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The Episode of Carausius and Allectus, with particular reference to the Numismatic Evidence.

This thesis is a study of the decade from 287-296 when Britain was a separate empire under the control of the usurpers Carausius and Allectus. It provides the fullest analysis so far of the literary evidence which gives a basic framework for the history of the period. This evidence is very limited in extent, and suffers in great measure from the defects of bias in the case of the earlier accounts and gross inaccuracy in the case of the later ones. The scant epigraphic evidence, consisting of the one Carausian milestone, has been included in the section on literary evidence.

There is a considerable body of numismatic evidence for Carausius and Allectus which has been both used to complement that of the written accounts and also studied in its own right. A corpus of all hoards, gold and silver coins, and BRI coins known at the time of writing has been assembled, and a general survey made of site finds and other particularly distinctive groups such as the 'Rouen' antoniniani. The coins in most important collections have been examined and those from Richborough, as the largest group from one site, used to produce various statistics or test various theories.

It has therefore been possible to draw some conclusions as to the location of mints, the sequence and size of issues, the distribution of men and resources, the policies of the two usurpers and the history of the period in general. Many problems and uncertainties still remain for which there can be

no convincing solution at present because of the lack of evidence. For some of these, possible solutions have been suggested but excessive speculation, which has bedevilled this subject in the past, has been avoided.

THE EPISODE OF
CARAVSIVS AND ALLECTVS
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO
THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF ~~MASTER~~ OF
PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM.

NORMAN SHIEL B.A.

OCTOBER 1975

FOR BRIDGET

PANDORA AND

CRISPUS

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Preface

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. J C Mann for all his valuable advice and guidance as my supervisor in the earlier stages of my research, and to Mr. R A G Carson who, despite the many more important demands on his time, has always been most generous with help of every kind. I am also indebted to Dr. J P C Kent for having first prompted me to a study of Carausius and Allectus in 1970.

There are other particular debts to be acknowledged, to Mr Richard Reece, Mr. Philip Isaac, Dr. Anne Robertson, Mr. George Boon, and Mr. Simon Bendall. I have been overwhelmed by the consistent generosity shown to me by a very great number of individuals and institutions over the past five years, without which much of this research would have been impossible.

Finally my thanks are due to Mr. John Clarke who first aroused my interest in Roman Numismatics many years ago; to Dr. Allan Wilson for his constant help, encouragement and example; and to my wife Bridget for having suffered so much.

Introduction

The period of Carausius and Allectus lasted only a decade but because of its special nature it has captured the imagination of many students of Romano-British history as has no comparable period. It is less well documented than much of the Roman occupation and this has helped to promote the interest in it as the absence of very much incontrovertible evidence made it easy for those who presumed to compose their own accounts of the past. The upsurge of interest in the eighteenth century saw the production of two books about Carausius, one by the Frenchman Genebrier; the other by the Englishman, Stukeley. Neither work shows a very great concern for accuracy or displays much critical acumen, particularly by modern standards. The Medalllic History of Carausius by Stukeley may rather be seen a masterpiece of ingenuity. Some attempt at listing the varieties of coin types was at least being made, and as interest grew in the subject and numismatics in general more was written about individual coins or whole collections. Mionnet provided one such listing and Akerman another. The advent of the Numismatic Chronicle provided a particular stimulus to the rapid growth in the volume of important published material on the subject. Cohen's monumental work became standard for these coins along with the rest of the Roman Imperial Series. There has, however, always been a sizeable following of what may be called the Stukeley tradition. That is to say writers, who were more concerned with the undoubtedly attractive romantic aspects of the episode. As the British Empire reached its zenith and its naval supremacy was

unchallenged, the temptation to draw parallels with the bold sea-farer who had established an earlier 'British Empire', founded and maintained by sea power was irresistible. Carausius' background, born a Menapian, even prompted an American Dutchman, John Watts De Peyster, to write a book about him as a means of eulogising the Dutch race. To the British he says, 'Your only true sailor-king Carausius - the first to divine the source and course of England's future - was a Menapian, a Hollander'.

By the twentieth century much new material had been discovered in excavations or in hoards since Cohen's listing, and in 1906 and 1907 there appeared in the Numismatic Chronicle the first major treatment of Carausius' and Allectus' coinage from a modern standpoint of critical analysis. This work, nevertheless contained many factual errors and is deficient on several points of interpretation. These were to some extent remedied when the same author produced an updated version of the work twenty five years later to form the relevant section of R.I.C. That still remains the standard work of reference although many new varieties have been published since its appearance, and many mistakes have been observed in its listings. The most significant advance as regards the interpretation of the coins has been Carson's treatment of the sequence marks of the two usurpers. Several other valuable observations remain scattered through pages of various journals and monographs.

This thesis seeks to bring together all that is of value that has been written or said about the subject, and to make an

independent contribution of its own. I have, on several occasions, drawn attention to the errors in the corpus given in R.I.C. but have not attempted to provide a replacement save in the case of the silver and gold coins. The nature of the evidence is such that only in certain cases can problems be said to have been anything like resolved. The interlinking of certain coins has, for example, enabled advances to be made in dealing with mint location and chronology. No doubt if every single extant coin were compared for die links then a more complete picture would have emerged but a limit had to be drawn somewhere for this work, and a comprehensive study of the smaller groups of coins such as the gold, silver and the Rouen antoniniani together with what emerged generally, seemed the most profitable use of the time available.

In collating information of various sorts from other sources, I have tried to achieve a balance between an absolute coverage and an inadequate coverage. I have thus provided full details for points which derive from obscure sources or which have never been published before, but have deemed it sufficient simply to give references to material which is fairly easily accessible. Some hoards, therefore, receive rather more scant treatment than others, because they are fully documented elsewhere in prominent journals; and some of the literary sources are reproduced in full because printed texts of them are not readily available. In the interests of brevity without loss of clarity I have tried to make footnote references in a simple rather than a complex form, especially when the same work is cited on several occasions. Full

details of all such works may be found in the bibliography.

The literary and epigraphic sources have been examined at greater length than previously to see how far they can contribute to any accurate understanding of the period, some difficulties have been resolved and as many fresh ones discovered. The rest of the thesis deals with the numismatic evidence in its various aspects and is a combined study of how the coinage system worked and what it can tell us about the history of the period. Had there been easy answers to the problems raised by this subject, they would have been discovered during the past two centuries. In writing this thesis I have raised as many difficulties as I have removed but such is the nature of a subject such as this that many points must remain in doubt because of sheer lack of evidence. All I may claim is to have attempted to improve upon and add to what has been done before me by others, and to produce a fuller treatment of the episode of Carausius and Allectus. This will, I hope, be seen not so much as a final solution but as a foundation on which to base further research as new evidence comes to light.

Chapter One

Literary and Epigraphic Evidence

Literary

- a) Panegyricus Maximiano Dictus (289) chs. XI ff.
Incerti Panegyricus Constantio Caesari Dictus (296) chs. V ff.
- b) Aurelius Victor De Caesaribus chs. XXXIX ff. (360 AD)
Eutropius Brev. Hist. Rom. Bk. IX, Sect. 21 ff. (370 AD)
Orosius Paulus Historiae adv. Paganos. Bk. VII ch. 25. (418 AD)
- c) Bede Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum Bk. I, ch. 6. (731 AD)
Nennius Historia Britonum chs. XIX - XX. (796 AD)
Geoffrey of Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniae Bk. V, chs. 3-4. (1150 AD)
Robert of Gloucester Chronicle Bk. II ¶ 1721ff (1280 AD)
Richard of Cirencester De Situ Britanniae Bk. I, sect. III and IV; Bk. II, sect. XXX (d. 1401 AD)
(forged by Bertram c. 1750; exposed by Woodward in G.M. for 1866-7)
John of Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum chs. 27ff (1450 AD)
Hector Boethius History of the Scots Bk. VI. (1530 AD)
- d) Prosper Tyro 'Carausius sumpta purpura Britannias occupavit!
Hieronymus chron. a Abr. 2305
Diocletian yr. 3 - 'Carausius sumpta purpura Britannias occupavit'.
" yr. 15 - 'Post decem annos per Asclepiodotum praefectum praetorio Britanniae receptae'.
Jordanes Rom. 297.
'Quo tempore (sc. Diocletiani) Carausius sumpta purpura Britannias occupavit.'
Polemii Silvii Laterci I 59 p. 522
'Carausius et Allectus in Britannia tyranni fuerunt'.
Ann. Boll. 9 116. 12. Passio Typassii
'In Britannia Carausius rebellaverat'

Zonaras

Ann. XL1 31. (in Corpus Script. Hist. Byz. Bonn 1844).

Ἀμάνδου δέ τινος νεωτερίσαντος ἐν Γαλλίαις,
 Μαξιμιανὸς ἐκέλευσε γενόμενος τὸν
 νεωτερισμὸν κατέστειλε. Κράσσον τε
 Βρεταννίαν κατεσχηκότα ἐπὶ ἐνλαυτοῦς
 τρεῖς ὁ ἑπαρχὸς ἀνείλεν Ἀσκληπιάδοτος
 καὶ Πέντε τινῶν Γεντιλιανῶν τὴν
 Ἀφρικκὴν κατασχόντων, ὁ Ἑρκούλιος
 τούτους κατηγωνίσαστο.

John of Antioch.

Fr. 164 (cf F.G.H. IV, p 601)

Ἵτι ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανῶ Καρρούσιός τις
 ἀνὴρ τεχθεὶς μὲν ἐν ἀφανεστάτῃ πόλει,
 περὶ δὲ στρατιωτικῆ σπουδῇ καὶ
 γενναϊότητι διαφέρων κατὰ μικρὸν
 δόξαν ἀρίστην κτησάμενος, ἐκ ταύτης
 αἰτίας νεωτερίζειν ἤρξατο. † Βαλχικὸν †
 καλούμενον κλίμα, κατὰ τὴν τῆς
 ἁλμυρίδος Θάλασσαν, Φράγκοι τε καὶ
 Σάβρονες, ἔθνη Κελτικὰ, διατέραττον,
 ληϊζόμενοι τοὺς ἐμπόρους, καὶ τῶν
 χωρίων πορθοῦντες τὰ. Σιταλεῖς τίνων
 οὗτος ἐκ Βουωνίας πόλεως Γαλατικῆς,
 ἐπειδὴ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων
 ἐχειρώσατο, τὴν δελέειν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
 πολέμου οὔτε τοῖς ἐπείκοις τῶν ἔθνων
 ἀπεδίδου οὔτε τοῖς βασιλευσὶν ἀπέπεμπεν,
 ἐκουσίως προπέμπειν τοὺς πολεμίους

†† Σελβων. cod.

ὕπωπτεύθη. ἀνακρεθῆναι τοίνυν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Ἐρκουλίου προσταχθεὶς, τὴν τε πορφύραν
 περιέθετο, καὶ τὴν Βρεταννίαν καταλαμβάνει.
 καὶ τούτου τοῦ το πεπραχότος, καὶ
 κεκλυημένων πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων
 καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνεωτέρησεν,
 καὶ ἡ Ἀφρική πρὸς πέντε ἀνδρῶν, Γεντιανῶν
 τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπεπολεμητο.

Helinandus Passio S Gereonis et Sociorum. ch I sects 10, 16.

(in J P Migne. Patrologiae Latinae vol. 212 p. 765-6).

10 'Deinde Maximianus Augustus, coadunato exercitu, permisto
 tamen fidelium et infidelium coitu, festinus Alpium juga
 transgrediens, Galliae appropinquabat, soloque adventu suo
 Amando et Aeliando ducibus tumultus memorati perterritis,
 seditionis illius tempestatem pertinaciter excitatam, facile
 sine sui exercitus damno sedebat. Comperto vero quod Carausius
 quidam nobilis, insidias contra Romani fines imperii moliretur.
 Qui tamen procurator constitutus erat provinciae, quae est
 iuxta Oceanum, ubi Franci, iam secundo sedibus suis expulsi,
 iuxta Gallorum et Saxonum confinia consederunt, misit illuc per
 Rheni fluminis alveum partem sui exercitus, cuius militare
 virtute nefarius cassaretur inceptus

16 Tandem optatis locupletati spoliis, cum exercitu reliquo,
 quia Carausius ille fugiens, sese in Britanniam transtulit,
 perviam qua venerant, laeti pro scelere regressi sunt. Eodem vero
 tempore de Mauritania, quae est pars Africae, finitimisque
 regionibus, milites ab imperatore propter frequentes Gallorum

tumultus evocati, in Galliam venerunt.

Commentary

a) Pan.Max.Dict.

This is addressed to Maximian in person at the outset of his naval expedition in the spring of 289¹. It has generally been assumed that whenever exactly Carausius usurped, 286 or 287, all the time from then on down to 289 was needed by Maximian for the building of this fleet to use against him. Carausius had taken the channel fleet so Maximian did indeed have to assemble something completely new, but throughout Roman history from the time of the Punic Wars on, fleets had been built in times of necessity, in much less than three years. In any case the panegyric itself says (ch.xii) "Toto fere anno ..." was the time taken not only to build the ships but also ... "ut navalia texeretur". "Hiems ipsa temperiem veris imitata est" must refer to the winter of 288/89, immediately preceeding the panegyric, so Maximian must have commenced these preparations sometime early in 288. This is at the very least reckoning a full year after Carausius' usurpation. Maximian clearly regarded that usurpation as a serious matter so the fact that he did not set sail against him until the spring of 289 although it had only taken him a year to get his fleet ready leaves at least a whole year to be explained away.

Carausius' channel command had been based on Boulogne, the ideal fleet base for naval operations in the channel and North Sea.

Maximian set off against him from Treves, many hundreds of miles from the sea and on the face of it, in no way suitable for launching a naval attack on Britain. Chlorus did not choose to use it for

either division of his fleet in 296. It was Maximian's headquarters but that hardly seems sufficient justification. Even if Carausius had devastated the harbour installations at Boulogne before he left, as Maximian had to build navalia from scratch anyway then Boulogne would still have been a much better place from which to operate. That he did not do so suggests that it was not in his power. Chlorus recovered Boulogne in 293 but it is not certain for how long before that date it had been in Carausius' control. Numismatic evidence suggests strongly that there was only a very limited occupation and it is scarcely compatible with Boulogne and its environs having been in Carausius' hands throughout the period of his usurpation. The tenor of the historical sources is that Carausius specifically crossed to Britain and took the fleet with him. The seat of the usurpation would naturally be the subject of most of the attention of such sources but it would surely not have gone unmentioned had Carausius maintained a Gallic foothold throughout. The passage ... "Milites vestri ad Oceanum pervenere victoria, iam caesorum in illo litore hostium sanguinem reciproci fluctus sorbuerunt" could possibly refer to clashes between Maximians' troops and Carausius' supporters holding the Gallic coastal territory for him but the other sources seem at pains to point out that he took all his varied forms of support away over to Britain with him. In any case it is not inherently likely that the native population would have risen in his support in such a way, especially if they were not getting from him the protection from piracy that they expected. The language is vague at this point and the hostes need have no particular connection with Carausius.

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Maximian was not without general opposition in the West. The Bagaudae had only recently been put down and Gaul generally had been something of a seat of disaffection for some time. It is difficult to see why Maximian did not use Boulogne as his fleet base unless it was held against him, yet there is no evidence to show that Carausius held it at this time, and some that he did not. Presumably he faced opposition from hostes who formed, from Carausius' point of view, a most useful buffer without necessarily being allies.

The florid language of the panegyric does not help the interpretation of strict veracity. The beginning of chapter XII sounds like an exaggerated expression of Carausius' helpless fear but could it really contain any indication of the movements of Maximian's troops? ... "cum fretum illud quo solo mortam suam hucusque remoratus est paene exercitus vestros videat ingressos, oblitosque navium refugum mare secutos esse ..." places great emphasis on the channel as the only barrier between Carausius and a Maximian bent on the exaction of retribution and that this is now about to be crossed by a fleet seeking to bait Carausius in his lair. As the fleet is in fact departing from Trêves, many miles away from the channel, it seems to be a considerable exaggeration to talk of almost having entered that strait.

Exaggeration is to be expected in panegyrics and this is no exception. The references to, "pulcherrimae classes"... and "cunctis simul amibus" can hardly mean that Maximian was fitting out fleets on all rivers of Gaul. The Moselle, 'Fluvius hic noster'... is where the action really is, with the exaggeration simply for effect. Imprecision is another problem in using the panegyrics as historical

sources as it is often difficult to know how far to accept a word at face value. *Navalia* is a rather precise naval term which suggests rather more than mere generalisation for the nautical section of the narrative. There is by no means a detailed account of the construction of the ships but, perhaps, 'liburnas' may be taken as rather more precise than a mere synonym for *naves*.

The type of ship used ought to have direct bearing on the sort of expedition being undertaken. That the panegyric refers to liburnians, therefore, is of importance. In more directly historical contexts this word is well enough attested and in a precise manner.² Description of Liburnians are given by Casson³ and Starr.⁴ Their essential qualities seem to have been lightness and swiftness. Casson⁵ calls them 'destroyer-like'. These were ideal ships for provincial fleets concerned with pirate control rather than major naval engagements and would be suited to a base up river such as Trêves because of their limited size and draught. Starr comments,⁶ 'the river vessels on Trajan's column with their two vertically distinct rows of oars are probably to be considered Liburnians.' It is of course a moot point exactly what sort of ships made up Carausius' fleet. It too had been intended for pirate control primarily, albeit on a large scale, and not for major sea battles. Even so it had been based on a sea port and almost certainly contained some ships capable of conflict at sea. It is very difficult to imagine, however, that Maximian could have set off with such ships as his from Trêves with any thought of a sea battle in mind, even allowing a more liberal interpretation of 'liburnas'.⁷

In any case Maximian was a soldier who would surely have known better than to tackle Carausius on his own element and so he must have been hoping to evade rather than engage his opponents' ships and effect a landing. This was what proved to be so successful in 296. On that basis however, the whole scheme seems particularly ill conceived. The long and circuitous route from Trêves to a landfall in Britain would give Carausius ample opportunity with even the most rudimentary intelligence service to be fully prepared and on his guard at just the right moment.

This panegyric is particularly frustrating, then, as a historical source. As it has no sequel the intentions must be interpreted from this effusive, enthusiastic work with their eventual failure as the only thing to be inferred for certain. It remains possible that the whole level of the panegyric is exaggerated and, therefore, transforms a trip down river to pursue operations in the general area in which Maximian was campaigning a little earlier, into an expedition to recover Britain. Even for a panegyric, however, that would be a considerable exaggeration and the total failure so eloquently attested by the subsequent silence is unlikely to have been met with in minor mopping up operations. It is possible that Carausius inflicted a major defeat on Maximian. He ought to have been sufficiently forewarned to have been able to do that as soon as he entered open sea. It is also possible that the expedition, like others before and after it, came to grief because of the weather. That this is hinted at in a subsequent panegyric is no particular proof of this as it could just as easily be an official excuse for a defeat. Whatever happened it is now no longer possible to be certain of anything save that

Carausius clearly came through unscathed whereas Maximian suffered a major setback.

Incert. Pan. Constantio Caes. dict.

This panegyric was delivered on the first of March, 297 following the recovery of Britain in the previous year, by Constantius and his subordinates. The time chosen for delivery seems to have been the anniversary of Constantius' elevation to the rank of Caesar in 293. It is an account of events successfully accomplished, given after the event and thus different from 289 panegyric to Maximian.

'Statim itaque Gallias tuas, Caesar, veniendo fecisti'. Extensive campaigns in Gaul are not mentioned. Constantius had been involved in campaigning there before his official elevation to the position for which he was clearly already designate, and upon his elevation the recovery followed swiftly. All that seems to have stood against him was Boulogne, the one outpost of Carausius' strength beyond his own shores. There is no indication that he ever held very much more than this small territory.

'illis olim mari fretis ... ademit Oceanum'. This refers to the plan whereby Carausius' men were blockaded in Boulogne both by land and sea; and taken in conjunction with, 'portum illum, qui piratae, ne suis opem ferret, occlusus fuisset, ...' suggests that this was as much to keep reinforcements out as to keep those besieged within. The blockade constructed to achieve this, as described here, cannot have been the work of a day or two but must, even allowing, as ever, for rhetorical exaggeration, have taken a considerable time. The panegyric itself says, 'tot dierum ac noctium...' Descriptive details are kept to a minimum

and much is left to the imagination 'omnem illum sinum portus, quem statis vicibus aestus alternat, defixis in aditu trabibus ingestisque saxis invium navibus redidisti.' This does not appear to have been intended as a solid barrier, after the fashion of a breakwater. The purpose was the prevention of ships from passing through, not water. Beams must, therefore, have been embedded in the shallows at low tide and boulders placed among them in such a way that the movement of the water was not greatly impeded, nor the boulders themselves rolled away. The water clearly must have passed through this construction or else it would have eventually risen over or round it as it flowed down stream.⁸ Whatever the exact details the purpose was clear enough and it seems to have worked.

The panegyric provides but little evidence concerning the actual fall of Boulogne; its concern is rather for dramatic effect and hyperbole ... 'cum, statim atque obsidionem necessitas et clementiae vestrae fides solverat, eadem claustra qui primus incubuit aestus...'

'Necessitas' implies a long siege and 'clementiae vestrae fides' suggests that Constantius offered the besieged reasonable terms in order to bring things to a conclusion. Where was Carausius? 'ne suis opem ferret...'⁹ refers to the help that those besieged in Boulogne expected from over the channel, but it does not seem to have even materialised. Constantius must have seen it as a real danger, however, otherwise his mole need not have been so grand. He would, presumably, have been able to effect a capitulation by reasonable terms much sooner had his enemy not held out initially at least, in hope of succour ... 'nisi aedificandis navibus dari tempus rei necessitudo suasisset...' shows that Constantius had

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no fleet to speak of so that clearly could not be what held Carausius away. Had it done so then the panegyric would certainly not have omitted it from its eulogy of Constantius' great deeds, but such a fleet would have in any case, obviated the necessity for the mole.

'Gesoriacensibus muris...' was where the main action took place: Constantius was leading an army against a town. The silence of the panegyric on the point shows that no attempts to relieve Boulogne by land had to be beaten off. Carausius' support in Gaul was all within Boulogne and he does not seem to have made any attempt to cross and land troops to raise the blockade. Rouen, the supposed site of one of his mints, does not figure at all in these events as they are related in the panegyric.

Carausius does not seem to have been prepared for this contingency and when it came, his grip on the affairs of state in Britain seems to have been quickly eroded until Allectus replaced him.

Carausius was, if not the only problem that Maximian had faced in the West, then certainly one of the more important ones. He goes beyond the truth for the sake of propaganda with his AUGGG coins, and the 'fraternal' issues, suggesting open and full recognition of his equality had been forthcoming from the other two fratres, but it seems probable that after 289 he was left alone and unprovoked so that other problems could first be solved. This may have been why Constantius' official elevation to the status of a Caesar was delayed until he was ready to strike a direct blow at Carausius' power, rather than destroy his illusion before being in a position to deal with him. It is also possible,

though a little remarkable, that no ships were built between 289-293 for the same reason, for such a policy would have been a very clear implicit recognition of Carausius' right to be left in peace, the pax he so enthusiastically promoted as the watchword of his regime. There was ample time for ships to have been got ready to support Constantius' assault on Boulogne, but there were none. Carausius seems to have been successfully humoured until the time was ripe. The comparative ease with which Allectus seems to have been able to succeed Carausius, the fact that he survived for three more years and was able to mount a resistance to the invasion when it came, suggest strongly that Carausius' policies of fraternisation were not without their opponents. At the very least they were not greatly valued by those who mattered in the British hierarchy. It seems a tame end for Carausius that he should have been duped by Maximian and Constantius, then discredited and defeated and finally, despite the renouncement of his erstwhile brothers to which his last issue of coins bears witness, replaced by Allectus; yet there is a case to be made even from this limited evidence that it was so. The mediaeval accounts preserve or promote a strand of the story in which Allectus was in some way acting, initially, for the central powers but whether or not he was a party to any deception of Carausius at their instigation before 293 must remain in the realms of speculation.



The panegyric provides an account of Carausius' usurpation and gives some facts about the support on which he depended. This is done in a general way; however, with no thought for detail or historical veracity. Carausius, inevitably, is vilified,

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'nefario latrocinio...' 'fugiente pirata...' but some sort of general picture comes through. The 'classe quae olim Gallias tuebatur' was presumably the channel fleet of which Carausius had been given the command in the struggle against the pirates. The exact nature of this fleet is uncertain. The latest reference to the old Classis Britannica dates to much earlier in the third century.¹⁰ There must have been such a fleet throughout the century, however run down it may have become, for Britain was not cut off from the continent and this meant that transport by sea was necessary.¹¹ It is presumably because of the threat inherent in such a fleet, especially when enlarged as it almost certainly was for Carausius' command against the pirates, that there does not appear to have been a classis of any great size based in the channel after the 296 recovery.

....'aedificatis praeterea plurimis in nostrum modum navibus'. This may be little other than inference and exaggeration, to the end that Constantius' success or rather Maximians' failure may be seen in a more favourable light. Carausius took all the ships in that corner of the empire, so immediate sea-borne reprisals were impossible. He knew they would almost certainly come however, so it is reasonable to assume he enlarged his fleet, and that the ships he built were in the same style as those he already had. There is nothing to suggest he was concerned to build ships for use in other waters around his domain such as the Irish Sea.

...'occupata legione Romana...' This must refer to troops in Britain. It is obvious that Carausius must have had their

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support or his regime would have been untenable. He must have had the support not of one legion only, however, but of all the troops in the provinces. This use of *legio* is probably best seen as a general name for a body of Roman troops associated with a given area. It could refer to the body of troops allotted to him for his initial command, to which the legionary coins bear witness. This collection of detachments could well have been called a *legio*; but the tone of the passage strongly suggests that those won over here were over and above any who had already been in his service. If this does refer to the troops in Britain in general, it implies that Carausius met with little or no opposition. This runs counter to the mediaeval accounts but seems more reliable on the point.

... *'interclusis aliquot peregrinorum militum cuneis'*. This is even less precise than the last and almost suggests that the whole passage is little more than formulaic, applied to the current circumstances, with squadrons of auxiliary troops an inevitable adjunct to the legionaries. What is meant by *'interclusis'*? If it refers simply to the fact that there were auxiliary troops in Britain when Carausius usurped and that by doing so he rendered them *'interclusi'*, then it is simply a statement of the obvious at best. If it refers to activity on the Gallic coast then it would be more significant as an indication of the extent of Carausius' sphere of influence in these early days. There is, however, nothing further to suggest that it does, so the former alternative must be assumed.

... *'contractis ad dilectum mercatoribus Gallicanis'*. From the time of his first appointment as commander of the fleet Carausius

must have had contacts with Gallic merchants. They will have seen him and his men as a potential source of great income. When Carausius usurped, however, it would have been too risky to have carried on any commerce with him across the channel, so this can only mean that some of these men were prepared to go over and chance their fortunes with him in Britain. They cannot have been very many and are presumably included in the panegyric for variety and general effect.

... 'sollicitatis per spolia ipsarum provinciarum, non mediocribus copiis barbarorum'. The panegyric particularly emphasises and exaggerates the part played by such troops in the armies of the usurpers. As far as possible, though not entirely (occupata Legione Romana) Roman forces are absolved from direct involvement. This becomes particularly apparent in the description of the final battle from which all but Allectus' mercenaries are spirited away. The recruitment of mercenaries as such was not a Roman practise.¹² This does not mean that troops from beyond the frontier were not recruited into the Roman armies. Carausius himself is the obvious example of that. They were recruited and trained to become integrated with the Imperial army system and did not form private armies of their own 'on hire' to an emperor. Carausius had risen through such a system and just as the ships he would build would be based on those currently in use in the Roman fleet, so surely the organisation and recruitment of his armies would be based on what he was used to. The purpose of the panegyric in saying this is clearly to heighten the tone of condemnation; to show the defeated enemy in the worst possible light. The contrast between 'spolia ipsarum provinciarum' and

'non mediocribus copiis barbarorum' is particularly strong in this respect, although if Carausius did build up a store of wealth in the form of confiscated pirate booty; and he must have seen this as a necessary pre-requisite for usurpation; there is some measure of truth in this.

The panegyric then goes on to make what is usually taken as a veiled allusion to Maximians' naval expedition in 289. It is very concerned to avoid imputing any credit to Carausius and, still more, any blame to Maximian. The weather is made to take the blame and even this is by no means clearly enough expressed for it to be certain that there is a reference to the 289 affair. It was obviously a very delicate subject. The panegyric does go so far as to say, 'his omnibus ad munia nautica flagitii illius auctorum magisterio eruditio' which makes the point that however felicitous the elements may have been in the event, Carausius was not content simply to trust to them but saw to it that his followers became an efficient maritime force. This is as near as the panegyric ever comes to the more direct statements of the historians concerning Carausius' skills in naval warfare.

The panegyric, as well as avoiding direct mention of the 289 affair in particular, is generally vague concerning the length of time Carausius was able to survive unchecked. Great care was taken to flatter the imperial might, 'exercitibus autem vestris licet invictis virtute' but these soldiers, however brave, had the excuse that they were not sailors, 'in re maritima novis'. Here, by implication, Carausius' men had a clear advantage as the majority were in re maritima periti while the rest, the new recruits, had the benefit of his training and leadership. This

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is made the prime excuse as to why Carausius was taken so seriously at all. Galletier¹³ seems worth quoting here, 'nous sommes que le plus misérable des actes de piraterie avait pris les proportions d'une guerre périlleuse et gigantesque' as his translation nicely captures the dichotomy of the panegyric as it seeks to achieve a balance between belittling the usurpers and extolling the virtue of defeating them. Carausius, for all that may, indeed must, in context of a panegyric, be said against him, has still, somehow, to remain strong enough to have defied the might of Maximian and to have established an independent regime which lasted ten years.

The logical progression seems particularly weak around the issue of the inclement weather. Perhaps this has led to an uncritical assumption that this must be a reference to Maximians' expedition of 289.¹⁴ A closer examination of the Latin suggests that the affairs of 289 are not being referred to at this point. 'Diuturna sceleris impunitas' is not precise but would lose much of its point if its application were to be restricted to the years down to and including 289. 'adeo ut iam communis poenae timore deposito archipiratae satellites occideret', strongly suggests a sequence of events tied up with the replacement of Carausius by Allectus. It may seem out of place to quibble over such a narrow dating sequence in dealing with such unreliable material as this but 293 seems clearly a better context here than 289. What is perhaps the key word is 'vestram'. In a panegyric directed specifically to Constantius this must refer to his victory rather than to anything of Maximians'. This does not appear out of the blue as Constantius' exploits at Boulogne have

been described. If this great deed, achieved so soon after his elevation to the rank of Caesar, is regarded as the 'victoriam vestram', then the rest falls into place more easily. The 289 affair was little enough to do with Constantius and could in no way bring him credit. It was best left out altogether from a victory panegyric to him. It, rather, seems to have been felt necessary to account for the delay between Constantius' victory in 293, and that in 296. 'consilio intermissum esse bellum' could on the face of it refer to either 289 or 293 but in this particular panegyric the need to explain why Constantius did not follow up his victory at Boulogne by sweeping Carausius away altogether is obviously much greater. The velocitas whereby the panegyric sweeps through from the act of usurpation to Carausius' death in one chapter, might seem to militate against this, but this may be explained by the writer's desire to make the usurpation seem as short as possible. It was not his task to dwell upon the durability of a hostile regime but on the way it was brought to a halt.

Chapter thirteen hastens on to expound the consilium whereby the war against Carausius was temporarily dropped. Constantius had problems to cope with in Gaul, protecting his flanks. Maximian is introduced into the narrative at this point in such a way as to render it even less likely that the 'victorian vestram' could in any way be his. Events are given scant treatment until the main business of the panegyric is reached with the beginning of the expedition of 296 against Allectus. In 293 Allectus may have usurped on the theme of continued defiance, trusting to the natural defence provided by the sea. By 296 he is said, ...

'non munitus esset oceano, sed inclusus'.

The most important theme of the climax of the panegyric is the part played by Constantius himself present at the recovery.¹⁵ However little part he seems to have played in reality, it was this that had to be eulogised in lavish manner to fulfill the purpose of the panegyric. Asclepiodotus, the praetorian prefect who seems to have been chiefly responsible for the victory, is nowhere mentioned directly by name in the panegyric. The climatic conditions are now used in such a way as to heighten the bravery of the lauded Caesar and mark out the inspiring effect of his presence, although, it must be remembered, shortly before this, they were offered as a sort of excuse for the delay in pursuing the arch-pirate across the sea in 293. This is not so much inconsistency as sheer panegyric. That Constantius was not in fact present at all with the main fleet is not really made clear. The mention of 'diversis classibus' may be meant to imply the equality of the two forces and leave it to be assumed that as Constantius was with one in person, 'a Gesoriacensi litore ... invectus', so was he in spirit with the other, 'quem Sequana amnis invexerat,' many miles away. This narrative gives Constantius' division as the one which set sail first; not in so many words, but this must be what is meant by, 'irrevocabilem iniecasti mentis ardorem,' and, especially, 'ipse iam soluit'.

The actual victory over Allectus was effected by the division under the command of Asclepiodotus which had sailed from what is now Le Havre, and had made a landfall somewhere on the central south coast of Britain. From this point on in the narrative the problems of interpretation increase. Eicholz, and those authors

whose views he summarises,¹⁶ show that the panegyric account admits to several possible reconstructions of the downfall of Allectus. It is difficult to make any progress without some speculation but the text does provide guidelines at least. 'ex ipsorum relatione' is an important, if simple point. The account must, at this stage, be giving what is basically the truth even if it does so vaguely and with bias toward Constantius. That there were many eye witnesses to the prime events would have made a hollow sham of any panegyric which strayed too far from the truth in seeking to glorify its subject. What simple statements of fact there are, ought, therefore, to be accepted. There was a blanket of fog and thanks largely to it Asclepiodotus was able to effect an unopposed landing somewhere near the Isle of Wight. Most of his fleet must have consisted of transport ships to ferry over his fighting men, rather than warships ready to engage Allectus at sea. Asclepiodotus would, therefore, have felt that the worst was over once these men were landed and the barrier of the sea was breached and crossed. His histrionic gesture may have been simply to inflame his men for the final assault against a foe who had defied them so far only because of their lack of such ships. It appears as a repudiation of Allectus' protecting element as soon as it has been 'mastered'; 'universis navibus suis iniecit ignes' must be true, however unnecessary or wasteful it may appear now.

What would Asclepiodotus have done had there been no fog? Allectus' main hope must have been to anticipate, intercept and attack any attempted invasion before, or as soon as it landed. It is inconceivable that his fleet had become debilitated

in the short time since Carausius held power and however much he may have been Carausius' inferior in naval matters, he must have had able subordinates. The circumstances facing Asclepiodotus were, therefore, different to those that had faced previous invasions or expeditions in 55, 54 BC and 43AD. How far Asclepiodotus could have counted on a fog is not certain. Clearly his information service would provide as much information as possible for the times concerning climatic probabilities. Nevertheless, the journey to Britain from Le Havre is long enough to expose any fleet attempting it, especially at the pace of Roman transports, to considerable risk. This may well have been one of the factors which caused Constantius to mount a two-pronged invasion in order to make reasonably certain that one force at least would survive the elements and the naval opposition and effect a landing.

Greatly assisted by the fog, the division of Asclepiodotus landed and burnt their boats. The exact pattern of Allectus' behaviour is the next problem. 'cur ab eo litore quod tenebat abscessit? Cur classem portumque deseruit, nisi quod te, Caesar invicte, cuius imminentis vela conspexerat; timuit iam iamque venturum'. How far can this be taken as an account of Allectus' movements? The panegyric is dealing with the vilified enemy and the constraint of possible contradiction from eye witnesses is removed. That a battle eventually took place would obviously be common knowledge but even if Constantius had troubled to find out after his victory what exactly Allectus had done, it is most unlikely that this would ever have become very widely known and hence the panegyric at this point is best seen as an exaggeration

based on possibility, designed to belittle.

The *velocitas* of the panegyric obscures its usefulness as a source for the time factor involved in these movements.

Constantius is said to have set off first with his part of the expedition, from Boulogne. He does not actually reach Britain until most of the action is over and London is waiting for him. Asclepiodotus, meanwhile, has made a much longer voyage, disembarked his army and defeated Allectus in battle. The account does not make chronological sense as it stands. No doubt these inconsistencies are the products of the ever-present desire to bestow the greatest praise on Constantius' part in the affair, short of actually tampering with major facts. Even the implied error of judgement caused by the fog will not do. If the fog was sufficiently dense to cause Constantius' ships to go astray then, by the same token, Allectus could not possibly have seen the approaching sails through it and fled at the sight. This does not necessarily mean that Allectus was not at 'un point de la côte anglaise proche de la côte gauloise';¹⁷ only that it is unwise to use the text at this point as a proof that he was. Wherever he was, that which must surely have provoked Allectus to action was the news that, despite the fleet stationed 'apud Vectam insulam', Asclepiodotus had landed an army. This was a danger which had actually materialised and which, therefore required immediate action. That Allectus, in taking such action, '*classem portumque deseruit*' presumably means that his need was for an army not a navy, if the fact is squeezed from its shell of sneering.

Eicholz¹⁸ rather oversimplifies matters in dismissing the views

that Allectus was at either Porchester or London with, 'Neither view can be right,' and asserting his own view that he must have been somewhere on the Kent coast, probably at Richborough. He accepts the panegyric too literally and overlooks its inconsistencies. Oman's view that Allectus was at Porchester with all his fleet would impute remarkably bad judgement to him. It is very difficult to imagine that, even if Porchester was the main fleet base, Allectus did not have some part of his fleet stationed along the other parts of the channel coast, especially where the crossing was narrowest. Even so there is no mention made of any opposition which Constantius' division had to face as there clearly would have been had they done so on their way to London. The obvious plan was, surely, to have had the channel policed from Porchester at the one end and Richborough at the other, with Allectus himself near London with an army, ready to make for any point where danger threatened should the naval cordon fail. Eicholz is virtually forced to admit this but is reluctant to see London as a centre of operations and assumes, still taking the panegyric too literally, that Allectus had no body of troops readily available that were adequate to try to cope with such an emergency. The panegyric is confusing as it strains to emphasise both Allectus' blind panic and the fact that at the end the only supporters who stood by him were the foul barbarian mercenaries, not Roman troops, 'in modum amentis attonitus properavit ad mortem ut nec explicarit aciem nec omnes copias quas trahebat instruxerit.' Indeed those who were with Allectus are, 'veteribus illis coniurationis auctoribus' which all but suggests the impossible picture that he had maintained his rule for three years through the agency of a

narrow clique of mercenary body guards.

The description of the battle is not concerned to present any detailed picture of the tactics used but to praise the Romans. 'nemo fere Romanus occiderit imperio vincente Romano' is an extreme statement yet it would not have been worth saying were it not substantially true. Asclepiodotus could not have won such an easy victory had he been seriously opposed by any sizeable body of legionary troops fighting for Allectus. It is possible that the legionary troops would not fight and simply went over to the side of the invaders, but this is just the sort of thing that the panegyric would have made capital from so it must be assumed that as it does not, then this did not happen. This leaves the possibility that Allectus' force was not very large and included few of the legionary troops. There is no evidence to suggest that there was any disaffection among Allectus' legionary troops in Britain although it is possible that he may not have trusted them to such a conflict in the end. The troops were presumably auxiliaries including men recruited from beyond the frontiers of the empire as described above. There is no reason to suppose it was a large force; indeed the ease of Asclepiodotus' victory suggests that it was not; and the presence of Allectus suggests that it could well have been a special mobile task force to meet any emergency in haste, perhaps based on urban cohorts from London. From the ease with which Constantius landed at London it is clear that any military force which may have normally been on duty in the city was no longer present. This suggests that Allectus took the risk of taking such a force with him to engage the invaders as soon as he knew

that they had landed. Even if he suspected that his enemy might try to force a second landing, he most probably would assume that they would make for the Kent coast. The second legion do not figure at all, which may well simply mean that they played no part in the action: could it be an argument in support of the view that it was not moved to Richborough until after the recovery?

Allectus' death is, perhaps, the one redeeming feature that he is allowed by the panegyric. If not exactly a glorious death, he did, at least, die fighting. The panegyric may wish to make Allectus' death or glory bid suggestive of the fact that he needed a victory desperately to consolidate the support in many wavering ranks throughout the province. Had Allectus had the military resources of all Britain solidly behind him there would have been no point in him throwing his life away in this fashion. That he did so suggests that he did not have such backing for then he would surely have been able to prolong his resistance and wear his enemy down. Instead, as in 1066, all Britain fell to an invading force of no great size after one battle.

The panegyric delights in the deaths of the Franks, 'praecipue internecio Francorum.' They serve to emphasise the baseness of Allectus' support. There is further confusion over detail however, 'illi quoque milites vestri qui per errorem nebulosi, ut paulo ante dixi, maris abiuncti ad oppidum Londiniensae pervenerant.' Webb¹⁹ gives a translation of this which is misleading because it is carefree. Galletier²⁰ is more precise, but, as Eicholz points out,²¹ he assumes the reference is to a

part of Asclepiodotus' forces. This may seem a reasonable inference from the text as the fog was previously mentioned in connection with that body of ships. It is, however, remarkable to imagine any part of that force straying so far that it arrived at London although it had set off from Le Havre, the rest of the force arrived somewhere near the Isle of Wight, and bearing in mind the other force which, supposedly set off earlier from Boulogne. Eicholz points about Constantius' presence seem sound but he fails to resolve the question of the fog. If there was no fog, then none of the Eastern detachment could have got lost in it. If there was, then Allectus could not have seen the approaching sails. 'per errorem' is surprisingly like criticism for the panegyric. It is perhaps an enthusiastic slip. In any case the action seems to have had no great military significance. It is little more than a mopping up operation which has been glorified by the panegyric. If the remnants of Allectus' defeated troops made their way to London, the battle must have taken place nearer London than is sometimes thought to have been the case. Had it been down in Hampshire then these refugees would have probably dispersed rather than made for London.

Constantius' achievement is not seen simply as a victory over enemy troops. The contrast is pointed out between Allectus' supporters and the majority of the people in Britain, 'provincialibus vestris in caede hostium dederint salutem'. This promotes the image of Constantius as liberator and leads into the description of his reception by the allegedly grateful people of London, the event depicted on a gold medallion from the Arras hoard.

Galletier²² sees in, 'Romanae potentiae gloriam restituendo navalem...' a reference to, 'la destruction de l'Armada de Maximien'. This would apply perfectly well to the 296 recovery itself as this had as one of its results the overthrow of the naval supremacy of the breakaway provinces. In chapter eighteen there is a reference back to an incident from the reign of Probus involving the activities of some transplanted Franks. The point made is that Constantius has brought security to the empire on a wider front, 'Itaque hac victoria vestra non Britannia solum servitute est liberata, sed omnibus nationibus securitas restituta quae maritimo usu tantum in bello adire periculi poterant quantum in pace commodi consequuntur'.

The account of Constantius' reception at London is stereotyped. It confirms that he was not present when the first troops arrived at London. There is something of a parallel between 'tandem vera imperii luce recreati' and the 'redit^dtor lucis aeternae' of the Arras medallion. Allectus' regime is roundly condemned; 'post violatas coniuges, post liberorum turpe servitium'.

However much of an exaggeration this is there have been hints that at the end Allectus could not count on universal support within his territory. The majority of people in Britain if less overtly enthusiastic about Constantius' recovery than the panegyric states, seem to have been resigned to it as inevitable. There is a touch of irony in this if, as seems likely, Allectus came to power on the strength of a reaction against Carausius' policies of fraternisation with the central authorities.

The peroratio deals mostly in general terms but one comment may serve to show one of the benefits which it was felt that the

possession of Britain could bestow on the Western Empire;
 'devotissima vobis civitas Aeduorum ex hac Britannicae
 facultate victoriae plurimos, quibus illae provinciae redunda-
 bant, accepit artifices....' This is evidence that there was
 much building activity going on in Britain at this time.



Finally it may be possible to see in, 'nunc sibi redditum
 vetus illue Romanae fraternitatis nomen existimat', a final,
 oblique reference to Carausius' abortive propaganda, although
 it is more probably coincidence. This panegyric is, then, for
 all its problems of interpretation, because of its length, and
 because it was so contemporary, one of the most important of
 the sources for the usurpation.

b) Aurelius Victor De Caes XXXIX

The beginning of the chapter deals with the difficulties of
 Diocletian's first years, the appointment of Maximian as his
 colleague, and the difficulties which he in turn faced in
 Gaul ...'Herculus in Galliam profectus fuis hostibus aut
 acceptis quieta omnia brevi patrauerat.' This is the context
 of the first mention of Carausius, 'Quo bello Carausius...'
 who is referred to as a, 'Menapiae civis'. This has been the
 cause of considerable and often rather fanciful speculation.²³
 According to Stukeley,²⁴ Carausius was borne at St Davids in
 Wales, also formerly known as Menapia. Equally fanciful is
 the view of Franzero²⁵ that, 'there were two places of that name,
 one near Wexford in Ireland and the other is an island of the
 North Sea.' Carausius was seen by Rhys²⁶ as the archetype of
 Cúroé, one of the Celtic hero-figures, and consequently he

supported the view that he was of Irish extraction. All this uncertainty seems to have been caused by Ptolemy's ambiguity in locating Menapii in several different places. The truth of the matter must be as Haverfield says,²⁷ 'The Gaulish Menapii were well known, the Irish Menapii obscure and the brief reference (see in Aurelius Victor) can only denote the former'. Carausius' birthplace was among the Menapii who inhabited part of what is now Holland, a fact perceived three centuries ago by John Milton,²⁸ if not by his immediate successors.²⁹

The historians are less hostile to Carausius and Allectus than the panegyric. They wrote their work more or less under the aegis of imperial blessing but if they in no way glorify the usurpers neither do they feel constrained to omit anything to be said in their favour. 'factis promptioribus enituit'; Carausius rose to prominence because he was an able man. This rise to prominence was, after all, made in the service of the emperors so there is no shame in their having recognised his talent and developed it. It must be inferred that Carausius' career was basically that of a normal successful military commander. Whatever naval experience he may have had in his young days, he would have had to prove himself first and foremost as a soldier in order to rise to a position of prominence under the Emperors. This is the sort of career which is attributed to him, in outline, by some of the mediaeval accounts and while they appear to be basing their assertions on no particular evidence, there is an element of probability in them. The words, 'eoque eum simul quia gubernardi... gnarus habebatur'... suggest a change from a specifically military command to a naval

one. 'Quo officio adolescentiam mercede exercuerat' is usually taken as an aside to explain why, in particular, Carausius was suited for this command against the pirates, and is seen to refer to a youth spent as a Scheldt river pilot. The Menapii were a seafaring people so it may be true that Carausius had spent some of his younger days engaged in such an occupation, but it seems to place too literal an interpretation on 'gubernandi'. Carausius' personal ability at the helm of a boat was not nearly so relevant to his choice as commander of this special force, as his proven military competence. That he had a nautical background was so much the better.

'parandae classi' suggests that there was no organised channel fleet at this time. This would square with the view that the fleet was rather run down by this time but should not be taken too far. There must have been some sort of a channel fleet in whatever condition. Were this not so then it would have taken longer than the known chronology allows to have built one and used it to any great extent before the usurpation. Carausius presumably assembled, refitted and enlarged the fleet as he found it.

'Propulsandis Germanis' marks out the opposition in a different way to that of Eutropius, who uses the stock 'Franci et Saxones'. Aurelius Victor's use of Germani may lend some support to the view that Carausius took for himself the title Germanicus, not simply because some of the earlier third century emperors had taken it, but for this specific reason. The reverse legends VICT GERM or GERM MAX, found on antoniniani could be explained away simply as lack of originality on the part of some

of Carausius' mint officials in the early days of his reign. That he takes this title on one of his bronze medallions,³⁰ however, is much more significant. This shows that for whatever reason, Carausius clearly admitted to the title Germanicus. It need not have been because he considered his piratical opponents Germani as Victor calls them, though, of course, he does not take the title Saxonicus, but because he chose to assume the title of those before him, perhaps because he had been heavily involved in fighting with the Roman army against Germani proper, earlier in his career.

'Hoc elatior...' implies that Carausius was virtually forced to usurp by the turn of events as the only alternative was death. John Milton³¹ captures this beautifully with his comment that Carausius, 'was grown at length too great a delinquent to be less than an Emperor; for fear and guiltness in those days made Emperors oftener than merit.' Basically the view is the same; that Carausius had no alternative in the end. Whatever exactly Carausius was doing while he was campaigning against the pirates, he cannot have failed to realise that a provocative course of action would, in the circumstances, certainly result in the most dire consequences for himself. It must appear, therefore, that Carausius may very well have sought to have strengthened his position preparatory to a usurpation which would come when the whole business reached its climax. This would mean that he made his decision to usurp much earlier than is generally assumed and that the only thing forced upon him by Maximian's reaction to his behaviour was the timing of the usurpation itself. Carausius may well have been a bitter man by the time he was given

the channel command; he was clearly still ambitious. There is no reason why the desire to be a partner in the principate which was expressed later by his coins, had not already formed in the first years of Diocletian's reign. By comparison to the status of Maximian, his own channel command must have seemed a small enough thing, but one from which to build. He cannot have expected to avoid punishment for mismanaging such a command so he must have seen a positive outcome to it all. The only realistic one would seem to be that which actually happened.

There remains the possibility that Carausius' alleged mismanagement was a piece of official fabrication which the historians have taken over. He may have made a genuinely incompetent job of his command, but this is most unlikely considering what is said of his ability and this would not be sufficient reason to provoke him into usurpation. In any case he would have been much less likely to have had the support he obviously did have when he usurped, if he had done so because he was a persecuted failure. On the other hand it may be that he was rather too successful and was making demands on Maximian who, seeing him as a rival with growing support felt obliged to move against him but did so under the pretext that he had been abusing his position. This latter possibility is clearly more likely than the former but Maximian was not so free from troubles or well supplied with able and successful commanders that he would seek to eliminate one without considerable provocation. Carausius must have made it apparent by his behaviour that he was a potential danger, rather than have been simply 'too successful'.

After a description of events in other parts of the Empire

Victor says, 'solique Carausio remissum insulae imperium, postquam iussis ac munimento incolarum contra gentes bellicosas opportunior habitus.' This may simply reflect Victor's sketchy approach but probably marks the deliberate omission of any reference to the expedition of 289. The tone of this is rather apologetic as if to convince the reader that Carausius was really being used as a tool of the state; that he was little different from a governor with special powers and not really a flagrant usurper at all. This may conceal some sort of an agreement which was reached with Carausius, leaving him intact in his own sphere of influence so long as he protected it, but even this is far more than Carausius is ever likely to have got from Maximian. As Carausius sought by means of his numismatic propaganda to assert that he had earned a recognition which in fact he had not, so Maximian here is presented as trying to make his failure to recover Britain seem something more like a deliberate policy. This may have been the case with Severus and Albinus in the second century but it does not seem to have been paralleled by Carausius and Maximian in the third.

'gentes bellicosas' is rather too general for it to be clear which peoples are meant here. It is probable that Victor is transposing the pattern of events of the mid fourth century back into the period of Carausius. Then, as he knew full well, 'warlike peoples' did cause serious problems in Britain until Count Theodosius restored order. Despite the assumptions of some, however, there is no great body of evidence to suggest such troubles on any great scale during the period of Carausius'

usurpation. 32

Aurelius Victor is far from detailed. He makes no mention of the events of 293 save to say that Allectus usurped, 'nomine dolo' after Carausius usurpation had lasted for a 'sexennium'. This must mean that Allectus' coup was bloodless though it is difficult to know whether Victor has any positive evidence on the matter or whether he is simply inferring from probability and general knowledge. His use of, 'summae rei praeesset' strongly suggests that Allectus was known to have been Carausius' Rationalis Summae Rei. This was an important position which would have placed him in the centre of events, sensitive to current feelings towards Carausius and in control of the purse-strings. This would have been a strong position from which to attempt a take-over as Allectus did in 293. It is frustrating to know so little of the dolum whereby he is said to have effected his take-over. It could refer to almost anything from financial chicanery to deceiving Carausius in some way over the Boulogne affair in order to destroy his support.

Allectus receives an even more summary treatment than his predecessor from Victor. His reign is simply 'brevis' and culminates with his 'deletion' which is given a very matter of fact treatment. Unlike the panegyric, Victor does mention Asclepiodotus by name as the author of the victory over Allectus.

Eutropius Brev. Hist. Rom. lX. 21-22

The brief account provided by what remains of Eutropius adds little to the information provided by Aurelius Victor. There is a discernable similarity in his respective treatments of the

origins of both Diocletian and Carausius. Of the former he writes, 'virum obscurissime natum'; of the latter, 'vilissime natus'. These seem to mean very much the same thing with vilissime not to any great degree more perjorative a word than obscurissime.³³ 'strenuae militiae.....consecutus'.

Carausius' background was no obstacle to his making a success of a military career. The historians are in unison on this point though it is here perhaps that the parallel with Diocletian is the more apparent. Eutropius is the more explicit with his comment, 'cum bella frustra tentata essent contra virum rei militaris peritissimum'. Carausius must have had many years of service in the imperial armies which squares with the status he holds as well as the physical appearance presented by his coin portraits. There is no mention here of any particular nautical experience.

'cum apud Bononiam' confirms that Boulogne was the main base of the special command. This is the obvious place from which to police the wide area, 'per tractum Belgicae et Armoricae.' The terms of reference of Carausius' command are summarised by, 'ad mare pacandum quod Franci et Saxones infestabant'. Seston³⁴ has observed the comparison between the relative tasks assigned to Maximian ('ad restituendam rem publicam'. Pan X(ii) 3) and Carausius ('ad mare pacandum,' Eutr IX 21), and has pointed out the need to take Carausius' claims for a more tangible share in the empire more seriously than the hostile sources suggest superficially. The 'Franci et Saxones' are presumably the same as the Germani in Victor's account. The details of the command are not given as Eutropius is concerned only with Carausius'

misdeeds. It was clearly predominantly naval, based on Boulogne and with the task 'ad mare pacandum', but the use of 'tractus' confirms that the command allowed for operations on land also. The legionary issues struck after his usurpation show that Carausius had under him a large number of men who would be of little use to him at sea. This 'legio,' as it is loosely called by the panegyric, must have been used to tackle problems as they arose, anywhere along this stretch of coast. This is somewhat reminiscent of Pompey's special command against pirates.

Eutropius provides a more specific account than Aurelius Victor of Carausius' misdeeds. The latter simply says, 'neque praedae omnia in aerarium referret,' which suggests that Carausius' mandate was to relieve the pirates of their wealth and hand it over to the treasury. Most of that wealth was 'praeda' taken from Roman citizens who would derive no more satisfaction from seeing it in the hands of the state than in the hands of the pirates. Eutropius is sensitive to this with his, 'nec praeda integra aut provincialibus reddita, aut imperatoribus missa.' This implies that Maximian was forced to act because not only was he personally getting no return from Carausius' activity it was, from the point of view of the provincials, no improvement in the situation. That Carausius specifically stage-managed the piratical incursions as described by Eutropius seems an unlikely embellishment. The important fact is that Carausius was very obviously strengthening his own position and was, thereby, a threat to Maximian. 'a Maximiano iussus occidi' is the consequence of this action which Carausius must have foreseen. Eutropius avoids the use of metu which is found in

Victor, (*Herculi metu, a quo se caedi iussum compererat*) and removes any overtones of haste or panic on Carausius' part.

After a short account of Diocletian's problems and his establishment of a tetrarchy Carausius makes a rather uneasy reappearance in chapter twenty two; '*Cum Carausio tamen...*'

The chapter begins with a list of problems at the head of which is Carausius, '*Carausius in Britannis rebellaret*'. The inference from this reappearance must be that it was Carausius alone who was able to maintain his threatening position; who was strong enough to necessitate some sort of exceptional 'pax'.

It may also be the case that the association of this with an account of Diocletians' dynastic plans is a hint that Carausius' himself was seen to be a claimant. It is tempting to link this with the events of 289. '*cum bella frustra tentata essent*' must mean that an attempt was actually made to oust Carausius. '*frustra*' is ambiguous enough to cover a set-back either at the hands of Carausius or through inclement weather. Coupled with the description of Carausius' martial prowess, however, it seems more likely that a military set-back is referred to. If this is, then, an allusion to the unsuccessful expedition of 289 it is significant that no mention of any specifically naval superiority on Carausius' part is mentioned. The impression is that the '*bella*' were strictly normal military engagements, on land rather than at sea. Where could such engagements have taken place?

The channel was recognised as the barrier between Carausius and his just deserts. The objective of any force bent on Carausius' removal, therefore, was to effect a landing in Britain. It

remains a possibility that Maximian's fleet did so in 289 but were defeated and lost their ships to the victor. Maximian himself is most unlikely to have been involved for Carausius was not in the bargaining position, in 289, that he would have been had he captured Maximian. Maximian clearly set off on the expedition but there is no way of knowing how far he was in the forefront of it or how far he was bringing up the rear in anticipation of a success which never happened. It strains the credulity to take the, 'cunctis simul annibus' of the panegyric literally but were that the case to any degree then Maximian's departure from Trêves would place him in the rear. If the whole expedition set off from Trêves and made the long journey to the sea then Carausius would well have forced an engagement somewhere near the mouth of the Rhine. So much of this is speculation, however, that it is unwise to do more than mention several of the possibilities suggested by the scanty evidence. Eutropius may have something to contribute about the supposed 'pax'. At best this must have been a very implicit thing to which Maximian was loathe to admit. Eutropius suggests it was tangible but this could easily be his version of finding some means of accounting for the peaceful lacuna between the expedition of 289 and the capture of Boulogne in 293.

By about 289 Carausius' coins begin to conform to the standards of those of Maximian and Diocletian but the reverse legends terminating with a triple G and the fraternal issues were not introduced for some time after 289. This may reflect growing insecurity on Carausius' part; a growing need to reassert his claims or rather reassert their supposed recognition. The rise

of Constantius may well have had something to do with this. He seems to have been marked out for election to the rank of Caesar at least as early as these coins of Carausius, in about 291, but did not assume the title until 293 when he was ready to turn his attention directly to Carausius himself. This delay may well have been a deliberate move to delude Carausius as long as possible until he could be dealt with and if such action counts as the making of a peace then Maximian made a peace.

As with Aurelius Victor, so in Eutropius, Allectus receives very scant treatment. There are some differences in the accounts even so. Here he is specifically said to have killed Carausius whose reign is called a 'septennium'. He is simply referred to as 'socius eius' rather than the holder of any particular position. Only the barest outline of the events down to and including the recovery are found in Eutropius.

Paulus Orosius. Hist. adv. Paganos VII. 25

This later source derives in large measure from Eutropius. There are differences but these reflect the relative times of composition and the style of the language. Orosius use of 'quidam' instead of 'ille', for example, suggests that he does not expect his readership to have the name at the forefront of their minds, as they may have been more reasonably expected to in Eutropius' day. Carausius played no prominent part in the literature of the centuries subsequent to Aurelius Victor and Eutropius. It was only in the Britain where he had usurped that his name lived on in more than one line references.

Carausius' background in Orosius is virtually a paraphrase of

Eutropius. 'genere quidem' is less specific than Aurelius Victor, probably because Orosius sought to avoid the mention of another minor name. It may be that Orosius had never read Aurelius Victor but simply did not know of the Menapian origins of Carausius because Eutropius does not mention them.

The presentation is better in Orosius than in Eutropius but his 'consilio et manu promptus', or his alliterative, 'positus plus in perniciem quam in provectum reipublicae' add nothing new to our knowledge. It is probably also stylistic improvement which produces, 'ad observanda Oceani litora ... positus' rather than any deeper knowledge of the exact nature of Carausius' command. Carausius' activities in the position are neatly described with the oxymoron, 'artificii neglegentia.'

Much if not all the remainder shows a virtually complete derivation from Eutropius. There is no allusion, however, to any sort of peace having been made by Maximian with Carausius. This may simply be omission for the sake of brevity or it may possibly be Orosius exercising some judgement. The duration of Carausius reign is, 'per septem annos' during which time Britain 'fortissime vindicata ac retenta'. This was done for himself, 'sibi'. This shifts the emphasis of Eutropius away from the peace made by Maximian to Carausius' ability to look after himself and his kingdom. This interpretation squares very well with the pax theme, so totally dominant in Carausius' numismatic propaganda. This is Orosius' version of Eutropius' 'cum bella frustra tentata essent', and as it is more generally expressed it presents no new problems of interpretation, if contributing no new evidence.

Allectus is again summarily dealt with. Orosius adds nothing to his source. Even his use of 'fraude' to describe Allectus' take over smacks more of alternative expression than positive new evidence. The only slight point of difference which may be relevant to the chronology of the period is that between the 'post decem annos' of Eutropius and the 'decimo anno' of Orosius, as the time when the recovery took place.

c) Bede. Hist. Eccl. Gentis Angl. I. 6

Bede contributes no new evidence. He gives an opinion on the chronology of the period but is confused and, for example, places the accession of Diocletian in 286. All the remainder of his account of the usurpations appears to come almost verbatim from Orosius. In some places there are omissions or condensations but nothing new.

Nennius. Hist. Brit XLX,XX

Nennius' account marks a complete break with the previous tradition down from the panegyrics to Bede. His is the first account which transposes the episode into a completely different context, and it therefore requires some analysis. It is a temptation to dismiss all that was written after Bede as unhistorical fiction of no value whatever as evidence for the usurpations. In many cases this is in large measure true but even so, some things emerge indirectly about Carausius and his times from the way they were handled after having passed into tradition.

Nennius' account is orientated towards the north of Britain, 'Inter Cludii et Caruni ostia.' Carausius is said to have been

involved in what can only have been the restoration of one of the frontier lines. The chronology is clearly confused. The third century has been telescoped to link and intermingle the periods of the Severi and Carausius. Clearly it is Severan reconstruction to which Nennius makes reference. Stukeley³⁵ took Nennius much too seriously as a source. He provides illustrations of what he took to be Nennius', 'domum rotundam politis lapidibus' but is even more fanciful than his sources.³⁶ The location, 'subripam fluminis Carun' fits this building but the whole collapses in the mire of false etymology as is often the case. Many place names have been falsely accounted for in this fashion, not least those connected with Carausius. Stukeley, among others, perpetuates Nennius' erroneous, 'Carun, quod a suo nomine nomen accepit.' As long ago as 1748, before the *Medallic History* had been published, McPherson³⁷ had cast doubts on all this and had called Nennius' account 'fabulous'. On the etymology of Carron he says in a footnote, 'To suppose that Carron comes from Carausius is a very puerile conceit, though probably the only foundation of the curious anecdotes related by Nennius. The name of that river is a Gallic (sic) one; which signifies winding river. Accordingly we find several Carrons in Northern Britain and one of them in the Western district of Ross-shire where Carausius confessedly never was'. All this remains valid. There is little or no evidence of any Carausian presence in Scotland save in the tradition which comes out briefly in Nennius, and then reappears later in the mediaeval chronicles. Its appearance at this time shows that reference was no longer being made directly to the earlier historians. Only the most

prominent events had come down so that the bulk of the third century passed into oblivion.

The Mediaeval Accounts

Webb ³⁸ provides a convenient synopsis of much of the relevant material, but he is uncritical and tends to accept the content of these various chronicles as equally valuable. This readiness to take the chronicles on trust may be illustrated by his comment ³⁹ 'This graphic story is taken from the chronicles only, but it contains no impossibilities, and is in no way contradicted by the earlier writers or by the coins'. In other discussions of the usurpation the chronicles are usually conspicuous by their absence or else they are dismissed as worthless fairy tales. Both these approaches are extreme; both cannot be correct.

The accounts in question are those of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Robert of Gloucester, Richard of Cirencester, John of Fordun and Hector Boethius. ⁴⁰ Richard of Cirencester may be considered first in order to eliminate him from the reckoning. The De Situ, forgery ⁴¹ though it is, was created with sufficient skill to deceive many scholars for many years, in particular Stukeley. Thoroughly deceived by the work of Bertram, the 'gentleman in Copenhagen', he refers enthusiastically to the 'most excellent manuscript of Richard of Cirencester' and uses it as evidence on several occasions. ⁴² Bertram's imagination does provide Stukeley with something new to seize upon. The sections... 'deinde diu paruit ut in praetoria sedes, haec insula Carausio, eisque quos in societatem adsciverat tyrannis' and 'Carausius sumpta purpura Britannias occupavit, post X annos per Asclepiodotum Britannia

recepta' provide no food for thought. They come straight from earlier works plagiarised by Bertram, but not altered by him. 'Pars huius insulae, a Sacro promuntorio ad Rhobog-dium usque extensa, orientalis censetur. Habitantes supra promuntorium Sacrum Menapii primariam habebant eiusdem nominis urbem ad fluvium Modonam. Huic ad Menapiam, in Dimetia sitam, XXX miliaria numerantur, ut Plinius refert. Harum unam, quam nam verum incertum, Patriam habebat Carausius'. This enabled Stukeley to pronounce Carausius British and declare him a native of St Davids' in Wales.⁴³ As Randall observes ⁴⁴ Menevia, the ordinary Mediaeval name for St Davids' has been turned for effect into Menapia, and the effect was achieved on Stukeley. This spurious piece of work has been mentioned rather to show the effect it did have and, had it dwelt more upon the Carausius episode, could have had, because of the skill with which it was executed. It may thus be dismissed from further consideration.

Of the English Chroniclers who mention the Carausius episode Geoffrey of Monmouth is the first and most important. The verse chronicle of Robert of Gloucester follows Monmouth closely and adds nothing to the tradition. Monmouth's claims to have had access to a 'vetustissimus liber' in the British tongue have usually been dismissed as a fabrication of his to add some air of authenticity to a patently fictitious narrative. The case for caution in this matter is made by Griscom;⁴⁵ it is impossible to be as conclusive or dogmatic as many critics have tried to be. The account found in the Historia of this particular episode needs to be treated with caution, then, but still needs to be

treated before being dismissed unread on the strength of its 'author's' reputation.

The relevant section begins with an account of the succession after the death of Severus. There is confusion from the outset in that Severus' sons and heirs Geta and Caracalla (here called Bassianus) are said to have been borne of different mothers. The Britons are said to have rejected Geta because he was borne of a Roman mother whereas Bassianus' mother was British. Backed by the Britons on this account Bassianus slew his brother and 'regno potitur'. What is meant by regnum in this phrase? Is Monmouth trying to inflate Britain's importance in the succession of Caracalla and nothing more; or is he going further and suggesting that Geta was slain in order to obtain, not the Roman Empire proper, but the sort of Empire in Britain that Carausius was to hold later? It is clear from the rest of the account that Bassianus was based firmly on Britain yet the incongruity of the Roman senate's acceptance of this does not seem to have occurred to Monmouth or his source. It is to this senate that Carausius makes his overtures.

Monmouth's source, assuming for the moment that he did not simply make all this up to suit one or two very basic facts, had no place for the third century. Such events as may have taken place during the period from the death of Caracalla to the usurpation of Carausius were not deemed of sufficient interest to merit a mention. These two major occurrences of the century, are drawn together by simply telescoping over sixty years. This process will be seen to occur in other late accounts and so it is possible to infer that whatever body of tradition they drew on recalled no

events of significance for Britain from the period between the visit of the Severi and the coming of Carausius. This is, of course, a period which is ill documented at any level, forcing those who would look beyond the archaeological evidence to grasp at the vaguest allusions.⁴⁶ It is obvious that the Severus episode and the Carausius episode must have had their impact on folk legend and so, in the apparent absence of any outstanding events in between, the two episodes have been run together in the transmission.

Monmouth's treatment of the Carausius character is interesting in itself. The account is by no means favourably disposed towards him; he is not the national-hero figure he was later to become for Stukeley and subsequent sentimental numismatists. Monmouth perpetuates the image which is conveyed by the hostile Roman sources, although, in point of detail, his account varies greatly from theirs. Carausius is called a 'iuvenis'. He is said to have been low born, as in the early sources - 'ex infima gente creatus' - cf Eutropius' 'vilissime natus' and Orosius' 'genere quidem infimus'. No mention, however is made of his place of origin. Neither Monmouth nor his 'vetustissimus liber' chose to draw on Aurelius Victor. There is a reference to Carausius' military talents, to which even the directly hostile contemporary sources afford grudging praise, in - 'probitatem suam in multis debellationibus examinasset'. So far there has been no very great surprise by comparison with the first group of literary source material.

Monmouth's handling of the usurpation itself produces a more dramatic version of what is known from earlier sources. This

more dramatic version has, 'profectus est Roman petivitque
 licentiam a senatu maximum tumultum per populum faciebat
 agros populando, civitates et oppida dirruendo incolis
 omnia sua eripiebat.' Carausius emerges from this account as
 the anti-Roman force in the island promising 'interfectis atque
 externimatis Romanis totam insulam a barbara gente liberaret.'
 Is this anything more than Monmouth's vigorous handling of a
 vague and diaphanous tradition? It does not square with the
 facts as they are known from other evidence. Carausius never
 posed as anything other than a Roman. He relied heavily on
 legionary support as may be seen from his coin issues honouring
 the legionary detachments which served him, and once established
 in Britain his policy, as further reflected by his coin issues,
 seems quite clearly to have been the pursuit of acceptance by
 Rome rather than the repudiation of things Roman.

'Dimicavit confestum cum Bassiano et interfecit eum...' Carausius,
 is said to have had to fight his way in to power and eliminate
 his predecessor. There is some degree of inconsistency in the
 relative positions of Bassianus as emperor but in Britain, and
 the senate, in Rome, but the body to which Carausius makes his
 appeal for a commission. No logical answer seems to offer itself
 to this ambiguity in the handling of the Roman hierarchy, the
 main point to consider is the opposition which Carausius is said
 to have encountered and overcome. This is one aspect of the
 usurpation which the early sources make no mention of although
 it would surely have been within their terms of reference as
 imperial panegyrics, or at least hostile histories, to include
 any butchery of provincial troops for which Carausius was responsible.

This would have been particularly the case had one of the governors been slain by the usurper. No mention is made yet all our major late sources do make mention of activities of this sort. Whatever the early writers may have from ignorance or through choice, omitted of Carausius having to fight his way into power, this aspect of the usurpation seems to be one of the stronger traditional strands which persists through to the mediaeval accounts.

The element of Northern alliances is another which owes nothing to the early accounts as they survive today, but the Carausius episode had obviously left some mark on Scottish legend. This is reflected here in Monmouth, by the introduction of Fulgentius and 'frater matris suae' of Bassianus, his corruption at the hands of Carausius and subsequent reward of a 'locum mansionis in Albania'. Further discussion of this Northerly element in the tradition is better left until the two Scottish Chronicles are dealt with.

Monmouth's handling of the latter part of the episode bears increasingly little resemblance to the story from early accounts. He seems to have done no more than take a few basic names and weave round them an interesting and entertaining but otherwise unsubstantiated story. Allectus becomes a deputy of the Roman senate sent to restore Britain to Roman rule, thus usurping the rôle given in the early accounts to Asclepiodotus who is fitted into this version in the novel role of 'Dux Cornualliae'. What is to be inferred from this about Monmouth's use or rather misuse of basic early accounts? In some instances there is a reasonable approximation to these in his work but for the most

part the picture presented is of an account either deliberately formulated to suit his purpose from a framework of early sources or else a dependence on some tradition or traditions which incorporate elements of the early sources as well as a great deal of other material. It requires a great deal of generosity to accept this account as a transcript of a 'vetustissimus liber', written much nearer the time of the events, unless one also accepts that that was, in fact, as fanciful as Geoffrey of Monmouth is himself usually accused of being.

The account of Allectus' defeat at the hands of Asclepiodotus, in the name not of Rome but of the Britons, the introduction of the otherwise unknown Leuius Gallus and indeed the whole of the finale to the episode bears only the faintest resemblance to the account provided by the panegyric of 296. Generally the narrative is vivid but stereotyped, the fall of London as described here could be the fall of almost any city in ancient history. Whatever traditions, if any, may have been drawn on for the new elements in the story the only previous account which seems to have any marked similarity is that of Nennius.

The verse chronicle of Robert of Gloucester depends directly on Monmouth's account. The facts stated are the same and there is no evidence of any other source having been used. The English tradition centres firmly on Monmouth then, with Gloucester repeating him and Cirencester spurious. John of Fordun, the earliest of the two Scottish chroniclers presents an account which diverges from the early accounts, far less markedly than that of Monmouth. It does incorporate some distortions, and some material for which there is no early evidence and against

which there is some, but the overall impression is of a much sounder tradition going right back to early sources, which has been given a distinct local flavour by the introduction of the Picts and the Scots. Carausius' character as presented by Fordun shows greater complexity than we find in Monmouth where he is nothing particularly special at all. Fordun was conversant with Monmouth's work and indeed is at pains to repudiate a large measure of it as having been written 'fabulose'. It is consistent with this that he does not use Monmouth as a basis for his own writing; but this does not prevent him from writing, at times, in a manner every bit as 'fabulose' himself.⁴⁷

Fordun is in line with the early accounts initially. Carausius is said to have been low born but talented, there is a pirate problem and he gets the commission to deal with it, he keeps the booty, is sentenced to death and consequently usurps. It is after this that the elements of local tradition enter into Fordun with ---- 'urging vehemently to peace and friendship all the tribes of the island, the Scots also and the Picts, whom he had formerly visited with the most cruel depredations, he most earnestly, by promising many gifts urged upon them to join with him and rise up together and drive the Romans out of the island. Nor could he have brought them over by any means to conclude peace on this wise, if their possessions, gained by the sword in the time of Nero, were not left to them under the same form of peace, and he had, moreover, granted that they should remain intact for all time.' How far is this local insight into what really happened? The question of what exactly is meant by this activity under Nero is tantalising enough but more specifically,

how far can this whole section on the making of a peace be taken seriously to complement what is, after all, Carausius' major propagandist theme? It is impossible, of course, to give a definite answer, the whole incident, for example, could represent some element of local tradition dealing with the aftermath of the great rising of 369 which has been mixed up with the Carausius story. It is another small point to bear in mind when trying to gain an overall picture of the credibility and usefulness of these late accounts.

The next section sounds fanciful and is further than ever removed from the early accounts. Fulgentius and his grandson Gotharius are introduced and lands extending south as far as the Humber are said to have been ceded to Carausius in perpetuity. These are lands which Gotharius, 'by the help of the Scots..... had held with difficulty, safe from the Romans up to that time.' It is certain that the Romans occupied what is now Yorkshire and Durham but what of Northumberland? Even when the 'Roman' territory in Britain officially included much of what is now Scotland, the ~~Votadini~~ of Northumberland seem to have held a certain privileged status, presumably rather because of their co-operation than their strength. Perhaps there is a colourful allusion to their territory in this passage of Fordun.

'Bassianus' advent and his attempts to restore the situation by dividing the northern tribes against each other may well derive from a confused account of the activities of Caracalla during the years 208-211. Even the contemporary sources ⁴⁸ indicate that the Romans, campaigning in the north at that time, met with a good deal less than complete success, and obviously Roman

reversals would become enlarged in the transmission through legends by the native population. Caracalla is said to have bought some sort of a dishonourable settlement with the northern tribes after his father's death in 211. These early sources are hostile to Caracalla, however, and it must be that one of the very reasons why there was so little to comment on in Britain for most of the third century, was surely the peaceful settlement which he was able to achieve. These events are not clearly and directly mirrored in Fordun's account nor would one really expect them to be so. The strands are there however and the late account must derive some of its substance from the basic facts however mutated in their transmission.

Carausius' assassination by the treacherous Allectus, his partner, follows the main outline facts closely. Very little is said by way of a summary of his reign save that it was of seven years duration (as in Eutropius and Orosius) and that it was basically good. The local element is emphasised by the prominence given to Carausius' efforts to bring the Picts and Scots together, but no mention is made of Maximian's abortive attempt to recover the island in 289 unless this too is responsible for some elements in this Bassianus story. It is more likely, however, that this was just too far removed from events in the north to warrant particular attention from Fordun, especially if it was rather the result of stormy weather than Carausius personal ability.

Allectus is portrayed as a villain 'the greater part of the British nation renewed the treaty of alliance with the Scots, and did their best either to put Allectus to death or to banish

him from Britain.' He is further said to have, 'afflicted the Britons with manifold disasters' and here we find that his confederates in these nefarious activities are the Picts. In earlier accounts he is vilified for employing the assistance of pirates and base mercenaries. This would seem to be a local variant on the same theme. The chronology is again sound; Allectus is said to have ruled for three years. That is a basic fact from all the early accounts with which there is a further close link in that Allectus is here eliminated by Asclepiodotus, and Asclepiodotus as praetorian prefect, not Duke of Cornwall.

Fordun's desire to criticise the Picts is again clear at the end of the episode when he says, referring to the events of 296 that 'when war was made upon the British people by the Romans, the Scots assisting the Britons brought them loyal aid; against the Britons the Picts invariably gave help to the Romans.' This is a rather misleading generalisation. He goes on to say that Chlorus easily compelled the southern Britons to make peace, 'not by war but by the threat of war'. After this, however, he attacked the Britons of Albania, and the Scots, with help from the Picts. Chlorus was certainly active in the north of Britain shortly before his death in 306.⁴⁹ This does not relate directly to the Carausius and Allectus episode but it is worth considering the possible implications of this section for Carausius' alliances and sphere of operations. Fordun goes on to say that the Picts and Scots were at each others throats continuously down to the time of Magnus Maximus and in so doing omits to mention what must have been a period

of co-operation in the late 360 leading up to the great rising against the occupying forces. The account has its possibilities but also its deficiencies and pitfalls.

Hector Boethius, the other Scottish chronicler to tackle this subject, wrote some one hundred and fifty years after Fordun. On the face of it, his account is much more fanciful yet, as Webb observes,⁵⁰ it contains some minutiae of detail worthy of consideration. The element of local legend is much stronger here. King Findock of Albania is slain and Carantius, 'the kings owne brother', is implicated. Webb assumes Findock is to be equated with the Fulgentius of Fordun's account. Be that as it may, here we have Carausius, or 'Carantius' not 'vilissime natus' but 'the kings owne brother,' fled into exile for fear of condemnation, none of which bears any resemblance to early accounts. This exile is briefly summarised in the next section, 'Having tarried for a considerable time in Britain, he at length went away to Italy with the Roman soldiers. By his services under Aurelian, Probus, Carus and Diocletian he gained great reknown as a warrior. . . .' 'This would in fact be perfectly compatible with what very little can be inferred about Carausius' career in one way or another. The position he has risen to by 286, the fact that he rose from obscurity through outstanding ability and the indication of his approximate age from coin portraits conspire to suggest for Carausius just such a career as Boethius gives to his Carantius.

Where has Boethius got this background material from which no other account makes any mention of? Has he simply inferred the probabilities from the scant evidence of early accounts and made

a very plausible job of producing a hypothetical career or has he had some real insight into the truth of the matter such that we can use what he says to supplement our meagre evidence? There seems to be a strong traditional element in this which Boethius may well have used to his own ends. There are a number of accounts in Norse and other sagas of careers similar to this, if usually of a somewhat later date, involving spells in the service of an emperor followed by a return to the native land and a position of prominence.

Boethius names one Quintus Bassianus as the Roman governor of Britain at the time of these events. No mention is made of any provincial division and here again there seems to be a confused reference to Caracalla rather than any evidence of the governor of Britannia Inferior. Apart from this the more solid factual side of the story now comes to the fore. Carausius' low birth' is explained away by the Romantic device that he had deliberately concealed his true origins in order to preserve his anonymity. The account of the actual usurpation is similar to that in the early versions save the rather illogical manœuvre whereby he sailed, 'to Westmoreland not far from the lands of the Scots and Picts from whom he hoped to gain assistance against the Romans.' No source, early or otherwise, actually says in so many words that Carausius sailed for the south coast or the Thames upon usurping, hence Boethius is not in contradiction with anything other than probability here. Nevertheless the element of local interest which governs so much of the account, seems prominent again here, and as there seems no sound reason to suppose Carausius should have landed anywhere except the south

east, unless one is prepared to take the whole of this business of his early involvement with the northern tribes as fact, then Boethius' citation of a landfall in 'Westmoreland' must be rejected.

From this point onwards Carausius is built up as a national-hero figure, the focal point of anti Roman feeling throughout the whole island, an inevitable development within a legend embellished by local colouring. Carausius is thus shown soliciting the Picts and Scots with a view to forming a united front against the Romans. It is in this account that the interesting aside occurs which further shows off the author's erudition in matters of Imperial History. In providing further detail of Carausius' time in exile he says, '.. he then enlisted for the Persian war which the emperor Carus had waged, that before long ready in speech and action as he was....' and seems certainly to have made use of an early account. His description of Carausius qualities here could have come almost verbatim from Orosius or Bede 'consilio ac manu promptus,' although, of course, such a phrase was not uncommon in historical authors generally.

The lengthy section dealing with Carausius' efforts to clear his name must hinge on local legend, Boethius' imagination or some mixture of the two. In any case it leads effectively to the same stage that was reached in Fordun and Monmouth, that by one means or another peace was made between the Picts and the Scots. The climax comes with the victory over Quintus Bassianus near York. An otherwise unattested Hircius is mentioned as procurator, but generally the account of these events is very stereotyped. Can any notice be taken of this battle? No early

source mentions it but they were not too concerned with recording every detail of the usurpation nor, in many cases presumably, were they in a position to do so. Nevertheless, had Carausius defeated and slain a legatus at the head of his troops in Britannia Inferior the contemporary sources would, surely, have made some mention of it if only to condemn the act. Webb⁵¹ adduces the evidence of Carausius legionary coins on this point. Carausius honours Legio II Augusta and Legio XX Valeria Victrix on his coins, but not Legio VI, the other legion stationed in Britain. As the sixth was at York it has been assumed that this legion opposed Carausius, as in this account, hence its omission from the coin. Webb⁵² takes the view that the legionary antoniniani honour whole legions, some under Carausius control, others near enough to be worth wooing. It is my view that the coins honour only parts of legions; the vexillations drawn from the legions mentioned, which went to make up the initial force put under Carausius' command for his operations against the pirates. Why the sixth legion is not mentioned is thus explained away because it did not send him a vexillation in the first place.

Carausius is said to have earned the enmity of the Britons for ceding territory in the north to the Picts and Scots as a reward for their help. Fordun's account also mentions this territory although there it is ceded to Carausius by the Britons. This has always been disputed territory until comparatively recent times and any opportunity to give anachronistic support to the claims of either side was not to be missed. This element may very well be one of the themes in the traditions which culminate

in these accounts of the Scottish Chroniclers.

Finally Boethius' handling of Allectus' rôle is a combination of various themes. Here he is a Roman legatus as with Monmouth but not Fordun; he defects from Rome to seize the crown under pressure from his troops, as in Fordun but not Monmouth; he falls to Asclepiodotus the praetorian prefect after a three year rule, as in Fordun but not in Monmouth.

The details, then, are minute in places. Webb's comments⁵³ are rather tentative. Although he admits of the obvious confusion over the name of Caracalla, he somehow manages to absolve this account from error and says of the supposed governor, 'there must of course have been such an officer' and is prepared to accept that this was he. Boethius' account does no more than vary the governor's name, following a traceable confused tradition. The governor of Britannia Superior must surely have been a much more important figure. Carausius must have had in him either a strong ally or else a powerful opponent, yet no mention is made of him anywhere. There is no evidence from coin hoards or anything else that there was great or even slight unrest in the north at this time. There is no evidence from the early accounts that Carausius met with any opposition from within Britain.

The tabular arrangements of main thematic points which follows, enable an easy comparison to be made of the contents of the chronicles. It is at once apparent that the Scottish Chroniclers are better than Monmouth. Fordun incorporates the simpler localising element, Boethius the more complex, with all three sharing the confusion over Bassianus. Monmouth is rather a

disappointment. Despite being an earlier account than the Scottish ones it is much less concerned with consistency of source or accuracy and even under close scrutiny or given the most liberal interpretation it contributes very little of solid value to our knowledge of Carausius and Allectus. If the 'vetustissimus liber' really existed then one is left wondering whether to blame Monmouth for his misuse of it or feel that it is in fact no great loss as a historical source if his version of it is any guide.

Fordun and Boethius both build on the skeletal framework provided by the early sources. In both cases the local element predominates as one might expect. How far can any trust be placed on these otherwise unsubstantiated elements in the story of the period many of which go against all probability? Webb⁵⁴ cites the Carausius milestone⁵⁵ as proof of his activity in the north west and supporting evidence for the Scottish Chroniclers but the connection seems far too tenuous. All that the milestone does is prove that the north west was in Carausius control, not that he ever went there. The one thing which does emerge clearly from these late accounts is that the Carausius episode as a whole seem to have passed into the legends of the northern people in a way perhaps similar to that in which Magnus Maximus became the Maxen Wledig of Welsh tradition. While there may well be something in the strong tradition of Carausius as a peacemaker and unifying force within the island and even in his early career as given by Boethius the chronicles do not provide a new range of evidence to supplement the meagre early accounts. We are left with impressions rather than facts.

Carausius obviously made the biggest impact in Britain between the departure of the Severi and the end of the third century, and did so in a way that, for example, Clodius Albinus did not.

Comparative table of main points in the accounts

1	<u>ANCIENT SOURCES</u>	<u>Monmouth</u>	<u>Fordun</u>	<u>Boethius</u>
	a) mean birth	x	x	x
	b) bravery and experience	x	x	x
	c) gain and misuse of fleet	x	x	x
	d) condemnation and usurpation		x	x
	e) rules for seven year		x	
	f) Allectus, partner, kills treacherously		x	
	g) Allectus rules for three years	x	x	x
	h) Asclepiodotus p.po sent		x	x
	i) defeats and kills Allectus	x	x	x
	j) remnants mopped up at London			x
2	<u>NOT IN ANCIENT SOURCES</u>	<u>Monmouth</u>	<u>Fordun</u>	<u>Boethius</u>
	a) Carausius sollicitis senate at Rome	x	?	
	b) C'S exile and detailed career			x
	c) C's anti Roman alliance of Britons	x	x	x
	d) C. lands in N West			x
	e) C. cedes land to Picts and Scots	x		x
	f) Britons cede land to C.		x	
	g) Bassianus defeated and killed	x	x	x
	h) Allectus sent by senate	x		x
	i) Asclepiodotus Duke of Cornwall	x		

Other references

As will be seen from the texts at the beginning of this chapter, the majority of these other references simply state in a few words that the usurpation took place. The majority of these are theological works with statements of this sort providing a historical framework. They are nearly all taken directly from one of the earlier historians and add no new evidence. They show that the Carausius episode was still thought worthy of brief mention and which sources were available for use but no more. Jerome¹, 'post decem annos per Asclepiodotum praefectum praetorio Britanniae receptae', for example, is not a confirmation but a repetition of the earlier evidence.

The accounts in Greek are somewhat longer. Zonaras was wide of the mark and was content to record in his list of problems facing the Tetrarchy, that Crassus held Britain for three years before the prefect Asclepiodotus destroyed him. Crassus is a fairly obvious corruption of Carausius for an author of the Eastern Empire to whom the episode can have meant nothing. John of Antioch takes much more trouble over his narrative and consequently produces none of the errors of Zonaras, but he is still entirely derivative. He simply renders the Eutropius/Orosius account into Greek, adding nothing. The manuscript reading $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\beta\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu$ makes no sense and the emendation to $\beta\epsilon\lambda\gamma\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ looks most convincing, especially as Eutropius has, 'per tractum Belgicae'.

The only one of this group which appears to make any significant independent contribution to the understanding of the period is Helinandus. Despite having written so long after the event

and being primarily concerned with the documentation of the struggle of Christianity, he provides a fuller than usual account of the purely historical background. The Carausius episode coincided with the martyrdom of Gereon and various others at the hands of Maximian. Whatever source Helinandus used it clearly contained the rudiments of the Carausius story, unless he is simply grafting it on to his main theme from elsewhere. If this latter is the case then he is singular in avoiding the practise of simply transcribing an earlier account.

'Carausius quidam nobilis' is in contradiction to the early accounts where he is of consistently humble origin. Even if it is simply a generalisation borne of ignorance it is a striking contrast to the, 'Carausius quidem, genere quidem infimus' of Orosius and shows, perhaps, as an interesting sideline to the development of the story through to the chronicles, the sort of inference that would be made about Carausius by someone not provided with fuller information about his background. The basic factual details of this account are that Carausius was known to have been organising raids on Roman territory; that this was a maritime command in an area where the Franks were active, that Maximian sent an expedition to deal with the situation and that Carausius crossed over to Britain. Attention in this narrative is focussed, for the first time, on the early part of the usurpation, and, for what it is worth, there is more about the split between Carausius and Maximian than in the other sources. Helinandus', 'insidias contra Romani fines imperii moliretur' is not dissimilar to the accounts provided by earlier writers, but they say very little of the next stage; 'a Maximiano

issus occidi' from Eutropius/Orosius, and, 'a quo se caedi iussum compererat' from Aurelius Victor. They make no mention of any expedition, 'per Rheni fluvius alveum' at this stage. The chronology is by no means certain but it seems clear that Helinandus cannot be referring to the expedition of 289, although his account may be somewhat coloured by that event; This expedition is directly linked to Carausius' initial act of usurpation whereas the panegyric of 289 makes it quite clear that he was by that time, a usurper of some standing.

The route, 'per Rheni fluminis alveum' is presumably that taken by at least part of the 289 expedition which the panegyric shows to have set off from Trêves. No mention is made by Helinandus of the fleet base that Carausius is supposed to have had at Boulogne. He does mention the, 'optatis spoliis' with which Maximians' forces loaded themselves before returning along the same route, but these can hardly have been from Carausius who had crossed to Britain. Helinandus mentions an army but no particular body of ships. That this route was followed is no particular proof that there were ships and indeed, unless the whole thing is a fabrication, there clearly can not have been any significant naval force involved otherwise Maximian would not have had to build one for his 289 expedition. This earlier expedition, without ships seems to have been directed against neither Carausius nor, obviously, Roman provincials, but against trouble makers operating from just beyond the fringes of the empire. Helinandus is too concerned with the fate of the martyrs to give much prominence to anything else but it does appear that this could well in fact have been

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a show of strength against the pirates made necessary by Carausius' failure to perform his duties satisfactorily. Carausius had taken all the ships but a military operation such as this could well have seemed a means of being seen by the dissatisfied provincials to be doing something about the pirate menace, as well as providing an opportunity to gain possession of whatever booty these pirates still had after Carausius' activities. It seems unlikely that Maximian intended to make any restitution to the plundered provincials and the dissatisfaction does not seem to have abated very quickly for he had to transfer troops to Gaul from Mauretania, 'propter frequentes Gallorum tumultus'. Carausius must have been well pleased to have such a state of affairs obtain in Gaul as a distraction for Maximian.

Carausius is not directly involved in the martyrdoms which are Helinandus' main concern. He is merely the reason why Maximian made the journey in the first place. This ought to mean that Helinandus had no reason to distort the facts but it also means that he would probably have been content to see any reasonable pretext for this journey, without analysing it too closely. This explains the inconsistencies of an expedition, supposedly against a Carausius who has crossed over to Britain, without any fleet.

Epigraphic Evidence

The only epigraphic evidence from the period of Carausius and Allectus, which mentions either by name, is the milestone which was found in 1894 in the bed of the river Petterill, just below Gallows Hill near Carlisle. This is described by Wright ⁵⁶

as a, 'Milestone of grey sandstone, mainly cylindrical but with one face dressed flat, 74" high x 18" wide The central text has been chiselled away and was presumably primary. Then the broader end was used for an inscription of Carausius. Later this was buried and an inscription of Constantine I, as Caesar, was cut at the narrower end.....' It is recorded with more or less comment in a variety of other places.⁵⁷

The reading of the Carausian inscription is clear and in no doubt :

IMP C M
 AVR MAVS
 CARAVSIO P F
 INVICTO AVG

This provided the first positive evidence for Carausius' full name which had, from Stukeley's time been thought to have been Marcus Aurelius Valerius Carausius. Stukeley, followed by Eckhel⁵⁸ gave IMP M AVR V CARAVSIVS P AV as the obverse legend on a coin, but this was not followed by Cohen, does not exist today, and seems certainly to have been a mistake. There are several coins known with IMP C M AVR M CARAVSIVS as the beginning of the obverse legend; and there is also now the second medallion,⁵⁹ although none of these provides as full a version as the milestone.

Mowat⁶⁰ suggests that Carausius took the names Marcus Aurelius from Maximian, 'under whose orders he served in the army of Inferior Germany'. He expands MAVS to Mausaeus or Mausaius

and cites the small silver coin struck by the Gallic Celts, reading MAVSAIIOS as corroboration.⁶¹ Holder⁶² provides a wealth of references for these coins and accepts Maecaeus as a, 'bienne des Kaisars Carausius'. He also cites all the Carausian obverse legends in which M occurs as examples of the use of this name, applying epigraphic principles, to show that the single M would not stand for Marcus but Mausaeus. He also raises the possibility that Carausius' name was derived from some place name 'von Mausaeus abgeleitet vielleicht O. Mausiacum' but adduces no evidence in support of this. Mowat (R.N. 1895) says that the only place in Celtic nomenclature which starts with Maus, 'a été dérivé le nom de lieu Mausiacus, aujourd'hui Mozat signifiant domaine de Mausius ou Mausaios.'

The rest of the milestone presents more problems. Wright describes the central erasure as the primary text but this is not the obvious place for such a text unless it is assumed that the central area is where the continuation of the primary inscription would have been. Wright's reading of what little he claims to be able to see militates against this. Mowat (A.A. 1896) reading 'upside down', as Wright says, saw in this central area the remains of some part of the Carausian inscription, which gave the names of places on the route south from Carlisle. These, 'proper itinerary indications' were 'purposely separated from the beginning with the intention of attracting the notice of passers by'. His restoration is :-

[LUGUVALLI] O

[BROCONAV] AS

[MILLE PASSVVM]

'The restored word Luguvallio may safely be considered as certain, whilst the complimentary part of [Broconav]as is merely conjectural for the sake of showing how the brackets are to be filled with the name of one of the stations on the road to York, provided it has the feminine plural termination-as' This is of limited value. Broconavas is unknown and it was more common for late third century milestones to dwell on imperial titles rather than 'itinerary indications'. It was also abnormal for a milestone in a civitas area⁶³ to record any more such information than the distance in miles from the civitas capital. This stone, therefore, which presumably stood originally on the top of Gallows Hill, would have marked the first mile out from Carlisle on the road to York.⁶⁴

The final inscription is unclear at a vital point.

FL VAL

CONS

TANT

ONOB

CAES

This is all that is certain. Wright gives FL VAL/CONS/TANT

[1]/NO NOB/CAES with the N of line four as clearly visible, and attributes the inscription to Constantine the First as Caesar.

The CW 1895 account is more cautious but suggests Constantine as more likely than Constantius and adduces two other milestones from this road in support of this.⁶⁵ Birley, however, ascribes

this last inscription to Constantius and says of him setting it up while Caesar, 'no doubt there would be no serious objection, in the first flush after the victory of Allectus, to the name of the Caesar being cut on the Gallows Hill stone'. This is a convincing reading. It is inherently more likely that Carausius' inscription would have been buried very soon after the recovery in 296, and the name of the victorious Caesar erected in its place.

As well as possessing 'the sentimental interest of uniqueness' this sole lapidary relic of Carausius serves to confirm a Carausian presence on the northern frontier; an area which has yielded relatively little numismatic evidence of the period.

There remains the enigmatic inscription from Penmachno from what has been called a unique example of a christian cairn burial.⁶⁶ It reads :-

CARAVSIVS HIC IACIT IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDVM

and has been taken by some to mark the actual burial place of the Carausius.⁶⁷ Arthur Evans deals with this at some length⁶⁸ citing Hubner on the latinity as, 'more Romano' rather than 'more Britannico'. All this inscription can be said to show is that this name survived for a considerable number of years and in this respect it may be likened to the coins of the 'second Carausius' with which Evans is primarily concerned in this article.

Notes

Chapter 1

- 1) The arguments concerning the dating of this panegyric are lucidly expressed by Galletier in his edition of the panegyrics. (Budé vol.I) and I accept 289 as the most convincing.
- 2) cf. Plutarch Pomp 64.1 for Liburnians as distinct from scouting vessels.
- 3) Casson, L Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World pp.141-2. This work is particularly useful for nautical references in general.
- 4) Starr, C.G. The Roman Imperial Navy 31 BC-AD 324, p. 54
- 5) op. cit. p.141
- 6) op. cit. p.54
- 7) Starr (loc. cit) observes that the term 'liburna' became increasingly used for all warships towards the period of the later empire, although Casson (op. cit. p.152 n.6) implies that liburna was more than usually precise with 'biremis', the layman's alternative in general accounts.
- 8) cf. Déchelette, J Manuel D'Archeologie, 1934, Gallo-Romaine par A Grenier, pp.528-9, for a description of the area at this time.
- 9) cf. the rare OPES legends on 'Rouen' coins which seem to express this hope for aid. Shiel, N. The Opes Legend on the Coins of Carausius, R.N 6^e ser. XV, 1973, pp.166-8
- 10) C.I.L. Xll 686
- 11) Starr, C.G, op. cit. p.153: 'The transport of men and materials from the continent to Britain always remained

the chief function of the British squadron.' This work also gives a useful list of references for further work on the subject.

- 12) but cf. Mattingly, H. Antiquity vol. VIII, 1934, pp. 289-292 who accepts this evidence without much question saying, 'he (sc. Carausius), or at least his successor Allectus, relied mainly on the services of Saxon pirates; the Britons, may have had no very large share in his rule.'
- 13) Budé edition vol. I, p. 91
- 14) eg. Galletier op. cit. p. 92. n. 1* 'Explication plus ou moins certaine de l'échec de la flotte construite en 288-89'
- 15) cf. Eicholz, D.E. Constantius Chlorus' Invasion of Britain J.R.S. Vol XXXIX, 1949, pp. 41-46 as the best account of events and as a convenient synopsis of earlier attempts at reconstruction (ie Sagot, F. La Bretagne Romaine, Paris, 1911, pp. 118 ff : Jullian C. Histoire de la Gaul vol. VII pp. 80-84)
- 16) loc. cit
- 17) Galletier op. cit p. 94 n. 3*
- 18) op. cit. p. 43
- 19) Webb P.H. The Reign and Coinage of Carausius N.C. 4th ser. vol VII, 1907, p. 16. This work is hereafter referred to as Webb 1907.
- 20) op. cit. p. 95 and p. 95 n. 3*
- 21) op. cit. p. 44 n. 11
- 22) op. cit. p. 95 n. 3*
- 23) e.g. Mowat A.A. 2 ser. vol. XVll, pp. 281-6, who cites

three places with 'equal claim' to be the place of Carausius' origin :-

- a) The district of Belgium near the Scheldt estuary: cf. Caes. B.G. ii 4; Strabo IV iii 4,5; Pliny N.Hist IV 18, 31; Ptolemy ii, VIII, 10.
 - b) The Isle of Man: cf. Pliny N.Hist. IV 18, 30
 - c) The area round Wicklow in Ireland : cf. Ptolemy 11; 11; 7, 8 Μαυάρινα: Πάλις
- 24) Stukeley, W. The Medallic History of Carausius, 2 vols, London, 1757, 1759, P.62 and cf. for further comment Williams, P. A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen, Llandovery, C.1846. cf De Peyster, The Story of Carausius Poughkeepsie, 1858, p. XXIV. for the comment that the name comes from 'Meen aft,' two Teutonic words, signifying a community of peoples.'
 - 25) Franzero, F. Roman Britain, London: cf. pp.37 ff.
 - 26) Rhys, J. Celtic Britain, 1904, p.286 and A.Camb. V ser. vol. IV, pp.66 ff. This was the view he expressed to the meeting of the Cambr. Arch. Assoc. in Londonderry in 1891.
 - 27) Haverfield, F. The Romanisation of Britain, Oxford, 1923, p.78 n.
 - 28) Milton, J. Britain Under Trojan, Roman and Saxon Rule in Kennets England, 1719, vol.I as reprinted by The World Library of Standard Books, London, pp.60 ff.
 - 29) eg. Walker, O. The Greek and Roman History Illustrated by Coins and Medals, London, 1692, p.316, 'Carausius, an Irishman...', or Begero, L. Thesauri Electoralis Brandenburgici, Col. March., 1697, p.783, 'Carausius, Menapia, urbe Hyberniae, oriundus....'

- 30) cf. Carson, R.A.G., The Bronze Medallions of Carausius, B.M.Q. vol. XXXVII Nos. 1-2, pp. 104
 - 31) loc. cit.
 - 32) Milton, J, loc. cit. assumes without question that the northern frontier was threatened.
 - 33) For similar usage cf. Macr. S 7.3 and Amm. 29.1.5
 - 34) Seston. W. Dioclétien et la Tetrarchie, vol. I, p. 74
 - 35) op. cit. pp. 129 ff, with four woodcuts devoted to 'Arthur's Oon.'
 - 36) cf. Steer, K.A., Arthur's Oon : A Lost Shrine of Roman Britain, A.J. CXV, pp. 106 ff.
 - 37) McPherson, J, 'Critical Dissertations on the Origin, Antiquities, Language, Government, Manners and Religion of the Ancient Caledonians, their posterity, the Picts and the British and Irish Scots, London, 1748, p. 33 and n.
 - 38) cf. Webb 1907, pp. 1 ff for translations and discussion.
 - 39) R.I.C. Vol. V² p. 427 n. 1
 - 40) Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Regum Britanniae, V, 111 & IV. cf. the edition of Gieseler, A and Jones, R.E. London, 1929.
- Robert of Gloucester, Chronicle, ll. 1721 ff. cf. the edition of Wright, W.A., London, 1887, which is vol I in the series Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores.
- Richard of Cirencester, De Situ Britanniae, I, III & XIV; II, XXX. cf. Giles, J.A. The Chronicle of Richard of Devises; also Richard of Cirencester's Description of Britain, London, 1841. and Dyer, G. A Commentary on Richard of Cirencester, Exeter, 1814

John of Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum, chs.27 ff.
cf. the edition of Skene, W.F. Edinburgh, 1871 & 1872,
which forms volumes I and IV in the series The Historians
of Scotland.

Hector Boethius, History of the Scots, Bk.VI cf. the
edition of Chambers, R.W. and Batho, E.C. Publications
of the Scottish Texts Society, third series, volume 10,
1938, and Watson, G, The Mar Lodge Translation, same
series, volume 17, 1942.

- 41) cf. Randall, H.J. Splendide Mendax Antiquity VII, 1933,
pp.49-60. for a discussion of the composition of this work
and its subsequent influence.
- 42) op. cit. pp. 62, 125, 134, 135, 169, 176 and cf. also his
An Account of Richard of Cirencester, Monk of Westminster,
and his Works; with his Antient Map of Roman Brittain; and
the Itinerary thereof, read to the Antiquarian Society,
18.3.1756, and published the following year.
- 43) op. cit. p.62
- 44) op. cit. p.49
- 45) op. cit. ch.VII
- 46) e.g taking Nemes Cyn, ll 69 ff, as a reference to a British
campaign under Carus.
- 47) cf. Keeler, L, Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Late Latin
Chroniclers 1300-1500, University of California Publications
in English vol. 17 No.1, esp. pp.76-80
- 48) Herodian III, 14, 15; Dio LXXVI 13-15
- 49) Pan.Lat. VI(VII) 7. 1-2

- 75,
- 50) loc. cit.
 - 51) R.I.C. vol.V, 2 p.427, n.1
 - 52) ibid. pp.440-1
 - 53) Webb 1907, pp.29-30
 - 54) ibid., pp. 30 and 39
 - 55) R.I.B. 1022 and v.i.
 - 56) R.I.B. p.718 Nos. 2290-2292
 - 57) e.g. EE IX 1255a; Ferguson C.W.2 XIII (1895), p.437 with plate; Birley, E.B. C.W. n.s. LVII pp.88-93; P.S.A. 2 XV (1894) p.263; P.S.A.N.2 VI (1894), p.263 with figs; PS.A.N 2 VII (1896) p.174; Haverfield Acad. 12.1.1895 p.41; Mowat Bul. Soc. Ant. Fr. 3 ser. vol.XIII (1895) pp.129-133 & vol. XIV (1896) p.146; A.A. 2 ser.XVII (1895) p.281; I.L.S. 8928; Cat No. 94 (46 with plate). This is now in Tullie House Museum, Carlisle.
 - 58) Medallic History vol. I p.112; Doct. Numm. VIll p.47
 - 59) B.M.Q. vol.XXXVII, 1-2 p.2
 - 60) A.A 2 ser. XVII pp.281-6
 - 61) cf. Bibl. Nat. No.9359 published in Haucher, L'art gaulois, ii p.68.
 - 62) Holder, A Alt - Celtischer Sprachschalz, Leipzig 1896, vol II, col. 487.
 - 63) The Civitas Carvettiorum was presumably based on Carlisle.
 - 64) cf. C.W. XII, p.365. The Roman Cemeteries of Luguwallium for this area.
 - 65) CIL VII 1176, 1177 = RIB 2285, 2288
 - 66) Anderson, J. Notes on the survival of pagan customs in Christian burials, P.S.A.S. XI pp.367 ff.

67) e.g. A.A. 2s.XXIII p.95 n.

68) A Camb \bar{V} ser. vol. V pp.138-163, especially pp.143 ff.

Chapter Two

THE HOARD EVIDENCE

GROUP ONE:

Hoards terminating with Carausius

1 AMERSHAM Bucks

Stukeley. Letters and Diaries II p 9

30 September 1753 'A great number of that Emperors' (sc. Carausius) coins was found near that place (sc. Amersham) about two years ago..... most of them are in the hands of the Lord of the Manor. The workmen, as they were digging, laid open a curious burial place, in form of a minced pye, built with flints, several bodies found therein.....

The people here have a notion that Carausius was slain near this place in a field called Cavensfield, about 4 miles from Newport'.

This may possibly not have been a hoard but there is no way of establishing this.

2 BOKING (or BOCKING) Essex TL 7623

Stukeley. Letters and Diaries II p 167 = Diary, vol XV 2

27 June 1754 'She gave me to use three coins of Carausius, one a most elegant one SAECVLI FELICITAS. These and a vast quantity were found together by a countryman near Boking, Essex'.

3 BREDICOT Worcs SO9050 (4 miles east of Worcester).

Allies. History of Worcester. 1852 p. 95; V.C.H.Worcs I p 218; C.C.R.B. p 163.

An urn of red earthenware containing 140 'third brass' was found in 1839 during the construction of the Gloucester-Birmingham

railway. Among 62 examined were:-

7 x Gallienus; 1 x Salonina; 1 x Postumus;
 9 x Victorinus; 24 x Tetricus I; 11 x Claudius II;
 1 x Probus; 4 x Carausius;

Some of the coins are said to be in the Worcester Museum but enquiries have shown that, if this is so, they are now inseparably distributed among the general collection of Roman coins there.

4. CAMERTON II Somerset ST 6857.

V.C.H.Somerset p 292; C.C.R.B. p 162

In 1817 three Roman coin hoards were discovered in a small house. One of these contained 114 'Ae 3' and terminated with a single Carausius.

5. CANTERBURY Kent TR 1457

Unpublished. vidi c/o SS Frere

This is a scattered hoard fallen from roof timbers in CXXIX.EXX. C6, which consists of 117 coins ranging from Balbinus to Carausius. Of these 109 are coins of Carausius. The latest discernable mark on these coins is $\frac{FLO}{ML}$. There are many crude pieces and quite a number of legionary coins. All this suggests a reasonably early deposition date which may be taken as the 289 suggested by Carsons interpretation of the $\frac{FLO}{ML}$ mark ¹.

Many of the coins have a rather burned appearance which may indicate that the building in which they were found was destroyed or damaged by fire in Carausius' time. ²

6 CANTERBURY Kent TR 1457

V.C.H.Kent III p 68; Archaeologia xliii p 155, Nos 54, 55
41 coins were found opposite the east end of Saint Mary, Bredman
 Church, in a large globular urn, 25" x 17" with small handles;
 'some of Carausius but mostly illegible'.

7 CANTERBURY Kent TR 1457

J.R.S. XLVII . 1957 p 225.

During excavation carried out in the car park of the Marlowe
 Theatre a Roman building was found. This had been extensively
 damaged by fire at the end of the third century and never
 rebuilt. 'In a restricted area of the fallen debris C.150
 coins, mainly of Carausius, badly burned, must have formed part
 of a hoard'.

8 CANTERBURY Kent TR 1457

Unpublished. vidi c/o S.S.Frere

This consists of 6 coins only:-

1 x Claudius II; 1 x Carausius (RIC 880); 4 x barbarous radiates.

9 CASTELL-Y-BERE Merion. SH 6708

B.C.S. XIX p 346; XXIII p 306*

At least 4 coins were found in a mortarium in 1951. They ranged
 from Gallienus to Carausius.

*Boon gives a deposition date of 292.

10 CONWAY Caern. SH 7777

Unpublished. Present whereabouts uncertain.

A hoard of C 50 antoniniani was discovered just outside Conway, shortly after the last war. It contained mostly coins of the Gallic Empire and terminated with eight or nine coins of Carausius.

11 DEAL Kent TR 3752

V.C.H.Kent III p 152; C.C.R.B. p 163; G.M. 1834 I p 96

'About 1834 an urn containing 25 brass coins, including one Carausius, was found in a field near upper Deal. This may be identical with the hoard of 1832* but more probably not. S. Pritchard in his History of Deal (1864) p 265, says that in 1830 two urns containing Roman coins were found in the sand hill'.

*It appears, from subsequent enquiries, that this was a much larger, different hoard.

12 DINORBEN Denbs. SH 9477 (2 miles south east of Abergele)

Excavations at Dinorben 1965-69. Cardiff 1971 pp 33ff.

Numbers 179, 183, 185, 193, 200, 202, 'were found close together and at the same level near hut floor 18.' They are:-

- 1 x Gallienus (RIC 193); 1 x Victorinus (RIC 61); 1 x cast copy of Victorinus (cf RIC 118); 1 x Tetricus II (RIC 257);
- 1 x Carausius (RIC 101 $\frac{F10}{ML}$); 1 x copy of Carausius (RIC 880) = 6.

13 ELLAND HALL WOOD Yorks SE 1020 (Elland)

Thoresby Society Miscellanea VI^o; Y.A.J. XXVII p 214*;

Richmond 1 A. Huddersfield in Roman Times. 1925. pp 103, 115;

Watson. History of Halifax 1775 p 55; Turner J.H. 'History

of Brighthouse, Rastrick and Hipperholme' Bingley. 1893 p 25.

* 'To these (sc. the Cleckheaton hoard, v.i.) may be added another hoard, from Elland Hall Wood, which ends with many coins of Carausius.'

φ Oct 1769. Hoard of third brass coins ranging from Gallienus to Carausius. 'Most of the coins it seems, belonged to Carausius.'

14 EMNETH Norfolk/Cambridge TF 4807

V.C.H. Norfolk p 317

'Hoard of coins including Carausius found near a supposed Roman road (Stukeley's It. Cur p 14). Possibly found in Cambridgeshire.'

15 EPPERSTONE Notts. SK 6548

Thoroton. 'History of Nottinghamshire' ed. Thoresby 1797 III

p 40; Brayley and Britton XII (1) 1813 p 273; V.C.H.

Nottinghamshire II p 26; C.C.R.B. p 162; A.J. xliii 1886 p 40;

Merry 'Remarks on the Coinage of England' 1789, pp 6, 101.

A hoard of almost 1000 coins was discovered in 1776 ranging from Gallienus to Carausius and including Salonina, Postumus, Claudius II, Victorinus, Tetrici, Cluintillus and 'Aelianus'. 'This last named is said to have been a remarkably fine specimen.' (R VICTORIA AVG) It is presumably a coin of Laelianus.

16 ERW HEN Carms. SN 6540 (Pumsaint; 2 miles from Dolaucothi)

N.C. 6 ser. vol XXVI pp 157 ff; B.C.S. XXIII p 306; JRS. LV1.1966.

p 196:

This hoard of 682 antoniniani was found in 1965. After a single specimen of Trajan Decius, the range is from Gallienus to

Carausius. The latest mark is S/C and, presumably, on the strength of this, Boon suggests a deposition date of 291. He comments, 'Carausius' murder might have precipitated uncertainty enough especially near the only gold mine, to merit hoard burying.' and he suggests that the mine was not in government hands because of the meagre total and substandard character of the coins in this hoard. The Carausius coins are; 1 x S/C ; 7 x 1 (inc 4 overstrikes); 1 x copy.

17 EVERTON Notts. SK 6891

N.C. 3 ser vol V1 1886 p 245; 6 ser. vol V 1945 p* 143;

V.C.H. Notts 11 p 26; C.C.R.B. (as Allectan) p 163.

A hoard of 600 coins was found in 1885 in a field between Everton and Bawtry 'all of copper except a few that appear to have been washed with silver'. They range from Valerian to Diocletian. One piece ascribed to Diocletian is, in fact, a PAX AUGGG S/P
C struck by Carausius and in very 'fresh' condition. J.D.A.Thompson* gives a deposition date of C290 from the evidence of this coin but this seems rather too early. C.292 would be better.

18 EWELME Oxfords. SU 6491

Pointer of Britannia Romana, London 1724 pp 12 ff; V.C.H. Oxfords p.327; Arch lxxi p 242; (NB Kraay C.M.Oxoniensia XV11-XV111, 1952-3 pp 239 ff provides details of what seems to be a different hoard).

In 1772 a 'pot' (V.C.H.) or 'urn' (Pointer) was found containing a large hoard of third century coins, ranging mostly

from Gallienus to Carausius. Pointer, then chaplain to Merton College, received 337 of them soon after the discovery and present knowledge derives chiefly from his publication of some of these. His list begins with a single second brass of Domitian and ends with an Urbs Roma piece which is probably an intruder. The list does not give mint marks but the coin of Carausius in the Ashmolean Museum from this hoard has $\frac{1}{\cdot}$.

19 GREAT ORMES HEAD Caern. SH 7584

N.C. 3 ser vol Vlll 1888, p 163; A.Camb. 1888 p 370; C.C.R.B p 162; B.C.S. XXlll p 306.

The coins were found at what was believed to have been an ancient fireplace. There were 17 in all together with one sherd.

1 x Gallienus (GERM MAXV); 2 x Victorinus (SALVS AVG); 1 x Tetricus I (PAX AVG); 13 x Carausius. The latest Carausian marks are $\frac{S/C}{C}$ and $\frac{B/E}{MLXXI}$ which suggest a deposition date of C. 291.

20 HOVERINGHAM Notts SK 6946

N.C. 6 ser. vol lX 1949 p 259; J.R.S. xli 1951 p 130.

This hoard, found in 1949, ranges from Gallienus to Carausius → 31 x Gallienus; 5 x Salonina; 2 x Postumus; 59 x Victorinus; 100 x Tetrici; 41 x Claudius II; 1 x Quintillus; 1 x Probus; 9 x Diocletian/Maximian; 40 x Carausius. total → 289.

'The coins of Carausius, with the exception of some half dozen, which owing to corrosion, can not be attributed with certainty are all from the London mint'. The latest mark given is $\frac{B/E}{MLXXI}$, suggesting a terminal date of C. 291.

21 LAUGHARNE CASTLE Carms SN 3011

G.M. 1839 p 18; Curtis, 'Antiquities of Laugharne'
1880 p 136; P.S.A. 1 ser. vol I p 8; B.S.C. I pp 345 ff;
XXIII p 306; A Camb. LV1 (1901) p 21; C.C.R.B. p 162.

'An urn containing several of his (sc Carausius') coins were found'. This was about 1830 and the find spot was, 'in a garden adjoining Laugharne Castle'.

22 LINCHMERE Sussex SV 8630

N.C. 5 ser. vol V 1925 pp 173 ff; Sussex A.C. LXVII pp 93-102;
V.C.H. Sussex p 60; Ant. J 1925. p 282; J.R.S. XV 1925 p 244;
XXII 1932 p 94; C.C.R.B. pp 58, 64, 162; Morning Post 17 and
18, April 1925.

810 coins were found in a Roman urn 8" x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", just within the Sussex border, in December 1924. Of these some 534 were of Carausius, mostly in an excellent state of preservation. The latest mark is a single $\frac{1}{\text{CXXI}}$ of c290 with the majority of the Carausian coins having $\frac{\text{F/O}}{\text{ML}}$. This hoard is distinctive for its lack of the coinage of other usurpers, as well as for the quality and condition of the Carausian pieces.

23 LLANGEINWEN (Rhydd Gaer) Anglesey. SH 4365

A. Camb 1856. p. 326; 1857 p.218*; 1861 p 37; B.C.S. I p
346; XXIII p 307; Gymmrodorion Soc Trans. 1920-21. p 71 n.4.

This hoard consists of 23 antoniniani, and one follis of Constantine which is probably a stray (cf Din Silwy hoard for a similar problem). The range of the antoniniani is ;

1 x Philip; 1 x Gallienus; 6 x Tetricus I; 6 x Tetricus II;
 1 x Claudius II; 7 x Carausius: (NB This in fact totals 22 so
 there is a minor discrepancy in the accounts of the hoard).

The latest coin is a $\frac{B/E}{MLXXI}$ of c291. The coins of Carausius
 are varied, including a LEG 11XX PRIMIG $\frac{1}{ML}$ and an VBERITAS
 AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$, which may indicate a policy of deliberate selectivity
 on the part of the hoarder.

*A short time before finding the coins, the neck of a vase was
 picked up of a bright red coloured pottery must
 have stood about a foot high.' This may possibly relate to the
 hoard's container.

24 LLANIDAN Anglesey SH 5639 (4miles north east of Caernavon).
 A.Camb 1852 p 209; B.C.S. XXIII p.306

This hoard was found in a pot at Tan Ben y Cefn, about 1844.
 From the limited details available, the range seems to have been
 extensive. Said to have been included in this hoard is, 'a
 medal of the Empress Lucilla in good preservation, one of
 Antoninus Pius and one of Carausius'. The Carausius coin is
 PAX AVG of which it is said, 'The die has slipped in striking
 the coin and part of the impression of another coin is left on
 one side of it.'

25 LLANLECHID (Gerlan) Caern SH 6268
 A.Camb 1870 p 356; B.C.S. XXIII p 307

This is an ill-documented hoard of over 200 antoniniani
 ranging from Postumus to Carausius.

26 DIN SILWY (Llanvihangel-Tyn-Silwy/Bwrydd Arthur) Anglesey
SH 5892

B.C.S. I p 346; XXIII p 306; Cymmrodorion Soc. Trans 1920-21
p 67 n; C.C.R.B. p 162. (Nat. Mus. Wales).

This hoard of 61 antoniniani was found about 1900. The
Constantinian piece is almost certainly a stray. The range is
from Victorinus to Carausius with 44 coins of the latter.

$\frac{F10}{ML}$ is the latest mark present which would be compatible with a
deposition date as early as 289 although Boon suggests 291.

One of the Carausian antoniniani, R.I.C.880, has an obverse
which is very similar to that of the $\frac{1}{BRI}$ coin from Corbridge.

27 MARGARETTING Essex TL 6601

Colchester Museum Report 1934 p 9; J.R.S. XXI 1931 p 236;
C.C.R.B. p 162; V.C.H. Essex III p 157;*

* '3 miles south west of Chelmsford, near Whites' place, in
1930 a hoard of 32 antoniniani found halfway between the third
and fourth milestones from Chelmsford and about 50^y south of
the main road'.

The range is from Gallienus to Carausius comprising, as far as
may be deduced from the inconsistent accounts;- 3 x Gallienus;
1 x Postumus; 3 x Victorinus; 3 x Tetricus; 2 x Claudius II ;
20 x Carausius;. The J.R.S. account further states that of the
Carausius coins, 2 are from the London mint and 4 from the
'Colchester' mint. Even after allowing for illegible coins,
the inference must be that the majority of the Carausian coins
were $\frac{1}{1}$, and that the hoard was probably deposited earlier
rather than later in the reign. ³

28 'MENDIPS' Somerset

N.C.Iser. vol VII 1847 p 48* V.C.H. Somerset p 338 ϕ ;
Dorset County Chronicle and Somersetshire Gazette 19.3.1846.

*'Large number of small brass lately found nothing more valuable among them than a Carausius'.

ϕ Of this, the only hoard known from this area, it is said, 'it was probably deposited like many similar hoards about the time of Carausius.'

It may be possible to infer from the N.C. account that there was in fact only one coin of Carausius in the hoard. A large number of Carausius would probably have provoked more comment. This is most likely to have been a hoard deposited very shortly after the beginning of Carausius' reign.

29 NARBERTH (Newton) Pembs SN 1114

A. Camb. 1857 p 313; 1864 p 363; 1924 p 223; R.C.H.M. Pembrokeshire. 1925 p 28; No 831; Laws, Little England 1888, p 45; B.C.S.I. p 352; XXIII p 306.

The major problem concerning this hoard is the discrepancy between the totals provided by different sources. The A.C. account mentions a large number of third brass coins, a ring, and a bronze ligula with what was apparently its case, and goes on to say that the coins were in 'wretched' condition.

Emperors included are Gallienus; (Salonina); Postumus; Victorinus; Tetrici; Claudius; Florian; Quintillus; Probus; Carausius with the total about 300.

Boon's account in B.C.S. XXIII, however, gives the total as 18,000 and gives the container as a skin.

30 PETERBOROUGH Northants TL 1999

B.N.J. I 1904 p 349; C.C.R.B. p 162

This was found in a vase of dull grey earthenware, 6" high, $8\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, some 4' down into Roman levels (8' below the modern surface) on a site which appears to be a pile village near a former major water course. The container is described as, 'bowl-shaped but gathered below the rim which is turned over. In the gathering it is encircled by three faintly indented lines, and at its broadest circumference, by a fourth'. Major points to note are a) .. 'without exception the coins show signs of long circulation in the excessive wear and tear they have undergone before being consigned to the earth ... (b) The depth of their burial (c) the size of the bowl which either could or did contain a comparatively large hoard (d) one of the minims had been pierced and the hole had worn through the edge of the coin before the deposit.'

These fifteen coins form an odd assortment. 1 x Hadrian; 1 x A Pius; 2 x Faustina I; 4 x M Aurelius; 1 x Severus Alexander; 1 x Claudius II; 1 x Carausius; 4 x illegible (- 1 x Sestertius; 1 x antoninianus; 2 x minims) = 15.

The combination of worn sestertii, antoniniani and minims in such a small quantity suggests that this was more a collection of souvenirs of some sort than an accumulation of personal wealth. In this respect it may be likened to the Whitchurch, Somerset hoard.

31 PUCKNOLL (Pucknowle) Dorset . SY 5388

Trans. Dorset Field Club XXXV 1914 p.11; N.C. 4 ser. vol XIV

1914 pp.92ff; C.C.R.B. 162.

The exact total of this hoard, found in 1859, is not known.

107 coins have been recorded ranging thus from Gallienus to a single coin of Carausius :- 3 x Gallienus; 2 x Salonina; 55 x Postumus; 40 x Victorinus; 4 x Tetrici; 2 x Claudius II; 1 x Carausius. It was found in 'an earthen jar turned up with the plough.' 'I noticed that as a rule the obverses were carefully struck and bore good portraits whereas the reverses were ill struck or carelessly centred. There were not, however, any overstruck pieces.' The Carausius piece is said to be similar to Webb 1035 and Blackmoor No 104 and is thus a $\frac{1}{1}$ piece which suggests a deposition date at the beginning of Carausius' reign. C.C.R.B. asserts that the hoard is preserved in part in the Dorchester Museum.

32 PENARD GOWER Glamsg SS 5290

B.C.S. XXIII pp.294 ff; J.R.S. LVII 1967 p.174 (Nat. Mus Wales).

This hoard of 2583 antoniniani was found in a bronze bowl in 1966. The coins range from Valerian to Carausius, with 81 of the latter. These last include a large number of copies according to Boon. The latest mark is MLXXI but there is one 'Rouen' coin present. In this respect it is similar to the hoard from the Little Orme's Head (q.v.) and there is, in fact, a more tangible link in that each hoard contains an example of R.I.C. 680 from the same pair of dies (cf L.Orme No 389). This hoard contains three $\frac{1}{RSR}$ coins.

33 RICHBOROUGH Kent TR 3358

Richborough IV pp.70, 280; N.C. 5 ser. vol XX 1940 p.70.

Hoard 7.

'In a small pocket on the inner side of the ditch about one third of the way down. A mass of eleven coins corroded together.' Of these eight were definitely Carausian and one was of Tetricus although the types were indeterminate, according to Richborough IV.

There seems to be a discrepancy concerning the location of the find spot. Richborough IV p.70 gives it as a, 'point 6' deep in inner slope of inner ditch at the south west angle.' What is unquestionably the same hoard is given on p 280 of the same report as coming from the 'outer stone fort ditch, south-west corner.'

This hoard together with that of Allectus from the ditch fill provide important evidence for the dating of building activity at Richborough.

34 RIPLEY Derbyshire SK 3950

V.C.H. Derby I p 261; C.C.R.B. p 162; Soc Aut. minutes 12.11.1730 = I p.251; Gough's add.to Camden II p 306.

'An urn full of coins of Gallienus, Victorinus, Carausius etc found in 1730.'

35 ST ALBANS, Herts TL 1507

Wheeler R.E.M. & T.V. 'Verulamium; A Belgic and Two Roman Cities' Oxford 1936 p.110

Ins V Building V; In a fire blackened deposit of debris a

hoard of 36 antoniniani was found. The range is from Gallienus to Carausius. Of the Carausian coins, 4 were London mint, 2 Colchester, 7 1 and 1 SYMM.

1 x Gallienus (RIC 166); 1 x Salonina (RIC 5); 3 x Victorinus (RIC 61, 71, 78); 2 x Claudius II (RIC 266 x 2); 7 x Tetricus I (RIC 69/71, 70/71, 80, 88, 121/4 and one overstruck); 5 x Tetricus II (RIC 234, 258, 270 x 2, and one illegible); 14 x Carausius (RIC 33, 101 x 2, 121, 272 var, 300, 482, 783, 880 x 5, 920). with 3 barbarous radiates.

36 ST ALBANS Herts. TL 1507

Archaeologia Vol LXXXIV pp.236-7; C.C.R.B. p.163

'169 coins were found in the period IV make up of the stage floor, of which 144 were in close enough association to be deemed a hoard, of which the latest certain identifiable pieces were two of Carausius - R.I.C. 300 $\frac{S/P}{C}$, one barbarous'.

This R.I.C. 300 is one of the latest coins of Carausius' reign so the hoard may be dated accordingly.

37 SEGONTIUM Caern. SH 4862

A. Camb. LXXXII 1922 pp.291, 317-20; Wheeler R.E.M. 'Segontium and the Roman Occupation of Wales.' p.218; Y Cymmrodor XXXIII p.115; B.C.S. XXIII p.305; N.C. 5 ser vol XI 1931 p.23; C.C.R.B pp.66, 115, 117, 162; J.R.S. XI 1921, p.225, XII 1922, p.243.

Hoard two, from the sacellum cellar, terminated with one coin of Carausius in extremely fine condition. It was found in a box and ranges thus:- 2 x Gallienus; 2 x Postumus; 5 x Victorinus;

1 x Marius; 4 x Claudius II; 1 x Quintillus; 15 x Tetricus I; 7 x Tetricus II; 1 x Carausius; 4 local imitations and 14 radiate minims. TOTAL 56. Boon (B.C.S.) gives 46 antoniniani and 10 minims, and a deposition date of 286. The Carausius coin is an R.I.C. 56 LEG I MIN which would admit of a deposition date very early in Carausius' reign. 287 would be more likely than 286.

38 SHOTOVER (Lark Rise,) Oxfordshire SP 5055 (4 miles east of Oxford).

N.C. Iser. vol. V 1845, p.43; V.C.H. Oxfordshire I p.327.

Arch. lxxi p.255; A.J. III 1846, p.125;

This was found in May 1842, in an urn or jar. Many of the coins were in a good state of preservation. It was 'found on the estate of Mr G.V.Drury in Thornhill Lane, between the Oxford - Wheatley road and Shotover Lodge. The pot contained about 560 coins and perhaps some beads'. The range is from 'Antoninus' to Carausius and includes Aurelian, Claudius, Claudius Gothicus (presumably all these were in fact Claudius II), Florian, Gallienus, Tacitus, Tetricus, Victorinus, Postumus, Probus, Salonina, 'Maximillian' (sic) and Gratian. This last must be an intruder. A detailed analysis of the hoard is no longer possible.

39 SILCHESTER II Hants. SU 6262

N.C. 6 ser. vol XX 1960 p.245;

insula XVIII This hoard was found in 1897 and consists of 22 antoniniani → 4 from the period Gallienus to Tetricus and

18 of Carausius. The hoard was in 'new' condition and found to have a silver wash when cleaned. The latest coin is an $\frac{S/P}{ML}$ from the last year of Carausius' reign. Most of the Carausian coins are from at least the middle years of the reign, with no 1 coins present. The hoarder thus appears by and large to have sought only the best and most recent coins. The legends exhibit no great variety.

40. SILCHESTER III Hants. SU 6262

N.C. 6 ser. vol XX 1960 p.245; Arch XLVI p.340; Arch 3 XXX p.20; C.C.R.B. P.63 n.11 & cf p.162; Woodward, Wilkes and Lockart. 'A General History of Hampshire' vol III p.280 n; original ms account in Joyce J.G. 'Journal of Excavations at Silchester' 24 Nov 1865.

'In the room west of the Triclinium of a large official residence ... a hoard of bronzes was found, on the floor 2'6" distant from the wall. They appear to have been thrust into a hole in the wall of the house, in a leather bag perhaps. The peculiarities of these folles (sic) were that the greater part of them were the coins of former emperors restruck by Carausius'. Gallienus, Postumus and Maximian are mentioned as having been overstruck and there is, 'a somewhat rare coin struck at Tréves (sic) in commemoration of the peace between the three emperors ... and some types of coins of his reign not often found.' This is seen as evidence for the view that, 'this emperor at one time made his headquarters at Silchester.'

Of the total of 42 antoniniani, 31 were of Carausius. Some accounts associate a coin of Helena with these but this seems unlikely.

41 SOUTH NORWOOD Kent TQ 3365

Unpublished vidi c/o P.J.Casey

This hoard consists of 55 antoniniani of which 48 are Carausian. The rest are 1 x Gallienus; 2 x Victorinus; 1 x Tetricus II; 3 x barbarous; All the Carausius coins are 1 save four which have 1 ML. There are four overstrikes, one certain die-linked pair. The hoard appears to have been deposited early in the reign.

42 STRATA FLORIDA Cards. SN 7465

B.C.S. I p.346; XXIII p.306; C.C.R.B. P.162

This hoard consists of at least 16 coins found in 1853 in a bronze bowl. Of these, 15 were antoniniani :- 1 x Gallienus; 4 x Victorinus; 7 x Tetricus I; 1 x Tetricus II; 2 x Claudius II. The other coin is a denarius of Carausius in 'very good condition'. Boon gives a tentative deposition date of 290, presumably based on this denarius. The association of so rare a coin as this with so few other coins, which in themselves are in no way exceptional, is most unusual.

43 THURSTONLAND Yorks SE 1610

G.M. 1838 II p.65; C.C.R.B. p.162; Richmond I.A.

'Huddersfield in Roman Times' 1925 pp.103, 116 (Huddersfield Museum).

This badly documented hoard is said to include coins of

'Claudius II; Tacitus; Victorinus; Tetricus; Gallienus; Carinus, Carausius and the empress Mammaea Augusta'.

Robertson gives 1 x Ar. of Mammaea; 7 x Valerian; 1 x Gallienus;

6 x Victorinus; 13 x Claudius II; 8 x Tetricus I; 2 x Tetricus ?? I; 5 x Tetricus II; 3 x Tacitus; 2 x Probus; 11 x Carausius; 5 x illegible, giving a total of 65 now available out of an original 600-800.

44 UPSALL CASTLE Yorks. SE 4587 ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east of Thirsk)

N.C. 2 ser. vol III p.216; C.C.R.B. p.162;

'30 or 40 coins of the usurpers Carausius, Victorinus and Tetricus' were found in 'the Wood Field'. This is all that is recorded about this hoard.

45 WALMERSLEY Lancs. SO 8013

Wathin W.T. 'Roman Lancashire' p.241; Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs and Cheshire XVIII 1865-6 p.279; B. Mus. guide p.64; A.J. xlix 1892 p.224n; C.C.R.B. p.162 (Rochdale Mus?)

In 1864 a small earthenware pot was found, three miles due north of Bury. The vessel was covered by a stone and contained 500-700 coins terminating with Carausius and Maximian. There were also coins of Postumus; Victorinus; Tetricus; Claudius II; Quintillus; Tacitus; Probus.

A considerable amount of jewellery was found in association with the coins, namely:- a pair of slightly ornamented silver bracelets; a massive silver bracelet, $\frac{1}{3}$ " in breadth; a bracelet of silver wire; two fragments of bracelets; three plain silver finger rings; one finger ring 'set with a red stone'; broken rings; a fragment of a bronze bracelet; a

small bronze hinge; the bowl of a bronze spoon and an amulet of amber. This is presumably an assemblage of all the metallic valuables of the hoarder, concealed together.

46 WELL Lincs. TF 4473

A.J. XCI 1934 p.185; Stukeleys' Letters and Diaries II* p.258; A.A.S.R. XXX p.343; Beauties of England and Wales ϕ vol X, p.716; C.C.R.B. p.162; Ms. min. Soc. Ant I 1717-1732 pp.149, 152; Gough's Camden 1789 II p.276; 1806 II p.382.

This hoard was found in 1725 and included coins of Gallienus; Victorinus; Claudius II; The Tetrici and Carausius.

*'In earthen pot 1' deep were 600-700 coins terminating with one of Carausius, and another of a young prince, haply his son'.

ϕ , 'two fair urns containing 600 Roman coins were found'.

The hoard had been dispersed even by Stukeleys' time.

NB. Robertson calls this an Allectan hoard which possibly contained some gold.

47 WELNEY Cambs. TL 5294

Stukeleys' Letters and Diaries II p. ϕ 22; V.C.H. Norfolk* p.332; Watson W 'History of Wisbech' p.553; A.J. xlvi 1889, p.365; Goughs Camden 1789 II p.141; Skertchley 'Geology of Fenland' 1877 p.471.

*'Hoard of coins found in 1718 including Carausius. ... The coins or engravings of them are said to have gone to Trinity College Library but I have enquired there in vain, and the statement is, I suppose, an error'.

♠ 'and at Welney whence I had most of my Carausius' The urns which contained the coins at Welney lay within reach of the plow-share'.

The plural, 'urns', implies that a lot of coins were found and 'most of my Carausius; that a large proportion of them were coins of that usurper.

48 WENTWOOD MILL Mons. ST 4194

N.C. 3 ser.vol X 1890 pp.260 ff; Lee J 'Isca Silurum' p.83;

B.C.S.I. p.352; IV p.266; XXIII p.306; C.C.R.B. p.162

J.B.A.A. XXIII 1867 p.394. (Nat. Mus. Wales)

Lee records 1200-1300 coins found in a pot from a quarry in 1860. 'Many of the coins were of unusual thinness owing to their having been struck up with a carefulness not commonly found in the coinage of that date.'

The hoard, as presently preserved at Cardiff, consists of 1,051 coins to which Boon gives a deposition date of 293 although the latest mark is $\frac{F10}{ML}$ and the majority of the twelve Carausian coins are $\frac{1}{1}$. The range is from Gallienus to Carausius.

49 WROXETER Salop. SJ 5608

Bushe-Fox J.P. 'Excavations on the site of the Roman Town at Wroxeter 1912-14' 1913 p.72.

The account states that there were 17 coins in the hoard but the list given only total 16. They were found in site V with a large mass of corroded iron, chiefly nails. The range is :-
1 x Philip; 1 x Trajan Decius; 3 x Gallienus; 1 x Salonina;
6 x Postumus and four silver denarii of Carausius of which three

were badly burned. The denarii are RIC 535, 554 var (50) 560 and o) 6B 4 PAX (AVG) $\frac{1}{2}$ tr.sc.

cf. the Sully Moor hoard for a similar predilection for silver persisting down to this time.

GROUP TWO

HOARDS TERMINATING WITH ALLECTUS

1 BLACKMOOR Hants. SU 7833

N.C. 2 ser.vol XVII β 1877 pp.90ff; V.C.H.Hants* pp.340-2;

Sussex** A.C. XXXI p.204; XXXIV p.254; C.C.R.B. p.163;

J.B.A.A. n.s VIII 1902 p.213 Num.Circ.1936 col 93; JRS II

1912 p.237n; XV 1925 p.115; XVI 1926 p.38.

*'In 1873 an enormous hoard of coins, stowed in two jars was dug up about quarter of a mile north west of Woolmer Pond, and half way between it and Blackmoor House. This hoard, when perfect, must have exceeded 30,000 coins; 29,802 mostly 'third brass', but a few 'billon denarii', were actually obtained, and 29,786 were catalogued No record apparently exists of whether the coins in the two jar differed at all. Very often the coins in large hoards seem to have been sorted in one way or another.'

The range is from Gordian III to Allectus and the total includes 545 of Carausius and 90 of Allectus.

β The hoard contained examples of bad workmanship, overstrikes, brockages and such like. The Carausian and earlier coins are worn but the Allectus ones are quite fresh.

** 'This hoard must have been concealed in the invasion of Britain by Asclepiodotus ... its owner probably perishing in the

conflict which terminated the rule of Allectus.'

2 BORDEN Kent TQ 8863

V.C.H. Kent III p.105; C.C.R.B. p.163; J.B.A.A. IV 1849
p.68;

In a pond or rubbish hole near a suspected villa were '35 coins
(? part of a hoard) - 3 x Gallienus; 28 x Tetrici; 1 x Numerian;
2 x Carausius; 1 x Allectus.

These coins are such as may well have formed an early Allectan
hoard but the details are tantalisingly sparse.

3 CAMERTON I Somerset ST 6857

V.C.H. Somerset, p.292; C.C.R.B. p.163; P.S.A. 2 ser XI
1885 p.314;

In a small house, discovered in 1817, 200' from the line of the
Fosse Way was a hoard of 60 third brass going down to Carausius
and Allectus. In the same house two other hoards were found;
one terminating with Gallienus, the other with a single Carausius
(v.s.)

N.B. Robertson has 67 coins for this hoard.

4 CANTERBURY Kent TR 1457

unpublished vidi c/o S.S.Frere

Hoard 2 CXXIX EXXD 6 (F) 1969

This consists of 8 coins :- 1 x Tetricus (R.I.C.56); 4 x
Carausius (R.I.C. 118 $\frac{S/P}{MLXXI}$, 287 $\frac{S/C}{}$, 684, 880); 1 x Allectus
(R.I.C. 42 $\frac{S/P}{ML}$) and two radiates. Associated with these is an
intrusive Theodosian bronze. The absence of Allectan guinari

may possibly indicate a deposition date somewhat before the last year of Allectus' reign. The presence of a 'Rouen' coin is worthy of note (v.i.)

5 COLCHESTER Essex TM 0025

N.C. 5 ser. vol X 1930 pp.173 ff; Hull M.R. 'Roman Colchester' p.277; C.C.R.B. p.163; N.C. 6 ser.vol IV 1944 pp.1 ff.

This was found in 1927 a few miles from Colchester, in a pot which is now lost, and consisted of well silvered antoniniani in pristine condition. Those of Carausius and Allectus are called, 'very neatly executed pieces with busts in high relief, with well formed lettering, well centred on carefully rounded blanks.

This is especially noticeable of the coins of Allectus

those of Carausius are large widespread pieces with only one or two of the small and barbarous early issues'. They consist

of :- 3 x Gallienus; 1 x Salonina; 1 x Tacitus;

102 x Carausius; 2 x Carausius in Maximian's name; 167

x Allectus - 298.

The break down of mint marks is :-

	<u>London</u>	:	<u>'Colchester'</u>	:	<u>S/C</u>	or	<u>S/P</u>
Carausius	51	:	24	:	21		
Carausius (M)	1	:	1	:			
Allectus	114	:	53	:			

Webb suggests a deposition date right at the end of Allectus' reign; in spite of rather than because of a few quinarii, which he does not accept as Allectus' last issue.

NB The total is increased by three coins to 301 by additional information given in the N.C. 1944 account.

6 CRONDALL Hants. SU 7948

N.C. 4 ser.vol IV * 1904 p.136; 5 ser.vol XIV 1934 ^ϕ p.310;

C.C.R.B. p.163;

* The exact details of this hoard which was found in the Barley Pond, Crondall in 1873 are uncertain. It was alleged that about 200 coins were found ranging from Claudius II to Allectus and including Probus and Tacitus. The hoard contained some twelve coins of Carausius and four or five of Allectus.

^ϕHere there is mention of some 300 coins of Postumus and other Gallic emperors 'and perhaps 25 or more of Carausius and 7 or 8 of Allectus. Several of the legitimate emperors were represented. I remember coins of Gallienus, Claudius, Gothicus a very few of Aurelian and Probus.' The condition of the coins is said to have been fairly good and most of them appear to have been 'of the usual types' save for the exceptional Carausian GENIO BRITANNI = RIC 241.

7 COYGAN CAVE (Kyngadle/Llansadwrnin) Carms. SN 6931

G.M. 1839 II p.18; 1842 II pp.472-4; A.J. XXIX p.102;

A Camb 1901 p.21; P.S.A. I p.8; B.C.S. IV 1928 p.252;

XXIII p.306; R.C.H.M. Carmarthen. 1917 p.188 No.559

G.M. 'in a natural cavern at Kyn-Gadel a sacrificial censer or thuribulum of bronze containing many coins of Carausius..... This is on Coygan Hill' .

A.J. ...'tomb hewn in the rock resembling that at Llantwit.

4'6" x 2'6" x 2'. A human skeleton crouched upon one of its sides lay in the cist with a bronze strainer. The probability that the Llantwit deposit may be ascribed to the late Roman

period appears thus confirmed.' also in context were....

'many bones of birds, small animal and snail shells.' and of the coins'numerous coins of Carausius, Allectus, Carus and Tetricus.'

A.C 'at Cyngadle, a pass through the cliffs westward of Laugharne ... many coins of Carausius. This relic (sc.the container) is a beautiful specimen of British workmanship.'

Four bronze objects were found with the coins, a) the patera b) a hemispherical perforated strainer; c) part of the rim of a strainer d) an ornamental stand for a patera. The A.C. account calls the burial neolithic and 'certainly not normal Roman,' discovered by someone who was looking for a good place to conceal his wealth and used for such a purpose. The G.M. account goes so far as to suppose from the presence of Carausian coins that this was the burial place of one of Carausius' admirals' and it quotes Vergil Aen VI 232 ff. to add poetry if not positive support to the view.

8 CYNWIL GAI0 Carms . SN 6540 (Pumsaint)
Arch II * pp.15-16; N.C. 6 ser.vol XXVI 1966 pp.157 ff;
B.C.S. XXIII p.307; MS min. Soc.Ant IX 1762-1765 p.187;
Gough's Camden 1789 p.508.

* ... '3000 medals were dug up at Cunvil or Kynwil Gaio last year (1762). They were of Gallienus, Salonina and several of the thirty tyrants and the largest were those of Carausius and Allectus. It is supposed that they were left by troops called away by Allectus to face Chlorus' invasion. Gerald of Cambridge is quoted on the area, 'antiquitate suspicienda,

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coctilibus muris partim ad huc extantibus egregie clausa,
supra nobilem Torium fluvium.'

In this same area the Erw Hén hoard was found, as well as various items of Roman jewellery and an aureus of Allectus. The gold mines of Dolaucothis are also nearby.

9 FLEET Lincs. TF 3823

C.A.S.O.P 1883, p.74; C.C.R.B. p.163; Stukeley Itin.Cur. I 11 and 13; Proc. Arch. Inst. Lincs 1848 p.lviii; A.J. XXXV (1878) p.78; xlix 1892 p.224n; XCI 1934 p.166.

'In the parish of Fleet near Ravensclough, about 1698, upon a piece of ground where buildings had been, Mr. Lenton dug up a large urn with letters round it, full of Roman coins, about the quantity of three pecks. They were of brass piled edgeways, mostly of the time of Gallienus and the thirty tyrants so called, Tetricus, Claudius Gothicus, Victorinus, Carausius, Allectus etc'.

The recorder has been unusually observant in noticing that the coins were stacked edgeways up. For a large quantity of coins to remain for so long in this position they must have been deliberately arranged thus all at once.

cf. the 'Conquest' hoard from Somerset.

10 HOLT Norfolk TG 0738

J.R.S. XXXIV 1944 p.79

Near Holt, Norfolk, a hoard of 1,105 coins was found in a jar of coarse black ware. The range was from AD 249 to Allectus and included 42 silver coins as well as 1063 bronze. There were 9

of Carausius and 2 of Allectus. In the same field late third century, and fourth century pot sherds and tiles were found. The paucity of Carausian coins is, perhaps, surprising in an Allectan hoard but 1 x Tr. Decius; 1 x Valerian; 107 x Gallienus; 10 x Salonina; 15 x Postumus; 2 x Laelian; 1 x Marius; 201 x Victorinus; 120 x Claudius II; 6 x Quintillus; 399 x Tetricus I; 222 Tetricus II; 1 x Aurelian; 2 x Tacitus; 5 x Probus; 1 x Diocletian; 9 x Carausius; 2 x Allectus; 1012 coins in the Castle Museum, Norwich, 31 with Mrs Phillips, The Rectory, Bale.

11 LILLY HORN (Bisley Villa/Watercombe/Oakridge) Glos. SO 9006 N.C. Iser. vol V 1845 p.149; 1846, proc p.3; 1849 p.34 (as Watercombe); 2 ser. vol XI 1871, p.175; A.J. II p.42; C.C.R.B. p.163; J.B.A.A. I 1846 p.44 II 1847, p.175; B.G.A.S. XI 1884, p.14; B.A.A. Glos 1846 p.9.

On a villa site in the south west angle of room 18 under 6" down an earthenware pot was found containing 1,223 coins ranging from Valerian to Allectus including 353 x Victorinus; 629 x Tetrici; 7 x Carausius; 1 x Allectus.

This appears to be an early Allectan hoard such as No 10. Presumably the hoarder either acquired a large accumulation of pre-Carausian coins but had little to add to them, or else, he deliberately kept the most contemporary coins moving while only hoarding earlier pieces. About half the hoard is preserved in the Stroud Museum where it can be seen to be in a good state of preservation.

12 OLNEY (Steeple Claydon) Bucks. SP 7027

V.C.H.* Bucks II p 10; J.B.A.A. III p 255; C.C.R.B. p.163.

This is a badly documented hoard of 'silver coins found in a field'.

*...'between the Lavendon and Warrington roads in a field called Ash furlongs north of Olney. Of these, three are still at Olney, including one of Allectus'.

13 OUNGLE Northants. TL 0488

N.C. 1 ser.vol V 1845. pp.193-5.

This hoard was found during work on a railway line. In association with it were human bones, other bones, pottery, brass pins and part of a clasp buckle. A few early coins are mentioned, 'Two Claudius, second brass; one Trajan, large brass; two Faustina Senior large brass' as is a third brass' of Constans which is probably an intruder or perhaps a descriptive error. 'One of the Claudius was found in a dark blue vessel, the only one preserved entire.' There must, therefore, have been more than one container. The hoard was found in 1844 and consisted of over 1203 antoniniani in addition to the early coins :- 2 x Valerian; 29 x Gallienus; 5 x Salonina; ? x Postumus; 353 x Victorinus; 5 x Marius; 431 x Tetricus I; 198 x Tetricus II; 34 x Claudius II; 6 x Quintillus; 9 x Aurelian; 2 x Severina; 35 x Tacitus; 2 x Florian; 73 x Probus; 1 x Carus; 1 x Carinus; 2 x Numerian; 6 x Diocletian; 2 x Maximian; 7 x Carausius (Pax, Aequitas, Salus); ? x Allectus.

There is some confusion over these figures as no number is given for Postumus or Allectus and the total of 1203 represents

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the sum of the others. Unless Postumus and Allectus totals have been accidentally merged with Victorinus and Carausius respectively, this would mean that there were, in fact, more than 1203 antoniniani.

The size and range of this hoard, together with the presence of a few early coins suggests that it was the accumulation of several generations of the hoarder's family.

14 PARK END (Forrest of Dean) Glos. SO 5710 (Coleford)
B.G.A.S. VI pp.110 ff; J.B.A.A. XXIII 1867. p.393; XXV 1869
p.158.

This hoard was discovered in 1852, 'near the Park End iron works on the Coleford road, and when found the coins were enclosed in a jar of common grey Roman pottery.' The range is from Julia Domna to Allectus, 'from which we may safely conclude that the ruins in the forrest of Dean were worked by the Romans until the close of the third century'.

The B.G.A.S. account is based on a collation of the coins by Bagnall-Oakley and Lee. Of the Carausius and Allectus coins p.111 n says, 'These two coins were purchased with some very common ones, from a different source, and though they are probably part of the same find, I have no positive proof of it.' The total was over 1000 of which about half were unidentifiable. Those listed are:- 1 x Julia Domna; 1 x Gordian; 9 x Philip; 2 x T Decius; 2 x Valerian; 131 x Gallienus; 23 x Salonina; 175 x Postumus; 68 x Victorinus; 2 x Marius; 33 x Tetricus I; 11 x Tetricus II; 125 x Claudius II; 18 x Quintillus; 10 x Probus; 1 x Carinus; 1 x Carausius (PAX AUGG (sic) $\frac{S/P}{c}$); 1 x Allectus (PAX AUG $\frac{S/P}{ML}$)

15 SAPPERTON TUNNEL (Lark's Bush) Glos. SO 9403

N.C. Iser.vol V 1845, p.195; C.C.R.B. p 163; A.J. II 1845, p 45.

On 'Sept 14th 1844 labourers the mouth of the Sapperton Tunnel found a human skeleton imbedded in the earth about fifteen inches, and by its side seventy Roman coins.' About half were examined and they included, 'Galleinus, Victorinus, Tetricus Senior, Salonina, Quintillus, Carausius and Allectus.'

Some 3000 coins were found nearby in the hamlet of Frampton in 1759 ranging from Pius to Gallienus.

The Sapperton Tunnel hoard is partly in Stroud Museum and partly in private hands. (cf No 13 from Oundle).

16 SKEWEN (Coed y Ffranc) Glamsgs. SS 7297

A Camb LXXVII pp.415-7; B.C.S. XXIII p.307; N.C. 5 ser.vol X 1930 p.134. (Nat.Mus.Wales) (C.C.R.B. p.163 as Neath)

This was found in 1919 in an old quarry, 'in a hollow covered by two flat stones', and consists of 150-200 antoniniani from Gallienus to Allectus. There are at Cardiff 6 x Gallienus; 8 x Claudius II; 5 x Postumus; 10 x Victorinus; 2 x Tetricus I; 7 x Tetricus II; 1 x Tacitus; 3 x 'radiates'; 18 x Carausius; 1 x Allectus - 61.

The A.C. account records the fact that the coins were 'mostly damaged' and this is borne out by what remains of them at Cardiff where some are chipped and corroded to little more than half size. The Allectus coin which terminates the hoard is an S/P_C and Boon suggests 293-4 as the time of concealment.

17 TICKENHAM Somerset ST 4571

V.C.H. Somerset p.367; C.C.R.B. p.163

This is a poorly documented hoard found in 1829 ranging from Gallienus to the Tetrarchy. It is listed as an Allectan hoard by Sutherland. Its find spot is very near that of the Cadbury hoard.

18 WATCHFIELD Berks. SU 2490

N.C. 4 ser.vol VI 1906 proc p.5; V.C.H. Berks; C.C.R.B. p.163; R.I.C.V. 2 pp.449-50; Evening Standard and St James' Gazette. 15.9.1905.

23 coins were found in a small earthenware vessel in a stone-lined well. They ranged thus :- 1 x Gallienus; 3 x Victorinus; 5 x Tetrici; 1 x Claudius II; 1 x Maximian; 6 x Carausius; 6 x Allectus; Those of Carausius and Allectus are said to have, 'been struck at London and Colchester'.

19 WEDMORE (Cocklade/Cocklake) Somerset ST 4347

Ant J. VIII* p.97 (Wedmore); J.R.S. XVII ^φ1927 p.205 (Cocklade); C.C.R.B. p.163 (taking it as two separate hoards).

*This is alleged by one hoard of 44 coins and another of 10 which became indistinguishably mixed. It seems probable that this is two separate bits of the same hoard found at different times but cf. the J.R.S. account. There were 14 x Carausius and 1 x Allectus, of which six were illegible, including the Allectus.

^φThis account mentions 43 coins beginning with one each of Pius and Caracalla then ranging from Gallienus to Allectus and including 14 of Carausius. They were found in an urn of late date by the side of a stone pitched courtyard and roadway near

Cocklade on the south side of the Wedmore-Rodney Stoke road. Close to it another hoard of 10 coins was found, of the same period, as well as a penannular brooch, a fibula, a quern and a pot.

It cannot be proved that this was all one hoard but this is probably the case. Recent aerial photography has shown that the settlement here was much larger than was at first thought. Some of the coins are still in private hands in the area.

GROUP THREE

HOARDS CONTAINING CARAVSIUS AND/OR ALLECTUS ONLY

1 BITTERNE Hants. SU 4513

V.C.H. Hants I p.344; Hampshire Repository I p.113;

I.B.A.A. n.s. XII 1906 p.115; C.C.R.B. p.163; Woodward, Wilks and Lockhart. Gen.Hist.of Hants. London 1861 II p.150 and n.

In the context of extensive remains, 'A small pot filled with coins of Allectus was found here about 1799, but exactly where I do not know! This is further said to have happened, 'when the new road to Botley was made'.

2 CAERWENT Mons. ST 4790

Arch. LXII p.432; B.C.S. XXIII P.307; C.C.R.B. p.163.

In 1910, in the south west angle of room 13 a small pot was found containing six coins of Carausius and four of Allectus. All were in mint condition. The Carausius coins are 1 x London, 4 x 'Colchester', 1 x $\frac{S/P}{C}$ and the Allectus are 1 x London and 3 x 'Colchester'. The latest is $\frac{S/P}{C}$ or $\frac{S/P}{ML}$ and Boon suggests a deposition date of c 293-4.

3 DINAS DINLLE Caern. SH 2736

Hutton 'Remarks on North Wales' p.117; B.C.S.I. p.348;
XXIII p.307

This badly documented hoard was found c1800 and consisted chiefly of antoniniani of Allectus.

4 DROITWICH Worcs. SO 8693

Unpublished. cf.N.C. forthcoming

A hoard of 14 antoniniani found in 1973 at the Bays Meadow site, Droitwich, comprising four of Carausius and ten of Allectus. The coins of Allectus are in a very good state of preservation. The absence of quinarii suggests that the hoard was concealed somewhat before the end of Allectus' reign.

4a) GWINDY/NEATH see PORT TENNANT (No 9)

5 HAMMERSMITH London TQ 2278

London Museum Catalogues III. London in Roman Times, p.190;
C.C.R.B. p.163; A.J. lxxxvi 1929 p.86.

'Seven antoniniani of Carausius found together in the Thames at Hammersmith. The mints, where decipherable are $\frac{1}{ML}$ and $\frac{1}{C}$ '
These marks suggest that this is an early Carausian deposit or loss.

6 LEIGH CHURCH Essex TQ 8386

unpublished. information from I.G.P.Murray Esq, then of Spink and Son.

This is a hoard, 'found early in the sixties at Leigh Church in

Essex, comprising only about 30 or so pieces, mainly of Allectus, all in fairly good condition.'

David Miller, then with Meridien Coins, claimed that a Carausian RIC 174 in very fine condition was also from this hoard. The hoard has now been dispersed.

7 LITTLE ORMES HEAD Caern. SH 8182

A.Camb vol LXIII 1908 p.116; Antiquary xliii 1907 pp.46,83; B.N.J. III 1907 pp.19-20; IV 1908 p.340; Num.Circ.XV 1907 col 9729; N.C. 4 ser.vol 7 1907 proc p.7; 6 ser.vol XVI 1956 pp.205 ff; B.C.S. I p.348; XXIII p.306; C.C.R.B. p.162. (Nat.Mus.Wales, B.M. Ashmolean, private hands)

This hoard does in fact include a very few coins other than those of Carausius and Allectus but as the overwhelming majority of so large a hoard does consist of their coins, it has been included in this group.

The hoard was found in 1907. The metal strips and the, 'patch of black earthy matter quite distinct from the neighbouring soil', suggest that it was originally contained in a metal bound wooden box. Willoughby-Gardners' efforts to trace all the coins from the hoard suggest an original total of over 700. Rather less than 600 have been documented. There are many irregular and over-struck pieces; a coin (No 389 in NC '56) which is from the same dies as one of the coins from the hoard at Pennard Gower (q.v.); the remarkable antoninianus (No 97a) from the same obverse die as the only extant RSR aureus (R.I.C. 534); a coin from the same dies as one from a possible small hoard from Surrey; and two 'Rouen' coins.

These 'Rouen' coins complicate the dating of the hoard. The latest mint mark is $\frac{F/O}{ML}$ which would give a deposition date of about 289 but the 'Rouen' coins bring this forward to the end of the reign, presuming that such coins were only issued then. (v.i. on 'Rouen' coins).

Boon (B.C.S. XXIII) contradicts himself somewhat in giving a deposition date of 293 saying 'no mint marks after 289 but two Rouen coins'. In contrast to using 'Rouen' coins to date the hoard thus, he refers on p 295, to, 'a Rouen mint which began it's activity before 290'.

8 OLD FORD BOW London TQ 3683

N.C. 2 ser.vol VI 1866 p.304; Trans.London and Middlesex Arch. Soc. III 1870 p.207; V.C.H. Middlesex I p.73; R.C.H.M. London 1928 p.189; C.C.R.B. p.163.

In February 1866, a quarter mile from the ferry towards London in a fork in the road (one road going north-west across Cambridge Heath, the other, south-west across Bethnal Green) 'a small vase of dark pottery filled with third brass coins of Allectus' was found 3" down. They were mostly very corroded. The N.C. account says that of the third of the hoard examined, all were quinarii of Allectus with either VIRTUS or LAETITIA types. This is, thus, a late Allectan hoard including coins of both mints.

9 PORT TENNANT Glams . SS 7597 (approx)

Morgan. 'Antiquarian Survey of East Gower' p.71; Dillwyn 'Contributions to the History of Swansea' p.56; B.C.S. I p.370;

IV p.252; XXIII p.307; C.C.R.B. p.163 Simpson G. 'Britons and the Roman Army' p.168.

On the beach at Port Tennant, east of Swansea, 7 antoniniani of Carausius were picked up after a storm in 1836. In the same year a third brass of Allectus was found 'near the same spot'. Simpson records 7 x Carausius and 2 x Allectus.

This must be the same as the Gwindy/Neath hoard recorded in N.C. 5 ser.vol X 1930 p.164 as, '.... 7 coins of Carausius found on the beach between Gwindy and Neath'.

10 RICHBOROUGH Kent TR 3358

Richborough IV p.280; N.C. 5 ser.vol XX p.70 (Hoard No 6)

This consists of 6 coins of Allectus, found together in the filling of the middle earth fort ditch, about three feet down. All have the mark $\frac{S/P}{C}$ from the first year of Allectus reign. This hoard taken in conjunction with the Carausian hoard from the side of one of the stone fort ditches provides valuable dating evidence for the change over to stone at Richborough (v.i)

11 ST ALBANS Herts. TL 1507

Wheeler R.E.M. & T.V. 'Verulamium, a Belgic and Two Roman Cities', Oxford 1936 p.110.

Ins V Building Vi

In the south west wing a hoard of 19 antoniniani was found, all of Carausius. Of these, one was overstruck and all but one appear 'slightly barbarous'. There are 15 x $\frac{1}{1}$; 1 x $\frac{1}{\text{IMI}}$; 1 x $\frac{\text{F10}}{\text{1111}}$; 2 x $\frac{\text{P1}}{\text{ML}}$. These last are the latest coins which can clearly be no earlier than those they copy, namely c 289.

GROUP FOUR

'LEGITIMIST' HOARDS

1 CADBURY (Clapton in Gordano) Somerset ST 4773

N.C. 3 ser.vol XVI pp.238 ff; 5 ser.vol VII 1927 pp.209-18;

C.C.R.B. p.163; V.C.H. Somerset p.360;

This is a hoard of 35 antoniniani found in 1891 :- 1 x Gallienus;

1 x Victorinus; 2 x Claudius II; 7 x Aurelian; 2 x Tacitus;

1 x Florian; 8 x Probus; 1 x Numerian; 5 x Diocletian;

3 x Maximian; 1 x Carausius (PAX AVGGG) : 1 x Constantius as

Caesar; 1 x 'plated'.

Sutherland records this as an Allectan hoard and he includes as Allectan the Clapton-in-Gordano hoard (N.C. 1927) although the account mentions no coins of Allectus. The hoard was found very near to the Tickenham find. (q.v.)

2 CHEDDAR Somerset ST 4553

J.B.A.A. II 1847 p.270; V.C.H. Somerset I p.359; N.C.

1847 p.48; Dobson 'Archaeology of Somerset' 1931 p.156;

C.C.R.B p.162;

In a hoard of about 100 bronze coins ranging from Gallienus to Diocletian and Maximian there were no coins of the usurpers as such although of the 29 coins of Diocletian and Maximian, 7 were struck by Carausius.

Those represented were :- 1 x Gallienus; 1 x Salonina; 2 x

Postumus; 7 x Aurelian; 1 x Severina; 20 x Tacitus; 30 x

Probus; 2 x Carinus; 17 x Diocletian (inc 3 x Carausius);

12 x Maximian (inc. 4 x Carausius) → 99

3 EAST HARNHAM Wilts. SU 1429

N.C. 6 ser.vol IX 1949 pp.251 ff; C.C.R.B. p.164;

(Shrewsbury Mus).

This hoard was found in 1871 and out of an original total of 3938 some 3709 coins have been recorded. They are generally very well preserved, many retaining their silver wash, and there are almost no usurpers' coins. There are no coins of Carausius by name but 19 in the name of Diocletian and 27 in the name of Maximian.

3 x Valerian; 1519 x Gallienus; 120 x Salonina; 2 x Salonimus;
2 x Valerian II ; 111 x Quintillus; 4 x Tetricus I; 91 x Aurelian; 12 x Severina; 103 x Tacitus; 5 x Florian; 227 x Probus; 8 x Carus; 8 x Carinus; 1 x Magnia Urbica; 9 x Numerian; 81 x Diocletian (inc 19 x Carausius) ; 80 x Maximian (inc 27 x Carausius); 5 x Constantius; 4 x Galerius;

4 EVENLEY Northants. SP 5834

N.C. 1 ser.vol XV 1855 p.38; 2 ser.vol XI p.175; G.M.

1854 I p.55; A.J: xlix 1892 p.224 n.j V.CH Northants p.217;

C.C.R.B. p.164.

Found in 1826 in 'a common earthenware pot' were 3153 coins (2448 second brass 'generally well preserved' and 705 third brass, 'much worn'). The overall range of the third brass is 260-306 AD including only two coins of Carausius and very few of the Gallic Emperors. The N.C. 1855 account takes this to be a soldiers' pay hoard but this does not explain the presence of so many older second brass coins.

5 GLOUCESTER (Cross) GLOS. S08318

Daily Telegraph 20.2.1960; Western Mail 31.3.1960; J.R.S. vol LI 1961 p.186; unpublished notes Carson R.A.G.

This hoard of 15,544 coins was found in 1959. It included very few coins of the usurpers and is distinctive in containing in such large numbers the coinage of the central emperors, struck after the reform of Aurelian, which is normally so rare in British hoards. The hoard closes with twenty coins of Carausius, including one 'Rouen' piece, nine of his in the name of Diocletian, seven in that of Maximian, and two of Allectus with the mark $\frac{S/P}{C}$.

GROUP FIVE

HOARDS TERMINATING AFTER ALLECTUS

1 BRISTOL (Nr) Somerset? ST 5872 (-Bristol)

V.C.H. Somerset p.358; N.C. 3 ser.vol V 1885 p.118, C.C.R.B. p.164.

A hoard of 347 coins was discovered near Bristol about 1875.

They range from Gallienus to Constantine II, the majority being of Constantine I. There is one Carausius R) MONETA AVG $\frac{S/C}$.

Evans gives a deposition date of 322 and comments on the, 'remarkable scarcity of the coins of Carausius and Allectus'. There is reason to believe that this and two other local hoards, Easton (qv) and Montpellier, were originally all one large fourth century hoard which was subsequently split up.

2 CANTERBURY Kent TR 1457

Unpublished notes of R Reece

117

Hoard 8 CXXX EXX1 D11 H

This ranges from Claudius II to Gratian and includes one Carausius (RIC 880).

3 CLECKHEATON Yorks SE 1925

Richmond IA 'Huddersfield in * Roman Times' p.115. Hoard VIII;
Y.A.J. XXVII ϕ p.214; Hearn's ed. of Lelands' Itinerary 1714
vol LX p.144.

* coins of 'Constantine, Constantius, Diocletian and Carausius'
AD 284-306.

ϕ 'A hoard of third brass dating 287-305'.

4 DORCHESTER Oxon. SU 5794

Unpublished notes of R Reece

This hoard consists of 14 coins ranging from one of Allectus
down to coins of the house of Theodosius. The first, is a
'quinarius (RIC 130) in mint state and is the largest coin in
the hoard. It is possible that this is a group of coins put
together in post Roman times.

5 DUSTON-NORTON (Nobottle) Northants. SP 6763.

N.C. 5 ser.vol X 1930 p.275; 5 ser.vol XI 1931 p.321;
J.R.S. vol XVII 1927 p.202; A.J. XC 1933 pp.282 ff.

Found in the ruins of a Romano-British building, this hoard, 'had
obviously been carefully hidden within the building when it was
already ruined.' There was no trace of a container but the hoard
was 'concealed under a wedge shaped stone placed aslant the
found of a crosswall'. The N.C. 1930 account also says, 'The

818 coins ranged from Lucius Verus to the house of Theodosius, were mostly fourth century but included one Allectus (PAX AVG S/A ML).

6 EASTON (Bristol) ST 5872

P.S.A. 2 VIII 1879-81 p.287; N.C. 3 ser.vol V 1885; p.118;

B.G.A.S. 1885 p 46; 1939 p 194; C.H.V.S. p 164.

This is a Constantinian hoard of 732 coins ranging from Gallienus and including one Carausius. 60 of the coins are in Bristol Museum.

7 HAMBLEDON VALLEY Bucks.

Arch LXXI pp.189-90;

In a Romano-British homestead site a Constantinian hoard of 294 coins was found. These included one each of Carausius and Allectus.

8 HOVE EDGE Yorks. SE 0825 ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north east of Halifax)

I.A.Richmond. 'Huddersfield in Roman Times' p.115 Hoard No IX;

This is simply given as, 'Carausius, Allectus, Diocletian 284-305'.

9 ICKLINGHAM Suffolk

N.C. 5 ser.vol IX 1929 p.316; 5 ser.vol XVI pp.257, 261;

5 ser.vol XVIII 1938 pp.57,59; 6 ser.vol X 1950 p.258; A.J.

XC 1933 p.302; C.H.V.S. pp.59n, 97, 167.

This hoard consists of 1064 coins ranging from one of Gallienus down to 353 of Arcadius/Honorius, and includes one Carausius and four Allectus.

10 ILCHESTER Somerset

J.R.S. xl 1950 p 110;

This consists of 10 coins → 1 x Tetricus I; 2 x Carausius; 1 x Constantine I; 1 x Constantius II as Caesar; 1 x Constantinopolis; 1 x house of Constantine; 4 x uncertain.

11 LINGWELL GATE Yorks. SE 3225

P.S.A. vol I appendix p.34.

This was found in 1812 in an earthenware urn on the estate of the Marquis of Hertford on the Wakefield Outwood. 'It was stated that coins had been found two years earlier on the same spot.' These may have been part of the same hoard. The range was from Victorinus to Valens and included coins of Carausius (SALVS AVG) and Allectus (RIC 55).

12 LITTLE ORME II SH 8182

B.N.J. III 1907, p.17; VI 1910 p.5; IX 1913 p.81;

A Camb. 1908 p.117; 1909 p.381; 1915 p.87; B.C.S. I 1923

p.348; J.R.S. XXII 1932 p.94; C.H.V.S. p.164; N.C. 5 ser.vol

V 1925 p.395; 6 ser. vol XVI p.119;

This hoard ranged from Quintillus to Licinius and was predominantly Constantinian. The total was c6,500 and of the 5032 recorded, one was of Carausius and two of Allectus.

13 NORTON FITZWARREN Somerset (Nr Taunton)

Letter from B.M. cf B.M. register for 1938.

This small hoard of 7 coins was found c 1880. It is described as containing all barbarous pieces - 1 x Victorinus; 1 x Tetricus I; 1 x Tetricus II ; 1 x Carausius; 2 x Fel.Temp; 1 x two victories type.

14 OFFCHURCH Warks

Note to A.S.R. from Graham Webster.

A hoard of 42 coins ranging from Valerian to Theodosius and including one Carausius.

15 PEMBROKE CASTLE Pembs. SM 9901

Laws 'History of Pembrokeshire p.46; B.C.S. XXIII p.309.

All that is recorded is a find of 6 coins ranging from Carausius to Constans.

16 PENRHYN Caern. SH 8281

A Camb. LXIII 1908 pp.166ff; LXIV 1909 p.381 ff.

This hoard was found c 1880 only about half a mile from the Little Orme's Head. It consists very largely of Constantinian coins in pristine condition, but includes one of Carausius and two of Allectus.

17 PEVENSEY Sussex

G.M. 1840 I p.520; N.C. 1841 p.65; Roach-Smith C 'Excavations at Pevensey' 1858 p.25; J.R.S. XXII 1932 p.66; V.C.H. Sussex III 1935 p.7; C.C.R.B. p.166; J.R.S. XXII 1932 p.66.

This is a hoard of 28 coins ranging from one of Carausius down to one of Gratian.

18 RICHBOROUGH Kent TR 3358

Rich IV p.280 Hoard 5

This is a Constantinian hoard of 79 coins (there is one Theodosian intruder) from pit 8 in the area north of the fort. The hoard

ranges from Gallienus down to a FEL TEMP REPARATIO of c345 and includes one Carausius.

19 RICHBOROUGH Kent TR 3358

Rich IV p.279 Hoard 3.

This is a predominantly Theodosian hoard from pit 220 and consists of 85 coins ranging from one of Carausius to one of Theodosius.

20 RUSHALL DOWN Wilts. SU 1255

N.C. 2 ser.vol II 1862 p.365; Wiltshire Gazette July 17.1899

W.A.M. x lii p.227;

In association with fibulae, rings and an Edwardian spur a predominantly Constantinian hoard was found at Rushall Down, six miles from Devizes on the Salisbury side. It began with Gallienus and included two coins of Allectus, 'one of which was in a very fair state of preservation.'

21 SULLY MOOR Glams. ST 1568

N.C. 3 ser.vol XX 1900 pp.27-65; A.Camb LV 1900 p.65; B.C.S.

XXIII p.305; Antiquary XXXV 1899 p.365; Num.Circ.1900 col

3758; B.M.Guide 1922 p.65; Isaac P.J. 'A Study of Roman Gold

Coins Found in Britain, and Their Implications'. M.A.Thesis Durham.

1971 pp.67-68.

A hoard of gold and silver coins was found in a metal vessel $4\frac{1}{2}$ " long, in 1899. In all there were 301 coins of which seven were gold (NB There is some slight confusion in the accounts as fifteen silver coins are said to have also belonged to this hoard but these seem, in fact to have been included in the total

figure of 301). The silver coins range from Marcus Aurelius to Postumus with one of Carausius also. (RIC 554). The gold coins are all later still. This is a very marked example of a hoarders aversion to base metal and it squares with the usual pattern in mixed gold and silver hoards that the gold is later than the silver.

22 WEYBRIDGE Surrey

B.M.notes (Weybridge Museum)

This hoard was found at St George's Hill, Weybridge and consists of 9 coins going down to Magnentius and including an Allectus.

23 WEYMOUTH Dorset

N.C. 5 ser.vol IX 1929 proc.pp.5,10; 5 ser.vol XI 1931 p.14 & proc p.31; 6 ser.vol X 1950 p.256; Num.Circ.XXXVI 1928 cols 404, 486; J.R.S. XVIII 1928 p.206; XXII 1932 p.95; A.J. XC 1933 p.299; C.C.R.B. pp.59n, 120, 121, 123n, 167.

This hoard consists of 4382 coins, now dispersed throughout various museums, ranging from 1 Postumus to 1838 Theodosian and including 1 Allectus.

24 WISBECH Cambs.

This may possibly be two hoards run together. There are 17 coins ranging from Claudius II to Theodosius and including one of Carausius.

25 WROXETER Salop. SJ 5608

V.C.H. Shropshire* p.232; Wright T 'Uriconium' p.69. J.B.A.A XVI p.162.

*....'in chamber 2 near the latrines on the sill of a doorway near the northern end was found a broken earthenware vessel and scattered about it 38 coins'.

They were 1 x Caracalla; 1 x Severus Alexander; 1 x Maximianus (second brass); 2 x Gallienus; 1 x Salonina; 1 x Postumus; 8 x Victorinus; 3 x Tetricus; 2 x Claudius II; 1 x Carausius; 12 x House of Constantine; 1 x Valentinian; 1 x Gratian; 1 x minim; 2 x illegible.

NB the J.B.A.A. account gives the total as 'about sixty'.

26 UNPROVENANCED

N.C. 6 ser.vol XIV 1954 p.12.

This account refers to 24 coins in private hands, 'of such close consistency that they were in all probability part or all of a small hoard'. They range from Carausius to Magnentius and include 'one Carausius from the hugdunum (sic) mint.'

GROUP SIX

HOARDS FOUND OVERSEAS

1 AMIENS FRANCE Somme. N49'54" 2'18" E

N.C. 3 ser.vol X 1890 pp.267 ff; Blanchet 'Les trésors de mon. rom. et les inv.germ'. Paris 1900 No.28; Journal des Savants. Jan-Mar 1969 pp.26ff.

A total of 25 coins was found together in 1887, said to look as if they have not had much contact with the soil and were thus perhaps in a container which has perished. 2 x Gordian III;

1 x Philip I; 1 x Pacatian; 1 x Her.Etruscilla; 1 x Her. Etruscus; 2 x Postumus; 1 x Probus; 6 x Carausius; 10 x Allectus. All the coins of Carausius have mint marks which is a point against the view that the unmarked coins were struck in Gaul. There are no quinarii and the hoard appears to have been deposited after the ¹¹⁰⁴box of the continental possessions but before the end of Allectus' reign.

2 ARRAS FRANCE N 50'18" 2'46" E

N.C. 5 ser.vol X 1930 pp 221-274; A.N.S. NNM 28; Arethuse Jan 1924; Schulman, Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde 1923 p. 80.

A hoard of some 300 + aurei and at least 13 medallions in gold was found in 1922. A large proportion was dispersed soon after the discovery and are no longer traceable. The remains of two containers were found, one of silver, the other of clay. It may be that the silver one was concealed inside the clay one, or else that each was a container in its own right.

The aurei fall into two groups, an earlier one ranging from Hadrian to Caracalla and a smaller one (cf Ratto Sale, April 1923 Nos. 375 ff) ranging from Diocletian to Constantine I.

The hoard appears to date from shortly after the introduction of the solidus by Constantine, and the later coins in the Ratto sale which were reputed to have come from the hoard probably did not. Aurei struck by Carausius in the name of the central emperors were included. Two of these were bought by T.E Newell.

As well as the coins and medallions there were various items of jewellery.

3 CAMLIAC ET ST DENIS FRANCE (Cant. Braune, arr Libourne, Gironne) 44'48" 0'16" W.

Journal des Savants loc.cit. Rev.Num 6^{III} p.103 No. 10; Bull et mem.de la soc.arch. de Bordeaux XLIII 1926 pp.29-30

'Allectus dans un trésor enfoui sous Dioclétien'.

4 CHERVREY FRANCE (arr Trèves Aube) N 48'08" 4'30" E

Journal des Savants loc.cit; Mem de la soc d'agr des Sc.arts et belles lettres du depart.de l'Aube XI 1842-3 pp.95-6;

Blanchet loc.cit. No 12.

'Carausius et Allectus dans un trésor enfoui sous Dioclétien.'

5 CLEMONT FRANCE (cant Argent-sur-Sauldre, arr.Bourges.Cher).

N 43'34" 2'18" E

Journal des Savants loc.cit; Mem de la soc.hist; litt et scient du Cher. 1939 p.55; Rev Num 5^{XVI} p.189.

'1 x Carausius, 1 x Allectus dans un trésor dont la publication est sujette à caution.'

6 COUVRON FRANCE (cant.Crecy-sur-Serbie, arr Laon, Aisne)

N 49'28" 3'32" E

Journal des Savants. loc.cit; Rev Num 4^{XXXV} 1932 pp.103-4;

J.P.Callu. La Politique Monetaire des Empereurs Romains de 238 à 311. Paris 1961 p 351;

'2 ex de Carausius et 2 d'Allectus dans un trésor.....enfoui sous Dioclétien.'

Callu - 432 x Valerian/Gallienus; 3 x Postumus; 11 x Marius/Laelian/Victorinus; 23 x Tetrici; 454 x Claudius II; 37 x

Quintillus; 67 x Aurelian; 23 x Tacitus/Florian; 139 x
Probus; 55 x Carus; 114 x Tetrarchy (including Carausius and
Allectus) = 1358

7 FRESNOY-LES-ROYE FRANCE (départ. Somme arround Montdidier,
cant. Roye) of Bastien P et Vasselle F. 'Les tresors monetaires
de Fresnoy-Les-Roye (Somme), Memoires de la Soc.Des Antiq. de
Picardii LXXIV Amiens 1971 190p. 5 fig. 32 pl.

This account mentioned two hoards from Fresnoy of which the second
was only partly accounted for. What may be proved from associated
pottery to be the rest of this second hoard was discovered in
March 1973, and is described in Bul de la Soc.Fr. de Num.
Jan 1974 pp 448 ff.

The hoard consists of antoniniani and folles from Gallienus
down to 308 and includes an antoninians struck at London by
Carausius in the name of Maximian. The total number of coins is
499.

8 LANCIE FRANCE (cant. Belleville, arr. Villefranche, Rhône)
N 46'10" 4'3" E

Journal des Savants loc.cit.; Blanchet loc.cit No 195; E
Lépaule 'Note sur l'atelier monetaire de Lyons a l'epoque de la
reforme de Dioclétien, apropos d'une trouvaille faite à Lencie
en 1880.' Lyons 1883; J.P.Callu op.cit. p.351.

'lex. de Carausius et lex. d'Allectus dans un trésor.....enfoui
sous Dioclétien'.

Callu - 2 x Valerian/Gallienus; 9 x Claudius II; 1 x Quintillus;
241 x Aurelian; 100 x Tacitus/Florian; 438 x Probus; 113 x

Carus; 900 x Tetrarchy (including Carausius and Allectus) -
1904.

9 NOYELLES GODAULT FRANCE (Cant Hénin-Létard, arr Béthune,
 Pas-de-Calais)

Journal des Savants loc cit; Rev des Études Anciennes LXIX 1967
 pp. 228-254 and pl I. Bull de la Soc' fr. de Num. Jan 1962
 p. 112.

'10 ex de Carausius dont 1 au nom de Dioclétien et 5 au nom de
 Maximien, et 7 ex d'Allectus, dans un trésor d'antoniniani
 enfoui sous Dioclétien'.

10 ROUEN FRANCE (Seine-Maritime) N 49'27" 1'06" E
 Rev. Arch III 1847 p. 532; Journal des Savants. loc.cit;
 Blanchet op. cit. No 346; Cochet. Répertoire arch. du
 département de la Seine - Inferieure dans Bull de la soc libre
 d'emulation du commerce et de l'industrie de la Seine. Inf. 1904
 pp. 238-256.

This was found during road works in 'un vase de terre noire
 grossiere' and originally - 'environ quatre cents monnaies de
 petit bronze, trois pieces d'argent seulement y ~~é~~taient
 mêlées.' Some coins were lost during attempts at 'conservation'
 but something over 200 were taken to Rouen museum - 'sauf une
 douzaine de petits bronzes à l'effigie de Gallien, Postume,
 Victorin, Tetricus, ce dépôt tout entier appartenait a
 l'empereur anglais Carausius'.

The R.A. account lists the reverse types of the 210 coins of
 Carausius, including the three denarii. These latter appear to

be RIC 625 and 626. There is one coin of Constantine associated with the hoard but this must be an intrusive stray, otherwise there is the overwhelming preponderance of so called 'Rouen' antoniniani of Carausius. J.B.Giard has reservations about the circumstances surrounding the discovery of this hoard.

11 ST-POL-SUR-TERNOISE FRANCE (arr. Arras. Pas-de-Calais)

Journal des Savants loc.cit; Bibl.Nat.Ms.nouv.acq.fr.1187 f 28;
'1 ex de Carausius, et 1 d'Allectus dans un trésor d'antoniniani et de folles enfoui sous Constantin' ?

12 ST-VINCENT-DE-MARCUZE FRANCE (cant Le Torret, arr Grenoble, Isire) N 45'22" 5'57" E

Journal des Savants loc.cit; Blanchet loc.cit No 195 Bull de la soc d'anph, d' ethn. et d'anthr VI 1899 pp.78-80.
'1 ex d'Allectus dans un trésor, d'antoniniani et de folles enfoui sous Dioclétien.'

GROUP SEVEN

PROBLEMATICAL HOARDS

1 BRERETON Cheshire SJ 7764

Watkin W T 'Roman Cheshire' p.310; A Camb II p.181; Trans. Hist.Soc.Lancs.Cheshire II p.212; C.C.R.B. p.162; 'A History of Cheshire: Roman * Cheshire p.105:

This hoard of = 1000 coins was found c 1820. Watkin makes no mention of Carausius or Allectus but gives the latest coin as Diocletian. Sutherland includes this as a Carausian hoard.

*This hoard, 'can probably be attributed to the period of the British Empire under Carausius'.

2 BRETENHAM Norfolk TL 9383

V.C.H. Norfolk p.314

'many coins some perhaps belonging to a hoard', were found. Carausius and Allectus are included among them.

3 FISHGUARD Pembs. SM 9637

A Camb. 1851 p.336

In referring to coins presented to the society mention is made of 'coins of Carausius and Probus found near Fishguard'. This may possibly be a hoard but N.B. A.S.R. does not include it as such.

4 MARCH Cambs. TL 4197

Stukeley's Letters and Diaries vol II p.52 (23.4.1763).

C.C.R.B. p 28; Arch. 1895 p 492.

.....'Roman urn dug up many years ago at March in the Isle of Ely with many Roman denarii, fair and as low as Gratian from Augustus. Otho was bought by Carausius Dr Snell of Diddington got, from him Kennedey got it, now in Mr Cart. Webbs' cabinet. The urn is small but elegant.'

This seems an unlikely range and may have been a collection of coins given a false provenance in order to increase their commercial value.

5 ST ALBANS Herts. TL 1507

In the list of site finds there is a group (all recorded as

Ver '59 B19) of 10 antoniniani which may possibly be part of a small dispersed Carausian hoard.

6 SHEFFORD Beds. TL 1439

N.C. 1836-7 pp.79 ff; V.C.H. Beds II (1908) p.18.

In a group of 'several coins' one of Constans and two of Allectus are mentioned. These last are both 'quinarii.' This may not be a hoard at all but A.S.R. takes it to be a Constantinian hoard.

7 SURREY

vidi

A group of 9 antoniniani, eight Carausius (RIC 98, RIC 307, RIC 750, RIC 880 x 2; as RIC 98, RIC - o)6c 14 SALVSPVBLICA ¹/₁, ill x 1.) and one Allectus (RIC 111) were found somewhere in Surrey, sufficiently close together to suppose they were originally a hoard. The RIC 750 is from the same dies as an antoninianus from the Little Orme's Head hoard (No 60).

8 WILLINGHAM Cambs TL 4070

C.A.C.V. p.225; C.C.R.B. p.163; J.B.A.A ns V 1899 p.293.

The range is from Gallienus to Diocletian and Sutherland accepts it as a Carausian hoard but the C.A.C. account says, '.... latest coins that occurred in the find are two of Diocletian for I cannot take into account a vague rumour that one of Carausius was among them.'

ERRATA

With the usual problems of inaccurate or inadequate documentation

it is impossible to be certain in every case that a group of coins was once a hoard. Group seven lists some such problematical hoards. These may, perhaps, be more fully understood in the light of subsequent research if new information comes to light. In addition there are certain groups of coins which seem to have been mistakenly regarded as hoards in the past but which deserve mention in order to eliminate them.

LATTON Wilts. (Nr Cricklade)

N.C. 2 ser.vol IV 1864 p.222; V.C.H. Wilts I p.61; W.A.M. IX pp.232-7; XII p.127; XIV pp.188-9; P.S.A. 20 III 1865 p.67.

This seems to be an accumulation of coins over a very long period in the bed of the river Churn. Mr P J Isaac, currently engaged on research into the coin hoards of the south west, is also of this opinion.

PHILWOOD (Filwood/Whitchurch) Glos.

A.J. XXVII p.69; C.C.R.B. pp.115 163; Nicholls J F & Taylor J 'Bristol Past and Present' I 1881 p.25.

The accounts of this are rather confused. The A.J. account associates some two hundred large brass coins with some eight hundred minims, but is mistaken in doing so according to Sutherland. P.J.Isaac comments that these minims are typical third century local copies, some of which are at Oxford, some at Bristol, and that Nichols and Taylor are quite wrong in saying that these must be coins of Carausius and Allectus simply because they antedate Constantine.

DARLINGTON Durham

A.A. 4 ser. XXXVIII pp.120-1; Longstaffe 'History of Darlington' 1854 p.187.

This group of coins has a long range, Trajan to Carausius, which need not prevent its being a hoard but as it comes from the bed of the Tees then it seems rather more likely to have been an accumulation as with the coins from the River Churn.

These may serve as examples of what has been rejected. Deposits such as that from the well of Coventina at Carrawburgh clearly do not come into the category of hoards but simple references to finds of coins may do. Unless there is some reason to suppose that this was so then most references simply to coins found have also been excluded. An example of this is the '... Many coins chiefly of Allectus and Carausius found' from W.A.N.H.M. XXXVIII p.225 for Cholderton.

Retrieved hoards rarely leave any traces by definition. In some cases they do, however, such as the grey jar of large size found at Wint Hill, Banwell, Somerset, with one coin stuck inside it, (P.J.Isaac reporting a verbal account from I Tabratt), or the base of an urn with two coins of Constans adhering to it, from near Swindon. The flaggons from the well at Margidunum, therefore, may be the remains of a retrieved hoard from the Carausian period. Oswald, in a paper read on 28.1.1927, talks of this saying, 'at a depth of ten feet I found an interesting association of flaggons, two of them still perfect, with a much corroded coin of Tetricus adhering to the inside of one of them. A coin of Carausius was also associated with these flaggons'. He dates the filling of the well to the, 'troubled times when the usurper

Allectus was defeated'. Even so the element of doubt is much too great to include such material in any synopsis of hoards.

<u>SIZE</u>	<u>% of C + A (> 10 coins)</u>
A = 1-25 COINS	I = < 10% C + A
B = 26-100 "	II = 11-50% "
C = 101-300 "	III = 51-90% "
D = 301-1000 "	IV = > 90% "
E = > 1000 "	

HOARDS TERMINATING BY 296

<u>GROUP ONE</u>	<u>SIZE</u>	<u>NO OF C/A</u>	<u>SIZE GROUP</u>	<u>% GROUP</u>
BREDICOT	140	4 x C	C	I
CAMERTON <u>II</u>	114	1 x C	C	I
CANTERBURY	117	109 x C	C	<u>IV</u>
"	41	'some C'	B	-
"	c150	'mainly C'	C	<u>IV</u> ?
"	6	1 x C	A	-
CASTELL-Y-BERE	4	1 x C	A	-
CONWAY	c50	8 or 9 x C	B	<u>II</u>
DEAL	25	1 x C	A	I
DINORBEN	6	2 x C	A	-
EPPERSTONE	c1000		E	
ERW HEN	689	9 x C	D	I

<u>GROUP ONE</u>	<u>SIZE</u>	<u>NO OF C/A</u>	<u>SIZE GROUP</u>	<u>% GROUP</u>
EVERTON	600	1 x C	D	I
GT. ORME	17	13 x C	A	<u>III</u>
HOVERINGHAM	289	40 x C	C	<u>II</u>
LINCHMERE	810	534 x C	D	<u>III</u>
LLANGEINWEN	22	7 x C	A	<u>II</u>
LLANLECHID	>200		C	
DIN SILWY	61	44 x C	B	<u>III</u>
MARGARETTING	32	20 x C	B	<u>III</u>
PETERBOROUGH	15	1 x C	A	I
PUCKNOLL	>107	1 x C	C	I
PENARD GOWER	2583	81 x C	E	I
RICHBOROUGH	11	8 x C	A	<u>III</u>
ST. ALBANS	36	14 x C	B	<u>II</u>
" "	149	2 x C	C	I
SEGONTIUM	56	1 x C	B	I
SHOTOVER	c560		D	
SILCHESTER	22	18 x C	A	<u>III</u>
"	42	31 x C	B	<u>III</u>
S. NORWOOD	55	48 x C	B	<u>IV</u>
S. FLORIDA	16	1 x C(Ar)	A	I
UPSALL CASTLE	30-40		B	
WALMERSLEY	500-700		D	
WELL	>600		D	
WENTWOOD MILL	1200-1300	12 x C	E	I
WROXETER	16	4 x C ^(all) _(Ar)	A	<u>II</u>

<u>GROUP TWO</u>	<u>SIZE</u>	<u>NO OF C/A</u>	<u>SIZE GROUP</u>	<u>% GROUP</u>
BLACKMOOR	c30000	545 x C; 90 x A	E	I
BORDEN	35	2 x C; 1 x A	B	I
CAMERTON	60		B	
CANTERBURY	8	4 x C; 1 x A	A	-
COLCHESTER	301	105 x C; 167 x A	D	<u>IV</u>
CRONDALL	c200 4 or 5 x A	12 x C; 4 or 5 x A	C	I
CYNWIL GAIO	c3000		E	
HOLT	1105	9 x C; 2 x A	E	I
LILLY HORN	1223	7 x C; 1 x A	E	I
NEATH	150-200	27 x C; 1 x A	C	<u>II</u>
OUNDLE	1203 1 or 2 x A	7 x C; 1 or 2 x A	E	I
PARK END	>1000	1 x C; 1 x A	E	I
SAPPERTON	c70		B	
SKEWEN	150-200	18 x C 1 x A (out of 61)	C	<u>II</u> ?
WATCHFIELD	23	6 x C; 6 x A	A	<u>III</u>
WEDMORE	54	14 x C; 1 x A	B	<u>II</u>

<u>GROUP THREE</u>	<u>SIZE</u>	<u>NO OF C/A</u>	<u>SIZE GROUP</u>	<u>% GROUP</u>
CAERWENT	10	6 x C; 4 x A	A	<u>IV</u>)
DROITWICH	14	10 x C; 4 x A	A	<u>IV</u>)
HAMMERSMITH	7	7 x C	A	<u>IV</u>)
LEIGH CHURCH	c30	'mostly C + A'	B	<u>IV</u>)
L. ORME	600-700	nearly all C	D	<u>IV</u>)
PORT TENNANT	7	7 x C	A	<u>IV</u>)
RICHBOROUGH	6	6 x A	A	<u>IV</u>)
ST. ALBANS	19	19 x C	A	<u>IV</u>)

SIZE AND CONTENT OF HOARDS

From this listing of hoards the first three groups show two factors. Firstly, hoards consisting entirely or in large measure of coins of Carausius and Allectus tend to be small. Secondly, the large hoards that were deposited during the period of Carausius and Allectus contain, for the most part, a low percentage of their coins. Group three hoards, by their nature all get a IV rating but of the other hoards only the Colchester hoard, two from Canterbury and that from South Norwood reach this level.

Of the hoards deposited during Allectus' reign, a high proportion contain only a very few of his coins, and many contain only a few more of his predecessor. Apart from the special hoards of group three, therefore, which are nearly all very small; hoards containing a sizable proportion of Carausius' or Allectus' coins are few. This creates the impression that no great amount of the coinage of the usurpers found its way into hoards at all. This apparent paucity of Carausius' or Allectus' coins in these hoards might have been taken to indicate a general paucity of such coins were it not for site finds. If the contents of these hoards provide a strictly accurate cross sectional picture of contemporary circulating currency then we would have to conclude that less than ten per cent of it consisted of coins issued by the contemporary authority. Site finds, however, modifying this impression, suggest that rather more than this was available for hoarding and support the view that people, as a general rule spent rather than hoarded their coins of Carausius

or Allectus.

This statement may be too sweeping in its generality but it must apply to the larger hoards closing under Allectus with so few of his coins and so few of Carausius. It is correct to explain away a paucity of Carausius in some hoards simply by saying they were deposited early in his reign before much of his coinage was in circulation. This cannot explain away their absence in hoards closing more than seven years later. The Group three hoards need not undermine any of this as they are predominantly small and from contexts which suggest they were short rather than long term concealments; deliberately segregated groups for comparatively quick disposal.

Dr Robertson⁴ says that less than ten per cent of the Roman coin hoards from Britain contain over one thousand coins. The period of Carausius and Allectus is one of high rather than low intensity hoarding at which times it is to be expected that the number of unrecovered large hoards would produce a rather higher percentage than this figure of ten per cent. This is the case, with some fifteen per cent of Carausian and Allectan hoards containing over a thousand coins. Almost fifty per cent of these hoards contain over one hundred coins. There is no very marked divergence from the general pattern in the distribution of these larger hoards. If anything, it covers the area beyond the south east where there is the greater concentration of hoards which contain predominantly Carausian and Allectan coins.

By and large, coins of Carausius and Allectus were segregated into small groups virtually excluding the coinage of other

rulers or else they formed a very minor portion of other hoards, the more so under Allectus. The summary table below lays this out and shows that even including Group three hoards, lest their separation be thought to be creating an artificial picture, nineteen of the forty seven hoards for which adequate statistics are available contain less than ten per cent Carausius and Allectus.

	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	
Group One	12	5	7	3	= 27
Group Two	7	3	1	1	= 12
Group Three	0	0	0	8	= 8
All.	19	8	8	12	= 47

This picture of low percentages of Carausius' and Allectus' coins in hoards, especially larger ones helps explain the absence of such coins from some hoards which has been thought worthy of remark. T. Ashly, *Archaeologia* lviii p.403 comments on the absence of such coins from the very large hoard from Caerwent ranging from Gallienus to Honorius and their absence from the hoard of nearly one thousand coins found at Budock, Cornwall, and dated to 306, is called (V.C.H. Cornwall p.33) "noteworthy and puzzling". Carausius' and Allectus' coins certainly survive into fourth century hoards but these commentators imply a presumption that any large hoard which includes 286-296 in its range ought to have a representation of coins from that period which is not the case.

MINT DISTRIBUTION

'ROUEN'

The rather enigmatic Rouen hoard itself is given separate treatment elsewhere. This leaves five hoards, none of them continental, which include 'Rouen' coins. Of these, four are very large; only Canterbury two is small comprising eight coins. Whether this is a chance loss or a short term concealment of a few coins does not alter the fact that one 'Rouen' coin found its way into an early Allectan group from the south east of England.

With the large hoards the chances of finding oddities increases through sheer probability in connection with the larger numbers involved. This is not really the case with the largest of all, from Gloucester, however, because of the exceptional nature of the hoard in excluding, (almost completely), the coinage of usurpers. It may be that this hoard was assembled largely on the continent where post reform coins were more abundant; brought over just before Carausius' death and added too hardly at all (the two Allectus got in somehow). This would mean that 'Rouen' coins circulated on the continent, which is not borne out at all by finds. There were no such coins, for example, from the nearby Amiens hoard.

In the case of Penard Gower, Little Orme and Blackmoor it is not surprising in itself that one or two stray pieces have found their way into such large hoards. The two Welsh hoards have much in common including problems of dating caused by these very 'Rouen' coins.

R.S.R.

The problem of where coins with R.S.R. in the exergue were struck is dealt with in detail elsewhere. It is disappointing that the hoard evidence is so very slight. R.S.R. coins occur very rarely in hoards and even then the majority of instances are of silver rather than bronze coins. The RSR antoniniani as a whole seem a small and dubious group, usually ill struck and certainly of infrequent occurrence. Even Richborough, with its wealth of Carausian material, and, of course, its claim in the eyes of many to be the actual source of these RSR coins, was able to produce but two antoniniani bearing these letters.

The enigmatic Rouen hoard is published as having three RSR denarii in it which seems to add further to the air of mystery surrounding it. Otherwise all the RSR coins and all the silver coins found in hoards come from Wales or its border area.

The Strata Florida denarius could be either $\frac{1}{2}$ or RSR; of the denarii from Wroxeter three are RSR and one $\frac{1}{2}$. These two groups are brought closer together by hoard evidence in that one of the antoniniani from the Little Orme's Head hoard⁵ shares an obverse die with the unique RSR aureus while its own reverse exhibits no mint mark. This may be seen as further linking of RSR coins to Wales but the evidence is far from strong in support of a mint there. The evidence of the silver as found individually militates against this view.

OTHER MARKS

	LONDON	COLCHESTER*	<u>1</u>
CANTERBURY 1	56	6	3
<u>A</u> " 2	1	2	2
" 3	10	2	49
S. NORWOOD	4	0	44
SILCHESTER	10	7	0
MARGARETTING	2	4	14
COLCHESTER	51	45	6
<u>B</u> LINCHMERE	455	35	33
E. HARNHAM	- 46 -		0
ST. ALBANS	3	0	15
ST. ALBANS	4	3	7
DROITWICH	1	2	1
P. GOWER	7	2	60
GLOUCESTER	7	12	8
CAERWENT	1	5	0
NEATH	10	15	2
SKEWEN	6	5	5
<u>C</u> HOVERINGHAM	34	0	0
DIN SILWY	7	0	31
LLANGEINWEN	2	1	3
ERW HEN	0	1	7
GT. ORME	8	2	3
L. ORME	104	22	427
WENTWOOD MILL	2	1	9

Miles from A = < 50 : B = 50-150 : C = >150 :
Dover, approx

* For the purposes of this list I include S/P and S/C under Colchester.

For the moment these figures may be left largely to speak for themselves. The observations which need to be made here are few and fairly obvious. There is no marked fall off of $\frac{1}{2}$ coins in hoards as the distance from the south east increases and the argument for a Boulogne mint for these coins on these grounds vaporises. Even the Canterbury hoards are self cancelling in this respect. The nature of the hoards seems to be more linked with dating, with $\frac{1}{2}$ coins coming in early hoards rather than hoards tied to a particular geographical factor.

The majority of hoards follow something of a pattern. They are either predominantly $\frac{1}{2}$ with some London and a smaller number of Colchester; or they have roughly equal numbers of London and Colchester with a smaller number of $\frac{1}{2}$. The significant exceptions to this are Canterbury 1, Linchmere and Hoveringham all of which show a marked preponderance of London marks which may be explained if they are in large measure undispersed fresh consignments from that mint. The picture is a chronological one then of early hoards predominantly $\frac{1}{2}$ with London coming in next before but shortly followed by Colchester after which these two are roughly equal with the $\frac{1}{2}$ tailing off sharply. This distribution argues against a Boulogne mint for $\frac{1}{2}$ but is consistent with $\frac{1}{2}$ being an unmarked early issue from London and with Colchester being the 'C' mint.

CONTAINERS AND FIND SPOTS

Most accounts, especially the earlier ones, provide only a brief general description of any container in which a hoard may have been found, or of the spot of which it was found. The number of hoards which are well documented in these respects is so few that

it would be a very disproportionate picture provided by a study confined only to these. For the purpose of making some more widely applicable, if less profound, observations it will be enough to know that our hoard was found in 'a pot' as opposed to nothing, and that it was found in a building as opposed to a place with no known structural context.

The great majority of containers are pottery vessels of some sort. From the descriptions we have they seem to be common coarseware pieces of one sort or another. A few hoards were deposited in metal vessels. Of these all save the Arras hoard have been found in Wales which may be significant comment on a regional preference. The number is rather too small to be emphatic. The two hoards which include some gold pieces are both from metal containers, that from Arras having been protected and concealed by a clay coating. As well as pottery and metal vessels a variety of other containers was used from the simple gap created between two irregular stones, laid one on top of the other, to the metal bound box in which the Little Ormes' Head hoard was originally deposited. This group of containers, including, as it does, the various perishable substances in which coins were concealed, is more full of doubts such as to whether the organic discoloration of the soil round a given deposit is an indication that the coins were once in a wooden box.

As is generally the case with hoards of all periods, most of these hoards were found divorced from any known archaeological context. Some were found in town buildings in various parts of which they had been concealed, such as the hoard from the roof timbers of a building at Canterbury. These hoards seem to be

either fairly small in which case they may represent an extraction from contemporary currency in general, for short term concealment in a favourite domestic hiding place, or else they are predominantly Carausian, as with the Canterbury roof-timbers hoard, and would then be a consignment of the new money put somewhere secret but to hand, which was never recovered.

The group of hoards from 'other contexts' simply illustrates some of the sort of places Roman hoards were hidden in by owners concerned to get their wealth out of their houses to a place of concealment which they could readily identify again, but which was wholly unexceptional to anyone else. Some, such as the Well at Watchfield, seem more obvious than others. It must surely be the case that, originally all hoards would be concealed with some contextual point otherwise the owner could not be sure of finding his money again as with Pepys some centuries later ! Time and the elements have erased the majority of these.

The listing which relates find spot types to containers shows that the majority of hoards from 'building' contexts were not concealed in containers. This may mean nothing more than their containers were always of a perishable nature and such hoards were in fact the purses full of current spending money not taken from their nightly place of concealment for some reason, with the purse having subsequently perished. A much greater majority of the hoards from no recognisable context were found in containers of some durable substance. This is to be expected for these are the long term hoards which would need to remain secure from the elements for considerable periods of time between visits from their owners or eventual recovery.

CONTAINERSA) POTTERY: URNS or POTS

<u>Group One Hoards</u>		<u>Find Spot</u>
BREDICOT	Urn of red earthenware	-
CANTERBURY	large globular urn, 25" x 17" with small handles	-
DEAL	Urn	-
EWELME	pot or urn	-
LAUGHARNE	urn	-
LINCHMERE	urn 8" x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	-
LLANIDAN	pot	-
PETERBOROUGH	vase, dull grey earthenware 6" x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " bowl shaped	'pile village'
PUCKNOLL	earthen jar	-
RIPLEY	urn	-
SHOTOVER	urn or jar	-
WALMERSLEY	small earthenware pot covered by a stone	-
WELL	earthen pot/two fair urns	-
WELNEY	urns	-
WENTWOOD MILL	pot	-
<u>Group Two Hoards</u>		
BLACKMOOR	2 jars	-
COLCHESTER	pot	-
FLEET	large urn with letters round it	-
HOLT	jar of coarse blackware	-
LILLYHORN	earthenware pot	room in villa
OUNDLE	several vessels	-
PARK END	jar of common grey pottery	-

		<u>Find Spot</u>
<u>(Group Two Hoards)</u>		
WATCHFIELD	small earthenware vessel	stone-lined well
WEDMORE	urn of late date	by side of courtyard
<u>Group Three Hoards</u>		
BITTERNE	small pot	'extensive remains'
CAERWENT	small pot	S.W. angle of room 13.
BOW	small vase of dark pottery	fork in road.
<u>Group Four Hoards</u>		
EVENLEY	common earthenware pot	-
<u>Group Five Hoards</u>		
LINGWELL GATE	earthenware urn	-
WROXETER	earthenware vessel	chamber 2 on sill of doorway.
<u>Group Six Hoards</u>		
Rouen	un vase de terre noire grossiere	beside 'un mur d'enceinte'
 B) <u>METAL VESSELS</u>		
<u>Group One Hoards</u>		
PENARD GOWER	bronze bowl	-
STRATA FLORIDA	bronze bowl	-
<u>Group Two Hoards</u>		
COYGAN	bronze strainer	burial chamber
<u>Group Three Hoards</u>	}	-
<u>Group Four Hoards</u>		
<u>Group Five Hoards</u>		
SULLY MOOR	metal vessel 4½" long	-
<u>Group Six Hoards</u>		
ARRAS	silver container with a clay coat	-

C) OTHER CONTAINERS

<u>Group One Hoards</u>		<u>Find Spot</u>
CASTELL-Y-BERE	Mortarium	-
NARBERTH	Skin ?	-
SEGONTIUM	Box ? (Wooden)	disused building
SILCHESTER <u>III</u>	Leather bag ?	hole in room wall
<u>Group Two Hoards</u>		
NEATH	Two stones (between)	-
SKEWEN	Stones (over hollow)	-
<u>Group Three Hoards</u>		
L.ORME	Metal Bound Box (wooden)	-
<u>Group Four Hoards</u>		-
<u>Group Five Hoards</u>		
DUSTON/NORTON	Stone (under one placed aslant the found of a wall)	ruined building
<u>Group Six Hoards</u>		-

FIND SPOTS

✓ indicates the hoard was in a container: X indicates no container.

Context of a building

Group One Hoards

CAMERTON	X
CANTERBURY	X
CANTERBURY	X
DINORBEN	X
?PETERBOROUGH?	✓
ST. ALBANS	X
SILCHESTER	X
SILCHESTER	✓
WROXETER	X

No particular context

BREDICOT	✓
CANTERBURY	✓
CASTELL-Y-BERE	✓
CONWAY	?
DEAL	✓
ELLAND HALL	?
ERW HEN	X
EVERTON	X
EWELME	✓
HOVERINGHAM	?
LAUGHARNE	✓
LINCHMERE	✓
LLANIDAN	✓
MARGARETTING	X
NARBERTH	✓
PUCKNOLL	✓
PENARD GOVER	✓
RIPLEY	✓
SHOTOVER	✓
SKEWEN	✓
STRATA FLORIDA	✓
WALMERSLEY	✓
WELL	✓
WELNEY	✓
WENTWOOD MILL	✓

Context of a building

No particular context

Group Two Hoards

CAMERTON I X
 CANTERBURY X
 LILLY HORN ✓

BLACKMOOR ✓
 COLCHESTER ✓
 FLEET ✓
 HOLT ✓
 NEATH ✓
 OUNDLE ✓
 PARK END ✓
 SAPPERTON TUNNEL X

Group Three Hoards

BITTERNE ✓
 CAERWENT ✓
 DROITWICH X
 ST. ALBANS X

L. ORME ✓

Group Four Hoards

CADBURY X

E. HARNHAM X
 EVENLEY ✓
 CROSS ?

Group Five Hoards

CANTERBURY ?

LINGWELL GATE ✓
 PENRHYN ?
 RICHBOROUGH } not really
 RICHBOROUGH } no context
 SULLY MOOR ✓

Other Contexts

G1 ENMETH nr. road X
 GT ORME 'ancient fireplace' X

<u>(Other contexts)...</u>		<u>No particular context</u>	
	RICHBOROUGH	fort ditch	X X
	SEGONTIUM	disused building	✓
G2	BORDEN	nr. villa	X
	CRONDALL	pond	X
	WATCHFIELD	well	✓
	WEDMORE	nr. courtyard	✓
G3	BOW	fork in road	✓
	RICHBOROUGH	ditch	X
G5	DUSTON/NORTON	ruins of building	✓

LEGITIMIST HOARDS

Dr Robertson, in dealing with the Hoveringham hoard⁶ refers to 'legitimist' hoards, 'If the large number of hoards buried in Britain about AD 293 is taken as evidence of serious disturbances at that time, the contrast in the composition of these hoards 'legitimist' and 'pro Carausian' may suggest one possible reason for the disturbance'. She is here citing the East Harnham hoard as 'legitimist' and goes on to say. 'May not this indicate that the hoard belonged to some Roman soldier who had always remained true to the legitimate imperial cause and never taken arms under any of the usurpers of this troublous time of the Roman Empire it is a fair inference that the person who amassed these coins was, if not a soldier, someone firmly attached to the imperial cause.'

This seems to be too sentimental a picture and, as Dr Robertson argued in her April 1974 address to the Royal Numismatic Society, it is much more realistic to see economic reasons behind the decisions of various hoarders. In saying people hoarded 'nice' coins just because they were nice, she is, perhaps, going from one extreme to the other and avoiding comment on why we have a group of hoards, three of them substantial, which come from a small area and exhibit the same typical features. If 'nice' coins were hoarded because they were nice then why are there not many more nice coins of the sort found in the Cross Hoard from Gloucester? The scarcity of this post Aurelian reform coinage is, if not adequately explained, at least well known, and so the incidence of five hoards from one area in which it completely predominates is

worthy of special mention.

If the political element is left aside, as it probably ought to be, we are spared the necessity of explaining what would appear as a centre of anti Carausian feeling in the west country. On economic grounds, it may be that these hoarders felt a need to keep their wealth in a coinage which was certain to be acceptable in the future, in the way that that of usurpers was not; especially if they saw any great likelihood of their going over to the continent where the coins of Carausius would certainly not be acceptable. This suggests rather a lack of faith in the new regime than a hostility towards it.

It seems that an unfavourable rate of exchange was the primary reason why the reform coinage never caught on in Britain or elsewhere.⁷ There is no real evidence to show that Britain did not come back into the imperial fold with the resignation of Tetricus and however slow new currency supplies may have been in reaching the province it is to be expected that, under normal circumstances, by 286 there would be plenty of it in circulation. In a context of general resistance to this new coinage exceptions are not to be wondered at in themselves, but why do we get five occurring so closely in time and place. Cadbury and Cheddar are perhaps just hoards made by individuals who took it into their heads to keep their money separated, recovered the usurpers coins to spend but never came back for this. Evenley has a majority of 'second brass' which, according to the account of its discovery, were in a better state than the antoniniani, described as much worn. It may be that this hoard has been collected for the metal; that a man with a body of early demonetised 'second brass' coins

has decided to add to them only worn out antoniniani with a view to selling the lot for the value of the metal. In such a case it may be coincidence rather than intent which resulted in a dearth of Gallic Empire coins.

East Harnham is a large hoard of very well preserved coins and the Cross hoard is much larger still. It is unlikely that these coins represent consignments awaiting distribution although this is possible. The obvious move by a usurper would surely be to distribute his own coins and encourage the polarisation towards himself of the best element of the current coinage so that he could re-use it in one way or another. It may, therefore, be possible to see these hoards as official accumulations of good current coins intended for the use of Carausius or Allectus mints, but it is impossible to be very definite on this question.

DATING

Carsons' chronology for the reign and its coin issues, provides a framework whereby many of the hoards may be dated at least to a certain stage of the reign once details of the marks on the latest coin are known. Rather than pin too much faith on the exactness of a year by year dating for the hoards I have divided them into early middle and late Carausian, and early or late Allectan. For Allectus this amounts to no more than presuming the hoards which contain quinarii are late because these were the last coins of the reign, and that hoards which do not are probably earlier. In so short a reign any attempt to be more specific would be unwise and even this amount of segregation may well be of little value.

The points which emerge most clearly from this simple analysis are that there was a marked decline in hoarding in Wales during Carausius' reign with a shift of emphasis to the south of England in general, which is maintained throughout Allectus' reign, polarising, perhaps, somewhat, to the south east if the classification of hoards with 'quinarii' as very late is a meaningful one. How this fits into the overall pattern of activity may be seen elsewhere in comparison with the general finds, and other evidence. It must be emphasised that adequate information is available for only about half of the hoards concerned.

CARAVSIVS' HOARDS (DATING)

A	B	C
<u>286-88</u>	<u>290</u>	<u>292-3</u>
PUCKNOLL	CANTERBURY	CASTELL-Y-BERE ++
CAERNAVON	LINCHMERE	EVERTON
S. NORWOOD	DINORBEN	GT. ORME
HAMMERSMITH	STRATA FLORIDA*	HOVERINGHAM
	DIN SILWY	SILCHESTER
	WENTWOOD HILL	ST. ALBANS
EVENLEY	ST. ALBANS	(PENARD GOWER??)+
	(L. ORME ??)+	
	(*Dated by a denarius of)	CADBURY
	(Carausius. Maybe earlier)	CHEDDAR
	(if Ar. is earlier)	E. HARNHAM
	(**dated by denarii v.s.)	
	(+The presence of 'Rouen' coins)	
	(complicates dating)	
	(++Only four coins, not enough)	
	(to base much on.)	

OVERSEAS HOARDS

Most of the hoards from France which include coins of Carausius or Allectus include very few and terminate shortly after the recovery of Britain under Chlorus. The distribution of those hoards is rather widespread and the overall picture is one of the inevitable chance inclusion in these hoards, of one or two coins brought back from Britain by troops or other travellers shortly after the recovery. The exceptions to this pattern are Amiens and Rouen. Amiens is a small hoard which appears to have been deposited before the end of Allectus' reign; or at least coins stopped being added to it at such a time. Before Carausius the range is extensive for so few coins, and exceptional in having a coin of Pacatian. In the Numismatic Chronicle account of this hoard John Evans suggests that not all the twenty five coins may have been hoarded together as such, but, as he points out, the anomaly consists in the abnormally large number of Carausius and Allectus coins, none of them being of the type supposedly minted at nearby Rouen. The fact that all the coins are, in some slight way at least, different from each other together with the presence of a rarity like the coins of Pacatian might perhaps argue that this was a collectors hoard. This is not very convincing as the collector could surely have got hold of a more interesting range of Carausius and Allectus had he been seeking to acquire coins for interests sake. Speculation could go on much further; a refugees hoard, a traitors hoard; to no profitable end. Suffice it to note the exceptional nature of a Gallic hoard with so many Carausius and Allectus.

The Rouen hoard was published initially (most briefly) in *Revue Archeologique* III 1847, It has never been fully published as the coins seem to have found their way into the hands of Rollin and Feuardent and have been dispensed. M. Giard, of the B.N. is suspicious of the vague circumstances surrounding the supposed discovery implying it may well have been a fabrication by some person or persons seeking to enhance their collection's value. If one presumes this, then the argument in favour of locating the mint of issue is greatly weakened. There is still the letter R on some of the coins to be accounted for, but the discovery of this hoard at Rouen was the deciding factor for most scholars.

Wherever and whenever these coins were made they are quite clearly not the fabrication of a modern age. There are sufficient well attested specimens from hoards and site finds to put that beyond doubt. All these finds are from Britain. No 'Rouen' coins have been found in France save, supposedly, at Rouen itself. This indicates a limited issue both in time and area of circulation. As will be seen in a separate chapter the way these coins come from comparatively few dies, and the way their gold counterparts form such a small very closely linked group, confirms this picture. It is entirely consistent with a short, emergency issue of months rather than years, from and for a very small area, souvenirs of which, especially in the case of gold, found their way back to Britain, while whatever was left was melted down either by the victorious enemy, if it fell to them, or by the main Carausian mints whose standards it did not match, if it was brought back to Britain. Where does Rouen

fit into this picture? The concealment of a group of these coins in a panic caused by the sort of pressure that Carausius' continental foothold must have felt just before it was lost, is convincing. The contemporary accounts place the centre of activity round Boulogne yet if Rouen produced these coins under an emergency situation it would be here we would expect the blow to fall. Perhaps the coins are a siege issue from Boulogne before it fell to Chlorus, but what of R and OPR? This hoard provides most of the extant specimens and most of the difficulties in dealing with these enigmatic coins.

Arras has not been singled out as exceptional yet it deserves a mention. As with base metal coins so with gold, the prospect of one or two Carausian pieces finding their way back and into a given large body of coinage is reasonable, the more so in the case of pieces struck by him in the name of one of his colleagues. Even Allectus' gold found its way over to the continent by some means as may be seen from the specimen from Minden.⁸

Perhaps the most significant thing is that so very few coins of Carausius have been found in France. Boulogne can never have been the $\frac{1}{2}$ mint, nor can Carausius ever have had much influence for very long across the channel.

STRATIFICATION HOARDS

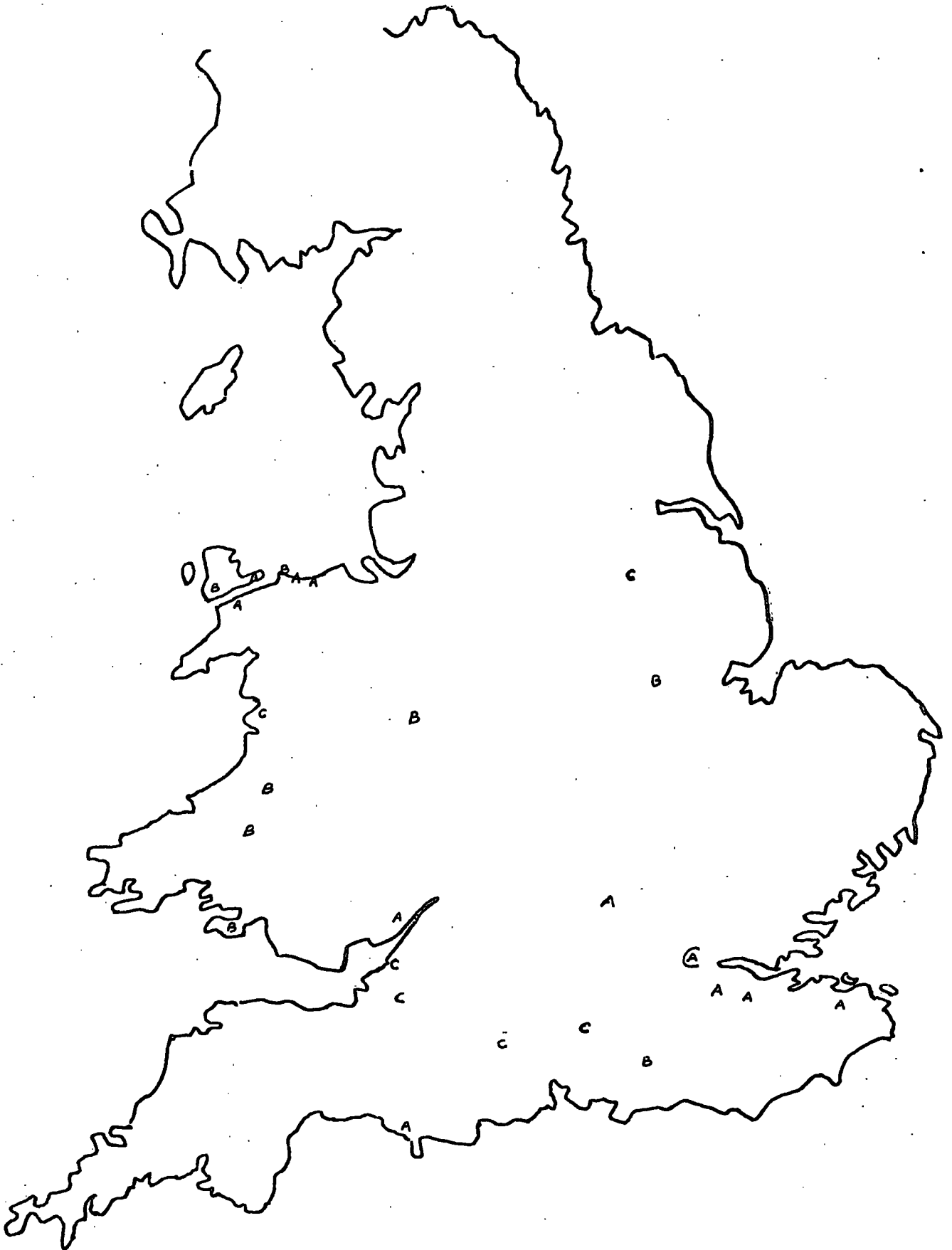
Boon, in his B.C.S. synopsis of Welsh hoards, argues that stratification in hoards is inherently likely. Of the Penard Gower hoard, 'as the mass of coins was dismantled it was noted that there was a tendency for the reform coins of Aurelian and his successors to be more thickly concentrated in the upper

portion rather than more deeply, but this feature did not apply to the coins of Carausius and can therefore have no direct chronological significance. If not purely coincidental such a concentration might mean the hoarder normally kept his reform pieces separate and was forced to add them to his other cash when concealment became imperative'.

This is certainly one possible explanation. It may, however, have been that the two separate sections of the hoard were not amassed side by side; reform coinage is not common in Britain. The deeper, earlier portion has coins which would be normal for a Carausian hoard from Britain. Could it not be that the upper portion was brought from across the channel where Carausius' coins circulated a little but reform coinage was normal, and then, perhaps with the addition of a few more Carausius in the process, it was added to the earlier half? The die link and the presence of Rouen coins in both argue a common source for at least parts of the Little Orme's Head hoard and this Penard hoard and that source may well be found in the movement of officers, and money from across the channel during the course of Carausius' reign.

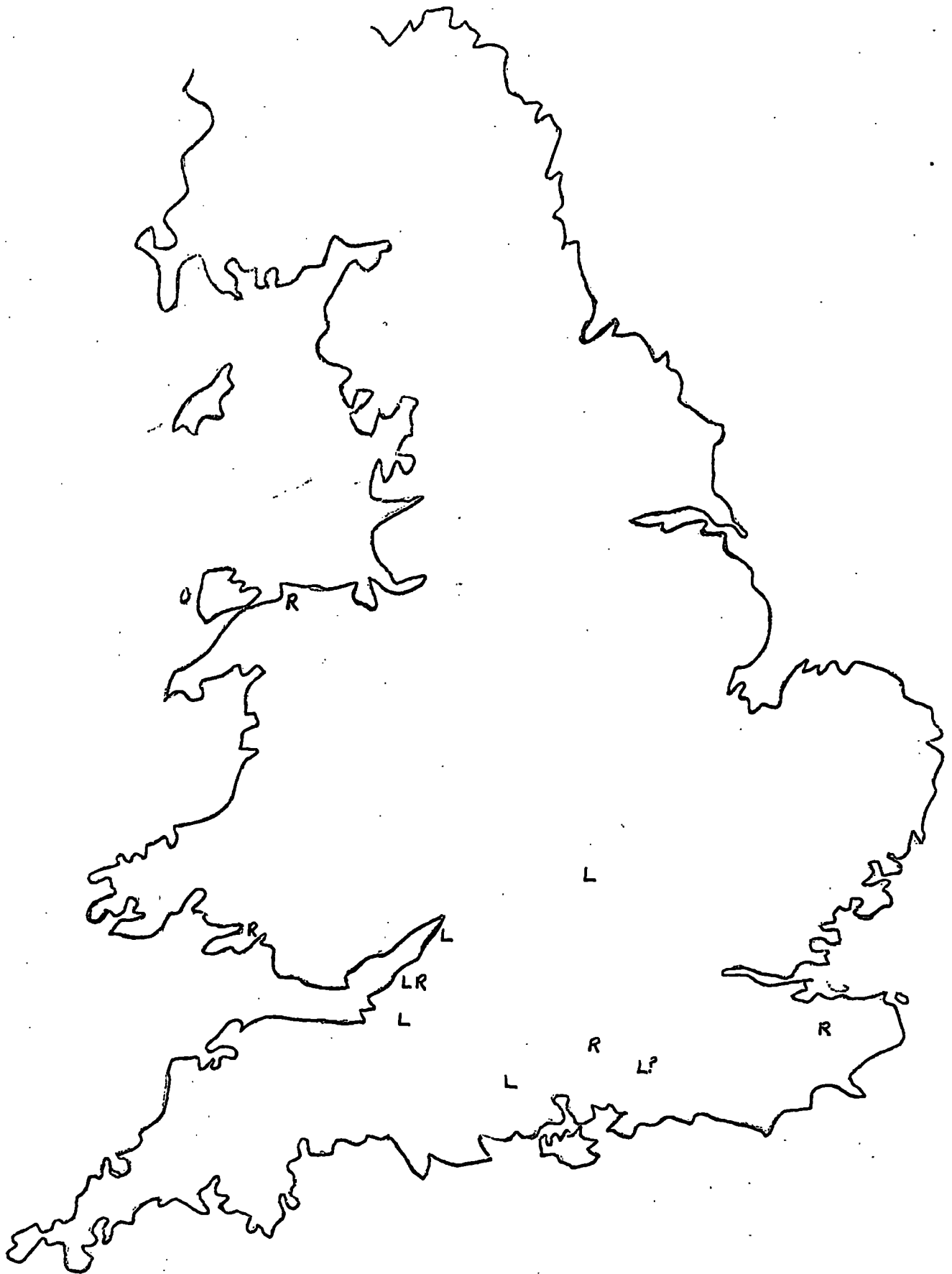
With no other hoard of the period is it possible to do even this much. On the Blackmoor hoard V.C.H.Hants says 'No record apparently exists of whether the coins in the two jars differ at all. Very often the coins in the large hoards seem to have been sorted in one way or another'. This hoard remains to be properly catalogued !

EARLY CARAVSIAN → A
MIDDLE " " → B
LATE " " → C



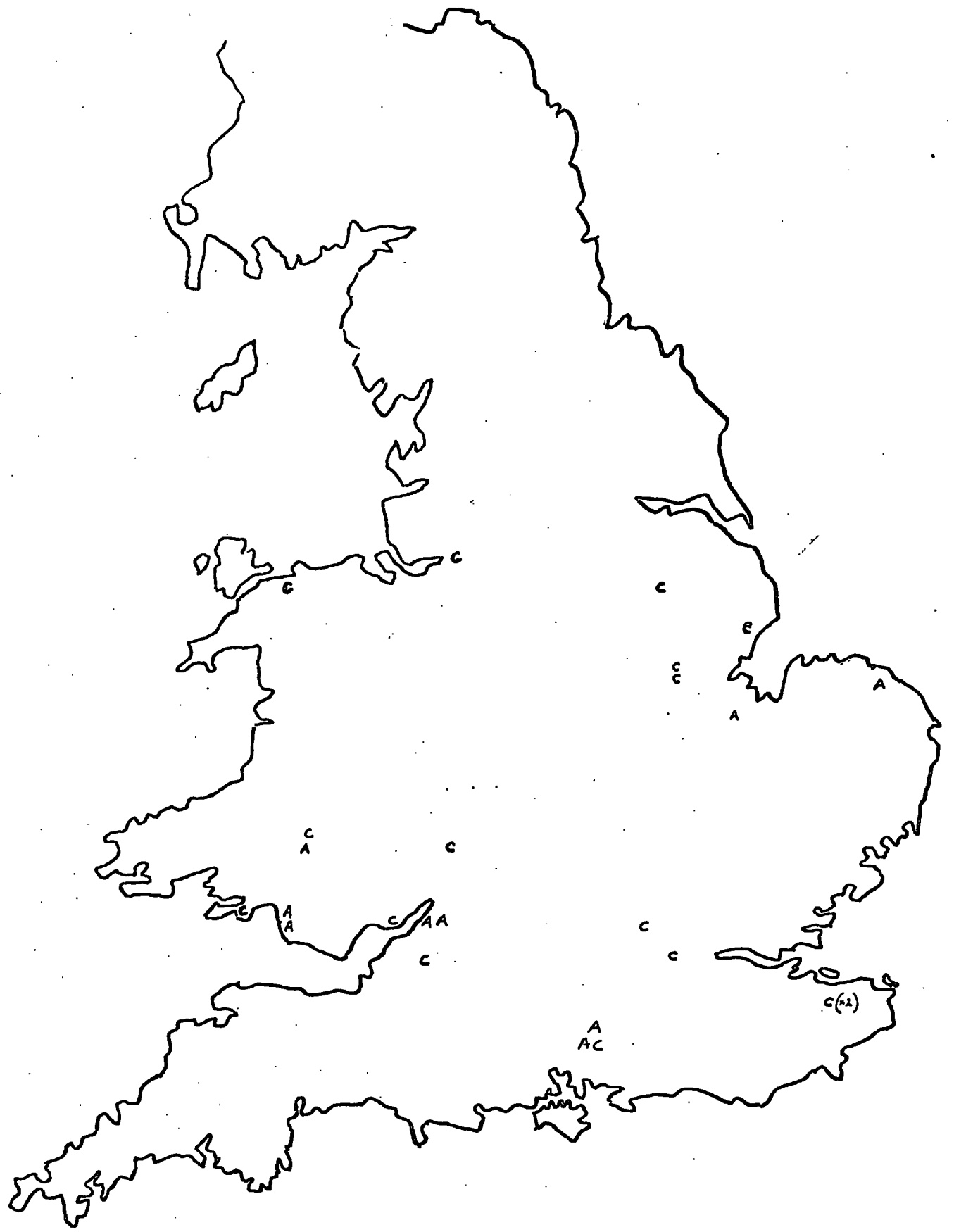
'LEGITIMIST' HOARDS → L

HOARDS WITH 'ROUEN' COINS → R

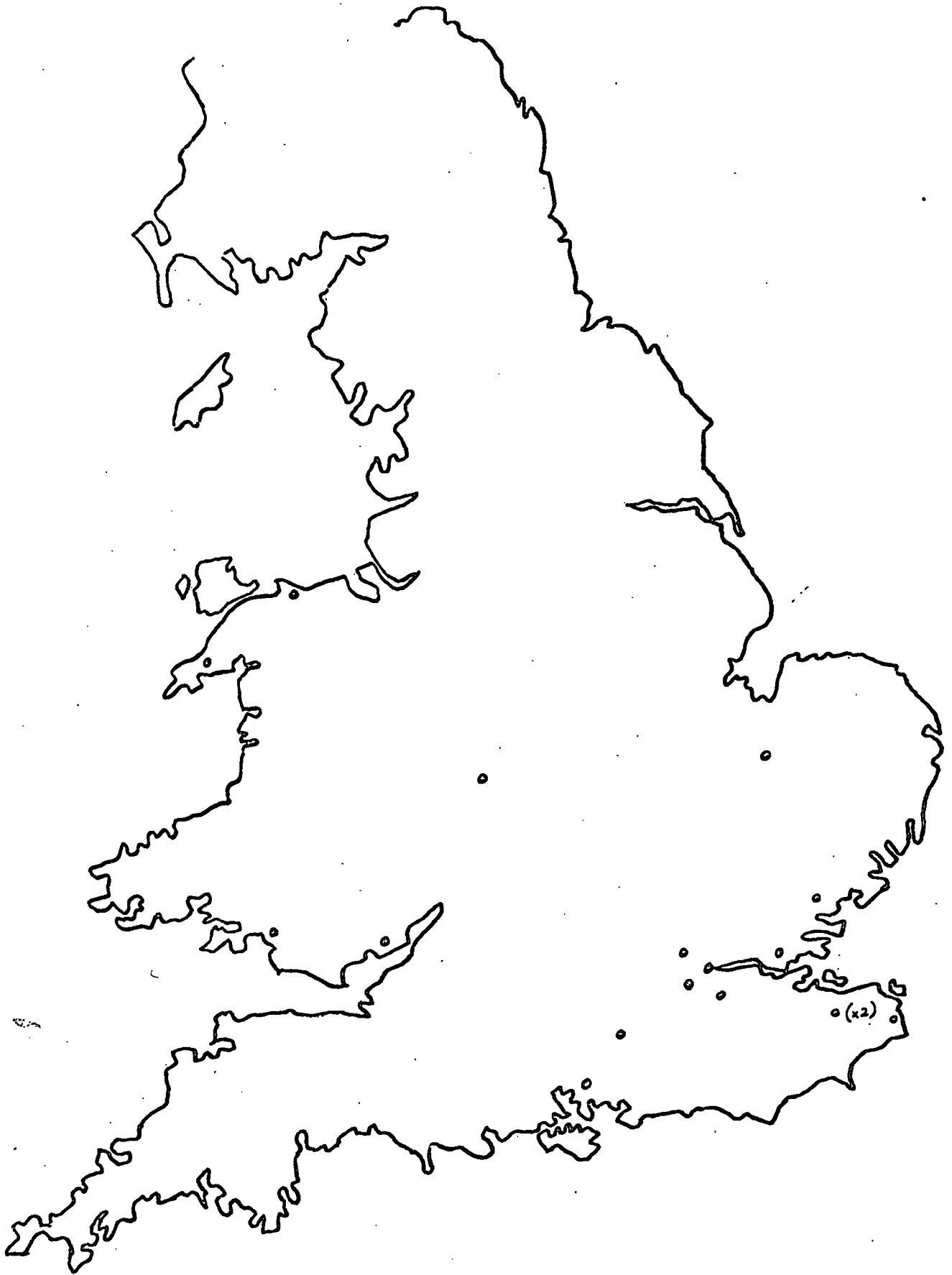


CARAVSIAN HOARD OF >100+C

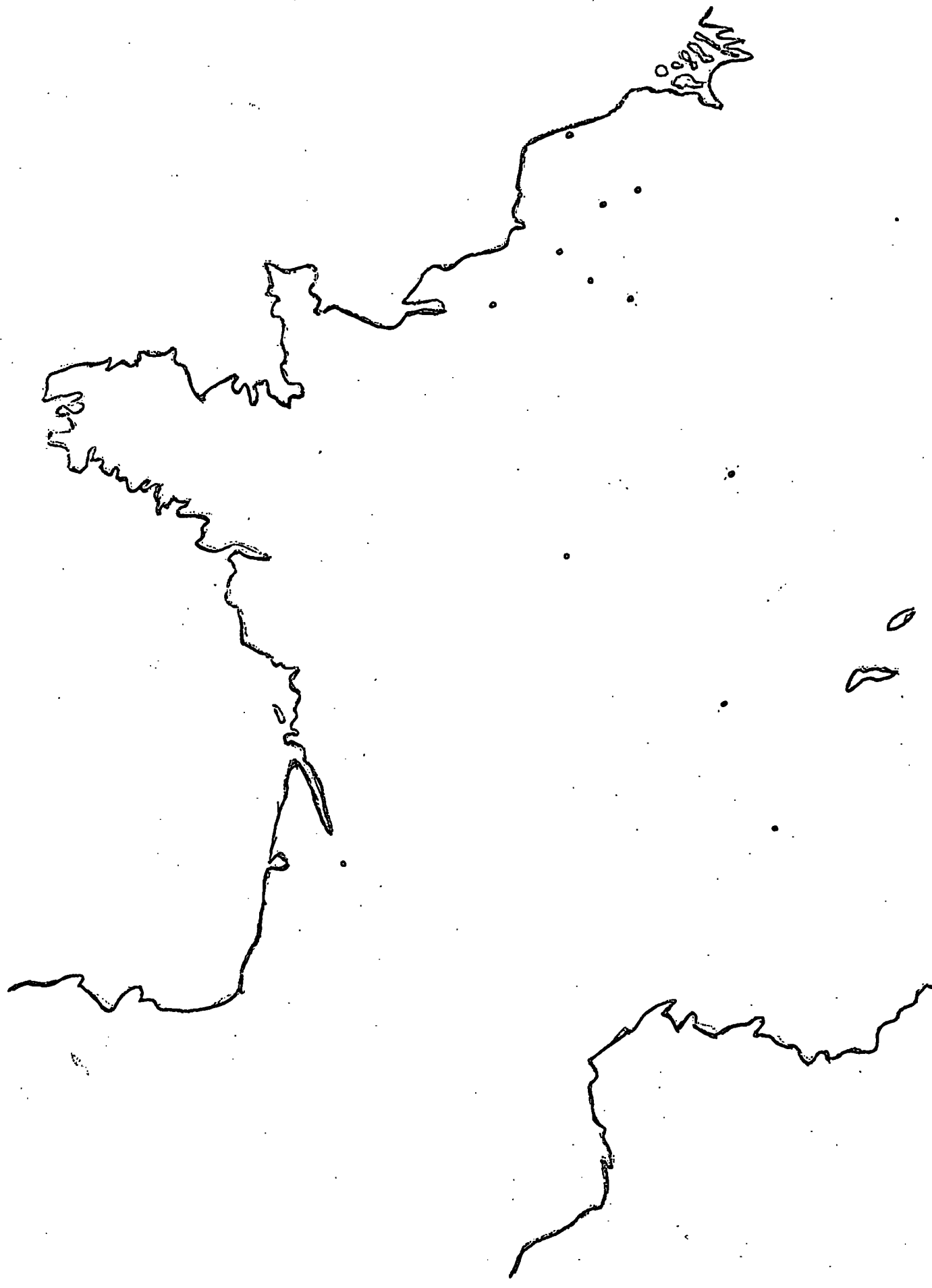
ALLECTAN " " " " →A



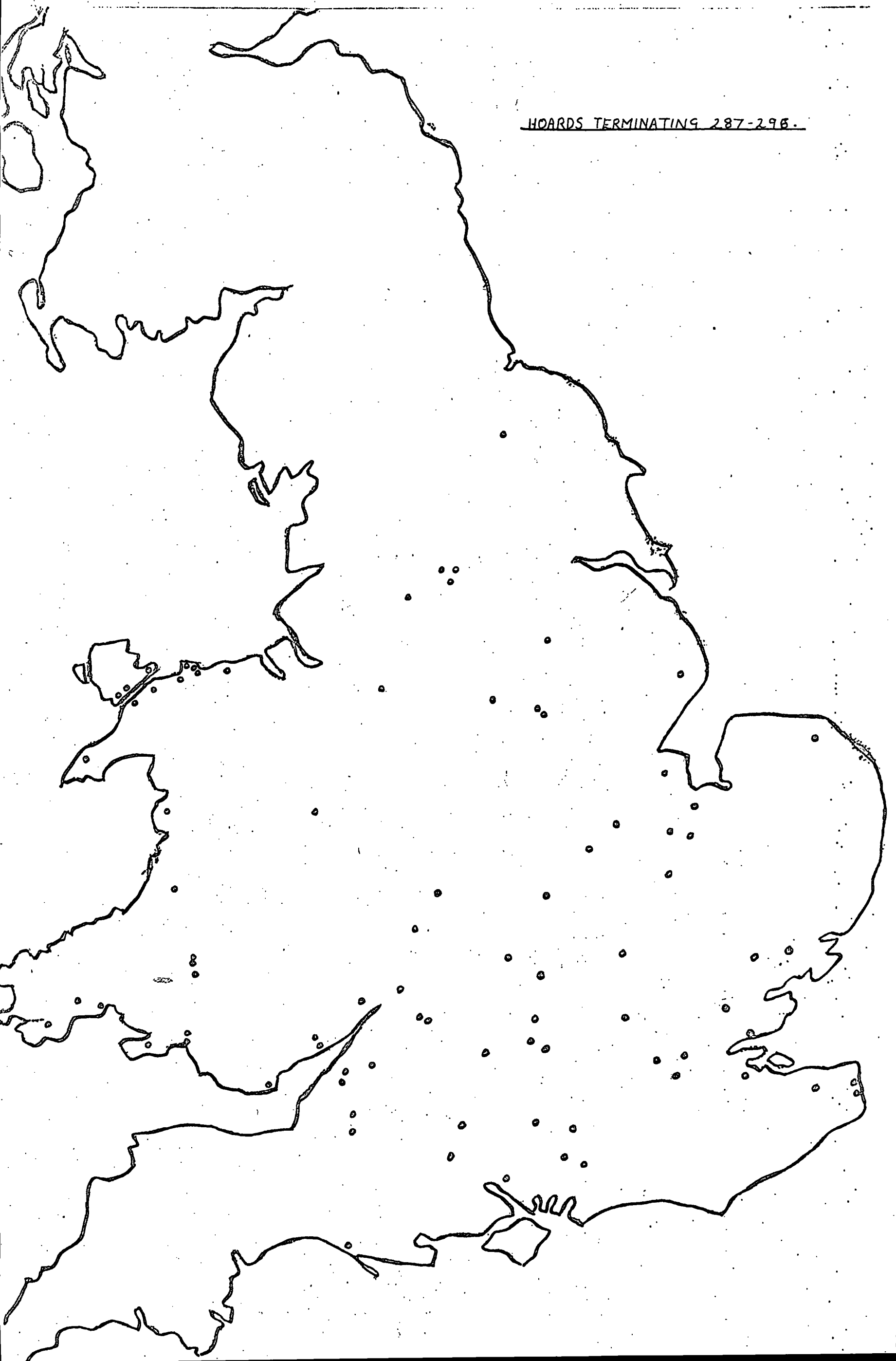
PREDOMINANTLY C. & A. → 0



OVERSEAS HOARDS :



HOARDS TERMINATING 287-296.



Chapter II

- 1) Carson, Mints, Dies and Currency, pp.57-65
- 2) cf. Kings Weston Villa and Barwell, Somerset, for similar hoards from roof timbers.
- 3) NB. Robertson, A.S. has 37 as the original total of this hoard (mss).
- 4) Roman Coinage, p.267
- 5) cf. N.C. 6th ser. vol. XVI, 1956 I.Orme. No.97a
- 6) N.C 6th ser. vol. IX, 1949, pp. 259 ff.
- 7) cf. Mattingly H. The Clash of Coinages in Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of A.C.Johnson, Princeton, 1951, pp.275-289; Carson, R.A.G. The Reform of Aurelian R.N. 1965, pp.227-235 (and his forthcoming paper on the Cross Hoard); Lafaurie, J, La date de la réforme monétaire d'Aurelian, Bul de la Soc. Fr. de Num. Feb. 1974 pp. 517-525.
- 8) Korzus, Die Fundmünzen der römischen zeiten Deutschland, Abt. VI, Bd.6.

Chapter Three

Site Finds

Scotland and The Northern Frontier

There are no Carausian or Allectan hoards at all from this area.¹ The entire area to the north of Hadrian's Wall has only produced five coins of Carausius and one of Allectus.² This must reflect upon the condition of the area of the frontier and beyond and has been used to support two basic theories about this condition. The rigidly applied system of wall periods imposed on the history of that frontier as a whole, although primarily suggested by the evidence from one site, has caused many dogmatic assumptions to be made for which there is often limited evidence. Dr Kent deals with one axiomatic date in his paper on the evacuation of Hadrian's Wall³. For many scholars 297 is another such date; a neat century after the Severan problems. This may be seen from Richmond's description of the events of that time, 'The defeat of Allectus and his army gave the same opportunity to the northern tribes as they had had a century earlier and, they swept over the denuded frontier land'. This is followed by an exaggerated statement of the evidence, 'Excavated sites from the wall to York exhibit a second complete devastation in which Habitancum and Bremmenium were included'. The virtual absence of the coins of Carausius and Allectus would thus be explained in terms of an absence of troops from the frontier area, because they had been withdrawn for duty in the south. The few coins from beyond the frontier make no impression of this theory because of their very paucity. Those from Traprain Law may have been part of a small haul of booty or the result of some small time trading.

Great lengths have been gone to by those who subscribe to this view in order that events might square with the axiomatic destruction date. Grace Simpson discusses the coins from the sacellum at Bewcastle which close with eleven of the Tetrici, 'although the strong-room was not looted and destroyed until AD296'⁴. That such looting and destruction took place is not brought into question even though two silver plaques were discovered there; testimony, no doubt, to the carelessness of the looters. These coins are discussed by Sutherland⁵ who calls them, 'a pattern of the small change officially in use at that time There are as many imitations as there are orthodox coins These coins, therefore, suggest a progressive decline in the currency at Bewcastle coins of poor style, and of module fluctuating between the orthodox and the true minim are money of necessity in the fullest sense. That this is the explanation of the present coins is also suggested by the fact that not a single piece of Carausius and Allectus is included.' This progressive decline is suggestive, but not, surely, that this represents a typical cross section of the coinage of 296 as Simpson tries to argue. She mentions the Tetrican Amlwch hoard⁶ as evidence for the prolonged circulation of Tetrican coins and suggests that, 'this would surely explain any gaps of Carausius and Allectus in Northern Britain ? There is the strong-room in Bewcastle fort looted in 296 which had none but was nevertheless occupied up to 296 by troops'

That destruction or devastation took place on a large scale is far from clear, but there was a considerable rebuilding ⁷

programme, often to new specifications, set under way some time shortly after Constantius had recovered the island. This again seems reminiscent of events a century earlier and coupled with the known fact that Constantius came over to campaign in Scotland⁸, the case for the traditional view seems strong after all. Allectus drained the frontier of its troops as Albinus had done, with the result that it was again overrun so that Constantius felt it necessary to intervene in person, mount an expedition into Scotland to punish the invaders and inaugurate a full scale rebuilding programme. After this, the same garrisons went into the new forts as had been in the old, hence the listing in the Notitia. This is broadly the view taken by Frere⁹ who does, however, summarise the alternative in a lengthy footnote.¹⁰

Had Carausius felt his northern frontier to be under pressure then, surely, he would have done something about it. His main problems were in the south and east and he seems to have left the northern frontier alone, presumably because he felt it was comparatively secure. This is not to say that the area was not in his control. As Birley¹¹ says, 'from the milestone of Carausius found a little south of Carlisle we have ample evidence for continued control of the wall area.' He goes on to suggest that the lack of hoards of this period is because, 'the military zone was the safest place to be living in.' The implication here is that it was safest because of a strong military presence, but it seems more likely that it was felt to be so safe, by this time, that there was no need for a strong military presence at all. Dr Kent¹² draws a fourth

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century parallel between the lower Danube frontier, as described by Themistius,¹³ and the frontier in northern Britain. This state of affairs may well apply in the third century during which the empire faced major crises on several fronts. In such circumstances, the idea of withdrawing more and more troops from a comparatively safe British frontier must have seemed increasingly attractive. This would have left a run down frontier area which fits with the evidence of the Carausian and Allectan coinage. Their distribution suggests a peace time situation. Corbridge and South Shields produce the overwhelming majority of these coins, and both these places are centres of commercial activity, trade and traffic. The more strictly military sites produce very few such coins. This would be remarkable if they were garrisoned in any strength but not if they were in the keeping of small caretaker garrisons at most. This would also explain the general physical deterioration of the structures. The Birdoswald inscription¹⁴ records the restoration of the, 'praetorium quod erat humo copertum et in labem conlapsum et principia et balneum....' This squares perfectly well with a lengthy period of increasing neglect in the latter half of the third century and the same can be said about the whole of the rebuilding programme which Constantius found it necessary to undertake.

The milestone provides a tangible complement to the numismatic evidence of Carausius' authority over the frontier area. There is nothing of this sort for Allectus. His reign was shorter and he was under more immediate pressure from the south than his predecessor had been. His coins generally do not seem to

have been dispersed on a comparable scale to those of Carausius even allowing for the discrepancy in the lengths of their reigns. This is reflected by finds from the northern frontier area. Allectus could not withdraw all the troops from the north, there were in fact no troops there to call on. The area was left even more to its own devices as it had been increasingly so for several decades. If there was no sudden massive withdrawal to tempt the northern tribes to cross the frontier then what did so tempt them if indeed they were tempted at all? Constantius campaigned in Scotland and revitalised the northern frontier. There must have been a reason for this. The very run down condition of the frontier installations may have provided sufficient reason to restore them. This would provide useful employment for the redistributed troops in the newly recovered island and would combine the improvement of their new living quarters with a general tightening up of military discipline, the greatest enemy of which was lack of work for the troops. The expedition into Scotland may also be explained without recourse to the assumption that it was the aftermath of some great invasion. The nature of the historical evidence is untrustworthy,¹⁵ as some distortion in favour of Constantius is inevitable. This campaign was the last of Constantius' life and may well have been used by him as a means of providing a pretext to get his son by his side and introduce him to a body of loyal troops before it was too late. The Carausian Coins from Traprain Law suggest trade rather than trouble. There the coin series; continues with numbers of coins of the British and Gallic

usurpers, seeming to show that by fairly constant trade with the area to the south, it was sharing its vicissitudes of coinage directly;¹⁶ It is certainly possible to imagine a show of force by Constantius, after his plans for renovating the frontier had been completed, which the panegyric naturally exaggerated but which need not have been directly punitive.

FINDS OF CARAUSIUS AND ALLECTUS IN THE NORTHERN FRONTIER AREA

References

- TRAPRAIN LAW - 3 x C : 1 x A P.S.A.S. LIV p.86; LVI p.236, p.258; LXXXV pp.137-169; LXXXIX pp.120 ff; XCIV p.137; CIII pp.113-168; Ingram J 'Roman Coin Finds From Scotland'. B.A.Diss. Durham 1963 p.23.
- NEWSTEAD - 1 x C P.S.A.S. I p.36; LII p.272 CIII pp.113-168; Ingram op. cit. p.24.
- HIGH ROCHESTER - 1 x C A.A.³ I p.183; XXI p.187
- SOUTH SHIELDS - 21 x C: 8 x A A.A.² X pp.299 ff, AA⁵ forthcoming.
- CORBRIDGE¹⁷ - 156 x C: 18 x A Excav. Reports 1908-12
- CHESTERS - 1 x C. A.A.¹ III p.146.
- COVENTINAS WELL¹⁸ - 25 x C : 16 x A Roach Smith. Coll. Ant. vol p 131.
- HOUSTEADS - 2 x C¹⁹ : 1 x A A.A.² XXV p.299
- CHESTERHOLM - 3 x C : 1 x A
- WINSHIELDS - 1 x C C.W.ns XI p.437

References

CASTLESTEADS - 2 x C C.W. ns XXII pp.222 ff.

BECKFOOT - 1 x C (doubtful) C.W. ns XXXVI p.82

MARYPORT - 1 x C C.W. ns XV p.171

EBCHESTER - 1 x C

CHESTER-LE-STREET 4 x C :
1 x A

SEATON CAREW 1 x C

Nr DARLINGTON "some" C Longstaffe. 'History of
Darlington.' 1854 p.187;
A.A.⁴ I p.32.

PIERCEBRIDGE 4 x C : 1 x A Trans. North + Durham
A & A Soc. n.s I p.39

The coins from Corbridge and South Shields provide a picture of mint distribution and type variation similar to that of the Richborough coins. The exceptional pieces such as the BRI coin from Corbridge and the legionary antoninianus of Allectus from South Shields are dealt with in separate chapters.

THE SAXON SHORE

The Saxon Shore system and the related problems comprise too large a topic to be dealt with here except in so far as relates directly to Carausius and Allectus. In the case of all the forts except Pevensey, however, it is possible to relate them to this period, and in Richborough is the greatest single source of Carausian and Allectan coins as well as a supposed

mint town. "The final important defensive step taken by Carausius was the construction of the Saxon shore in the case of Richborough it is an incontrovertible fact.'²⁰

White goes on to argue that these forts were built initially as a defence, not against Saxons, but against the forces of the central empire. 'Only Carausius and Allectus could conceivably have built this defensive system. Only they had the type and size of fleet with which the forts of the Saxon Shore were to complement. Only they had the type of enemy, for which the forts were manifestly designed.' This vigorously asserted view is undermined by Frere²¹ as the forts, 'would be of little tactical value against the landing of a Roman Army, being too widely scattered and too thinly garrisoned' Apart from Pevensey, which is demonstrably later, the evidence suggests a Carausian date for the system so the reasons for its construction must be sought in a Carausian context. White tried to do this and offered what was to him the one glaringly obvious reason. Frere's counter to this presents a different picture; 'the effect of the new measures was to create further bases along the east coast and on the south as far as Portsmouth harbour; these were linked in each case with a land garrison with the dual function of protecting the base and of rounding up any raiders who penetrated the screen'. These are opposite views although each asserts the same reasons why their particular view is correct. In a Carausian context a compromise solution emerges. 'There is good reason to think that Carausius had already reinforced the coast line, particularly against raiders, but

no less against an attempt to recapture the island, by the first of the Saxon Shore forts.²² An accurate knowledge of when each fort was built would help settle the question but only general impressions can be formed for the most part, from the available evidence.

BRIEF SUMMARY OF DATING OF S.S. FORTS

BRANCASTER²³

13 coins of Carausius out of a total of 64

The coins go back to Tetricus and the interior bastions which are unique to this fort in the system may argue for a pre Carausian construction date.²⁴

Haverfield F.V.C.H. Norfolk I 1901 p 305 Bushe-

Fox. J.R.S. XXII 1932 p.39

BURGH CASTLE

Coin evidence imprecise.

Drastic alterations were imposed on the design of this fort before the defences were completed. This would be consonant with its incorporation into a new defensive system by Carausius.

V.C.H. Suffolk I pp.282-286, 301-302

WALTON CASTLE

This fort has now been lost to the sea. It seems to have been of Saxon Shore design from the general impressions given by earlier writers. Insufficient evidence exists to determine whether or not it was part of the system. Its location would make it particularly suitable in a Carausian context as it guards the approach to Fingrhigoe Wick and to Colchester itself.

V.C.H.Suffolk I pp.288-90, 305-07. The

eighteenth century accounts suggest
there were angle bastions as at Burgh Castle.

BRADWELL

13 Carausius and 5 Allectus from a total of
314 coins.

The coins range from Gallienus to Honorius with a concentration
in the early fourth century and with more coins of Carausius
than any other single emperor. 'This list can be seen
strongly to support a foundation date under Carausius.' *
'.... by the evidence of the coins found at Othona the
castra proper of the Littus Saxonicum (sic) (of which Othona
is the surest specimen as from its site it could have been
built for no purpose but to repel invasion) were erected about
289....' **

* V.C.H. Essex III p.55;

** Archaeologia XLI p.445

RECVLVER

No substantial body of numismatic evidence.
Pottery found in the rampart together with an inscription
suggest a mid third century date. This necessitates reading
Aradius Rufinus instead of Triarius Rufinus. Knowledge of
the fasti is such that this remains very much speculation
rather than certainty.

Richmond IA. Antiquaries Journal pp.224-8.

RICHBOROUGH

This is by far the most comprehensively excavated fort of the
whole system. The coin evidence generally and in detail
strongly supports a Carausian construction date.

The five excavation reports (hereafter Rich I-V) Johnson S.S. Britannia I 1970 pp.240-248. For a fuller discussion of this particular site v.i.

DOVER

This fort has been built over and has consequently yielded little positive dating evidence.

Arch. Journ. 1929 pp.47-58.

LYMPNE

36 Carausius and Allectus from a total of 153.

This fort has never been properly excavated. Roach Smith gave eleven Carausius and two Allectus out of the seventy three coins known to him from the site. Both this and the above figures, from the V.C.H. are consonant with a construction under Carausius.

Roach Smith. C. 'The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver and Lympne. London 1850 p.260. V.C.H Kent p.58.

PEVENSEY

The shape of this fort is an irregular oval and the coins which occur most frequently are of the period 330-350. These factors combine to suggest a later construction date than that of the other forts, perhaps under Constans.

V.C.H. Sussex p.5.

PORTCHESTER

28 Carausius out of 60 pre-294 coins recorded.

There is quite a concentration of Carausian coins. 'The coin evidence strongly suggests that the fort was built in the late

third century probably under Carausius and was abandoned soon after 370.

Reece R. *Britannia* III 1972. Table III;
 Cunliffe B. *Ant. J* XLIII p.227; XLVI
 pp.39 ff; *J.R.S.* LVI 1966 p.214.

Richborough is such a well documented site that it deserves particular consideration on its own. Frere, stating the general view of the date of the construction of the stone fort, refers to 'Richborough, whose Carausian date can hardly be doubted'.²⁴ There is far more evidence of every sort available for this site than any of the other Saxon Shore forts yet J S Johnson²⁵, writing a few years after Frere seeks to show that his supposition is not based on firm evidence and argues that the construction date was a decade or so earlier. He draws on the five excavation reports and other documentation to argue that the fort was begun as part of Probus' scheme of reorganisation of the whole north western empire, and that it was completed, despite delays and changes of plan reflected by the differences in constructional detail and wall alignment, before Carausius even took up his channel command.

'In summary the excavators considered that the fort (i.e. the fort of 1-2 acres enclosed by the triple ditch) went out of use and was deliberately levelled in the reign of Carausius as a preliminary to the building of the stone fort. This is supported by the discovery of a few Carausian coins in the ditch

fill and a large number in the sealed occupation layers above.²⁶ Against this Johnson argues that only one Carausian coin came from the ditch fill and that was probably intrusive, leaving 273 as the date of the latest dateable coin. Bushe-Fox was concerned about this time gap and tried to get round it, 'The fact that no (sic) Carausian coins were found in the fillings of the ditches can be explained if their levelling took place early in his reign.'²⁷ Richard Reece suggests a way round the time gap itself, 'If barbarous radiates are allocated to the period between the Gallic and British Empires Bushe-Foxes' worries on the gap between the earth and stone forts (Rich IV 65-66) are groundless.' A terminus ante quem is provided by the hoard of eleven coins found corroded together in the natural soil some six feet down into the inner side of the inner ditch at the south west angle.²⁸ Unfortunately the coins were too corroded for the original recorders to be able to provide specific details, and it is no longer possible to isolate these coins from the general mass of Richborough material. All that can be said with confidence, therefore, is that the stone fort ditches were open at some point during Carausius' reign. The small Allectan hoard from the middle earth fort ditch²⁹ containing coins which all date to the first year of his reign and which include two die linked coins in the total of eight, confirms that these ditches were filled in by the beginning of his reign. Pearce³⁰ saw these two hoards as sufficient to, 'confirm Mr Bushe-Foxes' opinion that the Earth Fort was filled up and the Stone Fort constructed at one and the same time by Carausius.' This is neat if not logically sound.

The coin evidence can prove no more as it stands. The stone fort was clearly under construction or else fully constructed for a large part at least of Carausius' reign. It may be that the earth fort was levelled before his usurpation, or it may be that it was one of his first tasks. Clearly he used the stone fort, as did Allectus so the exact date of construction may seem of secondary importance. The Saxon Shore system may have been a development based on a few existing coastal stations such as Richborough. The construction of the other extra forts would be to house the crews and complement forces concerned with general coastal security. Carausius' special command against the pirates, by its very nature, cannot have been intended to last for any great length of time. Even if he had not usurped something would have had to be done with the component parts of his task force 'ad mare pacandum' once that mandate was discharged. The most likely thing must be what more or less happened in the fourth century, namely the maintenance of small well distributed patrolling forces to preserve a satisfactory status quo after the large task force had established one. This being so it may well be that the Saxon Shore system came into being as a general policy under Maximian directed to the end of preserving the order on and around the sea.

Carausius must have been as concerned to protect the coast of south east Britain as much as anywhere else when he undertook his command. It is inconceivable that pirates would be given a free hand in their operations against one province while being repressed in the neighbouring ones. Thus it seems that

initially, as for most of their existence these forts were directed towards the protection of the coast against piratical activities. For the duration of Carausius' and Allectus' reign, however, it seems of doubtful value to quibble over whether their purpose was to keep out pirates or Romans. As bases of the sort they were they must have served the purpose of keeping a check on anything that might threaten the security of the regime, be it Roman or pirate. Carausius, presumably hoped he would never have to face trouble from the Romans for as long as he was able to pursue his policy of fraternity with rather than hostility towards the central empire. Whether he really was naive enough to think he would not again have to defend his island empire after 289 cannot be known but the comment of the sources that he was left alone with instructions to protect the people of Britain, 'contra gentes bellicosas'³¹ may suggest not activity in the far north against the tribes there, but in the south and east against any seaborne threat. This was much more in keeping with the nature of his original task under Maximian, whereas all the evidence suggests that he had few troops in the north because it was safe.

The forts seem, therefore, to have been built largely by Carausius in conformity to a plan conceived in principle before his usurpation. The nucleus of the system was provided by occupied sites at a few places, and others were selected according to the geographical necessity of providing reasonably distributed cover for the coastline from the Wash to the Solent. Walton Castle cannot be shown to have been part of the system

but it would be a particularly suitable site because of its relationship with Colchester which was clearly a very important place whether or not it was a mint town.³² The converse argument that Portchester was so sited to perform a similar protective function for a mint town at Clausentum is not convincing. Portchester marked a natural western limit to the system and controlled one of its best harbours.

Allectus can have had no illusions about the attitude of Constantius and it is during his reign, if at all, that the Saxon Shore forts may have briefly served as part of the defence system against the Romans as the primary threat. That it did not prevent the invasion of 296 does not invalidate this. Allectus had to direct all his efforts to coping with an imminent invasion. It must have been with this in mind that the second legion, or what was left of it, was moved to Richborough.³³ Carausius' forts in Wales, not dissimilar to those of the Saxon Shore but clearly in no way a defence against Rome, were not, for Allectus a primary consideration. It is surely significant that at Richborough, which provides the broadest spectrum of evidence, the fort appears to have been out of use during the period immediately after 296. This suggests, not that pirates had suddenly vanished from the seas, but that Allectus had manned the place in accordance with a defence of his vulnerable coast line against a Roman threat and that this had now to be reorganised.³⁴

WALES

Wales has produced a very considerable number of Carausian

coins, many of them in hoards. One writer³⁵ has gone so far as to suggest, 'probably the usurper had his H.Q. at Caerleon' but similar claims have been made for York, Silchester and various other places where Carausian coins are found, by over-enthusiastic local writers. The period of Carausius' usurpation certainly seems to have been something of a turning point in the history of the Roman occupation of Wales. The coin evidence is, accordingly, of particular importance. 'An increasing amount of evidence points to unsettled conditions in Wales, and perhaps to military activity under Carausius and perhaps under Allectus. A high proportion of the known Carausian coin hoards have been found in Wales and the coin evidence from Brecon Gaer and Caerhun suggests a renewal of activity (whether military or civilian) at this period. We may note also the building of the new fort at Cardiff, closely resembling the Carausian forts of the Saxon Shore we may suppose that, like the Saxon Shore forts, it was intended to be the base for a detachment of the fleet.'³⁶

The hoard evidence, in particular, has tended to be overstressed as regards sheer quantity. Grace Simpson³⁷ lists eighteen Welsh hoards from the period of Carausius and Allectus and proceeds to comment on the basis that these constitute half the total for the whole of Britain. Jarret³⁸ in similar vein has, 'The high incidence of Carausian coin hoards in Wales (half the total number for the British Isles) suggests special circumstances, not as yet understood, pertaining to Wales in the period of the separatist British Empire.' I am aware of some fifty six hoards from Britain terminating with

Allectus. The proportion of these found in Wales is much less than half at sixteen and seven respectively. This gives a total of twenty three from eighty four overall, or little more than one in four. This does not so much detract from the importance of the Welsh hoards as put them in a more realistic perspective. On the basis of these Welsh hoards comprising half the total for the whole of Britain Dr Simpson supposes that the garrisons were withdrawn from Wales probably by Allectus, 'and in their absence Caernavon, Forden Gaer and possibly Brecon Gaer were damaged by the native Britons. Chester and York also suffered damage but apparently Caerleon did not.' This presupposes a latent hostility, festering and waiting to flare up as soon as an opportunity such as this presented itself. Wheeler also subscribes to this view, 'Wales, where Romanisation had penetrated very slightly and the native elements were still predominant, was doubtless nursed both by funds (witness the large number of coins of the Gallic and Carausius periods found in native Welsh sites) and by public works.'³⁹

It is remarkable to envisage even usurpers, who were after all seeking to maintain the functioning of Roman-style provincial administration, paying tribes living within the provincial boundary in order to keep the peace. Romanisation may well have been relatively superficial in the 'highland zone' but the direct purchase of peace from the people living there would have radically undermined the whole basis of provincial government. Wheeler's 'large numbers' is misleading and is insufficient foundation on which to base the case that there

was concerted hostility towards the Romans because the bribes dried up at this time. The general economic life of Wales as a whole is at least as likely an explanation for these coins turning up in native sites. Just as coins were found at Traprain, so it is even more likely that they would be found at sites of this sort which lay within the provincial boundary. Their numbers are not sufficient to render an explanation based on trade and general economic intercourse as anything other than the most likely one.

Dr Simpson feels there is no need to look to Irish or other sea borne raiders as the reason behind these Welsh hoards. Despite their predominantly coastal distribution she seeks their cause in terms of purely internal political disturbance. She follows up a suggestion of Mattingly and Pearce⁴⁰ and argues that these hoards were not recovered simply because of the monetary upheaval caused by Diocletian's currency reform⁴¹ 'Then perhaps it was wiser to bury the old bad money rather than to be seen to possess any by Roman officials.' She is prepared to apply this principle to the hoards from all over Britain. That the Welsh hoards are predominantly coastal may be explained by the fact that this was the only habitable part of Wales, but there is the evidence of the forts at Cardiff, Caernavon and perhaps elsewhere, to at least suggest, if not confirm, that Carausius was concerned to protect the Welsh coast in a similar way to the Saxon Shore. Of Cardiff and Holyhead Jarret⁴² says, 'Like the forts of the Saxon Shore they lie beside harbours or navigable rivers and are presumably the bases of coastal defence fleets. The threat in

this case can only have come from Ireland The existing fort at Caernavon may also have been used in connection with a fleet.' It would be going too far to assume from this a full scale system in Wales, parallel to that of the Saxon Shore, built by Carausius. There are coins of Carausius from these forts but not in sufficient numbers to belie a construction date a little later than his reign. The threat from a sea-borne attack is evident and that must have been there during Carausius' reign, and consequently have been a factor affecting the security of the region and therefore the incidence of hoards.

The evacuation of major sites is dealt with most clearly by Wheeler for Segontium ⁴³ and Boon for Isca. ⁴⁴ In both, coins of Carausius have proved of great importance for dating purposes. At Segontium the hoard from the cellar of the sacellum, which terminates with a single well preserved legionary antoninianus of Carausius, may be dated to the very early part of his reign. Consequently the accumulation of debris concealing this hoard was already there by such a date, which indicates an increasingly dilapidated building towards the latter part of the third century as seems to have been the case at Bewcastle. Wheeler talks of a, 'definite term in the occupation' ⁴⁵ with Carausius. The place was clearly very run down by the time of his accession and it was subject to a major rebuilding programme early in the fourth century. This suggests a similar picture to that found on the northern frontier except that the problem seems to have changed rather more in Wales. However tempting it may be to see in Caernavon, Cardiff and

Caerhun a neat parallel to the Saxon Shore system, the evidence is not substantial. Haverfield⁴⁶ suggested a somewhat later date in the context of an overall reorganisation of the recovered provinces, but he makes the point that it was a defence, 'against intruding Irish like the Dessi.' The primary reason for keeping troops in Wales was no longer to police the area against internal disturbance, but to protect it from external threats.

If Wales had been free from internal disturbance and its garrisons run down towards the end of the third century then one would not have expected to find a significant divergence from this pattern at Caerleon. Boon⁴⁷ shows that coins from the 270's provide the latest stratified evidence for the use of the buildings with no Carausian coin found in such a context. The Carausian and later coins are found to indicate that a process of demolition had at least begun by some time early in his reign. Boon argues from the fact that the majority of these are early Carausian coins that Caerleon was systematically dismantled by about 290 at the latest, and that what was left of the second legion was by then transferred to Richborough.⁴⁸ There is certainly a decrease in the incidence of coins beyond 290 but sufficient later-Carausian and Allectan material to suggest a rather more prolonged withdrawal process. The overall picture, however, remains one of a military evacuation of Wales during the Carausian period. Internal security meant that Carausius and Allectus could take what remained of the Welsh troops for more pressing tasks elsewhere. The sea-borne menace from the west may not have

seemed too serious a threat at first and indeed would only become so increasingly as the troops were withdrawn. Wales was still an important area, however. Many of the coin finds, particularly some of the hoards, seem to relate to the commercial importance of the area. Mining especially must have created a flow of money into the region and this is reflected in the hoards from North Wales, especially from the Little Orme's Head, and the relatively large number of coins from Dinorben.⁴⁹ In the south was the gold mine at Dolaucothi near which some of the gold coins have been found. Another parallel between Wales and the northern frontier is the paucity of Allectan pieces which seem to have been in short supply in both regions.

Wales seems to have had few troops by the end of Carausius' reign, and it may be partly the type of people who were left that accounts for the high incidence of poor quality coins and copies from the area. If there was a majority prepared to accept low grade material there was also a minority of people important or rich enough to have the aurei and denarii which have in some cases survived. The dividend of a Carausian evacuation, however, based on internal local security and the more urgent needs elsewhere, seems to have been reaped by Rome after the recovery. The commercial activity engendered by, or at least developed by, Carausius with his need for metals with which to make his coins, promoted insecurity in the face of external threats which, presumably, grew as the temptations increased and the opposition decreased. The hoards surely bear witness to this, over and above any supposed

general pattern of hoarding throughout the western empire.⁵⁰ They show a visible decline throughout the period with a lot of early Carausian hoards in the north and Anglesey, but only a few Allectan hoards; all from the south. This confirms the impression formed from the site finds that coins of Allectus reached Wales in no great numbers.

The following summary list of Carausius and Allectus site finds from Wales is not fully comprehensive because of the great difficulty of obtaining accurate figures, but it provides a sound general picture.

<u>CARAUSIUS AND ALLECTUS SITE FINDS.</u>		<u>WALES</u>		
<u>SITE (Modern name)</u>	<u>CARAUSIUS</u>		<u>ALLECTUS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
BARRY	1	:	0	: 1
BRECON GAER	6	:	0	: 6
BWRDD ARTHUR	3	:	0	: 3
CAERHUN	0	:	3	: 3
CAERLEON	77	:	11	: 88
CAERNAVON	2	:	0	: 2
CAERWENT	89	:	12	: 101
CARDIFF	3	:	0	: 3
CASTEL COLLEN	1	:	0	: 1
COYGAN	15	:	2	: 17
DINORBEN	17	:	0	: 17
GATEHOLM	1	:	0	: 1
HOLT	2	:	2	: 4
LLANDUDNO	1	:	0	: 1
LLANTWIT	4	:	1	: 5
PARCIAU	4	:	0	: 4

<u>Site (Modern Name)</u>	<u>CARAUSIUS</u>		<u>ALLECTUS</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>
PENRHYN	1	:	2	:	3
RADNOR	1	:	0	:	1
RHYDD GAER	2	:	0	:	2

CONTINENTAL FINDS

The evidence from Continental finds is very much negative evidence as so few coins of Carausius or Allectus have been found across the channel. Reece's recent article ⁵¹ is somewhat misleading in that his tables lVa and lVb include coins of Carausius and Allectus which in almost every case, while in a continental museum, cannot be shown with certainty to have a continental provenance. The hoard evidence, with very few exceptions showed a great paucity of Carausius and Allectus coins Giard also lists most of the single finds ⁵² and these prove to be similarly scarce.

FRANCE

	<u>CARAUSIUS</u>	<u>ALLECTUS</u>
AUTUN	1 (no details)	0
ARS FAMMANS	1 RIC 98	0
HÉNIN-LIÉTARD	1 RIC 101	1 RIC 36
LE PETIT COURONNE	0	1 RIC 35
RENNES	0	2 RIC 22: RIC 28
VERMAND	1 RIC 348	0

BELGIUM

NAMUR	0	1 RIC 125
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GERMANY

	<u>CARAUSIUS</u>	<u>ALLECTUS</u>
MINDEN	0	1 AV RIC ?
PACHTEN	1 (no details)	0

ITALY

? 'a most interesting coin found in Italy'⁵³ = RIC 140
 (this coin) Carausius.

These are so few and so widespread as to give almost a nil rating for the continent. Even taking the hoard evidence into account it is only the dubious Rouen hoard which produces any significant number of Carausius coins, and is the only incidence of coins which were struck on the continent actually being found there. This confirms the impression that the 'Rouen' coins were a localised, short-lived issue, not something that ever provided the mainstay of Carausius' coinage in whatever Gallic territory he may have held. Otherwise these continental finds were all struck at British mints. The numbers are so very small, even allowing for the fact that, 'son emploi fut sans doute rapidement proscrit'⁵⁴ that it is difficult to equate them with any sort of prolonged or extensive control of cross channel territory.

GENERAL

Apart from the specific areas which have just been dealt with, coins of Carausius and Allectus have been found in most areas of England. A uniform comparison is not practically possible because of the widely diverging degrees to which various places have been excavated, or once excavated, have been published. A straightforward listing of all known single finds would be more of a commentary on these variable factors than an accurate pointer to the occupation patterns for the period. Some general impressions do emerge, however which act as useful complements to the more specific information provided by hoards or the analyses of coin finds from particular sites. Richard Reece's comparative lists⁵⁵ provide one convenient cross sectional sample but they are concerned with much broader issues than simply Carausian and Allectan finds. His figures, nevertheless, are a fair indication of the relative percentages of Carausian and Allectan coins found on British sites. They show particularly the relative scarcity of Allectan coins. Allectus' reign was less than half as long as that of his predecessor but these and other figures⁵⁶ show that in the case of all but the smallest samples the number of his coins found rarely approaches anything like half that of Carausius. It must be remembered, however, that this is complicated by the width of the spectrum of Carausian coins from hopelessly crude copies to finely executed pieces. Almost all the coins of Allectus are of a uniformly high standard.

Chapter Three

- 1) This assumes that the coins from the bed of the Tees (cf Longstaffe, History of Darlington, 1854 p.187) are an accumulation rather than a hoard.
- 2) cf P.S.A.S. vol.103 pp.113ff .for a sumary of the Roman Coin Finds from Scotland.
- 3) Kent, J.P.C. Coin Evidence and the Evacuation of Hadrian's Wall, C. & W N.S. Ll pp.4-15
- 4) Simpson, G Britons and the Roman Army p.170
- 5) C & W N.S. XXXVIII, pp.232-234
- 6) in lit. citing B.C.S. IX 1938, pp.168-183
- 7) eg. Houseteads A.A. 4 XIV, p.177; Corbridge A.A. 4 XV, p.264, XVI, p.101, XXI, p.148; Birdoswald R.I.B. 1912; High Rochester A.A. 4 XIII p.181; Chesterholm A.A. 4 VIII p.210; Halton A.A. 4 XIV pp.152-3. cf.also Frere S.S. Britannia p.341 n.4.
- 8) Pan. Lat. VI (VII) 7.2
- 9) Britannia, pp.341 ff
- 10) For an even more garbled version of events, based on the finds from Bewcastle cf. C & W N.S. XXII pp.220-221
- 11) Birley E.B. in lit.
- 12) C & W NS.vol.Ll pp.14-15
- 13) Them. Or 10 p.136 A
- 14) R.I.B. 1912
- 15) Pan. Lat VI (VII) 7
- 16) Ingram, J. Roman Coin Finds From Scotland, B.A. Diss, Durham, 1963, p.23
- 17) The coins from Corbridge present particular problems as

they have become widely distributed. The figures given here are based on the efforts of Mr P.J.Casey to compile a definitive catalogue for the site. I myself have examined 146 coins of Carausius and 15 of Allectus.

- 18) These coins have, like those from Corbridge, been inadequately cared for. I have examined 20 of Carausius and 15 of Allectus.
- 19) Also one 'probably Carausius' found in 1932. W. Percy-Hedley.
- 20) White, D.A. Litus Saxonicum, Madison, 1961, pp.29-30
- 21) Frere, SS, Britannia, p.339
- 22) Essays in Roman Art and Archaeology, P Salway ed. p.39
- 23) English names are used to avoid confusion caused by the uncertainty of the Latin names for some of the forts.
- 24) Britannia pp.338-9
- 25) The Date of the Construction of the Saxon Shore Fort at Richborough, Britannia I, 1970, pp.240-248
- 26) Rich V p.244
- 27) Rich IV p.66
- 28) Rich. IV p.70 N.B The same hoard is described on p.280 of that report and at NC 1940 p.70 as coming from the, 'outer stone fort ditch, south west corner.'
- 29) Rich IV p.280. N.C. 5th ser.vol.XX 1940. p.71
- 30) N.C. 5th ser.vol.XX. 1940. p.71
- 31) A.Vict. De Caes XXXIX 39.
- 32) In support of this may be adduced the eleven coins of Carausius including a denarius belonging to William Myers of Walton and 'found in the parish of Felixtow(sic), Surtees Soc vol. 73 = Stukeley's Letters & Diaries vol.I pp.483-5

- 33) cf. Jarrett, M.G. B.C.S. 1963, p 217; Shiel.N. Britannia IV 1973, pp.224-6.
- 34) The coins from Richborough provide the most valuable single source of statistical information which is used elsewhere in this thesis.
- 35) Bagnall Oakley, M. Roman Coins Found In Monmouth, A. Camb. V ser. vol. III, pp.224 ff. and N.C. 3 ser.vol.X p,262.
- 36) Jarrett, M.G. The Roman Frontier In Wales, revised edition, 1969, p 27.
- 37) Britons And The Roman Army, London, 1964, pp.165 ff.
- 38) op.cit. p. 59
- 39) Wheeler, R.E.M. Roman and Native in Wales: An Imperial Frontier Problem, Cymmrodorion Soc. Trans. 1920-21, pp.40-96 (This is from p.92)
- 40) B.C.S. IX, 1938, pp.168-183
- 41) cf. also Wheeler, R.E.M. Y Cymmrodor vol.XXXIII, 1923, p.68: ...'they clearly represent the reaction of political disturbance upon the civil and especially the native population....'
- 42) Jarret, M.G. B.C.S. , 1963, pp.217 ff. citing A.Camb. W1 p.182, and J.R.S. xliii, 1953, p.104.
- 43) Wheeler, R.E.M. Segontium and the Roman Occupation of Wales, Y Cymmrodor XXXIII
- 44) Boon, G.C. Isca : The Roman Legionary Fortress at Caerleon, Mons, Nat.Mus.Wales, Cardiff, 1972
- 45) loc.cit.
- 46) Haverfield, F Military Aspects of Roman Wales, London, 1910, p.106.

- 147
- 47) op.cit. pp.63 ff.
 - 48) It seems likely that detachments from this legion had already gone off for service in other provinces and the name 'secundani' may be an allusion to them. Carausius himself must have had one such detachment as part of the force allocated to his channel command so there may well have been relatively few troops left at Caerleon by the beginning of his reign.
 - 49) cf. Gardner, W. and Savory, H.N. Excavation Reports for 1964, 1965-69, Nat. Mus. Wales.
 - 50) cf. Simpson, G. op.cit. p.165
 - 51) Reece. R. Roman Coinage in the Western Empire Britannia IV, pp.227-252.
 - 52) Giard, J.-B. La Monnaie Locale en Gaule a la fin du III^e siècle reflet de la vie économique, Journal des Savants Jan-Mar. 1969, pp.5 ff.
 - 53) Whiteway, P. Some Inedited Roman Coins, Num. Circ. vol. 35, 1927, p.503.
 - 54) Giard. loc.cit.
 - 55) Reece. R. A Short Survey of the Roman Coins Found on Fourteen Sites in Britain, Britannia II, 1971, pp.269-276; Roman Coinage in the Western Empire, Britannia IV pp.227-252.
 - 56) cf. the section on hoards, and the detailed breakdown of selected sites.

Chapter Four

Carausius' Silver Coinage

The majority of Carausius' silver coinage, excluding such pieces as are patently irregular in some way, falls into two groups. The larger of these consists of the coins which have the letters RSR in the exergue; the smaller, of those with no exergual letters. In addition there are a very few silver coins which have on them exergual letters such as are commonly found on the antoniniani. These have been considered separately, not because they are from a separate mint or mints from the majority of the coins so much as to show just what an extreme minority they are and how much more likely they are to be exceptions rather than the sole constituents of the produce of the main mints.

$\frac{1}{ML}$ or $\frac{1}{L}$

In his Numismatic Chronicle¹ corpus Webb lists eight coins as denarii with London marks of one sort or another. In a series of footnotes he casts doubt on some of them and by the time of his R.I.C.² listing, the number has dropped to three. Even this is incorrect, however, as he has transmitted some of the errors from his earlier work despite his having drawn attention to them himself in footnotes. R.I.C.7 is the product of a misreading as Webb pointed out,³ 'The mint mark is probably an erroneous reading of the Hunter specimen, which is faint but in fact reads R.S.R.' This coin is illustrated in a woodcut in Mon. Brit.⁴ with the mint mark erroneously shown as a faint $\frac{1}{ML}$. Webb failed to perceive an anomaly in his own lists, for R.I.C.7 and R.I.C. 535, with

obverse H, may both be traced back to Cohen 8 which is the Hunter coin and which certainly reads $\frac{1}{RSR}$.

Webb gives a version of R.I.C 7 with no exergual letters. It has proved impossible to trace such a coin nor, indeed, any earlier reference to it. The most likely explanation seems to be that Webb has mistakenly read Cohen 6 as a denarius. This coin fits the description but is an antoninianus. It is surely significant that Webb does not record it as such anywhere in R.I.C.

R.I.C.8 has also been misread. The cause of the error is the doublestriking of the reverse which creates the impression that there are in fact letters similar to M L in the exergue. Webb has, therefore, again included the same coin twice by error, despite having expressed doubts about it earlier.⁵

The coin bears no exergual letters and is correctly described as such as R.I.C. 709.

R.I.C.9 presents a more complex problem. The two versions of it, W 12 and W 13, are hardly different at all and are almost certainly two variants of a description of the same coin; neither of which is correct. W 12 derives from Cohen 401 of which is said, 'Cette medaille donnée par le Monumenta

Historica Britannica, comme faisant partie de la Bibliotheque Nationale (cabinet des medailles) ne s'y trouve pas'.⁶

W 13 simply cites the Montagu and Evans collections. The coin which Mon. Brit. ascribed to the Bibliotheque Nationale was, therefore, missing by Cohen's time; it has not reappeared since. There is a specimen of this type at Oxford, from the Evans collection, which is presumably W 13. It has not been

centrally struck and it is worn in places so that the readings are not very clear but there are definite traces of an M before the much clearer L in the exergue. This rids us of the odd $\frac{I}{L}$ mark. The reverse legend is indistinct at the beginning and end but must be as given below. This piece is all that appears to exist of R.I.C. 9 and it seems quite possible that this coin is the one which was originally in Paris as W 12 but which found its way over to England before Cohen's day.

It remains to add one coin and one oddity to this very small group. There is at Oxford a denarius which has been struck from the same dies as the aureus R.I.C. 1. This coin, said to have been found at London, seems above suspicion. Also at Oxford is a coin bearing the types and legends of the legionary antoninianus R.I.C.75, including the radiate crown; but it is made of some silver coloured alloy, not silver itself. It is clearly not a silvered antoninianus as the alloy is very light, and it may be a comparatively recent copy of some sort. Details of this coin have been included for the sake of completeness without accepting it as a denarius at all.

THE COINS

$\frac{1}{ML}$

- 1) O) CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and cuirassed.
- R) CONSERVAT AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Jupiter standing left holding thunderbolt and sceptre; eagle at foot,

R.I.C. - 3.83 gm. 19 x 17 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes: From same dies as R.I.C.1 (in AV) Given by A.D.

Passmore and said to have been found in LONDON.

- 2) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF IN AVG bust right laureate and draped.
- R) [VIR] TVS IN I AVG $\frac{1}{M L}$ Emperor stg right holding globe and spear.

R.I.C. 9 (corrected) 3.85 gm. 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes A somewhat coarse piece, the letter M of the mint-mark is only faintly visible ^c of Cooke W. 'The Medallic History of Imperial Rome' London 1781 vol II pp.453 ff. and fig. LIX; Stukeley. Med. Hist. II pl. VI No 6. 'Lord Pembroke'; Akerman, Desr. Cat. II p.159, No 46, Coins Rel, to R. Brit. p.127, No 49. Cohen 401.

Addenda

- a) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, radiate, draped and cuirassed.
- R) LEG VII CL $\frac{1}{M L}$ bull standing right.

R.I.C. 2.74 gm 20 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes Not a silver coin. No radiate silver coins are known to exist in the way laureate bronzes do. There are several instances of well silvered antoniniani being called silver coins, notably N.C. 2 ser. vol XIV 1874 p.87 no 1 which is W 209 where he calls it 'base silver or washed bronze', of also Stukeley, Med. Hist. II pl. I. 8.

$\frac{1}{C}$ or 1C

'It is doubtful if any silver was issued from this mint.'
 This is Webb's comment⁷ which he tries to support by arguing that the mark in the exergue of the Hunter specimen is not a

C but a crescent, and that this is probably the case with other specimens. The mark in the exergue of the Hunter coin is certainly different from the C found in the legend of the same coin but it is still shaped like a letter C. The obvious interpretation placed upon such a mark in such a place must have been that it was a letter C. The only alternative would, perhaps, be if the coin were produced before any other coins bearing the letter C in the exergue. If not then it must have been taken as a 'C mint' coin despite the variation in form. The letter on the Oxford coin is unmistakably a C; this time in the right field.

R.I.C. 187, as is clear from its illustration as number twelve on plate sixteen of that work, has been struck in such a way that only the top of the exergual letter is actually present on the flan. The coin is in the British Museum and there can be no doubt that the letter must be read as a C, as it was as long ago as Mon. Brit.⁸ The obverse appears normal for a silver coin but the reverse is too large for the flan. This is a phenomenon to be observed on the rare laureate bronzes⁹, the reverses of which have, in some cases, been struck from antoninianus dies. This may have happened in the case of R.I.C.187. : antoniniani are recorded with this reverse. The coin may be the product of the combination of an antoninianus reverse with a denarius obverse. This is of relevance to the question of mint location and for dating. Clearly such a combination could not have occurred until antoniniani bearing the exergual C had begun to appear; which would make it less likely that R.I.C.186 was produced

before such a date.

The coin at Oxford, which is not recorded in R.I.C. has a reverse which does not link with any antoninianus, although the occurrence of the $\frac{1c}{c}$ mark is known for antoniniani. The Glasgow coin shows no signs of having come from an antoninianus die. This leaves three coins which do not relate to each other very closely and which look a far from convincing survival from any significant issue of denarii.

THE COINS

$\frac{1}{c}$

1) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right laureate draped and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA MILITVM $\frac{1}{c}$ joined hands.

R.I.C 186 4.064 gm 18 mm. HUNTERIAN

notes The obverse is similar to R.S.R. 102. cf Woodward, Wilks and Lockhart. 'A General History of Hampshire' 3 vols. London 1861 vol. 2 pl. facing p.200 No. 7. This must be the Hunter coin.

2) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) LEG IIII (FLAVIA) $\frac{1}{c}$ Centaur left holding club transversely with both hands.

R.I.C. 187 pl. XVI 12 3.95 gm 19 mm. B.M.

notes cf Mon. Brit. V 21. 'Brummel' cf R.I.C. 272-3 for this reverse on an antoninianus but N.B. this is not from the dies used for the coins of this sort shown in Coll. Ant. pl. XVII. cf Akerman Descr. Cat. II p.157. No.22 and p.159,

204

Coins rel to Brit. pp 123-4 'copied from the abundant third
brass of Gallienus'. Cohen 143.

lc

1) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) PR [OVI] D AVG lc
Providentia stg left with
baton and cornucopiae,
globe at feet.

R.I.C. - 4.17 gm 19mm ASHMOLEAN

notes Found at ABINGDON cf N.C. 6th ser. vol IV 1944. p.13
No.104 and pl. III No.1. cf Drabble Sale. Glendinning.
4.7.1939 Lot No.266.

1
RSR

The majority of the silver coins of Carausius have the letters
R.S.R. in the exergue. Many efforts have been made to suggest
expansions which incorporate a place name, usually Rutupiae
for Richborough, as the location of the mint town of these
coins. The more obvious way to interpret these exergual
letters was pointed out by Arthur Evans¹¹ 'on the analogy
of COM(itis) on late Roman solidi these letters are to be
explained as R(ationalis), S(ummae) R(ei) rather than a local
mint mark.' Several of these denarii have been found at
Richborough but by no means sufficient to prove that that must
have been their mint town. A sufficient body of epigraphic

evidence exists, however, to show that the title Rationalis Summae Rei was regularly abbreviated to this form or something very similar.

- C.I.L. 6 1132RAT.S.R.....
- C.I.L. 6 1145RAT.S.R.....;
- C.I.L. 6 1701RAT/S.R.....
a/b

There can be no question as to the correctness of the expansion here as A.E. 1947, 186....V.P. RAT..... and A.E. 1966, 432VP/R.... both record Julius Antoninus whose title is given in full on C.I.L. 3. 325.

To support the fact that such an officer existed under Carausius there is the testimony of Aurelius Victor who describes Allectus himself as, '....summae rei prae esset'.¹² It is possible that Victor is using this either anachronistically or with a more general connotation than the specific title Rationalis Summae Rei, but the combination of this and the other factors makes this the most convincing interpretation of R.S.R. on the silver coins of Carausius.

One would expect to find such an officer based at the administrative centre of the area concerned, in this case London, and so the denarii avowedly struck by his authority must have been produced there also. A more detailed argument follows the corpus of all the remainder of the denarii. The unmarked silver coins seem more rather than less closely connected to the R.S.R. pieces and follow straight on from them without a separate introduction.

THE COINS

$\frac{1}{RSR}$

1) 0) IMP CARAVSIVS AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed

R) ADVENTVS AV $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Emperor riding left, one captive before.

R.I.C. — 4.40 gm 21 mm. ASHMOLEAN

notes Probably from CAERLEON

2) 0) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) ADVENTVS AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Emperor riding left, no captive visible.

R.I.C. 535 2.61 gm 19 x 18 m COPENHAGEN

notes very worn.

3) 0) IMP CARAV[] bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) ADVEN[]G $\frac{1}{SRS}$ Emperor riding left, no captive.

R.I.C. 537 2.37 gm 20 mm. B.M.

notes a considerable portion of the coin has broken off, the style is not abnormal despite the erroneous version of the exergual letters.

4) 0) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) ADVENTVS AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Emperor riding left, one captive before.

R.I.C. 535 3.73 gm 19 x 18 mm PRIVATE COLL.

notes of Trau Sale Vienna. 1935 lot 3484 (2300 Fr.S);
 Num. Circ. vol LXXVII No.3 (March 1969) p.98, pl. II No.22
 £145; Vecchi List 7 1972 No.115 £350; S Gibbons sale
 5 July 1973 lot C 159. S. Gibbons stock list Feb 1974 No.149
 £300.

5) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped;
 rest off flan.

R) [A]DVENTVS AVS $\frac{1}{[RS]R}$ Emperor riding left,
 captive before?

R.I.C. 535 22 x 18 mm WROXETER

notes found WROXETER 1913 cf. Wroxeter Report 2. 1913
 (J P Bush-Fox) No. 340 p.72 and fig.20; one of four denarii of
 Carausius in a hoard of 16 coins (cf. my hoards, group one No.48).

6) O) IMP CARA [VSIV]S PF AV [G] bust right, laureate, draped
 and cuirassed.

R) [ADVENTVS] AV [G] $\frac{1}{IIIIII}$ Emperor riding left,
 captive before.

R.I.C. '535' 3.07 gm 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes holed and chipped, the exergue is very worn and battered.

OBV $\frac{1}{14}$

7) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust left, laureate in
 robes, holding sceptre.

R) ADVENTVS AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Emperor riding left,
 captive before

R.I.C. 535 4.298 gm 19 mm. HUNTERIAN

notes OBV ≡ RSR 58 ≡ RSR 25. This is the coin which Webb
 misreads to get RIC 7 (v.s.) It is illustrated with ML in
 the exergue in Mon Brit. pl.V No.5 cf Stukeley II pl. XVIII

No 1 (no exergual marks) - Dr Kennedy (→ Hunter?)

Akerman. Descr. Cat. p.155 No.2 ; CRB p.119 No.2.

8) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed

R) ADVENTVS AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Emperor riding left, no captive.

R.I.C. 536 3.5 gm 19 mm. B.M.

notes $\overline{OBV} \equiv \frac{1}{32}$ cf.W. 587 "Brooke. Found at LAMBOURNE, Berks."

8a) O) IMP CARAVSIVS P AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) ADVEN [TVS AVG] $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Emperor riding left. Captive before.

R.I.C. 3.3 gm 18 mm GLOUCESTER

notes "found in a field behind Witcomb Farm Cottage, GREAT WITCOMB ' SO 905 162, purchased 1965. The find spot is between a known 3C.villa and the line of a Roman road.

9) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) ADVENTVS AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Emperor riding right, spear held horizontally over head, captive below horse.

R.I.C. 541 4.79 gm 21 mm B.M.

cf. Stukeley vol.II, pl.II, No.I, Lord Pembroke. cf.Akerman

Descr. Cat.II,p.155,No.4, citing Stukeley CRB p.120 No.4. COH 11

10) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ joined hands.

R.I.C. 545 2.52 gm. 20 x 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes REV ≡ RSR 11

11) O) IMP CARAVSIVS P AVG bust right, laureate, rest
uncertain.

R) CONCORDIA AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ joined hands.

R.I.C. 546 2.98 gms 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes cf. N.C. 1905, pl. II No.1; N.C.1944, p.17, No.162.

Similar obverse to antoniniani. REV RSR 10

12) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA M [1] $\frac{1}{RSR}$ joined hands.

R.I.C. 548 3.88 gms 20 x 18 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes Seen in the B.M. 4.6.1930 and described as 'from
NORWICH'. Rev. is very off centre. Glens. 5.7.74. Lot No. 419
misdescribed.

13) O) IMP CARAVSIVS P AV bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA MI $\frac{1}{RSR}$ joined hands.

R.I.C. 3.69 gm 19 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes cf. lot 5. Walters Sale, Sothebey 1932 → £12.

14) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA MILIT $\frac{1}{RSR}$ joined hands.

R.I.C. 548 5.22 gms 19 mm ASHMOLEAN

15) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA MILIT $\frac{1}{RSR}$ joined hands

R.I.C. 549 3.4 gm 18 mm B.M.

notes COH 36

- 16) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed
R) CONCORDIA MILITVM $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ joined hands.
R.I.C. 548 4.61 gm 19 mm PRIVATE COLL.

notes Found HAMMERSMITH. Ex W.C.Wells and A.H.Baldwin. cf.
lot No.323. Glendinnings Nov.21 1969 → £500. OBV ≡ RSR 71.

- 17) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.
R) CONCORDIA MILITVM $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ joined hands.
R.I.C. 548 21 x 19 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes cf. Lot 125 Sothebey 20th Nov.1968.

- 18) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed
R) CONCOR [DIA, MILIT] VM $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ joined hands.
R.I.C. '548' 2.55 gm 18 mm HUNTERIAN

notes Obv. is similar to RSR 72

- 19) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.
R) CONCORDIA MILITVM $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ joined hands.
R.I.C. 548 3.42 gm 20 mm ASHMOLEAN

- 20) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust left, laureate in robes,
holding sceptre.
R) CONCORDIA MILITVM $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ joined hands
R.I.C. 548 3.89 gm 20 x 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

cf. N.C. 1861 p.161 found near ABINGDON. COH 42.

- 21) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.
R) CONCORDIA MILITVM $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ joined hands.
R.I.C. 549 4.17 gms 19 mm BRUSSELS

22) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA MILTVM $\frac{1}{RSR}$ joined hands.

R.I.C.-- 21 x 18 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes OBV \equiv RSR 66

23) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA MTILTVM $\frac{1}{RSR}$ joined hands.

R.I.C. 547 corr. 4.4.gm 19 mm B.N. 9448

notes OBV \equiv RSR 69 OBV & REV \equiv RSR 24 COH. 41

24) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA MTILTVM $\frac{1}{RSR}$ joined hands.

R.I.C. 547 corr. 21 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes OBV \equiv RSR 69 OBV & REV \equiv RSR 23 cf. lot 271

Mayr-Harting sale, Glendinnings 15/11/1949 \rightarrow £46. where it is wrongly given as R.I.C. 548. "From Lord Amherst's Cabinet £35".

25) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust left, laureate in robes, holding sceptre.

R) CONCO [RD] MILI [T] $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Concordia stg left with two ensigns.

R.I.C. 544 4.456 gms 18 mm HUNTERIAN

notes OBV \equiv RSR 58 \equiv RSR 7. cf. Stukeley II pl. XVI No. 2.

Lord Oxford (Hunter?) cf. Akerman Descr. Cat. II p.156, No.9; C.R.B. p.121 No.9. COH 33.

26) O) IMP CARAVSIVS AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) CONCOR MI $\frac{1}{RSR}$ joined hands.

R.I.C. 543 3.57 gms 20 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes formerly A.W.Hands collection.

27) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) CONCORD [] $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Emperor standing right, clasping hand of Concordia standing left.

R.I.C. 551 3.34 gms 18 mm BERLIN

notes The bust is similar to that used on some aurei.

28) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) CONS [ER] A $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Neptune seated left with anchor and trident.

R.I.C. 553 corr. 3.341 19 mm HUNTERIAN

notes cf Mon. Brit. pl \bar{V} no.12 wrongly described. cf Stukeley II pl. XXX No.7. Dr Kennedy. COH 45.

29) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) CONSER AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Neptune seated left holding anchor and trident.

R.I.C. 552 var. 4.63 gm 20 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes cf, N.C. 1861 p 36; N.C. 1944 p.17 No.163 and pl. III

No.10. Found at ST.ALBANS OBV \equiv RSR 93

30) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PE AVG bust right, laureate and draped.

R) EXPECTATE VINI $\frac{1}{RSR}$ 'Britannia' standing right holding ensign, clasping hand

of Emperor stg.left holding
sceptre.

R.I.C. 554 (+ pl. XV.6) 4.63 gm 20 mm B.M.

notes The obverse F has been cut as an E, which happens on several other denarii, and two of the reverse E's are imperfectly formed so that they look like ls. cf. RSR 72, RSR 74, RSR 75, RSR 76, RSR 80, $\frac{1}{2}$ 13, $\frac{1}{2}$ 19, $\frac{1}{2}$ 35.

31) o) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped and cuirassed.

R) EXPECTATE VENI $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ 'Britannia' stg.right with vertical sceptre (or imperfect ensign) clasping hand of Emperor stg.left with vertical sceptre.

R.I.C. 554 2.57 gm 20 x 18 mm BERLIN

32) o) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) EXPECTATE VENI $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ 'Britannia' stg.right with ensign, clasping hand of Emperor stg. left with vertical sceptre.

R.I.C. 554 19 mm WROXETER

notes from an electrotype in the BM, this is one of the WROXETER hoard coins q.v. REV \equiv RSR 38

33) o) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate draped and cuirassed.

R) EXPECTATE VENI $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ 'Britannia' stg.right with ensign, clasping hand of

Emperor stg.left with sceptre.

R.I.C. 554 4.646 gms 20 mm HUNTERIAN

notes OBV & REV ≡ RSR 35 OBV ≡ $\frac{1}{2}$ 24

34) O) IMP CARAVS [] bust right, laureate, draped and
cuirassed.

R) EXPECTATE VENI $\frac{1}{RSR}$ 'Britannia' stg.right with ensign
clasping hand of Emperor stg.left
with sceptre.

R.I.C. '554' 2.96 gms 19 mm B.M.

35) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate and
draped.

R) EXPECTATE VENI $\frac{1}{RSR}$ 'Britannia' stg.right with
ensign clasping hand of
Emperor stg.left with sceptre.

R.I.C. 555 4.67 gm 19 mm B.M.

notes OBV ≡ $\frac{1}{2}$ 24 OBV & REV ≡ RSR 33. obverse similar
to $\frac{1}{2}$ 23.

36) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) EXPECTATE VENI $\frac{1}{RSR}$ 'Britannia' stg.right with
ensign, clasping hand of
Emperor stg.left with sceptre.

R.I.C. 555 2.76 gm 19 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes OBV ≡ RSR 37 ex T. Thomas Esq. cf. Akerman. Descr. Cat.
II pp.154 & 156.

37) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) EXPECTATE VENI $\frac{1}{RSR}$ 'Britannia' stg.right with
ensign clasping hand of

Emperor stg.left with sceptre.

R.I.C. 555 5.08 gms 17 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes Found at BATH. OBV≡R.S.R. 36. REV≡RSR 39. Ex
Roth coll. of lot A, Walters Sale, Sothebey 1932 → £16:
Lot 153, Lockett, English I, Glendinning 1955 → Schulmann →
M. Nicolas, France → ?

38) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) EXPECTATE VENI $\frac{1}{RSR}$ 'Britannia' stg.right with
ensign clasping hand of
Emperor stg.left with sceptre.

R.I.C. 555 20 mm B.M.

notes From the SULLY MOOR hoard q.v. cf.N.C.1900 pp.27-65;
A.C. LV (1900) p.65; BCS XXIII p.305; P.F. Isaac 'A Study
of Roman Gold Coins found in Britain, and their implications'.
unpub. M.A.Thesis. Durham 1971. REV≡RSR 32.

39) O) IMP CARAUSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) EXPECTATE VENI $\frac{1}{RSR}$ 'Britannia' stg.right with
ensign clasping hand of Emperor
stg.left with sceptre.

notes From a cast in B.M. with "A.G.L. GAM LEN ST.ALBANS (not
to be published)" written on it. REV≡RSR 37.

40) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) EXPECTATI $\frac{1}{RSR}$ 'Britannia' stg.right with
ensign clasping hand of
Emperor stg.left with sceptre.

R.I.C. 557

21 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWNnotes cf. lot 207, Oman sale, Christies' 2/7/1968

'Mallinson' £130.

41) O) IMP CARAVSIVS [PF] bust right, laureate, draped
rest unclear.*

R) EXPECT [ATE VE] NIE [S] $\frac{1}{[RS]}$ R 'Britannia' standing
right with ensign
clasping hand of
Emperor stg. left with
sceptre.

R.I.C. 558 ? corr. ? 3.09 gms 18 mm HUNTERIANnotes* with globe before 'cos of die link OBV & REV \equiv RSR 42.

42) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF bust right, laureate, draped
holding globe before.

R) EXPECT [ATE VE] NIES $\frac{1}{RSR}$ 'Britannia' stg. right,
attribute unclear, clasping
hand of Emperor stg. left
with sceptre.

R.I.C. 558 corr. ? 3.59 gms 17 mm ASHMOLEANnotes OBV & REV \equiv RSR 41 cf. Mon. Brit. pl. V No 14. cf.Stukeley II, pl. XX No. 6 Bodley Library. COH 57.

43) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) FEDES MILITVM $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Fides stg. left with two
ensigns.

R.I.C. 559 2.62 gms 20 x 16 mm ASHMOLEANnotes cf N.C. 1905 pl. 2, No. 3; N.C. 1944, p. 18, No. 164.

Ex Warne and Evans collections.

44) O) IMP CARAVSIVS P AV bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) FE[L]ICITA $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ galley right

R.I.C. 19 mm BARBER INSTITUTE

notes ex G.C.Haines collection.

45) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PFAVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) FELICITA AV $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ galley right.

R.I.C. 560 3.94 gm 19 mm B.N. 9449

notes COH 65

46) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped
rest unclear.

R) FELICITA AV $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ galley right.

R.I.C. 2.79 gm 19 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes galley rather stylised.

47) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and draped.

R) FELICITA AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ galley right.

R.I.C. 560 .20mm RICHBOROUGH

notes from electrotype in B.M. found RICHBOROUGH OBV & REV ≡

RSR 48 ≡ RSR 52 REV ≡ RSR 51.

48) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
rest unclear.

R) FELICITA AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ galley right

R.I.C. 560 4.35 gm 21 mm RICHBOROUGH

notes found RICHBOROUGH OBV & REV ≡ RSR 47 ≡ RSR 52

REV ≡ RSR 51.

49) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) FELICITA AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ galley right.

R.I.C. 560 4.55 gm 21 x 18 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes striking crack. ex John Evans collection. cf. Lot 154
Lockett, English pt. I Glendinning 1955. Seen at Baldwins 1971.
OBV \equiv RSR 65 Hess-Leu sale 1969. ex coll M. Nicolas (France).

50) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) FELICITA AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ galley right.

R.I.C. 560 4.140 gms 19 x 18 mm HUNTERIAN

notes very similar to No 49.

51) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) FELICITA AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ galley right.

R.I.C. 560 3.61 gm 19 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes: REV \equiv RSR 48 \equiv RSR 47 \equiv RSR 52

52) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) [FELICITA] AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ galley right.

R.I.C. 560 2.76 gms 19 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes holed: OBV \equiv RSR 48 \equiv RSR 47 REV \equiv RSR 48 \equiv

RSR 47 \equiv RSR 51. cf. Lot 3485 Trau sale Vienna 1935. Not
illustrated R) Schiff. Gel Schlechterh = almost certainly
this coin, esp. as Evans bought the next lot (= $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ 90)

53) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust left, laureate, in robes
with sceptre.

R) FELICITA AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ galley left.

R.I.C. 560 4.19 gm 19 mm RICHBOROUGH

notes found RICHBOROUGH OBV & REV \equiv RSR 54

54) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust left, laureate, in robes,
with sceptre.

R) FELICITA AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ galley left

R.I.C. 560 3.82 gm 22 x 19 mm BALDWINS(1974)

notes OBV & REV \equiv RSR 53. Ex W.C.Wells coll. cf. lot 324
Glendinnings 21/11/69 @ £62 Baldwin. cf. Stukeley II,
pl. III, No-1 FELICITAS

55) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) FELICITAS $\frac{1}{RSR}$ galley right.

R.I.C. 560 3.69 gms 21 x 18 mm BERLIN 441/1891

notes Quelen 1937. This has a coin in bronze struck from
the same dies. cf. Num. Circ. 1973 pp. 330-32.

56) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) FELICITAS $\frac{1}{RSR}$ galley right.

R.I.C. 560 4.41 gm 19 mm B.M.

notes OBV & REV \equiv RSR 57. obverse is very similar to RSR 37
and RSR 36. COH 66.

57) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) FELICITAS $\frac{1}{RSR}$ galley right.

R.I.C. 560 4.171 gms 19 x 18 mm HUNTERIAN

notes OBV & REV \equiv RSR 56.

58) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust left, laureate, in
robes, with sceptre.

R) FELICITAS AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ galley left.

R.I.C. 560 5.69 gm 19 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes ex Evans cf. N.C. 1905, pl. II, no.2 "Found in The Thames at LONDON OBV \equiv RSR 7 \equiv RSR 25.

59) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) [FELICITAS A] VG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ galley left.

R.I.C. 560 car. 20 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes cf. lot 206, Oman Sale, Christies 2/7/68 \rightarrow £155. Spink.

60) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and ? cuirassed?

R) FI DES MILIT $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Fides stg left with two ensigns.

R.I.C. 564 3.19 gm 19 mm B.M.

notes portrait is similar to that used on some aurei. cf.

Occo. Imp. Rom. Num. 1683, p.428 - MILITVM. cf. Akerman. CRB

p.171, No.19 ex Rev.F. Blick. coll. cf. Banduri Num.Imps.

Rom. Paris 1718, p.116 - MILITVM.

61) O) IMP C CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) FORTUNA AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Fortuna seated left on wheel with rudder and cornucopiae.

R.I.C. 567 4.673 gms 19 mm HUNTERIAN

notes cf. Mon. Brit. pl.V, No.17, cf. Stukeley II, pl. VII, No55

P Carteret Webb (\rightarrow Hunter?) COH 87. Banduri. op. cit, p.116.

62) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped, rest unclear.

R) LEG IIII FL $\frac{1}{RSR}$ lion walking left, thunderbolt in mouth.

R.I.C. 568 4.05 gm 18 mm B.M.

notes cf. Stukeley, Vol. II, pl. I, No.10, Lord Pembroke coll.

COH. 140

63) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) ORIENS AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ Sol stg. left, right hand
raised, globe in left.

R.I.C. 570 4.34 gm 18.5 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes OBV & REV \equiv RSR 64 cf. Stukeley II, pl. XXIII No. 4,
Bodley Library. Webb "Very base metal".

64) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) ORIENS AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ Sol stg. left, right hand
raised, globe in left.

R.I.C. 570 3.40 gm 18 mm B.M.

notes OBV & REV \equiv RSR 63 COH 183 corr.

65) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) RENOVA ROMAN $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ wolf right with twins.

R.I.C. 571 4.17 gm 19 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes OBV \equiv RSR 49. cf. Lot III Campion Sale 1937. Bank Leu
29/3/74. Zurich, lot 382.

66) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) RENOVAT ROMA $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ wolf right with twins.

R.I.C. 571 4.02 gms 19 mm B.N. 9452

notes crack through edge. OBV \equiv RSR 22 OBV very similar
to the aureus from Silchester. cf. Stukeley II, pl. XVII,
No. 1, Duke of Devon. COH 291.

67) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) RENOVAT ROMAN $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ wolf right with twins.

R.I.C. 571 4.62 grm 20 mm PRIVATE COLLECTION

notes Found at DURSLEY, Glos* cf. lot 107, Carlyon-Britton
Sothebey 1913 → £13.5.0.; lot 155, Lockett sale, Glendinning
1955; lot 325, Glendinning 21/11/69 → £580. OBV ≡ RSR 77.

* = W 627 "Found in Somersetshire".

68) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) RENOVAT ROMANO $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ wolf right with twins

R.I.C. 571 4.38 gm 21 x 19 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes found BAMPTON, Oxon OBV ≡ RSR 99 ≡ RSR 84

69) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) RENOVAT ROMANO $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ wolf right with twins

R.I.C. 571 4.146 gms 19 mm HUNTERIAN

notes OBV ≡ RSR 23 ≡ RSR 24 reverse is very like RSR 70
cf. Akerman Descr. Cat. II, p.158 No.34; CRB, p.125, No.36.

70) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) RENOVAT ROMANO $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ wolf right with twins.

R.I.C. 571 2.00 gms 18 mm BERLIN 559/1896

70a) O) IMP CAR[AVSIVS PF AVG] bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) [RENOVAT ROMANO] $\frac{1}{\text{[R]SR}}$ Wolf and twins.

R.I.C. 571 2.36 gms 19 mm WARWICK

notes in a very poor state of preservation. Found 1928 at
ALCHESTER. G & BW Davis Coll. now Warwick Museum. OBV & REV ≡

RSR 70.

71) O) IMP CARAVSIVS P E AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) RENOVAT ROMANO $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ Wolf right with twins

R.I.C. 571 (& pl. XVI No.10) 18 mm B.M.

notes OBV \equiv RSR 16 COH 293

72) O) IMP CARAVSIVS P E AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) RENO[VAT ROMAN]O $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ Wolf right with twins

R.I.C. 571 var 4.34 gms 20mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes found LINCOLNSHIRE. cf. Seabey C. & M. Bulletin. Nov. 1971

A 1186 at £350. cf. RSR 30, RSR 74, RSR 75, RSR 76, RSR 82,

$\frac{1}{19}$, $\frac{1}{35}$ for this use of E in place of F in the obverse

legend; and $\frac{1}{13}$.

73) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) ROMANO RENA $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ wolf right with twins.

R.I.C. 572 corr. 2.76 gm 19 mm B.M.

notes obv. is very similar to $\frac{1}{30}$.

74) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PE AG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) ROMANO RENOV $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ wolf right with twins.

R.I.C. 572 var. 3.36 gm 20 mm B.N. 9454

notes OBV & REV \equiv RSR 75 OBV \equiv $\frac{1}{19}$ cf. RSR 30, RSR 72,

RSR 75, RSR 76, RSR 82, $\frac{1}{19}$ /OV Obverse E & $\frac{1}{13}$ & $\frac{1}{35}$

COH 300 Banduri op. cit. p. 116.

75) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PE AG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) ROMANO RENOV $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ wolf right with twins

R.I.C. 572 var 3.30 gm 19 mm B.M.

notes OBV & REV \equiv RSR 74 OBV \equiv $\frac{1}{19}$ cf. previous note
for obverse E.

76) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PE AVG bust right, laureate and
draped

R) ROMANO RENOV $\frac{1}{RSR}$ wolf right with twins.

R.I.C. 572 var. 4.17 gm 20 mm B.M.

notes very similar style to $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ cf. previous note for
this obverse E.

77) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) ROMANO RENOV $\frac{1}{RSR}$ wolf right with twins.

R.I.C. 572 4.57 gm 20 mm B.M.

notes OBV \equiv RSR 67

78) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed

R) ROMANO RENOV $\frac{1}{RSR}$ wolf right and twins.

R.I.C. 572 3.39 gm 20 mm ASHMOLEAN

79) O) VIRTVS CARAVSI bust left, helmeted with
shield and spear.

R) ROMANO RENOV $\frac{1}{RSR}$ wolf right with twins.

R.I.C. 577 2.755 gms 19 x 18 mm HUNTERIAN

notes cf. Mon. Brit. pl. \bar{V} , No. 32, cf. Stukeley \bar{II} , pl. \bar{XX}
No. 9, P Carteret Webb (\rightarrow Hunter?) COH 301.

80) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) ROMANO RENOVA $\frac{1}{RSR}$ wolf right with twins.

R.I.C. 572 3.27 gm 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes found RICHBOROUGH. ex Rolfe collection. cf. Coll. Ant \bar{V} ,

pl. XVII, No.2. This reverse is very similar to the RSR aureus.

80a) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) ROMANO RENOVA $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ Wolf right with twins.

R.I.C. 753 3.6 gm 20 mm LYON

notes = W 636 & pl. II No.3. Feuardent, Paris 28,12,1891

@ 500 fr.

81) O) IMP CARAVSIVS P AV bust right, laureate, draped,
rest unclear.

R) ROMANO [REN O] VA $\frac{1}{\text{A}^{\text{A}}\text{A}}$ wolf right with twins.

R.I.C. 574 3.68 gm 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes cf.W 632 "Ant. Rich; Num. Circ 4478" found

RICHBOROUGH.

82) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PE AG bust right, laureate, draped,
rest unclear.

R) ROMANO RENO $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ wolf right with twins.

R.I.C. 575 corr. 3.8 gms 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes for obverse E cf.RSR 30, RSR 72, RSR 74, RSR 75, RSR 76,
 $\frac{1}{19}$, $\frac{1}{35}$, $\frac{1}{13}$.

83) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped,
and cuirassed.

R) ROME AET [] $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ Roma seated left in hexastyle
temple.

R.I.C.579 corrected to 578. 3.77 gm 22 x 19 mm B.M.

notes cf.Mon. Brit. pl.V No.34 which misreading led to W 638

R.I.C. 579. cf.Occo p.428. Akerman 41. Stukeley, vol. II, pl. II,

No.10. Lord Pembroke. cf.Akerman Descr. Cat.II, p.158, No.39:

C.R.B. p.126, No.41. COH 304.

84) O) IMP CARAVSIVS P [] bust right, laureate, draped,
rest unclear.

R) TEMPOR[VM FEL] $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Felicitas stg.left with baton
and cornucopiae.

R.I.C. 580 var. 2.77 gm 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes cf N.C. 1944, p.18, No.168. OBV≡RSR 99≡RSR 68

85) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PP A bust left, laureate in robes,
with sceptre.

R) VBERVTA AV $\frac{1}{RSR}$ woman milking cow right.

R.I.C. 583 4.26 gm 19 x 18 mm B.M.

notes OBV & REV≡RSR 86 OBV≡RSR 89≡ $\frac{1}{6}$ REV≡RSR 87.

COH 364. cf. VCH Lond I p.127, Num.Journ I p.203. Coll. Ant.
V, p.134 No.9 probably this coin. Found LONDON + G.M. 1837
p.267.

86) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF A bust left, laureate, in robes,
with sceptre.

R) VBERVTA AV $\frac{1}{RSR}$ woman milking cow right

R.I.C. 583 2.75 gm 19 x 17 mm HAGUE 10231

notes OBV & REV≡RSR 85 OBV≡RSR 89≡ $\frac{1}{6}$ REV≡RSR 87.

87) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF bust left, laureate, in robes,
with globe.

R) VBERVTA AV $\frac{1}{RSR}$ woman milking cow right.

R.I.C.— 3.78 gms 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes cf. Mon. Brit. pl. V no.40.R; N.C. 1944, p.18, No-169
pl. III, No.12. OBV≡RSR 88 REV≡RSR 85≡RSR 86. ? COH
365 + fig. ? N.B. he gives wt.as 6 gm saying "Denier et
Demi". allegedly ROUEN hoard q.v.

88) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF bust left, laureate in robes,

R) VBERITAS AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$

with globe.

Uberitas stg, right with
standard clasping hand of
soldier stg, left with spear.*

R.I.C. 590

19 mm

ROUEN

notes cf. Mon. Brit. pl.V, No.37. OBV \equiv RSR 87 REV \equiv RSR 89
for* rev.type, cf. EX. VENI type. COH 367. From ROUEN hoard q.v.

89) O) IMP CARAVS [IVS PF A] bust left, laureate, in robes,
with sceptre.

R) VBERITAS AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$

Uberitas stg, right with
standard, clasping hand of
soldier stg, left with spear*

R.I.C. 589

3.465 gms

18 mm

HUNTERIAN

notes cf. Mon. Brit. pl.V, No.36 wrongly PFAVG. OBV \equiv
RSR 85 \equiv $\frac{1}{6}$ \equiv RSR 86. REV \equiv RSR 88. cf. Stukeley II, pl. XXX
No.1 M. Duane (\rightarrow Hunter?) COH 368.

90) O) IMP CARAVSIVS AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) VBERTA AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$

woman milking cow right.

R.I.C. 585

3.7 gm

18.5 mm

ASHMOLEAN

Probably ROUEN hoard

notes cf. Mon. Brit. pl.V, No.39. cf. Lot 3486. Trau sale.

Vienna 1935. COH 371.

91) O) IMP CARAVSIVS F AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) VIRTVS AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$

lion walking left, thunderbolt
in mouth.

R.I.C. 591 var.

4.17 gm

20 mm

B,N 9445

notes COH 390.

92) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) VIRTVS AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ lion walking left, thunderbolt
in mouth.

R.I.C. 591 3.31 gm 20 mm ASHMOLEAN

93) O) IMP [CARAVS]IVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) VIR [TVS AVG] $\frac{1}{[R]S[R]}$ lion walking left, thunderbolt
in mouth.

R.I.C. '591' 2.80 gm 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes very worn with two holes. OBV \equiv RSR29.

94) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) VOTVM PUBLIC $\frac{1}{RSR}$ MVL/TIS/XX/IMP in altar.

R.I.C. 595/7 3.13 gm 20 x 18 mm B.M.

notes OBV & REV \equiv RSR 95 \equiv RSR 96 OBV \equiv the laureate bronze
coin at the Hunterian.

95) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) VOTVM PUBLIC $\frac{1}{RSR}$ MVL/TIS/XX/IMP in altar.

R.I.C. 595/7 4.247 gms 20 x 18 mm HUNTERIAN

notes cf. Mon. Brit. pl.V No.43. OBV & REV \equiv RSR 94 \equiv RSR 96.
OBV \equiv laureate bronze in the Hunterian. cf. Akerman Descr.

Cat. II, p.159, No.49; CRB p.127, No.52. COH 409.

96) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) VOTVM PUBLIC $\frac{1}{RSR}$ MVL/TIS/XX/IMP in altar.

R.I.C. 595/7 4.06 gm 21 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes OBV & REV \equiv RSR 94 \equiv RSR 95 OBV \equiv laureate bronze in the
Hunterian.

97) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped and cuirassed.

R) VOTVM PUBLICVM $\frac{1}{RSR}$ MVL/TIS/XX/IMP in altar.

R.I.C. 597 2.95 gm 19 x 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes COH 410 M. Wigan

98) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) VOTO PUBLICO $\frac{1}{RSR}$ MVL/TIS XX/IMP in altar.

R.I.C. 595 3.65 gm 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes cf. Stukeley II, pl. XXIII No.2 Duke of Devon

99) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) VOTO PVBLICO $\frac{1}{RSR}$ MVL/TIS/XX/IMP in altar.

R.I.C. 595 3.72 gm 18.5 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes OBV \equiv RSR 68 \equiv RSR 84 and is very like RSR 19.

100) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped and cuirassed.

R) VOTO PVBLICO $\frac{1}{RSR}$ MVL/TIS/XX/IMP in altar.

R.I.C. 595 4.29gm 20 x 18 mm B.M.

notes COH 408

101) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped and cuirassed.

R) VOTO [] $\frac{1}{RSR}$ N111/TIS/IXX/MP (sic) in altar.

R.I.C. 595 var. 2.99gm 19 mm A.N.S.

102) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) [V]OTO PVBLI [CO] $\frac{1}{RSR}$ MVL/TIS/XX/IMP in wreath.

R.I.C. 596 3.751 18 mm HUNTERIAN

notes only the tops of exergual letters visible. Obverse is similar to $\frac{1}{C}$ 1.

103) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) VOTO PVBLICO $\frac{1}{RSR}$ MVL TIS XX IMP in wreath.

R.I.C. 596 5.1 gm 19 mm B.M.

notes COH 407

$\frac{1}{RSR}$ irregular

1) O) IMP CIIRALISIIIS PF IIIIG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) IMP III IIII SIPC $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Emperor riding left.

R.I.C.— 3.4 gm 20 mm B.M.

notes The portrait is reasonable and the exergual letters are clear despite the blundering of the main legends. cf. Stukeley II p.188, No.53. Sir Hans Sloane. cf. Akerman.

Descr. Cat. II p.157, No.27 as LIB III III SPPC: CRB p.125 "LIB SPPC". COH 138 "Leg? III SIPC"

2) O) IMP CARAVSIV AVC bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) VORIVIVA R+R wolf right with twins, long spindly legs.

R.I.C. 594 corr. 3.014 gms. 19 x 18 HUNTERIAN

notes cf. Mon. Brit. pl.V No.31.

$\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ laureate bronze

1) 0) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) FELICITAS $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ galley right.

as R.I.C. 560 3.68 gm 18.5 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes cf. Num. Chron. 1905 pl. II, No.6. OBV & REV \equiv RSR 55
in silver. cf. Num. Circ. 1973 pp.330-332.

2) 0) []SIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) [RE] NOVAT RO[MANO] $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ wolf right with twins.

cf R.I.C. 571 3.056 gms 20 x 19 mm HUNTERIAN

notes OBV \equiv RSR 94 \equiv RSR 95 \equiv RSR 96 in silver. cf. Num. Circ.
1973 pp.330-332, somewhat buckled.

1 or other marks.

It is difficult to draw a hard and fast line on one side of which are coins of perfect and unimpeachable regularity with irregular copies on the other. There are no silver coins which are so very irregular, and, in consequence, I have listed together all the coins which remain.

- 1) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped and cuirassed.
- R) ADVENTVS AVG $\frac{1}{\text{X}}$ Emperor riding left, no captive.
R.I.C. 707 3.66 gms 22 x 21 mm B.M.
- 2) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate draped and cuirassed.
- R) ADVENTVS AVG $\frac{1}{\text{X}}$ Emperor riding right, one captive.
R.I.C. 1068 2.69 gms 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes cf Mon. Brit. pl V, No 6: N.C. 1944, p 24, No 2137 & pl IV, No 11 : ex Lord Londesborough and Brumell coll's.
Akerman Descr.Cat. II p.155, No.1 ; C.R.B. p.119, No.1
COH 4.

- 3) O) IMP CARAVSIVS P AV bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.
- R) ADVE[] $\frac{1}{\text{XXX}}$ Emperor riding left, one captive.
R.I.C. 1067 cor. 3.46 gm 19 mm B.M.
- notes OBV & REV $\equiv \frac{1}{4}$ reverse letters are crude.
- 4) O) IMP CARAVSIVS P AV bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) ADVENTV $\frac{1}{XX7}$ Emperor riding left, one captive
 R.I.C. 1067 corr. 3.73 gm 20 x 18 mm WHEREABOUTS

UNKNOWN

notes OBV & REV $\equiv \frac{1}{3}$ Ex. A Evans coll. cf. lot 156
 Lockett Eng. I 1955 A.H. Baldwin. reverse letters are crude.
 COH 3 M Wigan.

5) O) [] AVSIVS P A bust right laureate, draped
 and cuirassed.

R) ADVE [] $\frac{1}{3}$ Emperor riding left, no
 captive visible.

R.I.C. 707 var. 2.83 gm 18 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes very worn and cracked. ex Devonshire, Huxtable and
 Lewis coll's. cf. lot 267, Drabble Sale, Glendinnings 4/7/1939.

6) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF A bust left, laureate, in robes,
 with sceptre.

R) CLARIT CARAVSI $\frac{1}{3}$ bust of Sol right, radiate
 and draped.

R.I.C. 542 3.88 gm 19 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes N.C. 1944 p.17 + pl. III. 9 "Marquis of Exeter 1899
 R + F XXXV" OBV \equiv RSR 85 \equiv RSR 86 \equiv RSR 89. N.B. R.L.C V² p.509
 n.1 "Sir John Evans attributed the coin to this mint" despite
 the lack of exergual letters. The die links prove him correct.

7) O) IMP CARAVSIVS P [AV bust right, laureate and draped.

R) CONCORDIA COM MILI joined hands. (legend carries
 on into exergue)

R.I.C. 3.47 gm 18 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes written on the B.M. cast is, "Williams" Sept 1968. The
 lettering is stiffly executed.

- 8) O) IMP CARAVSIVS P AVG bust right, laureate and draped.
 R) CONSER AV $\frac{1}{2}$ Neptune seated left on rock
 holding anchor and trident.

R.I.C. 709 cor. 3.01 gm 20 mm B.M.

notes double struck

- 9) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped
 and cuirassed.
 R) EXPE[] $\frac{1}{2}$ Britannia stg-right with
 wreath clasping hand of Emperor
 stg.left: altar between.

R.I.C. 3.24 gm 17 x 16 mm PRIVATE COLLECTION

notes OBV $\equiv \frac{1}{2}$ 33 and same reverse type

- 10) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF A bust right, laureate draped
 and cuirassed.
 R) [] ECTAT~~E~~ VENIES $\frac{1}{2}$ Britannia stg.right with ensign,
 clasping hand of Emperor stg.
 left with sceptre.

R.I.C. 715 corr. 3.10 gm 18 mm BRUSSELS

notes only traces of the last few letters of the reverse are
 visible. In the middle of the reverse legend a flaw in the
 flan, caused perhaps by a misstriking, complicates the reading.
 cf. Sandeman sale 1911.

- 11) O) IMP CARAVSIVS P 1 AVG bust right, laureate, draped
 and cuirassed.
 R) EXPECTATI VEN $\frac{1}{2}$ Britannia right with ensign,
 Emperor left with sceptre.

R.I.C. — 19 mm B.M.

notes all reverse E's are weakly formed.

12) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) EXPICTATI VENIES $\frac{1}{\text{I}XX}$ Britannia right with ensign,
Emperor left with sceptre.

R.I.C. 715 corr. 3.68 gm 20 mm B.M.

notes COH 114. "Cette médaille semble être une surface
du revers EXPETATE VENI sur CONCORDIA MIL."

13) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PE AG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) FELICITA $\frac{1}{\text{I}}$ galley left.

R.I.C. 3.03 gm 17 mm B.M.

notes for obverse E cf. RSR 30, RSR 72, RSR 74, RSR 75,
RSR 76, RSR 84, $\frac{1}{\text{I}}$ 19, $\frac{1}{\text{I}}$ 35.

14) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right laureate draped and
cuirassed.

R) FL I VI AV $\frac{1}{\text{YVX}}$ galley right.

R.I.C. 1069/70 corr. 2.95 gm 19 mm B.M.

notes The lettering is not well formed. REV $\frac{1}{\text{I}}$ 15. Webb
is confused by these two coins and gives them as R.I.C. 1069
R & F and R.I.C. 1070 'Warne' respectively.

15) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF I bust right, laureate draped.

R) FL I VI AV $\frac{1}{\text{YVX}}$ galley right.

R.I.C. 1069/70 corr. 3.44 gm 18 mm B.M.

notes REV $\frac{1}{\text{I}}$ 14 q.v. COH 105.

16) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) AV T1 AV $\frac{1}{\text{I}}$ galley right.

R.I.C. 713 3.72 gm 19 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes the obverse is good and the ship of reasonable style,
obverse is similar to RSR 21 cf. N.C. 1905 pl. II, No. 5;
N.C. 1944, p. 20, No. 193.

17) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF A bust right, laureate draped and
cuirassed.

R) [F1] DE MI AV $\frac{1}{-}$ Fides and Emperor clasping
hands, one standard.

R.I.C. 562 3.67 18.5 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes ex Huxtable and Warne coll's. cf. N.C. 1905 pl. II, No. 4;
1904, p. 142, 1944, p. 18, No. 166.

18) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PI AV bust right, laureate draped and
cuirassed.

R) FIDEM MILITVM NN $\frac{1}{-}$ Aequitas stg. left with scales
and cornucopiae.

R.I.C. 711 cor. (+ pl. XVI, No. 7) 2.96 gm 19 mm B.II.

notes the final two letters of the reverse legend are far
from certainly NN as only their very bottoms remain. cf
Stukeley vol. II, pl. II, No. 4. citing Banduri and Genebrier.
cf. Mionnet II p. 166. Akerman Descr. Cat. II, p. 156, No. 17.
CRB p. 123, No. 18. COH 78. Banduri op. cit. p. 116.

19) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AG bust right, laureate draped
and cuirassed.

R) [F]ORTUNA AVG $\frac{1}{-}$ small bust of Fortuna right in
wreath holding branch with
flower behind.

R.I.C. 565 cor 3.14 gms 18 mm B.N.9450

notes OBV \equiv RSR 75 \equiv RSR 74 REV \equiv R.I.C. V² pl. XVIII No. 5
in bronze. cf. Num. Circ. 1973, pp. 330-332. This is the piece

which prompted the ORIUNA question in Stukeley's day, cf.
 W Stukeley, Medalllic History of Carausius. 2 vols. London
 1757 and 1759, and the anonymous work believed to be by Stukeley,
 'A Dissertation upon Oriuna' London 1751. This has been
 commented on by all the subsequent authors keen to point out
 Stukeley's error. cf. Akerman Descr. Cat. II p.157, No.30,
 CRB p.125, No.32. COH 86 "Buste lauré à droite (Maximian
 Hercule?)" cf. Boon G.C. 'Oriuna Again' Num. Circ. 1974,
 p.428.

20) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and
 cuirassed.

R) MONETA AVG $\frac{1}{1}$ Moneta stg. left with scales
 and cornucopiae.

R.I.C. 717 17 x 15 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes cf. lot 565. Glendinnings 28.10.1971 → Spink.

21) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
 and cuirassed.

R) MONETA AVG $\frac{1}{X}$ Moneta stg left with scales and
 cornucopiae.

R.I.C. 1073 3.86 20 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes Webb gives his 1073, which must be this coin, a provenance
 of RICHBOROUGH. It probably came into Evans possession from
 the Rolfe collection. Coll. Ant. V pl. XVII No.3 : Ant. Rich
 pl. VI, No.4.

22) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
 rest unclear.

R) [MO] NE [T] A AVG $\frac{1}{1}$ Moneta stg. left with scales and
 cornucopiae.

R.I.C. 717 19 x 18 mm SPINK 4/1974 @ £280

notes obverse is similar to RSR 65 and RSR 49. This coin is very worn with the reverse heavily gouged.

- 23) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate draped.
 R) MO [NE]TA AVG $\frac{1}{-}$ Moneta stg.left with scales
 and cornucopiae.

R.I.C. 3.54 gm 19 x 17 mm B.N. 9451

notes COH 171.

- 24) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate, draped
 and cuirassed
 R) MONETA AVG $\frac{1}{-}$ Moneta stg.left with scales and
 cornucopiae.

R.I.C. 717 cor. 4.23 gm 20 x 18 mm B.M.

notes OBV \equiv RSR 33 \equiv RSR 35.

- 25) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped
 and cuirassed.
 R) [PA]X AVG $\frac{1}{-}$ Pax stg.left with olive branch
 and vertical sceptre.

R.I.C. 719 3.395 gm 18 mm HUNTERIAN

notes cf Mon. Brit. pl.V, No .28. COH 190 cor?

- 26) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and draped
 R) PAX AVG $\frac{1}{-}$ Pax stg.left with olive branch
 and vertical sceptre.

R.I.C. 719 3.59 gms 21 x 19 mm B.M.

- 27) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust left, laureate, in robes,
 with sceptre.
 R) PAX AVG $\frac{1}{-}$ Pax stg.left with olive branch
 and cornucopiae.

R.I.C. 720 3.033 gms 20 mm HUNTERIAN

notes cf. Mon. Brit. pl. V, No. 27, obverse is the same as an antoninianus. cf. Stukeley II, pl. VII, No. 3. Dr. Mead (from whom Hunter bought it?). COH 221.

28) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF A bust right, laureate draped and cuirassed.

R) PAX AVG $\frac{1}{-}$ Pax stg. left with olive branch and vertical sceptre.

R.I.C. 5.74 gm 21 mm B.M.

notes The portrait and the lettering are odd and the flan is very large.

29) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AUG bust right, laureate draped and cuirassed.

R) PRINCIPI IVVENT $\frac{1}{-}$ young soldier stg. left holding olive branch and sceptre.

R.I.C. 721 (+ pl. XVI, No. 9) 3.69 gm 19 mm B.M.

cf Akerman Descr. Cat. II, p. 158, No. 32 : C.R.B. p. 125, No. 34.

"This type applies to some Caesar or heir apparent and can have no reference to Carausius." COH 249.

30) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped and cuirassed.

R) [TEMPOR] VII FELICT $\frac{1}{-}$ Felicitas stg. left with globe and cornucopiae.

R.I.C. 724 cor 3.187 gms 18 mm HUNTERIAN

notes obverse is very similar to RSR 73. cf. Mon. Brit. pl. V, No. 35.

31) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) SHLVS AVG $\frac{1}{-}$ Salus stg. left with a short and a long ensign.

R.I.C. 722 cor. 3.95 gm 19 mm B.M.

notes Montague Vogel coll. Hess Frankfurt 1930. 952.

32) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV bust right, laureate and draped.

R) [SALV]S AVG $\frac{1}{\text{I}}$ Salus seated left feeding serpent rising from altar.

R.I.C. 723 cor. 19 mm B.M.

notes "said to have come from North Wales." OBV=RSR 8.

The correct explanation of the exergual mark may only be guessed at. Quite apart from any meaning less signs, the exergue could have contained letters to make up the CXXI mark as on the antoniniani of R.I.C. 401 type. It is also possible that the letters were BR 1 as the portrait of this coin is similar to one of the BR1 antoniniani, the letter forms are similar, the type used is SALVS and the spacing of the letters on the antoninianus is BR 1 .

33) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped and cuirassed.

R) VLTO PAX AVG $\frac{1}{-}$ Pax or Britannia stg. right with wreath or patera, clasping hand of Emperor over altar.

R.I.C. 729 amplified. 2.71 gm 18 mm B.M.

notes pierced, (not in Stukeley plate). OBV= $\frac{1}{-}$ 9. The reverse type is the same as on $\frac{1}{-}$ 9. cf. Stukeley II, pl. VI, No. 4, giving VICTORIA AVG Sir Hans Sloane. cf. Mon. Brit. pl. V, No. 45. Akerman C.R.B. 47. Akerman Descr. Cat II, p. 158,

No. 44: C.R.B. p.26, No.47. COH 406 "VLTORA AVG".

34) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate draped and cuirassed.

R) VICTORIA AVG $\frac{1}{-}$ Emperor stg.left with globe and spear crowned by Victory stg.left.

R.I.C. 727 3.02 gm 18 mm B.M.

35) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) VICTORIA AVG $\frac{1}{-}$ Emperor stg.left with globe and spear crowned by Victory stg.left.

R.I.C. 727 4.54 gm 19 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes cf.Mon. Brit. pl.V, No.47, COH 375.

36) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped rest unclear.

R) [VIRTIV S] AVGG $\frac{1}{-}$ Jupiter stg.right holding sceptre, presenting thunderbolt to Hercules stg.left with club and lion skin.

R.I.C. 1074 3.63 gms 18 mm B.M.

notes This reverse obviously alludes to Diocletian and Maximian ending as it does in two Gs and depicting their personal deities but no parallel exists in bronze to enable the whole legend to be known. The spacing suggests a short word of three or four letters and it may just be PAX. Each of these deities occurs separately on several reverses of Carausius. Early issues of Diocletian and Maximian from Lugdunum (i.e. Dio.

R.I.C. V² p.229, Nos 93 ff and Max R.I.C. V² p.27, Nos.432 ff)
which are very similar or the same as regards type, suggest the
legend should be VIRTVS AVGG.

cf. Akerman Descr. Cat. II, p.155, No 5; CRB p.120 No.5

"This type appears to have been imitated from some of the
numerous coins of Diocletian and his colleague Maximian, who,
as is well known, assumed the names of Jupiter and Hercules."

COH 411.

Banduri op.cit. p 116 "Nummus exesus sed legendus ex typo
videtur Iovi et Herculi Cons. Augg.....".

Obverse

Facing left

IMP CARAVSIVS PF	RSR 87 & RSR 88	= 2	
IMP CARAVSIVS PF A	RSR 85 & RSR 86 & RSR 89 & $\frac{1}{6}$	= 4	
IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG <u>I</u>	RSR 7 & RSR 25 & RSR 58	} = 3	
" " " " <u>II</u>	RSR 20		= 1
" " " " <u>III</u>	RSR 53 & RSR 54		= 2
" " " " <u>IV</u>	$\frac{1}{27}$		= 1
VIRTVS CARAVSI	RSR 79	} = 1	

TOTAL 7

TOTAL 14

Facing Right

CARAVSIVS PF AVG	$\frac{1}{ML}$ 1 *	= 1	
IMP CARAVSIVS AVG <u>I</u>	RSR 1	} = 1	
" " " <u>II</u>	RSR 26		= 1
" " " <u>III</u>	RSR 90		= 1
IMP CARAVSIVS F AVG	RSR 91	= 1	
IMP CARAVSIVS P A	$\frac{1}{5}$	= 1	
IMP CARAVSIVS P AV <u>I</u>	RSR 44	} = 1	
" " " " <u>II</u>	RSR 81		= 1
" " " " <u>III</u>	$\frac{1}{3}$ & $\frac{1}{4}$		= 2
IMP CARAVSIVS P AVG <u>I</u>	RSR 8a		= 1
" " " <u>II</u>	RSR 11	= 1	
" " " <u>III</u>	$\frac{1}{8}$	= 1	
IMP CARAVSIVS PE AVG <u>I</u>	RSR 30	} = 1	
" " " " <u>II</u>	RSR 72		= 1
" " " " <u>III</u>	RSR 74 & RSR 75 & $\frac{1}{19}$		= 3

IMP CARAVSIVS PE AVG	<u>IV</u>	RSR 76) = 1
" " " "	<u>V</u>	RSR 82	= 1
" " " "	<u>VI</u>	$\frac{1}{13}$	= 1
" " " "	<u>VII</u>	$\frac{1}{35}$	= 1

* N.B. This is also a known gold die.

IMP CARAVSIVS PF		RSR 41	= 1
IMP CARAVSIVS PFA	<u>I</u>	$\frac{1}{10}$) = 1
" " "	<u>II</u>	$\frac{1}{17}$	= 1
" " "	<u>III</u>	$\frac{1}{28}$	= 1
IMP CARAVSIVS PFAV	<u>I</u>	RSR 8 & $\frac{1}{32}$	= 2
" " "	<u>II</u>	RSR 13	= 1
" " "	<u>III</u>	RSR 15	= 1
" " "	<u>IV</u>	RSR 21	= 1
" " "	<u>V</u>	RSR 28	= 1
" " "	<u>VI</u>	RSR 33 & RSR 35 & $\frac{1}{24}$	= 3
" " "	<u>VII</u>	RSR 36 & RSR 37	= 2
" " "	<u>VIII</u>	RSR 38	= 1
" " "	<u>IX</u>	RSR 40	= 1
" " "	<u>X</u>	RSR 46	= 1
" " "	<u>XI</u>	RSR 59	= 1
" " "	<u>XII</u>	RSR 73	= 1
" " "	<u>XIII</u>	RSR 80a	= 1
" " "	<u>XIV</u>	RSR 103	= 1
" " "	<u>XV</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$	= 1
" " "	<u>XVI</u>	$\frac{1}{7}$	= 1
" " "	<u>XVII</u>	$\frac{1}{12}$	= 1
" " "	<u>XVIII</u>	$\frac{1}{16}$	= 1

IMP CARAVSIVS PF AV	<u>XIX</u>	$\frac{1}{23}$	}	= 1
" " " "	<u>XX</u>	$\frac{1}{32}$		
IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG	<u>I</u>	$\frac{1}{C}$	}	= 1
" " " "	<u>II</u>	$\frac{1}{C}$		
" " " "	<u>III</u>	$\frac{1}{C}$		
" " " "	<u>IV</u>	RSR 2		
" " " "	<u>V</u>	RSR 4		
" " " "	<u>VI</u>	RSR 5		
" " " "	<u>VII</u>	RSR 6 & $\frac{1}{14}$		
" " " "	<u>VIII</u>	RSR 9		
" " " "	<u>IX</u>	RSR 10		
IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG	<u>X</u>	RSR 12		
" " " "	<u>XI</u>	RSR 14		
" " " "	<u>XII</u>	RSR 16 & RSR 71		
" " " "	<u>XIII</u>	RSR 17		
" " " "	<u>XIV</u>	RSR 18		
" " " "	<u>XV</u>	RSR 19		
" " " "	<u>XVI</u>	RSR 22 & RSR 66		
" " " "	<u>XVI</u>	RSR 23 & RSR 24		
		& RSR 69		
" " " "	<u>XVII</u>	RSR 27		
" " " "	<u>XVII</u>	RSR 29 & RSR 93		
" " " "	<u>XVIII</u>	RSR 31		
" " " "	<u>XIX</u>	RSR 32		
" " " "	<u>XX</u>	RSR 43		
" " " "	<u>XXI</u>	RSR 45		
" " " "	<u>XXII</u>	RSR 47 & RSR 48		
		& RSR 52		

IMP	CARAVSIVS	PF	AVG			
				<u>XXIII</u>	RSR 49 & RSR 65	= 2
"	"	"	"	<u>XXIV</u>	RSR 50	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XXV</u>	RSR 51	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XXVI</u>	RSR 55	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XXVII</u>	RSR 56 & RSR 57	= 2
"	"	"	"	<u>XXVIII</u>	RSR 60	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XXIX</u>	RSR 62	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XXX</u>	RSR 63 & RSR 64	= 2
"	"	"	"	<u>XXXI</u>	RSR 67 & RSR 77	= 2
"	"	"	"	<u>XXXII</u>	RSR 68 & RSR 84 & RSR 99	= 3
"	"	"	"	<u>XXXIII</u>	RSR 70 & RSR 70a	= 2
"	"	"	"	<u>XXIV</u>	RSR 78	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XXXV</u>	RSR 80	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XXXVI</u>	RSR 83	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XXXVII</u>	RSR 92	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XXXVIII</u>	RSR 94 & RSR 95 & RSR 96	= 3
"	"	"	"	<u>XXXIX</u>	RSR 97	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XXXX</u>	RSR 98	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XLI</u>	RSR 100	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XLII</u>	RSR 101	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XLIII</u>	RSR 102	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XLIV</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$ 1	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XLV</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$ 9 & $\frac{1}{2}$ 33	= 2
"	"	"	"	<u>XLVI</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$ 14	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XLVII</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$ 20	= 1
"	"	"	"	<u>XLVIII</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$ 21	= 1

IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG	<u>XLIX</u>	$\frac{1}{22}$	}	= 1
" " " "	<u>L</u>	$\frac{1}{25}$		= 1
" " " "	<u>LI</u>	$\frac{1}{26}$		= 1
" " " "	<u>LII</u>	$\frac{1}{29}$		= 1
" " " "	<u>LIII</u>	$\frac{1}{30}$		= 1
" " " "	<u>LIV</u>	$\frac{1}{31}$		= 1
" " " "	<u>LV</u>	$\frac{1}{34}$		= 1
" " " "	<u>LVI</u>	$\frac{1}{35}$		= 1
" " " "	<u>LVII</u>	$\frac{1}{36}$		= 1
IMP CARAVSIVS PF 1		$\frac{1}{15}$		= 1
IMP CARAVSIVS PF IN AVG		$\frac{1}{ML} 2$		= 1
IMP CARAVSIVS P1 AV		$\frac{1}{18}$		= 1
IMP CARAVSIVS P1 AVG		$\frac{1}{11}$		= 1
IMP C CARAVSIVS PF AV		RSR 61		= 1
TOTAL		107	TOTAL	<u>131</u>

LEGENDS USED = 15 N.B. IMP CARAVSIVS PFAV 20 dies 24 coins
 N.B. IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG 57 dies 77 coins

Types and Dies. Reverses

<u>$\frac{1}{ML}$</u>	<u>Coin Nos</u>	<u>Main Type Groups</u>	<u>Coins per die</u>
CONSERVAT AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$	1 (NB gold die)		= 1
VIRTVS IN I AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$	2		= 1
<u>TOTAL 2</u>	<u>TOTAL 2</u>	<u>TOTAL 2</u>	
<u>$\frac{1}{C}$ or $\frac{1c}{C}$</u>			
CONCORDIA MILITVM $\frac{1}{C}$	1		= 1

LEG 111 1 ...	$\frac{1}{c}$	2	= 1
PROVID AVG	$\frac{1c}{c}$	3	= 11
<u>TOTAL</u>		<u>3</u>	
<u>TOTAL</u>		<u>3</u>	
<u>TOTAL</u>		<u>3</u>	

$\frac{1}{RSR}$

ADVENTVS AV	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	1	= 1
ADVENTVS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSRa}$	2	= 1
ADVENTVS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSRb}$	4	= 1
ADVENTVS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSRc}$	5	= 1
ADVENTVS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSRd}$	6	= 1
ADVENTVS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSRe}$	7	= 1
ADVENTVS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSRf}$	8	= 1
ADVENTVS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSRg}$	8a	= 1
ADVENTVS AVG	$\frac{1}{SRS}$	3	= 1
ADVENTVS AVGG	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	9	= 1
CONCORDIA AVG	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	10 & 11	= 2
CONCORDIA MI	$\frac{1}{RSRa}$	12	= 1
CONCORDIA MI	$\frac{1}{RSRb}$	13	= 1
CONCORDIA MI	$\frac{1}{RSRc}$	26	= 1
CONCORDIA MILIT	$\frac{1}{RSRa}$	14	= 1
CONCORDIA MILIT	$\frac{1}{RSRb}$	15	= 1
CONCORDIA MILITVM	$\frac{1}{RSRa}$	16	= 1
CONCORDIA MILITVM	$\frac{1}{RSRb}$	17	= 1
CONCORDIA MILITVM	$\frac{1}{RSRc}$	18	= 1
CONCORDIA MILITVM	$\frac{1}{RSRd}$	19	= 1
CONCORDIA MILITVM	$\frac{1}{RSRe}$	20	= 1

CONCORDIA MILITVM	$\frac{1}{RSRf}$	21		= 1
CONCORDIA MILITVM	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	22		= 1
CONCORDIA MILITVM	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	23 & 24		= 2
CONCORDIA MILIT	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	(ensigns)		= 1
CONCORD ...	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	27		= 1
CONSER A	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	28		= 1
CONSER AVG	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	29		= 1
EXPECTATE VENI	$\frac{1}{RSRa}$	30		= 1
EXPECTATE VENI	$\frac{1}{RSRb}$	31		= 1
EXPECTATE VENI	$\frac{1}{RSRc}$	32 & 38		= 2
EXPECTATE VENI	$\frac{1}{RSRd}$	33 & 35		= 2
EXPECTATE VENI	$\frac{1}{RSRe}$	34		= 1
EXPECTATE VENI	$\frac{1}{RSRf}$	36		= 1
EXPECTATE VENI	$\frac{1}{RSRg}$	37 & 39		= 2
EXPECTATI	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	40		= 1
EXPECTATE VENIES	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	41 & 42		= 2
FEDES MILITVM	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	43	*	= 1
FELICITA	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	44		= 1
FELICITA AV	$\frac{1}{RSRa}$	45		= 1
FELICITA AV	$\frac{1}{RSRb}$	46		= 1
FELICITA AVG	$\frac{1}{RSRa}$	47 & 48 &		= 4
		51 & 52		
FELICITA AVG	$\frac{1}{RSRb}$	49		= 1
FELICITA AVG	$\frac{1}{RSRc}$	50		= 1
FELICITA AVG	$\frac{1}{RSRd}$	53 & 54		= 2
FELICITAS	$\frac{1}{RSRa}$	55		= 1
FELICITAS	$\frac{1}{RSRb}$	56 & 57		= 2
FELICITAS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSRa}$	58		= 1

FELICITAS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSR^b}$	59	} = 1
FIDES MILIT	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	60	* = 1
FORTVNA AVG	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	61	= 1
LEG 1111 FL	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	62	= 1
ORIENS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	63 & 64	= 2
RENOVA ROMAN	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	65	= 1
RENOVAT ROMA	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	66	= 1
RENOVAT ROMAN	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	67	= 1
RENOVAT ROMANO	$\frac{1}{RSRa}$	68	= 1
RENOVAT ROMANO	$\frac{1}{RSR^b}$	69	= 1
RENOVAT ROMANO	$\frac{1}{RSR^c}$	70 & 70a	= 2
RENOVAT ROMANO	$\frac{1}{RSR^d}$	71	= 1
RENOVAT ROMANO	$\frac{1}{RSR^e}$	72	= 1
ROMANO RENA	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	73	= 1
ROMANO RENOV	$\frac{1}{RSR^a}$	74 & 75	= 2
ROMANO RENOV	$\frac{1}{RSR^b}$	76	= 1
ROMANO RENOV	$\frac{1}{RSR^c}$	77	= 1
ROMANO RENOV	$\frac{1}{RSR^d}$	78	= 1
ROMANO RENOV	$\frac{1}{RSR^e}$	79	= 1
ROMANO RENOVA	$\frac{1}{RSR^a}$	80	= 1
ROMANO RENOVA	$\frac{1}{RSR^b}$	80a	= 1
ROMANO RENOVA	$\frac{1}{RXR}$	81	= 1
ROMANO RENO	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	82	= 1
ROME RET	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	83	= 1
TEMPOR...	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	84	= 1
VBERVTA AV	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	85 & 86 & 87	= 3
VBERITAS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	88 & 89	= 2
VBERTA AVG	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	90	= 1

VIRTVS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSR^a}$	91	}	= 1
VIRTVS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSR^b}$	92		= 1
VIRTVS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSR^c}$	93		= 1
VOTVM PUBLIC	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	94 & 95 & 96		= 3
VOTVM PUBLICUM	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	97		= 1
VOTO PVBLICO	$\frac{1}{RSR^a}$	98		= 1
VOTO PVBLICO	$\frac{1}{RSR^b}$	99		= 1
VOTO PVBLICO	$\frac{1}{RSR^c}$	100		= 1
VOTO ...	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	101		= 1
VOTO PVBLICO	$\frac{1}{RSR}$ wreath a	102		= 2
VOTO PVBLICO	$\frac{1}{RSR}$ 2" b	103		= 1
TOTAL	88	TOTAL 15		TOTAL 106

(5 'BIG' GROUPS = 85)

1 etc

ADVENTVS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	1	}	= 1
ADVENTVS AVG	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	2		= 1
ADVENTV	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	3 & 4		= 2
ADVE...	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	5		= 1
CLARIT CARAVSI	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	6	= 1	
CONCORDIA COMMILI	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	7	= 1	
CONSERAV	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	8	= 1	
EXPE...	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	9	}+	= 1
EXPECTATA/E VEMES	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	10		= 1
EXPECTATI VEN	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	11		= 1
IXPICTA TI VANIES	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	12		= 1
FELICITA	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	13	}	= 1
FL I VI AV	$\frac{1}{YVX}$	14 & 15		= 1
AVITI V	$\frac{1}{RSR}$	16		= 1

FIDEMIAV	$\frac{1}{-}$	17	}	= 1
FIDEMMILITVM...	$\frac{1}{-}$	18		= 1
FORTVNA AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$	19		= 1
MONETA AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$ a	20	}	= 1
MONETA AVG	$\frac{1}{X}$ b	21		= 1
MONETA AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$ c	22		= 1
MONETA AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$ d	23		= 1
MONETA AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$ e	24		= 1
PAX AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$ a	25	}	= 1
PAX AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$ b	26		= 1
PAX AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$ c	28		= 1
PAX AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$ cornucopiae	27		= 1
PRINCIPIIVVENT	$\frac{1}{-}$	29		= 1
TEMPORVM FELICT	$\frac{1}{-}$	30		= 1
SALVS AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$ S.stg	31	}	= 1
SALVS AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$ S.seated	32		= 1
VLTOPAX AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$	33	+	= 1
VICTORIA AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$ a	34	}	= 1
VICTORIA AVG	$\frac{1}{-}$ b	35		= 1
VIRTVS AVGG	$\frac{1}{+++}$	36		= 1

TOTAL 34 TOTAL 16 TOTAL 36

(5 'BIG' GROUPS = 23)

Main-types found in RSR and not in $\frac{1}{-}$ etc.

LEG 1111 FL	1 coin	1 die
ORIENS AVG	3 coins	2 dies
RENOVAT ROMA	19 coins	18 dies
ROME AET	1 coin	1 die
VBERITAS AVG	6 coins	3 dies
VIRTVS AVG	3 coins	3 dies *
VOTVM PVBLICVM	10 coins	8 dies

Main-types found in $\frac{1}{ML}$ etc and not in $\frac{1}{RSR}$.

CLARIT CARAVSI	1 coin	1 dies
MONETA AVG	5 coins	5 dies
PAX AVG	4 coins	4 dies
PRINCIPI IVVENT	1 coin	1 die
SALVS AVG	2 coins	2 dies
VICTORIA AVG	2 coins	2 dies
(VIRTVS AVGG	1 coin	1 die *)

* Even taking $\frac{1}{ML}$ 36 as VIRTVS AVGG provides no close counterpart as the type is very different and presumably derivative to a greater degree.

Weights (* signifies a coin damaged to a significant extent).

$\frac{1}{ML}$ 1 = 3.83 gm 2 = 3.85 gm

$\frac{1}{C}$ 1 = 4.06 gm 2 = ? 3 = 4.17 gm

$\frac{1}{RSR}$ 1) = 4.40gm 2) = 2.61gm 3) = 2.37gm * 4) = 3.73 gm
 5) = ? 6) = 3.07gm * 7) = 4.30gm 8) = 3.50 gm
 9) = 4.79gm 10) = 2.52gm 11) = 2.98gm 12) = 3.88 gm
 13) = 3.69gm 14) = 5.22gm 15) = 3.40gm 16) = 4.61 gm
 17) = ? 18) = 2.55gm 19) = 3.42gm 20) = 3.89 gm
 21) = 4.17gm 22) = ? 23) = 4.40gm 24) = ?
 25) = 4.46gm 26) = 3.57gm 27) = 3.34gm 28) = 3.34gm
 29) = 4.63 gm 30) = 4.63gm 31) = 2.57gm 32) = ?
 33) = 4.65gm 34) = 2.96gm 35) = 4.67gm 36) = 2.67gm
 37) = 5.08gm 38) = ? 39) = 4.24gm 40) = ?

$\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ contd

41) = 3.09gm 42) = 3.59gm 43) = 2.62gm 44) ?
 45) = 3.94gm 46) = 2.79gm 47) = ? 48) = 4.35gm
 49) = 4.55gm 50) = 4.14gm 51) = 3.61gm 52) = 2.76gm
 53) = 4.19gm 54) = 3.82gm 55) = 3.69gm 56) = 4.41gm
 57) = 4.17gm 58) = 5.69gm 59) ? 60) = 3.19gm
 61) = 4.67gm 62) = 4.05gm 63) = 4.34gm 64) = 3.40gm
 65) = ? 66) = 4.02gm 67) = 4.62gm 68) = 4.38gm
 69) = 4.15gm 70) = 2.00gm* 71) ? 72) = 4.34gm
 73) = 2.76gm 74) = 3.36gm 75) = 3.30gm 76) = 4.17gm
 77) = 4.57gm 78) = 3.39gm 79) = 2.70gm 80) = 3.27gm
 81) = 3.68gm 82) = 3.80gm 83) = 3.77 gm 84) = 2.77gm
 85) = 4.26gm 86) = 2.75gm 87) = 3.78gm 88) ?
 89) = 3.47gm 90) = 3.70gm 91) = 4.17gm 92) = 3.31gm
 93) = 2.80gm 94) = 3.13gm 95) = 4.25gm 96) = 4.06gm
 97) = 2.95gm 98) = 3.65gm 99) = 3.72gm 100) = 4.29gm
 101) = 2.99gm 102) = 3.75gm 103) = 5.10gm

PLUS 80a.) = 3.60gm 70a.) = 2.36gm 8a.) = 3.30gm
 'irregular' 1) = 3.4gm 'Irregular' 2) = 3.01gm

NB $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ laureate bronze 1) = 3.68gm 2) = 3.06gm

$\frac{1}{\text{etc}}$

1) = 3.66gm 2) = 2.69gm 3) = 3.46gm 4) = 3.73gm
 5) = 2.83gm 6) = 3.88gm 7) = 3.47gm 8) = 3.01gm
 9) = 3.23gm 10) = 3.10gm 11) = ? 12) = 3.68gm
 13) = 3.02gm 14) = 2.95gm 15) = 3.44gm 16) = 3.72gm
 17) = 3.67gm 18) = 2.96gm 19) = 3.14gm* 20) = ?
 21) = 3.86gm 22) = ? 23) = 3.54gm 24) = 4.23gm

1 etc contd

25) = 3.40gm 26) = 3.59gm 27) = 3.03gm 28) = 5.74gm
 29) = 3.69gm 30) = 3.19gm 31) = 3.95gm 32) = ?
 33) = 2.71gm 34) = 3.02gm 35) = 4.54gm 36) = 3.63gm

	<u>MAX WT.</u>	<u>MIN WT.</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>	<u>WITHIN $\pm .5$gm</u>
<u>1</u> RSR	5.69gm	2.36gm(2.0*)	3.65gm	36 (40%)
<u>1</u>	5.74gm	2.69gm	3.51gm	23 (74%)

Incorrectly reported denarii

Denarii of Carausius are mentioned in many numismatic works from the seventeenth century onwards but in many cases the information is unreliable or patently erroneous. What is almost certainly RSR 83 is given by Occo¹³, and ML2 is given by Cooke.¹⁴

Stukeley lists the gold and silver at the end of the second volume of his Medalllic History but the list is full of errors and inconsistencies. Many of his so-called silver coins are clearly antoniniani which presumably had sufficient silvering left to cause the confusion. These silvered antoniniani occur in various accounts as radiate denarii, but must be taken for what they really are. There are some allegedly silver coins in the Medalllic History, with laureate busts and hence not obviously base metal, which can no longer be traced.

MEDALLIC HISTORY VOL IIILLUSTRATED

- Plate I No.8 O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate,
draped and cuirassed.
R) LEG V..... AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ bull stg.right.
- Plate I No.9 O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate,
draped and cuirassed.
R) LEG VIII ... IN $\frac{1}{ML}$ ram stg.right.
- Plate III No.1
O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust left, laureate
in robes, with sceptre.
R) FELICITA AVG $\frac{1}{RSR}$ galley left.
- Plate XX No.7
O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG , bust right, laureate,
draped and cuirassed.

R) VICTORIA $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ Victory stg.right with wreath.

Plate XX No.10

O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate,
draped and cuirassed.

R) VBERTAS AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ Woman milking cow left.

Plate XXXI No.3

O) IMP C CARAVSIVS P AV bust right, laureate
draped and cuirassed.

R) LAETITIA AVG $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ galley right.

NOT ILLUSTRATED

R) DIANA - Lord Pembroke

R) IOVI ET HERCULI CONS AVGG Banduri

R) ROMA - Banduri

R) AMOR literis reversis - Sir Andrew Fountain.

Many of these seem suspicious and are probably misdescriptions of one sort or another. Mionnet and Akerman¹⁵ perpetuate some of these inaccuracies and the antoninianus which Stukeley shows on plate XXIII No.8, and refers to as a silver coin in the French royal collection, becomes a 'petit medaillon d'argent.' Cohen¹⁶ is a more accurate scholar and his number ten may be worthy of note.

O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVIG bust right, laureate
and draped.

R) . . . N 9G $\frac{1}{\text{RSR}}$ 'Adventus barbare'
'Vente Moustier.'

This may just be one of the known pieces misdescribed, but Webb accepts it and it has become R.I.C. 539. The R.I.C. listing itself is full of errors and inconsistencies most of

which have already been pointed out. In addition, no specimen of, or explanation for, R.I.C. 725 (ascribed to the Hunter cabinet but not there now), R.I.C. 1071, ('Lawrence') or R.I.C. 1072 (reference wanting'), has come to light.

As well as the various attempted listings of the coins there are the earlier isolated mentions of chance finds which occasionally mention a Carausian denarius. The same problems apply to these and silvered antoniniani are misdescribed as denarii. Stukeley,¹⁷ for example, writes in his diary of 7.2 1754 that a present of coins of Carausius had arrived and of the sender, 'He sold a silver one, Concordia Militum, to Mr Cartaret Webb, all found at Colchester by Corbridge, Northumberland'. This is, therefore, another provenanced coin, assuming it is not a misdescribed antoninianus. Cartaret Webb had several denarii of Carausius, which he seems to have sold to Hunter, so perhaps this Corbridge coin is RSR 18, or one of the others. This is all so uncertain that such a piece as this has been ignored in the statistics though mentioned on the distribution map. A further such example is the coin described by Lee¹⁸ from Caerleon 'silver of Carausius with the emperor on horseback... the excellence of execution.' The only known coin which could fit this description is RSR 1. which this may be, but there is no certainty.

COMPLEMENTARY

That the mint of the RSR and $\frac{1}{2}$ coins was the same¹⁹ is proved by the obverse die links between the two groups,

confirming what had hitherto been strongly suggested by the stylistic similarity between some of the coins. More silver coins have been found at Richborough than anywhere else but this is far from sufficient reason to locate their mint there as many have done. More coins of Carausius generally have come from Richborough than elsewhere, excluding hoards, so the sample is out of proportion taken simply as a number. That four have come from London (separately as opposed to together in a hoard as at Wroxeter) is more significant. It has been observed²⁰ that there is considerable stylistic similarity between many of the silver coins and those in base metal struck at London. Some of the denarii also seem certainly from dies cut by the same hand that produced those for the unmarked aurei. There is the further evidence that the RSR aureus provides. As a gold coin it seems certain to have been struck at London, the principal city, so the RSR coins in general must have been struck there; and hence, because of the die linking (both between marked and unmarked silver and that between the RSR aureus itself and an unmarked antoninianus) the unmarked coins were also struck there.²¹

The small number of denarii which has survived seems to indicate that they were never very plentiful. It may be, as Callu²² suggests, that they were the inspiration behind Diocletian's introduction of the argenteus. They were never as plentiful as the argenteus, even allowing for the relative limitations of Carausius' reign, otherwise more would have survived. There are die links but not so many as to suggest a freakishly high survival rate from a very small original issue such as the Rouen gold clearly was. The issue

appears as rather special, of a few basic type groups struck in no great numbers, but not so circumscribed as to suggest these were medallions of some kind rather than coins.

Michael Grant²³ suggests that the denarii might be a gesture of Carausius on his accession. This makes rather more sense than his other suggestion, that they were in commemoration of the sesquicentenary of Antoninus Pius. Webb²⁴ suggests that these coins were early products of the London mint which were not struck after about 289. He rightly points out that any argument that this cessation was due to the drying up of supplies of metal in an island, 'tot metallorum fluens rivis,'²⁵ is not convincing. His own suggestion, however, that Carausius was pandering to the practise of his would-be fratres seems equally unconvincing. As a usurper, dependent for survival on the support of his troops, Carausius motives for coining must have been primarily military rather than those connected with trade and commerce. Mattingly saw trade and commerce as a significant factor in the production of these silver coins which, 'suggests his (Carausius') desire to equip Britain with a trading medium suitable for commerce with the Low Countries, either as a means of relieving her isolation from Rome, or because the Low Countries enjoyed particular commercial prosperity at that time.' These factors cannot have been in the forefront of Carausius' mind in the early days of his reign when these silver coins were issued. His troops would be impressed by pay and donatives in coin of a quality they had not been used to. This would presumably have been done with gold coin had there been sufficient of that metal available,

and in a sense the comparative abundance of silver in Britain means this issue of denarii was something of a substitute for one of aurei, which Carausius struck in very meagre numbers. The increased stability of his regime and the improvement in the standard of the antoninianus would have enabled Carausius to feel justified in stopping the issue of denarii after a fairly short time.

Apart from early in Carausius reign the other likely time for the issue of a special, silver coinage would be soon after the success against Maximian in 289, either because of that or because of that and the celebration of the quinquennium in 290/291. Various factors point to a date early in the reign; only one against ML 1 is from the same dies as an aureus which means it was struck late in the reign but by its very nature it is an exceptional piece. There remains, however, the marked similarity between a number of the silver coins and the unmarked aurei. The same hand must have made the dies, and this would suggest contemporaneity. One of the aurei has VOT V in the exergue while another has MVLX²⁶ on the strength of which Carson²⁷ dates them to the time of Carausius quinquennium. One of them has the extra C in the obverse legend; the other does not, so Carson also dates Carausius' assumption of the title Caesar to his quinquennium. That the extra C is generally found only on later coins is true but there is a fair number of exceptions to this. These usually take the form of the extra C occurring on an early coin rather than vice versa which is to be expected in an improving coinage with so many predecessors and contemporaries using the extra C.

In silver there is only RSR 61. As far as the extra C is concerned, it may be possible to push the date of the aureus R.I.C.4 back to fit these coins into a pattern of donatives from the first years of the reign. The medallions also may be fitted into such a pattern.²⁸

The die linking and stylistic similarity between the 1 coins and RSR coins show not only that they were issued from the same place but also that they were issued at the same time. The most likely arrangement would be to place the 1 coins first, followed soon after by a larger and better RSR issue once the mint was better organised. The legends support this view. I have suggested elsewhere²⁹ that the Expectate and Adventus legends could well refer to Carausius' effecting some sort of a return to Gaul in 289 after some years absence. Since then I have felt it necessary to abandon such a view as the Gallic territory never seems to have been a very significant part of Carausius' domain, if the pathetic number of his coins found there are any indication. Adventus would not be very suitable as a type on coins intended for an invading force; Profectio would perhaps be better. In any case no coin of either type has even been found in France which is remarkable if they refer to his arrival there.

Webb makes too much of the fact that the early-sounding legends such as Adventus and Expectate occur on well executed pieces which cannot have been struck at the very beginning of the reign. Some delay between the act of usurpation and the production of such a series of coins would seem inevitable rather than impossible. It need not have been long but it

would have taken some time for Carausius to become established and organise his mint before, feeling confident in his position, he issued the silver series to reward the men who had put him where he was. It may be that there was something of a shift of emphasis during the time silver coins were issued. Moneta and Pax types are the commonest in the 1 group but do not occur in the RSR group.³¹ Perhaps Carausius' first concern was to promote the propaganda of peace and payment but these types may simply reflect prevalent antoninianus types before the more specific announcement of Carausius' advent follows on very quickly. The theme of many of the RSR coins is that Carausius has arrived in power; Adventus Aug, Expectate Veni; thanks to his fleet; Felicitas Aug; that he hoped to remain there for a long time; Voto Publico Multis XX Imp; and was confident of doing so thanks to the support of his men; Concordia Militum. The only other major reverse used on these coins is an early assertion of Carausius leaning towards, rather than severing himself from, the traditions of Rome and things Roman. The wolf and twins reverse in microcosm belies any grandiose romantic notions of nationalism which have, in the past been attributed to Carausius, and form a natural precursor to the later fraternal issues.

The weights of the denarii vary considerably but the average figures suggests a standard rather higher than that used by Diocletian for the argentei. Carausius' gold was issued at a lower weight than contemporary tetrarchic pieces and if there was a fixed ratio between the gold and silver, as

opposed to one which fluctuated with the price of bullion metal, it is difficult to calculate.³² Tarrifing is discussed more fully elsewhere, but some simple calculations at this juncture offer a guideline as to what seems to have been the case. The weight of Carausius' aurei is indicative of a standard of seventy to the pound; that abandoned by Diocletian about the time of Carausius' usurpation; or possibly seventy two to the pound. West comments³³ that it was, 'badly adhered to' but that does not matter for our purposes. The average weight of the silver coins is indicative of a standard of eighty four as opposed to that of ninety six to the pound adopted by Diocletian for his argentei. Calculation shows that within acceptable margins of error or fluctuation, these figures balance out.

EXAMPLE ONE

1 aureus = 25 silver coins : constant.³⁴

Diocletian @ 60 <i>AV</i> per lb.	1 <i>AV</i> = 25 Ar
Carausius (a)@ 70 <i>AV</i> per lb.	1 <i>AV</i> = 25 x $\frac{70}{60}$ x $\frac{84}{96}$ = 25.5
Carausius (b)@ 72 <i>AV</i> per lb.	1 <i>AV</i> = 24 x $\frac{72}{60}$ x $\frac{84}{96}$ = 25.

The number of silver coins struck from a pound of silver does seem to be in direct proportion to the number of gold coins struck from a pound of gold. Carausius was striking heavier silver and lighter gold than his contemporaries yet a notional balance is preserved. These figures tend to suggest the Carausian standard was seventy gold coins to the pound, badly adhered to as it may be. This would have come naturally from the early Diocletianic gold whereas it

is indefensible to accept the less convincing figure of seventy two in order simply to credit Carausius with another innovation, namely the standard which came later to be used for solidi.

The question of distribution is fraught with difficulty. So few of the coins are provenanced that while a fifth is probably a sufficient proportion to give a useful pointer it is far from sufficient on which to base any firm conclusions. Very few denarii have been found in hoards and in this respect they are akin to the gold, for which, as has been seen, they seem to have been something of a substitute.³⁶ In general terms the distribution pattern is also similar to that of the few provenanced aurei; coins coming largely from the south east of England or the area around south Wales. Indeed, on a more general basis still this is simply the picture presented by the distribution of the hoards, save that they spread further north. Such a distribution is wholly consistent with the issue being completely the product of the London mint.

Chapter Four

- 1) N.C. 4th ser.vol.VII, 1907, p.159.
- 2) R.I.C. V², p.464, acknowledged in N.C.6th ser.vol.IV, 1944, p.13.
- 3) N.C. 1907 loc.cit.
- 4) Mon. Hist. Brit. plate V, No.5.
- 5) N.C. 1907 loc.cit. 'This reading is doubtful'.
- 6) Cohen vol.VII, p.41, n.l.
- 7) N.C. 1907 p.186.
- 8) pl. V No.21
- 9) cf. Shiel, N. The Copper Denarii of Carausius, Num.Circ. 1973, pp.330-332.
- 10) R.I.C. 272-3
- 11) R.C.A.M. VIII (London), 1928, pp.187 ff.
- 12) De Caes. 29.41. NB. As long ago as 1781 Cooke (The Medalllic History of Imperial Rome, London, Vol II, pp.455 ff) came very close to this with his ... 'RSR which may stand for Rationalis Sacrarum Rationum, an officer answering to our Chancellor of the exchequer'.
- 13) Occo, A. Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata, Milan, 1683, p.428
- 14) Cooke, W. The Medalllic History of Imperial Rome, London, 1781, vol II, fig. LIX
- 15) Mionnet, T.E. De la rareté etc. 1827, vol.II; Akerman, J.Y. Descriptive Catalogue..., 1834, C.R.B. 1844
- 16) Cohen, H. Monnaies sous l'Empire Romain, 2ed. 1888, vol.VIII
- 17) Letters and Diaries, III p.139
- 18) Lee, J. Isca Silurum London, 1862
- 19) Carson, R.A.G. Mints, Dies and Currency, p.65; R.I.C. V²

- p.509 n.L, citing Sir John Evans.
- 20) e.g. R.I.C. V², p. 434
 - 21) v.i. on legionary coins for further evidence of this.
 - 22) Callu, J.P. La Politique Monétaire Des Empereurs Romaines de 238 à 311, Paris, 1961, pp.356 ff.
 - 23) Grant, M. Roman Anniversary Issues, Cambridge, 1950, pp. 143-148.
 - 24) R.I.C. V² pp.434, 436-7.
 - 25) Pan. Lat. IV, ll. 1 cf. also N.C. 5th ser.vol. III, 1923. proc. p.12, where Mattingly suggests that this may have been the build up to the British accumulation of silver which reached its zenith in the fourth century.
 - 26) R.I.C. 3 and 4 respectively.
 - 27) Mints, Dies and Currency, pp.57 ff.
 - 28) Carson, R.A.G., B.M.Q. vol. XXXVII, No.1-2. NB. the further evidence of these medallions, their style and types, for the 1 and RSR coins coming from the same mint.
 - 29) Proc. of the Vergil Society No XII, pp.51-53
 - 30) R.I.C. V² pp. 439-40 .
 - 31) Obverse links show that even types not represented in both 1 and RSR groups were nearly contemporaneous.
 - 32) cf Callu, J.P. 'La Politique Monétaire...' pp.356 ff; West, L.C. Gold and Silver Coin Standards in the Roman Empire, N.N.M. 94 pp.183ff; Sperber D. Denarii and Aurei in the time of Diocletian, J.R.S. LV1 1966, pp.190 ff. and v.i.
 - 33) op.cit. p.90

- 34) cf. Callu op.cit. p 362
- 35) cf. Callu op.cit. p 357
- 36) cf. Isaac, P.J. Survey of Roman Gold Map 3, showing only three hoards from the time of the Severi to Constantine I that contained gold.

Chapter FiveGold Coins, and MedallionsCarausius Gold Coins

Only a very small number of gold coins of Carausius has survived. These extant coins fall clearly into three distinct groups. It is thus most probable that with such a small survival rate in each case, gold coins were never a basic part of Carausius' coinage. Such a survival rate shows that each group was an issue of limited size produced for a specific occasion. The coins are simply arranged in alphabetical order of reverse within each of the groups which are themselves given in what seems to be their correct chronological sequence.

The CoinsGroup One: RSR & $\frac{1}{V}$

- 1) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.
- R) PAX AVG $\frac{1}{VOT V}$ Pax standing left with olive
branch and vertical sceptre.

RIC 3 4.14 gm 21 x 19 mm CIRENCESTER

notes N.C. 4th ser. vol II 1902 pp.359-60 and pl. XIX No.8.

This coin was found at CIRENCESTER

- 2) O) IMP C. CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.
- R) PAX AVG $\frac{1}{MVL T X}$ Pax standing left with olive
branch and vertical sceptre.

RIC 4 4.52 gm 21 x 20 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes NC 3rd ser. vol VI 1886 pp.273 ff; Haverfield F

'Military Aspects of Roman Wales' London 1910, p.107; N C 6th ser vol. IV, 1944 p.11; Archaeological Newsletter, vol. II, No.11 April 1950. This coin was found near NEATH in Glamorgan.

3) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) PAX CARAVSI AVG $\frac{1}{-}$ Pax standing left with olive branch and vertical sceptre.

RIC 5 4.33 gm 20 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes NC 4th ser. vol. II, 1902 p.360, No.20 & pl. XIX; Johnson J 'The Book of Silchester' vol. II 1924 pp.628-9. Formerly in the collections of Cox Mortimer, Sir John Evans (Geneva 1922. lot 166 - 4300 Fr.S) and Lockett (English I, 6.6.55. lot 152 → Baldwin). This coin was found at SILCHESTER in 1896.

4) O) VIRTVS CARAVSI bust left, helmeted, with spear and shield.

R) ROMANO RENOVA $\frac{1}{RSR}$ Wolf right, with twins.

RIC 534 4.33 gm 20 mm B.N.

notes Banduri D.A. 'Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum' Paris 1718, pp.116 ff. given as 'Fontaine'; Stukeley, Med History II, p.186 & pl. II, No.9 given as in the cabinet of Lord Pembroke; Mon. Hist. Brit. pl. V, No.1, Lord Pembroke. This aureus shares its obverse die with an antoninianus from the Little Orme's Head hoard, No. 97a, RIC 863 var, now in UM tray two in the B.M. of N.C. 6th ser. vol. XVI, 1956, pp.238 and 245.

Group Two: $\frac{1}{ML}$

1) O) CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and cuirassed.

R) CONSERVAT AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Jupiter standing left with
sceptre and thunderbolt, eagle
at foot.

RIC 1 4.31 gm 19 mm B.M

notes There is a denarius in the Ashmolean museum from the same
dies as this coin.

2) O) CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and cuirassed.

R) CONSERVATORI AVGGG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Heracles standing right in lion's
skin; quiver on shoulder,
right hand resting on club,
left hand holding bow.

RIC 2 4.56 gm 20 x 18 mm HUNTERIAN

notes OBV & REV ≡ No 3, OBV ≡ No 4

3) O) CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and cuirassed.

R) CONSERVATORI AVGGG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Heracles standing right in lion's
skin; quiver on shoulder,
right hand resting on club,
left hand holding bow.

RIC 2 4.28 gm 18 mm B.M.

notes OBV & REV ≡ No 2; OBV ≡ No 4. Stukeley. Letters and
Diaries. II, p.6; Med. Hist. II p.185 and pl. XXIII No.1; V.C.H
Berks. p.214. This coin was found near NEWBURY and was formerly in
the possession of the Duke of Devonshire.

4) O) CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and cuirassed.

R) SALVS AVGGG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Salus standing right feeding from
left hand a serpent held in arms.

RIC 6 4.33 gm 19 mm A.N.S.

notes OBV ≡ Nos 2 & 3, Given as 'Newell' in R.I.C. cf.N.C.

5th ser. vol. X, pp.221-274 'Some notes on the Arras Hoard.'

This coin was part of the gold hoard found at ARRAS.

IN THE NAME OF MAXIMIAN

- 1) O) MAXIMIANVS PF AVG head left, laureate.
 R) COMES AVGGG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Minerva standing right, vertical
 spear in right hand, left hand
 resting on shield.

RIC 5.60 gm 20 mm A.N.S.

notes This coin was part of the ARRAS hoard and was obtained by E T Newell along with No.4 above.

- 2) O) MAXIMIANVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and
 cuirassed.
 R) SALVS AVGGG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Salus standing right feeding
 from left hand a serpent held
 in arms.

RIC 32 4.27 gm 19 mm B.M.

notes Akerman J.Y. 'Coins of the Romans Relating to Britain; London 1844, p.108 and fig.109; N.C 1 ser. 1841-2 proc. p.17; NC 3rd ser. vol. XVI, 1896 p.159; R.C.H.M. England. vol. VIII London, 1928, p.190. This coin was formerly in the Roach Smith collection and was found in the River Thames at LONDON in 1840. NB Akerman (Op. cit. pp.108-9) describes another aureus as 'precisely similar' to this, and 'in the collection of Mr Atherly of Southampton'. Webb records two specimens of this coin, both in the B.M. and specifically states separate weights (RIC V², p.554). It is stated (NC 3rd ser. vol. XI, 1891, p.194) that, 'They are not from the same die.' It has proved possible to trace only one such coin however.

GROUP THREE 'ROUEN'

1) O) IMP CARAVSIVS AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA MILITV Concordia standing left with two ensigns.

R.I.C. 621 4.25 gm 19 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes OBV & REV ≡ No 2. Neligan Sale. London 1882; Trau Sale Vienna 1935. Lot 3482; Roach Smith C. Coll Ant VI, p.130 'said to have been found at Rouen with those mentioned above' referring to the Rouen hoard. There is no evidence to support such a suggestion and it may be that this was said of the coin in order to enhance its value.

2) O) IMP CARAVSIVS AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA MILITV Concordia standing left with two ensigns.

RIC 621. 19 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes OBV & REV ≡ No.1 Hirsch 1911. Barron Collection. Lot 1246; Ars Classica Vol.18, Geneva 1938, Lot 488.

3) O) IMP CARAVSIVS AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA MILIT $\frac{1}{VM}$ Emperor standing right clasping hand of Concordia standing left.

RIC 624 4.58 gm 18 mm (pierced BERLIN)

notes OBV & REV ≡ Nos 4 & 5, REV ≡ Nos 6 & 7; Berger I 'Thesauri Electoratis Brandenburgici' Col. Marchiae 1967, vol. II p.783; Stukeley. Med Hist. II, p.186 and pl. XII, No. I N.B.

In Stukeley's cut this coin is shown as unpierced and there is no

mention of the piercing in his description. He does show the defect in his illustration of the ORIVNA piece, so it may be that this coin has been pierced since his day or it may be an oversight of his. cf N.C 4th ser. vol. VII, 1907, pl.I, No.1.

4) O) IMP CARAVSIVS AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA MILIT $\frac{1}{VM}$ Emperor standing right clasping hand of Concordia standing left.

RIC 624 4.51 gm 18 mm B.M

notes OBV & REV \equiv Nos.3 & 5, REV \equiv Nos.6 & 7; Rollin and Feuadent sale (Ponton D'Amecourt coll.) 25.4.1887, lot 63; Hirsch sale XXIV (Consul Weber) 10.5.1909, lot 2491; Jameson collection ii, p.70, No.326; Hess-Leu sale (Sammlung ESR) 23.3.1961, lot 624; Seaby Coin and Medal Bulletin. March 1963, 9507 @ £1750; B.M.Q.vol. XXVII No.3-4, pp.73-74 and pl. XXVII.

5) O) IMP CARAVSIVS AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) CONCORDIA MILIT $\frac{1}{VM}$ Emperor standing right clasping hand of Concordia standing left.

RIC 624 4.86 gm 20 mm WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

notes OBV & REV \equiv Nos.3 & 4, REV \equiv Nos.6 & 7; Evans sale 1934, lot 1886 (£185); Hall Sale, Glendinning's 21.11.1950. Lot 1992 → Spink.

6) O) IMP C CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust left, laureate, cuirassed in mantle.

R) CONCORDIA MILIT $\frac{1}{VM}$ Emperor standing right clasping hand of Concordia standing left.

RIC 623 3.61 gm 20 mm (pierced) B.N.
(1630)

notes OBV & REV ≡ No. 7, REV ≡ Nos. 3, 4 & 5. cf. R.I.C. V²,
pl. XVI, No. 5.

- 7) O) IMP C CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, cuirassed
in mantle.
R) CONCORDIA MILIT $\frac{1}{VM}$ Emperor standing right clasping
hand of Concordia standing left.

R.I.C 623 4.77 gm 19 mm B.M

notes OBV & REV ≡ No. 6, REV ≡ Nos. 3, 4 & 5; In the possession
of Manchester University 29.9.33; Subsequently in the A.H.F.
Baldwin collection. This may well be the one supposedly found
near CHESTER. cf. Grant M. Roman Anniversary Issues. pp. 143-8.

- 8) O) IMP C CARAVSIVS AV bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.
R) LETITIA IVI AVG NOS C Warship to right.

RIC — 4.61 gms 17 mm THE HAGUE

notes OBV ≡ No. 9 Van Damme collection, No. 595. cf. Shiel N
Jaarboek voor Munt-en Penningkunde 58/59, 1971-1972 pp. 142-3.

- 9) O) IMP C CARAVSIVS AV bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.
R) OPES IVI AVG $\frac{1}{—}$ Alundantia standing left,
grapes in right hand, cornucopiae
in left hand.

RIC — 4.55 gm 19 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes OBV ≡ No. 8 cf. Neligan Sale, London 1881, lot. 165;
Trau Sale, Vienna 1935, lot 3483; N.C 6th ser. vol IV, 1944
p. 19, No 175; Grant M 'Roman Anniversary Issues.' Cambridge

1950, pp.143-8; Shiel N Jaarboek voor Munt-en Penningkunde, 58/59, 1971/1972, pp.142-43; Shiel N Revue Numismatique 6^e ser. Tome XV 1973, pp.166-68.

NB There is a coin in bronze struck from the same dies as No's. 6 and 7, which may be a mistake or may have originally been gilt. Num. Circ. May 1974, p.206.

GOLD COINS OF DOUBTFUL AUTHENTICITY

1) O) IMP CAES CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, radiate and draped.

R) VOTIS / DECENNA / LIBVS within wreath

'A medallion in gold in possession of Jacomo Musselius of Verona' Stukeley, Med Hist II p.185 and pl.XVI, No.1.

This is a mistake on Stukeley's part as the piece appears in the catalogue of Musselius' collection described as Aereus, which has been misread as Aureus.

2) Mionnet¹ includes several coins in his listing which must be mentioned here.

a) EXPECTATE VENI 'L'Empereur et une femme debout; à l'exergue RSR Arg Or

b) LEG llll FL 'Lion marchant, tonant des epis dans sa gueule, à l'exergue MSR (sic) Or'

c) ROMANO RENOV vel RENOVA² 'Remus et Romulus allaites par la louve; à l'exergue RSR Arg Or'

These coins are only known to exist in silver and although there remains the possibility that Mionnet really saw them, it seems more likely that they are the product of confused descriptions.

3) Akerman³ also includes two of these coins.

a) EXPECTATE VENI 'The emperor joining hands with a woman who holds a trident. RSR.
Av and Ar'

b) LEG 1111 FL $\frac{1}{MRS}$ (Mionnet) Av

Akerman admits, in the case of 'a', to never having seen a specimen in gold and 'b' is taken straight from Mionnet, none of which does anything to enhance the possible authenticity of these coins.

4) Cohen and Webb⁴ both mention the legionary piece although Webb changes his description from one account to the next:-

LEG 1111 FL (N.C. 1907)

LEG 1111 FEL (RIC)

Cohen cites 'Ancien catalogue du cabinet des médailles' and adds in a footnote, 'cette medaille manque au Monumenta Historica Britannica.'

5) R.I.C. V² p.463, No.5, is listed with obverse 5 B or D. The only extant specimen of this coin has obverse 5B, using Webbs' R.I.C. abbreviations. This is almost certainly another mistake on Webb's part as he has this coin, described correctly as obverse 5D, according to the different set of abbreviations used in his earlier account. Presumably the one coin has become two in the change from one method of description to another.

STATISTICS

<u>Weight</u>	<u>Max</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>Average</u>
Group One	4.52 gm	4.14 gm	4.33 gm
Group Two	5.60 gm	4.28 gm	4.56 gm
Group Two a ⁵	4.56 gm	4.28 gm	4.35 gm
Group Three	4.86 gm	4.25 gm	4.59 gm

<u>Diameters</u>	<u>Max</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>Average</u>
Group One	21 mm	19 mm	20 mm
Group Two	20 mm	18 mm	19 mm
Group Three	20 mm	17 mm	18.78 mm

The standard at which Carausius' gold coins were struck has aroused some speculation in the past.⁶ It has been said that it, 'curiously anticipates the solidus of 72 to the pound which came later;' that it is, 'practically identical with that of the later solidus of about 4.5 gm;' and that 'Constantius ... in 296 ... could not but be conscious of the advantage in exchange which the existing monetary usage of Britain gave in relation to the artificial monetary system of Diocletian..... To melt down the gold hoards of the British usurpers and to reissue them in a diminished number of aurei was not in itself an attractive financial proposition.' This appears to be in contradiction to an earlier statement that, 'in Britain the old standard of 70 to the pound fixed by, Diocletian was taken over by Carausius.'

Carausius' gold coins cannot be regarded as both dependent on a standard already in use and also anticipating a new and different one. The mention of 'gold hoards' suggests, without any evidence, a far greater output of gold under the British usurpers than there is any reason to suspect. The argument from negative evidence that there once was plentiful gold but that it had been seized and melted down after the recovery is not convincing.

With the singular exception in group two, the gold coins of Carausius may be linked to the standard of seventy to the pound, which was abandoned by Diocletian at about the time of Carausius'

usurpation. It would appear, as suggested earlier⁷, that it was Carausius clear intention to adhere to that standard however badly he may have managed it, and that any resemblance to the subsequent standard for solidi is coincidental. To suggest that⁸, 'it was this system which Constantius found deeply rooted in business affairs of Britain ... in 296' is a gross exaggeration. Aurei seem to have played very little part in the economics of Britain in the third century. 'The economy seems to have been content to operate on a small amount of real gold and a smaller volume of base aurei'⁹. As has already been said in connection with the silver coins, business affairs did not dictate the issue of coinage. The gold issues were dictated by political not commercial factors.

The one significant exception to this standard, which cannot be explained away simply in terms of an inadequate adherence to that standard, is the coin struck in the name of Maximian weighing 5.60 gm. This piece is suggestive of a standard the same as the later Diocletianic one of sixty to the pound, badly adhered to, although it errs on the side of excess even in relation to that. It would seem, however, to be the obvious explanation to say that for coins struck in the name of Maximian (and Diocletian too presuming there were once such peices however few) the standard used was that which these emperors themselves were using at one time. This is wholly undermined by the only other surviving coin of this type having a weight of only 4.27 gm. It is impossible to be very definite on this point as there is so very little evidence. Perhaps the least dubious speculation would be to

suggest a confusion in the mint at the time of issue whereby some coins in Maximian's name were not only struck in the style of his own pieces but were mistakenly struck at a weight similar to the current piece of his being used as the model. Should further specimens come to light they will clarify the picture somewhat, but it is difficult to imagine that this will happen to any great degree.

With the exception of one of the group three coins reputedly found near Chester¹⁰ all Carausius gold has been found in the southern half of Britain. Allectus' aurei show a similar distribution, all of which reflects the general distribution pattern of third century gold in Britain.¹¹ As has been seen, hoards of any kind are relatively few in Northern Britain at this time which must reflect on the peaceful situation there. Pre Hadrianic gold distribution in Britain is widespread; that for the period from Hadrian to Severus is concentrated in the North. The paucity of gold in that region during the third century supports the evidence provided by the hoards, or rather lack of them, for a peaceful and increasingly depleted northern military zone. 'The province (Britannia Inferior) was becoming a backwater of the cursus honorum This gives us the measure of the success achieved by the new frontier arrangements.'¹³ This comment on the Severan solution to the Northern frontier should be more widely applied to the third century, a peaceful province would, in the course of becoming such a backwater, surely be drained of all the troops it could spare so long as there were frontiers which were far from peaceful.

There seems to have been a cessation in the flow of gold into Britain so that such pieces as are found from this period are not explicable in terms of each other but depend on a variety of factors. The one thing that is certain is that there was a shortage of gold in Britain in the third century. Isaac¹⁴ rightly argues that gold at this time must have been at an enormous premium as the economic decline reached its lowest depths. He argues that men who did have gold would hoard it, but where are the hoards? Britain has produced only one gold coin to bear witness to the years she was part of the 'Imperium Galliarum'. By contrast there are several aurei of Carinus, whose gold is rare anywhere. Isaac¹⁵ warns against any historical interpretation of this but it is tempting to see this as some slight support for the view that Nemesianus'¹⁶ veiled allusions to a northern campaign in Carinus reign do in fact refer to activity in Britain. The absence of gold squares with the general picture of an island increasingly depleted of troops. Not much gold would be sent to Britain if she had no very considerable garrison. Under Carausius and Allectus she clearly did have a major army again but this seems clearly to have been concentrated in the Southern half of the island. The gold, silver and hoard distribution all point to this. It was not a case of calling all the troops down from the northern frontier but of seeing no need to send any up there.

It has been said that,¹⁷ 'while the money of all the rest of the Roman Empire was in a hopeless condition of depreciation and disorder, Carausius was issuing an abundant coinage at Londinium

in pure gold, silver and bronze washed with silver. 'The word abundant certainly does not apply in the case of the gold coins. Whenever they were issued it was clearly in very small quantities. The obvious times to expect such issues of gold are imperial accessions and the celebrations of the various vows at each quinquennium. Whatever the general condition of the coinage, these would normally be the times at which gold was to be issued. As has been seen in dealing with the dating of the denarii, the two gold coins of Carausius with references to the quinquennial vota in their exergue seems, on the face of it, to prove that that group of gold at least, was issued at the time of his quinquennium, in 291. This would tend to necessitate dating all the denarii also to this period however, and, because of the die link between the RSR aureus and the antoninianus, there would be repercussions for the unmarked antoniniani.

There are vota legends recorded on the silver coins and on bronze coins¹⁸ but these cannot possibly apply strictly to a reign as short as that of Carausius. He did not survive to reach his decennium so the MVLTTIS XX appears rather optimistic. 'sometimes the vows named on a coin are those of the colleague of the emperor whose name appears on the obverse, not his own.'¹⁹

This is said in the discussion of a later period, but Carausius does issue coins in the name of his 'colleagues'. Even this application of the vota to the central emperors can not be made to fit into Carausius' reign as regards the decennium. The answer must lie in a much less literal interpretation of the legends, as suggested by Boyce, 'When in the middle of the third century a short reign like Aemilian produced Sestertii advertising

the Decennalia, and in the fourth century Jovian and Eugenius struck coins with VOT V MVLV X it is clear that all figures involved refer to vows undertaken (suscepta) and not fulfilled (soluta)....' If the silver gold and bronze are taken together in this matter of vota reverses then it becomes very difficult to make any sort of a case for dating them as a whole to a date in or around Carausius' quinquennium solely on the strength of the two gold coins which mention what happens to be the only celebration which is chronologically concomitant with the length of the reign. 'The vota coinage was obviously not issued in accordance with a rigid and regular plan'²¹ The general trend, in any case, seems to have been to strike early so it seems perfectly possible to date the gold coins of group two to the same time as the silver coins; that is shortly after the usurpation, as soon as the mint had been properly organised.

The coins of group two differ from the rest in several respects. In point of style they all closely resemble each other and are markedly different from the other two groups. They do resemble some of the antoniniani issued with the mark $\frac{SIP}{MLXXI}$ either in Carausius' own name or in the names of Maximian or Diocletian. The theme of their reverse legends and types also differs markedly from the group one and three coins while paralleling that of the antoniniani just mentioned. This theme is that of the three Augusti as 'Fratres'. The types of Jupiter and Hercules and the legend CONSERVATORI AVGGG, refer directly to Diocletian and Maximian through the deities with which they each respectively identified, and the third G refers, of course, to Carausius, now making a concerted effort to promote his image of apparent equality

and acceptance by means of such propaganda. As he issued antoniniani in the name of both Maximian and Diocletian we may reasonably assume he issued gold likewise even though, as yet, none in Diocletian's name has come to light. Group two gold coins, therefore, fall into the context of Carausius' propaganda campaign to appear the accepted equal of Diocletian and Maximian. Carson dates the antoniniani of this type by their sequence marks to just before the end of the reign. This is supported by historical probability as Carausius' hopes would have risen from 289 until dashed once and for all by the appointment of Constantius as Caesar in the West in 293 and the commencement of operations to recover Carausius' territory for the central empire. It must be pointed out that the mint mark, ML, on these does no more than tell us that they were minted at London. It can no more be related chronologically to the ML mark on the antoniniani than can the same mark on Allectus' gold.

The coins of group three are quite different from the other gold and clearly form part of the issue better known from the antoniniani, usually attributed to Rouen, because of the great hoard of them supposedly discovered there.²² As will be seen the antoniniani of this type are of a limited range of types and are much more closely die-linked than any other groups of antoniniani. This is particularly marked in the case of the gold, which confirms this as a particularly short and circumscribed issue of an exceptional nature.

The three groups of gold, small as each is, clearly complement the evidence provided by the much more substantial body of coinage in other metals. The RSR coin in particular brings together

several strands of a picture. Die links have shown that the unmarked and RSR silver come from the same mint. This aureus and its link with the unmarked antoninianus from the Little Orme's Head hoard show that this is true also of gold and bronze. The gold coin makes it more than even certain that such a mint was London. 'Inscriptions show that the Rationalis Summae Rei tended to remain resident at the Imperial capital A mobile treasury²³ gave much more stability to the emperor especially if his throne was threatened'....²⁴ RSR as has been shown must indicate Rationalis Summae Rei so this alone strongly suggests that coins bearing such a mark were struck at the capital. The gold piece seems to confirm this as the later gold of group one is certainly from London and there is no reason to suppose Carausius ever had a comitatus mint with him on some sort of travels, for the first years of his reign, which produced his coins for him. This important RSR aureus has had doubts cast on its authenticity, 'This coin is a modern cast in gold from a silver original',²⁵ but without any justification.

Allectus' Gold Coins

Allectus ruled less than half as long as his predecessor but about as many gold coins have survived from each reign. Presumably this is because the fact that Carausius only issued gold on specific occasions meant that the quantity was not so great in proportion to the length of his reign as that of the antoniniani. These outnumber the surviving Allectan counterparts by a greater degree than that suggested simply by the disparity in the duration of the reigns. On the face of it the Allectan gold is much less complex than that of Carausius. There is no

problem of mint location and the brevity of the reign argues against breaking the coins down into a series of unrelated issues. There are, however, differences in the form of mint mark which ought to indicate some sort of grouping system. The extant coins are catalogued on a tentative chronological basis of marks based on the principle of a progression towards complexity in such marks, but the die links show that there can have been no very great difference in the time of issue, if, indeed, there was any.

THE COINS

$\frac{1}{ML}$

- 1) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and draped.
- R) ADVENTVS AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Emperor riding left; right hand raised, sceptre in left hand, captive before.
- RIC 1 6.85 gm 19 mm PRIVATE COLLECTION
- notes The abnormally high weight is due to a mounting attached to the coin. Webb in his 1906 NC account incorrectly cites Akerman Coins of the Romans ... pl VI, No 46. It should be No 45. On p.149 of Akerman's work it is recorded as, 'In the cabinet of the Court D'Erceville'. The coin was shown in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris in February 1958.
- 2) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and cuirassed.
- R) COMES AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Minerva standing left leaning on shield, holding olive branch and spear.

and recorded by Stukeley, Letters and Diaries II, 1883, p.187.

- 6) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and draped.
 R) ORIENS AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Sol stg. left, right hand raised,
 globe in left hand.

RIC 4 4.60 gm 19 mm VIENNA

Notes obv. very similar to No.5.

- 7) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF NG (sic) bust right laureate and
 cuirassed.
 R) PAX AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Pax standing left with olive
 branch and vertical sceptre.

RIC 5 4.39 gm 19 mm B.N (1632)

notes obverse appears to link with no.13. Misdescribed by
 Cohen as $\frac{S/A}{ML}$ Ex Wiczay.

- 8) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG Bust right, laureate and
 cuirassed.
 R) PAX AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Pax standing left with olive
 branch and transverse sceptre.

RIC 6 4.12 gm 19 mm UNKNOWN

notes obverse may link with nos.10 and 17, reverse with 9. cf.
 Akerman, Roman Coins, II, p.1768, pl.II, No.6; V.C.H. Berks I,
 p.222 citing Stevenson, Dictionary of Roman Coins, p.183 which
 says an Allectus aureus from READING was sold at the Brummell
 sale for £37. It was, presumably, this coin. cf. also N.C. New
 Ser. vol. IX, 1869, p.282, for a record of its sale at Sotheby's
 in the Brown Sale, lot 271 for £71.

- 9) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and
 cuirassed.
 R) PAX AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Pax standing left with olive
 branch and transverse sceptre.

RIC 6 (pl.XIX, 4) 4.56 gm 19 mm B.M.

notes reverse may link with No.8. cf. NC 1 ser. vol. II, 1839-40. p.206. 'Recently found in LONDON' Found, Isle of Dogs.

10) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and cuirassed.

R) PAX AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Pax riding left in biga.

RIC 8 4.40 gm 20 x 19 mm ASHMOLEAN

notes obverse may link with Nos.8, 10 & 17. The obverse is wrongly described by Cohen as IMP C ALLECTVS FEL AVG. Akerman Roman Coins. vol. II, p.177 records, 'This unique coin was purchased at the Trattle Sale by the Duke de Blacas for £74, a most absurd and extravagant price.' The coin has been at Oxford a long time cf. Nummorum Antiquorum Scrinis Bodleianis Reconditorum Catalogus. Oxford 1750, p-21.

11) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and cuirassed.

R) PROVID AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Providentia standing left, cornucopiae in left hand, baton in right, globe at foot.

RIC 4.61 gm 19 mm PARIS (1632a)

notes Obv \equiv No 16 ($\frac{DL}{ML}$) \equiv No 19 ($\frac{DL}{ML}$). cf. Journal des Savants.

Jan-March 1969 pp.26 ff; Bulletin de la commission départementale de monuments historique du Pays-de-Calais. 111. 1902-1913. pp. 220-221. Found at TIGNY.

12) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and cuirassed.

R) SALVS AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Salus standing right feeding serpent held in arms.

RIC 9 4.30 gm 19.5 mm B.M

notes obverse may link with No. 3. cf. Mon. Hist. Brit. pl. XV
No 3. EX King George III collection.

13) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and
cuirassed.

R) SALVS AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Salus standing right feeding
serpent held in arms.

RIC 9 3.82 gm 20 mm B.M.

notes ex Wigan collection. NB Akerman. Roman Coins; II
p.176, No.7. 'There is a modern forgery of this type in silver...'

14) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and
cuirassed.

R) SPES AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Spes standing left holding
flower and raising robe.

RIC 10 DESTROYED

notes obverse may have linked with No.7, reverse with No.14,
cf. Mon. Hist. Brit. pl. XV, No.5. Stolen from the BN and
presumably melted down.

15) O) ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) SPES AVG $\frac{1}{ML}$ Spes standing left holding
flower and raising robe.

RIC 11 DESTROYED

notes reverse may have linked with No 13. Obverse is the same
type as the untraceable RIC 7. cf. Mon. Hist. Brit. pl. XV, No.4.
Stolen from the BN and presumably melted down.

D1 or D1 ²⁷
ML

16) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and
cuirassed.

R) ORIENS AVG $\frac{DI}{ML}$ Sol standing left, right hand raised, globe in left hand.

RIC 4 4.14 gm 19 mm BERLIN (69/1883)

notes obv \equiv No 11 ($\frac{1}{ML}$) \equiv No 19 ($\frac{DI}{ML}$)

17) O) IMP CALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and cuirassed.

R) PAX AVG $\frac{DI}{ML}$ Pax standing left with olive branch and vertical sceptre.

RIC 5 var (new-m.m.) 4.30 gm 18 mm PERPIGNAN

notes Obverse may link with No 5, 8 and 10, reverse with No.18.

Jameson No.327.v.

18) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate, draped and cuirassed.

R) PAX AVG $\frac{DI}{ML}$ Pax standing left with olive branch and vertical sceptre.

RIC 5 var 4.70 gm 19 mm PRIVATE COLLECTION

notes reverse may link with No 17. This coin brought £130 in the Huth Sale, was lot 760 in the Montague Sale and was sold to L Forrer as lot 1994 in the Hall Sale, Glendinning 21/11/1950.

19) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and cuirassed.

R) VIRTVS AVG $\frac{DI}{ML}$ Emperor galloping right spearing fallen enemy.

RIC 14 4.38 gm 19 mm HUNTERIAN

notes obv \equiv No 11 ($\frac{1}{ML}$) \equiv No 16 ($\frac{DI}{ML}$)

$\frac{1}{MSL}$

20) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF I AVG bust right, laureate and cuirassed.

R) ^BVICTVS AVG $\frac{1}{MSL}$ Mars standing right holding spear and leaning on shield.

RIC 13 (pl. XIX 5) 4.17 gm 19.5 mm B.M

notes ex Due de Blacas

Other

21) O) IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG bust right, laureate and cuirassed.

R) VICTORIA AVG $\frac{1}{A}$ Victory walking right holding wreath and palm, captive at foot.

RIC 12 DESTROYED

notes Mionnet. De La Rareté ... II, p.170, n.i 'Cette médaille paroît avoir été moulée sur le bronze.' Cohen observes, 'Cette médaille manque au Monumenta Historica Britannica.' He also cites an 'ancien catalogue' which is presumably 'Catalogue d'une collection de médailles antiques fait par la C^{sse}. Douair de Bentinck' Amsterdam 1787 vol. II (which claims to deal with coins in 'or & Argent') p.920. There the coin is described thus:-
'Tête d'Allectus IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG
un Victoir volante, tenant la couronne et la
palme VICTORIA AVG'

No mint mark is given and as the coin was stolen from the BN and presumably melted down it is now impossible to prove whether there really was an A in the exergue as opposed to the more normal ML.



There are, in addition to the coins listed above, some doubtful cases. There is a tantalising reference²⁸ that, 'Mr Roach Smith exhibited two gold coins of Allectus, one of which had for reverse type a lion, probably a copy of a similar coin in silver of Gallienus.'. There appears to be no other account of such a coin. Several of Gallienus' coins, particularly in the legionary series, do have lion reverses²⁹ but Allectus does not seem to model his reverses on those of Gallienus, as Carausius occasionally did. On no coin of Allectus is there to be found a lion in the reverse type save for the irregular RIC 24. It may only be assumed that the account mentioning this was in error.

There is some confusion in RIC over the number of extant specimens of RIC 4. Webb appears to have increased the number, by error, to four. Cohen gives as his source for one of them Tanini, and says that neither W 6 nor W 7 are in Mon. Brit, '..... a moins que la piece de Tanini ne soit la même que celle ci mal décrite'. Webb does not appear to have seen all the coins he lists. RIC 7 derives from W 8 which is given the provenance 'Evans' but the coin is not at Oxford nor can it be traced anywhere else.

Statistics

Weight	$\frac{1}{ML}$	$\frac{D1}{ML}$	$\frac{1}{MSL}$ (one coin only)
Max	4.61 gm	4.70 gm	4.71 gm
Min	3.82 gm	4.14 gm	4.71 gm
Aug	4.35 gm	4.38 gm	4.71 gm

Diameter. No very great variation from a norm of 19 mm.

There is no significant divergence between the weights of these

groups of coins nor between Allectus' gold as a whole, and that of his predecessor. It seems that he simply maintained for his own issues of gold the same standard that Carausius had been using.

With the exception of the inadequately documented number twenty one, all Allectus' gold coins were clearly minted at the one London mint. The coins are divided according to the form of the mint mark but it is apparent from the shared obverse dies that the ML and $\frac{D1}{ML}$ groups are exactly or very nearly contemporaneous. Allectus reign was so short that the time factor may not seem important but it is clearly reflected in the marks used on the antoniniani. The size and nature of the gold suggest strongly that it was all part of one special issue rather than a standard part of the coinage throughout all or most of the reign. The obvious occasion for such an issue would have been the accession in 293. Whatever the exact circumstances of it, Allectus' succession seems clearly to have been some sort of usurpation rather than inheritance. He seems to have managed it smoothly despite having no known military background. As a senior administrator concerned as he was with the treasury, he was in a good position to pose as the fount of financial reward. The gold issues seem a natural expression of his gratitude to the heirarchy upon his usurpation and must represent the tip of a general donative to the whole force within his sphere of influence. He was able to maintain himself for three years and when the conflict came his troops did fight for him; all of which suggests he got off to a good start which would inevitably have meant a donative. The amount of gold that has survived suggests,

perhaps that this was an issue bigger than any of the gold issues of Carausius. If so then that would not be an unreasonable move by Allectus in seeking to appear more liberal than the man he replaced. It still seems far too small to have been any sort of a general donative, which must have been paid to the bulk of the troops in other coin, but to have been intended specifically for the senior men. Repetition of dies even within the number of coins surviving suggests that there cannot have been very many more than those known to us, so that the issue in its entirety cannot have been very extensive.

The types and legends on the aurei do not present a coherent picture of why they were issued. Adventus Aug is a very rare Allectan reverse generally, not found on any of the antoniniani of the $\frac{S/A}{ML}$ or $\frac{S/P}{ML}$ groups. It is found on the coins of Carausius', however, particularly those associated with his own donatives. Several of the Allectan aurei have Pax types which are very strong reminiscences of Carausius, and all of them bear types which are found on Carausius coins. However exactly he usurped, far from using the medium of his initial coin issues to condemn the regime of his predecessor or to launch out with some new idiosyncratic type, Allectus seems to have been concerned to preserve a continuum, to maintain links with the coinage of Carausius and to perpetuate much of the spirit of his propaganda. The distribution of provenanced specimens is similar to that for Carausius' gold. All have been found in the south and east or in South Wales, save for the Tigny coin. Those from South Wales may have connections with the gold mine at Dolaucothi. The

general picture is that even more than under Carausius, the concentration of leading military men and the units under them, was far from the northern frontier. The aureus from Tigny does not constitute any evidence for any continental territory held by Allectus, but must relate to events after the death of Allectus and the recovery of Britain.

Allectus chose not to revive the silver issues which Carausius had used early in his reign. They were almost certainly never intended to become part of the general coinage but were a special issue. Silver was much commoner than gold in Britain, however, so Allectus' decision to use the latter limited at once the size of any issue. It is possible that he reused some of the gold of Carausius. Pieces which commemorated the three Augusti or were actually struck bearing the portrait and titles of one of the others would be obvious targets for the melting pot. This may account to some degree for the comparative rarity of Carausian gold, although as gold of both usurpers is so very rare anyway such hypotheses must be very tentative.

As there is no evidence to the contrary it seems reasonable to see Allectus' aurei as a homogeneous issue from London, dating to the time of his accession, for the purpose of a donative to men in senior positions, whose locations are, to some extent, reflected by the distribution of the provenanced coins.

The Medallions

The two medallions of Carausius in the British Museum have been very fully documented by Carson.³⁰ Most of what can be said about them is therefore already covered. There need be no

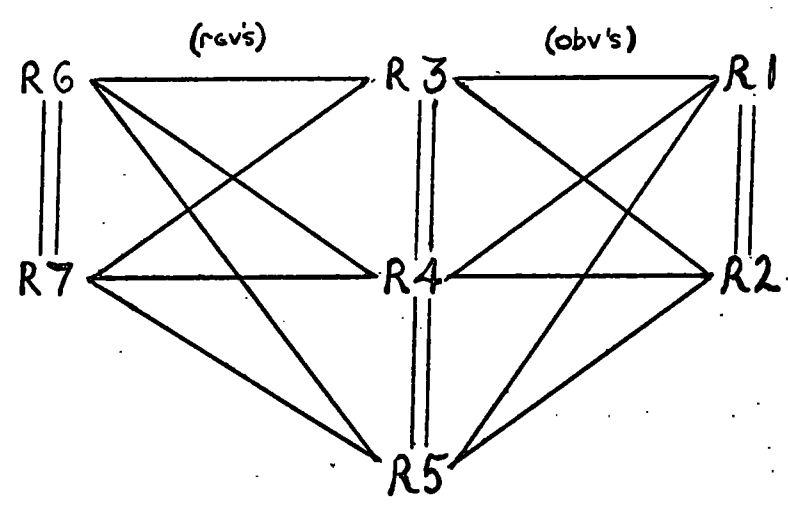
divergence of attribution for the coins as Carson suggests giving London as the mint of the one with RSR in the exergue and Boulogne as the mint of the other. Both seem clearly connected with the issues of silver early in the reign and both come from the one main mint at London which produced all the silver. As he observes, there is similarity in portraiture and type between these and some of the silver coins. The exergual letters I.N.P.C.D.A. remain enigmatic. It is most unusual that any formula should be so drastically abbreviated for, unless it were very well known, its force would be lost. It does not suggest any well known formulae and any expansion must be pure conjecture. No medals of Allectus have yet come to light.

CARAVSIYS' 'ROUEN' GOLD.

RIC 623

RIC 624

RIC 621



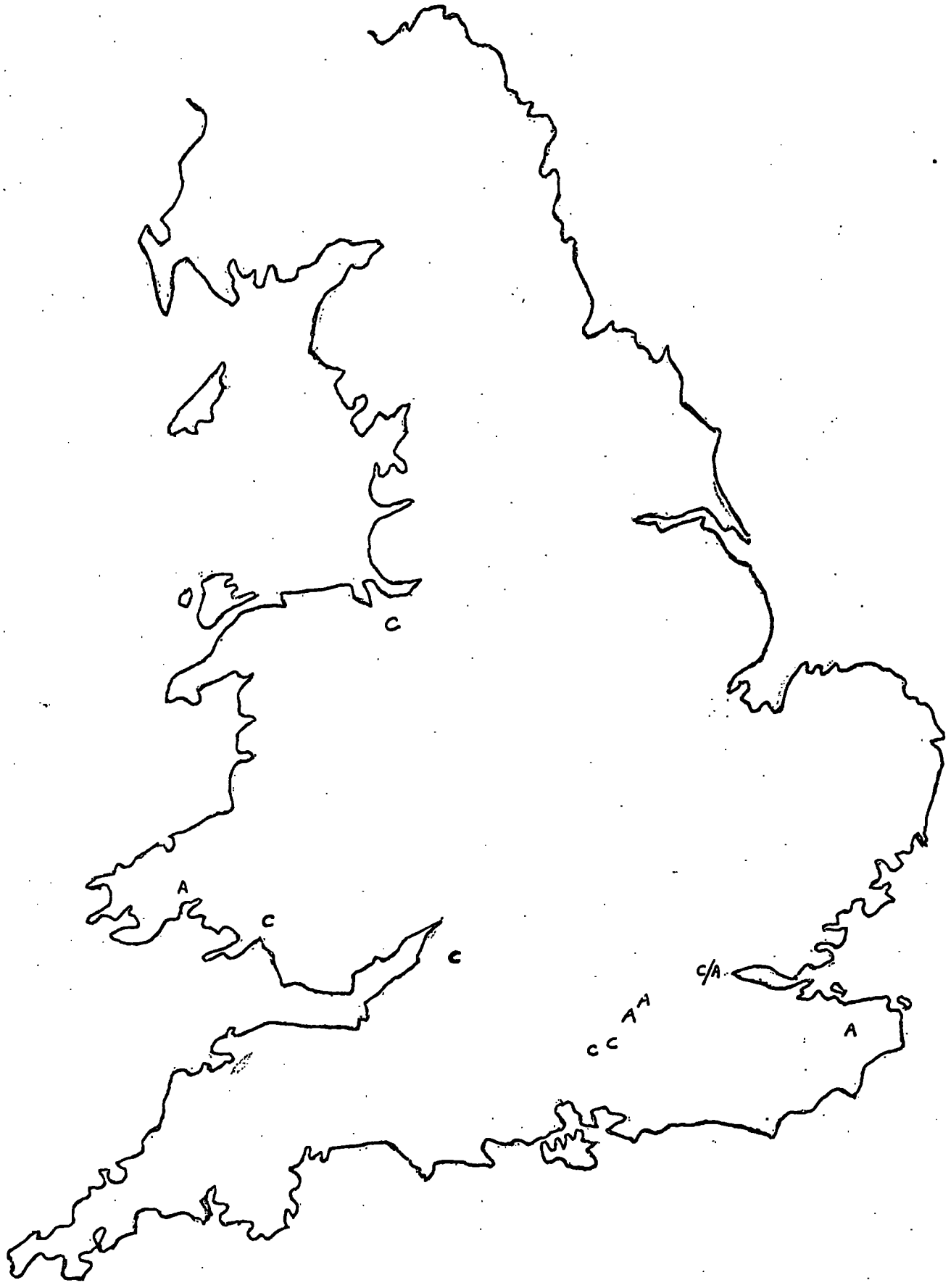
RIC —

(obv.)



CARAVSIVS' GOLD → C

ALLECTVS' GOLD → A



Chapter Five

- 1) Mionnet, T.E. De la Rareté et du Prix de Médailles Romains, Paris, 1815, pp.359 ff.
- 2) The RSR aureus in the B.N. is listed separately by Mionnet.
- 3) Akerman, J.Y. Coins...Relating.... p.122.
- 4) Cohen, H. Monnaies.... Paris, 2 ed. 1885-8, vol.VI, No.139 = Webb, N.C., 1907, No.583 = R.I.C. 533.
- 5) The first coin in the name of Maximian is so exceptionally overweight that it must be deliberate and so the statistics for this group excluding this coin are provided here.
- 6) e.g. N.C. 5th ser.vol X, 1930, pp.249 ff. from which the quotations cited are taken.
- 7) v.s. p. [^]the end of the chapter on Av.
- 8) N.C. 5th ser.vol X̄, 1930, pp.249 ff.
- 9) P.J.Isaac, op.cit p.59. N.B. There are no gold coins of Carausius or Allectus which seem irregular, although this is not the opinion of Sutherland (Coinage and Currency ... p.71): 'Very rare examples occur of aurei crudely copied from those of Carausius. Their provenance is not always certain, but there is at least one certain British example found near Neath Abbey (Glamorganshire)'. This last is group one, number two and it seems a perfectly regular coin.
- 10) Grant, M. Roman Anniversary Issues pp.143-8
- 11) cf. Isaac, P.J. op.cit. map 3.
- 12) ibid. maps 1-4
- 13) Frere, S.S. Britannia, p.185
- 14) op.cit. p.56

- 15) *ibid.* p.62
- 16) Nemes. Cynegetica 69 ff. referring to Carinus' victory
'sub arcto'.
- 17) Home, G. Roman London, London, 1948 p.95
- 18) cf. R.I.C. Nos.595-7 in silver; No.620 in bronze
- 19) Boyce, A.A., A new solidus of Theodosius II and other
vota solidi of the period, N.N.M. No.153 paper 4 = pp.
40-90. This quote from p.46.
- 20) *ibid.* p.46 n.11.
- 21) *ibid.* p.71
- 22) cf. sect on hoards for the references and comments
concerning this dubious hoard.
- 23) cf. Ammianus 31.15.2.
- 24) Kent, J.P.C. The Relations and Gradual Separation of the
Finance Departments during the Third and Fourth Centuries.
Diss. London 1951.
- 25) Mon. Hist. Brit. p.CIV11 (pl.V No.1)
- 26) There are also two reports of gold coins of Carausius which
may refer to known coins which have lost their provenance,
which may refer to new specimens or which may simply be
erroneous.
- a) V.C.H. Essex III, 1963, p.187 refers to a 'gold coin'
of Carausius found in the daub of an old house in the
town of Thaxted, 6 miles NNW of Great Dunmow.
- b) Bristol & Glos. Trans. vol. 57.1935 p.251. A gold
coin of Carausius from Bourton-on-the-Water. This
coin is not among those in the Cheltenham museum nor
is the author of the 1935 paper able to shed any

further light on it or its present whereabouts.

- 27) It may be assumed that the $\frac{D/}{ML}$ coin is from this issue as it shares its obverse die with one of the $\frac{D/}{ML}$ coins, and as the only apparent reason for the absence of the exergual letters is fact that the design occupies the exergue and leaves no room for them.
- 28) The Antiquarian Magazine and Biographer. vol. VII, 1885, p.82.
- 29) e.g. R.I.C. V^I Gallienus (joint reign) 342-4, (sole reign) 70, 201, 601-2.
- 30) Carson, R.A.G. Bronze Medallions of Carausius. B.M.Q. vol. XXXVII No.1-2, pp.1-4.

Chapter Six

The Coinage in General

The silver and gold coins have been dealt with already. This leaves the great majority of the coinage, which consists of pieces which it would seem fair to call bronze despite their pretensions to being debased silver. A very small percentage of these coins has survived with a clear silver-washed surface, but however widespread this practise may have been originally, the amount of silver involved was very small indeed; no traces of it showing in analyses of reasonably worn coins. One major complicating factor which affects the gold and silver hardly at all, but which bedevils the rest of Carausius' coinage at least is the difficulty there is in distinguishing between official, regular coinage, and the locally produced copies of it.

Irregularity

The distinction between the regular and the barbarous is clear enough at the extremes. It is the range in between, which merges from one to the other without any clear line of demarcation, which makes for the difficulties. Any attempt to determine such a line of demarcation is bound to be subjective in such a case, and so there will inevitably be some coins included or excluded, as the case may be, by one assessor which would receive a different verdict from another. Some attempt at the establishment of a standard of discrimination must be attempted, however, as a precursor to any general assessment of the bronze coinage of Carausius. Carson states the criteria whereby he has made his decision in this matter¹, 'That the style and finish of much of the early coinage of Carausius is

quite rough makes the distinction between official issue and copy hard to draw, but discrepancies of weight, module and above all regularity of die alignment often provide grounds for rejection'. There are dangers of making these comparisons in the rather artificial confines of an important museum collection where there is an abnormally high ratio of high quality coins which must tend to distort the level of acceptability in an upward direction. A very high proportion of the coins of Carausius found in hoards or as site finds exhibit some degree of 'irregularity'. There thus exists also the danger of accepting too low a level of tolerance on the assumption that copying could not really be so widespread and all but the most blatantly barbarous coins must have been official issues'.

Very few coins of Allectus appear to be copies which may reflect a toughening attitude against forgers or may simply mean that the coinage had been sorted and settled and there was sufficient being produced to meet current needs. There are various indications that the standard of coins issued improved steadily throughout Carausius' reign and the problem of irregular coinage is confined almost solely to the first half of his reign. This is shown by the rarity of irregular coins based on anything struck after the $\frac{F/O}{ML}$ issue. The great majority of the coinage circulating in Britain at the time of Carausius' usurpation seems to have been of a low standard including few of the post-reform coins and a high percentage of radiate copies. Reece makes a telling point², 'The coinage of Carausius appears to follow closely, and grow from, the barbarous

radiates, and one wonders how far the widespread issue and use of such coins in Britain reflects a degree of autonomy even before 286'. The barbarous radiates of the period 260-280 were clearly not imported but were struck locally in Britain. They were modelled on the last type of coin which seems to have entered the island in any quantity, namely the issues of the Gallic Empire. Very little of the later coinage struck on the continent after the reform of Aurelian is found in Britain. This must be because very little ever arrived here otherwise it would have obviated the necessity for copying, as had happened by the end of Carausius' reign; or it would, at the very least, have provided a model for such copying as took place. The arrival of Carausius was the first major impact on the coinage for some decades and as he based himself on Britain, so his early coinage would both copy and be copied by currently circulating coinage. That he sought to curb the practice of producing copies, or to remove the necessity by elevating the standard of his own money to the same level as that of the central empire, is clear. He did not introduce such a coinage from the outset. A variety of economic difficulties would have faced him had he tried. As a usurper his first priority was the production of a large quantity of coins bearing his name and portrait. To have commandeered existing coinage for redistribution would not have served his purpose well as it was of such a low standard and would have failed on the vital question of promoting his own personal image. To have produced a large issue of coins at the post reform standard and to have then forced it into the economy would have

created great difficulties concerning the metal to be used and would have upset whatever economic balance there was in the island because of its suddenness and severity. Overstrikes occur in sufficient numbers to show that this was one way by which an initial shortage of blanks could be remedied. In some cases there are clear indications that the original coin was in an excellent state of preservation at the time of overstriking. This shows clearly Carausius' intent to promote his own image.

An integral part of the question of the irregularity of some of Carausius' early coins is whether or not such coins as do stray from stringent standards of flan size and die axis without being hopelessly barbarous must be regarded as 'unofficial'. If that term is meant to cover a series of coins in no way sanctioned by the governing authorities and subject to all the penalties normally associated with the production of illegal money then there seems to have been a very large number of people prepared to take risks in the first years of Carausius' reign. In the years before Carausius' usurpation the production of barbarous radiates would not have impinged very directly on the authorities as the main seat of government was further away. Had he so desire^d, Carausius could surely have stamped out the practise^f within a short time by rigorous enforcement of penalties but he would have had to produce something very quickly himself to fill the gap. The wide range of slightly irregular coins which are found among any sample of Carausius' earlier coinage could not have been produced in the face of a concerted effort to stamp out the practise^s. Mattingly and

and Stebbing observe³ that in the case of coins from their hoard, 'many of them produce variations on the standing figures..... so marked as to appear deliberate rather than accidental or careless'. This phenomenon occurs frequently on the Carausian coins too with a variety of deities, but Pax in particular, depicted in association with a range of attributes not usually found with them. This clearly would not be done by engravers bent on deceiving officialdom in the hope of their illegal products escaping notice, as then they would seek slavishly to copy their prototypes. Boon⁴ refers to the, 'intelligent irregular production which is a feature of this reign'. The evidence points to some degree of acceptance by Carausius of the so-called irregular coinage as a necessary stage in the establishment and development of his own coinage. From such arguments Boon suggests⁵ 'that circumstances at the beginning of the reign of Carausius were such as to encourage, even to require, local production....'

In his most recent treatment of the subject⁶ Boon makes several valuable observations concerning the distinction between the regular and the barbarous coins of Carausius. In particular he draws attention to the way in which the obverses tend to be superior to the reverses, 'as if the best engravers had been set to cut the reverse dies. It is important to point out that, in the great majority of cases, the long and possibly rather difficult, certainly unusual, name was engraved without error, although the lettering may be rough.' The example he gives, 'from the Penard Hoard, reads TE TVS AVG on the reverse which he correctly amends to VIRTVS AVG to suit the lion type and suggests, 'errors of this kind might have arisen from the

misreading of a handwritten instruction.' The coin in fact appears to read 7E TVS AVG which seems a confused combination of a LEG type with the L inverted to 7, a common error, and the TVS of a VIRTVS legend. As he says, however, 'The obverse is the key.'

Boon's die linked antoniniani from Little Orme and Penard (his numbers 77 and 78) show the very great discrepancies in weight which can exist between these early coins. In this case the former is 9.55 gm; the latter only 2.88 gm, less than one third as heavy. This is certainly an extreme example but variations of up to 100% are common enough and must reflect the relative unimportance of accurately weighed flans in a hastily produced new coinage which was following on from the production of the smaller barbarous radiates. These same ^ω_ω coins which Boon uses provide evidence, 'of the natural dispersal of early orthodox coin from a centre far to the east, rather than of the dissemination of counterfeit material produced in north or south Wales.'⁸ It is not possible to show where this centre was or, indeed, to show that it need have been anywhere other than London itself. Unlike the very small centre of purely localised forgery, workshops producing these coarse early coins are more credible when regarded as having been under some degree of surveillance, especially if there was the organised interplay of superior obverse and inferior reverse dies. This would have been easier if all the coins were produced at or near the one central point of distribution, London, and the London mint would have grown naturally from such a beginning.

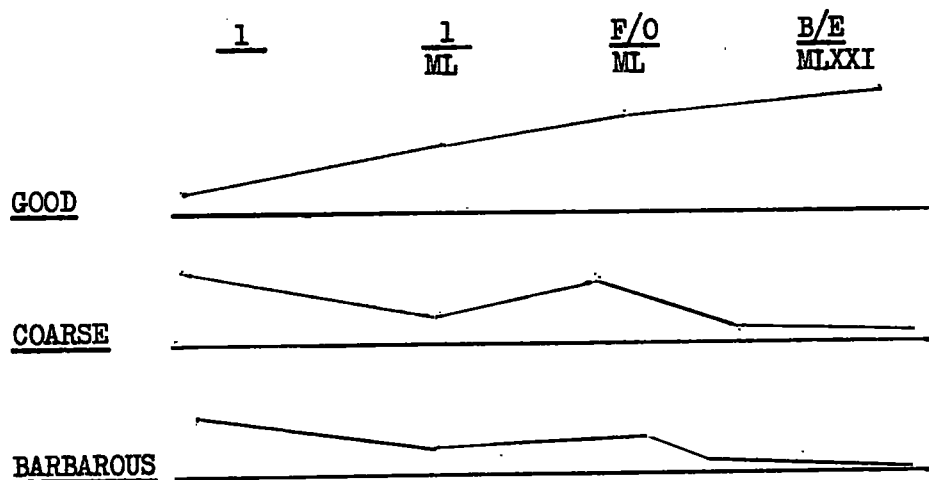
It is not possible to be certain or dogmatic in the matter of

the early Carausian antoniniani. There will always remain an element of subjectivity in the assessment of these coins. The basic criteria on which they ought to be so assessed must be the standard of the obverse portrait and legend. Clearly a coin which bore a portrait which looked nothing like Carausius and, more particularly, a legend from which it was not apparent by whose authority this coin had been issued could never have had any sort of approval from Carausius. By comparison to major deficiencies of this sort, the mis-spelling of reverse legends or the mis-association of reverse type and legend seem of limited significance and insufficient grounds, in themselves, on which to ^ccondemn a coin. Die axes also seem too slight a criterion without the decisive factor of a sub standard obverse.

Copying did not suddenly stop at some point when Carausius' mint was sufficiently well established. As Boon points out⁹, however, the, 'rough coins with good obverses' that have mint-marks 'must be counterfeits, because the official mints, by the period of those marks ;..... had settled down to a good and consistent standard of production.' He refers to, 'the continuing application to the tools of their trade' of the now official redundant surplus coiners as the reason for these copies. Copies of the $\frac{1}{ML}$ coins are, in fact, uncommon. The commonest mark to be copied is $\frac{F/O}{ML}$, which often turns out as $\frac{O}{ML}$. This may indicate something of a brief wave of unofficial production, perhaps by the redundant moneyers mentioned by Boon, shortly after the coinage has otherwise been stabilised. It would, presumably, have been just such an outbreak as this that would have prompted rigorous enforcement

of the laws against counterfeiting. The incidence of copying certainly declined very sharply after the time of the $\frac{F/O}{ML}$ issues.

SIMPLE SCHEMA



This is tentative rather than proven but, despite the exceptions, seems to reflect the general pattern of the earlier coinage of Carausius. Some copies are better than others. One coin, for example,¹⁰ has $\frac{F/O}{ML}$ with a reasonable PAX AVG reverse but an obverse legend reading IMP C CAVSIVS P AVG.

It is therefore, unreasonable to reject all but the very best of Carausius' early coins. The die axes of a sizeable sample of Carausian coins from Richborough, exclusive of illegible or barbarous material are given below to show the variation which does exist and the dangers of laying too much emphasis on this as a criterion for legitimacy.

RICHBOROUGH COINS, DIE AXES

<u>CARAUSIUS</u>	↑		↓		⌘
<u>1</u>	91	.	239	:	96
LONDON	49	.	128	.	26
C MINT	2	.	45	.	5
<u>S/P</u> <u>S/C</u>	2	.	36	.	3

ALLECTUS (ANT'S)

LONDON	8	.	57	.	3
C MINT	0	.	26	.	4
('QUIN'S')					
LONDON	9	.	29	.	2
C MINT	3	.	40	.	4

This provides a general impression and it is clear that some severe variations from a vertical axis do occur throughout the period, but that they are much more common for the early, unmarked coinage. It may be that the 96 unmarked coins, which differ to no great extent stylistically from the other 330, ought to be rejected as completely unofficial, but the 45° margin that has been allowed for variation from the vertical is a purely arbitrary figure. A few degrees either way and the figures are completely different. The degree of die axis variation is simply another possible factor to tip the balance in favour of, or against a coin. There remains only the standard of execution of the obverse die as the one main criterion on which to judge these early coins and even this

must remain subjective, based on experience examining hoards and site finds.

Mint System

The mint system of Carausius has been something of a vexed question since Stukeley's day. It poses more problems than that of Allectus but seems certainly less complex than has usually been imagined. The proliferation of marks on the coins does not necessitate a corresponding proliferation of Carausian mints. Many of the marks may be dismissed as irregular or misread although these have often been taken in the past to be indicating of new mints. For Allectus the picture is relatively simple with only two basic distinguishing letters to consider. Virtually all Allectus' coins bear marks incorporating either a C or an L. These have clearly been adopted from the developed Carausian system and may, thus, be left to fall into place when that has been investigated.

Carson says,¹¹ 'The plethora of mint marks can readily be divided into mint groups' and 'With the exception of the unusual marks RSR and a second group R or OPR, the substantive marks fall into two main groups containing either the letter L or C'. He also discusses the large group of Carausian coins without any mark at all. This would give five groups for consideration. Of these the most straightforward is that incorporating L into the mark. 'There seems no reason to dispute the attribution of coins with marks including the letter L to a mint' at London, by this time certainly the most important city in Britain.' The sequence of the issues is

discussed below, - it seems beyond question that a London mint produced these L coins. It is the one city which certainly issued coins for subsequent rulers and it was the obvious choice for the mint of the gold coins in particular and at least some of the other coinage in general.

The group of coins which bear no marks in the field or exergue is considerable, even after allowing for the element of copying. Carson¹² made a case for locating the mint of these unmarked coins at Boulogne. "The series of silver coins both with mark RSR and without mark, and the long series of unmarked billon and most probably the gold without mark were produced at a mint in Boulogne." This has been discussed already as regards the gold and silver which seem almost certainly to have in fact, come from the London mint. There seems no particular reason to identify the unmarked bronze coins with a Boulogne mint. Carson used hoard evidence to indicate a greater concentration of unmarked coins in hoards polarising towards the south east of Britain and thus to his supposed mint at Boulogne. As has been shown above, however, there is no such polarisation but unmarked coins occur just as frequently in hoards found considerable distances away from the south east as they do in hoards from that area. The site finds tend to be even less well documented than the hoards but they do provide useful pointers if not conclusive proofs. Many sites have yielded a few Carausius or Allectus coins but comparatively few sites have yielded many coins. The table below gives the figures for six major sites taking into consideration only such coins as are sufficiently well preserved to enable an accurate reading.

This means that a number of pieces which are clearly Carausian or Allectan have been left out the reckoning because of their overall condition. The general impression which these tables provide supports that provided by a consideration of the hoard evidence. Corbridge is rather exceptional with only about one in four unmarked coins, but this may be because it was the only place on the northern frontier receiving any sizeable supplies of Carausian coinage at all, which may, in turn, have begun rather later in the reign than was the case for the other sites. Inevitably different surveys of this sort will produce different sets of figures in point of detail but the pattern of unmarked coins being found in much the same numbers throughout most of Britain, save the northern frontier, seems to hold good, and, therefore, does not support the location of their mint at Boulogne.

ANALYSIS OF MARKSCARAVSIVS ST ALBANS: RICHBOROUGH: CORBRIDGE: CAERWENT: CAERLEON: WROXETER:

$\frac{1}{ML}$	13	.	51	.	5	.	2	.	1	.	6	.
$\frac{L1}{ML}$	2	.	8	.	4	.	0	.	1	.	1	.
$\frac{F/O}{ML}$	16	.	47	.	12	.	9	.	1	.	2	.
$\frac{B/E}{MLXXI}$	10	.	38	,	13	.	4	.	4	.	1	.
$\frac{S/P}{MLXXI}$	11	.	33	.	8	.	2	.	4	.	1	.
$\frac{S/P}{ML}$	2	.	13	.	6	.	1	.	0	.	0	.

(+ 35 'London)

$\frac{1}{C}$	9	.	16	.	8	.	2	.	1	.	2	.
$\frac{1}{MC}$	1	.	3	.	0	.	0	.	0	.	0	.
$\frac{S/P}{C}$	3	.	14	.	4	.	2	.	3	.	0	.
$\frac{S/C}{C}$	1	.	2	.	2	.	0	.	1	.	1	.
$\frac{S/C}{C}$	8	.	9	.	2	.	1	.	0	.	2	.
$\frac{S/P}{C}$	2	.	32	.	9	.	3	.	0	.	2	.
RSR	2	.	1	.	0	.	0	.	1	.	0	.
BR1	0	.	2	.	1	.	0	.	0	.	0	.
'ROUEN'	0	.	4	.	0	.	2	.	0	.	1	.
$\frac{1}{C}$	105	.	408	.	28	.	37	.	14	.	14	.
OTHER	($\frac{1}{XX}$, $\frac{F/O}{MLXXI}$, $\frac{1}{SP}$)											

ALLECTVS

$\frac{S/P}{ML}$	5	.	19	.	4	.	0	.	0	.	2	.
$\frac{S/A}{ML}$	8	.	32	.	2	.	1	.	5	.	2	.
$\frac{S/P}{C}$	5	.	25	.	6	.	2	.	1	.	3	.
$\frac{1}{QL}$	14	.	40	.	2	.	3	.	0	.	1	.
$\frac{1}{QC}$	18	.	43	.	2	.	4	.	0	.	3	.

The unmarked coins need not necessarily have been minted at the same place as their gold and silver counterparts but it has always been extremely probable that this was so and Carson has grouped them all together as the products of his Boulogne mint. He, having located the mint of the unmarked coins there, also deems it the source of the RSR coins. The case for the association of unmarked and RSR has already been made and the link between the unmarked antoninianus and the RSR aureus confirms the close association between all these coins, including the bronze. There seems to be a very strong case for locating the mint which produced all the unmarked coins and also the RSR coins at London, and very little to support the view that they were produced at Boulogne.

In an article of 1885 ¹³ there is a discussion of counter-marked Claudian coins as 'monetae castrenses' reissued at Boulogne to pay for the British Expedition. These, it is suggested, ¹⁴ were not the only 'monetae castrenses' from Boulogne. 'M Feuardent attribue le même caractère à un certain nombre de monnaies de Carausius, dont l'aspect est tout à fait différent des autres, et qui ne portent pas d'indice d'atelier monétaire Malheureusement cette attribution manque jusqu'à présent des caractères d'une certitude absolue que des découvertes ultérieures fournissent peut-être'. This cannot refer to the unmarked coins that have just been discussed, despite the description, 'qui ne porte pas l'indice d'atelier monétaire'. It must

refer to the group of coins which have come to be associated with the town of Rouen because so many of them were discovered near there; a discovery in which Feuardent himself was closely involved. That they are such coins is indicated by their being described as, 'dont l'aspect est tout a fait différent des autres,' which is only true of the 'Rouen' group. These coins are discussed further below; for the present it must be observed that the non 'Rouen' unmarked coins show a marked similarity to coins demonstrably struck at London but none whatever to the 'Rouen' group which seems certainly to have been struck somewhere in Gaul if not at Rouen itself. This does not seem at all a probably^e consequence of the existence of the Boulogne mint as envisaged by Carson.

The distribution of the unmarked antoniniani in Britain does not support their attribution to Boulogne. The distribution evidence of continental finds is overwhelming. This has been seen in the case of hoards and is equally true of single finds. It is inconceivable to envisage a mint situated for any great part of Carausius reign at Boulogne, which was so far orientated to catering for British needs that, to my knowledge, not one unmarked coin has been recorded from a continental hoard or single find. Carson and Kent observe¹⁵, '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 would have been more easily supplied to Northern France by water than overland from Trier.' This is said in

dealing with the unmarked Tetrarchic folles but it would be ridiculous to suppose a mint would be maintained by Carausius at Boulogne from which to ship coins over to Britain. A durable and significant Boulogne mint must go hand in hand with a durable and significant foothold in Gallic territory and a concomitant coin distribution, and this is very clearly not the case. The attribution of the unmarked folles has itself been seen to depend on the operation of a Boulogne mint by Carausius. Bastien¹⁶ advocates the attribution of both Carausius unmarked coins and these folles to Boulogne and points out, in support of his view, the importance of the place and Constantius' need to produce coinage for his troops, 'mais les ateliers de Londinium at Camulodunum ne pouvaient être en mesure de fabriquer immédiatement ces nouvelles especes. Il fallait donc créer, à proximité des troupes, un atelier apte à fournir rapidement les folles necessaires.' He takes it that Carausius issued coins from Boulogne for the whole of his reign as this would strongly support his case for the folles. 'La série de monnaies frappées à Boulogne montre que l'atelier a fonctionné de 286 a 293'. Sutherland¹⁷ conveniently summarises previous discussion on this problem and concludes that Bastien was right in his assertion that the first group of unmarked folles was produced in Gaul in preparation for use in a recovered Britain, but that they were produced at Lyons; not at Boulogne.

The number of places likely to have been the site of Carausius' 'c' mint is usually narrowed down to two,

Colchester and Bitterne, although others such as Cirencester have been suggested.¹⁸ Stukeley has been credited with the attribution of these coins to a mint at Bitterne (Clausentum), 'I think the balance of evidence certainly tilts in favour of Stukeley's suggestion, Clausentum (Bitterne); it is one of those few cases in which his intuition was triumphantly right'¹⁹. A closer examination of his book, however, shows that in fact, Stukeley only attributes the one coin with CLA in the exergue to a mint at Clausentum.²⁰ This coin is now lost and no other example bearing these letters is known. As for the ordinary C coins Stukeley does not attribute them to Clausentum but says, 'C in the exergue shows the place where the coin was struck, the mint at Cataractonium, Thornborough at Cateric in Yorkshire.'²¹ This he proceeds to describe at some length and associates it with Carausius' supposed Scottish expedition. Stukeley greatly exaggerates the importance of Caterick at this time and the evidence in no way suggests a mint in the north of Britain.

Mattingly²² argues strongly in support of a Clausentum mint but does so from dubious premises. To argue, as he does, that military and naval types indicate that the mint must be right on hand for troops or fleets is a non sequitur. In any case his point that the fleet was, 'partly based on (sic) the Isle of Wight' is no guarantee that Clausentum achieved a sudden importance under Carausius. There is also the point that the RSR coins, which Mattingly links with the C coins as different from the London ones, have been

shown to have been struck at London themselves. Carson leaves the question open²³ while admitting that Colchester is the more likely place, 'on grounds of sheer probability.'²⁴ Webb had expressed similar uncertainty²⁵ but decided on the adoption of Colchester for his catalogue. He tentatively comments that, 'Claesentum was not so large a station that one would expect to find it a mint city.'²⁶ There is no evidence to suggest that there was a sudden upsurge in the importance of the place at that time. Cunliffe²⁷ sees its period of importance as much later, dating the construction of its walls to the 370's and suggesting that it, 'probably took over the role of Portchester in the Theodosian schema.' It is hard to imagine such a place, unwallled and presumably overshadowed completely as a fleet base by Portchester, of known third century date, as the site of a major mint. Haverfield was quite adamant about this point, 'This idea may be wholly discarded Neither in a fort nor in a little country town would the Roman government have established an institution which it guarded so jealously and restricted so narrowly.'²⁸ To equate Carausius with the Roman Government perhaps sacrifices accuracy for effect but the point still stands. The evidence of finds does not support the siting of a mint at Claesentum. Excavation has not been extensive and the coin yield has been small.²⁹ 'There is in any case a gap in the third century until c350-70, This raises a problem as it is in this period that Claesentum has been regarded as a possible base used by Carausius and the site

perhaps of a mint operated by him.' The question thus remains open as to whether there was even significant occupation of the site at this time, let alone a mint. A few Carausian coins have been found there but the numbers are generally too few to be decisive and remain compatible with no proper occupation of the site at all. Some of the current excavators have claimed, in their enthusiasm to prove they have a mint town on their hands, that the evidence of hearths for smelting which have recently come to light strongly supports this proposition. Quite apart from the lack of any accurate date for these hearths, it in no way follows that a smelting hearth means mint activity just because mint activity ought to mean there would have been a smelting hearth. The excavation report emphasises the fragmentary state of our knowledge of the site and leaves the mint question open. 'There may exist a building a mint and occupation which would support a Carausian use of the port. It can only be said that at the present they have not been found.'³⁰ It seems most unlikely that they ever will.

The evidence from Colchester is not a great deal more convincing on the face of it. Many more coins of Carausius and Allectus have been found there but this is only to be expected as it was much bigger and has been much more extensively excavated. The Colchester hoard produced a large number of Carausius and Allectus coins but their mint distribution simply reflects a typical cross section of the coinage and in no way constitutes any sort of proof

that there was a mint at Colchester. It has been objected that Colchester is too near London to have been the site of a second mint. Clausentum is not a great deal further away. Carausius would have sited the sources of his coinage in relation to the distribution of his forces. This rules out the location of a mint in the northern half of the island. Clausentum does square with an occupation of the Saxon shore system but had it not been for the letter C on the coins this would have seemed a very unlikely candidate for a mint town. Colchester is the much more obvious choice although it would seem to duplicate the mint at London for no very good reason. Merrifield is, perhaps, a little harsh on London in saying³¹, 'this must reflect the revival of Colchester to something more nearly approaching its former glory, with some corresponding diminution of the importance of London'. London was now the seat of an emperor, albeit a usurping one who may have wished to have a second mint town near enough to his principal city to be under close surveillance but in a less vulnerable situation. Colchester was an important place which may have had some tradition of local coining on which to enlarge.³² It was not so vulnerable to attack as a south coast site nor in the hands of a strong detachment of troops who might stage a coup and communications by land and sea were good. Apart from the actual occurrence of the letter C these coins differ in style somewhat from their counterparts with the L marks. This is discussed in some detail by Laffranchi³³ as a factor in the argument about

the attribution of unmarked Tetrarchic folles. His basic point is that the differences between Carausius' and especially Allectus' London and Colchester coins, in particular those of letter form, are not reflected in the unmarked folles and so the sole mint in London by the time of their production was London. He cites Voetter's view that the unmarked folles were produced at Colchester in order to disprove it. Sutherland's treatment³⁴ allows that some of these folles may in fact have been struck at Colchester. This shows that these differences between C coins, and L coins are not so very clear cut. Voetter's original view that all Carausius' and Allectus' C coins were struck at London deserves to be reconsidered. He himself abandoned the idea³⁵ and it does not seem to have been revived since, but, in many ways, it is the most attractive solution to the problem of the location of the C mint.

The attribution of all Carausius' and Allectus' coins, save the 'Rouen' issue and the irregular pieces, to the one London mint sounds too simple to be true. There seems, however, little that can be said against it. Marks in the exergue usually indicate different sources of mintage so that the C and L coins ought to come from different places. This remains the strongest argument against a subdivided London mint. It has been shown that the proliferation of mints which some would suggest for Carausius must be curtailed. Allectus' coinage provides the more reliable guide to the output of the mint or mints as by then the

coinage system was fully developed and the production of irregular pieces had virtually ceased. Allectus issued C and L coins and was clearly maintaining the essentials of the Carausian system. The demand for coinage cannot have dropped a great deal after Allectus' accession and as the numbers of his coins surviving are concomitant with the production of one main mint, this may be said to apply equally to the coinage of Carausius once the question of the early irregular pieces was overcome. This removes all the problems concerned with the attribution of a second mint to Clausentum, Colchester or anywhere else. It would suit current thinking on the question of the unmarked folles to have a subdivided London mint. It would make it easier to account for the occurrence of exceptional pieces such as the C denarii as mistakes or freaks caused by interplay within one mint. This would also fit into the general pattern of post recovery coinage for although there are no officina marks on the subsequent London coins, their numbers were often sufficient to have justified two officinae.³⁶

The SC and SP coins need not hang on an uncertain limb but become part of the pattern within the one mint. Webb³⁷ suggested that the SC coins were akin to Colchester pieces and the SP coins to London ones, but he was aware of the 'numerous exceptions' to this scheme. Carson³⁸ takes both SC and SP together, 'We may include as parallel to the $\frac{S/C}{C}$ the marks SC and SP. They may of course represent issues of another mint or mints, but if this is so, these were mints of short-lived activity, for the coinage with these

is not extensive and both marks span the obverse inscription change the stylistic resemblance to the C coins is greater.' Dr Robertson³⁹ is happy to accept a separate mint of origin for these coins but their paucity seems a convincing argument against that view.

The variations of style are not so very great and the exceptions and overlaps all suggest a single mint rather than several different ones. This would render a certain amount of cross influence or error between subdivisions quite credible. Coins exist with $\frac{S/C}{MLXXI}$ and there is a coin from Corbridge with $\frac{S/C}{ML}$ as well as others which have such 'mistakes' but which are otherwise perfectly orthodox in appearance. It may be said that such mistakes could arise simply because of the C coinage in circulation have sufficient influence on the subconscious of an engraver at a separate mint. That seem much less likely but the point, as yet, lacks the strong support of die linking between the two groups. There remains doubt as to where the C coins were struck but London seems the strongest candidate with Colchester the obvious place if a separate mint is deemed to have been used.

The tiny group of coins bearing the exergual letters BRI remains to complete the attribution of all Carausius' British coinage.

One of the antoniniani of Carausius discovered during the excavations at Wroxeter in 1925⁴⁰ bears the hitherto⁴¹ unrecorded mint-mark BRI. Very shortly after its discovery a second coin bearing this mint-mark was discovered, this

time in the stock of a London dealer.⁴² Two main theories⁴³ were offered, at the time, in explanation of these letters, one of which was, to some extent, suggested and supported by the provenance of the first coin. This is the theory of Hill who expands BRI to BRICONIVM which, he argues, is an alternative form of the Roman name for Wroxeter. There, where the first of these two pieces was found, he locates the mint of origin. He cites copious extracts from Haverfields' discussion of the name⁴⁴ and appeals to various other sources of proof that B and V were interchangeable. As he says such interchange in the East 'was so common as to call for no remark' and we may note that the instances where this occurs on British inscriptions have recently been conveniently listed by J C Mann⁴⁵. Hill then, has been at great pains to try and prove that this form of the name is a possible one, but in so doing he has missed the point.

The other main theory, which may be initially associated with Webb⁴⁶, takes up the expansion of BRI into BRITANNIA. Hill, in saying 'If and when a coin of Carausius with BRIT in the exergue is found, I shall be ready to admit that I am wrong,' places the onus on supporters of the BRITANNIA theory to substantiate their expansion with further, more positive evidence. He has himself admitted, however, that theirs is the obvious expansion and so the onus must clearly rest upon supporters of his view to prove, not that BRICONIVM is a possible name for Wroxeter,

but that BRI is a probable abbreviation for BRICONIVM. It would surely have in large measure defeated the object of putting a mint-mark on a coin if it was not immediately apparent what is represented. It may be said, as a general rule, that in the case of abbreviated forms meant to be meaningful to a more or less widespread public, that the most obvious expansion may be presumed correct in the absence of strong evidence to the contrary. This has application to the interpretation of RSR on the coins of Carausius. Had an abbreviation been sought to indicate the mint of BRICONIVM then it would have been much more likely to be BRC, than BRI, precisely to avoid any ambiguity or confusion over the correct significance of the letters.⁴⁷

Webb adduces in support of his view⁴⁸ a parallel from the coinage of Gallienus for the abbreviated name of a province rather than a mint town being found in the exergue of coins. This appeal to the evidence of coins from Siscia is really as superfluous as Hill's appeal to Eastern practise in the case of B and V. Carausius is not at all likely to have been influenced by this rare departure from normal practise because he probably never knew of it. As Webb says, 'it was by no means impossible that a man who diverged so much from common practise as did Carausius might use the name of Britain or part of it as a mint mark.' The style of the coins is similar to that of early London pieces when the use of a mint-mark was beginning. As Hill, himself, point out, if we accept BRITANNIA is the

vertical sceptre, feeding
serpent rising from altar.

RIC 1093 22.5 mm 4.1 gm no provenance

notes cf. note 40.

3) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, radiate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) PAX AVG $\frac{1}{BRI}$ vertical sceptre.

RIC 22 x 20 mm 3.9 gm found CORBRIDGE

notes This coin is unpublished and is now in the British
Museum after its discovery amidst the general mass of
unpublished Corbridge material.

OBV \equiv 1 \equiv 5 \equiv 6

4) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, radiate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) [SALVS AVG] $\frac{1}{BRI}$ Salus stg. left, altar before.

RIC ? 22 x 20 mm 3.3 gm found RICHBOROUGH

notes cf. Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin No. 643. 1972.
vol. 3, p. 101.

5) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, radiate, draped
and cuirassed.

R) [SALV] S AVG $\frac{1}{BRI}$ as no. 2.

RIC 1093 23 x 21 mm 4.27 gm found RICHBOROUGH

notes Unpublished: discovered by the author during a
recent examination of the Carausian material from
Richborough. Obv \equiv 1 \equiv 3 \equiv 6

6) O) IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG bust right, radiate, draped
and cuirassed

R) [SALV] S AVG $\frac{1}{BRI}$ as last.

RIC 1093 21 mm ? gm no provenance

notes This is from a cast in the Ashmolean Museum made in 1947. The coin is no longer traceable but was then in the possession of Mr F Baldwin.

obv ≡ 1 ≡ 3 ≡ 5

7) cf. N.C. I ser. vol. II, pp. 112 ff. for a report of coins found at Strood which include what must be an inadequately described BRI coin. This is no longer traceable.

Only one obverse legend is used throughout and this is from the first half of the reign on the basis of Carson's chronology, which suits the attribution to reasonably early London issues. In fact four of the coins share the same obverse die so the six coins produce only three different obverse dies but six different reverses. Small though these numbers are they now seem sufficient to indicate that this was no freak issue, and there is nothing in the style of any of these coins to suggest that they were 'irregular' pieces. The similarity mentioned above between these coins and early London pieces seems particularly marked in the case of the legionary antoniniani, although as yet, no positive die-link between such a coin and one of these has been established. The limited variety of types, the obverse die linking of pieces so widely distributed, the stylistic similarities noticed and the sheer paucity of surviving specimens combine to suggest a short-lived official issue which was quickly superseded by coins with the common mint-marks.

The distribution of these few surviving specimens argues against the siting of a short-term local mint at Wroxeter. Such an issue is much more likely to have achieved such widespread distribution from the main centre of supply, presumably London. A local mint, by its very nature, would have only been established to meet local needs hence a much more circumscribed distribution would be expected.

There is the possibility that the mark refers not simply to BRITANNIA but to a subdivision of the province. There is no visible indication on any of the coins that the BR is to be taken separately from the I but that is not important. BR I could not readily mean BRITANNIA INFERIOR as this would necessitate the existence of a mint in Northern Britain for which there is no other evidence. To see it as a reference to BRITANNIA PRIMA would suit the idea that the coins similarity to early London peices suggests they were struck there as London was in Prima, but this presumes that the new provincial divisions had come into being by some time early in Carausius' reign and this is far from certain. Yet another suggestion which has recently been raised⁴⁹ is that the imprecise nature of this mint mark may indicate that the coins are the product of a mint accompanying the imperial entourage. Why would Carausius move around so with an entourage in which there was a mint unless he was on campaign or had no permanent capital? If this was so then his concern would be the issue of sufficient coin to meet the needs of the

troops engaged in the campaign and hence we would expect a much bigger survival rate and, incidentally, a less erratic distribution pattern.

The new evidence is not conclusive. It does however, strengthen the case that the BRI coins were a short-lived issue, early in the reign, from the central mint at London, about the time of the legionary coins, which was superceded by issues bearing the more common marks.

The one group of Carausian coins which is so clearly distinct from the rest in every respect as to belie any attempt to include it under the aegis of a common mint is the so-called 'Rouen' group. The distinctive style of these coins has been seen to be similar to that of the Tetrici. It is clearly very different from any of Carausius' other coins both as regards fabric and, particularly, portraiture. It is almost suggestive of a die engraver who had never seen Carausius or his other coinage although he knew the name and titles well enough. The artistic standard is not low but everything points to this being an issue of an exceptional kind. Webb⁵⁰ is rather sweeping in his comment on these coins, 'Also we find that those coins of the British Emperor which were struck at Rouen can by no means be mistaken for those of the other mints The lettering is poor and the legends are often blundered. The exergual mark R is sometimes to be found. If further proof of the correctness of the attribution to Rouen be required it will be found in the fact that a considerable hoard discovered at that city

consisted entirely of these coins, and that they are found in other parts of France but are scarce in British hoards, though they were admitted to currency on this side of the channel.' Mattingly⁵¹ perpetuates some of these falsehoods but suggests a different location for the mint, 'Such coins occur more freely in finds there, they are more like coins of the Gallic Empire and they have their own stock of coin-types, varying considerably from the British. There are a few marks - of mints (?) R, OP, OPR. Webb thought that R stood for Rotomagus (Rouen) but Carausius' chief stronghold on the continent was Gesoriacum (Boulogne) and it seems impossible to deny that city at least a share in the coinage.' Carson⁵² avoids most of the errors and opts, tentatively, for Rouen, 'One group of coins all of which are in a consistent style and derive from a single find made in Rouen, is attributed to that city....' All the known coins do not derive from the one Rouen hoard as several have been found on British sites or in British hoards.⁵³ It is far more misleading to claim a widespread distribution in Northern France as there are no examples at all from this region apart from the Rouen hoard itself, and the doubts which surround the discovery of that hoard tend to weaken the case for a Rouen mint.

The distribution pattern is no real help in locating the mint but its negative evidence helps to confirm that this was an issue of no great size or duration. The standard of execution, criticised by Webb, and the general lack of

conformity with the rest of the coinage together with the limited number of dies known and sheer paucity of specimens make this a certainty. Pax, the dominant theme of the rest of Carausius' numismatic propaganda, is singularly out of place in an emergency situation and is indeed not found on any Rouen coins. As for the dies used, the limitations are most clearly reflected in the gold series which is almost as closely die linked as possible. This must have been one issue with the predominant message of CONCORDIA MILITVM. The antoniniani present a similar picture on a larger scale. An examination of all the specimens in leading British and overseas collections has shown that this series is in no way as complex as suggested by the documentation in RIC. Many of the varieties and irregularities listed there seem either mistakes or simply do not exist.

The sample of antoniniani was not complete to the same degree as for the silver denarii but was sufficiently substantial to permit significant observations to be made. There was quite a variety of dies but a much larger incidence of die links than in any other group of Carausian coins of comparable size. Seventy six obverses in a sufficiently well preserved state to enable exact comparison were shown to have come from thirty six obverse dies, but of these dies, one was common to seventeen of the coins; a very high rate of linkage. In some cases the coins shared obverses and reverses in such a way as to suggest that they were the only pair of dies of that type

used in this short issue which was over before either wore out. The list of reverses is based only on coins actually examined. There are many dies for the TVTELA reverse, clearly the most important element in this coinage, but there are also many links spread through all the types. The variant legends show clearly examples of the predominance, in some cases, of the vulgar form of a word over the classical form. This had virtually ceased in the rest of Carausius' coinage and is yet a further pointer to the emergency conditions under which these coins must have been produced. The exergual letters are limited to two types only; R on coins with the SALVS reverse, (which also occurs without any exergual letter) and OPR only on the galley reverses. The great majority of these coins have no exergual letters which lessens their importance in locating the mint.

As a further test of die repetition a comparison was made between three random coins of the Rouen type from a private collection, and the original sample. One of the three coins was a completely new reverse type and did not share its obverse with any other coins, but the other two shared both obverses and reverses with other coins. The issue seems to have been small but not so small that several thousands of antoniniani as well as some aurei could not have been produced. It seems surprising therefore to think, 'it presumably represents a short-lived issue from Rotomagus, another of the channel fleet bases, probably after the loss of Gesoriacum in 293,⁵⁴ Such

an issue would seem to necessitate a prolonged defence of Rouen about which the ancient sources say nothing at all. They do, however dwell on the seige and capture of Boulogne which was certainly wrest from Carausius' grasp in just the sort of circumstances to precipitate such a coinage. To see Rouen as a sufficiently strong centre of Carausian support to maintain the sort of resistance that would enable these coins to have been produced seems to be overestimating Carausius' continental power in the face of literary and numismatic evidence. It cannot be proved that these coins were minted at Boulogne but there the facts do fit. It was certainly in Carausius' hands, beseiged and therefore deprived of any coin supply from Britain, and finally captured. There is a very strong case for Boulogne.

"ROUEN" COINS. REVERSES

CONCOR MILIT x 1
 CVITAS MURED x 1
 ECVITAS MVNDI⁵⁵ x 3 (all same obv and reverse dies: same
 obv as others)
 FIDES MILITVM x 3 (all same obv and reverse dies:)
 FORTUNA RE x 2 same revs
 FORTVNA RED (baton) x 3 same revs
 FORTVNA RED (?) x 1
 FORTVNA REDV x 2 same revs
 LAETITIA $\frac{1}{OPR}$ x 3 same obvs and revs
 LAETITIA AVG x 2 same revs
 LETITIA x 2 same revs
 PRONTIA AVG x 1
 PROVIDE AVG x 2 same revs
 PROVIDENTIA x 1
 PROVIDENTIA AVG x 1
 PRVIDEN AVG x 2 same obvs and revs
 SALVS AVG (2 figs) x 1
 SALVS AVG (serp + altar) x 3 (same revs = 2 + 1 different)
 SALVS AVG (serp round altar) x 3 (same revs)
 SALVS AVG (serp round staff) x 2 DIFFERENT DIES
 SALVS AVG $\frac{1}{R}$ x 2 same revs
 SALVS IVI AV x 1
 SECURITAS PER x 1
 SECURITAS PERP x 3 same obvs and revs
 SECURITI PER x 1
 TEMPORUMFEL x 1

TUTE LA x 5 (= 2 0 + R; 2 obv; 1 diff)

TUTE LA AVG $\frac{1}{101}$ x 2 same revs

TUTE LA AVG x 7 DIFFERENT

TUTE LA P x 4 (= 3 same rev + 1 diff)

VIRTVS AVG (2 figs) x 1

VIRTVI AVG (Mars) x 5 (= 2 0 + R; 1 same rev; 1 diff)

Sequence Marks

The question of the sequence marks of Carausius and Allectus has been given the detailed attention of Robert Carson⁵⁶ with whose conclusions it is difficult to disagree. His systematic approach has led to a marked improvement on the efforts of earlier writers and the major turning points now seem indisputable, such as $\frac{S/P}{ML}$ as Carausius' last mark and Allectus' first. The turning point provided by the inclusion of a C for Caesar in the obverse legend was cleverly dated on the evidence of the two aurei which appear to mention the event to the time of Carausius' quinquennium. That this is a turning point seems clear enough despite the exceptions which are found (although these are not nearly as numerous as suggested by RIC) but as it no longer seems possible to date the aurei to the quinquennium it is impossible to give too precise a date on that basis. Carson wisely avoids specifically attributing every substantive mark to a single year. He thus places $\frac{1}{ML}$, $\frac{L1}{ML}$ and $\frac{F/O}{ML}$ in the period 286-289 as they only occur in conjunction with the earlier legend omitting the C. They are placed in this order in adherence to the principle that the simplest form is the earliest. It must be observed that by comparison to the other two the mark $\frac{L1}{ML}$ is rare and cannot represent an issue of similar size or duration.

The $\frac{B/E}{MLXXI}$ mark occurs with both forms of obverse legend and therefore coincides with the transition. The addition of XXI in the exergue must reflect some desire on

Carausius' part to express a conformity to the continental standard, which in turn was presumably an aspect of his general policy of fraternisation with the central emperor. Perhaps it was in such a context that he saw fit to use the title Caesar in his obverse legends, for he had been calling himself Augustus from the outset, and continued to do so. It occurs in no fuller version than the single letter C and as Carausius was soon to be using the much more suggestive triple G termination, it may be that this C was little more than a conformity to the style current on the coins of Diocletian and Maximian.

The next marks fall easily into place. $\frac{S/P}{ML}$ is Allectus' first mark and, therefore, Carausius' last. This leaves $\frac{S/P}{MLXXI}$ to fill the gap. Under Allectus there is only $\frac{S/A}{ML}$ as a substantive mark to follow the first one. $\frac{S/A}{MSL}$ occurs very much less frequently which may mean it was a short issue curtailed by the introduction of the new denomination marked with a Q at the end of the reign, or it may simply be a variant. The C coins exhibit only the one substantive mark under Allectus, $\frac{S/P}{C}$, before the new denomination is introduced. $\frac{S/P}{CL}$ occurs, but rarely. A similar if less clear picture obtains for these coins as for the L coins under Carausius. The change of obverse legend occurs during the span of the $\frac{S/C}{C}$ form of the mark. Some of the $\frac{S/C}{C}$ and $\frac{S/P}{C}$ coins have the earlier form of legend but only a small minority. $\frac{1}{C}$ is the only common early mark with $\frac{1}{MC}$ and $\frac{1}{SMC}$ occurring very much less frequently. $\frac{1}{CXXI}$ presumably parallels $\frac{B/E}{MLXXI}$ but is

only found with the earlier form of the legend. $\frac{S/P}{C}$ is the later Carausian mark of this group and the one which, as has been seen, carries on under Allectus.

The schema which emerges from this is very little different from that of Carson. The date of commencement of the use of marks has been delayed a little in order to fit into the sequence the very great number of unmarked coins. The C coins then appear as a late starter once the coinage had got beyond the initial teething troubles. The slightly revised table shows what is probably a slightly too rigid scheme, but a plausible one which admits of an annual change and does no great violence to the basic framework established by Carson.

L	DATE	C
$\frac{1}{1}$	287/289	
$\frac{1}{ML}$	289/290	$\frac{1}{C}$
$\frac{F/O}{ML}$	290/291	$\frac{1}{CXXI}$
$\frac{B/E}{MLXXI}$	291/292	$\frac{S/C}{C}$
$\frac{S/P}{MLXXI}$	292/293	$\frac{S/P}{S/C}$
$\frac{S/P}{ML}$	293/294	$\frac{S/P}{C}$
$\frac{S/A}{ML}$	294/295	
$\frac{1}{QL}$	295/296	$\frac{1}{QC}$

Tarrifing

This has already been dealt with as regards the gold coins. In the case of the antoniniani the question is

particularly difficult as we are dealing with a coinage which progressed from an initial identification with that of the Gallic Empire towards one with the post Aurelianic reform coinage then circulating in the rest of the Roman empire; and struck in a period during which there was a further major reform of the coinage. The silver coins of Carausius are difficult to fit into any coherent picture. They did not persist throughout the reign and were not issued by Allectus. They are paralleled by no coins of Maximian or Diocletian as they predate their *argentei* by some years.

Several solutions have been offered to this problem, largely based on guess work. Of the XXI found on some *antoniniani*, 'The numerals are marks of value indicating a ratio of 21 to the silver denarius'⁵⁷ is one opinion. This assumes that the XXI mark of value indicates the number of *antoniniani* which made up a theoretical larger denomination. Current thinking would regard it as an indication of the value of the *antoninianus* expressed in terms of theoretical smaller denominations. Carson⁵⁸ discusses the monetary decline from the time of the introduction of the *antoninianus* by Caracalla. This he does on the basis of the gold silver ratio which yields at the worst under Claudius II the figures 1 : 576. He cites coins of Victorinus⁵⁹ with V in the reverse field as a possible indication that by this time the *antoninianus* was valued at five *denarii*. This is by no means certain. The XXI coins are also seen to have been valued at five *denarii*

with the numerals signifying a ratio of twenty sestertii to the one antoninianus. Carson adduces Sutherland's argument⁶⁰ concerning the value of the follis after Diocletian's reform to support this view. The final figure based on the increased weight and fineness of the reformed coins comes out at 236 antoniniani to the aureus.

This post-Aurelianic reform coinage is scarce in British site finds and, with a few exceptions, in hoards. Pre-reform coins, particularly those of the Gallic Empire, persist and are copied during the period down to Carausius. 'Britain, it seems, was unwilling to accept the coinage of Aurelian's reform and Carausius yielded to its wishes, but under the peace of 290 sacrificed financial independence and came into the general imperial system.'⁶¹ Mattingly expands this in his essay on the subject⁶² and argues that the reformed coins were generally at a premium over their predecessors, and particularly so in the case of coins of the Gallic emperors which were not strictly legitimate in the first place. He sees this as fanning the flames of economic and general discontent in the West which revealed itself in the Bagandic movements, and sees in the absence of the XXI from the only post-reform coins issued by a western mint a tacit acknowledgment of their local unpopularity. Presumably Britains' comparative isolation was why these coins remained unpopular and are found in few hoards, although the Cross Hoard shows that the bulk consignments did come here. It may be that this is another indication of the comparative

dearth of troops in the province. Mattingly's view clearly separates the pre-reform coins from their successors and gives them different values. George Boon⁶³ suggests that the two types of coin were accepted at the same value, as Constantinian copies from the White Woman's Hole find were produced from quartered antoniniani with the post and pre-reform coins being treated equally for this purpose. This is based on an antoninianus of Tacitus which may be an exception. The clearly disparate survival rate of these two types of coins, however, must indicate they were originally of different values. It has been suggested that Carausius may have recalled all the reformed coinage to his own advantage⁶⁴, but this seems an unlikely explanation of its current absence as he would have been most unlikely to have imposed unfavourable terms of redemption at the outset of his reign. His early coinage shows clear affinity with the pre-reform coinage. In any case there is a marked absence of post reform coinage in pre-Carausian deposits which could not have been affected by any recall of his.

The early coins of Carausius are a microcosm of the Romano-British coinage as a whole of the preceding three decades, ranging from pièces as good as the best of the Gallic Empire down to crude barbarous copies, though never to minims.

The improvement in the general standard of Carausius' coinage seems to have led quite naturally toward conformity

with contemporary continental standards, especially as this was suited to Carausius' policies towards the central emperors. $\frac{F/O}{ML}$ is the latest mark which is copied to any extensive degree and it may be that with the event of conformity of the $\frac{B/E}{MLXXI}$ mark, came a stringent repression of all forms of irregular production. There is no great or obvious difference in the nature of the coins which incorporate XXI into the mark. The transition in terms of the quality of the coins seems to have been gradual rather than sudden and it may be that Carausius was seeking to achieve by gradual but steady development what could not be imposed by an out and out reform. The interflow of Carausius' coinage and that from the continent must have been very limited so this move ought probably to be seen as at least as much politically as economically motivated. It remains impossible to guess on what basis Carausius' and Allectus' coinage was recalled after the recovery in 296 as they were usurpers and there had been a major coinage reform during their usurpation.

The absence of the value mark from Carausius' final issue and from Allectus' issues is matched by no change in the quality of the coins themselves and seems also to have been, primarily, a political move. Under Allectus what was clearly a new denomination was introduced which has generally been called the quinarius because of the letter Q found in the exergue. This name may be convenient but does not convey anything very significant about the relative value of this smaller radiate piece.

Webb draws attention to the salient points⁶⁵ that, 'They are radiate, not laureate, their size is greater and their appearance different from the continental quinarii of the third century,' and he suggests that, 'they passed at half the value attached to the antoniniani.' In a footnote he observes, 'Some authorities believe that these coins marked Q were issued in an attempt to bring the British coinage into line with the new continental system introduced under the reform of Diocletian'

Mattingly⁶⁶ notes that these coins are, 'well below normal module though more than halves' and comments, 'If they were just halves of the ordinary coins we should expect a laureate instead of a radiate head, and perhaps a greater variety of types. Further, Q, if, as seems probable, it equals Quinarius, is not half an 'antoninianus' worth two denarii (XX - 1). The coins really look as if they are the last issue of the reign when the great trial of strength by sea was at hand. In that case Allectus was right in adopting the policy that Diocletian himself employed of reducing the nominal value of his standard coin." In a footnote to this he further observes, 'Diocletian reduced by half. If Allectus did the same his own antoninianus would be one not two denarii.' Presumably the suggestion is that current antoniniani were halved in value so that the new coins would be half of these and hence merit the name quinarius. Carson, presumably by accident, confuses the issues a little with his description,⁶⁷ 'These are the smaller coins with

a laureate instead of a radiate portrait on the obverse.' His average weight for these coins at 2.68gm shows that by weight at least they were more than half antoniniani.

'...it is not immediately obvious what their relation to the radiate pieces will have been' says Carson⁶⁸, again forgetting that these 'quinarii' themselves are radiate coins. They are clearly smaller and are in any case clearly distinguished by the letter Q and their consistently distinctive naval types. There are a few instances where the mint seems to have erred and produced 'quinarius' types struck on antoninianus flans⁶⁹ which may have happened at the time of transition. These coins were clearly produced in large numbers yet it is difficult to imagine such a limited range of types persisting for very long as the sole coinage. That it was not struck early in the reign seems clear enough from its absence from most of Allectus' hoards. Carausius' conformity was politically rather than economically motivated but Allectus can surely have had no compelling political reason to parallel the Diocletianic reform in his own coinage. No usurper plans in anticipation of his own elimination so the new coins were obviously intended for use after a successful repulsion of the inevitable invasion attempt. It must remain a possibility, therefore, that these coins were specifically related to the dangerous situation and were in a sense a quasi war time issue of artificial value which would be made good in the event of success. This is rather impractical, perhaps, as it would have

been difficult, though not impossible, to effect with so many antoniniani in circulation. Also Allectus' real wealth would not have increased had he been successful, only his security. Whatever their value in relation to the antoniniani these new coins must have been intended as a standard coin in their own right otherwise they would surely have had the laureate crown indicative of a fraction.

Types and legends

The coinage of Allectus does not exhibit a very great variety of types and legends but that of Carausius, even allowing for mistakes and misreadings which have swollen the numbers recorded, does display a wide range. Carausius shows a particular concern for the message carried by his coins which, in turn, provides an insight into the man and his reign. The subject has received considerable attention of one sort or another in the past. Stukeley⁷⁰ did more than simply list the different varieties but his determination to link the coinage of the ancients to the Christian faith, and his efforts at showing on which exact day of the year each particular type was issued, leave little to his credit in the matter. In the analysis of the various types his judgement was by no means always sound as is demonstrated by the ORIVNA coin which aroused so much interest but which is clearly a misread FORTVNA.⁷¹ Most subsequent writers on Roman coins have seen fit to say something about some of Carausius' types, and new varieties have been published with great frequency over the years. Webb⁷² provides a quick and convenient summary of the main points and goes

on to list all the varieties known to him. His figures of over a thousand varieties for Carausius to only one hundred and thirty two for Allectus do reflect the discrepancy but rather exaggerate it as the figures for Carausius, in particular are arbitrary and often swollen by sheer inaccuracy. It is not within the scope of this work to remedy this save in the case of the gold and silver coins. Apart from these only significant groupings or particular cases have been dealt with. This applies in general to the parallels which may be drawn between the coinages of Carausius and Allectus and those of their predecessors. Many reverses are common to a great number of emperors and usurpers alike; a general pattern emerges from Carausius' coins which shows the influence of the Gallic Empire coins in particular and those of Postumus in particular.

Pax types are very much the most commonly occurring reverses on the coinage of the British Usurpers although this is less marked in the case of Allectus. The deification of Pax may be linked with the general revival of state religion under Augustus.⁷³ Coles⁷⁴ suggests that the underlying concept of the Pax Augusta, the Imperial version of the Pax Romana, was one of success in war rather than avoidance of war. 'There was always a close association between Pax Augusta and victory by force of arms.' Carausius must have hoped that the impact of his pax propaganda would be, not that he wished to avoid war, but that he was strong enough to guarantee peace. The

type itself is not remarkable, having been used by many of Carausius' predecessors. What is remarkable is the extent to which it dominates his coinage. It was very clearly the primary theme of his propaganda to proclaim his strength was sufficient to guarantee the security of his subjects.

The one significant exception to this dominance of the Pax reverse comes with the 'Rouen' coins. There the reverse types promote a rather different sort of propaganda, consonant with an issue of the sort this has been shown to be. Pax would have been singularly out of place on these coins and it was not used. Instead Salus, Fortuna, Securitas and Tutela come into their own. Here the theme is that of bolstering morale in the face of the enemy. It is on these coins also that the Opes reverse occurs⁷⁵ and Carausius is confident enough to use the epithet Invictus.

Carausius' early coinage is notable for the series of coins honouring several different legions, a practise which had occurred on the coinage of a few previous emperors. These coins were struck without mint mark, with the ML and C marks and, in the case of one denarius, with the RSR mark.⁷⁶ There are far fewer legionary coins with the C mark than with ML or no mark which presumably indicates that the issue stopped shortly after that mark was introduced. These coins seems to overlap the change from unmarked to marked. Webb states categorically, 'Unmarked legionary coins are of London'⁷⁷. There is a very marked similarity

between these coins which is one of the arguments in favour of the ML coins being the direct and immediate successors of those without mark. Webb is surely wrong in prolonging the issue of these coins down to 290. They are scarce and come from relatively few dies and are unlikely to have persisted so long.

Carausius names nine legions in all on his coins although this is done with more than nine varieties of reverse legend or type. It is clear that while some of the legions named were based in areas which were in Carausius' control, the majority were not. Webb's comment⁷⁸ on this is that these coins were intended to make an impression not only on those legions stationed within his sphere of influence, but also those, 'which were billeted in such parts of Europe as he might well hope to bring under his rule if he obtained a strong foothold on the continent.'

This cannot be the case. These coins are not found outside Britain and would have been valueless for the purpose Webb suggests for them. What they must indicate are the various legions from which Carausius drew detachments to make up the force he used initially against the pirates. The normal pattern by the latter part of the third century for raising troops to meet special emergencies was to take pairs of detachments; one from each of the legions in a two legion province, and one from each legion in adjacent one legion provinces. This is amply borne out by the table below.

NO.	NAME	STATION	BADGE	BADGE UNDER GALLIENVS
<u>II</u>	AVGVSTA	BRITAIN	CAPRICORN	-
<u>XX</u>	VALERIA VICTRIX	BRITAIN	BOAR	CAPRICORN
<u>I</u>	MINERVIA	L. RHINE	RAM	MINERVA
<u>XXX</u>	VLPIA VICTRIX	L. RHINE	NEPTUNE	NEPTUNE or CAPRICORN
<u>VIII</u>	AVGVSTA	U. RHINE	BULL	BULL
<u>XXII</u>	PRIMIGENIA	U. RHINE	CAPRICORN	CAPRICORN
<u>II</u>	PARTHICA	U. MOESIA	CENTAUR	CENTAUR
<u>IV</u>	FLAVIA	U. MOESIA	LION	LION
<u>VII</u>	CLAVDIA	GAVL	BULL	BULL or LION

These detachments were almost certainly of one thousand men each⁷⁹ under the command of a single praepositus, and the combined force would reasonably be described as a 'legio' in the loose comenclature of the period and is presumably what is referred to as such by the sources. This, in turn obviates the necessity to explain the conduct of the sixth legion. This was the other legion stationed in Britain at this time but no reference is made to it on these coins despite the fact that Carausius clearly held sway over the territory in which it was stationed. It has been thought, as a consequence of this, that this legion must have been initially hostile to Carausius; an idea encouraged by the mediaeval accounts of the trouble he is supposed to have encountered near York perhaps. One author

has gone so far as to suggest it was not mentioned because it formed Carausius' Praetorian guard.⁸⁰ Carausius did strike a very few coins mentioning a praetorian cohort but there is no evidence to suggest this was provided by men from the sixth legion. The explanation must surely be similar to that for the absence of any mention of Leg. X Gemin-a from the legionary coins of Severus. In that case Severus left that legion intact in his own province while taking a pair of detachments from the other two. In Carausius' case he never had a detachment from what remained in Britain of the sixth legion in the first place, his British quota being a pair from the other two legions.

Distinctive badges appear on the legionary coins of the third century, after the uniform type of legionary standards on those of Severus and earlier. These badges often differ from those known for each legion from other sources. The changes, such as may be seen on some of the Carausian coins appear to indicate an interim stage in military development before the situation given in the Notitia was reached. There, units which patently derive from frontier legions but which were then part of the field army, have quite different badges from those of the original parent legion.⁸¹

The legionary issue was a mark of recognition by Carausius, early in his reign, of the troops which had backed his usurpation. It was not repeated later in the reign nor by any subsequent ruler. The only exception to this seems to

be the antoninianus of Allectus, RIC 24, which mentions a second legion.⁸² This is one of the comparatively few irregular pieces produced during Allectus' reign. The legion on it is not specifically named nor is the badge, a lion, that of any second legion or subdivision of one. The coin is of distinctly unusual style though by no means barbarous. Its irregularity is confirmed, however by the fact that it shares its obverse die with an antoninianus that has a much more obviously irregular reverse. Both coins appear to be unique so that if they represent the survival from some centre of irregular coin production, then it was either very circumscribed in the first place or else its products ruthlessly eliminated upon discovery. It is remarkable that they should be based on no known coin of Allectus and is not even a close approximation to any of Carausius. It may be reasonable to excuse the odd varieties found on early Carausian coins on the grounds that some official tolerance prevailed but no one seeking to produce illicit money under Allectus, by whose reign there was clearly no toleration of anything unofficial, could have hoped to escape notice save by producing the most slavishly accurate copies. Whatever exactly it was, this legionary coin of Allectus cannot be seen as evidence of his particular concern with Leg II Augusta.⁸³

The introduction of the value marks XXI onto the reverse of the antoniniani in the middle of Carausius' reign has already been seen to reflect his attitude towards his

continental colleagues. Subsequent coins consistently promote the image of a fraternal unity which was supposed to have existed between these three. This occurred in three primary ways of which one is a particularly striking example of Carausius' originality. This is the small issue of antoniniani struck with the obverse legend of CARAVSIVS ET FRATRES SVI and bearing the conjoined busts of Carausius, Maximian and Diocletian. He also struck coins bearing the titles and portrait of each of these fellow emperors, as they themselves did for each other; and he issued coins bearing his own obverses but with a triple G termination to the reverse legend to emphasise the plurality of Augusti⁸⁴

These coins do not have particularly distinctive types with the triple G their only real distinguishing feature. Pax is still much the commonest reverse, though less overwhelmingly so than with the earlier coins. These coins do not survive in very great numbers and were clearly issued for only a short time. They were introduced after the $\frac{S/P}{MLXXI}$ mark as this is found with single G terminations; and they did not persist to the end of the reign but were superseded by the $\frac{S/P}{ML}$ mark when all pretence of fraternity was given up in the final phase of Carausius' reign. The obverses are more interesting in that they show the considerable care taken by Carausius to ensure a good standard of portraiture for the coins depicting Maximian and Diocletian. It is these coins which occur in the 'legitimidist' hoards which otherwise exclude

usurpers coins.

The coins depicting the conjoined busts of the three 'fratres' are very few in number and they all bear the $\frac{S/P}{C}$ mark. Pflaum says of them⁸⁵, 'On peut prédire sans crainte de se tromper que cette série, quelle que rare qu'elle fût, se composer d'un nombre de frappes plus considérable,...' and, 'Il est également vraisemblable que l'on a frappé des aurei avec le droit aux bustes accolés des trois empereurs, bien qu'aucun exemplaire ne nous soit encore parvenu'. There is no evidence to suggest that the original issue was very large, and some, such as the low number of surviving specimens and the use of only a single mint mark, that it was not. The possibility of a gold issue is pure conjecture. They were very distinctive and may well have been a special limited issue for selected recipients. Pflaum comments⁸⁶, 'Elle ne comprend actuellement que des antoniniani. Parmi ceux-ci méritent une place à part les trois frappes avec la légende CARAVSIVS ET FRATRES SVI.' The standard of the portraiture on these coins is particularly high and it does great credit to the engraver to have produced a die of this size with three distinctly recognisable busts. The obvious explanation for the issue of coins of this sort is the so called peace treaty of 289 and this is virtually taken for granted by Webb.⁸⁷ Pflaum does not take such a peace treaty for granted but writes at the beginning of his article that, 'Carausius chargea tous ces ateliers monétaires de proclamer 'urbi et orbi' son

entrée dans le collège impérial en frappant des pièces d'or et des antoniniani en son nom propre aussi bien qu'en celui de ses deux frères The issue was probably never as great as Pflaum imagines and the number of die variations may be in part explained by the desire to strike fewer coins from more dies to keep up the quality of production.

As regards the reasons for these issues Pflaum is right to draw the obvious conclusions from the appearance of the value mark XXI in the exergue of Carausius' coins. He goes too far, however, in suggesting that, 'l'on cesse la frappe des deniers en argent pour la bonne raison que des pièces de ce genre n'avaient pas été émises dans le reste de l'Empire et risquaient donc d'être exportées et d'appauvrir le stock d'argent à la disposition de Carausius'.⁸⁸ This assumes that Carausius expected some sort of free interchange of coinages otherwise such a drainage of his silver could not have occurred. This clearly never took place and it cannot have been Carausius' expectation that it would. The propaganda of these coins was directed at those within his dominions, not without; and they are conspicuous by their almost complete absence from continental finds.

Pflaum gives a well reasoned account of the evidence for a peace treaty made between Carausius and the other emperors without assuming it as a fact. In revising Seston's interpretation of Aurelius Victor he says,⁸⁹ 'Nous penserions plutôt que 'remissum insulae imperium'

pourrait être rendu par : « le pouvoir impérial sur l'île a été abandonné à Carausius » ce qui caractérise bien la nécessité pour les empereurs de trouver un 'modus vivendi' avec leur adversaire.' Carson calls the 'Fratres Sui' coin from Springhead⁹⁰ an extra piece of evidence for the view that, in the face of a hostile build up in 292, Carausius, 'was anxious for a detente with Diocletian and Maximian'. This too seems to fall down because these coins could have had no impact on Diocletian and Maximian, or their subjects, if they never circulated beyond Carausius' own territory. More significant, however, than the absence of these coins from continental finds is the complete lack of reciprocation on the part of Diocletian or Maximian. These emperors honour each other in their respective sections of the empire but issued no coin which made any mention of the existence of a third Augustus in Carausius. The purpose of Carausius' propaganda must have been to bolster confidence at home by asserting as fact what he may or may not have been seeking still to achieve by diplomatic means. His last issue shows that he had to admit this was a failure, presumably when Constantius was elevated to the rank of Caesar and moved against Boulogne, and he could maintain the deception of a detente no longer. This propaganda may have rebounded back on Carausius and caused some unpopularity which made Allectus' usurpation easier; or that may simply have been a direct consequence of his ultimate inability to resist Constantius in Gaul.

Allectus certainly never used any such propaganda on his coins.

The variety of the reverses on Allectus' coinage is much more limited than on that of his predecessor. There is only one group which stands out as distinct from the rest and that is the 'quinarii' with their galley reverses. There were many precedents for naval types and these occurred on coins of Carausius in each metal. Carson⁹¹ provides an account of the general development of the ship in Roman times and mentions its depiction on coins. Of the first three centuries of the Roman Empire he says,⁹² 'the coins, now picturing units of the Roman Imperial Navy, continue to show in the great majority of cases single-banked galleys Unquestionably numbers of single-banked auxiliary craft of various kinds were attached to the naval bases and fleet but there is no reason whatever why any of these should be granted the distinction of being commemorated on a coin....' The point he seeks to make is that these depictions are merely representative. Carausius took into his charge a section of the roman fleet and so this is applicable to him also. Dove, however, writing specifically about this particular fleet⁹³, argues that, 'in the VIRTUS ship of Allectus we have that rare thing in Roman coinage; a vessel realistically portrayed.' He is obliged to exclude the ships depicted on Carausius' coins; 'none of the vessels on them is realistically portrayed,' and even on the LAETITIA issues of Allectus, which were contemporary with

the VIRTVS coins, 'we find only an attempt at realism'. Marsden is cited⁹⁴ for the view that the difference between the ships on Allectus' coins and those on earlier ones was due to a decline in artistic standards. Dove dismisses this view and maintains that there is in fact a true depiction of a contemporary vessel. It is a hypothetical argument which fails to destroy convincingly the idea that all these ships on coins, as well as on, for example, the Dido mosaic from Low Ham, represent the type of a manned warship rather than faithfully reproduce its details.

The LAETITIA coins are different in style from the VIRTVS ones. The statistics given below from the Richborough site finds illustrate this point. The ships on the latter group of coins are of a long variety, unlike the short and 'dumpy' ships on the former. Eight significantly different prow forms and a corresponding number of stern forms were noted for the VIRTVS coins. The table indicates the consistency of ship size, mast-head type and direction of motion. The LAETITIA coins are generally scarcer and this was borne out by the Richborough coins. Their distinctive ships resemble rather some of those on Carausian denarii than anything on other 'quinarii'. Only three prow and stern types were noted for this, clearly much smaller issue.⁹⁵

1
QL VIRTVS AVG

<u>LENGTH</u>	<u>DIRECTION</u>	<u>RIG</u>	<u>LENGTH</u>	<u>DIRECTION</u>	<u>RIG</u>
11 mm	←	↑	13.0 mm	←	↑
8.5 mm	→	↑	12.0 mm	←	↑
13.5 mm	←	↑	13.0 mm	←	↑
14.00 mm	←	↑	12.0 mm	←	↑
9.5 mm	←	↑	13.5 mm	←	↑
13.5 mm	←	↑	12.5 mm	←	↑
12.5 mm	←	↑	12.5 mm	←	↑
12.5 mm	←	↑	13.5 mm	←	↑
12.0 mm	←	↑	13.5 mm	←	↑
13.5 mm	←	↑	13.0 mm	—	↑
12.5 mm	←	↑	12.0 mm	—	↑
13.0 mm	←	↑	12.0 mm	—	↑
12.5 mm	←	↑	12.5 mm	—	?
12.5 mm	←	↑	14.0 mm	—	↑
14.0 mm	←	↑	11.5 mm	—	?
14.0 mm	←	↑	13.0 mm	—	↑
14.0 mm	←	↑	12.0 mm	—	↑

1
QC VIRTVS AVG

<u>LENGTH</u>	<u>DIRECTION</u>	<u>RIG</u>	<u>LENGTH</u>	<u>DIRECTION</u>	<u>RIG</u>
11.0 mm	←	↑	11.0 mm	←	↑
11.0 mm	←	↑	11.5 mm	←	↑
12.0 mm	←	↑	11.5 mm	←	↑
11.5 mm	←	↑	12.0 mm	←	↑
12.0 mm	←	↑	11.0 mm	←	↑
12.0 mm	←	↑	12.5 mm	←	?

<u>LENGTH</u>	<u>DIRECTION</u>	<u>RIG</u>	<u>LENGTH</u>	<u>DIRECTION</u>	<u>RIG</u>
12.0 mm	←	↑	12.0 mm	←	↑
11.5 mm	←	↑	12.0 mm	←	↑
11.0 mm	←	↑	13.5 mm	←	↑
12.0 mm	←	↑	13.0 mm	←	↑

1
QC LAETITIA AVG

<u>LENGTH</u>	<u>DIRECTION</u>	<u>RIG</u>	<u>LENGTH</u>	<u>DIRECTION</u>	<u>RIG</u>
9.5 mm	→	↑	9.0 mm	→	↑
9.0 mm	→	↑	10.0 mm	→	?
9.0 mm	→	↑	8.5 mm	→	↑
10.0 mm	→	↑	9.0 mm	→	↑
9.0 mm	→	↑	9.5 mm	→	↑

There seems no compelling case for seeing any of these ship types as more than generally representational. The simple message of assertion of naval strength was expressed perfectly clearly by these unelaborate 'quinarii'. Even the unique coin of Carausius from Kenchester which depicts an unusually ornate ship need be no more than symbolic in showing that this was a special vessel rather by artistic embellishment than particular accuracy of detail. Sutherland⁹⁶ suggests that the unusual form of the legend PACATRIX AV is because it refers to the name of the ship depicted which would be the emperors' flagship. Such a name would have been eminently suited for any flagship of Carausius. There are, in the exergue of this coin, the letters C A N C which do not appear to be a mint signature and therefore presumably complement the

reverse legend in some way. No convincing explanation has yet been forthcoming.

As well as these various groups there are several reverse types which merit comment in their own right. The most original of these is the EXPECTATE VENI on some of the silver and bronze. This legend is found nowhere else on coins yet is immediately suggestive of the Aeneid of Vergil with its 'Quibus Hector ab oris/Exspectate Venis?'⁹⁷ This apparent literary touch seems surprising in the coinage of a usurper on the fringe of the empire, whose background was ostensibly a purely military one. A closer examination of that section of the Aeneid from which this is supposedly derived, however, shows that it is unlikely that any direct derivation took place. Hector is 'maestissimus' and bears all the marks of his suffering at the hands of Achilles. He is the bearer of grievous news, 'Heu fuge hostis habet muros'. Carausius' self-assertive propaganda seems in quite a different spirit. It is associated in particular with his arrival which prompts the more conventional ADVENTVS type. In Latin literature, however, adventus and expectatus are often associated together in the same passage. While it is clear from mosaics and wall paintings that the Aeneid was not unknown in Britain this Carausian legend seems less of a direct quotation and more of an original expansion of the adventus theme in general.

Individual rarities among the reverses have been commented on in many journals, usually at the time of

their discovery.⁹⁹ Some of the not so rare ones have engendered unwarranted hypotheses. The VICT GERM reverse may indicate some sort of a German victory¹⁰⁰ but his GERMANICVS MAX V cannot mean that he celebrated five of them. In this, as well as several other similar cases, the answer is that these reverses are modelled directly on those of predecessors. Occasionally Carausian originality is evident as with the GENIO BRITANN. coin from Crondall or the EXPECTATE VENI coins, but many of the legends simply reflect the range of models on which Carausius based his coinage. While using a variety of other models for some of his coins, he seems clearly to have been most influenced by those of Postumus.¹⁰¹ In some cases, such as the rare HERC DEVSENIENSI or the COS III reverses, it may simply be early Carausian coins modelled on what was in circulation. It is clear, however, that a more conscious effort was made to use Postumus' as a model. The RESTITVTOR BRITAN coin is an example of a Gallic precedent given local relevance, and it prompted, on publication, the comment, 'It is very likely that Carausius took this type from the Restitutor Galliarum coins of Postumus rather than directly from older issues, just as he included other types of that emperor in his own coinage.'¹⁰² It is especially clear that he modelled some of his obverses on those of Postumus. Hobbler¹⁰³ describes the threequarter frontal portrait found on a few of Carausius' coins as the first attempt at such portraiture on Roman coins but he was wrong for Postumus

had done so some years earlier. Even the helmeted busts of Carausius seem rather to derive from similar busts on Postumus sestertii than from those on the antoniniani of Probus, as is usually suggested.¹⁰⁴ The Gallic Empire can be called a failure so why should Carausius have identified with it at all? In identifying with Postumus he would be linking himself to its strongest aspects, a powerful military rule, capable of withstanding external pressure but seeking recognition from and peace with the central empire. Presumably Carausius was claiming that he would do as Postumus did but achieve a more lasting result. The unique coin from the Blackmoor hoard with the conjoined busts of Victorinus and Carausius suggests this identification may not have been limited to Postumus only.

Very little has been said of Allectus' types apart from those on the 'quinarii'. This is because they are largely unexceptional. There is some hangover from the overtly martial types of Carausius in the VIRTUS ALLECTI obverses, but these are even rarer than their Carausian predecessors. The general quality of production reached its highest standard under Allectus but the value of the coins as propaganda does not seem to have been exploited much at all. There are very rare Adventus types which may relate to the usurpation but this event was the cause of no obvious change in the reverses of the coins although, of course, the vital presentation of the new rulers bust and title came with the new obverses. Perhaps Allectus

wanted a smooth rather than spectacular coup. Little seems to have happened in Allectus' short reign save the build up for the inevitable clash so it is, perhaps, not surprising that the only real originality in the coinage comes at the end of the reign in the face of economic and military pressures.

Certain reverses occur in conjunction with some mint marks but not others. Save for the 'Rouen' coins, however, as has already been seen, no clear pattern emerges to suggest any divergent mint practise.

Reverses changed as the reigns progressed so that certain ones were never found with certain marks, or vice versa, but this appears significant only on a chronological basis. In general terms, the evidence of the types on the coinage of Carausius and Allectus, while in no way proving the point, does not militate against the case for one large subdivided mint at London. It might have been expected that had the coins been produced at completely separate mints then more obvious differences of emphasis in reverse types would be apparent.

Chapter Six

- 1) Mints, Dies and Currency p.59
- 2) Reece, R, Britannia IV 1973, p.241
- 3) Mattingly, H; Stebbing, W.P. The Richborough Hoard of Radiates 1931, N.N.M. 80, New York, 1938, p.6.
- 4) Boon, G. The Penard Roman Imperial Hoard, B.C.S. XXIII p.296.
- 5) *ibid.* p.297
- 6) Boon, G Counterfeit Coins in Roman Britain, pp.95-172 in Coins and the Archaeologist Reece, R, and Casey, P.J. eds. B.A.R. 4 . 1974
- 7) *loc.cit.* p.125
- 8) *loc.cit* p.126
- 9) *ibid.*
- 10) author's collection
- 11) Mints, Dies and Currency, pp .57 and 59
- 12) J.B.A.A. vol-XXII, 1959, pp.35-6 and 'Mints, Dies and Currency' p.57.
- 13) Étude sur les monnaies de Boulogne Rev.Num. 3 ser.vol III 1885, pp.264-295
- 14) *op.cit.* p.267, cf. Catalogue d'une collection de médailles romaines en vente à l'aimable p.719
- 15) N.C. 6th ser. 10 (XVI, 1956, p.87
- 16) Bastien, P. Un atelier monétaire à Boulogne de 286 à 296 Bull.de la Soc. Fr. de Numismatique, 1960, p.442.
- 17) R.I.C. VI, pp.113-116, with further references in the foot notes.
- 18) cf. R.I.C. V², pp.431 ff.

- 19) Mattingly, H. Carausius: his mints and his money system,
Antiquity 1945 p.122.
- 20) Med. Hist. I, p.253 and pl.XXIX 2
- 21) idem. p.107
- 22) loc.cit.
- 23) Mints, Dies and Currency. p 62
- 24) in lit.
- 25) R.I.C. V² pp 431-32
- 26) idem. 432
- 27) Ant. J. XLIII, p.227
- 28) Haverfield, F. V.C.H. Hants I p. 335
- 29) cf. Cotton, M.A. and Gathercole, P.N. Excavations at
Clausentum, Southampton, 1951-4, H.M.S.O. 1958
- 30) idem. p.20
- 31) Merrifield, R. The Roman City of London, London, 1965,
pp.54 ff.
- 32) This is a factor of doubtful importance and whatever
local production there may have been before Carausius
came it is surely going too far to say, 'there is
otherwise some difficulty in understanding the successful
establishment of the mint of Carausius and Allectus in
this city'. (Trans. Essex Arch. Soc. N.S. vol XV, 1921
p.229).
- 33) N.C. 5th ser.vol.VII, 1927, pp.232-243.
- 34) R.I.C. VI pp.113 ff.
- 35) Münzen der Römischen Kaiser : Sammlung Gerin, Wien,
1921, cf. Gerin N.Z. 1917, pp.49-50
- 36) cf. R.I.C. VI, pp.106-7

- 37) R.I.C. V², p.433
- 38) Mints, Dies and Currency, p. 62
- 39) Address to the Royal Numismatic Society, 19th March 1974
- 40) Birmingham Arch. Soc. Report on Excavations at Wroxeter 1923-27, Oxford, 1942, pp.304 ff. and pl.62a, No.5.
- 41) There was in fact such a coin recorded but not noticed before as I point out.
- 42) Hill, G.F. A mint at Wroxeter, N.C. 5th ser.vol.V, 1925, pp.336-42
- 43) Both are summarised on p.305 of the excavation report.
- 44) V.C.H. Shropshire vol.I, pp.220 ff.
- 45) Mann, J.C., Spoken Latin in Britain as evidenced in the Inscriptions, Britannia vol.Ⅱ, 1971, pp.218-224.
- 46) As expressed at an unpublished discussion of the Royal Numismatic Society of 21.1.1925. cf. also R.I.C. V² p.435.
- 47) I am indebted to Dr J.C.Mann for helpful discussions of this point.
- 48) cf. N.C. 5th ser.vol-I, 1921, p.267
- 49) Raised in discussion with G.C.Boon
- 50) R.I.C. V² p.433.
- 51) Antiquity 1945, p.123, and cf. C.A.H. XII, p.333
- 52) Mints, Dies and Currency, p.63
- 53) eg. Richborough and Caerwent have produced a few and some occurred in the Little Orme's Head hoard and the Blackmoor hoard.
- 54) Carson, R.A.G. Mints, Dies and Currency p.63
- 55) This form ECVITAS is found on 'caballi' of Ferdinand I of Naples, showing its persistence in Romance development.

- 56) Mints, Dies and Currency, pp. 57-66
- 57) Archaeologia LXXVIII, p. 132
- 58) Carson, R.A.G. The Reform of Aurelian, Rev. Numismatique, 6^e ser. vol. VII, 1965, pp.225-235.
- 59) cf. also Elmer, G. 'Die Munzprägung der Gallischen Kaiser in Köln, Trier und Mailand. Bonner Jahrbucher 146, pp.65 ff.
- 60) Sutherland, C.H.V. Denarius and Sestertius in Diocletian's Coinage Reform J.R.S. vol.LI, 1961, pp.94 ff. cf. also Webb, P.G., R.I.C. V², pp.380-381; Kent, J.P.C., Appendix on Some Coinage Problems of the Later Empire in his unpublished Ph.D.thesis
- 61) Mattingly, H, C.A.H. vol XII, p.331 sq.
- 62) Mattingly, H, The Clash of Coinages: circa 270-296 in Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in honour of Allan Chester Johnson, Princeton, 1951.
- 63) in discussion
- 64) by J.C.Mann in discussion
- 65) R.I.C. V² p.438
- 66) Antiquity 1945, p.124
- 67) Mints, Dies and Currency, pp. 64-65
- 68) ibid.
- 69) cf. R.I.C. V² p.438 n.1 and a specimen which I saw in the possession of a Mr. Cotton, which appeared to have been struck with an antoninianus obverse die with a larger head than normally found on 'quinarii'.
- 70) Medallic History, passim
- 71) cf. my The Copper Denarii of Carausius, Num.Circ.1973, pp. 330-332, and Boon, G.C., Oriuna Again, Num.Circ. 1974, p.428.

- 72) R.I.C. V², pp.439-448
- 73) On this and other such deities cf. Axtell, H. 'The Deification of Abstract Ideas Chicago, 1907, and Horace, Carm Saec 1.57 ff.
 'iam Fides, et Pax, et Honos, Pudorque priscus, et neglecta redire virtus audet.'
- 74) Coles, A.V. Peace Burning Arms : A Study in Renaissance Imagery, Diss, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1972. cf. esp. pp.8-13 (This quotation from p.12)
- 75) cf. my The Opes Legend on the Coins of Carausius, Rev. Num. 6^e ser.vol. XV, 1973, pp.166-168.
- 76) No gold coin of this type appears to exist. R.I.C.533 may only be traced as far as Cohen who cites an unnamed 'Ancien Catalogue'.
- 77) R.I.C. V², p 468, n.2.
- 78) R.I.C. V², p.440. N.B. on p.383, in discussing the legionary issues of Victorinus, he dwells more fully on the alternative interpretations.
- 79) Dessau 2726 for the size of these detachments.
- 80) Jarrett, M.G., A Camb. CXVII, p.88
- 81) I am indebted to Dr J.C.Mann for discussion on this point. cf.R.I.C. V², pp.384-5 for Webb's comments, citing Oman and Blanchet.
- 82) cf. my The Legionary Antoninianus of Allectus, Britannia IV 1973, pp.224-6, for fuller discussion with references.
- 83) cf. Oman C. The Legionary Coins of Victorinus, Carausius and Allectus, N.C. 5th ser.vol. IV, 1924, pp.53-68;
 Mattingly, H The Legionary Coins of Victorinus T.I.N.C. London, 1937, pp.214-218. and the sections of R.I.C. V² on Victorinus, Carausius and Allectus.

84) The fullest treatment of this subject is that of H.G. Pflaum, Emission au nom des trois empereurs frappée par Carausius, Rev.Num, 1960, pp.54-73. This lists in some detail the many varieties concerned with this issue but includes several pieces which do not belong and which are mistakes. This seems caused primarily by that author's great dependence on R.I.C. V². Webb (R.I.C. V² p.443 n.1) is to blame for the AVGG coins coming here. These are either mis-read coins or else early unmarked coins which have been copying the double G termination of the Tetrici. In the light of this recent documentation, however, it has not been thought worthwhile to provide here what would be virtually a duplicate.

85) op.cit, p.63

86) idem p.62

87) R.I.C. V² p.443 where he suggests that these coins were struck in 290, 291 and the early part of 292. This is too early, but is forced upon him by the necessity he feels to associate the coins directly with the supposed peace treaty.

88) op.cit, p.72

89) op.cit, pp.72-3

90) Carson, R.A.G. Roman Coins Acquired by the British Museum, N.C. 6th ser.vol XIX, 1959, p.26.

91) Casson, L, Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World, Princeton, 1971, cf. also Starr, C.G. The Roman Imperial Navy B.C. 31-324 AD, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, vol.I No.XXVI.

92) op.cit. p.155, where he goes on to give examples.

- 93) Dove, C.E. The First British Navy, *Antiquity* XLV, 1971, pp.15-20. This has a useful bibliography.
- 94) Marsden, P.R.V. Warships on Roman Coins, *Mariners' Mirror*, Nov. 1964, p.260.
- 95) For an exception to this picture of ship types cf Sotheby Dec.13 1974, Lot 72, which has a long galley (12 mm) that obtrudes onto the letters of the legend. If anything this supports the common location of the C and L mints.
- 96) Sutherland, C.H.V. An Unpublished Naval Type of Carausius, *N.C.* 5th ser.vol XVII, 1937, p.306.
- 97) Aen. II 11. 282-3 cf. also Aen VIII 36-41 for exspectate. I no longer feel able to agree with the conclusions I reached concerning the dating of these coins in A quotation from the Aeneid of Vergil on the coinage of Carausius, *Pros.Vergil Soc.* vol.XII, 1972-3, pp.224-6.
- 98) eg. The Low Ham mosaic, *J.R.S.* XXXVI, 1936, p.142, pl.11, and Toynbee, J.C.M. Art in Britain Under the Romans, pp.241 ff & pl.LVIII; the wall painting from Otford, Toynbee op.cit. p.220; the mosaic at Lullingstone villa, Toynbee op.cit pp.263-4 & pl.LXa.
- 99) eg. VENUS VICTRIX *N.C.* 1 ser.vol VII, 1845, p.200, *J.B.A.A.* vol.X 1854-5 p.208.
- 100) Though surely not over the Germans in Britain as suggested by Selborne in *N.C.* 2 ser.vol. XVII, 1877, pp.90 ff.
- 101) cf the parallels pointed out by I.M.Barton in a lecture 'Postumus and Carausius : The Idea of Nationalism?'

given 13.4.1955 to the Classical Association at Keele
and summarised in P.C.A. vol.L11, 1955, pp.17-18.

- 102) Wade W.V. N.C. 6th ser.vol. XIII, 1953, p.131.
- 103) Hobbler, F, Records of Roman History as Exhibited on Roman Coins, Westminster, 1860, p.807.
- 104) e.g. N.C. 2 ser.vol. II, 1862, p.39.
- 105) cf. also Fantechi, E, Iconografia Monetale di Carausio e Alletto (286-297), R.I.N. 1960, pp.134-45. and the section of Carausius in Grant, M, Roman Anniversary Issues, Cambridge, 1950, which seems to carry the whole business of anniversaries much too far.

Conclusion

It has been possible to draw conclusions or offer suggestions about many points of detail. These are contained in the general body of the thesis and the reader is referred to the relevant section for each specific topic. There remain the broader issues of which a concluding summary is necessary.

It is very largely the literary evidence which provides the basic chronological framework of the period. This is a limited body of evidence and some of the dates have not been established with certainty, but a convincing picture does emerge.

The short period of Allectus' usurpation presents fewest problems. This is uniformly said to have been a triennium which ended in 296. As we are told the duration of the whole episode of Carausius and Allectus it ought to be a simple matter of counting back from that date to establish the date of the initial usurpation. It could have been either 286 or 287 on this basis. Eutropius says the episode terminated, 'decimo anno', but Orosius is slightly different with, 'post decem annos,' There is the further slight confusion over the exact duration of Carausius' individual reign. Eutropius and Orosius are more or less in agreement with, 'post septennium,' and 'per septem annos', respectively, but Aurelius Victor has, 'sexennio'. Scholars have mistakenly given other dates for Carausius' usurpation (such as Banduri who gives 288 but forbears to go as far as Stukeley who pins it down to September the seventh of that year!) but on the evidence it must have been either 286 or 287. Jerome confirms this by dating it to the third year of Diocletian's reign, but as he came to power late

in 284 his third year embraced the later half of 286 and the earlier half of 287.

The other date which has been in some dispute is that of the first panegyric to Maximian and, consequently, of the punitive expedition to which it refers. The second panegyric, dateable to March 291, provides a terminus ante quem as this refers back to the expedition. Galletier has argued very convincingly in the introduction to his edition of the panegyrics for assigning the expedition to 289. This I accept and refer the reader to his succinct discussion of the reasons.

Constantius was given increasing powers and responsibilities and was clearly being groomed for formal elevation a good deal earlier than 293. Presumably in order to deceive Carausius with false aspirations Constantius was not actually created Caesar until everything was ready for an immediate move against the usurper. Boulogne was not captured nor Carausius swept from his continental foothold overnight. The inaptly named 'Rouen' coins bear witness to the rearguard action alluded to in the panegyric to Constantius. As Constantius was created Caesar in March 293 it is very difficult to imagine the subsequent events up to and including Carausius' eventual removal and replacement by Allectus not lasting until quite late in 293. If this did carry on through the summer and was only resolved in the later half of the year it dates the usurpation to early 287 and makes the confusion between a septennium and a sexennium more comprehensible. This date stands up very well in relation to that of the punitive expedition of 289 or the length of time Carausius could have acted in an independent, provocative manner in his

channel command before bringing about the crisis which led to the actual usurpation. Maximian was created Augustus early in 286 for his success in the wars in Gaul. Carausius dissatisfaction at this was presumably the primary reason why he proceeded to act in his own interests. A usurpation in 286 leaves little time for him to have done sufficient to incur imperial displeasure, for this to have come to Maximian's notice and for him to have acted on it. A usurpation in 287 allows of all of these things and makes the time lag between the act of usurpation and the punitive expedition more credible.

CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

<u>MAIN MARKS</u>	<u>CARAUSIUS (YRS)</u>	<u>DIO(YRS)</u>	
<u>1</u>	1	(<u>280</u>)	
		<u>281</u>	
		<u>282</u>	
		<u>283</u>	
		(<u>284</u>)	DIO EMPEROR (NOV)
	2	(<u>285</u>)	BAGAUDAE PUT DOWN
	3	(<u>286</u>)	MAXIMIAN AUGUSTUS, CARAUSIUS IN CHANNEL
	4	(<u>287</u>)	CARAUSIUS USURPS
	5	(<u>288</u>)	FLEET BUILDING BY MAX
	6	(<u>289</u>)	EXPEDITION AGAINST CARAUSIUS FALLS
	7	(<u>290</u>)	
	8	(<u>291</u>)	
	9	(<u>292</u>)	
	10 (ALLECTUS)	(<u>293</u>)	CONSTANTIUS CAESAR. BOULOGNE FALLS. ALLECTUS USURPS
	2	(<u>294</u>)	
	3	(<u>295</u>)	
	13	(<u>296</u>)	CONSTANTIUS RECOVERS BRITAIN
		<u>297</u>	

As with all usurpers Carausius deemed the production of a coinage with which to pay his supporters and promote his image, of paramount importance. He came to an island which was inadequately supplied with money and where the standard of such coinage as there was in general circulation was low. This his earliest issues may be seen as a compromise to meet the requirements of the situation. The prime factor was quantity and so the standard suffered as a consequence. The extensive copying which took place was inevitable in a society into which new money was being introduced in quantity for the first time in some years, and which had come to depend on locally produced copies but from inferior models. Within a very few years the coinage had been stabilised, copying reduced to an absolute minimum and a virtual transition had been made from the degeneracy of a poor quality coinage, to something every bit as good in size, execution and originality as its continental counterparts. This maintained throughout the rest of Carausius reign and all through that of Allectus.

Carausius and Allectus clearly controlled all of Britain up to the northern frontier. The Carausius milestone and the way it was upturned are enough to show this. The coin distribution is indicative of a frontier area in a very run down condition by the beginning of Carausius' reign. He clearly saw no need to deploy there any of the troops he had brought over to Britain with him. This furthers the impression that Britain had been progressively drained of many of its troops throughout the third century because her frontier was comparatively peaceful after the Caracallan settlement and men were needed more urgently

elsewhere. There cannot, therefore, have been any significant garrisons for Allectus to withdraw in order to bolster his defences against Constantius in 296, so it is certainly an incorrect oversimplification to envisage a large scale Allectan withdrawal from a heavily manned frontier with a major invasion from the north as the immediate and direct consequence. It is also incorrect to attribute any more than a limited sphere of influence in Gaul to Carausius. The notion of anything more than a very circumscribed grip on the territory round Boulogne, probably for no more than half the reign, collapses in the face of a mass of negative evidence. The attribution of the unmarked coins to a Boulogne mint operating in the first half of the reign must be wrong. Apart from the distribution of such coins in Britain failing to support this, there has yet to be found, to the best of my knowledge, a single specimen from across the channel. The few coins that have been found over there, individually or in hoards, have all had marks on them which are concomitant with the reoccupation of a small territory around Boulogne after the destruction of Maximian's fleet in 289, until the siege and capitulation in 293. The exception is the Rouen hoard. No conclusion can be drawn about these with certainty because of the confusion and uncertainty which surrounds the discovery of the hoard. The whole issue of antoniniani and aurei, however, is most strongly suggestive of the emergency production of Boulogne in 293, most of which was surrendered and re-used at the fall of the city, save those pieces which found their way to Britain and the one large cache which was not retrieved until the last century.

These 'Rouen' coins could be re-named Boulogne coins with some confidence and justification.

The episode of Carausius and Allectus in a sense gave Britain something of a renewed importance. It is no mere coincidence that tradition, as documented by the mediaeval accounts, recorded the events of this period in direct succession to those of the Severan period. That had been the last time that Britain had been the scene of major activity, a focal point of imperial attention; the intervening decades could be omitted without loss. Carausius could not be ignored and his successful usurpation was an affront to the control of Maximian over the Western Empire. Carausius was not so foolish as to imagine either that he would be left alone or that he could indefinitely defy Maximian by force. How far his policy of fraternisation as indicated by the coins was a real attempt to gain some formal recognition from Maximian and Diocletian as opposed to a piece of purely domestic propaganda is not certain. He must surely have wanted such recognition as a lack of recognition in 286 seems to have been a primary reason for his usurpation. He was able to engineer himself into as strong a position as possible from which to press such a claim but was simply not strong enough to force Diocletian to depart from a tetrarchic system. For him to have made Carausius even the Caesar in the West instead of Constantius would have created too dangerous a precedent, and driven Constantius or others like him to do as Carausius himself had done some years earlier. Carausius' policy rebounded against him and led to his downfall. His successor has been the but of much vilification over the

centuries but this seems largely the result of romantic imaginations supplying details for which there is no evidence. Whatever exactly Allectus was like he was able to hold Britain for three years and mount a resistance in 296.

This 'First British Empire' had lasted for ten years. Maximian and Diocletian faced problems on other fronts but they were strong and able rulers and the situation was different from that which obtained when the Gallic Empire was able to survive for so long. Britain was inevitably recovered, but not without a great deal of time and effort having been devoted to the problem. As a consequence much attention was devoted to the consolidation of the recovered provinces. London remained a mint city and considerable restoration and re-organisation took place throughout. Britain became in a sense the basis of Constantine's eventual rise to power. She was to go into a decline again but the episode of Carausius and Allectus heralded a distinct revival in her fortunes.

Appendix

Metallurgy

Metallurgy has recently played an increasingly large part in the study of ancient and other coins as is witnessed by the recent symposium held in London.¹ It is, however, a costly process and one which comparatively few numismatists can take upon themselves. One is virtually obliged to rely on the work of the specialist and I have been unable to discover any series of analyses of coins of Carausius or Allectus.² It is dangerous to draw any profound conclusions from isolated analyses but, in the complete absence of anything else, it has seemed worthwhile recording in this appendix the results of work I have been able to get done by those competent to do so.

For the first set of figures I am indebted to Mr David Sellwood who undertook a chemical analysis of an unmarked antoninianus of Carausius and an antoninianus of Diocletian from Lugdunum. These were coins from my own collection. The following results were obtained:-

<u>Diocletian ant. Lugdunum</u>		%
	Cu	94.7
	Pb	1.3
	Zn	0.1
	Sn	4.0
Traces of K, Na, Si, Ca.		
<u>Carausius ant.</u>	<u>1</u>	%
	Cu	88.2
	Pb	6.7
	Zn	0.22
	Sn	5.8

Traces of K, Na, Si

Sellwood's own comment on these results was, 'The significant differences are in the lead and zinc contents which seem to point to quite divergent mint practise.'

The other information was very kindly obtained for me by Professor R D McQuillan of Birmingham University using two coins from the University excavation at Droitwich.³ Both coins were antoniniani of Carausius; one $\frac{F/O}{ML}$, one $\frac{1}{1}$. Both were sectioned and examined metallographically. The condition of neither coin was good, which may have affected the examination, but certain points of similarity were observed. Both coins show an annealed grain structure with no texture and hence both have been annealed at red heat after blank production. The amount of twinning in the grains confirms that the blanks were forged hot as is to be expected considering the presence of lead. In both coins the lead is found as globules in the structure, fairly evenly distributed throughout the material. There appeared to be a little less lead in the $\frac{1}{1}$ coin than in the $\frac{F/O}{ML}$ one. The latter had signs of slip lines on the surface produced when it was struck. These suggest that the striking was carried out when the coin was warm, at about 200° - 250° C. Unfortunately it was impossible to confirm that this was also the case for the $\frac{1}{1}$ coin because of its surface condition.

This information is very slight but it is a start. It provides some indication as to how these coins were made and offers some pointers to where they were made. The main divergence is between the coin of Diocletian and those of Carausius. This proves nothing but it is consonant with the idea that the $\frac{1}{1}$

coins were, like the $\frac{F/O}{ML}$ ones, struck in Britain and not somewhere in Gaul. The mint practises of a Gallic mint might be expected to be more closely parallel to this in evidence from Lugdunum for Diocletian. When some 'Rouen' coins have been analysed a new dimension will be added to this study although they are such an exceptional nature that no result could be predicted confidently. Many more analyses are needed to establish a basic pattern of mint behaviour. It is to be hoped that those being undertaken by Cope will become available to the numismatic world eventually. Perhaps they will clarify his comments⁴ concerning the lead content of these coins which do not seem to have been borne out by my few results.

Notes to Appendices

A Metallurgy

- 1) The results of this have been published as R.N.S. Special Publication No.8, Hall E.G. and Metcalf D.M. eds, Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage.
- 2) L.H Cope (in lit.) claims to have made a series of analyses of this sort but chose to withhold details for use in a forthcoming work of his own.
- 3) by kind permission of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology.
- 4) Cope, L.H. The Alloys of the Large Tetrarchic Folles, N.C. 6th ser.vol. XXVIII, 1968, pp.136 ff: 'Londinium, having minted good quality low-tin and almost lead-free antoninianus alloys under Carausius appears to have adopted the practices of Gallic mints by 300 - perhaps because the mint of Londinium became staffed or directed by Gallic Mint personnel after the reconquest and copied the alloying practices used for the first imported Lugdunese folles'.

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The PlatesPlate OneCarausius' Gold

a = denarius $\frac{1}{ML}$ No.1	b = Group One No.4
c = Group Two. No.1	d = " " No.2
e = " " No.3	f = " " No.1
g = " " No.2	h = " " No.3
i = " " No.4	
j = For Maximian No.2	k = For Maximian No.1

Plate TwoCarausius' Gold (Group Three)

a = No.9	b = No.8
c = No.7	d = No.7
e = No.7	f = No.7
g = No.6	h = No.3
i = No.5	j = No.4
k = No.3	l = No.4
m = No.1	

NB. a confusion arose at the photographers resulting in duplication but as all but one coin in this group is illustrated the plate has been included regardless.

Plate ThreeAllectus' Gold

a = No.5	
b = No.19	e = No.11
c = No.2	
d = No.12	f = No.3

Plate Four

Allectus' Gold

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| a = No.7 | b = No.10 |
| c = No.14 | d = No.15 |
| e = No.8 | f = No.17 |
| g = No.4 | h = No.1 |

Plate Five

Carausius' Silver RSR

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| a = No.1 | b = No.2 |
| c = No.3 | d = No.4 |
| e = No.5 | f = No.6 |
| g = No.7 | h = No.8 |
| i = No.8a | j = No.9 |
| k = No.10 | l = No.11 |

Plate Six

Carausius' Silver RSR

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| a = No.12 | b = No.13 |
| c = No.14 | d = No.15 |
| e = No.16 | f = No.17 |
| g = No.18 | h = No.19 |
| i = No.20 | j = No.21 |
| k = No.22 | l = No.23 |

Plate Seven

Carausius Silver RSR

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| a = No.24 | b = No.25 |
|-----------|-----------|

Carausius Silver RSR (continued)

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| c = No.26 | d = No.27 |
| e = No.28 | f = No.29 |
| g = No.30 | h = No.31 |
| i = No.32 | j = No.33 |
| k = No.34 | l = No.35 |

Plate Eight

Carausius' Silver RSR

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| a = No.36 | b = No.37 |
| c = No.38 | d = No.39 |
| e = No.40 | f = No.41 |
| g = No.42 | h = No.43 |
| i = No.44 | j = No.45 |
| k = No.46 | l = No.47 |

Plate Nine

Carausius' Silver RSR

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| a = No.48 | b = No.49 |
| c = No.50 | d = No.51 |
| e = No.52 | f = No.53 |
| g = No.54 | h = No.55 |
| i = No.56 | j = No.57 |
| k = No.58 | l = No.59 |

Plate Ten

Carausius' Silver RSR

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| a = No.60 | b = No.61 |
|-----------|-----------|

Carausius' Silver RSR (continued)

c = No.62	d = No.63
e = No.64	f = No.65
g = No.66	h = No.67
i = No.68	j = No.69
k = No.70	l = No.70a

Plate ElevenCarausius' Silver RSR

a = No.71	b = No.72
c = No.73	d = No.74
e = No.75	f = No.76
g = No.77	h = No.78
i = No.79	j = No.80
k = No.81	l = No.82

Plate TwelveCarausius' Silver RSR

a = No.83	b = No.84
c = No.85	d = No.86
e = No.87	f = No.88
g = No.89	h = No.90 (obv only)
i = No.91	j = No.92
k = No.93	l = No.94

Plate ThirteenCarausius' Silver RSR

a = No.95	b = No.96
-----------	-----------

Carausius' Silver RSR (continued)

c = No.97	d = No.98
e = No.99	f = No.100
g = No.101	h = No.103
i = No.102	

Plate FourteenCarausius' Silver $\frac{1}{1}$

a = No.1	b = No.2
c = No.3	d = No.4
e = No.5	f = No.6
g = No.7	h = No.8
i = No.9	j = No.10
k = No.11	l = No.12

Plate FifteenCarausius' Silver $\frac{1}{1}$

a = No.13	b = No.14
c = No.15	d = No.16
e = No.17	f = No.18
g = No.19	h = No.20
i = No.21	j = No.22
k = No.23	l = No.24

Plate SixteenCarausius' Silver $\frac{1}{1}$

a = No.25	b = No.26
c = No.27	d = No.28

Carausius' Silver ¹ (continued)

e = No.29	f = No.30
g = No.31	h = No.32
i = No.33	j = No.34
k = No.35	l = No.36

Plate SeventeenCarausius' 'Rouen' antoniniani

A group of seventeen antoniniani from the British Museum and the Ashmolean which all share the same obverse die.

Plate EighteenCarausius' 'Rouen' antoniniani

Some typical reverses (FORTVNA, LETITIA) with a high incidence of die linkage. NB.the exergual letters of 23, 22 and Ox. 10.

Plate NineteenCarausius' BRI coins

a = No.3
b = No.6
c = No.2

Plate Twenty

The legionary antoninianus of Allectus. RIC 24

Plate Twenty OneCarausius' silver/bronze connections

a = RSR laur. Bronze No.1

Carausius' silver/bronze connections (continued)

- b = RSR denarius No. 55
 c = $\frac{1}{2}$ denarius No. 19
 d = antoninianus with same rev. die as last (Ashmolean)
 e = laureate bronze (Spink)
 f = " " (found Silchester)

Plate Twenty TwoCarausius' silver/bronze connections

- a = RSR denarius No. 95
 b = RSR laur. bronze No. 2
 c = laur. bronze illustrated by Roach Smith (Coll. Ant.
 pl. XX, no. 12)
 d = RSR denarius No. 94 (obv. only)

Plate Twenty Three

- a = Medallion of Carausius
 b = Milestone of Carausius RIB 2290-2
 c = laur. bronze from gold dies. cf. Group Three, No's. 6 & 7
 d = Carausius' aureus Group One, No. 4.

Plate Twenty Four

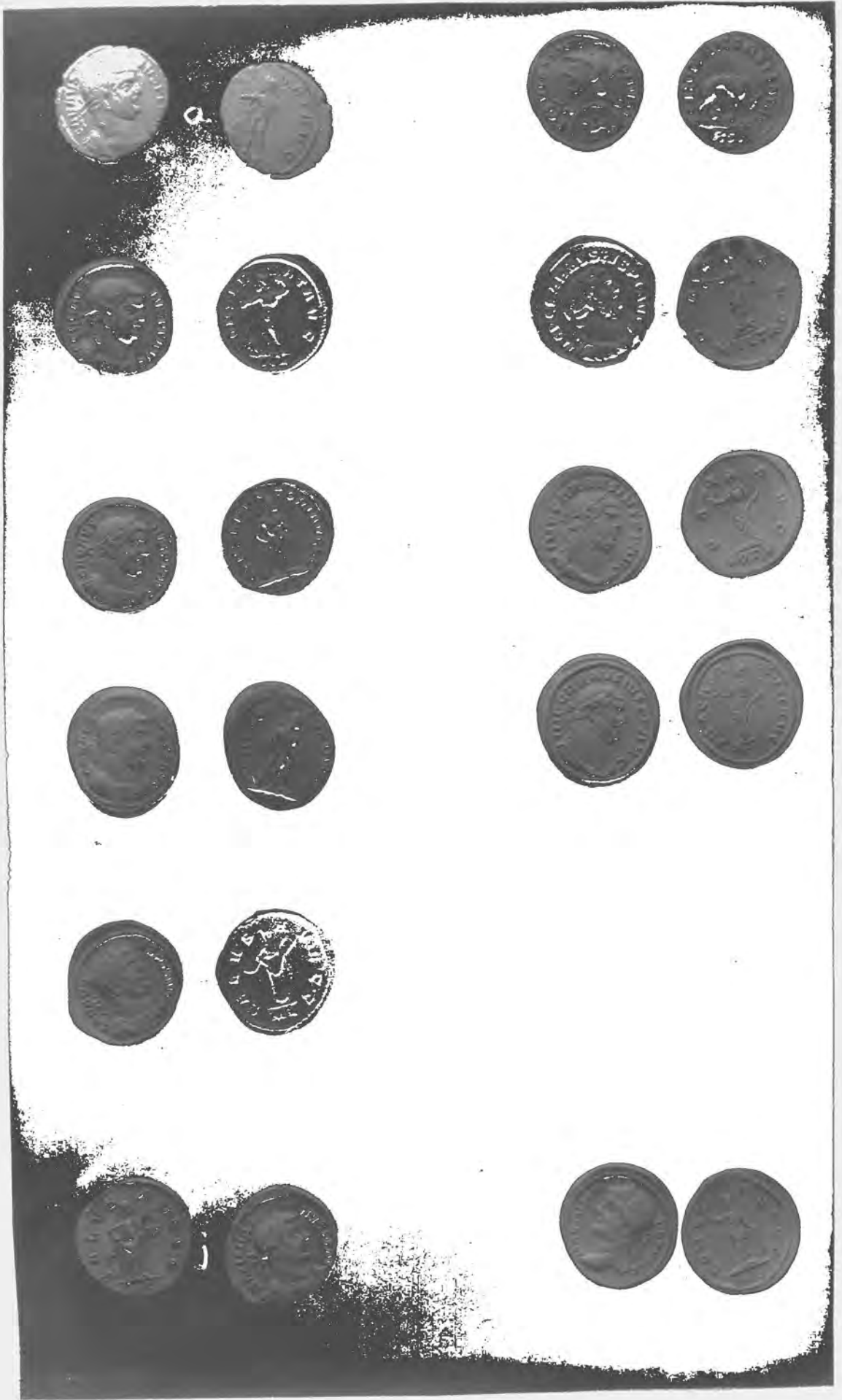
(cf. appendix)

The structure of the $\frac{F/O}{ML}$ antoninianus

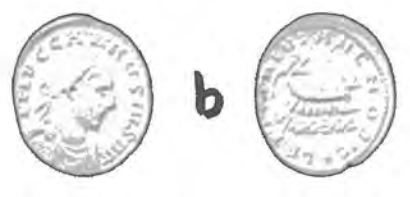
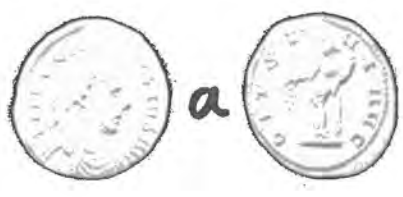
Plate Twenty Five

(cf. appendix)

The structure of the $\frac{1}{2}$ antoninianus



Pl 1





a

e

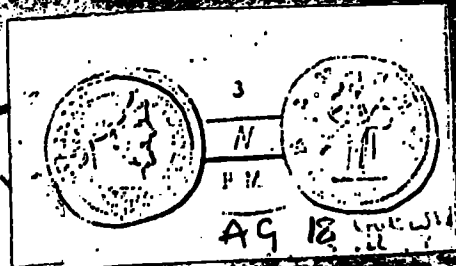


b



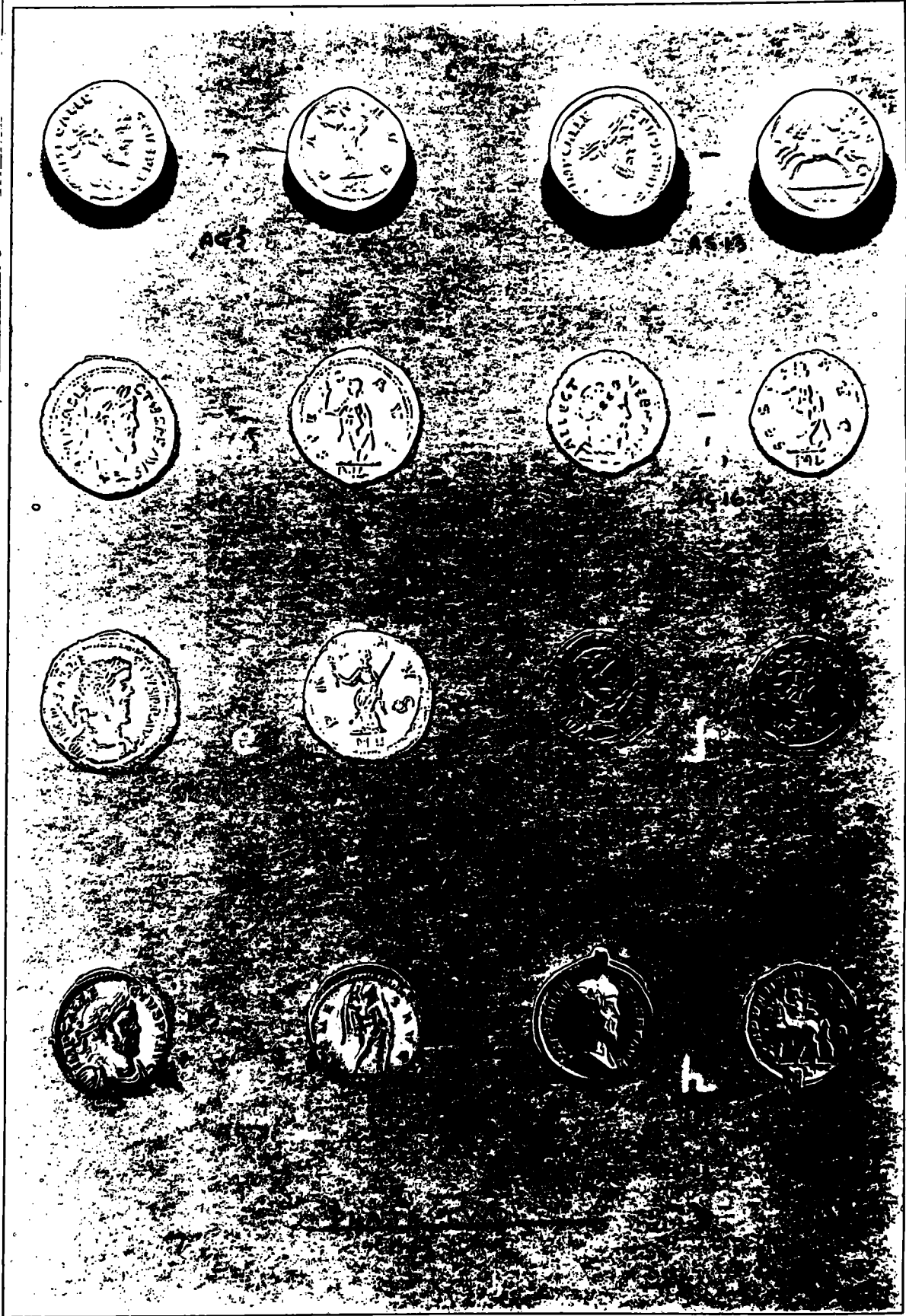
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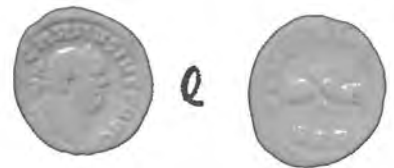
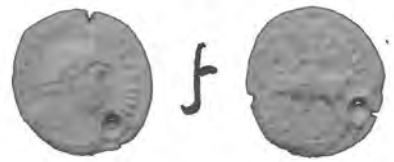
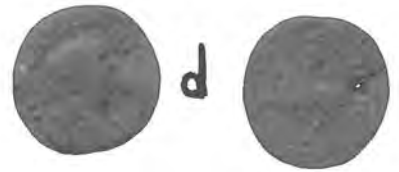
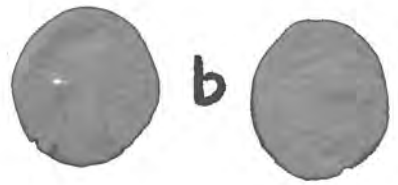
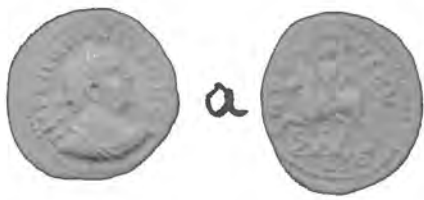
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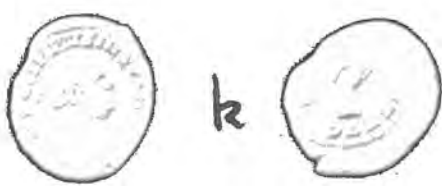
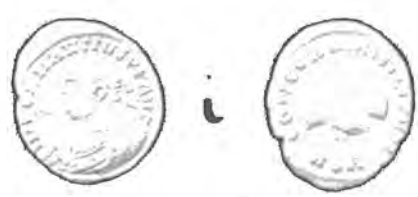
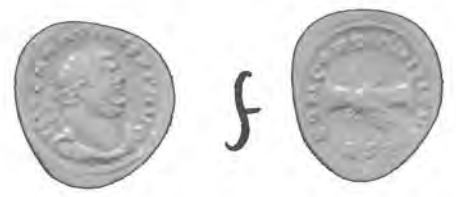
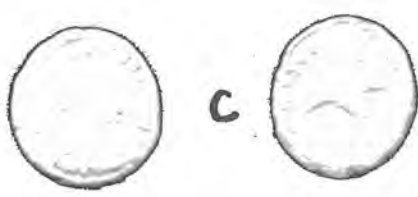
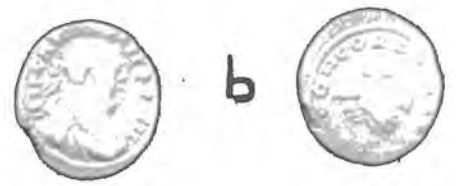


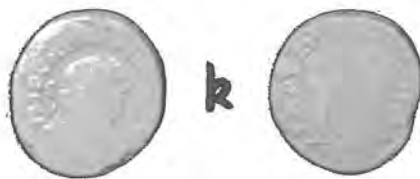
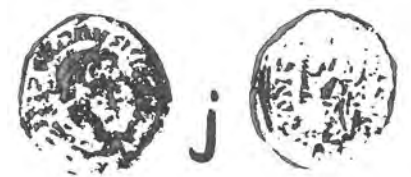
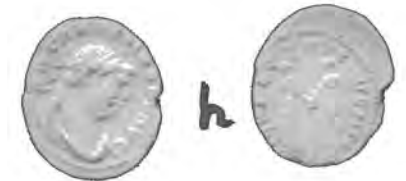
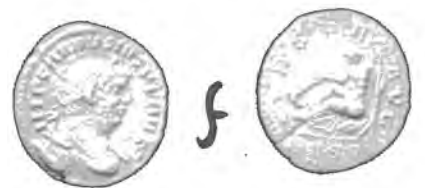
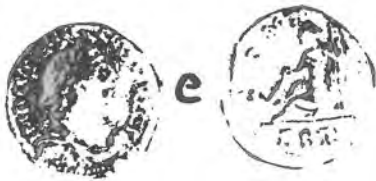
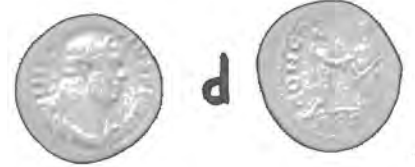
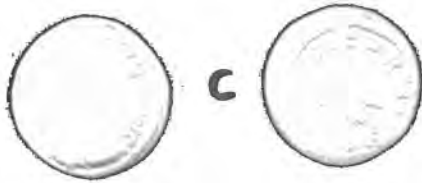
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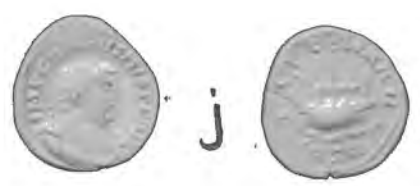
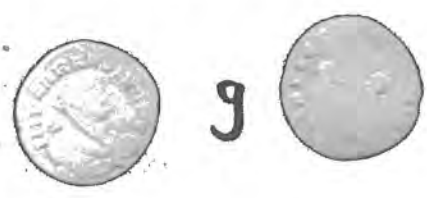
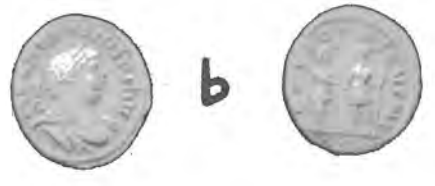
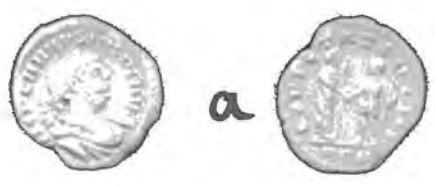


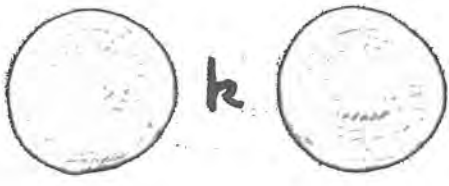
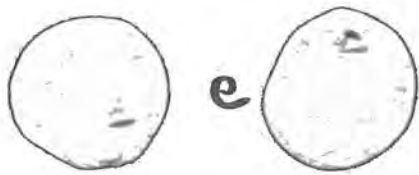
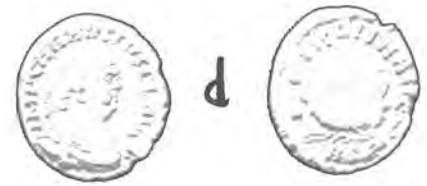
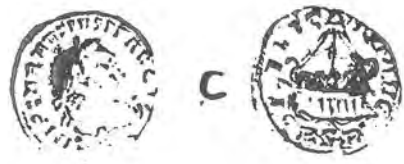
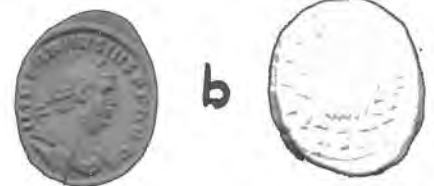


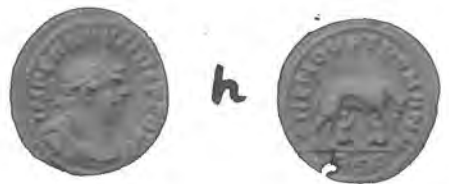
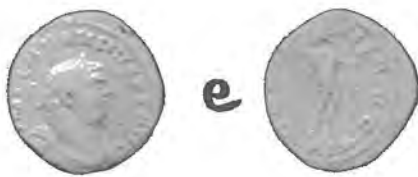
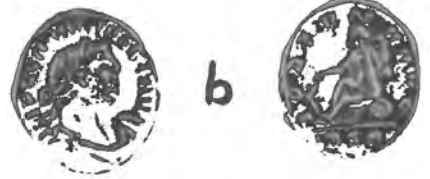
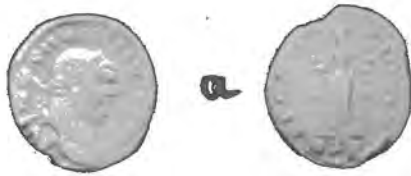














a



b



c



d



e



f



g



h



i



j

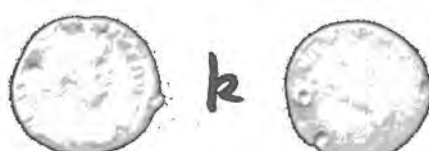
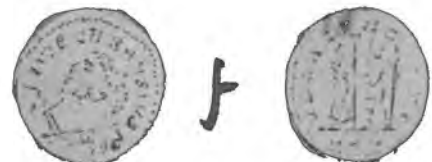
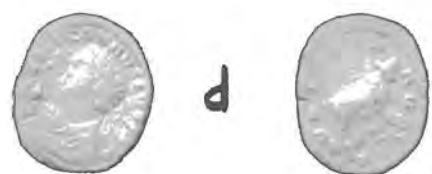
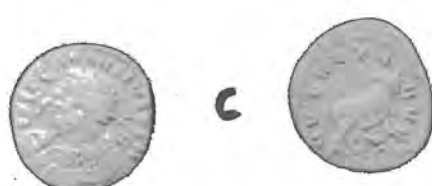
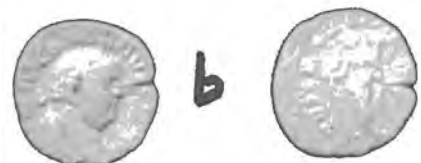
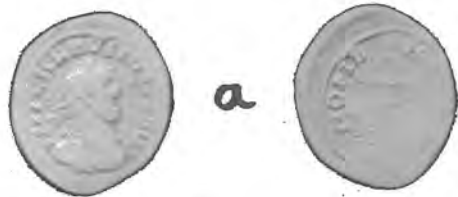


k



l







a



b



c



d



e



f



g



h



i





a



b



c



d



e



f



g



h



i



j

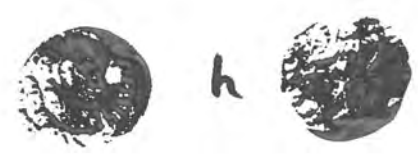
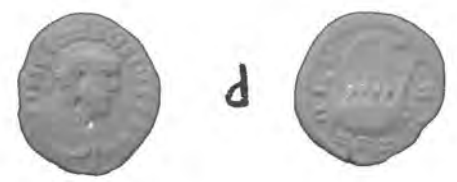
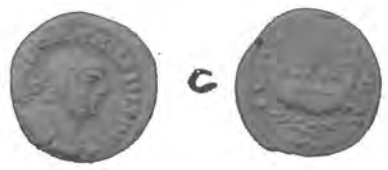
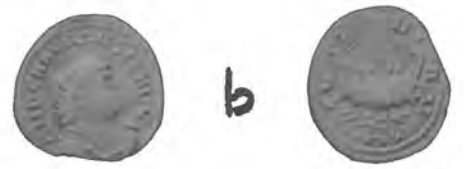


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a



b



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f



g



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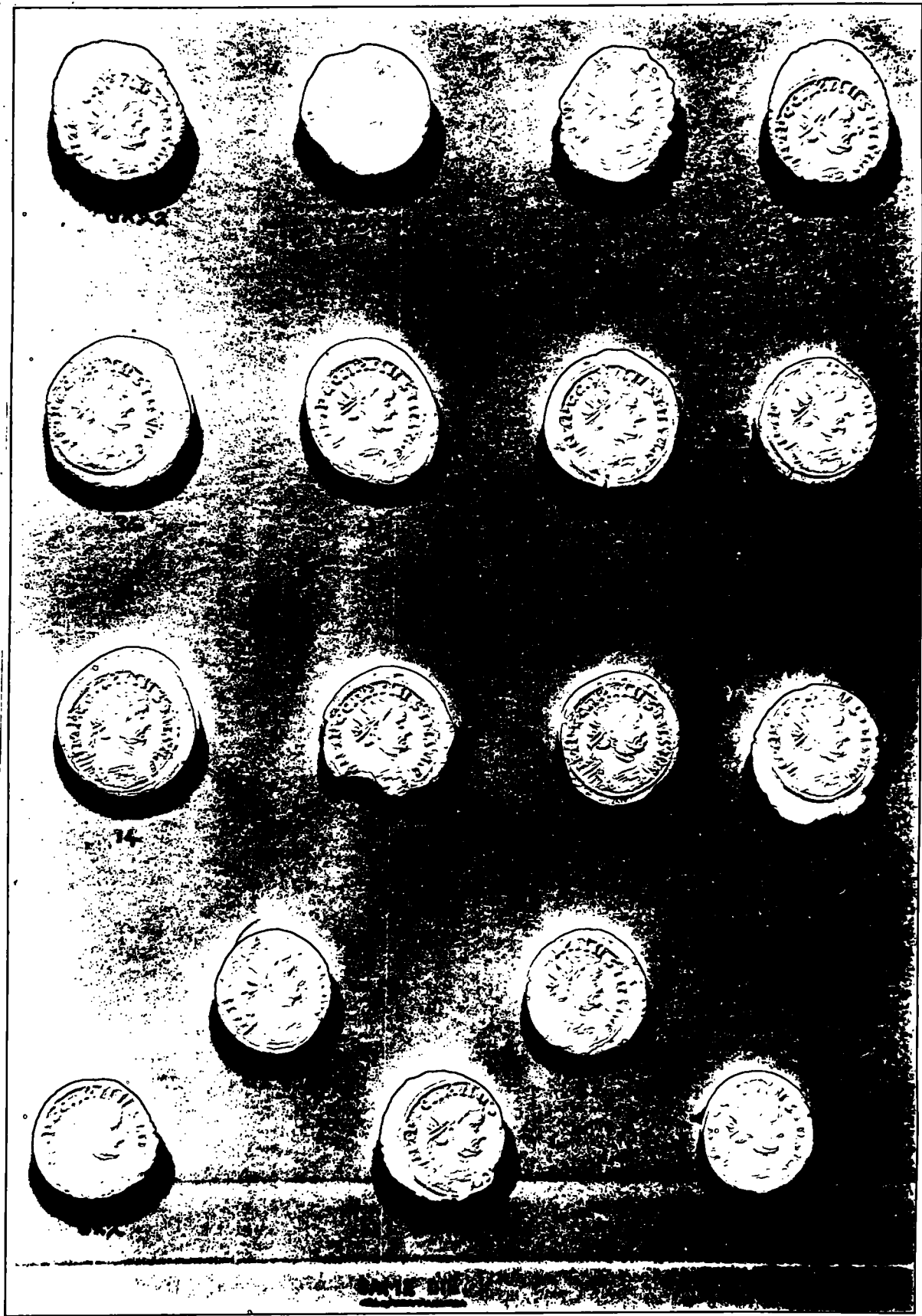


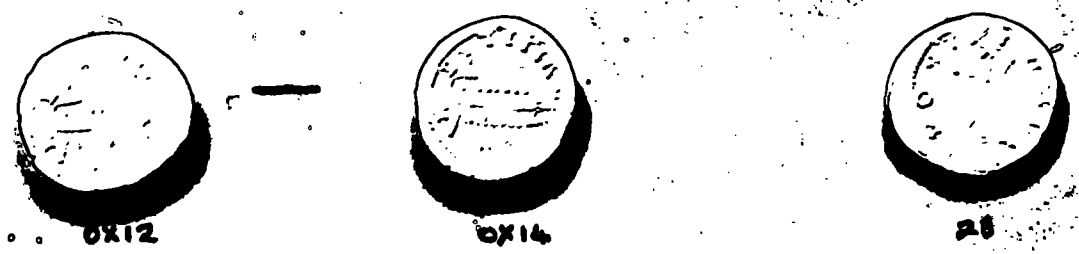
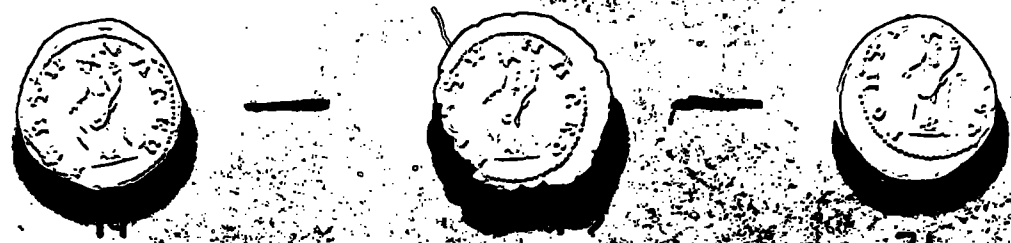
k



l







20

OX9

OX5

OX11

23

22

OX10

OX12

OX14

21



c



b

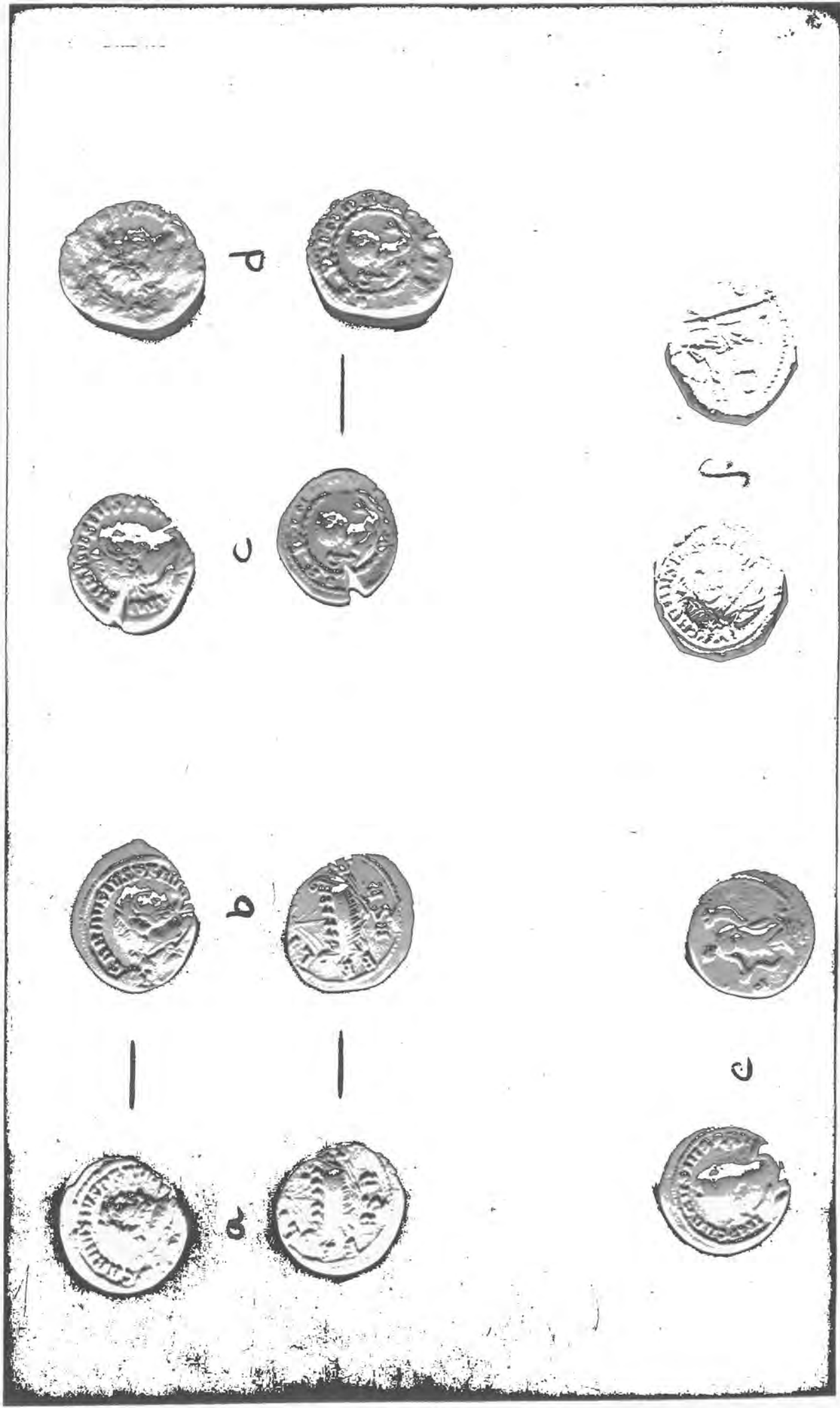


a





Pl 20



Pl. 21



C

12



F

a



P



b





a



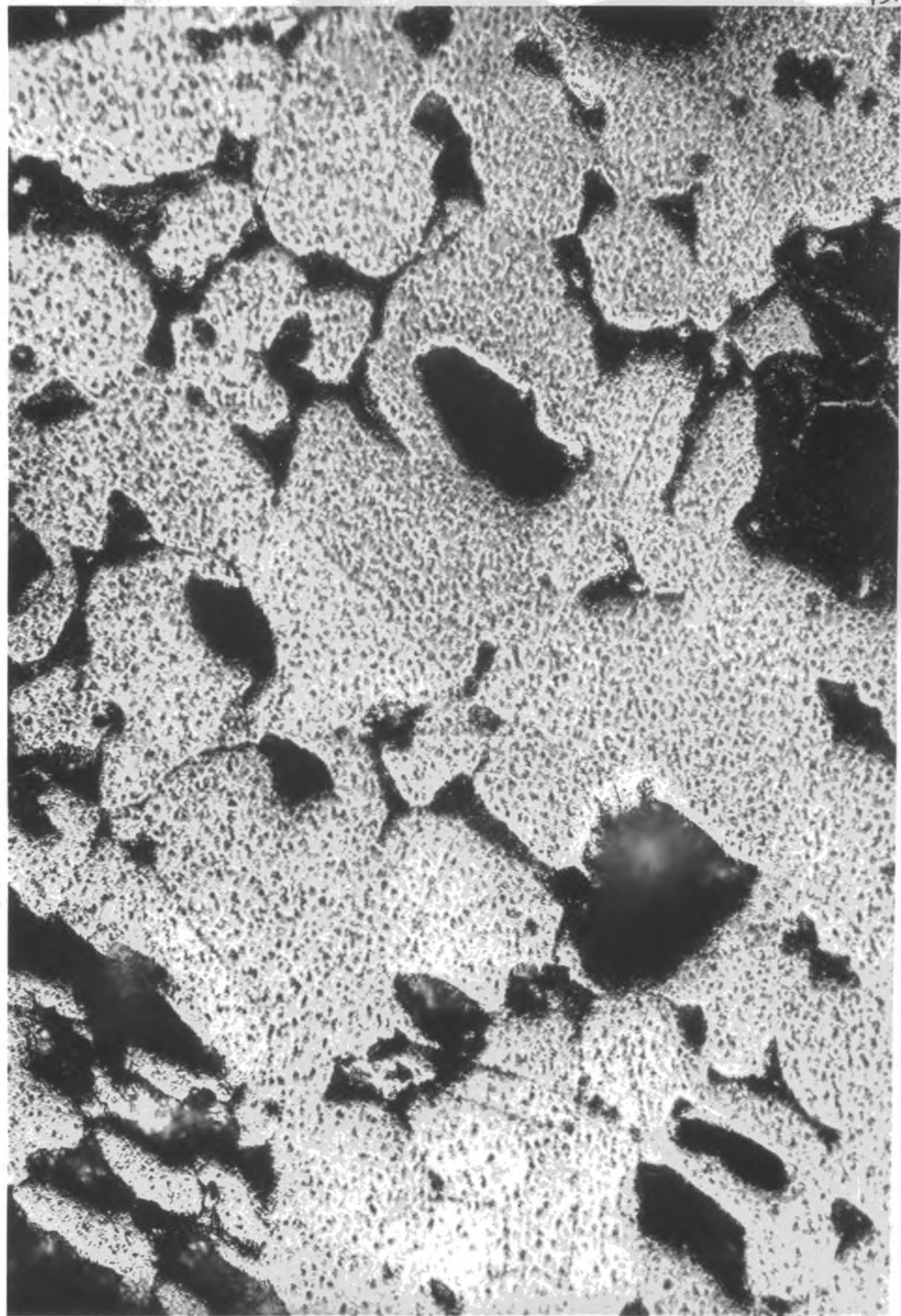
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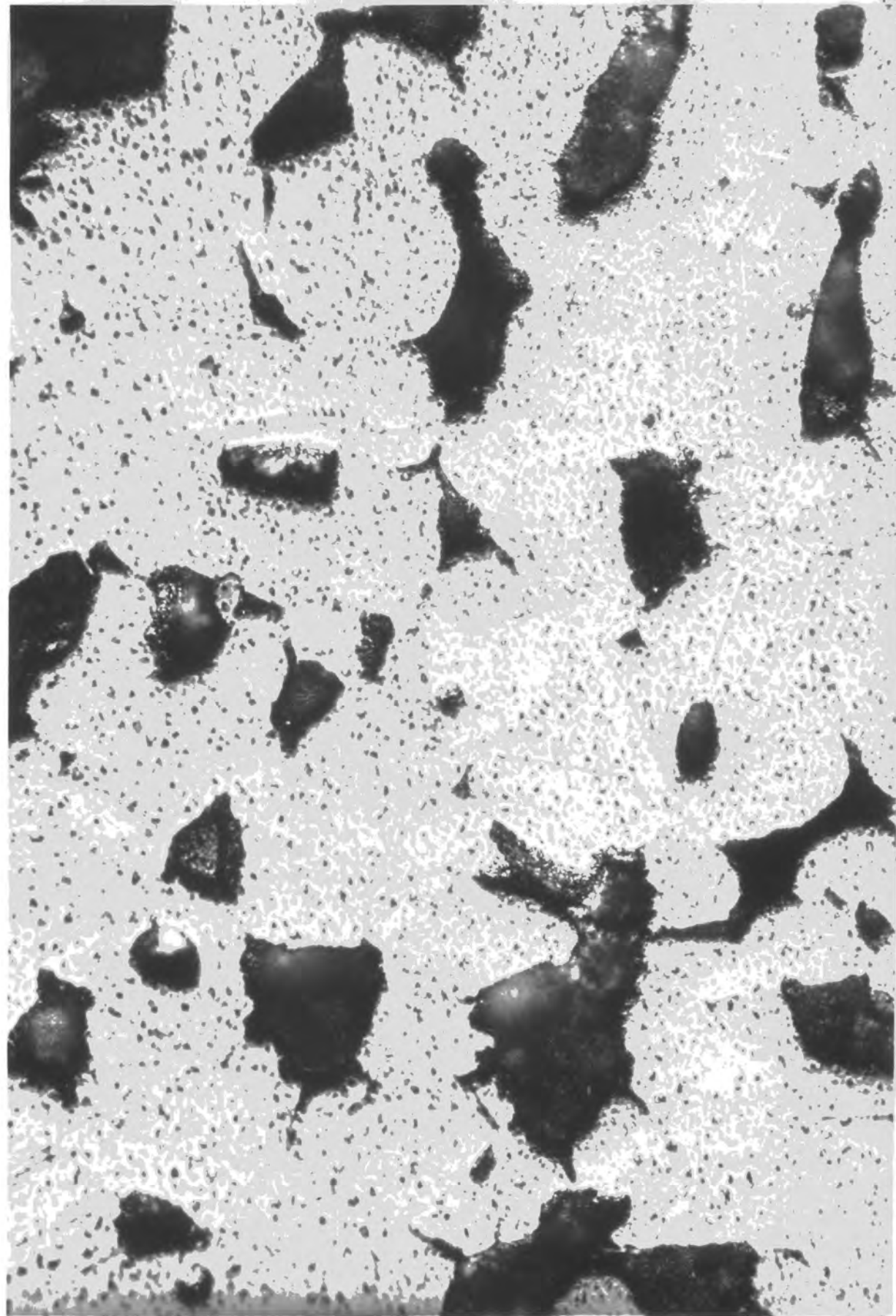
c



d



Pl 24



PL 25