

THE LATE ROMAN *SOLIDUS* HOARD FROM LIENDEN (PROV. GELDERLAND / NL)

A WINDOW ON ROMANO-FRANKISH CONTACTS
IN THE MID-5TH CENTURY LOWER RHINE REGION

DISCOVERY OF THE HOARD

In 2016 the Netherlands passed new legislation, in which metal detection is allowed under certain conditions (see epilogue below). In the summer of 2016, coinciding with the change in legislation, the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam opened a national reporting point – PAN (Portable Antiquities of the Netherlands) – for archaeological finds discovered by private individuals using metal detectors¹. In the very first month of the PAN project, we received a report of a remarkable find of 23 Late Roman gold coins recovered that year in an orchard at »Den Eng« in the village of Lienden, in Buren municipality, Gelderland province (fig. 1). We

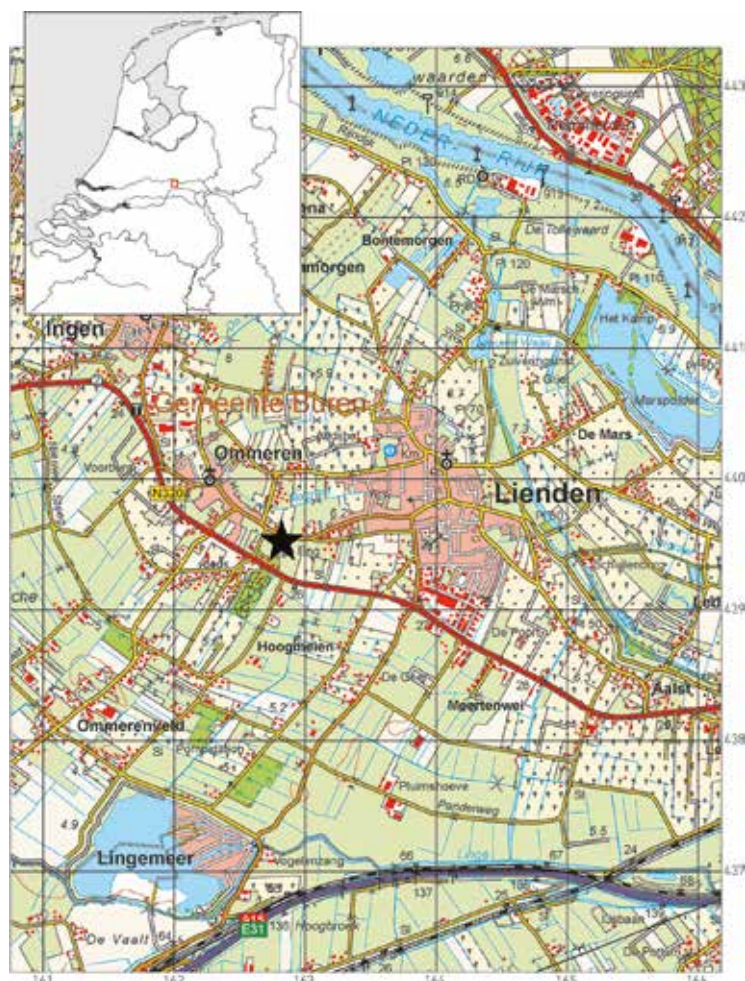


Fig. 1 Topographical location of Lienden in the province of Gelderland (NL). – (Map B. Brouwenstijn, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam).



Fig. 2 Overview of the Lienden gold hoard (prov. Gelderland/NL). – (Photo Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen).

were also contacted by two other detectorists who had collected eight Late Roman gold coins at precisely the same spot in 2012 when mechanical diggers were preparing the field for the planting of an orchard. One year earlier, in 2011, a gold coin of Constantine III had been found at the same site in Lienden². We continued the search in the archives. It emerged that gold coins almost certainly belonging to the same hoard had been discovered on that same plot of land in the 1840s. N. C. Kist, a clergyman, reported in his 1846 publication that when visiting Lienden he was shown a number of gold coins recovered from the »Den Eng« site. He mentioned three Valentinian, three Constantine and two Honorius coins³. Several years earlier, in 1842, L. J. F. Janssen, curator of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, had sighted a *solidus* of emperor Majorian that had come from Lienden⁴. The exact findspot was not named, but it was reported that the coin was in the possession of Baron van Brakell, who owned the land at »Den Eng« where the 1840s finds and the recent finds were discovered⁵. Again, in 1905, a gold coin of Valentinian III was found at the site where the coins mentioned by N. C. Kist had been discovered earlier⁶. Unfortunately, none of these coins recorded in the archives can be traced. Some of them are thought to have ended up in the collection of the local antiquarian G.-J. Brenkman in Tiel following the death of van Brakell. That collection was lost in the Second World War.

COMPOSITION AND DATING OF THE HOARD

All the coins – 42 in total – are Roman *solidi* from the late 4th and 5th centuries (**figs 2-5**). This is a minimum number, however, because the hoard is almost certainly incomplete. We do not know how many coins were



Fig. 3 Lienden gold hoard (prov. Gelderland/NL), *solidi* of Valentinian II and Honorius. The numbers correspond to **tab. 2**. – (Photos R. Reijnen, PAN). – Scale 3:2.



Fig. 4 Lienden gold hoard (prov. Gelderland/NL), *solidi* of Honorius, Constantine III and Jovinus. The numbers correspond to **tab. 2**. – (Photos R. Reijnen, PAN). – Scale 3:2.



Fig. 5 Lienden gold hoard (prov. Gelderland/NL), *solidi* of Johannes and Valentinian III. The numbers correspond to **tab. 2**. – (Photos R. Reijnen, PAN). – Scale 3:2.

found in the years 1840-2016 and were not reported in the literature⁷. This collection of at least 42 *solidi* from Lienden spans a long period from 375 to 461 (**tabs 1-2**). 30 coins were struck in the late 4th or early 5th century: five by Valentinian II, ten by Honorius, 13 by Constantine III, and one each by Jovinus and Johannes. For three Valentinian coins, the exact emperor they were minted by cannot be specified. There are also nine coins from the second or third quarter of the 5th century: eight of Valentinian III and the terminal coin of Majorian. The Valentinian III

emperor	no.
Valentinian II 375-392	5
Honorius 395-423	10
Constantinus III 407-411	13
Jovinus 411-413	1
Johannes 423-425	1
Valentinian III 425-455	8
Valentinian II/III	3
Majorian 457-461	1
total	42

Tab. 1 The composition of the Lienden *solidus* hoard (prov. Gelderland/NL).

no.	emperor	date	RIC	weight (g)	mint	year of discovery/ source	NUMIS	PAN
1	Valentinian II	383-393	RIC IX 8(a)/9(a)	4.59	Milan	2012	1129480	8915
2	Valentinian II	388-392	RIC IX 90a	4.48	Trier	2016	1129444	8871
3	Valentinian II	388-392	RIC IX 90a	4.48	Trier	2016	1129450	8872
4	Valentinian II	388-392	RIC IX 90a	4.42	Trier	2016	1129458	8873
5	Valentinian II	388-392	RIC IX 90a	4.48	Trier	2012	1129479	8916
6	Valentinian I/II/III					Kist 1846		
7	Valentinian I/II/III					Kist 1846		
8	Valentinian I/II/III					Kist 1846		
9	Honorius	394-402	RIC X 1206	4.43	Milan	2016	1129448	8874
10	Honorius	394-402	RIC X 1206	4.44	Milan	2016	1129453	8875
11	Honorius	394-402	RIC X 1206	4.46	Milan	2012	1129474	8917
12	Honorius	402-403/405-406	RIC X 1287	4.48	Ravenna	2016	1129442	8876
13	Honorius	402-403/405-406	RIC X 1287	4.45	Ravenna	2016	1129443	8877
14	Honorius	402-403/405-406	RIC X 1287	4.44	Ravenna	2016	1129455	8878
15	Honorius	402-403/405-406	RIC X 1287	4.42	Ravenna	2016	1129459	8879
16	Honorius	402-403/405-406	RIC X 1287	4.47	Ravenna	2016	1129452	8880
17	Honorius	395-423				Kist 1846		
18	Honorius	395-423				Kist 1846		
19	Constantine I/II/III					Kist 1846		
20	Constantine I/II/III					Kist 1846		
21	Constantine III	408-411	RIC X 1512	4.51	Lyon	2012	1129476	8918
22	Constantine III	408-411	RIC X 1514	4.47	Trier	2016	1129449	8881
23	Constantine III	408-411	RIC X 1514	4.47	Trier	2016	1129451	8882
24	Constantine III	408-411	RIC X 1514	4.48	Trier	2016	1129456	8883
25	Constantine III	408-411	RIC X 1514	4.47	Trier	2016	1129461	8884
26	Constantine III	408-411	RIC X 1514	4.48	Trier	2012	1129478	8919
27	Constantine III	408-411	RIC X 1514	4.52	Trier	2012	1129481	8920
28	Constantine III	408-411	RIC X 1514	4.45	Trier	2011	1126316	
29	Constantine III	408-411	RIC X 1515	4.46	Trier	2012	1129477	8921
30	Constantine III	408-411	RIC X 1521	4.49	Arles	2016	1129460	8885
31	Constantine III	408-411			Trier	Kist 1846		
32	Jovinus	411-413	RIC X 1701	4.49	Trier	2016	1129454	8886
33	Johannes	423-425	RIC X 1901	4.48	Ravenna	2016	1129439	8887
34	Valentinian III	426-430	RIC X 2010	4.45	Ravenna	2016	1129440	8892
35	Valentinian III	426-430	RIC X 2010	4.46	Ravenna	2016	1129446	8888
36	Valentinian III	426-430	RIC X 2010	4.41	Ravenna	2016	1129447	8889
37	Valentinian III	426-430	RIC X 2011	4.45	Ravenna	2016	1129457	8890
38	Valentinian III	430-445	RIC X 2018	4.46	Ravenna	2016	1129445	8891
39	Valentinian III	425-455			Ravenna	Heuff 1906	1130403	
40	Valentinian III, imitation	439-455	RIC X 3715	4.44		2012	1129475	8922
41	Valentinian III, imitation	439-455	RIC X 3715	4.49		2016	1129441	8893
42	Majorian	457-461				Kramer-Clobus 1978, 484	1043873	

Tab. 2 Description of the *solidi* from the Lienden hoard (prov. Gelderland/NL). – The numbering of the coins corresponds to **figs 3-5**.

coins include two imitations (**tab. 2; fig. 5, 40-41**), which were minted in the years 439-455, probably by the Visigoths in southern Gaul⁸. The coins from the hoard were therefore struck by different emperors over a period of some 80 years. This mixed composition appears typical of all Late Roman *solidus* hoards (**tab. 3**). It is remarkable that all the *solidi* were minted by emperors from the Western Roman Empire (**tab. 2**), whereas almost all other 5th-century hoards also contain coins minted by emperors from the Eastern Empire⁹. The Lienden find belongs to the group of medium-sized *solidus* hoards from the Lower Rhine region (see **tab. 3**) and appears to be the latest Roman coin hoard currently known from this area. The terminal coin is of emperor Majorian, who reigned from 457 to 461, which means that the hoard was most likely buried in the late 450s or 460s.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Following the gold finds reported to us, the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and the Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed organised a control excavation, which uncovered an area of approx. 75 m² at the site where the coins were discovered (**figs 6-7**)¹⁰. The landowner and tenant granted access to the plot, although working in an orchard would entail digging tight rows of small trenches. First, we wanted to know whether part of the hoard was still in the ground, and secondly, whether the finds had been buried in a jar, pouch or some other container. Lastly, there was the question of the hoard's archaeological context. Had it been buried at a house within a settlement, at a sanctuary, or perhaps interred along with a body? This latter option was a serious possibility given that the finder in 2016 had also encountered unburnt human bones at the coin findspot.

So what did the excavation reveal? Unfortunately, we did not find any new coins or other objects belonging to the hoard. However, we were able to identify the hoard's original location, in the form of a pit left by the detectorists, which we sieved to recover all contents left behind (**fig. 6, A**). The absence of fragments of an earthen or metal container suggests that the hoard was originally buried in a small wooden box or a leather or textile purse. The excavation also produced unburnt human bone fragments from three adult individuals (**fig. 6, C**). In one case it could be established that the individual had been placed slightly on its side, with the forearms drawn up. The remains of a cremation burial were also found (**fig. 6, B**), in the form of somewhat burnt bones in a fragmentary urn of hand-formed pottery. The results from the ¹⁴C laboratory contained a surprise for us: the unburnt bones were dated to the early Middle Bronze Age, c. 1900-1500 BC¹¹. This is much earlier than we suspected, and it means there is definitely no link between the coin hoard and the skeletal remains. The cremation burial probably dates from the Iron Age and is therefore also considerably older than the hoard. Lastly, some stray find material from the Roman period and especially the Early Middle Ages was recovered, but this was not linked to any contemporary features. This suggests that the site formed part of a settlement periphery at that time.

It is highly unlikely that the burial of the gold hoard in the 5th century among several Middle Bronze Age graves was purely coincidental. We know that the Middle Bronze Age was a period in which barrows were erected in the river area¹². Although our excavation was unable to establish that a barrow had once stood on this site, the presence of a mound may well explain why a coin hoard was buried there more than two millennia later. Because hoards of this kind were buried with a view to being retrieved at some future date, the burier had to choose a recognisable point in the landscape. An old burial mound close to a settlement would have been an ideal place for this.

	location	Youngest coin	<i>terminus post quem</i>	before 364	Valentinian I (364-375)	Valens (364-378)	Gratian (367-383)	Valentinian II (375-392)	Theodosius I (379-395)	Maximus (383-388)	Eugenius (392-394)	Arcadius (395-408)	Eudoxia (397-402)	Honorius (395-423)	Constantine III (407-413)	Theodosius II (408-450)	Priscus Attalus (409-414)	Jovinus (411-413)	Johannes (423-425)	Valentinian III (425-455)	Majorian (457-461)	unknown	total	associated finds
	GROUP A																					c. 50	bracelet fragment	
1	Westerkappel	Valentinian I	364	16	2	1																c. 31		
2	Ellerbeck	Valentinian I	364	19	5	1																	25	
3	Eidinghausen	Valentinian II	375	3	1	1	4																9	
	GROUP B																							
4	Ophimert-Veelust	Arcadius	395	1								1											2	
5	Grandhan	Arcadius	395	3	1						1												5	
6	Kerpen-Langeneich	Arcadius	395	x	x	x	x	x	x	xx	x												>400	
7	Dreumel	Arcadius	400	1	1						1												3	
8	Ezinge	Arcadius	395	1							1											x	2	
9	Profondeville	Arcadius	395	4	3	1	1	1			1											1	11	
10	Würselen	Honorius	400	7	3	11	3	1			2			5									32	
11	Nottuln	Honorius	400	1										1								11	13	
12	Beilen	Honorius	400	4	5	4	2	4						5									24	torques + bracelets
13	Venlo	Honorius	405	1	1			2			3			3									10	
14	Obbicht	Honorius	405	5	1	1	2	2			1			3								2	17	
15	Suarfée	Honorius	405	2	1	1	1	1			1			1									8	
16	Vorchten	Honorius	400?					1						1									2	
17	Dortmund	Constantine III*	407	42	113	48	39	46	32	7	6	42		60	3						5		443	torques + argentei
18	Echt	Constantine III	407	6				2	2						2								12	Hacksilber
19	Merebeke	Constantine III	407												1								1	<i>siliquae</i>
20	Kessel	Constantine III	408	2	2			1			2	1		3	1	1					>5		>18	helmet
21	Groß Bodungen	Constantine III	410	1				1	1		5			3	2								21	Hacksilber
22	Sint-Denijs-Westrem	Constantine III	410	2	1			2						1	1							13	20	
23	Hatum	Jovinus	411															1				1	2	
24	Menzelen	Jovinus	412	6	1	8	15	12			1	41		68	45	1	2						200	
	GROUP C																							
25	Lions	Valentinian III	425																	1			2	
26	Velp-Het Laar	Galla Placidia	425	x	x	x	x				x			x	x					x		x	>500?	pendants + torque
27	Xanten	Valentinian III	440	x	x	x		x			x	x		x	x					x		x	>400	
28	Furfooz	Valentinian III	445												1					3		>3	>8	
	GROUP D																							
29	Lienden-Den Eng	Valentinian III	457					5						10	13		1	1	8	1		>3	>42	
	GROUP A-C																							
30	Winsum	Valentinian I	364	2																			>27	
31	Bückeburg	Valentinian I	364	1	1																	xx	xx	
32	Krietenstein	Valens	364	1																		1	2	
33	Uddel	Valentinian II	375					1														4	5	
34	Spradow, Herford	Theodosius	378					1														6	7	

Tab. 3 The composition and dating of 34 Late Roman *solidus* hoards from the Lower Rhine region. – (After Roymans 2017, with some additions). – * The gold from Dortmund has been hoarded with a *terminus post quem* of 407, although deposited much later; the *argentei* are considered a later addition.

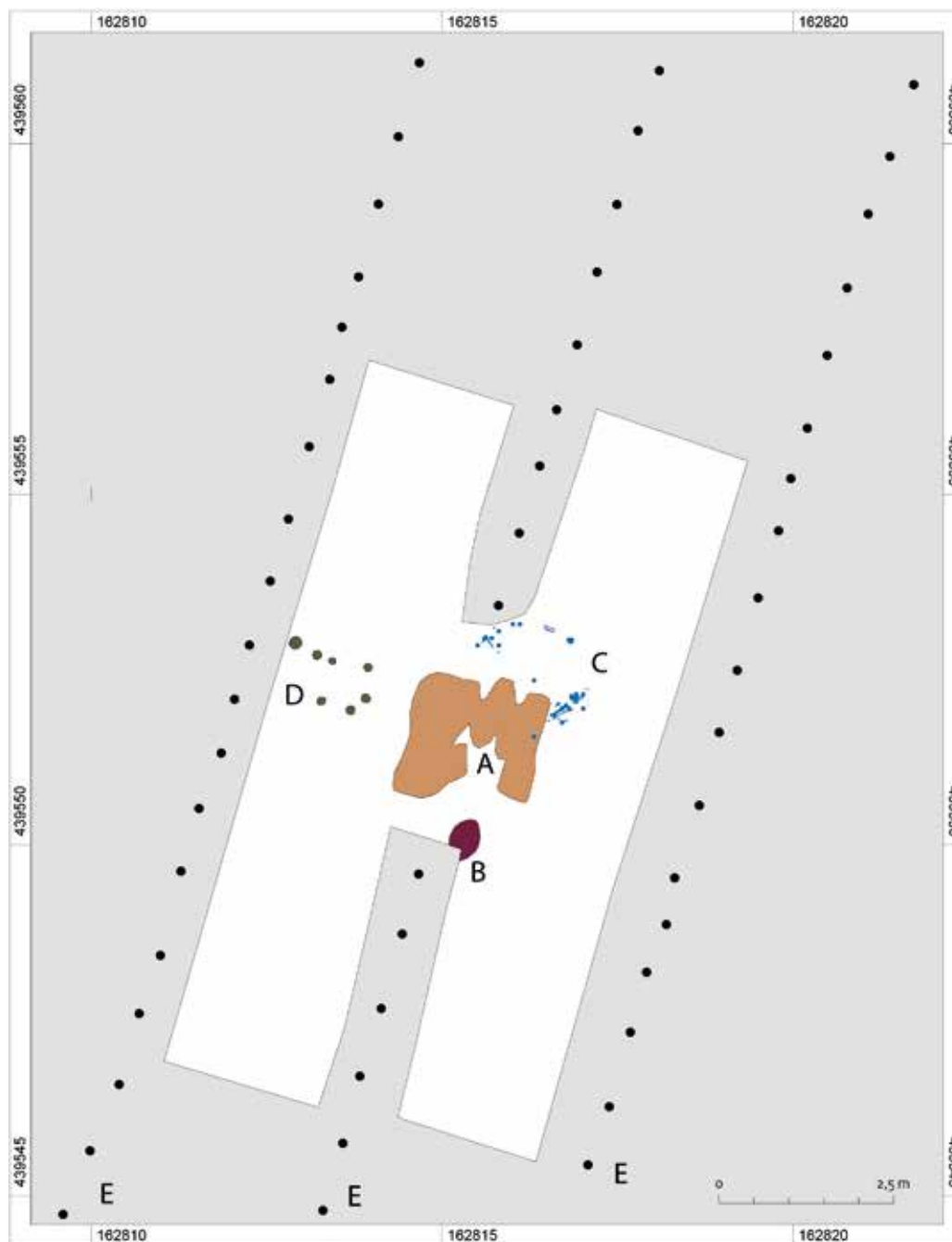


Fig. 6 Lienden (prov. Gelderland/NL), ground plan of the control excavation: **A** location of the recent disturbance where the *solidi* were found in 2016. – **B** remains of Iron Age cremation burial. – **C** unburnt Early Bronze Age human bones. – **D** postholes of uncertain date. – **E** modern trees. – (Illustration J.-W. de Kort, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed / S. Heeren).

Our conclusion is that the gold hoard was probably buried in an old barrow from the Middle Bronze Age, which would still have been visible in the landscape at the time. The immediate reason for the burial remains unclear. The most obvious explanation is that it was done for safekeeping in a time of crisis, although religious motives may have partly prompted the choice of an old barrow as a hiding place.



Fig. 7 Lienden (prov. Gelderland/NL), control excavation at the site of the gold hoard. – (Photo Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed).

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE ACTIVITIES OF MAJORIAN, AEGIDIUS, AND THE YOUNG CHILDERIC IN GAUL

The Lienden hoard should be understood within the context of the gradual disintegration of the Western Roman Empire in the 5th century, culminating in its definitive collapse in 476. There was virtually no effective Roman authority in the former province of *Germania Secunda* from the early 5th century onwards. The area was inhabited by groups of Franks, who were strategically important for the Roman administration because of their military potential. There are regular accounts from the 5th century of Frankish groups operating as enemies or as allies of Roman emperors and their generals¹³. Gold coins, or *solidi*, were the ideal currency with which the Roman authorities rewarded Frankish leaders for their military support¹⁴. These warlords could then redistribute the coins among their own supporters, thereby consolidating their position.

Given the final Majorian coin, the Lienden hoard will have been acquired in about 460 or shortly thereafter. The large proportion of older *solidi* from the late 4th and early 5th centuries does not imply that the hoard was accumulated over a lengthy period of time since all known hoards are of mixed composition. The hoard was probably received from a Roman official in a single transaction. The time of deposition cannot be determined precisely but it will have been some time in the 460s.

We now know of 34 late Roman *solidus* hoards from the Netherlands and neighbouring regions (**fig. 8; tab. 3**)¹⁵. A significant chronological pattern can be discerned, with the vast majority of hoards being acquired in the early 5th century. We know of a whole series of gold hoards and stray *solidi* from that period, on both sides of the Rhine. The distribution of these gold finds reflects last-ditch attempts by the Roman authorities to exploit the military potential of the Frankish groups living there. There was a clear hoard horizon in this phase and the dating of the coin hoards shows that a substantial portion of this gold entered the region at the time of Constantine III (407-411). After that time we know of four *solidus* hoards with final coins struck between 425 and 445 under Valentinian III; by far the largest hoard is that of Xanten-Hagenbusch (Kr. Wesel/D), with more than 400 coins. Lastly, we now have the Lienden hoard, acquired in about

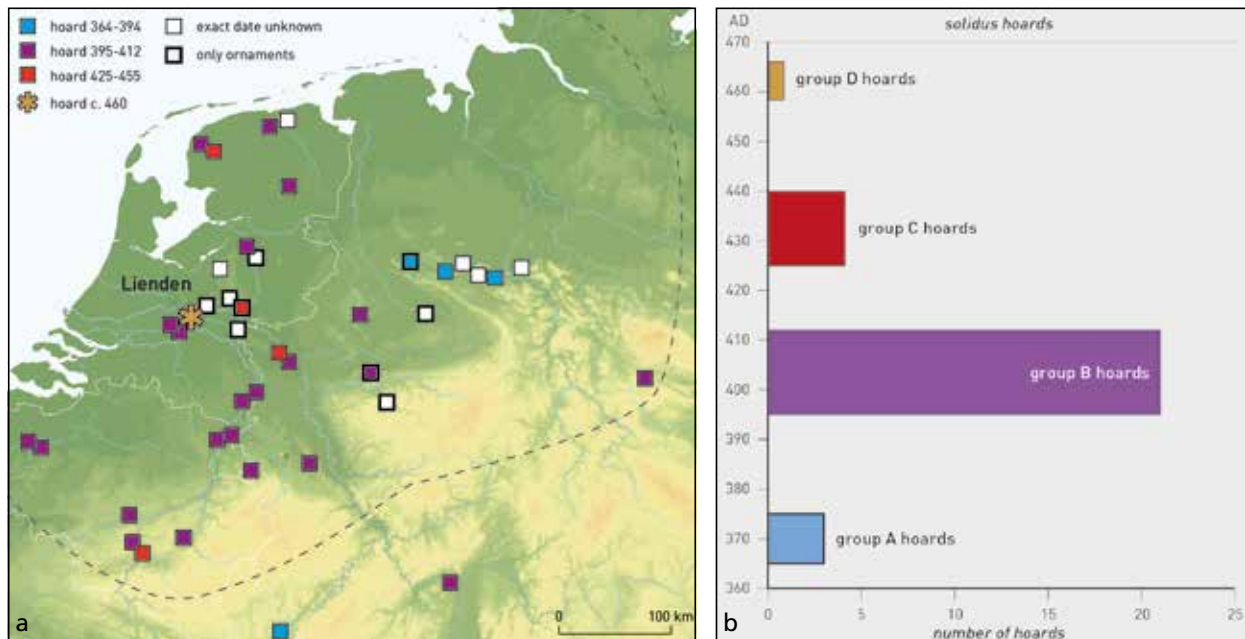


Fig. 8 Distribution map of Late Roman gold hoards (a) and their chronology in the Lower Rhine frontier zone and surroundings (b). – (After Roymans 2017, 61 fig. 2 with some additions).

460, which can be considered the most recent¹⁶. The question is: how should we interpret this extremely late influx of Roman gold?

The arrival of a batch of gold in the Dutch river area in the years immediately after 457 was probably linked to activities of the Western Roman emperor Majorian (fig. 9) and his military commander in Gaul, Aegidius, who received military support from the Salian Franks, who were then in control of large parts of the province of Belgica Secunda¹⁷. Because the Frankish king Childeric I may also have featured in this constellation, his first actions should also be explored.

A great battle – the Battle of the Catalaunian Fields – was fought in 451 between the Roman general Aetius and Attila the Hun, each with a motley confederation of forces at their side. The precise location of the battle is unknown but it was probably somewhere between Troyes (dép. Aube/F) and Châlons-en-Champagne (dép. Marne/F). Priscus reports that by taking part in the battle, two Frankish brothers of royal blood were playing out a feud as to who should succeed their father. The older brother fought on the side of the Huns, the younger under Aetius. Priscus saw the younger brother, still beardless, when visiting Rome immediately after the victory¹⁸. M. Martin follows A. Demandt's suggestion that the younger brother was Childeric, whose part in the Roman victory secured him a firm foothold in the Roman network¹⁹.

Gregory of Tours reports that internal disputes among the Franks forced Childeric I into exile in 457 when Majorian acceded to the throne and Aegidius was appointed military commander in Gaul²⁰. The matter was more complex, however, and it would seem logical that Aegidius's appointment led to a break between Majorian and Childeric, with the latter being obliged to absent himself for a time. According to Gregory, Aegidius, who had already been named military commander by Majorian, was granted the title of king by the Salian Franks²¹. He led a (failed) campaign against the Ripuarian Franks (Rhine Franks), whereby Cologne fell definitively into Frankish hands²². At Majorian's behest, he recaptured Lyon from the Burgundians in 458 and successfully defended Arles (dép. Bouches-du-Rhône/F) against the Visigoths.

In 461 Majorian was overthrown by the Germanic general Ricimer, who appointed Libius Severus as his successor. However, Aegidius refused to cooperate with Ricimer and came into difficulties when Ricimer ordered the Visigoths to march against him. He was forced to withdraw to the area around Paris, where he set up an independent Gallo-Roman state with Soissons (dép. Aisne/F) as his residence. Aegidius still enjoyed the support of the Salian Franks and succeeded in defeating the Visigoths in the Battle of Orléans (dép. Loiret/F) in 463, thereby strengthening his power base in Gaul. The following year Aegidius was murdered and Childeric was able to return as king of the Franks²³. Whereas Gregory reports that it was Childeric who led the Battle of Orléans²⁴, various Gallic chronicles and Hydatius only mention Aegidius²⁵. It is therefore not clear whether Childeric did not return until after Aegidius's death or whether they both fought at Orléans.



Fig. 9 *Solidus* of emperor Majorian (457-461). Find place unknown. – (Collection and photo De Nederlandsche Bank).

Following the death of Aegidius, Childeric's star continued to rise. We can conclude from a later letter from bishop Remigius to Clovis that the latter, like his father Childeric, held the post of military commander of Belgica Secunda²⁶. His power base was probably the town of Tournai (prov. Hainaut/B), where his exceptionally rich tomb has been found. The exclusive grave goods portray Childeric as a general or high official in Roman service²⁷. After this burial, Clovis shifted the centre of the Merovingian empire southwards, to Reims (dép. Marne/F) and Paris. The »kingdom of Soissons« founded by Aegidius survived under his son Syagrius until it was annexed by the Franks under Clovis in 486.

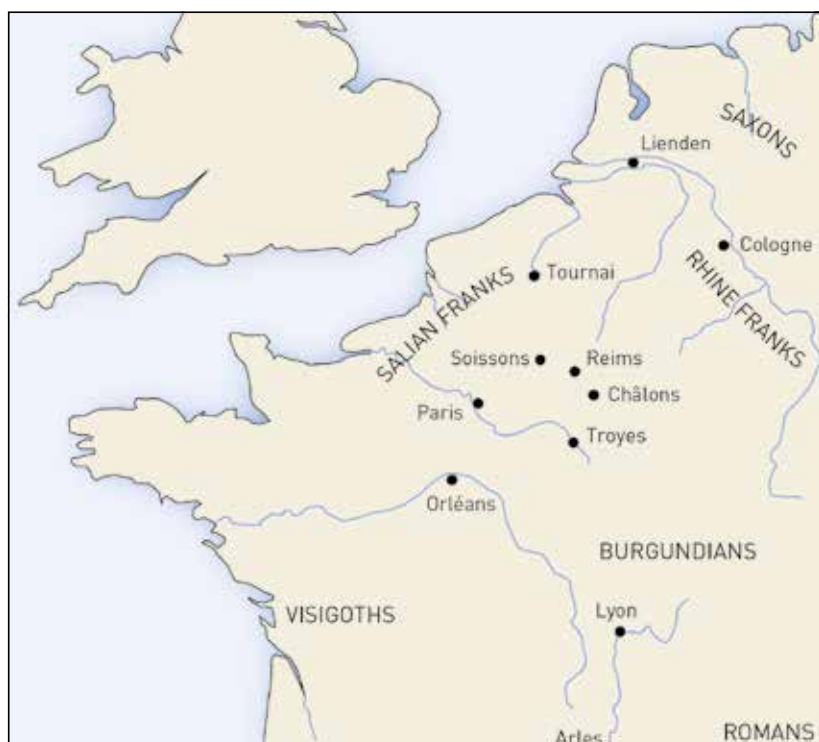


Fig. 10 Map of mid-5th century Gaul with location of sites mentioned in the text. – (Map B. Brouwenstijn, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam).

So how does the hoard of Lienden fit into this story? An important chronological reference point is the absence in the hoard of *solidi* from the Byzantine emperors Leo (457-474) and Zeno (474-491), who are well represented in the coin hoard found in the tomb of Childeric, buried in about 481²⁸. Byzantine *solidi*, especially those from Constantinople, appear in almost all other hoards from the later 5th and early 6th centuries²⁹ and have also occurred as stray finds in Gaul³⁰. They point to the growing influence of the Eastern Roman Empire in the West when the power of Rome diminished still further in the years 460 and 470. The absence of this Eastern Roman material from the Lienden hoard strongly suggests that the coins had been paid to a warlord in the time of Majorian or in the 460s. Against this background, it is an attractive hypothesis to view the owner of the Lienden hoard as a follower of Aegidius, or possibly the newly returned Childeric. Whatever the case, it is a consignment of gold that came from the Western Roman imperial treasury and was paid to the Salian Franks, who at that time were firmly entrenched in Roman networks. Finally, a word about the location of the Lienden hoard. The historically documented events surrounding the Salian Franks at around the middle of the 5th century mainly relate to Northern and Central France. Since the hub of the Merovingian kingdom came to be located around Paris and Reims, Childeric's tomb in Tournai in present-day Belgium was sited in the northern periphery of the Frankish area. The Lienden hoard was located much further to the north, however, and shows that Frankish power in what today is France rested in part on a much larger northern region that stretched as far as the Dutch Rhine/Meuse delta. It is surprising to note that the Dutch river area was still part of the Western Roman sphere of influence in the period 457-465, a remarkably short time before the definitive fall of the Western Empire in 476. In this context, it is important to be aware that the centre of power for the Salian Franks had resided in the Southern Netherlands just a few generations earlier³¹ and that connections with that region are likely to have still existed.

EPILOGUE: PRIVATE METAL DETECTION AND THE NEW HERITAGE ACT OF THE NETHERLANDS

In 2016 the Netherlands passed new legislation, in which metal detection is allowed under certain conditions. The Heritage Act of 1 July 2016 concisely states that digging with the intent to retrieve archaeology is forbidden but that exceptions are possible; an addendum to the law regulates the exceptions. Companies, universities and governmental institutions can get excavation permits, but the topsoil of 30cm is exempt from the obligation to have an excavation permit. This means that metal detection by private individuals is allowed in the 30cm topsoil, provided that the following conditions are met: a) all finds are reported; b) excavations and scheduled monuments are out of bounds; c) permission to enter the land has to be asked from and given by the landowner or the tenant; d) the finder and the landowner share the (possible) commercial value of finds.

The Lienden case study shows that the new cooperation of professional archaeologists and metal detector users is promising and that the regulations are followed, as far as we can see now. The finders of the Lienden hoard declared their finds to archaeologists, came to an agreement with the landowner about the ownership of the finds and voluntarily agreed to lend their own share of the coins to the Museum Het Valkhof (Nijmegen) for a long-term exhibition. Although the above is in line with the regulations, not everything went well. One coin was sold in 2016 without notifying the landowner. One of the metal detector users dug too deep and exceeded the 30cm limit, which resulted in a modern disturbance in the excavation trench. This case was also published in detector magazines, in order to educate the metal detecting community about the importance of observing the 30cm limit and to promote best practices.

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Notes

- 1) See www.portable-antiquities.nl. – The PAN project is funded by the Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek.
- 2) The coin was reported to the Dutch national numismatic database, NUMIS no. 1126316. The find location is not specified further than »Lienden« there, but the finder confirmed to us that the coin was discovered in the same plot of land as the other finds. After reporting the *solidus* to NUMIS, it was auctioned in Geneva in 2016 (Maison Palombo, Auction 15, no. 98).
- 3) Kist 1846, 426. – Kist reported that the coins were found in the spring of 1846. He did not name the coins' owner or finder, but it is unlikely to have been Baron van Brakell since van Brakell's Majorian coin is not mentioned. It is possible that coins were frequently found by local workmen at the same site in the 1840s, and that the landowner van Brakell managed to acquire at least one of them.
- 4) Kramer-Clobus 1978, 484. – Byvanck 1947, 119-120. – Callu/Loriot 1990, cat. 1640.
- 5) Tammes 2015.
- 6) Heuff 1906.
- 7) A *solidus* of Constantine III auctioned in Amsterdam in 2012 (Schulman Auction 339, no. 572) may well have belonged to the Lienden hoard. Earthworks carried out that year at »Den Eng« uncovered eight *solidi*, some of which are of exactly the same type as the auctioned coin, which is otherwise fairly rare. Because nothing is known about the coin's provenance, however, we have not included it in the list of the Lienden coins.
- 8) Kent 1994, 220-222.
- 9) Fischer/López-Sánchez 2016.
- 10) For a detailed excavation report, see Heeren/de Kort/Roymans 2017.
- 11) GrA 68789, 68790, 68760, 68761, with results from 3525 to 3580 BP ± 35. After calibration and allowing for the reservoir effect, the bones have been dated to the period 1900-1500 BC.
- 12) Arnoldussen 2008, 270-272.
- 13) For a detailed story of the complex situation, see for instance de Boone 1954 and Halsall 2007, 242-278.
- 14) Roymans 2017. – Martin 2009.
- 15) Roymans 2017.
- 16) For the rest, a stray *solidus* of Majorian is known from 's-Heerenberg (prov. Gelderland/NL): Byvanck 1947, 157.
- 17) Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks 2.9; de Boone 1954, 140-149.
- 18) Priscus 20,3 in Blockley 1983, 307-308.
- 19) Martin 2009, 23. – Demandt 2007, 188.
- 20) Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks 2.12.
- 21) Ibidem.
- 22) de Boone 1954, 146-147. – Eck 2004, 691-692.
- 23) Halsall 2007, 265-269.
- 24) Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks 2.18.
- 25) Halsall 2007, 269; de Boone 1954, 149-150. – About the relationship between Childeric and Aegidius, see also Jäger 2017, 175-180.
- 26) Geary 2010. – Cf. de Boone 1954, 142-143; Rogge 1996, 144.
- 27) Périn/Kazanski 1996. – Quast 2015a.
- 28) Quast 2015b.
- 29) Fischer/López-Sánchez 2016.
- 30) Callu/Loriot 1990.
- 31) Dierkens/Périn 2003, 166-169.

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Der spätrömische Solidushort von Lienden (prov. Gelderland/NL).

Einblick in römisch-fränkische Kontakte um die Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts am Niederrhein

In den Jahren 2012 und 2016 entdeckten Metallsondengänger bei »Den Eng« im Dorf Lienden im Niederländischen Flussgebiet einen spätrömischen Solidushort. Eine Anzahl von Solidi von demselben Stück Land, die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts zutage gefördert worden waren, gehört wahrscheinlich zu demselben Versteckfund. Der Hort aus Lienden umfasst mind. 42 Münzen und ist von besonderer Bedeutung, da er den spätesten Münzfund mit spätrömischen Prägungen darstellt. Die Schlussmünze wurde unter Kaiser Majorian (457-461) geschlagen. Es ist anzunehmen, dass dieses Ensemble von Goldmünzen um 460 n. Chr. in das Niederländische Flussgebiet gelangte und kurz danach vergraben wurde. Der Hort aus Lienden ist deshalb ein einzigartiges Dokument römisch-fränkischer Beziehungen, über die nur sehr wenige schriftliche Quellen berichten. Er hat möglicherweise einem örtlichen fränkischen Anführer gehört, der Teil des Netzwerkes von Majorian, dessen General Aegidius und des gleichzeitigen fränkischen Königs Childerich I. war.

Übersetzung: M. Struck

The Late Roman *solidus* Hoard from Lienden (prov. Gelderland/NL).

A Window on Romano-Frankish Contacts in the Mid-5th Century Lower Rhine Region

In 2012 and 2016 metal detector users discovered a Late Roman *solidus* hoard at »Den Eng« in the village of Lienden in the Dutch river area. A number of *solidi* found on the same plot of land in the mid-19th century were probably part of the same hoard. The Lienden hoard, consisting of at least 42 coins, is of special importance as it represents the latest Roman coin hoard from the Lower Rhine region. The terminal coin is of emperor Majorian (457-461). We assume that this batch of gold coins entered the Dutch river area in about 460 and was buried shortly afterwards. The Lienden hoard is a unique document of the latest phase of Romano-Frankish interaction, for which written sources are extremely scarce. It may have belonged to a local Frankish leader who was part of the network of Majorian, his general Aegidius and the contemporary Frankish king Childeric I.

Le dépôt de *solidus* romain tardif de Lienden (prov. Gelderland/NL).

Une fenêtre sur les contacts entre Romains et Francs au milieu du 5^e siècle dans la région du Rhin inférieur

En 2012 et 2016, un détecteuriste a découvert un dépôt de *solidus* romain tardif à »Den Eng«, dans le village de Lienden sur la zone néerlandaise du fleuve. De nombreux *solidi* découverts au même endroit au milieu du 19^e siècle doivent provenir du même dépôt. Le dépôt de Lienden consistait donc au moins en 42 pièces, il est important car c'est le dépôt romain le plus tardif dans la région du Rhin inférieur. La monnaie la plus récente représente l'empereur Majorien (457-461). Nous supposons que le lot de pièces d'or est entré dans la zone néerlandaise du Rhin vers 460 et a été enterré peu après. Le dépôt de Lienden est un document unique pour la dernière phase des interactions entre Romains et Francs pour lesquelles les sources écrites sont extrêmement rares. Les monnaies ont pu appartenir au dirigeant Franc local qui constituait une partie de réseau de Majorien, avec son général Aegidius et le roi Franc contemporain Childéric 1^{er}.

Traduction: L. Bernard

Schlüsselwörter / Keywords / Mots clés

Niederlande / Völkerwanderungszeit / Franken / Childerich / Goldhort
Netherlands / Migration Period / Franks / Childeric / gold hoard
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