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A PROBABLE HOARD OF LATE ROMAN BRONZE COINS FROM GRAVESEND¹

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A small collection of sixty late Roman bronze coins, now held at Durham University, has come to light in a container labelled 'Gravesend, Watling Street find – about 1880 or 1890.' No further information is available regarding their provenance. A number of coin hoards are recorded as being found along the line of Watling Street, in the area south of Gravesend, but none seems to bear any relation to the group here described. I was advised by Mr Sydney Harker² that since a Gravesend antiquarian was very active in the late nineteenth century, it seems unlikely that the find of a hoard would have escaped his notice. He suggested that this group may be part of a reputedly-large collection of the owner of the Watercress beds and Pleasure gardens at Springhead in the latter part of the nineteenth century, how dispersed without trace.

However, despite, or perhaps because of, the absence of coins of the House of Valentinian, the group's composition is not untypical of a hoard perhaps deposited around A.D. 400: it is predominantly Theodosian, with a few earlier coins of similar module (range 11.5 mm. to 18 mm. diameter). The latest coin types are VICTORIA AVGGG and SALVS REIPVBLICAE, issued from A.D. 388 onwards, and a number are issues of Arcadius and Honorius of A.D. 395–402, the latest Roman bronze types to reach Britain.

The issues of the House of Theodosius exhibit a varying, though generally considerable, amount of wear: the latest of them, the Honorian issues, range from slightly worn to very worn. This

¹ Previously published in brief as hoard no. 42 in R.J. Brickstock, *Copies of the FEL TEMP REPARATIO Coinage in Britain: their Chronology and archaeological Significance*, BAR (British Series) no. 176, Oxford, 1987, 346.

² Private communication.

evidence argues that these coins were in circulation for some time before deposition: the latter, therefore, seems unlikely to have been before c. A.D. 400, and may have been some years later.

The composition of the collection can be summarized as follows:

Third century radiates	2 [copies]
House of Constantine	9 [3 copies]
House of Valentinian	0
383-402	47
Illegible	2

It can be split into issues of the following rulers and types:

Tetricus II copy			1
Radiate copy			1
VRBS ROMA copy			1
Constantine II, Caesar	GLORIA EXERCITVS 1 standard		1
Constantius II, Caesar	as above		1
Constans	VICTORIAEDDAVGGQNN		2
Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO Fal- ling horseman		2
	copies of above		2
Theodosius I	VOT X MVLT XX, 383		1
Magnus Maximus	SPES ROMANORVM, 387-88		1
VICTORIA AVGGG	Valentinian II, 388-92	2	31
	Theodosius I, 388-95	5	
	Arcadius [12], 388-95	7	
		395-402	3
		388-402	2
	Uncertain	388-402	12
SALVS REIPVBLICAE	Valentinian II	388-92	2
	Arcadius	388-402	1
	Honorius [6],	394-95	1
		394-402	1
		395-402	4
	Uncertain,	388-402	2
Theodosius I	Uncertain type,	388-402	3
Uncertain	Fourth century		1
	Third/Fourth century copy		1
	Total		60

Apart from a coin of the mint of Cyzicus [catalogue no. 12], the mints represented are those normally expected in a British hoard of this date:

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Trier	1
Lyons	2
Arles	13
Rome	10
Cyzicus	1
Uncertain	28
Copies	5

Viewed as a hoard this group of coins compares very closely with a number of other British finds. From the same part of the country, close parallels are provided by five of the Richborough hoards,³ as well as by two hoards from Canterbury,⁴ and by a hoard from Colchester:⁵

All the finds in the above table are relatively small hoards of late Roman bronze coins: larger hoards of similar type from the south-east of England include those from Stretham, Cambs.;⁶ Icklingham, Suffolk;⁷ Woodbridge, Suffolk;⁸ and Bermondsey, London.⁹

The composition of all these hoards is predominantly Theodosian but each includes a few earlier issues. Coins of the House of Valentinian are largely absent: where earlier coins are present, they seem for the most part to be those that, by virtue of a similar module and general appearance, could circulate relatively freely alongside

³ W.P.D. Stebbing, 'The Coins', in J.P. Bushe-Fox, *Fourth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent*, Research Reports of the Society of Antiquaries of London, xvi, Oxford, 1949, 272-320: a = Hoard no. 2 (p. 279); b = Hoard no. 3 (p. 279); c = Hoard no. 4 (p. 279).

R. Reece, 'Coins', in (Ed.) B.W. Cunliffe, *Fifth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent*, Research Reports of the Society of Antiquaries of London, xxiii, London, 1968, 118-216: d = Hoard 1 (p. 189); e = Hoard 2 (p. 190).

⁴ Found during excavations by Prof. S.S. Frere. Detail of coin hoards from R. Reece, 'Numerical Aspects of Roman Coinage in Britain', in (Eds.) P.J. Casey and R. Reece, *Coins and the Archaeologist*, BAR (British Series) no. 4, Oxford, 1974, 78-94: a = Canterbury 4; b = Canterbury 5.

⁵ M.R. Hull, *Report of the Museum and Muniment Committee*, Colchester Museum, 23 (1927), record no. 5291.26; M.R. Hull, *Roman Colchester*, Research Reports of the Society of Antiquaries of London, xx, Oxford, 1958, 277.

⁶ J.W.E. Pearce, 'A Hoard of Late Roman Bronze Coins from Stretham', *Proc. Cambs. Antiq. Soc.*, xxxix (1940), 85-92.

⁷ J.W.E. Pearce, 'Roman Coins from Icklingham', *Num. Chron.*, Ser. 5, ix (1929), 319-27.

⁸ J.W.E. Pearce, 'Late fourth Century Hoard of AES from Woodbridge', *Num. Chron.*, Ser. 5, xv (1935), 49-53.

⁹ H. Mattingly, 'The Bermondsey Hoard', *Num. Chron.*, Ser. 6, vi (1946), 167-9.

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	Richborough					Colchester	Canterbury		Gravesend
	a	b	c	d	e		a	b	
Third century radiates	4		1				2	5	2
Carausius		1							
Constantine I			1		4				
Helena				1					
Crispus				1					
VRBS ROMA		2							1
Constantine II					2				1
Constantius II	1		1	1					5
Constans	3				1	1			2
House of Constantine	3	2	2	4	3		2	6	
Magnentius		1		1	1			1	
Valentinian I	1		1						
Valens	1			1	3				
Gratian					1	8?			
House of Valentinian				1	3				
Maximus				3	4				1
Victor	1								
Valentinian II	11	4	5	9	4	1			4
Theodosius	2	8		5	14	1			9
Arcadius	17	11	3	13	31	20?			13
Eugenius	1								
Honorius	4	9	3	1	8	1			6
House of Theodosius	40	37	49	37	45		15	72	14
Fourth century, illegible	1	10							1
Illegible	1			18		14			1
Total	91	85	66	96	124	46	19	84	60

the Theodosian bronze. Amongst the latter, the obverse is frequently illegible, but the issues of Arcadius appear consistently the most common: the reason for this predominance of the issues of an eastern emperor in British finds is unclear, just as is a corresponding predominance in British hoards of the coinage of an earlier eastern

emperor, Valens, over that of the western emperor, Valentinian I. This phenomenon can be more clearly viewed in the larger hoards: in the Icklingham hoard, for example, albeit with coinage of the House of Valentinian present on a reduced scale:

pre-364	115
Valentinian I	9
Valens	34
Gratian	11
House of Valentinian I	21
Valentinian II	67
Theodosius I	89
Magnus Maximus	12
Victor	4
Arcadius	227
Eugenius [usurper in West A.D. 392-94]	6
Honorius	108
House of Theodosius	361
Total	1064

Similarly, the Woodbridge hoard, where a detailed breakdown of the Theodosian issues shows relatively even numbers of SALVS REIPVBLICAE for the various emperors (though the majority of obverses were, as usual, illegible), though with a slight preponderance of Honorian issues (just as in the Gravesend find), but, of the more prolific VICTORIA AVGGG types, more than half of the legible obverses belonged to Arcadius:

The predominance of VICTORIA AVGGG over SALVS REIPVBLICAE in British finds is explained by the fact that all the Gaulish mints [Trier, Lyons and Arles] were producing the former type: SALVS REIPVBLICAE came from Rome, Aquileia, or still further afield. The predominance of Arcadius over Honorius is perhaps explainable by the later accession of Honorius, A.D. 393 as opposed to A.D. 383, so that the latter missed out on some five years of the VICTORIA AVGGG (and SALVS REIPVBLICAE) types. However, the predominance of Arcadius over Theodosius I (father of

Pre-Theodosian		51
Theodosian		
VICTORIA AVGGG 2 Victories		
	Theodosius	1
	Arcadius	1
	Illegible	7
VICTORIA AVGGG 1 Victory		
	Valentinian II	18
	Theodosius	36
	Arcadius	104
	Honorius	24
	Illegible	139
SALVS REIPVBLICAE		
	Valentinian II	8
	Theodosius	12
	Arcadius	13
	Honorius	16
	Illegible	95
VOT X MVLT XX	Theodosius I	1
Magnus Maximus	SPES ROMANORVM	4
Total		530

Arcadius and Honorius, and a dominant figure until his death in A.D. 395) and over Valentinian II (western emperor A.D. 375–92, though with his rule interrupted in Britain by Maximus, A.D. 383–88, and Victor, A.D. 387–88), is equally marked, and cannot be so easily dismissed. Can it be that the coinage is beginning to reflect an increasing dominance of eastern empire over western in the latter half of the fourth century, and that these hoards represent a measure of that dominance?

The above observations are made of a list of accredited hoards, but are equally applicable to the Gravesend coins described above: these parallels may perhaps be considered sufficient grounds for including the Gravesend find amongst that list of hoards deposited, in all probability, in the early years of the fifth century A.D.

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THE CATALOGUE

The following abbreviations are used throughout this catalogue:

Denominations:	ANT	Antoninianus		
Mints:	AR	Arles	CY	Cyzicus
	LG	Lyons	RM	Rome
	TR	Trier		

Catalogue. (Numbers refer to RIC unless otherwise stated.)

RIC	(Eds.) H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, C.H.V. Sutherland, R.A.G. Carson, <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , i-ix, (1926-1981).
CK	R.A.G. Carson and J.P.C. Kent, <i>Late Roman Bronze Coinage</i> , Part II, (1960).
E	G. Elmer, <i>Die Münzprägung der Gallischen Kaiser in Köln, Trier und Mailand</i> , (1941).
HK	P.V. Hill and J.P.C. Kent, <i>Late Roman Bronze Coinage</i> , Part I, (1960).

A copy or counterfeit of a particular ruler/issuer is denoted by single quotation marks, e.g. 'CLAUDIUS II', and by the use of a lower case 'c' in the catalogue reference, e.g. c. of 261 = a copy of RIC 261. The use of the word 'of' indicates that a precise catalogue reference has been obtained; 'as' is used, for both official issues and copies, to denote an incompletely catalogued coin.

The condition (Condit.) of both the obverse (Obv.) and reverse (Rev.) is denoted by the following abbreviations:

UW	Unworn	EW	Extremely worn
SW	Slightly worn	C	Corroded
W	Worn	NSU	Not struck up
VW	Very worn		

The flan diameter (Diam.) is given in millimetres (mm.) and the weight (Wt.) in grams (g.).

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No.	Ruler	Date	Mint	Catalogue	Condit. Obv./Rev.	Diam. [mm.]	Wt. [g]
1.	RADIATE COPY Obv. - Rev. [FORTVNA. . . .]	273+	-	c. as Tetricus 73	C/?SW	14.0	1.3
2.	'TETRICUS II' Obv. [CP . . . TETRI]CVS C[AES] Rev. [PIETAS AVG . . .]	273+	-	c. as 258	W/W	14.0	1.1
3.	'CONSTANTINE I' Obv. [VRBS ROMA] Rev. Wolf and Twins mm: TRP	341-46	-	c. of 7TR522, HK51	SW/SW	12.5	0.6
4.	CONSTANTINE II, CAESAR Obv. [CONSTANTI]NVS IVN NC Rev. [GLOR]-IA EXERC-ITVS 1 std	335-37	TR	7TR591, HK93	SW/SW	14.0	1.6
5.	CONSTANTIUS II, CAESAR Obv. FL IVL CON[STANTIVS N]OBC Rev. [GLOR-IA E]XERC-ITVS 1 std	335-37	-	as 7TR592, HK94	W/W	15.5	1.3
6.	CONSTANS Obv. CONSTAN-S PFAVG Rev. VICTORIAEDDAVGGQNN	346-48	RM	8RM84, HK638	W/W	15.0	1.6
7.	CONSTANS Obv. [CO]NSTAN-[S PFAVG] Rev. [VICTORIAEDDAVGGQNN]	346-48	-	as 8TR189	SW/SW fragment	12.5	0.7
8.	CONSTANTIUS II Obv. DN CONSTAN-[TIVS PFAVG] Rev. [FEL TEMP R]EPARATIO FH3	355-58	AR	8AR266, CK457	W/W	18.0	2.0
9.	CONSTANTIUS II Obv. [DN CONSTAN-T]IVS PFAVG Rev. [FEL TEMP]-REPARATIO FH3 in field: M	355-58	AR	8AR272, CK458	W/W	16.5	1.8
10.	'CONSTANTIUS II' Obv. [DN CONSTAN-TIVS PFAVG] Rev. [FEL TEMP REPARATIO] FH3	353+	-	c. as 8TR359, CK76	W/W	13.0	1.2
11.	'CONSTANTIUS II' Obv. [DN CONSTAN-TIVS PFAVG] Rev. [FEL TEMP REPARATIO] FH3	353+	-	c. as 8TR359, CK76	W/VW	12.5	1.6
12.	THEODOSIUS I Obv. [DN THE]ODO-SIVS [PFAVG] Rev. VOT/X/MVLT/XX	383	CY	CK2557	C/W	13.0	1.1

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No.	Ruler	Date	Mint	Catalogue	Condit. Obv./Rev.	Diam. [mm.]	Wt. [g]
13.	MAGNUS MAXIMUS Obv. DN MAG MA-XIMVS PF[AVG] Rev. [SPES RO-]MA-NORVM	387-88	-	as CK156	W/W	12.5	1.3
14.	VALENTINIAN II Obv. [DN VAL]ENTINI-ANVS PFA[VG] Rev. VICTORI-[A AVGGG]	388-92	-	as CK162	W/W	12.5	1.2
15.	VALENTINIAN II Obv. DN VALENTINI-ANVS PFAVG Rev. VICT[ORI-A AVGGG]	388-92	AR	CK562	W/W	13.5	1.1
16.	THEODOSIUS I Obv. [DN THEO]DO-SIV[S PFAVG] Rev. [VICTORIA AVGGG]	388-95	-	as CK163	W/VW	11.5	1.0
17.	THEODOSIUS I Obv. [DN] THEO[DO-SIVS PFAVG] Rev. VICTOR-IA AVGGG	388-95	-	as CK163	W/SW	13.5	1.0
18.	THEODOSIUS I Obv. [DN THE]O[DO-SIVS PFAVG] Rev. [VICTORIA AVGGG]	388-95	-	as CK163	W/W	12.5	1.1
19.	THEODOSIUS I Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS [PFAVG] Rev. VICTOR-[IA AVGGG]	388-95	LG	CK391/4	W/W	11.0	1.0
20.	THEODOSIUS I Obv. [DN THEODO]-SIVS PFAVG Rev. VICTOR-IA AVGGG	388-95	AR	CK565/8	W/VW	12.0	1.2
21.	ARCADIUS Obv. DN [ARC]ADIVS [PFAVG] Rev. [VICTOR-IA AVGGG]	388-95	-	as CK566/9	W/W	14.5	1.0
22.	ARCADIUS Obv. DN ARCAD[IVS PFAVG] Rev. VICT[OR-IA AVGGG]	388-95	-	as CK566/9	W/W	13.5	1.3
23.	ARCADIUS Obv. DN A[RCADI]VS PFAVG Rev. [VICTOR-IA AVGGG]	388-95	-	as CK566/9	W/VW	12.0	1.0
24.	ARCADIUS Obv. [DN AR]CADIVS [PFAVG] Rev. [VICTOR-IA AVGGG]	388-95	-	as CK566/9	VW/VW	14.0	0.9
25.	ARCADIUS Obv. DN A[RCADIVS] PFAVG Rev. VICTO[R-IA AVGGG]	388-95	-	as CK566/9	W/W	12.0	1.0

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No.	Ruler	Date	Mint	Catalogue	Condit. Obv./Rev.	Diam. [mm.]	Wt. [g]
26.	ARCADIUS Obv. DN ARCADI[V]S PFAVG] Rev. VICTOR-[IA AVGGG]	388-95	AR	CK566/9	VW/VW	13.0	1.1
27.	ARCADIUS Obv. DN A[RCAD]IVS PFAVG Rev. [VICTO]R-IA AVGGG	388-95	AR	CK566/9	W/W	12.5	1.0
28.	ARCADIUS Obv. DN ARC[ADIVS PF]AVG Rev. [VICTOR]-IA AVGGG	388-402	-	as CK164	W/W	12.0	1.3
29.	ARCADIUS Obv. DN ARCA[DIVS PFAVG] Rev. VICTOR-IA AVGGG	388-402	AR	as CK571	W/W	13.5	0.9
30.	ARCADIUS Obv. [DN] ARC?[ADI-VS PFAVG] Rev. VICT[OR-IA AVGGG]	395-402	LG	CK397	W/W	11.0	1.3
31.	ARCADIUS Obv. DN ARCAD[I-VS PFAVG] Rev. VICTO[R-IA AVGGG]	395-402	AR	CK571	VW/VW	13.5	1.5
32.	ARCADIUS Obv. DN ARCAD[I-V]S PFAVG Rev. [VICTOR]-IA AVGGG	395-402	AR	CK571	W/W	12.5	0.9
33.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. - Rev. [VICTOR-IA AVGGG]	388-402	-	as CK162	W/W	13.0	0.6
34.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. DN[.] Rev. VICT[OR-IA AV]GGG	388-402	-	as CK162	VW/W	13.5	1.0
35.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. - Rev. [VICTORIA AVGGG]	388-402	-	as CK162	VW/VW	13.0	0.9
36.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. - Rev. [VICTORIA AV]GGG	388-402	-	as CK162	W/VW	14.0	1.4
37.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. - Rev. [VICTORIA] AV[G]GG	388-402	-	as CK162	C/W	13.0	1.0
38.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. - Rev. [VICTORIA AVGGG]	388-402	-	as CK162	VW/W	11.5	1.0
39.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. - Rev. [VI]CTOR[IA AVGGG]	388-402	-	as CK162	W/SW	14.0	1.0
40.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. DN[.]IVS PFAVG Rev. [VI]CTOR[IA AVGGG]	388-402	-	as CK163	SW/W	13.0	1.3

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No.	Ruler	Date	Mint	Catalogue	Condit. Obv./Rev.	Diam. [mm.]	Wt. [g]
41.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. DN[.....] Rev. [VICTORIA A]VGGG	388-402	AR	as CK566	W/W	12.5	1.0
42.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. - Rev. [VICTOR]-IA AVGGG	388-402	AR	as CK566	W/W	14.0	1.3
43.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. - Rev. [VICTOR-IA AVGGG]	388-402	AR	as CK566	W/W	14.0	1.0
44.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. - Rev. [VICTOR-IA AVGGG]	388-402	AR	as CK562	W/W	12.0	0.8
45.	VALENTINIAN II Obv. DN VALENTINI-ANVS PFAVG Rev. [SALV]S REI-PVBLICAE	388-92	-	as CK796	W/W	13.0	0.9
46.	VALENTINIAN II Obv. [DN V]ALEN[TINIANVS PFAVG] Rev. [SALV]S REI-[PVBLICAE]	388-92	-	as CK796	W/W	13.0	1.8
47.	ARCADIUS Obv. DN ARCA[DIVS PFAVG] Rev. [SALVS REI-PVBLICAE]	388-402	RM	as CK798	W/W	12.0	0.9
48.	HONORIUS Obv. [DN] ONORI-VS PFA[VG] Rev. SALV[S REI-PVBLICAE]	394-95	RM	CK806	VW/VW	14.0	1.4
49.	HONORIUS Obv. [DN] ONO[RI-VS PFAVG] Rev. [S]ALVS REI-[PVBLICAE]	394-402	RM	CK806/9	SW/W	12.5	1.1
50.	HONORIUS Obv. [DN O]NOR[I-VS PFAVG] Rev. [SALVS REI-PVBLICAE]	395-402	RM	CK809	W/W	11.5	1.4
51.	HONORIUS Obv. DN H[ONO-RI AVG] Rev. [SALVS REI-P]VBLICAE	395-402	RM	CK810	VW/W	13.0	1.0
52.	HONORIUS Obv. [DN HONO]-RI AVG Rev. [SA]LVS REI-[PV]BLICAE	395-402	RM	CK810	W/W	12.5	1.0
53.	HONORIUS Obv. DN HO[NO-RI AVG] Rev. SALVS R[EI-PVBLICAE]	395-402	RM	CK810	W/W	13.5	2.0
54.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. [.....]AVG Rev. SALVS RE[I-PVBLICAE]	388-402	RM	as CK797	W/W	12.0	1.0

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No.	Ruler	Date	Mint	Catalogue	Condit. Obv./Rev.	Diam. [mm.]	Wt. [g]
55.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. – Rev. [SALVS REI]–PVBL[ICA]	388–402	RM	as CK797	C/W	11.5	1.4
56.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. – Rev. –	388–402	–	–	C/C	11.5	0.4
57.	HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. – Rev. –	388–402	–	–	?SW/C <i>fragment</i>	12.5	0.5
58.	?HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS Obv. – Rev. –	388–402?	–	–	VW/VW	11.5	1.3
59.	ILLEGIBLE Obv. – Rev. –	Fourth century	–	–	C/C	14.5	0.7
60.	ILLEGIBLE COPY Obv. – Rev. –	Third/ Fourth century	–	–	NSU/NSU	10.5	1.6