent from the site-finds dataset and only appear in the supplementary hoard dataset for Periods 1-5.[26]
2 (294-307)	GENIO POP(VLI) ROM(ANI) **[3]**	For instances of the *nummus* with the full inscription GENIO POPVLI ROMANI these have been restricted in date to 307. This ensures that they are then identified with Period 2, which is defined by the rule of the first and second tetrarchies. There are some instances, such as at *Serdica*, where such coinage was issued until 308, but this arguably reflects delay in stoppage of the previous period's iconographic types rather than the now changing emphasis towards intra-imperial competition that defined Period 3.
3 (307-317)	SOLI INVICTO COMITI **[22]**	Coins of this type were issued from Constantine's elevation to Augustus in 307, until the revision of the *nummus*'s value in the west in 318.[27] Its issuing therefore bridges Periods 3-4, though belongs primarily to the iconographic trends of the former period and was only issued under the latter period briefly. On this basis, when a coin of this type cannot be dated with certainty its end date has been restricted to 317 to ensure its presence in Period 3.
4 (317-324)	SOLI INVICTO COMITI **[22]** from *Siscia* only CLARITAS REIPVB(LICAE) Sol **[28]** from *Aquileia* and *Siscia* only	These iconographic types are all of coins that were issued in 317 only. However, as they were issued in the names of the Caesars Crispus, Constantine II and Licinius II, they technically belong to Period 4, whose start point is defined by the elevation of these new emperors. Coins of these types have therefore been adjusted to dating 317-318 to ensure their inclusion on Period 4.

[26] For analysis of this supplementary hoards database and discussion of its results see **§4.1.4**.
[27] Abdy 2012a: 592-593.

	PRINCIPI(A) IVVENTVTIS Spear and shield **[32]**	
6 (330-340)	Star in wreath **[148]** Bridge over River w/POP ROMANVS obv. **[168]**	These types were issued in accordance with the official commemoration of Constantinople in 330 and date to the same year. Their end dating has however been extended to 331 to differentiate them from Period 5's PROVIDENTIAE AVGG/CAESS focus and include them in the same period as types **[49]** and **[50]** (see below), whose minting started in the same year.
	Victory on Prow w/Constantinopolis Obv. **[49]** Wolf and Twins w/VRBS ROMA Obv. **[50]** GLORIA EXERCITVS One Standard **[53]** Quadriga **[56]**	Note that all these coins were struck until early 341. However, here their end date has been restricted to 340 at the latest to ensure their inclusion within Period 6. By contrast, there is a VICTORIA AVGG Victory and wreath type (**[61]** variation) issued mid-late 341 which is then included in Period 7. Note the allocation of these iconographic types into separate periods is based on iconographic grounds, as well as a reduction in fineness in the base-metal coinage dating from mid-341.[28]
9 (363-378)	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor and captive **[82]**	This type was issued across the empire under Valentinian I, Valens and Gratian throughout Period 9.[29] Valentinian II then reintroduced the type for himself, Theodosius I and Arcadius at *Rome* and *Aquileia* between 383-387 (Period 10), *Siscia* and *Thessalonica* between 385-386 (Period 10), and *Trier* between 388-392 (Period 11). With no discernible changes to its reverse inscription or iconography, coins of this type can often only be dated with certainty when the mint and/or

[28] Caza 2021: 130.
[29] As per RIC IX: xviii and Caza 2021: 258, production of base-metal coinage during period 9 does not appear to have been continuous throughout the empire. Although the western and Balkans mints remained active between 364-375/377, most of the eastern mints ceased production between 368-381.

		obverse emperor are identifiable. A coin of this type without a discernible mint or emperor may therefore belong to Period 9, 10 or 11. In instances of total uncertainty over emperor or mint, the coin has been dated to Period 9. This is based on probability, with Period 9 being the longest timespan of continuous issue when the highest number of mints were producing this coinage. The result is that, as the primary recipient of most uncertain coins of this type, Period 9 totals may be slightly inflated. Also on this basis, when a coin of this type certainly belonged to one of the later periods (for, example, the obverse depicts Theodosius I or Arcadius) but the mint is unknown, it has been assigned to Period 10 over Period 11, since four mints produced this coin in the former period and only one in the latter.
11 (388-408)	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive w/Christogram **[100]** SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive WITHOUT Christogram **[200]** SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive - Christogram UNCERTAIN **[201]**	For coins of these types, when the dating is unclear due to uncertain emperor and uncertain mint, the decision has been made to date these to the full period 388-408. This encompasses the full issuing of the type until it ceased under Honorius, so all uncertain coins of this type are contained within Period 11. This does however ignore the later production of these types at *Rome*, issued by Johannes for himself and Theodosius between 423-425 (Period 12), as well as by Valentinian III and Galla Placidia between 425-435 (Period 13). The number of coins for Periods 12 and 13 may be deflated, since some of the uncertain coins are very likely to be from these later periods due to the generally poorer preservation of the fifth century coins. However, as these coin types in Periods 12 and 13 were only produced at one mint, compared to the nine mints producing them in Period 11, it is likely the majority of uncertain coins of these types date to the earlier period.

	VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm **[61]** VICTORIA AVG or AVGG(G) Victory w/ wreath and palm types – Uncertain **[167]**	Where possible, dating between 381-388 and 388-402 has been distinguished, but these types more often cannot be confidently allocated to one period or the other and has been more generally dated at 381-402. These are therefore two of the main types to bridge two periods and because of their latest end dates they are allocated to Period 11. Note, however, that these types were also issued under Honorius between 408-423 at *Rome* and *Aquileia*, and by Valentinian III between 425-455 at *Rome* only. Nevertheless, that most of the clearly identifiable and datable examples of this iconographic type in the site-finds database belong to periods 381-388 and 388-402, supports the earlier dating, as does the fact that during these earlier periods the iconographic type was issued across five different mints (*Trier*, *Arelate*, *Rome*, *Aquileia* and *Thessalonica*). Nonetheless, the consequent result of this dating is again likely to inflate Period 11 at the expense of Periods 12 and 13.
General	*Vota Mvlt* wreath **[5]**	Certain *vota* coin types of the fourth century, such as VOT XX MVLT XXX or VOT XV MVLT XX, occur in great numbers both under Constantius II and Constans (Period 7, 340-348) as well as Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius I and Arcadius (Period 10, 378-388). When these have uncertain emperors (and sometimes mints), and so cannot confidently be assigned to the earlier or later period, these coins have been deliberately excluded from the database. This avoids erroneously inflating one of these periods over the other. However, because this is a major iconographic type for either period it then risks under-representing both in proportion to other periods. Furthermore, the proportional importance of the *vota* messages in comparison with other iconographic types within each respective period may be slightly under-represented.

Appendix 4: A Quantitative Reappraisal of Reverse Inscription Functions

In **§3.1.2**, I have provided a critique of Erika Manders's inscription-first categorisation method of Roman coin propaganda. I have argued this approach showed a bias towards literature. Furthermore, I have asserted that those living under the Roman Empire understood word and image as two separate modes of communication, able to carry their own distinct messages. Consequently, to prioritise the use of words to interpret the images on coins runs the risk of overlooking key aspects of imperial propaganda that were being communicated.

However, Sven Betjes has recently undertaken a quantitative-based assessment of the reverse inscriptions of imperial coinage that seemingly legitimises Manders's inscription-first approach. Using gross coin type analysis and covering the entire period of Roman imperial coinage, Betjes has concluded that most coins bore 'labelling legends' on their reverses, meaning inscriptions whose primary job was to identify and describe what was visually depicted.[30] His results suggest that, more often than not, there was a close connection between a reverse design's written and visual content, that they usually communicated the same information. This in turn validates the inscription-first approach to interpreting coin propaganda by advocating that it actually *does* reflect how the Romans themselves often engaged with the coinage.

Betjes's work would appear to counter my argument that the relationship between word and image on the coinage must have mirrored their independent usage on other contemporary public media. However, if we look more closely at Betjes's quantitative analysis, considering both the nomenclature used in defining his inscription function categories, and his criteria for assigning inscriptions to these categories, there are some identifiable points of contention. With some minor revision to the categories themselves and the reverse inscriptions that belong to each, the quantitative-derived evidence significantly changes. It instead indicates the 'labelling', descriptive inscriptions general absence rather than their dominance. This revised data further indicates the insufficiency of the inscription-first approach. In what follows, I will provide a brief overview of Betjes's argument, before exploring this proposed re-appraisal of his quantitative analysis.

Summary of Betjes's Argument

Betjes's study of Roman imperial reverse-types improves upon Manders's quantitative methodology by better recognising the independence of the inscriptions and images. He

[30] Betjes 2022: 131-148.

emphasised how 'both image and legend could evoke many other associations in the semantic system of imperial coinage, which were sometimes hinted at by additional – unlabelled – objects and figures in the image'.[31] This acknowledgement is then reflected in his analysis of reverse legend functions, which established three broad groupings to cover almost all imperial reverse-types:[32]

— 'Labelling legends'.

— 'Complementary Legends'.

— 'Limited (or No) Interaction Between Image and Legend'.

The latter two groupings particularly focused on the possibility that word and image acted as equal or separate carriers of propaganda.

However, despite better accommodating the iconography's ability to speak for itself, Betjes still concluded from his data (see Betjes 2022: 328, graph 3.9) that 'labelling legends' – descriptive legends whose primary role was to identify the image – dominated for the first three centuries of imperial coinage, and continued to constitute a significant minority of coins during the fourth and fifth centuries. He thus postulates reverse legends were predominantly descriptive, telling the coin's audience the identity or meaning of the image, in addition to sometimes also specifying who this scene or personification was to be associated with (for example, the Augustus, army, people of Rome).

Consequently, Betjes envisions the Principate as a period when reverse-types underwent prolonged 'rationalisation and standardisation', which came to a head under the tetrarchy, and only after which were images more regularly entrusted to speak for themselves.[33] Again, he does recognise the *eventual* greater independence of word and image. Yet Betjes's posited timeline is much different from that advanced by Roman Art Historians and numismatists of the Roman Republic, of a semantic system and visual motifs being entrenched by the mid-first century CE and no longer requiring textual identification.[34]

Points of Amendment

Ultimately, the position that the inscription-first interpretative framework is not just a tool of modern academia but aligned with how the state intended for contemporaries to interpret coinage, is contingent on Betjes's quantitative analysis of reverse inscription function. On this basis, it is worth considering these results further, and especially the decisions and

[31] Betjes 2022: 135.
[32] There is also the 'other' grouping to which a minority of miscellaneous types have been assigned (see Betjes 2022: 140).
[33] Betjes 2022: 144.
[34] See **§3.1.2.2**.

assumptions underpinning them. In fact, with only some minor amendments to how these inscriptions have been categorised and the names of the categories themselves, it is possible to vindicate the independent functioning of image and word on Roman imperial coin reverses on a quantitative basis too, and therefore dismiss the inscription-led categorisation method.

Firstly, we should consider the three different categories that Betjes groups together as the 'labelling legends', which functioned to 'basically describe or identify what is depicted in the image'.[35] The categories of this grouping distinguish between legends as straightforward labels identifying the image ('Label': for example, VIRTVS);[36] as an identificatory label with some additional information beyond the image itself ('Specifying Label': for example, IOVI CONSERVATORI **[8]** or IOVI FVLGERATORI **[215]**); or as just providing additional interpretative information without the identificatory inscription ('Specifier': for example, COMITI AVGG NN **[178]**). My issue with this grouping is its conflation of the simple 'label' with the 'specifying label'.[37] In grouping these together, Betjes's categorisation focuses on the identificatory element of both the inscriptions. Yet while this is the only component of 'labels' legends, the 'specifying label' legends have an additional component. They provide further information that the image does not, such as who the viewer should associate the visually personified virtue with (for example, VIRTVS AVG or VIRTVS MILITVM),[38] or what facet of the depicted deity is to be focused on (for example, MARTI VLTORI or MARTI VICTOR).[39] As per **§3.1.2.2**, the need for and use of identificatory legends was limited in contemporary imperial visual media because of the audience's recognised ability to identify deities and ideas through the established picture-language alone. In contrast to Betjes's basis of classification, I would emphasise the primacy of the specifying element of the 'specifying labels' legends, present for the specific purpose of giving the audience of the coin additional information that was not deducible from first consulting the image.

On this basis, the 'label' and 'specifying label' inscriptions should be separated from one another. It would have a significant impact on Betjes's results. With the 'label' and 'specifying label' separation in mind (see Betjes 2022: 328, graph 3.9a), the dominant position of the 'labelling legends' group would be significantly deflated. The argument supporting the modern inscription-first categorisation method, that simple identificatory legends predominated, then begins to be undermined. A change in nomenclature can further emphasise this revision. Firstly, the simple labelling inscriptions are better described as 'identificatory' in purpose. The 'specifying labels' and 'specifier' categories, with their focus on providing further non-visually

[35] Betjes 2022: 135.
[36] For example, RIC I (second edition) Civil Wars 13-14.
[37] I would argue the same issue applies to the 'specifier' category too. However, it has not been further discussed here since even within Betjes's results this category has only a very minor presence. Reframing its perspective will have little effect on the overall conclusions that can be drawn from this quantitative re-appraisal.
[38] RIC IV Severus Alexander 181; RIC V Laelianus 3.
[39] RIC III Antoninus Pius 609; RIC IV Pescennius Niger 54.

communicated information, can be re-defined as 'attributive'. This latter amendment better reflects how 'specifying labels'/'specifiers' either attributed the image to a non-visualised person or group (for example, GENIO *POPVLI ROMANI* = 'To the *Genius* of the Roman People), or provide the image with a non-visualised attribute (for example, IOVI *CONSERVATORI* = 'To Jupiter *the Conserver*').

One further challenge can be made to Betjes's categorisation method that further substantially reduces the significance of the 'label' category (or my 'identificatory' legends). I would re-assign legends ending in AVGVSTI/AVG (and derivatives) from the 'label' to 'specifying label' category. Betjes assigned the often-repeated AVGVSTI/AVG legend endings to his 'label' category as he maintains that such inscriptions were only reinforcing an association with the obverse emperor that was already clear to the coin's viewer.[40] This line of argumentation remains unconvincing though, especially since Betjes acknowledged all non-Augustus possessive indicators as 'specifying labels' or 'specifiers'. The prevalent usage of AVGVSTVS/AVG is better understood as a requirement because of the various other possessors that appeared on coinage, such as the army,[41] Roman people or polity,[42] geographic entity,[43] or even the senate.[44] Furthermore, the frequent references to the junior imperial office of Caesar between the late third and mid-fourth century meant legends had to state whether the reverse image was to be associated with the Augustus, Caesar, or both.[45] While AVGVSTI/AVG certainly was the predominant possessive legend type used on reserve types throughout the imperial period, the existence of various other possessive legends suggests that it functioned as a required 'specifier', or attributive legend, rather than just a descriptor. To treat it as distinct from other possessive legends just because of its frequency undermines the logic upon which the categorisation process is built.

[40] Betjes 2022: 136-137. Betjes particularly stresses how this association with the obverse emperor was endlessly enforced because of the enormous volumes in which the AVGVSTI/AVG possessive terms appeared on the coinage.
[41] For example, MILITVM and derivatives on types **[1, 70, 120, 136, 145, 193, 195]**, or EXERCITVS and derivatives on types **[18, 23, 37, 38, 51, 52, 53, 95, 104, 131, 133, 134, 242]**.
[42] For example, POPVLI ROMANI on type **[1]**, PVBLICA and derivatives on types **[47, 48, 59, 128, 169, 206, 226]**, REIPVBLICAE and derivatives on types **[28, 42, 43, 44, 73, 76, 77, 80, 81, 83, 90, 96, 97, 98, 100, 117, 129, 171, 199, 200, 201]**, or ROMANORVM on types **[46, 71, 72, 79, 82, 89, 92, 94, 99, 102, 103, 106, 108, 109, 110, 130, 139, 143, 151, 188, 207, 213, 236, 243]**.
[43] For example, ROMA and derivatives on types **[33, 74, 107]**, KART (Carthage) on types **[10, 126]**, SARMATIA on type **[40]**, ALAMANNIA on type **[41**], or NILO on type **[217].**
[44] For examples of coinage invoking the senate as a possessive entity see RIC I (second edition) Gaius/Caligula 56 or RIC VII Treveri 467-468. The iconographic types listed in n.41-43 constitute eighty of the 247 iconographic types that appear within my site-finds database, and 32,438 (51%) of the database's total 63,557 coins.
[45] For coinage issued during this period of Augusti and Caesars (c.294-361) see, for example, Augustus or Augusti as possessors on types **[6, 8, 9, 16, 19, 20, 21, 29, 35, 54, 61, 64, 71, 119, 135, 137, 140, 146, 154, 155, 173, 176, 178, 179, 181, 185, 189, 204, 222, 224, 225, 237, 238, 239]**, Caesars as possessors on types **[15, 30, 31, 36, 138, 155]**, or both Augustus and Caesar as possessors on types **[2, 60, 75, 126, 136, 159, 202, 210, 218, 241]**. Though uncommon, also note that there are coin types from this timeframe that demonstrate a separation between the obverse emperor's office and that specified on the reverse, which counters the assumed linked relationship between obverse and reverse. See, for example, the obverse of Constantine I as Augustus with reverse *Vota* type CAESARVM NOSTRORVM VOT/X (RIC VII Treveri 430; RIC VII Aquileia 105).

A Quantitative Re-Appraisal: The Results

With these amendments in mind, it is possible to generate quantitative evidence indicating that in most cases the iconography of imperial reverse-types was in fact used to speak for itself. To demonstrate this, I have collated an example dataset of 14,910 coin types. These are all the RIC coin types that make some reference to imperial virtues and benefits in their inscription and/or iconography.[46] By first grouping these types to Betjes's reverse legend categories in accordance with his criteria, and then sequentially implementing the above defined changes, a gradual shift takes place to show that usage of simple identificatory legends was minimal.

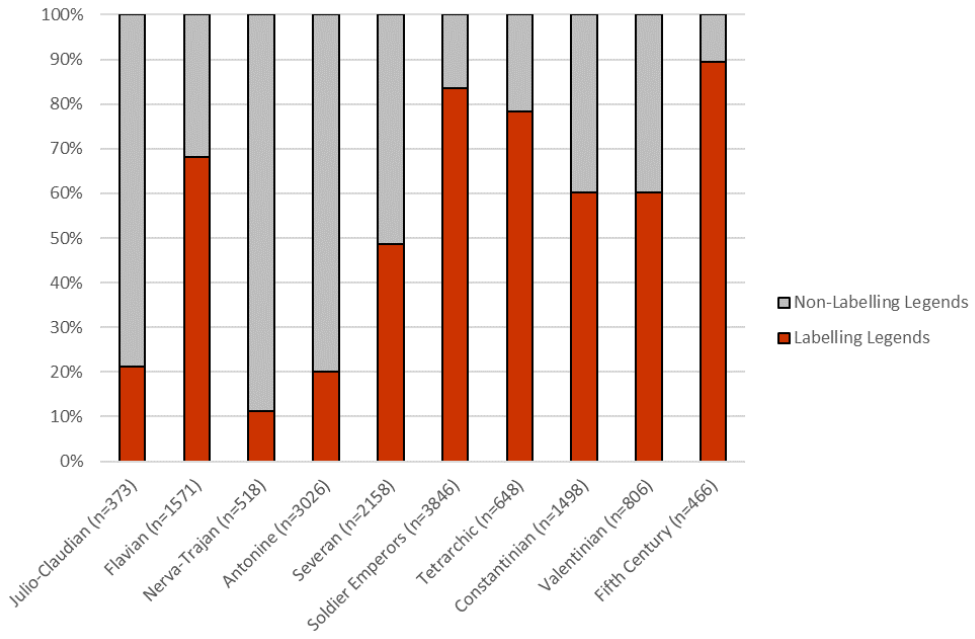


Figure 1 - Classification of Reverse Legends of Virtue and Benefits Personification coin types into category groups and periodisations from Betjes 2022.

We start with Figure 1, where the 14,910 coin types are divided between Betjes's 'labelling legends' group and all other legends. The data here uses Betjes's periodisations and categorisation criteria. It captures the apparent predominance of labelling legends for much of the Roman imperial numismatic period.

[46] References to a virtues or benefits are as per Noreña's specifications – see **§3.1.1**, n.320-321. The data has been assembled using the OCRE database. The use of coin type analysis here has been to try and emulate the data collection process of Betjes. I deemed coins bearing images and inscriptions of the virtue and benefit personifications as most appropriate for comparison, as their greater variety and potential unfamiliarity of their iconography compared to, say, gods and goddesses, would suggest that these were the aspects of coin imagery most likely to need an identificatory label. Of the 14,910 coin types, 8,384 (56.23%) have been identified as assignable to Betjes's category group of 'labelling legends'. However, following my suggested revisions, only 433 (0.03%) meet the criteria of 'identificatory legend'. It must be noted that, while I have cleaned the data in an attempt to emulate Betjes' original criteria of categorisation and periodisation, there is still a level of subjectivity in the categorisation process that will likely have somewhat skewed the figures in favour of my argument. As such, the results presented here should, as it always the case with gross coin type analysis, only be read as indicative of general trends rather than exact figures.

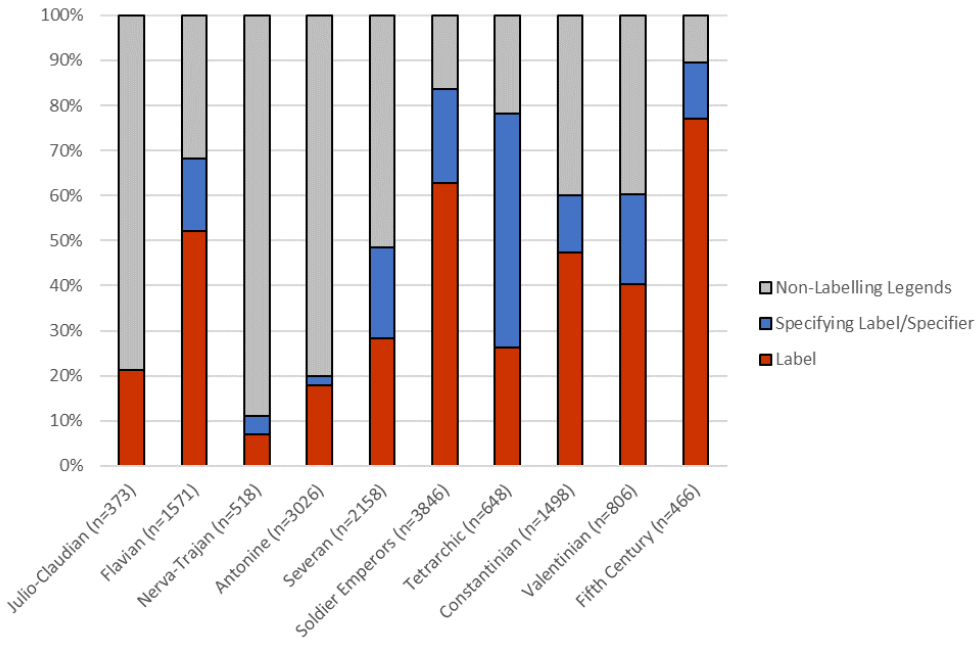


Figure 2 - As Figure 1 above, with 'Labelling Legends' classified into the 'label' and 'specifying label/specifier' categories of Betjes 2022 (using Betjes's criteria).

Figure 2 then presents the same data but distinguishes between Betjes's categories of 'label' and 'specifying label/specifier' that together make up his 'labelling legends' group. Here we can see my first suggested change. When these two categories are no longer considered as part of the same group, and the 'specifying' function of the 'specifying labels' is focused on, the 'labelling legends' group's dominance recedes. Nevertheless, the simple 'label' category does continue to constitute a significant proportion of coin types in many periods.

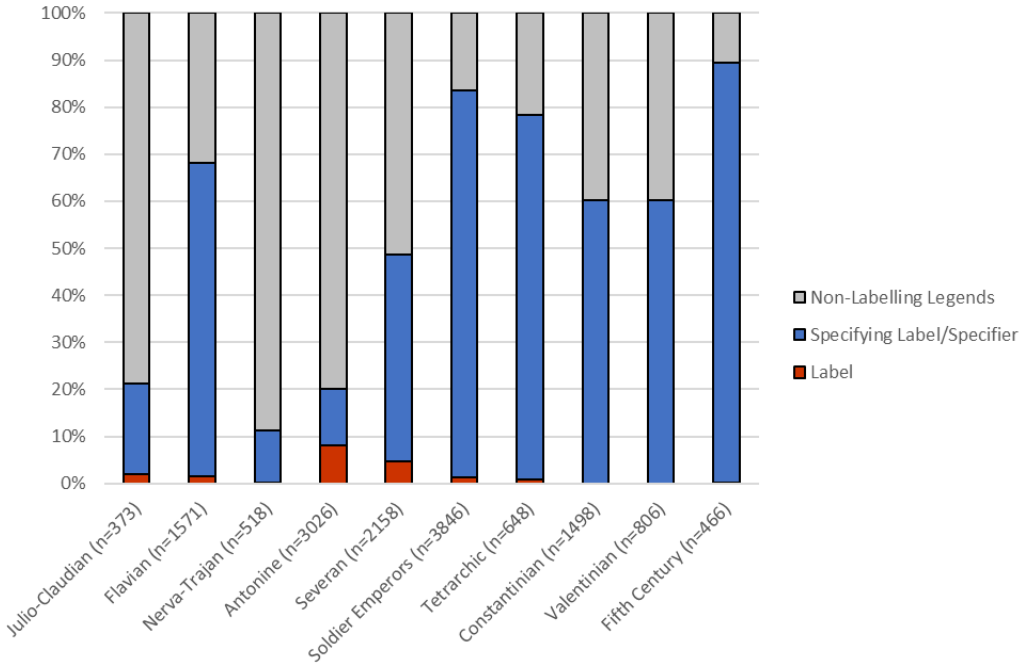


Figure 3 - As Figure 2 above, with all '[Virtue/Benefit] AVGVSTI/AVG' legends reassigned to 'specifying label' category.

However, the results shift dramatically in Figure 3, which re-categorises the '[Virtue/Benefit] AVGVSTI/AVG' legends as ‘specifying labels’ to instead emphasise the indicative role of these legends’ possessive component. Here it becomes apparent that for coin types referencing virtues and benefits, arguably those designs whose personifications were most in need of identification, the simple ‘label’ legend was barely ever used.

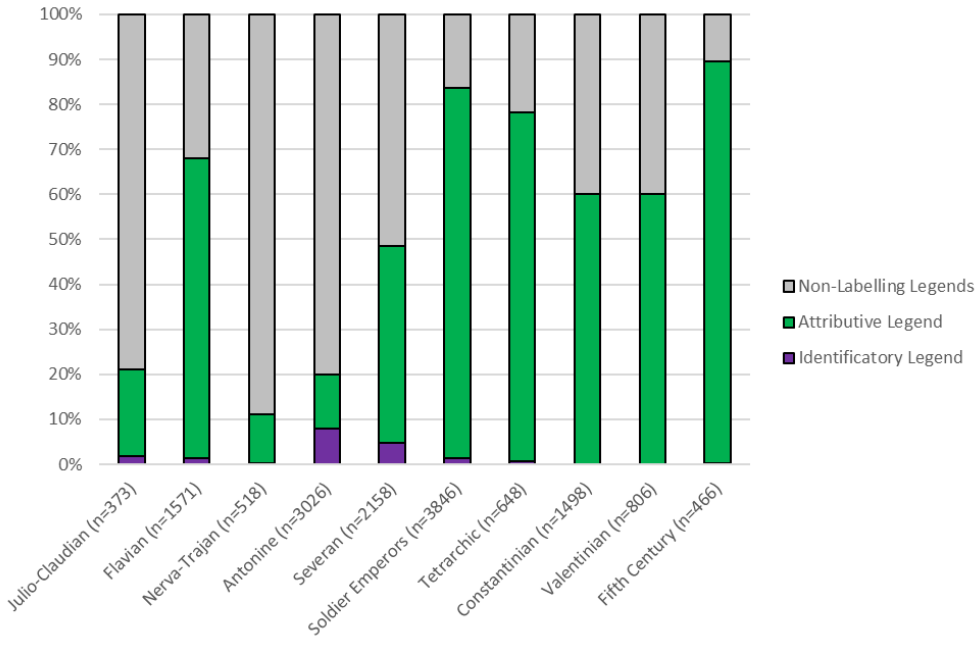


Figure 4 - As Figure 3 above, with change in nomenclature to emphasise distinction between purely 'identificatory' reverse legends and 'attributive' reverse legends.

Figure 4 then shows the same results as Figure 3 but implements my proposed changes to the category names to reflect the importance of ‘attributive’ legends. It better clarifies how most legends primarily functioned to give further, non-visualised information to the audience in the instances where the legends may have also insinuated the identity of the image.[47]

A second quantitative example of the independence of word and image on reverse-types is then provided by Figure 5. It applies all my proposed changes to the coinage within my own site-finds dataset, as well as denoting the contributions of Betjes’s other two main category groupings.[48] It is significant that in my dataset, which predominantly consists of the base-metal coins used and seen in everyday economic interactions, ‘identificatory’ legends are almost completely absent. That is to say, the state saw no need to use inscriptions to explain the iconography on those coins they intended to circulate amongst the non-elite wider populace.[49] Much of Figure 5’s data admittedly coincides with Betjes’s Late Roman periods, when he accepts the increased separation between word and image on reverse-types. However,

[47] See **§3.1.2.3**, n.360.
[48] The data is not directly comparable to Betjes’s results given my use of gross coin analysis instead of gross coin type analysis, as well as more focused periodisations. On the difference between gross coin analysis and gross coin type analysis, as well as the issues particularly with the latter, see **§2.1.1.1** and **§2.1.1.2**.
[49] On base-metal coinage being targeted at the empire’s wider civilian population see **§1.3.1**.

‘identificatory’ legends are still barely attested at the end of Betjes’s ‘soldier emperors’ period (my Period 1, 284-294) and in his ‘tetrarchic’ period (my Periods 2-3, 294-317) when his ‘labelling legends’ grouping was most prominent (see Betjes 2022: 328, graph 3.9 and 3.9a)).

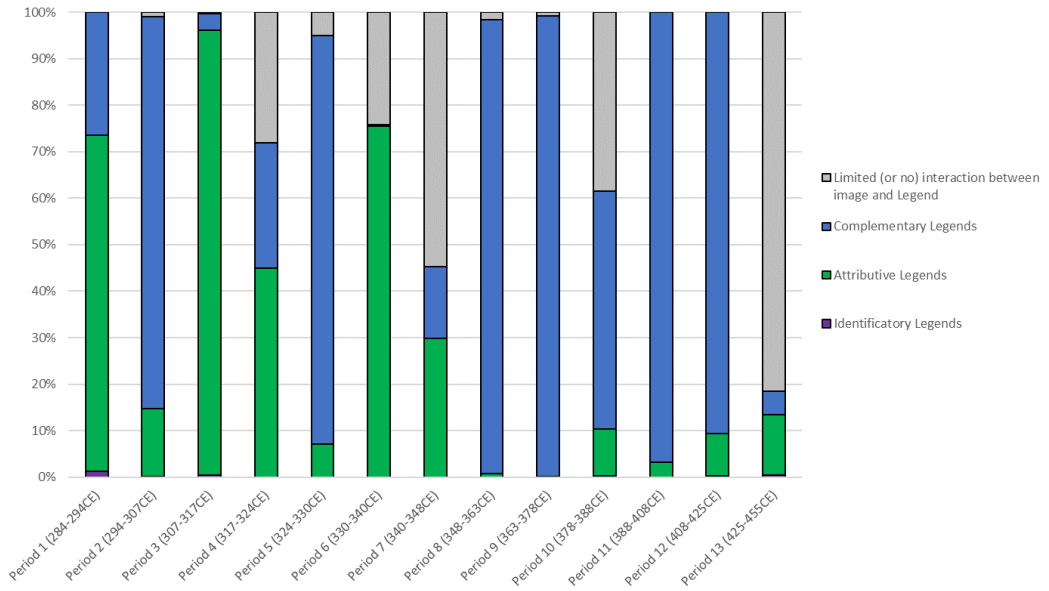


Figure 5 - Classification of Reverse Legends of all coinage in site-finds, using the category groups of Betjes 2022 but with amendments to categorising of '[Virtue/Benefit] AVGVSTI/AVG' legends and to nomenclature of categories, as per Figures 2-4.

These quantitative analyses suggest the issuers of imperial coinage rarely saw any need to explain what was being shown by the image. As with the examples of complex imagery presenting historical narratives and idealised aspects of Roman rule on imperial monuments, it was assumed that the wider public would understand the messages communicated by the coin iconography alone. On the limited space of the coinage, inscriptions were instead devoted to either attributing the image to a non-visualised individual or group, or to giving ‘complementary’ information entirely independent of the image.

Appendix 5: Categorisation Scoring Table

Presented below is a tabulation of the fifteen different categories of imperial propaganda as outlined in **§3.2**, with the specific elements of inscriptions and iconography that have been judged to communicate each category to some degree then listed below. A score has been placed beside each of these individual elements in curly brackets (for example, **{1}**), in accordance with the fuzzy set theory scoring system outlined in **§3.1.3**. Specific elements have also been footnoted with justification for the assigning to a category or score as deemed necessary. In any case where a part of an inscription has been assigned to a category (for example, 'VIRTVS…' = *virtus*), this has been scored as a **{1}** because of its clarity and overtness. This may appear to continue to give some preference to the literary component of the coinage, an issue that has been discussed at length in **§3.1.2**. However, the majority of iconographic types have been assigned to no more than two categories on the basis of their inscription alone.[50] In contrast, the sensitive consideration of the images has seen iconographic types assigned to numerous categories.[51] It is intended that this careful attention to the iconography and the process of multiple categorisations that this has enabled will provide balance to the much more straight forward process of categorising based on the inscriptions.

It should also be emphasised here that the system of Roman virtues and ideals developed organically.[52] Although there is evidence of some stricter classification of images' meaning within the semantic system that was established into the imperial period, we are usually talking about generalities and the majority of exemplar. This means that while some symbols are universally associable to certain categories to some degree of scoring, for many of the images listed below, there is often no absolute association and direct equation between certain images and ideals. Certain images could be deployed for a variety of reasons or in an array of contexts. The image of the prow or galley, for example, has been identified here as performing different functions dependent on its wider context. In association with the emperor, the prow became a vehicle to communicate rapid imperial movement and could be associated with the theme of civic *pietas* as it emphasises a tireless emperor working for the benefit of the state.[53] However, within the fourth century coinage the prow came to have specific associations with

[50] The only exception is Gratian's GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI type **[86]**, which has been assigned to three categories ('*Restitutor* Narrative', 'Dynasty' and '*Gloria*') based on its inscription alone.
[51] The two main *vota* coin types, *Vota* wreath and *Vota Mvlt* wreath **[4, 5]**, for example, have both been assigned to a total ten different categories, eight of which relate to their iconography and only two of which relate to their inscriptions.
[52] Hölscher 2004: 2.
[53] See Caza 2021: 174, 311 and 325 for discussions of the FEL TEMP REPARATIO Galley type **[68]**, GLORIA ROMANORVM emperor on ship type **[94]** and VIRTVS AVGGG emperor on ship type **[93]** as all advertising movement of the emperors across the empire and typically associated with successful military campaigning. This correlates with similar messages of tireless movement evident in the panegyrics (**§3.2.3,** n.414).

the Tyche of Constantinople due to the city's strategic position on the Bosphorus.[54] The same attribute therefore changed between these contexts from a vehicle expressing motion to a signifier of a specific geographic feature. While efforts have been made to distinguish these different contexts below, any method of categorising coin propaganda is intrinsically qualitative and subjective. It must be recognised that there are always inconsistencies and exceptions, and that the decisions in allocating criteria to different categories is open to debate.

The purpose of the below table is to identify and distinguish the general inscriptions and iconographic features that were repeatedly issued in specific contexts and forms, which came to be the predominant semantic expressions through which specific aspects of imperial rulership ideology were communicated. Moreover, by specifying the criteria used to assign categories to coin types and by clearly displaying this scoring, I intend to provide transparency on this subjective decision-making process. While the supporting notations and citations aim to justify my decisions, I hope this open approach also encourages evaluation and critique from wider scholarship. Any feedback will be essential to the further refinement of my new methodological approach.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Virtus</td><td colspan="2">All forms of representation emphasising the emperors' personal military prowess and authority as a courageous warrior and competent general, or the competence and/or valour of the armed forces.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inscriptions including: {1}

— VIRTVS/VIRTVTI or derivatives
— INVICTVS or derivatives</td><td>Associated imagery:

Images of emperor, Mars or Virtus depicted in military dress and/or with military attributes/adjuncts: {1}
— Spear
— Standard
— Shield
— Helmet

Images of soldiers {1}

Images of military standard(s) as representative of the army and military leadership. {1}

Images of the emperor or Sol performing adlocutio (raising of right arm).[55] {1}

Lion:
— As protagonist {1}
— As adjunct {0.5}</td></tr>
</table>

[54] Grierson and Mays 1992: 83.
[55] Gizewski 2006b; Melville Jones 1990: 4.

		Images of other deities or personifications (for example, *Pax*[56]) depicted in non-standard combination with military dress and/or with military attributes/adjuncts: **{0.75}** — Spear — Standard — Helmet — Head of Sol Images of other deities or personifications (for example, Roma, Africa, *Fides*) depicted in military dress and/or with military attributes/ adjuncts as standard forms of identification: **{0.5}** — Spear — Standard — Helmet Images of Hercules[57] **{0.5}** Other attributes/adjuncts associated with achieved victory[58] or perpetuation of reign on military basis: **{0.25}** — Captive — Trophy — Shield with *Vota* inscription Image of wreath:[59] — As border **{0.25}** — As attribute of Victory **{0.25}**
	Victoria messages[60] **{0.25}** FORTVNAE REDVCI type **[225] {0.25}**[61]	
Victoria	All forms of representation asserting victory as a chief benefit of contemporary imperial rule (of an emperor or empress), used as a means of asserting that rulers were ensuring the empire's security and stability.	
	Inscriptions including: **{1}** — VICTORIA or derivatives	Associated imagery: Images of Victory:

[56] Melville Jones 1990: 238-239.
[57] On the use of Hercules to promote the emperor's strength and military success see Rowan 2013a: 41-45; Steinbock 2014: 54; Hekster 2015: 297-300. This use of Hercules is clearly prevalent in *Pan. Lat.* X alongside the emphasis on the Jovian-Herculean collegial relationship of the Dyarchy, and again alongside notions of dynasty in *Pan. Lat.* VII.2.5.
[58] I have decided not include images like the *victoriola* in this set when it appears on its own, judging this to primarily be the endowment or promise of victory to come, meaning that the *virtus* required to achieve this victory has not yet been demonstrated.
[59] See n.110.
[60] On the inherent link between *virtus* and *victoria* see **§3.1.3.2** (**{0.25}** scoring explanation) and **§3.2.3,** n.405**.**
[61] This coin type was issued on the emperor's return from successful campaigning, as per RIC VI.

	— ADVENTVS or derivatives — DEVICTA — TRIUMPHATOR — VICTRICI FORTVNAE REDVCI types **[225] {0.25}**[62]	— As protagonist **{1}** — As adjunct (for example, helmsman) **{0.75}** The *victoriola* as an attribute of an imperial person/deity **{0.75}** Image of the emperor in triumphal quadriga **{0.75}** Image of *adventus* **{0.75}** Jupiter with *victoriola* or *fulmen* **{0.75}**[63] Attributes/adjuncts of Victory without Victory present **{0.5}**: — Captive — Trophy Defeated barbarian **{0.5}** Sol Invictus, sometimes with whip attribute or captive as adjunct **{0.5}** Wreath as border or attribute without Victory **{0.5}**[64]
	Wolf and Twins w/VRBS ROMA Obv. **[50] {1}**[65]	
Restitutor **Narrative**	All forms of representation specifically emphasising restoration or return to an earlier period of plenty, often figuring the emperor as restorer, saviour or repairer of the empire, who re-establishes Roman order in both his military and in civic capacities.	
	Inscriptions including: **{1}** — REPARATIO — SALVS — RESTITVTOR — LIBERTAS or derivatives — NOVI SAECVLI	Associated imagery: Representation of the emperor as *sidus salutare* (saving star) through star or Christogram above an open city gate (camp gate).[66] **{1}** Image of *adventus*[67] **{1}**

[62] See n.61 above.

[63] Note that iconographic types **[8, 155]** have not distinguished between the IOVI CONSERVATORI types where Jupiter carries a *victoriola*, *fulmen* or only a globe. Although it would be ideal to distinguish between these individual variations and provide different scorings between **{0.5}** and **{0.75}**, it should be noted that these constitute minor iconographic changes to the series of base-metal coinage recurrently issued between 310-324. Through this issue the core message remains consistent: Jupiter was conservator of the emperor (and consequently the empire), and this conservation came through the granting of victory (as is also presented through the recurrent appearance of eagle and/or captive as adjuncts of Jupiter). For the centrality of Jupiter as endower of Victory see the CONCORDIA MILITVM iconographic type **[1]** and further discussion in **§4.1.1**. Also, on the association of the *fulmen* and eagle with Victory see Gagé 1930; Gagé 1931; Scott 1982: 437.

[64] See '*Gloria*' category below for discussion of the wreath iconography.

[65] For discussion on both this iconographic type and Victory on Prow w/Constantinopolis Obv. **[49]** as part of a wider programme promoting Constantinian victory see **§4.2.2**.

[66] Woods 2017.

[67] See MacCormack 1981: 67 on the *adventus* of imperial images and their equation to sacred objects.

	— FVNDAT	Charging emperor (sometimes nimbate) as saviour **{1}** Emperor raising turreted female figure **{1}**
	Spes types promoting 'hope' (*spes*) or other benefits derived from a usurper's claim to imperial power or from the defeat (promised or fulfilled) of an imperial rival: **{1}** SPES PVBLIC **[47]** SPES ROMANORVM **[92]** SPES REPVBLICAE **[129]** SPES ROMANORVM **[130]** FELIX ADVENT AVGG NN Africa **[6]** PACI PERPET **[26]** SECVRITAS REIPVB Bull **[77]**	
Religious *Pietas*	All forms of representation associating the emperor with a deity or deities, and alluding to the dutiful cultivation of a personal working relationship with these divine companions.	
	Inscriptions including: **{1}** — DEORVM	Associated imagery: Images of gods or Apis bull **{1}** Images of emperor(s) or emperor's *genius* with religious attributes: **{1}** — Patera — Altar Image of the emperor sacrificing **{1}** Images of the emperor and a deity (mainly emperor and Jupiter) **{1}** Christian symbology with associations of victory or military success, as expressed through the presence of Victory, with emperor in military guise or on quadriga: **{1}** — *Chi-Rho* — Staurogram — Cross — *Manus Dei* — Globus cruciger Images of temples **{1}** Images depicting or symbolising a deceased imperial ancestor, parent or family member and associated with 'commemorative' deified obverses. **{1}**

		The emperor holding a true *labarum* (or derivatives)[68] **{0.5}** The emperor, deity, personification or soldier holding a *vexillum*/standard with annulet.[69] **{0.5}** Victory in motion presenting a wreath, crowning the emperor, or as an attribute (for example, *victoriola*)[70] **{0.25}** Image of wreath without Victory/in non-military context:[71] — As border **{0.25}**
	Iconographic types including *Vota* inscriptions, affiliated with imperial accession or anniversaries **{1}**[72] *Providentia* messages **{0.25}**[73]	
Civic *Pietas*	All forms of representation referring to the emperor's active and tireless performance of mundane duties on behalf of the Roman polity.	
	Inscriptions including: **{1}** — PIETAS	Associated imagery: Images of an active, moving emperor, lion (representing the emperor) or deity (Mars or Sol) **{1}** Image of Fortuna Redux **{1}** Images of the emperor on a vehicle: **{1}** — Galley[74] — Horse — Eagle — Quadriga Images of an active, moving Victory **{0.5}**

[68] For discussion of the *labarum*'s emergence on Late Roman coinage, its iconographic simplification and functioning as a visual embodiment of emperor-deity relations see **§4.3.3.2** and Appendix 7, **§7.2**.
[69] See Appendix 7, **§7.1** for discussion of the annulet on the *vexillum* as a representation of the emperor's image and divine qualities.
[70] See Betjes 2022: 157-162 and Noreña 2011: 164 on victory as something divinely bestowed which legitimised its possessor. This is most overtly presented in the tetrarchic coins often depicting Jupiter handing Victory to the emperor. The **{0.25}** scoring here looks to recognise that an individual's possession of victory, either as an attribute or through being directly crowned by Victory, insinuates they had received divine approval. The individual receiving or already possessing victory must have therefore fostered correct relations with that deity, indicating their religious *pietas*. Note that, as per Betjes 2022: 178-179, the prevalent iconography of an advancing Victory holding out a wreath is best interpreted as a coronation scene itself, as Victory advances to crown the emperor depicted on the coin's obverse, so such iconography has also been assigned this **{0.25}** score.
[71] See '*Gloria*' category below for discussion of the wreath iconography.
[72] See Bailey 1932: 76, 93-95; Scheid 2003: 101-105 on the inherent religious grounding of *vota* as bargaining between the individual and a deity. Also see Weinstock 1971: 217-220 and Liebeschuetz 1979: 64-65 on the extension of *vota publica* to include prayers for the wellbeing of first Caesar, and later the emperors, for the good of the *res publica*. See Mattingly 1950 and 1951 for an overview of all imperial *vota* coin series.
[73] Charlesworth 1936: 108.
[74] See n.53.

		Image of Hercules[75] **{0.5}** Emperor with captive(s) or trophy **{0.25}** Image of wreath without Victory/in non-military context:[76] — As border **{0.25}**
	Providentia messages **{0.25}**[77]	
Providentia	All forms of representation indicating the emperor's divinely inspired forethought and overseeing of the empire.	
	Inscriptions including: **{1}** — PROVIDENTIA — VOT…MVLT… **{0.5}**	Associated imagery: Globe in the hands of the emperor[78] **{1}** Globe in the hands of deity/personification (Jupiter, Sol, Roma, Constantinopolis) **{0.5}** Altar, sometimes with globe on top[79] **{1}** Image of wreath without Victory/in non-military context:[80] — As border **{0.25}**
	Dynasty messages **{0.25}**[81] *Aeternitas* messages **{0.25}**[82] *Saeculum Aureum* messages **{0.25}**	

[75] On Hercules (and his labours) as an allegorical representation of the emperor toiling for the welfare of mankind see Toynbee 1956: 211. This is echoed in the equation between Hercules and Maximian as 'doers', as per *Pan. Lat.* X.11.6.
[76] See '*Gloria*' category below for discussion of the wreath iconography.
[77] Charlesworth 1936: 110.
[78] While the globe was a widely used attribute in Roman iconography and especially on coinage, alongside the altar it persisted as a key attribute of *Providentia* in particular. Of the 664 pre-fourth century RIC types that identify a personification as *Providentia*, that personification appears with a globe on 570 (86%). This rudimentary coin type analysis demonstrates the correlation between the virtue of *providentia* and the globe, while the panegyrics continued to present this virtue as central to the presentation of imperial authority during the fourth century (see **§3.2.3,** n.415). With the disappearance of personifications on coinage and their replacement by the imperial person, it has been interpreted here that the globe as an isolated attribute (i.e. without Victory atop it) continued as a means of expressing the emperor's foresight over the Roman polity. See also Charlesworth 1936: 109-122, that emphasises *providentia* as an attribute specifically associated with the emperor's person. This direct affiliation between the imperial person and globe as an expression of *providentia* can also be seen, for example, in the coinage of Vespasian (RIC II.1 (second edition) Titus 161-162) and Nerva (RIC II Trajan 28) respectively, in which both emperors' 'foresight' is expressed through their passing of the globe to their heir (Titus and Trajan respectively). Communicated here are the notions of continued stability through secure succession and the bestowing of the imperial attribute of *providentia* upon the heir.
[79] This has only been scored when present as a permanent feature of the iconographic type. This therefore does not include the altar when it appears intermittently as an adjunct and effectively as a control mark or mint variation, such as in the GENIO AVGVSTI/IMPERATORIS/EXERCITVS *nummus* series **[16, 17, 18]**. On the long-established links between *providentia* and altar iconography from reign of Tiberius see Scott 1982.
[80] See '*Gloria*' category below for discussion of the wreath iconography.
[81] Charlesworth 1936; Scott 1982.
[82] Charlesworth 1936.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Concordia[83]</td><td colspan="2">All forms of representation asserting order as attained or maintained through the concord and collegiality between emperors, or between the emperor and army.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inscriptions including: {1}

— CONCORDIA or derivatives
— AVGG(G)[84] or AVGVSTORVM
— CAESS or CAESARVM
— AVG ET CAE(S)
— FIDES</td><td>Associated imagery:[85]

Jupiter and Hercules (tetrarchic household gods) together {1}

Emperors depicted together standing or seated side-by-side, and equal in size {1}

Dextrarum iunctio {1}

Adlocutio as a symbol military authority to be trusted.[86] {0.5}</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Dynasty[87]</td><td colspan="2">All forms of representation promoting the competence and legitimacy of an emperor on the basis of familial or ‘household’ association with another emperor, including presentation of the Augustus-Caesar successional hierarchy; the Augusta as securing future stability and salvation of the empire; or the youthfulness of the junior emperor as a means of ensuring continued stability.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inscriptions including: {1}

— SPES[88]</td><td>Associated Imagery:</td></tr>
</table>

[83] Note that in the case of iconographic type **[167]**, which represents a type where the inscription is unclear and could be either AVG or AVGG(G), this have been given a **{0.5}** score to try and ensure the data is not drastically tilted in favour of one inscription or the other.

[84] This is a notable point of distinction from Manders’s own model, who specifically makes the decision *not* to distinguish between AVG and AVGG legends when discussing presentations of dynasty (Manders 2012: 41, n.158). However, distinguishing between these can be useful for further helping us understand the political relations between different emperors at different times, or how a façade of positive imperial relations may have sometimes been constructed. This can be seen, for example, in the difference between the PROVIDENTIA DEOR(VM) QVIES AVGG type **[9]** issued in the names of Diocletian and Maximian by the second tetrarchy 305-307, and then the continued issuing of the design at *Alexandria* and *Antioch* under Maximinus II Daia between 308-312, but with the inscription changed to PROVIDENTIA DEORVM (QVIES AVG) (type **[170]**). Here the suggestion is that a disgruntled Maximinus, passed over for the position of Augustus in 307, no longer wished to assert his concordial feelings towards his imperial colleagues and sort instead to establish his own credentials based on connection to Diocletian and Maximian. Admittedly, type **[9]** was an AE1, whereas type **[170]** was an AE2 and fraction series, so size reduction may explain the change from AVGG to AVG. However, type **[9]** had shortened DEORVM to DEOR, so there was already precedence for saving space elsewhere in the inscription. Consequently, the engravers of the later type **[170]** could have made room for the additional G if it was central to the political message.

[85] As per Melville-Jones 1990 65-66 and Noreña 2011: 134-135, the standard attributes of the *Concordia* personification were the patera and cornucopia. These were standard attributes for many personifications, meaning there was great overlap between the *Concordia* personification and others. Due to the lack of specificity of these attributes to *Concordia*, they have not been considered here as indicators of the promotion of the *concordia* category.

[86] See Corbeill 2004: 20-21 on the association between the right hand and notion of trust (*fides*).

[87] Since most types grouped to this category would also appear in Manders’ *paradeigmata* category, (representations attempting to associate emperor with great past emperors – see Manders 2012: 45) I have decided to exclude the latter. The only iconographic type to not receive representation in the dynasty category that would have been represented in the *paradeigmata* is the SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI type **[27]**, whose inscription arguably heralds Augustus and Trajan. However, there are only three specimens of this type recorded in my cleaned site-finds dataset, so the non-representation of this facet of its propaganda will have no effect on the overall data.

[88] *Spes* is recurrently used in association with heirs or Caesars as indicative of succession promotion (Melville-Jones 1990: 294, Caza 2021: 206). Also see Abdy 2016: 177 on the medallions on the standard of Constantine’s SPES PVBLICA type **[47]** symbolising Constantine and his two surviving sons; or RIC IX: 113 on SPES REIPVBLICAE emperor and captive **[129]** being associated with Theodosius’s promotion of his sons. The exceptional type here appears to be the SPES ROMANORVM Victory w/wreath and palm **[130]** of the usurper

	— VICTORIAE[89] — MEMORIAE or derivatives — NOVI SAECVLI Inscriptions expressing imperial hierarchy of Augusti and Caesars, and the planned, secure succession this insinuated: **{1}** — AVG ET CAE(S) — CAESAR and derivatives Constantinian Imperial Titles coin series **[45]** with imperial name and titles in three/four lines.[90] **{1}** Promoting of the youthful junior emperor: **{1}** — PRINCIPI(A) IVVENTVTIS[91] Inscriptions referring to Constantinian victory and authority: **{1}** — CONSTANTINIANA DAFNE — HOC SIGNO ERIS VICTOR	Image of co-emperors with size differentation **{1}** Images of the empress or female personification, often including children, associated with empress obverses[92] **{1}** Images depicting or symbolising a deceased imperial ancestor, parent or family member and associated with 'commemorative' deified obverses. **{1}** Images depicting twin Victories[93] Images including 'household' deities **{0.5}:** — Jupiter — Hercules — Sol — *Labarum*/*Chi-Rho* in standard (Christian god)[94] Images of the *Providentia* personification or altar (as symbol of *providentia*) correlating with imperial abdications/accessions.[95] **{1}**
***Aeternitas* Messages**	All forms of representation propagating eternal continuation of the reigning emperor, his invincibility, virtue or glory, the existence of Rome or promise of eternal peace.	
	Inscriptions including: **{1}** — AETERNA or derivatives — PERPETVITAS or derivatives	Associated imagery: N/A

Eugenius. It seems to have shared in the recent language used by Magnus Maximus and the Theodosian dynasty **[92, 129]** to emphasis 'hope', but with no apparent connection to an heir. While Caza (2021: 206) does also show some scepticism towards such an application in the SPES REPVBLICE type of Constantius II and Julian, I have chosen to include this within the dynastic category.

[89] Betjes 2022: 192-196.

[90] Caza 2021: 77-82.

[91] Note, for example, the application of the 'youthful prince' epithet to Constantius I in *Pan. Lat.* IX.6.2 (c.297/8), despite the emperor likely being in his late forties at that time and of a similar age to senior emperors Diocletian and Maximian (Barnes 1982: 30-32, 35; DiMaio 1977: 97-98). The term functioned to promote formalised imperial hierarchy and planned line of succession.

[92] Brubaker and Tobler 2000: 576-579; Hillner 2022: 127-139.

[93] Betjes 2022: 192-196.

[94] For discussion of the *labarum* as a symbol of the Constantinian dynasty see **§4.3.3.2**.

[95] See Scott 1982: 455-456 on the dynastic dimension underpinning *providentia*.

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">Providentia messages {0.25}[96]</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Saeculum Aureum</td><td colspan="2">All forms of representation featuring the abstract, non-material aspects of prosperity (the benefits) that the emperor will bring/has brought beyond notions of victory and restoration, most notably through promises of/assertions of existing stability, continuity and happiness that allude to a ‘golden age’.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inscriptions asserting protection, preservation and stability, including: {1}

— SECVRITAS[97]
— CONSERVATORI or derivatives
— PROPVGNATORI or derivatives
— TVTATORI
— TRANQVILLITAS
— VOT or Vota messages
— QVIES
— VBERTAS
— FELICITAS
— FELIX
— LAETITIA
— GAVDIVM
— BONVS or derivatives
— CLEMENTIA TEMP
— PAX or derivatives
— PACIFERO
— CASTRA</td><td>Associated imagery:

Images of personifications or their associated attributes that do not refer to material matters (like Moneta) but abstract matters like Pax, Fortuna, Fides, Felicitas, Securitas or Quies. {1}</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Aeternitas messages {0.25}

Concordia messages {0.25}

Dynasty messages {0.25}</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Euergesia</td><td colspan="2">‘All forms of representation promoting the social-economical achievements accomplished by the emperor’[98]</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inscriptions including: {1}</td><td>Associated imagery:</td></tr>
</table>

[96] *ILS* I.618; Charlesworth 1936.

[97] For examples of security as maintenance of existing stability see *Pan. Lat.* VIII.3.2; *Pan. Lat.* VII.1.4; *Pan. Lat.* VI.8.1; *Pan. Lat.* XII.2.6-3.1; *Pan. Lat.* IV.2.6; *Pan. Lat.* II.45.1, 45.4. Note however, that *securitas* as a benefit is not exclusively used as an expression of continuity, but also sometimes appears in conjunction restoration narratives in panegyrics (*Pan. Lat.* X.14.4; *Pan. Lat.* VIII.18.4; *Pan. Lat.* V.12.4; *Pan. Lat.* XII.7.5; *Pan. Lat.* II.2.4) and in inscriptions (for example, *ILS* III.8938, which links *securitas* and *libertas*, an association further explored by Walser 1955). Nevertheless, at least in the case of its usage on the coinage, *securitas* was recurrently deployed as a term to assert a mirage of imperial stability. This can be seen in the promotion of the Constantinian dynasty following the final defeat of Licinius (SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE branch **[42]**); the assertions of steady transition following the death of Constantine (SECVRITAS REIP(VB) Securitas **[55]**); and in the endless assertions of imperial stability under Valentinian I and Valens in spite of ongoing Gothic incursions (SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory **[81]**). The notions of *securitas* on base-metal coinage played a central role in the development of exclusionary politics in the fourth century (see Chapter 5 on ‘exclusionary politics’), for which the presentation of ongoing stability was vital. The term is more suitably assigned to the *Saeculum Aureum* category for the purposes of numismatic analysis.

[98] Manders 2012: 44.

	— MONETA — REPARATIO REIP — ABVNDANTIA or derivatives[99]	Images of Moneta **{1}** Images of cities or military camps[100] **{1}** Image of the emperor elevating a female with turreted head (personification of province) **{1}** Attributes associated with physical abundance: **{0.5}**[101] — Cornucopia — Fruit
	Iconographic types including *Vota* inscriptions coinage, affiliated with imperial accession or anniversaries **{0.25}**[102]	
Elevation	'All forms of representation placing the emperor or members of the imperial family beyond [normal] human ranks'[103]	
	Inscriptions including: **{1}** — GENIO AVGG ET CAESARVM NN — GENIO AVGVSTI — GENIO CAESARIS — GENIO IMPERATORIS — BONO GENIO PII IMPERATORIS Inscriptions of iconographic types associated with deified emperors on obverse: **{1}** — MEMORIA FELIX **[14]** — MEMORIAE AETERNIAE **[172, 205]**	Associated imagery: Images of the emperor with divine attributes: **{1}** — Quadriga — Fulmen Images of the emperor's *genius* **{1}** Representation of emperor as 'sidus salutare' (saving star) through star or Christogram above open city gate (camp gate) design.[106] **{1}** Image of the emperor nimbate **{1}** Image of the emperor/empress enthroned **{1}** Emperor holding spear[107] **{0.5}**

[99] On *abundantia* as predominantly in reference to material goods see Noreña 2011: 114.
[100] See Woods 2017 for a revised interpretation of the 'camp-gate' image as a generic representation of a city.
[101] Despite being an obvious expression of physical abundance, the cornucopia is one of the most common attributes of personifications and deities on Roman coinage. Here it has therefore been scored at a **{0.5}** to represent the inherent affiliation of abundance with the affiliated figure unless it is an unusual attribute of that figure (then scored at **{0.75}**) or the emphasis on physical abundance is a central aspect of the personification/deity's identity, such as *Moneta* or *Annona*.
[102] This scoring looks to capture the connection between *vota* coin types and the emperor's physical distribution of wealth (primarily in silver bullion and gold coin) at accession and anniversary celebrations (see Hendy 1985: 187-190).
[103] Manders 2012: 45.
[106] Woods 2017.
[107] Alföldi 1959. Although Alföldi primarily addresses the role of the spear as a symbol of sovereignty in the Republican period, there is no reason to think that this meaning disappeared. Notable is the persistent presence of the spear in the hands of the emperor or deities throughout the Principate and the absence of the sword, despite the prevalence of the latter in military usage at the time. The symbolic usage of the spear ensured its visual perpetuation despite its less common presence in reality.

	— REQVIES OPTIMOR(VM) MERIT(OR) **[177]** — AETERNA PIETAS **[57]** — IVST VEN(ER) MEM(OR) **[63]** — VN MR **[62]** — AETERNAE MEMORIAE **[203]** Iconographic type combining image of imperial family member and affiliated inscription identifying them as glory of or benefit to the empire (for example, GLORIA ROMANORVM **[72, 82, 94, 99, 102, 103, 106, 108, 109, 110, 139, 151]**, SPES REPVBLICAE **[43, 79, 129]**, GLOR ORVIS TERRAR **[111]**) **{0.5}** SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI **[27] {1}**[104] *Vota* coin types **{0.5}**[105]	Emperor/empress receiving object from deity: **{0.5}** — Jupiter — Hercules — *Manus Dei* The emperor, deity, personification or soldier holding a *vexillum*/standard with annulet.[108] **{0.25}** The emperor holding a true *labarum* (or derivatives)[109] **{0.25}**
Gloria	All forms of representation promoting the glory, fame or renown of the imperial person.	
	Inscriptions including: **{1}**	Associated imagery: Image of wreath:[110]

[104] See Betjes 2022: 243-244 on this type making conscious connection to Trajan as an earlier ideal emperor.
[105] For the re-orientation of annual public vows from prays of protection of the *res publica* to prayers for the health of the imperial family see Scheid 2003: 101-105, 159-165; Gradel 2002: 21-22, 370-371; Liebeschuetz 1979: 64-65 and Weinstock 1971: 217-220.
[108] See Appendix 7, **§7.1**.
[109] This has been grouped here on the basis that the *labarum* in part symbolised the special relationship between the emperor and Christian god, framed within the divine *comes* model of traditional Roman religion (**§4.3.3.2** and Appendix 7, **§7.2**), in turn elevating the emperor as chosen by god above other Romans. See 'Religious *Pietas*' section above on the relevance of the *labarum*.
[110] While acknowledging the ambiguity of the wreath and its function, Betjes (2022: 135) nevertheless emphasises this symbol's connotations with the *corona civica* and imperial victory. This interpretation is also supported by the original military context of the *corona civica* (Maxfield 1981: 71-74) and that its transition to an imperial symbol under Augustus was specifically associated with his civil war victories (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 53.16.4; *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 34). The inherent connection to victory has therefore been acknowledged with a **{0.5}** in the *victoria* category. Furthermore, Rowan (2022: 34-36) has demonstrated the use of the *corona civica* beyond its initial military context in various media and contexts, by different social classes, as the concrete signifier of success. On this basis, I have chosen to allocate this symbol to the *gloria* category, equating the wreath as a symbol of imperial success and prestige gained from achievements in general rather than exclusively from military victory. See also Earl 1967: 74-79 on the connection between the demonstration of *virtus* and the resulting *gloria* this brought, where *virtus* is frequently used as a term for virtue in general rather than specifically 'courage' or military success. To reflect *gloria*'s connection to the general demonstration of virtue, when the wreath is present as a border or otherwise not directly related to victory it has also been allocated a **{0.25}** score in all categories affiliated with individual or grouped imperial virtues (religious *pietas*, civic *pietas*, *providentia,* imperial beneficence). A score

	— GLORIA or derivatives — CLARITAS	— As border **{1}** — Victory crowning emperor/Roma **{1}** — As attribute of Victory **{0.5}** — Held by adjunct eagle **{0.5}**
Imperial Beneficence	All forms of representation embodying the emperor's non-military, compassionate virtues such as *clementia, misericordia* or *amicitia*.	
	Inscriptions including: **{1}** — CLEMENT(IA) TEMP — LAETAE or derivatives	Associated Imagery:[111] Emperor raising female figure **{1}** Emperor extending hand down to captive or suppliant **{1}** Emperor receiving captive/suppliant with raised hand **{1}** Passive captive (not being spurned or dragged) **{0.5}**[112] Image of wreath without Victory/in non-military context:[113] — As border **{0.25}**
	Euergesia messages **{0.25}**	
Fides	All forms of representation promoting the specifically Christian identity of the emperor, empress and/or empire and faith specifically in the Christian god.	
	Inscriptions including: N/A	Associated imagery: *Manus Dei* **{1}** Cross, alone or with wreath **{1}** Emperor(s) or Victory holding long cross **{1}** *Chi-Rho*, alone or with wreath **{1}** Empress in aspect of prayer[114] **{1}** Globus cruciger as attribute **{0.75}** The emperor holding a true *labarum* (or derivatives) **{0.5}** Christogram (*Chi-Rho*, Staurogram, cross) in field (non-mintmark) **{0.5}**

of **{0.25}** has however been allocated to *virtus* whenever the wreath is present either as border or in the hands of Victory (see Noreña 2011: 79-80 on the more consistent affiliation between the military component of *virtus* and earning of *gloria* in Livy and imperial writers).

[111] Barden-Dowling 2006: 158-160, 177-178, 190-191, 213-214, 260-261, 269-270.

[112] Brilliant 1963: 150.

[113] See '*Gloria*' category above for discussion of the wreath iconography.

[114] As per the SALVS REIPVBLICAE empress type **[98]** – see *RIC* IX: 205.

		Victory inscribing *Chi-Rho* on shield **{0.5}**

Appendix 6: Proportional Per-Site Averages of Iconographic Types (displayed per-period)[115]

Period 1 (284-294):

Type No.	Type Name	Pan-Imperial Average	Western Average	Eastern Average	British Sites	Western Group 2	Eastern Group 1	Eastern Group 3.1
1	CONCORDIA MILITVM Emperor and Jupiter	34.7%	10.0%	46.0%	0.0%	0.0%	37.4%	47.0%
8	IOVI CONSERVATORI (AVG)	13.0%	20.0%	9.9%	0.0%	33.3%	2.8%	35.3%
125	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG Emperor and Jupiter	9.9%	0.0%	14.4%	0.0%	0.0%	26.9%	0.0%
122	IOVI ET HERCVLI CONS Jupiter and Hercules	9.9%	0.0%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	1.0%
155	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG/CAESS	8.0%	16.6%	4.1%	16.7%	16.7%	2.8%	8.3%
223	PAXX AVGG Pax	4.4%	14.0%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%
176	IOVI AVGG	4.1%	13.2%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
183	IOVI TVTATORI AVGG	3.5%	11.2%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
186	CLEMENT(IA) TEMP	3.3%	6.3%	2.0%	16.7%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%
161	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG Emperor and Jupiter	2.0%	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	6.6%	1.0%
147	CONSERVATOR AVGG Hercules	1.7%	0.0%	2.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
215	IOVI FVLGERATORI Jupiter advancing	1.6%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%
3	GENIO POP(VLI) ROM(ANI)	1.3%	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	2.8%	3.3%
160	PRINCIPI IVVENTVT(IS) Spear and globe	0.6%	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
144	PROVIDENT(IA) AVG Providentia	0.5%	1.3%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
123	HERCVLI CONSERVAT	0.4%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
140	CONCORDIAE AVGG	0.4%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
191	CONSERVATOR AVGG Jupiter	0.4%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
146	VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM Hercules	0.2%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%

[115] For the process of calculating these average per-period scores see Appendix 2, **§2.1.1**.

Period 2 (294-307):

Type No.	Type Name	Pan-Imperial Average	Western Average	Eastern Average	British Sites	Western Group 2	Eastern Group 1	Eastern Group 3.1
1	CONCORDIA MILITVM Emperor and Jupiter	48.9%	12.3%	77.5%	0.0%	17.2%	82.3%	86.9%
3	GENIO POP(VLI) ROM(ANI)	26.7%	38.4%	17.5%	85.2%	21.4%	15.5%	10.1%
4	*Vota* wreath	15.3%	34.9%	0.0%	0.0%	50.1%	0.0%	0.0%
126	SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL/AVCTA KART	1.9%	1.6%	2.2%	0.0%	4.1%	0.0%	0.0%
187	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma and emperor in temple	1.9%	3.6%	0.5%	2.9%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%
7	SACRA MONETA	1.9%	2.2%	1.6%	2.5%	3.8%	1.0%	0.0%
195	VIRTVS MILITVM Camp gate and sacrificing emperors	1.2%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
9	PROVIDENTIA DEOR(VM) QVIES AVGG	1.1%	2.6%	0.0%	6.6%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%
185	QVIES AVGG	0.3%	0.8%	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
12	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma in Temple	0.2%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
6	FELIX ADVENT AVGG NN Africa	0.2%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%
218	VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN Emperor charging	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%
2	GENIO AVGG ET CAESARVM NN	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Period 3 (307-317)

Type No.	Type Name	Pan-Imperial Average	Western Average	Eastern Average	British Sites	Western Group 2	Eastern Group 1	Eastern Group 3.1
22	SOLI INVICTO COMITI	51.7%	70.0%	38.5%	74.0%	87.2%	50.1%	46.4%
8	IOVI CONSERVATORI (AVG)	14.3%	6.6%	19.9%	0.0%	2.5%	13.8%	30.3%
155	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG/CAESS	9.6%	0.0%	16.5%	0.0%	0.0%	8.0%	14.6%
212	GENIO AVGVSTI/ CAESARIS/IMPERATORIS	6.1%	0.0%	10.4%	0.0%	0.0%	9.5%	8.6%
3	GENIO POP(VLI) ROM(ANI)	4.0%	9.1%	0.3%	17.7%	9.0%	0.0%	0.0%
12	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma in temple	1.8%	3.6%	0.5%	0.0%	1.4%	0.6%	0.0%
11	VENERI VICTRICI	1.5%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%
174	SOLI INVICTO COMITI Bust of Sol	1.3%	0.3%	2.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
23	VIRTVS/VIRTVTI EXERCITVS Virtus/Mars	1.1%	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%
25	APOLLONI SANCTO w/Antioch *genius* obv.	0.9%	0.0%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%
27	SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI	0.9%	1.1%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%
217	DEO SANCTO NILO w/DEO SANCTO SARAPIDI obv.	0.9%	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	3.8%	0.0%
13	MARTI CONSERVATORI Mars standing	0.8%	2.0%	0.0%	3.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
192	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma and Victory	0.6%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
193	FIDES MILITVM (AVG N)	0.6%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
178	COMITI AVGG NN Sol	0.5%	1.3%	0.0%	3.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
24	SOLE INVICTO Sol w/Serapis	0.5%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
26	PACI PERPET	0.5%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
118	HERCVLI VICTORI	0.4%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
141	FVNDAT PACIS	0.4%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
170	PROVIDENTIA DEORVM (QVIES AVG)	0.3%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%
163	SAPIENTIA PRINCIPIS	0.3%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
189	AETERNITAS AVG N Castor and Pollux	0.3%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%
160	PRINCIPI IVVENTVT(IS) Spear and globe	0.2%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
5	*Vota Mvlt* wreath	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
162	GLORIA PERPET Two Victories	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
61	VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm	0.1%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%

Period 4 (317-324)

Type No.	Type Name	Pan-Imperial Average	Western Average	Eastern Average	British Sites	Western Group 2	Eastern Group 1	Eastern Group 3.1
4	*Vota* wreath	27.3%	30.6%	25.0%	20.0%	42.2%	19.6%	34.4%
8	IOVI CONSERVATORI (AVG)	17.3%	3.5%	26.8%	0.0%	0.0%	31.1%	12.2%
34	VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP Two Victories	14.4%	20.9%	9.9%	27.3%	24.2%	3.8%	16.6%
39	BEATA TRANQVILLITAS	11.5%	24.7%	2.4%	45.9%	17.3%	0.0%	0.0%
22	SOLI INVICTO COMITI	6.0%	4.4%	7.0%	1.8%	2.0%	9.6%	0.0%
155	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG/CAESS	5.7%	0.6%	9.3%	0.0%	0.0%	16.0%	4.0%
37	VIRTVS EXERCIT *Vota* standard	4.8%	6.2%	3.7%	0.0%	11.2%	1.6%	10.2%
5	*Vota Mvlt* wreath	2.7%	0.5%	4.2%	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%
32	PRINCIPI(A) IVVENTVTIS Spear and shield	2.3%	0.6%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	8.2%	1.3%
29	PROVIDENTIAE AVGG Gate	1.5%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%
30	PROVIDENTIAE CAESS Gate	1.0%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%	1.3%
28	CLARITAS REIPVB(LICAE) Sol standing	0.9%	0.3%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%
33	ROMAE AETERNAE	0.7%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%
40	SARMATIA DEVICTA	0.5%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
177	REQVIES OPTIMOR(VM) MERIT(OR)	0.5%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
172	MEMORIAE AETERNAE Eagle	0.5%	1.2%	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
119	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG Eagle	0.5%	0.7%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
134	VIRT EXERC Sol in Camp	0.5%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%
247	IOVI CONSERVATORI Jupiter advancing	0.3%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%
199	CLARITAS REIPVB(LICAE) Sol Advancing	0.3%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
205	MEMORIAE AETERNAE Lion	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%
38	VIRTVS EXERCIT Trophy	0.2%	0.5%	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
138	VICTORIA CAESS NN Victory w/ wreath and palm types	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
35	VIRTVS AVGG Gate	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Period 5 (324-330):

Type No.	Type Name	Pan-Imperial Average	Western Average	Eastern Average	British Sites	Western Group 2	Eastern Group 1	Eastern Group 3.1
29	PROVIDENTIAE AVGG Gate	42.6%	40.4%	44.2%	36.7%	37.5%	46.4%	34.1%
30	PROVIDENTIAE CAESS Gate	32.4%	28.8%	35.0%	41.0%	25.6%	34.6%	40.9%
42	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE Branch	11.2%	12.6%	10.3%	1.8%	14.1%	11.2%	25.0%
44	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Empress and children	3.3%	2.4%	4.0%	6.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
4	*Vota* wreath	2.5%	3.3%	2.0%	0.0%	3.2%	0.0%	0.0%
45	Imperial Title Text	1.9%	1.9%	1.9%	1.8%	0.0%	4.8%	0.0%
35	VIRTVS AVGG Gate	1.3%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	10.6%	0.0%	0.0%
43	SPES REPVBLICAE Empress and children	1.1%	1.5%	0.8%	4.2%	1.7%	2.0%	0.0%
142	CONSTANTINIANA DAFNE	0.9%	0.3%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%
36	VIRTVS CAESS Gate	0.9%	2.2%	0.0%	4.3%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%
51	GLORIA EXERCITVS Emperor	0.9%	1.4%	0.5%	1.8%	4.2%	0.0%	0.0%
40	SARMATIA DEVICTA	0.7%	1.6%	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
41	ALAMANNIA DEVICTA	0.1%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%

Period 6 (330-340):

Type No.	Type Name	Pan-Imperial Average	Western Average	Eastern Average	British Sites	Western Group 2	Eastern Group 1	Eastern Group 3.1
53	GLORIA EXERCITVS One standard	51.5%	47.3%	54.4%	34.7%	55.0%	58.4%	55.4%
52	GLORIA EXERCITVS Two standards	23.7%	23.9%	23.6%	24.5%	17.7%	25.3%	22.7%
49	Victory on Prow w/Constantinopolis Obv.	10.5%	14.8%	7.5%	22.1%	11.1%	3.6%	8.4%
50	Wolf and Twins w/VRBS ROMA Obv.	9.2%	12.7%	6.8%	18.6%	10.4%	5.3%	4.6%
56	Quadriga	3.7%	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%	0.0%	7.3%	8.9%
55	SECVRITAS REIP(VB) Securitas	0.8%	1.3%	0.4%	0.0%	5.7%	0.0%	0.0%
59	PAX PVBLICA	0.5%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
54	VIRTVS AVGVSTI	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Period 7 (340-348):

Type No.	Type Name	Pan-Imperial Average	Western Average	Eastern Average	British Sites	Western Group 2	Eastern Group 1	Eastern Group 3.1
64	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN Victories	44.9%	83.8%	18.0%	100.0%	75.7%	19.0%	20.5%
5	*Vota Mvlt* wreath	44.6%	14.2%	65.7%	0.0%	19.4%	65.4%	62.7%
62	VN MR	10.1%	2.0%	15.8%	0.0%	5.0%	15.6%	16.8%
61	VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm	0.2%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
63	IVST VEN MEM	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Period 8 (348-363)

Type No.	Type Name	Pan-Imperial Average	Western Average	Eastern Average	British Sites	Western Group 2	Eastern Group 1	Eastern Group 3.1
69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman	73.3%	72.0%	74.2%	67.2%	84.8%	77.6%	72.9%
76	SPES REIPVBLICE Emperor	19.2%	11.9%	24.2%	0.0%	12.2%	21.7%	25.7%
60	VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE(S) Vot Mvlt WITHOUT *Chi-Rho*	3.4%	8.3%	0.0%	15.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
66	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Phoenix	1.9%	4.2%	0.3%	11.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%
68	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Galley	1.1%	2.0%	0.5%	3.3%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%
65	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Hut	0.3%	0.5%	0.3%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%
73	FELICITAS REIPVBLICE Emperor and standard	0.3%	0.8%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
131	VIRT EXERC ROMANOR	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
77	SECVRITAS REIPVB Bull	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
5	*Vota Mvlt* wreath	0.1%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Period 9 (363-378):

Type No.	Type Name	Pan-Imperial Average	Western Average	Eastern Average	British Sites	Western Group 2	Eastern Group 1	Eastern Group 3.1
81	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory	52.9%	58.0%	49.4%	55.4%	60.7%	54.1%	36.5%
82	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor and captive	43.9%	38.3%	47.8%	35.1%	39.3%	44.9%	60.2%
86	GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI	1.5%	3.7%	0.0%	9.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
80	RESTITVTOR REIP(VBLICAE)	1.1%	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	2.2%
85	REPARATIO FEL TEMP Standard and *Chi-Rho*	0.3%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
4	*Vota* wreath	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%
188	GLORIA ROMANORVM Victory w/wreath and palm	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%

Period 10 (378-388):

Type No.	Type Name	Pan-Imperial Average	Western Average	Eastern Average	British Sites	Western Group 2	Eastern Group 1	Eastern Group 3.1
5	*Vota Mvlt* wreath	44.5%	32.2%	53.1%	49.0%	8.1%	69.9%	46.7%
90	REPARATIO REIPVB	13.7%	29.8%	2.6%	1.3%	81.0%	0.7%	9.0%
101	VICTORIA AVGGG Two Victories	8.7%	17.5%	2.6%	14.8%	9.6%	3.3%	2.3%
87	CONCORDIA AVGGG Roma	6.5%	3.1%	8.9%	2.5%	0.0%	8.9%	0.0%
4	*Vota* wreath	4.4%	0.6%	7.0%	2.0%	0.0%	1.8%	15.6%
92	SPES ROMANORVM Gate	4.3%	10.2%	0.3%	17.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
94	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor on ship	2.5%	0.0%	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%	2.8%	0.0%
61	VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm	2.5%	4.5%	1.1%	9.2%	0.0%	1.4%	1.5%
209	GLORIA REIPVBLICE Gate WITHOUT Staurogram	2.5%	0.3%	4.0%	0.0%	1.3%	2.3%	4.7%
88	CONCORDIA AVGGG Constantinopolis w/globe	2.3%	0.0%	3.9%	0.0%	0.0%	4.7%	0.0%
95	VIRTVS EXERCITI Emperor and captive	2.2%	0.0%	3.6%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%
93	VIRTVS AVGGG Emperor on ship	1.2%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	9.1%
82	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor and captive	1.1%	0.4%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	3.4%
152	VICTORIA AVG Two Victories	1.1%	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%
89	VIRTVS ROMANORVM Roma	1.0%	1.5%	0.7%	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
96	GLORIA REIPVBLICE Gate WITH Staurogram	1.0%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.3%
97	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and shield	0.3%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%
99	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor w/ standard, shield and captive	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Period 11 (388-408):

Type No.	Type Name	Pan-Imperial Average	Western Average	Eastern Average	British Sites	Western Group 2	Eastern Group 1	Eastern Group 3.1
100	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive w/Christogram	40.9%	36.3%	44.1%	34.1%	12.0%	29.8%	85.4%
61	VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm	15.5%	37.5%	0.3%	65.9%	9.8%	0.7%	0.0%
104	VIRTVS EXERCITI Emperor and Victory	11.3%	0.0%	19.2%	0.0%	0.0%	20.6%	1.1%
201	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive - Christogram UNCERTAIN	9.9%	5.0%	13.3%	0.0%	7.1%	23.5%	1.2%
108	GLORIA ROMANORVM Three emperors	5.9%	0.0%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.5%	1.5%
103	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor w/standard	5.9%	11.6%	1.9%	0.0%	52.1%	0.0%	0.0%
105	CONCORDIA AVGGG Cross	1.9%	0.7%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0%	2.1%	6.4%
107	VRBS ROMA FELIX	1.9%	4.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
167	VICTORIA AVG or AVGG(G) Victory w/ wreath and palm types - Uncertain	1.5%	2.8%	0.7%	0.0%	12.5%	1.8%	0.0%
196	CONCORDIA AVGG Constantinopolis w/*victoriola*	1.3%	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
156	CONCORDIA AVG Cross	1.3%	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%	3.0%
157	CONCORDIA AVG or AVGGG Cross - Uncertain	0.8%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	1.3%
102	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor riding	0.7%	1.4%	0.2%	0.0%	6.5%	0.0%	0.0%
200	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive WITHOUT Christogram	0.6%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%
171	SALVS REIPVBLICE Victory w/wreath and palm	0.4%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%
97	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and shield	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Period 12 (408-425):

Type No.	Type Name	Pan-Imperial Average	Western Average	Eastern Average	British Sites	Western Group 2	Eastern Group 1	Eastern Group 3.1
110	GLORIA ROMANORVM Two emperors shield	42.4%	15.4%	50.0%	0.0%	50.0%	46.7%	41.5%
109	GLORIA ROMANORVM Two emperors globe	23.5%	1.1%	29.8%	0.0%	0.0%	31.0%	30.7%
61	VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm	10.6%	24.8%	6.6%	0.0%	0.0%	5.1%	17.7%
100	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive w/Christogram	6.1%	2.2%	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%	13.3%	9.0%
139	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor, suppliant and captive	5.8%	22.7%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	2.2%	1.1%
74	VRBS ROMA	3.4%	15.4%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%
211	CONCORDIA AVG Empress	3.3%	0.0%	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
151	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor w/ standard and shield	3.0%	13.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
207	VICTORIA ROMANORVM Victory w/wreath and palm	0.9%	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
167	VICTORIA AVG or AVGG(G) Victory w/ wreath and palm types - Uncertain	0.5%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%
154	VICT(ORIA) AVG Victory w/ wreath and palm types	0.2%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
111	GLOR ORVIS TERRAR	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Period 13 (425-455):

Type No.	Type Name	Pan-Imperial Average	Western Average	Eastern Average	British Sites	Western Group 2	Eastern Group 1	Eastern Group 3.1
114	Cross in wreath	64.9%	46.5%	69.1%	0.0%	0.0%	69.2%	71.8%
61	VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm	8.7%	16.7%	6.9%	0.0%	0.0%	5.7%	16.6%
113	CONCORDIA AVG victory	8.6%	0.0%	10.6%	0.0%	0.0%	11.3%	2.7%
167	VICTORIA AVG or AVGG(G) Victory w/ wreath and palm types - Uncertain	5.1%	8.2%	4.4%	0.0%	0.0%	7.4%	0.0%
169	VOT PVB Camp Gate	2.2%	6.3%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
4	*Vota* wreath	2.0%	9.5%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%
115	VT XXX V	1.8%	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%
149	Monogram	1.1%	1.5%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	1.3%
246	VICTORIA AVGGG Emperor w/long cross and victoriola	1.0%	5.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
171	SALVS REIPVBLICE Victory w/wreath and palm	0.9%	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%
117	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Cross	0.9%	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
153	VICTORIA AVGG two victories	0.8%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	2.9%
100	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive w/Christogram	0.5%	1.7%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%
116	VICTORIA AVGG Victory and captive	0.5%	1.7%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%
165	VICTORIA AVG Emperor(?) with spear and globe	0.4%	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
5	*Vota Mvlt* wreath	0.3%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%

Appendix 7: From *Vexillum* to *Labarum*. An Interpretation of Military Standards and Their Political Messaging on Late Roman Base-Metal Coinage

As is extensively discussed in Chapter 4, the 'Military Representation' theme, comprised of the *virtus* and *victoria* propaganda categories, generally dominated the political messages espoused on Late Roman base-metal reverse-types. The category of *virtus* in particular was often presented by the recurrent depiction of a deity, personification or emperor holding one of two attributes: the spear or military standard. The spear (*hasta*) was often used as a symbol to denote the elevated, sovereign position of the emperor in addition to communicating military prowess.[116] It was also consistent in its iconographic depiction and appears on 40.6% of coins in the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset. Conversely, depictions of the military standard, which appears on 18.7% of coins within the 'cleaned' site-finds dataset, varied over the course of the Late Roman period.

This essay provides a chronological survey of the iconographic types that bore the military standard, to detail the various forms that this attribute took. Firstly, it will demonstrate how the base-metal coinage for the late third to mid-fourth century predominantly presented the *vexillum*, which typically contained an annulet that symbolised the image/bust of the emperor. Then, following the base-metal monetary reform of 348, I will show that the true *labarum* replaced the *vexillum* as the prevailing form of the military standard on base-metal coinage. We shall also see that the true *labarum* underwent a process of visual simplification in the second half of the fourth century, where the *Chi-Rho* symbol was often replaced by alternative symbols such as the X, ⁎ or +.

Furthermore, this survey considers the aspects of imperial rulership ideology that these different forms of the military standard were supposed to symbolise, beyond the immediately obvious presentation of military authority and competence. In particular, I will argue that both the *vexillum* bearing the emperor's image and the *labarum* also made at least passing reference to the propaganda category of religious *pietas.* On the *vexillum*, the emperor's icon was insinuated, referring to the imperial cult and the emperor's divine qualities that ensured victory. The *labarum*, it will be argued, visualised the emperor's personal relationship with a deity, in accordance with earlier tetrarchic propaganda, and was never a simple declaration of Christian faith.

[116] Alföldi 1959.

The following analysis will discuss the usage of the military standard on base-metal coinage, alongside reference to a selection of precious metal types, in relation to five phases (A-E). The parameters of these phases are visualised below in Tables 1-5, alongside the symbols depicted on the military standards of each iconographic type and at each mint. It is recommended that these tables are consulted throughout the subsequent analysis.

7.1 *Vexilla* and Annulets: The Emperor's Sacred Image on the Military Standard

7.1.1 Phase A (296-335) – Table 1

By the Late Roman period, the predominant, and perhaps only, form of military standard used by the Roman army was the *vexillum*.[117] The *vexillum* consisted of a spear with crossbar attached, which displayed a flag. It was also the form of standard consistently presented on the coinage of the Late Roman period, most frequently in the hands of the emperor, but also sometimes held by a personification (for example, Pax on type **[26]**) or displayed with the soldiers (for example, types **[52, 53]**). As will be discussed below, over the course of the fourth century the flag of the *vexillum* would come to be occupied by the *Chi-Rho* (☧), comprising the 'true *labarum*', and later by other symbols that I shall argue were simplified versions of the 'true *labarum*'. However, for the first half of the fourth century, whenever the *vexillum* appeared on the coinage its flag almost always contained an annulet (o).

The consistency with which the annulet was depicted can be seen in Table 1.[118] Within Phase A (coins ending production by 335), the twelve different base-metal types that bore the military standard virtually always presented the *vexillum*, and it is only the VIRTVS EXERCIT *Vota* standard type **[37]** that the *vexillum*'s banner did not contain the annulet.[119] Yet, beyond the coinage, *vexilla* could be, and were, decorated in a great variety of ways. The majority of *vexilla* known from archaeological evidence are undecorated, or only showed right-angled ornaments (*gammadia*) in their four corners.[120] In contrast, a single surviving example of an original *vexillum* from Egypt depicted Victory standing atop a globe with wreath and palm in hand, while other decorations could more specifically identify their associated military units.[121]

[117] Fischer 2019: 203; Alexandrescu 2010: 206.
[118] Also see Abdy 2016.
[119] Note that the only examples in which an alternative military standard than the *vexillum* was depicted were the stylistic variations of the GLORIA EXERCITVS two standards type **[52]** from *Trier* and *Lugdunum*. These instead showed only spears whose shafts were decorated with *signa* (see Bruck 1961: 25-27 for visual overview of the varied depictions of the standard at different mints). Despite this variation, as suggested below in n.127, the *signa* of these standards can be interpreted in the same manner as the annulet on *vexillum*.
[120] Rostovtzeff 1942: 95. Also see, for example, Alexandrescu 2010: Taf. 9 (G28), 23 (P8), 28 (P20), 43 (S1), 56 (S13), 60 (S21); Fischer 2019: 14-22, Figs.33, 34, 37, 41, 42, 48, 49 for blank *vexilla* on both funerary epitaphs and public imperial monuments such as Trajan's column, and the arches of Constantine and Galerius.
[121] Fischer 2019: 203-204; Rostovtzeff 1942; Alexandrescu 2010: 202 and Taf. 40 (T1).

Furthermore, the variety of symbols decorating the military standard's banner on iconographic types in the later fourth and early fifth centuries, as shown in Tables 2-5, indicate that varied decoration could be applied to the coinage. The conformity in the *vexillum*'s design on the Phase A base-metal coinage therefore suggests central directives were given to the mints to ensure the annulet specifically was depicted.

What the annulet was intended to communicate is suggested by the first base-metal coin to clearly show a variation of the *labarum*. The SPES PVBLICA base-metal type **[47]** of Constantine I, issued in 327 to commemorate his victory over Licinius, illustrated a serpent skewered by a *vexillum*. On later iconographic types the *Chi-Rho* would appear on the *vexillum*'s banner, but on type **[47]** it surmounted the *vexillum.* Instead, the banner contained three annulets. This depiction of the *vexillum*/*labarum* corresponded closely with Eusebius's own description of the *labarum*, which states how the banner 'carried the golden head-and-shoulders portrait (εἰκόνα) of the God-beloved Emperor, and likewise of his sons'.[122] On type **[47]**, the three annulets represented the portraits (εἰκόνα/*imagines*) of Constantine and his two surviving sons and Caesars, Constantine II and Constantius II.[123] Given pride of place on the emperors standard are the *imagines* of the Augusti and Caesars, clearly promoting Constantinian legitimacy and dynasty.

It should be noted that the presence of the emperor's image on actual military standards was well established by the Late Roman period.[124] The frequent presence of the emperor's image on *vexilla* is also alluded to by accounts of its sometimes forcible removal at times of rebellion.[125] Moreover, the Triumph of Licinius cameo, slightly predating the SPES PVBLICA type **[47]**, included in its imagery a *vexillum* complete with two imperial busts.[126] On the basis of this weight of evidence, it seems appropriate that the interpretation of annulets symbolising imperial portraits on the SPES PVBLIC type can be extended to the other annulet-depicting *vexilla*.[127] Accordingly, the base-metal coinage of Phase A consistently displayed a representation of the emperor's image.

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[122] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 1.31.4-6, trans. Cameron 1999: 81-82.
[123] Note that Caza 2021: 74 dates type **[47]** to 327 based on the combination of the mint-mark and obverse portrait types. The type's production would then post-date the execution of Constantine's eldest son and Caesar Crispus in 326, thus explaining why there are only three annulets. This shows an amendment from the Imperial Title w/four standards silver type **[235]** whose production started in 324, post-dating the defeat of Licinius and advertising the hegemony of Constantine with Crispus, Constantine II and Constantius II as his three Caesars. Type **[235]** later returned to production (see Table 2) following the elevation of Constans to Caesar in 333, when once again Constantine I as Augustus was supported by three Caesars.
[124] Ando 2000: 259-269; Alexandrescu 2010: 206-208.
[125] Herodian 8.5.9. The term used by Herodian for the standard is σημεία, noted as the Greek term of *vexillum* in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.
[126] See Pointon 2017: 105, Fig.4.
[127] Note too that this interpretation may also be expanded to the rare depictions *signa* on the GLORIA EXERCITVS two standards type **[52]** (see n.119). As per Alexandrescu (2010: 150, 207-208) and Fischer (2019: 205-206), the *imagines* of the emperor was also present on *signa* as well as *vexilla*. This is clearly attested on Trajan's column, scene 33. Künzl (1983: 385-393) has suggested the continued presence of the imperial image on *phalerae* attached

How should this permanent allusion to the emperor's image effect our interpretation of the *vexillum* and its political messaging? To consider this, a brief note should be made regarding the character and understanding of the imperial image in the Roman world. The emperor's image was not just a means of promoting his prestige across the empire. It was something fundamentally sacred, which embodied the emperor's divine characteristics.[128] This sacrosanctity was attested in an edict of Constantine I regarding 'the solidi on which appear Our face and which have the same degree of veneration', that stated any defacement of the coinage and imperial image through clipping or melting down was a capital offence.[129] The seriousness with which the defacement of the imperial image was taken is further reflected in the silver *siliquae* of late-fourth century Britain. These *siliquae* have typically be subject to severe clipping at their edges but the imperial image was always carefully preserved.[130] Similarly, the image of the emperor had long been subject to worship at state cult sites and within the Roman household.[131] This included the imperial image on actual army standards, which from the post-Augustan period were kept within sacred shrines (*sacellum*) at military camps.[132] Because the Phase A base-metal coins that depict the *vexillum* continuously made allusions to the sacred image of the emperor and his divine qualities, I have also interpreted them as expressions of religious *pietas*.

During this initial phase, we can observe the standardised representation of the military standard on the base-metal coinage, with a specific, set decoration. Despite the possibility of bearing an array of designs or even remaining blank, the *vexillum*'s flag was consistently depicted containing the annulet, indicating centralised directive. On a medium where space was greatly restricted, the annulet was shorthand for the emperor's image, itself an expression of imperial authority and divine qualities. In the case of the annulet-in-*vexillum*, we find a desire not only to present 'Military Representation' messages, but also underlying emphasis on the imperial cult and elevation of the quasi-divine emperor.

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to the *signum* under the tetrarchy, a fact which is supported by the depiction of the emperors' *imagines* on a *signum* as a pilaster decoration at Galerius's palace at Gamzigrad, whose construction dates to around 305 (Zivic 2007). The discontinuity of the *signum* in the late Roman period alongside the examples of the emperor's image on the *vexillum* from the 310s-320s may suggest the permanent migration of imperial images from *signum* to *vexillum* during this timeframe.

[128] Hopkins 1978: 1978: 219-226; Price 1984: 191-206; Ando 2000: 236-239.

[129] *CTh*.9.22. See also *CTh*.9.38.6, which condemns the imitation of the emperor's 'sacred countenance' (*sacri oris*) and 'divine features' (*divinorum vultuum*). *De Rebus Bellicis* 3.1 similarly shows concern about the debasement of the solidus diminishing 'the prestige of the Sovereign's likeness' (*regiae maiestatis imaginem*). Also see Justinian, *Digest* 48.4.4-6 on punishments for the defacement of consecrated images and statues of the emperor.

[130] Guest 2010: 199-200.

[131] Ensslin 1943: 18-53; Gradel 2002: 162-212.

[132] Fischer 2019: 234; Stoll 1992: 9-10, 23-25.

7.2 The *Labarum*: Its Emergence and Simplification on Late Roman Base-Metal Coinage

As mentioned above, the *labarum* was an altered form of the *vexillum* introduced by Constantine. It incorporated the *Chi-Rho* as a means of promoting his victories attained in partnership with the Christian god. As a symbol the *labarum* encapsulated many aspects of imperial rulership ideology. The inherent military context clearly referred to the emperor's personal might and prowess as a commander, his *virtus*. Moreover, the reference to the Christian god as the granter of victories also insinuates religious *pietas*, as the emperor dutifully fostered a personal relationship with a god to ensure the empire's security. This framework for presenting the attainment of divinely ordained victory was directly comparable to the tetrarchic model of cultivating a connection between the emperor and his divine *comes*, which sat firmly within the thought space of traditional Roman religious practices.[133] The *labarum* similarly carried the associated implication of elevation, presented by the fact that it was the emperor alone who had the special relationship with the god, and he alone who could ensure Roman victory. Finally, the *Chi-Rho* itself made some inference to Christian *fides*. Although affiliation of the Christian god was presented in a military context and through a seemingly pagan prism, the Christian identity of the emperor was still also being alluded to.

Despite first appearing on the SPES PVBLICA type **[47]** in 327, the *labarum* was slow to emerge as a recurrent feature of Late Roman base-metal coinage, and then lacked consistency in its depiction. The standardised *vexillum*-with-annulet motif largely disappeared c.348. It was never replaced by another single standard design, such as uniform depiction of the *Chi-Rho* (☧). Rather the *Chi-Rho* shared the *vexillum* banner with other similar signs, like the staurogram (☩), cross (+), X, or X with vertical bar (∗). This lack of consistency prompts the question: were the above-defined aspects of imperial rulership ideology only communicated by the *Chi-Rho*/'true *labarum*', or should the alternative *vexilla* also be considered *labara* that communicated the same messages? I have favoured the latter interpretation. To justify this choice, **§7.2** provides a brief overview of the *labarum* on Late Roman base-metal coinage. Beyond considering the *labarum*'s emergence, I explain the initial variations from the true *labarum* and advocate for a quite rapid process of visual simplification of the 'true *labarum*'. This will show that an X, +, ∗ or ☩ in the *vexillum* should all be read as symbolic synonyms of the *Chi-Rho*.

[133] On the use of divine *comes* and the fostering of correct religious practices in the early fourth century see **§4.1.1, §4.1.2** and **§5.1.1.1**.

7.2.1 Phase B (336-c.348) – Table 2

Phase B marked a transitionary timespan between the predominance of the annulet-in-*vexillum* (Phase A, 296-335), and the *labarum*'s programmatic, pan-imperial presentation (Phase C, 348-352). In Phase B we find signs that the *labarum* was establishing a firmer presence in the Roman semantic system. It was with the GLORIA EXERCITVS One Standard type **[53]** that multiple mints (*Lugdunum*, *Arelate*, *Aquileia* and *Sisica*) started depicting the 'true *labarum*' on base-metal coinage. However, Abdy has convincingly identified these occurrences as control marks selected specifically by local mint officials.[134] Use of the *Chi-Rho* may allude to the Christian identity of some of the mint workers.[135] The variation between these four mints and their simultaneous use of numerous other symbols in the *vexillum*'s banner clearly supports Abdy's conclusion.

There was certainly no evidence that the mints had been ordered to specifically depict the *labarum*. Therefore, type **[53]** does not represent the state's intention to communicate the various aspects of imperial ideology encapsulated by the *labarum*. This inconsistent use of the *labarum* as a feature of internal mint choices is also demonstrated by the design variations of the TRIVMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM gold and silver types **[180]** from *Trier* and *Thessalonica*. At both mints the gold coins bore the *labarum*, while the silver coins included a *vexillum* with a wreath or annulet. The lack of internal coherence within these production sites indicates a lack of intent to specifically present the *labarum* over the standard *vexillum*. Nevertheless, Phase B captures the increasing presence of the *labarum* as the *de facto* military standard of the empire within the wider consciousness, or at least within the administrative structure of state-employed artisans.

7.2.2 Phase C (348-352) – Table 3

Phase C began with the base-metal monetary reforms of 348 and the introduction of new coin types. It also marked a four-year timespan during which depictions of the 'true *labarum'* proliferated, while the annulet-in-*vexillum* motif was simultaneously abandoned. During Phase C there was almost complete uniformity in the depiction of the 'true *labarum*' at western and central mints.[136] It was the first time uniform depiction of the 'true *labarum*' occurred both within

[134] Abdy 2012c; Abdy 2016.
[135] Abdy 2016: 175.
[136] The main exception to this is annulet in standard appearing on the FELICITAS REIPVBLICE emperor and standard type **[73]** at *Arelate*. While there is evidence of some minor variation from dies produced at *Trier* and *Siscia* for the FEL TEMP REPARATIO Galley w/Phoenix on Globe type **[68]**, the vast majority of such coins from these mints bear the true *labarum*, suggesting that variations of ☩ and ⁎ were likely personal innovations, simplifications or even blunders made by the die-engraver, which ran counter to central directive to depict the true *labarum*.

and between mints. On the basis of this consistency, we can conclude the 'true *labarum*' was intentionally included as a principal design feature, in accordance with central imperial directive, rather than as an administrative control mark. Consequently, these depictions of the 'true *labarum*' sought to communicate associated aspects of imperial rulership ideology.

Yet the eastern mints provide a notable caveat to the consistent depiction of the 'true *labarum*'. Sometimes they used the *Chi-Rho* alongside other symbols, or not at all. A possible explanation is the existence of conflicting narratives between the east and west regarding Constantine's vision in 312 and the *labarum*'s exact form. The two main versions of this vision are from the Gallic rhetorician Lactantius (in Latin) and Christian bishop Eusebius of Caesarea (in Greek).[137] A central point of difference between these two accounts was the symbol Constantine saw. Lactantius clearly stated that Constantine had a vision of the *Chi-Rho* and consequently had his soldiers place that symbol on their shields to secure victory. Eusebius claimed Constantine saw the cross, and then commanded the construction of the *labarum*, consisting of golden cross, topped by a *Chi-Rho* in wreath and with a banner bearing the portraits of Constantine and his sons. Eusebius's narrative was constructed in the 330s, post-dating the apparent vision and Lactantius's own account by many years, and his aggressively Christianised revision of previous accounts has been well noted.[138] This revisionism suggests the creation of a later competing narrative within the eastern empire, muddying the iconographic waters, that did not exist in the Latin west. Understanding of what constituted the 'true *labarum*' may have been further complicated by the circulating of other forms of Christ's monogram in the east, such as the Iota-Chi or the staurogram (⁋).[139]

In the Greek east, the more detailed *labarum* from Eusebius's revisionist narrative, which included both cross and *Chi-Rho*, alongside pre-established use of other Greek monograms, may indicate a degree of confusion regarding the exact form of the 'true *labarum*'*.* Consequently, the imperial directive to depict the *labarum*, symbolising Constantinian military victory and partnership with divinity, resulted in the various formulations of the *labarum.* Conversely, in the western and central provinces Lactantius's narrative worked alongside other pro-Constantinian celebrations, like triumphs,[140] to ensure the *Chi-Rho* was the single symbol used when depicting the *labarum*.

[137] Lactantius, *On the Death of the Persecutors* 44.4-5; Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 1.28-29, 31.
[138] López Sánchez 2016.
[139] Abdy 2016: 170-177.
[140] López Sánchez 2016: 155

7.2.3 Phase D (363-378) – Table 4

Yet this relatively consistent depiction of the *labarum* was fleeting, lasting only around four years until 352. It was not until 363, over a decade later, that the emperor with standard would appear on the base-metal coinage again. From that point though, the beginning of Phase D, the 'true *labarum*' was frequently substituted for a *vexillum* containing just an X. While this may be interpreted as a deliberate choice to no longer depict the sign of Constantinian victory after the ending of that dynasty, there is good evidence that instead points to a process of artistic simplification.

A first example is the tri-metallic RESTITVTOR REIP(VBLICAE) iconographic type **[80]**, issued only in 364. The eastern mints continued to use various 'Christian' motifs to decorate the *vexillum* rather than just the *Chi-Rho* alone, as they had in Phase C. However, at the western and central mints both precious metal versions of type **[80]** consistently presented the 'true *labarum*' while the base-metal variants consistently included the simple X. With the precious metal and base-metal coinage produced separately, we are likely witnessing artistic simplification being exercised by producers of the latter. As precious metal coin production was more closely controlled and affiliated with the imperial courts, there would have been greater quality control and implementation of imperial directives.[141] Moreover, precious metal coinages were produced in lower numbers than their base-metal equivalents, requiring the production of less dies and allowing for the greater attention to design quality. Workers at the precious metal mints also held higher legal status and prestige than their counterparts at the base-metal mints, so likely included more skilled die-engravers.[142] In contrast, the operation of base-metal mints was several steps removed from the upper echelons of imperial government.[143] That detachment allowed for inconsistency or variation in the application of imperial directives, as we have already seen in the eastern mints from Phase C. Die-engravers at the base-metal mints instead generally favoured the X as short-hand for the 'true *labarum*', which was quicker to engrave than the more complicated *Chi-Rho*.

The initial minting period of the GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor and captive type **[82]**, between 364-367, appears to then indicate stricter imperial directives reacting against artistic simplification of the 'true *labarum*'. During this timeframe *Trier*, *Lugdunum*, *Arelate*, *Aquileia*, *Siscia*, *Sirmium* and *Heraclea* all exclusively depicted the 'true *labarum'*. Although there is

[141] On the attachment of the precious metal mints to the imperial courts see Kent 1956: 198-204; Hendy 1985: 386-394; Grierson and Mays 1992: 30-31, 50.
[142] Bond 2016: 240-243.
[143] RIC VI: 88-93; Hendy 1985: 371-386; Bond 2016: 237-239.

some evidence of variation at *Rome*, *Thessalonica* and *Constantinople*, most of their type **[82]** coins from 364-367 also depicted a *Chi-Rho* in the *vexillum*.

However, in the following period for 367-378, from the accession of Gratian, only *Lugdunum*, *Aquileia* and *Siscia* maintained exclusive depiction of the 'true *labarum*'. *Sirmium* closed in 365, though did diligently present the 'true *labarum*' during that year too. Variation between the *Chi-Rho* and ⁎ appeared from 367 at *Trier*; at *Arelate* the *Chi-Rho* and ☧ began to co-exist. At both *Rome* and *Constantinople* the *Chi-Rho* was entirely dropped for X and ⁎, while at *Thessalonica* the previously dominant *Chi-Rho* now appeared alongside ☧, ⁎ and X. Effort to depict the 'true *labarum*' across the western and central mints between 364-367 and reverse the process of visual simplification appears to have been short-lived. From 367, upon receiving the request to continue producing type **[82]** and incorporate the newly elevated emperor Gratian, local mint variation remerged, including the preference of their die-engravers to favour simplified depictions of the *labarum*.

The simplification of the 'true *labarum*' to other symbols was not a corruption and did not hinder its ability to communicate. Though the base-metal mint workers may have had more connection to imperial politics than the wider populace simply because of their proximity to the state, they were still very much part of the public and not isolated from it.[144] On the basis of their interconnection with Roman society, they arguably stand as good representatives of the imperial citizenry in general, operating within the same semantic system. The consistency with which workers at different mints simplified the same motif stands as good evidence that the simplifications were broadly established and widely understood.

7.2.4 Phase E (383-455) – Table 5

Moving into Phase E, simplification of the 'true *labarum*' only became more prevalent. From the 380s the only occurrences of the 'true *labarum*' on base-metal coinage were at *Rome*, *Aquileia* and *Siscia* when type **[82]** was re-issued by Valentinian II.[145] *Aquileia* and *Siscia* were the only mints to depict just the *Chi-Rho* throughout Phase D, so their continued presentation of the 'true *labarum*' in Phase E was seemingly just because of minting tradition and the possible copying of the earlier dies.[146] The point here is that the 'true *labarum*' was only

[144] Indeed, mint workers' regular contact and integration with wider society is reflected in *De Rebus Bellicis* 3.2, that suggests mint workers should be taken to a single island and entirely isolated from wider society to prevent fraudulent practices. On issues of mint workers being suspected of fraudulently interacting with or coining the bullion of private citizens also see *CTh.*IX.21.2, IX.21.7-8.
[145] As per Caza 2021: 318, this reissuing by Valentinian II was likely on a commemorative basis to draw parallels to Valentinian I, his father.
[146] See Betjes 2022: 232-275 for extensive discussion of the mints' awareness of numismatic tradition and earlier iconographic types.

depicted in this later phase when it was making explicit reference to earlier designs, when mints had more diligently presented the *Chi-Rho*.

Phase E also provides further evidence favouring the interpretation of the X or ⁎ as simplified depictions of the *Chi-Rho*. Looking beyond the contents of the *vexilla*, the SALVS REIPVBLICAE type **[97]** of Flacilla depicted a seated Victory inscribing a shield with the *Chi-Rho*. This was issued as two denominations (AE2 and AE4), with the larger depicting a ⁑ on the shield and the smaller showing a ⁎. Here we can once again observe artistic simplification on the grounds that it was easier to depict the ⁎ when operating on a smaller scale than it was to depict the full *Chi-Rho*. The variation also likely helped to rapidly distinguish the two denominations on a visual basis. The intent was not to vary the message – both symbols were synonymous – but was entirely practical.

7.3 Overview

In sum, Phase A (296-335) marked the first, fleeting appearance of the 'true *labarum*'. Instead, when the military standard was depicted on the base-metal coinage, it predominately took the form of a *vexillum* containing an annulet in its banner. This has been interpreted as a symbolic representation of the emperor's sacred image, whose inclusion sought to emphasise imperial divinity in addition to the inherently militaristic messages that the *vexillum* embodied. Phase B (336-c.348) demonstrated the timespan in which the *labarum* was established in the semantic system of the Roman Empire, even if it had not yet come to be systematically asserted under state directive. Then, in Phase C (c.348-352), the 'true *labarum*' was cemented as a deliberate component of imperial base-metal coinage. From that point, the state intended to actively present the emperor's connection to the Christian god, but through the prism of the divine *comes* model so frequently repeated during the tetrarchic period. Also during Phase C, the issue of competing narratives over the victorious vision granted to Constantine may explain some variance from the eastern mints. By Phase D (363-378) the 'true *labarum*' was already being simplified. The process of visual simplification and establishment of the *vexillum* with X as the standard shorthand was complete by Phase E (383-455), when the 'true *labarum*' only appeared on coinage that deliberately copied earlier iconographic types. Overall, this survey has shown the two consistent forms in which the military standard was visualised on Late Roman base-metal coinage: the annulet-in-*vexillum* and the 'true *labarum*'. It has also delineated the additional, non-militaristic and primarily religious aspects of imperial rulership ideology that these two depictions intended to communicate to their audiences.

Tables 1-5

These tables have been designed using the combined information gathered from Bruck 1961, *RIC* VI-X and Abdy 2016. Further amendments have then been made based on my own visual inspections of relevant coins as digitally available through the Online Coins of the Roman Empire database (http://numismatics.org/ocre/), Wildwinds.com database (https://www.wildwinds.com/) and physical consultation of the coin collection at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts. Note that the following periodisations of phases A-E have been delineated based on the latest possible production date of the relevant iconographic types.

Tables Colour Key

N/A	Type not issued at mint
	Mint Closed
	True *Labarum* - Issued Alone
	True *Labarum* - Supposed to be issued alone but other symbols present that are likely die blunders.
	True *Labarum* issued alongside with other symbols as control-mark/mint-mark
	True *Labarum* issued alongside other symbols/alternative or simplified *labara*.
	Only alternative symbols/simplified *labarum* present.
	True *Labarum* absent

Table 1 (Phase A: 296-335)

Type No.	Type Name	Date From	Date To	LON	AMB	TRI	LUG	ARE	TIC	MIL	RAV	CAR	ROM	OST	AQU	SIS	SER	SIR	THE	HER	CON	NIC	CYZ	ANT	ALE
6	FELIX ADVENT AVGG NN Africa	296	298	N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A		N/A	Annulet	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A				N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
136	FIDES MILITVM AVGG ET CAESS NN	305	312	N/A		N/A	N/A		Annulet		N/A	N/A	N/A	Annulet	Annulet	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
193	FIDES MILITVM (AVG N)	305	312	N/A		N/A	N/A		Annulet		N/A	N/A	Annulet	Annulet	Annulet	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
120	CONCORD MILIT Concordia	310	312	Annulet		N/A	N/A		N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
27	SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI	308	313	N/A		N/A	N/A	Annulet	N/A		N/A	Annulet	Annulet	Annulet	N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
26	PACI PERPET	312	313	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A		Annulet	N/A	N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
162	GLORIA PERPET Two Victories	313	315	N/A		Annulet	N/A	N/A	N/A				Annulet		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
37	VIRTVS EXERCIT *Vota* standard	319	321	VOT XX		VOT XX	VOT XX	VOT XX	VOT XX				N/A		VOT XX,	VOT XX,		N/A	VOT XX	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
47	SPES PVBLIC *Labarum* and Snake[147]	327	327			N/A	N/A	N/A					N/A			N/A			N/A	N/A	Annulet	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
235	Imperial Title w/four standards (SILVER Type)	324	326			N/A	N/A	N/A					N/A			Annulet			Annulet	Annulet	N/A	Annulet	N/A	N/A	N/A
52	GLORIA EXERCITVS Two standards[148]	330	335			Spear top	Annulet, Spear top	Annulet					Annulet		Annulet	Annulet			Annulet	Annulet	Annulet	Annulet	Annulet	Annulet	Annulet
121	PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS Standard and sceptre	332	335			N/A	N/A	N/A					N/A		N/A	N/A			Annulet	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

[147] ₽ is atop *vexillum*.
[148] A full breakdown of the exact variations can be seen in Bruck 1961: 25, but these predominantly consist of annulets or no banner at top with pointed head instead.

Table 2 (Phase B: 336-c.348)

Type No.	Type Name	Date From	Date To	LON	AMB	TRI	LUG	ARE	TIC	MIL	RAV	CAR	ROM	OST	AQU	SIS	SER	SIR	THE	HER	CON	NIC	CYZ	ANT	ALE
235	Imperial Title w/four standards (SILVER Type)	333	340			Annulet	N/A	Annulet					N/A		N/A	Annulet			Annulet	Annulet	Annulet	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
53	GLORIA EXERCITVS One standard	336	340			Annulet, +, M	₽, Annulet, Y, I	₽, Annulet, ↄ, X, I, G					Annulet		₽, wreath, annulet, ⁎	₽, Annulet			Annulet	Annulet	Annulet, ⁎	Annulet	Annulet	Annulet	Annulet
180	TRIVMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM GOLD type	340	350			₽	N/A	N/A					N/A		N/A	N/A			₽	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
180	TRIVMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM SILVER type	340	350			Wreath	N/A	N/A					N/A		₽	₽			Annulet	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
238	PAX AVGVSTORVM Emperor w/*labarum* (SILVER Type)	337	347			₽	N/A	N/A					N/A		N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
236	GAVDIVM ROMANORVM *Vota* Standard (SILVER Type)	342	347			VOT…MVLT…[149]	N/A	N/A					N/A		N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
237	VIRTVS DD NN AVGG Emperor w/*labarum* (SILVER Type)	347	348			₽	₽	N/A					N/A		N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

[149] Variations include VOT V MVLT X, VOT X MVLT XX, VOT X MVLT XV, VOT XX MVLT XXX.

Table 3 (Phase C: 348-352)

Type No.	Type Name	Date From	Date To	LON	AMB	TRI	LUG	ARE	TIC	MIL	RAV	CAR	ROM	OST	AQU	SIS	SER	SIR	THE	HER	CON	NIC	CYZ	ANT	ALE
67	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor and captives	348	350		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A					₽		₽	₽			N/A	₽, +	₽, X	₽	₽, +	X, +, ⁎	X, ⁎, Annulet
68	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Galley w/Phoenix on globe[150]	348	351		N/A	₽, ⁎[151]	₽	₽					₽		₽	₽, ┼[152], ⁎[153]			₽	₽	₽	₽, ⁎[154]	+	+	┼, X
68	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Galley w/*victoriola*	348	351		N/A	₽	₽	₽					₽		₽	₽			₽	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
71	VICTORIA AVG LIB ROMANOR Emperor with *labarum*	350	350		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A					₽[155]		N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
240	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor w/*labarum*	350	350		N/A	N/A	₽	N/A							N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
73	FELICITAS REIPVBLICE Emperor and standard	350	350		N/A	₽	₽	Annulet					N/A		N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
133	VIRTVS EXERCITVM	350	350		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A					N/A		N/A	N/A			₽	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
127	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor and one captive	351	351		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A					N/A		N/A	N/A			₽	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
241	VICTORIA AVG ET CAES Emperor and captive	351	351		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A					N/A		N/A	₽			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
70	CONCORDIA MILITVM emperor and standards	350	352		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A					N/A		N/A	₽		₽	₽	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
190	HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS	350	352		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A					N/A		N/A	₽		₽	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

[150] Note that for *Antioch* and *Alexandria* RIC VIII (RIC VIII Antioch 121, 124 and RIC VIII Alexandria 45) describe a *Chi-Rho* banner but I have found no visual evidence to confirm this.
[151] RIC VIII Trier 214-215 seem to have some dies with ⁎, suggesting deviation/or simplification from the intended true *labarum* that is predominantly presented. This may suggest that the *labarum* was supposed to be depicted but some die-engravers took a shortcut.
[152] See Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz No.2351 [accessed 29/08/2023]. Like the variations from the *Chi-Rho* at *Trier*, this is likely a blunder during engraving.
[153] See https://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/constantius_II/_siscia_RIC_VIII_200_var_sym4.jpg [accessed 29/08/2023]. Again, this is likely a blunder, but also starts to show the quick transition/simplification of *Chi-Rho* to ⁎.
[154] See Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien ID200898 [accessed 29/08/2023]. Like the other variations from the *Chi-Rho* at *Trier* and *Siscia*, this is likely a blunder during engraving.
[155] Note however there is a near identical AE2 type to this AE3 type from same mint and issue period that has eagle in the standard.

Table 4 (Phase D: 363-378)

Type No.	Type Name	Date From	Date To	LON	AMB	TRI	LUG	ARE	TIC	MIL	RAV	CAR	ROM	OST	AQU	SIS	SER	SIR	THE	HER	CON	NIC	CYZ	ANT	ALE
79	VICTORIA ROMANORVM emperor	363	364			N/A	N/A	N/A					N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A	₽	X	X	N/A	N/A	X, Annulet, row of dots	N/A
80	RESTITVTOR REIP(VBLICAE)	364	364			N/A	X	₽		N/A			X		X	X		X	X	X	X, +	₽, X	X	X	X
80	RESTITVTOR REIP (SILVER Version)	364	364			₽	₽	₽		N/A			₽		₽	N/A		N/A	₽	N/A	+	₽	₽	X, +, ∗	N/A
80	RESTITVTOR REIP(VBLICAE) (GOLD Version)	364	364			₽	₽	₽		₽, +, X			₽		₽	N/A		₽	₽	₽	₽, +	₽, +	₽	₽, ₱, +, ∗	N/A
85	REPARATIO FEL TEMP Standard and *Chi-Rho*[156]	365	366			N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A			N/A		N/A	N/A			N/A	X, ∗	∗	X, ∗	X, ∗	N/A	N/A
235	Imperial Title w/four standards (SILVER Type)	364	367			N/A	Annulet	Annulet		N/A			N/A		N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
86	GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI	367	375			N/A	N/A	₽		N/A			N/A		N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
242	VIRTVS EXERCITVS Emperor w/standard and shield (SILVER Type)	367	378			X, ∗	N/A	N/A		N/A			N/A		N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
82	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor and captive - 1st Period	364	378			₽[157]	₽	₽[158], ₱		N/A			₽, ∗[159]		₽	₽		₽	₽, ₱, ∗, X[160]	₽[161]	₽, +[162], ∗, X[163]	∗, X	∗, X	₽[164], +, solid-filled or empty standard.	₽, ₱, ∗

[156] *Chi-Rho* appears in top right of field.
[157] Not clear if ₽ is continued beyond initial period of issue 364-367. American Numismatic Society 1929.104.19 [accessed 29/08/2023] is an example of RIC IX Treveri 30A that seems to show ∗, but other versions such as Münzsammlung am der Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt ID316 [accessed 29/08/2023] show the *Chi-Rho*.
[158] Based on visual examples available on OCRE and Wildwinds online databases, the *Chi-Rho* belongs to 364-375, with the staurogram included from 367.
[159] Based on visual examples available on OCRE and Wildwinds online databases, the initial issue period 364-367 is a mixture of *Chi-Rho* and ∗, but the *Chi-Rho* is not in evidence from the accession of Gratian in 367.
[160] Based on visual examples available on OCRE and Wildwinds online databases, for the initial issue period 364-367 almost all dies include the *Chi-Rho*. There is only a single example I have found (https://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/valens/_thessalonica_RIC_016b.1.jpg, [accessed 29/08/2023]) that appears to show a staurogram. From 367 there is a much greater degree of variation. All four symbols present in RIC IX Thessalonia 26a, b and c (variations within coins of same emperors). Then for the period 375-378 this iconographic type is only minted for Gratian at *Thessalonica*, and only seems to show an X in the standard (RIC IX Thessalonica 31).
[161] This is for the initial issue period 364-367. Contents of *labarum* could not be visually verified for coins of this type and mint issued after 367.
[162] See American Numismatic Society 1944.100.25628 [accessed 29/08/2023]. This belongs to the initial issue period 364-367, though the appearance of the cross seems exceptional.
[163] See RIC IX Constantinople 41A-41D, where the ∗ and X totally replace the *Chi-Rho* and + from 367 onwards.
[164] As per Bruck 1961: 35, though I have found no examples of this.

Table 5 (Phase E: 383-455)

Type No.	Type Name	Date From	Date To	LON	AMB	TRI	LUG	ARE	TIC	MIL	RAV	CAR	ROM	OST	AQU	SIS	SER	SIR	THE	HER	CON	NIC	CYZ	ANT	ALE
99	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor w/ standard, shield and captive[165]	383	384	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A			N/A		N/A	X		N/A	X	X	X	X	X	X[166]	X
91	VICTORIA AVGG Emperor and standard	385	386	N/A		N/A	X	X		N/A			N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
95	VIRTVS EXERCITI Emperor and captive	385	387	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A			N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	X	X[167]	X	X	X, empty	X, empty
93	VIRTVS AVGGG Emperor on ship	387	388	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A			N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A	X	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
129	SPES REIPVBLICAE Emperor and captive	387	387	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A			X		N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
82	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor and captive - 2nd Period	383	387	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A			₽, X[168]		₽	₽		N/A	X	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
82	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor and captive - 2nd Period	388	392			X[169]	N/A	N/A		N/A			N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A	X	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
242	VIRTVS EXERCITVS Emperor w/standard and shield (SILVER Type)	383	394			X, ∗	∗	N/A		N/A			X, ∗		∗	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
103	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor w/standard	393	395			N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A			N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	X	X	X	X	X, empty, •••	Empty
194	VICTORIA AVGGG Emperor and captive	394	395			N/A	N/A	N/A		X, empty	Empty		N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
151	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor w/ standard and shield	413	423			N/A	X	X		N/A	N/A		N/A		N/A	X		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
111	GLOR ORVIS TERRAR	423	424	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	∗	∗	∗	N/A	
175	VICTO AVG Emperor and captive	440	455	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A		N/A	N/A		X, Annulet		N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	

[165] *Manus dei* crowns emperor on obverse.
[166] Sometimes cross depicted in left of field.
[167] *Staurogram* or cross is always depicted in left of field.
[168] The X example seems to be limited to a couple of examples of RIC IX Rome 55d (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien ID205995 [accessed 29/08/2023]; Pl. VIII 17), though all other examples seen show *Chi-Rho*.
[169] This is questionable. The only possible visual check is I have found is RIC IX plate III, 19 (RIC IX Trier 96c), which isn't particularly clear.

Appendix 8: Iconographic Type Catalogue

Table of Contents

#	Iconographic Type Name
1	CONCORDIA MILITVM Emperor and Jupiter
2	GENIO AVGG ET CAESARVM NN
3	GENIO POP(VLI) ROM(ANI)
4	*Vota* wreath
5	*Vota Mvlt* wreath
6	FELIX ADVENT AVGG NN Africa
7	SACRA MONETA
8	IOVI CONSERVATORI (AVG)
9	PROVIDENTIA DEOR(VM) QVIES AVGG
10	CONSERVATOR(ES) KART SVAE
11	VENERI VICTRICI
12	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma in temple
13	MARTI CONSERVATORI Mars standing
14	MEMORIA FELIX
15	GENIO CAESARIS
16	GENIO AVGVSTI
17	GENIO IMPERATORIS
18	GENIO EXERCITVS
19	GENIO AVGVSTI Victory
20	GENIO AVGVSTI Sol
21	GENIO AVGVSTI Serapis
22	SOLI INVICTO COMITI
23	VIRTVS/VIRTVTI EXERCITVS Virtus/Mars
24	SOLE INVICTO Sol w/Serapis
25	APOLLONI SANCTO w/Antioch *genius* obv.
26	PACI PERPET
27	SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI
28	CLARITAS REIPVB(LICAE) Sol standing
29	PROVIDENTIAE AVGG Gate
30	PROVIDENTIAE CAESS Gate
31	PROVIDENTIAE CAESS Jupiter
32	PRINCIPI(A) IVVENTVTIS Spear and shield
33	ROMAE AETERNAE
34	VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP Two Victories
35	VIRTVS AVGG Gate
36	VIRTVS CAESS Gate
37	VIRTVS EXERCIT *Vota* standard
38	VIRTVS EXERCIT Trophy
39	BEATA TRANQVILLITAS
40	SARMATIA DEVICTA
41	ALAMANNIA DEVICTA
42	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE Branch
43	SPES REPVBLICAE Empress and children
44	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Empress and children
45	Imperial Title Text
46	GLORIA ROMANORVM Roma
47	SPES PVBLIC *Labarum* and snake
48	LIBERTAS PVBLICA
49	Victory on Prow w/Constantinopolis Obv.
50	Wolf and Twins w/VRBS ROMA Obv.
51	GLORIA EXERCITVS Emperor
52	GLORIA EXERCITVS Two standards
53	GLORIA EXERCITVS One standard
54	VIRTVS AVGVSTI
55	SECVRITAS REIP(VB) Securitas
56	Quadriga
57	AETERNA PIETAS
58	PIETAS ROMANA
59	PAX PVBLICA
60	VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE(S) Vot Mvlt WITHOUT Chi-Rho
61	VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm
62	VN MR
63	IVST VEN MEM
64	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN Victories
65	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Hut
66	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Phoenix
67	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor and captives
68	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Galley
69	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman
70	CONCORDIA MILITVM Emperor and standards
71	VICTORIA AVG LIB ROMANOR Emperor with *labarum*
72	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor charging horseback
73	FELICITAS REIPVBLICE Emperor and standard
74	VRBS ROMA
75	SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES without wreath
76	SPES REIPVBLICE Emperor
77	SECVRITAS REIPVB Bull
78	VICTORIA AVGG w/Jupiter obverse
79	VICTORIA ROMANORVM Emperor
80	RESTITVTOR REIP(VBLICAE)
81	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory
82	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor and captive
83	SECVRITAS REIPVB Emperor w/spear and shield
84	REPARATIO FEL TEMP Spear
85	REPARATIO FEL TEMP Standard and Chi-Rho
86	GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI
87	CONCORDIA AVGGG Roma
88	CONCORDIA AVGGG Constantinopolis w/globe

#	Iconographic Type Name
89	VIRTVS ROMANORVM Roma
90	REPARATIO REIPVB
91	VICTORIA AVGG Emperor and standard
92	SPES ROMANORVM Gate
93	VIRTVS AVGGG Emperor on ship
94	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor on ship
95	VIRTVS EXERCITI Emperor and captive
96	GLORIA REIPVBLICE Gate WITH Staurogram
97	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and shield
98	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Empress
99	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor w/ standard, shield and captive
100	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive w/Christogram
101	VICTORIA AVGGG Two Victories
102	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor riding
103	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor w/standard
104	VIRTVS EXERCITI Emperor and Victory
105	CONCORDIA AVGGG Cross
106	GLORIA ROMANORVM Empress
107	VRBS ROMA FELIX
108	GLORIA ROMANORVM Three emperors
109	GLORIA ROMANORVM Two emperors globe
110	GLORIA ROMANORVM Two emperors shield
111	GLOR ORVIS TERRAR
112	CONCORDIA AGV Two emperors
113	CONCORDIA AVG Victory
114	Cross in wreath
115	VT XXX V
116	VICTORIA AVGG Victory and captive
117	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Cross
118	HERCVLI VICTORI
119	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG Eagle
120	CONCORD MILIT Concordia
121	PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS Standard and sceptre
122	IOVI ET HERCVLI CONS Jupiter and Hercules
123	HERCVLI CONSERVAT
124	VICTORIA AVG Emperor and Victory
125	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG Emperor and Jupiter
126	SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL/AVCTA KART
127	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor and one captive
128	VOTA PVBLICA Isis and Horus
129	SPES REIPVBLICAE Emperor and captive
130	SPES ROMANORVM Victory w/wreath and palm
131	VIRT EXERC ROMANOR
132	LIBERATORI VRBIS SVAE
133	VIRTVS EXERCITVM
134	VIRT EXERC Sol in Camp
135	SALVS AVG NOSTRI
136	FIDES MILITVM AVGG ET CAESS NN

#	Iconographic Type Name
137	ADVENTVS AVG
138	VICTORIA CAESS NN Victory w/ wreath and palm
139	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor, suppliant and captive
140	CONCORDIAE AVGG
141	FVNDAT PACIS
142	CONSTANTINIANA DAFNE
143	FELICITAS ROMANORVM Victory
144	PROVIDENT(IA) AVG Providentia
145	VIRTVS MILITVM Camp gate
146	VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM Hercules
147	CONSERVATOR AVGG Hercules
148	Star in wreath
149	Monogram
150	CONCORDIA AVGGG Constantinopolis turreted
151	GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor w/ standard and shield
152	VICTORIA AVG Two Victories
153	VICTORIA AVGG Two Victories
154	VICT(ORIA) AVG Victory w/ wreath and palm types
155	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG/CAESS
156	CONCORDIA AVG Cross
157	CONCORDIA AVG or AVGGG Cross - Uncertain
158	BONO GENIO PII IMPERATORIS
159	VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN Mars
160	PRINCIPI IVVENTVT(IS) Spear and globe
161	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG Emperor and Jupiter
162	GLORIA PERPET Two Victories
163	SAPIENTIA PRINCIPIS
164	VICTORIA AVGV(S)T) Victory with wreath and palm
165	VICTORIA AVG Emperor(?) with spear and globe
166	CASTRA Camp gate
167	VICTORIA AVG or AVGG(G) Victory w/ wreath and palm types - Uncertain
168	Bridge over River w/POP ROMANVS obv.
169	VOT PVB Camp Gate
170	PROVIDENTIA DEORVM (QVIES AVG)
171	SALVS REIPVBLICE Victory w/wreath and palm
172	MEMORIAE AETERNAE Eagle
173	VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM Emperor and Captive
174	SOLI INVICTO COMITI Bust of Sol
175	VICTO AVG Emperor and captive
176	IOVI AVGG
177	REQVIES OPTIMOR(VM) MERIT(OR)
178	COMITI AVGG NN Sol
179	VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM Victory w/wreath and palm
180	TRIVMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM
181	VIRTVS AVGG NN
182	VICTORIA AVGG Two emperors seated
183	IOVI TVTATORI AVGG
184	VBERTAS SAECVLI

#	Iconographic Type Name
185	QVIES AVGG
186	CLEMENT(IA) TEMP
187	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma and emperor in temple
188	GLORIA ROMANORVM Victory w/wreath and palm
189	AETERNITAS AVG N Castor and Pollux
190	HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS
191	CONSERVATOR AVGG Jupiter
192	CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma and Victory
193	FIDES MILITVM (AVG N)
194	VICTORIA AVGGG Emperor and captive
195	VIRTVS MILITVM Camp gate and sacrificing emperors
196	CONCORDIA AVGG Constantinopolis w/*victoriola*
197	Pax w/Constantinopolis obv
198	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor charging horseback
199	CLARITAS REIPVB(LICAE) Sol advancing
200	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive WITHOUT Christogram
201	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive - Christogram UNCERTAIN
202	SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES w/wreath
203	AETERNAE MEMORIAE Shrine
204	VICTORIA AETERNA AVG N Victory w/shield
205	MEMORIAE AETERNAE Lion
206	SECVRITAS PVBLICA Euphratides
207	VICTORIA ROMANORVM Victory w/wreath and palm
208	REPARATIO FEL TEMP Standard only
209	GLORIA REIPVBLICE Gate WITHOUT Staurogram
210	VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE(S) Vot Mvlt WITH Chi-Rho
211	CONCORDIA AVG Empress
212	GENIO AVGVSTI/CAESARIS/IMPERATORIS
213	VRTVS ROMANORVM Emperor w/ standard and shield
214	MARTI (PATRI) PROPVGNATORI Mars advancing
215	IOVI FVLGERATORI Jupiter advancing
216	VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM Victory w/wreath and globus cruciger
217	DEO SANCTO NILO w/DEO SANCTO SARAPIDI obv.
218	VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN Emperor charging
219	MARTI CONSERVATORI Bust of Mars
220	IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG Victory and Jupiter
221	FELICITAS AVG Column and caduceus
222	SALVS AVGG
223	PAXX AVGG Pax
224	CLARITAS AVGG Sol
225	FORTVNAE REDVCI AVGG NN
226	FELICTAS PVBLICA
227	COMES AVGG Minerva
228	PAXX AVGG Minerva
229	VICTORIA SARMAT
230	CONCORDIA AVGG Two Concordiae
231	LAETITIA AVGG

#	Iconographic Type Name
232	SOLI INVICTO (COMITI) Sol on quadriga
233	PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS Emperor with two standards
234	VICTORIAE LIBERAE
235	Imperial Title w/four standards
236	GAVDIVM ROMANORVM *Vota* standard
237	VIRTVS DD NN AVGG Emperor w/*labarum*
238	PAX AVGVSTORVM Emperor w/*labarum*
239	VIRTVS DD NN AVGG Victory w/wreath and palm
240	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor w/*labarum*
241	VICTORIA AVG ET CAES Emperor and captive
242	VIRTVS EXERCITVS Emperor w/standard and shield
243	GLORIA ROMANORVM gate
244	VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM Victory and shield
245	PERPETVETAS Phoenix
246	VICTORIA AVGGG Emperor w/long cross and *victoriola*
247	IOVI CONSERVATORI Jupiter advancing

Iconographic Type Plates



Type 1 - CONCORDIA MILITVM Emperor and Jupiter[1]

Inscription: CONCORDIA MILITVM

Description: Emperor draped, cuirassed, standing right, receiving *victoriola* from Jupiter; Jupiter, standing left, leaning on sceptre with left hand.



Type 2 - GENIO AVGG ET CAESARVM NN[2]

Inscription: GENIO AVGG ET CAESARVM NN

Description: *Genius*, wearing modius, nude, chlamys draped over left shoulder, standing left, pouring liquid from patera in right hand and holding cornucopiae in left hand.



Type 3 - GENIO POP(VLI) ROM(ANI)[3]

Inscription: GENIO POPVLI ROMANI or GENIO POP ROM

Description: *Genius*, wearing modius and nude with chlamys over left shoulder, or turreted and draped in himation, standing left, pouring liquid from patera in right hand and holding cornucopiae in left hand.



Type 4 -* Vota *wreath[4,5,6]

Inscription: N/A

Description: VOT … in wreath, sometimes surrounded by imperial titles.



***Type 5* - Vota Mvlt *wreath*[7,8,9]**

Inscription: N/A

Description: VOT(IS … MVL(T(IS)) … in wreath.



***Type 6 - FELIX ADVENT AVGG NN Africa*[10]**

Inscription: FELIX ADVENT AVGG NN

Description: Africa, wearing elephant-skin head-dress, draped, standing front, head left, holding standard in right hand and tusk in left hand; to left, lion with captured bull.



***Type 7 - SACRA MONETA*[11]**

Inscription: MONETA AVGG ET CAESS NN or MONETA SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN or SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTER or SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN or SACRA MONET VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN or M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN or MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN or SACR MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTER or S M VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN or SAC M VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN or SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN or SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NN

Description: Moneta, draped, standing left, holding scales in right hand and cornucopiae in left hand.



***Type 8 - IOVI CONSERVATORI (AVG)*[12,13,14,15]**

Inscription: IOVI CONSERVATORI or IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG or IOVI CONSERVAT or IOVI CONS CAES

Description: Jupiter, nude, wearing chlamys, standing left, holding globe/*victoriola*/thunderbolt in right hand and leaning on sceptre with left hand; sometimes eagle holding wreath to left, captive to right, sometimes small figure of emperor before Jupiter.



Type 9 - PROVIDENTIA DEOR(VM) QVIES AVGG[16]

Inscription: PROVIDENTIA DEOR(VM) QVIES AVGG

Description: Providentia, draped, standing right, extending right hand to Quies; Quies, draped, standing left, holding branch in right hand and leaning on sceptre with left hand.



Type 10 - CONSERVATOR(ES) KART SVAE[17]

Inscription: CONSERVATOR(ES) KART SVAE

Description: Carthage, draped, standing front, head left, holding fruit in both hands, in hexastyle temple with plain pediment.



Type 11 - VENERI VICTRICI[18]

Inscription: VENERI VICTRICI

Description: Venus, draped, standing front, head left, holding up apple with right hand, raising drapery over left shoulder with left hand.



Type 12 - CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma in temple

Inscription: CONSERV(ATORES) VRB SVAE[19]

Description: Roma, helmeted, draped, seated front, head left, in hexastyle temple, holding globe in right hand and sceptre in left hand, sometimes shield at side; at acroteria, knobs, sometimes Victory; in pediment, wreath.



Type 13 - MARTI CONSERVATORI Mars standing[20]

Inscription: MARTI CONSERVATORI or MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI or MARTI CONSERV

Description: Mars, nude or draped and cuirassed, standing, with spear in right hand and left hand on shield.



Type 14 - MEMORIA FELIX[21]

Inscription: MEMORIA FELIX

Description: Altar, lighted, with or without garland; on either side, eagle.



Type 15 - GENIO CAESARIS[22]

Inscription: GENIO CAESARIS or GENIO CAESARIS CMH

Description: *Genius*, wearing modius, nude, chlamys draped over left shoulder, standing left, holding patera in right hand and holding cornucopiae in left hand.



Type 16 - GENIO AVGVSTI[23,24,25]

Inscription: GENIO AVGVSTI or GENIO AVGVSTI CMH

Description: *Genius*, wearing modius, nude, chlamys draped over left shoulder, standing left, holding patera in right hand and holding cornucopiae in left hand, sometimes altar or eagle at feet.



Type 17 - GENIO IMPERATORIS[26,27]

Inscription: GENIO IMPERATORIS

Description: *Genius*, wearing modius, nude, chlamys draped over left shoulder, standing left, holding patera in right hand and holding cornucopiae in left hand, sometimes altar at feet.



Type 18 - GENIO EXERCITVS[28]

Inscription: GENIO EXERCITVS

Description: *Genius*, wearing modius, nude, chlamys draped over left shoulder, standing left, holding patera in right hand and holding cornucopiae in left hand, altar at feet.



Type 19 - GENIO AVGVSTI Victory[29]

Inscription: GENIO AVGVSTI

Description: *Genius*, wearing modius, nude, chlamys draped over left shoulder, standing left, holding Victory in right hand and holding cornucopiae in left hand.



Type 20 - GENIO AVGVSTI Sol[30]

Inscription: GENIO AVGVSTI

Description: *Genius*, wearing modius, nude, chlamys draped over left shoulder, standing left, holding Sol head in right hand and holding cornucopiae in left hand.



Type 21 - GENIO AVGVSTI Serapis[31]

Inscription: GENIO AVGVSTI

Description: *Genius*, wearing modius, nude, chlamys draped over left shoulder, standing left, holding Serapis head in right hand and holding cornucopiae in left hand.



Type 22 - SOLI INVICTO COMITI[32,33,34,35]

Inscription: SOLI INVICTO (COMITI)

Description: Sol, radiate, wearing chlamys, standing left, raising right hand and holding globe in left hand. Sometimes *victoriola*, or also holds whip in left hand. Sometimes captive at feet.



Type 23 - VIRTVS/VIRTVTI EXERCITVS Virtus/Mars[36,37,38]

Inscription: VIRTVS EXERCITVS or VIRTVTI EXERCITVS

Description: Virtus/Mars, nude, advancing right, holding transverse spear in right hand and shield and trophy over left shoulder. Sometimes spear replaced by captive being dragged.



Type 24 - SOLE INVICTO Sol w/Serapis[39]

Inscription: SOLE INVICTO or SOLI INVICTO

Description: Sol, radiate, draped, standing left, raising right hand and holding head of Serapis in left hand.



***Type 25 - APOLLONI SANCTO w/Antioch* genius *obv.*[40]**

Inscription: APOLLONI SANCTO

Description: Apollo in long robes, standing facing, looking left, holding lyre and patera.



***Type 26 - PACI PERPET*[41]**

Inscription: PACI PERPET

Description: Pax, draped, standing front, head left, holding branch in left hand and standard in right hand.



***Type 27 - SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI*[42]**

Inscription: SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI

Description: Three standards, surmounted by hand, eagle, and wreath respectively; middle standard with drapery.



***Type 28 - CLARITAS REIPVB(LICAE) Sol standing*[43,44]**

Inscription: CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE

Description: Sol, radiate, wearing chlamys, standing left, raising right hand and holding globe in left hand. Sometimes also holds whip in left hand.




Type 29 - PROVIDENTIAE AVGG Gate[45,46]

Inscription: PROVIDENTIAE AVGG

Description: Camp/city gate.




Type 30 - PROVIDENTIAE CAESS Gate[47,48]

Inscription: PROVIDENTIAE CAESS

Description: Camp/city gate.



Type 31 - PROVIDENTIAE CAESS Jupiter[49]

Inscription: PROVIDENTIAE CAESS

Description: Jupiter, nude, chlamys draped across left shoulder, standing left, holding *victoriola* in right hand and leaning on sceptre with left hand.



Type 32 - PRINCIPI(A) IVVENTVTIS Spear and shield[50]

Inscription: PRINCIPI(A) IVVENTVTIS

Description: Emperor/Mars, helmeted, draped, cuirassed or nude, reversed vertical spear in right hand and resting left hand on shield.



***Type 33 - ROMAE AETERNAE*[51]**

Inscription: ROMAE AETERNAE

Description: Roma, helmeted, draped, seated left, holding shield on knees inscribed X/V.



***Type 34 - VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP Two Victories*[52,53,54,55]**

Inscription: VICTORIAE LAET(AE) P(RIN(C)) P(ERP) or VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINCIPIS PERPETVI

Description: Two Victories, winged, draped, facing each other, holding a shield inscribed VOT/PR supported by column/altar.



***Type 35 - VIRTVS AVGG Gate*[56]**

Inscription: VIRTVS AVGG

Description: Camp/city gate.



***Type 36 - VIRTVS CAESS Gate*[57]**

Inscription: VIRTVS CAESS

Description: Camp/city gate.



***Type 37 - VIRTVS EXERCIT* Vota *standard*[58]**

Inscription: VIRTVS EXERCIT

Description: Standard inscribed VOT/X or VOT/XX flanked by two seated captives.



***Type 38 - VIRTVS EXERCIT Trophy*[59]**

Inscription: VIRTVS EXERCIT

Description: Trophy, flanked by two seated captives.



***Type 39 - BEATA TRANQVILLITAS*[60]**

Inscription: BEATA TRANQVILLITAS or BEATA TRANQLITAS

Description: Globe on altar inscribed VOT/IS/XX; above, three stars.



***Type 40 - SARMATIA DEVICTA*[61]**

Inscription: SARMATIA DEVICTA

Description: Victory, winged, draped, advancing right, holding trophy on right arm and branch in left hand, captive at feet.



***Type 41 - ALAMANNIA DEVICTA*[62]**

Inscription: ALAMANNIA DEVICTA

Description: Victory, winged, draped, advancing right, holding trophy on right arm and branch in left hand, captive at feet.



***Type 42 - SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE Branch*[63]**

Inscription: SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE

Description: Securitas/Pax/Empress, draped, standing, raising robe and lowering branch.



***Type 43 - SPES REPVBLICAE Empress and children*[64]**

Inscription: SPES REPVBLICAE

Description: Fausta/Spes, veiled, draped, standing front, head left, holding two children in her arms.



***Type 44 - SALVS REIPVBLICAE Empress and children*[65]**

Inscription: SALVS REIPVBLICAE

Description: Fausta, veiled, draped, standing front, head left, holding two children in her arms.



Type 45 - Imperial Title Text[66,67,68,69,70,71]

Inscription: CONSTANTINVS AVG or CRISPVS CAESAR or CONSTANTINVS CAESAR or CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C or CONSTANTIVS CAESAR or CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES or FL HELENA AVGVSTA or FLAV MAX FAVSTA AVG

Description: Imperial title over three or four lines, with wreath, star or star in wreath above.



Type 46 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Roma[72]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Roma, helmeted, draped, seated left on cuirass, holding *victoriola* in right hand and long sceptre in left hand.



***Type 47 - SPES PVBLIC* Labarum *and snake*[73]**

Inscription: SPES PVBLIC

Description: Legend across field; *vexillum* with three medallions on drapery, crowned by ☧, piercing serpent.



***Type 48 - LIBERTAS PVBLICA*[74]**

Inscription: LIBERTAS PVBLICA

Description: Victory, winged, draped, standing left on galley, holding a wreath in both hands.



***Type 49 - Victory on Prow w/Constantinopolis Obv.*[75]**

Inscription: N/A

Description: Victory, winged, draped, standing left on prow, holding long sceptre in right hand and resting left hand on shield.



***Type 50 - Wolf and Twins w/VRBS ROMA Obv.*[76]**

Inscription: N/A

Description: She-wolf, standing left, suckling twins; above, two stars.



Type 51 - GLORIA EXERCITVS Emperor[77]

Inscription: GLORIA EXERCITVS

Description: Emperor draped, cuirassed, standing left, head right, holding reversed spear in right hand and placing left hand on shield.



Type 52 - GLORIA EXERCITVS Two standards[78]

Inscription: GLORIA EXERCITVS

Description: Two soldiers, helmeted, draped, cuirassed, standing facing each other, each holding reversed spear in outer hand and resting inner hand on shield; between them, two standards.[170]



Type 53 - GLORIA EXERCITVS One standard[79]

Inscription: GLORIA EXERCITVS

Description: Two soldiers, helmeted, draped, cuirassed, standing facing each other, each holding reversed spear in outer hand and resting inner hand on shield; between them, a standard.[171]



Type 54 - VIRTVS AVGVSTI[80]

Inscription: VIRTVS AVGVSTI or VIRTVS AVG

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head right, holding spear in right hand, resting left hand on shield.

[170] For the various subtypes of this iconographic type, in which the two standards appear in eight possible different styles, see Bruck 1961: 25.

[171] For the various subtypes of this iconographic type, in which the one standard appears in eight possible different styles and the banner contains fourteen possible different symbols, see Bruck 1961: 27-29.



Type 55 - SECVRITAS REIP(VB) Securitas[81]

Inscription: SECVRITAS REIP(VB)

Description: Securitas, draped, standing front, head right, holding sceptre in right hand and leaning left elbow on column



Type 56 - Quadriga[82]

Inscription: N/A

Description: Constantine I, veiled, draped, riding right in quadriga; *manus dei* reaches down to him.



Type 57 - AETERNA PIETAS[83]

Inscription: AETERNA PIETAS

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing, holding spear in right hand and globe in left hand.



Type 58 - PIETAS ROMANA[84]

Inscription: PIETAS ROMANA

Description: Pietas/Theodora, draped, standing front, head right, carrying an infant at her breast in right hand.



Type 59 - PAX PVBLICA[85]

Inscription: PAX PVBLICA

Description: Pax/Helena, draped, standing left, holding branch in right hand and transverse sceptre in left hand.



Type 60 - VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE(S) Vot Mvlt WITHOUT Chi-Rho[86]

Inscription: VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE(S) or VICT DD NN AVG ET CAES

Description: Two Victories, winged, draped, facing each other, holding between them a wreath inscribed VOT(IS)/V/MVL(T)/X, with or without *cippus* below. NO ☧ above.



Type 61 - VICT(ORIA) AVGG(G) Victory w/wreath and palm[87]

Inscription: VICT AVGG or VICTORIA AVGG(G) or VICTORIA AVGG NN

Description: Victory, winged, draped, advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand.



Type 62 - VN MR[88]

Inscription: VN MR

Description: Constantine I, veiled, draped, standing right, raising left hand.



Type 63 - IVST VEN MEM[89]

Inscription: IVST VEN(ER) MEM(OR)

Description: Aequitas, draped, standing left, holding balance in right hand and scroll in left hand.



Type 64 - VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN Victories[90]

Inscription: VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN

Description: Two Victories, winged, draped, standing facing each other, each holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand.



Type 65 - FEL TEMP REPARATIO Hut[91]

Inscription: FEL TEMP REPARATIO

Description: Emperor, helmeted, draped, cuirassed, advancing right, head left, leading barbarian from a hut beneath a tree with right hand and holding spear in left hand.



Type 66 - FEL TEMP REPARATIO Phoenix[92,93]

Inscription: FEL TEMP REPARATIO

Description: Phoenix, radiate, standing right on rocky mound/pyre or globe.



Type 67 - FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor and captives[94]

Inscription: FEL TEMP REPARATIO

Description: Emperor draped, cuirassed, standing left, holding *labarum* in right hand and resting left hand on shield; before him, two bound captives.



Type 68 - FEL TEMP REPARATIO Galley[95,96]

Inscription: FEL TEMP REPARATIO

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, holding phoenix or *victoriola* in right hand and *labarum* in left hand; standing left in galley, steering by Victory seated left.



Type 69 - FEL TEMP REPARATIO Falling Horseman[97,98,99,100]

Inscription: FEL TEMP REPARATIO

Description: Emperor spearing fallen horseman.[172]



Type 70 - CONCORDIA MILITVM Emperor and standards[101]

Inscription: CONCORDIA MILITVM

Description: Emperor, diademed, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head left, holding standard with *Chi-Rho* on banner in each hand; above him, a star.

[172] The four subtypes depicted here conform to those outlined in LRBC II. Reading top left to bottom right these are: FH1 (Horseman kneeling next to horse), FH2 (Horseman sitting beside horse), FH3 (Horseman reaching back with arm behind), and FH4 (Horseman clutching horse's neck). Note that RIC VIII and Caza (2021: 178) reduce this to three subtypes by merging FH1 and FH4. Also see Caza 2021: 180-181 on the three different depictions of the fallen horsemen, who wears a Phrygian cap and trousers, is bareheaded in a tunic or trousers, or bearded with braided hair and in trousers.



***Type 71 - VICTORIA AVG LIB ROMANOR Emperor with* labarum**[102]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVG LIB ROMANOR

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing right, holding *labarum* or standard with eagle in right hand and olive-branch in left hand; placing left foot on shoulder of a seated captive.



Type 72 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor charging horseback[103]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, galloping right, spearing barbarian kneeling with outstretched arms; below horse, shield and broken spear.



Type 73 - FELICITAS REIPVBLICE Emperor and standard[104]

Inscription: FELICITAS REIPVBLICE

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing left, holding *victoriola* in right hand and standard in left hand.



Type 74 - VRBS ROMA[105,106]

Inscription: VRBS ROMA

Description: Roma, seated, sometimes on cuirass, holding *victoriola* and reversed spear, sometimes star in right field.



Type 75 - SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES without wreath[107]

Inscription: SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES

Description: ☧ flanked by A and ω.



Type 76 - SPES REIPVBLICE Emperor[108]

Inscription: SPES REIPVBLICE

Description: Emperor helmeted, draped, cuirassed, standing left, holding globe in right hand and spear in left hand.



Type 77 - SECVRITAS REIPVB Bull[109]

Inscription: SECVRITAS REIPVB

Description: Bull, standing right, head front; above, two stars.



Type 78 - VICTORIA AVGG w/Jupiter obverse[110]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVGG

Description: Victory, winged, draped, advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand.



Type 79 - VICTORIA ROMANORVM Emperor[111]

Inscription: VICTORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head right, holding standard in right hand and *victoriola* in left hand.



Type 80 - RESTITVTOR REIP(VBLICAE)[112]

Inscription: RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE or RESTITVTOR REIP

Description: Emperor, head right, standing facing, holding standard and *victoriola*.



Type 81 - SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory[113]

Inscription: SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE

Description: Victory advancing left, holding wreath and palm.



Type 82 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor and captive[114]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Emperor advancing right, sometimes wearing cloak, dragging captive with right hand and holding standard in left hand.



Type 83 - SECVRITAS REIPVB Emperor w/spear and shield[115]

Inscription: SECVRITAS REIPVB

Description: Emperor, head right, standing left, holding spear in right hand and resting left hand on shield.



Type 84 - REPARATIO FEL TEMP Spear[116]

Inscription: REPARATIO FEL TEMP

Description: Emperor, head right, standing facing, holding spear in right hand and resting left hand on shield.



Type 85 - REPARATIO FEL TEMP Standard and Chi-Rho[117]

Inscription: REPARATIO FEL TEMP

Description: Emperor, head right, standing facing, holding standard in right hand and resting left hand on shield; *Chi-Rho* in top right of field.



Type 86 - GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI[118]

Inscription: GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI

Description: Emperor, head left, standing facing, holding standard in right hand and resting left on shield.



Type 87 - CONCORDIA AVGGG Roma[119,120,]

Inscription: CONCORDIA AVGGG

Description: Roma, helmeted, head left, seated facing, holding globe and spear, right or left leg sometimes bare.



Type 88 - CONCORDIA AVGGG Constantinopolis w/globe[121]

Inscription: CONCORDIA AVGGG

Description: Constantinopolis, helmeted, head left, seated facing, holding spear and globe, right foot on prow.



Type 89 - VIRTVS ROMANORVM Roma[122]

Inscription: VIRTVS ROMANORVM

Description: Roma, head left, seated facing, on throne, holding globe and reversed spear.



Type 90 - REPARATIO REIPVB[123]

Inscription: REPARATIO REIPVB

Description: Emperor, head left, standing facing, with right hand raising kneeling turreted woman, and holding *victoriola* in left hand.



Type 91 - VICTORIA AVGG Emperor and standard[124]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVGG

Description: Emperor, head left, standing facing, holding *victoriola* and standard.



Type 92 - SPES ROMANORVM Gate[125]

Inscription: SPES ROMANORVM

Description: Camp gate



Type 93 - VIRTVS AVGGG Emperor on ship[126]

Inscription: VIRTVS AVGGG

Description: Emperor, standing left, head right, on ship, holding phoenix on globe, and standard; right foot on captive, Victory seated at helm.



Type 94 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor on ship[127]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Emperor, head right, standing facing, on ship, raising right hand; Victory seated at helm.



Type 95 - VIRTVS EXERCITI Emperor and captive[128]

Inscription: VIRTVS EXERCITI

Description: Emperor standing right, holding standard and globe, left foot on captive.



Type 96 - GLORIA REIPVBLICE Gate WITH Staurogram[129]

Inscription: GLORIA REIPVBLICE

Description: Camp gate with staurogram above.



Type 97 - SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and shield[130]

Inscription: SALVS REIPVBLICAE

Description: Victory seated right, writing ☧ on shield held on small column.



Type 98 - SALVS REIPVBLICAE Empress[131,132]

Inscription: SALVS REIPVBLICAE

Description: Empress, head right, standing facing, arms folded on breast. Sometimes cross in field.



Type 99 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor w/ standard, shield and captive[133]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Emperor, standing facing, holding standard in right hand and resting left hand on shield; sometimes captive to left. Emperor crowned by *manus dei* on obverse.



Type 100 - SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive w/Christogram[134]

Inscription: SALVS REIPVBLICAE or SALVS REIPVBLICE

Description: Victory advancing left, holding trophy on shoulder with right hand, and dragging captive with left hand. Christogram (cross or staurogram) in left of field.



Type 101 - VICTORIA AVGGG Two Victories[135]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVGGG

Description: Two Victories, winged, draped, facing each other, holding wreath between them.



Type 102 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor riding[136]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Emperor on horse-back right, raising right hand.



Type 103 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor w/standard[137]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Emperor, head right, standing facing, holding standard and globe.



Type 104 - VIRTVS EXERCITI Emperor and Victory[138]

Inscription: VIRTVS EXERCITI

Description: Emperor, standing left, head right, holding spear in right hand and resting left hand on shield; crowned by Victory, holding palm in left hand.



Type 105 - CONCORDIA AVGGG Cross[139]

Inscription: CONCORDIA AVGGG

Description: Cross.



Type 106 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Empress[140]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Empress enthroned facing front, folding hands over breast; crowned with wreath by *manus dei*; usually cross in right field.



Type 107 - VRBS ROMA FELIX[141]

Inscription: VRBS ROMA FELIX

Description: Emperor, head right or facing, standing facing, holding spear with trophy attached and *victoriola*. Shield on foot.



Type 108 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Three emperors[142]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Three emperors standing, facing front; two outermost figures are taller, heads turning towards one another, holding spear in outer hand and resting inner hand on shield; innermost figure is shorter, head right, holding spear in right hand, sometimes globe in left hand.



Type 109 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Two emperors globe[143]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Two emperors standing facing, heads toward one another, each holding a spear in outer hand and holding a globe between them with inner hands.



Type 110 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Two emperors shield[144]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Two emperors standing facing, heads toward one another, each holding a spear in outer hand and resting inner hand on shield.

	
Type 111 - GLOR ORVIS TERRAR[145] **Inscription**: GLOR ORVIS TERRAR **Description**: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing front, holding standard in right hand and globus cruciger in left hand; star in left field.	***Type 112 - CONCORDIA AGV Two emperors***[146] **Inscription**: CONCORDIA AGV **Description**: Two emperors nimbate, standing front, each holding spear in outer hand and holding long cross between them.
	
Type 113 - CONCORDIA AVG Victory[147] **Inscription**: CONCORDIA AVG **Description**: Victory, winged, draped, advancing forward, holding wreath in both hands.	***Type 114 - Cross in wreath***[148] **Inscription**: N/A **Description**: Cross in wreath.

	***No Image Available***
Type 115 - VT XXX V[149] **Inscription**: N/A **Description**: VT/XXX/V within wreath	***Type 116 - VICTORIA AVGG Victory and captive*** **Inscription**: VICTORIA AVGG **Description**: Victory, winged, draped, advancing left, head right, holding wreath or trophy over right shoulder and dragging captive with left hand.
	
Type 117 - SALVS REIPVBLICAE Cross[150] **Inscription**: SALVS REIPVBLICAE **Description**: Cross.	***Type 118 - HERCVLI VICTORI***[151,152] **Inscription**: HERCVLI VICTORI **Description**: Hercules, standing front, head left, leaning on club with right hand and holding out three apples and lion's skin in left hand, OR Hercules, standing right, holding right hand behind back and leaning on lion's skin on club with left hand.

	
Type 119 - IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG Eagle[153] **Inscription**: IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG **Description**: Eagle, standing left on waving line, carrying Licinius, who is standing left, holding thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre across left shoulder.	***Type 120 - CONCORD MILIT Concordia***[154] **Inscription**: CONCORD MILIT **Description**: Concordia, draped, standing slightly left, holding standard in each hand.
	
Type 121 - PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS Standard and sceptre[155] **Inscription**: PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS **Description**: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing left, holding standard in right hand and long sceptre on left arm; to right, two standards.	***Type 122 - IOVI ET HERCVLI CONS Jupiter and Hercules***[156] **Inscription**: IOVI ET HERCVLI CONS AVGG/CAES or IOV ET HERCV CONSER AVGG **Description**: Jupiter, standing right, holding sceptre in left hand, and Hercules, standing left, holding club and lion's skin in left hand, reaching out right hands towards one another which hold globe and Victory respectively.



Type 123 - HERCVLI CONSERVAT[157,158,159]

Inscription: HERCVLI CONSERVAT

Description: Hercules, standing, holding club or olive branch in right hand and lion skin with club or bow in left hand; or leaning on club with lion skin on rock.



Type 124 - VICTORIA AVG Emperor and Victory[160]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVG

Description: Victory, winged, draped, right, holding palm in right hand and presenting wreath to emperor, standing left, holding globe and sceptre.



Type 125 - IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG Emperor and Jupiter[161]

Inscription: IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG

Description: Emperor draped, cuirassed, standing right, receiving *victoriola* from Jupiter; Jupiter, standing left, leaning on sceptre with left hand.



Type 126 - SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL/AVCTA KART[162,163]

Inscription: SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART or SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS AVCTA KART

Description: Carthage, wearing long robe, standing front, head left, holding fruit in both hands.

	***No Image Available***[173]
Type 127 - FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor and one captive[164] **Inscription**: FEL TEMP REPARATIO **Description**: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, advancing left, holding *victoriola* in right hand and *labarum* in left hand; spurning a seated captive with right foot.	***Type 128 - VOTA PVBLICA Isis and Horus*** **Inscription**: VOTA PVBLICA **Description**: Isis, draped, seated front on high-backed throne, suckling Horus.
	
Type 129 - SPES REIPVBLICAE Emperor and captive[165] **Inscription**: SPES REIPVBLICAE **Description**: Emperor, head right, standing facing, holding standard and globe, right foot on captive.	***Type 130 - SPES ROMANORVM Victory w/wreath and palm***[166] **Inscription**: SPES ROMANORVM **Description**: Victory advancing left, holding wreath and palm.

[173] For visual examples of this type see coin plates XIII.1-22 in Alföldi 1937.



Type 131 - VIRT EXERC ROMANOR[167]

Inscription: VIRT EXERC ROMANOR

Description: Emperor helmeted, draped, cuirassed, standing right, head left, placing right hand on head of kneeling captive and holding trophy over left shoulder.



Type 132 - LIBERATORI VRBIS SVAE[168]

Inscription: LIBERATORI VRBIS SVAE

Description: Roma, helmeted, draped, seated front, head left, in hexastyle temple, holding globe in right hand and sceptre in left hand, to left, shield; in pediment, wreath.



Type 133 - VIRTVS EXERCITVM[169]

Inscription: VIRTVS EXERCITVM

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head left, holding *labarum* and resting left hand on shield.



Type 134 - VIRT EXERC Sol in camp[170]

Inscription: VIRT EXERC

Description: Plan of Roman camp, Sol standing in middle, chlamys draped across left shoulder, raising right hand and holding globe in left hand.



Type 135 - SALVS AVG NOSTRI[171]

Inscription: SALVS AVG NOSTRI

Description: ☧ flanked by A and ω.



Type 136 - FIDES MILITVM AVGG ET CAESS NN[172]

Inscription: FIDES MILITVM AVGG ET CAESS NN

Description: Fides, draped, seated left, holding standard in each hand.



Type 137 - ADVENTVS AVG[173]

Inscription: ADVENTVS AVG

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, riding left, raising right hand and holding up spear with left hand; horse treading seated captive to left.



Type 138 - VICTORIA CAESS NN Victory w/ wreath and palm types[174]

Inscription: VICTORIA CAESS NN

Description: Victory, winged, draped, advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand.



Type 139 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor, suppliant and captive[175]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Emperor draped, cuirassed, standing right, head left, holding kneeling captive by the hair with right hand and extending left hand down towards a suppliant.



Type 140 - CONCORDIAE AVGG[176]

Inscription: CONCORDIAE AVGG

Description: Emperor draped, cuirassed, standing right, receiving *victoriola* from Jupiter; Jupiter, standing left, leaning on sceptre with left hand.



Type 141 - FVNDAT PACIS[177]

Inscription: FVNDAT PACIS

Description: Mars, helmeted, nude, chlamys flying, advancing right, head left, dragging captive by hair with right hand and holding trophy over left shoulder.



Type 142 - CONSTANTINIANA DAFNE[178]

Inscription: CONSTANTINIANA DAFNE

Description: Victory, winged, draped, seated left on cippus, head right, holding palm in each hand; before her, trophy; at foot of trophy, kneeling captive, head turned, being spurned by Victory.

	***No Image Available***
Type 143 - FELICITAS ROMANORVM Victory[179] **Inscription**: FELICITAS ROMANORVM **Description**: Victory advancing left, holding wreath and palm.	***Type 144 - PROVIDENT(IA) AVG Providentia*** **Inscription**: PROVIDENT(IA) AVG **Description**: Providentia, draped, standing left, holding baton in right hand and sceptre in left hand; at foot, globe.
	
Type 145 - VIRTVS MILITVM Camp gate[180] **Inscription**: VIRTVS MILITVM **Description**: Camp gate, no doors.	***Type 146 - VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM Hercules***[181] **Inscription**: VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM or VIRTVS AVGG or VIRVTVTI AVGG **Description**: Hercules, standing right, holding club in right hand and bow and lion's skin in left hand.



Type 147 - CONSERVATOR AVGG Hercules[182]

Inscription: CONSERVATOR AVGG

Description: Maximian, draped, cuirassed, standing, holding sceptre in right hand, facing Hercules leaning on club in right hand, both sacrificing at altar.



Type 148 - Star in wreath[183]

Inscription: N/A

Description: Star in Wreath.



Type 149 - Monogram[184]

Inscription: N/A

Description: Monogram within wreath.



Type 150 - CONCORDIA AVGGG Constantinopolis turreted[185]

Inscription: CONCORDIA AVGGG

Description: Constantinopolis, turreted, head left, seated facing, holding reverse spear, right foot often on prow.



Type 151 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor w/ standard and shield[186]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Emperor, standing front, head left, holding standard in right hand and resting left hand on shield.



Type 152 - VICTORIA AVG Two Victories[187]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVG

Description: Two Victories, winged, draped, facing each other, holding wreath between them.



Type 153 - VICTORIA AVGG Two Victories[188]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVGG

Description: Two Victories, winged, draped, facing each other, holding wreath between them.



Type 154 - VICT(ORIA) AVG Victory w/ wreath and palm types[189]

Inscription: VICT(ORIA) AVG

Description: Victory, winged, draped, advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand.



Type 155 - IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG/CAESS[190,191,192,193]

Inscription: IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG (NN) or IOVI CONSERVATORI CAESS or IOVI CONSERVATORI DD NN or IOVI CONSERVAT AVGG or IOVI CONSER AVGG

Description: Jupiter, nude, wearing chlamys, standing left, holding globe/*victoriola*/thunderbolt in right hand and leaning on sceptre with left hand; sometimes eagle holding wreath to left, captive to right.



Type 156 - CONCORDIA AVG Cross[194]

Inscription: CONCORDIA AVG

Description: Cross.

As Type [105] or [156] – Inscription Uncertain



Type 157 - CONCORDIA AVG or AVGGG Cross - Uncertain

Inscription: CONCORDIA AVG or AVGGG

Description: Cross.

Type 158 - BONO GENIO PII IMPERATORIS[195]

Inscription: BONO GENIO PII IMPERATORIS

Description: *Genius*, wearing modius, nude, chlamys draped over left shoulder, standing left, pouring liquid from patera in right hand and holding cornucopiae in left hand.



Type 159 - VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN Mars[196]

Inscription: VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN

Description: Mars, helmeted, advancing right, holding transverse spear in right hand and trophy over left shoulder.



Type 160 - PRINCIPI IVVENTVT(IS) Spear and globe[197]

Inscription: PRINCIPI IVVENTVT(IS)

Description: Emperor, helmeted, draped, cuirassed, cloak spread, standing right, holding transverse spear in right hand and globe in left hand.



Type 161 - IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG Emperor and Jupiter[198]

Inscription: IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG

Description: Emperor draped, cuirassed, standing right, receiving *victoriola* from Jupiter; Jupiter, standing left, leaning on sceptre with left hand.



Type 162 - GLORIA PERPET Two Victories[199]

Inscription: GLORIA PERPET

Description: Two Victories, winged, draped, advancing right, both holding wreath in right hand and branch in left hand; between them, standard.



No Image Available

Type 163 - SAPIENTIA PRINCIPIS[200]

Inscription: SAPIENT(IA) PRINCIP(IS)
Description: Altar with owl, spear across altar; to left, shield; to right, helmet.

Type 164 - VICTORIA AVGV((S)T) Victory with wreath and palm

Inscription: VICTORIA AVGV or AVGVS or AVGVST
Description: Victory, winged, draped, advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; cross in left field.





Type 165 - VICTORIA AVG Emperor(?) with spear and globe[201]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVG
Description: Valentinian III or Roma, perhaps helmeted, draped, cuirassed, standing left, holding globe in right hand and spear in left hand; a cloak sometimes visible.

Type 166 - CASTRA Camp gate[202]

Inscription: CASTRA[N]
Description: Camp/city gate surmounted by star.

As Type [61] or [154] – Inscription Uncertain	
Type 167 - VICTORIA AVG or AVGG(G) Victory w/ wreath and palm types - Uncertain **Inscription**: As per type **[61]** or **[154]** **Description**: As per type **[61]** and **[154]**	***Type 168 - Bridge over River w/POP ROMANVS obv.[203]*** **Inscription**: N/A **Description**: Bridge over a river.
	
Type 169 - VOT PVB Camp gate[204] **Inscription**: VOT PVB **Description**: Camp/city gate surmounted by turrets or pellets, sometimes a star above.	***Type 170 - PROVIDENTIA DEORVM (QVIES AVG)[205]*** **Inscription**: PROVIDENTIA DEORVM (QVIES AVG) **Description**: Providentia, draped, standing right, extending right hand to Quies; Quies, draped, standing left, holding branch in right hand and leaning on sceptre with left hand.



Type 171 - SALVS REIPVBLICE Victory w/wreath and palm[206]

Inscription: SALVS REIPVBLICE
Description: Victory, winged, draped, advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand.



Type 172 - MEMORIAE AETERNAE Eagle[207]

Inscription: MEMORIAE AETERNAE
Description: Eagle, standing right, head left OR Eagle, standing left, head right.



Type 173 - VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM Emperor and captive[208]

Inscription: VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM
Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing right, holding spear in right hand and globe in left hand; kicking seated captive; captive wearing pointed hat, raising left hand to head.



Type 174 - SOLI INVICTO COMITI Bust of Sol[209]

Inscription: SOLI INVICTO COMITI
Description: Bust of Sol, radiate, draped, facing right.

No Image Available	
Type 175 - VICTO AVG Emperor and captive **Inscription**: VICTO AVG **Description**: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head left, suppressing captive with right hand and holding standard in left hand.	***Type 176 - IOVI AVGG[210]*** **Inscription**: IOVI AVGG **Description**: Jupiter, standing left, holding *victoriola* in right hand and sceptre in left hand; at foot, eagle.
	
Type 177 - REQVIES OPTIMOR(VM) MERIT(OR)[211] **Inscription**: REQVIES OPTIMOR(VM) MERIT(OR) **Description**: Deified emperor, veiled, draped, seated left in curule chair, holding short sceptre in right hand.	***Type 178 - COMITI AVGG NN Sol[212]*** **Inscription**: COMITI AVGG NN **Description**: Sol, standing left, holding up globe in right hand and whip in left hand.



Type 179 - VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM Victory w/wreath and palm[213]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM

Description: Victory, winged, draped, advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand.



Type 180 - TRIVMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM[214]

Inscription: TRIVMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM/BARBARVM

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing left, holding standard in right hand and resting left hand on shield.



Type 181 - VIRTVS AVGG NN[215]

Inscription: VIRTVS AVGG NN

Description: Soldier, helmeted, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head right, holding spear in right hand and resting left hand on shield.



Type 182 - VICTORIA AVGG Two emperors seated[216]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVGG

Description: Two emperors seated facing, together holding globe, right figure often holds mappa. Above and between them a Victory with outspread wings; sometimes between them below, a palm-branch.



Type 183 - IOVI TVTATORI AVGG[217]

Inscription: IOVI TVTATORI AVGG

Description: Jupiter, standing left, holding *victoriola* in right hand and sceptre in left hand; sometimes at foot, eagle.



Type 184 - VBERTAS SAECVLI[218]

Inscription: VBERTAS SAECVLI

Description: Ubertas, draped, standing left, holding balance with two scales in right hand and cornucopiae in left hand.



Type 185 - QVIES AVGG[219]

Inscription: QVIES AVGG or QVIES AVGVSTORVM

Description: Quies, draped, standing left or front, holding branch in right hand and leaning on sceptre with left hand.



Type 186 - CLEMENT(IA) TEMP[220]

Inscription: CLEMENT(IA) TEMP

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing right, holding sceptre in right hand and receiving *victoriola* from Jupiter; Jupiter, standing left, holding sceptre.



Type 187 - CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma and emperor in temple[221]

Inscription: CONSERV VRB SVAE

Description: Roma, draped, seated left on shield, in tetrastyle temple, giving globe to Maxentius with right hand and holding sceptre in left hand; Maxentius, draped, cuirassed, standing right, sometimes holding sceptre; between them, seated captive; as acroteria, Victory; in pediment, wolf and twins.



Type 188 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Victory w/wreath and palm[222]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Victory, winged, draped, advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand.



Type 189 - AETERNITAS AVG N Castor and Pollux[223]

Inscription: AETERNITAS AVG N

Description: Castor and Pollux, wearing caps, nude, chlamys draped over shoulders, standing facing each other, both leaning on sceptre with outer hand and holding bridled horse with inner hand; sometimes wolf and twins between.



Type 190 - HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS[224]

Inscription: HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS

Description: Emperor, diademed, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head left, holding *labarum* in right hand and spear in left hand; to right, Victory standing, crowning him with wreath and holding palm.



Type 191 - CONSERVATOR AVGG Jupiter[225]

Inscription: CONSERVATOR AVGG

Description: Diocletian, draped, standing right, and Jupiter, standing left, each holding sceptre and sacrificing at altar.



Type 192 - CONSERV VRB SVAE Roma and Victory[226]

Inscription: CONSERV VRB SVAE

Description: Victory, winged, draped, standing left/advancing right/on either side, crowning Roma with right hand and holding palm in left hand; Roma, draped, seated front, head left, in tetrastyle temple, holding globe in right hand and sceptre in left hand; sometimes between them, captive, seated right, hands bound; as acroteria, knobs.



Type 193 - FIDES MILITVM (AVG N)[227,228]

Inscription: FIDES MILITVM (AVG N)

Description: Fides, draped, standing or seated, holding standard in each hand.



Type 194 - VICTORIA AVGGG Emperor and captive[229]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVGGG

Description: Emperor, standing right, holding standard and *victoriola*, and trampling on captive.

	
Type 195 - VIRTVS MILITVM Camp gate and sacrificing emperors[230] **Inscription**: VIRTVS MILITVM **Description**: Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius, draped, sacrificing over tripod; behind, gate in a six-turreted enclosure.	***Type 196 - CONCORDIA AVGG Constantinopolis w/victoriola[231]*** **Inscription**: CONCORDIA AVGG **Description**: Constantinopolis, helmeted, head front, seated facing, holding spear/sceptre and *victoriola*, right foot often on prow.
No Image Available	
Type 197 - Pax w/Constantinopolis obv **Inscription**: N/A **Description**: Pax, draped, standing left, holding branch in right hand and transverse sceptre in left hand.	***Type 198 - FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor charging horseback[232]*** **Inscription**: FEL TEMP REPARATIO **Description**: Emperor, nimbate, draped, cuirassed, galloping right, thrusting spear at two barbarians with right hand and holding shield on left arm; barbarians wearing pointed caps, kneeling, raising both arms.

	
Type 199 - CLARITAS REIPVB(LICAE) Sol advancing[233] **Inscription**: CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE **Description**: Sol, radiate, chlamys flying, advancing left, raising right hand and holding globe and/or whip in left hand.	***Type 200 - SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive WITHOUT Christogram[234]*** **Inscription**: SALVS REIPVBLICAE or SALVS REIPVBLICE **Description**: Victory advancing left, holding trophy on shoulder with right hand, and dragging captive with left. NO Christogram (cross or staurogram) in left of field.
As Type [100] or [200] – Presence of Christogram uncertain	
Type 201 - SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory and captive - Christogram UNCERTAIN **Inscription**: SALVS REIPVBLICAE or SALVS REIPVBLICE **Description**: Victory advancing left, holding trophy on shoulder with right hand, and dragging captive with left. Uncertain if Christogram (cross or staurogram) presence in left of field.	***Type 202 - SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES w/wreath[235]*** **Inscription**: SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES **Description**: ℣ flanked by A and ω in wreath.



Type 203 - AETERNAE MEMORIAE Shrine[236,237]

Inscription: AETERNAE MEMORIAE

Description: Domed shrine, sometimes tetrastyle, with doors ajar and surmounted by eagle.



Type 204 - VICTORIA AETERNA AVG N Victory w/shield[238]

Inscription: VICTORIA AETERNA AVG N

Description: Victory, winged, draped, standing right, inscribing VOT/X or VOT/XX or VOT/XX/FEL on shield supported by pillar; to left, seated captive.



Type 205 - MEMORIAE AETERNAE Lion[239]

Inscription: MEMORIAE AETERNAE

Description: Lion, advancing, tail high.



Type 206 - SECVRITAS PVBLICA Euphratides[240]

Inscription: SECVRITAS PVBLICA

Description: Euphratides, draped to waist, seated right on ground, leaning on sceptre with right hand; beside him, urn; behind, reed.



Type 207 - VICTORIA ROMANORVM Victory w/wreath and palm[241]

Inscription: VICTORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Victory, winged, draped, advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; star high in left field.



Type 208 - REPARATIO FEL TEMP Standard only[242]

Inscription: REPARATIO FEL TEMP

Description: Emperor, head right, standing facing, holding standard in right hand and resting left on shield.



Type 209 - GLORIA REIPVBLICE Gate WITHOUT Staurogram[243]

Inscription: GLORIA REIPVBLICE

Description: Camp gate.



Type 210 - VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE(S) Vot Mvlt WITH Chi-Rho[244]

Inscription: VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE(S) or VICT DD NN AVG ET CAES

Description: Two Victories, winged, draped, facing each other, holding between them a wreath inscribed VOT(IS)/V/MVLT(IS)/X or variants, ☧ above.

	***Collation of types – see types [15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21]***
Type 211 - CONCORDIA AVG Empress[245] **Inscription**: CONCORDIA AVG **Description**: Empress enthroned, facing front, arms crossed over breast; star in left field. Empress crowned by *manus dei* on obverse.	***Type 212 - GENIO AVGVSTI/CAESARIS/ IMPERATORIS*** **Inscription**: GENIO AVGVSTI, GENIO AVGVSTI CMH, GENIO CAESARIS, GENIO IMPERATORIS **Description**: *Genius*, wearing modius, nude, chlamys draped over left shoulder, standing left, holding patera/Victory/head of Sol/head of Serapis in right hand and holding cornucopiae in left hand, sometimes altar or eagle at feet.
No Image Available	
Type 213 - VRTVS ROMANORVM Emperor w/ standard and shield **Inscription**: VRTVS ROMANORVM **Description**: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head right, holding standard in right hand and resting left hand on shield; sometimes star in right field.	***Type 214 - MARTI (PATRI) PROPVGNATORI Mars advancing***[246] **Inscription**: MARTI (PATRI) PROPVG(NATORI) **Description**: Mars, nude, advancing right, holding transverse spear in right hand and shield in left hand.



Type 215 - IOVI FVLGERATORI Jupiter advancing[247]

Inscription: IOVI FVLGERATORI

Description: Jupiter, walking left, holding thunderbolt in right hand; at foot, eagle.



Type 216 - VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM Victory w/wreath and globus cruciger[248]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM

Description: Victory advancing right, holding wreath and globus cruciger.



Type 217 - DEO SANCTO NILO w/DEO SANCTO SARAPIDI obv.[249]

Inscription: DEO SANCTO NILO

Description: Nilus reclining left, leaning on crocodile or hippopotamus, holding reed in right hand and cornucopiae in left hand.



Type 218 - VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN Emperor charging[250]

Inscription: VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, on horseback, galloping right, spearing kneeling enemy with right hand and holding shield on left arm; on ground, another enemy, prostrate.



Type 219 - MARTI CONSERVATORI Bust of Mars[251]

Inscription: MARTI CONSERVATORI

Description: Bust of Mars, helmeted, cuirassed, right.



Type 220 - IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG Victory and Jupiter[252]

Inscription: IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG

Description: Victory, winged, draped, walking right, holding palm in right hand and presenting wreath to Diocletian, standing left, holding globe and sceptre.



Type 221 - FELICITAS AVG Column and caduceus[253]

Inscription: FELICITAS AVG

Description: Felicitas, draped, standing left, leaning on column with right arm and holding caduceus in left hand, crossing legs.



Type 222 - SALVS AVGG[254]

Inscription: SALVS AVGG

Description: Salus, draped, standing right, feeding snake held in arms.



Type 223 - PAXX AVGG Pax[255]

Inscription: PAXX AVGG

Description: Pax, draped, standing left, holding *victoriola* in right hand and sceptre in left hand.



Type 224 - CLARITAS AVGG Sol[256]

Inscription: CLARITAS AVGG

Description: Sol, standing left, raising right hand and holding globe in left hand; at foot, captive.



Type 225 - FORTVNAE REDVCI AVGG NN[257]

Inscription: FORTVNAE REDVCI AVGG NN

Description: Fortuna, draped, seated left (sometimes on wheel), holding rudder over globe (or wheel) and cornucopiae in left hand.



Type 226 - FELICTAS PVBLICA[258]

Inscription: FELICTAS PVBLIC(A) or FELICIT PVBL(IC)

Description: Felicitas, draped, standing left, leaning on column with right arm and holding caduceus in left hand, crossing legs.



Type 227 - COMES AVGG Minerva[259]

Inscription: COMES AVGG

Description: Minerva, helmeted, draped, standing left, holding spear in right hand and leaning on shield with left hand.



Type 228 - PAXX AVGG Minerva[260]

Inscription: PAXX AVGG

Description: Minerva, helmeted, draped, standing left, holding olive-branch in right hand and spear in left hand, leaning on shield.



Type 229 - VICTORIA SARMAT[261]

Inscription: VICTORIA SARMAT

Description: Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius, draped, standing, sacrificing over tripod; behind, gate in six (or eight)-turreted enclosure.



Type 230 - CONCORDIA AVGG Two Concordiae[262]

Inscription: CONCORDIA AVGG

Description: Two Concordiae, draped, standing facing each other, clasping right hands and holding cornucopiae in left hands.



Type 231 - LAETITIA AVGG[263]

Inscription: LAETITIA AVGG

Description: Laetitia, draped, standing left, holding wreath in right hand and rudder or anchor in left hand.



Type 232 - SOLI INVICTO (COMITI) Sol on quadriga[264]

Inscription: SOLI INVICTO COMITI or SOLE INVICTO

Description: Sol, radiate, nude to waist, standing front in quadriga, head left, raising right hand and holding globe and whip in left hand.



Type 233 - PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS Emperor with two standards[265]

Inscription: PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head left, holding standard in each hand.



Type 234 - VICTORIAE LIBERAE[266]

Inscription: VICTORIAE LIBERAE

Description: Victory, winged, draped, advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and branch in left hand, spurning seated captive.



Type 235 - Imperial Title w/four standards[267]

Inscription: CONSTANTINVS AVG, CONSTANTINVS CAESAR, CONSTANTIVS CAESAR, CONSTANS CAESAR, CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG, CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C, CONSTANTINVS CAES, CONSTANTIVS AVG, CONSTANS AVG or CONSTANTIVS AVGVSTVS

Description: Four standards.



Type 236 - GAVDIVM ROMANORVM* Vota *standard[268]

Inscription: GAVDIVM ROMANORVM

Description: Standard, banner inscribed VOT/X/MVLT/XV or VOT/X/MVLT/XX or VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX, flanked by two seated captives.



Type 237 - VIRTVS DD NN AVGG Emperor w/labarum[269]

Inscription: VIRTVS DD NN AVGG

Description: Emperor, bareheaded, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head left, holding *labarum* in right hand.



Type 238 - PAX AVGVSTORVM Emperor w/labarum[270]

Inscription: PAX AVGVSTORVM

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing left, holding *labarum* in right hand.



Type 239 - VIRTVS DD NN AVGG Victory w/wreath and palm[271]

Inscription: VIRTVS DD NN AVGG

Description: Victory, winged, draped, walking left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand.



Type 240 - FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor w/labarum[272]

Inscription: FEL TEMP REPARATIO

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing left, holding *labarum* in right hand.



Type 241 - VICTORIA AVG ET CAES Emperor and captive[273]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVG ET CAES

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing right, holding *labarum* in right hand and spear in left hand; placing left foot on shoulders of seated captive; III in left field.



Type 242 - VIRTVS EXERCITVS Emperor w/standard and shield[274]

Inscription: VIRTVS EXERCITVS

Description: Emperor, head left, standing facing, holding standard in right hand and resting left on shield.



Type 243 - GLORIA ROMANORVM Gate[275]

Inscription: GLORIA ROMANORVM

Description: Camp-gate with S between its two turrets.



Type 244 - VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM Victory and shield[276]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM

Description: Victory standing right, left foot on globe, writing VOT/X/MVLT/XV or VOT/V/MVLT/X on shield placed on cippus.



Type 245 - PERPETVETAS Phoenix[277]

Inscription: PERPETVETAS

Description: Phoenix, standing left, on globe.



Type 246 - VICTORIA AVGGG Emperor w/long cross and victoriola[278]

Inscription: VICTORIA AVGGG

Description: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing front, holding long cross in right hand and *victoriola* in left hand; placing right foot on head of human-headed coiled serpent.



Type 247 - IOVI CONSERVATORI Jupiter advancing[279]

Inscription: IOVI CONSERVATORI

Description: Jupiter, nude, chlamys flying, running right, throwing thunderbolt with right hand.

[1] RIC VI Antioch 61b; American Numismatic Society 1978.25.1, [Accessed 09/06/2023], Public Domain.
[2] RIC VI Cyzicus 11a; American Numismatic Society 1944.100.5733, [Accessed 09/06/2023], Public Domain.
[3] RIC VI Nicomedia 27b; American Numismatic Society 1925.176.89, [Accessed 28/09/2023], Public Domain.
[4] RIC VII Rome 322; American Numismatic Society 1944.100.7356 [Accessed 19/06/2023], Public Domain.
[5] RIC VII Heraclea 58; American Numismatic Society 1944.100.9827 [Accessed 19/06/2023], Public Domain.
[6] RIC IX Heraclea 18B; American Numismatic Society 1976.136.11 [Accessed 19/06/2023], Public Domain.
[7] RIC VIII Nicomedia 58; American Numismatic Society 1970.165.96 [Accessed 27/06/2023], Public Domain.
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