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MICHAEL DENNIS O'HARA

A FIND OF BYZANTINE SILVER FROM THE MINT  
OF ROME FOR THE PERIOD A.D. 641-752

With the collaboration of Italo Vecchi

The thirty one silver siliqua fractions<sup>1</sup> and three copper coins described here are thought to have been found together enclosed in a small mud brick, although the exact date of discovery is uncertain. Details of the coins were acquired from two different sources, one of which had access to fifteen fractions, and the other to sixteen fractions and the three copper coins. However from the circumstances there seems no reason to think that they are not from the same find. There were attempts by various «runners» to acquire and disperse these coins, but for the present they have been saved for exhibition and study. The time span of the issues in question seems a wide one, but as this denomination for the mint of Rome during this period is extremely rare (examples are known only for a few emperors, and in most cases from only one specimen), perhaps this is not so unusual. Many of the coins, including the latest, that of Constantine V, are in an excellent state of preservation. There are thought to be a further two silver fractions from this hoard but which at present are not available for study. It is hoped that these can be published with «a» numbers at a later date.

The hoard is extremely interesting, as apart from adding as many again to the number of examples of this denomination known, it produces a considerable number of novelties. These include monograms for Popes Vitalian and Adeodatus, recognition of a monogram for Pope Sisinnius, signed coins for Popes Sergius I, Gregory II and Zacharias (with all that this implies for temporal sovereignty being in the hands of the popes a hundred years earlier than any historian has suggested); recognition of a new form of combined monogram for Tiberius III, and a new complete monogram for Rome. It also offers evidence for reattribution of previously wrongly assigned coins, revealing in the process a papal signature for Pope Constantine; amendments to and confirmation of some of Sabatier's<sup>2</sup> line drawings; and indications for fairly precise

<sup>1</sup> The weights for this denomination during this period seem to vary between 0.11 g and 0.49 g. It has been suggested by Professor Grierson that they are best regarded as successors to the late sixth century coins with PK in the field - i.e. as pieces of 120 nummi or 3 folles: DO II, part I, p. 21. Hahn refers to this denomination as being an eighth of a siliqua, vol. 2. An interesting discussion of weight standards and weight reductions of the PK, PKE and CN coins can be found in J.P.C. Kent's contribution to *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata, Numismatica Antiqua* (1982), «The Italian Silver Coinage of Justinian I and his successors», pp. 275-282. It is suggested there (pp. 275 and 280) that the coins of Constans II minted at Ravenna with the reverse types cross C/N/O (BMC 399, DO 204) and cross C/K/N/O (BMC 383 = DO 205) are coins of 250 nummi (CN = 250). The weights of fifty three Ravenna silver CN coins of the period Tiberius to Constans average 0.39 g. This of course would suggest that these «fractions» of Rome published here are in fact siliquae on the miserable reduced standard of the time. However, Grierson reads the doubling of CON with KON as referring to the co-rulership of the two Constantines after 654 (DO II, 2, p. 508).

<sup>2</sup> J. Sabatier, «Description générale des monnaies byzantines» (1862). The line drawings of Sabatier are reproduced in the CNI vol. XV, 1934.

dating for a number of different issues. It also includes an issue which may reasonably be attributed to Anastasius II. Additionally, identification of a new denomination is made possible, and in the process it becomes apparent that the square coppers issued by popes Gregory and Zacharias usually regarded as tesserae or weights are in all probability coins.

On the face of it, even with the addition of the three copper coins, this find could probably best be described as a «savings hoard» in that it is selective, containing coins of «high value», unworn rather than worn, and covers a considerable span of years<sup>3</sup>. The state of preservation is even throughout the hoard. As far as the value is concerned, one should bear in mind that the gold of Rome solidi towards the end of Constantine V's reign was heavily alloyed with Copper (Potin) and that these apparently miserable silver fractions may well have represented comparatively high value coins for the area and period<sup>4</sup>.

Hoards which come under the heading of «emergency» or «accidental losses» usually consist of uneven sums of money. This hoard could conceivably represent a group of coins gathered together for a specific payment, but the time span would seem to be against this. Ravenna fell to Aistulf, King of the Lombards in 751, an event which altered the whole balance of power in Italy. This calamity and Aistulf's assertions in 752 that Rome and the districts surrounding it were subject to his jurisdiction, and was anxious to impose a poll tax of one solidus annually on every citizen<sup>5</sup>, would give very good grounds for concealing one's monetary possessions. The coincidence of the last coin in the hoard being dated between 741-752 should be noted.

## CATALOGUE

### *Heraclonas, 641*

1. 0.206 g. ↓. Crowned (?) beardless bust facing, wearing chlamys. Reel border<sup>6</sup>. Rev. RM in monogram combined with a short barred cross.  Linear border. Previously unrecorded.

<sup>3</sup> P. Grierson, «Numismatics», London 1975. Section on coin finds and hoards, pp. 124-139, especially p. 135. Cf. also P. Grierson, «The Interpretation of Coin Finds», 1 and 2, NC 1965 and 1966, pp. i-xiii and pp. i-xv. Especially 2 (1966), p. vi, where it is observed - «Some Byzantine coins remained in circulation for long periods of time up to a hundred years or more.»

<sup>4</sup> The confiscation of the papal lands by Leo III must have seriously reduced the bullion available to Rome at this period. C. Delisle Burns, «The First Europe» (1949), pp. 554-555 and DO III, 1, p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> T. Hodgkin, «Italy and her Invaders» (1899) III, p. 94. There is a reference in T.S. Brown, «Gentlemen and Officers: Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554-800», British School at Rome (1984) p. 192, to leases on farms in the period of Gregory II being as low as two solidi or eight siliquae. If this was indeed the ratio, and these fractions are accepted as being equal to thirty nummi (as suggested below) with 250 nummi = 1 siliqua; then, thirty one × 30 plus three × 30 = 1020 nummi, approximately the amount of a solidus, the siliqua being a money of account. (Dr. Brown's work contains a very comprehensive and valuable bibliography of primary and secondary sources for this period, pp. xiii-xv and 228-246.)

<sup>6</sup> The reel border consists of triangular overlapping wedges pointing sometimes clockwise sometimes anti-clockwise. From the period of Constantine IV the wedges are not always over-

The provisional listing under Heraclonas is suggested as the beardless bust is small and neat (similar to that on the Roman solidi of Heraclonas) and completely different from numbers 2 to 7 below. This together with the linear border on the reverse (a feature otherwise more usual at a later period on the silver fractions of Leontius and Tiberius III) and the cross with a short bar seem to separate this issue. Apart from the linear border the style does not seem to fit for a listing under Anastasius II.

*Constans II, 641-668*

641-647 (?)

2. 0.141 g. ↘ . Crowned beardless bust facing, wearing chlamys. Reel border. Crude style.  
Rev. RM in monogram combined with a long barred cross.  Reel border.  
Previously unrecorded.

647-651 (?)

3. 0.272 g. ↓ . Crowned bust facing with short beard, wearing chlamys. Reel border.  
Rev. RM in monogram combined with a short barred cross.  Reel border.  
BMC 381/2<sup>7</sup>, Pl XXXV, 6 (Constans II) = Hahn 75 (Constantine IV) = DO 80a<sup>8</sup> (Constantine IV).  
4. 0.247 g. ↘ . Type as previous. References as for number 3.  
5. 0.189 g. ↘ . Type as previous, but bars of cross end as cross potent<sup>9</sup>.   
6. 0.238 g. ↓ . Type as previous, but trefoil (?) on crown, and bars of cross end as a form of cross pattee.   
7. 0.248 g. ↓ . Type as numbers 3 and 4, but different treatment of the crown, beard and hair.

Although Hahn, and Grierson in DO, have listed the one recorded specimen of the short bearded type (hoard numbers 3-7) under Constantine IV, the existence of number 2 (beardless bust) of very similar type and workmanship to numbers 3, 4, 5 and 6 (no globus cruciger) but quite different to the beardless bust types (some with globus cruciger) listed under Constantine IV<sup>10</sup>, suggest that the original attribution of Wroth in BMC is the correct one.

lapping thus sometimes giving a pellet appearance, but revert back to the normal overlapping «reel» border for the period of Constantine V. A certain reluctance to accept this attribution has been indicated in correspondence by both Dr. Hahn and Dr. Morrisson. However, altough the copper coins previously attributed to Herclonas are now shown to belong to Constans II, the attribution of the gold is quite another matter and the original attribution is still accepted by most scholars, and in particular by Professor Grierson. Cf. P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (1982), 94, 110, 123/4 and 142.

<sup>7</sup> W. Wroth, «Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum» (1908).

<sup>8</sup> XX

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion on the form of cross cf. DO II, 1, pp. 94-99.

<sup>10</sup> Hahn 73 = Berlin (with gl. cr.). DO 80b - see below, hoard nos. 11, 12 and 13.

651 (?)–668

8. 0.329 g. ↓. Bust with long beard, facing, wearing chlamys and crown with trefoil; holding globus cruciger in left hand. Reel border.  
Rev. RM, Greek cross above, six-pointed star<sup>12</sup> below. Heavy reel border.
9. 0.268 g. ↓. Crowned bust with long beard, facing, wearing chlamys and holding globus cruciger in right hand. Fragmentary inscription. Reel border.  
Rev. RM, cross potent above, seven-pointed star<sup>12</sup> below. Heavy reel border.  
BMC 379. DO 192. CNI XV, pl. III, 25.
10. 0.213 g. ↓. Crown with trefoil and eight-pointed star otherwise type as previous.  
Tolstoi 120<sup>11</sup> = (Hahn 159).  
The variety without an obverse inscription (no. 8) appears to have been unknown previously.

*Constantine IV, 668–685*

668–672 or 676–685

11. 0.315 g. ↓. Crowned beardless bust facing, wearing chlamys and holding globus cruciger in right hand. Reel border.  
Rev. RM in monogram combined with a short barred cross,  ; eight-pointed star in upper field left<sup>12</sup>. Reel border.
12. 0.195 g. \. Type as previous but style a little more crude. Longer bar to cross on reverse.
13. 0.171 g. ↓. Type as previous, but star has seven points<sup>12</sup>.  
This type seems to be known only from a line drawing in Sabatier p. 268, 17, pl. XXVIII, 22<sup>13</sup> with a seven-pointed star and no globus cruciger, listed there under Heraclius.  
The existence of numbers 11, 12 and 13 with the emperor holding a globus cruciger, can only cast doubt on the detail of Sabatier's line drawing, but at the same time the basic type is confirmed. A seven-pointed star is confirmed with number 13. The pendants of the fibula on the chlamys are crudely depicted. This distinctive feature links this type with the next two types (numbers 14, 15 and 16; and number 17).

668–672

14. 0.343 g. \. Crowned beardless bust facing, wearing chlamys and holding globus cruciger in right hand. Reel border.  
Rev. Monogram of Pope Vitalian (657–672),  . Linear border.

<sup>11</sup> It is confusing that Hahn should list different varieties under the same number, e.g. Hahn 159 = BMC 379/DO 192 (crown with cross) and Tolstoi 120 (crown with trefoil). This makes an exact identification of the Turin specimen difficult.

<sup>12</sup> A six or eight pointed star was originally a monogram of I and X (Jesus Christ) with or without a cross ~~X~~ or ~~X~~. The form ~~X~~ seems to have no meaning (DO II, 1, pp. 109–110). The seven pointed star on number 13, confirming Sabatier's line drawing, is probably an engraver's error. It would seem quite logical for the pope eventually to replace the star in the top left position with his own initial.

<sup>13</sup> Sabatier 17 = DO 80b (dated 668–685) = Hahn 74 (dated 668–674) = Tolstoi 44 (under Heraclius, p. 663).

15. 0.257 g. ↓. Type as previous, but reel border on obverse and reverse. Smaller monogram.
16. 0.250 g. ↓. As number 15.  
Unprecedented for this early period<sup>14</sup>. It is extremely important for the degree of papal independence and sovereignty it implies. Few non-imperial monograms occur on seventh century coins, apart from varieties of the christogram<sup>15</sup>. The globus of the globus cruciger is off the flan and the cross therefore appears as if it is a separate cross in the left field. The S is off the flan on number 14. In general during this period the dies were too large for the blanks. The pendants of the fibula are depicted in the same manner as on the preceding type.

672-676

17. 0.234 g. ↓. Crowned (?) bust facing, wearing chlamys and holding globus cruciger in right hand.

Rev. Monogram  (Pope Adeodatus 672-676)<sup>16</sup>. Reel border.

Unknown previously and very important for the extent and continuity of papal sovereignty it suggests. The same treatment of the pendants of the fibula as on the preceding two types.

*Justinian II, first reign, 685-695*

685-687

18. 0.259 g. ↓. Crowned beardless bust facing, wearing chlamys and holding globus cruciger in right hand. Reel border.  
Rev. RM, cross above. Reel border.  
BNP<sup>17</sup> 1 (under Constantine V) = Hahn 43 = Ricotti Prina<sup>18</sup>, pl. 17, 84 (under Constans II). Ratto 1548<sup>19</sup> (under Constans II) = DO 68 (under Justinian II's first reign).

<sup>14</sup> Unless we accept the monogram on certain small Roman bronzes of Libius Severus III (461-465) (Cohen 18), as a monogram for General Ricimer (Interregnum 465-467). See G. Lacom's recent pioneering work «La Fin de l'Empire Romain et le monnayage en Italie» (1983), p. 390, and especially the comments of J.P.C. Kent in the foreword. «We would profit from a fresh look at the monogram on the bronzes of Libius Severus, is it as we would expect, just a simple version of the imperial name, or is it truly that of the patrician Ricimer, with all that this implies.»

<sup>15</sup> DO II, 1, 109.

<sup>16</sup> Pope Adeodatus is listed in some works as Deusdedit II, but I have preferred to follow the Liber Pontificalis, Louis Duchesne ed., Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et Rome (1955), 3 vols., p. CCLXXII (part of this list is reproduced in Hodgkin, vol. VI, p. 387). The possibility does of course exist that the monogram on number 17 could conceivably be read as representing Pope Agatho (678-681). However the form d for D seems clear, and it seems safest at this stage to list the coin under Pope Adeodatus.

<sup>17</sup> C. Morrisson, «Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale», 2 vols. (1970).

<sup>18</sup> D. Ricotti Prina, «La monetazione aurea delle zecche minori bizantine, dal VI al XI secolo» (1972).

<sup>19</sup> R. Ratto, «Monnaies byzantines» (1930).

19. 0.194 g. ↓. Type as previous, but reverse with border of pellets.
20. 0.212 g. \. Slightly larger head and reverse with reel border, otherwise as previous.

The dating is suggested on the evidence of the signed coin of Sergius (687–701). If Popes John V (685–686) or Conon (686–687) were unwilling to allow their initials to appear on the coinage, to revert to a traditional type<sup>42</sup> with RM would not seem illogical.

687–695

21. 0.140 g. ↓. Crowned beardless bust facing, wearing chlamys and holding globus cruciger in right hand. Linear border.

Rev. Full monogram for Rome, , S in upper field left (Pope Sergius I, 687–701). Linear border. Previously unrecorded.

It will be noted that the beardless bust was in use on the Metropolitan coinage until 687 and that we may therefore expect to see coins with a bearded bust with the signature of Pope Sergius appear in time. Hoard coin number 21 certainly bears little resemblance to the rather crude workmanship shown by the coins of the first two issues. The similarities are such in style and the general superior workmanship between this coin and the work of the anonymous master engraver who designed the «good style»<sup>20</sup> bust of the last gold issues of Constantine IV and whose work continued into the early years of Justinian II's first reign on the «good style» Constantinopolitan solidi of his beardless bust<sup>21</sup> issues one may be forgiven for surmising, perhaps rather whimsically, that this man may have come to reside in Rome. Anyway, whimsical or not, the work was undoubtedly performed by a person of outstanding skill. (See figure 1.)



Fig. 1

*Leontius, 695–698*

22. 0.205 g. \. Crowned bearded bust facing, wearing loros and holding globus cruciger in right hand. Linear border.

Rev. RM, cross potent above. Linear border.  
Hahn 30. Sabatier 5. Ricotti Prina 59 (Phocas).

<sup>20</sup> DO II, 2, p. 530, 12–15.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p. 575, 1–3.

*Tiberius III, 698-705*

23. 0.150 g. \. Crowned beardless bust facing, wearing chlamys and holding spear across the front of his body. Linear border.  
Rev. Combined monogram for Tiberius and Rome, . Linear border.  
(Hahn 71 (Turin)).

24. 0.271 g. Type as previous.  
(Hahn 71)

Hahn has read the monogram on the specimen in Turin as a simple monogram for Tiberius () with no reference to the city, a reading which in itself would be very unusual for the Rome Mint<sup>22</sup>. The reading on the two examples published here, however, is clear. A combined monogram is unprecedented for this Mint unless one accepts Hahn's attribution of certain silver coins of Heraclius which bear the reverse type  to Rome.

*Justinian II, second reign, 705-711*

25. 0.225 g. \. Crowned beardless (?) bust facing, wearing chlamys (?) and holding globus cruciger in right hand. Crude style. Reel border.  
Rev. Monogram, , for Pope Sisinnius (708). Reel (?) border.  
CNI XVIII (1939), pl. XII, 26 (Princes of Capua and Beneventum, p. 243).  
In the CNI the monogram was read as representing the letters STFN. Pope Sisinnius reigned for only twenty days, and it seems remarkable, bearing in mind his age and infirmity, that coins should have been struck in his name, let alone that any should have survived. There is also a lead seal with the name of Pope Sisinnius in a private collection in Italy, as yet unpublished.

*Anastasius II, 713-715*

26. 0.209 g. \. Crowned (?) beardless bust facing, wearing chlamys and holding mappa in left hand. Linear border.  
Rev. RM in monogram combined with a cross. . Linear border.  
This coin has been listed under Anastasius II on the basis of its similarity, especially in the style of the hair, with the gold issues of this emperor for Rome<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> DO 1, p. 21. The coins of Tiberius combining his name with that of Rome are indeed uncharacteristic and most unusual. An imperial monogram of any kind is most unusual for Rome. See also p. 108 where it is remarked that no imperial monograms were used at Carthage or Rome.

<sup>23</sup> Hahn 151, 152<sup>1</sup> = BMC 448, 152<sup>2</sup> = Vatican Collection. Sabatier, pl. LXX, 20. These however are more likely to have been struck in Ravenna as listed in DO (II, 1, 20 and 371, no. 280).

<sup>24</sup> DO II, 1, 18, 20 and 21. BMC 11 and 12. Hahn 18, 19, 20, tremisses 21, 22.

717-720 (?)

27. 0.153 g. ↓. Crowned beardless bust facing, wearing chlamys. Linear border. Rev. RM in monogram combined with a cross.  Linear border. This coin is attributed to the early part of Leo III's reign on the basis of its similarity in the treatment of the hair with that of Leo's Rome solidi<sup>25</sup>.

720 (?)-731

28. 0.167 g. \. Fragmentary inscription. Crowned beardless bust facing, wearing chlamys and holding globus cruciger in right hand. Crude reel or pellet border. Rev. RM in monogram combined with a cross,  ;  in upper field left (Pope Gregory II, 715-731). Crude reel or pellet<sup>6</sup> border. This type was unknown previously. The attribution to Leo III has been made mainly on the basis of the treatment of the hair with the very distinctive horizontal line on each side (cf. fig. 2). This feature first occurs on the Rome coinage of Leo III and is continued on the Rome coinage of Constantine V. Also the bust is quite different from those of Constantine IV or Justinian II.



Fig. 2

The distinctive form of  for G first occurs under Justinian II in RE~~N~~N~~I~~-UM and REGNAN~~I~~SIUM. An alternative attribution for no. 28 would be under Justinian II with the  representing Pope John V (685-686). The form G for Giovanni was a later development and the form I for Iohannes was more usual in this period. There are examples, however, in the late sixth century of I being used for G<sup>26</sup>, and therefore the reverse (G for I) would not be impossible.

There are some superficial similarities with number 26 (Justinian II, second reign/Pope Sisinnius) but they are not such as to justify listing number 28 under Pope John VI (701-705), or John VII (705-707). It is unfortunate that the inscription on the obverse is undecipherable. The first two letters could be either  or  and the fifth letter possibly an O - which would fit for the present attribution.

<sup>25</sup> DO III, 1, 62, 63 and 64. Hahn 16, 17 and 18.

<sup>26</sup> T.S. Brown, op. cit. (n. 5) *Iugildus* for *Gugildus* (AD 591) in the prosopographical index p. 262. Cf. also note on p. 72.

731-741

29. 0.286 g. ✓. Crowned bearded bust facing, wearing chlamys and holding globus cruciger in right hand, star in field left and right. Reel or pellet border.

Rev. Monogram of Pope Gregory III (731-741), . Reel or pellet<sup>6</sup> border.

DO 92 = Grantley Sale 1971, 2822. BMC V<sup>27</sup>, p. 159, notes 2 and 3, pl. XXI, 17-18 (under Gregory of Benevento) = De Salis Gift and Baron Kolb Coll. 1847. Sambon<sup>27</sup>, p. 113, 681.

Previously variously attributed to Gregory, Exarch of Africa, who revolted against Constans II in 647, and to Duke Gregory of Benevento (732-739)<sup>28</sup>. Its presence in this hoard provides confirmation, if such confirmation were needed, of the correctness of the reattribution of this coin from where it languished for so many years under Benevento to its rightful place under Byzantine or «papal» Rome.

*Constantine V, 741-775*

741-752

30. 0.148 g. ↓. Crowned beardless bust facing, wearing chlamys, cross in field left. Reel border.

Rev. RM in monogram combined with a cross, , Z in upper field left (Pope Zacharias 741-752). Reel border.

31. 0.114 g. ↓. Similar to previous. (Z in upper field left.)

Previously unknown and of considerable interest as their existence shows that the silver fractions at present listed in the various standard works under Constantine V for Rome with the reverse type  and emperor wearing a loros<sup>29</sup> must be attributed elsewhere.

*Copper thirty nummi*

*Justinian II (?), first reign, 685-695*

A. 0.955 g. ↑. No inscription. Beardless head an shoulder bust facing, wearing chlamys and crown with row of pellets, holding globus cruciger in right hand.

Rev. XXX, in exergue MO ().

DO 69 var., cf. Murari<sup>30</sup> 4 var.

<sup>27</sup> W. Wroth, «Western and Provincial Byzantine Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards in the British Museum» (1911). See also G. Sambon, «Repertorio generale delle monete coniate in Italia e da Italiani all'estero, 476-1266» (1912), where it was properly attributed as a papal coin and where it commenced Sambon's listing of the papal series. P. 113, 681. (See also Footnote 125).

<sup>28</sup> DO III, 1 (Washington 1973), p. 238. See also the interesting discussion in Wroth (above n. 27), p. 160.

<sup>29</sup> See DO 44, BMC 66-69, Tolstoi 26 and BNP, p. 475 (under Constantine V). Ricotti Prina (above n. 18) 141, 142, 142a and 143 (under the anti-Pope Constantine).

<sup>30</sup> «Monete di trenta nummi dei secoli VII ed VIII della zecca di Roma», Q Tic 6, 1977, pp. 317-339. See also DO II, 1, p. 50.

*Justinian II (?), second reign, 705-711*

B. 0.531 g. ↑. Large crude bust, no pellets on crown, otherwise type as previous.  
Cf. Hahn 53 = Murari 21a. Murari 14 var.

*Leo III (?) 717-741*

C. 0.242 g. ↑. Small neat bust, otherwise types similar to previous.  
DO 93 var., cf. Murari 31 var.

The attribution of these anonymous copper rectangular thirty nummi pieces of Rome, for the period 690-720, to particular emperors is still very difficult. The most recent study is that of Ottorino Murari<sup>30</sup>. It is interesting to note Professor Grierson's comments, in view of the composition of the rest of the hoard, that the low weight combined with a relatively high value suggest that the thirty nummi pieces may have been intended as a coinage in billon rather than copper<sup>31</sup>. Murari has indicated traces of silver on many of the coins he lists<sup>32</sup>. These coins are treated in the CNI<sup>33</sup> as non imperial issues struck in part by the Senate during the last years of Byzantine rule, 690-720.

On the coinage of Vitalian the design of the short or «squat» monogram (nos. 15/16), which enables the final S to appear on the flan of the coin, was presumably designed after the issue of the «elongated» monogram type (no. 14) where only the lower part of the S appears on the coin. A similar miscalculation in the design seems to have occurred on the coins of Sisinnius (no. 25), where the top of the cross is barely discernible, giving rise to modern readings (CNI) of the monogram as Steven – the top of the cross being misread as the bar of the T. However for this monogram (no. 25) although there is no A, Stephen III must remain a possibility – even if stylistically improbable.

<sup>31</sup> DO II, 1, 50.

<sup>32</sup> Murari, op. cit. (n. 30), p. 339, 29d, 31b and 34b. Cf. also p. 321. However Hahn and his colleagues have analysed two specimens by X-ray fluorescence – from a polished surface, and detected no traces of silver. Cf. Roswitha Denk, *Zur Datierung der letzten byzantinischen Münzserien aus Rom, Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses I* (1979), pp. 139-143, note 3. The article itself is of interest as it deals with the last imperial issues of Rome.

<sup>33</sup> XV 60, 13-17.

Breakdown of the Weights of the forty seven silver fractions for which weights are easily obtainable.

Heraclonas			Constans II				Constantine IV		Justinian II	
		beardless	short beard	long beard					first reign	
0.20	1	0.14 2 (chipped)	0.34 BMC 0.24* BMC 0.27 3	0.30 DO 0.40 BMC 0.29 BMC 0.32 8 0.24 4 0.18 5 0.23 6 0.24 7	0.34 DO 0.31 11 0.19 12 (worn) 0.26 9 0.21 10 (worn) 0.34 14 0.25 15 0.25 16 0.23 17				0.25 18 0.19 19 0.21 20 0.14 21	

\* described as clipped.

Leontius	Tiberius III	Justinian II second reign	Anastasius II	Leo III	Constantine V	
0.20	22	0.15 23 (worn) 0.27 24 0.16 Turin (chipped)	0.40 BMC 0.47 BMC 0.49 BMC 0.25 BMC 0.40 DO 0.29 BN 0.45 Tol. 0.22 25	0.20 26	0.15 27 (worn) 0.16 28 0.28 29 0.31 BMCV 0.24 BMCV	0.14 30 0.11 31 (worn)

The average weight is 0.25 g, without the worn, clipped or chipped coins 0.26 g, without the abnormally low weight coins 0.27 g.

It will be noticed immediately that there seems to be a low point in the first reign of Justinian II and a remarkably high point in the second reign of Justinian II. (In fact the only reign for which these high weights, above 0.40, are recorded.) Further study on the attributions of the rectangular thirty nummi copper coins may reveal a similar weight connection. The range of denominations or weights issued at any particular period will undoubtedly bear a strong connection with the pattern of prices.

The standard silver coin of the fourth century weighing ca. 1.8 g is customarily termed a siliqua, the latin term for carat. This was a money of account in the later empire at  $\frac{1}{24}$  of the solidus as this weighed 24 siliquae or carats. The solidus weighed  $\frac{1}{72}$  of the Roman pound (ca. 327.45 g) calculated at 6000 nummi which gives a siliqua of 250 nummi. Four solidi equalled one pound of silver, 1:18 being the traditional gold silver ratio. The value of the solidus before the reign of Justinian I fluctuated considerably. Under the reign of Justinian it was brought down from 8400 nummi (a siliqua value of 350) to 7200 nummi (a siliqua value of 300). However the silver coins of this emperor struck in Italy with the mark value CN (250) are also considered to represent

siliquae<sup>34</sup>. It is clear that a theoretical value could not be held stable in actual market conditions which must have varied from place to place and period to period. A number of Italian coins of Justinian and Justin II are marked with values in terms of nummi – CN (250), PKE (125), PK (120). It is suggested by Professor Grierson that since all western silver coins were very light their values were geared to the copper coinage<sup>35</sup>. If one assumes a notional siliqua of 250 nummi then it seems apparent that the silver fractions of Rome were intended to pass as coins of thirty nummi. This is directly supported by the inclusion in the hoard of the «silver-washed» copper thirty nummi. That they represent a theoretical  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a siliqua, as the duodecimal system was usually preferred, is probably correct, but as the actual market value at different periods would have varied they are probably better regarded as silver coins of thirty nummi on the analogy of the CN, PKE and PK coins, than as eighth's of a siliqua. The coins appear to the eye to be of good silver, although no comprehensive analyses has yet been undertaken. Dr. W. Hahn has been kind enough to communicate the results of micro-chemical analyses on three silver fractions, two of type 15 (Pope Constantine), one of type 19 (Gregory III).

	Constantine	ANS	69,2 % Ag.	30,8 % cu.	
(0.40 g)		BMC 66	36,9 % Ag.	63,1 % cu.	traces of Pb
	Gregory	ANS	68,6 % Ag.	31,4 % cu.	

From Hahn's figures, although without a more comprehensive analyses this can only be speculative, one explanation which suggests itself for the heavier coins of type 15 may be that they simply had a lower silver content, perhaps due to a particular shortage of silver at that time. It is indeed remarkable, as Dr. Hahn has pointed out by letter, that there are none of the relatively common coins of type 15 in the hoard. If the hoard was gathered together for a specific payment, or was a «savings hoard», then the exclusion of those coins with a lower silver content would make sense.

It is interesting to note the lugs and «shear» marks on some of the coins, particularly numbers 22, 24, 26 and 30. These characteristics give some indication of mint practices for the period. The die axis seems to be consistently ↓, ↘, or ↙, and can probably therefore be described as «regular». (The position of the dies can sometimes be a useful additional aid in mint identification, as for example, → seems to occur only at Carthage.)

<sup>34</sup> P. Grierson, «Byzantine Coins» (n. 6), 16, where it is stated these coins «were no doubt siliquae». Hahn's view communicated by letter, is that from a half-siliqua of Heraclius tentatively assigned to Rome (Hahn 151, cf. footnote 23 above) with the mark of value X (ten folles = 400 nummi), an  $\frac{1}{8}$  siliqua would then = 100 nummi. Therefore  $10 \times$  copper 30 nummi would = 3 silver fractions. He goes on to say «the old 6th century valuation 250 nummi was applied to a half-siliqua under Justinian but to a quarter siliqua under Justin II! If they (the Rome authorities) wanted the copper to equal the silver they would have inscribed them with <100>. Anyway the coppers are fiduciary». Cf. also footnote 1.

<sup>35</sup> DO II, 1, p. 20. However as these silver fractions were in existence before the introduction of the copper rectangular thirty nummi coins, it may be that the copper at this time was geared to the silver rather than the other way around as indicated in DO, and that the silver at this time played a more important economic role, at least in Rome, than has hitherto been thought. Cf. DO II, 1, p. 17, where it is stated, «in the West there were only tiny silver coins which after Heraclius were issued in such small numbers that one cannot attribute to them any economic function at all.»

The nine extant silver fractions of Rome showing Constans II with a long beard<sup>36</sup> dated 650–668 would make it very difficult to list the Vitalian (657–672) coins with crude beardless bust (hoard nos. 14, 15 and 16) under Constans II. Therefore they have been placed under Constantine IV<sup>37</sup>. This arrangement and the existence of the beardless bust coins (hoard nos. 1 and 2, listed here under Heraclonas and Constans II) suggest that certain reattributions will have to be made. Notably the type with short beard and crowned bust wearing chlamys and without globus cruciger, see hoard nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 and BMC 381/2 (Constans II) = Hahn 75 (Constantine IV) = DO 80a (Constantine IV), should now revert to Constans II as originally listed by Wroth in BMC. The beardless bust coin (hoard no. 2) is clearly stylistically linked with the short beard coins (hoard nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 and BMC 381/2 = Hahn 75 = DO 80a) and completely different from the beardless bust coins listed under Constantine IV<sup>38</sup>.

It will be noted that all Sabatier's line drawings of the beardless bust coins with star<sup>39</sup> (here listed under Constantine IV) depict pendilia attached to the crown<sup>40</sup>, but from the evidence of the three pieces with star in field published here (hoard nos. 11, 12 and 13) and the three coins of Vitalian (hoard nos. 14, 15 and 16) it will be seen that there is little doubt that there are no pendilia, only very crudely drawn hair, like triangles attached to each side of the head. The main criteria in distinguishing between the two groups of crowned beardless bust wearing chlamys would seem to be a) crude style, triangular hair (except on the line drawings of Sabatier) and carrying globus cruciger; b) better style, no globus cruciger and rounded hair. The rounded hair group b) also breaks down into two distinct varieties. The two coins known only from this hoard (nos. 1 and 2) both of much better style than those of group a) above. b) 1. Neat small bust, linear border on reverse. b) 2. Not so neat, larger bust, bolder style, reel border. The two coins are so different from each other that it is difficult to believe that they represent the same emperor, and therefore the first coin, b) 1., is listed provisionally under Heraclonas. One may bear in mind that the Roman series in gold under Heraclonas is, unexpectedly, comparatively common<sup>41</sup>, and there seems no reason not to expect a coinage in silver to have been struck.

The various attributions suggested above and the existence of the Vitalian coins suggest that Sabatier 18 (= DO 191) beardless bust with reverse type RM with cross above, star below should also be transferred to Constantine IV, possibly to the period after the death of Adeodatus in 676 when, if the reigning pope for one reason or another did not wish to sign the coinage, one may have expected a traditional reverse type with RM to have been reintroduced. This reverse type was continued on the silver fractions of what, on the evidence of hoard coin 21 above, is shown to be Justinian

<sup>36</sup> BMC 380. BMC 379. Tolstoi 120. DO 192. CNI XV, pl. III, 25. Hahn (Turin) and the three hoard coins, numbers 8, 9 and 10.

<sup>37</sup> This also serves to confirm the listing of Sabatier 17 under Constantine IV by Hahn (74) and Grierson (DO 80b).

<sup>38</sup> Hahn 73. BNP 1. Sabatier 17, 19–20. Hoard, nos. 11, 12, 13; 14, 15 and 16.

<sup>39</sup> Sabatier, p. 269, nos. 19–20, pl. XXVIII, 24–25 (gl. cr. visible). (Sab. 19 = CNI II 34) = Tolstoi 42/43 (Heraclius), p. 632; Sabatier, p. 268, 17, pl. XXVIII 22 = CNI II 32 = Tolstoi 44 (Heraclius), p. 633 = DO 80b = Hahn 74 (Con. IV).

<sup>40</sup> Also Sabatier, p. 269, 18, pl. XXVII 23 (RM) = CNI II 33 = DO 191 (Constans II) = Tolstoi 45 (Heraclius). This last variety apparently not included in Hahn's corpus!

<sup>41</sup> DO II, 2, p. 393, note to 17.

II's early issue of his first reign<sup>42</sup>. Grierson has already stated in DO<sup>43</sup> that the issue in question (DO 191) might be later but went on to say that the M shows it is not likely to be as early as Heraclius and that its natural place was here (under Constans II). In the light of the contents of the hoard it would seem that its natural place is just a little later, under Constantine IV. Although, whether it should be dated to 668–672, before the reign of Vitalian, as the star and heavy reel border on the reverse might suggest, or to 676–685 is not easy to determine.

The silver siliqua fractions with reverse type K combined with a cross (K) and a facing bust wearing a loros<sup>44</sup> which at present are attributed in all the main works to Constantine V are better attributed, on the evidence of hoard coins 30 and 31, to the pontificate of Pope Constantine (708–715). This group of coins has been listed under Constantine V on the basis of the K standing for the emperor's initial, despite the fact that it was considered a characteristic of the mint of Ravenna and not that of Rome to use the emperor's initial or part of his name in the reverse type<sup>45</sup>. The style and workmanship too, compared with the silver fractions of Leo III<sup>46</sup> and now with hoard coins 30 and 31 above, is clearly of a period earlier than has previously been believed. However it is worth quoting the very discerning remarks of Professor Grierson in full:

«Small silver coins having on the reverse a monogram of K for KWVσTAVTIVOS and a cross are customarily attributed to Rome. Although the portrait does not clearly resemble the gold (of Constantine V) they are more likely to belong to Rome than to any other mint. The reverse type is seventh century rather than eighth century in its general aspect, the imperial bust and in particular the design of the hair cannot be earlier than the eighth century<sup>47</sup>.»

The discovery of hoard coins 30 and 31 above with a Z in the reverse field representing Pope Zacharias (741–752) and the practice of other Roman pontiffs of associating themselves on the coinage with the Byzantine emperor<sup>48</sup> suggest that the K loros coins would be better attributed to an emperor within the pontificate of Pope Constantine (708–715)<sup>49</sup>, that is to say to the second reign of Justinian II (705–711), to Philippicus Bardanes (711–713) or to Anastasius II (713–715). The only, highly unlikely, al-

<sup>42</sup> DO 68, and hoard coins numbers 19 and 20. Although DO refers to the RM as the «usual reverse type» (II, 1, p. 109), it would seem from the contents of the hoard that the RM in monogram combined with a cross is in fact the main «traditional type». It can now be seen that the RM occurs only intermittently with the long bearded types of Constans II, one type of Justinian II and the issues of Leontius. The monogram/cross type occurs on issues of Heraclonas, Constans II, Constantine IV, Justinian II, Anastasius II, Leo III, and Constantine V.

<sup>43</sup> DO II, 2, p. 503, note to 191.

<sup>44</sup> BMC 66–69, pl. XLV 11–12 (Con. V) = Tolstoi 25 (Con. V) = DO 44 (Con. V) = Ricotti Prina 142 (the anti-pope Constantine). Tolstoi 26 (Con. V) = Ricotti Prina 143 (anti-pope Constantine). Ricotti Prina 142a (anti-pope Constantine). CNI XV, pl. III, 22 (Con. V); and also CNI XVIII (1939), pl. XII, 25 (Princes of Capua and Beneventum, p. 243). Also P. Grierson, «Byzantine Coins», London 1982, p. 169 (724).

<sup>45</sup> DO II, 1, 21.

<sup>46</sup> BMC V, p. 159, numbers 2 and 3, pl. XXI, 17 and 18 (under Gregory of Benevento). DO 92 and hoard no. 29.

<sup>47</sup> DO III, 1, 89 and 297.

<sup>48</sup> Popes Vitalian, Adeodatus, Sergius I, Sisinnius, Gregory II, Gregory III and Zacharias.

<sup>49</sup> One may safely discount the suggestion of Ricotti Prina that the K represents the anti-pope Constantine 767–768 (pp. 81–82). Similarly Laffranchi believed that the K referred to the anti-

ternative would be to date the loros coins after the death of Pope Zacharias in 752. One may omit Anastasius II as a candidate on the basis that on all his coins he is invariably depicted wearing a chlamys, never a loros. Also there is a coin in the hoard which may plausibly be attributed to this emperor. Philippicus Bardanes, on the face of it, may appear a likely candidate as he is usually shown wearing a loros. However, his open profession of a heresy<sup>50</sup> which aroused great antagonism in Rome even to the extent of the Roman authorities refusing to impress his likeness on coins and to omitting his name from the dating of deeds and documents<sup>51</sup> would seem to eliminate him. There are no coins known of Philippicus Bardanes for the mint of Rome other than a line drawing of a solidus in Sabatier<sup>52</sup> which under the circumstances must remain doubtful. The delay in the news reaching Rome from Constantinople of the accession of Theodosius III in 715 would exclude this emperor. As there are known silver issues for Justinian II's first reign and now additionally hoard coin no. 21, and issues for Leontius and Tiberius III<sup>53</sup>, there seems little doubt that the coins with  and loros should be reassigned to the second reign of Justinian II – this would not be at variance with the farsighted remarks in DO in 1973 quoted above<sup>47</sup>. The mint would appear to have been fairly active at this time as there is also a gold issue known for the second reign<sup>54</sup>.

As recently as 1968<sup>55</sup> in a discussion on monograms reference was made to the form  appearing on one coin of Rome<sup>56</sup>.

«A monogram of RM combined with a horizontal stroke that can be construed as a cross or an abbreviation mark is used on one silver coin of Rome replacing the usual type on which the letters RM appear side by side.»

At this time the latest Italian issues for Rome were thought to be those of Leontius, but it was also suggested that specimens are so rare that ones of later emperors might

pope Constantine on the analogy of the coin of Leo III with Pope Gregory III. L. Laffranchi, «Il tremisse di Ariperto con Iffo e le prime monete Beneventane», *Rassegna numismatica* 31, 1934, 35. However they were both correct in believing that the K referred to a pope!

<sup>50</sup> The reign was marked by a momentary restitution of Monotheletism in the East. Gibbon, «Decline and Fall», 8th ed. (Bury) V, p. 183, 14.

<sup>51</sup> G. Ostrogorsky, «History of the Byzantine State», 2 (1968), p. 153. Or as P. Villari puts it, the people treated his edicts with scorn and no coin stamped with his effigy was given currency. «The Barbarian Invasions of Italy» (1913), p. 360. See also C. Oman, «The Dark Ages» (1919), p. 279; and J. Richards, «The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476–752» (1979), p. 214.

<sup>52</sup> Sabatier, p. 37, no. 2, Pl XXXVIII 14 = DO 19 = Hahn 18 – where it is illustrated (it should be noted however that Sabatier did not illustrate the obverse of his no. 2, and that Hahn illustrates the Constantinopolitan obverse of Sab. 1 with the Rome reverse of Sab. 2!). Also see Hahn who has strangely followed Murari in attributing to Rome an anonymous bronze thirty nummus purporting to be that of Philippicus Bardanes. Hahn 25 = Murari 12.

<sup>53</sup> Hahn 30; Sabatier 5; Ricotti Prina Pl 17, 59 (under Phocas) = Cahn 75, (May 1932) 1647; and hoard no. 22. And for Tiberius: Hahn 71 and Hoard 23 and 24.

<sup>54</sup> P. Grierson, «Byzantine Coins», op. cit. Pl 32, 577.

<sup>55</sup> DO II, 1, 109.

<sup>56</sup> The Rome monogram combined with a cross, , was taken by Sabatier and Tolstoi as a monogram for Heraclius. Tolstoi 42/3. Sabatier, p. 269, 19, and 20, and p. 86, Pl I, 37–39.

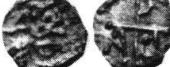
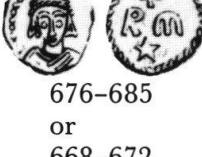
<sup>57</sup> The reference is to BMC 381 (short bearded type of Constans II) and a line drawing of Sabatier.

yet turn up<sup>58</sup>. The coin of Leo III with Pope Gregory had not yet been convincingly rescued from Benevento<sup>27</sup> and the Turin coin of Tiberius III had not been recorded. However, up to 1984 thirty four specimens of this denomination have been noted together with the thirty one published above, a total of sixty five (line drawings not included).

The listing of this hoard has clearly shown that a number of reattributions are necessary, and as many of the silver fractions of Rome for this period are listed under different emperors in different standard works, it was felt that it might be helpful if all known examples were illustrated under one heading for ease of comparison, with the new attributions and dating suggested by the evidence from the hoard.

<sup>58</sup> DO II, 1, 20.

Variety or Type	Suggested dating	Examples recorded	Emperor and type	Other attributions and references	Bishops of Rome
1		1	Heraclonas, 641 small neat beardless bust, no gl. cr.	Hoard, no. 1	John IV, 640–642
2		1	Constans II, 641–668 beardless bust (no gl. cr.), long bar to cross	Hoard, no. 2	John IV, 640–642 Theodore I, 642–649
3a		6	Bust with short beard, no gl. cr.	Hoard, nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 BMC 381/2 (Con II) = Hahn (Con IV) = DO (Con IV)	Theodore I, 642–649 St. Martin, 649–654
3b		1	As previous, but different treatment of crown, hair and beard	Hoard, no. 7	
4a		1	a) Bust with long beard, gl. cr. in left hand, crown with trefoil, Greek cross on rev.	BMC 380	St. Martin, 649–654 St. Eugene I, 654–657 St. Vitalian, 657–672
4b		1	b) As previous but no obverse inscription!	Hoard, no. 8	
4c		2	c) As previous, but cross potent on rev. and fragmentary inscription on obv. gl. cr. in right hand	Hoard, no. 10 Tolstoi 120	
4d		5	d) As previous, but crown with cross	Hoard, no. 9 BMC 379 (Greek cross on rev.) DO 192. CNI XV, pl. III, 25 (under Papal pseudo Byzantine). Sabatier 11 (Con II) = CNI XV, pl. II 40 (Con II) (no gl. cr.). Turin (?) <sup>11</sup>	

Variety or Type	Suggested dating	Examples recorded	Emperor and type	Other attributions and references	Bishops of Rome
5	 668-672 or 676-685	4	Constantine IV, 668-685 Beardless bust with gl. cr., triangular hair style (Con II). (Sabatier 20 with short beard and gl. cr. in left hand!)	Hahn 73 (= Berlin). BNP 1. Kopenhagen. Turin. Sabatier 19 (no gl. cr.) = Tolstoi (Heraclius)	St. Vitalian, 657-672
6	 668-672 or 676-685	3	Beardless bust, gl. cr., triangular hair style, star in field left	Hoard, nos. 11, 12 and 13. Sabatier 17 (no gl. cr.) = Tolstoi (Heraclius)	St. Vitalian, 657-672
7a	 668-672	1	As before but mono- gram of Pope Vitalian	Hoard, no. 14.	St. Vitalian, 657-672
7b	 668-672	2	As before but shorter or «squat» monogram	Hoard, nos. 15 and 16.	St. Vitalian, 657-672
8	 672-676	1	Monogram of Pope Adeodatus	Hoard, no. 17.	Adeodatus, 672-676
9	 676-685 or 668-672	?	Beardless bust, triangular hair style	Sabatier 18 (Heraclius) = Tolstoi (Heraclius) = DO (Constans II)	Donus, 676-678 St. Agatho, 678-681 St. Leo II, 682-683 St. Benedict, 684-685
10	 685-687	5	Justinian II, first reign 685-695 RM, cross above <sup>59</sup>	Hoard nos. 18, 19 and 20. BNP 1 (Con V) Ratto 1548 (Constans II)(Peter, 686) Ricotti Prina (Anast. II) (Theodore, 686 and 687) (Paschal, 687)	John V, 685-686 Conon, 686-687
11	 687-695	1	Monogram for ROMA, S in field left	Hoard, no. 21	St. Sergius I, 687-701

<sup>59</sup> David Sear in his handbook, «Byzantine Coins and their values» (1974) has listed this type of silver fraction of Justinian II for Rome as no 1308 correctly under Justinian II, but has inadvertently listed the same coin again as no. 1581 incorrectly under Constantine V – no doubt being misled by the error of the coin being listed under this emperor by Mrs. Morrisson in BNP.

Variety or Type	Suggested dating	Examples recorded	Emperor and type	Other attributions and references	Bishops of Rome
12	 695-698	4	Leontius, 695-698	Hoard, no. 22 Hahn 30. Sabatier 5 (Leo III) Ricotti Prina 59 (Phocas). One in a private Collection in Italy.	St. Sergius I, 687-701
13	 698-705	3	Tiberius III, 698-705	Hoard, nos. 23 and 24 Hahn 71	St. Sergius, 687-701 John VI, 701-705
14	 708	2	Justinian II, second reign 705-711 Monogram for Pope Sisinnius	Hoard, no. 25 CNI XVIII (1939), pl. XII, 26. (Princes of Capua and Beneventum, p. 243)	John VII, 705-707 Sisinnius, 708
15	 708-711	9	Monogram for Pope Constantine	BMC 66-69 (Con V) Tolstoi 26 (Con V) BNP (Con V) p. 475 DO (Con V) Ricotti Prina 142a (Cons. the anti-Pope) Sabatier (Con V) CNI XVIII (Princes of Capua and Beneventum!) CNI XV (Con V). Annual Report ANS 1981 p. 15, 15 (Con. V).	Constantine, 708-715
			Philippicus Bardanes, 711-713	No coins issued.	Constantine, 708-715
16	 713-715	1	Anastasius II, 713-715 emperor holding mappa	Hoard, no. 26	Constantine, 708-715
			Theodosius III, 715-717	No coins known.	St. Gregory II, 715-731

Variety or Type	Suggested dating	Examples recorded	Emperor and type	Other attributions and references	Bishops of Rome
17	 717-720 (?)	1	Leo III, 717-741 Bust facing, wearing chlamys. RM combined in cross monogram	Hoard, no. 27	St. Gregory II, 715-731
18	 720(?) - 731	1	in upper left field	Hoard, no. 28	St. Gregory II, 715-731
19	 731-741	6	Monogram of Pope Gregory III	Hoard, no. 29 BMC V. 2 and 3 (Benevento) = DO 92 One in a private collection in Italy. Sambon Collection. ANS.	St. Gregory III, 731-741
20	 741-752	2	Constantine V, 741-775 Z in upper field left.	Hoard, nos. 30 and 31	St. Zacharias, 741-752

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There is reason to believe that the importance of Rome as a mint dates only from the reign of Constans II<sup>60</sup>, and it therefore seems likely that Rome began to strike silver coins only during this reign<sup>61</sup>. The RM was introduced to distinguish the Rome products from Ravenna which as the only silver mint in Italy had not previously found the use of any mint identification necessary and which did not adopt one in the future<sup>62</sup>. Imperial coinage in Rome continued down to at least 776<sup>63</sup> and possibly to 781 when it came into line with the silver deniers of Charlemagne.

«The date at which the mint of Rome ceased to be «Byzantine» is one of considerable importance, but is not easy to determine. The mint administration must have been under the effective control of the popes or the local civic authorities long before the popes began to coin in their own name and even before Gregory III's monogram appeared on silver coins of Leo III. But Rome, unlike Ravenna, was not lost to the Empire by sudden conquest and the replacement of imperial by papal sovereignty; it was a slow and barely perceptible process. The office of Dux Romae persisted throughout the period but we do not know when the duke ceased to be nominated by the emperor. The biographer of Pope Zacharias could write that when the pope was absent from the city its rule was left in the hands of Duke Stephen, the assumption being that usually the business of government belonged to the pope<sup>64</sup>.»

The foregoing comments on papal independence by Professor Grierson<sup>65</sup> certainly seem to be confirmed by the new numismatic evidence presented here of early signed papal coins. The fact that Pope Zacharias coined in his own name confirms the assumption made from the statement of his biographer.

Just how long before the period of Gregory III (731–741) the mint of Rome ceased to be «Byzantine» and effective control of mint administration was considered to be in the hands of the pope is an interesting question. It is stated in the Cambridge Mediaeval History that in the middle of the eighth century the real sovereign was in fact the pope rather than the emperor<sup>66</sup>. Perhaps in the light of the contents of this hoard, this historical view may be modified. The silver coins of Pope Vitalian (657–672) are indeed very early, and if one bears in mind Professor Grierson's remarks regarding the newly uncovered silver fractions of Leo III with the monogram of Gregory III (731–741)<sup>67</sup>, «the reverse is remarkable in having as its type what is virtually a papal monogram, its presence on a coin is a remarkable symbol of papal independence and makes one suspect that some of the unexplained letters in the field of Italian coins of the late seventh and early eighth centuries may be the initials of imperial officials»,

<sup>60</sup> DO II, 2, p. 501, note to 187–189.

<sup>61</sup> If the attribution above to Heraclonas and the early issues of Constans II are accepted, this view requires slight modification.

<sup>62</sup> DO II, 1, 20.

<sup>63</sup> DO III, 1, 90. Cf. also Roswitha Denk's article (cited in footnote 32).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. also Hodgkin, *op. cit.* (n. 5) VI (1916), 496, note 1.

<sup>65</sup> DO III, 1, 89.

<sup>66</sup> CMH, vol. IV (Burry's ed. Cambridge 1923), p. 17. Although now somewhat out of date see also the shorter CMH (1971), vol. I, p. 294 where it is suggested that from the period of Gregory II and III the popes appeared openly as rulers of Rome.

<sup>67</sup> DO III, 1, 238.

then the significance of these remarkable coins of Vitalian, which do not depict «virtually» a papal monogram but an undoubtedly full and complete papal monogram, becomes apparent<sup>68</sup>.

The striking and issue of silvered or «silver-washed» copper coins was in any period a fraudulent exercise by unscrupulous politicians which could only have been designed to cheat the populace and obtain a profit. Not so very different from the printing of excess paper money today! It has been suggested during the course of preparation of this article that the office of pope would not allow such a course, and that a simple explanation of good silver signed by the pope and silver-washed copper circulating together, apparently on a par, would be the Byzantine duke exercising his right to strike coinage and taking the opportunity of making a profit<sup>69</sup>. That is to say two authorities striking the same denomination concurrently, one a miserable fraudulent imperial issue, the other good silver papal issues. Eventually the imperial copper coinage ceased, and the striking of honest large good weight unsilvered copper thirty nummi coins was taken over by Pope Gregory, struck in a similar distinctive square form, and this was then continued on by his successor Pope Zacharias (*fig. 3*).



Fig. 3

One wonders if the sudden arrival of the exarch John Platyn to Rome in 687 in order to settle a disputed papal election<sup>70</sup>, or the advent of the new duke sent out from Constantinople in 712<sup>71</sup> (when the usual method of appointment at this time was by the exarch in Ravenna) could have any bearing on the commencement of these fraudulent «silver-washed» thirty nummi pieces. They are generally considered to be dated between 690 and 720. There is no doubt that there was a certain amount of ill-will be-

<sup>68</sup> For monogram definitions see DO II, 1, 107 ff. «The monogram on the silver fraction of Gregory III is in the form of a cross with a letter at the end of each bar which could be described as «virtually» a cruciform monogram.» The Vitalian silver fractions published here display a properly constituted and unusually complete bar monogram. This type of monogram predominates in the seventh century and usually tends to be much abbreviated including no more than three or four letters of a name. The contents of the hoard also suggest that monograms were equally popular in Rome, and not only in Ravenna as has previously been thought (p. 108).

<sup>69</sup> The bureaucracy during this period became less dependent on Constantinople, or as Brown (op. cit. n. 5) puts it, «A prominent characteristic of military commanders was their capacity for self enrichment» p. 112, see also p. 111. From the early eighth century local dukes were elected without the exarch's approval and the duke of Rome enjoyed a large measure of independence. Brown, 51.

<sup>70</sup> Brown, op. cit. (n. 5) 99 and 98.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 68.

tween Roman and Greek<sup>72</sup>, and for one to cheat the other would probably be quite normal. This period (in Rome) between 604 and 751 was one of considerable change, the old style senatorial aristocracy merging into a new military aristocracy based in the main on ability rather than birth<sup>73</sup> – rather like the period in early nineteenth century France where a private soldier could rise to the rank of Marshal. A time of «opportunity».

The view that the square copper pieces struck by popes Gregory and Zacharias could represent coins rather than tesserae or weights is not new. Carlo Cecchelli has described them as «monete» in his beautifully illustrated «Vita di Roma nel medio evo»<sup>74</sup>. Monneret de Villard noted that the «tessere monetarie rettangolari» had an analogy with the imperial copper with the mark XXX<sup>75</sup>. Also Promis<sup>76</sup>, Pizzomiglio<sup>77</sup>, and Serafini<sup>125</sup> commenced their listings with these issues. More recently this view has been suggested in the notes on a copper of Zacharias in the Garrett Sale Catalogue. «The precise function of these square bronzes is uncertain. It does seem reasonable, however to assign them a monetary function of some sort<sup>78</sup>». Perhaps the advent of this hoard will facilitate acceptance of these square copper pieces as the papal successors of the imperial thirty nummi coins.

In general it seems that a greater degree of papal sovereignty was reflected in the coinage when there was a strong pope or when relations with the empire were «good». That is to say, those periods when the empire had little choice but to accept «good» relations, or when relations could be described as neutral. For example the Vitalian coins are shown by the evidence of other coin types to have been struck under Constantine IV, when, bearing in mind Constans II's tight control of Italy and his loot-laden departure from Rome in 663, relations could only have become better. Vitalian supported the legitimate successor to Constans II, Constantine IV, during the revolt of Mezezious in Sicily, and relations could therefore have been considered cordial, at least on political if not on ecclesiastical matters<sup>79</sup>.

Regarding the pontificates of those now known to have struck coins – Vitalian, Adeodatus, Sergius, Constantine, Sisinnius, Gregory II and III and Zacharias – a glance through the various modern histories show that they were all men of strength and character<sup>110</sup>, and relations, at least at times were good.

<sup>72</sup> «Unspeakable Greeks», «Nefarious Greeks», Hodgkin (n. 5) VIII, 45 and 46. The Romans have a deep seated suspicion of Greeks. Such distrust and contempt can be traced throughout the Roman period. The Greeks are denounced as «serpents» in the ninth century history of Agnellus. In the Gothic wars Roman prejudice against the «deceitful» and «unmanly» Greeks was played upon by the Gothic leaders in attempts to detach the local population from the imperial cause. Brown, 146.

<sup>73</sup> Brown, op. cit. (n. 5) 168.

<sup>74</sup> 2 vols. Roma, 1951/2 and 1960, vol. I, p. 107, see also pp. 105–128.

<sup>75</sup> RIN, 1920, 117.

<sup>76</sup> V. Promis, «Tavole sinottiche delle monete battute in Italia» (1869), p. 179, «I pezzi col nome dei papi Gregorio e Zacharia possono esse monete e forse anche tessere date al popolo e ritirate contro viveri». See also D. Promis «Monete dei Romani Pontefici avanti il mille» (1858), pp. 14 and 21 and pl. 1, 1–5, especially no. 5, a line drawing of a small round copper of Zacharias described as in the collection of S.M. Sarda.

<sup>77</sup> «Studi storici intorno ad alcune prime monete papali» (1876), p. 24.

<sup>78</sup> Garrett Collection, part II, Leu, Oct. 1984, 600 (p. 123).

<sup>79</sup> Constantine IV granted the papacy privileges and concessions. Brown, op. cit. 150.

A few general historical comments on the popes may not be out of place at this point. Mostly taken from the *Liber Pontificalis*<sup>16</sup>.

*Pope John IV*, 640–642 (43 days)<sup>80</sup> was a Dalmatian who reigned for nearly two years.

*Pope Theodore I*, 642–649 was a Greek who reigned for nine and a half years and was a stout defender of the Roman See against Constantinople<sup>81</sup>. His greatest coup came in 645 when he persuaded the ex-patriarch Pyrrhus to acknowledge his error and recant his heresy. A donative<sup>82</sup> to the people was made.

*Pope Martin I*, 649–654 was a native of Tuscany and a strong man who stood alone against an emperor (Constans II) who wished to become in fact as well as in name Emperor of Rome. Martin was arrested and removed to Constantinople, and after considerable ill-treatment he died in exile in Cherson<sup>83</sup>.

*Pope Eugene*, 654–657 (58 days) was a Roman, described as outstanding in sanctity who reigned for nearly three years.

*Pope Vitalian*, 657–672 (75 days) was a Campanian from Signia who reigned for fourteen and a half years. There is no doubt that relations between the Empire and the Papacy during the reigns of Eugene and Vitalian had improved considerably upon the discords of the reign of Pope Martin<sup>84</sup>. Even so, Constans II, well known for his despotic behaviour, was hardly a popular figure in Italy. His campaigns against the Lombards invariably meant ruthless extortion for his Italian subjects. However, Constans was the first emperor to visit Rome since the fall of the western half of the Empire over three hundred years before. During this twelve day visit (5–17 July 663) of solemn processions and services, Constans still managed to gain a reputation almost as bad as Gaiseric in wringing out forced contributions in money<sup>85</sup>. On his departure he saw fit to carry away many precious bronzes including the gilded roof of the Pantheon<sup>86</sup>. Vitalian's main success of the period was to succeed in negotiating and concluding a political agreement with the emperor without yielding on the religious question of the dual will of Christ, thus ending the schism between the Churches<sup>87</sup>. Hodgkin's remarks concerning Constans are perhaps worth quoting at this point. «He (Constans) was himself called Emperor of Rome, yet Rome and Italy were daily slipping from his grasp, the city to the Pope, Italy to the Lombards. From the time of Constans' unwel-

<sup>80</sup> Delay in days between elections.

<sup>81</sup> Hodgkin, op. cit. (n. 5), VI, 172.

<sup>82</sup> «In the seventh century the clerical elite of Rome maintained Roman traditions by scattering largesse in the manner of the old consuls.» Brown, op. cit. (n. 5) 35 and 158. Cf. also 137. «Ceremonial coins struck for distribution on such occasions as accessions anniversaries, marriages or victory celebrations and consulships practically came to an end in the seventh century» DO II, 1, p. 9. One explanation for the extreme rarity of these papal fractions could be that they are a form of ceremonial coinage, struck only on certain occasions and in good silver (as befits the papal office) in contrast with the debased coinage issued by the Byzantine duke. This would also be an explanation for two forms of thirty nummi circulating together.

<sup>83</sup> Ostrogorsky, op. cit. (n. 51), 122.

<sup>84</sup> Villari, op. cit. (n. 51), 350.

<sup>85</sup> E. Foord, «The Byzantine Empire», London 1911, 132. See also Richards, op. cit. (n. 51) 196 where it is suggested that Constans' visit to Rome was no doubt prompted by his massive unpopularity in Constantinople.

<sup>86</sup> Villari, op. cit. (n. 51), 352.

<sup>87</sup> A. Vasiliev, «History of the Byzantine Empire» 2 (1964), 224.

come visit to Rome there was a steady progress on the part of the people of old Rome towards independence of the Byzantine ruler<sup>88</sup>. This view is certainly supported by the remarkable coins of Vitalian.

*Pope Adeodatus II*, 672–676 (138 days) was a Roman who reigned for just over four years, described as of such greatness that he freely received all men from the greatest to the small.

*Pope Donus*, 676–678 (67 days) was also a Roman, nearly one and a half years in office.

*Pope Agatho*, 678–681 (584 days) was a Sicilian who reigned for two and a half years and won an ecclesiastical victory by settling the monotheletic controversy on the terms Pope Martin had died for. A learned man whose takeover of the post of *arcarius* suggests a papal training in the finance departments of the papal bureaucracy, and that he may therefore have had an interest in the coinage.

*Pope Leo II*, 682–683 (358 days) was also a Sicilian who reigned for ten months.

*Pope Benedict II*, 684–685 (76 days) was a Roman who also reigned for ten months. Hodgkin remarks that the popes for this period were for the most part undistinguished men, generally advanced in years<sup>89</sup>. The existence of the signed coin of Pope Adeodatus (or Pope Agatho)<sup>16</sup> suggests that this view could be modified.

*Pope John V*, 685–686 (80 days) was of Syrian who reigned for just over a year. A distinguished archdeacon before his election who had been on of the papal delegation to the General Church Council of 680 where he played a leading role. He was ill for most of his reign and on his death left one thousand nine hundred solidi to the church.

*Pope Conon*, 686–687 (85 days) was an old and venerable Sicilian (?) in poor health at the time of his accession who reigned for only eleven months<sup>90</sup>. The qualities which commended him as a compromise candidate were his advanced age, simple mind, saintly appearance, total unworldliness and his pursuit of a purely religious existence in which he never involved himself in secular affairs. On his death he left thirty pounds of gold to the church.

*Pope Sergius I*, 687–701 (52 days) was of Syrian extraction and reigned for fourteen years. He was a good musician who came to Rome in 672 and was enrolled into the clergy by Pope Adeodatus. It is said that he sung his way through the lower orders of the Church to the rank of Presbyter where he distinguished himself by the diligence whith which he celebrated mass at the graves of the various martyrs<sup>91</sup>. He was a Vitaliani, that is, a graduate of the school founded by Pope Vitalian to train singers in the Byzantine style papal rite. His long and memorable pontificate is noted by his opposition and refusal to sign the Acts of Council of the Synod of 691. Justinian II sent an Imperial Commission to arrest Sergius, and, as Hodgkin puts it, «the rebuff of this agent by the successor of St. Peter made the longest stride towards independent sovereignty<sup>92</sup>». The

<sup>88</sup> Hodgkin, op. cit. (n. 5), VI, 271 and 342. See also Oman, op. cit. (n. 51), 245, where it is suggested that these proceedings had a considerable effect on weakening the power of the empire in the West.

<sup>89</sup> Hodgkin, op. cit. (n. 5), VI, 343.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 350.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 352.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 358. See also the Shorter CMH, op. cit. (n. 66), vol. 1, p. 294, where it is suggested that this was a sign of how much weaker the emperor's authority had become in Rome.

support of the people of Rome during the crisis over the canons of the quini-sext is clearly indicative of how tenuous was the hold of the Byzantine Empire in Italy and how, in cases of conflict of loyalties, the Italians although Byzantine subjects often tended to feel stronger allegiance to the Pope rather than to the Emperor<sup>93</sup>.

*Pope John VI*, 701–705 (49 days) was a Greek who reigned for just over three years. He is said to have been a man of some wisdom, although otherwise not a great deal seems to be known of him<sup>94</sup>.

*Pope John VII*, 705–707 (89 days) was also a Greek who reigned for nearly three years. He was a timid and probably elderly man at the time of his accession, who had learned the habits of obedience as a civil servant before he became an ecclesiastic and who would be unlikely to stand up against the Empire. He was no doubt apprehensive of Justinian II, and an interesting numismatic example of this occurs in his decorations in the church of Saint Maria Antiqua where he not only depicted Christ as a human, not a lamb, but slavishly copied the bust of Christ which appears on the class III solidi<sup>95</sup>.

*Pope Sisinnius*, –708 (50 days) was of Syrian origin. During the course of his twenty days reign he was so afflicted by gout, «an especial malady of the Popes», that he was obliged to employ the hand of another to convey food to his mouth. However, despite his age and infirmity, Sisinnius' pontificate was noteworthy in that he set the lime kilns to work to make mortar for the repair of the walls of Rome.

*Pope Constantine*, 708–715 (40 days) was a Syrian who reigned for seven years. Constantine proved able to work exceedingly well with Justinian II<sup>96</sup>. Probably the most constructive accomplishment of Justinian's second term as emperor was an agreement or compromise with Rome on the quini-sext canons. Constantine's visit to Constantinople at Justinian's invitation in 710 was a considerable success, the Pope being received with the greatest honour<sup>97</sup>. It has even been suggested that Pope Constantine owed his name to family connections with the Byzantine imperial dynasty<sup>98</sup>. In view of Justinian II's well known and highly unpleasant nature, this attitude to the Pope must in itself reflect in some degree Rome's independence. It was in this reign that the tiara was introduced into the Roman Church (ca. 710)<sup>99</sup>.

*Pope Gregory II*, 715–731 (35 days) was a Roman who reigned sixteen years. Gregory seems to have been a strong and powerful ruler and an able statesman, as well as a man of eloquence and firmness in defending the rights of the Church. He survived a

<sup>93</sup> Hodgkin, op. cit. (n. 5), VI, 357. Also Richards, op. cit. (n. 50), 209.

<sup>94</sup> Hodgkin, ibid., 336.

<sup>95</sup> DO II, 2, 7. J. Breckenridge «Evidence for the nature of relations between Pope John VII and the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II». *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1972, pp. 364–374. (The church of Santa Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum was converted for use as a church in the fifth or sixth century and restored and embellished by John VII. A series of remarkable and rare frescoes of the eighth century, which must have been a form of artistic counter propaganda to iconoclast persecution, were found in 1900. Unfortunately since their discovery many of the paintings have faded or disappeared almost completely. A likeness of Pope Zacharias executed during his lifetime is among the paintings. This full length study is reproduced in Carlo Cecchelli, op. cit. (n. 74), vol. I, p. 77.

<sup>96</sup> C. Head, «Justinian II of Byzantium» (1972), 133.

<sup>97</sup> Ostrogorsky, op. cit. (n. 51), 144.

<sup>98</sup> Head, op. cit. (n. 96), 134.

<sup>99</sup> Burns, op. cit. (n. 4), 558.

number of attacks on his life instigated, some have suggested, by agents of Leo III<sup>100</sup>. There were periods of civil war over the emperor's financial exactions even before the arrival of the Iconoclast Edicts. These exactions and edicts were resisted by force<sup>101</sup>, or as Gibbon puts it «the most treasonable act but the most obvious revenge was the destruction of the statues of Leo himself; the most effectual and pleasing measure of rebellion was the withholding of the tribute of Italy<sup>102</sup>». Hodgkin in referring to Gregory's successful arrangement of the return of Cumae from the Lombards, states «such events as this make us feel that we are on the threshold of the age in which Central Italy will own not the Emperor but the Pope as its Lord<sup>103</sup>».

*Pope Gregory III*, 731-741 (? days) was a Syrian. Leo III's maritime expedition sent against Gregory was shipwrecked in the Adriatic. One may assume from this that the Pope enjoyed a considerable degree of independence and that relations were probably somewhat strained. Hodgkin remarks that Gregory III was not so fortunate in his biographer as his predecessor for the imbecile ecclesiastic who composed the notices of his life in the *Liber Pontificalis* was more concerned with the crowns, crosses, candlesticks and basins which were presented to various churches than with chronicling the momentous events of his reign<sup>104</sup>.

*Pope Zacharias*<sup>105</sup>, 741-752 (? days). After the election of Zacharias, of Greek origin who reigned for eleven years, relations between the Empire and its western provinces were less strained. Papal envoys were honourably received and the decree forbidding the worship of images was no longer enforced. Zacharias remained loyal to Constantine V during the revolt of Artavasdos<sup>106</sup>, even though letters from Zacharias to Boniface were dated by the years of Artavasdos<sup>107</sup>. However, no doubt by this support for the legal emperor, Zacharias seems to have retained considerable independence, even with such a powerful ruler as Constantine V on the Byzantine throne.

From the period of the Byzantine reconquest to the end of the seventh century, the lot of Italy was one of decline and depopulation caused by wars, massacre, famine and successive waves of plague – each one every bit as devastating as the Black Death in the fourteenth century which killed around a third of the population<sup>108</sup>. Two of these waves occurred in 676 and 680. «In the last year of Adeodatus there were such rainstorms and thunder as no men remembered before and many men and animals were killed by lightening and the plague struck in its wake returning again in 680 to cause even greater havoc<sup>109</sup>». Yet despite the desperate and miserable state of Italy at this time, it seems there was a general revival of the papacy and Rome in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. There was a considerable expansion of the administrative machinery and several new important financial officials appeared. It seems apparent that the financial side of papal business was becoming clear cut and defined and differ-

<sup>100</sup> Hodgkin, op. cit. (n. 5), VI, 447.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 448.

<sup>102</sup> Gibbon, op. cit. (n. 50), V, 260.

<sup>103</sup> Hodgkin, op. cit. (n. 5), VI, 443. Cf. also Theophanes remarks quoted there, p. 451.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 461.

<sup>105</sup> See note 95, reference to a portrait of Zacharias.

<sup>106</sup> CMH, vol. IV, p. 17.

<sup>107</sup> Hodgkin, op. cit. (n. 5), VII (1899), 94.

<sup>108</sup> Richards, op. cit. (n. 51), 47, 50.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 53, from L.P. 346/7, 348.

entiated from the rest<sup>110</sup>. In view of the above it is tempting to think that the «monogram» of Jesus Christ<sup>12</sup> which occurs on the silver fractions of type 6<sup>111</sup> and which may be dated to 676–685 could represent a form of appeal to God.

Burns has stated that the mediaeval papacy which in no sense existed in the fifth century can be perceived in its earliest form in the ninth century<sup>112</sup>. «The mediaeval papacy implied what was later known as the temporal power of the pope. After the middle of the eighth century, the bishop of Rome was not merely the ecclesiastical head of a diocese, not merely the administrator of church properties, but the ruler of a population in Central Italy<sup>113</sup>. In the middle of the eighth century when the Roman Church was in conflict with the emperor and had had its estates in imperial territory confiscated and its other estates were falling under the civil and military jurisdiction of the Lombard kings or dukes, the bishop of Rome was driven to become himself the sovereign ruler of the territories in Central Italy where the properties of the Church were then chiefly situated<sup>114</sup>». Richards in a recent study suggests that the trends of the previous thirty years were intensified and the pope decisively emerged as the master of Rome during the course of the reigns of Gregory II and Zacharias<sup>115</sup>.

There were eight imperial districts in Italy in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, centred around Venice, Ravenna, Genoa, the Pentapolis (Ancona, etc), Perugia, Rome, Naples and the area of Calabria, Bruttium and Lucania. It has been observed that the main result of this «scission» by the Lombard conquests was destined to be the rise of the temporal power of the Papacy<sup>116</sup>. It should not therefore be too surprising that temporal power is now shown by the evidence of the hoard to have been in the hands of the popes since the time of Vitalian<sup>117</sup>, especially if one considers the precedent that Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) in an earlier period «ruled Rome as temporal governor rather than bishop»<sup>118</sup>, and that «by his work had gained for his successors a temporal power, authority and spiritual precedence which they were never again to lose»<sup>119</sup>. However, the view contained in some general works that Vitalian was a weak man – the fate of his predecessor had cowed him<sup>120</sup> –, and that Gregory the Great's successors were not men of mark<sup>121</sup> is certainly no longer valid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 281, 296.

<sup>111</sup> Hoard numbers 11, 12 and 13.

<sup>112</sup> Burns, op. cit. (n. 4), 495.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 496.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 554–555. Also see J. Lindsay, «Byzantium into Europe» (1952). «By the middle of the eighth century the papacy was able to emerge tentatively as a political power», p. 220. (See also footnotes 66, 92 and 103.) Even the titles of some works reflect this. See L. Duchesne, «The Beginnings of Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes 754–1073» (1908).

<sup>115</sup> Richards, op. cit. (n. 51), 216.

<sup>116</sup> Oman, op. cit. (n. 51), pp. 191, 198 and 200.

<sup>117</sup> The striking of coinage is generally regarded as a decisive mark of sovereignty. For a reference to the eighth century see DO III, I, p. 90.

<sup>118</sup> Oman, op. cit. (n. 51), 201–202.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 203.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 277.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 203. Although his work is now out of date this view was shared by Henry Hallam in his «View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages», ed. W. Smith (1871), p. 294, which states «no material acquisitions of ecclesiastical power were obtained by the successors of Gre-

Brown<sup>122</sup> has observed that «by the ninth century cities such as Naples and Venice clearly enjoyed a de facto autonomy which was recognised by the empire and which was analogous to the «autocephalous» status held by Cherson and cities of Dalmatia. There is no evidence, however, that such status was granted to Italian cities at an earlier date». The run of papal coins published here would seem to indicate just such a de facto autonomy<sup>117</sup> from as early as the seventh century!

Many of the observations quoted from the various historians regarding the degree of independence exercised by the pope are directly supported and strengthened by the evidence from this hoard. However, it would seem that papal sovereignty over Rome was exercised by the pope nearly a hundred years earlier than has been suggested by any modern historian. Due regard was of course always paid to the political realities of the time. The ever increasing power of the Lombard kings and dukes had to be balanced with political allegiance to the distant Byzantine emperor. With the contents of the hoard in mind, this allegiance would seem to have been rather superficial and only for the purpose of keeping the Lombards at bay. This period, 641–752, when the pope balanced political power between the Lombards and the Empire was probably a time of greater papal sovereignty than that which followed when Rome was completely controlled by the Frankish king<sup>123</sup>.

Robert Carson in his excellent, although general, survey of coinage<sup>124</sup> remarks that the coinage of the popes has its beginnings under Adrian I (773–795), and certainly in all the standard works<sup>125</sup> the papal series is considered to commence with the denier coinage of this pope. From 795 to 875 the main pattern was the name of the current Carolingian emperor around a monogram of Roma or imperator, and on the other side a monogram of the pope surrounded by the legend SCS PETRUS. As this later denier coinage usually names the pope in conjunction with the ruling emperor, other than the denomination there seems little difference in content from the siliqua fractions of 641–752. (On these fractions the emperor is usually anonymous.) There seems little doubt, therefore, that with publication of this hoard the papal series should now be recognised as commencing at the latest with Pope Vitalian (657–672), or even with the commencement of the series of silver thirty nummi pieces under Heraclonas or Constans II.

Curiously in 640 the Rome garrison was commanded not by a duke but by the *chartrarius* (Chamberlain) Maurice, a relatively inferior officer<sup>126</sup>. The Lateran palace gory for nearly 150 years» (until 752). Hallam went further to say that «it might even appear that papal influence was retrograde».

<sup>122</sup> Brown, op. cit. 162.

<sup>123</sup> This view is supported by the comments of Carlo Cecchelli, op. cit. (n. 74), vol. I, p. 109, with reference to the copper coins of Pope Gregory III. «In questo caso il papa è nel pieno possesso del diritto monetario. Quando avviene la conquista carolingica, c'è di nuovo un carattere che fa considerare la moneta pontificia non l'espressione di diritti sovrani, ma solo di un diritto feudale». Also cf. Hodgkin, op. cit. (n. 5), VII, 254.

<sup>124</sup> Coins, «Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern» (1962), p. 297.

<sup>125</sup> The main works are C. Serafini, «Le monete e le bolle plumbee pontificie del medagliere Vaticano» (1913). 3 vols. and F. Muntoni, «Le monete dei Papi e degli Stati Pontifici» (1972/73), 4 vols. The exception is Sambon who was ahead of his time and commenced the Papal Series with an example of the coin of Leo III with Gregory III (the emperor was not identified). See footnote 26.

<sup>126</sup> Brown, op. cit. (n. 5), 55.

was sacked in 640 for its treasures by imperial troops under Maurice with the support of the exarch and by extension in the name of the Roman emperor<sup>127</sup>. What impetus might this event have given to the striking of a separate papal coinage proper? The coincidence of this series of silver thirty nummi commencing in 641 should be noted. «By the seventh century the attitude of the empires Italian subjects changed from one of unenthusiastic acceptance of imperial authority to one of pronounced independent-mindness tempered by a vague respect for the imperial ideal and a readiness to use the imperial connection in their own interests<sup>128</sup>». If one considers, in addition, that at this time there was a papal military force<sup>129</sup> and that the pope usually seemed to act as banker for the empire<sup>130</sup>, then it doesn't seem too unreasonable to speculate that there may have been papal control of the mint at this time. In any event, from the evidence of the Vitalian coins there was certainly papal control just a little later, from sometime between 657–672 onwards.

As the striking of early «papal» coins was apparently more prevalent than had previously been supposed, one may expect that other signed coins may yet come to light. In view of Constans II's control over Italy, it would seem unlikely that we will find coins struck in the names of John IV, Theodore I, Saint Martin or Saint Eugene, although they may have been struck under their control. Regarding those for the period under Constantine IV, Saint Agatho may be a possibility. It would be unlikely to find coins with an initial for Conon as there is an unsigned issue which seems to fit for the period of his pontificate, and Pope Conon's lack of interest in secular affairs would seem to support this. Both the Hussey edition of the Cambridge Mediaeval History and the Shorter Cambridge Mediaeval History<sup>131</sup> list the anti-popes Paschal and Theodore for 687 and as the first step in legitimising one's position was usually to strike coinage, coins bearing a monogram or initial for these may yet come to light. From the historical background, it would seem unlikely that down to 751 any other pope, with the possible exceptions of John V and John VI struck coins in his own name<sup>132</sup>.

Despite Hodgkin's observations on the «dense ignorance» which prevailed at Rome in the middle of the eighth century<sup>133</sup>, and the undoubtedly difficulties of the times,

<sup>127</sup> Hodgkin, op. cit. (n. 5), VI, 170–172. Brown, op. cit. (n. 5), 161, also cf. pp. 87 and 94. Richards, op. cit. (n. 51), 183/4.

<sup>128</sup> Brown, op. cit. (n. 5), 158.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 99, «Familia Sancti Petri».

<sup>130</sup> As Brown puts it in reference to the sacking of the Lateran in 640 by the troops seeking their pay from the emperor which was presumed to be stored there. «It is unclear whether the papacy had assumed the role of banker on behalf of the empire – a function previously performed by Gregory the Great», p. 87.

<sup>131</sup> Cambridge (1965) and the Shorter CMH (1971), vol. 2, p. 1126.

<sup>132</sup> There is a group of coins which are listed under the heading «Principi di Capua e Benevento o anonime Papali» in Sambon (op. cit. [n. 27], p. 78, 489–493 = CNI XVIII, p. 243, 3–6) dated there to the tenth century. Unfortunately none are illustrated. Sambon 489 could refer to a coin of Leo III with Gregory III. The copper «tesserae» (coins of thirty nummi?) attributed to Popes Gregory and Zacharias, and lead seals attributed to Popes Vitalian, Agatho, Sergius, John VI, Constantine and Zacharias are listed in Serafini, op. cit. (n. 125), vol. 1, pl. 1, 1–2 and pl. A, 11–20. There is also a lead seal of Pope Sisinnius in a private collection in Italy, as yet unpublished.

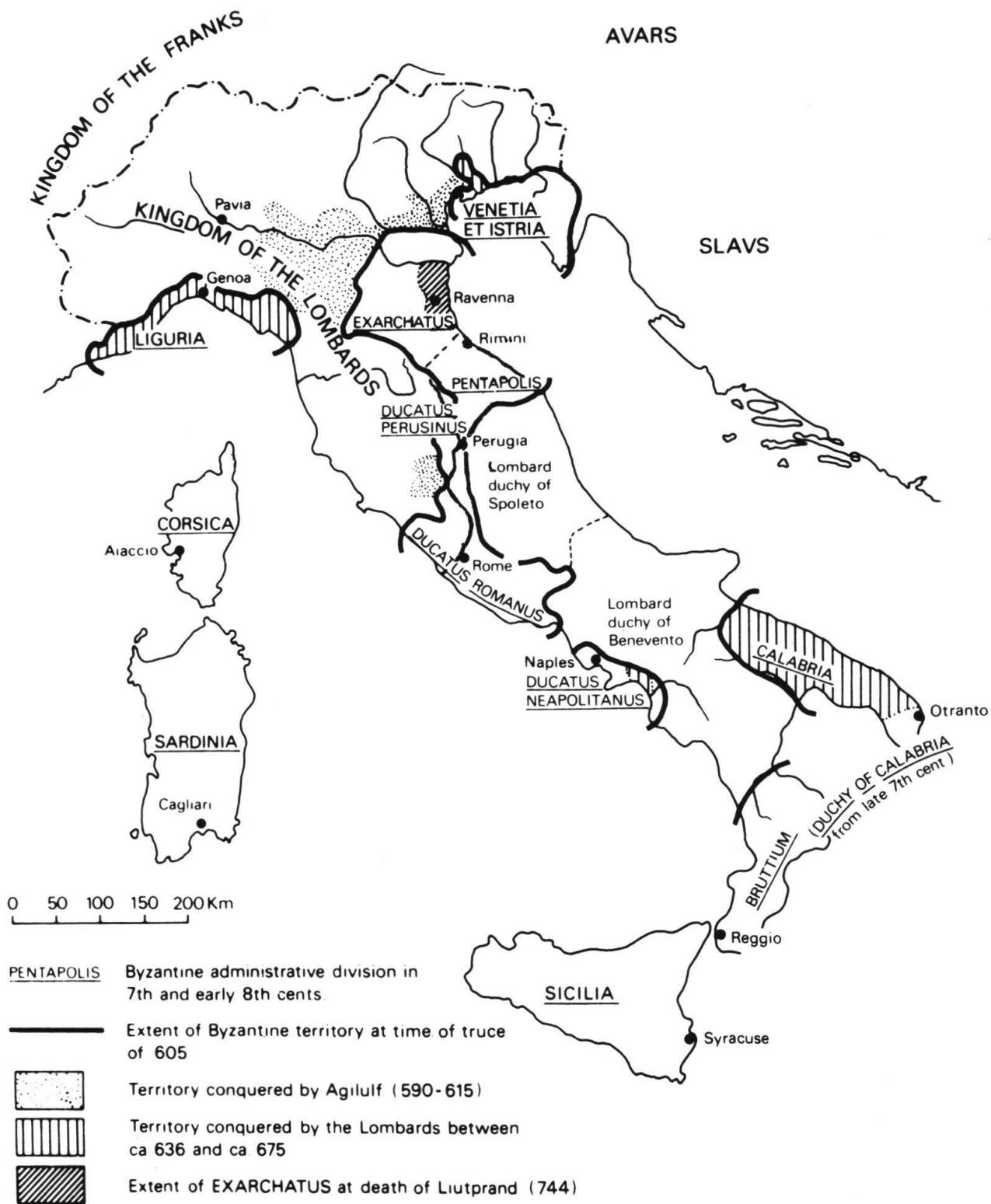
<sup>133</sup> Hodgkin, op. cit. (n. 5), VII, 344.

there seems no reason for popes Stephen II (752), Stephen III (752–757), Paul (757–767), the anti-pope Constantine (767–768), and Stephen IV (768–772) not to have struck coins of a similar type<sup>134</sup>. Hopefully these coins may yet come to light.

The advent of this find has naturally aroused a considerable amount of interest (in view of the staggering implications of papal sovereignty at such an early date) and comment and speculation from the many scholars and students of the period. These views and suggestions are not all automatically in full agreement with everything laid out in the main body of this article, and it was felt therefore that it would make for a more useful publication to print these other observations and criticisms as an addendum with additional comment where appropriate.

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<sup>134</sup> Especially in the light of remarks like «we behold Stephen (III) the real sovereign of the exarchate» (this) «despite the Greek emperors remonstrance» Hodgkin, *op. cit.* (n. 5), VII, 221 and 220. Also observations such as – Stephen «battled more valiantly than any who had gone before him for the idea of temporal sovereignty and worldly dominion». Hodgkin, VII, 162. Also cf. Brown, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 139. «After 751 the dukes of Rome were under the *de facto* authority of the pope.



*Political divisions in Italy ca. 590-751.*

## Appendix 1

Professor Philip Grierson whose work on Byzantine studies has made possible such great advances in our knowledge and on which this article has heavily leaned, has indicated in correspondence on this hoard that he is unable to see such an early date for papal coinage, and would suggest tentatively that they should all be dated after Gregory II:

Gregory II	715-731	
Gregory III	731-741	 (and  for Gregory III)
Zachary	741-752	
Stephen II	752	
Stephen II (III)	752-757	
Paul	757-767	
Constantine II	767-768	?? 
Stephen III (IV)	768-772	 and 

«Or something similar, possibly the stephens should be the other way around and the Paul and Constantine are obviously conjectural.»

One hesitates to go against the view of such an eminent scholar, and one can appreciate his reluctance to date these coins so early in view of the staggering implications for Papal sovereignty, but on this occasion we feel that he is wrong. There are serious difficulties if one were to accept this late dating.

1. It is difficult to see how type 11 a good style coin very similar to the «good style» bust of the early solidi of Justinian II (DO II, 2, p. 579, 1-3) could come after the very distinctive style of bust on the Rome coins of Leo III and Constantine V types 19 and 20 (cf. DO III, 1, pl. VI Leo III, and pl. XI Constantine V).
2. Also type 5 (Hahn 73, Con. IV) would presumably have to be moved, as it shares the distinctive triangular hair style of types 6, 7, 8 and 9. Also type 10 already convincingly established by Grierson as of Justinian II. The style of types 19 and 20 (Leo III and Constantine V) could not have occurred in isolation sandwiched between the two very similar styles of types 5, 9 and 10 and types 6, 7 and 8. Also the type 6 coins are already, correctly in our view, listed under Constantine IV in DO (80b); this type is linked with types 7 and 8 by the distinctive treatment of the pendants of the fibula on the chlamys.

It is clear that if one lines up only the obverses (see enlarged portraits) then they seem to fit more or less naturally into the order suggested in the article; then if one checks the reverse letters and monograms they also fit precisely into the period suggested separately by the obverses. This basic order has, in the main, been accepted by all the other scholars and students of the period who have been consulted.

The main reservation has been in the reading of the Sisinnius monogram. However if one regards the cross as a separate entity as in the  coins (a cross on top of a K) then with  we have  (See comments on p. 114 in the main article). In any event, on stylistic grounds it seems difficult to place it after Zachary. After publication there will undoubtedly be a number of follow up articles on the various individual attributions.

Dr. W. Hahn has indicated that he is not happy with the copper 30 nummi being equal in value with the silver fractions. However arguments for this and Hahn's other observations are included in the main body of the article. Another view on the question of denomination and value has been very kindly communicated in a separate note at the end of the addendum by Dr. J.P.C. Kent.

Amongst Dr. C. Morrisson's many valuable observations is the interesting suggestion that the reading of number 17 (Ϙ) as Ρ would render P.W (M) A, as well as the classical chrismon/alfa-omega.

Mrs. Morrisson goes on to point out that the Byzantines had a liking for these double meanings and the suggested reading is supported by the Rome monogram on number 21. However, on enlarged photographs (not available at the time to Mrs. Morrisson) the form Ρ seems clear, and as the coin fits stylistically for the period of Adeodatus we have held to the present attribution. It could well have been that such a parallel was in the popes mind at the time.

Regarding the form Σ on number 28, Peter Donald has reminded the writer that it could also represent a T (cf. DO II, 2, p. 105). This of course would suggest that there is a third possible attribution for this coin (type 18) – namely under Justinian II with the Σ representing T for the anti-pope Theodore, 686 and 687. Against this, however, is the distinctive treatment of the hair, more appropriate to 720 onwards (cf. notes to number 28 and fig. 2).

Dr. Ricotti Prina has also been kind enough to communicate his views. These are as follows: numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 should all be attributed to Justinian II; number 7 to Leontius; on numbers 14, 15 and 16 the monogram represents Justinian II; and number 22 is either Leontius or Theodosius III. He is in agreement with the rest of the hoard attributions. These observations have been based on actual size photographs of very small coins. However, none of these suggested attributions will stand up to critical scrutiny – apart from number 22 which is obviously of Leontius.

It has been suggested that some types may represent a period of uncertainty between papal elections, that is to say «sede vacante issues». A preliminary glance at the appropriate dates show that there was a delay of eighty days in 685 (John V), and in 686 (Conon) a delay of eighty five days. Type 10 could therefore represent such an issue. Also the unusual type (13) of Tiberius III with the imperial name on the reverse could be dated to 701, where there was a delay of forty nine days before the election of John VI, or to the end of this reign (705) when there was a delay of eighty nine days before the elevation of John VII. Unfortunately this denomination is so rare that there just isn't enough material available at this stage to support this interesting theory.

Finally, it should be observed that many of the older authorities quoted such as Gibbon, Hallam, and even, it has been said, the Cambridge Mediaeval History are now seriously out of date. Also of course the more general works of Oman, Foord and Villari. However these references have been used mainly in a complementary way to more modern works, and not as a sole authority. Some of the earlier histories, particularly Gibbon, have been used in an attempt to put colour into what could so easily become a dull list of facts.

M.D.O'H.

## Appendix 2

### *Note on the metrology and denominations of 7th and 8th century Italian coinage*

The relationship between the silver and copper coins of this period will have been governed by complex, and to a certain extent incalculable factors. Four can be reckoned upon:

1. The market relationship between silver and copper. In the 6th century, this was 100:1, and in the absence of any other indication, this will be used as the basis of calculation.
2. The observed weights of the coins. The silver pieces have an average of 0.27 g, excluding defective pieces. No doubt the theoretical weight was substantially higher (see RIC VIII, p. 57-58). The weights of the copper coins are too variable to offer a certain standard, but are some two or three times as heavy as the silver pieces. They are pieces of 30 nummi.
3. The fineness of the metal. The slight evidence suggests that the copper coins have no admixture of silver, but that the silver pieces are approximately  $\frac{2}{3}$  fine i.e., contain about 0.2 g, silver.
4. There will be a considerable, but unknowable overvaluation on both silver and copper coins. This will be assumed to balance out.

To speak of siliquae or fractions of siliquae, other than as weight units of  $\frac{1}{24}$  of the full-weight solidus, is not helpful; it is better to calculate on the basis of metallic relationship. The average weight of the silver coin is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  siliquae, but may have been intended for as much as 2 siliquae. In metallic terms, the silver coin will have been worth about 20 g, of copper or about 25 copper coins around 0.8 g. As each copper is valued at 30 nummi, it follows that the silver piece would be worth  $30 \times 25$  i.e. 750 nummi; a lower average weight for the coppers would produce an even higher value in nummi: I conclude that the nummus was by now a negligible and grossly devalued unit. A caveat must be entered. It has been suggested – though this is against the very slight analytical evidence – that the «coppers» were in fact made of a very base billon. If this were the case, the value of the silver coin in terms of nummi would be substantially reduced. Billon of around 3% would give a silver piece of about 250 nummi. This is the valuation of the silver coin struck at Ravenna in the late 6th century, and I have suggested that it continued at least down to the middle of the 7th century.

J.P.C. Kent

### *Abbreviations*

BNP	C. Morrisson, Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 2 vols., Paris 1970.
CMH	Cambridge Mediaeval History, 8 vols., 1911-. J. Hussey ed. vol. IV, 1966. J.B. Bury ed. vol. IV, 1923.
DO	A. Bellinger and P. Grierson. Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbar-ton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, 3 vols., Washington 1966.
Grierson	P. Grierson, Byzantine Coins, London 1982.
Hahn	W. Hahn, Moneta Imperii Byzantini, 3 vols., Vienna 1973.
Ricotti Prina	P. Ricotti, La monetazione aurea delle zecche minori bizantine dal VI al XI secolo. Rome 1972.
Sabatier	J. Sabatier, Description générale des monnaies byzantines, 2 vols., Paris 1862.
Tolstoi	J. Tolstoi, Monnaies byzantines, St. Petersburg 1912-1914.

### *Source of Photographs of Coins not in the Hoard*

Figure 1 courtesy of SKA, Bern. Figure 3, private collection. Type 4a = BMC 380; type 5 = Hahn 73 (Berlin); type 9 = Sabatier 18; type 15 = BMC 66.

*Photographs: M.D. O'Hara*

### *Acknowledgements*

The map is taken from «Officers and Gentlemen: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554-800», British School at Rome, 1984, p. 38 and is reproduced here by kind permission of the author, Dr. T.S. Brown of Edinburgh University.

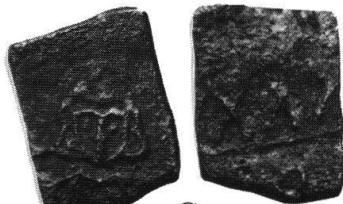
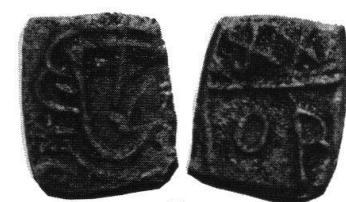
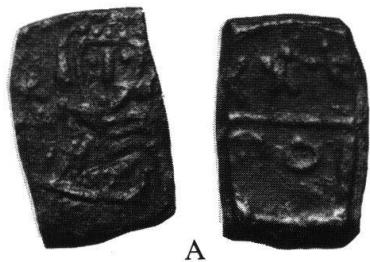
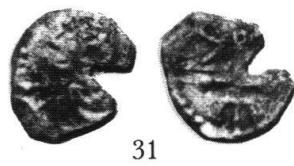
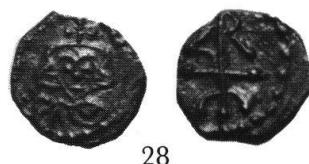
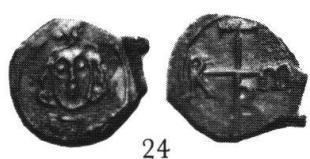
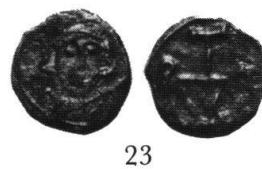
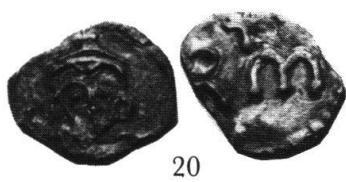
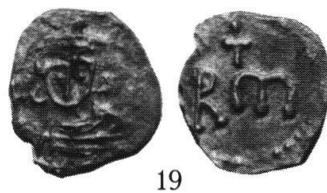
The monograms were drawn by Fiona M. Durrans. The photographic preparation of Dr. Brown's Map was also arranged by F.M. Durrans.

We are extremely grateful to Professor Philip Grierson, Dr. John Kent, Dr. Michael Metcalf, Dr. Ottorino Murari, Dr. Wolfgang Hahn, Dr. Angelo Finetti, Dr. T.S. Brown, Dr. Cécile Morrisson, Simon Bendall, Peter Donald, Dr. P.D. Whitting and Viken Hawandjian who have read some of the early drafts and offered many helpful and constructive observations. Needless to say any errors, omissions or statements of opinion are entirely our own.



Enlarged x 2





Enlarged x 2









9



11



14



15



17



18





21



22



24



25



26



28





29



30

Reverse Types enlarged x 3



Type 2 (2)



Type 3 (3)



Type 3 (7)



Type 4 (8)



Type 5 (x)



Type 6 (11)



Type 7 (15)



Type 8 (17)



Type 10 (18)

Enlarged portraits





Type 11 (21)



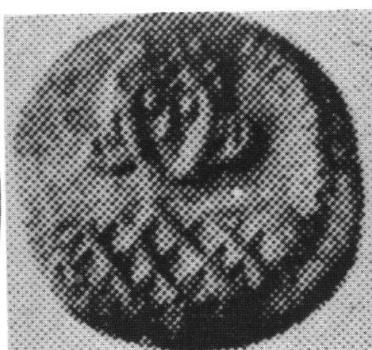
Type 12 (22)



Type 13 (24)



Type 14 (25)



Type 15 (x)



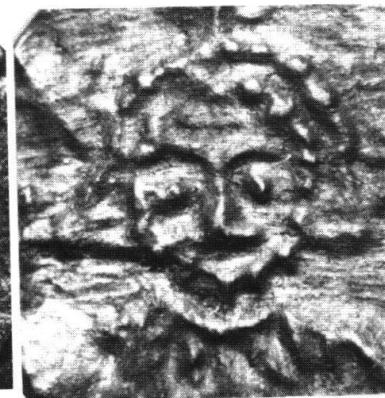
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Type 17 (27)



Type 18 (28)



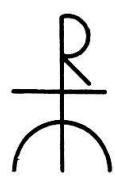
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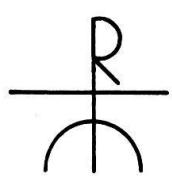
Type 20 (30)

Enlarged portraits

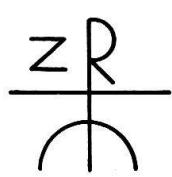




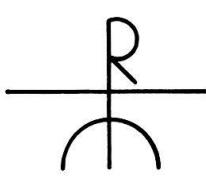
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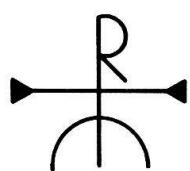
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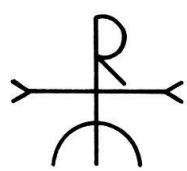
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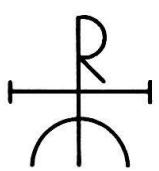
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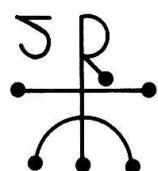
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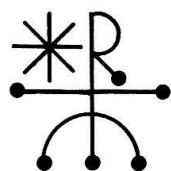
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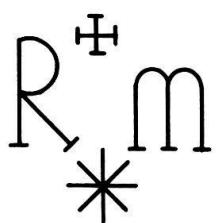
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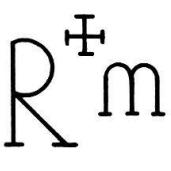
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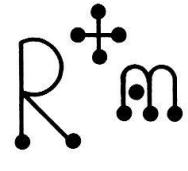
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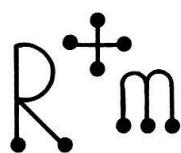
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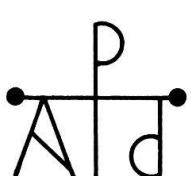
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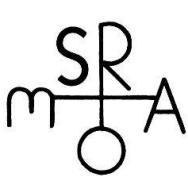
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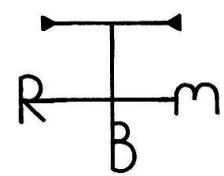
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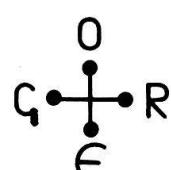
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21.



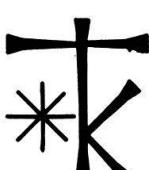
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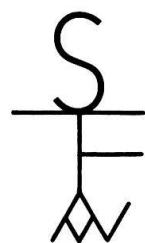
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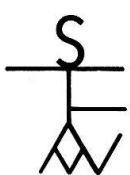
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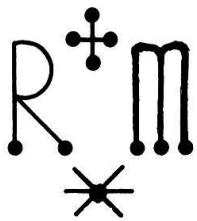
J.II.



14.



15,16.



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