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Lord Stewartby

## Abstract

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## COINS OF THE MINT OF LONDON FROM THE BOURSIES HOARD (313/4)

(Pl. XII-XV)

*Résumé.* — La découverte du trésor de Boursies (Nord) en 1962 fut immédiatement signalée par M. Lafaurie qui assura ensuite l'examen des 3 509 monnaies qu'il contenait, toutes, à l'exception d'un *antoninianus* de Probus, des *folles* datables d'une période d'une vingtaine d'années (295-313/314). Pour diverses raisons cette étude ne fut jamais publiée, néanmoins un certain nombre d'exemplaires inédits ont pu être incorporés par C.H.V. Sutherland dans le RIC VI et M. Lafaurie a toujours généreusement mis sa documentation à la disposition des chercheurs intéressés par ce monnayage. C'est ainsi qu'avec son autorisation l'auteur qui travaille actuellement sur l'atelier de Londres à l'époque romaine peut donner ici, outre la répartition de l'ensemble de la trouvaille par empereur et par atelier, le catalogue des monnaies londoniennes qui sont au nombre de 1 527 (soit 42 % du total). Contrairement à celles de l'atelier de Trèves, elles ne comportent pas de *folles* au 96<sup>e</sup> de livre et s'arrêtent quasiment au moment où se produit la dévaluation, avec des *folles* au 72<sup>e</sup> portant à l'exergue la marque PLN qu'accompagne une étoile dans le champ tantôt à droite et tantôt à gauche.

Dans le trésor de Boursies cette émission est forte de 940 exemplaires soit 63 % des monnaies de Londres ce qui a conduit l'auteur à en faire une étude très complète en s'appuyant également sur d'autres trésors récemment publiés, principalement sur celui de Saint-Colombier-en-Sarzeau.

La question à laquelle il s'efforce d'apporter ici une réponse est la suivante : la présence de l'étoile dans le champ à droite pour certains types, à gauche pour d'autres est-elle l'indication de deux émissions distinctes et consécutives comme l'estimaient Carson et Kent en 1956, suivis par Sutherland dans le RIC VI, se chevauchant comme le proposait H. Huvelin en 1990 ou s'agit-il d'une seule et même émission comme l'a suggéré Lafaurie dont il partage l'opinion.

Parmi les exemplaires connus de cette série, il a relevé 34 liaisons de coins de droit dont 12 appartiennent des revers avec étoile à droite avec des revers avec étoile à gauche ce qui milite évidemment en faveur de la thèse de l'utilisation simultanée de ces coins au cours d'une même émission.

D'autre part, l'étude des titulatures et effigies de droit permet de détacher, pour Constantin, grand bénéficiaire de toute l'émission, un groupe de bustes consulaires qui se rapportent au 2<sup>e</sup> consulat revêtu par le jeune empereur au 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 312 et

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aussi, beaucoup plus remarquables, une série de bustes guerriers ou même triomphaux qui font allusion, peut-être à une expédition de Constantin en Bretagne fin 311 et sûrement à la campagne menée par celui-ci contre Maxence et qui se termina par la reconquête de l'Italie et la victoire du Pont Milvius, le 28 octobre 312.

L'examen des types de revers montre en effet qu'un certain nombre d'entre eux évoquent clairement la reprise de Rome et la *Felicitas* consécutive.

Cependant quand on considère l'agencement de l'ensemble des effigies de droit (y compris celles de Maximin et de Licinius) par rapport à l'ensemble des types de revers, on s'aperçoit tout d'abord que certains types de revers sont beaucoup plus fréquents que d'autres, ensuite que les bustes consulaires ne sont couplés qu'avec 4 types de revers alors qu'inversement certains revers n'ont pas été utilisés avec des bustes guerriers. On est donc amené à admettre que l'émission a dû s'étendre sur un certain laps de temps (fin 311-fin 312) et qu'aussi bien les effigies de droit que les types de revers, pour la plupart, n'ont pas tous été frappés tout au long de cette année mais ont fait leur apparition les uns après les autres.

*Summary.* — With the encouragement of Dr Lafaurie, who compiled a detailed (but unpublished) catalogue of the hoard many years ago, the author has prepared a summary list of the London coins from the Boursies find of 1962. These are mostly with the mintmark PLN and star, dated to the period 311-313. On the basis of obverse die-links between coins with different reverse types it is argued that types with the star to the left of the figure were part of the same issue as those with the star to the right, and not a later issue as proposed by Carson and Kent in 1956 and Sutherland in RIC VI.

The large hoard of Roman coins found at Boursies (Nord) in February 1962 is of exceptional importance for the study of the London coins of the early Constantinian period. Apart from one antoninianus of Probus (276-82), all the coins in the hoard belong to the period after Diocletian's reform, from 295 to 313/4, with the great majority of them being from the Gallo-British mints during the last three or four years before the burial of the hoard.

M. Jean Lafaurie published three brief notes relating to the hoard in 1962-3<sup>1</sup>. He also prepared a full catalogue but this did not immediately find a publisher and for a number of reasons — the author's occupation with other topics, the appearance of volume VI of *Roman Imperial Coinage* in 1967 and other factors which would have necessitated correction or rearrangement — it has remained unpublished. M. Lafaurie, nevertheless, has most generously made his material available to some of his students and other scholars, and I am most grateful to him for allowing me access to the information concerning the London coins in the hoard<sup>2</sup>. With his approval and encouragement I have therefore constructed a summary of the London series, with special attention to the latest issues represented in the hoard,

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1. J. LAFAURIE, Observations sur un trésor monétaire découvert à Boursies (Nord), *BSNAF*, 1963, p. 30-31 ; Étude de coins de monnaies constantiniennes frappées à Londres, *BSFN*, 1962, p. 188-189 ; *Follis* inédit de l'atelier de Londres, frappé par Constantin, *BSFN* 1963, p. 241-242. Cf. *TAF* II, n° 20.

2. My thanks are also due to M. Michel AMANDRY, Dr Roger BLAND, Dr Andrew BURNETT, M. Georges GAUTIER, Mlle Hélène HUVELIN and Dr Cathy KING with whom I have discussed the subject of this article.

those with the mint-mark PLN and star. My main conclusion is that, contrary to the view embodied in most of the relevant literature of the last forty years, the PLN and star coins struck before the weight reduction of 313 should not be divided into two consecutive issues, first with the star to the right of the figure on the reverse, and then with the star to the left, but should be regarded as comprising a single coinage in which types with the star in the two different positions were struck at certain times in parallel. This varied and complex coinage has recently been the subject of a new catalogue of types and varieties by Mlle Huvelin<sup>3</sup>, who added no fewer than 86 new items to the 145 recorded in RIC, mostly as a result of specimens from Boursies or from the 1976 find from Saint-Colombier-en-Sarzeau<sup>4</sup>.

The contents of the Boursies hoard are summarised in table 1 by rulers and mints. From this it can be seen that the three mints of London, Trier and Lyons provided all but 146 out of the 3509 (official) coins in the hoard, with very little contribution from the Italian or more distant mints (and consequently few coins of Maxentius). Similarly, there is an overwhelming preponderance of the most recent rulers accepted in the west, Constantine principally and to a lesser extent Licinius and Maximinus Daza.

About the end of 309 the weight of the coinage was reduced by increasing the number of coins struck from the pound from 48 to 72 (giving a theoretical average weight for each coin of 4.48 g), and there was a further weight reduction from 72 to 96 (av. 3.36 g) probably in 313<sup>5</sup>. The latest coins contained in the hoard were at the 1/96 standard, all of the mint of Trier. The figures are:

	London	Trier	Lyons
1/72	1 458	683	278
1/96	-	689	-

M. Lafaurie has remarked that the 1/96 coins of Trier, which include many die-links, may be dated to the end of the year 313 or the beginning of 314, so that the burial of the hoard would, in his view, be associated with Constantine's expedition against the revolt of the Franks after his return from Rome<sup>6</sup>.

The pre-Constantinian and the earliest Constantinian coins of London contain no surprises. Three of Constantius Caesar (L. 11, 13 and 15) do not correspond with entries in RIC. L. 15, with bust B, laureate, cuirassed, and reading **NOBIL C**, is a common variety (recorded by Askew) that occurs in

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3. H. HUVELIN, Les deux émissions londoniennes PLN\* and \*PLN, *NZ* 1990, p. 29-50. In the present article, H. refers to Huvelin's list, and L. to the numbers given to coins from Boursies in Lafaurie's unpublished catalogue.

4. H. HUVELIN, Le trésor de Saint-Colombier-en-Sarzeau, *TM*, II, 1980, p. 59-102.

5. P. BASTIEN, Some Comments on the Coinage of the London Mint, AD 297-313, *NC* 1971, p. 151-165.

6. LAFAURIE, Observations (n. 1), p. 31.

most substantial hoards of the period<sup>7</sup>. The most likely explanation of its omission from RIC is that RIC 32, with the same inscription, is wrongly described as having a bare bust (A); the Oxford collection, to which RIC refers, contains no coin fitting that description. L. 11 and 13, bust D, laureate, draped, cuirassed, reading **NOB C**, are also of a variety already well known<sup>8</sup>, whereas RIC 38, similar but reading **NOBI C**, is again lacking at Oxford, and so presumably an error.

Table 1. CONTENTS OF THE BOURSIES HOARD BY RULERS AND MINTS

	London	Trier	Lyons	Ticinum	Aquileia	Rome	Ostia	Arles	Carthage	Siscia	Cyzicus	Heraclea	Forgeries	Total
Probus			1											1
Diocletian Aug.	3	13	13	2		6			2		1			40
Diocletian Sen.			1	1										2
Maximian Herc. Aug.	11	8	15	3	1	4			1	3			(3)	46
Maximian Herc. Sen.	9	6	4	3	1	1								24
Constantius Caes.	7	13	20	1	2	7			5					55
Constantius Aug.		3			1									4
Constantius Div.	1	5	2	2										10
Galerius Max. Caes.	6	11	7	3		4			2					33
Galerius Max. Aug.		4	1	4						1	2			12
Galeria										2				2
Severus Caes.	1		1	1					1					4
Severus Aug.		1												1
Maximinus Caes.	5	3			1									9
Maximinus Aug.	268	101					4				1	1		375
Maxentius Aug.				4	4	16	11		2					37
Constantinus Caes.	3	8	3			1								15
Constantinus Aug.	1 009	939	299	12		9	7	2		1			(2)	2 278
Licinius Aug.	204	354				1	1			1				561
Total	1 527	1 469	367	36	10	49	23	2	13	8	4	1	(5)	3 509

London coins with the mint-mark **T/F/PLN**, issued on the 1/72 standard and dated from the winter of 309/310 to 311<sup>9</sup>, are plentiful (figs. 1-3). There were 518 in Boursies, of which eight were of the extremely rare variant mark with stars above the T and the F (figs. 4-6, 8 and 9). There is relatively little variety of type and inscription in this large issue, but several important items

7. E.g. Domqueur (P. BASTIEN and F. VASSELLE, *Le Trésor Monétaire de Domqueur (Somme)*, Wetteren, 1965) n° 1167-9; Montbouy (*Gallia*, suppl. XII, 1958, p. 228-230) n° 149-155; G. ASKEW, *The Coinage of Roman Britain*, 1951, n° 626.

8. E.g. Montbouy 185-188.

9. BASTIEN, *Some Comments* (n. 5), p. 161.

in RIC are based on coins from Boursies, including all four entries under **T/F/PLN** in the names of Licinius and Maximinus, with reverses *Genio Pop Rom* and *Soli Invicto Comiti*. In the case of the variant with stars, four out of the five entries in RIC refer to Boursies. Mention should also be made of a strange variant (L. 285) with the mark **I/I/PLN** which appears to belong here since it has a star above the right I (fig. 7).

Since this article was written, M. Gautier has published a coin of Constantine, with a bust of Sol on the reverse (without mintmark), which on grounds of style he attributes to the London mint at the end of the **T/F/PLN** coinage<sup>10</sup>. He suggests that this piece should be associated with coins with a bust of Sol or Mars issued from the mints of Ticinum and Aquileia after northern Italy had been reconquered by Constantine in the spring of 312; and that the end of the **T/F/PLN** mark and the start of **PLN** and star ought therefore to be dated to the spring of 312 rather than to 311. I am not yet convinced that it is necessary to assume simultaneous issue of the coins with busts of Sol and Mars at London, Ticinum and Aquileia<sup>11</sup>, and since this theory will need much further consideration, I have felt it best to leave the argument of the present article unchanged. At this stage I would merely observe that the Gautier dating would imply a shorter period of issue for the very extensive **PLN** and star coinage on the 1/72 standard, and would require a (perhaps unexpected) outburst of consular observes at London in mid-year while Constantine was campaigning in Italy, following a complete lack of them at the beginning of the consular year, if the mark **T/F/PLN** had then still been current.

Of the second main London issue on the 1/72 standard, marked **PLN** and star, there is, by contrast with **T/F/PLN**, an almost infinite variety. In addition to a wide range of reverse types, there is a large number of different busts, most of them accompanied by several forms of inscription. The most usual form of bust is, as in other issues of the period, laureate and cuirassed, but otherwise plain. There are also a few coins with consular busts, and a larger number of warlike busts with helmet and/or shield and spear. In table 2 I have set out the numbers of coins of each reverse type and inscription in Boursies according to the three groups of busts (combinations known from other sources but unrepresented in the hoard are indicated by o). I have also included (in parentheses) the numbers of equivalent coins in the Sarzeau hoard for comparison. Although there are some variations

10. G. GAUTIER, An Unpublished Nummus of Constantine I of the Mint of London, *NC* 1992, p. 157-160.

11. H. HUVELIN, Quelques réflexions sur l'activité de l'atelier de Londres de 306 à 313, *BSFN* 1993, p. 507-510, also questions the principle of exact synchronisation between the mints concerned (p. 509). A remarkable case of asynchronism between the same three mints concerns the type *Virtus Augg et Caess NN*, Prince galloping right and spearing foeman, in 305-307: at Aquileia and Ticinum this type occurs, mostly for the Caesars, during the Second and Third Tetrarchies, and only before the weight reduction of spring 307; but at London it is found after an interval, following the second weight reduction, late in 307, for Constantine Caesar (*RIC*—; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

between the two hoards, they do together give a useful indication of the relative volume or rarity of different types. This table throws up some interesting patterns. The warlike busts are, as one would expect, confined to Constantine. M. Lafaurie originally associated them with an expedition of Constantine to Britain late in 311, mentioned by Eusebius and Zosimus, and drew attention to one die (fig. 36) with a design on the shield that he interprets as three soldiers, holding their shields, on board ship (L. 332 = H. 90b)<sup>12</sup>. Warlike busts would, however, have continued to be appropriate in 312 as Constantine prepared for and conducted his campaign against Maxentius. Most of the consular obverses are also of Constantine, but one coin of Licinius (L. 296 = H. 104b) has a left-facing laureate bust in ornate clothing which is clearly a consular mantle (*trabea*) and not an elaborate cuirass (fig. 42). It is to be noted that, of the types with *-/\*/PLN*, only the two depicting the arrival of the emperor (*Adventus* and *Spes*) are not known combined with any consular obverses. There is general agreement that the consular busts refer to Constantine's second consulship which he assumed with Licinius on 1st January 312.

There has been less unanimity about the interpretation of the reverse types and their chronology in relation to the dominant events of the time. In the spring of 312 Constantine left for Italy to confront Maxentius, whom he decisively defeated at the battle of the Milvian Bridge on 28th October, before moving on to Rome. Since Carson and Kent discussed the arrangement of this series in 1956<sup>13</sup>, it has been generally assumed that the coins marked *-/\*/PLN* and *\*/-/PLN* were separate, and consecutive issues, that with *\*/-* being the later since it is the only one found in the succeeding issue on the 1/96 standard. They saw the *Adventus* (figs. 10-12), *Spes* and *Concord Milit(um)* (figs. 34-41) types, all with the *-/\** mark, as relating to Constantine's arrival in Rome, and accordingly put the supposed change from *-/\** to *\*/-* early in 313, "not very long after the victory of October 312", because the *Romae* types, celebrating the liberation of the capital city, had the *\*/-* mark. The *Felicitas* and *Securitas* types, also with *\*/-*, would come early in 313, since they "seem to refer to the alliance between Constantine and Licinius and their meeting at Milan" (which took place in February). Strauss<sup>14</sup> sees *Concordia Militum* as reflecting Constantine's military preparations for the campaign against Maxentius, and so belonging rather earlier in the year, while for Sutherland<sup>15</sup> it reflects his "natural anxieties, while the final attack

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12. LAFAURIE, *Follis inédit* (n. 1), p. 242. More recently (*BSFN* 1993, p. 510-512) M. Lafaurie has suggested that this design illustrates Constantine's capture of Rome, the boat perhaps being explained by a scene on the arch of Constantine showing him crossing the Tiber after the Milvian Bridge had been demolished and the pontoon bridge had been breached.

13. R.A.G. CARSON and J.P.C. KENT, *Constantinian Hoards and Other Studies in the Later Roman Bronze Coinage*, *NC* 1956, p. 83-161 (at p. 92-93).

14. P. STRAUSS, *Un nouveau nummus de Constantin I frappé à Londres*, *Mélanges de numismatique offerts à Pierre Bastien*, Wetteren, 1987, p. 181-185.

15. *RIC* VI, p. 121.

**Table 2. LONDON COINS FROM BOURSIES (AND SARZEAU),  
BY REVERSE TYPES AND OBVERSE BUSTS**

	Plain busts			Consular busts		Warlike busts	All busts			Total
	Const.	Lic.	Max.	Const.	Lic.	Const.	Const.	Lic.	Max.	
<i>Adventus</i> (-/*)										
Adventus Augg NN	0					0	0			0
Adventus Aug N	0 (3)					0	0 (3)			0 (3)
Adventus Aug	8 (7)					3 (2)	11 (9)			11 (9)
Spes Reipublicae						0	0			0
Spes Reipubl	0 (2)						0 (2)			0 (2)
<i>Concordia Militum</i> (-/*)										
Concord. Militum	0 (1)					0	0 (1)			0 (1)
Concord Milit	46 (31)			4 (3)		9 (15)	59 (49)			59 (49)
<i>Consulship</i> (*/-)										
P M TR P COS II P P	0						0			0
<i>Genius</i> (-/*)										
Genio Pop Rom	3 (17)	195 (84)	262 (127)		1	0	3 (17)	196 (84)	262 (127)	461 (228)
<i>Mars</i> (*/-)										
Marti Conservatori	20 (26)			1 (1)		2 (7)	23 (34)			23 (34)
<i>Principi Iuventutis</i>										
(a) Two standards (-/*)	14 (11)			0 (1)		2 (4)	16 (16)			16 (16)
(b) Vertical spear (-/*)	58 (40)			4		7 (7)	69 (47)			69 (47)
(c) Transverse spear (*/-)	7 (13)			0		1 (3)	8 (16)			8 (16)
<i>Roma</i> (*/-)										
Felicitas Augg NN	0 (5)					0 (1)	0 (6)			0 (6)
Felicitas Augg	0						0			0
Romae Aeter Augg	0 (1)						0 (1)			0 (1)
Romae Restitutae	0 (2)					0 (1)	0 (3)			0 (3)
<i>Securitas</i> (*/-)										
Securitas Augg	1 (5)	0 (1)				0 (2)	1 (7)	0 (1)		1 (8)
<i>Sol</i>										
Comiti Aauugg (-/*)	1	2 (2)	1 (2)			1 (1)	2 (1)	2 (2)	1 (2)	5 (5)
Comiti Aauugg (*/-)		0 (1)	0					0 (1)	0	0 (1)
Comiti Augg NN (-/*)	205 (127)	0	0	7 (4)		59 (41)	271 (172)	0	0	271 (172)
Comiti Augg NN (*/-)						0	0			0
Soli Invicto Comiti (-/*)	12 (13)			0 (1)		0 (2)	12 (16)			12 (16)
Soli Invicto Comiti (*/-)	4 (9)			0		0 (1)	4 (10)			4 (10)
Total	379 (313)	197 (88)	263 (129)	16 (10)	1	84 (87)	479 (410)	198 (88)	263 (129)	940 (627)

on Maxentius was being planned and mounted, and also his hopes of military re-unification after victory had been gained” — suggesting a longish period of issue. Huvelin has suggested that -/\* ceased before the invasion of Italy in the spring<sup>16</sup> but for Strauss « la césure entre les deux émissions à l'étoile doit se situer après l'arrivée de Constantin en Italie, mais sans doute encore plusieurs mois avant l'aboutissement de la campagne ». The unique COS II coin (H. 204) has the \*/- mark, and Huvelin interprets it as marking the conclusion of the consular year 312. Strauss, however, would put it at a

16. HUVELIN, *Les deux émissions* (n. 3), p. 31 ; subsequently, in *Quelques réflexions* (n. 11), she has suggested a transition from -/\* to \*/- « au cours de l'été 312 » (p. 510), in accordance with the view of Strauss.



« moment critique au milieu de l'année 312 », in the course of a campaign of which the outcome was still in doubt.

Despite the general consensus that the marks *-\*/PLN* and *\*-/PLN* were consecutive issues (an arrangement adopted in RIC VI), in recording the star-marked London coins from the Boursies hoard M. Lafaurie listed them all together, regardless of where the star was placed on the reverse, dividing them instead into three groups according to whether their obverses had plain, warlike ("triumphal") or consular busts. Further consideration of the Boursies material has led me to conclude that M. Lafaurie was indeed justified in arranging them in this way, and that Mlle Huvelin was wise to have left open the possibility of a « chevauchement des deux émissions »<sup>17</sup>. In amalgamating the *-/\** and *\*/-* coins M. Lafaurie was much influenced by a number of obverse die-links between different reverse types<sup>18</sup>.

Thirty-four obverse dies have so far been identified as having been used with more than one reverse type, mostly with two each, but seven with three and one with four. There is extensive linking between the main *-/\** types, *Comiti Augg NN*, *Concord Milit* and *Principi Iuventutis* (a, two standards, and b, inverted spear). Nineteen of the thirty-four dies have been noted only with *-/\** reverses. Only three of the dies, however, are coupled solely with *\*/-* reverses, against twelve which have been found paired with both *-/\** and *\*/-* types. Such a contrast is not easy to reconcile with the notion that these two marks denoted separate and consecutive issues<sup>19</sup>. Lafaurie's interpretation seems to be the obvious one: « Cette étude sommaire démontre la concomitance de l'utilisation des types dans une même officine et non leur succession. Ces constatations suggèrent l'utilisation par un même ouvrier, ou groupe d'ouvriers, d'une paire de coins, leur rangement en fin de journée de travail, sans attacher trop d'importance à l'ordre établi antérieurement. Huit types de revers, considérés pour la plupart comme appartenant à des séries différentes, paraissent ainsi avoir été utilisés simultanément. »

If this is correct, it would imply that at least the main reverses with both *-/\** and *\*/-* were in use alongside each other, and not consecutively, as has generally been supposed. We therefore need to consider what other evidence may be available to test this hypothesis. From table 2 we note that

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17. HUVELIN, *Les deux émissions*, p. 31. This is expressed more precisely in *Quelques réflexions* (p. 510), where she regards the *-/\** and *\*/-* series as « deux émissions différentes mais dont la frappe, pour l'une comme pour l'autre, s'est déroulée en plusieurs phases, la première phase de l'émission avec étoile à gauche ayant débuté alors que la dernière phase de l'émission avec étoile à droite était encore en cours ».

18. LAFAURIE, *Étude de coins* (n. 1).

19. HUVELIN (*BSFN* 1993, p. 510) rejects this argument on the ground that all except two of the twelve links concern the *\*/-* reverse types *Marti Conservatori* and *Principi Iuventutis*, but this is hardly surprising since these two are much the most plentiful *\*/-* types (see tables 2 and 3). Also, there are in fact three exceptions, two linking *Adventus* to *Felicitas* (H. 8a and 163, ill. *BSFN* 1993, p. 508, figs c and d; and H. 16 and 163a) and one *Comiti Augg NN* to *Soli Invicto* (H. 40a and *BNJ* III, pl. II, 42, Little Orme's Head hoard).

consular obverses are known with three \*/- types<sup>20</sup>. Examples of these are extremely rare, but consular obverses with -/\* are also very rare in relation to the total number of -/\* coins known. In Boursies, there were only fifteen from consular obverse dies out of a total of 443 -/\* coins of Constantine, and only one out of 198 of Licinius<sup>21</sup>. If the (relatively) few consular obverse dies were introduced for the assumption of the consulship by Constantine and Licinius at the beginning of January 312, then in view of the intensity of minting at this period and the large number of dies involved, it seems unlikely that consular obverses would either have remained in use until November, or would have been issued gradually throughout the year. So, if the \*/- mark had not been introduced until the late autumn, the chances of consular obverses still then being available would have been slight<sup>22</sup>.

Table 3. LONDON COINS FROM BOURSIES (AND SARZEAU), BY MINTMARK

	-/*/PLN				*/-/PLN			
	Const.	Lic.	Max.	All rulers	Const.	Lic.	Max.	All rulers
<i>Adventus</i>								
<i>Adventus A.</i>	11 (12)			11 (12)				
<i>Spes R.</i>	0 (2)			0 (2)				
<i>Concordia Militum</i>	59 (50)			59 (50)				
<i>Consulship II</i>					0			0
<i>Genio Pop Rom</i>	3 (17)	196 (84)	262 (127)	461 (228)				
<i>Marti Conservatori</i>					23 (34)			23 (34)
<i>Principi Iuventutis</i>								
(a) Two standards	16 (16)			16 (16)				
(b) Vertical spear	69 (47)			69 (47)				
(c) Transverse spear					8 (16)			8 (16)
<i>Roma</i>								
<i>Felicitas</i>					0 (6)			0 (6)
<i>Roma</i>					0 (4)			0 (4)
<i>Securitas Augg</i>					1 (7)	0 (1)		1 (8)
<i>Sol</i>								
<i>Comiti A.</i>	273 (173)	2 (2)	1 (2)	276 (177)	0	0 (1)	0	0 (1)
<i>Soli Invicto</i>	12 (16)			12 (16)	4 (10)			4 (10)
Total	443 (333)	198 (86)	263 (129)	904 (548)	36 (77)	0 (2)	0	36 (79)

20. HUVELIN (*BSFN* 1993, p. 510) says that only two \*/- types are known with consular obverses, *Marti Conservatori* and *Soli Invicto*; but *Principi Iuventutis* was represented with consular obverse in the Little Orme's Head (*BNJ* VI, pl. IV, 9) and Upton (BM) hoards.

21. In the Sarzeau hoard there were nine consular out of 333 -/\* coins of Constantine, and none of Licinius.

22. GAUTIER (*BSFN* 1993, p. 512) suggests that the consular coins « pourraient ne pas avoir été émises dès le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 312 mais dans le cours de la même année ». According to his chronology, the mark T/F/PLN was current at the beginning of 312. To my mind, although not impossible, it would be odd if the consulship had been ignored at its inception (there are no consular coins marked T/F/PLN) but then celebrated at London for the first time while Constantine was campaigning in Italy.

A further, and stronger, argument against the consecutive issue of the two forms of the **PLN** and star mark is provided by discrepancies between the reverse types found with each of them. In table 3 I have set out the two forms separately in order to emphasise the contrast between them. With **-/\*** there are no coins of *Marti Conservatori*, with **\*/-** there are none of *Genio Pop Rom* (until after the reduction in weight to 1/96). The type of Mars standing to the right, leaning on spear and shield, occurs in every (other) issue from the introduction of the London mint-mark (**PLN**) in 307 to the mark **S/F/MLL** dated in RIC to 314-315. All but thirteen of the 36 **\*/-** coins in Boursies were of this type (figs 51-2). In the Sarzeau hoard, which had a larger group of 79 **\*/-** coins at 1/72, there were 34 *Marti Conservatori*, against 16 *Principi Iuventutis* and, remarkably, only ten *Soli Invicto*. Such a dominant position for *Marti Conservatori* is quite unlike anything found in other issues, where coins of this type make up only a small proportion of the total and the great majority consists of the Sol and Genius types. The position of *Genio Pop Rom* (fig. 42) is even more striking, although it does not seem to have been taken into account hitherto. Originally, in the full form, *Genio Populi Romani*, it was the only reverse type at London under the Tetrarchies, and thereafter became the basic reverse type used by Maximinus and Licinius. Coins of Constantine do occur with this type in several issues but so rarely that they may confidently be interpreted as accidental « mules ». While the absence of the *Marti Conservatori* type from the **-/\*/PLN** series would be odd, if that mark constituted a separate issue, the very low representation of Constantine's Sol type and the complete absence of the *Genio Pop Rom* type (with the consequent great rarity also of any coins in the names of Maximinus and Licinius) from the heavier **\*/-/PLN** series would be astonishing. Coins of Licinius begin c. 311, at a late stage during the currency of the mark **T/F/PLN**, and are thereafter reasonably plentiful with all marks, except **\*/-/PLN** on the 1/72 standard, up to the revival of **T/F/PLN** in 316-317. With **\*/-/PLN** at 1/72 there are of Licinius and Maximinus only some extremely rare coins of the *Comiti Aauugg* type, and of Licinius of *Securitas Augg*<sup>23</sup>. Since these were both types normally reserved for Constantine, the occurrence of specimens in the names of his co-emperors may imply the availability of their obverse dies as a result of the parallel issue for them of their own *Genio Pop Rom* type (with **-/\*/PLN**). Such interchange of obverse dies, apparently by accident, occurred on a small scale in most of the issues at this period — thus, of *Genio Pop Rom* with **-/\*/PLN**, there were in Boursies three specimens in

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23. HUVELIN (*BSFN* 1993, p. 510) bases part of her case against the parallel issue of **-/\*** and **\*/-** types on the argument that with **-/\*** there were extensive issues in the names of Licinius and Maximinus, but that with **\*/-** Maximinus has disappeared completely and Licinius is known only from an unique specimen of *Comiti Aauugg*. However, Maximinus also is known for *Comiti Aauugg* **\*/-** (H.—; Askew 677 = RIC 244, probably based on the example in the British Museum from the Llangarren hoard). Furthermore, with **\*/-** Licinius is known from several examples of *Securitas Augg* (H. 192-193).

the name of Constantine in addition to the 195 of Licinius and 262 of Maximinus. During Constantine's campaign against Maxentius he was on satisfactory terms with his imperial colleagues, especially Licinius. There is thus no reason that would have led us to expect a suspension or severe curtailment of their coinage at London in the later months of 312, and when the weight was reduced to the 1/96 standard in 313, but the \*/-/PLN mark was retained, coins of Licinius with *Genio Pop Rom* appear abundantly in the normal way. Incidentally, the existence of these 1/96 coins (RIC 249) probably explains why the absence of comparable *Genio Pop Rom* issues for Licinius on the 1/72 standard with \*/-/PLN seems previously to have been overlooked in this context.

If the -/\* and \*//- types were not issued consecutively, it does not of course mean that all of them were struck throughout the period of issue of the PLN and star marked coinage. There is no reason to question the natural association of the Roma types with Constantine's recovery of the city late in 312. Since there were no London coins on the 1/96 standard in Boursies, it is possible that the star-marked coins in the hoard were assembled a little before the end of the 1/72 issue. This could be the reason why there were no *Felicitas* or *Romae* coins in the hoard. Both are scarce, but there were respectively six and four of them out of 79 London coins with \*/-/PLN on the 1/72 standard in the Sarzeau hoard, which would be consistent with their having been among the last issues before the weight was reduced and struck too late to be represented in the London element at Boursies. Appropriately, neither has been found with consular obverses which would draw them back towards the start of the year 312.

Of the -/\* types only *Adventus/Spes* has not been found with consular obverses, which suggests that this type should either be dated materially before January 312 (which would suit Casey's theory that it records a visit of Constantine to London in the summer of 311)<sup>24</sup> or later in 312 like the Roma types. Two obverse links between *Adventus* and *Felicitas* lend support to the later dating<sup>25</sup>. It is difficult to draw solid conclusions from the small number of consular coins, but *Concordia* is the type with the highest proportion of them in both Boursies and Sarzeau. This could point to the focus of the type being around the beginning of the year 312. *Marti Conservatori*, though not a large part of the whole issue, would also have been in use at this period (although not necessarily then only), since, despite its modest volume as a whole, there was a consular specimen in both hoards. Of the three *Principi* types (figs 43-4, 45-50 and 53-4) that with two standards (-/\*) may be the earliest, since the same form had already occurred in the previous PLN coinage, while the type with the emperor facing right with transverse spear (\*/-) is probably the latest since it continues into the 1/96

24. J. CASEY, Constantine the Great in Britain, the Evidence of the London Mint, A.D. 312-314, *Collectanea Londiniensia*, 1978, p. 180-193.

25. This is now the view of Lafaurie (*BSFN* 1993, p. 510).

series with **\*/-/PLN** and **S/F/MLL**. There is, however, an obverse die-link between the two standards (a) and the transverse spear (c) versions of the type which casts some doubt on whether the three were used in strict sequence<sup>26</sup>.

In the case of the Sol types there is considerable variety of detail in the design, which, coupled with three different inscriptions, *Soli Invicto Comiti* (fig. 56), *Comiti Aauugg* (figs 13-14) and *Comiti Augg NN* (figs 15-33), and the star to right or left, results in eleven distinct varieties of reverse in the star-marked **PLN** coinage on the 1/72 standard. The earliest Sol types at London according to RIC are n° 101-102, *Comiti Augg NN*, and n° 113-115, *Soli Invicto*, with the mint-mark plain **PLN**, and, unlike most of the **PLN** coins of Constantine Augustus which were struck on the 1/48 standard, they are on the reduced (1/72) standard like the subsequent issues marked **T/F/PLN** and then **PLN** and star. In fact, RIC 101 shares an obverse die with a coin of the *Concord Milit* type marked **-/\*/PLN**, and it must therefore be assumed (together with RIC 102) to belong to the latter series, with the star accidentally omitted<sup>27</sup>. RIC 113-5, however, may be regarded as the earliest Sol coins, and their reverse type (a), Sol facing left, cloak hanging from left shoulder, with the right hand raised and holding a globe in the left, continues into the next series, **T/F/PLN**, in which it is very plentiful.

In the star and **PLN** issues on the 1/72 standard, reverse (a) is again found<sup>28</sup>, together with a variant (aa) with folds of the cloak showing on both sides of the body<sup>29</sup>, but neither of these is at all common. The more usual Sol type in the star and **PLN** issues is with the globe in the right hand and a whip in the left (b), accompanied by *Comiti Augg NN*<sup>30</sup> or, much more rarely, *Comiti Aauugg*<sup>31</sup>. The latter inscription is also recorded with this type, although extremely rare, in the **T/F/PLN** coinage<sup>32</sup>. In addition, most of the *Soli Invicto* type with **\*/-/PLN** have Sol facing right, but with the head left (d)<sup>33</sup>, otherwise as (aa). Three very rare variants with **PLN** and star, not represented in Boursies, are a version of (b) with double folds (bb)<sup>34</sup>, a blend of (a) and (b) with right hand raised and whip in left (c)<sup>35</sup>, and another standing to left, but with the head turned to the right, the right hand raised,

26. This obverse die was used with reverses *Concordia* (H. 81), *Principi Iuventutis* types a (H. 112) and b (H. 182), and *Comiti Augg NN* (H. 41b).

27. Lord STEWARTBY, A Critical London Die-Link of Constantine, *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins*, ed. M. Price, A. Burnett and R. Bland, 1993, p. 241-245.

28. All with mark **-/\***: L. 286; H. 144-145, 147, 149 (consular).

29. With mark **-/\***: L. 287; H. 144a, 146, 148, 150-1, 153. With **\*/-**: L. 288; H. 198c.

30. All with **-/\***: L. 306, 309, 312-313, 315, 318, 321, 323, 327, 333, 336-338, 341, 343, 345-346, 353; H. 24-69.

31. All with **-/\***: L. 290-293; H. 19-23.

32. RIC 116 (wrongly described) and 128 (with stars).

33. L. 289; H. 198-203.

34. Stewartby collection (H.-), **-/\***, *Comiti Augg NN*.

35. H. 152, 154, **-/\***, *Soli Invicto Comiti*.

and both globe and whip in the left (e)<sup>36</sup>. After the end of the 1/72 issues only type (a), with *Soli Invicto*, continues, in the 1/96 \*/-/PLN and S/F/PLN series, very rarely varied as (aa) or with the globe tucked under the arm close to the body (ag).

No obvious chronological inference, within the star and PLN series, can be drawn from this pattern, and further consideration is needed. Meanwhile, however, there are a few observations that can be made about associated obverses. Two of the extremely rare obverses with warlike busts facing *right* are combined with the equally rare reverse of type (b) reading *Comiti Aauugg*<sup>37</sup>. These busts are not very successful as a design, and could perhaps be experimental, and if so early, in the warlike group. Consular busts may show which Sol reverses were in use about the beginning of 312. They are found mostly with *Comiti Augg NN*, type (b)<sup>38</sup>, but this is not very helpful since it is much the commonest of the Sol types anyway. The only other consular bust is combined with a *Soli Invicto* reverse of type (a)<sup>39</sup>.

If, as suggested earlier, the placing of the star to right and left does not indicate issues in sequence, there ought to be some logic in the choice of position, and if we can find an explanation that makes sense it would help to corroborate the theory that the -/\* and \*/- marks were in use together. A possible clue lies in the *Principi* and Sol types, which both consist mainly of coins marked -/\*/PLN but also include some with \*/-/PLN. On the two *Principi* types with the figure of the emperor turned to the left (a and b), the star is to the right, while on the one with the figure facing right (c), the star is to the left. Now the great majority of the Sol type coins have the figure facing to the left, and the star to the right, but the only reasonably plentiful Sol type with the star to the left has the figure turned to the right, even though the head faces left (d). If we then consider the reverse types with standing figures which occur in only one version, we find that Genius and Concordia face left, and the star is always to the right, but Mars faces right and the star is always to the left. Securitas stands facing, but much of the space to the right is occupied by a pillar on which she is leaning, and this could explain why the star is on the left (fig.55). Thus, where a standing figure clearly faces to one side, the star was normally placed behind its back, the only exception being some extremely rare coins of the Sol types with \*/-, and some of these, abnormally, have the head turned to the right (e). In the case of the type with the emperor riding to the left (*Adventus, Spes*), the star is again behind the mounted figure, to the right. This rule, however, does not apply to the seated figures of the Roma and COS II types, perhaps

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36. Maximinus, Askew 677 (see n.23) = RIC244; Licinius, H.159; both with \*/-. No example noted of Constantine: the circumstances of this deserve further investigation.

37. H. 22 (L. 293) and 23.

38. H. 32, 34-36, 46-47, 55 and 58 (all -/\*).

39. H. 149 (-/\*).

for the good practical reason that there was more space in the field in front than behind.

One does not have to look very far to find other series in which at this period a symbol may be found either to the left or to the right of the figure on the reverse, without indicating different issues. The following examples will serve to illustrate the point. On the aurei of the First Tetrarchy at Thessalonica there is a Greek numeral, denoting the weight standard, in the field. The coins of Diocletian, Constantius and Galerius have Jupiter or the Caesar standing to the left, with the numeral to the right; Maximian's has Hercules standing to the right, with the numeral to the left<sup>40</sup>. At Ticinum under the Second Tetrarchy, where the mark **PT** (or **ST** or **TT**) and pellet occurs on the bronze, Sutherland observed that **-./PT** was used for the Augusti and Seniores, **./-/PT** for the Caesars; but the type for the Caesars is Mars advancing right, and it seems more likely that this, rather than the rank of the rulers, was the reason why the pellet is to the left, since late in the First Tetrarchy this mint had struck coins with similar marks, and reverse *Sacra Moneta*, for both Diocletian Augustus and Constantius Caesar, all with the pellet to the right<sup>41</sup>. In the following series the *Providentia* type for the Seniores is found with either **A/-/PT** or **-/A/PT**, and comparable cases can be found at Siscia in 305-307, where *Herculi Victori* has the numeral **VI** indiscriminately to right or left<sup>42</sup>, and at Rome in 313, where a star is mostly found in the left field but occasionally in the right<sup>43</sup>. At Lyons in 307/308, where the mark is **PLC** and **N**, *Genio Pop Rom* and *Principi Iuventutis* both have figures facing left and **N** to the right while the Mars types, as usual with the figure to the right, have **N** to left<sup>44</sup>. These examples demonstrate two things: first that where a single symbol or letter occurs in the field it could be placed on either side without indicating separate issues; and second that there was sometimes a tendency, exactly as in the **PLN** and star series, to place it behind a standing or advancing figure.

To suggest that coins with **-/\*PLN** and **\*/-/PLN** were struck concurrently on the 1/72 standard is certainly not to imply that the issue of coins with both marks was spread evenly throughout the duration of the coinage. Indeed, the obvious association of both the Adventus (*Adventus* and *Spes*) types (**-/\***) and the Roma (*Romae* and *Felicitas*) types (**\*/-**) with Constantine's arrival in Rome after his defeat of Maxentius at the end of October 312 places them all late in the **PLN** and star coinage. Of all the **\*/-** types, *Marti Conservatori* is the most likely to have begun early in the coinage, not only because of the examples with consular obverses, but also because this reverse type is

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40. *RIC VI*, p. 509-510; the Greek letter *xi* (60) indicates the number of coins struck from the pound of gold.

41. *RIC VI*, p. 288-289.

42. *RIC VI*, p. 474-476.

43. *RIC VI*, p. 391, n. 2.

44. *RIC VI*, p. 258-260.

die-linked to *Principi Iuventutis* type a once<sup>45</sup> and type b three times<sup>46</sup>. Conversely, there is no reason to think that *Genio Pop Rom*, a -/\* type, did not continue to be struck for Licinius (and perhaps for Maximinus) while the recovery of Rome was being celebrated with \*/- types for Constantine.

When the 1/96 standard was introduced at London the mint-mark of star and **PLN** was unchanged, but all reverse types at the new weight have the star to left. Perhaps, since many of the later coins of the 1/72 series were of the Roma types with the star to the left, this could have influenced the continuation of the \*/-/**PLN** mark into the 1/96 series, and any basis for determining the position of the star in relation to different types in the heavier coinage would have been forgotten or disregarded.

In the list of coins from Boursies I have set out the **PLN** and star series in tabular form, with reference to RIC and Huvelin. For convenience, the types have therefore been arranged in a similar order, according to reverses, rather than to the obverses as in Lafaurie's catalogue. However, this is not to ignore the value of Lafaurie's attention to obverse types and inscriptions, which enabled him to identify a number of obverse die-links between different reverse types. These, and some others subsequently discovered, are noted in the remarks. In order to follow RIC and Huvelin, the coins marked \*/-/**PLN** are listed after those with -/\*/**PLN**, despite the arguments set out above that the two marks were in use together. In RIC the bust types of the \*/- coins are given different identification letters from those used for the -/\* types. In the table, in the case of the \*/- coins, I have therefore given the letter used for them in RIC followed by the equivalent letter for the same bust when used for the -/\* types, e.g. A/C for bust laureate and cuirassed to right.

Many of the coins from Boursies are in the Cabinet des Médailles, at the Bibliothèque nationale, and have been illustrated at reduced size in NZ 1990. On plates XII-XV are illustrated 56 specimens, representing the main varieties of which actual size illustrations are not available in the publication of the Sarzeau hoard or elsewhere.

## LIST OF LONDON COINS FROM BOURSIES

### First Tetrarchy, to 305

Rev. unmarked ; type *Genio Populi Romani* (26)

Diocletian Augustus. RIC 6a(2), 28a (L. 3, 7)	3
Maximian Augustus. RIC 6b, 17(8), 25 (L. 4, 8, 12)	10

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45. H. 176 and 119 ; this obverse die was also used with *Comiti Augg NN* (H. 64).

46. H. 166 and 124 ; H. 174 and 140 ; H. 171 and 135 (this obverse also used with *Comiti Augg NN*, Stewartby collection).



Constantius Caesar. RIC 22(2), — (3b, B), 37a(2), 38 var. (3d,D; 2) (L. 5, 15, 9 + 14, 11 + 13)	7
Galerius Maximian Caesar. RIC 15(4), 33(2) (L. 6, 10)	6

**Second and Third Tetrarchies, May 305 - late 307**Rev. unmarked; type *Genio Populi Romani* (except Maximian) (8)

Severus Caesar. RIC 63a (L. 123)	1
Maximinus Caesar. RIC 63b, 64 var. (4f, B) (L. 122, 124)	2
Maximian Senior. <i>Providentia Deorum Quies Augg.</i> RIC 76b, 77b(4) (L. 125bis, 125)	5

Rev. **PLN**; *Genio Pop Rom*; heavier issue (1/42 pound) (9)

Maximinus Caesar. RIC 89a(3) (L. 140)	3
Constantine Caesar. RIC 88b(2), 89b (L. 141, 139)	3
Maximian Senior. RIC 90(3) (L. 142)	3

Rev. **PLN**; reduced weight (1/48 pound); end 307-309/10(25)

Constantius Divus. <i>Memoria Felix</i> . RIC 110 (L. 199)	1
Maximian Senior. <i>Genio Pop Rom</i> . RIC 90 (L. 195)	1
Constantine Augustus (23)	
<i>Genio Pop Rom</i> . RIC 103(9), 104(5) (L. 194, 198)	14
<i>Marti Patri Propug.</i> RIC 108(2), 109(3) (L. 193, 197)	5
<i>Principi Iuventutis</i> . RIC 111(2), 112(2)	4

Rev. **T/F/PLN**; 1/72 pound; 309/10-311 (510)

Constantine (502)	
<i>Marti Conservatori</i> . RIC 119 (fig. 1) (L. 233)	1
<i>Soli Invicto Comiti</i> . RIC 121a (403: I-C, 48; C-T, 355), 122 (C-T), 124 (84: I-C, 4; C-T, 80), 126 (C-T, 13) (L. 230, 231, 232, 234, 275)	501
Maximinus (4)	
<i>Genio Pop Rom</i> . RIC 117a(3) (L. 279)	3
<i>Soli Invicto Comiti</i> . RIC 121b (fig. 2) (L. 277)	1
Licinius (4)	
<i>Genio Pop Rom</i> . RIC 117b(2) (L. 278)	2
<i>Soli Invicto Comiti</i> . RIC 121c(2) (fig. 3) (L. 276)	2

Rev. star over **T**/star over **F/PLN** (except L. 285)

Constantine (5)	
<i>Comiti Aauugg.</i> RIC 128 (fig. 4) (L. 281)	1
<i>Genio Pop Rom</i> . RIC 129(2) (fig. 5) (L. 282)	2
<i>Soli Invicto Comiti</i> . RIC 132 (fig. 6) (L. 280)	1
ditto, but I/star over I/PLN, RIC— (fig. 7) (L. 285)	1
Maximinus, <i>Genio Pop Rom</i> , RIC 130 (fig. 8) (L. 284)	1
Licinius, <i>Genio Pop Rom</i> , RIC 131(2) (fig. 9) (L. 283)	2

Rev. **PLN** and star, 311-3 (940)

All of Constantine unless otherwise stated - see table.

Coins marked \* are illustrated in NZ 1990.

Lafaurie serial n°	Obv. ins- cription and bust	RIC n°	Huvelin n°	Remarks	
Types with PLN and star to right					
ADVENTVS AVG					(11)
347	1d (C)	133	1*	Obv. link with 348, H. 179a (Plc) and H. 165a (MC). Fig. 10	8
324	1d (O)	-	3*	Obv. link with 325 (Plb). Fig. 11	1
329	1e (BB)	139	8*	Obv. link with 333 (CANN). Fig. 12	1
342	1g (DD)	-	13*		1
COMITI AAVVGG, sol type (b)					(5)
290	1d (C)	146a	19*	Fig. 13	1
292	2a (C)	146b	20*	Maximinus	1
291	3a (C)	146c	21*	Licinius	2
293	1d (« H »)	148	22*	But H but not draped. Fig. 14	1
COMITI AVGG NN, sol type (b)					(271)
346	1b (C)	-	26*	Fig. 15	1
318	1c (CC)	151	27*	Fig. 16	1
353	1d (C)	153	28		184
327	1d (E)	155	29*	Obv. link with 326 (Plc). Fig. 17	} 8
327	1d (F)	-	30*	Laureate helmet. Fig. 18	
309	1d (-)	-	32*	Obv. as bust R but facing right ; consu- lar. Fig. 19	2
306	1d (R)	160	35*	Obv. link with 305 (CM). Consular. Fig. 20	1
323	1d (BB)	166	40*	Obv. link with 322 (CM). Fig. 21	5
321	1d (CC)	167	41*	Small, whole shield. Obv. link with H. 130 (Plb). Fig. 22	2
360	1e (C)	169	43*		15
338	1e (F)	-	44*	Fig. 23	1
337	1e (J)	170	45*	Fig. 24	1
312	1e (V)	174	47	Consular (? trabea, not cuirass). Fig. 25	1
343	1e (Y)	175	48*	Bust apparently draped (i.e. W-Y). Fig. 26	2
333	1e (BB)	177	51***	Obv. link with 329 (AA). Fig. 27	22
336	1e (DD)	-	53*		1
345	1g (H)	181	57*	Large bust, A-N ; undraped. Fig. 28	1
314	1g (R)	182	58*	Large bust, consular, T-I. N° 313 on L. plate. Fig. 29	1
315	1g (R)	182	58a*	Large bust, consular, N-V. Fig. 30	2
341	1g (BB)	186	61,a**	One obv. link with 339 (Plb) and 340 (CM). Fig. 31	15
362	1h (C)	189	63*	Large bust, ornate cuirass, A-N. Fig. 32	1
363	1h (L)	-	64*	Large bust, N-T ; cf. consular busts on n° L. 313-7. Obv. link with H. 119 (PIa) and H. 176 (MC). Fig. 33	4

Lafaurie serial n°	Obv. ins- cription and bust	RIC n°	Huvelin n°	Remarks	
CONCORD MILIT					(59)
351	1d (C)	195	75*		40
305	1d (R)	-	78*	Consular; obv. link with 306 (CANN)	1
322	1d (BB)	197	80**	Obv. link with 323 (CANN). Fig. 34	2
319	1d (CC)	-	81	Obv. link with Cab. Med. 14502 (CANN). Fig. 35	1
358	1e (C)	199	84*		5
335	1e (Z)	202	89a*		1
332	1e (BB)	203	90a, b**	Fig. 36 (H. 90b) with soldiers on shield	2
334	1e (BB)	203	90e*	Crest of helmet invected. Same dies as BNJ III, pl. I, 22	1
316	1f (R)	206	92*	Large bust, consular, I-N. Fig. 37	1
313	1g (Q)	-	92a*	Large bust, consular, T-I. N° 314 on L. plate. Fig. 38	1
340	1g (BB)	208	94a, b**	Obv. link with 339 (PIb) and 341 (CANN). Fig. 39	2
361	1h (C)	-	96*	Large bust, ornate cuirass, A-N. Fig. 40	1
317	1h (Q)	-	99	Large bust, consular, N-T. Fig. 41	1
GENIO POP ROM					(461)
294	1d (C)	212	107*	Solid modius	3
297	2a (C)	209b	102*	Maximinus. Solid modius	70
300	2a (C)	209b	102b*	Maximinus. Outlined modius	110
303	2a (C)	209b	102a*	Maximinus. Calathos	56
298	2b (C)	211	105	Maximinus. Solid modius	3
301	2b (C)	211	105*	Maximinus. Outlined modius	20
304	2b (C)	211	105a*	Maximinus. Calathos	3
295	3a (C)	209c	103c*	Licinius. Solid modius	83
299	3a (C)	209c	103	Licinius. Outlined modius	79
302	3a (C)	209c	103b*	Licinius. Calathos	33
296	3a (« L »)	210	104b*	Licinius, consular (trabea, not cuirass). Solid modius. Fig. 42	1
PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS, type (a), emperor with two standards					(16)
350	1d (C)	215	108a*	Elaborate dress. Fig. 43	13
357	1e (C)	219	114*	Fig. 44	1
331	1e (BB)	220	115		2

Lafaurie serial n°	Obv. ins- cription and bust	RIC n°	Huvelin n°	Remarks	
<b>PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS, type (b), emperor with globe and vertical spear</b>					(69)
349	1d (C)	222	122a,c***		51
307	1d (« M »)	223	124*	Consular (trabea, not cuirass with paludamentum). Obv. link with 308 (MC). Fig. 45	1
325	1d (O)	225	127*	Obv. link with 324 (AA)	1
310	1d (P)	-	125*	Ceremonial (? consular). Fig. 46	1
311	1d (U)	-	128*	Ceremonial (? consular). Obv. link with H. 36 (CANN). Fig. 47	2
356	1e (C)	227	132a, b**		7
330	1e (BB)	228	136a*		1
328	1e (CC)	-	137*	Fig. 48	2
344	1g (WY)	-	139*	Draped and cuirassed bust ? Obv. link with H. 11 (AA) and H. 59 (CANN). Fig. 49	1
339	1g (BB)	231	141a*	Obv. link with 340 (CM) and 341 (CANN). Fig. 50	2
<b>SOLI INVICTO COMITI</b>					(12)
286	1d (C)	234	144*	Sol type (a)	5
287	1d (C)	234 var.	144a*	Sol type (aa)	7
Types with PLN and star to left					
<b>MARTI CONSERVATORI</b>					(23)
352	1d (A/C)	254	165*		18
308	1d (« E »/M)	-	166*	Consular (trabea, not paludamentum). Obv. link with 307 (PIb). Fig. 51	1
320	1d (J/CC)	257	168*	Fig. 52	2
359	1e (A/C)	258	169*		2
<b>PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS, type (c), emperor with globe and transverse spear</b>					(8)
348	1d (A/C)	265	179,a**	Obv. link with 347 (AA) and H 165a (MC). Fig. 53	5
326	1d (-/E)	-	180*	Obv. link with 327 (CANN). Fig. 54	1
355	1e (A/C)	266	184,a**		2
<b>SECURITAS AVGG</b>					(1)
354	1d (A/C)	277	194a	Fig. 55	1
<b>SOLI INVICTO COMITI</b>					(4)
288	1d (A/C)	284	198c*	Sol type (aa)	3
289	1d (A/C)	284	198b*	Sol type (d). Fig. 56	1