

das als spätantiker Bischofssitz überliefert ist. Als Anhang folgen noch eine Auflistung der antiken Quellen (S. 81) sowie eine ausführliche Bibliographie (S. 83–87).

Fazit: Insgesamt bietet die hier besprochene Publikation anhand bekannter Funde einen weitgehend vollständigen Überblick über die Einführung und Ausbreitung des Christentums vom frühen 4. bis zum frühen 7. Jahrhundert in den Provinzen, soweit diese auf heute serbischem Staatsgebiet liegen. Dagegen ist der donauabwärts gelegene Teil der Provinz *Dacia ripensis* mit der Provinzhauptstadt *Ratiaria*/Arčar und der traianischen Colonia *Oescus*/Gigen, die beide in der Spätantike eine erneute Blütezeit erlebten und heute zu Bulgarien gehören, nicht berücksichtigt worden. Eine entsprechende Ergänzung der vorliegenden verdienstvollen Publikation wäre daher sehr wünschenswert.

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JÉRÉMIE CHAMEROY / PIERRE-MARIE GUIHARD (eds), *Argentum Romanorum sive Barbarorum. Tradition und Entwicklung im Gebrauch des Silbergeldes im römischen Westen (4.–6. Jh.) / Permanences et évolution des usages monétaires de l'argent du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle dans l'Occident romain*. RGZM – Tagungen Band 41. Verlag des RGZM, Mainz 2020. ISBN 978-3-7954-3563-9. 291 pages with illustrations.

The book consists of thirteen articles based on the 2. *Internationales Numismatikertreffen* that took place in Caen in October 2017. There is furthermore an opening chapter by the editors and a brief concluding chapter by Cécile Morrison, one of the leading scholars on Late Roman numismatics. The opening chapter “Les usages monétaires de l'argent du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle dans l'Occident Romain: Une autre Antiquité?” (pp. VII–XIV) sets the scene. The 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries are often even today seen through a Roman lens inspired by the Gibbonesque ‘fall of empire’ and characterised by spectacular events such as the Sack of Rome by Alaric in 410. Jérémie Chameroy and Pierre-Marie Guihard instead argue that it should be seen as a period of continuous transformations, as (quoting H.-I. MARROU, *Décadence romaine ou antiquité tardive? III<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Paris 1977]) “another antiquity, another civilization that we must learn to recognise in its originality”. The Late Antique period is thus one of gradual break down of centralised Roman hegemony over the Western European territories, but the so-called Successor Kingdoms are in many ways deeply rooted in a Roman cultural legacy. This also applies to the various coinages struck in the period. It is argued that studies of coinages of the 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries have focused on gold rather than silver, and that they are often seen as either Late Antique or Early Medieval without attempts to bridge the two periods. Some important studies of Late Antique silver coinages are presented, and there is a brief overview over corpora of coin finds including Late Antique silver coins, and recent studies of the role of silver in general.

Filippo Carlà-Uhink and Gilles Bransbourg both address the role of Imperial silver coinage in the monetary system in the period after the Tetrarchic monetary reforms in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century. Based on a close reading of literary sources F. Carlà-Uhink (pp. 1–16) argues that silver coins fluctuated between gold and billon in what was essentially a bimetallic rather than trimetallic monetary system. Silver was therefore a secondary metal, and as such less often mentioned in literary sources, perhaps leading to a false impression of disappearance of silver. Furthermore, he warns that the

commonly employed use of *siliqua*, *miliarensis* etc. as modern invented names for various denominations is highly problematic and “an obstacle to correct interpretation of the data”. G. Bransbourg (pp. 17–50) uses calculations based on the relations between coins struck in gold, silver and ‘other metal’ in the collections of the *Agence du Numérique en Santé* (ANS) in addition to the written sources. He sees two attempts at installing a gold/silver coinage system during the 4<sup>th</sup> century, one in the early part of the century, another around the middle. By the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century new sources of gold led to a conscious policy phasing out the production of silver coins.

Coin finds constitute the main source for the majority of the articles. P.-M. Guihard has collected a catalogue of some 200 single finds of silver coins from the 4<sup>th</sup> century in northwestern Europe, mainly the area between the Rhine and the Seine, and compared them with single finds of gold coins (pp. 51–88). There is a clear domination of silver coins struck in the Trier mint, and some coins from Lyons and Arles, whereas eastern mints are only represented by few specimens. The Trier area has produced by far the largest number of finds, but particularly in the middle and the third quarter of the century silver is also well represented within modern Belgium. Many of the 4<sup>th</sup> century coins, typically more than 30%, have been found in cemeteries, but there is a general diversity in the contexts’ types recorded. However, it should be noted that only 117 coins derive from known context types, and dividing them in six phases with six context types, only a few new finds might alter this picture. Finds from cemeteries might well be overrepresented due to the often meticulous excavation of burials. Guihard notes that in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century the distribution of gold and silver seems similar.

The coins of Constantine III are not included in Guihard’s study, but they are treated in David Wigg-Wolf’s contribution (pp. 103–116). Departing from a presentation of a recent detector find of *denarii* and *siliquae* interpreted as the remains of a single, mixed, hoard scattered by ploughing, he revisits previous finds of Late Roman silver coins around Mainz and in present-day Germany north of the Rhine. The very high number of finds in the Mainz area is dominated by late issues, and in particular among the single finds a clear domination of coins struck during the short reign of Constantine III, whereas the finds from the Barbaricum in general are of earlier types. Mapping of gold coins from the Barbaricum and the Mainz area furthermore reveals that 4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century gold coins have been found in much larger numbers in the Barbaricum than silver coins. The predominance of silver coins of Constantine III in the Mainz area has previously been interpreted as payments to Alamannic leaders, but D. Wigg-Wolf suggests seeing them as Constantine III’s attempt to “re-establish the security of a neuralgic point”, namely the Rhine crossing at Mainz. Wigg-Wolf reminds that silver hoards of Constantine III have also been found in the Pyrenean region, where they may be related to his wars in these areas, and he stresses the importance of Constantine III’s background in Britain, where silver coinage seems to have been far more important than in other parts of Europe.

Richard Abdy and Simon Esmonde Cleary take us to the British Isles to examine the clipping phenomenon of Late-Roman and/or Sub-Roman Britain (R. Abdy) and the function of silver in both sub-Roman and non-Roman Britain and Ireland (S. E. Cleary). The clipping phenomenon has attracted much attention, and Abdy provides a good summary of the research history (pp. 135–150). He argues that the clipping was constricted to the smaller silver coins (*siliquae*), while larger silver coins (*miliarensis*) and gold coins were less exposed, and that it began during the brief period between Constantine III’s usurpation and his leaving for the Continent, as clipped *siliquae* were found in hoards from the Pyrenean area related to Constantine III. The Patching Hoard (West Sussex, England), deposited in or after the 460s and containing unclipped *siliquae*, suggests that the clipping phenomenon had ended by then, if not earlier.

Cleary takes a much broader view on the use of silver in the British Isles in the 4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries (pp. 151–176). In many ways the situation differs from that of the Continent. It features the break-off of Roman government of the province in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. This may have spurred the hoarding horizon of the early 5<sup>th</sup> century in southeast England with large depositions of not only coins but also large amounts of Roman silver ware. In the following period, however, silver seems to have been of little interest to the incoming Anglo-Saxon culture, where gold was the preferred expression of status, as was also the case in the wider North Sea world. Scotland, on the contrary, features a number of finds of heavy silver objects, not least the so-called Pictish neck chains and the hacksilver hoards from Norrie's Law and Gaulcross. This material has previously been dated in the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries, but recent research suggest that it is somewhat older, from the late 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Throughout Cleary stresses the differences in the handling and use of silver from one region to another, prompting the need for further in-depth analysis with a view to these differences.

Contrary to the large amounts of Roman coins found in Britain in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the sudden absence of coins struck after c. 400/410 AD is striking. It is an open question for how long 4<sup>th</sup> century Roman coins may have continued in use, but evidence suggests that it must have been on a limited scale. Extremely interesting in comparison with the Continent is the complete lack of any attempts at creating local or regional coinages in the British Isles, whether inside or outside formerly Roman areas, until the early 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Back in the Continent Jean-Patrick Duchemin highlights the changing use of coins in burials beginning in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century (pp. 89–102). Whereas coins in Roman burials are normally base metal / low denomination coins, silver and gold coins begin to appear in burials from northern Gaul in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Both current Roman coins and local silver coins are used, as well as old Roman *denarii*. In a period when Roman base metal coins are abundantly available this reflects a conscious choice. J. P. Duchemin suggests that silver and gold coins are used by persons of Germanic or mixed descent.

Holger Komnick focuses on the 31 coin pendants from a necklace found in the Heilbronn-Böckingen burial. No less than 26 of the coins are imitations based on Late Roman *siliquae*: 24 are identified as Early Frankish coins based on prototypes of Arcadius, and H. Komnick compares them with a number of other finds from the same general area, including a hoard with 24 imitations from Dortmund (pp. 177–190). The remaining two coins are North-Gallic imitations of Honorius. The burial is dated 480–510 and thus the prototypes and the burial provide a chronological frame for the production of the coin imitations. Two Honorius imitations have 'CONOB' as mintmark also seen on a *siliqua* imitation with the name of Anthemius (467–472), and Komnick therefore suggests a date for them in the late part of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

Fran Stroobants discusses 21 5<sup>th</sup> century silver coins found in eight sites in Belgium (pp. 191–208). There are good descriptions of the contexts of the coins, and some considerations as to their use in burials as opposed to the few settlement finds. Some of the imitations discussed by Komnick are among these, and cross reference between the articles would have been useful.

Also in J. Chameroy's contribution there is some overlapping in the sense that coins discussed in other articles are not cross-referenced (pp. 209–230). Chameroy focuses on workshops and mint authorities in 5<sup>th</sup> century Gaul and he has produced important distribution maps of each type. The Imperial and Pseudo-Imperial issues are mainly distributed in northern France. The Imperial coins were struck in Trier, while the Pseudo-Imperial coinages may be the work of several workshops. The two groups do not appear in the same finds. The royal *argentei* naming Frankish kings are mainly from Provence (between Arles and Marseille), and coins from the Ostrogothic kingdom derive from finds between the Seine and the Rhine with an important concentration in the Mainz area. The

paper thus indicates a high degree of regional use of the coins from individual workshops. The silver issues on the whole discontinued after c. 530 AD.

Majorian's silver coins from Gaul is the theme of Jean-Marc Doyen (pp. 117–135). In Kent's *RIC X* (1994) only two types were known, but since then the material has grown considerably, and J.-M. Doyen presents a catalogue of 58 coins divided into twelve types. It is argued that systematic use of metal detectors has played a prominent role in the acceleration of finds of these tiny coins, which were probably much more common than hitherto believed. The identification of no less than 37 obverse and 38 reverse dies for the die identified 51 coins is striking. The distribution of Majorian's silver coins seems restricted to the area along the Rhône and Saône towards Mulhouse, and it is suggested that they may have been minted in Lyons. It is interesting to compare this distribution with the maps presented by Chameroy.

Guillaume Blanchet, Guillaume Sarah and Chameroy have conducted an archeometric study of 16 coins found in Merovingian necropoleis in Normandy and the Rhineland (pp. 231–249). The chemical composition of the coins reveals a rather high content of gold, which may derive from re-use of formerly gilded silverware. The majority of the analysed coins have a silver (+ gold) content of around 95 %, and only three of them, among which the two analysed coins from Schwarzhendorf near Bonn, held less than 90 % silver. Combined analysis of the contents of bismuth, zinc, tin, and copper reveals interesting differences between the small groups consisting of two coins from Germany, two blanks found at Sannerville, and type identical coins found in a purse at Hérouvillette. The number of analysed coins is still very low, but this is an interesting example of how archaeometallurgy can reveal new and otherwise inaccessible information.

Michele Asolati's study of the 6<sup>th</sup> century silver coinage ascribed to the Gepids is a bit off-topic in a volume dedicated to the Roman West (pp. 249–270). Nevertheless, it is highly interesting. M. Asolati has collected information on (probably) newly found coins from web-based sales, thus enlarging the volume of material available greatly. Unfortunately, this material has not been reported to authorities, which means that all studies are based on information inherent in the coins themselves and information on finds spots that cannot be checked. Asolati's methodology is duly declared, and his work underlines that use of unreported finds can be very useful for type studies. Asolati's die-study has greatly benefitted from new technologies, not just the metal detector that may be responsible for the many new finds, but also cheap and easily transmittable digital photos making the material available for study. Asolati is thus able to present convincing arguments of large and closely linked 6<sup>th</sup> century issues produced probably in *Sremska Mitrovica / Sirmium*. The coin legends read Anastasius, Justin, and Justinian, but it is highly probable that a number of them were in fact issued after the death of the named emperor. Stylistic analysis induces Asolati to suggest that some of the coins named Justinian and Justin belong to the period of Justin II, perhaps even after the "fall" of the Gepid state in 567. The die count analysis points to a relatively large mint output, although some of the types are (still) known in only few specimens.

The volume deals with the 'Roman' west in the 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, when Roman political hegemony gradually disappeared in western Europe. Despite the claimed wish to see the 'other' antiquity in its own right and originality, the vocabulary underlines the Roman cultural longevity and the dichotomy between Rome and 'the other' in the sheer use of words. Our vocabulary has been formed through centuries of scholarship focusing on Rome, and it has proved very difficult to avoid.

The strength of the book is not a coherent overview on the use of silver coins in northwestern Europe in the 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, but rather the contrary. It is striking to see the substantial number of smaller and larger regionally distributed silver issues of Late Antiquity, in some cases coexisting.

The studies of the regional coinages appearing in several areas during Late Antiquity are most welcome, and there is an impression that silver coinages are under-represented among finds. Contrary to the situation on the Continent, the complete absence of any 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century minting attempts in the British Isles is highly interesting. The volume is a most welcome and inspiring contribution to a field of numismatics with much potential for future research.

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**JOCHEN HABERSTROH / IRMTRAUT HEITMEIER (eds), Gründerzeit. Siedlung in Bayern zwischen Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter.** Bayerische Landesgeschichte und europäische Regionalgeschichte volume 3. EOS Verlag, Sankt Ottilien 2019. € 59.00. ISBN 978-3-8306-7941-7 (Hardcover). LII and 958 pages with 195 figures and 2 maps.

In spite of the intensive research and discussion that has taken place since the 1988 exhibition on “The Baiuvarii”, shown in Rosenheim and Mattsee (DANNHEIMER/DOPSCH 1988), the early history of Bavaria, or Baiern as it was then known, still holds many open questions. These concern amongst others the meaning of the name and the origin of the group that proved to be essential for subsequent ethnogenesis, the continuity of the duchy from Late Antique times and the previous area of influence and residence of the Agilolfings, but also extend to problems relevant to settlement history, such as a possible fiscal succession and the continuation of Roman infrastructure, the origin and significance of the Genealogiae, climatic developments and epidemic events, the beginnings of seigniorial relations and ecclesiastical centres or a possible break between the Agilolfing and Carolingian periods. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Benediktbeuern colloquium, held in October 2015 under the title “From Roman *villa* to Early Medieval village in Bavaria. Structural changes in the settled landscape in Late and post-Antique times” aimed to address such questions (Jochen Haberstroh, Irmtraut Heitmeier, Zeit – Raum – Ort: Einleitung, pp. XIII–XXXI; Time – space – place: Introduction, pp. XXXIII–LI; English translation by Pia Lucas) and to exploit “the enormous research potential of the cooperation between heritage management and regional history” (preface by Mathias Pfeil and Ferdinand Kramer, p. V).

The 26 contributions that have resulted from this colloquium have been divided into an introductory section named “Re-presentations” (pp. 3–243), which also offers comparisons to other regions of the Late Roman Empire, and a section titled “Time – space – place: diachronic, spatial and local dimensions” (pp. 247–927), in which “time” (pp. 247–443), “space” (pp. 447–686) and “place” (pp. 691–927) have been accorded almost equal coverage. The succession of individual chapters is not always logical, which is why this review follows a different order.

The “perceptions” begin with a Rheno-Danubian comparison of Late Antique settlement continuities and discontinuities (Bernd Päffgen, Von der römischen Villa zum frühmittelalterlichen Dorf? Archäologische Befunde und Deutungsansätze aus dem Rheinland und aus Bayern, pp. 3–75). The well-investigated areas show a parallel reduction in settlement intensity in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. Only few *villae rusticae* were being managed into the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Cologne-Müngersdorf, Burgweinting). While some of their lands were used into the Merovingian Period (Merzbach valley, Lohner Soth) and while newly constructed buildings were added to the still visible remains of earlier ones (Nas-