

STOCKHOLM STUDIES IN LATE ROMAN AND EARLY  
BYZANTINE SOLIDUS COINAGE

Occasional papers 2

The Lewis Collection of  
Late Roman Solidi in the  
Fitzwilliam Museum

Svante Fischer & Adrian Popescu

Stockholm Numismatic Institute



Stockholm  
University

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LATE ROMAN SOLIDI IN THE  
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Svante Fischer & Adrian Popescu

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# ABSTRACT

## **The Lewis Collection of Late Roman Solidi in the Fitzwilliam Museum**

This paper is a comparative study of 19 Late Roman solidi from the private collection of the reverend Samuel Savage Lewis, librarian of Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge. The solidi were mainly acquired by Lewis from various antiquarian dealers in Europe in 1873–1883, with Lewis keeping records of the acquisitions. The solidi of the Lewis Collection were donated to Corpus Christi College in 1891. They have been kept in the Fitzwilliam Museum since 1991 and most are now published for the first time. The aim of this paper is to situate the solidi in their antiquarian context and explore the problematic surrounding collections of decontextualized solidi. Do the individual solidi in the Lewis Collection have sufficient provenance to attempt a recontextualization? May one assign a possible origin and historical background to them? Can they be used to theorize about the relative frequency of die-links in coin hoards and numismatic collections? To answer these questions, the solidi in the Lewis Collection have been examined for die-links with find coins from Italy and Scandinavia, but also decontextualized solidi from eighteenth and nineteenth century Swedish collections. The result shows that only two solidi in the Lewis Collection are die-linked to the Scandinavian find material, and none to the decontextualized solidi in the Swedish collections. There are many die-links connecting Italian and Scandinavian find coins, but they also link to decontextualized solidi in Swedish collections. This suggests that solidi in Swedish collections are indeed local find coins from Scandinavia. They can thus be employed in comparative research on Italian and Scandinavian find coins.

### **Keywords**

*Samuel Savage Lewis, Corpus Christi College, Fitzwilliam Museum, Solidus, Late Roman economy, Dark Age economics, coin hoards, antiquarianism, numismatics, Scandinavian Migration Period.*



## Introduction

This paper presents the Late Roman solidi of the Lewis Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum at the University of Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> The solidi in the collection were assembled by the reverend Samuel Savage Lewis in 1873–1883. One aim of this paper has been to examine whether individual solidi have sufficient provenance to attempt a recontextualization, assigning a possible origin and historical background. If not, the solidi are still useful as comparative material. The reason for this approach is connected to a major research problem with the Scandinavian solidus material. How should one approach the large systematic Swedish collections which contain decontextualized solidi assembled in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? There are hundreds of such solidi in the GF, KMK, LUHM and UUM, but also in the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection, now kept at the University of Texas at Austin (Heilborn 1882, Fischer 2020). In the KMK, one may note the Herbst Collection (SHM 3705) which contains solidus finds from Bornholm, Denmark, and the Smith Collection (Appelgren 1931).

It must be emphasized that there are also solidi with a distinct Mediterranean provenance in Swedish collections, not least those of the Skjöldebrand Collection in the KMK and the Brandel Collection in the UUM. These were brought back to Sweden by two diplomats, Erik Skjöldebrand (1722–1814) and Henrik Brandel (1739–1828), who were stationed at the Swedish consulate in Algiers in 1754–1791. The KMK specimens are included in the quite meticulous catalogues of Skjöldebrand (1785), and Hallenberg (1804) and these specimens can therefore be distinguished from decontextualized solidi.

From a scholarly perspective, it is very tempting to incorporate the decontextualized solidi from the Swedish collections into the corpus of recorded Scandi-

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navian find material. These collections often include die-identical or die-linked solidi, which connect them to find coins from very distinct distribution areas, typically the Swedish islands of Öland and Gotland. We know that they probably belong together, and if we could prove this, then it would explain a lot of things: “Just as we cannot think of spatial objects at all apart from space, or temporal objects apart from time, so we cannot think of any object apart from the possibility of its connection with other things” (Wittgenstein 1922:2.0121). In the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection alone, as many as eight out of the total 33 fifth- and early sixth century solidi are die-identical or die-linked to find coins from Italy and Scandinavia (Fischer 2020:23). In the UUM, there are similar figures, and the UUM collection will be the subject of a forthcoming study. But before this approach may be implemented, one must compare and verify the material against another random sample – that of the Lewis Collection.

## Samuel Savage Lewis – Collector and Cleric

The reverend Samuel Savage Lewis, MA, FSA (1836–1891), the longtime librarian of Corpus Christi College, stands out as a quintessential late nineteenth century antiquarian – a man fully devoted to spiritual matters and timeless learning with little regard to ephemeral fashion (Lewis 1892, Woodhead 1971). Lewis’ eccentric manners and conspicuous appearance in dark robes and a long scruffy black beard rendered him the nickname ‘Satan Lewis’ in his own lifetime (Fig 1). He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1872. A persistent collector of antiquities, Lewis gathered 4,000 ancient objects and some 5,000 coins during travels in Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East, most of them now kept in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Spier & Vassilika 1995). The Lewis Collection is in many ways a one-man monument to the academic environment of Cambridge some 150 years ago, where Lewis enjoyed a very privileged life within a sphere slowly encroached upon by the industrial revolution and forthcoming global conflicts.



*Fig. 1. Samuel Savage Lewis in gown.*



*Fig. 2. The grave of Lewis.*

In 1891, Lewis suffered a tragic death from a heart attack after a desperate sprint to catch a departing train from Oxford (Woodhead 1971:20). Lewis' earthly remains now rest in the Millbury Road Cemetery in Cambridge (Fig 2).

From the autobiography written by his wife, Agnes Lewis (1892), one may discern that Lewis never visited Scandinavia, nor is there any record of Lewis acquiring ancient objects from there. This is important, as there are records of contemporary British collectors such as James Curle of Melrose acquiring *solidi* on Gotland, which have since been included in the collections of the BM (Fischer 2019b, 2020).

The Lewis Collection stands out as an important comparison to the Swedish collections of *solidi* for many reasons. First, the Lewis Collection is a distinctly academic assembly formed by a reasonably well-known English scholar, and the *solidi* have not been exchanged since the Lewis Collection was bequeathed to Corpus Christi College in 1891. Second, the Lewis Collection contains many fifth century *solidi* of types which are typically not found in Britain (Bland & Loriot 2010) but appear very frequently in recorded finds from Italy and Scandinavia (Fischer & López Sánchez 2016:175–177, tab 3). Third, Lewis kept records of his acquisitions. We not only know when and where he bought most of the *solidi*, but also how much he paid for them at the time.

If the *solidi* of the Lewis Collection would prove to be die-linked to decontextualized *solidi* in the Swedish collections, rather than the Scandinavian find material, this would suggest that many Swedish collections may contain coins from Italy that could have been acquired from antiquarian dealers and that it is difficult to recontextualize *solidi* in older Swedish collections because the provenance may be all too uncertain. If, on the other hand, the *solidi* in the Lewis Collection would prove to be unrelated to the decontextualized *solidi* in Swedish collections, this would mean that the latter could possibly be related to the Scandinavian find material. If the *solidi* in the Lewis Collection with a provenance beyond London and Paris coin dealers proved to be connected to finds coins from Scandinavia, there would be a possibility that the *solidi* in the Lewis Collection could be reintegrated into a larger historical narrative.

## The Significance of Die-Links

The definition of a die-link is that at least two coins have been struck with the same tool, a die. It is undeniable that die-links prove that coins have been produced and then kept in the same place as other coins at some point in time and space. In a normal circulation process, coins are passed from hand to hand, so that die-link chains are broken up and all coins become mixed up. What do die-links and die-identities signify and why are they so important to numismatic research? Above all, they provide empirical data from which one can proceed to ask further questions. The circulation process of *solidi* in the Late Antiquity was somewhat different from other coin types of bronze and silver, since the *solidi* being gold coins were so valuable. Therefore, *solidus* die-links can tell us about specific distribution patterns.

A succinct paper by Roger Bland (2019) provides several cogent points on the matter, summarizing earlier scholarly contributions and discussions, notably Thordeman (1948), Crawford (1974), Buttrey (1993) and de Callatay (1995) among others. Bland's focus is on mid- to late third century aurei, but his conclusions are valid for the fifth century *solidi* in the Roman west as well. Most importantly, Bland points out that there are two ways to estimate the total output of a given coin type: the first is by quantifying find coins, the second by identifying the number of die-links. None of these methods are perfect, however. It is very difficult to estimate the life span of a coin die from Late Antiquity. There is no clear correlation between the functional quality of the die and its active use-period. In the fifth century, very poorly executed dies could be used to produce huge numbers of *solidi*, while well-executed dies may be known only from single specimens. It is also certain that many coins, not least from large issues, have disappeared from circulation because they were re-assembled by dominant market actors, recast, and then distributed as new types. Then there is the difficulty of tracking find coins and comparing die-links. The vast majority of find coins of western *solidi* from the third quarter of the fifth century are found in Italy and Scandinavia. Matching these two materials requires considerable efforts, and a high degree of fluency in both Italian and the Scandinavian languages.

A key focal point in the study of die-links is the phenomenon of clusters of specific dies from specific periods in contemporary hoards. Two late fifth century *solidus* hoards buried in 472–473 may illustrate two extremes: the Como hoard of 1,000 *solidi* has no less than 111 *solidi* struck with the same reverse die from Milan, but the obverses represent three different emperors and several different types (Facchinetti 2022). The Casa delle Vestali hoard of 397 *solidi* has no less than 227 *solidi* with an obverse die-link from the Rome mint. Of these, 145 share the same reverse die as well (Ungaro 1985, Fischer 2014).

The two hoards have almost no die-links to each other, even though the vast majority of all the coinage in both hoards was issued for one single emperor – Anthemius (467–472) – in one single region in a brief five-year period. The two hoards are expressions of political circumstances, the Como hoard being under the control of the warlord Ricimer in the Po Valley, while the Casa delle Vestali hoard was under the control of Anthemius in the city of Rome. These two seemingly antithetical clusters of separate die-links show that a single die-link may not mean much, but several single die-links of different coin types may be indicative of a chain of events. A good example of such a situation is reflected by the multi-faceted San Mamiliano hoard, which has numerous die-links to hoards in Scandinavia, but of many different coin types with unrelated dies (Arslan 2015, Fischer 2019a). As intermediaries between Como and the Casa delle Vestali hoard, San Mamiliano and the Scandinavian hoards share a great number of features which can only be explained by the Scandinavian hoards being subsidiary recipients in a distribution hierarchy where the owners of the San Mamiliano hoard ranked above the Scandinavians.

## What is Decontextualization?

Decontextualization is an antiquarian practice where an agent (typically a collector or antiquarian dealer) removes an ancient object from its original context, thereby detaching and disconnecting the object from an environment within which it was once meaningfully integrated. The object is then introduced to a new environment where it is categorized and integrated into a system of order. In numismatics, this was stereotypically the practice where discovered coin hoards were dispersed and reorganized into the empty slots of the square trays of systematic collections (Fischer 2020, 2022, 2023). As systematic typology was the primary purpose of coin collecting, studies of coin circulation and hoarding practices were either considered irrelevant or of secondary importance. In addition, the process of numismatic decontextualization usually involves selection or alteration. This means that coins of very common types, or poorly struck coins, along with mutilated, pierced, and refilled specimens have not been acquired by collectors. It follows that the archetypical specimens in typological collections are not representative of the original hoards.

## What is Recontextualization?

Recontextualization is a practice whereby a previously decontextualized object is appraised and reevaluated in a comparative approach to resituate the object back into its original context (Fischer 2020). It is a form of genealogy, tracing

the path of an errant object back to its roots. There has long been an implicit understanding of the need for recontextualization in numismatic discourse, just as there has been an outspoken provenance principle in archival research. Subsequently, there are many forms of token or even fraudulent forms of recontextualization. A common practice in numismatic trade is the use of the term ‘provenance’ as a sort of surrogate context. Auction sale catalogues have thus come to deputize as ancient coin hoards. Provenance may also be fabricated to hide crime or increase the value of a given object. The decontextualized objects may also be altered or ‘restored’ to appear more original.

### Antiquarian Provenance in the Lewis Collection

There is no record of Lewis ever excavating or finding a solidus himself. The solidi were all secondary acquisitions. There is only one find coin from Britain in the solidus collection, a pierced specimen for Constantine I from Trier. This was noted on the original ticket, as pointed out by Bland & Loriot (2010:237–238): “Found between Middlezoy and Weston Zoyland in ploughing, autumn 1874. Bought of C. Hobbs, Eastover, Bridgewater, 3 Pounds”.

By the time Lewis began collecting solidi in the early 1870’s, the most important English collector and scholar in the field, Count William de Salis, had already passed away in 1871. De Salis’ enormous collection of solidi kept in the BM did not go back on the market. This meant that the supply of decontextualized solidi had become somewhat scarce. Lewis’ first recorded solidus purchase dates to 1873, and the last to 1883. The two auction companies he favored were Rollin & Feuarent, and Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge. The former had two main branches, one in Paris and one in London. It briefly had a New York branch as well. The London branch was managed by Frances A. Whelan (1848–1907) from 1876 onwards, and it was Whelan who sold many of the solidi to Lewis (Spier & Vassiliki 1995:89). Luckily, Lewis noted what currency was used for all purchases, which enables an easy distinction between the branches in London and Paris. None of the solidi have any other provenance than the antiquarian dealers who sold the coins to Lewis.

There are documented cases of solidi currently in Swedish collections (notably SHM 32571.1–5), where it is certain that solidi were bought over the counter from auction houses in Europe without any certain provenance. These solidi were never offered for sale in published auction catalogues. This is very important to keep in mind in the study of the Lewis collection. There are very few references to specific lot numbers from auctions in the Lewis collection, none of which are from Rollin & Feuarent. Similarly, there are only written descriptions for each lot and no images in the Rollin & Feuarent auction catalogues,

Table 1.

No.	Inv nr	Ruler	Mint	Mintmark	Chronology	RIC Type	Weight	Diam	Die-axis	Provenance	Date of acquisition	Price	Die-link
1	CM.LS.3828-R	Constantine I	Trier	PTR	317-319	RIC VII 192	4,35	20	180	C. Hobbs, Eastover, Bridgewater	Autumn 1874	3 Pounds	
2	CM.LS.3845-R	Constantine I	Nicomedia	SMNM	335-335	RIC VII 176	4,48	22	0				
3	CM.LS.3848-R	Constantine I	Antioch	SMAN.	335-335	RIC VII 98	4,24	20	180	Rollin & Feuardent, London	15 June 1883	12 Pounds	x
4	CM.LS.3892-R	Constantius II	Antioch	.SMANB	347-361	RIC VIII 170	4,49	21	180	G C Chester (from Egypt)	21 May 1883	27 Francs	
5	CM.LS.3913-R	Julian Caesar	Rome	RSMS	355-356	RIC VIII 295	4,47	21	0	Rollin & Feuardent, London	11 November 1873	2 Pounds	
6	CM.LS.3918-R	Julian	Antioch	ANITB	361-363	RIC VIII 201	4,35	21	180	Rollin & Feuardent, Paris	31 January 1875	50 Francs	
7	CM.LS.3921-R	Jovian	Sirmium	*SIRM.	363-364	RIC VIII 110	4,48	21	0				
8	CM.LS.3925-R	Valentinian I	Constantinople	CONSP*	364-375	RIC IX 3a	4,41	21	180	Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge	5 February 1873		
9	CM.LS.3924-R	Valentinian I	Arles	KONSP*	364-375	RIC IX 61.1.a.2	4,41	21	0	Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge	5 February 1873		
10	CM.LS.3935-R	Honorius	Ravenna	RV	402-408	RIC X 1287	4,3	21	20				
11	CM.LS.3943-R	Valentinian III	Ravenna	RV	440-455	RIC X 2005	4,33	22	20				
12	CM.LS.3944-R	Valentinian III	Ravenna	RV	440-455	RIC X 2018	4,42	21	0	Rollin & Feuardent, Paris	22 September 1881	35 Francs	x
13	CM.LS.3942-R	Galla Placidia	Ravenna	RV	426-430	RIC X 2021	4,48	22	0	Rollin & Feuardent, Paris	4 March 1882	175 Francs	
14	CM.LS.3947-R	Theodosius II	Constantinople	COMOB	441-447	RIC X 324	4,26	21	180				
15	CM.LS.3949-R	Pulcheria	Constantinople	COMOB	441-447	RIC X 288	4,48	21	180				x
16	CM.LS.3950-R	Pulcheria	Constantinople	CONOB	451-453	RIC X 512	4,46	22	180	Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge	10 July 1882	9 Pounds	
17	CM.LS.3948-R	Marcian	Constantinople	CONOB	451-457	RIC X 510	4,47	21	180	Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge	10 July 1882	2 Pounds 6 Pence	
18	CM.LS.3945-R	Majorian	Arles	AR	458-461	RIC X 2633	4,42	21	180	Rollin & Feuardent, Paris	March 1879	80 Francs	
19	CM.LS.3951-R	Zeno	Constantinople	CONOB	474-491	RIC X 930	4,39	19	180	Sarasso, Messina, Sicily	18 January 1876	27 Francs	x

just as there are only written dates on the original tickets and no lot numbers in the Lewis collection.

While it is quite tempting to associate the acquisitions in the Lewis collection from the Rollin & Feuardenet auction firm to specific auction lots in the various printed auction catalogues, a possible connection cannot be conclusively proven since there are no images to compare with. Hence, such possible matches have accordingly not been included in catalogue of the Lewis solidus collection. A case in point is the issue for Majorian, no. 18, that is a possible match to a lot in a Rollin & Feuardenet auction catalogue. But there is certainly no shortage of such solidi. Since the solidus for Majorian in the Lewis collection is not die-linked to any other of the 26 die-types known to us any such association could be a false and obtuse lead – there is no certainty that the coin in the auction catalogue is the same as the one in the Lewis collection.

Like most other well-to-do collectors, Lewis wanted beautiful and heavy coins. For the most part, he was careful to choose examples in fair to very fine condition. This means that the solidi in the Lewis Collection do not resemble solidi discovered in the field or what less dedicated collectors may have been able to assemble. One may note the pristine condition of no. 4, a specimen struck for Constantius II in Antioch acquired from Egypt in 1883. It is quite a stark contrast to the three very worn solidi for Constantius II and Valentinian I in the UUM, which were acquired in Egypt by the amateur collector Swedish Crown Princess Victoria in 1892. There seems to be no deviation in the weights in the Lewis Collection. The western fifth century solidi weigh slightly less than eastern solidi, but this is perfectly normal given the data available from the recent study of the 1,000 solidi in the Como hoard (Facchinetti 2022:139–140, Tab 10, Fig 5).

The selection process of collectors such as Lewis implies that their antiquarian assemblies are never quite representative of the totality of find coins. Most of the solidi in the Lewis collection have been thoroughly cleaned, and there is even a correlation between the price range and the luster of the gold coins. Unsurprisingly, there are no mutilations. Only three coins in the collection have been pierced, one each for Constantine I, Julian and Zeno, and the latter is the only one that Lewis bought in Italy. There is only one carved assay mark, on the obverse of a solidus for Theodosius II, one of only two eastern fifth century solidi in the assembly.

The pristine condition of most of its solidi separates the Lewis Collection from the Swedish collections. Especially the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection and the Säfve Collection in the GF include many extremely worn, mutilated, pierced, and refilled solidi, which are often provided with carved assay marks on both sides of the coins. The explanation for this is simple. The worn

decontextualized specimens in the Swedish collections have been acquired *faute de mieux* by collectors such as August Wilhelm Stiernstedt and Pehr Arvid Säfve. They are probably local find coins, and as such they have been affordable acquisitions compared to the well-preserved examples from international auction houses.

## Imperial *personae*, Chronology, Mints

The Lewis Collection includes 19 Late Roman solidi and one Early Merovingian Period solidus in the name of the Frankish king Theudebert I (533–548). Three of these gold coins are currently on display in the Fitzwilliam Museum. While the solidus for Theudebert was included in the MEC 1 (Grierson & Blackburn 1986:486, pl. 19, MEC 1 389, CM.LS.5203-R), the Late Roman solidi have not been published until now, save for the only find coin which is described but not depicted in Bland & Loriot (2010:237–238). Lewis often collected objects pertaining to Early Christian iconography (Spier & Vassiliki 1995:91–92). Many objects in his collection were important pieces showing successive developments in Early Christian art and the various pagan counterreactions, and the solidi are certainly no exception to this rule. It is not a coincidence that the first solidus issue ever with a Chi-Rho monogram is included in the collection, as are two pieces showing the transformation of Julian the Apostate from Caesar to Augustus. Early issues of Julian's successors Jovian and Valentinian I, which portray the emperor standing with a labarium adorned with the Chi-Rho monogram, are other examples.

In total, the following 13 Late Roman emperors and empresses are represented in the Lewis Collection: Constantine I (305–337), Constantius II (337–361), Julian (355–363), Jovian (363–364), Valentinian I (364–375), Honorius (393–423), Galla Placidia (b. 392, d. 439), Valentinian III (425–455), Theodosius II (408–450), Pulcheria (b. 399, d. 453), Marcian (450–457), Majorian (456–461), and Zeno (474–476, 476–491). The following mints are represented: Antioch (SMAN, .SMANB, ANTB), Arles (KONSP\*, ARCOMOB\*), Constantinople (CONSP\*, COMOB, CONOB, CONOB Beta, CONOB Heta), Nicomedia (SMNM), Ravenna (RV), Rome (RSMS, RM), Sirmium (.SIRM) and Trier (PTR). There are no imitations, and the only solidus that could be labeled 'pseudo-imperial' is that of Majorian. One may note that some of the most frequent fifth century eastern solidus types are missing in the Lewis Collection, notably those issued *c.* 431–434 for Theodosius II in the VOT XXX series, and the RIC X 605 issues for Leo I, struck *c.* 462–468. Similarly, there are none of the commonplace western issues and pseudo-imperial issues in the names of Libius Severus (461–465), Anthemius (467–472), Julius

Nepos (474–475), or Odoacer in the name of Zeno (c. 476–488). All these types could have been acquired through coin dealers in Paris and London or while travelling in Italy.

From a purely statistical perspective, there are some surprising lacunae in this assembly. Relatively frequent late fourth century types for Gratian, Valens, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, and Honorius from the Trier and Milan mints are conspicuously absent. Such solidi could have been easily acquired by Lewis given how often they have been found in East Anglia, not least when considering recorded finds from Cambridgeshire, Peterborough and Norfolk, but also in the other collections in the Fitzwilliam Museum (see table 2 and the discussion below). Two pertinent examples of such finds are illustrated below: the first is a 1925 single find of a RIC IX 17(g) solidus for Gratian from Trier “found by a roadman cleaning the ditch on the bend of Huntingdon Road just outside Godmanchester”, now kept in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of Cambridge University (fig 3a–b). The second is the most recent additional metal detector find from 2012 of a RIC X 1205 solidus for Arcadius from Milan (fig 4a–b). It belongs to the Deopham hoard, now kept in Norwich Castle (Bland & Loriot 2010:214, Davies 2010:468–469, Pl. 46–47, Marsden 2013:272).



*Fig. 3a–b. The solidus for Gratian from Godmanchester.*



*Fig. 4a–b. The most recent solidus find from Deopham.*

Table 2.

Inv nr	Ruler	Mint	Mintmark	Chronology	Type	Weight	Diam	Date of acq	Provenance
CM.EM.61-R	Constantine I	Nicomedia	SMNP	306-307	RIC VI 632	4.28	21.71	1938	Emmanuel College
CM.YG.1447-R	Constantine I	Trier	PTR	309-313	RIC VI 811	4.37	17.88	1936	A W Young
CM.SJ.543-R	Constans	Trier	TR	333-350	RIC VIII 135	4.45	22.13	1938	St John's College
CM.I.1900-1950	Constantinus II	Nicomedia	SMNC	340-351	RIC VIII 31	4.49	20.71	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.I.915-1930	Constantinus II	Antioch	SMANTheta	340-351	RIC VIII 83	4.43	21.75	1930	T J G Duncanson
CM.YG.1449-R	Constantinus II	Antioch	SMANS	347-350	RIC VIII 83	4.43	22.13	1936	A W Young
CM.TR.1856-R	Magnentius	Trier	TR	350-353	RIC VIII 248	4.94	20.75	1937	Trinity College
CM.RI.1892-R	Constantinus II	Rome	R	352-355	RIC VIII 225	4.35	20.08	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.I.898-1950	Constantinus II	Antioch	ANTE	355-361	RIC VIII 172	4.36	21.29	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.I.615-1923	Constantinus II	Arles	KONST	355-361	RIC VIII 238	4.42	21.67	1923	Mrs Francis Jenkinson
CM.I.914-1930	Julian	Constantinople	CONSP	361-363	RIC VIII 157	4.37	21.5	1930	T J G Duncanson
CM.CA.623-R	Julian	Antioch	ANTE	361-363	RIC VIII 202	4.47	21.04	1938	Gonville & Caius College
CM.RI.1922-R	Valentinian I	Thessalonica	SMTES	364-375	RIC IX 174.4a	4.51	21.17	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.YG.1450-R	Valentinian I	Trier	TR.OB.	364-375	RIC IX 17b1	4.49	21.21	1936	A W Young
CM.455-1923	Valentinian I	Trier	TROBT	364-375	RIC IX 17b6	4.49	20.54	1923	Mrs Francis Jenkinson
CM.RI.1923-R	Valentinian I	Antioch	ANTS	364-375	RIC IX 272.2a	4.41	21.33	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.YG.1451-R	Valentinian I	Antioch	ANTS	364-375	RIC IX 2a	4.49	21.04	1936	A W Young
CM.454-1923	Valentinian I	Trier	TROBC	367-375	RIC IX 17b3	4.41	20.58	1923	Mrs Francis Jenkinson
CM.RI.1924-R	Valens	Trier	TROBS	367-378	RIC IX 17c	4.47	20.38	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.37-1931	Valens	Rome	SMRB	367-378	RIC IX 2c	4.43	21.42	1931	V C Vickers
CM.RI.1938-R	Gratian	Trier	TROBC	367-383	RIC IX 17g	4.43	20.33	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.RI.1945-R	Gratian	Trier	TROBT	367-383	RIC IX 49b	4.38	20.46	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.2045-2007	Gratian	Thessalonica	TESOB	378-383	RIC IX 34a	4.44	20.3	2007	T V Buttrey
CM.I.910-1950	Valentinian II	Thessalonica	TESOB	378-383	RIC IX 34e	4.31	19.75	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.RI.1964-R	Valentinian II	Thessalonica	TESOB	378-383	RIC IX 34i	4.37	19.46	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.YG.1453-R	Gratian	Trier	TROBT	378-383	RIC IX 49b	4.43	20.25	1936	A W Young

cont. Table 2.

Inv nr	Ruler	Mint	Mintmark	Chronology	Type	Weight	Diam	Date of acq	Provenance
CM.RI.1947-R	Gratian	Milan	COM	378-383	RIC IX 77.5d	4.51	21.08	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.RI.1958-R	Valentinian II	Milan	COM	378-383	RIC IX 77.5e	4.47	20.42	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.RI.1954-R	Valentinian II	Trier	TROBT	378-388	RIC IX 49c	4.48	19.88	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.EM.64-R	Valentinian II	Milan	COM	378-388	RIC IX 77	4.39	20.58	1938	Emmanuel College
CM.I.906-1950	Theodosius I	Constantinople	CONOB	379-383	RIC IX 223	4.38	21.08	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.YG.1455-R	Theodosius I	Thessalonica	TESOB	379-383	RIC IX 34c	4.48	20.21	1936	A W Young
CM.I.916-1930	Theodosius I	Trier	TROBC	379-394	RIC IX 50	4.5	21.33	1930	T J G Duncanson
CM.RI.1965-R	Theodosius I	Trier	TROBC	379-394	RIC IX 50	4.43	20.79	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.RI.1998-R	Arcadius	Constantinople	CONOB	383-387	RIC IX 224.46f	4.43	20.17	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.RI.1973-R	Theodosius I	Constantinople	CONOB	383-387	RIC IX 47b	4.46	20.21	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.RI.1863-R	Magnus Maximus	London	AVGOB	383-388	RIC IX 2b	4.38	21.17	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.RI.1974-R	Magnus Maximus	Trier	SMTR	383-388	RIC IX 76	4.47	20.17	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.SJ.550-R	Magnus Maximus	Trier	SMTR	383-388	RIC IX 76	4.29	19.88	1938	St John's College
CM.TR.1889-R	Arcadius	Constantinople	CONOB	384-387	RIC IX 70c	4.45	20.17	1937	Trinity College
CM.I-1968	Theodosius I	Trier	TR COM	388-392	RIC IX 90b	4.47	21.21	1968	P Grierson
CM.312-1944	Valentinian II	Trier	TR COM	388-392	RIC IX 90a	4.34	20.88	1944	E Eagleston
CM.RI.1955-R	Valentinian II	Trier	TR COM	388-392	RIC IX 90a	4.48	20.71	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.YG.1454-R	Valentinian II	Trier	TR COM	388-392	RIC IX 90a	4.42	21.25	1936	A W Young
CM.623-2004	Theodosius I	Constantinople	CONOB	389-390	RIC IX 231	4.47	20.21	2004	David Miller
CM.RI.2008-R	Honorius	Thessalonica	COMOB	393-394	RIC IX 64g	4.43	20.13	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.458-1923	Honorius	Milan	MD	393-423	RIC X 1206	4.35	20.58	1923	Mrs Francis Jenkinson
CM.2957-2007	Arcadius	Milan	MD	395-402	RIC X 1205	4.4	21	2007	John Mossop Collection
CM.RI.1994-R	Arcadius	Milan	MD	395-402	RIC X 1205	4.41	20.58	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.SJ.551-R	Arcadius	Milan	MD	395-402	RIC X 1205	4.38	20.71	1938	St John's College
CM.YG.1457-R	Arcadius	Milan	MD	395-402	RIC X 1205	4.36	20.13	1936	A W Young
CM.I911-1950	Honorius	Milan	MD	395-402	RIC X 1206	4.23	20.21	1951	Family of C J Bunn

cont. Table 2.

Inv nr	Ruler	Mint	Mintmark	Chronology	Type	Weight	Diam	Date of acq	Provenance
CM.457-1923	Honorius	Milan	MD	395-402	RIC X 1206	4.45	21.04	1923	Mrs Francis Jenkinson
CM.RI.2000-R	Honorius	Milan	MD	395-402	RIC X 1206	4.46	20.5	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.1996-1950	Arcadius	Constantinople	CONOB	395-402	RIC X 7	4.43	20.13	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.CA.630-R	Honorius	Ravenna	RV	402-408	RIC X 1287	4.43	21.33	1938	Gonville & Caius College
CM.1998-1950	Theodosius II	Constantinople	CONOB	402-408	RIC X 202	4.45	21.33	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.RI.2007-R	Honorius	Ravenna	RV COB	402-406	RIC X 1310	4.43	20.38	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.1912-1950	Honorius	Ravenna	RV	402-408	RIC X 1287	4.4	20.08	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.EM.65-R	Honorius	Ravenna	RV	402-408	RIC X 1287	4.44	20.67	1938	Emmanuel College
CM.YG.1458-R	Honorius	Ravenna	RV	402-408	RIC X 1287	4.42	20.46	1936	A W Young
CM.1999-1950	Theodosius II	Constantinople	CONOB	402-408	RIC X 202	4.42	20.38	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.4.351-1922	Honorius	Ravenna	RV	402-423	RIC X 1287	4.46	20.54	1922	S P Perceval
CM.RI.2006-R	Honorius	Rome	RM	404-408	RIC X 1254	4.49	20.67	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.PG.4527-2006	Honorius	Suevian	RV	408-470	MEC 1.166	4.45	21	2006	P Grierson
CM.12-1943	Pulcheria	Constantinople	CONOB	421-423	RIC X 205	4.41	20.21	1943	Boyme collection 21. Jan 1896 No. 989 and the O Hagan Collection 20 July 1908 No. 862. From the Glendinning sale 6th April 1943 No. 141.
CM.YG.1459-R	Theodosius II	Constantinople	COMOB	421-423	RIC X 256	4.41	21.33	1936	A W Young
CM.RI.2013-R	Theodosius II	Constantinople	CONOB	424-425	RIC X 257	4.45	21.5	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.7-1968	Theodosius II	Constantinople	CONOB	424-425	RIC X 257	4.43	20.96	1968	P Grierson
CM.2000-1950	Theodosius II	Thessalonica	TESOB	424-425	RIC X 267	4.31	21.04	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.RI.2016-R	Valentinian III	Ravenna	RV	425-455	RIC X 2011	4.44	21.5	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.4-1968	Valentinian III	Ravenna	RV	425-455	RIC X 2024	4.42	20.75	1968	P Grierson
CM.PG.10344-2006	Valentinian III	Gaul	RV	425-460	MEC 1.167	4.38	23	2006	P Grierson
CM.PG.13054-2006	Valentinian III	Gaul	RV	425-460	MEC 1.168	4.38	22	2006	P Grierson
CM.PG.10343-2006	Valentinian III	Gaul	RV	425-460	MEC 1.169	3.67	20	2006	P Grierson
CM.PG.149-2006	Valentinian III	Gaul	RV	425-460	MEC 1.170	4.34	22	2006	P Grierson
CM.3-1968	Valentinian III	Rome	RM	430-440	RIC X 2014	4.38	21	1968	P Grierson

cont. Table 2.

Invr	Ruler	Mint	Mintmark	Chronology	Type	Weight	Diam	Date of acq	Provenance
CM.18-1968	Theodosius II	Constantinople	CONOB	431-434	RIC X 234	4.43	21.54	1968	P Grierson
CM.YG.1460-R	Theodosius II	Constantinople	CONOB	431-434	RIC X 257	4.28	20.79	1936	A W Young
CM.2-1968	Valentinian III	Rome	RM	440-455	RIC X 2015	4.46	21.12	1968	P Grierson
CM.1.948-1930	Marcian	Constantinople	CONOB	450-457	RIC X 508	4.42	20.25	1930	T J G Duncanson
CM.2001-1950	Marcian	Constantinople	CONOB	450-457	RIC X 508	4.42	19.58	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.RI.2018-R	Marcian	Constantinople	CONOB	450-457	RIC X 508	4.46	20.08	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.YG.1461-R	Marcian	Constantinople	CONOB	450-457	RIC X 508	4.32	20.17	1936	A W Young
CM.RI.2020-R	Majorian	Arles	AR	457-461	RIC X 2631	4.41	21.29	1909	Dr. Montague Rhodes James
CM.3-1971	Leo I	Thessalonica	THSOB	457-462	RIC X 618	4.29	19.29	1971	Bought Baldwin & Sons
CM.PG.7729-2006	Libius Severus	Gaul	RA	461-470	MEC I.174	4.31	21	2006	P Grierson, Ex-Reinhart 1938 no. 72
CM.PG.7736-2006	Libius Severus	Gaul	RA	461-470	MEC I.175	4.32	20.5	2006	P Grierson
CM.PG.10346-2006	Libius Severus	Gaul	RA	461-470	MEC I.176	4.32	21	2006	P Grierson
CM.RI.2021-R	Libius Severus	Rome	RM	462-465	RIC X 2704	4.4	22.5	1909	E A Shipley
CM.10-1968	Leo I	Constantinople	CONOB	462-466	RIC X 605	4.46	20.79	1968	P Grierson
CM.11-1968	Leo I	Constantinople	CONOB	462-466	RIC X 605	4.39	20.88	1968	P Grierson
CM.12-1968	Leo I	Constantinople	CONOB	462-466	RIC X 605	4.48	19.67	1968	P Grierson
CM.13-1968	Leo I	Constantinople	CONOB	462-466	RIC X 605	4.37	20	1968	P Grierson
CM.14-1968	Leo I	Constantinople	CONOB	462-466	RIC X 605	4.47	20.63	1968	P Grierson
CM.2002-1950	Leo I	Constantinople	CONOB	462-466	RIC X 605	4.49	20.75	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.2004-1950	Leo I	Constantinople	CONOB	462-466	RIC X 605	4.32	20.46	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.YG.1462-R	Leo I	Constantinople	CONOB	462-466	RIC X 605	4.49	20.21	1936	A W Young
CM.YG.1463-R	Leo I	Constantinople	CONOB	462-466	RIC X 605	4.48	19.83	1936	A W Young
CM.RI.2022-R	Anthemius	Rome	RM	467-472	RIC X 2808	4.48	20.46	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.1.946-1930	Anthemius	Rome	RM	467-472	RIC X 2835	4.38	20.17	1930	T J G Duncanson
CM.PG.13515	Anthemius	Imitation	COMOB	467-475	MEC I. 334	3.99	22	1955	P Grierson, Ex P Baldwin 1977
CM.PG.10342-2006	Anastasius I	Gaul	COMOB	468-472	MEC I. 344	4.38	21	2006	P Grierson

cont. Table 2.

Inv nr	Ruler	Mint	Mintmark	Chronology	Type	Weight	Diam	Date of acq	Provenance
CM.2003-1950	Leo I	Constantinople	CONOB	468-473	RIC X 630	4,42	20,13	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.RI.2023-R	Julius Nepos	Milan	MD	474-475	RIC X 3219	4,45	19,58	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.2008-1950	Zeno	Constantinople	CONOB	474-491	RIC X 910	4,43	19,71	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.RI.2026-R	Zeno	Constantinople	CONOB	474-491	RIC X 929	4,39	19,46	Pre-1908	No Provenance. 'Old University Collection'
CM.205-1959	Basiliscus	Constantinople	CONOB	475-476	RIC X 1003	4,43	20,46	1959	L G C Clarke
CM.2006-1950	Basiliscus et Marcus	Constantinople	CONOB	475-476	RIC X 1025	4,33	18,29	1951	Family of C J Bunn
CM.TR.949-R	Anastasius I	Theodoric	COMOB	491-518	MEC I. 112	4,43	20	1937	Trinity College
CM.2010-1950	Anastasius I	Theodoric	COMOB monogram	491-518	MEC I. 113	4,36	22	1950	Burn
CM.PG.5661-2006	Anastasius I	Gaul	COMOB	491-518	MEC I. 343	4,47	21,1	2006	P Grierson
CM.PG.10350-2006	Anastasius I	Gaul	COMOB	491-518	MEC I. 348	4,32	21	2006	P Grierson
CM.LS.5203-R	Theudebert	Gaul	CONOB	534-548	MEC I. 389	4,4	20	1991	S S Lewis

## The Comparative Study

The methods employed in the comparative study below are quite simple: first, the round paper tickets underneath the coins in the trays have been examined for acquisition data. Second, the coins have been classified using the RIC VII–X. The solidi have then been compared to similar find coins, mainly from Italy and Scandinavia. In particular, the fifth century solidi have been examined for die-links based on the catalogues of Fagerlie (1967), Westermark (1983), Arslan (2015), Dahmen (2015), Facchinetti (2022), Fischer (2019b, 2020, 2022, 2023). Moreover, the decontextualized solidi in the GF, KMK, LUHM and UUM, and the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection have been surveyed for die-links. In the KMK, however, the survey has excluded late twentieth century purchases for the systematic collection, as opposed to earlier acquisitions through the KVHAA, the RAÄ and the SHM. Against this material, the finds in the MAN (Alfaro Asins 1993, Fischer & López Sánchez 2023:287–288, tab 1) and the very large online collections of the ANS, BM, and the SMB MK have been employed as a contrast.

No. 1, the only certain find coin, is a pierced issue for Constantine I from Trier, bought in 1874. Nos. 2–3 are from the mints of Nicomedia and Antioch respectively. The tickets for no. 2 were probably lost in 2004, when the coin was put on display in the Rotschild pavilion. No. 3 was bought at Rollin & Feuardent in London on June 18, 1883, for 12 pounds, making it the by far most expensive solidus in the Lewis Collection. While no. 1 belongs the middle reign of Constantine I, nos. 2–3 belong to the thirtieth Vota, that is, the year 335 when he was mainly ruling in the east. The first three solidi have been compared to the important early fourth century coin hoards from Boltinggård Skov and Brangstrup in Funen, Denmark (Henriksen 1992:68-70, 2010, Henriksen & Horsnaes 2006:298) and recent Danish detector finds from Funen and Langeland. In addition, they have been compared to the few finds from Norway (Skaare 1976) and Öland (Fischer 2019b), along with those kept in the KMK (Skjöldebrand 1785, Hallenberg 1804). There are no-die links in Scandinavia, although the final coins of the solidus hoards from Funen are indeed of similar types. However, no. 3 has a reverse die-link to coin R.165 in the BM, which was donated already in 1799 by the estate of the BM trustee Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, FSA (1730–1799). It is not possible to assign an origin to nos. 2–3.

No. 4, the solidus for Constantius II, discovered in Egypt, was acquired from the reverend G. C. Chester on May 21, 1883, for 20 francs. Chester was a part-time antiquarian dealer, specializing in objects from Egypt (Spier & Vassilaki 1995:89). The solidus does not match the recorded finds or decontextualized specimens in Scandinavia (Fischer 2022:33 no. 22), nor does it match

those from recorded finds in Italy, notably the Casa delle Vestali hoard (Ungaro 1985, no. 1) and the San Genesio hoard (Martini 2000, no. 509).

Nos. 5–6 are issued for Julian, the former obverse is a young beardless Caesar from Rome in 355, the latter obverse sports a fully bearded Augustus from Antioch in 363. No. 5 was acquired on November 11, 1873, from Rollin & Feuardent in London for 2 pounds, while no. 6 was acquired on January 31, 1875, from Rollin & Feuardent in Paris for 50 francs. There are no recorded finds of solidi for Julian in Scandinavia. Similarly, there are no matches to these two rather unusual issues in the systematic collections of the KMK (Skjöldebrand 1785:35, Hallenberg 1804, no.58, Appelgren 1931, no. 491). It is not possible to assign an origin to these two coins.

No. 7 is a specimen for Jovian from the Sirmium mint. It has no original ticket in the tray, and the provenance is therefore uncertain. There are no recorded finds of solidi for Jovian from Scandinavia. Out of three decontextualized examples in the KMK collection, one is from Aquileia (Skjöldebrand 1785:37), and one from Thessalonica (Appelgren 1931, no. 492). The only example from Sirmium (KMK 3188320) is not die-linked to the Lewis collection specimen.

Nos. 8–9 are two early Restitutor type specimens for Valentinian I from the officinae CONSP\*, and KONSP\*. They were acquired from Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge on February 5, 1873, but there is no figure for the price paid. Both are somewhat rare, given what is usually found in late fourth century solidus hoards (Bastien 1981). The two solidi do not match recorded finds from Scandinavia or decontextualized solidi in Swedish collections, most of which are from the various officinae of Antioch (Fischer 2022:34). The one specimen from the Gudme area is not die-linked (Breitenstein 1943, no. 18). Similarly, large late fourth and very early fifth century solidus hoards from Italy such as Aquila (Bastien 1981:73) and Gravisca (Gambacorta 2009:5) are devoid of these early solidi for Valentinian I from Arles and Constantinople. It is not possible to assign an origin to these two coins.

No. 10, the solidus for Honorius, belongs to a very common issue, RIC X 1287, which was produced in huge numbers and distributed all over the Western Empire. There is no original ticket in the tray. The solidus type is often found in North Africa and Spain, notably in the Arcos de la Frontera and Chimitou hoards (Baldus & Khanussi 2014, Fischer & López Sánchez 2023, nos. 20–27). By contrast, it is relatively rare in later hoards from the 470s in Italy and Scandinavia. No die-links have been found.

Nos. 11-12, the two solidi for Valentinian III, belong to different types from the Ravenna mint, one early and comparatively less frequent, and one later which is very common, with hundreds of recorded find coins in Como, San Mamiliano and Scandinavia. No. 11 has no original ticket and did not match the recorded

find coins. No. 12 was acquired from Rollin & Feuardent in Paris on September 22, 1881, for 35 Francs. No. 12 turned out to have a die-linked obverse to a find coin from Gullydynt in Ostrobothnia, Finland (Talvio 1979-80:50–51, Fig 3). This is interesting because the Gullydynt solidus previously had no identified obverse die-links, although it has a reverse die-link ValRV\_R37 which connects it to find coins from Södra Möckleby, Öland (Fagerlie 1967, no. 55, hoard 109a), the Smiss hoard from Gotland (Fagerlie 1967, no. 66, hoard 122) and the Como hoard (Facchinetti 2022, no. 278). The most likely origin for these two coins is Italy.

No. 13 was acquired from Rollin & Feuardent in Paris on March 4, 1882, for 175 francs. It is the by far most expensive solidus that Lewis bought from France. This specimen, struck for Galla Placidia, was of considerable interest from the start, not least since there is one RIC X 2021 die-identity connecting the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection and the Como hoard (Heilborn 1882, no. 2208, Fischer 2020:32, Fig 11a-b, Pl IV; Facchinetti 2022, no. 397). Furthermore, there is also one die-link connecting a single find from Kvinneby, Öland and the Trabki Male hoard in Pomerania, and one connecting the Åby hoard from Öland to a specimen in the Coin Cabinet in Ravenna (Ercolani Cocchi, Zurli & Iannucci 1983, Dahmen 2015, Fischer 2020:32). No die-links to the specimen in the Lewis Collection were found, however. The most likely origin for this coin is Italy.

No. 14, the solidus for Theodosius II, is of the very common IMP XXXXII type. This type was used to pay the tributes to Attila the Hun (Fischer 2023:29). Unfortunately, there is no original ticket. There were two mints that produced this type: COMOB and CONOB, respectively. No. 14 is from the COMOB mint, and for some reason, such solidi are far more frequent in Scandinavia than the corresponding issues from the CONOB mint (Fischer 2020:29). Precisely such a decontextualized specimen in the UUM is also die-identical to one in the San Mamiliano hoard (Arslan 2015, no. 49). The obverse of no. 14 has been struck with a worn die, obfuscating the legend. Moreover, it has a cross-shaped assay mark on the right side of the obverse. The COMOB reverse is easily identified with the seated Constantinople holding the scepter in a vertical position close to her body, the top above the back of the throne, while leaving the upper corner of the back of the throne wide open. No die-linked coins were found, however. It is not possible to assign an origin to this coin.

Nos. 15–16, the two solidi for Pulcheria, appeared interesting given that such a find coin from Öland was recently rediscovered and published (Fischer 2023). No. 15 lacks an original ticket, while no. 16 (ex-Wylie no. 100) was bought at the Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge auction of the Wylie Collection on July 10, 1882, for 9 pounds, making it the second most expensive solidus bought by

Lewis in London. Solidi for Pulcheria are easy to track as few obverse dies were used. There are a handful of issues for Pulcheria in recorded hoards in Pomerania, Scandinavia, and Italy, mostly VOT XX, but also some IMP XXXXII issues. While the recently rediscovered find from Öland from the IMP XXXXII series has die-links to coins in auction catalogues, it did not match the other find coins from Italy and Scandinavia. However, no. 15, which belongs to the same series, does indeed have an obverse die-link to San Mamiliano (Arslan 2015, no. 52), and a solidus from the Skjöldebrand Collection in the KMK (Skjöldebrand 1785:43, Hallenberg 1804:67). The latter two are die-identical, sharing a reverse die-link as well. As it is known that the Skjöldebrand Collection does not include Swedish find coins, this solidus must belong to the assembly that Skjöldebrand acquired first while in Algiers in 1754–1766 and that he later used for an exchange while in Livorno in 1766. Skjöldebrand evidently owned two examples of RIC X 288, one of which he gave to a M. Lefroy in Livorno. Skjöldebrand noted with some consternation that Lefroy later published it with an incorrect description of the second part reverse legend, a faulty VII instead of XVII (Skjöldebrand 1785:43). No. 16 is a later issue struck under Marcian with a Victory type reverse, RIC X 512. No such finds are recorded from Scandinavia, nor are there any older decontextualized solidi in the Swedish collections of this type. The coins could possibly be from Italy.

No. 17 (ex-Wylie no. 99) was bought at the Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge auction of the Wylie Collection on July 10, 1882, for 2 pounds and 6 pence. This Constantinopolitan solidus for Marcian is a RIC X 510 from officina Heta. The type and officina is represented in the Scandinavian find material (Fagerlie 1967:44), with specimens in major hoards of all three key regions in Sweden: Björnhovda (Öland), Botes (Gotland), and Helgö (Uppland). Similarly, there are several examples for Marcian from officina Heta in San Mamiliano (Arslan 2015, nos. 85–87). By contrast, there are no solidi for Marcian from officina Heta in the Skjöldebrand Collection (Skjöldebrand 1785). No die-links were found. This is not surprising, though. Die-links for Constantinopolitan solidi for Marcian are rare, even a very large hoard such as Como only has two die-identical coins and one obverse die-link in the RIC X 509-510 series (Facchinetti 2022:152, Tab. 28, nos. 47-48 and 43). The coin could possibly come from Italy.

No. 18 was acquired from Rollin & Feuarent in Paris in March 1879 for 80 francs, making it the second most expensive coin from France. This solidus for Majorian struck in Arles, triggered the most intriguing research questions. Was this solidus die-linked to finds from Italy (Facchinetti 2022) and Scandinavia (Fagerlie 1967) or would it simply match a recent catalogue of die-types from Arles (Ferrando 2010)? As it turns out, the specimen in the Lewis Collection does not match previously published examples or the unprovenanced specimen

in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Unfortunately, little is certain about the provenance besides the fact that it was acquired from Rollin & Feuardent in March 1879. The coin is most likely a find coin from southern France, possibly from the area around Arles.

No. 19, the pierced solidus for Zeno from officina Beta, is of an extremely common type. According to the preserved ticket, Lewis acquired it on January 18, 1876, from the Sarasso Collection in Messina, Sicily for 27 francs. The obverse has been struck with a worn die, resulting in a very characteristic image with a crack protruding to the left from the O in ZENO. It should be noted that obverse die-links for Zeno recorded in the Scandinavian find material do not always conform to the reverse officinae (as demonstrated by Fagerlie 1967, Pl XX, nos. 567, 574). This made a comparison of all solidi for Zeno necessary, which resulted in the discovery of an obverse die-link to a solidus from officina Zeta. The die-linked solidus comes from the Nixdjuh hoard in När Parish, Gotland which originally consisted of three solidi for Zeno and four for Anastasius I (Fagerlie 1967, no. 596, hoard 166, SHM 724, SHM 1791).

## Other Solidi in the Fitzwilliam Museum

The Lewis Collection is important in that it has been kept intact for a long time, providing information about the provenance of a decontextualized antiquarian coin assembly from the late nineteenth century. However, the Lewis Collection is not the only collection of solidi kept in the Department of Coins and Medals in the Fitzwilliam Museum. In total, there are some 113 other solidi (including various imitations) covering the period 324–565 (see table 2). A very large portion, 23%, were assembled before 1908 and are without provenance. Several of these may possibly hail from the collections of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society that were deposited in the Fitzwilliam Museum in the nineteenth century, although many have since disappeared and are no longer possible to trace further in either the Fitzwilliam Museum or the BM (Bland & Loriot 2010:119).

Most of the other solidi were donated to the Fitzwilliam Museum by individual collectors in the early twentieth century, many of them associated with the University of Cambridge (notably C J Bunn, T J G Duncanson, Francis Jenkinson, Frank Smart and Andrew W Young). Eleven solidi are on loan from four different Cambridge colleges: Emmanuel, Gonville & Caius, St John's, and Trinity. The college loans all date to the period 1937–1938, and it is very likely that Philip Grierson (1910–2006) was instrumental in organizing these, as he assumed the position as Keeper of Coins and Medals in 1938. As a rule, the donated solidi were part of larger coin collections with a focus other than Late Antiquity. Very few of the solidi in the Fitzwilliam Museum can be assigned to

hoards or finds. Nevertheless, it is most likely that the 27 unprovenanced fourth century and early fifth century solidi including those from the old university collections donated before 1908 are decontextualized find coins from southern and eastern England. By contrast, the later types of the late fifth and early sixth century centuries are certainly not. Rather, there is every reason to believe that these were retrieved in Italy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, only to be dispersed within the antiquarian market circles and eventually reaching collectors in Britain.

The only surprising lacuna among the other solidi is the complete absence of the very frequent IMP XXXII types for Theodosius II from the period 441–447, with only one specimen in the Lewis Collection. Among the list of donors of the later solidus types, one may note the indefatigable collector and scholar Grierson who donated solidi in 1968 and posthumously in 2006. Grierson's total share amounts to 20% of the other solidi. Among these, one may note that there are five unremarkable RIC X 605 issues for Leo I. It is possible that they may have been part of some unfinished typological study connected to Grierson's later DOC publication. A recent donor of note is the former Honorary Keeper Theodore V. Buttrey Jr (1929–2018).

The typonomology of the 113 other solidi in the Fitzwilliam Museum bears an eerie resemblance to that of the MAN collection in Madrid, with a disproportional representation of decontextualized types from the Valentinian and early Theodosian dynasties, *c.* 364–408 and then later donations of collected fifth century solidi (Alfaro Ásins 1993, Fischer & López Sánchez 2023, tab 1). This is hardly a coincidence. Rather, the decontextualized solidus assemblies kept in Cambridge and Madrid are perfect matches to the recorded find horizons of Late Roman Britain and Hispania respectively (Fischer & López Sánchez 2016:175–177, tab 3). The strong resemblance is a reminder that many European coin cabinets with early collections of decontextualized solidi simply reflect their respective local distribution patterns. The Swedish collections thus match the mid- to late fifth century solidus finds in Scandinavia for the same reason that the English and Spanish coin cabinets are full of solidi that belong to hoards deposited during the barbarian invasions in the late fourth and early fifth centuries.

## Conclusion

An initial research question in the study of the Lewis Collection was if one would be able to demonstrate a correlation between the acquisition data, specific solidus types, and die-links. Did Lewis buy the fourth century solidi from eastern mints in one place, and the fifth century coinage from the mints of Italy

and Gaul in another? A second question was if especially the fifth century solidi struck in Italy and Gaul could be die-linked to the cluster of interconnected Italian and Scandinavian hoards deposited in the 470's. If so, could die-links be related to hoards located near the place where Lewis had acquired the solidi? Did Lewis' coins show a high degree of connectedness or were they merely random pieces?

Lewis did acquire at least one fourth century coin from Egypt and one fifth century coin from Italy. Among the solidi struck in Italy and bought by Lewis in Paris, the Lewis Collection has one obverse die-link to a find coin from Gullydynt, Finland, a country never visited by Lewis. The Gullydynt solidus has no other known obverse die-links but belongs to a chain of reverse die-links connecting it to hoards in Italy via find coins from Öland and Gotland. Among the eastern solidi, there were three die-links. One of the solidi for Constantine I has a reverse die-link to a specimen in the BM. One of the solidi for Pulcheria has an obverse die-link to a solidus from the Skjöldebrand Collection, which notably does not include any Scandinavian find coins. The solidus for Zeno, no. 18, acquired by Lewis in Messina, Sicily, has an obverse die-link to a find coin from Gotland. Given that Gotlandic hoards with Ostrogothic solidi from Italy in the name Anastasius I often include earlier Constantinopolitan issues for Zeno, the least complicated explanation is that the Nixdjup hoard originated from Italy.

It is extremely unlikely that Lewis would have acquired a collection of solidi in the late nineteenth century from various antiquarian dealers which would coincidentally die-link to the decontextualized solidi in the Swedish collections or the entire Scandinavian find horizon. We can thus hypothesize that the Swedish collections include decontextualized solidi that are die-linked to the Scandinavian find coins for the very simple reason that these solidi belong to the local find horizon of Sweden whereas those in the Lewis Collection do not. One may therefore ask if not decontextualized solidi in Swedish collections may perhaps be used for comparative research as Scandinavian find coins, albeit with some caution. In so far, this study has showed that the Lewis Collection may still be considered a useful tool in comparative numismatic research.

# CATALOGUE OF SOLIDI

## 1. CM.LS.3828-R

Constantine I, Trier mint, officina P. RIC VII 192. Issued *c.* 317–319.

Fig 5a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3828-R.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.35 g. Die-axis: 6 o' clock.

Obverse: CONSTANTINVS P F AVG. Laureate head of emperor, right.

Reverse: VIRTVS EX-ERCITVS GALL. Mars advancing right in between two captives, holding transverse spear and trophy over shoulder. In exergue: PTR

Condition: pierced.

Provenance: acquired from C. Hobbs, Eastover, Bridgewater in the autumn of 1874.

## 2. CM.LS.3845-R

Constantine I, Nicomedia mint, officina M. RIC VII 176. Issued *c.* 335–336.

Fig 6a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3845-R.

Diameter: 22 mm. Weight: 4.48 g. Die-axis: 12 o' clock.

Obverse: Head of emperor, pearl-diademed, right.

Reverse: VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG. In exergue: SMNM

Victory seated on cuirass and shield, right inscribing VOT / XXX on shield supported by small Victory.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: uncertain, ticket missing.

## 3. CM.LS.3848-R

Constantine I, Antioch mint. RIC VII 98. Issued *c.* 335–336.

Fig 7a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3848-R.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.24 g. Die-axis: 6 o' clock.

Obverse: CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG

Head of emperor, pearl-diademed, right

Reverse: VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG. In exergue:

SMAN.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: acquired from Rollin & Feuadent in London on June 18, 1883.



## 4. CM.LS.3892-R

Constantius II, Antioch mint, officina Beta. RIC VIII 170. Issued *c.* 355–361.

Fig 8a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3892-R.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.49 g. Die-axis: 6 o' clock.

Obverse: FL IVL CONSTAN-TIVS PERP AVG

Bust of emperor, pearl-diademed, wearing crested and diademed helmet, cuirassed, facing front, holding spear diagonally over right shoulder in right hand and shield decorated with a horseman trampling an enemy in left hand

Reverse: GLORIA - REI - PVBLICAE

Roma, helmeted, draped, enthroned front, and Constantinopolis, draped, enthroned left, head left, supporting a shield inscribed VOT/XXX/MVLT/XXXX; Roma holding spear in left hand; Constantinopolis holding sceptre in left hand, resting right foot on prow In

exergue: .SMANB

Condition: very fine.

Provenance: according to the ticket, the coin was discovered in Egypt, later acquired from the reverend G. C. Chester on May 21, 1883.



### 5. CM.LS.3913-R

Julian, Rome mint, officina Sigma. RIC VIII 295. Issued 355–360.

Fig 9a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3913-R.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.47 g. Die-axis: 12 o' clock.

Obverse: D N CL IVL-IANVS N C

Bust of Julian, bareheaded, cuirassed, right

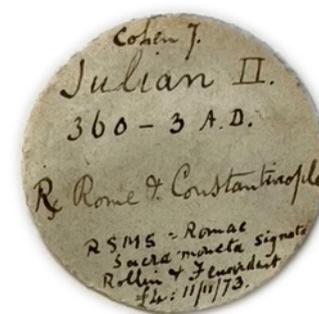
Reverse: FEL TEMP - RE-PARATIO In exergue:

RSNS

Roma, helmeted, draped, enthroned front, and Constantinopolis, draped, enthroned left, head left, supporting a wreath inscribed with a star; Roma holding spear in left hand; Constantinopolis holding sceptre in left hand, her right foot on prow.

Condition: pierced.

Provenance: acquired from Rollin & Feuardent, on 11 November, 1873.



### 6. CM.LS.3918-R

Julian, Antioch mint, officina Beta. RIC VIII 201. Issued 363.

Fig 10a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3918-R.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.35 g. Die-axis: 6 o' clock.

Obverse: FL CL IVLIA-NVS P F AVG

Bust of Julian, pearl-diademed, draped, cuirassed, right.

Reverse: VIRTVS EXERCITVS ROMANORVM In exergue: ANTB

Soldier, helmeted, draped, cuirassed, standing right, head left, placing right hand on head of crouching captive, holding trophy in right hand.

Condition: fair.

Provenance: acquired from Rollin & Feuardent, Paris on 31 January, 1875.



### 7. CM.LS.3921-R

Jovian, Sirmium mint. RIC VIII 110. Issued 363–364.

Fig 11a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3921-R.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.48 g. Die-axis: 12 o' clock.

Obverse: DN IOVIA-NVS P F AVG

Bust of emperor, pearl-diademed, draped, cuirassed, right.

Reverse: SECURITAS REI PVBLICAE In exergue: \*SIRM.

Jovian, diademed, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head left, holding standard with Chi-Rho on banner in right hand and globe in left hand; to left, bound and seated captive, wearing a pointed cap, head turned toward emperor.

Condition: worn.

Provenance: uncertain, ticket missing.

### 8. CM.LS.3925-R

Valentinian I, Constantinople mint, officina Rho. RIC IX 3a.

Issued 364–367.

Fig 12a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3925-R.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.41 g. Die-axis: 6 o' clock.

Obverse: DN VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG,

Pearl-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust right

Reverse: RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE, In exergue:

CONSP\*

Emperor standing right, holding labarum and Victory on globe;

Condition: fair.

Provenance: acquired from Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge on 5 February, 1875.



### 9. CM.LS.3924-R

Valentinian I, Arles Mint, officina Rho. RIC IX 61.1.a.2. Issued 364–367.

Fig 13a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3924-R.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.41 g. Die-axis: 6 o' clock.

Obverse: DN VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG,

Pearl-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust right

Reverse: RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE, In exergue: KONSP\*

Emperor standing right, holding labarum and Victory on globe;

Condition: fair.

Provenance: acquired from Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge on 5 February, 1875.

### 10. CM.LS.3935-R

Honorius, Ravenna mint. DOC 735, RIC X 1287. Issued c. 408–423.

Fig 14a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3935-R.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.3 g. Die-axis: 12 o' clock.

Obverse: DN HONORI – VS P F AVG

Emperor rosette-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust right.

Reverse: VICTORI – A AVGGG / R – V. In exergue: COMOB

Emperor standing front, head to right, his left foot set on captive, holding labarum with his right hand and Victory set on globe in his left.

Condition: fair.

Provenance: uncertain, ticket missing.

### 11. CM.LS.3943-R

Valentinian III, Ravenna mint. RIC X 2018. Issued *c.* 440–455.

Fig 15a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3943-R.

Diameter: 22 mm. Weight: 4.42 g. Die-axis: 12 o' clock.

Obverse: D N PLA VALENTI – NIANVS P F AVG, Emperor rosette-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust right.

Reverse: VICTORI – A AVGGG / R-V. In exergue: COMOB

Emperor standing facing, holding long cross in right hand, Victory on globe in left, foot on human-headed serpent.

Condition: fair.

Provenance: uncertain, ticket missing.

### 12. CM.LS.3944-R

Valentinian III, Ravenna mint. RIC X 2005. Issued *c.* 430–440.

Fig 16a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,

CM.LS.3944-R.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.42 g. Die-axis: 12 o' clock.

Obverse: D N PLA VALENTI – NIANVS P F AVG, Emperor rosette-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust right.

Reverse: VICTORI – A AVGGG / R-V. In exergue: COMOB

Emperor standing facing, holding long cross in right hand, Victory on globe in left, foot on human-headed serpent.

Condition: fair.

Provenance: acquired from Rollin & Feuarent, Paris on 22 September, 1881.



### 13. CM.LS.3942-R

Galla Placidia, Ravenna mint. RIC X 2021. Issued *c.* 426–430.

Fig 17a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3942-R.

Diameter: 22 mm. Weight: 4.48 g. Die-axis: 12 o' clock.

Obverse: D N GALLA PLA - CIDIA P F AVG

Empress, draped bust right, wearing triple pearl diadem and necklace, christogram on sleeve; above, manus dei holding wreath.

Reverse: VOT XX - MVLT XXX / R - V In exergue:

COMOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right.

Condition: very fine.

Provenance: acquired from Rollin & Feuarent, Paris on 4 March, 1882.



### 14. CM.LS.3947-R

Theodosius II, Constantinople mint. RIC X 324. Issued *c.* 441–447.

Fig 18a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3947-R.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.26 g. Die-axis: 6 o' clock.

Obverse: D N THEODOSI – VS P F AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted, and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: IMP XXXXII COS – XVII P P Officina mark I. In exergue: COMOB  
 Constantinopolis enthroned left, globus cruciger in right hand, scepter in left, left foot on  
 prow, shield at right. Star in left field.  
 Condition: worn, cross-shaped assay mark on right side of obverse  
 Provenance: uncertain, ticket missing.

### 15. CM.LS.3949-R

Pulcheria, Constantinople mint. RIC X 288. Issued c. 441–447.  
 Fig 19a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3949-R.  
 Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.48 g. Die-axis: 6 o' clock.  
 Obverse: AEL PVLCH – ERIA AVG  
 Empress, draped and diademed facing right, crowned by Hand of God above.  
 Reverse: IMP XXXXII COS – XVII P P. In exergue: COMOB  
 Constantinopolis enthroned left, globus cruciger in right hand, scepter in left, left foot on  
 prow, shield at right. Star in left field.  
 Condition: very fine.  
 Provenance: uncertain, ticket missing.

### 16. CM.LS.3950-R

Pulcheria, Constantinople mint. RIC X 512. Issued c. 451–453.  
 Fig 20a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3950-R.  
 Diameter: 22 mm. Weight: 4.46 g. Die-axis: 6 o' clock.  
 Obverse: AEL PVLCH – ERIA AVG  
 Empress, draped and diademed facing right, crowned by  
 Hand of God above.  
 Reverse: VICTORI – A AVGGG. In exergue: CONOB  
 Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long  
 jeweled cross, star in right field.  
 Condition: very fine.  
 Provenance: acquired from Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge on  
 10 July, 1882.



### 17. CM.LS.3948-R

Marcian, Constantinople mint, officina Heta. RIC X 510. Issued c. 451–457.  
 Fig 21a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.LS.3948-R.  
 Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.47 g. Die-axis: 6 o' clock.  
 Obverse: D N MARCIA – NVS P F AVG  
 Emperor diademed, helmeted, and cuirassed three-quarter  
 facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated  
 with horseman.  
 Reverse: VICTORI – A AVGGG, officina letter H. In  
 exergue: CONOB  
 Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long  
 jeweled cross, star in right field.  
 Condition: worn, struck from worn dies.  
 Provenance: acquired from Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge  
 auction of the Wylie Collection on July 10, 1882.



### 18. CM.LS.3945-R

Majorian, Arles mint. RIC X 2633. Issued c. 458–461.

Fig 22a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,  
CM.LS.3945-R.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.42 g. Die-axis: 6 o' clock.

Obverse: D N MAIORI- ANVS P F AVG

Reverse: VICTORI – AVGGG A – R In exergue:  
COMOB\*

Emperor standing facing, holding long cross in right hand,

Victory on globe in left, foot on human-headed serpent.

Condition: worn.

Provenance: acquired from Rollin et Feuarent, possibly  
from Catalogue d'une collection de monnaies romaines  
composant la collection de feu M. Auguste Racine, de  
Marseille, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 23-27 juin 1879, no 1602, p. 149.



### 19. CM.LS.3951-R

Zeno, Constantinople mint, Officina Beta, RIC X 930.

Issued c. 476–491.

Fig 23a–b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,  
CM.LS.3951-R.

Diameter: 19 mm. Weight: 4.39 g. Die-axis: 6 o' clock.

Obverse: ZENO – PERP AVG

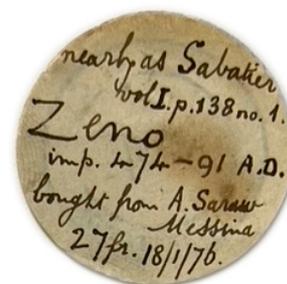
Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter  
facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated  
with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI – A AVGGG Officina no B. In exergue:  
CONOB.

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

Condition: pierced, worn.

Provenance: acquired from Sarasso, Messina, Sicily on 18 January, 1876.



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## Abbreviations

- ANS* American Numismatic Society, New York.
- BM* British Museum, London.
- DOC* Grierson, P. and M. Mays, 1992. *Catalogue of Late Roman Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, from Arcadius and Honorius to the Accession of Anastasius*. Washington, D.C. University Press.
- FM* Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
- FSA* Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.
- GF* Gotlands Fornsal (Museum of Gotland, Visby).
- KMK* Kungliga Myntkabinettet (Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm).
- KVHAA* Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien (The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Stockholm).
- LUHM* Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum (Lund University History Museum, Lund).
- MAN* Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.
- MEC I* Grierson, P. & Blackburn, M. 1986. *Medieval European Coinage with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. I. The Early Middle Ages (fifth-10th centuries)*, Cambridge.
- RAÄ* Riksantikvarieämbetet (National Heritage Board, Stockholm).
- RIC VII* Roman Imperial Coinage vol. 7. Bruun, P. M. 1966. *The Roman Imperial Coinage Volume 7. Constantine I – Licinius (AD 313–337)*. London: Spink.
- RIC VIII* Roman Imperial Coinage vol. 8. Carson, R. A. G., Sutherland, H. & J. P. C. Kent. 1981. *The Roman Imperial Coinage, vol. 8, The Family of Constantine I, A.D. 337–364*. London: Spink.
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- RIX* Roman Imperial Coinage vol. 10. Kent, J.P.C. 1994. *The Roman Imperial Coinage, vol. 10. The divided Empire and the fall of the Western parts A.D. 395–491*. London: Spink.
- SHM* Statens historiska museum (Swedish History Museum, Stockholm).
- SMB MK* Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Münzkabinett (Berlin coin cabinet).
- UUM* Uppsala Universitets Myntkabinett (Uppsala University coin cabinet)

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# PLATES



*Fig 5a–b. Catalogue no. 1.*



*Fig 6a–b. Catalogue no. 2.*



*Fig 7a–b. Catalogue no. 3.*



*Fig 8a–b. Catalogue no. 4.*



*Fig. 9a–b. Catalogue no. 5.*



*Fig. 10a–b. Catalogue no. 6.*



*Fig. 11a–b. Catalogue no. 7.*



*Fig. 12a–b. Catalogue no. 8.*



*Fig. 13a–b. Catalogue no. 9.*



*Fig. 14a–b. Catalogue no. 10.*



*Fig. 15a–b. Catalogue no. 11.*



*Fig. 16a–b. Catalogue no. 12.*



*Fig. 17a–b. Catalogue no. 13.*



*Fig. 18a–b. Catalogue no. 14.*

