

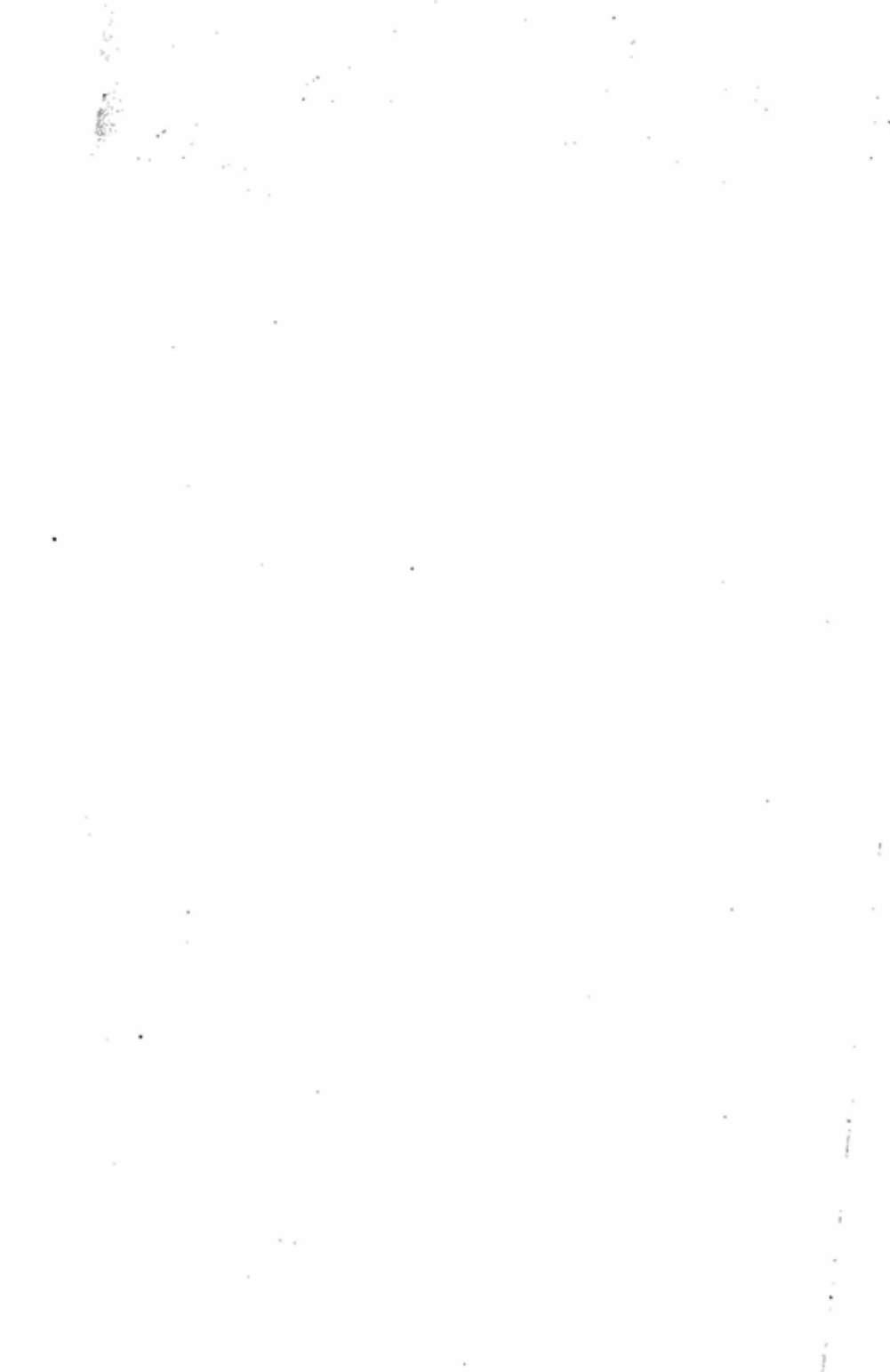
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AND
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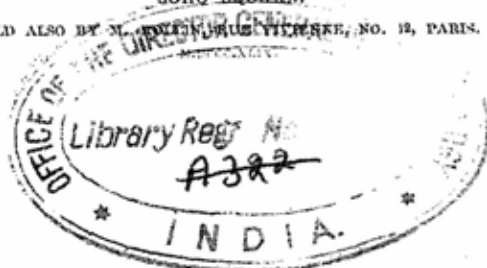
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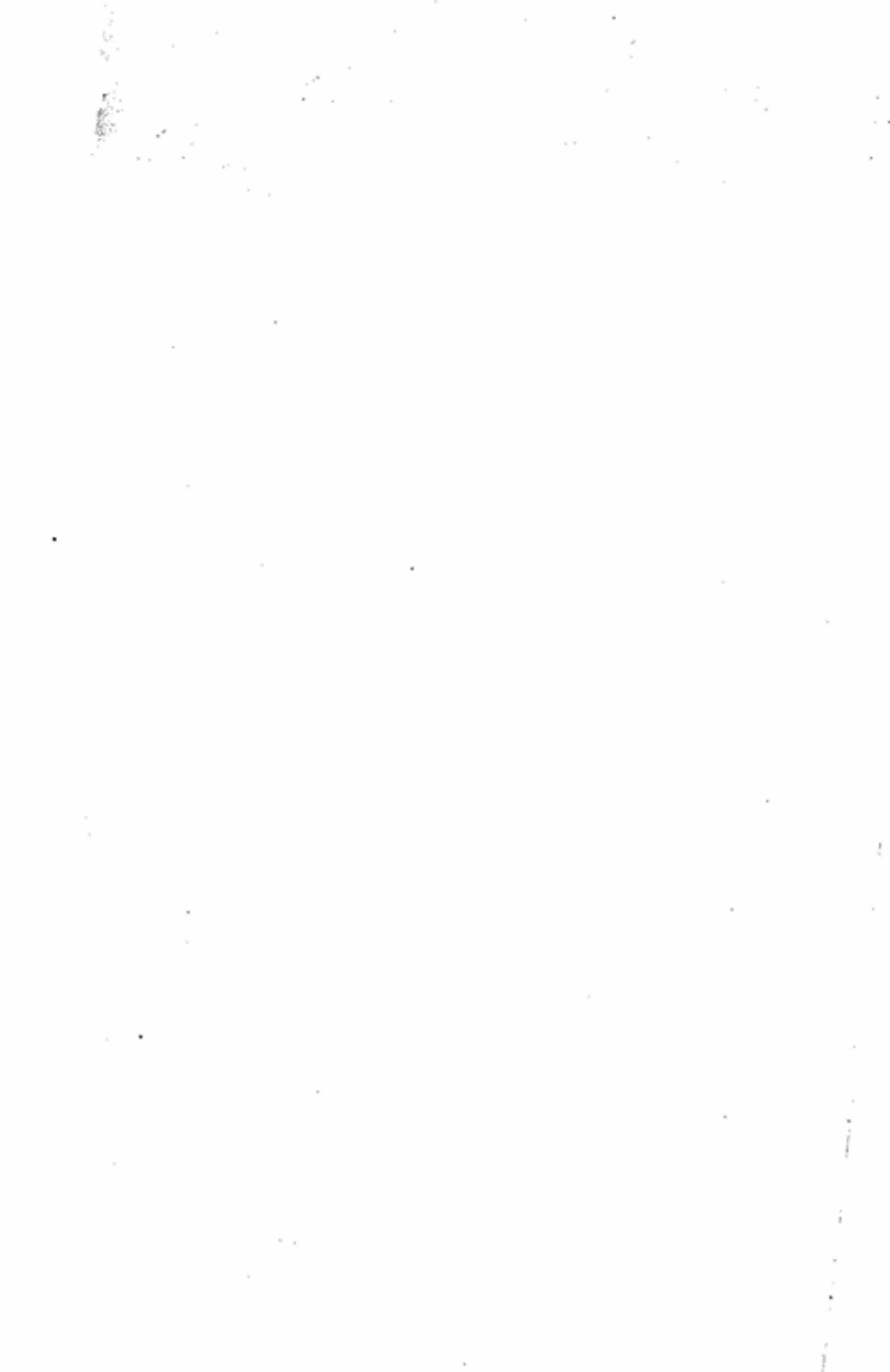
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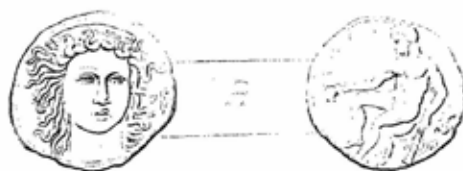
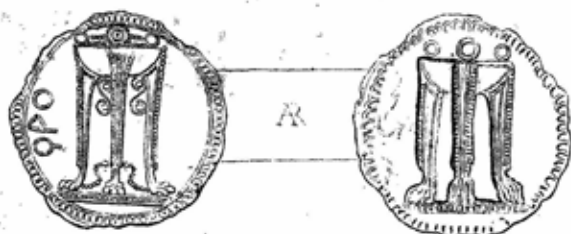
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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

ON COINS OF CROTONA.

THE detailed examination of various types of the coins of Caulonia and Selinus (Numismat. Chron. XXXVI. and XXXVIII.), has appeared to conduct us to certain principles of general application.

In the first place, we have seen that the Greek colonisers of Italy and Sicily carried with them to their new settlements, and tenaciously retained, the forms of religion and mythology, the gods, legends, and symbols, that had been in traditional favour with them in their original seats.

From the number of races or tribes that were frequently associated in a single colony, the transplanted worships and mythologies were proportionably numerous and complex. Which, from among them, became most important in the new locality, and most prevalent on its monuments, seems to have been decided—first, by the predominance of a certain tribe or leader; and secondly, by the native influences of the settlement,—that is, by the special harmony of some remarkable local circumstances with a particular branch of the imported myths. Which, out of a handful of various seeds, was destined to strike root and flourish most luxuriantly, was to a great extent determined by the chances of peculiar adaptation to the new soil.

To these influences, however, we must add one more; the new seats themselves were seldom without some mythical elements of their own, derived either from barbarous tribes, or from those earlier and obscure settlements that it is certain were scattered about the shores of the Mediterranean, in the obscure ages of Greek adventure, anterior to the great and systematic migrations that ensued on the Heracleid invasion, in comparatively historical times.

It was in accordance with these facts, that we found the types of the coins of the Greek colonies already examined, selected with reference at once to original tradition, and local propriety; and it farther appeared, in the instance of the Selinuntian coins¹, that the various types of the same coin were not associated at random, but from common relation to a definite circumstance or idea, which is satisfactorily portrayed or illustrated between them. The reverse of the coin bears the companion-subject or complement of that of the obverse.

¹ By reference to the work of Col. Leake on Attic Topography, I find that the true bull of Marathon, vagrant and tamed, may be identified with much more certainty than is possible from the partial notices of Pausanias. The true stream that it represents is, I have no doubt, the torrent that, collected from the east side of Mount Parnes and the southern of Mount Phellus, waters or drains the great Marathonian plain. Leake describes the plain as very fertile, but inconveniently liable to inundations, from the two torrents that cross it, particularly that of Marathóna. See, at p. 86, the extensive damage it still occasionally causes to houses, cattle, and corn-fields. That in antiquity attempts were made to manage its waters, but not with uniform success, appears from the interpretation of the proverb, *Οἰναῖοι τὴν χαράδραν*. Demon. ap. Hesych.

After what we saw in the same paper, of the contests of the Megarians with their river bull, we may hesitate to accept as pure pragmatistical history, the notice of Aristotle, that Theagenes acquired his power, among other demagogic arts, by destroying the cattle of the rich in their pastures by the side of the river. Aristot. Polit. v. 4, 5.

We have to account, therefore, for the association of the types on a Greek coin, as well as for their individual origin and selection; and the clue to an explanation is to be sought in the original traditions of the people, and the natural characteristics of their city and its territory.

Such an analysis it is now proposed to extend to some of the remarkable coins of Crotona, to the symbolism of which it will be found that our previous enquiries lead us familiarly by the hand.

The appearance of Apollo on the Caulonian coin as a health-god, was illustrated by the connection of the town with Crotona, founded in accordance with the instructions of the Delphic god and with his promise of the blessing of health². The inference thus relied on, that the god at Crotona was worshipped particularly as a health-god, is fully borne out by the coin, of great celebrity as a work of art, where he is represented shooting the serpent Python between the legs of the tripod, in the very act which again we had occasion (p. 2) to establish, by citation of authorities, as symbolical of healthful influence.

Moreover, on the reverse of this very coin, we have another sanitary emblem. Hercules, seated on his lion's skin before an altar (on some specimens a tripod), holds the lustral *thallos* bound with a *tænia*, and thus takes the place in relation to the health-god and the sanitary rite of lustration, that on the Selinuntian coins is occupied by the river gods, Selinus and Hypsas. Even on this coin, we may observe that the fish of the exergue typify a river, no doubt the Aisaros that flowed through the town, and furnished to Hercules the lustral or purifying waters.

² Among other functions of the Delphic Apollo, Lucan (V. 110) does not forget —*resolvit Aëra tabificum*.

The other rivers of the district, the Crathis and the Sybaris, are recorded as celebrated for salubrity.

The healthiness, which, according to the legend, was promised to the city by Apollo, and from which "healthy as Crotona,"³ became a proverb, seems to have been regarded as having chief influence in promoting another cause of renown,—its athletic prowess in the games, which was equally proverbial. So, in Roman times, we find the stations for training the gladiators chosen, with particular regard to healthiness (Strabo, lib. v.). The Hercules of the coin is thus the type of the Crotoniat athlete, as the Apollo Pythoktonos is of its celebrated medical school, as well as natural salubrity. Hence, Milo of Crotona is said to have fought, in the great battle with the Sybarites, in the costume of the hero, with club and lion's skin,⁴ and the other feats ascribed to him in the way of inordinate voracity (compare the performance of his follower, in Theocritus, iv. 34.), appear also to have been in emulation of the model of the gymnasium. Milo is spoken of as of enormous bulk;⁵ the Greek sculptors aimed at perpetuating the characteristic beauty and proportions of the victorious athletes in the statues raised to them (Milo carried his own into the Altis); and from Milo himself may have ultimately been derived the somewhat over-fed contour of the hero on the coin. Such exaggerations in art are, however, symptomatic of degeneracy: they degrade style into fashion, and expose it to fashion's revulsions; and thus it is that we must account for the toleration by Greek eyes of those elongated proportions, of which some remarkable examples

³ Eustath. p. 1821. Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 1087.

⁴ Diod. Sic. xii. 9, 10.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 55.

occur on the coins, and that surprise and shock us in the Halicarnassian bas-reliefs.

The two sons of Jove are associated on another coin of the city; but in this case, Hercules is protagonist: he is represented as an infant, in the attitude suggested by the words of Pindar,⁶ strangling the serpent, a parallel triumph to that of his brother over Python, to which his laureated head on the same coin may be an allusion.

As usual, the national proprieties of the type move abreast with the symbolical. Legend had much to tell of the personal adventures and exploits of Hercules in this locality, in the days of the old Italian hero, Croton; and the Achaian colony was led forth or reinforced by Heracleids,⁷ though the traditions are sufficiently confused. Myscellus, the leader of the colony, is variously derived from Aigai and Rhype, in Achaia. Diodorus calls him an Achaian of Cretan extraction (*Exc. Vat.* p. 8). According to Ovid, he was a Heracleid of Argos. Pausanias mentions a Lacedæmonian colony sent to Crotona by the Heracleid kings; and one important historical illustration is furnished by Herodotus, who found at Crotona the divining family of Iamids settled in the enjoyment of honours and privileges; and we know, from other sources, that this family was in the closest connection with the Heracleid princes⁸; and a branch of them assisted the Heracleid Archias, the founder of Syracuse, who also aided the enterprise of Myscellus.

The Iamids, it may be remarked, traced the origin of their family, as well as their divining powers, up to Apollo, and were under mythical obligations to Hercules,⁹ from

⁶ *Nem.* i. 65.

⁷ See Müller. *Dorians* i. p. 126.

⁸ Cf. Boeckh. *Pind. Explic.* p. 152.

⁹ Pindar. *Olymp.* vi. 116.

whom the princes whose enterprise or ambition they seconded, claimed descent; the coins therefore associate the divine and heroic ancestors of the most distinguished colonists of the city,—the leaders of the migration, political and religious.

Another Heracleid is mentioned in connection both with an expedition to Crotona, and with Archias; this is Chersicrates, who expelled the Liburnians from Corcyra,¹⁰ and whose name (Strong-i' th' hand) reminds us of the stalwart grasp of the boy on the coin.

These vestiges of tradition sufficiently explain the grounds on which Hercules was claimed as the founder of the city, and is declared as such, by the legend ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ, *the founder* (Doricè), that accompanies the type of the hero, seated and holding the lustral branch. He has the same title on another coin, on which he is seen wearing his lion's skin and leaning on his club, in an attitude which may be traced through a series of modifications¹¹ till it appears in the perfected model of the Farnese Hercules. This appears to be the same type that is incorrectly described by Mionnet as Hercules strangling the lion. On the reverse is the head of Athene, his protecting goddess; as on another coin of fine execution, the head of the hero on one side is associated with the owl as her emblem on the other.

In the Hercules with the *thallos*, Eckhel at first recognised Apollo expiating, as Daphephoros (Ælian V. H.), the death of Python, represented on the same coin; he afterwards gave up this explanation, and admitted the seated figure to be Hercules, but at the same time un-

¹⁰ Timæus ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1216.

¹¹ Panofka, Zeus Basileus u. Herakles Kallinikos; fig. 4.

fortunately altered his description of the other design to Hercules killing the Lernæan hydra. (Is there any example of a coin, not of the incuse series, bearing a double representation of the same hero or god?)

On other coins of the city, Hercules appears in a slightly modified attitude, reclining at ease on his lion's skin; his club rests on his left arm; and in his right hand he extends the scyphus, his peculiar wine-cup, as if about to drink or pour a libation. Both attitude and gesture correspond with those of Virgil's description of his Italian worshippers (*Æn.* viii. 176—278, and Servius *ibid.*), but still more exactly with the descriptions of the Hercules Epitrapezios, a small bronze figure, some foot in height, *gestamen mensæ*, made by Lysippus for Alexander the Great, and celebrated by both Martial and Statius, and in very similar terms:—

Hic qui dura sedens porrecto saxa leone
Mitigat, exiguo magnus in ære deus,
Quæque tulit spectat resupino sidera vultu,
Cujus læva calet robore, dextra mero,
Non est fama recens, etc.—*Martial*, ix. 44 & 45.

—Mitis vultus veluti de pectore gaudens
Hortetur mensas. Tenet hæc marcentia fratris
Pocula; at hæc clavæ meminit manus: aspera sedes
Sustinet occultum Nemæo tegmine saxum.
Digna operi fortuna sacro, etc.—*Statius*, *Silva*, iv. 6.

When the poets wrote, the festive figure was in the possession of a certain dinner-giving lover of art, Nonius Vindex, after passing through the hands successively of Alexander the Great, Hannibal, and Sylla.¹² The obverse

¹² An attempt to connect two links of the transmission of the little work of Lysippus, is idle enough no doubt, but perfectly harmless; let us indulge ourselves, by supposing that Pyrrhus, a

of these coins bears the head of Heré, recognised at once by her stephanos adorned with *palmettes*, as she appears on the coins of Elis, Argos, and Plataea. Here she is Heré Lakinia, the goddess of the fane on the promontory west of the town, where she had a grove and sacred herds of cattle, and was honoured, not only by the Crotoniats, but by all the neighbouring cities. This extensive veneration argues very early origin for the sacred place; and there may have been some ground for the connection with Argos that appears in the tradition adopted by Ovid. The title of the goddess seems to point to Lacedæmon; but other derivations may be suggested for it, with equal probability.

On most of the coins that I have seen with this type, the expression of the goddess is peculiarly open and cheerful; but on one fine specimen in the British Museum, it is as decidedly the reverse, amounting to actual ill-humour—a positive scowl of anger or vexation.¹³

This twofold expression on the face of the goddess, who, in either case, is placed in relation to Hercules, is easily accounted for: she is the same goddess placated and incensed; and such contrasted feelings are the proper characteristics of her relation to both the sons of Zeus honoured at Crotona,—Hercules and Apollo. General

successor of Alexander, who, when in this quarter, respected the sanctity of the wealthy temple of Heré Lakinia, dedicated this *statuette* to the goddess, with an appropriateness that will presently appear; we may then account both for the representation of it on the coins of the city, and also for its passage, whether for a time or fully, into the hands of the Punic captain who dedicated in the same temple an altar to the goddess, which Polybius saw and made use of, inscribed in his own language and in Greek with an account of his exploits.

¹³ ἀνυζομένην δὲ ζοικας. Iliad. xv. 90.

legend represents her as both propitious and relentless. Persuaded by Athené, she even gave the breast to the son of Alcmené; and a temple at Lacedæmon commemorated one labour in which she did not oppose him: on the other hand, Homer tells how she pursued him to death.¹⁴ With respect to local legend, Servius¹⁵ relates that as he traversed Italy with the oxen of Geryon, King Lacinius refused him hospitality, and perpetuated his churlishness by founding a temple to Heré, as *noverca* in her persecuting character; yet other stories ran, that Hercules rested and refreshed himself here in the hospitable house of Croton (Ovid. *Metam.* xv. *init.*), as on the coins, whether reclining or standing he equally appears in an attitude of repose, and that even he himself founded the temple, having purified the place after the slaughter of the thief Lacinius. Local traditions, therefore, no more than the coins, represented the goddess as unswervingly vindictive; this agrees with what we learn from Pausanias and Theocritus of the connection of athletic exercises with the Lacinian fane, and the erection there of the statues of the Crotoniats, who were victorious at the games. The reconciliation of Heré to Hercules is a subject by no means unfrequent on the vases.

The *αργαλεος χολος* *Ηρης* is a symbolical subject of wider application than the particular myths, either of Hercules or Apollo, which, indeed, cannot be properly understood without reference to these more general considerations. So, Dionusos, Semelé, Æneas are equally objects of her spite and persecution.

Ill-humour is a leading characteristic of the Homeric Heré; besides allusions to her former vindictiveness and passion,

¹⁴ *Iliad.* xviii. 119.

¹⁵ *Æneid.* iii. 551.

in the action of the Iliad itself she is in as permanent a state of indignation as Swift or Rousseau.

What, it may be asked, originated such an ideal of the queen of heaven? Did Homer transfer to the goddess of Argos, habits of jealousy and petulance characteristic of the maxims and policy of the predominant Argive state?

I think a more probable explanation is to be found in her symbolical character. This is indicated by the ornaments of the *stephanos* already alluded to; the *palmettes* are emblems of vegetative nature and mark Heré as personifying its operations and vicissitudes, as indeed at Argos she has a common title with Demeter,¹⁶ and common attributes, the pomegranate and cuckoo. The wintry season was symbolised in one class of legends by the disappearance of Koré and the melancholy mourning and retirement of her mother,¹⁷ and similar significance is apparent in the legends, common in general outline to Argos, Bœotia and Arcadia, of the separation and retirement of Heré jealous and indignant, while returning spring, the renewing year, becomes her reunion with Zeus, the joyful and prolific harmony and marriage of the powers of Æther and of Earth.¹⁸

The Argives had many traditions of the mystic marriage, by persuasion or guile, of Zeus with Heré: it was the subject of an annual festival, and annually the goddess was said

¹⁶ Prosumna. Paus. ii. 37. 2.

¹⁷ Hom. Hymn. in Cer.—Karkinus ap. Diod. Sic. v. 5.

¹⁸ Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus æther
Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit, et omnes
Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fetus.

Georgic. ii. 325.

Heré is earth in relation to Zeus as heaven.

Varro ap. Aug. C. D. vii. 18.

to renew her virginity by bathing in the fount Kanathos (Paus. ii. 38). In Arcadia the goddess was worshipped as maiden, bride, and widow; in the latter character with reference to her temporary seclusion from Zeus, ἐφ' ὅτῳ. Here, therefore, the annual marriage was a reconciliation. So in Bœotia we find Heré again as the betrothed and the matron; and her festival commemorated how (again ἐφ' ὅτῳ, a sufficient reason) she quitted Zeus and retired to her temple at Eubœa, until her bereft spouse, well advised, gave out that he was about to wed Platœa, daughter of Asopos. The stratagem succeeded; in the midst of the nuptial pomp Heré reappeared indignant, and tore the bridal veil from her rival, when the discovery that the bride was a wooden puppet, turned her jealousy into laughter and merriment; she could not, however, resist burning the puppet, and she sealed her reconciliation by the institution of an annual bonfire, the festival of the Daidala.

Ill-humour and reconciliation, dejection and returning cheerfulness, are thus the common types of the alternating year; and I follow Eustathius and the guides he trusts in, with all my heart, in collecting the vestiges of this archaic symbolism enclosed unaltered, though fragmentary, in the Homeric poetry. Heré, in the first book of the Iliad, after an open altercation with Zeus, is cheered by her son Hephaistos; her smile (says the commentator, and I believe him) is a type of the tranquillity of the air, and Hephæstos is the principle of warmth dispelling the wintry σκυθρωποτητα, the very word to describe the expression of discontent on the coin. The fire-god pouring out the nectar makes a libation to æther (αἰθερὶ σπενδεσθαι), and induces the return of spring and spring-like weather, brightens, as

we should say, the face of nature—induces his mother
αποθεσθαι το σκυθρωπον.

Still it remains a problem how ill-humour came so far to predominate over the cheerful aspect in the ideal of Heré,—a wide question to be followed forth by others. There is some appearance, that in her original character she was the representative of the wild powers of desolate nature preeminently, and that her milder attributes were the superinduced. Moreover, it was only by the gradual development of Greek poetry that her supremacy came to be admitted; and then it was a ready suggestion to place her in hostility to such personages as Leto, whose traditional claim to the hand of Zeus was, in particular localities, as good as her own.

We trace this suspected original character in the circumstances of her persecution both of Leto and Hercules: against the first she sent the serpent Pytho, doomed to fall by the arrows of Apollo immediately on his birth; and against the infant Hercules she despatched the pair of serpents, and thus the exploits of the brothers represented on the coins of Crotona are not only parallel to each other, but illustrate their common relation to the Heré of the neighbouring fane, Heré Lakinia.

The goddess also fostered, to plague her stepson, the Nemæan lion, and above all the snaky hydra of the Lernaean swamp. In the terms of the traditions, Heré is said to foster or breed (*τρέφει*) these monsters,¹⁹ as Amphitrite feeds, rears (*τρέφει*), or fosters the monsters of the deep. Serpents also, in Greek symbolism, are peculiarly Chthonian brutes; and thus everything combines to identify their patroness with the earth-goddess,—a proper Gaia.

¹⁹ Hesiod. Theog. 314—328.

The Heré of Lanuvium appears on coins and other monuments accompanied by the serpent that is assigned to her by literary evidence ; and on a remarkable vase, published by Mr. Birch in the *Archæologia*, she stands opposed in arms to Hercules, and beside her, from the ground, as if protected by her or assisting her, rise two knotted groups of hissing snakes. These compound monsters carry us to another legend of the goddess, highly illustrative of her natural symbolism ; in anger at the independent production of Athené, she withdrew from the society of Zeus indignant, and thus, in her wintry phase, produced from her own resources the monstrous Typhaon or Typhoeus with a hundred serpent's heads,²⁰ giving forth all the wild sounds of brute and inanimate nature (*Hesiod. Theog.* v. 820. *Hom. Hymn. ad Apoll.* v. 327 ff.), and itself the parent of all the winds (*Hesiod. Theog.* 870), except Notus, Boreas, and Zephyr.

Gaia, in these legends, is visibly interchanged with Heré. In the *Theogony*, Typhoeus is offspring of Gaia and Tartarus, while Stesichorus assigned him Heré as his only parent; and in the Homeric hymn she calls him her proper child, and he is produced from the earth by a blow of her hand.²¹

This monster the goddess committed (hopeful foster child!) to the care of the Delphic Python,²² who, on the coins, is shot through the tripod by Apollo : and when

²⁰ *Aristoph. Nub.* 336.

²¹ The Argives, according to Clearchus quoted by Ælian, never killed serpents. Is this to be accounted for by the importance among them of the worship of Heré ?

²² *Hom. Hymn. ad Apoll.* 354. 367. Apollo refers to Chimæra, as well as Typhoeus, as an ally of Python ; and the Chimæra occurs on a coin of Crotona.

we observe the tripods on the early incuse coins of Crotona, affording harbour for hissing snakes above and below, we may be justified in regarding them as pertaining to Gaia (the earth-goddess), who was anterior to Apollo as the presiding oracular power. Lucian notices the oracular voice of Delphi as proceeding from the serpent below the tripod (*De Astrolog.*). This was placed over a chasm in the earth, in the words of Justin, *ex quo frigidus spiritus vi quadam velut vento in sublime expulsus mentes vatum in vecordiam vertit, etc.* The phenomenon agrees with the mythic origin from earth of windy Typhon, and with the ancient interpretation of his nature, as personifying the natural gusts escaping from the ground with violence (*Etym. M. v. Typhoeus*), the *ventos loquaces* of Delphi alluded to by Lucan.²³

Thus we find ourselves led back to our conclusions in the essay on the coins of Caulonia, that Tuphon of Aigai (whence also came Myscellus), the founder of that Italian city so closely connected with Crotona, brought with him from Achaia a fund of tradition and symbolism relating to the cult of windy powers.

The expiation required of Apollo for the slaughter of Python, may be regarded as a concession to the ancient veneration for the oracle under its earlier constitution; Ælian (*de Nat. Anim. ii. 2.*) preserves an account of a fane of Apollo at Epirus, where oracles or omens were obtained from serpents in precisely the same manner as from those of Lanuvian Heré,—serpents, moreover, which were regarded as descendants of the Python of Delphi.

²³ Ut vidit Pæan, vastos telluris hiatus
 Divinam spirare fidem, ventosque loquaces
 Exhalare solum, sacris se conditit antris, etc.

Pharsal. v. 82.

The ancestor of the divining Iamids was fostered by a pair of serpents.

On the coins of fine style with Apollo shooting Python, the side rings or ears of the tripod are oval, as in true perspective, on the incuse coins they are perfectly circular, but in some instances smaller in size than that in front, a rude attempt to give the effect of perspective. These ears, according to Eustathius, were called *σεληναι*, or moons,²⁴ evidently with reference to the triple phases of the moon; and thus the three crescents on one coin of Crotona are equivalents of the tripod that occurs so frequently; very frequently, especially on vases, the front circlet at least is filled with the radiated figure²⁵ which is the usual symbol of the sun; and as suns we may regard them as representing the Delphic period, the *trieteris*. The spirals introduced between the legs of the tripods resemble those that are seen on many coins of Agrigentum below the crab, and probably typify the element of water; with the serpent below and the circlets above, they complete a set of emblems appropriate to the Chthonian marine and astral possessors of archaic Delphi, Ge and her daughter Themis,²⁶ Poseidon and Phoibe.

²⁴ Eustath. p. 1816.

²⁵ Gerhard: Orakel der Themis.

²⁶ It is Themis who greets Heré, and observes her disorder on her arrival at Olympus, from the scene of conjugal deception and bickering on Ida; the equivocal expression of the spouse of Zeus—

ἡ δ' ἐγέλασεν
 χεῖλεσιν, οὐδὲ μέτωπον ἐπ' ὀφρύσι κυανέησιν
 ἰάνθη· πᾶσιν δὲ νεμεσσηθεῖσα μετηύδα.—Il. xv. 101.

agrees with what has been intimated of the symbolism of the occasion; farther than this, its intention, on which commentators are divided, appears to be best illustrated by the description of the shepherdess of Theocritus—

ὄμμασιν αἰδομένη· κραδίη δὲ οἱ ἐνέον ἰάνθη.—xv. 70.

In this view of the connections of the Heré of Crotona, there occurs abundant temptation to speculate on the origin of her title Lakinia or, what is more to the purpose, on the various significations that may have been assigned to it. To connect it with *λασκειν*, or *λακειν* to *shriek*, *roar* or *exclaim*, would well consist with the parent and patroness of Typhoeus, with the goddess who, in the Iliad, shouts with the brazen voice of Stentor,²⁷ whose howl, *μυκημα*, was fatal to the mystic Zagreus,²⁸ of whose indefatigable tongue the king of gods and men so bitterly complains. Compare the women shouting at her festival at Lakinion (Theocrit. iv. 36). The Odyssey gives us Scylla, *δεινὸν λελακυῖα*, M. 85. The mythus of Scylla was doubtless not more current at the Sicilian strait, than at Skylletion and the Skyllertian bay, in the neighbourhood of Crotona and the Lakinian temple: and if we inquire for the common origin, in Greece proper, of both local names, we most naturally revert to the Scyllæan promontory of Trœzene, in the neighbourhood of the fane of Heré at Hermione, seat of the legend of her union with Zeus "in windy weather" (Aristotel. ap. Schol. Theocrit.); and of which the earlier name Lakereia, I venture to conjecture, is not unrelated both to Skylla and Lakinia.²⁹ Aristo-

²⁷ Iliad. v. 784.

²⁸ Nonnus, vi. 203.

²⁹ Trœzene furnished colonists to these Italian coasts, having taken part in the primitive settlement of Sybaris; Aristot. Polit. v. 2.; there is sufficient connection between Athens and Trœzene in early tradition, for us to ascribe to a similar partnership, the subsequent ascription of the founding of Skylletion to the Athenian Menestheus. When the Athenians restored Sybaris, as Thurium, their ancient colony Skyllacion, then under the influence of their allies of Crotona, seems to have assisted; and hence is to be accounted for the figure of Scylla that decorates Athené's helmet on the beautiful coins of the new city.

phanes (Plutus 39) employs the word *ελακεν*, for the oracular voice of Apollo.

We are even justified in referring, in illustration of this title, to the shriek of Persephone, carried off by Aidoneus,³⁰ having already recognised in our sulking goddess a parallel type of the ungenial year.

"With how scanty an expenditure of original invention," exclaims Sir Walter Scott, "is the world content to be entertained!" The same types of the gloomy and cheerful seasons, of the dying and reviving year, the hidden and reappearing vitality of nature, that in the productions of Greek imagination delightfully recur ever varied, yet ever the same, in the sorrows and consolations of Heré and Demeter, Persephone and Aphrodite, survived the lapse of ages and the wreck of civilisation, in all their inspiring freshness, to give embellishment and point to the squabbles of Titania and Oberon —

Titania. These are the forgeries of jealousy :
 And never, since the middle summer's spring,
 Met we on hill, in dale, forest, or mead,
 By pavèd fountain, or by rushy brook,
 Or on the beachèd margent of the sea,
 To dance our ringlets to the whistling wind,
 But with thy brawls thou hast disturbed our sport,
 Therefore the winds, piping to us in vain,
 As in revenge, have suck'd up from the sea
 Contagious fogs; which, falling in the land,
 Have every pelting river made so proud,
 That they have overborne their continents :
 The ox hath therefore stretched his yoke in vain,
 The ploughman lost his sweat; and the green corn
 Hath rotted ere his youth attain'd a beard.
 The fold stands empty in the drownèd field;
 And crows are fatted with the murrain flock ;
 The nine men's morris is fill'd up with mud ;

³⁰ Homer Hymn. ad Cer. v. 20.

And the quaint mazes in the wanton green,
For lack of tread, are undistinguishable ;
The human mortals want their winter cheer ;
No night is now with hymn or carol blest :—
Therefore the moon, the governess of floods,
Pale in her anger, washes all the air,
That rheumatic diseases do abound :
And thorough this distemperature, we see
The seasons alter : hoary-headed frosts
Fall in the fresh lap of the crimson rose ;
And on old Hyems' chin, and icy crown,
An odorous chaplet of sweet summer buds
Is, as in mockery, set : the spring, the summer,
The childing autumn, angry winter, change
Their wonted liveries ; and the mazed world,
By their increase, now knows not which is which :
And this same progeny of evil comes,
From our debate, from our dissension ;
We are their parents and original.

A curious inquirer might easily carry the parallel of classic and romantic mythology farther ; for my own part, I never read the *Dream of a Midsummer's Night*, with its bewilderments of love and jealousy, good-humoured and gay reconciliations, sylvan scenery, and nuptial close, without finding my mind carried back involuntarily to the descriptions by Plutarch and Pausanias of the festival of the *Daidala*, its origin, course, and conclusion.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

29th December, 1847.

II.

ON A DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS, IN THE
PARISH OF LITTLE MALVERN, WORCESTER-
SHIRE.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 27th, 1848.]

ON Monday the 15th of August, as Mr. Commissioner Mayne and his sons were out on a walk, they were induced to go in search of some geological remains, into a small quarry, on the side of the road leading from Little Malvern to Ledbury. While turning over stones, Mr. Cox Mayne came unexpectedly upon a considerable number of second brass Roman coins, which were lying, as appeared to him, loosely thrown together, a few inches under the surface at the top of the hill itself.

He immediately collected as many as he could without difficulty lay hands on, amounting to about 200.

The news of this discovery rapidly spread in all directions, and people flocked from the village to the spot, and were rewarded by obtaining a few more specimens (probably the same as Mr. Mayne had previously exhumed), before night-fall.

The following morning a man of the name of Fletcher came across from the parish of Colwall, on the Herefordshire side of the hills, and, on searching more closely, and turning over the soil, discovered another collection of similar coins enclosed in a light-red-coloured earthen pot, of undoubted Roman fabric, which he sold shortly afterwards, together with the coins, fifty in number, to Mr.

Warden, one of the Directors of the East India Company. Some portions of the pot, which has been much shattered, I imagine, in the process of extraction, have been preserved, and are to night, by the kindness of Mr. Warden, exhibited to the Society. It will be observed, that there still adheres to the sides of the pot, some of the verdigris which covered the coins when found in it. It may be presumed, therefore, that the whole number of coins thus discovered, did not fall far short of 300: for, besides those I have enumerated, which have been placed in my hands for the purpose of description, I saw some twenty or thirty in the hands of the gentlemen and cottagers in the neighbourhood; and the post-master of the village informed me that for some days after the discovery, coins were continually passing in letters through the post office. I found, on going down to Malvern, that it was very difficult to obtain a clear and satisfactory account of the order in which the discoveries took place, as almost every one to whom I addressed myself, had a different story to relate. I believe, however, that, on the whole, the above is as correct a version as it is possible to procure; while the appearance itself of the coins goes far to confirm the truth of the narration. It will be observed, for instance, that those which were first turned up, and which I saw myself at Malvern, were covered with soft green *æruugo* which peeled off immediately on being touched by the point of a penknife; the result probably of exposure for a long period in the open ground, but at the same time in a dry pebbly soil: while those, on the other hand, which were found in the pot, had to a great degree resisted the effect of the weather, and retained the metallic lustre and brightness of the tinning, which most if not all of them had originally undergone.

Of these coins I have been able personally to examine

about two hundred; and I will now lay before the Society the results of that examination, at the same time exhibiting some specimens from the hoard, including those first discovered by Mr. Cox Mayne, and those subsequently placed at my disposal by Mr. Warden, with this remark, that so far as I know, no coins have been found except of the five emperors, Diocletianus, Maximianus Hercules, Constantius Chlorus, Galerius Maximianus, and Maximinus Daza, that they fall therefore within the period between A.D. 286—311. They are all of the size called *second brass*, and in excellent preservation; and the larger part of them are so sharp and well defined, that they could hardly ever have been in circulation.

I have arranged them first chronologically according to the succession of the emperors, and secondly according to the types of the obverses and reverses.

In order to avoid the unnecessary space which I should have been obliged to take up had I described each coin separately, and given every reverse with its appropriate obverse, side by side, I have adopted the somewhat novel plan of mentioning first, all the legends of the obverses, then the legends of the reverses, together with the letters in the field, connecting the two together by Greek letters, which will refer from one to the other. I am aware that it may be objected, that by this means some inaccuracies may arise, and some little peculiarities of individual coins may pass unnoticed: but I have preferred running this risk, to extending individual description to a length which would be wearisome without producing any compensating result; nor indeed is the class of coins of that value to give me any warrant for such extension; for, beyond the local interest of their discovery, they do not possess much value, either from their scarcity, or from any history on which they throw light.

DIOCLETIANUS. A.D. 286—305.

The coins of *Diocletianus* in this hoard, offer six varieties of legend on their obverse, as follows:—

- 1.—IMP. DIOCLETIANVS AVG.— γ , κ , ζ , σ , π .
- 2.—IMP. DIOCLETIANVS P. AVG.— α , ζ , θ , ι , λ ,
- 3.—IMP. DIOCLETIANVS P. F. AVG.— β , γ , ε , η .
- 4.—IMP. C. DIOCLETIANVS P. AVG.— ξ +, α +, ν .
- 5.—IMP. C. DIOCLETIANVS P. F. AVG.— δ .
- 6.—VIRTVS DIOCLETIANI.— β .

Of these, the second is not mentioned in Mionnet, and is therefore probably uncommon.

Of the reverses, there are four varieties; as follows—

I.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Youthful male figure standing to left; in right hand, patera; in left, cornucopiæ; on head, polus; with letters in the exergue, arranged as follows:—

Field	$\frac{\text{—}}{\text{TR}}$	θ	$\frac{\text{S—F}}{\text{ITR}} \frac{\text{C—F}}{\text{—}}$
Exergue.		ι	$\frac{\text{TR}}{\text{S—F}}$
α	$\frac{* \text{—} *}{\text{TR}}$	κ	$\frac{\text{PTR}}{\text{S—K}}$
β	$\frac{\text{A—}^*}{\text{TR}}$	λ	$\frac{\text{PTR}}{\text{S—K}}$
γ	$\frac{\text{B—}^*}{\text{TR}}$	μ	$\frac{\text{TR}}{\text{A—}}$
δ	$\frac{*}{\text{ST}}$	ν	$\frac{\text{LP}}{\text{B}}$
ε	$\frac{\text{A—}}{\text{TR}}$	ξ	$\frac{\text{LP}}{\text{B}}$
ζ	$\frac{\text{A—F}}{\text{TR}}$	ξ^+	$\frac{\text{PL}}{\text{A}}$
η	$\frac{\text{S—F}}{\text{TR}}$	σ	$\frac{\text{PLC}}$

B
—
PLC

*—
ρ —
ST

Of these coins the only ones which exhibit any peculiarity, are the first type, marked α , on the left of the field of which there is an altar, on which the Genius is pouring a libation from a patera, and the sixth type, marked β , which is a very fine and well preserved helmeted bust of the emperor, turned to the right, holding in his right a globe, on which is a figure of victory.

2. *Obv.*—as No. 3.

MONETA SACRA AVGG. ET. CAESS NN. Figure of the goddess Moneta standing to left, holding in her right hand, a pair of scales; in her left, cornucopiæ; in the field to the right, star; in exergue, PTR.

3. *Obv.*—As No. 3.

MONETA S. AVGG. ET. CAESS NN. Moneta as in last. Star in field; in exergue, BTR.

4. *Obv.*—Illegible.

PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QUIES AVGG. Two females standing in front.

MAXIMIANUS HERCULES.

Obverses.

- 1.—MAXIMIANVS NOB. CAES.— β , γ , δ , η , μ , ζ , χ .
- 2.—MAXIMIANVS NOB. CS.— λ , α , σ .
- 3.—MAXIMIANVS NOB. C.— θ , κ .
- 4.—MAXIMIANVS NOBIL. C.— β , γ , δ , κ , λ , μ .
- 5.—C. VAL. MAXIMIANVS NOB. C.— ν^* , ρ , σ .
- 6.—IMP. MAXIMIANVS AVG.— β , δ , ζ , κ , λ , μ , ρ , σ .
- 7.—IMP. MAXIMIANVS P. AVG.— α , ζ , λ , μ , $\omega\gamma$.
- 8.—IMP. MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG.— ϵ , λ .
- 9.—IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS AVG.— ρ .
- 10.—IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS P. AVG.— α .
- 11.—IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG.— $\omega\beta$, $\omega\delta$.
- 12.—P. M. MAXIMIANO FELICISSIMO.—No. VII.

With the following *Reverses*: —

I. GENIO POPVLI ROMANI.

α	Field A Exergue R	μ	S—F ITR
β	A—* TR	ν	SF ITR
β^*	A—* PTR	ν^*	ST —
γ	B—* TR	ξ	S—F ITR
δ	A—F TR	θ	A PL
ε	B—F TR	π	—? PLC
ζ	B TR	ρ	A PLC
η	B— TR	σ	—B PLC
θ	G TR	τ	—* PLC
ι	—* PTR	υ	D PLC
κ	S—F PTR	ϕ	? B
λ	S—F HTR	χ	B * SIS

ω — $s-r$
 no exergue.
 no field.
 ωa —
 sr
 A —
 $\omega \beta$ —
 s

*
 $\omega \gamma$ —
 P
 —
 $\omega \delta$ —
 LA

2. *Obv.*—Same as No. 11.

SACRA MONET. AVGG. ET CAES. NOSTR. Moneta standing to left; in her right, scales; in her left, cornucopiae; in exergue, sr.

Obv.—As No. 2.

R.—As last; but in exergue, st.

Obv.—As No. 1.

R.—As last; in exergue, tr?

3. *Obv.*—Same as No. 1.

MONETA S. AVGG. ET CAESS. NN. Moneta as before; in field, s—F; in exergue, itr.

Obv.—Same as No. 1.

R.—As last, but in field to right, a star; in exergue, btr.

Obv.—Same as No. 1.

R.—Moneta as before, but in field s—F; in exergue, itr.

4. *Obv.*—Same as No. 1.

R.—MONETA SACRA AVGG. ET CAESS. NN. Moneta as before; in field to right, a star; in exergue, btr.

5. *Obv.*—As No. 11.

R.—SACRA. MON. VRB. AVGG. ET CAESS. NN. Moneta as before; in exergue, s.

Obv.—As No. 1.

R.—As last, but in field, a star; in the exergue, ao.

6. *Obv.*—As No. 1.

R.—SALVIS AVGG. ET CAESS. FEL. KART. A female figure standing in front, which is either Salus or Karthago, holding in her right hand fruit, in her left, corn; in exergue, A.

Obv.—As No. 1.

R.—As last, but in exergue, B. On this coin, the figure has fruit apparently in both hands; and that in the left, is exactly like the *Banana*.

Obv.—As No. 1.

R.—As last, but in exergue, N.

7 *Obv.*—As No. 12.

R.—PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES. AVGG. Two female figures standing opposite to one another; in the right hand of the one to the right, flowers; and in her left, the hasta pura.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, A.D. 292—305.

Obverses.

- 1.—CONSTANTIVS NOBIL. C.— α or δ , ρ , σ , χ , ψ .
- 2.—CONSTANTIVS NOBIL. CAES.— ζ , $\omega\gamma$.
- 3.—CONSTANTIVS NOB. C.— ϵ , κ , $\omega\beta$.
- 4.—CONSTANTIVS NOB. CAES.— β , γ , θ , ι , λ , ν , o , v , ω , $\omega\alpha$.
- 5.—FL. VAL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C.— κ , π , ρ .
- 6.—FL. VAL. CONSTANTIVS N. C.—with reverse, No. IV.
- 7.—CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. S.— ϵ .

Reverses.

1.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI.

on field A — *

α —
exergue T

β —
A — Γ
TR

γ —
A —
TR —

ξ —
A — *
TR

ϵ —
A
PLC

ζ —
B
TR

η —
B
?

θ —
B
LO

ϵ	$\frac{B-\Gamma}{TR}$	τ	$\frac{S-F}{IT\Omega}$
κ	$\frac{B-*}{TR}$	ν	$\frac{*}{ST}$
λ	$\frac{B}{PL}$	ϕ	$\frac{S-K}{\Omega TR}$
μ	$\frac{B}{C}$	χ	$\frac{S-F}{ITR}$
ν	$\frac{B}{LP}$	ψ	$\frac{S-F}{PTR}$
\omicron	$\frac{C-\Gamma}{TR}$	ω	$\frac{S-F}{ITQ}$
π	$\frac{-\Gamma}{\text{no exergue.}}$	$\omega\alpha$	$\frac{C-\Gamma}{R}$
ρ	$\frac{S-F}{ITR}$	$\omega\beta$	$\frac{-B}{PLC}$
σ	$\frac{S-F}{PT\Omega}$	$\omega\gamma$	$\frac{A-*}{PTR}$

2 *Obv.*—Same as No. 4.

R.—SACRA MONET. AVGG. ET. CAESS. NOSTR. Moneta standing with scales in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left; in the exergue, PT.

Obv.—Same as last, but in the exergue TT.

3 *Obv.*—Same as No. 5.

R.—MONETA S. AVGG. ET CAESS. N. N. Moneta standing with scales in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left; in the field to right a star; in the exergue, ATR.

4 *Obv.*—Same as No. 6.

R.—MONETA. SACRA. AVGG. ET CAESS. N. N. Type of field and exergue, same as last.

5 *Obv.*—Same as No. 4.

R.—SACRA MON. VRB. AVGG. ET CAESS. N. N. Usual type of Moneta; in field to right, a star; in exergue, AT.

6 *Obv.*—Same as No. 2.

R.—FORTVNAE REDVCI AVGG. N. N. Fortuna standing to left; in right hand, patera; in left, cornucopiæ; in exergue, TR?

GALERIUS MAXIMIANUS, A. D. 305—311.

Obv.—GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANVS. NOB. C. Head to right laureate; on bust armour.

R.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Usual type of Genius standing to left.

MAXIMINUS DAZA, A. D. 305—313.

Obv.—MAXIMINVS NOBILIS C. Head of Maximinus to right, laureate; on bust, paludamentum.

R.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Usual type of Genius standing, to left.

Though so numerous, and so well preserved, any one who has made Roman coins his study, will be aware, that the hoard does not contain any coin remarkable, either for the peculiar rarity, or the excellence of its type. The coins of this class and period differ chiefly in the letters which are found in the fields and exergues of their reverses; and for this reason I have paid some attention to the enumeration of them in the preceding lists. This remark is borne out by an examination of the specimens in question. Thus, out of above two hundred coins, I have met with about one hundred and thirty varieties, of which the large proportion belong to Diocletianus, Maximianus, and Constan-

tius Chlorus, one to Galerius Maximianus, and one to Maximinus Daza, but which present, at the same time, only twenty-seven varieties in the legends of their obverses, the other points in which they differ being confined to the letters in their fields and exergues.

There is not much variety in the places to whose mints these coins are in all probability attributable. The letters on the exergues give only TR. P. TR. S. T. Treviris, Pecunia Trevirensis, Signata Treviris, for Tréves; L. P., Lugduni, or Londini Pecunia, or Londini Percussa, P. L. C. Pecunia Lugdunensis, or Pecunia Londinensis Civitatis; AQ. for Aquileia; SIS. for Siscia, in Pannonia (now *Sissek*); and in one or two instances, FEL. KART. for Felix Karthago. I know that it may be objected against this interpretation, that it is not likely that coins struck at places so far apart should be found together in a remote district; and that it is not improbable that the late emperors struck at one place several sets of coins, with the names of different places of mintage upon them: but I think the evidence in favour of particular towns is abundantly sufficient, when it is considered in its full extent. Thus, at first sight, there seems little reason to doubt, that CONS. and KART. stand for Constantinopolis and Karthago respectively, though in reading SIS. for Siscia, the initial letters of an obscure town in Pannonia, there is some reason for hesitation. In the same way, I am inclined to think, that the individual letters which occur on the fields, such as A, B, F, etc. refer to the mints established in the respective towns mentioned in the exergues, or are the private marks of those towns. In one instance, where an H occurs on the obverse, under the neck of the emperor, it is possible that the name of the moneyer himself may be referred to. This explanation of the letters, which are found on the reverses of the coins of

the late emperors, has been held by the majority of numismatists. Eckhel, the father of modern numismatics, has discussed this question at some length, in the *Doctrina Numorum*, vol. viii. c. xvi. § 6. De numis inferioris ævi. He has shewn that the practice of putting the name of the town upon the coins arose under Aurelianus; and he has quoted passages from several ancient authors, who mention many of the monetary towns. He thinks, however, there is some difficulty in supposing that the emperors of the West would have placed on their money the initials of the name of a rival city. Visconti, on the other hand, in his *Indicazione delle medagli antiche del Sig. P. Vitali* (Roma 4^o. 1805), seems to have no doubt whatever about the interpretation which is to be given to these letters; and considers the letters on the field to be mint marks, and those on the exergue to denote the town from which they were issued, with this difference, however, from some other numismatists, that he makes the p. in all cases stand for *percutsa*, and not for *pecunia*.

It becomes of some importance to ascertain, if possible, the probable origin of this deposit, and to determine, so far as we can, whether or not there was any Roman road, or station, at or near the spot where they were discovered. With this object in view, I have examined all the Itineraries which have remained to us from Roman times, and several old maps of Worcester and of the adjoining counties, but to no purpose. My inquiries have failed in yielding any thing that can be considered of real historical value, though there are many circumstances which render it exceedingly probable, that there may have been a station not far distant from Little Malvern. The position and the peculiar character of the hills themselves, "cropping out," to use a geological phrase, as they do from the surrounding

plain, and commanding a very extensive view over twelve counties, would point them out as a natural stronghold, whereby to maintain a settlement in the country, or to hold it against an invading army, though whether it ever was so occupied by a Roman army, cannot now be determined. The names of many places, indeed, at no great distance from Malvern, as that of Colwall, on the western or Herefordshire side of the hills (which in some old books is described as *Collis Vallum*), point apparently to a period when the Romans were the rulers of the country; and local tradition is rife of the existence of Roman camps in the neighbourhood, and of the discovery at various times of coins and other Roman remains.

On examining the Itineraries, it will appear that Malvern does not lie exactly upon any one of them, yet at no great distance from the XIIth and XIIIth, the first of which ran from Wroxeter, through Ludlow to Abergavenny and Caerleon, and the second through Cirencester, Gloucester, and Ross, to Monmouth. The latter must have passed within seven or eight miles of the spot, and the names of *Old Stretton*, *Church Stretton*, which probably derive their names from *Via Strata*, or the *Street*, a little to the east of Kenchester, render it not unlikely that a road may have run between Wroxeter and Gloucester, through Malvern. No doubt this is conjectural; but the great importance of Gloucester, during the Roman occupation of Britain, and the respective positions of Kenchester, Ludlow, and Wroxeter, render it not improbable.

No argument can be drawn in favour of a station from the present course of the road, which runs at the foot of the encampment where the coins were found, and which is now the main road from Worcester through Great Malvern, and Ledbury to Hereford. I had hoped at first to

have been able to prove that this road, if not itself ancient, occupied the site of an old road; but I can find no sufficient evidence on which to rest, and the earliest maps I have met with do not confirm this supposition. Had, however, the road been an ancient one, the probability would have been very strong that it owed its origin to Roman times, as one termination of it, namely that at Worcester, if not the other at Hereford, would have rested on a Roman town.

It is of more importance to examine into the claims which the adjoining hill, the Herefordshire Beacon, has to the character of a Roman camp; for if it can be shewn, that this remarkable cluster of earthworks is due to the Roman governors of Britain, there would be no great difficulty in accounting for the existence of a deposit of Roman coins only two miles from it.

Now it has been supposed by some, as is noticed by Mr. Nash, in his history of Worcestershire, to be, at least, of Roman origin, and perhaps the centre of the *Prætorium*, or Keep; an idea which seems to derive some confirmation from the name mentioned before, of the village adjoining, Colwall; some other Roman remains in Herefordshire having to this day the name of *Walls*, and the wall of Severus in the north, still retaining among the people, the title of *Gual Sever* (*Vallum Severi*); but, whatever may have been their original state, the present character of the earthworks bears no impress of Roman work, and differs indeed altogether from the shape of any known and well-ascertained Roman fortification. Its general shape approaches that of a long irregular ellipse, and the disposition of the ditches, two of which surround the central rampart, corresponds with that figure. The probability is, that, as has been suggested by one of the local antiquaries, it was constructed by the

Britons as an outwork when gradually driven by the Romans across the Severn; an use to which it is said to have been put in the autumn of A.D. 1405, there being good reason to believe that Owen Glendower, and the French forces under Sir John de Hengest, Lord of Hengueville, halted for some time on this hill, on their retreat from Worcester into Wales.

The district in which these coins were discovered was, up to the time of Constantine the Great, included in the province west of the Severn, called *BRITANNIA SECUNDA*, and was probably under the military government of the 2^{da} *Legio Augusta*, whose usual head-quarters were at Caerleon on the Usk. There is, however, no additional evidence of this fact, from the coins themselves.

The period of history over which they extend, is one of peculiar interest as well to the student of Roman history as to an Englishman. Then, for the first and indeed the only time, Rome saw her empire administered by six emperors, in pretended, if not real, harmony; and England, under the rule of the gallant rebel Carausius, for seven years successfully withstood the whole power of Rome, and made her first essay at dominion upon that element, which has since become peculiarly her own.

The comparative numbers of the coins discovered attest the presence of the legions of Constantius, so long the governor of the island, and who closed his victorious career at York, A.D. 306; while the large number of those of Diocletianus and Maximianus Hercules, who were associated with him in the empire, demonstrate the length of their united reigns, compared with the short duration of that of Maximinus Daza.

The hoard which I have just described has caused considerable interest in the neighbourhood of Malvern, and,

the attention of people having been aroused, we may fairly hope for yet greater discoveries: I have thought it therefore worth while to add to my paper the following lists of recorded discoveries of Roman Remains in the three adjoining counties of *Gloucester*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, so far as they have come under my observation in the course of my enquiries.

ABSTON.—Bricks, etc. in great quantities. (*Gloucestershire*.)

AMPNEY CRUCIS.—Urns, burnt bones, ashes, and Roman coins of the Lower Empire, near the London road. (*ib.*)

AUST PASSAGE.—Coins, etc. on the east bank of the Severn. (*ib.*)

BAGENDON.—Some portions of the *Ermin-street* (Via Arminia) are here still visible. (*ib.*)

BATSFORD, NEAR CAMPDEN.—Bricks, etc. The Roman road to Cirencester (Iter xiii.) near here; and there is an encampment nearly entire of some extent on the adjoining hill. (*ib.*)

BEACON HILL.—In the parish of Haresfield A vase containing from 2000 to 3000 Roman coins of the Lower Empire, found lately, and now in the possession of the Rev. Edward Niblet, the vicar of the parish. (*ib.*)

BECKFORD.—On the borders of Gloucester and Worcester; quantities of coins of late emperors. (*ib.*)

BEVERSTON.—Roman coins, fibulæ, and a large stone statue, v. Gough's Camden. (*ib.*)

BIBURY.—On the Coln; tessellated pavements, baths, etc. (*ib.*)

BITTON.—Remains of trenches, and other Roman works, which have been supposed to mark the site of the *Abone* of the 14th Iter. (*ib.*)

BISHOPSTONE.—Roman pavement Archæol. xxiii. 417—418. (*Worcestershire*.)

BLOCKLEY.—Probably a Roman town, from the number of coins and antiquities found there. (*ib.*)

BOURTON ON THE WATER.—Near the Foss road. A quadrangular camp, probably Roman, lies near it, including about sixty acres, now divided into several fields. Portions of a

paved aqueduct, with coins and other antiquities, have been found there. (*Gloucestershire.*)

BOXWELL.—Near the road from Gloucester to Bath, a tumulus of some size, which was opened by Mr. Huntley, and contained three urns with ashes. Near it, a place called South Warren, where Roman coins, human bones, and stones discoloured by fire, were found. (*ib.*)

CERNEY, NORTH.—An urn of blue glass has been found in a field called *Calmsden*, and near it a camp of considerable extent. (*ib.*)

CHEDWORTH.—At Letterscomb Bottom, in this parish, there is a Roman bath. The Foss road is two miles from this place. (*ib.*)

CHERINGTON.—In an arable field, called Hailston. A great quantity is of Roman coins, and walls of a large building. Archæol. xviii. p. 117. (*ib.*)

CIRENCESTER.—A statue in brass. Archæol. vii. 405, 406.; and in a garden called the *Leweses*, many coins, etc.; and in an adjoining field, a tessellated pavement, well preserved, and the upper part of a Corinthian capital. Archæol. vii. 406, and xviii. p. 124. (*ib.*)

CLEEVE.—Gold and silver Roman coins dug up. Archæol. xvii. p. 329. (*Worcestershire.*)

CLIFFORD CHAMBERS.—Roman coins. *Vide* Bigland, etc. (*Gloucestershire.*)

CLIFTON HILL.—Circular Roman outpost, with a parallel trench on the opposite hill, which were connected by several others with Oldbury. The name of *Castra Ostorii* has been attributed to this camp, and many Roman coins of the Lower Empire have been found there. (*ib.*)

COATES.—A strong camp, probably Roman. (*Worcestershire.*)

COLEFORD.—A vase, containing late Roman coins, was found in 1847. (*Gloucestershire.*)

COOMB END FARM.—In the parish of Colesbourn. Remains of a large building, and of a tessellated pavement, on a hill about a mile from the Roman road, between Gloucester and Cirencester. Archæol. ix. xviii. p. 112. (*ib.*)

CONDERTON.—Roman coins on the fields in great quantities, and hard by an oval lamp. (*ib.*)

CROMALL ABBOTS.—A tessellated pavement and an encampment, close to the Roman road from *Trajectus* to Oldbury. (*ib.*)

DAGLINGSWERTH.—Tessellated pavement, and the remains of foundations. (*ib.*)

DINDER.—Roman camp, commonly called the Oyster Hill.
(*Herefordshire.*)

DODDINGTON.—Roman urns and coins. (*Gloucestershire.*)

DORN.—Roman coins in abundance, and two barrows. (*Worcestershire.*)

DURSLEY.—A fine Roman villa, discovered in 1847, by P. B. Parnell, Esq. (*Gloucestershire*)

ELBERTON.—A small camp, probably Roman, on a rising ground, overlooking the Severn. (*ib.*)

ELKESTONE.—Near the Foss Road. Various antiquities, some Roman. (*ib.*)

FROCESTER.—A fortification on a high hill, probably, from its name, of Roman origin. (*ib.*)

GODBURY.—A camp, probably Roman. (*ib.*)

GLOUCESTER (CITY.) Roman pavement found in 1796, in Eastgate-street, on digging the foundation for a new charity school. *Archæol.* xviii. p. 123. A full detail of other discoveries will be found in Bigland's *Gloucestershire.* (*ib.*)

HAGLEY.—Some fragments of Roman workmanship. (*Worcestershire.*)

HARESFIELD.—A Roman villa, partially opened in 1847, at a place called Rudge Dowler, near Stoke End, in this parish. A denarius of Theodosius the Great, and other relics, now in the possession of Thomas Niblet, Esq. of Haresfield. (*Gloucestershire.*)

HENBURY.—On Blase Hill, in this parish, coins of Vespasian and Constantine. Three discoveries have been made:—by Sir Simon Harcourt, Bart., in 1708; at Sea Mills, in the parish, in 1712; and at Blase Hill, in 1768. A deed of rental for some land exists of the date 36 Henry VIII. in which the place is described “in campo de Abone-Town.” (*ib.*)

HENHAM.—In this parish several camps, some probably Roman. (*ib.*)

HOCKBURY.—Roman coins. *Archæol.* xviii. p. 114. (*ib.*)

HORTON.—A small square lamp is mentioned by Leland in *Itin.* (*ib.*)

KEMERTON.—In the works on Bredon Hill, Roman coins have been found. (*ib.*)

KEMPSFORD.—Spear heads, and iron bits for horses, the latter probably Roman, were dug up in 1670. (*ib.*)

- KENCHESTER.—Roman inscription. Archæol. xv. p. 391. (*Herefordshire*.)
- KINGS COTE.—In the parish of Beverston, a statue of stone, and fibula of silver coins of the Lower Empire, tesserae of a pavement, and beads of glass. (*Gloucestershire*.)
- KINGS HOLM.—A suburb of Gloucester. On the north-west side a large collection of Roman objects, camps, strigiles, curious statera, and great quantities of the coins of Claudius Gothicus, of some interest, as seeming to confirm the presumed Roman name, Claudiscastra. Archæol. viii. ix. and xviii. p. 121. (*ib.*)
- KINGS STANLEY.—Two miles from this place. A Roman camp exists, where eight altars have been discovered and some coins of Alexander Severus. Gough's Camden. (*ib.*)
- LASBOROUGH.—Roman inscription in Bowldown field. Gough's Camden. (*ib.*)
- LECHLADE.—Roman bath inlaid with tessellated stones. The Roman road to Cirencester passes through this town. (*ib.*)
- LEMINGTON THE LESS.—Many coins. The Foss Way from Warwick passes through the town. (*ib.*)
- LANGBOROUGH.—Vestiges of a Roman outwork may still be traced near the Foss Road. (*ib.*)
- LYDNEY PARK.—Remains of a large Roman camp, with a hypocaust and other antiquities. Archæol. v. p. 208. (*ib.*)
- NORTHLEACH.—In the hamlet of Easington, in this parish, a large double trench, supposed to be Roman. Gough's Camden. (*ib.*)
- OLDBURY.—In the hamlet of Thornbury. Many Roman coins have been found, and part of some entrenchments, comprehending two sides of a square, still remain. (*ib.*)
- PAINSWICK.—On a high hill, a place called Kinsbury, a square including three acres, and double trenched, in which Roman coins have been found. (*ib.*)
- PERDESWELL.—A bronze torques. Arch. xxx. p. 554. *Worcestershire*.
- RODMERTON.—On the north side of the Foss Way. Many coins and other Roman antiquities have been discovered here. Archæol. xviii. p. 113. (*Gloucestershire*.)
- SAPERTON.—Roman coins found near a place called Lark's Bush. Not far from it the remains of a Roman camp. (*ib.*)

- SUTTON WALLS. Near the Lug, a large camp generally considered to be Roman, to which the name of the place gives some confirmation. (*Herefordshire.*)
- SWA CLIFF.—In this parish, near Tadmerton, the remains of a Roman town, extending round the hill. Gough's Camden. (*Gloucestershire.*)
- SYNEFORD.—Near Cheltenham, Roman coins found. (*ib.*)
- TETBURY.—Roman coins found here. (*ib.*)
- TEWKESBURY.—Coins of Trajanus and Maximianus, found in a meadow near the town. Gough's Camden. (*ib.*)
- TETHERINGTON.—At Stidcot, in this parish, a tessellated pavement was discovered in the 17th century. (*ib.*)
- TOWBURY HILL.—A small camp, probably Roman, a mile from the Severn. (*ib.*)
- TREWSBURY.—Vestiges of an entrenchment, probably one of the *Castra Exploratoria* of the Romans (*ib.*)
- TWINING.—North of Tewkesbury. Roman coins found in a small camp near this place. (*ib.*)
- ULEY.—On Bury Hill, in this village, Roman coins have been found, and there are the remains of a Roman camp. (*ib.*)
- UPTON.—Many Roman coins have been found here. (*Worcestershire.*)
- WATERCOMBE.—A vase of Roman coins of the Lower Empire, now in the possession of Mr. Baker. *Vide Journ. of Brit. Assoc.* (*Gloucestershire.*)
- WATERMORE, NEAR CIRENCESTER.—Three Roman sepulchral inscriptions. *Archæol.* xxvii. p. 211. (*ib.*)
- WESTON UNDER PENYARD.—Bronze figure of Diana. *Archæol.* ix. 368. (*Herefordshire.*)
- GREAT WHITCOMBE.—Roman villa was discovered in 1818. *Archæol.* xix. p. 178. (*Gloucestershire.*)
- WITHINGTON.—Pavement found in 1811, and now preserved in the British Museum, in what is called the Old Town, or Withington upon Wall-Well. *Archæol.* xviii. p. 118. (*ib.*)
- WOODBURY HILL.—A Roman camp, containing about thirty acres. (*Worcestershire.*)
- WOODCHESTER, NEAR STROUD.—A tessellated pavement in the church-yard, and many Roman coins. *Archæol.* xviii. p. 116. (*Gloucestershire.*)

The following chain of fortresses, some of which have been mentioned above, extending along the edge of the Cotswould Hills, has been published by the late Lloyd Baker, Esq., in *Archæologia*, vol. xix.

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Clifton Down. | 13. Drake Stone, Hinchcombe Hill. |
| 2. King's Weston. | 14. Uley Bury. |
| 3. Blase Castle. | 15. The Beacon Hill, Haresfield. |
| 4. Knoll Park, near Almondsbury. | 16. Painswick Beacon. |
| 5. Elberton. | 17. Church Down, near Gloucester. |
| 6. Oldbury. | 18. High Brotheridge. |
| 7. The Abbey, near Alverton. | 19. Crickley Hill. |
| 8. Bloody Acre, Tortworth Park. | 20. Leckhampton Hill. |
| 9. Dyrham. | 21. Cleeve Hill. |
| 10. Old Sodbury. | 22. Nottingham Hill. |
| 11. Horton. | 23. Bredon. |
| 12. Westridge, near Wootton Under-Edge. | |

No doubt, many additions might be made to the foregoing lists; but I have thought so much would be enough to excite interest in the neighbourhood, and to induce those who may be resident in the localities mentioned, to make further and more systematic researches into the antiquities of their several counties.

W. S. W. VAUX.

British Museum, March, 1848.



III.

SILVER COINAGE OF SIAM.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, March 23, 1848.]

MY DEAR SIR,

I BEG to submit, for the inspection of the members of the Numismatic Society at their next monthly meeting, a specimen of the silver coinage of Siam, called, I am told, a Tekal or Tickal, and weighing $226\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

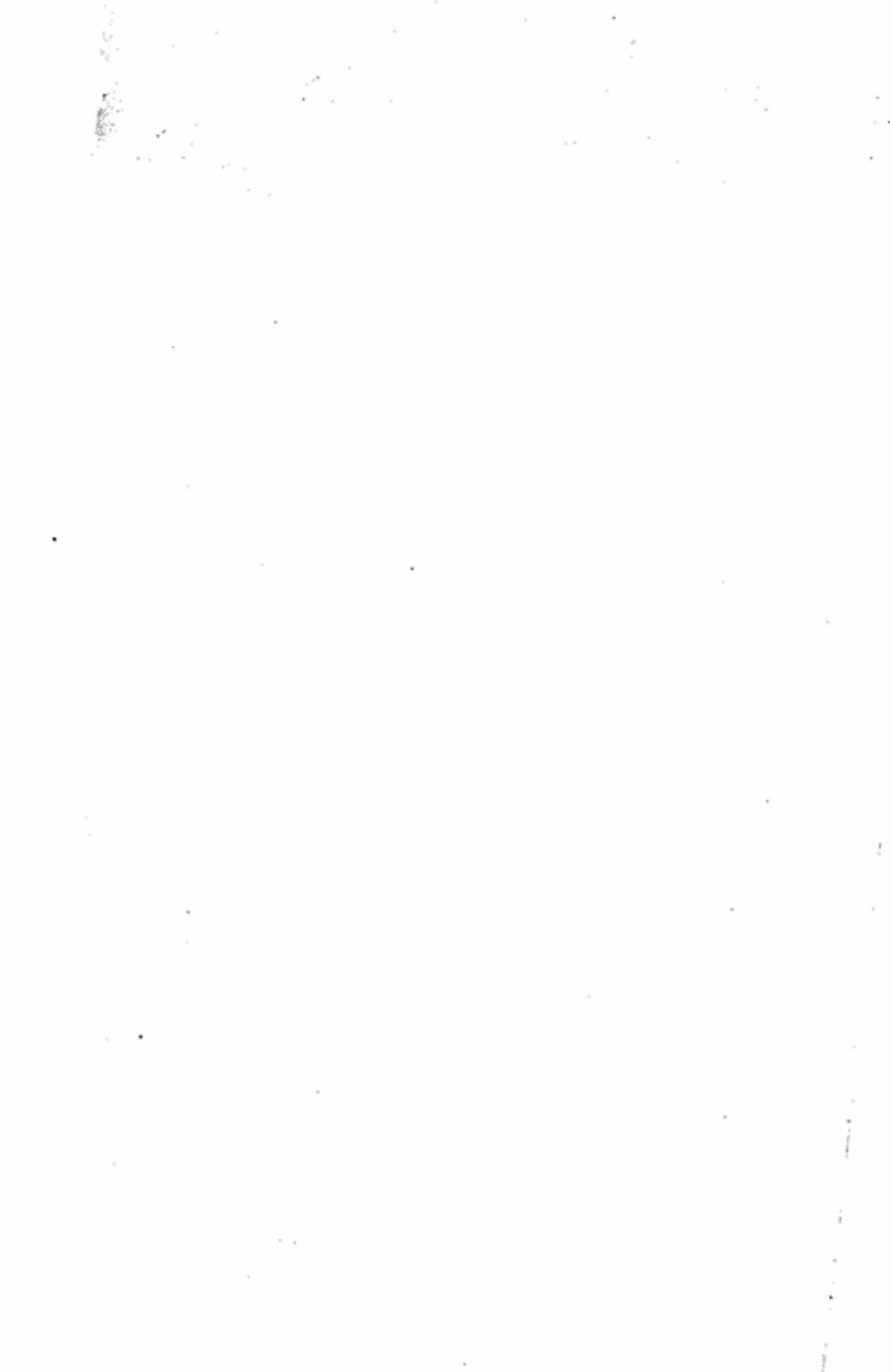
My notice was first drawn to the Siamese coinage by Daniel Haigh, Esq., of Leeds, shortly after the publication of a letter which I addressed to the President of the Numismatic Society upon the subject of African Ring Money and Jewel Currency, and which the society did me the honour to insert in their proceedings. Mr. Haigh very obligingly sent me Marsden's account of the Siamese coins; and a sketch of one, taken from that author's work, "*Numismata Orientalia*." As Marsden's sketch does not quite give the exact idea of the coin, I forward a sketch of the coin now exhibited.

Marsden says, "The specimens [of Siamese coins] in this collection, consist chiefly of lumps of silver of various sizes, and of a shape which it is difficult to describe in words. Tavernier compares them to hazel nuts, flattened semicircularly on four sides, but open like a horse shoe. The more simple way, however, of considering them is,



THE TEXAL.

Illustrating Article III.--Vol. xi. p. 40.



as cylinders cut in lengths of little more than twice the diameter, and then beat by hammering, until the flat ends nearly meet. They are also flattened at the side to receive two impressions, one of them heart-shaped, the other circular. Such is the general form of this singular species of money; and the weights of the several gradations in size, are 9 dwts.; 2 dwts. 10 grains; $14\frac{1}{2}$ grains; and 8 grains; with a single specimen in gold, weighing 15 grains; but there is also a much larger specimen in silver, weighing more than two ounces, irregular and complicated in its shape, and stamped with a variety of characters."—(Part ii. p. 807.)

The society will notice in examining the coin, that there are in it evident traces of the penannular ring form, to which Tavernier refers, as above, by comparing the shape to that of a horse-shoe. This shape would seem to have relation to a general crescentic form adopted in metallic money in the East. Denham and Clapperton, in their travels, speak of a metallic currency in Loggun, in the interior of Africa, consisting of thin plates of iron, "something in the shape of the tips with which they shoe race-horses;" and various authorities have stated the currency of gold rings as money in Africa, such rings being generally crescentic or penannular; and in New Calabar, copper and iron manillas of the same general shape, pass current as an exchangeable medium. In the instances of the Siamese coinage, and the Loggun iron money, there seems so little utility in the degree of crescentic form adopted, that the inference, at least in my judgment, appears admissible, that some primitive form must have been had in view, the exact character and memory of which may have passed away, the traces only being continued from habit, in a less decided shape. How long the Siamese may have used this

peculiar form in their money, it perhaps would be difficult to discover; but there are elements in their coinage which might almost induce the idea of a very remote period for the era of the origin of their type. Before discussing this point, however, I would beg to refer to the statement of Marsden, as given, that there are divisions of the coin (Tekal), all, it is to be supposed from the account, of the same shape. Marsden's tekal is noted at 9 dwt. or 216 grains; the one now before the society weights 226½ grs. The divisions stated are not quite regular; but are sufficiently so to show, that the *fourth* (58 grains); the *eighth* (14½ grains); and the *sixteenth* (8 grains); of the tekal are intended. Perhaps some irregularity may be common; as in the unit piece of Marsden and in that now exhibited, there is a variation.

I refer to this form, and these divisions of the Siamese coinage, though with much deference, as evincing a ground for an opposite opinion to that expressed by a learned member of this society, for whose judgment I have the highest respect: I allude to Mr. Hawkins, the distinguished keeper of the antiquities in the British Museum. Mr. Hawkins says, in his article upon jewels in the Cuerdale find (page 199 of the *Archæological Journal*, for September 1847), "Various kinds of personal ornaments, such as arm-lets, fibulæ, rings, etc. have been called ring money; and it has been maintained that such objects were formed for the purpose of circulating as money; that they were adjusted to a regulated weight; and that their value was universally recognised as soon as they were looked at. We believe the whole of this notion to be erroneous; that all these ornaments and lumps of metal were negotiated always by weight, and never by tale." Mr. Hawkins subsequently compares the state of the Cuerdale ornament bullion to "the stock of a maker of money in the East at

the present day, where the process is to run silver into holes of various sizes made in a box of sand, or on the ground, according to the quantity of bullion the coiner has got to melt at any particular moment. These ingots are cut into small pieces, adjusted to weight, then melted into globules, flattened, and struck with the proper type for circulation." I have given the passage at length, as far as it applies to the ring-money question. In the Siamese money, we have a form of crescentic coin adjusted to a regulated weight, and recognisable as soon as looked upon. It is true there is a stamp upon these coins, upon which I shall speak hereafter; but in a paper published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VIII. p. 209, I have shown, from the *Heimskringla* of Snorro Sturleson, that gold rings were adjusted to the weights of half a mark, a mark, and two marks; and it is expressly stated, that there were given to Thorer of Steig "two gold rings, which together stood for a mark;" nor do I see any more difficulty in believing that these rings were recognisable as soon as looked upon, and were adjusted to a particular weight for such purpose, than in admitting the fact, upon the authority of Cæsar, that iron rings, adjusted to a particular weight, passed in Britain as current money, amongst other denominations, when that conqueror invaded our shores.

I would by no means be understood as considering these remarks of any conclusive weight in the question of ring-money; but I offer them as a contribution towards the general stock of argument, from which hereafter a judgment may be formed upon the subject.

That the Siamese coins cannot have been formed by cutting off lengths of a rod of bullion, cast, as described by Mr. Hawkins, in a box of sand, and then knocking them up into their present shape, I think will be very evident;

for it would be very difficult to hammer up such short lengths into their horseshoe-like form. On the contrary, the probability seems almost to amount to a certainty, that they have been cast. Should the Society be of opinion that the tekals have been *cast* into their *general* form, I think they will arrive at a different conclusion as to the *impresses* upon them, which bear a strong resemblance to the small figures *stamped* upon our plate, to indicate its degree of fineness. Whether one stamp refers to weight, and the other to quality, I am unable to judge. The two sides of the coin towards the upper part are flat, as is the lower or bottom part. Marsden says this is designed for the purpose of receiving "two impressions, one of them heart-shaped, the other circular." This is not the case; for two of the flattened sides have no impressions, and the heart-shaped impress, charged with something like small lozenges, is stamped upon the round part of the front of the coin. The flattening appears to have no direct reference to the impression; but to be designed for the object of preventing the coin rolling about when placed upon a level surface, as in the process of counting: and their surfaces are triple, as it would seem, for the more ready application of a flat side to the plane.

It will be perceived that the coin, notwithstanding the crescentic trace, and the flattened sides, presents generally an irregular *globular* form; and I would respectfully solicit the attention of the Society to this particular. The earliest coins which have descended to us, have been remarkable for a bossy, semiglobular shape. Why this form should have been adopted, has never been clearly explained. It certainly was not chosen from any peculiar fitness for coinage; for had such been the case, it would not so soon have been discarded as it was. We may, therefore, con-

jecture that there was, in this globosity, the remains of a shape of bullion money used before the invention of coinage. What the probable object of that form was, I will presently venture to suggest; but before doing so, will request the society to look at the Siamese coin as a whole; and then to ask themselves if they can conceive any form of bullion money to have been more likely to have led to the invention of coinage, in the shape in which we first find it, than that which this coin exhibits. We notice a mass of bullion of a specific weight, presenting the trace of a jewel form, and stamped with a small mark to indicate its weight and fineness. Could any transition be easier than from this globular, marked mass of bullion, to the bossy drachms and didrachms of *Ægina*? It would be but, in fact, the application of Greek taste in the conversion of the small rude stamp into the figure of some consecrated animal or well-known sacred symbol.

As to the globular shape, it appears not improbable that it was adopted for a purpose of convenience, in the collection and storage of money. It cannot be doubted, that in the period immediately before the invention of medallion money, pieces of bullion of a specific weight, and convenient size, were in regular circulation; and would require suitable receptacles for their collection and storage. Bags, in exposed situations, would be liable to injury and spoliation; boxes, therefore, we should readily suppose, would be more likely to be employed, especially in receipts of large amounts. What, from general reasoning, we should imagine would be the case, is known by a particular indubitable record to have been so in fact. In the 23rd year of the reign of Jehoash, king of Judah, which, according to the admitted chronology, was about the year 856 B.C., a collection was made for the reparation of the temple.

Upon that occasion, the High Priest caused to be made a chest for the receipt of the money paid by persons as dues or offerings. This chest was placed at the door of the temple, "*on the right side*" as a person came into the house; no doubt for the convenience of dropping money into the chest with facility, with the right hand, as persons passed through the door. By reference to 2 Kings xii. 4, Exodus xxx. 13, and Leviticus xxvii. 2—27, it will be found, these dues varied from half a shekel to fifty shekels, accordingly as they arose from the capitation tax, or from vows. In the passage 2 Kings xii. 9, it is said, "the priests that kept the door" put the money into the chest; but in the parallel passage, 2 Chron. xxiv. 10, it is stated, that "all the princes and all the people cast into the chest" their moneys. Both passages are correct; for dues would be received and deposited by the "priest," and offerings by the donors. The account of the receipt of these dues and offerings, which, received from a whole nation into one depositary, would necessarily cause a hurried collection, gives us incidentally a description of the exact manner in which that collection was made, so as to combine celerity with security. The priest or his officer "*bored a hole* in the lid of the chest," through which hole the half shekels, and shekels, were cast by the priests or people.

The above incidental account of a great national money payment, at a period about, or immediately preceding the era of the invention of medallion money, may give us an insight into the probable shape of bullion money generally at the time.

The weight of the shekel is stated by Arbuthnot, to have been, as near as may be, 219 grains; and by looking at the Siamese coin before the Society, it will be seen, that a mass of silver of that weight ($226\frac{1}{2}$ grains) could easily, in

a globular shape, be cast through a round hole bored in the lid of a chest. That the word translated *bored*, in our version, is rightly rendered, and means such a round perforation as would be effected by what we term boring instruments, may be seen by reference to the word כּוּרָה (p. 426) in Lee's Hebrew Lexicon, where the author gives his view of the meaning as "*pierced, bored through, bored a hole.*"

I would wish to be permitted to say a few words upon the understood name of the Siamese coin, Tekal, or Tickal. By reference to the book of Daniel v. 27, it will be seen, that *tekel*, means to *weigh*; the same idea as conveyed by the word *shekel*; see in Lee, (p. 629) חֶקֶל Chald. *weighed*; מֶשֶׁקֶט *weight*, a *shekel*, Hebr. (p. 613), שָׁקַל *weighed* (614). It will be recollected that the name of one of the earliest coins struck by the Greeks, or Greek colonists, the Stater, bears in the Greek language the same import, *weighed*, or *weight*. From the name of the Siamese coin, *Tekal*, and the close approximation of its *weight* to that of the *shekel*, a supposition may, I think, be formed, that this type of money may have been handed down from a very remote period; a supposition by no means violently opposed to the long-enduring, slightly-changing habits of the East. If this be held as not unlikely to be the case, the examination of the coin offered for inspection may not be without some little interest to the members of the Numismatic Society, and may tend to cast a possible light upon the form of bullion money antecedently to the invention of medal money; an invention which, perhaps, was not a sudden and complete change from weighed bullion to regular coin, but was preceded by steps which gradually led to coinage; steps of which no record has descended to us. With a view to call attention to this latter interesting investigation, not suffi-

ciently, it seems to me, pursued by numismatic students, I have presumed to offer these passing observations upon a singular form of money to the Numismatic Society, hoping that they may induce the researches of more experienced and abler minds than my own, in this little trodden field of numismatic inquiry.

Soliciting the pardon of the Society for this trespass upon their time, and requesting you personally to accept my thanks for any trouble I may have occasioned you, allow me to assure you, that I remain,

My dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

W. B. DICKINSON.

Leamington, 20th March, 1848.

John Yonge Akerman, Esq.,

Foreign Secretary of the Numismatic Society of London.

IV.

NOTICE OF A MEDAL OF THE CHEVALIER D'EON.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, December 23rd, 1847.]

Bust to the right of the Chevalier D'Eon.

Legend.—MADAME D'EON.

Rev.—Has this inscription—

AVOCAT AU PAR^T DE PARIS, DOCT^R EN D^R CAPIT^L DE
DRAG^S CHEVALIE : DEL R. ET M DE ST. LOU^S MINESTRE
DE LA COUR DE FRANCE EN ANGLITERRE GENTILHOMME
D'AMBASSADE EN RUSSIE 1777.

I BEG to introduce to the notice of the members of the Numismatic Society, a medal of the long-forgotten Chevalier D'Eon; with a very brief sketch of the history of that celebrated person, and extracts from the French of "Letters, Memoirs, &c., of the Chevalier D'Eon, Minister

Plenipotentiary from France to the king of Great Britain." Many of these letters are written by the Duc de Praslin of that day, a name, which has at this time excited a very painful interest.

The Chevalier was born on the 5th of October, 1728, and was baptized the 7th of the same month in the parish of Notre Dame; he was one of several children, all of whom were married into good families. He followed his studies at Mazarin College. He made rapid progress, and was soon in a state to pass the Ecoles de Droit. He followed this new career with the same rapidity of success. He had already passed the first degrees which lead to a doctorate, but being too young for such pretensions, a dispensation of age was obtained, and he was received as a doctor of civil law, and advocate in the parliament of Paris. He cultivated a taste for literature; he associated the political with the fine arts, and published several works. He was taught by the most celebrated fencing-masters to handle the sword; and during his leisure hours he left his study, and went to the hall of the academy to draw with the most skilful. He had just distinguished himself in his political career, and desired to gain glory in the army. He joined the dragoons of Autechamp, and fought with great gallantry, and was wounded in the head and thigh. He was sent on a mission to Russia, and conducted himself in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the king of France; and while in England, his conduct for some time gave general satisfaction. His obstinacy in not giving up his appointment, when ordered to do so by the king of France, was his ruin; and he lost his best friends in France by having printed the letters which he had received from them: indeed, this gave such offence to the Count de Guerchy, that

the Chevalier was tried for a supposed libel against the French ambassador, by a special jury of the county of Middlesex in the King's Bench, Westminster, 9th July, 1764. The defendant not thinking proper to make any defence, was found guilty. Little I believe was known of him from this time ; but he continued to live in London, and at last died in some street of little note. He appears to have been a man of great talent, witty, satirical, and sometimes humorous, with a great portion of conceit. He was not used well by those who employed him ; for he complained bitterly of the want of means to keep up any degree of consequence suited to his station, and that he had spent his private fortune in the public service. He writes a letter to the Comte de Guerchy thus :—" I have the honour to send you herewith my private correspondence with the Dukes of Nevernois and Praslin, and M. de Seinte Foy, chief clerk for foreign affairs, on the subject of the uncertainty and injustice I experience with regard to my ministerial position, of my expense at the court of Great Britain, and of my unjust recall (*rappel griffé*)."

He writes to the Duke de Praslin :—" M. le Duc de Nevernois orders me to write to you here two words, to beg of you to fix as soon as possible a salary suitable to my appointment, and to point out to you at the same time, that the 4th of June is the birth-day of the king of England, and against that day, I must have a new suit, either laced or embroidered, for the resident of France, and the same also for the queen's birth-day. With my salary as secretary I cannot afford to drink small beer, and the dragoon, your servant, drinks only wine. Whilst they last, gala or not, I shall go on with my uniform till death or dishonour overtake me ; my best fortune is my zeal for the king." And again to M. St. Foy :—

"I shall write on Monday to MM. the Ducs de Praslin, and Neversois, to beg of them as I now do of you, to have my salary fixed, and in a manner suitable to the country in which I live. I shall not be unreasonable, I wish to please M. de Guerchy and yourself, M. le Duc de Praslin above all; but my means do not permit me to make war against my expenses in time of peace. During the last ten years that I have laboured, I have incurred debts, I have ruined my health." And lastly he writes to the Duc de Praslin:—

"I have already had the honour of presenting to you several memorials relating to my first journey into Russia, and particularly that by my letters of the 5th June, with notes referring to it, which establish the justice of my former claim. You had the goodness to lead me to hope for this payment when I went to Paris to carry the Ratification of Peace, but you had not the goodness to realize those hopes. For nearly nine years, I have regularly paid the interest of about 10,000 Livres, which I borrowed to serve the King. It is very desirable for me to entreat you to allow me to retire into my own country for the benefit of my health."

The Duc de Praslin answers this letter rather severely, Paris 17th Sep. 1763:—

"I could scarcely have believed, Sir, that the title of Minister Plenipotentiary could so easily have made you forget the *point*¹ from which you started; and I had no reason to expect you would augment your pretensions in proportion as you receive new favours. In the first place, I did *not* lead you to expect the reimbursement of your first journey into Russia, since thereof, my predecessors, of whom you made the same demand, apparently did not consider it legitimate. Secondly, you complain to me of

¹ This word is played upon in D'Eon's letter.

vain promises, made to you; and that assuredly is not the manner I act towards you. You set out in uncertainty as to the destiny which awaited you here; and I promised you the pension which has been granted you. At last you came to bring the Ratification from England. If this picture offer you subjects of dissatisfaction, I own to you I shall be obliged to give up employing you, for fear of failing in the means of recompensing your services; but I rather presume you will be sensible of the truth, and that for the future, you will place more confidence in my good intentions towards you, than in representations which are without foundation. I hope, for the future, you will be more circumspect in your demands, and more careful in managing the money of others, and that you will endeavour to be as useful to M. de Guerchy, as you have been to M. the Duke of Nevers.

“PRASLIN.”

In answer to this severe letter, M. D'Eon writes to M. le Duc de Praslin:—

“I have received your letter of the 17th, and can only look on it as the result of anger. I earnestly entreat you not to attribute to want of respect the necessity which obliges me to answer your letter in columns.² As soon as I was informed, M. le Duc, that in spite of myself I was to be appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, I had the honour of writing to the Duc de Nevers that I looked on this title rather as a misfortune for me than as a benefit, because in all things we must look to the end. At a very early age I left the ‘*Point Tonnerre*,’ my country, where I have a little

² The letters of the Duke of Praslin are on one side; answers to them on the other. D'Eon's answers, condensed, are only given.

estate, and a house at least six times as large as that occupied by the Duc de Nevers in London. In 1756, I set out from the '*Point*' Faubourg St. Germain, to make three journeys into Russia and other courts of Europe, to join the army, to come to England, to be the bearer of four or five different treaties to Versailles, not as a courier but as a man who had worked at them and contributed to them. I have often made these journeys, though sick to death, and with a broken leg; but in spite of that, I am ready, if Fate decrees it, to return to the '*Point*' whence I started. I shall there find again my former happiness, my new is only ideal; and I often regret the pleasures which I did not value whilst enjoying them. The '*Points*' from which I did set out, were to be a Gentleman, an Officer and Secretary to the Embassy, all which '*Points*' lead to be minister in foreign courts. What is there then so surprising that, after so long and hard an apprenticeship not unattended with applause, I should at length wish for freedom? But whatever may have been 'the *Point* from which I set out,' the King, my master, having chosen me to represent him, I ought to have forgotten all, and should have only before my eyes the '*Point*' at which I now find myself.

" By chance, or rather good fortune, I met you on the road; *you* coming to France for the congress of Augsburg, *I* going into Germany to rejoin the army. In passing, I had the honour of presenting to you a memorial, for I always have one ready in my pocket to give to the ministers I may meet on the way. You distinctly promised, the last time I had the honour of dining with you at Versailles, that you would take into consideration my memorial. There was no one at table but yourself, Madame la Duchesse de Praslin and myself, very sorrowful. At dessert, I had the honour of recalling to your memory all my

former memorials in this affair. By what unfortunate chain of fatality my first Muscovite caravan had not been paid, and how, during nearly eight years, I had annually paid the interest of the sum of 10,000 livres, borrowed for that purpose, without reckoning a part of my little patrimony that I had sold to be more productive. At this recital, the heart of Madame la Duchesse naturally softened, and with a voice as gracious as compassionating, she said to you:— ‘ M. le Duc, you really ought to see that this poor M. D'Eon is paid. How faithfully he has served the king.’ You were also, M. le Duc, affected, and replied with kindness:— ‘ Well, I will investigate all that. I would willingly make them pay; but how is it to be done?’ After that, you rose from the table, you rinsed out your mouth, and my account was no longer thought of: it was settled. The same evening, relieved of the burthen of the Ratification of Peace, I set out again for England, where I have ever since remained, overwhelmed with the weight of my little debts, which turns my brain and prevents my doing any thing well. I shall remember all my life, with as much gratitude as respect, the noble, gracious and generous manner with which you received me at Vienna. I shall only take the liberty of observing, that I was not unknown there, as the following anecdote will prove:—Despatched, in 1757, from St. Petersburg to carry to Vienna and Versailles, the accession, so much desired, of Russia, to the treaty of the 1st of May, and a letter to the Empress Elizabeth and to the Empress Maria Theresa, I arrived in the evening at the gates of Vienna, when they would not allow me to pass; and insisted on searching me, notwithstanding my passports. *I, who am rather determined or headstrong*, insisted on entering, and would not be searched. As I was not the strongest, I lay down at the gate. In the meanwhile, an officer of

hussars going his round on the ramparts, hospitably received me into his room. The king not having then an ambassador at Vienna, I wrote early in the morning to the Baron de Toussainte, to whom I was known, and who I knew was a particular friend of the emperor. Immediately an order came, which broke two of the custom-house clerks, and the officer was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. You say, I arrived sick at your house, and you restored me. It is true, M. le Duc, that I did arrive at your house at Vienna, attenuated with hard work, afflicted with scurvy and other maladies; and that, though suffering, I had travelled night and day in the service of the king. I arrived at your hotel at death's door; I was the Lazarus and you the mild Saviour. You restored and healed me at Vienna: and, on reaching Paris, I nearly died of weakness and the small pox. I confess that I did set out with uncertainty as to my fate at Versailles. Out of certain little sums which I had received, 1700 livres only remained, which I gave to my mother to console her in my absence. I am her only son; and I love my mother, who often writes to me, and entreats me to return and live quietly near her in Burgundy; and to leave the affairs of the great, where there is not any thing to be gained for little folks, but reproaches, bitterness, and grief."

In 1765 (March) a bill of indictment was found by the Grand Jury of Middlesex, against a foreigner of great distinction, protected, in most cases, in virtue of his employment, by the law of nations, for a conspiracy against the life of the Chev. D'Eon, on the evidence of the very person employed to carry it into execution. This event caused no small uneasiness to some persons in high station, till they reflected that the prosecution might be stopped by a *noli prosecute*, which it accordingly was.

June 13, 1765.—Chev. D'Eon was outlawed for not appearing to receive judgment for a libel on the Count de Guerchy.

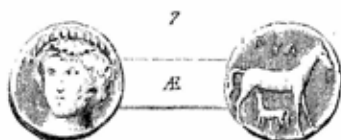
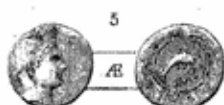
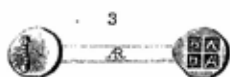
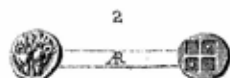
July, 1777.—Trial before the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield respecting the sex of Chev. D'Eon. The action was brought by Mr. Hayes, surgeon, of Leicester Fields, against one Jaques, a broker and underwriter, for the recovery of seven hundred pounds, the said Mr. Jaques having, about six years ago, received fifteen guineas per cent., for every one of which he stood engaged to return one hundred guineas, whenever it should be proved Chev. D'Eon was a woman!

W. D. HAGGARD.

MISCELLANEA.

WE perceive, by a catalogue now in circulation, that Messrs. Leigh, Sotheby and Co. are entrusted with the disposal, by auction, on the 13th of April, of the series of coins and medals formed by Capt. John James of Dover, who has relinquished collecting. The collection comprises some excellent specimens of English medals and coins, with some fine and well-preserved examples, in large brass and silver, of the Roman series. There are also a few numismatic books and priced catalogues of coin sales during the last century.





V.

UNEDITED AUTONOMOUS AND IMPERIAL GREEK COINS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, April 27, 1848.]

APOLLONIA IN CHALCIDICE.

No. 1.—Front-faced head of a Lion.

R.—ΑΠΟΛΛ. in the four segments of an indented square.

AR. 3. $25\frac{3}{16}$ grains. (*My cabinet*). [See plate, fig. 1.]

2.—Same head.

R.—Indented square; in two of the segments is a small dot. AR. $\frac{1}{2}$. $3\frac{3}{16}$ grains. (*My cabinet*). [Fig. 2.]

3.—A sort of insect, perhaps an ant.

R.—ΑΠΟΛΛ. within the four segments of an indented square. AR. $\frac{1}{2}$. $3\frac{7}{16}$ grains. (*My cabinet*). [Fig. 3.]

The peculiar manner in which the letters are disposed on the reverses of the first and last of these coins, points out their probable origin to Macedonia, where alone similar examples occur, as on the money of Acanthus, Neapolis, Traelium, etc. An inspection of the workmanship leads to the same conclusion. There can be no doubt, also, that the letters are intended to indicate a city of the name of Apollonia.

I find there were two Apollonias in Macedonia, either of which might dispute the right to these coins; one in that region called Chalcidice, and the other in Mygdonia; the former, from its position nearer those cities using a similar method of legend, seems to me the best entitled to them.

TARPEA IN LOCRIDE.

Female head, to the right.

R.—ΤΑΡΦΕΩΝ. Naked warrior advancing to the right, wearing a helmet, and armed with a round shield and a short sword. Æ. 3. (*My cabinet*). [Fig. 4.]

The remote antiquity of Tarpeia, a city of the Locri-Epicnemidians, is testified by Homer, who mentions a band of its warriors as being present at the siege of Troy; and who, united with other Locrian troops, were commanded by the famous Ajax, son of Oïleus.

The types, both on the obverse and reverse of this unique coin, present servile copies of those on a well-known silver coin of the Locri-Opuntians: the warrior is no doubt intended to represent Ajax,—a subject equally appropriate to every city of the province.

According to Colonel Leake, the site of Tarpeia is near the modern town of Bodonitza, which was fortified with a small castle by William of Champagne, in the year 1208.

NAULCHUS IN IONIA.

Youthful helmeted head to the right.

R.—ΝΑΥ. Dolphin: the whole within a circle formed by the windings of the Meander. Æ. 2. (*My cabinet*).
[Plate, fig. 5.]

The initials and the presence of the Meander on this unique coin are sufficient proofs of the correctness of my classification.

Naulochus is only mentioned by Pliny (lib. v. cap. 29), who places it between Myus and Priene.

BARATEA IN LYCAONIA.

ΩΤΑΚΙΑΙΑΝ CΕΥΗΡΑΝ C. Bust of Otacilia Severa, to the left.

R.—ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΑΥΚΑΟ. ΒΑΡΑΤΕΩΝ. Female seated on a rock, to the left, the modius on her head; in her left hand, a cornucopia, pointing with her extended right towards a small river genius at her feet. Æ. 6. (*My cabinet*). [Plate, fig. 6.]

The information transmitted to us of this city is exceedingly limited. From the coin, the only one yet discovered, we learn that it belonged to the community of Lycaonia, which agrees with the position assigned to it by Ptolemy (lib. v. cap. 6). This geographer writes the name Baratta, and in the Ecclesiastical Notices we find Barattha and Barathra. Hierocles is the only author who uses an orthography in accordance with the legend on the coin.

The female figure represented on the reverse of this unique coin, with the small figure swimming at her feet, is no doubt the genius of the city, which was probably situated on the banks of a river, the name of which I have no means for determining. Numerous examples of similar types are found on coins of Cilicia and of Syria.

PYLACAEUM IN PHRYGIA.

Laureated head, front face.

R.—ΠΥΑ. A mare standing to the right, suckling her foal. Æ. 3½. (*My cabinet.*) [Fig. 7.]

The present coin was brought to me from Phrygia, together with several others of various cities of the same province; and from this circumstance, connected with the truncated legend, I am induced to assign it to Pylacaeum.

Pylacaeum appears to have been a place of small importance, as its name is recorded by Ptolemy alone, who places it in Phrygia Major, between Themisonium and Sala.

The type of a mare suckling her foal is unusual on ancient coins, and only occurs in another instance, on a very rare coin of the Thessalian Larissa.

H. P. BORRELL.

Smyrna, 1st February, 1848.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.

VI.

PEHLEVI LEGENDS ON THE COINS OF THE LAST
 SASSANIAN KINGS, OF THE EARLY ARABIAN
 KHALIFS, OF THE ISPEHBEDS OF TABERISTAN,
 AND ON THE INDO-PERSIC COINS OF EASTERN
 IRAN. BY DR. JULIUS OLSHAUSEN. COPENHAGEN,
 1843.

[IN our notice of the work of M. A. de Longpèrier, on the coins of the Sassanian Kings of Persia (*Numismatique Chronicle*, Vol. III. p. 48), we adverted to the existence of numerous coins of a similar type, supposed to be copies or imitations of them, by the Arabs and the Indians, the inscriptions on which had not been decyphered. M. de Longpèrier announced an intention of publishing an account of these coins; but his intention has not been fulfilled; and we should still be unable to assign them their proper place in Asiatic history, had not the successful researches of Dr. Olshausen, of the University of Kiel, cleared up, if not entirely, yet in many respects, the obscurity with which they were enveloped. The results were reported in a small tract, which was communicated to the Oriental Society of Germany; and as the subject is of considerable curiosity and interest, and as it has been but little investigated in this country, though particularly rich in collections of the Arabic and Indo-Sassanian coins, we think we shall render a not unacceptable service to those who take an interest in this department of Numismatic science, and to such of our readers as are possessed of the coins in question, by publishing the following translation of the treatise of Dr. Olshausen, which has been placed at our disposal.]

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

THE Persian coins on which we find the emblems of the religion of Zoroaster, exhibit at least two specimens of old Persian characters. Of these, one is that which was long since decyphered by M. Silvestre de Sacy. It belongs to the coins of the early Sassanian kings, and serves to represent a language which appears to be substantially the same with that which M. Anquetil du Perron acquired from the Parsis of India, under the name of Pehlevi. The letters have clearly the construction of a Semitic alphabet, and wear an aspect of high antiquity. The individual letters are unconnected, and their forms are sufficiently rude. A closer examination shews that they widely depart, in many respects, from the earlier forms of the Semitic alphabets; and the distinctions of several of the letters are so much disregarded, that the decyphering of the writing is more than usually difficult. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the explanation of the inscriptions on the coins on which these characters occur, has made no progress of any value since the meritorious labours of De Sacy. We might have expected, with the course of time, some material improvement and extension of the foundations which were laid by him; but, for myself, I must confess, that I did not endeavour, with any great earnestness, to extend my acquirements in this field, although the further research was not wholly neglected. My studies have lain long enough in neighbouring regions, to afford me an inducement to make incursions into this province; only, it has not often happened to me to have had convenient access to the collections in which the study might be followed up; and I was discouraged by the rudeness and indistinctness of the

inscriptions. I therefore laid the study aside, and until lately have devoted to it but little persevering attention.

There is found, however, upon Persian coins of the same types, a second species of ancient writing, which, although indisputably allied to the first, is of later date, and is more elegant and serviceable, with characters which, in some cases, combine into groups. These have attracted me as old acquaintances, as my attention was first drawn to the coins, the legends of which are written in them, twenty years ago; for the writing is the same as that which I had become familiar with in Paris, in 1826 and 1827; the same, in fact, which was used by Anquetil's Parsi teachers, and which their successors employ to the present day. Subsequently to that period, I had had occasional opportunities of casting a hasty glance at similar coins, but no more. No explanation of them existed, as far as I was aware, nor had any attempt been made that had excited notice. I should willingly have explored their contents, and revealed them to the learned world; but there was no possibility of engaging in a prolonged investigation: and an explanation founded on the hasty inspection of a limited number of examples, indifferently well preserved, was not to be thought of, nor were the contents to be made out from even better specimens, although the writing thereof was familiar to me, and not unrelated to my labours of many years in the so-termed Pehlevi. That the language of these inscriptions was identical with that of the books of the Parsis, was the rather to be expected, as De Sacy had recognised a closely similar form of speech in the ruder characters of the early Sassanian coins. One word, which was evidently the name of a sovereign, I decyphered without any trouble, some time since, in the course of a brief examination of the coins in the royal cabinet at Copenhagen. This

was the name *Khurshid*; and it was sufficient to stimulate my curiosity to make out the contents of the rest of the legend. But who was Khurshid? I expected to find some explanation in my friend Mohl's extracts from the *Mujmih al Tawarikh* (Journal Asiatique, 3^{me} Serie, tom. xi. p. 266), according to which work, the Queen Azermidokht was originally named Kurshid; but the name on the coin accompanied the head of a man, and the Mujmih does not affirm that Queen Azermidokht had a man's head. During the last autumn, I was engaged with more arduous duties for a considerable period at Copenhagen, and had promised myself, at some future opportunity, a careful examination of the Pehlevi coins, when a lucky star led me on the 31st of October to the Royal Cabinet. I could not resist the inclination to bestow a glance upon my old friends; and, taking one of the coins into my hand, I had scarcely turned it over, when the scales fell from my eyes. In less than an hour I had read and understood the inscriptions on the whole of this class of coins which the Cabinet contains.

Why was this not earlier accomplished—and how was it that the explanation which, without any magic, I had discovered, had not long before been made public by other cultivators of Oriental Numismatics and Literature? When the circumstances are properly considered, it must be admitted that ample means were at hand for the solution of the enigma, and abundant facilities existed for successful research. Well-preserved specimens of the coins were to be found in many accessible collections, most of which were of elegant execution, and exhibited legends in a clear and graceful writing, which did not need to be made out for the first time, since it was the same which had been explained to Du Perron by his Parsi instructor, and of

which he had published the alphabet along with his translation of the Zend Avesta. The interest of the coins was also heightened by their presenting for the most part, along with the Pehlevi, legible Kufic characters, and the possible determination of the beginning of the Arab currency seemed calculated to furnish a clear understanding of these Persic bilinguals. Yet the Pehlevi legends remained unread. Von Fraehn, in his memoirs on the Khosru coins of the early Arabian Khalifs in 1822, remarks, with regard to them, "We shall probably come nearer to the truth with respect to these coins, on the obverse of which we have a king with a winged diadem, when the Pehlevi inscriptions which occur upon them all shall be decyphered. Hitherto, the attempts made to read them have been unsuccessful; but we may expect that they will be made out when we remember that the Sassanian coins themselves have found an interpreter. How has it happened that this more recent Pehlevi has remained still undecyphered? It strikes me that the reason may be that the die-cutters were Arabian workmen, and that they have, through their unacquaintance with the Persian characters, disfigured and rendered them illegible." Fraehn's surprise, as here intimated, was well founded; but the Arabian die-cutters are not responsible for the tardiness of the interpretation of these legends, and there is no necessity for any peculiar skill in decyphering them.

The Kufic legends, accompanying the Pehlevi, have met with better treatment; they have been early noticed and carefully explained—most fully and with the most satisfactory results, as far as I am aware, in 1833, by Professor Fraehn himself, a most profound cultivator of the wide field of Mohammedan Numismatics (see his memoir on the coins of the Khans of the Yuchi horde, and his collection of

miscellaneous tracts). Upon that occasion he thus remarked, with regard to the Pehlevi legends,—“The inscription next the fire-altar, as well as behind the head on the obverse, cannot yet be explained. The writing seems to be a corrupt sort of Pehlevi, but as long as we are not in a position to decypher the legends, and to read probably the names of the Persian princes of Taberistan, by whom they were, in all likelihood, issued, we must be content to determine only the chronology of the Arabs, whose names they also bear.”

Other Numismatists, besides Von Fraehn, are very likely to have fallen into the same mistake, and to have referred the characters on the coins to a corrupt Pehlevi; although, in fact, it is the very same Pehlevi that is employed by the Parsis. It is no reproach to that learned individual that this circumstance escaped him. His studies have not been directed to the old Persian language; and the only characters known to him were those which we have been accustomed to consider as Pehlevi, since they were decyphered by De Sacy. If Von Fraehn had not been in error with respect to the appropriation of the inscriptions, he might be well excused for omitting the explanation of the legends. All circumstances considered, we should voluntarily conclude that Pehlevi letters would express the Pehlevi language; but to acquire a knowledge of the latter for the sake of the decyphering of the inscriptions, is more than can be expected, and is not necessary. The task devolved, no doubt, naturally on those Oriental scholars who have cultivated the old Persian language, and Pehlevi especially, and might have been performed by my friend Müller, of Munich, the only one who has acquired, by his publications, a legitimate reputation as a Pehlevi scholar. But Müller, as far as I know, is no Numismatist, and has not directed his inquiries towards these coins, otherwise the interpreta-

tion of the legends would have given him no more trouble than it eventually gave me; whether any one else has diligently studied Pehlevi I am not aware; but it is to be regretted that it was not done by M. A. De Longpèrier, who had such an inducement to undertake it in the furtherance of his especial labours regarding the Sassanian coins, whose legends are written in the Pehlevi language.

Dr. Dorn, of St. Petersburg, appeared at one time to be in the way to decypher our inscriptions. In his essay on three coins with Sassanian devices (*Bulletin of the Imperial Academy, class history, tom. i. No. 3*), but the few examples of Pehlevi which he has given, shew that he had not hit exactly on the right path. I am far, however, from intending by this remark to imply anything like censure. On the contrary, I am only desirous of briefly exemplifying the real difficulties which opposed the outset of all attempts at explanation in order to offer an excuse for myself, who, notwithstanding my familiarity with Pehlevi writings, failed at the first inspection to discover, what at a later date, in a great degree, came as it were of its own accord.

The Pehlevi alphabet, in the elegant form in which it appears on some of the coins, and, in the beautiful fount which is used in the printing of Müller's Essay (*Jour. Asiatique, 3^{me} serie, tom. vii*) is a very incomplete alphabet; and, although more copious than that of the older Sassanians, is still very imperfect. In stating this fact, I do not advert to the peculiarity which Pehlevi writing has in common with the parent of the old Semitic and most of her daughters, of disregarding the insertion of the vowel accents, and employing a small portion of the consonants as the signs of the long vowels, although the varied application of the same characters according to circumstances renders it difficult to understand their purport. Nor do I think so

much of the reduction of the general aspirates to a single character, which occurs in the Pehlevi alphabet, and obscures that etymological affinity which is indubitable between Pehlevi and other languages of the same family. For this reduction depends, probably, upon a peculiarity of that language which the writing was originally intended to represent, and is not to be considered as a defect of the alphabet. I more particularly refer to a peculiarity which has probably been inherited, at least in part, from the old Persian: the indiscriminate employment of letters originally distinct, and intended for different sounds, so that the same letters may represent *n* or *w* and *yjg* or *d*. Anquetil's instructors distinguished these last four characters by the annexation of diacritical points; but this appears to have been a modern contrivance adopted from the Arabic alphabet, and is employed in respect to the application of a common character for the aspirate.¹ That the same signs should express in long syllables the vowels *a*, *i* and *u* or *o*; the aspirate, the letters *y*, *j*, *g*, *d*, *v*, and *n* must necessarily create great perplexity; and it needs no pains to demonstrate that such a peculiarity in the written language is ill calculated to suggest a prompt and certain apprehension of the writer's meaning, although it may afford the means, in most cases, of ultimately attaining certainty. A thorough knowledge of the language conveyed through such a character is, therefore, a *conditio sine quâ non*.

¹ M. Du Perron, on this subject, observes. "Dans les manuscrits c'est ordinairement le sens qui détermine la différence de l'*a* à l'*h*, de l'*n* au *v*, de *v* à l'*o* et à l'*ou*, de l'*l* à l'*r*, du *p* à l'*f*, du *j* au *z*, du *d* au *t*, de l'*h* à l'*s* au *sh* et au *kh*. Les points distinguent l'*a* bref du *kh*, le *d* et le *dj* du *g* dur de l'*i*, mais fort souvent on ne les marque pas; ce qui rend la lecture des livres Pehlvis très difficile."—Zend Avesta, vol. ii. 426.

Dr. Dorn, consequently, who has had no opportunity of studying the Pehlevi language in the original manuscripts, may well be excused if he failed to decypher the inscriptions on the coins; and the same will account for the indifferent success that attended my first superficial researches, few traces appearing on the coins of the character of the Pehlevi language, as it was represented by Du Perron; the language being in fact much more nearly similar to modern Persian. This was, especially, the case in the coins latterly described by Fraehn, as the coins of the Ispehbeds of the countries on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. Subsequently, in the course of last summer, I was enabled, by a renewed residence at Copenhagen, to comprise additional specimens of the coins within my researches, and in consequence, to class my explanation of the Pehlevi legends under four divisions; the first treats of the "Coins of Taberistan," the second of the "Earliest Coins of the Arab Governors of Persia," the third of the "Indo-Persic Coins of Eastern Iran," and the fourth of the "Coins of the last Sassanian kings."

CHAP. I.—ON THE COINS OF TABERISTAN.

THAT certain coins of the usual Sassanian type were current in the mountainous regions on the south of the Caspian, was made known by the researches of O. G. Tychsen (*Additamentum ad Introd. in rem Num. I. Mihr. p. 33.*), and more recently by those of T. C. Tychsen (*Comm. I. de Numis. vett. Persarum. in Comm. Soc. Goett. recentt. tom. i. p. 25*). Von Fraehn who had at first expressed a different opinion as to the origin of these coins, did himself infinite credit by retracting his opinion, and

shewing, in his treatise on the coins of the Khans of the Yuchi horde, from the little known histories of Mazenderan, Ghilan, and other countries along the southern shore of the Caspian, that the coins there met with present, along with the usual devices, the names of the Arab governors who were appointed over those provinces by the Khalifs, written in Kufic characters. It is necessary to give at full length his observations on the subject. Under the title *Ispehbedi*, he has the following remarks:—"With the *Essay on the Mohammedan coins*, published in the *Transactions of the Academy of St. Petersburg* (part 3.), I gave rough sketches of the coins in question (plate xvi. a.), and of others somewhat resembling them. They were issued by the earlier Arabian Khalifs, before the introduction of a pure Mohammedan coinage, or before the year of the Hijra 76, in the newly conquered Persian provinces, and retained or rather imitated the Sassanian device. I therefore called them *Arabico-Khosru coins*. Soon afterwards, or in the year 1827, I admitted the conviction derived from consulting the obscure histories of Mazenderan, Ghilan, and the other provinces south of the Caspian, that those coins were all *Ispehbedi* اِصْبَيْدِي and those with an inscription in one language only, as well as those with a bilingual inscription, originated with the petty Persian princes, who, at first, ruled over the provinces as viceroys of the Sassanian kings, with the title of '*Ispehbed*.' Upon the decline of the Sassanian monarchy, they assumed independence. Being devoted to the faith of their fathers, they defended themselves for a long time against the might of the Mohammedan Arabs; and, even after the country was, in part, wrested from them, and they were forced to submit to the governors appointed by the Khalifs, they continued to coin money with the customary Persian im-

pression, adding to it the name of the Emir, or a passage from the Koran. Of the dynasties which these Ispehbeds, who, at last, retained nothing of their authority but the title, founded, and of which some existed until the rise of the Sefis of Persia it is sufficient to specify the following. The Káran's *الكارن*—who reigned from about fifty years before the Hijra, to the year 224 after it. 6. The Dabuyas *الكلويه* or the first line of the Gaoparas from Hij. 40 to 140 c. The Badusepáns *البادوسپان* or second line of the Gaoparas from Hij. 45 to 881. d. The Bawands *الباوند* the first branch, or the Kayusias *كايوسيه* and the second branch or Ispehbeds, specially so called. The coin more particularly referred to, belonged to a prince of the Badusepán dynasty, perhaps to Shahriar bin Badusepán, or to one of the first race of the Bawands, Surkhab bin Mihr merdan, and was struck about the year 155—161 of the Hijra (A.D. 772—778), or H. 165—167 (A.D. 781—783), for within these periods lived the Omar whose name appears in Arabic characters on the obverse in front of the bust of the Ispehbed, with the winged crown. The name I find given more fully on another coin in the collection of Count Theod. A. Tolstór as Omar bin al Ala *عمر بن الملاله*² who was governor of Taberistan, on the part of the Khalifs, Mansur and Mehdi. The reverse exhibits the emblems of fire-worship to which these Persian princes were then and even later devoted, namely the Fire-altar, and the two guardians of the sacred flame." Then follow the above mentioned remarks on the Pehlevi Legends; and in a note the following account of the governors appointed by the Khalifs,

² In his collection of smaller tracts, Von Fraehn gives the name at length, as Omar ben al alá ben Abd-ul-muttalib.

whose names occur on Kufic letters upon the coins. "Those coins which bear the name of the celebrated Hejaz, were most probably struck between the Hijra years 78 or 79 and 95 (A.D. 697—714), by Ferkhan the Great, the Ispehbedi-Ispehbedian of the Dabuya dynasty. On one of them appears the name of Mukatil, who cannot well be any other than Mukatil ben Hakim al Akki, whose history was composed under the two first princes of the house of Abbas, and who appears to have been sent from Jaffa to Taberistan in the Hij. 134—136 (A.D. 751—753). Those with the name Sayid or Sayid ben Dalej, were coined in the Khalifat of Al Mehdi, in the year 162—164 Hij (A.D. 778—780), when he was governor. One with the name Jerir belongs probably to the time of Harun al Rashid. One with the name Hani, is of the beginning of the reign of Mamun. ii. 198 (A.D. 813); when Hani ben Hani held the government of Taberistan. Lastly the coin bearing the name of Abdullah, was without doubt coined in the reign of the last named Khalif; although, from the absence of the paternal appellation it is uncertain which Abdullah is meant, especially as at that date Taberistan had several governors so named. This much have I ascertained in my examination of the Asiatic Museum of the Academy, with respect to the coins issued by the Geber princes of Mazenderan, in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and which, together with the coins of the Khalifs and other Mohammedan princes, of that or of a still later period have been dug up, not unfrequently in Russia, and on the shores of the Baltic; and bear testimony to the existence of a lively and steady commercial intercourse between Russia and the countries south of the Caspian Sea."

The contents of this notice were exceedingly acceptable

to me when I visited, as I have mentioned, the Royal Cabinet of Medals at Copenhagen, and took in hand the examination of the coins, which along with Pehlevi legends bore Kufic inscriptions. There were nine of these in the Royal Cabinet, all silver, of which five had the name of Omar, in Kufic characters, and the other four were severally in the same letters, Mukatil, Sayid, Jerir, and Hani. These names occur on eight of the coins, on the obverse to the right, before the well-formed profile of the prince; while on the contrary, on one of the Omar coins, which is unfortunately defective, the name, although on the obverse, stands on the left on the edge. There are, indeed, only the two first letters remaining, and other letters might have been added, especially the rest of the name; but at any rate the coins may be included among those bearing the word Omar.

Upon one of the Omar coins, and subsequently upon the other eight, I read the name of the province Taberistan in Pehlevi letters, only in the somewhat more ancient form of Tapuristan. The characters expressing this name are always found on the reverse, and to the right. They are so found in all the four coins, delineated in the accompanying plate. Their analysis leaves no doubt of the accuracy of the reading, and offers not the slightest difficulty. The first letter on the right, and on the upper edge of the coin, is the usual Pehlevi *t*, the second is *p*, the first stroke of which on the right, takes a more oblique direction than in the Pehlevi manuscripts which I have seen, and in this respect approaches nearer to the form of the latter, on the earliest Sassanian medals. The third letter is a *w*, here representing the vowel *u*; then follow *r*, *s*, *t*, the character used for the aspirate here representing the long *á*, and the last is *n*. In Niskh they would be expressed

طبرستان whence comes the more modern form Taberistan طبرستان It is through the influence of the Arabic that 't' is represented by the Arabic character ط for the Pehlevi alphabet has but one letter for it, and the more frequently employed but dissimilar ت. We may recognise in the word Tapuristan, the ancient appellation Tapurii, palpably preserved at that period, although in some degree altered in its more modern enunciation. The name of the country Tapúristán, might, perhaps, according to a common practice of the Arabs, be applied also to the capital; and, in that case, the town might be identified with Amul or with Saríya. But as we shall hereafter have occasion to remark, it is preferable to restrict the term to the denomination of the country, not of any city.

However assured may be the reading of the name Tapuristan, it may be here right to observe, that upon some of the coins in this and in other words, the form of the character 's' is not so distinct as in the greater number; and that this letter, with the representatives of the aspirate and of 'a,' cannot always be discriminated.

Immediately after making out the word, I succeeded in decyphering other legends on the reverse, and to the left. Upon all the nine coins of the Royal Cabinet we have, in this place, names of numbers identical with modern Persian. The following I can pronounce upon without hesitation. On Nos. 1 and 2 of the Omar coins, and on that of Sayid, occur Panch-wist-Sat, or in Niskh پنجمست صد Five (and) twenty (and a) hundred. The first two letters 'p' and 'n' need no explanation; the third, "ch," is somewhat differently formed from the same in the manuscripts and in the Paris type; it is older, but perfect and sufficiently analogous to the usual form. Next follow, first a 'w,' then a small accent, which is connected with the following letter,

the usual Pehlevi 'y,' here representing 'i'. Next come 'i' and 't,' completing 'wist.' It is now usual to pronounce and write 'bist', but the identity of the two, and the greater antiquity of the former, cannot be doubted. Lastly, follow 's' and 't,' which, combined, make 'sat' the 'sad' صد of modern Persia; but the Pehlevi has no character for ص and the sonant 'd' is softened to a primitive 't.'

Upon another of the Omar coins occurs "Haft wist sat," هفت بیست seven (and) twenty (and a) hundred. The initial aspirate in this instance in the manuscripts is represented by a mark which blends with the ensuing labial: I read the latter as the modern Persian 'f,' although the manuscripts have a rather different character for it; but I do not find anything of the kind on the coin, and think that at an early date the tenuis and the aspirate may have been expressed by the same character. If, therefore, any should prefer to read the word 'hapt,' I have no objection to make: it is the same thing, but may be the older form. The other term 'sat' has already been explained.

A third coin of Omar bears the numeral "Hasht wist sat" هشت بیست eight (and) twenty (and a) hundred. In the first, the sibilant is formed rather differently from that used in the manuscripts; but there can be no doubt as to the correctness of the reading. If, however, there be a difference from the modern Persian, the first word may be called 'asht,' with a harsh aspirate of the initial vowel. This form is allowable, both in writing and speaking, and would be ancient, and would approach nearer to Sanskrit.

A fourth coin, with the name of Omar, has the number "Nu wist sat" نه بیست nine (and) twenty, (and a) hundred. The word 'nu' is expressed by a duplication of the character which denotes 'n' as well as 'w' or 'u;' and any other rendering of the word would be impossible. But whether

'nu' be the true pronunciation, or whether the vowel, as is generally the case with 'w,' be long, or short as in modern Persian ; whether the word should be pronounced 'no' or 'nou,' may be doubted. The latter were, perhaps, etymologically preferable.

I consider as not less certain than the determination of these numerals, that of two other coins on which occur "Haft si sat" seven (and) thirty (and a) hundred, and bear the names of Jerir and Hani. They require some further remark. The coin of Jerir has at the end of the word 'sat' the character which usually denotes 'n' or 'w,' but which as Müller has observed (*Journal As.*: 3^{me} serie, tome vii. p. 333) stands at the end of words terminating with certain consonants, without any independent power, especially when attached to the Pehlevi 't.' Again, in 'si' thirty, the sibilant has not the customary form of the Pehlevi 's,' as it appears in 'vist' and 'sat;' but, instead of the two strokes which represent them, has three of equal length, and therefore differs from 'sh' (which has three of different length). The mark for 'i' is not the usual apostrophe curved to the left, but a stroke, straighter and more detached, a mark formed almost like the 'n' or 'd;' but not descending so low. On another coin with the name of Mukátil, we find the 'i' formed according to rule, whence the reading is considered more certain. On that with Hani, of which I read the date 137, the 'i' is formed still more like the 'n' or 'v': but I must, nevertheless, regard the reading as correct; or it might be supposed possible that the 'si' and the 'sat' formed but one word; that 's' should be read 'sh,' and the 'i' either 'w' or 'u.' We might thus construct a word represented in Niskh, by 'Shust,' or the modern Persian 'shast,' sixty. I cannot, however, admit this reading, as the 'i' is exactly the same which occurs in Mukátil,

and as there are other reasons against it. With regard to the coin with the name of Hani, it may be remembered that the form of the aspirate at the beginning of the otherwise indisputable word 'haft,' is not quite regularly formed. It should be joined to the labial, as on the Omar coin, above noticed, dated 127; but instead of this, the latter initial is detached and mutilated, so that it looks like 'y' or 'i'. This, however, is probably only a defect in the impression, and cannot be looked upon as an authorised deviation from the usual style of writing the character.

On the last of the Omar coins I read the numerical "Wist duwist," twenty (and) two hundred, as I think I can discern between the 'v' and 't' of the last term, not only two but three strokes, which gives it the modern Persian spelling "duwist" twenty-two. Should I, however, be mistaken, and but two strokes intervene, we may then read it 'do sat,' two hundrêd, not two (and a) hundred, which under other circumstances might be allowed. But the coins have, as the numbers quoted shew, a peculiar arrangement, or that of the unit, the decimal, and the hundreds in successive series; while in modern Persian the reverse is the case. If we had but the two places, then it might be read a hundred and two; but as the first term is twenty, we cannot do otherwise than read it two hundred and twenty, consistently with all preceding examples. How to reconcile the difference of date in the coins of Omar, which this reading indicates, may be left for the present.

I am less certain with respect to the reading of the coins in the Royal Cabinet, which bear the name Mukâtil. The last term is undoubtedly 'sat,' a hundred; and apparently it is preceded by 'si,' thirty. The 'i' is sufficiently distinct, and the 's' is written with three strokes. The principal difficulty lies in the first term; the first and third

characters of which are 'n' and 'w' (or 'u'); and the second may be intended for the aspirated vowel, or 'a.' The word may be differently read 'náu' or 'wán,' 'nau' or 'wau,' 'nahee' or 'wahee,' 'nathu' or 'wathu;' and hence it may be intended for the Persian 'nao,' nine, which it most nearly resembles. The word, it is true, may be written 'nu,' but in any case there is possibly no identity between it and any Persian numeral, between two and eight. Neither is there much affinity to 'yek,' 'one,' for the pronunciation 'waku,' which comes nearest, is too unlike, and the combination is too incapable of grammatical support to be of much weight, as long as another explanation is available and the reading less objectionable. If the preference be given to 'Nakhu,' it might be thought to represent the Persian ordinal, 'nakhast' or 'nakhust' first; and the conjecture is the more probable, that we may have here the fundamental constitution of the more modern numeral. I am the more inclined to prefer this reading, as I do not find upon the coins any other term for 'one,' although a different one may be found for 'nine.' I purpose, therefore, to read in this place 'Naku si sat,' one hundred and thirty-one.

These coins of Tapuristan, besides the Pehlevi legends already described, present another word, on the obverse, behind the head. It is the same on all the coins, and may be expressed in Niskh characters, by افزود Afzud. The first four letters are un mistakeable, and with the exception of the 'z' have previously occurred. The 't' of the coins answers to the 'd' of the Persian word, sometimes with, sometimes without, the final stroke. The word has been read by Dorn 'apiti,' by M. Longpérier, 'apest' (an). The term may be readily explained as far as concerns the meaning of the root in modern Persian, in which Afzuden افزودن signifies 'to augment,' 'to multiply,' or intrans-

sitively 'to grow,' 'to increase,' 'to be rich,' 'to remain over.' With respect to the derivative, the case is less clear. 'Afzud' in Persian is the perfect third person singular or the perfect participle, increased. In this place we should rather expect the expression of a wish or a blessing; and, although the Arabs employ the perfect in such a sense, yet the Persians do not. We can scarcely suppose that the Arabic construction has exercised any influence on the legends of these coins; but it is very possible that the sense of the term may be the same as that of the Arabic *دَامَ مَلِكُهُ* *dāma malkahu*, "may his kingdom endure," or our "Vivat, floreat, crescat."

The strokes which stand near the margin above the word 'Afzud' on all the Tapuristan coins, constitute to all appearance a mint-mark in the Pehlevi characters, the meaning of which I cannot explain. Other mint-marks are observable on the margin of the obverse, on the outer part of the circle, which encloses the bust and the legends.

If, as seems very probable, the numerals which are decypherable on the coins of Tapuristan denote so many years, it would be advisable here to examine how far they correspond with the chronological succession proposed by Van Fraehn, for the Arab governors whose names appear in Kufic characters upon the coins; but as our materials are rather scanty, we must endeavour to extend them by reference to other quarters. Copenhagen offers some assistance, which, although not of very great value, is not to be neglected.

Two coins with Pehlevi and Kufic inscriptions are in the possession of Councillor Thompson, the Director of the Royal Cabinet of Copenhagen, who has had the kindness to allow me to examine them; but they are identical with two of those in the Royal Cabinet already described;

one being a coin of Omar with the numeral 129, the other of Mukátil, on which I read 131. He had also in the Royal Cabinet sulphur-casts of ten coins of Tapuristan, with Pehlevi-Kufic inscriptions, the originals of which are in the British Museum. Some are the same as those in the Royal Cabinet—others are new to us. The following is an account of them, together with the particulars accompanying, as sent from London, and the numbers under which they are there entered :—

Nos. 7,275, 7,277 (British Museum, purchased of Young) are two coins of Sayid; the first of which has certainly the numeral 127, the other most probably 126. The first marks which seem to be the Persian Shash, are not very distinct, having the appearance of an involved and doubled 'sh.' I cannot detect any other mode of reading the number. If the reading be correct, the coin fills up the interval between the Copenhagen one of 125 and that of London of 127. No. 7,279 (purchased of Young), 7,243, 7,244 (Payne Knight, p. 205, xviii. 1, 2), 7,245 (*ibid.* 3), 7,260 (British Museum additions), are five coins of Omar—the first with the numeral 127, the two following with 128, the fourth 129, and the last 220. They have already been described; and little more is to be said of them. No. 7,279 has the final stroke after the word 'sat.' No. 7,244 exactly resembles the Copenhagen coin of 128. No. 7,243 has the same, more regularly written. No. 7,260 has distinctly a mark after 'sat.' No. 7,276 (purchased of Young) is a coin of Mukátil, exactly like that of Copenhagen, only with the mark of the final.

Nos. 7,278, 7,280 (similarly designated) are two coins of Hani, with the numeral 138. On the first the 'eight' is not quite distinct, but it seems to be regularly formed. The 'thirty' resembles that with which we are already

acquainted—that on the coin of Jerir of 137. In the second coin the ‘eight’ is regular.

Finally, I have to quote a few examples from engraved specimens in different public works, upon which, however, less dependence can be placed than upon good impressions in sulphur or the coins themselves. Hitherto, the Pehlevi characters have been equally unfamiliar to the artists who have been employed to copy the coins, and to the editors of the publications in which the plates are given, and, consequently, it was unavoidable that mistakes should occur, and that the Pehlevi letters should not be readable with the desired confidence. I will, however, point out, and briefly remark on those which are at present accessible.

C. Niebuhr has engraved in his travels in Arabia (pl. xiii. fig. 22) a coin of Sayid, very distinctly represented. It has clearly the number 125, and may possibly be the coin in the Royal Cabinet. In the word ‘panch,’ five, however, the ‘n’ and ‘ch’ are blended in the engraving—while on the coin they are evidently separate.

C. M. Von Wiczay in the first part of the *Museum Hederarium* of Hungary (Vienna, 1814) Pl. xxvii. fig. 588, has engraved a coin of Sayid with the numeral 126, like that of London, 7,275. A similar coin occurs in Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia* D XLII. In the same plate, fig. D XLI. is a coin of Omar, with the numeral 128. Van Fraehn has given us in his *Ibn Fozlan* (p. 85), a coin of Jerir, on which, I think, I can read 135. The ‘five’ is quite certain. He gives us also in his work on the Khans of the Yuchi tribe (pl. xvi. a.), the representation of a coin of Omar, on which occasion he introduces the learned remarks above referred to, concerning the Ispehbeds. He considers the engraving of the coin to be entirely correct; but I can scarcely think this applies to the Pehlevi legend,

and should wish the coin to be submitted to the revision of the learned editor himself, or some other qualified person. In the name Tapúristan, the concluding 'n' appears to be wanting, and what is of more consequence, a serious error seems to have crept into the first part of the numerical phrase. As it now stands, I can only render it in Niskh letters *ویاست صد*, 'viást sad,' which is not genuine Persian. I suppose it should be 'wist sat' 120; and if so, we have an additional numeral, not met with on other coins.

We find in Möller (see *Numis. Orient. Com.* i.) pl. 1, the obverse of a coin of Omar, the reverse should have the date. In M. De Longpérier's *Essai*. pl. xii. No. 6, is a coin of Mukátíl, the date of which I cannot make out. In the same plate, No. 5, is a coin of Háui, on which I read 137. M. De Longpérier has classed both these coins with those of the Sassanian Queen Azermidokht, and has remarked of the last, that the legend which contains the name is written in a retrograde direction;—but in fact it is not, as usual, Pehlevi, but Kufic.

Here, then, are the numbers found upon the Pehlevi-Kufic coins which I have consulted. To them, however, I am able to add a small number of others of a similar class which have inscriptions in Pehlevi only, but which in this unexpected form present not only the dates, but the name of Omar. The Royal Cabinet of Copenhagen possesses a coin of this description (No. 1 of our plate), the edge of which is broken off in one place, but fortunately without injury to the legend. On this coin, the name Omar is distinctly impressed, with the aspirate, it is true, followed by 'w' ('u' or 'o'), 'm' 'r.' The number is also clear 'wist sat' (120), with the mark of the final at the end of last word.

Among the casts in the Royal Cabinet are two, 7,273,

7,274 (British Museum, purchased of Young), which also bear the name Omar in Pehlevi letters. The first with 120 is exactly like the Copenhagen coin; the other has, I doubt not, 124, although the word 'wist' is not quite legible. I find also in Wiczay (pl. xxvii. 589) a coin of Omar, which appears to be identical with that of London, the letter 'w' is effaced, and the word Tapúristan is much disfigured. Finally, M. De Longpérier has a coin of the same kind under the title Sarbaraz (pl. xii. 3), on which, with some trouble, may be decyphered the number 124.

Let us now compare the numerals associated with Arabic names with those which have been made known through the chronological notices of Von Fraehn; and we shall find that among them Mukátil-ben Hakim-al-Akki appears as the earliest of the Governors of Taberistan at the head of the series. He appears to have been appointed by Abul-Abbas-as-Sefâ in the Hijra year 134-136. On his coins we read on three examples the date 131; or perhaps it should be 139, which agree nearly, but not quite, with the date specified historically. Mukátil might, however, have held the government until 139. Von Fraehn is not positive on this point. It can hardly be thought likely that Mukátil held the same post under Uma-ad-din-Merwan in 131, which he occupied under Abul-Abbas. He is named by Ibn Kotaiba (in the *Kitab-al-maarif*, Royal Library, Copenhagen, 251) towards the close of the reign of Merwan without any more particular notice. Since the date on the coin of Mukátil agrees perfectly with that in which he lived, and comes near to that in which he was governor of Taberistan, we might be disposed to conclude that the Mohammedan era was that intended to be used; but there are weighty objections to this conclusion. The other coins of Tapúristan, whether they present higher or lower numbers

than those of Mukátíl, do not accord with the dates of the Mohammedan chronology.

Omar-ben-al-Alá was, according to Von Fraehn, governor of Taberistan about Hijra 155-161, and 165-167 on the part of the Khalifs Al Mansur (+ 158) and Al Mehdi (+ 168). He is repeatedly made mention of at the latter period by Ibn Koteiba, as "Al Mehdi appointed him governor of Taberistan;" and again, "Said-ben-al-Aás reduced Taberistan to subjugation in the reign of Othman; afterwards Amur (read Omar) ben-al-Alá subdued the same, together with Talekan and Naháwand, in the year 157." We might correct Von Fraehn's first reckoning by this last notice of an author of so much weight as Ibn Koteiba; but a decided opinion cannot be pronounced until we are made acquainted with the sources whence the former has derived his information. However this may be, our coins of Omar exhibit very different numbers from the years of the Hijra. Our numerals are 120 (upon two coins), 124 (three), 125 (one), 127 (two), 128 (four), 129 (three), and lastly 220 (on two coins). We will leave this last numeral, differing so widely from the rest, out of the question, and admit with Fraehn that, between the two periods at which Omar was the governor of Taberistan, occurred the government of Said ben Dalij in the Hijra 162-164. Now, upon our coins of Said, we have also numbers which fall in with the order of dates of Omar's coins, or 125 (on one coin), 126 (on three), and 127 (on one). This is a splendid confirmation of the succession of these coins, constructed with so much ingenuity by Von Fraehn, and furnishes a key to the determination of the era, which makes its appearance on the coins of Tapúristan. The years 125-127 of this era must correspond with the years of the Hijra 162-164, and we

shall have the following result for the dates of the coins during the two governments of Omar-ben-al-Alá.

120—157 Hij. In this year, Ibn Koteiba places the subjugation of the province by Omar.

124—161.

125—162. In the course of this year, the governor was changed, the coins with Omar's name are older than those with Said's.

126—163. Belongs probably to Said.

127—164. New change of governor, the coins of Said of this year are older than those of Omar.

128—165.

129—166.

Let us now advert to the numbers 135 and 137 on the coins of Jerir, who is placed by Fraehn in the reign of Harun, who reigned from Hij. 170 to 193. The year 135 of the coins is equivalent to the Hij. year 172 and 137, to 174. On the coins of Hani we find the same number 137 (on two coins), and 138 (on two), Hij. 174-175. Fraehn, on the contrary, refers this coin to the reign of Mamun, about Hij. 198; and either a different system of chronology has been applied to the coins, or Fraehn has made a very pardonable mistake. There seems no satisfactory reason for a change of era; and our Hani coin most probably belongs to a different rule, from the Hani ben Hani, of Fraehn. Might not the latter (the father), have filled the same office some twenty-four years earlier. Whether the coins with the name Abdullah, which Fraehn refers, along with those of Hani, to the reign of Al Mamun, belong to Taberistan, I cannot say, as I have never seen one, not even in an engraving; but it is not improbable. The same may be said of the coin which bears the name Suleiman,

and which is described by Fraehn, in the collection of his memoirs, and attributed to Suleiman ben Mansur, the predecessor of Hani ben Hani. The singleness of this coin induces me to think that it may be earlier than any of the coins of Tapúristan hitherto noticed; and there is nothing in Fraehn's description inconsistent with such a belief. I have greater doubt respecting the coin with the name Bashr بشر which is found in Göttingen, respecting which Von Fraehn makes no observation. I know of no impression of it, nor of the more important coins on which we have at full length the names Omar ben al Alá, and Said ben Dálaj, whose corresponding dates it would be of great interest to compare.

What system of Chronology, then, is that which appears upon the coins of Tapúristan? Taking the year of Said's government as the basis of comparison with the Mohammedan dates, we contrasted the two periods, from 120 to 157 H. to 138—175 H. without reference to any difference which might well occur in the commencement of each year, and might make some difference in the computation. We might safely omit this in a comparison of so short a period as eighteen years, without running the risk of any startling error. Were we to go upwards in the same inexact style, we should place the first year of the era of the coins as equivalent to the thirty-eighth year of the Hijra, and then might fall into an error of greater magnitude. The current era of Tapúristan, can hardly be reckoned, like the Mohammedan, by lunar years. The Persian solar year, had been in use here from the earliest time; and no doubt prevailed very generally, until the religion of Zoroaster was overthrown by that of Mohammed. According to the native era, therefore, it may be presumed that the reckoning by solar years, existed from the first century of the

Hijra; and the first year must therefore be thrown some years further back than the thirty-eighth, as above.

In truth with the year of the Hijra, 32, we attain an era not altogether unknown, that which Haji Khalfa calls in the *Takvim at Tawarikh*, the old Persian era, تاریخ فرس قدیم and ascribes to this year. It is without doubt the same which is called by others the era of Yezdegird, after the last of the Sassanian kings who perished at Merv, in the year of the Hijra 31. M. Ideler, it is true, is of a different opinion, and with the Oriental astronomers, dates the commencement of the era of Yezdegird from that prince's coronation, on the sixteenth June, A.D. 632; but we can scarcely question the existence of the era mentioned by Haji Khalfa, or the propriety of the name which he gives to it, meaning the same as the era of Yezdegird, of the astronomers. At any rate, he meant, if not the same, yet, *an* era of Yezdegird reckoned from his death. With this Yezdegirdian era, if it may be so termed, the dates on the coins will very nearly if not exactly correspond. If we fix the beginning of the coin-era, in comparison with that era of Yezdegird, which, according to the astronomers, begins in the second half of the Hijra, 32, or to the thirty-second year of the Hij., then the coin era would commence on the eleventh June, A.D. 653. On the first of August following, began the Hijra year 33. The year 126 of the coins, like the year of Yezdegird, of the astronomers 147, would begin on the eleventh May, A.D. 778; but the year 162 of the Hij. would begin on the twenty-seventh of the September following, and one third of the Mohammedan year 161 and two thirds of 162 would be included in the coin-year 126, differing from our former calculations, which made 126 equal to 163. This cannot be accurate, if Von Fraehu's

notices of Said are precise, as there exist strong reasons to believe. I conjecture therefore that the coin-era begins a year later than the old Persian one of Haji Khalfa; and I submit to Mr. Ideler with all humility, whether it may not be possible, that, as the era of Yezdegird came into use in different places at different times, it may not have had different beginnings ascribed to it, of which the era used in Tapúristan may be an instance.

But the mysterious number, 220, on two of the coins of Omar, must belong to an entirely distinct period. We might be inclined to place them indeed about a century later than those of Omar of an earlier date, and to consider this Omar as quite a different person from Omar the son of Alá; but the appearance of the coin is opposed to this conjecture. We find in a Pehlevi legend on several coins not before noticed, proof that this coin belongs to the others, which bears Omar's name. The coins of 124 and of 220, read on the obverse on the margin, in Pehlevi letters, 'Harun;' we naturally refer this to the celebrated Harun al Rashid, but his name would not be inserted as that of Khalif, upon coins struck by governors, who were appointed by the Khalifs Al Mansur, and Al Mehdi. He must have been inserted as next in succession to the throne, Wali Ahad, or heir apparent, as it occurs upon an Arabic coin of Hij. 169, mentioned by Von Fraehn (*Miscellanies* page 75). At all events, it is certain that the coins of 220, stand in close connexion with those of 124, and that both are of the same period, although they adopt different eras.

If we consider the year 220 as synchronous with the year of Yezdegird 124, then the beginning of the former era will fall in A. D. 588, or about sixty-four years before the Hijra. I know of no event about this time, which should give rise to a new era in Tapúristan. One of the dynasties

of the province, the ancient family of the Karanians, dated the beginning of their rule, according to Fraehn, about fifty years anterior to the Hijra, whence a local era may have originated. This approximation is the nearest that can be made; and as it still leaves twelve years unaccounted for, it may be doubted if we can regard it as authorising a Karianian era. We may however conclude that the coins with such widely differing dates, could not be struck by princes who reckoned by the era of Yezdegird. As both classes bear the name of Tapúristan, we may also infer that the name designates the province, not any particular capital.

We have placed together the coins of the years 124 and 220, from finding the name of Harun on both, which is wanting on the others; but in another respect the coin of 220 offers a greater resemblance to that of 125, as they both contain the Arabic name in Pehlevi and in Kufic. The coin of Omar of 125, has the name by the side of the head in Pehlevi characters, and something very like it in Kufic upon the margin. It may however be doubted if the same name should be properly repeated. They might be different individuals, or the one be Omar, and the other, that on the margin, Amr; but, it is not conceivable in what quality a second person could be mentioned, as there could have been no other heir to the Khalifat in 125, except Harun. The concurrence of Pehlevi, and Kufic upon the coins is as follows. Those of the date 120, have Omar in Pehlevi only; those of 124, Omar and Harun in Pehlevi; those of 125, Omar, in Pehlevi and Omar or Amr, in Kufic. All the subsequent coins from the time of Said, have the names in Kufic alone; and this furnishes an additional ground for my proposed insertion of Mukátíl, instead of Fraehn's Mukátíl ben Hakim.

Besides the coins of Tapúristan, mentioned by Fraehn

with Pehlevi-Kufic inscriptions and Arabic names, and those with pure Pehlevi, in which also I read Arabic names, I have to produce a pair belonging to the same province, with a pure Pehlevi impression, and without any Arabic name; these are the coins on which the name Khurshid is distinctly legible. The royal cabinet has two, which are similar to those already commented on, in their general appearance and detail. One has, besides the name, the date, 'Du sat' a hundred and two, for two hundred would be 'Du-wist' as on the Omar Coin of 220. On the second is a numeral, the first character of which is clearly 'four;' the last seems to consist of a 'w' (or 'n') a 't' and the final mark belonging to it. This cannot well be a mutilation of 'sat' a hundred, as might at first be supposed. I conjecture that before 'wt' an 'n' did, or should stand, which has been confounded with the preceding 'r' as has happened in other cases. On both the coins where we miss the mark for 'w' or 'n,' the 'r' has a curve underneath, which bends in almost a half circle to the left—like the 'r' which, according to Müller (*Jour. Asiatique* 3^{me} serie, tom. vii. page 317), resembles the Zend 'o' having a similar curve to the right; we may then read here 'chahár nawad' چهارنود ninety four,—and as this is probably dated after the era of Yezdegird, it is the oldest coin of Tapúristan we possess.* Among the casts in the royal cabinet, is

* I have had for some time, but have unhappily mislaid it, an impression in sealing-wax of a coin which probably came from the collection of the establishment of St. Florian, which I visited in 1841, as well as the Imperial Cabinet of Vienna, and which presents characters remarkably sharp cut. The obverse has nothing peculiar, presenting the usual 'Afzud,' and the name 'Khurshid.' On the obverse we have to the right the name of the country, Tapúristan; on the left, not a date, but

a coin of Khurshid, No. 7281 (purchased of Young), in which the number 'Chahardeh sat' 114, is clearly and beautifully engraved, Khurshid may, therefore, have been the last prince of Tapúristan, whose name was stamped upon its coins, for in 120, Omar ben al Ala conquered the country, and had his name impressed on the coins.

To what dynasty Khurshid belonged I cannot say. Von Fraehn will perhaps give us some information on this head. That learned numismatist is inclined to ascribe the still remaining Tapúristan coins to the Badusepends, or to the Bawands of the first race. Of them the only prince he names is Shahriar Badusepend, whose name I do not find on any of the coins any more than that of the Bawandi Surkhab ben Mihrmerdan. On the other hand, the coin engraved by De Longpérier (Plate xii. fig. 4), and attributed by him to Queen Puran, may perhaps belong to the Dabuya Ferkhan the great. The initial letters 'p' (or f) and 'r' as well as the last syllable 'an' are quite clear in the engraving; between them are lines which have the appearance of a 'd' with 'w' (or n). We cannot, however, depend on the correctness of the marking; and the legend, as given in the text, has one line more than the plate. The date on the reverse is illegible. It would probably be of a lower number than on any of the coins we have de-

a word, which is blended with the following marks, and may be read 'ahit,' (ahid) or 'hait' (haid). A name so pronounced is unknown to me, and I cannot assign to it any meaning. It is possible, however, that the initial should be 's' and then for the first time we should have in Pehlevi characters the name Saïd. This could only be the individual already known to us as Saïd ben Dalej; and the coin would present a novel and interesting association of the name of an Arab governor with that of an Ispahbed. I should wish however to meet with a coin more worthy of reliance to confirm this conjectural reading.

scribed. It may be expected, that other coins of this class will offer us additional names. I will here arrange the coins I know of, in the order of the Mohammedan, Christian, and Yezdegirdan eras, the years of the latter being reckoned as beginning with the middle of the Christian year, 654.

	HJRA.	A.D.	YEZ.
Khurshid . . .	130	747-8	94
"	138	755-6	102
	150	767-8	114
Arab Governors,			
Omar ben al Ala,			
the same on the			
coin with the un-			
known date 220 .	156-7	773-4	120
	161	777-8	124
Omar ben Said ben			
Dalij	162	778-9	125
Said	163	779-80	126
Said: then Omar			
again	164	780-1	127
Omar	165	781-2	128
	166	782-3	129
Mukátil . . .	168	784-5	131
Jerir	172	788-9	135
Jerir: then Hani .	174	790-1	137
Hani	175	791-2	138

I close my remarks on this subject, by referring to the often-cited expression of Makrizi, "Diráhem Tabariya," *دراهم طبریه* which may well be rendered "Dirhems of Tapúrستان." The equally frequent phrase of the same author "of the ancient Tabæri," *طبریه ی عتقا* can scarcely apply to our

coins. Fraehn vindicates for them the designation Ispahbedigan, which is correctly enough applicable to the coins of Khurshid at least.

(*To be continued.*)

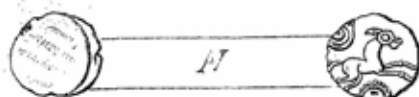
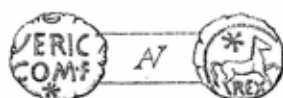
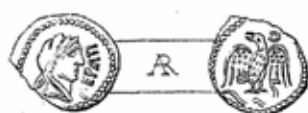
VII.

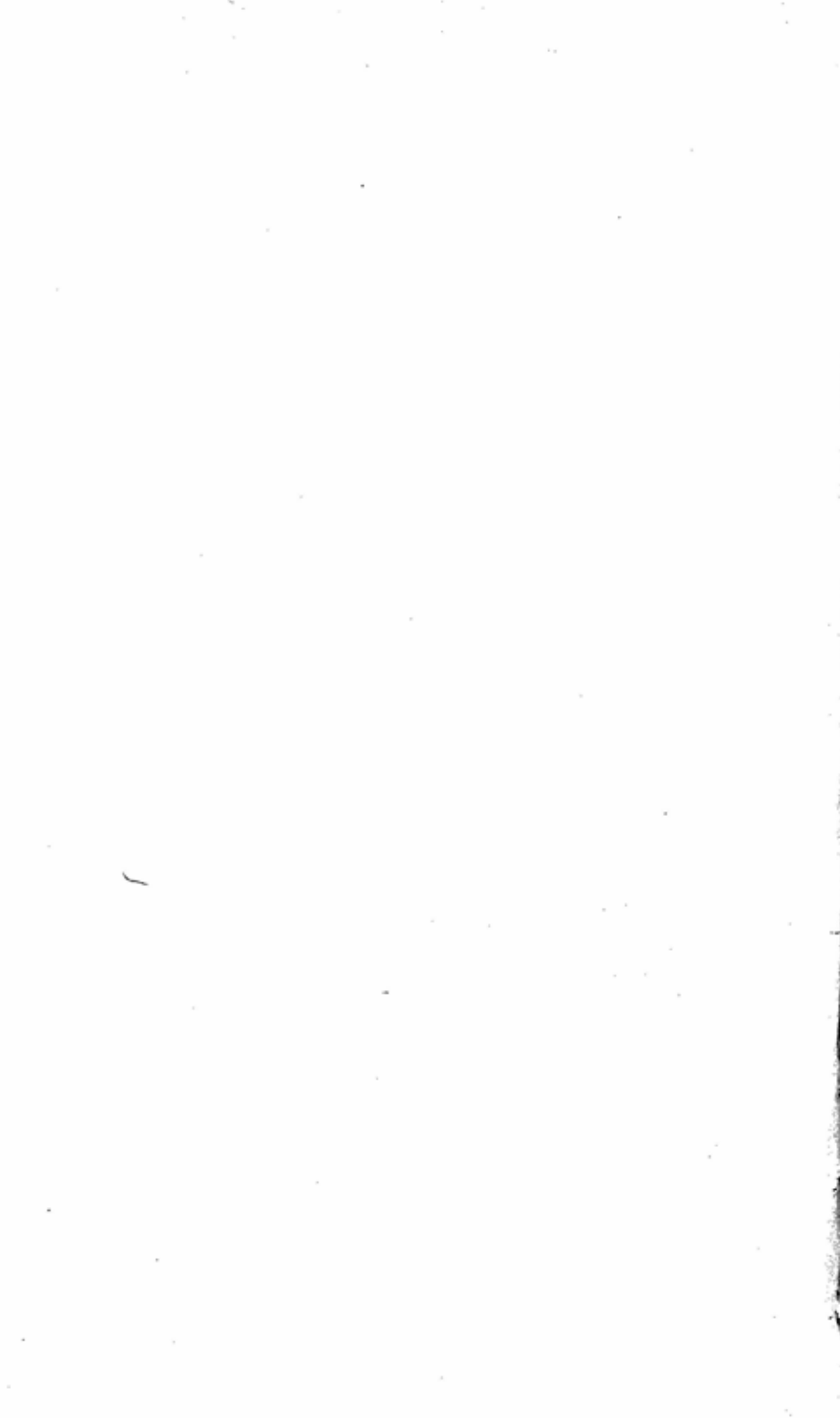
UNEDITED ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

WE are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Tupper for the communication of drawings of several ancient British coins, two of which are of great interest, and deserving of especial notice. They may be described as follows, as they appear in our plate:—

1. ↑EPATL. Head to the right wearing a kind of hood.
R.—Without legend. An Eagle with wings displayed, standing (*ut videtur*) on a serpent: in the field, an annulet. *R.* Weight $17\frac{1}{2}$ grains.
2. VERIC. COM. F. in two lines across the field: above, a crescent; below, a star of six rays. *AV.* Weight $20\frac{1}{2}$ grains.
3. Rude figure of a horse galloping to the right: in the field a wheel and several other subordinate symbols. *AV.* Weight 81 grains.
R.—Type blurred and undefined; probably a rude attempt to imitate that of the reverse of the coins given by Ruding.*
4. No legend or type.
R.—No legend. A horse galloping to the right: above and below, two concentric circles, the latter beaded. *AV.* Weight 21 grains.
5. No legend or type.
R.—Type consisting of unknown objects, among which are two latticed circles, and two latticed parallelograms, a crescent, etc.

* Plate ii. figs. 35-38. See also "Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes," pl. xxii. figs. 7 and 8.





6. Another similar type, but of little workmanship. AV.
Weight 19 grains.

We proceed to notice these coins *seriatim*. 1st. The example inscribed ↑EPATI. In our "Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes," p. 185, will be found a description and engravings (pl. xxi. figs. 8, 9) of two coins bearing REX CALLE. These, though strangely enough classed by Combe as Gaulish, we always considered to be the money of a British prince; and they are accordingly placed in that work, with coins of Britannia. In the same page will be found the following note: "There is a silver coin of the same size (as those inscribed REX CALLE) in the collection of the British Museum, having on one side the head of Hercules in the lion's skin, and the letters EPAT. *Rev.* An eagle with expanded wings. It is described and engraved by Combe, pl. 1, fig. 10, among the coins of Gaulish chiefs; but, though the type of the obverse is singular, it is probable this piece is of British origin. Future discoveries may justify its being placed in this series. It was known to Mionnet only through Combe." The example now engraved differs from that in the British Museum, as will be seen by a comparison with that given by Combe, an extremely accurate representation of the coin, which, however, reads EPAT only. Our specimen has very plainly MEPATI, which is doubtless the name of a British prince or chief. But what adds so much to its interest, and strongly warrants this appropriation, is its recent discovery by Mr. Tupper on Farley Heath, near Guildford, Surrey, a site which has been recently explored by that gentleman, and his neighbour Mr. Drummond, M.P., the result being the discovery of numerous Roman coins, pottery, fibulæ, urns, and other objects indicating long possession of the spot by the Romans, or Romanised Britons. That the site in fact

was occupied by the Britons previous to the subjugation of the island, seems highly probable, not only from the discovery of the coin inscribed MEPATI, but also from the finding of that bearing the legend, VERIC. COM. F. REX. This is a novelty in the British series, and cannot fail to be regarded with great interest by English antiquaries. The appearance of such coins, bearing Roman letters, suggests an explanation which further discoveries may help to confirm, and seems to shew that although the Britons, at the time of Caesar's invasion, may not have been entirely ignorant of the use of a stamped currency (and their intercourse with the Gauls leads us to the inference that they were not), they, nevertheless, had not a *coinage of their own*: that the establishment of petty princes (sons or connections of the arbitrator Comius) in Britain followed the first Roman aggression; and that, judging from the numismatic evidence now in our possession, these princes struck coins with legends in *Roman characters*, and with *Roman titles*, such issues probably continuing till the subjugation of the island by Claudius; when, as Gildas informs us, the currency of the British money was abolished, and only that bearing the imperial effigies allowed to be used.

The history of the four remaining coins we shall give in Mr. Tupper's own words, adding our regret to his that such a combination of ignorance and knavery should have deprived the antiquary of the greater portion of so interesting a numismatic treasure. The coins figs. 5 and 6, appear to be the *prototype* of some rude pieces in the British Museum, which, though of the most barbarous workmanship, plainly exhibit an attempt to imitate the objects on the examples figured in our plate. What these objects are we have failed to discover, and they are left to the interpretation of our readers. Whatever doubts, however, may be enter-

tained as to the signification of the types of the rudest coins engraved in the plate accompanying this brief notice, no one can question the value and importance of the examples Nos. 1 and 2.

On the singular form of the initial character in the legend on the coin No. 1, we forbear at present to remark. The finding of another specimen may throw further light on the pieces thus inscribed.

DEAR SIR,—As it is pre-eminently your vocation to chronicle numismatic facts, I am sure that you will be glad to place the following on your records.

On Thursday fortnight last, the 24th of February, a boy, by name Goodchild, was driving a flock of sheep up a parish-road in my immediate neighbourhood; and in the middle of that road, as he stoutly declares, he picked up in a lump, lying all together on the top of some loose stones recently laid upon the road to mend it, forty old gold British coins!

As you yourself, and Mr. Benjamin Nightingale, while recently my guests at Albury, have visited the spot with me, and with me have investigated the matter, I need not tell you how impossible the boy's story seems, unless—as you charitably suggested by way of a saving clause to Master Goodchild's rather questionable veracity—the treasure might have been hidden in a hollow stone, which a passing cart-wheel may have crushed.

Leaving, however, this debateable matter to those who can calculate chances, or probe a keen lad's conscience, the fact, the happy numismatic fact remains, that these coins were found; and it must immediately be followed by

the announcement of another fact—a melancholy utilitarian one—that the greater part of them have since been melted up.

Not until a jeweller at Guildford, one Steer (whose name alone supplies a truthful libel), had put them nearly all into his remorseless crucible, and poured its results into a shapeless ingot, did I get wind of the matter, and, riding over instantly, arrived just in time to save the very few remainder for myself, and my neighbour, Mr. Drummond, these not having been consumed, solely because the crucible could not hold them all at once. When I state that the boy got fifty-three shillings for the golden hoard, it will be manifest that, occasionally, a Steer may be gifted with no small share of worldly wisdom; and when I add to this a description of the coins themselves, it will be equally evident that the precious metal whereof they were composed constituted the least part of their value.

Of the great majority which were melted, as above-mentioned, it would be futile to guess at the types, or to hazard a description of their possible rarity, or uniqueness, from the accounts rendered by Goodchild and Steer; the former saying that on several of them he could read two D's, and the latter maintaining that the whole lot were Indian. But those which I have rescued are sufficiently interesting, being of three different types and weights, and they may be thus described.

The largest, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ dwts., bears obversely the well-known type of a horse leaping over a wheel, with four annulets placed respectively on each above the back, under the belly, before the breast, and beneath the tail; two ovals, one over the head, and one behind the tail; a rose, or rayed figure of three concentric circles near the mouth; and several dots, with curved lines attached, occupying the

field. I am thus particular, because it is possible, to my thinking, that all these emblems may have been intended to represent the sidereal heavens: the sun and moon being symbolized by the wheel and rayed figure; the planets by the annulets; comets by the ovals; and the stars in their courses by the curves and dots: while the prancing horse may imaginatively have symbolized power, swiftness, and some other attributes of the monarch, human or divine. The reverse of this coin, instead of being quite plain and button-shaped, as usual, bears a rude cross compounded of several serrated lines. Of these large coins the boy found nineteen, some of them with D's, or, as I suppose, rude eyes upon them; and all were melted up but two!

The second species, weighing about a dwt., is of much coarser work, with no tracery on the field, and bearing only a barbarous horse, leaping between two rude scrolls: the reverse is quite plain. Of these I could not ascertain the number; and I do know of more than one which has survived the crucible.

The third species of coin is very remarkable, of great rarity, and totally unlike any ancient British or Gaulish coin which I ever saw before. Of this type some six have been preserved. (See plate, figs 5 and 6).

In conclusion, I have only to request that you will add to this letter, by way of annotation or commentary, whatever your own knowledge can suggest by way of confirmation or correction; and I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

MARTIN FARQUHAR TUPPER.

ALBURY, GUILDFORD,

March 13, 1848.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.

VIII.

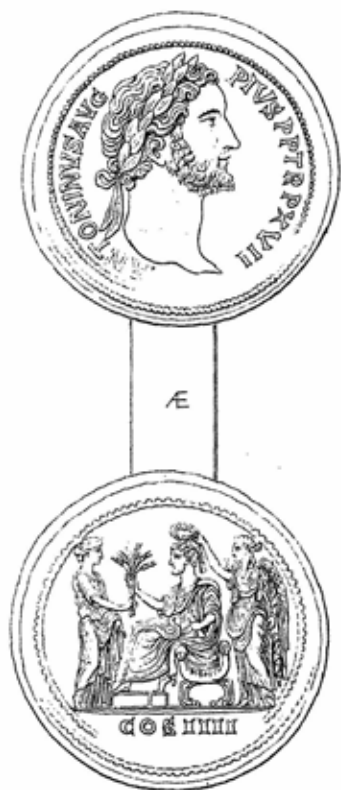
ON A MEDALLION OF ANTONINUS PIUS.

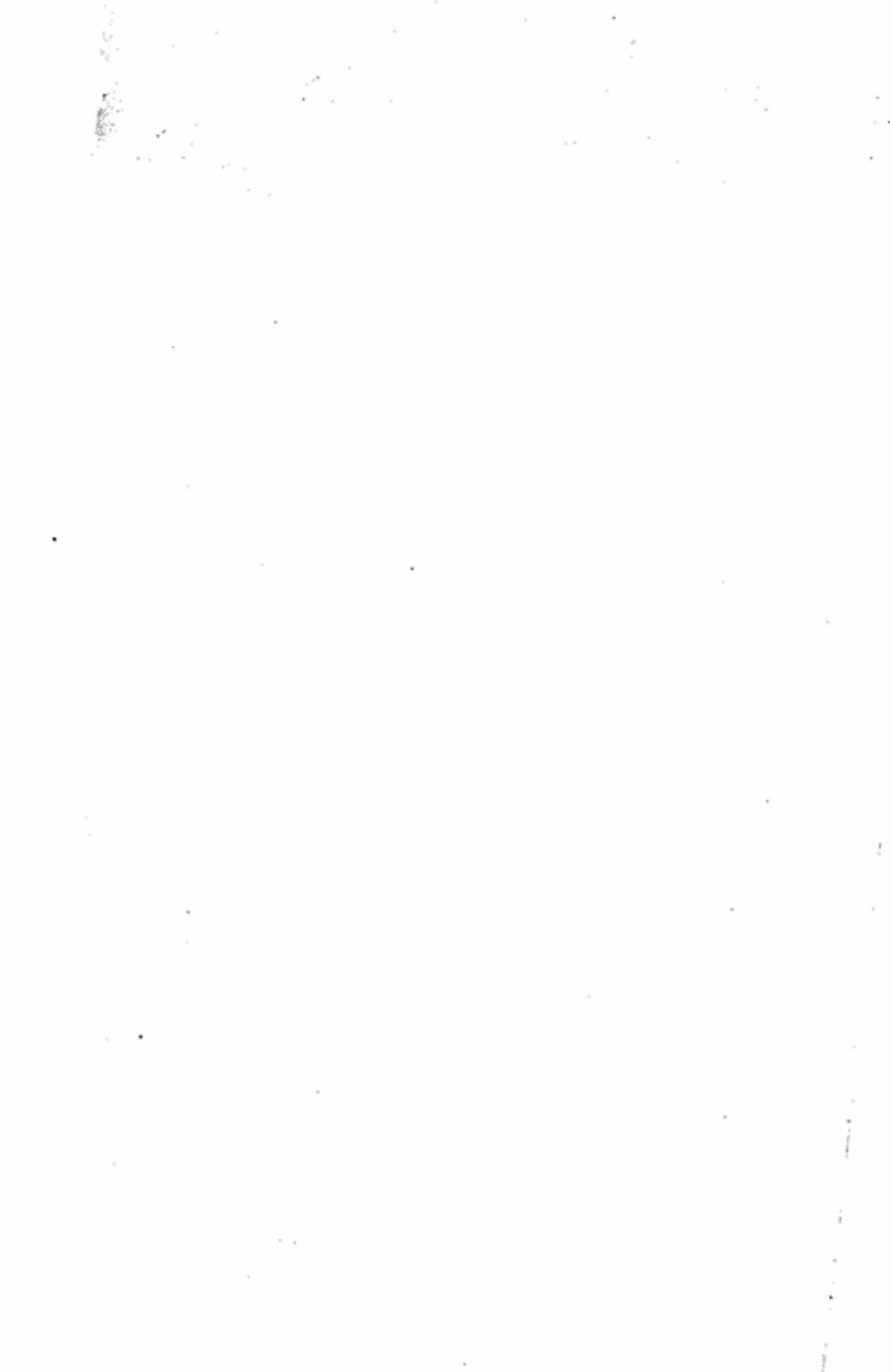
It is a common complaint among collectors, that Time, which is daily unveiling the mysteries of antiquity, and bringing to light new treasures to enrich the cabinets of Grecian coins, has, of late years, been much less favourable to Rome. Several centuries have passed away, with scarcely any appreciable addition to the consular series; and even the imperial has received no increase at all commensurate with its variety and extent. The lacunæ which were deplored by the collectors of days gone by, still remain as blots in the cabinets of their successors, and the fond hopes which antiquaries did once indulge of a first brass Otho, are now all but extinguished by repeated and continual disappointments.

In this dearth of novelties, I have thought that an impression of an unique and unpublished medallion of Antoninus Pius, which I lately received from abroad, will prove acceptable to the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle. It may be described as follows:—

Obv.—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P.P. TRP. XVIII.
Laureated head of emperor to the right.

R.—The emperor, in senatorial robes, is seated on a curule chair towards the left. In his left hand is a volume. With his right he receives six ears of corn, which Ceres, who stands in front of him, is offering. Behind him is a Victory, who crowns him with her right hand, while her left holds a palm branch. In the exergue, COS IIII.





This medallion is covered with dark green patina, and appears to be of copper only, and not furnished, as is often the case, with an exterior rim of brass. With respect to these rims, it may be remarked, that they were evidently put on before the medals were struck, as the impression of the die often extends beyond the extreme limit of the central piece of metal.

The motives which induced the Romans to strike these medallions are quite unknown. Eckhel (vol. i., p. xvii.), thinks it most probable that they were struck on occasions of solemn festivals and public donations. Be this as it may, the singular elegance of their fabric, and their high relief at once remove them from the class of ordinary coins, while the subjects of their reverses, usually devoid of historical interest, appear scarcely to have deserved the artistic skill and labour which was evidently expended on them¹. In the present medallion, for instance, one may look in vain over the annals of the emperor's fourth consulate for any event to which one can point with certainty, as having been the moving cause of this most exquisite production of the Roman mint. Whether the omission of the letters S.C. denotes simply that these pieces were not intended for currency, or whether that they were struck by order of the emperors themselves, is still a disputed point. The former supposition, however, is supported by two medallions of Hadrian, both of which were formerly in the writer's collection, though one has since been ceded to the Museum. The reverses, like Akerman, pl. A, are, from the same die, but one of the specimens is formed of two metals, and bears on the obverse a medallion likeness of Hadrian to the left, in high relief, and of a character

¹ Their devices seem to have been confined to the commemoration of Myths and popular traditions.—ED. N. C.

totally distinct from that published by Akerman; while the obverse of the other differs in no respect from an ordinary first brass. From this it is evident that medallions were struck in the same office as the common brass currency of the empire, and therefore probably under the same authority, namely, that of the senate.

G. SPARKES.

MISCELLANEA.

TABLES OF FRENCH AND NEAPOLITAN WEIGHTS.—Having lately been engaged in studying the weights of the coins of Magna Græcia, I soon found the necessity of constructing tables which would enable me at a glance, to convert the French and Neapolitan weights of Mionnet and Carelli into Troy grains; and as without some such labour, or some such assistance, those valuable works are likely to remain as sealed books to British students, I would submit the utility of printing the tables in the Chronicle, and thus giving them circulation. It is only necessary to observe that in the French table, the Troy grain is estimated at 1·2189 of the marc grain, and that in the Neapolitan table, the proportion laid down by Avellino, of 1 Neapolitan grain = 0·05134 gramme, has been adhered to, while the gramme has been converted into Troy at 15·434 grains. As Carelli uses no larger weight than the grain, it would have been endless to calculate every possible number, but it will be found that all between 110 and 162 have been given; these are about the extreme limits of the weights of the most important Italian coins, *i.e.*, the didrachms. And with respect to other weights not given, they may always be found by simple addition; thus, to find 37, add together the equivalents of 30 and of 7, both of which have been calculated in the tables.

G. SPARKES.

TABLE FOR CONVERTING GROS AND GRAINS OF THE MARC INTO TROY.

Grains marc.	Grains Troy.	Grains marc.	Grains Troy.	Grains marc.	Grains Troy.
1	0·82039	13	10·66	25	20·50
2	1·64	14	11·48	26	21·32
3	2·46	15	12·30	27	22·14
4	3·28	16	13·12	28	22·96
5	4·10	17	13·94	29	23·78
6	4·92	18	14·76	30	24·60
7	5·74	19	15·58	31	25·42
8	6·56	20	16·40	32	26·24
9	7·38	21	17·22	33	27·06
10	8·20	22	18·04	34	27·88
11	9·02	23	18·86	35	28·70
12	9·84	24	19·68	36	29·53

Grains marc.	Grains Troy.	Grains marc.	Grains Troy.	Grains marc.	Grains Troy.
37	30.35	53	43.47	69	56.59
38	31.17	54	44.29	70	57.41
39	31.99	55	45.11	71	58.23
40	32.81	56	45.93	72 or } 1 gros }	59.06808
41	33.63	57	46.75		
42	34.45	58	47.57	2	118.13616
43	35.27	58	48.39	3	177.20424
44	36.09	60	49.21	4	236.27232
45	36.91	61	50.03	5	295.34040
46	37.73	62	50.85	6	354.40848
47	38.55	63	51.67	7	413.47656
48	39.37	64	52.49	8	472.54464
49	40.19	65	53.31	9	531.61272
50	41.01	66	54.13	10	590.68080
51	41.83	67	54.95	11	649.74888
52	42.65	68	55.77	12	708.81696

TABLE OF NEAPOLITAN WEIGHTS.

Grains Neap.	Grains Troy.	Grains Neap.	Grains Troy.	Grains Neap.	Grains Troy.
1	0.792134616	122	96.63	145	114.84
2	1.58	123	97.42	146	115.63
3	2.37	124	98.21	147	116.43
4	3.16	125	99.01	148	117.22
5	3.96	126	99.80	149	118.01
6	4.75	127	100.59	150	118.81
7	5.53	128	101.38	151	119.60
8	6.32	129	102.17	152	120.39
9	7.12	130	102.97	153	121.18
10	7.92	131	103.76	154	121.97
20	15.84	132	104.55	155	122.77
30	23.76	133	105.34	156	123.56
40	31.68	134	106.11	157	124.35
50	39.60	135	106.93	158	125.14
60	47.52	136	107.72	159	125.93
70	55.44	137	108.51	160	126.73
80	63.36	138	109.30	161	127.52
90	71.28	139	110.09	162	128.41
100	79.21	140	110.89	200	158.42
110	87.13	141	111.68	300	237.63
115	91.09	142	112.47	400	316.84
120	95.05	143	113.26		
121	95.84	144	114.05		

The following extracts may amuse the collectors of English medals:—

From the *Northampton Mercury*, March 19th, 1738-9.

London, March 13th, 1738-9.

“ We hear that the fine Medal of Milton, lately struck at the Tower, will be made publick, and sold by Mr. Deard's in the Court of Requests, and in Fleet Street. The Copper will be half a Guinea; the Silver one Guinea; and the Gold, which weighs above three ounces, 14*l.* a Piece.”

Northampton Mercury, July 10th, 1738.

London, July 6.

“ A Curious Dye of Oliver Cromwell, cut in London during his Usurpation, was lately purchas'd in Flanders, and brought to the Tower, where the Hon. Richard Arundell, Esq. has given leave for a certain Number to be struck in Gold and Silver for the Curious.”

E. P.

CORRESPONDENCE.

X. X.—The medal is a forgery, which ought not to deceive the veriest Tyro in Numismatic Science. Though it has been described and engraved in various books, from Waser, in 1605, down to Doctor Walsh, in 1828, it has been tossed aside by every one pretending to practical knowledge of coins, as a worthless bauble, too ill contrived to deceive even Jobert, who honestly says of it, "*quoiqu'elle eût pu être faite par quelque Juif converti au Christianisme* (which is not likely), *est cependant une de ces médailles dont les curieux ne doivent faire aucun état*" (Science de Méd. tom. i. page 305). We should not have ventured on this long note, but the same medal has been again engraved and described in a work avowedly written to prove the truth of revelation! Few of our readers will require to have this piece described; but we subjoin a description, for the information of those who have not seen a copy, assuring them that the style of the work, the letters, and the whole character of the piece, could never impose for one moment on any person at all acquainted with Numismatic monuments.

Obv.—The portrait of our Saviour, between the letters א and the word ישי.

Rev.—Inscription occupying the field, in five lines, משיח מלך בא בשלום ואור אדם עשוי חי.

IX.

CHOROGRAPHICAL GREEK COINS.

THE medallions of Syracuse are to the coinage of Greece, what the Elgin marbles, the works of Pheidias, are to its sculpture—the most perfect productions of their kind; unequalled in later ages, unrivalled even in Hellenic. Regarded, moreover, as a series, and studied in connection with the other coins of the same city, and still more, if compared with the numismatic monuments of Sicily generally, and Magna Græcia, they furnish most exquisite illustration of the progress of the art, and the succession of phases in which beauty and grace were revealed to the Hellenic race. Parallel with the variation of art, is that of the palæography of their legends. To furnish an exposition of these variations in all their numerous details, and as susceptible of very precise arrangement in sequence and synchrony, would be to furnish an interesting chapter to the history of art; and will be a worthy labour of love for those who have materials within reach, and leisure at command. The Duc de Luynes has already opened the subject, with a degree of success that encourages and excites to emulation.

The types of the Syracusan medallions, and tetradrachms, are very uniform in general character, though endlessly varied in detail and treatment. The work of Torremuzzi gives a multitude of examples; but the defective representation of the art, and careless falsification of the palæography, render it useless as an instrument for

truly historical analysis. The noble collection of the British Museum contains a series of specimens, which probably exhibit every characteristic of importance.

The prevailing types and combinations are, a female head on one side, with fish in the area; on the reverse, a quadriga, with Nikè flying above, and a symbol in the exergue.

With respect to the female head, on later coins Pallas and Artemis are recognised by helmet and quiver, and Arethusa, nymph of the fount, and Korè, by their inscribed names; but on others, early and late, of archaic and of finished style, more uncertainty prevails. We may choose or hesitate between Demeter and Korè; between Cyane, nymph of the fountain where Hades sunk into the earth with his prize, and Arethusa, nymph of the stream that fled through the sea from the pursuing Alpheus, to rise in the island of Ortygia, the primitive seat of the city; or we may even consider the claims of Ortygia herself invoked by Pindar, and personified as the favoured of Zeus.

Cicero informs us that the most important temples of Ortygia, the *νᾶσος*, also occupied by the palace of Syracusan royalty, were sacred to Pallas and Artemis. According to Diodorus, it was presented by Zeus to the latter, whose festival continued, to the last fatal scene of Syracusan independence, to be celebrated with extraordinary splendour and intentness. The Artemis of Ortygia stood also in peculiar relation to the fountain Arethusa; a relation abundantly illustrated by the commentators on Pindar, and the historian of the Doric race. The colonists from Elis brought with them the mythus of the attendant of Artemis, beloved and pursued by the river Alpheus, transformed into a stream, and still pursued. But the goddess is scarcely distinguishable from her nymph. Artemis was

worshipped in Elis as goddess of founts and flowing waters, as *ποταμία*, as Alpheusa, and with the Alpheus she had an altar in common at Olympia. Pindar styles Ortygia, "seat of fluvial Artemis;" and she herself is described in a fragment of Telesilla, as flying from Alpheus (Bergk, p. 742).

In Pindar, also, we find the Ortygian Artemis celebrated as patroness of the chariot race, the pride and ambition of the Sicilian magnates; and thus, on some of the coins, she holds the reins; while, on others, we may presume that the same propriety dictates the association of her head with the type of a quadriga, symbol of curule victories and contests, probably in her own Sicilian festival. At Elis, her earlier seat, according to Strabo, festivals were celebrated in her honour as Alpheiusa and as Daphnia; and Pausanias tells us that the *κοτινος*, that furnished the proper crown of the Olympian victor, particularly delighted in the waters of the Alpheus; and this may have been enough to suggest the laurel crown of the goddess or her nymph, on some of the archaic specimens.

As far, therefore, as local and mythical proprieties are demanded, we are at no loss for representatives of the Syracusan types; but the attempt to identify and appropriate them, is beset with difficulties, and involves questions which I do not care to consider, while the best evidence is practically out of my reach; and which, indeed, might, probably enough, baffle me, were the case otherwise; I am happy, therefore, to be able to decline the enquiry with a fair pretext. Candidly be it said, not only the misfortunes of our best friends, according to the limited humanity of Rochefoucault, but even our own, are apt to involve some circumstances wonderfully consolatory, if not a positive gratification.

It is not very easy, however, to take final leave of a subject so attractive as Greek numismatics without attempting to say one pertinent word on the subject of the Syracusan coins, on some minor point at least, however insignificant.

Müller (Handbuch, 364-7) distinguishes the heads of Artemis Potamia and Arethusa, with more positiveness than I think can be justified; but, at least, he does not appear to have participated in the error of some, who assume the fish of the area to be those which abounded in the waters of Cyane and Arethusa. Not to mention that they equally accompany the head of Pallas, it is enough to notice, that they are dolphins,—sooth to say,—the porpoises of the moderns; and, to place in a fountain the fish of the sea, is a blunder classical in English ballad literature. Here, therefore, they represent the sea. The waters of rivers and lakes are always appropriately represented on the coins by fish of a different form, as on the coins of Gela, Camarina, etc.; and these, I do not doubt, are to be recognised as particular species in the ichthyology of the island.

True it is, that on some coins, as, for instance, the fine specimen in the collection of Lord Northwick, bearing the inscribed head, front face, of Arethusa, small dolphins are visible among her floating locks; but the incongruity is readily explained by reference to the submarine passage of the fount, which sunk at Elis to rise again, after a passage through the brine, with unsullied waters, at Sicilian Ortygia. The locality still exhibits the remarkable natural phenomenon, which is of a class that among the Greeks was ever suited with a fable. "The fountain," says Captain Smyth, "though earthquakes have divided its channels and sullied its sweetness, is still not inconsiderable. At about eighty feet from it, a copious spring rises from the

bottom of the harbour with such force, that it does not intermingle with the salt water till it gains the surface."

The strictness with which we are justified, and bound indeed, to interpret the symbols of the coins, will appear by comparison of the archaic coins of Zancle, which form the subject of a highly interesting paper by Mr. Burgon, in an earlier number of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. They present a sickle-formed type, representing the remarkable curved and narrow promontory that forms the harbour of the city, the modern Messina. A number of prominences at intervals along the type, appear to represent a series of bastions, if not rather towers. The enclosed central space is occupied by a dolphin, thus the type of the water enclosed by the embracing land; and the coin itself, representing the very plan of the remarkable basin, as seen from the heights at the back of the harbour, may claim to stand first on the list of Greek coins of analogous types,—the chorographical series we may call them, — probably more numerous than at present is supposed.

Next on the list we may rank, I believe, the medallions and tetradrachms of Syracuse. On the earlier specimens, it will be observed that the dolphins are arranged at equal distances all round the female head in the centre; which, moreover, is circled by an inner ring. The sea-fish, in fact, swim freely in the channel that flows around the insular nymph, whether we name her the nymph Ortygia herself, or Arethusa, or Artemis Potamia, of whom Ortygia was the resting-place and seat. The arrangement of the types reverses that of the Zancle coins, as the relations of land and sea are contrasted in the two localities. Here we have the central island and circumfluent waves; as there, the central basin and the strip of enclosing land.

These relations underwent a change at Ortygia, and the

types were accommodated accordingly. The island was connected with the opposite land by a dam in the time of Gelon, or earlier. It became, as it remains, a promontory; and the subsequent coins exhibit the dolphins, no longer following each other in a circle all round the area, but confined to one side, or, at least, extending but three parts round, and usually, one at least of them swims to meet the rest. This latter distinction is particularly to be remarked, as decisive, on those few coins of later workmanship, on which the *peninsular* arrangement might otherwise appear but equivocally indicated by the intervals between the fish. The *peninsular* distribution of the dolphins occurs on other Sicilian coins, besides those of Syracuse; and always, so far as my opportunities of observation allow me to speak with positiveness, in agreement with the local situation. Among others, it occurs on the coins of fine style with Punic inscriptions, usually assigned to Panormus; also on the coins of Motya, where it is peculiarly appropriate, from the site of the town being, like Ortygia, a promontory that had been originally an island. On the other hand, the *insular* distribution occurs on the small silver coins which I find in the drawer assigned to Panormus in the British Museum, but that, I have no doubt, should be transferred to some locality in better accordance with the type. On the reverse, they bear Poseidon, seated, holding a dolphin in the left hand; in the right, his trident.

On the beautiful coins of Camarina, on the south coast of Sicily, we have, on one side, a female seated on a swan, of which she embraces the arched neck with her right arm; her left hand elevating her robe, that bellies like a sail with the wind. The swan breasts the water, indicated by the usual undulating figure; below which, and also in

the field behind the swan, is a fish, not, on the specimens that I have seen, a dolphin. The inscription KAMAPINA is apparently the name of the lady, the lady of the lake, the *εργχωρίαν λίμναν* of Pindar, which the oracle that passed into a proverb, enjoined to leave alone. Recklessly enough I am violating the injunction at this moment, but Eckhel has set an example by some bold conjectures, and this one more may be added, that the arching robe of the lady is not without allusion to the root *καμαρα*, an *arch*, *bow*, *chamber*. The obverse of the coin bears a youthful male head, with the budding horns of a river-god, Hipparis, who appears on other coins of the city with his name inscribed. Above either shoulder is a fresh-water fish, and these, with the river-god himself, are enclosed within a circle of regular undulations, or curling border, which, according to Noehden, expresses the water of the river, as the fish its productions.

But there must be more in it. Explanation is still required of the peculiarity of the arrangement, which, from its elegance, would appear to invite imitation, yet seems to have remained unimitated, and thus, we may presume, had a special propriety here, superior to mere considerations of taste and effect. The analogies of the coins of Syracuse and Zancle, direct us to chorography for an elucidation; and the Scholiast on Pindar furnishes the required details. The river Hipparis, that watered the plain of Camarina, flowed through the lake; and I have no hesitation in referring the curling circlet of the coin to the margin of the lake, with Hipparis in the midst,—the immersed and emerging river-god.

The arrangement of the types on this coin may be illustrated by the coin of Magnesia on the Mæander; on which the rushing bull, the usual type of a river, and here of the humped Asiatic species, is surrounded by a combina-

tion of lines, representing the mazy windings of the stream; an ear of corn in the field expresses the fertile plain. The same mazy type occurs on the coins of Apollonia in Caria, and Apamea in Phrygia, both situated on the Mæander; otherwise the concern of Magnesians from Crete, in the settlement of the Ionian colony, might tempt us to regard the type as a reminiscence of Cretan symbolism, the figure that represents the labyrinth.

These Cretan coins may also be claimed as chorographical in principle, notwithstanding the variations in the figure, as indifferently composed of right lines, circular or tortuous. On the reference of the star in the centre to Asterion, the proper name of the Minotaur, its monstrous inhabitant, I have spoken in the essay on the coins of Selinus. Another Asiatic city, Pergamus, presents a type on its coinage that claims notice here. I am indebted to Mr. Burgon for the indication that the two bull's heads, face to face, represent the relative position of the two small rivers, Selinus and Citius, that washed the walls of the city on opposite sides.

The bull on the archaic coins of Sybaris, is, no doubt, a river-bull; but why is its head turned back? The conjecture is obvious, that it was to express some peculiarity in the course of the stream. When the city was taken by the Crotoniats, they are said to have turned the river through the site, and a temple and grove were dedicated to Athenè Krathis in the drained bed. The operation, as related, appears to imply that a bend of the river was drained by uniting the channel in a direct line. When the devastated city was replaced by a later colony, the bull re-appears; but now, with lowered horns, and rushing directly forwards, in allusion, it may be, to the altered course of the stream. The rushing bull is also a speaking symbol

of the name of the town, Thurii, but the agreement of the two is probably caused by common derivation from the same natural characteristic of the site.

To return to Sicily: on the early coins of Leontini, an inland settlement, ears of corn occupy the place and arrangement that, on the Syracusan coins of the same style and period, are assigned to the dolphins. Three or four grains of corn, arranged angularly round a female head, appear to represent the disposition around the city of the *Campi Leontini*, so celebrated in antiquity for their cereal productiveness. The site of the town was in other respects so remarkable, and so clearly brought before us in the description of Polybius, that it is disappointing not to find a more artificial chorographical illustration.

On some of the coins the central place is occupied by a lion's head, yawning and with protruded tongue. The connection of the type with the name of the city is obvious, though it is quite as probable that the name of the city was selected with reference to the type, a tradition of the locality, as the reverse. A gaping lion's head was not employed so universally in Greek art, as the ornament of fountains and water-spouts, without some special suggestiveness and propriety. Plutarch derives the custom from Egypt (*Sympos.* iv. 5, 2.), from the rise of the Nile occurring on the entrance of the Sun into Leo. But this again is but a secondary derivation, and we may quite as safely rest in recognising the gaping head and protruded tongue of the beast as natural expressions of thirst, and therefore the appropriate emblems of the parched season of the year, the scorching station of the sun. The colour of this particular beast of prey, its fierceness and power, the heat of the countries where it chiefly abounded, its natural haunts in dry seasons, are all considerations which

would at least help to sustain its significance, as associated with ideas of heat and moisture, if it is rash to infer that they furnished the origin of it¹. I think therefore there is ground enough to connect both the name of the city and its corresponding type with a peculiarity in the local water-service of the district, for information on which we are again indebted to Captain Smyth (*Sicily and its Islands*, p. 158). "Near Lentini," he says, "is situated a lake called Burere, a sheet of water, in its greatest winter extent, about nineteen miles in circumference, but which, decreasing, as the sun advances, to eight or nine, leaves, a feculent bed of mud and marsh on its banks, that, during the summer-exhalations, teems with pestilence and death."

We need not scruple to assume that this modern description is sufficiently in accordance with the ancient circumstances of the place, however modified by Greek art and intelligence; in the head of the thirsty lion, we may therefore recognise the appropriate type of that natural condition, which affected so powerfully and remarkably the state of the district.

The crouched position of the satyr, seated on the ground on the fine coins of Naxos, may be considered as expressing the Bacchic cave of the place that Porphyry mentions in his dissertation on the cave of the nymphs. The exuberant fertility of the district is noticed by Smyth, as well as its enormous annual produce of wine, sufficiently explaining the prevalence of Dionysiac symbolism on the coins of the ancient city. The satyrs of our coins, it

¹ The lions seize a bull by the river side on the shield of Achilles (*Iliad*, xviii. 576). Compare also the simile of the troop of wolves, animals frequent in light-symbolism, lapping with thin tongues at the dark fountain (*Iliad*, xvi. 161).

may be observed, belong to the troop that furnished the chorus of the Cyclops of Euripides, the scene of the adventure of Ulysses being usually recognised in the immediate vicinity, between Naxos and Catana.

The brass coins of Lilybæum furnish one more illustration of Sicilian numismatic chorography—a female head with turret crown is enclosed within a triangle, formed of three waved lines irregularly scalloped inwards. Eckhel approves of the interpretation, that the enclosing figure is a form of the Sicilian symbol, the triquetra, and, like that, represents the island with its three promontories (the three-pronged island, as it is called in the *Argonautica*), one of which was occupied by the city of Lilybæum. I suspect, however,—indeed I do not doubt—that we have here a representation, as in other instances, half chorographic, half symbolical, of the fortified *enceinte* of this celebrated stronghold. Lilybæum was one of the most celebrated fortified cities of antiquity; situated on a promontory, the approach to it by sea was beset with dangers to all but experienced pilots; it was surrounded by walls strengthened by numerous towers, and on the land side it was farther protected by a trench, described by Diodorus as sixty feet wide, and forty feet deep. Thus defended, it defied the most determined attacks of Pyrrhus, and afterwards of the Romans, and only came into the possession of the latter by surrender, under a general treaty. The turret, or rather perhaps the tower-crowned head of the personified city, is therefore particularly appropriate; but if we regard the triangle as representing, not the fortified promontory, but the island itself, we stumble on the incongruity of the occupant of the angle, installed in and engrossing the centre. Thus placed, the head could scarcely be other than the genius of the island, but, other

objections apart, the position of Lilybæum was scarcely such as at any time to justify such an extended allusion.

On the coins of Corcyra a symbol occurs, common also to those of its colonies on the opposite mainland, Apollonia and Dyrrachium, which was conjectured by some of the earliest Numismatists to represent the gardens of Alcinous. The interpretation was accepted by Eckhel, but has still not remained uncontested, and I am not aware of any arguments hitherto adduced in favour of it that can be said to give it higher authority than belongs to a mere conjecture, unassailed by others of greater plausibility. The following considerations appear to me to furnish the conclusive proof required.

The figure may be described as consisting of a pair of parallelograms, sometimes placed side by side, on later specimens end to end. The first arrangement favours the conjecture of Panofka² that they may represent folding-doors, but their later disposition is against it, and still more the assumption by the type, in some instances, of a circular form. Each quadrangle is divided transversely by a row of three small dots, and longitudinally and diagonally by drop-shaped projections, which form together a combination not unlike the thunderbolt, especially in what may be called its floral form, as frequently seen on the vases. On the earlier coins, however, the figure appears treated angularly, and on the later it approaches the model of a flower rather than a bolt. The earlier coins are our safest guides to the original intention, and on these there is constantly a remarkable difference between the figures

in the coupled quadrangles, the central dot in one being enclosed in a square, that of the other in a lozenge.

The Corcyræans, it is well known, claimed for their island the honour of having been described by Homer as Scheria, realm of Alcinous, whose palace and city, and especially whose gardens, are so elaborately described in the *Odyssey*. Immediately in front of the chief door of the palace, the garden extended, in form a quadrangle, enclosed on every side, and allotted into orchard, vineyard, and garden for herbs or vegetables, laid out in regular beds or borders. One fountain furnished water which was conducted to all parts of it, while another flowed to the palace, and supplied the wants of the citizens.

This description of the rectangular division and enclosure of the gardens, is certainly very strikingly in agreement with the figure on the coin, though we may not insist on the central square and lozenge as representing the pair of variously distributed fountains, or endeavour to distinguish the triple partition of the description; and we come back to the position, that the symbols are more like the gardens of Alcinous than anything else. The interpretation is supported by the association with the figure, on some specimens, of a bunch of grapes and a cantharus, expressing the produce of the gardens that bloomed in all seasons, and where the ripe and ripening grapes hung ever side by side. On another coin the bunch of grapes in the centre of the field appears to take the place of the gardens that produced it, and a wreath, not of vine leaves, surrounding it, completes the expression of the varied produce ascribed by Homer to the surprising horticulture of the Phæacians.

The occurrence of the symbol, however, on the coins of Apollonia, enables us to press the proof still closer. On numerous coins of this city three nymphs are represented

dancing round a volcano or mass of flames, evidently the goddesses of the Nymphaion, the sanctuary mentioned by so many ancient authorities, by the fiery Asphalt fount. (Cf. Hoffman, p. 235.) A Nymphaion implies a garden; and, even without the information of Plutarch and Dion Cassius, we should have been justified in assuming that the precincts of the fane were verdant with meads and varied plantations. This, however, would still leave the question open, whether the citizens of Apollonia placed on their coins the symbol of the sacred garden of their own district, in which tradition said that the satyr had been caught sleeping,³ as Herodotus tells of his capture in the rose-gardens of Mount Bermion⁴, or not rather the transferred type of the Corcyraean metropolis, the orchard of Phæacia.

This question is, however, settled by a coin representing the same volcano that is danced round by the nymphs, as enclosed within the symbolical quadrangle, which is therefore established as the sacred enclosure of the Nymphaion, where the stream of burning bitumen flowed through borders of uninjured verdure, and the curious into futurity gathered omens of their lot from the caprices of the fire, on any subject whatever, with the important exceptions of Matrimony and Death⁵. On these catastrophes alone, for reasons no doubt, in either case, of equal considerateness, the goddesses kept closed the book of fate.

The club that lies within the enclosure beside the fount, has obvious reference to the *κλιστήρ* of the city, a Herakleid from Corinth⁶.

Hercules himself was claimed by Dyrrachium or Epi-

³ Plutarch, Sylla, 27.

⁴ viii. 138.

⁵ Dio Cass. xli. 45.

⁶ Thucyd. i.

damnus, as their founder (Appian, *Illyric.* 2). That the Epidamnians dedicated at Olympia a group of Hesperides, may be accepted as proof that they connected his visit to their locality with his expedition to the garden of the daughters of Atlas. Nevertheless, from the Apollonian analogy, I incline to assert for the Epidamnian symbol of a garden, an Epidamnian original.

This illustration of Numismatic chorography, it will be seen, is intended as suggestive, by no means set forth as exhaustive; and even if some of my instances should be contested, not to say controverted, I do not doubt that others, at present unnoticed, will step forward and take their places, to stand siege and do battle for the principle implicated.

14th June, 1848.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

X.

PROPOSED INTERPRETATION OF THE NUMERALS XCVI. ON THE COINS OF DIOCLETIAN.

On some of the coins of Diocletian and his cotemporaries, the letters XCVI fill up the centre of the reverse. Different explanations have been given of this singular type, but Echkel (*vol. viii. p. 507*) considers them all unsatisfactory, and I fear that the one now about to be offered, will, from its mere simplicity, cause, at first sight, a smile rather than conviction.

My idea then is that these letters signify nothing more than that XCVI, i.e. 96, denarii were struck to the pound. The letters A Q or T, which are sometimes added, are of course the initials of the mint, as Aquilegia, etc.

Before giving any reasons for this explanation, I must answer an objection which may be made *in limine*, and which, if sustained, would be fatal, viz., that several authors assert that other letters, as VCVI and VCVC, do sometimes occur. Eckhel (p. 507) doubts the existence of these pieces; but even if we admit their authenticity, the similarity of the letters they bear to the ordinary XCVI is so great, that we may fairly attribute the variations to the blunders of moneyers in distant mints.

It is well known, that under Galba the denarius was definitely fixed at 96 per lb., and that it so remained through many succeeding reigns. The weight seems to have been kept up long after the standard had been debased, but finally both one and the other gave way, and about the time of Probus the silver coinage of Rome may be said to have ceased altogether.

When therefore Diocletian revived it in all its integrity, and struck coins resembling, both in weight and fineness, those of the earlier emperors, but to which the public had been long strangers, is there anything unreasonable in supposing that the letters XCVI, which are found impressed on silver denarii, and on them only, may have been intended to indicate their weight and value?

The idea is supported by the fact that the coins of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximinus, which bear this type, were all struck while those princes were still Cæsars, that is, during the reign of Diocletian. When the new coinage had been sufficiently long in circulation, the impress of its value was omitted as unnecessary. Perhaps, after a few more years, the Master of our own mint in England will think it superfluous to point out the distinction between "SIX-PENCE," and "ONE-SHILLING."

If these views be admitted, it will follow that this great

restoration of the silver coinage did not take place much before A. D. 292, when the two above-named princes were created Cæsars, and indeed no silver coin either of Diocletian or Maximianus Hercules is known, whose type or legend requires it to be placed in any earlier period of their reign.

That the coins of Diocletian and his coteremporaries really do weigh the same as those of Galba and his successors will be seen by referring to the tables in Akerman's Roman Coins, pp. 16 and 18. Five in my own collection give an average of 50·6 grains, and are quite as heavy as some equally well preserved specimens of Titus and Vespasian. The full weight, according to Letronne, p. 52, obtained from an average of 100 coins of Trajan, would be about a grain more.

GEORGE SPARKES.

XI.

PEHLEVI LEGENDS ON THE COINS OF THE LAST SASSANIAN KINGS, OF THE EARLY ARABIAN KHALIFS, OF THE ISPEHBEDS OF TABERISTAN, AND ON THE INDO-PERSIC COINS OF EASTERN IRAN. BY DR. JULIUS OLSHAUSEN. COPENHAGEN, 1843.

(Concluded from page 92.)

CHAP. II.—ON THE EARLIEST COINS OF THE ARAB GOVERNORS OF PERSIA.

BESIDES the coins of Tapúristan, with the names of Arab governors, we find others with Pehlevi legends and the same appellations, but without the designation of any

particular province. I have not been fortunate enough to have seen any of these in original, and have to depend upon a couple of casts, and some not altogether satisfactory engravings. The general style of the coins resembles those of Tapúristan. On the obverse is the bust of the king similarly formed, to the right, with the winged crown. The word *Afzud* is behind the head, and there is a similar mint-mark over the one half of the term. The names are in front of the head, and the dates are on the reverse to the left. Other legends take the place of Tapúristan on the right of the reverse.

Of these coins, the first are those on which the name of the celebrated Hejaj ben Yusaf may be read in Kufic characters. I have before me the cast of a coin from the British Museum (noted, Payne Knight, p. 205, xviii. A. I.), on which the name Al Hejaj may be clearly read on an upper line, and Yusaf on a lower, although the word *ben* which should come between them is not distinguishable. If it is there, the descending curve of the Arabic *n* must have been combined calligraphically with the ascending line of the *f*. There can be no doubt, however, as to the person. We may also read on the margin of the obverse in Kufic letters, the usual formula, *Bism-illah* بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ "In the name of God." On the reverse, is the date of the year in Pehlevi *hashtád*, eighty. The *t* in this word more resembles the Zend than the Pehlevi letter, but we cannot propose any other reading. Finally, in the place of Tapúristan we have marks which I cannot recognize as genuine Pehlevi characters, and suspect to be merely mint-marks.

Von Fraehu published, in the year 1822, in the second volume of the transactions of the Courland Society, an engraving of a coin of Hejaj, which was afterwards, in

1824, republished in the *Journal Asiatique*, tom. iv. pl. iii., but the original was badly copied. It appears to me that not only the Kufic inscription *Al Hejaj ben Yusuf* and the marginal legend *Bism-Allah: la Allah ila Allah wa Mohammed Rasul Allah*—"In the name of God: there is no God but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God," are to be distinctly made out, but also the date of the year may be decyphered easily on the reverse. I read it without hesitation, *Hasht-haftád*, seventy-eight. The years 78-80 of the Hijra, answer perfectly to those in which Hejaj was governor of Irak and Khorasan. The Pehlevi legend here undoubtedly also gives the years of the Hijra, and the coin is consequently fifty years and more, older than the earliest coins of Khurshid. The reverse of this coin has to the right in Pehlevi, *Senet*, i. e. سن year. I regret that we have not in the *Journ. Asiatique*, iv. p. 336, engravings of the coins described as Nos. X. and XI., the first of which, with the "Bismillah" on the margin, is perhaps identical with the London coin above noticed. The second has the legend *Al hamdo l'illah*, "glory to God" on the margin. Both belong to those coins of which Makrizi makes mention, as cited by De Sacy (*Traité des Monum. Mus.* p. 18), and are not earlier than Hijra 76. But as, according to Von Fraehn (*Bull. de l'Académie Imp.*, tom. i. No. 6), no silver coins were known to the Arabs before Hijra 79, the consideration of a coin which bears the date Hijra 78, is not without interest. Of the Göttingen coin with the name "Besher," we might suspect it to go back as far as Hijra 71; in which case it would be the oldest known coin bearing the name of an Arab Governor in Kufic letters. I have, however, some other coins to produce which bear Arabic names in Pehlevi characters, and which, it must be admitted, are among the most early of

those struck under the authority of the Arabs in Persia. They are:—

1. The coin given by Marsden, Num. Orient. No. DXL. On the obverse we have in the usual place, behind the head, the word *Afzud*; above it, in two lines perfectly legible, are the name *Omar*, as on the coins of Tapúristan of 120—125, then a detached mark, to be read *i*, and which should, no doubt, be connected with *Omar*, as the grammatical ending, *Omar-i*. The second line has a long word, which, at the first glance, might be read *ubitarhan*, but which, on closer examination, I find to be *Ubid-allah-an* which is the old Persian form of the patronymic of the Arabic name عبيد الله. The final *d* of the first word is represented by the Pehlevi *t*; while in the genuine Persian words which we have hitherto met with, the change of *d* to *t* occurred only in those words in which the *t* was originally used. The second part of the name *Allah* could not well be expressed in Pehlevi otherwise than by *a*, *r* and *a*, for the alphabet from the first wanted an *l*, and the sound was only later discriminated by an apostrophe from that of *r*. The doubling of a consonant ending one syllable and beginning another (as in the *ll* of *Allah*) is unknown in Pehlevi, and the final aspirate would not be pronounced—*Allah* therefore becomes *Arâ*. The patronymic termination *an* is familiar to Oriental scholars, as in *Ardeshir-i-Babegan*—“Ardeshir, the son of Babek.” So we have *Omar-i-Ubid-Allah-an*—“Omar, the son of Ubid Allah.”

The Kufic inscription on the margin of this coin is *L'illahi al hamdo*—“Praise be to God.” It is probably the same which is described in the Journ. Asiatique, tom. iv. under No. xii. On the reverse is the word *senet*, year, in the same situation as on Fraehn's coin of Hejaj; but the date is not accurately given by Marsden, which is much to be

regretted. The first part is clearly *hasht*, eight. The second might be *wist*, twenty, or *shast*, sixty, which would bring it near to the date of the coin of *Besher*, and would accord well enough with the year of the Hijra. As long as the date is doubtful, we cannot attempt to determine who this Omar the son of Ubid-Allah should be; but in the year Hijra 68, that is, in the first year of the government of Abd-ul-Malik, we find named by Ibn Koteiba (in Reiske's Extract, p. 280), under the article Abada ben Al-Hosein, an Omar ben Ubid-Allah ben Mâmar ben Ali ben Tamim

عمر بن عبید الله بن معمر بن علی بن تمیم


and in the extract by Reiske from Ibn Durid's *Kitab-al-ashkâk* (in the Royal Library, Copenhagen), p. 148, we have an Omar ben Ubid-Allah ben Mâmar mentioned, with the addition that he fell in battle with the Khwarij.

M. De Longpérier has had engraved either the same coin or one exactly like it, plate xii. fig. 2. In the engraving, either through the inexactitude of the artist or a defect in the original, the letter *r* (that is, *l*) has been omitted in the patronymic; nevertheless we cannot be wrong in considering it as a coin of Ibn Ubid.

2. 3. We have two casts of a coin in the Royal Cabinet, which are exactly alike. One (No. 7261) is from a coin in the British Museum, with no other notice than "Additions." The other is from a coin in the cabinet of the India House and was brought from Kabul. It has been engraved in Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xvii. fig. 2. As I entertained some doubts with respect to the accuracy of the delineation, a cast was at my request most kindly sent to me from London. These two coins have on the margin of the obverse, in Kufic letters, the *Bismillah*; also the word *Afzud* in the usual situation, and the same name in two

lines before the bust. Wilson's coin has also, immediately above on the margin, a countersign, in which I think I can read the name *Mohammed* in Kufic, but reversed from the original stamp. On the reverse the coins exhibit the same date and the same name on the right. The die, however, was not the same, as appears clearly from the name on the reverse. In general, the coin of the Museum is better executed. The reading of the name and date is not without difficulty. That in front of the bust is written on Wilson's coin in two lines. In the upper line the first letter is clearly the aspirated vowel or *a*, then follows a groupe in which an *m* is certainly comprised; but it is preceded by a letter of very doubtful appearance, and which may be *d*, *g*, *j*, or *r*; at the end of the line is *i*, as in the case of Omar-i-Ubid-Allah, connecting the first with the second line, which contains the patronymic. In the second line there, I find, first, a *z*, then a *y* repeated, then *at-an*, or together *Ziyat-an*, equivalent to *Ziyád-an*, or *ben Ziyád*. In the cast (No. 7261), the more distinct series of the first line has apparently an *r* connected with the *m*, but in the second row the two *y*'s are not to be distinguished. We cannot, however, doubt that we have here also the patronymic *Ziyád-an*.

On the reverse, Wilson's coin exhibits the numeral in Pehlevi letters. The other has the same, but the final is unmistakeably *t*. These numerals differ somewhat from those hitherto explained, and have a ruder and more antiquated character. I think, however, they may be thus analysed:—First, we have two conjoint strokes forming an *s*, then a curved stroke turning to the left, and with the two following making *sh*; then again, we have *s* and finally *t*, or together, *seh-shast*, sixty-three. It is possible that the number three, *seh*, has been expressed by one letter, for

I see no other possible reading, and I infer, therefore, that in combination with a following decimal, the consonant now added to the initial in modern Persian might formerly be dispensed with. On the Museum coin on the right we may clearly read a name in Pehlevi, which I understand Merwan . Wilson's coin, also, has no other name, although the *wn* are somewhat indistinct, and the *r* is differently formed with a curve to the left. We might, however, perhaps read in both, instead of the Arabic Merwan, that of a Persian city, Mero, and as the term occurs in the same situation as Tapúristan, this were more appropriate; only I see no reason for doubting the final *w*, and therefore prefer to read it an *n*, making *Mervan*. The combination of the patronymic *Ziyád-an* with the date 63, allows us to hope for some little light to be thrown on the principal name on the obverse. If, as conjectured, the date be Hijra 63, then would Ziyad, whose son appears here to have been governor of some Persian province, be no other than the famous Ziyad ben Abihi the brother of the Khalif Moawia, among whose numerous sons, Amr or Amru is the only one that can be suggested. None of the others, whose names are all enumerated by Ibn Koteiba, would in any wise suit the Pehlevi legend. I am disposed therefore to read upon the obverse *Amr-i Ziyad-an*; but I do not wish to conceal that the letters *mr* as they stand on the coin would rather be *rm*. No name, however, is known to me, either Arabic or Persian, which could be rendered from these letters in any other way except Amr, and although we do not for a certainty know that Amr ben Ziyad ever held the government of Persia, yet the fact is not improbable. In proposing to place the coin in the time of the first Yezid, without having more positive indications, I must expect to encounter the

strong prejudices of Numismatists; yet not only does the whole style of the coins seem to characterise them as the predecessors of the coins of Hijaj, but I am confirmed in the accuracy of my conclusion by another coin, which I shall proceed to describe.

4. The coin in question has been engraved by Wilson (Ariana, pl. xvii. fig. 3), but I repeat the representation from a sulphur cast supplied to me from London at my request, as the Pehlevi letters are there more correctly given. This coin also comes from Kabul, and the original, I believe, is in the India House. On the margin of the obverse occurs the *Bism-illah*; behind the head the customary *Afzud*. Before the bust, on the upper row, we have quite distinctly Ubid-Allah, which occurred before as the patronymic. In the second row, next to a representation of the Sun, is a mark which cannot be regarded as a letter, but apparently represents the moon. Then follows the *i*, which is to be attached to Ubid-Allah, but for which there is no room in the upper row. Then comes the patronymic, which we read on the last coin, Ziyadán, if I decypher it correctly, having a small mark for the *i*, and a larger for the Arabic *y*. The latter is connected with the following *a*. This coin then is almost without any doubt the coin of the celebrated Ubid-Allah ben Ziyad, who was first governor of Khorasan under the Kalif Moawiya, and afterwards succeeded his father in Irak, according to Ibn Koteiba, p. 377. He continued governor till the death of Yezid, in Hijra 64, and was killed in the reign of Abd-ul-Malek, Hijra 67, without leaving a successor. He plays a prominent part in the history of Arabian coinage, for Makrizi relates (as quoted by De Sacy) that he was the first who issued counterfeit Dirhems, when he fled from Basra; Hijra, 64. Beladheri mentions him also, in a remarkable

passage cited by Fraehn, Journ. Asiatique, tom. iv. p. 345:—
 “David the Assayer said, I have met with a Dirhem, the like of which I had never before seen, with this inscription, *Ubid Allah ben Ziyad*; but it was looked upon as counterfeit.”
 The Dirhem before us is no counterfeit, nor is it one of the light Dirhems struck by Ubid-Allah, in the year 64; for it is older. On the reverse, on the left, we have the number clearly *shast*, sixty, which can apply to the Mohammedan era only. The coin belongs therefore to the first year of the reign of Yezid, or the last of that of Moawiya, and with the oldest copper coins described by M. de Saulcy (Journ. Asiatique, 3^{me} serie, tom. viii. p. 477), must be the oldest known coin of the time of the Khalifs. I am not, I am sorry to say, confident as to the legend on the right of the obverse. The first mark appears to be an apostrophe, the like of which has not been observed on any other coin. I imagine it to be intended for *k*, to which it bears the greatest similitude, and which has not occurred before. Next come a groupe which I read *rm*; and they are followed by *an*, making together *kerman*: but we have still two characters, the reading of which is doubtful; the first looks like an *a*, combined with *p*, or *f*, or *ch*, or *z*; the second a detached *i*. They may express some inflexion of the word *Kerman*, or may be merely mint-marks, for which no better situation could be found.

With these coins of the years of the Hijra, 60, 63, 68, the coin published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, July, 1834, pl. 21, fig. 8, and in the Journ. Asiatique, 3^{me} serie, tom. vii. pl. 17, No. 1, should probably be classed. The engravings unfortunately, do not suffice for the decyphering of the inscriptions. On the margin of the obverse is clearly enough the Arabic word *Bism*, but reversed. In the usual place, there appears to be the word *Afzud*.

There are two lines before the head, which, no doubt, contain the name and patronymic ; but they are illegible. The date on the reverse is still more undecypherable ; but, I think, I can distinguish *Merwan* or *Merv* on the right.

To these also, to a certain extent, belongs a coin also brought from Kabul, and engraved by Wilson (pl. xvii. 4), of which I have also a cast before me. It has several peculiarities, and belongs to a different province from any of the other coins. I can make out but little of the Pehlevi upon it ; but it certainly belongs to the same period, and is of similar origin. Besides the general style, we have the Kufic inscription *Bismillah*, the letters of which strongly resemble those of the coins last described, and which decidedly denotes a Mohammedan origin. The word *Afzud* appears in the usual place with the known mint-marks ; but both marks are repeated on the same face of the coin to the left on the edge below, where they are plainer in the engraving than the cast. The name before the head is in two lines ; but, as it appears to me, in characters wholly unknown. It may be the name of an Arab governor. The reverse has on the margin a legend also in unknown characters, which seem to me to differ from those of the obverse. On both sides of the fire altar, we have, I think, Pehlevi inscriptions. On the left, I think, I can make out *h* (or *a*), *w* (*u*) or *n*, *b*, *â* ; but I can make no word of them. The longer term on the right is quite unintelligible, and appears to be more ancient than any yet met with.

CHAP. III.—INDO-PERSIAN COINS OF EASTERN IRAN.

THE last-mentioned coin with the unknown characters on either face belongs probably to Eastern Iran ; and the

character, or rather the species of character, is related to that on the coin from Masson's collection, given by Wilson (pl. xvii. 8). This differs essentially from any of the Pehlevi legends hitherto explained. On the obverse, the head, as on the other coins, has the crown with wings; and on the reverse we have the usual types of the religion of Zoroaster; but the style and general appearance are different. Before and behind the head is a Devanagari inscription, which Wilson reads thus: before the head, with some uncertainty, *Sri Bahmana*; behind it, *Vasudeva*. On the margin, both faces present the same sort of unknown letters. The characters on the right and left of the fire altar cannot well be Pehlevi, but they are different from those on the margin. The coin is certainly connected with others which have Pehlevi inscriptions. The same names which are read upon it by Mr. Wilson, occur upon another also engraved by him from the same collection (pl. xvii. No. 9), which offers very beautiful but comparatively modern Pehlevi writing. In the hope of being enabled, by a good cast, to read this with greater confidence, I requested to have one sent me, which Mr. Wilson was kind enough to supply me with through Mr. Councillor Thomsen, which, along with the other casts obtained from the same quarter, is deposited in the Royal Cabinet of Copenhagen. I have, however, been disappointed; and the cast has not proved of the use I expected. On the obverse of this coin, we have a male head, with the winged crown; but with the full face: on the left, in the middle, close to the edge, occurs the word *Afzud*: between it and the head is stamped a countermark, on which a boar's head may be distinguished. On the right of the bust is a Pehlevi legend, which I might read *apúrāntip*, or rather perhaps *apúrāntáz*; but I cannot offer any explanation of the term.

As it appears in the engraving, it might possibly be *apur senet*, with, somewhat behind it, a date; but on the cast *rán* is not less distinct than *apu*. Round the margin runs a legend beginning from the left of the crown (the right of the beholder), to the right, divided into four segments by the insertion of the usual stars. The first begins with the Pehlevi letter *p*, and a repeated letter *w* or *n*. Then follows a very unintelligible groupe which, according to the cast, may be *amu*, then a detached *i*, and finally *shán*. The second part begins clearly with *apur*, but the *r* is connected with a following letter, which I consider to be *b*. What ensues is very obscure. *Sht* seems to be in contact with a long horizontal line above the *b*. Lastly, the group *ap* (*ach* or *az*), and an *n* or *w* follow. The third portion on the left begins clearly with the name *Bahman*, written *whmán*. After which comes an *a* with a tail exactly as on the coin of Ubid Allah in the word I proposed to read *Kerman*. Then follows a word which, in the engraving, must be read *mitán*; but which, in the cast, appears to be *mrtán*. The three last letters which are quite distinct on the plate are very indistinct in the cast. The last segment to the left contains perhaps merely a mint-mark; but which, in part at least, is composed of Pehlevi letters beginning with *m* and *r*, which are followed by *k*, and the word ends with *a*. On the reverse is a female head with face to the front, and with appropriate decorations. On the left is the Devanagari inscription 'Vasudeva'; on the right, a Pehlevi legend. In one place the countermark on the other face shews through the coin, and obliterates the marks on the cast, although in the engraving the letters are quite clear. On the other hand, the preceding and following part of the legend are distinct on the cast, but not in the engraving. In the former, the first three letters

are certainly *pnch*, which, if it were a numeral, we should render 'five'; but, if the name of a place, it might be intended for part of Panchir (*Panjshir*). In the engraving we then have an *h* (or *a*) and an *i*, then *z*, and *a* with *n* or *w*. Of all these only the last appears on the cast with a slight trace of a preceding letter, which might perhaps be *a*, perhaps *sh*. At the end the cast shews the syllable *rat*. I cannot offer any explanation of the inscription on the margin. Below, to the right, is also a Pehlevi legend; but it is by no means distinct. As far as I can make it out, we have the letter *s* (perhaps *a*), *p*, *r* (?), *y* (or *d*), *m*, *á*, *n*, *sh*, *á*, *n*. I regret extremely that I cannot offer any more satisfactory explanation of this interesting coin. From the style of the writing, I cannot think it older than the coins of Tapúrístan: it is probably rather more modern.

I can make out something more of another remarkable coin, which is connected with the last-mentioned, also published by Wilson, from the Masson Collection (pl. xxi. fig. 22), a cast of which has also been sent to me, but of which Mr. Wilson's is the only true representation. The obverse has a totally different appearance from that of the preceding, exhibiting a half-profile of a man's head, with an extraordinary tiara without wings turned to the right. In front are some unknown characters similar to those on Wilson's coins (pl. xvii. 4 and 8). In the margin is a Devanagari inscription read by Mr. Prinsep—*Sri Hitivira airana cha parameswara sri vahitigan deva janita*; but which Mr. Wilson reads: *Sri Hinivíra Rajádhiraja* (?) *parameswara* (?) *sri cha Hinivíra deva janita*. On the reverse is the head of a young female, full face, with ornaments resembling those on the preceding coin. To the left, in Pehlevi letters, clearly but not correctly engraved, is, *haft haftad* هفت هفتاد seventy-seven, with the final stroke

at the end of one of the two words which may represent the copulative as if it were *Haft-u-haftád*. The imperfect acquaintance of the die-cutters with the Pehlevi letters is manifested in the figure of the final *t*, which, joined to the second stroke of the preceding *a*, acquires the appearance of a *p*, with *n* or *w* following. On the other hand, the inscription on the right is on the whole very well cut, only that the beginning is indistinct, which is much to be regretted. The first letter is *t*, the second probably *v* or *u*, then comes a character I cannot decypher. Further on, the *w* or *n* recurs, I make no doubt; and, finally, we have entirely distinct and beautifully *Khurasan Merwá*. According to this, the origin of this coin with Pehlevi and Devanagari inscriptions appears to me to be Merv in Khorasan, although the form *Merwa* is unusual. The illegible word at the beginning of this last phrase may be meant for 'coin,' as if it were 'coin of Khorasan stamped at Merv;' or, perhaps, the term for "capital" may be intended—the capital of Khorasan, Merv. According to what era the date is to be reckoned, I cannot venture to say; it is very unlikely to be the Mohammedan. In that case, the *Bismillah* would scarcely have been omitted, and the style of the writing indicates on this, as on the former coin, a more modern date: not that this circumstance contributes to approach a solution of the historical problem which these coins present.

The same coin, or one exactly like it, is found in the Journ. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, July, 1843, pl. xxi. 10. I have only seen a drawing from the engraving, and am not quite convinced of its identity. No. 11 of the same plate is also like this. These are, probably, the two coins which we have in the Journ. Asiatique, 3^{me} serie, tom. vii. pl. 17, 3, 4. In these the male head of fig. 3, and female of fig. 4, best accord with our coin.

CHAP. IV.—COINS OF THE LAST SASSANIAN KINGS.

THE Pehlevi characters upon the coins hitherto explained have undergone an evident calligraphic improvement. Upon the Indo-Persian coins, even more than those of the Tapúristan, the letters equal in elegance the writing of the best manuscripts, while on those of the Arab governors of Persia, the former is clearly more ancient, although essentially the same. But we find on the coins, which have been accurately designated as the last Sassanian, an older and ruder alphabet, a transition Alphabet, which appears to be the connecting link between that of the older Sassanian coins decyphered by De Sacy, and that of the coins which we have investigated. I have been able to read the greater part of the inscriptions on such of these later coins as I have had access to; and although the result is not very productive of new dates, yet it is not without interest to the historian and numismatist. All the coins of this class, of which I have seen either the originals or the casts, differ much from those of more recent date, both as to execution and preservation, and agree best, as to external appearance, with those of the Arab governors or the Ispébeds of Tapúristan. The obverse presents regularly the word *Afzud* behind the head, and in front of it the name of the issuer. On the reverse we have to the left a date; on the right, apparently mint-marks. I will enumerate the names and dates which are known to me.

The greater number of the coins which I have seen bear the name Khosrub, using the old Pehlevi form of the name Khosru, as indicated by the final mark, which may be taken for a *b*, although that letter is differently formed in modern Pehlevi. If we adhere to the latter, we must read it Khosrewi

خسروی, as Sir Wm. Ouseley has done in his observations on some medals and gems bearing inscriptions in the Pehlevi and ancient Persian characters (Lond. 1801, sect. vi). He was the only one until that time who succeeded in decyphering a word in the Pehlevi character. I am sorry to say I have not access to his work, and only know the reading of the word through later writers. According to his reading, we should have, not the simple name of the king, but an adjective derived from it, which does not seem likely: however, he may be correct. There is no doubt with respect to the person. The coin is a coin of Khosru; of whom there are also in the Royal Cabinet of Copenhagen nine; in the British Museum thirty-two, of which we have casts in the Royal Cabinet; ten of them have no other particulars than 'Khosru' (Ouseley, sect. vi). Eight are from the collection of Payne Knight; one has the signature, Taylor Combe, and one Edwd. Hawkins; one is marked "additions," and one "from Rich;" altogether forty-one with the same name. It remains, however, to be determined, whether they all belong to the same king, or to what king, or to what queen. I shall offer a few observations on this subject after reading the dates on the reverse.

On one portion of the coins of Khosru, we meet with the same Persian numerals which we have found on the other coins, only that they are of lower value. I distinguish with confidence upon the coins of the Royal Cabinet, the numbers 23, 24, 35 (on three coins), 37; on one, I am not quite sure whether we have 25 or 35: on the London casts I find the numbers 23 (No. 7198), 24 (7287), 25 (7290), and if I am not mistaken, also on two others, (7247, 7254) 27, (7286) 30, (7195, 7197) 35, (7194, and most probably 7293) 36, (7193, 7203) 38, (7200, 7246, 7248,

and probably 7284). Of these forty-one coins, there are three and twenty with legible Persian dates, falling within the range of twenty and thirty; they appear also in some of the casts legible only in part; but there come within the same limits at least twenty-eight out of thirty-two with legible dates. I may add, that of the coins specified by M. de Longpérier, No. 60, apparently a Khosru-Naushirwan; and Nos. 64, 65, probably of Khosru-Parviz, have legible numbers of the same kind. No. 60, Pl. x. Fig. 4, which is peculiar, having on the obverse the head with full face, and no fire altar on the reverse but a full-length male figure holding a sword reversed, has the date 34. No. 64, Pl. xi. Fig. 3 has 37 or 38. This is also a remarkable coin, and may be regarded as the model of the Indo-Persian coin, with the female head on the reverse. The name has some addition; but the inscription is indistinctly engraved. No. 65 has undoubtedly 24. These are no doubt the numbers of years, but whether they refer to those of an era, or of the king's reign, cannot at present be determined. It may also be questioned whether they refer to Khosru-Naushirwan, or to Khosru-Parviz, the first of whom reigned 48 years, the second 38; the highest number met with is thirty-eight.

Upon the reverse of these coins appears, as already remarked, what seems to be the mint-mark; one of which frequently occurring, is very like the Kufic form of 'Allah'. I find it on the Copenhagen coin with the number 23, and upon the London coins, Nos. 7198, 7286, 7246, and 7248; but it can scarcely be thought likely that it is the Arabic term. On three London coins, I find, in place of this mint-mark, distinctly the Pehlevi word for year (viz. Nos. 7290, 7197, and 7283). I found the same on the coin of Al Hijaj of the Hijra year 78; and then I called the word after the Arabic 'Senet.' There may be ground for a different pro-

nunciation; for on a few of the Khosru coins we see, not without surprise, the Aramaic instead of the Persian numerals. These are especially used for the units: thus Nos. 7252, 7253, have *tolta*, in Pehlevi, the Syriac *three*; Nos. 7202, 7249, *arba* four; 7294 has *shabho* seven; 7251, *tasho* nine. We might expect to find the word for *year* also pure Aramaic, or *shinah*, not *sanat*; but I think we may as well restrict the pronunciation to the Aramaic, only as regards the vowel, reading *s'nat*.

Lastly, upon three of the coins of Khosru, the numeral is quite illegible; and I cannot say whether it be Persic or Aramaic. Such is the case on one of the Copenhagen coins and the London casts 7250 and 7292. For the rest, these Khosru coins have some peculiarities of writing and orthography differing from later usage; thus the letter *r*, substituted for the *l*, usually takes the more ancient form noticed by Müller resembling the *o* of the Zend MSS. *Sh* has the form used on the coins of Amr ben Ziyad, but is more ancient, and has the first line quite horizontal. The *h* appears in an older form, and differs somewhat from *a*, as in the numerals *chahar* four and *haft* seven. The final stroke after the numeral *wist* occurs where it is omitted by the coins of Tapuristan. The orthography of the number thirty (*si*), and three (*seh*) is very remarkable; the reading is quite certain, but I cannot arrive at a satisfactory analysis of the characters. In two of the London coins not yet adverted to (casts 7283, 7291, both from Rich), I observe different characters for the name of the king; I believe, however, we must read it Khosrub. The first has the numeral 23 with the word *senat*; the other, the Aramaic *toltu* three, and a mint-mark resembling the Pehlevi *mr*. Upon two only of the coins of Pehlevi legends do I find any other king's name than that of Khosru; they are the London

casts 7238, 7239 (Payne Knight, p. 204, pl. xvi. 1. 2.), they bear the name Ormuzd, written in a manner which would be expressed in Niskh letters, *Ouharmuzd* اوهرمزد. The two last letters are not quite distinct on either of the coins; but the reading is undoubted. The style of the writing denotes a higher antiquity than that of the Khosru coins; and I am inclined to refer them to Ormuzd, the son of Khosru Nau-shirwan, A. D. 579-590, while the Khosru coins mostly belong to Khosru Parviz. The reverse of the Ormuzd coins has the Aramaic numeral *treen* two, and *tasho* nine, which I look upon as the years of the king's reign. According to Longpérier the coin 62 (pl. xi. 1.) has the same name, Ormuzd, and the Aramaic numeral three. I find also in his work, two apparently older coins, in which the Pehlevi writing shews itself in its transition state—on No. 64, with the name *Wahrahran* (pl. xi. 2.), and on 68 with *Arteshetr* (pl. xii. 1), the reverse of which has the Aramaic number for two; the same number occurs apparently on the coin No. 55 (pl. ix. fig. 4).

A coin in the Royal Cabinet, on which the name is undecypherable, has also on the reverse the Aramaic number *three*, impressed in Pehlevi letters, in a more correct manner than in any of the before mentioned coins with the same. Finally, I must advert to a London coin (Copenhagen, cast 7201, without any further specification), which seems to be without any name. On the obverse in the usual situation of the name of the king, we read *senat* year; and before it, if I do not mistake, the Persian word *hasht*, eight, while on the reverse is the Aramaic number, *treen* two. It is the only coin known to me on which we have both Persic and Aramaic numbers; and that the computation starts from a different point is evident, not only from the difference of the two numbers, but the circumstance that the Arabic

numerals are limited to the first ten, while the numbers of the coins of Khosru belong mostly to twenty and thirty: the coin in question is the only one with a lower notation. The time will soon come, I trust, when it will be decided whether, as I conjecture, the Aramaic number relates to the year of the king's reign, and the Persic to a particular era, and at what period that era commences. The appearance of the Aramaic numbers is an unexpected occurrence; but it is not difficult of explanation, as the predominating population even of Khosru's capital was Syrian. The different mode of reckoning may also be explained by national usages. The numbering of the years of the king's reign is an old Semitic practice, which was not likely to be relinquished although the astronomers made use of a determinate era.

I have now to terminate my remarks on the Pehlevi legends. It is no merit of my own to have had the satisfaction of opening a fresh soil yielding a rich harvest to the original cultivator; but no one I am sure will begrudge me the pleasure I derive from having brought to light a series of interesting and, in some respects, important facts. My most cherished hope arises, however, from the prospect of what further may be accomplished by the continued prosecution in other directions of these investigations. The rich treasures of Russia and England afford ample materials for the labours of the learned Numismatist; and I would venture to recommend, especially to Herr Von Fraehn and Mr. Wilson, to follow out what I have begun. In the mean time, if any amateurs of Numismatic science are possessed of coins of this class which they do not purpose to illustrate themselves, and will send me accurate copies of them, they will be thankfully accepted.

One subject to which I cannot here propose to do more than allude, is the relative condition of the Pehlevi language,

which has been kept in the back-ground in our researches, but which has been invested with a renovated interest by the labours of Quatremère and Müller: the last I trust will not delay to institute a comparison between the language as it appears on our coins reaching upwards to the sixth century, with the modern Persian forms of the Pehlevi of Firdusi.

FIRST SUPPLEMENT.

Having had an opportunity on a journey from Copenhagen to Leipsic, of inspecting the Pehlevi coins in the Royal Cabinet of Berlin, I have the following brief notice to offer concerning them.

1. Of the coins of Tapuristan there are five; the first has the name Omar (ben al Ala), in Kufic characters in the usual place, and the name Harun in Pehlevi letters on the margin of the obverse, like the above mentioned coin of 220, while that with the number 124, has both names in Pehlevi. This is remarkable, as the Berlin coin is the older, having the date 123 equal to Hijra 160, A.D. 776-7, which has not yet occurred. The second coin is one of Said of the year 125, which has nothing peculiar. The third is an Omar of 128, the *sh* of '*hasht*' of the numeration is plain enough, but peculiarly formed, something like that in the Copenhagen coin of the same year. It comes from the collection of General Buhle von Lilienstern. So does the fourth, an Omar of 129, without anything peculiar; and the fifth which is remarkable: on the obverse is the word *afzud*, not in the usual place, but in that generally occupied by the name, which is entirely omitted. The mint marks on the margin differ from those usually present: on the reverse we have the number 136, and the name of the region distinct.

The coin falls in the period of the government of Jerir but without having his name.

We have moreover a fragment of a coin which indisputably belongs to the same class. It is a coin of Ferkhan like that of Longpérier (pl. xii. fig. 4), the legend very beautifully cut. We have here a corroboration of Anquetil's character *kh*, whence comes the possibility of the occurrence of an ordinary *k*, with a following *w*. On the reverse is the number which is to all appearance something more than 100 and is probably 107 or 108; or it may be within the range of 120, or even higher. The first part of the number is broken off; and we can only perceive, that 100 is preceded by a *t*; as the finding of so high a number seems to be inconsistent with the conclusions above drawn, I would give to the coins of Ferkhan even a lower date than those of Khurshid. I must call to recollection that approximated to the common era of Yezdegird current in Tapuristan, we have had occasion to notice another era beginning at a somewhat later period; and it is to this the coin of Ferkhan may belong; and this being reduced to the common era, would present a lower date than the coins of Khurshid.

Of the coins of the Arab Governors of Persia, I found but fragments—five in number. Three of them I made out with no little surprise to be coins of Omar ben Ubaid Allah, of Amr ben Ziyad, and of Ubaid Allah ben Ziyad. On the first are the first three characters in Pehlevi, of the name Omar, the first four of the patronymic, and the beginning of the fifth. The reverse exhibits شست *Shast*, singly with exception of the first stroke of the *sh*, which is broken off. The coin is probably like that of Marsden of the Hijra year 68. On the second coin, of which not more than a fourth remains, the name Amr is quite perfect, but has not the following *i*; the form of the patronymic Ziyad (*an*)

corresponds best with that on the coin in the British Museum (cast, Copenhagen 7261). The number is 63; but the three is more distinct, and apparently correct, than on both the London coins. On the third coin is only the last letter of the name Ubid Allah, with the tail of the *b*, and the ending of the patronymic (*zi*) *yadan*.

The two other fragments belong to coins which I have not before met with, and they give us great reason to regard their mutilation. One, of which about one third is entire, presents on the margin of the obverse the Kufic *Bismillah*. Of the principal name, we have only the two last letters, *an*. Only an *m* remains of that which preceded. The name may have been Othman عثمان. Of the patronymic in the second line, the end remains *mtan*; the reverse shews plainly the number *haftad*, seventy; the *h* is partly defective in like manner as on the Copenhagen coin of the year 137. The coin belongs to a period between Omar ben Ubid Allah, and Al Hejaj; and we may expect soon to ascertain who the governor was by whom the coin was struck. The last fragment, about a quarter of the coin, has upon the margin of the obverse in Kufic, *L'illahi al hamdo* "Praise be to God." Of the principal name we have only the connecting *i* of the patronymic, and the last five letters which may be rendered *zedwân*, زدان or *zinan*, زینان from the different powers of the Pehlevi letters. Beyond them we may make out an *i*, or the remains of an *a*, but the rest is destroyed. I may remark, that the *z* is of an unusual form, and might, in a case of necessity, be rendered *r*. No writing is left on the reverse; and the absence of a date, with the uncertainty of the reading of the patronymic, makes it impossible to conjecture by whom the coin was issued; there can be no doubt, however, that the name was Arabic.

3. Of the later Sassanians I found the following six coins with the name of Ormuzd written in the same manner as on the casts of the London coins, but in part with a more distinct ending. Five have Aramaic numerals, two have *three*, one *six*, and two *ten*. One of those with *ten*, is from the Knobelsdorf collection; one with *three*, from that of General Kühle; on the reverse of the last may be read in Pehlevi characters, on the right, a word which in Arabic would be rendered Iran ایران. The sixth coin has no Aramaic number; but in its place, as I imagine, merely mint marks, besides these there is a half coin which as far as can be decyphered, presents the name *Ormuzd*. On the reverse is a mint mark something in the form of *Allah*; the number is broken off.

There are, moreover, eleven coins with the name of Khosru: of the Persian numbers, we have 23, 25, 26, 27, 33, 34, 37, on single coins. Two appear to me to have 47. One has the Aramaic *nine*, with the mint mark *Allah*. Besides these there is a half coin with the Persian number 30; and, amongst other fragments, one with the Persian number 7. A coin with the Aramaic number 7 belongs also, I think, to Khosru; but I am not sure.

Two coins, as it appears to me, are without any name. In the situation which it usually occupies we have two Pehlevi words which I should transcribe *Rust Afzu* روست افزو. *Afzu* seems to be a mutilation of the common *Afzud*; *Rust* has no very obvious meaning: one of them has the number 30, the other 33. Finally, we have another coin with the peculiarity that the word *Afzud* is not in its usual situation with its upper edge near the upper border of the coin, but close to the lower. In place also of the name, appears a word which is indistinct. It may perhaps be intended for *Irani*, but I am not certain; the date is not

altogether legible, but it is clearly in Persian, and belongs to the *thirties*.

Two coins with the same enigmatical words on the obverse, have been communicated to me by Dr. Julius Friedlander of Westen, from the cabinet of Captain Von Bauch. The date of one comes evidently within the *thirties*, and is apparently 33; on the second, it is illegible. Two later Sassanian coins have been made known to me by the same gentleman from the collection of Dr. Kühne. One is a coin of Ormuzd with the Aramaic number *nine*, the other of Khosru with the date indistinct. A coin of Khosru with the Persian numeral 35, has been kindly shown to me in a private cabinet at Leipsic.

SECOND SUPPLEMENT.

Through the kind assistance of Professor Kosegarten of Greifswald, I have been made acquainted with the following eighteen coins with Persian inscriptions, from the cabinet of the late Councillor Pogge.

1. Coins of Tapuristan. A beautiful coin of Omar, of 120, with a pure Pehlevi legend; and one of Said of 126, which must be the same as that of Copenhagen, cast 7257.

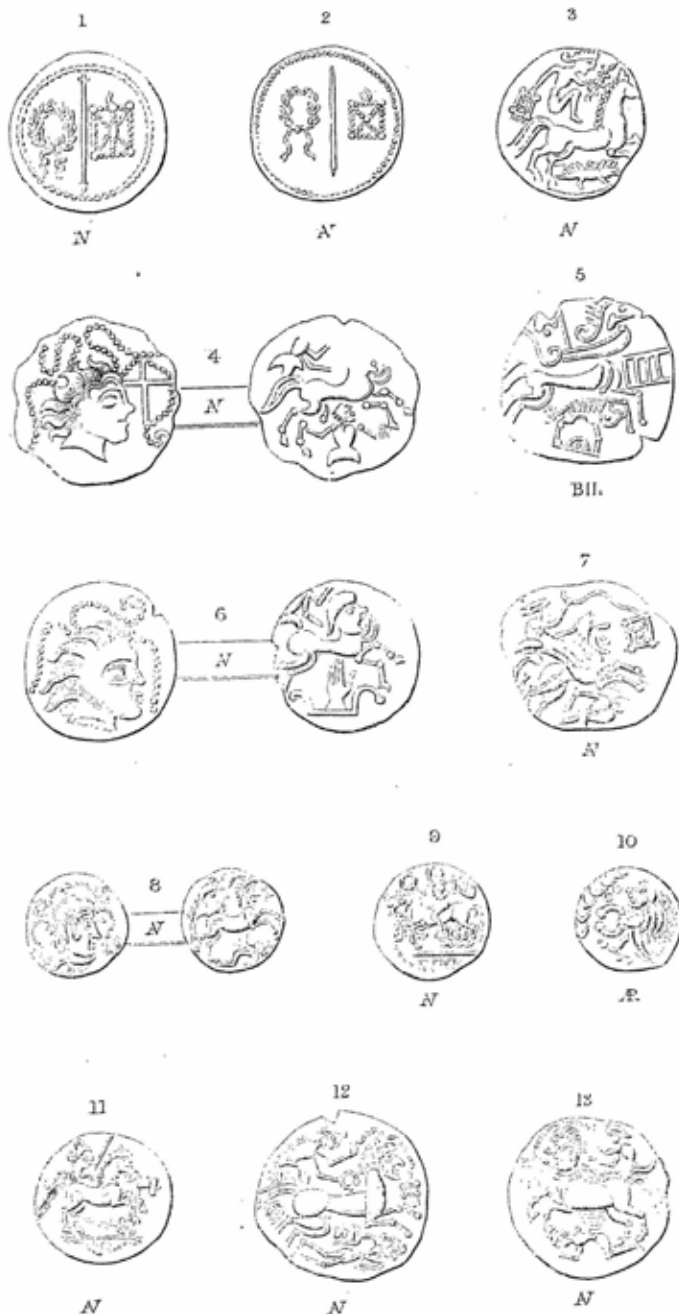
2. Coins of Arab-Governors of Persia. A coin of Amr ben Ziyad. The name is rather imperfect, but is not doubtful. It is much the same as the Copenhagen cast 7261; but differs in the date, which is 64 instead of 63. The number 'four' as transcribed, would be read *Chahar* with the second vowel short. A coin of Omar ben Ubaid Allah, the characters are not all perfect; but the reading of the whole is indisputable. On the margin of the obverse, we have *Lillah al Hamdo*, as in Marsden's coin

DXL; but on the obverse is not the year 68, but either 61 or 69. For the first part of the number may be read *nachu*, which I have proposed to render 'one' in the Copenhagen coin of Mukatil. I confess, however, that this coin suggests great doubt of the accuracy of that reading and interpretation; for 69 would better accord than 61 with the date 68 of Marsden's coin; on the obverse, the coin does not exhibit the word *snt* (*senet*), but simply *st* very clearly with a dot following. This might be read *sat*, a hundred; and may refer to a peculiar era, the commencement of which might be placed A.D. 581, or A.D. 588—9. It is probably, however, an abbreviation of the Arabic word *senet* year.

3. Later Sassanian. Thirteen in number: nine have the name of Khosru: one of them (No. 3), has on the obverse the Persian number *five*, followed by a mint-mark. Five others have also the Persian numbers 25, 27, 36 (on two), and 37. An eighth has a Persian number, of which the *twenty* is clear, the other term is indistinct. This coin has the word *Allah*. On one (No. 13), we have the Aramaic numeral for *nine*.

In addition to these nine coins, I find one which apparently presents the name of Ormuzd: but the three last characters are peculiarly connected. It has the Aramaic number *nine*, the mint-mark *Allah*. On the other three coins, the name is entirely effaced. Two have the Aramaic numerals, *three* and *seven*.

One coin (No. 18) appears, as far as may be judged from what remains of the legend, to be a coin of the earlier Sassanian kings. It bears countermarks with characters, with which I am unacquainted.



J. Bascire, del.

1. 2. COINS OF THE FAMILY ARRIA. — 3 — 13. GAULISH COINS.

XII.

ON CERTAIN GAULISH COINS WITH THE TYPE
OF THE CHARIOTEER.

ON several occasions we have remarked, that the ancient Gaulish coins may be readily distinguished by certain characteristics from those which it is now no longer denied were minted by the ancient Britons. We have observed, for instance, that in the latter series, the best executed examples are, in many particulars, palpable copies of well-known Greek and Roman models; and that among these, the horse, though a constantly recurring type, never has a human head; and that, in fact, there is scarcely anything in the types of ancient British coins which, with our present knowledge, appears to reflect a ray of light on the habits or manners of our rude forefathers.¹

It is not so with the coins of the Gaulish series. Without citing other examples, affording illustrations of an adopted,

¹ Is not this fact strong evidence in support of the opinion maintained by the writer, that our ancient British coins date from a period posterior to the invasion of Cæsar? We have no types resembling those of the Gaulish coins with the charioteer, of which the well-known Jersey or Channel Island type is an imperfect imitation or corruption. How may this be explained, but by our supposing that the British coins were struck by our ancestors at the time the Romans held their hostages and exacted a tribute from them. On the contrary, these Gaulish coins with the type of the charioteer, appear to have been struck while Gaul was yet unsubdued; and consequently we have types of that series originally derived from the money of a warlike people, but quickly, though by degrees, adapted to the tastes and feelings of the imitators, until the prototype is almost unrecognisable, the laureated head is supplanted by one of a totally different aspect; and the charioteer, urging an androcephalous quadruped, bears aloft the spoils of the slain.

though adapted and sometimes perverted type, we have only to direct the reader's attention to the coins figured in the plate illustrating this notice. On Nos. 6, 7, 8, 12, and 13, we find the androcephalous horse, driven by a figure whose sex appears on the various examples of this type either male or female, according to the fancy or the ability of the artist. In some cases, the figure appears to represent the Gaulish Victory; in others, a male warrior, or at least a figure in male attire. This figure sometimes holds an object, as in Nos. 3, 7, 12, 13, the signification of which, until very recently, sorely puzzled the shrewdest French numismatists. On some examples, a similar object is held in each hand of the figure. On those of the best execution, and the most closely resembling the prototype, which it will be needless to maintain here are the earliest,—a male figure, grasping a spear, lies prostrate beneath the horse, as if overthrown in combat; and in fig. 12 of our plate, the charioteer holds the same object in one hand, and in the other what it may be clearly perceived, is a torques. The original is in the collection of the British Museum.

The sagacity of the Count Borghesi, an Italian antiquary, has happily led to the discovery of the signification of the latticed object held by the charioteer. The count detected, in a well-known coin of the consular family *Arria*,² the same object, accompanied by the *hasta* and *corona aurea*, the reward of a victorious soldier, and at once explained it as the *phaleræ* so often mentioned in ancient inscriptions. It was left, however, to the acuteness of M. Deville, curator of the Museum of Antiquities of Rouen, to identify the object on the coin of the Arria family, explained by the Count Borghesi, with that held in the hand of the charioteer on the Gaulish gold coins.

² See the two varieties, figs. 1 and 2 of our plate.

M. Adrien de Longpérier, in a recent number of the *Revue Numismatique*,³ has published a very interesting memoir on this subject, in which he admits:—

1. That the object borne by the Gaulish charioteer and that which accompanies the hasta and corona, on the coin of the Arria family, are identical.

2. That these objects are phaleræ;—and

3. That the Gaulish charioteer bears one of these phaleræ, in token of his vanquishing and despoiling a Roman soldier.

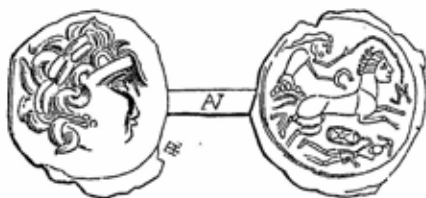
M. de Longpérier, however, shews that M. Deville is in error in giving the name of *phalera* in the singular, and by a number of illustrations, to which the reader is referred, proves that the word should be in the plural, *phaleræ*, these decorations consisting of various objects fastened to a frame-work of leather or some such material.⁴ But we must return to the object represented on the Gaulish coins. If any thing were wanting to prove the correctness of this explanation, it might be supplied by the coin engraved in our plate, fig. 12, in which the charioteer holds in one hand the phaleræ of a vanquished foe, and in the other a torques. This is shewn in another example preserved in the collection of the British Museum, and illustrating a very interesting article by Mr. Birch on the use of that favourite ornament.⁵ The phaleræ in the left hand of the figure is very rudely and imperfectly represented on this coin; but there

³ Tome xiii. p. 85.

⁴ M. Deville was doubtless misled, against his better judgment, by our dictionaries of antiquities, which to this hour give us a most incorrect notion of the phaleræ. This must ever be the case, when books alone are ransacked and monuments treated with neglect, or used so slovenly as to afford no additional light by their citation.

⁵ *Archæological Journal*, vol. ii. p. 368. We are indebted to the Council of the A. I. for the loan of these two cuts.

can be no doubt of the meaning of the artist in the object held in the right hand.



The interesting coins at the head of our plate (figs. 1 and 2), which have afforded the means of interpretation of the Gaulish type, are curious in many respects. They show that, even before the cessation of the issue of family coins, the decorations of the victorious soldier had been increased in number and intrinsic value. Polybius says that in the earliest times it was the practice to give the *hasta* only,—*ἐξ ἀρκῆς δὲ γαῖσον μόνον*. Still, as M. de Longpérier observes, Manlius, at the commencement of the fourth century of Rome, was decorated with the *torques*, which he had taken from the Gaul whom he had slain in combat;⁶ while Tarquin, according to Florus, introduced the *fascēs*, *trabæa*, *phaleræ*, etc.⁷ The *torques* is, however, a simple decoration compared with the *phaleræ*, which were ornamented with barbaric profusion. From what we see in this figure of Marcus Caelius, we may judge of the richness of these ornaments in the last days of Rome, when luxury and

⁶ This *torques* descended as a heir-loom in the family. The individual who wore it in the time of Caligula, was deprived of it by that tyrant.—Sueton. in Calig. c. 35.

⁷ Marius, in his oration, mentions the rewards bestowed upon victorious soldiers in his time:—"Non possum, fidei caussa, imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare: at, si res postulet, *hastas*, *vexillum*, *phaleras*, alia militaria dona; præterea cicatrices adverso corpore. Hæ sunt meæ imagines," etc., etc.—Bell. Jugurth. c. 85.

effeminacy had become general, and rendered the empire an easy prey to the barbarian. We may imagine the richness of the "*phaleras vario gemmarum fulgore pretiosas*," of which the Romans had been despoiled, cast into the flames at the funeral of Attila, described by Jornandes.⁸

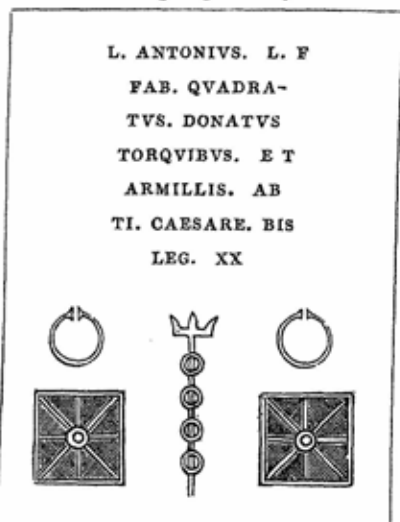


Various inscriptions, recording the donations of *Phaleræ*, are given by Gruter and Muratori; but the following will suffice as an example; and it is particularly interesting to us from the circumstance of its being a memorial of a reward for services in Britain.

⁸ C. 49. M. de Longpérier observes on this passage, that M. de Chateaubriand, in his "*Mœurs des Barbares*," has rendered *phaleras* by *carquois*, doubtless from confounding *phaleræ* with *pharetræ*. It is, however, a much graver offence in a plodding translator. M. Savagner, in his *Traduction de Jornandes* (published at Paris in 1842), has committed precisely the same error.

C. GAVIO. L. F
 STEL. SILVANO
 PRIMIPILARI. LEG. VIII. AVG
 TRIB. COH. II. VIGILVM
 TRIB. COH. XIII. VRBAN
 TRIB. COH. XII. PRAETOR
 DONIS. DONATO. A. DIVO. CLAVDIO
 BELLO. BRITANNICO
 TORQVIBVS. ARMILLIS. PHALERIS
 CORONA. AVREA
 PATRONO. COLON
 D. D. ⁹

Generally, however, the inscription omits all mention of the phaleræ, which nevertheless were sometimes engraven on the stone, as in the example given by Gruter.¹⁰



⁹ Gruter, Corp. Inscr. p. ccccxvi. No. 1.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. ccclviii. No. 2.

The quadrangular figure beneath each representation of the torques leaves us in no doubt whatever as to its signification; but we may remark, that here, as on the coins of the family Arria, the figure appears to be *conventional*, and not drawn from an actual example, which must have differed according to the fancy of the donor or wearer; even on the two examples of the coins in question, the phaleræ are not similar in arrangement.

But enough has been said to satisfy the reader, that the quadrilateral figure held by the charioteer, on Gaulish coins, is a representation of the Roman phaleræ; and from the example (fig. 4) of our plate, it appears to have been sometimes represented in a different manner and in a less perfect form. On the obverse of this example, we find them depicted with the cords or chains by which they were probably attached, encircling the head, which has a peculiar expression and appears truncated, and with the eye closed. With the evidence of design in other coins of this class, we shall be scarcely censured for indulging in the conjecture, that this head may possibly be intended to represent that of a vanquished enemy, although it is so obvious what has been the prototype. It is, in fact, no greater alteration than the transformation of the horse of the Macedonian Philippi to the androcephalous, and often winged, quadruped on Gaulish coins. This type is engraved by Ruding (Pl. ii. fig. 26), and is the same which honest Speed proposed to give to Lucius, the first Christian British king, he having recognised the symbol of our faith in the ornament before the head. The obverse of a coin in the collection of the British Museum, represented in fig. 8 of our plate, leaves no doubt of the signification of the object on the ruder example exhibited in fig. 4.

With the new light shed on these interesting monuments

by the antiquaries of the continent, we may renew our acquaintance with them in the hope of further discoveries and illustrations. It is clear that the coins with the type of the charioteer were struck by the Gauls as records of national feeling, and of victories achieved in their long and gallant struggle with the invader. It will, therefore, require no great effort of imagination to perceive in the type of fig. 5 of our plate, a record of the capture of a legionary standard; and in figs. 3 and 6, the overthrow of a manipulus; nor will it be necessary to insist, that the subordinate symbol below the horse on fig. 5, has rather the appearance of a copy of an inanimate figure than that of the living animal it is intended to represent.

A word or two in conclusion on the torques. M. de Longpérier quotes the following well-known inscription recording the donation of the *torques major* :—

C. IVLIVS. C. F. STR
ATOR. AED
DONATVS. AB. TI. CAES
AVG. F. AVGVSTO. TORQVE
MAIORE. BELLO. DELMA
TICO., etc.

and observes, that here we have neither *torque magno* nor *torque maximo*, but *torque majore*, implying a gradation, from which may be deduced the existence of a *torques minor*. This seems highly probable; and it is possible that this decoration was not always of the full circumference of the neck, but of a diminutive size, like the silver arrows and silver oars awarded in our days to successful toxophilites or rowers. Such a description of honorary torques would be

best adapted for its being added to the phaleræ¹¹. Every one knows that the once important military gorget had shrunk into an insignificant bauble long before it was entirely discarded.

M. Lambert has published a reply to M. Deville, in which he considers the object held by the Charioteer to be the *sacred pepulum*, and not the *phaleræ* of the enemy; but a glance at the various coins of which representations are given in our plate, will satisfy our readers that the former interpretation is the true one.

J. Y. A.

XIII.

NOTE ON THE GOLD COIN INSCRIBED

VERIC. COM. F.¹

IN our recent notice of the unique and interesting gold coin discovered at Farleigh Heath, near Guildford, we took occasion to recapitulate the evidence in favour of our theory, with regard to the age of the coins inscribed with various names; but to nearly all of which are appended the style COM. or COMI. *Filius*. The discovery of the unique piece inscribed with the name VERIC. affords additional evidence in support of that theory; and on consulting the historians who narrate the events of the period in which they may most reasonably be supposed to have been struck, we find good reason to be satisfied with the

¹¹ There are rings extant which are too small for torques, and of an inconvenient shape for armillæ, which may have been used in this way.

¹ See ante, Art. VII.

appropriation. Dion Cassius tells us, that it was at the instigation of *Vericus*, a fugitive on account of a sedition, that Claudius was induced to send over Aulus Plautius, who finally reduced Britain to a Roman province.²

It does not appear that Cantium offered any resistance to the Roman general, who found his chief opponents in the two sons of Cunobeline; first north of the Thames, and afterwards in the interior of the country. From this we may infer that there were powerful supporters of the Roman interest in Cantium, and that the disturbances in that district of Britain soon ceased on the coming of Plautius.

We may, therefore, regard the coin inscribed VERIC. COM. F. as the last of the series of Kentish petty kings, descendants or adopted sons and grandsons of Comius. The uniform appearance of the name of that chief on coins evidently struck at periods distant from each other, and its absence from the money of Cunobeline, are circumstances to be well considered by those who would propose a different interpretation. J. Y. A.

XIV.

THE SALE OF THE PEMBROKE COLLECTION OF COINS AND MEDALS.

THE sale of the Pembroke collection of coins and medals has just concluded, and thousands of interesting relics of

² Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον. Ἀῦλος Πλάυτιος, Βουλευτὴς λογιμώτατος, ἐς τὴν Βρετανίαν ἐστράτευσε. Βέρικος γάρ τις, ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατὰ στάσιν, ἔπεισε τὸν Κλαύδιον δύναμιν ἐς αὐτὴν πέμψαι.—Dion Cass. lib. ix. c. 19. Ed. Reimar. Suetonius, in Claudio, c. 17, speaks of a tumult at this time on account of the Romans refusing to deliver up certain fugitives—*ob non redditos transfugas*.

antiquity have been scattered by the hammer of the auctioneer. This curious cabinet, so well known by reputation, though for nearly a century shut out from vulgar eyes in a banker's back parlour, is repeatedly referred to by the acute and discriminating Eckhel, and the plodding and matter of fact Mionnet; but neither of them had ever inspected its contents, and were satisfied to quote from "Pembrock," as the latter pertinaciously writes while citing the volume of plates to which the sale-catalogue now for the first time supplies an ample description.

In noticing the dispersion of a collection which contained so many precious examples of ancient and modern numismatic art, we cannot forbear contrasting the sordid spirit which reigns in this country, despite the peace and security of which she may proudly boast, with that which prevails among our neighbours, though distracted by civil discord. Who can have failed to notice, that while men of rank in France are steadily pursuing and encouraging the pursuit of the healthful study of antiquity—and we need only cite the examples of the Duc de Luynes and the Marquis Lagoy—high personages in our favoured land are scattering to the winds collections which had carried their family names to the furthest corners of the civilised world? Within the last half dozen years the Devonshire cabinet, illustrated by Haym, in his *Tesoro Britannico*, was doomed to the same, if not a worse fate, for the slovenly cataloguing of that collection provoked the censure of all who attended at its dispersion. And what were the amounts realised by the sale of these two famous cabinets, some foreigner will ask? His astonishment will increase, when he learns that as large a sum has been sometimes expended upon a ducal birth-day fête. Verily England is the land in which

Mammon reigns paramount, and where any endeavour to cultivate a taste for art and antiquity is but labour in vain !

But the dispersion of these collections is not the sole evil, which would not be so great if the coins were purchased for private cabinets in this country. In this case the hope might be indulged, that they would at some future day be acquired for our national Museum; but this hope is for ever precluded, when foreigners of taste and judgment send over agents, who buy the choicest lots at liberal prices, some of these lots comprising *coins peculiarly our own*, and having reference to those portions of our early history on which ancient writers are extremely brief, or altogether silent. Some who read these remarks, will ask if this can really be true; and if so, whether the trustees of the British Museum can be aware of the fact? The trustees, we have reason to believe, are not ignorant of what is here asserted, and allege that they have no funds wherewith to increase the national collection of coins and medals. To this cause must be attributed the want for many years, in the Museum cabinets, of a genuine example of that most interesting coin of Brutus, with the two daggers and cap of liberty, although more than half a dozen specimens had been brought to the hammer in this country during the last ten years. To the same cause must be imputed the purchase, by the Duc de Blacas, at the sale of Trattle's collection in 1832, of a unique gold coin of Allectus; and, lastly, the acquisition by French numismatists of many fine coins in the once famous Pembroke collection, which may be looked for in vain in some of the most extensive cabinets in Europe.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NEW WORK ON NORWEGIAN COINS.—Professor Holmboe, whose numismatic researches are so well known to our countrymen, announces a work (in which he will be assisted by Herr Schive) on the Coins of Norway, from the earliest period down to the Reformation. The volume will contain 1100 pages, and be illustrated by a profusion of engravings beautifully executed from the originals. The price will not exceed twenty-six shillings. Mr. C. Kruse, 52, Crutched Friars, London, will receive the names of subscribers. We need not insist on the importance of such a work to the student of Anglo-Saxon coins, or remark that their types often suggested those of the Norwegian money previous to the eleventh century.

W. H. S.—Our young correspondent, *who does not give his address*, is informed that his brass coin is of Castile.

J. J.—There is a very large collection of tradesmen's tokens in the British Museum, amounting to ten or twelve thousand, which of course includes the *provincial* pieces struck during the 17th century. The work on *Tradesmen's Tokens struck in London and its Vicinity* is now in the press. It will contain plates of the most remarkable pieces. A limited number will be printed.

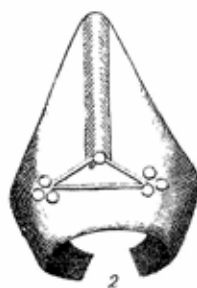
L.—Write always to the auctioneers, who will forward you catalogues, or through your own bookseller. Your copy was doubtless applied for by the bookseller you mention, *who had it priced and sold it*.

TYRO.—Mr. Charles Roach Smith was the first to notice similar coins. Several examples are engraved in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, a work still in the course of publication, in which TYRO will find many valuable *facts* relating to the antiquities of the Celtic, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon periods.

Q.—Messrs. Sotheby have announced their intention to print a quarto edition of the Pembroke Sale Catalogue, with an Index and list of prices obtained. The *plates*, published in 1745, were without letter-press, and of wretched execution.

- J. W.—General Ainslie's work on Anglo-Gallic coins is an elegant but very imperfect book. The author questions the existence of coins described by Snelling, but the originals are well known both in France and in England. (See Numismatic Manual, p. 386, and pp. 385 and 376).
- O. W.—The rude minute pieces in brass are common. It is doubtful whether they were the produce of illicit mints, or issued by authority. They are probably as late as the days of Arcadius and Honorius, and may be still more recent. The small brass of Claudius-Gothicus, Gallienus, and Postumus, are extremely common. We never heard of the finding of coins of Cunobeline in Kent, nor should we expect to hear of such a discovery.
- Σ.—The series of medals executed by Dassier are of very creditable workmanship for the time, but the portraits and devices are ridiculously uncharacteristic. They may be obtained at very moderate prices.
- M.—We *have* seen the pattern for the coin to be called a "florein" (why, it would puzzle the deviser to say), and we think the whole design an outrage on good taste. The engraver, if left to himself, would doubtless have produced something creditable; but this is a numismatic caricature! We sincerely trust its parent may become ashamed of it, and that, like the crown, it may be "called in."
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3 a.



3 b.



4 a.



4 b.



4 c.



5 a.



5 b.



6 a.



6 b.



7

XV.

ON THE AFRICAN GOLD RING CURRENCY OF THE
JOLAF TRIBE AND THE SILVER FISH-HOOK
MONEY OF CEYLON.

SIR,—I forward to you, for the inspection of the members of the Numismatic Society, at their next meeting, a variety of the pointed, penannular, twisted-gold ring currency of the natives of the south-west of Africa, used by the Jolaf tribe peculiarly; and with it a singular gold plate ring, supposed from the Foulah tribe, or some tribe further in the interior of Africa, not used for currency, but as a finger-ring.

I send also, by the obliging permission of Mr. Albert Way, an engraving of the ring of King Ethelwulf now in the British Museum, for the purpose of comparison as to general form, with the Foulah-tribe ring above named.

With these will come drawings of the silver currency of Ceylon, from the cabinets of Walter Hawkins, Esq., and Dr. Lee, who have kindly allowed their specimens to be copied for the purpose. This Cingalese coinage is believed by Mr. Akerman, in his recent work, called "An Introduction to the Study of Ancient and Modern Coins," to be the money spoken of by old writers, as being in "shape like a fish-hook."

The Rev. Nathaniel Denton, of Regent, near Sierra-Leone, a clergyman attached to the Church Missionary Society, who kindly procured for me the African rings submitted, says, in answer to certain inquiries which I made of him, "The Jolafs always make their rings of that shape, and especially with a view to currency, occasionally

as need may require among themselves, but more particularly for barter with the European merchant.

"The natives keep a store of rings only till they have a sufficient quantity to make it worth their taking a journey to the coast to sell them—they keep very few as ornaments.

"The form is peculiar to the Jolaf tribe; and though I cannot say that it was designed to mark its purity, I think it must be that, or else a mere mark of national distinction. When I first saw the ring, I compared it with the print of a ring you kindly sent me, and found it so similar, that I believed the form to be traditional, and the design of it to be sought for in the ancient history of the people to whom you referred.¹ The distinctive form does not mark divisions or multiples of a given weight.

"Finger-rings are worn, but, generally speaking, only till opportunity offers of selling them. The one sent I believe is a finger-ring. Ear and nose-rings were of course originally worn; hence their shape is still preserved; but in modern times nose-rings are rarely used, and ear-rings *only occasionally* by females. They more usually use ear-drops of amber. They prefer wearing *gold* and silver in the shape of armlets. Plate jewels are invariably made for ornament, and not for traffic; and when they are sold it is from necessity. The weighing of the ring in barter, is merely to ascertain its weight generally, and not to prove a *true* weight, as a multiple or division of a fixed unit."

Mr. Denton says of the Foulah plate-ring. "It came to

¹ "The print of a ring" to which Mr. Denton alludes, was a lithograph of the half of a gold ring, weighing two penny-weights twelve grains, found in that divided state in a turf-bog, near Sligo, on the 12th of August 1845, and now in the possession of Edward Hoare, Esq., of Cork.

me from the Timneh country, and most probably was brought thither by the Foulahs, or some tribe further inland than the Jolafs."

I have given Mr. Denton's account fully, that I may not be supposed to extract parts calculated to support my views, and to leave out others which might militate against them.

By reference to the smaller of two African gold rings, engraved in Volume VI., page 201, of the Numismatic Chronicle, and which are now in the cabinet of the Society, it will be seen, that the Jolaf ring now produced, which weighs 135 grains, and is shewn in the plate which accompanies this (No. 1.), varies from the penannular pointed ring of twisted gold of ordinary currency in Africa amongst the natives of the interior, by the addition of a small bulb at a little distance below each pointed end. The addition of these bulbs to the common penannular pointed ring, induces me to believe, that the essential character of these rings, with or without the bulb, is that of a nose, or ear-jewel, as supposed by Mr. Denton. It is evident that these bulbs were added by the Jolafs, to prevent the twisted surface giving pain to the nose or ear by accidental rotation; and it would seem, that in former times when the *unbulbed* pointed ring of twisted gold was used amongst them as an ornament for the nose or ear, they were so attached to the twisted pattern, from long habit, that they preferred the obviating the inconvenience found in the wearing by the addition of these bulbs, to the adoption of the European fashion of smoothing the surface of the ring worn in the ear. In this we see an irresistible attachment to what we may conceive an ancient habit amongst the Africans. We know that the twisted pattern of gold ornaments, of the penannular character, whether for the body, the neck, the arms, or other parts of the person, was one of ancient date.

Mr. Birch, in his excellent papers "On the Torc of the Celts," in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute* (vol. ii., page 378), states "that the shape of the oldest Torques was funnicular;" and he illustrates this, by representing a portion of rope, knotted at each end, and another portion trimmed as a torques; and he adds, "that this twisted form was no doubt originally suggested by some such simple form." In penannular rings of much smaller size than the torques, the twisted shape has been the most frequent pattern noticed in the various finds of ancient rings in the northern and western parts of Europe; and the Sagas of the ancient Scalds abound in references to "rings of twisted gold" (*wundun golde, aurum tortum*, *Browulf*. — Conybeare's *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, page 107).

The twisted pattern of gold in ornaments, is traced on ancient monuments from the west of Europe, to Persepolis in Asia, as shewn by Mr. Birch in the article already alluded to; and numerous instances might be quoted, of other habits of similar character being found amongst nations widely separated from each other, both as to locality and age. The inference which I propose to deduce from these facts is, that the twisted pattern of gold rings is one most probably of very ancient date amongst the native Africans, handed down to them through various channels; and, as I believe, together with the concurrent use of the ring as a money-jewel, and article of ornament.

Another remarkable fact stated by Mr. Denton, in reference to the *Jolaf* rings, is, that, however it may be surmised that the bulbs have been added to the pointed penannular rings to render them less inconvenient for use as nose or ear jewels, these rings have, in modern times, almost entirely ceased to be used for ornamental purposes, and are now made "especially with a view to currency, occa-

sionally amongst themselves, but more particularly for barter with the European merchant."

It may be observed, that this view gives the idea of the rings being made for sale, as articles of trade; but this is not the fact; for the rings are weighed to ascertain their "weight generally"; and do not appear to derive additional value from their workmanship; their value as bullion being the point to be ascertained. Indeed the traders who receive them, do not sell them as *jewellery*, but melt them down as *bullion* upon their reaching Europe. This principle attaches to the rings the character of *money-jewels*; *jewels of currency*, and not of ornament. But why, it may be asked, is the bullion formed into the shape of rings at all, if the ring is no longer used or bought as an ornament; and is only estimated by the weight of gold it contains? My answer is—That in all probability, the bullion is formed into such shape, from the precise motive which influences us in the coinage of a certain quantity of gold into the form of a sovereign, namely, to give assurance of certain particulars belonging to it. It is true, the shape of the ring does not give, as the sovereign, information of a specific *weight*, combined with a specific fineness of bullion, and consequently of a definite value; but in the estimation of the Africans it may be, and I think there is reason to believe that it is, intended to convey an idea of a specific standard of purity. The reader of sacred history must have been struck with the frequent mention in it of, and the importance attached to, "pure gold"; therefore if any assurance could be conveyed, by a particular form of "pure gold" in an article of ornament, such assurance would be a matter of great advantage. The Africans of the present day, I may beg the Society to bear in mind, are not in a stage of society very different or inferior to some

racas mentioned in the Bible in connection with the estimation "of pure gold"; I allude especially to the migratory Arab tribes. It is at once admitted that ring currency is much less complete in the intelligence which it conveys, than medal money; but the question is, not as to the *extent* of information which it communicates, but whether it is intended to convey *any* assurance of certain properties. In this rests the principle of coinage; the greater or less degree of information afforded, makes the form only one of more or less perfection: and we must not forget that the medal is the money of civilised and highly refined communities; the money-jewel of migratory races, slightly advanced in civilisation, and in the appliances of art. It may be further asked, If an assurance of a certain degree of purity of bullion be the only object in the formation of bullion into rings of a particular shape by the native Africans, and they get nothing for the trouble of fabricating these rings, why do they not adopt some more easy and less expensive, or some more perfect way of forming their currency? The answer to this inquiry must be—The force of habit; and perhaps an apprehension lest a change of form should beget a want of confidence in the receiver of their currency as to its degree of purity. Even the most polished nations, when their currency has obtained a high repute for purity, have been very reluctant to vary or improve their type, however capable of it, lest they should lose in the less ready admission of the quality of their coinage, more than they would gain in the beauty of their mintage. The Athenians, as we all know, were very slow in altering their first rude coinage, because the idea of great purity was extensively attached to it.

Mr. Denton has shewn how strongly the Africans adhere to their ancient form of currency, by stating that they still

continue the form of a ring of twisted gold, made into a shape of a nose or ear-jewel; though one use of that form, its application as an ornament, has almost entirely passed away. He says "they prefer wearing *gold* and silver in the shape of plate armlets." But not only do they wear plate *armlets*, but also plate finger-rings; and he has brought over a curious plate finger-ring, obtained, he believes, from the Foulah tribe. This ring (marked No. 2, in the drawings) I have sent for the inspection of the Society. It is, as the Society will see, in the form of such a shield as the ladies use to protect their fingers in sewing. A valued friend, Benjamin Nightingale, Esq., to whom I am under great obligations (which I wish here respectfully to acknowledge) for important assistance, both in very useful suggestions, and in highly finished drawings, during my pursuit of this subject, has drawn my attention, since I began to write this paper, to the ring of King Ethelwulf, shewn in Mr. Albert Way's paper upon "Decorative Processes, connected with the Arts, during the Middle Ages," published in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute* (vol. ii. page 163), which in shape, not in refined fabrication, is almost a counterpart of this Foulah plate-ring. By the kind permission of Mr. Albert Way, as already stated, I am enabled to lay before the Society an impression from his engraving of Ethelwulf's ring, inserted at the end of the portion of this paper devoted to the discussion of the Jolaf rings. Though it does not fall exactly within the scope of my argument to descant upon the Foulah ring, yet I cannot help, by way of parenthesis, making a few observations upon it. The singular resemblance to the mitre-shaped ring of the Anglo-Saxon king, seems almost to induce a belief of a common source of design; and Mr. Nightingale has pointed out, that about the age of Ethelwulf, the

English began to avail themselves of the skill of Byzantine artists to improve their own artistic skill; and he has suggested the question—how far it may be possible, that the Africans, through the almost inexplicable, indirect channels of trade-intercourse, may have derived this pattern from Constantinople; and, by the powerful influence of habit, have continued it to the present day. The perpetuation of a habit is strictly in keeping with what we observe amongst many half-civilised races; and it is upon this ground that I have based much of my reasoning as to ring-currency; connecting what we find in modern times, with what we have only imperfect evidence to affirm existed in remote ages, by the link of unchanging custom. But there is another interesting particular connected with the Foulah ring, and uniting it as it were, through a long series of ages, with the mechanical habits of the Anglo-Saxon era. I asked Mr. Cox, a jeweller in Leamington, through whose hands the ring came to me, how he conceived the pattern worked upon the ring had been effected; and he at once said, “that he conceived the native artist had worked it with punches and chisels, part by part,” as Mr. Hawkins supposes the jewels in the Cuerdale find were ornamented. The ring has been evidently worked from a flat plate, in which the lines and circles have been punched; and upon careful examination we found, that where the artist had intended to work his pattern, he had made his plate thicker in the first instance, beating the gold thinner from the centre to the edges. This will be seen upon minute inspection. The object has evidently been to prevent marks, in punching, on the inner side, and shews a degree of ingenuity which we have not been disposed to give the Africans credit for. The lines will be found here and there to have passed the proper outline of the design, as I think

Mr. Hawkins states to be the case in some of the Cuerdale jewels. The weight of the Foulah ring is 117 grains; but from inspection of one end of the loop, Mr. Cox inclines to think, that a portion has been cut or broken off; perhaps, originally, the loop would have reached round the finger. It would be interesting to ascertain if the Cuerdale jewels have had any thicker substance of metal left at the parts which the artist intended to ornament with a pattern.

I may here beg permission to say, that I have submitted the first copy of this paper to Mr. Denton, that I might not misrepresent his information and experience amongst the Africans; and in returning it, he says of my paper, "I have read it over carefully, and do not perceive that you have at all misunderstood, or unfairly represented my remarks. Your reasonings and conclusions on them appear to me very just."

Mr. Denton had a large quantity of African rings, more than twenty-four pounds' worth as bullion, which I was to have seen; but owing to a misunderstanding, not considering them of any particular interest, he parted with them at bullion price to a jeweller, who melted them down. The general quantity was of the simple, penannular, pointed, twisted-gold shape, without bulbs—the only varieties in the whole being the Jolaf ring and Foulah ring before the Society, and two enormous rings, one three ounces, and the other one and a half-ounce, troy weight. I desired Mr. Cox who saw these, and who weighed, and well remembered them, to draw me a rough sketch of them, which I lay before the Society; but which, as from memory, I do not think should be engraved. It will be seen that they are exactly like the two rings presented to the Society by Mr. Hampden and myself in 1843, and which I would request to be compared with Mr. Cox's sketch. Mr. Denton

says of the larger ring, "it was of the twisted penannular character, too large and too heavy to be worn in any part of the person, and therefore quite confirmatory of your views as to the origin and design of ring-money." Mr. Denton has favoured me with an account of the way in which the Africans form their penannular pointed gold rings. He says, "the gold, when melted, is run into bars of different sizes; then cut off in lengths, heated, and twisted whilst hot; the ends are then hammered out."



CINGALESE SILVER FISH-HOOK SHAPED MONEY.

THE next class of exchangeable media to which I wish to solicit the notice of the Society, is the silver currency of the kings of Kandy, in the island of Ceylon. Of these there are two specimens from the cabinet of Mr. Walter Hawkins, marked Nos. 3 and 4 in the plate; and three from the cabinet of Dr. Lee, marked respectively in the plate, Nos. 5, 6, and 7. Some of these are the money supposed by Mr. Akerman, as previously stated, to be that referred to by old writers as money, in "shape like a fish-hook." Others are straight in shape, but doubled. I shall speak of the curved type first. To a fish-hook, the curved variety has a general resemblance; inasmuch as one limb of the

curve is shorter than the other, and is bent inwards at the top. But the particular form of it may be described, as that of a thin rod of silver, first doubled together, so that the two ends are brought nearly level with each other; then the two ends bent upwards and inwards, so as to form the hook part. This will be best understood by reference to the specimens and the plate. The *straight* variety is doubled into two limbs; the limbs being separated a little, so as to admit, by a slight force, the opening of them up to the bend; for the purpose, probably, of being fixed upon a cord, for convenience of carriage; the limbs, when so opened, and the cord introduced, being again pressed close together for the security of the money.

In both these varieties, we have the same object kept in view, as I have endeavoured to establish by reference to the drawings of the money-rings of ancient Egypt, and by inference and deduction, in the accounts of the loops of money in the case of the sons of Jacob; and in the passage of Deuteronomy (xiv. 24, 26), "Thou shalt turn it (their tithe) into money, and bind up the money in thine hand"; and in the history of the ear-rings of Job (xlii. 11), and of the Midianites (Judges viii. 24, 26); and of many instances in the middle ages — obtained in remote times; the object, namely, of the convenient carriage and safe custody of their representatives of property; of, in fact, to all intents and purposes, their *money*.

But there is another feature in this Cingalese money, which seems, without any overstrained inference, to reflect back upon the different varieties of loopable bullion, a pecuniary character, however imperfectly developed; namely, that, as in medal-money, it bears an *inscription*. This first became known to me in the specimen marked No. 3. The inscription is stamped on the back of the

coin, but at present it cannot be deciphered, for the reason which will be explained. The piece was submitted to Professor Wilson, who pronounced the stamp to be that of letters—not perfect, but as if of a portion of letters; such an impress as might be imagined to be formed by several of the pieces being placed side by side, and then stamped by a die, containing a word or words, of sufficient width to reach across the whole number. This opinion was entertained also by Mr. Nightingale; and subsequently by Mr. Vaux, of the British Museum, as to other specimens, but who stated that he had never seen two or more specimens that would form a distinct word. This specimen (No.3) weighs seventy-four grains. In addition to the inscription, it bears three notches on one of the sides exhibited. At first it was a matter of question whether these notches were accidental or intentional; but upon examination of another specimen in Mr. Walter Hawkins' possession, and one in Dr. Lee's, it was found that both these had each six of these notches; and on a third, in Dr. Lee's cabinet, there are two such notches. On No.4, in the plate, weight 66 grains, a specimen of Mr. Walter Hawkins', of which there are three views, there is a more distinct impression than on No.3. On No.5, in the plate, of which there are two views, a piece of Dr. Lee's, there is, in addition to six notches, of which mention has been made, an inscription, which Mr. Vaux believes, as far as can be ascertained from the imperfect stamp, to be in the Persian character; and he thinks he can read the word "Malek," king. If this be so, it is a step further on to a medallie inscription, as referring, most likely, to some particular king of the Kandians, during whose reign the piece was struck. This specimen weighs 75 grains. On No.6, likewise Dr. Lee's, the stamp seems to be a single ornamental

chequer (?). This piece is, as No. 5, a fish-hook variety; and weighs 67 grains. The last of Dr. Lee's pieces is a straight one, No. 7, in the plate. This weighs 73 grains. There is an appearance of an inscription on one side of this, instead of on the back, as in the other specimens. Such are the peculiarities of this singular coinage, if we may apply the term to it.

Mr. Nightingale says — "It has always been my impression, that in those times when bullion was 'current-money with the merchant,' silver was carried about in bars, and divided, or cut off in lengths or lumps, according to the weight required. Now these specimens are a step in advance; for it is a bar of a small size, adjusted to a certain weight, and apparently having an authorised stamp; only being doubled up or bent, for the sake of convenient stowage. Nay, I can even suppose that a number of these pieces constituted 'bundles of money,' for they are capable of being strung, skewered, or spitted, like a ring, or a modern Chinese copper coin."

With the latter part of Mr. Nightingale's observations I most fully agree; but from the former part I must beg leave to dissent. I think there would be so much uncertainty in cutting off the exact weights of a shekel, or its multiples, or divisions;—there would be so much inconvenience, and risk of loss, in carrying about small portions of such bars, which either might be left in the process of adjusting to weight; or be kept as make-weights; that almost from the very first use of bullion as a medium of exchange, the buyers and merchants, would, at leisure periods, prepare the weights of silver most likely to be required in their transactions; which would be tested, at the time of trading, as to accuracy, by being weighed in the balances, then, as now, carried about by every travelling

merchant or dealer of the East. As I have in former communications pointed out, jewels were made of a specific weight in ancient times, as if in readiness for exchange in case of need; witness the jewels of Rebekah—the face jewel of half a shekel, the bracelets of ten shekels weight; witness (in Numbers vii. 54, et seq.) the offering of silver chargers of 130 shekels; the silver bowls of 70 shekels; and the golden spoons of 10 shekels, each: and in much later times, in the mediæval ages, witness the gold-rings of half a mark, a mark, and two marks' weight, in the Norwegian Sagas.

That an authorised stamp, as in the Siamese coins; and more particularly in the Cingalese currency, might be adopted at an early period, I think probable; and we find this practised at the present day in China after an assay made of bullion used as a medium of exchange. If this mark of authenticated purity was anciently used, the step from a jewel of a specific weight, stamped to indicate its purity, to medal money, would be very slight. I have said that I think it *probable* that such a mark was used at a very early period; and I am led to this belief, because the true reading of the passage relative to Abraham's purchase of "the field of Ephron" is, "four hundred shekels of silver, current *silver* with the merchant"; as if of that weight of *silver*, known in some way, probably by an assayers' stamp, to be of a quality current with the merchant: just as in China at the present time. The very *necessity of the case* would almost seem to afford us a *proof* of the fact; for we can scarcely suppose that an assay would be practicable in every transaction of trade; in the busy market, or the distant encampment: indeed we must be convinced that it would be utterly *impossible*.

Before finishing the subject of Cingalese coinage, I may

take leave to introduce a quotation from Dr. Davy's Ceylon, page 245, as to its current value.—“Silver Currency is called Riddy or Rheedy (*Riddy silver*), and is worth about seven-pence English; it is equivalent to sixty-four Kandian Challies (*chally, copper*). Its form is singular; it resembles a fish-hook, and is merely a piece of silver wire bent.”² It will at once be seen, that Dr. Davy's account is very deficient for numismatic purposes.

In closing this communication, I have to request the pardon of my learned brethren of the Numismatic Society, for the introduction and continuance of a subject which may by some be held not strictly within the objects of the Society. To my own mind it has appeared an interesting inquiry to ascertain the progress by which the most ancient form of medial exchange, bullion — assumed its present comprehensive medallie character. And in reference to the peculiar mode in which I have pursued the subject, I wish to observe,—that it has long been my conviction, that if we are ever to develop clearly the state of metallic currency antecedently to the use of medal money; it must be by carefully collecting and arranging the incidental notices which we meet with in Sacred History, the only written history existing of the time; and by comparing them with the art-history of ancient nations, and with the habits of existing communities, in a similar stage of civilization with the inventors of the bullion medium. That the information handed down in Sacred History is not more precise, ought not to be submitted as a reason for believing that more extensive and definite knowledge could not have been

² Not having opportunity of access to Dr. Davy's work, I am indebted to Mr. Walter Hawkins for the quotation above, as well as for repeated numismatic favors.

communicated. Had the sacred historians had the object in view to explain their currency; no doubt they could, and would have done it distinctly. But they only incidentally referred to the subject, as far as was needful for the purpose they had to carry out,—the history of the Jews as a selected, religious nation. Secular or scientific knowledge was a mere accident in their records: and yet it is truly surprising to find how much information may be gathered from the Bible, “by,” as the learned Butler says in his *Analogy*, “comparing and pursuing intimations scattered up and down in it, which are overlooked and disregarded by the generality of the world”: and he continues, as to the way in which “natural knowledge” is to be come at—“this is the way in which all improvements are made; by thoughtful men tracing on obscure hints, as it were dropped us by nature accidentally, or which seem to come into our minds by chance.”

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

W. B. DICKINSON.

Leamington, November 17th, 1848.

To the Secretary of the Numismatic Society.

XVI.

COIN OF VALENTINIAN WITH THE PHOENIX.

[Read December 21st, 1848].

MY DEAR SIR,

I BEG to forward you a brief notice of a coin which some time since came into my possession, and which, in addition to its extreme rarity, appears to me to possess considerable interest. It is of silver of the common diminutive size of

the period, and on the obverse bears the usual diademed head of the younger Valentinian, with the legend D. N. VALENTINIANVS JUN. P. F. AUG. — *Rev.* A Phoenix with radiated head, standing on a globe. Legend, PERPETVETAS (*sic*), exergue T.R.P.S. It is in very good, if not fine condition. Both yourself and Mionnet give the same coin (but without the exergual letters) on the authority of Banduri. Banduri gives it as being in the Farnese cabinet; and in a note says, "Nummus rarissimus imo singularis est, et desideratur in Mediobarbo."

The coin, as described by Banduri, is figured in Pedrusi's Catalogue; but it appears from the engraving, an injury or defect has obliterated the letters in the exergue of that specimen.

I suppose there cannot be a doubt that this coin was struck at a time when circumstances and appearances would seem strongly to point out the perfect security and stability which surrounded the young emperor on the throne.

The successful revolt of Maximus in Britain, who had destroyed the life, and usurped the throne of Gratian, the brother of Valentinian, and emperor of the western division of the empire, together with the intestine squabbles which the Arian controversy had caused throughout the empire, must, notwithstanding the aid and protection afforded by the great Theodosius, have rendered it very apparent that at that early period there could not have been that perfect security and firmness which the type of this highly interesting and curious little coin points out.

The usurper, Maximus, not feeling satisfied with the throne of Gratian, invaded the dominions of Valentinian, when Theodosius bringing a powerful army to the young emperor's aid, the invader was destroyed, and Valentinian

reinstated not only in his former dominions, but the whole western empire was added to his government.

Justina, the emperor's mother, who appears to have favoured the Arian faction, and who endeavoured to instil the poison into the mind of her youthful son, thereby rendering him unpopular, "did not long survive her return to Italy; and though she beheld the triumph of Theodosius, she was not allowed to influence the government of her son. The pernicious attachment to the Arian sect which Valentinian had imbibed from her example and instruction, was soon erased by the lessons of a more orthodox education." Valentinian was therefore now free to act and think for himself. The whole western empire, in addition to his former dominions, was his own. With these magnificent and undisturbed possessions, and with the aid and protection of Theodosius, the greatest and most powerful prince of his time, it would seem that now indeed nothing was likely to occur to disturb or endanger the prosperity and stability so happily established. Hence the significant and beautifully expressive type of the Phoenix standing on a globe—"Perpetuitas."

*"Par volucer superis — stellas qui vividus æquat
Durando, membrisque terit redeuntibus ævum."*

The exergual letters point out that the coin was struck at Treves, the capital of his newly acquired possessions. But, alas for the uncertainty of human affairs! the event completely belied the prediction — the premature and violent death of Valentinian, through the craftiness and cunning of the vile Arbogastes is well known; and the coin remains a curious and interesting monument of the disappointment and uncertainty to which the greatest princes are liable in common with ordinary humanity.

Since writing the above, I have seen in the British Museum a denarius of Theodosius, not only of the same type, but evidently (after a careful examination) from the very same die. I need scarcely say that this type of Theodosius is unpublished, of extreme rarity, if not unique, and is highly interesting, as clearly shewing the feeling of security and power which existed at this time throughout the Roman empire.

I think there cannot be a doubt that these interesting and rare coins of both Theodosius and Valentinian, *struck at Treves, and from the same die*, must have been coined and issued very soon after the destruction of Maximus and the conquest of the West; when, as Gibbon says, "The whole Roman world was in the possession of Theodosius; he derived from the choice of Gratian his honorable title to the provinces of the East—he had acquired the West by the right of conquest."

I am, &c.

HENRY L. TOVEY.

P.S.—I have made several inquiries of my numismatic friends, but I cannot find that another coin of this type, either of the younger Valentinian, or of Theodosius, is known. Should it be in the possession of either of the readers of your valuable periodical, he would confer an obligation on me, by communicating with me on the subject.

Bermondsey-st. Southwark, October, 1848.

XVII.

COINS FOUND IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

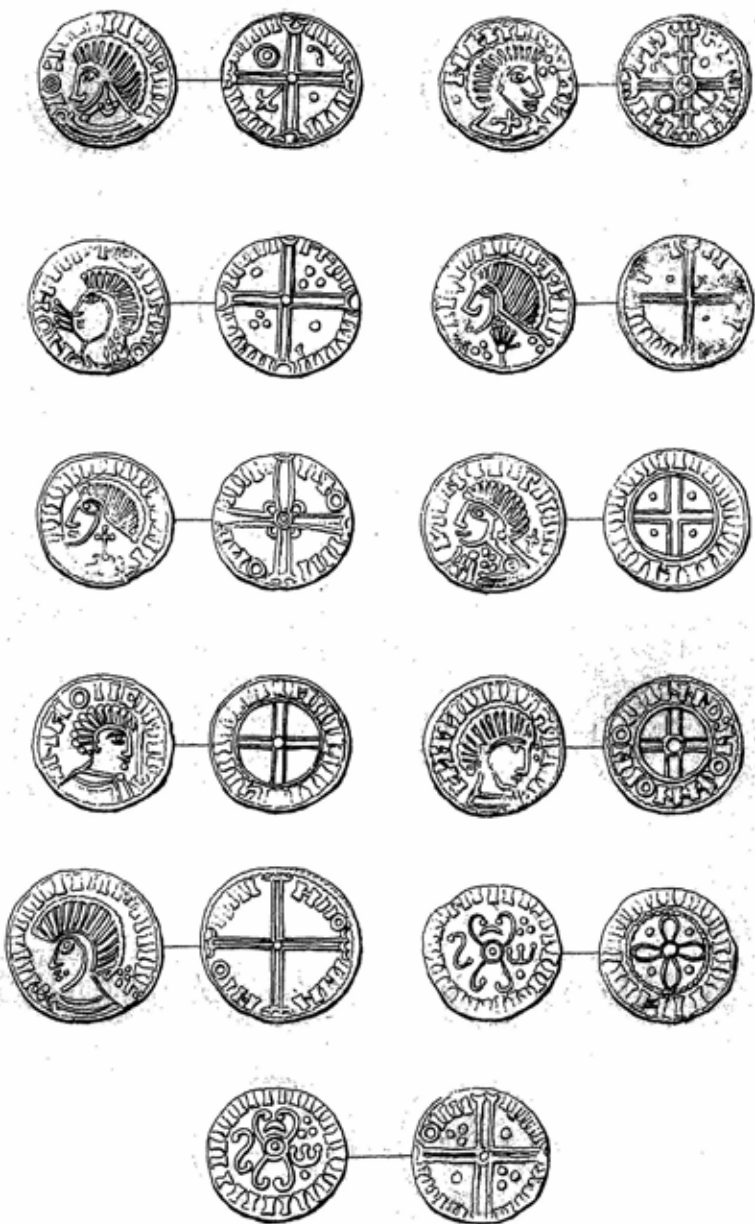
THE coins engraved in the accompanying plates were found some years since, and most liberally presented to the collection of the British Museum by the Bishop of Sodor and Man, an example which we trust may be imitated by all who may obtain by chance similar treasures.

The types will speak for themselves, and suggest to the numismatist the period at which these rude coins may have been struck. Some of them are evident imitations of the money of the Anglo-Saxon kings, Ethelred and Edward the Confessor, while others are probably derived from Danish examples. The want of intelligible legends renders it nevertheless unsafe to speculate on their probable origin, and we must wait the chances of future discoveries before we can venture on their appropriation. At present we know not whether they are the rude workmanship of illiterate forgers, or the currency of the island in which they were discovered.

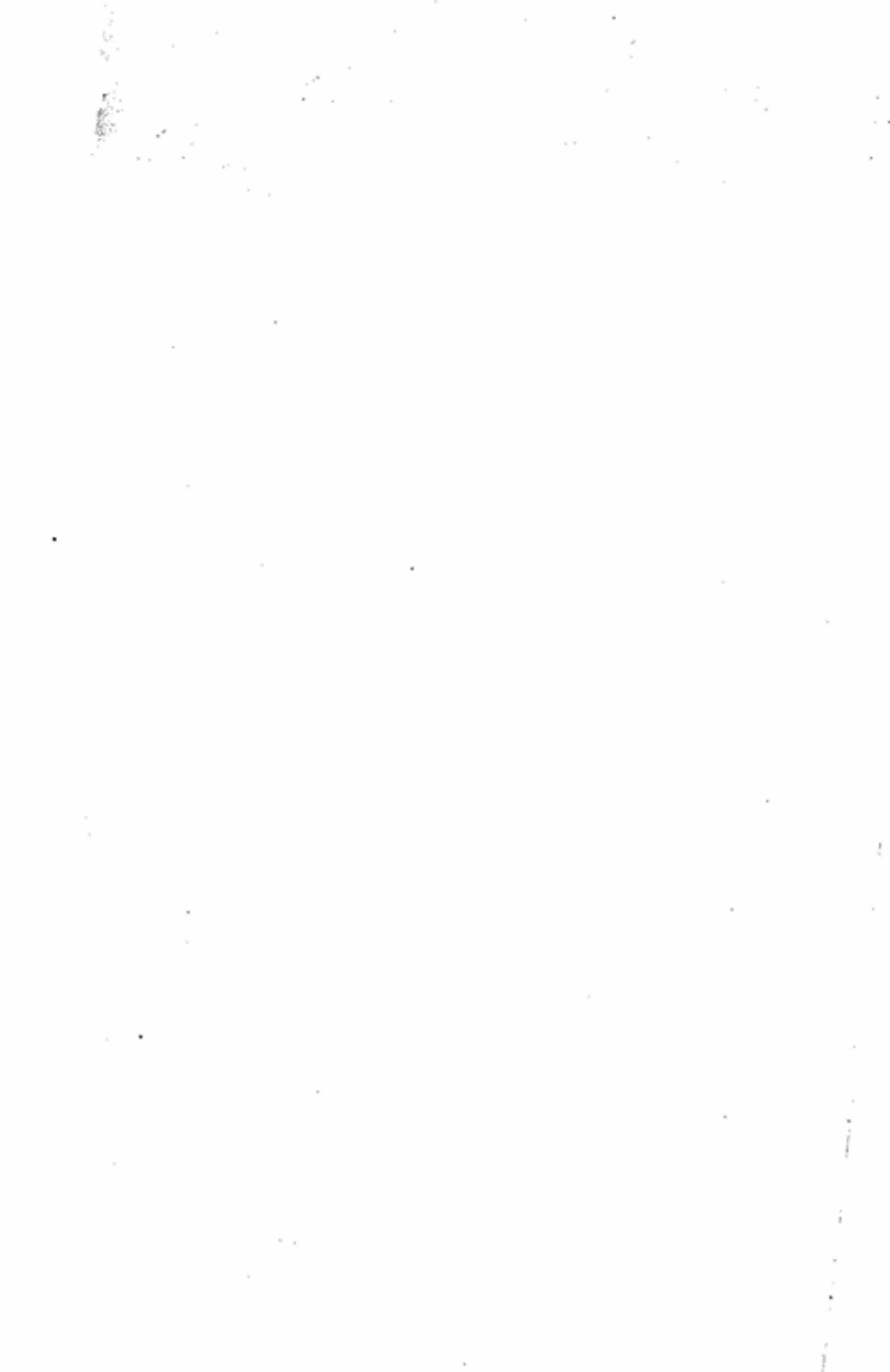




COINS FOUND IN THE ISLE OF MAN.



COINS FOUND IN THE ISLE OF MAN.



MISCELLANEA.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON'S REPORT ON THE GOLD AND SILVER COIN IN 1717.—We are indebted to the kindness of Sir Henry Ellis for the following extract from "The Daily Courant," Monday, December 30, 1717.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.—May it please your Lordships: In obedience to your Lordships order of reference of August 12, that I should lay before your Lordships a state of the Gold and Silver Coins of this Kingdom in weight and fineness, and the value of Gold in proportion to Silver, with my observations and opinion, and what method may be best for preventing the melting down of the silver coin; I humbly represent, that a pound weight Troy of Gold, eleven ounces fine, and one ounce Allay, is cut into 44½ Guineas, and a pound weight of Silver, eleven ounces two penny w^t. fine, and eighteen penny weight Allay, is cut into 62 shillings, and according to this rate, a pound weight of fine Gold is worth 15 pounds weight 6 ounces, 17 penny weight and 5 grains of fine Silver, reckoning a guinea at £1, 1s. 6d. in Silver money. But Silver in Bullion exportable is usually worth 2d. or 3d. per ounce more than in Coin. And if at a medium, such Bullion of standard Allay be valued at 5s. 4d. halfpenny per ounce, a pound weight of fine gold will be worth but 14 pound weight 11 ounces, 12 penny weight 9 grains of fine silver in Bullion. And at this rate, a Guinea is worth but so much silver as would make 20s. 8d. When ships are lading for the East Indies, the demand of Silver for exportation raises the price to 5s. 6d. or 5s. 8d. per ounce, or above; but I consider not those extraordinary cases.

A Spanish Pistole was coined for 32 Reas, or 4 pieces of Eight Reas¹, usually called pieces of eight, and is of *equal Allay*, and the 16th part of the weight thereof. And a Doppio Moeda of Portugal

¹ MS. Note.—Reas or Ryalls. w^t may be y^e meaning of being of equal Allay & y^e 16th part of y^e weight thereof y^e not plain. qy.

It may be that the Allay of y^e Sp: Pistole is both y^e 16th part of y^e weight of y^e Pistole, and y^e Pistole in weight the 16th part of y^e weight of 4 pieces of eight. This by w^t follows seems to be the meaning since he says, "Gold is therefore in Spain of 16 times more value than Silver of equal weight and Allay. The same is said of Portugal Gold according to the standard of those Kingdoms, so 16 oz. Troy of Sp. & Por. gold contains 15 oz. Troy of fine gold & 1 oz. of Allay so y^e stand^d in Sp: & Por: is better y^{an} in England because y^e Allay in England is the 16th of y^e weight, and in Spain & Portugal y^e Allay is but y^e 16th & in y^e w^t of 16 oz. Troy there is as above 15 oz. fine gold, & but 1 oz. Allay.

was coined for 10 Crusadoes of Silver, and is of equal Allay, and the 16th part of the weight thereof; Gold is therefore in Spain and Portugal of 16 times more value than Silver of equal weight and Allay, according to the standard of those Kingdoms; at which rate a Guinea is worth 22s. 1d. But this high price keeps their gold at home in good plenty, and carries away the Spanish Silver into all Europe; so that at home they make their payments in Gold, and will not pay in Silver without a premium. Upon the coming in of a Plate Fleet the premium ceases, or is but small; but as their silver goes away and becomes scarce, the premium encreases, and is most commonly about 6 per cent, which being abated, a Guinea becomes worth about 20s. and 9d. in Spain and Portugal.

In France, a pound weight of fine Gold is reckoned worth 15 pounds weight of fine silver; in raising or falling their money, their Kings Edicts have sometimes varied a little from this proportion, in excess or defect; but the variations have been so little, that I do not here consider them. By the Edict of May 1709, a new Pistole was coined for 4 new Lewises, and is of equal Allay, and the 15th part of the weight thereof, except the errors of their Mints. And by the same Edict fine Gold is valued at 15 times its weight of fine Silver, and at this rate a Guinea is worth 20s. 8d. halfpenny. I consider not here the confusion made in the monies in France by frequent Edicts to send them to the Mint, and give the King a tax out of them, I consider the value only of Gold and Silver in proportion to one another.

The Ducats of Holland, and Hungary, and the Empire, were lately current in Holland among the common people in their markets and ordinary affairs, at 5 Guilders in Specie, and five Stivers, and commonly changed for so much silver moneyes in three Guilder pieces, and Guilder pieces as Guineas are with us for 21s. 6d. sterling; at which rate, a Guinea is worth 20s. 7d. halfpenny.

According to the rates of Gold to Silver in Italy, Germany, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, a Guinea is worth about 20s. and 7d. 6d. 5d. or 4d. for the proportion varies a little within the several Governments in those countries. In Sweden Gold is lowest in proportion to Silver, and this hath made that Kingdom, which formerly was content with copper money, abound of late with silver sent thither (I suspect) for Naval stores.

In the end of King William's reign and the first year of the late Queen, when foreign Coins abounded in England, I caused a great many of them to be assayed in the Mint, and found by the Assays, that fine Gold was to fine Silver in Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Italy, Germany and the Northern Kingdoms, in the proportions above mentioned; errors of the Mints excepted.

In China and Japan, one pound weight of fine Gold is worth, but 9 or 10 pounds weight of fine Silver, and in East India it may be worth 12. And this low price of Gold in proportion to Silver, carries away the Silver from all Europe.

So then by the course of Trade and exchange between Nation and Nation in all Europe, fine gold is to fine silver as 14½ or 15 to one; and a guinea at the same rate is worth between 20s. 5d. and 20s. 8d. halfpenny, except in extraordinary cases, as when a Plate fleet is just arrived in Spain, or Ships are lading here for the East Indies, which cases I do not here consider. And it appears by experience as well as by reason, that silver flows from those places where its value is lowest in proportion to Gold, as from Spain to all Europe, and from all Europe to the East Indies, China and Japan; and that Gold is most plentiful in those places, in which its value is highest in proportion to Silver, as in Spain and England.

It is the demand for exportation which hath raised the price of exportable silver about 2d. or 3d. in the ounce above that of Silver in Coin, and hath thereby created a temptation to export or melt down the Silver Coin, rather than give 2d. or 3d. more for foreign silver; and the demand for exportation arises from the higher price of silver in other places than in England in proportion to Gold, that is, from the higher price of Gold in England than in other places, in proportion to silver, and therefore may be diminished by lowering the value of Gold, in proportion to silver. If Gold in England or Silver in East India could be brought down so low as to bear the same proportion to one another in both places, there would be here no greater demand for silver than for gold to be exported to India; and if gold were lowered only so as to have the same proportion to the silver money in England which it hath to silver in the rest of Europe, there would be no temptation to export Silver rather than Gold to any other part of Europe: and to compass this last, there seems nothing more requisite than to take off about 10d. or 12d. from the Guinea, so that Gold may bear the same proportion to the silver money in England, which it ought to do by the course of trade and exchange in Europe; but if only 6d. were taken off at present, it would diminish the temptation to export or melt down the Silver Coin, and by the effects, would shew hereafter better than can appear at present, what further reduction would be most convenient for the Publick.

In the last year of King William, the Dollars of Scotland worth about 4s. 6d. halfpenny, were put away in the North of England for 5s. and at this price began to flow in upon us: I gave notice thereof to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury,

and they ordered the Collectors of Taxes to forbear taking them, and thereby put a stop to the mischief.

At the same time the Lewidors of France, which were worth but 17s. and three farthings a piece, passed in England at 17s. 6d. I gave notice thereof to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and his late Majesty put out a Proclamation that they should go but at 17s. and thereupon they came to the Mint, and £1,400,000 were coined out of them; and if the advantage of 5d. 1 farthing in a Lewidor sufficed at that time to bring into England so great a quantity of French money, and the advantage of three farthings in a Lewidor to bring it to the Mint, the advantage of 9d. halfpenny in a Guinea, or above, may have been sufficient to bring the great quantity of Gold which hath been coined in these last 15 years without any foreign silver.

Some years ago the Portugall Moeders were received in the West of England at 28s. a piece; upon notice from the Mint that they were worth only about 27s. 7d. the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury ordered their receivers of taxes to take them at no more than 27s. 6d. Afterwards many Gentlemen in the West sent up to the Treasury a Petition that the Receivers might take them again at 28s. and promised to get returns for this money at that rate, alledging that when they went at 28s. their country was full of gold which they wanted very much: but the Commissioners of the Treasury considering that at 28s. the nation would lose 15d. a piece, rejected the Petition. And if an advantage to the Merchant of 5d. in 28s. did pour that money in upon us, much more hath an advantage to the Merchant of 9d. halfpenny in a guinea, or above, been able to bring into the Mint great quantities of Gold without any foreign silver, and may be able to do it still till the cause be removed.

If things be let alone till Silver money be a little scarcer, the Gold will fall of itself; for people are already backward to give Silver for Gold, and will in a little time refuse to make payments in Silver without a premium, as they do in Spain, and this premium will be an abatement in the value of the Gold: And so the question is, whether gold shall be lowered by the Government, or let alone till it falls of itself, by the want of Silver money.

It may be said that there are great quantities of Silver in plate, and if the plate were coined there would be no want of Silver money: But I reckon that silver is safer from exportation in the form of plate than in the form of money, because of the greater value of the silver and fashion together; and therefore I am not for coining the plate till the temptation to export the Silver money (which is a profit of 2d. or 3d. an ounce) be diminished. For as often as men are necessitated to send away money for answering debts abroad, there will be a temptation to send away

Silver rather than Gold, because of the profit which is almost 4 per cent: And for the same reason foreigners will chuse to send hither their Gold rather than their Silver.

All which is most humbly submitted to your Lordships great wisdom.

ISAAC NEWTON.

Mint Office, Sept. 21. 1717.

FORGED AND IMITATION COINS.—In the window of a shop, in a Court leading out of one of our chief thoroughfares, a number of counterfeits and imitations of ancient Coins are exhibited for sale; among them are the following :—

Testoon of Mary Queen of Scots.

Half Testoon of ditto, countermarked on the obverse.

Dollar of Mary and Darnley, their portraits *vis-à-vis* (!).

Testoon of ditto ditto

Coronation Medal of Henry VIII.

Ditto of Edward VI.

Medal of Gregory XIII. on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Denarius of Carausius (!).

Ditto of Allectus (!).

Allectus, in gold (!)

Otho, ditto

Caliph Omar, ditto

Lord Darnley and Mary Queen of Scots, face to face, silver medal.

Mary Queen of Scots and Darnley, shilling.

Mary Queen of Scots, *crowned*, shilling.

Ditto bareheaded, shilling.

Ditto ditto, sixpence.

Queen Jane Grey, crowned, shilling.

Mary of England, half-crown.

Ditto penny, two-penny, and four-penny.

Queen Elizabeth, rare shilling.

James V. of Scotland, sixpence.

Eleonora of Aquitaine, penny.

The whole of these are, or appear to be, in Silver. A short time since a *Silver Seal of King Alfred* (!) was also exhibited in the same window, but that has recently been removed. All the pieces are tolerably well executed, but would not deceive an experienced eye. The name of the person by whom, or at whose instigation, these pieces have been executed, is perfectly well known to antiquaries and collectors; and he may rest assured that it will go down to posterity in the odour of that infamous celebrity he has so deservedly obtained. The owner of this place has been told repeatedly that these coins are forgeries; and if a collector goes in to examine a coin, and expresses a doubt as to its genuineness,

the woman in the shop (for it is generally a female who is in attendance) says, "I don't know anything about them, Sir." It behoves young collectors to be on their guard against spurious imitations, and it is a good, though an old proverb, "Forewarned, forearmed"!

It is really lamentable to see what vast numbers of counterfeit and imitation coins are current; scarcely a public sale of any note occurs, but it is sprinkled with a variety of forgeries. Take the late Mr. White's Catalogue, whose coins have been sold only during the present month, and the reader may be convinced. Two pennies of Offa, of very doubtful appearance, sold at the significant prices of 6s. and 9s.; and there were fabrications of Egbert, Stephen, Cnut, Ethelred, and others, which the judicious cataloguer properly described as such. But it would be better if all such pieces were melted, and not allowed to appear at all in a sale catalogue. Among the *imitated* coins were two copies of the celebrated Oxford Crown; one in pewter, the acknowledged work of a person named Doubleday, cast from the original in the British Museum; the other a chasing in Silver. We by no means believe that these were ever sold otherwise than as copies by the makers of them, or that they exacted more than such a price as would re-pay their labour and ingenuity. But the evil is that these imitations get into the hands of unscrupulous dealers and pedlars; and let any antiquary of experience say, if he has been in the habit of visiting provincial collections, whether he has ever found one that was free from imitation pieces,¹ of which the owner or keeper had never previously had a doubt. Young Numismatists are frequently deterred from the pursuit, by finding at the very outset that their inexperience is practised upon. We hold it to be a reprehensible practice to allow casts to be made, and sold, from the coins in our national collection; they furnish the models by which the knave and the forger are helped in their nefarious trade. Casts should only be allowed to students, and persons of good reputation.

We abhor the whole race of Beckers, Whites, Singletons, etc.,

¹ At the Sale at Strawberry Hill in 1842, the late Mr. Forster purchased *Seven engraved plates of the Stewart Family*, some of them the work of Simon Pass. On Mr. Forster's death, the Seven Silver Plates *said to be the same* that were bought at Strawberry Hill, were again sold by auction; and the writer went to the sale intending to purchase them, but was outbid, they being knocked down for 10 guineas. But the buyer was not aware, nor was the writer aware till some time afterwards, that Mr. Foster had sold out one of the best plates, and had replaced it with an imitation. The person who made the imitation was in the room, yet did not, as he ought to have done, announce the fact publicly and aloud. The writer of this went to the sale in the full faith that they were identical with the Strawberry Hill plates, and would have felt himself grievously wronged, had he been saddled with a worthless substitute.

and would exhort all numismatic collectors to unite, and form a fund to be used in defeating their infamous traffic; the family of *falsificators* is not extinct, and they do infinite mischief. Good service has been effected by Mr. Akerman in his last little work "An Introduction to Ancient and Modern Coins," by his concluding chapter on the "Forgeries of the Public money;" the only deficiency is, that he has not animadverted on the forgers of the present day. NUMISMATICUS.

HENRY PRINCE OF WALES, SON OF JAMES I., A COIN COLLECTOR.—Extract from the "Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James I.," edited by Mr. Peter Cunningham, and published by the Shakespeare Society.

In the "Accompte of the Money expended by Sir David Murray, K^t., as Keeper of the Privie Purse to the late noble Prynce Henry Prynce of Wales, from the 1 October 1610 to 6 November 1612, (the daye of the decease of the said Prynce) &c^a., &c^a.," the following entry occurs:—

"Antiquities of Medall and Coynes £2200"

No further mention is made in these "Accounts," nor was any record found in the Audit Office, as to the nature of this collection, or whence obtained. Nor in any English work to which we have had access, could we find anything to satisfy our curiosity; until chancing to look into "Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary," in the notice of Abraham Gorlaeus, it is said that he "gained a great reputation by collecting Medals and Antiquities, and that after his death at Delph in April 1609, his collections were sold to the Prince of Wales."

This is all the information we have been able to glean relative to this interesting transaction. It shews the tastes and inclinations of this young Prince, who was willing to devote so large a sum (large for those days) in furtherance of Numismatic pursuits; and the presumption is that the collection must have been valuable and extensive.

After the death of Prince Henry the collection became the property of his brother Prince Charles, subsequently King Charles I., celebrated for his love of modern as well as ancient art; and it remained carefully preserved until that unfortunate sovereign fell under the power of the Parliament, when the "Rulers of Fanaticism" as D'Israeli calls them, caused the whole of the King's furniture, pictures, and collections of every kind, to be appraised, preparatory to sale, and the library, and medals, and coins only escaped the dispersion that befell the pictures through the antiquarian zeal of Selden, who apprehensive of their loss, induced his friend Bulstrode Whitelocke, then Lord Keeper of the

Commonwealth, to apply for the office of Librarian. "This contrivance," adds D'Israeli, "saved the valuable collection." Whitelocke continued in this office until 1660; but at the Restoration nearly two-thirds of the medals were missing, said to have been abstracted by Hugh Peters the Puritan, and others, between 1649 and 1652, before they came under the guardianship of Whitelocke. Ultimately, the library, and remaining medals and coins, were deposited in the British Museum, soon after the foundation of that institution. B. N.

THE LATE WILLIAM STAUNTON, Esq.—This respected gentleman and venerable Antiquary, died on the 29th October last, at Longbridge House, in the county of Warwick, at the advanced age of 84. He was a magistrate and deputy lieutenant of the county, and in early life had been a captain in the 1st regiment of life guards. His family was one of the oldest in Warwickshire, having been settled at Longbridge previous to 1450. Mr. Staunton was well known as devoted for a long series of years to archaeological pursuits, and his collections relative to and illustrative of his native county, are of the most valuable character and interest, and will not be dispersed, it having always been his desire and intention that they should be preserved intact; and he has by his will attached them as heir-looms to the house and estate. The writer of this notice had for some years the honor of corresponding with Mr. Staunton; nor can he forget the pleasure he derived from an inspection of the varied objects of interest congregated at the charming retreat of Longbridge. Among the medallic objects illustrative of county history is the famous Keinton Medal, which Mr. S., obtained at the celebrated Tyssen Sale in 1802: this medal is said to have been struck by Rawlins the night previous to the battle of Edgehill,¹ when the Mint was ambulatory, and Rawlins, whose loyalty was of the staunchest character, followed the camp. The rudeness of this medal is a proof of its having been the hurried work of a few hours; and it is therefore of the highest interest. For a long period this medal was accounted *unique*; but a few years ago a second specimen came into the hands of Mr. Haggard, and now enriches that gentleman's collection.² These

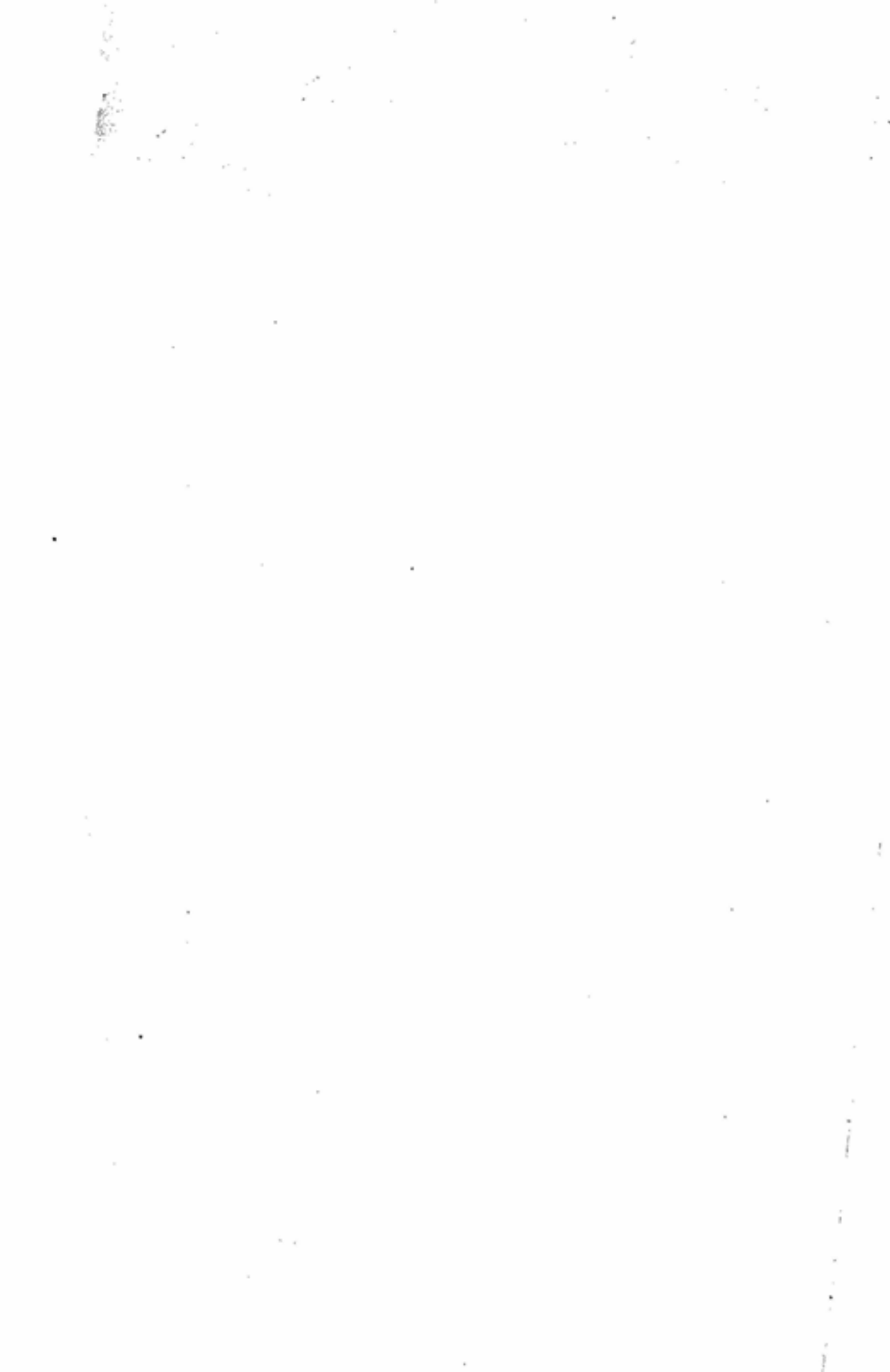
¹ Mr. Hamper in his pamphlet has stated that this medal was struck at Oxford, an error arising from a misinterpretation of the legend, which is somewhat obscure, but signifies that the "dispersion of the rebels brought an omen of peace victory to Oxford."

² Mr. Haggard purchased this medal of the late Matthew Young, who, we are informed, bought it of the late W. Upcott. If this be true, Mr. H's specimen is no doubt that which belonged to John Evelyn and is engraved in his "Discourse on Medals." Upcott was the editor of Evelyn's Diary, and through the favour of the late Lady Evelyn had the complete ransacking of Wootton, from whence he

are the only two examples known; the National collection not possessing one. Birmingham has long been renowned as the school of medallie art; and the productions of the Soho mint are known throughout the world. Of these, as county records, Mr. Staunton possessed a fine collection; his county portraits, books, and architectural illustrations are also unrivalled. His death has left a void that cannot soon be filled. He has departed full of years and honours, and we may say, in the language of Job, "He hath come to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in its season."

B. N.

carried off autographs, MSS., coins, medals, and other property. He was the possessor of the famous *Felton paper* which belonged to Evelyn, who had it from his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Browne, the judge who tried Felton. The writer of this was also shown by Upcott a groat of Perkin Warbeck, which he stated "was Evelyn's." We have therefore no doubt of the *pedigree* (if such a term be allowed) of Mr. Haggard's Keinton Medal.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1847-8.

NOVEMBER 25, 1847.

W. D. HAGGARD, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents, received during the recess, were announced and laid on the table :—

Notice sur le Cabinet Monétaire de S. A. le Prince de Ligne. Par C. P. Serrure, Professeur d'Histoire à l'Université de Gand. 8vo. pp. 441. <i>Ghent</i> , 1847.	PRESENTED BY THE AUTHOR.
Réponse à M. Droysen sur ses conjectures concernant les premiers Rois de la Bactriane, par J. de Bartholomæi. 8vo. pp. 31. <i>St. Petersburg</i> , 1847.	THE AUTHOR.
Conjectures sur quelques Médailles Sassanides postérieures au Roi Firouz. Par J. de Bartholomæi. 8vo. pp. 8. <i>St. Petersburg</i> , 1847.	THE AUTHOR.
Description des Médailles Cistophores du Cabinet de France. Par M. Dumersan. Small 4to. pp. 23, and one plate. <i>Paris</i> , 1847.	THE AUTHOR.
Classement de Médailles Georgiennes du type Sassanide du point de vue de l'art. Par J. de Bartholomæi. 8vo. pp. 16. <i>St. Petersburg</i> , 1847.	THE AUTHOR.
Notice sur les Médailles de Timarque, Roi de la Babylonie. Par J. de Bartholomæi. 8vo. pp. 7. <i>Berlin</i> , 1847.	THE AUTHOR.
Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des lettres, et des beaux arts de Belgique. Vol. xiii. and first six nos. of vol. xiv. 8vo. 1846-7.	THE ACADEMY.
Annuaire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des lettres, et des beaux arts de Belgique. 1846, small 8vo, 1847, ditto.	THE ACADEMY.

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| Sur l'Importance de l'Etude de la Numismatique
et de l' Archæologie Musselmanes en Russie.
Par M. P. Faweliew. | } | PRESENTED BY
M. DE KÖHNE. |
| Die beiden grossen silber Gefässe des kaiser-
lichen Museums der Eremitage zu St. Peters-
burg. (On the two large Silver Vases in the
Imperial Museum in the Hermitage at St.
Petersburg). By B. von Köhne. 8vo. pp. 66,
and two plates. <i>St. Petersburg</i> , 1847. | | THE AUTHOR. |
| Unedirte päbstliche Münzen. (Unedited Papal
Coins). By Prince Theophilus Gagarin. 8vo.
pp. 13. <i>Berlin</i> , 1846. | } | THE AUTHOR. |
| Mittheilungen der numismatischen Gesellschaft
in Berlin. (Communications of the Numismatic
Society of Berlin). 8vo. pp. 74, and three
plates. <i>Berlin</i> , 1846. | | THE SOCIETY. |
| Denkmünzen des Radziwillschen Fürstenhauses
(Medals of the princely house of Radzivil).
By B. von Köhne. 8vo. pp. 8. | } | THE AUTHOR. |
| Kurze Buch-beschreibung einer auf den Besit-
zungen des Grafen Strogonov ausgegrabenen
silbernen Schale mit einer Inschrift in unbe-
kannten Charakteren. (A Brief Description of a
Silver Cup, with an Inscription in unknown
Characters, dug up on the Estates of Count
Strogonoff). By Otho Bochtlingk. | | DR. DORN. |
| Nummorum Anglo-Saxonorum Centuria selecta,
e Museo Academico Upsalensi, deprompta,
digesta, et illustrata a J. H. Schröder. 4to.
pp. 20. <i>Upsal</i> . | } | THE AUTHOR. |
| Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. x.
part 3. 8vo. | | THE SOCIETY. |
| Journal of the British Archæological Associa-
tion. Nos. x. and xi. 8vo. | } | THE ASSOCIATION. |
| Archæologia Æliana. Vol. iv. part 1. 4to.
pp. 50. <i>Newcastle</i> , 1846. | | SOCIETY OF ANTI-
QUARIES OF NEW-
CASTLE-UPON-TYNE. |
| Collectanea Antiqua. No. ix. By Charles
Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A. 8vo. | } | THE AUTHOR. |

Read:—a paper by the President, illustrative of two medals struck in Holland to commemorate the repulse of a British fleet, in an attempt to seize the Dutch East India fleet in the port of Bergen,

in Norway, in August, 1665. The medals in question are engraved in Van Loon, vol. ii. page 509.

1. The first medal has on the obverse a representation of the port of Bergen; on the right is the Dutch fleet of men-of-war and merchant ships, and on the left, the English men-of-war. The ships on both sides are firing. Some buildings are represented on each side of the water, and in the foreground are two females seated, and a man standing, pointing towards the scene of action; other persons are looking on, and one is running away. The reverse has a Dutch inscription, which may be rendered thus:—

“On the robbery committed by Charles the Second, on the 10th of August, 1665, before Bergen, in Norway.

“It is thus that the pride of the Englishman is checked, who extends his robberies even to his friends, and who, in insulting the ports of Norway, violates the rights of the ports of King Frederick, but is rewarded for his audacity by seeing his ships destroyed by the thundering bullets of the Dutch.”

The latter part of the inscription is in verse.

2. The other medal has the same obverse, but the reverse has a much longer inscription in the Dutch language, to the following effect:—

“In the year 1665, the 10th of August, the earl of Sandwich advanced to the port of Bergen, in Norway, with fifteen ships of war, four smaller vessels, and two fire-ships. He there cast anchor, and drew up in the form of a crescent, before ten East India ships and some other merchant vessels, which were within the harbour. He flattered himself that he should at once destroy this rich fleet. Firing soon began on both sides, as well as from the castles; and the English found themselves compelled to cut their cables, and save themselves by a shameful flight.”

The representation on the medals would lead us to suppose that the action took place within the port, which, from the account of the affair by Bishop Burnet, in his history of his own times,¹ and by

¹ Book ii., sub anno 1665.

M. Larrey, in his "*Histoire d'Angleterre*" (a work much quoted by the Dutch) does not appear to have been the case.

The date on the medal is the 10th of August, while Burnet, Rapin, and Hume state the affair to have taken place on the 3rd.

In connection with this affair, various charges have been made by Hume and others against both Charles II. and Frederick, king of Denmark, for treacherous conduct towards the Dutch. Hume's words are:—"The king of Denmark meanwhile was resolved not to remain an idle spectator of the contest between the maritime powers. The part which he acted was the most extraordinary. He made a secret agreement with Charles to seize all the Dutch ships in his harbours, and to share the spoils with the English, provided they would assist him in executing this measure. In order to increase his prey, he perfidiously invited the Dutch to take shelter in his ports; and accordingly the East India fleet, very richly laden, and put into Bergen."¹

Probably no injustice is done to the character of Charles II. in supposing him capable of making a proposal to the king of Denmark to betray the Dutch and divide the spoil. Although Charles II. was under considerable obligations both to the States of Holland and to the family of the Prince of Orange, he nevertheless entertained an avowed hatred to the Dutch nation, and treated the House of Orange with total indifference. When obliged to sign a peace with the Dutch for want of means to carry on the war any longer, he declared he had done a thing which went more against his heart than the loss of his right hand; and he excused his having proposed to the king of Denmark to betray the Dutch, by saying that all means were lawful to humble an insolent and ungrateful enemy.²

Mr. Haggard considers that the case is not so clear against the king of Denmark. If he had seriously intended to betray the Dutch, had he not in his own hands the power of doing so? The Dutch fleet was in his own port, commanded by his castles and batteries,

¹ Hume's *History of England*, chap. lxiv.

² *Retrospective Review*, vol. iii. part 1.

the English waiting at the mouth of the harbour, eager to attack and seize it; yet at that critical moment the king of Denmark detained the person sent by the earl of Sandwich to obtain orders for the governor of Bergen to attack the Dutch, sent away the ship that conveyed him, and thus deprived himself of the means of communicating with the English at all. It appears that this delay enabled the Danes and the Dutch so to fortify the port of Bergen, that the English found it impossible to force an entrance, and were beaten off with disgrace. Burnet states that on the day after the action the governor received his orders; he does not say what those orders were, but that the governor communicated them to the English admiral, stating that as the fleet had by their precipitation compelled him to take part with the Dutch against them, he could not now act upon his orders without further reference to Copenhagen; and thus the whole scheme was frustrated.

A five ducat piece engraved in the work entitled "*Beskrivelse over Danske Mynter og Medailler i den kongelige Samling*" (folio, Copenhagen, 1791) tab.ⁿ 12, note 3, is stated in that work to have been struck upon this occasion.

Mr. Cuff exhibited two small British gold coins: one found in Sussex, size 1, $12\frac{1}{2}$ grains, engraved in Akerman's "*Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes*," plate 22, No. 5; the other of very similar type, differing chiefly in not having a pellet within a circle above and below the letters COMF on the obverse. It was found in Hampshire. Size 1, $17\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Also a small gold coin lately discovered in the vicinity of London, resembling a Sceatta in type and size.

DECEMBER 23, 1847.

W. D. HAGGARD, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced, and laid upon the table:—

Collectanea Antiqua, No. x. By Charles Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.	} PRESENTED BY THE AUTHOR.
Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie. Vol. viii. 8vo. pp. 618 and 10 plates, also various Nos. of the Bulletins for 1846-7.	
	} THE SOCIETY.

Mr. Bror Emil Hildebrand, keeper of the Royal Collection at Stockholm, was balloted for, and elected an Associate of the Society.

Mr. F. Westcott Fry (elected May 27, 1847), was admitted a member of the Society.

Mr. Webster exhibited—1. A gold British or Gaulish coin of peculiar type, found between Saltwood Castle and Bargrave House, near Hythe. *Obv.*—A female head to the right. *Rev.*—Somewhat indistinct, but apparently a figure driving a car drawn by a single horse; some undefined ornament below, size 3. 2. A Groat of Edward IV. of the London Mint, m. m. Coronet, reading EDWAD DI GRA REX ANGL. Z FRANCV. *Rev.*—As usual. The coin is in fine preservation, and evidently genuine, notwithstanding the blundered spelling. 3. A penny of Henry VI. m. m. cross crosslet; a dot or pellet on each side of the head. *Rev.*—A small pellet in each quarter in addition to the usual three; the place of mintage not legible, but most probably York, as it appears to have the open quatrefoil in the centre.

Mr. C. Roach Smith read a letter from the Hon. Richard Cornwallis Neville, of Audley End, Essex, announcing the discovery of a large number of large brass coins near Chesterford, chiefly of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Faustina Senior.

Mr. Bergne read an extract of a letter addressed to him by Mr. Lindsay, of Blackrock, near Cork, the well-known author of works on the coinage of Ireland and Scotland, illustrative of some tracings of solid coins and bracteates, which had been transmitted from Norway. Mr. Lindsay observes, that, from these coins seldom exhibiting intelligible legends, or any legends at all, anything like a satisfactory arrangement of them must be a very difficult task even to the numismatists of Denmark and Sweden, who have opportunities of examining and comparing the multitude of specimens to be found in the great Northern Cabinets, and of course much more difficult to those of England, who do not possess such facilities. The Chevalier Thomsen of Copenhagen, Mr. Hildebrand of Stockholm, Mr. Holmboe of Christiania, and others, have thrown considerable light on this class of coins. The large work, published at Copen-

hagen in 1791, containing a description of the Danish coins in the Royal Collection at that capital, and the still more useful work of Lelewel, have accomplished a great deal; but the subject is one which requires more attention than any other of the numismatic class.

It would be useless without the help of engravings, to enter into any details with reference to the numerous coins figured in the tracings. It must, therefore, suffice to say, that many undoubtedly belong to the kings of Norway from the 10th to the 12th century, and to the kings of Denmark of the same period; of others, the attribution must for the present remain doubtful between Denmark and Norway; and some are prelatical. The reverses of some of them strongly resemble in pattern the reverses of some of the types of our Henry I., and certainly belong to the early part of the twelfth century. Many of the coins traced are given in the plates of the great Danish work already referred to, and are there placed among the uncertain. Mr. Lindsay thinks, however, that a close attention to the Northern coins, and a comparison between those which exhibit legends, and those which do not, may at length lead to an appropriation of the greater part of them; but few except Scandinavian numismatists are fitted for the task.

In addition to what was stated by Mr. Lindsay, Mr. Bergne remarked upon the resemblance of the reverses of some of the coins in the tracings to those of some types of our early kings. Among the solid coins, two resemble in reverse the Sceattas (Ruding, pl. ii. Nos. 27—37); the reverses of others are more or less similar to the coins of William I. or II. (Hawkins, No. 244), Henry I. (Nos. 255, 261), Stephen (Nos. 270—273), and to the coin (No. 284), conjecturally attributed to William the son of Stephen. Others, again, are something like the reverses of those coins of Edward the Elder and Athelstan, which bear a rude representation of buildings. The size of these coins is much less than that of English pennies.

Among the tracings are three coins of Eric, king of Northumberland, differing little from specimens in the British Museum.

On some coins of Harold Haardraade, killed in Northumberland

in 1066, the field is occupied by the trefoil ornament which occur on the coins of Anlaf and Regnald, and on the styca engraved in the Proceedings of the Numismatic Society for 1846-7, p. 3. The same symbol occurs also on one of the bracteates.

On several of the bracteates, the whole field is filled up by a pattern consisting of several circular involutions, apparently without meaning. On others, however, is an object bearing a clear resemblance to the head of a crosier; and by tracing this through several stages of deterioration, it may be inferred that the apparently unmeaning pattern is a barbarous representation of the same object, and that all this class of coins is prelatial.

Mr. Haggard exhibited an unpublished medal of William III. *Obv.*—Bust laureated in robes; MANET POST FVNERA VIRTVS. *Rev.*—An erect figure of Liberty, holding in her right hand the cap; in her left the hasta; NOBIS HÆC OTIA FECIT (1st of July, 1690). It was intended to commemorate the battle of the Boyne, of which that is the date. It is of silver-gilt, and cast.

Mr. Haggard exhibited also a medal of the Chevalier D'Eon, accompanied by a notice of that once celebrated individual, which is printed in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XI. p. 48.

JANUARY 27, 1848.

JOHN B. BERGNE, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced, and laid upon the table:—

PRESENTED BY	
A Chinese Numismatic Work, in 8 vols. small 8vo.	} LIEUTENANT FORBES, through WALTER HAWKINS, ESQ.
A lithographed print of a rude ancient silver decade ring.	
	} EDWARD HOARE, ESQ.

Mr. Charles Roach Smith exhibited:—1. A penny of Stephen, of base metal, having a reverse like the penny of Henry I. (Hawkins, No. 255), found in the Thames. 2. A coin of Carausius, an unpublished variety of the Pax type, and a brass coin of

Constantine the Great, of the quinarius size. *Rev.*—*Sapientia Principis*. Both found in Cripplegate churchyard. 3. A Secatta found in the Department of the Pas de Calais.

Mr. Vaux read a paper giving an account of a discovery of a considerable number of second brass Roman coins in August, 1847, in a quarry by the side of the road leading from Little Malvern to Ledbury. The coins were of the emperors Diocletian, Maximianus Hercules, Constantius Chlorus, Galerius Maximianus, and Maximinus Daza, and therefore fall between the years 286 and 311 of our era. Among the entire number inspected by Mr. Vaux, there was no coin remarkable either for peculiar rarity or for excellence of type. Mr. Vaux's paper is given in full in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XI. p. 19.

Mr. C. Roach Smith read a more detailed catalogue of the Roman large brass coins, the discovery of which at Chesterford, by the Hon. R. C. Neville, was reported at the last meeting. They comprise in the whole 194 specimens, from Claudius to Commodus. Among the reverses are several of considerable rarity, as, for instance, Trajan, R. the Circus; Hadrian, R. *Disciplina Aug.*, the Emperor followed by four soldiers; Antoninus Pius, R. *Rex Quadis datus*; Faustina, Sen., R. a biga of elephants; Aurelius, R. a bridge, over which the Emperor is passing, attended by five soldiers. As none of the coins were produced for inspection, no judgment could be formed as to the condition of these rare specimens. Mr. Neville states the earlier coins to be in general much worn, but those later in the series to be better preserved. It is, however, well known, that coins of this description are rarely found in a fine state in this country, the soil of which is not favourable to their conservation.

Dr. Löwe then read a paper entitled "Observations on a Kufic Gold Coin issued by Al-Aâmir beâkham Allah, Abû Ali Manzour ben Mustali, tenth Caliph of the Fatimite Dynasty, from the year 495 to 524 of the Hejira (A. D. 1101 to 1130)." The Fatimite Dynasty traced their origin to Fatima, the favourite daughter of Mohammed, and wife of Ali; and by reason of this they claimed,

in addition to the highest ecclesiastical dignity, temporal sovereignty over the professors of the Moslem faith. The Abbaside Caliphs strove by every means in their power to destroy the influence of the Fatimites, in consequence of which a war broke out between them; but the latter were the victors, and for a period of 270 years retained great power. They wrested from the Abbasides Africa Proper, Egypt, Syria, Diarbekr, the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina, and Yemen. The history of the Fatimite Caliphs is of great importance both to Mahomedan and Christian history. A Caliph of this dynasty was the founder of Cairo in the year 972 of the Christian era. Another was the originator of the Druze religion in the year 996. The predecessor of the Caliph who struck the coin produced by Dr. Löwe, after having taken Jerusalem by siege (A. D. 1096), was expelled from thence by Godfrey of Bouillon, who carried the city by storm (A. D. 1099); and when the Caliph sent a large force in order to dispossess the Crusaders of their acquisition, he was signally defeated by Godfrey at the battle of Ascalon. Al Aâmir, after his accession, carried on hostilities with the Crusaders with varying success; and was finally, after a reign of thirty years and eight months, murdered by a party belonging to a sect called the Bâtenites. A. H. 524 (A. D. 1130).

The coin is believed to be unique. It is of peculiarly neat execution, and the Kufic characters beautifully formed; in this respect it is far superior to other coins of the Fatimite dynasty. It bears legends in Arabic, which may be translated as follows:—

Obv.—Area. Pre-eminence upon him.

Inner Circle. There is no God but God; Mohammed is the friend of God; Ali is the friend of God.

Margin. Mohammed is the apostle of God; he has sent him with the directions and the religion of truth, that he may exalt the same above every other religion, and he holds the covenant of the Moslemin.

Rev.—Area. The victorious Imam.

Inner Circle. Abû Ali-Al-Aâmir bcâkham Allah, the prince of the faithful.

Margin. *In the name of the most merciful God, this dinar was struck in the City of Cahirah (Cairo) in the year eight. Weight 55 grains.*

The words "*Ali is the friend of God,*" in the inner circle of the obverse, were added to the usual Moslem declaration of faith by the Fatimite Caliphs, on account of their descent from Ali.

The date which the coin bears, "the year eight," occasions some difficulty. A new mint was established at New Cairo by Al-Aâmir, A. H. 516 (A. D. 1122), at which Dr. Löwe doubts not this coin was struck, as well on account of the superiority of its execution, as because the place of mintage is stated to be *Kahira* or New Cairo, while Old Cairo is always styled *Masr*. He therefore concludes that the year *eight* is put by way of abbreviation for *eighteen*; and that the coin was struck A. H. 518 (A. D. 1124); and this view is confirmed by the fact that no coin from the mint of New Cairo has ever been seen, as far as he is aware, of an earlier date.

FEBRUARY 24, 1848.

W. D. HAGGARD, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced, and laid upon the table:—

Description des Médailles Gauloises faisant partie des Collections de la Bibliothèque Royale, par Adolphe Duchalais. 8vo. pp. 487 and 4 plates. <i>Paris</i> , 1846.	} PRESENTED BY THE AUTHOR.
Lithograph of a marble bas relief head, portrait unknown, found at Pompeii, in 1842.	
	} EDWARD HOARE, Esq.

Mr. Burton exhibited twenty-eight coins of various dates and denominations, stated to have been found at Islington.

Mr. Jones exhibited a cast of an unpublished penny of Offa, in the Cabinet of the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. This coin, of

which a cut is given below, is in fine preservation, and adds another variety to the numerous types of Offa which are already known.



Read:—A paper by Mr. Haggard, in which, with reference to the commission recently issued by Government to Mr. Sheil, Mr. Cotton, Sir Edward Pine Coffin, and Colonel Forbes, to inquire into and report upon the constitution, management, and expense of the Mint, he adverts to the difficulty which has always existed in introducing into the Royal Mint any improvement either in the fabric or striking of the coins of the realm, by reason of the constitution of the Establishment allowing the pecuniary interests of the moneyers to interfere with that object. Mr. Haggard added some extracts from a book written by Thomas Violet of London, Goldsmith, printed by William Du Gard, Anno 1653, containing many observations on the state of the Mint in the time of the Commonwealth. Violet charges various abuses upon the Mint, such as an undue allowance to the master for waste, making the coins of unequal weight, in consequence of which the heaviest were picked out for re-melting, sometimes even by the moneyers themselves, and the public defrauded by the light ones only being put into circulation. He also gives an account of the proposition of Peter Blondeau, the French artist who engraved and struck the beautiful pattern pieces which are known by his name, for striking the coinage with the mill and screw, and relates how the Mint officers were then, as now, strong enough to defeat the attempt at improvement. They got the poor artist's instruments seized, and even threatened him with an indictment for high treason, hinting in no obscure terms a desire to use personal violence towards him themselves. The following curious passage is given in Violet's book as an extract from a memorial of the Committee of the Mint: "Since " which time, that is to say, about the month of January 1652, the

“ before-named Peter Blondeau, seeing he escaped so long without
 “ punishment, and without our calling him to account legally, both
 “ for his first libel and for his counterfeiting of shillings, sixpences,
 “ and half-crowns, which the said Peter Blondeau falsely and
 “ traitorously caused to be made at a private house in the Strand,
 “ contrary to the known laws and statutes of this Nation, not having
 “ a commission under the great seal of England ; for which offences
 “ we humbly desire the State that we may file an indictment against
 “ the said Peter Blondeau, or that we may have the said Peter
 “ Blondeau to run the gauntlet once about the Mint, where if he ever
 “ could run it twice, we would give him leave to libel against us all
 “ the days of his life afterwards.”

Read—A letter from Mr. C. Roach Smith to the Treasurer, containing the result of an examination of about 1200 Roman third brass coins, part of a large hoard said to have been found near Lyons, and to have amounted in number to 12,000. The coins examined are chiefly of Constantine the Great, Crispus, Constantine II., and Constantius II. There are a few of Claudius Gothicus, Maximinus Daza, Maxentius, and Licinius Senior and Junior ; and many of the *Urbs Roma* and *Constantinopolis* types. The reverses are, with scarcely a single exception, of the most ordinary types. The places of mintage, indicated by the exergual letters, which shew many curious varieties, are for the most part Treves and Lyons. A few specimens read in the exergue PLON, and these are of so marked a character in comparison with those which read PLG and SLG, which undoubtedly are of the Lyons mint, that there can be little doubt of their having been struck in the mint of London.

Mr. Akerman exhibited a large brass coin of the elder Faustina, in the cabinet of Dr. John Lee, on the reverse of which is the figure of a woman sacrificing perfumes on a small altar ; legend, PIETAS. The type, though common, has been overlooked by the English antiquary, but is remarkable for the shape of the acerra held by the figure, which is identically that of the beautiful enamelled vase found in the Bartlow Tumuli.

MARCH 23, 1848.

JOHN B. BERGNE, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq., of No. 3, Cumberland-terrace, Regent's Park, was balloted for, and elected a Member of the Society.

Read—A letter from Francis Benthall, Esq., sending for exhibition three Indian coins which were found in a water-course at Kamftree, in Central India.

Read—A paper by Mr. W. Binley Dickinson, of Leamington, on the silver coinage of Siam, a specimen of which, called a Tekal or Tickall, weighing $226\frac{1}{2}$ grains, accompanied the communication. Mr. Dickinson's paper is inserted in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XI. page 40, with a wood-cut of the coin, which is also given below.



In shape and size, the coin, it will be perceived, is not unlike a hazel-nut, having the top notched or cleft. Mr. Dickinson considers this irregularly globular form to be the remains of a shape of bullion money used before the invention of coinage. The earliest coins which have descended to our times are remarkable for a bossy semicircular shape; and what could be more easy than the transition from a globular marked lump of bullion, like the Siamese coin, to the bossy drachms and didrachms of *Ægina*? Mr. Dickinson concluded by remarking upon the singular coincidence between the understood name of the Siamese

coin *Tekal*, with the word *Tekel* in the Book of Daniel chap. v. verse 27, which it is there stated means to *weigh*, the same idea as is conveyed by the Hebrew word *Shekel*, and the Greek word *Stater*.

APRIL 27, 1848.

PROFESSOR WILSON, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Richard Cornwallis Neville, F.S.A., of Audley End, Essex, was balloted for, and elected a Member of the Society.

Mons. Adolphe Duchalais, Member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of France, was balloted for, and elected an Associate.

Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq., (elected 23rd of March), was duly admitted a Member of the Society.

Read—A paper by Mr. Borrell, of Smyrna, on certain unedited Greek coins, of Apollonia, in Chalcidice; Pylacæum, in Phrygia; Naulochus, in Ionia; Baratea, in Lycaonia; and Tarphea, in Locride. This paper will appear in full in the Numismatic Chronicle.

Mr. Akerman exhibited drawings of some gold British coins, believed to be unpublished, recently found at Farley Heath, near Guildford, and also of a coin of Carausius, having a double profile on the obverse. The British coins formed a small part of the find, the bulk of which had been ignorantly consigned to the melting-pot. The heads on the coin of Carausius are arranged like those on the money of William and Mary, but looking the contrary way. One of them is the usual portrait of Carausius himself; the other, which is crowned with rays, Mr. Akerman considers to be intended for the head of Apollo, or the sun. Mr. C. Roach Smith, who had seen the coin itself from which the drawing was taken, corroborated that opinion, and said that in the coin there was to be perceived resting on the shoulder of the figure with radiated head, a whip, the well-known symbol of the sun.

Mr. Cuff exhibited some forged Stycas of rare types, cleverly executed, which had been sent to him from Suffolk, and which were

pronounced to be the work of a set of swindlers, who are carrying on a trade (sometimes too successful) in counterfeit ancient coins.

Mr. C. Roach Smith exhibited two ancient casts, in lead, of Nero and Aurelius, of the second brass size. Specimens of this kind are of rare occurrence.

MAY 25, 1848.

JOHN B. BERGNE, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

Some Greek copper coins, presented by Mr. William Hardy, were laid upon the table for examination.

Mr. Burton exhibited a cast of a copper coin of Cunobeline, found near Norwich.

Obv.—The bearded head of Jupiter Ammon; CVNOBELIN.

Rev.—An equestrian figure holding a large round shield; below CAM. Size 3.

The obverse of this coin is very similar to that engraved in Akerman's "Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes," pl. xxiv. No. 5, but it differs in reverse from the latter, which bears a lion couchant. It is now in the British Museum.

W. D. Saull, Esq., H. L. Tovey, Esq., and John Wilkinson, Esq., were appointed auditors of the Society's accounts for the present session.

ANNUAL MEETING.

JUNE 15, 1848.

JOHN B. BERGNE, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

THE Report of the Council was read, as follows:—

The Council of the Numismatic Society, in presenting their Eleventh Annual Report, have to lament the loss by death of four of its members since the last anniversary:—The Marquis of Bute; the Rev. Lowry Guthrie; Mr. Henry Stothard; and the Rev. Thomas Smart Hughes.

The last named gentleman having been known to the world as a

traveller and an author, the Council conceive it will be gratifying to the Society to receive some details as to his life and works. He was born in the year 1785, and received his academical education at St. John's College, Cambridge, of which he became a Fellow. He afterwards was elected Tutor of Trinity Hall, and a Fellow of Emanuel. While in Cambridge he distinguished himself by gaining, in 1806, the prize for a Latin Ode on the death of Nelson; in the following year that for a Greek Ode on the death of Pitt; and in 1809 and 1810 prizes for Latin Essays. He next was chosen one of the Masters of Harrow School, under Dr. Butler, the present Dean of Peterborough. In 1812, he went abroad as tutor with Mr. Townley Parker, and travelled in Italy, Sicily, Albania, Greece, and Spain; and on his return to England published, in 1820, the well-known account of his travels, a second edition of which was called for in 1830. In 1822 he was elected Christian Advocate of the University of Cambridge; and in that capacity published several tracts, chiefly on the Socinian Controversy, in reply to the publications of Belsham, Gamaliel Smith, and Higgins. He held for a time the appointment of one of the Whitehall Preachers; was Chaplain to Dr. Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough; and in 1827 succeeded the Bishop of Rochester as one of the Canons of Peterborough Cathedral. He obtained, in right of his canonry, the living of Fiskerton, in Lincolnshire, which he resigned on being presented to the perpetual curacy of Edgware, which, with his canonry, he continued to hold till his death, in August, 1847. Besides the works which have been already mentioned, he published lives of some of the chief English divines, Barrow, South, Jeremy Taylor, etc; a Life of George III., as a continuation of Hume and Smollett, for the edition published by Valpy; Belshazzar's Feast, an English prize poem, in 1818; an address to the People of England on the cause of the Greeks, in 1822; Considerations upon the Greek Revolution, in 1823; an Analysis of Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy, and a Syllabus of Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, in the way of question and answer, both works designed for the use of students of the Universities, and issued in 1824. Mr. Hughes left a

family of four daughters, and one son, who is one of the attachés to Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople. He was brother-in-law to Dr. Monk, the present Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, who married his sister. His classical education, and subsequent visit to Greece, inspired him with a taste for the study of Greek coins, of which he had made a considerable collection.

The two following gentlemen have been elected members during the session.

Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq., of Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park.

The Hon. Richard Cornwallis Neville, of Audley End, Essex.

Two foreign Associates have also been elected—

Mr. Bror Emil Hildebrand, the keeper of the Royal Museum, at Stockholm, whose able and laborious work on the Anglo-Saxon coins in that collection, was commemorated in the Report of the Council last year; and Mons. Adolphe Duchalais, Member of the Society of Antiquaries of France.

The number of members who have resigned or withdrawn during the past year, is nine. From some of them, however, the Society has received nothing in the shape of pecuniary support for some years past.

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Associates.	Total.
Members } June, 1837 }	51	72	1	46	170
Since elected	—	2	—	2	4
	51	74	1	48	174
Deceased	—	4	—	—	4
Resigned or withdrawn	3	6	—	—	9
Present number	48	64	1	48	161

Annexed is the annual statement of the finances of the Society, prepared by the Treasurer, and audited by Mr. Tovey and Mr. Wilkinson, two of the auditors named at the last meeting. It will be observed, that the balance in hand is now only £56 9s. 10d., while at the corresponding period last year it was £77 3s. 10d. This diminution has been caused by the payment of the sum of £25 12s.

for the cost of engraving additional illustrations for the Numismatic Chronicle during the last two or three years, chiefly the expensive plates which accompanied the valuable series of papers on the coins of the Patan Sultans, contributed by Mr. Thomas. This is an item of expence which will not occur in a future year to anything like the amount paid during the past year ; and the Council hope, by an effort to recover the arrears of subscriptions which, notwithstanding all their endeavours, they are unable altogether to avoid, and to which the auditors have called their special attention, to make up the extra expenditure of the year now closed.

The following communications have been read at the meetings of the Society:—

1, 2, 3. Papers by Mr. Haggard: On two medals struck in Holland in the reign of Charles II., to commemorate the failure of an attempt made by a British squadron to capture a fleet of Dutch Indiamen in the harbour of Bergen, in Norway. On a medal of the Chevalier d'Eon. On the mint in the time of the Commonwealth.

4. Remarks by Mr. Lindsay, of Maryville, near Cork, on tracings of a quantity of bracteate and solid coins of Denmark and Norway, of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, lately discovered in Norway.

5. A paper by Mr. Vaux, giving an account of a discovery of Roman coins at Little Malvern, in Worcestershire.

6. A paper by Dr. Löwe, on a unique gold coin struck at Cairo by the tenth Caliph of the Fatimite dynasty.

7. A paper by Mr. W. Binley Dickinson, on a remarkable coin of the kingdom of Siam.

8. A paper by Mr. Borrell, of Smyrna, on various unedited Greek coins.

9. A descriptive list of Roman large brass coins discovered at Chesterford by the Hon. Richard Cornwallis Neville.

10. A descriptive list of a quantity of Roman third brass coins, part of a large hoard found near Lyons.

Several of these communications have appeared in full in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle; and of the remainder some account will be given in the printed Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society.

The following Presents have been received by the Society from its Members and Friends:—

M. Dumersan,

His description of the coins termed *Cistophori*, in the Public Collection of France.

M. Duchalais,

His description of the Gaulish Medals in the same Collection.

M. Köhne,	Various publications and tracts on Continental Antiquities and Numismatics.	
M. Bartholomæi,	Three tracts on the Coins of Bactria, of Babylonia, and of the Sassanides.	
M. Serrure,	Account of the Cabinet of Medals of the Prince de Ligne.	
Prince Theophilus Gagarin,	A tract on some unedited Papal Medals.	
Dr. Schröder,	A Description of some of the Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Museum of Upsal.	
Dr. Dorn,	A Description of a Silver vase discovered on the Estates of Count Strogonoff.	
The Royal Academy of Sciences and Fine Arts of Belgium,	The Publications of the Society.	
The Society of Antiquaries of Picardy,	Ditto	ditto.
The Numismatic Society of Berlin,	Ditto	ditto.
The Royal Asiatic Society,	Ditto	ditto.
The British Archæological Association,	Ditto	ditto.
The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,	Ditto	ditto.
Mr. C. Roach Smith,	Continuation of the Nos. of his work entitled " <i>Collectanea Antiqua</i> ."	
Lieut. Forbes and Mr. Walter Hawkins,	A Chinese work on the Coins of that country, in 8 vols.	
Mr. E. Hoare,	Lithographs of an ancient decade ring, and of a marble bust found at Pompeii.	

To these details the Council have, on the present occasion, little to add. As far as they can judge, the taste for numismatic pursuits appears to partake of the impulse which has of late years been given in this country to the study of every branch of antiquities. They trust that the Members will, by their attendance at the meetings of the Society, by the contribution of papers and of remarkable coins for exhibition, and by the introduction of new Members, continue to maintain the Society in vigour, and to keep up the interest which its meetings and publications have hitherto excited among numismatists both in this country and on the Continent.

The Report was received, and ordered to be printed.

Thanks were voted to the officers of Council for the past year; and the meeting then proceeded to ballot for the list for the year ensuing. The ballot-box having been closed and delivered to the scrutineers, they reported that the election had fallen upon the following gentlemen:—

President.

WILLIAM DEBONAIRE HAGGARD, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.A.S.

Vice Presidents.

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HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, Esq., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., *Boden Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford.*

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Foreign Secretary.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A.

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HUGH WELCH DIAMOND, Esq., F.S.A.

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HENRY LAYCOCKE TOVEY, Esq.

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