

The 'Calvatone Hoard 2018' (Cremona, Italy): Archaeology and Hoarding Trends During the Reign of Gallienus (AD 253-268)¹

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Bedriacum is a small Roman vicus close to Calvatone (Cremona, Italy). The site is under archaeological investigation by the University of Milan. In May 2018, archaeologists discovered a small pottery vase containing 144 antoniniani, issued by Valerian I, Mariniana, Gallienus and Salonina. The main scope of this paper is to present the 'Calvatone Hoard 2018' for the first time, providing a thorough analysis of numismatic data (including a coin catalogue) and contextualising the discovery within the archaeological and historical contexts of Bedriacum and northern Italy in the 3rd century AD.

Keywords: *antoninianus, Bedriacum, Calvatone, Gallienus, hoard, Lombardy, Via Postumia.*

1. Introduction (AC)

The scope of this contribution is to present the Calvatone Hoard 2018 and its archaeological context for the first time. The hoard is certainly worth studying for three main reasons. First, it represents an exceptional discovery, being the first 3rd-century coin hoard found in *Bedriacum* and archaeologically documented (tab. 1). Second, it sheds new light on economics in the *vicus* and Lombardy region during the reign of Gallienus, offering vital data on hoarding trends in that historical period. Third, it reveals new, essential information on the site during the mid-3rd century, complementing existing archaeological data and filling a gap in our current knowledge.

¹ The archaeological project on Calvatone-*Bedriacum* is coordinated and funded by the University of Milan, with the support of the Municipality of Calvatone and other public institutions. First, we are thankful to Prof. Maria Teresa Grassi (University of Milan) (1957-2020), former director of the archaeological excavations of Calvatone-*Bedriacum*, for giving us the opportunity to study and publish the hoard, and we dedicate this article to her memory. We want to thank Dr. Lorenzo Zamboni, current director of the excavations. We are also grateful to Grazia Facchinetti (Soprintendenza ABAP per le Province di Como, Lecco, Monza e Brianza, Pavia, Sondrio e Varese) and Nicoletta Cecchini (Soprintendenza ABAP per le Province di Cremona, Lodi e Mantova), who both eased all bureaucratic procedures to analyse and study the hoard in Milan. Florance Caillaud performed all the accurate cleaning and restoration of all coins. Of course, we deserve a special thanks to all the 2018 excavation team members, and especially to Stefano Nava and the late Luca Restelli, who tragically passed away in 2022. Each section reports the author's initials: Antonino Crisà (AC) and Lilia Palmieri (LP).

Year	Findspot	Coins	Typology	Dating	References
ante 1834	Unknown		unknown	unknown	PONTIROLI 1993: 41 ²
1856	Land of Angelo Miti adjacent to Alovisi's property	155	denarii (?)	unknown	PONTIROLI 1993: 42-43 ³
1911	Countryside lands of brothers Birsilio and Luigi Simonazzi	327	denarii	1 st century BC	VISMARA 1992a; CRISÀ 2020: 21-44
1942	Unknown	16	asses and denarii	169-15 BC	VISMARA 1992b; CRISÀ 2018: 18-31
2018	Costa Sant'Andrea, area di proprietà provinciale	144	antoniniani	3 rd century AD	

Tab. 1. Scheme showing coin hoards found at Calvatone-Bedriacum beginning in the 19th century.

The first article section offers an essential outline to contextualise the hoard in the historical and archaeological framework of Calvatone-Bedriacum. Then, we describe how the hoard was discovered in May 2018, offering an analysis of the archaeological context. The coins are further assessed in the following two sections, in which we provide an overview on the hoard's composition. We also offer some conclusive remarks on the discovery and its importance within the archaeological context of *Bedriacum* and the Lombardy region. Finally, all coins have been listed and chronologically arranged in a relevant catalogue, which includes specimens of the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus (AD 253-260) and Gallienus (sole reign) (AD 260-268) divided by mints.

2. History and archaeology of Calvatone-Bedriacum (LP)

The progressive expansion of Rome in northern Italy between the second half of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd centuries BC led to the founding of *Cremona*, the first Latin colony north of the Po River (218 BC), the centuriation of the *ager Cremonensis* and the construction of the *Via Postumia* (148 BC)⁴. As part of the new territorial system, the *vicus* of *Bedriacum* (fig. 1) was founded in the second half of the 2nd century BC to be a service centre for the mid-Po Valley area.

Located at the meeting point between the *Via Postumia* and the lower Oglio River, a left-side tributary of the Po, the «πολίχνη»⁵ was a lively trading centre because of its position and according to the historical sources became known as the «infaustus vicus»⁶, near which two battles were fought during the Year of the Four Emperors (AD 69) for the conquest of power after Nero's death.

The identification of *Bedriacum* in the area of Costa Sant'Andrea, 2 kilometres from the modern town of Calvatone (Cremona) (fig. 2), dates back to the first half of the 19th century when local scholars suggested the presence of the Roman village due to a large number of archaeological finds discovered in the agricultural fields of this area. Moreover, in 1836 three fragments belonging to the bronze statue of a Victory dedicated to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (AD 161-169) came to light⁷. By the second half of the 20th century, the historical and archaeological significance of the area was recognised by the archaeologist Mario Mirabella Roberti, who carried out three extensive excavations (1957, 1959, 1961) into a limited area of Costa Sant'Andrea, later purchased by the Province of Cremona and called "area di proprietà provinciale" (1964)⁸.

² PONTIROLI 1993: 41: "Un piccolo tesoro entro una cassa ferrata".

³ PONTIROLI 1993: 42-43: "In una pentola di creta num. 155 monete d'argento".

⁴ On the Romanisation of northern Italy see: SENA CHIESA, ARSLAN 1998.

⁵ PLUTARCH, *Otho* 8.1.

⁶ TACITUS, *Hist.* II.23.5.

⁷ In 1841 the statue, known as the "Calvatone Victory", was sold to the Antikenmuseum of Berlin and completely restored. Having disappeared from Berlin at the end of the Second World War, in 2016 it was identified in the storerooms of the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. See VILENSKAYA, APONASENKO 2016: 106-113.

⁸ MIRABELLA ROBERTI 1972: 103-122.

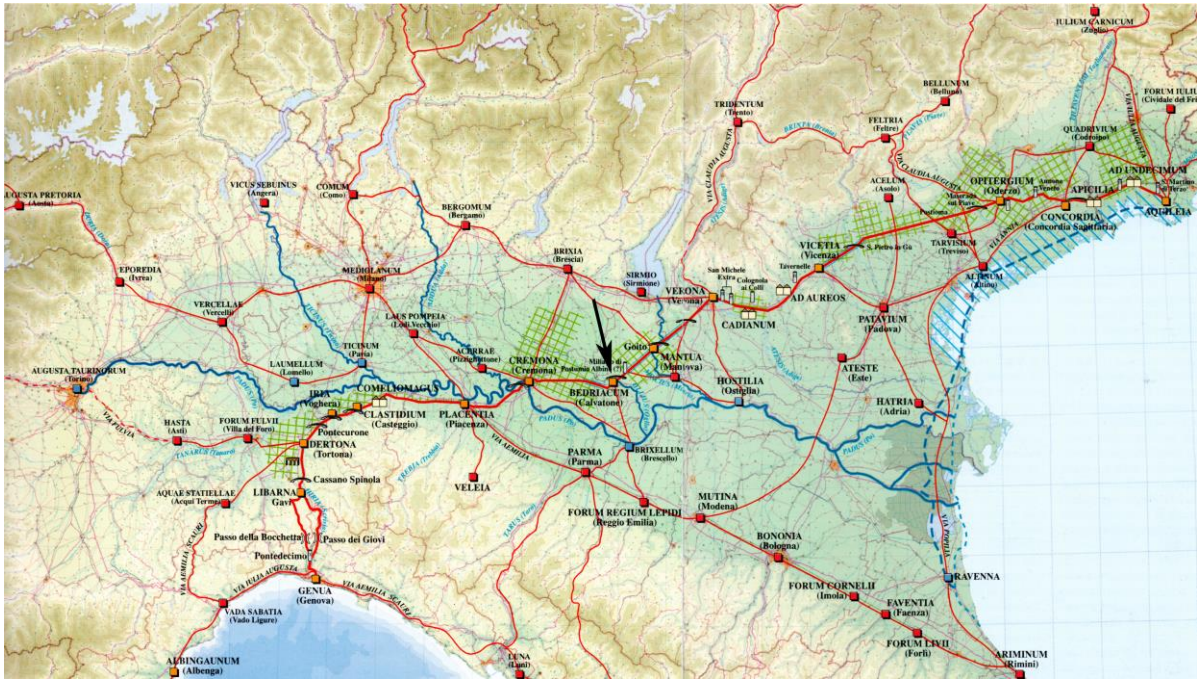


Fig. 1. Map of northern Italy, showing Via Postumia and Calvatone-Bedriacum (black arrow) (photo: Postumia 1998)



Fig. 2. Satellite view of Calvatone (photo: UniMI Archive).

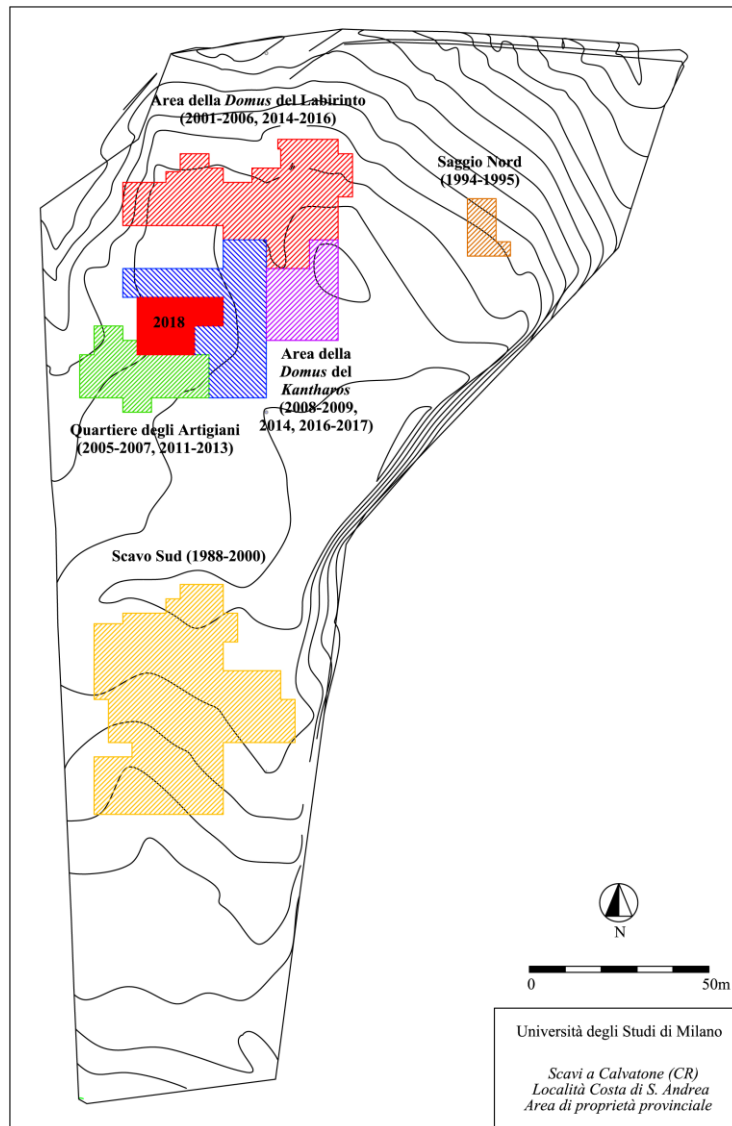


Fig. 3. Map of "Costa Sant'Andrea, Area di proprietà provinciale" archaeological site at Calvatone (photo: UniMI Archive).

Since 1986 this area has been part of a research project supported by the University of Milan and aimed at exploring the Roman *vicus* of *Bedriacum*. Started in 1988, the excavations first expanded the so-called "Mirabella's excavations" (Scavo Sud, 1988-2000; Saggio Nord, 1994-1995; House of the Labyrinth, 2001-2006) and then explored new areas (Artisans' Quarter, 2005-2007 and 2011-2013; House of the *Kantharos*, 2008-2009). In the last few years, the University of Milan investigated further the northern sector of the "area di proprietà provinciale" (House of the Labyrinth, 2014-2016; House of the *Kantharos*, 2014 and 2016-2018), in order to understand the northern residential area development (fig. 3).

The extent and accuracy of the investigations carried out over the years allow us to outline a rather articulated picture of the history of the Roman *vicus*⁹. The fragmentary structures, mainly floors and foundations damaged by systematic spoliations and agricultural works, show a small town, oriented in the NE/SW direction along the *Via Postumia*'s axis, characterised by regular urban planning, with rich residential quarters, production areas and public spaces¹⁰.

⁹ For the list of publications on the excavations see: <https://progettocalvatone.unimi.it/>.

¹⁰ For a summary of the archaeological research see GRASSI 2016: 183-188.

The *vicus* was occupied from the end of the 2nd century BC to the 5th century AD and flowered in the 1st century AD, when residential quarters with luxurious houses showing refined decorations, concrete floors with marble inserts, mosaics and remarkable frescoes (e.g. the House of the Labyrinth)¹¹, and productive quarters (e.g. the Artisans' Quarter) were built up one next to the other.

During the mid-Imperial age (AD 150-250) more modest structures are attested, including rooms with both residential and productive-commercial functions. Nearby, large amounts of coarsewares were found, mainly belonging to the so-called "Calvatone olla", a medium vessel with a flattened spherical body and an everted rim, which can be considered the chronological marker for the period. Inside and all around these rooms the "Calvatone olla" was found in association with fragments of mills and that might suggest a link between the vessel and the processing of cereals, maybe with a storage function¹².

The hypothesis that in the northern residential quarter in this period there were only modest buildings has been surprisingly contradicted by the discovery of a fragmentary floor decorated by a polychrome mosaic belonging to a large room dated between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries AD. Its dimensions and the remarkable decoration of this room clash with poorer contemporary structures previously discovered in this area of *Bedriacum*. However, the evidence suggests that complex and articulated urban planning was still there in the 3rd century, which is usually considered a period of crisis in the Cisalpine area by scholars.

Bedriacum was still inhabited between the 4th and 5th centuries AD, as coin circulation proves. Moreover, economic activities survived too, including a wide range of finds from the East and Africa¹³.

3. The hoard discovery and its archaeological context (LP)

The 2018 archaeological campaign, held between 21 May and 1 June, explored a 320-square-m area (fig. 4), adjacent to the House of the *Kantharos* to the north-east of the Artisans' Quarter to the south. The research recorded new data and the fragmentary structures identified, although in bad condition, allow us to formulate an innovative historical interpretation not only of the residential area but also of the *vicus* of *Bedriacum* itself.

In the northern part of the excavation area, an extensive destruction layer of the 3rd century AD marks the end of this sector of the town. This layer covers an outdoor flooring composed of one layer of *sesquipedales* (fig. 5), consisting of four portions oriented NW/SE ranging in size and extending over a total area of 6x4.5 m. The brick flooring is surrounded by five rooms oriented, NW/SE, identified by portions of concrete floors. An *antoninianus*, issued by Julia Mamaea in AD 231, was found in the destruction layer of one of these rooms. In the southern part, besides two fragments of a gravel flooring, another rectangular room (4.84x3.76 m) has been identified on the same orientation whose investigation offered extraordinary data for the understanding of the development of the *vicus* of *Bedriacum*.

In the filling of a pit excavated in the collapse layer of the brick roof belonging to this room (fig. 6), 144 *antoniniani* dating back to the age of Gallienus (AD 253-268) were discovered.

After the removal of the first group of 44 coins covered by the brown silty soil at the western wall of the pit (fig. 7), the main nucleus of the hoard was identified, consisting of 100 coins mixed with soil and stored in a small common-ware olla¹⁴ (fig. 8). The olla is broken into five contiguous sherds and only the flat bottom (diameter 4.8 cm) is still fully preserved. The fractures of the walls (height 3-5 cm) are not recent, but it is not possible to establish whether it was broken in ancient or modern times. The fabric of the small olla is characterized by an orange colour, high porosity and inclusions with the presence of mica, while the external surface is altered due to the long period in the soil. Due to its state of preservation, it is not possible to identify the typology of the container.

¹¹ GRASSI 2013: 13-37.

¹² ORSENIGO 2013: 444-461.

¹³ See ARSLAN 1998: 369-381; CRISÀ 2013: 476-496.

¹⁴ Inv. n. 19.S302-2.8.

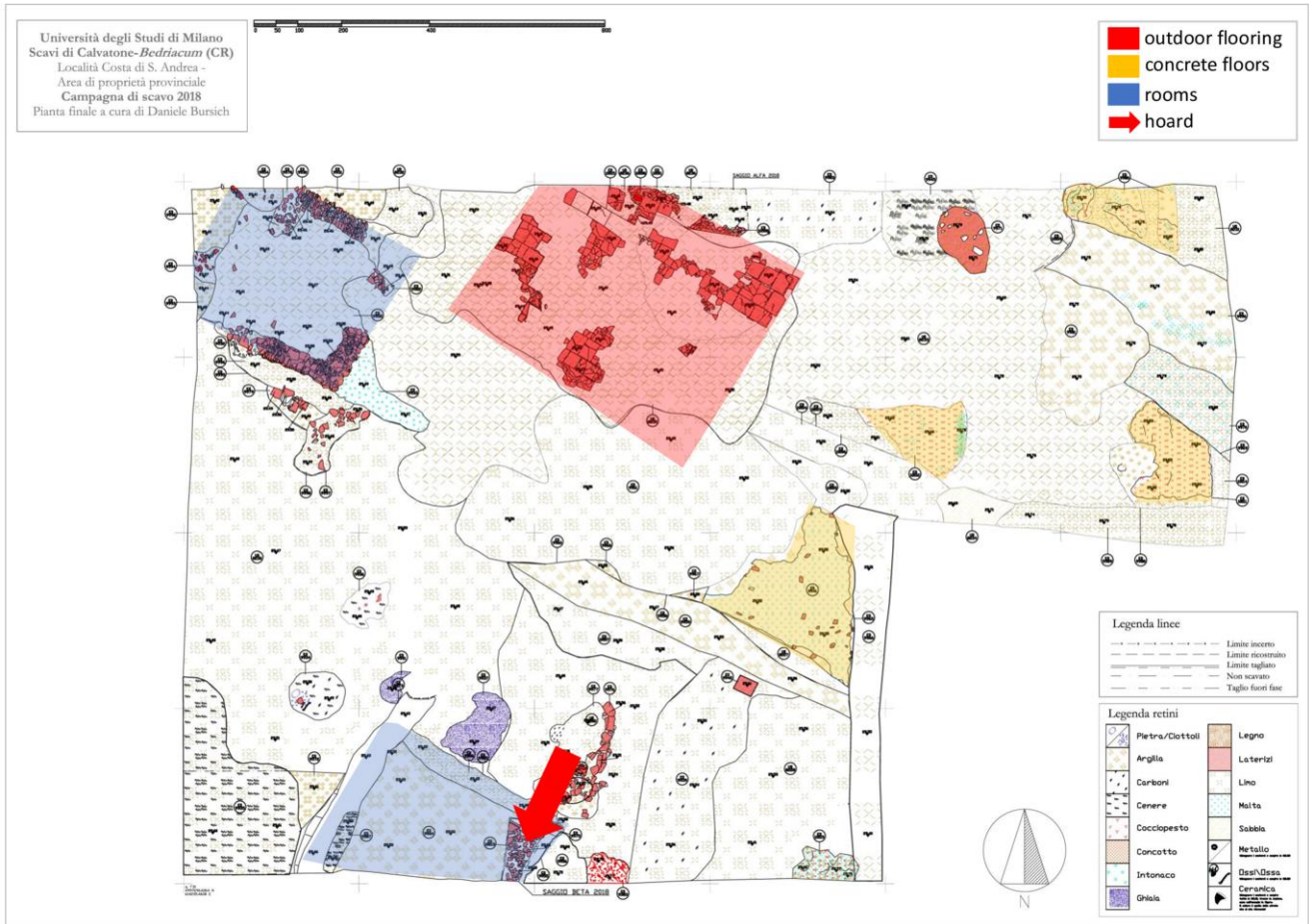


Fig. 4. Calvatone, excavation area (2018): view of some housing units (photo: UniMI Archive).



Fig. 5. Calvatone, excavation area (2018): the collapsed roof of a small room (photo: UniMI Archive).



Fig. 6. Calvatone, excavation area (2018): the first set of coins (photo: UniMI Archive).



Fig. 7. Calvatone, excavation area (2018): view of the pottery container (photo: UniMI Archive).



Fig. 8. Calvatone: the empty, cleaned common ware olla (photo: UniMI Archive).

The stratigraphic position of the Calvatone hoard, found in the roof collapse and above the robber trench of the northern perimeter wall of the room, clearly demonstrates that at the time of its concealment in mid-3rd century AD this sector of *Bedriacum* had already fallen into ruin and undergone substantial spoliation.

Based on these preliminary data, it seems to be possible to suggest for this part of the *vicus* a continuity of the residential function between the 1st and the 3rd centuries AD. The almost total absence in the extensive destruction layer of sherds belonging to the “Calvatone olla” (see above), known not only as a precise chronological indicator but for the functional destination of the areas in which it is found, allows us to suggest a functional continuity even in the later period, without a conversion of spaces for production/storage purposes, as attested for the surrounding areas, in particular in the area of the House of the Labyrinth.

Therefore, the hoard and its well-preserved archaeological context could have an extraordinary importance not only for dating the abandonment of this part of the town, that had a probably residential function, but also and crucially for defining the chronological horizon for the first serious crisis of *Bedriacum*. According to the previous archaeological research, scholars had dated the crisis of the *vicus* to the 4th-5th centuries AD (see above), but the context in which the Calvatone Hoard 2018 was found might propose the first decline as early as during the mid-3rd century AD, in conjunction with the general crisis of the Empire. At this time, a sector of the town was completely abandoned and never inhabited again, as attested by the destruction layers identified during the excavation, and the settlement underwent to a consequent reduction.

4. Assessing the hoard: the numismatic data (AC)

The hoard found at Calvatone represents an essential case study for understanding hoarding trends not only in the small *vicus* of the Cremona province but also in northern Italy. In this section we analyse the hoard, mostly assessing quantitative data and relevant percentages, which we compare with other contemporary hoards found in northern Italy and elsewhere. The assessment of all the coins in the hoard is also focused on series and mints, including their average weight and state of preservation. Moreover, we do not neglect data from coin circulation of the *vicus* and major neighbouring centres.

On the whole, the Calvatone Hoard 2018 includes 144 *antoniniani* (tab. 2), dated between AD 253 and 268. Only a very small percentage of coins was issued during the joint Reign of Valerian I and Gallienus (253-260 AD) (8, 5.55 %), while the majority can be associated with the sole Reign of Gallienus (136, 94.44 %). The most represented issuer is Gallienus (115, 79.86 %), followed by Salonina, Valerian and Mariniana as a *diva*, who is attested by only one specimen. All of the coins, properly cleaned and restored, are perfectly legible and most are quite well-preserved, like, for instance, some *antoniniani* of Gallienus showing the legends CORN SALONINA AVG/VESTA (cat. n. 8), GALLIENVS AVG/FORTVNA REDVX (18) and GALLIENVS AVG/PROV (120). However, the hoard also comprises coins which are quite worn, like the Mariniana’s specimen (7) and some coins of Gallienus (16, 94, 125).

Date (AD)	Period	Valerian I	Mariniana	Gallienus	Salonina
253-260	Joint Reign of Valerian I and Gallienus	3 2.08 %	1 0.69 %	2 1.38 %	2 1.38 %
260-268	Sole Reign of Gallienus			113 78.47 %	23 15.97 %
TOTAL		3 2.08 %	1 0.69 %	115 79.86 %	25 17.36 %

Tab. 2. Scheme showing coin distribution of the Calvatone Hoard 2018.

These data are worth comparing with selected contemporary hoards found in Lombardy and Piedmont (tab. 3), which are similar to that of Calvatone in terms of composition. It is evident that the hoards of Montecalvo, Ottobiano and Torino include very substantial numbers of coins of Gallienus (ca. 80 %, as with the Calvatone Hoard), while coins of Salonina are mostly attested by standard percentages (5.16-13.45 %), with the ex-

ception of the Treviglio Hoard, in which specimens are very few (0.3 %). It seems that coins of Valerian I are quite rare as well (0.09-8.76 %); nevertheless, 85 are documented in the sizable Grumello Hoard.

Coins of Mariniana are extremely uncommon (1-2 pieces for each complex), including the unique specimen among the 3406 coins of the Grumello hoard. This is not surprising. During the third century AD the so-called '*consecratio* coins' celebrated imperial wives.¹⁵ Mariniana was remembered as a *diva*, for instance flying on a peacock. The production and final distribution of these 'occasional' coins among money in circulation was therefore very limited. If we consider our selected, substantial hoards from Slovenia, Spain and the UK, composition shows comparable percentages. For instance, the Ig and Serrania hoards contain a high quantity of Gallienus' coins (between 50 and 68 %). The set of even 104 rare coins of Mariniana of the Serrania Hoard does not surprise, since they form only 0.34 % of the whole hoard.

Place	Date	Coins	Valerian I		Mariniana		Gallienus		Salonina	
Ceretto Lom. (PV) ¹⁶	1927	299	18	6.02%	2	0.66%	16	5.35%	21	7.02%
Corneliano (MI) ¹⁷	2008	1009	1	0.09%			462	45.78%	61	6.04%
Grumello (CR) ¹⁸	1927	3406	85	2.49%	1	0.02%	1155	33.91%	176	5.16%
Montecalvo (PV) ¹⁹	1923	350					202	62.85%	26	7.42%
Ottobiano (PV) ²⁰	1985	442	3	0.67%			375	84.84%	52	11.76%
Torino (Stamp.) ²¹	1916	810	19	2.34%			673	83.08%	109	13.45%
Treviglio (BG) ²²	1936	600	3	0.5 %			24	4%	2	0.3%
Ig (Slovenia) ²³	1957	3511	24	0.68%	4	0.11%	1790	50.98%	176	5.01%
Normanby (UK) ²⁴	1985	47912	33	0.06%	2	0.004%	5976	12.47%	431	0.89%
Serrania (Spain) ²⁵	1930s	29850	2615	8.76%	103	0.34%	20518	68.73%	3886	13.01%

Tab. 3. Scheme showing compositions of selected mid- and late-3rd-century hoards.

A quick overview of coin circulation in some selected neighbouring sites (tab. 4) is essential to trace contemporary coins of Valerian I, Gallienus and Salonina. It is evident that coins of Valerian I and Salonina are uncommon, while those of Gallienus are widespread in Verona (59), Brescia (21) and Milano (12).

Excluding the pottery container, our coin hoard weighs 437.78 g. The average weight of the *antoniniani* is 3.04 g; it is clear that it does not markedly diverge from the average weights of each authority, which are attested between 2.78 g (Mariniana) and 3.32 g (Valerian I). These are certainly in line with contemporary debasement and weight reduction of *antoniniani*, which became more and more severe in the last decades of the 3rd century AD²⁶.

¹⁵ SVIATOSLAV 2004: 212-213.

¹⁶ Ceretto Lomellina (Pavia, Lombardy): MARTINI 1995.

¹⁷ Corneliano Bertario (Trucazzano, Milan, Lombardy): ARSLAN 2011, *Osservazioni sul catalogo*: 1-4.

¹⁸ Grumello e riuniti (Cremona, Lombardy): ALFÖLDI 1985a: 167-175; ALFÖLDI 1985b; ARSLAN 2011, *Osservazioni sul catalogo*: 9-10.

¹⁹ Montecalvo (Pavia, Lombardy): CORNAGGIA 1923: 90-95; GARIBOLDI 2001.

²⁰ Ottobiano (Pavia, Lombardy): CHIARAVALLE 1989.

²¹ Torino, Via S. Maria e Stampatori (Piedmont): CORNAGGIA 1918: 234-271.

²² Treviglio (Bergamo, Lombardy): MARTINI 2001 (based on the first set of 600 coins).

²³ Ig (Slovenia): KOS 1991: 38-44.

²⁴ Normanby (United Kingdom): BLAND, BESLY, BURNETT 2018: 165-177.

²⁵ Serrania (Spain): GALLWEY 1962: 335-406.

²⁶ BLAND 2016: 517: the average weight of the *antoninianus* was 2.9 g with 0.07 g of silver (last coins of Gallienus, issued in AD 268).

Site	Issuer/coins				Reference
	Valerian I	Mariniana	Gallienus	Salonina	
Bergamo			3		ARSLAN 2007: nos. 28-30.
Brescia	1		21		ARSLAN 1999: nos. 33-47; ARSLAN 2002: nos. 18, 20-25.
Como			2		ARSLAN 2006: nos. 34-35.
Desenzano			1	1	ARSLAN 1994: nos. 4-5.
Milano			12		ARSLAN 1991: nos. 58-67, 280-281.
Verona			59		ARZONE 2008: nos. 24-82.

Tab. 4. Scheme showing distribution of Valerian I's, Gallienus' and Salonina's coins in selected sites²⁷.

The quality of our coins fluctuates, depending on the quantity of silver used in the billon alloy. We have coins which reveal a good percentage of silver, like some specimens issued by Valerian I (nos. 2, 5) (fig. 9), Gallienus (6, 54) and Salonina (8). A good number of other *antoniniani* seem to have been struck from an alloy with a substantial quantity of bronze, since they clearly show large amount of copper and a very low percentage of silver inside. This is clear in some specimens of Gallienus (82, 113) (fig. 10) and Salonina (121, 137); whose coins have an undeniable red-orange colour.



Fig. 9. Antoninianus of Valerian I (obverse) (cat. n. 2)
(photo: UniMI Archive).



Fig. 10. Antoninianus of Gallienus (obverse) (cat. n. 16)
(photo: UniMI Archive).

Thanks to the high legibility of our hoard specimens, we have been able to identify all coin mints. A summary shows the order of coins by Joint/Sole Reign of Gallienus and mints (tab. 5), and a relevant graph presents the overall distribution of coins by mint (fig. 11). On the whole, coins were mostly struck in the mint of *Mediolanum* (88) and Rome (51). The presence of four coins from *Siscia* is not surprising, since it can be associated with movements of troops from the east. The mint of *Viminacium* is represented by a unique specimen. Therefore, it is clear the Calvatone Hoard shows a marked prevalence of coins struck in the Italian peninsula (138, 95.83 %) and very little record of coins from 'abroad' (5, 3.47 %).

²⁷ The table reports only a selection of main sites and relevant excavations in the area.

Period	Mediolanum	Roma	Siscia	Viminacium
Joint Reign (253-260)		7 4.86 %		1 0.69 %
Sole Reign (260-268)	88 61.11 %	44 30.55 %	4 2.77 %	
TOTAL	88 61.11 %	51 35.41 %	4 2.77 %	1 0.69 %

Tab. 5. Scheme showing distribution of coins by mints.

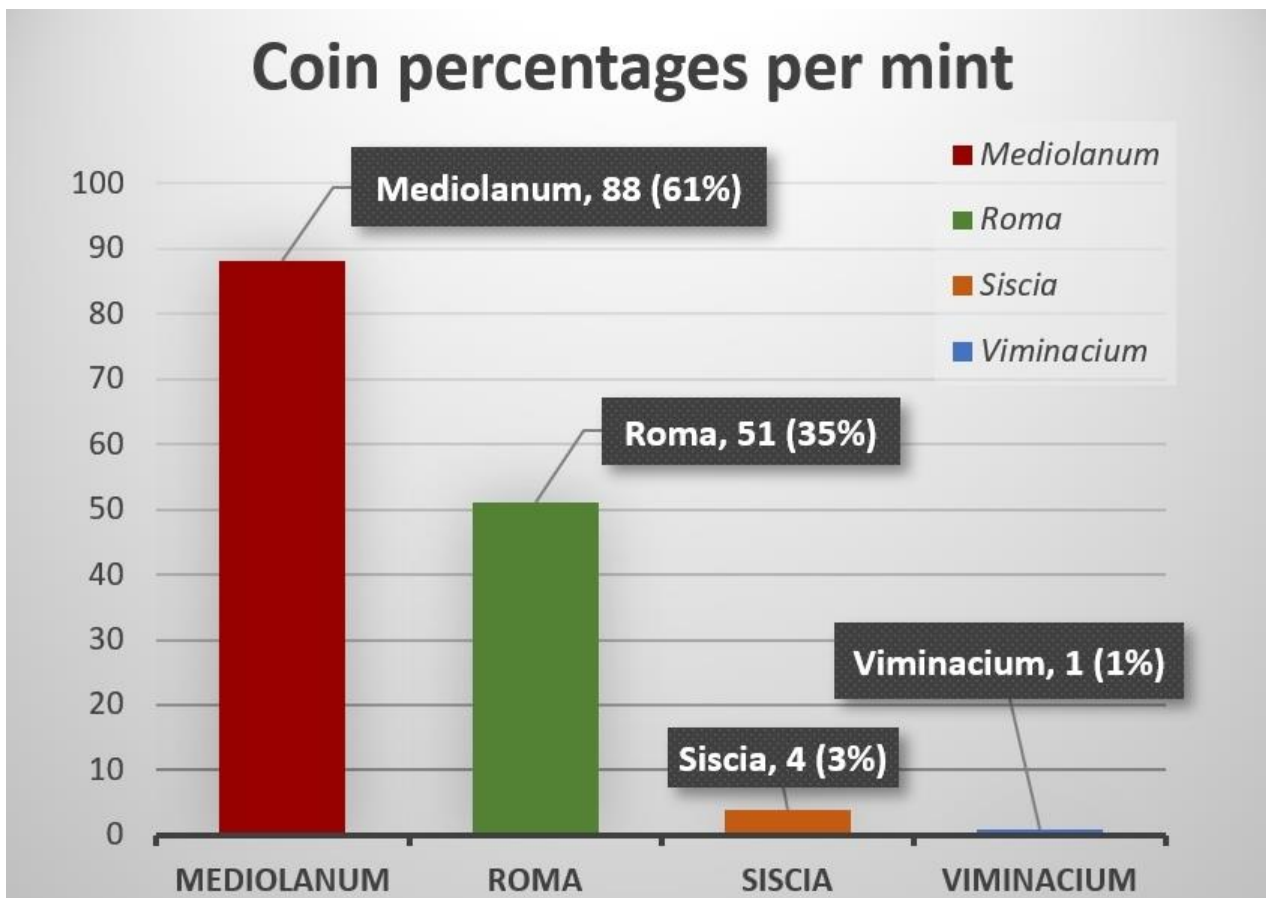


Fig. 11. Graph showing Calvatone Hoard 2018 coin percentages by mint (photo: A. Crisà).

We have only seven coins struck in the mint of Rome during the joint Reign of Gallienus (7, 13.72 %) (tab. 6). In fact, the majority of coins are associated with the sole Reign (44, 86.27 %). On the whole, a good proportion is essentially associated with the V series (26, 50.98 %), which is chronologically close to the end of the sole Reign of Gallienus. We also notice that the early I-IV series dated between AD 260 and AD 264 are together less represented (12, 23.52 %) in the Calvatone Hoard. This is a pivotal datum and might possibly prove an effective lack of those coins in local circulation at the moment of concealment.

Period	Series & Date	Roma	Percentage (%)
Joint Reign (253-260)	I (253-254)	4	7.84
	II (254-255)	1	1.96
	IV (257)	1	1.96
	no series	1	1.96
Sole Reign (260-268)	I (260)	1	1.96
	II (261)	4	7.84
	III (263)	4	7.84
	IV (263-264)	6	11.76
	V (264-265)	26	50.98
	VI (266-267)	3	5.88
TOTAL		51	

Tab. 6. Distribution of Calvatone Hoard coins of Roma by series.

The presence of coins struck in Rome during the joint and sole reigns of Gallienus attested in other case-study coin hoards (tab. 7) proves to be clearly predominant, fluctuating between 80 and 90 %. In particular, the Cunetio and Normanby hoards, discovered in the UK, contain Rome's coins in large proportions (80-89 %), as does the hoard found at the Prefecture of Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine) in 1881 (88 %) ²⁸. Furthermore, contemporary mid-3rd century AD coin hoards, discovered in Lombardy, often contain more coins struck in Rome than in Milan ²⁹. The prevalence of coins struck in *Mediolanum* attested in the Calvatone Hoard, which might appear as an anomaly, can be interpreted as follows. As known, *Mediolanum* and *Bedriacum* were quite nearby (ca. 120 km); this certainly eased coin distribution between the main city and the area of Cremona, where the small *vicus* was. Moreover, our data on mint distribution are essentially in line with the historical context with which the Calvatone Hoard should be associated.

Hoard	Coins of Gallienus ³⁰	Mint	
		Roma	Mediolanum
Cunetio	24,988	20,122 80.52 %	2,604 10.40 %
Normanby	6,346	5,669 89.30 %	396 6.2 %
Ille-et-Vilaine	3,201	2,820 88.09 %	228 6.87 %

Tab. 7. Distribution of coins of Roma and Mediolanum in the Cunetio, Normanby and Ille-et-Vilaine hoards.

5. The mint of Mediolanum and the Calvatone Hoard in context (AC)

The mint of *Mediolanum*, which opened in AD 251, played a significant role during the reign of Gallienus and markedly affected contemporary historical events, until he died in AD 268. It can be inferred that at the beginning the mint was provided with some die cutters coming from Rome and Gaul. Subsequently, a series of letters represented three different mintmarks and relevant workshops operating in Milan, as follows:

²⁸ DROST 2007: 171-206; BLAND, BESLY, BURNETT 2018.

²⁹ GIARD 1995: 10, 15-16: the Venera Hoard, found in Casaleone (Cremona) in 1876, includes 339 specimens minted in *Mediolanum*, although coins struck in Rome are certainly the majority in the hoard; ARSLAN 2009: 54: in this regard, the author reports that we have more coins minted in Rome than in *Mediolanum* documented in hoards discovered in the Lombardy region; ARSLAN 2011, *Osservazioni sul catalogo*: 4.

³⁰ The total amount includes coins of the Joint and Sole Reigns of Gallienus.

M(*ediolanum*) [*Officina*] P(*rima*), S(*ecunda*) and T(*ertia*). Gallienus issued a variety of coins showing a combination of standard obverse with more 'studied' reverse types, which carried out an effective political propaganda (tab. 8). First, as a newly-born mint, *Mediolanum* certainly represented the perfect place and means to realise this program. Furthermore, the emperor created a series of legionary coin issues (especially *antoniniani*), which showed military legends (e.g. LEG I ITAL, LEG II PART, LEG III ITAL) and types (e.g. lion, Minerva, centaur). Second, the mint was placed in a strategic area of the empire, in which the Roman legions were often occupied to face the Barbarian advance. The early role of the *Mediolanum*'s mint was therefore essential to produce substantial coins and pay legionary soldiers operating in northern Italy³¹.

Hoard	Concealment	MP	MS	MT	Total
Calvatone 2018	End of Gallienus' reign	24 41.37 %	23 39.65 %	11 18.96 %	58
Cunetio ³²	Mid-270s	333 40.51 %	302 36.73 %	187 22.74 %	822
Gibraltar ³³	End of Gallienus' reign	65 51.18 %	61 40.03 %	1 0.78 %	127
Turin ³⁴	End of Gallienus' reign	82 35 %	125 54.58 %	22 9.60 %	229

Tab. 8. Scheme comparing mintmarks of *Mediolanum* (*prima*, *secunda* and *tertia*) attested in select coin hoards³⁵.

The sequence of the *officinae* of *Mediolanum* can also be identified in the Calvatone Hoard within a set of 58 coins. The most attested are the first (*prima*) and the second (*secunda*) ones. The mintmarks are distributed within the series as follows: MP: VII series: 11 coins; VII series: 13; MS: VII series: 18; VIII series: 5; MT: VII series: 11; VIII series: 0. The percentages are approximately in line with the coin distribution documented in the Cunetio Hoard (MP: 41.37/40.51 %; MS: 39.65/36.73 %; MT: 18.96/22.74 %).

As clearly shown by the scheme (tab. 9), the coins struck in *Mediolanum* associated with the last two VII and VIII series (AD 266-267) represent a substantial part of the whole numismatic record (59, 40.97 %). On a chronological scale, this certainly clashes with Rome's coins of the VI series "of the bestiary" (AD 267-268), which are scarcely represented in the hoard (nos. 50-52) (3, 2.08 %). This evidence is remarkable since it helps us understand the formation of the hoard. In fact, it can be argued that this set of specimens might roughly represent the majority of coins on circulation once the hoard was concealed in the *vicus*.

Period	Series & Date	<i>Mediolanum</i>	Percentage (%)
Sole Reign (260-268)	I (260)	1	1.13
	II (261)	4	4.54
	III (263)		
	IV (263-264)	4	4.54
	V (264-265)	14	15.90
	VI (266)	6	6.81
	VII (266-267)	29	32.95
	VIII (267)	30	34.09
TOTAL		88	

Tab. 9. Distribution of Calvatone Hoard coins of *Mediolanum* by series.

³¹ BASTIEN 1984: 133-145; KING 1984: 103-131; KING 1991: 419-448; GIARD 1995: 5-6; RODA 1997: 244-245; GÖBL 2000: 110-118; ARSLAN 2009: 48, 54; CHRISTOL 2009: 111-121; BLAND 2016: 529. On the communication of values and propaganda during the reign of Gallienus see: WEIGEL 1990: 135-143; NOREÑA 2001: 146-168.

³² BLAND, BESLY, BURNETT 2018.

³³ GALLWEY 1962: 335-406.

³⁴ CORNAGGIA 1918: 234-271.

³⁵ For a similar table (without percentages) see also: CHRISTOL 2009: 114.

The mint of *Mediolanum* was at the peak of coin production in AD 268, a crucial year of 3rd-century history. In particular, between AD 248 and 268 the Roman empire underwent a dramatic period of decline, political instability, massive military campaigns, usurpations and Barbarian invasions. Among these, we can mention the dangerous raids of Franks and Alamanni in AD 257-258. Gallienus defeated the Barbarians near Milan in AD 260. A few years later, Aureolus, a cavalry commander who became usurper in AD 267, operated in *Mediolanum*, while Gallienus was fighting against the Goths in the eastern *limes*. Once he came back to Italy in AD 268, Gallienus firstly defeated Aureolus near the river Adda in Lombardy and then sieged Milan, where the usurper retreated. The emperor was killed by surprise there; subsequently, Aureolus was slaughtered by Claudius II³⁶.

6. Conclusion and final remarks (AC)

The Calvatone Hoard 2018 represents a significant find for three essential reasons. First, it was discovered within an archaeological excavation. Therefore, archaeologists properly documented all data, which also shed new light on *Bedriacum*'s late Roman phases. Second, the archaeological context itself is certainly remarkable, since the hoard comes from a Roman *vicus* and not from an uninhabited, countryside area. Third, it offers us new information on hoarding trends in northern Italy, which however is fairly in line with previously acquired data, with the only difference of an attested prevalence of coins minted in Milan instead of Rome. This section aims to provide some final remarks on the hoard in terms of its archaeological and numismatic relevance.

One of the first aspects to be discussed is the full integrity of the Calvatone Hoard 2018. Did any dispersion of coins occur in the past? It can be inferred that some coins may have been scattered before the discovery. This probably happened in post-medieval times, when the site of Costa Sant'Andrea near Calvatone was constantly cultivated; this caused a disturbance of the archaeological record, generated by soil removals or agricultural works (e.g. plough cultivation, tree plantations, drain excavations). Once the hoard was discovered and recovered by archaeologists, the original container showed some non-recent fractures. It is impossible to know how substantial the coin dispersion was, but we can hypothetically argue – considering the capacity of the pottery container – the loss of a maximum of 80-100 coins.

The Calvatone Hoard includes four presumed imitation coins (26, 66, 72, 138), which represent a very small quantity in the whole complex (4, 2.77 %). Forgeries are well-attested in other contemporary hoards. For instance, the hoard of Corneliano Bertario (Trucazzano) contains five forgeries amongst its 1015 coins (0.49 %). These fake coins are also common in 3rd-century hoards discovered in Britain, especially 'imitations' of current issues, which however show a lower stylistic level and sometimes incoherent physical characteristics. Even 1087 imitations of Tetricus I's coins (24.30 %) are attested in the substantial 3rd-century 4472-*antoniniani* hoard of the 'Treasure of Six Emperors', discovered in Camarina (Ragusa, Sicily). We can assume that the owner of the Calvatone Hoard selected his/her coins well; or maybe (and more plausibly) additional forgeries did not flow into the hoard only for a casual matter³⁷.

In mid-3rd century AD, inflation, economic crisis, political instability (due to a quick turnover of rulers) and especially military campaigns generated a sense of uncertainty and danger in northern Italy, which probably encouraged people to hoard substantial stocks of coins (mostly *antoniniani*). The historical context demonstrates that living in the Lombardy region could be precarious and risky in the AD 260s until the siege of *Mediolanum* and the death of Gallienus³⁸.

The concealment of our hoard can be evidently placed in this insecure and instable context of the Lombardy region. In particular, the *terminus post quem* is a coin struck in the mint of *Siscia* (n. 144), dated to AD

³⁶ *Hist. Aug., Gallieni duo*, 14.8-9; *Divus Claudius*, 5.1-3; MANNI 1949: 77-79; LORETO 1994: 209-237; GIARD 1995: 5; RODA 1997: 233-235; ARSLAN 2009: 49; ARSLAN 2011: 16; ARSLAN 2011, *Osservazioni sul catalogo*: 8-9; GUZZETTA 2014: 52-53; ESTIOT 2016: 539-540.

³⁷ CORBIER 1986: 511-512; BOON 1988: 116-124; ARSLAN 2011: 9-11; ARSLAN 2011, *Osservazioni sul catalogo*: 4; GUZZETTA 2014: 84-85; BLAND 2016: 525-526.

³⁸ RODA 1997: 235-236, 244-245: the same context could be ideally hypothesised for the Piedmont region, where archaeologists found a good set of coin hoards dating to mid-3rd century AD.

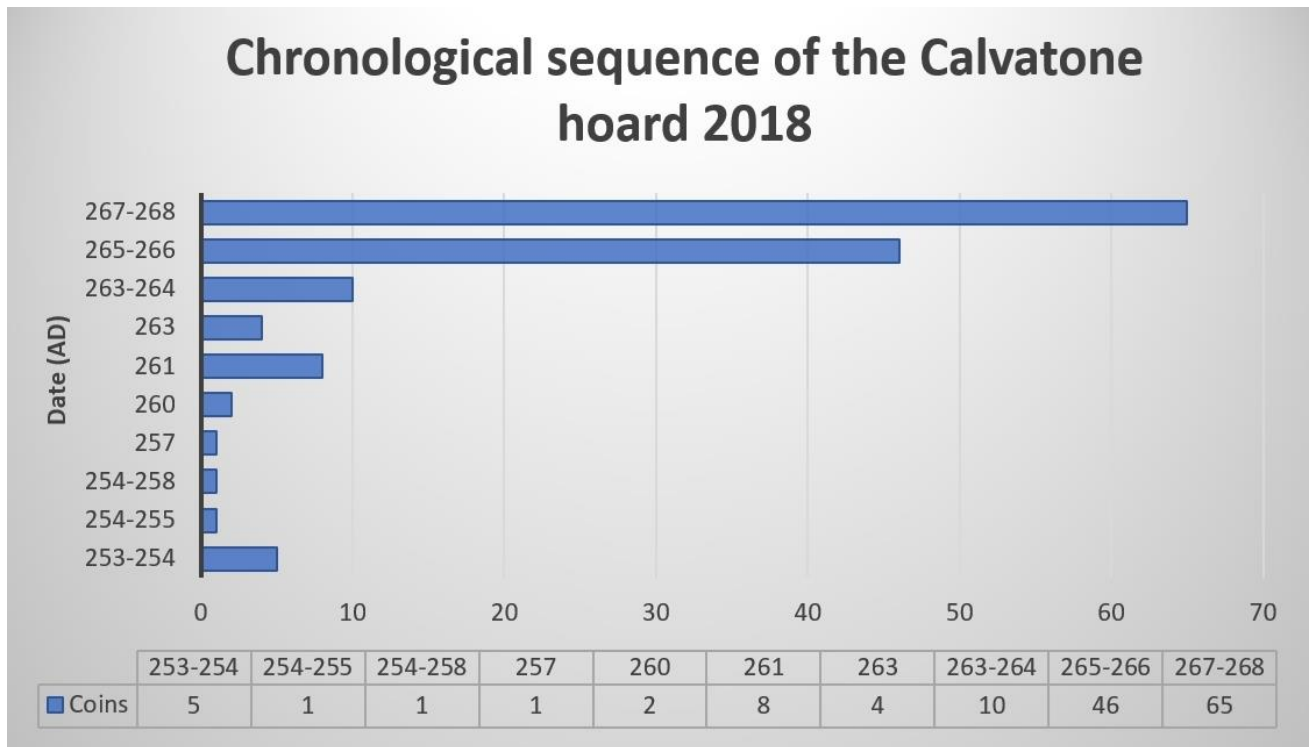


Fig. 12. Graph showing the chronological sequence of the Calvatone Hoard 2018 (photo: A. Crisà).

267-268. Furthermore, considering the chronological sequence of the hoard (fig. 12), we notice a substantial presence of coins dated to the very end of the reign of Gallienus. As stated previously, the predominance of coins of the VIII series struck in Milan (nos. 111-140) (AD 267) might represent the majority of specimens circulating in the area when the hoard was buried and hidden.

Following the analysis and study of our coin hoard, what can we hypothesise about the hoard formation? Who accumulated the 144 *antoniniani* in *Bedriacum*? It is clear that the hoard cannot be linked to the military sphere; this means that coins were not hoarded in order to pay soldiers and troops: the hoard is not very substantial and comes from an urban, 'private' context³⁹. Although legionary soldiers might have passed through *Bedriacum* in the late AD 260s, it can be inferred that the hoard was concealed by a person (a modest merchant or private landowner?), who was living in a different area of the *vicus* or came only for the purpose of hiding his/her small treasure there. He/she probably gathered coins from current money in circulation in northern Italy, which did not include residual coins of previous emperors before the joint reign of Valerian I and Gallienus.

Finally, this hypothesis can be theoretically linked with two vital aspects. First, the archaeological context suggests that the area of the *vicus* was abandoned at the time of concealment. The zone was therefore an ideal place to hide the hoard without being observed, and the hoard's owner might eventually have expected to come back to recover it thereafter. Second, the perception of a compelling danger – probably generated by the above-mentioned historical context – urged the hoard's owner to hide all these coins at *Bedriacum*. And finally, as with all hoards, the owner did not survive to retrieve it.

³⁹ ARSLAN 2011, *Osservazioni sul catalogo*: 10: the author also considers the Corneliano treasure as a 'civil' hoard ('in Corneliano invece un ripostiglio "civile", con ritiro della moneta dalla circolazione locale').

7. Coin catalogue (AC)⁴⁰

JOINT REIGN OF VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS (AD 253-260) [8]

Mint of Roma [7]

I SERIES (AD 253-254) [4]

Valerian [2]

IMP CP LIC VALERIANVS AVG; rad. bust r. | IOVI CONSERVA; helmeted *Jupiter* st. l., hold. a thunderbolt in his r. hand and a sceptre in his l. hand. | *RIC* V.1: 46, n. 92; *Cun.*: 97, n. 442; *GöBL* 2000: n. 25d.

1 | 19.S302-2.66 | Ø 21.45 mm | 1.59 mm | 3.14 g | 6h.



IMP CP LIC VALERIANVS PF AVG; rad. bust r. | FELICITAS AVGG; *Felicitas* st. l., hold. a *caduceus* in her r. hand and a *cornucopia* in her l. hand. | *RIC* V.1: 45, n. 87; *Cun.*: 97, n. 457; *GöBL* 2000: n. 20d.

2 | 19.S302-2.78 | Ø 21.27 mm | 1.67 mm | 3.04 g | 6h.



⁴⁰ The Cunetio Hoard, recently republished by Spink (2018), has been used as a model for our catalogue. We also reference to the *Roman Imperial Coinage* (vol. V) and Göbl's work (2000), and take inspiration from some schemes and tables reported in the French series *Trésors Monétaires*: see, for instance, the hoard found at the Prefecture of Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine (DROST 2007: 171-206). As already said, all coins are *antoniniani*. The catalogue reports the following entries for each coin: obverse and reverse descriptions, mintmark (if any), references, progressive number, inventory number (SABAP-MN, Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Cremona, Lodi, Mantova), diameter, thickness, weight and die axis. Coin pictures have been taken by F. Cailaud and reworked by A. Crisà.

Gallienus [1]

IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | CONCORDIA EXERCIT; *Concordia* st. l., hold. a *patera* in her r. hand and a *cornucopia* in her l. hand. | *RIC* V.1: 80, n. 132; *Cun.*: 100, n. 543; *GöBL* 2000: n. 15u.

3 | 19.S302-2.113 | Ø 22.62 mm | 1.54 mm | 3.21 g | 12h.



Salonina [1]

SALONINA AVG; draped and diademed bust on a crescent r. | PIETAS AVGG; Salonina seated l. on a throne and hold. a spear in her l. hand; two children at her feet facing l. | *RIC* V.1: 111, n. 35; *Cun.*: 103, n. 655; *GöBL* 2000: n. 229b.

4 | 19.S302-2.51 | Ø 20.02 mm | 1.52 mm | 2.65 g | 6h.



II SERIES (AD 254-255) [1]

Valerian [1]

IMP CP LIC VALERIANVS PF AVG; rad. bust r. | ORIENS AVGG; *Sol* st. l., raising his r. hand and hold. a whip in his l. hand. | *RIC* V.1: 47, n. 106; *Cun.*: 98, n. 481; *GöBL* 2000: n. 75c.

5 | 19.S302-2.128 | Ø 21.04 mm | 2.17 mm | 3.78 g | 6h.



IV SERIES (AD 257) [1]

Gallienus [1]

IMP GALLIENVS PF AVG GM; rad. head r. | PAX AVGG; Pax walking l., hold. a brunch in her r. hand and a transverse sceptre in her l. hand. | *RIC* V.1: 81, n. 157; *Cun.*: 102, n. 628; *GöBL* 2000: n. 160i.

6 | 19.S302-2.36 | Ø 22.70 mm | 1.60 mm | 3.53 g | 6h.



Diva Mariniana (no series) (AD 254) [1]

DIVAE MARINIANAE; veiled and draped bust on crescent r. | CONSECRATIO; Diva Mariniana, raising r. hand and hold. a transverse sceptre in her l. hand, reclining l. on a peacock, flying r. | *RIC* V.1: 64, n. 6; *Cun.*: 102, n. 642; *GöBL* 2000: n. 219b.

7 | 19.S302-2.88 | Ø 21.45 mm | 1.41 mm | 2.78 g | 6h.



Mint of Viminacium [1]

Salonina (no series) (AD 254-258) [1]

CORN SALONINA AVG; draped bust on a crescent r., wearing a *stephane*. | VESTA; Vesta st. l., hold. a *patera* in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand. | *RIC* V.1: 112, n. 39; *Cun.*: 107, n. 792; *GöBL* 2000: n. 859b.

8 | 19.S302-2.11 | Ø 21.77 mm | 1.18 mm | 1.89 g | 12h.



GALLIENUS (SOLE REIGN) (AD 260-268) [135]

Mint of Roma [44]

I SERIES (AD 260) [1]

IMP GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | IOVI VLTORI; *Jupiter* st. r., hold. a thunderbolt in his l. hand; S in the l. field. | *RIC* V.1: 150, n. 220; *GöBL* 2000: n. 348r.

9 | 19.S302-2.48 | Ø 20.89 mm | 1.48 mm | 2.21 g | 6h.



II SERIES (AD 261) [4]

GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | VIRTVS AVG; helmeted *Mars* st. l. hold. a globe in his r. hand and a spear in his l. hand. | *RIC* V.1: 158, n. 317; *Cun.*: 111, n. 934; *GöBL* 2000: n. 373.

10 | 19.S302-2.38 | Ø 19.37 mm | 1.72 mm | 3.06 g | 6h.

11 | 19.S302-2.14 | Ø 19.42 mm | 2.08 mm | 3.21 g | 6h.

12 | 19.S302-2.62 | Ø 21.84 mm | 1.55 mm | 3.33 g | 12h.

13 | 19.S302-2.73 | Ø 22.57 mm | 1.83 mm | 3.75 g | 12h | P | *Göbl* 2000: n. 344o.





III SERIES (AD 263) [4]

GALLIENVS AVG; rad. and cuirassed bust r. | PROVIDEN AVG; *Providentia* st. l., hold. a baton in her r. hand and a *cornucopia* in her l. hand. | *RIC* V.1: 154, n. 270 (variant); *Cun.*: 113, n. 1017; *GöBL* 2000: n. 465.

14 | 19.S302-2.107 | Ø 20.79 mm | 1.59 mm | 3.10 g | 12h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | PAX AVG; *Pax* st. l. hold. an olive branch in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand; T in the l. field. | *RIC* V.1: 153, n. 256; *Cun.*: 113, n. 1039; *GöBL* 2000: n. 352a.

15 | 19.S302-2.81 | Ø 20.68 mm | 1.64 mm | 2.34 g | 6h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | FELICIT AVG; *Felicitas* st. l., hold. a *caduceus* in her r. hand and a scepter in her l. hand; S in the r. field. | *RIC* V.1: 147, n. 191; *Cun.*: 113, n. 1046.

16 | 19.S302-2.59 | Ø 20.59 mm | 1.36 mm | 2.41 g | 6h.



GALLIENVS P AVG; rad. head r. | LAETITIA AVG; *Laetitia* st. l., hold. a wreath in her r. hand and an anchor in her l. hand; V in the l. field. | *RIC* V.1: 150, n. 226; *Cun.*: 113, n. 1071.

17 | 19.S302-2.97 | Ø 21.76 mm | 1.94 mm | 3.34 g | 12h.



IV SERIES (AD 263-264) [6]

GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | FORTVNA REDVX; *Fortuna* seated on a throne l., hold. a rudder in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand. | S. | *RIC* V.1: 147, n. 194a; *Cun.*: 127, n. 1121.

18 | 19.S302-2.108 | Ø 21.90 mm | 1.84 mm | 3.30 g | 12h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | SALVS AVG; *Salus* st. r. feeding a serpent in her arms. | *RIC* V.1: 155, n. 274/a; *Cun.*: 118, n. 1307.

19 | 19.S302-2.41 | Ø 20.88 mm | 1.78 mm | 2.84 g | 12h.

20 | 19.S302-2.150 | Ø 22.34 mm | 1.87 mm | 3.84 g | 7h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | LAETITIA AVG; *Laetitia* st. l., hold. a wreath in her r. hand and an anchor in her l. hand. | P. | *RIC* V.1: 150, n. 226; *Cun.*: 125, n. 1610.

21 | 19.S302-2.99 | Ø 22.02 mm | 1.50 mm | 2.30 g | 12h.

22 | 19.S302-2.124 | Ø 20.21 mm | 1.94 mm | 3.32 g | 12h | S. | *Cun.*: 125, n. 1612.



Salonina [1]

SALONINA AVG; draped and diademed bust on a crescent r. | PIETAS AVG, *Pietas* st. I. by an altar with hands raised. | *Cun.*: 125, 1637.

23 | 19.S302-2.98 | Ø 20.75 mm | 1.86 mm | 3.56 g | 12h.



V SERIES ("7TH CONSULATE") (AD 265-266) [26]

GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | MARTI - PACIFERO; *Mars* st. I. hold. an olive branch in his r. hand and a spear in his l. hand; a shield on his foot; A in the l. field. | *RIC* V.1: 151, n. 236; *Cun.*: 115, n. 1149.

24 | 19.S302-2.50 | Ø 21.11 mm | 1.74 mm | 2.82 g | 6h.

25 | 19.S302-2.94 | Ø 21.09 mm | 1.80 mm | 3.41 g | 7h.

26 | 19.S302-2.27 | Ø 22.97 mm | 1.54 mm | 3.58 g | 4h (imitation?).



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | ABVNDANTIA AVG; *Abundantia* st. r., emptying a *cornucopia* with both hands; B in the l. field. | *RIC* V.1: 144, n. 157; *Cun.*: 115, n. 1159.

27 | 19.S302-2.95 | Ø 17.57 mm | 1.76 mm | 2.55 g | 12h.

28 | 19.S302-2.31 | Ø 18.90 mm | 1.70 mm | 2.88 g | 5h.

29 | 19.S302-2.146 | Ø 21.35 mm | 1.76 mm | 3.07 g | 6h.

30 | 19.S302-2.12 | Ø 21.68 mm | 2.01 mm | 3.71 g | 6h.





GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | AETERNITAS AVG; *So!* st. l., hold. a globe in his l. hand and raising his r. hand; Γ in the l. field. | *RIC* V.1: 144, n. 160; *Cun.*: 115, n. 1169.
31 | 19.S302-2.34 | \varnothing 21.43 mm | 2.03 mm | 3.53 g | 11h.



IMP CAES GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | PAX AETERNA AVG; *Pax* st. l., hold. an olive branch in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand; Δ in the l. field. | *RIC* V.1: 153, n. 254; *Cun.*: 116, n. 1177.
32 | 19.S302-2.93 | \varnothing 20.39 mm | 1.88 mm | 3.28 g | 6h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | VBERITAS AVG; *Uberitas* st. l., hold. a purse in her r. hand and a *cornucopia* in her l. hand; ε in the r. field. | *RIC* V.1: 156, n. 287; *Cun.*: 116, n. 1200.
33 | 19.S302-2.75 | Ø 21.27 mm | 1.98 mm | 3.88 g | 6h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | FORTVNA REDVX; *Fortuna* st. l., hold. a rudder in her r. hand and a *cornucopia* in her l. hand; ϸ in the r. field. | *RIC* V.1: 147, n. 193; *Cun.*: 117, n. 1221.
34 | 19.S302-2.142 | Ø 20.44 mm | 1.04 mm | 1.69 g | 6h.
35 | 19.S302-2.131 | Ø 21.37 mm | 1.77 mm | 3.22 g | 12h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | IOVIS - STATOR; *Jupiter* st. watching r., hold. a spear in his r. hand; S in the l. field. | *RIC* V.1: 149, n. 216; *Cun.*: 117, n. 1225.

36 | 19.S302-2.52 | Ø 21.13 mm | 1.82 mm | 2.88 g | 7h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | ORI-E-NS AVG; *Sol* st. l., raising his r. hand and hold. a globe in his l. hand. | *RIC* V.1: 153, n. 249; *Cun.*: 117, n. 1236.

37 | 19.S302-2.30 | Ø 20.83 mm | 1.70 mm | 2.95 g | 6h | overturned Z in the l. field | *RIC* V.1: 152, n. 249; *Cun.*: 117, n. 1233.

38 | 19.S302-2.35 | Ø 19.98 mm | 1.84 mm | 3.04 g | 12h.

39 | 19.S302-2.127 | Ø 21.43 mm | 1.96 mm | 3.49 g | 6h.





GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | VICT-ORI-A AET; *Victoria* walking l., hold. a wreath in her r. hand and a palm branch in her l. hand; Z in the l. field. | *RIC* V.1: 157, n. 297; *Cun.*: 117, n. 1238.

40 | 19.S302-2.17 | Ø 19.40 mm | 1.80 mm | 2.94 g | 12h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | SECVRIT PERPET; *Securitas* st. l. with legs crossed, leaning on a column and hold. a sceptre in her r. hand; H in the r. field. | *RIC* V.1: 155, n. 280; *Cun.*: 117, n. 1246.

41 | 19.S302-2.83 | Ø 20.74 mm | 1.74 mm | 2.88 g | 12h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | SECVRIT PERPET; *Securitas* st. l. with legs crossed, leaning on a column and hold. a sceptre in her r. hand. | *RIC* V.1: 155, n. 280; *Cun.*: 117, n. 1258.

42 | 19.S302-2.74 | Ø 21.42 mm | 2.08 mm | 4.34 g | 6h.



GALLIENVS AVGV; rad. head r. | FIDES MILITVM; *Fides* st. l., hold. an ensign in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand; N in the r. field. | *RIC* V.1: 147, n. 192a; *Cun.*: 117, n. 1262.

43 | 19.S302-2.139 | Ø 20.13 mm | 1.59 mm | 2.63 g | 6h.



GALLIENVS AVGV; rad. head r. | INDVLGENTIA AVGV; *Indulgentia* walking l., raising a robe in her r. hand and hold. a flower in her l. hand; XI in the r. field. | *RIC* V.1: 148, n. 206; *Cun.*: 118, n. 1284.

44 | 19.S302-2.58 | Ø 19.63 mm | 1.67 mm | 2.63 g | 6h.



GALLIENVS AVGV; rad. head r. | IOVI PROPVGNAT; *Jupiter* walking l., hold. a thunderbolt in his r. hand; XI in the l. field. | *RIC* V.1: 149, n. 214; *Cun.*: 118, n. 1289.

45 | 19.S302-2.86 | Ø 21.58 mm | 1.84 mm | 3.37 g | 12h.



Salonina [4]

CORNEL SALONINA AVGV; draped and diademed bust on a crescent r. | FECVNDITAS AVGV; *Fecunditas* st. l., hold. a *cornucopia* in her l. hand; a child at foot; Δ in the r. field. | *RIC* V.1: 192, n. 5; *Cun.*: 118, n. 1314.

46 | 19.S302-2.80 | Ø 20.84 mm | 1.62 mm | 2.15 g | 11h.

47 | 19.S302-2.141 | Ø 23.32 mm | 1.48 mm | 2.46 g | 12h.

48 | 19.S302-2.32 | Ø 20.46 mm | 1.86 mm | 3.25 g | 5h.



SALONINA AVG; draped and diademed bust on a crescent r., wearing a *stephane*. | FECVNDITAS AVG; *Fecunditas* st. l., hold. a *cornucopia* in her l. hand; a child at foot; Δ in the r. field. | *RIC* V.1: 192, n. 5; *Cun.*: 119, n. 1318.

49 | 19.S302-2.29 | \varnothing 19.90 mm | 1.73 mm | 2.52 g | 12h.



VI SERIES "OF THE BESTIARY" (AD 267-268) [3]

GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | NEPTVNO CONS AVG; hippocamp r. | N. | *RIC* V.1: 152, n. 245; *Cun.*: 120, n. 1393.

50 | 19.S302-2.130 | Ø 21.28 mm | 1.91 mm | 3.60 g | 12h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | DIANAE CONS AVG; gazelle walking r. | XI. | *RIC* V.1: 146, n. 181; *Cun.*: 120, n. 1401.

51 | 19.S302-2.45 | Ø 21.53 mm | 1.47 mm | 2.78 g | 6h.

52 | 19.S302-2.92 | Ø 23.06 mm | 1.58 mm | 3.61 g | 7h | antelope walking l. | Γ | *RIC* V.1: 146, n. 181; *Cun.*: 119, n. 1344 (VI).



Mint of Mediolanum [88]

I SERIES "OF LEGIONARY ISSUES" (AD 260) [1]

GALLIENVS AVG; rad. bust r. | LEG IIII FL VI P VI F; lion running r. | *RIC* V.1: 94, n. 343; *Cun.*: 122, n. 1461.

53 | 19.S302-2.110 | Ø 20.33 mm | 1.93 mm | 2.92 g | 6h.



II SERIES (AD 261) [4]

IMP GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head l. | VIRT GALLIENI AVG; Emperor walking r., hold. a spear in his r. hand and a shield in his l. hand, and treading down an enemy. | GÖBL 2000: n. 967m.

54 | 19.S302-2.84 | Ø 23.15 mm | 1.68 mm | 3.40 g | 12h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | IOVI CONSERVA; *Jupiter* seated l., hold. a Victory in his r. hand and a sceptre in his l. hand. | P. | RIC V.1: 173, n. 487; *Cun.*: 123, n. 1517.

55 | 19.S302-2.135 | Ø 22.93 mm | 1.56 mm | 3.11 g | 6h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | PERPETVITATI AVG; *Securitas* st. l., leaning on a column, hold. a globe in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand. | RIC V.1: 175, n. 504; *Cun.*: 123, n. 1529.

56 | 19.S302-2.65 | Ø 21.81 mm | 2.39 mm | 3.98 g | 12h.



Salonina [1]

SALONINA AVG; draped and diademed bust on a crescent r. | AVGVSTA IN PACE; Salonina seated l. on a throne, hold. an olive branch in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand. | P. | *RIC* V.1: 197, n. 60; *Cun.*: 123, n. 1537.

57 | 19.S302-2.133 | Ø 23.78 mm | 1.38 mm | 2.75 g | 6h.



IV SERIES (AD 263-264) [4]

GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | ORI-E-NS AVG; *Sol* st. l., raising his r. hand and hold. a whip in his l. hand. | P. | *RIC* V.1: 174, n. 494; *Cun.*: 125, n. 1618.

58 | 19.S302-2.39 | Ø 20.86 mm | 1.92 mm | 3.46 g | 12h.

59 | 19.S302-2.116 | Ø 21.07 mm | 2.16 mm | 3.79 g | 6h | S. | *Cun.*: 125, n. 1621.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. bust r. | VIRTV-S AVG; helmeted *Mars* st. l. hold. a spear in his l. hand; r. hand resting on a shield. | S. | *RIC* V.1: 177, n. 534; *Cun.*: 125, n. 1628.

60 | 19.S302-2.115 | Ø 20.35 mm | 1.84 mm | 2.62 g | 12h | *Cun.*: 125, n. 1629.

61 | 19.S302-2.106 | Ø 21.22 mm | 2.34 mm | 3.84 g | 12h.



V SERIES (AD 264-265) [14]

GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | FELICIT AVG; *Felicitas* st. l., hold. a *caduceus* in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand; P in the l. field. | *RIC* V.1: 173, n. 474; *Cun.*: 126, n. 1647.

62 | 19.S302-2.79 | Ø 21.80 mm | 1.73 mm | 3.12 g | 11h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | INDVLG AVG; *Indulgentia* walking l., raising a robe in her r. hand and hold. a flower in her l. hand; P in the l. field. | *RIC* V.1: 173, n. 485; *Cun.*: 126, n. 1651.

63 | 19.S302-2.40 | Ø 21.14 mm | 1.68 mm | 2.75 g | 6h.

64 | 19.S302-2.151 | Ø 20.96 mm | 1.83 mm | 3.05 g | 12h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | PIETAS AVG; *Pietas* st. l. by an altar with her hands raised. | P. | *RIC* V.1: 175, n. 507; *Cun.*: 126, n. 1656.

65 | 19.S302-2.112 | Ø 17.15 mm | 1.16 mm | 2.22 g | 6h.

66 | 19.S302-2.138 | Ø 19.17 mm | 1.54 mm | 2.38 g | 12h (imitation?).

67 | 19.S302-2.118 | Ø 21.43 mm | 1.73 mm | 3.06 g | 12h | *Cun.*: 126, n. 1654.

68 | 19.S302-2.64 | Ø 19.96 mm | 2.27 mm | 3.92 g | 12h | *Cun.*: 126, n. 1663.





GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | PAX AVG; Pax walking l. hold. an olive branch in her r. hand and a sceptre in her r. hand. | S. | *RIC* V.1: 174, n. 501; *Cun.*: 126, n. 1662.

69 | 19.S302-2.136 | Ø 22.03 mm | 1.67 mm | 2.81 g | 12h.

70 | 19.S302-2.28 | Ø 22.06 mm | 1.64 mm | 3.55 g | 5h.

71 | 19.S302-2.49 | Ø 20.53 mm | 1.88 mm | 3.82 g | 5h.





IMP GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | PIETAS AVG; *Pietas* st. l. by an altar with her hands raised. | P. | *RIC* V.1: 175, n. 506; *Cun.*: 126, n. 1668.

72 | 19.S302-2.53 | Ø 21.99 mm | 1.67 mm | 2.85 g | 12h (imitation?).

73 | 19.S302-2.147 | Ø 21.44 mm | 1.51 mm | 3.04 g | 12h.



IMP GALLIENVS AVG; rad. bust r. | PAX AVG; *Pax* walking l. hold. an olive branch in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand. | S. | *RIC* V.1: 174, n. 500; *Cun.*: 126, n. 1674.

74 | 19.S302-2.145 | Ø 21.53 mm | 1.82 mm | 3.78 g | 5h.



Salonina [1]

SALONINA AVG; draped bust on a crescent r., wearing a *stephane*. | VENVS VICT; *Venus Victrix* st. l. hold. a helmet in her r. hand and a spear in her l. hand; small st. Cupid r. at her foot; P in the r. field. | *RIC* V.1: 198, n. 66; *Cun.*: 126, n. 1680.

75 | 19.S302-2.25 | Ø 21.18 mm | 1.91 mm | 2.89 g | 4h.



VI SERIES (AD 266) [6]

IMP GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | SALVS AVG; *Asclepius* st. facing hold. a *caduceus* in his l. hand. | P. | *RIC* V.1: 176, n. 511; *Cun.*: 126, n. 1687.

76 | 19.S302-2.126 | Ø 23.78 mm | 1.44 mm | 2.43 g | 5h.

77 | 19.S302-2.56 | Ø 23.15 mm | 2.07 mm | 4.00 g | 5h.

78 | 19.S302-2.148 | Ø 21.32 mm | 2.18 mm | 4.21 g | 6h.





IMP GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | P M TR P VII COS; Emperor veiled, st. l., hold. a *patera* in his r. hand and a short sceptre in his l. hand, sacrificing at altar. | P. | *RIC* V.1: 171, n. 460; *Cun.*: 127, n. 1690.

79 | 19.S302-2.13 | Ø 21.17 mm | 1.86 mm | 3.20 g | 6h.



IMP GALLIENVS AVG; rad. and cuirassed bust r. | FORTVNA REDVX; *Fortuna* seated on a throne l., hold. a rudder in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand. | S. | *RIC* V.1: 173, n. 483; *Cun.*: 127, n. 1691.

80 | 19.S302-2.102 | Ø 22.05 mm | 1.64 mm | 2.77 g | 6h.



Salonina [1]

SALONINA AVG; draped bust on a crescent r., wearing a *stephane* | AVG IN PACE; Salonina seated l. on a throne, hold. an olive branch in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand. | S. | *RIC* V.1: 197, n. 58; *Cun.*: 129, n. 1713.

81 | 19.S302-2.9 | Ø 21.71 mm | 2.07 mm | 3.50 g | 12h.



VII SERIES (AD 266-267) [29]

IMP GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | SALVS AVG; *Asclepius* st. facing hold. a *caduceus* in his l. hand. | MP. | RIC V.1: 176, n. 511; *Cun.*: 128, n. 1727.

- 82 | 19.S302-2.18 | Ø 21.45 mm | 1.71 mm | 2.23 g | 12h.
- 83 | 19.S302-2.76 | Ø 21.81 mm | 1.47 mm | 2.25 g | 11h.
- 84 | 19.S302-2.22 | Ø 22.61 mm | 2.10 mm | 2.89 g | 6h.
- 85 | 19.S302-2.96 | Ø 22.08 mm | 2.06 mm | 3.29 g | 6h.
- 86 | 19.S302-2.120 | Ø 21.03 mm | 2.06 mm | 3.59 g | 12h.
- 87 | 19.S302-2.117 | Ø 22.78 mm | 2.17 mm | 3.69 g | 6h.
- 88 | 19.S302-2.47 | Ø 22.16 mm | 2.28 mm | 4.02 g | 12h.





IMP GALLIENVS AVGVSTVS; rad. head r. | P M TR P VII COS; Emperor veiled, st. l., hold. a *patera* in his r. hand and a short sceptre in his l. hand, sacrificing at altar. | MP. | *RIC* V.1: 171, n. 460; *Cun.*: 128, n. 1730.

89 | 19.S302-2.104 | Ø 20.15 mm | 1.68 mm | 2.15 g | 12h.

90 | 19.S302-2.140 | Ø 22.21 mm | 1.46 mm | 2.22 g | 11h | MS. | *Cun.*: 127, n. 1737.



IMP GALLIENVS AVGVSTVS; rad. head r. | FORTVNA REDVX; *Fortuna* seated on a throne l., hold. a rudder in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand. | MS. | *RIC* V.1: 173, n. 483; *Cun.*: 128, n. 1734.

91 | 19.S302-2.103 | Ø 20.85 mm | 1.58 mm | 2.48 g | 12h.

92 | 19.S302-2.24 | Ø 22.30 mm | 1.55 mm | 2.50 g | 5h.

93 | 19.S302-2.100 | Ø 20.61 mm | 1.88 mm | 2.76 g | 12h.

94 | 19.S302-2.15 | Ø 20.85 mm | 1.80 mm | 2.86 g | 6h.

95 | 19.S302-2.37 | Ø 20.11 mm | 1.98 mm | 3.11 g | 7h.

96 | 19.S302-2.82 | Ø 23.41 mm | 1.53 mm | 3.58 g | 11h.

97 | 19.S302-2.16 | Ø 21.10 mm | 2.47 mm | 4.30 g | 6h.

98 | 19.S302-2.111 | Ø 22.69 mm | 2.15 mm | 4.43 g | 12h.







IMP GALLIENVS P AVG; rad. head r. | SALVS AVG; *Asclepius* st. facing hold. a *caduceus* in his l. hand. | MP. | *RIC* V.1: 176, n. 511/a; *Cun.*: 128, n. 1740.

99 | 19.S302-2.42 | Ø 19.47 mm | 1.63 mm | 1.85 g | 12h.

100 | 19.S302-2.121 | Ø 20.43 mm | 1.97 mm | 2.96 g | 4h.



Salonina [10]

SALONINA AVG; draped and diademed bust on a crescent r. | AVG IN PACE; Salonina seated l. on a throne, hold. an olive branch in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand. | MS. | *RIC* V.1: 197, n. 58; *Cun.*: 129, n. 1765.

101 | 19.S302-2.63 | Ø 22.48 mm | 1.19 mm | 1.88 g | 6h.

102 | 19.S302-2.72 | Ø 21.94 mm | 1.64 mm | 2.66 g | 6h.

103 | 19.S302-2.85 | Ø 22.56 mm | 1.65 mm | 2.77 g | 12h.

- 104 | 19.S302-2.119 | Ø 21.96 mm | 1.80 mm | 2.80 g | 12h.
105 | 19.S302-2.55 | Ø 20.17 mm | 2.05 mm | 2.82 g | 12h.
106 | 19.S302-2.105 | Ø 21.86 mm | 1.87 mm | 2.87 g | 12h.
107 | 19.S302-2.77 | Ø 22.59 mm | 1.76 mm | 3.07 g | 6h | MP. | *Cun.*: 129, n. 1764.
108 | 19.S302-2.71 | Ø 22.98 mm | 1.76 mm | 3.17 g | 7h.
109 | 19.S302-2.33 | Ø 20.34 mm | 1.92 mm | 3.22 g | 7h.
110 | 19.S302-2.137 | Ø 21.88 mm | 2.19 mm | 3.68 g | 11h.







VIII SERIES (AD 267) [30]

GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | PIETAS AVG; *Pietas* st. l. by an altar with her hands raised. | MP. | *RIC* V.1: 175, n. 507; *Cun.*: 129, n. 1769.

111 | 19.S302-2.57 | Ø 21.55 mm | 1.06 mm | 1.42 g | 5h.

112 | 19.S302-2.144 | Ø 17.56 mm | 1.58 mm | 2.02 g | 6h.

113 | 19.S302-2.54 | Ø 19.24 mm | 1.68 mm | 2.55 g | 12h.

114 | 19.S302-2.61 | Ø 18.56 mm | 1.89 mm | 2.96 g | 6h.

115 | 19.S302-2.134 | Ø 22.02 mm | 2.14 mm | 3.79 g | 11h.





GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | PROVID AVG; *Providentia* st. l., hold. a globe in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. hand. | MP. | *RIC* V.1: 175, n. 508/a; *Cun.*: 129, n. 1770.

- 116 | 19.S302-2.69 | Ø 20.51 mm | 1.50 mm | 1.96 g | 12h.
- 117 | 19.S302-2.129 | Ø 18.60 mm | 1.69 mm | 2.20 g | 6h.
- 118 | 19.S302-2.43 | Ø 18.83 mm | 1.69 mm | 2.97 g | 5h.
- 119 | 19.S302-2.143 | Ø 18.82 mm | 1.99 mm | 3.25 g | 12h.
- 120 | 19.S302-2.109 | Ø 19.93 mm | 1.90 mm | 3.47 g | 12h.
- 121 | 19.S302-2.122 | Ø 19.20 mm | 2.30 mm | 3.58 g | 5h.
- 122 | 19.S302-2.26 | Ø 20.65 mm | 1.99 mm | 3.79 g | 12h.
- 123 | 19.S302-2.20 | Ø 23.95 mm | 1.91 mm | 4.26 g | 11h.







GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | SALVS AVG; *Salus* st. r. feeding a serpent in her arms; II in the r. field. | MS. | *RIC* V.1: 176, n. 512/a; *Cun.*: 129, n. 1774.

124 | 19.S302-2.152 | Ø 22.09 mm | 1.73 mm | 4.02 g | 12h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | SECVR TEMPO; *Securitas* st. l., leaning on a column and hold. a sceptre in her r. hand. | MS. | *RIC* V.1: 176, n. 513; *Cun.*: 129, n. 1777.

125 | 19.S302-2.87 | Ø 21.07 mm | 1.48 mm | 2.03 g | 12h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | AET-E-RN AVG; *Sol* st. l., hold. a globe in his l. hand and raising his r. hand. | MT. | *RIC* V.1: 171, n. 465/a; *Cun.*: 129, n. 1778.

126 | 19.S302-2.114 | Ø 20.40 mm | 1.39 mm | 1.99 g | 12h.

127 | 19.S302-2.125 | Ø 22.04 mm | 1.74 mm | 2.44 g | 5h.

128 | 19.S302-2.123 | Ø 19.10 mm | 1.66 mm | 2.46 g | 12h.

129 | 19.S302-2.68 | Ø 21.33 mm | 1.47 mm | 2.54 g | 12h.

130 | 19.S302-2.23 | Ø 20.97 mm | 1.91 mm | 2.79 g | 6h.

131 | 19.S302-2.19 | Ø 20.88 mm | 1.86 mm | 3.20 g | 12h.

132 | 19.S302-2.67 | Ø 22.06 mm | 1.97 mm | 3.55 g | 5h.

133 | 19.S302-2.60 | Ø 23.59 mm | 1.96 mm | 4.57 g | 12h.





GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | BON EVENT AVG; *Genius* st. l. by altar, hold. a *patera* in his r. hand and ears of corn in his l. hand. | MT. | *RIC* V.1: 172, n. 470; *Cun.*: 129, n. 1780.

134 | 19.S302-2.101 | Ø 18.38 mm | 1.90 mm | 2.56 g | 6h.

135 | 19.S302-2.89 | Ø 18.52 mm | 1.96 mm | 3.01 g | 6h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | CONCOR AVG; *Concordia* seated l., hold. a *patera* in her r. hand and a *cornucopia* in her l. hand. | MT. | *RIC* V.1: 172, n. 471; *Cun.*: 129, n. 1783.

136 | 19.S302-2.90 | Ø 19.62 mm | 1.80 mm | 2.70 g | 6h.



Salonina [4]

SALONINA AVG; draped bust on a crescent r., wearing a *stephane* | IVNO AVG; *Juno* seated l. on a throne, hold. an infant in her r. hand and a flower in her l. hand. | MS. | *RIC* V.1: 198, n. 62; *Cun.*: 129, n. 1785.

137 | 19.S302-2.46 | Ø 22.32 mm | 1.43 mm | 2.19 g | 6h.

138 | 19.S302-2.10 | Ø 21.03 mm | 1.77 mm | 2.74 g | 12h (imitation?).

139 | 19.S302-2.132 | Ø 20.57 mm | 1.85 mm | 3.43 g | 6h.



SALONINA AVG; draped bust on a crescent r., wearing a *stephane*. | VENVS VICT; *Venus Victrix* st. l. hold. a helmet in her r. hand and a spear in her l. arm; her l. hand is on a shield. | *RIC* V.1: 198, n. 67 (variant without MS mintmark); *Cun.*: 129, n. 1786.

140 | 19.S302-2.21 | Ø 20.31 mm | 1.51 mm | 2.11 g | 6h.



Mint of Siscia [4]

IV SERIES (AD 266-267) [3]

GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | PAX AVG; *Pax* st. l. hold. an olive branch in her r. hand and a sceptre in her r. hand; S in the l. field. | *RIC* V.1: 182, n. 575; *Cun.*: 130, n. 1827.

141 | 19.S302-2.70 | Ø 20.92 mm | 2.17 mm | 3.47 g | 11h.



GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | PROVI AVG; *Providentia* st. l., hold. a baton in her r. hand and a *cornucopia* in her l. hand; II in the r. field. | *RIC* V.1: 182, n. 580; *Cun.*: 130, n. 1833.

142 | 19.S302-2.91 | Ø 23.17 mm | 1.85 mm | 3.10 g | 6h.

143 | 19.S302-2.44 | Ø 22.34 mm | 1.97 mm | 3.78 g | 6h.



V SERIES (AD 267-268) [1]

GALLIENVS AVG; rad. head r. | FORTVNA REDVX; *Fortuna* st. l., hold. a rudder in her r. hand and a *cornucopia* in her l. hand; S in the r. field. | *RIC* V.1: 181, n. 572; *Cun.*: 131, n. 1864.

144 | 19.S302-2.149 | Ø 23.18 mm | 1.39 mm | 2.49 g | 6h.



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List of abbreviations:

Cun.	<i>Cunetio Hoard</i>
hold.	holding
l.	left
r.	right
rad.	radiate
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i>
st.	standing

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