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THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF
THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.





THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE
 AND
JOURNAL
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ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EDITED BY

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CONSEILLER AU MINISTRE DE L'INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE

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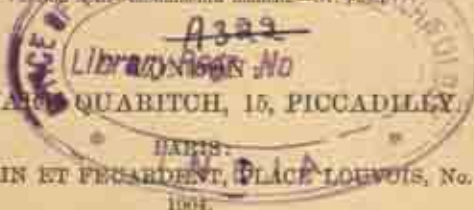
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Facsimile of the obverse of a Roman aureus. — Ob. Faustina



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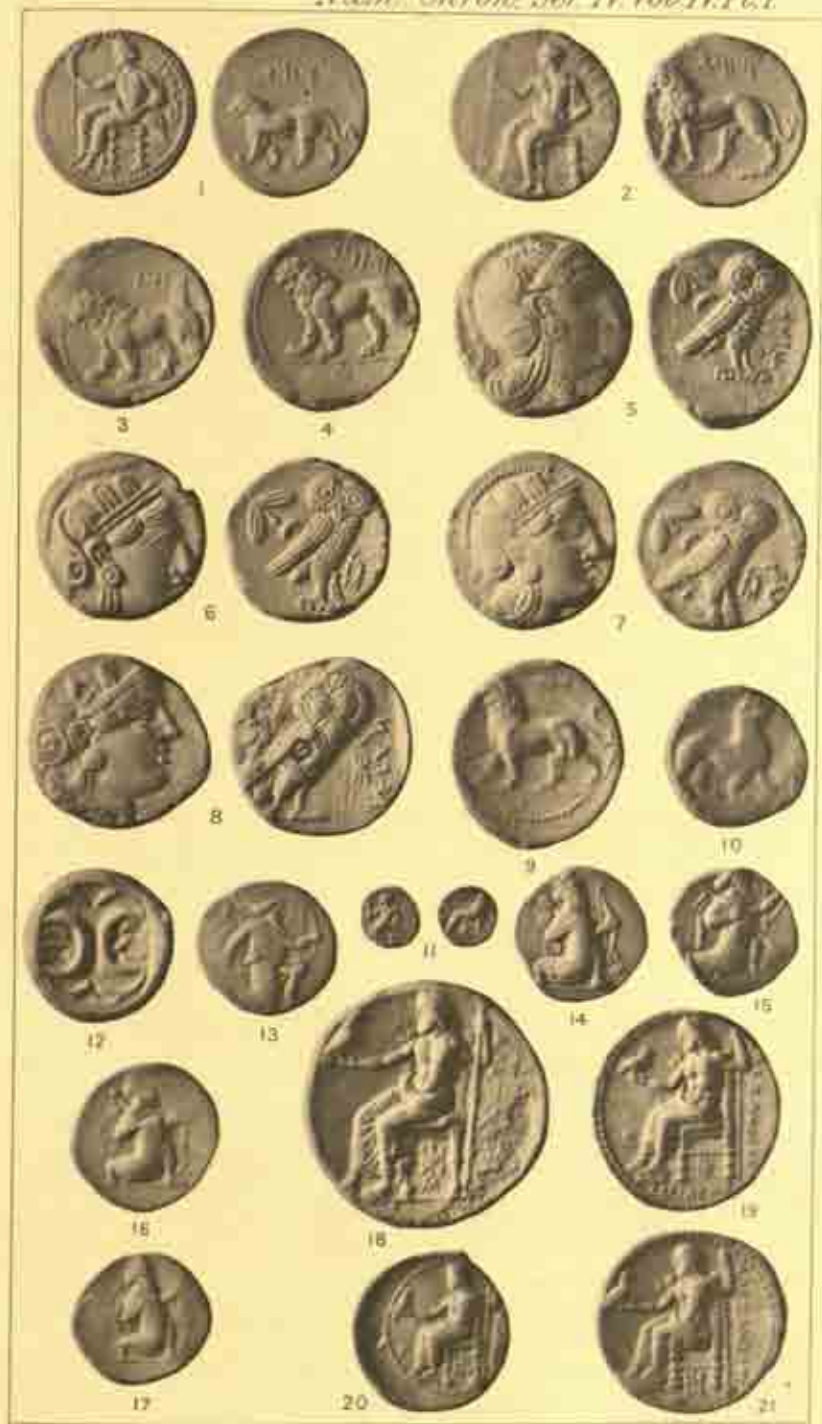
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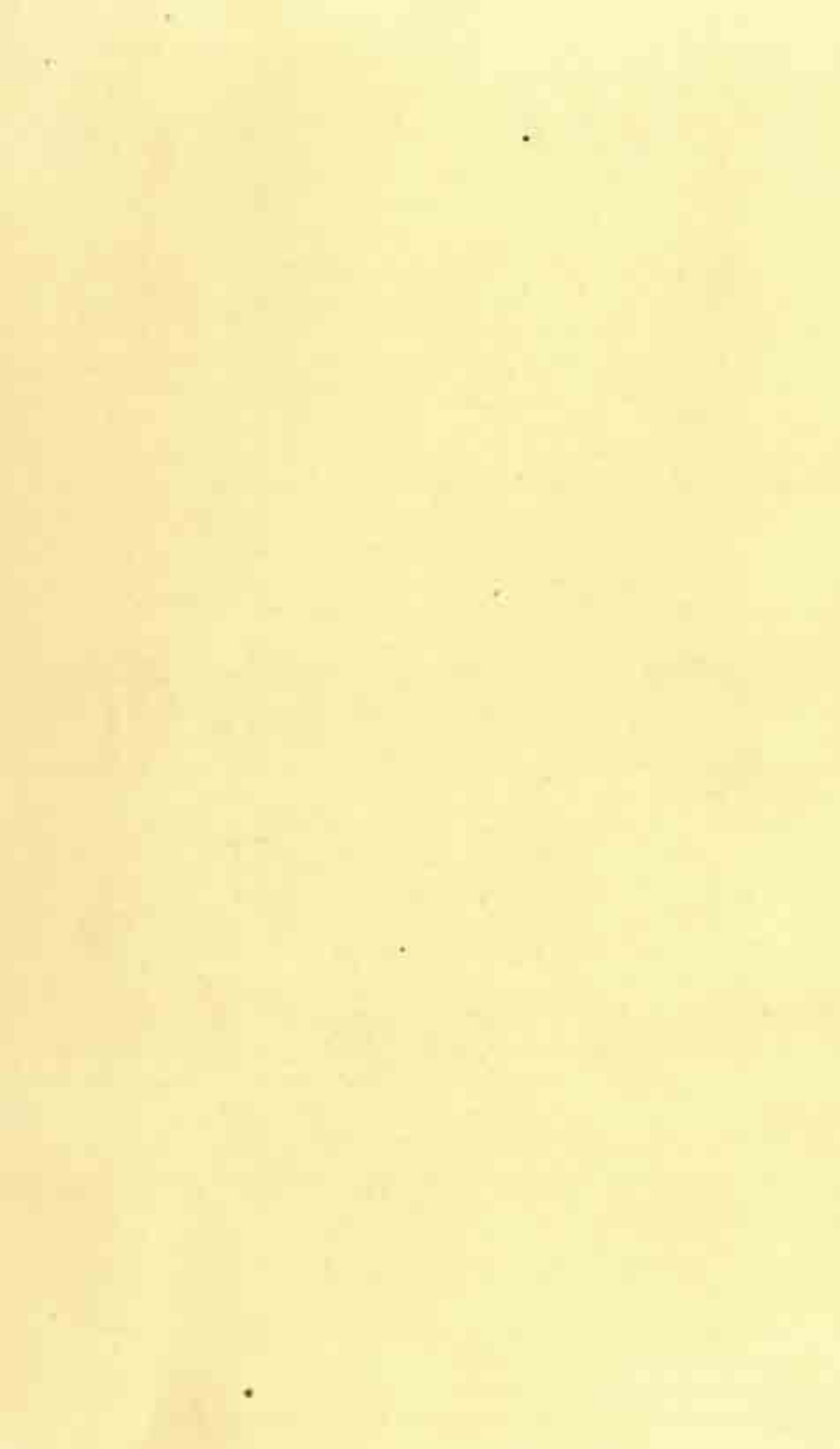
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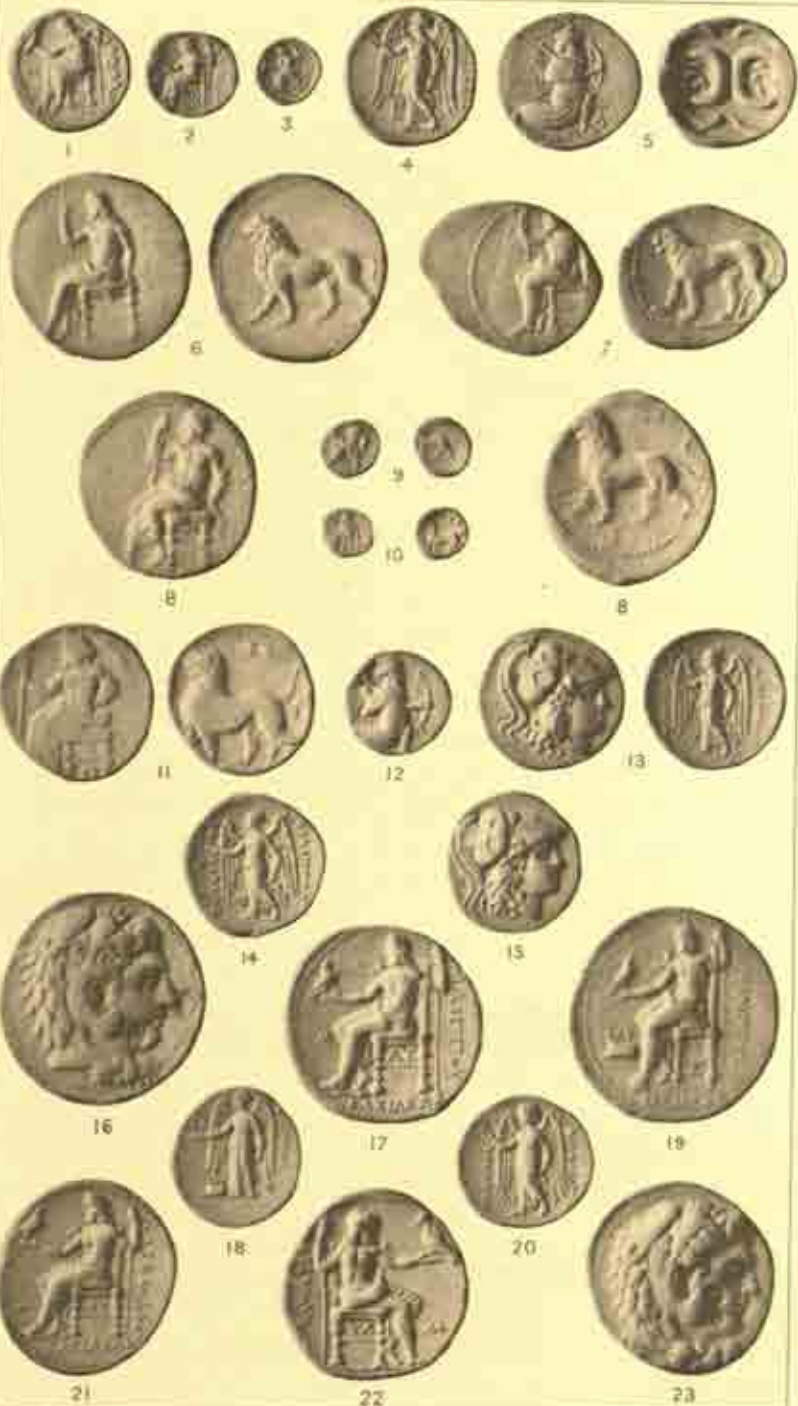
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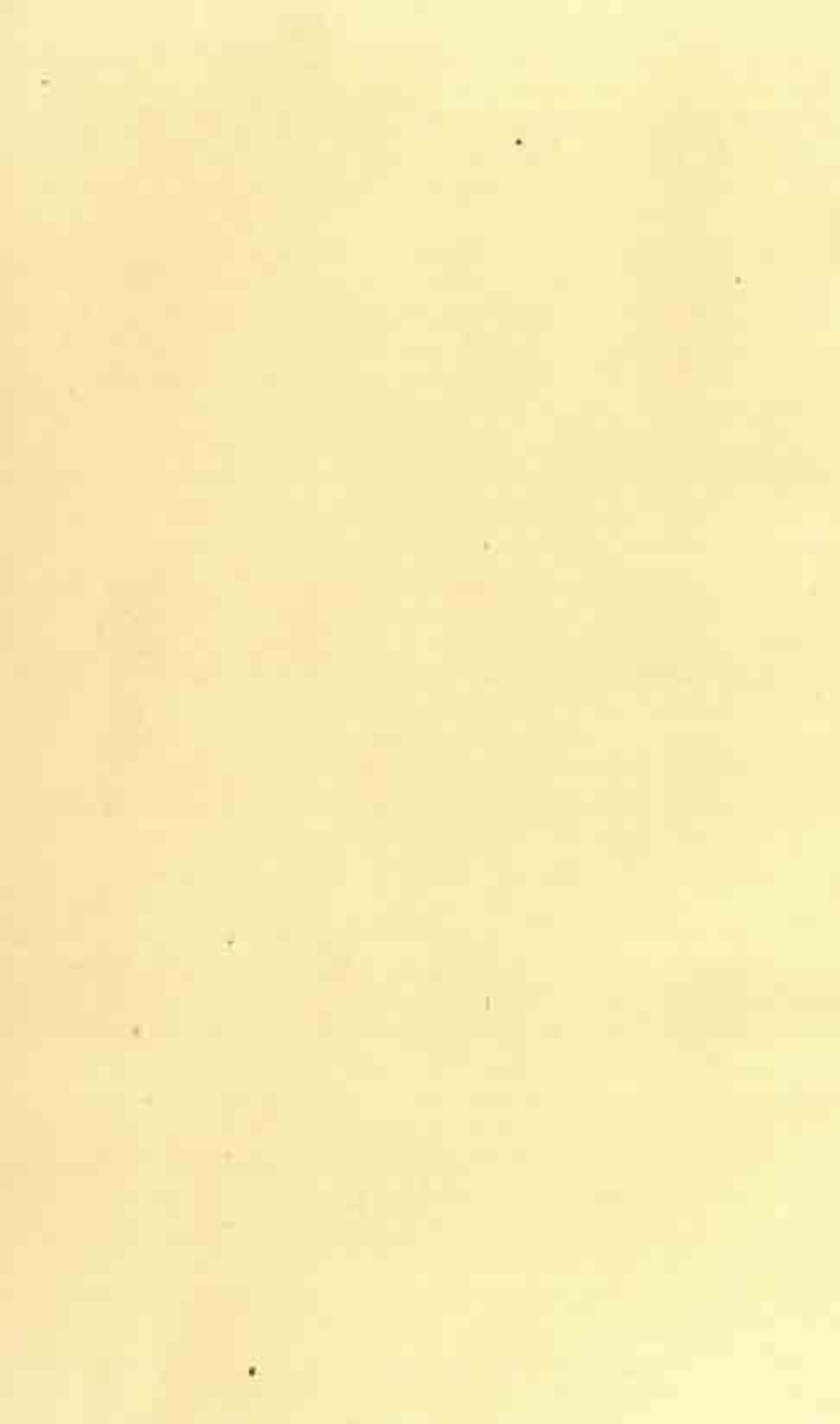


COINS ATTRIBUTED TO BABYLON.





COINS. ATTRIBUTED TO BABYLON.





1



2



4



5



6



3



7



8



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10



11



12



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14



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18



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20



21

I.

SOME COINS ATTRIBUTED TO BABYLON BY DR. IMHOOF-BLUMER.

(See Plates I-III.)

The battle of Issos was fought, according to Arrian, in November 333 B.C. It decided the fate of Asia Minor, including Cilicia (Arrian, *Anab.*, II., 11, 10). The Satrap of Cilicia and Syria, Mazda, or, as the Greeks called him, Mazaïos, had ruled there for many years almost as an independent sovereign, and coined money in his own name there without any mention of the Great King on the coins. He is called a friend of Darius by Diodorus, but it would seem that at this time he had been displaced from the satrapy of Cilicia in favour of Arsames, and had apparently withdrawn into the other half of his satrapy, namely that of Syria. With the contingent of Syria he was present at the great muster of the Persian army on the plains of Babylon in the following year (Arrian, III., 1 sqq.).

When Darius posted his forces at some distance from Arbela he put Mazaïos on guard on the Euphrates with several thousand men (*id.*, 7, 2). On the approach of Alexander he hastily withdrew. The famous battle which decided the fate of Asia, generally called the battle of Arbela, was really fought at Gaugameles on the Boumodos (Arrian, III., 8, 7, and VI., II, 5), which Droysen identifies

with Kermelis, on the stream known as Hazna Dere (*Geogr. Anzeiger*, L, 330). Mazaïos commanded the advanced posts of the Persian army, which retired upon the main body on the approach of the Macedonian army. He played an effective part in the battle which followed, and especially punished the Thessalian cavalry. The fateful fight, generally called the battle of Arbela, but more rightly that of Gangameles, took place about the 1st of October 331 B.C. After the battle, Mazaïos, who had fought harder than any of the Persian commanders for his master, threw himself into Babylon, which since the time of Darius Hystaspis had been the real metropolis of the Persian world, and which was defended by gigantic walls and an intricate series of canals. But such a place under the conditions was really untenable, and a prolonged resistance would have meant no doubt a terrible punishment. What happened was that when Alexander's army drew near, the gates were thrown open, and the citizens came out bearing crowns of flowers and rich presents. The Chaldean priests, with the Persian officials, went to meet the conqueror, and Mazaïos surrendered the town, the citadel and the treasures to him.

With uncommon prudence and wisdom Alexander nominated Mazaïos Satrap of Babylon, as he similarly nominated Mithrines, the former Satrap of Sardis, to the satrapy of Armenia, and thus, as Droysen says, secured the adhesion to his cause of a large number of Persian *grandees*. The post was a difficult one for a Macedonian to fill under any circumstances, and Mazaïos, whose native tongue was Aramaic, closely akin to the Aramaic speech which was the language of Babylon at this time, and who had administered two difficult provinces for many years, was excellently fitted for the task, while his

surrender of Babylon precluded his chance of being again taken into favour if the fortunes of his late master should revive.

Meanwhile Alexander took care to surround him with a watchful guard in case he should prove to be disloyal to him. The collection of the tribute was assigned to a Macedonian, namely, Asclepiodorus. A strong Macedonian garrison was placed in the citadel of Babylon under Agathon, the brother of Parmenion, while the troops in actual garrison in the satrapy were confided to Apollodotus of Amphipolis (Droysen, I., 348).

Arrian sometimes calls Mazaïos Satrap and sometimes Hyparch of Babylon (*op. cit.*, III., 16, 4, and IV., 18, 3).

He held his satrapy till his death in the year 328-7 B.C., a good proof of the confidence Alexander felt in him, and of his prudent career.

According to Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, in a well known paper published in the seventeenth volume of the *Num. Zeit.*, Mazaïos as Satrap of Babylon issued a series of coins with his name on them. This attribution to Babylon was not always urged by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer. In his *Monnaies Grecques* he held a different opinion about them, and it is to this earlier opinion of the distinguished numismatist I propose to return, for the attribution of these coins to Babylon seems to me to involve so many difficulties that it is virtually impossible.

Primâ facie it seems incredible that Alexander should have permitted one of his satraps, and that a Persian, and not one of his well-tried Macedonians, not in an obscure place, but in the metropolis of the empire, where, so far as we know, coined money was not then current, to issue coins in the satrap's own name, and without any reference on them of any kind to the great conqueror.

This would be so contrary to his practice and so imprudent that I cannot for a moment believe it to have been possible.

Secondly, the coins in question themselves bear neither the name nor the initial of Babylon on them, while they are purely of Cilician fabric, and have been attributed to another place by inference, and merely because they are struck on the Attic standard.

Thirdly, these coins bear on them the Cilician Baal, who was an unknown divinity at Babylon, with his name duly recorded in Aramaic characters, and it would surely have seemed among the ancients a grave indecency to introduce the provincial god of Cilicia on the coinage of Babylon, where he was unknown and unworshipped. To suppose that a god could be thus utilised as a sort of private mark of the satrap is to utterly mistake the whole sacred meaning of the divinity on the coinage. To suppose also that the Macedonians would initiate a coinage in their new capital and place on it an obscure provincial god seems fantastic.

Fourthly, on more than one coin with the name of Mazaces in Aramaic characters, which has reached us, we have on the obverse the Athenian type of Pallas' head, which had become so well known throughout the Greek world from the widespread distribution of the Athenian coinages, and which was also foreign to Babylon.

Lastly, inasmuch as a silver coinage was previously unknown at Babylon, as was the Attic system of weights, if these coins were meant for anybody it must have been for the Greek garrison, who would not be able to read inscriptions in Aramaic.

For these overwhelming reasons I cannot agree with

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's attribution of these coins to Babylon, and we have to find some other explanation of them. It seems to me that they were necessarily struck before Mazaios became Satrap of Babylon, and while he was still under his Persian overlord in Cilicia, where he had long reigned, not as an ordinary satrap, but as a dependent king like Maussolos and others who were allowed to strike coins.

My explanation of it is, that these coins, unlike those which he struck for circulation in Cilicia itself, which were of another standard, were struck expressly to pay the Greek mercenaries, who would be accustomed to coins of another standard, just as a similar coinage was struck to pay the same kind of *condottieri* in the time of Artaxerxes III, as I showed in a previous paper (*Num. Chron.*, 1903, p. 1 f.), and just as coins of the Phoenician seaboard were similarly struck by Mazaios himself. It is of course well known that Darius in his struggle with Alexander was assisted by a large Greek fleet under the command of Memnon, which gained some successes, and which on the death of Memnon in 338 B.C. passed under the command of his nephew Pharnabazus, the son of Artabazus, who also won some successes and notably at Mitylene. On the death of Memnon, the mercenaries under the command of Pharnabazus were transported to Syria and Phoenicia (Arrian, II, 2, 1, and 13, 2).

The Great King, having on the advice of his counsellors determined to march at the head of his army into Asia Minor, Pharnabazus, the nephew of Memnon, to whom the command of the fleet had been entrusted, was ordered to collect as many Greek mercenaries as possible and to land them at Tripolis in Phoenicia, whither Thymondas, the son of Mentor, was sent to take charge

of them (Arrian, *Anab.*, XI., 2, 1; XIII., 2, 2; Curtius, III., 3, 1; 8, 1; and 9, 2).

At the battle of Issos there fought on the Persian side 30,000 of these mercenaries under the special command of the Akarnanian Bianor and the Thessalian Aristomedes.

M. Six argues with considerable force that in order to pay these Greek mercenaries the Satraps of Cilicia and Phoenicia, and the Satrap of Egypt, the nearest to the seat of war, would be ordered to issue a sufficient amount of coin. I would add that, being Greeks, they would be accustomed to the use of coins of Attic weight, and would need therefore a special issue of coins of that weight; and I would urge, as M. Six did, that the explanation of the money of Mazaïos of Attic weight is that it was issued to pay the Greek mercenaries of Darius while Mazaïos still had authority in Syria.

These coins are directly copied from the issues of Persic standard made by the same satrap in Cilicia, as is universally admitted. The antitype of our coins, numbered 61 in the catalogue of the coins of Tarsus by Mr. Hill, is represented in Pl. I., 1, of the present paper. The two special features of it are that Baal holds the lotus-headed sceptre at arm's length, and has his two feet uncrossed, the right foot being a little in advance of the other, while the left arm is partly covered with the himation, with the hand resting on the hip. The lion on the reverse is walking on a flat surface. In all these respects, and in having no Greek letters or symbols in the field, we have a coin of Attic standard in the B.M. from the Montagu collection, weighing 265 grs. [Pl. I., 2]. A similar coin is in the French collection (Babelon, *Perses Achém.*, No. 285), and weighs 17 grms. 20.


Another specimen of this coin is figured by De Luynes from his own collection (*Num. des Satrapes*, etc., Pl. X., 23), and weighs 16 grms. 30. De Luynes has read the letter K between the lion's legs. I believe it to be merely a defect in the coin; such defects occur in others. It would be quite a unique thing to find a letter in such a position and not in the exergue, where it always occurs. A variety of the same coin represents the lion walking on what looks like a serpent, but which M. Babelon thinks is a mere sinuous line to show broken ground (Babelon, 282). It weighs 17 grms. 20 [see PL I., 3]. De Luynes figures a similar coin from the Vienna collection, weighing 16 grms. 73, and another from his own, weighing 17 grms. 30 (see De Luynes, IX., 20, 21). Similar coins of the ordinary Cilician standard also occur with this sinuous ground line (Hill, *Cat.*, Pl. XXXI., 5, 6). Another form of this coin has the same type on the obverse and reverse, but has a wreath in the exergue under the lion. The specimen in the Museum weighs 264.5 grs. [see PL I., 4]. A similar specimen in the French collection weighs 17 grms. 10 (see Babelon, *Perses Achém.*, 284, Pl. VI., 21).

All these Attic coins have, like their prototypes of Cilician standard, Aramaic legends on both sides representing the names Mazaios and Baaltars. In regard to them De Luynes has some judicious remarks. He says the weight of the coins at Tarsus changes at this time, and the Greek tetradrachm becomes the standard of the Cilician money. Legends also become very defective, especially that on the obverse representing the name Baaltars, while that on the other side remains quite good. The outline of the coins also becomes very irregular. On No. 20, Plate IX., the word $\beta \bar{\alpha} \tau \alpha \rho$ has become very

careless, and on No. 24 the π of $\pi\tau\tau$ is formed almost like α (*op. cit.*, 60).

I ought here to insert three coins of quite a different type, but also derived as to their legend from those above-mentioned. They were probably also issued by Mazaios or under his influence before he went to Babylon, and to pay other contingents of the same troops. These coins are imitations of Athenian tetradrachms, and also consist of more than one variety.

I.—*Obv.* Head of helmeted Athene to the right, carelessly designed; no legend. *Rev.* Owl facing to the right; olive branch and crescent in the field [see **Pl. I.**, 5]. In front of the owl is the name of Mazaios in Aramaic letters and \odot in the field (the meaning of which I do not know); weight 249.2 grs. The provenance of this coin is unknown. It is curious that while M. Six attributes this and other coins of the class to an eastern mint, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer does not refer to them at all in his paper. It seems incredible to me that Alexander should have permitted Mazaios to issue such coins in his lifetime, and the fact of there existing such very divergent types with his name on them, viz. imitations of the coins of Athens and Tarsus, points to their issue having been to meet a special emergency. II. A second specimen has a more careless bust of Athene on the obverse, and has in addition to the name of Mazaios on the reverse the symbol \boxplus which, as Mr. Head says, is very like a Himyaritic letter. It weighs 16 grms. 95, and passed from the Imhoof-Blumer collection into the Berlin Museum. It is well figured by Im.-Bl., *Choix*, Pl. V., No. 277 [see **Pl. I.**, 6]. This coin came from near Tebriz in Persia. It is interesting and remarkable for our purpose that it should have occurred with coins of Cilicia, namely, of

Mallos, Tiribazes, Datames, etc., as well as with coins from other places, and I quite agree with Dr. Imhoof-Blumer when he says: "Il faut se garder de faire dépendre du lieu de provenance seul, l'attribution de monnaies incertaines" (*Monn. Grecques*, 369, 370). III. A third specimen, differing somewhat in style, is represented in the British Museum by a cast. Its obverse has the head of Pallas as on the previous coins, but of a somewhat flatter fabric. On the reverse beside the olive leaves and crescent to the left of the owl we have remains of the name of Mazaios with the same enigmatic symbol (? a Himyaritic letter) as on the last coin , and the letters ΞΥ [Pl. I., 7], the explanation of which I do not see my way to suggest. What is clear is that these coins have nothing to do with Babylon.

It is curious and suggestive that after I had written the foregoing remarks I found that Mr. Head, in discussing the first of the last three described coins, had come to the same conclusion as myself about it. He says of it: "These copies of Attic tetradrachms were probably issued for the payment of the Greek and other mercenary troops raised by Mazaios during the final efforts of the Persians to resist the advance of Alexander" (*Hist. Num.*, p. 616). I would in fact extend this excellent conclusion to the whole series above-described. A further confirmation of this conclusion is to be found in a series of coins first published and elucidated by M. Six (see *Num. Chr.*, 1888, p. 132, etc.), also copies of the same Athenian tetradrachms, also of Attic weight and containing Aramaic inscriptions, three of which were found in Egypt and one at Beyrout. M. Six has discussed the legend on these coins, of which he describes nine examples (*ib.*, p. 133). I figure one from the British

Museum [Pl. I., 8]. In addition to the name it has a crescent and fulmen in the field. M. Six reads the inscription on them as *Sevikhos* or *Sebikhos*, and very ingeniously argues that this person was no other than the *Sabaktes* or *Sabakes* who, according to *Arrian* and *Curtius* (*Arrian* II., 11, 1; *Curtius*, III., 11, 10 and IV., 1, 28), was Satrap of Egypt, and was killed at the battle of Issos. *Diodorus* has corrupted his name into *Tasiakes*. As M. Six says, the style of the coins is precisely like that of the Athenian tetradrachms, which Mr. Head dates before 322 B.C., and he agrees that they formed part of the same issue, and are explained by the same circumstances as that of the Attic coinage of *Mazaios* already mentioned, namely, the payment of the Greek mercenaries of *Darius*. M. Six argues that this last series was probably struck at Tripolis, where there was no doubt a considerable mint, and was struck hurriedly. This is confirmed by the fact that while their types are good the inscriptions on some of the coins are barely legible. As M. Six says, "*La légende, tracée d'abord en caractères très réguliers et bien formés, devient à la fin si cursive qu'elle n'est lisible qu'en la comparant à celle des émissions antérieures*" (*op. cit.*, 133 and 134). On two of these coins in addition to that of *Sebikhos* are two other names, read by M. Six as *ⲧⲟ* or *ⲧⲟ* and *ⲡⲓ* (?), and he suggests they are the names of the quaestors whose duty it was actually to pay the mercenaries (*id.*, 137).

Let us now turn to some other coins with the same type of *Baal* on them, but having no legends and only marked by symbols. They also have a somewhat different form of lion, with his head more erect and his tail held somewhat aloft. One of these which I recently gave to the British Museum has a spear-head over the lion.

It weighs 254·6 gra. [Pl. I, 9]. It is of very lumpy fabric, and the silver looks base, like many others of these coins, which accounts for so many of them having chisel cuts to test their purity. A similar coin is in the Berlin collection, and is figured by Imhoof-Blumer, *Nam. Zeit.*, XXVII., Pl. I, 2. This also has a lance-head in the field above the lion. Another, also with the same type of Baal, the lion's head being held very high, is figured by De Luynes from the Vienna collection (*op. cit.*, Pl. IX., 17). It weighs 16 grms. 94, and has a thunderbolt over the lion. The thunderbolt was a widely spread badge. A third tetradrachm, which I have also given to the British Museum, has the same type of Baal, and has no symbol or letter on it, but has the unique feature that the lion is turned the reverse way. It weighs 255 grs., and is of very rude lumpy fabric, and also somewhat base [see Pl. I, 10]. There is a small coin in the British Museum, weighing 10·6 gra., and with the same types as the tetradrachm above-mentioned [Pl. I, 11], which also has a lance-head above the lion. I cannot see any reason whatever for attributing coins either with a fulmen or a lance-head to Babylon or to Mazaios.

Let us now turn to another set of coins, some of which have been attributed to Mazaios as Satrap of Babylon by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, namely certain double darics. The double darics have afforded a great deal of matter for discussion. I am of opinion that they were, like the coins just mentioned, issued for the first time for the payment of the same Greek mercenaries, and that they had literally nothing to do with Babylon.

The fact that most of the so-called double darics have Greek letters, monograms or symbols on them long ago

led Mr. Head to the conclusion that they must have been issued about the time of or after the campaigns of Alexander. In this view I think every one will now concur.

In regard to the significance of the provenance of the coins a change of opinion has in recent years arisen from the fact that several of these double darics have come from India, whence they have been sent to Europe by the well known dealer Chanda Mall. This fact must be remembered in more than one aspect. It would appear that in the first place the double darics which have been sent from India were not found there, and have never been so found, and secondly that the few of them which I would accept as genuine were in all probability all derived from one hoard found near the Oxus, and this find should count as one find, against several individual finds elsewhere, and notably in Asia Minor, and that this hoard is therefore no guide to the origin of the double darics, but only evidence of the wide-spread character of Greek enterprise or of the potency of barbarous raids in early times.

It would be *prima facie* almost incredible that Alexander, one of whose greatest reforms and changes was the replacement of the coins with local types by money struck in his own name, should have permitted one of his satraps to initiate a gold coinage in Babylon, the capital of his empire, with the representation of the Persian King whom he had defeated upon it. As is well known, it was deemed a mortal offence, both among the Persians and the Greeks, for a subject to issue gold coins except in his master's name, and in initiating a coinage at Babylon Alexander would assuredly have done so with coins of a very different pattern. In using this language I am postulating that

in Alexander's time coins were issued at Babylon, but of this again we have no evidence. All the evidence points to the darics and double darics having been issued in the west, and especially in Asia Minor, where a gold and electrum coinage had been in use from very early times, and where it had been continued, with the substitution of the figure of the Great King in place of the various types on the early autonomous coins of Lydia and the Greek seaboard of Asia Minor.

I have urged this in a previous paper already cited, following the example of M. Babelon, from whom I will quote a sentence with which I agree. "On voit," he says, "que les Perses, continuant en cela la tradition des Assyriens et des Babyloniens, eurent jusqu'à la fin recours à la balance pour peser les lingots métalliques; c'était pour le commerce de l'Asie Mineure et pour le paiement de leurs armées que les Achéménides battaient monnaie. Aussi paraît-il certain que ce fut surtout dans des ateliers d'Asie Mineure que la darique a été frappée" (*Les Perses Achéménides, etc.*, vii.).

What is true of the daric is true also of the double daric or double stater.

There is not a tittle of evidence known to me that the one any more than the other was current in the east of the empire when Alexander conquered it. How strange if the Macedonians in making Babylon their eastern capital should have initiated a gold coinage there with coins having on them the figure of the Persian king whom they had dethroned and driven out, instead of beginning it with the glorified portrait of their great hero. On the other hand it would not be unnatural for them to continue coining money with this figure on it in districts where the darics had made it familiar and had a great

reputation for purity and high standard, just as it was customary to coin imitations of Athenian tetradrachms for the same reason. I cannot avoid the conclusion in fact that the double darics, like the darics, had nothing whatever to do with Babylon or the east of the empire, but were limited in their issue to Asia Minor and Syria, and were there employed to pay the fleets and the hired troops which had long been accustomed to coins of similar fabric. Whether any of the double darics were struck in Alexander's own lifetime or not I do not know, but it is a rather strange fact, referred to by Mr. Hill in his *Catalogue of the Coins of Cilicia*, that the great city and commercial centre of Tarsus, which was probably the headquarters of the fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean, should not have issued coins of Alexander's well known type with the head of Hemeles in the lion's skin. I think it very probable that it continued to strike money on the old types, and that this accounts for the series of silver coins of Attic weight imitating those of Mazaïos, whose capital city it was for so long (and to which I shall presently refer), and that it also possibly struck double darics; moreover, it is possible, although we have no direct evidence of the fact, that the double darics assigned by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer to Mazaïos were struck both in Cilicia and Syria. The evidence against their having been struck at Babylon seems quite overwhelming.

I will say a few words only on the double darics actually assigned to Mazaïos by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.

They have been generally discussed on the supposition that the coins in question are all or most of them genuine. Of this I am by no means assured. The dealer Chanda Mall dealt largely in coins of doubtful

authenticity, and it is certainly remarkable that on several double darics bought from him we see a reverse so entirely different in character from all the incuses known on either the double darics or darics, of a different provenance. I have the gravest doubt about them. Among them is a coin to be presently referred to upon which a great deal of deduction has been hung. The reverse of one of the coins in question is figured on **PL. I, 12**. It is of course possible that even if such reverses as this are all false the obverse types may have been copied from genuine coins, but of this we have no positive proof, and I would merely say here that in discussing these coins I do so with a very large *caveat*. I ought to add that one of these coins with the same suspicious reverse, and probably from the same source, is in the French collection (Babelon, **Pl. II., 27**), and on it M. Babelon has the very ominous comment, "*Pièce de style barbare frappée dans l'Inde à une époque très postérieure*," to which I would add: "*peut-être trop postérieure*."

Let us now turn to the double darics I deem irreproachable.

1. We have what I believe is a unique coin, in the Brit. Mus., from the Cunningham collection, with the kneeling King holding a bow in his left hand and perhaps a dagger in his right; wt. 254.3 grs. [see **PL. I, 13**].

2. A coin having on the obverse the kneeling figure of the King holding a bow in his left hand and a spear over his shoulder in his right one, with a wreath under the King's elbow, and the letter M in front of his left foot; Brit. Mus.; wt. 257 grs. [see **PL. I, 14**]. A similar coin with obverse incomplete is in the French collection (Babelon, *Perses Achém.*, No. 114).

3. A coin with a similar obverse but with a club behind the King. This is in the Brit. Mus. and came from Soonder Dass. It weighs 253 grs. [see **Pl. I., 15**].


4. A similar type with a wreath and the monogram χ in the French collection; Babelon, *Cat.*, 117; wt. 16 grs. 65 [see **Pl. I., 16**].

5. A fifth type has behind the figure a monogram which has been read χ (Babelon, 113); see **Pl. I., 17**. I very much question the χ and so do better eyes than mine. It certainly does not seem possible to find this letter or whatever it may be in the photograph of the coin which is in the French collection and is figured by Babelon, *Pl. II.*, 16. The two $\circ\circ$ are the same letters which occur as initials of Evagoras and are found on his silver coins struck at Sidon, pointing to this coin having been struck in Phoenicia. What is more interesting is to find that they occur on one of the coins above-mentioned, attributed by M. Six to the issue made by the Egyptian satrap Sebek for the payment of the Greeks in the Great King's service. This is not all. The curious character χ which occurs on the double daric in the French collection above-mentioned is found frequently on the coins of Ptolemy Soter, bringing this coin again into the west, while so far as we can see it has nothing to do with Babylon. So also does the club of Heracles, which occurs on coins of the same king.

The letter \mathcal{M} has similarly no connection known to me with Babylon, but in all probability stands for Marathus or Mallus, if it does not represent a personal name.

With other coins with the same letter it has apparently been attributed by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer to Babylon

because some coins of Alexander with the figure of Zeus Aëtophoros, with the legs uncrossed and bearing the same letter, and in some cases a victor's crown, had been already attributed by him to Babylon, on what seem to me quite inadequate grounds.

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has referred to this class a decadrachm, tetradrachm and drachm, all bearing the monogram  and each with the letter M either below the chair of Zeus or on the field. I figure reverses of all these from the British Museum, weighing respectively 632.2 grs. [Pl. I., 18], 269 grs. [Pl. I., 19], and 130.5 grs. [Pl. I., 20], and add a second tetradrachm weighing 271 grs. [Pl. I., 21], a drachm weighing 50.7 grs. [Pl. II., 1], a hemidrachm, weighing 31.7 grs. [Pl. II., 2], and a small coin weighing 10.4 grs. [Pl. II., 3]. I may mention that a third tetradrachm of this type from the Subhi collection is also in the British Museum.

What connection there is or can be suggested between these coins of Alexander the Great and Babylon I do not know. Neither the monogram nor the letter M has any reference to Babylon, or can justify Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's calling them "Die Alexander-münzen, babylonische Prägung" (*op. cit.*, 4).

There is no doubt that two or three specimens of the decadrachm were found at Niffur in Babylonia, just as other very large silver coins of continental Greece have also been found in Babylonia; but these are quite exceptional, and the provenance of the great mass of the coins of this type is different. Muller refers to a large number, from decadrachms downwards, many of them with various symbols on them, as well as the monogram in question and the

letter M (*op. cit.*, 667-708), and attributes them apparently without hesitation to Macedonia, Thrace and Thessaly. Why the whole of this series is not attributed to Babylon by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer I do not know. I ought to state that in the British Museum there is a gold stater with the same monogram and letter on the reverse, and weighing 132.9 grs. [see Pl. II, 4].

In his *Historia Numorum*, p. 198, Mr. Head, speaking of Alexander's silver money, says: "Decadrachms also exist, but are of great rarity; didrachms, triobols and obols occur somewhat more frequently. *All coins of these unusual denominations appear to be of Syrian origin.*" I confess the attribution of them to Babylon seems to me to be extremely arbitrary. It also increases the difficulty of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's contention, for it involves there having been issued concurrently at Babylon two sets of silver coins, with entirely distinct types, one issued by the imperial authority and with Alexander's glorified portrait on it, and the other with Cilician types and the name of the Persian satrap, a condition of things which seems to me quite incredible, and still more incredible that the satrap should have issued gold coins and the great Macedonian only silver ones. The M on the coins in question may represent Mallus or Marathus, but it cannot be twisted into the initial of Babylon.

So much for the coins attributed to Mazaïos as Satrap of Babylon by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer. I think I have proved that there are no valid grounds for such an attribution.

Having assigned certain coins to Mazaïos as Satrap of Babylon Dr. Imhoof-Blumer goes on to attribute a number

of others to Stamenes, who was appointed satrap there by Alexander himself on the death of Mazaios in the winter of 328-7 B.C. (Arrian, IV., 18, 3). Stamenes is not mentioned again, pointing to his having been a more or less obscure person, nor do we know whether he remained satrap until Alexander's death in 323, but it is probable that he did not do so, for when the famous Council was summoned by Perdikkas directly after that event, to decide who was to succeed to the vacant throne and how the empire was to be administered, the satrapy of Babylon was given to Archon (Diodorus, XVIII., 1), and nothing whatever is said about Stamenes.

It is to this mere shadow, who only held authority during the short remnant of Alexander's reign, that Dr. Imhoof-Blumer attributes certain coins, both in gold and silver, on what seem to me insufficient grounds. It is possible, perhaps, to urge that Mazaios, in taking up a new satrapy, might have transferred the god of his old one (Cilicia) to his new country. It seems incredible, however, that this should have been continued by his successors for twenty-five years or more, and, further, that they should have continued to issue coins at Babylon of quite a foreign fabric and entirely differing from the rest of the coinage of the Greek world. None of them bear either the name or the initial or any emblem of Babylon, and none of them bear the unquestionable name or initial of any satrap of Babylon. The attribution of them to Babylon seems in fact to me to be quite arbitrary, and would not have been accepted if it had not been published under a name of such great authority as that of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer. The only plausible reason of any kind for doing so is the fact that on a double daric in the British Museum, which came from the very suspicious hands of

Chanda Mall, the reverse of which seems to me, as to others, better judges than myself, to be most suspicious, [see Pl. II, 5], we have behind the Great King's figure the letters ΣΤΑ and below the figure, the letters ΜΝΑ and in front of it the letters Φ .

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has combined the two separated syllables ΣΤΑ and ΜΝΑ and read them into Stamenes. Let us for the moment treat the coin as above suspicion. What a paradox it becomes! What Greek would write the name Stamenes in this way? It is quite an impossible Greek orthography for the name. Where again—and I would bid my readers not trust my description but look at the figure of the coin—where, I say, can we find a Greek name broken up in this specially incoherent way on a coin?

How strange that it should stand alone, that on no other double daric have we any inscription beyond a letter or a monogram, and that this coin should have come from the suspected hands of Chanda Mall and should have the peculiar reverse type characteristic of other double darics purchased from him.

Lastly, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in reading the syllables has overlooked the two dots preceding the ΣΤΑ which should clearly have a meaning, but which are quite meaningless if the syllables are to be read as Stamenes (see p. 38).

Nor, again, can we attribute any meaning to the double letter Φ if the coin is Babylonian (*vide infra*). We must remember that the hypothesis that the two syllables stand for Stamenes is quite a recent one. An older theory, which, if not a complete explanation, is a great deal more plausible, is that suggested by Mr. Head in his *Hist. Num.*, according to which the inscription stands for "Two staters one mina" (: ΣΤΑ [=] ΜΝΑ), with

the meaning that two of these double darics, if we take the exchange of the time at 13 to 1, are equivalent to one Attic mina of 6,750 grains of silver. This accounts for the dots as well as the syllables (see *Hist. Num.*, p. 701). To this it has been answered that we have no evidence that the daric was ever called a stater, and that the statement in question of the equivalence of two staters and a mina would be clumsily expressed by the two syllables. For myself, I look upon these difficulties as further proofs that the coin is not to be trusted as evidence, but is a specimen of one of the ingenious—very ingenious—productions of an Indian forger, who from other feats I cannot help thinking has been assisted by a person of greater literary gifts than himself.

Under any circumstances I think the connection of this coin from India with the ephemeral satrap of far-off Babylon quite fantastic and impossible, and with its disappearance disappears also the smallest fragment of evidence for attributing certain other coins to Stamenes as Satrap of Babylon as Dr. Imhoof-Blumer does. Among them he places some double darics like those he had already attributed to Mazaïos ("Doppeldareiken wie in Gruppe I."), on what grounds he does not say. I have nothing to add to what I said of these latter. They seem to me to be attributed to Babylon quite arbitrarily.

Let us now turn to the silver coins assigned by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer to Stamenes and his successor as Satraps of Babylon.

The series of silver coins with Cilician types with the name of Mazaïos are, as I have shewn, continued by another series with the same types which are for the most part anepigraphic. This series differs also in the

way that Baal is represented. Instead of holding the lotus-headed sceptre at full arm's length, his right arm is bent at the elbow at a right angle, and the sceptre is accordingly half hidden behind his knees. The left arm is bare, and the left hand rests on the throne instead of on the hip. Lastly, the left foot of the god is put over the right one. This form of the Baal clearly succeeded the previous one, as Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has urged, and it is curious that the same change in the pose of the figure of Zeus should be followed by certain tetradrachms of Philip Arrhidaeus with Alexander's types, and certain other coins inscribed Alexander, and which were doubtless issued by Alexander Aegus (see Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, Pl. L, 14, 15, and 16), and were not part of Alexander the Great's own issue. The first of these coins I would mention, with the second type of Baal on one side and the lion on the other, and of Attic weight, is in the possession of MM. Rollin and Fénardent. On the lion side of the coin there is no inscription in the field, so that the name of Mazaïos does not occur on it. On the obverse, however, the word Baaltars occurs, but written in a curiously rude way [see Pl. II., 6]. This is the only coin of Attic standard with this type of Baal and inscribed in Aramaic letters known to me, and it points, as do other facts, to there having been some overlap in the two series of coins.

Turning from the inscribed to the uninscribed series of this type we have first coins without any letters or symbols of any kind on them. Of these I figure a tetradrachm weighing 234.5 grs. [Pl. II., 7]. There is also a drachm, apparently of base metal, weighing 58.5 grs.

We next have certain coins with the same form of

Baal but with symbols or letters in the field. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer assigns coins of this type with a lance-head, a fulmen or the letter Π , to Stamenes.

Of the first class there is a tetradrachm in the British Museum, of base metal, having on the reverse a lance-head in the field, and under the lion an ι . The lion has his head erect and his tail also lifted up. It weighs 253.2 grs. [see **PL. II.**, 8]. A second small silver coin with the lance head, but without any letter in the field, weighs 10.4 grs. [see **PL. II.**, 9]. Another set of these coins has the fulmen above the lion. Of these, one is in the Vienna collection (see Imhoof-Blumer, *Mon. Gr.*, p. 378, 29), and weighs 16 grms. 94; a second one, belonging to M. C. Pecz, of Vienna, weighs 0.43 grms. (see Imhoof-Blumer, *id.*, No. 30); a third piece is in Paris [see **PL. II.**, 10].

Lastly, we have a coin in the French collection (Babelon, 293), with a fulmen above the lion and the letter Π under the throne of Baal. It weighs 16 grms. 35 [see **PL. II.**, 11].

All these coins Dr. Imhoof-Blumer assigns to Stamenes as Satrap of Babylon.

The letter Π has nothing to do either with Stamenes or with Babylon, nor, so far as I know, has either the fulmen or the lance-head. These symbols occur on other coins, but I know of no evidence for attributing them to Babylon, much less to its quite ephemeral satrap Stamenes. The letter ι in the exergue of one of these coins seems assignable to Issos, and the letter Π occurs on another coin of this series, marked by the Seleucidan anchor; and also occurs frequently on the coins of Ptolemy Soter. Mr. Poole suggests that these latter coins were minted in Cyprus, and are assignable to Paphos.

In regard to the thunderbolt it is a widely distributed badge. These facts make it possible that the coins in question were issued during Ptolemy's dominion over Phœnicia, Cyprus, or Asia Minor.

Let us now move on to another series of coins, also attributed by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer to Babylon.

These he assigns to the satrap Archon, son of Clinias, who, as we have seen, succeeded Stamenes, but only remained in office for the short time that intervened until the death of Perdikkas, namely, from 323-321 B.C. In the latter year Antipater, who succeeded to Perdikkas' authority, held a conference at Triparadeisos, where he rearranged the satrapies and conferred that of Babylon upon Seleukos, the son of Antiochos, so that Archon barely reigned two years in the most obscure fashion. It seems to me as plain as can be that the coins attributed to him had nothing to do with Babylon, but were meant to circulate elsewhere.

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer assigns to Archon, as Satrap of Babylon, certain double darics and darics with the monograms and letters $\Lambda Y \cdot M \cdot$ or $\Delta (= \Lambda Y) \cdot M \cdot$ and some tetradrachms and drachms, also of the Cilician type, with the characters $\Lambda Y \cdot \Lambda Y \cdot M \cdot \Delta M$.

Before discussing these coins let us refer in a paragraph or two to the events which followed Alexander's death. The great conqueror, when he died in May or June 323 B.C., left no instructions about his successor, nor was there any definite scheme of succession which was free from difficulty. There was a youthful son of Alexander, Heracles, born of Barsina, the widow of Memnon, but Barsina had never passed as Alexander's wife, and she lived at Pergamos, with her son, virtually in seclusion (*Droysen*, Fr. ed., I., 7).

The legitimate wives of Alexander were Roxana and Statira. Roxana was enceinte and expected to have a child in the course of three months. This child's mother was not a Macedonian but a Bactrian and a foreigner. Statira had no child at all. On the other hand, the only remaining male representative of the Macedonian royal stock was Arrhidaeus, who was at Babylon when Alexander died. He was Alexander's half-brother, but was a bastard whom Philip had had by Philine, a Thessalian dancing girl, and he was but half-witted (*Droysen, op. cit.*, Fr. ed., I. 7, and 8).

After a dangerous feud between the chiefs and the army it was decided that Arrhidaeus should be accepted as Alexander's successor, with the title of Philip the Third, and that if Roxana's child, when born, should be a boy, he should be in some way associated with him.

Roxana presently gave birth to a boy, who was acclaimed by the army under the name of Alexander. I doubt, however, whether the child Alexander was really treated as a joint ruler in the more important functions of government, for instance, in regard to the coinage, for it seems to me that from the year 323 B.C. until his death in 316 B.C. Philip Arrhidaeus was the nominal ruler of the Macedonian world, and that the coinage of the empire was struck in his name, while Alexander's coinage commenced only on the death of Philip. This seems to follow from the Egyptian issues.

It seems plain, however, that from the year 323 to 311 B.C. the coins of the Macedonian world were issued by the authority and in the name of the two kings successively.

We are now in a position to discuss the coins with the letters AY etc. on them. They consist of double and

single darics and also of silver coins. Some of the latter are undoubtedly to be attributed to Philip Arrhidaeus and Alexander Aegus.

A double daric, figured by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Zeit.*, 1895 (Plate I., 9) has simply AY behind the royal figure.

Another has AY behind the archer, with an M in front of him. It is referred to by M. Babelon in his list of varieties of double darics (see *Cat. Perses Achém.*, p. xix.).

M. Babelon refers to two darics, the only ones which bear Greek letters, one of them in the French collection, No. 120, with the letters AY and M [see Pl. II., 12], the other described by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, with the AY in monogram, thus A, and also with an M in the field. This points to the two forms being in essence replicas of the same initials of Lycia.

The silver coins with the same letters follow the same type as the coins of Mazaïos, with the Cilician Baal on one side and the walking lion on the other.

Among the coins of Philip Arrhidaeus, attributed by Müller to Lycia, is a gold stater (Müller, Plate XXVIII., No. 96) with AY before the figure of the Victory, and no other letter. Its provenance I do not know, but the letters AY seem to me to quite support Müller's attribution. Three other staters of Philip in the British Museum have the letters AY before the feet of Nike. On these three coins we also have the letter M. On two the M is placed below the wreath held by Nike [see Pl. II., 14], and in the other below the figure of the goddess [Pl. II., 13]. In one of the two just named the letter M is repeated on the obverse behind the head of Athene

[see Pl. II., 15]. The two former coins, which weigh 132.2 gra. and 131.6 gra., were obtained from Sir R. H. Lang, and doubtless came from the great Cyprus hoard. The third weighs 132.6 gra. The finding of two of these staters in Cyprus is almost positive evidence that they have nothing to do with Babylon, and confirms Müller's attribution of them to Lycia, as the letters AY in fact imply.

In the British Museum are four tetradrachms of Philip on three of which AY occurs below the throne and M in the field in front of the figure; one of them has two countermarks—a bee (? for Ephesus) and a flower. Two of these tetradrachms were bought from Subhi Pasha and the Rev. G. Chester respectively, and doubtless therefore came from western Asia Minor [see Pl. II., 16, 17].

The same initial letters of Lycia AY also occur on coins of Philip, associated with a prow of a ship. These coins have the letter I in the field. They are also attributed to Lycia by Müller (see Plate XXVIII., 100). Of these a stater in the British Museum [Pl. II., 18] came from Sir R. H. Lang, and therefore almost certainly from Cyprus. Müller knew of no stater with this symbol, and it is apparently unpublished. The two other coins of this class in the Museum are both tetradrachms [Pl. II., 19]. The prow suggests that this class of coin had something to do with a seaport; perhaps some of them belong to Phaselis, the famous Lycian seaport, which had a ship's prow for its badge, while I was the initial of several Lycian dynasts. Corresponding to these coins of Philip we have a series with the name Alexander on them, and probably to be assigned to Alexander Aegus. They bear the same letters AY. Müller also attributes them

to Lycia, and apparently without any hesitation. Of these coins we have both staters and tetradrachms. Müller refers to two forms of stater with the name of Alexander on them, and both of them with the letters AY in front of the Victory. One of them has an M behind the Athens's head on the obverse [see **PL II.**, 15]. We also have tetradrachms of Alexander Aegus having the same letters AY on them.

Of one type of these (Müller, Plate XVIII, no. 272) two specimens are in the British Museum, both very well preserved [see **PL II.**, 21]; a third specimen in the same collection has the figure on the reverse to the right [see **PL II.**, 22]; a fourth with the same type has two countermarks on the obverse, one a small boar and the other a blurred object which is not very plain, on the cheek of Alexander [see **PL II.**, 23]. On this coin, when it was acquired by the Museum, and on its countermark, a boar, Mr. Hill wrote: "Recently, the British Museum has acquired a tetradrachm of the kind which Mr. Head is inclined to attribute to Syria or Cilicia, which seems to show that the M-AY tetradrachms did circulate in Lycia" (*Num. Chr.*, N.S., XV., 43). This is precisely the view I came to before my attention was called to this pregnant sentence of Mr. Hill's. A drachm of this type is also in the British Museum [see **PL III.**, 1].

A tetradrachm, doubtless of Alexander Aegus, with the letters AY over a ship's prow and a Σ in the field, like a similar coin of Philip's above referred to, is given by Müller. It is not represented in the British Museum, nor do I know its provenance, but it must clearly be associated with the similar coins of Philip. It is curious that in addition to the two known darics with letters on them there is another with Θ on the side of

a ship's prow. It is in the French collection (Babelon, No. 124). [See **Pl. III.**, 2.] M. Six supposed this to be a Carian letter, and, if it be indeed so, this daric must have been struck at Cnidus, which was in the neighbouring district to Lycia.

It seems to me as clear as can be that these coins of Philip and Alexander, marked with AY and M on them, which have no known tie with Babylon, were issued for circulation in Lycia, and the fact of some of them being also marked with a ship's prow makes it quite impossible to assign them to an inland country like Babylon.

Let us now turn from the coins distinctly marked with the names of Philip and Alexander to some others on which the royal names do not occur, but which bear the same letters, and which, as we have seen, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer assigns to Archon, the Satrap of Babylon.

They are of the same Cilician type to which I have referred, with the Baal of Tarsus on one side and the walking lion on the other.

A tetradrachm of this type in the Berlin collection, derived from the Imhoof-Blumer collection, has AY over the lion on one side and M near the knee of Baal on the other (see *Im.-Bl., Num. Zeit.*, 1895, Plate I., 11). Another tetradrachm in the British Museum from the Montagu collection has the letters AY over the lion [see **Pl. III.**, 3].

On the drachms belonging to this series, instead of the letters AY being separate, we have them in monogram, thus **A**. One of them is figured by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer (*Num. Zeit.*, 1895, Plate I., 12). On some of these drachms the lion turns his head back—as it has been suggested, in imitation of the coins of Miletus. M. Babelon, I do not know why, attributes the specimen in the French

collection to Antigonus, with a query. It weighs 4 grms. 05 and is numbered 305 in M. Babelon's *Perses Achém.* I cannot see in this monogram the initials of Antigonus. In the British Museum are three specimens of the coin, weighing respectively 64.3, 64.6 and 59.4 grs. I have figured two of them [Pl. III, 4, 5]. I cannot see how these coins can be separated from those bearing the name of Philip and Alexander Aegus, already cited, nor can I explain the letters AY on the whole series in any other way than by assigning them to Lycia, or rather treating them as coins specially minted to pay the Lycian contingents in the Macedonian army.

When Alexander began his campaign Lycia had been for some time under the dependent kings of Caria, and probably resented the position, for we find it submitting without a blow to Alexander, who appointed a special friend of his, Nearches of Amphipolis, a Cretan by origin, its satrap (Arrian, VI. 6). The Lycians had a contingent in the Persian fleet the submission of which was apparently a condition of the favourable peace accorded to them by Alexander, under which their twenty-three towns preserved a large part of their autonomy under chiefs dignified as kings by the natives. They were united into a confederacy, at the head of which was a great official who probably also bore the title of king, and was known as the "Lyciarch" (Droysen, I, 220-221).

It would be interesting to discover the meaning of the detached letters occurring on the coins above-mentioned. They are probably, in some cases, the initials of towns or districts. The most common of these letters is M, which occurs frequently. Sometimes we have instead MU. Can this represent the district of Milyades, at the sources of the River Xanthus? Such a coin, a

drachm, with M and a crown over the lion, is in the British Museum, and weighs 59·5 grs. [see Pl. III., 6].

M. Babelon also attributes to Antigonos, probably because of its monogram Λ , a tetradrachm of Cilician type and Attic weight in the French collection. Its number in the catalogue (*Persees Achém.*) is 304 and its weight 15 grms. 63. This coin should clearly be classed with those last described [see Pl. III., 7]. It has nothing to do with Babylon.

Let us now turn to another series of coins, attributed by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer to Babylon, on grounds also quite unknown to me. These are marked by the letter Φ , either alone or with other letters.

Whether this letter represents the name of a man or of a city is not clear. It does not seem probable that it stands for Philip, since Arrhidaeus' coins had his name on them at full length. It might equally stand for the names Philotas or Philoxenos, who were successively Satraps of Cilicia. On the other hand, it may represent the name of a town, and it is significant that an anepigraphic double daric was found near Philadelphia in Lydia in 1823 (see Madden, *Jewish Coinage*, 273). On the other hand, Phaselis was a very famous port of Lycia.

In the case of two double darics referred to by Mr. Head the Φ occurs without any other letter; on one, alone, and on the other with a bunch of grapes, apparently connecting it with Soli (see *Hist. Num.*, 700, 13 and 15).

Next we have to deal with the coins on which the letter Φ occurs with another letter.

Of these there are several forms. First, there is the double daric in the French collection, No. 116, weighing

16 grms. 52, and having the letters Φ behind the King. The position of the letters side by side in this way is unusual.

Next we have a series in which the letters are put over each other, thus Φ . This monogram resembles somewhat another occurring on the coins of Ptolemy, Φ .

The position of the letters in this way perhaps means that they form the initials of two names and may represent Phaselis in Lycia or Philadelphia in Lydia. What seems quite plain is that they cannot represent the initials of Babylon or of any of its satraps. The monogram in question occurs on several double darics. First, in regard to those on which it occurs alone. Of these, two are in the British Museum. One of them, bought from Chanda Mall, has the suspicious reverse already referred to, the other is from the Montagu collection [see PL. III., 8]; a third is quoted from the *Collection de Vogué* by Mr. Head (*Coinage of Lydia*, 27, No. 252). Two specimens are in the French collection (Babelon, *Cat.*, Nos. 119 and 138); the latter of the two belongs to the doubtful class associated with Chanda Mall, and already discussed.

Next to these I would place the double darics with the same monogram Φ and with a wreath. A specimen of this class is in the British Museum, of which I do not like the look. It came from Chanda Mall, and is very roughly made, and both the monogram and wreath are most ragged, while the incuse on the reverse is not at all like those usual on other double darics of undoubted authenticity. I give a figure of this coin [PL. III., 9]. Another specimen in the French collection is described by M. Babelon as of a "style très

barbare" (see No. 137, page 16). These may be, however, copies of real originals. Next we have a double daric with the same letters separated by a considerable space, and beside them a thunderbolt. This is in the British Museum [see **PL. III.**, 10]. It has the same suspicious reverse as the coins previously referred to, but may also be copied from a genuine coin. The thunderbolt was, as I have said, an emblem of wide distribution. I cannot see any reason for attributing any of these double darics, whether genuine or not, to Babylon; nor for disturbing the former view which associated them with Asia Minor or Phœnicia.

Another double daric in the British Museum, which was bought from M. Lambros, and doubtless therefore came from Asia Minor, has a curious symbol on it, which has been called a Macedonian helmet, but seems to me more like a flower [see **PL. III.**, 11]. Above the flower is the monogram Φ_M which is simply a combination of Φ and M. It weighs 258.3 grains. A similar coin is figured in the Hoffmann catalogue. The M on these coins reminds us that on another double daric in the British Museum, from the Bank collection and already described [**PL. I.**, 14], we have the letter M in the field by itself, and a victor's crown behind the kneeling king. The letter doubtless means what the same letter means elsewhere, and probably either Marathus or Mallus or one of the Lycian towns beginning with M. It does not seem possible to connect it directly with Babylon. In the British Museum is a double daric, bought from Chanda Mall, with the same suspicious reverse, and on which the cidaris on the King's head has a strange appearance. On this coin we have the letter Φ and below it the well known monogram Σ [see **PL. III.**, 12]. A similar

coin in the British Museum and the French collection (Babelon, No. 115, Plate II., Fig. 18), weighs 16 grms. 73, and has the monogram, but not the letter Φ . The monogram also occurs on the coins of Ptolemy.

It is curious that letters in the form Φ do not occur on any of the silver coins of Cilician type copied from those of Mazaïos. There are coins, however, of which two examples are known to me, which have the letters Φ or Φ in the field to the left of the figure of Baal. In both we have W below the god, while one has the letter τ above the lion. The latter is at Paris (No. 289, Plate VII., Fig. 2) and weighs 16 grms. 87. The other is in the British Museum and weighs 251 grs. The letter W may possibly stand for Soli. I do not profess to explain the other letters; still less can I understand how the coin could in any way be associated with Babylon. The specimen of this coin in the British Museum came from Chanda Mall. It has no letter over the lion [see PL. III., 13]. The letter τ on the French coin just named, which seems followed by an i in Babelon's figure, leads me to another series which is very curious and interesting, since the bulk of the coins belonging to it were, for the most part, either originally issued as plated coins having a core of bronze, and are thus an early example of a very low standard, or they came from the workshop of an ancient falsifier. They would appear from their appearance to have been derived from one hoard, and they occur in several collections. The coins in question are all imitations in type of the ordinary issues of Mazaïos, with the Baal on one side and the walking lion on the other. Some of them have the letter τ in the field; thus, three tetradrachms in the

British Museum have it [see **PL. III., 14**]. This may possibly indicate that they were coined for the town of Gagae in Lycia. In the French collection are two coins of this class, Nos. 287 and 288, weighing 14 grms. 90 and 16 grms. 52. M. Babelon says of the former: "argent saucé."

In the French collection is also a coin, No. 290, having the Γ under the lion and in the field on the other side a bee (see Bab., Plate VII, Fig. 3). It weighs 16 grms. 68. Two other specimens in the same collection, Nos. 291 and 292, have the bee without the letter Γ , the bee being in each case above the lion. One weighs 16 grms. 65 and the other 16 grms. 72. A similar specimen at Berlin weighs 16 grms. 65 (see Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Gr.*, 378, No. 31). A specimen recently added to the British Museum is of this type [see **PL. III., 15**]. Another tetradrachm in the same collection has the bee in front of Baal [see **PL. III., 16**].

What this bee can refer to is difficult to say. Ephesus and Meliboea suggest themselves, but the latter is geographically impossible. As I have said, a tetradrachm of Philip Arrhidæus is countermarked with such a bee.

We will now turn to another series of coins marked with the letter Δ in the field. Of these we have no double darics, and only Attic tetradrachms of the Cilician type. Babelon has assigned this class to Demetrius Poliorcetes, which seems to me quite impossible, since the letter occurs on coins of this series marked with the Seleucidan anchor, and also on coins of Ptolemy Soter.

There are two examples of the coin in the French collection, Nos. 396 and 307, weighing 16.77 and

16.48 grms. respectively. The former is figured (Bab., *Persees Achém.*, Plate VII., Fig. II).

In the British Museum is another tetradrachm, weighing 261.8 grs., and having a Δ over the lion [see **Pl. III.**, 17].

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer (*Num. Zeit.*, 1895) figures two other coins with the same letter, weighing 16.51 and 7.65 grms. respectively (*op. cit.*, Plate I., 17 and 18).



Turning from the letters to the monograms, and first to the double darics, one of the double darics in the British Museum, from the same suspicious source I have previously mentioned, which has on it the King wearing a kind of castellated crown instead of one with pointed projections, as is usual, and in which the spear and quiver are mixed up in an odd way, and the right hand is held up *à propos* of nothing, has in the field the following monogram **MF** and an obscure character below [see **Pl. III.**, 18].


Again, in the French collection is another double daric with the monogram **QI** (see No. 118), which may refer to some town in whose name that of Heracles occurs as an element [see **Pl. III.**, 19]. This monogram also occurs on coins of Ptolemy (see Poole's *Catalogue of the Ptolemaic Series*, page 4, Figs. 29-35, &c., &c.). Whatever the meaning of these monograms and letters may be, what I want to emphasise is that they do not offer any evidence of a Babylonian origin.

In the French collection are a tetradrachm and a drachm of the Cilician type, both having this monogram (Babelon, *Persees Achém.*, see Nos. 298 and 299). The former is figured by M. Babelon (Plate VII., 7). It weighs 16 grms. 57, while the latter weighs 3 grms. 30. The former coin has the letters **MI** in the field, and

the monogram is in a wreath. The latter is without the letters MI and has the monogram in a circle. At Munich is a tetradrachm with the same monogram above and an M below. M. Six mentions another coin with the same monogram in a circle, weighing 2.99 grms. The letters MI on coins of undoubted Cilician type have been read as the joint initials of Mallus and Issos. They have clearly nothing to do with Babylon. On another coin of this class in the British Museum, weighing 59.5 grains, we have a crown over the lion on one side and MI in the exergue of the other side. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer refers to this coin twice in his list, under the numbers 26 and 27.

To return to our monograms. A silver coin in the De Luynes collection of the same Cilician type (Plate X., Fig. 28) has merely MP under the lion. It weighs 3 grms. 30. A second coin in the Imhoof-Blumer collection has the same monogram on the other side and under the throne. It is a little varied from MP. The coin weighs 2 grms. 85. It is numbered 23 in his list.

Another similar coin at Berlin has  above the lion and  below.

Another among the Prokesch *inedita*, 1859, has  below, and weighs 16 grms. 06. This monogram occurs on a double daric, as we have seen.

In the French collection is a coin with H under the throne, together with a worn-out letter.

Eckhel mentions a coin with NI under the throne and weighing 16 grms. 50, which is probably at Vienna. The NI may be a mistaken reading for MI.

All these coins are of the same Cilician type, and have apparently nothing to do with Babylon.

Lastly, we have on certain similar tetradrachms the representations of a pentalpha or a cancer over the lion

[Pl. III, 20, 21]. The first is from the Feuardent collection. These last Dr. Imhoof-Blumer puts, I do not know why, among the coins struck by Seleucus at Babylon, for in weight and style they are precisely like those of the lumpy fabric already described. How they can be attributed to Babylon I do not know.

This completes the examination of the series of coins assigned by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer to Babylon, except those bearing the anchor or other supposed Seleucid symbols, of which I hope to treat in another paper. I think I have succeeded in showing that the assignment of all or any of these coins to Babylon is quite unsupported by adequate evidence, while the evidence is very strong that they were minted somewhere on the southern sea-board of Asia Minor or in Syria.

H. H. HOWORTH.

NOTE.—It is curious that while this paper was being printed a second specimen of the double daric with the letters Σ TA MNA on it has occurred in the Rome sale (Cat. No. 75, Pl. I.), where it was bought by Mr. Hirsch. Mr. Head agrees with me that it is from the same die as that above described, which came from Chanda Mall. It is important in this discussion, since it shows that the two dots before the Σ in the British Museum specimen are due to a slip in the die, and should be read as a second Σ . This entirely destroys both Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's connection of the coin with Stamenos and the alternative theory that the inscription means "two sisters one mina." It increases the probability that the coin is false. I may say that it has the suspicious reverse which, I think, is traceable to Chanda Mall, and doubtless came from his hands.



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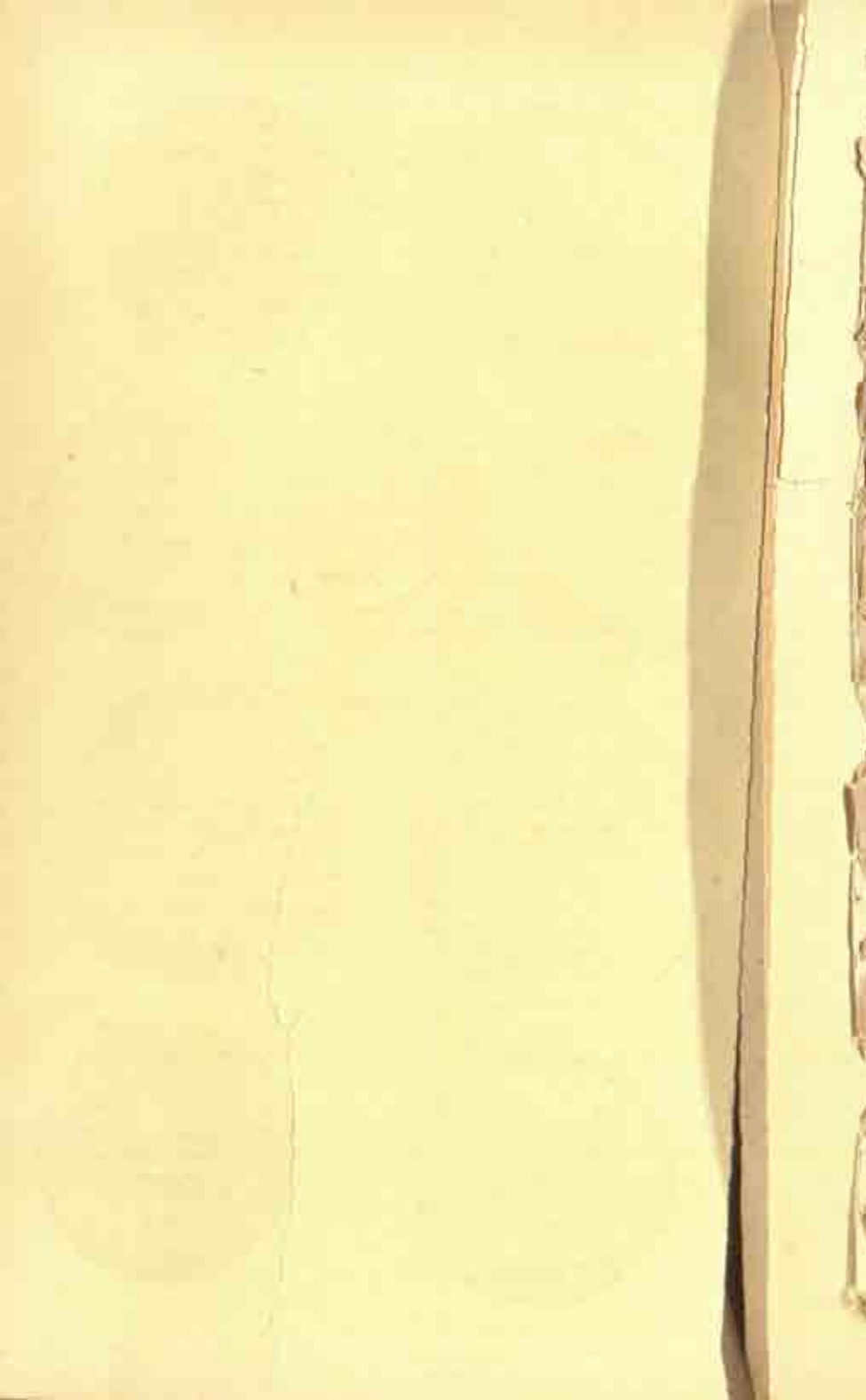
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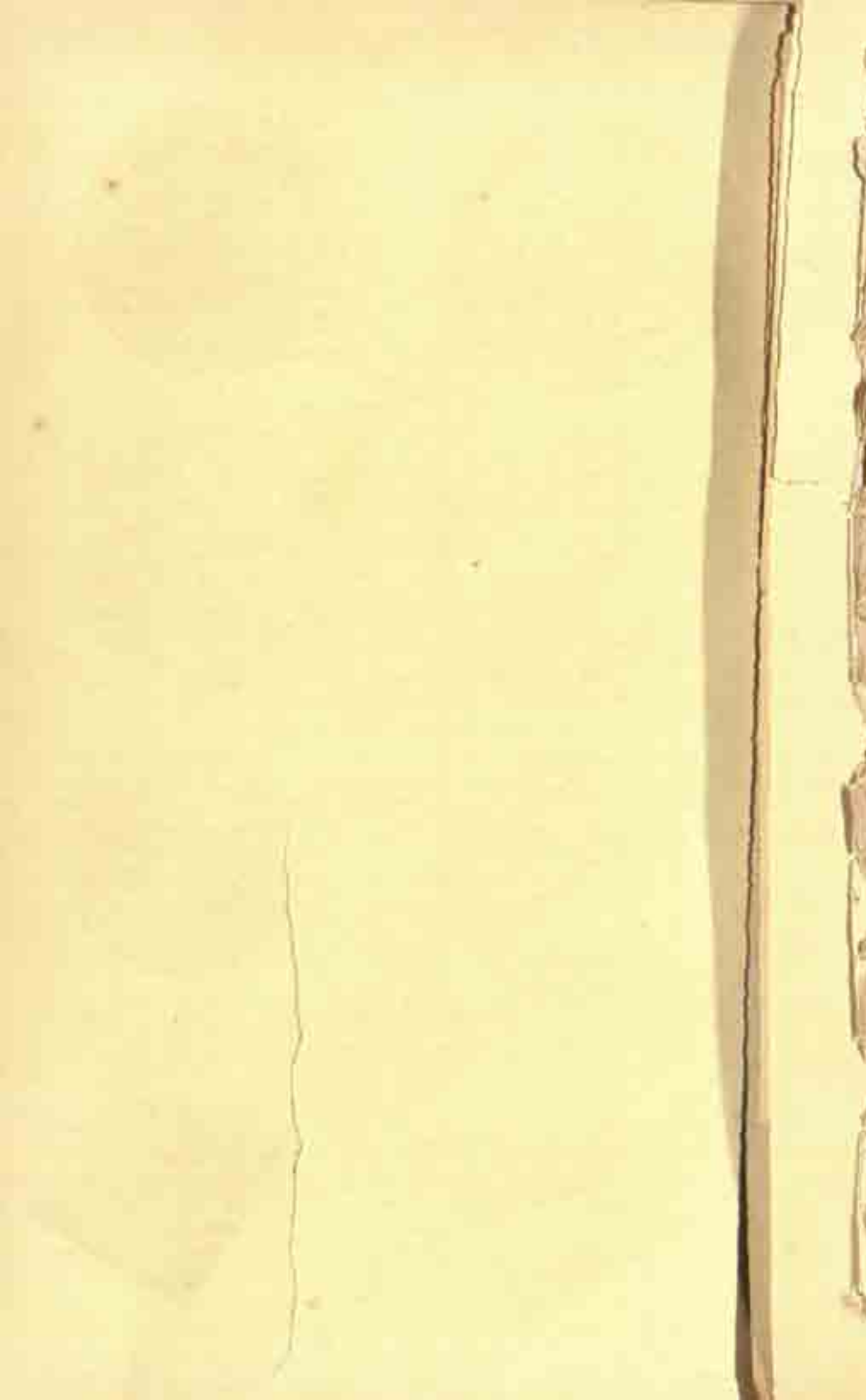
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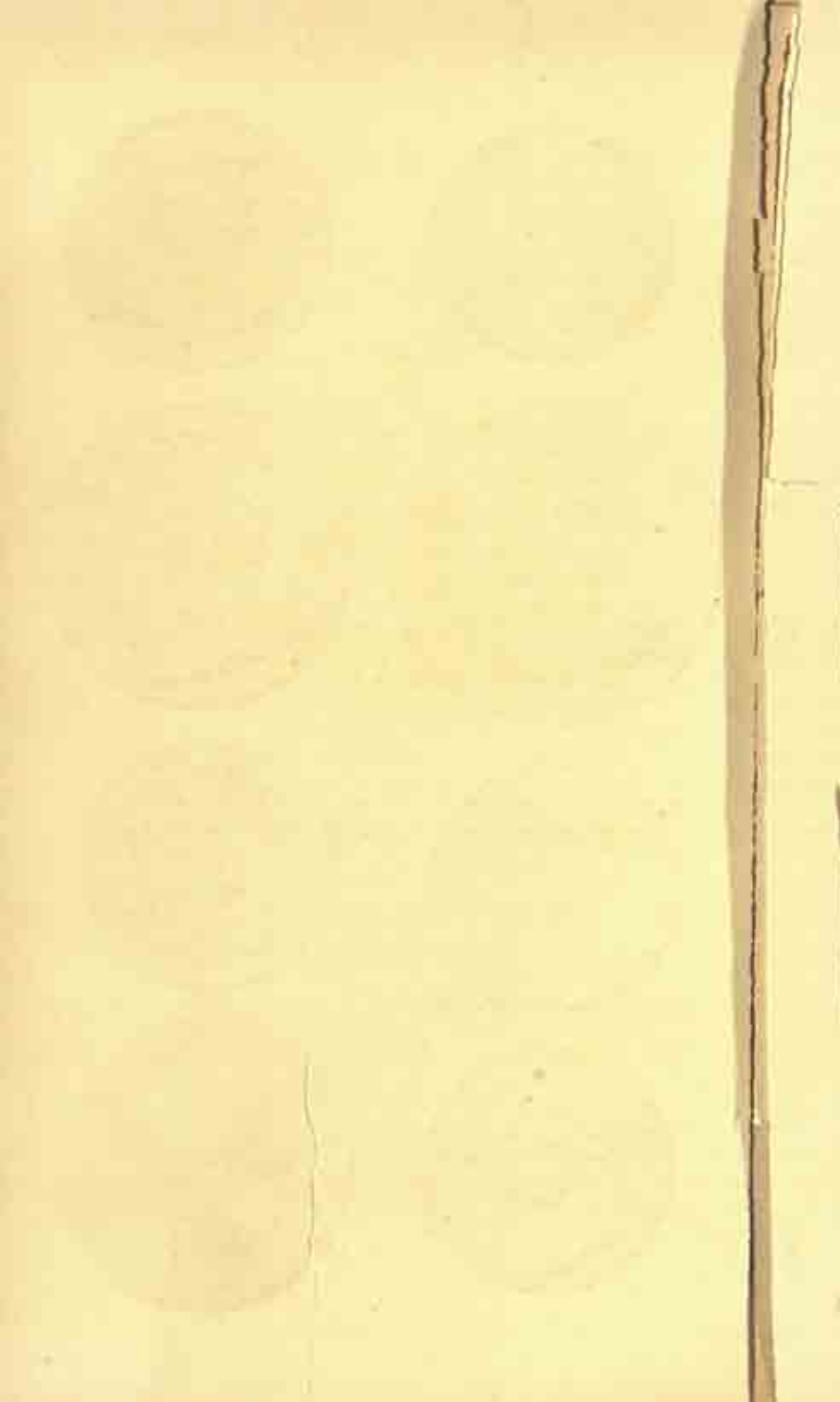
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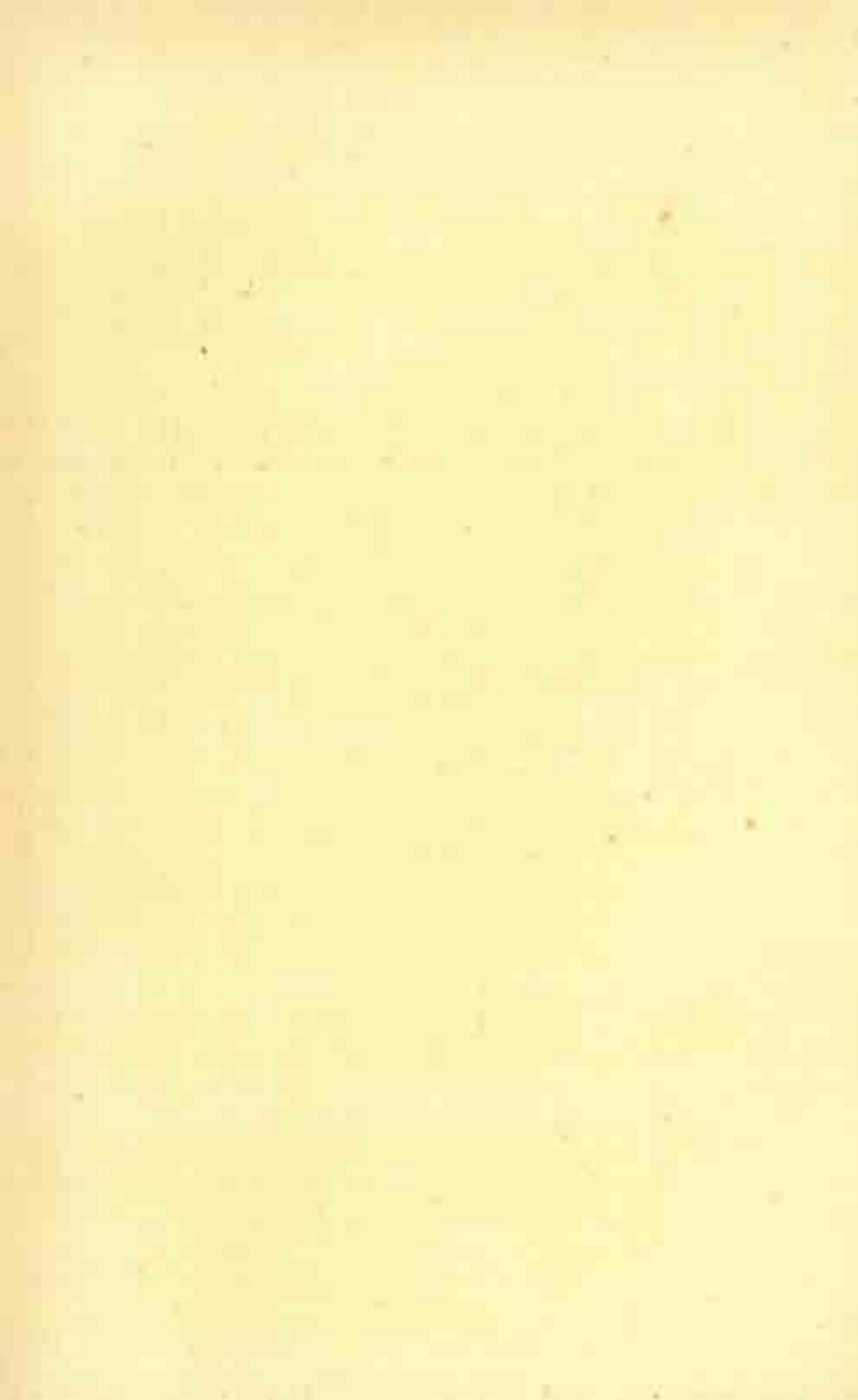
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7



II.

GERMAN RENAISSANCE MEDALS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

(See Plates IV.-VII.)

AMONG the treasures which are to be found in the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, those of the ancient section are especially widely known, and are rendered accessible to numismatists of all countries by means of that excellent publication *The Catalogue of Greek Coins*. There is also in this department a mass of material from later times and belonging to all branches of numismatics, even apart from the purely English series, which to a great extent is still awaiting treatment. Having been permitted, through the kindness of Mr. Head, to do some work in the British Museum last year, I was delighted and surprised by its wealth of German medals. These have been for the most part very long in its possession. Many of them belong to the collection which George I brought with him from Hanover, and which became later the property of the English nation—others formed part of the Sloane Collection.

The following paper is an attempt to describe and give some information about certain of these medals which belong to the time of the German Renaissance,

and which are either quite unknown or are not yet enough known to have met with the recognition due to their artistic or historical value. Others are here mentioned which are distinguished by their special beauty above other examples already known. I may, perhaps, be permitted to preface my descriptions by a few introductory words.

There is as yet no work which attempts to deal fully with the mass of German Renaissance medals known to be in existence, or which distinguishes the work of the various artists. One great reason for this is to be found in the fact that the materials for such a work are scattered through widely separated collections, and are generally arranged in accordance with heraldic and historical rather than artistic considerations. It is, moreover, extremely difficult to distinguish the work of the several masters. Most of the medals are unsigned, and when signed the monograms are often only to be deciphered by the aid of troublesome research among old records. For the German medallists of the 16th century were not, as was the case with their Italian contemporaries, great artists, but generally modest master-craftsmen, working by order of princes and wealthy merchants. So much the more is it the duty of German numismatists to examine and publish all German medals of the time with which they may become acquainted, in order to have some small share in providing materials for a future great work upon the subject.

An excellent piece of work of this kind is the publication of Professor A. Erman, of Berlin, on *German Medals of the 16th and 17th centuries* (Berlin, 1884); but, unfortunately, the material available for the work presented too many gaps, and the whole claims only to

be a first sketch. With regard to matters of detail, the late Professor v. Sallet, of Berlin, and Professor Domanig, of Vienna, have thrown light upon many questions. In the volume of the *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique* which treats of German medals, many of them are quite inadequately reproduced and still more inadequately described.

So far as the technical work of medals of the German Renaissance is concerned, the masters of the 16th century preferred casting, only few examples of striking being in existence. It is well known that casting is the nobler and more artistic method of producing medals, and among all nations the best work in this branch of art has been done in this way.

The models were, as a rule, first carved in wood, the letters being afterwards fastened on. Many of these wooden models are still preserved, and serve as ornaments of our collections. A good many medals were also executed in honestone. The art of modelling in wax came into use later, but, once known, was soon in general favour. The finished cast was often worked over with the chisel, in order to bring out details. But there are also in existence most successful casts which have not been touched. The metal in general use was bronze; silver was less used at first, and one must not be surprised to find that many of the medals here described are of lead. The first casts, which were at the same time the proofs, were always produced in the less valuable metal, and of many medals we possess only these casts in lead. That the medals here described are really originals is proved by their excellent workmanship, and by their patina, which is the result of age.

Space fails me here for further details about German

Renaissance medallists; these are to be found in the above-mentioned work by Professor Erman. I will only mention that at their head stands the greatest master of that time, perhaps the greatest artist that Germany has ever produced, Albrecht Dürer. There are at least three medals which are generally acknowledged to be almost certainly from his hand. Among the medals in the British Museum the work of the Strassburg master, Friedrich Hagenauer, is well represented. Three examples of his work are reproduced here for the first time.

The artists, so far as they are to be identified, are spoken of in the descriptions, and I have endeavoured, so far as possible, to fix their dates and also to give some information respecting the persons portrayed. In conclusion, I must beg for indulgence for the incompleteness of this attempt, on account of difficulties inseparable from the nature of the material handled. My wish is to bring a further small contribution to the history of German medals, and to help to extend a taste for the peculiar beauties of these works of art.

1. LUCIA DOERRER.

: LVCIA • DORERIN • DECIMA • MYSARVM • ET • DECVS •
GERMANIAE : M • D • XXII : Bust of Lucia Doerrer
to right in brocaded close-fitting dress, the hair con-
fined by a net, over which is a broad-brimmed hat.

41 mm. Lead. One-sided. [Pl. IV., 1.]

This medal was reproduced as early as 1765, by G. A. Will, on the frontispiece of his *Nürnbergische Münz-Belustigungen*, in the inexact manner of that time, which gives a quite wrong idea of the character of the

work. Im Hof has described it in the second volume of the *Nürnbergisches Münz-cabinet* as a brass medal; therefore, evidently, from a later cast. Neither gives any information as to either the person represented or the artist. We have here evidently a work from the hands of the Nürnberg medallist, *Hans Schwarz*, who carved his models in wood, which accounts for his preference for broad sharp-edged relief. The somewhat rough handling of the features, especially of the nose, is characteristic of Schwarz.

Very little is known with regard to the poetess Lucia Doerrler, who is here represented. Will, who has generally so much to say, is quite silent with regard to this medal, probably because he knew nothing about it. Lucia belonged to the noble Nürnberg family of "Doerrler von der Untern-Burg," which came to Nürnberg from Franconia in the 13th century, and which died out there at the beginning of the 18th. According to the exact genealogical table of this many-branched family drawn up by Biedermann, there was no lady of the name who bore the single Christian name "Lucia." Our poetess is, however, probably identical with Helene Lucia Doerrler, daughter of the Nürnberg councillor Wilhelm Doerrler, who was born in the year 1501, and died in 1537. She married, in 1525, Andreas Bech v. Eisenberg. In accordance with this, she appears on our medal as a maiden of 21 years. How far she deserves the title "*Decima Musarum*" I at least have been unable to discover. Probably, she was a poetical dilettante. Exaggerated flattery in Latin dedications of that time is by no means rare.

2. LUCAS FURTENAGEL.

* LVCAS · FVRTENAGEL · MALER · VON · AVGSPVRG · SEINES · ALTERS · XXII · Mint-mark, a leaf. Bust of Furtenagel to left, in mantle and broad hat. In the field divided, the date M · D · —XXVII · Before the bust, the monogram of Friedrich Hagenauer H.

63 mm. Lead. One-sided. [Pl. IV., 2.]

This medal belongs to the earlier work of *Friedrich Hagenauer*.¹ This master is considered one of the best and most productive of German Renaissance medallists. He was born in Strassburg, and worked in Augsburg from 1526 to 1532, where he made many portrait medals, principally of celebrated persons who came there for the Imperial Diet of 1530. Later, he worked in Alsace and on the Rhine. At this period was executed the Reformation series, of which we will speak later in dealing with the medal of Martin Bucer. His latest work, so far as is at present known, belongs to the year 1546.

His work is characterised by the fine treatment of the portraits and, his earliest work especially, by the slightness of the relief. The reverses of his medals have usually only proverbs.

Lucas Furtenagel is little known as a painter. According to Nagler's *Allgemeines Künstlerlexicon* he was a native of Halle, and painted Luther's portrait after his death in 1546. Hagenauer's medal is already reproduced, but indistinctly, in *Trésor de Num. et Glyptique* (vol. *Méd. Allem.*, Plate VI., 10). There are

¹ In Erman's enumeration the date is erroneously given as 1526. Our example shows clearly 1527.

examples of it with a reverse, on which is a die surrounded by a laurel wreath with the inscription, "Allein was obliegt das gilt."

3. PAUL LAUCHBERGER AND AGNES WICKER.

☆ PAVLVS LAVCHBERGER ARGENTINENSIS · ANNORVM XXXII · Bust of Paul Lauchberger to right, in open coat and broad hat. Before it the monogram H.

Rev. ☆ AGNE · WICKERIN · VX · PAV · LAVCH · ARGEN · ETAT · XXXI · M · D · XXXII · Bust of Agnes Lauchberger to left, in close-fitting brocaded dress with hood. Before it the monogram H.
42 mm. Silver gilt. [PL IV., 3.]

4. JACOB LAUCHBERGER.

☆ JACOB LAUCHBERGERIN ARGEN · VXOR PAV · LAVCH · AETAT · XVII · Bust of Jacobe Lauchberger to left, in close-fitting brocaded dress with hood.

Rev. Inscription: FORMOSA I EST I QVAE I PVDICA I
M · D · XXXV ·
44 mm. Lead. [PL V., 1.]

Both medals are originals from the hand of *Friedrich Hagenauer*, but have not until now been known as such. A later copy in bronze of the former was mentioned in a Frankfort sale catalogue in 1893. A second example of the latter is not known.

I have to thank Dr. Winckelmann, municipal recorder of Strassburg, for the following particulars as to the life of the Strassburg citizen, Paul Lauchberger, who is here represented. He was the son of a Strassburg goldsmith, Jost Lauchberger, who through his marriage with a daughter of a Strassburg citizen, obtained the right of citizenship in that city in 1499, and became later a

member of the city council. Paul Lauchberger was, as we see from our medal, born in 1500, the first offspring of this marriage. He was a grocer, and he became a member of the important guild "Zum Spiegel." From 1536 to 1537 he was one of the guild arbiters. Later, he became bankrupt; in 1545 he obtained, however, the position of clerk to the "Hall of Trade." The date of his death is unknown.

Our medals, on which he appears as a handsome man, show that Paul Lauchberger was twice married, first to Agnes Wicker, who was only a year younger than himself, and, in 1535, to the 17-year-old Jacobe, whose maiden name is not mentioned on the medal. The Strassburg "Marriage Register" of this time is not preserved.

If proof were necessary that Friedrich Hagenauer was the maker of the unsigned medals after 1532 ascribed to him by Erman, it would be found in these two pieces. The medal of Jacobe is the first by Hagenauer of which we know between the dates 1533 to 1536.

5. HANS WOLF OTMAR.

★ HANS - WOLF OTMAR - SEINES ALTER IM XX IAR.
Bust of Otmar to right, in doublet, ruff, and plumed cap.

Rev. Inscription: FRISCH | HYNDVRCH | WISCH - |
M - D - | XXXVII -

41 mm. Lead. [Pl. V., 2.]

This medal, with the beautiful portrait of young Otmar, is undoubtedly, in spite of its being unsigned, the work of *Friedrich Hagenauer*, as may easily be seen by comparison with the above-mentioned medals.

Erman quotes it from a Berlin example. I have been unable to discover anything about the person here represented. It is probable that, in common with Hagenauer's other portrait-work of the year 1537, this represents a resident in Cologne, or the Lower Rhine district, born in the year 1517.

6. THOMAS GRAF ZU RIENECK.

✱ THO · CO · I · RYNEK · SVBDC · ✧ · E · DECA' ECCL'AR
 COLO · NECNÖ · MAGVT · E · I · ARGEN · SENIOR · ✧
 Bust of Count Thomas v. Rieneck to left, in civil
 dress, with fur mantle and cap.

Rev. ✱ DVS · IESVS CRIST · REX VENIT IN PACE CON-
 SCENDENS IN CELOS · I · VIVIT · ✧ Bust of Christ
 to left in mantle, with long hair and pointed beard.
 Behind the head a cross and aureole.

36 mm. Lead. [Pl. V., 3.]

This interesting medal, with the portrait of the Count v. Rieneck and head of Christ, appears to be an as yet unknown work of *Friedrich Hagenauer*. The shape of the lettering, and especially the trefoils at the end of the inscriptions, are, quite apart from the style of the portraits, a sure indication of this master's latest period, the Rhine period, as it may be called (from 1537-1546). The head of Christ, with its long hair, is particularly fine.

Thomas, Count of Rieneck, was Canon of Mainz in 1480 and Curator of the Cathedral in 1507, as well as pro-dean at the Cathedral of Cologne, Dean of the Monastery of St. Gereon in the same town, and Canon of the Strassburg Chapter. In 1514 he went to Rome to receive the "Pallium" for the newly elected Archbishop of Mainz, Albrecht von Brandenburg. In 1538 he resigned the Curatorship of the Mainz Cathedral and

received the title of Senior Canon. As this title appears on the medal, the latter cannot be of an earlier date than 1538.² Thomas v. Rieneck died on July 28th, in 1547.

7. MICHAEL MERCATOR.³

+ A REGE ANGLORVM PRIMI MILITIS CREATI EX VENLO
EFFI: ☙ Bust of Michael Mercator to right, hair
low on forehead, and cut straight behind; a chain
round his neck.

Rev. Inscription: MICHAEL | MERCATOR | ÆTATIS
SVÆ XLVIII | GRATIA | DEO E REGI ☙ |
M · D · XXXIX · | ☙

33 mm. Silver. [Pl. V., 5.]

This medal, together with two similar ones of Michael Mercator and one of his wife, Elizabeth Mercator, have up to now been regarded as English medals, and in the work mentioned below are included as such. On the authority of Putaneus (*Genealogia Putanæa*, 1630) they are given as the work of Michael Mercator himself. These conclusions are, however, entirely erroneous. We have here to do, beyond a doubt, with medals *from the hand of the German master, Friedrich Hagenauer*. Not only are both figures and lettering quite in his style, but they bear also the master sign of his later years, a trefoil. We know that Hagenauer lived in the Lower Rhine district, Mercator's country, in the years 1539 and 1540, where he modelled portraits of various other important men. The information given by Putaneus

² In the collection of the town library in Mainz I found another lead example of this medal with the same obverse; on the reverse the shield of Rieneck and the inscription: ☆ CVM VOLET IPSE DEVS ☙ A° - M · D · XLII ☙

³ Reproduced in *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, edited by A. W. Franks and H. A. Græber, p. 43, No. 35.

100 years later that Mercator was himself a medallist, is without any proof. He read in contemporary notices that Mercator had distinguished himself as an artist and therefore ascribed these medals to him. What the truth may be with regard to the medal of Henry VIII, ascribed to Mercator in the *Medallio Illustrations*, I am unable to decide; at any rate, it has nothing to do with the one at present under consideration.

Michael Mercator (translation of the German name "Kaufmann") came from Venlo, which belonged at that time to the Duchy of Geldern. He was in the service of Floris v. Egmont, Count of Buren, for whom he was active, both as an artist and diplomat. In consequence of the relations between the Count and King Henry VIII he was, on various occasions, sent to England as an ambassador. A letter from his prince to the king, dated 15th October, 1538, has been preserved, in which Mercator is highly praised as an artist. On the occasion of this visit to England, the king conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, 28th February, 1539. Hagenauer's medal of the same year naturally indicates this advancement in rank.

8. MARTIN BUCER.

★ MARTIN: BYCERVS MINISTER EVANGELII D. N. I.
CHRISTI. ETAT. SVÆ LIII. → Bust of Bucer to
left, in Lutheran mantle.

Rev. Inscription: I - COR - II - I NIHIL IVDICO ME | SCIRE -
QVAM IESVM | CHRISTVM E HVNC | CRVOIFIXVM -
I M - D - XXXXIII - I →

47 mm. Lead. [PL V., 6.]

This medal of Martin Bucer belongs to *Friedrich Hagenauer's Reformation Series* of 1543. It is remark-

able for the sharp characterization of the scholarly head.

Martin Bucer (or Butzer) was born in Alsace in 1491. He was a Dominican monk, who, influenced by Luther, joined the Reformers, left the Order and married. He was appointed preacher in Strassburg, and was the leader of the Reformation in Alsace. He took up a position midway between Luther and the Swiss Reformers. In 1548 he was invited by Henry VIII of England, through Cranmer, to the University of Cambridge, where he worked till his death in 1551.

In the "Nessel Collection" in Hagenau is an example of this medal in lead, with the date 1546, which is reproduced by Engel and Lehr in their *Numismatique de l'Alsace* (Pl. XLI.). The example reproduced in the *Trésor de Numismatique et Glyptique* is of 1543, but differs from the above.

9. FRIEDRICH, ABBOT OF ST. GILES IN NÜRNBERG.

• FRIDER • ABB • S • ÆGIDII • ANNO • ETATIS • XLII

Bust of the abbot to right, in open coat and leather cap.

Rev. Inscription: • SI DEVS • | • PRO • NOBIS • | QVIS
CONTRA NOS • | • RO • VIII • Below this the shield
of arms of the Monastery of St. Giles in Nürnberg,
a doe with an arrow in her throat.

40 mm. Lead. [Pl. V., 7.]

The above medal is mentioned by G. A. Will in his *Nürnbergische Münzbelustigungen* as a medal originals of which are very rare. It is indeed so rare that only the undoubtedly contemporary lead example in the British

Museum and another original, formerly in the collection of H. Hoffmann in Paris, are known to me. At a casual glance one might take this medal for a work of Friedrich Hagenauer, but this idea is disproved, both by internal and external evidence. It is a work of a Nürnberg artist, perhaps Ludwig Krug.

The family name of Friedrich, last abbot of St. Giles, was Pistorius (originally Becker). He was born in Breitenfeld in Franconia in 1486. The medal represents him in his 42nd year, and was therefore cast in 1528. Friedrich became abbot in 1521; he was, however, greatly attracted by the new teaching of Luther, so that his Abbey was secularised, with his consent, by the town council of Nürnberg in 1525, although it had been dependent only upon the Empire. Pistorius, however, retained the title "Abbot of St. Giles" to the end of his life. He was renowned on account of his learning, and was a close friend of Pirkheimer, Melancthon, Luther, and other reformers. He even sent to Luther a silver example of this medal as a present, and a Latin letter of Luther's is in existence in which he thanks Pistorius, and remarks upon the great resemblance of the portrait. In common with other priests who embraced the Reformation, Abbot Friedrich married, and afterwards obtained a position as proof-reader in a Nürnberg printing house. He died in 1553.

10. LORENZ TRUCHSESS OF POMMERSFELDEN.

▲ LAVRENT TRUCHSES ▲ ▲ BOMERSFELDEN ▲ DECANVS ▲
ECLIE ▲ - MAGVNT ▲ M ▲ DXXX ▲ Bust of Lorenz
Truchsess v. Pommersfelden to right, with fur mantle
and cap.

Rev. An ornamented tablet, surrounded by a wreath of leaves bearing the inscription: ▲ CONFVNDANTVR ▲ SVPERBI ▲ QVIA ▲ INIVSTE INIQVITATEM ▲ FECERVNT ▲ IN ▲ ME ▲ and surmounted by an hour glass, within the inscription: ▲ MICHİ ▲ HODIE: CRAS ▲ TIBİ ▲ Below the tablet, two overlapping shields of arms. Round the wreath the inscription: ▲ PERICVLVM ▲ IN ▲ FALSIS ▲ FRATRIBVS ▲

41 mm. Silver. [PL VI., L.]

In this highly characteristic medal of Lorenz Truchsess v. Pommersfelden we have before us the work of a master whose style is identical with that of the "Unknown Augsburg Wood-carvers," as Erman called them, and who recently has been recognised to have been most probably *Peter Flötner* himself, the famous Nürnberg artist. Indeed, the execution of the portrait and the ornaments and shields of the reverse show those pure Renaissance forms which Flötner introduced into German art, and I am inclined to attribute this medal, in common with Professor Domanig and Professor Lange, to his hand. There are two other medals with the portrait of Lorenz Truchsess, but with different reverses, which are reproduced by Hemeus in his *Bildnisse der Fürsten und berühmten Männer*, Pl. L., 36 to 38.

Lorenz Truchsess von Pommersfelden was Dean of the Cathedral Church of Mainz from 1514, and played an important part under Archbishop Albrecht von Brandenburg. He defended the liberties of his chapter against this prince, but it was finally suppressed by him. The inscriptions on the reverse of our medal allude to this struggle. From 1528 he was also Canon of Würzburg, where he died in 1543.

11. FRANZ, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK.

FRANC · DVX · BR · ET · LYNEB · M · D · XXXII · Bust of the Duke to right, in an embroidered coat with triple chain.

Rev. · DOMINI · SVMVS · SIVE · VIVIMVS · SIVE · MORIMVR, Shield of arms with four quarterings, within a wreath of leaves surmounted by the Brunswick helm.

41 mm. Silver (cp. Köhler, "Münzbelustigungen," 1744, p. 369.) [PL VI., 2.]

Duke Franz of Brunswick and Lüneburg, was the third son of Henry the Younger, and was born in 1508. Upon the dividing of the duchy after the death of his father, he obtained Gifhorn and the Monastery of Isenbergen. A devoted follower of Luther, he did much for the Reformation, and in 1530 accompanied the Elector John of Saxony to the Diet at Augsburg, where he proclaimed his adherence to the "Confessio Augustana." In 1547 Duke Franz married Clara, of Sachsen-Lauenburg, and died in 1549 without male issue.

On this fine medal the duke is represented in his 24th year. The medal is certainly South German work, most probably by *Peter Flötner*, with whose Palatinate medals it corresponds. Professor Domanig also is inclined, on account of style, to ascribe this medal to Peter Flötner. As was the case with so many portrait medals, it was probably ordered on the occasion of the Diet in 1530, but first executed two years later.

12. LORENZ FLAISCHER.

LORENCZ FLAISCHER · ÆTA · XXVIII · AN · 1537 · Bust of Lorenz Flaisher to right, with short hair and pointed beard.

33 mm. Lead. One-sided. [PL V., 4.]

This medal, which is always one-sided, is described by Im Hof in the second volume of his *Nürnberg'sche Münzen*. There is another medal of Lorenz Flaischer of 1533. The artist is not named on either; possibly we have to do here with an unsigned work of the master M G (Mattes-Gebel) or of the master L, whose medals this one closely resembles. Both were pupils of Peter Flötner.

Lorenz Flaischer was a citizen of Nürnberg, and was born in 1508. Nothing further is known of him.

13. GEORG VON BREITENBACH.

GEORG A. BRAITENBACH DOCT. ET CANCEL. BRAND:
Bust of Chancellor v. Breitenbach, three-quarters to right, in fur mantle and hood; on the breast a chain.

37 mm. Lead. One-sided. [PL. VII., 1.]

This interesting medal, the work of one of the earlier unknown Saxon masters, who worked in Leipzig and Dresden between the years 1535 and 1545, has been, as far as I know, only once published, in the *Trésor de Numismatique et Glyptique*, t. xviii., 5, a not very clear reproduction. Here, too, it has no reverse.

Georg v. Breitenbach was a Thuringian, and is known to have been Professor of Law at the University of Leipzig. At first favourably inclined towards Luther's teaching, he was, nevertheless, later, under the influence of Duke Georg von Sachsen, against the Reformers. In the end, however, he became a protestant. In the year 1540 he received the office of Chancellor from the Elector Joachim II von Brandenburg, which position he held only one year, for he died in 1541. Our medal must have been made at this time, probably immediately after his appointment in 1540.

14. CHRISTOPH KHEVENHÜLLER VON
AICHELBERG.

CRISTOF KEVENHVLER VON AICHELBE—RG · R⁺ K⁺ M⁺
RAT * Bust of Christoph Khevenhüller to right,
in mantle and cap.

Rev. VND LANDSHAVBTMAN IN KHARENTHEN · ANNO
1543 · The shield of arms of the Khevenhüllers
surmounted by two ornamented helms.

38 mm. Lead. [PL VI., 3.]

This lead example of a cast medal, which, so far as I know, is as yet unpublished, forms an interesting pendant to a struck medal of the same Christoph Khevenhüller, also of 1543, which has been reproduced and described by Köhler in the 20th volume of his *Münzbelustigungen* (1748). There was a good example of the latter in the Felix Collection (t. v., 153). It has also a bust and shield of Khevenhüller, but differs from our medal in so far as that the inscription of the obverse is broken by the portrait, and on the reverse the age of the person represented is given (SEINS ALTERS 39). Clearly we have before us in the cast medal of the British Museum a proof which was then thrown aside, the mould being replaced by the struck medal. The artist is not known, but the work is certainly Austrian (*School of Hall in Tyrol*).

Christoph Khevenhüller von Aichelberg, Baron von Landskron, was born in 1504. His ancestors came to Carinthia from Franconia in the 14th century. He was Chamberlain to King Ferdinand I, and later Councillor to the Emperor Charles V. In 1540 he was appointed Captain-General of Carinthia, in the enjoyment of which dignity he died in 1557. His contemporary, Magiser, describes him as a handsome and dignified man, of invincible courage, which testimony is fully borne out by the medal.

15. PETER ECHTER ZU MESPELBRONN.

▲PETE▲ECH▲ZV▲MESPELB▲ÆTIS▲XXVIII▲ Bust of Peter Echter to right, with a chain round his neck.

30 mm. Lead. One-sided. [Pl. VI., 4.]

Peter Echter zu Mespelbronn was of an old Franconian noble family, which took its name from the castle of Mespelbronn in the Spessart. He was born in 1520. This medal, which represents him in his 28th year, was therefore cast in 1548. Peter Echter was councillor to the Electorate of Mainz, and was often employed politically for the "Erzstift." He died in 1576. He married Gertrud von Andoltzheim, by whom he had a son, Julius Echter v. Mespelbronn, the celebrated bishop of Würzburg who founded the University of that town.

16. MARQUARDT VON STEIN.

MARQVAR : IDE STEIN : PRÆPO : AC CANO : CATHE :
EC : MOGVN : BAMB : ET A/G : Bust of v. Stein to left, in gown and cap. On truncation, the date 1549. The margin is formed by a wreath of leaves.

41 mm. Silver. One-sided. [Pl. VII., 2.]

Marquardt von Stein was a native of Stein—formerly Klingenstein—in Suabia. He was Provost of the Mainz Cathedral and Canon of Bamberg and Augsburg, in which latter place he died in 1559. Here also this medal of the year 1549, which represents him as an aged man, was most probably produced. The artist is unknown.

17. BARTHOLOMEUS HALLER VON HALLERSTEIN.

BARTHOLMES · HALLER · VÖ · HALLER · STÄS · RITTER ·

The Haller shield of arms, with four quarterings, surmounted by two ornamented helms.

Rev. SCHVLTHAIS · ZV · FRANCKFVRT · R · KAT · MAT ·

Bust of Haller to right, with short beard, in armour and cap.

31 mm. Bronze. [PL IV., 4.]


The example of this rare Frankfort medal in the British Museum is distinguished by sharpness and beauty above all other examples of the same with which I am acquainted. The artist's name is unknown.

Bartholomeus Haller v. Hallerstein was born in 1486, in Nürnberg, where he held the office of Imperial and Town Judge, and was Councillor to King Ferdinand I. In the year 1549, he was appointed Mayor of Frankfort on Main, where he died in 1551. This medal must have been cast soon after 1549.


18. SIEGMUND VON NANCKENREUT.


* SIGMYND VON NANCKENREVT · 3V · SCHREC3 IM

ALTER · XLIII Bust of Siegmund v. Nanckenreut three-quarters to right. In the field divided

A^o · M · DEI. On truncation the monogram H  B.

50 mm. Lead. One-sided. [PL VII., 3.]

The master H  B is rightly called by Erman one of the best German medallists, whose work is equally distinguished by its technical perfection and the deep feeling of his conceptions. His full name is not known. Attempts have been made to identify him with the well-known engraver, Hans Sebald Beham, who lived in

common with our artist in Frankfort on Main, and came like him from Nürnberg. Beham, however, had a different monogram  and the circumstances of his life render this identification impossible.

The above medal⁴ in the British Museum provides new evidence in support of Erman's high praise. The fineness and finish of the work are indeed wonderful. With regard to Sigmund v. Nanckenreut, whose portrait is here given, I have discovered that he was a knight of a Franconian noble house which held estates in the "Gebürg" district. His father was Egidius v. Nanckenreut zu Schrecks. He was born in 1507, and the medal shows him in his 44th year. This medal was probably made in Nürnberg after the return of the artist from Frankfort on Main.

19. LEVINUS BLOCCENUS.

: LEVINVS BLOC-CENVVS—A· BYRGH· Bust of Bloccenus to right, in fur mantle and cap. On truncation, IAC·ZAG·F·1556·

47 mm. Lead. One-sided. [PL VII., 4.]

This medal of Bloccenus shows us to how great an extent the Flemish and Dutch medallists of the 16th century were under German influence. The artist, Jacob Zagar, is known to have lived in Brussels from 1554 to 1574. Our medal belongs to his earlier work. One of his finest works is a portrait-medal of Frederiek Perrenot, brother of Cardinal Granvelle. With regard to Levin Bloccenus' life, I have not been able to find out anything further than that he was a scholar in Brussels.

⁴ Previously published by me in my *Frankfurter Medailleurs*.

20. GEORG TETZEL.

GEORG · TETZEL—ALT · 27 · Bust of Tetzal, nearly full face, in cap, and with a triple chain round his neck. On truncation the date 1557.

Rev. The Pfünzing and Fütter shields of arms, surmounted by the Tetzal helm.

40 mm. Bronze. [PL VII., 5.]

There are three different medals of the Nürnberg noble Georg Tetzal von Kirchensittenbach, which are described by Im Hof, vol. ii., p. 677. The one here given is the latest, the other two belong to the year 1552. One can easily recognise in all three the work of the *master* : D. *Johann Deschler* or *Teschler*. On the reverse Tetzal has had the shields of his two wives placed under his helm.

21. KAISER RUDOLPH II.

· RVDOLFVS · 14 · — · DEI · GRA · In high relief, on a diapered field, the bust of the Emperor Rudolph II to right. He is in armour, with a ruff, the Order of the Golden Fleece upon his breast, and the Imperial crown on his head. In the corners of the square field to left and right the date 15-84; above, the artist's signature, · H · R · ; below, an ornament.

Rev. A figure of Christ bearing the cross, and turning his head. In the background the town of Jerusalem, with many towers.

30 × 30 mm. Bronze gilt. Square. [PL VI., 5.]

The square medal above described* forms the centre piece of a very beautiful Renaissance ornament in the British Museum. The whole is a piece of gold-

* Already published by me in *Berliner Münzblätter*, xxiv. (1903), No. 21, pp. 329 f., where further details will be found.

smith's work of the highest order, which had evidently been executed by command of the Emperor Rudolph himself for bestowal as a gift. It is from the hand of the Munich artist Hans Reimer; the fact that the signature appears as H·R instead of HR need not surprise us, as the letters were needed to fill the space.

22. JOHANNES MASLER.

IOHANNES MASL-ER ÆTATIS LXXIII Bust of Masler to right, in jerkin, with ruff. On truncation, 15W 94.
39 mm. Lead. [PL VII, 6.]

The medal bears the monogram of the celebrated medallist *Valentin Maler*, W, who came from Joachims-thal in Bohemia, and became master in Nürnberg after he had married the daughter of the goldsmith Wenzel Jamnitzer. He worked partly in Nürnberg, partly in Silesia and Saxony, and many signed and unsigned works of his are in existence. He was the first artist in Germany to use to any great extent the process of striking medals side by side with that of casting, and in both he reached a high standard of artistic finish.

This portrait-medal of Johannes Masler, which is now for the first time described, bears the date 1594. I have been unable to discover who Masler was; he certainly was not a Nürnberg citizen.

23. JOACHIM SANDRART.

IOACHIMVS · SANDRART · ÆT · S · XXXIII · Bust of Sandrart to right, with long curls, lace collar, jerkin, and chain, to which hangs a medal.

46 mm. Silver. One-sided. [PL VII, 7.]

Our description of German medals in the British Museum may well be closed by that of the above portrait of Joachim Sandrart, although it belongs to the 17th century. Joachim v. Sandrart, however, was not only a celebrated painter and engraver, but also the first German writer on the History of Art, to whose work we owe much of our knowledge of the German Renaissance. He also forms a personal link between Germany and England.

Joachim Sandrart was born in Frankfort on Main in 1606. He went with his teacher, Gerhard Honthorst, to the court of Charles I of England, where he found a patron in the Duke of Buckingham. After a considerable time spent in Italy and the Netherlands, during which he achieved such great success that his fame as an artist was firmly established, he returned to his fatherland and settled down upon his estate at Stockau. Finally, however, he removed to Nürnberg, where he died in 1688. Few artists have been so favoured by fortune. Princes sought to obtain his paintings, and the Emperor Ferdinand III ennobled him.

Our medal was produced in the year 1640. It is an excellently executed and undoubtedly old silver proof.

JULIUS CAHN.

III.

HISTORY AND COINAGE OF MALWA.

(Continuation: see Vol. III., p. 398.) (See Plates VIII.-IX.)

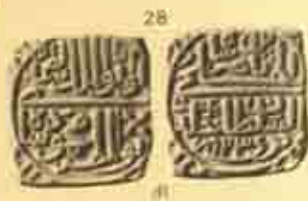
II.

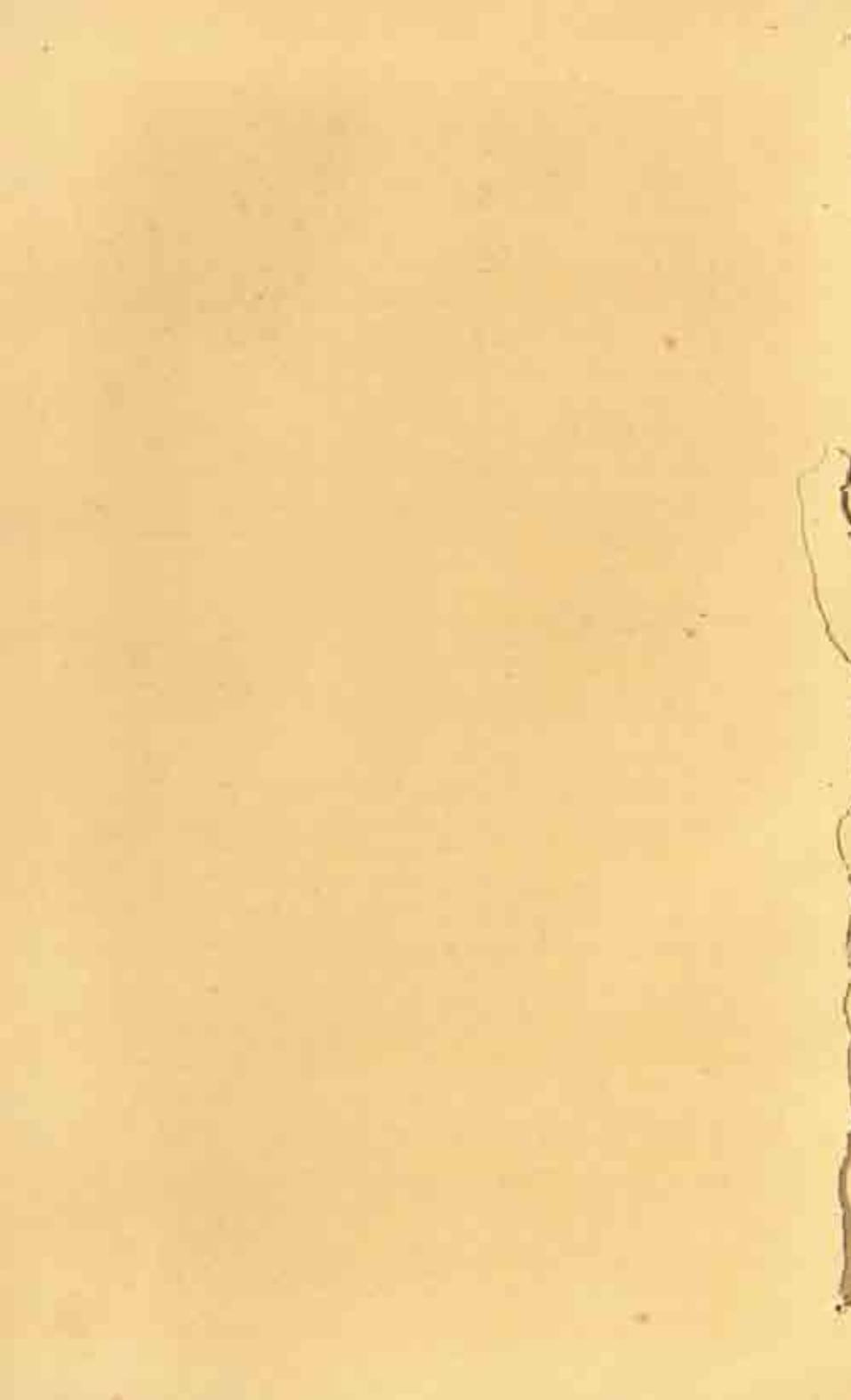
COINAGE.

(a.) *Shapes.*

In the shapes of their coins the sovereigns of Malwa struck out an original line, as we find them adopting the square form introduced by Ala ud Din Muhammed, Emperor of Delhi (695-715 A.H.), and continued by his successor Kutab ud Din Mubarik (715-720 A.H.). Sikandar Shah, King of Kashmir, who reigned from 788 to 813 A.H., and was a contemporary of Hoshang Shah of Malwa, gave currency to the same type of coinage in silver, which became the stereotyped form in the State. Although the square form is characteristic of the Malwa currency, the round type was also issued simultaneously, as was the case with the Graeco-Bactrian copper coinage, which includes both classes.

During the reign of the earlier kings, Hoshang Shah and Muhammed I, the round form was practically universal, although a square copper coin of the former king without his name, but dated 829, is known. In





the reign of Mahmud I the issue of the square and round types in all three metals was maintained in fairly equal proportions. In the next reign (Ghyas Shah) the square issues largely predominate, while in the reigns of the later kings (Nasir Shah, Mahmud II, Muhammed II, Bahadur Shah of Gujerat, and Baz Bahadur) the square type only is issued.

(b.) Weights and Standards.

The weight of the gold coins was apparently constant, with a maximum of about 175 grains and a minimum of 167 grains, based presumably on the 100 Rati standard. The British Museum collection contains a specimen of Ghyas Shah's currency which weighs 207 grains. This is an exceptional weight, which corresponds with certain gold coins of Jehangir and some of the Dinars of Muhammed bin Tughlak. The silver coins comprise four classes, with maximum weights of 175, $87\frac{1}{2}$, 44 and 22 grains. These weights are based on the 100 Rati standard and its subdivisions. Coins of the fourth size are rare. Hoshang Shah's silver coins, which are also uncommon, have only been found in the first size. There is a square silver coin in my cabinet of Mahmud II, which would appear to correspond with the 64 Rati standard. I can however suggest no explanation of this exceptional weight. The billon currency, which was apparently introduced by Mahmud I, was continued by his immediate successors Ghyas Shah, Nasir Shah and Mahmud II. These coins are of different degrees of alloy, some containing a large proportion of silver, while others are hardly distinguishable from copper. This

description of coinage comprises at least five classes, with the following weights and standards:—

(1) 100 Rati standard	. . .	170 to 162 grains.
(2) 80 Rati standard	. . .	142 to 125½ "
(3) 50 Rati standard	. . .	85½ to 79 "
(4) 40 Rati standard	. . .	72 to 63 "
(5) 32 Rati standard	. . .	53 to 48 "

The metrology of the copper currency is complicated and confusing, as the different classes seem to merge into each other without any very definite line of partition, and the weights of many coins are considerably below their supposed standards. In some reigns at least three standards (viz., the 100, 80 and 32 Rati) appear to have been used simultaneously. These may be conveniently grouped under the following heads:—

100 Rati Standard.	80 Rati Standard.	32 Rati Standard.
100 Ratis	160 Ratis	128 Ratis
50 Ratis	80 Ratis	64 Ratis
25 Ratis	40 Ratis	32 Ratis
	20 Ratis	

The copper coins of Malwa may therefore be roughly divided into the following ten classes, three being based on the 100, four on the 80, and three on the 32 Rati standard:—

1st class	. . .	160 Ratis (289 grains).	. . .	220 grains.
2nd "	. . .	128 " (224 ")	. . .	187 to 176 "
3rd "	. . .	100 " (175 ")	. . .	170 to 151 "
4th "	. . .	80 " (140 ")	. . .	142 to 115½ "
5th "	. . .	64 " (112 ")	. . .	107 to 92 "
6th "	. . .	50 " (87½ ")	. . .	86 to 77 "
7th "	. . .	40 " (70 ")	. . .	72 to 57 "
8th "	. . .	32 " (56 ")	. . .	55 to 46 "
9th "	. . .	25 " (43 ")	. . .	44 to 37 "
10th "	. . .	20 " (35 ")	. . .	33 to 25 "

In the reign of Hoshang Shah we find but two classes (5th and 7th) represented, and in that of Muhammed only one (7th). In the next three reigns all the classes are fairly well represented, though I have seen only one coin of the first class, which was struck by Ghyas Shah. In the reign of Mahmud II, the first and second classes are not represented, and there is an appreciable decline in the later issues of this king, both as regards weight and workmanship. The copper coinage of Muhammed II comprises four classes (3rd, 4th, 7th and 8th), while of Baz Bahadur's coins there are only two (5th and 8th).

(c.) *Sizes.*

The gold coins of Malwa are of two principal sizes, viz., 0·95 to 0·90 and 0·80 to 0·70 in.

The Mohars of Hoshang Shah, Muhammed I and Mahmud I belong to the first class, while Nasir Shah and Mahmud II struck coins of the smaller size. In Ghyas Shah's reign coins of both sizes were issued.

The silver coins are divisible into four classes in point of size:—

1st size	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	1·65 to 0·95
2nd size	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	0·80 to 0·70
3rd size	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	0·55
4th size	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	0·45

The silver issues of Hoshang Shah, Mahmud I, and Ghyas Shah are very fine, and the first class is confined, as far as I know, to these three reigns.

In billon the following three sizes are known:—

1st size	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	0·85 to 0·80
2nd size	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	0·70
3rd size	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	0·65 to 0·60

The copper coins comprise four main classes, as follows:—

1st size	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.95 to 0.90
2nd size	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.80 to 0.70
3rd size	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.65 to 0.60
4th size	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.55 to 0.45

(d.) *Metals.*

The long-reigned sovereigns of Malwa, Hoshang Shah, Mahmud I, Ghyas Shah, Nasir Shah, and Mahmud II, struck coins in all three metals, viz., gold, silver, and copper. A billon currency was also issued by Mahmud I, Ghyas Shah, Nasir Shah and Mahmud II. The billon currency of Mahmud I is fairly abundant, but his successor's issue of this class of coinage was apparently limited. Of Muhammed I only a single gold Mohar is known. No silver coins of this king have come to light, while his copper coins are very rare. The gold and silver coins of Mahmud II are uncommon. Of Muhammed II, Bahadur Shah of Gujerat, and Baz Bahadur, only copper coins have been found, and even these are rare.

(e.) *Mints.*

The only mint found on the coins of Malwa is Shadiabad (Mandu), or the City of Joy, to which is usually prefixed the title "dar ul Mulk" (the Capital), and in a few rare specimens "Hazrat" (Seat of the Royal Presence). This mint name is found on all the copper coins of Hoshang Shah and Muhammed I, on most of the silver and copper coins of Mahmud I, and on a few coins of all three metals of Ghyas Shah. The practice of

recording the mint was dying out in the reign of Ghyas Shah, and on the coins of the later kings no mint name is found.

(f.) *Symbolical Marks.*

A remarkable feature of the Malwa coinage is their symbolical ornamentation. These marks are found on the copper coins of the first king, Hoshang Shah, but are not met with on the coinage of his successors Muhammed I and Mahmud I. On Ghyas Shah's coins they are again apparent, though only on the square copper coins. In the reigns of his successors these marks are very varied and abundant. It is a curious coincidence in regard to these ornamental signs that they are found coming into prominent vogue just as the practice of recording the mint name is dying out. I am not prepared, however, to say that they are mint marks representing different cities where the coins were struck. These marks are found sometimes on one side of the coin only, and sometimes on both, while a few coins are ornamented with as many as three symbols. The most curious perhaps of these signs are of Hindu origin, viz., the Swastika, and the magic symbol, No. 36, which so closely resembles a Bactrian monogram. A fairly complete collection of these symbols is given in the "Table of Symbols," p. 98.

(g.) *Dates.*

Dates are generally found on Malwa coins, and are for the most part expressed in cyphers, though in a few round coins of Mahmud I. they are written in Arabic words. On some round coins of Hoshang Shah and Mahmud I the date is given in the margin in figures or words, but

as a general rule it is placed on the reverse area of the coin. In Ghyas Shah's coinage it is found on the obverse of round coins and on the reverse of the square series. On Nasir Shah's coins the date on the reverse is the rule, but several of his copper coins of the lower weights have it on the obverse. In a few of this king's copper issues the date is shown in figures running up the side (*e.g.* a light-weight coin, 115½ grains, of the 4th class). In the coins of Mahmud II and Muhammed II, the dates are invariably shown on the reverse side. A table of the known coin-dates of the various rulers of Malwa is given in the general summary prefixed to this paper (Vol. III., pp. 359-360).

(h.) *Heir-Apparent (Wali Ahd) Coins.*

In the reign of Mahmud I an interesting type of round coins was struck in honour of the heir to the throne, Ghyas Shah. They are known as the Wali Ahd or Heir-Apparent series. Mahmud being an usurper was doubtless anxious to secure his son's peaceful accession to the throne, and adopted this method of publicly proclaiming his successor. This class of coin is so far only known in copper. There are two such coins in my cabinet dated 864 and 866 respectively, while a third is dateless. I may note, however, that Mr. Nelson Wright is inclined to ascribe a gold coin in his cabinet to this class.

(j.) *Titles and Inscriptions.*

The titles on the coins of Malwa are very elaborate and varied, especially in the reigns of Mahmud I and his son, Ghyas Shah, whose gold and silver series display this characteristic in a marked degree. The inscriptions

on the copper issues are generally much more modest in character. In the case of the coins of ephemeral sovereigns, such as Muhammed II, Bahadur Shah, and Baz Bahadur, the titles adopted are very simple. The list of titles given below (p. 94 f.) is sufficiently comprehensive.

I have to acknowledge gratefully the assistance I received from Mr. Nelson Wright, I.C.S., in the preparation of this paper. He not only placed his fine collection at my disposal, but was good enough to read the proofs of the catalogue and advise me on many difficult points.

L. WHITE KING.

III.—CATALOGUE OF COINS.

No. and Metal.	Shape.	Mint.	Date.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Inscriptions.
I.						
HOSHANG SHAH. A.H. 808-830.						
1 A.	Round	—	830	<p>Within a circle.</p> <p>ابو المجاهد هوشنگ</p> <p>شاه السلطان</p> <p>In the margin.</p> <p>لا اله الا الله (1)</p>	<p>Within a double square.</p> <p>السلطان الاعظم حاتم</p> <p>الدنيا والدين</p>	<p>PL VIII. Fig. 1. 192. Wt., 170 grs.</p>
2 A.	Round	—	—	<p>Similar legends, but within plain areas, and margins deleted.</p> <p>Tellurina, No. 365.</p> <p>1.0. Wt., 170 grs.</p>		
3 A.	Round	Shashabad	—	<p>هوشنگ شاه السلطان</p> <p>No mark.</p>	<p>دار الملك شاداباد</p>	<p>PL VIII. Fig. 2. 160. Wt., 69 grs.</p>

4.32	Round	Shadishad	—	Similar legends. With symbol No. 21.	•60. Wt., 5.9 grs.
5.35	Square	—	629	ضرب فلوس في التاريخ ٨٢٩	Pl. VIII. Fig. 3. •60. Wt., 107 grs.

II.

MUHAMMED I. A.H. 830-839.

6.37	Round	—	—	Within a circle. محمد شاه بن هوشنگ شاه السلطان Margin dotted.	Within a double square. السلطان الاعظم تاج الدنيا والدين ابو الجاهد British Museum. •95. Wt., 1.68 grs.
7.38	Round	Shadishad	—	محمد شاه السلطان	دار الملك شادياداد Pl. VIII. Fig. 4. •60. Wt., 66½ grs.

No. and Metal.	Shape.	Mint.	Date.	Obverse.	Inscriptions.	Reverse.
8 A.	Round.	Shahisbad.	870.	<p>Plain area.</p> <p>السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه خلجي خلد الله خلاته</p>	<p>III.</p> <p>MAHMUD I. A.H. 839-873.</p> <p>Within a circle.</p> <p>سکندر الثاني يعين الخلافة ناصر امير المومنين</p>	<p>Margin deleted, but in Mr. Delmerie's specimen it reads—</p> <p>ضرب هذا السكة به حصرة شادياباد سند سبعين و ثمان مائة</p>
Pl. VIII. Fig. 6. '90. Wt., 170 grs.						

9 A'	Round	—	870	<p>السلطان الاعظم ابو المظفر علا الدنيا</p> <p>والدين محمود شاه خلجي خلد الله سلطانه</p> <p>Thomas, No. 300.</p>
10 A'	Round	—	—	<p>Similar legends, similarly disposed, as on the gold coin No. 8 above, but margins debited.</p> <p>1.05. Wt., 169 gra.</p>
11 A'	Round	—	—	<p>As above.</p> <p>Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet. 80. Wt., 81 gra.</p>
12 A'	Round	Shadhabad	—	<p>محمود شاه خلجي ضرب شادياباد</p> <p>السلطان ظل الله</p> <p>• • • • •</p> <p>PL VIII. Fig. 6. Wt., 82½ gra.</p>
13 A'	Square	—	—	<p>ابو المظفر محمود شاه خلجي</p> <p>السلطان العادل علا الدنيا والدين</p> <p>PL VIII. Fig. 7. Wt., 304 gra.</p>

Within eremallated circles.

No. and Metal.	Shape.	Mint.	Date.	Inscriptions.	
				Obverse.	Reverse.
11 R.	Round	—	—	<p>MAHMUD I. A.H. 830-873. (<i>continued</i>).</p> <p>Within beaded circles.</p> <p>محمود شاه خلی</p> <p>علا الدینا والدین</p> <p>Pl. VIII. Fig. 8. 55. Wt., 19 grs.</p> <p>In a double square inscribed in a circle. Mr. Burn's cabinet. Wt., 155 grs.</p>	
12 Billon	Round	—	—	<p>In a double square.</p> <p>Legends as in No. 8 above, but the margins deleted.</p> <p>With star mark.</p> <p>ابو المظفر محمود شاه</p> <p>خلی ضربا بتعصرت</p> <p>شادیایاد</p> <p>With star mark.</p> <p>N.B.—Other specimens weigh 132½ and 125½ grs.</p>	
16 Billon	Round	Shadialbad	648	<p>الخليفة امير</p> <p>المومنين خلدت</p> <p>خلافته</p> <p>۸۴۸</p> <p>B.M. Cat., Pl. X. Fig. 350. 80. Wt., 14½ grs.</p>	

17 Billoon	Round	Shadnabad	847	ابو المظفر محمود شاه خطی ضرب به حضرت (شادیاباد)	السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين ١٤٠٠ Thomas, p. 348, No. 4 (g) 50. Wt. 63 grs
18 Billoon	Round	Shadnabad	—	ابو المظفر محمود شاه خطی	دار الملك شادیاباد ٦٠. Wt. 64 grs Plain area.
19 Billoon	Round	Shadnabad	848	محمود شاه خطی Within a double circle.	السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين Pl. VIII. Fig. 9. 65. Wt. 53 grs.
20 Billoon	Square	Shadnabad	848	محمود شاه خطی ابو المظفر Within a single square.	السلطان الحکیم الکرم علا الدنيا والدين ١٤٠٨ Plain area.

No. and Metal.	Shape.	Mint.	Date.	Inscriptions.	
				Obverse.	Reverse.
20 Billon (cont.)	Square	Shadhabad	848	<p>MAHMUD I. A.H. 839-873 (continued).</p> <p>In outside segments.</p> <p>ضرب هذا السكة بمحضر شادهاباد</p> <p>N.B.—Another specimen weighs 158½ grs.</p>	
21 Billon	Square	—	859	<p>السلطان الاعظم ابو المظفر علا الدنيا</p> <p>Within a single square.</p>	<p>والدين محمود شاه الخايمي ٨٦١ 85. Wt., 165 grs.</p>
22 Billon	Square	—	853	<p>ابو المظفر محمود شاه خطي</p> <p>Within a single square.</p>	<p>السلطان السلاطين علا الدنيا والدين</p>

Legends in outside segments deleted.
N.B.—Another specimen weighs 72 grs.

Pl. VIII. Fig. 10. 70. Wt., 85½ grs.

23. E	Round	—	—	<p>Legenda inscribed in double squares within circles.</p> <p>ابو المظفر محمود شاه خطى</p> <p>السultan العادل علا الدنيا و الدين</p> <p>Pl. VIII. Fig. 11. .95. Wt., 187 grs.</p>
24. E	Round	—	871	<p>Within a circle.</p> <p>محمود شاه السلطان</p> <p>Pl. VIII. Fig. 12. .75. Wt., 169 grs.</p> <p>[Note.—This is a coin of Mahmud Shah of Gujarat. It was included in the Plate by mistake.]</p> <p>A thick coin.</p>
25. E	Round	Shadbad	808	<p>ابو المظفر محمود شاه خطى</p> <p>دار الملك شادباد</p> <p>Pl. VIII. Fig. 13. .88. Wt., 139 grs.</p>
26. E	Round	Struck ad.	—	<p>Same legends as above.</p> <p>.75. Wt., 122 grs.</p>

No. and Metal.	Shape.	Mint.	Date.	Inscriptions.	
				Obverse.	Reverse.
MAHMUD I. A.H. 839-873 (continued).					
27 E	Round	Shahabad.	852	Same legends as above.	
28 E	Round	—	—	Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet. 65. Wt., 68 grs.	
29 E	Square	—	871	Legenda as on No. 25 above.	
30 A	Square	—	—	Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet. 53. Wt., 42 grs.	
				Legenda as on No. 20 above.	
				80. Wt., 153 grs.	
				Legenda as on No. 23, but inscribed within plain areas.	
PL. VIII. Fig. 14. 50. Wt., 394 grs.					

IV.

GHYAS UD DIN. A.H. 873-900.

السلطان بن السلطان
خليفة العهد و الزمان
في العالمين

Pl. VIII. Fig. 13. .92. Wt., 169 grs.

ابو الفتح غياث شاه
سلطاني ابن محمود شاه
الغزنوي ضرب بدار الملك
شاه ياباد ٨٧٦

With star mark.

N.B.—Mr. Nelson Wright has a coin of a somewhat similar type, but without the words "Abu Mahmūd Shah," and the star on the obverse. It has two lines across the middle which he reads tentatively "Wali 'Adl."

الواق بالملك الملحي
ابو الفتح غياث شاه

With star mark.

N.B.—The British Museum collection contains a similar coin, but without a date, and another in which "As Sultan" follows "Al Khafj."

بن محمود شاه السلطان
الغزنوي خلد (الله)
ملكه ٨٨٠

B.M. Cat. Pl. X. Fig. 327.
.80. Wt., 170 grs.

876

Shahabad

Round

31 A'

880

—

Square

32 A'

No. and Metal.	Shape.	Mint.	Date.	Inscriptions.	
				Obverse.	Reverse.
33 R.	Round	—	—	GHYAS UD DIN. A.H. 873-906 (<i>continued</i>) <i>Legends the same as on No. 31 above.</i>	
34 R.	Square	—	884	With star mark. <i>Legends as on No. 32 above.</i>	'93. Wt., 104 grs.
35 R.	Square	—	898	Similar legends, but with "Al Kaff" before "as Sultan." With symbol No. 9.	Pl. VIII. Fig. 16. '80. Wt., 75 grs. B.M. Cat., Pl. X. Fig. 362. '70. Wt., 84 grs.
36 R.	Square	—	—	<i>N.B.—A smaller coin than the preceding, though heavier. The coins of this type are usually later in date and heavier than those of the preceding class.</i> <i>Legends as above.</i>	
					British Museum. 653. Wt., 47 grs.

37. A1	Square	—	—	غیاث شاہ خلجی ابن محمود شاہ (With romello mark)	الملك ناصر الدين (?)	B.M. Cat., Pl. X, Fig. 305 '55. Wt., 43 grs.
38. A1	Square	—	806	Similar legends, but smaller and with a date on the reverse.		
39. B111111	Round	—	877	غیاث شاہ خلجی (۷۰۰)	السلاطین السلاطین	Mr. Nolen Wright's cabinet '43. Wt., 18 grs.
40. A5	Round	Shadbad	—	Legends as on No. 31 above. N.B.—This coin is in poor condition and imperfect.		Pl. VIII. Fig. 17. '60. Wt., 40 grs. '90. Wt., 151 grs.
41. A5	Round	—	806	غیاث شاہ سلطانى الخلاصی (۷۰۰)	السلاطین ابن السلاطین ولی عهد	J. A. S. B., 1894, Pl. V. Fig. 20, '09. Wt., 140 grs.

No. and Metal.	Shape.	Mint.	Date.	Inscriptions.	
				Obverse.	Reverse.
42 E.	Round.	—	804	<p>GHYAS UD-DIN. A.H. 873-906 (continued).</p> <p>عياث شاه السلطان بن محمود شاه خلجي ٨٦٥</p>	<p>As above.</p> <p>Pl. IX. Fig. 18. '80. Wt., 135 grs.</p>
43 E.	Round.	—	865	<p>عياث شاه السلطاني الخلاجي ٨٦٥</p>	<p>As above.</p> <p>Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet.</p> <p>'85. Wt., 67 grs.</p>
44 E.	Round.	—	871	<p>عياث شاه السلطاني الخلاجي [٨٧٥]</p>	<p>السلطان بن السلطان ابو الفتح</p> <p>British Museum. '00. Wt., 51 grs.</p>
45 E.	Round.	—	873	<p>Legend as on No. 39 above.</p>	<p>'02. Wt., 46 grs.</p>

46 A	Square	—	887	غیاث شاہ الخاکی	السلطان یحییٰ
47 A	Square	—	903	بن محمود شاہ	السلطان یحییٰ
48 A	Square	—	808		With symbol No. 17. Pl. IX. Fig. 49. 90. Wt., 263 gra.
49 A	Square	—	835		Similar inscriptions.
50 A	Square	—	850		With symbol No. 32. Similar inscriptions.
51 A	Square	—	903		With symbol No. 25. 60. Wt., 122 gra.
52 A	Square	—	—		Similar inscriptions, but without "Bin Mahmud Shah" on the obverse. With rosette mark. Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet. Wt., 92 gra.
					Inscriptions as on No. 46 above. With symbol No. 20. Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet. Wt., 68 gra.

No. and Metal.	Shape.	Mint.	Date.	Inscriptions.	
				Obverse.	Reverse.
53 E	Square	—	808	GHYAS UD DIN. A.H. 573 906 (<i>continued</i>).	
				With symbol No. 9	Inscriptions as on No. 51 above. PL. IX. Fig. 21. 60. Wt., 63 grs.
54 E	Square	—	—	Inscriptions as on No. 52 above	
					Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet. 55. Wt., 60 grs.
55 E	Square	—	830	Inscriptions as on No. 51 above.	
				With symbol No. 9	Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet. 55. Wt., 53 grs.
56 E	Square	—	—	Similar inscriptions.	
				With symbol No. 7 on both sides	Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet. 56. Wt., 53 grs.

V.

NABIB UD DIN. A.H. 996-996.

بن غياث شاه
الخلافي السلطان
خلد (الله) ملكه . . .
With symbol No. 7.
B.M. Cat., Pl. X. Fig. 377.
75. Wt., 160 grs.

Similar inscriptions.

Pl. IX. Fig. 22. 70. Wt., 81 grs.

الملك بامر الله (?)

With symbol No. 29.
Cy. B.M. Cat., Pl. X. Fig. 305.
55. Wt., 89 grs.

Similar legends.

With star mark.
Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet.
40. Wt., 20 grs.

الرائق بالصدق
المركبي ابو المظفر ناصر
شاه

910

Square

97 N

Similar inscriptions.

ناصر شاه الخلافي بن
غياث شاه

907

Square

98 A

Square

99 B

Similar legends.

Square

100 A

No and Metal	Shape	Wt.	Date	Inscriptions.	
				Obverse.	Reverse.
61 Bilhon	Square	—	914	<p>NASIR UD DIN. A.H. 900-916 (continued).</p> <p>In plain circles with ornamental segments.</p> <p>ناصر شاه الخاى بن عياش شاه With symbol No. 291.</p> <p>السلطان خلد (الله) ملكه م Wt. 108 grs.</p>	
				<p>As above.</p> <p>ناصر شاه الخاى بن عياش شاه With bar knot.</p> <p>السلطان بن السلطان Wt. 109 grs.</p>	
62 Bilhon	Square	—	914	<p>Pl. IX. Fig. 23. Wt. 70 grs.</p>	
63 Bilhon	Square	—	910	<p>Pl. IX. Fig. 24. Wt. 109 grs.</p>	

With six-rayed star mark.

64 A	Square	—	914	Similar inscriptions. With symbol No. 10. B.M. Cat. Pl. X. Fig. 382. 70. Wt. 1.56 grs.
65 A	Square	—	914	Similar inscriptions with the same mark. Date at side. 66. Wt. 1.15½ grs.
66 A	Square	—	910	Similar inscriptions, but with date on obverse. With symbol No. 25. Pl. IX. Fig. 25. 65. Wt. 89½ grs.
67 A	Square	—	—	Similar inscriptions. Indian Museum. 50. Wt. 63 grs.
68 A	Square	—	907	Similar inscriptions. With symbol No. 28. Pl. IX. Fig. 28. 50. Wt. 37 grs.
69 A	Square	—	—	N.B.—The weight in another specimen runs to 44 grs. Legends as on No. 57 above. British Museum. 50. Wt. 60 grs.

No. and Metal.	Shape.	Mint.	Date.	Inscriptions.	
				Obverse.	Reverse.
VI.					
70 A.	Square.	—	973	<p>MAHMUD II. A.H. 916-987.</p> <p>الوثنى بالملك الصدى ابو المظفر محمود شاه</p>	<p>بن ناصر شاه الخاسى السلطان خالد (الله) ملكه سنة ١٠٢٣</p>
				<p>With eight-rayed star mark. N.B.—In this year Mahmud II was reinstated in his kingdom by the aid of Ismail Shah of Georgia. Another specimen is dated 917, the year of the revolt of Muhammad II.</p>	<p>PL IX. Fig. 27. 75. Wt., 172 grs.</p>
71 A.	Square.	—	923	<p>Similar inscriptions, but disposed in circles with ornamental segments. With symbol No. 27.</p>	<p>With swastika mark.</p>
					<p>PL IX. Fig. 28. 80. Wt., 169 grs.</p>

72. A.	Square	—	994	<p>Legends disposed in octagons with ornamental segments.</p> <p>As above, but with أبو الفتح instead of أبو المظفر</p> <p>With symbol. Nos. 30 and 42.</p> <p>As above. Pl. IX. Fig. 26. 80. Wt. 114 grs.</p>
73. B.	Square	—	919	<p>Legends as on No. 70 similarly disposed.</p> <p>With symbol No. 37.</p> <p>Mr. Nelson Weight's coinset. 65. Wt. 79 grs.</p>
74. B.	Square	—	—	<p>محمود شاه خلجي بن ناصر شاه</p> <p>الملك بامر الله (?)</p> <p>With symbol No. 37.</p> <p>Cf. B.M. Cat. Pl. X. Fig. 365. 50. Wt. 37 grs.</p>
75. Hutton.	Square	—	922	<p>Legends as on No. 71 above.</p> <p>With symbol No. 37.</p> <p>80. Wt. 170 grs.</p>

No. and Metal	Shape	Mint	Date	Inscriptions	
				Obverse	Reverse
76 A	Square	—	917	<p>MAHMUD II. A.H. 916-937 (<i>continued</i>).</p> <p>محمود شاه الخاني بن السلطان بن</p> <p>ناصر شاه السلطان 117</p> <p>With symbols Nos. 28 and 30.</p> <p>B.M. Cat., Pl. X. Fig. 369. 70. Wt., 154 grs.</p>	
77 A	Square	—	931	<p>Similar inscriptions.</p> <p>With the same marks. 70. Wt., 154 grs.</p>	
78 A	Square	—	—	<p>Similar inscriptions.</p> <p>N.B.—There is a brass coin of this type in Mr. Nelson Weight's cabinet, weight 125 grs., dated 938, which must be posthumous.</p> <p>With symbols Nos. 8 and 30. 70. Wt., 151 grs.</p>	
79 A	Square	—	—	<p>Similar inscriptions.</p> <p>With symbol No. 27.</p> <p>B.M. Cat., Pl. X. Fig. 404. 55. Wt., 72 grs.</p>	

80 A.	Square	—	927	Similar inscriptions. With symbol No. 13. 52. Wt., 64 grs.
81 A.	Square	—	918	Similar inscriptions. With six-rayed star-mark. With symbol No. 13. Pl. IX. Fig. 30. 55. Wt., 55 grs.
82 A.	Square	—	—	Similar inscriptions. With symbols Nos. 27 and 28. Pl. IX. Fig. 31. 55. Wt., 55 grs.
83 A.	Square	—	—	Similar inscriptions. Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet. 45. Wt., 25 grs.
84 A.	Square	—	921	<p>VII.</p> <p>MUHAMMED II. A.H. 916-921.</p> <p>محمد شاه الخاقی بن ناصر شاه</p> <p>N.B.—Mr. Nelson Wright has a similar coin dated 917. 70. Wt., 136 grs., with Swastika mark; and another dated 918. Wt., 124 grs.</p> <p>With symbol No. 9. Pl. IX. Fig. 32. 70. Wt., 132 grs.</p>

No. and Metal	Shape	Mint	Date	Inscriptions	
				Obverse	Reverse
85 A	Square	—	—	MUHAMMED II. A.H. 916-921 (<i>cont./num./</i>) Similar inscriptions	With symbol No. 27. Pl. IX. Fig. 33. 30. Wt., 42 grs.
86 A	Square	—	—	السلطان محمد شاه	Hogfile. With eight-rayed star mark. 45. Wt., 57 grs.
VIII.					
ABRAHIM LODI. A.H. 923-930.					
87 A	Square	—	—	ابراهيم شاه لودی بن سکندر شاه	السلطان بن السلطان With symbol No. 15. Thomas, No. 321. 50. Wt., 110 grs.

N.B.—Struck during the occupation of Chanderi.

IX.

BAHADUR SHAH OF GUJARAT. A.H. 937-941.

Struck after the conquest of Malwa.

88 B.	—	—	With symbols Nos. 29 and 41.	65. Wt., 110 grs.
89 B.	—	—	Similar, but without symbols.	65. Wt., 100 grs.

X.

BAZ BAHADUR. A.H. 962-978.

Illegible.

90 B.	—	—	باز بهادر السلطان	Pl. IX. Fig. 34. 69. Wt., 104 grs.
			With symbol No. 29.	

XI.

AKHAIL. A.H. 978.

91 B.	—	—	جلال الدین محمد اکبر	The creed. 60. Wt., 101 grs.
92 B.	—	—	Date in words, and mint. N.B.—Struck after the conquest of Malwa.	The creed. 63. Wt., 110 grs.

005

Ujjain

Square

TABLE OF HONORIFIC EPITHETS.

(1) HOSHANG SHAH.

السلطان الاعظم حسام الدنيا و الدين
 ابو المجاهد
 The Mighty sovereign, the sword of the State and Church,
 the strenuous Defender of the faith.

(2) MUHAMMED I.

السلطان الاعظم تاج الدنيا و الدين
 ابو المجاهد
 السلطان
 The Sovereign.
 (As above, but with "Crown" instead of "sword.")

(3) MAHMUD I.

السلطان الاعظم ابو المظفر علا الدنيا
 و الدين سكندر الثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر
 امير المؤمنين
 (a) The Mighty sovereign, the victorious, the exalted in
 Church and State, the Second Alexander, the Right hand of
 the Caliphate, the Defender of the Prince of the Faithful.

(3) MAHMUD I. (continued).

السلطان
المظفر

(a) The Victorious sovereign.

السلطان
العادل الع

(c) The just sovereign, etc.

السلطان
الحليم الكريم الع

(d) The kind and merciful sovereign, etc.

السلطان
السلامين الع

(e) The king of kings, etc.

الخليفة امير المؤمنين خلد (الله)

(f) The Deputy of the Ruler of the Faithful. May God perpetuate his sovereignty!

خالقه (سلطانه)

ظل الله الع

(g) The shadow of God, etc.

(4) GHYAS SHAH.

السلطان الواقع بالملك المتبحر ابو

(a) The sovereign who trusts in God, the Refuge, the Victorious. May God perpetuate his country!

الفنح خلد (الله) ملكه

(4) GHYAS SHAH (continued).

الملك بامر الله

السلطان بن السلطان خليفة العهد

و الزمان في العالمين ابو الفتح

السلطان بن السلطان ابو الفتح

ولي عهد

(b) The Ruler by the order of God.

(c) The sovereign, the son of the sovereign, the Ruler (Deputy) of the age and the time in both worlds, the victorious one.

(d) The sovereign, the son of the sovereign, the victorious.

(e) The Heir apparent.

(5) NASIR SHAH.

السلطان الواصل بالصدق الموثق

ابو المظفر خلد (الله) ملكه

الملك بامر الله

السلطان بن السلطان

The sovereign who trusts in the Holy one, the supporter, the victorious. May God perpetuate his kingdom!

(b) The King by the order of God.

(c) The sovereign, the son of the sovereign.

(6) MAHMUD II.

(a) The sovereign, the victorians who trusts in the Holy king, etc.

السلطان الواصل بالملك الصمد ابو
المظفر الخ

(b) The sovereign, the victoriana.

السلطان ابو الفتح

(c) The Ruler by the order of God.

الملك بامر الله

(d) The sovereign, the son of the sovereign.

السلطان بن السلطان

(7) MUHAMMED II.

The sovereign, the son of the sovereign.

السلطان بن السلطان

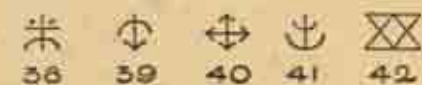
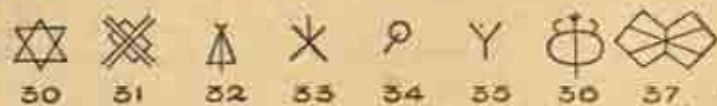
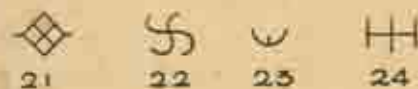
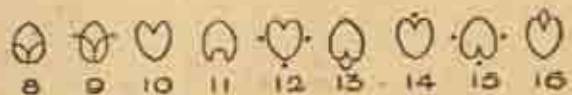
(8) BAHADUR SHAH OF GUJARAT and

(9) BAZ BAHADUR.

The sovereign.

السلطان

TABLE OF SYMBOLS.



NOTES ON THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

(Part I, *New Chron.*, 1903, p. 359.)

Fidwi was the younger brother of Ghyas ud Din.

The three sons of Nasir ud Din should be arranged in the following order:—(1) Shahab ud Din; (2) Mahmud II.; (3) Muhammed II.

NOTES ON THE CATALOGUE OF COINS AND ADDITIONS
FROM MR. NELSON WRIGHT'S CABINET.27 (a) \mathcal{A} , Round, Shadiabad, 878.

محمود شاه
خلجي

شاديا باد
بحضرت

55. Wt., 48 gra.

28 (a) \mathcal{A} , Square, —, 868. Legends as on No. 22 above.
70. Wt., 78 gra.43 (a) \mathcal{A} , Round, — — Similar type, but with السلطان
instead of السلطان and without a line across the coin.

60. Wt., 55 gra.

Note to No. 49. Two similar coins:—(1) Date 877, with rosette symbol
on reverse. Wt., 140 gra. (2) Date 888, with symbol No. 17.
Wt., 132 gra.Note to No. 50. A similar coin, date 889, with symbol No. 9 on reverse.
Wt., 112 gra.Note to No. 52. A similar coin, date 893, with symbol No. 40 on
obverse, and symbol No. 15 on reverse.Note to No. 56. A similar coin, with rosette symbol on reverse.
Wt., 85 gra.61 (a) Billon, Square, — 914. Legends as on No. 37, within plain
circles with ornamental segments, but with date on reverse above
ملكه and with symbol No. 26 on obverse. Size, 85.

Note to No. 64. A similar coin, date 915, with symbol No. 12.

70 (a) As No. 70, but on obverse **أبو المظفر أبو الفتح** instead of **أبو المظفر** and date 926. Size, .75. Wt., 170 gra.

72 (a) Square, —, 923. Legends in circles with ornamental segments.

محمود شاه خليجي
ابن ناصر شاه

Symbol, No. 27.

السلطان خالد ملكه

٩٢٣

Symbol, *Sassanika*.

.65. Wt., 87 gra.

Note to No. 77. A similar coin, date 922, with symbols No. 27 and 28 on reverse. Wt. 128 gra.

Note to No. 90. In Part III. of the *Numb. Chron.* for 1903 (p. 314) two similar coins are described, size .7, wt., 109 gra., with symbols Nos. 38 and 39 and a star of four rays. Another similar specimen, but of half the weight (55 gra.), is also mentioned.

MISCELLANEA.

TWO PONTIC ERAS (SEBASTOPOLIS AND COMANA).

IN discussing the question of the era of Sebastopolis, which has been generally given as B.C. 2, M. Théodore Reinach ultimately reaches the conclusion that it is much more likely that the starting-point is October B.C. 3 than, as he formerly put it, October B.C. 2, the latter being only possible if the inscription published by Renier (*Rec. Arch.*, 1877, p. 199 = *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pertinentes*, III., no. 111), dated from between October and December A.D. 137 (*Num. Chron.*, 1902, pp. 9, 184). I think there can be little doubt that the inscription in question was set up in the early months of A.D. 137, and for two reasons, which I quote here from a commentary, on my own copy, of Renier's inscription, written some considerable time ago, for a volume on Pontus which will soon be published as the joint work of M. Franz Cumont and myself. (1) The inscription was in all probability intended to celebrate Hadrian's choice of Aelius Caesar as his successor¹ (towards the end of A.D. 136; cf. Klebs in *Prosop. Imp. Rom.*, I., p. 327), and it would naturally be erected soon after the news reached Pontus.² (2) Arrian's long term of office as governor of Cappadocia came to an end in A.D. 137, when he was succeeded by L. Burbuleius Optatus Ligarianus (*C. I. L.*, x., 6006); and there is no reason to doubt that Arrian handed over his command at the usual time, viz., about July.³ The conclusion therefore seems clear that the year 139 of Sebastopolis began in the autumn of A.D. 136, and the year 1 in the autumn of B.C. 3.

Dr. Kubitschek, improving on Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, has limited the starting-point of the era of Comana to A.D. 34 or 35 (art. *Ära* in *Pauly-Wissowa* I., col. 643). Curiously enough, the means of deciding between these two dates is supplied by another inscription erected in honour of Aelius Caesar, which reads [Α. Αἰῶ] or Κασοῦρα [ἡ Ἱερ]οκαυσαρίνης | [Κομ]ανίαν πόλιν, [ἡ] τὸν πρ. The stone was erected in the

¹ There is nothing to indicate that the inscription has any connection with the building of the Roman bridge over the Seylax at Sebastopolis, as was supposed by Prof. Ramsay, *Journ. of Phil.*, xi., p. 155.

² A similar argument was used by Prof. Ramsay to fix the era of Pompeiopolis (*Rec. des Ét. Gr.* 1893, p. 251 f.), and its correctness has since been established.

³ So in A.D. 78, Agricola entered on his legateship in Britain *media tum aetate* (Tac. *Ag.* C., xviii.).

same year, and obviously for the same reason, as that at Sebastopolis. It follows, therefore, that the year 103 of Comana was in progress during the first half of A.D. 137, and that the era of the city began in A.D. 34. This inscription was first published from a defective Armenian copy by Prof. Ramsay in the *Journ. of Phil.*, xi., p. 152, where it is referred to the emperor Antoninus Pius and Verus Caesar, afterwards the emperor M. Aurelius; and it has been thence transcribed by the editors of the *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* I., no. 105, who refer it to Hadrian and Aelius Caesar.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

COINS OF BLAUNDUR, LYDIA. Among a quantity of casts of coins bequeathed to University College, London, was one, the provenance of which I have been unable to trace, here reproduced:—



Obv. Bearded head of Zeus r., laureate.

Rev. ΑΛΥΝΑΙ ΘΕΟΤΙ (retrograde). Eagle r., on thunderbolt, wings open, left leg advanced; between legs, uncertain countermark. The whole in border of dots.

This coin in types and style closely resembles the single copper coin in the British Museum provisionally attributed to the last Ptolemy, Caesarion, the son of Cleopatra and Caesar.

PTOLEMAEUS XVI. CAESAR.

Copper.

Cyprus?



Obv. Bearded head r., laureate.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤ ΘΕΟ ΙΔ... Eagle
r., on thunderbolt, wings open; on breast
countermark.

This coin has been tooled in the inscription (*British Museum Cat. of Coins. Ptolemaic Kings of Egypt*, p. 124, Pl. XXX. 9).

The inscription on the cast, however, the letters of which are quite clear as far as they go, could not be made to stand for the king's name. At my request Mr. Head kindly examined the British Museum coin, and informs me that the tooled inscription was doubtless originally identical with that on the cast, and that both should be read as ΜΑΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ.

Both these coins may now therefore be assigned to Blaundus in Lydia. They have identical types and inscriptions with those already known, one of which (*British Museum Cat. of Coins, Lydia*, Pl. V., 1) has also the same magistrate's name, ΘΕΟΤΙΜΙΔ. They are, however, poorer in style, and resemble more nearly the later coins of Blaundus (*Obv.* Head of bearded Herakles in lion's skin. *Rev.* Eagle with open wings on double base. Pl. V., 5), and the coins of Clannudda (Pl. VIII., 2), with which latter they are identical in types.

JOHN PP. BAKER-PENNYRE.

NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATION.

A Manual of Musliman Numismatics. By O. Codrington, M.D., F.S.A. (London: Royal Asiatic Society.)

There are certain difficult studies which, fortunately, admit of great simplification. The study of the numismatics of the Mohammadan powers, who have played so large and important a part in the history of the world, is one of these; and we have especially to thank two members of our own Society for making the way of the student in this field of oriental numismatics much easier than it was before. Prof. S. Lane-Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties*, which appeared in 1894, afforded a most useful clue through the complicated mazes of Mohammadan history; and now comes Dr. Codrington's *Manual* to simplify, in an equal degree, the more purely numismatic part of the subject—the actual reading and identification of the coins. Its object is precisely that of

Soret's *Éléments de la Numismatique Musulmane*, which appeared in the form of a series of three letters, addressed to M. Rénier Chalon, in the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge* for the years 1864-5. The reprint in book-form of these letters is now extremely difficult to obtain; and the whole arrangement of the work is somewhat wanting in clearness and method—a defect all the more serious as no index or table of contents is supplied. Dr. Codrington's aim has been both to simplify the information given by Soret, and to make his manual as complete as possible by adding results obtained from his own researches, and from the large literature on the subject which has appeared since the date of Soret's work. A general index at the beginning of the manual, giving on one page a conspectus of its contents, makes reference to the particular subject about which information is required easy and rapid; and the treatment of the various topics everywhere shows the hand of one who has thoroughly mastered them, who knows the difficulties from a long practical experience of the coins, and who is thus able to give others the benefit of his experience.

Dr. Codrington's *List of Mint Towns*, which takes up no fewer than seventy-one out of the two hundred and forty pages of his manual, is by far the most complete list of the kind published. On a rough calculation, it must contain the names of between a thousand and eleven hundred different places at which Mohammadan coins have been struck. These are conveniently arranged in alphabetical order, their precise geographical situation is given when possible, and any characteristic epithets which usually accompany them on the coins are also added.

Altogether Dr. Codrington has produced a work which ought to do much for the promotion of the study which he has himself pursued so diligently. One only regrets that, having more than half a page to spare, he did not extend his "Table of Hijra and Christian Years" beyond A.H. 1325 = A.D. 1907, for his manual is destined to be widely used by students long after that date.

E. J. R.

IV.

THE PSEUDO-AUTONOMOUS COINAGE OF ANTIOCH.

THE following survey of the "pseudo-autonomous" coinage of Antioch on the Orontes can make no pretence to completeness; the material available has been too limited.² The actual results obtained are, however, of considerable interest. They throw some curious side-lights upon history. Above all, they point the way, I think, towards a clearer understanding of the conditions under which, in imperial times, the provincial cities were allowed to strike money that did not bear the Emperor's head as a type. In these circumstances no apology need be offered for putting them on record. It will be found that the pseudo-autonomous coins—to adopt the convenient designation suggested by Dr. K. Regling—fall into a number of small groups, the issue of which extended

² In addition to the trays of the Hunter Cabinet, I have personally examined the relevant coins in the British Museum and in the Bodleian Collection. I have also endeavoured to take full account of such published lists as were accessible. The possibilities of error are, however, so obvious that it would have been mere waste of time to discuss difficulties caused by specimens which I knew only by second-hand descriptions, and the originals of which were no longer traceable. Thus I have made no reference to any of the following: *Monum. Descriptio*, v. p. 159, No. 108; p. 160, No. 112; p. 161, No. 120; p. 162, No. 128; p. 164, No. 150; p. 166, No. 170. *Suppl.* viii. p. 127, No. 24; p. 128, No. 25; p. 129, Nos. 38f. All of them rest entirely on the very doubtful authority of Seclini.

sometimes over one, sometimes over two or three years. The simplest way of proceeding will be to discuss these groups in chronological sequence, dealing incidentally with any special characteristics by which they are marked.

ACTIAN YEARS 25, 26, 27.

Head of Zeus r., laur.

B. ANTIOXEΩN EΠH OYAPOV. Tyche of Antioch seated r., with the river-god Orontes at her feet; in field r., date.

Dates.—EK, 5K, ZK.

Weights.²—8.13; 7.61; 7.09 grammes.

As Pick has pointed out, what is usually called the Actian Era is merely the method of reckoning by the regnal years of Augustus.³ Its employment here is, therefore, an *ipso facto* acknowledgment of the imperial authority. The era was considered to have commenced in September 31 B.C. Our first group thus belongs to the years 7-6, 6-5, 5-4 B.C. In other words, it covers the whole period during which P. Quintilius Sex. F. Varus was *legatus* of Syria. This was, of course, the Varus on whom Arminius afterwards inflicted the crushing blow that was to cloud with gloom the later years of Augustus. In view of the fact that it is he who inaugurates our pseudo-autonomous series, it is worth while

² Wherever possible, the weights of three typical specimens of each group are given. I take this opportunity of acknowledging the kindness of Mons. A. Dieudonné, who weighed for me a number of specimens in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and also furnished other information supplementing Mionnet's *Description*. Similarly Mr. Wroth has been good enough to weigh some of the B. M. coins for me.

³ See his excellent *Zur Titulatur der Flavier*, in *Zeitschr. für Num.*, xiv. p. 311.

recalling his keen interest in finance. "Pecunie vero quam non contemptor, Syria, cui præfuerat, declaravit, quam pauper divitem ingressus dives pauperem reliquit."¹

This remark of Velleius suggests that the issue is hardly likely to have been prompted by unselfish motives. However that may be, it seems clear that the pseudo-autonomous coins were, in the first instance, designed to serve as the small change of a contemporary series of imperial silver. The tetradrachms alluded to are well known. They have on the obverse the head of Augustus, and on the reverse the seated Tyche, with ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΣ and an "Actian" date, as well as the number of the Emperor's consulship.² These were minted for at least six successive years—SK, ZK, HK, ΘΚ, Α, ΑΑ.³ No specimen with ΕΚ has yet been published. The evidence of the corresponding bronze money, however, makes it probable that such specimens exist. Assuming that the issue of tetradrachms lasted for seven (instead of for six) years, we find that our pseudo-autonomous group covers the first three of these.

In the course of the third an important change took place. The city began to mint bronze on a much more imposing scale. The new pieces were as follows:—

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ	ΑΡΧΙΕ	} within wreath.
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙ Head	ΠΑΤΙΚΟΝ	
of Augustus r.,	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΣ	
laur.	ΖΚ	

These coins were not pseudo-autonomous in the strict sense of the word; they have the head of the Emperor

¹ Velleius, ii. 117.

² B. M. C., *Galatia*, etc. Plate XX., 10.

³ Examples of each of these years will be found in B. M. C., *Galatia*, etc. The last appears there for the first time.

as a type. On the other hand—and this is significant in view of future developments—they do not bear the name of the Roman *legatus*. Further, they were struck in no fewer than four denominations.⁷ The fact that the lowest of these is equivalent in value to the pseudo-autonomous coins, seems to render it unlikely that the two sets were strictly contemporaneous, even although they bear the same date. Rather, what happened was that some time in the course of the Actian year ΖΚ (27) the pseudo-autonomous issue was displaced by the introduction of the “archieratic” series. Once introduced, the latter held its own without dispute. “Archieratic” coins have been published with dates ΖΚ, ΗΚ, ΘΚ, Α, ΑΑ,⁸ covering completely the remainder of the period during which the tetradrachms with the seated Tyche were being struck. Silver and bronze came to an end simultaneously. It cannot be doubted that there was an intimate connection between them.

The “archieratic” pieces have always attracted attention on account of their inscription and its obvious allusion to the wreath on the reverse. Whatever they may have been intended to commemorate,⁹ their introduction meant more than a mere change of type; it meant a revolution in the bronze currency, the concession of larger privileges to the city (as distinguished from the

⁷ Some might reduce the number of denominations to two. But, on a consideration of weight and module combined, I incline to believe that there were four. Here are the weights I have been able to collect:—I. 18.50; 17.97; 17.93; 17.96; 17.92; 17.82; 17.68; 17.43; 16.62; 16.42. II. 15.38; 14.45; 13.47. III. 9.09; 9.12; 8.99; 8.51. IV. 7.96; 7.93.

⁸ Examples of the first four will be found in B. M. C., *Galatia*, etc. The last is given in Mionnet, *Description*, v. p. 158, No. 95.

⁹ Eckhel's view is well known (*D. N. V.*, iii. 274). An interesting suggestion by Prof. W. M. Hammon will be found in B. M. C., *Galatia*, p. 167, footnote.

senatorial)¹⁰ authorities at Antioch. This took place, as we have already seen, in the year Sept. 5 B.C. to Sept. 4 B.C. It seems not improbable that it was one of the results of the transference of Varus and the appointment of his successor. This would lend a new significance to the choice of type, for (if we can trust Velleius) the citizens of Antioch would have good reason to be grateful to the influence that had brought them relief.

ACTIAN YEAR 35.

Head of Zeus r., laur.

R. ANTIOXEΩN EΠΙ ΣΑΤΟΡΝΙΝΟΥ ΟΥΟΛΟ. Tyche of Antioch seated r., with the river-god Orontes at her feet; in field r., date.

Date.—EA.

Weights.—7.41; 7.32; 6.99 grammes.

This group belongs to the year 4-5 A.D., during which L. Volusius Q. F. Saturninus was *legatus* of Syria. In all respects it closely resembles the pseudo-autonomous pieces struck ten years before by Varus. Why the "archieratic" series was not resumed, it is impossible to say. I have no note of any tetradrachms of the year EA; but analogy with the groups that precede and follow would certainly lead us to look for them.

¹⁰ I have not touched at all on the question of the senatorial issues at Antioch. Judging by weight alone, one might distinguish four different denominations. Here are some typical weights:—I. 17.56; 16.65; 16.45; 15.67; 15.62; 15.42. II. 14.25; 14.06; 13.20; 13.31; 13.28; 13.28. III. 10.62; 10.10; 8.61; 8.61. IV. 7.77; 7.58; 7.58; 7.45. The problem, however, may be complicated by the quality of the metal employed. In that case it cannot be settled without analysis as well as weighing.

ACTIAN YEAR 36.

Head of Zeus Γ , laur.

B. ANTIOXEON MHTPOΠOΛEΩΣ. Ram running Γ , looking back; above, star; beneath, $\Gamma\chi$.

Undated.

Weight.—6.54 grammes.

Several novel features call for notice here. To begin with, the reverse type is new. It is one which we shall find frequently in future in the pseudo-autonomous series, whereas that which it replaces, the seated Tyche, never occurs again on the bronze until the reign of Elagabalus. Further, the name of the Roman *legatus* is omitted, while the title *μητροπόλιως* makes its appearance instead. The monogram $\Gamma\chi$ is also characteristic.¹¹ In spite of the absence of any date, there need be no hesitation about assigning the coin to the Actian year 36. The clue is given by the title *μητροπόλιως*. Antioch had been so designated on the autonomous money of the first century B.C. With the establishment of Roman authority the mention of the dignity fell into abeyance. In the year 36, however, and again in the year 42 of the Actian Era, tetradrachms were struck, having on the obverse the head of Augustus, and on the reverse the seated Tyche, with the legend ANTIOXEON MHTPOΠOΛEΩΣ, the monogram $\Gamma\chi$, and dates. These tetradrachms differ from those of which we have already spoken, in only two respects. Instead of ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΣ, they have the name of the city and its title, and they bear

¹¹ This monogram had already appeared, in a slightly different form, on the tetradrachms with ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΣ. I do not think that it alludes to the *νερούσια* of Antioch.

a Caesarian date in addition to the Actian one.¹² Now, to the later of these sets of tetradrachms there corresponds, as we should expect and as we shall see presently, a group of pseudo-autonomous pieces. These resemble in every detail the group we are now discussing, save only that the date 42 takes the place of the monogram Σ . Surely the inference is irresistible.

The year 36 of the Actian Era extended from September 5 A.D. to September 6 A.D. It was in 6 A.D. that Herod Archelaus, the Ethnarch of Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa, was deposed and banished, and his dominions incorporated in the province of Syria. "And it came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed." The "taxing" which St. Luke thus describes was, as is now generally recognized, simply a census of the reconstituted province which P. Sulpicius P. F. Quirinius was despatched to carry out. It would be interesting if we could connect the special issues of the year 36 with the events just indicated. The revival of the title *μετροπόλις* would certainly be an appropriate tribute to the enhanced position of Antioch as the capital of an enlarged province; and, if the suggestion as to a connection can be accepted, it must have been with the extension of the province that the new coinage was associated, for Josephus expressly says that the census fell in the year 37 of the Actian Era.¹³

¹² B. M. C., *Galatia*, etc., p. 169, No. 147 ff.

¹³ *Τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας αἱ ἐγένοντο τριακοστῇ καὶ ἑβδόμῃ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν Ἀρριανίου ἐκ Ἀσσυρίας ἔλθοντος ἐπὶ Καίσαρος* (xviii. 2, 1).

ACTIAN YEAR 42.

A.

Head of Zeus r., laur.

R. ANTIOXEΩN ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ. Ram running r., looking back; above, star; beneath, date.

Date.—BM.

Weights.—7.71; 6.97; 6.41 grammes.

B.

Head of Tyche r.

R. ANTIOXEΩN (?). Three ears of corn, with stalks; in field, date.

Date.—BM.

Weight.—2.88 grammes.

This appears to be the first occasion on which the pseudo-autonomous money was struck in two denominations. In view, however, of the otherwise close correspondence between the two groups, it would not be at all surprising to find that a lower denomination had been struck in the Actian year 36 also.¹⁴ At a later period, as we shall see, the two denominations become normal, the higher being, roughly, twice the weight of the lower. With reference to the types, it may be noted that this is the only appearance of the three ears of corn, whereas the head of Tyche afterwards becomes very popular, although always on the obverse of the *higher* denomination.¹⁵ As regards the coins themselves, it has already been pointed out that their issue was coincident with the issue of a set of tetradrachms

¹⁴ The lower denomination for the year 42 is very rare. I know only of the Hunter specimen.

¹⁵ An exception will be found in the (Caesarian) year ZC, when a third denomination appears. See *infra*, p. 132.

inscribed ANTIOXEΩN MHTPOΠOΛEΩΣ, the lineal descendants of those that had borne the legend ETOVE NIKHΣ, but sharply distinguished by type and inscription from the imperial tetradrachms proper, which were struck so abundantly at Antioch from the reign of Nero onwards. As a matter of fact, the whole of the tetradrachms minted under Augustus form a class by themselves. Their characteristic features—notably their reverse type—combined with their constant association with the pseudo-autonomous (or “archieratic”) bronze pieces, would suggest that they were the product of a friendly arrangement between the imperial and the city authorities, while the change in the form of the inscription would seem to indicate a tendency on the part of the city to assume the position of the predominant partner.

ACTIAN YEARS 43, 44.

Head of Zeus r., laur.

R. ΕΦΙ ΣΙΛΑΝΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ. Ram running r., looking back; above, star; beneath, date.

Dates.—ΓΜ, ΔΜ.

Weights.—8.03; 7.12; 6.41 grammes.

The types here are identical with those of the higher denomination of the preceding group. But in the legend there is an important difference. The name of the Roman *legatus*, which had been banished seven years before, is restored to its place. Indeed, it is made more prominent than it has ever been, since it now precedes, instead of following, the ethnic. The magistrate is Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus Silanus, who held office during the last years of Augustus and the first

years of Tiberius. It may well be that the new *legatus*, on his arrival, felt that the issues of the year 12 had savoured too much of real autonomy, and that it was advisable to emphasize the supremacy of the Imperial Government even in the matter of small change. It is true that Silanus is generally stated to have entered on his duties either in 10 A.D. or in 11 A.D., while the present issue belongs to the year 12-13 A.D. The fact, however, is that these coins are the only means we possess of fixing the commencement of his term of government. The dates 10 A.D. and 11 A.D. have been determined by specimens professedly reading AM and BM. The date AM rests only on the authority of Sanclemente,¹⁶ and it has already been rejected by Klebs.¹⁷ It is probably a mere misreading of ΔM. The date BM, on the other hand, appeared to have a surer foundation, and it has hitherto been accepted without question. General considerations, however, led me to regard it with suspicion and to endeavour to verify the evidence. In two cases only did I succeed in finding coins said to be dated BM and to bear the name of Silanus, and in both cases the published description proved to be at fault.¹⁸ It is, of course, possible that specimens may actually exist, but I confess that it

¹⁶ *De vulgaris monetae emendatione*, p. 248.

¹⁷ *Protopographia Imp. Rom.*, i. p. 251.

¹⁸ The coins are in Paris and in Copenhagen respectively. Regarding the first, Mons. Dieulafoy writes: "La lecture BM (Mionnet, v. p. 156, No. 79) est en effet peu probable; il semble qu'on doive lire ΓM, peut-être EM? La pièce est froissée, mais la lecture BM doit être exclue." Regarding the second, Dr. C. Joergensen says, in reply to an inquiry: "The date BM (Ramus, i. 308, 24) is quite clear and certain. But the supposed name of the *legatus* is off the flan, and it seems doubtful if the name of a *legatus* ever existed on the piece. More likely, the reading was only ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ."

seems to me unlikely. As matters stand, there is nothing to show that Silanus reached Syria sooner than the autumn of 12 A.D.¹⁹

Whenever he may have arrived, he was certainly responsible for great changes in the bronze currency. The pseudo-autonomous issue lasted for but two years, during which period it appears to have consisted of only a single denomination, and to have stood (as it did again at a later epoch) absolutely by itself.²⁰ Then it ceased, and for more than forty years no pseudo-autonomous coins were struck at Antioch at all. In the year after the cessation²¹ their place was taken by a new system which obviously owes its introduction to Silanus. We may give the full description:—

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="text-align: center;">A</div> <div style="text-align: center;">ΕΠΙΣΙ</div> <div style="text-align: center;">ΛΑΝΟΥ</div> <div style="text-align: center;">ANTIO</div> <div style="text-align: center;">ΧΕΩΝ</div> <div style="text-align: center;">ΕΜ </div> </div>	} within wreath of laurel.
ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Head of		
Tiberius r., bare.		

It will be noted that, in spite of the death of Augustus, the Actian method of dating is still retained. This is, however, its last appearance on the money of Antioch.²²

¹⁹ The official catalogue of the Turin Collection (Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzani) includes a pseudo-autonomous piece, said to be dated ΓΜ, and to read ANTIOΧΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ (p. 337, No. 4936). If this be correct, it would indicate that coins for the Actian year 43 had been minted before the arrival of Silanus. I suspect, however, that either the date or the title of the city has been misread. I have noted not a few similar inaccuracies in this otherwise useful catalogue.

²⁰ It may be that this isolation is only apparent. The supply of tetradrachms dated ΕΜ may have been more than sufficient for the contemporary small change, so that supplementary issues of the latter were required. See under years ΔΡ and ΕΚΡ for a similar phenomenon.

²¹ Eckhel has shown (*D.N.F.*, iii. p. 277) that the specimens which Minnet (v. p. 158, No. 96 f.) cites from Morelli as having ΓΜ and ΔΜ, have certainly been misread.

²² Eckhel cites from Vaillant a similar piece with Γ and ΖΜ. This is

Its use here is counterbalanced by A, which indicates the regnal year of Tiberius. This class of coins deserves special notice, as it was destined to become important. As on the pseudo-autonomous money of the previous two years, the Roman magistrate's name precedes the ethnic. It had not figured on the "archieratic" pieces at all, and its occurrence now may perhaps be taken as a confirmation of what was said above as to the determination of Silanus to secure the recognition of the *legatus* upon the coinage. For in weight and module the new money bears a closer relation to the "archieratic" coins than to the pseudo-autonomous issue which it displaced. It includes two denominations,²² which seem to correspond roughly to the second and fourth of the "archieratic" currency, the lowest being again equivalent to the higher pseudo-autonomous denomination.

Until the end of the reign of Claudius the new bronze currency was the model followed by all the successors of Silanus, so far as they struck money at all. Coins having what we may for brevity call the "name and wreath" reverse were issued under L. Pomponius Flaccus with the Cæsarian date $\Theta\Gamma$ ²³ (= 33-34 A.D.), under P. Petronius P.F., with the Cæsarian date Ψ ²⁴ (= 41-42 A.D.), and under C. Cassius C. F. Longinus

possible, but it may be merely a misreading of the coin of *Silvanus*, described in B. M. C., *Galatia*, etc., p. 273, No. 33 f. The $\Theta\Gamma$ of the Turin Catalogue (p. 358, No. 4976), on the other hand, is out of the question, as Silanus had ceased to be *legatus* before that year. For the $\Gamma\Gamma$ of the same work (p. 358, No. 4968) see preceding footnote.

²² A list of weights may be of interest: I. 16.97; 15.94; 15.33; 14.98; 14.77; 14.51; 14.32; 13.67; 13.30. II. 8.73; 8.22; 8.14; 7.72; 7.12; 6.67.

²³ B. M. C., *Galatia*, etc., p. 170, No. 161 f.

²⁴ *Mionnet, Description*, v. p. 167, No. 173.

with the Cæsarian dates ΔΓ and ΣΓ²⁰ (= 45-46 and 47-48 A.D.). In the reign of Claudius these pieces became bilingual, the inscription on the obverse being always in Latin thereafter.

CÆSARIAN YEARS 104, 105, 106.

A.

ANTIOXEΩN. Head of Tyche r.

B. ΕΠΙ ΚΟΥΑΔΡΑΤΟΥ. Ram running r., looking back; above, crescent and star; beneath, date.

Dates.—ET ΔΡ, ET ΕΡ, ET ΣΡ.

Weights.—6.38; 6.31; 6.02 grammes.

B.

Head of Artemis r.

B. ANTIOXEΩN. Branch of laurel; after ethnic, date.

Date.—ΔΡ.

Weights.—3.98; 3.72; 2.98 grammes.

At Antioch the Cæsarian Era was reckoned as having begun in the autumn of 49 B.C. The group just described belongs, therefore, to the years 55-56, 56-57, and 57-58 A.D. During this period the *legatus* of Syria was C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus. It is interesting to note that the resumption of the pseudo-autonomous series is marked by a curious compromise in regard to the question of precedence. The ethnic is now transferred to the obverse of the coin, leaving the name of the *legatus* in undisputed possession of the reverse. That the reason suggested is the true explanation of the change is, I think, proved by the fact that it

²⁰ *Münch.* v. p. 167, No. 174 f.

is only on the higher denomination that the transference takes place.²⁷ On the lower denomination—which had never borne the name of the *legatus*—the ethnic continues to be placed on the reverse as before. The types of the latter are new, but henceforth we shall meet with them frequently.

It will be observed that I have no record of any examples of "B," except for the year 104. It is possible that others may exist, but it is also possible that this was the only year of the three in which specimens of the lower denomination were struck at all. The latter view receives some support from a consideration of the system of which the pseudo-autonomous coins now form a part. They are not connected, as they were originally, with a silver issue; nor do they stand alone, as they seem to have done for two years under Silanus. What has happened is that a combination has been effected between them and the "name and wreath" pieces which had supplanted them forty years before. It will be found that henceforward no "name and wreath" coins were ever struck without a corresponding pseudo-autonomous issue. The weight of the former remains stationary, while that of the latter is slightly reduced, the result being that the two together appear to form a single series of four denominations. Now, while we have "name and wreath" pieces of Quadratus bearing date ΔΡ (104),²⁸ the years 105 and 106 are (so

²⁷ An examination of any of these pieces will show, I think, that want of space was not the determining consideration. The module is rather smaller than it was before; but there could still have been room for both ethnic and name, especially if (as on the lower denomination) the superfluous ET had been omitted. It is inserted now for the first time, a fact which shows that the engraver had more room than he needed.

²⁸ B. M. C., *Gallia*, etc., p. 175, No. 186.

far as I know) blank as regards this issue, just as they appear to be blank as regards the pseudo-autonomous "B." It seems not unlikely that it was only in the first year that the complete series was struck. In the second and third years nothing was issued except the denomination which, to judge from this and a subsequent similar case, we may conclude to have been most largely in demand.

CÆSARIAN YEAR 108.

A.

ANTIOXEΩN. Head of Tyche r.

B. Lighted altar, garlanded; in ex., date.

Date.—ET HP.

Weights.—6.51; 5.99; 5.05 grammes.

B.

Head of Artemis r.

B. ANTIOXE. Lyre; after ethnic, date.

Date.—ET HP.

Weights.—3.71; 3.52; 3.36 grammes.

This group is of special interest. Both of the reverse types are new. But the most noteworthy point is the disappearance of the name of the Roman *legatus*, a disappearance that was this time destined to be final. A faint gleam from the literary records throws some light upon the circumstances. Among the events of the year 60 A.D. Tacitus thus speaks of the departure of Corbulo for Syria: "Corbulo in Syriam abcessit morte Ummidii legati vacuum, ac sibi permissam."²⁰ The date HP (108) corresponds to the year 59-60 A.D. In other

²⁰ *Annals*, xiv. c. 26.

words, our group would seem to fall exactly within the interregnum. The suggestion lies ready to hand that the citizens of Antioch—*sibi permissi*—seized the opportunity to indulge in a mild demonstration in favour of a larger autonomy. It is so far confirmed by the absence of "name and wreath" pieces bearing date HP. We should naturally expect to find these if there had been a Roman *legatus* in office, that is, if the issue had taken place in the lifetime of Quadratus or after the arrival of Corbulo.

CÆSARIAN YEAR 114.

A.

ANTIOXEQN. Head of Tyche r.

R. Lighted altar, garlanded; in ex., date.

Date.—ET ΔΙΡ.

Weights.—5.76; 4.69 grammes.

B.

Head of Artemis r.

R. ANTIOXE. Lyre; after ethnic, date.

Date.—ET ΔΙΡ.²⁰

Weights.—4.53; 4.04; 3.36 grammes.²¹

²⁰ It would seem just possible that there may have been a separate issue of this lower denomination three years earlier: see Mionnet, *Description*, v. p. 160, No. 114, and B. M. C., *Galatia*, etc., p. 161, No. 84. A careful examination of the London example leads me to think that what looks like an A in the date may be merely a clumsily cut Δ. Mr. Wroth and Mr. Hill agree that either reading might be defended. A somewhat different coin has been published by Mionnet as having also ΔΙΡ (*Description*, v. p. 160, No. 113). On a cast of it, which I owe to M. Babelon's courtesy, I read ΔΡΡ. I have seen a cast of Mionnet, *Suppl.*, viii. p. 128, No. 26. It reads ΖΙΡ, not ΔΙΡ.

²¹ The first of the Paris pieces alluded to in the preceding footnote (Mionnet, v. p. 160, No. 114) weighs no less than 5.43. Its module it does not exceed the average of "B," but it is very thick.

The types, it will be observed, remain unchanged, nor is any attempt made to reassert the position of the Roman *legatus*. In this instance, however, the pseudo-autonomous coins do not stand by themselves. They form part of a series, precisely as they had done under Quadratus, and it must have been considered that the authority of the *legatus* was sufficiently vindicated by the occurrence of his signature on the corresponding "name and wreath" pieces. The first magistrate to sanction this compromise was C. Cestius Gallus,²² who was *legatus* in the year in question ($\Delta\text{IP} = 85-86$ A.D.). But the arrangement lasted until the "name and wreath" reverse fell entirely into disuse. In character it reminds one somewhat of the scheme under which Hiketas, tyrant of Syracuse, had placed his own name upon the gold money, but not upon either the silver or the bronze.

CESARIAN YEAR 115.

A.

ANTIOXEΩN. Head of Zeus r., laur.

ii. *Boule* of Antioch seated l., dropping pebble into voting-urn; around, date.

Date.—ETO EIP.

Weights.—5.27; 5.70; 5.47 grammes.

B.

Head of Apollo r.

R. ANTIOX. Branch of laurel; after ethnic, date.

Date.—ETO EIP.

Weights.—4.56; 3.56; 3.56 grammes.

²² For "name and wreath" pieces for this year, bearing his name, see B. M. C., *Galatia*, etc., p. 175, No. 291.

Beyond the sudden and complete change of types, there is nothing that calls for notice here. Cestius Gallus was still *legatus*, as is shown by the corresponding "name and wreath" pieces which continue to bear his signature.²²

CAESARIAN YEAR 117.

A.

ANTIOXEON. Head of Zeus r., laur.

R. Lighted altar, garlanded; in ex., date.

Date.—ET ΣΙΡ.

Weights.—6.17; 5.70; 5.66 grammes.

B.

Head of Artemis r.

R. Branch of laurel; around, date.

Date.—ET ΖΙΡ.

Weights.—4.95; 3.66; 3.59 grammes.

As compared with its predecessor, this group again exhibits some change of type. This, however, is not matter for surprise. As the corresponding "name and wreath" pieces²³ show, the governorship had changed hands in the interval, the new *legatus* being C. Licinius Crassus Mucianus. A small innovation worth mentioning is the omission of the ethnic from the lower denomination, a peculiarity which is characteristic of this group, and which also occurs occasionally later. The reason is not far to seek; the module has been gradually diminishing until comparatively little room is left for a reverse legend at all, particularly since it has become customary to prefix ET or ETO to the number of the year.

²² B. M. C., *Gabitis*, etc., p. 175, No. 202.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 176, No. 203.

Ten years are to elapse before we have another pseudo-autonomous issue.³⁵ But in the meantime the city mint was not altogether idle. In the year 73 A.D. there was struck a remarkable group of pieces which calls for passing notice. They have on the obverse the head either of Vespasian, or of Titus, or of Domitian, and on the reverse the turreted head of the city, with the legend *ANTIOCHIA*.³⁶ They have been discussed by Pick,³⁷ who first drew attention to their homogeneity and to the fact that the date of issue is fixed by the mention of the second consulship of Domitian. He raises the question as to whether they are to be regarded as imperial or as city pieces, and ultimately decides in favour of the imperial authorities, explaining the reverse legend as a name descriptive of the type.³⁸ The arguments that weigh with him are chiefly two: the fact that Latin is used in the inscription, and the improbability that the city, which struck pseudo-autonomous coins before and after, should make a sudden departure and strike pieces with the heads of members of the imperial family. The force of the latter argument disappears in the light of what we have now learned as to the intimate connexion that has all along subsisted between the pseudo-autonomous issues and the contemporary pieces with the

³⁵ Mionnet, v. p. 161, No. 124, cites from the *Mus. Thorp* a coin with KP (Rev. type = lighted altar), and another with the same date (Rev. type = lyre) is described in the *Turin Catalogue*, p. 359, No. 4995. The absence of "name and wreath" coins, however, makes this date improbable. I suspect a misreading of HP, for which year the types would be appropriate.

³⁶ B. M. C., *Galatia*, etc., pp. 178 (No. 222 f.), 180 (No. 238), and 181 (No. 254).

³⁷ *Z. f. N.*, xiv, p. 347 f.

³⁸ At the same time, he frankly admits that, if the issue were a city one, the nominative would be the right case to use, as the inscription is in Latin.

imperial "image and superscription." The use of Latin would doubtless be intelligible to us if we knew the circumstances that had led to the issue of this obviously exceptional group. In the meantime we must be content with tracing in it a manifestation of the "Romanizing" tendency that characterized Vespasian's policy towards the provinces.³⁹ In any event, the most convincing proof that ANTIOCHIA is not a descriptive title, but a mint name, is furnished by a comparison with a similar group that we shall have to deal with later, when we come to the reign of Hadrian.⁴⁰ In weight,⁴¹ module, and reverse type, the two are identical. Both have an imperial head on the obverse; on the reverse the only difference is that on one the city name is in Latin and in the nominative, while on the other it is in Greek and in the genitive. In both instances we have, I think, to do with an issue commemorative of a special occasion.

CEBARIAN YEARS 125, 126, 127.

ANTIOXEON. Head of Tyche r.

B. Lighted altar, garlanded; in ex., date.

Dates.—ET EKP, ET SKP, ET ZKP.⁴²

Weights.—5.54; 5.44; 4.79 grammes.

As is proved by the corresponding "name and wreath" pieces, which were struck, as usual, in two denominations,⁴³

³⁹ Schiller, *Geschichte des Römischen Kaiserreichs*, i. p. 514.

⁴⁰ See *infra*, p. 129.

⁴¹ Three of the earlier weigh 5; 4.98; 4.96. Three of the later, 5.19; 4.13; 4.08.

⁴² I have not seen any specimens actually dated ZKP, but the evidence for their existence seems fairly good.

⁴³ For an example of the higher, see B. M. C., *Galatia*, etc., p. 189, No. 239. There is an example of the lower in the Hunter Collection.

this group was initiated under M. Ulpian Trajanus, father of the Emperor Trajan. His term of office as *legatus* must, therefore, have included the year $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ (= 76-77 A.D.). I have met with no examples of a lower pseudo-autonomous denomination for any one of the three years. If they were issued at all, it must have been in comparatively small quantity. "Name and wreath" pieces do not occur except with the date $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$. The situation is thus analogous with that which we found existing some twenty years before in the group belonging to ΔP , EP , and SP .⁴⁵ It remains to be added that this is the last occasion on which the "name and wreath" reverse occurs at all. The system introduced under Silanus is now finally abandoned. The senatorial bronze is to hold the field unchallenged until its disappearance in the reign of Elagabalus.

CEBARIAN YEAR 145.

1. Head of Artemis r.

R. ANTIOXE. Lyre; after ethnic, date.

Date.— $\epsilon\tau$ $\epsilon\mu\text{P}$.

Weights.—4.34; 3.32; 3.31 grammes.

2. Head of Artemis r.

R. ANTIOX.⁴⁶ Branch of laurel; after ethnic, date.

Date.— $\epsilon\tau$ $\epsilon\mu\text{P}$.

Weights.—3.69; 3.11; 2.64 grammes.

As was indicated above, this group appears to stand alone; there are no "name and wreath" pieces. In

⁴⁵ See *supra*, p. 118.

⁴⁶ Omitted on the coin described in B. M. C., *Galatia*, etc., p. 163, No. 29.

another respect it is anomalous. Both the sets which it contains appear to belong to the lower of the two pseudo-autonomous denominations. That is clear, not only from the weights and from the module, but also from the types, and from the fact that in both instances the inscription is on the reverse. I am unable to suggest any explanation of the peculiarity. They fall within the year 96-97 A.D.

CESARIAN YEAR 177.

A.

1. ANTIOXEWN THC MHTPONOLEWC. Head of Tyche r.
B. Ram running r.; beneath, date; in field l., numeral letter.

Date.—ET ZOP.

Numerical Letters.—A, B, Γ.

Weights.—5.53; 5.37; 5.14 grammes.

2. ANTIOXEWN THC MHTPONOLEWC. Head of Tyche r.
B. Lighted altar, garlanded; in ex., date; in field l., numeral letter.

Date.—ET ZOP.

Numerical Letters.—B, Γ.⁴⁶

Weights.—4.98; 4.60; 4.61 grammes.

3. ANTIOXEWN THC MHTPONOLEWC. Head of Zeus r.
B. *Boule* of Antioch seated l., dropping pebble into voting-urn; in ex., date; in field l., numeral letter.⁴⁷

Date.—ET ZOP.

Numerical Letter.—B.

Weights.—4.79; 4.53; 4.53 grammes.

⁴⁶ Doubtless A occurs also, although I have not met with it.

⁴⁷ In the great majority of cases there is no numeral letter at all on this variety.

B.

1. ANTIOXEWN ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ.⁴⁸ Head of Apollo r.
or l.

B. Branch of laurel; around, date; in field, numeral letter.

Date.—ΕΤΟ(Υ) ΖΟΡ.

Numeral Letters.—Α, Β, Γ.

Weights.—3.75; 3.75; 2.91 grammes.

2. ANTIOXEWN ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕ. Head of Apollo r.
or l.

B. Lyre; around, date; above, numeral letter.

Date.—ΕΤΟ(Υ) ΖΟΡ.

Numeral Letters.—Α, Β, Γ.

Weights.—3.75; 3.75; 2.91 grammes.

After an interval of more than twenty years,⁴⁹ we reach what is, in some respects, the most remarkable group of the whole series. The number of varieties is greater than anything we have hitherto encountered, inasmuch

⁴⁸ On both varieties of "B" the title is usually contracted, unless want of space causes it to be omitted altogether.

⁴⁹ Mr. Warwick Wroth kindly informs me that the coins which Mionnet (*Suppl.*, p. 128, No. 29 L) cites from T. Combe as having ΟΡ and ΔΟΡ have both been misread. They are correctly described in B. M. C., *Galatia*, etc. I have satisfied myself that the Leake example of ΟΡ (*Nam. Helles., Asia*, p. 15) has certainly ΖΟΡ. Mr. Wroth and Mr. Hill have re-examined with me B. M. C., *Galatia*, etc., p. 163, No. 100. They agree that, though the traces of Ζ are faint, the probabilities are in favour of ΖΟΡ or ΣΟΡ. There remains Mionnet, *Description*, v. p. 162, No. 133, which appears to read ΕΤΟ ΡΟΒ. The Ρ is not clear; it might be a badly formed Σ. If this is so, the whole is probably an engraver's mistake for ΣΟΡ Β. In any event, the legend must be blundered, for ΡΟΒ reverses the normal order of the digits. I am, therefore, not prepared in the meantime to admit a group for the year 172, although its existence would not affect in any way the deductions I propose to draw. The title of the city does not occur upon the piece.

as there are no fewer than three of the higher denomination and two of the lower. The precise relation between these cannot be determined, but the rarity of numeral letters makes it probable that it is "A(3)" which stands by itself. There are no absolutely new types; but, with the solitary exception of the head of Artemis, all the types that had been used during the preceding hundred and twenty years are revived. Very significant, too, is the reappearance of the title ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ, which we have not met with since the advent of Silanus. This time it is placed, not merely on the higher denomination, but frequently also on the lower one, the ethnic being now transferred to the obverse, so that more space is available.

All these phenomena would seem to indicate that the Caesarian year 177 (= Oct. 128—Oct. 129 A.D.) had been an *annus mirabilis* at Antioch. And so, as a matter of fact, it was. In the early summer of 129 A.D.,⁵⁰ the Emperor Hadrian arrived at the Syrian capital, in which he was to fix his headquarters for nearly a year. Could Antioch have found a more appropriate occasion for once again assuming the dignity of a *μητρόπολις*? If the numeral letters indicate the months of the year, as I have previously tried to show that they do,⁵¹ then "A (1)," "A (2)," "B (1)," and "B (2)" were struck during October, November, and December, 128 A.D. They must, therefore, have been issued in anticipation of the Emperor's arrival; and this, again, proves that,

⁵⁰ Dürr (*Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, pp. 40 ff.) would place the visit a year later. The case for 129 A.D. is ably stated by Von Rohde (*Paul-Wissowa's Realencycl.*, i. p. 509 ff.); and the evidence of the pseudo-autonomous coins, to which attention is now drawn for the first time, furnishes a convincing confirmation of his argument.

⁵¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1903, p. 105 ff.

as we should expect, the itinerary of the imperial journeys was carefully thought out and publicly announced beforehand.

The greater part of the winter of 129-130 A.D. was spent in Antioch, and it is to this period that I should be inclined to attribute a group that has already been alluded to. I mean the pieces that have on the obverse the head of Hadrian, and on the reverse a turreted bust of the city, with the legend *ANTIOXEΩN THC MHTPOΠOΛE*.³² These, along with the corresponding group struck under Vespasian,³³ stand alone among the issues of Antioch. It is probable, as I said above, that both are commemorative in their character. If so, there are good grounds for endeavouring to connect the later of the two with Hadrian's memorable visit. Although they are undated, the reverse legend inevitably suggests an association with the pseudo-autonomous pieces of the Cæsarian year 177. Yet they are not likely to have been contemporaneous, seeing that they are apparently equivalent in value to the higher pseudo-autonomous denomination. The numeral letters prove that they were struck early in the official year; that is (if the conjecture now put forward be accepted), in the last two or three months of 129 A.D., when the Emperor was actually in residence. At such a time there would be a peculiar significance in the combination of types which these coins display, bodying forth as it does in visible form the union of imperial and city authority.

³² B. M. C., *Gadaria*, etc., p. 187, Nos. 300 ff. (Plate XXII, 115).

³³ See *supra*, p. 123.

CESARIAN YEAR 100.

ANTIOXEWN. Head of Artemis r.

B. Branch of laurel; in field, date.

Date.—99.⁵⁴

Weights.—3.95; 2.78 grammes.

This small issue of the lower denomination belongs to the year 141-142 A.D. Its chief interest lies in the fact that the weight is well maintained—a point, the importance of which will become evident when the next group comes to be discussed.

CESARIAN YEARS 194, 195.

A.

1. ANTIOXEWN THC MHTPO.⁵⁵ Head of Tyche l. or r.

B. Ram running r., looking back; above, crescent and star; beneath, date; in field, numeral letter.

Dates.—ΕΤΟΥ Δ9P, ΕΤΟ Ε9P.

Numeral Letter.—Δ.

Weights.—2.46; 2.33; 2.20 grammes.

2. ANTIOXEWN THC MHTPOΠO. Head of Tyche r.

B. Lighted altar, garlanded; in ex., date; in field r., numeral letter.

Dates.—ΕΤ Δ9P, ΕΤ Ε9P.

Numeral Letters.—B, Γ, H.

Weights.—3.46; 2.78; 2.59 grammes.

⁵⁴ The Turin Catalogue (p. 359, No. 5903) describes a coin having on the obverse a head of Apollo, and on the reverse a lyre with ANTIOXE-ΕΤ-9P. I cannot think that the date has been correctly read; from ZOP onwards it was the invariable practice to place the ethnic on the obverse.

⁵⁵ On all varieties in this group the title is often contracted or omitted.

B.

1. ANTIOXEWN THC MHTPOCTOΛEW. Head of Apollo r.

R. Laurel-branch; around, date and numeral letter.⁴⁴*Dates.*—ΕΤ ΔΡΡ, ΕΤ ΕΡΡ.*Numeral Letters.*—Ζ, Θ.*Weights.*—2.10; 1.45; 1.26 grammes.

2. ANTIOXEΩN. Head of Apollo r. or l.

R. Lyre; in field, date; above, numeral letter.

Dates.—ΕΤΟ ΔΡΡ, ΕΤΟ ΕΡΡ.*Numeral Letters.*—Α, Η.*Weights.*—1.83; 1.74 grammes.

3. ANTIOXEWN THC M . . . Head of Apollo l.

R. Winged caduceus; around, date; in field, numeral letter.

Date.—ΕΤΟ ΕΡΡ.*Numeral Letters.*—Α, Δ, Ζ, Ι.*Weights.*—1.77; 1.68; 1.58 grammes.

The abnormal outburst of activity which characterizes these years (= 145-147 A.D.) reminds one of what had happened on the occasion of Hadrian's visit, and suggests that something of importance was occurring in Antioch at this time. But the scantiness of our literary records renders conjecture futile.⁴⁷ It does not seem possible to determine the exact relations between the different varieties of "A" and those of "B," but we may note

⁴⁴ The numeral letter is not always present. This applies to most of the varieties in this group.

⁴⁷ It is worth noting that to this same period belongs the only series of pseudo-autonomous pieces known to have been struck at the neighbouring city of Hieropolis (R. M. C., *Galatia*, etc., Plate XVII. 8).

that one reverse type, the winged caduceus, is new.²⁸ The weights are very remarkable. Each denomination is now reduced to about half of what we have been accustomed to find. Nor is the reduction the result of a gradual fall; only four years before, the lower denomination was struck (by itself) well up to the normal weight. Does the sudden alteration indicate financial stringency, whether due to the poverty of the local exchequer or to some "appreciation" in the value of copper? In any event it is worth noting.

CÆSARIAN YEAR 267.

A.

ANTIOXΕΙΝ ΜΗΤΡΟ. Head of Tyche r.

B. Ram running r., looking back; above, crescent; beneath, date.

Date.—ZC.

Weights.—5.34; 4.43; 4.13 grammes.

AB.

ANTIOXΕΙΝ ΜΗΤΡΟ. Head of Tyche r.

B. Garlanded altar, surmounted by eagle; to r., date.

Date.—ZC.

Weights.—3.79; 3.04; 2.63 grammes.

²⁸ That the coin which Eckhel cites (*D.N.V.*, III. p. 283) from Pellerin as having ΕΙΡ has been misread is proved (1) by the presence of a numeral letter, (2) by the fact that the ethnic is on the *obverse*. Eckhel (*l.c.*) publishes another similar, but with date 9P. I have been able to obtain a cast of this latter piece. It appears to have originally read Ε9P. Prof. Kuhnitschek tells me that he can detect the remains of Ε on the coin.

B.

ANTIOXΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟ. Head of Apollo r.

R. Tripod, with caduceus and laurel-branch; around, date.

Date.—ΕΤΟ ΖC.*Weights.*—2.71; 2.53; 2.49 grammes.

This group belongs to the year 158-159 A.D. It will be observed that, as compared with the issue of thirteen years before, there has been a great recovery of weight. An unexpected feature is the appearance of "AB," which seems to constitute a third denomination, intermediate between the two with which we are familiar. Its types associate it with "A," while in weight it approximates more nearly to "B." The reverse types of "AB" and of "B," particularly the latter, which is curiously designed, show some effort to shake off the trammels of conventionality. It is the last flicker of interest discernible in the pseudo-autonomous series.

CERARIAN YEAR 212.

ANTIOX . . . ΠΟΛΕ. Head of Apollo r.

R. Laurel-branch; around, date and numeral letter.

Date.—ΕΤΟΥC BIC.*Numeral Letters.*—BI.*Weight.*—2.46 grammes.

This belongs to the year 163-164 A.D. It seems to have been a very small issue, and in one denomination only. The solitary specimen I have met with is in the Hunter Collection.

CESARIAN YEAR 257.

Head of Apollo r.

R. Lyre; around, date; above, numeral letter.

Date.—ΕΤΟΒ ΣΝC.

Numeral Letter.—Α.

Weights.—1.94; 1.42 grammes.

The issue of this group, which belongs to the year 208–209 A.D., must again have been a very small one.²⁰ The pieces are uninteresting and extremely light in weight. A further diminution in size would scarcely have been possible.

Here our survey comes to an end. When the bronze currency of Antioch was reformed under Elagabalus, no place was found for coins that did not bear the Emperor's head.

This paper has already run to undue length. But it may be well to recapitulate very briefly the more important general results I hope to have obtained.

(1) At Antioch the pseudo-autonomous money was originally the small change issued in connexion with the silver tetradrachms.

(2) The tetradrachms struck during the reign of Augustus form a special group, in the issue of which the imperial authorities and the city authorities co-operated. This system was inaugurated under Varus, and brought to an end under Silanus.

²⁰ The only two examples I have seen are in the Bodleian Collection. But I have no doubt it is one of this group that is described in Leake, *New Hellenic Asia*, p. 14, as having ΣΝΔ. The form Σ had long been out of use. The date cannot, of course, be a Seleucid one, though it is so taken by Leake, and also by Mommson. The style entirely negatives such a supposition. Cf. Pick, *Z. f. N.*, xiv. p. 313, footnote 1.

(3) Subsequently the pseudo-autonomous money appears as the small change of an "all-bronze" system of the character usual in the provinces.

(4) The varying fortunes of the name of the Roman *legatus* show that, insignificant as it may seem, the citizens valued the privilege of having small change that did not bear upon its face any ostensible mark of servitude. This enables us to appreciate the exceptional position enjoyed by Athens, whose coins of the imperial age never show the Emperor's head at all.

(5) Ultimately, the pseudo-autonomous money came to stand alone. It probably was issued only on special occasions, the most outstanding of which was Hadrian's visit to Antioch.

(6) The weight of the coins remains fairly constant, with a steady and gradual downward tendency. About 145 A.D. there came a sudden depression, which, however, proved to be transitory.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

V.

A NEW TYPE OF CARAUSIUS.



EVERY collector of Roman coins must be well acquainted with those of the time of Diocletian and his colleagues with the reverse legend of GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. The collector may not, however, have attempted to ascertain the exact meaning of the word GENIVS, or to trace the history of its occurrence in the series of Roman coins.

It would be out of place here to enter into a long discussion as to all that was involved in the use of the word, and probably the best course to pursue is to refer the reader to the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* of Daremberg and Saglio (vol. ii. 2nd part, p. 1488), and to Smith's *Dictionary of Biography and Mythology*, s.v. "Genius." He will there find a full account of the place of the Genius in Roman mythology, its connection with the demon of the Greeks, and its relation to the *Lares* and *Penates*, the *Manes*, *Tutela*, *Fortuna*, and other objects of worship. The Genius, indeed, was a kind of

personal tutelary divinity for each man, while a Juno under various attributes was the corresponding "guardian angel" of each woman. M. J. A. Hild, the author of the article in the French Dictionary, is inclined to trace back much of the idea of the Genius to Greek sources, and with some hesitation I venture to look for its origin, or, at all events, for an example of a similar belief, in an older mythology, that of Ancient Egypt.

Compare this passage in the Dictionary with one in Dr. Budge's recently published work on "the Gods of the Egyptians." M. Hild says, "He (the Genius) was born with each man, he died with him; that is to say, he re-entered the universal Soul of which he was an emanation."

Dr. Budge writes:¹ The Kā—that is to say, the double—"was an integral part of a man, and was connected with his shadow, and came into being when he was born, and lived in the tomb with the body after death."

The connection of the serpent with the Genius of the Romans and the Agathodæmon of the Greeks seems also indicative of an Egyptian origin, inasmuch as the Uraeus was an object of devotion in Egypt even in pre-dynastic times.

Many of the superior divinities among the Romans were credited with genii, which possibly devoted themselves to carrying out local work; and in Egypt a king or a god was believed to possess many *kau*, or "doubles."² In one text Rā is mentioned as having fourteen *kau*.

The late Professor William Ramsay, the writer of the article "Genius" in Smith's Dictionary, observes: "The

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 39.

² *Op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 34.

Romans seem to have received their theory concerning the *genii* from the Etruscans." The Lydian origin assigned to this people by Herodotus has lately been the subject of considerable discussion. If this origin can be substantiated it would bring the home of the Tyrrhenian *genius* within a measurable distance of the home of the Egyptian *Kā*.

The tendency at Rome was to imagine a *Genius*—or, in other words, a divinity—as attaching not only to every individual, but to all aggregations of individuals, and also to each separate locality or country. To use the words of Pliny,² "Thereby we may conceive that there are a greater number of gods in heaven above than men upon earth; since that every one of their own accord make so many gods as they list, fitting themselves with *Juncos* and *Genii* for their patrons."

Among these the *Genius Publicus Populi Romani* occupied an important place, as to which there is a large amount of numismatic evidence. The earliest coins on which the *Genius* appears are two denarii of the Cornelia family (Babelon No. 25, 26) struck by P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus about B.C. 89. On the reverse of these the *Genius* is shown crowning the goddess Rome with a wreath, and holding a cornucopia in his left hand. His figure is apparently youthful and unbearded. On two slightly later denarii, struck by the son of Marcellinus, Cnaeus Lentulus (Bab. No. 54, 55), the obverse presents a diademed bearded bust to the right with a sceptre on his shoulder, and above the head G.P.R. (*Genius Populi Romani*). On a denarius of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, about B.C. 74

² Holland's translation, 1601, Book II. chap. 7.

(Bab. No. 58), the beardless Genius is shown seated, facing, in a curule chair, holding a sceptre and a cornucopiæ and being crowned by Victory.

On another coin of the same family (Bab. No. 31) the Genius is receiving Sylla, who is disembarking from a ship.

The Genius *Terre Africae*, accompanied by the letters G. T. A., occurs on a coin of the Cæcilia and Licinia families of somewhat later date.

Among the early imperial coins those bearing reference to the Genius of the Roman People are fairly numerous, as are also those with representations of the Genius of different colonies. These latter, though presenting some analogy with the subject of this paper, may for the present be left on one side.

Of the former class the earliest is one of the Municipium of Italica in Spain (Coh. 614, Heiss. No. 1, Pl. LVI. Æ. 2), struck during the reign of Augustus. On its reverse is the Genius standing, in his right hand a patera, at his feet a globe. The legend is GEN. POP. ROM.

Two rare denarii of the time of Galba, also probably struck in Spain and not giving the Emperor's name, have on the obverse a youthful diademed head to the right, with a cornucopiæ. The legend is GENIO P.R. A denarius of Vespasian gives the legend GENIVM P.R., and a dupondius of Titus, A.D. 76 (Coh. 95, 96) GENI. (or GENIO) P.R. S.C. The type in all cases is that of a Genius, standing to the left holding a patera and a cornucopiæ; at his feet is usually a lighted altar.

The next Emperor on whose coins our Genius is to be seen is Hadrian, on some of whose coins in gold and silver the Genius is represented standing to the left,

and holding a patera and a cornucopia. A lighted altar is sometimes at his side. The legend is GEN. or GENIO P.R. There is also a bronze medallion of Hadrian with the same type on the reverse, and the legend GENIVS POPVLI ROMANI. On one of his sestertii (Coh. 1406), with the legend SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS, VOTA SVSCEPTA, the Genius of the Roman People is seen sacrificing to the Genius of the Senate.

On gold, silver, and brass coins of Antoninus Pius the legend GENIVS POPVLI ROMANI appears either in full or in some abbreviated form, with the type of the Genius standing and holding either a patera or a sceptre and a cornucopia. The altar is sometimes absent. The coins date from about A.D. 140. Other coins of the same Emperor, with GENIO SENATVS, represent that Genius with a branch and a sceptre.

The GENIVS P.R. reappears with the usual type on a denarius of Septimius Severus (Coh. 209), but in subsequent reigns gives place to the GENIVS AVGVSTI, EXERCITVS, etc., though occurring in the form of GENIVS POPVLI on a memorial coin of Claudius Gothicus, *circa*, A.D. 270.

The grand resuscitation of the GENIO POPVLI ROMANI reverse took place soon after the time when the standard of the Roman copper coinage was reformed under Diocletian and his colleagues. Mommsen¹ places this reform somewhere between the years 296 and 301, but not improbably the *folles* with this type began to be issued about 304. Cohen attributes a middle brass coin of Galerius (No. 50) with this reverse to

¹ Tr. Blacas III., 97.

the year 292, but in this there appears to be some mistake.

Anyhow, the general issue of the *folles* with this type did not take place until some years after the assassination of Carausius by Allectus in 293. I must now, therefore, come to the more immediate object of this paper, a coin of that emperor, an illustration of which is given at the head of this paper. It may be thus described—

Obv.—IMP. CARAVSIVS P. AVG. Draped and radiate bust of the Emperor, right.

Rev.—GENIO BRITANNI; in exergue C. Youthful partly draped Genius standing left, holding in his right hand a patera above a lighted altar; in his left a cornucopiae.

Æ 3.

This type is absolutely new on the coins of Carausius, and one could have wished that it had been issued in defiance of the type struck by the Emperors whom he was pleased to call his brothers, Diocletian and Maximian. Chronological evidence is, however, against any such interpretation of the type; and, indeed, the representation of the Genius differs from that on the Continental coins, inasmuch as the Genius is not crowned either with the *modius* or a turreted crown.

The GENIVS ILLYRICI of Trajanus Decius offers some analogy with the GENIO BRITANNI (Æ) of Carausius, but there again the Genius is represented as having the *modius* on his head.

But the closest parallel is afforded by two coins of Clodius Albinus. This emperor, when he rebelled against Septimius Severus, and caused himself to be proclaimed Augustus in A.D. 196, fixed his head-quarters at Lyons,

He there issued the *denarii* with GEN. LVG. COS. II. on the reverse, and having as type the Genius of Lyons with a mural crown standing to the left, and holding a sceptre and a cornucopie. At his feet is an eagle.

Carausius in Britain, a hundred years later, was in much the same position, but the Genius on the British coin is personified in strict accordance with truly Roman precedents, and is in all respects identical with the figure on the gold coin of Hadrian already mentioned. A similar figure is to be seen on a copper coin of Carausius, probably of the Rouen fabric, with the legend SALVS AVG., and Mr. Percy Webb has called my attention to a copper coin of London of this emperor in the British Museum with GENIVS AVG and a male genius wearing the *modius* on his head.

On other coins of the same fabric, with the reverse legends FORTVNA REDV(X), SALVS AVG. and TVTELA AVG., a standing figure with the same attributes and having an altar in front is fully draped, and has all the appearance of being a female. In fact, it seems that we have here a Juno rather than a Genius.

The personification of Britain on the coins of Carausius reading EXPECTATE VENI, on which the province is represented as greeting the Emperor, is not the male Genius, but a draped female figure much like that on the coins with the FIDES ML. AVG. reverse, on which Fides is represented as giving her hand to Carausius. She bears, however, but one standard instead of two, as on the coins with the FIDES MILITVM reverse.

Whether the C which so frequently occurs on the exergue of coins of Carausius is significant of Camulodunum or of Clausentum, it is at the present moment difficult to say; the claims of each town to have

possessed a mint in Roman times being so evenly balanced. Possibly the excavations which are taking place on the site of Clausentum, though undertaken for building and not for archaeological purposes, may help to throw light upon the question.

Stukeley, in his "Medallie History of Carausius,"⁵ has figured a brass coin with the legend GENIO AVG. and the type a female figure standing to the left holding a globe and a cornucopia. Such a coin does not appear to be at present known, but possibly the original of the engraving was a badly preserved example of the type that I have described.

Whence the moneyer immediately derived his type, and what was his or the Emperor's design in issuing such coins, are interesting though difficult questions. The pure patriotism of the type seems to denote a time when Carausius "et Fratres sui" were no longer even seemingly in accord.

I will only add that the coin is in my own collection, and that I obtained it from Messrs. Lincoln and Son.⁶

JOHN EVANS,

⁵ Pl. XXIX., 8.

⁶ When this paper was read, Mr. Percy Webb called attention to the fact that the coin under discussion had formerly been in his possession. It formed part of a hoard of small brass coins found in or about the year 1873 at Buzley Pound, near Croydon, Hants, which passed into the hands of Mr. Hawgood of Farnham, from whom Mr. Webb bought it, though he subsequently sold it to Mr. Lincoln. The find, so far as he can remember, consisted of about 200 coins, the earliest being of Claudius Gothicus, and the latest of Allectus. Probus and Tacitus were represented. Of Carausius there were about twelve, and of Allectus four or five specimens.

VI.

THE COINAGE OF WILLIAM I AND WILLIAM II.¹

CHAPTER I.

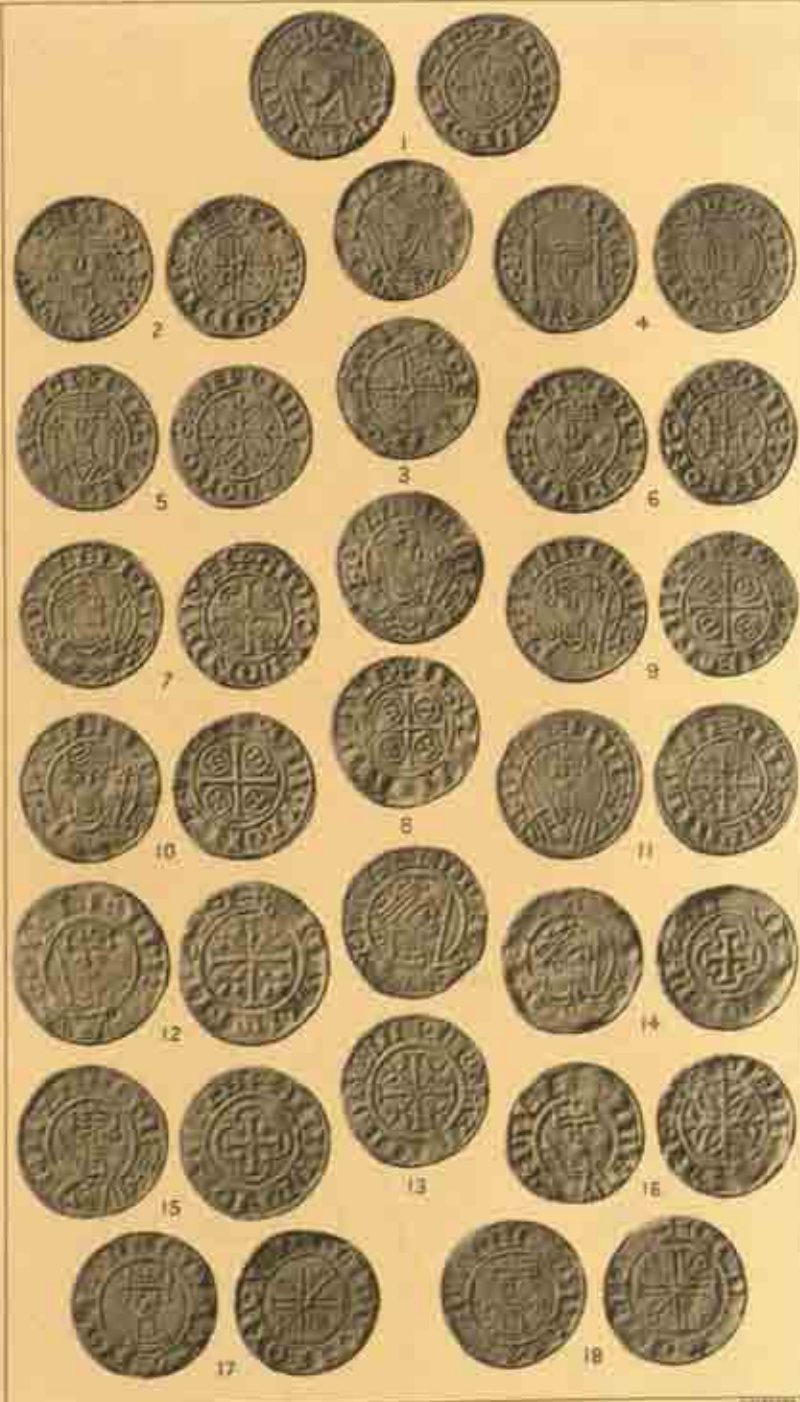
WILLIAM I.

(See Plate X.)

THE arrangement of the coinages of these two sovereigns has long formed a subject of debate amongst numismatists. From the publication of Folkes' Tables until Hawkins published his work,² but little light had been thrown upon it. This was in large measure due to the careless manner with which finds were examined and their contents recorded. Hawkins, however, blames Thoresby rather unfairly on this score, for, as a matter of fact, he did record in his *Ducatus Leodiensis* (p. 61), a find of pennies of William I, discovered at York in 1703. His description of the coins is as follows: "All that follow

¹ [Mr. Frederick Spicer was engaged in writing this paper on the coinage of William I and II at the time of his death, which was very sudden, and which came as a great blow to his relatives and friends. The first portion of the paper, that relating to the coinage of William I, was left by Mr. Spicer in a fairly complete form; but much remained to be done in connection with the later part, the coinage of William II, which has been compiled from Mr. Spicer's notes. This portion must not, therefore, be considered as wholly representing what might have been Mr. Spicer's views, had he lived to finish it; for it is very probable that on more than one point he would have made certain modifications. The paper is published with the consent of his widow.—Ed.]

² *Silver Coins of England*, 1841.



COINS OF WILLIAM I & II.



were of those found at York, wherein the different places of mintage are remarkable; the crosses are somewhat different, but the crown side all alike; the king's head with full face, labels at each ear hanging down from a liadem of pearls, with a large, or rather two small, arches over the head, for upon some they appear evidently divided by a hollow with a raised point and pearl." This description is accompanied by a list of some of the moneyers' names, and after reading it there can be little doubt that the coins belonged entirely to Hks. type 234, although what is intended by the crosses being somewhat different it is hard to say. Hawkins himself makes no use of the information contained in *Archæologia*, vol. iv. p. 356, respecting the find of coins at St. Mary Hill Church, London, in 1774, except in its relation to the money of Harold II. This find consisted largely of the coins of the Confessor, mixed with some of Harold and William I. Of the last the types represented were Hks. 233, 234, 236, and 237. The Dymchurch hoard, found in 1739, from the slight information preserved of it, appears to have consisted of coins of Harold and of William I² (Hks. 233).

About the year 1821 some workmen digging for a foundation in Bermondsey found eight coins of William II of types Hks. 246, 249, and 250, accompanied by five of Henry I, of type Hks. 251.

In 1828 a small find of pennies of William I occurred at Malmesbury; ⁴ one was of Hks. 234, and the remainder of Hks. 237.

In 1833 the great Beaworth hoard was discovered, which was so thoroughly described by Hawkins in

² *Nouv. Chron.*, Ser. I., vol. viii. p. 170.

⁴ *Sainthill, Olla Podrida*, vol. i. p. 189.

Archæologia, vol. xxvi. p. 1 f. as to need only a passing notice; it contained coins of Hks. 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, and 243.

During 1845 a further find of William I's money took place at York,⁵ and, like that of 1703, contained, with one exception, only pennies of type 234. The exception, which the writer of the article did not see, had a profile bust; so it may safely be presumed to have been of type 233.

At Shillington,⁶ in 1871, about 250 coins were discovered, consisting of Hks. 244, 246, and 250, and a few of Henry I.

The City of London hoard,⁷ discovered in 1872, extended from the reign of Æthelred II to that of William I. Of the types of William I there were present one coin of 233, two of 234, and five of 237.

In the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1877 is contained the description of the find at Tamworth, consisting of coins of Hks. 241, 244, 245, and 246.

Having thus briefly summarized for future reference the recorded finds of coins bearing the name of William, a table is annexed showing the types comprised in each:—

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, Ser. I., vol. viii., 1845-46.

⁶ *Ibid.*, New Ser., vol. xi. p. 225.

⁷ *Ibid.*, New Ser., vol. xvi. p. 323.

The evidence of the coins shows that they were not affected by the change of dynasty. William I professed the greatest respect for the memory of Edward, and as we are not aware that he had any prototype of his own to follow, he allowed the coinage of his predecessor to be the model for his own. A change would have been most distasteful to the people whom he was trying to pacify by specious promises of retaining their old laws and privileges. The Saxon workmen, therefore, continued to engrave dies and strike coins just as they had done under Harold. It would be interesting to attempt to trace who was responsible for engraving the dies during the latter part of Edward's reign and the short interregnum of Harold, for the style of the work on both is so similar to William's first coinages that we must conclude that the designs were executed by the same hand.

Documentary evidence is scarce at this period, but Domesday gives us some information, as it mentions the names of several *aurifabri*. It will be sufficient to refer to two of these who were holders of lands *in capite*, viz. Theoderic and Otto. The first-named was evidently a man of wealth and position, for he held five manors in Berkshire. In Surrey he held the important manor of Kennington.

And again under Oxfordshire—

"Teodricus aurifab teñ de rege CHENINTVNE. Ipse tenuit de regn . E."

"Teodricus Aurifaber teñ de rege . 1 . hñl in NORTONE
Idē teñ 11 hñl et dñm in Welde. . . . Valuit et nat
XL . solid. Has 11 trās uxōr ēj' libe tenuit T.R.E."

Here, therefore, was a man who had held land under the Confessor, as had also his wife (presumably now

dead), and was still in undisturbed possession of it. In addition, he had had large grants from William. It is evident he must have rendered some service both to the Confessor and also to the Conqueror, for the latter, at any rate, never gave anything without an equivalent. As he was not the court jeweller, for we have that one's name in another place, does it not seem probable that he was Cuneator? The fact of his not being named as such proves nothing either one way or the other, as it is only from later records that we learn that Otto occupied that position, but when he commenced to do so we are not told. Like Theoderic, Otto was a man of wealth, but, judging roughly, his possessions were not so extensive as Theoderic's, and all of them were grants from William, showing that his position had been acquired after the Conquest. It is suggested, therefore, that Theoderic had been Edward's Cuneator, and that at the time of William's arrival he was well advanced in life, but continued to occupy his office for the first ten or twelve years of the new reign, when he was succeeded by Otto, who would engrave the subsequent types of the Conqueror's money, and probably the first of those of his son.

There is no direct evidence that such was the case, but the probabilities seem to warrant the suggestion, which appears first to have been made by the late Mr. Packer. In the pages which follow I shall endeavour to show that these engravers, whoever they were, had a further object in view than merely producing a bust of the king and ornamenting the coin; and as the *sigilla*, or little things which developed into the seal, and were all significant, so the types of William's money have a story to tell us if we will hear it. I claim no new arrangement

in point of succession, for in the main I believe that of Hawkins to be correct.

TYPE I. [HAWKINS, No. 233.]

Obv.—King's bust crowned to the left with sceptre.

Rev.—Cross with floriated ends. [Pl. X. I.]

Finds:—St. Mary Hill Church; Dymchurch; York, 1845; City of London.

On eighteen coins in the Montagu collection the following variations in the spelling of the king's name occur:—

PILLEMV (2); PILLELMVS (2); PILLEMV (2); PILLEMVS (10); ILLEMV (1); PILLEMVSVI (1).

Adopting Mr. Andrew's view that the engraver always found most difficulty in spelling the king's name on the first type, we notice that these coins give six variations of spelling, which is a larger proportion than in any of the succeeding issues.

The king's head upon these coins bears a strong resemblance to that of Harold, but the bust is carried to the edge of the coin, and is clothed. Possibly this resemblance did not meet with the approval of the authorities, and, although tolerated for a time while the kingdom was disturbed, was soon altered. This type is widely distributed, and occurs at twenty-two mints at least. Seventy-five per cent. of the moneyers who struck it coined for Edward and Harold. The mint of York, which had been so prolific in previous reigns, is, however, represented by only one moneyer, OVÐBEORN, who had formerly coined for Edward. As Archbishop Aldred had crowned William at Westminster, it seems

probable that his complacency was rewarded by his obtaining his dies immediately: and as this type was evidently issued for only a short period, there may not have been time to organize the royal mint, as William's supremacy was not acknowledged in the North until some months after it was established in the South. The Hastings mint, which would be the first to fall into the Conqueror's hands, is continued by the three moneyers who had worked for the Confessor and Harold. Romney, which was the second place attacked by William *en route* to Dover, also continued its mint under the moneyer PVLMIER, and a large percentage of the coins of this type in existence was coined by him, probably having formed part of the Dymchurch hoard, of which he was the sole moneyer.

The Canterbury mint supplies some evidence as to the brevity of this issue. Athelstan's laws allowed the archbishop two moneyers, and the Abbot of St. Augustine's one. In the reign of John a confirmatory charter was issued addressed to "*Cantuar. eccl'ia Christi*," giving it three dies and three moneyers for coining in the city of Canterbury. No further mention is made of the abbot's die. Stigand, who was archbishop at the time of the Conquest, was in possession of the rights conferred upon him by the Confessor, of which the mint was one. He was a pluralist, already holding the see of Winchester in addition to his archbishopric, and it need cause no surprise if he had managed to deprive the abbot of his right, which in future years formed the precedent for allowing three dies to the archbishop. At any rate, three moneyers coin of this type, and none of the next. Stigand was taken into Normandy by William in March, 1067, and his mint would necessarily

cease working. When he returned into England is uncertain, but it may have been with the king at the close of the year; if so, he was probably kept in some sort of restraint until 1070, when his trial and deprivation took place. As stated above, no coins of the next type (Hks. 234) have been traced of the Canterbury mint, so that, whether at home or abroad, he evidently was deprived of his temporalities. Two types must, therefore, have existed before the end of 1070, when Lanfranc was appointed to the see, and the mint recommenced its issue with the type of Hks. 236. As there are good reasons for supposing that the succeeding type was continued for the usual term of three years, it allows but a short period for the present one, and probably we shall not be far wrong in limiting its issue to the autumn of 1067.

A variety of this type appears without the sceptre before the king's bust.

Hawkins type 235 (Pl. X. 3), is a mule consisting of the obverse of 233 and the reverse of 234, thus connecting the two types.

TYPE II. [HAWKINS, No. 234.]

Obv.—Full-faced bust of the king, the crown extending beyond the head, with ear-lappets at the side.

Rev.—Voided cross, each limb ending in two crescents, annulet in centre, pyramid surmounted by pellet in each angle. [Pl. X. 2.]

Finds:—York, 1703; St. Mary Hill Church; Malmesbury; York, 1845; City of London.

Readings of the king's name:—PILLEMV; PILLEMVS.

William was crowned at Westminster on Christmas day, 1066. Ordericus Vitalis^a thus records the event:

^a *Hist. Eccl.*, Pt. II. lib. III. xxi.

"In the course of three months, by God's providence, tranquillity was restored throughout England, and the bishops and barons of the realm having made their peace with William, entreated him to be crowned according to the custom of the English kings. This was the great aim of the Normans, who had encountered great perils by land and sea to procure for their prince the ensigns of royalty; and this by divine influence was the desire also of the native inhabitants, who up to that time had only given their allegiance to crowned kings." The Conqueror had now attained his heart's desire, and to provide a crown suitable for such an occasion, he had one made. Domesday records the name of the man who in all probability was its maker. Under "Wiltshire," p. 74, we read: "Leviet ten CYNVCHE vir ej' tenuit T.B.E. . . . H Leuiede fecit et facit aurifrisiū regis et regina." Either the Saxon regalia were not sufficiently imposing or perhaps they were not in William's possession. Those who wish to read the description of this new diadem can do so in the concluding lines of Wido's poem, *De Bello Hastingsensi Carmen*.*

The language is grandiloquent throughout, but the description coincides very closely with the crown we see upon the coins of this type. There is the circle of twelve jewels, the central pearl rising above them with amethysts at each side, far more imposing than any of the Anglo-Saxon diadems, or the one which appears on Hka. 233. In William's dying confession he refers to it when he says, "I placed on my brow a royal diadem

* "Verticis in summo stat margarita supremæ
Quæ sibi subposito luce replet lapides
In cuius dextra, heuæ quoque parte, locata
Est amethysti lux, cui color est geminus."

Petrie, *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i. p. 871.

which none of my predecessors wore."¹⁰ The king was not a man to allow any circumstance which would tend to his advantage to pass by unutilized, and I believe that the strangely exaggerated crown on this type was intended to recall to his new subjects the fact that he really was their crowned king, and, as such, entitled to their submission.

This appears to have been a most extensive coinage, as it was issued from at least thirty-seven mints, a number only exceeded by the great "PAXS" coinage, and the one represented by Hks. type 246. It is easy to fix the date of this type from the evidence of the mints. Exeter was in rebellion against William in 1067, but after a short siege surrendered. After this, as Mr. Andrew mentions,¹¹ it was granted to Baldwin Fitz Gilbert. Only one moneyer (*ÆLPI*) appears to have coined at this period, and he would be employed by Baldwin after he had made his position at Exeter secure, a task which probably occupied some time, so that his mint would only commence operations when this type had nearly run its course.

The *Saxon Chronicle* records under date, 1067: "It was then told the King that the people in the North had gathered together and would oppose him there. Upon this he went to Nottingham and built a castle there, and then advanced to York, where he built two castles; he then did the same at Lincoln and everywhere in those parts."

As William only reached Winchester on December 7th, after having been in Normandy since March, and kept his Christmas in London, these events must be referred

¹⁰ *Ord. Vit.*, *Hist. Eccl.*, Pt. III, Lib. VII. xii.

¹¹ *Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV, vol. i, p. 183.

to the new year (1068). We can almost trace his steps by the large number of moneyers who issued this type. London gives eleven names; Leicester, at least two; Nottingham, two; Lincoln, nine; and York now resumes its old position with no less than fourteen moneyers. The finds discovered in that city consist almost entirely of coins of this type, which were no doubt secreted during the troublous times which so quickly followed. The king was at Stafford during the autumn or winter of 1070, and so we have two moneyers coining there, and not again until the "PAXS" type appears. It may safely be concluded that this type was issued from 1067 to 1070.

TYPE III. [HAWKINS, No. 236.]

Obv.—Full-faced bust of the king crowned beneath the portal of a church.

Rev.—Quadrilateral compartment with floriated ends within circle; in centre annulet. [Pl. X. 4.]

Find.—St. Mary Hill Church.

Readings of the king's name.—PILLEMVS; PILLEMV.

Eight coins in the Montagu collection give the two varieties, but the larger number read *Pillemus*.

This type appears to be rightly placed by Hawkins as third in the series of William's coins. It has the characteristics of the two preceding ones, the absence of the inner circle on the obverse, and the legend commencing on the left side of the king's bust.

The obverse of this type has been variously described as having the king's bust beneath a canopy of state, or as displaying the back of the chair on which he is seated. A glance at the Bayeux tapestry is the best refutation of these opinions. In this wonderful contemporary work Harold is represented

sitting in state under the plain tiled roof of his palace, and the chair upon which he sits is quite devoid of a high back, as also are those occupied by Edward and William. Representations of a high throne belong to later times. The Conqueror owed much to the support afforded him by the Pope, and he well understood how to make use of the Church in his undertakings, and was willing to pay a substantial price for its assistance. He had been crowned at Westminster, but the ceremony had been performed by Aldred, Archbishop of York, instead of by the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose prerogative it was. Moreover, it seems to have been customary for the monarch to be crowned twice, one of the ceremonies taking place at Winchester—possibly a recognition of the old kingdom of Wessex, and upon the same principle that the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was crowned thrice, namely, at Aix-la-Chapelle, Milan, and Rome.

William was determined, on one pretext or another, to oust the Saxon clergy from their benefices, and for this purpose Pope Alexander II had despatched a special legate, Ermenfried, Bishop of Sion, to this country, where he was joined by two cardinal canons, Peter and John. The *Annales de Wintonia* tell us in regard to their mission as follows: "Coacto concilio, ad voluntatem regis, Stigandum deposuit." The opportunity was therefore seized by William to have his claims openly recognized by the Papal See, and being at Winchester at Easter, 1070, he was solemnly re-crowned by the Papal legates. This was all the more necessary, as Aldred, just previous to his death in 1069, is said to have excommunicated the king for his rapacious seizures of the property of the Church. The type of this coin is therefore a

record of this event, and intended to bring before the king's subjects the fact of the papal recognition of their monarch. He is represented as standing under the portal of a church, and in support of this view it is only necessary to compare the coins of Henry IV of Germany, struck at the episcopal mint of Halberstadt. The engravings in Dannenberg¹² show the head of the sovereign on the obverse, while the reverse is occupied by the tonsured head of the bishop beneath the portal of a church, very similar to our type, but rather more ornate.

Only one find of importance containing these coins is recorded, namely that at St. Mary Hill Church. It seems strange that none should have occurred in the City of London or Malmesbury hoards, which contained coins of types 234 and 237. Whether the rarity of this issue was caused by its shorter duration or the failure to discover any large hoards of it must be left for the future to solve. The number of issuing mints recorded is only nineteen, and these are principally in the western and southern part of the country. Nottingham employed two moneyers. There is a coin attributed to Lincoln, but this is doubtful, and may probably be given to London. Until recently no coins of this type had been traced to York, but upon referring to *Archæologia*, giving the account of the St. Mary Hill Church find, amongst the moneyers enumerated is LEOFFINE ON EOFFE. There seems no doubt of the correctness of the reading, but the present whereabouts of the coin is not known. Its rarity tells of the awful devastation wrought

¹² *Die Deutschen Münzen der Sächsl. u. Fränk. Kaiserzeit*, Nos. 1565 and 1565a.

by William when quelling the insurrection in the North, which had converted the country round York into a wilderness; and the deplorable state of the city itself is depicted by Hugh the Chantor, when Thomas of Bayeux came to the Archiepiscopate. He says, "*Quando archiepiscopatum suscepit, cuncta hostili vastatione depopulata et vastata invenit; de septem canonicis [non enim plures fuerant] tres in civitate et ecclesia combusta et destructa reperit. Reliqui vel mortui, vel metu et desolatione erant exulati.*"¹² If the clergy had been scattered, so, doubtless, had the moneyers, and York did not regain the position it had enjoyed as a mint under the Saxon kings during the existence of the Norman régime. Canterbury now supplies the names of three moneyers, so that Lanfranc must have taken possession of his see, and the mint was in full work. Chichester appears for the first time as a mint on William's coins, the grant of one die to the bishop being probably made upon the removal of the see from Selsey by Stigand in 1070. Mr. Andrew¹³ has fully gone into this matter in his description of this mint, and it is a question whether the moneyer belongs to Robert de Montgomery or to the bishop, but chronologically it does not matter much, as neither the earl nor the bishop would be in a position to coin before 1070.

Judging from the evidence adduced, it seems probable this type extended from 1070-1073.

The coin engraved in Ruding, Sup. II., Pl. I. No. 1, which shows on the obverse the bust of the king extending to the edge of the coin, and beneath a portal, and with the reverse type as Hks. 237, is probably a forgery.

¹² *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, vol. II. p. 107.

¹³ *Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV. vol. I. p. 132.

TYPE IV. [HAWKINS, No. 237.]

Obv.—Full-faced bust of the king within an inner circle; at each side a sceptre. Legend commencing from the initial cross above the king's head.

Rev.—Within a circle a cross flory over a cross bottonnée; in centre, circle. [Pl. X. 5.]

Finds—St. Mary Hill Church; Malmesbury; City of London.

Readings of the king's name.—Twenty-two coins in the Montagu Collection gave six varieties of spelling, namely—

PILLEM (11); PILLEMVS (3); PIELM (1); PILLELM (1);
PILEM (1); PILLELMVS (1).

With the name is usually some abbreviation of "Rex Anglorum," in one instance ANGELOR.

The obverse of this type has been a fruitful source of speculation among numismatists. Perhaps the oldest and most commonly received opinion respecting it was that the two sceptres were emblematic of the king's joint sovereignty over the Duchy of Normandy and the Kingdom of England, and until thoroughly examined it seemed plausible enough. The sceptres are always different from each other, that in the king's right hand, and therefore to the left on the coin, being surmounted by a cross, and that on the right by three pellets. This difference is consistently maintained throughout the issue, and therefore the designer had some definite purpose in so representing it. Now, unfortunately for the theory referred to, Normandy possessed no regalia, and the solemn investiture of its dukes consisted in crowning them with a circlet of golden roses, and girding them with the sword of the duchy. William on the Bayeux tapestry is always represented with the sword, whether

receiving in state the ambassadors of Harold, or directing the operations of his soldiers. An interesting instance of the notice which was taken of emblematic designs occurs in Bonquet, vol. xiii. p. 392.¹⁵ The chronicler is giving a history of the Earls of Flanders and their connections; he says, "Robert (Frisco) governed Flanders in great tranquillity. William, Earl of Normandy, married his sister (Matilda), and Harold, the King of England, being slain, and England forcibly taken, he obtained two principalities, being Earl of Normandy and King of England; thus upon his seal on the one side he sits on his horse as earl, and on the other side upon his throne with his sceptre as king."

Roger de Hoveden gives a full account of the installation of John, when Earl of Morton, as Duke of Normandy, which Selden reprints. At royal coronations the sword was also delivered naked to the king with this monition, which Selden states (*Tiles of Honour*, ch. viii. p. 135) to be the oldest fragment of the coronation ritual in existence; it is as follows: "It is committed to thee to defend and protect the City of God by the help of the Invincible Conqueror, our Lord Jesus Christ," etc. The sceptre was given accompanied by these words: "Receive the sceptre, the symbol of the power of the kingdom, the virga of the justice of the kingdom, the virga of virtue by which thou thyself governeest well the Holy Church and the people." At first there seems some obscurity about this passage, but later on Selden explains in a side-note what the virga really was; he says, "Giving him the rod, or verge, which they now call, I think, *La*

¹⁵ Ex Horimanni Tornacensis Abbatis Historia Restaurata S. Martini Ecclesie.

maine de justice."¹⁰ The sceptre and the virga were therefore two entirely separate things, and in the poem which has been before quoted Wido confirms this.

"After the diadem he arranges the sceptre with the virga,
Which equally show the privileges of the country;
Now by the sceptre are restrained the turbulent govern-
ments of the kingdom;
The virga collects and calls back the scattered."

In modern times we still find the two sceptres in use, although their character has altered slightly, one being, as of old, surmounted by a cross, and the other by the dove. In the account of James II's coronation the ceremonial is thus described: "The archbishop took the sceptre, with the cross, and put it into the king's right hand, saying, 'Receive the sceptre, the ensign of kingly power and justice.' After which the archbishop delivered the rod, or sceptre, with the dove into the king's left hand, saying, 'Receive the rod of equity and mercy,'" etc. The sceptres, therefore, still maintain their relative position as shown on the coin.

It may be useful at this point to turn to one of the Continental imitations of this type. In Dannenberg's work (Plate LXXIV., No. 1553) a coin is engraved which is ascribed to Otto III, being struck at Deventer by Bishop Conrad (1076-1099). The obverse has the king's bust between the two sceptres, exactly as on William's coins, and the reverse bears the bust of the bishop, with

¹⁰ One of the primary meanings of the word "virga" (a twig) refers to the rods in the victor's fasces, hence its connection with justice. At the coronation of Charles le Chauve a hand is said to have descended from heaven to impart to him the power of judging rightly; afterwards the virga was surmounted by this device, hence Selden's remark. *Vide* Montfaucon, *Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, tom. i. p. 302.

a cross to the right and crozier to the left; the processional cross, the emblem of the bishop's authority, and the crozier, the symbol of his pastoral administration, the reverse being the ecclesiastical counterpart of the secular obverse. Wido seems to have had something of this kind in his mind when he writes, "The virga collects and calls back the scattered."

The question now arises, Was there any occasion on which such a type might suitably be issued? If we may believe the Norman chroniclers, William was at this period (1073-1076) making great efforts to conciliate the Saxons, who ungratefully met them with constant outbreaks. The king himself posed as a model of justice, and Orderic says in reference to this: "Judicium rectum nulla persona ab eo nequicquam postulavit." There is an account given in Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, vol. i. p. 47, which may explain the motive of this coin. It records a meeting between the Saxon nobility and the king at Berkhamsted, after which, in the presence of Lanfranc and the Abbot Frethericus, the king solemnly swears on the relics in the church of St. Albans to maintain the ancient laws of the kingdom, and especially those of King Edward. This meeting must be entirely distinct from that recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under date of 1067, as Lanfranc is represented as being present at it. I would not, however, press any single event too strongly as the *raison d'être* of this coin, but regard its type as suggestive of an equitable policy on the part of the king.

The mints enable us again to verify the period to which this type belongs. Taunton had been given by Edward the Confessor to Stigand, in his capacity of

Bishop of Winchester. As stated in considering Hks. 233, apparently this primate only coined at Canterbury during the first few months of William's reign, and probably he did not trouble about his one moneyer at Taunton. Walkelin was consecrated to the see in 1070, and Stigand died two years afterwards, in 1072, and after this event the town and castle of Taunton were in the king's hands; for some time previously to the compilation of Domesday he had regranted them to Walkelin, which event would probably take place soon after Stigand's decease.

So we find with this type that the Taunton mint recommences its issue, after being quiescent since the reign of the Confessor. Rochester also makes a beginning at the same time, but as it was a regal as well as an episcopal mint, it is not quite so definite; still, I think the evidence of the latter being the issuer of type 237 is fairly strong. The regal mint would be vested in Odo, the king's brother, as Earl of Kent; but it appears from the lack of coins that neither he nor the bishop could previously have exercised their privilege.

Siward, the Saxon bishop, is described as an incapable man, who had wasted the property of the see by his mismanagement, and probably, therefore, his mint had also been neglected.

At his death Arnost succeeded him in 1075, and being an able administrator, it was hoped he would recuperate the funds of the bishopric, but he died within a year. To him I assign this solitary coin, after which the mint remains dormant until the "PAXS" type. Gundulf became bishop in 1077, but was probably more interested in building than minting.

In the late Mr. Montagu's collection was a mule with obverse type 237, reverse type 238, which connects this issue with the following one.

TYPE V. [HAWKINS, No. 238.]

Obv.—Full-faced bust of the king within an inner circle, at each side of the head a star. Legend commences above the king's head.

Rev.—Cross bottonnée over quadrilateral ornament, with pellet at each angle. [Pl. X. 6.]

Find.—Beaworth.

Readings of the king's name:—PILLEM and PILLELM, usually accompanied by REX, which is followed by upright strokes, probably intended for ANG.

There can be little doubt as to the position this type occupies in the series of William I's money, as it is connected with No. 237 by the mule already referred to above. The only recorded find of any quantity of this issue was at Beaworth; but as Hawkins in his account of that find does not specify the number of each type against their respective moneyers, with the exception of the "PAXS" type, we are left in doubt on this point. This coinage used to be unhesitatingly given to Rufus, because the two stars which appear upon it also occupy the same place on the great seal of that king. This at first sight appears a very strong reason for their appropriation, and we can hardly wonder at most of the older writers upon coins adopting it. If it was only the workmanship upon which the question turned, it is so manifestly related to the preceding type, and so entirely unlike Hks. 250, upon which the stars again appear, that a glance would carry the conviction that they are separated by a considerable period. The comet

depicted upon the Bayeux tapestry, which is filling the Saxons with astonishment and fear, was regarded as the precursor of events which led to the overthrow of the perjured Harold, and the imposition of the foreign yoke upon the necks of his people. The author of the *Annales Waverleiensis* is particularly careful to record all the astronomical phenomena which came under his observation. After recording the coronation of William and the submission of the Saxons to him, he says, "Quod Cometa ingens in exordio ejusdem anni designaverat; unde dictum est,

"Hoc anno seno milleno bisque triceno,
Anglorum gentes bello periore cadentes,
Haroldus cecidit, Willielmus dux superavit."

Considering, therefore, that this heaven-sent messenger of victory for the Normans had been vouchsafed, the only wonder is that among so many suggestive types it did not appear sooner. From this time forward it evidently became a favourite badge of the Norman kings. Surely Henry of Huntingdon must have had this coin in his mind when, at the conclusion of his account of William's reign, he pens the lines—

"What though, like Cesar, nature failed
To give thy brow its fairest grace!
Thy bright career a comet hailed,
And with its lustre wreathed thy face."

At the time we may suppose this type to have been issued William had just quelled the insurrection of Ralph de Guader and his companions, and Earl Waltheof had paid the penalty of being associated with them. The star of the Normans was still to be in the ascendant, so that the only course for the disaffected people to follow was to submit to the augury with the best grace they

could, as destruction was sure to fall upon the rebellious. An event which may have recalled the previous comet is also chronicled by the author of the *Annales Waverleianæ* under date of 1077. It is as follows: "Dominica Palmarum circa horam sextam sereno coelo stella apparuit." From the wording of this account it seems likely that the heavenly visitor was a brilliant meteor rather than a comet, as usually the direction and size of the tails of these latter bodies are carefully recorded. As this appearance occurred in the spring of the year, and our present type would not be issued until September, there would be ample time for the preparation of the dies, and, coupled with the remembrance of the previous comet, it would form a very useful object-lesson for the Conqueror to place before his subjects. A glance at the table of finds given above (p. 147), will show the strange fact that this type has never been recorded as having been found with any of the previous ones. At present it forms a dividing line. Whether this was the effect of the *monetarium*, as suggested by Mr. Andrew, or not, must be decided in the light of future discoveries.

At Beaworth it was the companion of Hks. 239 and 240, which may be considered one type for present purposes, and 241, 242, and 243. It was not, however, present in the Tamworth hoard, which included thirty coins of 241. A solitary halfpenny was found with the coins of Henry I and Stephen at Watford, and as the writer in the *Numismatic Chronicle*¹⁷ mentions, when recording its presence, it probably owed its preservation to the fact that its reverse was so similar to coins of

¹⁷ Ser. I. vol. xii. pp. 142-43.

Henry found with it, and for which it was probably mistaken. The absence of York as a mint may possibly be accounted for by the Danish raid at the close of the year 1075, as of the five moneyers who were employed there upon type 237, three do not occur again. Huntingdon also ceases its coinage, the death of Waltheof having put a stop to it. Bath, Dorchester, Herester, and Shaftesbury all appear for the first time on William's coins of this type; a circumstance which points to a more peaceful and settled state of things in the West of England. The period, therefore, to which this coinage probably belongs is 1077-1080.

TYPE VI. [HAWKINS, NOS. 239 AND 240.]

Obv.—Side face to right, with sceptre before bust, enclosed in an inner circle; the legend commences at the left behind the king's bust.

Rev.—239. Large cross pattée within circle, trefoil in each angle. [PL. X. 7.]

240. Large cross pattée within circle, in the angles of which are the letters PAXS each within a circle. [PL. X. 8.]

Find:—Beaworth.

Readings of the King's name:—PILLELM; PILLEM.

We now approach a point at which some difficulty occurs as to the right succession of the types. From an exhaustive comparison of the moneyers and mints, it would seem at first sight as if type 243 might equally occupy this position with 239, for of the forty-three moneyers coining the former, whose names I have been able to collect, thirteen appear on type 237 and twelve on 238; while of types 239 and 240 combined, out of their thirty-five moneyers ten appear on type 237 and

eight on 238, while each are about equally related to types 241 and 242. The connection formed by type 240 having the obverse of 239 and the FAXS reverse shows that the issue under consideration must have come either immediately before or after type 241. Now, it may be received as an axiom in numismatics, that where a mule occurs, the reverse type belongs to the succeeding issue. The obverse of the coin was engraved on the standard or lower die, which was fixed in a wooden or other secure foundation, the reverse being engraved on the trussell or upper die, which in the process of coining was subjected to the heavy blows of a sledge-hammer, which caused it to burr over and often to split right through.¹⁸ The consequence was that the trussell did not last nearly so long as its companion. Thus we find from Ruding (vol. ii. p. 167) that when Edward IV. allowed the dies for the Durham episcopal mint to be engraved by William Omoryghe, the goldsmith, he was ordered to supply three dozen trussells and two dozen standards. It is therefore reasonable to presume that type 240 was a mule, formed by the moneyers using up their old obverse dies with the new reverse. Hawkins, whose opinion we must all respect, believed that type 243 preceded type 241, and in that case it must have been the successor to 238, as it is impossible to disassociate the type under consideration from 241. I hope to be able to show later on that the balance of probabilities is against this arrangement, and that, with all due deference to such a distinguished authority, type 243 should occupy exactly the place it does upon his plate, viz. the successor of 241 and 242.

¹⁸ *Nam. Chron.*, Ser. I, vol. vii. p. 22.

The reason for a return from a full face of the sovereign to a profile is not altogether clear. Mr. Andrew's suggestion, that the change marks the point from which the old coinage ceases to be current appears to have much in its favour. In this case its effect would be to remove from circulation the first type of the reign, Hks. 233, and all the coins of the Confessor and Harold, which, as the City of London hoard shows, still formed a large proportion of the currency. It does not, however, enlighten us as to the complete severance between the first four types, which has been maintained in all our recorded finds.

This type and its mule may be accounted the rarest belonging to William I, the number retained by the British Museum from the Beaworth hoard being eleven of 239 and six of 240. There was also one of the latter amongst the coins presented to the Winchester Museum, and no doubt more were amongst the coins which never found their way to the National Collection; their proportion to the other types must, however, have been very small. It seems hard to believe that a coinage which preceded the great "PAXS" issue should have been so limited. As the country was now settling down, a greater demand would exist for money, and upon the next type almost every available mint was employed to supply it. But the fact remains that, so far as our present knowledge goes, type 239 was present at Beaworth in even less numbers than its predecessor 238. It did not appear at Tamworth, which contained thirty of the "PAXS" issue, nor at Shillington, where only one of that type appeared; and until a further discovery enlightens us, it remains somewhat of a numismatic puzzle. Its duration was probably from A.D. 1080 to 1083.

TYPE VII. [HAWKINS, Nos. 241 AND 242.]

Obv.—Full face crowned, with sceptre, enclosed in inner circle; the legend commencing on the left of the bust.

Rev.—Large cross pattée, in the angles of which are the letters PAXS, each within a circle.

[Pl. X. 9, 10.]

Finds:—Beaworth; Tamworth (30 coins); Shillington (1 coin).

Reading of the king's name:—PILLEM.

We now come to a type which has been a fruitful source of controversy amongst numismatists, not only as to which of the two sovereigns bearing the name of William it belongs, but also as to the meaning of the word PAXS, which forms part of its reverse type. Many conjectures have been hazarded, but I venture to think that none has been put forward which has been found sufficiently convincing to satisfy the minds of thoughtful numismatists. With regard to the identification of the king, who was the issuer of this type, I need not recapitulate Mr. Andrew's argument, founded upon the evidence of the mints of Durham²⁹ and Bath, by which he conclusively proves it to have been William I. This evidence is strengthened by that of other mints, but as it equally relates to the first type of William II, in order to save recapitulation, it shall be considered at the close of the description of this type, which I believe to be the last issued by the Conqueror.

Let us now examine the reverse type, regarding which so many theories have been broached. The word PAX on English coins first appeared in the reign of Canute, and was continued upon those of his sons, though the type

²⁹ *Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV. vol. i. pp. 179, 183.

is of considerable rarity. Upon the Confessor's coins there are two issues upon which it forms the reverse, the one having the letters PACX in the angles of a cross voided; and the other having PAX across the field of the coin exactly as on those of Harold II. The latter of these two is probably a mule formed by an obverse die of the coinage of Edward being used with the reverse of his successor. In 1884 the late Mr. Montagu contributed a paper to the *Chronicle*²⁰ upon a penny of William I in his collection with a similar reverse. Thanks to Mr. Lawrence's numismatic research, we now know this coin to be a forgery, or it would have been a great obstacle to a satisfactory arrangement of the Conqueror's coins. Mr. Montagu then proceeds to criticise Mr. Hawkins' opinion, that the coin of Canute referred to was struck in commemoration of the peace established between that monarch and Edmund Ironside, with which theory he does not agree.

He, however, does not appear to have had any very decided views of his own, but leans towards an ecclesiastical significance. Mr. Crowther, in 1891, believing the "PAXS" coins to belong to William II, considered these to betoken his peaceful accession to the throne of his father.²¹ With this view I cannot agree, as, although William hastened to England before the breath had left his father's body, and was speedily crowned through the influence of Lanfranc, he had to fight immediately against a most formidable combination of Norman nobles headed by his Uncle Odo, who were anxious that both Normandy and England should be united under the sway of his brother Robert. Having defeated and

²⁰ *New Chron.*, Ser. III. vol. iv. p. 39.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Ser. III. vol. xi. p. 26.

banished the malcontents, he carried the war into Normandy until a peace was concluded between his brother and himself, when he had hastily to return to repel an invasion of the Scots. I do not consider, therefore, that under these circumstances his accession can be considered to have been of a peaceful character. Again, in 1893, the late Mr. Packe concluded that this coinage was struck by Rufus purposely to be dispensed in alms to the different objects benefited under the Conqueror's will, and that the word PAX betokened a pious wish for the repose of his soul.²² As I believe it is proved that the type in question belongs to William I, these opinions must necessarily fall to the ground.

As this reverse type had been used by so many kings, it must have had some special significance, and was not merely a repeated copying of a stereotyped idea, a proceeding which was quite at variance with the practice of the Anglo-Saxon coin engravers, who displayed a wonderful fertility in inventing new types, in this respect contrasting strongly with their Continental brethren, who were apt copyists, but indifferent designers. My own opinion, formed after a long and careful study of the subject, is that we have upon this and all its allied types a reminder of the king's peace.

From the first moment that the Danes obtained a permanent foothold in East Anglia, there were introduced into this country the elements of discord. The first we hear of an amicable arrangement was when, after many struggles, Guthrum accepted Alfred as his over-lord, and both bound themselves by oaths to maintain peace and

²² *New Chron.*, Ser. III. vol. xiii. p. 143.

friendship between Angles and Danes. It was not easy to tame the old Viking spirit and to prevent acts of lawlessness, so when Edward the Elder was with his Witan at Exeter, an inquiry was instituted as to how the peace might be better observed than it had been, and the nation more thoroughly welded into one. Under the strong hand of Æthelstan, we have a letter addressed to his subjects about A.D. 929, and given in Birch's *Chartularium Saxonicum*, vol. iii. 678. It commences: "Ego Æthelstanus rex notifico vobis sicut innotuit mihi quod pax nostra pejus observata est quam mihi placeat," etc.

This communication from the king seems to have been under consideration, as it drew the following reply from the Bishops, Thengs, Earls, and Villains of Kent, assembled in council at Faversham: "Secundum est de pace nostra quam omnis populus teneri desiderat. Sicut apud Greattleciam sapientes tui posuerunt et sicut etiam nunc dictum est in concilio apud Fefresham" (*op. cit.*, p. 679). A similar council seems to have been held at London, which also ratified the former agreement. It is taken from Honard,²² under the heading of "Judicia Civitatis Londoniæ," and is as follows: "Hoc est consilium quod Episcopi & Præfecti, qui ad curiam Londinensem pertinebant, edixerunt, et juramentis confirmaverunt, in nostris foederatorum sodalitiis, tam comites quam coloni, præter jura illa quæ ad Greatanleam & ad Exoniam, & ad Thunresfeldam constituta erant." We may presume that by the time Edgar "the Peaceful" ascended the throne the two races were living in tolerable amity.

The arrival, however, of fresh hordes of Danes, tempted

²² *Traité sur les Coutumes Anglo-Normandes*, vol. i. p. 122.

by the weakness of Æthelred, recommenced the old feud, and we find the king, after enacting several statutes, concluding with this despairing sentence: "Si hæc ita conservemus tunc confido in Deo quod pax nostra melior futura sit quam antea erat."

The hope was unfulfilled, and the purchase of peace for money only drew fresh swarms of Norsemen to our shores, anxious to share in the spoil, until at length the crown passed also to their race. Canute's laws against the violation of the king's peace were short and stern: "Si quis in exercitu pacem violaverit, perdat vitam vel pretium æstimationis capitis." Under the Confessor the struggle was between the Norman partisans of the king and the native-born Northmen, who when under the ban of the king's displeasure belied their old instincts by taking ship and harrying his coasts.

With the Conquest it became a question of Norman against Englishman, for all distinctions of race were speedily lost in face of the common foe, and so, as Howard [*op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 39] tersely puts it: "The king's peace became the safeguard which protected the persons who formed his court, the principal highways, and the possessions of the immediate vassals of the crown." In Knighton's *Chronicon*, under date of the Conqueror's fourth year, there is an account of a council, at which a jury of twelve was appointed to make a digest of the English laws. In this he includes an account of the times, seasons, and places of the "Pax Regis," and says it was given under the sovereign's hand and called in English, "Cyninges hand sealde grip"—that is, peace by the sign manual of the king. These laws were only the recapitulation of those of Edward the Confessor, but with William's turbulent Saxon subjects it became doubly necessary to

enforce this one; and so thoroughly was this accomplished that at the close of his reign the writer of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says, "Among other things, the good order that William established is not to be forgotten; it was such that any man who was himself aught might travel over the kingdom with a bosom full of gold unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him." This contemporary opinion from a not too partial critic is valuable.

The fragment of the fulsome epitaph preserved by Guizot also re-echoes the same theme: "All regret thy marvellous exploits, thy bounty, thy wars, thy peace." Orderic, speaking of William's last days, says, "He languished during six weeks in great suffering, the enemies of peace rejoicing, as they promised themselves liberty to steal and carry off the goods of others." An interesting example of later date of the proclamation of the king's peace is given in the *Chronica Majorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum*. After the battle of Lewes, Henry III and his brother, the King of the Romans, being brought prisoners to London, a proclamation of the king's peace was immediately made, and in the next year was repeated for a longer period. It is afterwards explained that "the Earl of Leicester did what he liked with the seal of the king, and with all things pertaining to the kingdom of England." It is also remarkable that in Domesday the accounts of the cities of York, Chester, and Oxford are all accompanied by a reference to the penalties attached to the breach of the king's peace. The York entry commences: "Pax data manu regis vel sigillo ej⁹ si fuerit infracta: regi solūm emendatur p. XII. unū. qdq. hund. VIII. lib."²¹ York and Chester were

²¹ Domesday, York, 298a.

situated upon the confines of such civilization as then existed in England. The rude Northumbrians, who had dictated to the Confessor who should be their earl, had recently shown by the murder of Bishop Walcher that their spirit was still unbroken by all the Conqueror's severity. North Wales also contained an equally hardy and pugnacious population, which in 1081 had been to a certain extent subdued by William. The entry, therefore, in Domesday is appropriate in both cases. In fact, peace was in the air all round. The Church had a peace of its own. The Peace of God, or Truce of God, had been proclaimed at the Council held at Lillebonne in 1080. The same took place in Germany at the Council of Cologne in 1083, so that it is evident that the desire for peace and order was a prominent topic at the time when the "PAXS" type was presumably issued. My argument all through this paper has been that most of the types of William I were designed with a view to being object-lessons to his subjects; and having regard to the facts already stated, I see no reason why the coin which was to pass through so many hands should not be made the channel for enforcing the king's proclamation.

If this is not so, what *raison d'être* can there be for the appearance of this word on money of the five previous reigns? Hawkins' suggestion that upon Canute's coin it had reference to the peace between Edmund and himself is the only possible occasion on which it might probably occur. The reigns of Harold and Harthacnut offer no such motive, so far as we know. The Confessor, although free from Danish invasions, had to deal with the intrigues of Godwin and his sons, which kept the country in a continual state of unrest; and during

Harold's short-lived occupation of the throne his attention was entirely taken up with supporting his position by the sword. Under these circumstances the admonition to keep the king's peace was far more applicable, and to my mind affords the only solution of the difficulty. With regard to the S which occupies the fourth circle on the reverse, it is possible that it stands for *pax sigillo*, as in Domesday. The necessity for a fourth letter made the engraver of Edward's first PAX type introduce a C, but as this was often added to the word REX, making it RECX, especially on the coins of the Danish kings, I do not think it had any further meaning. On the coins of Harold, where no such necessity existed, it is written correctly.²⁵

At present I have collected the names of 189 moneyers, who issued this type from 66 mints. From being excessively rare before the Beaworth find, it became the commonest of the Conqueror's types, but a similar discovery of some of the others might show them to have been more widely issued than our present knowledge of them indicates.

The wonderful activity displayed by most of the mints during this issue, especially of those in the South of England, calls for remark, many of which as suddenly collapsed, some never to appear again, the cause, no doubt, being the insurrections in the West and South which broke out in the succeeding reign.

Dover, which at no previous time had more than two moneyers, now furnishes the names of six, does not appear upon 243, and then resumes an occasional issue with one moneyer.

²⁵ On Roman republican coins we meet with PAXS for PAX (Babelon, *Mons. rep. rom.*, vol. II. p. 23).

Hastings, which was a busy mint in Edward's and Harold's reigns, and also continued on the first two types of the Conqueror, now reappears with three moneyers, only to as suddenly lapse, no coins of it occurring again till type 246, when one moneyer, *DYNNIC*, strikes there. Hythe is exactly in the same position. Pevensey is only represented on this type. Romney and Rochester, both of which had coined the earlier types, now do so again, the latter employing three moneyers. With regard to Rochester, the mint would probably belong to Odo as Earl of Kent; the bishop also having one moneyer. The former had been arrested by William in the Isle of Wight in 1082, but there is no mention made of a sequestration of any of his rights and privileges, and from a passage in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle recording his subsequent rebellion against Rufus, we should suppose that it was not until then that he was deprived of his estates. It is as follows: "Bishop Odo and those who were with him departed over sea, and thus the bishop lost the station he held in this land." Domesday treats his estates as being still in his possession. Two, therefore, of the moneyers may have been his, and it is a significant fact that of type 243 this mint is entirely wanting, as the city would then be besieged by Rufus. Three moneyers were employed at Chichester upon this issue, being the maximum number, viz. one for the bishop and two for the earl, that is supposing they all coined at the same time; but as on subsequent types only one name appears, the three might belong to the episcopal mint. Be this as it may, Bishop Stigand died in the same year as his royal master, and Rufus retained the see in his hands until 1091. The earl was one of Robert's partisans, and

was afterwards absent in Normandy, and so no coins occur of type 243.

The smaller mints in the West seem to have suffered severely by the ravages of Robert de Mowbray and the Bishop of Coutances. Dorchester, after employing two moneyers, is quiescent until type 246. Cricklade, the mint of which probably belonged to the Abbot of Westminster, does not appear again. The evidence, therefore, is strongly in favour of this type being the last issued by William I, and that Hka. 243 represents the first coinage of his son.

F. SEICEL.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE SEAL OF BERNARDUS DE PARMA.—The relation between the arts of the engravers of seals and of coins respectively is well illustrated by an impression from a seal which is attached to a document in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. A plaster cast of the impression was acquired some years ago by the British Museum, with others from originals in the same collection (see *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1894-99, p. 484, No. cxxxvi. 45). Since then it has been published by Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, in the sixth volume of the *Catalogue of Seals in the Dept. of MSS.*, 1900, p. 358, No. 22,192. He describes it as follows:—

^a Papal Scribe. *Magister Bernardus de Parma, D. N. Papae Scriptor, Judex Delegatus, etc.*

^b 22,192 [A.D. 1265]. Plaster cast from a fine impression, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [cxxxvi. 45].

^c An unconventional portrait of Christ, after the style of a Roman emperor: a bust in profile to the r., the shoulders

draped with classic folds caught up over the l. shoulder with a fibula, the hair tied with a laurel wreath and fillet with strings hanging behind.

“✠ RVDHI ARADITH”

The “unconventionality” of the portrait suggests that this description may require modification; and a reference to the illustration on Pl. X. makes it clear that we have here no portrait of Christ, but nothing less than a faithful copy of the head of the Emperor Frederick II., as we know it on the gold *Augustale* which was first issued about 1232: The bust corresponds in all details to the bust on this, the most famous of mediæval coins; in technique, however, it is very much finer, and in higher relief.

It is interesting and significant to find a seal-engraver, whose art in the thirteenth century stood at a much higher level than that of the engraver of coin-dies, choosing as his model the coin which modern critics have universally recognised as the finest produced in the Middle Ages. Whether he also intended the bust to represent Christ—as the inscription might suggest—is a matter of considerable doubt. Of course, the coins were still in circulation in 1265, the year to which the document bearing the seal is said to belong; therefore, if the engraver meant to represent Christ, he deliberately adopted a type which he knew, and all his contemporaries knew, to mean something very different; and in view of the existence of a traditional type of Christ at the time, this is in the highest degree improbable.

G. F. HILL.

TWO MEDALS OF THE ACADEMY OF ST. LUKE AT ROME.—The two medals which are the subject of this note are of Italian work of the eighteenth century, made by papal order for the Academy of St. Luke in Rome.

The larger, and more important of the two as a specimen of art, has also a certain historic interest in connection with the Corporation of the City of London.

This beautiful medal consists of two portions; the silver medal itself, nearly one inch and three-quarters in diameter, and the silver-gilt rim enclosing the central portion of silver, and making the complete diameter two inches and seven-eighths—not far short of three inches (see Pl. XI.).

On the one face there is a delicately moulded portrait of the Pope in full pontifical robes, with the lettering round,

CLEMENS XIII. PONT. MAX., and then upon the silver-gilt rim in clear and distinct capital letters the Ciceronian quotation :

VIRTVTIS AMPLISSIMUM PRÆMIUM EST GLORIA. CIO. PRO
MILIO.

It may here be noted that Cardinal Carlo Rezzonico, a pious Venetian of noble family, was elected to the papal throne July 6, 1758, by the title of Clement XIII, while his lovely tomb, by Canova, is now the glory of the right aisle of St. Peter's.

On the other face appears the Evangelist St. Luke, occupied in the art of painting, with the Virgin and Child enthroned upon the clouds of heaven, which glorious apparition the Saint is reverently depicting on his canvas, his face uplifted in adoration, his head crowned with a halo of glory.

On the ground behind the easel couches the emblematic ox, in an attitude of repose, with the expressive head turned towards the devout figure of St. Luke.

The lettering on the silver-gilt rim runs as follows :—

ACADEMIA . PICTOR . SCVLPTOR . ET . ARCHITECT . VRBIS .
1758.

Immediately below the figure of St. Luke, in small letters, we find HAMERANO F.

Otto Hamerano, the famous engraver in the precious metals, was born in the City of Rome in the year 1694, and died there in 1768. He executed much excellent work, and was court engraver to Clement XII and XIII, and also to Benedict XIII and XIV.

When twenty-five years of age, this medal was presented by the Academy of St. Luke to Robert Mylne, F.R.S., the well-known architect of Blackfriars Bridge, my great grandfather. The event is thus alluded to in a private letter of Andrew Lamisden, Secretary to the Stuart Princes, then exiled in Rome, addressed to Lord George Murray—

"As I know, my lord, how much you interest yourself in whatever gives reputation to our country, I cannot but mention that Robert Mylne from Edinburgh received last week at the Capitol, in the presence of a number of Cardinals, the first prize for architecture. There were young men of different nations, as well as Italians, that competed with him. His drawings are a proof of his good taste and great knowledge of ancient architecture."

On his return home, fresh from laborious study in sunny Italy, Robert Mylne was selected architect to the new bridge at Blackfriars by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London out of sixty-nine competitors, one of whom was Sir W. Chambers.

The foundation-stone was laid by the civic authorities in due state on October 31, 1760, when seven current coins of the realm were placed in the foundation-stone—a guinea, half-guinea, crown, half-crown, a shilling and two sixpences, all dated from 1746 to 1760, and also a cast in silver of the obverse of the medal now exhibited, which was at one time deemed the original. All these articles were placed in the Guildhall Museum on the destruction of the bridge in 1864; and by the courtesy of Mr. C. Welch, F.S.A., Librarian to the Corporation of London, opportunity has been given for their careful examination. The various coins consist of the usual money of King George II. The cast in silver of the original medal is constructed in two pieces, and white wax is placed at the back to keep the circular frame or rim containing the inscription already above mentioned in close contact with the central portion showing St. Luke as the patron of the art of painting. The back itself is absolutely plain, and rather rough as to its surface, portraying no delicate portrait of Clement XIII., nor happy quotation from the learned works of Cicero.

It certainly forms an interesting memorial of an important civic event in the history of London during the eighteenth century, and is but little damaged by a hundred years' sojourn beneath the placid waters of the Thames.

Other articles connected with Blackfriars Bridge are also preserved in the Guildhall Museum. There is a large plate of lead engraved with the original inscription by which the corporation thought fit to commemorate the laying of the foundation-stone of the new bridge in 1760. It is in the English language, and is too long to quote here, but will be found to record the fact that Sir Thomas Chitty was Lord Mayor, and to eulogise the virtues and ability of William Pitt, Prime Minister of England. The name of the architect, Robert Mylne, is also given.

According to the Annual Register, under date October 31, 1760, the following inscription was also recorded (though not, as there stated, on the rim of the silver medal):—

IN ARCHITECTVRA PRÆSTANTIÆ PRÆMIVM IPSA ROMA
JVDICE ROBERTO MYLNE JUVENI BRITANNICO DATVM
1758. ROBERTVS MYLNE PONTIS HVJVS ARCHITECTORI
GRATO ANIMO POSVIT.

The Guildhall Museum also possesses two inscribed stones connected with the founding of the piers during the mayoralty of Sir Robert Ladbrooke on June 23, 1761. On both of these Joseph Dixon is called the Mason, and Robert Mylne the Architect.

The other medal of the Academy of St. Luke was made of bronze in the year 1771, and presents an excellent portrait of the reigning Pope in full pontifical robes, with the lettering round, CLEMENS XIV. PONT. MAX. In very small letters beneath the effigy, F. CROPANESE F.

It may here be noted that this Pontiff belonged to the noble family of Ganganelli, in the mountainous Duchy of Urbino, and was elected to the Papal throne by the College of Cardinals in the month of May, 1769.

On the reverse of the medal we find the usual representation of the Evangelist St. Luke, occupied in painting the Virgin and Child, who appear girt by the clouds of heaven. An angel upholds the easel, and behind the Evangelist the grave face of the ox is seen. Immediately below the bronze figure of St. Luke we find in small letters, B. PERGER F. This well-known artist flourished from 1769 to 1798, and worked chiefly in the beautiful city of Naples, though receiving some patronage from the Court of Rome.

This second medal is very inferior to the first. It appears to have been given to Robert Mylne by the Academy of St. Luke soon after the completion of Blackfriars Bridge. On the smooth surface of the outer rim are found the words—
ACADEMIA · PICTOR · SCVLPTOR · ET ARCHITECT · VRBIS ·
1771.

The silver cast of the more important medal, so closely connected with the history of the City of London, is not now exhibited, but is daily open to public view in the Guildhall.

R. S. MYLNE.

FOLLY TICKETS.—Collectors may frequently meet with two copper tickets of farthing size, the one reading *Obe. FOLLY. Rec. G. GAIT*; and the other, *Obe. FOLLY. Rec. HULBERT*. Hulbert's ticket is without any ornament, but Gait's ticket has a small scroll ornament above and below the legend on both sides. The peculiar legend naturally arouses curiosity, and there being nothing on the tickets themselves to show their place of origin, they may be thought to be admission tickets to a "Folly" theatre either in London or elsewhere, or to some eccentric structure known as a folly.

The writer has found a copper ticket of halfpenny size reading, *Obv.* FOLLY INN, *Rev.* F. F. S. 5 JUNE, 1854, with a small scroll ornament above and below the legend on the obverse; and noticing the similarity of the name and ornaments on this ticket to those on the "Folly" tickets, he ascertained that in 1856 there was a "Folly" Inn at Bathwick, near Bath, of which the landlord was "G. Gait." Mr. Sydenham of Bath has since kindly made some further inquiries. It appears that about 1840 Mrs. Hulbert was the occupier of the Folly premises, then a farmhouse, with a small tea-garden attached. Her son afterwards opened the place as a public-house, providing dancing there. From about 1850, when the Folly had passed into the hands of Gait, it became a well-known and favourite resort of the citizens of Bath. The Folly Inn, afterwards known as Cremorne Gardens, and now as the Grosvenor Brewery, is in Hampton Row, near the river, and lies between the Great Western Railway and the Canal. The "F. F. S." ticket, no doubt, relates to some society meeting at the inn. As the 5th June, 1854, was a Whitmonday, and the day on which a large meeting of the Bath Friendly Society took place, the ticket possibly was struck for a smaller society, called the Folly Friendly Society, but no trace has been found of such a society. Mr. Sydenham has a brass ticket similar to Hulbert's ticket, reading, *Obv.* FOLLY, *Rev.* G. S. in large letters, but he does not mention the name of the issuer.

F. WILLSON YEATES.

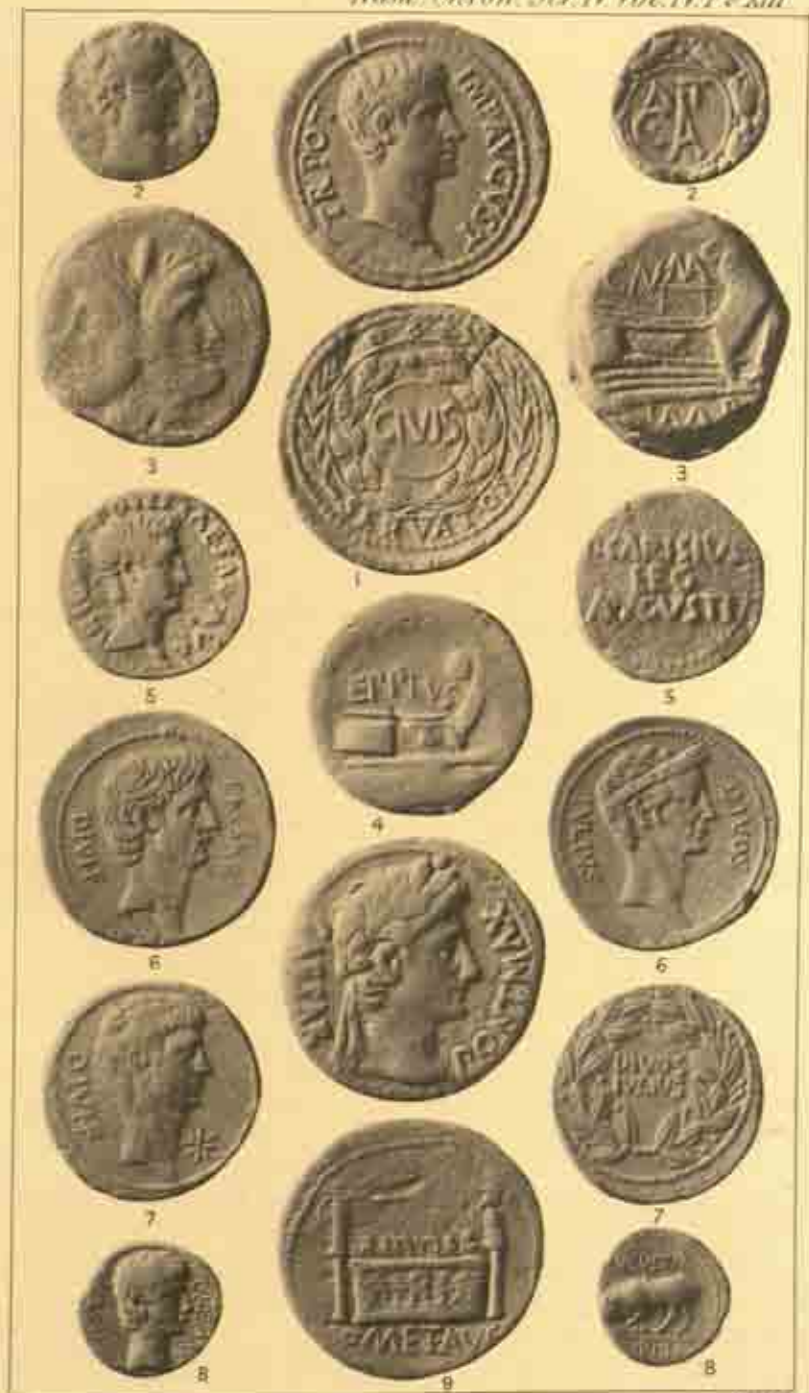


MEDAL OF THE ACADEMY OF ST. LUKE AT ROME.





ROMAN BRONZE COINS.



ROMAN BRONZE COINS.





ROMAN BRONZE COINS.

VII.

ROMAN BRONZE COINAGE FROM B.C. 45-3.

(See Plates XII—XIV.)

IN his work on the coinage of the Roman Republic,¹ M. Babelon has described a number of bronze coins, which were struck during the second half of the first century B.C., and the issue of which he assigns to districts outside Italy. As, however, M. Babelon has classified the coinage of the Republic under families, *i.e.* under the various *gentes*, to which the moneyers and others who issued such coins belonged, the descriptions of these coins are scattered throughout the two volumes of his work. The object of this paper is to bring all these outlying issues together; and by describing with them the bronze money struck at the mint at Rome to obtain a general view of the Roman bronze coinage of that period. The dates and classification which I shall adopt, and which vary in many particulars from those proposed by M. Babelon, are not original on my part, but are founded on Count de Salis's arrangement of the Roman Republican series in the British Museum. This arrangement is chronological and geographical, *i.e.* showing the sequence of the various issues and the districts in which they were struck. Unfortunately, Count de Salis did not leave any memoranda which would explain the system of his

¹ *Mémoires de la République romaine*, vols. I, II, 1885.

classification or give his reasons for assigning particular coins to particular dates and localities. He is generally supposed to have relied chiefly on fabric and style, and on historical evidence, when it was available. In my work connected with the catalogue of the Roman Republican coins in the British Museum, now in course of compilation, it has been clear to me that Count de Salis did not base his arrangement solely on style and historical evidence; but that he gave full consideration to the very material data afforded by finds of coins. Of his researches in this direction he has also left no trace except a few notes on some of the later finds.

The Roman bronze coinage, of which it is proposed to give some account in this paper, was not confined to the issues of the Roman mint; by far the greater part of it was struck outside Italy. In order to realize the conditions under which these issues were struck, a brief outline of the circumstances which led up to them will be first given.

When the silver coinage, consisting of the denarius, quinarius, and sestertius, was introduced into Rome in B.C. 268, the bronze currency was of the triental standard, i.e. the as weighed four ounces. Previous to that date the libral, or twelve-ounce standard, had been in use.² At the end of the first Punic War, i.e. *circa* B.C. 240, the as was reduced from four ounces to two; and this standard is called the sextantal. In the libral series all the coins were *cast*; in the triental some were *cast* whilst others were *struck*; but in the sextantal all the denominations were *struck*. This last change in the standard of weight of the bronze coinage did not affect

² Habelton, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xiii.

the silver; but it is to this period that may be assigned the issue of the first Roman gold money consisting of sixty, forty, and twenty sestertii pieces. Pliny³ says that these gold coins were struck fifty-one years after the introduction of the silver coins, *i.e. circ.* B.C. 217; but the coins themselves show that this statement of Pliny cannot be accepted, for we find that they bear precisely the same symbols as are met with on the early denarii and on the bronze coins of the sextantal standard, which must have been struck before B.C. 217. A special gold issue of this nature was at this period not a sign of national prosperity, but rather of adversity; and it is possible therefore that Rome, hard pressed by the strain of her late war with the Carthaginians, and needing money to meet her necessities and for the payment of her troops, made use for that purpose of the gold bullion which was in her treasury.⁴ De Salis was of opinion that these gold coins were struck at Rome as well as at the local mints; and to the former he assigned those pieces which are of fine fabric and which are without symbols; whilst those with symbols, which are all of somewhat rude fabric, he has given to the latter. The establishment of local mints for the issue of silver coins of the Roman standard and types had taken place some few years previously.

³ *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii., 3, 47.

⁴ Kühler (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1898, pp. 11, 15) mentions two instances of such special issues which had occurred at Athens; the first in B.C. 407-6 after the Peloponnesian War, and the second in B.C. 338, after the battle of Cheroneia, when the golden statues of Victory were taken from the temples, melted down, and turned into money.

From this date till B.C. 49 no more gold coins were struck at the Roman mint, and it is a remarkable fact that their revival in that year was due to circumstances similar to those to which we attribute this first gold issue. The coins referred to are those issued by Julius Cæsar on his entry into Rome after the flight of Pompey (*see Babelon*, vol. ii. p. 17, No. 25).

These coins can be identified either by their fabric or from the initials of the towns at which they were struck; amongst which may be mentioned—Asculum, Crotona, Hatria, Luceria, Paestum, etc.²

No further change occurred in the bronze money till B.C. 217, when it was again reduced in weight, this time to an uncial standard, i.e. with the as weighing one ounce. For over a century there was a large output of bronze money, but it fell off very considerably during the later years of the second century B.C., and the issues became very intermittent and the coins were very much below their proper standard weight. In B.C. 88 a half-ounce standard was adopted, and lastly, *circa* B.C. 80 for some reason difficult to explain, the issue of bronze money at the Roman mint ceased entirely, not to be revived, except for one short interval in B.C. 45–44 (see p. 224), till quite the end of the century. This sudden cessation may have been due to one of two reasons, either to the dearth of copper or else to the large coinage which had taken place in the second century B.C., but it is difficult to attribute it to the former circumstance, as at this time the copper mines were in active operation. Such a sudden cessation of a currency is not without parallels, even in quite modern times. In England, for instance, with the exception of a small issue in 1787, no silver money was coined between 1760 and 1816.

During the period B.C. 217–80 changes occurred in the silver money. The issue of the sestertius ceased some years before B.C. 217, when the denarius was reduced from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Roman pound, and it is very doubtful whether the quinarius, at all events at Rome,

² *Cercyra* is the only mint outside Italy of which we have such early coins.

long survived that date, or even reached it. The place of these coins was, however, taken by the victoriatus, first struck *circa* B.C. 228, which had the current value of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the denarius; but this coin had also a short life, and appears to have lasted but for a few years after the beginning of the second century B.C.* The half-victoriatus, of which examples are very scarce, was only struck at the local mints; and of the double victoriatus only one example is known, and that piece is not above suspicion. After the passing of the *Lex Clodia*, *circa* B.C. 104, the issue of the quinarius was resumed under a new type, and that of the sestertius after the passing of the *Lex Plantia-Papiria*, *circa* B.C. 88; but their striking was only occasional.

What happened at Rome occurred also at the local mints. Silver and bronze money of the same standards continued to be issued; but after about B.C. 200 these pieces are no longer distinguished by mint initials, but, like the Roman coins, bear only the moneyers' names or symbols. They show also the same development of types. These local coins are often difficult to separate from those of the Roman mint; but they may be distinguished as being generally of somewhat rude fabric. There are many other indications, but these it is not necessary to enter upon here. The striking of these local coins was only occasional; so that their number, as compared with the coinage of the Roman mint, is small. As, however, we approach the period of the Social or Marsic war, the local issues increased, especially during the first two years of that war, from B.C. 90-89; and it was

* Though the issue of the quinarius, sestertius, and victoriatus ceased, these coins did not pass out of circulation, for they are found in considerable number in hoards, which could not have been buried before the beginning of the first century A.C.

from these that the Confederate States borrowed many of the types of their own money. In B.C. 89, when the Social war virtually came to an end, and when the Italian States, with few exceptions, received the right of citizenship, the local mints, which had struck coins of the Roman type and standard, and also those which had till this time issued pseudo-autonomous coins, ceased operations, and henceforth the coinage for all Italy was supplied by the mint of the capital only.

Soon after this local Italian coinage came to an end, others sprang into existence, which are usually distinguished by the title of *monetae castrenses*, or *aesnumi castrenses*, and which in modern days would be called *military money*, or *money of necessity*. They are coins issued, as a rule, by Roman generals for the use of their armies. Some were sanctioned by the Senate, and are distinguished by the legend EX S. C. (*ex senatus consulto*); but by far the larger number do not bear this *imprimatur*, though most of them were in the full sense official money. We may take it that all the coins struck by Julius Caesar and the triumvirs, though not bearing the official mark EX S. C., were, however, issued under the sanction of the Senate; but this cannot be said of such issues as those of Marcus Junius Brutus and Cassius in the East, nor of those of A. Metellus Scipio in Africa, nor of Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey in Spain and Sicily. As all these provincial coins were of the right standard of metal and weight, they passed as currency, and their presence in hoards with the official money shows that they were readily accepted. These provincial issues consisted mainly of silver denarii; here and there we meet with a few quinarii, and there were also some of bronze, and not a few of gold. The various districts in which they were struck were Sicily, Africa,

Spain, Gaul, the East (including Greece and Asia Minor), and the Cyrenaica. In this paper it is proposed only to deal with the bronze coins of those districts in conjunction with those struck at the Roman mint. An endeavour will be made to show their chronological sequence, their current values, and more especially to ascertain the standard or standards of weight on which they were based.

The order in which the various districts will be taken will be (1) the East; (2) Spain; and (3) Gaul, to be followed by an account of the bronze money struck at Rome in the first century B.C. after the temporary cessation of the coinage in B.C. 80. We have selected this order as it is in the main chronological, and because it will give us a better idea of the growth of the standards of weight. Of Sicily, Africa, and the Cyrenaica, there are no bronze coins known which come within the Roman system. There are many which were issued by Roman magistrates, but, as they are of local standards, they do not concern us.

In order to ascertain the various denominations in many instances and thus to arrive at their current values, it was found necessary to obtain analyses of the metals of which they are composed. These analyses, of which a table is given at the end of this paper, have been made most kindly by Professor W. Gowland, of the Royal College of Science, and I am deeply grateful to him for the great trouble he has taken in supplying them. In my ignorance I was not aware of the labour I was imposing on him when I asked him to render me this service.

I shall now proceed to deal with the various issues in the order stated above; and the first are those which are

classed to the East. The descriptions of these pieces are as follows:—

EAST.

MARK ANTONY AND OCTAVIA.

L. ATRATINUS.*

Before B.C. 39.

1. *Obv.*—L. ATRATINVS AVGV. Head of Janus; above, I.

Rev.—ANTONIVS IMP. Prow to right.

Wts. 249.0, 197.5 grs. As. [Babelon, vol. i. p. 181, No. 65.]

B.C. 38–35.

2. *Obv.*—M. ANT. IMP. TER. COS. DES. ITER. ET TER. INVIR. R. P. C. Heads face to face of M. Antony and Octavia.

Rev.—L. ATRATINVS AVGV. PRAEF. CLASS. F. C. M. Antony and Octavia in a quadriga of hippocamps to right; in the field, HS (sestertius); below, Δ (= 4 asses) and lighted altar.

Wt. 230.5 grs. Sestertius. [Babelon, vol. i. p. 184, No. 71.]

3. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—L. ATRATINVS AVGV. PRAEF. CLASS. F. C. Two galleys in full sail to left.

Dupondius† [Babelon, vol. i. p. 185, No. 72.]

L. BIBVLVS M. F.‡

As Praefectus Classis.

B.C. 38–35.

4. *Obv.*—M. ANT. IMP. TER. . . Heads of M. Antony and Octavia face to face.

Rev.—L. BIBVLVS M. F. PR. . . M. Antony and Octavia in quadriga of hippocamps to right;

* For later coins of L. Atratinus, see p. 196. Bahrfeldt doubts the genuineness of Nos. 2 and 3, and also of Nos. 5 and 6 of L. Bibulus.

† References where published are given when the coins are not in the British Museum.

‡ For later coins of L. Bibulus M. F., see p. 196.

in the field, HS (sestertius); below, Δ (= 4 asses) and lighted altar.

Wt. 386.5 grs. Sestertius. [Bahrfieldt, *Nam. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 40.]

5. *Obv.*—M · ANT · IMP · TER · COS · DESIGN · TER · III VIR · R · P · C. Heads of M. Antony and Octavia jugate to right.

Rev.—L · BIBVLVS PRAEF · CLASS. Galley in full sail to left.

Dupondius. [Babelon, vol. i. p. 189, No. 82.]

6. *Obv.*—M · ANT · IMP · TER · COS · DES · ITER · ET TER · III VIR · R · P · C. Head of M. Antony to right.

Rev.—L · BIBVLVS M · F · PRAEF · CLASS · F · C. Galley without sail to right.

Wt. 92.5 grs. (worn). As. [Babelon, vol. i. p. 189, No. 84.]

As Praetor Designatus.

7. *Obv.*—M · ANT · IMP · TER · COS · DES · ITER · ET TERT · III VIR · R · P · C. Jugate heads of M. Antony and Octavius to right, facing that of Octavia to left.

Rev.—L · BIBVLVS M · F · PR · DESIG. Galley in full sail to right; below, *triskelis* and Γ (= 3 asses).

Wt. 348.0 grs. Tripondius. [*Ric. Ital.*, 1896, p. 13.]

8. Similar to No. 5, but with legend on the reverse, L · BIBVLVS M · F · PR · DESIG.

Wt. 220.0 grs. Dupondius. [Babelon, vol. i. p. 189, No. 83.]

9. *Obv.*—M · ANT · IM · TER · COS · [DES · ITER ·] ET TER · III VIR · R · P · C. Head of M. Antony to right.

Rev.—L · BIBVLVS M · F · PR · DESIG. Galley to right without sail.

Wts. 104.5, 78.0 grs. As.

10. *Obr.*—ANT · IMP · TER · COS · DES · [ITER · ET TERT ·
III VIR ·] R · P · C. Janiformed heads with
portraits of M. Antony and Octavia.

Rec.—L. BIBVLVS M. F. PR. DESIG. Aplustre in
form of head of swan between two pellets
(marks of value!).

Wt. 65.5 gra. Semen? [Bahrfeldt, *Nam. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 39.]

M. OFFICE CANTO.

v.c. 38-35.

11. *Obv.*—M · ANT · IMP · TER · COS · DES · ITER · ET
TER · IIIVIR · R · P · C.¹¹ Heads of M. Antony
and Octavia face to face.

Rev.—M · OPIVVS · CAPITO · PRO · PR · PRAEF · CLASS ·
F · C. M. Antony and Octavia in quadriga of
hippocamps to right; in the field, HS (ses-
tertius); below, Δ (= 4 asses) and lighted altar.

Wts. 412.5, 121.5 gra.¹¹ Sestertius.

[Pl. XII. 1.]

- 12, *Obv.*—M. ANT. IMP. COS. DESIG. ITER. ET TERT. III VIR. R. P. C. Jugate heads of M. Antony and Octavius to right, facing that of Octavia to left.

Rev.—M. OPPIVS CAPITO PRO. PR. PRAEF. CLASS.
F. C. Two galleys in full sail to right; below,
Γ (= 3 asses) and *triskelis*.

Wt. 331.0 grs. Tripodius. [Pl. XII 3.]

13. *Obr.*—M. ANTON. IMP. COS. DES. II VIR. R. P. C.
Similar type.

Rev.—Similar to the preceding.

Wt. 351.0 gra. Tripodina.

¹⁸ The titles of Antony on the coins of M. Oppius Capito take three forms: (i.) as No. 12 without the number of the imperatorship or that of the consul-designatuship; (ii.) as No. 12 with the number of the consul-designatuship, but without that of the imperatorship; and (iii.) as Nos. 11, 14-16 with both.

¹¹ This piece is struck on a very small flan, and it shows how very uneven the weights of the bronze coins are of this series.

14. *Obv.*—M · ANT · IMP · TER · COS · DESIG · ITER · ET · TER ·
· IIVIR · R · P · C. Heads of M. Antony and
Octavia face to face.

Rev.—M · OPPIVS CAPITO PRO · PR · PRAEF · CLASS ·
F · C. Two galleys in full sail to right; in the
field the caps of the Dioscuri; below galleys, S
(= 2 asses).

Wts. 268·0, 246·0, 234·0, 160·0, 142·0,
137·0, 126·0, 114·5, 101·0, 98·5 grs. Du-
pondius. [Pl. XII. 3.]

15. *Obv.*—M · ANT · IMP · TER · COS · DESIG · ITER · ET · TER ·
· IIVIR · R · P · C. Heads of M. Antony and
Octavia, jugate to right.

Rev.—M · OPPIVS CAPITO PRO · PR · PRAEF · CLASS ·
F · C. Galley in full sail to right; below, A
(= as), *triskelia* and head of Medusa.

Wts. 68·5, 62·0, 61·0, 55·5, 55·0, 54·5 grs.
As. [Pl. XII. 4.]

16. *Obv.*—M · ANT · IMP · TER · COS · DESIG · ITER · ET ·
TER · IIVIR · R · P · C. Head of M. Antony
to right.

Rev.—M · OPPIVS CAPITO PRAEF · CLASS · F · C.
Galley to right without sail; above, S (= semis).

Wt. 47·0 grs. Semis. [Babelon, vol. i.
p. 190, No. 86.]

C. FONTEIVS CAPITO.

B.C. 37-35.

17. *Obv.*—M · ANT · IMP · COS · DES · ITER · ET · TER ·
Heads of M. Antony and Octavia jugate to right.

Rev.—C · FONTEIVS CAPITO PRO · PR. Galley in
full sail to right.

Dupondius. [Babelon, vol. i. p. 182, No. 66.]

18. *Obv.*—C · FONTEIVS CAPITO PRO · PR. Heads of M.
Antony and Octavia jugate to right.

Rev.—M · ANT · IMP · COS · DESIG · ITER · ET · TER ·
· IIVIR · R · P · C. Galley in full sail to right.

Dupondius. [Babelon, vol. i. p. 182, No. 67.]

28. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo to right, laureate.

Rev.—CRA. Fasces with axe.

Wt. 86.0 gra. Semis.

[Pl. XII. 6.]

OCTAVIUS AS CAESAR.

B.C. 29-27.

29. *Obv.*—CAISAR. Head of Octavius to right.

Rev.—C . A (Commune Asiae) within laurel wreath, ornamented with prows, and inner circle.

Wt. 172.0 gra. Dupondius.

30. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—C . A within laurel wreath and inner circle.

Wts. 74.0, 67.8, 66.0 gra. As.

OCTAVIUS AS AUGUSTUS.

B.C. 27-19.¹⁴

31. *Obv.*—AVGVSTVS. Head of Augustus to right.

Rev.—C . A within laurel wreath.

Wts. 394.0, 387.0, 351.0, 337.0, 301.0 gra.
Sestertius. [Pl. XII. 7.]

32. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—C . A within laurel wreath ornamented with prows.

Wts. 237.1, 207.5, 187.5, 186.0, 159.0 gra.
Dupondius. [Pl. XII. 8.]

¹⁴ There is no means of fixing the precise date of the issue of Nos. 31-36. They could have been struck at any time between B.C. 27 and 19. Nos. 31-33 appear to have been issued at a different mint from Nos. 34-36, first, because the types vary; and secondly, because the composition of the metal is different (see below, p. 215).

33. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—C · A within laurel wreath.

Wt. 121·8 grs. As.

34. *Obv.*—CAESAR. Head of Augustus to right.

Rev.—AVGVSTVS within laurel wreath.

Wts. 213·5, 165·0, 160·8, 160·7, 160·0 grs.

Dupondius. [Pl. XII. 9.]

35. *Obv.*—CAESAR. Head of Augustus to right.

Rev.—^{AVGV}
STVS within laurel wreath.

Wt. 162·5 grs. Dupondius.

36. *Obv.*—IMP · CAESAR. Head of Augustus to right.

Rev.—^{AVGV}
STVS within laurel wreath.

Wt. 358·0 grs. Sestertius.

B.C. 19-18.

37. *Obv.*—IMP · AVGVST · TR · POT. Head of Augustus to right, bare.

Rev.—OB CIVIS SERVATOS above, within, and below oak wreath, flanked by two laurel branches.¹²

Wt. 364·0 grs. Sestertius.

[Pl. XIII. 1.]

38. Similar; without laurel branches on the reverse.

Wt. 343·0 grs. Sestertius.

39. *Obv.*—AVGVST · TR · POT. Head of Augustus to right.

Rev.—C · A (Commune Asiae) within laurel wreath.

Wts. 176·0, 121·8 grs. As.

¹² This is the prototype of the sestertius struck at Rome a few years later (see below, p. 225).

40. *Obv.*—AVGVST · TR · POT. Head of Augustus to right, laureate.

Rev.— $\begin{smallmatrix} \Lambda & T^{18} \\ C & A \end{smallmatrix}$ within laurel wreath.

Wts. 143·7, 143·0 grs. As.

[Pl. XIII. 2.]

It will be seen that the above coins form three separate series: (i.) that issued in the name of Mark Antony by various moneyers, B.C. 39-32; (ii.) that struck by Publius Canidius Crassus, B.C. 31; and (iii.) that struck in the name of Octavius, first as Caesar, B.C. 29-27; secondly as Augustus, B.C. 27-18.

Apart from any evidence which may be afforded by the history of the moneyers, there is no difficulty in fixing the approximate dates of the coins of Antony. He was COS. I. B.C. 44; COS. II. B.C. 34; COS. III. B.C. 31; and COS. DES. II and III, B.C. 39-35; and COS. DES. III, B.C. 34-32. The dates of Antony's imperatorships are somewhat uncertain. He was IMP. I in B.C. 44 or 43 at the siege of Mutina, and his IMP. III was coincident with his COS. III in B.C. 31. As to the dates of his IMP. II and IMP. III, various opinions have been held.

Von Sallet¹⁷ places his IMP. II at B.C. 40 or 39, and his IMP. III at B.C. 38 or 36; but M. Caland¹⁸ in the summer of B.C. 38 and in B.C. 36 respectively, the former after the final victories of Ventidius over the Parthians, the latter for some supposed victories over the same enemy. Bahrfeldt¹⁹ dates his IMP. II after the battle of Philippi in B.C. 42, and his IMP. III early in B.C. 38. He also

¹⁷ For explanation of these letters A - T, see below, p. 209.

¹⁸ *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1881, p. 169.

¹⁹ *De Num. M. Ant. Comment.*

²⁰ *Chron. der Münz. des Röm. Ant.*

assumes that Octavius took his second imperatorship after the battle of Philippi, though neither Octavius nor Antony noted it on their coins; but of this statement there appears to be no historical proof.

There is, or was, only one coin of Antony known which has been described with an inscription giving his second imperatorship. It is the aureus figured by Morelli,²⁰ and described by Babelon,²¹ which was in the Paris Cabinet, but which disappeared in the robbery of 1831. On it Morelli read . . . AVG-IMP-IE.(=ITE.); but Mionnet²² gives the inscription as . . . AVG-IMP-TER. Bahrfeldt doubts the accuracy of Morelli's description, and accepts rather that of Mionnet, with the result that it leaves us with no coin of Antony recording his second imperatorship. If, however, Morelli's reading of the inscription is correct, as this aureus was struck at Athens by Antony, in the winter of B.C. 39, upon his hearing of the news of the first victory of Ventidius, and the death of Labienus, it would be in that year that Antony assumed his second imperatorship. It was at this time that Ventidius was proclaimed *imperator*, and as Antony considered himself as the head of his army and also of his navy, he would look upon Ventidius's victory as his own. In the following year, Antony took over the command of the army of Ventidius in Syria, and came to terms with Antiochus, receiving for his share in the success a decree of a *supplicatio*, and the offer of a triumph from the Senate, and it may be fairly conjectured that on that occasion he

²⁰ *Fam. Rom. Num.*, Pl. xi. 1.

²¹ *Mon. rép. rom.*, vol. i. p. 183.

²² *De la Monnaie et du Prix*, etc., 1815, p. 70.

assumed his third imperatorship. His second and third imperatorships would therefore be coincident with his COS. DESIG. ITER. ET TERT. as given on his coins. The precise dates of the second and third imperatorship of Antony may be still an open question, which can only be settled by the discovery of new inscriptions or coins.

Further, in connection with the portraits on the coins, it may be mentioned that Antony married Octavia, the sister of Octavius, in B.C. 40; returned with her to the East in B.C. 39, where they remained till B.C. 37, in which year they crossed to Italy, where a rupture, which had taken place between Antony and Octavius, was healed by the mediation of Octavia. After renewing the triumvirate with Octavius in B.C. 36, Antony returned to the East; but he soon sent back Octavia to her brother, and not long afterwards surrendered himself entirely to the charms of Cleopatra.

Turning to those who were authorized by Antony to strike bronze coins in his name, we have four so-called moneyers, L. Atratinus, L. Bibulus M.F., and M. Oppius Capito, who were *præfecti classis*, and C. Fonteius Capito, who was *propractor*. The letters F. C. (*fandum curavit*) which sometimes follow their names and titles, are a record of their authority for exercising this privilege. A few data of these moneyers, which will explain the sequence of the issues, may be given.

Lucius Sempronius Atratinus was probably the accuser of M. Caelius, who was defended by Cicero.²³ He was angur, but the date of his appointment is uncertain; *præfectus classis*, when Antony had entered on his third

²³ *Pro Cael.*, i. 3, 7.

imperatorship and was consul designate for the second and third time, from B.C. 38; consul designate himself, B.C. 35; and consul, B.C. 34. The As (No. 1) was struck before Atratinus was appointed *praefectus classis*, as he is only styled *augur*, and probably before Antony entered on his second imperatorship, B.C. 39. Besides that, the type, head of Janus and prow, points to an earlier date than his other coins. His office as *praefectus classis* is recorded on Nos. 2, 3; and his designatorship as consul on Nos. 19, 21.

Lucius Calpurnius Bibulus, son of M. Calpurnius Bibulus, was the step-son of M. Junius Brutus, who married his mother, Porcia. He went to Athens to prosecute his studies,²¹ and appears to have joined his step-father after the death of Caesar in B.C. 44; in consequence of this he was proscribed by the triumvirs. He was present at the battle of Philippi, and shortly after surrendered to Antony, by whom he was pardoned. He was appointed by Antony *praefectus classis*, circ. B.C. 38, and later *praetor designatus*, probably for Syria. If Vaillant's²² descriptions of the coins of Bibulus are correct, we find that about B.C. 33, after Antony had entered on his second consulship and bore the title of COS. DESIG. TER. (see Nos. 22-26), he was still in command of the fleet and was *propraetor* in Sicily.²³ Appian²⁴ tells us that he was much employed by Antony in his negotiations with Octavius, and that he was finally promoted by him to the government of Syria, where he died shortly before the battle of Actium.

²¹ Cic., *Ad Att.*, xii. 32.

²² *Hist. Nat.*, p. 197; *Num. fam. rom.*, Tab. xv. 52, 53; and xxxiv. 29.

²³ For further account of these coins, see p. 205.

²⁴ *Bel. civ.*, iv. 38, 104.

M. Oppius Capito may be the *M. Oppius* who with his father was proscribed in B.C. 43. The latter, on account of his old age, being unable to leave Rome, was carried by his son on his shoulders, and both reached Sicily in safety.²⁸ He evidently became reconciled to Antony, who appointed him *propraetor* and *praefectus classis*.

The coins of *M. Oppius Capito* illustrate the irregularities which at this time occasionally occurred in inscriptions giving the titles of Antony. We may presume that all the coins of *Oppius Capito* were struck at or about the same time, and after Antony had entered on his third consul-designateship; yet on some he has only the titles *IMP. COS. DES.*, on others *IMP. COS. DESIG. ITER. ET TERT.*; whilst on a third set we get his full titles, *IMP. TER. COS. DES. ITER. ET TER.* These show clearly, that for the date of the coins we must not implicitly rely on their legends.

C. Fonteius Capito was a friend of Mark Antony, and accompanied Maecenas to Greece in B.C. 37, when the latter was sent by Octavius to Antony to restore friendship between them. Horace (*Sat. I. v. 32*) says of Capito—

"Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem
Factus homo, Antoni non ut magis alter amicus."

It was probably on this occasion that he was appointed *propraetor* in Syria, and in virtue of that office issued the coins which bear his name. In B.C. 36, he was sent by Antony to Cleopatra, to persuade her to come to Syria. He was *consul suffectus* B.C. 33, with *M. Acilius*; his son, who bore the same name, being *consul* B.C. 12. Though the coins of *Capito* bear the title of *IMP.* only, it is

²⁸ Dion Cassius, xlviii. 33.

probable that they were issued some time during Antony's third imperatorship. It has been shown from the coins of M. Oppius Capito, which precede those of C. Fonteius Capito, that the number of the imperatorship is sometimes omitted. We would therefore place the issue of his coins at *circa* B.C. 37, and not as M. Babelon²⁰ does in B.C. 39, as it was in the former year that Maecenas went to Greece to bring about a reconciliation between Octavius and Antony.²¹

This completes our account of those who struck bronze coins in the name of Antony; but before proceeding to the other coins of this series a few remarks may be made about those issued by L. Bibulus, on which we trace the portrait of Cleopatra instead of that of Octavia, and on some of which he is described as PRO. SIC. (*propraetor Siciliae*).²² M. Babelon²³ describes one of these coins (No. 22), and identifies the female portrait on the obverse as that of Octavia as on the other coins of Bibulus, and on referring to those with PRO. SIC. (Nos. 25-26) says, "On a publié, à la suite d'Eckhel, une autre pièce sur laquelle L. Bibulus prendrait le titre de PRO. SIC. (*proconsul Siciliae*); nous regardons cette légende insolite comme une altération de PR. DESIG. (*praetor designatus*)."²⁴ It is evident from the legend IMP. TER. COS. DES. TER. that these coins belong to a later date than others struck by Bibulus, and that they were issued during or after Antony's second consulship and during his third consul-designateship, *i.e.* between B.C. 34 and 32. Our descriptions are taken from Vaillant's

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, i. p. 510.

²¹ Appian, *B. C.*, v. 93.

²² See Nos. 22-26, pp. 196, 197.

²³ *Monn. rep. rom.*, vol. i. p. 180.

illustrations,²⁰ as the whereabouts of these coins appears at present to be unknown. Though their genuineness has been doubted, and the accuracy of Vaillant's descriptions questioned, it seems impossible to imagine that so learned and experienced a numismatist could have invented the legends in the manner suggested, especially as some of the coins are figured in both his works cited. Moreover, the female portrait as given by Vaillant differs from that on the coins which bear undoubtedly the head of Octavia, as it is diademed, and the features are not those of Octavia, but rather of Cleopatra, as on the denarii with her portrait and that of Antony on the obverse, which commemorate the conquest of Armenia in B.C. 34 and which were probably issued in the following year.²¹ As it is to this date that the coins of Bibulus must be attributed, the portrait is more probably that of Cleopatra than that of Octavia, whom Antony had for some time deserted. We are therefore inclined to the opinion that these coins figured by Vaillant are accurately described, and that they were struck by Bibulus *circa* B.C. 33-32, at which time, in addition to his office as *praefectus classis*, he was appointed by Antony *propraetor* in Sicily, and that, in order to gain favour with Cleopatra, he substituted her portrait for that of Octavia, which he had formerly, like the other moneyers of Antony, placed on some of his coins.

Who the Crassus was who struck the coins attributed to B.C. 31 (Nos. 27, 28), is a little uncertain. Cavedoni²² proposed to identify him with M. Canidius Crassus, the

²⁰ *Hist. Nat.*, p. 197; and *Num. fam. rom.*, Tab. xv. 52, 53; and Tab. xxiv. 29.

²¹ Babelon, *Monn. rép. rom.*, vol. i. p. 193.

²² *Bulletin de Correspond. Archéol. de Rome*, 1844, p. 48; cf. *Rev. Num.*, 1837, p. 348.

proquaestor of M. Cato, who was proprætor of Cyprus in B.C. 57, and to attribute to him the coin with the head of Apollo and the fasces (No. 28), which he thought might have been struck in that island. In this identification M. Babelon³⁶ concurs, but I cannot accept his reasons; and he further suggests that the other coin with the crocodile and the prow (No. 27) may be given to the same district, on account of the strong Egyptian influence in Cyprus.

Another identification of this moneyer, and apparently a more probable one, is with P. Canidius Crassus, who was with Lepidus in Gaul, B.C. 43, when Antony was compelled to seek refuge there; was consul *suffectus* with L. Cornelius Balbus, B.C. 40, and a little later one of the legates of Antony, whom he accompanied in his campaign against the Parthians. He remained in Armenia, and carried on the war after the departure of Antony, but in B.C. 32 he received orders to repair at once to the Mediterranean to assist in the struggle against Octavius. Being in command of the land forces, he was only a spectator of the battle of Actium, after which he followed his chief to Alexandria, where, in B.C. 30, by order of Octavius, he was beheaded. After the death of Antony, Crassus appears to have been in charge of the young Caesarion, the son of Julius Caesar and Cleopatra. There is a coin of that young king having on the obverse the head of Cybele and the legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ., and on the reverse a crocodile of practically the same form as that on the coin above described, and above it ΚΡΑΣ (ΣΟΣ).³⁷ It is therefore evident that the coins given above and bearing

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 303.

³⁷ Fournier, *Num. Égypte Anc.*, vol. ii., Pl. XXXVI., No. 538, bis.

the name of CRAS. or CRA., may be attributed to this Crassus, and that they were probably struck shortly before or after the death of Antony.³⁸

The remaining coins which are classed to the East are those issued by Octavius as Caesar or as Augustus. They are of three groups: (i.) those on which he has the title of Caesar (CAISAR), B.C. 29-27; (ii.) those struck after he received the name of Augustus in B.C. 27; and (iii.) those which bear the legend TR. POT., which must have been issued after he had been invested with the tribunitian power in B.C. 23, and which are attributed to B.C. 19-18.

The coins with the letters C. A. within a laurel wreath on the reverse have from time to time been attributed to various localities and cities; viz. to Caesarangusta in Spain, to Caesarea Parias in Palestine,³⁹ and to Caesarea Area in Phoenicia.⁴⁰ That these coins were struck in the East is evident from their fabric, and also from the circumstance that they are generally found there, though occasionally specimens have been picked up elsewhere, even in England. With none of these attributions does M. Froehner⁴¹ agree; but he suggests that the letters C. A. are not the initials of a city, but the initial letters of the legend *Commune Asiae* (= Κοινὸν Ἀσιας) denoting that these coins, like the medallions or cistophori with the legend COM. ASIAE, were struck for currency in the union of the Asiatic cities, which

³⁸ Svoronos (*Num. Ptol.*, p. 317) thinks that P. Canidius Crassus struck these coins at Ptolemais in Cyrene.

³⁹ Pellerin, *Mélanges*, I. 36, was of opinion that when Herod the Great rebuilt that town and called it Caesarea Augusta he dedicated a temple there to Augustus, and struck these coins on the occasion of the public games which took place on that occasion.

⁴⁰ De Saulley, *Ann. de la Soc. de Num.*, vol. iii. p. 259.

⁴¹ *Mélanges d'Épigraphie et d'Arch.*, xxii. p. 77.

celebrated the cult of Rome and Augustus. We have no hesitation in accepting M. Froehner's solution as the more probable one, and in further stating that these coins were struck to pass in currency, not only with the Roman denarii issued at that time in the same district, but also with the cistophori, the current value of which was equivalent to three denarii.

As to the meaning or interpretation of the letters $\Lambda \cdot \tau$, which are also found on the reverse on some of the coins with C. A. (see No. 40), various suggestions have also been made. Pellerin,⁴² who, as we have seen, gives the general series to Herod the Great, has attributed these coins with $\Lambda \cdot \tau$ to his son Philip the Tetrarch, and supposes that he struck them at Caesareia Panias on his accession to his father's throne, and that the letters $\Lambda \cdot \tau$ are equivalent to 330, representing the era of Alexander the Great, which was adopted by that city at that time. He gives 330 of the era of Alexander to A.U.C. 751, or B.C. 3, and concludes that these coins were struck in that year. De Sauley⁴³ similarly interprets the letters $\Lambda \cdot \tau$, and suggests that in attributing the coins to Caesareia Arca, where a temple was built to Alexander the Great in memory of the battle of Issus, we have an era dating from the foundation of that temple, which would coincide with the death of Alexander, B.C. 323. This would give us A.D. 7 for the date of issue of these coins. Viewing these letters in the same light, M. Froehner is of opinion that they represent the number of autonomous cities of Asia which formed the union. It is not necessary for me to attempt to refute these various suggestions, since they are all purely conjectural, and especially in the case of

⁴² *Op. cit.*, i. p. 36.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

Pellerin and of De Saulcy, as their attributions of the coins to Caesareia Parias or Caesareia Arca are no longer accepted. It may be a small point; but it does not appear to have been noticed that there is always a stop between the letters AT, as A · T, which would scarcely have been inserted if they represented a date or era. Like the letters C. A., which accompany them, I am more inclined to consider them as initials and denoting marks of value.

Mr. Head has drawn my attention to a coin of Midaëum, in Phrygia, of the Emperor Diadumenian, which has for reverse type a figure of Dionysos and the legend ΜΙΔΑΕΩΝΣ. The letters A and B are exceptionally large as compared with others in the legend, and Mr. Head therefore suggests that we have here an ingenious way of indicating the current value of the piece, *i.e.* two *assaria*. There is also another coin of an uncertain town in Asia Minor, which has on the obverse the head of Augustus, as on the coins of the *Commune Asiae*, and the legend DIVI · F · AVG · STVS, and on the reverse a female figure enthroned to front between two other female figures, and at the sides the letters T A, which may be for *tria assaria*. On imperial coins of Chios we find the legends ACCAPIA ΔΥΩ, ΑΞΞΑΡΙΑ ΤΡΙΑ, etc., and as we have seen on the coins of Antony, the numerals Δ. Γ. Β. Α mark the values of the sestertius, tripondius, dupondius, and as respectively. With such evidence I would suggest that the letters A · T on the above coins of Augustus may be interpreted Α(ετρα) Τ(ρία), or rather Τ(ετραupa); since the *lepton* was equal in current value to the quadrans, so that four *lepta* would represent the Roman as, which I take the coin to be, on which these letters are found. We therefore have a coin which would not only pass in currency with the other Roman pieces struck with it, but would

also represent the value of pieces of the local currency. One can only add that the question is still open to further suggestions.

It would be somewhat speculative to say in what city or cities these coins bearing the head of Augustus were struck; but similarity of fabric and style suggests that they may have emanated from the same mints as the cistophori, such as Pergamum, Smyrna, or Ephesus, or even all three. As slight differences in style in the bronze coins show that they were issued from more than one place, we would attribute to different mints those of Augustus with C. A. within a wreath on the reverse, and those with a wreath enclosing the legend AVGVSTVS (see Nos. 35, 36). This view is somewhat supported by the analyses of the metal of the coins, which we shall give later on.

Turning now to the denominations of the bronze money struck in the East, that of M. Antony shows five in number, the sestertius, tripondius, dupondius, as, and semis. These are usually distinguished severally by the marks of value— Δ (= 4 asses), Γ (= 3 asses), B (= 2 asses), A (= 1 as), and S (semis, or $\frac{1}{2}$ as). The reverse type of the sestertius is always a quadriga of hippocamps; the other denominations have a ship or ships, with or without a sail; thus on the tripondius and dupondius there are often two ships; on the as the ship is sometimes without a sail; but on the semis it never has a sail. The obverse types vary somewhat. On the sestertius the heads of Antony and Octavia face each other; on the tripondius are the jugate heads of Antony and Octavius facing that of Octavia; on the dupondius are the heads of Antony and Octavia, either face to face or jugate; on the as are the jugate heads of Antony and Octavia, or that of

Antony only ; and lastly, except in one instance, where a janiformed head of Antony and Octavia is seen, that of Antony alone occurs on the *semiss*. On the coins of L. Bibulus, where we would see the portrait of Cleopatra instead of Octavia, her head is always met with in company with that of Antony, with one exception, where we have Antony alone represented. Additional symbols are also met with on the reverses ; on the *sestertius* there is an altar under the hippocamps, and on the *tripondius* a *triskelis* or *triquetra*. This last symbol, together with the head of Medusa, occurs in another instance, on the *as* of M. Oppius Capito (see No. 15). With this exception, symbols are not met with on the lesser denominations. It has been thought that the *triskelis* may denote that these bronze coins were struck in Sicily ; but beyond this there appears to be no reason for assigning their issue to that district, and De Salis was certainly of opinion that this was not so. Had this symbol been limited to the *tripondius*, another signification might have been given to it. These marks of value and differences of type were absolutely necessary where coins of the same denomination varied so considerably in weight.

It may not have been a mere coincidence that the *sestertius* in bronze was introduced in the West as well as in the East about the same time : for it is to B.C. 38 that we would assign the first appearance of that coin in Gaul (see below, p. 224). Both Antony and Octavius had already struck silver coins in their respective provinces bearing their names, and it would almost appear as if on their meeting in Italy in B.C. 40 some compact or arrangement was made for supplying these districts with a bronze money which would pass in currency with that of gold and silver.

The weights of the individual denominations show considerable variation; and as the British Museum possesses an almost complete series of the coinage of M. Oppius Capito, it may be referred to as a representative one. From these coins it will be seen that in round figures the sestertius weighs 410 grs.; the tripondius, 350-330 grs.; the dupondius, 268-98 grs.; and the as, 68-54 grs. Reckoning the Roman pound at 5040 grs., these weights would show a quarter-ounce standard; but if it be taken into consideration that the coins are not of pure copper, for the analysis of the metal shows it to be of 76·5 per cent. copper, 14·0 tin, and 8·3 lead,⁴¹ we have a mixed-metal coinage which, as in the case of that of *orichalcum*,⁴² in circulation was rated at a higher value than one of pure copper. Allowance being made for the irregularity of the weights, arising from carelessness in the casting of the *flans*, it would appear that it was intended that these coins should be issued on the half-ounce standard, such as was introduced into the Roman system in B.C. 88.

It is certainly on the half-ounce standard that the coins of Crassus were struck (see Nos. 27, 28), as they appear to have been composed of nearly pure copper; for, making some allowance for the worn state of the two coins of this general in the British Museum, the as would be of over 200 grs., and the semis of about 100 grs.

The coins of Augustus issued by the *Commune Asiae* are of considerable interest, for their analysis shows that the metal in which they were struck is composed of 76·5 per cent. copper, 0·7 lead, and 20·6 zinc, which is very

⁴¹ See table of analyses, p. 244.

⁴² See p. 240.

nearly the composition of the metal used a few years later for the earliest bronze sestertii and dupondii issued at Rome. This metal is in fact the *orichalcum*, or golden bronze, of which so many ancient writers speak. It is apparent from the local money current at this period in Asia Minor that most of the so-called copper or bronze money was of similar composition; so that when Augustus adopted it for his own money he was only employing a metal then in common use. Its introduction into the Roman monetary system does not therefore date from the institution of the sestertius and dupondius at Rome, *circa* B.C. 15; ⁴⁶ but from the issue of this local coinage in Asia Minor some twelve years earlier. If at Rome the coins struck from *orichalcum* had a higher rateable value than those struck from pure copper, it may be taken that the denominations of the *Commune Asiæ* coinage were the sestertius of 394-301 grs., the dupondius of 237-159 grs., the as of 143-121 grs., and the semis of *circa* 67 grs. These weights would give a pure copper semuncial standard of about 210 grs. to the as.

As the weights of the individual specimens of each denomination varied considerably, and in order that there should be some means of distinguishing the coins when in currency, a slight difference was made in the reverse type of the dupondius by interspersing the wreath on the reverse with prows of ships. This would lessen any confusion which may have arisen. As size alone would be a quite sufficient guide to tell the sestertius from the as, no variation of type in this case was necessary. ⁴⁷

⁴⁶ See p. 225.

⁴⁷ See p. 242 for difference of type between the as and the dupondius struck at Rome.

It has been suggested that differences of fabric and style point to the probability that more than one mint may have been employed in issuing these Eastern coins of Augustus.²⁸ This view is somewhat confirmed by the analysis of those pieces having for reverse type the name of AVGVSTVS within a wreath (Nos. 34-36), which shows that the metal from which they were struck is composed of 89·2 per cent. copper, 7·5 tin, and 2·7 nickel or iron; but no zinc. As it is not at all probable that a mint would issue at one and the same time coins of the same current values, but consisting of a metal of a different composition, it may be concluded that these pieces, and those struck in the name of the *Commune Asiae*, emanated from different places. This opinion is borne out by their fabric. In spite of their containing a larger percentage of pure copper, it would appear that coins as Nos. 34, 35, the heavier of which weigh above 200 grs., represent the dupondius, and those as No. 36, weighing somewhat under 400 grs., the sestertius. This would again give us a semuncial standard.

Only one further remark will be made in connection with this coinage of Augustus, which is that No. 37, with the oak-wreath flanked by two laurel-branches on the reverse, was evidently the prototype of the sestertius to be struck a few years later at the Roman mint—a further sign that the coinage introduced *circa* B.C. 15 was modelled on that issued a few years earlier in the East.

We may now pass on to the bronze coins struck in Spain, which is the next series under consideration. These coins are as follows:—

²⁸ See *ante*, p. 211.

SPAIN.

CNAEUS POMPEY.

B.C. 46-45.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Janus, laureate; above, I.
Rev.—CN MAG IMP. Prow to right; before, I.
 Wts. 451.0, 296.0 (worn) gra. As.
 [Pl. XIII. 3.]

JULIUS CAESAR AND M. EPPIUS.

2. *Obv.*—C CAES DIC TER. Head of Janus, laureate.
Rev.—EPIIVS LEG. Prow to right; before, I.
 As. [Babelon, vol. I. p. 477, No. 3.]

SEXTUS POMPEY.

B.C. 45-44.

3. *Obv.*—MAGNVS (or MAGN). Head of Janus, laureate.
Rev.—PIVS IMP. Prow to right.
 Wts. 404.0, 341.0, 322.0, 298.0, 274.0, 263.0,
 259.0, 246.0, 223.0 gra. As.

SEXTUS POMPEY AND M. EPPIUS.

4. *Obv.*—MAGNVS PIVS IMP. Head of Janus, laureate.
Rev.—EPIIVS LEG. Prow to right.
 Wts. 270.0, 199.0, 190.0 gra. As.
5. *Obv.*—Head of Janus, laureate.
Rev.—EPIIVS LEG. Prow to right.
 Wt. 207.0 gra. (worn). As. [Pl. XIII. 4.]

AUGUSTUS.

B.C. 23-22.

6. *Obv.*—AVGVST TRIB POTEST. Head of Augustus
 to right, bare.
Rev.—P CARISIVS LEG AVGVSTI. View of city of
 "EMERITA."
 Wt. 144.5 gra. As. [Babelon, vol. I,
 p. 321, No. 26.]

7. Similar; head of Augustus to left, bare.
Wt. 152.2 grs. As. [Babelon, vol. i. p. 322, No. 27.]
8. *Obv.*—CAESAR AVG · TRIBVN · POTES. Head of Augustus to right, bare.
Rev.—P · CARISIVS LEG · AVGVSTI in three lines across the field.
Wt. 156.0 grs. As. [Pl. XIII. 5.]
9. Similar; AVGV. and head of Augustus to left.
Wt. 190.0 grs. As. [Babelon, vol. i. p. 323, No. 29.]
10. *Obv.*—CAESAR AVG · TRIB · POTES. Head of Augustus to right, bare.
Rev.—P · CARISIVS LEG. in two lines across the field.
Wt. 164.0 grs. As.

The bronze coins struck in Spain are of three series: (i.) those issued during the war with Cnaeus Pompey, B.C. 46-45; (ii.) those struck by Sextus Pompey and his legate M. Eppius, B.C. 45-44; and (iii.) those issued by P. Carisius, the legate of Augustus, B.C. 23-22.

Of those engaged in the issue of these coins the following data may be given.

Cnaeus Pompey, after the defeat and death of his father, took refuge in Corcyra and thence went to Africa, where he was joined by his brother Sextus. Being desirous of securing Spain for the Pompeian party, Cnaeus landed there early in B.C. 46, and was at first opposed by C. Didius, the legate of Caesar, and towards the end of the year by Caesar himself. A decisive battle was fought at Munda, in March, B.C. 45, with disastrous results to Pompey, who fled to Carteia and thence to Lauron, where he was captured by Didius and beheaded.

Sextus Pompey, who had remained in Africa till after the battle of Thapsus, B.C. 46, joined his brother in Spain, and was present at the battle of Munda, after which he retired northwards and kept up a desultory struggle for

over a year, B.C. 45-44, when he defeated Asinius Pollio. A reconciliation having been effected with the Senate through Lepidus the triumvir, Sextus was restored to his patrimony, which had been confiscated, and, on the proposal of Cicero, was appointed to the command of all the naval forces of the republic. Being included among the murderers of Caesar, though innocent, he was declared an outlaw by virtue of the *lex Pedia*, and after a while established his head-quarters in Sicily, where he defeated in a naval engagement Q. Salvidienus Rufus, the lieutenant of Octavius, B.C. 42. This victory gave Sextus the command of the sea, so that the triumvirs in B.C. 39 were compelled to bring about a reconciliation with him, under the terms of which he received the provinces of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Achaia. Hostilities again broke out in the following year, which ended in the defeat of Sextus by M. Vipsanius Agrippa, at Naulochus, B.C. 36. Sextus fled to Greece, was taken prisoner by Titius, a general of Antony, and put to death at Miletus. During these campaigns in Spain, Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey struck also denarii (see Babelon, vol. ii. pp. 344-347, 350); and the latter also struck silver coins when in Sicily, B.C. 42-36 (see Babelon, vol. ii. pp. 351-355).

M. Eppius, who struck coins as legate of Sextus Pompey, and perhaps in the same capacity for Caesar, was a senator, who favoured the Pompeian party on the breaking out of the Civil War, B.C. 49. He served as lieutenant to Q. Metellus Scipio in Africa, B.C. 48-46, was present at the battle of Thapsus, after which he is said to have been pardoned by Caesar. If the coin No. 2 is correctly described by Garrucci,⁶⁰ it would seem that at the

⁶⁰ *Sylloge Inscript. latin.*, p. 124, No. 384.

beginning of the war in Spain, B.C. 46-45, he was acting as legate to Caesar; but from later coins he appears not to have remained long loyal to Caesar, and to have again joined the Pompeian party under Sextus, acting once more as his legate, B.C. 45-44. After that date Eppius is lost sight of altogether. During the time that Eppius acted as legate to Scipio, in Africa, he struck denarii (see Babelon, vol. i. p. 477, No. 1).

The coins struck in Spain, which bear the name of Augustus, were issued by his legate and proprætor P. Carisius, whom he sent there in B.C. 25 to suppress a revolt of the Astures and Cantabrians. Carisius was successful and took their chief town Lancia, in commemoration of which victory he struck numerous denarii (see Babelon, vol. i. pp. 318-320). In B.C. 23 he founded the city of Emerita in Lusitania, in honour of Augustus, giving it the name of Augusta Emerita, which he colonized with the veterans of the Fifth and Tenth Legions, whose term of service had expired (*emeritus*) at the close of the Cantabrian war. It was on this occasion that Carisius struck the bronze coins which bear his name and that of his chief, and on some of which he gives a bird's-eye view of his newly founded city. The date of the issue of these coins is further confirmed by the obverse legend, as it was in B.C. 23 that Augustus was first invested with the tribunitian power. There were other coins struck at Emerita of this time bearing the head of Augustus, but, being without the name of Carisius, they are generally classed with the Spanish series.

From their type we may assume that all the bronze coins struck by Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey, and the latter's legate Eppius, who, as we have shown, may have

acted in that capacity for Caesar, are asses. The analysis shows that they are composed of 71 per cent. copper, 9·7 tin, and 19·3 lead, which would give us an as of the uncial standard, a singular return to a standard which had long been abandoned in the Roman monetary system. This circumstance, however, can be easily explained. Baetica, in which province Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey struck their silver money, was a region especially rich in copper, the most famous mines being at Cotinae in the Mons Marianus (Sierra Morena). The Rio Tinto mines, which were also worked in antiquity, were probably nearly as rich.¹⁰ With such a plentiful supply of metal it is not astonishing that little care was used in adjusting the copper coin to the right standard, and in adopting the ancient type of the as the value of the coin made itself at once apparent. A return to the proper standard, however, was made, when some twenty years later Carisius struck his coins in honour of the foundation of the new city, Augusta Emerita, for it is evident that we have in these pieces the copper as of the semuncial standard, although an analysis has not been made of them. The colour of the metal leaves no doubt on this point.

We will now pass on to the Gaulish copper money, which is—

GAUL.

OCTAVIUS AS CAESAR.

B.C. 38.

1. *Obv.*—CAESAR DIVI F. Head of Octavius to right, bare, bearded.
 - Rev.*—DIVVS IVLIVS. Head of Julius Caesar to right, laureate.
- Wt. 551·0 grs. Sestertius.

¹⁰ G. F. Hill, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, p. 23.

2. Similar.

Wt. 360·0 grs. Dupondius. [Pl. XIII. 6.]

3. *Obv.*—DIVI F. Head of Octavius to right, bare, bearded; before, star.

Rev.—DIVOS IVLIVS in two lines and within laurel wreath.

Wts. 375·0, 352·0, 301·0 grs. Dupondius.
[Pl. XIII. 7.]

4. Similar; obverse legend CAESAR DIVI F.

Wt. 263·0 grs. Dupondius. [Babelon, vol. ii. p. 48, No. 102.]

OCTAVIUS AS AUGUSTUS.

B.C. 27-25.

5. *Obv.*—IMP · CAESAR. Head of Augustus to right, bare.

Rev.—AVGVSTVS DIVI F. Bull butting to left.

Wt. 48·5 grs. Quadrans. [Pl. XIII. 8.]

B.C. 11-3.

6. *Obv.*—CAESAR PONT · MAX. Head of Augustus to right, laureate.

Rev.—ROM · ET · AVG. The Altar of Lyons.

Wt. 403·5 grs. Dupondius. [Pl. XIII. 9.]

7. Similar.

Wts. 170-145 grs. As.

8. *Obv.*—IMP · CAESAR. Head of Augustus to right, laureate.

Rev.—AVGVSTVS. Eagle.

Wts. 43·0, 36·0 grs. Quadrans.
[Pl. XIV. 1.]

The bronze coins of the first century B.C. which are classed to Gaul were all struck by Augustus both before and after he assumed that title. In the division of the state which took place in B.C. 40, Octavius obtained all the provinces in the West, including Gaul; whilst Antony received the Eastern provinces, Italy belonging to both in common. Hence the Western coins bear usually the

name of Octavius as Caesar before B.C. 27; whilst those in the East, as we have seen, have that of Antony. The bronze coins described above are generally found in the South of Gaul, and were probably minted at Lyons or Vienne. They are of three series: (i.) before Octavius received the title of Augustus, B.C. 38; (ii.) after he received that title, B.C. 27-25; and (iii.) after he was elected *Pontifex Maximus*, B.C. 11-3.

On coins of the first series Octavius is designated *DIVI F.*, or *CAESAR DIVI F.*, titles which occur also on denarii struck in B.C. 38-37 at Rome and in Gaul. On a denarius of the latter series we have for obverse type the heads of Julius Caesar and Octavius face to face, and the legend *DIVOS IVLIVS DIVI F.* and for that of the reverse the legend only, *M. AGRIPPA COS. DESIG.*²¹ The obverse of this denarius supplied the types both for the obverse and reverse of the bronze coins, and, as Agrippa was consul designate in B.C. 38, it also helps to give us the date of their issue. The portrait of Octavius is represented with a beard, which he wore as a sign of mourning for Caesar till after the defeat of Sextus Pompey in B.C. 36, which saw the final extinction of the Pompeian party.

The small coin, the quadrans (No. 5), given to B.C. 27-25, is more after the style and type of the gold and silver. The head of Augustus is similar to that on silver coins, denarii, struck in Gaul at this time, on which he is represented not laureate. The laureate head does not appear till about B.C. 18.

There is no difficulty in fixing the approximate date of the coins which show on the reverse the altar of

²¹ Babelon, *Monn. rep. rom.*, vol. II, p. 55, No. 129.

Lyons, the dedication of which to Augustus Suetonius⁵² tells us was in the consulship of Julius Antonius and Fabius Africanus (B.C. 10), on the 1st of August, which was the birthday of Claudius, the son of Drusus, who had been instrumental in its erection. As, however, it would appear that the altar existed two years before, we may, perhaps, understand Suetonius to mean, not the date on which it was actually erected, but the anniversary of its dedication. It was probably for this reason that De Salis dated the issue of these coins from B.C. 11. They could not have been struck before B.C. 12, as it was in that year that Augustus accepted the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, i.e. on the death of Lepidus.

The quadrans (No. 8), with the laureate head of Augustus and eagle, belongs also to this period, if we take the portraits on the aurei and denarii of this time as our guide.⁵³ The difference between this and the earlier quadrans (No. 5) is chiefly in the head of Augustus, which on the earlier piece is not laureate.

The analyses of these Gaulish coins show that the composition of the metal from which those of B.C. 38 were struck varies from that of the later pieces. The metal of the earlier pieces consists of 81.2 per cent. copper, 3.9 tin, and 14.5 lead; whilst the later coins contain 99.5 per cent. copper, and 0.5 tin and lead, practically pure copper. From these analyses it is evident that the earlier series consists of the sestertius and the dupondius; the later of the as and the quadrans. In both series the standard was semuncial, or half-ounce, thus conforming to the copper currency at Rome of B.C. 88.

We have drawn attention to the circumstance that

⁵² *Claud. 2.*

⁵³ *Cohen, Monn. de l'Emp. rom.*, vol. i. p. 86, No. 162.

the sestertius was introduced almost simultaneously in Gaul and in the East, and have suggested that its contemporaneous issue in the two districts may not have been a mere coincidence.²⁴

We now reach the last stage of our inquiry and shall proceed to consider the issues of bronze money struck at the Roman mint during the second half of the first century B.C.

ROME.

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS AND C. CLOVIUS.

B.C. 45.

1. *Obv.*—CAESAR DIC - TER. Bust of Victory to right; behind, star.

Rev.—L. PLANCVS PRAEF - VRB. Jug with handle (*capis*).

Wt. 206.0 gra. As. [Pl. XIV. 2.]

2. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—C. CLOVI - PRAEF. Minerva walking to left, bearing trophy and shield; at her feet, serpent.

Wt. 212.0 gra. As.

3. Similar; but without star behind head of Victory.

Wts. 236.0, 226.0 gra. As. [Pl. XIV. 3.]

Q. OPPIDUS.

B.C. 44.

4. *Obv.*—Head of Venus to right, diademed; before, crescent.

Rev.—Q. OPPIDVS PR. Victory to left, holding palm and patera with fruit.

Wt. 197.0 gra. As. * [Pl. XIV. 4.]

5. Similar; behind head of Venus, capricorn.

Wt. 171.0 gra. As.

6. Similar; head of Venus to left, no symbol.

Wt. 219.0 gra. As. [Babelon, vol. ii, p. 277, No. 2.]

²⁴ See *ante*, p. 212.

AUGUSTUS.

B.C. 16.³²

[L. VINICIUS, *Æ*; L. MESCINIUS, *A*, *Æ*; AND C. ANTIETIUS
VETUS, *Æ*.]

B.C. 15.³³

7. *Obv.*—OB CIVIS SERVATOS. Oak wreath between two laurel branches.

Rev.—C · MARCI L · F · CENSORIN · AVG · IIIIR · A ·
A · A · F · F. In centre, S · C.

Wt. 428·0 grs. Sestertius.

8. *Obv.*—AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC · PTEST. within wreath.

Rev.—CENSORINVS L · F · AVG · IIIIR · A · A · A · F · F.
In centre, S · C.

Wt. 175·0 grs. Dupondius. [Babelon, vol. ii.
p. 199, No. 31.]

9. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 7.

Rev.—T · QVINCTIVS CRISPIN · SVLPIC · (or SVLP)
IIIIR · A · A · A · F · F. In centre, S · C.

Wts. 396·3, 299·7 grs. Sestertius.

10. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 8.

Rev.—T · QVINCTIVS CRISPINVS IIIIR · A · A · A · F · F.
(varied). In centre, S · C.

Wts. 168·3, 142·5, 120·5 grs. Dupondius.

11. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 7.

Rev.—TI · SEMPRONIUS GRACCVS IIIIR · A · A · A ·
F · F. In centre, S · C.

Wt. 375·5 grs. Sestertius. [Pl. XIV. 5.]

12. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 8.

Rev.—Similar to the preceding.

Wt. 271·3 grs. Dupondius. [Pl. XIV. 6.]

³² It is at this date that the former custom of the moneyers placing their names on the coins is revived. They are, with the exception of those of B.C. 4 and 3, three in number. All the names of the moneyers who struck coins between B.C. 16-3 are given in their chronological order; but the coins only of those who struck in bronze are described.

³³ The moneyers for this year were C. Marcus L. F. Censorinus, T. Quinctius T. F. Crispianus Sulpicianus, and T. Sempronius Gracchus.

B.C. 14.

[P. PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS, L. AQUILIUS FLOPUS, AND
M. DUMMIUS: all *N*, *R*.]

B.C. 13.¹⁷

13. *Obv.*—PVLCHER TAVRVS REGVLVS. Two right hands
joined, holding caduceus.

Rev.—IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F. In centre, S · C.

Wt. 45·3 gra. Quadrans.

14. Similar; on obverse, simpulum and lituus.

Wt. 52·4 gra. Quadrans.

15. *Obv.*—PVLCHER TAVRVS REGVLVS. Cornucopias be-
tween S · C.

Rev.—IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F. Anvil.

Wt. 52·1 gra. Quadrans.

B.C. 12.

[Q. RUSTIUS, *N*, *R*; M. SANQUINIUS Q. F., *N*, *R*, *Æ*;
AND P. LICINIUS STOLO, *R*, *Æ*.¹⁸]

16. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 7.

Rev.—M · SANQVINIVS Q · F · IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F.
In centre, S · C.

Wts. 366·0, 314·0 gra. Sestertius.

¹⁷ The moneyers for this year were Clodius Pulcher, L. Statilius Taurus, and L. Livineius Regulus. Though M. Babelon (vol. i. p. 539) has thought otherwise, these names appear always in the order above given, and there were no transmutations as on later pieces of this denomination (see n.c. 3, Nos. 73-76, pp. 234, 235). It is possible, however, that each triumvir marked his issue by a separate type, hence there are three different obverse types. On No. 15 the inscription S · C is transferred to the obverse, and its place on the reverse is taken by the type of the anvil. On later issues (see n.c. 4, p. 234) the letters S · C form the obverse type, and the anvil always occurs on the reverse.

¹⁸ This is the only instance of moneyers at this time striking bronze as well as gold and silver coins. Of Q. Rustius only gold and silver coins are known, and of P. Licinius Stolo only silver and bronze. It is most probable, that like M. Sanquinus these two struck coins in all three metals.

17. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 8.

Rev.—Similar to the preceding.

Wt. 178.3 gra. Dupondius.

18. *Obv.*—CAESAR AVGVSTVS PONT·MAX·TRIBVNIC·POT.¹²
Head of Augustus to left, bare.

Rev.—Similar to No. 16.

Wt. 123.5 gra. (worn). As. [Babelon, vol. ii, p. 419, No. 6.]

19. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 7.

Rev.—P·LICINIVS STOLO IIIVIR·A·A·A·F·F. In centre, S·C.

Wt. 364.7 gra. Sestertius.

20. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 8.

Rev.—P·STOLO IIIVIR·A·A·A·F·F. In centre, S·C.

Wt. 204.0 gra. Dupondius.

B.C. 11.¹³

21. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 7.

Rev.—Q·AELIVS L·F·LAMIA IIIVIR·A·A·A·F·F.
In centre, S·C.

Wt. 339.5 gra. Sestertius.

22. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 8.

Rev.—Q·AELIVS LAMIA IIIVIR·A·A·A·F·F. In centre, S·C.

Wts. 209.8, 200.5, 78.5 (worn) gra. Dupondius.

23. *Obv.*—CAESAR AVGVST·PONTIF·MAX·TR·POT.
Head of Augustus to left, bare.

Rev.—Similar to the preceding.

As. [Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 14.]

¹² Augustus accepted the office of *Pontifex Maximus* in B.C. 12. This coin could not, therefore, have been issued before that year.

¹³ The moneyers for this year were Q. Aelius L. F. Lamia, C. (?) Silius, and — Annius. They issue a joint coinage consisting of the quadruns only; but Lamia also struck the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as in his name only. The as gives Augustus the title of *Pontifex Maximus*.

24. *Obv.*—LAMIA SILIVS ANNIVS.¹¹ Two right hands joined, holding caduceus.

Rev.—IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F. In centre, S · C.

Wt. 45·8 grs. Quadrans.

25. *Obv.*—LAMIA SILIVS ANNIVS. Simpulum and lituus.

Rev.—Similar to the preceding.

Wt. 47·2 grs. Quadrans. [Pl. XIV. 7.]

26. *Obv.*—LAMIA SILIVS ANNIVS. Cornucopias between S · C.

Rev.—IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F. Anvil.

Wt. 42·5 grs. Quadrans.

B.C. 10.¹²

27. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 7.

Rev.—CN · PISO CN · F · IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F.
In centre, S · C.

Wt. 353·4 grs. Sestertius.

28. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 8.

Rev.—Similar to the preceding.

Wt. 197·7 grs. Dupondius.

29. *Obv.*—CAESAR AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC · POTES. Head of Augustus to right, bare.

Rev.—Similar to No. 27.

Wt. 163·5 grs. As. [Pl. XIV. 8.]

30. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—CN · PISO FRV · F · IIIVIR · A . . . Head of Numa Pompilius to right, with diadem.

Wt. 187·6 grs. As. [Babelon, vol. ii. p. 306, No. 37.]

¹¹ As with the previous issue of the quadrans (see B.C. 14) the moneyers' names appear always to have preserved the same order. We have also, as in B.C. 14, three different obverse types which again look like one for each moneyer. No. 26 shows the same type as No. 15, i.e. the letters S · C are transferred to the obverse, and the anvil forms the type of the reverse.

¹² The three moneyers for B.C. 10, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, L. Naevius Surlinus, and C. Plotius Rufus, struck a joint as well as a separate coinage in bronze, the former consisting of the as only (see Nos. 28, 29).

31. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 7.
Rev.—L - NAEVIVS SVRDINVS IIIVIR - A - A - A - F - F.
 In centre, S - C.
 Wt. 411.7 grs. Sestertius.
32. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 8.
Rev.—L - SVRDINVS IIIVIR - A - A - A - F - F. In
 centre, S - C.
 Wt. 173.1 grs. Dupondius.
33. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 29.
Rev.—Similar to the preceding.
 Wts. 170.0, 139.7 grs. As.
34. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 29.
Rev.—Similar to No. 31.
 Wt. 194.7 grs. As.
35. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 7.
Rev.—C - PLOTIVS RVFVS IIIVIR - A - A - A - F - F.
 In centre, S - C.
 Wts. 396.0, 388.0, 384.8 grs. Sestertius.
36. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 8.
Rev.—Similar to the preceding.
 Wt. 173.0 grs. Dupondius.
37. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 29.
Rev.—Similar to No. 35.
 Wts. 175.3, 158.9 grs. As.
38. *Obv.*—CAESAR DIVI F - AVGVST. Head of Augustus
 to right, laureate.
Rev.—CN - PISO L - SVRDIN - C - PLOT - RVF. Head
 of Numa Pompilius to right, with diadem.
 As. [Babelon, vol. i. p. 305, No. 36.]
39. *Obv.*—Similar to the preceding.
Rev.—CN - PISO C - PLOT - RVF - L - SVRDIN.
 Similar to the preceding.
 As. [Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 77.]

B.C. 9.⁸²40. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 7.*Rev.*—C · ASINIVS C · F · GALLVS IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F.
In centre, S · C.

Wt. 387·2 grs. Sestertius.

41. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 8.*Rev.*—C · ASINIVS GALLVS IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F. In
centre, S · C.

Wt. 203·3 grs. Dupondius.

42. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 29.*Rev.*—Similar to the preceding.

Wts. 153·7, 179·3, 147·6 grs. As.

43. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 7.*Rev.*—C · CASSIVS C · F · CELER IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F.
In centre, S · C.

Wts. 418·4, 375·5 grs. Sestertius.

44. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 8.*Rev.*—C · CASSIVS CELER IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F. In
centre, S · C.

Wt. 188·4 grs. Dupondius.

45. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 29.*Rev.*—Similar to the preceding.

Wts. 212·7, 172·0 grs. As.

46. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 7.*Rev.*—C · GALLIVS C · F · LVPERCVS IIIVIR · A · A · A ·
F · F. In centre, S · C.

Wt. 428·0 grs. Sestertius.

⁸² The moneyers for B.C. 9 were C. Asinius C. F. Gallus, C. Cassius C. F. Celer, and C. Gallius C. F. Luperus.

47. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 8.

Rev.—C · GALLIVS LVPERCVS IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F.
In centre, S · C.

Wt. 203·8 grs. Dupondius.

48. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 29.

Rev.—Similar to the preceding.

Wts. 161·0, 155·3 grs. As.

B.C. 8.

[C. MARIUS C. F. TROMENTINA, C. SULPICIUS PLATORINUS,
AND C. ANTISTIVS REGIVS: all N, R.]

B.C. 7.²⁴

49. *Obv.*—CAESAR AVGVST · PONT · MAX · TRIBVNIC · POT.
Head of Augustus to right, bare.

Rev.—A · LICIN · NERVA SILIAN · IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F.
In centre, S · C.

Wt. 166·5 grs. As.

50. Similar to the preceding, reading POTES.T. for POT.

Wt. 158·2 grs. As.

51. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 49, reading POT.

Rev.—VOLVSVS VALER · MESSAL · IIIVIR · A · A · A ·
F · F. In centre, S · C.

Wts. 180·0, 164·0 grs. As.

52. Similar.

Wt. 175·9 grs. As. [Babelon, vol. ii. p.
522, No. 24.]

53. Similar; head of Augustus to left.

Wt. 186·5 grs. As. [*Ib.*, vol. ii. p. 522,
No. 25.]

²⁴ Of the moneyers of this year, A. Licinius Nerva Silianus, Volusus Valerius Messalla, and Sextus Nonius Quinctilianus, the as of the first reads POTES.T. and POT.; and of the last two the head of Augustus is to left as well as to right. This triumvirate only struck the as.

54. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 49.

Rev.—SEX · NONIVS QVINCTILIAN · IIIVIR · A · A · A
F · F. In centre, S · C.

Wts. 168·4, 147·8 gra. As.

55. Similar; head of Augustus to left.

Wt. 166·8 gra. As. [Babelon, vol. ii. p. 257,
No. 3.]

B.C. 6.

[COSUS CN. F. LENTULUS, *AR*; L. LENTULUS, *AR*; AND
L. CANINIUS GALLUS, *A*, *AR*.]

B.C. 5.⁸⁰

56. *Obv.*—CAESAR AVGVST · PONT · MAX · TRIBVNIC · POT.
Head of Augustus to left, laureate; behind,
Victory with cornucopias.

Rev.—M · SALVIVS OTHO IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F. In
centre, S · C.

Wts. 375·4, 258·0 gra. Sestertius.⁸¹

[Pl. XIV. 9.]

57. Similar.

Dupondius. [Babelon, vol. ii. p. 416, No. 6.]

58. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 8.

Rev.—Similar to No. 56.

Dupondius. [Bahrfeidt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897,
p. 67.]

59. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 49.

Rev.—Similar to No. 56.

Wts. 190·3, 183·3, 171·9, 165·5, 152·7 gra.
As.

⁸⁰ The moneyers of this year introduced a new type for the sestertius and the dupondius, i.e. the head of Augustus crowned by Victory, but the first two M. Salvius Otho and P. Larins Agrippa issued also the dupondius of the old type. Though not known, it is probable that M. Maccilius Tullus struck also the dupondius of the old type. All three moneyers struck the as with the head of Augustus to right and also to left.

⁸¹ Though of light weight, these coins must, from their *moduli*, be sestertii.

60. Similar; head of Augustus to left.
Wt. 158.4 grs. As.
61. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 56.
Rev.—P · LVRIVS AGRIPPA · III·VIR · A · A · A · F · F.
In centre, S · C.
Wt. 271.0 grs. Dupondius.* [Babelon, vol. ii, p. 154, No. 1.]
62. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 8.
Rev.—Similar to the preceding.
Wt. 97 grs. (worn). Dupondius. [B., vol. ii, p. 155, No. 4.]
63. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 49.
Rev.—Similar to No. 61.
Wts. 183.5, 165.3, 163.0, 149.6 grs. As.
64. Similar; head of Augustus to left.
Wt. 178.6 grs. As.
65. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 56.
Rev.—M · MAECILIVS TVLLVS · III·VIR · A · A · A · F · F.
In centre, S · C.
Wt. 381.3 grs. Sestertius.
66. Similar.
Wts. 203.3, 196.6 grs. Dupondius.
[Pl. XIV. 10.]
67. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 49.
Rev.—Similar to No. 65.
Wts. 178.2, 161.2 grs. As.
68. Similar; head of Augustus to left.
Wt. 156.8 grs. As.

* The piece figured by Babelon, though weighing 271.0 grs., is a dupondius, not a "large brass." The sestertius of this type of this moneyer has not been met with.

B.C. 4.⁶⁰

69. *Obv.*—P · BETILIENVS BASSVS. In centre, S · C.
Rev.—IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F. Anvil.
 Wt. 50·0 grs. Quadrans.
70. *Obv.*—C · NAEVIVS CAPELLA. In centre, S · C.
Rev.—Similar to the preceding.
 Wt. 41·9 grs. Quadrans.
71. *Obv.*—C · RVBELLIVS BLANOVVS. In centre, S · C.
Rev.—Similar to No. 69.
 Wt. 54·2 grs. Quadrans.
72. *Obv.*—L · VALERIVS CATVLLVS. In centre, S · C.
Rev.—Similar to No. 69.
 Wt. 32·9 grs. Quadrans.

B.C. 3.⁶¹

73. *Obv.*—APRONIVS MESSALLA IIIVIR. Anvil.
Rev.—GALVS SISENNA A · A · A · F · F. In centre, S · C.
 Wt. 48·0 grs. Quadrans.
74. *Obv.*—GALVS SISENNA IIIVIR. Anvil.
Rev.—APRONIVS MESSALLA A · A · A · F · F. In centre, S · C.
 Wt. 45·2 grs. Quadrans.
75. *Obv.*—MESSALLA GALVS IIIVIR. Anvil.
Rev.—APRONIVS SISENNA A · A · A · F · F. In centre, S · C.
 Wt. 57·8 grs. Quadrans.

[Comp. Pl. XIV. 11.]

⁶⁰ From the evidence of the coins it is clear that there were four moneyers in this year and again in the following one. Though there was a return to the old quatuorviri of the mint during these two years, each moneyer styled himself IIIVIR.

⁶¹ There are numerous permutations in the names of the four moneyers of this year, whose cognomina only are given, viz. Apronius, Galus, Messalla, and Sisenna. Each one struck a set with his own name first and those of his colleagues placed in different order. Their only denomination is the quadrans, which is uniform in type throughout.

76. *Obv.*—SISENNA APRONIVS IIIVIR. Anvil.

Rev.—GALVS MESSALLA A · A · A · F · F. In centre,
S · C.

Wt. 45·2 grs. Quadrans.

It has been generally held by those interested in the earlier coinages of Rome that after the cessation of the issue of bronze money in B.C. 80 no further one in this metal took place till the re-appearance of the moneyers' names towards the end of the century. The first re-issue of bronze money under the revival of the old custom is usually placed *circa* B.C. 15. De Salis, however, had classed to Rome an intermediate coinage or coinages, which are generally attributed to local issues, *i.e.* to Spain. The pieces referred to are those struck by C. Clovius and Q. Oppius (Nos. 2-3 and 4-6; Babelon, vol. i. p. 366, No. 11, and vol. ii. p. 276, Nos. 1, 2). The recent discovery of a bronze coin struck by L. Munatius Plancus (see No. 1) as *praefectus urbis*, similar in obverse type to the coin of Clovius, has confirmed De Salis's classification.⁷⁰ It is evident, therefore, that at this period an attempt was made to resuscitate a bronze currency at Rome, and that, as the attempt was not a success, it was not continued. It is very satisfactory to find that De Salis's classification has received this confirmation.

A few particulars of the three *praefecti urbis* who sought to bring about this reform may not be without interest, and may throw some light on the coins themselves which are of the years B.C. 45 and 44.

L. Munatius Plancus was a friend of Julius Caesar, and served under him in Gaul, Spain, and Africa, between

⁷⁰ This coin was recently presented to the National Collection by Mr. W. C. Boyd.

B.C. 54 and 46; was appointed one of the six *præfecti urbis* in Rome to administer the affairs of the city during Caesar's absence in Spain in B.C. 45; was nominated governor of Transalpine Gaul in B.C. 44; and was consul in B.C. 42, and again in B.C. 36 (?), and in the following year governed Syria for Antony, where he issued gold and silver money in his own name and in that of Antony.⁷¹ Later on he favoured Octavius, and it was on his proposal that the latter assumed the title of Augustus. He was censor in B.C. 22; but after that date we hear nothing further of him.

During the time that Plancus was *præfectus urbis* in B.C. 46-45, he struck gold coins, aurei and half-aurei,⁷² in honour of Caesar, which have for the obverse type the bust of Victory, and for the reverse a one-handled jug (*capis*). These coins were probably issued on the occasion of Caesar's triumph in B.C. 45, after his successful campaign against Cnaeus Pompey in Spain. From similarity of type, it would appear that his bronze coins were issued at or about the same time. They must be of that period, as Caesar was dictator for the third time from B.C. 46-45, and, as Plancus was then in Rome, they must have been struck at the Roman mint.

Of *C. Clodius*, who was one of the six *præfecti urbis* with Plancus in B.C. 46-45, not much is known. Owing to his coins having been classed to Spain, it has been surmised that he served under Caesar in the Spanish war and acted as his *præfect* there; but there is no other ground for this supposition. He was governor of Cisalpine Gaul in B.C. 44; consul *suffectus* in B.C. 29,

⁷¹ Babelon, vol. ii. pp. 239, 240, Nos. 4-6.

⁷² *Ib.*, vol. ii. p. 239, Nos. 1-3.

and he may be the Clovius referred to in a funeral oration of the age of Augustus.⁷³ The attribution of the coins of Clovius to Spain rests, therefore, upon no satisfactory evidence; but the similarity of the obverse type as well as some minute varieties shows clearly that they must have been struck at the same time and at the same mint as those of L. Munatius Plancus: that is at Rome. It is quite possible that Clovius, like Plancus, struck also gold coins; but up to the present these have not been met with.

If the coins of Plancus and Clovius are classed to Rome, those of Q. Oppius, from similarity of workmanship, must be placed there also. De Salis did not consider Oppius to be one of the six *præfecti urbis* appointed by Julius Caesar during B.C. 46-45; but he has concluded that he held office in the following year, B.C. 44. As nothing is known of Oppius beyond the scanty information supplied by his coins, De Salis's reason for placing them to that year seems to be based on the difference of the obverse type, *i.e.* the omission of the name of Julius Caesar. If at any time gold or silver coins bearing the name of Oppius should come to light, they probably would supply us with the data we need.

Besides the coinage in silver of the *quatuorviri* of the mint for B.C. 44, who were L. Buca, M. Mettius, P. Sepullius Macer, and C. Cossutius Maridianus, there were also special issues of the *aureus* struck by the *præfecti* L. Cestius and C. Norbanus,⁷⁴ by order of the Senate. To these coins we must now add those of Q. Oppius. The reverse type of his coins evidently refers to the successes of Julius Caesar in the previous year; Victory being

⁷³ Orelli, *Inscrip.* No. 4859.

⁷⁴ Babelon, vol. i. p. 340.

represented as bringing the fruits of Spain to Rome; whilst the head of Venus on the obverse records the descent of Caesar from that divinity. As they appear to be of pure copper, we may assume that all the coins of Plancus, Clovius, and Oppius are *asses*, and are of the semuncial standard.

We now pass on to consider the bronze coinage bearing moneyers' names which was issued at Rome during the last years of the first century B.C. Previous to B.C. 44 the management of the mint and the issue of the coins had been entrusted to a triumvirate, who were of the group of magistrates known as the *viginti-sex-viri*, officially designated as *triviri aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*, i.e. *triumvirs for casting (and) striking in bronze, silver (and) gold*, and who placed their names on their respective monies. In B.C. 44 Julius Caesar increased their number to a quatuorvirate, who appear to have exercised their authority till about B.C. 37, though we do not possess a sufficient variety of coins to supply a complete quatuorvirate for each year between those dates. In B.C. 36 the names of the moneyers disappear, and are not again met with for twenty years, all the money struck at Rome during that time, B.C. 36-17, being issued in the name of Octavius as Caesar, or from B.C. 27 as Augustus. When the moneyers' names again appear we find that their number has been reduced to three, as before B.C. 44. It is very probable that in these issues of B.C. 36-17 we may trace the origin of the exclusive rights afterwards exercised by the Roman Emperors over the gold and silver coinage.

M. Babelon, Mommsen, and others have fixed upon B.C. 20 as the probable date of the reappearance of the moneyers' names on the Roman coins in gold and silver;

but they assert that the issue of bronze money was not resumed till B.C. 15. Whilst agreeing with these numismatists in ascribing the first re-issue of the bronze money to B.C. 15, De Salis, however, dates the revival of the moneyers' names on the gold and silver coins to the previous year, viz. B.C. 16. M. Babelon⁷² is of opinion that when once the bronze coinage was again introduced, those of gold and silver ceased until the moneyers' names were again finally excluded from appearing on the coins. We may, however, reasonably suppose that when the custom of placing the moneyers' names on the coins was resumed, all money issued from the Roman mint, unless specially designated, would bear their mark, i.e. names. If we accept this view, not only is it possible to fill up the period between B.C. 20-17 with a considerable series of gold and silver coins, which could only have been struck then, but we shall have also a regular triumvirate of moneyers year by year from B.C. 16 to B.C. 3; except in the last two years, when, for some inexplicable cause, we meet with the names of four moneyers who, however, still designate themselves "triumviri."

With two exceptions, viz. M. Sanquinus and P. Stolo (B.C. 12), the moneyers who struck gold and silver did not issue bronze money, and *vice versa*, those who struck bronze did not issue gold and silver, although they still described themselves as "triumviri for casting and striking in bronze, silver, and gold." De Salis did not, like M. Babelon, consider that the issue of gold and silver money ceased when that of bronze was resumed, but was of opinion that the issues in the different metals were intermittent. To show the order in which he placed

⁷² *Traité des Mon. Grec. et Rom.*, vol. I. p. 831.

their sequence, the names of those who struck gold and silver, with their dates of office, have been inserted in the list of coins given above.

There is little, if any, historical evidence which would account for this return to a former usage of the mint at Rome; but it is possible that when Augustus left for Gaul in B.C. 16 he contemplated that his absence would extend over a considerable period, and that, in order to ensure a regular issue of money from the mint, he ordered the moneyers to resume the practice of placing their names on their coins as a guarantee to the public against being supplied with any of impure metal or of light weight. As it happened, Augustus did not return to Rome for nearly four years, and when he did come back the coins show that he allowed the new regulations to remain in force for some time.

Let us now see what were the denominations of this new brass and copper money; and what was the composition of the metal in which it was coined.

It was under Augustus that the sestertius and the dupondius were ordered to be struck from yellow copper, i.e. brass (*ὀρείχαλκος* = *orichalcum*);⁷⁶ and we learn also that the *as* and its divisions were to be of copper without alloy.⁷⁷ An analysis of the base metal coins of this period absolutely confirms these statements. Taking the various denominations to be the sestertius, the dupondius, the *as*, and the quadrans, the analyses show that the metal of

⁷⁶ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 2, 4, in speaking of the mines at Cordova, in Spain, says: (*Aes Cordubense*) *a Liviano caesareum maxime orbet et orichalci bonitatem imitatur in sestertiis dupondiarisque*.

⁷⁷ The *Lex Julia* against perurbation, which is to be attributed to Augustus, and not to Julius Caesar, ordered the moneyers not to introduce any alloy in the copper money: *Ne quis in . . . aes publicum quid indet nec immisceat . . . quo id pejus fiat*.

the sestertius and of the dupondius is composed of 76·5 per cent. copper and 23·5 per cent. zinc, whilst that of the as and the quadrans contains 98·9 per cent. copper,⁷⁸ i.e. practically copper only. In designating these various pieces as "large," "second," or "third" brass, we absolutely lose sight of their relative current values, especially in the case of the dupondius and the as, which, being of the same weight and size, are both called without distinction "second brass." It is clear from the evidence of these two coins that in currency *orichalcum* was rated at nearly double the value of copper, and, as the as weighed about 220 grs., the standard was semuncial, the same as was introduced in B.C. 88, so that in this respect there was no change.

The smallest denomination of the four is usually considered to be the semis; but as it never exceeds in weight the quarter of the as, and since the analysis shows that it was struck from precisely the same metal as that coin, there can be no question of its being the quadrans.

In introducing this new coinage, care was taken to make some differences in the types of the various denominations, so that they might be easily distinguished. The sestertius has for obverse type a representation of the golden wreath which the Senate had decreed to Augustus in B.C. 29, flanked by two laurel branches (probably denoting the laurel trees which were planted on either side of the entrance portico of his house⁷⁹), and with

⁷⁸ See table of analyses, p. 244.

⁷⁹ A view of the façade of the house of Augustus is seen on the aureus struck by L. Caninius Gallus (Babelon, vol. i. p. 311, No. 1). It shows the portico surmounted by the golden wreath, and at each side a laurel tree. We have mentioned above (p. 215) that the type of the sestertius was first adopted by Augustus in the East in B.C. 27.

the legend *OB CIVIS SERVATOS*. On the reverse is the name of the moneyer and the inscription *S. C.*, denoting that the issue of the bronze money was under the control of the Senate. The dupondius has the same reverse type as the sestertius, but on the obverse is the name of Augustus within a wreath. The *as* has always on the obverse the head of Augustus bare, at first turned to the right, but later also to the left. The reverse type is similar to that of the sestertius and the dupondius. The quadrans shows more variation in type than any of the other denominations. The first two issues supply three types for the obverse, *i.e.* two right hands holding a caduceus, a simpulum and a lituus, or a cornucopiae. The usual reverse type is similar to that of the other denominations; but in the case of that of the cornucopiae the letters *S. C.* are transferred to the obverse, and the field of the reverse is occupied by a coin-anvil. Towards the end of the period the letters *S. C.* and the anvil, sometimes laureate, are interchanged for the obverse and reverse types.

In B.C. 5 a new obverse type was introduced for the sestertius and the dupondius, being the head of Augustus, but, in order that these coins should not be confused with the *as*, it is laureate, and behind stands a Victory holding a cornucopiae. According to De Salis's classification, the sestertius and the dupondius were first issued at Rome in B.C. 15, and the revival of the quadrans took place in B.C. 13, and that of the *as* in B.C. 12.

As so little is known of the history of the moneyers of this coinage, and as what is known throws practically no light on the classification, it is not necessary to make any special mention of them. Few appear to have risen to any eminence. With one exception, that of Q. Aelius

Lamia (see p. 227), the moneyers who struck the quadrans did not issue pieces of higher denominations, and those who struck the latter did not issue the quadrans.

In this paper I have attempted to show (i.) that when the issue of bronze money was in abeyance at Rome it was nevertheless taking place in some of the principal provinces; (ii.) that the standard of the bronze money was with one exception, viz. that of Spain, semuncial; (iii.) that in currency *orichalcum* was rated at double the value of *copper*; (iv.) that this metal was first used by Augustus in the East; and (v.) that when the bronze money was resumed in Rome in B.C. 15 its issues were intermittent with those of gold and silver.

The question may be asked why the year B.C. 3 has been given as the last one in which the moneyers' names appear on Roman coins. This question is answered by the coins themselves. In B.C. 2 Augustus received the title of *pater patriae*, which, from that date, appears on all gold and silver coins struck in his name; but it never occurs on any coins in any metal bearing a moneyer's name. Hence it is clear that all coins with the moneyers' names must have been issued prior to B.C. 2.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the reform which was introduced in B.C. 2 remained in force unaltered for over two hundred and fifty years; the gold and silver money being under the control of the Emperor, and the copper and bronze under the jurisdiction of the Senate.

In the appended table of analyses, supplied by Prof. Gowland, of coins of Rome and the various provinces, the pieces, from which the analyses were made, are specified.

H. A. GRUEBER

TABLE OF ANALYSES OF ROMAN COPPER AND BRONZE COINS, 1st CENTURY B.C.

District and date.	Ins.	Denomination.	Copper.	Pb.	Lead.	Zinc.	Total.
EAST. B.C. 38-25	M. ANTONY. Rev.—M. OPPIDVS CAPITV (No. 17) Aurearia.	As.	76.5	14.0	8.3		98.8
B.C. 27	Rev.—C. A. Wroath with provs (No. 32) Aurearia.	Dupondius	78.7		0.7	20.6	100.0
B.C. 27	Rev.—AVGVSTVS in wroath (No. 35) Aurearia.	Dupondius	89.8	7.5		2.7	100.0
SPAIN. B.C. 45-44	SEXTVS IMPERATOR. Rev.—FIVS IMP. PROV (No. 3)	As.	71.0	9.7	19.3		100.0
GALLY. B.C. 38	OUTAVIVS. Rev.—DIVOS IVLIVS. Wroath (No. 3) Aurearia.	Dupondius	81.2	3.9	14.5		99.6
B.C. 11-9	Rev.—ROM. ET AVG. Ahar (No. 6)	As.	99.5	(trace)	(trace)		99.5
ROME. B.C. 9	C. ASINIVS GALLVS (No. 40) " " (No. 41) " " (No. 42)	Sextarius Dupondius As.	76.7 76.4 98.8			23.3 23.6	100.0 100.0
B.C. 11	LAMIA SILIVS ANNIVS (No. 20)	Quadrans	98.9				98.8 98.9

* Irregular in composition.

VIII.

THE COINAGE OF WILLIAM I AND WILLIAM II.

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM II.

(See Plate X.)

Continued from p. 173.

TYPE I. [HAWKINS, NOS. 243 AND 247.]

Obv.—Bust of the king facing, crowned; right hand holding sword; within inner circle.

Rev.—Large cross pattée over quadrilateral ornament, with trefoil at each angle; within a circle.

Find.—Beaworth. [PL. X. 11, 12.]

Reading of the king's name.—PILLELM.

In writing of types Nos. 229 and 240 I have unavoidably had to refer to this one, and have given some of my reasons for retaining it in its present position. The change from the sceptre in the sovereign's hand to the sword betokens the struggle with which Rufus had to maintain his position. In proof that these changes were observed and understood by the people, I would cite an example of later date drawn from the *Chronicon Majorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum*, p. 42. Speaking of the new seal of Henry III under date of 1259, the writer adds a note which is as follows: "There is a prophecy concerning the new seal of the king just completed which says, 'wonderful is the change! the sword will be superseded by the sceptre,' which was then fulfilled; for

the king on his old seal holds both the sword and the sceptre, but on the new the sceptre, without the sword." As before stated when writing of the coronation, the king was invested with the sword as defender of his kingdom, and in this instance Rufus appealed to the patriotism of his English subjects, by whose efforts he was able to defeat his opponents. The same idea also occurs in Pope Gregory VI's dying address to his cardinals, as given by William of Malmesbury: "Now there are two persons in the Church of God appointed for the purpose of repressing crimes; one who can rebuke sharply, the other who can wield the sword. I, as you can witness for me, have not neglected my part; as far as I saw it could profit, I did rebuke sharply. I sent a message to him whose business it was to bear the sword; he wrote me word back that he was occupied in his war with the Vandals, entreating me not to spare my labour or his expense in breaking up the meetings of the plunderers." The type, therefore, was most appropriate to the state of things existing at the accession of William II. In Hawkins' plates No. 247 is treated as a separate type; but, apart from its inferiority of workmanship, the only difference between it and 243 is that on the reverse the trefoils in the angles of the cross rise from a single foot-stalk, while upon 243 they are supported on a pyramid composed of two. In further proof that they are of one and the same issue, Hawkins (New Edition) cites a "mule" with obverse of No. 243 and reverse of No. 244, and in the Sharp sale Lot 59 was a coin with obverse of No. 247 and reverse of No. 244.¹ Out of seventeen

¹ [Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton has a penny of Rochester (PVLFPINE ON ROF) of Hawkins type 247 overstruck on type 246, which proves that Mr. Spicer's order of types needs revision.—En.]

moneyers whose names I have been able to collect coining type No. 247, seven do so of No. 243, and only two on any other of the former types; while five coin subsequent issues, and twelve disappear altogether. There is no doubt that with No. 247 commences the serious decline in workmanship which culminated in the succeeding reign. The question is, what caused it? Some change must have occurred at this point. I have referred to Otto the aurifaber at the commencement of this paper. When he actually became cuneator we do not know, but Orderic tells us that he was appointed to design and construct the tomb of William I at Caen, a work which would entail much time and labour, and necessitate his absence from England. Did he therefore commence the engraving of the dies for the new coinage and then relinquish it to take up his new work, after the completion of which his die-engraving ceased? He may have died, and the Otto who deceased in 1101 may have been his son, as the name seems to have been continued from generation to generation. The mints do not throw much light upon the chronology of this type. Exeter, as Mr. Andrew points out, issues it with two moneyers, one of whom strikes coins of type No. 244, and then the mint ceases during the remainder of Rufus' reign with the death of Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert. Bristol coins with one moneyer, but as Bishop Geoffrey was in rebellion against Rufus, this probably was a later coin of Fitz-Hamon. The most curious case is that of Ilchester, which had successfully resisted the attacks of the insurgents, who had devastated the country around. There had never been more than one moneyer coining there at a time, when suddenly with this type six appear. It seems probable that as a reward for their valiant conduct the

burgesses had been rewarded by the king by holding their town at *firma*, including, of course, the mint. The writ quoted by Ruding² as issued in the thirty-third year of Henry III shows that this event must have occurred some time previous to that year, and there seems every probability that it was on the occasion referred to above. The town certainly continued to increase in prosperity from that time forward, and the closing of some of the adjacent mints would render an increased staff of moneyers a necessity for a time, although they seem to have been speedily discontinued, as only one appears on type No. 244, two on type No. 246, and one on type No. 250. For reasons given in considering the next type, I think it is probable that the issue of No. 243 was shorter than usual, probably extending from 1087 to 1089.

TYPE II. [HAWKINS, NOS. 244 AND 245.]

Obv.—Bust of the king to right, crowned; sword in right hand.

Rev.—Large cross pattée over cross flory; annulet in centre. [PL. X. 13, 14.]

Finds—Shillington and Tamworth.

Reading of the king's name:—PILLELM.

In the Shillington find were coins of Henry I, showing plainly that those with the name of William intermixed with them probably belonged to Rufus. The sword is still continued in the king's hand in place of the sceptre, and the workmanship is of the coarse type referred to when speaking of Hks. 247. The discovery of the Tamworth hoard added very largely to the number of mints and moneyers previously known of this type,

² Vol. II. p. 214.

and these have a very slight connection with the names found on William I's early coinages, as out of the forty-five moneyers whose names have been collected, only two are represented on any type before No. 237, and as these are the constantly recurring ones of EDPI and SEPINE, it is more than probable that they do not represent the same men. The reverse appears to be a reminiscence of that of No. 237, substituting a cross pattée for the more elegant cross botonnée of the former, showing that the designer was not only losing his originality, but, where he altered, he only did so for the worse. There can be little doubt about the sequence of the next type, as Hks. 245 is a "mule" with the obverse of this type and the reverse of No. 246. It is of considerable rarity, only three specimens being in the Tamworth hoard, and so far eight moneyers' names are all I have been able to collect. The fact that these coins are the only ones with a profile bust in the above find is strongly in favour of Mr. Andrew's theory as to the *monetarium*, the only coins missing being Hks. 243 and 247, which certainly would have been expected to be present. William of Malmesbury says that, although Rufus began his reign well under the restraining influence of Lanfranc, after his death in 1089 the king's rapacity knew no bounds, and significantly adds, "there was no man rich except the money-changer." Having for his minister the notorious Ralph Flambard, of whose ingenuity in the matter of raising money we have other evidence, we might reasonably expect him to turn his attention to the coinage, and a ready way of raising money would be at once to issue a side-face type and call in the obsolete coinage. In further confirmation of Malmesbury's statement, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,

under date 1090, says, "During all these transactions England was greatly oppressed by unlawful taxes, and many other grievances." For these reasons I think it probable that type Nos. 243 and 247 was not allowed to run its full time, its existence being shortened to meet the king's requirements, and that the present type would be issued from 1089 to 1092.

TYPE III. [HAWKINS, No. 246.]

Obv.—Full-faced bust of the king, crowned, holding sword in right hand.

Rev.—Quatrefoil with pellet at each angle, enclosing large cross pattée with circle in the centre.

Finds.—Shillington and Tamworth. [Pl. X. 15.]

Reading of the king's name:—PILLELM.

This type is the least scarce of all those attributed to William II, nor is this to be wondered at. The immediate effect of withdrawing a large amount of the old money from circulation would be to issue new money to supply its place. The number of mints from which it was issued was only second to the great "PAXS" coinage (which is an analogous case), and they extend over the whole country. The sword still occupies its accustomed place in the hand of the king, and the workmanship is very poor. The Tamworth find presented a large number of entirely fresh mints, and the names of the moneyers, belonging to those mints which were previously known, are new. Hereford, which had not appeared since type No. 241, now does so for the first time on the coinage of Rufus, and, as during the continuance of the present type the king was upon a Welsh expedition, it is probable that the moneyers were called upon to fulfil their contract, as Ruding² tells us, "When the king

came to the city, these moneyers made him as much money as he would; that is, of the king's silver."

Mr. Andrew,¹ in his account of the combined mints of Barnstable and Totness, states that Joel Fitz Alured of Totness was banished by Rufus for some unrecorded offence, but probably for being concerned in Geoffrey de Mowbray's rebellion. He goes on to say, "William II then granted the Honour to Roger de Novant; who, however, does not seem to have ever exercised the privilege of coining here." He must, I presume, have overlooked the coin of this type struck by DVNIC ON TOTNESE, which must be de Novant's. The issue of this coinage extended from 1092 to 1095.

TYPE IV. [HAWKINS, No. 248.]

Obv.—Full-faced bust of the king, crowned, holding sceptre in right hand; star to the left of the head.

Rev.—Cross flory over quadrilateral ornament with pellet at each angle; all within circle. [Pl. X. 16.]

Finds not recorded.

Readings of the king's name:—PILLELM; PILLELMI.

This coin appears to occupy its right position in the series, although there are no "mules" to connect it either with its predecessor or successor, as all the previous coins of this reign have had. Another peculiarity is the resumption of the sceptre, which again takes its old place in the hand of the king instead of the sword.

In 1093 Rufus had a severe illness at Gloucester, and in fear of death he made many good promises, as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us, "that he would lead

¹ Num. Chron., Ser. IV. vol. i. p. 165.

his future life in righteousness, that the churches of God he would guard free, and never more sell them for money, and that he would have all just laws in his kingdom."

It may be only a coincidence that at this point the sceptre reappears after such a long absence, but I am inclined to believe that it was intentional on the part of the engraver to represent the monarch as governing constitutionally, although almost before the coins were issued the good promises were all broken.

A small star occupies the left of the bust, the favourite badge of the Norman commemoration of the great comet of 1066.

There is a coin described in the Durrant sale (1847), Lot 164, as follows: "Penny with full face, sword in the right hand, and a cross (in place of star) on the left of neck." The reverse type is not mentioned, but as the coin is described as type No. 248, presumably it is the usual one, the moneyer being *OTER ON DORECEST*. Without seeing the coin it would be hardly safe to draw any inference from it, but if correctly described it would seem to be a curious variety. Perhaps, however, it may be a "mule" with the obverse of No. 246, the cross being some flaw in the die, or mistake of the engraver. If this were so it would be interesting, as showing the sequence of the present type. There is no record of any find of this issue; it was not present at Shillington, although both Nos. 246 and 250 were there; nor was it included in the Tamworth find, the latest coins of which were of No. 246. Though the evidence is not quite so strong as in previous instances, I consider that this coinage extended from 1095 to 1098.

TYPE V. [HAWKINS, Nos. 249 AND 250.]

Obv.—Full-faced bust of the king, crowned; on No. 250 star at each side of head.

Rev.—Cross pattée voided over cross with annulet at each end; annulet in centre; all within circle.

Find:—Shillington (250 specimens). [Pl. X. 17, 18.]

Readings of the king's name:—PILLEM; PILLELM.

We now come to the last coinage of William II. It will be noticed that types Nos. 249 and 250 are classed together, the only difference being that on the obverse of No. 250 a star is placed at each side of the head, similar to No. 238, the reverse in both cases being identical.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon, all mention the appearance of a fresh comet in the year 1097; and William of Malmesbury also refers to what we may suppose to have been a display of meteors. The die-engraver had on the previous type re-introduced one star, and now with a fresh appearance before him he puts two. Why they were not continued on the whole of the issue is hard to say. As No. 249 is by far the rarer variety, it is possible that a few of the dies had been prepared before the advent of the comet, and as it was perfectly easy to insert a star at each side of the head without any alteration of the main type, it was immediately done. The absence of the sceptre upon these coins is curious, as since the early issues of William I either the sword or the sceptre had always been in the king's hand, and their absence on Nos. 234 and 236 seems to have been doubly emphasized on No. 237. This omission, however, connects this type with the first one of Henry I, which also lacks the sceptre, and which in the place of the star at each side of the head has an annulet. This coinage extended from

1098 to 1100, and as William II was killed on the 2nd August of that year, it had a shorter duration than usual.

F. SPICER.

NOTE.—The following lists of mints, moneyers, and types of coins of William I and William II were compiled by Mr. Spicer, and it has been thought best to publish them, though somewhat incomplete, in the form as left by the author. Columns are given showing what moneyers occur for the same towns under Edward the Confessor and Harold II, and the numbers at the top of the page are those of Hawkins' plates in his "Silver Coins of England."

TABLES

OF

MINTS, MONEYPERS, AND TYPES OF COINS OF
WILLIAM I AND WILLIAM II.

BRISTOL.

ALFRED

BEORL² ON BRIGSTOL
BRIHTPOD ON BRIC² and
BRIHTPOD ON BRIC²

BRI. BR

BRPODE ON BRIGSO

BRVNSTAN ON BR

CAREL ON BRIG

CEORL ON BRIESTOL

COLBLAC ON BRIC, BRICA²

BRIEST

COLNINE ON BRIC

GOLDING

LEOFHU

LEOFFINE ON BRIC, BRIH²

BRIT

LIFPINE ON BRICES¹, BRIC

SPEGN or SPEIN ON BRICS

CAMBRIDGE.

VFCIL or VLFCL ON GRANT

PIDERN (P) ON GRANT

CANTERBURY.

ÆLDPINEN ON CT

ÆLFROD ON CNTLEI

15¹

¹ The figures in the top column represent the types in Hawkins' work, *Silver Coins of England*; the first two columns, Edward the Confessor and Harold, the small figures under the former being the types according to the British Museum Catalogue. The names of moneyers in italics are from Mr. O. Rastell's List, *int.*, as they are not accompanied by the type upon which they appear, they are of little use.

² Given as ÆIGOD in list of Tansworth find.

³ This may be LEORL (misread), who appears on the Confessor type XV., as below. Also LEOPL, Durrant

Catalogue, type 235.

⁴ Montagu Catalogue.

CHESTER.

ÆGELPINE ON LEH

ÆLFBI ON LECECI

ÆLFBI ON LECECE

ÆLFBI ON LEHECE

ALCSI ON LECECI

GODRIC ON LEHRE³ (P)

LIFIC ON LEICES

LIFINC ON LEHEC

LFNC ON LEHECST

LIFNOD

LIFPINE ON LECE

SVNOVL⁴ ON LEGIVNNVL⁵ ON LESTRE.

LEICES

CHICHESTER.

BRIHTMAER ON CIE

BRYMAN ON CIE. CIEST.

CICE

BRYNANN ON CIE

EDPINE ON CICE

GODPINE ON CICEI

SPRIEGLINE ON CI

CRICKLADE.

ÆLPINE ON CRIC

LEOFRED ON CRIC.

CRECE

PVLSTAN ON CRI

(2, 3, 5, 9)
(11, 15)

H

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7, 9, 11

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^a 209, Beaworth.^b May be Leicester.^c Given as PINPEI.^d The obverse of this coin is from the same die as those of SVNOLF ON LEH and SVNOVL^f LIOFRED.^e 241 and 242, Montagu.^f Arden, vol. iv, p. 100.^g B. M. Cat., ALXXI = ÆLSIG.^h Belling says: "The obverse of this coin is from the same die as those of SVNOLF ON LEH and SVNOVL^f LIOFRED."ⁱ 241 and 242, Montagu.^j 241 and 242, Montagu.^k 241 and 242, Montagu.^l 241 and 242, Montagu.^m 241 and 242, Montagu.

GODPINE ON DORI
LIFRIC ON DORECEB
OTER ON DORCEST.
DORECEST, etc.

DOVER.

ARCE

LINSTAIN ON DOFI

EDPORD ON DOFRE

GODPINE ON

GODPINE ON DOF, DORI

GOLDPINE ON DOF¹

LIFSTAN ON DOFI

LIFPINE ON DOFRE

LVFRIC or LVLFRIE ON

DOFR, DOFRE

MYPINE ON DOF

STANFRI

DURHAM.

COLBRAN ON DVRR¹²

LVBRNT ON DVNE

EXETER.

EGLPINE

¹ Colchester is given as a mint on 11ks. type 240 on a coin in the Pollock Sale, Lot 54, but no moneyer's name is mentioned.

² DEORMAN.

³ B. M. Cat., without stating mint.

⁴ Durrant Sale, Lot 104, penny with full face, sword in the right hand, and a cross in place of star on the left of neck; moneyer's name OTER ON DORECEST, but type not described.

⁵ 239, Durrant.

⁶ Also GOLDFIE

⁷ MANPINE ON DOVO, Durrant 2nd, Lot 182

⁸ This coin formed part of a hoard found at York, and described in *Num. Chron.*, vol. viii., 1845-46, and was attributed to Durham by the writer of the article. The reading is not altogether devoid of doubt as to the mint.

⁹ FROMA.

¹⁰ GODI.

¹¹ LÆPPINE

[illegible]

HELPINE.

* Without meeting before trial.

299, Durrant.

+ SPOTTING. Archæol., vol. iv, p. 356, where see engraving of this curious coin, obv. dis. altered from 237 to 238; rev. of 237.

* From the Bowditch fund and Bennett Sale, April 19, 1870. Sotheby.

* The Catalogue reads OETØERE, which I take to be a misreading for ON HERE, where ÆGELRIC was a moneyer.

* A male, obv. 237 and rev. 238, Montagu Sale, lot 212, mailing IESELPINE ON HERI.

[illegible]

¹ As I cannot trace a recalling of this moneyer's mint, it may be given in error to Harford and really belong to Portland, where **EDRIC** was a moneyer.

REAL CHA

It seems improbable that there was ever a mint at Hithelm, and I would suggest that it is DOTF (Thetford), although I am not able to trace ÆLFRIC as a moneyer there.

Hawkins® plate made HVTE.

* ELEPHINE

[illegible]

* AELFSIG, *Archaeol.*, vol. iv, p. 356.

EALDQAR.

Prof. Montagu.

299. Benworth.

ANSPEC

ANSPAL.
Acetone, vol. 1, p. 104.

Accumulating value 17.16 each
FRE

ONCE UPON A TIME

Centre ONSPAL
St. Gallen

SHIRLEY
M. FLEET.

TABLES OF MINTS, MONEYS, AND TYPES OF COINS OF WILLIAM I AND WILLIAM II—continued.

Mints.	Edward the Confessor.	Harold.	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000
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[illegible]

Cardiff Hall Museum.

* 220, Heworth.

* MALDIN, Cal. Bethoby, Nov. 20, 1847. A cedar in possession of Mr. Ellis; lost on 24th, but work on 247.

¹ 240, Benworth.

* 239, Bosworth; and HIREB, Durrant.

Barnotaple (9)

TABLES OF MINTS, MONEYS, AND TYPES OF COINS OF WILLIAM I AND WILLIAM II - continued.

Mints.	Edward the Confessor.	Harold.	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000
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ALDOVLV ON SID(?)
 ALGAR ON SVØEP
 GODRIC ON SVDEI
 GROT. See SPROT
 GODPINE ON SVØP
 LEOPINE ON SV, SVØI
 LIFFINE ON SVØE
 LIFFORD ON SVØI
 OSMVND ON SVØE
ODEBRAND
 SEPINE ON SVØI
 SPROT ON SVØEI, SVØERV
 PVLFRIC ON SVØI
 PVLGAR ON SVØ

STAFFORD.

ÆLFNOÐ ON STF
 EDLCAERD ON STA.¹
 GODRIC ON STAFRED,
 STIEFER
 GODPINE ON STEFFOR,
 STIEF
 ODRIC ON STFRDI
 PVLFNØD ON STVEFF

STAMFORD.

ARNTL ON STNF
 BRVNSTAN ON STN
 BRVPINE ON STAN
 DVNIC ONN STINE.²

¹ This might possibly be 9EI EDMVNDI, but until a coin is found with a fuller reading of this mint, this one must remain where it is.
² PVLFF apparently is all that is legible of the moneyer's name.

³ This might be Stamford.

⁴ I have inserted this from Mr. Sharp's List in *Nam. Chron.*, vol. xx. 1880. It seems to me possible to have been a coin of Hastings where Dummie was a moneyer. The additional N in ON being really an H, and reading HSTINC, compare reading under Hastings. I notice, however, in the 1809 list, Mr. Sharp gives DVNIC ONN STAN or STANL.

[illegible]

¹ Mr. Montagu states that only one other coin of this type is known besides his own **LEOFFINE ON STA.** and that **GODRIE ON HVTE** is in the British Museum. I have, however, noted **ELMER ON LINCO.** but from what catalogue I cannot remember.

* This moneyer is given to Stamford above, and it seems to be more probable that it is so, as *Steyning* is a far more mint than Stamford. Montagu, *Sale II*, Lot 243.

* Hks. plate, 240. Benworth.

• CINQUE

* 240, Montagu.

CENRIC

[illegible]

LIFE.

LIFINE
LVFINE

© 2009, Newworth.

* 240, Beaworth; 239, Montagu.
* 240, Montagu.

* Considering the uncertainties of Anglo-Saxon spelling, too much weight must not be attached to these readings without further confirmation. Similar moneyers coined at Winchester. ¹ ALEOF.

VRCE ON EOF
 VROBRN or VPDERN ON
 EFRP
 ØORR ON EOFR
 ØOR ON EFRPICIII

{
 2, 3, 5, 7, 9,
 11, 13, 15}

+ DOVR ON EFRPICII

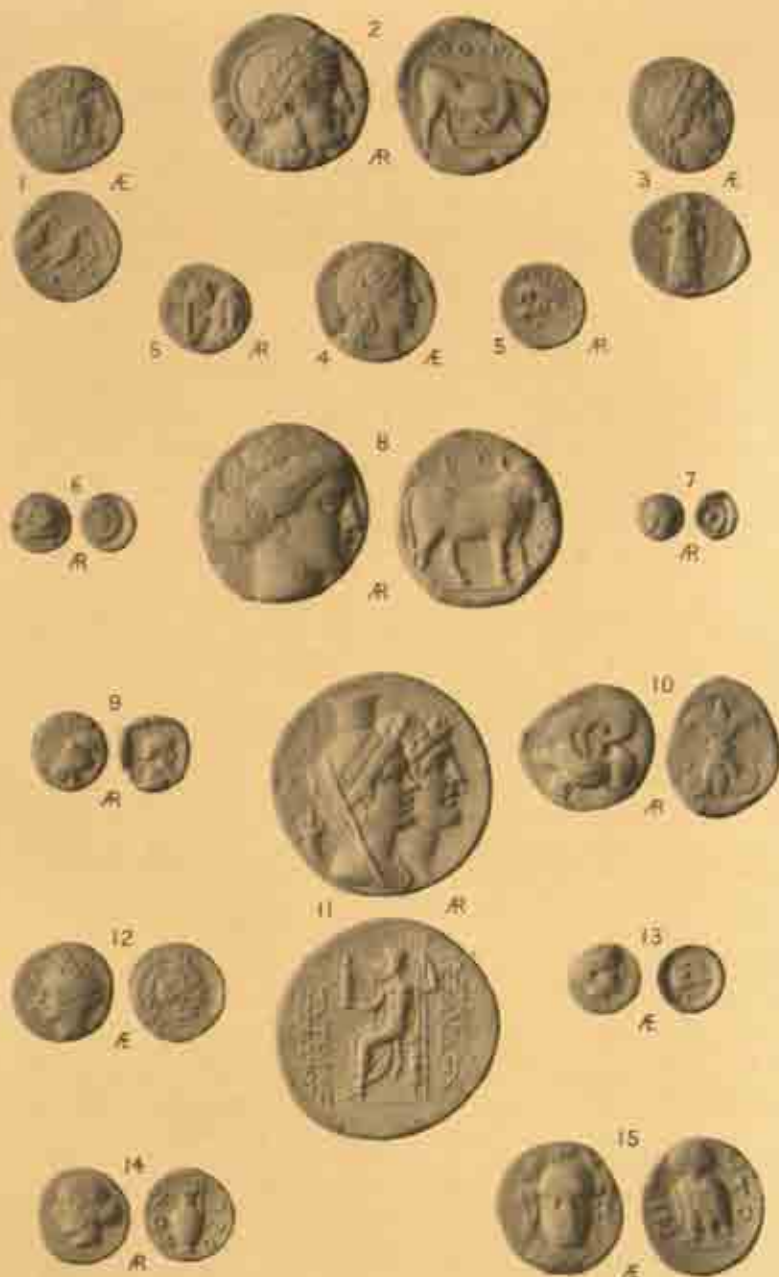
+ Archæol. vol. (v. p. 156).

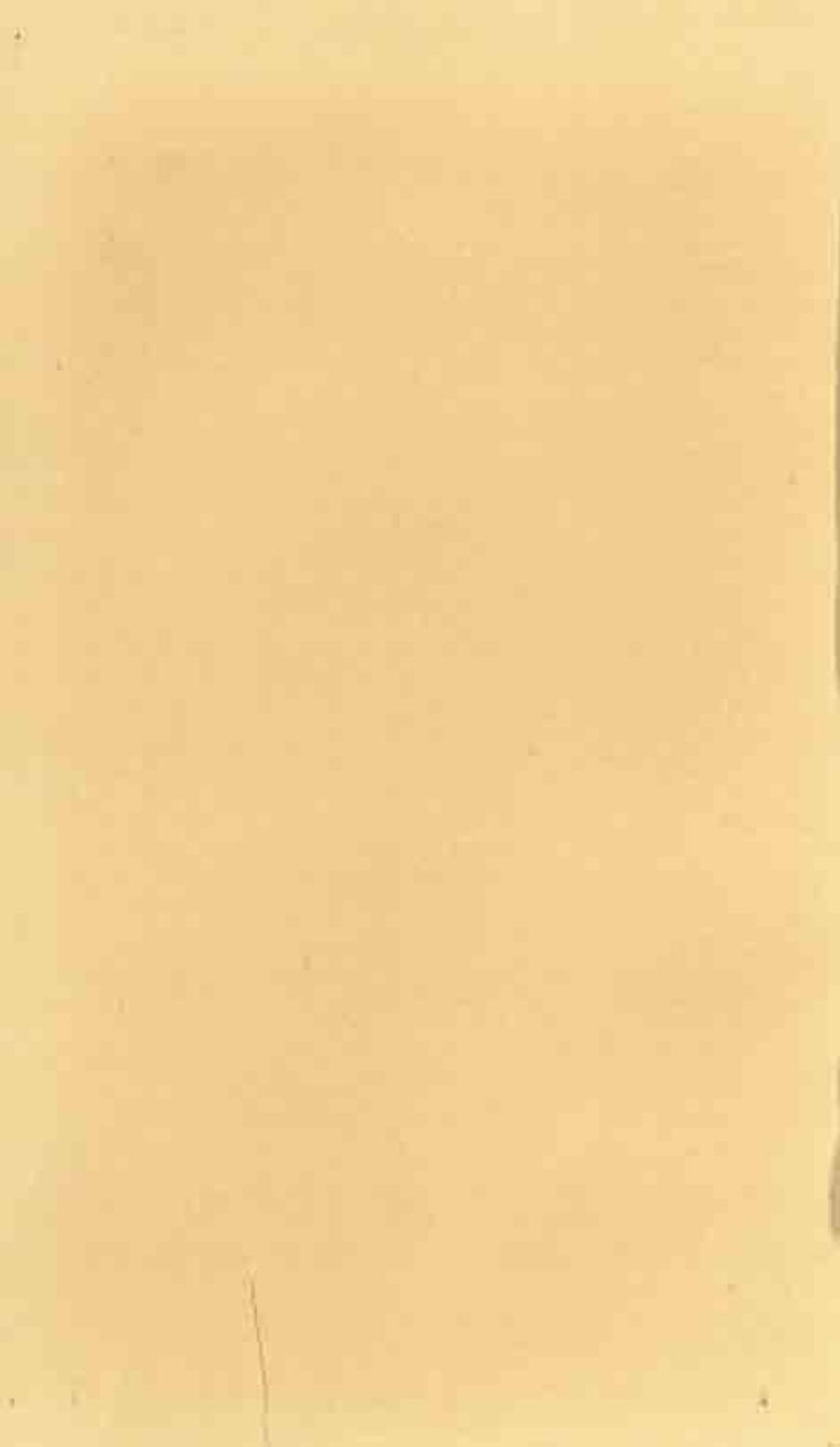
NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATION.

Roman Coins. Elementary Manual, compiled by Cav. Francesco Gneecchi, 2nd edition. Translated by the Rev. Alfred Watson Hands. Spink & Son, 17 and 18, Piccadilly.

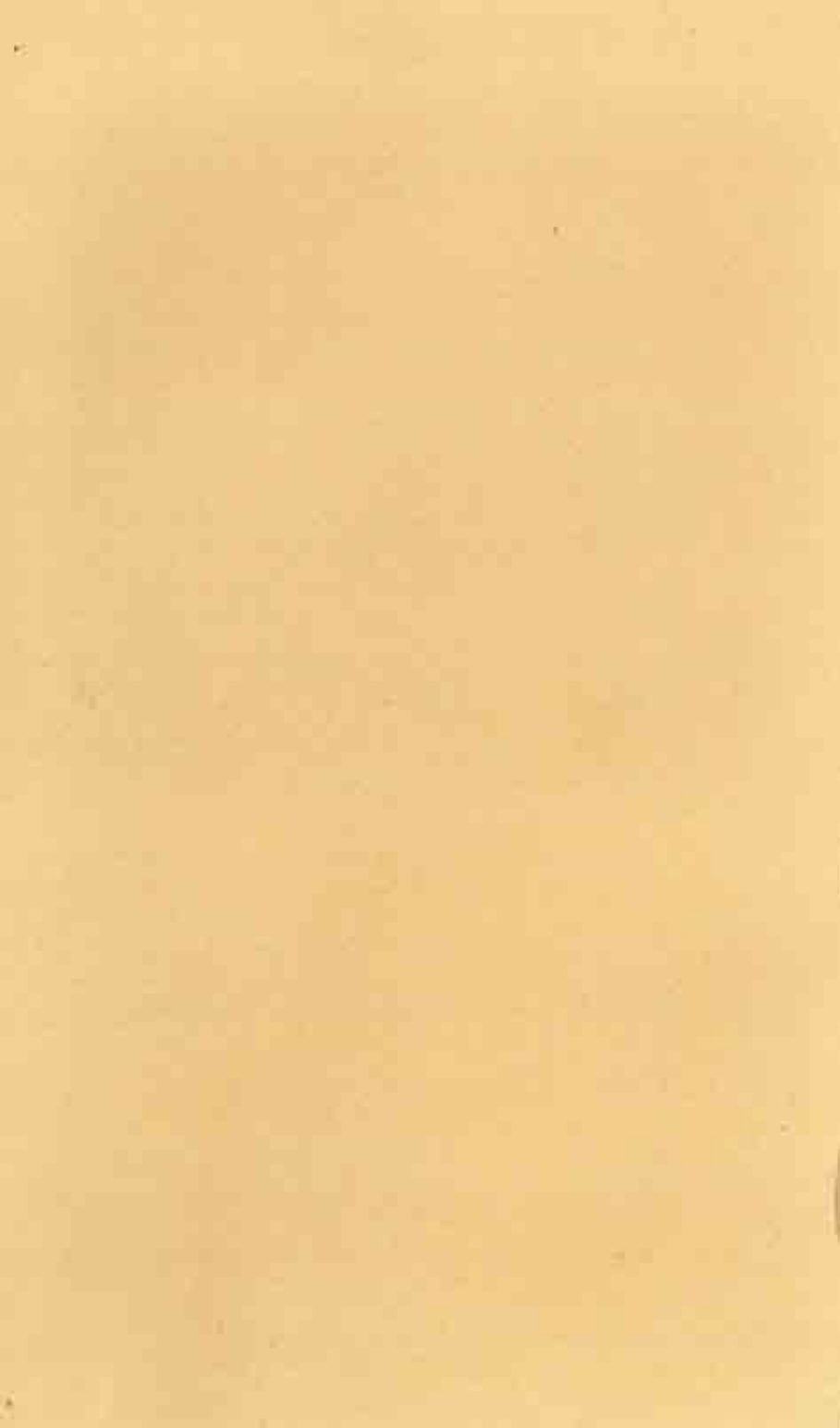
To the student, who would find some difficulty in reading Italian, this translation will be a boon. The work consists of a short history of the Roman coinage from earliest times down to and including that of the Byzantine period, with special chapters on medallions, tesserae, contorniates, etc. The introductory chapters treat of collectors and collections, public and private, the arrangement of coins in a cabinet, forgeries, how to make impressions and how to clean coins, the literature on Roman coins, etc., in which the young collector will find good advice and many useful hints. The author then enters on the more serious portion of his task, giving a history of the coinage under the Republic and the Empire. The many changes marking the growth of the coinage under the Republic furnish abundant matter for a fairly exhaustive treatise, and the subject is discussed in a lucid manner without too much detail, which will enable the student to trace the development of the coinage from the *aes rude* to the *aes signatum*, the *aes grave* and onwards to the great reforms of the middle of the third century, when silver money was first issued at the Roman mint. The account of the Imperial coinages of gold and silver might with advantage have been extended. Five pages is a very short allowance; and we certainly do not agree with Sig. Gneecchi when he says that the only gold coins of the first three centuries of the Empire were the aureus and half-aureus, that the former first received the name of solidus during the Byzantine Empire, that the miliarensis was struck by Diocletian, and that the siliqua did not appear till during the Byzantine period. These are some of the points which would stand revision in the case of a third edition being called for. The work abounds throughout in useful lists,—of families and the names of the members who issued coins; of cognomens and agnomens in connection with the family names; of abbreviations on the republican and imperial coinages; including the names of mints, and others. We need only observe that, as translator, Mr. Hands has performed his task well, and that the numerous illustrations greatly add to the value of the volume.

H. G.









IX.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH
MUSEUM IN 1903.

(See Plates XV., XVI.)

THE total number of coins of the Greek series (see the annexed Table) acquired by the British Museum during the year 1903 is 551. Most of these acquisitions have been obtained by purchase, but some are presentations due to the generosity of Mrs. Anneley, Mr. James Berry, Mr. W. C. Boyd, The Egypt Exploration Fund, Sir John Evans, Mr. E. S. Forster, Mr. H. A. Grueber, Mr. F. W. Hasluck, Mr. R. Hewitt, Sir H. Howorth,¹ Col. W. J. Massy,² Rev. R. Paul, Mr. A. P. Ready, Mr. H. Sanders, Mr. A. Sangorski, Mr. H. Stannus, Mr. F. T. Thanawala, and Mr. R. C. Thompson. As in my sixteen previous papers published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* from 1888 onwards, I give an account of some of the more noteworthy specimens. I have not, however, referred to acquisitions of Cypriote and, especially, Phrygian coins, which are reserved for publication in forthcoming volumes of the *Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins*.³

¹ Many notes of Italy.² Cypriote coins.³ In preparing this paper I have once more had the advantage of consulting the section on Greek coins written by Dr. Barclay Head for the *Parliamentary Papers* of the British Museum (printed in 1904), and I am also much indebted for several valuable suggestions to Dr. Head and Mr. G. F. Hill.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED 1887-1903.

Year.	Gold and Electrum.	Silver.	Bronze, &c.	Total.
1887	8	58	119	175
1888	10	217	228	455
1889	12	65	370	347
1890	5	102	79	177
1891	16	280	73	369
1892	10	90	348	457
1893	4	118	281	403
1894	31	104	453	648
1895	20	178	470	677
1896	54	428	170	652
1897	29	313	503	836
1898	3	222	690	924
1899	1	112	572	685
1900	1	316	604	915
1901	38	411	626	1,069
1902	6	202	333	543
1903	—	88	463	551
Total. . .	239	3,367	6,078	9,684

GRAXA (CALABRIA).

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus r., laur.

Rev.—Two eagles r., on palmen. Behind, ☉; in front, star; border of dots.

Æ. Quadrans. Size 6. Rough style, second or first century B.C. [Pl. XV. 1.]

The coins usually attributed to "Graxa"⁴ were described in the British Museum Catalogue *Italy* under "Uncertain" of Calabria (p. 221). This piece, together with two others,⁵ was presented by Sir H. H. Howorth. An accurate descriptive list of all the known coins of this town would be useful.

THURIUM (LUCANIA).

2. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r., wearing crested Athenian helmet adorned with olive-wreath.

Rev.—ΘΥΡΙΑΝ. Bull butting r., r. fore-foot raised; in ex., fish r.; beneath bull's body, ☉; circular incuse.

Æ. Size 8. Wt. 118.7 grs. [Pl. XV. 2.]
Presented by Sir H. H. Howorth.

HIPPONIU (BRUTII).

3. *Obv.*—Young head r.; hair flowing, bound with taenia and tied behind; border of dots.

⁴ Garrucci, p. 119; cp. L. Sambon, *Mém. d'Italie*, p. 229; Friedländer, *Repertorium*, p. 90.

⁵ (i) As Garrucci, pl. 26, no. 1 in bronze (Garrucci "Ar."); similar to B. M. C., *Italy*, p. 223, no. 13. (ii) As Garrucci, pl. 26, no. 8.

Rev.—ΕΙΡΩΝΙΕΩΝ ΠΑΝΔΙΝΑ Pandina in chiton standing l.; l. holds sceptre; r. raised, holding [wreath or caduceus].⁶

Æ. Size .65. Cp. Garrucci, pl. 116, no. 19.
Presented by Sir H. H. Howorth. [Pl. XV. 3.]

4. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair long; behind, amphora; border of dots.

Rev.—(No. inscr.) Pandina standing as on no. 3.

Æ. Size .65. Cp. B. M. C., *Italy*, p. 359.
Presented by Sir H. H. Howorth. [Pl. XV. 4, *obv.*]

No. 3 is a good deal rarer than no. 4. At first sight the obverses of both seem to represent Apollo, but the peculiar variations of no. 3 suggest that a female head is intended—either Persephone, an important divinity of Hipponium, or Pandina, who has, by some writers, been thought to be identical with Persephone. The head, however, differs from the head (with hair rolled) labelled ΠΑΝΔΙΝΑ on bronze coins of Terina.⁷

PANTICAPÆUM.

5. *Obv.*—Young head r. (Apollo), wearing wreath with pendent tie.

Rev.—ΠΑΝΤΙΚΙΑ ΠΑΙΤΩΝ Quiver with strap, and bow.

Æ. Size .8. Similar to Burachkov, pl. xxi. no. 132. [Pl. XVI. 1.]

The head is presumably Apollo, like the head on other coins with the same reverse type and inscriptions, but the treatment is rather unusual. The hair would seem to be plaited over the forehead and behind, and the face

⁶ Cp. Inhoff, *Mün. gr.*, p. 38.

⁷ Garrucci, pl. 117, no. 23.

appears to bear some resemblance to Mithradates Eupator, to whose period, no doubt, the coin belongs. The Herakles on the Alexandrine tetradrachms of Odessus* and the Dionysos-head on bronze money of Amisus show similar traces of assimilation to the features of the great Pontic ruler.

ISTRUS (MOESIA INFERIOR).

6. *Obv.*—Two youthful heads side by side; the head on the right inverted.

Rev.—ΙΣΤΡΗ Sea-eagle l., attacking dolphin l.; beneath, ϵ .

R. Size .45. Wt. 17 grs. [PL. XV. 5.]
Op. no. 443, in Pick's *Corpus* (Dacia, etc.).

In his introduction to the coinage of Istrus, Dr. Pick (*op. cit.*, p. 149) is inclined, and no doubt quite rightly, to reject the common interpretation of the obverse type as the Dioskuri. He makes the interesting suggestion that two wind-gods are represented, or, rather, one wind-god with double head.

In the British Museum *Return* for 1904, Dr. Head makes a different suggestion, which also seems very probable, namely, that these heads are those "of the rising and setting sun." The treatment of the hair is peculiar, but it bears a striking resemblance to that of Helios, as represented on the well-known gold stater of Rhodes (B. M. C., *Caria*, pl. xxxvi. 5). Apollo is known to have been an important divinity at Istrus, and Apolline types often occur, as also a radiate head of Helios (Pick, pl. ii. 25, p. 151).

* B. M. C., *Fonlar*, p. xxvii.

PERINTHUS (THRACE).

7. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤΚΑΙΤΑΙΑΙΑΔΡΙΑ ΝΟCΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC Bust of Antoninus Pius r., wearing paludamentum and cuirass; head bare.

Rev.—ΗΓΕ (αρχηγος) ΙΟΥΚΟΜΜΟ ΔΟΥΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ Athena standing r.; wears helmet, chiton, and peplos; in r., spear; l. rests on shield.

Æ. Size 1.3. Dark green patina. [Pl. XVI 2, rev.]

The legatus of Thrace, whose name is also recorded on other Thracian coins (Hadrianopolis, Topirus, etc.) of the time of Antoninus Pius, is C. Julius Commodus Orfitianus.⁹ Athena occurs on a coin of Gordian III. struck at Perinthus (Brit. Mus.).

TOPIRUS (THRACE).

8. *Obv.*—ΟΥΗΡΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ Head of M. Aurelius r.; beardless and bare.

Rev.—ΤΟΝΕΙΡΕΙΩΝ River-god (Neosus) reclining l.; wears himation over lower limbs; in r. basket (of fruit or flowers); l. resting on urn from which water flows, holds water-pot.

Æ. Size 7. Light green patina. [Pl. XVI 4.]

RHOEMETALCES I. (THRACE).

B.C. 11–A.D. 12.

9. *Obv.*—ΚΑΙCΑΡΟC ΞΕΒ ΑΞΤΟV Heads of Augustus and Livia r., jugate; Augustus wears laurel-wreath, Livia¹⁰ drapery on neck. In front, capricorn r., holding globe.

⁹ Dessau, *Prosopographia*, II. p. 155; p. 187.

¹⁰ Van Sallet (*Beschreibung*, I. p. 332) considers that on some specimens Livia is represented, and not Livia. It should be noted that the two heads on the *obv.* are hardly to be distinguished by their features—from the two heads on the *rev.*, probably owing to the unskilfulness of the artist.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΡΩΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ Heads of Rhoemetalees I. and his wife r., jugate. The king wears diadem, the queen drapery on neck. In front, small head, youthful, r. On the neck of the king, countermark ΡΑ (as on B. M. C., *Thrace*, p. 208, no. 1).

Æ. Size 1·15. [Pl. XVI. 5.]

The addition of the small head on the *rev.* constitutes a rare variety of these coins. A coin in the Hunter collection (Macdonald, i. p. 437, no. 5) shows a small head in front of Rhoemetalees (the queen does not appear), which is apparently that of a young man or a boy. Mr. Macdonald describes it as probably representing the son of Rhoemetalees.

The small head on our coin might, perhaps—judging from the treatment of the hair—be *feminine*; though it is, no doubt, more probable that the son of Rhoemetalees would be represented. The nose is distinctly aquiline.

DELPHI.

10. *Obv.*—Bam's head l.; truncation dotted.

Rev.—Circular object within circle of pellets; circular incuse.

Æ. Size .3. Wt. 6·6 gra. [Pl. XV. 6.]

11. *Obv.*—Male head l. (bearded?); wears helmet with spike.¹¹

Rev.—Pellet within circle of smaller pellets; incuse square.

Æ. Size .25. Wt. 4·2 gra. [Pl. XV. 7.]

¹¹ It has something of the appearance of the pointed head-dress worn by archers.

No. 10 is similar to a specimen at Berlin (Svoronos, "Coins of Delphi,"¹² no. 2). No. 11 is, I believe, unpublished.

Three explanations have been given of the reverse type—all of them plausible, though none can be said to be quite free from doubt. (i.) The most probable interpretation, as it seems to me, is that suggested by Mr. Head (*Cat. Central Greece*, p. xxxiii.), according to which the type—"a circle with a point in the centre"—is symbolical of the *ομφαλὸς γῆς*, or middle point of the circle of the earth. It is well known that in antiquity Delphi was regarded as the centre of the world. If the representation is fantastic, it at any rate corresponds to a fantastic belief. But is there any parallel instance on the monuments of such a representation of the earth, or of Delphi regarded as the centre of the earth?

(ii.) The very similar explanation given by Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner¹³ is that the object within the circle is the Delphic omphalos, which was the precise spot at Delphi where the centre of the earth was to be found. Here it may be objected that the real Delphic omphalos, with its two eagles, was of a very different form—as we know from several extant monuments, and from the coins of Delphi itself.¹⁴

(iii.) Svoronos (*op. cit.* no. 1) explains the type as a *φαῖα μασόμφαλος*.¹⁵ Most of the reverses figured by him (pl. xxv. and pl. xxvii., no. 1) show a plain circle surrounding a pellet or "boss," and these certainly bear

¹² *Bull. corr. hell.*, 1896.

¹³ *Comm. on Paue*, p. 121.

¹⁴ On the Delphic omphalos, see Miss J. E. Harrison in *J. H. S.*, xix. p. 225, and *ref. there*. Cp. *J. H. S.*, ix. p. 295 f. (Middleton), and Pausanias in Pauly-Wissowa, "Delphoi," p. 2529.

¹⁵ He makes an alternative suggestion that it is a large ε.

much resemblance to a *phiale*. On the other hand, the circle of detached dots or pellets that is shown on our two coins hardly seems appropriate for the representation of a *phiale*. It may also, perhaps, be doubted whether such a common cultus-object would figure so conspicuously as a Delphic coin type.¹⁵

The head on no. 11 is unfortunately somewhat injured. It seems to be distinct from the well-known negro head on Delphian coins which is now usually called Delphos, chiefly because Delphos was the son of Kelaino or Melaina, the "Black." If this name had not been appropriated, the name of Delphos might have been applied to the head on our coin.

EUBOEIA (ΕΒΕΡΙΑ).

12. *Obv.*—Head of nymph r., hair rolled.

Rev.—ΕΥΒΟΙΑ Bull or cow standing r.

R. Size .95. Wt. 254 grs. [PL. XV. 8.]

This rare coin (B.C. 411-387) is already known from the Photiades specimen now in the Berlin Museum (Dressel, *Z. f. N.*, xxi. p. 215, pl. v. 3). The fine and delicate treatment of the obverse is particularly noticeable on the example here published.

The coin with similar types acquired by the British Museum in 1901 and published *Num. Chron.* 1902, p. 321, is of somewhat coarser work as regards the obverse.

HISTIAEA (ΕΙΣΤΙΑΙΑ).

13. *Obv.*—Head of Maenad r.; countermark, Gorgoneion.

Rev.—ΕΙΣΤΙΑΙΑ Histiaea seated r. on stern of galley, holding trophy-stand.

R. Size .6. Wt. 28.5 grs. [PL. XVI. 3, *obs.*]

¹⁵ It usually occurs on coins with the tripod as obverse.

A tetradrachm of Histiaea with the same countermark on the obverse is in the French Collection, and was found in Crete.¹⁷ The Gorgonion is an early type of Praesus, but the type does not occur at any Cretan city during the second century B.C.,¹⁸ the period to which these common tetradrachms belong. The head bears some resemblance to the Helios on the late coins of Rhodes, but not sufficiently close to warrant the supposition that it is a Rhodian countermark.

AEGAE (ACHAIA).

14. *Obv.*—Head of goat l.

Rev.— . . . I OM Head of Dionysos r., with pointed beard; wears ivy-wreath; incuse square.

R. Size 4. Wt. 11.6 grs. Early fifth century B.C. [Pl. XV. 9.]

This is a variety of the coins of Aegae that are described in Head's *Historia*, p. 347. The usual obverse is the fore-part of the goat. The obol is a scarce denomination.

The attribution of coins to Aegae is due to Friedländer (*Z. f. N.*, v. p. 5), and has been generally accepted. It is rather curious that Poseidon, the chief god of Aegae, never appears on its coins, the divinity represented being always Dionysos, who is otherwise unknown here.

ELIS.

15. *Obv.*—Eagle flying l., holding in beak serpent, which twines round his body; in field l., lion's head in circular countermark; on eagle's upper wing, circular incuse quartered (as countermark).

¹⁷ Published in *Rev. Num.*, 1892, p. 459, by J. De Foville.

¹⁸ Svoronos, *Num. de Crète*, p. 232, nos. 11 and 12, with *obv.* Gorgonion, are of Aspendus in Pamphylia (Imhof-Schlumberger, *Kleinw. M.*, II, p. 318).

Rev.—F A Fulmen with curled wings at one end and volutes at the other; whole in circular incuse.
Æl. Size .75. Wt. 84.4 gra. [Pl. XV. 10.]

Like the early coins (before *n.c.* 471) described in *B. M. Cat., Pelop.*, p. 58, and Gardner, *Num. Chron.* ("Ellis"), 1879, p. 234, where the didrachm, hemidrachm, and obol, are described. The present denomination is the drachm.

EPIDAUROS.

16. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo L; hair short, bound with laurel-wreath.

Rev.—E within laurel-wreath.
Æl. Size .5. [Pl. XV. 12.]

A coin of pretty style of the fourth century (*circa* *B.C.* 350-323), much resembling the already published silver coins of similar types.¹⁹ Apollo at Epidaurus had the name of Μαλίσαρς, and was closely associated with the worship of Asklepios.²⁰

MILETOPOLIS (MYSIA).

17. *Obv.*—Bust of Athena facing; wears crested helmet.

Rev.—ΜΙΛ ΗΤΟ Owl standing L, turned towards front.
Æl. Size .7. Thick fabric; grayish-green patina. [Pl. XV. 15.]

18. *Obv.*—ΑΥΚΜΑΝΤΤΟΡΑΙΑΝΟΟ Bust of Gordian III. r., laurel, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—ΜΕΛΙΑΗΤΟ ΠΟΛΑΙΤΟΝ Bust of Athena r., wearing helmet and aegis.
Æl. Size .8. Presented by Mr. F. W. Hasluck.

¹⁹ Gardner, *B. M. C., Peloponneseum*, p. 156, nos. 3-5.

²⁰ Cayrolles, *Fouilles d'Epidaur*, t. p. 114.

No. 17 is unpublished, and was procured by Mr. E. S. Forster at *Abuliond* (Apollonia ad Rhyndacum, Mysia). It is earlier and of better style than the coins of Miletopolis already known,²¹ and its date may be about 400 B.C. or rather later. With the types compare the coins of Sigeum in the Troad, which often bear a curious resemblance to those of Miletopolis.

PERGAMUM (MYRIA).

19. *Obv.*—Female head r. (Aphrodite?), in sphendone; beneath, letter or symbol!

Rev.—Boar's head r.; above, symbol (ἄγκυρα?);²² beneath, triaklis of crescents and ΠΕΡΓ; whole in circular incuse.

Æ. (bright brass). Size .35. [Pl. XV. 13.]

A similar specimen has been published by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in his *Kleinaz. Münzen*, I. p. 31, no. 2 (cp. no. 1).

The head on the *obv.* much resembles the female heads—perhaps heads of Aphrodite—found on Lesbian hecetae, B.C. 440-350 (B. M. C., *Troas*, &c., pl. xxxiii. 5-7; 17), and on a fourth-century coin of Pyrrha in Lesbos (B. M. C., pl. xliii. 5). The date of the coin is probably *circa* B.C. 400. The curious object above the boar's head is described by Imhoof-Blumer, though with due caution, as a sling. It cannot be said, however, that this object much resembles the sling, at any rate as we know it from the coins of Aspendus.²³ Moreover, if there is any connection between this symbol and

²¹ B. M. C., *Mysia*, p. 91 (where no. 5 is of Sigeum. Cp. B. M. C., *Troas*, p. 87, no. 18); Babylon, *Invent. Waddington*; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinaz. M.*, I. p. 28 f.

²² On another specimen (acquired by the Brit. Mus. in 1893) the symbol has nearly the form Λ.

²³ III. B. M. C., *Lyca*, &c., pl. xxii. 1, 2, 3.

the boar's head, it seems unlikely that a sling would be represented. Slings were used with effect against the wild birds of the marshes, but would have been useless in a boar-hunt.

Dr. Head has suggested to me that a hunting-net may be intended. If this is the case, we may suppose the symbol to be the *ἀρκυς* (Latin, *cassis*),²¹ a net made with a purse or pouch into which the hunted animal was chased by the dogs, or into which, when masked by branches of trees, it rushed unawares. The *ἀρκυς* was chiefly employed in hare-hunting, and is elaborately described by Xenophon (*Cynegeticus*), who was an enthusiast in this somewhat unadventurous form of sport. But when strengthened and modified, the *ἀρκυς* was also available for wild boars, and would even accommodate a lion or a bear.

A *phiale* in the British Museum figured by Löschcke (*Arch. Zeitung*, 1881 [xxxix.] pl. v. 1, p. 33)²² shows a hare being chased into the *ἀρκυς*, the form of which is not unlike the symbol on our coin, though it must be admitted that on the coins—possibly on account of imperfect preservation—the meshes of the net are not discernible.

PROCONNESUS (ISLAND IN THE PROPONTIS).

20. Obv.—Female head i. (Aphrodite), wearing necklace and pendent earring (apparently shaped like a pear). The hair is arranged in a chignon, and entirely covered with a tight-fitting coif, except that locks of hair appear above the forehead and a tress escapes above the ear. The coif is fastened on by a cord.

²¹ See Olck in *Pauly-Wissowa*, art. "Cassis."

²² Walters, B. M. C., *Fases*, II. B. 678. Halnauh, *Repertoire des mon.*, I, p. 431.

Rev.—ΠΡΟ ΚΟΝ Oinochoe l.

Æ. Size 5. Wt. 38.8 grs. [Pl. XV. 14.]

The severe and simple treatment of the head—faintly reminiscent of the archaic—is admirable. The coin is evidently older than any of the pieces of Proconnesus described in B. M. C., *Mysia*, p. 178 f.,²⁶ and assigned to B.C. 330-280. Its date may be B.C. 400, or earlier.

COLOPHON (IONIA).

21. *Obv.*—ΠΟΤΕ ΓΕΤΑΚ Bust of Geta r. in paludamentum and cuirass; head bare.

Rev.—ΚΟΛΟ Φ ΩΝΙΩΝ Ram walking r.

Æ. Size 7. [Pl. XVI. 6, rev.]

Procured at *Panderma* (near Cyzicus) by Mr. F. W. Hasluck, and kindly presented by him. The reverse type occurs also under Gordian III (B. M. C., *Ionia*, p. 43, no. 52).

EPHESUS (IONIA).

22. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ · Κ · Μ · ΑΥΡ · ΑΝ ΤΙΝΕΙΝΟC Bust of Elagabalus r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—Table, on which two prize crowns (or urns).

ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ

Above urns, large Α; beneath table, ΔΝΕΩΚ ;
ΟΡΩΝ

front of table inscribed ΟΙΚΟΝΜΕΝΙΚΑ. Urn on l. inscribed ΕΦΕCΙΑ; urn on r. inscribed ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ.

Æ. Size 1-1. [Pl. XVI. 7, rev.]

²⁶ It most nearly resembles no. 3 of Proconnesus in B. M. C., *Mysia* (rev. Oinochoe), a coin which I should now place earlier than nos. 1 and 2 in B. M. C. (rev. Stag). For some other coins of Proconnesus, see Imhoof, *Moss. gr.*, p. 253.

A similar reverse type occurs on a coin of Julia Paula in the British Museum.²⁷

A is no doubt for ΠΡΩΤΩΝ.²⁸ On a coin of J. Paula, published by Loebbecke (*Z. f. N.* xii. 317) from his own collection, a ΠΑCΩΝ (sc. πόλεων?) occurs.

The usual title on the coins of Elagabalus is ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑCΙΑC. In the lapidary inscriptions of Imperial times the usual formula of Ephesian decrees is: Τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας Ἐφιαίων πόλεως ἢ βουλῆ.²⁹

ERYTHRAE (IONIA).

23. *Obv.*—Head of young Herakles r., in lion's skin.

Rev.—ΑΡΕΑΛΙΑΣ Bow in case, and club; beneath,
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΕΡΥ and symbol.

E. Dark green patina. Size 9. [Pl. XVI. 8.]

Of the period B.C. 300–200, when coins of large module are rare. This specimen is identical with no. 102 in the B. M. C., *Ionia*, where, owing to obliterations caused by two countermarks, the name was read as ΑΓΓΡΙΓΓΙΑΣ.

The name ΑΡΕΑΛΙΑΣ is on our coin quite plain. A magistrate ΑΡΕΑΛΑΣ occurs on fourth-century coins of Erythrae.³⁰

SAMOS.

24. *Obv.*—ΑΥΝΕΠΤΡΑΙΑΝΟCΚΑΙCΕΒΓΕΡΔΑΚΙΚΟC Head of Trajan r., laur.

²⁷ B. M. C., *Ionia*, p. 92.

²⁸ As on the coins of Alexander and Tarsus, Α - Κ = κρήνη, καλλιπής.

²⁹ Hicks, *Brit. Mus. Inscr., Ephesus*, no. DXLI.; no. DCVI., &c.

³⁰ B. M. C., pp. 122, 123.

Rev.—CAMI QN Galley L, with rowers; on centre of deck Trajan standing to front, looking l.; wears laurel-wreath, paludamentum and cuirass; in r., patera; in l., sceptre. Cp. *Mion.*, III. p. 284, no. 174.

Æ. Size 1·25. [Pl. XVI. 9, *rev.*]

A variation of the type appears later on under Philip I. (*Gardner, Samos*, p. 86, no. 34).

TABAE (CARIA).

25. *Obv.*—AVT XAI M AYPHAI ANTONINOC Head of M. Aurelius r., laur., with pointed beard.

Rev.—TA BH NQN Front of tetrastyle temple, with pediment and arch, beneath which Artemis stands r. She wears Phrygian cap, short chiton and endromides; in l. bow; r. draws arrow from quiver at back.

Æ. Size 1·45. [Pl. XVI. 10, *rev.*]

Similar to Imboof, *KL M.*, p. 160, no. 16. The *obv.* is from the same die as B. M. C., "Tabae," no. 81, *rev.* Artemis and Mén. On coins of Severus Alexander and Gallienus the temple is hexastyle.

COS AND MILETUS.

26. *Obv.*—AV[TKAICAP(1)]ΔPI ANOCANTONINOC Bust of Antoninus Pius r., laur.; draped.

Rev.—ΚΩΙΩΝ ΜΕΙΑΗΓΙΩΝ Asklepios (on l.) and Apollo Διόσκουρ (on r.), standing to front with heads towards one another. Asklepios wears himation and holds serpent-staff in r. Apollo is naked; his hair long, legs close together; anatomy of body formally indicated; holds in r., stag; in l., bow.

Æ. Size 1·35. [Pl. XVI. 12, *rev.*]

Cos is represented by Asklepios (as also on an alliance coin with Halicarnassus). The Coan coins of the first

century B.C. show the Asklepiæan serpent-staff as their type, and this object appears to have been the official badge of the island as it figures on an inscription giving a list of the officers and crew of a trireme of Cos.²²

Miletus is represented by its Apollo of Branchidae. The relation of this figure on coins and other monuments to the statue of Apollo Phileios by Canachus has often been discussed.²³ Some good examples of the Apollo occur at Alexandria in Egypt: see Dattari, *Num. Augg. Alex.*, pl. ix. (especially no. 2137, which much resembles the present specimen); also *Num. Chron.*, 1897, p. 117.

ANTIOCHIA AD SARUM (CILICIA).

27. *Obv.*—Female head (Demeter?) *r.*, wearing stephane and veil; border of dots.

Rev.—ANTIOXEQNTQNΠPOCTΩIEAPQI Horse (running) *l.*; oblong countermark, quiver (*l.*).

Æ. Size 5. [PL. XVI. 13.] Cp. the specimen published by V. Langlois in *Rev. Num.*, 1854, p. 11, no. 7, countermark, "ancre."

The coins of Antioch, the name by which the town of Adana on the river Sarus appears to have been known in the reign of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, B.C. 175-164, are rare and of two types only.²⁴ The veiled head of our *obv.* appears on the earliest coins that bear the name of Adana.²⁵ A coin of Adana with types similar to our

²² Kuhnke, *Osterr. Jahrb.*, 1, p. 32.

²³ Cp. Haussoullier, *Études sur l'hist. de Milet*, p. xxiii., &c., and *ref.* in Walters, B. M. C., *Bronzes*, No. 209.

²⁴ Namely, the present type, and *obv.* head of Antiochus IV. *rev.* Zeus seated: see Babut, *Revue de Syr.*, p. ci., cii.; p. 77; Hill, B. M. C., *Lycaonia*, &c., p. xxviii.

²⁵ B. M. C., *Lycaonia*, p. 13, no. 1, &c.; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinw. M.*, p. 122.

no. 27 was assigned in B. M. C., *Lycania*, 'Adana,' p. 17, no. 12,²⁶ to "early Imperial times," but a comparison with the new coin renders it almost certain that it must have been struck *circa* B.C. 164, i.e. soon after the change of name from Antioch to Adana.

ADIOCAESAREA (CILICIA).

28. *Obv.*—MIOYAIOC ΦΙΑΠΠOC KCES Bust of Philip, jun., r., wearing paludamentum and cuirass; head bare.

Rev.—ΑΔΡΙΑΔΙΟΚΑΙΟΚΑΡΕΩΝΜΗΤΚΕΝ ΑΤΩΝ Throne, on seat of which winged thunderbolt; each arm of the throne is decorated with a standing lion, looking outwards.

Æ. Size 1-2. [PL XVI 11, rev.]

The Zeus worshipped at Diocaesarea was named *Ολβιος or (on the coins) ΟΛΒΟC, and was apparently identical with the Zeus of Olba.²⁷ At both cities the thunderbolt occurs as a type, and at Olba we find a throne represented,²⁸ but left vacant, as if the seat of an invisible divinity. At Diocaesarea the thunderbolt is placed in the throne, just as on the coins of Aenus (B.C. 400-350) the Term of Hermes, the chief deity of the place, is set upon the seat of a throne.²⁹

Our type (already used under Julia Domna, B. M. C., *Lyc.*, no. 9) finds an almost exact parallel in the representation of the fulmen of Zeus Kerannios on the coins of Selencia Pieria in Syria.³⁰ There we see a thunder-

²⁶ Cp. the similar coin of Antioch published by Langlois, *Rev. Num.* 1854, p. 11, no. 8; pl. I. B.

²⁷ Cp. Hill, B. M. C., *Lycania*, p. iv. f.; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinest. M.*, p. 438 f.

²⁸ B. M. C., *Lycania*, p. 119, no. 1.

²⁹ B. M. C., *Thrace*, "Aenus," no. 1 and no. 23.

³⁰ Wroth, B. M. C., *Galat.*, p. lxxii. f.

bolt resting on a cushion and placed on a rudimentary throne or stool. It is tied with the sacred *στρίμμα*, and there can be no question that it was a cultus object. For the devotion of the people of Seleucia to the thunderbolt a somewhat fanciful reason is assigned by Appian (*Syr.*, 58), who, however, adds an interesting testimony as to its worship by the citizens in his own day: *θρησκύουσιν καὶ ἱεροῦσιν καὶ νῦν κερανόν*,

KOINON OF GALATIA.

29. *Obv.*—[ΝΕΡΩΝ]ΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ Head of Nero I., laur.; border of dots.

Rev.—ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΓΑΛΑΤΩΝ Tetrastyle temple on steps; in pediment, shield; three akroteria, the central one an ornament resembling a caduceus; border of dots.

Æ. Size .95. [Pl. XVI. 14.] Cp. Mionnet, iv. p. 374.

ALEXANDER I. BALA, KING OF SYRIA,
AND HIS WIFE CLEOPATRA THEA, *cir.* B.C. 150.

30. *Obv.*—Bust of Cleopatra Thea, and head of Alexander I. to r., jugate; each wearing diadem. Cleopatra wears kalathos, veil, drapery, earring, and necklace; behind her, cornucopias; in field l., Δ; [head and reel border].

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
[Θ]ΕΟΓΑΤΟΡΟΣ
[Ε]ΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ Zeus wearing himation over lower limbs, seated l. on throne (anatomy exaggerated); l. hand rests on sceptre; r. hand supports Nike in chiton standing to front holding thunderbolt.

Æ. Wt. 230.8 grs. Size 1.2. [Pl. XV. 11.]

The only other known specimen of this remarkable coin is that in the *Breta*, published by Imhoof-Blumer

in his *Monnaies grecques*, p. 433 f. no. 102 = Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. cxxx. Our coin is similar, but from different dies. The obverse die of the Brera piece has slightly shifted so that the portraits are somewhat less faithfully reproduced than on the present specimen.

Cleopatra Thea was the daughter of Ptolemy VI. Philometor, whose policy it temporarily suited to support the upstart Alexander. Ptolemy himself conducted his daughter to Ptolemais, where the marriage with Alexander took place in B.C. 150 with great attendant pomp. This coin was doubtless struck in commemoration not long afterwards. The use of the Attic instead of the Phoenician (or Ptolemaic) standard negatives the supposition that the coin was struck at Ptolemais, and it can hardly be questioned that the mint-place was the Syrian Seleucia, indicated by the thunderbolt borne by the Nike of the reverse.⁴⁰ A small bronze coinage with the two regal heads was also issued, but of inferior work and with the name of Alexander only.⁴¹

The portraits on the tetradrachm are of quite delicate work for the period,⁴² and somehow recall the fine jugate busts of "Pelops and Hippodamia" (?) in the British Museum,⁴³ though more than two centuries separate the two monuments. They are greatly superior in pose and treatment to the heavy jugate busts on Ptolemaic coins, and it will be noticed that the queen has the place of

⁴⁰ This has been well shown by Babelon, *Rois de Syr.*, p. cxxxix.

⁴¹ Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Gardner, B. M. C., *Seleucia*, pl. xvii. 6.

⁴² The hair on the crown of the queen's head is rather carelessly worked; not so, however, the wavy hair on the forehead. The reverse is clearly by a different hand.

⁴³ A. H. Smith, B. M. C., *Sculpture*, no. 555.

honour in front of the coin.⁴⁴ Alexander is the handsome youth of twenty-three,⁴⁵ much as he appears on his ordinary coinage. Cleopatra is evidently a portrait, plain, but not unpleasing of feature, and full of life and shrewdness. A modern historian⁴⁶ calls her "one of the most impudent women produced by the Ptolemy line." Her matrimonial experience did not end with Bala, for she became the wife of two other kings of Syria—Demetrius II. and Antiochus VII. Sidetes. It is very interesting to compare this portrait of the queen with her head as it appears on Seleucid coins about twenty-five years later.⁴⁷

On the present coin the cornucopiae doubtless indicates the Egyptian princess (cp. the cornucopiae of Ptolemaic coins), and the kalathos and veil suggest an assimilation with Demeter.⁴⁸

It has been suggested⁴⁹ that the celebrated Gonzaga cameo in the Hermitage (Furtwaengler, *Ant. Gemm.*, pl. 53, 2) represents Alexander Bala and his queen. This identification is certainly an improvement upon the older attribution to Ptolemy II. and Arsinoë. The male head of the cameo is not without resemblance to Alexander Bala (especially as shown with a whisker on most of his

⁴⁴ This has been pointed out by Dr. Heud. Cleopatra afterwards occupies the same position with reference to her son, Antiochus VIII. Grypus: see *infra*.

⁴⁵ Cp. Bevan, *House of Seleucia*, II. p. 212.

⁴⁶ Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, iv. p. 417; cp. Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. ciii.

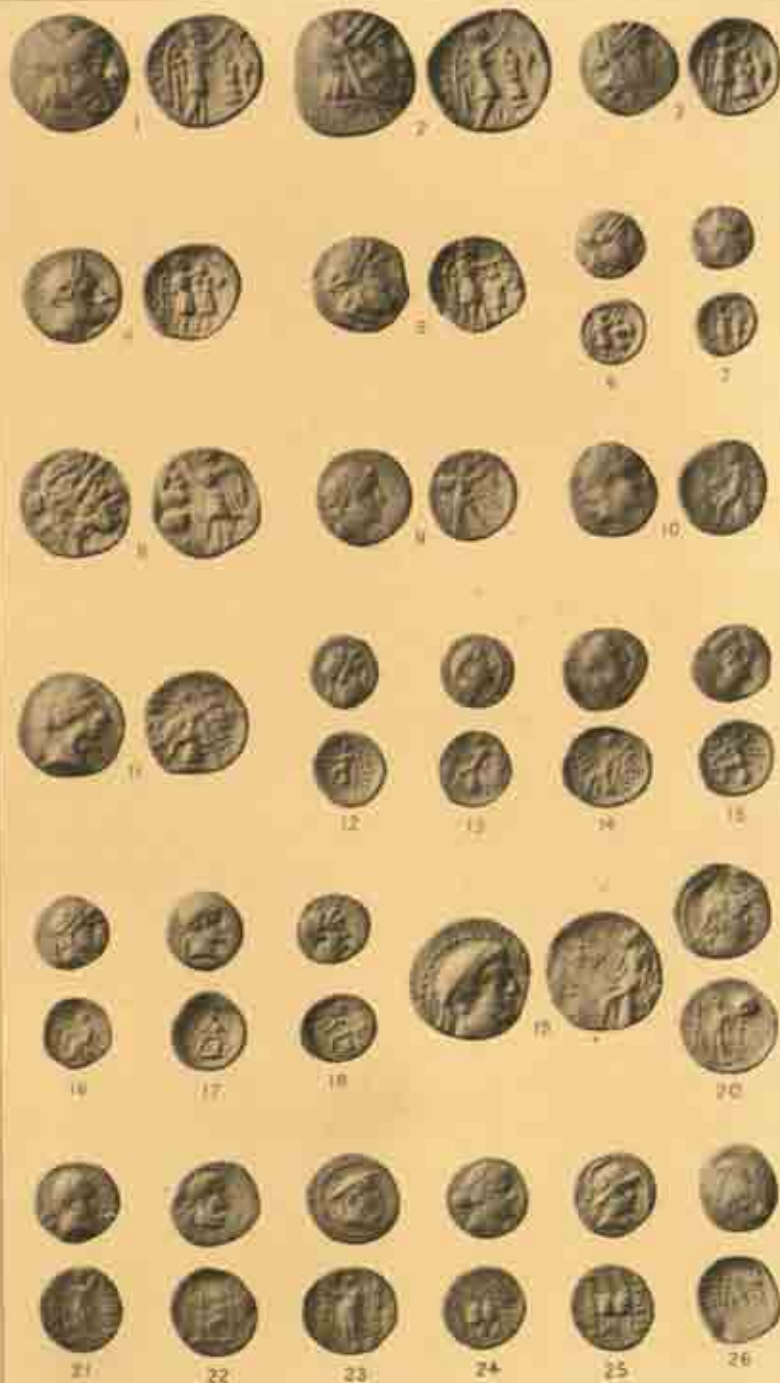
⁴⁷ (i) On the tetradrachm which Cleopatra Thes struck in her own name (n.c. 125): B. M. C., *Seleuc.*, p. 85; pl. xxiii. 1; Bevan, *op. cit.*, pl. iv. 1. (ii) On the coins struck jointly by Cleopatra Thes. and her son Antiochus VIII. Grypus: B. M. C., *Seleuc.*, p. 85 f.; Bevan, pl. iv. 2.

⁴⁸ Cp. the inscription ΘΕΑΣ ΕΥΕΘΡΙΑΣ on Cleopatra's later tetradrachms, B. M. C., *Seleuc.*, p. 85.

⁴⁹ By Dr. Jan Six; cp. Babelon, *Cat. Camees antiq.*, p. xiii.

coins), but I cannot myself find any resemblance between the female head and the Cleopatra of our coin. Furtwaengler (p. 251 *f.*) is of opinion that Alexander the Great and Olympias are represented both on this cameo and on the similar monument at Vienna.

WARWICK WROTH.



ANCIENT SILVER COINS FROM BALUCHISTAN.

X.

ANCIENT SILVER COINS FROM BALUCHISTAN.

(See Plate XVII.)

DURING the last two years, Mr. R. Hughes-Buller, the Superintendent of the Imperial Gazetteer of Baluchistan, which is being compiled by the Indian Government, has from time to time sent to the British Museum for examination such finds or collections of coins as he has been able to secure in Baluchistan. In this way I have had the advantage of seeing many hundreds of specimens representing a period extending from about 300 B.C. down to the present time.

The chief subject of this paper is the series of early silver coins illustrated in the plate; but, before entering on this main subject, I should like to give, as generally as possible, some account of the numismatic history of Baluchistan, and of the very various coinages which are to be found in its soil.

The term "Baluchistan" is applied generally to the region which is bounded on the north by the river Helmund, on the south by the Arabian Sea, on the east by the Persian province of Kerman, the ancient Karamania, and on the west by Sind. In accordance with the decisions of the Boundary Commission of 1870-71, the whole of the district is divided into Persian and British Baluchistan, each division including a number of native states, enjoying a greater or less degree of independence. The term "Baluchistan," as used at present, would therefore include the province which was known to the

ancients as Gedrosia and the southern portion of the province of Drangiana.

All through the twenty-four centuries for which we have occasional glimpses of the history of this part of the world (i.e. from the conquest of Darius the Great onwards), Baluchistan can scarcely be said to have possessed for any considerable period an independent political existence of its own. Its physical characteristics are such that it could never be the site of a flourishing civilization. As Lord Curzon remarks (*Persia and the Persian Question*, ii, p. 254), Gibbon's description of this region has always been true in the past, and remained practically true up to about the middle of the nineteenth century. "In the time of Alexander," says Gibbon,¹ "and probably many years afterwards, it was thinly inhabited by a savage people of *ichthyophagi*, or fishermen, who knew no arts, who acknowledged no master, and who were divided by inhospitable deserts from the rest of the world." It has been observed, too, that the accounts of Baluchistan given by the earliest British explorers, Grant and Pottinger, at the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, might almost have been borrowed from Arrian, the historian of Alexander's disastrous march through Gedrosia on the return from his Indian expedition.

We shall not expect to find, then, that Baluchistan ever possessed a distinctive coinage of its own; but we may expect to find imitative coinages of the kind with which we are familiar in the case of barbarous peoples living on the confines of civilized regions. Of such a character are the coins, derived from Seleucid or Bactrian

¹ *Ed. Smith* (1862), vol. i, p. 349, note 25.

sources, which are included in our Class B. (p. 317). So far as I know, this is the only kind of ancient coinage which may reasonably be supposed to have been made in Baluchistan itself.

But since Baluchistan lies between Persia and India, and since some of the roads which lead from the one to the other have from time immemorial passed through Baluchistan, we may expect to find also that travellers and merchants have left behind them there actual coins of the various dynasties which flourished in Persia and India. We may expect to find, moreover, specimens of the coinages which circulated in the more favoured adjacent regions to the north—the coinages of the Parthian, Indo-Parthian, Graeco-Bactrian, and Scythic powers, and of their various successors.

The coins sent by Mr. Hughes-Buller well illustrate the great diversity of these foreign coinages. The chief varieties are as follows:—

ANCIENT INDIAN: PUNCH-MARKED (*Indian Coins*,² §§ 4, 5).

In February of the present year I received from Mr. Hughes-Buller fifteen specimens of the so-called "punch-marked" coins of India. These were found in a pot by some boys near the village of Aghbarg, in the Sherani Country of the Zhob District. These punch-marked coins represent the primitive currency of India. They are little more than square or oblong weights of silver stamped with symbols, which are probably mostly those of different bankers or money-changers, who had from time to time satisfied themselves of their correctness in

² Rapson, *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Alterthumskunde*, ii. Band, II. Heft. B.

weight, or of the quality of their metal. They date from at least the fourth century B.C., and may be earlier; and they remained in circulation for different periods in different parts of India. They have been found throughout India, "from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin;" but it is new and interesting to find them in Baluchistan.

ANCIENT GREEK: MACEDONIAN, SELEUCID, AND BACTRIAN.

Among the coins sent by Mr. Hughes-Buller, I have as yet found none of Alexander the Great;² but some obols of his were sent to the British Museum for examination some years ago by another correspondent from the same part of the world. As Dr. Head has pointed out (*Historia*, p. 199), all these small silver coins of Alexander the Great appear to be of Syrian origin. It is, perhaps, possible to limit them still further to the most easterly portion of the Syrian (Seleucid) Empire in this region, for they certainly seem to have been succeeded by the Seleucid and Bactrian obols, of which examples are given in the plate.

The Seleucid and Bactrian coins, and the native imitations of these, form the chief subject of this paper, and are dealt with more fully below (pp. 317-321).

PARTHIAN AND INDO-PARTHIAN

(*Indian Coins*, §§ 61, 62).

The numbers of Parthian and Indo-Parthian coins found is, as might be expected, very considerable. It is

² An interesting ancient native imitation of the coinage of Alexander the Great occurs among the coins collected by Mr. G. P. Tate in Scistan; v. Rapson, *Jour. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 674, pl. 2.

from the comparative study of these two classes that we may hope eventually to solve some of the most perplexing problems of Indian numismatics. There must surely have been some connection between the Parthian dynasty and those which we associate with the names of Vonones (*Indian Coins*, §§ 30, 31) and Gondophares (*Ibid.*, § 61); and if this connection can be discovered from the coins, we may succeed in gaining what is so much to be desired at the present time—some fixed chronological point or points in the “Indo-Parthian,” and, consequently, also in the Indian, numismatic history of the first century before and after Christ.*

SASSANIAN AND MUHAMMADAN.

In addition to coins which represent dynasties existing between the fourth century B.C. and the second or third century A.D., the chronology of which is still obscure and full of difficulties, there have come from Baluchistan numismatic records of many later dynasties, the history of which is fairly well known. Sassanian coins (third to seventh century A.D.) are found in great numbers; after them, coins of the earliest Muhammadan conquerors and rulers from the middle of the seventh century; and then, in order, coins of the Sāmānids, Ghaznavids, Shāhs of Khwārizm, Mongols of Persia, Timūrids, and Shāhs of Persia down to the present day. Together with these

* Two numismatic facts which may prove to be of importance for the history of the Indo-Parthian dynasty result from the examination of Mr. Tabe's coins from Seistan (*op. cit.*, pp. 677, 678): (1) Parthian coins of Orodes I., B.C. 57–37, are found countermarked with the characteristic symbol of the Indo-Parthian dynasty; and (2) the similarity between the coins of the Indo-Parthian Pacorus and Orlingone and those of Ardamitra, a vassal of the Sassanian Hormud I., A.D. 271–273, makes some connection between these dynasties very probable.

representatives of all the great Muhammadan dynasties which have ruled in Persia, are found, as might naturally be expected, numerous specimens of the various coinages of Afghanistan during the last two centuries, and of the independent native powers of Baluchistan—Kelat and Balah.

MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN INDIAN.

The coins of the *Gadhiya paisa* type (*Indian Coins*, § 122 (2)), and those of the modern native Indian states of Kacch and Kathiawar, which were found in considerable numbers among the coins sent from Baluchistan, were no doubt carried thither by means of the coasting-traffic, which has from time immemorial prevailed between Western India and various ports of the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf. The occurrence of ancient Indian punch-marked coins (v. *sup.*, p. 313) in Baluchistan is, no doubt, to be explained in the same way.

The coins with which the present article deals more particularly may be divided into two classes:—

(1) Class A, actual coins of the Seleucid Kings of Syria and of the Greek Kings of Bactria, and (2) Class B, native imitations of these.

Two lots of these coins—no doubt, to be traced back to the same source—have been sent to me by Mr. Hughes-Buller. The first lot, sent in July, 1902, consisted of sixty-six coins, acquired from the neighbourhood of the Kuh-i-Taftān, (S.E. Persia), by Major H. L. Showers, C.I.E., Political Agent in Kelat; and the second lot, sent in May, 1903, consisted of nine coins purchased by a man who had accompanied Major Showers. These are said to have been found by a Dāmani tribesman in the

vicinity of the Kuh-i-Taftân. It seems probable that these two lots are parts of the same find; and, if so, it seems reasonable to suppose that the two classes of coins of which the find consisted—the Seleucid and Bactrian originals, and the native imitations—were in circulation at the same period.²

From the seventy-five coins sent, I have selected the following twenty-six, as representative of every variety included in them. The whole of this selection has now been acquired by the British Museum.

Whenever a variety has been already published, I have given, in the following list, a reference to the publication. When such a reference does not appear beneath the description of a coin, it is supposed that the particular variety represented is now published for the first time.

SELEUCID KINGS OF SYRIA.

ANTIOCHUS I., SOTER (B.C. 281–261).

(Types of Seleucus I.)

CLASS B.

1. *Obv.*—Helmeted head to r.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (l.), ANTIOXOY (r.), in barbarous characters. Victory standing to r., placing a crown on a trophy. [Pl. XVII. 1–7.]

Weight, (1) 61·5; (2) 64·8;	Size 6. Drachm.
" (3) 33·0; (4) 32·2; (5) 32·0;	" 5. Hemidrachm.
" (6) 11·2; (7) 11·2.	" 35. Obol.

[Drachm published by Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1889, p. 306, pl. xiii. 2.]

² Mr. Hughes-Buller informs me that he has heard of, but has hitherto not been able to secure, some twelve or fifteen other specimens, all probably coming from the same source. For similar coins found by Mr. Tate in Seistan, see the article in *Jour. R. A. S.* already referred to.

The reading ANTIOXOY is most distinct on no. 4. The letter A appears below, between Victory and the trophy on nos. 2 and 6, and the letter A on no. 4.

2. *Obv.*—Helmeted head to r.

Rev.—Victory, standing to l., placing a crown on a trophy.

(Pierced.) Wt. 28.1. Size 55. Hemidrachm.
[Pl. XVII. 8.]

ANTIOCHUS II., THEOS (B.C. 281-246).

(Portrait and *rev.* Type of Diodotus, King of Bactria.)

CLASS A.

Obv.—Diademed head of Diodotus to r.; border of dots.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (r.), [ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ] (l.). Zeus standing to l., hurling thunder-bolt with his r. hand, and holding aegis over his l. arm; r., Δ; [l., at foot of Zeus, eagle].

Wt. 31.3. Size 55. Hemidrachm.
[Pl. XVII. 9.]

A drachm (wt. 60.1) in the British Museum, having the same types and the same monogram, enables us to restore with certainty both the name and the eagle on the *rev.*

ANTIOCHUS III., THE GREAT (B.C. 222-187).

CLASS A.

Obv.—Diademed head to r.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (r.), ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (l.). Apollo seated to l., on omphalos, holding bow in l. and arrow in r. hand; border of dots.

Wt. 31.5. Size 55. Hemidrachm.
[Pl. XVII. 10.]

CLASS B.

Barbarous imitations of these types and inscriptions. The inscription is almost correct on no. 12, but quite unintelligible

on no. 15. On nos. 16, 17, and 18, the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ seems to occur on the l., and the ANTIOXOY on the r.

[Pl. XVII. 11-18.]

Weight, (11) 29.2. Size .55. Hemidrachm.
 (12) 10.7; (13) 8.0; (14) 7.0; (15) 8.3; (16) 8.6;
 (17) 10.5; (18) 9.4. Size from .45 to .35. Obol.

DEMETRIUS I., SOTER (B.C. 162-150).

CLASS B.

Obv.—Diademed head of Demetrius to r.; border of dots.

Rev.—[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ] (r.), [ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ] (l.). Apollo seated to l. on omphalos, holding bow in l. and arrow in r. hand.

Wt. 60.4. Size .65. Drachm.

[Pl. XVII. 19.]

KINGS OF BACTRIA.

DEMETRIUS (c. B.C. 195).

CLASS A.

Obv.—Diademed head of king to r., wearing head-dress of elephant's scalp; border of dots.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (r.), ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (l.). Herakles standing; l., R.

(Pierced.) Wt. 10.2. Size .5. Obol.

[Pl. XVII. 20.]

EUTHYDEMUS II. (c. B.C. 180).

CLASS A.

Obv.—Diademed head to r.; border of dots.

Rev.—[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ] (r.), [ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ] (l.). Herakles standing; l., mon. indistinct [probably Σ?].

Wt. 10.7. Size .4. Obol. [Pl. XVII. 21.]

There is a specimen in the British Museum (mon. R) acquired since the publication of the Catalogue (Cunningham, 88, 12-8, 101). The monogram seems to be that of a drachm, also similarly acquired (Cunningham, 88, 12-8, 99).

PANTALEON (c. B.C. 170).

CLASS A.

Obv.—Diademed head to r.; border of dots.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (r.), ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤ[ΟΣ] (l.). Zeus seated to l. on throne.

Wt. 9.2. Size 45. Obol.

[Pl. XVII. 22.]

For the types, see the tetradrachm formerly in the Cunningham Coll. and now in the British Museum, Catalogue (Supplement), p. 164, pl. xxx. 4. The obol now published seems to have no monogram.

ANTINACHUS, THEOS (c. B.C. 170).

CLASS A.

Obv.—Diademed head wearing causia to r.; border of dots.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΕΘΕΟΥ (r.), ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ (l.). Poseidon standing facing; r. Σ.

Wt. 10.7. Size 45. Obol.

[Pl. XVII. 23.]

B. M. C., p. 12, Antinachus, no. 6, pl. v. 3. The monogram appears to be new.

EUCRATIDES (c. B.C. 190).

CLASS A.

Obv.—Diademed head of king to r.; border of dots.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (r.), ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (l.). Two pilei and two palms; below, Ε.

(Pierced.) Wt. 10.4. Size 4. Obol.

[Pl. XVII. 24.]

B. M. C., p. 15, Eucratides, no. 19.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to r.; border of dots.

Rev.—Similar, but monogram ω .

Wt. 10.5. Size 4. Obol. [Pl. XVII. 25.]

B. M. C., p. 15, Eucratides, no. 28, pl. v. 11.

CLASS B.

Obv.—Copy of *obv.* type, but with head to l.

Rev.—Copy of *rev.* type, but with palms bending to r.
Inscription blundered.

(Pierced.) Wt. 6. Size 45. Obol.

[Pl. XVII 26.]

We may suppose, then, that the undoubtedly original coins of the Seleucid and Bactrian dynasties which are represented in the plate, such as nos. 9 and 20-25, found their way into Baluchistan in the course of commerce; and that the imitations represented by the other numbers were made by the barbarous tribes inhabiting this desolate region, from copies supplied by the coinages of their more civilized neighbours, just as the earliest coins of Gaul and Britain were derived from models supplied by the gold coins of Philip of Macedon and other widely circulating Greek and Roman coins.

Sir John Evans, in his great work, "The Coins of the Ancient Britons," has supplied the classical example of the manner in which a study of such imitations, viewed in relation to their prototypes, should be conducted, and has explained the general laws which govern the changes which types undergo when they pass through a number of successive stages of unintelligent copying. These laws will no doubt be found to hold good in Baluchistan, as well as in Gaul and Britain.* When many more specimens of this class have been collected and studied, it may moreover be possible, in a similar manner, to attribute the different varieties to different

* It is interesting to note that the tendency of one of the types to disappear, leaving that side of the coin "plain and convex"—a phenomenon often to be observed in Gaulish and British coins—is illustrated also by a native imitation of a coin of Alexander the Great from Seistan, *v. Jones, R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 674, pl. 2.

localities; but this can only be done if collectors in the future will follow the good example of Mr. Hughes-Buller and Mr. Tate, and keep a careful record of the precise localities in which coins are found.

At present it seems only possible to arrange these imitative coinages into two very broad divisions, which we may conveniently call (1) *Northern*, the class most recently noticed by Cunningham and Drouin;⁷ and (2) *Western*, the class to which belong the specimens here described, and others found in Seistan.

The coins represented by nos. 1-8 of the plate are derived, so far as their types are concerned, from coins of Seleucus;⁸ but they bear the name of Antiochus. So far as I know, there is no original Seleucid coin from which they could have been directly imitated; that is to say, there seems to be none which combines the *obv.* type, a helmeted head, and the *rev.* type, Victory crowning a trophy, with the name of Antiochus. Until such a prototype for these barbarous copies can be found, we must evidently not entirely exclude the idea that they are not purely imitative, but that they represent the regular coinage of some outlying district in the dominions of Antiochus, in which this particular type of the coinage of Seleucus had become well known.

In their thick lumpy fabric and in their rough workmanship these coins strikingly resemble those of the Kings of Persis, who seem to have maintained some sort of self-government, and to have continued to strike their own coins under the Parthian Empire.⁹ This resemblance

⁷ Roll, in *Indica Coins*, § 28.

⁸ V. Bahukin, *Buletin de Spéle*, pl. 1. 14, 15.

⁹ V. Mordtmann, *Zeit. f. Num.*, iv. p. 152; vi. p. 40; Drouin, *Rev. Arch.*, 1884, p. 150.

receives a very natural explanation, if, as seems probable, these rough coins bearing the name of Antiochus circulated in the provinces of Gedrosia and Karamania, the latter of which was conterminous with the province of Persis. It is therefore quite possible that these barbarous coins may supply the link which connects the coinage of the Kings of Persis with its Seleucid prototype.

It is possible also that these coins may supply some evidence which may be useful in any attempt to determine the locality of the Seleucid types from which they are copied—*Obv.* Helmeted head of Seleucus; *Rev.* Victory crowning a trophy. The fact that the coins on which these types are imitated belong undoubtedly to the eastern provinces of the Seleucid empire, would surely suggest a similar *provenance* for the originals. A comparison of these types of Seleucus with others belonging to the same period would seem also to lead us to the same conclusion.

Some connection between these coins of Seleucus and the coins of Sophytes, who at the time of Alexander's invasion of India (326 B.C.) was ruling over a district on the banks of the Acesines (Chenab), has been generally admitted; but it has been assumed that the coins of Sophytes were copied from those of Seleucus. As I have pointed out (*Indian Coins*, § 11), there is no reason for this assumption; and further examination will show, I think, that there are some cogent arguments against it.

In the first place, the coins of Sophytes cannot be separated from certain Indian coins which seem to be derived directly from the Athenian types. This class, specimens of which are published in Dr. Head's *Catalogue*

of the *Coins of Attica*,¹⁰ has scarcely attracted the attention which it deserves, supplying as it does an interesting link in the numismatic history of ancient India between the Athenian coins—which seem to have been carried in the course of commerce to the north of India, as to so many other distant regions, and to have been imitated there when the supply from the Athenian mint began to fail—and the coins struck by Sophytes in the Chenab District. On the one hand, it retains the *obv.* type of the Athenian coins—the helmeted head of Athene; while, on the other hand, it shows some independence and originality by substituting an eagle for the owl on the reverse. How very nearly related this coinage is to that of Sophytes may be seen by comparing nos. 7 and 8 of pl. i. in *Indian Coins*. The helmeted head of Athene seems to have suggested the helmeted head of Sophytes, while the workmanship of the reverse types, an eagle and a cock respectively, is very similar. We have, therefore, three stages represented: (1) *Obv.* helmeted head of Athene; *Rev.* owl (directly imitated from coins of Athens); (2) *Obv.* helmeted head of Athene; *Rev.* eagle; (3) *Obv.* helmeted head of Sophytes; *Rev.* cock.

It seems probable, moreover, that the coins of Sophytes are older than those of Seleucus; that is to say, they would seem to belong to the time of Alexander's Indian expedition (326 B.C.) rather than to the time of the Indian expedition of Seleucus against Chandragupta (306 B.C.). As Dr. Head has pointed out to me, the absence of any title on the coins of Sophytes certainly supports this view. If Sophytes had possessed sufficient independence to strike his own coins, he would probably have had no

¹⁰ Pages xxvi, xxvii, Athens, nos. 267-276, pl. vii. 3-10; v. also a specimen from Sialkot, *Jour. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 673, pl. i.

scruple in taking the title of king. The simple ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ of his coins is in accordance with the older practice of the Macedonian kings; *e.g.* ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, etc. The title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ is comparatively rare on the coins of Alexander the Great; while it is rarely absent from those of Seleucus, and never from the class (type: helmeted head) which we are discussing.

The theory that the coins of Sophytes are indebted for their obverse type to those of Seleucus is, therefore, improbable. If the two are connected at all, we must suppose either that Seleucus borrowed from Sophytes, in which case we should be justified in attributing this type to the period of his Indian expedition (306 B.C.), or that both coinages were derived from the same source—the Indian modifications of the Athenian types. In either case the evidence of the barbarous imitations of the coins of Antiochus, which undoubtedly points to an Eastern origin for this particular type of Seleucus, would receive some support.

Little remains to be said concerning the other specimens, illustrated in the plate, nos. 9-26. The latest of the Seleucid coins, no. 19, is a drachm of Demetrius I., Soter (B.C. 162-150). The Bactrian coins cannot, unfortunately, be dated with the same precision; but it may safely be said that none of them can be later than 150 B.C. It is interesting to note that in this find there does not occur a single coin of Heliocles, the successor of Eucratides, whose coins are imitated more frequently than those of any other Bactrian prince by the barbarian invaders of the North (*v. sup.* p. 322). It is, of course, quite possible that this deficiency may be supplied from future finds in the country to the west of ancient Bactria—Baluchistan or Seistan.

E. J. RAPSON.

XL

THE COINAGE OF RICHARD II.

(See Plates XVIII-XIX.)

THE reign of Richard II., although of twenty-two years duration, was marked by very few important variations in the coinage, and probably no period of equal length, up to the time of Henry VIII., can show so few changes of marked numismatic interest. At the same time, I believe that the coinage of his reign will repay a more careful study than perhaps it has received hitherto. Although no alteration in weight or type took place, it is by examination and comparison possible, I believe, to arrange in a general way, and with a fair amount of certainty, the sequence of the various issues, and I propose to attempt this after having given some little study to the matter. I have examined the coins in the National Collection, and in that of Sir John Evans, by his kind permission, and I have myself devoted some attention to the acquisition of hitherto unnoted varieties as opportunity offered.

The coins of Richard II. are, with few exceptions, rare, and, considering the length of his reign, this appears at first sight somewhat unaccountable, seeing that no diminution in weight of the current coin, as in other reigns, occurred to cause the melting down of heavier issues. The real cause, however, appears to be that very little money was actually coined, probably owing to the large amount of money of Edward III. which was still in circulation,



GOLD COINS OF RICHARD II.





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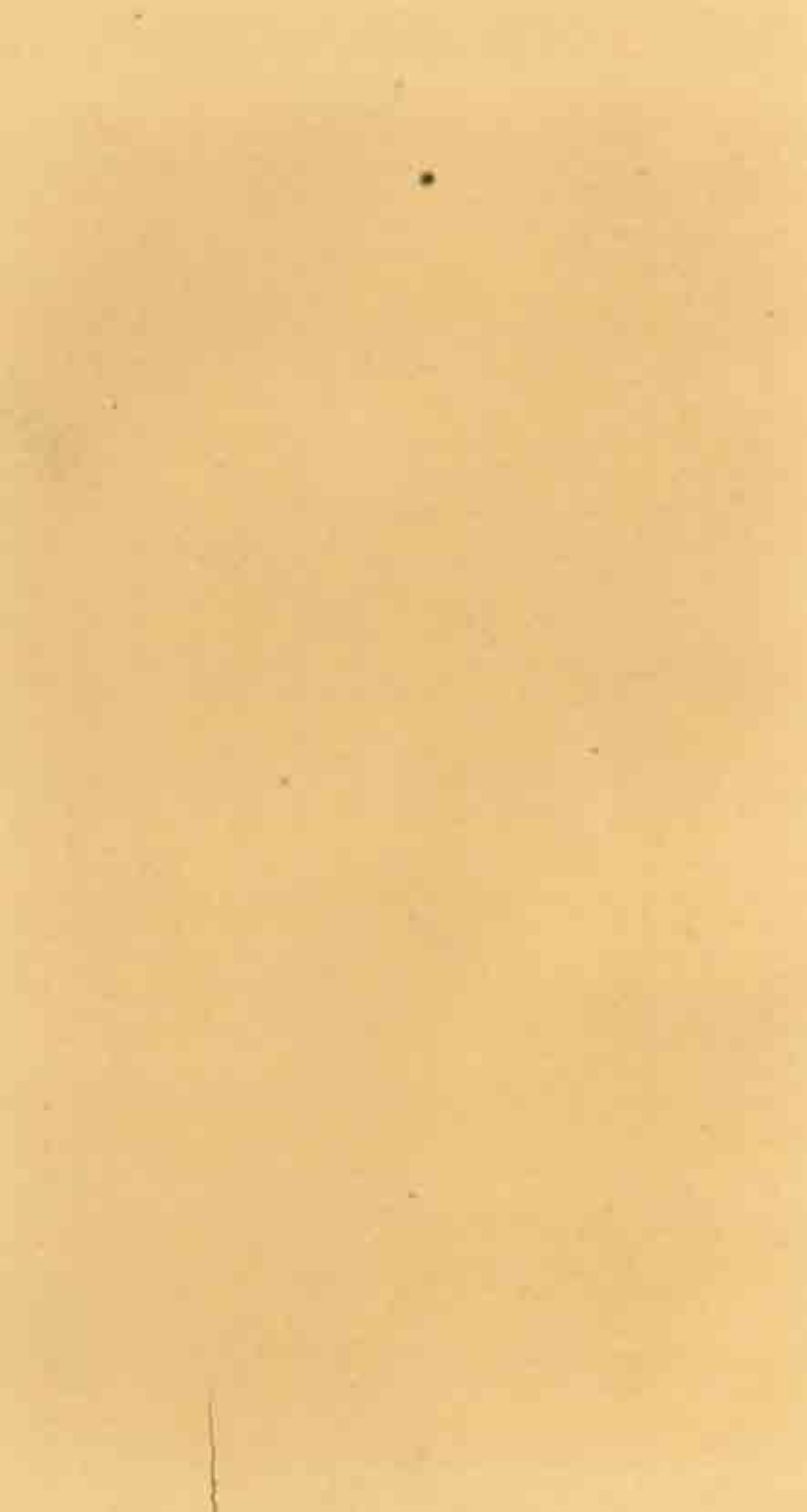
13



14



14



and also to the frequently* recorded difficulty in procuring bullion for the Mint.

The Mint accounts given by Rading show that very small amounts of bullion were coined at the Tower during this reign, and there is no record of any being coined at all until Richard's eleventh year. The accounts, however, as stated, are probably somewhat incomplete, other incidental evidence appearing to show that halfpence and farthings, at least, were coined early in his reign in some quantity, together with a small amount of gold and silver of the larger denominations.

I will here quote from the Mint accounts given by Rading the amounts of bullion brought to the London Mint to be coined, together with the amounts recorded to have been actually coined.

AMOUNTS OF BULLION BROUGHT TO LONDON MINT TO BE COINED.

	Silver.			Gold.		
	£	s	d.	£	s	d.
11th year	63	13	1	122	0	5
11th and 12th year	140	14	4	918	11	7½
12th and 13th year	112	16	1½	965	15	10
13th and 14th year	1794	15	0	1626	13	3
19th and 20th year	169	7	9	336	14	3
20th and 21st year				603	5	¾

AMOUNTS OF BULLION COINED IN THE LONDON MINT.

	Silver.			Gold.		
	£	s	d.	£	s	d.
Michaelmas 12th year to } Michaelmas 13th year }	283	10	5½	1224	7	5½
Michaelmas 13th year to } Michaelmas 14th year }	1794	15	0	1626	13	3
Michaelmas 19th year to } Michaelmas 20th year }	149	7	9	336	13	3

It will be noted that, with the exception of the first and last amounts, the quantity of bullion brought to the Mint agrees exactly with the amount recorded to have been

coined, showing that few, if any, of the accounts can be missing from the eleventh to the twentieth year, while from the special rarity of the coins, which, owing to certain details of type corresponding with the latest coins of Edward III., are attributable to the early part of Richard's reign; it is unlikely that any missing accounts would show a larger proportionate amount of bullion coined previous to the eleventh year. There is also good reason for supposing that the greater part of any early coinages consisted of halfpence and perhaps farthings.

In Richard's second year the Commons petitioned that "whereas they had been informed by the officers of the Mint, of the Tower of London, that from want of proper regulations, gold and silver were not brought into the realm, but, on the contrary, had been and still were exported."¹

The Commons further petitioned "that it would please the King and Council to command that halfpennies and farthings should be made in order to pay for smaller measures and other little purchases; for God and for works of Charity." This was promised to be done as soon as the King could provide bullion for the purpose.

In 1380 the Commons again represented the great inconvenience which they sustained from the want of halfpennies and farthings with which they were accustomed to purchase small quantities of bread and beer, but which were then wanting all over England. They therefore petitioned that such coins might be made and circulated amongst the common people, to their great relief; and that of every pound weight coined there

¹ Radclif, vol. i. p. 337.

should be made three-fourths of halfpennies and farthings of the same weight and fineness as heretofore. It was promised in answer that a certain quantity should be made for the use of the people with the advice of the Council.

These petitions afford interesting testimony as to the small amount of money coined at the beginning of this reign, and the reason for halfpennies forming so large a proportion of it. Early halfpennies are, in fact, by far the commonest London coins of Richard II., and those of the ordinary type are not at all rare, although some exceptional and later varieties are so. Farthings may have been coined in some quantities as promised to the petitioners, but, owing to their smallness and liability to loss, and to being coins unlikely to be hoarded, very few have come down to us, and they are very rare. All that I have seen are either known to be from the Thames, or appear from their oxidized condition to have been found there. It may be further noted that the scarcity of halfpence and farthings at this period can be well understood from numismatic evidence, as the coins of these denominations, of any but the earliest issues of Edward III., are rare, the farthings especially so.

Of the larger coins in silver there are a few rare groats which, from having the peculiar **R** between **ANGL.** and **FRANCIA** so identified with the latest coinage of Edward III. (see **PL. XIX. 1**), may without doubt be attributed to the earliest issue under Richard II. I have not seen a half-groat or penny with this peculiarity. In gold there are very rare examples having this mark of the earliest issue, usually either having a reverse of Edward III. with **a** in the centre of the cross, or with an **R** struck over the **a**. Another early variety of groat has three pellets over

the crown, thus corresponding with some of the late groats of Edward III. It is also of the same neat style of work. It has not, however, the characteristic \mathfrak{R} , but another variety (Σ) which is found on all but the very earliest coins of Richard II. This great was first noted by Mr. Neck in *Num. Chron.*, New Ser., vol. xii. p. 229.

The commonest variety of halfpence which in character closely resemble those of Edward III.'s latest issues (which are more scarce than Richard's), save that they have more usually double saltire stops in place of annulets or pellets, I believe to be those struck in Richard's second and third years, upon the urgent petitions of the Commons which I have quoted. The farthings also appear to be of this period, and in the type of bust, and also in having double pellet stops, they exactly correspond with some very rare farthings which I attribute to the latest coinage of Edward III., but which have by some, including Mr. Neck, been given to the heavy coinage of Edward IV. The Roman N in London, is however, to my mind, apart from other reasons, conclusive as to their not belonging to the last-named monarch.

If the Mint accounts are to be relied on, by far the greater portion of Richard II.'s coins, both of gold and silver, was struck during the period comprised between Michaelmas of his twelfth and Michaelmas of his fourteenth year. The coins themselves also bear evidence to this effect. The bulk of them show in the small details of their character and work a want of continuity with the last coinage of Edward III., while not greatly differing from it in a general way. On the nobles and half-nobles, the four titles of England, France, Ireland and Aquitaine, under various abbreviated forms, usually appear. In the case of the silver coins, the groats almost invariably read

ANGL' X FRANG or FRANGIA, but I can also instance a hitherto unpublished variety which reads FRANGIA: D' for DOMINVS HYBERNIA (see PL. XIX. 8). This coin is in my own collection, but a similar coin appeared in the catalogue of that of the late Mr. Montagu. It is described as in fair condition only, which is all that I can say of mine. This coin is a remarkable exception to all groats subsequent to the rupture of the Treaty of Bretigny, and, with the exception of a barbarous York penny of Richard II., is quite the last instance of the Irish title appearing on silver coins previous to the reign of Henry VIII. Apart from the obverse legend, it differs in no way from the other groats. The half-groats afford greater varieties of legend, as will be seen in the list at the end of this paper. Some have the English title only, others have that of France also, in variously abbreviated forms, but none that of Ireland. The pennies also vary in a similar manner, some reading ANGL' X FRANG or FRANG, usually with a lis on the breast, while others read RICHARDVS or RICHARD REX ANGLIA, and are without the lis on the breast (see PL. XIX. 3). The former variety I should consider the earlier, owing to their specially strong resemblance in general character to the latest London pence of Edward III. The London pence of Richard II. are all very rare. The halfpence, although in my opinion mostly attributable to the first three years of his reign, present several varieties of later type; some which I should be inclined to place in the middle period of his reign have the Roman N's in London. One in my collection has an annulet on the breast. Another, described by Mr. Neck, has a slipped trefoil, which mark is also found, as I have stated, on a noble and quarter-noble.

The Parliamentary records of this reign invariably recount petitions or complaints from the Commons in regard to the scarcity of money of proper weight and fineness. Sometimes it is that the good money of England is exported by foreigners for their own profit, at other times it is that the country is inundated with Scotch money of greatly inferior weight, or that the nobles of the Duke of Burgundy, resembling exactly those of the king, but of inferior weight and quality, are largely imported, all showing that very little money was struck during Richard's reign, thus confirming the evidence of the Mint accounts, and incidentally giving the real reason for the general rarity of his coins of the London Mint. As we have seen by the Mint accounts, there is no record of any really considerable amount of bullion coined at any time throughout the whole of this reign, and it is therefore not to be wondered at if we find that so few coins have survived the five centuries that have elapsed since the latest of them were struck.

On the Feast of All Saints, 1395, Richard married as his second Queen, in the Church of St. Nicholas at Calais, Isabella of Valois, daughter of Charles VI., King of France, and agreed to renounce any additional claims to the crown of France in right of Isabella or her descendants. Previous to this, Richard had frequently been reproached with having a secret leaning towards the friendship of the King of France, and with showing little inclination to actively assert his claims to the crown of that country. After his second marriage these dispositions were more openly shown, and in his desire to have the support of the French king in his long-deferred scheme of vengeance on his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, and others, on account of the persecution and murder of his former

favourites, together with past insults to his own authority, he would have probably been ready to propitiate his father-in-law by a less open assertion of the title of King of France.

In the year following Richard's marriage to Isabella (1396-97) we find in the Mint accounts record of a certain amount of gold being coined at the London Mint, together with a very small quantity of silver. I think we can identify the gold coins of this issue in the conspicuous omission of the French title, which must have been evidently the result of special intention, as, in order to fill up the space, either the Irish and Aquitaine titles are proportionately lengthened, or the lettering is larger and more spread out. In general character the nobles, especially of this variety, have every appearance of being later than the others with the French title; all read *DEI-GRAT*. The king's figure approximates to that on the heavy nobles of Henry IV., and there is a trefoil of pellets noticeable above the topsail of ship (see *PL. XVIII. 13*). There are nobles of this issue both with and without the flag of St. George at the stern of the ship. The flag I ventured, in writing of the gold coins of Henry VI., to assume to be the distinguishing mark of the Calais Mint from the time of Edward III. to that of Henry VI., thus accounting for the various references to that mint and to the appointment of officers during the reigns of both Richard II. and Henry IV. I believe that this suggestion has been generally accepted by Fellows of the Society interested in the subject, and I shall therefore assume in speaking of them that all coins with the flag are Calais coins. In 1396 the Commons petitioned that certain irregularities might be remedied in connection with the Staple at Calais, owing to which much injury was being

done to the King's Mint and coinage at that place. Redress was promised, and the Calais nobles of what I assume to be the latest type were no doubt the result.

As might be expected from the small amount of silver coined (£149 7s. 9d.) in the year 1396-97, the coins attributable to that issue are very rare, but they can be identified with practical certainty owing to their strong affinity of character and style with the heavy silver coins of Henry IV. (see **Pl. XIX.** 13, 14). I only know of groats, pennies, and perhaps halfpennies. They differ entirely from the earlier coins in having the king's bust usually smaller and thinner in the neck, while the hair is looser and stands away from the head almost exactly as on the coins of Henry IV. The groats read **ORI REX**, and one of the two specimens in my cabinet has the M's in "London" doubly barred (see **Pl. XIX.** 13). I have seen also another example of this variety. The French title appears as usual on these groats, but perhaps, as their circulation would be more restricted to England than that of the nobles, the omission of the French title would not be considered so desirable. The penny attributable to this period reads **ANGLIA** only, and has Lombardic n's in "London." The pellets on the reverse are united in a sort of trefoil, exactly as on all the pennies of Henry IV. that I have seen. The halfpenny which I attribute to this late issue also reads **REX ANGLIA**, and has the attenuated bust.

There are a few halfpennies which from their strong resemblance to some heavy halfpence of Henry IV. would appear to be of still later issue, if indeed they were not struck after the accession of the latter. They have a more chubby bust, with shoulders detached from the inner

circle, and read *RICHARD REX ANGL F.* A halfpenny of this type in my cabinet weighs $11\frac{1}{4}$ grains.

In describing the groats of this reign, Hawkins says that "there are three distinct styles of heads, one like that of Edward III., another like that of Henry IV., and one intermediate." I have alluded to the first two. No. 1 is by far the most usual to be found, No. 2 being very rare; No. 3 I failed for a long time to find at all, there being no specimen of it (or even of No. 2) in the National Collection; but at last I found a groat which, although in poor condition, showed distinctly a bust of Richard II. of quite a different character from the other two varieties. The head and face are much larger, and the neck and shoulders are short and broad. It reads *DE GRÆ*, and thus, according to my opinion, belongs to the latter part of his reign, although preceding most probably the variety with the Henry IV. portrait. This must be one of the rarest groats of this reign. It is a remarkable coin, (see *Pl. XIX. 12*), and I regret that a better specimen was not to be obtained for illustration.

I now come to what I consider the most remarkable of all the groats bearing the name of Richard II., for the loan of which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. G. H. Green, of Dublin. It may be described as follows: *Obv.* M.M. cross pattée, *RICHARD·DI·GRÆ·REX·ANGL·F·FRANCIA*, large bust of the king with bushy hair, and having a crescent on the breast; *rev.* M.M. cross pattée, *POSUI DEVS ADIVTORÆ·M·CIVITAS LONDON* (unbarred N's) pellets in angles of cross united in form of trefoils. The large dividing cross is broader than usual (see *Pl. XIX. 15*).

Although this groat bears the name of Richard, I am strongly of opinion that it was struck after the accession.

of Henry IV., and that it is perhaps an example of the long-sought-for heavy groat of his reign. It certainly appears somewhat strange that Henry IV. should have allowed the name of Richard to appear on his coins, considering the circumstances under which he came to the throne; but there are, as is now well known, examples both in previous and later times of coins being struck in the early part, at least, of the reigns of certain kings of England, but bearing the names of their predecessors. Sir John Evans has been the means of drawing attention to this in the case of Richard I. and John, and later in the case of Edward VI. The groat of which I am now speaking bears all the marks and characteristics excepting the name that we might expect in a heavy groat of Henry IV. The crescent, which was one of the badges used by him, connects it with known examples of the heavy noble and quarter-noble of this king, occurring in the former case on the rudder of the ship and in the latter over the shield; and it appears unlikely that he would have made use of a badge that had been in any way identified with his predecessor. The bust on this groat is unlike that on any other groats of Richard II., but, curiously, it is less like the light groats of Henry IV. than some of those of Richard II. which I have described. A noticeable feature of the reverse is the unbarred N in "London," in which, and in other respects, it resembles the heavy half-groat of Henry IV. figured in Hawkins (no. 323), the only example of this peculiarity of which I am aware after the early groats and half-groats of Edward III.; and lastly, the pellets are large, and joined together in a form which I have only noticed on the light groats of Henry IV. I have thought it worth while describing this groat very fully, as it is so very unlike any previously

discovered groat of Richard II., and if, as I think probable, it was struck after the accession of Henry IV., it goes some way towards filling the blank caused by the absence hitherto of a heavy groat of that king known to be genuine.²

After this general view of what I believe to be the correct sequence of the few London issues during the reign of Richard II., I should like to refer to certain interesting special marks which are to be found on some of the gold coins, more particularly on the nobles. They are, I believe, the real mint marks, as the usual cross pattée or otherwise at the commencement of, and dividing the legend on one or both sides, was at that time the almost invariable manner of commencing any inscription, although I admit that a little later certain variations in the cross made it perform the double duty of a mint mark as well as a commencement of the inscription.

The special marks on the gold coins of Richard II. are mostly on the rudder of the ship, although in several instances they are in the field either over or at the side of the king's shield. I have endeavoured to account for the marks as having some heraldic significance in connection with the officers of the Mint, but with one possible exception I have not been successful. It would not be very probable that the persons appointed to offices at the Mint would in those days have been entitled to bear arms, and I am regretfully obliged to think that the marks have no meaning beyond that of most other earlier mint marks.

² What purports to be a heavy groat of Henry IV., but which is in reality an altered groat of Edward III., has appeared in various sales, and always recognized as a forgery, but I have been unable to trace a genuine example.

The coin that I will first mention is a noble, which has a large slipped trefoil between the prow of the ship and the shield (see **Pl. XVIII. 8**). This is the one dubious instance of a possible meaning in the emblem. In the first year of Richard II., Thomas Hervey, the king's clerk, was appointed keeper of the king's money, to be coined at London. The arms of the present family of Hervey, of which the Marquis of Bristol is the head, may be described heraldically as *gules, on a bend argent, three trefoils slipped*. I have been unable to discover if the Thomas Hervey, who occupied the position of Master of the London Mint in the first year of the reign of Richard II. was of the same family, and bore the same arms, but there would appear to be some probability of this being the case, and that the slipped trefoil on the noble in question is a mint mark adapted from his armorial bearings. If this is so it would make the coin of considerable interest.* I know of two specimens only, and this variety is hitherto unpublished. A slipped trefoil is also found above the shield on a quarter-noble, and on the king's breast on a halfpenny.

Another special mark which is found on a noble and quarter-noble, in the former case on the rudder of the ship, in the latter above the shield, is an escallop shell, the meaning for which I am unable to make any suggestion. The only noble that I have seen is in my own collection (see **Pl. XVIII. 7**). It is illustrated in Ruding, *pl. ii. 4*, and is quoted from this by Kenyon. The quarter-noble is in the National Collection (see **Pl. XVIII. 10**). Some York pence of the Archbishopal Mint also have an escallop on the reverse after *QVIVITAS*.

* I am sorry, however, to add that this noble, from its reading *DEI · G* and from other characteristics, is in my opinion of a late issue.

A third distinctive mark is a lion on the rudder of the ship (see **Pl. XVIII. 12**). The noble and half-noble with this special mark are now known, but both are unpublished. Both London and Calais examples of the noble are to be found. A Calais noble of this type in the National Collection has a pellet above and below the shield.

The half noble (see **Pl. XVIII. 5**), which is in the cabinet of Sir John Evans is specially remarkable in having on the reverse two annulets in place of the usual initial cross of the legend, and single annulets between every word instead of the small saltires found on all other examples.

A fleur de lis on the ship's rudder is another privy mark on a noble in the National Collection (see **Pl. XVIII. 6**). If nobles were issued for circulation in the king's French dominions, this might be a distinctive mark to distinguish them. I do not lay much stress on this suggestion, but there is one specimen known of an Aquitaine noble of the Black Prince exactly resembling the English type of nobles, and several large hoards of English nobles have, I believe, been found in France, all tending to show that such coins were in circulation in the territories then under the sway of the Kings of England.

So far I have only referred to the coins issued from the Tower Mint, but the two ecclesiastical mints of Durham and York, both of which were at work during this reign, require some notice. The Durham pence, which are very rare, were almost certainly struck only quite early in Richard's reign. They exactly resemble, excepting in the name of the king, the latest Durham pence of Edward III., and, like them, have all a lis on the king's breast, (see **Pl. XIX. 11**). They are, however, without the crozier

head terminating the upper limb of the cross on the reverse, which had so long been a special feature of the Durham pence. I believe that all the Durham coins of Richard II. were struck by Bishop Hatfield, who died in May, 1381, after an episcopate of thirty-six years, during the earlier portion of which he appears to have coined to a considerable extent; but during the latter years of Edward III. his mint could not have been very active, as his coins of that period are very much rarer than his earlier ones, and previous to the discovery of the Neville's Cross and Balcombe hoards were extremely rare. Doubtless his mint at Durham, already very inactive, did very little after the death of Edward III., and after his own death, about four years later, there would appear to have been a complete cessation of work until the latter part of the reign of Henry IV. A peculiarity of the Durham pence of Richard II. is that they all appear to have been struck from the same dies on flans of silver with a rough surface, which would seem, in conjunction with their great rarity, to indicate that all were struck at about the same time. Of the York pence from the Archiepiscopal Mint there are many varieties, and, with the possible exception of the majority of the London halfpence, they are the commonest coins of Richard II. They are, however, rarely to be met with in anything like fine condition, being usually more or less badly struck, and much worn. Those which from their character are evidently the earliest, are well executed, and doubtless struck from London-made dies (see **PL XIX. 10**). They all have a quatrefoil or cross on the neck, and in general character resemble the Durham and early London pence. This variety reads usually **RICHARDVS REX ANGLIÆ**, although in the National Collection there is one reading

ANGLIA : F. Another variety which would seem to be the next in order, and to be also struck from London-made dies, is of distinctly different character. The king's head and face is larger, while the hair is less bushy and closer to the head, and the crown rather smaller. These pence usually read RICHARD REX ANGL'Æ FRAN, with a trefoil or possibly a cross on the king's breast, and on the reverse there is an escallop after CIVITAS. This mark is often indistinct and blurred, and on most coins might be considered a very uncertain object, but occasionally it is very distinct, and I have an example on which it is perfectly struck. As I have previously remarked, an escallop is found on the ship's rudder of a noble, and above the shield on a quarter-noble, which would, I think, point to its having been the privy mark of a master or die-maker of the London Mint. I can find nothing in the arms of the four Archbishops of York during Richard's reign (Neville, Arundel, Waldby, and Scrope) that could account for the escallop on the York pence, and I am again regretfully obliged to confess that it had probably no more meaning than the special mark of a certain die-engraver or mint official. After this last type of York pence, the dies would appear to have been locally made, and the coins of subsequent issues, although numerous and varied, are all of more or less barbarous character and workmanship. The escallop is still continued after CIVITAS on a variety which has a saltire cross on the king's breast and a pellet over each shoulder, and of which some examples are fairly well executed, although they are mostly of rude workmanship. One example of these barbarous coins given by Mr. Neck (*Num. Chron., New Ser.* vol. xii. pl. x.) has the Irish title in a blundered form, and reads ANGL : DNS : ED, and may very probably

be one of those struck by Archbishop Scrope (who was a devoted adherent of Richard II.) after the king's marriage to Isabella of Valois, when, for reasons that I have previously given, Richard was desirous of not too openly asserting his claims to the throne of France. It is probable that all the well-executed York pence were struck by Archbishop Alexander Neville, who held the see from 1374 to 1388, and that after his time the dies were made locally for his successors, owing perhaps, in some measure at least, to the troubled state of the times, which was most conducive to irregularities; but, from the number of varieties and absence of any great rarity of any of them, it would appear that the coinage of York pence was continued more regularly and abundantly than was the case with the London Mint up to the close of this reign.

In conclusion, I acknowledge with regret that, owing mainly to the small quantity of money coined, it is more difficult with this than with some other reigns to trace a very satisfactory sequence of issues. I think, however, that I have been able to go further into the subject than has so far been done, although probably at some future time, and by the aid of further discoveries, more light may still be thrown upon it.

At the end of this paper I give a complete list of all the different types and readings, both published and unpublished, that I have been able to find of the coins of this reign of every denomination, both in gold and silver, arranged approximately in what I believe to be their proper sequence; but I would add that I have not thought it desirable to unduly lengthen the list by recording trivial or evidently merely accidental variations of positions of stops, &c., due probably merely to the

caprice or carelessness of the maker of the dies. I have, however, endeavoured to note everything apparently intended to mark a special or a separate issue.

GOLD.

NOBLES OF LONDON.

1. *Obv.*—EDWARD' - DI - GRA - REX - ANGL - α - FRAN α -
D α S - h α B' - α - α Q. Ship ornaments, lis, lion,
lis, lion, lis, lion, lis.

Rev.— α IN α α AVT α α TRANSIGNS α PAR α α ADIV α α
ILLORV α α IBAT α . R in centre of cross. Wt.
118.9 grs. M. B.

The obverse of this coin is from one of the last coinages of Edward III. The legend on the reverse is always as on no. 1, except where variations are noted. Nobles and half-nobles have all R in centre of cross on the reverse unless otherwise described.

2. *Obv.*—RICHARD - DI - G - REX - ANGL - Σ - FRAN α - D -
h α B - Σ - α Q. Ship ornaments as last.

Rev.— α ADIV, ILLORV α . Found in cloisters of West-
minster Abbey. M. B.

3. *Obv.*—RICHARD' - D' - G - REX - ANGL - Σ - FRAN α - D' h α B -
 Σ - α Q. Ship ornaments, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion.

Rev.— α ADIV ILLORV. Found in cloisters of West-
minster Abbey. M. B.

4. *Obv.*—RICHARD' - D - G - REX - ANGL - Σ - FRAN α - D - h α B -
 Σ - α Q.

Rev.— α ADIV α . Four pellets in angles of initial cross
pattée of legend. Manley Foster Collection.

5. *Obv.*— α RI α ARD' - D α I - G - REX - ANGL' - Σ - FR - D α S -
h α B - Σ - α Q. Large slipped trefoil between
shield and prow of ship. Ship ornaments,
lion, lis, lion, lis, lion.

Rev.— α ADIV α ILLORV α [Pl. XVIII. 8.] F. A. W.

6. *Obv.*—RIC ARD' DEI · G · REX · ANGL' · S · F · DNS · HIB · S · AQT. Escallop shell on rudder, possibly a trefoil between shield and prow of ship, as on last coin. Although there are signs of the trefoil, and it may be there, it is too indistinct to state it as a fact. Ornaments, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis.

Rev.—ÆDIV · ILLORV. [Pl. XVIII. 7.] M. A. W.

7. *Obv.*—RIC ARD' DI' · GRA · REX · ANGL' · Z · FRAN · DNS · HIB · S · AQT. Ship ornaments, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis.

Rev.—ÆDIV · ILLORV. M. B.

8. *Obv.*—Same but AQT. Ship ornaments, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion.

Rev.—Same as last.

9. *Obv.*—RICARD' DI' · GRA · REX · ANGL' · S · FRAN · DNS · HIB · S · AQT. Fleur de lis on rudder of ship. Ship ornaments, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis.

Rev.—ÆDIV. Found at Glasgow. [Pl. XVIII. 6.] M. B.

10. *Obv.*—RIC ARD · DEI · GRA · REX · ANGL' · DNS · HIB · S · AQT. Ship ornaments, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis.

Rev.—ILLORV.

11. *Obv.*—RIC ARD' · DEI · GRA · REX · ANGL' · DNS · HIB · AQT. Ship ornaments, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion.

Rev.—ÆDIV · ILLORV. Found in cloisters of Westminster Abbey. M. B.

NOBLES OF CALAIS.

All with flag of St. George at stern of ship.

1. *Obv.*—RIC ARD · D · E · REX · ANGL' · Z · FRAN · DNS · HIB · S · AQT. Ship ornaments, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis.

Rev.—ÆDIV · ILLORV. & in centre of cross. [Pl. XVIII. 1.] M. B.

2. *Obv.*—RIC ARD · DI · GRA · REX · ANGL · S · FRANK ·
D · NS · HIB · S · AQ. Ship ornaments, lion, lis,
lion, lis, lion.

Rev.—ÆDIV · ILLORV · IRAT (*sic*). Found in cloisters
of Westminster Abbey. M. B.

3. *Obv.*—RIC ARD · DI · GRA · REX · ANGL · Z · FRANK · D ·
HIB · S · AQ. Ship ornaments, lion, lis, lion,
lis, lion. Pellet above and below shield. Lion
on rudder of ship.

Rev.—ÆDIV · ILLORV. [PL. XVIII. 12.] M. B.

4. *Obv.*—Same as last, but omitting pellets above and
below shield, and reading DNS · HIB · S · A. Ship
ornaments, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis.

Rev.—ÆDIV · ILLORV. F. A. W.

5. *Obv.*—RIC ARD · DEI · GRA · REX · ANGL · DNS · HIB · S ·
AQVIT. Ship ornaments, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis,
lion, lis.

Rev.—ÆDIV · ILLORV. [PL. XVIII. 11.] F. A. W.

6. *Obv.*—RIC ARD · DEI · GRA · REX · ANGL · DNS · HIB · S ·
A. Ship ornaments, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion,
lis; attenuated bust.

Rev.—ÆDIV · ILLORV. F. E. Whelan.

HALF-NOBLES OF LONDON.

1. *Obv.*—RIC ARD · DI · GRA · REX · ANGL · A · FR · D · N ·
A · A. RIC altered for EDW. No ornaments
on ship.

Rev.—DO · MIN · A · R · E · M · F · V · R · O · R · A · T · V · O · A · R · G · V · A · S · A · E ·
A altered to R in centre of cross. [PL. XVIII.
2.] M. B.

2. *Obv.*—RIC ARD · D · G · REX · ANGL · S · F · D · HIB ·
S · AQ. Ship ornaments, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion.

Rev.—As last, including R punched over A. [PL.
XVIII. 4.] M. B.

3. *Obv.*—RIC ARD · DI · GRA · REX · ANGL · S · FRANK ·
D · H · S · AQ. Ship ornaments, lion, lis, lis,
lis, lion.

Rev.—As before, R in centre of cross. M. B.

4. *Obv.*—RICX RD·D·G·RXX·ANGL·Σ·FRANQ·D·h·
Σ·ΛQ. Ship ornaments, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion,
lis; lion on rudder.

Rev.—◊·DOMINA·NA·IN·FVRORA·TVO·AREVAS·
αα. Single annulets between all the words,
and two at the commencement instead of the
usual cross. [Pl. XVIII. 5.] Sir John Evans.

5. *Obv.*—RICX ARD·DEI·GRX·RXX·ANGL·DHS·h·B·ΛQ.
Ship ornaments, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis.

Rev.—✠·DOMINA·NA·IN·FVRORA·TVO·AREVAS·
αα. R in centre of cross.

6. *Obv.*—Same as last, but legend ends O·ΛQT. [Pl.
XVIII. 14.] M. B.

HALF-NOBLES OF CALAIS.

All with flag of St. George at stern.

1. *Obv.*—RICX ARD·D·G·RXX·ANGL·Σ·FRANQ·D·h·
Ship ornaments, lion, lis, lion, lis.

Rev.—Usual inscription α in centre of cross. M. B.

2. *Obv.*—RICX ARD·D·G·RXX·ANGL·Σ·FRANQ·D·h·
ΛQ. Ship ornaments, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion.

Rev.—Usual inscription R in centre of cross. Saltire
cross between rudder and inner circle of
legend. M. B.

3. *Obv.*—RICX ARD·DI·GRX·RXX·ANGL·Σ·FRANQ·D·
h . . . Ship ornaments, lion, lis, lion, lis,
lion.

Rev.—Usual inscription R in centre of cross. M.M.
Maltese cross. F. A. W.

4. *Obv.*—Same as no. 1, but with open quatrefoil over top-
sail of ship.

Rev.—R struck over α in centre of cross.
Late Mr. Montagu.

QUARTER-NOBLES.

1. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD · D · GRA · REX · ANGL · Σ · F. Slipped trefoil over shield (described as cross in Montagu Catalogue).

Rev.—✠ EXALTABITVR · IN · GLORIA. Lis in centre of cross. [PL XVIII 9.]

M. B., ex Montagu Coll., Lot 459.

2. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD · DI · G · REX · ANGL · Σ · FRAN. Trefoil formed of three annulets over shield.

Rev.—Same legend; pellet in centre of cross. [PL XVIII 15.]

M. B., ex Montagu Coll., Lot 460.

3. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD · DI · GRA · REX · ANGL · Σ · F. Trefoils in spandrels of tressure.

Rev.—Same legend; pellet in centre of cross. M. B.

4. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD · D · GRA · REX · ANGL · Σ. Slipped trefoil over shield.

Rev.—Same legend; pellet in centre of cross. M. B.

5. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD · DEI · GRA · REX · ANGL.

Rev.—Same legend; lis in centre of cross. M. B.

6. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD · DI · GRA · REX · ANGL.

Rev.—Same legend; lis in centre of cross. M. B.

7. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD · DEI · GRA · REX · ANGL · Σ. Escallop over shield.

Rev.—Same legend; pellet in centre of cross. [PL XVIII 10.]

M. B.

8. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD · DI · GRA · REX · ANGL · Σ.

Rev.—Same legend; nothing in centre of cross.

9. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD · DEI · GRA · REX · ANGL.

Rev.—Same legend; R in centre of cross. M. B.

10. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD · DI · GRA · REX · ANGL · Σ.

Rev.—✠ Same legend; two pellets in centre of cross.

SILVER.

GROATS.

1. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD' DI: ERA: REX: ANGL' S: FRANGIE.
Peculiar form of ET, as on last coinage of Edward III.

Rev.—✠ POSVI DEVS: ADIVTOR: MEVS.—DIVITAS
LONDON. [Pl. XIX. 1.]

2. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD' DI: ERA: REX: ANGL' S: FRANGIE.
Bust rather short and thick, and similar to that on some examples of the latest period of Edward III. Three pellets over centre of crown.

Rev.—In all respects as last. (First noticed by Mr. Neck, *Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. xii. p. 229.)

3. *Obv.*—As last; no dots over crown; ordinary bust of Richard II.

Rev.—In all respects as before. [Pl. XIX. 2.]

4. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD' DI: ERA: REX: ANGL' S: FRANGIE:
D' (DOMINVS HIBERNIE). Short, thick bust, as on no. 2.

Rev.—Same as before.

A groat of this type was in the Montagu Coll., Lot 464 in catalogue. I also have a specimen. [See Pl. XIX. 8.]

5. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD' DEI: ERA: REX: ANGL' S: FRANGIE. Bust with very large head and short neck and shoulders.

Rev.—As before, but no marks of contraction in either legend over letters; large wedge-shaped mark after MEVS. Middle period type. [See Pl. XIX. 12.]

6. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD' DEI: ERA: REX: ANGL' S: FRANGIE.
Bust of peculiar type, much resembling that on some groats of Henry IV, with hair standing far away from face.

Rev.—Outer legend as before; wedge-shaped mark of contraction after $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\text{V}$; double-barred N's in "London"; a late type. [See Pl. XIX. 13.]

7. *Obv.* and *Rev.*—All as last, but without the double-barred N's in "London."

8. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD' DI' GRN' REX' ANGL' Σ = FRANDIA. Large bust, unlike any other of Richard II., with crescent on point of tressure on breast.

Rev.—✠ POSVI DEVM : ADIVTOREM : MEV' : DIVITAS LONDON. Pellets large and joined together; unbarred N's in "London."

Weight, 70.3 grs. [See Pl. XIX. 15.]

This coin is in the possession of Mr. J. G. H. Green, of Dublin.

HALF GROATS.

1. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD' DI' GR' REX' ANGL' Σ = FRAND.

Rev.—✠ POSVI DEVM : ADIVTOREM : MEV' : DIVITAS LONDON.

2. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD' DI' GR' REX' ANGL' Σ = FR' [or FRAN.]

Rev.—As last; mark of contraction over $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\text{V}$ and DON.

3. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD' DI' GR' REX' ANGLIA.

Rev.—As no. 1. (Montagu Sale Catalogue, Lot 465.)

4. *Obv.*—As last; but DI instead of DI.

Rev.—As before.

5. All as last; but unbarred N's in "London." (Montagu Sale Catalogue, Lot 467).

PENNIES OF LONDON.

1. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD' REX' ANGL' Σ = FRAN [or FRAND]. Lis on breast.

Rev.—DIVITAS LONDON.

2. As last, but without lis on breast.

3. *Obv.*—† RICHARDVS : REX : ANGLIÆ. No lis on breast.
Rev.—DIVITAS LONDON. Mark of contraction over final N. [See Pl. XIX. 3.]
4. *Obv.*—† RICHARD : REX : ANGLIÆ†. Quatrefoil or cross at end of legend; thin bust with long neck; bushy hair standing away from head.
Rev.—DIVITAS LONDON. Pellets in angles of cross united. [See Pl. XIX. 14.]

HALFPENNIES OF LONDON.

1. *Obv.*—† RICHARD : REX : ANGL'. Annulet on breast.
Rev.—DIVITAS LONDON. Roman N's; mark of contraction over final N.
2. *Obv.*—† RICHARD : REX : ANGL'. Trefoil slipped on breast (called by Hawkins a cross).
Rev.—DIVITAS LONDON. Roman N's.
3. *Obv.*—As last; but without emblem or mark on breast.
Rev.—DIVITAS LONDON. Lombardic N's.
4. As last; but pellets, instead of saltire crosses as stops on obverse.
5. *Obv.*—† RICHARD REX ANGL F. Short thick bust, with shoulders detached from inner circle, as on some heavy halfpennies of Henry IV.
Rev.—DIVITAS LONDON. Lombardic N's.
6. *Obv.*—† RICHARD : REX : ANGLIÆ. Pellet before RICHARD; thin bust with long neck, as on penny no. 4.
Rev.—As last.

The above are all in my own collection. Hawkins quotes one reading ANGLI, and another reading ANGLIÆ, with two crosses in place of mint-mark.

FARTHINGS OF LONDON.

1. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARDVS : REX : ANGL'.
Rev.—CIVITAS LONDON.
2. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD : REX : ANGLIÆ.
Rev.—As before.
3. *Obv.*—RICHARD REX ANGL. Small rose after REX.
Rev.—CIVITAS LONDON. Rose instead of pellets in each quarter of cross.
4. As last; but without rose on obverse, and with usual pellets on reverse.

PENNIES OF DURHAM.

- Obv.*—✠ RICHARDVS : REX : ANGLIÆ. Lis on breast.
Rev.—CIVITAS DVNOLM. Usual cross and pellets; no special mark. All examples appear to be from the same dies, and struck on rough flans.
[Pl. XIX. 11.]

PENNIES OF YORK.

Of fine work, and probably struck from London-made dies.

1. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARDVS : REX : ANGLIÆ. Cross on breast.
Rev.—CIVITAS EBORACI. Quatrefoil enclosing pellet in centre of cross. [Pl. XIX. 10.]
2. *Obv.*—RICHARD' : REX : ANGLIÆ : F.
Rev.—CIVITAS EBORACI (Neck).
3. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD' : REX : ANGL' : Σ : FRAN. Slipped trefoil on breast; larger faced bust with smaller crown than on no. 1.
Rev.—CIVITAS EBORACI : ; escallop after TAS.

- 4.—*Obv.*—✠ RICHARDVS : REX : ANGLIÆ or ANGE. Cross on breast; pellet over each shoulder.

Rev.—As last; with escallop after TAS.

This last variety is of more or less inferior work to nos. 1, 2, and 3. There are examples of nos. 1, 3, and 4 on which are found slight variations of the positions of stops, &c., which, in my opinion, are merely due to accident or carelessness on the part of the die-engravers.

Of rough work, probably struck from locally made dies.

1. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD : REX : ANGL : DNS . ED. Saltire cross on breast, large rude bust.

Rev.—CIVITAS EBORACI (Neck).

2. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARDVS : REX : ANGLIÆ. Saltire on breast; pellet over each shoulder.

Rev.—As last; sometimes with escallop after TAS.

3. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARDVS REX ANGLIÆ. Roman N in Angle; pellet (t) on breast.

Rev.—CIVITAS EBORACI.

These numerous small variations and blunders of spelling on the barbarous coins are evidently not intentional, but accidental, and I have therefore only thought it necessary to note a few typical examples.

FREDK. A. WALTERS.

XII.

AN ADVERTISING MEDAL OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD.



LEAD.

It is now fully twenty years since the *Numismata Typographica* of Mr. William Blades appeared; and those who remember the zeal and assiduity with which our former fellow-member of this Society investigated and recorded all that it seemed possible to find in the way of medals connected with his favourite subject, the Art of Printing, may be surprised that anything within the scope of his researches should have escaped his keen observation.

And yet, I have to call your attention to what I think must be termed a medal, which it would probably have delighted the heart of Mr. Blades to see and describe. It is to all appearance formed of lead, or possibly of some variety of type metal, and is struck from dies, and not

cast. It is represented full-size in the cut at the head of this note, and may be described as follows:—

Obv.—HANS :: HAN :: FORMEUSNIER :: 1577 :: between two plain circles; in the centre a large Tudor rose displayed.

Rev.—HONI :: SOEIT :: QVI :: MAL :: PENSE :: The arms of France and England quarterly, crowned, and having two lions rampant as supporters.
Pl. diam. 1.55 inches. Weight, 565 grs.

There is, of course, an error in substituting a lion for a dragon, or a greyhound as the second supporter of the arms of England in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

The fact of there being this error in heraldry affords presumptive evidence against the issuer of the medal being settled in England, inasmuch as had he lived in this country he would in all probability have been better acquainted with the details of the Royal Arms.

I have, moreover, sought in vain for the name of Hans Han in the lists of aliens settled in England that have been published by the Huguenot Society of London. The only indication that I can see which affords any clue to his nationality is the manner in which he spells the word representing his calling or profession, "Formensnider," which appears to be the Dutch or Low Countries form of the word, and not the German or High Dutch, which is usually "Formschneider." The mere substitution of an "i" for a "y" does not seem to affect the case.

As to the occupation of a Formschneider or Formensnider, I shall have a few words to say shortly; suffice it for the present to describe it as that of an engraver closely connected with the printer's art.

I have consulted some of the best authorities on typographical questions with the view of ascertaining

whether anything is known with regard to Hans Han, but my inquiries have been fruitless. M. Clandin, of Paris, is unacquainted with him. Dr. Charles Waldstein has made inquiry for me in Germany, without success. Mr. Robert Proctor of the British Museum, the man of all others most likely to know something on such a subject, has, I fear, perished miserably on the Alps. Mr. G. H. Fortescue, while unacquainted with Hans Han, calls my attention to Ulrich Han or Hahn, who was a printer in Rome between the years 1468 and 1478, and had a brother Wolff Han, who was a master-printer for one year only, and suggests the possibility of Hans Han being descended from this old printing stock. The interval of a hundred years is, however, too great to fill up. Coming nearer to 1577, Mr. E. Gordon Duff mentions to me a certain H. H. who engraved tools for book-binders about 1560-70, but beyond a bare possibility there is nothing to connect these initials with the issuer of the medal.

With regard to the occupation of a *Formschneider*, there are but two standard authorities to whom I can refer. The first is the late Mr. Chatto, who wrote the historical portion of Mr. John Jackson's *Treatise on Wood-engraving*, of which a second edition was published by H. G. Bohn in 1861.

He says¹ that in the town-books of Nuremberg, the term *Formschneider* (figure-cutter), the name appropriated to engravers on wood, first occurs in 1449, and it is found in subsequent years mentioned on the same page with *Kartenmaler*, so that the business of the wood-engraver proper and that of the card-maker were distinct. He goes on to say that the meaning of the word "form"

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

or "forma" is almost precisely the same in most of the European languages, that it has been erroneously explained in its relation to wood-engraving as signifying a *mould*, whereas it simply means a *shape* or *figure*. In course of time, however, the word "form" declined from its primary signification as a model, and came to be used as expressive both of a model and a mould. The term "Formschneider," which was originally used to distinguish the professed engraver of figures from the mere engraver and colourer of playing cards, is still used in Germany to denote what we term a wood-engraver.

At a somewhat later date than 1450, the Brief-malers, or Card-painters, not only engraved figures, but occasionally printed books, and for a long time formed but one Guild with the Formschneiders.

Representations both of a Brief-maler and of a Formschneider are given in Hans Sachs's *Book of Trades* from designs by Jost Amman in 1564.² The latter is here reproduced from a copy of the book now in the British Museum. Chatto describes the Formschneider as a wood-engraver proper. "He is apparently at work on a block which he has before him, but the kind of tool which he employs is not exactly like those used by English wood-engravers at the present day. It seems to resemble a small long-handled desk-knife, while the tool of the modern wood-engraver has a handle which is rounded at the top in order to accommodate it to the palm of the hand. It is also never held vertically as it appears in the hand of the Formschneider." It is,

² I quote from a later edition printed at Frankfurt-on-the-Maine in 1573. A fac-simile reprint of Jost Amman's *Städter und Handwerker* was issued by Dr. George Hirth at Munich in 1884.

however, certain from other wood-cuts, that the wood-engravers of the sixteenth century used a graver similarly handled to those of the present day.

Der Formschneider.



Ich bin ein Formen schneider gut/
 Als was man mir für reissen thut/
 Mit der federn auff ein form bret
 Das schneid ich denn mit mein geret/
 Wenn mans den druckt so sind sich scharff
 Die Bildnuß/wie sie der entwarff/
 Die steht/denn druckt auff dem pappyr/
 Künstlich denn auß zustreichen schier.

Mr. Chatto gives the following free translation of the lines below the cut:—

"I am a wood engraver good,
And all designs on blocks of wood
I with my graver cut so neat,
That when they're printed on a sheet
Of paper white you plainly view
The very forms the artist drew;
His drawing, whether coarse or fine,
Is truly copied line for line."

The other authority, Mr. W. J. Linton, author of *The Masters of Wood Engraving*, printed in 1889, regards the Formschneider as the engraver who carried out the designs that the Reisser or Designer, of whom also Amman gives a figure, had drawn upon the wood, or even metal. He reproduces some initial^{*} letters now in the British Museum to which is appended the signature, also cut on wood, of "Hanns Lützelburger, formschnider genant Frank." Their date is about 1522.

Not impossibly the meaning of the word underwent some change in course of time, but in the verses lately quoted we have a good general view of the nature of a Formschneider's business. It seems to have embraced a wider variety of work than that of a mere letter-cutter or wood-engraver, and in fact to have extended to all the graven work connected with the production of a complete printed book. The fine and artistic initials which adorn so many volumes of the early printers may well have been within his province, as well as the tools so often lavishly employed in producing the fine embossed bindings of the sixteenth century.

All that can safely be said with regard to Hans Han

^{*} Page 108.

is that he was more probably a Dutchman than a German, and that he was not a Frenchman, as is evident from the sad mess that he makes of "Honi soit qui mal y pense." That he was not a first-rate artist or letter-cutter is manifest from the workmanship of parts of the medal and from the reversed N's. Still, the Tudor rose is well designed and executed, as is also the royal crown over the arms on the reverse. The purely English devices on both faces of the medal imply a more or less close business connection with this country, and whether the wares in which he dealt were founts of type, blocks for initial letters or for book-binders' work, he was certainly connected with the printing trade, and the medal which I have described is almost as certainly one of the earliest advertising medals in existence.

While quoting from Amman's book on *Stände und Handwerker*, I have thought it worth while to reproduce another of his woodcuts which is of considerable numismatic interest. It has already been cited and given in a somewhat reduced form by Babelon.⁴

The cut shows a moneyer at work striking coins by hand. At his bench are a pair of scales and a number of coins that he has struck. In the background there is a second moneyer at work. At the end of the bench is a costrel with the arms of Nuremberg upon it, and by its side what appears to be an upright glass with a twisted roll of bread around it. A leisurely neighbour is sleepily looking in at the window. M. Babelon regards him as some one who has brought metal to be coined, and who is waiting for its delivery, but on this point I can hardly

⁴ *Traité des Monnaies grecques et romaines*, 1901, p. 818.

agree with him, inasmuch as the metal has many processes to undergo before it is converted into blanks ready for coinage.

Der Münzmeister.



In meiner Münz schlag ich aericht/
 Gute Münz an kern vnd gewicht/
 Gilden/Eron/Taler vnd Bogen/
 Mit gutem preß / künstlich zu schaben/
 Halb Bogen/Ereuser vnd Weißpfennig/
 Vnd gut als Thurnis / aller mennig
 Zu gut/in recht guter Landewerung/
 Dardurch niemand geschicht gferung.

The verses attached to the cut may be thus roughly rendered—

“ Good coins in my mint I strike
 In weight and metal good alike,
 Batzen, dollars, gulden, crowns
 I can strike for any towns,
 Half-batzen, kreutzers, counters small,
 Old Tournois groats—I make them all,
 So good and right that through the land
 There's no one suffers at my hand.”

The medal was purchased at Mainz, and I have now presented it to the National Collection.

JOHN EVANS.

NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATION.

Les Médailleurs et les Graveurs de Monnaies, Jetons et Médailles en France. Par Natalis Rondot. Paris, 1904. Ernest Leroux, éd.

No one who is acquainted with the writings of Natalis Rondot can peruse this work without feelings of deep regret. For a period of fifty years M. Rondot devoted his life to researches in the numismatic history and art of his country: and from time to time we have been delighted with his interesting treatises on French medallists and medals, more especially those connected with the cities of Lyons and Troyes. The volume before us was his last undertaking, but he did not live to see its publication. This task was entrusted to his friend M. H. de la Tour, who undertook the preparation of the plates and their descriptions, and the compiling of the index. This last work by M. Rondot is divided into two sections; the first being devoted to a general history of medallie art in its several branches; the second to biographical notices of the artists and their chief productions. The first section is subdivided into chapters on engravers of coins; the history of the jeton; and medallists and the engravers of medals. M. Rondot traces the development of the coinage of France from the Gaulish to the Merovingian period, then on to Mediaeval and more recent times, and he tells us the names and history of those principally concerned in its production. It was Philip VI who initiated those picturesque types, quickly to be copied by other nations, especially England, representing himself enthroned in a chair of state or as a knight in armour—an equivalent to the English type of St. George and the Dragon. And Louis XII was the first King of France to place a true portrait on his coins, an example soon adopted by the English king, Henry VII. In his sketch of medallists and their works M. Rondot shows how little early French medallie art was influenced by that of Italy, though many Italians worked in France. Unlike those of Italy, the earliest French medals were struck from dies, and were in low relief, and even the cast medals by Marende and Jean le Père have in them very little of the Italian sentiment and style. Yet no one can deny that the medals of Philibert of Savoy and Anne of Austria, and of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany are works of the highest merit. Our limited space prevents our saying as much as we would have liked about this most interesting work. We can only add that in the biographical sketches the classification of the artists under periods is distinctly an advantage to the student and to those interested in any particular epoch of French medal-work.

H. G.

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- 1888 *LAMPROS, M. J. P., Athens, Greece.
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- 1900 LANGTON, H. NEVILLE S., Esq., 62, Harley Street, W.
- 1898 LAVER, PHILIP G., Esq., M.B.C.S., Head Street, Colchester.
- 1899 LAWES-WITTEWROUSE, SIR CHARLES BENNET, BART., The Studio, Chelsea Gardens, S.W.
- 1877 LAWRENCE, F. G., Esq., Birchfield, Mulgrave Road, Sutton, Surrey.
- 1835 *LAWRENCE, L. A., Esq., 51, Belsize Park, N.W.
- 1883 *LAWRENCE, RICHARD HORR, Esq., 15, Wall Street, New York.
- 1871 *LAWSON, ALFRED J., Esq., Solihull.
- 1893 LESLIE-ELLIS, LIEUT.-COL. HENRY, D.L., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Magherymore, Wicklow.
- 1892 LEWIS, PROF. BUCKSELL, M.A., F.S.A., Queen's College, Cork.
- 1862 LINCOLN, FREDERICK W., Esq., 69, New Oxford Street, W.C.
- 1900 LINCOLN, FREDERICK W., Esq., JUN., 69, New Oxford Street, W.C.
- 1904 LOFTING, HUGH JOHN, Esq., Mount St. Mary's, Ealing, W.
- 1904 LOVEDAY, JOHN E. T., Esq., J.P., Williamscoote, Banbury.
- 1887 LOW, LYMAN H., Esq., 36, West 129th Street, New York, U.S.A.
- 1893 LUND, H. M., Esq., Makotuku, New Zealand.
- 1900 LYTTON, FREDERICK STICKLAND, Esq., Nore House, Portishead, Somerset.
- 1885 *LYELL, ARTHUR HENRY, Esq., F.S.A., 9, Cranley Gardens, S.W.
- 1895 MACDONALD, GEO., Esq., M.A., The University, Glasgow.
- 1901 MACFARLEN, FRANK E., Esq., 24, Grosvenor Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- 1887 MACKERRILL, C. E., Esq., Dunningley, Balham Hill, S.W.

DECEASED

- 1895 MAESH, WM. R., Esq., Marston, Bromley, Kent.
- 1897 MARTIN, A. TRICE, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., The School House, Bath College, Bath.
- 1903 MARTIN, T. COWPER, Esq., 44, White Ladies Road, Clifton, Bristol.
- 1897 MASSY, COL. W. J., 96, Oakley Street, Chelsea, S.W.
- 1880 *MAUDE, REV. S., The Vicarage, Hockley, Essex.
- 1901 McDOWALL, STEWART A., Esq., 166, Holland Road, Kensington, W.
- 1868 McLAUGHLIN, R. W., Esq., 55, St. Monique Street, Montreal, Canada.
- 1897 MILNE, J. GRANTON, Esq., M.A., Dunroff, Linden Gardens, Leatherhead, Surrey.
- 1898 MONCKTON, HORACE W., Esq., F.L.S., F.G.S., 3, Harcourt Buildings, Temple, E.C.
- 1888 MONTAGUE, L. A. D., Esq., Penton, near Crediton, Devon.
- 1879 MORRISON, LT. COL. H. WALTERS, B.A., 42, Beaufort Gardens, S.W.
- 1904 MULD, RICHARD W., Esq., Newington Public Library, Walworth Road, S.E.
- 1894 MURPHY, WALTER ELLIOT, Esq., 17, Longridge Road, Earl's Court, S.W.
- 1900 *MYLER, REV. ROBERT SCOTT, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A., Great Ashwell, Herts.
- 1893 NAPIER, PROF. A. S., M.A., D.Litt., Ph.D., Headington Hill, Oxford.
- 1864 NECK, J. F., Esq., c/o Messrs. F. W. Lincoln, 69, New Oxford Street, W.C.
- 1880 NELSON, RALPH, Esq., 55, North Bondgate, Bishop Auckland.
- 1891 NERVONIA, M. G., Brindisi, Italy.
- 1903 NEWALL, WILLIAM, Esq., Red Heath, Croyley Green, H.S.O., Herts.
- 1904 NORFOLK, DUKE OF, E.M., K.G., Arundel Castle, Arundel.
- 1904 NORTHUMBERLAND, DUKE OF, K.G., 2, Grosvenor Place, S.W.
- 1898 OGDEN, W. SHARP, Esq., Hill View, Dances Road, Rusholme, Manchester.
- 1897 *O'HAGAN, HENRY OSBORNE, Esq., 114, The Albany, Piccadilly, W.
- 1882 OMAN, PROF. C. W. C., M.A., F.S.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
- 1904 PAGE, ARTHUR W., Esq., 19, Northumberland Road, Redland, Bristol.

FELLOWS

- 1890 PAGE, SAMUEL, Esq., Halfway House, Nottingham.
- 1903 PARSONS, H. ALEXANDER, Esq., 6, Clayton Road, Peckham, S.E.
- 1890 PATON, W. R., Esq., Maison Camus, Place Maze, Viroflay, S. et O., France.
- 1882 *PECKOVER, ALEXANDER, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.R.G.S., Lord Lieut. Cambridgeshire, Bank House, Wisbech.
- 1898 PEDLER, G. H., Esq., L.R.C.P., 6, Trevor Terrace, Rutland Gate, S.W.
- 1896 PEEES, C. R., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 96, Grosvenor Road, S.W.
- 1894 PERRY, HENRY, Esq., Middleton, Plaistow Lane, Bromley, Kent.
- 1862 *PERRY, MARTIN, Esq., M.D., Spalding, Lincolnshire.
- 1888 PINCHES, JOHN HARVEY, Esq., 21, Albert Embankment, S.E.
- 1904 PITT, JAMES SMITH, Esq., Mantering, 11, Waverley Road, Redland, Bristol.
- 1889 POWELL-COTTON, FREDY H. GORDON, Esq., Quex Park, Birthington, Tharset.
- 1887 PREVOST, SIR AUGUSTUS, BART., F.S.A., 79, Westbourne Terrace, W.
- 1897 PRICE, F. G. HILTON, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., 17, Collingham Gardens, S.W.
- 1905 PRICE, HARRY, Esq., Cloverley, St. Donatt's Road, New Cross, S.E.
- 1878 PRIDKAUX, COL. W. F., C.S.I., F.R.G.S., M.B.A.S., 1, West Cliff Terrace, Raingate.
- 1899 PRITCHARD, JOHN E., Esq., F.S.A., 8, Cold Harbour Road, Redland, Bristol.
- 1902 RAMSDEN, HENRY A., Esq., Consulado General de la Republica de Cuba, Barcelona, Spain.
- 1887 RAYSON, W., Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., Fairfield, Hitchin, Herts.
- 1893 RAPHAEL, OSCAR C., Esq., 37, Portland Place, W.
- 1890 RAPSON, PROF. E. J., M.A., M.B.A.S., British Museum, W.C., *Hon. Secretary*.
- 1848 RASHLEIGH, JONATHAN, Esq., M.A., D.L., J.P., Menabilly, Par Station, Cornwall.
- 1887 READY, W. TALBOT, Esq., 55, Rathbone Place, W.
- 1905 REGAN, W. H., Esq., 51, Queen's Road, Baywater, W.
- 1895 RIDGEWAY, PROFESSOR W., M.A., Fen Ditton, Cambridge.
- 1876 *ROBERTSON, J. D., Esq., M.A., 21, Park Road, Richmond Hill, Surrey.

(1847-1850)

- 1889 ROBE, WILLIAM, Esq., C.C., F.S.A., F.I.L.S., Crookson Place, Burnham-on-Crouch.
- 1903 ROSENKRIM, MAX, Esq., F.S.A., 68, Belair Park Gardens, N.W.
- 1900 ROWELL, ROBERT N., Esq., 10, Oakwood Court, Kensington, W.
- 1862 ROSTON, SIMPSON, Esq., 1, Hat Court, Temple, E.C.
- 1896 *ROTH, BERNARD, Esq., J.P., Wayside, Preston Park, Brighton.
- 1904 ROWLANDSON, HENRY, Esq., 17, King Edward's Road, South Hackney, N.E.
- 1908 ROSEN, PAUL, Esq., Ph.D., 89, Loxham Gardens, Kensington, W.
- 1904 RUSTAFARK, ROBERT DE, Esq., Junior Athenaeum Club, 116, Piccadilly, W.
- 1872 *SALAS, MIGUEL T., Esq., 247, Florida Street, Buenos Ayres.
- 1877 *SANDERSON, LIEUT.-COL. JOHN GLAS, M.V.O., F.S.A., Whimhurst, Hayling Island, Havant, Hants.
- 1875 SCHINDLER, GENERAL A. HOUTUM, C.I.E., Teheran, Persia.
- 1904 SENBORN, FREDERICK, Esq., LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., The Hermitage, Hitchin.
- 1895 SELBY, HENRY JOHN, Esq., The Vale, Shortlands, Kent.
- 1890 SELTMAN, E. J., Esq., Kinghoe, Great Berkhamsted, Herts.
- 1900 SHACKLES, GEORGE L., Esq., Southfield, Hessle, near Hull.
- 1896 SIMPSON, E. C., Esq., Huntriss Row, Scarborough.
- 1893 *SIMS, R. F. MAXLEY, Esq., 11, Summer Place, South Kensington, S.W.
- 1896 SINGH, KUNVAR KUSHAL PAL, RAO OF KOTLA, Kotla, Agra, India.
- 1904 SMITH, CRUEL HARCOURT, Esq., LL.D., British Museum, W.C.
- 1893 SMITH, H. HUBERT, Esq., 542, West 150th Street, New York.
- 1866 SMITH, SAMUEL, Esq., 25, Croxteth Road, Prince's Park, Liverpool.
- 1890 SMITH, W. BERKEFORD, Esq., Kemmore, Vauxhall Park Road West, Blackheath.
- 1892 SMITH, VINCENT A., Esq., Haslewood, The Park, Cheltenham.
- 1881 SMITH, J. DOYLE, Esq., F.G.S., Ecclesdin, Upper Norwood.
- 1890 *SPENCE, C. J., Esq., South Preston Lodge, North Shields.
- 1894 SPINK, SAMUEL M., Esq., 17, Piccadilly, W.
- 1902 STAINER, CHARLES LEWIS, Esq., 10, South Parks Road, Oxford.

DECEASED

- 1890 STANFORD, CHARLES G. THOMAS, Esq., 3, Emsmore Gardens, S.W.
- 1869 *STREAFIELD, REV. GEORGE SIDNEY, Penny Compton Rectory, Lymington.
- 1896 STRIDE, ARTHUR LEWIS, Esq., J.P., Bush Hall, Hatfield.
- 1894 STROHLYN, M. P. C., 86, Route de Chêne, Geneva, Switzerland.
- 1864 *STURGES, MAJOR-GEN. F. W., R.A., M.B.A.S., 2, Clarence Terrace, St. Luke's, Cork, Ireland.
- 1896 *TAKES, H. W., Esq., 35, Greenholm Road, Eltham, S.E.
- 1879 TALBOT, LIEUT.-COL. THE HON. MILD GEORGE, R.E., 2, Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.
- 1897 TALBOT, W. S., Esq., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. King & Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1888 TATTON, THOS. E., Esq., Wythenshawe, Northenden, Cheshire.
- 1892 *TAYLOR, R. WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., LL.B., F.S.A., 8, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
- 1887 TAYLOR, W. H., Esq., The Croft, Wheelwright Road, Edlington, near Birmingham.
- 1904 TEMPLE, SIR RICHARD CASNAC, BART., C.I.E., The Nash, Worcester.
- 1887 THAIRLWALL, F. J., Esq., 12, Upper Park Road, Haverstock Hill, N.W.
- 1880 *THERBOLD, W., Esq., North Brow, 9, Croftons Park, Hfracombe.
- 1896 THOMPSON, SIR HERBERT, BART., 35, Wimpole Street, W.
- 1896 THORBUEN, HENRY W., Esq., Cradock Villa, Bishop Auckland.
- 1903 THORPE, GODFREY F., Esq., 1, Garstin Place, Calcutta, India.
- 1888 THURSTON, E., Esq., Central Government Museum, Madras.
- 1895 TILLSTONE, F. J., Esq., The Librarian, Brighton Public Library, Church Street, Brighton.
- 1894 TIDDIS, A. B., Esq., Bank of New South Wales, Yass, New South Wales.
- 1880 TRIST, J. W., Esq., F.S.A., F.S.I., 3, Great St. Helena, E.C.
- 1887 TROTTER, LIEUT.-COL. HENRY, C.B., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1874 VERITY, JAMES, Esq., The Headlands, Earls Heaton, Dewsbury.
- 1903 VINTER, WALTER FREDERICK, Esq., Glenville, Walton-on-Thames, Surrey.
- 1898 VINTUR, HERBERT, Esq., 7, City Garden Row, City Road, N.
- 1874 VILE, GEORGE HENRY, Esq., 15, Spencer Road, Putney, S.W.

ELIOT.

1899 VLASTO, MICHEL P., Esq., 12, Allée des Capucines, Marseilles, France.

1892 VOLT, DR. W., Mitter, United Provinces, India.

1902 WAKLEY, THOMAS, Esq., JUN., L.R.C.P., 16, Hyde Park Gate, S.W.

1883 WALKER, R. K., Esq., M.A., Trin. Coll. Dub., Watergate, Moath Road, Bray, Ireland.

1897 WALTERS, FRED. A., Esq., F.S.A., 37, Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W.

1894 WARD, JOHN, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., Lennoxvale, Belfast, Ireland.

1889 WARREN, COL. FAULKLAND, C.M.G., 911, Nicola Street, Vancouver, British Columbia.

1901 *WATTERS, CHARLES A., Esq., Highfield, Woolton Road, Wavertree, Liverpool.

1901 WERR, PERCY H., Esq., Walton-on-Thames.

1887 *WERNER, EDWARD F., Esq., 58, Alster, Hamburg, Germany.

1886 *WEIER, F. PARRIS, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., 19, Harley Street, W.

1888 *WEIER, SIR HERMANN, M.D., 10, Grosvenor Street, Grosvenor Square, W., Vice-President.

1894 WEBSTER, W. J., Esq., 10, The Parade, Norbury, S.E.

1904 WRIGHT, WILLIAM CHARLES, Esq., 17, Ship Street, Brighton.

1899 WELCH, FRANCIS BENTHAM, Esq., B.A., 8, York View, Pocklington, East Yorks.

1886 WHELAN, F. E., Esq., 6, Bloomsbury Street, W.C.

1889 *WIDHAM, MRS. LEWIS, Redcourt, Haslemere.

1881 WILLIAMSON, GEO. C., Esq., F.R.S.L., The Mount, Guildford, Surrey.

1869 WINNER, THOMAS R., Esq., 81, Shooter's Hill Road, Blackheath, S.E.

1904 WINTER, CHARLES, Esq., Oldfields, Thetford Road, New Malden, Surrey.

1868 †WOOD, HUMPHREY, Esq., F.S.A., Chatham.

1860 WOMERS, BARON G. DE, F.R.G.S., F.S.A., V.P.R.S.L., F.G.S., D.L., J.P., 17, Park Crescent, Portland Place, W.

1903 WRIGHT, H. NELSON, Esq., Allahabad, United Provinces, India.

1880 WROTH, W. W., Esq., British Museum.

1883 WYON, ALLAN, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., 2, Langham Chambers, Portland Place, W.

ELECTED

- 1904 YEAMES, ARTHUR HENRY SAVAGE, Esq., New College, Oxford.
 1889 YATES, F. WILLSON, Esq., 7, Leinster Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
 1880 YOUNG, ARTHUR W., Esq., 12, Hyde Park Terrace, W.
 1808 YOUNG, JAMES, Esq., 9, Regent's Park Road, Gloucester Gate, N.W.
 1900 ZIMMERMANN, REV. JEREMIAH, M.A., D.D., LL.D., 107, South Avenue, Syracuse, New York, U.S.A.

HONORARY FELLOWS.

ELECTED

- 1898 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY, Palazzo Quirinale, Rome.
 1891 BABELON, M. ERNEST, Mem. de l'Inst., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
 1903 BÄHRFELDT, OBERSTLEUTNANT M., Kronprinzenstrasse, 6, Halle, Saxony.
 1899 BLANCHET, M. J. A., 40, Avenue Bosquet, Paris.
 1891 DANNENBERG, HERR H., N.W., Lessingstrasse, Berlin.
 1898 DRESSER, DR. H., Müns-Kabinet, K. Museum, Berlin.
 1899 GABRIEL, PROF. DR. ERTORE, Salita Stella, 21, Naples.
 1893 GRECCHI, SIG. FRANCESCO, 10, Via Filodrammatici, Milan.
 1886 HERBST, HERR C. F., Director of the Museum of Northern Antiquities and Inspector of the Coin Cabinet, Copenhagen.
 1886 HILDEBRAND, DR. HANS, Riksantikvarien, Stockholm.
 1873 IMHOFF-BLUMER, DR. F., Winterthur, Switzerland.
 1893 JONGHE, M. le VICOMTE B. DE, Rue du Trône, 60, Brussels.
 1879 KERNER, DR. F., K.K. Museum, Vienna.
 1904 KUNITSCHKE, PROF. J. W., Pichlergasse, 1, Vienna.
 1893 LOHNBECKE, HERR A., Cellerstrasse, 1, Brunswick.
 1904 MAURICE, M. JULES, 33, Rue Washington, Paris.
 1898 MILANI, PROF., Luigi Adriano, Florence.
 1899 PICK, DR. BENIGNT, Herzogliche Bibliothek, Gotha.
 1895 REINACH, M. THÉODORE, 26, Rue Murillo, Paris.

ELECTION.

1891 SYNONOS, M. J. S., Conservateur du Cabinet des Médailles, Athens.

1896 WEIL, DR. RUDOLF, Königliche Museen, Berlin.

MEDALLISTS

OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

1883 CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.

1884 AQUILLA SMITH, Esq., M.D., M.B.I.A.

1885 EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., F.R.S.

1886 MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.

1887 JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

1888 DR. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, of Winterthur.

1889 PROFESSOR PRECY GARDNER, LL.D., F.S.A.

1890 MONSIEUR J. P. SIX, of Amsterdam.

1891 DR. C. LUDWIG MÜLLER, of Copenhagen.

1892 PROFESSOR R. STUART POOLE, LL.D.

1893 MONSIEUR W. H. WASHINGTON, Sécrétaire, Membres de l'Institut, Paris.

1894 CHARLES FRANCIS KEMPE, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

1895 PROFESSOR DR. THEODOR MOMMSEN, of Berlin.

1896 FREDERIC W. MADDEN, Esq., M.R.A.S.

1897 DR. ALFRED VON SALLÉ, of Berlin.

1898 THE REV. CANON W. GREENWELL, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

1899 MONSIEUR ERNEST HARELON, Membre de l'Institut, Conservateur des Médailles, Paris.

1900 PROFESSOR STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A., LL.D.

1901 S. E. BARON WLADIMIR VON TIESSENHAUSEN.

1902 ARTHUR J. EVANS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

1903 MONSIEUR GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.

1904 HER MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1903—1904.

OCTOBER 15, 1903.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,
V.P.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The President announced that the Council had decided to apply for a Royal Charter of Incorporation for the Society, and that a Petition to His Majesty the King and a Draft of the Charter had been prepared. This was approved.

The President also announced that the Council had awarded its medal in gold to His Majesty, the King of Italy, and it was hoped that an opportunity would occur for presenting the medal during His Majesty's coming visit to this country.

Stanley Bousfield, Esq., M.B., and Paul Ruben, Esq., Ph.D. were elected Members of the Society.

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

1. Guida numismatica. 4 Ed. By F. and E. Gnecchi.
From the Authors.

2. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,
1901-1902.

3. Una Medaglia poco nota di Papa Pio IV. By S. Ambrosoli. From the Author.
4. Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique, 1901-1902. École française d'Athènes.
5. Bulletin international de Numismatique. Tome II, Nos. 2, 3.
6. Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xxiii, Pt. i.
7. Revue Belge de Numismatique. 3^{me} et 4^{me} livr., 1903.
8. Annals of the British School at Athens. Vol. iii.
9. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 1^{re} et 2^{me} trim., 1903.
10. Trois Monnaies de Reckheim. By the Vic^e B. de Jonghe. From the Author.
11. Roman coins by F. & E. Gnecchi. Translated by A. W. Hands. From Messrs. Spink & Sons.
12. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 239-242.
13. Thirty-third Annual Report of the Deputy Master and Comptroller of the Royal Mint, 1902.
14. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie royale de Belgique. Nos. 5-8, 1903.
15. Proposito delle cose dette "restituzione" di Galliano et di Filippo. By S. Ambrosoli. From the Author.
16. Archaeologia Aelliana. Vol. xxv., Pt. I.
17. Bulletin de Numismatique, Avril-Août, 1903.
18. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, 1903.
19. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1902.
20. Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1902.
21. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. 2, 1903.
22. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. vii., No. 293.
23. Revue Numismatique. 3^{me} trim., 1903.
24. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. xxxiii., Pt. 2.

25. Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines. Fasc. 34.

26. A Collection of Coins from Malacca. By H. Hanitsch. From the Author.

27. Hoards of Coins found in Egypt. By J. G. Milne. From the Author.

28. Le Monete suberata. By M. Piccione. From the Author.

29. Royal Irish Academy. Proceedings, Vol. xxiv., Sect. c., Pt. 3; Transactions, Vol. xxxii., Sect. c., Pt. 1.

30. Foreningen til norske Fortidsmindesterkers Beværg. Aarsberetning for 1902.

31. Monnaies inédites ou rares de ma Collection. By J. Prou. From the Author.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a half-groat of Richard III with the mint-mark a boar's head. This coin appeared to have been struck from dies of the groat.

Mr. Harry Price exhibited specimens in silver-gilt, silver, and bronze of a medal recently struck to commemorate the battle of Shrewsbury, fought in 1403. It was designed by the Mayor, Mr. Herbert Southam, and shows on the obverse a view of Battlefield Church, and on the reverse the arms of Henry IV and Edward VII, of the county of Salop and of Shrewsbury.

Mr. John Dudman, jun., showed a proof of the copper penny of George IV with the reverse design for the Ionian Islands, and a proof of the penny of 1841 with two stops after "Reg."

Mr. J. E. Pritchard sent for exhibition a photograph of a one-pound note issued in 1812 by the Bristol Commercial Token Company.

Mr. G. Macdonald communicated an account of a recent find of Roman coins in Scotland. The coins were discovered in a well in the parish of Kirkintilloch, and consisted of a denarius of Mark Antony, n.c. 32, and of twelve others of

the emperors Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius. The interest in the find lay in the circumstance that all the imperial coins were of tin, and not silver, and that several of them had evidently been cast in the same mould. Mr. Macdonald was of opinion that the coins were not forgeries intended for circulation, but were imitations especially manufactured for devotional purposes, the custom of throwing money into wells from superstitious motives being in ancient times a very familiar phenomenon.

NOVEMBER 12, 1903.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

A vote of condolence was passed with the widow and family of Professor Theodor Mommsen, who was an honorary Member and a Medallist of the Society.

Lieut.-Col. James Roger Bramble, F.S.A., George Clulow, Esq., F. W. Hasluck, Esq., Frank C. Higgins, Esq., F. Sticksland Lyddon, Esq., T. Cowper Martin, Esq., William Newall, Esq., Godfrey F. Thorpe, Esq., Walter F. Vinter, Esq., and H. Nelson Wright, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

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

1. *Bonner Jahrbücher*. Heft 110.
2. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. xxxiii., Pt. 3.
3. *Monatblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, No. 243.
4. *Revue Numismatique*. 3^{me} trim., 1903.
5. *Medals, Jetons and Tokens illustrative of the Science of Medicine* (continuation). By Dr. H. R. Storey. From the Author.

6. *Revue Suisse de Numismatique*. Tome xi., 2^e livr.

7. Jewish coins. By Théodore Reinach. Translated by Mary Hill. From the Publishers.

8. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, 1903. Pt. iii.

Mr. L. Forrer exhibited a rare drachm of Epidaurus in Argolis, having on the obverse the head of Asclepius, and on the reverse a seated figure of that god.

Mr. Percy Webb showed two denarii of Julia Domna, one with the reverse type of "Mater Deum," the other with figure of Vesta, but with the legend "Vaata."

Mr. A. D. Passmore exhibited a penny of Baldred of Kent, A.D. 806-25, with his bust and the title "Rex M." instead of "Rex Cant.," and on the reverse a star formed of seven wedges with pellets between them, and around the moneyer's name "Danan," which does not occur on any other Anglo-Saxon coin, nor is it given in Searle's "Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum."

Mr. F. W. Longbottom exhibited an Irish penny, the obverse of which is copied from the so-called "Canopy" type of William I, whilst on the reverse are three outstretched arms.

Mr. W. Webster showed a shilling of Charles I of the "Declaration" type, and probably struck at Shrewsbury, as the mint-mark, three plumes on the obverse, is without coronet or bands.

Mr. C. E. Mackerell exhibited a two-guinea piece of Charles II of the unpublished date 1671.

Mr. H. Fentiman exhibited a silver-gilt pass of the King's Theatre for the Prince of Wales's box; a beggar's badge to be worn by mendicants in the parish of Huntley, Aberdeenshire; and a Bank of England dollar, dated 1804, struck over a Spanish dollar of 1805, which showed that the dies prepared for the coining of the Bank dollar of 1804 remained in use after that date.

The first portion of a paper by the late Mr. Frederick

Spicer, on the coinage of William I and II, was read. The writer, having given an analysis of the various finds of coins of William I and II, proceeded to deal with each type in its chronological order, and in discussing the so-called "Canopy" coins of William I suggested that the bust is not placed beneath a canopy, but that it was intended to be represented as being within a portico, a type not infrequent on the German coins of the same period. It would, therefore, have a religious significance, denoting that William wished to bring about a reconciliation with the ecclesiastical party, many of whom he had treated with harshness. The first portion of this paper is printed in Vol. iv. p. 144.

DECEMBER 17, 1903.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

Dr. Henry Arthur Allbutt and Francis Ll. Griffith, Esq., F.S.A., were elected Members of the Society.

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

1. Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, etc., 1903. Nos. 9, 10.
2. Bulletin de Numismatique. Sept.-Oct., 1903.
3. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution Museum, 1901.
4. Report on the Government Museum, Madras, 1902-1903.
5. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 244.
6. Manuale di Numismatica. By Dr. S. Ambrosoli. 3 Ed. From the Publisher, Ulrico Hoepli.
7. American Journal of Numismatics. April, 1903.
8. Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xxviii, Pt. 2.

Mr. W. C. Boyd exhibited a Greek copper coin found in Cyprus, with head of Apollo on the obverse, and a mare suckling a foal and the letters *EXA* on the reverse; also a Roman denarius with portraits of Mark Antony and Cleopatra.

Mr. Talfourd Ely showed a British copper coin (found in Hayling Island) of the rude head and horse type; it appears to have been plated with gold.

Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton exhibited a penny of William I, struck at Rochester, of the so-called "Canopy" type, the mint-name reading *HA* only; and another of William II of the same mint and moneyer, with the reverse type, a cross pattée with a trefoil in each angle (as Hawkins, No. 247); this coin is of importance as showing the sequence of the types, as it was overstruck on a coin of Hawkins, No. 246.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a groat, half-groat, and penny of Edward IV of the heavy coinage; and another groat of the same reign of the light-issue type, but of heavy weight.

Mr. L. Forrer showed some medals and plaques issued by the Société Française des Amis de la Médaille and the Société Belge-Hollandaise de la Médaille.

A further portion of Mr. F. Spicer's paper on the coinages of William I and II was read. The author drew special attention to the coins of William I with two sceptres on the obverse and to those of the "PAXS" type; the latter he held to be the last issue of William I.

JANUARY 21, 1904.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The Duke of Norfolk, E.M., K.G., Francis Bennett Goldney, Esq., F.S.A., Hugh John Lofting, Esq., James Smith Pitt, Esq., Frederick Seebohm, Esq., LL.D., and Arthur Henry Savage Yeames, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

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

1. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. 1^{re} livr., 1904.
2. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. Nos. 243, 245.
3. *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol. vii., No. 4, 1903, and Supplement.
4. *Le Florin d'or d'Englebert de la Marck*. By the Vic^e B. de Jonghe. From the Author.
5. *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institute, 1902*.
6. *Monnaies Juives*. By Th. Reinach. From the President.
7. *Transactions of the Japan Society*. Vol. vi.
8. *Numismatic Circular*. Vol. xi., 1903. From Messrs. Spink and Sons.
9. *Bulletin International de Numismatique*. Tome ii., No. 4.
10. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. Vol. xxiv., Pt. 4.
11. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*. Vol. xxxii., Pts. 2 and 3.

Mr. Percy Webb exhibited a denarius of Carausius of the "PAX" type, but with the bust of the emperor turned to the left, and holding a globe surmounted by a bird.

Mr. T. Bliss showed some three-pound pieces of Charles I. struck at Oxford, and bearing the dates 1642, 1643, and 1644.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited a rare pewter Irish half-penny of James II., dated 1690.

Mr. Harry Price showed a Shropshire shilling of 1811, with reverse type a bear, and of peculiar work.

Mr. W. J. Hocking exhibited a specimen of the new Straits Settlements dollar.

The President read a paper on an unpublished copper denarius of Carausius, having for reverse type a figure holding a patera and a cornucopias, with the legend GENIO

BRITANNI(AE). The writer traced the course of the representations of the "Genius" on Roman coins downwards from the Republican Period, and thence through that of the Empire. He also traced it back to more ancient times, and pointed out its probable connexion with the Egyptian "Kha." This paper is printed in Vol. iv. p. 136.

Mr. Grueber read a paper on a small find of silver pennies of Stephen and Henry II discovered near Romsey, in Hants. The find is of interest, as it appears to be the only one recorded in which coins of Stephen were found with those of Henry II.

FEBRUARY 18, 1904.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.L.E., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Henry Griffith, Esq., F.S.A., and William Charles Weight, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

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

1. *I Piombi Antichi*. By F. de Ficoroni. From the President.
2. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Fasc. 4, 1903.
3. *A Manual of Musalman Numismatics*. By O. Codrington, M.D. From the Author.
4. *Monatshlatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. No. 247.
5. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*. 3^{me} trim., 1903.
6. *American Journal of Numismatics*. Oct., 1903.
7. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. xxxiii., Pt. 4.

A special vote of thanks was accorded to Dr. Codrington for his donation; and the Meeting congratulated him on the successful completion of his arduous task.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a series of sixteen copper coins from a find in Dorsetshire of the Constantine period, and struck in London between the years A.D. 321 and 324.

Mr. Lionel Fletcher showed two silver blanks which had evidently been prepared for issue as shillings of the Irish Ormonde money; and an example of the Belfast halfpenny token of 1734, with view of the High Street at Belfast; only one other specimen of this token, which is in the Belfast Museum, appears to be recorded. These three coins came from the Gillespie Collection.

Mr. G. F. Hill communicated a paper on the recent find of Roman bronze coins at Croydon. The hoard, when first counted, consisted of over 3600 specimens, and of these 2796 were sent to the British Museum for examination and classification. They are of Constantius II, Constans, Magnentius, and Gallus, representing the issues of thirteen mints situated in Gaul, Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor. The period covered by the hoard extended over only a few years, and its date of burial was probably in the first half of A.D. 351. Of the coins sent for examination, the Corporation of Croydon generously presented 210 to the national collection.

Mr. J. G. Milne also communicated a paper on a group of Roman clay coin-moulds from Behnesa, in Egypt. These moulds represented types of the coins of Maximinus Daza, Licinius I, and Constantine the Great. They were evidently intended to be used for forging coins of the period, and the moulds were made by the *cire perdue* process, i.e. casts were taken in wax from the original coins, and these casts were enveloped in a cylinder of soft clay; a triangular cut was then made along the cylinder down to the wax, which was melted out, and the cylinder baked. The coins from which these moulds were constructed extended from A.D. 307 to 316.

MARCH 17, 1904.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Chairman announced that Letters Patent under the Great Seal had been issued, granting a Charter of Incorporation to the Numismatic Society of London under the title of "The Royal Numismatic Society;" and also that His Majesty the King had most graciously consented to be the Patron of the Society. The Royal Charter was laid upon the table.

The Chairman, having referred to the great services which the President had rendered the Society in the course of his long Membership, and especially as President, proposed the following Resolution, which was seconded by Sir Augustus Prevost, and carried with acclamation:—

"That the Fellows of the Royal Numismatic Society desire to express their deep gratitude to Sir John Evans, K.C.B., their President, for the many and great services he has rendered the Society, and especially in connexion with the granting of the Royal Charter by His Majesty the King, and in obtaining His Majesty's consent to be the Patron of the Society."

A telegram from the President, despatched from Athens, conveying his congratulations to the Society, was read to the Meeting.

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

1. Institut Grand Ducal de Luxembourg. Publications de la Section Historique. Vols. 51, 52.
2. Académie royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Annuaire 1904; Bulletin, Classe des Lettres, 1903. Nos. 11, 12.
3. *Archæologia Aeliana*. Vol. xxv. Pt. 2.
4. *Revue Numismatique*. 4^{me} trim., 1903.

5. *Il Ripostiglio di Monte Cuore*. By S. Ambrosoli. From the Author.

6. *Bulletin de Numismatique*. Nov.-Dec., 1903.

7. *Tarraco o Ticinum?* By Pompeo Monti and Lodovico Laffranchi. From the Authors.

Mr. J. H. Fitzhenry exhibited a specimen in bronze of the gold medal by the artist Jacques Gaurvain, which was presented to Queen Eleanor, wife of Francis I of France, and to Antoine Duprat, Cardinal Legate and Chancellor, on the occasion of their visit to Lyons in May, 1533. The original medals in gold are lost, and there only remain two replicas in bronze.

Sir Augustus Prevost showed a medal of Louis XIV, struck in 1672, and commemorating his visit to Utrecht, on which occasion the church of St. Martin, the cathedral of that city, was handed over to the Roman Catholics. The medal is the work of Giovanni Hamerani, by whom it was executed under the order of Pope Clement X. Sir Augustus Prevost also exhibited a recent medal commemorating the "Escalade" of Geneva, December 12, 1602. On one face is seen a soldier of Geneva hurling down a Savoyard from the battlements, and on the other the arms of Geneva.

Mr. F. A. Walters showed two York half-groats of the heavy and light coinages of Henry VI.

Mr. T. Bliss exhibited two dies made by Becker, the forger, for striking false Hungarian coins. These dies were prepared by Becker when staying at Buda-Pesth.

Dr. Julius Cahn communicated a paper on some German Renaissance medals in the British Museum, amongst which he recognized some unpublished works of the German medallists Friedrich Hagenauer, a native of Strassburg; of Peter Flötner, of Nuremberg; of Hans Reimer, of Munich; of Valentin Moser, of Nuremberg; and others. All the medals described by Dr. Cahn are portrait medals. This paper is printed in Vol. iv., pp. 39-61.

APRIL 21, 1904.

SIR JOSH EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The President announced that a draft of the Bye-Laws and Regulations of the Society had been prepared in accordance with the provisions of the Royal Charter, and that it was proposed to submit it to a Special General Meeting of Fellows, to be summoned on May 9. This was approved.

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

1. *Medallie Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Plates i.-x.* From the Trustees of the British Museum.

2. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest.* 4^{me} trim., 1903.

3. *Bulletin de Numismatique.* Jan.-Mar., 1904.

4. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.* Nos. 248, 249.

5. *Le Vicende politiche di Neapolis durante il v^o ed il iv^o Secolo.* By A. Sambon. From the Author.

6. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica.* Fasc. 1, 1904.

7. *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie royale de Belgique.* No. 192, 1904.

8. *American Journal of Archaeology.* Vol. viii., No. 1.

9. *Bulletin international de Numismatique.* Tome iii., No. 1.

10. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.* Vol. xix., No. 2.

11. *The Canadian Antiquarian.* Vol. iv., Nos. 2-4.

12. *Revue Belge de Numismatique.* 2^{me} livr., 1904.

13. *Rassegna Numismatica.* No. 2.

14. *Numismatisches Literatur-Blatt.* Nos. 138, 139.

The President exhibited a gold medallion (weighing 308 grains) of the Roman Emperor Constantius II, struck at

Antioch, and having on the obverse the bust of the emperor, and on the reverse a figure of Constantinople seated, with the surrounding legend GLORIA ROMANORVM. This medallion, which is in a very fine state of preservation, was recently found in Egypt.

Mr. T. Bliss exhibited dies for forging a large gold Hungarian coin, which were made by the well-known forger Becker during his residence at Buda-Pesth. Similar dies for the same purpose had been shown by Mr. Bliss at the previous meeting.

Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton showed two bronze coins of Canobeline, one having on the reverse a butting bull, the other a seated female figure grasping a hammer in her right hand, and holding in the other a vessel or cuirass; but Mr. Carlyon-Britton considered it to be an anvil, and therefore interpreted the figure to be one of the "Monetae." The type of the "Monetae" was, however, not known on Roman coins till some two centuries later. Both coins came from the Montagu collection.

Mr. F. A. Walters read a paper on the coinage of Richard II, in which he traced a more complete sequence of types and issues than had yet been attempted, and in doing so brought to notice a considerable number of previously unpublished varieties of coins of that reign, both in gold and silver. It was suggested that there was great probability that the gold coins of a type which Mr. Walters believes to be the latest, and which conspicuously omits the French title to the king's name, were struck after his second marriage with Isabella of Valois, when he formally renounced any additional claim, through her or her descendants, to the crown of France. Attention was also drawn to the evidence of the Mint accounts as to the smallness of the issues during the whole of the reign, and to the consequent rarity of the coins of Richard II, though he reigned for twenty-two years.

MAY 9, 1904.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

This Special General Meeting was called for the purpose of considering the draft of the Bye-Laws which had been prepared by the Council in accordance with the Provisions of the Royal Charter, and the Regulations of the Society.

The notice summoning the Meeting having been read, the draft of the Bye-Laws and Regulations was taken clause by clause, and adopted.

The Treasurer announced that £187 14s. had been subscribed towards the expenses connected with the granting of the Royal Charter, of which sum the President had most generously contributed £100.

MAY 19, 1904.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

Mr. Thomas Bliss and Mr. Percy Webb were appointed auditors.

The Rt. Hon. William Ellison-Macartney, Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, the Rev. Edwin Burton, Lieut. Albemarle Price Blackwood, Thomas Henty Boileau Graham, Esq., Edward Bosworth Harris, Esq., and Isaac T. Niblett, Esq., were elected, and the Duke of Northumberland, K.G., Henry Rowlandson, Esq., and Cecil Harcourt Smith, Esq., were proposed as Fellows of the Society. M. Jules Maurice of Paris, and Prof. J. W. Kubitschek of Vienna were proposed as Honorary Fellows.

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

1. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Vol. xxiv., Pt. i.
2. Foreningen til Norske Fortidamindeamnerkernes Beværing. Aarsberetning for 1900.
3. *Revue Numismatique*. 1^{re} trim., 1904.
4. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. xxxiv., Pt. i.
5. *Archæologia Cantiana*. Vol. xxvi.
6. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. Vol. xxxvii.
7. *Monatblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. No. 250.
8. Priced Sale Catalogue of the Collection of Coins of Mr. Richard Miles, 1820. From the Treasurer.

The President exhibited a large bronze coin of Ptolemy III of Egypt, with the head of Zeus on the obverse, and the eagle on a thunderbolt on the reverse. The coin is unusually well struck and in very fine preservation, and the edge showed that it had been carefully turned in a lathe.

Mr. F. A. Walters showed a York penny and another of Durham struck during the reign of Henry IV. Both coins were from the Longstaffe collection.

Mr. H. Fentiman exhibited an unpublished seventeenth-century farthing token of Burton-on-Trent struck by John Wakefield.

Mr. Percy Webb showed a bronze coin of Carausius struck over one of Claudius II, a portion of the heads of both emperors appearing on the obverse.

The President read a paper on an advertising medal of a Dutch or German *Formenschnyder* or engraver, having on one face his name Hans Han, the date 1577, and a shield with the arms of France and England, and on the other a Tudor rose within the motto of the Garter. The *Formenschnyder* was literally a figure-cutter or engraver in wood. He was the workman who carried out the designs of the draughtsman or artist, and his profession embraced all the graven work

connected with the production of a complete printed book. Of the history of Hans Han the writer has been unable to find any record; but the name of Han or Hahn is connected with printing in the fifteenth century, and there was a maker of tools for bookbinding of the middle of the sixteenth century who signed himself H. H.

Prof. E. J. Rapson read a paper on "Some Ancient Silver Coins from Baluchistan." The specimens described came from a find made two years ago in the vicinity of the Kuh-i-Taftan, and consisted partly of original Seleucid and Bactrian coins belonging to the third century and the first half of the second century B.C., and partly of barbarous imitations of these. The latter class, no doubt, represented a currency in use among the wild tribes of Baluchistan, and might be compared, as regards its character, with the earliest coinages of Gaul and Britain.

JUNE 16, 1904.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,
V.P.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Duke of Northumberland, K.G., Henry Rowlandson, Esq., and Cecil Harcourt Smith, Esq., LL.D., were elected Fellows, and M. Jules Maurice, of Paris, and Prof. J. W. Kubitschek, of Vienna, were elected Hon. Fellows of the Society.

A special vote of thanks was accorded to the Rev. Frederick B. Dickinson for his presentation of two books, viz., "Autographs of Numismatists" and "Portraits of Numismatists and Antiquaries."

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn and Mr. Percy H. Webb were appointed scrutators of the ballot for the Election of the Council and the Officers for the ensuing year.

The following Report of the Council was then read to the meeting.

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society of London, now "The Royal Numismatic Society."

With much regret they have to announce the death of the following three Ordinary Fellows:—

Henry Griffith, Esq., F.S.A.

E. C. Mitchell, Esq.

Humphrey Wood, Esq., F.S.A.

And of the two following Hon. Fellows:—

M. Edmond Drouin.

Prof. Theodor Mommsen.

The Council also regret to announce the resignation of the following six Ordinary Fellows:—

Francis E. Bigge, Esq.

Charles J. P. Cave, Esq.

Oswald Fitch, Esq.

Philip Nelson, Esq., M.D.

Major-Gen. Valentine Frederick Story.

John Sugden, Esq.

On the other hand the Council have much pleasure in recording the election of the following thirty-one Ordinary Fellows:—

Henry Arthur Allbutt, Esq., LL.D., D.C.L., M.R.C.P.

Lieut. Albemarle Price Blackwood.

Stanley Bonsfield, Esq., M.A., M.B.

Lieut.-Col. James Roger Bramble, J.P., F.S.A.

Rev. Edwin Burton.

George Clulow, Esq.
 The Right Hon. William Ellison-Macartney.
 Francis Bennett Goldney, Esq., F.S.A.
 Thomas Henry Boileau Graham, Esq.
 Frank Ll. Griffith, Esq., M.A.
 Henry Griffith, Esq., F.S.A.
 Edward Bosworth Harris, Esq.
 F. W. Hasluck, Esq.
 Frank C. Higgins, Esq.
 Hugh John Lofting, Esq.
 F. Stickland Lyddon, Esq.
 T. Cowper Martin, Esq.
 Richard W. Mould, Esq. (Newington Public Library).
 William Newall, Esq.
 The Duke of Norfolk, E.M., K.G.
 The Duke of Northumberland, K.G.
 James Smith Pitt, Esq.
 Henry Rowlandson, Esq.
 Paul Ruben, Esq.
 Frederick Seebohm, Esq., LL.D., Litt.D.
 Cecil Harcourt Smith, Esq., D.C.L.
 Godfrey F. Thorpe, Esq.
 Walter F. Vinter, Esq.
 William Charles Weight, Esq.
 H. Nelson Wright, Esq.
 Arthur Henry Savage Yeames, Esq.

And of the Election of the following Hon. Fellows:—

M. Jules Maurice.
 Prof. J. W. Kubitschek.

It will be seen from the above statement that the losses by death and resignation are below the average, whilst there has been an exceptional number of elections, which raises the numerical status of the Society to a point which it has never before attained.

As compared with the last year the number of Fellows is therefore as follows :—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1903	268	23	291
Since elected	31	2	33
	299	25	324
Deceased	3	2	5
Resigned	6	—	6
June, 1904	290	23	313

The Council somewhat anticipated the award of the medal of the Society which is usually made in the month of May, the presentation taking place at the Annual General Meeting in the following month. The visit, in November last, of the King of Italy, who is an Honorary Fellow of the Society, seemed a fitting opportunity for the Society to show its appreciation of the great interest which His Majesty takes in numismatics, and in consequence the Council unanimously awarded, in the month of October, the medal of the Society in gold to His Majesty. Arrangements having been made for the King to receive the medal at Windsor, a deputation consisting of the President, Sir John Evans, the Vice-President, Sir Henry Howorth, the Treasurer, Mr. Boyd, and the Secretary, Mr. Grueber, visited the Castle on the 20th November, and presented the medal to the King, with an illuminated address, of which the following is the text :—

“ Numismatic Society of London,

“ 22, Albemarle Street,

“ 19th November, 1903.

“ To His Most Gracious Majesty, Victor Emmanuel III,
King of Italy.

“ The humble Address of the President, Council, and
Members of the Numismatic Society of London.

“ May it please your Majesty.

“ On behalf of the Numismatic Society of London, we have

the honour of presenting to your Majesty the medal of the Society in gold, which has been awarded to you in recognition of the distinguished services that you have rendered to Numismatic Science, especially in connection with the mediæval coinage of the country over which your Majesty has been called upon to reign.

"The Society is proud to have enrolled some years ago your Majesty's name on the list of its Honorary Members, and takes the opportunity of your visit to England to record its high appreciation of the diligence and skill with which your unrivalled collection has been brought together, and at the same time to express its earnest hope that among the cares of State you may still find leisure to prosecute your researches and eventually to place their results before the world.

"Signed on behalf of the Society—

"JOHN EVANS, President.

"HENRY H. HOWORTH, Vice-President.

"W. C. BOYD, Hon. Treasurer.

"HERBERT A. GRUBER, Hon. Secretary."

The Council have to congratulate the Society on its receiving from His Majesty King Edward VII a Royal Charter of Incorporation, under the name of the "Royal Numismatic Society," and also on its obtaining His Majesty's gracious consent to be its Patron. This first honour has necessitated the drafting of new Bye-laws and Regulations which the Council prepared, and which were approved at the Special General Meeting of the Society held on the 9th May. The Bye-laws are now under the consideration of His Majesty's Privy Council.¹

The Hon. Treasurer's Report, which follows, was then submitted to the meeting.

¹ The Bye-Laws have since been approved by His Majesty's Privy Council and are inserted with the Royal Charter and Regulations after the Proceedings.

THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY BALANCE

1893.		£	s	d	£	s	d
June 18 . .	To Binding				2	10	8
June 18 . .	" Autotype Company	14	17	9			
Oct. 16 . .	" " " " " "	27	19	3			
March 14, 1904 . .	" " " " " "	13	16	0			
April 23 . .	" " " " " "	22	0	0			
					79	13	0
June 19, 1903 . .	" Engraving (Mr. Anderson)	9	6				
Oct. 16 . .	" " " " " "	8	0				
April 22, 1904 . .	" " " " " "	1	10	0			
					2	4	6
Oct. 15, 1903 . .	" Printing (Messrs. Clowes)	44	14	9			
Dec. 29 . .	" " " " " "	5	10	0			
March 14, 1904 . .	" " " " " "	150	2	6			
June 19 . .	" " " " " "	1	3	0			
June 19 . .	" " " " " "	57	7	4			
					256	17	7
Dec. 15 . .	" Gold Medal				23	0	0
	" Mrs. E. Harper—Refreshments				11	8	7
1904.							
Jan. 22 . .	" Photography				11	3	
Feb. 4 . .	" Subscription returned				1	1	0
March 18 . .	" Priced Sale Catalogues				2	13	3
March 29 . .	" Insurance				12	0	
May 29 . .	" Rent				99	0	0
June 10 . .	" Secretary's Expenses				5	0	0
June 19 . .	" Treasurer's Expenses				1	13	8
					419	8	6
June 16 . .	" Balance in hand				156	19	11
					575	8	3

SHEET, FROM JUNE 17TH, 1903, TO JUNE 16TH, 1904.

1903.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
June 1	By Balance brought forward				190	7	0
Sept. 5	" Dividend (L. & N. W. Railway 4% Preference Stock)		13	4	0		
April 14, 1904	" " " " "		13	7	2		
	" Subscriptions		277	2	11	20	12
	" Composition Fee		15	15	0		
					292	17	11
June 30	" Sale of <i>Chronicles</i>		20	12	0		
Jan. 5, 1904	" " " " "		29	5	0		
	" " " " "			5	0		
Feb. 5	" " " " "			15	0		
Feb. 7	" " " " "			14	0		
						00	11

 £576 8 5

 THOS. BLISS, }
 PERCY H. WEBB, } *Auditors.*

14th June, 1904.

The Reports of the Council and of the Hon. Treasurer having been adopted, the President delivered the following Address:—

The year through which we have now passed has been one of supreme interest and importance to the Society, which, after a useful existence of nearly seventy years, has had the high honour conferred upon it of receiving a Royal Charter of Incorporation. We are no longer Members of the Numismatic Society of London, but through the deliberate act of His Majesty the King in Council, we have become Fellows of the Royal Numismatic Society.

Moreover, His Majesty King Edward the Seventh has not only been graciously pleased to grant us his Charter, but has most kindly consented to become the Patron of the Society.

Under such auspicious circumstances we may, I think, augur an increased vitality in our body, and may venture to look forward to a long and prosperous career under the altered conditions upon which we have now entered. I trust that every Fellow will, within his own sphere of action, do all in his power to advance the interests of the Society, both by the enrolment of new Fellows and by securing contributions to our Journal and interesting exhibitions for our meetings.

The official cost of our Charter, which was by no means insignificant, has been more than met by liberal private subscriptions, so that it has entailed no charge on the funds of the Society at large. On the contrary, the balance of the amount subscribed will be handed over to our Treasurer, and will be available for general purposes.

Our new Bye-Laws have been adopted at a Special General Meeting of the Society held on May 9, and have, in accordance with our Charter, been submitted to the Privy Council for approval.

At the same Special General Meeting the Regulations

of the Council, relating to various matters of detail, received the approval of the Society.

I am sure that I am acting in accordance with the general feeling of all present, when I offer to the Council, and especially to our Secretary, Mr. Grueber, and to Mr. Horace Monckton, our best thanks for the vast amount of pains that they have bestowed on the preparation of these important documents.

Our medal, in gold, was this year awarded, under special circumstances as to the date of the award, to His Majesty the King of Italy, one of our Honorary Fellows, in recognition of the distinguished services that he has rendered to numismatic science, especially in connection with the mediæval coinage of the country over which he reigns. Together with an Address, the medal was presented to him at Windsor Castle on Friday, November the 20th last, by a small deputation of the Officers of the Society, and was by him most graciously received.

As shown by the Report of the Council, the number of our Fellows is at the present time 290 as against 268 Ordinary Members in June, 1903. Notwithstanding losses by death and resignations of Membership, there has been during the year a net increase of twenty-two in our body. We cannot but regard such a substantial increase as in the highest degree satisfactory.

Our financial condition is on the whole gratifying, especially when we bear in mind that our printing expenses have, in consequence of the application for the Royal Charter and of the necessary modifications of the Bye-Laws, been heavier than usual. It is, moreover, not in every year that the Society's Medal is awarded in gold.

Statements have been made to the effect that the study of the coinage of this country and its dependencies has been neglected by our Society. How wide such statements are from the truth will readily be seen by those who will

take the trouble of analyzing the contents of the last ten volumes of the *Numismatic Chronicle*; among which the first volume of the fourth series is entirely devoted to a paper on the numismatic history of the reign of Henry I, from the pen of Mr. W. J. Andrew, as to the great value of which I have already spoken in my two last Anniversary Addresses.

As a farther test, I have had the curiosity to make a summary list of the various articles that I have myself communicated to the Society, and that have been honoured by insertion in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. They are, according to my calculation, 100 in number, and may be thus classified—

1. Roman numismatics, principally relating to coins in my own collection, and frequently including coins struck or found in Britain	10
2. Romano-British—hoards found in England, coins of Carausius and Allectus, and those struck at British mints	20
3. Ancient British coinage, including a few specimens found on the Continent	25
4. Anglo-Saxon coinage, including some hoards found in Ireland	17
5. English coinage, including hoards, and Colonial coins	21
6. Gaulish coinage, mainly in illustration of the Ancient British	3
7. Foreign coins, reviews, etc.	4
	<hr/> 100

Out of the whole not inconsiderable number a percentage of less than five consists of papers which are not more or less immediately connected with the coinage or the collections in Britain and its dependencies.

While upon this subject, I may point out that any communications relating to the great national numismatic collections

in this country, such as those in the British Museum, or at Oxford, Cambridge, or Glasgow, and, indeed, our principal private collections, have a special interest for those who claim to be British numismatists. In the same way the coinage of our great Indian Empire, and of the British dominions beyond the seas, cannot be regarded as other than fit subjects for a really national Numismatic Society such as ours.

It is, I know, wrong to introduce at our meetings any subject that may be regarded as of a political nature, but I hope to receive your pardon if, on this occasion, I declare that neither politically nor numismatically am I a "Little Englander."

Our losses by death have, I am happy to say, been but few. Among our Honorary Members we have, however, lost two, Prof. Theodor Mommsen, of Berlin, and M. Edmond Drouin, of Paris. Of our Ordinary Fellows we have lost Mr. Humphrey Wood, Mr. Henry Griffith, and Mr. E. O. Mitchell.

Prof. Theodor Mommsen was not only the oldest but the most distinguished of those archaeologists of the last century who combined numismatic with antiquarian knowledge, and who regarded coins in their proper light, as handmaids to history. Born in 1817, he, in due course, studied at the University of Kiel, and from 1844 to 1847 he travelled in Italy, devoting himself in a great measure to the study of inscriptions, the result of a portion of his studies being embodied in his *Inscriptions in the Kingdom of Naples*, which appeared in 1852. In 1854 his *Roman History* followed, and in 1858, after sundry vicissitudes, he finally settled in Berlin. The great work with which his name will always be associated, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Romanarum*, which now extends to twenty volumes, was shortly afterwards begun. It is not, however, with his historical, nor yet with his political work, that was carried on with an equal amount

of enthusiasm, that we are more immediately concerned: it is with his numismatic labours; and in connection with this subject most of us will at once think of his *Geschichte des Römischen Münzwesens*, a most complete and instructive work, perhaps better known as the *Histoire de la Monnaie romaine*, from its French translation by the Duc de Blacas. The amount of compressed information that it contains is stupendous; but this work will give but a faint idea of Mommsen's numismatic labours. Dr. H. Dressel in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*² recites the titles of some fifty-four numismatic treatises from his pen, beginning with an essay on Oscan Coins in 1845, and ending with a paper on the coinage of the Egyptians, published in 1901.

The interval is mainly filled with papers relating to Etruscan, Messapian, Italian, and Roman coins, both Consular and Imperial; but there are also memoirs on coins of Achaia, Bithynia, Corinth, Mauretania, Syracuse, and Thrace.

To the *Numismatic Chronicle* he communicated two short papers, one in 1857 on the weight of Sassanian coins,³ and the other in 1868 on Greek weights.⁴

Professor Mommsen was elected an Honorary Member of our Society in 1878, and died full of years and honours on November 1, 1903.

M. Edmond Drouin, of Paris, was elected an Honorary Member of our Society in 1899. An advocate by profession, he devoted his leisure hours to the study of coins, and in his researches he embraced an immense area, extending over nearly the whole Continent of Asia, and part of Africa. Indo-Scythian, Bactrian, Arsacidan, Sassanian, Mongolian, Persian, Indian, Turko-Chinese, and Soudanese coins, all formed subjects on which he wrote with authority; and his devoted friend, M. Edouard Babelon, has given a list of

² Vol. xxiv., p. 373 et seq.

³ *Num. Chron.* xix. 223.

⁴ *Ibid.* New Ser., viii. 74.

about forty of his essays in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1894, p. 139.

In 1900 M. Drouin's labours were recognized by the French Académie des Inscriptions, which bestowed upon him the *Prix de Numismatique Allier de Hauteroche*. He in his turn has founded by will the *Prix Edmond Drouin*, of the value of 1200 francs, to be awarded every four years by the Académie for a work in French relating to Oriental Numismatics.

M. Drouin, after a long illness, died on January 29, at the age of 66 years.

Among our Ordinary Fellows must be mentioned Mr. Henry Griffith, who for upwards of twenty years had been a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, but who joined our Society only in January last, and was carried off by an attack of pneumonia within three months of his election. His brother-in-law, Mr. Ernest H. Willett, who ceased to be a Member of the Society in 1891, was already proposed for re-election in November of last year, but died before his name could be actually read out as a Candidate. Mr. Willett in 1876,* communicated to the Society a valuable detailed account of a hoard of upwards of 2800 Saxon pennies found in the City of London in 1872, and consisting mainly of pennies of Edward the Confessor. In the following year he gave an account of some recent additions to the Ancient British Coinage of the South-Eastern District.[†] In this important Paper he described no less than 265 gold coins, uninscribed and inscribed, that within a few years previously had been found on the sea-coast near Bognor, many of which of both classes had not before been published. By the liberality of his father, Mr. Henry Willett of Brighton, the majority of the coins of new types are now in the British Museum collection, and not a few are in my own.

* *Num. Chron.*, New Ser., xvi. p. 323.

[†] *Ibid.*, xvii. p. 302.

Again, in 1881, Mr. Ernest Willett published a short paper "on the resident character of the Office of Monetarius in Saxon times,"¹ deriving most of the foundations of his arguments from the coins in the City hoard already mentioned. Looking at the value of those communications, one can only regret that their number is so restricted.

Among those who were at one time Members of the Society, but who from some cause resigned their Membership, I must record the name of Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley, who joined our body in 1881, and left it in 1901. Her detailed and interesting accounts of hoards of Roman coins found within the Severn district will be remembered by many. The first of these related to a series of finds in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire, and was published in the *Chronicle* of 1882. This was followed in 1890 by a "Comparison of the Coins found at Caerwent and Caerleon." But her most important Paper appeared in 1896, and related to a hoard of Roman coins found at Bishop's Wood, Ross-on-Wye. It consisted of no less than 17,550 coins almost entirely of the Constantine Period, which Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley had the patience to examine in the most conscientious and painstaking manner. That portion of her account which relates to the "Coins with Christian Emblems" is especially worthy of notice. We must all regret that one endowed with such powers should not have been spared to accomplish more of what must have been to her so congenial work. She died at Monmouth on the 20th of May last.

Mr. E. C. Mitchell, who was elected in 1887, was connected with the Indian Civil Service, and was mainly interested in Oriental coins. He did not communicate anything to our pages.

Mr. Humphrey Wood, F.S.A., of Chatham, was an old Member of our Society, having been elected in 1868. He

¹ *New Chron.*, Ser. III. i. p. 32.

never made any important communication to the Society, though he belonged to that class of diligent local antiquaries who do so much for the preservation of the records of historical monuments both great and small. His best-known Paper is one on some Roman (or possibly late Celtic) urns found at Rainham Creek,* which was published by the Kent Archaeological Society. He was elected F.S.A. in 1893, and died in the month of February last.

In accordance with my former custom, I must now direct your attention to the principal communications that have been made during the past year to the Society or to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, which, as usual, extend over a wide field.

In Greek numismatics papers have been fairly numerous. Sir Henry Howorth, basing his remarks mainly on coins in the British Museum, has expressed his disagreement with Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's attribution of certain coins to Babylon. These are of Mazaios, who was nominated by Alexander the Great as Satrap of Babylon, which bear his name, and under all the circumstances are regarded by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer as having been issued at Babylon. Sir Henry maintains, on the contrary, that the coins were struck while Mazaios was Satrap of Cilicia and Syria, before he was appointed to Babylon, and that they were issued for the purpose of paying the Greek mercenaries. For this opinion he produces what appear to be cogent reasons. Certain double-darics, some of which have likewise been attributed to Mazaios as Satrap of Babylon, are also discussed, and the probability argued of their having been struck in Cilicia and Syria, and not at Babylon. He goes on to dispute the attribution of certain coins to Stamenes, who was appointed Satrap of Babylon on the death of Mazaios; but into the details of the points under discussion this is hardly the occasion to enter. The question

is somewhat complicated by the probability of certain coins adduced as evidence being forgeries. I can only say that in considering the coins attributed to Babylon and her satraps, this weighty paper by Sir Henry Howorth will deserve the fullest consideration.

To Mr. Warwick Wroth we are again indebted for one of his interesting notices of the Greek coins acquired by the British Museum. On this occasion it relates to the year 1902, when 543 coins, of which 6 were of gold and 202 of silver, were added to the collection. The majority of the coins of which illustrations are given are of the Roman Imperial period; but there are some of earlier date. A copper coin of Olophyxus in Macedonian Chalcidice is the first of that city that has been discovered. It seems to belong to the first half of the fourth century B.C. A small silver coin of Molossii in Epirus is of interest as having one of the fierce Molossian dogs for its obverse type.

To the Athenian coinage of Imperial times many copper coins of interesting types have been added. Reverses of Athena, some with the olive-tree of her temple, and others with the olive-tree but no goddess, accompanied by the owl, amphora, and palm-tree; others again with Apollo Lykeios, Nike, and Theseus, either with somewhat of the attributes of Herakles, or else raising the rock, may specially be mentioned.

A large brass coin of Julia Donna, struck at Caesarea Germanica, seems to represent a part of an amphitheatre with spectators, possibly of the Imperial family, looking from it. In front of the building is an obelisk. A coin of Tranquillina struck at Tralles in Lycia seems to represent a scene from the Nuptials of Io, while one of Ancyra shows a panther suckling the infant Dionysos, with a youthful satyr in front. These are but a few of the interesting additions to the national collection in the welfare of which we are all so much concerned.

Mr. George Macdonald, who has done so much to add value to the Hunter Collection of Coins at Glasgow, has given us an interesting essay on numeral letters on Imperial coins of Syria. In it he has shown that the custom of placing date letters upon the coins was introduced at Antioch under Domitian, and that it did not finally die out until the reign of Caracalla. He also shows that these numeral letters under any circumstances do not go beyond thirteen, and that it is therefore extremely probable that they relate to a monthly series of notation. This minute determination of mint-marks at the various Syrian mints is at the same time interesting and important.

Mr. Neville Langton has favoured us with notes on some Phœcian obols. Those described formed part of a hoard recently discovered in Central Greece, and belong to a period between 550 and 480 B.C. The usual obverse type is a bull's head, facing, and that of the reverse the fore-part of a boar. From the letters appearing upon them, some of the coins seem to have been struck at Lilaia, the source of the river Cephissus, a town mentioned by Homer. The Paper is scholarly, and of a class that does credit to British numismatics.

Mr. G. F. Hill has supplied us with a note on a silver coin of Lydæ, Caria, a small brass coin of Neapolis ad Harpasum in the same country and on some coins of the Province of Lycia. Mr. Anderson has discussed the question of Two Pontic Eras, and Mr. Baker Penoyre has described and figured two coins of Blaundus in Lydia, one of which, as a result of its having been tooled, was formerly attributed to Ptolemy XVI Cæsaron.

In Roman numismatics we have had an important essay by Mons. Jules Maurice on the chronological classification of the coins issued by the mint of Nicomedia during the Constantine Period. The Author recognizes no less than nine emissions of coins from this important mint as having taken place between May, A.D. 305—the date of the abdication

of Diocletian and Maximian—and A.D. 337, the date of the proclamation of the three Augusti, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans. Some of these issues are divided into two separate series. It would occupy too much time to attempt to give a *résumé* of this paper, but one or two points of interest in it may be noticed. One is that the magnificent gold medallion with the busts of the two Licinii on the obverse, and Jupiter seated on the reverse with the legend IOVI CONSERVATORI LICINIORVM AVG. ET CAES. was struck during the war of A.D. 314. Another is M. Maurice's corroboration of Kenner's interpretation of the mysterious inscription on some of the gold coins struck at Nicomedia LXC . as signifying that the *aurei* were struck at the rate of ninety, XC . to the pound, so that the VI may have stood for *Libras Valore*.

Mr. George Macdonald has also given us an account of a curious find of *denarii* of Domitian, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius at Kirkintilloch, which, instead of being of silver, have been cast in tin, several of them in the same mould. He suggested that these pieces were not forgeries in the ordinary sense of the word, but were especially made for votive purposes.

Mr. G. F. Hill has communicated an account of a hoard of Roman brass coins of Constantius II, Constans, Magnentius, and Gallus, recently discovered at Croydon, and Mr. Milne has described a series of coin-moulds in burnt clay found in Egypt, and of the time of Maximinus Daza, Licinius, and Constantine. Such moulds have been found in various parts of the Roman Empire, including Britain, and an account of a set of such moulds found at Lingwell-gate, near Wakefield, was given by the Rev. Mr. Reade of Peckham, in the *Numismatic Journal* so long ago as 1837. Whether the resulting forgeries of public money were made for the benefit of the private coiner or of the Government official remains, I believe, an open question.

The last Roman paper that I have to mention is one by myself, giving an account of a brass coin of Carausius with the reverse of GENIO BRITANNI. Whatever may be the worth of the commentary on this coin, the coin itself, hitherto unpublished, is of undoubted interest and value. Thanks to Mr. Webb, the time and place of its finding are established beyond doubt.

For the ancient British series we have had but one short paper, a note by myself on a coin of Verulam and another of Cunobeline, both in the possession of our Fellow, Mr. Ransom, and found near Sandy, Bedfordshire.

As to Anglo-Saxon coins, I last year mentioned a paper by Mr. Grueber on a find of coins of Alfred the Great at Stamford. This account has now appeared in the *Chronicle*, and will be found full of interest, especially in connection with the Danish element so frequently exhibited on coins purporting to be Saxon.

In the English Series we have had a long and valuable Paper from the pen of the late Mr. Spicer on the coinage of William I and II. It was read at our meetings in November and December last, when all present regretted that the author was no longer among us to give even more full expression to his views. As to the value of the Paper there is no doubt, but as it has not as yet appeared in its entirety in the pages of the *Chronicle*, I think it better to postpone any detailed notice of it to some future occasion.

Mr. Grueber has given us an account of a small hoard of pennies of Stephen and Henry II found near Romsey, Hants. Its chief interest consists in the fact of the coins of these two kings being found together in the same hoard, of which this appears to be the first instance recorded.

Mr. F. A. Walters has communicated an important and detailed Paper on the coinage of Richard II, in which he has attempted to settle the sequence of the coins, and has adduced a considerable number of hitherto unpublished varieties.

With regard to the gold coinage of Richard, the author suggests that some which omit the King's French title are amongst the latest of his issues, and were struck after his second marriage, that with Isabella of Valois, on which occasion he formally renounced any additional claim to the crown of France, either through her or her descendants. The rarity of Richard's coins he traces to the fact that during his reign of no less than twenty-two years the mint records show that but a small quantity of metal passed through the hands of the moneyers.

Another Paper by Mr. Walters relating to the gold coinage of Henry VI, of which I made mention in my Address of last year, has now appeared in the *Chronicle*.

The only other Paper on English numismatics that I need mention is one by our veteran Fellow, Mr. Jonathan Rashleigh, on an Unpublished or Unique Half-Crown of Charles I from the Exeter mint. We may congratulate him on his interest in the English coinage being as vivid as ever. The loss that our Mint has sustained by the death of Mr. de Saulles will be fully appreciated by those who have read the Obituary Notice of the late Chief Engraver of the Mint, furnished to the *Chronicle* by Mr. John H. Pinches.

Some fine examples of German Renaissance Medals, forming part of the national collection in the British Museum, have had their historical and artistic interest admirably pointed out in a valuable Paper communicated to the *Numismatic Chronicle* by Dr. Julius Cahn. The works of Friedrich Hagenauer are fine specimens of medallie art. The same cannot be said of an advertising medal of the days of Queen Elizabeth, to which I called attention at our last meeting. It was issued by one Hans Han, a Formenschneider, or printer's engraver, and the arms of England on the one face, and the Tudor rose on the other justify its admission into the English Series.

Of Oriental numismatics we have had, perhaps, more than

our usual proportion. Mr. L. White King has given us an exhaustive Essay on the History and Coinage of Malwa, an important district of our Indian Empire, comprising the States of Gwalior, Indore, Bhupal, and other countries. He gives the history of the Ghori Kings from about A.D. 1390 to A.D. 1435; of the Khilji Kings, who succeeded and reigned until the Gujerat Supremacy was established in the first half of the sixteenth century, shortly after to be superseded by the Suri and Moghul Supremacy. He traces the coinage down to the days of Baz Bahadur, who surrendered to the Emperor Akbar in 1570. After this Malwa remained a province of the Moghul Empire until its conquest by the Mahrattas. Its ancient capital, Mandu, is now in ruins.

A supplementary account of some Malwa coins has been given to us by Mr. J. G. Covernton, who has also called our attention to two coins of Mesopotamia and Persia, struck under the Buwayhid and Okaylid dynasties in the eleventh century.

Another short Oriental Paper is by Mr. R. Burn, who gives some corrections and additions to the list of Moghul Mints supplied by Mr. Longworth Dames in the *Chronicle* for 1902.

Our meetings have, I am happy to say, been remarkably well attended, and numerous important and interesting coins and medals have been exhibited and described. Moreover, on several occasions the Papers read have led to instructive discussions. These are healthy symptoms of real life in the Society, and I can only hope that for many years to come our meetings may be of the same character and equally harmonious and pleasant.

Of the numismatic publications of the past year, Herr Cornelius von Fabriczy's *Medale of the Italian Renaissance* has already been noticed by Mr. G. F. Hill in the pages of the *Chronicle* and the value of the work indicated. The Trustees of the British Museum are supplementing the

Medallie Illustrations of British History, compiled by the late Sir A. W. Franks and Mr. Grueber, by a series of plates giving representations by the autotype process of all the important medals in their full size. The value of such plates as complementary to the printed text can hardly be over-estimated.

Mr. L. Forrer has just completed the second volume of his excellent *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, comprising the letters E to H inclusive. Most of us are acquainted with this work as appearing in monthly instalments in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, and have been able more or less to appreciate its merits. Its value, however, as a work of reference is immensely increased by its being brought out in the concrete form of an octavo volume of nearly 600 pages. We must wish Mr. Forrer health and strength to arrive at the unknown quantities of X and Z.

The interest attaching to local Tradesmen's Tokens, whether of the seventeenth, eighteenth, or nineteenth centuries has of late years been more keenly felt than was the case forty or fifty years ago, and Mr. W. J. Davis's work on *The Nineteenth Century Token Coinage* will help much to fill a void that has long existed. The account of the Irish Tokens issued from 1728 to 1760, which is included in the volume, will materially add to its value.

M. Theodore Reinach's well-known little book on Jewish coins has appeared in a somewhat revised form in an English translation by Mrs. G. F. Hill, illustrated with twelve plates. Apart from the usefulness of the work to all who are interested in Biblical history, students will find in it a careful discussion of that *crux* of Jewish numismatics, the date of the first series of shekels. M. Reinach, to whom was due the suggestion, very generally accepted, that these coins belong to the first Revolt against the Romans, now reverts to the old traditional date with but a slight modification. The shekels, he thinks, belong not to the period reckoned from the first year of the

pontificate of Simon Maccabaeus, B.C. 143-42, but to that which begins with the grant by Antiochus of the right of coinage, viz., B.C. 139-38. Thus the coins of the first four years belong to Simon, and these of the fifth to John Hyrcanus. In other respects M. Reinach's account of the Jewish coinage is substantially unaltered. An appendix by Mr. G. F. Hill traces the history of the forgery of the Jewish shekel, so well-known to all collectors.

Mr. Arthur Sambon has begun to issue in parts, two of which have already appeared, a most complete and valuable account of the ancient coinage of Italy. Although not professing to be a *Corpus*, it takes notice practically of every variety. The plates are supplemented by numerous cuts in the text. The two parts that have been issued cover Etruria, Umbria, Picenum, Latium adiectum, Samnium, the Frentani, the Social War and Campania to the end of Cumae.

Our Librarian, Dr. O. Codrington, has as usual been busy with "*Musulman Numismatics*," and has published a manual for the help of students in that branch of work.

It now only remains for me to thank you for the kind attention with which you have listened to this Address, and to express a hope that during the coming recess each of our Fellows may succeed in obtaining additions to his collection and materials for interesting communications and exhibitions when we meet again in October next.

A vote of thanks to the President for his Address was proposed by Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.L.E., seconded by Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton, and having been unanimously carried, was ordered to be inserted with the Proceedings of the Society.

The President announced to the meeting the result of the Ballot for the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, which was:—

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SIR HERMANN WEBER, M.D.

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PROF. EDWARD J. RAISON, M.A., M.B.A.S.

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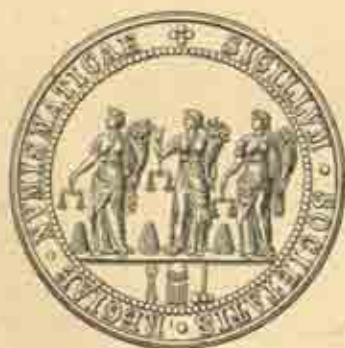
OLIVER COBBINGTON, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.

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PERCY H. WEBB, Esq.

CHARTER, BYE-LAWS
AND
REGULATIONS
OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

FOUNDED 1836 ; INCORPORATED 1904.



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THE
CHARTER OF INCORPORATION
OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDWARD THE SEVENTH, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith. To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

Whereas Our trusty and well beloved Sir John Evans, Knight Commander of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath; Sir Henry Hoyle Howorth, Knight Commander of Our Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire; Sir Augustus Prevost, Baronet, and others of Our loving subjects are Members of a Society long since established for the study and elucidation of Numismatic Science, the same Society being now called or known by the name of "The Numismatic Society of London";

And whereas it has been represented to Us that the said Society has, since its establishment in 1836, sedulously pursued such its proposed objects, and by its publications has greatly contributed to the progress and study of the history of the Coinage of all countries and all ages, and especially that of the United Kingdom and the British Dominions beyond the Seas;

And whereas distinguished individuals in foreign countries, as well as many eminent British subjects, have availed themselves of the facilities afforded by the said Society for communicating important information largely extending numismatic knowledge;

And whereas the general interest in the study of Coins and Medals has been greatly promoted and fostered by the said Society;

And whereas the said Society has, in aid of its objects, collected a valuable library of scientific works, accessible to all Members of the Society; and has hitherto been supported by annual and other subscriptions, and contributions to its funds; and occupies premises in which the business of the said Society is carried on;

And whereas in order to give the said Society its due position among the Scientific Institutions of Our Kingdom, We have been besought to grant to the said Sir John Evans, and to those who now are Members of the said Society, or who shall from time to time be elected Fellows of the Royal Numismatic Society, hereby incorporated, Our Royal Charter of Incorporation for the purposes aforesaid.

I. Now know ye that We, being desirous of encouraging a design so laudable and salutary, of Our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have willed, granted, and declared and do by these Presents, for Us, Our heirs and successors, will, grant, and declare that the said Sir John Evans and such others of Our loving subjects as now are Members of the said Society, or shall from time to time be elected Fellows of "The Royal Numismatic Society" hereby incorporated according to such Regulations or Bye-Laws as have been, or shall be hereafter, framed or

enacted, and their successors, shall for ever hereafter be by virtue of these presents one body politic and corporate, by the name of "The Royal Numismatic Society," and for the purposes aforesaid, and by the name aforesaid, shall have perpetual succession and a common seal, with full power and authority to alter, vary, break, and renew the same at their discretion, and by the same name to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, unto and in every Court of Us, Our heirs and successors.

2. The Royal Numismatic Society, in this Charter hereinafter called "The Society," may notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain, take, purchase, hold and enjoy to them and their successors a hall, or house, and any such messuages or hereditaments of any tenure as may be necessary, for carrying out the purposes of the Society, but so that the yearly value thereof to be computed at the rack rent which might be gotten for the same at the time of the purchase or other acquisition, and including the site of the said hall, or house, do not exceed in the whole the sum of Two thousand pounds.

3. The Society shall consist of Fellows and Honorary Fellows.

4. There shall be a Council of the Society, and the said Council and General Meetings of the Fellows to be held in accordance with this Our Charter shall, subject to the provisions of this Our Charter, have the entire management and direction of the concerns of the Society.

5. There shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, and a Secretary or Secretaries of the Society. The Council shall consist of the President, Vice-

Presidents, and not less than ten Councillors; and the Treasurer and the Secretary or Secretaries, if honorary.

6. The several persons who were elected to be the President, Vice-Presidents, Officers and Members of the Council of the Numismatic Society of London at the Annual General Meeting held in the month of June last, One thousand nine hundred and three, shall form the first Council of the Society, and shall continue in office until the first Election of Officers is made under these presents as hereinafter provided, and the present Members of the Numismatic Society of London shall be Fellows of the Society.

7. Meetings of the Fellows of the Society may be held from time to time, and at least one General Meeting shall be held in each year. Every General Meeting may be adjourned subject to the provisions of the Bye-Laws. The following business may be transacted by a General Meeting, viz.:—

- (a) The Election of the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary or Secretaries, and other Officers and Members of the Council of the Society.
- (b) The making, repeal, or amendment of Bye-Laws.
- (c) The passing of any proper resolution respecting the affairs of the Society.

8. Bye-Laws of the Society may be made for the following purposes, and subject to the following conditions, viz.:—

- (a) For prescribing the qualification and condition of tenure of office of the President; the number, qualifications, functions, and conditions of tenure of office of the Vice-Presidents, Treasurer,

Secretaries, or other Officers and Members of Council, and Fellows of the Society; for making regulations with respect to Ordinary Meetings, General Meetings, and Meetings of the Council, and proceedings thereat, and for the election of any persons to be Honorary Fellows of the Society, and defining their privileges (but such persons, if elected, shall not be Members of the Corporation), and for making regulations respecting the making, repeal and amendment of Bye-Laws, and generally for the government of the Society and the management of its property and affairs.

Provided always that the said Bye-Laws shall not be in any manner repugnant to the laws and statutes of this realm, and provided also that the said Bye-Laws and any revocation, alteration, or amendment thereof shall not be of any force or effect until the same shall have been allowed by the Lords of Our Privy Council, of which allowance a certificate under the hand of the Clerk of Our Privy Council shall be conclusive evidence.

- (b) The first Bye-Laws shall be made at the first General Meeting to be held under these presents.

9. The General Meetings and adjourned General Meetings of the Society shall take place (subject to the Rules or Bye-Laws of the Society, and to any power of convening or demanding a Special General Meeting thereby given) at such times and places as may be fixed by the Council.

10. The existing rules of the Numismatic Society of London, so far as not inconsistent with these presents,

shall be in force as the Bye-Laws of the Society, until the first Bye-Laws to be made under these presents shall come into operation.

11. Subject to these presents and the Bye-Laws of the Society for the time being, the Council shall have the sole management of the income, funds, and property of the Society, and may manage and superintend all other affairs of the Society, and appoint and dismiss at their pleasure all salaried and other officers, attendants and servants, as they may think fit, and may do all such things as shall appear to them necessary or expedient for giving effect to the objects of the Society.

12. The Council shall once in every year present to a General Meeting a report of the proceedings of the Society, together with a statement of the receipts and expenditure, and of the financial position of the Society, and every Fellow of the Society may, at reasonable times to be fixed by the Council, examine the accounts of the Society.

13. No Rule, Resolution, or other proceeding shall be made or had by the Society, or any Meeting thereof, or by the Council, contrary to the general scope or true intent and meaning of this Our Charter, or the laws or statutes of Our Realm, and anything done contrary to this present clause shall be void.

In witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent. Witness Ourselves at Westminster, the twenty-second day of February in the fourth year of Our reign.

By warrant under the King's Sign Manual,
MUR MACKENZIE.

THE
BYE-LAWS
OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

(Formerly the Numismatic Society of London)

MADE AT THE FIRST GENERAL MEETING HELD UNDER
THE PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER, 9TH MAY, 1904.

I.—ELECTION AND ADMISSION OF FELLOWS.

1. Every Candidate for admission into the Society as a Fellow must be proposed by three or more Fellows, who must sign a certificate in recommendation of him or her.

The certificate shall be in the form given in the Appendix (No. 1), and shall set forth the names, rank or profession, if any, and place of residence of the Candidate.

The Proposer whose name stands first on the certificate must have personal knowledge of the Candidate and must certify to that effect.

2. The certificate, when duly filled up, must be delivered to one of the Secretaries of the Society and must be read at one of the Ordinary Meetings and subsequently suspended in the Apartments of the Society.

3. At a subsequent meeting the certificate shall be read a second time, and immediately after such reading the

question of the election of the candidate shall be determined by ballot.

4. No person shall be declared to be elected a Fellow unless he or she have in his or her favour three-fourths of the number balloting.

5. When a person shall have been elected a Fellow one of the Secretaries shall by letter inform such person of his or her election, and at the same time forward a copy of the Charter and Bye-Laws of the Society, with a card announcing the days on which the Meetings are to be held during the then current session.

6. No person elected a Fellow shall be entitled to exercise any privilege as such, nor shall his or her name be entered in the list of Fellows until such person shall have paid the admission fee and the annual contribution for the current year; and in the event of such person failing to pay the admission fee and the annual contribution for the current year within six months from the day of the election of such person, or within such further time as the Council may grant upon cause shown to them, the election of such person shall be void.

7. Every newly-elected Fellow shall pay an admission fee of such an amount as the Society on the recommendation of the Council shall at a General Meeting from time to time determine.

8. The annual contribution to be paid by Fellows shall be determined in like manner, and shall be paid in advance in the year of election, and be due on each successive first of January.

9. A Fellow may at any time compound for his or her annual contributions, that of the current year included, by payment of such a sum as the Society on the recom-

mendation of the Council shall at a General Meeting from time to time determine.

10. Every Fellow who has paid the admission fee and the annual contribution for the current year may at the first or any subsequent Meeting which such Fellow shall attend, be presented by a Fellow of the Society to the President or Chairman, who, taking such Fellow by the hand, shall say, "In the name and by the authority of the Royal Numismatic Society I admit you a Fellow thereof."

11. In the event of a Fellow being one year or more in arrear in the payment of his or her annual contribution such Fellow shall cease to be entitled to receive any of the publications of the Society, or to enjoy the privileges of Fellowship so long as the arrears of his or her annual contributions remain unpaid.

II.—WITHDRAWAL AND REMOVAL OF FELLOWS.

12. Any Fellow may withdraw from the Society by signifying his or her wish to do so by letter addressed to one of the Secretaries of the Society, provided always that such Fellow shall be liable for the contribution for the year wherein he or she signifies his or her wish to withdraw, and that he or she shall continue liable for the annual contribution until he or she shall have returned all books borrowed by him or her from the library of the Society, or shall have made compensation for the same to the satisfaction of the Council.

13. In case the conduct of any Fellow shall, in the opinion of the Council, be injurious to the character or

interests of the Society, the Council shall either at a General Meeting, or at a Special General Meeting convened for the purpose of taking the conduct of such Fellow into consideration, submit a motion that such Fellow be removed from the Society. Not less than fourteen days' notice of the intention to submit such a motion shall be given to every Fellow resident in the United Kingdom whose address is known.

14. The question of the expulsion of such Fellow shall be decided by ballot, and if a majority of three-fourths of the Fellows balloting shall vote that such Fellow be expelled, such Fellow shall thereupon be expelled from the Society, and the Chairman shall pronounce him or her expelled in these words:—"In the name and by the authority of the Royal Numismatic Society I declare A. B. to be now expelled and no longer a Fellow thereof."

15. In the event of a Fellow being two years or more in arrear in the payment of his or her annual contributions the Council shall be empowered, after due notice shall have been given to such Fellow, to remove such Fellow from the Society.

III.—HONORARY FELLOWS.

16. Any person eminent in Numismatic Science shall be eligible as an Honorary Fellow, but when proposed must be recommended by three or more Fellows in accordance with the form No. 2 in the Appendix.

17. The mode of proposing and balloting for an Honorary Fellow shall be the same as that prescribed in the

case of an ordinary Fellow; but no person shall be balloted for as an Honorary Fellow unless the Council shall have previously approved of him or her as a candidate.

18. Whenever a person shall have been elected an Honorary Fellow, the Secretary shall inform him or her thereof, and forward to such Honorary Fellow his or her Diploma, drawn up agreeably to a form prescribed by the Council.

19. Honorary Fellows are not Members of the Corporation and shall not have the right of holding Office in the Society, but may receive the publications of the Society on the recommendation of the Council.

IV.—ORDINARY MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

20. The Ordinary Meetings of the Society and the Annual General Meeting as hereinafter provided shall be held on the evenings of such Thursdays or other days from October to June inclusive as the Council may decide, such period being hereinafter termed the Session. Five Fellows shall form a quorum.

21. A notice of the days and hours of the Ordinary Meetings shall be sent annually before the first Meeting in October to every Fellow whose address is known.

22. The order of business at the Ordinary Meetings shall be such as may from time to time be determined by a Regulation of the Council.

23. Visitors may be introduced at Ordinary Meetings subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the Council.

V.—THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

24. A General Meeting shall be held, in accordance with the provisions of Section 7 of the Charter, on the third Thursday in June of each year or on such other day in June as the Council may appoint.

25. Notice of the Meeting shall be sent to every Fellow resident in the United Kingdom whose address is known, together with a List of the new Council for the ensuing year, as recommended by the existing Council. Such List shall have blank spaces for the insertion of other names by Fellows should they so desire.

26. The principal objects of the Meeting shall be:—

(1) To ballot for Candidates for Fellowship already proposed at a former Meeting.

(2) To receive from the Council the Report of the proceedings of the Society during the previous Session, including the Report of the Treasurer.

(3) To determine such questions as may be raised relating to the affairs of the Society.

(4) To elect the Officers and Council for the ensuing year.

(5) To make, repeal, or amend the Bye-Laws of the Society in accordance with notice previously given at least fourteen days in advance; such amended or altered Bye-Laws to be subject to the approval of His Majesty's Privy Council.

27. The Council shall consist of eighteen Members, that is to say, the President, two Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, four Secretaries, one of whom shall act as

Foreign Secretary, and another as Librarian, and ten ordinary Members.

28. Not more than six out of these ten ordinary Members of the Council shall be eligible in the same capacity for the ensuing year.

29. The election of the Council shall be by ballot of those present at the Meeting, and the ballot shall remain open for not less than half an hour, and the time at which the ballot will open shall be specified in the notice convening the Meeting.

30. The President, or other Fellow in the chair, shall appoint two or more Scrutineers from among the Fellows present, to superintend the ballot during its progress, and to report the result to the Meeting.

VI.—SPECIAL GENERAL MEETINGS.

31. Special General Meetings of the Fellows may be held from time to time, as occasion may arise, for the purpose of taking into consideration some special matter or matters relating to the Society, or for the making, repealing, or altering of the Bye-Laws of the Society, subject to the approval of His Majesty's Privy Council. Fifteen Fellows shall form a quorum.

32. Notice of at least fourteen days, specifying the time when and the object for which a Special General Meeting is to be held, shall be given to every Fellow resident in the United Kingdom whose address is known.

33. No business save that specified in such notice shall be entered upon or discussed at such Meeting. A Special General Meeting shall be summoned by the direction of

the Council, either at its own initiation or at a request in writing signed by seven or more Fellows.

VII.—THE COUNCIL.

34. The Council shall meet once at least in every month during the Session; and due notice of each Meeting shall be sent, by one of the Secretaries, to every Member thereof, five of whom shall form a quorum.

35. All questions shall be decided in the Council by open vote, except the award of the Society's Medal, when a ballot shall be taken. (See Bye-Law 64.)

36. The Council shall draw up a Report of the proceedings of the Society, to be presented at the Annual General Meeting, together with a statement of the receipts and expenditure and of the financial position of the Society drawn up by the Treasurer.

37. The Council may from time to time, subject to the approval of the Society at an Ordinary or General Meeting, make such regulations and issue such orders, not inconsistent with the Charter and Bye-Laws, as shall appear to them conducive to the good government of the Society and to the proper management of its concerns, and all such regulations and orders shall be binding on the Fellows and Honorary Fellows and on the Officers and Servants of the Society.

38. The publications of the Society shall be under the charge of the Council, and they may appoint such persons as Editor or Editors, Printers, and Publishers, and rescind or vary such appointments as they may from time to time see fit.

39. The Council shall have power (1) to enter into agreements and contracts for the purpose of providing a

suitable house or apartments for the meetings of the Society, for the care of the property of the Society, and for the publications of the Society, and generally for the purpose of carrying on the affairs of the Society; (2) to alter, vary, enforce, or rescind any such contract; (3) to purchase any necessary furniture, or books for the Society's library, and to sell or exchange such furniture or books as may not be required.

40. The Council may direct the Common Seal of the Society to be affixed to any deed, contract, agreement, or writing to which the Society is to be a party.

41. In the case of the resignation or death of any Officer or Member of the Council, the Council shall have the power to fill up such vacancy for the remainder of the current Session.

42. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council shall be taken by one of the Secretaries, and shall be afterwards fairly entered into a minute-book, and having been read at the next Meeting of the Council, shall be signed by the President or Chairman.

VIII.—THE PRESIDENT.

43. The President shall be eligible for re-election in each successive year. The President shall, in virtue of his office, be the Chairman of the Council and of all Meetings of the Fellows and a Member of all Committees appointed by the Council. It shall be the duty of the President to summon Meetings of the Council on such days and at such time and place as he may think convenient.

44. In the case of a vote being taken by ballot or otherwise, and the numbers being equal, the President

shall have a casting vote in addition to his own vote. The President shall read from the Chair the Certificates of Candidates for the Fellowship of the Society.

45. It shall be the duty of the President when prevented from being present at any Meeting of the Society or Council to give timely notice to a Vice-President in order that his place may be properly filled.

IX.—THE VICE-PRESIDENTS.

46. It shall be the duty of the Vice-Presidents to fill the place of the President when he shall be absent from the Meetings of the Fellows or of the Council. In the absence of a Vice-President the Meeting may elect a Chairman.

X.—THE TREASURER.

47. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer :—

To supervise the collection of all money due to the Society, to see that every sum so soon as received is paid to the Society's Bankers and duly entered in the Bankers' book.

To see that no draft over £5 is paid by the Banker unless authorized by the Council, and to advise the Council as to the sums required for the carrying on of the work of the Society.

To supervise the keeping of the Society's accounts in the manner directed by the Council and to submit them to such auditors as the Society may from time to time appoint.

To prepare a report showing the financial position of the Society for presentation at the Annual

General Meeting. Such report shall state the receipts and disbursements, and the balance in hand, and shall be audited annually by two or more auditors chosen by the Society at one of the three Ordinary Meetings immediately preceding the Annual General Meeting.

48. It shall also be the duty of the Treasurer to report to the Council from time to time the names of any Fellows in arrear with their annual contribution.

XI.—THE SECRETARIES.

49. It shall be the duty of the Secretaries to attend the Meetings of the Society and Council, to take minutes of their proceedings and cause them to be entered as early as possible in the minute-books, and at the beginning of each Meeting to read the minutes of the previous Meeting.

50. At the Ordinary Meetings one of the Secretaries shall read the list of donations and such letters and communications relating to Numismatic science as the Council may direct. At Special General Meetings one of the Secretaries shall read the notice convening the Meeting, and at the Annual General Meeting the report of the Council. The Secretaries shall, subject to the control of the Council, undertake the general supervision of the affairs of the Society, exercise control over the paid officers and persons employed by the Society, and conduct the correspondence of the Society.

51. It shall be the special duty of one of the Secretaries to conduct the foreign correspondence of the Society.

52. The library shall be under the special care of one of the Secretaries, who shall be termed the Librarian.

XII.—THE COMMON SEAL, CHARTER, DEEDS, AND PROPERTY.

53. The Common Seal of the Society shall be a representation of the Symbol of Metals and Mintage, surrounded by the words, *Sigillum Societatis Regiæ Numismaticæ*.

54. The Charter and Deeds of the Society shall be kept in an iron box deposited with the Society's Bankers.

55. The Common Seal shall be kept in a strong box at the Apartments of the Society.

56. Every deed or writing to which the Common Seal is to be affixed shall be sealed at a Meeting of the Council and signed by the President or Chairman and by one of the Secretaries and the particulars of the same entered in the minute-book of the Council.

57. The property of the Society is vested in the Fellows, but no Fellow is entitled to any distinct or separate share in the estate, revenue, or effects of the Society, and the Society shall not and may not make any dividend, gift, division, or bonus in money unto or between any of its Fellows.

XIII.—THE LIBRARY AND CABINETS AND COLLECTIONS OF COINS, &c.

58. The Library of the Society and the Cabinets and Collections of Coins, Medals, and Casts and other like property shall be under the control and care of such officers and other persons as the Council may from time to time appoint.

59. The Library shall be open for use by the Fellows, and books may be borrowed by them subject to such rules and regulations as may from time to time be made by the Council.

XIV.—THE PUBLICATIONS.

60. The publications of the Society shall be printed at such time or times and in such form as the Council shall think fit, and shall be in charge of such person or persons as the Council from time to time may appoint as Editors.

61. Every Paper, which may be presented to the Society, shall, in consequence of such presentation, be considered as the property of the Society, unless there shall have been any previous engagement with its Author to the contrary; and the Editors may, subject to the control of the Council, publish the same in any way and at any time that they may think proper.

XV.—THE MEDAL.

62. A Medal in Gold, Silver or Bronze may be awarded not oftener than once in each year, but not of necessity so often, to some person highly distinguished for services to Numismatic Science.

63. The recipient may be of any country and of either sex.

64. The award shall be made by the President and Council of the Society, who shall at one of their Meetings discuss the merits of Candidates proposed as recipients of the Medal, and at some subsequent Meeting shall award it by ballot.

65. Due notice shall be given to each Member of the Council of the days when the discussion and ballot are to take place.

66. No Medal shall be awarded unless the Candidate obtain the votes of at least two-thirds of those present at the Meeting.

67. Members of the Council for the time being shall not be disqualified as Candidates for the Medal, but in their case the vote must be unanimous.

68. The Medal shall, when possible, be presented at the Annual General Meeting of the Society.

XVI.—ALTERATION OF THE BYE-LAWS.

69. The making, repeal, or amendment of Bye-Laws may be considered and determined at the Annual General Meeting of the Society, or at a Special General Meeting summoned for the purpose.

70. A notice of a motion for the making, repeal, or amendment of any Bye-Law or Bye-Laws must be in writing, signed by the President or Chairman on behalf of the Council or by seven or more Fellows, and such Bye-Laws must be made subject to the conditions laid down in the Charter (see Sect. 8 of Charter).

APPENDIX.

FORM No. 1.

A.B. [*Here state the Full Names, Rank, Profession,
and usual place of Residence of the
Candidate.*]

being desirous of Admission into the Royal Numismatic
Society, we, the undersigned, propose and recommend him
as a proper person to become a Fellow thereof.

Witness our hands this

day of 19

_____ from Personal knowledge.

_____ from General knowledge.

FORM No. 2.

We, the undersigned, having a personal knowledge of,
or being acquainted with the works of,

[*Here state the Full Names, Rank, Profession,
usual place of Residence, and Title of one or
more of the Works of the person proposed.*]

propose and recommend him as a proper person to become an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society.

Witness our hands this _____ day of
19 _____

Approved by the Council.

Secretary.

THE
REGULATIONS
OF THE
COUNCIL
OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

I.—CONTRIBUTIONS OF FELLOWS.

1. Every newly-elected Fellow shall pay an admission fee of one guinea.

2. The annual contribution paid by Fellows shall be one guinea, payable in advance in the year of election, and thereafter on each successive first of January.

3. A Fellow may at any time compound for his or her annual contributions, that of the current year included, by a payment of fifteen guineas.

II.—ORDINARY MEETINGS.

4. The Ordinary Meetings of the Society shall be held on the third Thursday in every month from October to May inclusive, except when the third Thursday falls either in Easter week or the week previous to Easter, in which case some other day may be fixed by the Council. Business shall commence precisely at half-past six o'clock in the evening.

5. The order of business at the Ordinary Meetings shall be as follows:—

(1) The minutes of the last meeting shall be read by one of the Secretaries, and after having been confirmed by the Meeting shall be signed by the President or Chairman.

(2) Certificates of Candidates for admission into the Society as Fellows or Honorary Fellows shall be read.

(3) Certificates which have been read at some previous Meeting shall be again brought forward, and immediately thereafter the Candidates balloted for.

(4) Such donations as may have been made to the Society since their last Meeting shall be announced.

(5) New Fellows may be admitted by the President or Chairman.

(6) Coins and medals and other objects of interest shall be exhibited, and communications relating to Numismatic Science and the subjects connected therewith shall be read and discussed.

(7) The President or Chairman may bring forward any other subject authorized by the Council.

No business other than the above shall be discussed at an Ordinary Meeting unless with the consent of the President or Chairman.

6. Fellows attending the Meetings of the Society must enter their names in a book provided for the purpose, together with the names of any visitors they may introduce.

7. Any Fellow may introduce two visitors at an Ordinary Meeting of the Society, and on such other occasions as the Council may determine.

III.—THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

8. The Annual General Meeting shall take place as provided by the Charter and Bye-Laws, and business shall commence at half-past six o'clock in the evening. At such Meetings the balloting for the Council shall commence at a quarter to seven o'clock : and the President or other Fellow in the chair shall appoint two or more Scrutineers from among the Fellows present to superintend the Ballot during its progress, and to report the result to the Meeting.

IV.—THE COUNCIL.

9. The Council shall meet on the same days as those appointed for the Ordinary Meetings and General Meetings of the Society. Business shall commence at six o'clock in the evening, unless otherwise determined.

10. Special Meetings of the Council shall be held at such time and place as may be deemed necessary, but no such Special Meetings shall be convened unless ordered by the Council or by the President, or in his absence by one of the Vice-Presidents.

V.—SPECIAL COMMITTEES.

11. Committees for forwarding specific objects connected with the Society and with Numismatic Science may from time to time be appointed by the Council, to whom their Reports shall be submitted. In the

formation of these Committees the Council may request the assistance and advice of persons who are not Fellows of the Society.

VI.—THE TREASURER.

12 The Treasurer may, with the approbation of the Council, appoint a proper person to collect the annual contributions of the Fellows.

13. In the event of a Fellow being one year or more in arrear in the payment of his or her annual contribution the Treasurer shall communicate with such Fellow in the terms of the letter appended (see Appendix, FORM No. 1).

VII.—THE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

14. The President, Secretaries, and Librarian shall have the superintendence of the Library and Cabinets of Coins and Medals, Casts, and other like property, and be a permanent Library Committee.

15. A Catalogue of the Books presented to, or purchased by, the Society, and of all Coins, Medals, Casts, and other like property, shall be kept under the superintendence of the above Committee, with the names of the respective Donors.

16. A Book shall be kept in which the name and address of any Fellow borrowing one or more volumes from the Library shall be entered, together with the date of the issue of the said volumes and their titles and press-marks: the borrower or his agent to sign for the same.

17. No Fellow shall be entitled to have in his possession more than ten volumes from the Library at one time.

18. Every volume shall be returned to the Library

within two months of the time of its being borrowed, when it may be again borrowed by the same Fellow provided that no other Fellow has applied for it.

19. Provided a Book be already borrowed, any Fellow wishing to have it at the expiration of the time allowed shall send in his name to the Librarian, who shall keep a list of all such applications.

20. No Books, Papers, or other property belonging to the Society shall be lent without leave of the Librarian; every Fellow, however, shall be at liberty to inspect the Books, Coins, and Medals belonging to the Society; but no Moulds shall be taken without the consent of the Council.

VIII.—DONATIONS AND REQUESTS.

21. Every person who shall contribute to the Collections, to the Library, or to the general Funds of the Society (see Appendix, FORM No. 2), shall be recorded as a Benefactor or Benefactress, and his or her name shall be inserted in the next Report of the Proceedings.

IX.—ALTERATION OF THE REGULATIONS.

22. Whenever the Council may think it advisable to propose the addition of any new Regulation, or the alteration or repeal of any existing Regulation, they shall recommend the same to the Society at the Annual General Meeting, or at an Ordinary Meeting, notice whereof shall have been sent to each Fellow one fortnight previously.

23. Any five Fellows may recommend any new Regulation or the alteration or repeal of any existing Regulation, to the Council, by letter, the ultimate decision in all cases resting with the Society.

APPENDIX.

FORM No. 1.

Dear Sir,

I am requested by the Council of the Royal Numismatic Society to remind you that your Annual Subscription of One Guinea became due on the 1st of January, 19 , and that thus you are more than one year in arrear. *Vide* Sections 8 and 11 of the Society's Bye-Laws, a copy of which is enclosed herewith. I shall be obliged if you will remit to me at the above address the amount due, together with the current year's subscription of One Guinea due on the 1st of January last.

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

Honorary Treasurer.

N.B.—Should you prefer your Bankers to make the payment direct, thus saving you personal trouble, a Form of Order is enclosed, which please fill up and return to me.

FORM No. 2.—BEQUEST.

Every person desirous of bequeathing to the Society any Money, Stock, Manuscripts, Books, Coins, or Medals,

or other property, is requested to make use of the following form in his or her will, viz. :—

“ I give to the Royal Numismatic Society

[Here specify the sum of Money, or Stock, or the other property intended to be given.]

“ And I direct that the same shall be paid (or delivered) within six months of my decease. And I hereby declare that the receipt of the Treasurer of the said Society shall be an effectual discharge to my Executors for the said Legacy. And I declare that the said Legacy shall be paid free of Legacy duty, and the same and the Legacy duty thereon shall be paid exclusively out of such parts of my personal Estate as may be legally bequeathed for charitable purposes and in priority to all other payments thereout.”

N.B.—Attention is called to the fact that under Section 2 of the Charter the Society may, notwithstanding the Statutes of Mortmain, hold property of any tenure up to the annual value of Two Thousand Pounds.

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