University of Mississippi ILL

TN: 259659 Billing: TXM

OCLC#1760918 Maxcost: Free

ARIEL

Constantinian Hoards and other Studies in the Later Roman Bronze Coinage Article Title: Carson, R. A. G. and J. P. C. Kent;

Article Author:

Month/Year: 1956 Pages: 83-161 Volume: 16 Issue:

Journal Title: The Numismatic chronicle. Article Patron: Clark, Victor

Location:

Call #: CJ1.N6

LIBRARY MAIL

ARIEL

161,45.205.82

:l9inA Fax:

Murfreesboro, TN 37132 Box 13 ורר TXM - Middle Tenn. St. Univ. Lib FIRST CLASS

Library Loop University, MS 38677 Mississippi Libraries FROM: ILL - University of

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES IN THE LATER ROMAN BRONZE COINAGE

[SEE PLATES XIV-XVI]

The recording of hoards of bronze or copper coins in this country leaves much to be desired. Finds of such coins, since they possess little intrinsic value and since, by their exclusion from the legislation governing treasure trove, they tend not to be reported, have, too often, been dispersed without record. The numismatic value of such hoards, however, is often in inverse ratio to their intrinsic value, particularly for the later centuries of the Roman empire when the coinage of everyday transactions was largely a bronze coinage. Fortunately a number of hoards of bronze coins has been preserved in local museums, and because of the increased public interest in archaeology fresh finds now tend to be reported, though, in the absence of any machinery similar to that for treasure trove, it is still a matter of chance whether news of finds reaches those interested and competent to record them.

The hoards with which this paper is concerned are of folles, the new bronze coins introduced by Diocletian in his reform of 295. The only exception was a single antoninianus of Probus.1 We have been fortunate in having available for examination at one time no less than four hoards of folles, three of British and one of Italian provenance. For the opportunity of examining the Italian hoard of 137 folles we are indebted to Mr. Collins. The Kent Education Committee has allowed us to include the hoard of 300 pieces found at Bromley in Kent, and Mr. F. Cottrill of Winchester Museum supplied us with a hoard of 290 coins found at Preshaw Park in 1855. For comparative purposes we were led to a re-examination of the great Llangarren hoard of 2,823 coins. This huge find, made originally in 1912 and subsequently published in quite inadequate form in a page and a half of N.C. 1929,2 is, with the exception of some 600 pieces in the British Museum, preserved in Hereford Museum whose assistant curator, Mr. M. A. Orr Paterson, very kindly sent us the balance for investigation.

¹ R.I.C. v (2), p. 28, no. 91f.

² N.C. 1929, pp. 334-5.



S nia to t last,

t last, asion, es. on of uggle to be num-nenia

oner ough ould was king

eigns

ra ir (cl.

and Galerius Augusti; Severus and Maximinus Caesars 1 May 305 Death of Constantius; Severus Augustus; Constantine Caesar 25 July 306 Revolt of Maxentius. . . . 28 October 306 Constantine Augustus . . , . . 31 March 307 Maximian flees from Maxentius to Constantine . May 308

Autumn 308 Death of Galerius . . . 5 May 311 Battle of Milvian Bridge; death of Maxentius 28 October 312 early 313 Defeat of Maximinus by Licinius at Campus Screnus .

1 May 313 First Civil War between Constantine and Licinius 314 Proclamation of Crispus, Constantine II, and Licinius II 1 March 317

Second Civil War between Constantine and Licinius . 324 Proclamation of Constantius II as Caesar 8 Nov. 324

LONDON (Londinium)

The identification of the mint which produced for the successive tetrarchies the series of folles without mint-mark has been the subject of articles by numismatists from de Salis onwards. The correspondence between unmarked series and the hiatus in London's activity from the cessation of the coinage for Allectus in 297 until the appearance of the unmistakable London mint-signature PLN in 306 did not go unobserved; nor did the fact that the other known mints have a comprehensive scheme of signed issues into which the whole of the unmarked folles cannot be fitted. A typically succinct and pertinent article by de Salis1 identified the mint as London. and Laffranchi's discussion in 1927² reinforced this identification and countered the suggestions of Voetter,3 who, following an article by Gerin,4 had proposed a division of the unmarked folles between London and Colchester. These attributions, however, largely based on the obvious correspondence mentioned above and the somewhat subjective criteria of iconography, have lacked the solid support of objective evidence, with the exception of Lasfranchi's discussion of

Somewhat more concrete evidence pertinent to the identification

Since the alphabetical system of Cohen, which can be used to produce some kind of record of the Roman coinage when it was being produced from only one mint, is quite inadequate to record the output of the mints of the folles period, few of the hoards which have been recorded can be reconstructed with either certainty or case but notable exceptions are the accounts of the Weybridge hoard by Sir George Hill and of the Fylield hoard by E. T. Leeds, Encod with the difficulties of the lack of an adequate standard work of reference and of the expense of publication at lavish length we have evolved our own system of recording. The varieties of form of obverse legend, though numerous, are, fortunately, varieties shared by several emperors in a given coinage and these obverse legends are represented in the lists by a number. Similarly the varieties of obverse portrait are represented by a capital letter following the obverse legend number. The emperor in question is indicated by his initial preceding the convention for obverse legend and bust. The brief entry, D15A for example, represents the obverse description IMP DIOCLETIANVS PAVG, head, laureate, r. The coins are arranged chronologically under mints, the prime factors in the arrangement being first the successive mint-marks and then the reverse types. Under separate mint headings we discuss the problems of issues

and chronology peculiar to each mint in the light of the evidence supplied by the present hoards, and finally discuss some general problems and conclusions. In the great Fylicid hoard we have, of course, had a most useful source of comparative material, while we have in the course of this investigation personally examined the material in most of the major collections of Europe a above all, we have had available the original corpus of this coinage, Otto Voetter's invaluable Gerin Catalogue.4

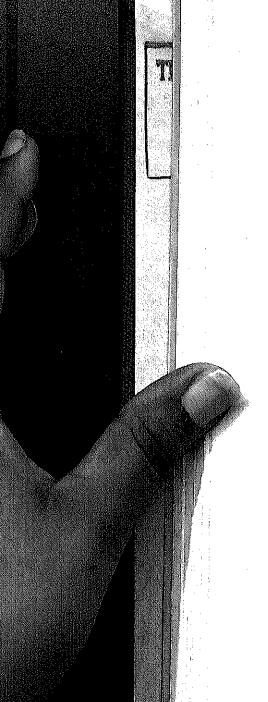
Key dates which recur frequently in our discussion are listed here for convenient reference.

Nomination of Constantius and Gal	eriu	ana Ca	iesars	I March 292
Introduction of the follis			,	с. 295
Recapture of Britain by Constantius				296-7

N.C. 1908, pp. 208 ff.
 E. T. Leeds, A Hoard of Roman foller found at 1 vield, Herks., Oxford, 1946.
 The collections examined were those in Paris, Hasel, Munich, Vienna, Milan,

Rome, and the Vatican. Relevant statistics were also knully supplied from the Ashmolean, Hunterian, and Salisbury museums.

Otto Vootter, Die Münzen der römischen Kaiser, Kaiserinnen und Caesaren von Diocletianus bis Romalus, Katalog der Sammlung Paul Grein, Vienna, 1921, Cited



¹ N.C. 1867, pp. 321 ff.; see also N.C. 1865, p. 319. ⁹ N.C. 1927, pp. 233 ff. 3 G. pp. 96-97. ⁴ N.Z. 1917, pp. 49 ff.

of the mint of the unmarked folles is supplied by the statistics of hoards found in north-west Europe:

Distribution by Mint

Hoard	Un- marked	Lon- dinium	Treveri	Lug- dunum	Other mints	Total
Britain						
Bromley	63	56	107	43	31	300
Corbridge ¹	2	2	3		1	8
Fyfield	463	14	994	363	271	2,105
Grantham ²	167	1	14	4		186
Llangarren	135	157	208	71	62	633
Normandy, nr. Ash ^a .	31	28	24	12	20	115
Preshaw Park	60	24	113	48	45	290
Weybridge ⁴	30		75	22	10	137
Winterbourne Earls ⁵ .	7	3	11	7	4	32
France						
Domquer (Somme)8 .	406	188	480	127	171	1,372
Montbouy (Loiret)7	•	433	602	303	453	1,791
Seltz I (Alsace)8	42	3	2,054	174	195	2,468
Seltz II (Alsace) ⁹	12		671	49	58	790
GERMANY						
Emmersweiler (Saar)10	23		1,141	52	12	1,228

The proportion of folles without mint-mark both in all the British hoards,11 and also in hoards from France at least as far south as Loiret, averages about 25 per cent., whereas the proportion in Alsace and the Saar is 2 per cent. or less. The raison d'être for a mint is administrative and economic, namely the supplying of coin to a particular area: Trier, as the above hoards show, served in the first place the military area of the Rhine frontier but its massive issues made themselves felt, though on a somewhat reduced scale, in most

A.A.³ xii, 1915, pp. 248 ff.
 Seventeenth Annual Report, Grantham Public Museum, 1938-9, pp. 14 ff.

Surrey Arch. Coll. 1916, pp. 49 ff.

⁴ N.C. 1908, pp. 208 ff.

N.C. 1949, pp. 245 ff.
Not yet published. Thanks are due to Mile G. Fabre of the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, for advance information and statistics.

Catalogue de l'exposition international de Numismatique, Paris, 1953, pp. 42 ff.

⁸ N.N.M. 79.

* R.N. 1952, pp. 32 ff.

Westdeutsche Zeitschrift, vi, 1887, pp. 131 ff.

11 Most follis hoards found in Britain have been so inadequately published that it is impossible to reconstruct them in detail. It is clear, however, that the following heards contained at least some representation of unmarked folles: Crich (Derbs.), Derbs. Arch, Journ. viii, 1856, p. 228; Evenley (Northants.), N.C. 1855, p. 38 (pace Leeds, Fyfield, p. 21); Fakenham (Norfolk), Gentleman's Magazine, 1887, p. 86; Falmouth (Cornwall), N.C. 1865, p. 318; Little Malvern (Worcs.), N.C. 1849, p. 9.

of north-west Europe. On this analogy the centre for the production of the unmarked folles could have been either in northern France or Britain. In the former there had been comparatively recent mint activity at Rouen (Rotomagus) for Carausius c. 289-931 and at Meaux (Iantinum) in 293 for Diocletian and Maximian, but in both instances the activity was brief and with no tradition of continuance. It might be objected that the attribution of these unmarked folles to London is at odds with the high proportion of such coins in the two hoards from Domquer in Somme and Montbouy in Loiret, but the centre of gravity for the distribution of these unmarked coins could still be London; for the point of view that the Channel is a barrier is due to modern historical prejudice, whereas, under the empire, it was a means of communication and coinage could have been more easily supplied to north France by water than overland from Trier. The Saxon Shore comprising both sides of the Channel³ was presumably the coinage area supplied by the mint of London. It is possible that the poor representation of the mint of Lyons in British hoards, and even more remarkably in a hoard as close to Lyons as that of Montbouy, is to be explained by the fact that the production of Lyons served southern Gaul and Spain.

The statistical analysis strengthens the inherent probability that the mint of the unmarked folles was London, but more concrete evidence can be advanced to confirm this identification. Of the successive stages of this coinage the first consists of the coins with the mint-mark LON. These are typical early folles in that the obverses show a head-only portrait and a long obverse legend, while the reverse, consistently GENIO POPVLI ROMANI, includes both a rare unbroken legend, and broken forms POP-VLI and POPV-LI. These coins, with their fairly high relief on the obverse, their small neat lettering with its rather large serifs [Pl. XIV. 1] and dumpy reverse types, have an affinity with coins struck for Diocletian and Maximian by Carausius. A particular feature is the common use of the unbarred A. A coin in the British Museum of Diocletian of this LON group shows the Genius draped [Pl. XIV. 2], an exception to the normal nude Genius of early folles but paralleled by the draped

¹ R.I.C. v (2), pp. 428 and 516-23.

² Karl Pink, 'Die Goldprägung des Diocletianus und seiner Mitregenten' in N.Z.

1931, pp. 37-38; see also Bull. Soc. Fr. de Num., Feb. 1948, p. 3.

Not. Dig. Oc. XXVIII. Comes litoris Saxonici per Britanniam; id. XXXVII Dux tractatus Armoricani, § 14 tribunus cohortis primae novae Armoricanae, Grannona, in litore Saxonico; id. XXXVIII Dux Belgicae Secundae, § 7 Equites Dalmatae, Marcis In litore Saxonico.

Genius on coins of Carausius. A further link with the coinage of the British Empire is the use in the LON group of coins of the abbreviation Pl FE (Pius Felix) in the titulature of Maximian [Pl. XIV. 1], otherwise confined to issues of Allectus.2 Early folles reported with mint-marks LN and PLN have been attributed to London, but the mint-marks of all such coins, where it has been possible to inspect them, have proved to be, in fact, LA or PLA, mint-marks of early issues of the mint of Lyons as their style clearly shows. A specimen in the Ashmolean³ with a clear reading LN is, on grounds of fabric. style, and weight, to be adjudged an irregular piece.

Of the subsequent issues which bear no mint signature, group I [Pl. XIV. 3] seems to have been prepared by Lyons moneyers. But these coins, though stylistically identical with issues from Lyons marked PLA [Pl. XIV. 4] and LA, cannot have been struck at that mint; for the sequence of decreasing obverse legends for Galerius runs a parallel course both in this unmarked group and in the signed coins of Lyons. Although we accept in principle the British origin of unmarked folles, this group cannot be readily fitted into the London series. We believe that the only satisfactory sequence of issues from the London mint is: (1) the coinage of Carausius and Allectus; (2) LON folles; (3) the second and third groups of unmarked folles. It will be noted that the obverse legends for the Caesars decrease in a precisely similar way in both the first and second unmarked groups. Consequently those issues—of such divergent styles—cannot be from the same mint.

No satisfactory explanation has been advanced for the omission of the signature of London from these issues. The decision that coin produced at London should bear no signature may have been due to something equivalent to a damnatio memoriae, since London had been the capital and one of the mints of the British usurpers-successful usurpers at that. The decision to remove the signature after the brief LON coinage may, however, have been taken if the enthusiastic welcome anticipated by Constantius—and for which his famous London medallion may have been prepared in advance did not come up to expectation. It is possible, too, that London, because of its identification with the usurpers, suffered some loss of status: if London, as a punishment, lost its identity in an attachment

to some smaller urban unit, coins struck there could obviously not bear the signature of London.

Groups 2 and 3 of the unmarked folles complete the coinage of the First Tetrarchy. The proportions of the groups of folles for the First Tetrarchy are shown below, both from the three hoards here recorded and, for comparison, from the Fyfield hoard.

		Llangarren	Bromley	Preshaw Park	Fyfield
LON coins .			1		3
Group 1 (Lugduni	um style)	. 8	1	4	28
Group 2		. 48	13	18	205
Group 3		. 38	20	14	111

Group 2 is characterized by a narrow, neat, cuirassed bust [Pl. XIV.5] in a style which shows definite affinities with the coinage of the British emperors, particularly of Allectus, and it should be noted that part of the tie on the laurel wreath of the folles is, in many cases, in the form of a spike, closely resembling the lowest spike of the radiate crown on coins of Allectus [Pl. XIV. 6]. That this is the earlier group is confirmed by the continued use of the long obverse legend, e.g. IMP C DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG. The succeeding group is remarkable for its broad, coarse bust [Pl. XIV. 7] in keeping with the style of the later issues for the First Tetrarchy from the other western mints, Trier and Lyons. The obverse legend for this group has now been shortened to IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG, &c. Linking these two is a small transitional group, combining the long obverse legend of Group 2 with the characteristic bust of Group 3 while a few pieces with a modified, neater form of the broad bust possibly come late in the course of the second group, towards the end of the First Tetrarchy. Except in the case of one hoard (Bromley), Group 2 predominates in quantity over Group 3 and, presumably, occupied something more than half the eight years between the reoccupation of Britain in 296 and the end of the First Tetrarchy in May 305.

Voetter and Gerin, ignoring the evidence of the obverse legends, wished to identify these two groups as contemporaneous issues from two distinct mints in Britain, Colchester and one other unspecified. Leeds, in his discussion of the Fyfield hoard, propounded the correct solution that they were successive groups from the same mint but sought to identify that mint as a travelling military mint.

The identification of the mint of the unmarked folles as London is definitely determined by the evidence of the die-axis. It was observed

¹ R.I.C. v (2), p. 485, no. 240. ³ Leeds, op. cit., p. 12.

² R.I.C. v (2), pp. 563, 567, 569.

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 91 reduced weight and shortened legend that London's signature reappears in the form PLN [PL XIV, 8 and 9]. Although both at London and at other mints the amount of coin-

age of the Third Tetrarchy of full weight and long reverse legend is small, the reduction cannot have been introduced immediately after the death of Constantius in July 306, for there is a rare issue of fullweight coins both from Carthage and Aquileia for Maxentius, who was declared Augustus only on 27 October 306. The reduction came shortly after this event, as is borne out by the fact that at London there are no reduced coins for Severus. The revolt of Maxentius, engaging the attention of Severus and inserting a buffer between the latter and Constantine, was an apt moment for the western Caesar to deny recognition to Severus, and to transfer his allegiance to Maximian emerging from retirement as an active Augustus once again. To judge from the rarity of unreduced folles without mintmark the change to the issue signed PLN must have come fairly soon after this, namely towards the end of 306, a conclusion confirmed by the more explicit evidence of Trier and Lyons.

Maximian's coins, though placed for convenience in the hoardlists in the reign of Constantine as Caesar, were spread over the whole duration of the mark PLN; for London, unlike Constantine's other mints, struck for him only with the title PFS. Elsewhere his return to active rule was marked by the use of the normal titulature. The paucity of examples of the Genio Pop Rom issue for Maximian PFS in the Fyfield hoard only 2 compared with Llangarren 44, Bromley 20, and Preshaw Park 7, and no more numerous than the examples of Quies Augg for Diocletian—suggests that the terminal date of Fyfield is fairly early in 307. Despite the evidence of inscriptions of British provenance that Constantius was consecrated while Constantine was still Caesar,1 it is clear from the evidence of Trier issues that it was only shortly before he became Augustus that Constantine celebrated his father's consecration on the coinage. The consecration coinage of Constantius with the mark PLN, issued, then, around March 307, and absent from Fyfield, is supplementary testimony for the termination of this hoard in early 307, a much earlier date than that postulated by Leeds.

From the hoards it is clear that the variety of types with mark PLN gave way to the single type of Soli Invicto Comiti just before the end of this mark. Of this type there were no examples in Preshaw Park 1 L.L.S. 682.

that whereas the die-axis of folles produced at Trier and Lyons was either \(\gamma\) or \(\psi\) in almost equal proportions, on the signed coins of London the die-axis on all the material examined was consistently. When the examination was extended to the unmarked folles it was discovered that with the exception of two coinst from the mass examined the die-position was consistently identical with that of the later London coins. The only exception to this rule was that the dieaxis on the group of unmarked folles of Lyons style was either † or! in much the same proportions as signed coins from this mitt. Since this consistency of die-position is a unique feature of London when the mint signs its coins, we conclude that unsigned coins with this same feature are from the same mint. This almost 100 per cent. consistency in placing the reverse die in the inverted position was, in fact, something of a tradition in British mint practice for on the cointage of Carausius the majority of coins have the reversed position 4. while for Allectus the proportion on coins examined is as high as 89 per cent. for coins from the London mint and 100 per cent. for the C mint. That such consistency was alien to the practice at the continental mints was confirmed by examination of the pre-reforma issues at Trier and Lyons where the die-axis was seen to be † or 1 in almost equal proportions.

Genio, the sole type at this mint in the First Tetrarchy, is joined in the Second and Third Tetrarchies by Providentia for the Seniors Diocletian and Maximian, but for comparative purposes, all types in the Second and Third Tetrarchies have been taken together.

			Llangarren	Bromley	Preshaw Park	Exfield
Second Tetrarchy			41	26	22	106
Third Tetrarchy	٠	•	7	Ε,	2	4

It has so far proved impossible to obtain a true picture of the spread of the coinage over these two periods, for there are no ready criteria for distributing the coinages of Galerius Augustus, Maximinus Caesar and the Seniors in the successive periods. During the "I hird Tetrarchy the unmarked issues of London give place to issues with a mint signature. The transition is clearly to be seen, particularly in the coinage of Constantine as Caesar. The coinage of the Third Tetrarchy begins with full-weight issues c. 10 gm. followed by a reduction in standard to 7-8 gm, which is accompanied by a reduction of the reverse legend to GENIO POP ROM. It is on folles of this

¹ As nos, II and I2 in heard list. Both in Staatliche Münzsammlung, Murrich.

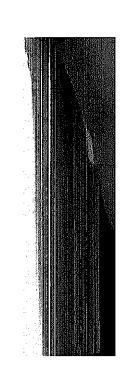
Coins marked T | F are at London, as at Trier, of two Listing modules, but, in the case of London, those with the smaller 1110dule are not an immediately successive group but, as will appear, are separated from those of the large module by several intervening marks. In this coinage of larger module marked $\frac{T \mid F}{P \mid L \mid N}$ Galerius is not represented, nor is Licinius, while coins of Maximinus are very rate and with a special variety of the mark $T \mid F$, most probably late in the course of the mark $\frac{T \mid F}{PLN}$. The comparative figures from the Llangarren hoard-Maximinus 3, Constantine 443-demonstrate Constantine's neglect of his colleagues for almost the whole duration of this mark from about early 309 to sometime after May 311. Voetter reports a coin of Constantine, however, with mark T | F, which has the reverse COMITI AAVVGG, 1 a variety of reverse legend peculiar in the next mark to Maximinus. There is a suggestion here of a descrite between Constantine and Maximinus following the death of Chalcrius, and it was probably when faced with this circumstance that Licinius, though officially senior as Augustus to both Constantine and Maximinus, ranked himself as only third, as his inscriptions show.

The succession of the marks between $\frac{T \mid F}{PLN}$ large-module and small-module is fairly apparent from the decreasing module of the coinage and the breaks of the reverse legend in the predominant Soff type. In $\frac{T \mid F}{PLN}$ there are two breaks in the word INVICTO (1) C-T; (2) 1-C, of which the former is by far the more common, 382 examples as against 64. That the order of the next two marks is $\frac{1}{PLN}$ followed by $\frac{*}{PLN}$ is confirmed by the fact that the very rare Soli coins in $\frac{1}{PLN}$ have

only the break G-T, found more commonly in $\frac{T \mid F}{PLN}$, while the *Soli* types in $\frac{* \mid}{PLN}$ have reverse legends with double breaks, (1) V-1-G, (2) V-1G-T, (3) 1-G-T, appearing only in immediately subsequent marks. Additional confirmation is supplied by the *Principi Inventutis* types. In $\frac{\mid}{PLN}$ the type shows the emperor holding two standards, and to this type, repeated in $\frac{\mid}{PLN}$, is added the type of emperor holding globe and vertical spear, but in $\frac{* \mid}{PLN}$ the sole type is that of emperor with globe and spear, this time transverse.

The majority of the Soli coins in PLN have a new legend, COMIT! AVGG NN, and the type changes from Sol raising right hand and holding globe in left to Sol holding globe in right hand and whip in left; but there is a number of mules between these two varieties. In PLN Constantine's colleagues Licinius and Maximinus have increased representation—Licinius 31, Maximinus 42, Constantine 138. The representation of Maximinus just begun in the previous mark is increased and extended to Licinius, and this issue began, most likely, after the death of Galerius on 5 May 311. Special types in this mark, Adventus Aug. Adventus Aug. Nn. Concord Milit, and Spes Relpubl, refer to the entry into Rome and the celebration of the victory over Maxentius in October 312. That Concord Milit is found for Constantine with a consular bust helps to place the issue, as Constantine held his second consulship in 312 and his third in 313.

The change from PLN to PLN took place in early 313, certainly not very long after the victory of October 312 as the latter mark includes types of Romae Acter Augg and Romae Restitutae still with reference to Constantine's success. This latter mark also includes Felicitas Augg Nn and Securitas Augg, types which seem to refer to the alliance between Constantine and Licinius and their meeting at Milan. That this was early in 313 is clear from the course of events in the struggle between Licinius and Maximinus. The battle of Campus Serenus took place on 1 May 313, and, as several weeks are to be



² I.L.S. 664 (from Noricum, a province of Licinius at this date).

¹ Lactantius, De Mort. Pers. 45.

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 95

accounted for in delays experienced before Byzantium and Heraclea by Maximinus on his advance westwards, it can be assumed that the news of Maximinus's hostile moves reached Constantine and Licinius at Milan sometime in March, by which time their conference had been a considerable time in session. Maximinus disappears early from $\frac{*}{PLN}$, presumably as soon as the news of his war with Licinius reached London.1 The comparative figures for this issue are: Maximinus 1, Licinius 10, Constantine 92. In * | Soli Invicto Comiti, rare in $\frac{1}{PIN}$, becomes again the normal type.

A consideration of the varying breaks of the reverse legend helps to establish something of the sequence of the next involved series of marks, for only $\frac{S \mid F}{P \mid N}$ includes Sol coins with two of the breaks found with $\frac{*}{PLN}$, namely nos. 2 and 3, and to these is added the break INVIC-TO. The date of the change from $\frac{*|}{P|N}$ to $\frac{S|F}{P|N}$ cannot be precisely fixed but the new mark includes the type of Adventus Aug N for Constantine, a reference to his entry into Rome in July 315.

The next marks cover the period from the end of the issue with $\frac{S \mid F}{PLN}$ up to the appointment of the Caesars Crispus and Constantine II in 317. These marks are $\frac{S \mid F}{MLL}$, $\frac{S \mid F}{MLN}$, $\frac{S \mid F}{MSL}$, $\frac{S \mid P}{MLN}$, $\frac{S \mid P}{MSL}$ and $\frac{T \mid F}{PLN}$ (small module). The first of these marks in succession to $\frac{S \mid F}{P \mid N}$ is $\frac{S \mid F}{MLL}$, for of this group of marks only $\frac{S \mid F}{MLL}$ shows two of the breaks of the reverse legend of the Soli types which are found with the marks $\frac{S \mid F}{Pl \mid N}$ (INVI-C-TO and INVIC-TO) whereas only the single break INVIC-TO occurs with the other marks. Again, the date at which $\frac{S \mid F}{PLN}$ gave place to $\frac{S \mid F}{MLL}$ is clearly somewhere about July 315, for this latter mark as well as the former is found with the Adventus Aug N type mentioned above. The order of the remaining

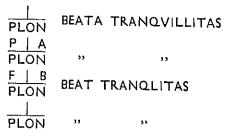
¹ Maximinus was still recognized as late as 15 April: cf. superscription of the letter

of the proconsul of Africa cited by St. Augustine, Ep. 88. 2.

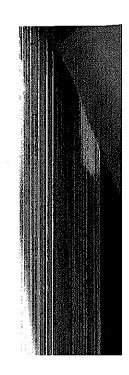
marks of this group has not been established, but all the marks which have a common factor in the letter M in the mint-mark obviously form a single group. No earlier place, then, is available for the mark $\frac{T \mid F}{PLN}$ (small module) than after this group. That the issues with these six marks were small issues in rapid succession in the comparatively short period from about July 315 to 1 March 317, when Crispus and Constantine II were appointed Caesars, is compatible with the small numbers for each in the Llangarren hoard compared with the numbers for prior marks.

	S F	S F	S F	S P	S P	T F
	Mll	MLN	MSL	MLN	MSL	PLN
Constantine . Licinius .	. 23	25 6	27 12	15 5	13	63

The earliest marks after 1 March 317, including both coinage for the new Caesars Crispus and Constantine II and types of Sol continued, are $\frac{S \mid P}{PLN}$, $\frac{O \mid *}{PLN}$ and $\frac{O \mid *}{PLN}$. The order of these marks is as given, the letters SP being continued from the previous marks and the module of all three showing further successive decline. A peculiar feature of the Llangarren hoard is the complete absence of the next mark Laetae Princ Perp and Virtus Exercit, though this is only a false end to the hoard for there is a representation of the later marks of the London issues which end in 324. The Beata Tranquillitas type extends over four marks:



The order suggested by the abbreviation of the reverse legend is confirmed by the obverse portrait types, for whereas in the first three marks Constantine and his elder son Crispus are normally helmeted and Constantine II radiate, in the final mark the younger son, too, is almost exclusively helmeted. At Lyons this type is found in mark



CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 97

 $\frac{C]R}{PLG}$ with obverses for Crispus and Constantine II as COS II, i.e. 321. The type SARMATIA DEVICTA recording the Sarmatian war of 323, appears with the mark $\frac{1}{PLON}$ while the final issue at London, *Providentiae Caess* with mark $\frac{1}{PLON}$, includes coinage for Constantius II, appointed Caesar on 8 November 324.

TRIER (Treveri)

The British hoards contain 1,067 coins of this mint, a proportion second only to that of London itself, and far surpassing that of any other. The earliest Trier folles are closely similar to the first issue of Lyons and the earliest group of the unmarked coins together with the LON pieces. They bear the simple mark $\frac{1}{TR}$, and inaugurate a series the order of whose marks is not in doubt:

i.
$$\frac{1}{TR}$$
 ii. $\frac{A \mid \Gamma}{TR}$ iii. $\frac{A \mid \Gamma}{TR}$ iv. $\frac{A \mid *}{TR}$ v. $\frac{\mid *}{ATR}$ vi. $\frac{S \mid F}{ITR}$ vii. $\frac{S \mid F}{PTR}$

The replacement of the plain laureate head by the cuirassed bust in the course of the first four marks has been discussed by Leeds, and requires no elaboration. Internal organization still presents unsolved problems. During the first mark, folles were apparently struck in one officina only: three were so employed in marks ii and iii: two in marks iv, v, and vi, and one only in mark vii, and this in spite of undiminished output. Especially in the later marks, the existence of a large number of unusual obverse varieties, for example with jugate, consular or helmeted busts, has tended to obscure the underlying uniformity of the issues. These show an overwhelming predominance of a few varieties—the legends IMP-PF AVG, IMP-P AVG and IMP-AVG for the Augusti, NOBIL C and NOB C (Constantius) and NOBIL CAES and NOB CAES (Galerius) for the Caesars. Dominant busts are: laureate cuirassed to right, and laureate and draped to right, seen either from front or back. It is difficult to see any hieratic significance in these differences, and further study may show them to represent additional internal subdivisions in a mint with very large basic officinae. They continue to appear down to the end of the Sol coinage, whereafter other criteria must be sought.

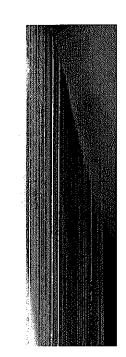
Complications begin to appear in the $\frac{A}{T} \frac{*}{R}$ mark. The normal

Genius with chlamys is replaced by one with draped loins on single coins, each of Constantius and Galerius Caesars [Pl. XV. 2], a feature paralleled by equally anomalous pieces struck at Lyons about the time that the altar was added to the reverse type (marks $\frac{A}{L}$ and \square A. Towards the end of $\frac{A!}{TR}$, the Genio series was replaced by Fortunae Reduci types, variously invoked for all four tetrarchs, or for Augusti or Caesars alone. This gave way in the course of $\frac{1}{ATR}$ to *Moneta* Sacra Augg et Caes Nn, which, in its successive abbreviations M Sacra and Moneta S, lasted into $\frac{S \mid F}{LTR}$, when Genio was re-established as the one reverse type of the Gallic diocese. It is characteristic that Trier should employ the inverted form Moneta Sacra, which is otherwise found in abbreviation (MS) only at London, and later on the silver of Constantine III (TRMS). The normal legend commencing Sacra Monet is found on all coins of the central Western mints except Carthage (Rome, Ticinum, Aquileia, and Siscia) and its unbroken continuation into the Second Tetrarchy furnishes an indication that there was not only a distinct territorial division between the Augusti, but that the Western Caesar also possessed a separate administration.

The mark $\frac{S \mid F}{PTR}$ continued throughout the Second Tetrarchy and into the Third, and during its use the follis suffered no reduction in standard. Shortly after the establishment of the Second Tetrarchy, the Genius was once more shown with draped loins, a change which became permanent and was adopted at Lyons and London after Constantine I became Caesar.

With the death of Constantius I and the appointment of his son as Caesar, political developments occurred in dramatic succession, and Constantine's policy towards his colleagues was soon manifest.

The mint-mark changed to $\frac{S \mid A}{PTR}$ (an issue of slightly lighter weight) and Severus, the western Augustus, was dropped from the obverses of Constantine's coinage, for reasons already discussed, and the old Maximian, to whom Constantine now transferred his nominal allegiance, was still honoured only as Senior Augustus. Nevertheless, there is an immediate increase in the number of his coins, until they



become almost as numerous as those of Constantine himself, and the abdication reverse (Quies Augg) is confined to Diocletian. London and Lyons show a parallel development.

The rare pieces of heavy weight and full reverse legend marked $\frac{S \mid A}{PTR}$ were immediately followed by the $\frac{S \mid O}{PTR}$ series. In this, weight, module and length of reverse legend were reduced in two stages.

- (i) GENIO POPVLI ROMANI
- (ii) GENIO POPVLI ROM
- (iii) GENIO POP ROM

All three legends are found on $\frac{S \mid C}{PTR}$ coins, the second being known only from two hitherto unpublished pieces (both in the B.M.) of Galerius Augustus [Pl. XIV. 11] and Constantine Caesar [Pl. XIV. 12] respectively.

With the evolution of the third form of legend, the mark $\frac{S \mid A}{P \mid T \mid R}$ was restored, and it continued in use until well after Constantine's proclamation as Augustus (31 March 307). Diocletian, Galerius Augustus and Maximinus Caesar receive scant recognition and soon disappear in an issue devoted almost exclusively to Maximian (Senior Augustus) and Constantine Caesar. The use of a special mark $\frac{S \mid O}{P \mid R}$ on the coinage at the moment of its reduction is paralleled at Lyons, where its place is taken by $\frac{S \mid C}{P \mid R}$ (Seniors) and $\frac{T \mid F}{P \mid R}$ (Galerius Augustus and the Caesars), interrupting $\frac{m}{R} \mid N$.

The dynastic character of the coinage is stressed by the appetrance in $\frac{S \mid A}{PTR}$ of Divus Constantius. The coins are of reduced weight, and must belong to the second period of the mark, a conclusion confirmed by their parallel occurrence at London and Lyons in marks $\frac{1}{PLN}$ and $\frac{1}{PLG}$. Further rapprochement and recognition of Maximian is reflected by the replacement at Trier and Lyons (not at London) of the title 'Senior Augustus' by the usual formula IMP C-PF AVG, with an unusually full expression of his name, M. Aurelius Valerius M., no doubt to differentiate him explicitly from Galerius. The

change came before Constantine assumed the title of Augustus. This is clear from the Lyons coins, which show that Maximian's recognition as an active Augustus once more took place during the course of the mark $\frac{|E|}{PLG}$. Constantine is Caesar throughout its use, and a new mark, $\frac{|E|}{PLG}$ is introduced on his proclamation as Augustus. At Trier, although the mint-mark remained unchanged, a rare series of half-folles, reproducing on a small scale the types of the larger coins, is known only for Maximian Augustus, Constantine Caesar and Divus Constantius, and corroborates the evidence from Lyons.

After $\frac{S \mid A}{PTR}$ followed $\frac{T \mid F}{PTR}$. Contrary to what we have noticed at London, where the use of the early mark $\frac{1}{PLN}$ was protracted into the Soli Invicto Comiti issues, T | F at Trier was introduced just before the discontinuance of the various Marti Patri types and is therefore of comparatively early date. London and Trier show approximately equal numbers of reduced coins of Constantine as Caesar and as Augustus in the PLN and SIA issues, but it would be unsafe to argue the terminal date of the marks from this alone. The clue to the solution of this problem is in the correct interpretation of the $\frac{S \mid A}{PTR}$ Quies Aug coinage [Pl. XIV, 10]. It has Maximian's shortest obverse legend and pointedly echoes the Quies Augg issues of two years before. Lactantius relates how Maximian, deprived by Constantine of a share in government, rebelled and seized Marseilles, an event generally dated to 309,2 On his capture he was degraded from the 'retired' imperial rank he had retained. It is, therefore, probable that Quies Aug was issued, and Maximian retired from active rank, in conformity with the decision of the congress of Carnuntum in autumn 308. It is plain that when Maximian fled from Maxentius to Constantine in May 308 he was still recognized by Constantine as reigning emperor.

Trier folles marked T | F are divided by weight into two groups, of about 5:00 and 3:00 gm. average, respectively, the latter being much the scarcer. At London there is evidence that the two T | F

¹ R.N. 1954, pp. 32 f. * Luctantius, op. cit. 29.

groups are separate in date, but here they seem to form a continuous series. The reason for this is that the T | F mark at Trier lasted much longer than at London. At London, where our hoards show nearly 450 coins of Constantine paralleled by 3 of Maximinus and none of Licinius, and where recognition of colleagues did not recommence until $\frac{* \mid}{PLN}$ (probably upon the death of Galerius), $T \mid F$ must have ended early in 311. At Trier, T | Fincluded 34 later coins of Maximinus and 42 of Licinius beside 290 of Constantine, and is, furthermore, the only mark at this mint with which Maximinus occurs. We can, therefore, be certain that it was still current in the spring of 313, and that the small T | F coins, which are of Constantine (10) and Licinius (1) only, probably date to 314 or 315. A check is furnished by the London coins. Maximinus disappears early in the $\frac{1}{PLN}$ mark, the coins of which show but slight evidence of reduction. The following issue, however, $\frac{S \mid F}{P \mid N}$, which we have shown was probably still in issue in mid-315, is of the reduced standard. With its early stages we would equate the light $\frac{T \mid F}{PTR}$ issues. A minor problem is the dating and attribution of unmarked coins bearing on the reverse busts of Sol and Mars, and the legends of the regular series. Both the predominant short forms of obverse and the existence (in the B.M.) of a reduced piece of the Mars type suggest a late date in the T | F period. The complete absence of Licinius in a coinage of this date leads us to regard this as of the period of the first Civil War (autumn 314).

A rare two-officinae issue of reduced weight, $\frac{A \mid S}{PTR}$, in the names of Constantine (16) and Licinius (3) is followed by the large $\frac{T \mid F}{ATR}$ series, in which both imperial brothers-in-law were strongly represented—Constantine (144), Licinius (83). This issue was current in March 317 when the Caesars were proclaimed, and the Llangarren hoard included a specimen of Crispus.

The rare post-317 mark $\frac{F \mid T}{ATR}$ was not represented. The Treveran contribution to Llangarren closed with a single specimen of *Beata Tranquillitas* ($\frac{1}{PTR}$), two of *Providentiae Augg*, one of which ($\frac{1}{PTRE}$)

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 101

must be as late as 326. An important addition to the corpus of Constantinian coins of this issue is a coin of Licinius I from recent excavations at Camerton, Somerset:

Obv. Bust, laureate, cuirassed r. IMP LICINI-VS AVG

Rev. Altar inscribed VOT IS XX

This is the first substantiated example of the occurrence of Licinius I in this type, though a few coins of his son had previously been noted.

LYONS (Lugdunum)

Folles of Lyons were relatively few in number in the hoards under our consideration, a feature that the table above shows to be constant in British finds, and even in deposits of north and central France. It is, therefore, likely that the output of this mint was channelled southwards, into Spain, which had no mint of its own.

Various factors assist us to establish the order of the first four marks as $\frac{1}{PLA}$, $\frac{A}{L}$, $\frac{A}{P}$, and $\frac{A}{L}$. To consider obverse varieties first: cuirassed busts are found only in $\frac{A}{P}$ and $\frac{A}{L}$, and since the cuirassed portrait is normal on later marks they must be the second pair. As between the very rare $\frac{1}{PLA}$ and the abundant $\frac{1}{L}$ and the priority of the former is established by the reduction in the obverse legends used by the Caesars:

102 R. A. G. CARSON AND J. P. C. KENT

A CONSTANTIVS NOB G VAL P L GAES GAES

G VAL MAXIMIANVS CAES

MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES

All this early group show reverses broken either (i) POPV-L| or (ii) POP-VLI. In addition, $\frac{1}{L}$ a occurs more rarely with unbroken legend. The $\frac{1}{PLA}$ and $\frac{1}{L}$ and $\frac{1}{L}$ coins have stylistic identity with the first group of unmarked folles [Pl. XIV. 3 and 4]—to such an extent that Lyons pieces have been misread as $\frac{1}{PLN}$ and $\frac{1}{L}$ and ascribed to London. We have already suggested that these early 'London' pieces, if not struck at Lyons itself, were the products of Lyons moneyers. A notable change in type gives us the order (iii) $\frac{A}{PL}$ (iv) $\frac{A}{L}$ P. This is the introduction in the course of the latter of an altar in front of the Genius, which remained a permanent feature of Genio issues into the reign of Constantine Augustus. Two other changes were made at the same time: (i) the mark was modified to $\frac{1}{L}$ A, (ii) the division of the reverse legend was stabilized as POP-VLI. Soon after the introduction of the next mark, $\frac{1}{PLG}$, the original saltireornamented altar is replaced by a plain type.

The sequence propounded above modifies that of Voetter in one particular only—the order of the first two marks. But since it departs considerably from that of Leeds, in his publication of the Fyfield hoard, we wish to add further comments on this issue. Fyfield contained a single specimen of the very rare $\frac{|\vec{L}|}{L} \frac{A}{P}$ issue. Leeds, however, did not relate this to other examples cited by Voetter, and referred only to a $\frac{|\vec{L}|}{P} \frac{A}{L}$ coin in the Oman collection. Voetter cites no such coins in the Gerin Catalogue, and only one in his N.Z. paper of 1917. The latter work, unfortunately, reveals inconsistencies between text, lists, and line-drawn plates, but certain conclusions can be suggested.

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 103

- 1. $\frac{\triangle A}{A}$ though rare is much commoner than $\frac{\triangle A}{P}$.
- 2. The majority of $\frac{\Box}{L}$ p coins have the early ornamented altar and this continues in use into the $\frac{|A|}{PLG}$ mark. As the only $\frac{\Box}{P}$ piece to have been substantiated has this, later, plain altar, we suspect that it is in reality a blundered variant of the very common $\frac{|A|}{PLG}$ issue. It must, however, be pointed out that, as shown by the Fyfield coin discussed above, for a short period both plain and decorated altars were in simultaneous use.

Leeds also considered important the smaller proportion of cuirassed busts to plain heads in $\frac{A}{P}$ than in $\frac{A}{L}$, and since the undoubted trend was from the plain head to the cuirass, it was argued that $\frac{A}{P}$ was later, not earlier, than $\frac{A}{L}$. But in the hoards under our examination, this proportion was exactly reversed, as shown by the attached table:

	Heads	Busi
AL P L	7	2
A L P	5	5

We doubt, therefore, whether any importance attaches to statistics obtained from such a relatively small number of examples, and we rely rather on the concrete evidence of the change in reverse type, and division of legend. Another doubtful mark is $\frac{1}{L}$. All examples cited in Fyfield and Seltz (it is not recorded by Voetter) have plain head; so, if it exists, it must be early. We consider, however, that it is more likely a misread or badly formed $\frac{1}{L}$ A or $\frac{1}{L}$ B, as was certainly the case with all examples so described in the B.M.

A relative date for these changes is shown by the rare occurrence of a feature already noted at Trier, the draped Genius. At Lyons it is found with marks $\frac{A}{L}$ [Pl. XV. 3] and $\frac{\ddot{\Box}}{L}$ (Fyfield), a circumstance that at once demonstrates the association of those marks, and the

¹ Leeds, op. cit., pl. ii. 21.

² G., Lugdunum, Maximian, 84 ff.

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 105

improbability of their being the second Lyons group. For at Trie, the draped Genius occurs only in $\frac{A \mid *}{T \mid R}$, which is the fourth issue.

The altar reverse with successive marks $\frac{|A|}{PLG}$ and $\frac{|*|}{PLG}$ continues to the end of the First Tetrarchy. As at Trier, the last mark of the First Tetrarchy continued in use throughout the Second, and into the Third, supplemented by the form $\frac{T \mid F}{PLG}$ for the Senior Augusti. Also as at Trier, Severus Augustus disappears from the Lyons coinnge not later than the end of $\frac{|*|}{PLG}$, well before the end of 306. It is the latest mark on which the Genius is depicted nude. The following mark, $\frac{|N|}{PLG}$, on which the Genius is always draped, undergoes the same vicissitudes as its Trier counterpart $\frac{S \mid A|}{PTR}$. It falls into two groups, with long and short reverse legends, divided by a rare mark in the course of which reduction of legend and weight are effected together. The resulting pattern is as follows:

<u> N</u> PLG	GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI	unreduced weight	T.
T F PLG))	"	S C Senior
<u>"N</u> PLG	GENIO-POP ROM	reduced weight	·Q
PLG	33	11	
~ 1 ~			

 $S \mid C$, the Trier mark of the reduction issue, is here confined to the Senior Augusti, the reigning emperors employing $T \mid F$.

Constantine's proclamation as Augustus (31 March 307) coincided with the change from $\frac{|N|}{PLG}$ to $\frac{|N|}{PLG}$. It is interesting, therefore, to note the occurrence in the $\frac{|N|}{PLG}$ issue of coins of Maximian, once more recognized as reigning Augustus. It is natural that Constantine should have recognized Maximian as reigning, and not retired, emperor, before the latter would invest him with the higher rank, and it confirms the evidence of the Trier half-folles, which also suggest this order of events. The plain mark, Constantine's first as Augustus, is marked by a generous representation of Maximian to the exclusion

of all other colleagues, except a solitary piece for Galerius Augustus, several special types of *Concordia*, *Felicitas* and *Securitas* and a bewildering variety of issues for Divus Constantius. Here at least numismatic recognition of the new deity, already seen from London and Trier to be not earlier than the very end of 306, was delayed until the son's proclamation as Augustus. In this issue too is a single specimen of Maxentius, showing the same grudging recognition as

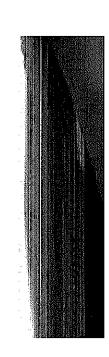
at Trier. The next mark, $\frac{CI}{P} = \frac{H}{LG}$, occurs for Maximian, Maxentius, Divus Constantius, and Constantine Augustus, but the latter's partners are much less well represented. In the next, $\frac{NI}{PLG}$, Constantine alone is found.

A single Beata Tranquillitas issue is the latest Lyons piece to fall within our consideration. It is one of the thin scatter of pieces to prolong the Llangarren Hoard into the 320's.

TICINUM

We regard the attribution of the $\frac{1}{T}$ marked coinage to this mint as proved by Laffranchi and others, and our arrangement of the Maxentian issue is based on the observed behaviour of the coins, which we cannot reconcile with a location outside north Italy. Furthermore, the recently published hoard, from Kellmünz in Bavaria,

¹ H. J. Kellner, 'Ein Fund spätrömischer Münzen von Kellmünz' in Bay, Vorgeschlehtsblätter 20, 1954, pp. 119 ff.



contained so many — pieces that we do not regard the old attribution to Tarraco as tenable.

Our hoards contain only a very scanty representation of the late *Genio* issues, in which the stereotyped character of the coinage results in the absence of any notable problems. The real problems of chronology begin with the *Sacra Monet* issue, and have only been found soluble with the aid of much additional material from foreign museums. Maurice did not attempt to resolve questions concerning the sequence of these issues, and Sutherland's study of the problems of 305 to 307 completely and inexplicably ignores Maxentius, who was a disturbing factor in north Italy for almost half the period, and who finally came into full control of the mint.

The chronological scheme propounded below is based firstly on the change in the First Tetrarchy from broken to unbroken reverse legend, then back again to broken towards the end of the Second Tetrarchy. The second variable is the reduction of the obverse title of the Caesars at the change from Second to Third Tetrarchy from NOB CAESAR to NOB CAES. Thirdly, we note certain issues of normal Third Tetrarchy pattern, from which Severus Augustus is missing, and which are, therefore, attributable to some period after his fall in February 307. Maxentius's issues are divided into three parts: (i) long, undivided reverse legends, Constantine I as Caesar only; (ii) long, divided reverse legends, Constantine I as Caesar and Augustus; (iii) short, divided reverse legends, Constantine I as Augustus. The following tables give those varieties met by us, and relate them to the historical setting which seems to us the most probable. The few coins of Constantine dated after his capture of the mint in October 312 are omitted, for they are too few to form a basis for discussion.

First Tetrarchy (last coinage)
SACRA MONET AVGG-ET CAESS NOSTR

- (i) broken legend $\frac{1}{PT}$ D M C G
- (ii) unbroken legend $\frac{1}{PT}$ D M C G

The first mark (characterized by the use of smaller portraits)

1 N.C. 1954, pp. 68 ff.

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 107 occurs with broken and unbroken reverse legend, the second with unbroken only. The extremely rare mark $\frac{1}{P}$, noted with unbroken legend for Diocletian (B.M.)¹ and Constantius [Pl. XV. 4], is probably no more than a variant of $\frac{1}{PT}$, for Maurice records a similar rare variant, $\frac{1}{PT}$ for $\frac{1}{PT}$, on the *Providentia* folles of the next period. $\frac{*}{P}$ is the last mark because it is found with the unbroken form only. Second Tetrarchy (first coinage)

PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG 1 D M

FIDES MILITVM unbroken legend PT CG [Pl. XV. 5]

VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN PT S Mx

Mars type, unbroken legend

Issues of the Second and Third Tetrarchies show a differentiation of types between the Seniors, Augusti, and Caesars. During the Second Tetrarchy, the latter are styled NOB CAESAR, but on later issues NOB CAES. It is strange to find the *Providentia* folles using a different mark from the others, but we are otherwise forced to the conclusion that at Ticinum alone the Seniors were not honoured until the second coinage. Maurice records a variant $\frac{1}{PT}$ for *Providentia* which must be exceedingly rare.

Second coinage

PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG PT DM

FIDES MILITVM unbroken legend PT CG

VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS NN PT S Mx [Pl. XV. 6]

Mars type, unbroken legend

Third coinage

PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG PT D M

FIDES M-ILITVM broken legend PT CG

VIRTVS AV-GG ET CAESS NN PT S Mx

Mars type, broken legend

1 Op. cit., p, 68.

The last issue of the Second Tetrarchy has once more broken reverse legends, an invariable feature of the later Fides and Virtus types.

> Third Tetrarchy (first coinage) July-Nov. 306

PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG PT DM

FIDES M-ILITVM broken legend PT G S [Pl, XV. 7]

VIRTVS AV-GG ET CAESS NN PT Mx Cn

Mars type, broken legend

VIRTVS AV-GG ET CAESS NN Cn

Horseman type, broken legend

The previous issues are continued, but the Caesars are now styled NOB CAES, and there is a special type for Constantine Caesar. In this issue it is very rare, and probably immediately antedates the usurpation of Maxentius, when the loyalty of the Western Caesar was of cardinal importance to the survival of the Tetrarchy, A corresponding special issue of Aquileia reads VIRTVS CON-STANTINI CAES.

Second coinage

PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG AI D M FIDES M-ILITVM broken legend VIRTVS AV-GG ET CAESS NN Mx [Pl. XV. 8]

Mars type, broken legend

This issue is extremely rare, and there is no decisive evidence for placing it here rather than with the coinage of Galerius in the following year. The special type of Constantine is not, so far, recorded.

> Maxentius (first coinage) Nov. 306-Jan. 307

MEMORIA DIVI CONSTANTI AVG PT C

CONSERVATORES VRB SVAE

M Ms [Pl. XV. 9]

HEROVLI CONSERVAT CAES Cn

Ticinum, unlike Aquileia, struck no unreduced folles for Maxentius. It is, therefore, clear that all issues that average no more than CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 109

7-8 gm. must be attributed to his occupation of the mint. The sequence of the Rome issues discussed below makes it certain that the short form of reverse legend (CONSERVAT) was adopted there in the second half of 307. It follows that the two Maxentian issues with the long legend belong to the period of the campaigns against Severus and Galerius, and can be readily dated, (i) to the initial period of the usurpation; and (ii) to between the invasions of Severus and Galerius in 307. We shall see that there are coinages of unreduced weight attributable to the two periods of reoccupation by the legitimate Tetrarchs. All the consecration issues of Constantius I, and those of Constantine Caesar stressing his descent from the Herculian line of Maximian and Constantius I, are of the reduced standard, and we consider that they must all be attributed to Maxentius.

> Severus Feb. 307

VIRTVS AV-GG ET GAESS NN PT S Cn [Pl. XV. 10]

Horseman type, broken legend

VIRTVS AV-GG ET CAESS NN PT Mx

Mars type, broken legend

This group, of unreduced weight, is almost confined to the warrior type for Severus Augustus and Constantine Caesar. The Maximinus is exceedingly rare, and the Fides with broken legend that might be expected for Galerius has not yet been seen, nor any pieces in the names of the Seniors. The remarkable emphasis on the Western Tetrarchs suggests that this coinage was struck by Severus during his ill-fated campaign against Maxentius in the beginning of 307.1 In later issues Severus is not represented.

¹ The basic fixed points determining the chronology of early 307 are as follows:

28 October 306 Elevation of Maxentlus.

I January 307 Severus consul in the East.

31 March 307 Elevation of Constantine and marriage of Fausta.

The order of events is related by Luctantius (op. cit., 26 and 27). This account shows that the unsuccessful invasion of Italy by Severus and his capture fell before the departure of Maximian to Constantine in Caul to secure the latter's support against the invasion of Italy by Galerius, which he anticipated and which followed shortly. Though Luctantius stated that Severus had been killed before Maximian's departure to Gaul, Anonymus Valesianus (3. 6 and 4. 9-10) relates that he was imprisoned and put to death only when Galerius's invasion had actually begun. All authorities agree that Severus was captured at Ravenna, thus showing that Maxentius's authority was reinstated in N. Italy between the two attacks on Rome.

Maxentius (second coinage)

Spring 307

MEMORIA DIV-I CONSTANTI PT C

CONSERVATO-RES VRB SVAE L M Ms

PERPETV-A VIRTVS

VIRTVS PER-PETVA AVG Cn [Pl. XV. 11]

The second Maxentian group can be approximately dated by the occurrence of coins of Constantine both as Caesar and Augustus. This change almost certainly took place at the end of March 307.

> Galerius (first coinage) Early summer 307

PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG AI DM

FIDES M-ILITVM broken legend |A|

G [Pl. XVI, 11

VIRTVS AV-GG ET CAESS NN AI

Mx Cn

Mars type, broken legend

VIRTVS AV-GG ET CAESS NN AL

Cn

Horseman type, broken legend

This, and the somewhat rare following coinage, can be dated to the Italian campaign of Galerius by the absence of any pieces in the name of Severus, who would not otherwise have been ignored in his own dominions. Constantine is recognized only as Caesar, but retains his special type.

Second coinage

PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG TOT DM

FIDES M-ILITVM broken legend PYT

VIRTVS AV-GG ET CAESS NN POT Mars type, broken legend

Mx Cn

The special Constantine type is not recorded.

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 111

Maxentius (third coinage) Sept. 307-Oct, 312

MEM DIVI-CONSTANTI

CONSERV-VRB SVAE Hexastyle temple | M Ms Cn

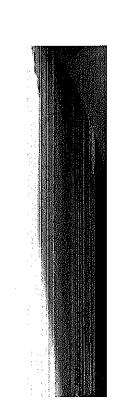
Maxentius regained Ticinum on the evacuation of Italy by Galerius after his failure to capture Rome. His normal coinage was then resumed with abbreviated legends, and with no special type for Constantine. When he broke with Maximian and Constantine in May 308, and ceased to coin in their names, he expanded his obverse style from the short form MAXENTIVS P F AVG by prefixing IMP. The hexastyle reverse continued in use at Ticinum until about the beginning of 309 (it is found with consular obverses of that year) but, thereafter, tetrastyle varieties continue the series for a while.

When Constantine took possession of the mint in October 312 he at once initiated his normal coinage in the names of himself, Maximinus and Licinius.

ROME

The evidence of the Italian hoard combines with that of the British deposits to furnish valuable clues to the sequence of follis issues at the Rome mint down to 310. For coins of the first Tetrarchy the guides are various, but all point to the same order. We first observe, in the Genio issues, a sharp degeneration of style and lettering, in the course of the $\frac{R\mid}{A}$ mark. In $\frac{R\mid}{A}$ and $\frac{R\mid F}{A}$ are found significant changes in obverse and reverse legend, showing them to be consecutive, in that order. P * is seen to be the last but one mark, because it is the first in which four differentiated officinae strike folles, instead of the nine employed hitherto. The last of all, $\frac{1}{P}$, is continued on the Sacra Mon Urb issue.

All demonstrably early pieces, those marked $\frac{1}{R}$ (one officina) and $\frac{1}{\Delta}$ (nine officinae), are of fine style and lettering, and have the reverse legend divided POP-VLI. They also show long obverse legends for Maximian (IMP C MA .. PF AVG) and the Caesars (FL VAL ..



GAL VAL.. NOB C). The next mark, $\frac{R|}{A}$, can be divided into three groups:

1. Good style, long obverse legends, reverse division POP-VLI

2. Good style, long obverse legends, reverse division POPV-LI [Pl. XVI, 2]

3. Rough style, short obverse legends, reverse division POPV-LI [Pl. XVI. 3]

The legends of the Augusti show two stages of reduction: (i) 1 MPC...PF AVG (ii) IMP...PF AVG. The latter form was used for a short while in $\frac{R|F}{A}$, proving it to be the next of issue. It soon gave place, however, to the IMP C...PF AVG form, which remained standard thereafter. $\frac{R|S}{A}$ concludes the follis issues in nine officinae. $\frac{|}{|P|}$ and $\frac{|}{|P|}$ continue the Genio type in four officinae, allotted to the Tetrarchs in order of precedence. The latter includes the nedded refinement of the replacement of Jupiter's thunderbolt by Fiercules's club for the Herculian line. The full series is therefore: $P \gg 1$, S > 0000, $C \gg 1$.

In the course of $\stackrel{\downarrow}{P \approx}$ was introduced the *Moneta* type with a special form of legend for Rome: SAORA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN. The following issue, $\stackrel{\downarrow}{R}$, is marked by a series of rapid reductions in the reverse legend. Starting from the full form, the first two elements are expressed as SAO MON, SAO M and S M. In the final mark, $\stackrel{\downarrow}{R^{\vee}P}$, the form SAO MON alone is found, and this is retained on issues of the Second and Third Tetrarchies. The two marks from the abdication of the Seniors to the revolt of Maxentius are $\stackrel{\downarrow}{R^{\vee}P}$ (Second Tetrarchy) and $\stackrel{\downarrow}{R^{\vee}Q^{\vee}P}$ (Second and Third Tetrarchies), with the customary variant of $\stackrel{\downarrow}{S}$ F in the field for the Seniors.

The advent of Maxentius (28 October 306) meant an immediate reduction in standard. There is no evidence from the bronze of the title of *Caesar* (found only at Carthage) or of that of *Princeps Invictus* (Roman silver and gold). The sequence of his issues is

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 113 determined beyond doubt by internal evidence and the Italian hoard.

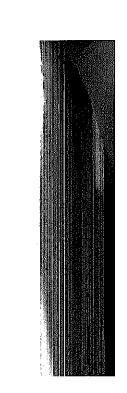
With the simple mark R is found the long reverse legend, CONSERVATORES VRB SVAE. Rulers recognized are old Maximian, Maxentius (short obverse ... PF AVG), and Constantine Caesar. The same combination of types and rulers continues through R into R in the course of which Constantine became Augustus (31 March 307) and Maxentius adopted a longer obverse (IMP C... PF AVG). The next coinage has the short reverse legend (CONSERV VRB SVAE) and the mark R Maximian and Constantine are now only thinly represented and a few remarkable coins of the latter accord him only the title of Caesar [Pl. XVI. 4], a degradation that can only be ascribed to the worsening of relations between him and Maxentius culminating in the flight of Maximian to Constantine in May 308.

It is clear from the Italian hoard, which besides the marks listed above contained only RBP, in the name of Maxentius only, that this mark precedes REP RBP was still in use in early 310, for it is found on pieces celebrating Maxentius's third consulship of that year, as well as on the early issues of Divus Romulus, his son, who died in the course of 309. We can be fairly certain that it was changed in the course of 310, for REP is found on all consecration issues of Maximian (died 310) and Galerius (died May 311) and parallel pieces of Romulus.

The few later pieces in the Llangarren hoard shed no light on the sequence of issues and emphasize how few Italian pieces of date later than the Third Tetrarchy reached the Western provinces.

On a point of technique the Rome mint provides some important evidence. The Italian hoard included a piece of Maxentius double-struck in a remarkable fashion. The head was undamaged and well struck up, but the reverse bore two impressions at 180° to each other. A similar phenomenon has been observed on a follis of Galerius, rev. SAO MON VRB $\mathbb{R}^{1/2}$ [Pl. XVI. 5] and Gneechi illustrates another

B 0100



such coin of Maxentius.¹ These three pieces, all of Rome mintage, can only have resulted from the use of dies which were pegged so as to allow two possible die axes. It can be seen from the lists that at most mints either position was used indifferently. London, which normally used the inverted alignment only, must have had some additional equipment to ensure this uniformity. In the later Constantinian issues, die-axis shows the use of free hexagonal-headed dies at Constantinople, Nicomedia, and Cyzicus. A mis-struck Providentiae Augg of Constantine I [Pl. XVI. 6] in the possession of P. V. Hill shows the impression of the edge of such a die, and some Byzantine pieces of Maurice [Pl. XVI. 7], with exceptionally large flans, show an impression of the complete outline of the punch, or have assumed a hexagonal outline.

CARTHAGE

Carthage is remarkable among the mints of the First Tetrarchy in having its own peculiar types, of local significance. The sequence of its two types is beyond doubt: Felix Advent Augg Nn, of the First Tetrarchy only, followed by Salvis Augg et Caess Fel Kart, of all three Tetrarchies. The rare Aucta Kart is variant of the first issue of the Salvis type.

Stylistic development reveals the order of the first three *Felix Advent* types— $\frac{A}{PKP}$, $\frac{|}{PKP}$, $\frac{|}{PKP}$. The first, in which the *officina* is expressed both in Greek and Latin numerals, falls into three groups, with two variable factors: (a) the head, which may have two pendant ends to the laurel wreath, or one pendant and a long streamer across the neck; (b) the reverse legend, which may be unbroken, or show a slight intrusion of the type into the legend. Since later heads invariably show the streamer, and later reverse legends are invariably broken, the following order results for $\frac{A}{PKP}$:

- (i) two tails, unbroken reverse [Pl. XVI. 8];
- (ii) two tails, broken reverse;
- (iii) one tail, broken reverse [Pl. XVI. 9].

The next mark is $\frac{1}{PKP}$, for here the obverses are invariably of the later type, and the figure on the reverse is larger, and completely breaks the legend at one point. In later issues, the reverse type is 1 R.I.N. 1913, p. 455 and pl. vii. 9.

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 115 enlarged so as to break the legend at two points. An invariable feature is the presence of the letters I and H for the Jovian and Herculian emperors respectively. The marks of this group are $\frac{|I|}{PKP}$, $\frac{|I|}{PKA}$ and $\frac{|I|}{PKA}$, the last two using Greek numerals, such as are always found on the later *Salvis* issues.

Under the First Tetrarchy, two marks for the latter coinage are found, $\frac{1}{A}$ and $\frac{1}{A}$. As with the *Felix Advent* type, the reverse figure with its emblems of fruit in the right hand and wheat in the left starts small, and is later increased in size. The first legend reads:

SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS AVCTA KART

This rapidly gave way to the form FEL KART, still in the course of the mark $\frac{1}{A}$, one exceptional piece from Fyfield reading FELIX KARTHAGO in full, and shortly after the introduction of the FEL KART legend the emblems were transposed between right and left hands. The changes of rulers in the Second and Third Tetrarchies are reflected only in the distribution of officinae type and the mint-mark remains unaltered. The rule of allocation by seniority was very strictly maintained, and the distinction between issues of the Second and Third Tetrarchies is therefore simple:

The Seniors are given an entirely different mark, $\frac{S \mid F}{PK\Delta}$. At Carthage,

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 117

confusion between old Maximian [Pl. XVI. 10] and Galerius Augustus [Pl. XVI. 11] is impossible, since not only is the portraiture quite distinct but the issues of the latter have always the letter 1 in the field. Those of Maximian may be without letter, or may have H.

A brief period of confusion followed the usurpation of Maxentius, who was first recognized only as Caesar. The Salvis type was struck for a short while longer, but the differentiation of officinae broke down. In the next issue, Conservator Africae Suae, Maxentius passed through Princeps Invictus $\left(\frac{H|ER}{A}\right)$ to Augustus $\left(\frac{SE|F}{A}\right)$, with Maximian as Senior Augustus and Constantine Caesar. It concluded its activities by striking Conservatores Kart Svae $\left(\frac{1}{PKA}\right)$, an issue of reduced weight, for the same three rulers. Constantine had not been proclaimed Augustus by the time the mint of Carthage ceased issuing, and it is therefore apparent that no later date than March 307 is admissible for its closure.

Stylistic considerations make it probable that the mint of four officinae opening at Ostia late in 308 was in fact the Carthage establishment translated to Italy [Pl. XVI. 12 and 13]. The departure of the trained personnel from Africa by 308 is attested by the deplorable coinage of the usurper Domitius Alexander, the crudity of which is otherwise inexplicable. It can be shown that more than a year elapsed between the closure of Carthage and the opening of Ostia, and this should warn us against postulating too early a date for the opening of Arelate, when the mint was again moved in late 313.

OSTIA

We have given above our reason for believing that the mint of Ostia was set up by the transfer of the personnel of Carthage. It worked throughout in four officinae. The very first issue, Aeternitas Aug N, Dioscuri with Wolf and Twins, numbers them A, B, Γ , Δ , but in the course of the next type, with the same legend and type but omitting the Wolf and Twins, the numbering was changed to P, S, T, Q, which was retained thereafter until the closing of the mint.

The issues of the Rome mint show that the Italian hoard closed not later than the start of 310, and it is therefore significant that, apart from the two varieties of Aeternitas Aug N, the only other Ostia type present is Fides Militum Aug N (Fides with standards). In particular, the extremely common Victoria Aeterna Aug N is absent, and must be

considered a late type of this mint. Only the publication of a number of large hoards would determine the chronology of the numerous rare types.¹

The date of opening of the mint can be inferred from the facts (i) that Maximian and Constantine do not appear on the earliest Maxentian issues, i.e. the opening is subsequent to May 308; (ii) that consular busts of Maxentius are found with the second type of Aeternitas Aug N (Dioscuri without Wolf and Twins), with both early (MOSTA) and late (MOSTP) mint-marks, i.e. that the assumption of Maxentius's second consulship in January 309 coincided with the change from Greek to Latin officina-marks. We can, therefore, date the establishment of the Ostia mint to the second half of 308. Had the busts been celebrating the first consulship (of May 308), the earlier issues should have included Maximian and Constantine, and we have seen that by 310 (cos III), Ostia was striking Fides Militum Aug N.

When the mint closed can only be approximately assessed. Coins of Maximinus, Constantine, and Licinius are not rare, but Maximinus is not absent from any major issue. We can infer from a letter of St. Augustine² that he was still recognized in the west as late as 15 April 313. It is unlikely that the closure of this mint was long delayed after this date. We show below that it is unlikely that Arles replaced it before mid-314.

ARLES (Arelate)

As we suggest in the discussion of the date of the closure of the mint at Carthage and its transfer to Ostia, the date 313 recently suggested for the further transfer of this organization to Arelate presupposes an operational celerity not evinced in the earlier move. Support for this view can be found in the reverse types which appear with the first mark of Arelate plain, $\frac{|}{PARL}$. The type *Utilitas Publica*, with its representation of the figure of Moneta, refers to the opening of the mint and is found in conjunction with a consular bust for Constantine, while another reverse with this mark gives the date as COS IIII (TRB P CONS III P P PROCONSVL), 315. The change to the next mark $\frac{S}{PARL}$ took place in the same year as it includes the

¹ A hoard of this kind, some 300 folles of Maxentius found in Malta, is at present being studied by Surg.-Cmdr. P. Ker Gray, R.N. The details so far available substantiate the sequence of mint-marks here adopted for Rome and Ostia.

² St. Augustine, Ep. 82. 2.

consular reverse just mentioned. The evidence of the rather small number of coins from Arelate in the Llangarren hoard bears out Dr. Bruun's arrangement of the successive marks, at least for the Sol coinage, which alone has a valid representation in this hoard.

SISCIA

Coins marked S and S [Pl. XVI. 14], which have previously been attributed to Serdica, in reality form part of the issues from Siscia. The coins with these marks have both the long form of obverse legend and the small narrow bust, which are continued in conformity by the subsequent marks, which give a fuller form of the mint name [Pl. XVI. 15]. Coins, moreover, which bear a clear signiture of Serdica [Pl. XVI. 16] have a large broad head typical of issues of Thessalonica [Pl. XVI. 17], which was, in fact, temporarily removed to Serdica towards the end of the First Tetrarchy. The establishment returned to Thessalonica probably early in 308, since there are no Serdica coins of Licinius I, though its issues continued after the fall of Severus to include the reduced folles initiated by Galerius late in 307.

We therefore conclude that whereas Siscia, which followed the normal pattern of the central mints in proceeding from a *Genia* to a *Sacra Monet* coinage, belonged to the area controlled by Maximian, Serdica (which received its staff from Thessalonica) was a portion of Diocletian's empire.

We have not been able to subject the sequence of marks at other mints to a like scrutiny, for the valuable criteria supplied for the western and Italian mints by the present hoards are lacking for the Balkan and eastern mints.

Of the hoards of British provenance, those from Bromley and Preshaw Park have a terminal date in the general area 307—8 which is a feature of a number of British hoards, notably Fyfield. On the evidence of other mints, particularly the fairly well represented mint of Trier, the termination of these hoards can be put only as some time in 307 after the proclamation of Constantine as Augustus on 31 March. The evidence of the London coins, however, helps to define and differentiate their terminal dates. The last mark of London in Preshaw Park is $\frac{1}{PLN}$ which lasted well down towards the end of

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 119 308, perhaps into 309, but, as it lacks the *Soli* type which is the last type of the mark, the hoard was closed about the autumn of 308. In Bromley, on the other hand, not only is the *Soli* type with mark $\frac{1}{PLN}$ present but it is also found with the following mark $\frac{T \mid F}{PLN}$. As

this mark is only just represented—four coins—the Bromley hoard ended shortly after the introduction of $\frac{T \mid F}{P \mid N}$ in early 309.

The Llangarren hoard did not end till well into the 320's. An odd feature revealed by the London coinage and paralleled in other western mints is that, after the last issues of the much reduced but still follis-like coins with Sol type in the year or so after 1 March 317, there is a gap in the series. The two first types of the coinage of distinctly new fabric *Victoriae Laetae Prine Perp* and *Virtus Exercit* of about 319–20 are missing at the western mints which all are represented again by the succeeding type *Beata Tranquillitas* and a scatter of even later types.

Some change in monetary policy may be reflected here. There is some evidence that hoards end or begin with the introduction of the new coinage initiated by the *Victoriae* and *Virtus* types. The hoard from Little Orme's Head¹ finished in the London coinage with some of the last marks of the Sol coinage with the addition of a few specimens of the *Victoriae* type, but not of *Virtus*, while the Balkan hoard of Nagytétény² with a bare representation of the later *Soli* coins at some mints has its real beginning with the *Victoriae* and *Virtus* coinage.

The Llangarren hoard, after closing with the last Soli issues, did, after an interval, have coins of the new type added to it for some time. The last issue at London before its closure is represented in the hoard, an issue which, as it includes coinage for Constantius II, must be subsequent to his proclamation as Caesar on 8 November 324. The latest coinage of the whole hoard, however, is the issue from Trier with the mark PTRE which is as late as 326.3

The pertinent evidence for the ending of the Italian hoard is provided by the Rome coinage. The latest mark of this coinage is $\frac{1}{RBP}$, which lasted into 310, for it is found on coins recording Maxentius's

¹ Patrick M. Bruun, The Constantinian Coinage of Arelate, Helsinki, 1953.

¹ B.N.J. 1906, p. 47; id. 1907, p. 9. ³ Num. Circ., Feb. 1956, col. 59.

^{*} R.I.N. 1921, pp. 113 ff.

third consulship of that year. As this mark gave way to REP, which marks the consecration issues of Maximian who died in the course of 310, the latest issues in this Italian hoard are fixed in the early part of 310.

R. A. G. CARSON and J. P. C. KENT

COIN LISTS

Key to Busts and Legends (see p. 84 above)

Busts

head, below which is the letter H.

- B bust cuirassed.
- C bust cuirassed, with spear.
- D bust cuirassed, with spear and shield.
- E bust draped and cuirassed, seen from front.
- F bust draped and cuirassed, seen from back.
- G bust draped and cuirassed, with club on shoulder.
- H bust draped, with sceptre and mantle,
- J bust draped, holding mappa and branch.
- K bust draped and veiled.
- L bust cuirassed and helmeted.
- M bust cuirassed and helmeted, with spear and shield, seen from front.
- N bust cuirassed and helmeted, with spear and shield, seen from back.
- O bust draped and cuirassed, with spear and shield, seen from front.
- P bust draped and cuirassed, with spear and shield, seen from back.
- Q bust draped and radiate.
- R bust cuirassed, with spear and shield.
- S bust cuirassed, with spear.

All obverse types are laureate, unless described as helmeted or radiate, and show the emperor facing right. Portraits to left are identified by a small I following the bust letter: thus AI = head, laureate, to left.

LEGENDS

	SC CAMPAGE AND A STATE AND A S	
	A. G. CARSON AND J. P. C. KENT	CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 123
Bromley \downarrow	E 1 4 4 4 4 1 1	1 2 3 a may 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Hoard Llangaren) ↑	1 2 1 4 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	
Preshow .	1 1 1 1 2 2 2 1 7 7 5 8	2 2 2 2 4 1 21 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Obverse C. S2 A	M. 8 A C. 37 A M. 8 A M. 8 B G. 39 B G. 39 B G. 39 B G. 52 B G. 52 B G. 52 B	D. 14 F D. 15 B M. 14 B M. 14 B M. 14 B C. 50 B G. 50 B G. 52 E G. 50 B G. 52 E G. 50 B G. 52 E G. 52 B G. 52 E G. 53 B G. 52 B G. 53 B G. 52 B G. 53 B G. 53 B G. 53 B G. 53 B G. 53 B G. 54 B G. 58
LONDON First Tetrarchy	Group 2 Group 3 Group 3	SECOND TETRARCHY IES AVGG branch down branch up
Reverse L First GENIO POPV-LI ROMANI	P-V V-L V-L V-L V-L	DEORVM QV :: :: :: :: :: :: !! ROMAN! :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::
•		:: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::
Serial Mini no. mark	2 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6	
3	To the state of th	5. 4 4

124 R. A. G. CARSON A	ND J. P. C. KENT	CONSTAN	TINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 125
 Promicy 1	and and and §	2	~ 00 ~ 4
Hoard Llangaren ↑ ↑ 1 1 2 2 3 1 1 1 2 2 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3	2 m m 2 m m 21 7	444%444	1 328 1 1 1 2 1 2 3 8 1 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Preshaw 1	61	44.	V)
Obverse G. 14 F S. 42 E S. 43 E S. 44 E S. 45 E Ms. 37 B Ms. 37 E Ms. 37 E Ms. 45 E Ms. 45 E Ms. 45 E	0.32 J S. 5E S. 11E Ch. 47E Ch. 52E Ch. 54D Ch. 54E M. 33B O. 31E	G. 14B Ms. 37E Cp. 35B Cp. 37B Cp. 37E M. 32B	C. 33 K M. 32 B Ch. 14 B Ch. 15 B Ch. 14 B Ch. 14 B Ch. 14 B Ch. 14 B Ch. 14 B Ch. 15 B Ch. 14 B Ch. 15 B Ch. 14 B Ch. 15 B Ch. 16 B Ch. 17 B Ch. 1
Serial Mint no. mark 45. GENIO POPV-LI ROMANI 46 47 48 50 51 53 54 54 55 55	56. QVIES-AVGG 57. GENIO POPV-LI ROMANI 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 62. 63. GENIO-POP ROM 64. 65. PLN QVIES-AVGG 66. GENIO-POP ROM 66. 66. 66. 66. 66. 66. 66. 66. 66. 66.	67	CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS 75.

126 R. A. 	G. CARSON AND J. P. C. KENT	CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 127
Hoard Llangaren $ \uparrow $ 1 1	11 11 12 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14	38 33 33 33 33 33 33 33 33 33 33 33 33 3
Obverse ↑ ↑ ↓ ↓ Ws. 14 B	Ms. 14 B Ch. 19 B Ch. 20 B Ch.	Ch. 20 B Ch. 43 M Ms. 14 B Ch. 19 B Ch. 20 B
Reverse GENIO-POP ROM MARTI CON-SERVATORI	COMITI-AAVVGG Soll. COMITI-AVGG NN	CONCOR-D MILIT GENIO-POP ROM PRINCIPI IVVENTYTIS Emperor with two standards L-V V-E SOLI INVIC-TO COMITI Sol I. COMITI AAVVGG Sol r., r. hand raised, l. hand whip and globe GENIO-POP ROM MARTI CON-SERVATOR! O-N PRINCIPI IV-VENTYTIS Emperor with transverse spear SECVRI-TAS AVGG SOLI INV-IC-TO COMITI Sol I.
Serial Mint no. mark $90.$ $\frac{T \mid F}{PLN}$ $91.$ $\frac{3 \mid T}{PLN}$	92. PLN 1	11. PLN 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 127. 127. 127. 127. 127. 127. 127

SOLI INV-IC-TO COMITI Sol. I.	Llangarren ↑	1 13	60	· 1		1 10	9	٠.	. ~	-	5 44	; -	- -	3 103	-	4	m	-	en	-	4	9	1 37	-	14	٠
SOLI INV-IC-TO COMITI Sol. I. "	Obverse	Cn. 15 B	Cn. 15 E	Cn. 14 B	Cn. 14 E	Cn. 15 B	Cp. 15 E	Cn. 15 B	Cn. 19 B	Ch. 20 Ni	L. 14B	Ch. 14 F	Cp. 15 B	Cn. 16 B	Cn. 16 E	Ch. 16 Ml	Ch. 19 B	Ch. 19 MI	Ch. 20 B	Cb. 20 MI	Cn. 22 M1	Cn. 15 B	Ca. 16B	Cn. 14B	Cn. 16 B	L. 14B
•	Reverse	SOLI INV-IG-TO COMITI Sol. I.	:	- -	**	••	:		V-1C-1 Sol 1.	1	GENIO-POP ROM		:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	: FC >		: -	<u>.</u>		GENIO-POP ROM
S F S F Want	mark	* PTN								7 1	Z Z D	i													SIF	MLL

MARTI CON-SERVATORI SOLI INVIC-TO COMITI SolI. GENIO-POP ROM SOLI INVIC-TO COMITI SolI.	Cn. 16 B 1 Cn. 16 B Cn. 17 B	Эл. 16 В Эл. 16 В	Cn. 16 B	2b. 17 B	Zn. 21 B	L. 14B Ch. 16B	Ca. 17 B	Zn. 19 B	5n. 20 B	.n. 22 B	14B	Cn. 17 B	L. 14B	Cn. 16 B	Jo. 17 B	Ja. 19 B	14 B	Cn. 16 B	L. 14B	h. 16 B	Ch. 19 B	,
em	000	00	Ö	O	J,	.i 0	Ö	Ö	Ö	Ö	Ţ.	Ö	ï	Ö	Ö	Ö	Ţ.	S	i	Ö	Ö	ď
			SENIO-POP ROM	:	:		:	:	:	:	:	GENIO-POP ROM		SOLI INVIG-TO COMITI SOLI.	:	:	:	GENIO-POP ROM			:	

S P P

213. 214. 215. 216. 217.

218.

PLN N

219. 220. 221. 221. 223.

Mint mark S P P MLN

S I P MSL

Serial 190. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 197. 198. 199. 200.

PLN Small)

202 204 205 4 205

Cr. 50 RI

BEAT TRA-NOLITAS

PLON

PLON PLON FIB

224.

C. 57 L C. 58 LI

Cn. 24 A C. 55 A

SARMATIA-DEVICTA CAESARVM NOSTRORVM/VOT X

PLONC

228.

M. SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN

Hoard Preshaw Liangarren Bromiey	H	,	R.	A	G.	C	A∙R ⊷	.s(п		N	D 	J.	Р.	C.	K	.E1	TY.	hod	t	4			3 2	1 2	C0		ST	AN	VT	1 3 2 NI		1 4	H	O A	4 ,	DS		2 4 L	D T	TO	CH:	ER	S	ΓU	2 1 1 III		13 3 7 7 8 8 1 7 7 8 1 8 1 8 1 8 1 8 1 8 1 8	ŋ
Obverse	A D. 15B		D. 16B	M. 14B	M. 13 B G. 50 B	G. 52 B		B D. 14F	D. 15B	M. 14 B	י ב	מ מ מ ני ני	G 52 E	B D. 14F	Ġ	G. 52 B	C. 37 B	I D. 14B	II C.37B	I D. 14B	D. 15 B	D. 16B M. 14B		M. 15 B	M. 16B	C. 50 B	C, 54 B	2 S S S	277.C		D. 16B	D. 16 F	M. 14B	M. 15B	M. 16B	C. 50 B	C. 50 E	C. 54 B	5.50 kg	0.50 p	3 & 5 & 0 &	G. 52 B	G. 52 B	G. 54 B	G. 54 B	D. 15B	D. 15 F	D. 16B	מדי זיי
Reverse	M. SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN	:	:	:	·· (var. without star)	:	:	:	:	MONETA . S. AVGG ET CARCO NN	; ; ;		:	:	G.F.	Unbr.	:	MONETA . S . AVGG ET CAESS NN	:	GENIO POPV-LI ROMANI	:			:	:	:	:	:	:	:	•	: :	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	>-\\\\\\\\\\\\\	۲-۸	:	: ^- d :	N-L	^- d	GENIO POPV-LI ROMANI	:	:	:
l Mint mark	A																μ. 	Ë																											1	S A A	<u>:</u>		
Serial no.	322.	323.	324.	326	327.	328.	329.	220.	337	333.	334	335.	336.	337.	338.	339.	S.	34I.	342	343.	¥ 5	346. 346.	The second secon	347.	348.	349.	350.	351.	352.	354	355	356	357.	358.	359.	360.	361.	362.	363.		365. 266	367	368.	369.	370.	371.	372.	373.	3/4.

Bromley † † 1	-	61	-			7	I	П	ťή	~ ~	- 14	,	-		61	-	,	· 	-			- 0	****	, i.e. i.e.	TUDIE	⊶ 4 §2 1
Hoard Llangaren Bi	6 1	₩	2 H 4 +						C1		m					, , , ,	,	.		y-m4 pm-				2	₩	7
Freshaw LL † †	H	н 4		t-red				 -	2 1		H H				-	1 1 1		2 1 2 1 2				-		, - 4	7	1
Obverse II M. 15 B	M. 16 B C. 38 B C. 50 B	# # B ないい いいい	C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.C.	G. 52 E G. 54 B		D. 30 J	C. 14B	C.15B	G. 14 B	G. 14 E S. 34 E	S. 37 B Ms. 37 B		Ms. 37 E Ms. 37 F		S. 14 B	Cn. 36 F Cn. 37 E	Cn. 37 E	Ch. 37 F Ch. 38 E	M. 32 J	G. 14B	D. 32 J	Cn. 37 E	M. 32 E Ms. 37 E	M. 32 B	G. 14B Ms. 37B	Ms. 37 E Cp. 37 B
Reverse GENIO POPV–LI ROMANI		V-L	:::	::	Second Tetrarchy		GEINIO POPV-LI ROMANI draped	: :		: :	::	The company of the co	: :	THIRD TETRARCHY	GENIO POPV-LI ROMANI	: :	P-V	:	GENIO POPV-LI ROMANI	:	QVIES-AVGG	GENIO PO-PVLI ROM	σ	GENIO-POP ROM	: : : :	;;
Mint mark S F PTR					ir.	PTR									PTR				S A PTR	irst issue	SIC	고 국		S A PTR	econd issu	
Serial no. 375.	377. 378. 379.	9-1-6	1 % 4	ול יל		387.	٠	390.	ام ٿ	w 4	i id	<u> </u>	396. 397.				, ,		404.	(E) (A) (A) (A) (A) (A) (A) (A) (A) (A) (A	407.		409.	411.	(Se 412. 413.	ئدر ف

T

488. 489. 490. 491. 493. 494.

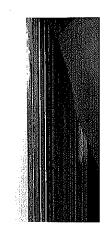
495.

496.

497.

45

46.5. 46.6.6. 46.6.6. 46.6.6. 46.6.6. 46.6.6. 46.6.6. 46.6.6. 46.6.6. 46



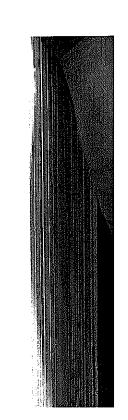
501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 505. 507.

500.

146 → +		R	. A.	. G	. с	AR	SON	4A 1	- D	J. 3	P. C	. KE	ENT								CO	NS -	ST/	ΑN	ΙΤΙ	NΙ	ΔN	н	OAR	DS	AN	D (ЭΤΗ	ER	ST	UDI	ES	147
ren Br	-		,	73						_				-							,	-		_					•	7						-	I	
Hoard Ľlangarren ↑		p-mq -	_	•			_				-							1			-	-	-			_	_	_				71		+4				
Preshaw i		-			_		-				_		-		-			F	_	_							,—	_					_				-	
Pres	-	-	-				=			•	-				 4	-		-			_	٠														_		
Obverse	M. 16 Bl	C. 54 B	☆ ☆ ☆ ☆	G. 54 B	G. 54 BI		D. 30 J	C. 16 Bl.	G. 14 B	G. 14 BI	Ms. 54 E		S. 16 B	Cn. 37 E	Cp. 54 A	D. 32 J	,	and the same of th	M. 31 B	G. 14B	G. 14 Bl	Ms. 38 F	Cn. 3/ E	Cn. 38 E	Cn. 38 F	Cn. 37 E	Cn. 37 E	M. 32 B	Ş	CH. 36 B		Cn. 8 F	Ca. 8 F	Cn. 8 F	Cn. 8 F	9.87 7.87	Cn. 14 F	Cn. 14 F
Reverse	GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI	:	: :	:	:	SECOND TETRARCHY	PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG	GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI	:		:::	THIRD TETRARCHY	GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI	:		QVIES AVGVSTORVM	The state of the s		GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI draped	:	:	:		: :	:	GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI	GENIO-POP ROM	GENIO-POP ROM		:	CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS		PRINCIPI-IV-VENTVTIS Emperor with two standards	GENIO-POP ROM	MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI	MARTI PATR SEMP VICTOR PRINCIPI-IV-VENTVTIS Emperor with two standards	MARTI CO-NSERVATORI	PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS Emperor with transverse spear
	* BTd	 			-		T IF	* © 	3 1 -				* C	1	Z	PLG (First issue)	- 100 (40)								1	⊬[ā) -	Z C	second issue)		_	PLG	I	SIS SIS	- 1 3		<u>н</u> [7 2
Serial no.	557.	558.	560.	561.	562.	,	563.	564.	565.	566.	367. 568.		569.	570.	571.	572.	and the second second		573.	574.	575.	577	578.	579.	580.	581.	582.	583.	584	:	į	585.	586.	587.	588.	589. 590.	591.	592.
																	ě																					

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 149

1 2 2 1 1 2 2 2	Cl Cl	
Cn. 16 B Cn. 16 F Cn. 24 SI Cn. 24 A	P. L. 14E S. Ch. 14B Ch. 14E L. 14E T. Ch. 14E Q. Ch. 14E L. 14E L. 14E	S Ch. 14E P Ch. 14B Ch. 14E Ch. 14E Ch. 14B Ch. 14E P Ch. 14E Ch. 14E Ch. 14E
SOLI INVIC-TO COMITI BEATA TRAN-QVILLITAS	ARLES CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS SOLI IN-VI-CTO COMITI Sol I. V-I-C N-VI-C N-VI-C	GENIO-POP ROM SOLI INV-I-CTO COMITI Sol1. Sol1 Sol1. SOLI INV-I-CTO COMITI Sol1. N-VI-C
TF #	PARL	PARL PARL
615. 616. 617.	619. 620. 621. 623. 624.	626. 627. 629. 630. 631.





G. 52 A G. 52 A M. 8 A

M. 8 A

CAESS NOSTR

MONET AVGG

154	R. A. G. CARSON AND J. 1	. C. KENT	CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 155
Italy.	. H N	\$**N_	1 1 1 2 2 1 7 4 5 8 6 1
Hoard Sarren Bromley	. prof prof prof prof prof prof prof prof	•	1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Hoard Llangarren	, m m m 0		**************************************
Preshaw	youl time you		
Obverse	P D.8A S M.8A Q G.52A P D.8A T C.52A G.52A G.52A S M.8A S M.8A C.52A C.52A	S G.8A P G.8A S M.8A	T Mx. 19 A
Reverse	SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN S M VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN S M VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN	SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN THIRD TETRARCHY SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN MAXENTUS CONSERVATO-RES VRB SVAE	CONSERV-VRB SVAE CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS SOLI INV-I-CTO COMITI Sol 1. Sone specimen PBT. Sone specimen PBT.
Mint- mark	* & * & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & &	RAP RP	H M H M M M M M M M
Serial 110.	708. 708. 710. 711. 713. 714. 715. 716.	.120. .127.	723. 727. 727. 739. 737. 738. 738. 738. 749. 749. 749.

Mx. 8 A

<u>م</u> ہـ

MOSTP

Mx. 8 A

12. Constantine

KEY TO PLATES

All the coins illustrated are in the British Museum with the exception of those marked.

PLATE XIV

 Maximian Diocletian 	London LON Group, , Draped Genius Unmarked, group 1
4. Diocletian	Lyons PLA
5. Diocletian	London (unmarked group 2)
6. Allectus	London
7. Maximian	London (unmarked group 3)
8. Galerius	London (unmarked group 3 reduced)
9. Galerius	London PLN
10. Maximlan	Trier Rev. Quiew Aug PTR
11. Galerius	Trier Rev. Genio Populi Rom S Q

PLATE XV

		TOATE ALY		
1. Licinius	Trier Bea	ta Tranqu	illitas	PTR
2. Galerius	Trier	A * T R	Draped	l Genius
3. Constantius	Lyons	L P	**	u
4.1 Constantius	Ticinum			
5. Galerius	,,	s T		
6. Maximinus	11	S T		
7. Severus	11	PT		
8. Maximinus	11	<u>.</u> † T T		
9. Maxentius	11	ST		
	¹ Staatliche Mi	Inzsammlu	ng, Munic	h.

CONSTANTINIAN HOARDS AND OTHER STUDIES 161

10. Severus	Ticinum	<u> </u> P T
11. Constantine	95 .	PT

PLATE XVI

1. Galerius	Ticinum A
2. Maximian	Rome $\frac{R}{\Delta}$ group 2
3. Maximian	3
4. Constantine	Rome $\frac{H}{R}$
5.¹ Galerius 6.¹ Constantine	Rome Overstruck
7. Maurice Tiberius	Mis-struck <i>rev</i> , B.M.C. 124A. Hexagonal flan
	A I

8. Galerius	Carthage	A group 1
9. Constantius		2

^	0 1 1			
9.	Constantius	,,	>> .	
10.	Maximian	11		•
11.	Galerius			
12	Maxentius	39		
	Maxonings	,,,		

17. Galerius Thessalonica
$$\frac{\mid E}{T \mid S}$$

R. A. G. CARSON and J. P. C. KENT

¹ 5. Coll. J. P. C. Kent; 6. Coll. P. V. Hill.

