

The Heracleian Coinage of Maximinus Daza. A Drastic Proposal

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The death of the Emperor Galerius on 5 May, A.D. 311 is said to have brought the Empire to the brink of Civil War. Two of the colleagues of the deceased ruler, Licinius, master of the Central Empire, and Maximinus Daza, master of the Eastern Empire, confronted one another across the Dardanelles, disagreeing about the division of the Galerian part of the Empire. A peaceful settlement appears to have made the Straits the borderline between the territories of Licinius and Daza.¹ Thus Thrace including the province of *Europa* with the mint city of Heraclea Thracica, it seems, fell to Licinius.

Now, thirty years ago Dr. J. P. C. Kent noted² that before the final clash between the two Imperial rivals in 313, there appeared in the coinage of Heraclea reverses originating in the repertory of Daza, carrying exclusively obverses of the eastern ruler. Lactantius' account of the outbreak of hostilities (with Daza crossing the Straits and trying to capture Licinius' part of the Empire) supported this interpretation. Later Bruun³ proposed that the *aes* issues corresponding to Roman Imperial Coinage (= RIC) VI, Heraclea nos. 64-78⁴ had to be regarded as struck by Daza. Ultimately T. D. Barnes⁵ pointed out how little time Daza had at his disposal if he first had to conquer the province of Europa including Byzantium and the mint city of Heraclea before he could engage the mint in coining on his own behalf. Ten days appeared to be the maximum time if the literary sources were to be trusted.

The present writer returned to the problem of the Heracleian coinage in a paper read to the International Numismatic Congress in London 1986. The gist of this paper, with considerable revisions, is presented below.

Licinius and Daza at Heraclea

An analysis of the Heracleian *aes* coinage after the death of Galerius unequivocally shows that

- the repertory of reverse types originated in the coinage of Daza (i.e. Nicomedia and Cyzicus; cf. coin lists of Siscia and Thessalonica in RIC VI),
- no trace of Licinian influence can be established until very late, i.e. shortly before the final clash. This relates to portraiture and obverse legends (cf. *Conspex* below, p. 189) as well as the reverses,
- in the course of the last mint mark of Heraclea (^ASMHT, RIC VI, nos. 73-78) the weight standard was reduced. The initiative must have been taken by Licinius,

because Daza did not carry out this so-called fifth reduction (to 1/96) in his realm. Moreover, in the issue of the IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG nummi of Heraclea, Daza disappeared from the obverses, whereas Licinius was well represented. In addition, graphically, the IOVI reverse "Jupiter with Victory on globe" is of the Balkanic type and differs from the eastern one struck by Daza. The Balkanic type issued by Licinius depict Jupiter holding the chlamys across his left shoulder, with an eagle to left at his feet (fig. 1). The eastern Jupiter wears the chlamys spread behind his back, and there is no eagle on the reverse (fig. 2).

- new portraits of Licinius were employed for this mark and series,
- in the last mark of Heraclea, i.e. within the scope of RIC VI, we also have a sequence of nummi of the 1/72 standard, exclusively with reverses from the repertory of Daza, and exclusively with obverses of the eastern ruler. This presupposes that they were issued by Daza, prior to the nummi of reduced weight. The reverses in question were VIRTVTI EXERCITVS,⁶ numbered by me in accordance with the RIC VI catalogue no. 75A (4.3 g.), GENIO AVGVSTI (no. 76, 4.68 g.), HERCVLI VICTORI (no. 77, 5.30 g., cf. NC 1957, pl. II,9), and SOLI INVICTI (*sic*, no. 78 corrected, 4.48 g., Lj.).

- Licinius, when issuing the nummi of the IOVI type was master of the mint, whereas the other rulers played a secondary role, as illustrated by the division of labour within the mint: for Licinius off. A, B, Γ, Δ were employed for issuing RIC VI, no. 73 and VII, no. 6 (i.e. the same type continued after the death of Daza but with the reverse break IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG); for constantine (VI, no. 75 and VII, no. 5) predominantly off. B and E; for Daza (VI, no. 74) off. A for a short while.

The numerical strength of the obverses will be discussed below (p. 186-187) in an endeavour to explain the Licinian take-over of the mint of Heraclea.

Points against the traditional view

As seen in the introduction above, the break with the previously held view of the Licinian administration at Heraclea from the death of Galerius up to a brief spell of Maximinian activities in the spring of 313, rests with the following features of the *aes* coinage, namely

- the selection of reverses employed at Heraclea up to the IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG (RIC VI, nos. 73-75),
- the obverse legends employed for Licinius.

The impression created by these basic factors is further enhanced by a radical change in coining policies carried out with the last Heracleian IOVI-series (nos. 73-75) before the death of Maximinus Daza, namely

- the reduction of the weight standard (to 1/96)
- the division of labour within the mint, and the waning of the obverses of Daza as compared with the numerical strength of the obverses of Licinius and Constantine.⁷

The position of the mint of Heraclea within the framework of the entire Imperial administration is also clarified by the gold coins issued in the crucial years 312/313, most, but not all of them catalogued by RIC VII (Heraclea, nos. 1-4). When their importance in this context is considered, one should also take account of a mint mark SMHT, not recorded by any RIC volume.

Finally, in order to understand the mint of Heraclea properly within a larger framework, we should widen the scope of our scrutiny with particular attention paid to the Licinian portraits. It goes without saying that to portray an Emperor was a singularly delicate task, as the ceremonial transmission and acceptance of the *imago laureata* shows us.⁸ If the origin of the coin portrait can be established, normally we learn a great deal of the relationship between the master of the mint and the ruler depicted on the coin.

The Licinian obverse legends and portraits

During the period under review the *aes* coinage was reduced three times. The point of departure was the nummus struck at 1/48 to the Roman *libra*. This stage is represented in the RIC VI catalogue by the numbers up to 64 (incl.); nos. 65-67, a short period of transition, were struck at 1/60; no. 67A (an unpublished coin of the hitherto unknown bronze mark SMHTT) to 72, and 75A (not in RIC VI) to 78 were of the weight standard 1/72 and, finally (within the framework of RIC VI) nos. 73-75 of the weight 1/96 to the *libra* (cf. below, p. 187).

This brief span of time covered the employment of three different obv. legends in the *aes* coinage, namely (in chronological order):

IMP C VAL LIC LICINIVS PF AVG (nos. 37-67A)
IMP C VAL LICINIAN LICINIVS PF AVG (nos. 68-72)
IMP C VAL LICIN LICINIVS PF AVG (nos. 73-75).

Consequently, we can see that the reductions were accompanied by new obv. legends (the module was normally reduced with the weight, and new dies had therefore to be cut; thus a revision of the obv. legend was not surprising).

Below I shall illustrate Licinian portraits which appear to represent the stages of development well.


IMP C VAL LIC LICINIVS PF AVG was an obv. legend of Heracleian origin, employed under Galerius, and later transmitted to Thessalonica and Alexandria.

The series of Licinian portraits corresponding to the employment of this obv. legend does not seem to yield any personal physiognomic characteristics depicting the Carnuntine appointee of A.D. 308.

We should note that Galerius was master of the mint to his death in May 311, and that, strangely enough, the influence of Daza on the coinage of Heraclea seems to have been decisive afterwards. In Galerian times both Licinius and Maximinus are represented by portraits as younger and weaker versions of the

master; in A.D. 311 (312?) a new and forceful portrait of Daza was introduced. Along with the former Licinian portrait a new one now appears, the Dazan portrait adjusted so as to suggest the age of Licinius by means of the *trux frons*⁹ and, to some extent, the beard.

The little conspectus (below, p. 189) of the obverse legends of Licinius employed in the *aes* coinage of the mint of Heraclea shows the mint's independence of the name formulas and the obv. legends coined by the Licinian administration. The same can be said of the Imperial iconography. This may be illustrated by a portrait of Galerius (fig. 3, RIC VI, no. 37a, A.D. 308/9), two versions of the Maximinian portrait (figs. 4-5, both RIC VI, no. 66, A.D. 311/2), the former influenced by the effigy of Galerius, the latter representing a new creation for the eastern Emperor, and finally three varieties of the Licinian portrait (figs. 6-8, the two former RIC VI, no. 65, A.D. 311/2, the third no. 67A of the mark SMHTT, A.D. 312), no. 6 recalling the portrait of Galerius, nos. 7-8 representing adaptations of the portrait of Maximinus.

IMP C VAL LICINIAN LICINIVS PF AVG was a legend employed uniquely at Heraclea. Among the coins of this description seen by me – they are very few – I would despite a basic conformity (naturalistic wreath with ribbons , temple and cheek framed by a thick growth of hair and beard joining with the moustache, straight nose; the casts available show a frowning forehead, a *trux frons*) keep apart three varieties:

- a comparatively small head set on a broad neck (almost as broad as the width from the tip of the nose to the back of the head), the wreath composed of five pairs of leaves, fairly large; the hair- and beardline, owing to wear and partly owing to the fact that the photograph I inspected was of a plaster cast, is not easy to follow (fig. 9). The whole outline of the portrait brings the smallish heads of Cyzicus to mind.

- a proportionate head, articulate leaves in five pairs in the wreath, forceful engraving all through. Hair- and beardline very marked, nicely executed large eye under strong eyebrow. Long and straight nose, to a certain extent reminiscent of some Siscian portraits (cf. IOVI CONSERVATORI, Jupiter holding thunderbolt, RIC VI, no. 225a, fig. 35, cf. fig. 10). The portraits of figs. 9, 10 and 35 seem to disappear after this mark.

- a large and robust head with a wreath consisting of two rows of oblong particles and a delicately drawn eye. The hairline running down to the ear distinctly separates the cap of hair from the face. A thick beard covers the lower part of the face; it is very nicely engraved by long parallel strokes, ending in a ridge running just under the lower jaw (fig. 11). The facial characteristics of this type are very much the same as those of the subsequent type of portrait, connected with the obv. legend IMP C VAL LICIN LICINIVS PF AVG, the main difference being rather matters of execution, i.e. the degree of the stylization of the wreath, the narrow strip of beard and the ribbons of the wreath tie, which are

parallel and inconspicuous (RIC VI, Her. no. 73, figs. 12-13). Thus they remind us of the Nicomedian no. 70a (fig. 14).

IMP C VAL LICIN LICINIVS PF AVG, RIC VI, no. 73 and VII, nos. 6, 12 and 13, of Nicomedian origin. With this legend we have four different portraits in the following order of striking:

- No. 73, break of legend IOVI CONSER-VATORI AVGG, *trux frons*, narrow strip of beard from ear to chin along the lower jawbone with either naturalistic wreath formed by pairs of leaves (fig. 12) or a wreath formed by three rows of oblong particles (fig. 13).

- No. 73 (rev. break R-V), naturalistic laurel wreath of pairs of leaves, heavily bearded. The hair and the beard, which runs to the point of the chin and joins with the moustache, frame temple and cheek. The beard is engraved with long strokes radiating from the cheek bone (fig. 15).

- No. 6 (rev. break S-E), a further development of the preceding portrait, with threefold wreath, the eye seen almost facing, a long arched eyebrow, and a beard which does not join the moustache, drawn with long oblique and parallel strokes (fig. 16).

- Nos. 12 (rev.:...AVGG) and 13 (rev.:...AVG), both with rev. break S-E, larger and broader portraits, more articulate profile, pointed nose, no. 12 with naturalistic wreath, hair and beard framing cheek, large staring eye, long eyebrow (fig. 17). The portrait of no. 13 wears a threefold wreath, hairline with indentation at the temple curving before joining with beard, eye facing, long eyebrow (fig. 18).

The Heracleian gold coinage

Having in general terms analyzed the Heracleian bronze issues, we should now try to employ the gold coinage as a way to check the conclusions and reconstructions. We must superimpose the series of aurei on the roster of nummi. When doing so several problems occur as matters of principle, namely the relationship

- of the reverses of the gold coins to those of the nummi with regard to legends and imagery,
- of the obverses of the aurei to those of the nummi with regard to legends and iconography, and
- of the mint marks for gold and bronze.

A survey of the coinages of the Balkanic mints, to serve as a background for the analysis of the coinage of Heraclea, should now be presented with particular attention paid to the parallelism of the coinages in *AV* and *Æ*. The results are as follows:

	(i) Siscia, \overline{X} \overline{A} \overline{M} \overline{SIS} , \overline{AE} marks \overline{SIS} and \overline{SIS}
1a, \overline{A} :	VII, 19 (fig. 19)-21, IOVICONSERVATORIAVGG, thunderbolt
1b, \overline{AE} :	21A-21B, IOVICONSERVATORIAVGG, " "
2a, \overline{A} :	VI, 222a-c; 225a (fig. 35)-c, " " "
2b, \overline{AE} :	VII, 12-13, 18 (fig. 20), IOVICONSERVATORI, Victoriola
	VI, 233a-c; 234a (fig. 1)-c, " AVGGNN, "
	VII, 3-4, " " "
	VII, 5-11, " " "
	(ii) Thessalonica, $\overline{\Sigma}$ \overline{A} $\overline{SM \cdot TS}$; \overline{AE} mark $\overline{SM \cdot TS}$
1a, \overline{A} :	VI, 44a (fig. 21)-c; 45A, IOVICONSERVATORIAVGG, thunderb.
1b, \overline{AE} :	VI, 46-47, " "
	(iii) Heraclea, \overline{A} \overline{SMHTB} , \overline{SMHT} ; \overline{AE} \overline{SMHTT} , \overline{SMHT}
1a, \overline{A} :	VII, 1-2 (fig. 22-3), IOVICONSERVATORIAVGG, Victoriola
1b, \overline{AE} :	VII, 3-4, VOTIS V-MVLTI X/VICTORIA AVG
2a, \overline{A} :	VI, 67A (fig. 8), IOVICONSERVATORI, Jupiter w. globe
2b, \overline{AE} :	VII, 4A (fig. 24), VOTIS V-MVLTI X/VICTORIA AVG
	VII, 4B (fig. 25), IOVICONSERVATORIAVGG, Victoriola
	VI, 73-75 (figs. 15, 26-8), " "
	VII, 5-6 (figs. 11-12), " "

In the above survey I have brought together \overline{A} and \overline{AE} when rev. type and mint mark coincide, and when the obverse portraits correspond. The juxtaposed pairs (or groups) of \overline{A} and \overline{AE} series are recorded in chronological order.

For Siscia and the problems of the *vota aurei* I refer to my paper "Portrait of a Conspirator";¹⁰ as regards the nummi we should note that the series RIC VI, 227-8 and 229-231 are inaccurately recorded. The latter is in actual fact = no. 222 (confirmation by Dr. Cathy King of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

The Thessalonican \overline{AE} series have no counterpart in the gold coinage. They (nos. 49-61) have therefore not been recorded here.

For Heraclea we should note that the attributions in the reference column (nos. 3 and 4) have been switched, and further that there are no counterparts to the nummus no. 67A (Jupiter with globe) in \overline{A} . The coin, however, might represent the first series struck at 1/72. It probably preceded the \overline{A} , RIC VII, 1-2. Finally: the mint mark SMHT for the \overline{A} was omitted by both RIC volumes.¹¹

The tentative conclusion to be drawn from this brief survey is that there was a parallelism in all the mints concerned, comprising rev. legends and imagery and the Imperial portraiture. The *vota aurei* issued by Licinius at Siscia for the Emperor's own *quinquennalia* and at Heraclea by Daza for Licinius' and Constantine's, disclose two different solutions. Licinius adds to the coin type of the day the numeral X to suggest *vota decennalia suscepta*, whereas Daza introduces a special type in addition to the ordinary with the rev. legend and type explicitly recording the occasion of issue.

Now, the combination of the two reverses VOTIS V MVLTVS X and IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG is known at two mints other than Heraclea, namely Nicomedia¹² (cf. fig. 29) and Antioch¹³ (cf. fig. 30). With the latter mint mark Antioch issued two varieties of SOLE INVICTO¹⁴ with obverses exclusively of Daza. This shows the twofold purpose of these gold issues; to celebrate the victory of Pons Milvius (Sol holding Victory-on-globe) considered a victory of the legitimate rulers over the usurper Maxentius, and to celebrate the first *lustrum* on the throne of an Imperial colleague. We should therefore analyze the political background of Daza's last gold issues, discuss the transmission of the coin types and try to establish the time of issue.

The date of the vota aurei

The obvious chronological landmarks of the *vota aurei* are three, namely they were issued by Daza, they represent a repetition of a type created for Constantine's *quinquennalia* in Trier,¹⁵ and now in the East they serve the same purpose, Licinius being the natural object for celebrations. His fifth regnal year began on 18 November 308 (alternatively: 26 December). Moreover, the Imperial consulships mentioned on the aurei of Antioch were linked with the vota coins.¹⁶ Note that the vota and the consular obverses of Licinius both represent retooled Maximian effigies (figs. 32, 36).

In a series of studies Prof. André Chastagnol has analyzed the usage concerning the Imperial jubilees, ultimately in "Les jubilés impériaux de 260 à 337".¹⁷ He points out that the celebrations took place at the beginning of a year, and that there were no second celebrations at the close of the festival year ("La distinction faite par les modernes entre les *quinquennalia suscepta*, qui auraient eu lieu au 4^e *natalis* et les *quinquennalia perfecta*, au 5^e, n'a réellement aucune raison d'être..."). It is also clear that in times when the Empire was ruled by a college or a dynasty, the jubilees and the vows were rationalized: "It was normal for imperial colleagues to harmonize their *vota*, even though their accession data might be actually incompatible".¹⁸ Regnal jubilees were also occasions for spending, for largesse, and the joint celebrations, the harmonization of *vota*, were therefore a way of saving and a means of simplifying the costly procedure of coin distribution.

Although the fifth *dies imperii* of a ruler was the day of very special celebrations as the starting point of a year of festivities, it is clear that during this year, wherever the Emperor travelled, arrangements were made for feasting and for celebrating the glorious past and expressing wishes for a happy future.

The regnal jubilees are strongly reflected in the coinage, and in the course of the fourth century the part played by the vota coins step by step increased within the entire stock of coins in circulation. The mints subject to the ruler in question were directly affected by a jubilee, but vota coins, presumably struck to be distributed to the soldiery, can only rarely be assumed to have been distributed at the same time or on the festive *natalis imperii* – we have seen that the bronze

coinages of the different mints rarely overlapped and were normally consecutive.

The time limits of the *vota aurei* of Daza can be assessed, roughly, as Licinius' fifth regnal year; the *termini post* are 28 Oct., 312, Constantine's victory of the Milvian Bridge, and Licinius' *dies imperii*, 11 Nov., 312. The consulships mentioned on the coins (figs. 31-32) refer to the year 312,¹⁹ when the consuls appointed by the *maximus augustus* Daza were Constantine and Licinius. The reason for mentioning the consulships towards the end of the consular year may have been to honour the Emperors celebrating their *quinquennalia* by also recording their consulships.

The *vota* coins could on formal grounds have been issued at any time during Licinius' quinquennial year. They were, in fact, struck on Daza's orders and had most likely been discontinued when Licinius captured at least the mint cities Heraclea and Nicomedia. Because Heraclea holds a very special position with reference to the subsequent war between Daza and Licinius, we should try to form a comprehensive view of the activities of this mint on the border between East and West.

Licinius captures Heraclea

The analysis above has tried to establish the impact of the surrounding world on the mint of Heraclea, in this case mainly the impact of the Licinian and the Maximinian courts; the mint had, after all, in the past been subject to Galerius. When it passed to a new ruler changes were likely to occur. The impact can be told in terms of political and religious catchwords and imagery (reverses), in artistic achievements (the Imperial effigies), and in the political concepts of the rulers (obv. legends and portraits). The reverses were shown to derive from the repertory of the eastern Empire, the obverses to be creations of the Maximinian designers with the portraits, particularly of Licinius, to have been adaptations of the portraits of Daza to the idea of a senior ruler. The obv. legends maintained a high degree of independence with regard to other mints, but the difference of the name formulas were generally variations of form and not of content, with one exception: In the first three post-Galerian marks (RIC VI, nos. 64-72) Maximinus and Constantine were denominated P(*ius*)F(*elix*)INV(*ictus*)AVG(*ustus*), whereas Licinius was invariably PF AVG. In his last mark (RIC VI, nos. 75A-78) Daza cancelled this epithet for himself; the change came, however, in the preceding mark (RIC VI, nos. 70 and 72). The employment of *invictus* should be considered very significant from the political point of view and a clear indication of the originator of this version of the Imperial title of Daza and Constantine.

The final proof of the identity of the ruler who issued the order and benefited from the activities of the mint of Heraclea rests with a quantitative study of the products of the mint. Unfortunately, coins of the Balkans, and particularly of Heraclea for the years 311-314 are relatively rare. The Jezzine hoard has only 4 coins, 1 no. 68 (Licinius), 3 no. 69A (Daza) and 1 no. 72 (Constantine); the Stolac

coins, rapidly noted by me in Zagreb were, for the penultimate mark of RIC VI of no. 69A (Daza): off. A 1, B 6, Γ 7 and Δ 4, whereas RIC VI for this same number records off. Δ exclusively. For Licinius RIC VI records 2 verified coins, one off. A and another of off. Γ (noted as scarce) of no. 68 and no verified coin of no. 69.

From the administrative point of view the two last series within the compass of RIC VI are both interesting and instructive. After the four Dazan types (nos. 75A-78) with obverses exclusively of Maximinus, all struck at 1/72, we get the sequence of IOVI at reduced weight, 1/96. Coining must have been organized and initiated by Daza at a moment when no suspicions of future hostilities had been stirred. He employed a type executed before at Heraclea for the festal issues of the late autumn 312, IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG (RIC VII, 1-2), and differing from his own bronze coins of the same legend by having an eagle at the feet of the god on the reverse, and by depicting Jupiter with the chlamys across his shoulder. This reverse, although it corresponds to the first 1/96 series of Licinius at Siscia and Thessalonica, differs with regard to the rev. legend (at Heraclea AVGG, not AVGG NN). We should note that in May Licinius, in pursuit of Daza, arrived at Nicomedia, and introduced the AVGG NN variety (an unpublished Jezzine nummus, numbered RIC VII, 11A, fig. 33). The obverses of Daza are rare, I have recorded 1 off. A in Vienna (no. 65638, 3.90 g.), and another in ANS; Oxford has a third (fig. 26), worn and clipped of 2.36 g. In Zagreb I noted 4 off. A and 2 off. Δ in the Stolac hoard. Jezzine has none of Daza but 21 both of Licinius and of Constantine (nos. 73 and 75).

Now, if Daza initiated the coining of IOVI as a supplement to his other reverses struck at 1/72, clearly he must have maintained the same weight for IOVI as for the other types. The Jezzine catalogue confirms this, although the hoard contains no Daza obverses. The weight series (nos. 73 and 75) including 15 coins of the ANS collection shows great weight drops: No. 73, off. A: 4.41 (ANS), 4.35, 4.08 - 3.74...; Γ: 4.59, 4.30(ANS), 4.20 - 3.75...; Δ: 4.06, 3.91, 3.88(ANS) - 3.67. No. 75, B: 3.91 - 3.54...; E: 4.55, 4.17, 4.16, 4.06 - 3.80, 3.53... A histogram would reveal two populations. Among the 37 J. coins and 10 additional ANS specimens, I have recorded 1 weight above 4 g. of RIC VII, nos. 5-6 (no. 6: 4.05), and of no. 6 seven coins of a higher weight than 3.75 g.

I conclude that one is justified in assuming that the IOVI coins at the outset were struck at 1/72, for all three Emperors. Actually, Daza, striking the rev. types in turns, must have started the series with IOVI, and carried on with GENIO, HERCVLI, VIRTVTI and SOLI exclusively in his own name when he saw the danger of the approaching enemy. Licinius took over the mint in passing employing old dies (excepting Daza's), but reducing the weight standard to 1/96.

The historical conclusion: Licinius' assault

Numismatically it is easy to follow Licinius' progress after the conference with

Constantine in Milan. It appears certain²⁰ that about the same time, in February 313, Constantine struck the first nummi at the 1/96 standard at Ticinum. After his return to Gaul this standard was adopted everywhere in his realm. Licinius acted even faster. On his way to the East and to the confrontation and decisive battle at Tzirallum on 30 April, he reduced his *aes* coinage and introduced the new type IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG NN first at Siscia (fig. 1), later at Thessalonica. In the end he brought this type with him as far as Antioch (fig. 34) after Daza's death in Tarsus.

The confrontation – or rather – the assault caught Daza unawares as the Heraclian coinage with surprising clarity brings to light. The Emperor of the East, a loyal fellow-ruler of Constantine and Licinius, celebrated the “harmonized” *quinquennalia* of his colleagues in an exceptionally courteous way (no doubt for political reasons). He had, as the Antiochene aurei show, received the quinquennial portraits of both Constantine (fig. 31) and Licinius (for the latter, cf. the effigy of the Siscian vota aureus IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG with the vota aureus of Antioch, here figs. 19, 30). His coinage shows him rejoicing in the defeat of Maxentius (IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG, Victory-on-globe), and to the bitter end he loyally had his Imperial fellows on the obverses of all his coinages.

This attitude of equanimity can best be understood against the background of the agreement concerning the future leadership of the Empire Daza, Licinius and Constantine had concluded in one way or another before the death of Galerius.²¹ When Licinius and Daza met after the gruesome end of the *maximus augustus* in order to settle possibly unsolved problems, there would have been no reason to suspect any enmity between the two, were it not for the picture drawn by Lactantius and Eusebius. Christensen has in his penetrating analysis pointed out a number of contradictions, particularly in Lactantius' account, which suggests that at the time of writing, Constantine's ally Licinius was regarded as a champion of Christianity, whereas Daza was the last of the persecutors. Hence the traditional characteristics of a pagan tyrant were transferred upon him.

The coinage tells us nothing about that, but shows that in concord with Licinius the mint of Heraclea had been given to Daza in 311 and (probably, thereby) also the diocese of Thrace or, at any rate, the province of Europa. No hostile armies watched one another across the Dardanelles; the surprising defeat of Maximinus' army of 70,000 at Tzirallum should be explained in the light of the unexpectedness of Licinius' assault and, presumably, by the modest size of the eastern army. The attack may have come as a surprise to Constantine also; in his realm (Rome) Daza was acknowledged consul as late as 15 April, 313,²² two weeks ahead of the moment when Licinius, marching eastwards, won compensation for the territories of his own Central Empire he had lost when Constantine carried the day at Pons Milvius.

Conspectus:

Obv. legends of Licinius employed at Heraclea A.D. 308-311 according to Index I, RIC VI

1. IMP C VAL LIC LICINIVS PF AVG, p. 535, 537 (under Galerius), 540. Other mints: 507, 517, 677, 681.
2. IMP C VAL LICINIAN LICINIVS PF AVG, p. 540; elsewhere –
3. IMP C VAL LICIN LICINIVS PF AVG, p. 540; other mints: 386 (Rome); 562, 564, 565 (Nicomedia); 590 (Cyzicus).

Key to Plates

References are to RIC VI or VII. The Key records aurei, *A*, or nummi, *Æ*, the Emperor of the obv., the mint by RIC number, the coin illustrated and gives the weight of the nummi. The Emperors are C(onstantine), G(alerius), M(aximinus) D(aza) and L(icinius).

The collections referred to are: ANS = American Numismatic Society Museum, New York; Bu. = Budapest; Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.; He. = Helsinki, National Museum of Finland, HY Inv. No. 64052; Hu. = The Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; J. = The Jezzine hoard, catalogue in typescript by Dr. Pierre Strauss, Basle; L. = London, British Museum; Lj. = Ljubljana, Narodni muzej; Ox. = Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; V. = Vienna, Bundessammlung, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Fig. 1	Æ	L.	VI,	Siscia	No. 234a	He. 53	3.24 g.
Fig. 2	Æ	C.	VI,	Ant.	No. 166c,	J. 6804	4.43 g.
Fig. 3	Æ	G.	VI,	Her.	No. 37a	J. 5265	6.90 g.
Fig. 4	Æ	MD,	VI,	Her.	No. 66	J. 5336	5.98 g.
Fig. 5	Æ	MD,	VI,	Her.	No. 66	V. 65633	4.90 g.
Fig. 6	Æ	L.	VI,	Her.	No. 65	V. 65665	4.48 g.
Fig. 7	Æ	L.	VI,	Her.	No. 65	V. 65666	4.20 g.
Fig. 8	Æ	L.	VI,	Her.	No. 67A	V. 65667	4.52 g.
Fig. 9	Æ	L.	VI,	Her.	No. 68	J. 5341	4.49 g.
Fig. 10	Æ	L.	VI,	Her.	No. 68	He. 156	4.54 g.
Fig. 11	Æ	L.	VI,	Her.	No. 68	Lj.	4.29 g.
Fig. 12	Æ	L.	VI,	Her.	No. 73	He. 159	4.01 g.
Fig. 13	Æ	L.	VI,	Her.	No. 73	Lj.	3.22 g.
Fig. 14	Æ	L.	VI,	Nic.	No. 70a	Lj.	4.59 g.
Fig. 15	Æ	L.	VI,	Her.	No. 73	J. 5362	4.06 g.
Fig. 16	Æ	L.	VII,	Her.	No. 6	J. 5363	3.67 g.
Fig. 17	Æ	L.	VII,	Her.	No. 12	J. 5425	3.49 g.
Fig. 18	Æ	L.	VII,	Her.	No. 12	J. 5429	3.47 g.
Fig. 19	Æ	L.	VII,	Sis.	No. 19	Leu 25.4. 1972, 447	
Fig. 20	Æ	L.	VII,	Sis.	No. 18	MMBasel XVII, 597	
Fig. 21	Æ	L.	VI,	Thes.	No. 44a	Glendining Nov. 1950, 2017	
Fig. 22	Æ	L.	VII,	Her.	No. 2	V. 42.388	
Fig. 23	Æ	C.	VII,	Her.	No. 1	Bu.	
Fig. 24	Æ	L.	VII,	Her.	No. 4A	V. 40.403	
Fig. 25	Æ	L.	VII,	Her.	No. 4B	Platt 18.5.1921, 248	
Fig. 26	Æ	MD,	VI,	Her.	No. 74	Ox.	
Fig. 27	Æ	C.	VI,	Her.	No. 75	He. 162	3.42 g.
Fig. 28	Æ	C.	VI,	Her.	No. 75	He. 166	3.59 g.
Fig. 29	Æ	L.	VII,	Nic.	No. 2	Leu 9.5. 1973, 433	
Fig. 30	Æ	L.	VII,	Ant.	No. 2	L.	
Fig. 31	Æ	C.	VI,	Ant.	No. 127b	Ars Classica XVII, 933	
Fig. 32	Æ	L.	VI,	Ant.	No. 101	MMBasel 328, Oct. 1971, 38	
Fig. 33	Æ	C.	VII,	Nic.	No. 11A	J. 5589	2.60 g.
Fig. 34	Æ	C.	VII,	Ant.	No. 17	J. 6888	3.85 g.
Fig. 35	Æ	L.	VI,	Sis.	No. 225a	J. 4365	4.86 g.
Fig. 36	Æ	L.	VII,	Ant.	No. 3	Dumbarton Oaks	

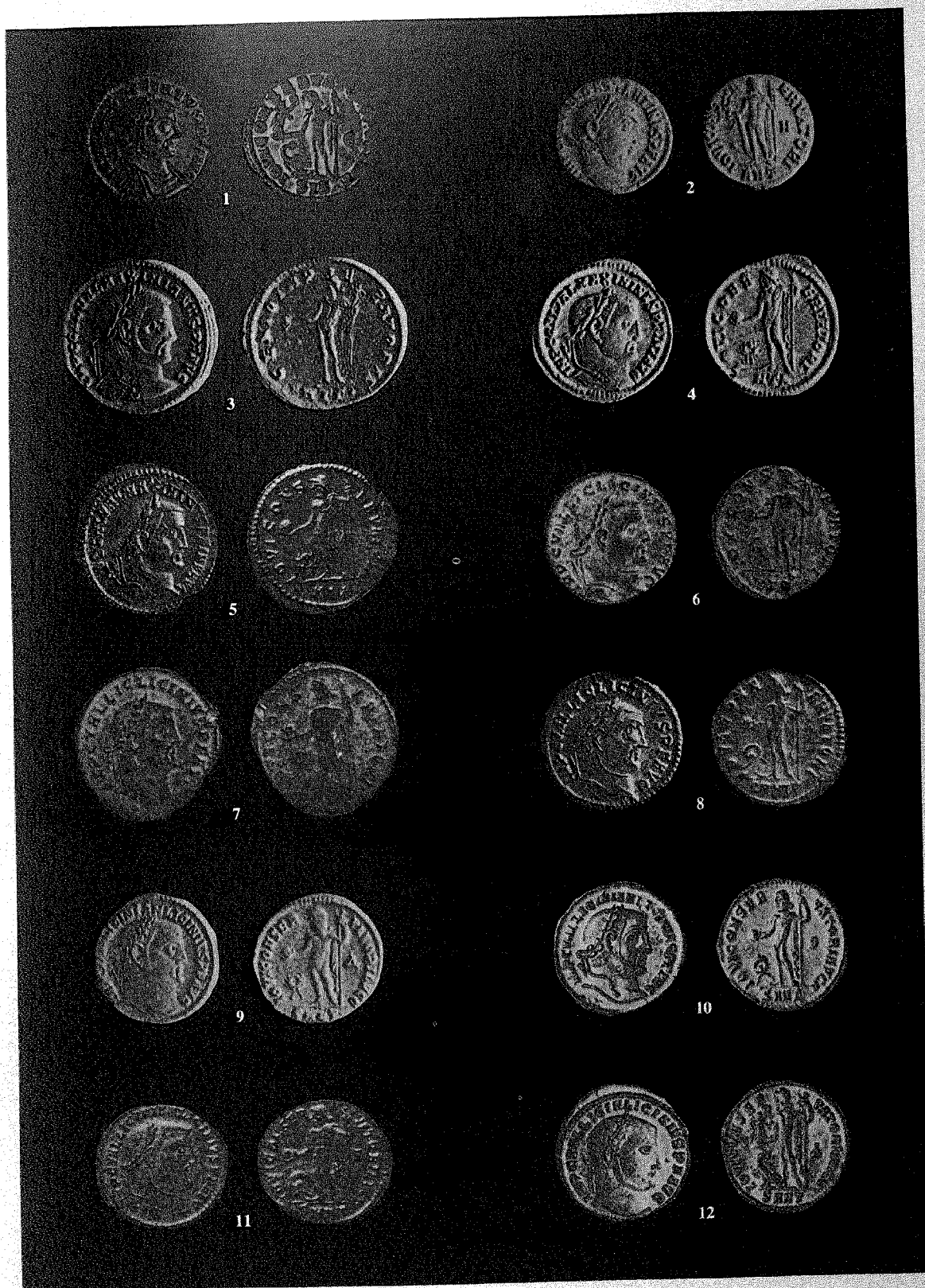


Plate 1



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Plate 2

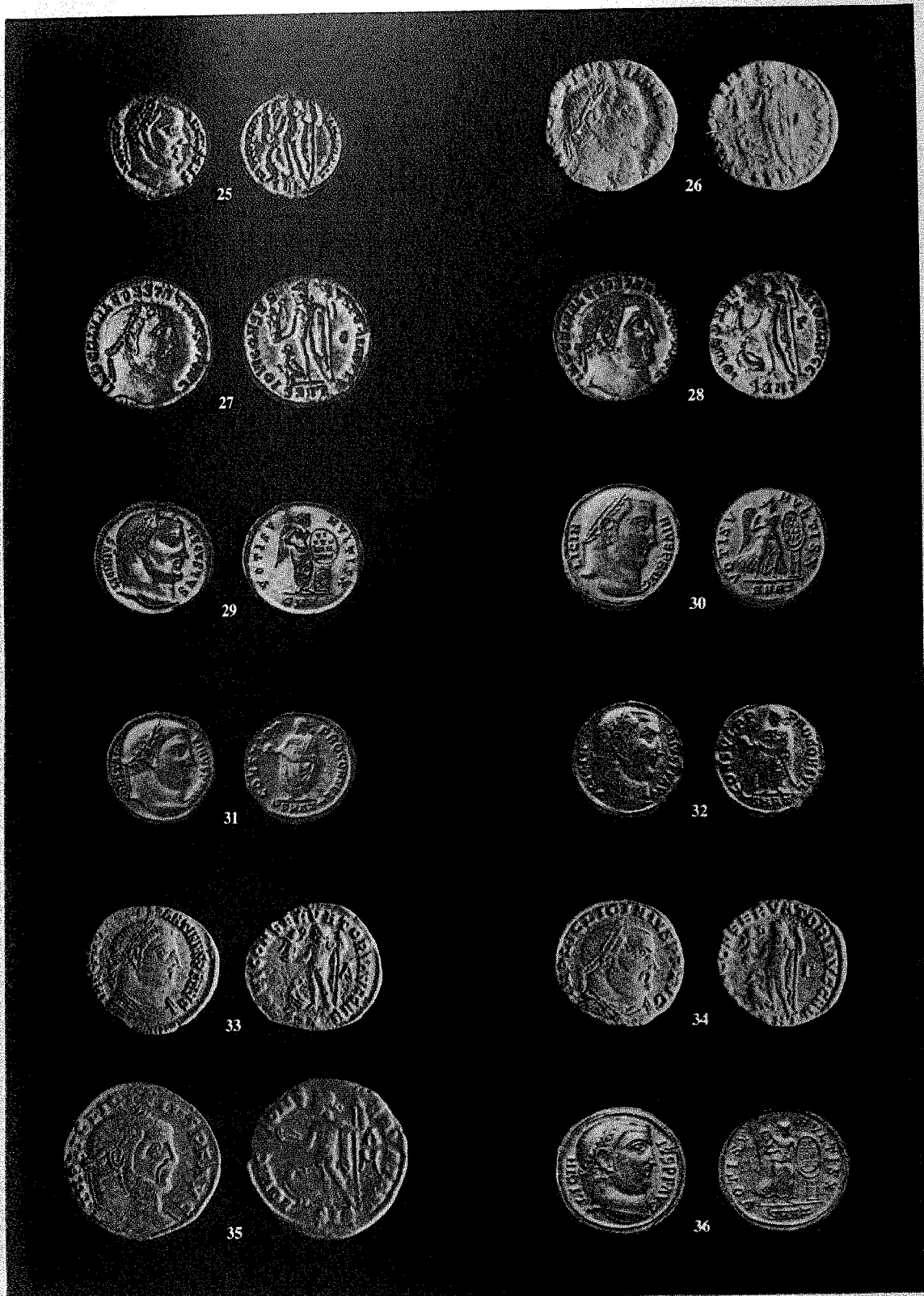


Plate 3

Notes

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7. See also Kunisz, Andrzej, Le trésor de Novae (Bulgarie) et la question des émissions balkaniques de Constantin I^{er} et de Licinius, in *Proceedings 9th Int. Congr. Num.*, Berne 1979, Louvain-la-Neuve 1982, p. 539.
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10. Bruun (note 3), p. 14-15.
11. Cf. below, figs. 25-26.
12. *RIC VII*, Nic. nos. 1-2; 5-6 (vota); 4; 7-8 (IOVI).
13. *RIC VII*, Ant. nos. 1-4 (vota); 3B (IOVI).
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16. Bruun (note 3), p. 20-22.
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18. Kent, J. P. C., *RIC VIII*, p. 50.
19. Christensen, Torben, *C. Galerius Valerius Maximinus*. Studier over politik og religion i Romerriget 305-313 (Festskrift udgivet af Københavns Universitet i anledning af Hendes Majestæt Dronningens fødselsdag 16. april 1974) København 1974, p. 169.
20. For a summary, see Bruun, Patrick, *Centur Revisited*, *Studies in honour of Aleksander Jeločnik* (forthcoming), note 19, and my review of Bastien, Pierre et Huvelin, Hélène, *Trouvaille de folles de la période constantinienne (307-317)*, *NC* 7th ser. 10 (1970), p. 338-340.
21. Christensen (note 19), p. 169.
22. *CIL VI* 507.