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PRISCUS ATTALUS' SECOND COIN ISSUES
IN NARBONNE (414-415) AND THE CIRCULATION
OF CLIPPED *SILICVAE* IN SPAIN AND GAUL (420-422)

Abstract – This article presents three new silver *silicvae* (RIC X 1417) in the name of Priscus Attalus, with the mint-mark PSNB and corresponding to his second reign in Gaul (414-415 ^[1]). Two of these are preserved in southern Spain, and the third has been found at Saint-Martin-de-Crau, near Arles. The four *silicvae* of this type in known existence are all clipped, and it is my belief that this clipping occurred around the years 420-422, when the imperial troops which served the *magistri militum* Asterius and Castinus in southern Gaul and north-eastern Spain were mobilised. It is also noted that other coins, and the vast majority of *silicvae* in the name of Maximus found in Hispania (several dozen), were clipped during the same period. The custom of clipping *silicvae* in Gaul and in Hispania should probably be linked to the activity of Romano-British troops in the region.

Key words – Asterius, Castinus, clipped, Priscus Attalus, Romano-British, *silicva*, Tarraco.

PSNB: mint-mark of the official coin issues of Priscus Attalus during his second reign in Gaul (414-415)

IN NOVEMBER 2013, R.A. Robles, a resident of Málaga, simultaneously revealed to a number of Spanish and British numismatists a remarkable *silicva* ^[2]. This *silicva*, acquired in Antequera (Andalusia), seems to have come into his possession through an earlier collector in Málaga, who must have kept it until the end of 2013. Although the coin in question has an

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[1] All dates are AD.

[2] It was Samuel Moorhead, Finds Advisor for Iron Age and Roman coins in the Department of Portable Antiquities and Treasure at the *British Museum*, who was the first to reveal details of this *silicva* to me and who put me in contact with Mr. Robles. The coin has been discussed at length in numismatic forums such as <http://www.imperio-numismatico.com/t74236-silicua-de-prisco-atalo-restitutio-reip-narbona> (Spanish) and <http://www.lamoneta.it/topic/115657-basso-impero/> (Italian).

obverse legend which is difficult to read in its entirety, the mint-mark of the exergue is, however, quite clear. Fortunately, the very distinctive style of the imperial bust on the *siliqua* is in every way consistent with those associated with Priscus Attalus and corresponds to his second reign in Gaul (414-415) (*RIC X* 1417, p. 346). This *siliqua* may, therefore, be described with little doubt as follows (Fig. 1):



Fig. 1

A_V (probably): [IMP PRISCVS AT-TAL]VS P F AVG; pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust to right

R_V RES[TITVTI]O REI P; Roma seated left on cuirass holding Victory on globe and spear

Mint-mark: -//PSNB

Weight: 1.17 g

Maximum diameter: 14 mm

Axis: ↑↓

Priscus Attalus *siliquae* corresponding to his first reign in Rome (410)^[3] are uncommon, but those attributable to his second reign in Gaul (414-415)^[4] are a great deal more so. Indeed, the example described and illustrated in *RIC X* as no 1417^[5] is known to J.P.C. Kent only through a sole piece (R5 = maximum rarity) which is to be found in the *Cabinet des Médailles* at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in Paris^[6]. Ph. Grierson & M. Mays do, of

[3] Zos., 6. 12.1-2; Olymp., *frag.* 13; Oros., *Hist.* 2. 3; Soz. *HE.* 9. 8.1; Proc., *Bel. Vand.* 12.28 and 12.36.

[4] Olymp. *frag.* 13; Oros. *Hist.* 7, 42.9; Prosp. Tiro s.a. 414-415, 417; Marcell.com.s.a. 412; *PLRE II*, 'Priscus Attalus 2', 180-181.

[5] *RIC X*, pl. 43.

[6] Marked 'P' in *RIC X*, p. 346, i.e., conserved in the *Cabinet des Médailles* in Paris (*BnF*). This coin is not, however, included in the section containing the official issues, according to the most recent checks performed by the curator of Roman coins, Mr. Dominique Hollard.

course, point out in their 1992 catalogue (*DOLR*) the existence of two coins with the same type of reverse ^[7]. The first example referred to by these numismatists is, though, a barbaric contemporary imitation bought by the British Museum in 1957 and catalogued in *RIC X* with the number 3701, p. 450, plate 76, with a weight of 1.03 g, a diameter of 14 mm and axes aligned at $\uparrow\swarrow$ (Fig. 2) ^[8]. It is a similar story with coin no 814 of their catalogue (plate 31), with a weight of 1.08 g, a diameter of 14 mm and axes aligned at $\uparrow\downarrow$ (Fig. 3). Though this *siliqua* is catalogued as an official one at Dumbarton Oaks, it should, however, be considered another Gallic imitation (*RIC X* 3702) ^[9].



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

^[7] Grierson & Mays 1992, p. 223.

^[8] http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3374479&partId=1&searchText=ric10+3701&people=&place=&from=ad&fromDate=&toDate=ad&toDate=&object=&subject=&matcult=&technique=&school=&material=ðname=&ware=&escape=&bibliography=&citation=&museumno=&catalogueOnly=&view=&page=1

^[9] *RIC X*, p. 450, attributes these coins to the Visigoths, but Kent 1989, p. iv & 1974, p. 28 views them only as irregular issues, parallel to other regular series and thus not necessarily Visigothic. I personally favour their Roman appearance.

Ph. Grierson & M. Mays consider the *siliqua* DORL 814 to have been minted in Ravenna, rightly reading PSRV (*Pvsvlatvm Ravenna*) in the exergue, which remains sufficiently legible. Although they take the view that the style of this *siliqua* ‘suggests a Gallic issue of 415-416’, they eventually opt for ascribing it to the mint at Ravenna, because ‘it is difficult to see why in that case NARB should not have been used’. These numismatists, then, assuming that the coin was minted in Ravenna, considered that it must necessarily be ascribed to the year 410 and the first reign of Attalus. J.P.C. Kent, on the other hand, believes, on the basis of the profound difference in style of *siliqua* RIC X 1417, as compared to those clearly dated to the year 410, that this coin was minted at Narbonne (Narbo) in the years 414-415.

While careful examination of the two irregular coins DOLR 814 and RIC X 3701 allows us to see quite clearly the inscription PSRV, two more *siliquae*, this time in the official style, which have recently been revealed at two different sites, confirm the reading of the R.A. Robles coin.

One of them was unquestionably found at Saint-Martin-de-Crau, about 15 km east of the city of Arles, and has a maximum diameter of 13 mm, weighs 0.92 g and has the obverse and reverse legends IMP PRISCVS A[T-TAL]VS P F AVG/ RES[TITV-T]IO REI P^[10] (Fig. 4).

The other *siliqua* was acquired somewhere in the province of Jaén, in the north of what is today Andalusia, in 2007, according to M. Pina. It also bears on the obverse the legend [I]MP PRISCVS A[T-TAL]VS P F AVG/RES[TITV-T]IO REI P, it is slightly damaged and weighs 0.79 g, with a maximum diameter of 14 mm^[11]. On the reverse the presence of a final B corresponding to the mint-mark PSNB can be easily made out (Fig. 5).

The possibility that the irregular issues of Priscus Attalus DOLR 814 and RIC X 3701 were struck in the Southern Gallic city of Narbonne in 414-415 is a real one, and one that we cannot rule out. However, the hypothesis of Ph. Grierson & M. Mays, which takes the view that these two unofficial coins were coined near Ravenna, and in the year 410, also merits consideration. As regards the old *siliqua* of Paris (Fig. 6) and the new *siliquae* found at Málaga, Jaén and Saint-Martin-de-Crau, though, what is certain is that the official issues of the second reign in Gaul of Priscus Attalus were all struck in Narbonne with the mint-mark PSNB.

[10] <http://www.numm.us-bible-database.com/monnaie-909.htm>

[11] http://www.tesorillo.com/bajo_imperio/prisco/prisco.htm



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

*Known unofficial siliquae of Priscus Attalus.
 First or second reign (410 or 414-415)?
 Minted at Ravenna or Narbonne?*

Collection	Origin	Weight	Maximum diameter	Axis	Exergue	CF.
British Museum (RIC X 3701)	Unknown	1.03 g	14 mm	↑↗	PSRV	2
Dumbarton Oaks no 814 (RIC X 3702)	Unknown	1.08 g	14 mm	↑↓	PSRV	1

*Known official siliquae of Priscus Attalus. Second reign (414-415)**Minted at Narbonne*

Collection	Origin	Weight	Maximum diameter	Axis	Exergue	CF.
R.A. Robles (Málaga)	Málaga (province)	1.17 g	14 mm	↑↓	PSNB	2
Cabinet des Médailles (Paris)	Unknown	1.08 g	14 mm	↑↓	PSN[B]	3
B. David (France)	Saint-Martin-de-Crau (near Arles)	0.92 g	13 mm	↑↓	[PSNB]	3
J. Pina (Madrid)	Jaén (province)	0.79 g (broken)	14 mm	↑↓	P[SN]B	2

The clipped *siliquae* of Priscus Attalus, Maximus and other emperors in Spain and Gaul

The four official *siliquae* of Priscus Attalus minted at Narbonne found so far all share the same style and all have a maximum diameter of around 13 to 14 mm, and axes aligned at ↑↓. All of them are light for this type of *siliqua* and the period of minting: 1.17 g (Málaga), 1.08 g (Paris), 0.92 g (Saint-Martin-de-Crau) and 0.79 g (broken coin, province of Jaén). P. Guest notes in this regard that Milan *siliquae* were reduced in weight after the years 388-395, with a theoretical weight of around 1.84 or 2.02 g, falling to an average of 1.5 g, making them at least 20% lighter than the product of other Western mints well into the fifth century^[12]. Although the Narbonne mint of Priscus Attalus seems to have been in line with that of Honorius in Milan a few years earlier, it does seem, however, that despite the circumstances an average weight of 1.0 or 1.1 g for official *siliquae* is too low. This average weight is, though, at the same time, too significant for these coins to be considered as mere divisors of *siliquae*.

In order to develop a better understanding of the reduced weight of the four *siliquae* of Priscus Attalus with the mint-mark of Narbonne, it is important to point out that the Saint-Martin-de-Crau coin, as well as sharing obverse and reverse dies with RIC x 1417, has a similar angle of cutting to the latter: to the right of the bust, between 2 and 4 o'clock for the obverse (Fig. 4, 6). Since in his catalogue J.P.C. Kent categorises his *siliqua* as 'clipped'^[13], there is no major reason why the Saint-Martin-de-Crau specimen

[12] Guest 2005, p. 92-93.

[13] RIC x, p. 346.

should not likewise be considered to have been 'clipped'. In fact, the low weight and unclear legends of these two coins, as well as that of the other two *siliquae* found in Hispania, clearly indicate that all four were cut in ancient times, shortly after they were minted. In contrast, in the *siliquae* found in Spain, the mint-mark PSNB is certainly more visible and better conserved than in the two found north of the Pyrenees^[14], though perhaps this feature is simply attributable to their reverse flan having received the imprint of a die which had been moved upward slightly. Even so, and despite these small differences which result from the minting process, it may be seen that none of the four Priscus Attalus *siliquae* have legends which are fully visible on both obverse and reverse. It is clear that in all cases there is, to use the terminology of P. Guest, a moderate 'clipped factor' on all four coins (CF.) of around 2 or 3, with 1 as the minimum and 4 the maximum (Fig. 7)^[15].



Fig. 7 – Guest 2005, p. 111

R. Abdy points out in one of his studies of the clipped *siliquae* found in Britain that “silver in the form of high-status jewellery or absolute weights of bullion was needed to pay less compliant recipients of state expenditure such as federate leaders or hostile barbarians”^[16]. The author suggests here that the cut *siliquae* were used, at least in Britain, in a setting that was anything but Barbarian but was similarly military, that is, the imperial army and the official administrative structures linked to it. It must be understood that this clipping of *siliquae*, along with the production of irregular coinage, took place in a Britain that was not sufficiently supplied with silver by the continental provisioning networks at moments of war stress. Since the Roman imperial army of Britannia must be considered as the only one that still

[14] Could the *siliqua* of Paris also have been found near Arles, or at least in southern Gaul? The die-linkage and the extraordinary similarities in the cutting of this coin with the Saint-Martin-de-Crau specimen could perhaps suggest such an interpretation.

[15] Guest 2005, p. 111.

[16] Abdy 2013, p. 111.

existed in the West at the beginning of the fifth century, it is not surprising that the phenomenon of clipped *siliquae* is primarily a British one, without any possible paragon in other western regions^[17].

Despite all the above, the phenomenon of cut *siliquae*, although predominantly a British one, was not entirely restricted to the region. Once considered “extremely rare in general in the Gaul of the late 4th and early 5th centuries” it is true that *siliquae* “appear to be now well documented in the Pyrenees and their foothills. The relative influx in this region of cash in the form of silver seems to be related on the one hand to the reign of the last Western usurper Constantine III (407-411), and on the other with the political and military events that marked this period in southern Gaul and Spain”^[18]. The close relationship between Romano-British soldiers and the use in Britain of clipped *siliquae* at the beginning of the 5th century also seems to provide grounds for ascribing to the former the custom of clipping *siliquae* in Gaul and in Spain. In relation to examples of such coins found in Southern Gaul, D. Hollard has no doubts about the “exemplaires rognés” or the “monnaies retaillées” found at Bédailhac-et-Aynat, Roc de Carol/Saint-Paul-de-Jarrat (Ariège) and Cambounès (Tarn) being “typiques de la circulation britannique et [...] en connexion avec le règne de Constantin III”.^[19]

As regards Spain, it is true that Spanish numismatists have long noted the existence of bronze coins cut after the year 395, especially in connection with the Hispanic finds of Conimbriga, Abaunzt, Solacueva, Peliciego, Coca and the dump of the provincial forum at Tarraco.^[20] These same sources have, however, rarely mentioned that some of the best-known sets of *siliquae* in Hispania, the well-known ones published back in 1984 by E. Bistuer (23 *siliquae*)^[21] and in 1998 by T. Marot & A. Roviras (9 *siliquae*)^[22], are entirely

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[18] Hollard 2011, p. 35: “rarissimes d’une manière générale dans la Gaule de la fin du IV^e siècle et du début du V^e siècle [...] *siliquae* apparaissent désormais bien attestés dans la chaîne des Pyrénées et dans son piémont. Ce relatif afflux d’un numéraire d’argent dans cette région semble être en relation, d’une part avec le règne du dernier usurpateur occidental Constantin III (407-411), d’autre part avec les événements politiques et militaires qui marquèrent cette période en Gaule méridionale et en Espagne”.

[19] Berdeaux-Le Brazidec & Hollard 2011, p. 35 & 2008; Hollard 2010.

[20] These cuts are viewed in the Hispanic literature as dating after 410, and they took place particularly with bronze coins, in order to supplement the small number of *Æ4* coins in circulation. It is assumed that this technique as applied to bronze coins had its heyday in Gaul between 410 and 450, with important parallels in Hispania, and it was very different to what was occurring in Britain. San Vicente 1999, p. 606-611 and n. 37.

[21] San Vicente 1999, p. 609 refers to a hoard, though Bistuer 1983 mentions coins held by private collectors rather than a hoard.

[22] Marot Salsas & Roviras Padrós 1998, p. 572.

composed of deliberately clipped and fragmented coins^[23]. Many of the cut *siliquae* from these assemblages correspond to the tyrant Maximus and the mint at Barcino (SMBA)^[24], with an average weight estimated by A.M. Balaguer at c. 1.05 g^[25], and by T. Marot & J.J. Cepeda Ocampo at c. 1.17 g, with a diameter of 13-14 mm^[26]. Though the majority are concentrated in the north-east of Spain, around the present-day provinces of Barcelona and Gerona, a few Maximus *siliquae* have also been found in the south of Gaul, at Argelès-sur-Mer (Céret, Pyrénées Orientales)^[27] and in central Spain (Cuenca)^[28]. This pattern of distribution of Maximus *siliquae* bears significant parallels with that of the four *siliquae* from the second usurpation of Priscus Attalus. The number of these, though it is not very large, has, however, been steadily rising in recent years, and does not, needless to say, now correspond to the 17 or 20 pieces cited in the catalogues of Kent 1994^[29] and Grierson & Mays 1992^[30]. Back in 1987 Balaguer counted 37 pieces^[31], while in 1998 T. Marot noted the existence of 55^[32], and the current figure is certainly higher, as is shown by the pieces that have come to light both in national and international auctions and at a variety of archaeological sites. Given this, might the four clipped Priscus Attalus *siliquae* be linked with similarly clipped Maximus (Fig. 8) and other late Roman emperor coins? And does this clipping have anything to do with the presence of Romano-British troops in Hispania after 411, rather than during the years between 409 and 411?

[23] Surprisingly, and in spite of its obvious 'clipped' character, Marot Salsas & Roviras Padrós 1998, p. 572 are the only Spanish numismatists who acknowledge this openly. Abdy 2013, p. 110-111 also supports this. In these and in other Spanish sets there are imitations, some of which are also clipped.

[24] This had previously not been necessary, as is pointed out by ARCE 2005, p. 648. See also RIC X, p. 150.

[25] For an average of 18 of these *siliquae*, Balaguer 1987, p. 36. Marot Salsas & Roviras Padrós 1998, p. 571, and Cepeda Ocampo 2000, p. 47 for the 28 specimens examined. Many *siliquae* not considered here weigh around 1 g or less.

[26] Balaguer 1987, p. 36.

[27] Marot Salsas & Roviras Padrós 1998, p. 572; Berdeaux-Le Brazidec & Hollard 2008, p. 33.

[28] Marot Salsas & Roviras Padrós 1998, p. 572.

[29] RIC X, p. 150.

[30] Grierson & Mays 1992, p. 219.

[31] Balaguer 1987, pp. 38-40, 43-44.

[32] Marot Salsas & Roviras Padrós 1998, p. 579, n. 29.



Fig. 8

Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 72 (16/V/2013), Lot 794. AR 1.34 g. CF. 2; Obv.: DN MAXIM – [VSPFAVG] Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust to right, Rev.: [VICTOR] – A AAVGGG. Exergue: SMBA.

Romano-British soldiers in Tarraco in 420-422 and the Spanish clipped *siliquae*

When they landed in Gaul in 407, the regular troops of Constantine III and Constans were made up entirely, or almost entirely, of British soldiers. The Roman troops of Gerontius, Constantine III's British general who crossed the Pyrenees with Constans in 409 and proclaimed Maximus emperor in Tarraco, perhaps the middle of the year 410, may also be considered to have been British in origin^[33]. The fact that these Romano-British troops were accustomed to receiving and using silver *siliquae* and other bronze denominations in Britain appears to me to be sufficient to explain the appearance in the year 411 of the Barcino mint, *Sacra Moneta Barcinonensis* (SMBA).

Since the clippings to Maximus and Priscus Attalus *siliquae* must have taken place after their short reigns – and obviously not during the reigns of Constantine III or Constans – they should therefore be ascribed to a later chronological period. This chronological period is suggested both by the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the *Epistula Honorii*. The *Notitia Dignitatum*, probably composed around the year 408 but definitely updated around 420^[34], mentions, among the eleven *auxilia palatina* and the five *legiones comitatenses* of the imperial army in Hispania (Occ. 127), the presence of *Invicti Iuniores Britones*^[35]. The famous *epistula* sent by Honorius to the soldiers of Pamplona also mentions, and very specifically, a group of *britannici* settled in the city, together with other imperial troops (*seniores, iuniores* and *specu-*

[33] Zos. 6.2.4, *PLRE II*, “Gerontius 5”, p. 508.

[34] Jones 1964, pp. 38, 1417-1450.

[35] Seck 1876, p. 138.

latores)^[36]. It seems likely that these *britannici* troops, like the others cited in the document, were worthy of special mention on the part of Honorius on account of truly remarkable service rendered previously by them in Hispania^[37]. In any case, in this letter the Emperor expresses his great joy (1:7-8 *omnes exultatione iusta gaudentes*), and promises them a payment similar to that received by other troops, like the *Gallicani* (*sint vobis constituta stipendia Gallicanorum* 1.11). Thus, both Honorius' joy and his promise of better pay for these troops should be taken in the context of the successful completion of one of the military campaigns that we know took place on Spanish soil after 411.

There is considerable debate about the chronology of this letter from Honorius which testifies to the presence of Romano-British soldiers in Pamplona. Some choose to ascribe it to a date around 416, believing that Honorius could have sent it from Rome in a moment of personal glory, when he came to commemorate his victory over Priscus Attalus^[38]. There is, however, as M. Kulikowski rightly points out^[39], no evidence at all for the participation of imperial (*comitatenses*), and therefore, British troops in Hispania between the first deposition of Maximus (411-412) and his second defeat (418-422)^[40]. Other more convincing alternative dates for the sending of the *Epistula Honorii* are, then, the year 420, when the *comes hispaniarum* Asterius conducted his campaign from Tarraco against the Hasding Vandals in *Gallaecia*^[41], or else 422, when the *magister utriusque mili-*

[36] Preserved in a tenth-century manuscript (*Roda Codex*), see Lacarra 1945, p. 268-270; Demougeot 1956, p. 31-32; JONES 1964, p. 36, n. 44; GIL 1984, p. 185-188; and Sivan 1985. See also Kulikowski 1998; Ubric 2003, p. 86, n. 286 and Arce 2005, p. 94. See also <http://gallaekia.blogspot.co.uk/2012/08/epistula-honorii.html>

[37] Sivan 1985, p. 274; Arce 2005, p. 94.

[38] Olympiodorus, *Frag.* 26.2; Prosper Tiro a. 417; See also *C. Th.* 16.5.55, Lejdegård 2002, pp. 57-58, 123.

[39] Kulikowski 2004, p. 171-172.

[40] After the first deposition of the tyrant Maximus, Honorius sought to recover both Gaul and the region surrounding Tarraco, *Hyd. Chr.* 34 [42], but only through the mediation of his Gothic allies. The Visigoth king Wallia, *Romani nominis causa*, *Hyd. Chr.* 55 [63], thus attacked the Alans and Vandals in Lusitania and Baetica, inflicting massive losses (*caedes magnas*) on them in 417. In the following year, 418, the Siling Vandals of Andalusia were practically annihilated by Wallia, again acting in the service of Rome, as were the Alans, who were forced to take refuge in Galicia. *Hyd. Chr.* 59 [67].

[41] *Hyd. Chron.*, 66 [74]. The preparations for this undertaking took place at Tarraco (Augustine, *Ep.* 11*, 4, 7.3 and 9-12). It is also from this latter source that it may be deduced that Asterius' army was made up of affiliated Visigoths, García Moreno 1988, p. 158-162, Ubric 2003, p. 88, n. 296; Tarraco had already been chosen as the headquarters of the usurper Maximus (Oros., *Hist.* 7. 42. 4, Olymp, *Frag.* 17 and Soz. *HE.* 9. 13, 1-2), which shows that the city possessed both the conditions and the infrastructure required to perform such a function. Ubric 2003, p. 80 and n. 253; see also Le Roux 1982, p. 388.

tiae Castinus, also based in Tarraco/Centcelles, mounted his campaign to Andalusia to fight the Siling Vandals near the Gibraltar Strait (422) ^[42]. Though the Vandals were not expelled from Andalusia (unlike Galicia), the capture of the usurper Maximus, once more the rival of Honorius, was successful, and he was shipped from Hispania to Italy and executed in Ravenna in the year 422 along with Jovinus, as part of the public games to commemorate Honorius' *tricennalia* ^[43]. It is of secondary importance whether Maximus was actually taken prisoner in *Gallaecia* in the year 420 by an Asterius who was immediately to be promoted to the patriciate (Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* II, 9) ^[44] or whether Castinus captured him in *Baetica* in 422 ^[45]. The joyous *Epistula* sent by Honorius to his troops in Pamplona was most probably written within this context of imperial, anti-usurper celebration ^[46], in which the role of powerful mixed armies (made up of imperial and Gothic soldiers ^[47]) in the service of Asterius and Castinus sets the scene for the proven presence of British soldiers in Hispania (including *Baetica*) ^[48] (see Map).

The major logistical activity of the imperial military which took place in the territorial arc extending between Arles and Tarraco around the years 420-422 ^[49] is sufficient to explain the phenomenon of the clipped, fragmented and unofficial *siliquae* of Maximus and Priscus Attalus found in southern Gaul, and especially in Hispania. The beginning of the decade of 420 may not in this region be characterised by the term 'sub-Roman', so beloved by British historiographers, as connections to imperial power were still too strong. It is undeniably true, however, that imperial and loyalist forces in the region did not open any mint during this period, which is sur-

[42] Near modern Algeciras, Padilla Monge 1989, pp. 116 and 220; Ubric 2003, p. 89 and n. 303.

[43] *Chron. Gall.*, 452 no. 89, c.a. 422; *Ann. Rav.s.a.* 422; *Marc.com.s.a.* 422, Iord., *Rom* 326 and *Joh. Mal.* 350.

[44] Kulikowski 2000, p. 123-141, *ARCE* 2005, p. 97-100; or by the *vicarius* Maurocellus, as posited by Balil 1964, p. 190.

[45] García Moreno 1989, p. 51.

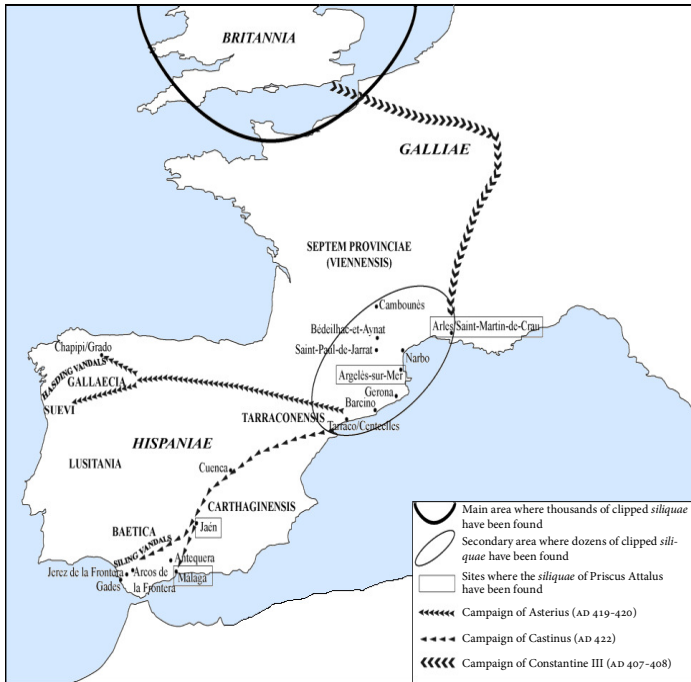
[46] Oros., *Hist.* 7. 42. 1.

[47] In 419/420 Asterius was entrusted with the leading of a huge army and the supreme direction of a thoroughly decisive war (*Venit protinus Tarraconam vir illustris Asterius comes cui tanti exercitus cura et tanti belli summa commissa est*, Ep. 11 *, 7, 3); in the year 422, Castinus appeared in Baetica with a large Roman army with Gothic auxiliaries (*magna cum manu et auxiliis Gothorum inferit bellum*), Hyd., *Chron.* 69 [77], *PLRE* II, "Fl. Castinus 2", 269-270, *Olymp. Frag.* 40, Tir. Prospero. 1278.

[48] Ubric 2003, p. 83, n. 263 mentions 'militias', but García Moreno 1989, p. 297-298 refers to the 'Roman army of Hispania', estimating it as being composed of 10,500 men.

[49] *Arce* 2005, p. 204 and n. 66. For the settlement in Tarraco and Centcelles of imperial troops from Gaul and their *comitatus*, see also Remolà Vallverdú & Pérez Martínez 2013, p. 174-176.

prising given the opening of the Barcino mint only a decade earlier, and it is hard to explain why Maximus might have set up a mint while Asterius and Castinus did not. I personally, though, have little doubt that in the case of almost all the known clipped *siliquae* in Hispania, and also in that of some of the *siliquae* found in Southern Gaul, the changes were made shortly after the last issues by Maximus and Priscus Attalus, that is, between the years 420 and 422. It is possible, too, that some hoards of Spanish *solidi*, such as those of Arcos de la Frontera and Jerez de la Frontera in Andalusia^[50] or Chapipi/Grado in Asturias^[51], should also be assigned to the same period, as these are not necessarily linked to Barbarian raids in the years 409-411 and may perhaps be more closely linked to later imperial troops. The same can also be true of the vast amounts of $\text{Æ}2$ coins minted before 395, which doubtless were in circulation at the beginning of the fifth century and which it would be tempting to believe were linked in some extent to the logistics of the later large Roman armies described above^[52].



[50] Arcos de la Frontera, with 28 *solidi*, *RIC* x, p. xc, Alfaro Asins 1991; Jérez de la Frontera with 35 *solidi*, *RIC* x, p. c. These hoards are normally dated to after the years 408-415. The ‘Seville hoard’ is also composed of 39 Roman *solidi* (rather than Suevic), which can, perhaps, be dated around this period, López Sánchez 2015, p. 185, n. 40. See for a Suevian explanation Cabral Peixoto 1997, p. 53.

[51] This hoard contains a *solidus* of Constantine III, *RIC* x, p. xciii.

[52] López Sánchez 2005.

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