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# The Les Alqueries Hoard of Antoniniani<sup>1</sup>

PERE PAU RIPOLLÈS AND MANUEL GOZALBES

[PLATES 18–26]

IN December 1947 a hoard of 144 antoniniani was found during clay extraction work on a farm situated on the right bank of the Sec de Betxi river some two kilometres from Villareal in the municipal district of Les Alqueries, Castellón de la Plana, in eastern Spain (Fig. 1). The find-spot was subsequently identified as part of an archaeological site covering more than 3500 square metres. Later excavations uncovered a funerary inscription and finds of pottery of various types.<sup>2</sup> The coins were concealed in a short, open-necked, spherical jar, yellowish-grey in colour, with a small base and handle. It came to light when the clay-workers were demolishing a wall which formed part of a modest construction whose floor was of beaten earth and whose walls were largely unplastered. The purpose of the building is at present uncertain.

One hundred and twenty-two coins from the hoard were eventually recovered from the workers who had found them by Professor F. Esteve Gálvez, in whose collection they now are. All are catalogued below and will in due course be consigned to the Museum of Fine Arts in Castellón. The remaining 22 coins were dispersed, but Professor Esteve Gálvez saw 10 of them at the time and recorded that, apart from one coin of Philip I, they all belonged to Gallienus, Salonina and Valerian II; these coins are not included in the statistics published below.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We are grateful to Pepa Vázquez and Roberto Soria for their help with casts and card indices respectively; to C. E. King and C. J. Howgego for their suggestions and comments; to Prof. F. Esteve Gálvez for making available to us both the coins and the notes about their discovery which he made at the time; to Brendan Moore for translating our Spanish text; and to R. H. J. Ashton for his editorial interventions.

<sup>2</sup> For this site, which seems to comprise a villa and a burial-ground, see J. M. Doñate Sebastia, 'Arqueología Romana de Villareal (Castellón)', *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina* XII (1969), p. 212 (with mention of the hoard), and F. Arasa, *Territori i poblament en epoca romana a les comarques septentrionals del litoral valencià*, Vol. 1 (Valencia, 1995), pp. 762–3.

<sup>3</sup> In 1951 F. Mateu y Llopis was shown 32 of the 122 coins and published them in a volume of coin hoards: 'Hallazgos monetarios VII', *Numario Hispánico* 1 (1952), pp. 244–5, no. 535: the 'Castellón de la Plana' hoard, the inexact name under which it has often been cited subsequently.

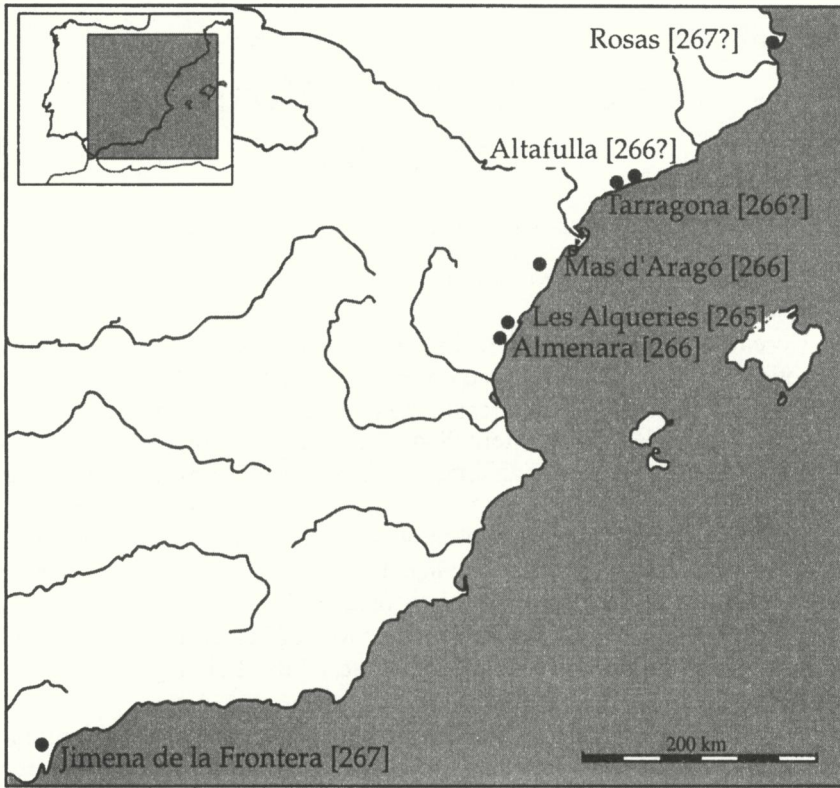


FIG. 1. Hoards of the period AD 260–268 found on the coast of Tarraconensis.

#### CATALOGUE<sup>4</sup>

##### Gordian III

1. Rome. 4th issue. AD 241–243.  
*Obv.* IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG  
*Rev.* PM TR P V COS II P P. 4.05 g; 6 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 25, 89.
2. Rome. 5th issue. AD 243–244.  
*Obv.* IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG  
*Rev.* PROVID AVG. 3.55 g; 12 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 31, 148.

##### Philip I

3. Rome. AD 244–247.  
*Obv.* IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG  
*Rev.* LAETIT FVNDAT. 3.90 g; 7 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 72, 36b.

<sup>4</sup> *Cunetio* = E. Besly and R. Bland, *The Cunetio Treasure* (London, 1983); Elks = K. J. J. Elks, 'The eastern mints of Valerian and Gallienus: the evidence of two hoards from eastern Turkey', *NC* 1975, pp. 91–109.

4. Rome. AD 244–247.  
*Obv.* IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG  
*Rev.* LIBERALITAS AVG II. 3.68 g; 6 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 72, 38b.
5. Rome. AD 244–247.  
*Obv.* IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG  
*Rev.* SALVS AVG. 4.25 g; 12 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 73, 46b.
6. Rome. AD 248.  
*Obv.* IMP PHILIPPVS AVG  
*Rev.* SAECVLARES AVG-COS III. 3.64 g; 6 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 71, 24c.
- Otacilia Severa**
7. Rome. AD 246–248.  
*Obv.* M OTACIL SEVERA AVG  
*Rev.* CONCORDIA AVG. 4.23 g; 6 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 83, 126.
8. Rome. AD 248–249.  
*Obv.* OTACIL SEVERA AVG  
*Rev.* PIETAS AVGVSTAE. 4.66 g; 6 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 84, 130.
- Trajan Decius**
9. Rome. AD 249–251.  
*Obv.* IMP C M Q TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG  
*Rev.* GENIVS EXERC ILLVRICIANI. 4.46 g; 6 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 122, 16c.
10. Rome. AD 250–251.  
*Obv.* DIVO COMMODO  
*Rev.* CONSECRATIO. 2.77 g; 7 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 132, 94.
- Herennia Etruscilla**
11. Rome. AD 249–251.  
*Obv.* HER ETRVSCILLA AVG  
*Rev.* FECVNDITAS AVG. 3.63 g; 12 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 127, 55b.
12. Similar. 3.21 g; 12 h.
- Volusian**
13. Rome. AD 253.  
*Obv.* IMP CAE C VIB VOLVSIANO AVG.  
*Rev.* P M TR P IIII COS II. 2.71 g; 12 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 175, 140.
14. Rome. AD 253.  
*Obv.* IMP CAE C VIB VOLVSIANO AVG  
*Rev.* PIETAS AVGG. 2.81 g; 12 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 179, 182.
- Trebonianus Gallus**
15. Rome. AD 251–253.  
*Obv.* IMP CAE C VIB TREB GALLVS AVG  
*Rev.* FELICITAS PVBLICA.   \* 3.61 g; 6 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 162, 34.
16. Rome. AD 251–253.  
*Obv.* IMP CAE C VIB TREB GALLVS AVG  
*Rev.* LIBERTAS AVGG. 4.17 g; 6 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 163, 39.
- Aemilian**
17. Rome. AD 253.  
*Obv.* IMP AEMILIANVS PIVS FEL AVG  
*Rev.* PACI AVG. 2.93 g; 7 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 195, 8.

18. Rome. AD 253.

*Obv.* IMP AEMILIANVS PIVS FEL AVG

*Rev.* DIANAE VICTRI. 4.51 g; 11 h; *RIC* IV-3, p. 194, 2b.

**Valerian and Gallienus: joint reign**

**Valerian**

19. Rome. 1st series.

*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG

*Rev.* APOLLONI PROPG. 3.67 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 45, 74; *Cunetio* 437.

20. Rome. 1st series.

*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG

*Rev.* VICTORIA AVGG. 2.64 g; 1 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 48, 125; *Cunetio* 447.

21. Similar. 2.61 g; 12 h.

22. Rome. 2nd series.

*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS PF AVG

*Rev.* FELICITAS AVGG. 3.31 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 45, 87; *Cunetio* 469.

23. Similar. 3.27 g; 12 h.

24. Similar. 2.87 g; 12 h.

25. Rome. 2nd series.

*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS PF AVG

*Rev.* ORIENS AVG. 3.27 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 47, 106; *Cunetio* 481.

26. Similar. 2.70 g; 6 h.

27. Similar. 2.46 g; 12 h.

28. Similar. 2.89 g; 12 h.

29. Rome. 2nd series.

*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS PF AVG

*Rev.* ORENS AVG (*sic*). 3.98 g; 11 h; cf. *RIC* V-1, p. 47, 106.

30. Rome. 2nd series.

*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS PF AVG

*Rev.* ORIENS AVG. 2.73 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 47, 106; *Cunetio* 484.

31. Rome. 2nd series.

*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS PF AVG

*Rev.* ORIENS AVG. 2.54 g; 1 h; *RIC* V-1, P. 47, 106; *Cunetio* 485.

32. Similar. 2.08 g; 1 h.

33. Rome. 2nd series.

*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS PF AVG

*Rev.* PROVIDENTIA AVGG. 3.16 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 47, 113; *Cunetio* 494.

34. Rome. 2nd series.

*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS PF AVG

*Rev.* RESTITVTOR ORBIS. 2.05 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 47, 117; *Cunetio* 495.

35. Milan.

*Obv.* IMP VALERIANVS AVG

*Rev.* SECVRIT PERPET. 3.03 g; *RIC* V-1, p. 57, 256; *Cunetio* 747.

36. Similar. 3.11 g; 6 h.

37. Eastern mint. AD 254.

*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG

*Rev.* VENVS VICTRIX. 3.27 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 55, 222; *Cunetio* 807.

38. Eastern mint. AD 254.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG  
*Rev.* VICTORIA AVGG. 3.00 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 55, 223; *Cunetio* 808.
39. Eastern mint. AD 255.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG  
*Rev.* VICTORIAE AVGG. 3.62 g; ; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 55, 225; *Cunetio* 822.
40. Eastern mint. AD 255.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG  
*Rev.* VOTA ORBIS. 2.60 g; 5 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 60, 294; *Cunetio* 847.
41. Eastern mint. AD 256–257.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS PF AVG  
*Rev.* PIETAS AVGG. 3.08 g; *RIC* V-1, p. 60, 285; *Cunetio* 848.
42. Similar. 3.22 g; 12 h.
43. Similar. 2.52 g; 11–12 h.
44. Eastern mint. AD 256–257.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS PF AVG  
*Rev.* RESTITVT ORIENTIS. 2.73 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 60, 287; *Cunetio* 850.
45. Similar. 3.14 g; 5 h.
46. Eastern mint. AD 257.  
*Obv.* IMP VALERIANVS AVGG  
*Rev.* FELICITAS AVGG. 3.65 g; 5 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 60, 283; *Cunetio* 834.
47. Eastern mint. AD 257.  
*Obv.* IMP VALERIANVS AVG  
*Rev.* P M TR P V COS IIII P P. 2.98 g; 1 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 59, 277; *Cunetio* 835.
48. Eastern mint. AD 258–259.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS PF AVG  
*Rev.* PIETAS AVGG. \*. 3.68 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 60, 285; *Cunetio* 872.
49. Similar. 3.10 g; 6 h.
50. Similar. 3.43 g; 12 h.
51. Eastern mint. AD 258–259.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS P F AVG  
*Rev.* RESTITVT ORIENTIS. \*. 3.41 g; 5 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 60, 287; *Cunetio* 874.
52. Similar. 3.14 g; 12 h.
53. Similar. 3.59 g; 5 h.

### Gallienus

54. Rome. 1st series.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* IOVI CONSERVA. 3.02 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 81, 143; *Cunetio* 545.
55. Rome. 1st series.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* VIRTVS AVGG. 2.34 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 83, 181; *Cunetio* 549.
56. Similar. 3.81 g; 6 h.
57. Rome. 2nd series.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS PF AVG  
*Rev.* VIRTVS AVGG. 2.87 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 83, 182; *Cunetio* 572.

58. Rome. 3rd series, 1st phase.  
*Obv.* IMP GALLIENVS PF AVG CERM  
*Rev.* VIRTVS AVGG. 2.52 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 83, 186; *Cunetio* 599.
59. Similar. 2.51 g; 12 h.
60. Rome. 3rd series, 2nd phase.  
*Obv.* IMP GALLIENVS PF AVG GM  
*Rev.* PAX AVGG. 3.38 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 81, 157; *Cunetio* 614.
61. Rome. 4th series, 1st phase.  
*Obv.* IMP GALLIENVS PF AVG GM  
*Rev.* PAX AVGG. T|\_|. 3.29 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 81, 157 var.; *Cunetio* 626.
62. Rome. 4th series, 1st phase.  
*Obv.* IMP GALLIENVS PF AVG GM  
*Rev.* PAX AVGG. V|\_|. 5.26 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 81, 157 var.; *Cunetio* 632.
63. Rome. 4th series, 2nd phase.  
*Obv.* IMP GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* PAX AVGG. T|\_|. 3.84 g; 12 h; *Cunetio* 635.
64. Mint of Gaul.  
*Obv.* GALLIENVS PF AVG  
*Rev.* VIRT GALLIENI AVG. 3.08 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 72, 54; *Cunetio* 728.
65. Eastern mint. AD 255.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* VIRTVS AVGG. 3.81 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 104, 455; *Cunetio* 846.
66. Eastern mint. AD 255.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* RESTITVT ORIENTIS. 3.25 g; 1 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 103, cf. 448.
67. Eastern mint. AD 256–257.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS PF AVG  
*Rev.* PIETAS AVGG. 3.87 g; 7 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 103, 447; *Cunetio* 849.
68. Similar. 3.42 g; 5 h.
69. Eastern mint. AD 256–257.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS PF AVG  
*Rev.* VIRTVS AVGG. 3.90 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 104, 456; *Cunetio* 852.
70. Eastern mint. AD 257.  
*Obv.* IMP GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* VICTORIA GERMAN. 3.28 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 104, 452; *Cunetio* 839.
71. Eastern mint. AD 258–259.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS PF AVG  
*Rev.* PIETAS AVGG. ♂. 3.76 g; 7 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 103, 447; *Cunetio* 867.
72. Eastern mint. AD 258–259.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS PF AVG  
*Rev.* VIRTVS AVGG. \* . 3.23 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 104, 456; *Cunetio* 875.

### Salonina

73. Rome. 1st series.  
*Obv.* SALONINA AVG  
*Rev.* IVNO REGINA. 3.10 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 111, 29; *Cunetio* 651.
74. Similar. 2.74 g; 7 h.
75. Similar. 2.02 g; 6 h.



76. Similar. 3.18 g; 12 h.  
 77. Similar. 2.65 g; 6 h.  
 78. Similar. 2.88 g; 4–5 h.  
 79. Rome. 1st series.  
     *Obv.* SALONINA AVG  
     *Rev.* PIETAS AVGG. 2.81 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 111, 35; *Cunetio* 655.  
 80. Similar. 2.30 g; 12 h.  
 81. Rome. 1st series.  
     *Obv.* SALONINA AVG  
     *Rev.* VENVS VICTRIX. 3.12 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 112, 37 corr.; *Cunetio* 657.  
 82. Milan.  
     *Obv.* SALONINA AVG  
     *Rev.* FECVNDITAS AVG. 2.31 g; 1 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 114, 57; *Cunetio* 757.  
 83. Similar. 2.41 g; 11 h.  
 84. Mint of Gaul.  
     *Obv.* SALONINA AVG  
     *Rev.* FELICITAS PVBLICA. 3.37 g; 1 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 108, 6; *Cunetio* 732.  
 85. Eastern mint. AD 256–257.  
     *Obv.* CORN SALONINA AVG  
     *Rev.* CONCORDIA AVGG. 3.97 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 114, 63; *Cunetio* 855.  
 86. Similar. 3.90 g; 5 h.  
 87. Similar. 3.62 g; 11 h.  
 88. Similar. 3.82 g; 11 h.  
 89. Similar. 2.86 g; 11–12 h.  
 90. Eastern mint. AD 256–257.  
     *Obv.* SALONINA AVG  
     *Rev.* ROMAE AETERNAE. 2.88 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 115, 67; *Cunetio* 856.  
 91. Eastern mint. AD 258–259.  
     *Obv.* CORN SALONINA AVG  
     *Rev.* CONCORDIA AVGG. Ⲙ. 4.05 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 114, 63; *Cunetio* 870.
- Valerian II**
92. Rome.  
     *Obv.* P C L VALERIANVS NOB CAES  
     *Rev.* PIETAS AVGG. 2.39 g; 11 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 118, 20; *Cunetio* 664.  
 93. Rome.  
     *Obv.* DIVO CAES VALERIANO  
     *Rev.* CONSECRATIO. ⸮. 3.22 g; 1 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 119, 27; *Cunetio* 686.  
 94. Similar. 2.83 g; 7 h.  
 95. Rome.  
     *Obv.* DIVO CAES VALERIANO  
     *Rev.* CONSECRATIO. 1.98 g; 11 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 118, 24; *Cunetio* 677.  
 96. Similar. 2.99 g; 7 h.  
 97. Mint of Gaul.  
     *Obv.* VALERIANVS CAES  
     *Rev.* IOVI CRESCENTI. 4.01 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 116, 3; *Cunetio* 738.  
 98. Eastern mint. AD 256–257.  
     *Obv.* VALERIANVS NOBIL CAES  
     *Rev.* PRINC IVVENTVTIS. 3.05 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 122, 49; *Cunetio* 857.

**Saloninus**

99. Rome.  
*Obv.* LIC COR SAL VALERIANVS N CAES  
*Rev.* PRINC IVVENT.  $\overline{\text{I}}$  $\overline{\text{P}}$ . 3.91 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 126, 28; *Cunetio* 700.
100. Mint of Gaul.  
*Obv.* SALON VALERIANVS CAES  
*Rev.* PIETAS AVG. 2.22 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 124, 9; *Cunetio* 744.
101. Eastern mint. AD 256–257.  
*Obv.* SALON VALERIANVS NOB CAES  
*Rev.* SPES PVBLICA. 3.35 g; 5 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 127, 36; *Cunetio* 858.
102. Similar. 3.10 g; 5 h.
103. Similar. 3.51 g; 11 h.
104. Eastern mint. AD 258–259.  
*Obv.* SALON VALERIANVS NOB CAES  
*Rev.* SPES PVBLICA.  $\overline{\text{*}}$ . 3.71 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 127, 36; *Cunetio* 878.

**Gallienus, sole reign****Gallienus**

105. Rome. 1st series.  
*Obv.* IMP GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* VIC GALL AVG III.  $\overline{\text{T}}$  $\overline{\text{L}}$ . 1.96 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 156, 296 var.; *Cunetio* 888.
106. Rome. 2nd series.  
*Obv.* GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* IOVI VLTORI.  $\overline{\text{S}}$  $\overline{\text{L}}$ . 3.41 g; 8 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 150, 221; *Cunetio* 938.
107. Rome. 2nd series.  
*Obv.* GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* VICTORIA AVG [III].  $\overline{\text{T}}$  $\overline{\text{L}}$ . 2.76 g; 4 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 157, 301/305; *Cunetio* 947.
108. Rome. 2nd series.  
*Obv.* GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* VICTORIA AVG III.  $\overline{\text{T}}$  $\overline{\text{L}}$ . 2.58 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 157, 305; *Cunetio* 950.
109. Similar. 2.76 g; 4–5 h.
110. Rome. 2nd series.  
*Obv.* GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* VICTORIA AVG III. 3.18 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 157, cf. 305; *Cunetio* 958.
111. Rome. 2nd series.  
*Obv.* GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* PAX AVG.  $\overline{\text{V}}$  $\overline{\text{L}}$ . 2.56 g; 5 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 153, 256; *Cunetio* 965.
112. Rome. 4th series.  
*Obv.* GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* INDVLGENT AVG.  $\overline{\text{P}}$ . 3.56 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 148, 205; *Cunetio* 1118.
113. Eastern mint. Before the usurpation of Macrianus and Quietus.  
*Obv.* IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS PF AVG  
*Rev.* VICTORIA AVG.  $\overline{\text{A}}$ . 3.67 g; 1 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 104, 450; *Cunetio* 1877.

114. Eastern mint. Elks, 2nd issue. AD 263.  
*Obv.* GALLIENVS PF AVG  
*Rev.* VIRTVS AVGVSTI.  $\overline{\text{I}}$ \*. 4.13 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 190, 672 var.
115. Eastern mint. Elks, 3rd issue. AD 264.  
*Obv.* GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* AEQVTAS AVG. \* $\overline{\text{I}}$ . 2.89 g; 5 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 186, 627; *Cunetio* 1894.
116. Eastern mint. Elks, 3rd issue. AD 264.  
*Obv.* GALLIENVS AVG  
*Rev.* AETERNITATI AVG. \* $\overline{\text{I}}$ . 3.30 g; 5 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 187, 630.
- Salonina**
117. Rome. 1st and 2nd series.  
*Obv.* SALONINA AVG  
*Rev.* VESTA.  $\overline{\text{I}}$ . 2.48 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 194, 32; *Cunetio* 988.
118. Rome. 1st and 2nd series.  
*Obv.* SALONINA AVG  
*Rev.* PVDICITIA.  $\overline{\text{VI}}$  $\overline{\text{I}}$ . 2.60 g; 1 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 194, 25; *Cunetio* 991.
119. Rome. 1st and 2nd series.  
*Obv.* SALONINA AVG  
*Rev.* VENVS GENETRIX. 3.00 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 194, 30; *Cunetio* 995.
120. Rome. 4th series.  
*Obv.* SALONINA AVG  
*Rev.* PVDICITIA.  $\overline{\text{Q}}$ . 3.23 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 194, 25; *Cunetio* 1146.
121. Eastern mint. Elks, 4th issue. AD 265.  
*Obv.* SALONINA AVG  
*Rev.* CERERI AVG.  $\overline{\text{III}}$ . 3.11 g; 6 h; *RIC* V-1, p. 200, 90 var.

**Quietus**

122. Eastern mint. AD 260–261.  
*Obv.* IMP C FVL QVIETVS P F AVG  
*Rev.* AEQVTAS AVG [*sic*]. \* $\overline{\text{I}}$ . 4.42 g; 12 h; *RIC* V-2, p. 583, 10.

The Les Alqueries hoard is formed exclusively of antoniniani of all emperors between Gordian III and Gallienus (Fig. 2). The coins of the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus (253–260) form 72.9% of the total, as against 14.7% for the period 241–252 and 12.3% for the post-260 period. The three most recent pieces are a coin from the fourth Rome issue of Gallienus (*INDVLGENT AVG*), a coin of Salonina (*PVDICITIA*) of the same issue, and a coin of Salonina from Antioch with a palm-branch in the exergue (*CERERI AVG*), all dating AD 265.<sup>5</sup> This indicates a burial date of AD 265–266, although it is of course theoretically possible that the hoard was buried later, its owner having deliberately excluded the abundant fifth and sixth Rome issues (AD 266 and AD 267–268) because of the poor quality of their metal.

The abundance of eastern coins is one of the notable features of the hoard, forming as they do some 35.24% of the total, and 41.34% for the period

<sup>5</sup> R. Bland and A. Burnett (eds), *The Normanby Hoard and Other Roman Coin Hoards* (London, 1988), pp. 119–23; Elks (n. 4), pp. 105–6.

	Rome	Milan	Eastern mint	Mint in Gaul	Uncertain	TOTAL
Gordian III	2					2
Philip I	4					4
Otacia Severa	2					2
Trajan Decius	2					2
Herennia Etruscilla	2					2
Volusian	2					2
Trebonianus Gallus	2					2
Aemilian	2					2
Valerian	16	2	17			35
Gallienus (253–260)	10		8	1		19
Salonina (253–260)	9	2	7	1		19
Valerian II	5		1	1		7
Saloninus	1		4	1		6
Gallienus (260–268)	8		4			12
Salonina (260–268)	4		1			5
Quietus			1			1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>122</b>

FIG. 2. Composition of the Les Alqueries hoard.

253–265, almost as high as the percentages of coins from the mint of Rome. Among the eastern coins in the hoard is one of Quietus; his coins, and those of his brother Macrianus, regularly occur in Iberian hoards, albeit in modest numbers. Eastern coins in general are relatively scarce in the central parts of the empire, but appear frequently in hoards (Fig. 3) and as chance finds on the Iberian peninsula.<sup>6</sup> The fact that one of the three latest coins in the hoard is eastern suggests that eastern coins were reaching Spain shortly after they were struck; this too is confirmed by other hoards.<sup>7</sup> These phenomena will be discussed below.

<sup>6</sup> J. P. Callu, *La politique monétaire des empereurs romains de 238 à 311* (Paris, 1959), p. 219, n. 9, pointing out the scarcity of coins of Macrianus and Quietus in the West. For example, the Falerone hoard, found close to the Adriatic coast and dated c. AD 265, has only six coins of Macrianus out of a total of 7591 pieces, representing only 0.07% (G. Moretti, 'Ripostiglio monetale rinvenuto nell'area dell'antica Falerio', *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 1922, pp. 59–76), compared with 0.8% in the Les Alqueries hoard, 4.34% in the Almenara hoard (M. Gozalbes, 'El tesoro de Almenara', *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* XXXVI (1996–97), pp. 599–621), 3.95% in the Jimena de la Frontera hoard (H. D. Gallwey, 'A hoard of third century antoniniani from southern Spain', *NC* 1962, pp. 335–408), and 8.1% in the Mas d'Aragó hoard. For discussion of this phenomenon and of the presence of eastern coins in general in Spain, see M. Gozalbes, 'El tesoro del Mas d'Aragó (Cervera del Maestro, Castellón) y la década del 260 dC', *Quaderns de Prehistòria i Arqueologia de Castellón* 17 (1996), pp. 383–404. See also I. Pereira, J.-P. Bost and J. Hiernard, *Fouilles de Conimbriga III, les monnaies* (Paris, 1974), pp. 236–8. Eastern coins are also found throughout the Balkans, but generally these are of earlier date and seem to be a result of Macrianus' expedition there.

<sup>7</sup> In the Almenara hoard, coins of the fourth Antioch issue accompany coins of the fifth Rome issue, suggesting a certain time-lag, albeit very small: Gozalbes, 'El tesoro de Almenara' (n. 6).

Hoards	Province	Latest coin	Total coins	Coins 253–268	Distribution of the coins of AD 253–268(%)					
					Rome	Gaul (V-G)	Gaul (Post)	Milan	East	Others
Villareal	Tarraconensis	265	122	104	50.95	3.84	–	3.84	41.34	–
Almenara	Tarraconensis	266	31	23	30.43	–	4.34	4.34	56.52	4.34
Mas d'Aragó	Tarraconensis	266	53	37	54.05	–	–	18.91	24.32	2.70
Tarragona	Tarraconensis	266 (?)	105	54	51.8	3.70	–	1.8	24.07	18.51
Altafulla	Tarraconensis	266 (?)	230	144	71.52	8.33	0.69	5.55	10.41	3.47
Jimena de la Frontera	Baetica	267	29881	28931	73.14	0.67	0.25	8.94	15.51	1.45
Etaples	Belgica	268	3791	3030	5.84	14.42	77.55	0.26	0.06	1.84
Mons-Boubert	Belgica	268	572	395	12.65	13.67	68.10	0.50	1.51	3.50
Rocquencourt	Belgica	266	4913	3168	11.67	15.71	65.53	0.88	1.54	4.64
Sta. Maria de Turín	Alpes Cottiae	266	810	804	27.36	0.12	–	70.02	0.74	0.99
Satnica	Pannonia	267	605	558	79.21	1.79	–	5.01	6.27	7.70
Dvor	Pannonia	265	97	67	84.41	–	–	1.29	12.98	1.29
Imbribeck	Pannonia	265	273	265	51.32	4.52	–	14.71	14.33	15.09
Orchomenos	Macedonia	266	95	95	30.52	2.10	–	–	57.89	9.47

FIG. 3. Hoards of the period AD 265–268 found in various Roman provinces.

Another feature of the hoard is the absence of coins of Postumus, which corroborates the theory that his coins did not circulate on the Iberian peninsula in any great number, even though the Gallic Empire which he created exercised some form of control there for several years (see below).<sup>8</sup>

Hoards from the second half of the third century are especially numerous in western Europe, and are generally interpreted as reflecting a period of considerable political and economic instability. Barbarian incursions across the Rhine and the Danube were a constant problem and kept imperial troops occupied on the frontiers throughout the reigns of Valerian/Gallienus, Postumus and his successors. The most significant political event of the period in the western provinces was without doubt the secession of the Gallic Empire initiated by Postumus in AD 260.<sup>9</sup> Much remains uncertain about the political situation in Spain in the period AD 260–268. Archaeology has so far shed little light, and the sole piece of information provided by the literary

<sup>8</sup> See I. Pereira et al. (n. 6), pp. 235–6, n. 14. Note however J. M. Gurt, 'Comentario sobre un lote de monedas de Póstumo', *Gaceta Numismática* 45 (1977), pp. 10–13, dealing with a possible hoard, found in Rosas (Girona), of seven coins of Postumus, the latest dating AD 267. Our knowledge of this find is scanty, but the fact that it seems to have contained only coins of the Gallic Empire may reflect its northern origin.

<sup>9</sup> J. F. Drinkwater, *The Gallic Empire* (Stuttgart, 1987).

sources is the *Historia Augusta*, *Divus Claudius* 7.5, which refers to Spain forming part of the Gallic Empire. Unfortunately the context is the reign of Tetricus, when Spain was almost certainly back under the control of Rome.<sup>10</sup> Spanish epigraphy corroborates the tradition of a secession, but suggests that it took place earlier. There are at least four Spanish inscriptions referring to Postumus (260–269), but none referring to his successors in the Gallic Empire.<sup>11</sup> There are no inscriptions referring to Gallienus which can be safely dated AD 260–268: inscriptions of the central empire reappear only at the start of the reign of Claudius II (268–270), who may thus have been recognised as emperor in Spain from the outset of his reign.<sup>12</sup> It thus seems likely that Spain, or parts of it, seceded to the Gallic Empire in the time of Postumus, earlier than the *Historia Augusta* suggests, and rejoined the central empire in the late 260s. The extent of Iberian territory which seceded and when individual parts may have seceded are matters of debate. It is generally accepted that Tarraconensis was controlled by the Gallic Empire, but opinion is divided over Baetica and Lusitania.<sup>13</sup>

Until recently, any hoard from Spain ending with coins of Gallienus like the Les Alqueries hoard was interpreted as more or less direct evidence for barbarian invasions across the Rhine and the Danube throughout the reigns of Valerian/Gallienus, Postumus and his successors.<sup>14</sup> However, as one of us has pointed out elsewhere,<sup>15</sup> all the hoards concerned seem to date to AD 265–267 (see Fig. 1), whereas the invasions, although their precise chronology remains uncertain, must have taken place earlier than that date, probably in the period AD 259–264. There are indeed some hoards which may

<sup>10</sup> Drinkwater (n. 9), p. 70; J. Lafaurie, 'L'empire gaulois. Apport de la numismatique', *ANRW* 2, p. 872.

<sup>11</sup> *CIL* II, 4919 (Miranda de Ebro, Burgos); *CIL* II, 4943 (Guadix, Granada); *CIL* II, 5736 (Cofino, Asturias); the miliari of Errekaleor: J. A. Abásolo et al., 'Columna miliaria de Errekaleor (Victoria-Alava)', *Estudios de Arqueología Alavesa* II (1983), pp. 427–39. See also J. Lostal, op. cit. n. 18 below.

<sup>12</sup> See A. Balil, 'Hispania en los años 260 a 300 d.d. J.C.', *Emerita* 27 (1959), p. 274. Moreover, the failure of the *Historia Augusta* to mention a recovery of Spain, or part of it, by Claudius suggests that the event took place earlier.

<sup>13</sup> For varying views, see Drinkwater (n. 9), p. 118; P. Le Roux, *L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces ibériques d'Auguste à l'invasion de 409* (Paris, 1982), p. 380; I. Pereira et al. (n. 6), p. 236, n. 32; J. Hiernard, 'Monnaies d'or et histoire de l'empire gallo-romain', *RBN* 1983, pp. 82, 84 and 86; M. Christol, 'La félicité de Postume', in H. Huvelin et al. (eds), *Mélanges de numismatique offert à Pierre Bastien* (Wetteren, 1987), p. 116; A. Padilla, *La Provincia Romana de la Bética* (Ecija, 1989), pp. 20–1.

<sup>14</sup> For the invasions and their consequences, see, for example, E. Demougeot, *La formation de l'Europe et les invasions barbares: des origines germaniques à l'avènement de Diocletien* (Paris, 1969), pp. 484–507; A. Cepas, 'Uso de la numismática como documento histórico: las invasiones del s. III', *La Moneda Hispánica. Ciudad y Territorio (Actas del I Encuentro Peninsular de Numismática Antigua, Madrid, noviembre 1994)*, *Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología* XIV (1995), pp. 361–8. I. Martínez Mira has discussed the matter extensively in an unpublished doctoral thesis (University of Alicante, 1992).

<sup>15</sup> Gozalbes, 'El tesoro de Almenara' (n. 6).

date to *c.* 260, and may reflect the invasions, although they are too few in number to allow any firm conclusion to be drawn.<sup>16</sup>

An alternative reason for the concealment of the Les Alqueries and the other hoards of the period 265–267 might be the activities of pirates and the maritime movements of Frankish communities (including the Franks serving as auxiliaries in the army of Postumus: *Historia Augusta, Vit. Gal. 7, 1*), which have been documented from a slightly later date.<sup>17</sup> The coastal location of the hoards (Fig. 1) would be consistent with this otherwise unprovable hypothesis.

A third solution would be to associate the hoards of the mid-260s with the formation of the Gallic Empire, and the secession to it of at least part of Spain; they might then reflect clashes between the supporters of Gallienus and Postumus around AD 266–267. The epigraphic evidence lends some slight support. For example, of the six miliari known from Tarraconensis between AD 253 and 268, three belong to the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus (they date 253–256), and three to Postumus (they date 260–268), perhaps reflecting successive control over peninsular territory.<sup>18</sup> Spain would have been important for both sides. The Legio VII Gemina was stationed there. The *Historia Augusta* describes Spain at this time as one of the pillars of the empire, probably in the economic sense, and it is likely that Spain was a significant source of wheat, oil, metals and other produce, as well as of taxes.<sup>19</sup> This hypothesis would explain why all the hoards concerned were buried close to the *via Augusta* (Fig. 1), a major military artery. Other inland hoards apparently buried near the *via Augusta* could then be explained in the same way, for example those of Llanos de Ciego (Cazorla, Jaen), Ecija (Seville) or even Valverde del Camino (Huelva); these hoards have not yet

<sup>16</sup> From Vilauba (A. Roure et al., 'Troballa d'un conjunt monetari a Vilauba (Camos, Pla de l'Estany)', *Empúries* 48–50 (1986–89), pp. 268–81); from Benicató (M. Llorens and P. P. Ripollès, 'El depósito monetar de la domus A de Romeu: nuevas aportaciones a la circulación de moneda de bronce en Saguntum durante el s. III d.C.', *Saguntum* 28, p. 221; and from D'Eula (A. Gonzalez and J. M. Abascal, 'La ocultación monetar de la D'Eula, Crevillente (Alicante) y su significación para el estudio de las invasiones del siglo III', *Lucentum* VI (1987), pp. 183–96.

<sup>17</sup> S. J. Keay, 'The Conventus Tarraconensis in the third century AD: crisis or change?', *The Roman West in the Third Century* (Oxford, 1981), p. 477; cf. D. Gricourt, 'Les incursions de pirates de 268 en Gaul septentrionale et leurs incidences sur la politique de Postume. A propos du hiatus numismatique d'Ardis', *TM* 10 (1988), pp. 9–43.

<sup>18</sup> J. Lostal, *Los miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense* (Zaragoza, 1992), nos. 124–9, and maps on pp. 402–3 (the attribution to Victorinus of the miliari no. 130 is doubtful). See also n. 11 above; Lafaurie (n. 10), pp. 871–2, 963–4, 1908; Drinkwater (n. 9), p. 33.

<sup>19</sup> *Historia Augusta, Divus Claudius 7, 5*: 'Gallia et Hispania, vires rei publicae', although the passage may have been re-edited at the end of the fourth century. At least 20 mines may have been active in Spain during this period: C. Domergue, *Les mines de la péninsule ibérique dans l'antiquité romaine* (Rome, 1990), pp. 215–24. See also Drinkwater (n. 9), p. 211, n. 17; K. W. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy* (London, 1996), pp. 13 and 145; K. Hopkins, 'Trade and taxes in the Roman Empire', *JRS* 70 (1980), pp. 101–5.

been published in a satisfactory form, but we do know that they all contained a large number of late coins of Gallienus.<sup>20</sup>

However, none of these hypotheses explains why so many eastern coins occur in Spanish hoards of the period AD 265–267, whereas they are relatively rare in contemporary hoards found in other western provinces. See Fig. 3.<sup>21</sup> In hoards from Belgica, Gallic coins of Postumus and Valerian-Gallienus predominate. In Cisalpine Gaul, Milan is predominant. In Pannonia, the majority of hoard coins were struck at Rome, with lesser numbers from Siscia and Viminacium. As might be expected, the Pannonian hoards also have a significant representation of eastern coins, but only the easternmost hoard, that of Orchomenos (Boiotia), has a majority of eastern coins, and is in fact remarkably similar in composition to the Almenara hoard. The proportion of eastern coins in the Spanish hoards is in all cases high. Most of these hoards come from the coast of Tarraconensis, but the fact that the Jimena de la Frontera hoard in Baetica has a high proportion of eastern coins should cause us to revise Callu's view that the hoard is Iberian only by accident.<sup>22</sup>

At first glance, trade might seem to be an attractive explanation for the eastern coins in Spanish hoards. But it would not adequately account for their large numbers, for the concentration of their dates of issue within a fairly brief period, and for the fact that they reached Spain within a relatively short time after emission. As Duncan-Jones and Howgego have recently pointed out, the movements of coin generated by trade between different regions tend to be slow and relatively small in scale.<sup>23</sup> Some of the eastern

<sup>20</sup> Llanos de Ciego (coins of Gallienus): M. Tarradell, 'Sobre las invasiones germánicas del s. III d.C. en la Península Ibérica', *Estudios Clásicos* 3 (1955), p. 105. Ecija (coins of the period of Gallienus): S. Ordoñez, *Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi* (1988), pp. 61 and 78. Valverde del Camino (800 radiates between Gordian III and Gallienus): A. Balil, 'Las invasiones germánicas en Hispania durante la segunda mitad del siglo III d. De J.C.', *Cuadernos de Trabajos de la Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma* IX (1957), p. 142.

<sup>21</sup> There are unfortunately no records of hoards from areas such as Africa or southern Italy with which to make comparisons. The material in Fig. 3 is derived as follows: M. Gozalbes, 'El tesoro de Almenara' (n. 6); idem, 'Mas d'Aragó' (n. 6); Gallwey (n. 6) (Jimena de la Frontera hoard: the find-spot is sometimes as given as Gibraltar or Serranía de Ronda, the former being more accurate); J. Hiernard, 'Recherches numismatiques sur Tarragone au III<sup>e</sup> siècle après Jésus-Christ', *Numisma* 1978, pp. 150–5 (Altafulla and Tarragona hoards); J. B. Giard, 'Le trésor d'Étaples', *RN* 1965, pp. 206–24; M. Amandry et al., 'Le trésor de Mons-Boubert (Somme)', *TM* 9 (1987), pp. 31–45; D. Hollard and P. Gendre, 'Le trésor de Rocquencourt et la transformation du monnayage d'imitation sous le règne de Postume', *TM* 8 (1986), pp. 9–45; G. Cornaggia, 'Gli Antoniniani del III secolo nel ripostiglio di via S. Maria e Stampatori a Torino', *RIN* 31 (1918), pp. 234–71; A. Demo, 'Münzfunde aus der Zeit Gallienus im Gebiet zwischen den Flüssen Sava und Drava', *Archeoloski Vestnik* 33 (1982), pp. 258–495 (Satnica, Dvor and Imbribeck hoards); O. Voetter, 'Zu Gallienus und seiner Familie', *NZ* 45 (1912), pp. 163–8 (Orchomenos hoard).

<sup>22</sup> Callu (n. 6), p. 267.

<sup>23</sup> R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 42; C. J. Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins* (London, 1995), p. 92 (with some counter-examples on p. 93).



coins in Spanish hoards may be explained in this way, but, if trade were to be posited as the explanation for the bulk of them, one would have to imagine a single, large and unrepeated exchange of goods between the east and Spain during this period. For this there is no historical or archaeological evidence, and indeed it is usually assumed that trade declines during periods of unrest.<sup>24</sup>

Finally, therefore, we are inclined to explain the eastern coinage in Spain as state expenditure, the principal means whereby coins were put into circulation in the ancient world.<sup>25</sup> Eastern coinage was not, it seems, being used to make regular payments to the West.<sup>26</sup> In the present instance we would in any case have to imagine a chronologically limited rather than a regular transfer of coinage. A military cause might be the most likely. We might imagine the transfer of goods from Spain to the East for use in a particular campaign by the army, or, more probable, a transfer of troops from the East to Spain to take part in a particular campaign, perhaps that which, as we have suggested above, Gallienus may have waged against Postumus. Troop displacements in this period are not uncommon,<sup>27</sup> and there are earlier examples of eastern military forces being installed in Spain,<sup>28</sup> although there is no direct evidence for such movements to Spain in the mid 260s. This putative transfer would probably have taken place by sea, given the coastal location of most of the hoards in Spain with eastern coins. At least some of the coins may have been sent in bags in which eastern coins predominated.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> For example shipwrecks from the third century seem to be relatively few in number: see A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1992; BAR International Series 580).

<sup>25</sup> Howgego (n. 23), p. 91.

<sup>26</sup> id., 'The circulation of silver coins, models of the Roman economy, and crisis in the third century A.D.: some numismatic evidence', in C. E. King and D. G. Wigg (eds), *Coin Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World: the Thirteenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, 1993* (SFMA 10; Berlin, 1996), p. 229.

<sup>27</sup> Drinkwater (n. 9), pp. 111–16.

<sup>28</sup> Le Roux (n. 13), pp. 375 and 382–3.

<sup>29</sup> For example, there are numerous die-links among the eastern coins in the Jimena de la Frontera hoard: Gallwey (n. 6), p. 36.



PLATE 18



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RIPOLLÈS AND GOZALBES, LES ALQUERIES HOARD (1)



PLATE 19



15



16



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RIPOLLÈS AND GOZALBES, LES ALQUERIES HOARD (2)





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31



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35



36



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39



40



41



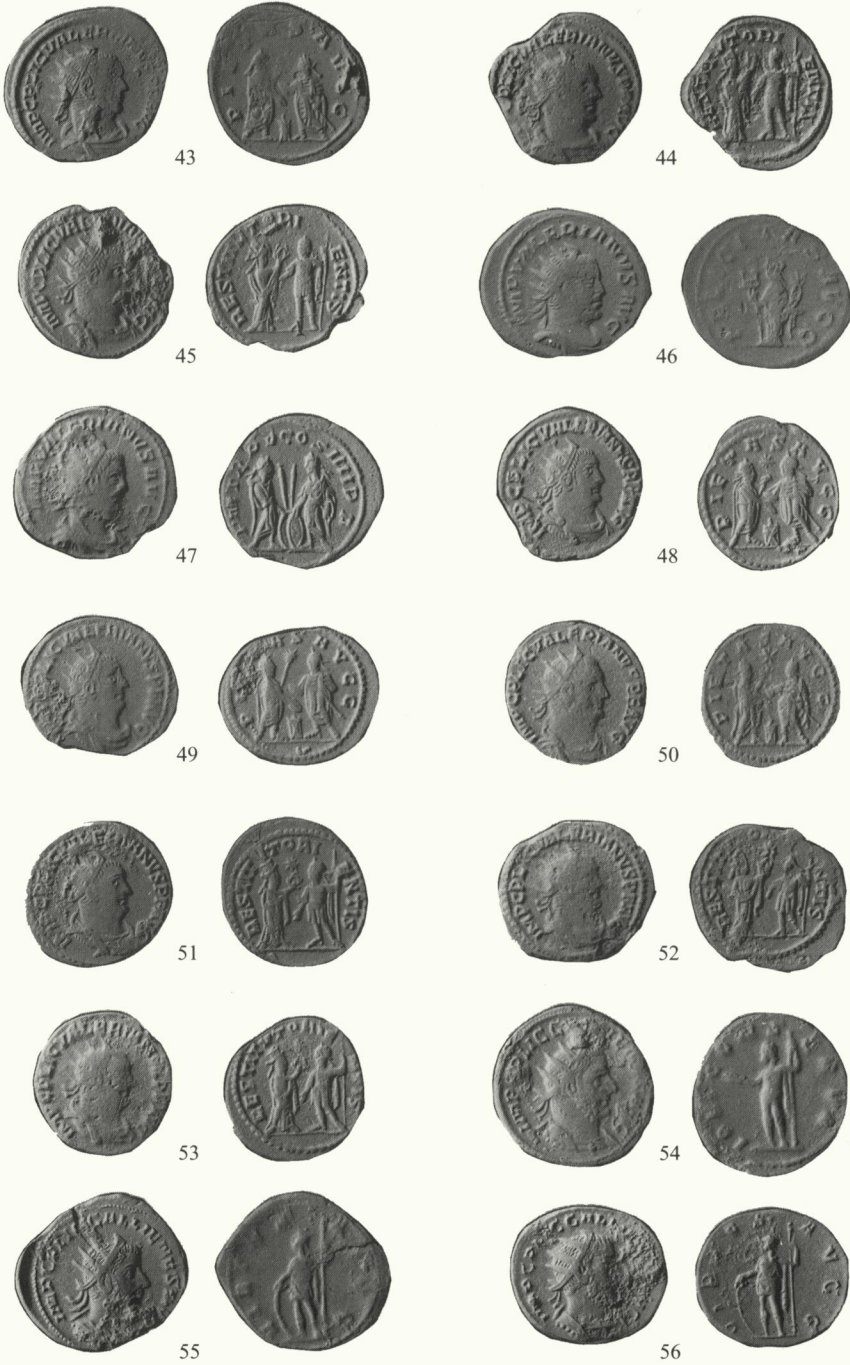
42



RIPOLLÈS AND GOZALBES, LES ALQUERIES HOARD (3)







RIPOLLÈS AND GOZALBES, LES ALQUERIES HOARD (4)





57



58



59



60



61



62



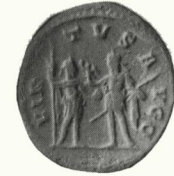
63



64



65



66



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68



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70



RIPOLLÈS AND GOZALBES, LES ALQUERIES HOARD (5)



PLATE 23



71



72



73



74



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84



RIPOLLÈS AND GOZALBES, LES ALQUERIES HOARD (6)





PLATE 24



85



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RIPOLLÈS AND GOZALBES, LES ALQUERIES HOARD (7)







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100



101



102



103



104



105



106



107



108



109



110



111



112



RIPOLLÈS AND GOZALBES, LES ALQUERIES HOARD (8)





113



114



115



116



117



118



119



120



121



122



RIPOLLÈS AND GOZALBES, LES ALQUERIES HOARD (9)