

Coins and coin use at the late Roman village of Neerharen-Rekem



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1 Introduction

From 1960 to 1988 the Coin Cabinet of the Royal Library of Belgium was involved in a project to catalogue all coin finds from the Iron Age, the Roman Empire and the early medieval period found in Belgium. This resulted in an impressive archive of coin finds and a computer database covering finds from modern Belgium from the 3rd century BC to the 7th century AD. In addition to those archival data, the Royal Library also holds a very rich coin collection of material found in Belgium. Together with newly identified coins from recent excavations in Wallonia and Flanders, of which the numbers have increased dramatically since the early 1990s due to the increasing number of rescue excavations and the use of metal detectors by archaeologists, this material is a unique historical source for the study of coin use and monetization in northern Europe.

The Coin Cabinet is now re-launching this work. In order to encourage research on the monetary unification and the development of coin use in Europe, available material from old and new excavations will be published and interpreted. This is to be done in close collaboration with the Royal Museums of Art and History (*Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis / Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*) as well as the Belgian Communities and Regions, with both the Flemish and Wallon Heritage Agency (respectively the *agentschap Onroerend Erfgoed* and the *Direction Générale de l'Aménagement, du Territoire, du Logement et du Patrimoine. Direction de l'Archéologie*) acting as collaborators.

Within this broader framework, the project '*Coins and Coin Use in Northern Europe: from the Later Roman Empire to the begin-*

ning of the Early Middle Ages'² will concentrate on the transition of Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages and more specifically on the transition of the highly monetized society in the 4th century to a society in the 5th and 6th centuries where coins, and especially small change, played hardly any role at all. From numerous site finds and hoards we know that coins circulated widely in 4th-century northern Europe³ and late Roman writers inform us about the importance coins played in everyday life⁴. All this changed dramatically in the first decades of the 5th century AD when Germanic people invaded the Roman Empire and found it hard to maintain the institutions, tax systems and coinage of their predecessors. In the end the highly sophisticated monetary system of the Romans was replaced by one based on high value coins of gold only. This lack of coins and especially the absence of small change lasted to the very end of the Middle Ages.

Our knowledge of the monetary system in the 5th century is very partial. We know that the ruling classes possessed Roman and Byzantine gold coins⁵ before they started to imitate gold and silver coins and issued their own series, respectively from the 5th and 6th centuries on. However, about the use of small change we know hardly anything. The only certainty is that no copper coins were issued by the new Frankish rulers. This can be explained in two ways: either the bronze coinage, used for small daily transactions, lost their monetary function and were therefore no longer necessary, or the stock of late Roman bronze coins in circulation was still large enough in the 5th century to fulfill the needs. However, a combination of those explanations, varying from context to context, is also possible. Depending on which hypothesis is preferred, different statements can be

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² This project is part of the research projects by the Belgian Science Policy (initiative 1) and also realized within the framework of the project '*Comparing regionality and sustainability in Pisidia,*

Boeotia, Picenum and northwestern Gaul between Iron and Middle Ages (1000 BC-1000 AD)' which is part of the Interuniversity Attraction Poles Phase VII (2012-2017). The project is conducted at the Coin Cabinet of the Royal Library of Belgium.

³ See e.g. Doyen 2007; Reece 1991; van Heesch 1998; Wigg 1991.

⁴ E.g. John Chrysostom, *In Principium Actorum* 4.3.

⁵ E.g. the tomb of Childeric, who died in 481, contained more than 100 Roman and Byzantine solidi and more than 200 denarii (Dumas 1975, 26-29; Lallemand 1965b, 115-117).

made about whether or not the monetary economy survived in the 5th century AD⁶.

For our understanding of the monetary history of this period, and especially of the use of small change, coins from well-excavated and documented sites are of prime importance. In this project, the focus will therefore be on well-excavated Belgian sites with large numbers of late Roman coins and well-documented contexts that should enable us to study the use and circulation of small change during the transitional period from the late 4th to the 5th century. For each site we will try to present a detailed description of the archaeological context and the function of the site and a complete catalogue and analysis of all the coin finds. All this information will contribute to our understanding of the evolution of a monetized Late Roman economy towards an early medieval one where coins are rare and evolve from general purpose to special purpose money.

The first site that was studied in the context of this project, was the late Roman village at Neerharen-Rekem. The results of this study form the content of this paper. Firstly, the archaeological study and context of the site will be discussed. Subsequently, the coin finds will be analysed in detail, regarding both their chronological and spatial distribution. In the third and last part of this paper, an attempt will be made to interpret those coin finds in terms of their circulation and use. Three main questions will be answered: how and through whom did the coins reach the site? How were they used by the German inhabitants? And for how long did the circulation and function of those bronzes continue? Finally, some general statements will be made about the possible use of bronze coins at rural sites such as Neerharen-Rekem during the transition from the 4th until the 5th century AD.

2 Archaeological context

From 1981 until 1984, extensive archaeological excavations were carried out on the border between the former villages of Neerharen and Rekem, at a place called Het Kamp, situated in the province of Limburg (Flanders, Belgium), 11 km north of Maastricht (fig. 1). The site extends over 8-10 hectares on an old bank of the Meuse⁷. The first indications of the former occupation of Het Kamp date back to 1886, when archaeological excavations were carried out under the direction of H. Van Neuss en J.A. Bamps⁸. Beside material dating from the Bronze Age until medieval times, the archaeological research yielded extensive remains of buildings belonging to a Roman villa⁹. The presence of coins from the emperors Arcadius and Honorius¹⁰ and 4th-century pottery¹¹, like *terra sigillata* with rouletting, suggested that the buildings were still inhabited in late Roman times¹². However, it is important to keep in mind that the contexts of the finds are not precisely documented and therefore extremely vague.

During gravel extractions at Het Kamp in 1979, a number of Iron Age pits and pottery kilns came to light, together with a concentration of Mesolithic artefacts¹³. The continuing extractions and the archaeological richness of the site required further emergency excavations¹⁴. After a small intervention in 1980¹⁵, four major campaigns were carried out during the years 1981 to 1985¹⁶ by the National Institute for Archaeological Excavations (*Nationale Dienst voor Opgravingen / Service National des Fouilles*) under the direction of Guy De Boe.

The campaigns culminated in a very detailed investigation of several occupation phases at the site and yielded a very rich amount of material ranging from the Middle Paleolithic until post-medieval

FIG. 1 Location of the site of Neerharen-Rekem. *Situering van de site te Neerharen-Rekem.*



⁶ Certain urban contexts, like Reims (Doyen 2007, 389-390), Tournai (Van Heesch 2012), Tongeren (Data Coin Cabinet of the Royal Library of Belgium) and Namur (Lallemand 1994, 79), do provide 4th-century coins in Merovingian contexts, dating to the 5th and 6th century. It is however not always clear if this can be seen as a proof of continued coin circulation and use or if the coin material ended up in these layers due to later perturbation.

⁷ Bulet 1990, 211; De Boe 1986b, 102; Van Ossel 1992, 297.

⁸ Vanderhoeven & Janssen 1976; Van Neuss & Bamps 1888.

⁹ Vanderhoeven & Janssen 1976, 69-71; 72-89; Van Neuss & Bamps 1888, 331-374. Van Neuss & Bamps interpreted the remnants as belonging to two distinct villas, respectively at the territory of Neerharen and Rekem.

¹⁰ Van Neuss & Bamps 1888, 358-359, 366-367.

¹¹ Vanderhoeven & Janssen 1976, 72-84; Van Neuss & Bamps 1888, 352-357, 364-366.

¹² Vanderhoeven & Janssen 1976, 70; Van Neuss & Bamps 1888, 370-374.

¹³ De Boe 1981, 38; Lauwers 1979.

¹⁴ De Boe & Van Impe 1992, 477.

¹⁵ De Boe 1981.

¹⁶ De Boe 1982; De Boe 1983a; De Boe 1983b; De Boe 1985; De Boe 1986a.

times. The evidence for occupations includes a late Bronze Age/early Iron Age urn cemetery containing more than 250 graves, traces of habitation dating to the La Tène period consisting of pits, postholes and a number of burials, and a late Iron Age/early

Roman village formed of ten dwelling houses and a number of secondary buildings and burials. A modest Roman villa was erected in the beginning of the Flavian era (fig. 2) and replaced a little Gallo-Roman farmstead. The main building (fig. 2: A) was designed



FIG. 2 Ground plan of the site of Neerbaren-Rekem, showing the remains of the Roman villa (A: main villa building; B: baths; C: basement; D: stable; E: barn; F: secondary living quarters; G-H: secondary buildings; I: fence), the late Roman village (1-3: dwelling houses) and the coin finds. (Based on De Boe & Van Impe 1992, fig. 286 and fig. 288; De Boe 1983b, fig. 35 and on the excavation maps kept at the archive of the Flanders Heritage Agency.)

Plattegrond van de site van Neerbaren-Rekem, met de overblijfselen van de Romeinse villa (A: hoofgebouw; B: thermen; C: kelder; D: stal; E: schuur; F: secundair woongebouw; G-H: bijgebouwen; I: omheining), het laat-Romeinse dorp (1-3: woongebouwen) en de muntvondsten. (Gebaseerd op De Boe & Van Impe 1992, fig. 286 en fig. 288; De Boe 1983b, fig. 35 en op de opgravingsplannen bewaard in het archief van het agentschap Onroerend Erfgoed.)

according to a traditional plan with a gallery façade and angle towers. The villa was rebuilt a couple of times and extended with baths (fig. 2: B) and a basement (fig. 2: C). At least 5 secondary buildings, including a stable¹⁷ (fig. 2: D), a barn (fig. 2: E) and secondary living quarters (fig. 2: F), were situated around a rectangular square in front of the villa. Some of these buildings were erected in wood and had various rebuilding phases. By the middle of the 3rd century, the villa was destroyed in a fire and abandoned. Contrary to what was suggested by Van Neuss & Bamps (*cf. supra*), no late Roman material was found in the ruins of the villa¹⁸.

During the second half of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century however, a late Roman village was erected at the site of Neerharen-Rekem (fig. 2). The settlement extended over more than 2 hectares, dispersed around the ruins of the Roman villa. The excavations of village uncovered a ground plan of 29 pit-houses or *Grubenhäuser*, 2 or 3 dwelling houses, pits, waste ditches and a lot of material, like ceramics, metal and coins¹⁹.

The pit-houses are the most distinctive elements of this late Roman settlement, characterized by six postholes and measuring 2,5-5 meter in length by 2-3,60 meter in width. Similar structures were common in the trans-Rhine area of *Germania Libera*²⁰, but did not occur in our region until late Roman times. 15 of these *Grubenhäuser* were situated in the northern part of the excavated area and concentrated in two groups of respectively 6 and 9 huts. The remaining pit houses were scattered around the site. All structures are oriented along an east-west axis and most of them are grouped in pairs, in some cases combined with a waste ditch or dumping ground. This distribution shows a fairly regular planning of the village, which probably consisted of several residential nuclei. The *Grubenhäuser* show various traces of reparations and one of them was completely replaced through time by a larger version. The structures may have served different aims²¹. At least 3 of them were identified as weaving houses, based on the presence of 2 postholes belonging to the loom and a shallow pit in front of them (fig. 3). Several other pit houses were probably used for the storage of food products, as shown by the archaeological remains of various cereals. One *Grubenhäuser* was most likely used by a blacksmith, judging from a nearby pit filled with molten metal, plate waste and crucibles²².

The plans of the dwelling houses of the late Roman village are only vaguely known, because many traces have disappeared due to erosion. The first structure (fig. 2: 1) which can be certainly identified as a dwelling house is situated in the northern zone of the site and has a simple rectangular and single-aisled ground plan measuring 10 meters in length by 7 meters in width. The second (fig. 2: 2), situated in the western zone, measures 29 meters in length and consists of a two-aisled living area and a triple-aisled barn, with an entrance in each long end. The roof was supported by piles that were placed on the outside of the building. The

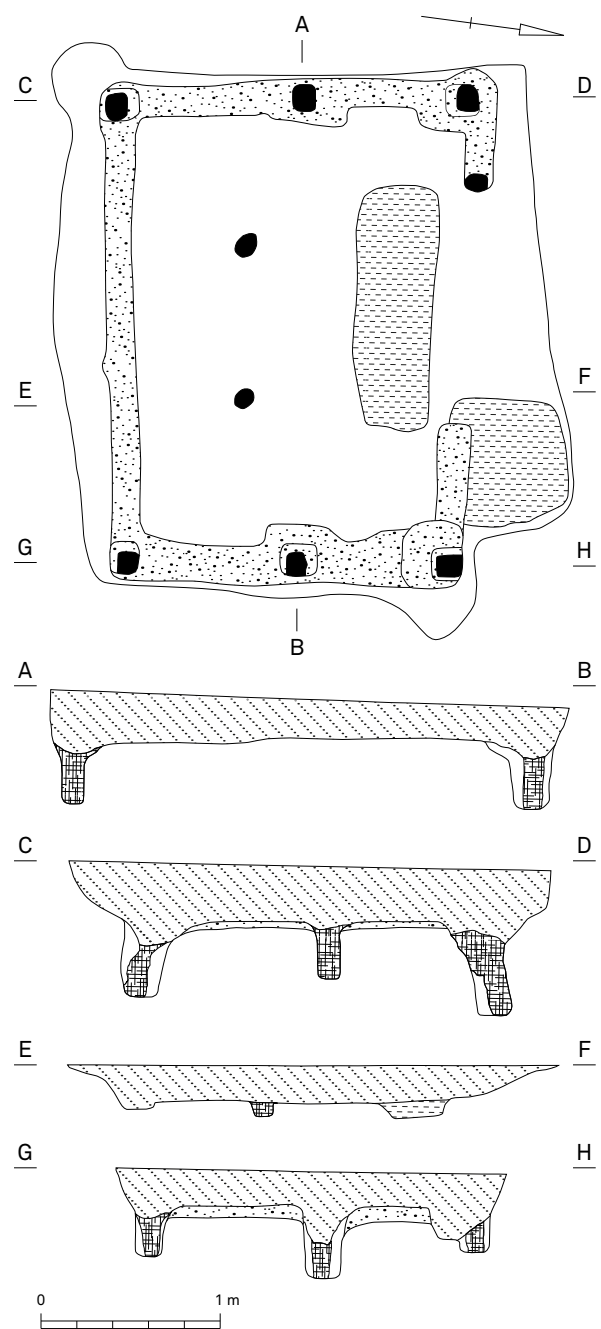


FIG. 3 Ground plan of a *Grubenhäuser*, functioning as weaving hut. The identification is based on the presence of two postholes belonging to the loom and a shallow pit in front of them. (De Boe 1986b, fig. 4.)

Grondplan van een Grubenhäuser dat dienst deed als weefhut. Deze interpretatie is gebaseerd op de aanwezigheid van twee paalgaten afkomstig van het weefgetouw en van de ondiepe kuil. (De Boe 1986b, fig. 4.)

¹⁷ The stable was later reinterpreted as station for water supply by Alain Vanderhoeven (Vanderhoeven 2005).

¹⁸ Coun 1998, 97-102; De Boe 1981, 39-41; De Boe 1982, 72-73; De Boe 1983a; De Boe 1985, 60; De Boe 1986a, 26; De Boe 1986b, 102-103; De Boe 1987, 51-53; De Boe & Van Impe 1992, 477-493; Van Ossel 1992, 297.

¹⁹ Similar late Roman 'Germanic' villages were e.g. found at Donk (De Paepe & Van Impe 1991; Van Impe 1983), Geldrop (Bazelmans 1990), Gennep (Heidinga & Offenbergh 1992), Holtum (Hoegen 2005; Kemmers *forthcoming a-c*), Voerendaal (e.g. Willems 1992) and Wange (e.g. Opsteijn & Lodewijckx 2004). See also Lamarq & Rogge 1996, 123-132.

²⁰ E.g. at Wijster (Van Es 1967) and Flögelin

(Schmid & Zimmerman 1976). See also Chapelot 1980.

²¹ For the different functions of those *Grubenhäuser*, see Chapelot 1980, 29-47.

²² Brulet 1990, 211; Coun 1998, 103; De Boe 1982, 73; De Boe 1983b, 69; De Boe 1985, 60; De Boe 1986a, 26; De Boe 1986b, 103; De Boe 1987, 53; De Boe & Van Impe 1992, 494; Van Ossel 1992, 297.

floor plan of a potential third dwelling house (fig. 2: 3), situated against the northern boundary of the excavated area, was only partly preserved and consisted of a concentration of postholes²³.



FIG. 4 *Terra sigillata* sherd with rouletting, dating to IVd-Va. (Excavation material kept at the depot of the Flanders Heritage Agency).

Terra sigillata scherf met radstempelversiering, met datering IVd-Va. (Opgravingsmateriaal bewaard in het depot van het agentschap Onroerend Erfgoed).

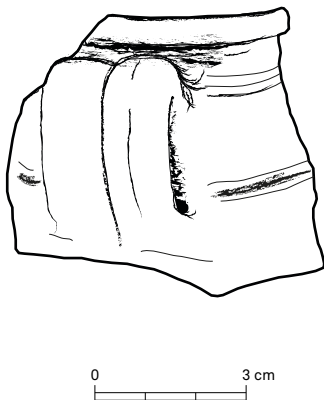


FIG. 5 Coarse ware sherd from the Eifel region, dating to IVd-Va. (Excavation material kept at the depot of the Flanders Heritage Agency).

Scherfuit ruuwwandige Eifelkeramiek, met datering IVd-Va. (Opgravingsmateriaal bewaard in het depot van het agentschap Onroerend Erfgoed).

In addition to the architectural remains, the village yielded a considerable amount of late Roman material. The existing pottery corresponds to the typical spectrum found at late Roman sites in the Maastricht region²⁴ and consisted mainly of *terra sigillata* with rouletting (fig. 4), Eifel ware (fig. 5) and *terra nigra* cups. All of these types can be dated to the second half of the 4th and beginning of the 5th century (*cf. infra*: a question of chronology)²⁵. Among the pottery finds, bowls of type Chenet 342 (fig. 6) and modelled ceramics account for a significant proportion. Both are typical for the trans-Rhine region of *Germania Libera*. The metal finds consisted mainly of belt fittings and jewelry (fig. 7)²⁶. The types of belt elements and jewelry found at Neerharen-Rekem, are very common as grave goods in the late 4th and early 5th century in our regions (*cf. infra*: a question of chronology)²⁷.

Both the architectural structures and the material found at the late Roman village, suggest a Germanic origin for the inhabitants, probably Franks, coming from areas north or northeast of the Rhine²⁸. Assuming a starting date of the site around 360-370 AD, Guy De Boe linked these data with an historical event mentioned in Ammianus Marcellinus²⁹. According to this historian the troops of the emperor Julian besieged a number of abandoned forts along the Meuse during the winter of 357-358 AD and captured the Franks who were living there. This incident took place close to Maastricht, and the conquered Franks were possibly housed in the region afterwards, in rural villages like the one in Neerharen-Rekem. However, Ammianus Marcellinus is not clear at all about the fate of these Frankish groups³⁰. If we take into account the main reason why Germanic people crossed



FIG. 6 Sherd of the type Chenet 342 with rouletting, dating to IVd-Va. (Excavation material kept at the depot of the Flanders Heritage Agency).

Scherf van het type Chenet 342 met rolstempelversiering, met datering IVd-Va. (Opgravingsmateriaal bewaard in het depot van het agentschap Onroerend Erfgoed).

²³ Coun 1998, 103; De Boe 1985, 60-61; De Boe 1986a, 26; De Boe 1986b, 103-104; De Boe 1987, 57; De Boe & Van Impe 1992, 494; Van Ossel 1992, 297.

²⁴ Personal communication Wim Dijkman, Centre Céramique at Maastricht.

²⁵ De Boe 1985, 62; De Boe 1986b, 104; Van Ossel 1992, 300.

²⁶ Brulet 1990, 211; Coun 1998, 103; De Boe 1982, 62; De Boe 1983b, 71-72; De Boe 1986b, 104; De Boe 1987, 57; De Boe & Van Impe 1992, 494; Vanderhoeven & Janssen 1976, 70; 85-86; Van Ossel 1992, 297.

²⁷ Böhme 1974, 7-8; map 1; Böhme 1996, 92-96.

²⁸ De Boe 1983b, 73; De Boe 1986b, 105; De Boe 1987, 53; De Boe & Van Impe 1992, 494-496. For some critical notes on linking archaeological material to a specific ethnic group of immigrants, see Halsall 2007, 466-468.

²⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XVII, 2.1.

³⁰ De Boone 1954, 88.

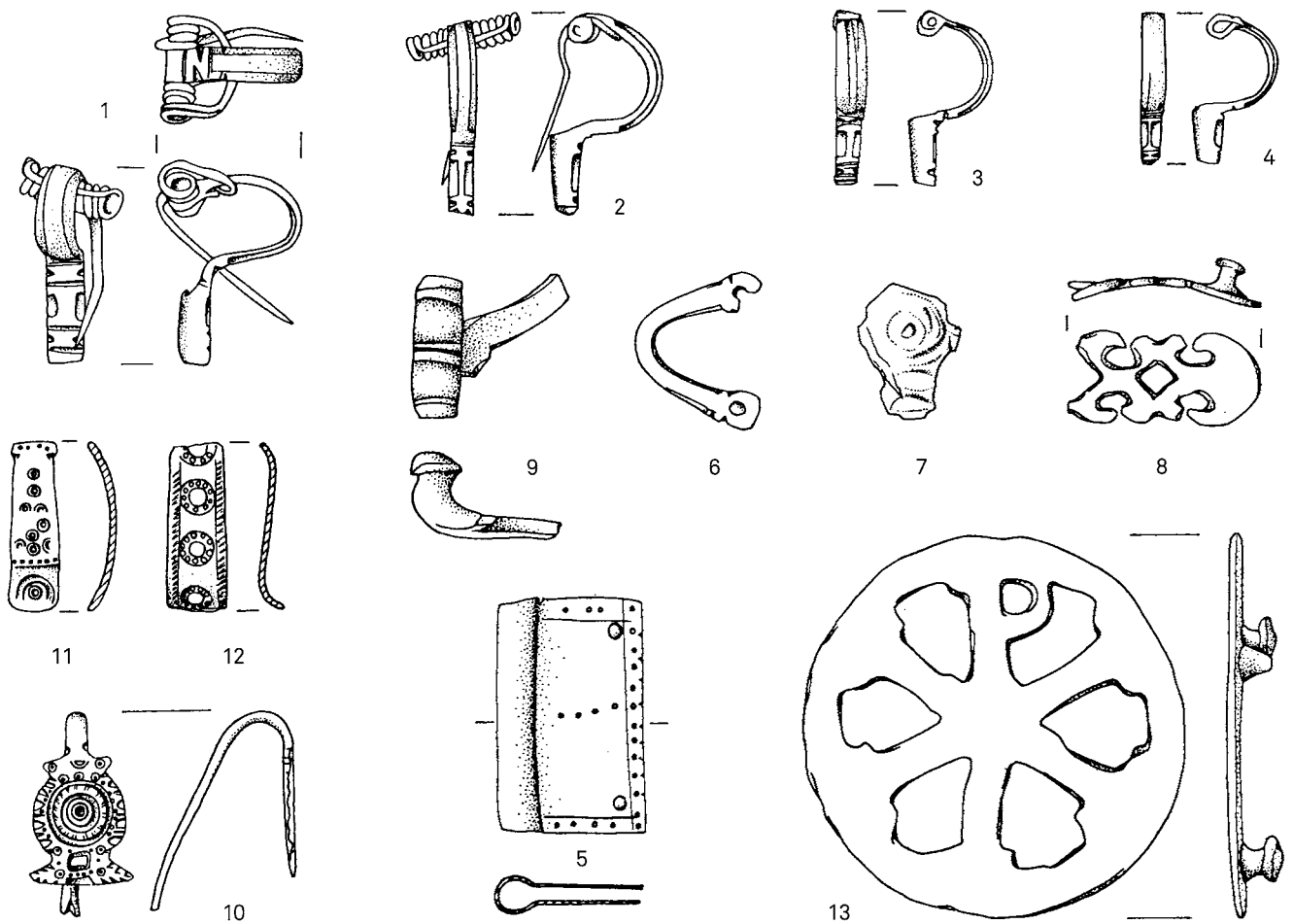


FIG. 7 Late Roman bronze material. (De Boe 1986b, fig. 5.)
Laat-Romeins materiaal uit brons. (De Boe 1986b, fig. 5.)

the Roman frontier, namely to serve in the Roman army, a second possibility turns up. From the second half of the 3rd century on, Germanic recruits were being increasingly employed in the defence of the Roman borders³¹. After the submission of the Salian Franks to the emperor Julian at Tongres in 358 AD³² they could furthermore settle as *dediticii* within the borders of the Roman Empire, in exchange for providing defence of the Rhine area. Thus, Germanic 'enclaves' were formed within the imperial borders, the inhabitants of which served the Roman army in various ways³³. Perhaps the village of Neerharen-Rekem was inhabited by *laeti* or by another military contingent, e.g. *foederati* or *gentiles*. The other options suggest that the village was occupied by Germanic veterans, who were allotted a piece of land by the Roman state after their military service, or by families of Germanic soldiers, who were stationed at the nearby *castella* of Maastricht or at fortifications along the Meuse. However, it is also possible that the inhabitants of the village at Neerharen-Rekem had no link with the military at all, but moved and settled within the borders of the Roman Empire in search of abandoned land to cultivate³⁴.

After this German occupation, the site of Neerharen-Rekem was apparently abandoned for two centuries. During the 7th century, a little Merovingian farm was constructed, consisting of a large dwelling house, a *Grubenhäus* and 2 secondary buildings. Finally, traces of a small settlement dating to the 11th to 12th centuries were found, together with some post-medieval traces including a 16th-century defensive ditch³⁵.

3 The coin finds

3.1 Practical problems

Between the campaigns at the site of Neerharen-Rekem and this study of its coins, lies a time span of more than 25 years. Therefore the research started with a quest to assemble all the necessary data. Both the coins and the excavation reports are kept at the Flemish Heritage Agency (*agentschap Onroerend Erfgoed*), which succeeded the National Institute for Archaeological Excavations (*Nationale Dienst voor Opgravingen / Service National des Fouilles*) in Flanders. A catalogue of the material was made

31 The so-called 'barbarization' of the late Roman army, see e.g. Elton 1996, 134-152; 272-277; Le Bohec 2006, 55-66.

32 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XVII, 8.1-4; De Boone 1954, 90-91.

33 Brulet 2008, 264.

34 Brulet 2006a, 47.

35 De Boe 1986b, 103.

by Jacqueline Lallemand, who identified the coins shortly after the excavations. The coins themselves are stored at their depot in Asse-Zellik (Brussels), all accompanied by a note with basic data, e.g. the coin type, the date of production and an inventory number. The excavation reports and plans are kept at the archive of the Flemish Heritage Agency. Since the documents were used before for several studies³⁶, they were scattered and mixed. Furthermore, some of the feature maps got lost over time, so that not all the finds and structures could be precisely located. Finally, due to the emergency character of the excavations, the Germanic features were only very briefly described at the field, making it difficult to determine the exact nature of the contexts. An attempt has been made to plot the coins finds on the excavation plan and to reconstruct their context as much as possible.

3.2 Spatial distribution

A total amount of 612 coins were found at the site of Neerharen-Rekem, of which 506 pieces could be identified³⁷. Regarding the contexts in which the coins were found during the fieldwork, they can be divided into 3 major groups (fig. 2).

A first assemblage of 461 coins, containing 392 identifiable pieces, was found dispersed across the old river bank of the Meuse (ca. 275 m²) during the 1982 campaign. This concentration includes 3 archaeological features, with inventory numbers 82 NE 1, 82 NE 14 and 82 NE 21. Trace 82 NE 14 was described as being 'the second level of trace 82 NE 1'. Together with the coins, the traces yielded sherds, bronze ware and some tile fragments, none of which were further described.

The second assemblage consists of a concentration of 101 coins, with inventory number 82 NE 75, of which 75 could be identified. All coins were found in an area of ca. 5,5 m². This concentration was also found during the 1982 campaign and was located in the western zone of the excavated area, close to the large dwelling house (fig 2: 2) (*cf. supra*: archaeological context). No other material was found together with the coins.

The last 'left-over' group is formed by the 50 coins which were found dispersed around the site during the campaigns of 1981, 1982, 1984 and 1985. Of these coins 39 could be identified, of which 11 pieces were classified as surface finds, while others were found in destruction or debris layers. Some of them were found together with other material like sherds and tile fragments, which is only very briefly described and dated to widely divergent periods. Other coins were recovered from structures vaguely described as 'pit' or 'trace'. Some of the pieces however provide a more coherent context. A small amount of the material was found in the *Grubenhäuser*. One of these structures yielded 5 4th-century coins, topped by a layer containing *terra sigillata* or samian ware, modelled ware and varnished and common ceramics, as well as fragments of glass, iron and bone. Another *Grubenhäuser* offered 1 coin, albeit not identifiable, together with *terra sigillata* sherds and common ware. Finally, 10 coins were found

in a post-medieval ditch, with 1 4th-century coin besides a group of 9 pieces dating to the 16th century. The shallow canal, accompanied by a protruding bastion, can be either associated with an episode of the long feud between the manors of Neerharen and Rekem, or with a larger confrontation between Rekem, barony of the German Empire, and the Principality of Liège³⁸.

3.3 Chronological distribution

Most of the identified coins (98,02%) could be attributed to the 4th century, with 80,63% belonging to the period 388-402, and were lost during the late Roman occupation of the site.

Figure 8 shows the ratio per period for the total number of coins found at Neerharen-Rekem, both in percentage and number of coins. Because the focus of this research is on the 4th-century coins, the coins issued before the reform by Diocletian were placed in the 'before 294'-group. For the coins dating after 294, the coins were distributed over a number of periods, of which the time limits are defined by successive monetary reforms. This system was first proposed by A. Ravetz³⁹ and later used and adjusted by R. Reece⁴⁰ for Roman Britain and by J. Lallemand⁴¹ for our regions. Imitations are attributed to the same period as their prototypes. For three reasons the number of coins are not divided by the number of years of the period they belong to. Firstly, the exact time span and regularity in which coins were struck in each period is highly uncertain for the 4th century⁴². The most clear example are the coins struck between 340 and 348. According to Kent⁴³ most of the coin material was struck within a period of only two years, namely 347 to 348. Meanwhile, others like Lallemand⁴⁴ and Depeyrot⁴⁵ argue that the minting of these coins extended from 341 until 348, because of the large amount of mint marks used. Secondly, the 4th-century periods all have a comparable length, ranging between 10 and 15 years, except for the 294-318 period, which yielded only 2 coins or 0,40%. Finally, the purpose of this research is to analyze the use and circulation of the coins instead of their production, which do not necessarily correspond to each other with regards to time span.

10 of the coins from Neerharen-Rekem, or 1,98%, can be dated before 294, ranging from asses of Augustus to barbarous radiates. The period 294-318 is represented by 2 coins or 0,40%, while coins from 318-330 are completely absent. The period 330-340 represents a sharp increase at Neerharen-Rekem, with 24 coins or 4,74%. Afterwards, the period 340-348 shows again a decrease, with a total amount of 7 coins or 1,38%. Notwithstanding a small rise during the period 348-364, the coin loss remains low, with only 9 coins or 1,78%. The period 364-378 shows a further increase, to 20 pieces or 3,95%. This gradual ascent continues during the period 378-388 with the number of 26 coins or 5,14% and reaches an enormous peak during the period 388-402, which consists of not less than 408 pieces or 80,63% of the total number of coins. Mrs. Lallemand dated one SALVS REIPUBLICAE coin of Honorius from the mint of Rome⁴⁶ to 408. However, Kent brought back the date of this coin to the period 395-403⁴⁷.

³⁶ The urn cemetery was e.g. the subject of a unpublished PhD by Barbara Temmerman, carried out at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

³⁷ De Boe 1983b, 72; De Boe 1986, 104-105.

³⁸ De Boe 1982, 74.

³⁹ Ravetz 1964.

⁴⁰ Reece 1972, 269-276; Reece 1995, 179-206.

⁴¹ Lallemand 1989, 18-22.

⁴² van Heesch 1998, 23-24.

⁴³ Kent 1981, 90-91.

⁴⁴ Lallemand 1989, 53.

⁴⁵ Depeyrot 1992, 63.

⁴⁶ LRBC 811.

⁴⁷ RIC 1249.

Neerharen - Rekem
Percentage and number of coins per period

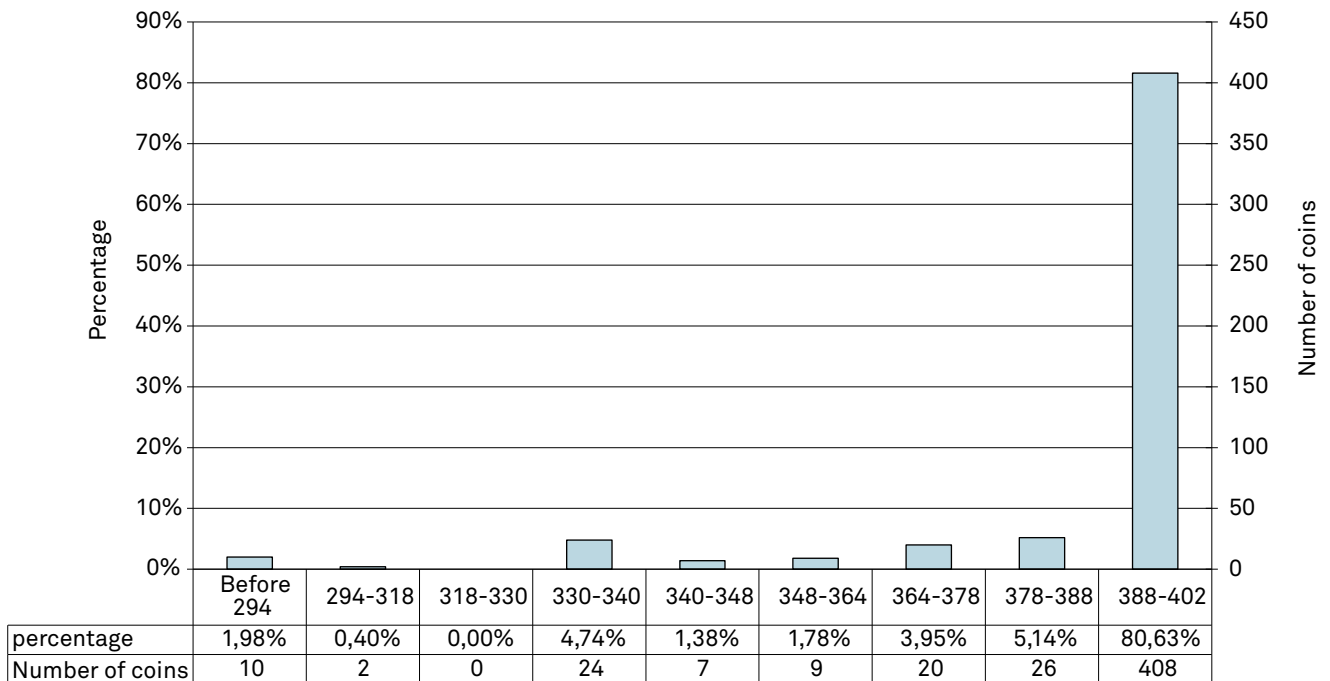


FIG. 8 Percentage and number of coins per period found at Neerharen-Rekem.
Percentage en absolute aantal munten per periode voor de site van Neerharen-Rekem.

The excavators used the coin material to confirm the dating of the Germanic village between 360/370 and the beginning of the 5th century. The coins become numerous from the period 330-340 on, and multiply in number since 364-378. This last date is consistent with the remaining categories of archaeological material, which can be roughly dated to the second half of the 4th century and the first half of the 5th century (*cf. supra*: archaeological context and *infra*: a question of chronology). The end date of the occupation is harder to define. Some of the pottery and bronze objects can be dated well into the first half of the 5th century. The last bronze coins were produced between 388-402, but their often worn condition⁴⁸ suggest a long circulation time. Therefore, the excavator suggests that the occupation of the site ended somewhere during the first half of the 5th century⁴⁹. It is however extremely important to keep in mind the chronology of coin use at the site should not necessarily be chronologically equal to the occupation time of the site, as we shall see further on in this paper (see *infra*: a question of chronology).

Figure 9 shows the comparison between Neerharen-Rekem and a couple of other nearby late Roman sites: the Germanic village at Holtum⁵⁰ (Limburg, The Netherlands), the city of Tongeren⁵¹

(Limburg, Belgium), the road settlement 'Les Bons-Villers' at Liberchies⁵² (Hainaut, Belgium) and the hill top fortification 'Mont-Vireux' in Vireux-Molhain⁵³ (Ardennes, France). Those sites are chosen firstly for their high numbers of coin finds during the excavations, in order to provide reference material suitable for quantitative analysis; secondly, the sites represent different types of settlements, and apparently all used coinage during late Roman times. Only the 4th-century coins are taken into account to rule out the effect of the different lengths in occupation time on the coin percentages for each site.

The fluctuations in coins lost or deposited at Neerharen-Rekem are generally consistent with the overall situation in our region during the 4th century AD. The periods 294-318 and 318-330 show a generally small amount of coin loss, as displayed by all the sites under consideration. Only the city of Tongeren reaches a percentage of 5,15% for the period 318-330. This shortage was due to the relatively large size and silver content of the nummi, which gave them a larger purchasing power and made them less likely to be lost or abandoned⁵⁴. The sharp increase between 330 and 340, which reaches peaks of 23,57% at Liberchies, 41,95% at Vireux and 50,81% at Tongeren, is also representative for the

⁴⁸ The seemingly worn condition of the coins, can at this time however also be the result of the use of worn dies and/or poorly produced flans.

⁴⁹ De Boe 1983b, 73.

⁵⁰ Kemmers *forthcoming a-c*.

⁵¹ Data Coin Cabinet of the Royal Library of Belgium.

⁵² Severs 2011a; Severs 2011b; van Heesch 2002.

⁵³ Doyen & Lemant 1984; Doyen & Lemant 1990.

⁵⁴ Doyen 2007, 302-304, 314; van Heesch 1998, 167.

Comparison of late-Roman sites
Percentage of coins per period

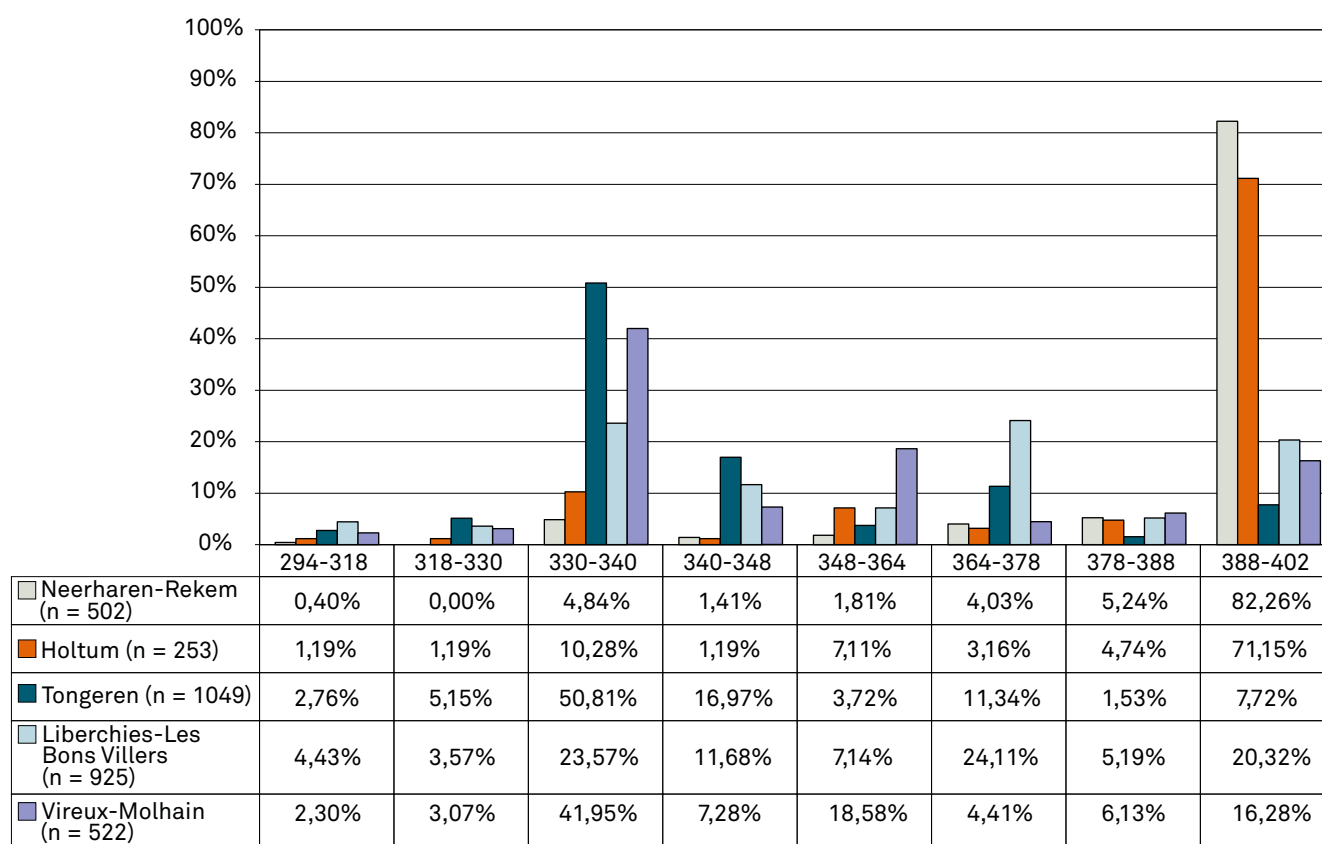


FIG. 9 Percentage of coins per period (294-402) for the late Roman sites of Neerharen-Rekem, Holtum, Tongeren, Liberchies-Les Bons Villers and Vireux. (Data for Holtum, Tongeren, Liberchies and Vireux are respectively taken from Kemmers forthcoming, data from the Coin Cabinet of the Royal Library of Belgium, Severs 2011a; Severs 2011b; van Heesch 2002; Doyen 1984; Doyen 1990.)

Percentage van het aantal munten per periode (294-402) voor de laat-Romeinse sites van Neerharen-Rekem, Holtum, Tongeren, Liberchies-Les Bons Villers and Vireux. (De data voor Holtum, Tongeren, Liberchies en Vireux werden respectievelijk overgenomen uit Kemmers forthcoming, data van het Penningkabinet van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Severs 2011a; Severs 2011b; van Heesch 2002; Doyen 1984; Doyen 1990.)

whole of our area and can be explained by the military expansion and the development of a paid civil service in northern Gaul during this period⁵⁵. Moreover, this period is generally characterized by a large number of imitations or emergency money⁵⁶. The following decrease in coin loss during the period 340-348 can perhaps be attributed to a decrease in coin production at the mints in northern Gaul, possibly linked to disturbances due to the Frankish invasions and/or to the distribution of *donativa* in gold or silver to the troops by the emperor Constans, instead of payments in billion coinage⁵⁷. However, the number of coins remains relatively high at Tongeren (16,97%) and Liberchies (11,68%). The period 348-364 represents again a period of low loss at the presented sites, with percentages between 1,81% (Neerharen-Rekem) and 7,14% (Liberchies). This was possibly due to

a law issued by Constantine II⁵⁸ which demonetised certain bronze coins, and to the almost complete inactivity of the mint of Trier between 355 and 360, resulting from the invasions of the Franks and Alamanni⁵⁹. Only at Vireux a percentage of 18,58% is reached due to renewed activities at the site⁶⁰. The Valentinian era, from 364 to 378, is generally characterized in our regions by a flight from the fortifications and hill top settlements in favour of the rural sites, which is equally attested in the coin losses⁶¹. For instance at Vireux, the coin loss falls back to 4,41%. Van Heesch states however that this decrease is only the case for the hill area in southern Belgium, but not for the borderland of the Roman Empire, where the increased military readiness is responsible for a rise in the coin loss⁶². The period 378-388 is generally represented by a downwards trend⁶³, followed by a slight increase

⁵⁵ It might however be that the coin-loss reflects production rather than particular events, considering the massive amount of coins produced between 330 and 340 (Personal communication Sam Moorhead, Portable Antiquities Scheme).

⁵⁶ Doyen 2007, 318-322; van Heesch 1998, 167-168.

⁵⁷ Doyen 2007, 324; van Heesch 1998, 167-168.

⁵⁸ *Codex Theodosianus* IX, 23, 1.

⁵⁹ Doyen 2007, 329; Lallemand 1989, 59; van Heesch 1998, 169.

⁶⁰ Doyen & Lemant 1984, 21.

⁶¹ Doyen 2007, 333.

⁶² Callu 1980, 105-106; van Heesch 1998, 169.

⁶³ Doyen 2007, 338; van Heesch 1998, 170.

during the years 388-402⁶⁴. However, the amount of lost coins remains relatively low at Tongeren (7,72%). At this point, both the Germanic villages at Neerharen-Rekem and Holtum differ greatly from the general pattern, with their gradual rise during the late 4th century and enormous peak during the period 388-402. Only a few sites in northwestern Europe show a similar late 4th-century peak, like the military settlements of Château Renaud⁶⁵ (Belgium) and Richborough⁶⁶ (UK) and the urban center of Canterbury (UK)⁶⁷. Despite the fact that the settlements of Neerharen-Rekem and Holtum show the same general trends as other sites throughout the 4th century, the percentages representing the years before 388 remain very low, due to the percentages of coins produced between 388-402.

The two series of aes 4 coins issued during the period 388-402, namely the 'Gallic' *VICTORIA AVGGG* series and the 'Italian' *SALVS REIPVBLICAE* series, were the last bronze currency that circulated in Gaul during the Roman period. Afterwards, the highly sophisticated monetary system of the Romans was gradually replaced by one based on high value gold coins only. This lack of coins and especially the absence of small change lasted to the very end of the Middle Ages. However, it is possible that those late Roman bronze coins were still circulating during the 5th century, with or without a monetary purpose⁶⁸. Due to the massive bulk of those aes 4 coins at Neerharen-Rekem and the clear archaeological context in which they were found, the site has the high potential to tackle this question concerning the use of small change after the supply has stopped.

Briefly summarized, the coins of Neerharen-Rekem show two important peculiarities: first, their find context containing two large assemblages of coins, and secondly, the enormous peak during the period 388-402, after which Roman bronze coins ceased to reach northern Gaul. Both aspects will be further examined in detail in this paper, in order to find an explanation for this unusual phenomenon and to contribute to the understanding of the use of coinage in the late 4th and 5th century.

3.4 Analysis of the coin assemblages

In what follows, the different coin assemblages found at Neerharen-Rekem will be analysed and compared. First of all, the numbers of coins per period will be examined for each assemblage. Afterwards, the coins of the period 388-402 will be discussed in detail, because of their preponderance and importance for our research question. In each case the percentage of the different coin types, the mints and the issuing emperors will be discussed. Only the identifiable coins will be taken into account. This means that for the different mint percentages, only the coins which can be certainly attributed to a mint will be included in the sample. The same goes for the percentages per emperor.

Figure 10 shows the number of coins per period in percentages for each assemblage. The similarities are very striking: all the coin assemblages are characterized by a remarkable rise in the period 330-340 (assemblage 1: 3,83% or 15 coins; assemblage 2: 6,67% or 5 coins; assemblage 3: 10,26% or 4 coins) and by the huge peak they reach during the last period of 388-402 (assemblage 1: 82,65% or 324 coins; assemblage 2: 81,33% or 61 coins; assemblage 3: 58,97% or 23 coins). In general, the percentages before 388 remain low, due to this bulk of late aes 4 coins, but show a gradual rise from 364 onwards. Unlike the other 2 ensembles, assemblage 3 contains a considerable percentage of coins issued before 294. 2 coins could be identified as asses of Augustus, 2 others were attributed to Commodus. None of those pieces were found in a clear context: 2 of them, one coin from Augustus and one from Commodus, are stray finds, one coin issued by Commodus was found in a debris layer next to the bath complex of the Flavian villa, and the last coin from Augustus was found in an undescribed archaeological scatter. Most likely, those coins rather belong to the earlier Roman occupation phases of the site. When we exclude those four 1st- and 2nd-century coins, only 1 radiate imitation of Tetricus II dates before 294, which brings the percentage for this period back to 2,86%. Finally, due to the slightly smaller peak in the last period, the periods before 388 are represented by somewhat larger percentages for assemblage 3, with e.g. 10,26% for period 330-340 and 7,69% for period 364-378.

Turning to an analysis of the period 388-402, figure 11 shows the ratio of Gallic *VICTORIA AVGGG* and Italic *SALVS REIPVBLICAE* coins. It is clear that this ratio is rather very similar for all three groups: in each case the *VICTORIA AVGGG* coins dominate, with percentages ranging from 67,91% to 77,05%. According to Lallemand⁶⁹, those percentages fit perfectly into the general pattern in our regions, with an average of 77,15% of *VICTORIA AVGGG* coins and 22,85% of the type *SALVS REIPVBLICAE*⁷⁰. An equal proportion is delivered by Liberchies-Les Bons Villers⁷¹ (*victoria*: 71,91%; *salus*: 28,09%) and Vireux⁷² (*victoria*: 69,12%; *salus*: 30,88%). However, we must notice that recent finds show more divergent ratios. For example, the site at Holtum⁷³ shows a nearby equal percentage of both coin types (*victoria*: 49,09%; *salus*: 50,91%). According to some⁷⁴, a chronological indication can be attributed to those ratios. Given the widely accepted premise that the Gallic mints at Lyons, Trier and Arles ceased their production of aes 4 in 395 while the mint of Rome continued striking *SALVS REIPVBLICAE* coins until 402, a larger amount of coins of this last types favors a later date for the concerned sites (*cf. infra*: a question of chronology).

Figure 12 shows the percentage of issuing mints for the period 388-402. For each of the 3 assemblages, the mint at Arles is responsible for a high percentage of coins (assemblage 1: 41,94%;

64 Doyen 2007, 341-342; van Heesch 1998, 170.

65 Lallemand 1993.

66 Reece 1981; Reece 2002, 99-100.

67 Also at the urban center of Canterbury (UK) a large amount of coins struck between 388 and 402 was found, especially at the site of Whitefriars (Moorhead *et al. forthcoming*). See *ibidem* for a list of the mayor 'Theodosian' coin finds in Britain.

68 E.g. Abdy 2006, 91-94; Delmaire 1983, 176;

Doyen 2011, 364-366; Doyen *forthcoming a-b*; Kemmers *forthcoming a-c*; Lallemand 1968, 28-35; Moorhead 2006, 102-109; van Heesch 1992, 167-168.

69 Unpublished notes on Neerharen-Rekem by J. Lallemand.

70 Lallemand 1983, 81; Lallemand 1989, 66.

However, a critical sense is needed when using such means, because of the very different occupation period and nature of the considered sites.

71 For the coin data from Liberchies - Les Bons Villers, see Severs 2011a; Severs 2011b.

72 For the coin data from Vireux, see Doyen & Lemant 1984; Doyen & Lemant 1990.

73 For the coin data from Holtum, see Kemmers *forthcoming a-c*.

74 Doyen & Lallemand 1992, 36; Doyen 2009, 74-75; Lallemand 1965a, 69; Lallemand 1968, 31.

Neerharen-Rekem - Comparison of coin sets
Percentage of coins per period

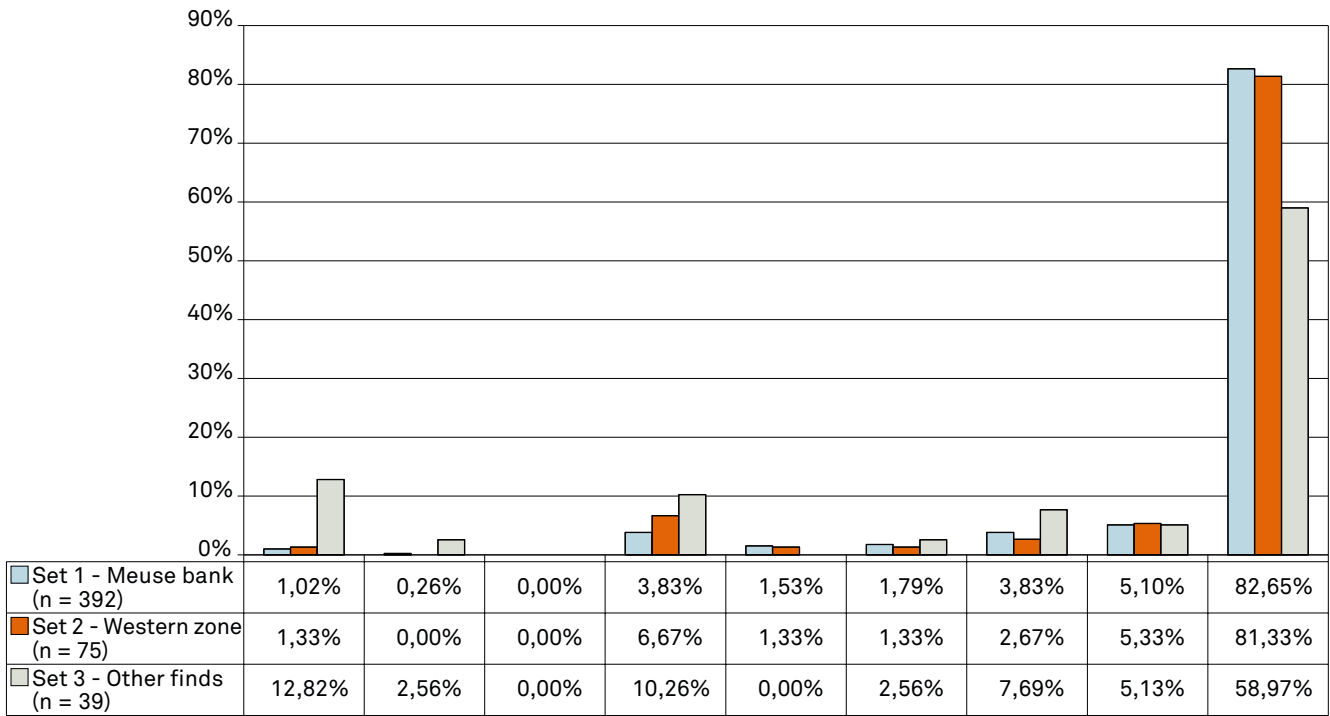


FIG. 10 Percentage of coins per period for the three coin assemblages.
Percentage van het aantal munten per periode voor de drie muntensembles.

Neerharen-Rekem - Comparison of coin sets
Period 388-402
Ratio of 'VICTORIA AVGGG' and 'SALVS REIPUBLICAE' coins

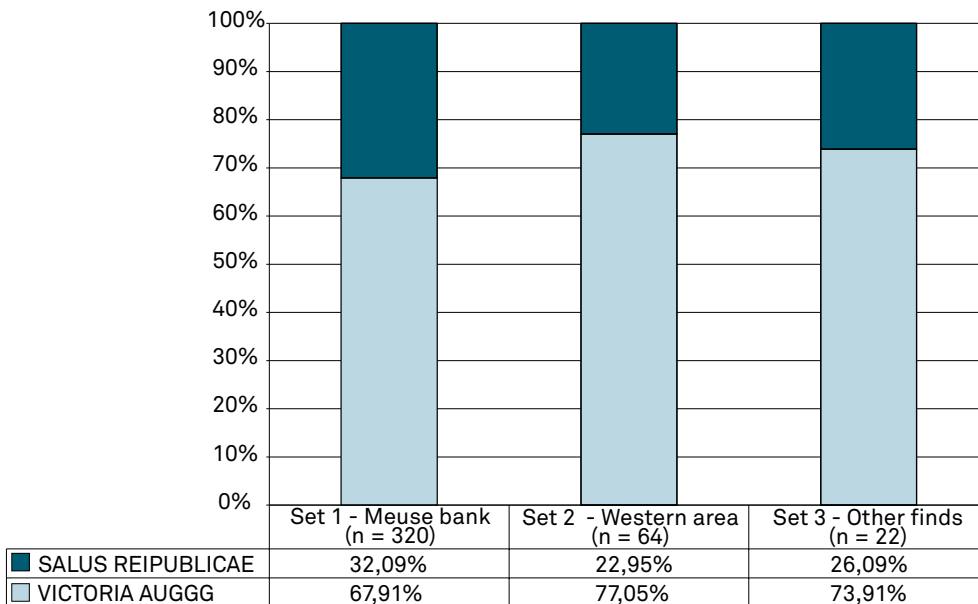


FIG. 11 Percentage of VICTORIA AVGGG and SALVS REIPUBLICAE coins (388-402) for the three coin assemblages.
Percentage van het aantal VICTORIA AVGGG en SALVS REIPUBLICAE munten (388-402) voor de drie muntensembles.

Neerharen-Rekem - Comparison of coin sets
Period 388 - 402
Ratio of mints

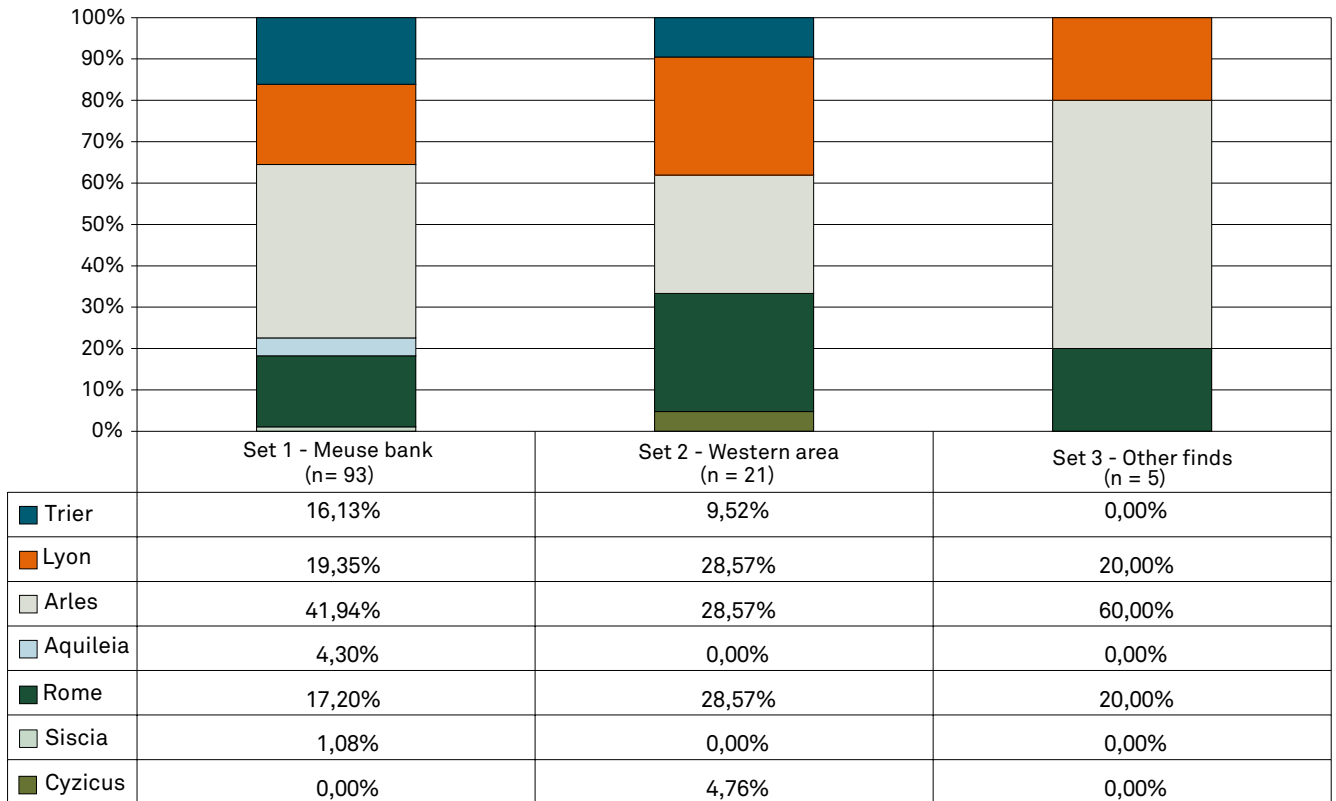


FIG. 12 Percentage of coins (388-402) produced at the mints of Trier, Lyon, Arles, Aquileia, Rome, Siscia and Cyzicus for the three coin assemblages.

Percentage van het aantal munten (388-402) van de ateliers van Trier, Lyon, Arles, Aquileia, Rome, Siscia en Cyzicus voor de drie muntensembles.

assemblage 2: 28,57%; assemblage 3: 60,00%). The preponderance of this last mint is another constant in our regions⁷⁵, e.g. it is attested with 36,67% at Liberchies-Les Bons Villers and 38,10% at Vireux. The mints of Lyons and Rome both account for another large proportion of the coins (assemblage 1: respectively 19,35% and 17,20%; assemblage 2: 28,57% for both mints; assemblage 3: 20% for both mints), followed by the mint of Trier for assemblage 1 (16,13%) and assemblage 2 (9,52%). The low percentages for Siscia in assemblage 1 (1,08 %) and Cyzicus in assemblage 2 (4,76%) both only represent one coin. Considering the third assemblage, we should take into account the very low amount of coins for which the mint could be identified, i.e. 5 coins. Therefore, the assemblage can in this case not be accepted as a reliable sample.

Finally, figure 13 reveals the percentages of coins per emperor for the 3 ensembles between 388-402. Coins were issued during

the reigns of Valentinianus II (produced between 388-392), Theodosius I (388-395), Arcadius (388-402), the usurper Eugenius (392-394) and Honorius (393-402). For each assemblage, most of the aes 4 coins were struck in Arcadius' name (assemblage 1: 52,90%; assemblage 2: 35,48%; assemblage 3: 71,43%). This is equally the case at Holtum (56,67%), Liberchies (44,05%) and Vireux (58,33%) and can be easily explained by the fact that only this last emperor issued coins during the entire period. While assemblage 2 contains a considerable amount of 'earlier' aes 4 coins, struck in the name of Valentinianus II (22,58%) and Theodosius I (25,81%), assemblage 1 is characterized by a rather large percentage for Honorius (19,57%). This could possibly be due to a chronological difference between both coin assemblages (*cf. infra*: a question of chronology). Again, assemblage 3 is represented here by only 7 coins attributable to an emperor. Therefore, in this case too these data are difficult to use.

⁷⁵ The mean as calculated by Lallemand corresponds to 29,29% for Arles, 27,27% for Trier and 23,23% for Lyons (Lallemand 1983, 81).

Neerharen-Rekem - Comparison of coin sets
Period 388 - 402
Ratio per emperor

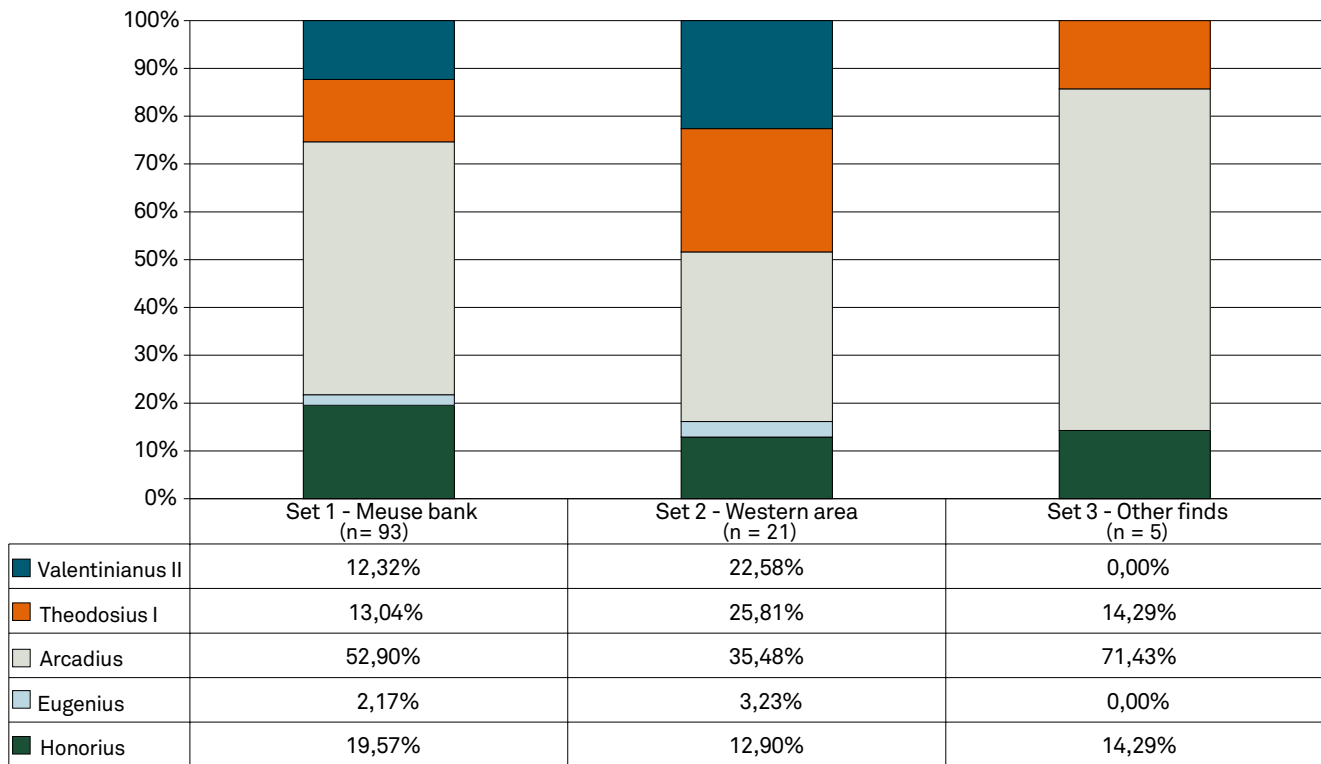


FIG. 13 Percentage of coins (388-402) issued during the reigns of the emperors Valentinianus II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Eugenius and Honorius for the three coin assemblages.

Percentage van het aantal munten (388-402) geslagen tijdens de regering van keizer Valentinianus II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Eugenius en Honorius voor de drie muntensembles.

4 The circulation and use of coins in late Roman Neerharen-Rekem

When we attempt to interpret the coin finds in function of their circulation and use at the late Roman site at Neerharen-Rekem, three main questions need to be answered: how and through whom did the coins reach the site? How were they used by the German inhabitants? For how long did the circulation of these bronze coins last and why were the coins finally lost, discarded or deposited? Those questions will be answered by analyzing the coin finds in their broader archaeological, historical and social context.

4.1 The provenance of the coins

After the collapse of the Rhine *limes* during the reign of the emperor Valerian (253-260), the threat of the German invaders rose dramatically along the boundaries of the Roman Empire. These altered conditions led to a new and active defence strategy. Instead of restoring the old *limes*, preference was given to

the development of an inland defensive network (fig. 14). The establishment of mobile forces, the *comitatenses*, in Gaul and the foundation of a series of fortifications along the main communication roads, led to a more in-depth defence of the hinterland⁷⁶. The increased overseas threat of the Saxons led to the creation of the *Litus Saxonicum*. Regular troops were stationed at the *castellum* of Oudenburg (53) and perhaps in Bruges (52) and Aardenburg (51)⁷⁷. Large urban settlements, like Trier (10), Tongeren (2), Cologne (1) and Tournai (6), evolved into more defensive structures sometimes serving an additional military purpose, e.g. accommodating auxiliary troops or the manufacture of arms and military cloths in imperial workshops⁷⁸. Along the most important communication routes, both on land and on water, fortifications of different types were installed. Well-known is the road between Cologne (1) and Bavay (20), which was equipped with *burg*, *castella* and watchtowers at regular distances of 16-17 km. *Burgi* and watchtowers on this route are e.g. known from Givry (73), Morlanwelz (72 and 81), Liberchies (71 and 72), Cortil-Noirmont (70), Taviers (69), Braives (68), Oreye-Bergilers (67),

⁷⁶ Brulet 1995, 103-106; Brulet 2006b, 50-51.

⁷⁷ Brulet 1995, 106-107; Brulet 2006b, 56-59; Le Bohec 2006, 153-154.

⁷⁸ Brulet 1995, 108; Brulet 2006b, 64-66.

Hulsberg (78) and Hüchelhoven (65), while a *castellum* was functioning at Deutz (45). The fortified settlements at Maastricht (18), Tongeren (2), Heerlen (17) and Bavay (20) were equally integrated into this defensive structure. At Maastricht, the original fort which operated during the 3rd until the 5th century developed into an important centre during the Early Middle Ages⁷⁹. The road between Nijmegen (19) and Maastricht (18), running along the Meuse, was likewise provided with military structures, like the *castellum* at Cuijk (37) and the possible *burgus* at Stokkem (63)⁸⁰. Moreover, efforts were made for the increased defence of the countryside; for example, small fortifications were added to farmsteads and manors. This phenomenon is characteristic for the regio of Zülpich, southwest of Cologne (1), where such structures were found at Froitzheim, Rheinbach-Florzheim, Rövenich and Titz-Rödingen. Closer to Neerharen-Rekem, the same development can be seen at Voerendaal⁸¹. Finally, there was a scattering of hilltop fortifications around the regions of the Ardennes, Hunsrück and the Eifel. The most important of these

settlements are ‘La Roche à Lomme’ at Dourbes, ‘Tienne de la Rotche’ at Eprave, ‘Hauterecenne’ at Furfooz, ‘Al Rotche’ at Piry, ‘Cheslain’ at Ortho and ‘Mont-Vireux’ at Vireux-Molhain⁸².

This highly developed defensive strategy, which underwent important phases of construction during the reigns of the Gallic emperors⁸³ (260-274) and Constantine I⁸⁴ (307-337), lasted until the reign of Valentinian I (364-375), who again focused on the restoration of the Rhine and Danube *limites*⁸⁵. During the Theodosian era (379-395) however, the fortifications along the Cologne-Bavay road were again sporadically occupied by mobile forces. Only the *castellum* at Liberchies-Brunehaut demonstrates a regular occupation after 380⁸⁶.

During this period of structural reorganization in northern Gaul, bronze coins were in general widely circulating and used. As pointed out by J.M. Carrié, who substantiates his conclusions thoroughly with papyrological and other historical evidence,

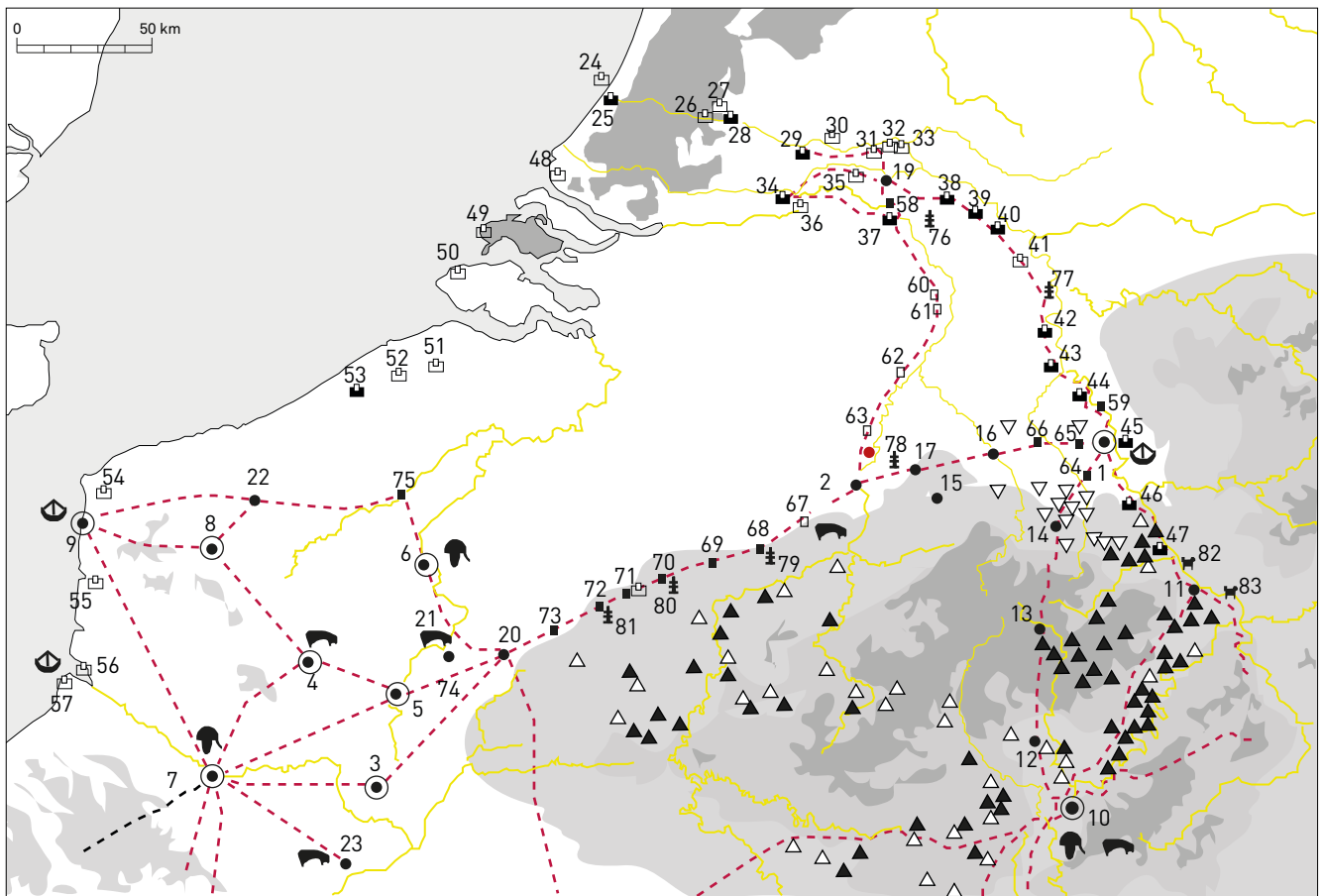


FIG. 14 Map of the late Roman defensive system in northern Gaul. The location of Neerharen-Rekem is marked with a red dot. (Brulet 2006b, fig. 12.)

Kaart van het laat-Romeinse verdedigingssysteem in Noord-Gallië. De locatie van Neerharen-Rekem is weergegeven met een rood punt. (Brulet 2006b, fig. 12.)

79 Panhuysen 2006, 316; Panhuysen 2009, 41-43.

80 Brulet 1995, 108-109; Brulet 2006b, 60-61;

Panhuysen 1992, 118.

81 Brulet 1995, 113-115; Brulet 2006b, 64; Pan-

huysen 1992, 118-119.

82 Brulet 1995, 115-118; Brulet 2006b, 63-64.

83 Brulet 1995, 109-111.

84 Brulet 1995, 111-113.

85 Brulet 1995, 112-113; Brulet 2006b, 55-56, 61;

Le Bohec 2006, 155.

86 Brulet 1995, 112-113.

coined money was still widespread and operating on daily basis in all layers of society, as well in rural contexts, for fiscal reasons or as *stipendium* or *donativa* in the Roman army⁸⁷. Although high value money became more and more important in case of military payments and taxation, bronze coins still played an important role in daily life, as shown by the large output of imperial mints and widespread imitation of these low value coins during the 4th century. The precise significance of such ‘everyday’ money, is expressed by John Chrysostom (345-407) in his *In Principium Actorum* (4.3) in the following words:

“The use of coins is inherent to our existence, it regulates everything in life. Each time we want to buy or sell something, it is done by means of coins.”⁸⁸

The most important witness of this wide circulation is the large amount of coin finds dating to this late Roman period, in the form of site finds, stray finds or deposits/hoards. Judging from the data kept at the Coin Cabinet of the Royal Library of Belgium, almost 200 find-spots of late Roman coins, issued from 294 onwards, are known within the borders of current Belgium, containing more than 100 archaeological sites and more than 20 deposits. 51 of those archaeological structures and 20 deposits yielded coins dating after 388. A first important assemblage of coins is known from the *municipium* of Tongeren, headquarter of the *Civitas Tungrorum*, where a total of 1.049 pieces⁸⁹ datable after 294 were collected during campaigns in several parts of the city, dating until 402 and later⁹⁰. In addition, 468 4th-century coins were recovered at the important center of Tournai, capital of the *civitas Turnacensium*⁹¹. During several excavations at Maastricht, just across the current Dutch border, large amounts of 4th-century coins came to light, for instance at the O.L.-Vrouweplein⁹². Unfortunately, the coins found during other excavations at the Stokstaartkwartier, which showed continuity between the late Roman and early medieval period (4th-6th century), are yet to be published⁹³. Besides, considerable amounts of 4th-century coins were found e.g. at the fortifications of Liberchies⁹⁴ (Les Bons Villers: 925 coins; Brunehaut: 243 coins) and Virton - Château Renaud⁹⁵ (1.154 coins) and at the hill top settlements of Dourbes - La Roche à Lomme⁹⁶ (2944 coins), Eprave - Tienne de la Rotche⁹⁷ (271 coins), Furfooz - Hauterecenne⁹⁸ (83 coins), Nismes - Roche Trouée⁹⁹ (52 pieces), Pry - Al Rotche¹⁰⁰ (210 coins) and Vireux-Molhain¹⁰¹ (522 coins).

Based on those numbers, we can presume with some certainty that bronze coins were circulating in large numbers in the vicinity of late Roman Neerharen-Rekem. As mentioned earlier,

the urban settlement of Tongeren, at a distance of 25 kilometers from Neerharen-Rekem, yielded large amounts of 4th-century coins. In such urban contexts, small change was necessary on a daily basis for various commercial and artisanal activities. Likewise, large assemblages of coins are known from the military settlement at Maastricht. Although soldiers still received their *stipendium* in silver money and the distribution of *donativa* in gold became more and more important during the 4th century¹⁰², it is clear from the bulk of bronze coins found at military settlements (*cf. supra*) that the troops were equally equipped with small change. From Ammianus Marcellinus¹⁰³ we know that *stipendia* were paid on a very irregular basis by the late 4th century, in case the emperor had nothing else left with which to motivate the troops and to ensure their fidelity¹⁰⁴. Apart from the goods they received in kind, the soldiers would have needed low value coins for everyday transactions at the forts or during journeys and campaigns. Possibly, a part of their salary was therefore paid in bronze¹⁰⁵. In the end we can conclude that bronze coins were circulating widely in the urban and military oriented vicinity of Neerharen-Rekem¹⁰⁶. The coin finds at the late Roman village are therefore not an isolated phenomenon at all, but need to be analyzed in the broader context, which was still highly monetarized during the second half of the 4th century.

But how did the bronze coins exactly reach the Germanic village of Neerharen-Rekem? Such a high number of coins as found at the site is rather exceptional for a rural site and has no equal within the borders of current Belgium¹⁰⁷. The archaeological evidence shows that the settlement had a lot to offer by way of provisioning. Many of the *Grubenhäuser* were used for storage of food, two could be identified as a weaving hut, and one of them possibly housed a blacksmith (*cf. supra*: archaeological context). It is possible that the inhabitants were not only responsible for their own supplies, but also had the opportunity for a slight overproduction of resources. Because of their direct access to the Meuse, it would not have posed major problems to distribute or sell certain goods or services. One can imagine that resources were traded at the Meuse bank between the residents of the village and people passing by, like merchants, soldiers or others. These commercial activities could have taken many forms: was there a sort of market operating along the Meuse bank or were goods exchanged more individually? Did the inhabitants of Neerharen-Rekem offered certain services to the passers-by? Whatever their specific character, De Boe used such trading activities as an explanation for the large assemblage of coins found

87 Carrié 2003. On the salary of the troops, see also Hendy 1985, 187-189; Le Bohec 2006, 177-183.

88 van Heesch 2006, 51.

89 Data coin Cabinet of the Royal Library of Belgium.

90 E.g. a Visigothic imitation of a gold solidus issued by Valentinian III was discovered during excavations at the O.L.V.-basilica, dating AD 425-455 (Bland & Lorient 2010, No. 182; Renaers & Van Laere 2000).

91 van Heesch 2012.

92 Van der Vin & Panhuysen 1983.

93 Personal communication Wim Dijkman.

94 Severs 2011a; Severs 2011b; van Heesch 2002. See also *supra*: the coin finds.

95 Lallemand 1993; Wigg 1991, 356-357.

96 Wigg 1991, 348-349.

97 Wigg 1991, 344-345.

98 Wigg 1991, 342-343.

99 Doyen & Lallemand 1992.

100 Data Coin Cabinet of the Royal Library of Belgium.

101 Doyen & Lemant 1984; Doyen & Lemant 1990. See also *supra*: the coin finds.

102 Carrié 2003, 181-185; Delmaire 1989, 536-539, 546-561.

103 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XVII, 9.5-6; XX, 8, 8; XXII, 9.2.

104 Delmaire 1989, 537; Le Bohec 2006, 179-181.

105 Callu 1980, 105-106; Hendy 1985, 187. For the early Roman period, see van Heesch 2007, 92-95;

van Heesch 2009, 136-139.

106 According to Moorhead *et al. forthcoming*, coin use in roman Britain was shrinking back to major centres or settlements at important nodal points on the road-system. It is exactly in the vicinity of such centres that Neerharen-Rekem is situated.

107 It is important to note that until present, large-scale excavations of such late Roman rural sites are scarce. Where this occurred however – e.g. in the Germanic villages of Holtum and Gennepe (The Netherlands), like Neerharen-Rekem both situated in the Meuse Valley – an equally large amount of late Roman bronze coins came to light. Future excavations and research should make clear if this presence of coins should be seen as a sort of ‘standard’ rather than an exception.

along the Meuse: products were exchanged between the villagers and people passing by along the Meuse and bronze coins were used as currency during these transactions¹⁰⁸. Taking into account the large amount of bronze coins being available in the area and the possibility to produce tradeable goods at the late Roman village, this seems a reasonable assumption. Aarts proposes a similar explanation for the bronze coin movements to the Batavian hinterland in the 1st century AD, whereby Batavian farmers could have supplied horses, meat and hides to the army markets in exchange for coins¹⁰⁹.

However, the presence of the coins at Neerharen-Rekem can be explained in another way. As mentioned above, the residents of the village were possibly closely linked to the military structures in the area. Considering the increasing presence of Germanic elements in the Roman army, it is quite possible that the settlement at Neerharen-Rekem was occupied by soldiers and/or veterans and their families (*cf. supra*: archaeological context). When we accept that coins circulated widely within the late Roman army, it is possible that the coins were just brought home by their inhabitants, after a military campaign or a certain time of service at the nearby forts. A similar hypothesis was also mentioned by Aarts in his article on the 1st-century Batavian hinterland: “[...] Batavian units were, at least in the beginning, led by Batavian officers and were stationed in their own territory until AD 43 [...]. This meant that there was ample opportunity before this date to visit their own homes on a frequent basis. On these visits they [...] brought home the part of their wages they had not already spent [...]”¹¹⁰ Regardless of the fact which explanation needs to be preferred or the two should be combined, it is important to stress the fact that the presence of such high numbers of bronze coins at a rural site as Neerharen-Rekem, seems to be the consequence of its vicinity to monetarized military and urban contexts.

4.2 The use of the coins at the Late Roman village

Now that the context within which the bronze coins possibly reached the settlement of Neerharen-Rekem is reconstructed, a second question needs to be answered: what function did the coins fulfill at this Germanic village?

Coin finds convincingly show that the Germanic populations who invaded the Roman Empire were familiar with the different Roman coin issues¹¹¹. From the Augustan era on until the late 5th or 6th century, Roman coins flowed into the Barbaricum in large numbers and with varying intensity, depending on the period and area of destination. Silver and gold reached the areas

across the Rhine and Danube frontiers for political reasons, e.g. as tribute or diplomatic gifts, while the influx of bronze coins was possibly regulated by exchange of an economic nature, i.e. as payments for goods or services¹¹². In particular, the flow of gold coins and medallions became increasingly important during the late Roman period, as an act of Roman diplomacy to ensure peace in the frontier areas¹¹³. While the Roman Empire used coinage in a variety of ways, its role changed radically once it reached the Barbarian hinterland. Because of the absence of any standard values or monetary practices, the coins became a symbol of personal wealth and were thus converted into jewelry. Furthermore, they often served a ideological purpose, were used as stock for scrap metal, or were abandoned in the form of hoards, grave goods or offerings¹¹⁴. As A. Bursche states:

“There was no uniform function of Roman coinage in northern Europe. Its role was that of symbol or sign in social communication of a heterogeneous meaning. The Barbarian societies of Late Antiquity lacked clear dividing lines separating the economic from the social, political or symbolic function of coins.”¹¹⁵

According to some, the presence of 4th-century coins at Germanic villages within the borders of the Roman Empire, like Neerharen-Rekem, shows that the Germanic inhabitants were well integrated into the Roman monetary system and that the coins were used here as all-purpose money¹¹⁶. Before we can evaluate this statement, it is necessary to take a detailed look at the precise spatial and chronological distribution of the coin finds. As discussed above, two distinct assemblages of coins could be distinguished: a first assemblage of 380 coins found dispersed across the Meuse bank and a second assemblage of 74 coins in the western zone of the site. Such a spreading, concentrated rather than scattered around the site, seems to correspond more to hoards¹¹⁷ rather than to regular site finds. When we furthermore compare the chronological distribution of the two assemblages with other late Roman deposits, the similarity is striking.

Figure 15 compares the two assemblages of coins at Neerharen-Rekem with the hoards of Boulogne-sur-Mer¹¹⁸, Haarlemmermeer¹¹⁹, Hapert¹²⁰, Helchteren¹²¹ and Lierre¹²². These are part of a group of so-called ‘Theodosian’ hoards which are numerous in northwestern Europe and are characterized by a large proportion of aes 4 issued between 388 and 402¹²³. They are supposed to be buried during the last years of the 4th century or the first years of the 5th century¹²⁴, and are basically interpreted as being buried and not recovered due to the threat of German invasions¹²⁵ or as being disposed of because of being worthless, i.e. without a fixed value as the Roman monetary system collapsed¹²⁶. Only the Haarlemmermeer hoard has a well-defined context, and was

¹⁰⁸ De Boe 1983b, 72; De Boe 1986b, 104-105.

¹⁰⁹ Aarts 2003, 173-174.

¹¹⁰ Aarts 2003, 170.

¹¹¹ See e.g. Berger 1992 and Bursche *et al.* (eds) 2008.

¹¹² For a possible monetary use of Roman coins in the Barbaricum, see Berger 2008, 108-110.

¹¹³ Berger 1992; Berger 1996, 59-61; Bursche 1986, 279-287; Bursche 1996; Bursche 2002, 123-125; Bursche 2006, 221-227; Depeyrot 1996, 129-131.

¹¹⁴ Bursche 2002, 125-132; Bursche 2008, 396-408.

¹¹⁵ Bursche 2008, 408.

¹¹⁶ Heidinga & Offenbergh 1992, 119-120; Van Es 1991, 22.

¹¹⁷ In this article, the term ‘hoard’ is used for a deposit of bronze coins, intentionally buried together. For a discussion about the use of this term, see Aubin 2007.

¹¹⁸ Delmaire 1983.

¹¹⁹ Evers 1966; Streefkerk 1995.

¹²⁰ Evers 1952; Evers 1969/1970.

¹²¹ Lallemand 1961.

¹²² Lallemand 1965a; 1968.

¹²³ An overview of those Theodosian hoards is given by Delmaire 1983, 133-135. More recently, similar concentrations came e.g. to light at Tongeren (van Heesch 1992). In Britain, new important Theodosian hoards were e.g. discovered at the

Thames foreshore in London (Bland & Burnett 1987, 201-204), at Bishop Cannings (Orna-Ornstein & Bland 1997, 426-462), at the Isle of Wight (Abdy *et al.* 2009, 339-343), at Ketton (Abdy *et al.* 2009, 347-353) and at Canterbury (Moorhead *et al. forthcoming*).

¹²⁴ Delmaire 1983, 172-176; Lallemand 1961, 56-61; Lallemand 1965a, 67-70; Lallemand 1968, 28-35.

¹²⁵ *Cf.* Kropff 2007 for the late 3rd century.

¹²⁶ Moorhead 2006, 105.

Comparison of Theodosian hoards
Percentage of coins per period

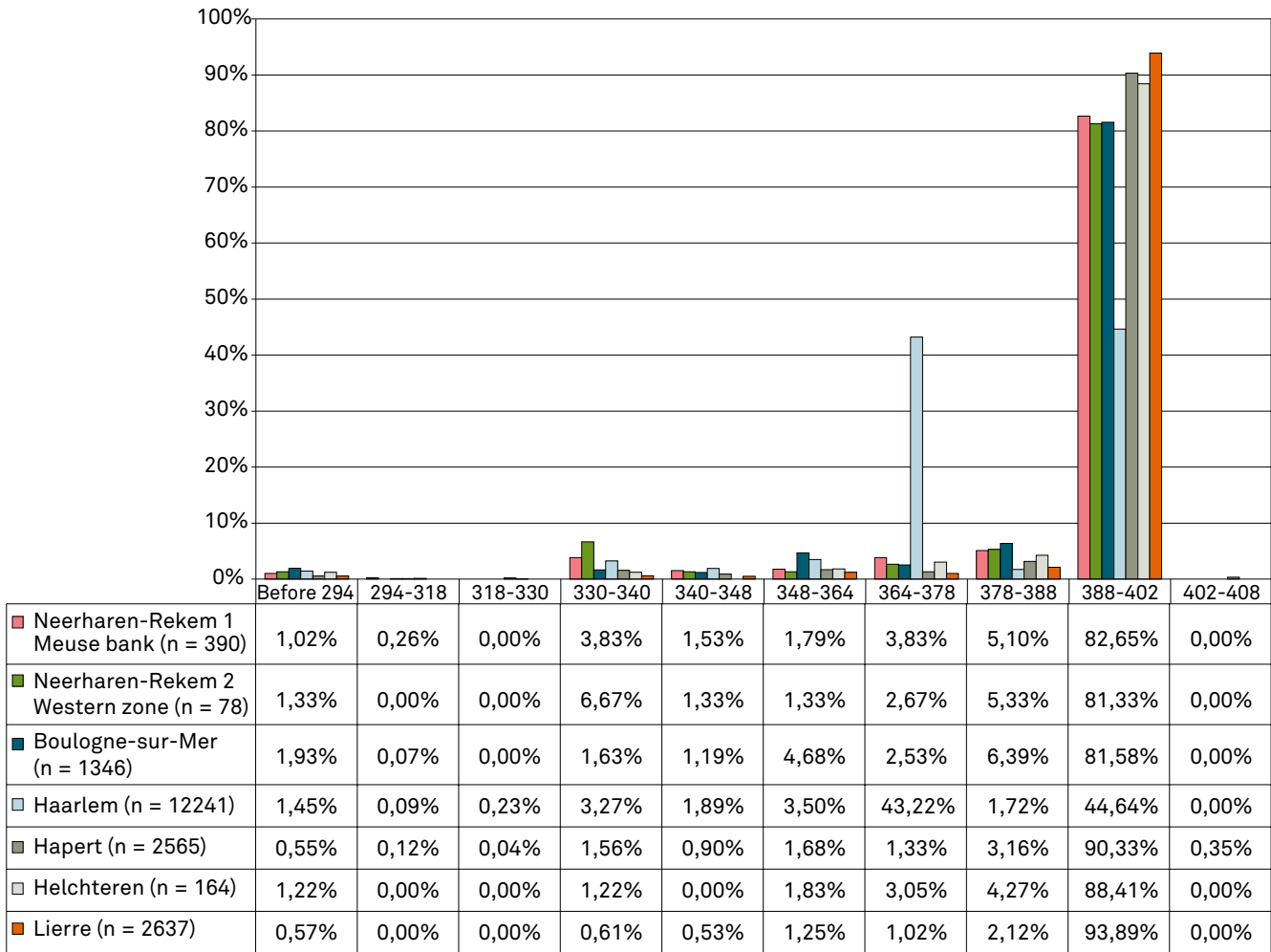


FIG. 15 Percentage of coins per period for the ‘Theodosian’ hoards from Neerharen-Rekem, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Haarlemmermeer, Hapert, Helchteren and Lierre. (Data for Boulogne-sur-Mer, Haarlemmermeer, Hapert, Helchteren and Lierre are respectively taken from Delmaire 1983; Evers 1966; Evers 1952; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a and 1968.)

Percentage van het aantal munten per periode voor de ‘Theodosiaanse’ muntschatten uit Neerharen-Rekem, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Haarlemmermeer, Hapert, Helchteren en Lierre. (De data voor Boulogne-sur-Mer, Haarlemmermeer, Hapert, Helchteren en Lierre werden respectievelijk overgenomen uit Delmaire 1983; Evers 1966; Evers 1952; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a en 1968.)

found in a sunken ship coming from England¹²⁷. Both the Theodosian deposits as the assemblages at Neerharen-Rekem are characterized by small amount of coins issued before 294, an almost complete absence of coins dating to 294-330, rather small percentages of coins dating to different periods between 330 and 388 and a huge peak in pieces produced between 388-402. The only exception is the Haarlemmermeer hoard, which shows a peak of 43,22% during the period 364-378 and a smaller percentage of coins (44,64%), issued between 388 and 402.

Both the spatial and the chronological distribution of the two large assemblages at Neerharen-Rekem lead to the conclusion that the coins can no longer be seen as individual finds, but

rather as hoards. The somewhat outstretched distribution of the coins along the Meuse, spread over an area of ca. 275 m², can either be explained by the presence of more than one deposit or by post-depositional processes as a result of floods or movements of the Meuse arm. However, apart from the two obvious concentrations, the rest of the 39 site finds, previously described as assemblage 3, show an equal peak during the period 388-402, be it less excessive (58% in stead of 82%). In case of the stray finds, this could be eventually explained as being former components of the hoards, which became dispersed around the site by time. The pieces found in a clear context can not, however, be interpreted in this way, and will be examined in more detail later in this article.

¹²⁷ Streefkerk 1995.

Assuming that the two large coin assemblages at Neerharen-Rekem were deposited intentionally, an explanation needs to be sought for the collection and burial of these coins. First of all, it is interesting to consider the meaning of the many Roman coin deposits found in the Germanic hinterland itself¹²⁸. As mentioned above, Roman coins in the Barbaricum served a symbolic function rather than – or maybe besides¹²⁹ – a purely monetary one. According to Bursche, coin hoards may have been “a special category of personal belongings”, and were deposited for apotropaic reasons, “to carry their owner’s power (mana) into the afterlife, in the same way as grave goods accompanying the deceased in death”¹³⁰. Sometimes, they were buried together with other metal objects, like military equipment or jewelry, which could be broken, folded or cut up¹³¹. For similar reasons relating to the hereafter, coins may have been deposited into lakes, springs, wells or rivers¹³².

Another form of non-monetary use of Roman coins by Germanic inhabitants of the Empire is proposed by F. Kemmers, based on the coin finds at the Germanic village at Holtum (*cf. supra*: the coin finds), dating to the late 4th and beginning of the 5th century. As at Neerharen-Rekem, the 632 Roman coins at Holtum were found in a number of clusters, often in association with incomplete or cut up metal objects. Kemmers concludes that at Holtum the late Roman bronze coins were rather used as a source of metal than as currency. In her view the coins were melted down together with the other metal objects for either economical or ideological reasons. The presence of little drops of molten bronze and two half molten 4th-century coins, delivered supplementary evidence for such practices¹³³. In the case of Neerharen-Rekem, the presence of bronze recipients is mentioned both for the coin assemblages along the Meuse bank and in the western zone. Unfortunately, these finds were not mentioned in the publications and could not be traced at the depot. The potential of this theory for the coins found at Neerharen-Rekem could therefore not be tested, but should nevertheless be kept in mind, certainly if one takes into account the possible use of one of the *Grubenhäuser* by a blacksmith (*cf. supra*: archaeological context)¹³⁴.

However, the specific meaning and function of the coin hoards cannot be analyzed without taking into account the broader historical and monetary context, as outlined above. There is no doubt that coins were widely circulating and used in the military zone of Neerharen-Rekem, as shown by the finds from Maas-tricht and Tongeren (*cf. supra*: the provenance of the coins). In contrast to the situation in the Germanic hinterland, the late Roman Empire was characterized by a highly monetarized society where the value of the money was fixed and was guaranteed by the government. Presumably, the Germanic inhabitants of the village not only received money from soldiers, merchants or

other passers-by in exchange for certain goods, but also used it to buy something in return. Despite the fact that the coins possibly weren’t used as currency for transactions in the village itself¹³⁵, they could be used for external exchange. One can imagine that the villagers gathered the bronze coins they received, from trade or as part of their soldier’s wage, and put them aside pending the next occasion in which they could be used. If this was the case, the clusters of coins at Neerharen-Rekem could possibly be interpreted as saving hoards. The bronze coins then kept their function as small change, even for the Germanic inhabitants of the village, who safely stored the coins and used them for transactions if the opportunity arose¹³⁶.

If we accept this possible interpretation of the coin finds, this means that the Germanic inhabitants of Neerharen-Rekem were indeed integrated in the late Roman monetary system, at least in those cases where they came into contact with it and they had the opportunity to receive and use coins for their own advantage, like in regions with a strongly militarized and urbanized character. However it is possible that the coin assemblages found at Neerharen-Rekem consist of saving hoards, we can never completely rule out the possibility of more symbolic depositions. Though, if this was the case, it is extremely important to keep in mind that a symbolic hoarding or offering of coins only represents their final use and says nothing about possible former functions. The coins could have been used in many other, monetary ways before they reached their final destination, depending on the broader context and possibilities.

4.3 A question of chronology

A final important question that needs to be tackled, is that of the precise dating and chronology of the coin use on the late Roman site at Neerharen-Rekem. As mentioned above, the archaeological structures and material suggest an occupation of the site between ca. 360/370 and the beginning of the 5th century. The coins found at the site were used as an important dating criterion. The abundant *VICTORIA AVGGG* and *SALVS REIPVBLICAE* pieces, which represent more than 80% of the total number of coins found at Neerharen-Rekem, were issued between 388 and 402 and were the last Roman bronze coins to reach Gaul. The coins were minted by the emperors Valentinianus II (371-392), Theodosius I (379-394), Arcadius (383-408), the usurper Eugenius (392-394) and Honorius (393-423). However, no coins of this series were issued by the usurper Magnus Maximus (383-388), so the date of his defeat by Theodosius I at the battle of the Save in 388 is regarded as the *terminus post quem* for both groups of bronzes. The same reasoning applies for establishing the *terminus ante quem*. In 402 Theodosius II was appointed Augustus over the eastern part of the Roman Empire. From this moment

¹²⁸ For a list of hoards, see Bursche 1996, 84-90.

¹²⁹ Berger 2008, 108-110.

¹³⁰ Bursche 2008, 403.

¹³¹ Bursche 2002, 130; Bursche 2008, 403-404.

¹³² Bursche 2004, 307-312. For a list of all river finds in the Barbaricum, see Bursche 2004, 314-316; Bursche 2008, 405.

¹³³ Kemmers *forthcoming a-c*.

¹³⁴ Van der Vin proposes a similar explanation for the antoniniani, nummi and aes 4 coins found at the Frisian site of Wijncaldum, in some cases

belonging to contexts dating to the 6th, 7th or even 9th century: “However, the antoniniani and folles finds, two lightweight coin types of poor-quality copper are more problematical. What the Frisians saw in these remains a mystery. The suggestion of the excavators who discovered several of these coins together with some other broze fragments in the vicinity of a bronzeworking workshop, may perhaps provide some indication: these coins and fragments were only looked on as raw material and were intended for smelting. The relatively large number

of fragments and halved specimens may also point in this direction.” (Van der Vin 1999, 187.)

¹³⁵ If this was the case, one could presume that more coins were found in association with the other late Roman archaeological structures at the site.

¹³⁶ *Cf.* Delmaire 1995, 24-25 and Kropff 2007, 82-86, who both suggest similar interpretations of 3rd-century coin hoards as being ‘personal banks’, and which “represent the business transacted in a market stall over a couple of days” (Kropff 2007, 84).

on, an aes 3 bronze coin with the legend *VRBS ROMA FELIX* was issued at the mint of Rome in the name of the emperors Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius II. Because none of the known *VICTORIA AVGGG* and *SALVS REIPUBLICAE* coins bear the name of Theodosius II, we assume that this type of bronze was abandoned with the proclamation of this latter emperor in 402 and was replaced by the *VRBS ROMA FELIX* series. This reasoning establishes the date of our most important aes 4 coin series between 388 and 402¹³⁷.

This production time span however, does not necessarily correspond to the circulation time of the coins. This interruption of the production of aes 4 and the simultaneous end of the bronze supply to northern Gaul, could be explained in several ways. The troubled political situation during the beginning of the 5th century, plagued by many invasions and usurpations, probably led to the disintegration of Roman economical and fiscal customs. The levies of taxes fell apart, which certainly affected the monetary system and supply. Keeping in mind the context in which coins circulated at Neerharen-Rekem as described above, another possible explanation for the interrupted bronze circulation comes to mind. As mentioned earlier, many of the fortifications in the hinterland were abandoned and only sporadically occupied from the reign of Valentinian I (364-375) on, due to a reorientation to the defence of the Rhine *limes* itself¹³⁸. During the years 401/402, Stilicho withdrew large sections of the troops stationed at the northern *limes*, who were instead transferred to the defence of the Italian heartland¹³⁹. Perhaps, with the departures of military troops from northern Gaul, an important group of receivers and users of small change disappeared. On the other hand, it is equally possible that the number of bronze coins in circulation was sufficient for the functions it had to fulfill¹⁴⁰. If we accept that the bronze coins were still used by the German inhabitants at Neerharen-Rekem for monetary functions as described above, how long did this system last? Is it possible that those coins were still used as small change well into the 5th century? Two different aspects can be analysed to determine the possible circulation span of the coins: firstly, the precise composition of the coin assemblages/hoards, and secondly, the chronology of the other archaeological material found in association with the coins.

4.3.1 The composition of the coin assemblages

The dating of the so-called 'Theodosian' hoards is a very difficult and complex matter. Most of those concentrations have a mass of aes 4 issued between 388 and 402 as *terminus post quem*. In northern Gaul, only the hoard of Hapert contains a bronze coin of the type *CONCORDIA AVGG* issued at Constantinople between 402 and 408 and consequently has a slightly more recent closing date. The burial date of the coin hoards at Neerharen-Rekem can therefore only be estimated in comparison with other concentrations, on the basis of criteria set out by Lallemand¹⁴¹

and Delmaire¹⁴². Using several criteria, Delmaire distinguished two groups of hoards: a first, older group consisting of the hoards of Bermondsey, Cirencester, Haarlemmermeer, Kiddington, Stretham, Weymouth and Woodbridge and a second, more recent group containing the hoards of Boulogne, Hapert, Laxton, Lierre, Nobottle, Icklingham, Helchteren and Trier. The hoard of Boulogne is considered as being the most recent one, buried between 410 and 420¹⁴³. To estimate the burial date of the deposits at Neerharen-Rekem, a few of its characteristics will be compared to Delmaire's groups and in more detail to the hoards already described above, namely those of Lierre, Helchteren, Hapert, Haarlemmermeer and Boulogne-sur-Mer.

The first indication used by Lallemand to date the coin hoards, is the proportion between the *VICTORIA AVGGG* and *SALVS REIPUBLICAE* coins. Because the production of the Gallic *victoria* coins ceased somewhat earlier, possibly in 397-398¹⁴⁴, Lallemand assumes that the proportion of the number of *salus* coins should rise after 395. However, Delmaire states rightly that there are some problems with the use of this criterion. First of all, the time span between the end of the production of the *victoria* coins and the *salus* coins is only 7 or 8 years. Secondly, the mint at Aquileia probably ceased its production shortly after 395¹⁴⁵, at the same time as the mints at Trier, Lyons and Arles. Thirdly, a smaller or larger amount of Italic aes 4 may be dependent on the relation between regions, rather than having a chronological meaning: better contacts with the Italic peninsula would logically result in larger amounts of *salus* coins. This is shown by the fact that some 'older' deposits, like the one from Haarlemmermeer, contain a larger proportion of *salus* bronzes than the more recent concentrations of Boulogne and Hapert (table 1)¹⁴⁶. As these cases show, we need to keep in mind that mint activity or output does not always equal to the coin supply to a certain region in a certain period and vice versa, but that other factors can play their part. For Neerharen-Rekem, the first assemblage of coins contains a rather high percentage of *salus* pieces, with a percentage of 32,09% of the total, while the proportion of those coins is very low for assemblage 2 and reaches only 22,95%. However, in view of the difficulties described above, we can not attach much importance to those figures.

A second and more valuable criterion comprises the proportion of coins of Honorius, both in comparison to the coins issued by Arcadius and the whole of the Theodosian 'dynasty', formed by Valentinian II, Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius. While the issue of aes 4 of Valentinian II and Theodosius is situated respectively between 388-392 and 388-395, the production of coins by Arcadius declined sharply after 397 in the western mints, due to his quarrel with Honorius. Honorius himself starts issuing coins from 394 on; this means that the more the percentage of coins from Honorius rises, the later the date of the deposits after 394¹⁴⁷. In comparison to the other hoards, both coin assemblages

¹³⁷ See Carson *et al.* 1960 and Kent 1994 for the precise chronology of these coins.

¹³⁸ Brulet 1995, 112-113; Brulet 2006b, 55-56, 61; Le Bohec 2006, 155.

¹³⁹ Oldenstein 2006, 49. Some fortifications along the Rhine *limes* however show a continuity of occupation well into the 5th century, like e.g. Krefeld-Gellep and Alzey (Brulet 2006b, 55-56).

¹⁴⁰ Delmaire 1983, 172; Doyen 2007, 340.

¹⁴¹ Lallemand 1965a, 67-70; Lallemand 1968, 28-35.

¹⁴² Delmaire 1983, 172-176.

¹⁴³ Delmaire 1983, 176.

¹⁴⁴ Delmaire 1983, 162; Gricourt *et al.* 2009, 703.

According to Bastien and Kent however, the Gallic mints cease their production already in 395 AD

(Bastien 1987, 70, 245; Kent 1994, 329-330.). In its turn, Depeyrot considers that both the mints of Lyons and Arles continued to strike limited amounts of aes 4 up until 402 AD (Depeyrot 2001, 160, 163; Doyen 2007, 340).

¹⁴⁵ Delmaire 1983, 166.

¹⁴⁶ Delmaire 1983, 172-173.

¹⁴⁷ Delmaire 1983, 173.

TABLE I

Number and percentage of VICTORIA AVGGG and SALVS REIPUBLICAE coins (388-402) for the different coin hoards. (Data are taken from Delmaire 1983, table 33 and from the catalogues from Delmaire 1983; Evers 1952; Evers 1966; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a and Lallemand 1968.)

Absolute aantal en percentage van het aantal VICTORIA AVGGG en SALVS REIPUBLICAE munten (388-402) voor de verschillende munt-schatten. (De data werden overgenomen uit Delmaire 1983, tabel 33 en uit de catalogi van Delmaire 1983; Evers 1952; Evers 1966; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a en Lallemand 1968.)

Comparison of coin hoards					
Ratio of VICTORIA AVGGG & SALVS REIPUBLICAE coins					
	Victoria auggg		Salus reipublicae		Total (VA + SR)
	Number of coins	Percentage	Number of coins	Percentage	
Neerharen-Rekem 1	218	67,91%	103	32,09%	321
Neerharen-Rekem 2	47	77,05%	14	22,95%	61
Group 1					
Haarlem	3425	67,08%	1681	32,92%	5106
Bermondsey	164	67,49%	79	32,51%	243
Cirencester	328	69,49%	144	30,51%	472
Kiddington	508	59,91%	340	40,09%	848
Stretham	363	58,45%	258	41,55%	621
Weymouth	2095	58,54%	1484	41,46%	3579
Woodbridge	321	69,03%	144	30,97%	465
Group 2					
Boulogne	726	68,95%	327	31,05%	1053
Hapert	1382	74,22%	480	25,78%	1862
Helchteren	98	74,81%	33	25,19%	131
Lier	1443	59,43%	985	40,57%	2428
Icklingham	541	62,83%	320	37,17%	861
Laxton	169	62,83%	100	37,17%	269
Nobottle	317	61,32%	200	38,68%	517
Trier	82	63,57%	47	36,43%	129

at Neerharen-Rekem fall somewhere in between the 'older' and 'later' group as regards to the ratio Honorius / Arcadius (table 2). Concerning the ratio Honorius / Theodosian dynasty, they show more similarities to the first 'older' group of deposits.

The third tool to estimate the burial date of the hoards, is the ratio between the *SALVS REIPUBLICAE* coins from Aquileia on the one hand and Rome on the other. As the mint of Rome continued issuing coins up until 402¹⁴⁸ while the mint at Aquileia ceased its production shortly after 395¹⁴⁹, the proportion of coins from Rome must be higher for the more recent deposits. Both assemblages from Neerharen-Rekem contain a very high percentage of coins from Rome, with respectively 80,00% and 85,71%, and would therefore fall within the more recent group according to this criterion (table 3). However, some remarks should be made. First of all, the number of *salus* coins which could be attributed with any certainty to Rome or Aquileia is very low for both assemblages at Neerharen-Rekem: for assemblage 1, 4 coins were identified as issued in Aquileia and 16 as issued in Rome, while the mint of 83 pieces could not be identified. For assemblage 2, the 85,71% of coins from Rome

corresponds to only 6 coins, while for 67 pieces the mint could not be identified. Secondly, Delmaire draws attention to the fact that the coins from Aquileia are larger and of a better quality, and are therefore easier to identify. Thirdly, the ratios from both groups are not clearly distinct: the 'older' Haarlemmermeer hoard has 71,50% of its *salus* coins minted in Rome, while the more recent concentration from Helchteren and Hapert contain respectively only 55,56% and 62,21% from Rome. Only the hoards of Lierre and Neerharen-Rekem show a clearly aberrant percentage, with respectively considerably more coins from Rome. Within this context, it is relevant to mention the theory proposed by J.-M. Doyen. Based on the chronological coin distribution from some late Roman sites of the *Provincia Belgica Secunda*, Doyen states that a high proportion of coins from Aquileia, rather than from Rome, suggest a later date. This was due to a system of bronze supply during the 5th century. Italian bankers, located in the surroundings of Aquileia, shipped large quantities of aes 4, which were no longer preferred in the Italian peninsula, to northern Gaul, where as such enough small change was available to keep the small-scale going¹⁵⁰. Even though this theory still needs some further

¹⁴⁸ Gricourt *et al.* 2009, 703.

¹⁴⁹ Delmaire 1983, 166. According to Kent how-

ever, the production of *SALVS REIPUBLICAE* coins continued until 402 at Aquileia (Kent 1994,

322).

¹⁵⁰ Doyen 2011, 364-366; Doyen *forthcoming a-b.*

TABLE 2

Number and percentage of coins (388-402) issued by Valentinian II, Theodosian I, Arcadius, Eugenius and Honorius and ratio of the coins issued by Honorius compared to the coins issued by Arcadius and issued by the Theodosian dynasty, for the different coin hoards. (Data are taken from Delmaire 1983, table 33 and from the catalogues from Delmaire 1983; Evers 1952; Evers 1966; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a and Lallemand 1968.)

Absolute aantal en percentage van de munten (388-402) geslagen tijdens de regering van keizer Valentinianus II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Eugenius en Honorius en verhouding van het aantal munten geslagen onder Honorius in vergelijking met het aantal munten geslagen onder Arcadius en onder de gehele Theodosiaanse dynastie, voor de verschillende muntschatten. (De data werden overgenomen uit Delmaire 1983, tabel 33 en uit de catalogi van Delmaire 1983; Evers 1952; Evers 1966; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a en Lallemand 1968.)

Comparison of coin hoards													
Ratio of coins issued by Honorius													
	Valentinian II		Theodosius		Arcadius		Eugenius		Honorius		Total	"Ratio Honorius / Theodosian dynasty"	
	Number of coins	Percentage	Number of coins	Percentage	Number of coins	Percentage	Number of coins	Percentage	Number of coins	Percentage			
Neerharen-Rekem 1	17	12,41%	18	13,14%	73	53,28%	2	1,46%	27	19,71%	137	36,99%	20,00%
Neerharen-Rekem 2	7	22,58%	8	25,81%	11	35,48%	1	3,23%	4	12,90%	31	36,36%	13,33%
Group 1													
Haarlem	268	10,32%	411	15,82%	1511	58,16%	19	0,73%	389	14,97%	2598	25,74%	15,08%
Bermondsey	13	22,03%	8	13,56%	30	50,85%	0	0,00%	8	13,56%	59	26,67%	13,56%
Cirencester	22	15,28%	14	9,72%	85	59,03%	1	0,69%	22	15,28%	144	25,88%	15,38%
Kiddington	60	14,67%	84	20,54%	196	47,92%	2	0,49%	67	16,38%	409	34,18%	16,46%
Stretham	42	17,00%	48	19,43%	130	52,63%	0	0,00%	27	10,93%	247	20,77%	10,93%
Weymouth	246	12,85%	326	17,02%	947	49,45%	16	0,84%	380	19,84%	1915	40,13%	20,01%
Woodbridge	26	11,30%	48	20,87%	116	50,43%	0	0,00%	40	17,39%	230	34,48%	17,39%
Group 2													
Boulogne	69	10,47%	94	14,26%	338	51,29%	9	1,37%	149	22,61%	659	44,08%	22,92%
Hapert	59	9,19%	99	15,42%	339	52,80%	5	0,78%	140	21,81%	642	41,30%	21,98%
Helchteren	10	19,23%	5	9,62%	23	44,23%	0	0,00%	14	26,92%	52	60,87%	26,92%
Lier	121	9,65%	183	14,59%	621	49,52%	15	1,20%	314	25,04%	1254	50,56%	25,34%
Icklingham	50	11,55%	72	16,63%	231	53,35%	4	0,92%	76	17,55%	433	32,90%	17,72%
Laxton	15	9,20%	22	13,50%	69	42,33%	7	4,29%	50	30,67%	163	72,46%	32,55%
Nobottle	42	14,43%	48	16,49%	131	45,02%	2	0,69%	68	23,37%	291	51,91%	25,53%
Trier	24	18,60%	32	24,81%	45	34,88%	0	0,00%	28	21,71%	129	62,22%	21,71%

TABLE 3

Number and percentage of SALVS REIPUBLICAE coins (388-402) produced at the mints of Aquileia, Rome and the eastern mints for the different coin hoards. (Data are taken from Delmaire 1983, table 33 and from the catalogues from Delmaire 1983; Evers 1952; Evers 1966; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a and Lallemand 1968.)

Absolute aantal en percentage van de SALVS REIPUBLICAE munten (388-402) geslagen te Aquileia, Rome en in de oostelijke ateliers voor de verschillende muntschatten. (De data werden overgenomen uit Delmaire 1983, tabel 33 en uit de catalogi van Delmaire 1983; Evers 1952; Evers 1966; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a en Lallemand 1968.)

Comparison of coin hoards							
Ratio of SALVS REIPUBLICAE coins issued at the mints of Rome & Aquileia							
	Rome		Aquileia		Eastern mints		Total
	Number of coins	Percentage	Number of coins	Percentage	Number of coins	Percentage	
Neerharen-Rekem 1	16	80,00%	4	20,00%	0	0,00%	20
Neerharen-Rekem 2	6	85,71%	0	0,00%	1	14,29%	7
Group 1							
Haarlem	586	71,81%	223	27,33%	7	0,86%	816
Bermondsey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cirencester	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kiddington	-	51,76%	-	45,88%	-	-	-
Stretham	-	65,29%	-	33,88%	-	-	-
Weymouth	-	71,33%	-	26,94%	-	-	-
Woodbridge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Group 2							
Boulogne	151	74,38%	46	22,66%	6	2,96%	203
Hapert	107	62,21%	62	36,05%	3	1,74%	172
Helchteren	5	55,56%	2	22,22%	2	22,22%	9
Lier	311	86,63%	44	12,26%	4	1,11%	359
Icklingham	-	72,16%	-	27,84%	-	-	-
Laxton	-	82,00%	-	18,00%	-	-	-
Nobottle	-	63,01%	-	32,88%	-	-	-
Trier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

research, it is important to keep in mind that this dating criterion can be easily reversed. Finally, one of the objections against the first tool, namely the proportion between *victoria* and *salus* coins, can be repeated here. Possibly, the proportion of mints is more a case of links between different regions than it is a chronological matter related to mint activity¹⁵¹. Those links, which can be of different economic or political kinds, can furthermore change through time. In this way, the proportion of coins could represent a rather random distribution.

The fourth characteristic used by Delmaire to date the coin hoards, is the proportion between coins from Trier with the reverse legend split up *VICTORI-A AVGGG* on the one hand, issued mainly before 395, and *VICTOR-IA AVGGG* on the other, minted both before and after 395. Again, the larger the proportion of *VICTOR-IA AVGGG* coins, the later the deposit can be dated after 395. According to this tool, the first assemblage from Neerharen-Rekem seems to be an older deposit, with none of its coins bearing the *VICTOR-IA AVGGG* leg-

end, while this group forms 50% of the coins of the second, and therefore more recent assemblage (table 4). Again, we need to take into account the very low amount of coins on which those percentages are based on the one hand, and the fact that there is no clear division between the older and more recent group of hoards on the other: for example, both the concentrations of Helchteren and Lierre show a relatively small ratio of *VICTOR-IA AVGGG* coins in comparison to the 'older' hoard from Haarlemmermeer.

The fifth criterion consists of the ratio of some types of coins certainly issued after 395, being *victoria* coins from Trier with reverse legend *VICTORIA AVGG*, bronzes from Lyons with the mintmark V / / LVGP, issues from Arles and Lyons with split obverse legends for Arcadius and Honorius and *salus* coins with the obverse legends *HONO-RI*, *ARCA-DI* or *HONOR-IVS*. Regarding this criterion, assemblage 1 represents a rather high percentage of 5,25%, while assemblage 2 yielded no coin with those characteristics (table 5).

¹⁵¹ This is e.g. the case for the nearby sites of Vireux, Matagne-la-Grande and Dourbes, where the percentages of coins from Arles greatly differ and depend on whether or not the site is situated within the borders of the province *Belgica II*. (Doyen 2009, 73-74; personal communication Jean-Marc Doyen).

TABLE 4

Number and percentage of coins from Trier (388-402) with the reverse legend split up VICTORI-A AVGGG and VICTOR-IA AVGGG for the different coin hoards. (Data are taken from Delmaire 1983, 158 and from the catalogues from Delmaire 1983; Evers 1952; Evers 1966; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a and Lallemand 1968.)

Absolute aantal en percentage van de munten van het atelier van Trier (388-402) met keerzijde-legenden VICTORI-A AVGGG en VICTOR-IA AVGGG, voor de verschillende muntschatten. (De data werden overgenomen uit Delmaire 1983, 158 en uit de catalogi van Delmaire 1983; Evers 1952; Evers 1966; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a en Lallemand 1968.)

Comparison of coin hoards					
Ratio between the coins from Trier with the reverse legend split up VICTORI-A AVGGG & VICTOR-IA AVGGG					
	VICTOR-IA		VICTORI-A		"Total (VICTOR-IA + VICTORI-A)"
	Number of coins	Percentage	Number of coins	Percentage	
Neerharen-Rekem 1	0	0,00%	5	100,00%	5
Neerharen-Rekem 2	1	50,00%	1	50,00%	2
Group 1					
Haarlem	26	50,98%	25	49,02%	51
Bermondsey	-	-	-	-	0
Cirencester	-	-	-	-	-
Kiddington	-	-	-	-	-
Stretham	0	0,00%	7	100,00%	7
Weymouth	-	-	-	-	-
Woodbridge	-	-	-	-	-
Group 2					
Boulogne	29	64,44%	16	35,56%	45
Hapert	31	93,94%	2	6,06%	33
Helchteren	1	20,00%	4	80,00%	5
Lier	8	36,36%	14	63,64%	22
Icklingham	7	36,84%	12	63,16%	19
Laxton	-	-	-	-	-
Nobottle	-	-	-	-	-
Trier	-	-	-	-	-

Finally, Delmaire takes the percentage of cut up coins as a last tool for dating the coin hoards. The author states that the cutting up of 4th-century coins begins only after the law of 395¹⁵², that commands the withdrawal of the *pecunia maiorina* (aes 2) and leaves the *centenionalis* (aes 3 and aes 4) as the only valid bronze coin in circulation. According to Delmaire, this law, which applied only to Italy, Illyria and Africa, was also applied in the western provinces of the Empire. Because of the closure of all the occidental mints but Rome, bronze coins became scarce and moreover, Roman citizens couldn't bring their old large *pecunia maiorina* to the mints anymore, in order to exchange them for smaller aes 4. Therefore, they cut up their coins to the valid size, so they could still be used. According to Delmaire, this practice was rather exceptional until 410 and reaches its peak between 410 and 450¹⁵³. From that moment on, even aes 4 coins were cut up in order to augment the available stock of small change, which

decreased steadily after 402. At Neerharen-Rekem, both coin assemblages include high percentages of cut up coins, respectively 3,90% and 3,96% (table 6)¹⁵⁴. Those percentages surpass all other analyzed deposits, both from the older and the more recent group. They rather resemble the percentages attested at Saint-Rémy II and Viminacium which contain respectively 3,55 and 5,81% of cut coins and have a *terminus post quem* of 423 and 425/430¹⁵⁵. Moreover, both coin assemblages contain a fairly high number of cut up *victoria* and *salus* coins: 8 pieces or 2,78% of the coins issued between 388 and 402 for assemblage 1 and 5 coins or 6,56% for assemblage 2. This equally surpasses by a long way the percentages of Boulogne-sur-Mer and Lierre, which respectively contained 0,64% and 0,77% of cut coins for the period 388-402. Yet, as well for this tool, some comments need to be made. Depeyrot mentions rightly that the distinction between intentionally fragmented coins and pieces which were accidentally

¹⁵² *Codex Theodosianus* 9, 23, 2.

¹⁵³ According to Gricourt *et al.* there is no direct link between the law of 395 and the cutting of coins. The precise effect of the law of 395 can not be estimated with any certainty, especially not in Gaul where the law in first instance wasn't of a manda-

tory nature and were the invasions of 406/407 led to serious unrest and administrative disintegration. The fragmenting of coins is rather the direct response to the shortage of bronze coins after the western mints closed their doors. This corresponds to the presence of large cut coins in the occupation

layers dating the 430s at Bliesbruck. (Gricourt *et al.* 2009, 723-724.)

¹⁵⁴ Halved ('½ coin') and quarter coins ('¼ coin') are taken into account.

¹⁵⁵ Delmaire 1983, 138.

TABLE 5

Number and percentage of VICTORIA AVGGG and SALVS REIPVBLICAE coins (388-402) issued after 395 for the different coin hoards. (Data are taken from Delmaire 1983, table 33 and from the catalogues from Delmaire 1983; Evers 1952; Evers 1966; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a and Lallemand 1968.)

Absolute aantal en percentage van de VICTORIA AVGGG en SALVS REIPVBLICAE munten (388-402) geslagen na 395 voor de verschillende muntschatten. (De data werden overgenomen uit Delmaire 1983, tabel 33 en uit de catalogi van Delmaire 1983; Evers 1952; Evers 1966; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a en Lallemand 1968.)

Comparison of coin hoards			
Ratio of the VICTORIA AVGGG and SALVS REIPVBLICAE coins issued after 395			
	Number of coins	Percentage	Total (388-402)
Neerharen-Rekem 1	17	5,25%	324
Neerharen-Rekem 2	0	0,00%	61
Group 1			
Haarlem	63	1,15%	5464
Bermondsey	-	-	-
Cirencester	-	-	-
Kiddington	-	-	-
Stretham	11	1,76%	624
Weymouth	15	0,44%	3396
Woodbridge	1	0,27%	370
Group 2			
Boulogne	79	7,19%	1098
Hapert	34	1,47%	2317
Helchteren	4	2,76%	145
Lier	33	1,33%	2476
Icklingham	20	2,32%	861
Laxton	9	3,35%	269
Nobottle	-	-	-
Trier	-	-	-

broken, both at the time when they were used or afterwards, is not always made¹⁵⁶. Certainly regarding the late Roman aes 4, which were often of a poor quality, this possibility should be kept in mind.

When we take all these criteria into account, we can state that both coin assemblages at Neerharen-Rekem seem to match the more recent group of hoards, although this allocation is not entirely uniform. Although their proportion of coins from the mint of Rome, aes 4 issued after 395 and cut pieces is rather high, the percentage of coins issued by Honorius remains moderate. The dating of coin deposits on the basis of those tools should in any case be used with great caution. Firstly, we have already mentioned the problems with some of the criteria, namely the proportion of the *victoria* and *salus* coins, the distribution of coins from Rome and Aquileia and the percentage of cut coins. Secondly, the distinction between the older and more recent group of hoards is not always clear. It is highly possible that the precise composition of the coin assemblages is determined by a complexity of factors, rather than by purely chronological ones. The only thing we can be sure of is that the assemblages at Neerharen-Rekem got buried after 395 and most probably somewhere in the first half of the 5th century. Because the composition of the coin

groups can not tell us anything precisely about the *terminus ante quem*, we will need to use other material categories as external dating tools.

4.3.2 The chronology of the archaeological contexts

As already mentioned above, some of the coins, belonging to 'assemblage 3', were found in a clear archaeological context. In those cases, the associated material, essentially ceramics and metal objects, can possibly be used to date the circulation time of the coins more precisely. Van Ossel mentions a late Roman pit, 'fosse 7', that yielded 2 aes 4 coins of Arcadius (388-402), a bronze chrismon shaped appliqué (fig. 7: 13 and fig. 16) and fragments of ceramics, containing a base of a Chenet 304, a bowl of type Chenet 342 with rouletting (fig. 6), a base of a similar Chenet 342 bowl with an incised cross, a vase base in coarse ware and three sherds of modelled ceramics, of which one belonged to an urn. The pottery ensemble was dated by Wim Dijkman to IVD-Va¹⁵⁷.

There are, however, some factors which prevent a detailed study of the archaeological contexts. First of all, the field reports give only vague descriptions of the late Roman contexts, using gen-

¹⁵⁶ Depeyrot 2010, 212.

¹⁵⁷ A - d = first - last quarter of the century.

TABLE 6

Number and percentage for cut up coins for the different coin hoards. (Data are taken from Delmaire 1983, 137-138 and from the catalogues from Delmaire 1983; Evers 1952; Evers 1966; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a and Lallemand 1968.)

Percentage van het aantal intentioneel gefragmenteerde munten voor de verschillende muntschatten. (De data werden overgenomen uit Delmaire 1983, 137-138 en uit de catalogi van Delmaire 1983; Evers 1952; Evers 1966; Evers 1969/1970; Lallemand 1961; Lallemand 1965a en Lallemand 1968.)

Comparison of coin hoards			
Ratio of cut up coins			
	Number of coins	Percentage	"Total (number of coins / hoard)"
Neerharen-Rekem 1	18	3,90%	461
Neerharen-Rekem 2	4	3,96%	101
Group 1			
Haarlem	-	0,51%	12389
Bermondsey	-	-	-
Cirencester	-	0,84%	593
Kiddington	-	-	-
Stretham	-	-	-
Weymouth	-	-	-
Woodbridge	-	0,37%	530
Group 2			
Boulogne	29 or 30	2,14 - 2,22%	1353
Hapert	-	2,44%	2572
Helchteren	-	-	261
Lier	-	1,22%	2876
Icklingham	-	-	1064
Laxton	-	1,47%	339
Nobottle	-	1,71%	-
Trier	-	-	-

eral terms as e.g. *fibulae*, *terra sigillata*, common ware or modelled 'Germanic' pottery. Sometimes, only the material categories are mentioned, described as 'sherds', 'tiles', 'glass' or 'bronze'. Secondly, none of the material found at Neerharen-Rekem has been subject to an analysis in the past and could not be studied in detail in the context of this paper, due to a lack of time. In what follows, both the pottery and metal finds will be discussed in general, using the field reports and former publications on the site, in order to state some general assumptions about the chronology of the late Roman village and its coin circulation.

In general, the late Roman pottery at Neerharen-Rekem fits perfectly into the general situation of the Meuse region around Maastricht and consists mainly of *terra sigillata*, *terra nigra*, Eifel ware and modelled 'Germanic' pottery (*cf. supra*: archaeological context)¹⁵⁸. The large number of type Chenet 342 (fig. 6) is, however, exceptional; according to Wim Dijkman, only the site of Gennep shows a similar amount. This type of bowl can be

generally dated to IVc-Va¹⁵⁹. Other common types at Neerharen-Rekem are the Alzei 27 and 28 from Mayen, dating to Va¹⁶⁰. Besides, the presence of *terra sigillata* with rouletting is mentioned, of which the decoration can generally serve as an accurate dating tool¹⁶¹. Unfortunately, only 1 sherd of this type (fig. 6) could be traced among the material and was dated by Dijkman to IVd-Va¹⁶². Finally, the modelled Germanic pottery occurs in our region from the second part of the 3rd century until the beginning of the 5th century¹⁶³. Because of the absence of decorations and no clear evolution in the pottery shapes, it is not possible to date this modelled pottery more precisely on its own¹⁶⁴. In general, all of the pottery types occurring at the site of Neerharen-Rekem can be dated between the second half, if not the final quarter, of the 4th century, and the first half of the 5th century¹⁶⁵.

The metal finds at Neerharen-Rekem consists mainly of belt fittings and jewelry and are overall very common as grave goods in the late 4th and early 5th century in our region¹⁶⁶. A rectangular

¹⁵⁸ De Boe 1982, 71; De Boe 1985, 62; De Boe 1986b, 104; Vanderhoeven & Janssen 1976, 75, 77, 79-80; Van Ossel 1992, 297-300.

¹⁵⁹ Personal communication Wim Dijkman.

¹⁶⁰ Brulet *et al.* 2010, 422; personal communication Wim Dijkman.

¹⁶¹ Brulet *et al.* 2010, 226-227; Dijkman 1992;

Bakker *et al.* *forthcoming*.

¹⁶² Personal communication Wim Dijkman.

¹⁶³ De Clercq & Taayke 2004; De Paepe & Van Impe 1991, 146; Van Impe 1983, 88-94.

¹⁶⁴ Personal communication Wim Dijkman.

¹⁶⁵ De Boe 1985, 62; De Boe 1986b, 104; Van Ossel 1992, 300.

¹⁶⁶ For an overview, see Böhme 1974, 7-8; map 1 and Böhme 1996, 92-96. Similar bronze belt elements and jewelry were e.g. found at Neerhespen (Lamarq & Rogge 1996, 129; Lodewijckx 1990), Oudenburg (Nouwen 1988, 40-41), Spontin (Nouwen 1988, 43), Tongeren (van Heesch 1992, 167-168) and Vieuxville (Nouwen 1988, 43-46).



FIG. 16 Bronze chrismon shape appliqué, kept at the Gallo-Roman Museum of Tongeren. (© Gallo-Romeins Museum Tongeren). *Bronzen sierschijf met Christogram, bewaard in het Gallo-Romeins Museum te Tongeren.* (© Gallo-Romeins Museum Tongeren).

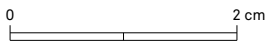


FIG. 17 Rectangular dotted clasp plate. (Excavation material kept at the depot of the Flanders Heritage Agency). *Rechthoekige, met punten versierde beslagplaat van een gesp.* (Opgravingsmateriaal bewaard in het depot van het agentschap Onroerend Erfgoed).

dotted clasp plate (fig. 7: 5, nr. 5 and fig. 17), an element of some belt attachment (fig. 7: 6) and a poorly preserved belt rosette (fig. 7: 7) can be dated to IVb-Va¹⁶⁷. 3 belt rosettes found during the excavations of 1886, equally belong to this period¹⁶⁸. *Armbrust fibulae*, which are typical Saxon grave goods in the area between the Elbe and Rhine¹⁶⁹, were also attested at Neerharen-Rekem (fig. 7: 1-4)¹⁷⁰. A similar Saxon context applies for a hairpin, decorated with incisions and dotted circles (fig. 7: 10)¹⁷¹. A couple of other finds from the 1886 campaign, like a hair pin belonging to the Wijster type¹⁷², 3 little bronze plaques decorated with concentric incisions¹⁷³ and a glass cup¹⁷⁴ can be dated to the first half of the 5th century¹⁷⁵.

All together, both the contexts of the coins as the material found at Neerharen-Rekem in general, can be dated between the last quarter of the 4th century and the first half of the 5th century. This corresponds to the chronological indications given by the composition of the coin assemblages. There are no indications for a later occupation of the village. This means that the bronze coins found at Neerharen-Rekem reached their final destination during the first half of the 5th century.

5 Conclusions

The late Roman village at Neerharen-Rekem, occupied by Germanic immigrants from the last quarter of the 4th century until the first half of the 5th century, was situated in an area where bronze coins still circulated widely, due to the presence of both urban and military structures. Possibly, the coins were used in small daily transactions by the inhabitants of the village with passers-by along the Meuse, in exchange for goods. Furthermore, the coins could have been brought to Neerharen-Rekem as part of the wages the occupants received as Roman soldiers. It is indeed plausible that the site, which was situated close to the Roman defensive structures both along the Meuse and along the fortified road between Cologne and Bavay, was inhabited by Germanic mercenaries and their families. It is, however, in both cases important to stress the fact that the presence of such high numbers of bronze coins at a rural site as Neerharen-Rekem, seems to be the consequence of its vicinity to monetarized military and urban contexts.

The coin finds at Neerharen-Rekem, consisting of 506 pieces dating from the reign of Augustus to the late 4th century, do show some remarkable features. First of all, not less than 80,86% of the coins were issued between 388 and 402. Such a late 4th-century peak is highly uncommon considering site finds. Secondly, most of the coins were part of two large concentrations: a first assemblage was found dispersed along the old Meuse bank, while the second assemblage was recovered in the western zone of the site, close to one of the dwelling houses. Both the chronological and spatial distribution of the concentrations, points to identification as being hoards.

¹⁶⁷ De Boe 1983b, 71. Cf. Böhme 1974, pl. 5; No. 16-17; pl. 6; No. 9-10; pl. 49; No. 26; 81, No. 13.

¹⁶⁸ Vanderhoeven & Janssen 1976, No. 173, 174, 175.

¹⁶⁹ Böhme 1974, 7-8.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Böhme 1974, pl. 93, No. 15.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Böhme 1974, pl. 5, No. 10.

¹⁷² Vanderhoeven & Janssen 1976, 86. Cf. Böhme 1974, 293, pl. 93; No. 16.

¹⁷³ Vanderhoeven & Janssen 1976, No. 189-191. Cf. Pirling 1966, pl. 63; No. 11; pl. 74; No. 20; pl. 91; No. 1-2.

¹⁷⁴ Vanderhoeven & Janssen 1976, No. 172. Cf. Pirling 1966, type 238.

¹⁷⁵ Brulet 1990, 211; Coun 1998, 103; De Boe 1982, 62; De Boe 1983b, 71-72; De Boe 1986b, 104; De Boe 1987, 57; De Boe & Van Impe 1992, 494; Vanderhoeven & Janssen 1976, 70, 85-86; Van Ossel 1992, 297.

It is, as always, very tempting to associate this depositing of the coins with the Germanic invasions, which steadily increased after 406/407. In this disturbed context, the villagers of the late Roman settlement would have concealed their bronze coins, as the only money they had, out of fear of pillaging and in wait for more secure and tranquil times. However, in this paper, other hypotheses were considered. Presumably, the bronze coins couldn't be used for any monetary transaction in the village itself. Therefore, the villagers saved up the small change they received from transactions with passers-by or as part of their soldier's wage, waiting for another moment the bronzes could again be used. If this was indeed the case, the concentrations of coins represent the integration of the Germanic inhabitants of Neerharen-Rekem in the late Roman monetary system. Furthermore, even though there are no direct indications for these hypotheses, identifications as being metal deposits or ritual deposits, should equally be considered. It is however extremely important to keep in mind that the conditions in which the coins were found at Neerharen-Rekem only show their final destination. Without any doubt however, although it was rural and Germanic in character, the village of Neerharen-Rekem wasn't isolated from the Roman monetary system at all, and seemingly took an active role. This system lasted until somewhere during the first part of the 5th century, when the site and its bronze coins were abandoned. The reason of the non-discovery of those hoards shouldn't necessarily be linked to disastrous events such as invasions. It is equally possible that the deposits, which represent only a very small fiduciary and intrinsic value, were no longer worth being searched for or were even forgotten by their owners, when they abandoned the village at Neerharen-Rekem.

The question if this non-recovery of the coins at Neerharen-Rekem corresponds to an overall falling into disuse of those bronzes as small change in northwestern Europe, can only be tackled by more analyses of other find spots of those late 4th-century aes 4.

Catalogue (fig. 18)¹⁷⁶

Abbreviations and bibliography

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Coin assemblage 1 – Meuse Bank

Before 294

1. Marcus Aurelius, dupondius, Rome, 170-172, RIC 1002 (type).
M ANTONINVS – AV [, head, radiate, r.
Rv.:] COS II [, Victoria standing r., fixing to a tree a shield inscribed VIC / GER, S / C.
13,49 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
2. Tetricus I, radiate imitation, Gaul, 275-300.
Head, radiate, r.
Rv.: Salus standing l., feeding snake coiled around altar and holding anchor.
3 h; 12 mm; defective flan¹⁷⁷.
82 NE 1.
3. Tetricus I, radiate imitation, Gaul, 275-300.
Bust, radiate, r.
Rv.: Laetitia standing l., holding wreath and anchor.
2 h; 14 mm; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
4. Radiate imitation, Gaul, 275-300.
Head, radiate, r.
Rv.:] A [, female figure standing l.
2 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.

294-318

5. [Constantinus I], half nummus, [Trier], 310-311.
] TANTI [, bust, laureate, r.
Rv.:] – VI [, Sol standing l., holding globe and raising r. hand.
0,44 g; 12 h; 10 x 8 mm; ¼ coin.
82 NE 14.

330-340

***Gloria exercitus*, 1 standard: two soldiers standing; between them, a standard.**

6. Constantius II, nummus, Trier, 340, RIC 108.
] – VS [] AVG, bust, rosette-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.:] exer [, M / / trpu.
11 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
7. Constans, nummus, Trier, RIC 111.
constanS – PF AVG, bust, rosette-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.:] lori – A EXER – CIT [, M / / TRPu.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.

¹⁷⁶ The catalogue was prepared by Mrs. Jacqueline Lallemand in 1982 and was updated by the author. The coins in bold are illustrated in figure 18.

¹⁷⁷ The term 'defective flan' refers to coins with incomplete or chipped flans; this is presumably due to the production process.



8. Constans, nummus, uncertain mint, 337-340.
CONSTAN – s pf avg, bust, rosette-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.: gLORI – A EXERC – itv [.
0,86 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
9. *Gloria exercitus* I, nummus, Lyons, 337-340.
CONSTa [, bust, laureate and rosette-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.: GLOR [, S / / (branch) SL [.
1,16 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
10. *Gloria exercitus* I, nummus, uncertain mint, 335-340.
Bust, rosette-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.:] – ITVS.
1,03 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
11. *Gloria exercitus* I, imitation nummus, Gaul, 335-340.
Bust r.
0,23 g; 4 h; 10 mm.
82 NE 1.
12. *Gloria exercitus* I, imitation nummus, Gaul, 335-340.
Bust r.
12 h; 13 mm; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
13. *Gloria exercitus* I, imitation nummus, Gaul, 335-340.
mXAT, head r.
6 h; 10 mm; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
14. *Gloria exercitus* I, imitation nummus, Gaul, 335-340.
cONST [, bust r.
Kz.:] ExER – [.
1,10 g; 12 h; 14 mm.
82 NE 21.
- Constantinopolis: Victoria standing l., r. foot on prow, holding scepter and globe.***
15. *Constantinopolis*, nummus, Trier, 332-333, RIC 543.
CONSTAN – TINOPOLIS, bust, laureated helmet, wearing imperial cloak and scepter on the left shoulder, l.
Rv.: / / TR·S.
2,32 g; 6 h.
82 NE 14.
16. *Constantinopolis*, imitation nummus, Gaul, 330-341.
] stANT – [] nOp [, bust, laureated helmet, wearing imperial cloak and scepter on the left shoulder, l.
0,49 g; 7 h; 10 mm.
82 NE 1.
- Urbs Roma: She-wolf with twins, standing l.***
17. *Urbs Roma*, imitation nummus, Gaul, 330-341.
v [] – ROMA, bust, helmeted, wearing imperial cloak, l.
Rv.: O / / [] .
11 h; 12 mm; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
18. *Urbs Roma*, imitation nummus, Gaul, 330-341.
urbs – [] OMA, bust, helmeted, l.
Rv.: / / PTR.
0,94 g; 6 h; 11 mm.
82 NE 21.
19. *Urbs Roma*, imitation nummus, Gaul, 330-341.
vr [, bust, helmeted, wearing imperial cloak, l.
12 h; 14 mm; defective flan.
82 NE 21.

FIG. 18 Coins from the late Roman village of Neerharen-Rekem.

Munten uit de laat-Romeinse nederzetting van Neerharen-Rekem.

1. *Constantinopolis / Vot XX mult XXX*, imitation nummus, Gaul, 330-341. (cat. nr. 20)
2. *Vict aug*, uncertain mint, nummus, 345-347. (cat. nr. 21)
3. *Fel temp reparatio*, imitation, Gaul, 348-354. (cat. nr. 27)
4. *Securitas reipublicae*, aes 3, uncertain mint, 364-378. (cat. nr. 44)
5. Theodosius I, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (d); LRBC 565 or 568. (cat. nr. 82)
6. Eugenius, aes 4, Lyons, 392-394, RIC 47 (a); LRBC 393. (cat. nr. 150)
7. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-395. (cat. nr. 158)
8. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Lyons, 388-395. (cat. nr. 177)
9. *Victoria auggg*, imitation aes 4, Gaul, 388-402. (cat. nr. 287)
10. Arcadius, aes 4, Rome, 388-402, RIC 64 (c); LRBC 801 or 805. (cat. nr. 308)
11. Arcadius, aes 4, Aquileia, 383-387, RIC 47 (d); LRBC 1093. (cat. nr. 403)
12. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395. (cat. nr. 422)
13. Theodosius I, aes 4, Cyzicus, 388-395, RIC 26 (b) or 30 (a); LRBC 2569 or 2577. (cat. nr. 457)

Hybrid imitations

20. *Constantinopolis / Vot XX mult XXX*, imitation nummus, Gaul, 330-341.
] nOPO [, bust, helmeted, holding scepter on the left shoulder, l.
Rv.: VOT / XX / MVLT / XXX in wreath.
1,07 g; 12 h; 14 mm.
82 NE 21.

340-348***Vict aug*: Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm-branch.**

21. *Vict aug*, uncertain mint, nummus, 345-347.
Head, pearl-diademed, r.
Rv.:] – avg, Victoria walking l., holding wreath and palm-branch, / /] M [] A.
1,44 g; 6 h; 13 mm.
82 NE 1.

***Victoriae dd augg q nn*: Two Victories facing one another, each holding a wreath.**

22. *Victoriae dd augg q nn*, nummus, Trier, 347-348.
CONSTAN [, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.:] AE DD avGG Q nn, D // tr [.
1,11 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
23. *Victoriae dd augg q nn*, nummus, uncertain mint, 347-348.
Bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
24. *Victoriae dd augg q nn*, nummus, uncertain mint, 347-348.
] sta [, bust, pearl-diademed.
Rv.: (branch) / / [] .
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
25. *Victoriae dd augg q nn*, imitation nummus, Gaul, 347-348.
] co [.
9 h; 10 mm; defective flan.
82 NE 21.

***Vot / [] / mult / []*: VOT / [] / MVLT / [] in wreath.**

26. Constantius II, nummus, uncertain mint, 347-348.
] – TIVS PF AVG, head, rosette-diademed, r.
Rv.:] – xx – mVLT – XXX in wreath.
0,75 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.

348-364***Fel temp reparatio*: Virtus standing l., spearing fallen horseman.**

27. *Fel temp reparatio*, imitation, Gaul, 348-354.
] ALV – Lf: [, bust, bare-headed, r.
Rv.:] tEp – [, / / tCON.
0,86 g; 10 h; 13 mm.
82 NE 1.
28. *Fel temp reparatio*, imitation, Gaul, 348-354.
Bust, r.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 14.
29. *Fel temp reparatio*, imitation, Gaul, 348-354.
Bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
0,54 g; 2 h; 10 mm.
82 NE 21.

***Spes reipublice*: Emperor standing l., holding globe and spear.**

30. Constantius II, aes 4, Trier, 355-360, RIC 361.
DN co [, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.:] lice, / /] mtRp.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
31. Constantius II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 355-361.
] tIV [, bust, pearl-diademed, r.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
32. *Spes reipublice*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 355-360.
Bust, r.
Rv.: SPe [.
7 h; defective flan.
82 NE 14.
33. *Spes reipublice*, imitation aes 4, Gaul, 355-363.
Bust, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
6 h; 13 mm; defective flan.
82 NE 14.

364-378***Gloria Romanorum*: Emperor standing r., head l., dragging captive and holding labarum.**

34. Valentinianus I, aes 3, Trier, 364-375.
] aLENTINI – [Bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.: GI [, / / TRP.
(0,83 g); 6 h; ½ coin.
82 NE 1.
35. Valens, aes 3, Arles, 367-378.
] – S PF A [, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.:] norvm, / / SCON.
6 h; ½ coin.
82 NE 21.

36. Gratian, aes 3, Lyons, 367-375, RIC 20 (c).
DN GRATIAN – vs avgg avg, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.: O / f / II / LVG [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
37. *Gloria Romanorum*, aes 3, uncertain mint, 364-378.
Bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
7 h; ¼ coin.
82 NE 21.

***Securitas reipublicae*: Victoria walking l., holding wreath and palm-branch.**

38. Valentinianus I, aes 3, Arles, 367-375, RIC 17 (a); LRBC 527.
dn vALEntini – anvs, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.: SECVRITAS – REIPVBLICae, // PCon.
11 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
39. Valens, aes 3, Lyons, 367-375, RIC 21 (a); LRBC 340.
DN VALEN – S PF AVG, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.: sECVRITAS – rEIPVBLICAE, OF / I (dot in crescent) / lvgP.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
40. Valens, aes 3, uncertain mint, 364-375.
] n vALEN – S PF AV [, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.:] VRITAS – REIPVBLI [.
1,34 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
41. *Securitas reipublicae*, aes 3, Arles, 364-367.
Bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.: / /] cONST.
12 h; ½ coin.
82 NE 21.
42. *Securitas reipublicae*, aes 3, uncertain mint, 364-378.
DN [] PF AVG, bust, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.:] – REIPVBLIC [.
(0,93 g); 6 h; ½ coin.
82 NE 1.
43. *Securitas reipublicae*, aes 3, uncertain mint, 364-378.
Bust, r.
Rv.: (branch) / / [] .
(0,63 g); 12 h; ¼ coin.
82 NE 1.
44. *Securitas reipublicae*, aes 3, uncertain mint, 364-378.
] PF AVG, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
1,40 g; 5 h; 13 mm; clipped coin.
82 NE 21.
45. *Securitas reipublicae*, aes 3, uncertain mint, 364-378.
dN VAL [, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.:] S [] VBLIC [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.

46. *Securitas reipublicae*, aes 3, uncertain mint, 364-378.
Bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.

***Gloria novi saeculi*: Gratian standing r. head l., holding labrum and shield.**

47. Gratian, aes 3, Arles, 367-375, RIC 15.
DN GRAtia [] AVGG AVG, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.: / / tCON.
1,94 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
48. Gratian, aes 3, [Arles], 367-375.
DN GRATIANv [, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.: GLORIA No – [.
(0,81 g); 6 h; ½ coin.
82 NE 1.

378-388

***Votis / [] / multis / []*: VOT / [] / MVLT / [] in wreath.**

49. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 378-383.
DN VALENTIN [] PF AVG, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.: VOT / X / MVLT / XX in wreath, Sm [.
0,74 g; 7 h.
82 NE 21.
50. Uncertain emperor, aes 4, uncertain mint, 378-383.
Bust, r.
Rv.: vOT / [] V / [] LT / XX in wreath.
0,80 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
51. Uncertain emperor, aes 4, uncertain mint, 378-383.
Bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.: VOT / xV / MVLT / XX in wreath.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
52. *Votis / V / multis / X*, imitation aes 4, Gaul, 383-387.
Bust, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.:] OTIS / V / [] vLTIS / X in wreath.
2 h; 11 mm; defective flan.
82 NE 1.

***Concordia auggg*: Constantinopolis, seated facing, holding scepter and cornucopia.**

53. *Concordia auggg*, imitation aes 3, Gaul, 378-383.
Bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.:] G,] RP.
0,38 g; 11 h; 10 mm.
82 NE 21.

***Victoria auggg*: two victories facing each other, each holding a wreath.**

Note: Starting from nr. 54, all busts are pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.

54. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 383-387.
dn valen [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
55. Theodosius I, aes 4, [Rome], 383-387, RIC 57 (c).
] ODO – SIVS [.
Rv.: · / / [].
0,88 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
56. Theodosius I, aes 4, uncertain mint, 383-387.
DN THEO [.
0,92 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
57. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Rome, 383-387.
Rv.:] GG, : / / RT.
0,91 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
58. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Rome, 383-387.
] VS PF [.
Rv.: · / / R (leaf) E.
0,81 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
59. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, [Rome], 383-387.
Rv.:] RIA AV [, · / / [].
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
60. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 383-387.
0,49 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
61. *Victoria auggg*, imitation aes 4, Gaul, 383-387.
DII Th [] SIVS [.
Rv.:] (wreath) [.
1 h; 11 mm; defective flan.
82 NE 1.

***Spes Romanorum*: Camp gate, star above.**

62. Magnus Maximus, aes 4, Trier, 387-388, RIC 87 (a); LRBC 156.
DN MAG MA – XIMVS PF AVG.
Rv.: SPES RO – MA – NORVM, / / SMTR.
1,55 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
63. Magnus Maximus aes 4, [Trier], 387-388, RIC 87 (b); LRBC 157.
] G MAX – IMVS Pf avg.
Rv.: SPES RO – MA – NORVM, / / Sm [.
1,04 g; 12 h.
82 NE 14.
64. Magnus Maximus, aes 4, uncertain mint, 387-388.
DN MAG MA [] s PF AVG.
Rv.: sPES ROMA – NORVM.
0,87 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
65. Magnus Maximus, aes 4, uncertain mint, 387-388.
] MAGMA – XIMVS PF AVG.

Rv.:] RO – MA – N [.

12 h; defective flan.

82 NE 21.

66. [Magnus Maximus], aes 4, uncertain mint, 387-388.
] VS PF AVG.
Rv.:] ES RO – MANORVM.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
67. *Spes Romanorum*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 387-388.
Rv.:] orvm.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.

Uncertain type

68. Uncertain emperor, aes 3, Aquileia, 364-387.
] – ANVS Pf [.
Rv.] manorVM, / /] AQP.
6 h; fragment.
82 NE 14.

388-402***Victoria auggg*: Victoria walking l., holding wreath and palm-branch.**

69. Valentinian II, aes 4, [Trier], 388-392, RIC 98 (a); LRBC 168.
DN VALEN [.
Rv.:] tORI – A AVGGg.
1,03 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
70. Valentinian II, aes 4, Arles, 388-392, RIC 30 (a); LRBC 562.
] enTINI – [.
Rv.:] A AVGGG, / / pCON.
1,02 g; 6 h.
82 NE 14.
71. Valentinian II, aes 4, Arles, 388-392, RIC 30 (a); LRBC 562.
] – ANVS PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTor – [, / / PCO [.
12 h; ½ coin.
82 NE 14.
72. Valentinian II, aes 4, Siscia, 383-392, RIC 39 (a); LRBC 1575.
] – ANVS PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR – IA AVGGG, / / BSIS.
0,86 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
73. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.
DN Vale [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 14.
74. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.
DN VALEN [] Anvs PF AVG.
1,11 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
75. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.
DN VALE [] F AVG.

- Rv.:]ICTOR – [.
0,78 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
76. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.
Dn vaLENTINI – [] NVS PF [.
Rv.: VICTOR [.
0,78 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
77. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.
] – ANVS Pf avg.
Rv.:] – IA av [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
78. Theodosius I, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (d); LRBC 565 or 568.
DN THEO [] O – SIVS PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR – IA AVG [, // PCON.
1,02 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
79. Theodosius I, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (e); LRBC 565 or 568.
DN THEODO – SIVS pf avg.
Rv.: VICTOR – [, // SCON.
1,26 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
80. Theodosius I, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (d); LRBC 565 or 568.
DN THEODO – SIVS pf av [.
Rv.: VICT [, // SC [.
0,87 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
81. Theodosius I, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (d); LRBC 565 or 568.
DN tHEOd [.
Rv.: Vic [, // PCON.
1,50 g; 12 h.
82 NE 14.
82. **Theodosius I, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (d); LRBC 565 or 568.**
] – SIVS PF AVG.
Rv.:] – IA AVGGG, // SCON.
1,00 g; 6 h; 13 mm.
82 NE 21.
83. Theodosius I, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (d); LRBC 565 or 568.
] tHEODO – SIVS PF AVG.
Rv.: victOR – IA AVGGG, // TcoN.
0,72 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
84. Theodosius I, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] tHEODO – SIVS pf [.
Rv.:] R – ia avggg.
1,17 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
85. Theodosius I, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
d [] THEO [] s pF AVG.
Rv.: VICTO [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
86. Arcadius, aes 4, Trier, 388-402.
] cAD [] vg.
Rv.: VICTOR [, // TR.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
87. Arcadius, aes 4, Trier, 388-402.
] ADI – [] AVG.
Rv.:] – A A [.
12 h; ½ coin.
82 NE 1.
88. Arcadius, aes 4, Trier, 388-402.
] n ARCA [.
Rv.:] I – A Av [.
1,01 g; 1 h.
82 NE 14.
89. Arcadius, aes 4, Trier, 388-402.
DN ARCADi – VS pf a [.
Rv.: VICTOR [, // TR.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
90. Arcadius, aes 4, Trier, 388-402.
DN Ar [] DI – vs pf avg.
Rv.:] ICTORi – A Avgg [, //] R.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
91. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 388-392, RIC 44 (d); LRBC 392.
DN ARCADIVS pf [.
Rv.:] R – IA AVGGG, //] VGP.
1,08 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
92. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 388-392, RIC 44 (d); LRBC 392.
DN arcadiVS PF AVG.
Rv.:] ia avggg, //] VGP.
1,04 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
93. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 388-392, RIC 44 (d); LRBC 392.
DN ArcadIVS PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR – [] GGG, //] VGP.
0,95 g; 7 h.
82 NE 21.
94. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 394-395, RIC 44 (e); LRBC 395.
] N ARCADi – VS PF Av [.
Rv.: VICTO [, //] VGP.
1,22 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
95. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 394-395, RIC 44 (e); LRBC 395.
] ARCADi – [.
Rv.: Vic [, //] VGP.
1,08 g; 7 h.
82 NE 1.
96. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 394-395, RIC 44 (e); LRBC 395.
dN ARC [] – VS pf avg.
Rv.: VICT [] – ia AVGGG, //] VGP.
0,83 g; 7 h.
82 NE 1.
97. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 394-395, RIC 44 (e); LRBC 395.
] n arcadi – VS pf AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR – [, //] VGP.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
98. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 394-395, RIC 44 (e); LRBC 395.
DN ARCADi – vs [.
Rv.: VICTO [, //] vgp.
7 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.

99. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 394-395, RIC 44 (e); LRBC 395.
dn ARCADII – VS PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR – [, LVG [.
0,87 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
100. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 394-395, RIC 44 (e); LRBC 395.
] DI – VS PF AV [.
Rv.: VICTO [] GG, // LVGP.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
101. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 388-395.
] RCAD [.
Rv.: VICT [, // LVGP.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
102. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 395-402, RIC 1304; LRBC 397.
DN AR [.
Rv.: VIC [] avG [] G, V // IVGP.
1,17 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
103. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 395-402, RIC 1304; LRBC 397.
DN AR [] – VS PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR – IA avGGG, V // IVG [.
1,29 g; 7 h.
82 NE 21.
104. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 395-402, RIC 1304; LRBC 397.
] N ARCADII – [.
Rv.:] ICTOR – IA AV [, V //] v [.
1,02 g; 1 h.
82 NE 21.
105. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 395-402, RIC 1304; LRBC 397.
] CADI – [.
Rv.:] TOR – I [, V // [] .
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
106. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (e), LRBC 566 or 569.
DN ARCADIVS PF AVG.
Rv.:] IA AVggg, //] con.
1,02 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
107. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (e), LRBC 566 or 569.
] N ARCADIVS PF AVG.
Rv.: victo [] – IA AV [, // tCON.
0,85 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
108. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (e), LRBC 566 or 569.
] ARCADIVS [.
Rv.: victor – [, // SCON.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
109. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (e), LRBC 566 or 569.
] rCADIVS p [.
Rv.: VIC [] gg, // tCO [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
110. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (e), LRBC 566 or 569.
] ADIVS PF AVG.
Rv.:] aVGGG, // SCON.
5 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
111. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (e), LRBC 566 or 569.
] cADIVS PF av [.
Rv.: vIC [] GG, // TCON.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 14.
112. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
dn ARCA [.
Rv.: //] con.
1 h; defective flan.
82 NE 14.
113. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
DN A [] F AVG.
Rv.: VIC [] GGG, //] CON.
1,37 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
114. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
DN AR [.
Rv.: VICTOR – IA AVGG [, // Tcon.
1,13 g; 1 h.
82 NE 21.
115. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
DN ARc [.
Rv.: // TCo [.
0,87 g; 7 h.
82 NE 21.
116. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
DN ARc [] s pf avg.
Rv.: VICTOR – IA AVGGG, // PCON.
0,74 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
117. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
] ArCad [.
Rv.: VI [] – IA AVGGG, // TCo [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
118. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] ARCADIVS PF A [AA] .
Rv.: victOR – [.
0,93 g; 6 h; Obverse is overstruck on reverse.
82 NE 1.
119. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
DN ARCADIVS pF AVG.
Rv.:] CTO – R – IA [.
0,86 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
120. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] aRCADIV [] F AV [.
Rv.: VICTO [] – IA AV [.
12 h; defective flan
82 NE 14.
121. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] N ARCADIVS [.
Rv.:] – IA AVGG [.
1,03 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
122. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] AD [] PF AVG.

- 0,97 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
123. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
DN ARCAD [.
0,81 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
124. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] arcADIVs pf [.
Rv.: VICTO [.
0,71 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
125. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] CADIVS PF [.
Rv.:] OR – IA Av [.
0,57 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
126. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] RCAd [.
1,24 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
127. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] n arcadi [] pf avg.
Rv.: V [] Cto – [.
1,16 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
128. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN ARC [.
Rv.:] AA [.
0,95 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
129. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN a [.
0,87 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
130. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
D [] Ad [.
Rv.: victor – [] AVGG [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
131. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN ARCa [.
Rv.:] – IA A [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
132. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN ARc [.
Rv.:] VGGG.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
133. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] ARCaD [.
Rv.:] – IA AVg [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
134. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] arcA [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
135. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
dn arCADI – VS PF a [.
Rv.: VICTOR – [] a AVGgg.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
136. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] ADi [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
137. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN Ar [.
Rv.:] TOR – [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
138. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN ARCA [.
Rv.: Vic [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
139. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] nARC [.
Rv.: VICT [.
7 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
140. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
dN ARCAD [] – vs pf [.
Rv.: VICTOR [.
0,68 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
141. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] N ARCA [.
Rv.:] – IA AV [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
142. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
dN ARCA [.
Rv.:] – IA AVGGG.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
143. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN A [.
Rv.:] tOR – [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
144. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
dN A [] FA [.
Rv.:] TOR [] gG.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
145. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN A [.
Rv.:] tOR – [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
146. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN ARCa [] AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR – IA AVGG [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
147. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] N AR [.
Rv.: VICTO [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.

148. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN Ar [] AVg.
Rv.:] tor - [.
6 h; ½ coin.
82 NE 21.
149. Eugenius, aes 4, Trier, 392-394.
] vs pf a [, (with beard).
Rv.: VICTO [, // TR.
1,08 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
150. Eugenius, aes 4, Lyons, 392-394, RIC 47 (a); LRBC 393.
dn EVGENI - VS PF AVG.
Rv.:] - IA AVGG [, // LVgp.
0,81 g; 12 h; 12 mm.
82 NE 21.
151. Honorius, aes 4, Trier, 395-402, LRBC 174.
DN HONORI - [.
Rv.: // TR.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
152. Honorius, aes 4, Arles, 394-395, RIC 30 (g); LRBC 570.
DN HONORiVS PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTor - [, // TCON.
1,47 g; 12 h.
82 NE 14.
153. Honorius, aes 4, Arles, 394-395, RIC 30 (g); LRBC 570.
] ORIVS p [.
Rv.: // tCON.
0,67 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
154. Honorius, aes 4, Arles, 394-395, RIC 30 (g); LRBC 570.
] oRIVS Pf [.
Rv.:] GGG, //] CON.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
155. Honorius, aes 4, Arles, 393-402.
DN HONO [.
Rv.: vi [] AV [, // TCON.
0,94 g; 10 h.
82 NE 21.
156. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-395.
] RIVS PF [.
12 h; 0,85 g.
82 NE 1.
157. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-395.
DN HONORIVs [.
Rv.:] - IA AVGGG.
0,85 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
158. **Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-395.**
DN H [] ORIV [.
Rv.:] G [.
12 h; 12 x 10 mm; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
159. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
dn hONORI - [.
1,31 g; 11 h.
82 NE 1.
160. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
DN HON [.
Rv.: VICT [] R - [.
1,17 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
161. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
DN HO [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
162. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
] NO [] Sp [.
Rv.:] AV [.
12 h; pierced coin.
82 NE 14.
163. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
dn HONORi [] avg.
Rv.:] ctOR - [] a avggg.
0,93 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
164. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
DN H [.
0,89 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
165. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
] n HONO [.
Rv.: VICT [.
0,60 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
166. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
DN H ONORI - [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
167. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
] NORi [.
Rv.:] - IA [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
168. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
DN Ho [.
Rv.:] - aa [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
169. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
] ORI - [.
Rv.:] a Av [.
12 h; ½ coin.
82 NE 21.
170. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Trier, 388-395.
Rv.:] AVGGG, // TR.
1,21 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
171. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Trier, 388-395.
Rv.:] AVGGg, // Tr.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
172. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Trier, 388-395.
Rv.:] GGG, // tr.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
173. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Trier, 388-395.
] PF AVG.
Rv.:] ri - A AVGGG.
5 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.

174. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Trier, 388-402.
Rv.: // TR.
0,74 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
175. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Trier, 388-402.
] vs pf AVG.
Rv.: // TR.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
176. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Trier, 388-402.
Rv.: Vic []gg, // Tr.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
177. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Lyons, 388-395.
] AVG.
Rv.: V [, // LV [.
12 h; 12 x 8 mm; ½ coin.
82 NE 21.
178. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Lyons, 395-402.
] – VS [.
Rv.: V // lvg [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
179. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 395-402.
] – V [.
Rv.: // Tcon
1,18 g; 3 h.
82 NE 1.
180. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 395-402.
] – vs PF Avg [.
Rv.: VICTo [] A AVGGG, // pCON.
0,88 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
181. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
] VS PF [.
Rv.: VICT – [, // SCON.
1,05 g; 6h.
82 NE 1.
182. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
] S Pf AVg.
Rv.:] VGGG, // TCON.
0,99 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
183. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
Rv.: //] CON.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
184. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
Rv.: //] CON.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
185. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
] PF AVG.
Rv.: VIct [, // pCO [.
0,98 g; 12 h.
82 NE 14.
186. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
] S PFA [.
Rv.: VICTOR – [, // PCON.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 14.
187. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
Rv.: // Pco [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 14.
188. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
] PF AVG.
Rv.: VIC [] AVGGG, // TCON.
1,46 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
189. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
Rv.:] TOR – [, //] CON.
0,99 g; 1 h.
82 NE 21.
190. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
DN [.
Rv.: VICTOR – [] A AVGGG, // TCON.
0,98 g; 11 h.
82 NE 21.
191. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
Rv.: VICTO [] GGG, // TCON.
0,93 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
192. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
] VS PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTo [, // SCON.
0,83 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
193. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
Rv.: //] con.
0,78 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
194. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] – ia avGGG.
1,48 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
195. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] f Av [.
1,44 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
196. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
1,42 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
197. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] PF AVG.
Rv.:] CTOR – [.
1,22 g; 12h.
82 NE 1.
198. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] R – ia a [.
1,08 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
199. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] VS PF AVG.
Rv.:] – IA Avgg.
1,04 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
200. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
1,03 g; 6h.
82 NE 1.
201. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: VIC [.

- 1,02 g; 6 h.
82 NE I.
202. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] vs pF AVG.
Rv.:] or - [.
1,01 g; 12 h.
82 NE I.
203. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
dn [.
Rv.:] a AVGGG.
0,97 g; 12 h.
82 NE I.
204. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,97 g; 6 h.
82 NE I.
205. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,95 g; 12 h.
82 NE I.
206. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,95 g; 12 h.
82 NE I.
207. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] PF avg.
Rv.: VICT [.
0,95 g; 6 h.
82 NE I.
208. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,89 g; 6 h.
82 NE I.
209. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] - VS PF AV [.
Rv.:] G [.
0,87 g; 6 h.
82 NE I.
210. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,87 g; 6 h.
82 NE I.
211. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] VS PF AVG.
0,81 g; 12 h.
82 NE I.
212. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] AVG.
Rv.:] OR - IA A [.
0,78 g; 6 h.
82 NE I.
213. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] pf avg.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
214. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] aa [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
215. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] pf avg.
Rv.: VICTOR - [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
216. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] R - [] G.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
217. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
218. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
219. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
220. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
221. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
222. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
223. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
224. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] r - [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
225. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] - VS PF AVG.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
226. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: victor - [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
227. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: vICTOr - [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
228. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
229. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
230. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
231. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
232. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
233. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] VS PF [.
11 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.
234. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
11 h; defective flan.
82 NE I.

235. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] avg.
Rv.:] R – IA AVG [.
8 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
236. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] R – [.
7 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
237. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
5 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
238. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: / / T [.
1 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
239. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Obverse illegible.
– h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
240. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
11 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
241. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] F AVG.
Rv.:] AA [.
6 h; ¼ coin.
82 NE 1.
242. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,96 g; 11 h.
82 NE 14.
243. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,74 g; 12 h.
82 NE 14.
244. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 14.
245. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] s pF AVg.
11 h; defective flan.
82 NE 14.
246. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] – IA AVGGG.
1,41 g; 11 h.
82 NE 21.
247. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
1,20 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
248. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Obverse illegible.
1,17 g; – h.
82 NE 21.
249. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
1,11 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
250. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] IVS PF AVG.
Rv.:] T [] A [.
1,02 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
251. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
1,01 g; 5 h.
82 NE 21.
252. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] vs PF AVG.
Rv.: victor [] AVGGG.
0,96 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
253. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
D [.
Rv.:] icTOR – [.
0,80 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
254. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,68 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
255. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: VI [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
256. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] AVG.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
257. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] F AVG.
Rv.:] ctor [.
12 h; defective flan
82 NE 21.
258. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] – vs pf avg.
Rv.:] A AVG [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
259. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] R [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
260. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
261. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
262. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
263. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
264. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] PF AVG.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
265. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] VG.
Rv.:] – IA Avg [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.

266. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] PF AVG.
Rv.:] aVGGG.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
267. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] PF A [.
Rv.:] -IA AV [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
268. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] a aVGGG.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
269. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] AA [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
270. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] AVG.
Rv.:] - IA AVGG [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
271. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] S Pf a [.
Rv.:] A AVGGG, / /] c [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
272. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] - VS PF AVG.
Rv.:] - IA AVGGg.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
273. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] VS Pf [.
Rv.:] AVGGG.
6h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
274. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] - VS PF AV [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
275. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] S PF AVG.
Rv.:] - IA AV [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
276. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
D [.
Rv.:] ctOR - [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
277. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
278. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
279. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
280. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
281. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
282. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
283. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] tOR - [.
7 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
284. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
11 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
285. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
7 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
286. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] - VS P [.
Rv.: V I c [] G.
6 h; ½ coin.
82 NE 21.
287. *Victoria auggg, imitation aes 4, Gaul, 388-402.*
] G, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.:] VGGG, / /] vDGP.
0,68 g; 12 h; 10 mm.
82 NE 21.
288. *Victoria auggg, imitation aes 4, Gaul, 388-402.*
7 h; 10 mm; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
- Spes Romanorum: Victoria walking l., holding wreath and palm-branch.**
289. Eugenius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 392-394.
] VS PF AVG.
Rv.:] - mANORVM.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
- Salus reipublicae: Victoria standing l., holding trophy and dragging captive.**
290. Valentinian II, aes 4, Aquileia, 388-392.
DN VA [] S PF [] G.
Rv.: (chi rho) / / aQ [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
291. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.
] ntini [.
Rv.:] - pvbLIC [, (chi rho) / / [] .
1,25 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
292. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.
DN VAL [] S PF AVG.
Rv.:] VS REI - [.
1,66 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.

293. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.
] – ANVS PF AVG.
Rv.:] lVS REI – PVBLIcae, chi rho // [].
1,02 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
294. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.
] nIANVS PF AVG.
Rv.: chi rho // [].
1,01 g; 1 h.
82 NE 21.
295. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.
dn VALEnti [.
0,81 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
296. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.
] – IANVS PF Avg.
Rv.: (chi rho) // [].
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
297. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.
dn VALEntI [.
Rv.:] LVSREI – PVBL [, (chi rho) // [].
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
298. Theodosius I, aes 4, Aquileia, 388-395, RIC 58 (b); LRBC 1106 or 1109.
DN TH [] DO – SIVS PF AVG.
Rv.: SalVS REI – pVBlicae, (chi rho) // AQP.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
299. Theodosius I, aes 4, Rome, 388-392, RIC 64 (b); LRBC 797.
] eODO – [.
Rv.:] bliCAE, (chi rho) // RT.
0,77 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
300. Theodosius I, aes 4, Rome, 388-392, RIC 64 (b); LRBC 797.
] eODO – [.
Rv.: (chi rho) // RT.
0,74 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
301. Theodosius I, aes 4, Rome, 388-395, RIC 64 (b); LRBC 800 or 804.
] eOd [.
Rv.: salv [, (chi rho) // r·T.
6 h; 1,24 g.
82 NE 21.
302. Theodosius I, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
DN The [.
Rv.: (chi rho) // [].
0,83 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
303. Theodosius I, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] – SIVS PF A [.
Rv.:] – PVBLICAE, (chi rho) // [].
0,77 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
304. Theodosius I, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] – SIVS PF A [.
Rv.:] – pVBlicAE, (chi rho) // [].
0,95 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
305. Theodosius I, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] sIVS [.
Rv.:] ICA [, (chi rho) // [].
0,82 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
306. Theodosius I, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
DN THEOdo [.
Rv.:] PVBLICae.
0,67 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
307. Theodosius I, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
DN THEOD [.
Rv.: SALVSREI – [, (chi rho) // [].
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
308. Arcadius, aes 4, Rome, 388-402, RIC 64 (c); LRBC 801 or 805.
] DI – VS.
Rv.: SALVS r [, // R·e.
6 h; 12 mm; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
309. Arcadius, aes 4, Rome, 388-402.
dn ARCA [] vg.
Rv.: SALvs [, (chi rho) // RC.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
310. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN ARCADi [.
Rv.:] – PVBLICAE, (chi rho) // [].
0,93 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
311. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] n ARCaDi [.
Rv.: s [] VSREI – [, (chi rho) // [].
0,85 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
312. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN ARC [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
313. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] adi – [.
Rv.: Sal [, (chi rho) // [].
1,12 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
314. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN A [.
0,79 g; 10 h.
82 NE 21.
315. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN ARCAD [.
Rv.:] pvblica, (chi rho) // [].
0,61 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
316. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] AD [] – VS PF [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
317. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN ARCADi [.

- Rv.:] – Pvblicae.
1 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
318. Honorius, aes 4, Rome, 395-402, RIC 1247; LRBC 806 or 809.
DN ONO [] – vS PFAV [.
Rv.:] – PVBLIC [, (chi rho) // [] .
0,95 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
319. Honorius, aes 4, Rome, 395-402, RIC 1247; LRBC 806 or 809.
DN ONO [.
Rv.: (chi rho) // [] .
1,32 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
320. Honorius, aes 4, Rome, 395-402, RIC 1247; LRBC 806 or 809.
DN ONORI – [.
0,63 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
321. Honorius, aes 4, Rome, 395-402, RIC 1248; LRBC 810.
] N HONO – R [.
Rv.: salvs rei – [, (chi rho) // r [.
0,81 g; 6 h.
82 NE 14.
322. Honorius, aes 4, Rome, 395-402, RIC 1249; LRBC 811.
] OR – IVS [.
Rv.: (chi rho) // RQ.
0,81 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
323. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
] ONO [.
Rv.:] CA [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
324. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
] ONONRI – [(sic!) .
Rv.:] I – PVBL [, (chi rho) // [] .
1,14 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
325. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
DN H [.
Rv.:] BLICAE, (chi rho) // [] .
11 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
326. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, Aquileia, 388-402.
] f AVG.
Rv.: SALUSR [, (chi rho) // AQP.
0,80 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
327. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, Aquileia, 388-402.
Rv.: SA [] LICAE, (chi rho) // AQP.
1,04 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
328. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, Rome, 388-402.
] s pf avg.
Rv.:] liCAE, (chi rho) // RP.
1,16 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
329. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, Rome, 388-402.
dn [.
Rv.:] CAe, (chi rho) // RT
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
330. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, Rome, 388-402.
] PF AVG.
Rv.: SALVS [] ICAE, (chi rho) // R·Q.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
331. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, Rome, 388-402.
] VS PF [.
Rv.: SALVs [, (chi rho) // Rp.
0,67 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
332. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, Rome, 388-402.
] VS PF AV [.
Rv.: SALV [, (chi rho) // RE.
1,16 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
333. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, Rome, 388-402.
] avg.
Rv.: sal [, (chi rho) // R [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
334. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
1,19 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
335. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] vs REI – pvb [, (chi rho) // [] .
1,17 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
336. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) // [] .
1,06 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
337. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] S REI – [, (chi rho) // [] .
1,03 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
338. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] – pvblicae.
1,02 g; 2 h.
82 NE 1.
339. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: SALVS REI – [, (chi rho) // [] .
0,98 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
340. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,97 g; 7 h.
82 NE 1.
341. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] S PF AVG.
Rv.:] S REI – [, (chi rho) // [] .
0,93 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
342. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] AVG.
Rv.:] lvs rei – [, (chi rho) // [] .
0,88 g; 12 h.
82 NE 1.
343. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,88 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.

344. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] – PVBL [, (chi rho) / / [].
0,74 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
345. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] PF AVG.
Rv.:] – PVBLICAE.
0,68 g; 6 h.
82 NE 1.
346. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) / / [].
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
347. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] liCA [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
348. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: sa [, (chi rho) / / [].
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
349. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN [.
Rv.:] AL [, (chi rho) / / [].
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
350. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) / / [].
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
351. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
352. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
353. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
354. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
355. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] s pf a [.
Rv.:] VBLICAE.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
356. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] – VS PF Avg.
Rv.:] licae.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
357. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
358. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
8 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
359. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] PF AV [.
Rv.:] VB [.
5 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
360. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] aVG.
Rv.:] – PVB [.
5 h; defective flan.
82 NE 1.
361. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] S PF AVG.
Rv.:] bliCAE, (chi rho) / /] S.
0,89 g; 6 h.
82 NE 14.
362. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) / / [].
0,55 g; 12 h.
82 NE 14.
363. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 14.
364. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 14.
365. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
1,64 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
366. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] – VS PF A [.
1,21 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
367. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) / / [].
1,15 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
368. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] VBLIC [, (chi rho) / / [].
1,06 g; 5 h.
82 NE 21.
369. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) / / [].
1,02 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
370. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] – VS PF Avg.
Rv.: (chi rho) / / [].
0,92 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
371. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] cae.
0,89 g; 12 h.
82 NE 21.
372. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,78 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
373. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] VBL [, (chi rho) / / [].
0,51 g; 6 h.
82 NE 21.
374. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) / / [].
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.

375. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
376. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
377. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
378. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: SALVS Rei – [, (chi rho) / / [].
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
379. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) / / [].
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
380. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) / / [].
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
381. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] vs r [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
382. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) / / [].
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
383. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] vblic [, (chi rho) / / [].
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
384. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] LVS REi – [, (chi rho) / / [].
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
385. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
386. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
387. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
388. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
9 h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
389. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Obverse illegible.
– h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
390. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Obverse illegible.
Rv.: (chi rho) / / [].
– h; defective flan.
82 NE 21.
391. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] VS PF A [.
Rv.: SALVs r [, (chi rho) / / [].

12 h; ½ coin.

82 NE 21.

- 392.
- Salus reipublicae*
- , aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.

Rv.: (chi rho) / / [].

12 h; ½ coin.

82 NE 21.

Undetermined coins and fragments (69 pieces)

82 NE 1: 1,03 g – 0,99 g – 0,62 g – 0,55 g – 0,36 g - defective flan (21).

82 NE 14: ½ aes 3 - defective flan (3).

82 NE 21: 0,98 g – 0,64 g – 0,56 g - defective flan (36).

Coin assemblage 2 – Western zone

Before 294

393. Tetricus I, radiate imitation, Gaul, 275-300.

Bust, radiate, r.

Rv.: Male figure going l.

9 h; 13 mm; defective flan.

82 NE 75.

330-340

***Gloria exercitus*, 1 standard: two soldiers standing; between them, a standard.**

- 394.
- Gloria exercitus*
- I, imitation nummus, Gaul, 335-340.

Bust, laureate r.

6 h; 10 mm; defective flan.

82 NE 75.

***Constantinopolis*: Victoria standing l., r. foot on prow, holding scepter and globe.**

- 395.
- Constantinopolis*
- , imitation nummus, Gaul, 330-341.

Bust, helmeted, holding scepter on the left shoulder, l.

0,95 g; 12 h; 11 mm.

82 NE 75.

- 396.
- Constantinopolis*
- , imitation nummus, Gaul, 330-341.

Bust, helmeted, holding scepter on the left shoulder, l.

6 h; defective flan.

82 NE 75.

***Urbs Roma*: She-wolf with twins, standing l.**

- 397.
- Urbs Roma*
- , imitation nummus, Gaul, 330-341.

] – ^ [] ^, bust, helmeted, l.

0,94 g; 9 h; 12 mm.

82 NE 75.

Hybrid imitations

398. *Constantinopolis / Urbs Roma*, imitation nummus, Gaul, 330-341.
CONS [, bust, helmeted, l.
Rv.: She-wolf with twins, standing l.
0,92 g; 1 h; 11 mm.
82 NE 75.

340-348***Victoriae dd augg q nn*: Two Victories facing one another, each holding a wreath.**

399. *Victoriae dd augg q nn*, nummus, Rome, 347-348.
Bust, diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.: / / r (leaf) P.
1,47 g; 12 h.
82 NE 75.

348-364***Fel temp reparatio*: Virtus standing l., spearing fallen horseman.**

400. *Fel temp reparatio*, imitation, Gaul, 348-354.
Bust, pearl-diademed, r.
Rv.: / / pL [.
0,38 g; 3 h; 10 mm.
82 NE 75.

364-378***Gloria Romanorum*: Emperor standing r., head l., dragging captive and holding labarum.**

401. *Gloria romanorum*, imitation aes 3, Gaul, 364-378.
Bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
0,88 g; 12 h; 11 mm.
82 NE 75.

***Securitas reipublicae*: Victoria walking l., holding wreath and palm-branch.**

402. *Securitas reipublicae*, aes 3, uncertain mint, 364-378.
] nVS [.
Rv.:] tas - [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.

378-388***Victoria auggg*: two victories facing each other, each holding a wreath.**

Note: Starting from nr. 403, all busts are pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.

403. Arcadius, aes 4, Aquileia, 383-387, RIC 47 (d); LRBC 1093.

DN ARCAD I - [.
Rv.:] oRIA AVGGG, / / sMAQP.
1,16 g; 12 h; 13 mm.
82 NE 75.

404. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, [Rome], 383-387.

DN [.
Rv.:] ORia avGGG, · / / [] .
0,88 g; 6 h.
82 NE 75.

Spes Romanorum*: Camp gate, star above.*405. Magnus Maximus, aes 4, Arles, 387-388, RIC 29 (a); LRBC 560.**

] - mVS PF AVG.
Rv.: SPES RO - Ma - norvm, / / tcon.
0,95 g; 12 h.
82 NE 75.

406. Flavius Victor, aes 4, uncertain mint, 387-388.

DN FL VIC - TOR PF AVG.
Rv.: spes RO - [.
0,79 g; 6 h.
82 NE 75.

388-402***Victoria auggg*: Victoria walking l., holding wreath and palm-branch.****407. Valentinian II, aes 4, Lyons, 388-392, RIC 44 (b); LRBC 389.**

DN [] - ANVS PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR - [, / / LVGP.
1,70 g; 12 h.
82 NE 75.

408. Valentinian II, aes 4, Arles, 388-392, RIC 30 (a); LRBC 562.

DN V [] INI - ANVS PF AVG.
Rv.: VICt [] - IA AVGGG, / / PCON.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.

409. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.

] NV [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.

410. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.

] INI - ANVS PF AVG.
Rv.:] ICTOR - IA AV [.
11 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.

411. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.

] - ANVS PF AVG.
11 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.

412. Theodosius I, aes 4, Lyons, 388-395, RIC 44 (c); LRBC 391 or 394.

] ODO - SIVS PF AVG.
Rv.:] - IA AVGGG, / /]VGS.

- 1,07 g; 7 h.
82 NE 75.
413. Theodosius I, aes 4, Lyons, 388-395, RIC 44 (c); LRBC 391 or 394.
] – SIVS PF AVG.
Rv.: victo [] GGG, // IVGP.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
414. Theodosius I, aes 4, Arles, 388-395, RIC 30 (d); LRBC 565 or 568.
] – sIVS PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR – [] AVGGG, // SCON.
1,10 g; 6 h.
82 NE 75.
415. Theodosius I, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] DO – S [.
Rv.:] R – IA A [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
416. Theodosius I, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] – SIVS PF [.
Rv.:] – IA AVGGG.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
417. Theodosius I, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] sIVS [.
Rv.:] GG [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
418. Arcadius, aes 4, Trier, 388-392, LRBC 170.
DN ARCADIA – [.
Rv.: VICTORI – [, // TR.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
419. Arcadius, aes 4, Lyons, 388-392, RIC 44 (d); LRBC 392.
DN ARCADIVS PF AVG.
Rv.:] – iA AVGGG, //] VGP.
1,22 g; 12 h.
82 NE 75.
420. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
DN A [.
Rv.:] gg, //] ON.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
421. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
] CA [.
Rv.: VIC [, // TCO [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
422. **Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.**
] N ARCADIV [.
Rv.:] r – IA AVG [.
12 h; 12 x 6 mm; ½ coin.
82 NE 75.
423. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] ARC [.
Rv.:] ctor – [.
1,36 g; 6 h.
82 NE 75.
424. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] ARC [.
Rv.: vict [.
- 12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
425. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN A [] PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR – IA A [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
426. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] NAR [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
427. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN AR [] S PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR – IA Avggg.
1 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
428. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
DN ARCA [.
6 h; ½ coin.
82 NE 75.
429. Eugenius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 392-394.
] EVGEN [.
Rv.:] A AVGGG.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
430. Honorius, aes 4, Arles, 394-395, RIC 30 (g); LRBC 570.
] RIVS [.
Rv.:] GG, //] on.
5 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
431. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-395.
] ORIV [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
432. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-395.
] RIVS PF [.
11 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
433. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Trier, 388-402.
] – VS PF AVG.
Rv.:] R – [, // Tr.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
434. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Lyons, 388-402.
Rv.:] cto [, // LV [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
435. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Lyons, 388-402.
Rv.:] GG, // LVGP.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
436. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-395.
] IV [.
Rv.:] VGGG, //] cON.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
437. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] a AV [.
1,11 g; 6 h.
82 NE 75.

438. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,57 g; 2 h.
82 NE 75.
439. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] s pf [.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
440. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
441. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
442. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
443. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
444. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
445. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
446. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
447. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
448. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
449. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
450. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
11 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
451. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] I A A [.
10 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
452. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] – VS [.
Rv.:] A [.
7 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
453. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
2 h; ½ coin.
82 NE 75.
- Salus reipublicae*: Victoria standing l., holding trophy and dragging captive.**
454. Valentinian II, aes 4, Rome, 388-392.
] – ANVS P [.
Rv.: SALVS [, (chi rho) // R [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
455. Valentinian II, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-392.
] VALE [.
1,11 g; 12 h.
82 NE 75.
456. Theodosius I, aes 4, Rome, 388-395.
] ODO – SIVS [.
Rv.:] AE, (chi rho) // R [] T.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
457. **Theodosius I, aes 4, Cyzicus, 388-395, RIC 26 (b) or 30 (a); LRBC 2569 or 2577.**
DN THEODO – SIVS PF AVG.
Rv.: SALVS REI – PVBLICAE, (chi rho) // SMKA.
0,80 g; 1 h; 13 mm.
82 NE 75.
458. Honorius, aes 4, Rome, 395-402, LRBC RIC 1247; LRBC 806 or 809.
DN ON [.
Rv.: (chi rho) // [] .
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
459. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, Rome, 388-402.
Rv.: SAL [, (chi rho) // RE.
1,15 g; 12 h.
82 NE 75.
460. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, Rome, 388-402.
] BLICAE, (chi rho) // rp
0,99 g; 6 h.
82 NE 75.
461. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, Rome, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) // RT.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
462. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] S PF AVG.
Rv.: salvs rei – [, (chi rho) // [] .
1,21 g; 12 h.
82 NE 75.
463. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) // [] .
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
464. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] ALVS REI – [, (chi rho) // [] .
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
465. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: SALVS [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
466. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] VS [, (chi rho) // [] .
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 75.
467. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] f AVG.
6 h; ½ coin.
82 NE 75.

Undetermined coins and fragments (26 pieces)

82 NE 75: 1,03 g – 0,99 g – 0,36 g - defective flan (23).

Coin assemblage 3 – Other finds

Before 294

468. Augustus, as, Lyon (auxiliary mint?), 7 B.C., RIC 230; BMC 549.
CAESAR – PONTmax, head, laureate, r.
Rv.: Altar of Lugdunum, ROM [, countermark above altar: VARVS in ligature (Wertz: type 227.1).
8,20 g; 6 h.
81 NE 48.
469. Augustus, as, Lyons, 7 B.C.-14 A.D.
Head, laureate, r.
Rv.:] ET AV [, Altar of Lugdunum.
5,34 g; 9 h.
84 RE 208.
470. Commodus, as, Rome, 183, RIC 361 (a); BMC 501.
] COMMODVS – ANTONINVS AVG, head, laureate, r.
Rv.: pm TRP VIII – IMP V COS IIII PP, Fortuna standing l., holding rudder on globe and cornucopia, S / C.
8,35 g; 6 h.
81 NE 87.
471. Commodus, sestertius, Rome, 186-187, RIC 501.
M COMMODVS AN – t P FELIX AVG brit, head, laureate, r.
Rv.: NOBIL [] AVG PM trP XII [, Nobilitas standing l., holding palladium and scepter, S / c.
20,70 g; 12 h.
81 NE 108.
472. Tetricus II, radiate imitation, Gaul, 275-300.
cpive [, bust, radiate, r.
Rv.:] ASAVGVS [, vase, r.
0,67 g; 2 h; 13 mm.
84 RE 177.

294-318

473. Constantinus I, nummus, Trier, 309-313, RIC 873.
CONSTANTINVS PF AVG, head laureate, cuirassed, r.
Rv.: SOL INVIC – TO COMITI, T / F / PTR, Sol standing l., holding globe and raising r. hand.
2,96 g; 6 h.
82 NE 16.

330-340

Gloria exercitus, 1 standard: two soldiers standing; between them, a standard.

474. Constantius II, nummus, Trier, 337-340, RIC 58.
FL IVL CO [] anTIVS AVG, bust laureate, cuirassed, r.
Rv.: GLOR – IAE [, / / TRP.
0,86 g; 12 h.
85 RE 68.
475. Constans, nummus, Siscia, 337-340, RIC 100.
] – S PF AVG, bust, laureate and rosette-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
GLORI – A EXERC – itVS, chi rho / / SIS (dot in crescent).
1,05 g; 1 h.
81 NE 9.

Urbs Roma: She-wolf with twins, standing l.

476. *Urbs Roma*, nummus, Trier, 333-334, RIC 561.
vRbs – ROMA, bust, helmeted, wearing imperial cloak, l.
Rv.: (branch) / / TRP.
1,77 g; 6 h.
81 NE 15 (stray find).
477. *Urbs Roma*, nummus, uncertain mint, 330-331.
] bS – [, bust, helmeted, wearing imperial cloak, l.
(0,84 g); 12 h; ½ coin.
84 RE 152.

348-364

Fel temp reparatio: Virtus standing l., spearing fallen horseman.

478. *Fel temp reparatio*, imitation, Gaul, 348-354.
Bust, r.
Rv.:] EL TEM [.
4 h; 14 mm; defective flan.
84 RE 70.

364-378

479. *Securitas reipublicae*, aes 3, Lyons, 364-367.
Bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.:] – reiPVBLIC [, / / PLvg.
12 h; defective flan.
82 NE 16.
480. *Securitas reipublicae*, aes 3, Lyons, 364-375.
Bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
Rv.: OF / I [/ /] VGP [.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 81.
481. *Securitas reipublicae*, aes 3, uncertain mint, 364-378.
DN Val [, bust, pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.
6 h; defective flan.
82 NE 16.

378-388

Reparatio reipub: Emperor standing l., raising kneeling female and holding Victoria on globe.

482. Magnus Maximus, aes 2, uncertain mint, 383-387.
] MAG [, [bust, r.].
Rv.:] PAR [.
(0,32 g); - h; fragment.
84 RE 83.

Spes Romanorum: Camp gate, star above.

Note: Starting from nr. 483, all busts are pearl-diademed, cuirassed, paludamentum, r.

483. Magnus Maximus, aes 4, Lyons, 387-388, RIC 36 (a); LRBC 387.

] ma [.
Rv.:] pes r [,] vGP.
0,65 g; 6 h.
82 NE 76.

388-402

***Victoria auggg*: Victoria walking l., holding wreath and palm-branch.**

484. Theodosius I, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
dn theODO – SIVS PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR – [.
1,18 g; 1 h.
82 NE 5.
485. Arcadius, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
DN Ar [.
Rv.: // TCON.
1,22 g; 1 h.
82 NE 4.
486. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-395.
] ADIVS pf avg.
Rv.: vicTOR – [] A Av [.
12 h; defective flan.
84 RE 152.
487. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] aRCADI – VS Pf [.
12 h; defective flan.
84 RE 60.
488. Arcadius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] aDI – VS P [.
Rv.: VICT [.
6 h; defective flan.
84 RE 83.
489. Honorius, aes 4, uncertain mint, 393-402.
dn HON [.
12 h; defective flan.
81 NE 46.
490. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Lyons, 388-402.
Rv.:] VG [.
6 h; defective flan.
81 NE 87.
491. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
] pf avg.
Rv.: vIctOR – IA AVGGG, // PCON.
12 h; defective flan.
84 RE 60.
492. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, Arles, 388-402.
Rv.: //] Con.
0,79 g; 12 h.
84 RE 83.
493. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
1,04 g; 6 h.
84 RE 83.
494. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,80 g; 6 h.
84 RE 83.
495. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR – ia a [.
0,83 g; 6 h.
84 RE 152.

496. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] VG.
0,84 g; 6 h.
84 RE 176.
497. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] N [.
6 h; defective flan.
85 RE 195.
498. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
6 h; defective flan.
84 RE 226.
499. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] PF AVG.
Rv.: VICTOR [.
12 h; defective flan.
No reference.
500. *Victoria auggg*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] PF AV [.
11 h; defective flan.
No reference.

***Salus reipublicae*: Victoria standing l., holding trophy and dragging captive.**

501. Arcadius, aes 4, Rome, 388-402.
DN A [.
Rv.:] cae, (chi rho) // RB.
6 h; 1,23 g.
81 NE (loose find).
502. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
0,67 g; 12 h.
82 NE 8.
503. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) // []
0,70 g; 12 h.
82 NE 16.
504. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.: (chi rho) // []
0,86 g; 12 h.
84 RE 83.
505. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
] AVG.
6 h; defective flan.
84 RE 152.
506. *Salus reipublicae*, aes 4, uncertain mint, 388-402.
Rv.:] LVS [, (chi rho) // []
12 h; defective flan.
85 RE 173.

Undetermined coins and fragments (11 pieces)

- 82 NE 74: defective flan.
84 RE 35: defective flan.
84 RE 38: defective flan.
84 RE 57: defective flan.
84 RE 60: 0,21 g.
84 RE 83: 0,16 g – defective flan.
84 RE 86: 0,54 g.
84 RE 94: defective flan.
84 RE 152: defective flan.
84 RE 233: defective flan.

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Samenvatting

Munt en muntgebruik in de laat-Romeinse nederzetting van Neerharen-Rekem

De hier gepresenteerde casestudy kadert binnen het project *'Munt en muntgebruik in Noord-Europa: van de Laat-Romeinse tijd naar het begin van de vroege middeleeuwen'*, dat in september 2011 in het Penningkabinet van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België van start ging en deel uitmaakt van de onderzoeksprojecten van het federaal Wetenschapsbeleid. Dit project concentreert zich op de overgang van de laat-Romeinse tijd naar de vroege middeleeuwen in onze gewesten, toen de sterk gemonetariseerde 4de eeuw schijnbaar overging in een 5de- en 6de-eeuwse maatschappij met een monetaire circulatie van uitsluitend hoogwaardige goudmunten. Tot op heden is het onduidelijk of er voor het kopergeld nog een bepaalde functie was weggelegd. Daarom is een studie van laat-Romeinse sitevondsten essentieel. Slechts wanneer de munten in hun precieze context kunnen geanalyseerd worden, kan men een uitspraak doen over hun mogelijke functie en circulatie. Dit project zal dan ook bestaan uit de analyse van muntvondsten van enkele geselecteerde Belgische sites, die gedurende de vorige decennia gecatalogiseerd werden in het Penningkabinet. Deze data kunnen vervolgens bijdragen tot een beter begrip van deze overgangperiode.

De eerste site die binnen dit project aan een analyse onderworpen wordt, is de Germaanse nederzetting te Neerharen-Rekem, gelegen op een oude Maasoever, op de grens van de huidige deelgemeenten Neerharen en Rekem. Van 1980 tot 1985 werden vier opgravingscampagnes uitgevoerd op het terrein, waarbij occupatiesporen en materiaal gaande van het midden-Paleolithicum tot postmiddeleeuwse periodes aan het licht kwamen. Vanaf de tweede helft van de 4de eeuw tot de eerste helft van de 5de eeuw, werd de site bezet door een Germaanse dorpsnederzetting. De plattegrond van de nederzetting bestond uit 2 à 3 woonhuizen, 29 *Grübenhauser* of kelderhutten en een aantal afvalkuilen en -grachten. Daarnaast kwam een grote hoeveelheid laat-Romeins materiaal aan het licht, bestaande uit aardewerk, metaal, glas en munten. Het merendeel van de vondsten kan gedateerd worden tussen de tweede helft van de 4de eeuw en eerste helft van de 5de eeuw. Zowel de kelderhutten als een aantal specifieke aardewerken metaalvondsten, wijzen op een Germaanse herkomst van de inwoners. Mogelijk gaat het om huurlingen van het Romeinse leger en/of hun familie.

In associatie met de Germaanse nederzetting, werden 612 munten gevonden, waarvan 506 identificeerbare exemplaren. 98,02 % van de munten werd geslagen in de loop van de 4de eeuw. Over het algemeen vertonen de muntvondsten in Neerharen-Rekem gelijkaardige tendensen als andere sites in onze regio. De enorme piek die echter bereikt wordt in de periode 388-402, met maar liefst 80,63% van het totaal aantal identificeerbare munten, wijkt echter sterk af van het gemiddelde patroon. De munten uit deze periode zijn daarenboven het laatste bronzen kleingeld dat Gallië bereikte tijdens de Romeinse periode, en bestaat uit de Galische VICTORIA AVGGG en Italische SALVS REIPUBLICAE munten. Wat de precieze vondstcontext betreft, kunnen de munten onderverdeeld worden in drie grote groepen. Een eerste ensemble van 392 identificeerbare munten, gevonden langsheen de oude Maasbedding, een tweede ensemble van 75 identificeerbare munten, gevonden in de westelijke sector van het opgravingssterrein, en een derde ensemble van 39 munten, die zich – al dan niet in een archeologische context – verspreid over de site bevonden. Kort samengevat zijn de muntvondsten van Neerharen-Rekem niet enkel uitzonderlijk door de enorme piek in aantallen op het einde van de 4de eeuw, maar ook door hun sterk geconcentreerde locatie op de site.

Voor de interpretatie van de muntvondsten, dienen we ons eerst de vraag te stellen hoe deze grote hoeveelheid bronsgeld in dit laat-Romeinse dorp terecht kwam. Een mogelijk antwoord wordt enerzijds geleverd door het uitgesproken militaire karakter van de regio. Vanaf het midden van de 3de eeuw werden in Noord-Gallië de belangrijke rivier- en waterwegen van militaire installaties voorzien, omwille van de toegenomen Germaanse dreiging aan de grenzen. De site van Neerharen-Rekem bevond zich vlakbij de kruising van twee dergelijke versterkte assen, met name de weg van Bavay naar Keulen en deze van Nijmegen naar Maastricht, die langsheen de Maas liep. Anderzijds maakten ook de steden Tongeren en Maastricht in deze periode allebei een belangrijke ontwikkeling door. Aangezien zowel dergelijke militaire als stedelijke contexten doorgaans een doorgedreven monetarisatie kenden, zullen bronsmunten in vrij aanzienlijke aantallen in de regio gecirculeerd hebben. Anderzijds vertoonde de nederzetting te Neerharen-Rekem duidelijke aanwijzingen voor landbouw en ambachten. Mogelijk was er in het dorp sprake van een zekere overproductie, die vervolgens kon verhandeld worden. Daarenboven was de site zeer makkelijk bereikbaar via de Maas voor eventuele handelaars over water. Wanneer men deze gegevens combineert met het hierboven besproken karakter van de regio, kan men veronderstellen dat commerciële transacties plaatsvonden tussen de inwoners van Neerharen-Rekem enerzijds en voorbijgangers uit de steden en/of militaire versterkingen anderzijds en dat voor deze uitwisselingen het alomtegenwoordige Romeinse bronsgeld werd gebruikt. Een tweede mogelijkheid houdt in dat het bronsgeld als soldij van de Germaanse bewoners, die mogelijk als huurlingen in het Romeinse leger dienden, de nederzetting bereikte.

Een tweede vraag die zich opdringt is die naar de functie van dit bronsgeld, eens het de landelijke nederzetting van Neerharen-Rekem bereikt had. Wanneer we uitgaan van een strikt monetaire functie van de munten binnen het dorp, impliceert dit onrechtstreeks dat deze Germaanse inwijkelingen volledig geïntegreerd waren in het Romeinse economische en monetaire systeem. Om deze interpretatie te toetsen aan het bewijsmateriaal gevonden op de site, is het van belang om zowel de chronolo-

gische verdeling als de precieze vondstcontext van de munten in detail te bekijken. Niet alleen werd het merendeel van de munten sterk geconcentreerd teruggevonden op twee plaatsen op de site (zie *supra*), daarnaast vertoont de verdeling van de munten doorheen de 4de eeuw een opmerkelijke overeenkomst met de talrijke ‘Theodosiaanse’ muntschatten in onze regio, die algemeen in het begin van de 5de eeuw gedateerd worden. Ook deze muntschaten vertonen een piek in de periode 388-402, die kenmerkend is voor de muntvondsten in Neerharen-Rekem. Mogelijk zijn de twee grote muntensembles te Neerharen-Rekem dan ook eerder als muntdepots te interpreteren. Een verklaring voor een dergelijk begraven van munten kan in eerste instantie in het Germaanse thuisland van de bewoners gezocht worden. Hier hadden Romeinse munten een eerder symbolische functie en werden ze dan ook vaak op rituele manieren begraven in combinatie met andere metalen objecten. Een andere niet-monetaire interpretatie van dergelijke muntconcentraties werd aangeleverd door Fleur Kemmers voor de site van Holtum, en houdt in dat de bronsmunten eerder als bron van metaal dan als geld verzameld en bewaard werden. In Neerharen-Rekem is er, ondanks de aanwezigheid van een smidse en bronzen vaatwerk, minder direct bewijs voor een dergelijke functie. Wanneer we echter rekening houden met de sterk-gemonetariseerde militaire en stedelijke omgeving van de site, is het anderzijds ook goed mogelijk dat de munten wel degelijk een monetaire functie vervulden voor de Germaanse bewoners van Neerharen-Rekem. In dit geval zijn de muntdepots te interpreteren als een aantal spaarschatten, door de bewoners van Neerharen-Rekem ontvangen tijdens handelstransacties met voorbijgangers (zie *supra*) en zorgvuldig gespaard en bewaard. Mogelijk was het geld binnen de dorpsnederzetting zelf weinig bruikbaar, maar werd het op deze manier bijgehouden voor latere uitgaven binnen de gemonetariseerde regio.

Ten slotte is het van belang na te gaan hoe lang dergelijk gebruik van de bronsmunten te Neerharen-Rekem mogelijk doorliep. Hoewel de toevoer van kleingeld richting Gallië stilviel na 402, moet steeds rekening gehouden worden met de mogelijkheid dat de munten ook daarna nog circuleerden en functioneerden in

onze gewesten. Om de precieze chronologie van de muntvondsten te bepalen, werd ten eerste de precieze samenstelling van de beide ensembles bekeken. De vergelijking van enkele criteria met andere ‘Theodosiaanse’ muntschatten maakt mogelijk de *terminus post quem* en *terminus ante quem* van de muntdepots preciezer te dateren. Deze analyse leidde tot conclusie dat de ensembles na 395 in de grond terecht kwamen, en met grote waarschijnlijkheid in de eerste helft van de 5de eeuw. Een tweede hulpmiddel om het muntgebruik te Neerharen-Rekem te dateren, is via het materiaal dat binnen dezelfde archeologische context werd opgegraven. Slechts enkele munten werden echter in duidelijke associatie met dateerbaar archeologisch materiaal teruggevonden. Het algemene spectrum aan aardewerk- en metaalvondsten, wijst op een datering van de site tussen het laatste kwart van de 4de eeuw en de eerste helft van de 5de eeuw. Dit komt overeen met de chronologie aangeleverd door de samenstelling van de ensembles.

Samengevat kan men besluiten dat de bronsmunten waarschijnlijk via de stedelijke en militaire structuren in de regio als betaalmiddel voor handel of soldij in Neerharen-Rekem terecht kwamen. Daar werd een groot deel van het geld door de inwoners van het Germaanse dorp gespaard, om eventueel in latere commerciële transacties opnieuw gebruikt te worden. Dit wijst erop dat ook een rurale nederzetting diep in de laat-Romeinse tijd nog steeds aan het Romeinse economische en monetaire systeem deelnam. Uitgaande van de datering van de muntvondsten, was dergelijk muntgebruik mogelijk gangbaar tot in de eerste helft van de 5de eeuw.

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