

# THE NUMISMATIC ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PERIOD OF ICONOMACHY (610-867)

BY

MARIA CHANTAL VRIJ

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies  
School of Classics, Ancient History and Archaeology  
College of Arts and Law  
University of Birmingham  
September 2016

UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAM

**University of Birmingham Research Archive**

**e-theses repository**

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

## Abstract

This thesis considers the use of numismatic imagery in the Byzantine Empire during the period 610-867, with its main focus centred in the period 685-842.

Though charting the iconographic trends and changes on the coinage of the period and the possible reasons behind them is the principal *raison d'être* of the thesis, it also tackles methodological issues such as the use and abuse of dies studies and ways of determining who decided what images appeared on coins. The main body of the text is arranged chronologically with the methodological issues appearing throughout. Exceptions to this format are the first chapter, which considers the economic context of coin circulation in the period and the gold purity of the coins of the period, and the third chapter, which considers the production at the mint of Cherson, which produced anonymous coins not identifiable by date, but still part of the context.

Finally, the thesis contains two appendices, the first paper appendix presents a catalogue of the coins held at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts for the period 685-842, and the second CD-ROM appendix presents the data from the *All That Glitters...* project, testing the purity of Byzantine gold coins with x-ray fluorescence.

**Dedicated to my parents,**

who ‘worried my brain’ to make me think and  
inspired an interest in history that school never could.



## Acknowledgements

On an institutional level, I should like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council for granting me a scholarship to undertake research on the numismatic iconography of the period of iconomachy, of which the following thesis is the result. I should also like to thank the Barber Institute of Fine Arts for allowing me to use the collection as the backbone for this thesis and to publish alongside it a catalogue of its holdings for the period 685-842 (appendix 1). Similarly, I would like to thank the Fitzwilliam, Ashmolean and British Museums for allowing me to view their material for the period. Finally I, and the other members of the *All that glitters... the Byzantine Solidus 307-1092* project, am grateful to the Royal Numismatic Society for the provision of funds for the project, which is discussed in chapter 1, and whose results are provided in appendix 2.

On a personal level, I should like to thank Leslie Brubaker for reading drafts of this thesis, sometimes at short notice, and providing suggestions for it. To my examiners John Haldon and Rebecca Darley for helping to refine and further improve. I am also grateful to the members of the *All that glitters...* project for permitting me to publish its results in chapter 1 and appendix 2. Of the members of that project, I should especially like to thank Rebecca Darley and Jonathan Jarrett for inviting me to participate in it, them and Robert Bracey for helping to improve my academic confidence, and to Jackie Deans, alongside non-project member Jack Dobinson, for helping me to understand the scientific side of XRF testing. I am further grateful to Marcus Spencer-Brown, whose conversation regarding the coins of the period 685-720 has provided intellectual stimulation on the subject, and whose insistence on having references to my thesis in his MA dissertation has given me an increased impetus to actually finish the following

thesis. I am immensely grateful to Michael Burling for providing constant support, both academic and emotional, through the period of corrections. For reading drafts for readability, providing general day to day life support and helping me to locate references I had failed to write down, I should finally – and to my mind most importantly – like to thank my mother.

## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Chapter 1 – The Byzantine economy, 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries .....</b>	<b>27</b>
Part 1 – The broader economy .....	27
The disappearance of the <i>annona</i> system.....	27
From pan-Mediterranean to localised economies .....	30
From <i>polis</i> to <i>kastron</i> .....	33
Coin circulation and demonetisation.....	35
Part 2 – Gold coin purity.....	39
<b>Chapter 2 – The coins, 610-685 .....</b>	<b>53</b>
Part 1 – Herakleios (610-641).....	53
Iconography on the gold coinage .....	62
Iconography on the silver coinage .....	66
Iconography on the base metal coinage .....	70
Part 2 – 641-668.....	72
The sons of Herakleios (641) .....	72
Constans II (641-668).....	77
Part 3 – Mezezios (668-669), and some notes on rebel and usurper coinages .....	82
Part 4 – Constantine IV (668-685).....	91
<b>Chapter 3 – The mint of Cherson.....</b>	<b>99</b>
<b>Chapter 4 – The coins, 685-797 .....</b>	<b>113</b>

Part 1 – The extended ‘20-year anarchy’ (685-720).....	113
Justinian II, first reign (685-695) .....	113
Leontios (695-698).....	125
Tiberios III (698-705).....	127
Justinian II, second reign (705-711).....	128
711-720.....	133
Part 2 – Leo III with Constantine (720-741).....	136
Iconography on the gold coinage .....	137
Iconography on the silver coinage .....	141
Iconography on the base metal coinage .....	143
Part 3 – Constantine V (741-775) .....	144
Iconography on the gold coinage .....	147
Iconography on the silver coinage .....	149
Iconography on the base metal coinage .....	149
Part 4 – Leo IV (775-780).....	151
Part 5 – Constantine VI (780-797).....	155
<b>Chapter 5 – The coins, 797-813 .....</b>	<b>160</b>
Part 1 – Eirene (797-802).....	160
Iconography on the gold coinage .....	162
Iconography on the base metal coinage .....	165
Part 2 – Nikephoros I (802-811) .....	166
Iconography on the gold coinage .....	166

Iconography on the base metal coinage .....	170
Part 3 – Michael I (811-813).....	172
Iconography on the gold coinage .....	172
Iconography on the silver coinage .....	174
Iconography on the base metal coinage .....	175
<b>Chapter 6 – The coins, 813-842 .....</b>	<b>180</b>
Part 1 – Leo V (813-820).....	180
Iconography on the silver coinage .....	180
Iconography on the gold coinage of Constantinople.....	181
Iconography on the base metal coinage .....	183
Iconography on the gold coinage of Syracuse .....	190
Part 2 – Michael II (820-829) .....	191
Iconography on the gold coinage .....	192
Iconography on the silver coinage .....	194
Iconography on the base metal coinage .....	195
Part 3 – Theophilos (829-842) .....	198
Iconography on the gold and silver coinage.....	199
Iconography on the base metal coinage .....	211
<b>Chapter 7 – The coins of Michael III (842-867) .....</b>	<b>214</b>
Iconography on the gold coinage .....	215
Iconography on the silver coinage .....	228
Iconography on the base metal coinage .....	232

<b>Concluding remarks .....</b>	<b>240</b>
<b>List of individuals mentioned in thesis .....</b>	<b>252</b>
<b>Abbreviations .....</b>	<b>256</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>257</b>

## Introduction

There are two pieces of conventional wisdom which conflict with each other in this thesis. The first is that coins are imperial propaganda: ‘Symbol and mirror, cornerstone and weapon of a mighty Empire, Byzantine coinage became an ideal means of projecting the imperial ideal and promoting imperial policy.’<sup>1</sup> The second is that the period of iconomachy consisted of around 125 years of intense religious and political struggle over the use of images: ‘Leo III’s opposition to the cult of icons initiated the crisis which characterized this epoch and made the Empire the scene of severe internal struggles for more than a century.’<sup>2</sup> The second of these conventional wisdoms has been significantly and notably challenged this century, however there is still room for further questions of it.<sup>3</sup> If both of these conventional wisdoms were correct, then we would expect to see this fundamental religious-imagery-conflict-turned-political-conflict reflected in the coins, the small vessels of imperial propaganda images. This is not the case.

This conflict does not beg questions only of the historical interpretation of this period, however; it also calls into question the nature of the use of numismatic evidence as an unwavering source of political propaganda. In fact, it calls for questions of the use of numismatics more than it raises questions of historical interpretation; where literary and archival material has been extensively researched, the study of the coins specifically has been left to large catalogues of the entire Byzantine millennium, individual articles

---

<sup>1</sup> Penna 2002, 127.

<sup>2</sup> Ostrogorsky 1968, 160.

<sup>3</sup> Questions such as why is there almost no note of the iconomachy on the coins of the period until after 843. For a neat summary of the scholarship relating to the start date of imperial iconoclasm, the supposed removal of the image of Christ from the Chalke gate and the challenges to the evidence for it: Brubaker and Haldon 2011, 128-135. As examples of the recent trend toward viewing the two ‘restorations of the icons’ (787 and 843) as pragmatic, not zealous, measure: Karlin-Hayter 2002; Brubaker and Haldon 2011, 260-266 and 447-449. On Theodora’s forced, not willing, consent to the restoration of images in 843 see especially: Karlin-Hayter, 362-363.

regarding specific types of coin – often regarding a reattribution or a new discovery – or confined to economic histories.<sup>4</sup> While coins undoubtedly carry images promoting the depicted emperor as pious or strong or having heirs, virtually nothing is known about the process of deciding what images went on the coins, or who was responsible for these decisions. Therefore we do not know how much, if at all, the emperor/empress was involved and should subsequently be both wary of how much propaganda value we attribute to an image (as this probably varied from reign to reign) and avoid referring to how the emperor/empress wanted to be portrayed, or, worse, portrayed him/herself. The extent to which we can view either the emperor/empress or an unidentified individual within the Constantinopolitan administration as responsible for numismatic imagery will therefore be a recurrent theme throughout this thesis.

Beyond attempting to answer these questions, it is also the case that, outside of the main cataloguing efforts and overviews of Byzantine coinage as a whole, there is no dedicated study of the coinage of this period.<sup>5</sup> Marcell Restle's *Kunst und Byzantinische Münzprägung von Justinian I. bis zum Bilderstreit* of 1964 provides an example of a similar study comprehensively discussing the Byzantine coinage from the sixth century, preceeding this study, through into the beginning of the eighth century, the period covered by chapter 2 and chapter 4, part 1 of this thesis, but does not enter into discussions about the main period of investigation for this study (685-842), save the first few decades. Moreover, these treatments, being old (with the important exception of *Byzance et sa monnaie*, 2015), need to be supplemented with various articles about

---

<sup>4</sup> Such as their somewhat brief treatment in DOC or BN; reattribution articles such as Grierson 1974, on the reattribution of a base metal coin type from Justinian II to Leo III, or Pottier 2017, on the reattribution of a series of *tremisses* previously thought to be of the revolt of Herakleios, but reassigned to the Persian occupation period; or purely economic treatments such as Metcalf 2001, or Curta 2005.

<sup>5</sup> The principal catalogues are the *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection* (DOC) and the *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la bibliothèque nationale* (BN). The principal overviews of Byzantine coinage are Whitting's *Byzantine coins*, Grierson's *Byzantine coins* and, most recently, Morrisson's *Byzance et sa monnaie*.



specific coin types – both new discoveries and reattributions.<sup>6</sup> As a period of apparent monetary recession, the economics of the period have received treatment as articles or sections of books.<sup>7</sup> As a period of numismatic art history, far more scholarly attention is paid to Justinian II, who introduced Christ on the regular issues, Eirene who was the first solo Byzantine Empress, and Theophilos, who reformed Byzantine numismatic iconography, marking a transition stage in the Byzantine coinage.<sup>8</sup> Emphasising these particularly interesting points, however, can allow their context to become dimmed or seem unimportant. If one is to consider the use of numismatic imagery, then it is just as important to consider long periods of continuity or apparent lack of imperial interest, as it is to consider moments where the medium is clearly being harnessed by the powers of Constantinople. This thesis will therefore be the first exclusive, comprehensive treatment of the numismatic iconography of the period of iconomachy.

The surviving primary written source material for the seventh and eighth centuries in particular is problematic insofar as the chronicle sources, such as Theophanes and his Continuator and Nikephoros the Patriarch's *Short History*, are all written somewhat later than the period in question. All have modern editions and

---

<sup>6</sup> Such as Grierson's post DOC reassignment of a coin of Justinian II to Leo III in an article of 1974; Hahn's discovery of the Mezezius *solidus* type (1980), which in turn needs to be supplemented by Grierson 1986, who noted a Mezezius *semissis*, and argued against Hahn's consideration of these coins as forgeries; or, more recently, Goodwin and Gyselen's reassignment of some Constans II *folles* to Arab-Byzantine mints (2015). Arab-Byzantine coins pose a particular challenge to the relevance of older, larger numismatic works, since they are being reassigned almost annually – see the difference from Walker's original work on the Arab-Byzantine coins of the British Museum back in 1956, through Oddy's summary of the developments in Arab-Byzantine numismatics up to 2004, through Schulze's 2015 reconsideration of early Arab-Byzantine coin attributions through die links, to Oddy and Prigent's 2017 reconsideration and reclassification of the Pseudo-Skythopolis coins. It is entirely plausible, even likely, that at least one of the coin types considered in this thesis as of Herakleios or Constans II will have been reassigned to the Arab-Byzantine corpus or even the Persian occupation period by 2027.

<sup>7</sup> Metcalf's 2001 'Monetary recession in the Middle Byzantine period: the numismatic evidence', Curta's 2005 'Byzantium in Dark-Age Greece (the numismatic evidence in its Balkan context)', Morrisson's 1998 'La Sicile byzantine: une lueur dans les siècles obscurs', the section in *The economic history of Byzantium* pages 954-958, to name but a few.

<sup>8</sup> On Justinian II: Breckenridge 1959; Treadwell 2011; Humphreys 2013. On Eirene: Brubaker and Tobler 2000, 587-591; Kotsis 2012. On Theophilos: Metcalf 1962 and 1968.

translations.<sup>9</sup> From later chronicles thought to be using Theophilos of Edessa's account, which is lost to the modern world, Robert Hoyland has attempted a reconstruction of the chronicle using the different later texts which claim or appear to use Theophilos's account and writing down the sections where these later accounts converge.<sup>10</sup> This modern reconstruction of the eighth century text I have made use of. While it is worth acknowledging that there are scholarly debates over the contexts of the chronicles – who wrote them, how to reconcile different manuscripts, which sources now lost to us they drew upon – there will be no critical discussion of such debates within this thesis.<sup>11</sup> By way of three specific examples: first, on editions and manuscripts, in using the Greek text from the letter of Constantine IV to Pope Donus (received by Pope Agatho) regarding the defeat of Mezezius with Pope Vitalian's help, I am working from Riedinger's edition of the text, and not the manuscript itself; there will be no critical discussion of whether said manuscript could have been interpreted differently. Secondly, concerning problems of chronicles, where I have made reference to the chronicle of Theophanes in relation to Justinian II, while I will acknowledge the chronicler's evident dislike of Justinian and how this may be distorting the view of what was happening, I will not be discussing the issues around his presumed source for the period – the Patrician Traianos, who may have been writing during the reign of Leo III, thus predisposing him, and thereby Theophanes, to a particularly negative view.<sup>12</sup> Finally, concerning the very specific problem of Hoyland's reconstruction of the chronicle of Theophilos of Edessa, while I acknowledge the difficulties around whether Theophilos was indeed Theophanes's 'oriental source' (I find Debié's critique particularly interesting) – let alone Theophilos's status as a source for Agaprios, Michael

---

<sup>9</sup> Mango and Scott 1997 for Theophanes, Featherstone and Signes Codoñer 2015 for Theophanes Continuator, and Mango 1990 for Nikephoros.

<sup>10</sup> Hoyland 2011.

<sup>11</sup> On issues around all of the chronicle texts for this period, see Brubaker and Haldon 2001, 168-184.

<sup>12</sup> On Traianos as a source for Theophanes: Jankowiak 2013, 249-256; Howard-Johnston 2010, 307-308.

the Syrian, the anonymous chronicle of 1234, etc. – the work does present the points of convergence of several chronicles on specific events, and it is in this spirit that the work is used.<sup>13</sup> In general, however, this thesis uses these sources to enrich the historical background to the coins it analyses, and does not in any way purport to be the work of a textual critic; I acknowledge and own any mistakes which may arise from this blind spot.

There is a rich hagiographical tradition for this period, which can furnish a wider understanding of daily life in the period. It can be particularly useful for providing details about the economy in the region to which the *life* relates – for example, Pope Martin’s complaint about the food shortages and high cost of living in Cherson, whither he had been exiled in the mid-seventh century.<sup>14</sup> Letters of saints – such as those of Pope Martin or, more famously, the many letters of St. Theodore the Stoudite – are useful here alongside the *vitae* themselves.<sup>15</sup> Despite the occasional use of these in economic history, however, saints’ letters and lives never, to my knowledge, mention coin iconography and are therefore less useful for discussions of numismatics as art history.

Finally in the category of contemporary written sources, the acts of the church councils are of note. In particular those of the Council in Trullo (691/2), where canon 82

---

<sup>13</sup> Debié (2015) generally urges her reader not to let it be ‘taken for granted [as it is] in recent scholarship that the now lost chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa (695-780) is the common source shared by Theophanes... Michael the Syrian... the anonymous *Chronicle of 1234*... and by Agapius of Menbidj’ (p 366), but specifically picks out the historiographic vogue of the 1980s for the ‘intercultural’ as the reason Theophilus was chosen over, say, John bar Samuel (p 367-8). She also points out that Theophanes was extremely well-informed on the Near East, which may indicate that he had more than only Theophilus as an ‘oriental source’ (p 377-8), and reconstructs the possible traditions behind the chronicles of Michael the Syrian and 1234, indicating that they may have shared multiple sources, not one shared source (p 369-71). For Hoyland’s own defence of his work: Hoyland 2011, 1-41; as this is formed of translations of excerpts of known chronicles, I have included it as a primary source in the bibliography, in the same way that Mango and Scott’s translation of Theophanes is listed there, I am in no way referring to this work as the gospel truth of what the lost chronicle said, in reflection of this, all of my footnotes reference ‘Hoyland 2011’, not ‘Theophilus of Edessa’. For Howard-Johnston’s discussion of Theophilus: Howard-Johnston 2010, 195-237.

<sup>14</sup> PL, 87.202-204; or Theodore Spudaeus *Narrations* 29-30.

<sup>15</sup> See Brubaker and Haldon 2001, 207-230 for an extensive list of *vitae* for the period. The letters of St. Theodore edited and compiled by Fatouros 1992.

has been seen to relate to the Christ-type coinage of Justinian II, and the Second Council of Constantinople (843), which can be seen as related to the reintroduction of Christ on the coins of Michael III.<sup>16</sup> In discussing the coinage of the usurper in Sicily, Mezezios (668-669), I will also use the letter of Constantine IV to Pope Donus (received by Pope Agatho) praising the latter's predecessor, Pope Vitalian, for his support against the usurper, which is preserved with Riedinger's edition of the acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council held in Constantinople 680-681, though there is nothing in the actual acts which relate to the coin imagery of Constantine IV.<sup>17</sup>

Beyond the written sources, seals often provide a parallel to coin iconography, especially those which contain images of the emperor/empress and, even more so, those which are dated and can therefore aid the dating of coins within the period of the emperor/empress's reign.<sup>18</sup> These seals, like coins, are mainly compiled in books relating to individual collections, or by find site.<sup>19</sup> Still the most useful go-to source for sigillographic evidence, however, is Zacos and Vegler's volumes.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> I have opted for the translation in Nedungatt and Featherstone 1995 for the Council in Trullo. On their relation to the coinage: Justinian II – Breckenridge 1959, 78-79; BN I, 397; DOC II.2, 570. On the councils generally, the *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum* second series provides recent editions. Those relevant to the period under study here: the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680-681) – ACO II.1 and ACO II.2, edited by Riedinger; The Council in Trullo (c.691/2) – ACO II.4, edited by Ohme; and the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787) – ACO III.1 and ACO III.2, edited by Lamberz.

<sup>17</sup> ACO II.1, p. 8, lines 21-22.

<sup>18</sup> The method used, for example, by Humphreys (2013) in his redating of the Christ type coins of Justinian II on the grounds of two dated seals of the *patrikios* George and Theophylaktos the general *kommerkiarioi* of the *apothēke* of Lazike, Trapezous and Kerasous. This argument will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3, part 1, but to make the methodological point here: these two seals of these two men (who appear together on both seals, rather than a seal for each) both depict Justinian standing, facing, wearing the full-length *loros* wound around the body. This depiction of the emperor is an innovation on the Christ-type coin – the emperor had been shown in the *loros* previously, but this was very much in the form of a thin scarf, while previous standing emperors had been in the *chlamys* or military array. This depiction of the emperor is unlikely (though not impossible) that this was taken from another artistic medium than the coins. If it were the same depiction of Christ, there would be other, more likely, artistic sources for these seals to have derived their depiction from. Seals may often prefigure coins in their imagery, especially where this concerns holy figures – saints and the Theotokos are displayed on seals centuries before they make an appearance on the coinage – but in the case of the imperial bust it seems likely that seals follow the coins. As an example of the opposite: seals are using the formula Κύριε βοήθη τῷ σῷ δούλῳ (Lord aid your servant) predate the *nomismata* of Theophilos.

<sup>19</sup> For example, DOS for the Dumbarton Oaks collection (whose seals are also now largely published online too); or Jordanov's *Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria*.

<sup>20</sup> Zacos and Vegler 1972.

Archaeological reports are also invaluable as a source for economic history. Those used in this thesis can come in the form of specific site excavations,<sup>21</sup> articles relating specifically to the evidence for economic activity on a given site,<sup>22</sup> or finds of a particular product(s) across a given area.<sup>23</sup> These mainly relate to the first chapter, which deals with economic activity, however.

Finally in the category of material sources, imperial epigraphic evidence can also be utilised in conjunction with numismatic inscriptions. This is especially true in the cases of Theophilos' 'Theophilos Augustus, you conquer', which appears both on the reverse of his reformed *folles* (**ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΕ ΣΥ ΗΙΚΑΣ**) and on an inscription over the Golden Gate in Constantinople; and in the case of Michael III's 'megas basileus', which he is named as on some of his *miliaresia*, on inscriptions from both Nicaea and Ancyra, and again in the homilies of Photios.<sup>24</sup>

On other sources for the period beyond numismatics and the other sources made use of in this coin-centric thesis, Brubaker and Haldon's 2001 volume on the sources for the period 680-850 provides a comprehensive survey.<sup>25</sup>

A note on spelling and vocabulary. I have opted to use the Greek spellings of names (e.g. Herakleios instead of Heraclius, or Kyzikos instead of Cyzicus) apart from those which are commonly used today (e.g. Leo instead of Leon and Constantinople instead of Konstantinoupolis) and in reference to people and places before 610. This is because Greek is considered to be the language of imperial business from the reign of Herakleios onwards.<sup>26</sup> For similar reasons, I have opted for the Greek term

---

<sup>21</sup> For example, Romančuk et al. 2005 (Cherson).

<sup>22</sup> For example, Sanders 2002 (Corinth).

<sup>23</sup> For example, Fentress et al. 2004 (ARS finds in North Africa).

<sup>24</sup> See below, chapter 6.

<sup>25</sup> Brubaker and Haldon 2001.

<sup>26</sup> This is due to the use of the phrase 'πιστοί ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεῖς' (faithful Emperors in Christ) to describe Herakleios and Herakleios Constantine (Constantine III) in a novel of 629, which is used from this point on in preference to the Latin. On this: Kaegi 2003, 186.

*nomisma/nomismata* in preference to the Latin *solidus/solidi* when describing the highest value gold coin of the Empire, observing the same 610 break between use of the Latin *solidus* and Greek *nomisma* as for Latin/Greek spelling of names.<sup>27</sup> Coins usually referred to as bronze or copper are in this thesis referred to as ‘base metal’ or ‘base coin(s)’ because we do not always know what they were made from nor how consistently they were made from the same metals.<sup>28</sup>

This thesis will be structured into seven main chapters: first, a brief consideration of the economic backdrop to the period including a discussion on gold purity. The second chapter considers coin iconography from the accession of Herakleios (610) to the death of Constantine IV (685); this will act as an important ‘prologue’ to the coinage of the period of iconomachy, representing as it does, the main models from which the later coinage draws and, as such, it will be retrospectively referenced in the consideration of the coinage of the period 685-842. The third chapter will consider the role of Cherson in this period, as between c.641 and c.842 it may have been producing anonymous coins, which add to the picture of coin production of the period, but are both undatable to a specific emperor and are iconographically, metrically, and in terms of production method, distinctive from the coins produced elsewhere. The fourth to seventh chapters run chronologically: from the accession of Justinian II (685) to the deposition of Constantine VI (797); from the beginning of Eirene’s sole reign (797) to the deposition of Michael I (813); from the accession of Leo V (813) to the death of Theophilos (842); and for the regency and reign of Michael III (842-867). The seventh chapter acts as an epilogue to the main period of interest for this thesis, 685-842, and serves to demonstrate how coinage developed after iconomachy, but perhaps more importantly, acting as a comparison point to chapter 5 (797-813). It perhaps seems

---

<sup>27</sup> On the use of the terms see Grierson 1982, 345.

<sup>28</sup> This follows the term used by Michael Hendy in Hendy 1985.

unusual to split chapters 2 and 4 at 685 instead of 711 or 717, which would be more traditional, but I have done this because while, historically, Justinian II is the last of the Herakleian dynasty and Leo III the first of the Isaurian dynasty, numismatically, the coins of the period 685-720 have much in common and constitute, in my opinion, a numismatic mini-period. For this reason, the first three years of the reign of Leo III (717-720) are included in the first part of chapter 4, with the rest of his reign (720-741) being considered in the second part of chapter 4.<sup>29</sup> This regnal separation only occurs for Leo III, however, because of the argument I will make for 685-720 as a numismatic mini-period.<sup>30</sup> There are other instances in which this separation *could* be applied. One could separate the reign of Constantine VI at the Second Council of Nicaea (787), placing 780-787 at the end of chapter 4 and 787-797 at the beginning of chapter 5; I have decided against this on the grounds that while this might make historical sense, numismatically it serves to make the point of broad continuity, despite major historical events. Similarly, one could separate Michael III's reign at the 'the triumph of Orthodoxy' in 843, placing 842-843 at the end of chapter 6 and 843-867 in chapter 7; again, though, while it may make sense on historical grounds, the numismatic break only occurs on the gold coinage – it is not possible to separate the silver and base coins on these period lines too. The analysis of the coins for the period under consideration will usually be structured by emperor, metal, mint then type, however the order of metals and mints will vary from emperor to emperor as best befits the analysis. At the end of this thesis, anterior to the abbreviations used and the bibliography, is a list of all individuals mentioned in this thesis with their *PMbZ* references.

---

<sup>29</sup> DOC splits its catalogues at 717, while BN splits at 711, however, MIB III runs up to 720, effectively separating Leo's reign in the same way numismatically, but tacking it onto the end of the Herakleian period, rather than the beginning of the period of iconomachy, as I have done in this thesis.

<sup>30</sup> See below, chapter 3, part 1.

Before beginning any discussion of the numismatic iconography, it is first important to establish both what numismatic propaganda is and to what extent we can distinguish between some sort of directed, centralised imperial policy of numismatic propaganda (insofar as there was one) and the decisions of largely independent mint masters, or even die engravers.

When I use the word propaganda here, I simply mean the conveyance of political messages from the government or issuing authority (i.e. mint) to the users of coins (i.e. people buying goods with coins, merchants and foreign rulers who might receive coins in a form of tribute or diplomatic gift) about the Emperor or something related to the state (e.g. religion). Because in modern political thought the word ‘propaganda’ has very negative connotations, I have opted to replace it with the word ‘messages’ hereafter; this has the unfortunate effect of clumsy phrasing but avoids any potential misinterpretation.<sup>31</sup>

The use of coins for conveying messages is unmistakeable on some – for example, James I of England/VI of Scotland’s coins showing the united shields of the kingdoms, or ‘Abd al-Malik’s Arabic *shahada* coins; on other coins the message value is debatable – for example, the Classical Athenian coins with Athene’s owl, or Tiberius II’s coins with the cross potent on steps; and on yet others the message value seems to have been entirely fabricated at a later date – for example, the invention of *Χριστός νικά* thrice to explain the XXX NNN on late eighth-century Byzantine base metal coins by Lambros.<sup>32</sup> In the first examples, the British coins are clearly marking a major political event – the uniting of two crowns – while the Arabic coins appear during the Caliph’s Arabisation efforts and visually represent a marked departure from previous issues;

---

<sup>31</sup> An issue acknowledged as early as 1956 by Alfred Bellinger in his ‘The coins and Byzantine imperial policy’ article of that year.

<sup>32</sup> On the Jacobite coins: Grueber 1970, 99-105; on the Islamic coins: Evans 2013 or see below, chapter 3, part 1; on the Athenian coins: van Alfen 2012; on the Tiberian coins: MIB II, 52-53; original statement: Lambros 1859, 230, repeated in BMC II, 400, rebuttal see for example BN II 452.



neither would likely have appeared either at all in the first instance or so abruptly in the second if the politics had been otherwise and are therefore clearly conveying messages. In the second examples, both use images associated with the long-term religion of the state and could on the one hand be considered to be promoting that religion/deity and therefore message conveyance, or, on the other hand, could simply be an obvious image for the city state of Athene or the Christian Empire to use. In the third example there is no evidence that the letters are anything more than symbols. That is not to say that Lambros is demonstrably wrong to say that anyone ever interpreted it that way, but rather there is no *evidence* that it was intended to be or was interpreted that way.

Intention and interpretation are also worth considering, as there is a world of difference between how a state wished to portray itself (or not) through its coinage, and how the people using those coins received (or did not) those images. While we can, do, and should consider what states intended with their numismatic imagery, we have very little evidence to suggest how people interpreted an image, but the distinction is not always made as clearly as it could be.<sup>33</sup> To interpret an image one has to first know what it is. While we can make arguments about the image receptiveness of non-literate societies, there would likely be a number of people who knew or cared nothing for what images appeared on coins.<sup>34</sup> Even between two people interpreting an image, those interpretations may be different from one another, and those in turn different from the original intention behind the image. Intention, however, we can surmise from what we

---

<sup>33</sup> As in statements such as: ‘a globe representing the world over which they held dominion’ DOC II.1, 85; ‘La representation du Christ sur les monnaies est sans doute liée au prescriptions du concile *in Trullo*.’ BN I, 397; ‘ein Kreuz auf vier Stufen, dessen Einführung Johannes von Eph. einem Traum des Kaisers zuschreibt.’ MIB II, 52-53. All here are concerned by the intent behind the image, not the interpretation.

<sup>34</sup> While it does not serve as an exact parallel to the Byzantine experience, try asking a handful of non-academics to name any image on the reverse (tails side) of a pound or euro coin: in my admittedly anecdotal experience people who work on tills can almost all answer, but the majority cannot. Given we live in an economy which has moved away from coin-based exchange (in favour of paper money and credit) and in a largely literate society we could not use a modern survey to prove anything about the Byzantines; but such things serve as a reminder that just because we may personally be fascinated by a numismatic image, this is by no means the case for everyone.

know of the political circumstances. Therefore, if we do decide an image is designed to convey a message we are considering how the message was intended not how it was received and it is expressly this intent which I am discussing when referring to a message hereafter, unless otherwise stated.<sup>35</sup>

Having decided that it is principally intent, not reception, that is under discussion here, it is important to consider whose intent we are discussing. In some cases we could be looking at the intent of the emperor/empress him/herself, in others an official, such as the *Logothete of the Dromos*, and in some instances the design of the mint master. The way in which I propose to combat this problem is by considering innovation and continuity; thus, for example, the introduction of the *miliaresion* around 720, or the retention of the image of the deceased Leo III on the coins of Constantine V following the association of his son Leo IV, most likely came from the Constantinopolitan administration, because they represent something completely new. In the second example, the portrayal of the three former, current and future emperors is mimicked on the coins of Syracuse; their artistic portrayal varied from the capital, which may demonstrate that the imperial direction was to retain Constantine's deceased imperial father, but that the mint master and die engravers retained some authority over artistic style. Therefore we can say that there likely was a policy of using coins to convey messages under Constantine V, but that this was limited to showing Constantine's imperial origins, not what the emperors should be wearing or holding, which may represent local, not imperial decision making. Contrast this with the situation in the early ninth century, where the Constantinopolitan coins show the two emperors in alternating costumes – *chlamys chlamys* for Nikephoros I and Staurakios, *chlamys loros* for Michael I and Theophylaktos, *chlamys chlamys* for Leo V and

---

<sup>35</sup> For example, both intention and interpretation will be discussed with regard to the female figure on the coins of Herakleios (chapter 2, part 1) and the Christ type gold and silver of Justinian II (chapter 4, part 1), but both will be clear about how one may perceive both intention and interpretation.

Constantine and *chlamys loros* for Michael II and Theophilos. In this instance, there is little to no distinction between the new emperors and their sons, while at Syracuse the use of costumes is variable within the reign of the same emperor, while during the reign of Leo V, the base metal coins of Syracuse appear to undergo a unilateral iconographic and metric reform. This would seem to indicate that, at this time, there was no imperial use of the coins to convey messages about their rule.<sup>36</sup>

This brings us to another enormous issue which confronts any Byzantine numismatist, one which is acknowledged when there is some debate, but otherwise passes almost unmentioned: mint attribution and structure. For the Late Antique period, mint attribution is simplified by the existence of mint marks to distinguish coins struck, for example, at Thessalonica from those at Antioch (see figures 1 and 2). The earlier coins also give an *officina* mark (always a number in Greek numerals) which is thereby attributable to a particular part of the mint, also noted on the coin.<sup>37</sup> As time progresses to the period considered in this thesis, the use of these marks (mint and *officina*) becomes inconsistent. When these marks become unreliable for coin provenance identification, other methods must be employed. These methods include: marks which seem to indicate mint,<sup>38</sup> types where archaeological provenance is known and seems to be limited to a geographic area,<sup>39</sup> and finally, the least reliable method, visual

---

<sup>36</sup> For a deeper analysis see chapter 3 and chapter 4 part 2.

<sup>37</sup> Discussed in detail in Whitting 1973, 60-68; Grierson 1982, 20-24.

<sup>38</sup> For example, the Z for S in the inscription or S in the right of the field on the coins of Sardinia as employed in DOC II.2 for the Sardinian coins of Justinian II (pp. 591-592 and 659), Tiberios III (pp. 633-634) and Anastasios II (pp.679). It should be noted, however, that this is employed alongside stylistic analysis.

<sup>39</sup> For example, the Whitting collection housed at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham records that a hoard of coins of Theophilos was found off of the coast of Messina in 1968 of which 50 (about half, Whitting notes) found their way to London. These coins are similar in style to others attributed to the mint of Syracuse and therefore seems to confirm the attribution by archaeological context. Such matters are, however, greatly hindered by the number of coins in collections which were simply bought from, for example, a person called Andronikos in Istanbul in 1951.

difference.<sup>40</sup> Die studies can be used to suggest that particular types of coins were produced at the same mint,<sup>41</sup> while recently undertaken metallurgic analysis of Byzantine gold coins would seem to indicate that there is a difference in composition for gold coins from Constantinople, Syracuse and Ravenna.<sup>42</sup> In the chapters themselves I have opted to briefly discuss mint attributions at the beginning of each regnal section.

Figure 1: Valens, *solidus*, Thessalonica<sup>43</sup>



Figure 2: Valens, *solidus*, Antioch<sup>44</sup>



The structure of the Byzantine mint is even less clear. As alluded to above, it is assumed, but not certain, that the *officina* mark refers to workshops within the mint, something which was present and known about under the Roman imperial mint structures but is less clear under the Byzantine.<sup>45</sup> By the period under study here, however, it is possible that the *officina* mark on base coins relates simply to an individual die engraver, while the marks on gold, usually at the end of the reverse

<sup>40</sup> For example, coins with deeply cut dies and a naïve artistic appearance are almost always attributed to the mint of Rome. See Grierson 1982, 142-143 and 169-170.

<sup>41</sup> An excellent example of the use of a die study to demonstrate that a series of coins were produced at the same mint can be found in: Goodwin and Gyselen 2015, 125-136, which considers the Arab-Byzantine mint of Pseudo-Damascus. This involves considering where coins have an identical reverse or obverse, indicating the use of the same die, but the other face is produced from a different die, this is then repeated to create a die chain, which shows a series of die-linked coins, most likely produced in the same mint.

<sup>42</sup> This information comes from the *All That Glitters... The Byzantine Solidus 307-1092* project, of which I was a part – the project members being (in alphabetical order) Robert Bracey, Rebecca Darley, Jackie Deans, Jonathan Jarrett, Colin Slater, Maria Vrij and Adrian Wright. This was a project which used the XRF-WD method to test the gold content of 74 Byzantine coins (Anastasius I-Theophilos), 5 Late Roman coins (Theodosius II and Leo I), and 6 contemporary coins (Sasanian, Sindhi, Umayyad and Ostrogothic). The results and interpretation are as yet unpublished, but the information will be presented in this thesis with the consent of the other project members. It is briefly discussed and considered in chapter 1, part 2, and the full results are contained in appendix 2, on the accompanying CD-ROM.

<sup>43</sup> BIFA, LR0063 (4.56g, 22.5mm, 180°).

<sup>44</sup> BIFA, LR0076 (4.40g, 21.5mm, 180°).

<sup>45</sup> Grierson 1982, 22-23.

inscription, could mean any number of things, and are referred to in this thesis simply as ‘control marks’.<sup>46</sup> It should be noted, for instance, that there are examples of coins with reverses indicating different *officinae*, but sharing the same obverse die; does this mean that *officinae* shared dies between each other, were these marks indicating something else, or were extremely similar but not identical dies misidentified?<sup>47</sup> There are no contemporary written sources describing the process of coin production and, following the reign of Constans II (641-668), coin production (by estimations from both gross coin numbers and die analysis) declines until the low water mark of the reign of either Nikephoros I (802-811) or Michael I (811-813) (depending on how one attributes the troublesome ‘A-type Michael coinage’).<sup>48</sup> Moreover, a Byzantine mint has never knowingly been excavated, so we have no idea of what sort of a building one was housed in, how that might have been structured or where in the cities it might have been located.<sup>49</sup>

It is for the above reasons that coins are sometimes attributed to different places in different studies or to such places as ‘uncertain Italian mint’. For consistency’s sake, I have followed the mint attributions in the *Dumbarton Oaks Coin Catalogue* (DOC) unless grounds for a different attribution can be made, in which case it is argued in-text. In the case of unique coin types held at the Barber, a best guess attribution has been made. Where I have followed DOC, but the attribution warrants further comment, the attribution is also discussed.

---

<sup>46</sup> On their apparent meaninglessness: Whitting 1973, 61; Grierson 1982, 23-24 (gold) and Whitting 1973, 78 (base). Control marks viewed as indictional year dating: MIB III, 92.

<sup>47</sup> Grierson 1982, 23.

<sup>48</sup> See below, chapter 4, part 4 for the fullest discussion, but also chapter 4, part 3 for the problem’s reappearance under Michael II.

<sup>49</sup> While it is entirely possible a mint building has been excavated, it would be almost impossible to identify it as such, since coin dies were routinely destroyed to prevent counterfeiters from fraudulently producing coins. There is only one known example of a Byzantine coin die, which is a reverse die for a Nikomedian *folles* of Justin I, sold through the Classical Numismatic group to a private collector in 2008 (die discussed in O’Hara 2001; for the CNG sale in 2008: <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=115503>).

Having mentioned two methods of estimating coin numbers – gross coin number analysis and die studies – it is worth pausing here to consider what both are and why in this thesis I have opted for the method that I have.

Gross coin numbers as an analysis method is the most straight forward to explain. Quite simply, this method looks at all of the coins known to the author and makes statistical estimations accordingly. This has several limitations. First, there are many collections which may be out of the capability of the researcher to access – for example, private collectors who do not want their collection being looked at. Second, those collections that are used may have particular biases to one feature or another, reflective of the interests of the collector – for example, despite the Barber and Dumbarton Oaks having two of the best collections of Byzantine coins in the world, and the British Museum having a large collection too, it is the Fitzwilliam's collection which has the greatest number of Leo V *folles* of Syracuse, despite having a smaller collection in all other respects for the period 610-867, and this is probably reflective of Sherborn's personal interest in these types. In this example, a researcher working only with the Fitzwilliam's collection might skew numismatic statistical analysis in favour of disproportionately high base metal coin production at Syracuse under Leo V. Third, gross numbers of coins may be skewed by the find of a large hoard of a particular coin series.

Die studies is an attempt to correct these flaws. The basic principal is that a pair of dies could only produce a certain number of coins, and that, were we able to isolate the total number of dies used in a coin series, we could better estimate the number produced. A tempting idea, especially for a discipline so obsessed with numbers, statistics and categorisation as numismatics, but one which comes with its own significant flaws.

Before considering the flaws of die studies as a coin production estimation method, however, it seems sensible to first consider how a die study is undertaken. Because the dies were engraved by hand, each individual die was unique, this means that individual die identities should be observable on the coins they produced. As obverse and reverse dies were apparently separable, however, they can occur in different combinations – this in contrast to the *boulloteria* used to stamp seals, where the obverse and reverse stamps were attached to one another via pivoted handles.<sup>50</sup> Thus coins like the two illustrated in figures 3 and 4 have the same obverse die identity, but different reverses (including different control marks, an example of the problem raised on page 18 of this thesis).

Figure 3: Herakleios, *nomisma*,  
Constantinople<sup>51</sup>



Figure 4: Herakleios, *nomisma*,  
Constantinople<sup>52</sup>



Observing the same die identity relies upon two coins having the same features in the same proportions at the same distance from each other; this is where the first problem can creep in. Having observed the coins and identified how many die identities there are, the analyst can now attempt to create die chains. Die chains are the different noted combinations of obverse and reverse die identities (and that these are different combinations tells us that the dies were separable, unlike the *boulloteria*). A die chain can be a good indicator that coins were produced at the same mint – as it is highly

<sup>50</sup> On *boulloteria* and seal production, see Cheynet 1997, 107; or Oikonomides 1985, 3-4.

<sup>51</sup> BIFA B2720 (4.48g, 21.0mm, 225°).

<sup>52</sup> BIFA B2721 (4.30g, 20.5mm, 225°).

unlikely that the dies moved between mints once in use – and it can also help to indicate chronology, but it cannot estimate the number of coins produced.<sup>53</sup> They do not, however, tell us anything about coin production numbers. As the reverse was the hammer die and the obverse the anvil die, it is more usual to observe a higher number of reverse die identities than obverse, as the hammer die sustained more damage through striking. This poses the first surmountable challenge to the use of die studies for coin production number estimation.

Now that the number of obverse and reverse dies have been observed and a chain created, we need to know how many coins a pair of dies could produce. Again, this number will be different for the obverse and reverse dies, so the surmountable challenge posed at the end of the previous paragraph is usually resolved by considering only the anvil obverse dies.<sup>54</sup> But calculating the number of coins produced from a single obverse die is subject to a great many variables – how hard the die sinker hit the die, whether he hit it more than once for a single coin, what material the die was made of, what the metallurgic composition of the flan was, whether the coin was struck hot or cold, at what stage the responsible person decided the die was too worn to continue use, whether a particular series was withdrawn before the die had reached its maximum life. These are all concerns raised by Ted Buttrey during his turn as president of the Royal Numismatic Society back in 1993 and 1994.<sup>55</sup> It is perhaps because of the vitriolic nature of his arguments that they have failed to gain traction, despite several good and important points, some even noted by supporters of the use of die studies for coin

---

<sup>53</sup> For example, Goodwin and Gyselen (2015) use die chains to indicate types that were all produced at the mint of ‘pseudo-Damascus’ (p 128-32), while in MIB III, Hahn uses die chains with overstrikes to create a chronology of Justinian II’s base metal coinage from Syracuse (p 175).

<sup>54</sup> De Callataj 1995, 294.

<sup>55</sup> Buttrey 1993 and 1994.



production estimation.<sup>56</sup> Curiously, one of the major issues, which appears right at the beginning of the process is ignored by Buttrey – the dogmatic critic – but noted by De Callataÿ – a proponent and user of die study coin production estimation – is that human error may misidentify dies in the first instance, especially when looking at a corpus so large as one needs to to produce an estimation with reasonable error margins.<sup>57</sup>

Despite the inherent problems in die studies, when it is properly used, it is less flawed than gross coin number analysis. However, in the phrase ‘when it is properly used’ is the final and most pervasive problem with the die study method: it rarely is. In his response to Buttrey’s attack on die studies, De Callataÿ criticises the attack by pointing out that the statistics are not at fault for the examples of poor practice Buttrey highlights, but rather the misuse and error of the numismatist.<sup>58</sup> De Callataÿ is of course correct, however, he fundamentally misses Buttrey’s important point about the tendency to misuse mathematics. The problem is captured by the latter in the following terms: ‘It is the consensus that is the problem: scholar B accepts the routine followed by scholar A, and scholars C, D and E join the bandwagon, and in support they cite each other. Agreement and repetition have conferred a spurious authority on an operation which did not work in the first place.’<sup>59</sup> I would go further and more nuanced. Buttrey’s characterisation implies deliberate deception and a cartel-like attempt to mislead. To my mind, however, it is more like a sorry story of misunderstanding. To take an example

---

<sup>56</sup> Phrases such as ‘How then did the author of this exercise get the result 30,000? Simply by guessing.’ (Buttrey 1993, 341); or ‘I surround the ‘Average’ figure with inverted commas since it has been selected at random, and could be any number you please. But now all you need is arithmetic.’ (Buttrey 1994, 349) not only sound dogmatic, they are also outright insults to the author’s colleagues, which can have done little but turn people off of the serious, important and valid points he makes. Prefiguring Buttrey’s argument on mathematical deception by users of die studies for estimation, in 1986 Warren Esty, himself a producer of a method for estimating the number of coins from the number of dies (Esty 2006), criticised Carter for changing a data set to suit the statistics (Esty 1986, 187). Elsewhere, in De Callataÿ’s response article to Buttrey, the former agrees with the latter that the average number of 30,000 coins per obverse die is an erroneous number repeated and reused by later scholars happy to accept the number uncritically (De Callataÿ 1995, 298).

<sup>57</sup> De Callataÿ 1995, 296. On the sample size, which should be above 10,000: Esty 2006, 45.

<sup>58</sup> De Callataÿ 1995, 296.

<sup>59</sup> Buttrey 1994, 351.

from the period under study here: by 2007, Franz Füeg had compiled and published a corpus of all of the *nomismata* available to him for the period 713-976, in itself an important scholarly feat; he then proceeded to conduct a die study on the corpus. Again, this is useful, as it can tell us other things beyond, reputedly, coin production levels. He then went on to apply Carter's method to his observed dies to infer coin production. It is at this point that things become problematic. There are issues with Carter's method, which Füeg does not acknowledge, and there are criteria laid out by Carter for the sample that are not met by Füeg. Finally, the error margins Carter claims for his model (disputed by, for example, Esty) are not acknowledged by Füeg, whose analysis will have greater error margins because of falling severely short of the sample set criteria set by Carter.<sup>60</sup> This is probably not malice or a deliberate attempt by Füeg to mislead his readership, but rather a costly misunderstanding. Costly because, having considered Buttrey's hypothetical scholars A and B, we now turn to C. In 2011, Brubaker and Haldon release a book on the period of iconomachy, and use Füeg's data. Without reference to the original work of the statisticians, there is no good reason to believe that Füeg's data is potentially misleading, or at least a very approximate estimate with high error margins, rather than the definitive picture it is presented as. Again there is no malice or conspiracy to mislead here, simply a misunderstanding. The problem is further compounded, however, from their use of Füeg in the following instance: Füeg reattributes a series of coins on the basis of his problematic die study, which is then repeated in Brubaker and Haldon, but the language in the latter exacerbates the problem – 'the series portraying two seated figures (Leo IV with a beardless Constantine VI) originally ascribed to Leo IV *should in fact* be seen as Eirene's first issues' (the

---

<sup>60</sup> Carter's original outline of his method: Carter 1983; for Esty's critique: Esty 1986.

italicisation is my own).<sup>61</sup> From here the myth is free to continue circulating as fact, however well-intentioned, until numismatists start presenting their data more responsibly.

Though neither method is perfect, I where I have looked at numbers, I have done so with gross coin number analysis. I have worked directly with the collections at the Barber (Birmingham), Fitzwilliam (Cambridge), Ashmolean (Oxford) and British Museum (London); the rest of my data has been obtained through various catalogue publications. I will note which have been used where they are used. Gross coin number analysis is deeply flawed, but honestly so. I neither have the time nor sample size at my disposal to produce any meaningful die study data suitable for coin production estimation, and will therefore refrain from doing so.

At the end of this thesis, the appendices include a catalogue detailing the Barber Institute of Fine Arts' holdings for the period 685-842 and an accompanying CD-ROM, containing results from the *All That Glitters... The Byzantine Solidus 307-1092* project, which also analysed coins from the Barber. A brief note on this collection and why it forms the backbone for this thesis: the coin collection at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, part of the University of Birmingham, is one of the largest collections of Byzantine coins in the world (comprising nearly 8,000 coins from Anastasius I to Constantine XI). It is drawn principally from the collections of Philip Whitting (1903-1988) and Geoffrey Haines (1899-1981), and contains detailed notes on the coins from Whitting in particular. Despite an attempt by Nubar Hampartumian (curator of the collection 1979-2000) and John Kent (keeper of coins at the British Museum 1983-1990) to publish the collection with Verlag für Numismatische Publikationen VNP AG, before the latter went out of business, and an agreement between Eurydice Georganteli

---

<sup>61</sup> Brubaker and Haldon 2011, 352; original argument Füeg 2007, 18. The issue will be discussed again later in this thesis.

(curator of the Barber collection 2000-2016) and Cambridge University Press, the collection has yet to be published in print.<sup>62</sup> Should this thesis and its appendices come to publication, therefore, it will represent the first time any section of this important collection has been published in full.<sup>63</sup> Aside from the sheer volume, the collection also houses some rare and important pieces for this period – a *nomisma* of Mezezios (668-669), two unpublished *folles* tentatively identified by the author to Constans II, a rare *follis* thought to be of Leo III (717-741) previously attributed to Justinian II, first reign (685-695), though perhaps of Leontios (695-698), to name only some of the more interesting examples, and only for the period 610-867.

---

<sup>62</sup> There is an ongoing process of uploading the collection to the University of Birmingham's online collections management system ([www.mimsy.bham.ac.uk](http://www.mimsy.bham.ac.uk)), which stands at 1,787 coins as of September 2017, and is substantially, though by no means exclusively, the author's own work (Joseph Parsonage, Antonios Savva, Lauren Wainwright, Emily Freeman, Elizabeth Turmbull, Michael Burling, Marcus Spencer-Brown, Elie de Rosen, Jessica Varsallona, Emilio Peris Blanch and Jonathan Jarrett have all also contributed to the process).

<sup>63</sup> It is important to note, however, the small handbooks of Kent 1985, on a small selection of coins from the Barber's Byzantine coin collection; and Dunn 1983, a very preliminary survey of the seals housed with the Barber's coin collection.

## Chapter 1 – The Byzantine economy, 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries

Since coins are primarily a means of economic exchange, whilst also being forms of art, this first chapter will consider the economic backdrop onto which the coins of the seventh to ninth centuries fit. The first part will cover the broad economy and the period of apparent demonetisation. The second part will cover issues of debasement in the Byzantine gold coinage.

### Part 1 – The broader economy

The economic transition from the Roman to the Early Mediaeval world is a path well-trodden in recent scholarship. In particular the works of McCormick and Wickham have done much to chart the changes in trade routes, centres of production, taxation systems, and settlement patterns, which took place across the former Roman world from the fourth to ninth centuries.<sup>64</sup> For the Byzantine part of that world, these changes include the disappearance of the *annona* (a Roman system of taxation in kind, specifically for grain and oil), alongside the grain-rich regions of Egypt and North Africa; a deceleration of the pan-Mediterranean economy and move towards more localised economies; the move from the ancient *poleis* to the mediaeval *kastra*; and, ultimately, the period of apparent demonetisation. This part will briefly consider these themes.

#### The disappearance of the *annona* system

For the Roman and Early Byzantine Empire, the *annona* had been an important part of both the system of taxation (directly) and the imperial economy at large

---

<sup>64</sup> McCormick 2001; Wickham 2005.

(indirectly). The *annona* was a form of taxation in kind designed to take grain and oil from fertile areas such as North Africa and Egypt to feed the Empire's cities, especially the capital, and, in return, the state covered all transport costs.<sup>65</sup> It may have contributed indirectly to the wider Mediterranean economy, however, as it seems that merchants found ways of exploiting this arrangement to their further advantage. They took the transport subsidies and filled their ships to the brim with all sorts of products, which certainly included African red slip ware (henceforth ARS).<sup>66</sup> It is known that the merchants took advantage of the covering of transport costs enough to catch the attention of the imperial government, as the *Codex Theodosianus* records a law of 396 which forbids *annona* merchants from taking more than two years in their deliveries.<sup>67</sup> Though this is somewhat earlier than the period of concern for this thesis, it is possible that this sort of activity continued until the loss of the *annona*-producing regions. The redirection of the North African *annona* to Constantinople, following the Byzantine conquest of Vandal Africa in the early 530s, did see ARS make an appearance in the East, but not in any quantity remotely resembling what its distribution in the West had been.<sup>68</sup> Of course, ARS is only one product, but it survives better than most and was more prolific than amphorae; it can also be very good proxy-data for other more perishable goods, which may have travelled along with the *annona* shipments, being datable as well as durable. Figs, for example, were grown on the Cap Bon peninsula and were likely to have been transported in flexible, perishable transport containers like sack, as the *annona* grain itself would have been, rather than the ceramic amphorae used

---

<sup>65</sup> Generally on the *annona*: McCormick 2001, 85-92. On what exactly constituted the *annona* from Graeco-Latin texts: Durliat 1990, 188-189. On how the *annona* worked in the taxation system at large: Wickham 2005, 75-76.

<sup>66</sup> Specifically on the Africans doing this: Wickham 2005, 710; more generally on pottery as a common 'filler item' in merchant vessels: Loseby 2005, 612.

<sup>67</sup> *Codex Theodosianus* XIII.5.26.

<sup>68</sup> Wickham 2005, 725.

for liquids (such as olive oil or garum), which are non-perishable and thereby proxy data themselves for the liquids, rather than ARS.<sup>69</sup>

By the end of the seventh century, however, both Egypt – which was lost to the Byzantines in the early 640s – and the rest of North Africa had been captured by the Arabs. Therefore, any discussion of the Byzantine economy moving through the seventh century and into the eighth, necessarily concerns the question of what happened to the *annona* and what it was replaced by or what it transformed into.<sup>70</sup>

If the *annona* did continue to function into the eighth century, there is no documentation for its continued existence. If the producer region moved from North Africa to Sicily, as Durliat suggests it might have done, we might reasonably expect to see an increase in Sicilian products found elsewhere in the Empire.<sup>71</sup> While Sicilian coins do seem to turn up around the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions in higher than expected frequency for the eighth and early ninth centuries, and the island seems to be less impacted by the ‘great demonetisation’ of the late eighth to early ninth centuries than other regions, and finds of Sicilian globular amphorae and *vetrina pesante* wares seem to mirror these coin find patterns, there are alternative explanations.<sup>72</sup> The most obvious alternative explanation is that these wares are representative of regular trade, perhaps increased due to the combination of the presence of the Emperor Constans II and the army, the opening of the mint of Syracuse (both in the mid-seventh century) and the loss of North Africa. It should be noted, though, that while North Africa was lost to the Byzantines territorially, it does not follow that trading with the region suddenly stopped. Moreover, the decline in African exports across the Mediterranean had been in

---

<sup>69</sup> On the North African production and export of figs: McCormick 2001, 634.

<sup>70</sup> Questions posed by Durliat 1990, 275-7. See also Prigent 2006, 271-273.

<sup>71</sup> Durliat 1990, 277.

<sup>72</sup> On Sicilian coins moving outside: Morrisson 1998, especially pages 318-327, which detail known finds. For Sicily’s weathering of the monetary storm, see the discussion below, or Morrisson 1998; Vaccaro 2013, 46-51. On the Sicilian ceramic wares: Vaccaro 2013, 57-59.

progress since the Vandal conquest, but had particularly accelerated from around the year 600.<sup>73</sup> In light of the lack of documentary evidence for the continuation of the *annona* system having migrated elsewhere, in combination with other alternative explanations for the increase in Sicilian exports, the only sensible conclusion seems to be that the system did cease sometime in the seventh century.

#### From pan-Mediterranean to localised economies

As the old Roman world disintegrated politically, so too does the Roman pan-Mediterranean economy seem to have steadily declined. The picture we get from the archaeology of sites across the Mediterranean leading into the seventh century is one of increased localism. To the west, excavations in Italy, Spain and along the French Mediterranean coast show a higher proportion of locally produced pottery containing, where they have been analysed, oils, wines and other products which were also presumably produced locally.<sup>74</sup> Meanwhile the Levantine coast sees a marked decrease in imports after c.600.<sup>75</sup> The knock-on effect of this to producer regions such as North Africa, which had also historically benefitted from the cheaper transportation costs brought by the *annona* system, was huge.

North Africa (defined here principally as the Byzantine provinces of Zeugitana and Byzacena) is an interesting case study, as the changing of its economy is somewhat easier to trace than for other regions. ARS is one of the most useful archaeological items of proxy data for trade. ARS itself is mentioned in almost any coastal archaeological report for the period prior to the seventh century. Even into the early seventh century ARS is recorded, alongside coins and Tunisian, Anatolian and

---

<sup>73</sup> McCormick 2001, 511; Wickham 2005, 711; or see discussion of North Africa as a mini case study below, this chapter.

<sup>74</sup> On Italian excavations see Wickham 2005, 482 and 712; Loseby 2005, 610-1; and Gelichi 85. On Spain: Arce 2005; on France: Loseby 1992, Hitchner 1992 and Bonifay 2004.

<sup>75</sup> Fulford 1980.



Phoenician ceramic wares along the British west coast and Iberian Atlantic coast, long lost to the Empire by 600.<sup>76</sup> That it turns up alongside non-North African wares could mean one of two things – either they are unrelated phenomena, and the trade between the extreme west and the east of the former Roman world was one direct route and North Africa's products moved along a separate one; or they are related and North Africa (or, likely, the city of Carthage specifically) was acting as a trade conduit between East and West.<sup>77</sup> Moving from the pre-Vandal conquest period to c.700, however, there is a clear downward trend in ARS finds, as well as a downturn in imports of non-African wares into North Africa from c.600 to c.700, an apparent contraction in farming and, by the eighth to ninth centuries, Africa's own move toward a more localised economy.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, the trend for imports into North Africa from the eastern Mediterranean, in particular, had been increasing since the 530s.<sup>79</sup> McCormick's maps charting the contraction of ARS finds are repeated on the next page to illustrate the point (figures 5 and 6).

Interestingly, finds of ARS within North Africa are comparatively low. This would seem to indicate production with the express purpose of external trade, rather than local consumption with longer distance trade as a by-product.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, the African road networks seem to have been geared toward the coast, and export, rather than toward internal African markets.<sup>81</sup> Clearly North Africa was economically configured toward Mediterranean export over internal African trade networks. As its former export markets appear to source their wares and produce more locally, so

---

<sup>76</sup> Harris 2003 and Campbell 1996.

<sup>77</sup> In favour of a long trade route between the East and extreme west going via Carthage: Harris 2003 and Campbell 1996. For the view that this trade was direct and bypassed North Africa: Reynolds 1995.

<sup>78</sup> Wickham 2005, 726-728.

<sup>79</sup> Fulford 1980, 71.

<sup>80</sup> Within the North African context: Fentress et al. 2004, 155; within the Mediterranean context: Wickham 2005, 721.

<sup>81</sup> Wickham 2005, 721.

African production of ware associated with export seems to contract – though production of goods such as oil does seem to have continued.<sup>82</sup>

Figure 5: ARS finds c.350-c.475<sup>83</sup>

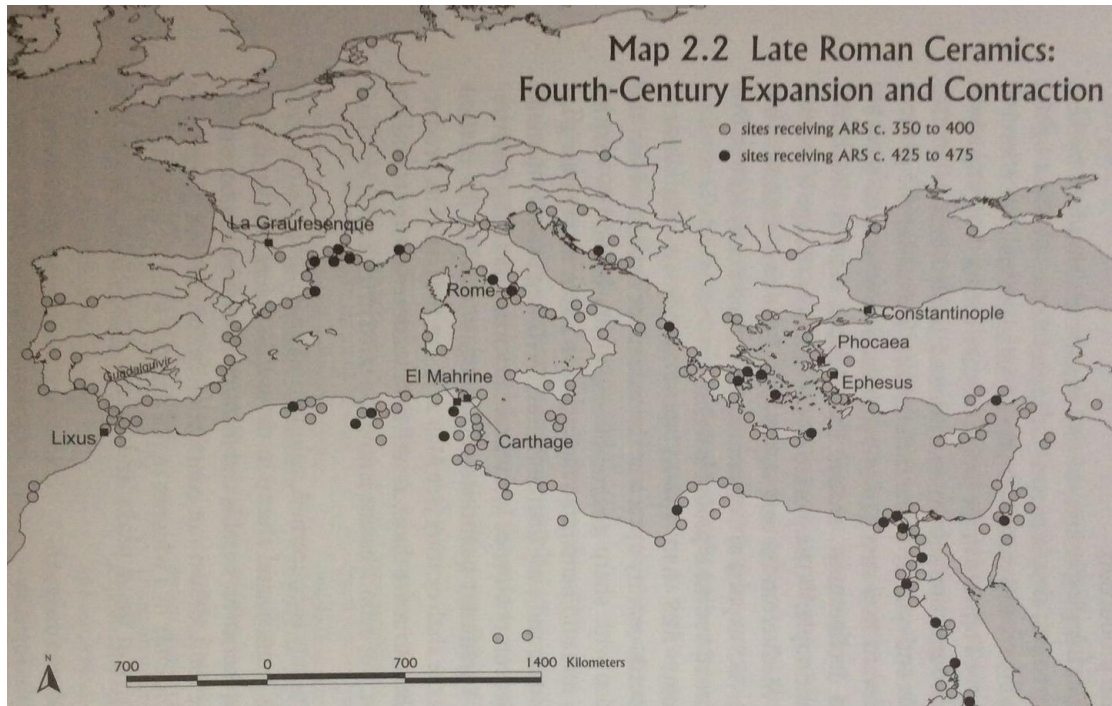
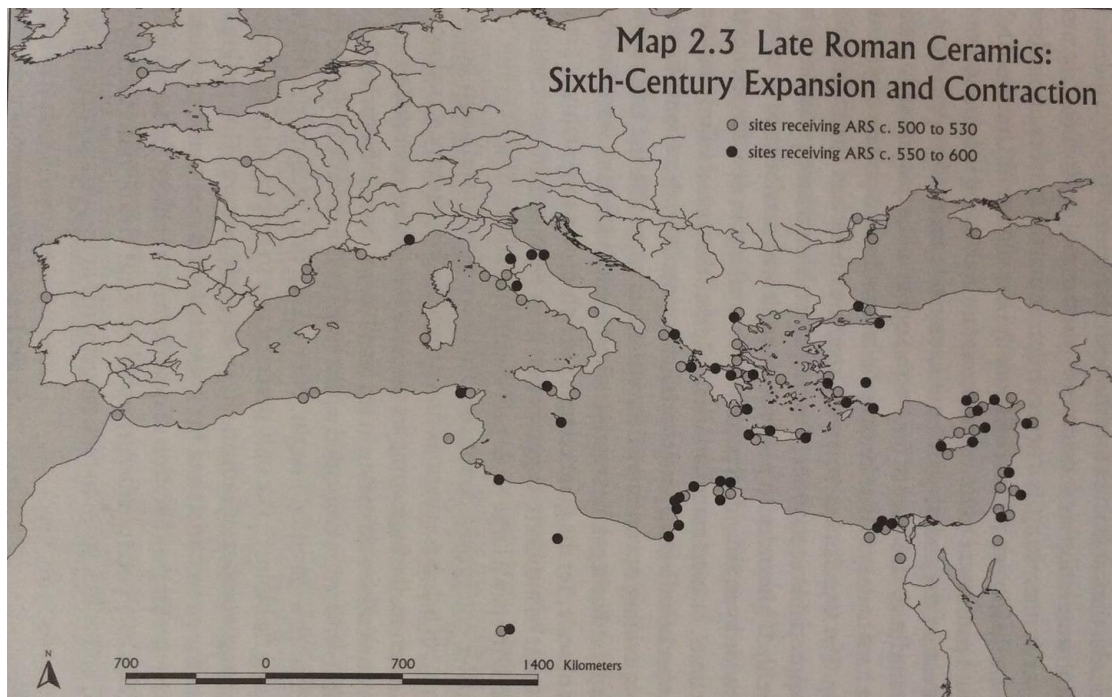


Figure 6: ARS finds c.500-c.600<sup>84</sup>



<sup>82</sup> Wickham 2005, 723-724.

<sup>83</sup> McCormick 2001, 56.

<sup>84</sup> McCormick 2001, 57.

### From *polis* to *kastron*

As the shape of the economy of the former Roman world began to change, so too did the cities and towns. The move ‘from *polis* to *kastron*’ is, by 2017, a relatively old trope with much discussion over whether this constituted a period of decline or merely a period of transformation.<sup>85</sup> The question of decline or not will not be considered here, as this is highly subjective, and the interest in the transition for this thesis is what settlement change means for coin finds, particularly approaching the ‘demonetisation’ of the eighth and early ninth centuries, which will be discussed in the next section. In this way, it is important to note here that the evidence for settlement change mirrors the evidence for demonetisation in that the picture for the Byzantine Empire is a patchwork (in terms of both geography and chronology) rather than a picture which is true for all settlements. Cherson in the Crimea does not appear to have much added to the settlement through the eighth and ninth centuries, but neither is there much evidence of the abandonment of economic structures, such as fish-salteries or kilns.<sup>86</sup> Konstantia (ancient Salamis) on the island of Cyprus is largely abandoned and much of its building fabric used as spolia for the settlement of Famagusta sometime between the late seventh and ninth centuries.<sup>87</sup> The apparently inhabited area of Corinth contracts dramatically in the sixth century.<sup>88</sup> Even these three examples only demonstrate those cities archaeologists have been able to excavate extensively, for Athens, Syracuse or Ankara, to give three alternate examples, archaeologists must wait before redevelopment work begins in the modern city to get in to excavate, making our

---

<sup>85</sup> On the terminology and transition in the Balkans specifically: Dunn 1994. For the urban changes in the period preceeding this thesis, the summary in Saradi 2006, 441–470 is especially instructive, but also very much part of the decline narrative. For a discussion of the debates around decline or transformation (falling in the side of the latter): Kirilov 2007.

<sup>86</sup> Romančuk et al. 2005.

<sup>87</sup> Zavagno 2014, who challenges the dating of the movement.

<sup>88</sup> Sanders 2002.

understanding of these sites their own individual patchworks.<sup>89</sup> Even where archaeologists are able to excavate extensively and systematically, however, there are still further problems in assessing how the cities changed. Kirilov points out the problems encountered by historians wishing to chart the population change in urban areas, which consist largely of being able to see how many buildings were in a given urban centre, but not how many people inhabited that building.<sup>90</sup> The problem is not dissimilar to the numismatic issue of having never knowingly excavated a mint – if the equipment was routinely destroyed, how would one know an excavated building was a mint? Then there is the further problem of whether the settlement walls constituted the inhabited settlement boundary – this is a question both for the mediaeval and antique city.<sup>91</sup> It should also be noted in the discussion of the move from the ancient *polis* to the mediaeval *kastron* that, while the terms themselves come from the Greek, there was no clear distinction in the different types of city or town perceived by contemporaries – or, at least, they were easily confused and terminology could be impacted by classicising styles.<sup>92</sup>

The most radical changes in the seventh century can be perceived in those areas of Asia Minor that came under attack from Arab raids. Unlike the conquered cities of Palestina and Syria, the cities of eastern Anatolia were not occupied by Caliphal forces, only raided.<sup>93</sup> This is an over-generalisation, however, as the Anatolian city of Amorion, which has been and is still being extensively excavated, demonstrates an example of an Anatolian city flourishing under imperial and patrician patronage, as well

---

<sup>89</sup> On the problems this can cause: Lightfoot 2002.

<sup>90</sup> Kirilov 2007, 4-11; the change in urban habitation patterns from sparser to denser is also discussed in Saradi 2006, 441-442, though here it is paradoxically considered to constitute population reduction (p.445).

<sup>91</sup> Kirilov 2007, 11-15.

<sup>92</sup> See for example Gelichi's discussion of John the Deacon's confusion over describing the settlements or north-eastern Italy. Gelichi 2007, 82-83.

<sup>93</sup> For a discussion of why this may have been the case: Haldon 2016, 63-70.

as benefitting from being the seat of the Anatolikon *thema*.<sup>94</sup> Amorion of course provides us with an exception to prove a rule, but it also demonstrates that the rule does not indiscriminately fit the cities of the entirety of the region. Additionally, towns had begun to shift focus before the seventh century.<sup>95</sup> The period of the migrations had, in the fifth and sixth centuries, forced settlements to defend themselves better than they had done earlier, and the raids and conquests of the Huns, Goths, Heruli, etc. were potentially part of the reasoning behind a contraction of the city walls to be more easily defensible by the garrison.<sup>96</sup>

Fortification change was not, however, the only change in the cities and towns of the Byzantine Empire in the Late Antique/Early Mediaeval period. Outside of the major cities, like Constantinople or Thessalonike, bath houses, agorae and theatres became less-used, abandoned and, in some cases such as the well-excavated site of Ephesos, their fabrics became spolia for new buildings.<sup>97</sup> This change was in some part driven by the church, which considered such places as sinful, or as part of non-Christian life, but there was also natural degradation with a lack of restoration at play.<sup>98</sup> Infrastructure changed, water supplies shifted from the ancient aqueducts to the wells.<sup>99</sup>

### Coin circulation and demonetisation

While economic production appears to move toward localisation during the late sixth to seventh centuries and remains that way for the eighth, coin finds also indicate both a contracting world and a contracting monetary economy. Another consistent theme through the discussion of the seventh to ninth century economy is what happens

---

<sup>94</sup> Ivison 2007.

<sup>95</sup> On general urban change in the sixth century and earlier, see Saradi 2006.

<sup>96</sup> Kirilov 2007, 18-19.

<sup>97</sup> Saradi 2006, 445-450.

<sup>98</sup> On the Christian angle: Kirilov 2007, 18; on general degradation: Saradi 2006, 442.

<sup>99</sup> Saradi 2006, 445.

to the cities in this period. The seventh century sees the beginning of the transformation of cities from the classical style *polis* to the mediaeval style *kastron*. Many cities appear to have contracted and changed focus (for example, Corinth)<sup>100</sup> while others simply disappear altogether (for example, Sardis).<sup>101</sup> Evidence for human activity in many cities suggests that their focal points moved to more easily defensible areas, such as the acropolis.<sup>102</sup> Scholars such as Lightfoot make an important point by suggesting that part of the reason for the apparent drop off in coin finds as a whole is that archaeologists are digging principally in cities that were becoming abandoned into the eighth century, to be later reoccupied. This, Lightfoot suggests, is either because they are more interesting to the narrative of changing settlement patterns in this period, or because sites still occupied to the present day (such as Ankara and Istanbul) are more difficult to obtain permission to excavate in.<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless, the contraction both in base metal coin finds for Asia Minor and for the Balkans and in the number of denominations of the base coinage struck from around the third quarter of the seventh century to the second quarter of the ninth is an undeniable feature of the period.<sup>104</sup>

There is more than one way in which economic activity could have been conducted in the Empire's eastern regions in this period. The most immediate conclusion one might be drawn to is a move to a barter, or semi-barter system.<sup>105</sup> While anthropology has demonstrated that barter likely did not exist before coinage, it has equally demonstrated that barter tends only to exist in societies which have known money, but lose access to it, or operating alongside a monetary economy (what we

---

<sup>100</sup> Sanders 2002, 648-649.

<sup>101</sup> Foss and Scott 2002, 615.

<sup>102</sup> Wickham 2005, Sanders 2002, Foss and Scott 2002.

<sup>103</sup> Lightfoot 2002, 231.

<sup>104</sup> See in general Metcalf 2001; Haldon 2012, 108-112. On the situation in the Balkans: Curta 2005. On the situation in Anatolia: Lightfoot 2002.

<sup>105</sup> On the issue of a barter or semi-barter economy in the eighth to ninth centuries: Saradi 1995, 405-407; Morrisson 2002.

might call ‘semi-barter’) much as the situation in the eighth century Balkans and Anatolia can appear.<sup>106</sup> The difficulty with a barter economy for historians is that it is almost untraceable in the archaeological record – movement of goods and coins indicates a monetised economy, but movement of goods with few or no coins of the same period does not necessarily indicate a barter system. Exceptions to this rule include the practice in mediaeval England of keeping and issuing stocks and foils – theoretical money representing debts and credit, which may not necessarily have been exchanged in coinage.<sup>107</sup>

Coins found individually may be able to tell us where and when they were made, however, they often cannot tell us when they ceased circulating, with the notable exception of hoard coins, which can give a good indication of length of circulation life. Lack of coin production does not necessarily mean lack of coin use.<sup>108</sup> Many of the base coin hoards listed in *Les trésors monétaires byzantins* contain ancient Greek and Roman coins as well as sixth and sometimes seventh-century coins.<sup>109</sup> While this evidence does not relate directly to the period of apparent demonetisation, it does demonstrate the longevity of base, as well as gold, coins. Of course, a single hoard with the earliest coins over a century before its latest (its *terminus post quem*) means little at all – it could be representative of a mediaeval ancient coin enthusiast, or heirlooms – but when a mass of hoards show the same pattern, this is suggestive of wider practice. Of course, there are other issues. The reporting and recording of hoards in certain parts of the world and at certain periods can be poor at best, leading to later reconstructions of earlier hoards which may not have contained all of the items it purports to (witness: the

---

<sup>106</sup> Graeber 2014, 21-41. On evidence for barter in a Byzantine context (albeit from the thirteenth century on): Saradi 1995.

<sup>107</sup> Graeber 2014, 48-49.

<sup>108</sup> A point also made by Cecile Morrisson: Morrisson 2012, 469-470.

<sup>109</sup> Morrisson et al. 2006, pages 432-443 for the inventory.

seventh century gold ‘Carthage 1945 hoard’),<sup>110</sup> or may have previously contained other items which have since been sold in a separate bundle (witness: the probable late twelfth century base metal ‘Mardin hoard’).<sup>111</sup> This has the potential to greatly distort our view of individual hoards – which can be corrected in the individual analysis – but when this happens repeatedly and hoard evidence is considered as a whole, the problem is widened and, given the nature of analysing hoard meta-data, the problems of individual instances lost. It is also not necessarily true that an individual hoard (or even a small group of hoards from the same area) is representative of coins in *circulation* at the probable time of deposition. Again, however, when this pattern is replicated, it is more likely to be indicative of circulation. It should also be emphasised here that hoards, like single finds of coins, have a *terminus post quem* for their *probable* date of deposition, not an exact date. Again, just because a coin was made around 641, it does not mean that it was deposited then.

This pattern does not follow, however, for Sicily and, to a lesser extent, Calabria, which represented ‘le refuge d’une activité commerciale reduite mais non detruite’.<sup>112</sup> Here coin finds appear comparatively strong – there is a dip, but nothing that compares to the situation in the Balkans and Asia Minor.<sup>113</sup> Perhaps unsurprisingly, it is eastern Sicily, near the mint city of Syracuse, which appears to be the most monetised.<sup>114</sup>

Outside of the island and its Calabrian neighbour, Sicilian coins are the only Byzantine coins found on the islands of Sardinia and Malta for the ninth century, and

---

<sup>110</sup> Whitting 1966.

<sup>111</sup> Lowick et al. 1977.

<sup>112</sup> Morrisson 1998, 317.

<sup>113</sup> Morrisson 1998, 328-329.

<sup>114</sup> Vaccaro 2013, 47.



have a very high presence at Cherson in the Crimea from the reign of Leo V.<sup>115</sup> Why Sicily and Calabria should be so comparatively resistant to the monetary recession is not at present terribly clear.

This, then, is the brief overview of the context within which the coins were circulating in the period under study. The images on the coins were viewed by the Byzantine population with, probably, rapidly decreasing regularity in the late seventh century, steadily decreasing regularity through the eighth and first two decades of the ninth century; at least in Asia Minor and the Balkans. Earlier, as well as contemporary, coin imagery may well still have been relevant in this period; and the visibility of the Syracusan coinage probably increased against the Constantinopolitan from beginning to end of the period under study.

## **Part 2 – Gold coin purity**

In 2014, the project *All that glitters... the Byzantine solidus 307-1092* (henceforth referred to as ATG) was set up to test the metallic content of the gold coins of the Byzantine Empire through the non-destructive method of x-ray fluorescence (henceforth referred to as XRF). Although the project's scope was initially chronologically wide-ranging, it became much more focussed on the period 491-842. It also included *semisses* and *tremisses*, as well as *nomismata*. The tentative conclusions from the project about the content of the Byzantine gold coinage for the period 610-842 are therefore presented in brief here, with the consent of the other project members.<sup>116</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup> Sardinia and Malta: Morrisson 1998, 312. Cherson: Morrisson 1998, 311-312 and 319; Metcalf 2001, 138.

<sup>116</sup> The main conclusions of the project will be submitted for publication as two separate articles in 2017 – an article on the sample preparation process for *Applied spectroscopy*, and an article on the proposed reattribution of a *semissis* of Leo III to the mint of Syracuse for *Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek studies*. The full conclusions of the project are proposed to be published as a monograph alongside Andrew Oddy's specific gravity results for the coins. The scope and aims of the project will be detailed in an article by Rebecca Darley for the proceedings of the International Numismatic Congress, which took

First, however, let us consider the strengths and limitations of the XRF method and the individual project to frame the discussion of the results. XRF works by using x-ray beams to displace electrons from the inner shell of the atoms in the layer the beam can hit. The positively charged protons in the atom's nucleus then attract a negatively charged electron from one of the outer shells to replace the one lost. As this process occurs, an energy signal measurable by the machine is emitted. As each element has electron shells of a shape unique to all the atoms of that element, at distances apart unique to all the atoms of that element, the energy readings permit the machine to distinguish between elements and give an estimation of the elements present. This energy reading is not, however, cumulative – that is to say it points to the presence of an element, not its volume. The proportions of the contents are calculated as the machine counts the photons, which are cumulative.<sup>117</sup>

For the technique's advantages: XRF is non-destructive, so no part of the coin need be removed or destroyed. The technique is cheaper and its equipment more readily available than proton or neutron activation, ICPMS (a destructive technique), or PIXE. It is more accurate than specific gravity.

For the technique's disadvantages: XRF is able only to detect elements, not compounds. It can only 'view' the surface of the coin, and therefore also returns readings for elements in any soil or varnishing the coin may have on the surface. It is better able to read flat surfaces – thus testing the field beside the cross potent on steps

---

place in 2015, and an article by Jonathan Jarrett for the proceedings of the 'Framing the Early Medieval economy' conference, which took place in 2016.

<sup>117</sup> I am indebted to Jack Dobinson of the University of South Wales for his time taken in teaching me the basics of the science behind XRF analysis and to Jackie Deans of the University of Birmingham for the provision of her XRF training manual.

will return a fuller reading than testing over an intricately carved *chlamys* or jewelled diadem. Being a surface technique, results may be skewed by surface enrichment.<sup>118</sup>

Within the XRF technique, there are two basic forms of testing: energy dispersive (XRF-ED) and wavelength dispersive (XRF-WD). The advantage with XRF-ED is principally that it is cheaper than XRF-WD and can be placed in smaller, portable machines. The advantage with XRF-WD is that it can more easily distinguish genuine elemental readings from the ‘background noise’ readings.

Within the scope of the ATG project we tested different methodologies: we tested three different machines, two different cycle lengths, three different preparation techniques and one larger 8mm diameter test against two 5mm diameter spot tests.

To test the different machines – the methodological question we tested first – we used a control group of ten coins, all uncleaned and handled with bare hands. The machines we tested were (in order) the table-top M1ORA (XRF-ED), the handheld XRF scanner (XRF-ED), and the S8TIGER (XRF-WD), on which we tested the 8 and 18-minute cycles.<sup>119</sup> The results from the S8TIGER’s 18-minute cycle were by far the most detailed and therefore useful.<sup>120</sup>

Since the S8TIGER has different holder sizes for the coins – meaning the machine can test an area with a diameter of 5mm or 8mm (larger holder sizes being too large for the coins we were testing) – we trialled a single 8mm test against two 5mm ‘spot tests’ on different areas of the test group coins in order to consider surface homogeneity. This showed both that elemental percentage returns did vary at different

---

<sup>118</sup> Though this sounds like a deliberate act, it simply means that the more reactive elements on the surface may have oxidised and crumbled away, leaving behind a higher percentage of less reactive elements than is present at the centre.

<sup>119</sup> For use of these machines, we are grateful to Bruker Industries for the free use of the M1ORA, the British Museum for use of their handheld XRF scanner, and to the chemistry department at the University of Birmingham for the reduced costs of, and time booked for, our use of their S8TIGER. We are also grateful to the Royal Numismatic Society for their grant to pay for the rest of the testing, and to the Henry Barber trust for their permission to use their coins in testing.

<sup>120</sup> For the comparison of these results, see appendix 2 on the accompanying CD-ROM.

points tested (i.e. surface heterogeneity) and that the machine was able to return a result closer to 100% of the surface within the holder's window when the surface was flatter. We therefore decided that in the interests of time and of seeing a more averaged result for the coin's surface to proceed using one 8mm test on each face of each coin, excepting those coins with a diameter small enough to warrant the 5mm test (i.e. some *tremisses* and Carthaginian globular *nomismata*). We also decided to photograph the area visible within the holder's window.

Finally for methodological considerations, we tested three different sample preparation methods: uncleaned, washed with acetone, and picked clean under a magnifier with a berberis thorn and then washed with acetone.<sup>121</sup> There was little difference made by the method of cleaning with acetone alone, but picking clean with a berberis thorn did make an appreciable difference to the results (see the table and graph, figures 7 and 8, below).

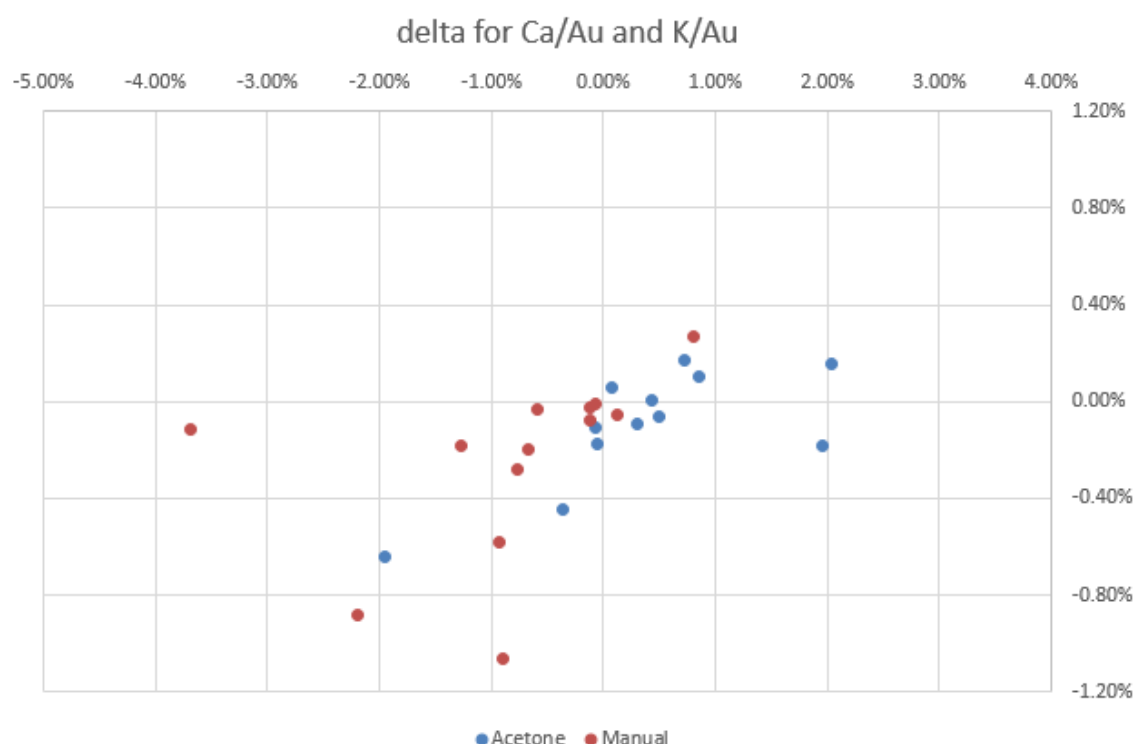
Figure 7: table showing the reduction elements commonly found in soils and salts after berberis cleaning.<sup>122</sup>

Element	Chemical symbol	Mean reduction as proportion of mean pre-cleaning value
Copper	Cu	7%
Aluminium	Al	21%
Calcium	Ca	41%
Chlorine	Cl	49%
Iron	Fe	31%
Magnesium	Mg	36%
Potassium	K	40%
Silicon	Si	23%
Sodium	Na	45%
Sulphur	S	32%

<sup>121</sup> The berberis thorn specifically was chosen due to the comparative analysis of different thorns used in the cleaning of the Staffordshire Hoard. Thorns, being flora, and softer than gold, will not scratch the surface.

<sup>122</sup> The data analysis and production of the table is the work of Robert Bracey.

Figure 8: Graph showing the change in calcium and potassium as a proportion to gold for the test coins when cleaned with acetone and when cleaned manually with a berberis thorn.<sup>123</sup>



The reduction in elements such as calcium, potassium and sulphur is important as these are commonly found in soil.<sup>124</sup> Elements such as copper, iron and aluminium, however, could be part either of the soil or of the coin itself. Therefore, the majority of the coins were tested after the berberis cleaning method.<sup>125</sup>

In order to better understand the margins of error, the final test we undertook – after the main testing for historical analysis purposes – was to test the same coin ten times. The first two tests on the obverse without removing the coin from the holder or the holder from the machine; the third and fourth tests on the reverse with the same conditions as the first two; the fifth and sixth tests on the obverse again, attempting to manually reposition the coin into the same place as tests 1 and 2 from the photograph

<sup>123</sup> The data analysis and production of the graph is the work of Robert Bracey.

<sup>124</sup> On elements commonly found in soils: Sposito 2008, 4 (individual metallic elements, table 1.2) and 12 (common compound minerals in soils and their elemental make-up, table 1.3).

<sup>125</sup> We did not retest any of the coins outside of the control group due to time and financial restraints. The method of cleaning and testing is recorded with the results in appendix 2.

taken, but not removing the coin from the holder or the holder from the machine between 5 and 6; the seventh and eighth on the reverse with the same conditions as tests 5 and 6; then, finally, repositioning the obverse for test 9 and the reverse for test 10. In this way we had two tests on either face with no human interference and two tests on either side which may show the effects of human error. What we saw from this final set of tests is that there is a considerable amount of variability within tests of the same coin in the same spot, human error in repositioning made surprisingly little difference (see figures 9 and 10 below).

Figure 9: Table showing the normalised results of the five tests on the obverse of the coin.<sup>126</sup>

Element	Test 1	Test 2	Test 5	Test 6	Test 9
<b>Gold</b>	85.99%	85.79%	85.20%	85.89%	85.75%
<b>Silver</b>	8.44%	8.40%	8.56%	8.07%	8.61%
<b>Copper</b>	2.19%	2.21%	2.26%	2.26%	2.26%
<b>Aluminium</b>	0.60%	0.65%	0.59%	0.52%	0.50%
<b>Sodium</b>	0.31%		0.42%	0.22%	0.32%
<b>Calcium</b>		0.30%	0.31%	0.29%	0.27%
<b>Potassium</b>	0.34%	0.23%	0.28%	0.30%	0.25%
<b>Sulphur</b>	0.21%	0.30%	0.33%	0.24%	0.28%
<b>Chlorine</b>	0.15%	0.22%	0.23%	0.20%	
<b>Iron</b>	0.17%	0.18%	0.15%	0.18%	0.18%
<b>Magnesium</b>	0.16%	0.18%	0.18%	0.16%	0.13%
<b>Titanium</b>		0.15%	0.12%	0.16%	0.10%
<b>Zinc</b>			0.05%		0.05%
<b>Platinum</b>			0.02%		
<b>Bromine</b>	0.00%	0.00%		0.00%	
<b>Selenium</b>	0.00%	0.00%		0.00%	
<b>Rubidium</b>	0.00%	0.00%		0.00%	
<b>Germanium</b>				0.00%	

<sup>126</sup> All results were calculated with gold set as the matrix then normalised to be comparable. Cells left blank returned no result for that element, those displaying 0.00% returned a reading in the parts per million.

Figure 10: Table showing the normalised results of the five tests on the reverse of the coin.<sup>127</sup>

Element	Test 3	Test 4	Test 7	Test 8	Test 10
Gold	86.69%	86.72%	87.41%	86.69%	87.11%
Silver	7.56%	7.64%	7.51%	7.76%	7.61%
Copper	1.78%	1.81%	1.73%	1.72%	1.75%
Silicon	1.04%	1.02%	0.98%	1.06%	1.00%
Iron	0.94%	0.98%	1.02%	1.00%	0.94%
Aluminium	0.46%	0.38%	0.41%	0.44%	0.45%
Magnesium	0.36%	0.32%	0.30%	0.33%	0.34%
Calcium		0.26%	0.27%	0.29%	
Sulphur	0.24%	0.34%	0.25%	0.27%	0.21%
Potassium	0.26%	0.24%		0.26%	0.25%
Sodium	0.22%				
Chlorine	0.21%	0.12%			
Mercury					0.11%
Rhenium	0.08%				
Titanium	0.05%	0.09%	0.06%		0.11%
Zinc	0.07%	0.05%	0.05%	0.08%	0.08%
Phosphorus				0.07%	
Nickel	0.05%	0.03%		0.03%	0.04%
Bromine	0.00%		0.01%	0.00%	
Rubidium				0.00%	
Selenium				0.00%	

These results showed that there is a tendency for variation, even on the exact same, untampered with surface.

The ATG project is therefore narrower in its testing scope than the earlier Paris experiments of the 1980s, published in *L'or monneyé I: purification et alterations de Rome à Byzance*, which compared different methods available at the time; namely proton activation, neutron activation, XRF, chemical analysis, specific gravity and touchstone.<sup>128</sup> However, the ATG project considers use of the now popular and comparatively cheap method of XRF in more detail, while the method itself is more developed in 2014-2016 than it was in the 1980s. It is also more limited historically, in that it focussed more intensively on the period 491-842, rather than surveying across the

<sup>127</sup> As above.

<sup>128</sup> Morrisson et al. 1985.

entire Roman and Byzantine periods as the Paris tests did.<sup>129</sup> In these respects, therefore, ATG is also a more intensive study, having fewer tested items overall, but all by the same umbrella testing method and most by the decided upon version of that method, and covering a shorter time frame, leaving more items tested for the timeframe 491-842. A final strength of the ATG tests over the Paris tests is the repeated testing of the same item by the same method to demonstrate tested, as opposed to theoretical (engaged with by the Paris tests), error margins and variation which may apply to individual items tested only once as part of a broader survey.

It is with these considerations that I now present the tentative historical conclusions.

The ATG tests broadly confirmed the findings of the Paris tests for the Constantinopolitan mint in the period under study in that the gold content of the gold coins from Constantinople remained at a high purity level, above 90%.<sup>130</sup> Where the Paris study continued to focus on Constantinople moving into the debasement of the eleventh century and beyond, which is the principle focus of the analytical discussion, ATG moved to look at different mints in the earlier period, where more interesting conclusions were able to be drawn.

For the period to 685 there is no pattern strong or clear enough to draw any conclusions about mint signatures or different mint practices. Nor is there any apparent distinction in metallic content for the different denominations for the entire period. From 685, however, a pattern of debasement emerges for coins attributed to the mint of Syracuse and to the mint of Ravenna. It would appear that both mints were debasing their coins, but while Syracuse did this with both silver and copper, Ravenna, by

---

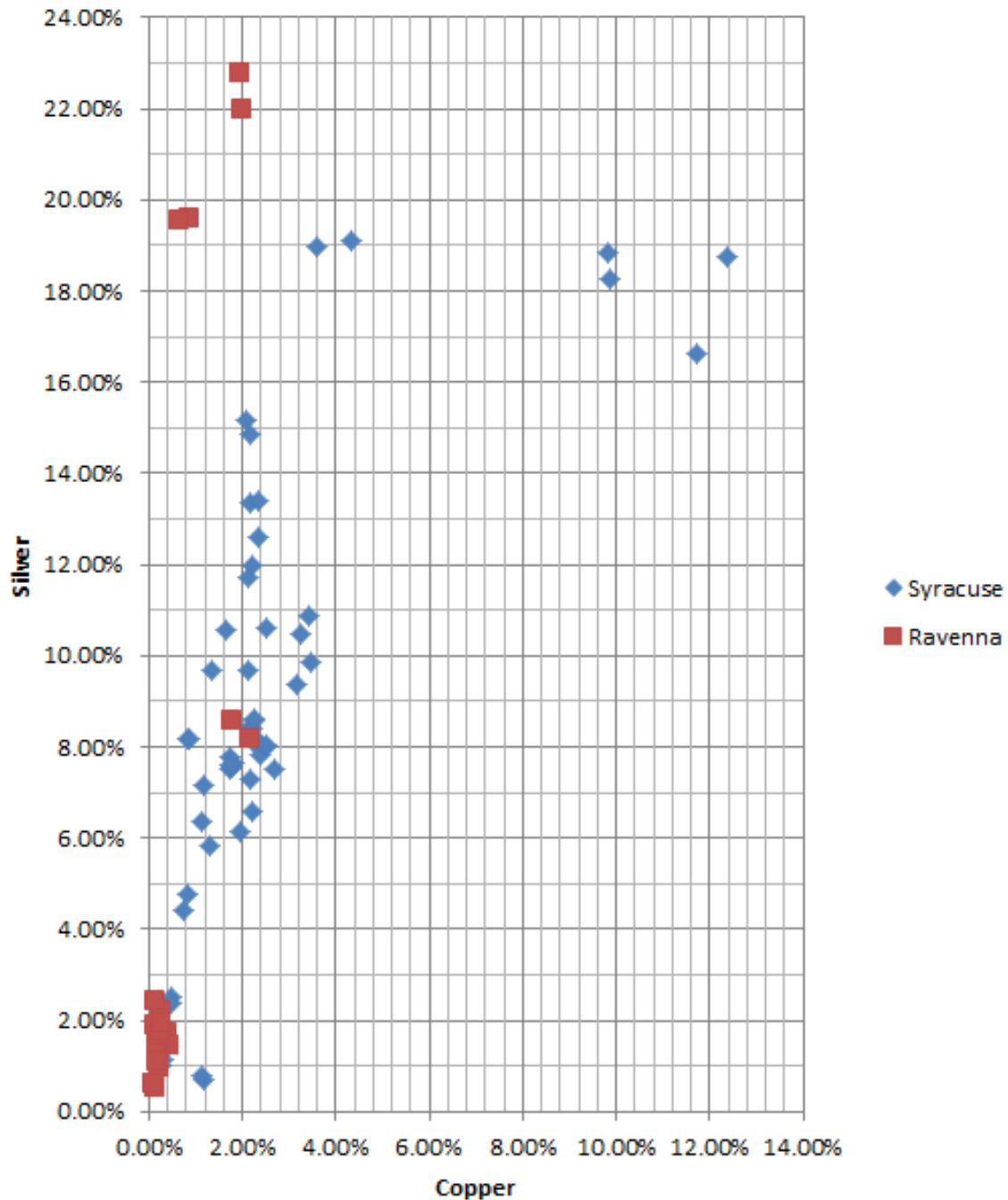
<sup>129</sup> On the Roman coins in the Paris tests: Morrisson et al. 1985, 80-111; on the Byzantine coins in the Paris tests: Morrisson et al. 1985, 113-170.

<sup>130</sup> Morrisson et al. 1985, 202-211.



contrast, only seems to have added silver. The results, with the caveat that the sample size for Ravenna would ideally be larger, are presented in the graph below (figure 11).

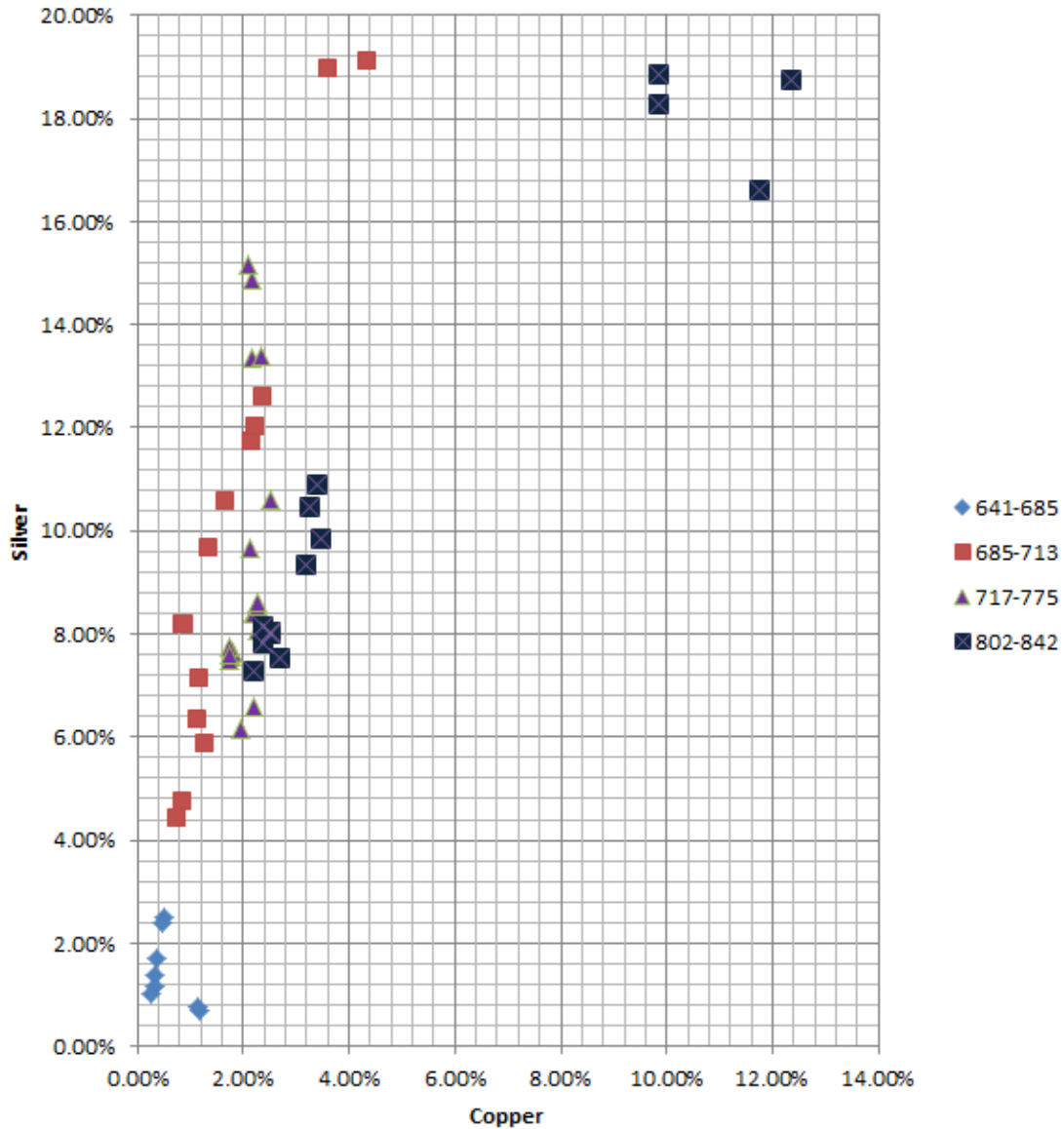
**Figure 11:** Graph showing silver plotted against copper for the mints of Syracuse and Ravenna.<sup>131</sup>



<sup>131</sup> Results derived from normalised gold set as matrix data of individual tests.

The results from the mint of Syracuse presented in the graph below (figure 12) show the progression of the debasement with silver and copper through time.

Figure 12: graph showing silver and copper results for coins from the mint of Syracuse during the time period indicated.<sup>132</sup>



That the debasement seems to begin during the first reign of Justinian II, not during the political turmoil which followed his deposition in 695, or earlier in the seventh century, when the Empire was losing land and wars to the emergent Caliphate, is curious. It is of course important to note that this only concerns the mints of Syracuse

<sup>132</sup> Results derived from normalised gold set as matrix data of individual tests.

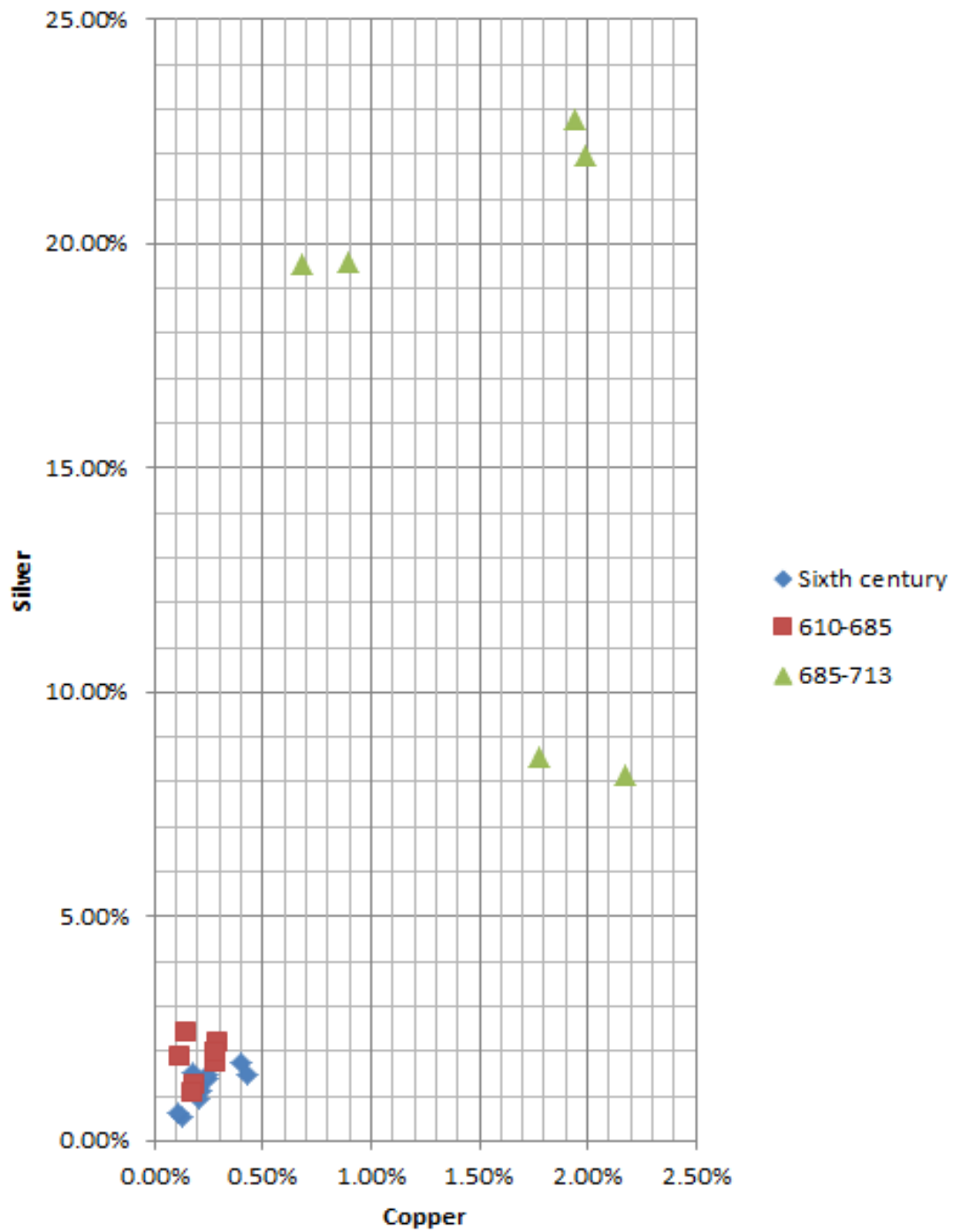
and Ravenna (for Ravenna, see figure 13). Indeed, Ravenna's results show an even starker break (though again, fewer Ravennan than Syracusan coins were tested). Constantinople shows no signs of change over time, however, the coins from the mint of Carthage make for an interesting comparison (see figure 14). While Carthage's silver and copper levels stay well below that found in the coins of Ravenna and Syracuse, there is a chronological pattern: a creeping increase in silver and copper content, but a trend that is clearly reversed after 685 (Carthage became part of the Caliphate in 698).

What this appears to demonstrate is, even having become a Byzantine enclave amidst the now Muslim North African region, the mint at Carthage still found the resources to reverse the creeping trend toward debasement. That Syracuse and Ravenna did not try to reverse this trend toward debasement, probably indicates that the decision was not taken by Justinian's government at Constantinople to slow or reverse debasement, but rather made at the mint of Carthage itself.

It is worthy of note, but not statistically significant, that, of the Leo III Syracusan coins tested, the one which came from the years 717-720 (before the association of Constantine) showed more similarity in composition to the coins of the '20-year anarchy' than to the post 720 coins of Leo III. That there appears to be a reduction in the amount of silver being added to the Syracusan coins post 720 is interesting as it is at this moment in time that the Constantinopolitan government appears to take an active interest in numismatic iconography, in contrast to the '20-year anarchy' period. Of course, with a lack of comparative non-Constantinopolitan mint material, that the reversal in debasement was due to the initiative of the people at the mint of Syracuse itself, independent of Constantinople, cannot be ruled out. It should also be reiterated that while there clearly is a reversal of the Syracusan debasement

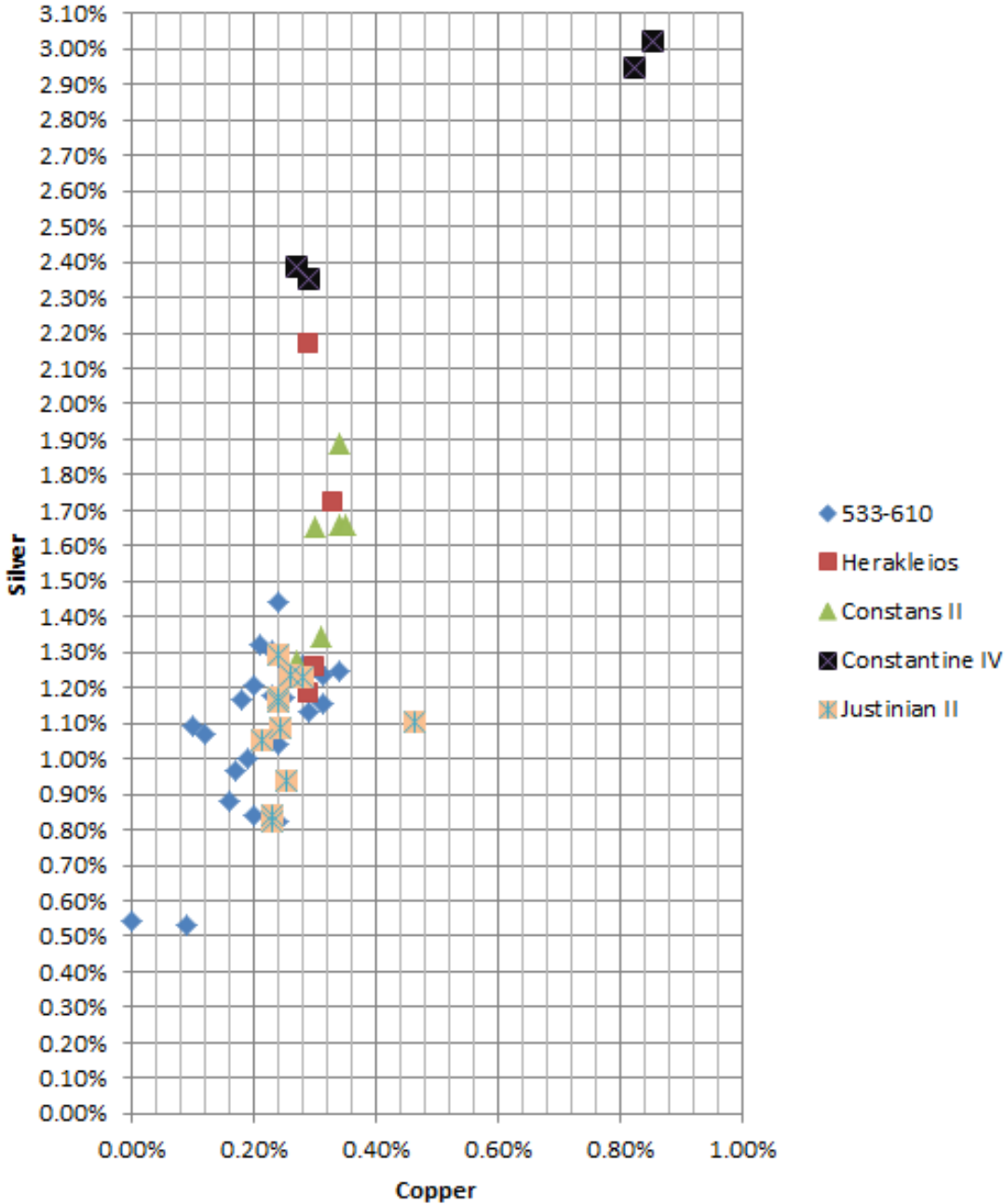
during the reign of Leo III, it cannot be said with certainty to occur only after 720 on the basis of one coin.

Figure 13: graph showing silver and copper results for coins from the mint of Ravenna during the time period indicated.<sup>133</sup>



<sup>133</sup> Results derived from normalised gold set as matrix data of individual tests.

during the time period indicated.<sup>134</sup>



That the coins from Constantinople show no sign of debasement at any point from 610-842, while the provincial coins of Ravenna and Syracuse do (Carthage shows a chronological trend but the levels of silver and copper are nowhere near those of Ravenna and Syracuse) could indicate either a lack of oversight of the provincial mints

<sup>134</sup> Results derived from normalised gold set as matrix data of individual tests.

by the capital, or imperial complicity in the debasement. The impact of this debasement on the circulation of Syracusan gold coins, however, seems to be minimal. As discussed earlier in this chapter, both gold and base metal coins from the mint of Syracuse are to be found at sites around the Tyrrhenian, Adriatic and Black Seas, while the island of Sicily itself, especially the East, appears to retain comparatively high levels of monetisation, even at the height of the apparent demonetisation in the Balkans and Asia Minor.<sup>135</sup>

**Figure 15:** table showing average (for all tests on both faces) gold, silver and copper content of coins from the mint of Syracuse.<sup>136</sup>

<b>Emperor</b>	<b>Likely date range for issue</b>	<b>Denomination</b>	<b>Gold</b>	<b>Silver</b>	<b>Copper</b>
Constans II	641-668	Tremissis	95.29%	1.53%	0.35%
Constans II	659-668	Nomisma	95.49%	2.45%	0.49%
Mezeios	668-669	Nomisma	95.32%	1.09%	0.28%
Constantine IV	668-685	Nomisma	97.03%	0.73%	1.16%
Justinian II	685-695	Nomisma	87.81%	6.10%	1.22%
Justinian II	685-695	Nomisma	90.90%	4.59%	0.80%
Justinian II	685-695	Tremissis	86.55%	8.40%	1.27%
Leontios	695-698	Nomisma	88.81%	8.19%	0.87%
Tiberios III	698-705	Nomisma	84.45%	11.15%	1.90%
Tiberios III	698-705	Nomisma	83.59%	12.29%	2.29%
Philippikos	711-713	Tremissis	71.83%	19.04%	3.97%
Leo III	717-720	Nomisma	80.22%	14.19%	2.20%
Leo III	720-741	Semissis	86.32%	8.01%	2.00%
Leo III	720-741	Tremissis	87.16%	6.37%	2.08%
Constantine V	750-775	Nomisma	86.46%	10.14%	2.32%
Nikephoros I	803-811	Tremissis	86.95%	7.78%	2.60%
Michael II	821-829	Nomisma	85.47%	7.71%	2.27%
Michael II	821-829	Tremissis	80.27%	10.68%	3.33%
Theophilos	829-842	Nomisma	84.55%	9.59%	3.31%
Theophilos	829-842	Nomisma	86.28%	7.90%	2.45%
Theophilos	829-842	Semissis	61.73%	18.79%	11.10%

<sup>135</sup> See above, part 1. See also Morrisson 1998; Vaccaro 2013.

<sup>136</sup> Results derived from normalised gold set as matrix data of individual tests. The averages are taken from tests of both faces.

## Chapter 2 – The coins, 610-685

### Part 1 – Herakleios (610-641)

By the time Herakleios came to power in A.D. 610, the mints of the Byzantine Empire appear to have had a long tradition of independence. Cherson in the Crimea minted the most independently styled coins.<sup>137</sup> Carthage in reconquered North Africa continued to mint large amounts of silver coins, probably to support the heavily cross-Mediterranean mercantile economy, in the way it had under the Vandals.<sup>138</sup> Carthage also, as a largely Latin-speaking province, used Roman numerals, in preference to Greek numerals, to mark the value of the coins and continued to use Latin language inscriptions written in the Latin alphabet, instead of Greek language inscriptions written in the Latin alphabet (see figure 16). Thessalonike struck different values of the base metal coinage (2, 4, 8 and 16 as well as the 10 and 20 of the more usual 1, 5, 10, 20 and 40 *nummus(i)* pieces), which may again reflect the mint's response to the needs of a perhaps more localised economy of Macedonia and Achaia (for which Thessalonike was the nearest mint).<sup>139</sup> There are plenty more examples of this independence in the sixth century and first ten years of the seventh and more mints in the Empire with their own quirks, including Alexandria (different denominations), Rome and Ravenna (use of Latin), and, as will be seen later, Cherson.

---

<sup>137</sup> See above, chapter 1, part 3.

<sup>138</sup> On Carthage, North Africa and their place in the pan-Mediterranean economy, see above, chapter 1 part 1. For greater detail see: on the Vandal North African economy – Merrills and Miles 2010, chapter 6; on the output of the Carthaginian mint – Morrisson 2003; on the Byzantine North African economy probably the best evaluation is the relevant sections of Wickham 2005.

<sup>139</sup> Curta 2005, 113 and 124.

Figure 16: silver *siliqua* of Justin II, Carthage<sup>140</sup>



Even under the Emperor Phocas, Herakleios's immediate predecessor, the mints had a noticeable degree of independence. This is perhaps surprising in the context of a change in the imperial image from a small round face with short, curly hair, often beardless and with *pendilia* hanging from the crown or helmet, to a narrow, pointy face with a noticeable, moderately long beard and hair hanging by the face where the *pendilia* had previously been (compare images 31, 32 and 33 with 34). A change which occurred across all mints.<sup>141</sup> It is the coinage of Herakleios, however, which noticeably demonstrates the change from these sixth-century and early seventh-century trends of independence, to a more centralised model.

Figure 17: gold *solidus* of Justin II, Constantinople<sup>142</sup>



Figure 18: gold *solidus* of Tiberius II Constantinople<sup>143</sup>



<sup>140</sup> BIFA B1548 (1.07g, 15.0mm, 0°).

<sup>141</sup> On changes in the imperial bust at this time: Restle 1964, 81-83.

<sup>142</sup> BIFA B1138 (4.46g, 22.0mm, 180°).

<sup>143</sup> BIFA B1617 (4.45g, 22.0mm, 180°).



Figure 19: gold *solidus* of Maurice,  
Constantinople<sup>144</sup>



Figure 20: gold *solidus* of Phocas,  
Constantinople<sup>145</sup>



Although the coins of Herakleios do contain an element of portraiture – at least insofar as the facial depiction of the emperor is different from previous coins – apparent mint independence begins to disappear. Of those mints which continue the minting of gold – Constantinople, Carthage, Alexandria, Ravenna and possibly other unidentifiable Italian mints and Cyprus – there is no important variation. That is to say, there are occasional instances of an extra or missing step on the reverse cross potent on steps motif, or a die clearly left over from the reign of Phocas with the inscription changed, but they appear as one-offs, probably, mistakes, not as a noticeable pattern indicating mint independence.

Silver coins had become of decreasing importance in the Empire through the sixth century, but where they continued to be minted (Constantinople, Carthage and Ravenna) they show more variation.<sup>146</sup> Constantinople, for obvious reasons, always minted coins of all three metals (gold, silver and base metal), and from the beginning of Byzantine coinage, with the reforms of Anastasius I, to the reconquest first of North Africa, then of Italy, the capital's mint had been the only producer of silver coins. That Ravenna and Carthage joined in from their recapture is almost certainly down to their roles under the Ostrogoths and Vandals respectively as mints for coinages without gold

<sup>144</sup> BIFA B1866 (3.96g, 20.5mm, 225°).

<sup>145</sup> BIFA B2437 (4.40g, 22.0mm, 180°).

<sup>146</sup> Demonstrated by their increased scarcity, see also the difference between, for instance: MIB II, 42-44 (decreased weight under Justin II from the coins of Justin I and Justinian I), 54 (for decreased number under Tiberios II), and 66-7 (for purely ceremonial function under Maurice).

(Vandalic Carthage) and a strong silver tradition (both Vandalic Carthage and Ostrogothic Ravenna).<sup>147</sup> Indeed, Vandal silver coinage was found all over the Mediterranean, and was clearly a respected currency.<sup>148</sup> It would have been perverse for the Empire, upon the reconquest, to halt activities that could only have been beneficial to their economy. It is almost certainly because they had been captured from other kingdoms that the Byzantine mints of Ravenna and Carthage show more variation. Ravenna does mint a different denomination from the capital, the quarter *siliqua*, instead of the half *siliqua* of Constantinople. For one of its types – under Herakleios but unlike under previous emperors – it uses the same iconography as Constantinople’s half *siliqua*. The other is its only silver variation: the monogram type (see figure 21). Carthage, however, is a different matter. The Carthaginian mint continued, even into the reign of Herakleios, to mint Vandal denominations; it also shows no identical types to Constantinople whatsoever. It retains the old Victoria/Nike figure on some silver issues, uses the typical *nomisma* iconography for other silver issues and mints the only silver Martina/Epiphania series (see figure 22).<sup>149</sup>

The base metal coinage shows more of a return to apparently increased central control: Thessalonike, Nikomedia, Kyzikos and Seleukia in Isauria, Cyprus and the Sicilian mints all toe the Constantinopolitan iconographic line, and Thessalonike even minted the same denominations as the capital, in contrast to the situation in the sixth century. Alexandria, Carthage and the Italian mainland mints all display a degree of independence. Alexandria is the only one of these to mint different denominations from the capital, though, producing 3 (Γ), 6 (ς) and 12 (ΙΒ) *nummi* denominations. Alexandria is also the mint which deviates most from the Constantinopolitan prototype, displaying palm trees and cross potentis on steps in place of the emperor’s effigy on the

<sup>147</sup> On the Ostrogoths see: Burns 1984, 74; on the Vandals see Morrisson 2003, 66-67.

<sup>148</sup> Morrisson 2003, 83 (map 4 for distribution across the Mediterranean).

<sup>149</sup> For a deeper discussion, see below, silver iconography section.

3 and 6 *nummi* coins (see figure 23). In its other coins, however, it differs in the same way the others do: Herakleios when associated with his eldest son only is still in bust as on the gold, whereas on the base metal coins from the more typical mints they are shown standing and Herakleios only appears in bust when he is on his own. All in all the base metal coinage, except that from Alexandria, shows a decreased amount of visible mint independence.

Figure 21: silver  $\frac{1}{4}$  *siliqua* of Herakleios, Ravenna<sup>150</sup>



Figure 22: silver approx.  $\frac{1}{3}$  *siliqua* of Herakleios, Carthage<sup>151</sup>



Figure 23: base metal 6 nummi coin of Herakleios, Alexandria<sup>152</sup>



The overall point of the above brief survey of apparent control or independence is to establish the degree to which we can consider the numismatic iconographic output as potentially calculated political messaging. Based on the above analysis, and working on my theory that greater uniformity equals greater centralisation of numismatic design, I believe it is relatively safe to consider the coins of this period as designed by a sort of central directive, as the Constantinopolitan government seems to have retained a good

<sup>150</sup> BIFA B3705 (0.24g, 11.5mm, 180°).

<sup>151</sup> BIFA B3605 (0.75g, 12.0mm, 0°).

<sup>152</sup> BIFA B3565 (5.62g, 18.0mm, 90°).

deal of control over the mints of the East in particular. Moreover, under Herakleios there is apparently increased control compared to his predecessors, so this is even more concurrent with a calculated control of iconographic output, as well as general monetary output in economic terms.

The picture changed after the end of the 620s, however, as Herakleios undertook significant mint reforms, which saw the closure of all eastern mints except for Constantinople and Alexandria, and the closure of the western mint of Catania on Sicily.<sup>153</sup> It is also during Herakleios's reign that certain shifts in officials associated with the fiscal administration of the Empire, and their titles, occurs. For example, prefects of the city disappear in the East in or shortly after 629 (roughly the same time as the mint closures), while the hierarchical standing of the different *logothetes* increased.<sup>154</sup> Hendy is probably correct that this reform was due to a number of factors, perhaps most importantly the conclusion of the Persian wars in 628, but also the beginning of a new indiction cycle provided an appropriate point for a fiscal reform, and varying local factors on the closed mints.<sup>155</sup>

Keeping the above in mind, let us now explore in earnest the numismatic iconography of Herakleios.

The changes in the numismatic imagery under Herakleios were as much secular as religious. The already extant image of emperor and wife, or emperor, wife and son (see the coins of Maurice and Phocas, figures 24 and 25) are altered and made a permanent feature on regular issues, where previously the familial image had only been on some issues of silver and base metal coins from certain mints or commemorative issues of gold. The regularity of the emperor and son(s) image under Herakleios

---

<sup>153</sup> Hendy 1985, 417-419; inconsistent coin production was also known for the earlier part of Herakleios's reign, on which: Hendy 1985, 414-417.

<sup>154</sup> Hendy 1985, 412-413.

<sup>155</sup> Hendy 1985, 417.

suggests deliberate, Constantinopolitan use of numismatic imagery, and may have the intent of promoting dynastic continuity.

Figure 24: base metal *follis* of Maurice, Cherson<sup>156</sup>



Figure 25: base metal ten *nummi* coin of Phocas, Antioch<sup>157</sup>



Having taken the throne after 8 years of political instability, Herakleios needed to define his legitimacy to rule. In some form this appeared to have been resolved by the establishment of an idea that he was avenging the Emperor Maurice, his eponymous father's benefactor.<sup>158</sup> On the coinage, even from Herakleios' usurpation bid, between 608 and 610, this was demonstrated by a link to a dynastic image (see figure 26). On the usurpation coinage we see father and son together as consuls of the Empire, the younger Herakleios drawing his authority from his father, and the elder Herakleios from his imperial post. From 613, and the association of Herakleios' eldest son, later Constantine III, as co-emperor, the Herakleian coinage portrays both, either seated (see figure 30), standing (see figure 31) or in bust (see figure 28) depending on the denomination. Later still, Heraklonas, too, is associated on the coinage as in imperial reality (see figure 29). This is most likely an attempt at showing that the emperor's succession is secured, to display and perhaps instil confidence in the present stability of the Empire. This in itself

<sup>156</sup> Image from <http://esty.ancients.info/Cherson/0448.jpg>; type Anokhin no. 320, or MIB II Maurice 157.

<sup>157</sup> BIFA B2639 (2.23g, 17.0mm, 180°).

<sup>158</sup> This propaganda is known to the Patriarch Nikephoros, writing after Herakleios' death, and used it in his *Short History*: Nikephoros, I, although Theophanes gives the reason for usurpation as that he was invited to by Priskos and does not mention by which Emperor Herakleios sr. came to be exarch: Theophanes, AM 6100; in modern scholarship this mostly seems to be taken for granted, Kaegi 2003, 25 mentions this as a fact without notes. For a view that this was an untruth see the now old but well-argued, Goubert 1965, 214-215; Goubert himself sits on the fence, but his argument that it was Phocas who promoted Heraclius sr. is convincing.

is nothing new. Co-emperors had often been shown on the same coin, but it was a decreasing trend heading towards the seventh century, and either Herakleios, his administration, or the mint masters made this image a constant on regular issues of all metals and denominations, and even innovated when two sons came to be associated. This may not be immediately important to our present discussion, but it will be important later on.

The majority of the obverses of the coins of all metals come in three principal types: the bust of Herakleios alone, the busts of two emperors, and the standing figures of three emperors. Exceptions to this rule include two seated emperors (silver only), two standing emperors, and two emperors and Epiphania/Martina (see figures 27-28). In the main, these types all include the same religious insignia: a held *globus cruciger*, small cross potent, or cross staff, a floating cross between the heads and cross-topped crowns. These items are not particularly a deviation from the traditional norm. What is particularly interesting from the typical types is the three kings image. It seems to me to immediately conjure up images of the nativity and the visit of the Magi, the learned men. Add to this Herakleios' atypically extended beard (atypical from the perspective of numismatic depictions of rulers), beards being very much associated with learning and wisdom.<sup>159</sup>

---

<sup>159</sup> On the two sixth-century tokens depicting the adoration of the Magi, the three men appear bearded – not quite as impressively as Herakleios, but clearly bearded: Rahmani 1979. On beards and wisdom, see, for example, Breckenridge's comments on beards, wisdom and Late Antique sculpture in Weitzmann 1979, 291-292.

Figure 26: The consular image on the obverse of the gold and base metal of the Herakleian revolt coinage<sup>160</sup>



It is further worthy of note that Herakleios only appears in military garb before the association of his first son on the gold and base metal, and only on the *milliarensia* in the silver. Moreover, when he does appear in military dress, it is without the traditional shield and spear, but rather with some form of the cross in his hand: the simple cross potent on gold and a cruciform staff on the *milliarensia*. Instead, Herakleios is more regularly promoted as a wise man, in the civic garb of the *chlamys*.

Figure 27:<sup>161</sup>



Figure 28:<sup>162</sup>



Figure 29:<sup>163</sup>



Figure 30:<sup>164</sup>



Figure 31:<sup>165</sup>



Figure 32:<sup>166</sup>



<sup>160</sup> BIFA B2706 (4.50g, 20.0mm, 225°) and B2716 (8.22g, 31.0mm, 180°).

<sup>161</sup> BIFA B2743 (4.48g, 22.0mm, 225°).

<sup>162</sup> BIFA B2751 (4.35g, 22.0mm, 180°).

<sup>163</sup> BIFA B2902 (4.45g, 22.5mm, 180°).

<sup>164</sup> BIFA B3052 (6.73g, 25.0mm, 225°).

<sup>165</sup> BIFA B3048 (4.40g, 25.5mm, 225°).

<sup>166</sup> BIFA B3714 (8.08g, 25.5mm, 180°).



### Iconography on the gold coinage

As has already been established above, the iconography on the gold coinage of Herakleios seems to have been more controlled than the iconography on any other metal coinage of the period. The message of the gold coinage would have been principally intended for the higher echelons of society, those who would have had access to it, such as the archbishops and patriarchs, aristocracy and foreign rulers who received the gold coin in tribute.<sup>167</sup> Functionaries with high-ranking imperial titles would also have received gold coins as gifts – largesse – from the emperor.<sup>168</sup> Gold was also the denomination used to pay taxes, so the non-wealthy may have had a glimpse of it once every indiction or so.<sup>169</sup> The precedent for Herakleios' official coinage from his accession in 610 was set, on all metallic values, by his revolt coinage between 608 and 610. In all cases, at all mints producing gold coin, the *nomisma* was always marked by the cross potent on steps on the reverse with some concoction of the inscription VICTORIA AVGVSTA, excluding only a number of the revolt coins which preferred VICTORIA CONSVLIBA; the *semissis* was marked by a cross potent on globe and the *tremissis* by a simple cross potent, both with the same variations on the inscription of the *nomisma* reverse (see figure 33).

Figure 33: the regular reverses introduced for the *nomisma*, *semissis* and *tremissis* under Herakleios<sup>170</sup>



<sup>167</sup> See for example, Nikephoros, 34. More generally on the inter-polity gift economy: Laiou 2002.

<sup>168</sup> Hendy 1985, 285.

<sup>169</sup> Haldon 1997, 117.

<sup>170</sup> BIFA B2989 (4.47g, 20.0mm, 180°), B3018 (2.17g, 18.0mm, 180°) and B3040 (1.42g, 17.0mm, 180°).



The cross potent on steps was a motif already begun under Tiberius II, and was the first exclusively Christian motif for the reverse of regular issue gold coinage.<sup>171</sup> Even between Tiberius and Herakleios the cross-on-steps was trumped by Victoria/Nike for the most used reverse motif. By using the cross-on-steps exclusively, it is certainly hard to ignore the possibility that the Herakleian government was deliberately trying to make a clear statement about the Empire's Christian identity. Every single Herakleian gold coin had this unmistakably Christian image, the cross (or on rare issues the *chrismon*), not the ambiguous Angel/Victoria/Nike figure. Yet at the same time this whole-hearted Christianisation of the coinage was a long overdue change. By 610 nearly three centuries had elapsed since the toleration of Christianity through the Edict of Milan and the subsequent professed Christianity of all emperors from the sons of Constantine on (excluding, of course, Julian). The Christianisation of the Empire may have been slow, but by the beginning of the seventh century the coinage still retained vestiges of the old religion: Victoria crowning the emperor with a laurel, the personified deities of Roma and Constantinopolis and, on occasion, Concordia.<sup>172</sup> These had slowly been Christianised by the addition of a cross in the case of Victoria, who looks increasingly like a Christian angel when she appears alone, and their eventual removal in the fifth century in the case of Roma, Constantinopolis and Concordia. Of course, it could be that the Victoria figure was, by this point, thought of more as a Christian angel than as an old deity. Precisely which one she/it represents is something debated by scholars even now.<sup>173</sup> At this point, however, we begin to enter into speculation about interpretation, which, as was outlined in the introduction to this thesis, is dangerous territory. Regardless of how one interprets Victoria/the angel's presence, though, or

---

<sup>171</sup> On the supposed origins of this motif: John of Ephesus, 3.III.14.

<sup>172</sup> On the gradual Christianisation of the Empire in art: Elsner 1998. Specifically on the Christianisation on the coinage in relation to art: Restle 1964, 101-111.

<sup>173</sup> Nikolaou 2004, 62-3.

whether the Herakleian Christianisation of the gold coinage was an intentional message or an overdue change, its regular nature is in no way ambiguous about the faith of the Empire.

Later in Herakleios' reign, the image of the cross potent on steps may also have become linked to the reclamation of the True Cross from Ctesiphon, and therefore the subsequent reconquest of Jerusalem.<sup>174</sup> Certainly the poems of George of Pisidia and artefacts such as the David plates demonstrate Herakleios's association with biblical precedents because of his victory over the Persians and especially the reclamation of the cross.<sup>175</sup> Indeed, there are even coins struck in commemoration of this triumph which included the cross potent of steps reverse type.<sup>176</sup> While this association may have become apparent in Herakleios's later years, however, it is important to stress that in a numismatic context this image predates the reclamation of the cross and the reconquest of Jerusalem, since it appears on Herakleios's earliest coins, even before the obverse dies have been altered to display the new imperial image, and before that during the revolt. As an image itself, it is of course also prefigured on coinage from the *solidi* of Tiberius II, who first employed the cross potent on steps in the sixth century. Thus while the association between the cross potent on steps and the reclamation the True Cross and of Jerusalem may have come to be an interpretation after 629, it was certainly never the original intention behind the image.

As an interesting related argument, it is sometimes said that the cross potent on steps is influenced by the Sasanian fire altar on the reverse of their coins (compare figures 34 and 35). This is not strongly argued, however, and, in referring to it, Marcell

---

<sup>174</sup> On the importance of the reclamation of the cross: Stoyanov 2011; the cross on Golgotha's association with victory: Stoyanov 2011, 41 and Restle 1964, 110-111; on the function of the cross as a 'Reichspalladion' (protector of the Empire): Restle 1964, 112-113; and on the increasing link between the military and the liturgical: Stoyanov 2011, 8-9.

<sup>175</sup> On the David plates: Spain Alexander 1977; on the tendency for imperial association with Old Testament patriarchs: Stoyanov 2011, 45-46.

<sup>176</sup> Whitting 1973, 132.

Restle merely points out that both are examples of holy items place on steps.<sup>177</sup> I am generally inclined to agree with Restle that the occurrence is an interesting coincidence rather than an influence, since a physical cross on the steps of Golgotha had been set up by Theodosius II.<sup>178</sup> There is an example of a Christian coin reverse clearly influenced by the Sasanian fire altar struck during the reign of Herakleios, but not a Byzantine coin, a Georgian one (see figure 36). This coin is unmistakably imitative Sasanian, however, instead of the eternal flames there is the cross, and on the particular type in figure 36 there are the Georgian letters for Stephanos.<sup>179</sup>

Figure 34: *nomisma* of Herakleios<sup>180</sup>



Figure 35: *drachm* of Khusrau II<sup>181</sup>



Figure 36: *drachm* of Stephanos I of Georgia<sup>182</sup>



The cross potent on globe of the *semisses* is an allusion to the *globus cruciger*, regularly held by emperors on the coins and representing the Christian world. It is known in reverse motif only sporadically before Herakleios, on rare gold

<sup>177</sup> Restle 1964, 114.

<sup>178</sup> On the physical cross on Golgotha: Restle 1964, 111.

<sup>179</sup> On these types of coins: Tsotselia 2009.

<sup>180</sup> BIFA B2721 (4.30g, 20.5mm, 225°).

<sup>181</sup> BIFA S0829 (2.96g, 27.0mm, 90°)

<sup>182</sup> Image from Tsotselia 2009, 435.

Constantinopolitan issues of Tiberios II and rare silver Constantinopolitan issues of Maurice, though the cross potent on globe and *chrismon* on globe are known on more regular issues in different reigns on the silver and base metal coins of Carthage and Ravenna. These seem a likely source of inspiration for Herakleios in particular, as opposed to his mint masters or even Constantinopolitan officials, given the Emperor's background as son of the African Exarch in the mint-city of Carthage. The simple cross potent of the Herakleian *tremisses*, by contrast, is a well-established reverse motif by this period, just not with the regularity that Herakleios' government introduced.

As a final point it is important to reiterate and emphasise the uniformity of these motifs across the Empire. So uniform, in fact, that the three main modern catalogues all disagree about mint attribution.<sup>183</sup>

#### Iconography on the silver coinage

As outlined earlier, the central control over silver output appears far weaker than for gold or base metal. The iconography of the silver coinage would have mainly been seen by the mercantile, military and civil service classes, the latter were still partially/largely paid in silver in this period.<sup>184</sup>

The Constantinopolitan issues – the more likely examples of a purposely designed imperial message – come with two principle reverse types. Again, as with the gold, they mark out the particular denominations. The cross potent on globe on steps between palm leaves marked the old silver denominations, while the cross potent on

---

<sup>183</sup> Morrisson in the BN identifies the mints striking gold under Herakleios as Constantinople, Alexandria, Carthage, Ravenna, Spain and an unidentified Italian mint; Grierson in the DOC adds Thessalonike to the list, but gives no mention of the BN's Italian mint material; Hahn in the MIB has the widest range of all, adding to the BN's list Cherson, Cyprus (where he reattributes the BN's Italian mint material), Thessalonike, Sicily and a generally unidentified mint, rather than a specifically Italian unidentified mint. Ultimately, however, with the exception of the *chrismon* material (BN's unidentified Italian mint and MIB's Cyprus) all attributions are based on additional letter in the inscription or field, not design.

<sup>184</sup> Civil service: Yannopoulos 1978, 6-7; military: Haldon 1997, 225, both drawing on the *Chronicon Paschale*.

globe on steps without palm leaves marked Herakleios' new *hexagram* denomination (see figures 37 and 38). The cross between palm leaves is preceded by the Constantinopolitan silver coinage of both Maurice and Phocas, although without the globe and steps; this perhaps explains why it is this motif that adorns the reverse of the old denominations. The palm leaf has obvious religious overtones of Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem, and this may indeed be why it continued into later usage, but since it was traditionally a symbol of victory, it may well have been introduced to commemorate the several consecutive victories in the Balkans and successful intervention in the Persian civil war in the second decade of Maurice's reign.<sup>185</sup> Herakleios' imperial career was dominated by wars – against the Persians, Avars and, ultimately, the Arabs. Certainly the silver maintained a ceremonial function – arguably the ceremonial function had become its only function in the East, and this may be one of the reasons the Herakleian government introduced the *hexagram*<sup>186</sup> – so it is not unreasonable to assume it commemorated a victory or series of victories. By the time Herakleios included it as his regular Constantinopolitan issue, it may well have come to take on a religious aspect too, especially when combined with the cross potent on globe on steps, a symbol, perhaps, of the eventual victory of Christianity. As with the iconography of the gold *nomisma* (see above) it is tempting to link this motif also with the reconquest of Jerusalem and the recapture of the True Cross, perhaps more so given that it was in Jerusalem that the palm leaves were laid before Jesus signifying his ultimate victory over death. Moreover, silver is the metallic value with which soldiers were paid, so the connection of this palm-leaf motif with Herakleios' military campaigns seems again reinforced. At this juncture it is irresistible to question if these “commemorative” *milliarensia* were, in fact, meant as part of soldiers' pay, perhaps for

<sup>185</sup> Hahn, however, dates this type to the later part of Maurice's reign (MIB II, 67).

<sup>186</sup> Yannopoulos 1978, 6-8; the other possible reason being related to largesse. For its use to pay the troops see also Haldon 1990, 225.

those surviving successful campaigns, rather than the regular issue *hexagrams*, which formed part of a regular salary.<sup>187</sup>

The *hexagram*, by contrast with the denominations of the *siliqua*, was most certainly meant as a regular issue, part of Herakleios' attempt to reinvigorate the silver coinage to fund his wars.<sup>188</sup> The fact that the reverse imagery is identical to that of the *siliqua* in all but the palm leaves, leads to further questions about their significance. If they did symbolise victory, why remove them from the coins used to pay the army – the vehicle for victory? Could the *milliarensia* have become a commemorative issue in that one was given to members of a victorious army? It is possible, but there is no evidence to back this up. Could they have been issued upon the success of a campaign? Again, possibly, but the coins cannot be dated precisely enough to know.

Figure 37: silver *siliqua* of Herakleios, Constantinople<sup>189</sup>



Figure 38: silver *hexagram* of Herakleios Constantinople<sup>190</sup>



The, probably, more independent mint of Carthage has a slightly different story to tell. The silver output has three main reverse types: Victoria/Nike with a palm leaf and laurel crown where Herakleios is sole emperor (see figure 39), the familiar cross potent on steps where he is associated with his eldest son, and the busts of Herakleios Constantine and Epiphania/Martina (see figure 40). Certainly the use of the Victoria/Nike motif is a notable break from the apparently comprehensive Herakleian

<sup>187</sup> Haldon 1990, 225.

<sup>188</sup> Yannopoulos 1978, 6-8; BN II, 257.

<sup>189</sup> BIFA B3048 (4.40g, 25.5mm, 225°).

<sup>190</sup> BIFA B3050 (6.48g, 22.5mm, 180°).

policy of the total Christianisation of the coinage, however it disappears after he is associated with his son in 613, so the old motif does not last long. It does, though, provide an interesting parallel to the retention of the crowning Victoria on the obverse of some Constantinopolitan issues (see above, figure 28). There is little more to say about the cross potent on steps.

Figure 39: silver approx.  $\frac{1}{3}$  *siliqua* of Herakleios, Carthage<sup>191</sup>



Figure 40: silver approx.  $\frac{1}{3}$  *siliqua* of Herakleios, Carthage<sup>192</sup>



On the familial coin there is much that can be said and even more that has been said already. It is a type that appears only on the silver of Carthage and the base metal of Constantinople and Ravenna, but the controversy over the identity has received much attention from modern scholars mainly, and best expressed, in the sequence of articles by Morrisson, Zuckerman, Pottier and Speck of the years 1995-1997.<sup>193</sup> The woman portrayed had always been supposed to be Martina, the second wife and niece of Herakleios, but in 1995, Constantin Zuckerman argued that she was, in fact, Herakleios' daughter, Epiphania, by his first wife. This argument is based around a rereading of the chronologies of Theophanes and Nikephoros; Zuckerman argues that since the female figure appears between 615 and 629 (dated from the regnal years on the base metal issues), she appears too early to be Martina – Zuckerman's chronology reckons Martina's marriage to the Emperor to be later – and disappears in the same year that

<sup>191</sup> BIFA B3604 (0.60g, 12.5mm, 225°).

<sup>192</sup> BIFA B3605 (0.75g, 12.0mm, 0°).

<sup>193</sup> Zuckerman 1995 and 1997a; Morrisson 1997; Pottier 1997; and Speck 1997.

Epiphania is believed to have left the Empire to be married to the Turkic ruler T'ong Yabghu Khagan.<sup>194</sup> Iconographically, however, Martina would seem to make more sense. All of the women who appeared on coins through the sixth century appeared as wives of Emperors, never daughters, even when they were both (e.g. Constantina wife of Maurice and daughter of Tiberius II only appears as Maurice's wife): Phocas and Leontia, Maurice and Constantina, Tiberius II and Anastasia, and Justin II and Sophia. Even if we project back into the fifth century, the only woman who appears in a non-spousal function is Pulcheria when she appears as the sister of Theodosius II. To portray a wife would be in keeping with recent numismatic trends, but to portray a daughter would be a departure. That said, Zuckerman's iconographically less likely identification of the female figure as Epiphania seems to be the best identification for her since it is based on the more solid foundation of chronology from multiple written sources in combination with the dating of the coins, rather than on simple numismatic precedent.

At the Ravennan mint they also struck the typical *hexagram* of Constantinople with the same inscription DEVS ADIVTA ROMANIS, but they struck types with the cross potent alone, the *chrismon* alone, and a Herakleian monogram too. The cross potent and *chrismon* types need little elaboration; they speak for themselves as overtly Christian, and exclusively Christian symbols. The monogram type, though simple, is also interesting in that it, like the female figure, is another example of the elimination of the Christian iconography in favour of the imperial.

#### Iconography on the base metal coinage

Unsurprisingly, the iconography used on the base metal coinage was a more universal message, since it was used by all sorts of people in everyday exchanges.

---

<sup>194</sup> Zuckerman 1995, on the problem of the chronology: 114-115, on why this makes Epiphania more likely: 120.



However, it was the least iconographically flexible of the three metal coinages, since the bulk of its space was taken up with the practical occupation of displaying the value of the coin and with the obligatory bust or figure of the Emperor.

This functional role of the base metal coinage had been established under the reforms of the Emperor Anastasius I in 498. Though the coins initially just displayed the mint mark and the mark of value – most commonly M for 40, K for 20, I for ten and E for five – by the reforms of Justinian I in 538, they also came to incorporate a regnal year. Though there was some attempt at artistic variation early on, these coins did not really function as a means of conveying political messages outside of the imperial bust.

As has been established earlier, the majority of mints do not depart from the Constantinopolitan prototype, which in itself does not depart from the preceding prototypes: value mark, mint mark, *officina* mark, ANNO + regnal year and either a cross or *chrismon* placed somewhere around the rest of the field.

Although other mints differ in their use of numerals or in obverse iconography, only Carthage breaks the traditional reverse on a rare type depicting the cross potent on globe, large, and the main image, above a squashed XX for twenty *nummi*.

What is significant about the base metal reverses during the reign of Herakleios is their uniformity comparative to those of previous emperors. Where Cherson had been a numismatic law unto itself, and many mints had produced the occasional different type, now only Carthage produced one rare variation. This, to my mind, implies that the base metal iconography was considered important enough to control, but sufficient in its current practical form with only a minor Christian symbol no greater than those borne by the imperial figures. Moreover, being practical in form meant it needed a certain degree of uniformity.

## Part 2 – 641-668

### The sons of Herakleios (641)

The attribution of coins to the sons of Herakleios is made somewhat difficult by the overuse of the name Constantine. Constantine III was Herakleios Constantine, Heraklonas was Constantine Herakleios, and Constans II was also actually called Constantine. On all of the coins produced between the reigns of Herakleios and Justinian II, the senior emperor is named as *Constantinus*. For the reigns of Constans II and Constantine IV we have the advantage of displayed co-emperors, and Constans' beard; from this we know that Constantine IV appears in military garb, while Constans II appears in the *chlamys*.

Figure 41: *Nomisma* type sometimes attributed to Constantine III<sup>195</sup>



Figure 42: *Nomisma* type sometimes attributed to Heraklonas<sup>196</sup>



Figure 43: *Nomisma* type with an 'average' head size<sup>197</sup>



Figure 44: *Nomisma* type commonly attributed to Constans II<sup>198</sup>



<sup>195</sup> BIFA B3739 (4.42g, 21.0mm, 180°).

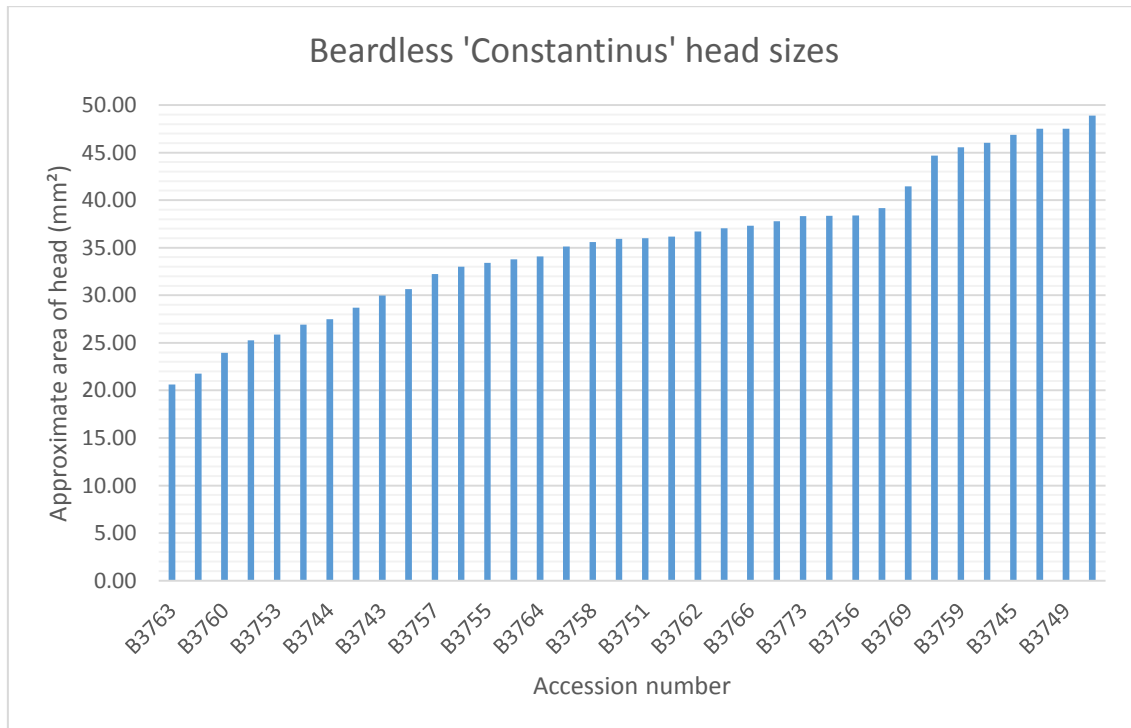
<sup>196</sup> BIFA B3740 (4.45g, 20.0mm, 180°).

<sup>197</sup> BIFA B3744 (4.50g, 21.0mm, 180°).

<sup>198</sup> BIFA B3749 (4.43g, 19.5mm, 180°).

Both Morrisson and Grierson attribute gold and silver coins displaying the emperor with a plumed crown (or helmet) to Constantine III (see figure 41), and gold and silver coins where the emperor's head is smaller to Heraklonas (see figure 42).<sup>199</sup> The most glaring issue with this solution is that the size of the emperor's head is subjective to the viewer and there are some coins which show an emperor with an 'average' sized head (neither notably small nor large – compare figure 43 with 42 and 44). To put it more mathematically, the graph and table below show the measured head sizes of coins for all of the *nomismata* identified as belonging to either Constantine III, Heraklonas, or Constans II held at the Barber Institute. Although there is a potential group from B3772 with B3769 potentially being anomalous to either the smaller or larger group, this is not the group identified by Grierson (see the DOC and MIB attributions in the table). The rest of the data for the heads appear to be continuous.

**Figure 45:** Graph showing the approximate head sizes of the beardless 'Constantinus' *nomismata*



<sup>199</sup> BN I, 319-321; DOC II.2, 386-7 and 391-394.

Figure 46: Table showing the head measurements of the beardless ‘Constantinus’ types

Acc. no.	MIB	DOC	Head height (mm)	Head width (mm)	Approximate area (mm <sup>2</sup> )
B3763	3	1 (Heraklonas)	6.52	3.16	20.60
B3740	4	2d (Heraklonas)	6.18	3.52	21.75
B3760	3	1 (Heraklonas)	6.46	3.71	23.97
B3741	4	2 (Heraklonas)	7.18	3.52	25.27
B3753	3	2 (Constans II)	7.31	3.54	25.88
B3739	2	2 (Constantine III)	6.87	3.92	26.93
B3744	4	2d (Heraklonas)	6.74	4.08	27.50
B3742	4	2b (Heraklonas)	7.16	4.01	28.71
B3743	4	2 (Heraklonas)	7.29	4.11	29.96
B3748	3	2 (Constans II)	7.64	4.01	30.64
B3757	3	1 (Constans II)	7.55	4.27	32.24
B3761	3	1 (Constans II)	7.59	4.35	33.02
B3755	3	1 (Constans II)	7.92	4.22	33.42
B3765	6	2 (Constans II)	8.18	4.13	33.78
B3764	6	2 (Constans II)	7.49	4.55	34.08
B3746	3	2 (Constans II)	8.09	4.34	35.11
B3758	3	1 (Constans II)	8.07	4.41	35.59
B3752	3	1 (Constans II)	8.13	4.42	35.93
B3751	3	2 (Constans II)	7.86	4.58	36.00
B3747	3	2 (Constans II)	7.52	4.81	36.17
B3762	3	1 (Constans II)	7.84	4.68	36.69
B3767	6	2 (Constans II)	7.83	4.73	37.04
B3766	6	2 (Constans II)	8.44	4.42	37.30
B3750	4	2 (Constans II)	7.99	4.73	37.79
B3773	7a	3 (Constans II)	7.71	4.97	38.32
B3774	7a	3 (Constans II)	7.72	4.97	38.37
B3756	3	1 (Constans II)	8.10	4.74	38.39
B3754	3	1 (Constans II)	8.14	4.81	39.15
B3769	7a	3 (Constans II)	8.46	4.90	41.45
B3772	7a	3 (Constans II)	8.56	5.22	44.68
B3759	3	1 (Constans II)	8.12	5.61	45.55
B3770	7a	3 (Constans II)	8.13	5.66	46.02
B3745	3	2 (Constans II)	8.18	5.73	46.87
B3771	7a	3 (Constans II)	8.70	5.46	47.50
B3749	3	2 (Constans II)	8.25	5.76	47.52
B3768	7	3 (Constans II)	8.76	5.58	48.88

Of course, if this coinage does not belong to the reign of Heraklonas, as seems probable, where is the coinage of Heraklonas? It does seem unlikely that there was no coinage for the reign of Heraklonas, not least because he and Constantine III ruled together from their father's death until Constantine's, as well as from Constantine's death to Heraklonas's own deposition in favour of Constans II.<sup>200</sup> The process of restriking rarely proves to be totally effective – there are coins known for the reigns of usurpers, for example Artavastos, and for short reigns, for example the ten day joint reign of Justin II and Tiberios II. There are, however, also periods for which we have no coins, for example the reign of Staurakios or the first few months of the reign of Leo IV before the association of Constantine VI, not to mention the 24 years of no Constantinopolitan base metal coins during the reign of Michael III.<sup>201</sup> Ultimately this does not resolve the issue of why there are no coins for Heraklonas, but caution in attribution seems the best approach when the only evidence in favour of attributing a series of coins to an emperor is the size of the head and length of reign.<sup>202</sup>

In the case of those coins attributed by Morrisson and Grierson to Constantine III, the case for caution is less clear. While there is no precedent for or subsequent examples of distinguishing emperors on the basis of head size, there are subsequent examples for distinguishing emperors on the basis of attire for which this series could be a precedent.<sup>203</sup> On this basis the attribution to an emperor other than Constans II

---

<sup>200</sup> On the politics following Herakleios's death: Nikephoros the Patriarch, 27-31, Theophanes gives a shorter and more anti-Martina account under AM 6132-6133.

<sup>201</sup> For fuller discussions of these periods with no known coins see the relevant sections below (chapter 2, beginning of part 4 and chapter 3, end of part 3).

<sup>202</sup> Hahn also approaches these attributions with caution and includes them with his Constans II material, on his caution: MIB III, 123.

<sup>203</sup> One need look no further than Constantine IV's appearance in military garb or the alternating *loros chlamys* pattern for emperors in quick series of usurpations (i.e. 695-720 and 802-829). On head size not only is there no precedent for distinguishing emperors on this basis, there are examples of emperors appearing with different head sizes where we know the coins belong to the same emperor. Perhaps the best demonstrations of this are the coins of the sons of Constantine I, all with Constantine-based names (like the sons, grandson and great grandson of Herakleios) but with different numismatic inscriptions to

seems fair, but for the fact that Constans II later appears on coins with Constantine IV and his younger sons Tiberios and Herakleios wearing a similar plumed crown (see figure 47). Since the emperor that is definitely Constans II appears in this attire later, there is nothing to say that the *Constantinus* in this attire on his own is not also Constans II. Therefore it seems best to side with Hahn in allowing caution to temper our attribution and consider this series simply of the period.<sup>204</sup>

Figure 47: Constans II wearing plumed crown on a common *nomisma* showing all three sons<sup>205</sup>



In attributing the base metal coins there is a slightly different issue – on some lone *Constantinus* coins the emperor stands while on others he is in bust. On Constans's seals the Emperor appears standing, and this in itself is unusual both numismatically and sigillographically (see figure 48 for the coin type). Unless one is prepared to make the (in my opinion unjustified) leap of faith that the innovation is not under Constans but under his father or uncle, then these coins must belong to the reign of Constans II, as they are now regularly attributed.<sup>206</sup> It does not therefore follow, however, that the series of coins where the emperor appears in bust do not also belong to Constans II.<sup>207</sup> On gold, and where he appears with his sons, Constans is shown in bust; moreover the

---

tell them apart. Sometimes they appear with smaller, more childlike heads, others they have larger more usual sized heads.

<sup>204</sup> MIB III, 123.

<sup>205</sup> BIFA B4852 (4.36g, 21.5mm, 180°).

<sup>206</sup> Attributed to Constans II in BN, DOC and MIB. There is some debate about dating based on overstrikes which will be discussed below in the section on the base metal coins of Constans II.

<sup>207</sup> On the seals: Zacos and Veglery 1972, 17.

base metal coins with the imperial bust display the regnal year in numerals, most commonly **II** or **III** (see figure 49). Neither Constantine III nor Heraklonas reigned more than a year without their father, but both had reigned more than two as a crowned co-emperor by the time of Herakleios's death, so whenever one begins counting the years of their reigns, neither should appear with year two in 641, though Heraklonas could have appeared with the year three. It therefore seems implausible to attribute this bust type to either Constantine III or Heraklonas meaning that regardless of one's views about the attribution of gold and silver, there are no known base metal coins for Constantine III or Heraklonas.

Figure 48: *follis* of Constans II with the standing emperor<sup>208</sup>



Figure 49: *follis* of disputed attribution with the imperial bust and regnal year **III**<sup>209</sup>



### Constans II (641-668)

Constans' gold coin iconography continues almost identically to that of his grandfather; however, his coinage demonstrates innovation with the positioning of the imperial figures which is of great significance to both Justinian II's and the later Isaurians' coinage.<sup>210</sup> Since Constans eventually associated all three of his sons with him, he, for the first time, removes co-emperors to the reverse on the *nomisma*, *hexagram* and all base metal coins. On the *nomisma*, the youngest two are relegated to

<sup>208</sup> BIFA B3926 (4.68g, 23.5mm, 180°).

<sup>209</sup> BIFA B3962 (5.35g, 24.5mm, 180°).

<sup>210</sup> On the continuity and imitation aspects of Constans's coinage: Restle 1964, 84.



the reverse standing either side of the cross potent on steps (see figure 50) or all three are removed to the reverse in reminiscence of the Herakleian three kings image, crucially, removing the symbol that marks the reverse (see figure 51). On the *hexagram* the two sons are removed to the reverse, standing either side of the cross potent on globe on steps (see figure 52); by this period the milliarension is all but out of circulation. On the various denominations of the base metal we see either: two sons relegated to either side of the numerical value marker (M, K or I), all three sons relegated to the reverse placed around the marker, or all three sons on the reverse in a three kings style with no value marker (see figures 53-55).

Figure 50: gold *nomisma* of Constans II, Constantinople<sup>211</sup>



Figure 51: gold *nomisma* of Constans II, Constantinople<sup>212</sup>



Figure 52: silver *hexagram* of Constans II, Constantinople<sup>213</sup>



Figure 53: base metal *follis* of Constans II, Constantinople<sup>214</sup>



<sup>211</sup> BIFA B3856 (4.36g, 19.5mm, 180°).

<sup>212</sup> BIFA B3875 (4.35g, 20.5mm, 225°).

<sup>213</sup> BIFA B3920 (6.57g, 24.5mm, 180°).

<sup>214</sup> BIFA B4039 (5.51g, 24.0mm, 225°).



Figure 54: base metal *follis* of Constans II, Constantinople<sup>215</sup>



Figure 55: base metal *follis* of Constans II, Constantinople<sup>216</sup>



This removal of the imperial figure to the reverse sets an important precedent which will be picked up again later. As for why this was done, it seems likely that it was for reasons of practicality. Before the appearance of all three sons, Constans' coinage mirrors his grandfather's, however squeezing four emperors onto the obverse is not only technically challenging, but also poses problems of demonstrating authority. The size of the beard and position of the shoulders can be used to demonstrate seniority, but position always plays an important role. On coins with two busts the senior figure appears to the viewer's left, this being the right hand of God – the senior position. Where there are three emperors the eye is naturally drawn to the centre because of the symmetry. When there are four figures, however, there is not a natural focal point.

The reason for the difference between two sons on the reverse and three, however, seems more ambiguous. For the first time since Justin I, the Constantinopolitan mint produced base metal coins without the value mark. The number of base metal denominations had decreased entering the seventh century, and through the eighth century (as we shall see later) the use of the regnal year transmuted into NNN XXX then XXX NNN, and the base metal began to be stuck in the *follis* format only. This moment in the reign of Constans II may be a turning point in that story, although it did not last long in the immediate future.

<sup>215</sup> BIFA B4041 (4.09g, 27.0mm, 180°).

<sup>216</sup> BIFA B4034 (4.64g, 24.5mm, 180°).

Figure 56: *folles* of Constans II with the standing emperor, Constantinople<sup>217</sup>



Figure 57: *folles* of Constans II with the imperial bust Constantinople<sup>218</sup>



Elsewhere on the coinage of Constans II, the main innovation is unusually on the base metal coinage.<sup>219</sup> Here for the first time the main effigy of the solitary emperor is standing (as Constans is shown on his seals too), while instead of the named inscription, the coin's obverse reads **ENTYT O NIKΑ** (*en touto nika* – in this [sign] conquer), and on the reverse instead of **ANNO** (regnal year) and *officina* mark, we see **ANA NEOS** (*ananeos[is]* – renewal) with the *officina* mark and regnal year beneath or to the left of the field (see figure 56). As discussed earlier, there are some coin types with this reverse pattern, but the bust of the emperor instead of the standing figure and **lhPER COhSt** (Emperor Constantine) instead of **ENTYT O NIKΑ** (see figure 57).<sup>220</sup>

As these coins were struck at the beginning of Constans's reign during his minority, however, it is worth noting that the changes were almost certainly not the decision of Constans so much as his advisors. What is especially significant about these coin types (apart from aiding attribution as discussed earlier in this part) is that they are all from regnal years two and three, years for which there are also standing figure types and regular bust types, attributed to Heraklonas in the BN and DOC catalogues. To follow

<sup>217</sup> BIFA B3926 (4.68g, 23.5mm, 180°).

<sup>218</sup> BIFA B3956 (5.18g, 24.5mm, 225°).

<sup>219</sup> As we saw earlier on the coins of Herakleios, and as we shall see later under Justinian II, Leo III and Constantine V, iconographic innovations tend to occur on the gold and sometimes the silver, but until Theophilos the base metal stays iconographically largely unaltered.

<sup>220</sup> These are also MIB III coin types 166 and 169

the logic outlined above and attribute these types all to Constans, this means that there are three *follis* types all being produced at Constantinople at the same time, which means that the default assumption that coin types are always linear and never simultaneous is demonstrably incorrect for the reign of Constans at least.<sup>221</sup>

The promotion of Constans as a Christian warrior emperor on the standing *follis* type seems fairly clear, and ἐν τούτῳ νικά (*en touto nika* – in this [sign] conquer) is a reference to the vision of Constantine before the battle of the Milvian bridge.<sup>222</sup> The use of *ananeos[is]* (renewal) may equally be explained by reference to Constans, like his father, being promoted as the new Constantine, or its links to old Roman ideals of *renovation, restauratio* and *reparatio*.<sup>223</sup>

As this new type was likely not the decision of the minor Constans II, but of his advisors and government, it is not implausible to think of this particular type as a (possibly intended by Herakleios himself) hangover of Herakleian propaganda; especially since it concerns the theme of the ‘New Constantine’.<sup>224</sup>

Under Constans II there is even less mint variation than under Herakleios; save the occasional Roman numeral for the Greek, all mints, except for Carthage at the beginning of the reign, use identical iconography. However, there are by Constans’s reign fewer mints than there were under Herakleios, some because they were lost to the Arabs, such as Alexandria and then Antioch (641 and 636, respectively) and others because they were closed by Herakleios.<sup>225</sup> Unsurprisingly for an emperor who tried to move the capital to Syracuse, though, the mint there appears to have been expanded at

---

<sup>221</sup> The assumption that coin types are not produced simultaneously is one of the reasons Morrisson gives for attributing the bust types to Heraklonas – BN I, 320 – since, as I have argued above, regnal year 2 and 3 coins cannot under any circumstances except not meaning the regnal year (which would completely break the pattern both before and after) belong to Heraklonas or Constantine III, this can only mean that three coin types are being struck at the same time.

<sup>222</sup> On Constantine’s vision: Eusebius *Vita Constantini*, I, 28.

<sup>223</sup> BN I, 331.

<sup>224</sup> Phillips 2015, 60-61.

<sup>225</sup> On Herakleios’s reforms: Hendy 1985, 417-420.

the expense of the Catanian mint, and struck vast quantities of coin of all metals in a way reminiscent of Constantinople.<sup>226</sup> The mints that now mint gold increase to Constantinople, Carthage, Syracuse, Ravenna and Rome. The strikers of silver by Constans' reign have now declined to just Constantinople and Carthage. The only exception to the rule of iconographic uniformity is, perhaps unsurprisingly, the silver and base metal coin minted at Carthage. Carthage continues to mint its own style silver coins with either a simple cross potent, cross potent on steps and **P•A** surmounted by a cross and above an x, PA presumably standing for *perpetuam augustus* (see figure 58). The Carthaginian base metal displays, for some of the reign, one type with C, T and a star displayed around a cross potent (see figure 55); the rest of the base metal, however, is identical to that of the other mints.

Figure 58: silver ½ *siliqua* of Constans II, Carthage<sup>227</sup>



Figure 59: base metal half *follis* of Constans II, Carthage<sup>228</sup>



### **Part 3 – Mezezios (668-669), and some notes on rebel and usurper coinages**

Following the murder of Constans II in Syracuse in 668, a general of Armenian descent, Mzhezh Gnuni, known as Mezezios in the Greek texts, was declared emperor by the conspirators.<sup>229</sup> Unlike many would-be usurpers of this period, however, there are known coins struck in the name of Mezezios. While these form a part of the

<sup>226</sup> On the moving of the capital: Theophanes, AM 6153; on the Syracusan mint: BN I, 333-4.

<sup>227</sup> BIFA B4121 (0.47g, 11.0mm, 0°).

<sup>228</sup> BIFA B4138 (7.46g, 22.5mm, 135°).

<sup>229</sup> On the murder of Constans and the acclamation of Mezezios see Haldon 2016, 41-42.

numismatic picture of the period – and their iconographic relationship to the coins of Constantine IV are, as we shall see, both interesting and enigmatic – they also fit into a broader picture of usurper coinage. It is to this broader picture of usurper coinages to which I shall first turn.

Usurper coinage has already been briefly surveyed by Penna and Morrisson in their article ‘Usurpers and rebels in Byzantium: image and message through coins’. Their article focusses, however, only on those usurpers in whose names coins were produced, and has little to say on why many usurpers did not have coins struck in their name. Nevertheless, they are able to come to the conclusion that ‘[the] paucity of coin issues by usurpers can be attributed to three basic factors: first, the lack of infrastructures for the immediate operation of a mint; second, the difficulty in finding resources and thus obtaining the metal demanded for minting coins; third, the fear of failure of the rebellion, which would burden the insurgent’s collaborators with the capital offences of counterfeiting and expropriating authority.’<sup>230</sup> Certainly Mezezios, like Herakleios before him and the uncertain rebel Tiberios during the reign of Leo III, had ready access to a mint – Syracuse for Mezezios, Carthage for Herakleios and either Rome or Syracuse for Tiberios.<sup>231</sup> This is, though, also true for Gregory, the exarch of North Africa who was declared emperor in opposition to Constans II in 647, who had access to the mint of Carthage; for Olympios, the exarch of Ravenna who was also declared emperor in opposition to Constans II in 650, who had access to the mint of Ravenna; and later for Thomas the Slav, who was declared emperor in opposition to Michael II in 821, who had access to the mint of Syracuse.<sup>232</sup> Access to an already

---

<sup>230</sup> Penna and Morrisson 2013, 41.

<sup>231</sup> On a rare solidus of either the rebel Basil Onomagoulos, renamed Tiberios, on Sicily c.718, or the rebel Tiberios Petasios in Italy c.729, see Prigent 2007.

<sup>232</sup> On the revolt of Gregory: Theophanes AM 6138-6139. On the revolt of Thomas the Slav: Theophanes Continuator II.9-19.

functional mint does not appear to separate the usurpers who did produce coins from those who did not, in this period, at least.

As Penna and Morrisson themselves point out, usurpers who produced coins were the exception, not the rule. It therefore seems to me more fruitful to consider not, as they do, why many usurpers did not produce coins – beginning from the assumption that coins are useful propaganda and that non-production of coins is to be explained away – but rather to consider why the demonstrable exceptions to the rule, the usurpers who did produce coins, like Mezezios, did produce them.

To begin with, it seems important to make a distinction between ‘revolt coinage’ and ‘usurper coinage’. The former does not simply comprise ‘unsuccessful usurpers’, as they are designated by Penna and Morrisson, but also coins of successful usurpers, but those struck during the period of their revolt against the reigning emperor. By ‘usurper coins’ I refer to coins of successful usurpers, but struck after they have deposed the previous emperor. It is the relation of the coin production to the revolt, not of the revolt to the outcome that is important.

The revolt coinage of Herakleios and his father has already been discussed in greater detail earlier in this chapter; for context here however, I will briefly revisit and summarise the issue. The revolt itself was declared from Carthage – the seat of Herakleios the Elder’s exarchate – against a reigning emperor in Constantinople, namely Phocas. Herakleios the elder and younger did have access to a mint – that of Carthage. The coinage appears to have been produced from the very beginning of the revolt in 608 – before the revolt’s success was assured.<sup>233</sup> Herakleios and his father were shown, on most coins, as bareheaded – marking their uncrowned status – a unique instance in revolt coinage. As the revolt progressed through Egypt and the Levant, the

---

<sup>233</sup> On the probable chronology of the coinage: MIBE II, 70-72.

already functional mint of Alexandria began to strike coins in the names of the Herakleioi, and a new mint was set up in Alexandretta in Syria.<sup>234</sup> Given the setting up of an entirely new mint in Alexandretta and the largely uniform use of numismatic iconography across mints during Herakleios' actual reign, it seems that the anomaly of the Herakleian revolt coinage can be explained by the particular interest of Herakleios himself in the use of coin imagery as propaganda.

Unlike the Herakleian revolt, the Mezezian revolt was not begun in Syracuse against a reigning emperor in Constantinople. In the Mezezian case, the reigning emperor, Constans II, had been murdered in Syracuse, both the place of the revolt and the city Constans had tried to make the capital.<sup>235</sup> Accepting Jankowiak's redating of the first Arab Siege of Constantinople to 668, this would put the status of the 'other capital', i.e. Constantinople, into question in the minds of the conspirators against Constans at the time of the latter's murder by the former in favour of Mezezios.<sup>236</sup> Since Constans's sons, Constantine, Herakleios and Tiberios, were in Constantinople at the time, it is not entirely unreasonable to assume that in the minds of Mezezios and the conspirators, they occupied the *de facto* capital and the sons of Constans in Constantinople may have been about to join their father in the grave. In this context, then, Mezezios was the legitimate emperor, a usurper but not a rebel, located in the new capital, Syracuse, and required to lead a fightback against the Caliphate.

Like the Herakleian revolt, Mezezios had ready access to an already functional mint – Syracuse – which, while certainly greatly aiding the production of coinage, is not

---

<sup>234</sup> On the mint of Alexandretta in the context of the Herakleian revolt: Hendy 1985, 414-416.

<sup>235</sup> On the possible attempt to move the capital and the reasons to move to the West, Haldon 2016, 40-41.

<sup>236</sup> Jankowiak 2013 – his extensive argument runs principally on a critique of Theophanes' chronology, and the problems with his likely source, a text of a patrician Traianos, whose text, Jankowiak argues, was more a history narrating the period from the first siege to the second, not a chronography with specific dates like the work Theophanes was attempting to compile. Though this is the main line of argument, Jankowiak also uses numismatic and sigillographic sources as well as other textual sources, such as the declaration of the *Chartophylax* George at the much more contemporaneous Sixth Ecumenical Council, to form an overall more convincing argument for dating the siege to the Patriarchate of Thomas (667-669) than following the chronology of Theophanes and subsequent modern scholarship (674-678).

a prerequisite for it: again, Gregory in North Africa and Olympios in Italy, who set themselves up as emperors between the Herakleian and Mezezian revolts, did not strike any coins despite ready access to an already functional mint.

Leo III faced two rebels named Tiberius – a man actually named Basil Onomagoulos, whose revolt began on the island of Sicily shortly after Leo's accession, and Tiberius Petasius, whose revolt began in Italy around 729 relating to discontent at Leo's taxation policies. There is a very rare solidus type which may be associated with either one, or, may constitute a rare type of Tiberios III not in military array.<sup>237</sup> If this issue did belong to one of the rebels, and not the Emperor Tiberios III, then it would constitute an unusual example of a rebel, rather than usurper, coin.

It seems to me, then, that while the Herakleian and Tiberian coinages should both be considered as 'revolt coinages' (if the Tiberian issue does indeed belong to Onomagoulos or Petasius and not Tiberios III), the coins of Mezezios should be considered more a 'usurper coinage'. Mezezios's coinage should be seen as more in the vein of the later usurpers of the '20-year-anarchy', or Artavastos – coins which were struck in the capital by the emperor following the deposition or murder of the previous emperor, regardless of how wrong these assumptions turned out to be in Mezezios' case.

Having established the nature of Mezezios' coinage as that of a usurper-emperor, rather than as that of a rebel, it is now time to turn to the representations of his coinage. Until the first of several specimens with a full inscription visible (see figure 58) began appearing in the late 1970s, these coins had been identified as coins of Constantine IV, to which they are visibly very similar.<sup>238</sup> On the grounds of their similarity to later coins of Constantine IV, Wolfgang Hahn initially identified these

---

<sup>237</sup> Prigent 2007.

<sup>238</sup> The history of the issue is outlined in: Grierson 1986, 231.



coins as modern forgeries, thinking the iconography to be anachronistic, and the mistake of a con-artist.<sup>239</sup> With the passage of time, however, in addition to scholarly scepticism about their status as fakes, more Mezezios coins have appeared in archaeological contexts, and some have even been noted in a hoard.<sup>240</sup>

Figure 60: Gold *nomisma* of Mezezios  
with inscription fully visible<sup>241</sup>



Figure 61: Gold *nomisma* of Mezezios  
previously filed as of Constantine IV<sup>242</sup>



The first oddity noted by both Hahn and Grierson can be dealt with fairly swiftly: ‘One would also have expected Mezezius to have changed his Armenian name (Mzezh) into something more acceptable to Byzantine ears, and it would be surprising for him to have ventured to use the title of augustus before a formal coronation at Constantinople.’<sup>243</sup> The first is fairly swiftly dealt with – for every Bardanes (Vardan) to change their name for imperial purposes to Philippikos, there is an Artavastos who does not; though not taking the purple, there is also plentiful sigillographic evidence for imperial officials Hellenising their names, like Mzezh into Mezezios, but not outright changing them.<sup>244</sup> The second concern has already been partly dealt with above – Mezezios was not a pretender to the title of augustus, he *was* augustus to the minds of

<sup>239</sup> Hahn 1980.

<sup>240</sup> The Syracuse 1964 hoard discussed in Prigent 2016, it is reconstructed on p. 590.

<sup>241</sup> Image from [www.wildwinds.com](http://www.wildwinds.com)

<sup>242</sup> BIFA B4272 (4.49g, 20.0mm, 225°).

<sup>243</sup> Grierson 1986, 231.

<sup>244</sup> On imperial naming customs – I do not here include Leo V and his son Constantine, probably Levon and Smbat, as the choice of the name Constantine for Smbat was probably deliberately chosen to mimic the Leo/Constantine emperors of the Isaurian dynasty, and going from Levon to Leon is a Hellenisation, not a change of name. On officials, to name a few – Asotios (Ashot) strategos and magistros of Taron (BIFA SL0087); for a further list of prominent Armenians of the seventh-eighth centuries involved in attempted coups, the majority known by hellenised Armenian names (like Bardanes for Vahtan) rather than Greek non-Armenian names (like Valentinus), see Charanis 1963, 21-22.

the conspirators in Syracuse. It is neither curiously nor audaciously that he is titled **PPAVC** (*perpertuus augustus*) on the coins, it is explicable by context.

So much for the inscription. Given the wholly satisfactory evidence that these coins are genuine products of the mint of Syracuse from 668-669, it is now not so much a question of why Mezezios appears in military array in a very similar style to Constantine IV, but why Constantine IV's numismatic imagery appears to mimic that of 'τῶν ἡμετέρων τυράννων', as Constantine refers to Mezezios and the latter's son, John, in a letter to Pope Donus (received by Pope Agatho).<sup>245</sup>

Again, the answer is probably best sought in context. It is not unusual to see Constantine IV's militaristic style on his coins related to the first Arab siege of Constantinople by modern scholars (as will be discussed in the next section). If, however, we are to accept the redating of that siege to c.667-669, rather than the traditional '670s', this not only enables us to say more about Constantine's coinage, but also Mezezios'. For both emperors, the siege will have been an event of cataclysmic proportions, and their role as defender of the Roman Empire especially sharpened by it. This is, of course, not a prerequisite to militaristic numismatic portrayal; though Khusrau II's armies had neither reached Jerusalem nor Constantinople by Herakleios' accession in 610, the war with Persia was already several years old, and Herakleios was already established as a military leader, but uncharacteristically for an emperor at that time, shown in the *chlamys*, not military array like all of his predecessors. That wider temporal context is another important point to make, too. Herakleios and Constans II appear as anomalies in the *longue durée* view of numismatic imperial portrayals. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, Herakleios did initially appear in military array on his coins, but on the association of his son, Herakleios Constantine

---

<sup>245</sup> ACO II.1, p. 8, lines 21-22.

(Constantine III), both appear in the *chlamys*, excepting much of the silver coinage, which, excluding a few *hexagrammata*, show Herakleios in military array. There is then the post-Herakleios military type, which is sometimes ascribed to Constantine III, and even though on his gold coins Constans II is shown in the *chlamys*, on his silver and base coins his representation can be seen in military array. Taken within the context of the Herakleian dynasty, a military bust on all metals is a departure, taken in the wider context, it is a reversion.

Viewing Mezezios' coinage as a reversion, rather than a departure, also helps to explain one of its other curious features: the lack of his son, John. Vivien Prigent has highlighted some seals of John, son of Mezezios, and, in his letter to Pope Donus (received by Pope Agatho), Constantine IV also mentions τῶν ἡμετέρων τυράννων, which, as Prigent notes, is in the plural, probably referencing Mezezios *and* John.<sup>246</sup> It is certainly, as has been seen above, a Herakleian prototype to place the son(s) and heir(s) on the coins regularly, a practice copied by his grandson, Constans II, but, like the non-military appearance, it appears in isolation from the rest of the wider era.

On the mention of Mezezios's son, John, it is worth acknowledging, and dismissing fairly quickly, the hypothesis of Prigent that the Mezezian coins are in fact coins of his son John.<sup>247</sup> This hypothesis relies primarily on the problem of the similar imagery of the Mezezian and Constantinian types, and resolving it by considering the imitation of Constantinian coins by the rebel John as more likely than the imitation of the Mezezian coins by the Emperor Constantine IV. This is in part because Prigent is looking at the Syracuse 1964 hoard, which combines both Mezezian and Constantinian types, and understandably considers the continued circulation of Mezezian coins during the reign of Constantine IV as problematic. He dismisses the immediately obvious

---

<sup>246</sup> Prigent 2010, 178-185. For the original text: ACO II.1, p. 8, lines 21-22.

<sup>247</sup> Prigent 2016, 595-597.

problem that the coins are in Mezezios's name by suggesting that they were posthumously depicting Mezezios but struck during John's rebellion. However, this would mean a sudden reversion to the pre-fourth-century Roman practice of striking coins in the names of one's ancestors, which in the imperial era had always also included larger numbers of issues in the name of the living emperor. The less obvious problem is the hoard itself. A single hoard does not indicate coin circulation, it is the repeated pattern in the evidence of multiple hoards which does that. Moreover, Prigent himself undertakes a retrospective reconstruction of the hoard, a reconstruction which I do not dispute, but by its very nature it means that we are not absolutely certain as to its original contents.<sup>248</sup> The evidence of the Syracuse 1964 hoard, if we accept Prigent's reconstruction, shows that somebody buried the coins of Mezezios with coins of Constantine IV. Why the burier had them we cannot know, they could have received them and expected to be able to use them, but they could equally have been keeping them as heirlooms, or as curios, or simply for their gold content. They need not have been in circulation.

Practically, all of the known coinages for Mezezios are gold denominations, perhaps given out as gifts to his supporters. Neither do they seem to be known archaeologically outside of Sicily.

Thus Mezezios' coinage can be seen to represent usurper, not rebel issues; it can also be seen to represent a reversion to old models, rather than a departure which is inexplicably copied by Mezezios' rival, Constantine IV.

---

<sup>248</sup> For the reconstruction of the Syracuse 1964 hoard: Prigent 2016, 590.

#### Part 4 – Constantine IV (668-685)

The principal distinctive feature of the coins of Constantine IV is the combination of the fifth to early sixth-century style military bust with the post-Herakleios reverse types. With a minor number of exceptions that will be returned to later, Constantine is portrayed on gold, silver and base metal coins facing, looking slightly right (his left), wearing a plumed helmet, *paludamentum* and cuirass, holding a spear transversely behind his head in his right hand and supporting a shield with a cavalryman design (see figure 62). This portrayal is unlike the military depictions of his great-grandfather, Herakleios, who appears fully facing, without the spear and shield, but with a *globus cruciger* in his right hand and often with a cross and plume surmounting his helmet (see figure 63). Herakleios' early military depiction was very much in line with later sixth-century types (later Justinian I, Tiberius II, Maurice and Phocas), where the type used for Constantine IV is much earlier (from Arcadius and Honorius to early issues of Justinian I) (see figures 64 and 66).

Figure 62: depictions of Constantine IV in military array on all three metals, Constantinople.<sup>249</sup>



Figure 63: depictions of Herakleios in military array on gold and base, Constantinople.<sup>250</sup>



<sup>249</sup> BIFA B4252 (4.30g, 19.0mm, 180°); BIFA B4283 (6.31g, 22.5mm, 225°); BIFA B4294 (15.96g, 32.5mm, 180°).

<sup>250</sup> BIFA B2720 (4.48g, 21.0mm, 225°); BIFA B3097 (10.12g, 35.0mm, 45°).

Figure 64: depictions of Phocas, Maurice, Tiberius II and later (more common) Justinian I, respectively, in military array on gold, Constantinople.<sup>251</sup>



Figure 65: depictions of Arcadius, Leo I, Anastasius I and early (less common) Justinian I, respectively, in military array on gold, Constantinople.<sup>252</sup>



That this obverse depiction of Constantine IV is used across all metals at Constantinople, and on at least one type of gold and base coin for every other mint (and Carthaginian silver, too) is indicative of a deliberate use of the numismatic iconography to promote this image of the emperor. If we therefore consider this portrayal of Constantine to be deliberate imperial policy, rather than the result of mint-based decision-making, what message, exactly, is being conveyed and why?

The use of the military depiction of Constantine is easily explicable. Constantine had experienced at least one significant military success – having defeated the Arabs conclusively at the siege of Constantinople in 669 and subsequently concluded a treaty, which forced the Arabs to pay tribute to the Byzantines – this was the first major military reversal for the Caliphate against the Byzantines.<sup>253</sup> As the son of Constantine

<sup>251</sup> BIFA B2476 (4.38g, 20.0mm, 225°); BIFA B1755 (4.42g, 22.0mm, 180°); BIFA B1617 (4.45g, 22.0mm, 180°); BIFA B0327 (4.48g, 20.5mm, 180°).

<sup>252</sup> BIFA LR0398 (4.48g, 21.5mm, 180°); BIFA LR0592 (4.47g, 20.5mm, 180°); BIFA B0001 (4.39g, 20.0mm, 180°); BIFA B0294 (4.48g, 21.5mm, 180°).

<sup>253</sup> Convincingly redated by Jankowiak 2013 from sometime in the 670s (usually 674-678) to 668-669 with various sources and arguments, but most notably the declaration of the *chartophylax* George at the Sixth Oecumenical Council in 680-681. For the evidence of the *chartophylax*: ACO II.2, 612 and 614.

was named Justinian, and Constantine IV is depicted in a mosaic at the Sant' Apollinare in Classe church in Ravenna in a style very reminiscent of the Justinian I mosaic in the San Vitale church in the same city, it is probably safe to consider the coins of Justinian I as the inspiration for the type, rather than any of the older examples.<sup>254</sup> From hoard evidence of the period, it is not difficult to believe that the Justinianic prototypes would have been known to Constantine and his officials.<sup>255</sup> Moreover, the reign of Constantine IV sees another numismatic 'Justinianising' occurrence – the change in the module of the base metal coins.

After the early days of the reign of Herakleios, and most particularly during Constans II's reign, the base metal coins had become extremely irregular in weight and shape, many becoming triangular or oblong (see figures 66 and 67). They are also frequently obviously overstruck, and little apparent care taken in their production. This might seem to indicate the use of base metal coins as *fiat* money in this period, circulating on token value, as opposed to circulating as bullion, based on their metallic content. Being made of more reactive metals, the base metal coinage is naturally more subject to corrosion, and, being handled by more people, to wear too. Even taking this into account, however, it seems that the lack of care taken over the production of these coins and the variety in weights would indicate that their weight was not important. This said, there is discussion around the reduction in the weight of the *folles* in the final

---

For the older dating in the 670s: Nikephoros 34; Theophanes AM 6169; Hoyland (Theophilos of Edessa), 166-168.

<sup>254</sup> There is also an argument that this mosaic was originally commissioned by Constans II, on which see Brown 1979, 21.

<sup>255</sup> On hoard evidence from this period: Morrisson et al. 2006 hoard no.s 309, 310 and 356 cover the expanse of time from Justinian I to Constantine IV, as do the Carthage 1945 and 'Lebanese' hoards held in part at BIFA. On the Carthage 1945 hoard: Whitting 1966. While I have not been able to find any article about the 'Lebanese' hoard, Whitting notes that it was found in November 1960 'in the Lebanon', of an unspecified number of gold coins of different denominations. The earliest is a solitary *solidus* of Justinian I (BIFA B0296, viewable online at: <http://mimsy.bham.ac.uk/detail.php?t=objects&type=all&f=&s=lebanese+hoard&record=0>), the majority of Constans II, and the latest three coins of Constantine IV, of which the two *nomismata* bought by Whitting, now housed at BIFA, are both of the sixth century style bust type.



year of the reign of Constans II, against which the reforms of Constantine IV appear as a direct contrast.<sup>256</sup> Brandes connects this with a reform of the *kommerkiarioi* around this time, and such a connection certainly implies an economic rationale, but it remains the case that the coins appear not to have enough consistency in weight and size to have been circulating on their metallic value.<sup>257</sup>

Figure 66: triangular *folles* of Constans II<sup>258</sup>

Figure 67: oblong *folles* of Constans II<sup>259</sup>



This background is important because it forms the basis of the discussion around the change in the module of the *folles* of Constantine IV to Justinianic standards. Both Prigent and Morrisson see the weight of the base metal coins as central to their circulation, but I would dispute this.<sup>260</sup> Prigent is correct to note that there should have been an exchange rate between the gold and the base metal coins, however, while the gold retains a clear weight and purity standard across mints (even when the shape is different, as with the Carthaginian ‘globular’ *nomismata*), and combined hoard evidence suggests that the gold coins were circulating on bullion value, it does not therefore follow that the base metal coins had to be too.<sup>261</sup> Haldon notes of the theories about Constantinian base metal coins that ‘neither... is especially persuasive’.<sup>262</sup> I would make the case for the purely ideological *imitatio Iustiniani*, however. Certainly

<sup>256</sup> Brandes 2002, 323-329.

<sup>257</sup> On the connection with the *kommerkiarioi*: Brandes 2002, 232-324.

<sup>258</sup> BIFA B4356 (2.67g, 22.5mm, 225°)

<sup>259</sup> BIFA B3925 (4.46g, 26.0mm, 0°)

<sup>260</sup> Prigent 2008; Morrisson 2015, 19-21; also, Prigent 2013, 153.

<sup>261</sup> On the need for an exchange rate between the gold and base metal: Prigent 2008, 567.

<sup>262</sup> Haldon 2016, 254.



explaining a metric reform away as simply an example of *imitatio Iustiniani* seems unappealing because it looks like it should be an economic reform, and it begins the period of apparent demonetisation discussed above in chapter 1 part 1. If we accept that the base metal coins had been circulating on token value, then if the Constantinian reform had any economic dimension, it could only have been to revive a bullion economy for the base metal coins, but if that were the case, why not standardise the weight to an average or slightly above average weight of already extant coins? Why increase the amount of metal to Justinianic levels, causing the number of coins in circulation to drastically reduce? Taken in context with the rest of Constantine's reign, the *imitatio Iustiniani*, while uninspiringly simple and uneconomic, seems to me the most plausible.

Given the move toward a sixth century style military bust and probable case of the deliberate employment of numismatic imagery in imperial political messaging, the retention of the Herakleian and Constans II style reverses seems more important. If there was a deliberate move to portray Constantine on the obverse in a sixth century Justinianic style, then it is also reasonable to assume that there was a conscious decision not to employ a Justinianic reverse type. Whether the seventh-century reverse type was retained because it was only felt necessary to portray Constantine himself in a Justinianic fashion, or because the decision was not to move away from a more overtly Christian iconography is not entirely clear.

By contrast with Constantine, his brothers Herakleios and Tiberios (before their deposition by Constantine and removal from his coinage in 680/681) continue to be portrayed on the reverse as they had been on the coinage of their father Constans II: standing facing, wearing the *chlamys* and cross crown, and holding a *globus cruciger* in

the right hand.<sup>263</sup> So similar is their presentation, that Hahn even notes a common reverse die identity for a *nomisma* of Constans II and a *nomisma* Constantine IV, both from the Syracuse mint.<sup>264</sup> Like the portrayal of Constantine himself, the brothers are thus portrayed across the *nomismata* of all mints (see figures 68-71), indicating a probably deliberate instruction from the government at Constantinople to the mints.

Figure 68: gold *nomisma* of Constantine IV, Constantinople.<sup>265</sup>



Figure 69: gold *nomisma* of Constantine IV, Carthage.<sup>266</sup>



Figure 70: gold *nomisma* of Constantine IV, Syracuse.<sup>267</sup>



Figure 71: gold *nomisma* of Constantine IV, Rome.<sup>268</sup>



Likewise the base metal coinage:

<sup>263</sup> Again, their removal from the coins is dated by the indictons on the Carthaginian *nomismata*. For the written sources on the brothers' deposition: Theophanes AM 6173; Hoyland (Theophilos of Edessa), 173-174.

<sup>264</sup> MIB III no. 31 and 32 (Constantinus IV).

<sup>265</sup> BIFA B4264 (4.42g, 19.0mm, 180°).

<sup>266</sup> BIFA B4324 (4.42g, 15.5mm, 180°).

<sup>267</sup> BIFA B4333 (4.00g, 20.0mm, 180°).

<sup>268</sup> BIFA B4344 (4.32g, 21.5mm, 180°).

Figure 72: base metal *follis* of Constantine IV, Constantinople.<sup>269</sup>



Figure 73: base metal *follis* of Constantine IV, Carthage.<sup>270</sup>



Figure 74: base metal *follis* of Constantine IV, Syracuse.<sup>271</sup>



Figure 75: base metal *follis* of Constantine IV, Rome.<sup>272</sup>



Figure 76: base metal *follis* of Constantine IV, Ravenna.<sup>273</sup>



For the mints of Constantinople, Carthage, Syracuse and Ravenna, there are also earlier depictions of Constantine in the *chlamys*, and in a military depiction more like the later sixth and early seventh century imperial military depictions (for earlier depictions see figures 63 and 64 above, for the other Constantine military bust type, see figures 72 and 74). The bust in the *chlamys* is likely the artefact of mints simply striking coin in the new emperor's name, as it is not found at all mints and follows the basic pattern of Constans II's coinage (minus his beard). Whether the other military type

<sup>269</sup> BIFA B4290 (17.31g, 35.0mm, 180°).

<sup>270</sup> BIFA B4331 (13.52g, 28.5mm, 225°).

<sup>271</sup> BIFA B4334 (5.72g, 20.5mm, 180°).

<sup>272</sup> BIFA B4347 (3.58g, 16.5mm, 180°).

<sup>273</sup> BIFA B4348 (3.58g, 22.5mm, 180°).

should be assigned much political consideration is more ambiguous. It does represent a departure, but is also not found across all mints.

What this survey of the coins 610-685 demonstrates is the move towards an apparent increased uniformity of numismatic imagery across the mints of the Empire, with occasional exceptions, but at variance with the localism displayed through the sixth century. This is important because it makes it more likely that the use of the uniform imagery was deliberate imperial use of numismatic imagery for political ends. This is especially true for the full scale Christianisation of the Byzantine coinage under Herakleios; the regular use of the dynastic image introduced under Herakleios, continued under Constans II and Constantine IV and prefiguring, as we shall see, the main theme of the unmistakable Isaurian coinage; and it is true for the theme of restoration of the “glory days” of the Empire present in the not universal *en touto nika* base metal coins of Constans II and Constantine IV’s portrayal as, probably, the great sixth-century emperor Justinian I, which appeared across all mints and metals.

### Chapter 3 – The mint of Cherson

The output of the mint of Cherson and its context is considered separately here, rather than in the main chapters, for two reasons. First, and most importantly, it produces some anonymous types, which appear to be datable to the eighth century, but, being anonymous, are not attributable to any specific emperor. The only emperors with Chersonese coins attributed to them for the period 610-867 are Herakleios, Constans II, Theophilos and Michael III, though the latter two can be argued to belong to different emperors or none. The second reason the discussion of Cherson is here is that the coins add little to the discussion of the use of numismatic iconography as imperial political messaging, outside of the context of the city of Cherson itself.

Situated in the south of the Crimean Peninsula, the city of Cherson presents its own unique features numismatically, economically, culturally and politically. Numismatically, it produced iconographically distinctive coins, which were for the most part cast rather than struck. Economically, Cherson was strongly connected to the main sources for naphtha around the strait of Kerch, and was an important source for garum for the Byzantine Empire; but it was more geared toward trade with its northern neighbours than with the Empire of which it was nominally a part.<sup>274</sup> Culturally, Cherson was an islet of Greek culture in the Crimea, retaining the Greek language on its seals (see figures 77 and 78) and metalwork (see figures 79 and 80), and a rectilinear street plan (for a street plan of Cherson, see figure 81).<sup>275</sup> Politically, it remained at least partially independent of the capital, being ruled by the *πρωτεύων*, or *πρωτοπολίτης* (primate of the city), and a senate populated by *archontes*, until it became the centre of a

---

<sup>274</sup> On the importance of the Crimea as a source for naphtha to the Byzantines and the importance of trade to the city of Cherson: DAI 53.499-535 (pages 284-287). On garum, naphtha, and artisanal products going north: Shepard 2009, 426-428. On the fish industry, its products, and the excavation of fish salteries: Romančuk et al. 2005, 99-110. On the fish salteries, see figure 81.

<sup>275</sup> Shepard 2009, 423-424.

new theme during the reign of Theophilos, although sigillographic evidence suggests the posts remained, if only nominally, after this time (see figure 82).<sup>276</sup>

Figure 77: lead seal of Sabbas, *hypatos* and *archon* of Cherson, eighth century.<sup>277</sup>



Figure 78: lead seal of Gregoras, imperial *spatharios* and *archon* of Cherson, early ninth century.<sup>278</sup>



Figure 79: gold ring, seventh century, found in the city of Cherson.<sup>279</sup>

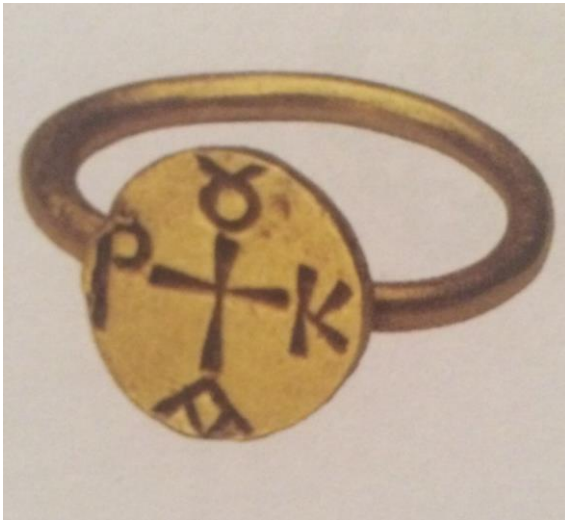


Figure 80: bronze weight, sixth-eighth century, found at a chapel in the north of Cherson.<sup>280</sup>



<sup>276</sup> On the creation of the theme: DAI 42.23-55 (pages 182-185), for modern discussion about the dating of the creation of the theme: Zuckerman 1997b, 210-5.

<sup>277</sup> DOS I, no. 82.3.

<sup>278</sup> DOS I, no. 82.2.

<sup>279</sup> LBC, no. 62.

<sup>280</sup> LBC, no. 263.



Figure 81: street plan of the city of Cherson with fish salteries, used in the production of garum as well as fish preservation for export, marked.<sup>281</sup>

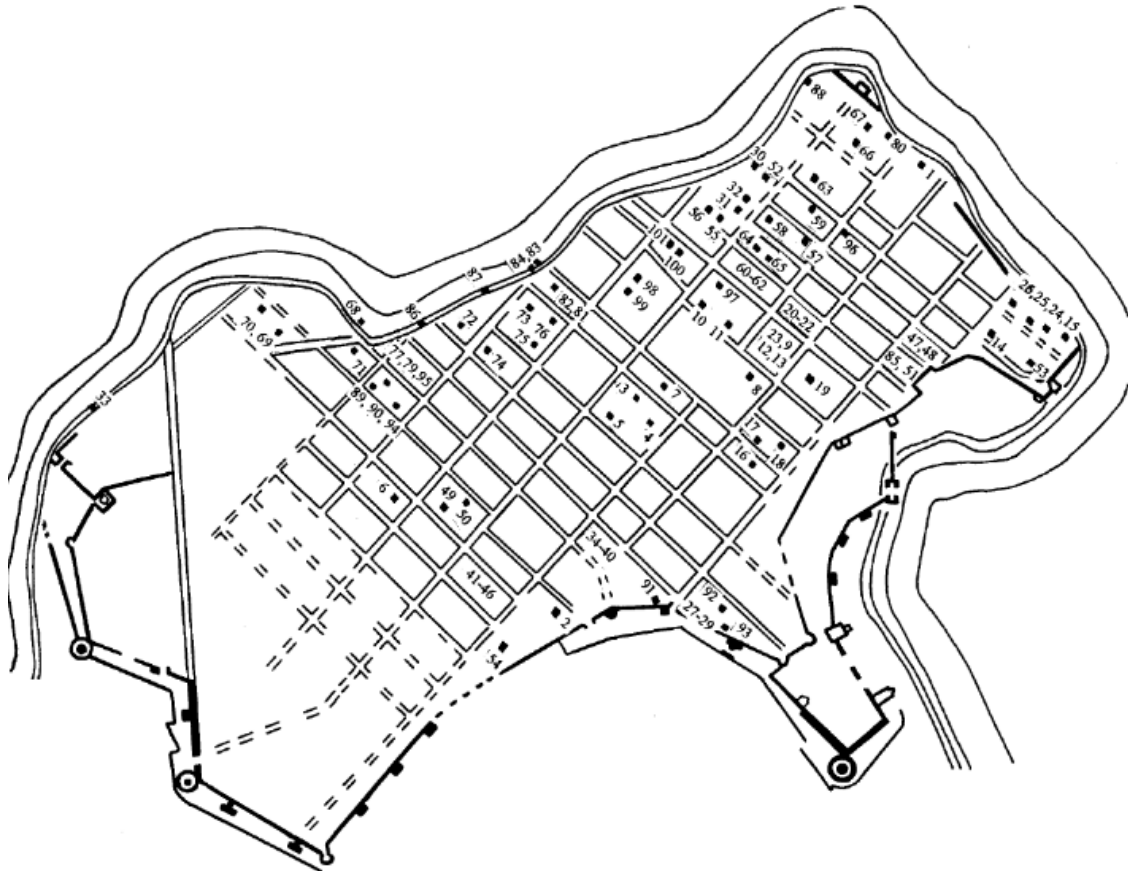


Abb. 12. Plan der Fischeinsalzungszisternen von Cherson

Figure 82: lead seal of Michael imperial *spatharios* and *epi ton oikeiakon* and *proteuon* of Cherson, tenth century.<sup>282</sup>



<sup>281</sup> Copied from Romančuk et al. 2005, 297.

<sup>282</sup> DOS I, no. 82.10.

In terms of its numismatic output, Cherson appears only ever to produce base metal coins. During the sixth and early seventh centuries, these coins were struck, as was the practice across the rest of the Empire. Iconographically, the coins struck between the reigns of Justin II and Constans II, at the widest chronological estimate, contained figures of the emperor(s) and empress and sometimes an inscription giving either the name of the Emperor Maurice, the name of the Emperor Herakleios, the initials **KB** presumably for *Konstantinos Basileus*, or simply **XEP CONOC** (Cherson). The denominations used appear to have taken the *pentanummion* (5 *nummi* piece), rather than the *nummus* (1 *nummus* piece), as the base unit, as the majority of the coins for this period from Cherson have the denominational marks H, Δ – that is, 8 and 4, which, taking the *pentanummion* as the base unit, would make them equivalent to the *follis*, M, 40 *nummi*, and half *follis*, K, 20 *nummi*.<sup>283</sup>

While the coins which name the Emperor Maurice (see figure 83), the Emperor Herakleios (see figure 84), and the coins depicting a standing emperor with a large beard and the letters **KB** (see figure 85) are clearly attributable to Maurice, Herakleios and Constans II respectively, there is some dispute over the attribution of the **XEP CONOC** type (see figure 25).

Figure 83: base metal *follis* (8 *pentanummion*) of Maurice, Cherson<sup>284</sup>



Figure 84: base metal *follis* (8 *pentanummion*) of Herakleios, Cherson<sup>285</sup>



<sup>283</sup> DOC II.1, 9. From the coinage reforms of Anastasius I in 498, the *nummus* was the base unit of the Byzantine base metal coinage, the *follis*, or 40 *nummi* piece was the most common denomination. The denominational variety reached its peak under Justinian I, but decreased thereafter, until, by the end of the eighth century, only the *follis* is left.

<sup>284</sup> Image from <http://esty.ancients.info/Cherson/0448.jpg>; type Anokhin no. 320, or MIB II Maurice 157.

<sup>285</sup> Image from: <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/heraclius/sb0926.jpg>. DOC II.1 AE311. The reverse on this particular coin is engraved back-to-front.



Figure 85: base metal coin of Constans II, Cherson<sup>286</sup>



Figure 86: base metal *folles* (8 *pentanummion*) anonymous, Cherson<sup>287</sup>



Following Wroth, both DOC and BN list the **XEP CONOC** type as belonging to the reign of the Emperor Maurice, having as it does identical iconography but for the inscription (compare figures 85 and 86).<sup>288</sup> In 1980, Anokhin ascribed the type to Justin II and Sophia, as the image of the anonymous emperor and empress is very similar to that from the base coinage of other mints for Justin and Sophia.<sup>289</sup> While acknowledging the possibility of the reverse figure representing the Caesar Tiberius, Anokhin prefers his own suggestion that the figure could be a saint.<sup>290</sup> Without either any precedent for a saint on the base metal coinage to this point in time, or the presence of any numismatic inscription to indicate who the figure is, one cannot consider this figure to be anyone other than a co-emperor or Caesar, who are well-precedented on coins. The most sensible suggestion comes from Hahn, writing two years before Anokhin, who initially posited the Justin II and Sophia attribution. He also considered, however, that the anonymous type, being anonymous, could in fact be produced during the reign of more than one emperor.<sup>291</sup> Thus the figures on this type could represent any or all of: Justin II, Sophia and Tiberius; Tiberius II and Ino Anastasia; Maurice, Constantina and Theodosius; or Phocas and Leontia.

<sup>286</sup> Image from <http://esty.ancients.info/Cherson/ConstansII.html>; coin from a private collection.

<sup>287</sup> BIFA B2418 (13.38g, 31.5mm, 180°).

<sup>288</sup> DOC I, AE299 and AE300; BN I, 215.

<sup>289</sup> Anokhin 1980, 92-93.

<sup>290</sup> Anokhin 1980, 92-93.

<sup>291</sup> Hahn 1978, 414-415 and 471-472.

For the Herakleios type, the layout – two imperial figures with inscription on the obverse, one imperial figure holding a long *chrismon* with the denomination mark H or Δ on the reverse – is little changed from the Maurice and anonymous types. While the inscription marks the obverse figures out as Herakleios and Herakleios Constantine (Constantine III), on clearer examples, the smaller figure has rounded pinnacles on the crown, suggesting a female figure. This is, of course, prefigured by the Maurician and anonymous coins of Cherson, but the crown is that of the ‘female figure’ from the Carthaginian silver and Ravennan and Constantinopolitan base coins of Herakleios, suggesting that the figure may not simply be a mistaken transfer from the sixth-century types.<sup>292</sup> In this respect, then, Cherson uncharacteristically follows a numismatic iconographic precedent set elsewhere. The significance of the female figure is probably better seen as related more to the Chersonese tradition of regularly having a female on the coins, than the Herakleian examples of coins with a female figure, given that the rest of the type more closely resembles sixth-century Chersonese coins than the Herakleian female types struck elsewhere.

For the Constans II type, however, the female figure has given way to another male figure, while the bearded emperor appears on both obverse and reverse. While a figure sporting this particular type of extensive beard can only reasonably be considered to be Herakleios or Constans II, the existence of a definitively Herakleios type and the letters KB suggest Constans as the best attribution.<sup>293</sup> While I agree with Hahn that the K more likely stands for Konstantinos than the half *folles*, I do not agree that the B is an indictional date.<sup>294</sup> It is plausible that, as Grierson suggests, the B stands for Bosphoros, a

---

<sup>292</sup> On the ‘female figure’ of the other Herakleian coins, see below, chapter 2, part 1.

<sup>293</sup> In agreement with Hahn 1978, 522. The long beard on numismatic depictions of the emperor only appears on those of Herakleios with adult Herakleios Constantine (Constantine III) and of Constans II.

<sup>294</sup> Hahn 1978, 522. He sets his position on the K in opposition to Grierson (DOC II.1, 38-39), but Grierson actually agrees that the K stands for Konstantinos and merely considers that it may also be a denominational mark.

town located on the other side of the Crimean peninsula, and the type is therefore struck there, rather than at Cherson.<sup>295</sup> While there are countermarks known for Bosporos, however, this type would stand in isolation as a Bosporan product. An alternative suggestion is that the B stands for βασιλεύς (*Basileus* – emperor/king). While this would be the first instance of the title on the coins, it would not be contextually anachronistic. The Emperor Herakleios first officially used the term above *Augustus* in a novel of 629 and, while the **AVS** for *Augustus* was retained on coins, βασιλεύς was employed elsewhere.<sup>296</sup> Moreover, only the inscriptions copied from other types of Maurice and Herakleios were in Latin. The anonymous type displayed the name of the city in Greek. It does not therefore seem unreasonable to consider βασιλεύς as the meaning of the **B**.

While the mint of Cherson was certainly in operation from the fifth to mid-seventh century, then again from the reign of Michael III (842-867), there is a second series of anonymous coinage which may be datable to the eighth century, but not any specific emperor.<sup>297</sup> With the sole exception of a handful of Michael III coins which were struck, the coins of Cherson are, after the type of Constans II, all cast. With the exception of cast copies of the sixth-century coins, the Constans type is also the last figural representation on the Chersonese coinage. Thereafter only letters and crosses appear on the coins.

To what point in time the cast copies of the sixth-century coins should be dated is unclear, but the shrunken features suggest that an actual coin was used for the

---

<sup>295</sup> DOC II.1, 38-39.

<sup>296</sup> Kaegi 2003, 186.

<sup>297</sup> For the older view that the mint of Cherson closes in the seventh century and reopens in the 860s: BMC ; BN II, 516; DOC III.1, 460; Hendy 1985, 426. That the anonymous series belongs to the eighth century: Anokhin 1980, 95. For the earlier period, see Anokhin 1980, 89-94.

mould.<sup>298</sup> The new anonymous coins, however, display only letters: **Π Π**; **Π Χ** (see figure 87); **Π +** (see figure 88); **Α +**; and **Α ΠΧ** (see figure 89). The last two had previously been attributed to the reign of Alexander; however, as Anokhin points out, they fit both iconographically and metrically better with these other anonymous coins than with the Macedonian coins of Cherson.<sup>299</sup> Both instances of ΠΧ likely stand for πόλις Χερσῶνος (*polis Chersonos* – the city of Cherson), however, the Π could also indicate the πρωτεύων or πρωτοπολίτης (*proteuon* or *protopolites* the primate of the city), who was the head of the city before it was made a theme during the reign of Theophilos. Similarly, the Α on the last two types could indicate an *archon*.<sup>300</sup>

Figure 87: anonymous base coin, Cherson<sup>301</sup> Figure 88: anonymous base coin, Cherson<sup>302</sup>



Figure 89: anonymous base coin, Cherson<sup>303</sup>



Regarding the dating of these anonymous types, Anokhin dates all but the rare **Π Π** type to the reign of Michael III.<sup>304</sup> As this dating takes more account of iconographic

<sup>298</sup> Anokhin 1980, 95.

<sup>299</sup> Anokhin 1980, 107.

<sup>300</sup> Anokhin 1980, 116-117.

<sup>301</sup> Image from <http://esty.ancients.info/Cherson/MichaelIII.html>. Type Anokhin no.s 345-348 or DOC III.1, AE14 (Michael III).

<sup>302</sup> Image from <http://esty.ancients.info/Cherson/MichaelIII.html>. Type Anokhin no.s 333-336.

<sup>303</sup> BIFA B4837 (2.10g, 16.0mm, 225°) (filed as Alexander, Cherson).

<sup>304</sup> Anokhin 1980, 96 and 107.

similarities to coins probably of the reign of Michael III than find context, however, there is some room for doubt. While these coins are in manufacture, metrics and iconography more similar to the coins attributed to Michael III than either those of the pre-Constans II period or the Macedonian dynasty and later, it does not mean that they have to be dated to the reign of Michael III itself. Indeed, if the Constans II type was indeed of Cherson (not Bosporos) and the last imperially sanctioned issue there before Michael III (or, arguably, Theophilos – see below), then this may help explain the transition from striking to casting. Good die engraving is a highly-specialised skill, making and firing clay moulds for coins is less complex; it is not entirely implausible that, requiring or desiring their own coinage and lacking both the technical skill to engrave and to use dies and imperial sanction for a mint, the city authorities resorted to casting coins. This would then explain the handful of struck coins probably of Michael III, as it was at this point that the Chersonese mint was officially sanctioned. The reversion of Cherson to casting may perhaps be due to a combination of ease, custom, and ineffective imperial oversight.

Before we reach the Chersonese coins of Michael III, however, there is one final, highly problematic, but also very rare type to consider. Amongst the cast aniconic base coins of Cherson is a type attributed to Theophilos (see figure 90).<sup>305</sup> On the strength of the combination of the inscription **DN TH** and the reported organisation of the theme during the reign of Theophilos is this attribution made. There are two particular problems here, however. First, how does one explain the presence of Latin on the coins of Cherson at this point in time? Second, how does one explain the anachronistic use of **DN** (for *dominus noster*) above the contemporary **bASIL'** (for βασιλεύς) or similar?

---

<sup>305</sup> Anokhin 1980, 105.

Figure 90: base coin, Cherson, attributed to Theophilos<sup>306</sup>



The combination of Latin on obverse and Greek on reverse is not too difficult to explain. We have already seen that even as early as the sixth century, while imperial titles are rendered in the Latin, the name of the city is rendered in the Greek; this coin appears to follow that pattern. As for the appearance of Latin on a coin ostensibly of Theophilos; from the introduction of the miliaresion sometime around 720, all *th* or *θ* sounds are rendered with the Greek letter *θ*, rather than the Latin *th*. While Latin words make a surprise reappearance on the Constantinopolitan coins of Michael III, this is not the case for other coins of Theophilos.<sup>307</sup> Moreover, the use of *DN* is highly anachronistic for the reign of Theophilos – elsewhere on the Byzantine coinage its use is last seen on the coins of Constantine V. The type is cast, which does suggest it is post-Constantine II. On these grounds I will propose two alternative attributions, each with their own problems, but no more so than the Theophilos attribution.

The most immediately obvious candidate is Theodosios III, whose coins use both *DN* and render the first sound in his name *TH* not *θ*. Theodosios has no immediately clear connection to the city of Cherson, however, to explain why the city produced coins for this short-lived emperor, but not others either side of him. We are told that Justinian II organised a punitive mission to Cherson during his second reign in retribution for the time he spent exiled there.<sup>308</sup> It is perhaps possible that Theodosios

<sup>306</sup> Image from <http://esty.ancients.info/Cherson/Theophilus.html#Theophilus>. Type Anokhin no. 330.

<sup>307</sup> On Michael III and Latin, see below, chapter 6.

<sup>308</sup> Theophanes AM 6203; Hoyland (Theophilos of Edessa), 202-205.

was involved in sending restorative aid to the Chersonese, who therefore cast coins in his name but, following his deposition by Leo III in 717, reverted to an anonymous type, also cast and aniconic. This hypothetically possible connection is unattested, however. The other plausible candidates are Tiberios and Herakleios, brothers of Constantine IV, in whose name there was a revolt. The subsequently unofficial nature of the coin type may therefore explain the casting. As is the case for Theodosios III, however, there is no immediately obvious connection with this revolt and Cherson.

Given the anachronisms inherent in the Theophilos attribution and the lack of evidence for an organised revolt coinage in the names of Tiberios and Herakleios, it seems to me that this type more likely represents a surprise issue in the name of Theodosios III, prefiguring the anonymous types of the eighth and early ninth centuries.

The final products of the mint of Cherson for the period considered in this thesis are the types of Michael III. With the sole possible, but not definite, exception of the **DN TH** type, the Chersonese coins of Michael III represent the first probably imperially sanctioned issues since Constans II two centuries earlier. It is at this point that there is a brief return to striking instead of casting, which, as argued above, is probably the mark of the imperial sanction of the new Michael coins, since a trained die engraver may have been sent there.<sup>309</sup>

Figure 91: cast base coin of Michael III, Cherson<sup>310</sup>



Figure 92: struck base coin of Michael III, Cherson<sup>311</sup>



<sup>309</sup> See above.

<sup>310</sup> Image from <http://esty.ancients.info/Cherson/MichaelIII.html>. Type Anokhin no.s 338, 339, 342; DOC III.1 AE15.

<sup>311</sup> BM 1929.1013.588.

The majority of the exclusively base metal coins show the letters **MB** on one side and **ΠΧ** on the other (which is obverse or reverse is entirely arguable), the meaning of these letters has been identified as meaning either **Μιχαήλ καὶ Βασίλειος Πόλις Χερσῶνος** (Michael and Basil, city of Cherson), or **Μιχαήλ Βασιλεύς Πόλις Χερσῶνος** (Emperor Michael, city of Cherson) (for the type, see figures 91 and 92).<sup>312</sup> Another plausible reading of **MB** not listed elsewhere would be Michael's preferred imperial epithet of **Μέγας Βασιλεύς** (*megas Basileus* – great emperor), though this reading, while a possible interpretation, is likely only an intention in combination with the other two interpretations.

The inexperience of the die engravers at Cherson is perhaps well-illustrated by the number of the struck types which appear 'back-to-front', the dies having been engraved the way one would expect to see the coin, rather than in mirror image. This trait is demonstrated by the British Museum example illustrated in figure 92.

There is also a far rarer type iconographically similar to the anonymous **Π +** and **Α +** types, but displaying **Μ +** instead. As briefly explained above, the iconographic similarity between these types does not necessarily make them contemporaneous. One or two could be the prototype for the other(s), being later. The intrinsic difficulty with dating cast coins over struck coins is that one cannot sequence the issues by looking for overstrikes, since the metal used for cast coins, whether fresh metal or old, must be melted first.

Why Constantinopolitan interest in reviving Cherson as an imperial mint occurred at this time is in some ways more interesting than the coins themselves. The year 839, during the reign of Theophilos, saw the first probable contact between the

---

<sup>312</sup> **Μιχαήλ Βασιλεύς**: Anokhin 1980, 105-106. **Μιχαήλ καὶ Βασίλειος**: DOC III.1, 460; BN II, 516.



Byzantines and the emergent power of the Rus on the Dnieper.<sup>313</sup> During Michael's reign, the Byzantines and Papacy begin vying to convert the various "Slavic" states to their group of Christianity, and Cherson was home or base to many of the evangelists.<sup>314</sup> Economically, imported amphorae to and exported amphorae from Cherson increase in the ninth century, a period which also sees the city brought under closer imperial political control.<sup>315</sup> From this northern context, it seems likely renewed imperial coin production on this frontier is symptomatic of these new contacts as well as the organisation of the theme, which may itself be related to new contacts with Byzantium's northern neighbours. However, it does not sit easily in the context of coin production for the rest of the reign of Michael III. Prior to 866, only Syracuse *continues* minting base coins (Cherson does not continue producing imperial issues, it recommences). Those Syracuse issues, moreover, revert to an older pre-Theophilos type, suggesting lack of Constantinopolitan control. Given the either lack of interest in or deliberate aversion to producing base metal coins even at the capital (which still produced gold and silver) and apparent lack of interest in the provincial mint of Syracuse, what possible reason could there be for a different approach to base metal coin production in Cherson? Perhaps we should be looking for, not a Constantinopolitan interest, but the interest of the *Strategos* of Cherson in producing coins indicating the higher power from which he draws his authority over the city and its senate. After all, he had not long been in post by Michael's accession in 842.<sup>316</sup> This would then also explain the distinctively and uniquely Chersonese flavour of these coins. A Constantinopolitan initiative would plausibly have seen a more recognisably ninth-century Byzantine model, but a Chersonese model may be more indicative of a decision of someone more in tune with

---

<sup>313</sup> Franklin and Shepard 1996, 31; also a Rus raid reported in *Vita* of St. George of Amastris about same time.

<sup>314</sup> Obolensky 1966, 510; Obolensky 1979, 128.

<sup>315</sup> On the amphorae: Romančuk et al. 2005.

<sup>316</sup> On the dating of the creation of the theme: Zuckerman 1997b, 210-15.

the city of Cherson and its traditions, someone trying to display the authority of the imperial government over southern Crimea, but not in such a way as to alienate the people by overhauling anything they were used to, someone like the *Strategos* of the Klimata.

Such is the condition of coin production of Cherson in the period considered by this thesis. It sheds little light on imperial directed political messaging through numismatic imagery, being highly distinctive from imperial models and, post Constans II, devoid of any clear political messaging. Nevertheless, it did form part of the Byzantine monetary system during this period.

## Chapter 4 – The coins, 685-797

### Part 1 – The extended ‘20-year anarchy’ (685-720)

#### Justinian II, first reign (685-695)

The main interest and principal point of focus for the discussion of the coinage of Justinian II is, arguably, the greatest innovation in the numismatic iconography for the entire seventh century: the addition of a bust of Christ. The use of Christ on Byzantine coins does not entirely begin with Justinian II, but where Christ does appear previously it is on commemorative issues on which he performs a specific function: the blessing of a marriage which raises the current emperor to the throne (see figures 93 and 94). On the coins of Justinian, however, Christ has no function as explicit as before and occupies a place of honour on the obverse of Justinian’s regular issue gold coins of all denominations produced in the capital, at the minor mint of Sardinia, and on the increasingly rare silver coins of the capital.<sup>317</sup>

Figure 93: Commemorative gold coin of Marcian and Pulcheria<sup>318</sup>



Figure 94: Commemorative gold coin of Anastasius I and Ariadne<sup>319</sup>



The precedent for the removal of an imperial bust to the reverse had already been set under Justinian’s grandfather, Constans II, and continued under his father, Constantine IV, whose crowned sons (in the case of Constans II)/brothers (in the case of

<sup>317</sup> That Christ marks the obverse and Justinian the reverse is shown by the appearance of the tradition reverse iconography (cross potent on steps, *globus cruciger*, etc.) alongside the emperor’s figure.

<sup>318</sup> Hunterian Museum & Art Gallery collections, catalogue number GLAHM 32543.

<sup>319</sup> Whitting 1973, 95.

Constantine IV) were placed on the reverse (see above, chapter 2, parts 2 and 4). So although the removal of the main imperial bust to the reverse is unprecedented, the principal that a crowned emperor can appear on the reverse is not. This then leads to the question: why is it important which side is the obverse and which the reverse? It is not simply a modern numismatist's term to help the discussion of the material with others. Rather, its origins are in who is guaranteeing the quality of the metal.<sup>320</sup> Traditionally, this will be the ruler, or, in the case of the Greek City States, the city's leadership, characterised by symbols such as Athene's owl for Athens (among other cities), Byzas for Byzantium, and so forth.<sup>321</sup> Furthermore, we can be certain that Christ occupies the obverse and Justinian the reverse because Justinian holds the traditional reverse iconography: cross potent on steps for the *nomisma*, elongated *globus cruciger* for the *semissis*, and simple cross potent for the *tremissis* (see above, chapter 2 part 1; see figures 95, 96 and 97).

Figure 95: gold *nomisma* of Justinian II, Constantinople.<sup>322</sup>



Figure 96: gold *semissis* of Justinian II, Constantinople.<sup>323</sup>



Figure 97: gold *tremissis* of Justinian II, Constantinople.<sup>324</sup>



There are two main hypotheses currently in print as to why Christ appears on the coins at this point in time. The first theory is that the change is linked to the council of Trullo (691/2). The link is first postulated by Breckenridge in his still seminal work on the material in 1959 where he linked the appearance of the bust of Christ to canon 82 of

<sup>320</sup> Goussous 1998, 46.

<sup>321</sup> Carradice 1995.

<sup>322</sup> BIFA B4384 (4.34g, 21.0mm, 225°).

<sup>323</sup> BIFA B4386 (2.16g, 18.0mm, 180°).

<sup>324</sup> BIFA B4387 (1.37g, 17.0mm, 180°).

the Council, banning the portrayal of Christ as a lamb.<sup>325</sup> This century the link with canon 82 has been challenged and more foreign numismatic precedents sought.<sup>326</sup> I am inclined to agree with Humphreys' broader dating of the Christ-type coins to between 689 and 691, though I am not necessarily inclined to agree with the close dating of the reform to Easter 690.<sup>327</sup> The broader dating is arrived at on the basis of dated seals of George and Theophylaktos, patrician and general *kommerkiarioi* of the *apothēke* of Lazike, Trebizond and Kerasous, which display the imperial figure in the same way as on the Christ type coins (standing, facing, wearing the full-body *loros*). On the closer dating, this is arrived at by finding the point at which largess would have been distributed during the period of the broader dating. It is, of course, entirely plausible that the numismatic change was coincided with the time at which it would achieve the greatest notoriety among the Byzantine elites who received said largess; however, that rather presupposes that it was the elites for whom this message was intended; as will be argued later, this is not my belief. Accepting this dating makes a direct link to the Council of Trullo improbable, unless one follows the older Grierson argument that the coins were presumptuous of the Council, which is problematic; though considering both as separate but related conclusions of the same debate around religious imagery at that time is still highly plausible.<sup>328</sup>

The second theory is linked to passages in Theophanes and Baladhuri, both writing in the ninth century. According to Theophanes, Justinian broke the peace with

---

<sup>325</sup> Breckenridge 1959. Text of the canon found in Nedungatt and Featherstone 1995, 162-164.

<sup>326</sup> Humphreys 2013.

<sup>327</sup> Humphreys 2013, 235.

<sup>328</sup> Grierson 1982, 98. The problem with this theory is first that it assumes great presumption on the part of Justinian – or at least, the coin designer – on the outcome of the Council, and, more importantly, relies on a chronology based on the comparison of the standing figures of 'Abd-al Malik's pre-reform coinage with the underlying assumption that the Byzantine must be the prototype for the Arabic. While it is true that the Arabs did imitate Byzantine and Sassanian coinage, this does not mean that they did not also make their own innovations thereupon. Moreover, the standing figure motif was already present by the time of the Herakleian three kings image, albeit as a group of standing figures rather than a lone one. Although this theory cannot be dismissed out of hand, it certainly seems improbable.

the Arabs and refused to accept their new type of coin.<sup>329</sup> As for Baladhuri, he tells a similar story but with significantly different details. According to the Arab historian, the novel import which so offended Justinian II was Egyptian papyri which now carried a Muslim formulation in Arabic at the head instead of the traditional Coptic Christian one.<sup>330</sup> Both accounts suggest provocation and reaction on a topic rarely discussed in written sources – that of coin imagery – and both say that it was Justinian who did the reacting. This is certainly hard to ignore. It is entirely possible, of course that the chroniclers had gotten their wires crossed and it was actually the Islamic reformed coinage which reacted against the Byzantine. It is at least chronologically possible that it was the Caliph's coinage that was a reaction to the Emperor's, yet Baladhuri's account implies that it may not have been coinage that provoked a reaction on coins. While the existence of a Muslim coin type of the 690s clearly depicting the prophet Muhammed suggests that the simple depiction of the prophet Jesus was not enough to be offensive,<sup>331</sup> if the people around 'Abd al-Malik were able to understand the king of kings inscription, that may well have been. Despite all of this it is important to note that while Byzantine numismatists are inclined to view the two reforms as intrinsically linked – from Breckenridge and Grierson in the mid-twentieth century to Humphreys in this decade – Caliphal historians such as Kennedy and Hourani are more inclined to see the numismatic reform in the context of the wider Arabisation in the Caliphate at the time, while the Caliphal numismatist Bacharach sees the anti-Byzantine element as of

---

<sup>329</sup> Theophanes, AM 6183. The new coin type reacted against is in some aspects debatable; chronologically the new type must be the standing Caliph type, as all aniconic Arabic coins are dated post 77 A.H./696 A.D. however, since this type has an effective precedent in the base metal coinage of Constans II as well as being similar to other Byzantine types with standing emperors, this seems unlikely. Humphreys 2013; Grierson 1982 and Breckenridge 1959 all argue that the new type was the standing figure while Treadwell 2012 accepts this interpretation of the Byzantine source. I, however, would prefer the interpretation where Theophanes is referring to the very reformed Arabic coinage – as it is far more likely to get a reaction – but, being more than a century removed from the events he describes, got his chronology wrong.

<sup>330</sup> Baladhuri, 240; Treadwell 2012, 146.

<sup>331</sup> For the Muhammed coin type see Schulze and Schulze 2010, 336.

only tertiary importance.<sup>332</sup> While Treadwell's article calling for reconsideration of Baladhuri's account may herald a change in this trend, it cannot be denied that the Caliph's reform in particular has ample internal circumstances to explain it. Therefore, while two separate accounts suggest provocation and reaction, we must be very careful not to overstress the importance of the link.

Returning to the Byzantine side of the fence, the renewed interest in the 'war of images' theory (the term often given to the theory of Emperor and Caliph reacting to one another) has in turn received reaction from Morrisson and Prigent, who have attempted to entrench the Trullo thinking.<sup>333</sup> In trying to debunk the resurgent 'war of images' theory they cite the chronology of the coinage for both the Caliphate and the Empire as prohibitive to accepting Theophanes' account of events.<sup>334</sup> Their argument has two manifest problems here, however. First, the 'war of images' theory considers the writing of both Baladhuri and Theophanes, not Theophanes alone – though it must be acknowledged that Theophanes' chronicle has been shown so problematic that, were the argument reliant upon his text and his text alone, Morrisson and Prigent would have a good point.<sup>335</sup> Second, it rather assumes that the chronology of the Byzantine and Umayyad coins is certain, though Morrisson and Prigent themselves had enumerated this problem earlier in the same paper.<sup>336</sup> I would reiterate that two written sources with no apparent common source, from two separate contexts, writing about a subject rarely discussed (that of coin iconography), and relating two different stories with a common thread (Justinian II being reactive to perceived provocation from 'Abd al-Malik and either the provocation or the reaction involving coin imagery) should not be dismissed

---

<sup>332</sup> Kennedy 2007, 13-4; Hourani 1991, 27; Bacharach 2010, 9.

<sup>333</sup> Morrisson and Prigent 2013.

<sup>334</sup> Morrisson and Prigent 2013, 580-581.

<sup>335</sup> On the sources for and difficulties of Theophanes' chronicle: Howard-Johnston 2010, 195-237.

<sup>336</sup> On their debunking of Theophanes: Morrisson and Prigent 2013, 580-581; on their consideration of the chronology: Morrisson and Prigent 2013, 577-580, also the 'table synoptique' p. 175-176.

out of hand. Accepting the idea of the ‘war of images’ does not necessitate accepting the word of Theophanes as gospel. Indeed, a large part of the issue with the arguments of those in favour of the ‘war of images’ is the definition and redefinition of which coin type exactly Theophanes was referring to. Is it not possible that Theophanes – or, equally if not more likely, Theophanes’ source for the period, assumed to be the patrician Traianos<sup>337</sup> – simply mixed matters up? That it was the coinage that was the reaction, not the provocation?

Let us take the passage in Theophanes directly: ‘καὶ τὸ σταλὲν χάραγμα παρὰ Ἀβιμέλεχ νεοφανὲς ὃν καὶ μηδέποτε γεγρονὸς οὐ προσεδέξατο.’<sup>338</sup> The coins are described as νεοφανὲς (a new make) and μηδέποτε γεγρονὸς (never having been [before]), which, for a period where the Caliphal coinage was changing considerably, could refer to any number of types. The usual candidates are the standing Caliph or dechristianised types (see figures 98 and 99). Certainly there appears to have been some uncertainty about their validity, as at least two of the eight specimens I am aware of have the same gauge or scrape mark in the field of the reverse to the left of the steps, implying that somebody was testing their gold content, since the imagery was unfamiliar and left the coin’s validity in doubt.<sup>339</sup> Both types, however, are excessively rare. These types have been historically been chosen in preference to the most immediately obvious candidate – the post-696 reformed and aniconic coinage – because of simple chronology: if the reform happened after Justinian’s deposition, how can he possibly have reacted against it? Of course Justinian couldn’t actually have reacted

---

<sup>337</sup> On the problems of Traianos as a source for Theophanes: Jankowiak 2013, 249-256; Howard-Johnston 2010, 307-308.

<sup>338</sup> Theophanes AM 6183. Mango and Scott translation: ‘and [Justinian] refused to accept the minted coin that had been sent by Abimelech [i.e. ‘Abd al-Malik] because it was of a new kind that had never been made before.’ (p. 509).

<sup>339</sup> The eight types include the one at the Barber Institute with a scrape mark (A-B0030, pictured in figure 98), one sold in 2006 by A. H. Baldwin with a scrape mark, two at the British Museum (Walker 1956, AV54 and AV52), two at the Ashmolean (SICA I, 606 and 607), one sold by Numismatica Genevensis in 2014, and one at the University of Pennsylvania’s Archaeology and Anthropology Museum (1002.1.107).



against the aniconic reformed coinage, but to date we have either been working with the assumption that Theophanes is correct, or that everything is incorrect. If Theophanes was writing in the early ninth century, and his probable source sometime after 717, then the post-reform aniconic Umayyad then ‘Abbasid coinage would have been in circulation for a long time. Jankowiak has already shown how the sections of Theophanes’s chronology taken principally from the theoretical ‘Patrician Traianos’ source relating to the first Arab siege of Constantinople is unreliable, though the basic idea of an Arab siege of Constantinople was sustainable.<sup>340</sup> I would likewise argue that chronology and sequencing for the ‘war of images’ of Theophanes’s text is wrong, but that the basic idea is based in reality. It is entirely possible that, in the minds of Theophanes and his source, Justinian was reacting against a new type of coin from the Caliphate (a coin type Theophanes and his source were familiar with) – that the new and previously unknown type was in fact thought by Theophanes to be the aniconic coin type. Unlike Morrisson and Prigent, however, I am not inclined to ‘throw the baby out with the bath-water’, so to speak. In Baladhuri’s version of events, Justinian was not reacting *against* a new coin type, but reacting *with* a new coin type. While Baladhuri’s text has its own problems – for this passage, not least that there never was a Byzantine coin type offensive to the Prophet Muhammed – it again recalls offence caused between Justinian and ‘Abd al-Malik involving numismatic imagery. It is in this point of harmony that the ‘war of images’ theory should still be taken seriously.

---

<sup>340</sup> Jankowiak 2013.

Figure 98: A ‘dechristianised’ Arab-Byzantine imitation *dinar*<sup>342</sup>



Figure 100: Reformed Umayyad half *dinar*<sup>344</sup>



Figure 99: A ‘standing Caliph’ type *dinar*<sup>341</sup>



Figure 101: Reformed Umayyad *dirhem*<sup>343</sup>



Both the Trullo and the war of images theories can work because, in both instances, the change being made only on the gold and silver works – if it is about the the climate around religious images leading to canon 82 of Trullo, then the elites who might receive the gold in gifts are the target audience for the new type; if it is the interactions with ‘Abd al-Malik, then it is the noble metal coins with which diplomacy might be conducted.<sup>345</sup> It is with this in mind that I should like to propose a third interpretation.

We know that taxes were collected in gold in this period, which gives us a third possible target audience for the new type in addition to Byzantine elites and foreign courts – people paying tax.<sup>346</sup> We also know that through the choice of inscription, explicit reference is being made to Christ as the ruler with kingship over even the Emperor, Justinian II (see above). We further know that Justinian became embroiled in more wars, which would have cost money.<sup>347</sup> Finally, we are told by the main written

<sup>341</sup> BM 1954.1011.2

<sup>342</sup> BIFA A-B0030 (4.49g, 19.5mm, 180°).

<sup>343</sup> BIFA A-B0073 (2.21g, 25.5mm, 270°).

<sup>344</sup> BIFA A-B0072 (2.04g, 15.5mm, 135°).

<sup>345</sup> On the gift economy and gift diplomacy see Laiou 2002.

<sup>346</sup> Haldon 1997, 117.

<sup>347</sup> Nikephoros, 38; Theophanes, AM 6178-6180.

sources that he was overthrown because of his poor choice of civil governors, one of whom, Theodotos, was hated for exacting high taxes cruelly.<sup>348</sup> Although I am about to step into the realms of speculation, those are the grounds on which I do so.

We could, perhaps, be looking at a change in iconography related to an increase in taxation, or simply a justification for it. From 689 to 691, so far as we are aware, Justinian was secure in his throne: he was the great-great-grandson to the founder of the dynasty, Herakleios; we have no recorded revolts or insurrections against him by this time; and his reputed poor leadership – reported by both Theophanes and Nikephoros, both drawing on earlier, yet still post-Justinianic sources – can be argued to be riddled with propaganda and hindsight, so he had no reason to change the iconography to justify his rule. This would explain why the bust of Christ appears on the gold but not the base metal, and does little to explain its appearance on silver. By placing Christ on the gold coins used to pay tax, the relationship between the emperor and Christ is made clear: our lord, Justinian [to whom you are paying tax with this coin], is a servant of Christ, his lord [as king of kings]; therefore by paying taxes to the Emperor of His chosen people of the Roman Empire, you are also doing your duty as a Christian. To build on, in effect, Matthew 22:20-21 ‘And he saith unto them, whose is this image and superscription? They say unto him, Caesar’s. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s; and unto God the things that are God’s.’<sup>349</sup> Making rendering unto your Christian Caesar that which is the Christian Caesar’s equal to rendering unto God the things that are God’s, as your earthly king’s king is also your heavenly king – Ies[us] C[h]ristos rex regnantium, d[ominus] n[oster] Iustinianus servus Christi, as the coins read.

---

<sup>348</sup> Theophanes, AM6186; Nikephoros 39 and 40; both are almost identical on this point, however, so are probably drawing on the same source.

<sup>349</sup> The story and saying also occur in Mark 12:17 and Luke 20:25.

In his work of 1964, Restle describes the supposed desired effect of the Christ-type image from Justinian's second reign as follows: 'Der Kaiser verkündet durch dieses Christusbild dem ganzen Reich, dass seine Herrschaft, mit der Christi eng verbunden, kein Ende haben wird, so wie Christus jung sei, weil sein Reich ewig dauern werde.'<sup>350</sup> There is a problem here, however. The image did not proclaim anything to the 'ganzen Reich'. If that was the intention, then why was Christ's image not on the base metal coins, handled by more people than handled the gold? Why was it not produced in mints outside of Constantinople and Sardinia? It is worth considering the issue of why this very significant iconographic change took place only on the gold and silver coins of Constantinople and the gold of Sardinia not least because it is an issue often overlooked.<sup>351</sup>

Why such a major iconographic change should have happened only at Constantinople and Sardinia is a serious problem which needs explanation, not least because it may shed some light on why Christ appeared in the first place. There would appear to be three possibilities in this regard:

- 1) That the order for the image change was only sent to Constantinople and Sardinia.
- 2) That the order was confined to the Constantinopolitan mint, but that the Sardinian mint came into possession of a new type and copied it.
- 3) That the instruction was sent out to all mints, but was rejected by all but Sardinia.

---

<sup>350</sup> Restle 1964, 130. 'The Emperor proclaimed to the whole Empire through this image of Christ that his [Justinian's] dominion, closely linked to that of Christ, would have no end; just as Christ was young, so would his empire last forever.'

<sup>351</sup> There is some dispute as the mint origin of these provincial Christ-type coins, whether they belong to Sardinia or Carthage. The arguments are ably summarised in MIB III, 166-7, I have chosen to follow the convention that they hail from Sardinia, but the issue is not certain.

Scenario one seems odd, even if there was preemptive concern about the West's negative reaction to Trullo (which is now considered to happen much later), why would Sardinia have been considered an exemption?<sup>352</sup> If that was not the reason for leaving the western mints out of the instruction, then why Sardinia? Scenario two is more plausible – the target audience would only be receiving gold and silver coins from Constantinople, so it is to Constantinople alone that the order was given, thus the other mints do not produce coins they were never asked to, but when Sardinia started following Constantinople's lead, why would Justinian and his government have objected? Scenario two works easily for the war of images explanation, for Trullo only if we consider that the change was a directed message to imperial dignitaries, but neither for the taxation argument, nor for the Trullo explanation if it was supposed to promote the new thinking on images widely. The third scenario works for all three explanations, but carries inherent problems of its own.

How could a mint, or, in this case, a group of mints, decide to reject an instruction from the capital? The workers could potentially face charges of counterfeiting coins, with the penalty of death.<sup>353</sup> It is possible that a more imminent threat, say, the exarch of Italy or the Pope, could have counterbalanced this, but then we would reasonably expect to see evidence that Constantinople considered the Italians and/or Sicilians to be in revolt at this time, which we do not.

If the image was rejected in Sicily and Italy, there was reason to do so. Canon 73 of the Council of Trullo proscribed the use of the cross on the floor, as it was too holy an image to walk on, could the image of Christ on an item which might be dropped, or clipped, or scraped for its gold come under the same category? Curiously, Marcus

---

<sup>352</sup> On the dispute about the portrayal of the Lamb of God between Rome and Constantinople as a problem fabricated later: Vogt 1988.

<sup>353</sup> On the problem of charges of counterfeiting for those involved in producing rebel coinages: Penna and Morrisson 2013, also Pottier 2017, 10.

Phillips uses the same biblical parable I have used to consider the role of taxation in the appearance of the Christ image, but he uses it as a demonstration of the problems with holy figures on coins and respect, and the wider connection to Jewish practice.<sup>354</sup> Here though we have the problem of the coins predating the council – how can a canon which hasn't yet come into being be reacted with? Unless, of course, the canon was indicative of and reactive to general thinking. If we were to follow the taxation arguments, this may further explain why the Syracusan and Italian mainland mints omit the image of Christ – the mint masters, or local governors, may have felt that the portrayal of a holy figure, on this most profane item associated with the very earthly business of taxation, was unacceptable and so prevented the striking of the new Christ-type in the areas under their control.

So was the image of Christ more likely a centrally considered and deployed message or an independent phenomenon? Given the drastic and notable nature of the change, it is hard to conceive of it as anything other than a deliberate message. Moreover, it was in the Constantinopolitan mint that the image was struck – the mint at the heart of government. However, that it was only minted at Constantinople (and the very minor mint of Sardinia) is significant in demonstrating either the lack of control over the Western mints, the lack of imperial interest in the coin production of the provincial mints, or the strength of the reaction against the use of the image of Christ on a coin for taxation. Independence does begin to increase again under Justinian, a surprising turn of events if we assume that this is related to interest in the use of numismatic material as a message vessel alone. In fact, the answer to this increased independence probably lies in the political situation at the end of the seventh century.

---

<sup>354</sup> Phillips 2015, 62.

At those western mints, coin imagery stays the same with the following two exceptions. On the base metal coinage of Syracuse the Emperor's costume does change to the *loros*, as it does on those coins from Constantinople and Sardinia with the bust of Christ. This change would indicate that the designers at Syracuse were aware of the new type at the capital but still omitted the bust of Christ. The other is on the base metal coinage of Sardinia, where the word PAX appears in the place of the traditional mint mark. This is interesting because PAX later turns up on the held *globus cruciger* of the solitary bust of Justinian with the 'Emmanuel' type bust of Christ coins dated to his second reign (see below). This could mean that these types should be reassigned to Justinian's second reign, however to do so would leave no Sardinian coins for his first reign, so it seems best to leave them identified as simply Justinian's issues, unattached to either reign.

#### Leontios (695-698)

Justinian was deposed in 695, and Leontios came to power as a usurper. We might then expect to see a change in the coinage to justify his power, as Herakleios's coins did by use of the dynastic, family image, and as Marcian and Anastasius I did with their commemorative issue showing their marriages blessed by Christ. There is a change under Leontios, but it is not as might be expected. Clearly some authority wanted to differentiate Leontios from the man he deposed: he is portrayed as a larger man with a different style beard and face from more recent seventh-century imperial busts (compare figures 102, 103 and 104 with 105). What is slightly surprising is that Christ is removed from the coinage.

Figure 102:

Constans II<sup>355</sup>

Figure 103:

Constantine IV<sup>356</sup>

Figure 104:

Justinian II<sup>357</sup>

Figure 105:

Leontios<sup>358</sup>

Although removing the bust of Christ does disassociate Leontios from Justinian, it does not make any immediate sense. Like the mint of Syracuse during the first reign of Justinian II, though, Leontios' coinage does employ the full-body *loros* – the other innovation of the Christ type. Here as with Syracuse, the continuation of the use of that iconographic formula from the coins of Justinian II almost serves to highlight the rejection of the image of Christ. The use of the *loros* as the imperial costume at this point certainly does not serve to differentiate Leontios from Justinian, and the uniformity of its use – especially at mints which had not previously used this costume, such as Rome and Ravenna – in combination with the consistently portrait style, round-faced bust and *mappa* held aloft would suggest that it was a deliberate decision. Unlike the case of the Italian and Sicilian mints under Justinian II, however, with Leontios's coinage the removal does not cause the problem of how to explain rebellious mints. Leontios's rule is, naturally, post-Trullo, so Canon 73 can be cited as a reason for removing Christ – holy image, inappropriate place.

The reappearance of the *mappa* on the coins of Leontios is interesting and may also be related to the use of the *loros*. The *mappa*, the handkerchief used by the emperor to start the chariot races had not appeared on the coinage since Phocas and the emperors of the sixth century before him. When it appeared, however, it did so when the

<sup>355</sup> BIFA B3753 (4.43g, 20.5mm, 180°).

<sup>356</sup> BIFA B4260 (4.45g, 18.5mm, 225°).

<sup>357</sup> BIFA B3479 (11.62g, 32.0mm, 180°).

<sup>358</sup> BIFA B4425 (4.39g, 19.0mm, 180°).



emperor's *chlamys* was overlaid with a *loros* scarf (see figure 106). Though Leontios's *loros* was of the Justinianic full-body kind, the old association with the *mappa* was for the last time revived.

Figure 106: Gold *solidus* of Phocas from Constantinople<sup>359</sup>



### Tiberios III (698-705)

Leontios having been deposed in his turn, in 698, Christ does not make a reappearance under Tiberios III. The reason for this is less troubling and important than why he disappeared under Leontios, since returning Christ to the coins would be making a bigger statement than keeping him off. In the entire history of Romano-Byzantine coinage, Christ had only appeared on two rare ceremonial coins and regularly on the gold and silver of Constantinople and Sardinia only and for only around five years. In keeping Christ off of the coins, Tiberios' coinage appears as part of the mainstream numismatic imagery. What Tiberios' coinage does that Leontios' does not is provide a parallel to Constantine IV's (compare figures 107 and 108 with 109 and 110). While the image of Tiberios III does not copy that of Constantine IV exactly, it takes more elements from his military type (transverse spear – though held in front of the body – and shield depicting a cavalryman). This could plausibly be an attempt to connect Tiberios with the former Emperor, but it may also be linked to the renewed war efforts and the final loss of Carthage at the end of Leontios' reign.

---

<sup>359</sup> BIFA B2423 (4.46g, 22.5mm, 225°)

As for Leontios, the change in imperial depiction and its consistent use point toward a deliberate act from Constantinople.

Figure 107: gold *nomisma* of Constantine IV, Constantinople<sup>360</sup>



Figure 108: base metal *folles* of Constantine IV, Constantinople<sup>361</sup>



Figure 109: gold *nomisma* of Tiberios III, Constantinople<sup>362</sup>



Figure 110: base metal *folles* of Tiberios III, Constantinople<sup>363</sup>



#### Justinian II, second reign (705-711)

With the return of Justinian II in 705, the bust of Christ also reappears on the coinage. However, he is depicted differently (compare figures 111 and 112). It can be said with a good degree of certainty that the “Emmanuel” or “Syriac” type (shown in figure 112) should be attributed exclusively to Justinian’s second reign and the “Pantokrator” type (shown in figure 111) to the first, however, the reasons for this given in other modern books – particularly the catalogues – seem to me to be unsatisfactory and incomplete, so I shall elaborate on why here.

<sup>360</sup> BIFA B4277 (4.42g, 19.5mm, 225°).

<sup>361</sup> BIFA B4294 (15.96g, 32.5mm, 180°).

<sup>362</sup> BIFA B4441 (4.40g, 19.5mm, 180°).

<sup>363</sup> BIFA B4447 (3.35g, 23.5mm, 180°).

Figure 111: gold *nomisma* of Justinian II, first reign, Constantinople<sup>364</sup>



Figure 112: gold *nomisma* of Justinian II, second reign, Constantinople<sup>365</sup>



It used to be thought that Justinian's son, Tiberios, was crowned and associated with his father on the throne from Justinian's return. We now know that there were some months between the two events; for this reason, and this reason alone, Grierson, Morrisson and Hahn all attribute the two Christ types to separate reigns.<sup>366</sup> On this reasoning alone, however, there is nothing to say that the two Christ types with Justinian alone were not contemporaneous in both the first reign and at the end of the second, and that, for reasons now lost to us, it was felt inappropriate to have a child on a coin with the Pantokrator type. The "what is appropriate when a child is portrayed on a coin" theme has appeared before, when Constantine III appearing as the *child* of Herakleios was never portrayed in military garb which had been, to present, the way Herakleios had portrayed himself when he was alone (see above, chapter 2, part 1). A better explanation for why the two should be attributed to different reigns is provided by an observation and discussion of the reverse imagery. As we have seen, from the time of Herakleios to this point in history, each denomination has been marked by its own particular reverse image – with the sole exception of the base metal *follis* under Constans II. On the types with Pantokrator Christ, Justinian is always standing, on the types with Emmanuel Christ, Justinian is always in bust. Although the traditional marks are kept (cross potent on steps for the *nomisma*, elongated globus cruciger for the *semissis* and simple cross potent for the *tremissis*, etc) Justinian changes. To have two

<sup>364</sup> BIFA B4384 (4.34g, 21.0mm, 225°).

<sup>365</sup> BIFA B4463 (4.41g, 20.0mm, 180°).

<sup>366</sup> DOC II.2; BN I; MIB III.

different reverse images on the same contemporaneous denomination would be out of step with the recent trends in numismatic imagery, and it is not linked to different mints, which would provide an alternative explanation. Moreover, on the Emmanuel type Justinian appears holding a globus cruciger with the word **PAX** on it (see figure 113). This is most likely a reference to Justinian coming back to his rightful place to restore order and peace (*pax*) after the decade with two usurpers. This interpretation, however, would mean attributing all the Sardinian base metal coins to Justinian's second reign (leaving none for the first) as they also show the word **PAX** (see above). The reasoning for their current attribution is the *Pantokrator* bust type of Christ.

So the Emmanuel type Christ is most likely exclusive to this second reign. Why, then, make the change? The inscription stays the same – except when Tiberios joins his father, in which case it is only changed to include his name – so there is not an obvious reason for the change; he is still, overtly at least, performing the same function as king of kings. Certainly the *Pantokrator* (ruler of all) image, reputedly based on depictions of Zeus, has a more kingly function than this second reign Christ image.<sup>367</sup> It may be that Christ's function on the second reign coins is more religious than regal (despite the inscription). The cross on Justinian's *globus* is patriarchal, not potent. Perhaps, having returned from exile, survived mutilation and avoided assassination attempts, Christ's function is now to point out his favour for Justinian's rule. This time Christ is there for legitimacy reasons, not because of the council in Trullo, a dispute with 'Abd al-Malik or taxation.

The legitimacy interpretation is quite similar to the interpretation of Restle, who considers the new type to indicate the youthful eternity of both Christ and the Empire.<sup>368</sup> Like Breckenridge, however, this involves a consideration of the "Syriac" Christ-type as

---

<sup>367</sup> Breckenridge 1959, 57.

<sup>368</sup> Restle 1964, 130.

younger, hence Breckenridge's use of the type appellation "Emmanuel". Christ Emmanuel is a younger Christ, but a younger Christ is beardless, the Christ on the coins of Justinian's second reign is not only bearded, but the beard could be seen as more similar to that of the emperor's own than the beard of the "Pantokrator" type.

Curiously, Restle comes close to a better explanation for the change then opts for the youthfulness explanation. He notes the depiction of Christ on the sixth century Barberini Ivory, among others, as a possible artistic influence for the second reign Christ-type, where finding an earlier prototype for the first reign Christ-type proved more of a challenge – one suggestion being the *acheiropoietos* image of Christ from the days of Herakleios.<sup>369</sup> Ultimately, it seems clear that depictions of Christ and the vocabulary around them were still being developed and experimented with. It seems plausible to me that the depiction was changed because the imagery Justinian desired (for it seems clear that it was specifically through his agency) was simply an image of Christ with the *Rex Regnantium* and *servus Christi* inscriptions, whether Christ had long wavy hair or short curly hair was not part of the instruction, so long as it was clearly Christ – inscription, cross behind head, gospel in left hand, benediction with right – and perhaps the "Syriac" type was at that time more readily recognisable as Christ than the "Pantokrator".

Figure 113: gold *nomisma* of Justinian II, 705, Constantinople<sup>370</sup>



<sup>369</sup> Restle 1964, 118-129.

<sup>370</sup> BIFA B4462 (4.42g, 21.0mm, 180°).

Whether one holds to the more traditional view that imperial iconoclasm began under Leo III in 726-30 or the revisionist view that it occurred sometime later, the disappearance of the image of Christ from the gold and silver coins of the Byzantine Empire predates both and should therefore *never* be considered evidence of imperial iconoclasm.<sup>371</sup> The removal of the bust of Christ, introduced under Justinian II, from the Byzantine coinage had already occurred under Leontios and Tiberios III, the usurpers between the two reigns of Justinian II and was repeated under the usurpers following him. In the previous chapter the case was made that either the image of Christ was linked too closely to the person or policies of Justinian II or – my preferred line of argument – that it was because the use of so holy an image on an so profane an item as a coin used in the earthly business of taxation was considered unsavoury in this period. Like Leontios before him, Philippikos (711-713), Byzantium's latest usurper appears on the obverse (due to the removal of Christ) wearing the *loros* across all metals. Like the inclusion on Justinian II's Sicilian coinage of the emperor in the *loros* but not of Christ (both of which were innovations under Justinian II) the inclusion of the emperor in the *loros* but not of the bust of Christ under Justinian II's two immediate usurpers further serves to strengthen the argument that the issue was with the appearance of Christ on the coinage, not the association with Justinian II or his policies, since the same association was true of the *loros*. On the weight of this evidence, it seems fair to conclude that whenever negative opinions about the use of religious images in worship became imperially sanctioned, negative opinions about the use of Christ's image on coins specifically – imperially issued imagery – easily predates it.

---

<sup>371</sup> For the traditional view see nearly any narrative history, for example the well-known narrative of Ostrogorsky 1968, 160-163; or, more recently, Herrin 2007, 106. For the revisionist approach see Brubaker and Haldon 2011, 70-94.



## 711-720

Projecting forward through this second decade of the eighth century, another pattern emerges, one which will make a more substantial reappearance in the early ninth century. From the usurpation of Philippikos in 711 to the coinage reform of Leo III in 720, the costumes of the emperors appear as follows: Philippikos (711-713) – *loros*, Anastasios II (713-715) – *chlamys*, Theodosios III (715-717) – *loros*, Leo III (717-741) – *chlamys*. While there are also some held insignia differences which will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs, these four emperors all look the same in other respects. That this alternating costume on identical bust pattern appears during the nine years with four different emperors and then again for the associated sons of the four emperors of the period 802-829 – who are likewise all usurpers of each other – is suggestive of the fact that die engravers or continuing administrators were simply differentiating the latest successful usurper from the last. It should be noted, however, that this occurs across all functioning mints, indicating that there may have been some coordination on the imperial bust.

Figure 114: Philippikos<sup>372</sup>



Figure 115: Anastasios II<sup>373</sup>



Figure 116: Theodosios III<sup>374</sup>



Figure 117: Leo III pre-720<sup>375</sup>



<sup>372</sup> B4480 (4.32g, 19.5mm, 180°) and B4484 (6.30g, 23.0mm, 180°).

<sup>373</sup> B4489 (4.41g, 20.0mm, 180°) and B4497 (4.19g, 24.5mm, 180°).

<sup>374</sup> B4501 (4.39g, 20.0mm, 135°) and B4502 (3.04g, 20.0mm, 180°).

<sup>375</sup> B4504 (4.29g, 19.5mm, 180°) and B4523 (7.61g, 24.5mm, 180°).

Of the three emperors who reigned for two years, it is Anastasios II who has the largest corpus of known gold coins (see figure 118). Füeg suggests that this is because the coins were hoarded, however, there is no evidence from the coins surveyed in this thesis that any specimens came from a hoard find.<sup>376</sup> Perhaps a better explanation might be the simplest: there was simply a drive to strike more gold coins. It is the gold and silver where the number is notably increased for 713-715. The base metal production at Constantinople and Syracuse appears to be much the same for these years as it is for 711-713 and 715-717, although there is more for Rome and Ravenna.

**Figure 118:** Table showing number of known gold coins for the emperors Philippikos to Leo III in 720 (figures taken from MIB)

<b>Philippikos</b>				
<b>Mint</b>	<b>Nomismata</b>	<b>Semisses</b>	<b>Tremisses</b>	<b>Total</b>
Constantinople	49	4	5	<b>58</b>
Syracuse	10	9	10	<b>29</b>
Rome	1	0	0	<b>1</b>
Ravenna	1	0	0	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>89</b>
<b>Anastasios II</b>				
<b>Mint</b>	<b>Nomismata</b>	<b>Semisses</b>	<b>Tremisses</b>	<b>Total</b>
Constantinople	50	4	6	<b>60</b>
Sardinia	3	0	0	<b>3</b>
Syracuse	5	3	2	<b>10</b>
Naples	9	0	4	<b>13</b>
Rome	5	0	9	<b>14</b>
Ravenna	2	0	9	<b>11</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>111</b>
<b>Theodosios III</b>				
<b>Mint</b>	<b>Nomismata</b>	<b>Semisses</b>	<b>Tremisses</b>	<b>Total</b>
Constantinople	25	3	3	<b>31</b>
Sardinia	1	0	1	<b>2</b>
Syracuse	4	0	0	<b>4</b>
Naples	4	0	0	<b>4</b>
Rome	5	0	5	<b>10</b>
Ravenna	0	0	1	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>52</b>

<sup>376</sup> Füeg 2007, 11.



Leo III (717-720)				
Mint	Nomismata	Semisses	Tremisses	Total
Constantinople	27	1	3	31
Sardinia	2	0	0	2
Syracuse	5	0	1	6
Naples	10	0	3	13
Rome	5	0	2	7
Ravenna	2	0	1	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>62</b>

Iconographically speaking, the coins of the emperors of this period on the reverse universally show a return to the old Herakleian prototypes: cross potent on steps for the *nomisma*, *globus cruciger* for the *semissis* and simple cross potent for the *tremissis* on gold; the cross potent on steps for the *hexagram* on silver, and the functional marks of the base metal.

On the obverse the emperors' costumes alternate as described above, but there are some differences in held insignia. Philippikos appears with the traditional *globus cruciger* in his right hand, but an eagle-topped sceptre instead of the traditional *mappa/akakia* in his left hand. Anastasios II appears with both of the traditional items. Theodosios III appears with a patriarchal *globus cruciger* on coins from the Constantinopolitan mint, but traditional iconography elsewhere. Finally, Leo III's image returns to the standard *globus cruciger* and *akakia*.

That Philippikos in particular appears uniformly across mints with the unusual eagle-topped sceptre, probably modelled on the coinage of Tiberius II, does make the argument of imperial disinterest in coin iconography difficult to argue; however, that the alternating costume pattern appears more than once during periods of usurpers seems more compelling. Moreover, these depictions are not uniform across mints – Syracuse in particular appears iconographically to deal with the rapidly changing

imperial personage by keeping a generic standing emperor with cross or spear on the obverse and changing the monogram on the reverse of its base metal coins.

## **Part 2 – Leo III with Constantine (720-741)**

By the reign of Leo III, the number of mints had declined to Constantinople, Syracuse, Rome and possibly another unidentified Italian mint, so determining central control by viewing mint independence is extremely problematic. Moreover, this reduction is almost certainly due to the fluctuating borders at this time, not an attempt at centralised control. The first issues of Leo III demonstrate no real departure from those of Anastasios II and Theodosios III: iconographically the gold and base metal coins are identical, and apart from the change in the name in the inscription, the only difference is that instead of the ending **M<sup>U</sup>L** or **M<sup>U</sup>LA** for *multos annos*, Leo's coin inscriptions end: **PAM<sup>U</sup>L** for *Perpetuo Augusto MULtos annos*.<sup>377</sup> There is no real attempt at portraiture and without the inscription and alternating costume (see below), Leo's early coinage could be easily mistaken for either of his two immediate predecessors'.

The apparent smoothness of this transition could be connected with the turbulence at the beginning of Leo's reign – in 717 Leo became the seventh emperor in two decades and took over in a Constantinople besieged by the Arab forces under Maslama. As I have argued above, this is probably indicative of local mints differentiating the latest emperor from the last. Leo and his officials had far more important things to worry about than coin iconography – as, probably, did Theodosios and his officials, and so on. In the vacuum of interest in coin iconography – though not coin production which was, after all, required to pay the troops – created by the perilous circumstances both internal and external, it is reasonable to assume that the die-

---

<sup>377</sup> Wroth 1908, accepted by DOC III.1, 229.

engravers simply continued to engrave the same image but with a different name: they would have had good reason to believe that they would soon have to change the name again.

That the coinage was eventually altered around the year 720, one to two years after the conclusive defeat of the Arab siege in 718/9, is strongly indicative that the government, through whatever conduit, became actively interested in and involved with coin iconography again. Moreover, there is other evidence of the active interest of Leo's government in economic matters: the introduction of the *imperial kommerkiarios* is demonstrative of tighter imperial control over the movement of goods, and the census introducing new taxation assessments.<sup>378</sup> For the second time since Herakleios over a century earlier, the cross is removed from the reverse of the gold coinage to be replaced, not by the emperor giving way to Christ, but by the emperor's son. An entirely new silver coin is introduced: the *miliaresion*, which replaced the imperial bust with an inscription face and altered the inscription around the cross potent to *Iesus Christus nika*. The base metal coinage also sees the appearance of Leo's son, Constantine.

#### Iconography on the gold coinage

Although the removal of the various forms of the cross potent on the reverse of the gold coinage in favour of the emperor's son is a major departure, it is not entirely unprecedented in its idea. All of the major Herakleian dynasty members (i.e. all excluding Constantine III and Heraklonas) had put their sons on the coinage, and Constans II had begun the practice of having father on one side and sons on the other. Justinian II's coinage had created a precedent for the removal of the large cross on gold by putting a shrunken version alongside the emperor to make way for Christ on the

---

<sup>378</sup> Brandes 2002, 368-369 and 375 for the respective examples.

obverse. Although the cross potent on steps is removed completely from the *nomisma* in favour of a youthful beardless bust of Leo's son Constantine (later Constantine V) wearing the *chlamys* and holding a *globus cruciger* in the right and *akakia* in the left hand, the elongated *globus cruciger*<sup>379</sup> and simple cross potent still mark the *semissis* and *tremissis* respectively but are much smaller and held by the bust of Constantine. This alteration is reminiscent of the solution of the Justinianic administration to the problem of the relegation of the emperor to the reverse, except that the emperor's son is shown in bust, rather than standing. That this alteration is so well preceded urges caution against inferring too much significance in the change. It is undoubtedly important that the imagery changes – it demonstrates a renewed interest in the numismatic iconography which seems to have been lacking from the first three years of Leo's reign and at least that of his immediate predecessor, and it demonstrates an interest in the promotion of a dynastic ideal, but probably nothing more.

In the same line of enquiry, it is noteworthy that when the coinage changes, Leo's portrait does not – he continues to look facially identical to Theodosios III (715-717), Anastasios II (713-715), Philippikos (711-713), Justinian II (685-695 and 705-711) and Tiberios III (698-705). Here Leo's coinage makes no departure at all. Although the uniformity in appearance is a departure from the coins of the seventh century (with Phocas' distinctive pointed bearded face, Herakleios and Constans' elaborate beards, and Leontios' rounded stocky figure) it is overall much more commonplace to see the depiction of an idealised ruler than an accurate one. However, rather than suggesting an emphasis on continuity, I would suggest that the continuity in this area is to emphasise the important, if not new, dynastic element on the coinage. It is

---

<sup>379</sup> It is worth noting that the difference between the elongated *globus cruciger* and the ordinary *globus cruciger*, both held by Constantine, is evident, the stem of the cross is noticeably longer and the *globus* noticeably smaller on the "elongated" version, also Constantine holds the elongated version by the stem and the normal version by the *globus*, as his father's bust does.

nothing new or exciting to say that the emphasis of Leo's coinage lay in the dynastic element and that this is a self-contained focus which is in no way linked to any policy of iconoclasm (which does not appear on the coins anyway) as is already well and competently argued by Morrisson.<sup>380</sup> What I do believe is significant is the way that an already well-established theme of dynastic succession is taken and altered enough to suggest the foundation of a *new* dynasty.

If Leo and his government simply wanted to promote Leo's son as his successor on his coinage, they could easily have recycled the old Herakleian dynasty model and placed Constantine beside his father (as indeed happens on Leo's base metal – see below). This would have been an effective and established way to promote the heir apparent. The fact that they do not recycle this model is significant for two reasons.

Reason one: this alteration would appear to indicate an interest in both promoting the new dynasty *and* in making a break not just with Justinian II and the immediate past, but also with the entire Herakleian dynasty. By altering the Herakleian dynastic prototype it appears that Leo's administration is trying to make a break with that entire dynasty. The ability and desire to do this may have been brought about by Leo's relative temporal distance from the dynasty and the 23 years of continued usurpation (7 successful revolts in the space of 23 years).

Reason two: on a practical level, the change reinforces the argument that an instruction must have gone from the government to the mints. Either this included exact instructions (more likely) or the instruction that Constantine, the son of the emperor, was to be displayed and the mint master/die engravers resolved that the style which

---

<sup>380</sup> BN II, 450.

ultimately prevails was simpler to produce than the old style (less likely). The second scenario is less likely because it would have to mean that the three definite/four potential mints came to the same iconographic conclusion separately.

That Leo always wears the *chlamys* on his gold coinage (and on the base metal) must be significant. The changes in imperial dress on gold from Herakleios to Leo III are as follows: Herakleios alone facing, military; Herakleios alone profile, *chlamys*; Herakleios with Constantine III, *chlamys*; Herakleios with both sons, *chlamys*; Constantine III, *chlamys*; Heraklonas, *chlamys*; Constans II all types, *chlamys*; Constantine IV alone facing, military; Constantine IV alone profile, *chlamys*; Constantine IV with sons, military; Justinian II pre-reform, *chlamys*; Justinian II post-reform first reign, *loros*; Leontios, *loros*; Tiberios III, military; Justinian II alone second reign, *loros*; Justinian II with Tiberios, *chlamys*; Philippikos, *loros*; Anastasios II, *chlamys*; Theodosios III, *loros*; Leo III, *chlamys*. It is notable that there are no differences from denomination to denomination. Through the seventh century the imperial costume is affected by whether the emperor is shown in profile or facing; the emperor is always dressed in the *chlamys* when he is in profile but it is changeable when he is facing. All of the emperors until the Justinianic reform are shown in profile on some gold issues, but in the case of Herakleios' sons, Constans II and Justinian II pre-reform it makes no obvious difference because they wear the *chlamys* when facing anyway. After the reform of Justinian II's coinage c. 691 with the sole exception of a minor series of Philippikos from the mint of Syracuse, all emperors are always shown facing. This is the tradition into which Leo's coinage falls, but it is very marked that the use of imperial costume has alternated from reign to reign where each emperor

(excluding Justinian II's second reign and the short Syracusan series of Philippikos) is depicted in only one type of costume.

It is plausible that in a time of rapid emperor change – a new emperor every two years from 711 – the change in imperial costume was a way of differentiating the latest ruler from the recently deposed one (as argued above). That Leo continues to be portrayed in the *chlamys* after a clear case of reform from c.720 is important, however. It is notable that from Herakleios, *only* Constantine IV is not in the *chlamys* when he is shown with his sons – although his sons themselves are in the *chlamys*. Herakleios changes from military costume to *chlamys* when associated with his sons, Constans II is only ever in the *chlamys* so no further conclusions can be drawn, and Justinian II changes from the *loros* to the *chlamys* when he is associated with his son. Clearly there is some rationale behind associated youths being always in the *chlamys* and in all cases but Constantine IV portraying their fathers in the *chlamys* too. With this in mind, it is highly likely that the association of Constantine (V) with his father dictated the continued use of the *chlamys*. The reasons for this association were discussed in the previous chapter.

#### Iconography on the silver coinage

During the reign of Leo III an entirely new type of silver coin was minted: the *miliaresion*. The *miliaresion* is largely accepted to be based on the reformed Arabic *dirhem* (as of c.696 as discussed above), itself based on the old Sasanian *drachm* in both diameter and weight.<sup>381</sup> This Arabic influence is largely accepted not just because of the introduction for the first time on the Byzantine – or even Roman – coinage of a side consisting purely of inscription, but more because it is struck on a flan of comparable

---

<sup>381</sup> DOC III.1, 227; BN II, 450.

size and weight to the *dirhem*. The layout of the inscription on the new coin type is actually more reminiscent of contemporary Byzantine seals than the *dirhem* layout.<sup>382</sup> It is also reminiscent of both the Byzantine seals and Arabic *dirhems* in the use of explicitly religious inscriptions. It is, of course, not the first time that religious inscriptions have appeared on the Byzantine coinage – the Constantinopolitan gold and silver of Justinian II immediately springs to mind with both the **ΙΗΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΡΕΧ** **ΡΕΓΝΑΝΤΙΩΝ** (Jesus Christ king of kings) and **ΣΕΡΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΙ** (servant of Christ) inscriptions, also Herakleios' **ΔΕΥΣ ΑΔΙΥΤΑ ΡΟΜΑΝΙΣ** (God help the Romans) on the silver *hexagram*, and of course there is the more subtle but still religious **ΕΝ ΤΥΤΟ** **ΝΙΚΑ** (in this [sign] conquer) of Constans II's early Constantinopolitan *folles*. Leo's new silver coin makes the link between the emperor's authority and God: **ΛΕΩΝ /** **ΣΚΟΝΣΤ / ΑΝΤΙΝΕΕ / ΚΘΕΥΒΑ / ΣΙΛΙΣ** (*Leon s [kai] Constantine ek theou basileis* – Leo and Constantine by God emperors) on the obverse, purely inscription, side and almost links the two earlier religious coin inscriptions of Justinian II and his grandfather Constans II on the reverse: **ΙΗΣΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΥΣ ΝΙΚΑ** (*Jesus Christus nika* – Jesus Christ Conquer) encircling the cross potent on steps which is moved from the *nomisma* to the new *miliaresion*. In this way the new inscription is different from both the Arabic *dirhem* and Byzantine seal styles as it neither asks a divine person for help nor sets out the central tenets of the Christian faith.

---

<sup>382</sup> Also discussed in BN II, 450-1.



### Iconography on the base metal coinage

Unlike on the gold, there is no major break in Leo's Constantinopolitan base metal coinage with that of the past. As happened under the Herakleian dynasty, emperor and son are either portrayed together on the obverse with the denominational mark, mint mark and **NNN / XXX** on the reverse or with Leo on the obverse and Constantine's bust atop a bar above the denominational mark and the rest.

It is clear that by this period the reverse markings have become all but redundant: all of the base metal coins minted under Leo, bar a handful of 20 *nummi* pieces, are *folles*, so the denominational mark is more traditional than functional. The regnal years had begun to become redundant in the mid-seventh century as discussed in the previous chapter and by Leo's reign they are always reduced to **NNN / XXX**. The mint mark has also become all but redundant, as in the decades preceding Leo's accession the Italian mints had been producing base metals marked **CONOB**.

Given that there seems to be a deliberate break with the dynastic imagery of the Herakleian dynasty on the gold coinage, it is noteworthy that the same cannot be said of the base metal. I would suggest that this is likely because of the different functions of the base metal and gold coins. It would appear that either the base metal coins were seen as completely functional, not of message value, or that whoever was designing the coins felt that the image of a *new* dynasty was something only worth altering on the gold – i.e. any message value of the base metal was known but deliberately not used. It is interesting at this point to briefly recall the development of the base metal coinage from Anastasius I to Leo III. At the centre of the numismatic reforms of Anastasius I had been the functionality of the base metal coinage. Rather than altering the imagery in a way that promoted a new ideal, it was altered in a way which placed the denomination, regnal year, mint and *officina* marks on the whole reverse of the base metal. This is

continued under Justin I, expanded under Justinian I and continued under successive emperors – although the number of denominations slowly decreased – until Constans II's sons started appearing on the reverse with the functional imagery in the mid seventh century, whereafter the regnal years phase out and **CONOB** (originally only for Constantinopolitan coins) becomes the standard mint mark, regardless of the mint from which the coin originates. All of these developments, excluding the inclusion of sons, on the base metal coinage are centred on the functionality of the base metal.

### **Part 3 – Constantine V (741-775)**

As under his father, the mints operating under Constantine V were, in respective order of percentage output, limited to Constantinople, Syracuse, Rome, Ravenna, Naples and possibly another unidentified Italian mint.

There is much debate and disagreement about the identification of coins of both Leo III and Constantine V struck during the crossover period between the reigns as Constantine's first coins mimic the last of Leo.<sup>383</sup> They both display on one side Leo III wearing the *chlamys* and cross crown with the inscription: **DNLEON PAMUL** (our lord Leo, forever Augustus, many years), and Constantine V on the other also wearing the *chlamys* and cross crown with the inscription **DNCONSTANTINUS** (our lord Constantine). The only differences come in the presentation of the face of Constantine and the items held by each emperor. Grierson's earlier conjecture in the *DOC, III.1* that a line should be drawn based on whether Constantine holds a *globus cruciger* or a cross potent, the former being attributed to the early years of his own reign, the latter to his father's. However, it is also notable that grouping along these lines would include for the reign of Constantine V issues depicting him as a beardless youth. Although

---

<sup>383</sup> DOC III.1, 226-8 and 291-2; BN II, 450 and 466.

Constantine was a young man when he inherited the throne from his father, it is neither customary nor practical for an emperor to be portrayed as a beardless youth. Two good precedents for this would be Constans II (641-668) and Justinian II (685-695), both of whom took the throne while still adolescents and yet were still portrayed as bearded men at the beginning of their reigns. Being portrayed as a youth seems automatically to suggest inexperience, and given the two precedents above, it seems plausible that this was a consideration in the seventh and eighth centuries also. This line of thought – that the beardless factor is more important than the imperial items factor – was first published by Morrisson and it is a line of thought I would tend to agree with.<sup>384</sup> However, this is not to say that there is no merit in Grierson's argument. Indeed, that these items had come to mark the reverses on different denominations since the reforms of Herakleios over a century earlier has been discussed both earlier in this thesis and much earlier in important works such as the *DOC*, *BN* and *MIB*. Grierson's assertion is well-founded and if we are to follow Morrisson's argument, as seems sensible, we must seek to explain why Grierson's argument does not work in this situation with more than simply "Constantine would not be portrayed as a beardless youth on his own coinage".

The portrayal of Constantine's father, Leo III, is *the* great numismatic innovation under Constantine V and, arguably, of the entire eighth century. It is the first time a dead emperor has been displayed on the coinage since the fourth century when Constantine I was posthumously depicted after he had done the same for his mother, Helena.<sup>385</sup> The message-sending implications are obvious: the new image is a direct observation about the root of Constantine's power – his dynastic inheritance. While it is likely that this is an innovation of Constantine's government, it is also possible that this was already envisioned by Leo III's administration in placing Leo on one side and his

---

<sup>384</sup> BN II, 466.

<sup>385</sup> On the posthumous portrayals of Helena and Constantine: RIC VIII.

son on the other: this may be another explanation to add to the reasons why this approach was adopted under Leo, since Leo, or a member of his government, desired the successful transition of power from father to son and so set up a way of displaying the root of his legitimacy after Leo's death. From Constantine's government's perspective, however, although the challenges upon Constantine's accession were not as immediately pressing as those upon his father's (i.e. Constantinople was not besieged) Constantine's challenges were, nevertheless, pressing. If one were to side with the traditional line of argument that Leo III was an active iconoclast (born mainly out of ninth century hagiographies, later chronicles and misinterpretations)<sup>386</sup> then Constantine inherited this domestic problem; the Arabs may not have been at the gates of Constantinople itself, but their yearly raids and continued threat were all still very real; the political tension between Constantine and his brother-in-law Artavastos may have been present before the latter's usurpation in 742; and finally there were the additional problems surrounding the accession of a youth. Unlike his father Leo, however, all of the problems, save the Arabic presence, could be construed as problems of legitimacy and fitness to rule, the ideal crises to make coins not less important (as I have argued to be the case under Leo III's first years, above) but more important. With this in mind, it seems likely that it was not simply a radical move, not seen since the fourth century – the placing of a dead emperor on the coinage of another – but simultaneously a very conservative move by keeping the coinage almost identical to the previous reign's. The fact that as modern numismatists we have the issues we do in attributing the coins to one reign or the other is not just frustrating, but indicative of what was happening in the eighth century. Much was made earlier of how significant the introduction of Christ under Justinian II was precisely because it was a noticeable, obvious, radical change;

---

<sup>386</sup> Brubaker and Haldon 2011, 70-94.

the opposite would seem to be true here. All that changes, following Morrisson's argument, is the introduction of a beard; or, to follow Grierson's, a *globus cruciger*. Whosever argument is followed, the change is *very* subtle. The radical element of introducing a deceased former emperor on the coinage seems to indicate a deliberate decision on the part of someone in the government, if not Constantine himself, rather than a continuation through negligence of the numismatic imagery. Someone was deliberately trying to show direct, smooth continuation from one emperor to the next in the most obvious way possible: through its subtlety. The only change is the beard of Constantine V, used to show his maturity and thereby fitness to rule.

#### Iconography on the gold coinage

As we have seen, the initial coinage of Constantine V mimics his father's almost exactly, leading to the problems of attribution outlined above. After the addition of his son Leo on the coins, however, the pattern changes and the conventions which will come to mark the coinage of the Isaurian dynasty appear. It is a neat parallel with the Herakleian dynasty that both the founding members of the dynasties alter noticeably the numismatic imagery and that this is then extended to precedent-setting conclusions by the second major member's coinage (although it would probably be fair to credit Herakleios' changes as greater than Constans II's but Constantine V's as greater than Leo III's). Where the young Leo (later Leo IV) was now associated with his father, he appeared in bust next to Constantine on the right from the viewer's perspective wearing the *chlamys* like his father, Constantine V.

Meanwhile, on the reverse, the deceased Leo III does have a symbol to hold: the cross potent on *nomismata* and the elongated *globus cruciger* on *semisses*, which he holds in his right hand. The former emperor is also clad in the *loros*, in contrast to the

pre-Leo IV issues. That it becomes a pattern not only on Constantine V's coinage, but on that of the rest of the Isaurian dynasty for the dead ancestor(s) to wear the *loros* may link in again with the *loros*-Easter theory. Easter is, of course, the celebration of the death and resurrection of Christ. Whilst the connection could easily be seen as blasphemous, a dead emperor is given a sort of continuing life on the coinage wearing a garment likely associated with the Easter period.<sup>387</sup>

While the gold output of the mint of Syracuse and the scant output of the mint of Naples present the same pattern as those from Constantinople, the electrum coins of Rome and the few of Ravenna present a significant break. All of those known from Ravenna do not present Constantine's dead father, Leo III, on their reverses; instead they favour the simple cross potent. While some of the pre-751 Roman examples also favour the Ravennan pattern, the majority either favour the Constantinopolitan pattern, or are post-751 and follow the pattern set under Leo III of emperor on obverse and co-emperor on reverse with no deceased father, or further still may be misattributed coins of Leo III. The confusion here all stems from the poor die engraving which does not make beards obvious. The exciting pieces, however, are the rare examples with the *manus dei* (the hand of God). This appears only on coins where Constantine and his son Leo appear on the obverse (where the *manus dei* appears above the cross between their heads) and the simple cross potent or cross potent on steps appears on the reverse.<sup>388</sup>

The next major issue comes with dating these coins. That there are examples of Constantine's sole reign with the traditional seventh-century reverse iconography leads me to believe that these were earlier in the reign, possibly struck in the few years immediately succeeding 751, perhaps the presence of the *manus dei* is to sanction the raising of Leo to the throne as co-emperor. Certainly there are a few examples of the

---

<sup>387</sup> According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos: *De Ceremoniis* book II, 40.

<sup>388</sup> DOC III.1, no. EL27-28.

pre-751 Constantinopolitan pattern which at Rome are struck post-751 as a beard of dots is clearly visible on Constantine but not Leo. If the *manus dei* type is earlier, why was it changed? If it was a Constantinopolitan directive, we might expect to see coins on the post-751 Constantinopolitan model. Perhaps, then, there was a change at the Roman mint itself. Was it changed because it was a subtle symbol of defiance to iconoclast policy? This seems unlikely, while it is an image relating to a personified version of God, it is no more an icon than the cross.

#### Iconography on the silver coinage

As under his father and the end of the seventh century, silver coins under Constantine V are relatively rare still. They continue in exactly the same vein as the new *miliaresion* type introduced under his father, Leo III, except that, as with the gold coinage, more regularity of design is shown: *all* examples end the inscription face with a pellet.

#### Iconography on the base metal coinage

As happened during his father's reign, Constantine's *folles* contain the same basic message as the gold and, to a certain extent, the silver (as it includes mention of heirs, but lacks mention of ancestors), whilst not sacrificing the traditional reverse imagery – functional in the case of base metal, by way of contrast with the gold and silver. All three emperors still appear on the base metal, dead Leo in the *loros* on the reverse and the living emperor and his heir in the *chlamys* on the obverse. The 20 *nummi* piece, which is still in existence in small numbers, does not include Leo III on the reverse. Constantinopolitan base metal in particular has this pattern and sticks rigidly to it.

Italian base metal is a different story, however. Syracuse, as under Leo III, produces its own style of *follis*: living emperor(s) on one side, dead emperor on the other. The basic imagery is the same as the gold, except that the living emperors hold the *akakia* in their right hands and are not encompassed by a circumference inscription, but appear between two column inscriptions. A very noteworthy difference on the Syracusan base metal imagery from the general gold imagery is that the dead Leo III wears a *chlamys*, not the *loros*. There are three ways of approaching this: either it diminishes the importance of the choice of costume; is an indicator that the Syracusan mint was left somewhat to its own devices; or that the base metal was not considered of enough importance in conveying messages to worry about the significance of the costume. The first of these options seems the least likely, since the consistency of the distinction on the gold and the consistency of other patterns and symbols elsewhere on the coinage (and, in fact, on these Syracusan base metals) seems to suggest a heightened significance to the costume amongst other symbols and patterns. Whether the break therefore says more about the view of the base metal coinage or the mint of Syracuse itself is more ambiguous. With the exception of coins of type *DOC III.1* Constantine V Syracuse *Æ20*, there is total consistency across the base metal coinage per mint (i.e. total consistency between all the base metals of Constantinople and the few of Naples, and total consistency – excluding *Æ20* – across the base metals of Syracuse). There is also total consistency across all metals from the mint of Syracuse itself. If the Syracusan gold was consistent, but only with itself (not with Constantinople and Naples – the only other known mints to produce gold coins), then it would be a relatively simple conclusion of more Syracusan independence. Since there is consistency amongst the golds from all mints, as seen above, this would also seem to imply that the message on gold was centrally controlled and the base metal not. As much as it is often the



prerogative of the historian to seek the most important cause in an historical situation, sometimes this is not the most accurate or helpful path. It is probably the case here that both situations are occurring simultaneously. The striking consistency in the gold coins from the three mints which struck this metal is strongly indicative of centralised control. That the base metal coins are consistent from mint to mint, but at variance to each other suggests more independence, at least in the base metal. It seems likely, therefore, that whoever in the government was responsible for coin imagery was only really interested in the gold (and possibly silver), but that the base metal decoration was left to the mint masters. In Syracuse, the pattern under Leo III was continued, but with the addition of Leo IV later on, and the presentation of the dead ancestor in the *loros* was not considered important enough – at least in Syracuse – to change on the design. In Constantinople and Naples this manifests itself with the *loros* for dead ancestor motif being continued on the base metal *folles*, but the dead ancestor being removed entirely from the few lower denominations that have come down to us.

#### **Part 4 – Leo IV (775-780)**

The coinage of Leo IV presents a story of the continuation and development of the dynastic theme which has by this point in time become a distinctive feature of the Isaurian coinage. His reign also presents the continuing story of the decline in provincial mints. Only Constantinople, Rome and Syracuse are known to be striking coins during Leo's five-year reign.

The *miliaresion* continued in exactly the same fashion as it had under Leo III and Constantine V, and, since both Leo III and IV were emperors named Leo with sons named Constantine, drawing a distinction is almost impossible as the inscriptions – the main feature of the *miliaresion* – are identical. Grierson draws a distinction along lines

of the proportion of the cross and the joining up of the bars of the steps on the silvers of Leo IV.<sup>389</sup>

Grierson notes with interest that Leo does not have any coins minted in his name until the association of his son Constantine (later the VI) in the second year of his reign.<sup>390</sup> Morrisson passes over this with no comment.<sup>391</sup> Elsewhere, Füeg provides the plausible explanation that Leo continued to use his father's coinage based on a passage of Theophanes which mentions Leo's use of his father's money to placate the army and population of the capital.<sup>392</sup> Grierson, on the other hand, believed that more types to fill this gap would be found, which, to date, still has not happened and, it seems likely to me, never will.<sup>393</sup> While Füeg provides a good and well-founded explanation for what was happening in the absence of coin production, he does not attempt to explain why this happened; the reason Grierson suggests for this is Leo's ill-health.<sup>394</sup> While this is certainly a plausible explanation, we might reasonably expect someone within the administration, or even local mints, to step up to fill in the gap as happened during the first years of Leo III's reign (see above). Citing Leo's ill-health almost directly implicates the emperor's central role in the design of coins, while a central theme of this thesis is that we do not know who was involved and at what level, or how this changed and developed through time. Leo IV had several brothers waiting in the wings to take over. His half-brothers Nikephoros and Christopher were already crowned Caesars.<sup>395</sup> There were definitely circumstances which made the need to have Leo's face as the main emperor on coins an imperative. This then leads to the question: who was present in Constantine V's administration that was absent from Leo IV's? Had the person

---

<sup>389</sup> DOC III.1, 326.

<sup>390</sup> DOC III.1, 325.

<sup>391</sup> BN II, 483-4 for the section on Leo's coinage, no mention is made anywhere of this seven-month gap.

<sup>392</sup> Füeg 2007, 18 – Füeg actually cites 'Theophanes Continuatus', but means Theophanes.

<sup>393</sup> DOC III.1, 325.

<sup>394</sup> DOC III.1, 325.

<sup>395</sup> These brothers were later involved in a failed coup.

responsible for the numismatic imagery under Constantine V left or died by the accession of Leo IV? Was the person responsible for the numismatic imagery under Constantine V in fact the Emperor himself? If Constantine V had been directly involved it would certainly provide an explanation for the absence of new coins for the first few months of Leo IV's reign, unfortunately there is no definitive evidence of this.

There are usually two types of the gold coin from Constantinople attributed to Leo IV, both show Leo and his son Constantine on the obverse, wearing the *chlamys*, and the deceased Leo III and Constantine V on the reverse, wearing the *loros*. On one of the types, however, Leo IV and his son Constantine are shown seated, rather than in bust and holding the *akakia* rather than nothing (compare figures 119 and 120). In the inscription on both types, the familial relationships are noted: Leo the son and grandson the new Constantine on the obverse and Leo the grandfather and Constantine the father on the reverse (**ΛΕΟΗ VS Σ ΕSSΟΗ COHCTAHTHOS O HΕOS** and **ΛΕΟΗ PAP COHCTAHTHOS PATHR** – the son Leo and the new Constantine and the grandfather Leo, father Constantine).

Figure 119: gold *nomisma* of Leo IV, Constantinople<sup>396</sup>



Figure 120: gold *nomisma* of Leo IV, Constantinople<sup>397</sup>



This century, Füeg has attempted to reattribute the seated type to the first years of the regency of Eirene for her and Leo IV's son, Constantine VI, on the grounds that

<sup>396</sup> BIFA B4583 (4.41g, 20.0mm, 180°).

<sup>397</sup> BIFA B4586 (4.44g, 21.5mm, 180°).

using Carter's non-binomial method of die analysis means that there would appear to be a sharp difference in per year production between Leo IV's reign and Constantine VI's.<sup>398</sup> There are several problems with this argument and some points in favour of the traditional attribution, which I see no ground to disagree with. First and foremost is the issue of die analysis, discussed to some extent in the introduction to this thesis. There are two methods of die analysis, the geometric and non-binomial.<sup>399</sup> Which method one uses depends on the circumstances of the material with which one is working and either method can be argued to be more effective depending on the sample data and what one is trying to prove. It is sometimes considered more effective than gross coin number analysis, since many factors can affect the survival of individual coins, while it is presumed that dies could only strike a limited number of coins, so working out the number of dies *should* give a better approximation of actual coin numbers. It is not at all certain, however, that the dies struck all of the coins they could before being discarded.<sup>400</sup> Various factors are at play – whether the flan was hot or cold, what metal the dies were made of, at what point it was decided the dies were worn beyond use, or how hard and frequently the dies were struck. Furthermore, both methods are aimed at working out how many additional dies there *should* be, i.e. this is what we think we should see, so this is how we can manipulate the mathematics in our favour. Further to this, even Esty notes that for good die analysis results, one really needs a sample size of 10,000s of coins; Füeg in analysing Leo IV's material is using 198.<sup>401</sup> In any case, were Füeg correct in his reattribution, then these coins would be the only time that a living individual ever appears on the same face as a deceased individual, which is highly

---

<sup>398</sup> Füeg 2007, 19.

<sup>399</sup> In praise of the negative binomial method, see Carter 1983; in praise of the geometric method see Esty 2006.

<sup>400</sup> See my comments on die studies in the introduction to this thesis. For the factors involved in the variations of die usage see Buttrey 1993, 342.

<sup>401</sup> Esty 2006, 45.

unlikely and would be unprecedented elsewhere on the coinage – all for the sake of making the known coinage fit some questionable mathematics.

At the mint of Rome only ‘electrum’ coins – really heavily debased gold coins, the visual result of the encroaching debasement at the non-Constantinopolitan mints from 685 outlined above, chapter 1, part 2 – are known to have been produced during these five years, which fall iconographically into the same bracket as all the gold types of Leo III.

It is during Leo IV’s reign that the base metal denominations become reduced to the *follis*. Both Leo III and Constantine V now occupy the reverse in the *loros* on both the gold and base metal coins of both Constantinople and (in a change from the reign of his father) Syracuse, whose base metal coins now fall in line with those of Constantinople. Like the gold, on some coins the living emperors are shown in bust, and on others they are seated; however, the Syracuse coins always show them seated.

## **Part 5 – Constantine VI (780-797)**

The coinage of Constantine VI was all struck at Constantinople. Though Syracuse was striking coins during the preceding and succeeding reigns, there are no examples of coins struck there during the reign of Constantine VI. This is particularly difficult to explain in light of the economic and monetary context on Sicily when compared with the Balkans, Asia Minor and even, though to a much lesser extent, Southern Italy.<sup>402</sup>

There are two principal types of the Constantinopolitan gold coins struck during the reign of Constantine VI, one type shows Constantine and his mother Eirene on the obverse wearing the *chlamys* and *loros* respectively, and the deceased Leo III,

---

<sup>402</sup> See above, chapter 1, part 1.

Constantine V and Leo IV all wearing the *chlamys* on the reverse (see figure 122), while the other type dispenses with the ancestors and shows Constantine on the one side (arguably either obverse or reverse) in the *chlamys* and Eirene on the other side in the *loros* (see figure 121).

Figure 121: gold *nomisma* of Constantine VI, Constantinople<sup>403</sup>      Figure 122: gold *nomisma* of Constantine VI, Constantinople<sup>404</sup>



As Constantine VI was only 5 years old when he succeeded his father Leo IV in 780, his mother, Eirene, acted as regent for him and subsequently appears on the coins. The arrival of the first female figure on Byzantine coins since the enigmatic figure that appears on the coins of Herakleios causes some significant changes to the costume of the depicted emperors.<sup>405</sup> Now, under Constantine VI, the deceased ancestors are adorned in the *chlamys* and it is Eirene who wears the *loros*. It may be the case that the *loros* had a function, at least on the Constantinopolitan coins, of denoting a junior figure, since its first use on coins showed the emperor as junior to Christ (Justinian II) and under the earlier Isaurians was used to show deceased emperors, of secondary importance to the reigning emperor, shown in the *chlamys*, due to death. Although emperors appearing alone on the coins are shown in the *loros* (for example Theodosios III before, or Theophilos after) only the Syracuse issues ever show the senior emperor in the *loros* and junior in the *chlamys*, but even these instances are variants. There are other ways in which Eirene, as a woman and a regent, is depicted as a more minor

<sup>403</sup> BIFA B4599 (4.43g, 20.0mm, 180°).

<sup>404</sup> BIFA B4597 (4.33g, 19.5mm, 180°).

<sup>405</sup> On the Herakleian female figure, see above, chapter 2 part 1.

figure to her son, former husband, father-in-law and grandfather-in-law. On some of the type-one coins, Eirene appears without a *globus cruciger*, an item traditionally held by the ruling emperor and sometimes his heir too, but never only the junior emperor until the ninth century. Also on the type-one coins it is Constantine who occupies the place of honour as the left figure from the viewer's perspective.

It is also interesting and worthy of note that the coins of Constantine VI do not always display his deceased imperial ancestors. Grierson dates the coins with ancestors to 780-792 and the second set without to 792-797.<sup>406</sup> Morrisson dates them to 780-790 and 790-797 respectively.<sup>407</sup> Both take the interlude of 790-792 reported by Theophanes when Constantine takes over from his mother as the marker here and the argument revolves around how powerful Eirene looks. While the dating of these coins in this way is a possibility, it seems more likely to me that the break is actually following the Ecumenical Council of 787. Although in a letter to the Pope Adrian I preceding the council Eirene writes 'utinam non illis [qui ante nos regnauerunt] imputetur' (oh, may it not be ascribed to them [those who reigned before us]), 'those who reigned before us' are still the active subjects of 'destruxerint' and 'in inhonestatem atque iniuriam posuerint' (they destroyed and laid [the most venerable images] in the most dishonour and injury).<sup>408</sup> She asks that the previous emperors not be charged (i.e. anathematised) but they are hardly the blameless monothelite predecessors of Constantine IV, convenor of the Sixth Ecumenical Council. Those who reigned before him were led astray, where Eirene and Constantine VI's predecessors should not be charged, but were still active in their degradation of the images. Following the Seventh Ecumenical Council and the

---

<sup>406</sup> DOC III.1, 337.

<sup>407</sup> BN II, 490.

<sup>408</sup> ACO III.1, p.5, lines 10-13. Whole section, from line 9: 'Incipimus ergo hinc sermonem: scit uestra paterna beatitudo quae pridem facta sunt in hac regia nostra ciuitate propter uenerabiles imagines, qualiter qui ante nos regnauerunt eas destruxerint et in inhonestatem atque iniuriam posuerint – utinam non illis imputetur; Melius enim illis fuerat non mittere manus suas in ecclesiam'.

change in religious policy, it is entirely plausible that Leo III, Constantine V and Leo IV ceased to be displayed on the coinage after 787. Füeg also argues for a 787 change date but like Grierson and Morrisson argues this on the grounds of Eirene's probable power at the time in being able to remove the ancestors.<sup>409</sup>

Unusually, iconographic changes on the base metal coinage during this reign run parallel to the gold coinage iconographic changes. Like the gold, there are two principal types, one with and one without the ancestors, and however one prefers to date the change on the gold, it would be perverse to date the same change on base metal otherwise.

Since the base metal coins still display the traditional functional marks, denoting the reverse side, what the base metal clearly shows is that while the living emperors (or in this case emperor and empress regent) occupy the obverse and the deceased ancestors the reverse on type one while it is the regent Eirene who occupies the obverse and Constantine the reverse on the second type.<sup>410</sup> This affirms the view that on the gold the inscription ending with the control mark denotes the reverse, as it is on Constantine's side that this appears on the gold.

Figure 123: base metal *foliis* of Constantine VI, Constantinople<sup>411</sup> Figure 124: base metal *foliis* of Constantine VI, Constantinople<sup>412</sup>



<sup>409</sup> Füeg 2007, 20.

<sup>410</sup> This is the general orthodoxy on the subject of obverse and reverse, but Füeg does try to argue that the ancestors are given the obverse on the grounds that there are fewer observed dies of their side than for that of Constantine and Eirene (Füeg 2007, 20). He makes a similar argument for the coins of Michael III during the regency of Theodora, but it seems that he has taken the hammer die for the obverse and the anvil die for the reverse, which is the wrong way around.

<sup>411</sup> BIFA B4606 (2.07g, 17.5mm, 180°).

<sup>412</sup> BIFA B4607 (3.13g, 19.5mm, 180°).



The silver coinage of Constantine VI is in all respects identical in formulation to the *miliaresia* of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. The only thing particularly worthy of note is that Constantine is always named before Eirene, which is interesting on the grounds that while on the gold and base metal, Constantine goes from occupying the position of honour on the viewer's left to the junior position on the reverse post-787, his name is always first on the *miliaresia*, which does not show any alterations during his reign, unlike the gold and base metal.

Figure 125: silver *miliaresion* of Constantine VI<sup>413</sup>



---

<sup>413</sup> BIFA B4603 (2.17g, 20.0mm, 0°).

## Chapter 5 – The coins, 797-813

### Part 1 – Eirene (797-802)

Although it may at first seem surprising, it is understandable that no form of religious image appears or reappears (in the case of Christ or, arguably, an angel) on the coinage immediately following the Second Council of Nicaea and subsequent “restoration of the icons” in 787. This is because coinage rarely reacts immediately to political events (Justinian II’s Christ and ‘Abd al-Malik’s aniconic reforms, are both unusual in the speed of their reactions to each other – if that is what they are doing – and have other factors involved). By the time Constantine VI was deposed and his mother Eirene installed on the throne, however, ten years had elapsed since the council, and the passage of time combined with a new ruler makes the time for a change in this direction at least highly likely (see for example the situation under Herakleios or Leo III discussed earlier). If Eirene’s sole reign was supposed to herald the new era of a “return” to icon-worship, then why would this not be advertised on her coinage?

The new iconophile state of imperial affairs is not simply something that would be worth advertising at home. We are aware that Eirene actively pursued a marriage alliance with Charlemagne by way of her son, Constantine VI, and his daughter, Rotrud.<sup>414</sup> Clearly Eirene’s government was looking west towards Rome to engage in friendly diplomacy, so stressing the (renewed, or otherwise) religious common ground between Rome and Constantinople on the gift objects would seem to make diplomatic sense.<sup>415</sup> There are, though, two other factors governing the diplomatic reason for not placing religious images on the gold and silver coins at least. First is the issue of Eirene’s gender. One of the possible reasons that the Pope declared Charlemagne

---

<sup>414</sup> Theophanes AM 6274 (page 628)

<sup>415</sup> On the gift economy see Laiou 2002.

Emperor of the Romans in 800 is because at least some in the West did not consider Eirene a legitimate ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire because of her gender.<sup>416</sup> While it is probably fair to consider that this is just a convenient excuse for Christmas 800, this does not mean that it was not also a serious sticking point in diplomacy between the two “Roman” blocks. Second is the Caliphate in the east. Interest in diplomacy with the west does not mean that relations with the Caliphate were simply ignored. Perhaps the combination of the above two diplomatic factors conspired to negate the imperative to display the triumph of icons on the coinage, giving us the numismatic evidence we do see.

Another explanation may be sought by looking back to the period 689-720, rather than forward to the comparable situation of Theodora and Michael III, whose coinage does herald the return of Christ to the coins. In the first chapter of this thesis, I argued that the absence of Christ from the gold coins of all non-Constantinopolitan mints (excepting Sardinia) was just as significant as his appearance at the capital (and at Sardinia).<sup>417</sup> There it was argued that the absence of Christ but inclusion of other numismatic innovations meant that, at the end of the seventh century, the placing of the holy image of Christ on the profane gold coin was considered wrong. If we accept this line of argument, then the change in attitude can only be said to have occurred sometime before c.843; perhaps the absence of Christ from Eirene’s coinage (where we might naturally expect to see it) is evidence that this change in attitude was still awaited. The iconomachy was a struggle over the use of images in *religious* life and context. While coins were undoubtedly useful in the endowment of churches and monasteries, the

---

<sup>416</sup> Collins 1998, 149.

<sup>417</sup> See above, chapter 3, part 1.

giving of alms, the payment of clergy, etc. they were not – so far as we are aware – items of devotion.<sup>418</sup>

### Iconography on the gold coinage

Figure 126: gold *nomisma* of Eirene, Constantinople<sup>419</sup>



What we do see on the gold coinage is the bust of Eirene on both obverse and reverse (see figure 126). While the busts are identical for all the Constantinopolitan gold and most of the Syracusan (Eirene facing, wearing a *loros* and the distinctive female crown, holding a *globus cruciger* in her right hand and a cross-topped sceptre in her left), the inscriptions are subtly different, allowing us to differentiate between obverse and reverse. The reverse inscription for the Constantinopolitan gold pieces still contain an *officina* mark (or, more realistically, a vestige of one) at the end and all begin with a large pellet which is either much smaller on or absent from the obverse inscription.<sup>420</sup> In almost every aspect, her portrayal on the gold coinage of her sole reign is identical to her portrayal on the later coinage of her son's reign. It is almost identical except for two points: her crown has two pinnacles instead of four, and in the inscription she is designated **bASILISSE** (*basilisse* – empress) on the coinage of her sole reign, where

<sup>418</sup> As a summary of the development of theological thought on religious imagery which led to the iconomachy see Brubaker and Haldon 2011, 40-44.

<sup>419</sup> BIFA B4610 (4.42g, 21.0mm, 180°).

<sup>420</sup> Almost always E or θ by this period, they are sometimes called 'control marks'. There is no obvious explanation for their presence, and a vestigial *officina* mark seems the most plausible explanation; just as A remains the redundant *officina* mark on base metal and is then replaced by θ under the reform of Michael II.

she has previously been **ΑΓΟVΣΤΙ** (*auguste* – empress) on the coinage of her son. Before discussing why these two elements changed, however, let us consider the rare but extant pieces struck at Syracuse.

The rare gold coins of Eirene from the mint of Syracuse fall into two categories. Both fall largely into the same iconographic category as the Constantinopolitan gold coins, but on the first type Eirene holds a *globus cruciger* on one side and a cross potent on the other and there is no difference in the inscriptions on the obverse and reverse, while on the second type one of the Eirenes wears a *chlamys*, holds an *akakia* and appears to be sitting on a throne, and the other wears the *loros* and holds a cross potent. On the first type Eirene is styled **ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΙ**, in both inscriptions whereas on the second she is **ΑΓΟVΣΤΙ** in both. The difference in inscription has led Grierson to date the second type as earlier than the first, and this seems a sensible dating to follow, because of her designated title on the coinage of her son's reign.<sup>421</sup> Grierson also raises the issue of the chair on the second, earlier type from Syracuse. He considers, given there are no recorded Syracusan coins of any metal for either Leo IV or Constantine VI, that this pattern is perhaps a continuation of one employed by the mint of Syracuse under Eirene's late husband and son that is now lost to us.<sup>422</sup> I, however, would view this gap in the context of what follows Eirene's reign at the mint of Syracuse: the apparent new method of coin production outlined in part 1 of this chapter. It seems far more likely that there was a cessation in production of coins at Syracuse between 775 and 797 followed by a reinvigoration characterised by a new production method than that no specimens have survived or been uncovered. The throne motif could easily have been taken from a known Constantinopolitan model – there are a number of Leo V Syracuse

---

<sup>421</sup> DOC III.1, 347.

<sup>422</sup> DOC III.1, 347-8.

issues in particular which appear to be struck over Isaurian Constantinopolitan base metal coins.<sup>423</sup>

To return to the change in title from the Latin *Augusta* to the Greek βασίλησση, it is probable that the change was intended to reflect Eirene's rise from the crowned wife and mother of emperors to sole empress in her own right.<sup>424</sup> On the pre-regency Isaurian gold coinage, the reigning emperor is given no title, on the gold coins of the successors to Eirene they are βασιλεύς, as her son Constantine VI was during her regency, also as all emperors are designated on the post-720 miliaresia. One has to return to the seventh century to find an emperor named *Augustus* on the coinage.<sup>425</sup> For this reason, it is Eirene's titling as *Augusta* which needs more explanation than the change to βασίλησση. The reason for this can be best sought from earlier representations of imperial women who are named as *augusta*.<sup>426</sup> It seems, then, that while regent for her son, Eirene's coins looked to the earlier wives, mothers and Augustae, the coinage of her sole reign took its cue in titles from the male emperors who ruled in their own right as Eirene ruled in hers, unlike any woman previously.

Like the Constantinopolitan examples, the Syracusan gold coins have Eirene in a crown with only two spikes, in contrast to her crown on the coins of her son, which has four. Unfortunately, as there are no coins of Constantine VI from Syracuse, we cannot tell if this is in contrast to Eirene's portrayal on her son's Syracusan coins or not. Even without this information, the reasoning behind the clear change on the Constantinopolitan gold is unclear.

---

<sup>423</sup> See chapter 4, part 2.

<sup>424</sup> DOC III.1, 346; BN II, 223; Kotsis 2012, 203-4 all agree on this point.

<sup>425</sup> Where **PPAVC**, or variant, marks the end of the obverse inscriptions of Herakleios, arguably his sons, Constans II and Constantine IV.

<sup>426</sup> On representations of women on coins prior to Eirene, see Brubaker and Tobler 2000.

### Iconography on the base metal coinage

Figure 127: base metal *folles* of Eirene<sup>427</sup>



The change in Eirene's crown and title from her time as regent to her time as sole empress also occurs on the base metal. While Eirene's altered bust appears with altered inscription on the obverse of the base metal coins (all *folles*/40 *nummi*) the standard base metal iconography appears alone on the reverse. That Eirene's bust does not appear on both sides as it does on the gold is probably not terribly significant, since before the association of his son, Leo IV, Constantine V had coins struck in his name with just the usual base metal reverse iconography on the reverse and on the post 790-92 interlude coinage of Constantine VI and Eirene had Constantine in the junior position on the reverse on a bar above the base metal reverse iconography. Such a style was well-precedented and there was no need to devise a new reverse type as there was on the gold.

Since there are no known Syracusan base metal pieces for Eirene, we do not know whether this is representative of the fact that there were no base metal coins struck in the name of Eirene in Syracuse, or whether they were struck, but in so small a number that we do not have any examples which survive to the present day. Consequently, we have no way of knowing – if they were struck – whether they continued to be in the same style as Syracusan base metals of Eirene's predecessors or if they were brought into line with Constantinopolitan base metals. If we did know this, it

---

<sup>427</sup> BIFA B4611 (4.75g, 23.5mm, 180°).

might add to our picture of the change from Syracusan gold type 2 to Syracusan gold type 1.

On both gold and base metal, Eirene appears in the *loros*, as she did during her regency for Constantine VI. As was considered in the last section of the previous chapter, this is likely because it was not considered acceptable for a woman to appear in the *chlamys*, which, under Isaurian rule, designated the living emperors. Why a patrician costume should be considered more appropriate than a consular one is unclear and highly problematic. It should be stressed, however, that the use of this costume followed from her depiction on her son's coinage, which was in turn a notable break from the Isaurian prototype, and should be viewed in that context, and not as a deliberately chosen costume to promote any aspect of Eirene's projected character.<sup>428</sup>

## **Part 2 – Nikephoros I (802-811)**

During the reign of Nikephoros I, we see the re-emergence of both fractional gold (a very rare *tremissis*) and Syracusan base metal, neither known in any surviving examples since Leo IV. There is also a type of gold coin thought to belong to the mint of Naples. Silver coins continue to be absent from the record of these years, however, and the base metal denominations continue to be confined to the *follis* (40 *nummi*).

### Iconography on the gold coinage

Unlike Eirene, Nikephoros does not have himself portrayed on both the obverse and the reverse for the gold coinage. Before his son Staurakios was associated with him, Nikephoros's bust appears on the obverse, while the former reverse image, the cross potent on steps, was returned to its former place on the reverse of the *nomisma*. There is

---

<sup>428</sup> On the arguments regarding the introduction of Eirene in the *loros* on her son's coins, see chapter 2, part 5. For an attempt to view Eirene's costume, well-precedented on earlier coins, as a new and innovative way of promoting her 'philanthropy' and 'iconophilia', see Kotsis 2012.



a change, however: instead of the inscription **VICTORIA AVΣ** (imperial victory) we see the use of **ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ** (Jesus Christ conquer) from the obverse of the *miliaresion* (not struck under Nikephoros) to the reverse of the *nomisma*.

Figure 128: gold *nomisma* of Nikephoros I, Constantinople<sup>429</sup>      Figure 129: gold *nomisma* of Nikephoros I, Constantinople<sup>430</sup>



On the obverse, the bust of Nikephoros is clad in the *chlamys*. Grierson has suggested that this is deliberately done to contrast with Eirene's coinage, where she appears in the *loros*, alongside the change in reverse of the gold coinage.<sup>431</sup> While the change from emperor/empress on both sides to the old cross potent on steps does seem to be deliberate in its attempt to be distinct from Eirene's coinage, the change in costume is not necessarily for the same reason. Eirene, on both her son's coinage and her own, is the first living emperor/empress to be portrayed in the *loros* since Theodosios III (715-717). It is she, probably due to her gender, who is bucking the trend in her garments, not Nikephoros. Since 717, only empresses and dead emperors had been shown in the *loros*; thus it made more sense for Nikephoros to appear in the *chlamys*.

There is also a change in the items held by the emperor on the coinage of Nikephoros I. Where under the Isaurians the reigning emperor had held either the *globus cruciger*, *akakia* or nothing at all, and Eirene had held both the *globus cruciger*

<sup>429</sup> BIFA B4612 (4.39g, 21.5mm, 180°).

<sup>430</sup> BIFA B4616 (6.07g, 22.0mm, 180°).

<sup>431</sup> DOC III.1, 352.

and the cross-topped sceptre, Nikephoros holds the *akakia* in his left hand, as is traditional, but the cross potent in his right. Since the innovation of putting an emperor on both sides under Leo III, the emperor holding the cross potent had always marked the reverse of the coin, but with the reintroduction of the cross potent on steps motif on the reverse of the *nomisma*, this is no longer the case. Again Grierson sees this change as a reaction to Eirene's coinage, but again I would dispute this, since the *globus cruciger* is not something unique or new to Eirene's reign. It had been a regular feature of the Byzantine coinage in general, not simply the gold, since the sixth century, the only emperor from the sixth century down to Nikephoros who is never shown carrying a *globus cruciger* is Leo IV.

If this alteration is not a reaction to Eirene's coinage, then, what is it for? It may be along similar lines, but broader in intent. The changes differentiate Nikephoros not just from Eirene, but from all of his immediate predecessors. This said, his coinage also displays remarkable similarities: Nikephoros looks almost identical to every male member of the Isaurian dynasty, except perhaps that his beard is arguably fuller; he appears in the *chlamys*; and he reverts to the Isaurian dynastic type upon the association of his son, Staurakios, with him on the throne.

What adds to this conundrum is the appearance of a *globus cruciger* in the right hand of Staurakios after he is associated with his father in 803. When the process of differentiating the coinage of Leo III from Constantine V was discussed earlier in the previous chapter, the opposing views on the importance of the beard versus the importance of the held insignia were laid out and considered. Having come down on the side of the importance of the beard, we were left with the question of why the importance of the held insignia was altered. Perhaps what we view on the coinage of Nikephoros I is the ultimate conclusion of this apparent ambiguity. By the beginning of

the ninth century the insignia had lost the obverse/reverse indicating power it had held under the Herakleians via the developing ambiguity in the early middle of the eighth century. By the elevation of Staurakios in 803, the *globus cruciger* was clearly able to be held by the junior emperor on the reverse side, while the senior emperor held the cross potent on the obverse. While this does not explain why Nikephoros is presented with the cross potent instead of the *globus cruciger* as was traditional, it does make it seem less of a drastic change, which, given the other similarities to Isaurian coinage, would seem to fit.

The inscription associated with Staurakios which names him as **ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ** (despot) recalls the Syracusan base metal from 720 onwards, with the two emperors, junior and senior, referred to by the letters **ΔΕΣΠ** (despot). As Eirene's transition from *augusta* as regent to *βασίλισσα* as sole empress, clearly for the designers of Nikephoros's coinage the distinction through titles is important. This is in contrast to the coinage of the rest of the Isaurian dynasty, where both living emperors are referred to with the same title, even if that title varied from mint to mint and denomination to denomination. Like his father, Staurakios appears with the *akakia* in his left hand wearing the *chlamys* and cross crown, although he holds the *globus cruciger* in his right hand and is presented as a beardless youth.

It is also interesting to note that by the beginning of the ninth century, possibly as the *semissis* and *tremissis* have become less common, possibly because of the change of reverse type from 720, the use of different reverse cross types to mark the denomination in gold has disappeared. The very rare known *tremissis* for Nikephoros I has a cross potent on steps on the reverse, like the *nomisma*.

Although the bulk of gold produced in Syracuse under Nikephoros (all *nomismata*) conforms to the Constantinopolitan prototype, there is a rarer type on which

Nikephoros is shown in the *loros*. This is a type with Staurakios, so it is not likely to be a matter of instructions for a new type with Nikephoros in the *chlamys* arriving late to the mint in Syracuse. As it is Nikephoros who appears in the *loros* and Staurakios who appears in the *chlamys*, one is immediately led to question whether this type is in fact from the two-month reign of Staurakios.

Figure 130: gold *nomisma* of Nikephoros I, Syracuse<sup>432</sup>



#### Iconography on the base metal coinage

The Constantinopolitan base metal takes on much the same pattern as it had done under the Isaurians, only minus the dead ancestors. The reverse has the M, the now largely redundant sign for the *follis* (40 *nummi*), at the centre; beneath the M is an A, the only *officina* mark that appears, below; a cross above; and XXX NNN in columns to the left and right respectively. Before 803, Nikephoros appears as he does on the gold, in the *chlamys* and cross crown with cross potent and *akakia* in his hands surrounded by the same inscription which ends on the base metal after the S of **bASILEI**. After 803, Nikephoros and Staurakios appear side by side on the obverse, holding nothing, wearing the *chlamys* and cross crown with a floating cross above a pellet between their two heads. The post-803 types contain no obverse inscription.

<sup>432</sup> BIFA B4618 (1.73g, 15.5mm, 180°).

Figure 131: base metal *folles* of Nikephoros I, Constantinople<sup>433</sup>



Figure 132: base metal *folles* of Nikephoros I, Constantinople<sup>434</sup>



The Syracusan base metals, though, maintain their traditional difference to those of Constantinople. These western base metal coins show imperial busts on both faces, with no functional marks, much as they had done under Leo III, Constantine V and Leo IV. The column inscriptions either side of the figures, however, are only present in a residual form. Instead of full vertical inscriptions such as **AEON / AECII** and **KΩNC / AECII**, the inscriptions on the Syracusan base metal coins of Nikephoros begin with the first letter to the left of the imperial figure and the rest in a column to the right: **N / IKH** and **C / TAV**. As on the gold, Nikephoros, the senior emperor, on the obverse holds a cross potent, while Staurakios, the junior emperor, on the reverse holds a *globus cruciger*. Unlike the gold, however, Nikephoros appears in the *loros*, while Staurakios appears in the *chlamys*. Given the rare Syracusan gold type with the same dress code, discussed above, it seems to me likely that this is indicative of the relative importance of gold and base metal design to the administration at the time. The old Isaurian pattern with the older (usually deceased) emperor(s) in the *loros* and younger emperor(s) on the other side in the *chlamys* seems to have been preferred by the person/people in charge of the mint at Syracuse, but the responsible authorities at the capital saw fit only to have the gold pattern changed. This of course works on the theory that the rare gold type was a deliberate initial issue, and not accidental.

<sup>433</sup> BIFA B4717 (3.87g, 16.5mm, 180°).

<sup>434</sup> BIFA B4642 (5.26g, 22.0mm, 180°).

Figure 133: base metal *follis* of Nikephoros I, Syracuse<sup>435</sup>



### Part 3 – Michael I (811-813)

For the most part, the coinage of Michael I represents a continuation of the pattern under Nikephoros I but for a slight change of costume, the reappearance of Eirene's cross-topped sceptre and the re-emergence of the *miliaresion* with a presentation of a Roman-Byzantine identity on coinage.

#### Iconography on the gold coinage

At first glance, the gold coinage from both Constantinople and Syracuse of Michael I looks very similar to that of Nikephoros I: the portrait style, which began at the end of the seventh century, as we have seen previously, continued; the senior emperor holds a cross potent, while the junior holds a *globus cruciger*; the obverse inscription begins with a pellet on the other side of the cross potent to the rest of the inscription and styles the senior emperor as βασιλεύς; and the reverse inscription styles the junior emperor as δεσπότης. However, the junior emperor on the Constantinopolitan gold now wears the *loros* instead of Staurakios's *chlamys*, while the senior emperor, Michael, wears the *chlamys*. Theophylaktos can also be seen holding the cross-topped sceptre in his left hand, last seen on the coins of Eirene a decade earlier. The combination of *loros*, *globus cruciger* in right hand and cross-topped sceptre in left

<sup>435</sup> BIFA B4619 (5.17g, 23.5mm, 180°).

hand is a clear nod to the coinage of Eirene, whose portrait it imitates in all but the crown which distinguished her as female. This trope of imitating the predecessor of the usurped emperor has already been seen on the coins of Tiberios III imitating Constantine IV. It is, however, questionable why it is Theophylaktos, and not Michael, whose bust imitates Eirene's, while Michael's follows the same convention as Nikephoros's. This returns us to the earlier discussion had about Eirene's choice (or not) of costume and its significance. When it first appeared on regular issues under the reformed gold and silver of Justinian II, the *loros* was worn by an emperor making himself junior to Christ by moving to the reverse to make way for Christ on the obverse. When it appears on the coins of Constantine V and Leo IV, the *loros* is worn by the deceased former emperor ancestors, junior by virtue of their deceased state. When it appears on the coinage of Constantine VI, the *loros* is worn by the regent Eirene, junior by virtue of her gender to even the deceased ancestors of her son, the emperor. Clearly Eirene's appearance in the *loros* on her own coinage has something to do with the acceptability of a woman appearing in consular robes, but with this exception, and that of the alternating costumes of Justinian II's usurpers (discussed in the previous chapter), the general trend in the portage of the *loros* tends to indicate the lower ranked emperor.

The gold coins of Syracuse, as is traditional, differ slightly in their design from those of Constantinople. They consist of two principal types. They both have a bust on either side, but on the first type, both busts wear the *chlamys* and both hold the *globus cruciger*, one on the globe, the other on the stem of the cross; on the second type, the obverse bust wears the *loros* and holds the cross potent, while the reverse bust wears the *chlamys* and holds the *globus cruciger*. The inscriptions on the Syracusan gold coins are often off-flan, and only partly visible, if at all, but they seem to indicate that the first type is of Michael's sole reign, placing his bust on both sides, while the second type

indicates Michael in the *loros* and Theophylaktos in the *chlamys*. The costume on the Sicilian gold coins, then, is in direct contrast to the costume employed on the Constantinopolitan equivalents, even though the held insignia remains consistent.

Figure 134: gold *nomisma* of Michael I, Constantinople<sup>436</sup>



Figure 135: gold *nomisma* of Michael I, Syracuse<sup>437</sup>



#### Iconography on the silver coinage

If Michael's administration did not pay much attention or care to regulating the issues from Syracuse, the same cannot be said for their care and attention to the potential of the coin imagery for conveying political messages generally, and, more specifically, to the output of the mint of Constantinople. Silver *miliaresia* are once more issued during the reign of Michael I, but with one very significant difference: Michael and Theophylaktos are now no longer simply ἔκ θεοῦ βασιλεῖς (by God, emperors), but ἔκ θεοῦ βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων (by God, emperors of the Romans). This is a clear reference to Charlemagne and the new Western Roman Empire with a papally crowned king. There is little else exciting or new about Michael's silver issues, but the 'emperor of the Romans' title becomes a standard title for the Byzantine emperors on their coinage from thereon in.

<sup>436</sup> BIFA B4623 (4.38g, 20.0mm, 180°).

<sup>437</sup> BIFA B4632 (3.89g, 16.5mm, 180°).



Figure 136: silver *miliaresion* of Michael I, Constantinople<sup>438</sup>



### Iconography on the base metal coinage

Separating the base metal coins of Michael I from those of Michael II is possibly one of the most difficult tasks facing Byzantine numismatists today. There is a post-reform series of base metal coins, larger, heavier and better struck, which clearly belong to Michael II, owing to the fully inscribed name of his son Theophilos, marked with the control mark  $\theta$ . Everything else (marked with the control mark A), is ambiguous.

Earlier thoughts on the subject, by Wroth, Morrisson and Whitting were to attribute all the A marked coins to Michael I, and all  $\theta$  marked coins to Michael II, on the basis that the  $\theta$  coins show Theophilos's full name, and the A coin inscriptions only go as far as  **$\theta$ EOF**.<sup>439</sup> Under Michael I and Theophylaktos, there can have been no confusion with previous emperors, whereas with Michael II and Theophilos there was the confusion with Michael I and Theophylaktos, *ergo* there was an imperative to lengthen the inscription to distinguish Michael and Theophilos from Michael and Theophylaktos. Tolstoi, however, highlights a coin held at the Hermitage (of which there is also a specimen held at the Barber), A marked, where the inscription reads as far as  **$\theta$ EOFIL**, and so attributes all except the lone type Constantinopolitan base metal to Michael II.<sup>440</sup> It would seem that neither can be the case: it can obviously not be true,

<sup>438</sup> BIFA B4625 (1.90g, 22.5mm, 0°).

<sup>439</sup> BMC, 406; BN II, 504; Whitting 1973, 168.

<sup>440</sup> Tolstoi 1968, 997. Following his lead, Grierson reassigns all Constantinopolitan base metal coinage to Michael II in DOC, though he notes his unhappiness at leaving Michael I with no Constantinopolitan base metal at all.

given the quantity of his other coins which survive, that we have no Constantinopolitan base metal pieces of Michael I, yet it also does not seem to stand that the second A type can belong to Michael I, given the inscription. There is no significant difference in the weights of the base metal coins for the entire A series of a Michael and for Leo V (the emperor whose reign sits between those of the two Michaels). In order to throw even more confusion into the mix, on the **ΘEOFIL** coin held in the Barber collection (B4630), it is unclear whether it is in fact an **I** or an **V**, although the existence of the Hermitage specimen makes **I** the more likely reading.

Figure 137: base metal *folles* of Michael and Theof<sup>ρ</sup>, Constantinople<sup>441</sup>



Figure 138: base metal *folles* of Michael II and Theophilos, Constantinople<sup>442</sup>



Assuming that the other second A type coins definitely have an **I**, it seems that the most likely solution is that the first A type all belong to Michael I, and the second A type to Michael II, before the reforms which introduce the **θ** type are enacted. If this reform was in the mind of Michael II's responsible officials from the beginning of his reign, then this would account for the paucity of the second A types: they were minted to fill an immediate gap, possibly being used alongside any base metal coins of Michael I (and in reality, if not ideally, those of Leo V) still in the monetary system. The reforms of Michael II will be discussed in more detail in the relevant section of the next chapter.

It seems meet here to bring in discussion of the development of the A on Constantinopolitan coins specifically (given our interest in the Constantinopolitan base

<sup>441</sup> BIFA B4629 (5.10g, 23.0mm, 180°).

<sup>442</sup> BIFA B4630 (5.77g, 24.0mm, 180°).

metals of Michael I and II) during this period. There are two basic types of A in use, one with a diagonal bar:  $\Delta$ , and one with a v-shaped bar:  $\nabla$ . The  $\nabla$  is always used on the *miliaresion* from its introduction shortly after 720 until the early eleventh century, beyond our period of interest. On the Constantinopolitan base metal it is always used as a control/*officina* mark from the Anastasian reforms of 498, until it is replaced entirely by the  $\theta$  under the reform of the base metal of Michael II. It was also used for the A of ANNO on the base metal until this became redundant (as we have already seen) during the seventh century. The  $\Delta$ , by contrast was more widely used. If we take 720 as our starting point (the iconographic reform of the coinage under Leo III) as our starting point and the end of the reign of Theophilos (Michael II's son and successor) in 842 as our end point, the  $\Delta$  was used on all inscriptions of the Constantinopolitan gold with only two exceptions: all of Eirene's gold coins and some of Michael II's, both of which use the  $\nabla$ . On the Constantinopolitan base metal coins, where there are inscriptions and where they are legible the As are all of the  $\Delta$  type, except, again, for the coins of Eirene, some of the A type base metal coins of one of the Michaels and even some of the  $\theta$  type base metal coins of Michael II.

**Figure 139:** table showing use of types of A across the Michael base metal coinage

Type	A used	Number	Total	Percentage
Sole reign	$\Delta$	2	7	28.57%
	$\nabla$	4		57.14%
	Illegible	1		14.29%
A type 1	$\Delta$	2	8	25%
	$\nabla$	5		62.5%
	Illegible	1		12.5%
A type 2	$\Delta$	0	2	0%
	$\nabla$	1		50%
	Illegible	1		50%
A type unclear	$\Delta$	0	2	0%
	$\nabla$	2		100%
	Illegible	0		0%

Θ type	△	32	43	74.42%
	△	6		13.95%
	Illegible	5		11.63%

Unfortunately these results do not prove a point either way. Given the use of the two different types of A on the gold coins, we could be forgiven for expecting to find △s only on A type 1s and a mixture on A type 2s and Θ types. As the results stand, however, it is unclear whether we should take the use of △ as indicative of Michael II and attribute the majority of the A type 1s and sole reign coins to him, or whether we can take this as indicative of the use of △ on the Constantinopolitan base metal inscriptions under Michael I. The use of only △s on the base metal coinage of Leo V would seem to indicate a preference for the first possible conclusion, but this still leaves us with an improbably miniscule number of base metal coins from a reign spanning two years. From the same sources, the nine-year reign of Michael's predecessor, Nikephoros I, has 24 base metal coins, and the seven-year reign of Michael's successor, Leo V, has 45. On average per year, to follow the first possible conclusion, Nikephoros, Michael and Leo have 2.67, 2.5 and 6.43 base metal coins produced in their names at Constantinople, respectively (this includes one of the two A type coins where the A used is unclear). To follow the second conclusion (attributing 3 of the seven sole reign coins to Michael I) the same numbers stand at 2.67, 6 and 6.43. The same statistics for gold stand at 3.67, 5 and 2, which is unhelpful, but worth noting that this has been considered. Which line we choose to follow here, then, would depend on whether we consider production of base metal coins to increase under Michael I or Leo V. I would err on the side of attributing all coins using the △ to Michael II, but the strength of the evidence is not clear enough to draw a definite conclusion. Ultimately, we must consider the use of different types of A as another route tried, tested and found inconclusive.

On Sicily, at the mint of Syracuse, a helpful increase in the weight of the *folles* occurs under Michael I's successor, Leo V, which enables us to differentiate the base metal output there under the two Michaels. Iconographically Michael I's Syracusan base metal coins are as they have been for some decades by this point: a bust of the emperor on the obverse, his son and co-emperor on the reverse, the inscription identifying them appearing in two columns, one each side of the emperor.

## Chapter 6 – The coins, 813-842

### Part 1 – Leo V (813-820)

The transition from the coinage of the iconophile interlude period to the coinage of the second iconoclast period is imperceptible. The coinage of Leo V does not differ in any significant way from that of Michael I (811-813). The same basic pattern for the portrayal of senior emperor and his junior emperor, the heir apparent, is employed as it has been since Leo III, a century distant from Leo V's reign. There are no major iconographic innovations and although there appears to be a reform in the weight and design of the base metal coins produced at Syracuse, this appears to be on a local level and is not paralleled on the Syracusan gold or at Constantinople.

#### Iconography on the silver coinage

For the coins from the reign of Leo V we will begin with a look at the silver, simply because it is largely unremarkable while the gold and base metal can be discussed comparatively to produce a good picture of what was happening both iconographically and economically.

As ever for this period, the silver *miliaresia* are only produced at Constantinople, and they are very few in number. Iconographically they are identical to those from previous emperors, although Leo's silver retains the end word Ῥωμαίων (of the Romans) introduced under his immediate predecessor Michael I. This word is the only real reason that we are able to distinguish Leo V's silver coins from those of Leo III and Leo IV, all three of whom had sons Constantine.

Figure 140: silver *miliaresion* of Leo V, Constantinople<sup>443</sup>



#### Iconography on the gold coinage of Constantinople

On the scant gold coinage of Leo V struck at Constantinople before the association of his son Constantine with him, Leo V appears on both the obverse and reverse of the coin, in the *chlamys* as emperor (βασιλεύς) on the obverse, and in the *loros* as master (δεσπότης) on the reverse (see figure 141). This is another example of how, by the beginning of the ninth century, the *loros* was of secondary importance to the *chlamys* – at least at Constantinople, where the emperor resided and, presumably, wore the two costumes.<sup>444</sup> While this is like the gold coinage of Eirene and at variance with the 802-803 coinage of Nikephoros I, we have no way of knowing how it compared to the coinage of Michael I's sole reign.

Figure 141: Gold *nomisma* of Leo V, Constantinople<sup>445</sup>



Figure 142: Gold *nomisma* of Leo V, Constantinople<sup>446</sup>



<sup>443</sup> BIFA B4636 (2.10g, 23.0mm, 0°).

<sup>444</sup> See the previous chapter where it is Michael I, the senior emperor, who appears in the *chlamys* and his son Theophylaktos, the junior emperor, who appears in the *loros*. Reference is made to the wearing of the *loros* by the emperor and patricians for the ceremonies of Easter in book II, 40, of the *De Ceremoniis* in the tenth century and the consistency of their portrayal in on coins for this period indicates they probably were worn.

<sup>445</sup> Image from [http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/leo\\_V/sb1626.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/leo_V/sb1626.jpg), type DOC III.1 AV1.

<sup>446</sup> BIFA B4633 (4.43g, 20.5mm, 180°).

Figure 143: Gold *nomisma* of Nikephoros I, Constantinople<sup>447</sup>



Figure 144: Gold *nomisma* of Michael I, Constantinople<sup>448</sup>



On the Constantinopolitan issues, after the association of his son, both emperors appear in the *chlamys* and cross crown with the *akakia* in their left hands (see figure 142). Leo on the obverse is designated as βασιλεύς and holds the elongated cross potent in his right hand, while Constantine is designated as δεσπότης and holds the *globus cruciger* in his right hand. In this way the imagery mimics exactly that of Nikephoros I (see figure 143) and only differs from that of Michael I (see figure 144) in the depiction of the heir in the *chlamys* instead of the *loros* and holding the *akakia* instead of the cross-topped sceptre.

As was the case with the alternating coin imagery for the emperors of 711-720, we have to question how directly involved in decision making Leo's government was here. Although an argument could be made that this was to differentiate Leo from the emperor he usurped (Michael I) and associate him with the emperors before the usurpation of Michael (Nikephoros and Staurakios), I would again be inclined to question how deliberate an action this was. Like the period 711-720, the Empire from 802-820 saw a series of usurpers with similar, but subtly alternating coinage (this pattern, as we will see, continues into the reign of Michael II). It is my contention that despite an imperative to use all available media to cement a new reign in a period of particular political turbulence, when we see this subtle alternating pattern on the coins it is not, in fact, a way to portray stability in turbulent times or continuity from the

<sup>447</sup> BIFA B4615 (4.44g, 19.0mm, 180°).

<sup>448</sup> BIFA B4623 (4.38g, 20.0mm, 180°).



previous emperor but one, but rather simply a reflection of the government's interest in other areas – such as securing the reign militarily – thus allowing the local mint based authorities (by this point only Constantinople and Syracuse) to differentiate the new regime from the previous in the easiest and most obvious way possible: a costume or insignia change. Although the existence of only two mints by this period makes the use of a theory of mint independence largely fruitless, a look at the base metal coinage helps in this matter.

#### Iconography on the base metal coinage

Unlike the gold coins from Constantinople, the base metal coins do not mimic exactly those of Nikephoros I; in fact, they look broadly similar to those of Michael I: though the reverse is the same on the Constantinopolitan base metal of all three, the obverses of Nikephoros's base metal coins have no inscription and a floating cross above the pellet between the emperors' heads (see figure 144), whereas those of Michael and Leo have an inscription and no floating cross (see figures 146 and 147 respectively). Where Leo's Constantinopolitan base metal coinage differs from Michael's is in the costume change, so that the costumes worn by each emperor are the same as on their respective gold coins (*chlamys* and *loros* for Michael and Theophylaktos, *chlamys* and *chlamys* for Leo and Constantine – compare figures 142, 143 and 144 with 145, 146 and 147). If we were viewing coins that were intended by either the emperor or his administrators to reflect those of the emperor usurped by the one Leo usurped, then we might expect to see a return to the non-inscription base metal type, especially since this in turn mimics the types used under the Isaurians. Although it could be argued that the reason we do not see this is due to the usual exclusion of the base metal from iconographic developments discussed earlier in this thesis, and this

would certainly be a valid argument, I believe that the pattern we see here is demonstrative of a local mint level takeover of coin design, using the policy of differentiating this emperor from the previous by the change in costume and, significantly, the name in the inscription.

Figure 145: base metal *follis* of Nikephoros I, Constantinople<sup>449</sup>      Figure 146: base metal *follis* of Michael I or II, Constantinople<sup>450</sup>



Figure 147: base metal *follis* of Leo V, Constantinople<sup>451</sup>      Figure 148: base metal *follis* of Leo V, Syracuse<sup>452</sup>



The base metal output from Syracuse shows a different conclusion reached than that at the Constantinopolitan mint, but still, I believe, a conclusion reached independently of the government at Constantinople. Like some of the gold output from Syracuse, the Syracusan base metal coinage does not, on the most prolific type, show a change in costume from Michael to Leo. On all of the Syracusan base metal coins of type 2 – according to the classification in the BN (classes 1, 2 and 3 in the DOC) – Leo appears in the *loros* with a cross potent and Constantine in the *chlamys* with the *globus*

<sup>449</sup> BIFA B4642 (5.26g, 22.0mm, 180°).

<sup>450</sup> BIFA B4628 (5.24g, 23.0mm, 180°).

<sup>451</sup> BIFA B4639 (4.89g, 25.0mm, 180°).

<sup>452</sup> BIFA B4652 (2.67g, 21.0mm, 180°).

*cruciger* (see figure 148). Again we can see that where on Constantinopolitan coins the *loros* is by now of secondary importance to the *chlamys*, the same is not understood at Syracuse. In considerations more relevant to the wider discussion above, the Syracusan base metal, like the Syracusan gold, demonstrates a design independent from Constantinople and thereby a probable lack of instruction and control from the Constantinopolitan government with regard to the design of the coins. Of course, given that the base metal coinage tends to vary from mint to mint with more regularity than the gold and silver, which also reflect significant iconographic changes more readily, as we have seen previously, the Syracusan gold is more significant in this conclusion than its base metal counterparts, but that this pattern is continued on the base metal is nonetheless interesting.

On a practical economic level, the base metal output from the mint of Syracuse is even more interesting than on an iconographic level. Although there is no apparent central reform of the coinage under Leo V, there appear to be significant changes on Sicily. We have seen how, to present, the number of base metal denominations has slowly declined, as has the relevance of their functional marks. We have also seen how the gross number of coins known for this period is significantly smaller than it had been for the seventh century, the reign of either Nikephoros I or Michael I marking an apparent low water mark depending on how we attribute the ambiguous Michael A-type base metal coins (see the previous chapter). While gross numbers do indicate an increase in base metal production at both Syracuse and Constantinople: 2.67, 2.5 (or 6) and 6.43 base metal coins known per year from the mint of Constantinople for the emperors Nikephoros I, Michael I and Leo V respectively and the same numbers from the mint of Syracuse are 1.67, 3 and 7.86, the base metal coins from Syracuse show an apparent reform and potentially even a difference in denomination. Where for all three

emperors, the Constantinopolitan base metal coins are all apparently of the same basic type and denomination (aside from issues where they are shown alone or with an heir), the base metal coins from Syracuse show an apparent reform in the iconography, which is mirrored by a change in average weight. The BN type 2s (DOC classes 1, 2 and 3) appear to be pre-reform, while the BN type 1s (DOC class 4) appear to be a reformed type.<sup>453</sup> The reason for putting type two first in terms of chronology is that they are on the whole lighter than the type ones and the type 2s are iconographically more reminiscent of the Syracusan base metal coins under previous emperors, type 1 presents a break. As I have broken down my data according to the DOC classes (because there are more of them), please see figures 149, 150, 151 and 152, which show DOC classes 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively:

Figure 149: class 1<sup>454</sup>



Figure 150: class 2<sup>455</sup>



Figure 151: class 3<sup>456</sup>



Figure 152: class 4<sup>457</sup>



<sup>453</sup> There is a brief discussion of this in DOC III.1, 373-4; Grierson, however, appears to be the only person (at least in print) who has picked up on the issue.

<sup>454</sup> BIFA B4655 (3.04g, 18.0mm, 180°).

<sup>455</sup> BIFA B4652 (2.67g, 21.0mm, 180°).

<sup>456</sup> BIFA B4656 (2.48g, 20.0mm, 180°).

<sup>457</sup> BIFA B4647 (6.23g, 23.0mm, 180°).

The weight data for these coins according to the DOC classifications are provided in the following table:

Class	Number of coins	Mean weight (g)	Median weight (g)	Range of weights (g)
1	13	2.28	2.20	1.25
2	23	2.96	2.82	3.08
3	15	3.01	2.71	3.66
4, heavy	33	4.37	4.14	3.31
4, light	3	1.76	1.72	0.26
4, combined	36	4.16	4.07	4.58

Here, the DOC class 4 (BN type 1) coins are clearly heavier than their apparent predecessors (BN type 2/DOC classes 1, 2 and 3) even if taken as one denomination, rather than separating them as Grierson has done.<sup>458</sup> Grierson has chosen to separate the class 4 coins into a heavy and light series because, from the material available to him at the Dumbarton Oaks collection, there is a significant weight difference between the two: the heaviest and lightest of the heavy series being 5.34g and 3.36g respectively and the heaviest and lightest for the light series being 1.91g and 1.65g respectively. This means that the lightest coin of the heavy series from Grierson's perspective is 1.98g lighter than the heaviest of this series with a range of weights between the two, and 1.45g heavier than the heaviest of the light series with no other weights of coins in between.<sup>459</sup> Based on this information, Grierson's assertion is a fair one to make, however, based on the material available to me, this assertion becomes more problematic. The Barber collection holds the heaviest and Fitzwilliam collection the lightest coins for the so-called heavy series, though no further additions are made to the so-called light series. This then means that the lightest of the heavy series (now 2.92g)

---

<sup>458</sup> DOC III.1, 374.

<sup>459</sup> From data provided in DOC III.1, 383-6.

is 3.31g lighter than the heaviest of the heavy series (now 6.23g) and 1.24g heavier than the heaviest of the light series (still 1.91g). None of these coins are clipped, pierced or significantly worn enough to account for such a huge difference. The metals used in any debasement may account for this (for example, any copper and tin alloyed with lead will be heavier than copper and tin alloyed with zinc)<sup>460</sup> but if this is the case, then the coins would likely have had largely the same weight variation when they were in circulation in the ninth century as they do today, post-excavation/being found. It is difficult to imagine the 2.92g coin (Fitzwilliam unnumbered coin from the Sherborne collection) being of the same purchasing capabilities as the 6.23g coin (Barber coin B4647) but not the 1.91g coin (DOC III.1 Æ19b.1), and therefore part of the same denomination, distinct from the lighter series.

It could be that what we are seeing is a new series of base metal coins with a deliberately wide range of weights, both heavier and lighter at its extremities than previous issues, which were meant to be weighed and used in transactions accordingly, and that the reason the so-called heavy and light series were iconographically identical is because they were not meant to be distinguished from each other in anything other than their respective weights. If this scaled single denomination base metal coinage is what we are seeing, then this may in turn be a reflection of the hypothetical economic realities on Byzantine Sicily at the time: if the practice of weighing coins before a transaction had been made was already well-established and widespread and the reform simply made this easier by introducing a wider weight range of base metal coins.<sup>461</sup> It may also be indicative of the polar opposite: that the coins had lost all but face value. If it were indicative of a system of weighing coins, then we might expect to see clipping or folding (cutting in half) of earlier base metal coins. While there is clipping on the BN

---

<sup>460</sup> As copper, zinc, tin and lead have atomic numbers 29, 30, 50 and 82 respectively.

<sup>461</sup> While this situation is hypothetical, on use of weights in Byzantium see Bendall 1996.

type 2s (DOC types 1, 2 and 3) it appears in such a rhythmic way that would indicate that the coins were clipped in the striking process, not in transaction.

To flip the argument: if the coins were of simply face value, then it would not matter what weight they were. Much as modern coins have a universally subscribed-to value attached to them even though their metallic value has long since disappeared, so too could the same or similar have been true for the base metal coins of Sicily in the early ninth century. From the coins at the Barber, the Syracusan base metal coins of Leo V have two very intriguing and unusual features: ten of the eleven are overstruck, while all seven of the BN type 2s (i.e. pre-reform coins) are clipped, five at the top left and bottom right of the obverse figure, one at the top right and bottom left and the other at the top and the bottom. This regularity in clipping is indicative that the clipping was undertaken during the process of striking the coins (or re-striking, since they were also overstruck) rather than in a process of weighing the coins during transactions. It is also worth noting that this regularity in clipping allays Grierson's concerns that one of the (what he sees as) four types may be a variant of Leo III's Syracusan base metal coinage, for which this pattern of clipping is not sustained. Furthermore, the majority of these coins are overstruck. Of those where the undertype is visible enough to identify by date or reign, coin B4657 (a DOC class 3 coin) is struck over a Constantinopolitan *folles* of Constantine VI and Eirene, coin B4650 (a DOC class 4 coin) is struck over an Isaurian Constantinopolitan *folles*, as the bar atop which the ancestors (or son in the case of Leo III) sit is still visible, and coin B4647 (a DOC class 4 coin) is struck over either a Leo V Constantinopolitan *folles*, or a Nikephoros I Constantinopolitan *folles*.<sup>462</sup> In addition to these, of the others where elements are visible but not identifiable to specific reigns or periods, B4652-4 are clearly struck on Constantinopolitan originals (elements of the

---

<sup>462</sup> See the catalogue in appendix 1.

reverse type **XXX + M A NNN** are still visible), leaving the remaining 4 coins with simply traces of overstriking (i.e. visible letters, crown tops or *chlamydi*) and only B4655 (a DOC class 1 coin) without any obvious traces of overstriking.<sup>463</sup> That of those six coins where the original coin's mint is visible all originals are Constantinopolitan and that all DOC classes 1-3 held at the Barber are clipped twice, may be indicative of a raw material shortage on Sicily or at the very least an abundance of Constantinopolitan *folles* which may have been in circulation and used despite the issuing emperor's decease prior to being restruck with a Leo V Syracuse image. That Constantinopolitan types from apparently different reigns were used would explain the lack of control over weight, resulting in the process of clipping on the DOC classes 1-3 and the extreme weight variance on the DOC class 4s.

On the grounds of iconography Grierson's attribution of the class 4s as later is still very satisfactory; however, to what extent it can truly be called an economic reform is now – from the evidence presented above – questionable.

### Iconography on the gold coinage of Syracuse

While this change is taking place on the base metal coins at Syracuse, there is no apparent reform (economic or iconographic) of the gold. As under Nikephoros I and Michael I before, the Sicilian mint produces gold coins of all three denominations (*nomisma*, *semissis*, *tremissis*), though *semisses* and *tremisses* are very rare. Unlike the Sicilian base metal *folles*, the Sicilian gold *nomismata* do not show much fluctuation in weight at all, in fact, all measure within 0.02g of each other (between 3.87g and 3.89g) excluding one anomalous 3.75g coin (DOC III.1, AV14). None of the Syracusan gold

---

<sup>463</sup> It should be noted, however, that while the majority of the Syracuse base metal coins are overstruck or show traces of overstriking, the Barber and Fitzwilliam's material is over-representative of this trend. This is probably indicative of the collecting preferences of Whitting and Sherborne. Adding material from published catalogues, and other collections, the British Museum, the Ashmolean, etc. rebalances this skew, though overstriking is still an overwhelming feature of these coins.



coins, however, are overstruck. What the uniformity does emphasise is that the mint of Syracuse had the equipment and ability to produce coins of similar weights. The gold coins were either made from melted recycled items, or from fresh gold flans, they were not overstruck as the base metal coins were.

Iconographically, there are two principal types of Syracusan gold coins under Leo V, both of which are demonstrative of the usual Syracusan tendency to show the emperors both in the same costume (*chlamys*) and in different costumes (*loros* and *chlamys* in that order of rank). Type 1 of the gold (see figure 153) is broadly similar to class 1 of the base metal (compare with figure 149), while type 2 of the gold (see figure 154) is broadly similar to class 3 (compare with figure 151). In this way the gold coins of Syracuse simultaneously fit both the gold coin trends at Syracuse – that the imperial costumes are used with no consistency or clear order of precedence – and the trends of the entire coin corpus for the period – that there is little distinction between emperors.

Figure 153: gold *semissis* of Leo V, Syracuse<sup>464</sup>



Figure 154: gold *semissis* of Leo V, Syracuse<sup>465</sup>



## Part 2 – Michael II (820-829)

If the base metal Syracusan coinage of Leo V shows signs of monetary reform and reorganisation at a local Sicilian level, apparently independent of the Constantinopolitan government, then the reign of Michael II sees a continuation of base

<sup>464</sup> Image from [http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/leo\\_V/sb1632a.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/leo_V/sb1632a.jpg), type DOC III.1 AV12.

<sup>465</sup> Image from [http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/leo\\_V/sb1632.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/leo_V/sb1632.jpg), type DOC III.1 AV9.

metal monetary reform but this time on a wider scale, occurring at both the principal Byzantine mint of Constantinople and at Syracuse again. The problems of attributing the pre-reform Constantinopolitan base metal coinage have already been discussed in the section of the previous chapter dealing with the coinage of Michael I. Despite the apparent interest of someone involved with the production of coin in its economic function, however, there appears to have been little interest in its imagery in this period.

#### Iconography on the gold coinage

Just as Leo V's gold coinage mimicked his predecessor-but-one, Nikephoros I, and thereby differed in the costume and insignia from that of his immediate predecessor, Michael I, so Michael II's coinage mimics that of Michael I and differs in costume and insignia from that of Leo V. What I believe this means for the involvement of the government and mint in the decisions about the images on coins is already elucidated in the sections dealing with the coinage of Leo V and pre-720 coinage of Leo III and so will not be reiterated here.

The only reason, in fact, that we can confidently attribute the Constantinopolitan gold coins to their respective emperor Michaels, as we are unable to do with the base metal, is that the inscription on the gold coins of both Michaels runs far enough to distinguish Theophylaktos (the son of Michael I) from Theophilos (the son of Michael II). In terms of their depiction of the emperor, they are identical: the senior emperor, Michael, like his namesake predecessor, appears on the obverse wearing the *chlamys* and cross crown, holding an elongated cross potent in the right hand with the index finger pointing towards his head, and the *akakia* in the left hand, fully clenched. The junior emperor, Theophilos, like Theophylaktos, appears on the reverse wearing the *loros* and cross crown, holding the *globus cruciger* in his right hand and the cross-

topped sceptre in his left. There are some differences in the spacing of the letters in the inscription, and Michael II's Constantinopolitan gold obverse inscription begins with a star where Michael I's begins with a pellet, and the reverse inscription on the coins of Michael II have a small cross after the apostrophe and before the control mark, where those of Michael I simply have the control mark after the apostrophe (compare figures 155 and 156), but these are not indicative of any significant shift in meaning.

Figure 155: gold *nomisma* of Michael I, Constantinople<sup>466</sup>



Figure 156: gold *nomisma* of Michael II, Constantinople<sup>467</sup>



At Syracuse the imagery on the gold continues in much the same vein, with the same sorts of variations in type as in previous reigns; it is because of these variations that we cannot say with the same certainty as we can for the Constantinopolitan gold that Michael II's gold coinage mimics Michael I's and differs from Leo V's. As with the majority of the Syracusan gold of Michael I, the majority of the Syracusan gold of Michael II depicts the senior emperor in the *loros* with the elongated cross potent in his right hand, and the junior emperor in the *chlamys* with the *globus cruciger* in his right hand. Like the Syracusan gold coinage of Michael I, that of Michael II normally has nothing in the field other than the inscription, the only exceptions being very rare types with a pellet in the field, this contrasts with the majority of the Syracusan gold coinage of Leo V, which often has Λ and K in the field or on rare examples a small cross. This pattern does not apply to all of the Syracusan gold coins for Michael II, though, or

<sup>466</sup> BIFA B4623 (4.38g, 20.0mm, 180°).

<sup>467</sup> BIFA B4659 (4.45g, 20.5mm, 180°).

indeed those of Leo V and Michael I. As already discussed above, there are rare examples of Syracusan gold coins of Michael I where both emperors appear in the *chlamys* (which is at odds with the majority of coins) and on rare examples from the reign of Leo V where the emperors appear in different costumes (also at odds with the majority of his coins). In this respect the reign of Michael II is the same: there are also rare examples of his Syracusan gold coins where both emperors appear in the *chlamys*. However, unlike the gold coinage from Syracuse of the emperors Michael I and Leo V, where when the costumes are different it is *always* the senior emperor who appears in the *loros* and the junior in the *chlamys* (in direct opposition to the costume allocation on Constantinopolitan coins), there is a series of Syracusan gold coins of Michael II where it is the junior emperor who wears the *loros* and the senior who wears the *chlamys*, in line with the pattern from Constantinople. Whether this iconographic reform is the result of a decision made at Constantinople or at the Syracuse level by somebody who knew the order of seniority of the robes at Constantinople is not a question that it is possible to answer.

Functionally, Syracuse continues to produce gold coins of all three denominations, with average weights to within a gram of the coins of Leo V and a similar level of accuracy.

#### Iconography on the silver coinage

The silver coinage under Michael II is largely unremarkable as it continues to be produced only at Constantinople and looks much the same as it had done both visually and in terms of measurements since it was introduced by Leo III over a century earlier, and contained the same inscription (except for the change in the names) as the silver coinage of Michael I and Leo V after the addition of the qualification ‘of the Romans’.

Figure 157: silver *miliaresion* of Michael II, Constantinople<sup>468</sup>



#### Iconography on the base metal coinage

The problem of attributing the pre-reform Constantinopolitan base metal coinage of Michael II and the Constantinopolitan base metal coinage of Michael I to their respective emperors has already been fully discussed in the section dealing with the base metal coinage of Michael I and so will not be repeated here. When the reform of the base metal coinage at Constantinople under Michael II took place is not clear, but based purely on the quantity of the material, an earlier date seems preferable. The already discussed reform of the base metal coinage at Syracuse had occurred sometime during the reign of Leo V. Could it be that the wheels of base metal coin reform were already in motion at Constantinople by the accession of Michael II? If they were it was very much in conjunction with the mint of Syracuse, since *all* of the Syracusan base metal coins of Michael II are of a similar style to the post reform Constantinopolitan coinage. Iconographically, the post-reform coins of both Constantinople and Syracuse display the senior emperor in the *chlamys* and cross crown beside his son and junior co-emperor in the *loros* and cross crown, neither emperor holds any insignia; on both a pellet appears between their heads and on the Constantinopolitan material a cross floats in turn above that (though this is absent from the Syracusan material) and these figures are surrounded by an inscription that marks them as **MIXAHL S ΘCOFI[LOS]**

---

<sup>468</sup> BIFA B4660 (1.96g, 21.5mm, 0°).

(Michael and Theophi[los]). On the reverse the traditional M remains the largest, most prominent feature, a cross floats above it and on both the old redundant A officina mark is now replaced by a  $\theta$ , on the Constantinopolitan material the columnar XXX NNN remains, but this does not appear on the Syracusan material.

Figure 158: Constantinople post-reform<sup>469</sup>



Figure 159:<sup>470</sup> Syracuse



The absence, on the Syracusan base metal, of the XXX NNN is most likely associated with its redundant functional nature by this time. The reason for the absence of the floating cross between the imperial heads while the floating cross above the M is retained is less immediately obvious. It could be due to the cruder style of the dies, or smaller size of the coins, or that, whatever the instructions from Constantinople to Syracuse were, they did not include the cross between the heads. The change from A to  $\theta$  is most likely simply to help distinguish the new coinage from the old.

If the pre-reform Constantinopolitan base metal coinage of Michael II did not pose enough major issues, then the mint of Syracuse is again a further source of difficulty. Having undergone an apparent reform already under the reign of Leo V, the Syracusan coinage again changes, as we have seen, to become more in line with that of Constantinople. The problem is that we do not have any coinage of Michael II before this reform. This raises serious questions about the nature of both this reform, in tandem

<sup>469</sup> BIFA B4662 (8.68g, 31.5mm, 180°).

<sup>470</sup> BIFA B4674 (3.55g, 21.0mm, 180°).

with Constantinople, and that under Leo V. If we have no coins of before the reform at Syracuse, is it possible that we have no coins of before the reform from Constantinople? If we do, are they simply limited to the very rare B4630 (**ΘΕΟΦΙ/Λ**) type? Given this reform appears to happen so quickly, is this a local level change set in motion under Leo V and simply continued under Michael II? Was it a central directive under Leo V which Michael II's government saw fit to keep? Or was there someone in Michael's government who considered the coinage of such a high priority that it was almost the first instruction to go out? The last possibility immediately seems the least likely, as for an iconographic change only, new dies would have to be cut. To implement a reform changing the weight and, more importantly, the flan size, new dies would have to be made before they are cut. All this before actually striking the new coins could begin, yet money would need to continue circulating in the meantime. At the same time, however, I have already made the argument that Leo V's government were not terribly concerned by the coinage, and this argument still stands. The nature of the reform, from a Syracusan perspective, though, is fundamentally different under Michael II from how it appears under Leo V. It is in tandem with Constantinople, not unilateral; it alters the priority given to the *loros* and *chlamys* to bring it in line with the order on the Constantinopolitan coins; and it makes a complete break from the unique Syracusan base metal pattern that we have seen developing so far. Overall, where the reform under Leo V bears the marks of unilateral, Syracuse-specific reform, the reform under Michael II stems either from a centralised directive, or from close collaboration between the mints of Syracuse and Constantinople.

If we accept the above premises: that Leo V's government was uninterested in the coinage; that the reform under his administration was specific to Syracuse, while the reform under Michael was linked to that at Constantinople; and that the lack of pre-

reform coinage makes it at least unlikely that the reform was conceived of and executed by Michael's government, then we are left with two options. First, that a new person was brought into the government toward the end of Leo's reign who set the wheels of reform in motion which was then continued under Michael II. Second, that the reform was instigated by Michael's government, but, contrarily to most practices, Leo's old coinage continued to be used with no new coins of Michael II struck. Like the lacuna in our material for the sole reign of Leo IV, this second option is a possibility, but it would be anomalous.

### **Part 3 – Theophilos (829-842)**

As the reforms during the reign of Anastasius I (491-518) were a major numismatic watershed which for historians marked the end of the Roman coinage and the beginning of early Byzantine coinage, so too are the reforms of the Emperor Theophilos a major numismatic watershed. For Theophilos's coinage, as for Anastasius's, it is the change in the base metal which marks the transition: where Anastasius introduced the functional marks which we have seen define the Byzantine base metal coinage up until now, Theophilos removed them and replaced them with an inscription-only face, which came to mark the Byzantine base metal coinage up until the end of the anonymous *folles* under Constantine X Doukas (1059-1067). Also like the reign of Anastasius I, it is possible for us to discuss the iconography of the coinage under Theophilos and refer to the emperor in the active and assume his direct involvement since, as we shall see, the imagery on the gold is particularly personal and not political. For this reason, we can also place greater weight on the use of numismatic imagery as representative of imperial political messages through this period. Theophilos's coinage is also especially interesting because the sheer number of different



types with different figures allows us to consider different chronologies of the coins through his reign. Of these many types (of gold and silver) there are a few ideas unique to his reign. As well as overall increased volume, the reign of Theophilos also sees the decline in importance of the Syracusan mint – probably as the island of Sicily is brought increasingly under Islamic control – and the re-emergence of the mint of Naples.<sup>471</sup>

#### Iconography on the gold and silver coinage

As the first emperor since Constantine VI to succeed his father and have coins struck in his name (Staurakios succeeded Nikephoros but did not have many coins struck in his name) it is interesting to note that the bust of Theophilos' deceased father, Michael II, only appears on one type of the gold coinage, which cannot be the first due to its depiction of Theophilos' deceased son, Constantine. Instead, on the most likely first type, we see Theophilos on the obverse in the *loros* with the *globus cruciger* and cross-topped sceptre, exactly as he had appeared on the coinage of his father as the junior emperor, the only note of his increase in rank being his designation in the inscription changing from δεσπότης to βασιλεύς (compare figures 160 and 161). Meanwhile, on the reverse, we see a patriarchal cross on steps surrounded by the inscription **CVRIE BOHΘH TO SO ΔOYLO** (*kyrie boethe to so doulo*) – “Lord help your servant”. In its reverse inscription, these first *nomismata* of Theophilos recall simultaneously the silver “God help the Romans” series of Herakleios, now two hundred years ago, and, perhaps more notably, contemporary seals, where a holy figure is also often called upon to aid their servant. This formula is not one which is used on Theophilos' own seals, however, which favour a cross and inscription face and an inscription only face like the silver coinage (see figure 162). Perhaps more interesting

---

<sup>471</sup> For a summary of the Arab encroachment on Sicily: Signes Codoñer 2014, 322-324.

still is the use of the patriarchal cross, instead of the cross potent. The patriarchal cross had not appeared on the coins since it sat on Theodosios III's *globus cruciger* (715-717), so Theophilos' was also more prominent than when it had appeared on the coins of a largely forgettable emperor with a two-year reign. But why? The most obvious explanation would be to suggest that Theophilos is making a point about the closeness of the Emperor and the Patriarch, and this is not an unreasonable assumption. If, however, we follow the first interpretation that it is supposed to be a demonstration of unity between emperor and patriarch, then we could expect instead to see κύριε βοήθει τοῖς σοῖς δουλοῖς – “Lord help your servants”. Continuing to accept the link with the seals of the period, one further suggestion can be made: if the point of invocations on seals is to ensure the safe delivery of the sealed document to its recipient, then is the invocation on Theophilos' gold coinage to ensure its safe delivery as tax into the imperial coffers? This may then explain the use of the patriarchal cross as directly linking the emperor to the church: deliver these taxes safely to your servant, who upholds your church.<sup>472</sup>

Figure 160: gold *nomisma* of Michael II, Constantinople<sup>473</sup>



Figure 161: gold *nomisma* of Theophilos, Constantinople<sup>474</sup>



<sup>472</sup> On Justinian II, the link between religious iconography on gold coinage and taxation, and the Gospels Matthew 22:21; Mark 12:17; Luke 20:25, see above, chapter 3, part 1.

<sup>473</sup> BIFA B4659 (4.45g, 20.5mm, 180°).

<sup>474</sup> Image from <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/theophilus/sb1655.jpg>, type DOC III.1, AV1.

Figure 162: Seal of Theophilos<sup>475</sup>



The problem posed by the obverse of these gold coins, while probably less significant, is still worthy of our attention. As part of his promotion from junior emperor to senior emperor, it would not be unreasonable to expect to see Theophilos appear as his father had done: in the *chlamys* with the elongated cross potent and *akakia*. That he appears exactly as he had done as his father's co-emperor, only now with a beard and called βασιλεύς, asks serious questions about how we as modern numismatists and historians attribute seniority in rank to the garment worn and the insignia held. It is normal for the junior emperor's attire to vary from reign to reign: Theophilos, like Theophylaktos, appeared as junior emperor in the *loros* while Staurakios and Constantine appeared in the *chlamys*. The senior emperors, however, on the Constantinopolitan coinage, always previously appeared in the *chlamys*, regardless of their son's attire with only one exception: the base metal coin of Michael (either I or II) before the association of his son. The obvious other exception, interestingly, is most output from the mint of Syracuse, which, as we have seen, prioritises the costume in the opposite manner to Constantinople. We have seen that this was "corrected" (i.e. brought in line with Constantinople) with the reforms under Michael II, Theophilos' father. With this in mind, it is further curious that Theophilos is portrayed in the robes traditionally designating the junior emperor. It would also appear to be perfectly deliberate: the changing of the type of cross, the completely new reverse inscription

---

<sup>475</sup> DOS VI, seal 46.

type and the homogenising reforms take place in this period. In addition to this, when the base metal reforms of Theophilos take place c. 831/832, he again appears on his own in the *loros*, as we shall see later. When Theophilos' first son, Constantine, appears on the coins, Theophilos' costume then changes to the *chlamys*, while the *loros* is now worn by Constantine. Clearly the *chlamys* retains its primacy over the *loros*, which returns now to its traditional function of denoting the junior emperor, but this does not help shed much more light on why, when he appears alone, Theophilos is still shown in the *loros*.

When Constantine does appear on Theophilos' coins, it is at the expense of Theophilos' new reverse type with the patriarchal cross and sigillographic inscription. In fact, apart from the use of the patriarchal cross on the *globus cruciger* held by Constantine and the patriarchal cross held by Theophilos, the Constantinopolitan gold coinage during Constantine's association appears much the same as most other ninth century Constantinopolitan gold coinage, where the alternating pattern fell on a junior emperor in the *loros* instead of the *chlamys*.

In either 831 or 835 the young junior Emperor Constantine died and we can see this turn of events reflected in Theophilos' coinage, but in a totally unprecedented and unimitated manner that calls into question our view of numismatic iconography as political messaging.<sup>476</sup> After his death, Constantine continued to appear on Theophilos' coins, but alongside his deceased grandfather, Michael II, on the reverse, now holding no insignia. There are three things that are especially curious about this series of gold coins: firstly, that a dead son should appear at all on his father's coins (this is the unprecedented and unimitated aspect); secondly, that it is not until this moment that Michael II reappears on the coins; and thirdly, that when the two deceased figures do

---

<sup>476</sup> For a summary of the dating issues around Constantine's coronation and death see Signes Codoñer 2014, 121, especially footnote 49.

appear, they appear in the *chlamys*, not the *loros* as had been traditional when deceased figures appeared during the Isaurian dynasty (also holding no insignia like Michael II and Constantine). The first of these problems does not seem to be explicable in any way related to deliberate political messaging. There is no reason that it would be useful to advertise that the emperor had a dead son; if anything, this would be detrimental: if the point of displaying your heirs on coins was to discourage usurpation or feelings of instability, then displaying that there had been an heir, but that he was now gone, surely must have the opposite effect. The only explanation we are really left with is that what we are viewing are the actions of a grieving father, adding to a sense that Theophilos himself was involved in coin design. The second of these issues is less straight forward. The last coin to be struck with the image of deceased ancestors had been around 790, by the early 830s – the appearance of Michael II on the coins of Theophilos – this was only 41-5 years ago, and so plausibly within living memory, though only for the oldest in society. It is interesting, though not necessarily significant, that it is Theophilos whose coinage initially ignores the pattern begun under Constantine V, the two emperors for whom we can argue direct involvement in the choice of imagery on the coins (see chapter 3). Given that, when Michael does appear, he appears on a series of coins which seem to have a more personal emotional bent than one of political calculation, we should proceed with extreme caution when considering his appearance as a way of demonstrating an origin of Theophilos' authority: heredity. Moreover, Michael disappears with Constantine on Theophilos' subsequent gold Constantinopolitan coinage. The third of the issues, the appearance of Michael and Constantine in the *chlamys* rather than the *loros* which became the standard costume for deceased emperors under the Isaurians, may simply be further indicative that their coinage was

not borne in mind when the Theophilan type with his deceased father and son was designed.

For some period of Theophilos' reign there is a series of gold coins showing the emperor with his wife, Theodora, and his three daughters, Thekla, Anna and Anastasia, but precisely when this occurs is not immediately clear. This coin type's production is usually placed between the death of Theophilos's daughter Maria (c.838) and the birth of Michael III (840), and there is no reason to disagree with this dating, as both Maria and Michael are conspicuous by their absence and both sons appear on their father's coinage alone when they are alive.<sup>477</sup>

The final gold type from Constantinople is broadly identical to the second, except that the son is named Michael, not Constantine, and holds an ordinary *globus cruciger* rather than one topped with a patriarchal cross, like Constantine. It has been suggested that this series, too, is a ceremonial issue, but this type can only represent the year between Michael's coronation as co-emperor and Theophilos's death, and Grierson may be correct in pointing to the possible recollection of this coin type for its striking as Michael III and Theodora's coinage.<sup>478</sup> This type, along with the Theophilos alone type, is also the only one to have known smaller denominations for its pattern.

We turn attention now to the silver coinage. Although the basic design of the silver *miliaresia* stays the same as it has since its first appearance in 720: one inscription face and one face with a cross potent on steps and **ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΑ** (Jesus Christ conquer), during Theophilos's thirteen-year reign the wording on the inscription face changes four times to give us five different types. Like the gold, it is unclear what chronological order these variants appear in, however, there is some correlation between the inscriptions used on both metals. If the four changes in iconography were

---

<sup>477</sup> DOC III.1, 408; BN II, 514-5; Brubaker and Haldon 2011, 433.

<sup>478</sup> DOC III.1, 416.



contemporaneous with the four changes on gold, then the sheer amount of material is of no help to us.

The five types of gold and silver coins are summarised below.

	Gold	Silver
Type 1		
Type 2		
Type 3		
Type 4		
Type 5		

Gold			Silver		
DOC type	Inscription	Number	DOC type	Inscription	Number
1	*ΘΕΟΦΙ ΛΟΣΒΑΣΙΛΕ' CVRIϞOHΘHTOCδOVL O*Ε	14	1	+ΘΕΟ ΦΙΛΟSEC ΘΕΨbASI ΛΕΨSRO MAION	5
2	*ΘΕΟΦΙ ΛΟΣΒΑΣΙΛΕ' +CONCτAnt'δεCSPOT'A	3	2	+ΘΕΟΦΙ LOSSCONCτ AntInOCδΨ ΛΨXRISTΨS PICTΨbASIL' ROMAION	2
3	*ΘΕΟΦΙ ΛΟΣΒΑΣΙΛΕ' +MIXAHLSCONCτAntIn ,	37	3	+ΘΕΟΦΙ LOSδΨLOS XRISTΨSPIS TOCEnAVTO bASILEΨRO MAION	9
4	ΘΕΚ'ΘΕOF'ΘΕ' *AnnASAnSTASIA	2	4	+ΘΕΟΦΙ LOSECΘΕΨ PICTOCbA SILEΨSRO MAION	5
5	*ΘΕΟΦΙ ΛΟΣΒΑΣΙΛΕ' +MIXAHLδεCSPOTIS	4	5	+ΘΕΟ ΦΙLOSSMI XAHLECΘΕ' bASILISRO MAION	11

Clearly types 2 on both metals and types 5 on both metals must be contemporaneous for reasons of the co-emperor. How the three silver types with Theophilos alone (1, 3 and 4) tie in chronologically with the gold types 1, 3 and 4 (those with Theophilos alone, with his deceased son and father, and with his wife and three daughters respectively) is unclear. It is tempting to connect gold type 1 and silver type 3 on the grounds of their reference to the emperor as a servant of the Lord. Gold type 1, however, could also be connected to silver type 1 on the grounds that they are almost direct iconographic continuations from the previous reign. Perhaps the servant of Christ theme on silver types 2 and 3 is directly inspired by the earlier Lord's servant theme on



gold type 1. The connection between silver types 1 and 5 also poses a problem: on the one hand they both simply describe Theophilos or Theophilos and Michael as “by God emperor(s) of the Romans”, and so seem to be linked this way, on the other hand, type 5 has to be from 840/1-842 due to its association of Michael, while type 1 appears likely to be from the beginning of the reign on the grounds that it is almost a direct continuation from the coinage of Michael II but with the imperial name changed. As with the gold, the chronological placing of type 2 is entirely dependent upon how the question of Constantine’s date of birth is resolved, this in turn then affects when we place types 3 and 4 in relation to type 2. It seems clear that type 3 must come either immediately before or after type 2, and that type 4 must come either immediately before types 2 and 3 (in whichever order we place those) as the complexity of the inscription increases from either type 1 or from the silver coinage of Michael II (dependent upon when we place type 1), or immediately after types 2 and 3 as the complexity of the inscription decreases toward type 5 or types 1 and 5. Since type 5 must be the final type, type 1 must be either the first or fourth in the sequence, type 2 must be either the second or third, type 3 must be adjacent to type 2 and type 4 must be adjacent to type 2 or 3 or both. All of this leaves us with the following possible chron

	1	2	3	4	5
Chronology A	1	2	3	4	5
Chronology B		1	3	2	4
Chronology C		1	4	2	3
Chronology D		3	2	4	1
Chronology E		4	2	3	1
Chronology F		4	3	2	1

One part of the problem is that if the gold and silver changes do not parallel each other, then making a direct correlation between gold and silver (excepting types 2 and 5 of

both metals for their chronologically anchorable use of living co-emperors) to narrow down our possible silver chronologies is useless. Chronologies C, B and F seem to be the most likely to me (in that order), as I am inclined to attribute a later date to Constantine's birth and association and that there are therefore two silver types before type 2 and only one gold type (type 1) before type 2.<sup>479</sup> I am also more inclined to think that type 1 of the silver is first in the sequence as a mimic of all previous ninth century silver coinage, rather than fourth in conjunction with the comparatively simplified type 5, as the portrayal of Theophilos on gold and the overall look of the base metal coinage from the first few years of his reign mimics the coinage of Michael II. Yet I am also inclined to believe that there is not too much of a time lapse between the use of **\*ΘCOFI LOSbASILE'** / **CVRICbOH0HτOSδOVLO** on the gold (type 1) and **ΘCOFI LOSδYLOS XRISTYSPIS τOScNAVTO bASILEYRO MAION** on the silver (type 3). Furthermore, the comparative numbers are of no real use, as there are in fact more than double the number of silver type 5s than gold type 5s, for a period when examples of gold coins are far more numerous than silver, but on two types we can be almost certain on the dating of.

There is also no obvious parallel between gold type 4 and any of the silver types. The lack of the deceased Constantine and Michael II on the silver is understandable in that even under the Isaurians, when a posthumous portrayal of imperial ancestors was at its height, deceased relatives did not appear on the silver inscription. Thekla, Anna and Anastasia were all living and, we assume, being presented on the gold as potential successors through marriage, as had been the plan for Theophilos' deceased daughter Maria and her husband Alexios Mousele.<sup>480</sup> That this gold type 4 is in no way paralleled in the silver leaves us with the following possible conclusions. First, that the portrayal is

---

<sup>479</sup> On the dating of Constantine's birth and death:

<sup>480</sup> Theophanes Continuator III.18.

not presenting the daughters as potential successors. Second, if the portrayal of the daughters on gold was linked to the death of Maria or the disgrace of Alexios then this demonstrates that the type may have been ceremonial. Third, it demonstrates the apparently mostly unconnected nature of the iconographic changes on gold and silver. Finally, it leaves us with the question: why was Theophilos prepared to change the conventions on coinage so much – by portraying a deceased son, by displaying his three daughters and wife, by changing repeatedly the inscription on the *miliaresion*, by introducing a more sigillographic inscription on the gold, by changing completely the conventional way of decorating the base metal coins since A.D. 498 (see below), by giving the patriarchal cross prominence over the cross potent, and this only on the subject of numismatics, and yet he would not name either deceased relative (Constantine and Michael II) or his living daughters portrayed on gold? Why was he not prepared to break these conventions when he changed so much else?

The obvious answer to the above question in relation to the deceased Constantine and Michael II is that it was clearly considered inappropriate to mix living and deceased on the same side of a coin, to put Constantine and Michael on would mean the removal of the cross and ‘Jesus Christ is victorious’ in their favour. The reason he probably did not feel able to change this is a) that it is most likely a question of public decency and decorum to separate living and dead, and b) that it would be incongruous for the emperor who put more religious emphasis into his numismatic inscriptions to remove the religious face of the silver coins. In relation to his daughters there is no obvious answer. Eirene, of course, set a precedent for a woman to appear in the inscriptions on silver coins, so placing females on the silver is not so much a case of breaking convention; however, placing daughters (in any numismatic context to this point in time) is. The question in this context really is: why break convention on gold

but not silver? It does seem very compelling evidence that the daughters are not being presented as prospective heirs on the gold if they are not present on the silver, where the heir's name always appears when he is presented on the gold.

While I can provide no better explanation for this phenomenon, it does add to the likelihood that the iconographic changes on the gold and silver coins under Theophilos are neither contemporaneous nor necessarily connected to each other. Unfortunately, however, while the lack of the daughters' appearance on the silver does make it unlikely that their appearance on the gold was apolitical, the likelihood that their appearance on the gold was apolitical does not explain their lack of appearance on the silver.

It is also entirely possible that the five respective gold and silver types of Theophilos's thirteen-year reign are not simply unconnected, but also possibly not sequential amongst themselves. That is to say that just because silver type 1 was being struck at a particular point during the reign, this does not necessarily mean that silver type 4 was not also being struck at the same time. One may have begun to be struck before the other, but that does not mean that it was no longer struck when the other began. In discussion of different numismatic types on the same denomination from the same mint for the same emperor the implicit assumption is always made that there is a sequence, but this is not necessarily the case. The assumption encounters the same problem as the issue of who decided upon the imagery: it most likely changed from emperor to emperor and, in this case, even from mint to mint. If the gold coins of Emperor *X* were dated and therefore clearly struck in discrete sequence (i.e. no two types struck at the same time), it does not therefore follow that the gold coins of his successor Emperor *Y* were in discrete sequence. It would also mean that just because

mint *a* was striking two different gold types at the same time during the reign of Emperor *Y*, it does not mean that mint *b* was doing so.

To apply the above hypotheticals to the situation from 829 to 842, it is entirely plausible that types 1 and 3 of the gold and types 1, 3 and 4 of the silver were struck and circulated at the same time as their same metal counterpart. Theoretically this possibility applies to all types, but it seems unlikely that coins solely in Theophilos's name would be in production at the same time as types 2 and 5 on both metals, associating Constantine and Michael respectively. For type 4 of the gold, however, this theory potentially adds to the story we have built up behind it thus far. As stated earlier, gold type 4 (Theophilos, Theodora and their daughters) almost certainly fell between the death of Maria and the birth of Michael, as both are conspicuous by their absence – this anchors the date for type 4's production, but does not mean that types 1 and/or 3 were not also in production at this time. Indeed, the unusual portrayal of the emperor's living daughters on gold type 4 acts as an interesting counterpoint to the unprecedented portrayal of the emperor's deceased son (alongside the precedented image of the emperor's deceased father).

#### Iconography on the base metal coinage

Until this point, the Byzantine base metal coinage from the mint of Constantinople had remained broadly the same: it has consistently contained the denominational mark, officina mark, mint mark and the pattern which gradually transforms from **ANNO** plus regnal year to **XXX NNN**. The addition of sons and ancestors variously throughout our period of study so far has not changed this central pattern, although the base metal coins from other mints have changed. This all changes under Theophilos, however. We have observed the changes to the base metal coinage at

Syracuse, on an apparently local level. Under Leo V, this progressed to a reform of all base metal coins, from both Syracuse and Constantinople under Michael II, and now the base metal undergoes another, more radical reform under Theophilos. While the reform under Michael II appears to have been targeted at increasing the weight and quality of the base metal coins, their functionality, the reform under Theophilos targeted their iconography too.

While the removal of the now redundant functional marks seems like a reform that is almost overdue, what they are replaced with gives a feel of consistency to the iconographic changes that take place under Theophilos across all metals: an increased emphasis on inscription. This overall trend across metals under Theophilos runs completely counter to the trend from Constantine V onwards. As the number of ancestors increased under the Isaurians, so the inscriptions (excepting the *miliaresia*) disappeared, whereafter inscriptions on gold and the obverse of base metal coins appear only sporadically. (See figures 163 and 164 for pre- and post-reform base metal from Constantinople)

Figure 163: pre-reform<sup>481</sup>



Figure 164: post-reform<sup>482</sup>



Even on the pre-reform base metal we can see the characteristically Theophilan addition of the patriarchal cross in place of the cross potent – interesting and unusual in that the base metal is, as we have seen, often left out from iconographic reforms carried

<sup>481</sup> BIFA B4694 (7.24g, 30.0mm, 180°).

<sup>482</sup> BIFA B4696 (7.05g, 26.5mm, 180°).

out on gold and silver. The particular obverse used here may be recognised from the type 1 of the gold.

There is a second type of the pre-reform coinage which depicts both Theophilos and Constantine on the obverse (keeping the reverse the same as under Michael II and the first pre-reform type). This should enable us to date the reform as post Constantine's death (either 831 or 835) – why reform the coinage then revert to the older models when Constantine is associated? The traditional dating for the reform, however, is c.830-1.<sup>483</sup> This is because it assumes Constantine's death to occur sometime before 831.<sup>484</sup> The appearance of the emperor and co-emperor is unremarkable in that it follows the conventions: Theophilos appears in the *chlamys* and cross crown and holding nothing, to the right is Constantine wearing the *loros* and cross crown and holding nothing.

The post-reform coinage changes not simply the reverse imagery – removing the redundant evolved functional marks – but the obverse imagery too. Allowing for space change, the obverse inscription remains the same (minus the preceding star and pellet): **ΘΕΟΦΙΛ' ΒΑΣΙΛ'**, but this time the emperor appears in the *loros*, wearing the *tufa* on his head and holding a standard. When combined with the inscription face, + **ΘΕΟ / ΦΙΛΕΑΥΣ / ΟΥΣΤΕΣΒ / ΗΙΚΑΣ** (*Theophile augouste su nicas* – Theophilos Augustus, you conquer), it seems fairly obvious that the political value is to present Theophilos as a victorious emperor.

---

<sup>483</sup> DOC III.1, 411-2.

<sup>484</sup> On the problem of dating the events surrounding the family of Theophilos: Treadgold 2003.

## Chapter 7 – The coins of Michael III (842-867)

In direct contrast to his father, we can say for almost certain that Michael III would not have had a direct say in the imagery placed upon his coinage for the early part of his reign (which set the trends, at least on gold, for the rest of his reign).<sup>485</sup> We can say this because Michael was only 2 when he succeeded his father on 20<sup>th</sup> January 842 and was placed, by the terms of his father's will, under the regency of his (Michael's) mother, Theodora, Theodora's uncle, Manouel, and Theoktistos, the Logothete of the Dromos (λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου).<sup>486</sup> The most famous act of this regency was the 'restoration of the icons' in 843, reiterating the second council of Nicaea's condemnation of Iconoclasm as a heresy in 787, and now known as the triumph of Orthodoxy. Unlike the declaration of 787 it reiterated, however, the declaration of 843 is reflected in the imagery on Michael's coins. It is because of this reflection that the material produced under Michael III is considered in this thesis, as a comparison point to the lack of reflection of the council of 787 in the coinage struck between then and the restoration of Iconoclasm in 815.

While for the purposes of this thesis, the reflection of 843 in the coins is the most important feature of Michael's coinage, it is by no means the only point of interest on the coins struck in his name. There is an unusually sparse amount of base metal coinage, especially from Constantinople. Cherson, by contrast, saw an increase in base coin production, as discussed at the end of chapter 1 of this thesis. Thekla, Michael's sister, made a surprise reappearance, not simply on the gold, but also on the silver. Basil, Michael's friend and co-emperor with the title of Augustus, did not receive the

---

<sup>485</sup> In direct contrast to his father because I have argued for Theophilos's direct involvement in the imagery placed on his coinage (see chapter 5, part 3).

<sup>486</sup> Theophanes Continuatus IV.1.



place on the gold and silver to which his rank theoretically entitled him by precedent. The gold coins from Syracuse became debased enough to be visible to the naked eye. Finally, the titles *Imperator*, *Rex* and *Megas Basileus* made unique appearances.

#### Iconography on the gold coinage

The first issues of the gold coinage of Michael III from the mint of Constantinople are generally considered to be the only gold coins of his reign which do not depict Christ (see figure 165). Therefore, attributing this type as the first, and only pre-843 gold type, does not seem to pose too much of a problem. Even if Theodora and the regency council did have in mind the end of Iconoclasm from the very beginning of Michael's nominal reign, it would be needlessly provocative to powerful iconoclasts (remembering that the elites would have had most ready access to gold coins) to portray Christ on the coins for the first time since 711.<sup>487</sup> Though it was customary for the regency of an emperor in his minority to devolve to his mother, and the other two regents had been appointed at the express will of the previous emperor, it was not at all inconceivable that a regency council could be overthrown. Indeed, this even came to pass at the end of Michael's minority with the coup of his maternal uncle Bardas in 856. Perhaps more important, though, is whether or not what would later become known as the Triumph of Orthodoxy was initially intended at all. Haldon and Brubaker make a convincing argument that it was not at all intended from the beginning and that, moreover, it was only finally executed for political expediency rather than personal religious fervour.<sup>488</sup> Moreover, as we have seen up to this point in this thesis, the numismatic iconography of this period is generally conservative; to suddenly revive a 150-year-old coin type without the political background of an event like 843 would

---

<sup>487</sup> On who most likely accessed gold see my analysis in chapter 2 (p1 and 10), for the previous appearance of Christ on the regular coinage see Chapter 2, part 5.

<sup>488</sup> Haldon and Brubaker 2011, 448-450.

break with this trend entirely. With this in mind, then, it is highly unlikely that any of the gold types depicting Christ were in circulation prior to 843.

Figure 165: gold *nomisma* of Michael III of Constantinople<sup>489</sup>



Thus we move to the imagery on this uncontroversially sequenced first gold type. On the obverse is the bust of the Empress Regent, Theodora, arrayed in the *loros* and female crown (with two concentric pinnacles and pendilia) as Eirene had been, along with Theodora, Thekla, Anna and Anastasia on the possibly ceremonial *nomisma* of Theophilos. In her right hand she holds a *globus cruciger* surmounted by a patriarchal cross and in her left a cross-topped sceptre (the stem of which is often barely visible – as it is in figure 165 – possibly indicating that it was engraved after the *loros* pattern and done lightly so as not to spoil the *loros*). In the inscription she is referred to as **ΘΕΣΡΡΑ**, meaning *δέσποινα*, the feminine equivalent of *δεσπότης*, which was the usual title given to co-emperors, such as Constantine (while living) and Michael on the coins of Theophilos, and Theophilos on the coins of Michael II.

On the reverse are the busts of Michael (left) and Thekla (right). Michael – though shown on the left, the traditional side for the senior colleague – is always depicted as smaller than Thekla, though the proportions vary; this is most likely caused

<sup>489</sup> BIFA B4744 (4.33g, 21.5mm, 180°).

by the combination of his senior rank and junior age.<sup>490</sup> Thekla appears in the same costume as her mother, although her crown is less ornate – it lacks the dots (possibly representing jewels) in the band, and the two outer pinnacles (i.e. not the central one atop which stands the cross) are singular triangles, where Theodora's crown has two concentric triangles – this is most likely due to Thekla's relative size, but it is not inconceivable that it represents a crown worn by the Emperor's sister that was different from the one worn by his mother, the Empress Regent Theodora. Unlike her mother, Thekla holds a patriarchal cross in her right hand and nothing in her left. Michael, however, appears in the *chlamys* and the regular crown type, holding a regular *globus cruciger* in his right hand.

The most immediately noticeable feature that requires explanation is the appearance of Thekla at all. Thekla was not a part of the regency council as far as the literary records, so it is not by this virtue that she qualifies for the coinage.<sup>491</sup> It could be, however, that she is being displayed as Michael's heir, should the same fate befall him as did his brother, Constantine.<sup>492</sup> By 842, it had only been 40 years since a woman had occupied the throne, a woman who also happened to be the grandmother of Michael and Thekla's step-grandmother, Euphrosyne. It is not inconceivable that Thekla was being promoted as an heir, should Michael follow his brother Constantine and sister Maria to an infant grave. If this were the case though, it then seems odd that Thekla was given to the monastic life, if she were indeed intended to be Michael's successor should he die in infancy like Constantine; surely it would make sense to have her married, as her sister Maria had been. The difference between Maria and Thekla may have been that

---

<sup>490</sup> On senior emperors appearing on the left, see the coins of Herakleios with Herakleios Constantine (chapter 2, part 1), Constans II with Constantine on the obverse (chapter 2, part 2), Justinian II with Tiberios (chapter 3, part 1), Constantine V with Leo (chapter 3, part 3) and Leo IV with Constantine (Chapter 3, part 4).

<sup>491</sup> Theophanes Continuatus IV.1.

<sup>492</sup> The suggestion also expressed by Grierson, DOC III.1, 454, and Hennesy 2013, 213.

Maria was married during the lifetime of her father, whose rule was less easily challenged by a powerful young noble with an imperial bride than Michael's "rule" under the regency of his mother and the council would have been. An alternative explanation could be that the model for Thekla's proposed rule, should Michael die young, was not the recent *Basilissa* Eirene, but the saintly Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II.

While we cannot say that Michael had any involvement in the decisions about coin imagery, due to his tender years, an innovative move such as placing the emperor's sister on the gold (and silver) coinage of Constantinople as an heir apparent must have involved a member of the regency council. This seems even more likely given the proximity of Theodora and Theoktistos to the late Emperor Theophilos. The appearance of Thekla on the early coins of Michael III is effectively a continuation of her brief appearance on the rare *nomisma* of Theophilos. It is also entirely conceivable that the unusual Theophilan *nomisma* was not produced on the initiative of the Emperor himself, but at the suggestion of his wife or advisor, who made up part of the regency council for Michael III, and was the creative force behind this early issue.

Returning to the iconography of the type: that Michael's *globus* is surmounted by a cross potent while Theodora's has a patriarchal cross is particularly notable. Though Thekla does not hold a *globus cruciger* – probably owing to her lack of status as a ruler, as she is simply the emperor's sister – the cross she holds is a patriarchal one. Since the patriarchal cross was only reintroduced under Theophilos, and before him only Theodosios III and Artavastos had used it, it is difficult to establish any sort of pattern for its use. As Theodora and Thekla, Theodosios III was clad in the *loros*, though the women appear in the *loros* because they were women and Theodosios III because it formed part of the alternating costume pattern for the period 711-720. Under

Theophilos, however, the patriarchal cross appears not only with a figure clad in the *loros*, but also when Theophilos appears in the *chlamys* and holds a patriarchal cross on gold types 2, 3 and 5, while he wears a *loros* and holds a simple *globus cruciger* on type 1 and Michael does the same on Theophilos's type 5. There does not, therefore, appear to be a link between use of the patriarchal cross and the use of the *loros*. Nor can it be a gender issue, as Theophilos and Constantine (while living) had been shown with the patriarchal cross, while Eirene can provide no comparison since the patriarchal cross was not used for coin imagery in her period. Certainly the patriarchal cross is linked to the *loros* in that the *loros* was a costume worn at the Easter ceremony performed by the Patriarch, at least according to the later *Book of ceremonies*.<sup>493</sup> It might be tempting to suggest that it relates to a restoration of 'orthodoxy' – Theodosios III following the reversion to a monothelite policy under Philippikos, Artavastos against the iconoclast Constantine V, Theodora and the council of 843 – however, Theodosios III came immediately after the Chalcedonian Anastasios II, there is little evidence that Constantine V began iconomachy on his accession, why should Theodora and Thekla be connected through the patriarchal cross to 843 but Michael not, and, most notably, how would this fit with Theophilos holding the patriarchal cross? Theophilos was continuing what would have been for him the orthodoxy of iconoclasm – this is why I have used 'orthodoxy' with a miniscule 'o', because orthodoxy is subjective – but he was certainly continuing, not restoring.

At some point following the council of 843, a second gold coin type appears from the mint of Constantinople (see figure 166). For reasons discussed four pages ago, it seems improbable that this coin type was struck before 843 and, due to Theodora's appearance on the coin, cannot have been struck later than 856 when Bardas overthrew

---

<sup>493</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, book II, 40.

his sister and the other regents. Whether this type began circulation within the year 843 (the restoration officially took place on 11<sup>th</sup> March) or later, and whether it continued to be struck up until 856, however, is less clear.

Figure 166: gold *nomisma* of Michael III with Theodora, Constantinople<sup>494</sup>



While these types are certainly post-843, it is not clear at what point after this time they were struck. Instructions would need to be sent out and new dies would need to be cut; this would take time. On the other hand, if the council of 843 was convened for political expediency rather than personal religious conviction, then these coin types could have been conceived of as part of that political package and therefore have been produced much closer to March 843. Given that it is likely that a member of the regency council was directly involved in the decision over coin images, as I have argued with the early gold type including Thekla, it seems probable that coin imagery would have been a small part of the restoration political package, if a politically calculated package the restoration was. At the other temporal end, it seems likely that this type continued until the coup, since Theodora was still regent at this point and it would therefore be strange for her to be absent from the coins.

As Thekla's appearance on the first Constantinopolitan gold type required explanation, her disappearance here demands a level of discussion also. If Thekla was on the first type as a proposed heir should Michael die young, then it would make sense

---

<sup>494</sup> BIFA B4745 (4.46g, 20.0mm, 180°).

to keep her present. The lack of space for three figures is not a useful argument, since, not only was the use of three figures on one face well-precedented – Herakleios and sons, Constans II and sons, the ancestors of Constantine VI – it was preceded recently on the rare *nomisma* of Theophilos with the Emperor flanked by his wife and eldest daughter. There seem to me to be three possible explanations for Thekla's disappearance at this stage: first, that she was not present on the first type as a potential heir; second, that she experienced an unattested disgrace; third, that the Christ coin type was introduced into circulation later than 843, by which point Michael was old enough to assuage fears of dying in infancy. The third of these possibilities seems to be the most likely explanation, since there is no good reasoning for Thekla's original appearance other than being presented as an heir, while for the second, it is futile to try to argue for the occurrence of an event for which there is little or no evidence. As explained in chapter 3, part 5, using comparative coin number statistics, whether gross coin numbers or a die study based explanation, is not necessarily an indication of length of time for an issue.<sup>495</sup> This is particularly pertinent for the reign of Michael III, as there appear to be no base metal coins produced in the capital for the reign – regency or after – prior to 866. While it is beyond reasonable doubt that the reappearance of Christ on the coins after 843 was deliberate imperial policy and politically motivated, it does not follow that the new type had to have been issued in or shortly after 843. Michael's beardlessness and Theodora's presence would indicate a date before 856.

On the obverse of these second types, we see the reappearance of Christ (in image form) for the first time since 711. He is described only as **IHSXS RISTOS\*** (Jesus Christ) rather than with the epithet *Rex Regnantium*, as he had appeared under Justinian II. He appears in his *Pantokrator* form, holding the gospels in his left hand and

---

<sup>495</sup> This is a method Füeg uses to produce a changeover date between types 1 and 2 of 850 – Füeg 2007, 29-30. Both Grierson and Morrisson cautiously date the issue to 843 – DOC III.1, 456; BN II, 517.

giving the sign of benediction with his right; the cross behind his head is without a halo, as under Justinian II, but unlike all numismatic depictions of him for all subsequent emperors. On the reverse are the busts of Michael (left) and Theodora (right). Thekla has been removed from the coinage. As is customary, Theodora wears the *loros* and female crown while Michael wears the *chlamys* and cross crown. Neither holds any visible object and both are marked simply by their names, no titles.

That Theodora's crown is the simpler version worn by Thekla on type 1, rather than the more ornate version she herself wore on type 1 (see figure 165), probably indicates that it is the size and space that dictated the simplicity of the crown, not that Theodora's crown, as Empress Regent, was physically different from Thekla's. Michael still stands in the position of honour on the left. Theodora was still regent, as indicated by her continued presence on the coin, even though Michael appears as still a young child (see figure 166) he is placed to the viewer's left. This custom of portraying the nominal emperor on the left is followed even by Eirene.<sup>496</sup>

The most obvious and important issue here though, is why does Christ reappear now, after 843, yet he did not after 787. Indeed, this is the question around which this entire thesis was conceived and is absolutely central to it. In order to answer this question, we must reconsider the arguments presented in chapter 3, part 1, of this thesis. Not the age-old question 'why did Christ appear on the coins of Justinian II?', rather, the more pertinent 'why did Christ *not* appear on the coins of provincial mints<sup>497</sup> under Justinian II and why did Christ not appear on the coins of Justinian's usurpers?'. Here is not the place to reiterate those arguments in full, but in summary. I argued in the relevant chapter that both Christ's non-appearance on the coins of Carthage, Syracuse and the Italian mainland, which did include on some issues the other innovation of the

---

<sup>496</sup> See chapter 3, part 5.

<sup>497</sup> Excluding, of course, Sardinia.



full-body *loros* on other types, amounted to a rejection of the image of Christ on coins, not an act of political rebellion against Justinian II and not simply an example of mint independence. Christ's continued non-appearance thereafter was equally a rejection of the holy image on the coin. I argued that Christ's appearance on the tax-paying gold coins from the mint of Constantinople, where he was designated as the king of kings, and Justinian was designated as his servant, evoked Jesus's biblical exhortation that his followers should 'render therefore unto Caesar the things of Caesar and the things of God to God', but now that the Caesar is a Christian Caesar, whose king is Christ, taxpayers to Justinian can simultaneously render the things of Caesar to Caesar and of God to God.<sup>498</sup> I therefore argued that the contemporary and later rejection of the use of the image of Christ on the coinage was equally connected to the function of coins as a means of profane, earthly activities such as taxation and usury: an inappropriate medium to display the pure, heavenly image of Christ; and a concern about the medium of the holy image as expressed in canon 73 of the Council of Trullo. In chapter 4, part 1, I argued that this continued distaste for the use of the image of Christ on coins specifically was what lay behind the lack of a sign of 787.

It could, of course, be the case that Justinian II, who had last used Christ's image, was by 843 a more distant memory than he was in 797, and so the use of Christ on coinage less connected to him personally. However, Christ's form, if not the inscription that surrounds him, is clearly directly copied from the Justinianic model. It therefore seems to me much more likely that the attitude toward where Christ could appropriately be portrayed had changed in the 56 years since the Second Council of Nicaea. That said, the lack of *Rex Regnantium* in the obverse inscription may be a nod to acknowledge that Christ here signifies only the return of religious imagery, not

---

<sup>498</sup> Matthew 22:21; Mark 12:17; Luke 20:25

something expressly linked to paying your taxes to your Christian Caesar and thereby also doing your duty to God.

Following the deposition of Theodora as regent in 856, there is only one further gold type struck at Constantinople (see figure 167). The obverse, depicting Christ, is the same as on the previous type, but on the reverse Michael's bust is now alone, wearing the *loros*, holding the *akakia* in his left hand, and a military standard encompassing a cross in his right. Michael is also now shown as bearded – marking his transition to adulthood – and titled βασιλεύς (**BASILE'** - *basileus*).

Figure 167: gold *nomisma* of Michael III alone, Constantinopolitan type<sup>499</sup>



That Michael appears in the *loros* is not entirely surprising since when Theophilos appeared with the standard on his post-reform base metal coinage, he too wears the *loros*. Furthermore, on the previous two types Michael was most likely in the *chlamys* to be distinguished from the females (in addition to the crowns) as was customary when males and females appeared on the coinage together.<sup>500</sup>

Elsewhere in the Empire, the mint of Syracuse produced a gold coinage which was visibly debased and all coins were cut to usual Syracusan standards for *semisses*, not *nomismata*. Unlike at the mint in the capital, the mint at Syracuse did not produce gold coins with the image of Christ, nor even with the image of Theodora, although,

<sup>499</sup> BIFA unnumbered coin (4.42g, 20.0mm, 180°) (this coin is listed as a contemporary counterfeit in the Barber's collection).

<sup>500</sup> See the coinage of Constantine VI (chapter 3, part 5) and Theophilos gold type 4 (chapter 5, part 4).

also unlike Constantinople, Basil was shown on the gold towards the end of Michael's reign. The Syracusan gold of Michael III before the association of Basil closely follows previous Syracusan gold types by showing the emperor in the *chlamys* on one side and in the *loros* on the other. As at Constantinople, there are three known types of gold produced at Syracuse. One shows Michael on both sides in the different costumes holding a patriarchal *globus cruciger* with the inscription **MI XAHLΘ** (see figure 168); on another he appears the same way, but holding a regular *globus cruciger* and with the inscription **MI XAHA** (see figure 169); and the final type shows Michael on the obverse dressed in the *loros* holding a regular *globus cruciger* with the same inscription as the previous type and Basil in the *chlamys* holding a regular *globus cruciger* too (see figure 169).

Figure 168: gold *nomisma* of Michael III, Syracuse



Figure 169: gold *semissis* of Michael III, Syracuse<sup>501</sup>



Figure 170: gold *semissis* of Michael III, Syracuse<sup>502</sup>



<sup>501</sup> BIFA B4752 (1.68g, 13.5mm, 180°).

<sup>502</sup> Image from [http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/michael\\_III/sb1696.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/michael_III/sb1696.jpg), type DOC III.1, AV11.

Grierson dates the types in the above order and while I would agree on the dating I disagree on the reason. Grierson's reasoning is that the  $\theta$  at the end of the inscription is a reference to Theodora's regency.<sup>503</sup> While this is a perfectly plausible argument, it must also be remembered that  $\theta$  was also a commonly used numismatic control mark, and continued to be used as such on the base metal coinage of Syracuse during the reign of Michael III, which never adopted the Theophilan base metal reform. Why reference Theodora's regency in the form of a  $\theta$  rather than simply depict her? The second of the three types, however, depicts Michael exactly as he appears once Basil is associated on the third type, which is anchorable to the end of Michael's reign. It is also worth pointing out that there are, admittedly rare, instances where the L appears on one inscription face and  $\Lambda$  on the other and where one face is of the first type and the opposite face of the second.<sup>504</sup> Though this is a rare instance (amongst a sparse sample) it indicates that the precise dating of these types, for either reason, is more complicated still.

What is most curious about the Syracusan gold coinage, however, is the absence of Christ (and the presence of Basil, unlike on the gold at Constantinople). This absence is, of course, a beautiful demonstration of mint independence. At the same time, however, it demands the question: is this demonstrative of a complete communication breakdown between Syracuse and Constantinople (that the mint of Syracuse was unaware of the use of Christ), or did the Syracusan designer simply choose not to implement this type (in turn demanding the question: why?)? By the geographic spread of finds of both Constantinopolitan Christ types – some, for example, were found in Moravia – it seems unlikely that one or two would not have made their way to

---

<sup>503</sup> DOC III.1, 459.

<sup>504</sup> For the former scenario: DOC III.1, Michael III coin AV9.2; for the second instance BIFA BXXXX.

Syracuse.<sup>505</sup> Furthermore, since Basil came to occupy a space on the Syracusan coinage, news must have reached Syracuse from the capital about Basil's rise in status, at least. Therefore we are left with the conclusion that whoever designed the dies for the mint at Syracuse *chose* not to show Christ on the coinage following 843; if we accept the use of Christ's image at Constantinople as a calculated political move, it also demonstrates the lack of Constantinopolitan concern for Syracuse. Christ is not the only character conspicuous by his absence either, since neither Theodora nor, less significantly, Thekla are shown on the Syracusan gold.

This overall picture leaves a serious problem for a central idea stated at the beginning of this thesis: that mint independence means a lack of governmental concern for the imagery. It cannot be argued that following 843 using the image of Christ is of no political value. At the same time, however, Syracuse displays significant independence from Constantinople (this pattern continues into the base metal material produced there) so by my original argument, the use of Christ's image is not a calculated political move. It would be possible to argue that it was a type designed by the Constantinopolitan mint on the model of Justinian's type for the occasion and accepted by the government, who chose not to press the issue with Syracuse; however, this simply deals with the origin of the design while the real issue at stake is the use of imagery as political message conveyance, which cannot fail to be missed in this case, especially in the context of the 840s. Since the rule fits earlier contexts (and is why it was developed) the case of Michael III can only be seen as the metaphorical exception to prove the rule.<sup>506</sup>

---

<sup>505</sup> From a graveyard excavation in 1957, Vavrinek 1967.

<sup>506</sup> For earlier contexts see in particular chapter 2, part 2, where the idea is first introduced, but it is revisited throughout this thesis.

### Iconography on the silver coinage

As had been the case since 720, the silver *miliaresion* was produced only at Constantinople and remained metrically and in its iconographic essentials the same as when it was first introduced in that year. Though the *miliaresion* remained as one inscription face and one face with cross potent on three steps with the inscription **ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ**, the inscription face changes the wording and on one of the three silver types there is a slight change to the cross on steps too.

Figure 171: silver *miliaresion* of Michael III, Constantinople<sup>507</sup>



Figure 172: silver *miliaresion* of Michael III, Constantinople<sup>508</sup>



Figure 173: silver *miliaresion* of Michael III, Constantinople<sup>509</sup>



On the first type, which for reasons of its similarity to the gold type we can comfortably date as the first type, Michael is named with his mother Theodora and his sister Thekla, who are ‘by God Emperors of the Romans’ after the style begun under Michael I (see figure 171).<sup>510</sup> On the second type Michael is named alone as ‘trusted Emperor of the Romans’, after the style introduced by his father, Theophilos (see figure

<sup>507</sup> BIFA B4746 (1.79g, 24.5mm, 0°).

<sup>508</sup> BIFA B4748 (2.19g, 23.0mm, 0°).

<sup>509</sup> BIFA B4749 (1.95g, 24.0mm, 0°).

<sup>510</sup> See chapter 4, part 4.

172).<sup>511</sup> On the final type occurs the change to the cross on steps, which now surmounts a pellet and the horizontal bar of the cross appears further up the vertical, making it appear elongated. On the inscription face Michael again appears alone, but it this time ‘great’ as well as ‘trusted emperor of the romans’ (see figure 173).

The use of the adjective μέγας (great) on the coinage is unique to Michael III, but it is not unique more generally within his reign. On an inscription at Ancyra and at Nicaea he is described as μέγας, and again in the homilies of Photios.<sup>512</sup> That this adjective appears on the same type as the modified cross on steps I believe to be significant. There are four positions in which pellets appear on coins: at the centre of *miliaresion* inscriptions (as shown in figure 170), but not always; at the beginning of inscriptions, as are small crosses and stars; at the ends of bars where an imperial figure is shown on the reverse of pre-Theophilan reform base metal, but not always, the bars are more often plain; and beneath floating crosses, most commonly between two imperial figures’ heads. Of these, the last instance is the most common and the instance that is most interesting for our purposes. It is my contention that the pellets appearing beneath floating crosses are, in fact, tiny *globi*; whether they are therefore connected in any way to the other sorts of pellets is to my mind doubtful. Furthermore, their use on the *miliaresion* inscriptions is likely a centring device to gauge the size and spacing of the lettering, while this is clearly not the purpose when they appear non-centrally. There is also a precedent set, on silver, by the Herakleian *siliqua* and *hexagram*, both of which contain a cross potent above (but not connected to) a globe, which is in turn above three steps. Although on the seventh-century precedent the steps and globe (or pellet representing a globe) are the other way around, it still seems a compelling precedent.

---

<sup>511</sup> See chapter 5, part 4.

<sup>512</sup> For Ancyran inscription: CIG IV, 8795; for Nicaean inscription: Diehl 1892, 76, no. 5; Photios homily X, AR II, 436.

Also of importance in the consideration of why Michael is μέγας is the context of its other usages. In homily X, Photios is praising the construction of a great temple, which he compares with the biblical King Solomon's. Though it is not surprising that the patriarch's praise of the emperor concerns religious matters, it is still helpful to know that this is the context in which Michael is described as μέγας. Unfortunately the Nicaean inscription can tell us little further, as it is on a stone that was used for repair works sometime in the nineteenth century, so we do not know its exact archaeological context. The inscription itself reads:

ΠΥΡΓΟCMI  
 XAHΛMEΓA  
 AΟΥBACIAE  
 ΩCENXΩA/  
 TOKPATOPOC  
 ETOVCCTΞδ

'a tower of the great emperor Michael, in Christ ruler, year 6364 [A.D. 856]' a tower for what building we do not know, but note that the year is the same year for the deposition of Theodora as regent.<sup>513</sup> The Ancyran inscription is longer and explicitly military in nature. It refers directly to Michael's war against the 'Persians' (i.e. the Arabs) and not simply μέγας this time, Michael is 'Μιχαήλ ὁ δεσπότης, [μέγ]ας βασιλεύς ν[ικητ]ής στεφηνόρος' (the ruler Michael, great emperor crowned victor). While the military nature of the Ancyran inscription seems clear, and the tower to which the Nicaean inscription probably belonged is likely to have been military, I cannot fully accept Morrisson's argument that the use of μέγας on Michael's coins was also connected to his military success, not least because Photios provides us with a religious building

---

<sup>513</sup> Transcription of epigraphy provided in Diehl 1892, 76.



example.<sup>514</sup> Furthermore, while it not a contemporary usage, μέγας βασιλεύς is also used to describe Constantine IV (668-685) in his letter to Pope Donus (received by Pope Agatho) in 680, proposing the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680-681): ‘Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν / αὐτοκράτωρ Φλάβιος Κωνσταντῖνος πιστὸς μέγας βασιλεύς.’<sup>515</sup> As with the homily of Photios, this is again a use of the title in a religious context, not a military one. If we look at the dating of the coins alongside the Nicaean inscription, however, it does seem likely that the inscription, in 856, came first. The only coin type to associate Theodora with her son is the first type which also associates Thekla, like the first Constantinopolitan gold type. Unlike the first Constantinopolitan gold type, however, the first silver type was not succeeded by one naming Theodora but not Thekla, so it seems likely that the first silver type (with both imperial women) was contemporaneous to both Constantinopolitan gold types 1 (with both imperial women) and 2 (with Theodora only), it is also proportionally numerous enough not to doubt such a conclusion. Since the second silver type is more derivative of Theophilos’ coins and the third silver type, where Michael is μέγας, is more innovative, it seems likely that type 2 came before type 3. Therefore, there has to have been enough time elapsed between 856 (the end of the first type), when the Nicaean inscription was produced, and the beginning of the third type, so the title μέγας βασιλεύς for Michael does appear in a likely military context before a numismatic context, but this does not necessarily mean that the title’s use on the silver coinage was alluding to the halting of the Arabs.

---

<sup>514</sup> BN II, 517.

<sup>515</sup> ACO II.1, p.2, lines 7-8. ‘In the name of our lord, king and saviour Jesus Christ, Emperor Flavios Constantine faithful great Emperor.’ Or, in the Latin: ‘In nomine domini et saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi / imperator Flavius Constantinus fidelis magnus imperator.’ ACO II.1, p. 3, lines 8-9.

### Iconography on the base metal coinage

There were three mints producing base metal during the reign of Michael III: Constantinople, Syracuse and Cherson. While it has been customary thus far in the thesis to begin with the material of Constantinople, as the presumed standard setter and producer of the largest quantity of material, in the case of Michael III it is the material from the mint of Syracuse which causes the fewest problems, so it is with Syracuse that we shall begin.

In the previous chapter, it was seen that Syracuse remained untouched by the base metal reform of Theophilos, Michael's father, who removed the now redundant functional marks and replaced them with iconography on both faces.<sup>516</sup> Earlier in this chapter, it was seen that in the production of gold under Michael III, Syracuse retained a large amount of autonomy in its decisions about imagery. In the base metal coins of Michael III produced at Syracuse, we see a continuation of both of these patterns.

In form the Syracusan base metal coins *all* have on the obverse the bust of Michael III, clad in the *loros* and wearing the cross crown and holding the cross potent in his right hand. The inscription reads simply **MI XAHLb** (*Michael b[asileus]* – Michael emperor). On the reverse is the large M mark (formerly representing the 40 *nummi* value, but largely redundant since Constantine V); above it floats a cross and beneath the M, between its legs, sits a  $\theta$  (see figure 174).

Figure 174: base metal *folles* of Michael III, Syracuse<sup>517</sup>



<sup>516</sup> See chapter 5, part 4.

<sup>517</sup> BIFA B4756 (3.51g, 19.5mm, 180°).

In the narrative section of the DOC is to be found the sentence: ‘The reverse type revived that of Michael II and Theophilus, the θ now referring to Theodora, though it in fact became immobilized and was employed throughout the reign.’<sup>518</sup> This is to be refuted utterly. As we saw with the gold coinage of Syracuse, there is also a θ control mark, and while I have argued that it is simply that, a control mark, Grierson made the same assertion that it stood for Theodora.<sup>519</sup> In both cases, however, θ is well preceded as a control mark (see figures 175-177 for the gold and 178 and 179 for the base metal).

Figure 175: Theophilus<sup>520</sup>



\*ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ

Figure 176: Nikephoros I<sup>521</sup>



ΣΤΑΥΡΑ C...ΣΔΡΟ'Θ

Figure 177: Eirene<sup>522</sup>



·ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΘ

Figure 178: Theophilus<sup>523</sup>



Figure 179: Michael II<sup>524</sup>



<sup>518</sup> DOC III.1, 459.

<sup>519</sup> DOC III.1, 459.

<sup>520</sup> BIFA B4684 (4.44g, 21.0mm, 180°).

<sup>521</sup> BIFA B4614 (4.48g, 21.0mm, 180°).

<sup>522</sup> BIFA B4610 (4.42g, 21.0mm, 180°).

<sup>523</sup> BIFA B4733 (4.69g, 19.5mm, 180°).

<sup>524</sup> BIFA B4677 (3.44g, 17.0mm, 180°).

The use of the  $\theta$  control mark on the base metal is also a very peculiarly Amorion feature, which marked out the newer, metrically reformed base metal coinage under Michael II, following on from the base metal reform at Syracuse during the reign of Leo V.<sup>525</sup> In this context, it seems only a coincidence that a commonly used control mark on gold and the exclusive control mark used on the Syracusan base metal coinage of the Amorion dynasty is also the first letter of Theodora's name. Furthermore, Grierson points out that it was 'employed throughout the reign', and Theodora was not regent throughout the reign. This end part of Grierson's assertion is not a strange feature of his rule, but a further means of refuting it.

That the Syracusan base metal remained untouched by the base metal reforms of Theophilos further adds to the sense of Syracuse's independence from the capital, which was begun when we considered its gold material that remained very different from the gold of Constantinople. One of the reasons the people at the mint of Syracuse may have decided to retain the old base metal imagery is that it made the overstriking of old types far easier. Of the material from the collections used for this thesis 88.9% of the Syracusan base metal coins of Michael III are overstruck (usually on those of Theophilos). The reason for this, in turn, is likely to be the lack of availability of the raw metals required to make the base metal coins anew.

The final point on the base metal of Syracuse is to note that Michael always appears in the *loros*. In earlier chapters of this thesis, it was seen that Syracuse almost invariably changed the order of costume priority. Though it was most of the time at odds with Constantinople, making the *loros* usually of higher importance than the *chlamys*, it also had a helpful tendency to disagree with itself (and thereby agree with Constantinople) and place the lead emperor in the *chlamys* on a smaller amount of

---

<sup>525</sup> For Michael's reform see chapter 5, part 3.

material even as the self-same emperor appeared in the *loros* on the larger amount. Here, under Michael III, there is an unusual consistency, although it still favours the *loros* as the more important costume.

If Syracuse poses fewer than its usual problems, then Constantinople poses more than usual. Very little base metal coinage from Constantinople during the reign of Michael III is known to us. That which is known is from the period where Basil is associated with Michael. This means, if we are correct in attributing no pre-Basil Constantinopolitan base metal to Michael, that we are left with at least a 24-year gap during which no base metal coins were being struck at the capital city, and 24 years is based on the assumption that the coins which are attributed to Michael III begin production within the same year that Basil is created Augustus.

The most obvious question to ask following this apparent gap, is: “can we be absolutely sure that all other Michael base metal coins are correctly attributed to their respective Michaels, and should not, in fact, belong to the reign of Michael III?” Let us, then, consider this question. We know that, following Theophilos’s base metal reform, we should no longer expect to see the functional marks on the base metal coinage, so this discounts the ambiguous lone Michael base metal coinage which, as in both the DOC and BN, I chose to attribute to Michael I.<sup>526</sup> By Michael IV, V and VI, the base metal coinage in use was the anonymous *folles*, so there is no base metal coinage directly attributable to them at all. The base metal coinage of Michael VII has a very eleventh-century depiction of the *loros* and Christ named by the much more icon-like IC XC (see figure 180). Finally, the coinage of Michael VIII is so typically late Byzantine in shape, design and execution that there is no way in which any examples could belong

---

<sup>526</sup> See chapter 4, part 4.

to Michael III (see figure 181). Thus we can be certain that there is no base metal Michael III coins attributed to the wrong Michael: there is indeed a gap in production.

Figure 180: Michael VII<sup>527</sup>



Figure 181: Michael VIII<sup>528</sup>



So why the pause in production? Morrisson's best guess, like mine, is that the amount of base metal coins produced under Theophilos was so great that that simply continued in circulation during Michael's reign.<sup>529</sup> This is merely a best guess, however, as such a clearly lengthy pause in small-change denomination production is wholly unprecedented in Byzantine coinage. The nearest parallel would be the pause in production of all metals for the first four months of the reign of Leo IV. This, however, was a matter of a few months, not *at least* 24 years.<sup>530</sup>

Although the continuation in circulation of Theophilan coinage seems the best explanation here, I can conceive of only two reasons for this and both of these are slightly dubious. The first is the reason Morrisson presents – that there was so much material from the reign of Theophilos that it simply continued to circulate during the reign of Michael III. This seems a fair reason at first, but it is wholly unprecedented for this length of time, even within the reign of Michael III. Arguable precedents and parallels could be the four-month pause at the beginning of the reign of Leo IV, when the coinage of Constantine V presumably continued, or the short reign of Staurakios, the

<sup>527</sup> BIFA B5483 (6.97g, 30.0mm, 180°).

<sup>528</sup> BIFA B6176 (2.97g, 25.0mm, 180°).

<sup>529</sup> BN II, 515.

<sup>530</sup> On the pause under Leo IV see chapter 3, part 4.

probable lack of a coinage for Heraklonas, or even the apparent continuity in form from Leo III to Constantine V, which posed so many issues outlined in chapter 3. However, none of these come even remotely close to 24 years, and each (excluding Leo III to Constantine V) have their own specific reasons for a pause in production.<sup>531</sup> So much for production pause precedents. As another perspective: usually, where there was an abundance of material from the previous reign or an apparent shortage of raw materials or both, we see a tendency to overstriking, not directly continued usage. Witness to this phenomenon is the Michael III Syracusan material with its 88.9% overstrike rate discussed immediately before this Constantinopolitan section. The second, more dubious, reason for the pause is the drive of the Empress Regent Theodora to continue her husband's good posthumous reputation. The continuation of the use of Theophilos's coinage, which we must assume, would certainly help to keep him in people's minds, however, it does not explain why this happened only on base metal. It cannot be explained by 843 – that the reintroduction of Christ was so important in terms of imperial political messaging causing a new type to be struck – because we have a pre-843 gold type. There are also other ways of using the coinage to keep an emperor's deceased Augustus father's memory alive: witness to this is the Isaurian coinage and, in a way, the Theophilan gold type 3 (although the Theophilan type is unparalleled on the base metal). Perhaps, that was too connected to iconoclast emperors. Even so, to deliberately continue the previous emperor's memory at the expense of the present emperor seems odd at best. Perhaps we are looking at a materials shortage? Certainly Syracuse was making use of previous coinages as a source of metal for the flans instead of minting afresh; but why too then does Constantinople not do the same? Previous Constantinopolitan base metal coins were overstruck on older types, so it is unlikely

---

<sup>531</sup> See chapter.

that any concerns about overstriking caused the issue. Perhaps the increase in base metal coin production under Theophilos had caused an unattested inflation that the regency council was keen not to exacerbate.

Figure 182: base metal *folles* of Michael III, Constantinople<sup>532</sup>



When the Constantinopolitan mint did start striking base metal again, the coins show Michael on the obverse, and Basil on the reverse (see figure 182), therefore dating the coins to 866-7. This post-866 type has both emperors shown as bearded and wearing the *loros* (which post-Theophilos seems to have been established as the principal costume unless women are shown); both hold a patriarchal *globus cruciger* in their right hands and the *mappa/akakia* in the left. Both emperors are, in fact, completely identical beyond the identifying inscriptions; inscriptions which discard the old favourites since Leo III and Constantine of βασιλεύς and δεσποτης in favour of the Latin *imperator* and *rex*. While the use of Latin in the mid-ninth century is at first surprising, it must be remembered that in a numismatic context Latin letters had been in use since the coinage was very much Roman – a continuation that in itself is surprising – Latin words, however, had not been seen on the Byzantine coinage since Justinian II's *rex regnatium* inscription for Christ's bust. Grierson's suggestion that the use of these titles, is linked to a correspondence between Michael III and Pope Nicholas I discussing the Latin language seems very reasonable, however, it has one significant problem.<sup>533</sup> Coins with

<sup>532</sup> BIFA B4751 (6.98g, 25.0mm, 180°).

<sup>533</sup> DOC III.1 456



apparent designs to carry a message abroad were always placed on the gold and silver – witness: Justinian II’s Christ on gold and silver, perhaps intended to annoy Abd al-Malik and his image aversion; Michael I’s βασιλεύς Ῥωμαίων on silver, making a point to the ‘Roman’ emperors of the West; and the reintroduction of Christ on gold under Michael III, probably designed to point out the shift in theology. Contrast with this the role of base metal – witness: the reform of Anastasius I, showing the value in Greek numerals on the coin; Justinian I, placing a regnal year to date the coin; Michael II, essentially only changing the control mark from A to Θ to highlight which coins were the metrically reformed type; and Theophilos, who simply removed redundant features. The only iconographic reforms to cross all three metals were the familial depictions: the Herakleians with their various sons, and the Isaurians with their various ancestors, both of which were nothing to do with external politics. If the use of the Latin titles were linked to the dispute between the Emperor and the Pope, base metal coinage was a strange medium to choose.

## Concluding remarks

This thesis began with a question: if coins function as vehicles for image-based imperial political messaging, on the one hand, and the period of iconomachy was a period of intense religious and political struggle over the use of images, on the other; why is there no note of the struggle on the coins of the period until 843?

In attempting to answer this question, I have considered the extent to which coins were deliberately used by the Emperor's government at Constantinople as vehicles for political messaging, and how this changed through the period from one emperor and his government to the next. I have considered how the images used on coins related to one another through time and through geographic difference. And I have considered how the imagery employed varied across metals.

It seems fair to consider that the governments of Herakleios, Constans II, Constantine IV, Justinian II, Leo III from 720, Constantine V, Theophilos and the regency council for Michael III all used the coin iconography for promoting some aspect of their reigns.

Not only did Herakleios bring the numismatic imagery to full Christianisation – which had happened only gradually, sporadically and had still maintained a link to the pre-Christian numismatic imagery through Victoria-Nike and Constantinopolis – but Herakleios's coins also showed a greater tendency to homogeneity in imagery across mints than the coins of his predecessors of the sixth century. I have argued that while the varied imagery across mints of the sixth century may represent localised decisions, reflecting local circumstances, the repeated imagery of Herakleios – always the cross potent on steps for the *nomismata*, always the elongated *globus cruciger* for the *semisses*, always the simple cross potent for the *tremisses*, which had begun even on the

coinage of the Herakleian revolt; the repeated and consistent depiction of Herakleios Constantine (Constantine III), and the mostly, though not exclusively, consistent depiction of Constantine Herakleios (Heraklonas) across all metals – indicates an iconographic policy emanating from the capital.

The role of the government of Constans II is less wide reaching than that of Herakleios, but it is apparent nonetheless. Though Constans's coinage only shows a uniformity in imagery across mints on the gold, the imagery on the base metal coins from Constantinople during the early part of Constans's reign is innovative enough, and chimes enough with the appearances of the 'new Constantine' in other media for the period, that it should be considered as a deliberate alteration sanctioned by Constans's government. In the use of the inscription **EN T8TO NIKΑ** (in this [sign] conquer), Constans, the new Constantine, is linked with the vision of Constantine I before the battle of the Milvian bridge. In combination with the reverse inscription **ΑΝΑ ΝΕΟ ΣΙΣ** (renewal), the idea not only becomes stronger, but also provides a clear political impetus for the imagery – the miraculous renewal of Roman fortunes anticipated like the miraculous victory of Herakleios against the Persians, but this time against the Caliphate, who had taken Jerusalem and the true cross as the Persians had done, the new Constantine would conquer by the sign of the cross as Constantine I and Herakleios had done. As this constitutes an early type, however, this is clearly the work of the government of Constans, not the juvenile emperor himself.

The numismatic imagery of Constantine IV provides more of a parallel in imperial direction to that of his grandfather, Herakleios, than to that of his father, Constans II. Like the innovative imagery on the coinage of Herakleios, the innovative imagery on the coinage of Constantine IV is repeated across metals and mints; though it should be noted that it was repeated across fewer mints. To call Constantine's

numismatic imagery 'innovative' is somewhat misleading, however, as it actually represented a consistent reversion to the numismatic imagery of the early coinage of Justinian I. Consistency is key, though, and just as his Justinianic representation is consistent, so too is the relegation of Constantine's brothers, Herakleios and Tiberios, to the reverse of the coins. Moreover, as the imagery on some of the Constans II coins, the imagery of Constantine IV's coins can be set in the context of other media from his reign. The mosaic at Sant' Apollinare in Ravenna, the increase in weight of the base metal coins to Justinianic standards, and even the naming of his son can be at least in part explained by Constantine's *imitatio Iustiniani*.

As for the rest of the Herakleian dynasty, Justinian II also appears as an emperor deliberately employing numismatic imagery for political purposes. Whatever one's conclusions about the reasoning behind the Christ-type gold and silver coins, the sudden appearance of the bust of Christ on Justinian's coins cannot be anything other than a deliberate choice. I have noted, however, that while this new type must have had at least the approval of Justinian, if the instruction had not come directly from the emperor, it does not see the consistency in repetition across the mints seen for the coins of Herakleios and Constantine IV. This lack of consistency does not mean that the image did not represent a form of imperial political messaging, but rather it meant that either it was deemed only relevant to the gold and silver coins of Constantinople (and Sardinia poses an interesting anomaly), or that the decision was neither followed by the other mints (excepting Sardinia) nor was it imposed on them by Constantinople.

Though the first three years of the reign of Leo III show little deliberate use of the coinage for political messaging, from 720 there are significant innovations which lead me to believe that either Leo or somebody in his government was using the coinage to political ends. While the introduction of the *miliaresion* appears to have had

significant practical and economic advantages – being modelled metrically on the Umayyad *dirhem* and therefore often overstruck upon *dirhems* – it also included the possible first numismatic appearance of the phrase *Iesus Christus nika*, which would become a staple of the Byzantine coinage in various forms (most notably **IC XC NI KA** in the quadrants of the cross), and the first fully inscriptional face on a Byzantine coin. The post-720 gold coinage of Leo III saw the removal, for the first time since Herakleios over a century earlier, of the forms of the cross potent from the reverse of the gold denominations, this time in favour of a bust of Leo's son, Constantine. Though the mints during Leo's reign did have their own artistic takes on the image of the senior emperor on the obverse and junior emperor on the reverse of gold and base metal issues, that repeated pattern – an innovation – is consistently present, indicating that while mints were permitted to vary the imagery somewhat, there was a message from Constantinople that Leo should be on the obverse and Constantine on the reverse.

The involvement of Leo's son, Constantine V, has also been argued, though this depends on two hypotheticals. Constantine's coinage sees the first appearance of a deceased emperor since the fourth century. Moreover, the typology of the Roman coinage made the appearance of deceased relatives unsurprising. Coins of the emperor's relatives and Caesars would be issued separately from, but concurrent with, issues in the name of the reigning emperor, this had altered by the reign of Justin II (565-578) where the emperor appears alongside his wife, Sophia, on the same coin, not on separate issues, culminating in the familial coins of the Herakleian dynasty. It was the Byzantine 'whole family, one coin' principle with which Constantine V and his officials were working, making the deceased Leo III's appearance more surprising. The posthumous appearance is therefore innovative enough and employed consistently enough to constitute a deliberate policy, but the hypothetical is the question of whose innovation –

was the posthumous portrayal of Leo already envisioned by Leo himself before his death in 741, or was it the decision of Constantine V? This question will likely remain unanswered, but if it was Leo's will, then at least someone from his government was left behind to continue it. The second hypothetical comes at the end of Constantine's reign. The first months of the reign of Constantine's son, Leo IV, appears to see no coin production at all – could this be because Constantine V had died, and it was Constantine who was sending directives to the mints?

It is then not until Theophilos in the early ninth century that we see an emperor who is clearly employing numismatic imagery for political ends. Indeed, Theophilos was probably the most involved of all of the emperors of the period 610-867 in the manipulation of numismatic imagery and production. First is the major reform of the base metal coinage. Little is done metrically with the coins – that had already been undertaken under Theophilos's father, Michael II – but iconographically the change, taken in combination with the reappearance of the bust of Christ under the regency for Theophilos's son, Michael III, effectively marks the beginning of the Middle Byzantine coinage. The redundant marks on the reverse, vestiges of the denominational, date and *officina* marks, were removed in favour of an inscription face, previously only seen on the silver *miliaresia*. The wording on the inscription face is paralleled by an epigraphic inscription, with clear and numismatically new political messaging – + ΘΕΟ/ΦΙΛΕ ΑΥΓ/ΟΒΣΤΕ ΣΥ / ΗΙΚΑΣ, Theophilos Augustus, you conquer – in reference to Theophilos's victories against the Arabs. Second, in gold and silver there are five different types each for a 13-year reign which do not always appear to correspond with each other, and the *miliaresia* also represent a sole emperor for the first time since their creation under Leo III sometime after 720. Third, if Metcalf is correct, we may be seeing the opening of new mints for *follis* production, if not then we are seeing a major

expansion of the Constantinopolitan mint, either way, this must have had at least the approval of Theophilos if it was not at his behest. Finally, the appearance of his deceased son, Constantine, on the coins is something not seen since Maxentius (306-312) and, taken in tandem with the *nomisma* depicting Theophilos's wife and three of his five daughters, seems to indicate a personal touch to the coins almost certainly coming from the emperor himself. Even if the apocryphal tale in the tenth-century Theophanes Continuator of Theophilos roaming the markets to check prices are fair is factually erroneous, its existence in a work created to glorify the Macedonian dynasty and disparage the Amorians is testament to the reputation of Theophilos as an emperor concerned with the economy, probably not created *ex nihilo*.

Finally appears the coinage produced during the regency for Michael III. As the scope of the political use made of the coinage under the government of Constantine II was limited, so too does its use under the regency for Michael III come under some notable limitations. There appears to have been no base metal coin production at the capital at all (though this is not the case for Syracuse) – this may be a hangover from the reign of Theophilos where there are no base metal coins for Theophilos and Michael III together (though there are gold and silver coins for the pair), but while the concern of the regency for gold coins is readily apparent, nothing is done to reinvigorate *folles* production. However, the gold *nomismata* see the reappearance of the bust of Christ, not seen since Justinian II. Furthermore, Michael's eldest sister, Thekla, also appears on the gold and silver coins before the reappearance of Christ. An imperial sister had not been seen on the coins since coins were issued for Pulcheria during the reign of her brother, Theodosius II (408-450), which come under the Roman rules of minting separate coins for imperial relatives – though if we consider the appearance of the Empress-Regent Theodora, Thekla could be considered to be appearing as a daughter.

By direct contrast with the above emperors, the periods 713-720 and 797-829 and the Emperor Leo IV demonstrate no interest in using the coinage in this way – with the sole exception of the introduction of the word Ῥωμαίων onto the scarce silver *miliaresia* of Michael I. For the coins of Leontios, Tiberios III, Constantine VI and possibly Philippikos, one can argue either way.

After the second deposition of Justinian II in 711, the costumes of the successive usurpers alternate *loros* to *chlamys* to *loros* to *chlamys*, and little else changes. This may indicate a lack of interest in the use of numismatic imagery, and a mechanical response to the rapidly changing political situation. Much the same is true for the period 797-829, but even more exaggeratedly so, as evidenced by the difficulties in telling apart the Constantinopolitan *folles* of Michael I from the pre-reform Constantinopolitan *folles* of Michael II. Including Eirene's coinage in this disinterested category is somewhat controversial in that her coinage has often been considered in discussions of imperial women, their representations and their exercise of power, however, we cannot consider mint variation for a period whose mints were limited to Constantinople and Syracuse (and possibly Cherson, but if it was operating as a mint, it was producing anonymous, localised coinage), and the imagery employed on her coins demonstrates little new – the problem of a solo ruler with no imperial ancestors on coins in the context of the late eighth century is not to use clear political messaging like Theophilos, a reversion to older types or a portrayal of religious policy in the context of Nicaea two, but rather to keep having one imperial bust on each face, but both busts are of Eirene.

The coinage of Leo IV mechanically follows the pattern laid out by the coinage of his father, Constantine V, and contains a complete dearth of coins for his reign before the association of Constantine VI. The portrayal of the ancestors certainly has a political



value attached to the image, but it is through the aegis of either Leo III or Constantine V and their respective governments, not Leo IV's.

The usurpers Leontios and Tiberios III are somewhat more problematic – Leontios's coinage shows a non-formulaic face for the period, being rounder and possibly, though not necessarily, more an attempt at portraiture. His coinage removed the bust of Christ from the gold and silver coins of Constantinople and Sardinia to be replaced with the century-old cross potent variations, which is clearly not a case of continuity but rather a case of reversion, but the removal could be better seen in the light of the decisions of the Italian mainland, Sicilian and Carthaginian mints during the reign of Justinian II to not use the bust of Christ – a mechanical mint decision. His coinage retained the use of the full-body *loros* – a continuity from the coinage of Justinian, but also not a reversion as we might consider the removal of the bust of Christ; again, however, this parallels the coinage of the other mints under Justinian II. Meanwhile, Leontios's coinage saw the re-introduction of the *mappa*, not seen since the reign of Phocas (602-610). A reversion, certainly, but a reversion to a type so much older that it may be considered more a deliberate governmental decision than a mechanical process at the mint.

Tiberios III's coinage, similarly, sees features which could be considered a reversion to the style of Constantine IV, but with slight innovations – the spear held in front of the body and the extremely subtle appearance of the letters **Tb** on the shield. These are innovations, but with little apparent political use. For both of these emperors, however – and indeed for the entire period 685-c.821 – the mint of Syracuse is pursuing its own iconographic agenda on the base metal coins; certain features from the capital are introduced, like the deceased ancestors on the Isaurian coinage, but the style for the

entire period, and the features for the period 685-720, are distinctive and independent of Constantinople.

Philippikos, similarly to Leontios, also reverts to a feature not seen since the reign of Phocas – the eagle-topped sceptre – whilst retaining the Justinianic *loros*. In Philippikos's case, however, his coinage also fits into the alternating costume pattern until 720; being the first of the sequence, however, it is not correct to tar his coinage with the same brush as that of his immediate successors.

Moving to the end of the eighth century, the coinage of Constantine VI is equally problematic in assigning agency behind the images. Certainly the cessation of the portrayal of the ancestors was a significant step. As Constantinople appears to have been the only mint producing coins during his reign, a consideration of mint variation is not possible, but during this longer period, Syracuse is clearly following its own iconographic agenda (with minor exceptions) and Cherson, if it is casting coins at all in the period, is certainly following a localised, non-Constantinopolitan agenda. The question then resides in the political significance of the removal of the ancestors – this could be and, I have argued, should be connected with the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, but could also be connected with Eirene's political ambitions. It seems to me probable that the numismatic imagery of Constantine VI does carry more political weight, but it is less clear than for the Herakleians, Leo III and Constantine V, Theophilos and the regency for Michael III. This is not least because of the context. While the removal of the ancestors probably is related to 787, it is a subtle use of the numismatic imagery – why not follow sigillographic imagery and introduce a religious figure, or signal a return to the pre-iconoclast days with a return of the cross potent on steps? Furthermore, the agency for these changes should be assigned not to Constantine, but to the partisans of his mother, if not Eirene herself. This makes the apparent lack of

use of the coinage for political ends under Eirene's sole reign all the more pronounced and curious.

A lack of imperial interest in using the coins as vehicles of political messaging may therefore in part explain the lack of obvious visual evidence for the iconophile interlude period at least. As for the lack of a note of iconoclasm, this is almost certainly due to the lack of religious figures on the coins to remove. The one religious figure that had appeared on the regular Byzantine coinage – Christ on the gold and silver coins of Justinian II from Constantinople and gold of the same emperor from Sardinia – was removed before even the earliest estimates of imperial iconoclasm and clearly has nothing to do with it.

In explaining the appearance and disappearance of the bust of Christ during the extended 20-year anarchy, it becomes apparent that the image was not rejected as either an example of provincial mints ignoring the Constantinopolitan prototype, in the case of all non-Constantinopolitan/Sardinian mints, or as a rejection of everything related to Justinian II and his numismatic imagery in the case of succeeding emperors. This is because while all omit the image of Christ, the mint of Syracuse during the reign of Justinian II and all mints under Leontios, Philippikos and Theodosios III use the full-body *loros* to clothe the emperor, the other innovation on Justinian's Christ type coins.

I have argued that the reason behind the appearance of the bust of Christ between 689 and 691 may be related to taxation, as the type appears on gold, the metal used to pay taxation. With a type clearly marking the image not simply as *Iesus Christus*, a variant on the sigillographic invocation Χριστέ ὁ Θεοῦ βοήθει..., or *Iesus Christus nika*, but rather *Iesus Christus Rex Regnantium* and Justinian as the servant of Christ (*seruus Christi*) the relationship between the Emperor and the Son of God is paramount. I therefore argued that the type presented on the coins used to pay tax was

implicitly referencing Matthew 22:21, Mark 12:17 and Luke 20:25, where a good follower of Jesus gives the things of Caesar [coins] to Caesar and the things of God [honours] to God. When one's Caesar was a Christian Caesar (figuratively – the actual rank of Caesar being below Justinian the Augustus or βασιλεύς), however, a good Christian might simultaneously give the things of Caesar to Caesar and the things of God to God. Justinian was at least posthumously known for zealous tax collection, and this connection of the pure, holy image of Christ to the gold coins associated with the profane, earthly business of taxation (and, arguably, usury) may explain the rejection of the use of the image of Christ on coins specifically. It is the medium on which the image is used, not the image itself, which is rejected.

If this is seen to be the case, then this provides an alternative explanation for the non-reappearance of Christ during the iconophile interlude – the medium was still considered unacceptable.

The reappearance of the image of Christ on the coins of the regency for Michael III after 843 is therefore explicable in contrast to 787-813/815 either in that the regency council were active in the employment of numismatic imagery to promote their political agenda, in direct contrast to the rulers of 787-813/815, or in that the problems of portraying Christ on the coins were no longer as acutely felt.

Running in an interesting counter-current to the discussion of the use of numismatic imagery for political ends is the discussion of coin production at the mint of Cherson in this period. While the Crimean coinage loosely follows iconographic patterns during the reigns of Herakleios and Constans II, the coinage is sparse and followed by a period of completely independent coin production, equally sparse. It is not clear when this independent phase begins, but it begins sometime after the reign of Constans II (641-668) ends under Michael III (842-867), after the creation of the *thema*

of Klimata towards the end of the reign of Theophilos. The post-Constans Chersonese coins are produced differently to coins from the rest of the Byzantine Empire – they are cast, as opposed to struck – and their imagery is much simpler, being limited to between two and six letters across both faces. Moreover, apart from the problematic **DN / TH** issue assigned by Anokhin to Theophilos, but which I have tentatively attributed to the short reign of Theodosios III, these coins are anonymous, being cast in the name of the city of Cherson itself, or the titles of the local potentates – the *proteuon/protopolites* or *archontes* of the city. These Chersonese coins do not add to the overall questions of this thesis, but they are a part of the numismatic picture of the period and should therefore not be ignored.

Finally, all of the above discussion should be couched in the contexts laid out in the introduction and first chapter to this thesis. First, in the consideration of the political will behind the numismatic imagery, it is very much the intention of the emperors and their governments which have been considered – what images were decided upon, what weight do they carry, to what political aims do they relate, and at which audiences are they targeted? While it is certain that different users of the coins will have derived different meanings from the imagery, if any at all, viewing and quantifying this interpretation is somewhere on a scale from very difficult to impossible. Second, the majority of this coinage comes from a period of apparent demonetisation. While the numismatic imagery may have been used by the emperors and their governments to convey political messages (which is, of course, the interest of this thesis), the audience consuming these messages would have been significantly reduced for the subjects of Constantine VI, whose coinage is sparse, from the subjects of Herakleios, whose coinage is voluminous.

## List of individuals mentioned in thesis

Name	Brief description	<i>PMbZ</i> ref.	PLRE ref.
‘Abd al-Malik	Caliph 685-705	18	
Agapios	Chronicler		
Agatho I	Pope of Rome 678-681	129	
Alexander	Emperor 912-913		
Alexios Mousele	Son in-law of the Emperor Theophilos	195	
Anastasia	Daughter of the Emperor Theophilos	231	
Anastasia (Ino)	Wife of the Emperor Tiberius II		III.1 Anastasia 2
Anastasius I	Emperor 491-518		II Anastasius 4
Anastasios II (Artemios)	Emperor 713-715	236	
Anna	Daughter of the Emperor Theophilos	460	
Arcadius	Emperor 395-408		I Arcadius 5
Ariadne	Wife of the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius I, daughter of Leo I and mother of Leo II		II Ariadne
Artavastos	Emperor in 742/3	632	
Bardas	Uncle of Michael III	791	
Basil I	Emperor 867-886	832	
Basil Onomagulos	Rebel under the name Tiberios against Leo III on Sicily in 717	849	
Charlemagne	Crowned Emperor in Rome Christmas day 800	3628	
Christopher	Son of the Emperor Constantine V and brother of the Emperor Leo IV	1101	
Constans II (Constantine)	Emperor 641-668	3691	
Constantina	Wife of the Emperor Maurice and daughter of the Emperor Tiberius II		III.1 Constantina 1
Constantine	Son of the Emperor Theophilos	3931	
Constantine I	Emperor 306-337		I Constantinus 4
Constantine III	Emperor in 641	3701	
Constantine IV	Emperor 668-685	3702	
Constantine V	Emperor 741-775	3703	
Constantine VI	Emperor 780-797	3704	
Constantine (Smbat)	Son of the Emperor Leo V	3925	
Donus	Pope of Rome 676-678	1392	
Eirene	Empress 797-802	1439	
Epiphania-Eudokia	Eldest daughter of the Emperor Herakleios		III.1 Epiphania 2
Euphrosyne	Daughter of the Emperor Constantine VI and second wife of	1705	

	the Emperor Michael II		
George	<i>Chartophylax</i> at the time of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680-1)	1969	
George	A <i>patrikios</i> and general <i>kommerkiarios</i> of the <i>apotheke</i> of Lazica, Trebizond and Kerasous during the first reign of Justinian II	1992	
George of Amastris	A saint of the ninth century	2183	
George of Pisidia	Poet during the reign of Herakleios		
Gregoras	An imperial <i>spatharios</i> and <i>archon</i> of Cherson in the early ninth century	2341	
Gregory	Rebel against Constans II in North Africa in 649	2345	
Hadrian	Pope of Rome 772-795	2536	
Helena	Mother of Constantine I		I Helena 3
Herakleios	Emperor 610-641		III.1 Heraclius 4
Herakleios	Son of Constans II and brother of Constantine IV	2556	
Herakleios the elder	Exarch of North Africa and father of the Emperor Herakleios		III.1 Heraclius 3
Heraklonas (Constantine Herakleios)	Emperor in 641	2565	
Honorius	Emperor of the West 395-423		I Honorius 3
John	Son of the usurper Mezezius	2706	
John of Ephesus	Church historian		
Julian	Emperor 360-363		I Julian 29
Justin I	Emperor 518-527		II Iustinus 4
Justin II	Emperor 565-578		III.1 Iustinus 5
Justinian I	Emperor 527-565		II Iustinianus 5
Justinian II	Emperor 685-695 and 705-711	3556	
Leo I	Emperor 457-474		II Leo 6
Leo III	Emperor 717-741	4242	
Leo IV	Emperor 775-780	4243	
Leo V	Emperor 813-820	4244	
Leontia	Wife of the Emperor Phocas		III.2 Leontia
Leontios (Leon)	Emperor 695-698	4547	
Manouel	Uncle of the Empress regent Theodora and part of the regency council for Michael III	4707	
Marcian	Emperor 450-457		II Marcianus 8
Maria	Daughter of the Emperor Theophilos	4735	
Martin I	Pope of Rome 649-653	4851	
Martina	Second wife and niece of the Emperor Herakleios, mother of the Emperor Heraklonas	4842	
Maslama	Commander of the second Arab	4868	

	siege of Constantinople (717-8), son of Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik		
Maurice	Emperor 582-602		III.2 Mauricius 4
Maxentius	Emperor in Rome 306-312		I Maxentius 5
Michael	An imperial <i>spatharios</i> , <i>epi ton oikeiakon</i> and <i>proteuon</i> of Cherson		
Michael I	Emperor 811-813	4989	
Michael II	Emperor 820-829	4990	
Michael III	Emperor 842-867	4991	
Mezezius (Mžež)	Usurper on Sicily 668-669	5163	
Nicholas I	Pope of Rome 858-867	5248	
Nikephoros	Son of the Emperor Artavastos	5260	
Nikephoros	Son of the Emperor Constantine V and brother of the Emperor Leo IV	5267	
Nikephoros I	Emperor 802-811	5252	
Nikephoros I	Patriarch of Constantinople 806- 815 and chronicler	5301	
Olympios	Rebel in Italy in 649	5650	
Philippikos (Bardanes)	Emperor 711-713	6150	
Phocas	Emperor 602-610		III.2 Phocas 7
Photios	Patriarch of Constantinople 858- 867 and 877-886	6253	
Pulcheria	Daughter of the Emperor Arcadius, sister of the Emperor Theodosius II and wife of the Emperor Marcian		II Pulcheria
Pulcheria	Daughter of the Emperor Theophilos	6384	
Rotrud (Erythro)	Daughter of Charlemagne	1606	
Sabbas	<i>Hypatos</i> and <i>archon</i> of Cherson in the eighth century	6458	
Sophia	Wife of the Emperor Justin II		III.2 Sophia 1
Staurakios	Emperor in 811	6866	
Stephanos I	Ruler of Georgia/Iberia c.602-627		III.2 Stephanus 55
Thekla	Eldest daughter of the Emperor Theophilos	7261	
Theodora	Wife of the Emperor Theophilos and mother of and empress regent for Michael III	7286	
Theodore Spudaeus	Part of the circle of Pope Martin and Maximos the Confessor	7439	
Theodore of Studios	Iconophile monk of the ninth century	7574	
Theodosius	Son of the Emperor Maurice		III.2 Theodosius 13
Theodosius II	Emperor 408-450		II Theodosius 6
Theodosios III	Emperor 715-717	7793	



Theodotos	<i>Logothetes tou genikou</i> and monk under Justinian II	7904	
Theoktistos	<i>Logothetes tou dromou</i> and part of the regency council for Michael III	8050	
Theophanes the Confessor	Chronicler	8107	
Theophilos	Emperor 829-842	8167	
Theophilos of Edessa	Chronicler and court astrologer	8183	
Theophylaktos	A general <i>kommerkiarios</i> of the <i>apothke</i> of Lazike, Trebizond and Kerasous during the first reign of Justinian II	8242	
Theophylaktos	Son of the Emperor Michael I	8336	
Thomas	Patriarch of Constantinople 667-669	8407	
Thomas the Slav	Rebel in Sicily against Michael II	8459	
Tiberios	Son of Constans II and brother of Constantine IV	8484	
Tiberios	Son of the Emperor Justinian II	8490	
Tiberios III (Apsimar)	Emperor 698-705	8483	
Tiberios Petasios	Rebel in Italy against Leo III 729-730	8492	
Tiberius II	Emperor 578-582		III.2 Tiberius 1
Traianos	Patrician and chronicler	8511	
Valens	Emperor 364-378		I Valens 8
Valentinus	General and potentate in the accession of Constans II	8545	
Vitalian	Pope of Rome 657-672	8582	

## Abbreviations

### Coin image sources

BIFA – The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham

BM – The British Museum, London

### Catalogue references

ACO – Riedinger, R., Ohme, H., and Lamberz, E. eds. 1984-2012. *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*. Ser. 2. Berlin.

BMC - Wroth, W. 1908. *Imperial Byzantine coins in the British Museum*. London.

BN - Morisson, C. 1970. *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la bibliothèque nationale*. vol. I and II. Paris.

DOC - Grierson, P. 1968-1973. *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection*. vol. II.1, II.2 and III.1. Washington D. C.

DOS – Nesbitt, J. and Oikonomides, N. 1991. *Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*. vol. 1. Washington D. C.

LBC - Yashaeva, T. ed. 2011. *The legacy of Byzantine Cherson*. Sevastopol.

MIB - Hahn, W. 1981. *Moneta imperii byzantini*. vol. III. Vienna.

PL - Migne, J. -P. ed. 1844-1974. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*. Paris.

SICA - Album, S. and Goodwin, T. 2002. *Sylloge of the Islamic coins in the Ashmolean. Volume 1. The pre-reform coinage of the early Islamic period*. Oxford.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī. *Kitāb Futūḥ al-buldān*. De Goeje, M. J. ed. and trans. 1866. Leiden.

*Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur libri I-IV*. Featherstone, J. M. and Signes-Codoñer, J. eds. and trans. 2015. Berlin.

Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. *De ceremoniis*. Moffatt, A. and Tall, M. eds. and trans. 2012. Canberra.

Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. *De administrando imperio*. Moravcsik, G. ed. and Jenkins, R. J. H. trans. 1967. Washington D. C.

Eusebius of Caesarea. *Life of Constantine*. Cameron, A. and Hall, S. G. eds. and trans. 1999. Oxford.

John of Ephesus. *Die Kirchen-Geschichte des Johannes von Ephesus: aus dem Syrischen übersetzt*. Schönfelder, J. M. ed. and trans. 1862. Munich.

Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople. *Short history*. Mango, C. ed. and trans. 1990. Washington D. C.

*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*. Migne, J. -P. ed. 1844-1974. Paris.

*The Digest of Justinian*. A. Watson. ed. and trans. 1998. Philadelphia, PA.

St. Theodore the Stoudite. *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*. Fatouros, G. ed. 1992. Vienna.

Theodore Spudaeus. *Narrations concerning the exile of the holy Pope Martin*. in Neil, B. ed. 2006. *Seventh-century popes and martyrs: the political hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius*. Turnhout. pp. 166-232.

Theophanes. *The chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*. Mango, C. and Scott, R. eds. and trans. 1997. Oxford.

*Theophilus of Edessa's chronicle and the circulation of historical knowledge in Late Antiquity and Early Islam.* Hoyland, R. G. ed. and trans. 2011. Liverpool.

## **Secondary Sources**

Album, S. and Goodwin, T. 2002. *Sylloge of the Islamic coins in the Ashmolean. Volume 1. The pre-reform coinage of the early Islamic period.* Oxford.

Anokhin, V. A. 1980. *The coinage of Chersonesus: IV century B.C.-XII century A.D.* Bartlett Wells, H. trans. BAR 69. Oxford.

Arce, J. 2005. 'Spain and the African provinces in Late Antiquity', in Bowes, K. and Kulikowski, M. eds. *Hispania in Late Antiquity: current perspectives.* Leiden. pp 341-361.

Banaji, J. 2001. *Agrarian change in Late Antiquity: gold, labour and aristocratic dominance.* Oxford.

Bellinger, A. 1956. 'The coins and Byzantine imperial policy', *Speculum* 31, pp. 70-81.

Bendall, S. 1996. *Byzantine weights: an introduction.* London.

Bonifay, M. 2004. *Etudes sur la céramique romaine tardive d'Afrique.* BAR 1301. Oxford.

Brandes, W. 2002. *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.-9. Jahrhundert.* Frankfurt am Main.

Breckenridge, J. D. 1959. *The numismatic iconography of Justinian II (685-695, 705-711 A.D.).* New York.

Brown, T. S. 1979. 'The church of Ravenna and the imperial administration in the seventh century', *The English historical review* 94. pp. 1-28.

Brubaker, L., Haldon, J. and Ousterhout, R. 2001. *Byzantium in the Iconoclast era, c.680-850: the sources: an annotated survey.* London.

- Brubaker, L. and Haldon, J. 2011. *Byzantium in the Iconoclast era, c.680-850: a history*. London.
- Brubaker, L. and Tobler, H. 2000. 'The gender of money: Byzantine empresses on coins (324-802)', *Gender and history* 12, pp. 572-594.
- Burns, T. S. 1984. *A history of the Ostrogoths*. Indianapolis, IN.
- Buttrey, T. V. 1993. 'Calculating ancient coin production: facts and fantasies', *The numismatic chronicle* 153. pp. 335-351.
- Buttrey, T. V. 1994. 'Calculating ancient coin production II: Why it cannot be done', *The numismatic chronicle* 154. pp. 341-352.
- Campbell, E. 1996. 'The archaeological evidence for contacts: imports, trade and economy in Celtic Britain, A.D.400-800', in Dark, K. ed. *External Contacts and the Economy of Late Roman and Post-Roman Britain*. Woodbridge. pp 83-96.
- Carradice, I. 1995. *Greek coins*. Austin, TX.
- Carter, G. F. 1983. 'A simplified method for calculating the original number of dies from die link statistics', *American Numismatic Society museum notes* 28, pp. 195-206.
- Charanis, P. 1963. *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*. Lisbon.
- Cheyne, J.-C. 1997. 'Byzantine seals', in Collon, D. ed. *7000 years of seals*. London. pp. 107-123.
- Collins, R. 1998. *Charlemagne*. Basingstoke.
- Curta, F. 2005. 'Byzantium in Dark-Age Greece (the numismatic evidence in its Balkan context)', *Byzantine and Modern Greek studies* 29, pp. 113-146.
- Debié, M. 2015. 'Theophanes' "Oriental source": what can we learn from Syriac historiography?', *Travaux et mémoires* 19. pp. 365-382.

- De Callatay, F. 1995. 'Calculating ancient coin production: seeking a balance', *The numismatic chronicle* 155. pp. 290-311.
- Dunn, A. W. 1983. *A handlist of the Byzantine lead seals and tokens (and of Western and Islamic seals) in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham*. Birmingham.
- Dunn, A. W. 1994. 'The transition from polis to kastron in the Balkans (III-VII cc.): general and regional perspectives', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 18. pp. 60-80.
- Durliat, J. 1990. *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine: le problem des subsistances*. Rome.
- Elsner, J. 1998. *Imperial Rome and Christian triumph: the art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450*. Oxford.
- Esty, W. 1986. 'Estimation of the size of a coinage: a survey and comparison of methods', *The numismatic chronicle* 146. pp. 185-215.
- Esty, W. 2006. 'How to estimate the original number of dies and the coverage of a sample', *The numismatic chronicle* 166, pp. 359-364.
- Fentress, E., Fontana, S., Hitchner, R. B. and Perkins, P. 2004. 'Accounting for ARS: fineware and sites in Sicily and Africa', in Alcock, S. E. and Cherry, J. F. eds. *Side by side survey: comparative regional studies in the Mediterranean world*. Oxford. pp 147-162.
- Foss, C. and Scott, J. A. 2002. 'Sardis', in Laiou, A. ed. *The Economic History of Byzantium*. Washington D. C. pp. 615-622.
- Franklin, S. and Shepard, J. 1996. *The Emergence of Rus 750-1200*. New York.
- Füeg, F. 2007. *Corpus of the nomismata from Anastasius II to John I in Constantinople 713-976*. London.

- Fulford, M. 1980. 'Carthage: overseas trade and the political economy', *Reading Medieval studies* 6. pp. 68-80.
- Gelichi, S. 2007. 'Flourishing places in North-Eastern Italy: towns and *emporia* between late antiquity and the Carolingian age', in Henning, J. ed. *Post-Roman towns, trade and settlement in Europe and Byzantium*. Vol. 1. Berlin. pp. 77-104.
- Goodwin, T. and Gyselen, R. 2015. *Arab-Byzantine coins from the Irbid hoard. Including a new introduction to the series and a study of the Pseudo-Damascus mint*. Royal Numismatic Society special publication no. 53. London.
- Goubert, P. 1965. *Byzance avant l'Islam. Tome 2: Byzance et l'Occident*. Paris.
- Goussous, N. G. 1998. *Origin and development of money*. Amman.
- Graeber, D. 2014. *Debt: the first 5,000 years*. London.
- Grierson, P. 1968-1973. *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection*. vol. II.1, II.2 and III.1. Washington D. C.
- Grierson, P. 1974. 'A new early follis type of Leo III (718)', *The numismatic chronicle* 14, pp. 75-77.
- Grierson, P. 1982. *Byzantine coins*. London.
- Grueber, H. A. 1970. *Handbook of the coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum*. London.
- Hahn, W. 1978. 'The numismatic history of Cherson in early Byzantine times – a survey', *The numismatic circular* 86, 9 pp. 414-415, 10 pp. 471-473 (*continued*), 11 pp. 521-523 (*concluded*).

- Hahn, W. 1980. 'Mezezius in peccato suo interiit. Kritische Betrachtungen zu ein Neuling in der Münzreihe byzantinischen Kaiser', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 29. pp. 61-70.
- Hahn, W. 1981. *Moneta imperii byzantine*. vol. III. Vienna.
- Hahn, W. and Metlich, M. 2009. *Money of the incipient Byzantine Empire Continued*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition to *Moneta imperii byzantine* vol. II. Vienna.
- Haldon, J. F. 1997. *Byzantium in the seventh century: the transformation of a culture*. Cambridge.
- Haldon, J. F. 2012. 'Commerce and exchange in the seventh and eighth centuries. Regional trade and the movement of goods', in Morrisson, C. ed. *Trade and markets in Byzantium*. Washington D. C.
- Harris, A. 2003. *Byzantium, Britain and the West. The archaeology of cultural identity*. Stroud.
- Hendy, M. 1985. *Studies in the Byzantine monetary economy c.300-1450*. Cambridge.
- Hennesy, C. 2013. 'The Byzantine child: picturing complex family dynamics', in Brubaker, L. and Tougher, S. eds. *Approaches to the Byzantine family*. London. pp. 207-232.
- Herrin, J. 2007. *Byzantium: the surprising life of a Medieval empire*. London.
- Hitchner, R. B. 1992. 'Meridional Gaul, trade and the Mediterranean economy in Late Antiquity', in Drinkwater, J. F. and Elton, H. eds. *Fifth century Gaul: crisis of identity?* Cambridge. pp 122-131.
- Hourani, A. 1991. *A history of the Arab peoples*. London.
- Howard-Johnston, J. D. 2010. *Witnesses to a world crisis: historians and histories of the Middle East in the seventh century*. Oxford.



- Humphreys, M. 2013. 'The 'war of images' revisited. Justinian II's coinage reform and the Caliphate', *The numismatic chronicle* 173, pp. 229-244.
- Iverson, E. A. 2007. 'Amorium in the Byzantine dark ages (seventh to ninth centuries)', in Henning, J. ed. *Post-Roman towns, trade and settlement in Europe and Byzantium*. Vol. 2. Berlin. pp. 25-59.
- Jankowiak, M. 2013. 'The first Arab siege of Constantinople', *Travaux et mémoires* 17. pp. 237-320.
- Kaegi, W. E. 2003. *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium*. Cambridge.
- Karlin-Hayter, P. 2002. 'Iconoclasm', in Mango, C. ed. *The Oxford history of Byzantium*. Oxford. pp. 153-162.
- Karlin-Hayter, P. 2006. 'Restoration of orthodoxy, the pardon of Theophilos and the *Acta Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii*', in Jefferys, E. ed. *Byzantine style, religion and civilization. In honour of Sir Steven Runciman*. Cambridge. pp. 361-373.
- Kennedy, H. 2007. *The great Arab conquests*. London.
- Kent, J. P. C. 1981. *The Roman imperial coinage*. vol. VIII. London.
- Kent, J. P. C. 1985. *A selection of Byzantine coins in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts: principally from the collection of Dr. P. D. Whitting*. Birmingham.
- Kirilov, C. 2007. 'The reduction of the fortified city area in late antiquity: some reflections on the end of the 'antique city' in the lands of the Eastern Roman Empire', in Henning, J. ed. *Post-Roman towns, trade and settlement in Europe and Byzantium*. Vol. 2. Berlin. pp. 3-24.
- Kotsis, K. 2012. 'Defining female authority in eighth-century Byzantium: the numismatic images of the Empress Irene (797-802)', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 5, pp. 185-215.

- Laiou, A. E. 2002. 'Economic and non-economic exchange', in Laiou, A. E. ed. *The economic history of Byzantium*. Vol. 2. Washington D. C. pp. 681-696.
- Laiou, A. E. and Morrisson, C. 2007. *The Byzantine Economy*. Cambridge.
- Lightfoot, C. S. 2002. 'Byzantine Anatolia: reassessing the numismatic evidence', *Revue numismatique* 158, pp. 229-239.
- Loseby, S. T. 1992. 'Marseille: a Late Antique success-story?' *Journal of Roman studies* 82. pp 165-185.
- Loseby, S. T. 2005. 'The Mediterranean economy', in P. Fouracre. ed. *The new Cambridge Medieval history*, vol. 1, 500-700. Cambridge.
- Lowick, N. M., Bendall, S. and Whitting, P. D. 1977. *The 'Mardin' hoard: Islamic countermarks on Byzantine folles*. London.
- McCormick, M. 2001. *Origins of the European economy. Communications and commerce, A.D. 300-900*. Cambridge.
- Merrills, A. H. and Miles, R. T. 2010. *The Vandals*. Chichester.
- Metcalf, D. M. 1962. 'The new bronze coinage of Theophilus and the growth of the Balkan Themes', *American Numismatic Society museum notes* 10, pp. 81-98.
- Metcalf, D. M. 1968. 'The reformed folles of Theophilus: their styles and localization', *American Numismatic Society museum notes* 14, pp. 121-134.
- Metcalf, D. M. 2001. 'Monetary recession in the Middle Byzantine period: the numismatic evidence', *The numismatic chronicle* 161, pp. 111-155.
- Morrisson, C. 1970. *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la bibliothèque nationale*. vol. I and II. Paris.
- Morrisson, C. 1997. 'L'Augusta sur le monnaies d'Héraclius, Eudocie ou Martine?', *Revue Numismatique* 152, pp 453-6.

- Morrisson, C. 1998. 'La Sicile byzantine : une lueur dans les siècles obscurs', *Numismatica e antichità classiche* 27, pp. 307-334.
- Morrisson, C. 2002. 'Byzantine money: its production and circulation', in Laiou, A. ed. *The economic history of Byzantium*. Washington D. C. pp. 909-966.
- Morrisson, C. 2003. 'L'atelier de Carthage et la diffusion de la monnaie frappée dans l'Afrique vandale et byzantine (439-695)', *Antiquité Tardive* 11, pp. 65-84.
- Morrisson, C. 2012. 'Emporia, money and exchanges. Some reflections', in Morrisson, C. ed. *Trade and markets in Byzantium*. Washington D. C.
- Morrisson, C. 2015. *Byzance et sa monnaie*. Paris.
- Morrisson, C., Brenot, C., Callu, J.-P., Barrandon, J.-N., Poirier, J. and Halleux, R. 1985. *L'or monnayé I : purification et altérations de Rome à Byzance*. Paris.
- Morrisson, C., Popović, V. and Ivanišević, V. 2006. *Les trésors monétaires byzantins des Balkans et d'Asie Mineure (491-713)*. Paris.
- Morrisson, C. and Prigent, V. 2013. 'L'empereur et le Calife (690-695) : réflexions à propos des monnayages de Justinien II et d'Abd al-Malik', *Topoi Supplement* 12. pp. 571-592.
- Nedungatt, G. and M. Featherstone. eds. 1995. *The Council in Trullo revisited*. Rome.
- Nesbitt, J. and Oikonomides, N. 1991. *Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*. vol. 1. Washington D. C.
- Nikolaou, Y. 2004. 'From Victory to Angel', in Evgenidou, D. et al. eds. *Nike-Victoria on Coins and Medals*. Athens. pp. 62-68.
- Obolensky, D. 1966. 'The Empire and its Northern Neighbours', reprinted in D. Obolensky. 1971. *Byzantium and the Slavs*. London. 473-518.

- Obolensky, D. 1979. 'The Crimea and the North before 1204', reprinted in D. Obolensky. 1982. *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe*. London. pp 123-133.
- Oddy, A. 2004. 'Whither Arab-Byzantine numismatics? A review of fifty years' research', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 28. pp. 121-152.
- Oddy, A. and Prigent, V. 'Pseudo-Scythopolis: a new phase 2 Byzantine-Arab mint in the Decapolis region of Bilad al-Sham', in Goodwin, T. ed. *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East* 5. Oxford. pp. 84-95.
- O'Hara, M. D. 2001. 'A unique Byzantine coin die of Justin I (AD 518-27)', *Minerva* 12, 5, pp. 54.
- Oikonomides, N. 1985. *Byzantine lead seals*. Washington D. C.
- Ostrogorsky, G. 1968. *History of the Byzantine state*. Hussey, J. trans. Munich.
- Penna, V. 2002. *Byzantine coinage. Medium of transaction and manifestation of imperial propaganda*. Nicosia.
- Penna, V., and Morrisson, C. 2013. 'Usurpers and rebels in Byzantium: image and message through coins', in D. Angelov and M. Saxby. eds. *Power and Subversion in Byzantium. Papers from the forty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 2010*. Farnham. pp. 21-42.
- Phillips, M. 2015. 'Coinage and the early Arab State', in Oddy, A., Schulze, I. and Schulze, W. eds. *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East* 4. Oxford. pp. 53-71.
- Pottier, H. 1997. 'A propos de l'augusta des folles d'Héraclius', *Revue Numismatique* 152, pp 467-72.
- Pottier, H. 2017. 'Syrian gold coins under Persian rule – Re-attribution of fractional gold imitations up to now attributed by Hahn to the time of the Revolt of the

- Heraclii', in T. Goodwin. ed. *Coinage and History in the seventh century Near East* 5. Oxford. pp. 8-10.
- Prigent, V. 2006. 'Le role des provinces d'Occident dans l'approvisionnement de Constantinople (618-717)', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 118. pp. 269-299.
- Prigent, V. 2007. 'Petasius ou Onomagoulos ? L'émission sicilienne de l'empereur Tibère IV', *Bulletin de la société française de numismatique* 62. pp. 34-42.
- Prigent, V. 2008. 'Nouvelle hypothèse à propos des monnaies de bronze à double marque de valeur de l'empereur Constantin IV', in Cuozzo, E., Déroche, V., Peters-Custot, A. and Prigent, V. eds. *Puer Apuliae : mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*. Paris. pp. 567-580.
- Prigent, V. 2010. 'La Sicile de Constant II : l'apport des sources sigillographiques', in Nef, A. and Prigent, V. eds. *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*. Paris. pp. 157-185.
- Prigent, V. 2013. 'La circulation monétaire en Sicile (VIe-VIIe siècle)', in Michaelides, D., Pergola, P. and Zanini, E. eds. *The insular system of the Early Byzantine Mediterranean*. Oxford. pp. 139-160.
- Prigent, V. 2016. 'Des pères et des fils. Note de numismatique sicilienne pour servir à l'histoire du règne de Constantin IV', in Delouis, O., Métivier, S. and Pagès, P. eds. *Le saint, le moine et le paysan. Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan*. Paris. pp. 589-616.
- Rahmani, L. Y. 1979. 'The adoration of the Magi on two sixth-century C.E. eulogia tokens', *Israel exploration journal* 29, pp. 34-36.
- Restle, M. 1964. *Kunst und Byzantinische Münzprägung von Justinian I. bis zum Bilderstreit*. Athens.
- Reynolds, P. 1995. *Trade in the Western Mediterranean*. BAR 604. Oxford.

- Romančuk, A. I., Heinen, H. and Kiessel, M. 2005. *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie des byzantinischen Cherson*. Leiden.
- Sanders, G. D. R. 2002. 'Corinth', in Laiou, A. ed. *The economic history of Byzantium*. Washington D. C. pp. 647-654.
- Saradi, H. D. 1995. 'Evidence of barter economy in the documents of private transactions', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 88. pp. 405-418.
- Saradi, H. G. 2006. *The Byzantine city in the sixth century: literary images and historical reality*. Athens.
- Schulze, I. and Schulze, W. 2010. 'The standing caliph coins of al-Jazīra: some problems and suggestions', *The numismatic chronicle* 170, pp. 331-353.
- Schulze, I. 2015. 'Can we believe what is written on the coins? Enigmatic die links and other puzzles', in Oddy, A., Schulze, I. and Schulze, W. eds. *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East* 4. Oxford. pp. 115-135.
- Shepard, J. 2009. "'Mists and portals': the Black Sea's north coast", in Mundell Mango, M. ed. *Byzantine trade: 4<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries: the archaeology of local, regional and international exchange. Papers of the thirty-eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. John's College, University of Oxford, March 2004*. Farnham. pp. 421-441.
- Signes Codoñer, J. 2014. *The Emperor Theophilos and the East, 829-842*. Birmingham.
- Spain Alexander, S. 1977. 'Heraclius, Byzantine imperial ideology, and the David plates', *Speculum* 52. pp. 217-237.
- Speck, P. 1997. 'Epiphania et Martine sur les monnaies d'Héraclius', *Revue Numismatique* 152, pp 457-65.
- Sposito, G. 2008. *The chemistry of soils*. Second edition. Oxford.

- Stoyanov, Y. 2011. *Defenders and enemies of the true cross: the Sasanian conquest of Jerusalem in 614 and Byzantine ideology of anti-Persian warfare*. Vienna.
- Tolstoï, I. 1912-1914. *Monnaies byzantines*. vol. I and II. St. Petersburg.
- Treadgold, W. T. 2003. 'The problem of the marriage of the Emperor Theophilos', *Greek* 16. pp. 325-341.
- Treadwell, L. 2011. 'Byzantium and Islam in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century AD: a 'numismatic war of images'?', in T. Goodwin ed. *Arab-Byzantine coins and history: papers presented at the 13<sup>th</sup> seventh century Syrian numismatic round table held at Corpus Christi College, Oxford on 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> September 2011*. Oxford. pp. 145-155.
- Tsotselia, M. 2009. 'A new specimen of a Georgian-Sasanian coin of Stephanos I', *Numismatic Chronicle* 169. pp. 431-436.
- Vaccaro, E. 2013. 'Sicily in the eighth and ninth centuries AD: a case of persisting economic complexity?', *Al-Masāq* 25, pp. 34-69.
- Vogt, H. J. 1988. 'Das Streit um das Lamm: das Trullanum und die Bilder', *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 20, pp. 135-149.
- Walker, J. 1956. *A catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and post-reform Umayyad coins*. London.
- Weitzmann, K. ed. 1979. *Age of spirituality Late Antique and Early Christian art, third to seventh century. Catalogue of the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978*. New York.
- Wickham, C. 2005. *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean 400-800*. Oxford.
- Whitting, P. D. 1966. 'A seventh-century hoard at Carthage', *The numismatic chronicle* 6, pp. 225-233.

- Whitting, P. D. 1973. *Byzantine coins*. London.
- Wroth, W. 1908. *Imperial Byzantine coins in the British Museum*. London.
- Yannopoulos, P. 1978. *L'hexagramme : un monnayage byzantin en argent du VIIe siècle*. Louvain.
- Yashaeva, T. ed. 2011. *The legacy of Byzantine Cherson*. Sevastopol.
- Zacos, G. and Veglery, A. 1972. *Byzantine lead seals*. Basel.
- Zavagno, L. 2014. ‘‘A wonderful city of palms and dates’’: Salamis-Constantia in transition  
from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages (ca. 600–ca. 800 CE)’,  
*Mediterranean historical review* 29. pp. 111-138.
- Zuckerman, C. 1995. ‘La petite Augusta et le Turc. Epiphania-Eudocie sur les monnaies  
d’Héraclius’, *Revue numismatique* 150, pp 113-26.
- Zuckerman, C. 1997a. ‘Au sujet de la petite augusta sur les monnaies d’Héraclius’,  
*Revue numismatique* 152, pp 473-8
- Zuckerman, C. 1997b. ‘Two notes on the early history of the *thema* of Cherson’,  
*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 21, pp 210-22.



**Appendix 1: catalogue of the coins at the  
Barber Institute of Fine Arts, 685-842**

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

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4371	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.44g, 20.0mm, 180°	ΙΥΣΙΝΙΑ ΝΥΣ ΡΕ ΑΥ Bust of Justinian beardless, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTO... Α ΑΥϚΥ Ε CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 961. A. H. Baldwin December 1960, ex Karageorgiou collection.
B4372	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.48g, 19.0mm, 225°	ΙΥΣΙΝΙΑ ΝΥΣ ΡΕ ΑΥ Bust of Justinian beardless, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	... ΑΥΣΥ Ζ ...ΟΝΟΒ Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 0042. Basle sale December 1948.
B4373	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.47g, 20.0mm, 225°	ΙΥΣΙΝΙΑ ΝΥΣ ΡΕ ΑΥ Bust of Justinian beardless, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA ΑΥϚΥ Γ CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 2		Whitting Collection, 0039. Cahn (Basle) July 1949.
B4374	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.45g, 19.0mm, 180°	ΙΥΣΙΝΙΑ ΝΥΣ ΡΕ ΑΥ Bust of Justinian beardless, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	...TORIA ΑΥϚΥ Σ CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 2		Whitting Collection, 0040. Spink October 1951.

B4375	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.44g, 20.0mm, 225°	ΙΥΣJNIA NΥ... Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA... CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 4		Whitting Collection, 1146. Glendining 28 <sup>th</sup> November 1962.
B4376	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.49g, 19.5mm, 225°	D ΙΥΣJNIA NΥS ΠC AV Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	...ICTO... AVÇΥ Γ ...ONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 6		Whitting Collection, 1321. A. H. Baldwin 10 <sup>th</sup> January 1964, ‘from Turkey’.
B4377	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.40g, 19.5mm, 180°	D ΙΥSJ... NΥS ΠC AV Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	...ICTORIA AVÇΥ I ...ONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 6		Whitting Collection, 1527. A. H. Baldwin 28 <sup>th</sup> April 1966, ex Dr. Protonotarios ‘almost certainly found in Greece’.
B4378	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.40g, 20.0mm, 180°	D ΙΥΣJNIA NΥS ΠC AV Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA ...VÇΥ Δ CONOBΓ Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 7		Whitting Collection, 1641. Spink 20 <sup>th</sup> February 1968.
B4379	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.45g, 19.0mm, 180°	...SJNIA NΥS ΠC AV Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	...AVÇΥΘ CONOB Γ Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 7		Whitting Collection, 1166. Glendining 13 <sup>th</sup> February 1963, lot 127.
B4380	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.46g, 19.0mm, 225°	...hS CRISJDS ΡCX ΡCϚNANJIIΥ[reversed]M Bust of Christ Pantokrator facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	D ΙΥSJIIN AN ... SC...RIS... Δ CONO... Justinian bearded standing, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> , holding <i>akakia</i> in left hand and stem of cross potent on two steps.	MIB III, 8		Whitting Collection, 0041. Glendining July 1948, ex Captain R. G. Southey collection.

B4381	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.40g, 19.0mm, 180°	IN S CRIST...EX REZNANTIΩM Bust of Christ Pantokrator facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	D IYCTINI AN YS CECTY CnRISTY Δ CONE PA Justinian bearded standing, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> , holding <i>akakia</i> in left hand and stem of cross potent on two steps.	MIB III, 9 (var.)	The mint mark clearly says CONE, not CONO.	Whitting Collection, 0045. Glendining May 1949.
B4382	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.40g, 19.0mm, 180°	...S REX REZNANTIΩ[reversed]M Bust of Christ Pantokrator facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	D IYSJIN...S CECTY CHRISJI Θ CONOP Justinian bearded standing, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> , holding <i>akakia</i> in left hand and stem of cross potent on two steps.	MIB III, 8		Whitting Collection, 0043. Spink October 1951.
B4383	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.43g, 20.0mm, 180°	IhS CRISTDS REX REZNANTIΩ[reversed]M Bust of Christ Pantokrator facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	D IYSJINI AN ...SECTY CHRISJI S CONO P Justinian bearded standing, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> , holding <i>akakia</i> in left hand and stem of cross potent on two steps.	MIB III, 8		Whitting Collection, 0044. Spink October 1951.
B4384	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.34g, 21.0mm, 225°	IhS CRISJOS REX REZNARJIΩ[reversed]M Bust of Christ Pantokrator facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	D IVSTINI AN YS CECTY CHRISJI Θ CONOP Justinian bearded standing, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> , holding <i>akakia</i> in left hand and stem of cross potent on two steps.	MIB III, 8	Traces of double- striking on obverse. Tested in ATG.	Haines Collection, 2617. Ex Prof. Oman collection, 1949.
B4385	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.35g, 20.0mm, 225°	...REX REZNARTIΩ[reversed]M Bust of Christ Pantokrator facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	...YSJINI AN... Justinian bearded standing, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> , holding <i>akakia</i> in left hand and stem of cross potent on two steps.	MIB III, 8 or 9	Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection, 1152. A. H. Baldwin 14 <sup>th</sup> December 1962, 'from Istanbul'.

B4386	<i>Semissis</i>	2.16g, 18.0mm, 180°	...ΡΕΞΝΑΡτΙϞ[reversed]M Bust of Christ Pantokrator facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	...AN ϞS ΣΕΡϞ ChRIS... Justinian bearded standing, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> , holding <i>akakia</i> in left hand and stem of elongated <i>globus cruciger</i> .	MIB III, 12		Whitting Collection, 0323. Spink April 1951.
B4387	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.37g, 17.0mm, 180°	...S CRISJDS R... ΡΕΞ... Bust of Christ Pantokrator facing, cross behind head, raising right in benediction.	...TINI AN ...ΣΕΡϞ ChRISTI Justinian bearded standing, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> , holding <i>akakia</i> in left hand and stem of long cross potent.	MIB III, 16		Whitting Collection, 804. Bank Leu April 1959.
B4388	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.46g, 17.0mm, 180°	D ΙϞSTINI...ϞS ΡΕ Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA AVϞϞ S C...NOB Cross potent.	MIB III, 15	Brockage of an obverse on the reverse, double- struck on obverse.	Whitting Collection, 454. A. H. Baldwin 27 <sup>th</sup> March 1954.
B4389	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.29g, 15.0mm, 180°	...IA NϞS ΡΕ AV Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA AVϞϞ S ...ONOB Cross potent.	MIB III, 15		Whitting Collection, 614. Glendining 8 <sup>th</sup> March 1957, 'Austrian diplomat'.
B4390	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.33g, 14.0mm, 180°	D ΙϞST INIANV Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICT OR AV CONOB Cross potent.	MIB III, 15	Imitation? Style looks possibly Ravennan (unrecorded type).	Whitting Collection, 1091. A. H. Baldwin February 1962 'from a wartime collection'.

## Constantinople, silver

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4391	<i>Hexagram</i>	6.01g, 22.0mm, 180°	ΙηΣ CRI...ANJΙUM Bust of Christ Pantokrator facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	D ΙΥΣΤΙΝΙ ΑΝ ΥΣ ΣΕΡΥ... Justinian bearded standing, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> , holding <i>akakia</i> in left hand and stem of cross potent on two steps.	MIB III, 40	Clipped	Whitting Collection, 5896. A. H. Baldwin June 1968.

## Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4392	<i>Follis</i>	9.63g, 29.0mm, 180°	...ANUS PE A... Bust of Justinian facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> , holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross. Left and right: ...N... ΙΥ <i>Officina</i> : Not visible. Mint mark: ...N	MIB III, 44.1	Overstuck on a Constantine IV half <i>follis</i> DOC class 1.	Whitting Collection, 1936. Bought Spink August 1956.
B4393	<i>Follis</i>	4.50g, 23.0mm, 225°	...NUS... Bust of Justinian facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> , holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross. Left and right: A... ΥΙΙΙ... <i>Officina</i> : A Mint mark: Not visible.	MIB III, 44.2	Overstruck., undertype unclear.	Whitting Collection, 1672. Spink January 1961.
B4394	<i>Follis</i>	8.82g, 31.0mm, 180°	ΙΥΣΤΙΝΙ...ΗΥς Bust of Justinian facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> , and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and cross at left shoulder.	Denomination mark: M Above: not visible. Left and right: ...ΝΟ υΙΙΙ <i>Officina</i> : A Mint mark: C...	MIB III, 44.2	Overstruck on coin of Constantine IV.	Whitting Collection, 0265. A. H. Baldwin 1950.

B4395	<i>Follis</i>	7.47g, 24.0mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Bust of Justinian facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> , holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross. Left and right: ANNO... <i>Officina</i> : A Mint mark: ...O...	MIB III, 44		
B4397	Half <i>follis</i>	4.10g, 21.0mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Bust of Justinian facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> (?) and cross crown, cross potent in left of field.	Denomination mark: K Above: cross partially visible. Left and right: A...NO II <i>Officina</i> : Not visible. Mint mark: Not visible.	MIB III, 47		Ticket with coin: 'vide D.H. Cox excav. at Curium no733'; referenced book: Cox, D.H. 1959. Coins from the Excavations at Cirium, 1932-1953. New York.
B4398	Half <i>follis</i>	3.56g, 25.5mm, 0°	No visible inscription. Bust of Justinian II facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown.	Denomination mark: K Above: cross. Left and right: A... ξI <i>Officina</i> : Not visible. Mint mark: Not visible.	MIB III, 44 (Justinian II second reign) <sup>1</sup>	Whitting noted overstrike on Herakleios coin, no longer visible if so.	Whitting Collection, 4581. Seaby May 1953

<sup>1</sup> This coin may be attributed to either the first or second reign.

## Carthage, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4399	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.32g, 15.0mm, 180°	IUSTONANUS PC ANI Bust of Justinian beardless, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	IICTORI AVVU Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 18b	Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection, 0523. A. H. Baldwin 21 <sup>st</sup> November 1954, from Tunis 1954 Hoard.
B4400	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.44g, 13.0mm, 180°	IUSTINIANDS ΓCΝ Bust of Justinian facing, beardless, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VNTON AUG P E CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 18a	Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection, 0615. Glendining 8th March 1957.

## Carthage, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4401	<i>Follis</i>	4.30g, 20.0mm, 270°	...ANYΣ PP AUGT ANNO II Bust of Justinian facing, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	Denomination mark: m Above: cross. Left and right: none Mint mark: KTS	MIB III, 52		Whitting Collection, 1921. Hall sale November 1950.
B4402	<i>Follis</i>	5.78g, 22.5mm, 90°	...STL... ANNO II Bust of Justinian facing, wearing cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	Denomination mark: m Above: Not visible. Left and right: none Mint mark: KTGS	MIB III, 52		Whitting Collection, 3087. Spink 20th August 1956.
B4403	<i>Follis</i>	9.03g, 22.0mm, 225°	ONST...NN...NVSAGSTVON Bust of Justinian facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross. Left and right: Not visible. Mint mark: KΓω	MIB III, 53		Whitting Collection, 3095. Seaby October 1956.

B4404	<i>Follis</i>	3.40g, 20.5mm, 45°	No visible inscription. Bust of Justinian facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> .	Denomination mark: M Above: ΘΔ Left and right: ...K <i>Officina</i> : Not visible. Mint mark: Not visible.	MIB III, 55		Whitting Collection, 4730. P.W. Selby 18th July 1964.
B4405	<i>Follis</i>	6.89g, 25.0mm, 0°	No visible inscription. Standing figure of Justinian wearing jewelled <i>chlamys</i> (?), <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left, with elongated <i>globus crucigers</i> to left and right of figure.	Denomination mark: M Above: Not visible. Left and right: I ω Mint mark: ΚΓω	MIB III, 58	Overstruck on earlier Carthage <i>follis</i> , emperor uncertain.	Whitting Collection, 7768. A. H. Baldwin 4th March 1971.

Syracuse, gold

Acc. no.	Denomin- ation	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4406	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.15g, 20.5mm, 180°	ΝΙΚΗΤΙ...ΝΗΣ Ρ Bust of Justinian facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA AUGΥ Θ CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 23	Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection, 1751. A. H. Baldwin 21st June 1969.
B4407	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.09g, 18.0mm, 180°	IUSTINIANI Ρ Bust of Justinian facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA AUGΥ Θ CONOB Cross potent on three steps, H in bottom right of field.	MIB III, 14 (Justinian II, second reign) <sup>2</sup>	Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection, 1260. Herzfelder July 1963.
B4408	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.30g, 16.0mm 180°	Δ...ΣΤΙ Bust of Justinian bearded, facing right, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and diadem.	VICTORIA ΑΥΥΓ Θ CONOB Cross potent.	MIB III, 27.2		Whitting Collection, 0903. Spink June 1960.

<sup>2</sup> Unclear whether should be assigned to first or second reign. Hahn opts for second, I have opted for first.



B4409	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.39g, 13.0mm, 180°	...C4q... Bust of Justinian bearded, facing right, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and diadem.	VICTOR... AUY4 K CONOB Cross potent.	MIB III, 27.1		Whitting Collection, 0855. A. H. Baldwin October 1959.
-------	------------------	---------------------------	--	--	------------------	--	--

Syracuse, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4412	<i>Follis</i>	4.07g, 25.0mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Justinian standing facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: not visible <i>Officina</i> : none Mint mark: ...CL	MIB III, 66		Whitting Collection, 3487. Glendining July 1962.
B4413	<i>Follis</i>	3.80g, 24.0mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Justinian standing facing, holding cross potent on steps in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: not visible <i>Officina</i> : star Mint mark: SCL	MIB III, 69	Overstruck on a Constantine IV Syracuse <i>follis</i> DOC II.2 AE60.1.	Whitting Collection, 1938. Seaby 1949.
B4414	<i>Follis</i>	4.62g, 21.0mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Justinian standing facing, wearing helmet, holding spear in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: ...q/A K/OV/CI <i>Officina</i> : none Mint mark: SCL	MIB III, 71		Whitting Collection, 1920. Cunningham February 1951.
B4415	<i>Follis</i>	4.35g, 23.5mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Justinian standing facing, holding probable spear in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: not visible <i>Officina</i> : none Mint mark: ...L	MIB III, 70		Whitting Collection, 1939. Seaby 1949.

B4416	<i>Follis</i>	4.47g, 20.0mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Justinian standing facing, wearing plumed helmet, holding spear in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: not visible <i>Officina</i> : none Mint mark: SCL	MIB III, 70	Overstruck on a Constantine IV Syracuse <i>follis</i> DOC II.2 AE63.2.	Whitting Collection, 4653. Spink 3rd March 1964.
B4417	<i>Follis</i>	5.25g, 22.5mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Justinian standing facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> , holding <i>akakia</i> across body in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: INΔ +H+ and ears of corn <sup>3</sup> <i>Officina</i> : none Mint mark: ...CL	DOC II.2, AE63		Whitting Collection, 2337. Spink 4th September 1953.
B4418	<i>Follis</i>	5.56g, 29.5mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Justinian standing facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and helmet with exaggerated crest, holding <i>akakia</i> across body in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: INΔX +H+ and ears of corn <i>Officina</i> : none Mint mark: SCL	DOC II.2, AE63	Overstruck on Sicilian <i>follis</i> , unclear which emperor.	Whitting Collection, 0033. Ex G. C. Haines collection November 1951.

Rome, gold

Acc. no.	Denomin- ation	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4419	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.33g, 19.0mm, 180°	IUSTINIANVS PE AV Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA AVYCI Φ CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 31b		Whitting Collection, 0563. July 1963.

<sup>3</sup> These are usually listed as palm leaves, but ears of corn seem more likely to me.

B4420	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.48g, 15.0mm, 180°	IUSTINIANVS PE AV Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA AVTTI Φ CONOB Cross potent.	MIB III, 33		Haines Collection, 2177. A. H. Baldwin 1942.
B4421	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.39g, 15.5mm, 180°	ϠITL...ΠIS C AV Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> , holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTOI AϠϠ θ CONOB Cross potent.	MIB III, 33	Coin piercing plugged with silvery material.	Whitting Collection, 1803. A. H. Baldwin 1st April 1972.

Ravenna, gold

Acc. no.	Denomin- ation	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4422	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.45g, 14.0mm, 180°	dN IVIV INANO PC Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTORI A IVSTO CONOB Cross potent, θ in right of field.	MIB III, N.36	Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection, 1081. Vinchen December 1961.

Ravenna, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomin- ation	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4460	<i>Follis</i>	2.82g, 17.0mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Bust of Justinian facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> , holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: I Mint mark: ...AV	DOC II.2 AE72		Whitting Collection, 1917. Glendining, Hall Sale 1950.

Sardinia (?), base metal<sup>4</sup>

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4552 ADD	Half <i>follis</i>	3.00g, 25.0mm, 0°	No inscription visible. Bust of Justinian facing, bearded, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	Denomination mark: K Above: Not visible. Left and right: 2TO S <i>Officina</i> : €	None	Overstruck on half <i>follis</i> of Constantine IV.	
B4561 ADD	Half <i>follis</i>	4.51g, 28.5mm, 225°	SLIS in right of field. Bust of Justinian facing, wearing cross crown.	Denomination mark: K Above: cross Left and right: ... S <i>Officina</i> : not visible.	None	Overstruck on <i>follis</i> of Constans II type MIB III, 177.	

<sup>4</sup> These coins, found in the Barber's addenda section, and apparently not viewed by Hahn, are unpublished types, but are iconographically most similar to the Justinian II Sardinian base metal coins, on which ground I have tentatively attributed these coins to that mint. The 2TO (or arguably 2TO) on B4552ADD may indicate Carthage (still for Justinian II, first reign), and the SLIS of B4561ADD may indicate Syracuse, however.

**Leontios (695-698)**

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4423	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.45g, 19.0mm, 180°	D LEO... Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand and <i>mappa</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA AVSÇ A CONO... Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 1153. A. H. Baldwin 28th November 1962.
B4424	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.35g, 20.0 mm, 180°	...EON PE AV Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand and <i>mappa</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA AVSÇ Γ CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 1403. A. H. Baldwin 10th October 1964.
B4425	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.39g, 19.0 mm, 180°	D LEON PE AV Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand and <i>mappa</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA ...SÇ E CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 0962. A. H. Baldwin December 1960.
B4426	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.32g, 19.0mm, 180°	D LEON PE AV Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand and <i>mappa</i> in right hand.	...TORIA ...SÇ S CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 0467. Glendining 15th June 1954.

B4427	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.30g, 19.0mm, 180°	D LEON PE AV Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand and <i>mappa</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA AVSϣ S CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 0326. Spink January 1949.
B4428	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.47g, 19.5mm, 180°	D LEON PE AV Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand and <i>mappa</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA ...Sϣ θΔ CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 1054. A. H. Baldwin November 1961.
B4429	<i>Semissis</i>	2.08g, 11.5mm, 180°	D LEON PE AV Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand and <i>mappa</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA AVSϣ S Elongated <i>globus cruciger</i> .	MIB III, 4		Whitting Collection, 0749. Dumbarton Oaks Duplicates 27th November 1958.
B4430	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.47g, 10.0mm, 180°	D L... ..AV Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	...ICTORIA AVSϣ Cross potent.	MIB III, 5		Haines Collection, 2162. Spink 1942.
B4437	<i>Tremissis</i>	14.0mm, 180°	D LEO... Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA AVSϣ C CONOB Cross potent.	MIB III, 5		Whitting Collection, 0817. Glendining 30th May 1959.

## Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4431	<i>Follis</i>	3.87g, 14.0mm, 45°	No visible inscription. Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and plumed headgear, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram or cross Left and right: ...NN... <i>Officina</i> : Γ	DOC II.2 AE9 (var.) <sup>5</sup>	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Whitting Collection, 3494. 1961.
B4432	Half <i>follis</i>	3.86g, 23.5mm, 0°	No visible inscription. Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand, cross in right of field.	Denomination mark: K Above: cross Left and right: ANNO A <i>Officina</i> : Γ	MIB III, 33	Overstruck on <i>follis</i> with arched m.	Whitting Collection, 8211. A. H. Baldwin October 1979.
B4433	Half <i>follis</i>	3.76g, 26.5mm, 45°	No visible inscription. Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, cross in right of field.	Denomination mark: K Above: not visible Left and right: ANNO ... <i>Officina</i> : not visible.	MIB III, 33	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Whitting Collection, 8212. A. H. Baldwin October 1979.

## Syracuse, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4435	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.08g, 19.5mm, 180°	D LEON A q Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand and <i>mappa</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA ὩΣΘ Θ CONOB Cross potent on three steps, ∙ ∙ ∙ in left of field and I in right of field.	MIB III, 9	Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection, 0325. Hall Sale November 1950.

<sup>5</sup> An attribution to Philippikos could also be argued, but I have kept to Leontios.

Syracuse, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4436	<i>Follis</i>	5.06g 26.0mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, <i>mappa</i> in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: not visible <i>Officina</i> : none Mint mark: SCL	MIB III, 36		Whitting Collection, 1923. 1950.
B4434	Half <i>follis</i>	1.46g 18.5mm, 0°	No visible inscription. Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown, cross in right of field.	Denomination mark: K Above: not visible Left and right: ANNO II <i>Officina</i> : none Mint mark: none.	None <sup>6</sup>	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Whitting Collection, 1924. 1950.
B4554 ADD	Half <i>follis</i>	3.72g, 26.5mm, 225°	No inscription. Bust of Leontios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand, cross in right of field.	Denomination mark: K Above: not visible Left and right: ANNA II <i>Officina</i> : A Mint mark: none	MIB III, 33	Overstruck, not clear on what.	

<sup>6</sup> The combination of standing figure and monogram make this type unique, the standing figure usually appears with the cross, the monogram only with the bust type; however, there may be others where the monogram is no longer visible and therefore presumed to contain a cross.



**Tiberios III (698-705)**

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4438	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.37g, 19.5mm, 180°	D TIBERIVS PE AV Bust of Tiberios bearded, facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand, and shield depicting man on horse in left hand.	VICTORIA AVS4 S CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, N4		Whitting Collection, 0328. Seaby July 1951.
B4439	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.43g, 19.0mm, 180°	D TIBERIVS PE AV Bust of Tiberios bearded, facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand, and shield depicting man on horse in left hand.	VICTORIA AVS4 A CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 0327. Seaby 1948.
B4440	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.46g, 20.0mm, 180°	D TIBERIVS PE AV Bust of Tiberios bearded, facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand, and shield depicting man on horse in left hand.	VICTORIA AVS4 Z CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 1374. A. H. Baldwin 4th May 1964.
B4441	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.40g, 19.5mm, 180°	D TIBERIVS PE AV Bust of Tiberios bearded, facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand, and shield depicting man on horse in left hand.	VICTO... AVS4 H CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Haines Collection, 2618. From the collection of either Professor Sir Charles Oman or Mr. C. C. Oman 1949.

B4442	<i>Semissis</i>	2.09g, 17.0mm, 180°	...RIQS PE AV Bust of Tiberios bearded, facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand, and shield depicting man on horse in left hand.	VICTO...A AVS4 S ... Elongated <i>globus cruciger</i> .	MIB III, 7		Whitting Collection, 0329. Cunningham Februrary 1951.
B4443	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.42g, 16.5mm, 180°	D ...RI...S PO AV Bust of Tiberios bearded, facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand, and shield depicting man on horse in left hand.	V...CTORIA AVS4 S ...N... Cross potent.	MIB III, 8		Whitting Collection, 0564. Spink July 1956.
B4444	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.39g, 15.0mm, 180°	TIBERI... Bust of Tiberios bearded, facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand, and shield depicting man on horse in left hand.	VICTORIA AVS4 S CON... Cross potent.	MIB III, 8		Haines Collection, 2161. Spink 1942.

Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4445	<i>Follis</i>	3.55g, 23.0mm, 180°	...IbERI OP PE AV Bust of Tiberios facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: not visible Left and right: ANNO I <i>Officina</i> : A Mint mark: CON	MIB III, 73		Whitting Collection, 1913. Bought Cunningham Februrary 1951.

B4446	<i>Follis</i>	9.56g, 31.0mm, 0°	O TIIRI... Bust of Tiberios facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: not visible Left and right: ... I <i>Officina</i> : B Mint mark: ...ON	MIB III, 73	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Whitting Collection, 5534. Spink 14th July 1967.
B4447	<i>Follis</i>	3.35g, 23.5mm, 180°	E...DIZ AV Bust of Tiberios facing, wearing military dress, holding spear across front of body in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: not visible Left and right: not visible <i>Officina</i> : B Mint mark: C...	MIB III, 73		Whitting Collection, 1918. Glendining, Hall Sale 1950.
B4448	<i>Follis</i>	6.81g, 25.0mm, 180°	O TIBORI... Bust of Tiberios facing, wearing military dress, holding spear across front of body in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: ANN... <i>Officina</i> : A Mint mark: not visible.	MIB III, 73		Whitting Collection, 5063. A. H. Baldwin 15th January 1966.
B4449	<i>Follis</i>	8.43g, 25.5mm, 180°	TIIR...OS IE Bust of Tiberios facing, wearing military dress and crown, holding spear across front of body in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: not visible Left and right: ...NNO ... <i>Officina</i> : Γ Mint mark: CO...	MIB III, 73	Overstruck twice, once on Constantine IV half <i>follis</i> DOC II.2 AE35, second undertype not clear.	Whitting Collection, 1914. Cunningham February 1951.
B4450	<i>Follis</i>	2.99g, 24.0mm, 0°	TI/EY... Tiberios standing, wearing military dress and crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and cruciform staff in left hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: not visible Left and right: ANN... ·Δ· <i>Officina</i> : Γ Mint mark: ...O...	MIB III, 74		Whitting Collection, 2953. Seaby 16 June 1955.

## Sardinia, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4451	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.35g, 15.0mm, 180°	...PE AV Bust of Tiberios bearded, facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand, and shield depicting man on horse in left hand.	VICTOR... ..SY CONOB Cross potent on three steps, + in left of field and S in right.	MIB III, 13		Barber acquisition, 0155B. A. H. Baldwin 1975.

## Syracuse, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4452	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.00g, 18.0mm, 135°	b TibC-RI TΨ Bust of Tiberios bearded, facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand, and shield depicting man on horse in left hand.	VICTORIA ΛΨΨΨ U CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 23	Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection, 1192. Herzfelder June 1962.
B4453	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.04g, 20.0mm, 180°	U ΔIBσ AI λ SΨ Bust of Tiberios bearded, facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand, and shield depicting man on horse in left hand.	VICTORIA ΨΨΨ CONOB Cross potent on three steps, H in left of field and Λ in right.	MIB III, 32	Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection, 1219. Spink May 1963.

Syracuse, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4454	<i>Follis</i>	4.00g 18.0mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Bust of Tiberios bearded, facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: ear of corn, right <i>Officina</i> : none Mint mark: not visible.	MIB III, 79.2		Whitting Collection, 1915. Glendining, Hall Sale 1950.
B4455	<i>Follis</i>	3.94g, 20.0mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Bust of Tiberios facing, wearing military dress and crown, holding spear across front of body in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: ear of corn, right <i>Officina</i> : none Mint mark: SCL	MIB III, 79.2		Whitting Collection, 1916. Glendining, Hall Sale 1950.
B4456	<i>Follis</i>	3.84g, 20.0mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Bust of Tiberios facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross, holding spear across front of body in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: ears of corn <i>Officina</i> : none Mint mark: SCL	MIB III, 79.2		
B4457	<i>Follis</i>	3.35g, 23.5mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Tiberios standing, wearing military dress, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: crosses <i>Officina</i> : star Mint mark: ...CL	MIB III, 80	Overstruck on another Tiberios III <i>follis</i> of Syracuse.	Whitting Collection, 2126. Spink 3rd March 1967.
B4458	<i>Follis</i>	2.16g, 11.5mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Tiberios standing, wearing military dress, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: cross, left <i>Officina</i> : star Mint mark: SC...	MIB III, 80		Whitting Collection, 5448. Spink 3rd March 1967.

Italian mainland, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4459	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.44g, 14.0mm, 180°	oTIPo...S o Bust of Tiberios facing, wearing military dress, holding spear across front of body in right hand, and shield depicting man on horse in left hand.	VICTOΔPΔIVIV (running anti- clockwise) BONOC Cross potent, θ in right of field.	MIB III, X1	Imitation? Tested in ATG.	Haines Collection, 224 - ex Rev. E. Gantz collection 1917.

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

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4462	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.42g, 21.0mm, 180°	...S ChS REX RECNANTI4M Bust of Christ Emanuel facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	...NIA N4S M4LT4S A Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent on three steps in right hand and patriarchal <i>globus cruciger</i> inscribed with PAX in left.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 0330. Hall sale November 1950.
B4463	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.41g, 20.0mm 180°	dN IhS ChS REX RECNANTI4M Bust of Christ Emanuel facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	CN I4STINIAN 4S ET Tib4RI4S PPA- Half figures of Justinian, bearded, and Tiberius, beardless, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding the cross potent on two steps between them.	MIB III, 2a		Haines Collection, 2157. Spink 1942.
B4464	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.29g, 20.5mm, 180°	dN IhS ChS REX RECNANTI4M Bust of Christ Emanuel facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	CN I4STINIAN 4S ET Tib4RI4S PP Half figures of Justinian, bearded, and Tiberius, beardless, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding the cross potent on two steps between them.	MIB III, 2a	Pierced with heating from reverse to obverse at top limb of cross on reverse. Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection, 754. Dumbarton Oaks duplicates 102, 27 <sup>th</sup> November 1957.

B4465	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.24g, 20.0mm, 180°	...IhS ChS RCX RECNANTI4M Bust of Christ Emanuel facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	CN I4S...Ib€RI4S PPA Half figures of Justinian, bearded, and Tiberius, beardless, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding the cross potent on two steps between them.	MIB III, 2a	Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection, 0198. Hall sale November 1950, previously Glendining 25 <sup>th</sup> June 1931.
B4466	<i>Semissis</i>	2.15g, 17.0mm, 180°	dN IhS ChS RCX ...NANTI4M Bust of Christ Emanuel facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	...IIA... €T Tib€RI4S PP- Busts of Justinian, bearded, and Tiberius, beardless, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding the elongated <i>globus cruciger</i> between them.	MIB III, 4a		Whitting Collection, 0332.
B4467	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.41g, 15.5mm, 180°	dN IhS Ch... Bust of Christ Emanuel facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	...I4STINIAN4S €T Tib€R... Busts of Justinian, bearded, and Tiberius, beardless, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding the cross potent between them.	MIB III, 6b	Justinian appears to have had his nose chipped off!	Whitting Collection, 1369. Leu 16 <sup>th</sup> April 1964.
B4468	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.35g, 16.0mm, 180°	dN IhS ChS RC X RECNANTI4 Bust of Christ Emanuel facing, cross behind head, holding gospel in left hand and raising right in benediction.	Inscription too worn to be legible. Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown, holding cross potent in right hand and patriarchal <i>globus cruciger</i> inscribed with PAX in left.	MIB III, 5		Whitting Collection, 0331. Spink October 1951.



Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4469	<i>Follis</i>	5.93g, 30.5mm, 225°	No inscription visible. Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding something with a cross in right hand and patriarchal <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: ...NO ... <i>Officina</i> : Δ Mint mark: CO...	MIB III, 42 (var.)	Overstruck, unclear on what.	Whitting Collection, 2951.
B4470	<i>Follis</i>	3.74g, 19.5mm, 180°	...S ET T... Busts of Justinian and Tiberius facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown supporting an elongated patriarchal <i>globus cruciger</i> inscribed with ...AX between them.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: ANNO XX' <i>Officina</i> : Γ Mint mark: CON	MIB III, 43		Haines Collection, 122. Ex P. D. Whitting collection 1967 (exchange).
B4471	<i>Follis</i>	4.06g, 20.0mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Half figures of Justinian, bearded, and Tiberius facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown supporting an elongated patriarchal <i>globus cruciger</i> inscribed with PAX between them.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: ANNO ... <i>Officina</i> : A Mint mark: CON	MIB III, 43		Whitting Collection, 1907. B. Kent, Lewes, February 1951.
B4472	<i>Follis</i>	4.56g, 21.5mm, 225°	...Ι ΙΥΣΤΙΝΙΑ ΥΣ ΕΤ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΥΣ Ρ Busts of Justinian, bearded, and Tiberius, beardless, facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown supporting an elongated patriarchal <i>globus cruciger</i> inscribed with DAX between them.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: ANN... XX <i>Officina</i> : B Mint mark: not visible.	MIB III, 43		Whitting Collection, 1908. B. A. Seaby June 1949.
B4473	<i>Follis</i>	3.22g, 17.5mm, 180°	...b€... Half figures of Justinian, bearded, and Tiberius, beardless, facing	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: ANN... XX	MIB III, 43		Whitting Collection, 1909. Glendining 3 <sup>rd</sup> May 1951.

			wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown supporting an elongated patriarchal <i>globus cruciger</i> inscribed with PAX between them.	<i>Officina</i> : B Mint mark: CON			
B4474	<i>Follis</i>	3.24g, 21.5mm, 225°	CN IUSTINIANVS ET TIBERIVS P' Half figures of Justinian and Tiberius, beardless, facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown supporting an elongated patriarchal <i>globus cruciger</i> inscribed with ...AX between them.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: ANNO XX <i>Officina</i> : Γ Mint mark: CO...	MIB III, 43		Whitting Collection, 0032.
B4475	<i>Follis</i>	3.69g, 18.0mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Half figures of Justinian, bearded, and Tiberius, beardless, facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown supporting an elongated patriarchal <i>globus cruciger</i> inscribed with PAX between them.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: ANNO XXI <i>Officina</i> : Γ Mint mark: CON	MIB III, 43		Whitting Collection, 1911.
B4476	Half <i>follis</i>	6.50g, 23.5mm, 180°	>IUI T... Bust of Justinian bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent on two steps in right hand.	Denomination mark: K Above: cross Left and right: ANNO ... <i>Officina</i> : Γ Mint mark: not visible.	MIB III, 44a		Whitting Collection, 3022.
B4477	Half <i>follis</i>	1.65g 16.5mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Half figures of Justinian, bearded, and Tiberius, beardless, facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown supporting an elongated <i>globus cruciger</i> inscribed with IAX between them.	Denomination mark: K Above: cross Left and right: ANN X <i>Officina</i> : A Mint mark: none.	MIB III, 45		Whitting Collection, 1906.

## Syracuse, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4410	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.00g, 13.0mm, 180°	d IISTI... Bust of Justinian bearded, facing right, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and diadem.	VICTORI... ..AUYÇ ΘA CONOB <sup>7</sup> Cross potent, H in right of field.	MIB III, 22b	Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection, 0324. A. H. Baldwin January 1952.
B4411	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.38g, 15.0mm, 180°	d ICHITINI... Bust of Justinian bearded, facing right, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and diadem.	VICTOR... CONOB Cross potent, with N in right of field and Θ in left of field.	MIB III, 23		Whitting Collection, 1109. Seaby April 1962.

## Syracuse, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4478	<i>Follis</i>	3.19g, 22.0mm, 0°	No inscription visible. Bust of Justinian facing, wearing cross crown, holding cross potent on three steps in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: + ... <i>Officina</i> : none Mint mark: ...SN (perhaps part of undertype)	MIB III, 47	Slightly concave; overstruck, unclear what on.	Whitting Collection, 8193. A. H. Baldwin August 1977.
B4558 ADD	<i>Follis</i>	3.89g, 23.0mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Justinian standing facing, holding cruciform staff in right hand, formed of solid lines above hand and pellets beneath.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: star ... <i>Officina</i> : € Mint mark: S...	MIB III, 49	Overstruck, unclear what on.	

<sup>7</sup> Unclear if should be read AUYÇ ΘA CONOB or AUYÇ Θ CONOBA

Sardinia, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4479	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.22g, 14.0mm, 180°	... ET TIB Half figures of Justinian, bearded, and Tiberius, beardless, facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown supporting an elongated patriarchal <i>globus cruciger</i> inscribed with PAX between them.	VICTORIA AVTT· CONOB Cross potent on three steps, S in right of field.	None		Whitting Collection, 1790. A. H. Baldwin 21 <sup>st</sup> September 1970.

### Philippikos (711-713)

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4480	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.32g, 19.5mm, 180°	D[reversed]N...ICuS M4L T4S AN Bust of Philippikos bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and eagle-topped sceptre in left.	...ORIA AVS4 0 CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 1708. 30 <sup>th</sup> January 1968, ex J. R. Stewart collection, 1948.
B4481	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.41g, 20.5mm, 180°	D[reversed]N FILEPIC4S MuL TuS AN Bust of Philippikos bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and eagle-topped sceptre in left.	VICTORIA AVS4 S CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 0333. Ex Captain G. R. Southey collection, 1948.
B4482	<i>Semissis</i>	2.16g, 16.5mm, 180°	D[reversed]N FILEPIC4S M4LT uS AN Bust of Philippikos bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and eagle-topped sceptre in left.	VICTORIA AVS4 S CONOB Elongated <i>globus cruciger</i> .	MIB III, 5		Whitting Collection, 617. Glendining 8 <sup>th</sup> March 1957.
B4483	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.45g, 16.5mm, 180°	D[reversed]N FILEPIC4S M4LT... Bust of Philippikos bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and eagle-topped sceptre in left.	VICTORIA AVS4 S CONOB Cross potent.	MIB III, 6		Haines Collection, 2449. Spink 1947.

## Constantinople, silver

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4484	<i>Hexagram</i>	6.30g, 23.0mm, 180°	...ЄPICuS MuL T42 AN Bust of Philippikos bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and eagle- topped sceptre in left.	VICTORIA AVS4 A CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 20		Whitting Collection, 4089. A. H. Baldwin 22 <sup>nd</sup> August 1963, ex F. W. Baldwin collection.

## Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4485	<i>Follis</i>	5.14g, 22.0mm, 225°	-H FLE PIC4... Bust of Philippikos bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and eagle-topped sceptre in left.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: not visible <i>Officina</i> : B Mint mark: CON	MIB III, 21	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Whitting Collection, 1912.
B4486	<i>Follis</i>	2.51g, 23.5mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Bust of Philippikos facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: AN... I <i>Officina</i> : A Mint mark: ...ON	MIB III, 21	Overstruck on coin of Justinian II, second reign, alone.	Haines Collection, 4115. Spink 1966.
B4487	Half <i>follis</i>	1.75g, 17.0mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Bust of Philippikos facing, wearing <i>loros</i> , holding eagle-topped sceptre in left.	Denomination mark: K Above: cross partially visible Left and right: NNN II <i>Officina</i> : B Mint mark: none.	MIB III, 22	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Barber acquisition, 0004B. Spink May 1971.

Ravenna, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4488	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.28g, 14.0mm, 180°	D FILI... Philippikos bearded facing right, wearing <i>chlamys</i> .	VICTORI... Ὡ· CONOB Cross potent	MIB III, 16	Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection, 1805. Glendining 9 <sup>th</sup> October 1972.

### Anastasios II (713-715)

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4489	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.41g, 20.0mm, 180°	ϠN APTEMIϠS A NASTASIϠS MϠL A Bust of Anastasios bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	VICTORIA AVSϠ Z CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 2		Haines Collection, 917. Ex British Museum 1926
B4490	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.46g, 20.0mm, 180°	ϠN APTEMIϠS A NASTASIϠS MϠL Bust of Anastasios bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	VICTORIA AVSϠ A CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 2		Whitting Collection, 0334. Basle December 1948.
B4491	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.40g, 22.0mm, 180°	ϠN APTEMIϠS A NASTASIϠS MϠL A Bust of Anastasios bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	VICTORIA AVSϠ θ CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 2	Same obverse die as B4489.	Whitting Collection, 1037. Herzfelder May 1961.
B4492	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.44g, 20.5mm, 180°	IN APTEMIϠS A NASTASIϠS MϠL Bust of Anastasios bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	VICTORIA ...SϠ Δθ CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 3		Whitting Collection, 1446. A. H. Baldwin April 1965, 'from Istanbul'.
B4493	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.40g, 20.0mm, 180°	ϠN APT...ASTASIϠS MϠL Bust of Anastasios bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	VICTORIA AVSϠ Hθ CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 3		Whitting Collection, 1221. Spink 7 <sup>th</sup> June 1963.
B4494	<i>Semissis</i>	2.22g, 18.5mm, 225°	ϠN APTEMIϠS A NASTASIϠS MϠ Bust of Anastasios bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	VICTORIA AVSϠS Elongated <i>globus cruciger</i> .	MIB III, 5		Whitting Collection, 1194. Herzfelder June 1962.



B4495	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.46g, 13.0mm, 135°	...IUS Mꝓ Bust of Anastasios bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	VICTORIA AVSI Δ ...N... Cross potent.	MIB III, 6 or 7		Whitting Collection, 1802. A. H. Baldwin 4 <sup>th</sup> March 1971.
-------	------------------	---------------------------	---	---	--------------------	--	--

Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4496	<i>Follis</i>	2.96g, 21.5mm, 135°	No visible inscription. Bust of Anastasios bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> , holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: ANN... <i>Officina</i> : A Mint mark: not visible.	MIB III, 28	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Whitting Collection, 1674.
B4497	<i>Follis</i>	4.19g, 24.5mm, 180°	No legible inscription. Bust of Anastasios bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand, cross in right of field.	Denomination mark: M Above: not visible Left and right: ...NNO II <i>Officina</i> : B Mint mark: CON	MIB III, 28	Overstruck, not clear on what.	
B4498	Half <i>follis</i>	3.49g, 24.0mm, 0°	No legible inscription. Bust of Anastasios facing, wearing cross crown.	Denomination mark: K Above: not visible Left and right: ...NNO III <i>Officina</i> : not visible Mint mark: not visible.	MIB III, 29	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Whitting Collection, 1919.

Syracuse, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4499	<i>Follis</i>	2.95g, 21.5mm, 180°	No inscription. Anastasios standing facing, holding cruciform staff in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	Denomination mark: M Above: monogram Left and right: not visible <i>Officina</i> : none Mint mark: not visible.	MIB III, 31	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Whitting Collection,

Ravenna, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4500	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.47g 15.0mm 180°	ϡ N APT... Bust of Anastasios bearded, facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	VICTORIA A...CONOP Cross potent.	MIB III, 24	Tested in ATG.	Whitting Collection,

**Theodosios III (715-717)**

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4501	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.39g, 20.0mm, 135°	...SIYS M4L A Bust of Theodosios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding patriarchal <i>globus cruciger</i> right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	VI...R... AVS4 Z CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 1		Whitting Collection, 0335. Basle December 1948.

Constantinople, silver

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4502	<i>Hexagram</i>	3.04 20.0mm, 180°	DN T4COD... Bust of Theodosios bearded, facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown, holding patriarchal <i>globus cruciger</i> right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	VICTO... AVS4S CONOB Cross potent on three steps.	MIB III, 12		Barber acquisition, 0190B.

Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4503	Half <i>folles</i>	2.35g, 21.0mm, 315°	...4 A Bust of Theodosios facing, wearing <i>loros</i> , holding patriarchal <i>globus cruciger</i> right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left, cross in right of field.	Denomination mark: K Above: not visible Left and right: ANNO ... <i>Officina</i> : A Mint mark: none.	MIB III, 14	Overstruck on Justinian II half <i>folles</i> type MIB III, 45.	Whitting Collection, 1905. Spink September 1948.

**Leo III (717-741)**

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4504	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.29g, 19.5mm, 180°	dNOLE... NPAMΛΛ' Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and short beard, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA ...VSΛB CONOB <i>Cross potent</i> on three steps.	DOC III.1, AV1b	Pierced	Whitting Collection, 605. Glendining 8th March 1957 (Austrian diplomat) no. 596.
B4505	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.39g, 20.5mm, 180°	dNOLEO NPAMΛΛ' Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and short beard, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTORIA AVSΛE CONOB <i>Cross potent</i> on three steps.	DOC III.1, AV1c		Haines Collection, 273. Glendining 1922.
B4506	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.36g, 19.5mm, 180°	DNOLEO NPAMΛΛ Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and short beard, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTO...A AVSΛZ CONOB <i>Cross potent</i> on three steps.	DOC III.1, AV1		Whitting Collection, 1455. Seaby 21 <sup>st</sup> May 1965.
B4507	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.40g, 21.0mm, 180°	dNOLEO NPAMUL· Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and short beard, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTO...A AVSΛI CONOB <i>Cross potent</i> on three steps.	DOC III.1, AV1g	Overstruck or possibly doublestruck	Whitting Collection, 1127. G. Hirsch (Munich) 28 <sup>th</sup> May 1962 (no. 698).
B4508	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.36g, 20.5mm, 180°	bNOLEO NP.AMΛΛZ Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and short beard, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	bNCONS τAIIτINΨS Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and beardless, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV7e	Traces of doublestriking	Whitting Collection, 1729. Christie 12 <sup>th</sup> November 1968 ex Oman collection 407.
B4509	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.42g, 20.5mm, 180°	dNOLEO NPAMUL Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and short beard, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	ONCONSτ ANτINΨSM Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and beardless, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV4f		Whitting Collection, 0339.

B4510	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.46g, 20.5mm, 180°	bNOLEO NPAMᶓLS Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and short beard, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	bNCONS τANτINᶓSθ Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and beardless, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV7d		Whitting Collection, 0388. Seaby February 1952.
B4511	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.33g, 19.5mm, 180°	ON...LE... NPAMᶓL Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and short beard, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	...ONSt ANτINUSM Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and beardless, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV5		Whitting Collection, 0337. A. H. Baldwin January 1951, ex Grantley collection, 1944.
B4512	<i>Semissis</i>	2.17g, 18.0mm, 180°	CDLEO NPAMUL Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and short beard, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	CON StANτINU Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and beardless, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, elongated <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV13	Traces of mounting, broken.	Whitting Collection, 609. Glendining 8 <sup>th</sup> March 1957 (Austrian ambassador).
B4513	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.43g, 17.5mm, 180°	dNOLEO NPAM... Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and short beard, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICT... ASᶓS CONOB <i>Cross potent</i> .	DOC III.1, AV14		Whitting Collection, 1495. K. Kress 6 <sup>th</sup> September 1965, no. 1190.
B4514	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.41g, 18.0mm, 180°	CNOLEO NPAMUL' Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and short beard, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	CON StANτIN. Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and beardless, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>cross potent</i> in right hand Pellet in right of field.	DOC III.1, AV18		Whitting Collection, 1727. A. H. Baldwin 30th September 1968, ex Dr. Protonotarios collection.
B4515	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.31g, 14.5mm, 180°	C NLEO NPAMU... Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and short beard, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	-N C...ANτIN... Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and beardless, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>cross potent</i> in right hand	DOC III.1, AV18	Syracuse also a possible attribution.	Whitting Collection, 0341. A. H. Baldwin January 1952.

B4516	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.27g, 13.5mm, 180°	C NOLCO Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and short beard, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	C ...CO NSτANτI Bust facing in <i>chlamys</i> , cross crown and beardless, <i>akakia</i> in left hand, <i>cross potent</i> in right hand Pellet in left of field	DOC III.1, AV18	Syracuse also a possible attribution.	Whitting Collection, 0340. A. H. Baldwin May 1949, ex Grantley collection.
-------	------------------	---------------------------	---	--	--------------------	---------------------------------------	--

Constantinople, silver

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4517	<i>Hexagram</i>	3.32g, 18.0mm, 180°	dNOLEO... Bust facing, plumed helmet with cross, beard, military attire spear in right hand appearing over left shoulder.	...AVSϣΔ CONOB <i>Cross potent</i> on three steps.	DOC III.1, AR20a		Barber acquisition. A. H. Baldwin 5th May 1994.
B4518	<i>Miliaresion</i>	2.11g, 21.5mm, 0°	LEOh / SCOhSτ / AhτIhEE / CΘEϣbA / SILIS.	IhSϣSXRIS τϣShICA Large <i>cross potent</i> on three squashed steps.	DOC III.1, AR22a		Haines Collection, 2456 . A. H. Baldwin 1948, ex Lord Grantley collection.
B4519	<i>Miliaresion</i>	2.05g, 23.0mm, 180°	LEOh / SCOhSτ / Ah...IhEE / CΘEϣbA / SILIS.	IhSϣSXRIS τϣShICA Elongated <i>cross potent</i> on three steps inner two borders connected by three circles at the N, E and W points.	DOC III.1, AR22a	Overstrike on an Umayyad dirhem.	Whitting Collection, 2435. A. H. Baldwin 27 <sup>th</sup> March 1954.
B4520	<i>Miliaresion</i>	1.90g, 23.0mm, 180°	LEOh / SCOhSτ / AhτIhEE / CΘEϣbA / SILIS.	hISϣSXRIS τϣShICA <i>Cross potent</i> on three steps.	DOC III.1, AR22c		Whitting Collection, 2399. A. H. Baldwin 23 <sup>rd</sup> January 1954.

B4521	<i>Miliaresion</i>	1.66g, 21.0mm, 0°	LEOh / SCOhSτ / AhτlhEE / CθEubA / SILIS.	lhS...SXRIS τϣShICA Large <i>cross potent</i> on three steps	DOC III.1, AR22b		
B4522	<i>Miliaresion</i>	1.80g, 23.5mm, 0°	LEOh / SCOhSτ / AhτlhEE / CθEubA / SILIS.	lhSϣSXRIS τϣShICA <i>Cross potent</i> on three shrunken steps.	DOC III.1, AR22b		Whitting Collection, 0226.

Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomin- ation	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4523	<i>Follis</i>	7.61g, 24.5mm, 180°	...PAMϣL Bust of Leo facing wearing cross crown and <i>chlamys</i> , <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand, <i>akakia</i> in left.	...τ ANτINϣSM XX... Bust of Constantine on ornate zigzag bar with double pellet at either end above M, wears cross crown and <i>chlamys</i> , floating cross in right of field, holds <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	DOC III.1, AE30		
B4524	<i>Follis</i>	6.22g, 22.5mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Bust of Leo facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> , <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand, <i>akakia</i> in left.	... ..INϣSM ...X Bust of Constantine on ornate zigzag bar with double-pellet at either end above M, wears <i>chlamys</i> , floating cross in right of field, holds <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	DOC III.1, AE30		Whitting Collection, 2808. Cunningham February 1951.
B4525	<i>Follis</i>	8.60g, 26.5mm, 180°	dNo... Leo bust facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> , <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	No legible inscription. Constantine sits on a plain bar with double pellet at either end above M, either <i>cross potent</i> or <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE31b		Whitting Collection, 5371. A. H. Baldwin August 1966, from South East Turkey.

B4526	<i>Follis</i>	2.52g, 19.0mm, 180°	dNOLE ONPAMЧ... Leo bust facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	No legible inscription. Constantine on a plain bar with a large pellet at either end above M. Wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE31a		Whitting Collection, 2810.
B4527	<i>Follis</i>	3.81g, 18.5mm, 180°	No legible inscription. Bust of Leo facing, wearing cross crown and <i>chlamys</i> <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	CONCONS τ... Bust of Constantine on faded ornate bar with double pellet at either end above M. <i>Globus cruciger</i> in right hand, <i>akakia</i> in left, floating cross in right of the field.	DOC III.1, AE31		Whitting Collection, 2809. A. H. Baldwin August 1996, from South East Turkey.
B4529	<i>Follis</i>	2.86g, 21.0mm, 180°	No inscription. Leo bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and Constantine unbearded wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, both holding <i>cross potent</i> .	Large M flanked by XXX vertical left and NNN vertical right. Floating cross above M and A below.	DOC III.1, AE36		Whitting Collection, 2846.
B4530	<i>Follis</i>	3.88g, 22.0mm, 180°	No inscription. Leo facing wearing cross crown and <i>chlamys</i> , bearded, Constantine beardless wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown Both hold <i>cross potent</i> .	Large M flanked by XXX vertically left and ...NN vertically right, B underneath.	DOC III.1, AE36		Whitting Collection, 2841. Glendining 3 <sup>rd</sup> April 1951.
B4531	<i>Follis</i>	4.61g, 23.5mm, 180°	LE ONS CO Leo and Constantine both facing bearded wearing cross crown and <i>chlamys</i> with <i>akakia</i> in right hand. Pellet between heads.	Large M flanked by XXX vertically on left and NNN vertically on right. Cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE39a		Whitting Collection, 2837.
B4532	<i>Follis</i>	3.36g, 21.5mm, 180°	...LEON... Leo and Constantine both facing bearded wearing cross crown and <i>chlamys</i> with <i>akakia</i>	Large M flanked by ...XX vertically on left and NNN vertically on right. Cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE38a		Whitting Collection, 2838.



			in right hand. Pellets to left of Leo and right of Constantine				
B4533	<i>Follis</i>	3.99g, 23.5mm, 180°	Leo and Constantine both facing bearded wearing cross crown and <i>chlamys</i> with <i>akakia</i> in right hand	Large M flanked by XX... vertically on left and ...NN vertically on right. Cross floating above and B beneath.	DOC III.1, AE39b		Whitting Collection, 2839. Lewes January 1951.
B4534	<i>Follis</i>	5.20g, 24.0mm, 180°	...ONS CON Leo and Constantine both facing bearded wearing cross crown and <i>chlamys</i> with <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	Large M flanked by ...XX vertically on left and NNN vertically on right. B underneath.	DOC III.1, AE39b	Overstruck on Leo III <i>follis</i> DOC III.1, AE36.	Whitting Collection, 4619. R. J. Salfe 4 <sup>th</sup> January 1964, ex Grantley collection.
B4535	Half <i>follis</i>	2.52g, 15.0mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Bust of Leo facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	...NCO...NtIN... Constantine on a plain bar with pellets above K. Wearing <i>chlamys</i> with <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and floating cross in right of field.	DOC III.1, AE33.4		Whitting Collection, 2391.
B4536	Quarter <i>follis</i>	3.04g, 18.0mm, 180°	...AM¶... Bust of Leo facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand	DN...τI ANτINUS Constantine bust wearing cross crown atop a plain bar with up-turned ends above I. Cross in right of field and stylised cross/tau in bottom left.	DOC III.1, AE35		Whitting Collection, 2392.

Syracuse, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4540	<i>Nomisma</i>	3.94g, 20.0mm, 180°	dLEO NP... Bust of Leo facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	VICTOR...¶* CONOB Cross potent on three squashed steps.	DOC III.1, AV42		Whitting Collection, 0336. A. H. Baldwin January 1951.

4578	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.05g, 19.5mm, 180°	NDLE ONPAME Bust of Leo III facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	DCO SNTANTI Bust of child Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left hand.	DOC III.1, AV43		Whitting Collection, 690.
B4539	<i>Nomisma</i>	3.96g, 18.5mm, 180°	CNoLEo NPAMḂLI Bust of Leo facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left. C in right of the field.	CNCōNS τANτINYS Bust of Constantine facing beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left I in right of the field.	DOC III.1, AV44		Whitting Collection, 1195. Lucerne 4 <sup>th</sup> April 1963, no. 338.
B4542	<i>Semissis</i>	1.91g, 15.0mm, 180°	NLEO NPAMU... Bust of Leo facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand, <i>akakia</i> in left.	C NC O...SτAN Bust of Constantine facing beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown. Elongated <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand by stem of cross, <i>akakia</i> in left	DOC III.1, AV51		Haines Collection, 2163. Spink 1942.
B4560	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.26g, 13.5mm, 180°	...IM+ Bust of Constantine beardless wearing crown and <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	...LE... Bust of Leo III facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	BN II, sy/AV/01		Whitting Collection, 1012.

Syracuse, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4528	<i>Follis</i>	7.15g, 24.0mm, 180°	No legible inscription. Bust of Leo facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> , <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand, <i>akakia</i> in left.	dNC ON... SC Bust of Constantine on plain bar with up-turned ends. Wears cross crown and <i>chlamys</i> , <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand <i>akakia</i> in left	DOC III.1, AE54		Whitting Collection, 5755. Dr. Schore/Schove(?) 26 <sup>th</sup> April 1968.
B4543	<i>Follis</i>	3.54g, 26.0mm, 180°	Inscription illegible. Bust of emperor facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> , holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	Bust of Constantine on plain bar with up-turned ends above M, SC to left, L to right. Holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1 AE54	Overstruck on earlier Syracuse <i>follis</i> .	Whitting Collection, 2863.
B4556	<i>Follis</i>	2.64g, 21.0mm, 180°	Bust of Leo facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	Bust of Constantine atop bar wearing <i>chlamys</i> and holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right. SC M LX	DOC III.1, AE54		Whitting Collection, 4022. Spink February 1962.
B4537	<i>Follis</i>	1.37g, 15.5mm, 180°	ΔECΠ 3/4 standing figure of Leo wearing <i>chlamys</i> .	NEOV 3/4 standing figure of Constantine wearing <i>chlamys</i> and holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE55		Whitting Collection, 2388.
B4538	<i>Follis</i>	1.59g, 20.0mm, 180°	Λ...N ... Standing figure of Leo bearded, wearing <i>chlamys</i> . Cross in right hand, <i>akakia</i> in left.	K...N ...EC... Standing figure of Constantine beardless, wearing <i>chlamys</i> . Cross in right hand, <i>akakia</i> in left.	DOC III.1, AE55		Whitting Collection, 2823.

Rome, electrum/silver

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4541	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.19g, 21.5mm, 180°	D NOLE PAM <sup>4</sup> Λ Bust of Leo facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding either blundered <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand or cross floating in left of field and <i>akakia</i> in left hand.	D NOCONTANTIN Bust of Constantine facing beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding either blundered <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand or cross floating in left of field and <i>akakia</i> in left hand. * either side of head	DOC III.1, AV91		Whitting Collection, 1626. A. H. Baldwin 3 <sup>rd</sup> February 1968.
4579	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.07g, 15.5mm, 180°	...NPA... bust of Leo III facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left hand.	No visible inscription. Bust of Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left hand.	DOC III.1, EI103	Pierced	

**Artavasdos (742-743)**

Constantinople, silver

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4544	<i>Miliaresion</i>	1.73g, 21.5mm, 180°	ARτ / AuASDO / SSnICnF / OROSEC / θEubAS / ILIS+	lhS4SXRIS τ4ShICA <i>Cross potent</i> on three steps.	DOC III.1, AR6		Barber acquisition. A. H. Baldwin 1976, ex Leu 1975.

**Constantine V (741-775)**

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4549	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.45g, 19.5mm, 180°	CNCO N SτANτINϸS. Bust of Constantine V facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown <i>cross potent</i> in right hand, <i>akakia</i> in left.	C LEO NPAMϸL Bust of Leo III facing bearded wearing cross crown and <i>chlamys</i> , <i>cross potent</i> in right hand, <i>akakia</i> in left.	DOC III.1, AV1d		Whitting, Collection, 0343. A. H. Baldwin October 1949.
B4550	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.41g, 21.0mm, 180°	bN CON SτANτINϸ Bust of Constantine V facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown <i>cross potent</i> in right hand, <i>akakia</i> in left.	C LEO NPAMϸL Bust of Leo III facing bearded wearing cross crown and <i>chlamys</i> <i>cross potent</i> in right hand, <i>akakia</i> in left.	DOC III.1, AV1		
B4545	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.4g, 22mm, 180°	COhS-IntIhOSSLEOn·hE·S Busts of Constantine V and son Leo (the new - o neos) facing, both wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, Constantne bearded, Leo beardless. Pellet between heads and cross between above their heads.	C LE ONPAMϸL Bust of Leo III facing bearded wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV2f		Whitting Collection, 1023. Spink June 1961.
B4546	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.43g, 19.0mm, 180°	CohStAhtIhoSSLEOhOhEOS Busts of Constantine V and son Leo (the new - o neos) facing, both wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, Constantne bearded, Leo beardless. Pellet between heads and cross between above their heads.	b LE ONPAMϸθ Bust of Leo III facing bearded wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV2c		Whitting Collection, 1102. A. H. Baldwin April 1962, from a war-time sale.

B4547	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.42g, 21mm, 180°	COhSτAhtInOSSLEononEOS Busts of Constantine V and son Leo (the new - ho neos) facing, both wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, Constantne bearded, Leo beardless. Pellet between heads and cross between above their heads.	C LE oNPAMϣLθ Bust of Leo III facing bearded wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV2c		Whitting Collection, 0344. From Basle sale (712) December 1948.
B4548	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.47g, 21.0mm, 180°	ConSτAhtIhoSSLEonohEoS Busts of Constantine V and son Leo (the new - ho neos) facing, both wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, Constantne bearded, Leo beardless. Cross between above their heads.	C LE oNPAMϣLΦ Bust of Leo III facing bearded wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV2g		

Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomin- ation	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4551	<i>Follis</i>	2.93g, 19mm, 180°	dNCO... Bust of Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holds <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	+ xxx M ... B	DOC III.1, AE6		Whitting Collection, 2812.
B4552	<i>Follis</i>	3.45g, 18.5mm, 180°	...OCON SτIN... Bust of Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown. Holds <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	+ ...XX M NNN A	DOC III.1, AE6a		Whitting Collection, 2811. Spink February 1951.

B4553	<i>Follis</i>	2.27g, 18.5mm, 180°	Busts of Constantine and son Leo facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown with a cross floating between their heads.	Bust of Leo III facing atop bar with two pellets side-by-side either end Wearing <i>loros</i> and crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand, floating cross in right of field . X M N A	DOC III.1, AE11		Whitting Collection, 2824. Glendining 3 <sup>rd</sup> May 1951, lots 110/112.
B4554	<i>Follis</i>	1.82g, 18.5mm, 180°	Busts of Constantine and son Leo facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown.	Bust of Leo III facing atop bar with double pellet at end wearing <i>loros</i> and crown holding <i>cross</i> <i>potent</i> in right hand, floating cross in right of field. X M N A	DOC III.1, AE11		Whitting Collection, 2825.
B4555	<i>Follis</i>	3.13g, 20.0mm, 180°	Busts of Constantine and son Leo facing Wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown with a cross floating between their heads.	Bust of Leo III facing atop bar with double pellet at end wearing <i>loros</i> and crown holding <i>cross</i> <i>potent</i> in right hand, floating cross in right of field. N M X A	DOC III.1, AE11		Whitting Collection, 3047. Spink November 1955.
B4557	Half <i>follis</i>	1.86g, 17.0mm, 180°	CON SτANτS Bust of Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown.	XXX K+ NNN	DOC III.1, AE7.		Whitting Collection, 2813.
B4558	Half <i>follis</i>	1.57g, 16.0mm, 180°	...τStAητI Bust of Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	XXX K+ NNN A	DOC III.1, AE7		Whitting Collection, 2814.



## Syracuse, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4559	<i>Nomisma</i>	3.83g, 19.5mm, 180°	COV τ I Busts of Constantine and son Leo facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crowns pellet between lower heads and cross between upper heads.	NL ..NPAM Bust of Leo III facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand θ in right of the field.	DOC III.1, AV15d		Whitting Collection, 816.

## Syracuse, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4561	<i>Follis</i>	2.35g, 19.0mm, 180°	ΚΩΝ... ΔΕC... 3/4 figure of Constantine standing facing wearing cross crown and <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	ΛΕΟΝ ΔΕCΠ ¾ figure of Leo III standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE18		Haines Collection, 793. Ex Edward Shepherd Collection 1924.
B4562	<i>Follis</i>	2.18g, 15.5mm, 180°	...ΩNC ...ECΠ 3/4 figure of Constantine standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	...ΕΟΝ ... ¾ figure of Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE18		Whitting Collection, 2827.
B4563	<i>Follis</i>	2.83g, 17.5mm, 180°	ΚΩNS ...ECΠ 3/4 figure of Constantine standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	ΛΕΟΝ ...EC... 3/4 figure of Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE18		Whitting Collection, 2826.
B4564	<i>Follis</i>	2.30g, 17.0mm, 180°	ΚΩNS ...EC... Constantine V standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	ΛΕ... ...Π Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE18		Whitting Collection, 2828.

B4565	<i>Follis</i>	1.68g, 15.5mm, 180°	...ωNS ... Constantine V standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	ΛEON ΔEC... Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE18		Whitting Collection, 0500. B. A. Seaby March 1949.
B4566	<i>Follis</i>	3.23g, 19.0mm, 180°	Constantine V standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand between ω and Δ / E / C / Π	... ΔECΠ Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE18		Whitting Collection, 2826.
B4567	<i>Follis</i>	2.74g, 18.5mm, 180°	... ΛEωN Constantine V and son Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand cross floating between heads.	ΛEON ΔECΠ Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE19		Whitting Collection, 4754.
B4568	<i>Follis</i>	2.06g, 19.5mm, 180°	K ... Constantine V and son Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand cross floating between heads.	ΛEON ΔEC... Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE19		Whitting Collection, 2818.
B4569	<i>Follis</i>	2.50g, 19.0mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Constantine V and son Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand cross floating between heads.	... ΔE... Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE19		Whitting Collection, 2816.
B4570	<i>Follis</i>	3.01g, 19.5mm,	No visible inscription. Constantine V and son Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating between heads.	...E..N ...Π Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE19		Whitting Collection, 2817.

B4571	<i>Follis</i>	3.27g, 19.5mm, 180°	K ... Constantine V and son Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating between heads.	...N ΔEC... Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE19		Whitting Collection, 2821.
B4572	<i>Follis</i>	2.77g, 20.0mm, 180°	K ...EON Constantine V and son Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	... ΔECII Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE19		Whitting Collection, 2819.
B4573	<i>Follis</i>	2.96g, 19.5mm, 180°	K ...E... Constantine V and son Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	...O... ΔEC... Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE19		Whitting Collection, 2820.
B4574	<i>Follis</i>	2.64g, 18.5mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Constantine V and son Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	... ΔEC... Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE19		Whitting Collection, 2821.
B4575	<i>Follis</i>	2.19g, 19.0mm, 180°	K ... Constantine V and son Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand.	... ΔEC... Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE19		Whitting Collection, 2822.
B4576	<i>Follis</i>	2.78g, 18.5mm, 180°	ΛEO... Constantine V and son Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>akakia</i> in right hand cross floating between heads.	...EO... Leo standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE19		Haines Collection, 815. A. H. Baldwin 1948.

B4577	30 <i>nummi</i>	1.80g, 15.5mm, 180°	Busts of Constantine V and son Leo facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> atop a bar above NKA.	Bust of Leo III facing wearing <i>loros</i> atop a bar above Λ. <i>Globus cruciger</i> floating in right of field.	DOC III.1, AE20		Whitting Collection, 2806.
-------	-----------------	---------------------------	--	--	-----------------	--	----------------------------

Naples, debased coins

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4580	“ <i>Nomisma</i> ”	3.97g, 19.5mm, 180°	D NO CON... Bust of Constantine V facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and trefoil crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left hand.	DNOLE PAMU Bust of Leo III facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and trefoil crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand I in left of field A in right of field.	DOC III.1, AE22		Whitting Collection, 0343.
B4581	“ <i>Nomisma</i> ”	3.97g, 21.5mm, 180°	NOCONS TANTI... Bust of Constantine V facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and trefoil crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	...LE PAMUL Bust of Leo III facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and trefoil crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand I in left of field A in right of field.	DOC III.1, AE22		Haines Collection, 918. Ex British Museum 1926.

Rome, electrum/debased gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4582	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.47g, 14.5mm, 180°	...OCON TANTIN Bust of Constantine V facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and trefoil crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	...LE PAMU Bust of Leo III facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and trefoil crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left Δ in right of field.	DOC III.1, EL38		Haines Collection, 2176. Spink 1942.

**Leo IV (775-780)**

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4583	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.41g, 20.0mm, 180°	LEOnVSSESSOnCOnStAntInOS OnES Leo IV bearded and son Constantine beardless standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown pellet between heads and cross floating above.	LEO...τAntInOSPAtHRθ Leo III and Constantine V bearded standing facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown pellet between heads and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AV1		Whitting Collection, 1726. A. H. Baldwin 30 <sup>th</sup> September 1968, ex Dr. Protonotarios collection.
B4584	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.42g, 20.0mm, 180°	LEOnVSSESSOnCOnStAntInOS OnEO Leo IV bearded and son Constantine beardless standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown pellet between heads and cross floating above.	LEOnPADSCOnStAntInOS PAthR Leo III and Constantine V bearded standing facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown pellet between heads and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AV1b	A T or + has been carved above the heads of Leo III and Constantine V.	Whitting Collection, 0346. Hall sale November 1950, lot 226, previously Spink March 1918.
B4585	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.40g, 20.5mm, 180°	LEOnVSSESSOnCOnStAntInOS OnEOSθ Leo IV bearded and son Constantine beardless standing facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown pellet between heads and cross floating above.	LEOnP...COnStA...ntOSPAt HR Leo III and Constantine V bearded standing facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown pellet between heads and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AV1b		Haines Collection, 3613. Seaby 1960.

B4586	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.44g, 21.5mm, 180°	LEOnVSSESS...nConStAntInOS OnEOS Leo IV bearded and son Constantine beardless seated facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads.	LEOnPAPConStAntInOSP AτHR Leo III and Constantine V bearded standing facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown pellet between heads and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AV2		Whitting Collection, 1129. Christie June 1962.
B4587	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.47g, 23.0mm, 180°	LEOnVSSE...nStAntIOSnEON Leo IV bearded and son Constantine beardless seated facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads.	LEOnPADConStAntInOSIA τ...R Leo III and Constantine V bearded standing facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown pellet between heads and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AV2		Whitting Collection, 0345. A. H. Baldwin June 1949.

Constantinople, silver

Acc. no.	Denomin- ation	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4588	<i>Milaresion</i>	1.92g, 21.5mm, 0°	LE... / SConSt / AntInEE / CΘEΨbA / SILIS	InSuSX...tuSnICA <i>Cross potent</i> on three steps.	DOC III.1, AR3	Double- pierced and overstruck on dirhem.	Whitting Collection, 0506.

Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4589	<i>Follis</i>	4.01g, 24.5mm, 180°	No inscription. Busts of Leo IV and son Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads.	Busts of Leo III and Constantine V facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads B in left of field A in right of field all atop a bar above M with X to left N to right and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE4		Whitting Collection, 2829. B. A. Seaby March 1949.
B4590	<i>Follis</i>	2.02g, 18.5mm, 180°	No inscription. Busts of Leo IV and son Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads.	Busts of Leo III and Constantine V facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads all atop a bar above M with X to left N to right and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE5		Whitting Collection, 2830.
B4591	<i>Follis</i>	6.09g, 25.0mm, 180°	No inscription. Busts of Leo IV and son Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads.	Busts of Leo III and Constantine V facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads B in left of field A in right of field all atop a bar above M with X to left N to right and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE4		Whitting Collection, 2831.
B4592	<i>Follis</i>	4.04g, 26.5mm, 180°	No inscription. Busts of Leo IV and son Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads.	Busts of Leo III and Constantine V facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads B in left of field A in right of field all atop a bar above M with X to left and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE4		Whitting Collection, 2832.
B4593	<i>Follis</i>	4.94g, 24.0mm, 180°	No inscription. Busts of Leo IV and son Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads.	Busts of Leo III and Constantine V facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads B above pellet in left of field A above pellet in right of field all atop a bar above M with X to left N to right and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE4		Whitting Collection, 2833.

B4594	<i>Follis</i>	4.77g, 24.0mm, 180°	No inscription Busts of Leo IV and son Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads.	Busts of Leo III and Constantine V facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads B in left of field A in right of field all atop a pellet- bounded bar above M with X to left N to right and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE4		Haines Collection, 936. Ex Reverend E. Gantz collection 1927.
B4595	<i>Follis</i>	4.65g, 23.5mm, 180°	No inscription. Leo IV and son Constantine enthroned facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown floating cross above between heads.	Busts of Leo III and Constantine V facing wearing <i>loros</i> above M with X to left N to right and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE6		Whitting Collection, 2647.
B4596	<i>Follis</i>	4.64g, 22.0mm, 180°	No inscription. Leo IV and son Constantine enthroned facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown.	Busts of Leo III and Constantine V facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads all atop a bar above M with X to left N to right and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE6		Whitting Collection, 2648.



**Constantine VI (780-797)**

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4597	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.33g, 19.5mm, 180°	IRInH ...FOVSτI Bust of Eirene facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown with four pinnacles and pendilia holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and cross-topped sceptre in left.	CONSτAn τInOSbAS'θ Bust of Constantine VI beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left hand.	DOC III.1, AV3a		Whitting Collection, 507. Lucerne 6th April 1955 No. 205.
B4598	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.43g, 21.5mm, 180°	SIR InIAVSMI... Bust of Constantine VI beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand beside bust of Eirene wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown with four pinnacles and pendilia holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand cross floating above between heads.	COOnS τInOS... Leo III, Constantine V and Leo IV seated facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown.	DOC III.1, AV1.5		Whitting Collection, 473. Spink 12th July 1954.
B4599	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.43g, 20.0mm, 180°	COOnSτ ...nCASI... Bust of Constantine VI beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand beside bust of Eirene wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown with four pinnacles and pendilia holding <i>cross-topped sceptre</i> cross floating above between heads.	...InI IAVTOVτ... Leo III, Constantine V and Leo IV seated facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown.	DOC III.1, AV2b	Pierced	Whitting Collection, 347. Spink 14th November 1968.

## Constantinople, silver

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4600	<i>Miliaresion</i>	2.19g, 21.5mm, 0°	COnS / τΑητΙηΟ / SSIR...E / CΘEubA / SILIS+ within three dotted circles.	ΙηSuSXRIS τυSnICA <i>Cross potent</i> on three steps within three dotted circles.	DOC III.1, AR4b		Whitting Collection, 2921. Glendining 28th November 1962 no. 316.
B4601	<i>Miliaresion</i>	1.76g, 21.5mm, 0°	COnS / τΑητΙηΟ / SSIRInIE / CΘEubA / SILIS in three dotted circles.	ΙηSuSXRIS τυSnICA Cross potent on three steps within three dotted circles.	DOC III.1, AR4a.4	Overstruck on Arabic dirhem.	Whitting Collection, 2926. A. H. Baldwin November 1954.
B4602	<i>Miliaresion</i>	2.10g, 20.0mm, 0°	COnS / τΑητΙηΟ / SSIRInIE / CΘEubA / SILIS+ in two dotted circles.	ΙηSuSXRIS τυSnICA Cross potent on three steps within two dotted circles.	DOC III.1, AR4b		Haines Collection, 3359. A. H. Baldwin 1957.
B4603	<i>Miliaresion</i>	2.17g, 20.0mm, 0°	COnS / τΑητΙηΟ / SSIRInIE / CΘEubA / SILIS in three dotted circles.	ΙηSuSXRIS τυSnICA Cross potent on three steps within three dotted circles.	DOC III.1, AR4a.4		Whitting Collection, 0227.

## Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4604	<i>Follis</i>	2.12g, 17.0mm, 180°	Bust of Constantine VI beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and crown beside Eirene wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown with pendilia and 2 visible pinnacles cross floating above between heads.	Busts of Leo III, Constantine V and Leo IV bearded facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown all atop a bar, top two peaks of M visible.	DOC III.1, AE5		Whitting Collecction, 1947.
B4605	<i>Follis</i>	2.79g, 19.5mm, 180°	Bust of Constantine VI beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown beside Eirene wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with pendilia and 2 visible pinnacles <i>globus cruciger</i> floats in left of field very close to Constantine.	Busts of Leo III, Constantine V and Leo IV bearded facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and crown all atop a bar, X M beneath bar A beneath M two pellets on top of each other in left of field.	DOC III.1, AE6		Whitting Collection, 1946. R. M. Cunningham February 1951.

B4606	<i>Follis</i>	2.07g, 17.5mm, 180°	Bust of Eirene facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown with pendilia and four pinnacles <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand cross topped sceptre in left hand.	Bust of Constantine VI attire not clearly visible holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand cross in right of field all atop a bar two peaks of M visible.	DOC III.1, AE7		Whitting Collection, 1944. R. M. Cunningham February 1951.
B4607	<i>Follis</i>	3.13g, 19.5mm, 180°	Bust of Eirene facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown with pendilia and four pinnacles <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand cross topped sceptre in left hand.	Bust of Constantine VI beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand cross in right of field one pellet in the left and one in the right of the field all atop a bar above X M N with A beneath M.	DOC III.1 AE7		Whitting Collection, 1943. R. M. Cunningham February 1951.
B4608	<i>Follis</i>	2.78g, 20.5mm, 180°	Bust of Eirene facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown with pendilia and four pinnacles <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand cross topped sceptre in left hand.	Bust of Constantine VI beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand cross in right of field one pellet in the left and one in the right of the field all atop a bar above X M N with A beneath M.	DOC III.1, AE7		Haines Collection, 691. Spink 1923.

**Eirene (797-802)**

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4609	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.40g, 20.0mm, 180°	EIRInH bASILISSH Bust of Eirene facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown with pendilia and two pinnacles <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand cross topped sceptre in left hand.	· EIRIn... bASILISSH+ Bust of Eirene facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown with pendilia and two pinnacles <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand cross topped sceptre in left hand.	DOC III.1, AV1a		Whitting Collection, 0348. L. S. Forrer February 1950.
B4610	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.42g, 21.0mm, 180°	EIRInH bASILISSH Bust of Eirene facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown with pendilia and two pinnacles <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand cross topped sceptre in left hand.	· EIRInH bASILISSH+ Bust of Eirene facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown with pendilia and two pinnacles <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand cross topped sceptre in left hand.	DOC III.1, AV1a	Pierced	Whitting Collection, 0349. Spink July 1949.

Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4611	<i>Follis</i>	4.75g, 23.5mm, 180°	EIRI... Bust of Eirene facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown with pendilia and two pinnacles holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and cross topped sceptre in left hand.	M with XX vertically to the left and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE2.3		Whitting Collection, 1945. R. M. Cunningham February 1951.

### Nikephoros I (802-811)

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4612	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.39g, 21.5mm, 180°	nICI FOROSbASILE' Bust of Nikephoros facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	lhSuSXRIS τuSnICA+ <i>Cross potent</i> on three steps.	DOC III.1, AV1a		Whitting Collection, 508. Lucerne 6th April 1955 no. 208.
B4613	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.45g, 21.0mm, 180°	nICI FOROSbASILE' Bust of Nikephoros facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	ΣτΑΥΡΑ CΙSdESPO'X Bust of Staurakios facing beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	DOC III.1, AV2c		Whitting Collection, 591. A. H. Baldwin October 1956. Found in Paros 1956.
B4614	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.48g, 21.0mm, 180°	nICI FOROSbASILE' Bust of Nikephoros facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	ΣτΑΥΡΑ CΙ...ESPO'θ Bust of Staurakios facing beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	DOC III.1, AV2b		Whitting Collection, 1101. A. H. Baldwin April 1962.
B4615	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.44g, 19.0mm, 180°	· nICI FOROSbASILE' Bust of Nikephoros facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	ΣτΑΥΡΑ CΙSdESPO'E Bust of Staurakios facing beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	DOC III.1, AV2a		Whitting Collection, 0350. A. H. Baldwin September 1948.
B4616 ADD	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.38g, 22.5mm, 180°	· nICI FOROSbASILE' Bust of Nikephoros facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	ΣτΑΥΡΑ CΙSdESPO'E Bust of Staurakios facing beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	DOC III.1, AV2a		

Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4616	<i>Follis</i>	6.07g, 22.0mm, 180°	nI... Bust of Nikephoros facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE4		Haines Collection, 798. A. H. Baldwin 1948.
B4617	<i>Follis</i>	3.53g, 22.0mm, 180°	nI ...IF...bA... Bust of Nikephoros facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE4		Whitting Collection, 1948. R. M. Cunningham February 1951.
B4642	<i>Follis</i>	5.26g, 22.0mm, 180°	Busts of Nikephoros bearded and Staurakios beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating between heads.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE5		Whitting Collection, 2535. Andronikos, Istanbul December 1950 (listed as Leo V).
B4643	<i>Follis</i>	5.07g, 22.5mm, 180°	Busts of Nikephoros bearded and Staurakios beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating between heads.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE5		Whitting Collection, 2537. Andronikos, Istanbul December 1950 (listed as Leo V).
B4644	<i>Follis</i>	3.98g, 27.0mm, 180°	Busts of Nikephoros bearded and Staurakios beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating between heads, shadow of short M visible at angle on Staurakios's body and end of bar beside head.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and A beneath, fface of a figure wearing cross crown visible over right leg of M and faint traces of <i>chlamys</i> .	DOC III.1, AE5	Overstruck on <i>follis</i> of Leo IV, or possibly Constantine V.	Whitting Collection, 2536. A. H. Baldwin November 1952.

B4645	<i>Follis</i>	3.44g, 24.5mm, 180°	Busts of Nikephoros bearded and Staurakios beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating between heads.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE5	Overstruck on <i>follis</i> of Eirene.	Whitting Collection, 3324. Dumbarton Oaks duplicates 235, 27th November 1958.
B4646	<i>Follis</i>	5.45g, 25.0mm, 180°	Busts of Nikephoros I. and Stavrakios r. facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, cross floating above between heads.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE5		Haines Collection, 937. Ex. Rev. E. Gantz collection, 1927.

Syracuse, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4618	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.73g, 15.5mm, 180°	nI CFORO Bust of Nikephoros facing bearded wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	S TAV... Bust of Staurakios facing beardless wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1 pl.XVI AV7		Whitting Collection, 648. Glendining 15th May 1957 lot 730; from Dr. H. F. Vassallo collection, Malta.

Syracuse, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4619	<i>Follis</i>	5.17g, 23.5mm, 180°	...KH Bust of Nikephoros facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	C ...AV Bust of Staurakios facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE10		Whitting Collection, 1955. R. M. Cunningham February 1951.
B4620	<i>Follis</i>	5.26g, 23.0mm, 180°	N IKH Bust of Nikephoros facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	...TAV Bust of Staurakios facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE10	Clipped	Whitting Collection, 1956.

B4621	<i>Follis</i>	4.62g, 23.0mm, 180°	N ...K... Bust of Nikephoros facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	C ...A... Bust of Staurakios facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE10	Clipped	Whitting Collection, 1954. R. M. Cunningham February 1951.
B4622	<i>Follis</i>	2.09g, 18.5mm, 180°	ΔEC Bust of Nikephoros facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> .	CT Bust of Staurakios facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE11	Clipped	Whitting Collection, 4029. Spink February 1962 (listed as Leo IV coin).



**Michael I (811-813)**

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4623	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.38g, 20.0mm, 180°	· MIXA HLbASILE' Bust of Michael bearded facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand <i>akakia</i> in left hand	θEOFVLA CτOSdESP'E Bust of Theophylact beardless facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and cross-topped sceptre in left.	DOC III.1, AV1b		Whitting Collection, 0352. Cahn (Basle) July 1949.

Constantinople, silver

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4624	<i>Miliaresion</i>	2.04g, 23.5mm, 0°	+MIXA / HLSθEOFV / LACτEECθ' / bASILISRO / MAION within two dotted circles.	lhS4SXRIS τ4SNICA <i>Cross potent</i> on three steps within three dotted circles.	DOC III.1, AR3		Whitting Collection, 0228.
B4625	<i>Miliaresion</i>	1.90g, 22.5mm, 0°	+MIXA / HLSθEOFV / LACτEECθ' / bASILISRO / MAION within two dotted circles.	lhS4SXRIS τ4SNICA <i>Cross potent</i> on three steps within two dotted circles.	DOC III.1, AR3	Pierced and abortive pierce attempt.	Whitting Collection, 6190. A. H. Baldwin 30th September 1968, ex Dr. Protonotarios collection.

**Ambiguous Michael alone and Michael and Theoph' base metal coins of Constantinople**  
(either Michael I and Theophylaktos, 811-813, or Michael II and Theophilos, 820-829)

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4626	<i>Follis</i>	5.30g, 22.5mm, 180°	MIXA HLbA... Bust of Michael facing bearded wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and cross-topped sceptre in left.	M with XXX vertically to the left, cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE7 (listed as Michael II)		Whitting Collection, 1950.
B4627	<i>Follis</i>	4.39g, 22.0mm, 180°	...LbA... Bust of Michael facing bearded wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and cross-topped sceptre in left.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE7 (listed as Michael II)	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Whitting Collection, 1949.
B4628	<i>Follis</i>	5.24g, 23.0mm, 180°	MIXA HL S0EOF' Busts of Michael and Theoph(ylaktos/ilos) facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE8.5 (listed as Michael II)		Haines Collection, 737. Ex Edward Shepherd collection 1924.
B4629	<i>Follis</i>	5.10g, 23.0mm, 180°	MIX A HL S0EOF' Busts of Michael and Theoph(ylaktos/ilos) bearded and beardless respectively facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE8.1 (listed as Michael II)		Whitting Collection, 1951.

B4640	<i>Follis</i>	3.82g, 24.0mm, 180°	No visible inscription. Bust of Theoph(ylaktos/ilos) clearly visible wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, shoulder of Michael visible wearing <i>chlamys</i> pellet between heads, bodies of Nikephoros and Saurakios or Leo and Constantine wearing <i>chlamys</i> visible, an E next to pellet and Staurakios/Constantine's neck.	Top of M and floating cross above visible from both strikes.	DOC III.1, AE8 (listed as Michael II)	Very badly overstruck on either Nikephoros I or Leo V follis.	
B4631	<i>Follis</i>	4.64g, 23.0mm, 180°	MIXA HL S0EO Busts of Michael and Theoph(ylact/ilos) bearded and beardless respectively facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE8.5 (listed as Michael II)		Whitting Collection, 1952.

**Leo V (813-820)**

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4633	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.43g, 20.5mm, 180°	· LE OnbASILEΥ' Bust of Leo facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	CohSτ AhτdESP'E Bust of Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	DOC III.1, AV2a		Whitting Collection, 406. J. C. S. Rashleigh no. 242 January 1953.

Constantinople, silver

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4634	<i>Miliaresion</i>	2.16g, 23.0mm, 0°	+LEOh / SCOhSτAh / τlhEECΘEΥ / bASILISRO / MAIOh within one dotted circle.	lhS4SXRISτ4SnICA <i>Cross potent</i> on three steps.	DOC III.1, AR4		Whitting Collection, 4052. Glendining 28th November 1962.
B4635	<i>Miliaresion</i>	1.93g, 23.0mm, 0°	+LEOh / SCOhSτAh / τlhEECΘEΥ / bASILISRO / MAIOh	lhS4SXRISτ4SnICA Cross potent on three steps within one dotted circle.	DOC III.1, AR4		Haines Collection, 938. A. H. Baldwin 1948, ex Lord Grantley collection.
B4636	<i>Miliaresion</i>	2.10g, 23.0mm, 0°	+LEOh / SCOhSτAh / τlhEECΘEΥ / bASILISRO / MAIOh within one dotted circle.	lhS4SXRISτ4SnICA Cross potent on three steps within one dotted circle.	DOC III.1, AR4	Pierced	Whitting Collection, 3884. Dumbarton Oaks duplicates April 1960.

## Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4637	<i>Follis</i>	5.90g, 23.5mm, 180°	LE OnbASI... Bust of Leo facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NN vertically to the right, cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE6		Whitting Collection, 3675. Glendining 3rd May 1951.
B4638	<i>Follis</i>	3.65g, 21.5mm, 180°	· LE OnbASIL Bust of Leo facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE6		Haines Collection, 2194. A. H. Baldwin 1942.
B4639	<i>Follis</i>	4.89g, 25.0mm, 180°	LEOn SCO n StAh Busts of Leo and Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE7f	Double-struck	Whitting Collection, 3672.
B4641	<i>Follis</i>	4.93g, 24.0mm, 180°	LEOh SC O hSt Busts of Leo and Constantine facing wearing cross crown, attire too worn to be visible.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right and A beneath.	DOC III.1, AE7a		Whitting Collection, 3674.

## Syracuse, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4655	<i>Follis</i>	3.04g, 18.0mm, 180°	Λ EON Bust of Leo bearded wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown holding cross potent or <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	K ON... Bust of Constantine beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AE16	Clipped very roughly twice to bottom right and top left of obverse figure.	Whitting Collection, 2835.

B4651	<i>Follis</i>	3.66g, 19.5mm, 180°	...O* Bust of Leo bearded wearing <i>loros</i> , traces of <i>globus cruciger</i> in left of field.	K ONCT Bust of Constantine beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, cross of <i>globus cruciger</i> in left of field C to left of head I to right for Sicily.	DOC III.1, AE17	Clipped	Whitting Collection, 2856. A. H. Baldwin May 1949.
B4652	<i>Follis</i>	2.67g, 21.0mm, 180°	Λ EO* Bust of Leo bearded wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown holding cross potent in right hand.	K ONCT Bust of Constantine beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand C to left of head I to right for Sicily.	DOC III.1, AE17	Overstruck, not clear on what. Clipped.	Haines Collection, 734. A. H. Baldwin 1948.
B4653	<i>Follis</i>	2.66g, 21.0mm, 180°	...EO* Bust of Leo bearded wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown holding cross potent in right hand.	K ...CT Bust of Constantine beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand C to left of head I to right for Sicily.	DOC III.1, AE17	Overstruck on a Constantinopolitan base metal coin.	Whitting Collection, 2858. A. H. Baldwin May 1949.
B4654	<i>Follis</i>	2.60g, 20.0mm, 180°	...EO* Bust of Leo bearded wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown.	K O... Bust of Constantine beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand C to left of head I to right for Sicily.	DOC III.1, AE17	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Whitting Collection, 2855. A. H. Baldwin May 1949.
B4656	<i>Follis</i>	2.48g, 20.0mm, 180°	...On Bust of Leo bearded facing wearing <i>loros</i> Λ in right of field.	C OnS τ Bust of Constantine beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand cross in right of field.	DOC III.1, AE18	Overstruck, not clear on what. Clipped twice to top left and bottom right of obverse figure.	Whitting Collection, 2750.
B4657	<i>Follis</i>	3.04g, 20.0mm, 180°	...On Bust of Leo bearded facing wearing <i>loros</i> Λ in right of field.	...On... Bust of Constantine beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand cross in right of field.	DOC III.1, AE18	Overstruck on possibly coin of Constantine VI and Eirene.	Whitting Collection, 2834.

B4647	<i>Follis</i>	6.23g, 23.0mm, 180°	Busts of Leo bearded and Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads.	Λ • K cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE19b	Overstruck on either same type, according to Whitting, or, more likely, on Constantinopolitan <i>follis</i> of Leo V or Nikephoros I.	Whitting Collection, 2848. Spink January 1949.
B4648	<i>Follis</i>	4.44g, 22.5mm, 180°	Busts of Leo and Constantine beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads.	Λ • K cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE19a	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Haines Collection, 284. W. S. Lincoln 1922.
B4649	<i>Follis</i>	3.16g, 19.0mm, 180°	Busts of Leo bearded and Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown cross floating above between heads.	Λ • K cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE19a	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Whitting Collection, 2853. A. H. Baldwin November 1948.
B4650	<i>Follis</i>	3.41g, 16.5mm, 180°	Busts of Leo bearded and Constantine facing wearing cross crown cross floating above between heads.	Λ • K cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE19a	Overstruck on an Isaurian Constantinopolitan base metal coin.	Whitting Collection, 2854. Glendining 3rd May 1951.

**Michael II (820-829)**

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4658	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.37g, 20.5mm, 180°	*MIXAHL bASILEVS Bust of Michael bearded facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding cross potent in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	ΘEOFΙ LOΔESP' +C Bust of Theophilos beardless facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and cross-topped sceptre in left.	DOC III.1 AV5a		Whitting Collection, 654. A. H. Baldwin June 1957.
B4659	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.45g, 20.5mm, 180°	*MIXAHL bASILEVS Bust of Michael bearded facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding cross potent in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	ΘEOFΙ LOΔESP' +X Bust of Theophilos beardless facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and cross-topped sceptre in left.	DOC III.1 AV5b		Haines Collection, 867. Acquired through British Museum 1924.

Constantinople, silver

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4660	<i>Miliaresion</i>	1.96g, 21.5mm, 0°	+MIXA / HLSΘEOFΙ / LEECΘEY / bASILISRO / MAION within three dotted circles.	ΙhS4SXRIS τ4SNICA Cross potent on three steps within three dotted circles.	DOC III.1, AR6		Whitting Collection, 3258. Dumbarton Oaks duplicates 127, 27th November 1958.
B4661	<i>Miliaresion</i>	2.04g, 23.0mm, 0°	+MIXA / HLSΘEOFΙ / LEECΘEY / bASILISRO / MAION within three dotted circles.	ΙhS4SXRIS τ4SNICA Cross potent on three steps within three dotted circles.	DOC III.1, AR6		Haines Collection, 2167. Spink 1942.



Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4630	<i>Follis</i>	5.77g, 24.0mm, 180°	MIX A HL SΘEOFIL Busts of Michael and Theophilos bearded and beardless respectively, facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right and A beneath.	None <sup>8</sup>	Double-struck, or overstruck on a Michael coin with two figures.	Whitting Collection, 1953.
B4662	<i>Follis</i>	8.68g, 31.5mm, 180°	MIXAHL SΘ EOFILOS Busts of Michael bearded and Theophilos beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns, cross floating above between heads.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and θ beneath.	DOC III.1, AE10		Whitting Collection, 3277. Istanbul December 1950.
B4663	<i>Follis</i>	8.73g, 29.0mm, 180°	MIXAHL SΘ EOFILOS Busts of Michael bearded and Theophilos beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns, cross floating above between heads.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and θ beneath.	DOC III.1, AE10	Die flaws, double-struck or over struck (in order of likelihood).	Whitting Collection, 1624. Istanbul December 1950.
B4664	<i>Follis</i>	7.34g, 30.5mm, 180°	MIXAHL SΘ EOFILOS Busts of Michael bearded and Theophilos beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns, cross floating above between heads.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and θ beneath	DOC III.1, AE9		Haines Collection, 3379. G. Bourgey, Paris 1957.

<sup>8</sup> Tolstoi p.997 no. 5 is cited in DOC III.1 as being a parallel to this coin, but it is not. This particular coin appears to be unique in having the **MIXAHL S ΘEOF**’ inscription run to **MIXAHL S ΘEOFIL**’, making the attribution Michael II and Theophilos (barring spelling discrepancies, which are a possibility).

B4665	<i>Follis</i>	7.67g, 33.0mm, 180°	MIXAHL S0 EOFILOS Busts of Michael and Theophilos beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns, cross floating above between heads.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and θ beneath	DOC III.1, AE10		Whitting Collection, 5051. Hecht November 1765 from Istanbul.
B4666	<i>Follis</i>	6.98g, 30.0mm, 180°	MIXAHL S0 EOFILOS Busts of Michael bearded and Theophilos beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns, cross floating above between heads.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and θ beneath.	DOC III.1, AE10	Altered reverse die?	Whitting Collection, 1623. B. A. Seaby 1947.
B4667	<i>Follis</i>	7.34g, 31.0mm, 180°	MIXAHL S0 EOFILOS Busts of Michael bearded and Theophilos beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns, cross floating above between heads.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and θ beneath.	DOC III.1, AE10		Whitting Collection, 3276. Dumbarton Oaks duplicates 235, 27th November 1958.
B4668	<i>Follis</i>	6.16g, 29.0mm, 180°	MIXAHL S0 EOFILOS Busts of Michael bearded and Theophilos beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns, cross floating above between heads.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and θ beneath.	DOC III.1, AE10		Haines Collection, 701. Spink 1923.
B4669	<i>Follis</i>	8.87g, 29.0mm, 180°	MIXAHL S0 EOFILOS Busts of Michael bearded and Theophilos beardless facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns, cross floating above between heads.	M with XXX vertically to the left, NNN vertically to the right, cross floating above and θ beneath.	DOC III.1, AE10		

Syracuse, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4632	<i>Nomisma</i>	3.89g, 16.5mm, 180°	MI XAHL bust of Michael facing wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown holding <i>cross potent</i> in right hand.	θEO FIL Bust of Theophilos facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand two pellets one either side of <i>globus cruciger</i> .	DOC III.1, AV13		Whitting Collection, 0353. Spink March 1951.

B4670	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.30g, 11.0mm, 180°	MI XAHLb Bust of Michael bearded facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	θE OF(inverted)ILOS Bust of Theophilos facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown holding cross potent in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV15c		Whitting Collection, 594. Sotheby 3rd December 1956 no. 34.
-------	------------------	---------------------------	---	---	---------------------	--	---

Syracuse, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4671	<i>Follis</i>	5.02g, 26.0mm, 180°	...HL... Busts of Michael and Theophilos facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with θ below and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE21	Elongated flan, clipped to left of figures.	Whitting Collection, 4006. Spink February 1962.
B4672	<i>Follis</i>	5.02g, 24.0mm, 180°	MIXA HL SθEO Busts of Michael and Theophilos facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with θ below and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE21	Overstruck on Constantino politan <i>follis</i> .	Whitting Collection, 3668. Hall sale November 1950, ex lot 2326 Spink 1931.
B4673	<i>Follis</i>	4.74g, 23.0mm, 180°	...HL... Busts of Michael and Theophilos facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with θ below and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE21	Overstruck on another <i>follis</i> , type unclear.	Whitting Collection, 2751. Spink June 1947.
B4674	<i>Follis</i>	3.55g, 21.0mm 180°	MIX... HL... Busts of Michael and Theophilos facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with θ below and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE21		Whitting Collection, 2752.
B4675	<i>Follis</i>	5.17g, 21.0mm, 180°	MIXA HL ...EOF Busts of Michael and Theophilos facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with θ below and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE21		Whitting Collection, 3669.

B4676	<i>Follis</i>	2.63g, 18.5mm 180°	MIXA HL... Busts of Michael and Theophilos facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with θ below and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE21		Whitting Collection, 3670.
B4677	<i>Follis</i>	3.44g, 17.0mm, 180°	MIXA HL... Busts of Michael and Theophilos facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with θ below and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE21		Whitting Collection, 3671.
B4679	<i>Follis</i>	3.21g, 21.5mm, 180°	...HL SθEOF(inverted) Busts of Michael and Theophilos facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with θ below and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE21		Haines Collection, 1938. Presented by Mr. C. C. Oman 1936.
B4680	<i>Follis</i>	4.32g, 18.0mm, 180°	MIX... Busts of Michael and Theophilos facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with θ below and cross floating above, pellet between bottom of cross and low peak of M.	DOC III.1, AE21	Overstruck, probably on class 3 of Leo V, Syracuse.	Haines Collection, 742. Ex Edward Shepherd collection 1924.
B4681	<i>Follis</i>	3.52g, 19.0mm, 180°	MIXA HL S... Busts of Michael and Theophilos facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	M with θ below and cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE21	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Haines Collection, 2193. A. H. Baldwin 1942.
B4682	<i>Follis</i>	2.50g, 21.5mm, 180°	No inscription visible. Busts of Michael and Theophilos facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively, unusually elongated busts.	M with cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AE21	Overstruck, not clear on what.	Whitting Collection, 3667.

### Theophilos (829-842)

Constantinople, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4734	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.41g, 21.5mm, 180°	* ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and cross-topped sceptre in left.	CVRIE ΒΟΗΘΗΤΟ ΣΟ ΔΟΒΛΟ *Ε Patriarchal cross on three steps.	DOC III.1 AV1a/1b		Whitting Collection, 756. A. H. Baldwin December 1958.
B4735	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.47g, 21.0mm, 180°	* ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and cross-topped sceptre in left.	CVRIE ΒΟΗΘΗΤΟ ΣΟ ΔΟΒΛΟ *Ε Patriarchal cross on three steps.	DOC III.1 AV1a/1b		
B4736	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.49g, 22.0mm, 180°	* ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand and cross-topped sceptre in left.	CVRIE ΒΟΗΘΗΤΟ ΣΟ ΔΟΒΛΟ *Χ Patriarchal cross on three steps.	DOC III.1 AV1c		Whitting Collection, 1338. Leu 4th May 1964.
B4683	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.43g, 21.0mm, 180°	* ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding patriarchal cross in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	+ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΣΚΟΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ Θ Busts of deceased Michael II and deceased Constantine, son of Theophilos, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AV3d		Whitting Collection, 0354. Ex J. R. Stewart collection 30th January 1968, no. 119, from Nicosia 1948. Secondary ticket bears name 'Kalreasides'.

B4684	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.44g, 21.0mm, 180°	*ΘCOFI LOSbASILEΘ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding patriarchal cross in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	+MIXAHLSCOnStAntIn' Busts of deceased Michael II and deceased Constantine, son of Theophilos, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AV3d		Whitting Collection, 494. A. H. Baldwin March 1955 (exchanged August 1963 with a specimen from Istanbul).
B4685	<i>Nomisma</i>	4.40g, 19.5mm, 180°	*ΘCOFI LOSbASILEΘ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding patriarchal cross in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	+MIXAHLSCOnStAntIn' Busts of deceased Michael II and deceased Constantine, son of Theophilos, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, cross floating above.	DOC III.1, AV3d	Pellet in the middle of Theophilos's head seems to be unique to Barber specimen.	Haines Collection, 2606. From the collection of either the late Prof. Sir Charles Oman or of Mr. C. C. Oman 1949.
B4686	<i>Semissis</i>	2.21g, 16.5mm, 180°	...OFI LOSbASILE Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding patriarchal cross in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	+ MIXAHLSCO... Busts of deceased Michael II and deceased Constantine, son of Theophilos, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, cross floating above.	cf. <i>nomismata</i> under DOC III.1, AV3, unpublished as a semissis.	Coin in semissis format appears to be unique to the Barber collection.	Whitting Collection, 0355. A. H. Baldwin January 1952.

Constantinople, silver

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4687	<i>Miliaresion</i>	2.97g, 27.5mm, 0°	ΘCOFI/...OS S COnSt/AnTInOS dY/LY XRISτYS / PISτY bASIL' / ROMAIO' within three dotted circles.	ΙhSYS XRIS τY... nICA Cross potent on three steps within three dotted circles.	DOC III.1, AR9	Pierced and cracked at top left of the obverse.	Whitting Collection, 6191. A. H. Baldwin 30th September 1968 ex. Dr. Protonotarios collection.

B4688	<i>Miliaresion</i>	3.05g, 26.5mm, 0°	+ θ€OFI/LOS dϣLOS / XRISτϣS PIS/τOS €n AVTO / bASILEϣS RO/MAION within three dotted circles.	lhSϣS XRIS τϣS nICA Cross potent on three steps within three dotted circles.	DOC III.1, AR10		Whitting Collection, 0229. Exchanged June 1964 for better example from Istanbul.
B4689	<i>Miliaresion</i>	1.84g, 23.0mm, 0°	: +θ€OFI/LOS €C θ€ϣ / PISTOS bA/SILEϣS RO/MAION within three dotted circles.	lhSϣS XRIS τϣS nICA Cross potent on three steps within three dotted circles.	DOC III.1, AR11		Whitting Collection, 3882. Amsterdam J. Schulman 28th March 1960 No. 1223.
B4690	<i>Miliaresion</i>	1.65g, 23.5mm, 0°	+θ€O/FILOS S MI/XAHL €C θ€' / bASILIS RO/MAION within three dotted circles.	lhSϣS XRIS τϣS nICA Cross potent on three steps within three dotted circles.	DOC III.1, AR12		Whitting Collection, 3883. Lucerne 9th April 1960 no. 444.
B4691	<i>Miliaresion</i>	2.10g, 24.0mm, 0°	+θ€O/FILOS S MI/XAHL €C θ€' / bASILIS RO/MAION within three dotted circles.	lhSϣS XRIS τϣS nICA Cross potent on three steps within three dotted circles.	DOC III.1 AR12		Haines Collection, 2166. Spink 1942.

Constantinople, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4692	<i>Follis</i>	5.38g, 26.5mm, 180°	*θ€ OFIL' bASIL' Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding patriarchal cross in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: XXX NNN Beneath: θ	DOC III.1, AE13		Whitting Collection, 6119. A. H. Baldwin 29th August 1968, ex Dr. Protonotarios collection.
B4693	<i>Follis</i>	6.41g, 30.0mm, 180°	*·θ€ OFIL bASIL' Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding patriarchal cross in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: XXX NNN Beneath: θ	DOC III.1, AE13		Whitting Collection, 1607. Spink February 1951.

B4694	<i>Follis</i>	7.24g, 30.0mm, 180°	*·ΘЄ OFIL bASIL' Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding patriarchal cross in right hand and <i>akakia</i> in left.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: XXX NNN Beneath: Θ	DOC III.1, AE13		Whitting Collection, 1608. Karageorgion 1964, from Istanbul c.1959.
B4706	<i>Follis</i>	6.62g, 30.5mm, 180°	...FILOS S COnStAnt Busts of Theophilos and Constantine facing wearing <i>chlamys</i> and <i>loros</i> respectively and cross crowns.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: XXX NNN Beneath: Θ	DOC III.1, AE14		Whitting Collection, 3661. B. Kent, Lewes, January 1951.
B4695	<i>Follis</i>	6.85g, 25.5mm, 180°	ΘЄΘFIL' bASIL Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (6 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ΘЄO/FILE AVQ/OVStЄ SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15a		Haines Collection, 2949. Ex. Duke of Argyll collection 1953.
B4696	<i>Follis</i>	7.05g, 26.5mm, 180°	ΘЄOFIL' bASIL' Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (6 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ΘЄO/FILE AVQ/OVStЄ SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15a		Whitting Collection, 3655. Spink February 1951.
B4697	<i>Follis</i>	7.76g, 28.0mm, 180°	ΘЄO... bASIL' Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (4 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ΘЄO/FILE AVQ/OVStЄ SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15a		Whitting Collection, 4773. Karageorgiou 29th August 1964.
B4698	<i>Follis</i>	8.03g, 28.0mm, 180°	ΘЄOFIL' bASIL' Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (6 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ΘЄO/FILE AVQ/OVStЄ SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15a		Whitting Collection, 0497. L. A. Laurence II. 1301 January 1951.



B4699	<i>Follis</i>	7.86g, 28.0mm, 180°	θЄOFIL' bASILE' Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (3 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+θЄO/FILE AVG/OVSτЄ SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15c		Whitting Collection, 3654. Spink February 1951.
B4700	<i>Follis</i>	6.85g, 29.0mm, 180°	...OFIL' bASILE' Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (6 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+θЄO/...LE AVŸ/OVSτЄ SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15a	Counter- marked on obverse.	Whitting Collection, 5717. A. H. Baldwin 28th March 1968, from W. V. R. Baldwin's coins.
B4701	<i>Follis</i>	8.66g, 28.0mm, 180°	θЄOFIL' bASIL' Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (5 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+θЄO/FILE AVŸ/OVSτЄ SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15a		Whitting Collection, 3657. Spink February 1951.
B4702	<i>Follis</i>	7.40g, 26.5mm, 180°	θЄOFIL' ...ASIL' Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (4 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+θEO/FILE AVŸ/OVSτЄ SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15d	Clipped to bottom left of obverse.	Whitting Collection, 4772. Karageorghiou 29th August 1964.
B4703	<i>Follis</i>	4.71g, 26.0mm, 180°	θЄOFIL' LASIL' Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (3 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+θЄO/FILE AVq/OVSτЄ SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15a		Whitting Collection, 0499.
B4704	<i>Follis</i>	7.36g, 28.0mm, 180°	θЄOFIL' bASIL' Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (6 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+θЄO/FILE AVŸ/OVSτЄ SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15a	Double- struck on reverse.	Whitting Collection, 4614. Christie 10th December 1963. Previously Lincoln 2nd October 1905.

B4705	<i>Follis</i>	6.87g, 30.0mm, 180°	ΘCOFIL' bA... Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (3 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ΘCO/FILE AVS/OVSτC SV / hICAS	DOC III.1, AE15a		Whitting Collection, 0498. B. A. Seaby December 1947.
B4707	<i>Follis</i>	3.46g, 23.0mm, 225°	...COFIL' bASIL' Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (3 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with 4 dots and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ΘCO/FILE AVS/OVSτC SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15a		Whitting 0495. bt Glendining 3rd May 1951.
B4708	<i>Follis</i>	4.18g, 23.5mm, 180°	ΘCOFI' bASIL' + Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (3 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with 4 dots and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ΘCO/FILE AVS/OVSτC SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15c		Whitting Collection, 0666. A. H. Baldwin January 1961.
B4709	<i>Follis</i>	3.85g, 22.5mm, 225°	ΘCOFIL' bASIL' Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (3 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with 4 dots and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ΘCU/FILE AVS/OVSτC SU / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15c		Whitting Collection, 4987. A. H. Baldwin 6th September 1965.
B4710	<i>Follis</i>	3.20g, 21.0mm, 180°	ΘCOFIL' bASIL Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (1 dot), holding <i>labarum</i> with 4 dots and 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ΘCO/FILE AVS/OVSτC SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15c		Whitting Collection, 4771. Karageorghiou 29th August 1964.
B4711	<i>Follis</i>	3.91g, 23.0mm, 180°	ΘCOFIL' bASIL Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> , holding <i>labarum</i> with 2 pendants in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ΘCO/FILE AVS/OVSτC SV / nICAS	DOC III.1, AE15a		Whitting Collection, 3653.

Syracuse, gold

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4712	<i>Nomisma</i>	3.88g, 17.0mm, 180°	θ€O F(upside down)ILOS Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	θ€ OF(upside down)ILOÇ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV24		Whitting Collection, 1043. A. H. Baldwin 9th September 1961, from the Messina Hoard, number 9.
B4713	<i>Nomisma</i>	3.76g, 16.5mm, 180°	θ€O FILOÇ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	θ€ OF(upside down)ILOÇ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV24		Whitting Collection, 1043. A. H. Baldwin 9th September 1961, from the Messina Hoard, number 23.
B4714	<i>Nomisma</i>	3.85g, 16.0mm, 180°	θ€O F(upside down)ILOr Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	θ€ OFILOÇ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV24		Whitting Collection, 1043. A. H. Baldwin 9th September 1961, from the Messina Hoard, number 37.
B4715	<i>Nomisma</i>	3.88g, 16.0mm, 180°	θ€O F(upside down)ILOr Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	θ€ OF(upside down)ILOS Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV24		Haines Collection, 3741. A. H. Baldwin 1961, from a number found off the coast of Messina (Messina Hoard).
B4716	<i>Nomisma</i>	3.74g, 16.5mm, 180°	*θ€OFI LOS bASIL Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	θ€OFI LOS bASIL Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV18		Haines Collection, 3742. A. H. Baldwin 1961, from a number found off the coast of Messina (Messina Hoard).

B4717	<i>Nomisma</i>	3.87g, 16.5mm, 180°	*θ€OFI LOS bASIL Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	θ€OFI LOS bASIL Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV18		Whitting Collection, 1043. A. H. Baldwin 9th September 1961, from the Messina Hoard, number 30.
B4718	<i>Nomisma</i>	3.84g, 19.0mm, 180°	*θ€OFI LOS bASIL Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	θ€OFI LOS bASIL Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV18	Deep scratch marks on reverse.	Whitting Collection, 647. Glendining 15th May 1957, lot 730. From Dr. H. F. Vassallo collection, Malta.
B4719	<i>Semissis</i>	1.78g, 13.0mm, 180°	θ€O [IAOS Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	θ€O FIAOS Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV19		Whitting Collection, 0356. Spink October 1949.
B4720	<i>Semissis</i>	1.69g, 12.0mm, 180°	θ€O [IAOS Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	θ€O FIAOJ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV19		Whitting Collection, 0357. A. H. Baldwin May 1949. From Grantley collection.
B4721	<i>Semissis</i>	1.52g, 13.5mm, 135°	OE... IAOS Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	θ€O [I... Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV19		Whitting Collection, 548. British Museum duplicate June 1956.
B4722	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.29g, 12.0mm, 180°	*θ€O FILOS bA Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	θ€O [ILOS bA Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV20		Haines Collection, 2812. Spink 1952.

B4723	<i>Tremissis</i>	1.19g, 11.0mm 180°	ΘΕΟ ΦΙΛΟΙ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	ΘΕ ΥΦΙΛΟΣ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	DOC III.1, AV20		Whitting Collection, 0358. B. A. Seaby November 1950.
-------	------------------	--------------------------	---	---	--------------------	--	---

Syracuse, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4724	<i>Follis</i>	2.68g, 18.0mm, 180°	ΘΕΟ ...ΟΣ βαΣ' Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand, pellet at end of finger.	...ΙΧ ΑΗΛ Σ CO... Busts of Michael and Constantine facing, wearing cross crowns, star floating above between heads, pellet between heads.	DOC III.1, AV29		Haines Collection, 741. Spink 1955.
B4725	<i>Follis</i>	1.87g, 17.0mm, 180°	...ΦΙΛΟΣ βα Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	mIXAHL Σ C... Busts of Michael and Constantine facing, wearing <i>chlamydi</i> and cross crowns, star floating above between heads, pellet between heads.	DOC III.1, AV29		Haines Collection, 3035. Spink 1955.
B4726	<i>Follis</i>	3.78g, 20.0mm, 180°	...ΦΛΟΣ βαΣ Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown.	...ΧΑΗΛ Σ COnS Busts of Michael and Constantine facing, wearing <i>chlamydi</i> and cross crowns, star floating above between heads.	DOC III.1, AV29		Whitting Collection, 3662. B. A. Seaby June 1947.
B4727	<i>Follis</i>	3.40g, 18.0mm, 180°	ΘΕΟ ΦΙΛΟΣ βα Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	...Λ Σ COn... Busts of Michael and Constantine facing, wearing <i>chlamydi</i> and cross crowns, star floating above between heads.	DOC III.1, AV29		Whitting Collection, 3663.

B4728	<i>Follis</i>	3.26g, 20.0mm, 180°	OCO CILOS bAS Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	mIXAHL S C...nSt Busts of Michael and Constantine facing, wearing <i>chlamydi</i> and cross crowns, star floating above between heads.	DOC III.1, AV29		Whitting Collection, 3664.
B4729	<i>Follis</i>	4.41g, 20.5mm, 135°	θEO FILOS bAS Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and cross crown, holding cross potent in right hand.	m...nSt Busts of Michael and Constantine facing, wearing <i>chlamydi</i> and cross crowns, star floating above between heads, pellet between heads.	DOC III.1, AV29		Whitting Collection, 2611.
B4730	<i>Follis</i>	3.17g, 24.0mm, 180°	...LOS bASI Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: ... NNN Below: θ	DOC III.1, AV30	Overstruck on Michael II and Theophilos.	Whitting Collection, 3651.
B4731	<i>Follis</i>	2.71g, 20.0mm, 135°	θCOFI LOS bASI Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: XXX NNN Below: θ	DOC III.1, AV30		Haines Collection, 690. Spink 1923.
B4732	<i>Follis</i>	4.40g, 21.0mm, 180°	θCOFI ... Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown, holding <i>globus cruciger</i> in right hand.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: XXX ...NN Below: θ	DOC III.1, AV30	Overstruck on Michael II and Theophilos.	Whitting Collection, 3652.
B4733	<i>Follis</i>	4.69g, 19.5mm, 180°	...COFI LOS bASI Bust of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> and cross crown.	Denomination mark: M Above: cross Left and right: XXX NNN Below: θ	DOC III.1, AV30		Whitting Collection, 3650. Spink February 1951.
B4742	<i>Follis</i>	3.23g, 19.0mm, axis uncertain	... S bASI Bust Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>chlamys</i> .	Illegible. Not visible due to brockage.	DOC III.1, AV30	Overstruck on Michael II and Theophilos. Brockage.	Whitting Collection, 3649. A. H. Baldwin November 1952.

Uncertain mint, base metal

Acc. no.	Denomination	Weight, diameter, axis	Obverse	Reverse	Catalogue reference	Notes	Provenance
B4737	<i>Follis</i>	6.48g, 28.5mm, 180°	...IL' bASI... Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (4 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ θ€O/FILE AV.../OVST€ SV / hICAS	DOC III.1 AE17		Whitting Collection, 0496.
B4738	<i>Follis</i>	6.04g, 28.5mm, 180°	θ€OFII bASIL' Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (4 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ θ€O/FILE AVS/OVST€ SV / hICAS	DOC III.1 AE17		Whitting Collection, 3656.
B4739	<i>Follis</i>	7.41g, 31.0mm, 180°	θ€OFI bASIL Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (4 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ θ€O/FILE AVS/OVST€ SV / hICAS	DOC III.1 AE17		Whitting Collection, 4770.
B4740	<i>Follis</i>	6.30g, 29.0mm, 180°	...€OFIV bAS... Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> (4 dots), holding <i>labarum</i> with cross in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	...€O/FILE VS/OV.../VTE SV / MIAS	DOC III.1 AE17	Reverse double struck.	Whitting Collection, 4985. A. H. Baldwin 21st August 1965.
B4741	<i>Follis</i>	7.31g, 29.5mm, 180°	... bASIL' Half-length figure of Theophilos bearded facing, wearing <i>loros</i> and crown with <i>tufa</i> , holding <i>labarum</i> with cross in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left.	+ θ€O/FILE AVS/OVST€ SV / hICAS	DOC III.1 AE17		Whitting Collection, 3658.

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

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4371



B4372



B4373



B4374



B4375



B4376



B4377



B4378



B4379



B4380



B4381



B4382



B4383



B4384



B4385

*Semisses*



B4386

*Tremisses*



B4387



B4388



B4389



B4390



## Silver

### *Hexagrammata*



B4391



B4398



B4403



B4404

## Base metal

### *Folles*



B4392



B4399



B4405



B4393



B4400



B4394



B4395

### *Half folles*



B4397

## Carthage

### Gold

### *Nomismata*

## Syracuse

### Gold

### *Nomismata*



B4406



B4407

## Base metal

### *Folles*



B4401



B4402

### *Tremisses*



B4408



B4409

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4412



B4413



B4414



B4415



B4416



B4417



B4418

**Rome**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4419

*Tremisses*



B4420



B4421

**Ravenna**

**Gold**

*Tremisses*



B4422

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4460

**Sardinia (?)**

**Base metal**

*Half folles*



B4552ADD



B4561ADD



# **Leontios (695-698)**

## **Constantinople**

### **Gold**

#### *Nomismata*



B4423



B4424



B4425



B4426



B4427



B4428

### *Semisses*



B4429

### *Tremisses*



B4430



B4437

### **Base metal**

#### *Folles*



B4431

#### *Half folles*



B4432



B4433



B4554ADD

## **Syracuse**

### **Gold**

#### *Nomismata*



B4435

### **Base metal**

#### *Folles*



B4437

#### *Half folles*



B4434

**Tiberios III  
(698-705)**

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4438



B4439



B4440



B4441

*Semisses*



B4442

*Tremisses*



B4443



B4444

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4445



B4446



B4447



B4448



B4449



B4450

**Sardinia**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4451

**Syracuse**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4452



B4453

## Base metal

### *Folles*



B4454



B4455



B4456



B4457



B4458

## Italian mainland

### Gold

#### *Tremisses*



B4459



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

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4462



B4463



B4464



B4465

*Semisses*



B4466

*Tremisses*



B4467



B4468

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4469



B4470



B4471



B4472



B4473



B4474



B4475

*Half folles*



B4476



B4477

**Syracuse**

**Gold**

*Tremisses*



B4410



B4411

## Base metal

### *Folles*



B4478



B4558ADD

## Sardinia

### Gold

### *Nomismata*



B4479

**Philippikos  
(711-713)**

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4480



B4481

*Semisses*



B4482

*Tremisses*



B4483

**Silver**

*Hexagrammata*



B4484

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4485



B4486

**Half folles**



B4487

**Syracuse**

**Gold**

*Tremisses*



B4488



**Anastasios II  
(713-715)**

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4489



B4490



B4491



B4492



B4493

*Semisses*



B4494

*Tremisses*



B4495

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4496



B4497

*Half folles*



B4498

**Syracuse**

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4499

**Ravenna**

**Gold**

*Tremisses*



B4500

**Theodosios III  
(713-717)**

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4501

**Silver**

*Hexagrammata*



B4502

**Base metal**

*Half folles*



B4503

**Leo III  
(717-741)**

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4504



B4505



B4506



B4507



B4508



B4509



B4510



B4511



B4512



B4513



B4514



B4515



B4516

**Silver**

*Hexagrammata*



B4517

*Miliaresia*



B4518



B4519



B4520



B4521



B4522



## Base metal

### *Folles*



B4523



B4524



B4525



B4526



B4527



B4529



B4530



B4531



B4532



B4533



B4534

### *Half folles*



B4535

### *Quarter folles*



## Syracuse

### **Gold**

#### *Nomismata*



B4540



B4578



B4539

#### *Semisses*



B4542

#### *Tremisses*



B4560

## Syracuse

### Base metal

#### *Folles*



B4528



B4543



B4556



B4537



B4538

## Rome

### Electrum/silver

#### *Nomismata*



B4541

## Tremisses



B4579

## Artavasdos (742-743)

### Constantinople

#### Silver

#### *Miliaresion*



B4544



**Constantine V  
(741-775)**

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4949



B4550



B4545



B4546



B4547



B4548

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4551



B4552



B4553



B4554



B4555

**Half folles**



B4557



B4558

**Syracuse**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4559

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4561



B4562



B4563



B4564



B4571



B4565



B4572



B4566



B4573



B4567



B4574



B4568



B4575



B4569



B4576



B4570



B4577

## Naples

### Debased coins

*"Nomismata"*



B4580



B4581

## Rome

### Electrum/debased gold

*Tremisses*



B4582



**Leo IV  
(775-780)**

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4583



B4584



B4585



B4586



B4587

**Silver**

*Miliaresia*



B4588

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4589



B4590



B4591



B4592



B4593



B4594



B4595



B4596



**Constantine VI  
(780-797)**

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4597



B4598



B4599

**Silver**

*Miliaresia*



B4600



B4601



B4602



B4603

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4604



B4605



B4606



B4607



B4608

**Eirene  
(797-802)**

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4609



B4610

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4611

**Nikephoros I  
(802-811)**

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4612



B4613



B4614



B4615



B4616ADD

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4616



B4617



B4642



B4643



B4644



B4645



B4646

**Syracuse**

**Gold**

*Tremisses*



B4618

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4619



B4620



B4621



B4622



**Michael I  
(811-813)**

**Ambiguous Michael  
coinage**

**Constantinople**

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

**Base metal**

*Nomismata*

*Folles*



**B4623**

**B4626**

**Silver**

*Miliaresia*



**B4624**

**B4627**



**B4625**

**B4628**



**B4629**



**B4640**



**B4631**

**Leo V  
(813-820)**

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4633

**Silver**

*Miliaresia*



B4634



B4635



B4636

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4637



B4638



B4639



B4641

**Syracuse**

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4655



B4651



B4652



B4653



B4654



B4656



B4657



B4647



B4648



B4649



B4650



**Michael II  
(820-829)**

**Constantinople**

**Silver**

*Miliaresia*



B4660



B4661

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4630



B4662



B4663



B4664



B4665



B4666



B4667



B4668



B4669

**Syracuse**

**Gold**

*Tremisses*



B4670

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4671



B4672



B4673



B4674



B4675



B4676



B4677



B4679



B4680



B4681



B4682



**Theophilos  
(829-842)**

**Constantinople**

**Gold**

*Nomismata*



B4734



B4735



B4736



B4684



B4685

*Semisses*



B4786

**Silver**

*Miliaresia*



B4687



B4688



B4691

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4692



B4693



B4694



B4695



B4696



B4697



B4798



B4799



B4700



B4701



B4702



B4709



B4715



B4703



B4710



B4716



B4704



B4711



B4717



B4705



B4718

## Syracuse

### Gold

#### *Nomismata*



B4706



B4712



B4707



B4713



B4708



B4714

### *Semisses*



B4719



B4720



B4721



*Tremisses*



B4722



B4723

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4724



B4725



B4726



B4727



B4728



B4729



B4730



B4731



B4732



B4733



B4742

**Uncertain mint**

**Base metal**

*Folles*



B4737



B4738



B4739



B4740



B4741