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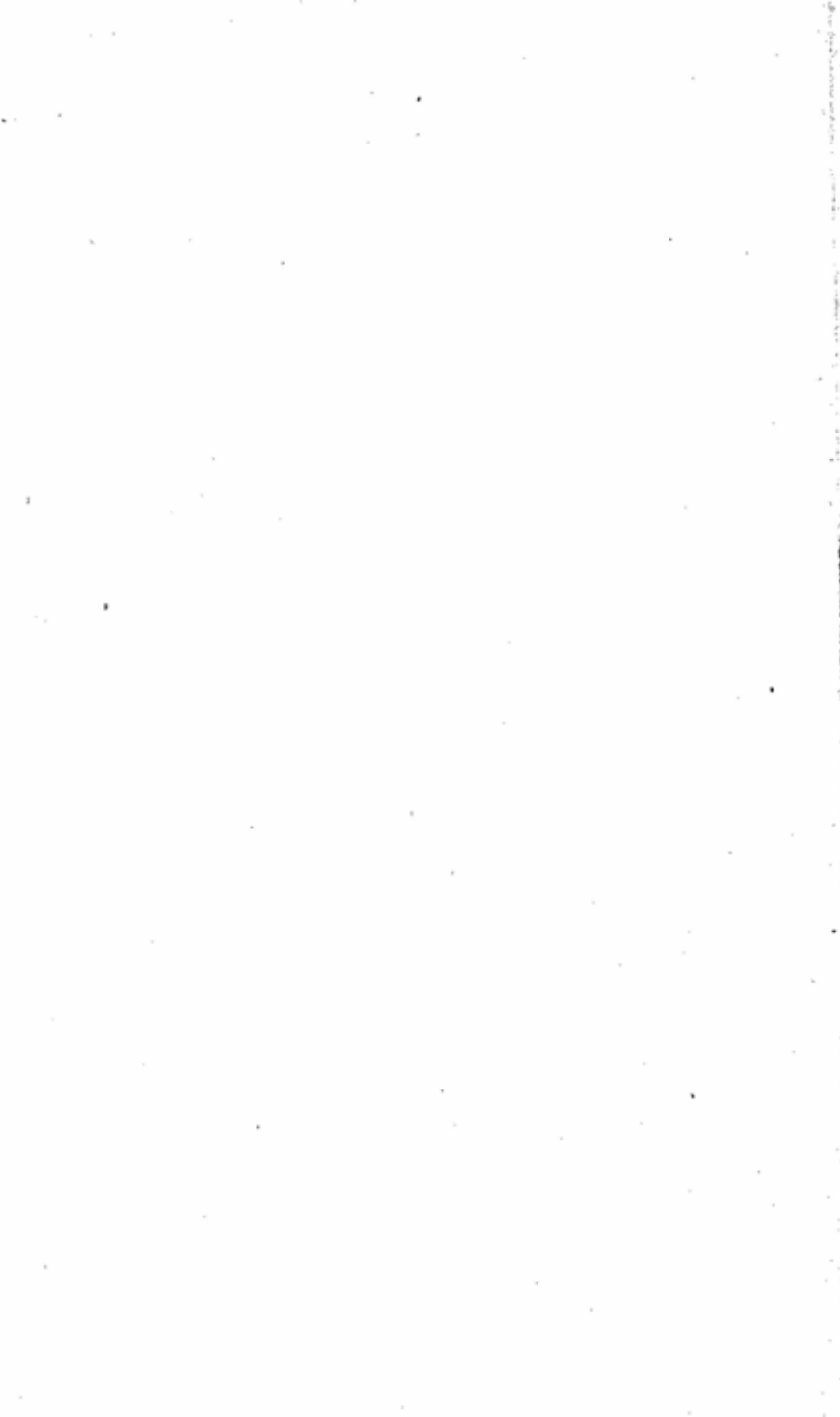
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THE NUMISMATIC JOURNAL.

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THE
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

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VOL. I.

JUNE, 1836.—APRIL, 1837.



ECKH. del.

"Hæc stulla adolescentium alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas
res ornant, adversis perfugium, ac solatium præbent, delectant domi,
non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur"
Cicero, pro Archia Poeta.



LONDON:
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M.DCCC.XXXVII.



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ERRATA.

- Page 26, line 11, *for* NVBIS·CONS·NVB—AVG.
 — *read* NVBISCONS—NVBAVG.
 „ 14, *for* les *read* le.
 27, „ 23, *for* understood *read* misunderstood.
 95, „ 26, *for* gred *read* gold.
 136, „ 8, from bottom, *for* collection of the British
 Museum, *read* cabinet of Mr. Hawkins.
 167, „ 8, *for* Illyriorum *read* Illyricorum.
 171, „ 4, (*in the note*) *for* 164 *read* 154.
 198, „ 7, *for* Vindelicrum *read* Vindellicorum.
 — „ 28, *for* the Scaligei *read* Scaliger.
 199, „ 14, *for* XXXXLX *read* CCCCLX.
 208, „ 11, in the correspondence, *for* Crickdale, *read*
 Cricklade.



COINS OF NICAEA.



III
Æ



IV
Æ



VI
Æ



V
Æ



VIII
Æ



NUMISMATIC JOURNAL.

I.

UNPUBLISHED COINS OF NICÆA¹, IN BITHYNIA.

SEVERAL cities of antiquity bore the name of Nicæa. Nicæa in Bithynia was founded by Antigonus², the son of Philip of Macedon, who gave it his name; but it was subsequently called Nicæa, by Lysimachus, who bestowed upon it the name of his wife Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater, at her request. Strabo informs us that Nicæa was the metropolis of Bithynia, and that it was situated near the lake Ascanius, and surrounded by fruitful and extensive plains. It is said to have been sixteen stadia in circumference. Stephanus says of this city, "Nicæa is a colony of the Bottiæori, and was first called Ancora, afterwards Antigonea, and lastly Nicæa, from the wife of Lysimachus." It was renowned in aftertimes for the celebrated council held there. The fabulists, however, have another story, and tell us of a certain nymph, Nicæa, seduced by Bacchus, who built the city in honour of his mistress.

The coins of Roman emperors struck in this city, are numerous and of a variety of types. The following specimens are well-deserving the attention of the numismatist.

¹ Now *Isnik*. This city was the birth-place of Hipparchus and of Dion Cassius.

² *Κτίστωρ Αντιγόνου μὲν πρῶτον. Strabo, lib. xii.*

I.

DOMITIANUS.

Obverse. ΑΥΤ·ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ·ΚΑΙΣΑΡ..... Αυτοκρατωρ
 Δομυτιανος Καισαρ. *The Emperor Domitianus Cæsar.*
 Laureated head of Domitianus to the right.

Reverse. ΝΙΚΑΙΕΙΣ·ΠΡΩΤΟΙ·ΤΗΣ·ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΑΣ. *The people
 of Nicæa, the first of the Province.* Ceres standing to
 the left, holding in her right hand two ears of corn, and
 in her left the hasta-pura erect. (Æ. size 8). *In the
 collection of the British Museum.*

A coin in indifferent preservation. It shews, that in the reign of this emperor the people of Nicæa were allowed to assume the proud distinction of *Metropoles*, since those of Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Claudius, Nero, and Vespasian, struck in this city, are without the title³. The device of the reverse is an appropriate one for a city lying in a fruitful region.

II.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Obverse. Μ·ΑΥΡ·ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC·ΚΑΙ. Μαρκος Αυρηλιος Αντωνιος Καισαρ. *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Cæsar.*
 Bare youthful head to the right.

Reverse. ΝΙΚΑΙCΩΝ. (*Money*) of the people of Nicæa. Victory standing to the left, inscribing a shield which she rests on a cippus; in her left hand a palm branch. (Æ. size 7). *In the British Museum.*

This coin is in excellent preservation, but the portrait is by no means an accurate one. Aurelius was created Cæsar by Antoninus Pius, in the year of Rome 891, A.D. 138; and, consequently, this coin must have been struck between that period and 914, A.D. 161, when he succeeded to the empire.

³ Mionnet, tom. ii. pp. 450, 451. The title, however, does not occur on coins *later* than this reign.

III.

Obverse. ΑΥΤ · ΚΑΙ · Μ · ΑΥΡΗ · ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC. Αυτοκρατωρ
Καισαρ Μαρκος Αυρηλιος ΑντωνινοC. *The Emperor*
Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Bust of the em-
peror bare-headed, to the right.

Reverse. ΝΙΚΑ(Ι)ΕΩΝ. (Money) of the people of Nicæa. The
heads of Serapis and Isis, side by side, to the right.
(Æ. size 8.) *In the British Museum.*

The portrait of the emperor on this coin resembles that of his colleague Verus; the hair is arranged in very short curls. The reverse is interesting, and presents us with the heads of two important deities among the Greeks and Romans. We are told that Aurelius, having been afflicted with a dangerous malady, made a journey to the celebrated temple of Serapis at Perinthus in Thrace, and was ultimately restored to health; it is not, therefore, improbable that this coin, though minted in a distant city, was issued on the occasion of the emperor's recovery. The reader will remember that Caracalla, in illness, went to Alexandria to consult the god Serapis; upon which occasion he ordered a horrible massacre of the citizens, who had assembled to do him honour.

Captain Smyth observes of Serapis, "That he was not only the Jupiter and Pluto of the Egyptians, but also typified the universe; and the response given to the enquiries of Nicocreon, tyrant of Cyprus, declares his ubiquitous attributes—that the earth was his foot, the sea his belly, and the sun his eye; and as his head was in heaven, it followed that the modius must be filled with all the heavenly gifts for which his followers prayed." This is related by Macrobius, who adds: "Ex his apparet Serapis et Solis unam esse, et individuum naturam."⁴ Alexander Severus introduced the

⁴ *Saturnal.* lib. i. cap. xxv.

worship of Serapis at Rome; but it was attended by so many irregularities, that the senate was compelled to abolish it. It is remarkable, that Herodotus, who says so much of the religion of the Egyptians, makes no mention of Serapis. Apollodorus identifies this deity with the bull Apis. The head of Isis accompanies that of Serapis, as on a large brass coin of Antoninus struck at Alexandria. Like the other deities of the ancients, she bore various names, according as she was invested by her admirers with particular attributes.

IV.

Obverse. ΑΥΤ · Κ · ΑΥ · Μ · ΑΥΦΑΙΟC · ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC · CΕ.
 Αυτοκρατωρ Καισαρ Αυγουστος Μαρκος Αυρηλιος
 Αντωνινος Σεβαστος. *The Emperor Cæsar Augustus
 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Sebastos. ?*

Reverse. ΤΟΝ · (ΚΤΙC) ΤΗΝ · ΝΙΚΑΙΕΙC. ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙCΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΙC.
*The people of Nicæa (honour) the founder. Hercules
 strangling the Nemæan Lion. (Æ. size 8.) In the
 British Museum.*

The people of Nicæa here ascribe to Hercules⁵ the foundation of their city; but on other coins they give that honour to Bacchus.⁶ This was a description of flattery which the Greeks well understood and frequently practised; and, finding it perhaps successful with their mortal rulers, cultivated the favour of the gods by a like species of adulation. Hercules is figured on vast numbers of ancient coins: it was natural that he should be a conspicuous deity among a people with whom valour was virtue of the highest order. Coins of Caracalla, struck in Nicæa, record the other labours of Hercules; two are given by Frölich, upon one of which the

⁵ Dio Chrysostomus styles Bacchus Προπατορα, and Hercules Κτιστην. *Orat.* 39.

⁶ Mionnet. *Descrip.* tom. ii. 452.

Sampson of the Pagans is represented seizing the hind of CEnoe, and on the other bearing away the horses of Diomedes.⁷

V.

COMMODUS.

Obverse. AY · M · AY · KOM · ANTΩNINOC. Αυτοκρατωρ Μαρκος Αυρηλιος Κομμοδος Αντωνινος. *The Emperor Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus.* Bust of Commodus to the right, with the head bare.

Reverse. NIKAIΕΩΝ. (Money) of the people of Nicæa. A figure on horseback armed with a lance, and engaged in combat with a lion. (Æ. size 8). *In the British Museum.*

A coin of good fabric, but not in good preservation. The bust which it bears is accurate and characteristic; and the reverse is evidently complimentary to the tyrant, of whose exploits in the amphitheatre much has been said by the ancient historians. He is here represented in combat with a lion, a feat which one of his predecessors (Hadrian) frequently performed, if we may credit Spartianus⁸.

VI.

Obverse. K · M · AY · KOM · ANTΩNINOC. Καϊσαρ Μαρκος Αυρηλιος Κομμοδος Αντωνινος. *Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus.* Laureated head of Commodus to the right.

Reverse. (N)IKAIΕΩΝ. (Money) of the people of Nicæa. A female bust to the right, crowned with ivy, and surmounted by a turret or fluted column. (Æ. size 7½.) *In the British Museum.*

The learned Eckhel supposes the female head on the reverse of this coin to be that of Nicæa, the mistress of Bacchus. In this conjecture he is supported by the crown

⁷ *Quatuor Tentamina*, pp. 266, 267.

⁸ "Venatu frequentissime leonem manu sua occidit."

of ivy, while the column or turret is an appropriate symbol of the city which bore her name⁹.

VII.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

Obverse. A.....ΕΞΗ....ΟΥΗΡΟC · ΠΕ. *Pro Αυτοκρατωρ Σεπτιμιος Σεουηρος Περτιναξ.* *The Emperor Septimius Severus Pertinax.* Head of Severus to the right with the spiked crown.

Reverse. ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ. (*Money*) of the people of *Nicæa*. A Roman eagle between two standards. (*Æ.* size 9.) *In the British Museum.*

This coin is in indifferent preservation. The obverse bears a very tolerable portrait of Severus. The reverse seems to have been a favourite one in this reign, as we find it on his Roman Denarii; indeed Severus appears to have been fully sensible of the effect of such compliments to the legions, which had enabled him to grasp the empire. These testimonials of the emperors to their legions are by no means uncommon on the Latin coins in all the metals; even the usurper Carausius commemorates the services of the legions who espoused his cause.

VIII.

JULIA DOMNA.

Obverse. (Ι)ΟΥΑΙΑ · ΔΟΜΝΑ · CΕΗ. *Ιουλια Δομνα Σεβαστη.* *Julia Domna Augusta.* Head of Domna to the right. Beneath, a countermark of a small figure of Victory standing.

Reverse. ΝΙΚΑΙ(Ε)ΩΝ. (*Money*) of the people of *Nicæa*. Diana holding a torch in each hand, in a chariot drawn by two stags galloping to the right. (*Æ.* size 9½). *In the collection of Dr. J. Lee.*

The bust on this well-preserved coin resembles that on

⁹ *Doct. Num. Vet.* tom. ii. p. 426; et *Num. Veteres Anecdoti*, p. 188.

those minted at Rome. The reverse bears the effigy of that wrathful and vindictive goddess, whose good graces the ancients were always desirous of cultivating, and whose vengeance was as certain and as terrible as that of any of the deities. She is here represented as described by Claudian :

“ Dixit, et extemplo frondosâ fertur ab Alpe
Trans pelagus : cervi currum subiere jugales,
Quos decus esse Deæ primi sub limine cœli
Roscida secundis concepit Luna cavernis.
Par nitor intactis nivibus, frons discolor auro
Germinat, et spatio summas æquitantia fagos
Cornua ramoso surgunt, procera metallo¹⁰. ”

The other poets also allude to her travelling in this manner ; and on a medallion of Acrassus she is represented as Diana Polymamma drawn by a pair of stags¹¹. This type was evidently intended by the people of Nicæa as a compliment to the empress. A large brass Latin coin of Domna represents her as the mother of the gods drawn by lions. The *countermark* on this coin was doubtless intended to alter its original value, or to give it currency in other cities, as in the case of the Spanish dollars which circulated in this country with the stamp of the head of George the Third, during the late war¹². It appears by several coins of Nicæa¹³, that the people of that city held games in honour of Severus and his sons, after the battle which proved fatal to Pescennius Niger, from which it may be inferred that the coin above described was minted at the same period.

¹⁰ *Paneg. III. in Stilichonem.*

¹¹ Buonarrotti. *Osservazioni Istoriche*, pp. 243, 244.

¹² This countermark appears to have been much used in the reign of Severus. Havercamp, in his description of the cabinet of Christina of Sweden, page 182, Tab. XXVI., gives a coin of Julia Domna, with the heads of Caracalla and Geta on the reverse, and bearing, on the obverse, a similar countermark to that on the coin above described.

¹³ Frölich. *Quat. Tent.* p. 236. See also No. IX.

IX.

GETA.

Obverse. CEPTIMIOC · GETAC · KAICAP. *Septimius Geta Caesar.* Youthful bust of Geta to the right; beneath, a countermark of Victory holding a garland and palm branch.

Reverse. ΛEOYHPEIA · ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΑ · ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ. *The Severian and Philadelphian (games) of the people of Nicæa.* A large urn containing two branches. (Æ. size 9½). *In the British Museum.*

This coin and the one which follows, are very unlike in fabric, and bear portraits by no means resembling each other. This also occurs on the Latin coins of Geta, on some of which he is depicted with a very boyish countenance, while on others, he has the aspect of a man of at least thirty years of age. The countermark beneath the head, is precisely similar to that on No. VIII; and it is worthy of remark, that it is placed on the same part of the coin, and appears to have been struck by the same punch or die.

The legend and device of the reverse, commemorate the solemn games held by the people of Nicæa in honour of Severus and his sons. These games in honour of the Emperors were first instituted by Augustus, who, after the battle of Actium, brought to Rome the games held in that city every three years in honour of Apollo. The servile Greeks required but little prompting in the science of flattery. We afterwards find, ΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΕΙΑ and ΣΕΒΑΣΜΙΑ; and in the subsequent reigns of Antoninus, Commodus, Severus, and Gordian, games were held in honour of those emperors. This coin bears the title of Cæsar, which rank was conferred on Geta by his father, in the year of Rome 951, (A.D. 198).

Obverse. ΑΥΤ · Κ · Π · CEΠ · GETAC · ΑΥΤΟΥ. *Αυτοκρατωρ Καισαρ Πυβλιος Σεπτιμιος Γετας Αυγουστος.* *The*

Emperor Cæsar Publius Septimius Geta Augustus. Laureated bust of Geta to the left with coat of mail; the features strongly resembling those of his brother Caracalla.

Reverse. ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ. (Money) of the people of Nicæa. An armed figure bare-headed, standing before an altar; in his right hand a small figure of Victory, his left holding the hasta erect. (Æ. size $9\frac{1}{2}$.) *In the British Museum.*

From the circumstance of its bearing the title of *Augustus*, and a much older bust, this coin must have been struck many years after the previous one¹⁴.

XI.

JULIA MAESA.

Obverse. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ · ΜΑΙΣΑ · ΑΥΓ. *Ιουλιὰ Μαίσα Αὐγούστα.* Julia Maesa Augusta. Bust of the empress to the right.

Reverse. ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ. (Money) of the people of Nicæa. In two lines, between a Roman eagle and two standards. (Æ. size 5.) *In the British Museum.*

A coin of ordinary fabric.

XII.

OTACILIA.

Obverse. Bust of Otacilia to the right.

Reverse. Ι(Ε)ΡΟΙ · ΑΓΩ(Ν) · (ΝΙΚΑ)ΙΕΩΝ. *The sacred games of the people of Nicæa.* Fortune seated with rudder and cornucopia. In the field, three urns, each containing a palm-branch. (Æ. size $5\frac{1}{2}$.) *In the British Museum.*

The legend of the obverse of this coin is so irregular, and the letters so ill-formed, that I have not ventured to give the reading of it. The head is clearly that of Otacilia, and bears a strong resemblance to the portrait on her very

¹⁴ Geta had the title of Augustus and the tribunitian power conferred upon him by his father, in the year of Rome 962 (A. D. 209.) The coin here described must, therefore, have been struck between the years 211 and 213.

common Latin coins. But one coin of Otacilia, struck at Nicæa, is given by M. Mionnet, and this is quoted from Arigoni¹⁵. The fondness of the people of Nicæa for public games, is again shewn in the coins of the reign of Philip, whose empress, of course, is propitiated by pieces struck in her honour.

J. Y. A.

II.

NOTICES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE COINS OF THE ROMAN CONSULAR SERIES.

BY DR. JOHN GLEN KING¹.

ABURIA.

I.—GEM. The head of the goddess Roma galeated, or covered with a helmet.

R.—*Marcus · ABVRIus · ROMA*. Apollo, or the sun, with a

¹⁵ *Descript. Supplement.*

¹ The late Dr. J. G. King, who died in 1781, designed giving a complete account of all the important varieties of the Roman Consular and Imperial Series, down to the reign of Trajanus Decius; but from some cause or other, the work was never finished. The readers of the Numismatic Journal will see that the portion of his labours here for the first time printed, has been ably performed. The doctor's own language has been retained throughout, which will account for the occasional peculiarities of expression.

The doctor assigned, as his reason for not continuing his plan to a later period, that the work of the *Abbé Bandurius*, which commences at the reign of Trajanus Decius, was so complete as to leave nothing more to be desired; the preceding era, however, was not only incomplete, but that portion which had been published was so voluminous, as to place it beyond the reach of many, while its bulk would deter others from entering upon the study.

The series of plates which had been intended to accompany the work, are now being completed and prepared for publication, in a separate form, with the addition of many valuable tables, &c.

radiated head, riding in a car with four horses (*quadriga*), holding a whip in his right hand, and the reins in his left.

II.—The same head as No. I.

R.—*Caius* · ABVRIUS · ROMA. Mars in a car with four horses, a trophy in his right hand, and a spear in his left.

The Aburian family was reckoned plebeian². We find three of the name on coins called GEMINUS or GEMELLUS, or whatever else the GEM may signify; for there is no account of it in history or in the ancient inscriptions. These three persons were MARCUS and CAIUS ABURIUS, who were brothers, and MARCUS son of the former. They served the republic in several offices, and are well known in the Roman annals.

MARCUS ABURIUS, whose name is found on the denarius No. I. was tribune of the people A. U. 566, as we learn from Livy³, by whom he is called M. ABUTIUS. He then opposed Fulvius, the proconsul, who demanded a triumph for his exploits in Ætolia and Cephalaria. M. Aburius was prætor eleven years afterwards. The sun with a radiated head, on this coin, is supposed to allude to the family name; as if it was derived *ab amburendo* (*from burning*). It must be confessed, this allusion is pretty far-fetched, and I do not pretend to vouch for it: but the learned reader well knows, that the Romans often borrowed quaint names from very particular and whimsical circumstances.

CAIUS ABURIUS, whose name is on No. II. was brother to Marcus the elder, and uncle to the younger. He was tribune of the people A. U. 568; and is mentioned by Livy⁴ among the legates, who, in 588, when the senate and people had decreed to make war on Perseus, king of

² See Remarks on the Coelian Family in this article.

³ Lib. xxxix. c. 4.

⁴ Lib. xliii. c. 35.

Macedonia, went to Carthage and to King Masinissa, and obtained Numidian cavalry and elephants for the war.

MARCUS ABURIUS, the son of Marcus, is not found on any denarius; but his name is extant on a brass coin.

ACCOLEIA.

I.—*Publius* · ACCOLEIVS · LARISCOLVS. A female bust.

R.—Three nymphs changed into larch trees.

Of this family we have no account, nor of the name, unless it be that which is found on two ancient inscriptions, cited by Ursinus, where it is written ACCVLEIVS · PVB-LIVS · ACCOLEIVS, whose name is inscribed on this denarius, is supposed by Anton. Augustinus to have been made a citizen of Rome and triumvir of the mint by Julius Cæsar.

It seems highly probable, that the device on this coin alludes to the surname LARISCOLUS, and that the head represents Clymene the mother, and the reverse the sisters of Phæton, who were fabled to have been turned into *larices* (larch trees), quantities of which grow on the borders of the Po, from which neighbourhood the family is thought to have come. From the types of this coin, it evidently appears to be one of the later date.

ACILIA.

I.—SALVTIS. Head of the goddess Salus, or health, crowned with laurel.

R.—*Manius* · ACILIVS · IIIVIR · VALETVDINIS. A woman in the Roman gown (*stola*) standing; her left elbow resting on a pillar, her right hand holding a serpent towards her mouth.

II.—BALBUS · ROMA. Head of Roma galeated, within a wreath of laurel.

R.—*Manius* · ACILIUS. A victory driving a car with four horses (*quadriga*), in which is Jupiter holding a thunderbolt in his right hand, and a sceptre in his left; a wheel or shield under the horses' feet.

III.—*Manius* · ACILIVS · *Manii* · *Filius*. In a circle round the head of Roma galeated.

R.—ROMA. Jupiter Feretrius in a car with four horses, holding a club or sceptre in his right hand, and a trophy in his left.

Though several of the ACILII are mentioned in history, there are only two surnames found on the coins of this family; namely, BALBUS and GLABRIO; and as the *præno-*men MANIUS is very common among them, it is not easy to ascertain precisely, which of these is meant, either on some coins, or on some occasions in history.

“That the Acilian was a plebeian family, is evident” says Vaillant, “from ancient writers, among whom it is often written corruptly ATILIA, instead of ACILIA.” This celebrated antiquary is indisputably right in correcting the orthography of ancient writers, or rather editors, by medals; for no MSS. can pretend to be of equal antiquity with these pieces. It may seem strange, however, that this author should have asserted that the family was plebeian, when he himself quotes the authority of Herodian; from which it appears that the Acilii were a very ancient patrician family. Herodian of Alexandria, in his history of the Roman Cæsars and Emperors⁵, informs us on occasion of Pertinax endeavouring to excuse himself from being elected emperor by the senate, that he presented Glabrio as more worthy of their

⁵ Ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖνος εὐγενέστατος μὲν πάντων εὐπατρίδων · ἀνέφερε γοῦν εἰς Αἰνεΐαν τὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἢ Ἀγχιέση τῷ τοῦ γένους διαδόχῳ. —*Herod. lib. ii.*

choice; "being," says Pertinax, "*the noblest of all the Patricians*," as he draws his origin from Æneas, the son of Venus and Anchises," which is surely a proof of the nobility of this family.

The denarius, No. 1, is ascribed to MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO. This coin is cited by Onuph. Panvinus⁶, as a proof of the existence of a magistrate among the Romans, called *Triumvir valetudinis tuendo*, for the care of the health of the city: "similar to those," says he, "which in our times have been created, when the plague has prevailed, called *Domini sanitatis*." If this solution be not admitted, it may be rather thought that Acilius was *Triumvir ædibus sacris reficiendis*, for repairing the sacred edifices, a dignity well known in Rome. However, we learn from Pliny⁷ that Acagathus of Peloponnesus, the first physician who came to Rome, A. U. 515, had a shop bought at the public expence, in the Acilian street or square. This passage of Pliny is very curious also, for the idea it gives of the Roman manners, and their notions of medicine at that time; for they looked upon this physician as a sorcerer, and were ready to drive him out of the city by violence: possibly he might affect to cure distempers by charms and magic. But we must return to our coin, of which there is another interpretation generally received; and though it appears very fanciful, it is not unlike the turn of imagination, as it should seem, of that age. SALUS, the goddess of health, is thought to allude to the origin of the Acilian name, the etymology of which is said to be from *αἰεσσαι*, *to heal*. Many of the early Romans derived their names from the Greek language. Hence, too, the figure on the reverse is supposed to

⁶ *De Civitate Romana.*

⁷ Tabernam in compito Acilio, emptam ob id publice. *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxix. c. 6. *Ed. Hard.*

be the statue of Hygeia; and the serpent is an emblem commonly given to Æsculapius, who was, most probably, the tutelary deity of the Acilian family.

We learn from Livy⁸, that Manius Acilius Glabrio, consul, A. U. 562, having defeated Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, and entirely subdued the Ætolians, had a triumph decreed him, of which that author gives a curious and particular description, well worth examining. On account of this triumph, his son, Manius Acilius Glabrio, duumvir⁹, about nine years after, built and dedicated the (*ædes pietatis*) temple of piety at Rome, in the (*forum olitorium*) herb market; where he placed a gilt equestrian statue in honour of his father: this was the first gilt statue in all Italy. The denarius, No. II, as well as the following, are thought to have been struck in memory of this triumph, by the son, and by MAN. ACILIUS BALBUS.

ÆLIA.

I.—The head of Rome galeated.

R.—*Publius* · PAETUS · ROMA. Castor and Pollux on horseback, galloping, each a lance in his hand, and a casque (*pileum*) on his head; over them their two stars.

II.—The same.

R.—*Caius* · ALLIUS · ROMA. The same type as the preceding.

III.—BALA. The letter C. The head of Juno, Lucina, or Diana.

R.—*Caius* · ALLIUS. Lucina or Diana in a car drawn by two stags; a quiver at her shoulder, a torch in each hand; under the stags an ear of corn: all within a laurel-wreath.

VARIETIES.—Morell has given sixteen denarii like No. III, with only the small variation of the letter, or the

⁸ Lib. xxxvii. c. 46.

⁹ Liv. Hist. lib. xl. c. 34.

symbol under the stags, supposed to be the mint-mark; and in some, instead of the ear of corn, is a *cicada*, an anchor, a quiver, a frog, a winged griffin, a crab, an owl lying down, a bee, a beetle, or a plough¹⁰.

ÆLIA or *AILIA* is said to have been a plebeian family, but of great antiquity, and to have been called, in the capitoline monuments, *ALLIA*. The surnames of this family are *PÆTUS*, *LAMIA*, *TUBERO*, and *CATUS*.

No. I.—The type of Castor and Pollux is so frequent on these pieces, that I shall here, once for all, mention their origin, according to the historical or rather fabulous account of them: they are said to have sprung from the egg which Leda produced, after her amour with Jupiter, in the form of a swan: the shell divided in two parts forms the caps they appear in, which, with the two stars over them, is their common symbol on medals. "Jupiter," says the fable, "having given immortality to Pollux, he shared it with his brother Castor, so that they lived and died alternately." Being transformed into stars, they were placed among the signs of the zodiac, under the name of The Twins. They are called *Dioscuri*, or the sons of Jupiter. The name of *Cabires*, found with figures similar to these on some coins, is taken from the Phœnician language; but it seems doubtful whether that name belonged to these deities at all.

Castor and Pollux are represented on the reverse of medals under the figures of two young men, sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot, holding the bridles of their horses, and sometimes without horses; they are usually either naked, or with a (*palliohum*) a short cloak flying loose.

¹⁰ There are also many other marks of this description. ED.

Sometimes on the reverse of medals, their two heads only are represented in profile joined ¹².

This coin, according to Ursinus, belongs to P. Pætus, who was prætor, A. U. 550, and consul the following year with Cneus Cornelius Lentulus. Goltzius rather ascribes it to P. Ælius Pætus, who, in the *Fasti Capitolini*, is called *Quinti F. Publii N.* son of Quintus, grandson of Publius. His father, Quintus, was pontifex and prætor. Seventeen of this family, men of distinguished valour, were slain at the famous battle of Cannæ ¹³. Publius, the grandfather, was tribune of the people in the year 494, and again in 497. He had a brother, Sextus Ælius, who, according to Goltzius, was named Catus. Valerius Maximus ¹⁴ relates a singular adventure of Ælius, a prætor, probably Quintus Ælius. "As he was one day," says he, "distributing justice, being seated on the curule chair, a woodpecker (*picus*), came and perched upon his head; on which the aruspices declared, that if the bird was consecrated, the family would be prosperous, but the republic would be ruined; but if the bird was killed, the contrary would happen. Whereupon Ælius immediately, in the presence of the senate, killed the bird with his teeth."

As to CAIUS ALLIUS or AILLIUS, we are entirely ignorant. The denarii Nos. II. and III. which bear that name, could not be struck in the time of C. Ailius, who was consul with M. Valerius Potitus Maximus, A. U. 457, and who took first the name of Pætus; because the Romans had no silver money so early. And as antiquity is quite silent also with regard to the letters on these coins, as the C. on this, A. E. T. H. &c. on others, it might perhaps, be better, contrary to Vaillant's opinion, to say nothing

¹² With a star over each head.—ED.

¹³ *Val. Max.* lib. v. c. 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

upon them, than to hazard groundless conjectures. From the nature of the workmanship on the pieces themselves, which is much inferior in point of elegance to the Roman, I should suppose they might have been struck in the island of Corsica, the inhabitants of which, according to Paleson¹⁵, were called *Balari*.

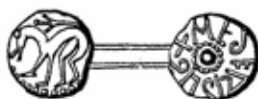
Goltzius has given a denarius, as relating to *Quintus Tubero*, having the head of Neptune on the face, and R.—Q · TUBERO; Neptune riding in a car drawn by two sea-horses: but this coin is not authenticated from any cabinet. The first of the *Ælian* family who took the name of *Tubero*, was Lucius *Ælius*, who, we find in Livy, was tribune of the people in 528, and prætor in 534.

The name *Lamia*, according to Horace, was derived by the *Ælian* family from *Lamus* the founder, and king of the *Formiæ*.

Æli, vetusto nobilis ab Lamo¹⁶.

The first who took this name was tribune of the people, A. U. 639. LAMIA is found on brass imperial coins only.

(To be continued.)



III.

SAXON SKEATTA OF WILDFRID.

SIR,

I BEG to submit to your consideration a few remarks upon a Skeatta, or early Saxon penny, weighing 19½ grains. It is in excellent preservation, having the legend

¹⁵ Hor. lib. x.

¹⁶ Ibid. lib. iii. od. 17.

deeply cut and well impressed, and is, I believe, unique and unpublished. When or where this coin was found is not known; but it formed part of the collection of the late Mr. G. Burrell, of Thetford in Norfolk; and after his death became, and is now, the property of T. C. Ewell, Esq. of Norwich.

The first letter in the legend is evidently a W reversed; the second, on slight view, appears to be simply an L; but closer inspection discovers a minute, but clearly expressed, projection in the upright limb, about one third from the bottom, intended, as I apprehend, to designate the union of the two letters I L. The remainder admit of no doubt; and the whole seem to afford the name of WILDFRIDHT, or, in more modern spelling, WILDFRID. The frequent occurrence of reversed, combined, and (to us at least) redundant letters in the orthography of Saxon coins, is a fact too well known to require any comment. The other side presents the figure of some four-legged animal running to its own right; but whether meant to represent a bull in the act of butting, or a lion open-mouthed and about to seize his prey, must be left to surmise, since the designer has not been happy in developing his conception. Be that as it may, the figure is certainly of no moment, except so far as it might assist in the appropriation of the coin.

In the Saxon Annals, we do not find any king named Wildfrid, and are therefore compelled to suppose that this piece has been struck by an unknown prince of that name, by the moneyer so named of some king known or unknown, or by a prelate possessing or usurping the right of coinage. The first of these suppositions I shall pass by as leading to no satisfactory result, and confine myself to the discussion of the two others as briefly as possible, conceiving the

probable claim to be between Egbert, king of Kent, and Wildfrid, the renowned archbishop of York.

It has been fairly presumed, from the name of Eotberchtul appearing as moneyer on the reverse of a Skeatta, bearing on the other side the effigy and style of Egbert, king of Kent, and also upon the reverses of various other Skeattas without that king's name, but all bearing, instead of it, an animal which has been called (perhaps in error) a dragon, that all those monies should be attributed to the same king; and it has been also reasonably inferred, that another Skeatta presents a farther specimen of Egbert's money, inasmuch as it bears an animal formed precisely as the dragon first-mentioned, but with the name of Alchred as moneyer. Upon comparing the engraving of the piece, under present consideration, with Ruding's third plate, where Egbert's coins are given, a slight resemblance will be observed in the general thought of the designs, together with a strong likeness between the heads of the two animals; but there the comparison ends. In Egbert's acknowledged coins, the animal stands erect and extends one leg aloft; a large mane flows from the neck; and the tail, springing out of the back, is thrown over the haunches and finished with a barbed point: whereas, on the contrary, the coin under discussion represents the head depressed, the tail thrown along the back, and furnished at the end with a bunch of hair: besides, the letters *b* and *z* in Wildfridht are of the Saxon character, completely different from that of the same letters in Eotberchtul and Alchred, which are Roman. It may, then, be not unreasonably argued, that if Wildfrid had been a moneyer of Egbert, the same type probably, and certainly the same form of letters, would have been used as by his other moneyers, and that the contrary occurrence shews we must look elsewhere for the appropriation of this Skeatta.

If we turn to the archbishop of York as competitor, I freely think that his claim is chiefly founded on the name of Wildfrid, supported by his splendid station, and the high and ambitious part which he took in the proceedings of his age. Bede has collected many particulars of his life, though evidently under a most friendly bias, produced, no doubt, as much by the pertinacious endeavours of the archbishop to establish the independence of the church, as by his knowledge and general ability. In his fourteenth year, Wildfrid entered the monastery of Lindisfarn, and pursued his studies until, about the year 648, he was sent to Rome under the special patronage of Eanfleda. There he imbibed the papal doctrines, as to the time of celebrating Easter, the ecclesiastical tonsure, and monothelite will¹, and returning to Britain, took a violent part against the British clergy, in the disputes which those doctrines engendered; insomuch that, refusing consecration at their hand, he repaired to Paris, and obtained it there from a bishop, a partisan of the pope.

Expecting to be raised to the see of York by Oswi, whose confessor he had been, Wildfrid loitered some time on the continent; but finding that throne supplied on his return, he, according to Richard of Hexham, accepted the invitation of Wulfhere, king of Mercia, and of Egbert of Kent, to perform episcopal functions in their dominions. Three years afterwards, however, on the demise of the incumbent, Wildfrid was installed bishop of all Northumberland by Oswi, but was expelled in 678 by Ecgrith, though for what cause

¹ At the period here alluded to, there was, among other contentions, a dispute between the ecclesiastics, as to whether our Saviour had two distinct wills—or whether, though combining in himself *two* natures, the human and divine, he possessed but *one* volition. Those who held the latter opinion were, as the word imports, believers in the *monothelite will*. ED.

does not appear. Appealing to the pope, Agatho, a synod of one hundred and twenty-five bishops absolved him of course, and declared him worthy of his bishopric; but the king refused to obey the papal mandate, and the archbishop retired to Eadilwalch, king of Sussex, who gave him an establishment of eighty-seven families on the peninsula of Selsey, where he built a monastery and exercised archiepiscopal jurisdiction. Benefits, however, appear to have been conferred on this monk only to evince his ingratitude; since, on the invasion of Sussex by Ceadwalla, Wildfrid, according to Malmsbury (though the fact is sunk in Bede's panegyric), furnished the invader with money and horses, and thereby mainly assisted in the destruction of his benefactor. Three years after the accession of Ecgfrith's successor, Aldfrid, Wildfrid was restored to his see; but after five years' occupation, he was again expelled by his restorer. Again the archbishop appealed to Rome; and pope John repeated the absolution of pope Agatho, but with equally unproductive effect, for Aldfrid excluded him pertinaciously; nor was it till the decease of that monarch, and the accession of his son Osred, that Wildfrid obtained his re-establishment, and, after four years' quiet possession, closed his turbulent life in the year 709, and seventy-fifth year of his age.

In this epitome of Wildfrid's biography, I fear you will think me too prolix; but in attempting to investigate his character through this history, I would lay the foundation of attributing this coin to the archbishop of York. Learned, according to the learning of the times, sanctified by religious observances, devoting himself to the bishop of Rome as the instrument of his own aggrandisement, and ungrateful to all his friends and protectors, Wildfrid appears to have aspired at independence of his sovereign; and to such a

mind, the assumption of the royal prerogative of coinage would not appear too great. The Saxon history gives no hint when or by whom this prerogative was usurped, or privilege obtained; and its early annals portray no prelate so ambitious as this monk of Lindisfarn, or so contumacious towards the regal authority.

I do not find that the monkish historians relate the cause of Wildfrid's repeated expulsions. As he was acquitted by two holy fathers, it is natural to suppose that those historians, especially the venerable Bede, should have been anxious to display the doctrines impugned by Ecgfrith and Aldfrid, and confirmed by Agatho and John, if matters of doctrine only had been in discussion: the omission of this engenders a suspicion that lay-charges comprised part of the accusation. Ecgfrith's confidence in the archbishop's holiness was unbounded²: might not, therefore, one cause of expelling Wildfrid have been produced by the bishop interfering with the king's prerogative of coinage; a subject, in that age, of most tender interest, but of which the Roman tribunal took no cognizance. That this is mere conjecture, I am ready to allow; and as such only I hazard the suggestion.

In supposing this coin to be the produce of the archbishop of York's mint, two objections may present themselves;—viz. that not only the name of the sovereign, but even the episcopal title, is omitted, and that the coinage of the Northumbrian kingdom, and of Ecgfrith himself, being confined to copper stycas, this silver skeatta cannot have

² Such was his reliance on Wildfrid's sanctity, that Ecgfrith declared he would desist from importuning his wife, Edilthrida, for the privileges of a husband, which she persevered in refusing him, if the bishop would assure him that she had retained her virginity during the lifetime of her first husband. How the delicate investigation was conducted, or whether it was undertaken, we are not informed by the historian.

been issued by Wildfrid, the bishop. We find, however, that Wulfred and his successors at Canterbury, and Eanbald and his successors at York (certainly posterior to our archbishop), omitted the names of the sovereign on their coins; and that Eanbald, in many instances, omitted also his ecclesiastical title: therefore no certain deduction can spring out of those facts: and though it has been generally presumed that the early Northumbrian coinage consisted only of copper, and that too in the styca shape, yet the discovery of a penny of Eanred does away with the supposed exclusion of silver from that mint; and I possess a piece of his successor Ethelred, in good silver, formed as a styca, and weighing eighteen grains³.

If, however, it should be thought that the appropriation suggested is deserving of any regard otherwise, which may be affected by these objections; I should observe, that the skeatta in question, differing, in every respect, as it certainly does, from the contemporary money of Ecgrith, is not of necessity confined, in place of mintage, to the Northumbrian locality. We have seen that Wildfrid sojourned with Wulfhere of Mercia, and Egbert of Kent, and that,

³ The confinement of copper to the Northumbrian mint alone, is extremely probable, though the reason be not apparent. The alleged poverty of that kingdom is evidently insufficient, since, under Oswi and Ecgrith, it possessed the great and preponderating power; and though it suffered reverses, other states experienced the like without having recourse to a copper coinage. Indeed, copper is not found in any part of the district then termed Northumberland, except in small quantity, and at a depth far beyond the limited means of search then applicable: the use of that metal in the fabrication of stycas may, therefore, possibly be attributed to the frequent discovery of Roman bronze money in the ruined towns and stations on the line of the Pict's walls; a surmise corroborated by the analysis of several stycas, some of copper only, others with a mixture of tin; but one contained as much as $\frac{1}{10}$ parts of silver, derived, in all probability from using a portion of the billon money, of the lower empire, in the fabric.

expelled by his sovereigns from their dominions, he in defiance of them, held his episcopal state within the territories of the south Saxons. There the skeatta might have been struck in the manner and form resembling Egbert's money; resemblances likely to arise through the proximity of the two dominions of Sussex and Kent, and consequent circulation of the currency of the latter potent kingdom: and in that case, it would afford, not only the sole specimen extant of money struck within the south Saxon territories, but the earliest specimen known of prelatical coins minted in Britain.

I regret that the consideration of this very curious coin should not have fallen into abler hands. My remarks are submitted with the greatest diffidence, and in the hope of drawing out the observations of those who are better informed on the subject than,

Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

B—.

IV.

EXPLANATION OF "NVBIS · CONS" &c. ON THE COINS OF ROMULUS, SON OF MAXENTIUS.

SIR,

HAVING possessed for some time the coin of Romulus, in second brass, which bears on the obverse IMP MAXENTIVS · DIVO · ROMVLO · NV · FILIO,¹ I have often

¹ An unpublished coin of Romulus, in second brass, in the possession of Mr. Effingham Wilson, Jun., reads thus:—DIVO ROMVLO · NV · FILIO · MAXENTIVS · AVG. The bare head of Romulus. R.—AETERNA · MEMORIA. A circular temple of six columns, with a dome, surmounted by an eagle with expanded wings. Exergue, MOSTP.

been perplexed with the signification of the letters NV; and was not a little pleased to find, on reference to the "*Descriptive Catalogue*," that wiser heads than mine have found it difficult to interpret the legends of this prince. There can be no doubt, however, I think, with respect to the letters NV that Jobert is correct in supposing them to signify, *Nostræ Urbis*; this style of expression perfectly agreeing with that on the coins of Maxentius, which read, CONSERV · VRB · SVAE — AFRICAE · SVAE — KART SVAE. The main difficulty, I presume, is with regard to the meaning of NVBIS · CONS · NVB — AVG, which occur in other types. These words, it seems, "have puzzled all Numismatists;" and Mionnet says, "On ignore absolument les sens des mots, NVBIS · CONS, &c." With your permission, I will offer a few remarks on this knotty subject, though it may savour of presumption, in one so unimportant in the class of numismatists as myself, to attempt to unravel the mystery. In this, however, as in most cases, the clue once found, we are surprised at the simplicity of the affair, and our previous want of penetration.

I think it may be taken for granted, that NV signifies *Nostræ Urbis*. We may be pretty sure too, that what it means when alone, as on the coin in my possession, it means also on others, when in combination with BIS or B, and followed by CONS or AVG. These are merely preliminaries; the real clue to the signification of BIS, is obtained, as I conceive, by collating all the legends which occur on the medallions and coins of Romulus. This I have done, as far as my means of reference would allow; and I draw the following conclusion:—

The mysterious letters, NVBISCONS, &c. occur *only* on those coins where Romulus is designated as DIVVS,

that is, after his death and supposed apotheosis; never on those which call him Cæsar, or refer to him as living.

In the next place, the letters BIS or B, are never met with when he is termed FILIVS; but in such instances, the letters NV stand without them.

The opinion, therefore, which I venture to give is, that whereas his father, Maxentius, had been anxious to engage the superstitious inclinations and historical recollections of the people of Rome in favour of his government and family, by naming his son, born in that city, after its original founder, who had long been deified, and enthusiastically worshipped in the character of protector and conservator; so he became desirous, on his son's death, of deepening the impression of these sentiments, as well as of gratifying his paternal pride and fondness, by announcing the deification of the young Romulus together with the great father of Rome; and declaring on the medals struck to his memory, that Romulus was thus *twice* (bis), or in a two-fold sense, the conservator of the favourite city. I give to BIS its simple and literal signification; the letter B being used in some instances as an abbreviation, and probably, on later coins, when its meaning would not be understood.

The peculiarities observable on collating the various types, may now be satisfactorily accounted for. NVBIS CONS, &c. occur only, and then with propriety, when the same dignities and supposed divine powers could, according to the mythology of the age, be attributed to Romulus, the deceased son of Maxentius, as were with universal assent predicated of the ancient founder, after whom he had been named. When he bears a living title, as Cæsar, the legend runs, M · AVR · ROMVLVS · NOBILIS · CAES. And in the only instance, as far as I can discover, in which he is

mentioned as Consul², the style is the same, M · AVR ROMVLVS · NOB · CAES · COS. It would, of course, be absurd to expect to find DIVVS and CONSVL in the same legend. My point is to show, that the letters which have hitherto occasioned so much perplexity, relate only to those titles which were designed, however arrogantly, to unite the son of Maxentius, in the public memory and estimation, with Romulus of old.

Again, as the expression BIS would have been altogether inappropriate in connection with FILIVS; so in the legends containing this epithet, we read simply NV, or *Nostræ Urbis*. One of these legends is remarkably corroborative of the opinion advanced as to the meaning of BIS: it is this, DIVVS · ROMVLVS · NV · CONS · FILIVS. Here he is called both preserver and son; but as the expression *twice*, or doubly, would not suit the latter term, it is omitted, though almost always conjoined, in other cases, with *Conservator*.

I am aware, however, that it may be necessary to notice one or two objections.

It may be asked, if such be the meaning of NV · BIS in connection with CONS, or *Conservator*, how will it hold good when in connection with AVG, or *Augustus*, which is the reading in one or more instances? But may not the term *Augustus* be here intended in its highest and most sacred sense? On the apotheosis of the first Augustus, he

² This legend I find quoted in Goltzius, vol. i. p. 128, under the head "*Tituli, Nomina et Epitheta*."

There appears some error of the press in the "*Descriptive Catalogue*," article "*Romulus*," where it is stated, that "Cardinal Norris speaks of a coin with NOB · CONS," which the author is made to interpret "*Nobilissimo Consuli*;" whereas the abbreviation of Consul is, I believe, always COS; and therefore CONS must signify in this coin (should it be authentic) the same as in the others, *Conservator*.

was emphatically called, "*Divus Augustus Pater*." In fact, succeeding emperors, in adopting the title of Augustus, arrogated to themselves the character of divinity while yet on earth; and the addition of *Divus* was only wanting to enrol them absolutely among the gods. In this sense, the great Romulus would be pre-eminently august, and with his deified namesake, might be imagined *doubly* to confer honour and protection upon Rome. Nothing is commoner than to observe on Roman coins, the qualities of the gods so attributed to the emperors and empresses, as to amount very nearly to personal identification. The emperors are represented as Mars, Hercules³, &c.; the empresses, as Juno, Venus, Cybele, &c. Sometimes a favourite god is called "*Comes Augusti*," or perhaps "*Augustus*." Venus herself frequently bears the title "*Augusta*," when an empress assumes the character. Any objection, therefore, on the score of extravagant compliment or flattery, to the explanation attempted above, can have no weight with those who are at all familiar with medals, the legends of which, in numberless instances, assign the most transcendent virtues and the loftiest destinies to the most profligate and contemptible of mankind.

A remark may be proper with respect to the presumed breaks, or separations, between the parts of the legends on the coins under discussion. I say *presumed*, because in the one before me, there are none of these breaks. The letters throughout the legend are equidistant; I should rather say, equally near together. Those who have opportunities of examining the coins which bear BIS, &c., can inform us, if these letters appear decidedly united with NV, and disjoined from CONS, as usually (though I am disposed to think, erroneously) represented in catalogues. I have to

³ Maximianus, the father of Maxentius, took the name of Hercules.

add, that I have met with, in an old "*Catalogus Numismatum, &c. Amstelodami, 1677*," a legend of a coin of Romulus not enumerated in the "*Descriptive Catalogue*:" which is, "DIVO · ROMVLO · VRBIS · CONS;" on the reverse, "VIRTVS · EXERCIT · MEMORIAE · AETERNAE." This legend conducts me to the conclusion of my observations.

The design of Maxentius, in these coins was, no doubt, to strengthen his authority and influence with the inhabitants of Rome generally, and the prætorian soldiers in particular, on whom he mainly relied for the continuance of his imperial dignity, in opposition to his formidable rival, Constantine. The city of Rome he considered his own by family connection and circumstances. It was his place of residence, and the chief seat of his resources, while most of the other participators of the purple owed their origin and their armies to the provinces; and it was in the immediate neighbourhood of its gates, that he was, at last, overthrown at the head of a prodigious body of forces. Though hateful in the extreme from his vices and tyranny, he seems to have understood that it was his policy to cultivate, in some measure, the advantages of his position as possessor of the capital, by directing in his favour the tendency of the public mind to superstition. The historian, Victor, tells us, that among other edifices, he constructed a magnificent temple, called "*Urbis Fanum*." This building was, in all probability, the same that is represented on the reverses of his son's coins. A temple specially dedicated to *Urbs Roma*, would contain, it may be presumed, the statue and the shrine of the immortalized founder of the city, with whom the *mimic* Romulus would be united in honour, by decree of the imperial architect and parent.

These hints may suffice without need of enlargement. Indeed, I am sincerely afraid, that my remarks must have

become quite wearisome both to you and your readers, and that they may appear wholly unworthy of occupying a page in a work which is intended, no doubt, to be rich in matters of real interest and importance. There may be some, however, who love, like myself, occasionally, a bit of criticism, though of a dry kind. These, I trust, will be favourable even to the stiff prolixity of my annotations. But after all, Mr. Editor, I shall not be a little proud of them, if yourself and your numismatic friends shall consider, that amongst the earliest papers of the "Journal," a clue is to be found for the development of what has long been regarded as an insurmountable difficulty. You will agree with me, in thinking, that he will be entitled to mount his pen "as a feather in his cap," who shall be acknowledged to have succeeded, in any measure, in loosening a knot which has driven so many, and even the indefatigable Mionnet, to despair.

Notwithstanding this *badinage*, you must believe me sincere, in wishing full success to your new and spirited undertaking.

Yours, &c.

E. C. B.

V.

ROMAN COINS BY M. PINDER.

THE following additions to the Series of Roman Latin Coins, are from the first number of M. Pinder's "*Numismata Antiqua Inedita*," published at Berlin.

FAVSTINA JUNIOR.

I.

Obverse. FAVSTINA · AVGVSTA. Bust of Faustina to the left.

Reverse. Without legend. A female figure seated in a chair, holding in her left hand the hasta-pura; before her stands a female, who holds up her robe with her left hand, and with her right presents three small figures. (Æ. size 12.)

II.

Obverse. FAVSTINA · AVG · PII · AVGVSTI · F. Bust of Faustina to the left.

Reverse. Without legend. A female figure standing to the right: before her, the figure of a child standing. Her left arm supports a child, and her right hand rests on a cornucopia, which is sustained by two children. (Æ. size 11.)

The learned editor of these medallions supposes both the above types to be complimentary to the fecundity of this profligate empress; a conjecture in which he is supported by the numerous types of the large brass coins of Faustina, upon which she is thus flattered. Nero was so overjoyed at the prospect of a son by his wife Poppæa, who, however, died in consequence of his brutal treatment, that he instituted games in honour of, and built a temple to, Fecundity.

VALENS.

Obverse. D · N · VALENS · P · F · AVG. Bust of Valens to the right, the head encircled by a diadem of precious stones.

Reverse. RESTITVTOR · REIPVBLICAE. The emperor in a military habit, standing full-faced; his left hand holding the labarum, his right extended towards a female with a turreted crown, who kneels at his feet, and holds a cornucopia in her left hand. In the exergue, TROBS. (Æ. size 16, with a loop and ornamented border).

This fine medallion, which resembles in style and in fabric those of the same period, described and engraved by M. Steinbüchel¹, was struck at *Treves*, (the letters in the exergue being rendered *treveris obsignata*), a city

¹ *Notice sur les Médaillons Romains en Or, du Musée I. R. de Vienne, 1826, 4to.*

in which a mint appears to have been established in the reign of Diocletian, as would appear from numerous coins of that prince, with the letters PTR, &c. in the exergue. The legend of the reverse was very frequently used at this period, and may not, therefore, refer to any particular act of Valens.

THEODOSIUS MAGNUS.

Obverse. D · N · THEODOSIVS · P · F · AVG. Bust of Theodosius to the right, with a diadem of pearls.

Reverse. RESTITVTOR · REIPVBLICAE. The emperor in a military habit, with the nimbus encircling his head standing full-faced; holding in his left hand the labarum, and extending his right hand towards a female with turreted crown, who kneels at his feet, and holds a cornucopia in her left hand. In the exergue, AQ · OB. (N. size 13½, with a loop.)

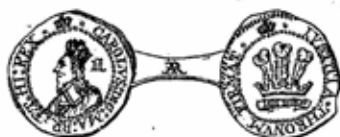
Of this emperor, who succeeded Valens in the government of the East, in the year of Rome 1132, A. D. 379, we had hitherto no medallion in gold. His gold coins are, however, very common. This fine medallion, struck at Aquileia, resembles the preceding one, but is without a border. M. Pinder is anxious to shew the period at which it was executed, and supposes it to be on the occasion of some victory, probably in commemoration of the defeat of the usurper Eugenius, who was put to death at Aquileia; but the legend of the reverse so often occurs on the coins of this era, that it would appear to have been adopted by the engraver of the die, merely on account of its popularity.

JOHANNES VII. PALEOLOGUS II.

Obverse. ΙΩΑΝ · ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC · Ο · ΠΑΛΕΟΛΟΓΟ. Full-faced bust of the emperor with the nimbus; on each side a pellet; the right hand elevated, the left holding the book of the Evangelists.

Reverse { IC · XC } Full-faced bust of Christ with a nimbus, within
 { C · II. } which is a cross; the whole surrounded by a margin or border with pellets. (R. size 5.)

This example, although one of the rudest of the uncouth series to which it belongs, is of great interest. The latest authenticated² Byzantine coin, is that of Manuel Paleologus, first noticed by the Baron Marchant³. The numismatist will not require to be informed, that the letters $\overline{\text{IC}} \cdot \overline{\text{XC}}$, are the usual contractions for the words *Ιησους Χριστος*, on the Byzantine money. With respect to the characters $\text{C} \cdot \Pi$, M. Pinder offers the following conjecture. He observes, that on the coins of Constantine Monomachus, we find the legend "*Δεσποινα Μητηρ Θεε σωζοις ευσεβη Μονομαχον*" (*O Lady, mother of God, protect the pious Monomachus!*) It is, therefore, highly probable that these letters signify, *σωζοις Παλαιολογον* or *σωζοις Ιωαννην Παλαιολογον*. We prefer this to reading *Σωτηρ Παντελεημων*, a name or title given to our Saviour in that age, although the coins attributed to Johannes Zimisce, with the legend *Jesus Christus Rex regnum*, favour such an interpretation.



VI.

UNPUBLISHED HALF-GROAT OF CHARLES I.

SIR,

THE reign of Charles I. affords the curious collector of English coins an inexhaustible field for his industry

² *Tanini*, in his *Supplement to Banduri*, describes and engraves a large gold medallion of Joannes VIII; but it is considered spurious.

³ *Mélanges de Numismatique et d'Histoire*. Lettre 23. It is much to be regretted that this work has become extremely scarce; a complete copy cannot, we believe, be procured.

and gratification, in types, denominations, and workmanship, many of great beauty and excellence, and some so barbarous as to be supposed the work of a common smith. Very peculiar interest attaches to others, from the circumstances under which they were issued. Such are all those called "Siege Pieces:" and it is probable, that during the continuance of the civil war, the king's moneyers were obliged to move from place to place with the army; which may account for some of the number of his coins of uncertain mints; for, as soon as the parliament obtained possession of the Tower, all the workmen of the mint transferred their services to the commonwealth, which occasioned much inconvenience to the royal cause. A mint, which had been granted to Aberystwith, seems now to have become the chief dependence of the king, and to which we are indebted for the greater part of what is termed the Oxford money: it may be amusing, therefore, to some of your readers, to give an account from Ruding of the establishment of this mint.

"By an indenture between the king and Thomas Bushell, bearing date on the 30th of July, in the thirteenth year of Charles I. (1637), it is stated that information had been given to his majesty and his privy council, by the said Thomas Bushell, of the richness of the mines in the principality of Wales, the goodness of the ore of which was not known to the owner, and so it was transported to other nations for potter's ore, out of which strangers refined silver, to the great loss and prejudice of his majesty's subjects, and that some propositions had been made by him for drawing the whole profit and benefit of them unto his majesty and his own subjects, by erecting a mint in the castle of Aberystwith, in the county of Cardigan. Upon full and mature deliberation had thereof, in the presence of the officers of his

majesty's mint in the Tower of London, it was by his majesty (out of his favour and special respect to all his loving subjects who undertook such hopeful designs, and with consent of his majesty's most honourable privy council, in approving of the beginning, proceeding, and intentions of the said Thomas Bushell), thought fit and ordered, for the better securing of the said Thomas Bushell, and for the better encouraging of the poor miners, by a more timely and speedy pay out of their own labours, that a *mint* should be erected in the said castle, with officers and other workmen necessary for the same, for the coining of all such bullion *only* as should be drawn out of the mines within the said principality; and that the monies there made should be stamp'd with feathers on both sides, for a clear difference from all other his majesty's coins, and be current according to their several species¹."

"And the king did, by those presents, make, ordain, and establish the said Thomas Bushell, warden and master-worker of his majesty's silver monies to be made within the said castle of Aberystwith.

"The appointment of a mint in the principality of Wales, appears to have been highly flattering to the inhabitants of that country, who expressed their thankfulness to the king for vouchsafing to the principality the trust of a branch of the royal mint, which offered to them the means of enriching themselves, and of making themselves happier than their fathers, freeing them from the cares and fears which hindered them from diving into those mountains, because they had so far to send before they could make the silver current²."

¹ *Ruding*, vol. iv. 432.

² *Ibid.* 437. Previous to the establishment of this mint, they were compelled to send their silver to the Tower of London for coinage.

"It was stated by Mr. Bushell in a remonstrance to the parliament, that, since William the Conqueror's time, seventy millions of tons of unrefined lead had been transported, which, if Lord Bacon's philosophy had been then known, would have produced five pounds of silver from every ton, amounting to three hundred and fifty millions sterling³."

"In 1642, the king removed to Shrewsbury, and there erected his mint, in which was coined the remainder of the plate given by the two universities; part of which had already been minted at York.

"In the king's speech to the gentlemen at this place, he said that he had sent for a mint, and would melt down all his own plate, and expose all his land to sale or mortgage, that he might bring the least pressure upon them, at the same time expressing his hope, that whilst those who pursued him with violence sacrificed their money, plate, and utmost industry, to destroy the commonwealth, they would be not less liberal to preserve it. Accordingly, he delivered all his own plate, for the service of his household, to the mint which he had established here, which made other men think theirs was the less worth preserving; and such proportions of plate and money were brought in voluntarily, no man being pressed, that the army was fully and constantly paid; but yet, for want of workmen and instruments, they could not coin a thousand pounds a week, and the mint was more for reputation than for use.

"This mint was under the direction of Mr. Bushell and the officers of the Aberystwith mint, they being removed to this place, where they did not continue long, being soon ordered to Oxford, where they arrived on the 3rd of January, 1642⁴."

³ *Ruding*, vol. iv. 438.

⁴ *Ibid.* 359.

"On the 6th of January, 1642, we have the king's letter to the college of All Souls, to deliver to Sir William Parkhurst and Thomas Bushell, masters of the mint, to be repaid as soon as God shall enable us, at the rate of five shillings per ounce, white silver, and five shillings and sixpence per ounce, gilt silver.

"Letter from the King to the Rector and Fellows of Exeter College.

"CHARLES R.

"——— and having received several quantities of plate from divers of our loving subjects, we have removed our mint hither to our city of Oxford, for the coinage thereof; and we have entrusted our trusty and well-beloved Sir William Parkhurst and Thomas Bushell, Esq., officers of our mint, to receive the same plate from you."

"Feb. 2, 1642. Received of the Rector and Fellows of Exeter, in Oxford, in plate for his majesty's service, as followeth:—

White Plate . . .	lbs.	208	4	18
In Gilt Plate . .		38	0	3
<hr/>				
	lbs.	246	5	1. ^s

Mr. Bushell, having obtained a grant from the king to coin silver, clothed the king's army at Oxford, and brought the said mint to serve the king's present occasion, in his garrison there, when the mint in the Tower was denied him.

It would seem that the parliament seized the Tower, and that all the officers of the mint were employed by the commonwealth.

^s *Ruding*, vol. iv. 351.

“As this mint (the Oxford) was managed by the officers and moneyers that came from Aberystwith, and was itself considered as the same mint removed, the greater part of the money coined in it was marked on both sides with the Welch feathers, the distinguishing mark of that mint⁶.”

The coin represented at the head of this account, is a half-groat of the Aberystwith mint, and possibly struck whilst that mint was stationed at Shrewsbury; as we have no description of the coins issued there, whilst we have full accounts of those of Aberystwith and Oxford. The peculiarity of this coin is the motto of the prince of Wales, ICH DIEN, which appears in sunk letters on the band of the coronet, from which issues the plume of feathers. In addition to which, it has the coronet for a mint mark, and the great rarity of this distinction may be another reason for supposing it to be the product of the mint stationed at Shrewsbury, where it remained for so short a period, and with so little efficiency⁷.

J. D. C.



VII.

REMARKS ON A PENNY OF HENRY III.

DURING the reign of Henry III., the state of the coinage became so bad, through the infamous practices of falsifiers

⁶ *Ruding*, vol. iv. 356.

⁷ We know of but two examples of this groat, which are in the cabinets of Mr. Cuff and Mr. Nightingale. ED.

and clippers of the coin, and the distresses of the people in consequence so great, that it was found necessary in his thirty-second year to cry down the old money, and to issue a new coinage.

The new money was distinguished from the old, by the double cross on the reverse, being extended to the outside of the circle containing the legend, so that it could not be diminished by clipping, without the loss being immediately discovered. It is generally considered, however, that there was another difference; namely, that on the coins of and after his thirty-second year, either the Roman numerals III or the word TERCI appeared, while the money of the old coinage was without either.

The coin, however, of which an engraving is given above, would seem to lead to a different conclusion, and to prove, that although the earlier coinages of Henry III. might generally be without numerals or words equivalent, yet that there were exceptions to this rule, and that some of the earlier coins *did* exhibit a proper mark of distinction between his money, and that of his predecessors by the same name.

The obverse of this coin reads, HENRICUS · REX, and the type is similar to that of Henry the third's earlier coinage.

The reverse reads *distinctly*, TER · RI · ON · LVND. The double cross is contained within the inner circle, and in each quarter are four pellets conjoined.

The short cross determines it to be previous to his thirty-second year, and the legend I read TERCI · RICARD ON · LVND.

It was not unusual for the legend of the one side to be concluded on the other, and coins of this very monarch furnish instances: thus—

{ HENRICVS · REX · ANG } & { HENRICVS · REX · ANG }
 { TERC · LONLIE. } & { TERCY¹ · HEDLIE. }

Ruding, in his "*Annals of the Coinage*," mentions as a remarkable difference between the coins of Henry the third before and after his thirty-second year, the addition of the numerals, or the word TERC · to the latter. He probably had not met with a coin of this type, or with only an imperfect one; as I find he gives TERIRI as one of Henry the third's moneyers: and I think it not unlikely that the stop after the TER · was mistaken for part of an I, some dot or scratch in the coin favouring the mistake.

In a note he observes, that "It is extraordinary that both the author of these annals (*Annals of Waverley*) and also Matthew Paris, should have omitted to state the most remarkable particular in which these coins differed from all which had preceded them, I mean, the distinction of numerals, or words equivalent, to shew to which king of the name of Henry they belonged." This omission rather favours the inferences I draw from the coin under consideration; I have the history of the latter author before me, and certainly do not find that he makes any mention of such differences between the two coinages, which, when on the subject, it is highly probable he would have done, had the earlier coinages been entirely without the numerals or their equivalent.

G. H. D.

VIII.

THE MÜNTER CABINET.

THE following are among the inedited coins of the *Museum*

¹ So given by Ruding; but I suspect that it is TERC ·, and that the stroke he takes for part of the Y, is, in fact, the stop (·) at the end of the legend.

Münterianum, a collection brought to the hammer at Copenhagen in March last. They are given in Geographical order.

EUROPE.

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|--|
| MASSILIA. | <i>Gallia.</i> | 1. Head of a female. <i>Rev.</i> A lioness or tiger couchant. (<i>Æ.</i> size 2.) |
| | | 2. A similar head. <i>Rev.</i> A lioness or tiger walking; above, a star. (<i>Æ.</i> size 2.) |
| CROTON. | <i>Bruttium.</i> | 3. A tripod; in the field, an ear of corn. <i>Rev.</i> Three crescents. (<i>Æ.</i> size 1.) |
| LOCRI. | <i>Bruttium.</i> | 4. Head of Apollo. <i>Rev.</i> A pegasus; below, Λ . (<i>Æ.</i> size 4.) |
| PETELIÆ. | <i>Bruttium.</i> | 5. Head of Apollo; before, .. <i>Rev.</i> $\Pi\Theta\text{H}$; a goat standing (<i>a sextans</i>). (<i>Æ.</i> size 2.) |
| CASSANDREA. | <i>Macedonia</i> | 6. PHILIPUS. IMP · C · (M. IVL PHI)LIPPS (<i>sic</i>); laureated head of the emperor. <i>Rev.</i> COL · IVL AVG · (CA)SANDRIAS. Neptune standing, his left foot on the prow of a vessel; in his right hand a dolphin, in his left, the hasta. (<i>Æ.</i> size 5.) |
| ATHENS. | <i>Attica.</i> | 7. Victory with a trophy. <i>Rev.</i> $\text{A}\Theta$ (E); an owl standing. (<i>Æ.</i> size 3.) |
| CORINTH. | <i>Achaia.</i> | 8. HADRIANUS. IMP · CAES TRA · HADRIANVS. Laureated head of Hadrian. <i>Rev.</i> COL · L · IVL · COR. <i>Æ</i> sculapius standing. (<i>Æ.</i> size 5.) |
| | | 9. ANTONINUS PIUS. ANTONINVS · AVG · PIVS. Laureated head. <i>Rev.</i> CLI. The sun in a quadriga; below, COR. (<i>Æ.</i> size 7.) |
| PATRÆ. | <i>Achaia.</i> | 10. JULIA DOMNA. IVLIA · DOMNA · AVG. Head of Julia. <i>Rev.</i> COL · A · A · (PATR.) <i>Æ</i> sculapius standing with his attributes. (<i>Æ.</i> size 6.) |

- TEGEA. *Arcadia.* 11. ANT. PIUS. ANTΩNEIN
 Head of A. Pius to the right. *Rev.*
 EIII · AY A male
 figure regarding an infant (Tele-
 phus) suckled by a hind beneath a
 tree. (Æ. size 6.)

ASIA.

- CHALCEDON. *Bithynia.* 12. KAAX. An ox standing on an ear
 of corn. *Rev.* An indented square.
 (Æ. size 5.)
- NICÆA. *Bithynia.* 13. GETA. Δ · CEΠTIM · ΓETAC
 KAI. Bare head of Geta. *Rev.*
 NIKAEΩN. Hercules leading Cer-
 berus. (Æ. size 6.)
- GERME. *Mysia.* 14. SEVERUS ALEXANDER. AYT
 CEBH · AΔEΞANΔPOC. Lau-
 reated head. *Rev.* ΓEPMHNΩN.
 Fortune with her attributes. (Æ.
 size 6.)
- MAGNESIA. *Lydia.* 15. A horseman armed with a lance.
Rev. (MAIN), a bull; in the ex-
 ergue, (H)POΣTPATOΣ. (Æ.
 size 4.)
- SMYRNA. *Ionía.* 16. Turreted female head. *Rev.* ΞMYP-
 NAIΩN. A lion walking; below,
 AΠOΛAOFANHΣ. The whole
 within an oaken crown. (Æ.
 size 9½.)
- CHIOS. *Insula Ioníæ.* 17. A sphinx. *Rev.* MHTPOΔ(o). An
 amphora, near which the letters
 POΣ; below, XIOΣ; the whole
 within a crown of vine leaves.
 (Æ. size 2½.)
- ORTHOSIA. *Caria.* 18. A laureated bearded head. *Rev.*
 OPΘOCI(EΩN) · ΠYΠPO. Pallas
 in an attitude of combat. (Æ.
 size 4.)

- COS. *Insula Cariæ.* 19. Head of Hercules covered with the lion's skin. *Rev.* ΚΩΙΩΝ and T.....ΣΦΟΡ, and a countermark of a lobster. (Æ. size 4.)
- ETENNA. *Pamphylia.* 20. FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER. (Φ)AYC-TINA . (CEBAC)TH ... Head of Faustina the younger. *Rev.* ETE(N)EΩN. Jupiter Salaminus standing. (Æ. size 6.)
- SIDE. *Pamphylia.* 21. HADRIANUS. (AYT) · KAI · TPA AΔPIA(NOC). Laureated head of the emperor. *Rev.* CIAHTΩN. A soldier standing. (Æ. size 6.)
- ANTIOCH. *Pisidia.* 22. Head of the god Lunus with the Phrygian bonnet. *Rev.* (A)NTIO ... An ox; in the exergue, ΓΑΘ ... (Æ. size 4.)
- ARGOS. 23. GALLIENUS. (AYT · KAI) · ΓΑΛ-ΛIHNOC. Laureated head of the emperor. *Rev.* APFEIΩN. Bacchus (?) standing holding the hasta: in the field, IA. (Æ. size 7.)
- NACRASIA. *Lydia.* 24. IEPA · CY(NKAH)TOC. Youthful head of the senate. *Rev.* NAK-PACITΩN. Turreted female head. (Æ. size 3.)
- THYATIRA. *Lydia.* 25. TRAJANUS. AY · NEP(BA · TPAI) ANOC · ΓEP · ΔAK. Laureated head of the emperor. *Rev.* An Amazon standing, holding in her right hand the hasta, and in her left the bipennis. (Æ. size 6.)
- HIERAPOLIS. *Phrygia.* 26. IEPA · CYNKAHTOC. Juvenile head of the senate. *Rev.* (IEPA) ΠOΛEITΩN. An Amazon on horseback, armed with the bipennis. (Æ. size 5.)
- Idem.* 27. VESPASIANUS. *Legend detrited.* Laureated head of Vespasianus. *Rev.* IEPAΠO ... *Rev.* An Amazon drawing an arrow from her quiver. (Æ. size 6.)

- HIERAPOLIS. *Phrygia*. 28. ANTONINUS PIUS. ΑΥΤ · ΚΑΙC · ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. Laureated head of the emperor. *Rev.* ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. Pluto in a quadriga bearing off Proserpine. (Æ. size 9.)
- LAODICEA. *Phrygia*. 29. AUGUSTUS. *Legend detrited*. Bare head of Augustus. *Rev.* ΔΗΜΟC ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ. Bearded head. (Æ. size 4.)
- SYRIA. 30. ANTIOCHUS III. MAGNUS. Veiled female head. *Rev.* (BA) ΣΙΑΕ(ΩC) ANTIOXOY. The head of an elephant: below, PEK, year 125 of the era of the Seleucidæ. (Æ. size 2½.)
- CAESAREA } *Comma-* 31. SEPT SEVERUS. ΑΥΤ · Κ · Α
GERMANICIA } *gene*. CEII · CEYHPOC · ΠE. Laureated head of the emperor. *Rev.* KAICAPEIAC. A temple with four columns: in the exergue, ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΗC. (Æ. size 7.)
- SAMOSATA. *Commagene*. 32. SEVERUS ALEXANDER. ΑΝΔΡΟC · ΚΑ. Youthful laureated head of Alexander Severus. (Φ) CAMOCAT A female figure seated on a rock, holding in her right hand ears of corn: at her feet a figure swimming. (Æ. size 6.)
- ANTIOCHIA. *Ad Orontem*. 33. The head of Diana with bow and quiver at her back. *Rev.* (ANTI-ΟΧΕΩΝ?·ΤΗΣ·ΜΕΤΡΟΠ)ΟΛΕΩ. Apollo standing, his right hand holding a bow, his left resting on a column; in the exergue, ΔΚC; year 224 of the Seleucidæ era. (Æ. size 2.)
- PHILADEL- } *Decapolis*. 34. ANTONINUS PIUS. ΑΝΤΩ
PHIA. } Laureated head of the emperor. *Rev.* (ΤΥΧΗ·ΦΙΛ)ΑΔΕΛΦ(ΕΩΝ). The city personified, standing: in her right hand a spear; in her left, a cornucopia. (Æ. size 3.)

- AELIA CA- } *Judæa.*
 PITOLINA. }
35. MARCUS AURELIUS. *Legend detrited.* Head of Aurelius. *Rev.* CO · AILI. Head of Jupiter Capitolinus. (*Æ.* size 3.)
- [JUDÆA. 36. DOMITIANUS AND AGRIPPA II.—] ΔΟΜΙ ΓΕΡΜ. Laureated head of Domitianus. *Rev.* ΕΤΟ ΚΑ · ΑΡΡΙΑΝ, (*year* 24), within a garland. (*Æ.* size 4.)
- EDESSA. *Mesopotamia.* 37. COMMODUS. *Legend detrited.* Laureated head of the emperor. *Rev.* ΑΒΓΑΡΟC · ΒΑΣΙΛΩΑΕC (*sic*). Bearded head of Abgarus, king of Edessa, with the tiara: behind, a sceptre. (*Æ.* size 6.)
- Egypt. 38. Uncertain. Ptolemy. Head of Jupiter. *Rev.* ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC. An eagle standing on a thunderbolt, a puny letter in the field, and a monogram, as in Mionnet, No. 1182. (*Æ.* size 3.)

AFRICA.

- ALEXANDRIA. *Egypt.* 39. VESPASIANUS. . . . ΣΕΒΑ Laureated head of Vespasianus. *Rev.* L · Δ (*year* 4). Canopus. (*Æ.* size 5.)
40. TRAJANUS. *Legend detrited.* Laureated head of Trajan. *Rev.* (L) · ΙΑ (*year* 11). A temple with four columns; within, a figure standing, the right hand resting on a tripod, the left holding the hasta. (*Æ.* size 9.)
41. TRAJANUS. ΑΥΤ · ΤΡΑΙΑΝ Laureated head of Trajan. *Rev.* L · ΙΕ (*year* 15). An eagle standing. (*Æ.* size 6.)
42. HADRIANUS. *Legend detrited.* Laureated head. *Rev.* L · ΕΝΝ (*year* 9). A serpent. (*Æ.* size 5½.)

43. MARCUS AURELIUS. *Legend de-trited.* Head of Aurelius. *Rev.* (L)E (year 5). Fortune reclining on the lectisternium. (Æ. size 9.)
44. AURELIANUS. AYT · K · A (Y · A) AYPHAIANOC · CEB. Laureated head of Aurelian. *Rev.* The jugated heads of Serapis and Isis; behind the head of the former, a cornucopia: in the field, L · Δ (year 4). (Æ. size 5.)
45. SEVERINA. OYAH · CEYHPINA CEB. *Rev.* ETOYC · τ (year 6). Æquitas standing. (Æ. size 4½.)
46. NOMUS ÆGYPTUS HERACLEOPO-LITES¹.
TRAJANUS. (AYT · KAI · T) PAIAN · CEB · (TEPM) · ΔAKI. Laureated head of Trajan. *Rev.* (HP)AKAEONHOAI(THC). Hercules half naked, his right hand raised to his face, his left holding his club: in the field (L · I)Δ (year 14). (Æ. size 9.)

CYRENE. *Cyrenaica.* 47. Laureated head of Apollo. *Rev.* KYPA, a lyre; above, the letters TI. (Æ. size 3.)

- MAURETANIA.
48. PTOLEMY, KING OF MAURETANIA. REX · PTOLEMA(EVS). Diademed head of Ptolemy. *Rev.* Capricorn, cornucopia, and rudder: below, R · A · VIII. . . . (Æ. size 3.)
49. A similar type, but with R · A · XIII.
50. PTOLEMAEVS · REX, Diademed head. *Rev.* A lion running; above, a star. (Æ. size 5.)

¹ See Tôchon D'Annecy "*Récherches Historiques et Géographiques sur les Médailles des Nomes ou Préfectures de l'Égypte.*" Paris, 1822, 4to.

IX.

LETTER FROM T. BURGON, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

Intending occasionally to avail myself of the opportunity which you so kindly afforded me, of contributing to the NUMISMATIC JOURNAL; and hoping thus to preserve from oblivion any useful observations which I may have made relative to Greek coins, during many years of zealous investigation, I had been induced to attempt, and, in fact, had nearly finished, a short inquiry into *the motive which appears to have influenced the ancients in the choice of the various objects represented on their money.*

Although I am quite aware that I am unable to do full justice to so important a subject, yet, as such an inquiry is a necessary preliminary to any future discussion on particular coins, or on the meaning of particular types, I was induced to make my humble attempt.

I have, however, to regret that a very severe domestic affliction has so entirely unfitted me for concluding and revising my paper in time for insertion, in your forthcoming first number, as intended, that I must be permitted to reserve it for another opportunity. Meantime, I will endeavour to render it more worthy of your acceptance.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your's very truly,

THOMAS BURGON.

Brunswick Square,
May 4th, 1836.

P.S.—I saw, many years ago, in the possession of Mr. Matthew Young, a silver coin of Athens, apparently about the weight of the obolus, and having on the reverse the hitherto unpublished type of an olive sprig bearing the fruit, and two leaves, within an indented square; having also, I believe, the usual inscription.

As Mr. Young cannot now recollect into whose collection the coin passed, I should feel much pleasure, if by means of the Numismatic Journal, I could discover its present possessor, and obtain permission to see this unique and interesting little coin again.

MISCELLANIES.

CONSUMPTION OF GOLD IN ENGLAND.—Mr. Faraday, in one of his recent lectures, gave the following curious account of the gold coinage, and of the consumption of gold in England. A small ingot of gold which he exhibited, and which measured about ten inches in length, by two in breadth, and weighed twenty pounds troy, was stated by him, to be of the value of one thousand pounds. In the year 1834, the coinage of this country did not amount to the usual average. Half-sovereigns only were coined to the value of 66,944*l.* amounting in weight to 1,433 pounds troy. The lecturer stated, that the quantity of gold which had passed through the mint, from the accession of Elizabeth, in the year 1558 to the end of 1835, was 3,353,568 pounds troy; and that nearly one half of this (namely, 1,594,078 pounds troy,) was minted during the long reign of George the third. The value of gold coined in that king's reign, was 74,501,586*l.* The total value of the gold coined in the mint, from the year 1558 to the year 1835*, amounts to 154,702,385*l.*; and this in a cubic form would measure on each side 13 feet $\frac{1}{8}$. Mr. Faraday stated, that the loss in the quantity of gold was difficult to be accounted for; and although it was imported into this country in great quantities every year, its value was not diminished. The population, it was true, had increased greatly, but this would not account for the increase in the consumption of gold. The estimated value of the gold imported into Europe from the New World, from the year 1492 to 1823, was 1,223,000,000*l.* For some years past the average value of gold brought into England alone, was 1,600,000*l.* per annum, of which the major portion was manufactured principally in articles of jewellery. A large quantity was made into *gold leaf*, each leaf being about a half-penny in value, labour and the profit of the manufacturer an additional farthing, making the charge for each leaf—of which, nearly two millions were consumed in London every week—three farthings. Half of this was, perhaps, returned in another shape to the goldsmith. The gold used in picture-frames was nearly all recovered, as the Jews carefully collected the old frames, which they burnt to retrieve the metal.

* The wear of gold coins in circulation, was estimated at about one fiftieth of their value annually.

DISCOVERY AT POMPEII.—It is said, that among other recent discoveries at Pompeii, twenty-nine gold coins "of the first Roman emperors" have been found. No description of the types is given, and it is, therefore, probable that they offer nothing new to the numismatist.

DISCOVERY OF A TREASURE.—A correspondent of the Times Journal, writing from Constantinople, mentioned, a short time since, that "a considerable treasure" had been discovered by Ibrahim, in one of the passes of Mount Taurus. The coins were stated to be "of the time of the Crusades," and probably, "part of the military chest of the Frank army," by whom it was, perhaps, abandoned when retreating before the Saracens. No account is given of the types.—

DISCOVERY OF DENARII.—An interesting discovery has been made by some labourers at plough, in a field at Laval in the Marne, in France. A vase was turned up, and found to contain a quantity of denarii in very perfect preservation. They are described as—

- 290 Consular of various families.
- 4 of Pompeius Magnus.
- 11 of Julius Cæsar.
- 18 of Marcus Antonius.
- 6 of Marcus Antonius with the head of Cleopatra on the reverse.
- 3 of Lucius Antonius.
- 1 of Lepidus.
- 165 of Augustus.
- 200 of Tiberius.

The field in which they were discovered, is near the old Roman road, leading from Rheims to Verdun.

SALE OF ANTIQUES AT PARIS.—The sale of the collection of the late M. Durrand has commenced at Paris. The collection is rich in the antiquities of Greece and Rome, and comprises vases, statues in bronze, marble, and terra cotta, gems, medals, &c. &c. The next number of the Numismatic Journal will contain an account of the sale, and the prices obtained, for some of the most remarkable objects.

NUMISMATIC PERIODICAL.—Dr. H. Grote, of Hanover, has commenced a periodical work under the title "*Blätter für Münzkunde*," (*Papers on Numismatics*), of which the first was completed in September last.

DISCOVERY.—On pulling down a very ancient house lately at Marais la Chapelle, near Falaise, there were found a great many coins of mixed metal and one gold piece, all of the fifteenth century, and between the years 1422 and 1450. The gold piece is a salut of Henry V. of England, bearing the legend, HENRICVS · DEI GRA · FRANCOR · ET · ANGLI · REX. The escutcheons of France and England are united. Among the mixed money are ten grand blancs, and several petits blancs, and deniers Tournois of the same prince. This treasure appears to have been concealed at or about this disturbed period ; and it is evident, that the house in which they have been found was built in the first half of the fifteenth century.

All the newspapers have given this coin to Henry II., although gold was not coined by our English kings until the reign of Henry III. The latter part of the account shews it to have been a misprint, which our English journalists have taken care to multiply and perpetuate.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

G.C. is informed that the "coins," of which he has sent us drawings, are *abbey pieces*, of no interest or value.

Mr. Shortt is thanked for the offer he has been so good as to make us. Accounts, *authenticated* accounts, of discoveries of coins in England and elsewhere, must be interesting to all antiquarians; but it is very difficult to authenticate the finding of some coins. The excavators never proceed to their work without a good supply of specimens, which are sold to the unsuspecting, who are told they are discovered on the spot. A little circumspection will protect the local antiquary from these impositions. The coins thus sold, are genuine, it is true; but they are the very refuse of tenth-rate collections!

Coins discovered at, and near, London Bridge. We hope to give some account of the discoveries at this spot, in a future number of the Journal, and have made notes for the purpose. Some of our friends have produced specimens, about the finding of which we are sceptical.

The drawing sent from Chichester is of a consular coin of the family *Aburia*, which is illustrated in the present number of the Journal. Though interesting, it is of common occurrence.

We are much obliged to Mr. Pretty for his long-neglected letter, for not noticing which before, ill health is our apology. Our own cabinet contains many specimens of Barbaric coins not engraved by Ruding; but, as they offer nothing remarkable, they do not deserve engraving. The appropriation of these coins to Britain, is by no means certain, and the absence of any definable character renders them uninteresting.

W. S. will find the information he seeks in *Bandurius*.

J. J's coin is a *siege piece* of Breda, struck when Spinola lay before that city. It is engraved in Duby's "*Pièces Obsidionales*."



X.

ON THE JEWISH SHEKEL.

(A LETTER ADDRESSED TO JOHN LEE, ESQ. L.L.D.)

MY DEAR SIR,

I BEG to thank you for the copy of the first number of the Numismatic Journal, and for the engraving of your valuable silver Shekel, in reference to both of which, permit me to offer you a few brief and general observations.

The appearance of the former, is a source of much gratification to me; and I feel assured that it will be hailed by many with equal satisfaction, and that it may prove the means of supplying an important desideratum in the historical literature of our country, by causing the study of numismatics to be more generally accessible. It is an admitted fact that this has hitherto been too much separated from the other branches of antiquarian science. The numismatist has found in the collection and arrangement of his copious data, almost sufficient employment for the mind; and,

hence, by limiting his studies to what may be termed the numismatic ages, has too frequently overlooked the important elements for resolving the problems of original history, which are in his possession. The more general antiquary has, on the other hand, as often fallen into the most deplorable mistakes from the neglect of data, which are inseparable from the rest of the monumental history of nations, and has formed expectations, and erected theories which a limited acquaintance with the before-mentioned branch would have annihilated in embryo.

These remarks may be illustrated by the parallel cases furnished by Egyptian and Jewish history. Nothing, for example, is more common than to hear the monumental antiquary express surprise at the complete absence of any indication of an Egyptian coinage before the age of the Ptolemies, among the immense resources for contemporary history, with which he is now familiar; and more particularly in those royal sepulchres where it was customary in oriental nations to entomb a portion of the monarch's treasures. Nothing is more common, than for the Biblical critic to view the coins of Jerusalem having the Samaritan or Phœnician character inscribed on them, as remains of the ancient Jewish monarchy, and, as hence, affording an unanswerable proof that this, rather than the square Chaldee, was the original character of the Jews, in which the Pentateuch, as preserved in the Samaritan copy, was first committed to writing.

Every experienced numismatist knows, on the other hand, however little immediate interest he may possibly take in the remote antiquities of the Egyptians and Jews, that the art of coining was, in all probability, an European, and a comparatively recent invention, which may be traced in

perfect correspondence with history¹, from the first rude obverse impressions of the Grecian Islands to the complete coin: and that the former, much more the latter, cannot ascend to the early ages of the Egyptian and Jewish monarchies, independently of belonging to a different part of the world, and a far more imperfect state of art than that of either of these nations. He therefore has no idea of the existence of an Egyptian coinage before the arts of Europe were commingled with those of Egypt under the Lagidæ, nor of a Jewish, I may perhaps say, of a national Oriental coin, before the age of the Seleucidæ, unless an exception may be grounded on the states of Asia Minor, which were of the same original stock with the Europeans, and extended to the Persians, who may have recoined the money of those states, without depriving it of its provincial character. The Macedonian conquest forms his general line of de-

¹ Nothing can be more complete than the agreement of history with the established results of numismatic comparison, which assign the first rank in antiquity to the coins of the island of Ægina, on the coast of Argolis. "The Æginetans were the first who stamped money," according to Ælian, *Vat. Hist.* xii. 10. Ephorus, who wrote in the time of Philip of Macedon, affirms that silver was coined by Phidon in Ægina to facilitate commerce, in consequence of the sterility of that island. *Strabo.* viii. And this is confirmed by the monumental evidence of the Persian marbles, "From Phidon the Argive...[*obliteration*]...and made silver money in Ægina — 631 years." That is to the date of the chronicle, B. C. 263, in the archonship of Diognetus. This raises the age of Phidon to the beginning of the ninth century B. C. Pausanias brings him one hundred and fifty years lower.

The origin of the Greek weights and measures is likewise attributed to Phidon by Herodotus, vi. 127, and other writers. The father of history separates the invention of coining, and attributes it to the Lydians, in a very brief remark, i. 94. The early connection of the Lydians and Greeks, and the common Heraclid origin of the former, and of several of the Grecian states, together with the great reputation of the Lydians for riches, will sufficiently account for this unsupported tradition.

marcation in Egypt and the East. He feels no disappointment at the barrenness of recent monumental discovery in this department of inquiry; and should he have investigated it, he sees but a confirmation of the language of Numismatic science, in finding that neither a native Egyptian coin, nor one of any other primitive eastern nation, has been discovered among the monumental remains of a kingdom whose conquests and commerce extended over the whole of South Western Asia, not even excepting the Persians, whose kings formed the twenty-seventh and thirty-first Egyptian dynasties². He would as soon think of

² Persian Darics, so well known in Greece and the lesser Asia, would thus appear not to have been circulated in the provinces where coinage was unknown, and hence to have been no national issue, but rather, as above, a recoinage of the money of the conquered western provinces, for circulation within the former limits, and probably for subsidies to the Grecian states, and commercial purposes. The ruins on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and other remains in the heart of Persia, I have not a doubt, speak the same negative language with those on the Nile on this subject. A learned numismatist has, in conversation, suggested to me that the Persian money circulated in Egypt, may have been recoined by the Ptolemies. This is a very possible case; but so may the money of the Pharaohs. If, therefore, the negative argument be valid in one case, so it is in the other; it is at least certain that the successors of Alexander did not adopt the course suggested in the western parts of his empire, so as to obliterate all trace of Persian provincial currency.

These Darics have no inscriptions in the national arrow-head characters, which would have been unintelligible in the provinces where they appear to have been circulated. They have devices analogous to those on the cylinders and other national gems having arrow-head inscriptions; and, in a great variety of instances, a galley on the reverse in the more recent examples, which seems to mark a destination for maritime states, or commercial purposes. Whenever inscriptions appear, they are in Phœnician, Greek, or unintelligible alphabetical characters, similar to what frequently occur on coins and gems of the ancient maritime states of the Levant. The name of a Persian monarch has, I think, in no instance, been discovered, and I apprehend the inscriptions

referring the coins of the Ptolemies to the ancient Pharaohs, as of raising the Jewish shekels to the times of David and his successors; and is fully assured that none of the extant coins of that nation (which, however rude in execution, can belong only to an advanced period of the art) can, by possibility, be referred to a remoter epoch than that of the successors of Alexander. He knows, although, perhaps, but little interested in the consequences, that the cases of Egypt and the East are completely parallel, and he distinguishes the shekels, respectively inscribed with Phœnician, and the square Hebrew and Chaldee characters, generally, as the consistent and genuine, and the inconsistent and spurious, rather than as the coins of the periods which preceded and followed the Babylonish captivity, as many historical critics have pronounced them. Yet the numismatist too often limits such valuable knowledge to the mere acquisition of it, while through the want of it, the historian and the more general antiquary as frequently overlook one of their best pilots through the ocean of time.

have chiefly, if not altogether, local reference. There were, probably, likewise Phœnician re-stamps, or re-coinings of the western currency, in the palmy ages of Phœnician power and commerce; and to these causes may fairly be ascribed the frequent occurrence of Oriental devices in the west, in many cases of Greek manufacture, and accompanied by Greek inscriptions.

It may be remarked that the case of India, on the other extreme of the Persian empire, is one precisely parallel with that of Egypt. There the numismatic chronological limits are the same, and no known coins of India, or the neighbouring provinces of Bactria, &c., belong to an earlier period than the Macedonian conquest; and the antiquities of nations, from Egypt to India, will, I have no doubt, be found to give precisely similar results. It must not be forgotten that we are indebted to numismatic inquiry for the recovery of the names of several princes of the above-mentioned regions, the contemporaries of the Seleucidæ, who would have been otherwise lost to history.

These examples are, I apprehend, enough to shew the advantage of connecting the branches of the science of antiquity more closely than heretofore, by rendering the Numismatic more accessible and popular, and on the other hand, inducing its promoters to extend their researches to the more prominent purposes of historical criticism. To the promotion of such ends, no plan seems more likely to be effective than the issue of a comprehensive Numismatic periodical, in connection, if possible, with a society at which the numismatist and general antiquary might exchange communications, and thereby augment the interest and utility of their respective pursuits.

The silence of the two most ancient series of records in the world in regard to coins before the Macedonian age, is equally remarkable, and consistent with the nearly demonstrable European origin of the art. As the period of the Lagidæ furnishes the first indication in the Egyptian series, so does that of the Seleucidæ in the Jewish. From the year of the death of Sarah, B. C. 1859, when Abraham weighed four hundred shekels of silver to Ephron the Hittite (Gen. xxiii. 16), until the first year of the pontificate of Jonathan Maccabæus, Anno. Seleucid. 160, B. C. 153, when Demetrius Soter remitted 20,000 shekels of silver annually, of the Jewish taxes (1 Mac. x. 21, 40, 42), there is not a single indication that the shekel imported more than a denomination of weight, as the term implies. That the value of money, by weight, was equally recognised by the Egyptians, is evident from the transactions of the sons of Jacob (Gen. xliii. 21), and the commerce of the reign of Solomon (1 Kings x. 28, 29), as well as from the sculptures (Wilkinson's Thebes, p. 252); and that it continued so to be estimated until the Persian age on the return from Babylon, is equally certain from the

Prophet Zechariah (xi. 12.), and the historian Ezra (ii. 69, viii. 7.), whose golden דִּרְחָמוֹנִים Drachmonim or *Drachmæ* is too unlike the name דַּרְיוֹשׁ Dariosh, to admit of the translation "Darics," which some critics have assigned to it, although opposed by the ancient Greek translators of the book of Ezra, whose authority on such a point seems preferable to modern speculation. It is likewise manifest, that from this period until the last mention of shekels in the first year of Jonathan Maccabæus, Judea, which was first a province of the Persian empire, and afterwards alternately belonged to the monarchies of Egypt and Syria, although immediately governed by its own High Priests, could have had no national coinage (the gold and silver paid in taxes having, doubtless, gone into the mints of its oppressors); and this is placed beyond dispute by the history of the next pontificate, that of Simon Maccabæus, who finished the struggle for independence, which had been commenced by his father and brothers. As the history of Jonathan brings us to the last epoch for the use of shekels by weight, so that of Simon fixes the first introduction, certainly, of a legitimate Jewish coinage; and we are thus forced into the narrowest possible chronological limits for its epoch.

The independence of the nation was publicly recognised by Demetrius, king of Syria³, in the first year of Simon's pontificate, Anno. Seleucid. 170, B. C. 143, and "then the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts, *In the first year of Simon the High Priest, the governor and leader of the Jews,*" (1 Mac. xiii. 36, 42). In the one hundred and seventy-first year, or the second of Simon,

³ It is necessary to remark, that this recognition was in compliance with the request of Simon, at a time when the throne of Demetrius was placed in jeopardy by Tryphon's usurpation. (1 Mac. xiii. 31—35.

he obtained possession of the citadel of Jerusalem (*ibid.* 51); and in the one hundred and seventy-second, "being the third year of Simon the High Priest," the record of Jewish independence was inscribed on tables of brass, and set up on pillars in Mount Sion (*xiv.* 27).

Between this date and the one hundred and seventy-fourth year, B. C. 139, which was consequently the fifth of Simon, Antiochus Sidetes, when on his expedition to wrest the throne of Syria from Tryphon, issued a decree confirming those of Demetrius, and his other predecessors:—"Now, therefore, I confirm unto thee all the oblations which the kings before me granted thee, and whatsoever gifts besides they granted"—but having the following additional clause, "I give thee leave also to coin money for thy country, with thine own stamp," (*xv.* 1. 5. 6. 10). Here is the charter for a privilege obviously for the first time granted—in the original Greek ΚΑΙ ΕΠΕΤΡΕΨΑ ΣΟΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΙ ΚΟΜΜΑ ΙΔΙΟΝ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ ΤΗ ΧΩΡΑΣΟΥ, literally, "I also permit thee to stamp proper money for thy country." Had Simon's predecessors legally enjoyed this privilege, it would not have been omitted in the preceding rescripts of the kings of Syria, nor have been thus singled out by Antiochus⁴.

The date of the charter falls, as above, between the one hundred and seventy-second and one hundred and seventy-

⁴ When this letter was written, I was not aware that the prince of numismatists, Eckhel, had adduced the above-cited passages of the first book of Maccabees, for fixing the epochs of the Jewish coinage, (*Doct. Num. Vet.* tom. iii. p. 465-6). I am more pleased at finding my humble views thus supported, than disappointed at finding them so far anticipated. These passages bear upon the origin of Jewish money, precisely as do those before cited from Ephorus, the Parian Chronicle, and Ælian, upon that of the Greeks; and the results, in both instances, cannot fail to interest every numismatist and antiquary.

fourth of the Seleucidæ, or the third and fifth years of Simon's pontificate, i. e. between B. C. 141 and 139; and in the margin of our translation it is accordingly referred to the intermediate year, B. C. 140, being the fourth of Simon. This newly acquired privilege was, however, of short duration. It was granted, like the immunities of Demetrius, for political purposes, at the moment when Simon was in the plenitude of his power, and the accession of Antiochus doubtful. As soon, however, as the latter was secured, which appears to have been in the following year, Anno. Seleucid. 174 (xv. 10—25), B. C. 139, being as above, the fifth of Simon's pontificate, he threw off the mask, and refused the men and treasure sent by the Jewish ruler to aid him in crushing Tryphon. "At that time Simon sent him two thousand chosen men to aid him; silver also, and gold, and much armour. Nevertheless, he would not receive them, but brake all the covenants⁵ which he had made with him afore, and became strange unto him," (xv. 26, 27). This was followed by an invasion of Judea by the forces of Antiochus; and from that time until the death of Simon, who was treacherously murdered a little more than three years afterwards, towards the end of the one hundred and seventy-seventh year (xvi. 24.), B. C. 135, being the eighth of his pontificate, his life was passed in war and trouble. These particulars are necessary, in consequence of their immediate bearing on the extant coinage of the Maccabees.

It is evident that the most prosperous period of the

⁵ I am not aware that the bearing of this breach of covenant upon the extant Jewish money has hitherto been noticed. It seems as necessary to the explanation of the hiatus which follows the time of Simon, as the before-cited passages are to the coins of that prince.

In further illustration of the above, reference to M. Mionnet's "*Description de Médailles Antiques*," and similar works, will show that all the really dateable shekels and demi-shekels, &c., having the Samaritan character, in all probability belong to the first four years of Jewish independence, or of Simon's pontificate, in agreement with the retrospective purport of the act of Antiochus, in the fourth of that prince, and with its revocation in the following year. There will likewise be found other genuine shekels, having the name of Simon, although undated; but whether these belong to the former period, or were issued after the privilege of coining had been annulled, and left undated so as to come within its terms, it is no easy matter to determine.

As there are no known authentic Jewish coins of an earlier date than the issue of Simon, it would appear that there are none of a later that can be referred with certainty until about thirty years after his death, when his grandsons assumed the royal dignity, and with it the right of issuing money. Under the regal descendants of Simon, we find both Samaritan and Greek inscriptions, until the former disappear in the coins of the foreign dynasty of Herod. The pontificate of his son and successor, John Hyrcanus, which lasted twenty-seven years, and who was in many respects, a powerful prince, appears a blank in numismatic history; so that the speedy revocation of Antiochus's edict would appear effectually to have suspended the claims of the Jewish pontifical princes to this regal privilege⁶. Thus is history confirmed to the letter by

⁶ I hope for an opportunity of more critically investigating this question by further study of the shekels, especially those of the extensive Parisian series, through favour of Mr. Doubleday, who acquaints me that he has taken casts of the whole—the disposition of the inscriptions in Mionnet's plates not sufficiently admitting of this.

the results of numismatic inquiry, and thus does the first book of Maccabees, when compared with the evidence derived from the coins of that race, furnish the antiquary with a case nearly parallel to that of the verified chronicles of Manetho, in reference to the Egyptian monuments.

The data which numismatic science, in connection with history, alone supplies, have, moreover, for ever demolished the crowning argument of those critics (as Morinus, Capellus, Walton, Prideaux, the authors of the *Universal History*, and their more modern followers) who would, on the authority of the Jewish coins, establish the superior antiquity of the Samaritan copy of the writings of Moses, and thereby replace the original Chaldee (Gen. xi. 28) of Abraham's line by the popular character of their adopted country; while a grievous mistake of their opponents, many of whom would weaken their defence of the sacred character by an unqualified rejection of the shekels, both genuine and spurious, has been effectually rectified. The important fact is arrived at, that the Jews as well as the Egyptians, had, in addition to their sacred writing, an enchorial or popular character, adopted from the country in which they were settled, for the purposes of commercial and general intercourse—an example which has been followed in all succeeding ages, and in all countries by their dispersed posterity. Yet these questions have, from a want of that community of data which I trust is now about to be established, been suffered up to the present time to remain precisely where Walton and the above-mentioned writers left them⁷.

⁷ So convinced was Bishop Walton of the great antiquity of the Maccabæan shekels, that he thus writes (*in Prolegom. ad Bib. Polyglot.*);—"Antiquas literas Hebraicas easdem fuisse cum Samaritanis ex siclis seu numismatis constat," and "de siclis hæc satis sint: quæ, si aliæ non essent argumenta, quemvis non pertinacem de vera literarum antiquarum Hebraicarum figura certum reddere possint."

The same science, by properly limiting our expectations, may cause us ultimately to direct them aright, regarding the actual currency of ancient Egypt, which we have already seen was analogous to that of the Jews and their neighbours, so far as estimating the metallic equivalent by weight. In the form of this equivalent, they were not,

Equally confident were the authors of the *Universal History*, who remark (vol. iii. p. 214, 8vo.), "The misfortune is, that all this fine reasoning (in favour of the square Chaldee or Hebrew) is entirely overthrown by one fact, if authentic, produced on the other side; namely, that of the old Jewish shekel, which is inscribed on the one side, *The Shekel of Israel*; and on the reverse, *Jerusalem the Holy*, not only in the Samaritan character, but, as there is some reason to suppose, in the Jerusalemic dialect."

A more recent writer on the other side of the question, the learned editor of the *Morning Watch*, in a very able paper—"On the Text and Versions of the Holy Scriptures," which appeared in the second number of that Journal, published in June 1829, remarks, on the other hand, "But we exceedingly doubt the validity of any argument drawn from the Hebrew coins, as we have not been able to obtain a sight of one which did not at once appear manifestly spurious; and an intelligent London collector, in conversation with us, said that he had never seen a genuine one; and thought, moreover, that a coin called shekel never existed, but that it was a denomination of *weight* only, like the ounce;..... yet this very argument from coins has been that most confidently relied on for inferring the superior antiquity of the Samaritan character."

Here we find one class of antiquaries giving undue antiquity to a coinage, the epoch of which is indisputable, and the representative of another altogether denying its authenticity: whereas, had either investigated the question as numismatists, the former would never have advanced an argument which the chronology of the shekels must have, at once, levelled with the ground; while the latter would have found that, by denying the authenticity of the shekels with Samaritan or Phœnician inscriptions, he relinquishes one of the strongest supports to his arguments for the antiquity and integrity of the square Hebrew text.

I am happy in being able to meet the above-cited opinion of a London collector, who makes no distinction between the genuine coins of the Maccabees, and the modern Jewish forgeries, by that of one of our principal and most judicious numismatists, and thereby to add additional force to the purposes of the present com-

however, limited, like the descendants of Abraham, among whom almost every variation from the simple ingot, would have been deemed an approach to that idolatry to which the disposition of their Egyptian rivals, in all cases directed itself. We may, therefore, fairly suppose that the ingots which, according to Josephus, John Hyrcanus, the son and successor of Simon Maccabæus, found deposited in the sepulchre of David, would, in the tomb of an Egyptian monarch, assume various forms, in connection with the mythological system of Egypt; and the scanty remains of the precious metals which have escaped the Persians and more modern spoilers, are accordingly found worked up into images, scarabæi, figures of the sacred animals, rings, &c. These may, in any case, be supposed to contain, and hence, like the bracelet and ear-rings of Rebecca (Gen. xxiv. 22), to represent, a given current weight of gold or silver; so that a standard may result from comparison of such materials. They, as might be supposed, are of extremely rare occurrence; and the more so as the progress of excavation advances. In Mr. Salt's extensive collection sold last year, there were, however, a few examples, which might be serviceable towards determining a standard, and were purchased at enormous prices;—No. 759, a solid gold seal, by Mr. Sams, for ten times the value of the metal, and No. 764, a solid silver statue of the god Amen, by the British Museum, for twenty times the present standard value. That indefatigable collector, Mr. Sams, has since

munication. "I have not the slightest doubt," says the writer of a communication with which I have been favoured since the present letter was written, "of the genuineness of some of the Jewish shekels yet extant—the characters upon them are Samaritan—they are of great rarity, and must not be confounded with others of a fabric totally different, with Hebrew characters, and which (at least *all* that I have beheld) are spurious."

then shewn me several such objects, which he acquaints me were brought from Egypt about thirty years ago, and among which are three other gold seals, of about the mean weight of the former, together with a number of solid gold and silver funereal images and scarabs and other objects of the same materials. Some of them are very massive, and they may weigh, in the aggregate, not less than four pounds of the former, and six pounds of the latter metal. I have not yet had an opportunity of accurately comparing them, or of investigating the relative weights of these treasures, which have inscriptions with the prænomina of Osirtesen I., Thothmos Mera, Anemoph III., Osiree I., Amónme Rameses, and other Egyptian monarchs. We learn from Pausanias that the early coins of the Argives, a colony from Egypt, were impressed with Egyptian representations, which it may not unfairly be supposed were derived from those used in the currency of the parent country, in which, the formed or modified ingot, may, perhaps, be viewed as the link or step between the plain ingot and the impressed coin.

With these views, Mr. Wilkinson's remarks on the revenues of the Pharaohs, are not inconsistent. "But that money, which consisted of rings of gold and silver, besides ingots of the same metals, also formed part of their tributes, is evident from the same sculptures; and these entering into the coffers of the state, together with the government share of the produce of the country, of their manufactures and the mines, constituted the revenues of Egypt, from which the army, the priesthood, and other necessary expenses were amply provided," (*Thebes, Introduction*. p. 18); and at page 252 of the work, "their money was in rings of silver and gold similar to those still used in Sennaar, and its value was ascertained by weight, as its purity by fire. Gold was brought to Egypt from different

countries, as well in rings as in bars, and perhaps dust, &c." It might appear from one part of this statement that the Egyptian currency consisted of rings similar to those still used in Sennaar; but it is evident from the whole, that these rings represented the rough material, in common with the ingots, bars, and dust, as it came from foreign countries, or the mines.

In conclusion, I would remark that the foregoing imperfect observations are to be understood as altogether of a general and preliminary nature, and written with a view to manifest the necessity of that combination of research in the numismatic, the monumental, and the historical branches of antiquarian inquiry, which distinguishes your own literary pursuits, and those of a limited number of scholars and collectors, becoming more general. Nothing, I am persuaded, will tend more effectually to unravel the remaining problems of history, than an established method of interchange, on principles which may reciprocally unlock the riches of cabinets and galleries, and thus render the unity of purpose in the collectors commensurate with that which characterises the data of the collections. To the nearly certain European origin of the art of coining, and its bearings upon history, a question which, I apprehend, has hitherto been almost entirely overlooked, I am also desirous of drawing the attention of scholars, trusting that it may be followed up by those who have more time and opportunity for the inquiry, than the writer of this very general and hasty outline; in which, should oversights be discovered, I trust that the novelty of the question treated of, will plead my excuse. I am, my dear Sir, with much respect, your faithful servant,

J. CULLIMORE.

XI.

ON THE COINS OF MARCUS J. BRUTUS, AND OF
DECIMUS BRUTUS, SURNAMED ALBINUS.

SIR,

I should not, probably, have thought of submitting to you a paper on the coins of the Bruti, had I not been struck with what appeared to me an erroneous explanation in the "*Descriptive Catalogue*," of the reverse, No. IX, among the coins of the family *Junia*, which is made to represent "the sons of Brutus guarded by the lictors;" and to refer, of course, to the celebrated judgment pronounced upon two of his own children by the inflexible First Consul.

This type is evidently of so interesting a nature, and so often finds a place, except in its "restored" form, in cabinets comprising consular coins, that it is important it should be correctly and clearly understood. The explanation referred to, differs essentially from that given by some learned commentators on medals, and also by M. Mionnet in his French Catalogue. You will be desirous, I am sure, of making the "*Journal*" on this, and on all occasions, a useful interpreter.

With the coin before us, it is not difficult to perceive that it represents simply the procession of the first Brutus in the newly instituted office of consul, accompanied by two lictors bearing their proper ensigns, and preceded by a servant called *accensus*, engaged in announcing his approach, and clearing his passage; for which purpose, his hand is held out, with the finger pointed. He was a sort of crier, or rather summoner, attendant on the consul, and an assistant to the lictors. The two lictors are, of course, but representatives of the full number. More could not well

have been introduced in the field of so small a coin, especially as it was customary for the twelve to walk one by one in a line. In the coins that I have seen, and generally in those figured in numismatic works, the dignity of the Consul appears to be indicated by the commanding height of his figure, and the inferiority of the Accensus by his diminutive stature. Cicero (*De Leg.*) speaking of the consul, says, "*Utatur accenso et lictoribus.*" This exactly describes the type in question. The political design with which it was struck renders it additionally interesting. The obverse bears the head of Liberty; and there can be little doubt that this coin was one of several remarkable types which the conspirator, Marcus Brutus, who boasted his descent from Junius Brutus, caused to be published shortly after the murder of Cæsar, with the hope of renewing in the minds of the people the passion for republicanism; and with the intention of intimating that he, a second Brutus, had restored liberty to Rome by destroying one, who, from his inclination to despotism, had been the Tarquinius Superbus of later times. In short, under the apparent design of commemorating the successful establishment of the free consular government on the expulsion of the kings, he aimed to give popularity to the principles of his own party, who were attempting to remodel the commonwealth.¹

Nor is it probable that Trajan would have "restored" it, had it been supposed to refer to so horrible a fact, however famous, as the "Judgment of Brutus." The revival of such a subject on the current coin in the polished and luxurious times of the empire, would hardly have been pleasing and popular. Yet we can readily conceive that Trajan would have no dislike to re-commemorate the

¹ Spanheim refutes an opinion that the type under consideration alluded to the *two* consuls, Brutus and Poplicola. Vol. 2. p. 93.

institution of the consulship, since he was one of the few politic princes who contrived, like Augustus, by not violating the ancient forms, or making the people sensible of the weight of tyranny, to unite, essentially, in his own person, and with general approbation, all the powers of the state.

Having alluded to other types struck with a similar intention during the career of M. Brutus, I am induced briefly to notice them.

The most distinguished, on account of its great rarity, and the boldness of its imagery, is undoubtedly that which presents, on the obverse, the head of Brutus; his countenance expressive of ardour and anxiety, with the leanness of feature for which it was remarkable; reminding us of the reply of Cæsar, when cautioned against the supposed machinations of Dolabella and Anthony, "*Haud mihi magnoperè à crassis istis crinitisque metuo, sed à pallidis istis atque macilentis,*" alluding to Cassius and Brutus.

R.—The cap of Liberty between two naked daggers, with the inscription, EID·MAR².

What an important chapter in history do these few letters comprise! How many circumstances and events of the most stirring interest do they recall to mind—from the admonition of the soothsayer, "*Beware the Ides of March!*" through the series of tragedies commenced with those daggers, to the period when the cap of liberty had lost its inspiring charm³; when public admiration was transferred

² That his money of this type excited public curiosity and attention, is evident from a remarkable passage in Dio, where it is thus particularly described:—

Βρόντος ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἃ ἐκόπτετο, εἰκόνα τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πῖλιν, ξιφιδία τε δύο ἐνετύπων· δηλῶν ἕκτε τῶτων καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων, ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ τῶν Κασσίου ἡλευθερωκῶς ἔειη.—*Lib.* 47.

³ Except to the slave on receiving manumission, who wore it on his newly shaved head for warmth and concealment. It was

to the specious laurel-wreath of permanent despotism; and the powers of the Consul and the Tribune were chiefly to be recognised in the legend of an imperial coin! Brutus, however, little contemplated such a result; and our present business is with the coin of the enthusiastic republican; by representing on which the daggers, as supporters to the well-known emblem of emancipation from slavery, and as still unsheathed, fresh, as it were, from their late work, and ready for further use, if required—he designed to encourage the people, from his own conduct, to maintain public freedom at all hazards, and, if necessary, by means however bloody; and to hold out a terrific warning to any who should venture to climb the height from which Cæsar had been struck down. Wherever his money circulated, he seemed to say to the people, “Down with tyrants;” to their oppressors, “Remember the ides of March.” It is observable that this coin was *not* among the “restored by Trajan.” Its allusions were of too *pointed* a nature to gain the favour of renewal, even from an emperor whose virtues secured him from assassination.

The reverse just considered affords a most admirable example of the ingenuity, pithiness and force, as well as beautiful simplicity, so frequent in the devices and legends of ancient medals.

Another that may be mentioned, is the noble, though little, coin bearing the heads (bearded *more majorum*) of the

the associated sentiment, not the beauty of this woollen head-gear, that had made it so renowned a symbol.

It is true that “*Libertas Publica*,” with her attributes, occurs on many imperial coins, especially the brass, and, in some instances, as if intended by a servile senate to compliment the *constitutional* rule of the most execrable tyrants. One cannot help thinking, however, that, in such cases, she appears rather in mockery of her real genius, and to stand “*cap in hand*” to the emperor.

elder "BRUTUS" and "AHALA." The latter was an ancestor of the Servilian family, to which M. Brutus belonged through his mother. Both were famous for their violent opposition to tyranny; Brutus for having expelled the Tarquins, and Ahala for having, according to Plutarch, "when Spurius Melius seditiously aspired to the monarchy, gone up to him in the forum, under a pretence of business, and as Melius inclined his head to hear what he would say, stabbed him with a dagger which he had concealed for the purpose."⁴ We may be struck with the similarity of circumstances in the assassination of this Melius in the forum, and of Cæsar in the senate-house. The sanction given by an illustrious name and example to such actions, together with the pride of ancestry, was, doubtless, the motive for representing the head of Ahala.

Of several others, the following is not the least worthy of attention:—

Obv. Head of Liberty. LEIBERTAS (*sic*).

R. A lyre between the *Secespita*, or sacrificial knife, and a laurel-branch, tied round with a flowing fillet. CÆPIO (his adopted name) BRVTVS · PRO · COS.

This elegantly designed reverse alluded to the celebration of the games of Apollo, which Brutus, as *Prætor Urbanus* (an office, by the bye, he had been appointed to, as a mark of particular favour, by Cæsar himself), was bound to superintend. They commenced with appropriate sacrifices, were distinguished for music, and attended by the people decorated with laurel. Brutus had thought it advisable to retire from the city; but he sent directions respecting these games, which prove his great anxiety that they should be conducted, in his absence, with all possible *éclat*, in order to divert the people from their

⁴ Life of M. Brutus.

ill-humour, and to conciliate their favourable opinion. Pompey and Cæsar, who each affected absolute power, having, on former occasions, entertained them with the most splendid and expensive exhibitions, he was desirous of convincing them that he, and the party devoted to Liberty whose effigy was stamped upon the coin, were no less disposed to administer to their pleasures. Plutarch presents the uncompromising republican in a novel character on this occasion, though the account he gives (which is worth referring to)⁵, does no discredit to the tact of Brutus, and his knowledge of human nature. As the regular time for celebrating the *Ludi Apollinares*, was July 5th, then somewhat less than four months from the death of Cæsar, the date of this coin may be pretty accurately assigned.

Those which read BRVTVS · IMP, and bear the names of lieutenants and other officers, were, of course, struck after he had been saluted with this title, together with Cassius, at the head of their assembled forces in Asia Minor, and refer, in most instances, to his military and naval affairs between that period and the fatal battle of Philippi.

It would extend this paper beyond due bounds to notice his various types more particularly, as I have a few remarks to make also respecting the coins of his fellow-conspirator and relative, Decimus Brutus, which term him ALBINVS · BRVTI · F, in consequence of his adoption into the Postumian family. He was one of the chief in the plot against

⁵ "The shows that were exhibited on his account, were extremely magnificent, for he had bought a considerable number of wild beasts, and ordered that they should all be reserved for that purpose. He went himself as far as Naples to collect a number of comedians; and being informed of one Canutius, who was much admired upon the stage, he desired his friends to use all their interest to bring him to Rome. He wrote likewise to Cicero, and begged that he would, by all means, be present at the public shows." *Ibid.*

Cæsar, notwithstanding he had received from him, like Marcus, the most ingratiating favours. Indeed, it was he that decoyed him to destruction. The anxious entreaties of Calpurnia might have saved her husband from the daggers, had it not been for the sarcastic inquiry, "What would be thought if he were to send, and dismiss the assembled senate, and bid them expect him when his wife happened to have better dreams?" His coins refer to the first period of the civil war that ensued on the death of Cæsar, between the party of the latter and that of the conspirators. Marcus went to the eastern provinces, finally making a stand in Macedonia. Decimus, from the first, tried the fortunes of the party in Italy, where, shortly, he was besieged at Mutina (the Modena of present times), by Anthony, who led Cæsar's party, and was desirous of succeeding to his power. A large force, however, being sent from Rome, at the instigation of Cicero, under the newly elected consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, the siege was raised, by Anthony being defeated and compelled to fly. The coins and these historical facts are mutually illustrative. I will adduce three types, in my own little cabinet.

I. *Obv.* Head of Mars.

R. Two military *litui*, crosswise; between them, two bucklers.

II. *Obv.* Head of Piety.

R. Two hands joined, holding a *caduceus*.

III. *Obv.* Bare head of A. Postumius, Cos.

R. ALBINVS · BRVTI · F, within a wheaten crown⁶.

The same adopted name occurs also on the two former reverses.

The first alludes, most probably, to the valour and co-operation of the two consuls, at the head of the authorised

⁶ "Descriptive Catalogue," pp. 55, 56.

forces of the republic, which led to the defeat of Anthony, and the relief of Albinus Brutus at Mutina; results that were aided by Mars, the tutelary god of true Romans.

The second, to the concord and mutual fidelity that had subsisted between the friends of liberty at Rome, and those besieged in Mutina, and had produced the happy results mentioned, expressed by the *caduceus*, the emblem of felicity; this fidelity and unanimity being founded in patriotism, or piety towards their country.

The third, which I have placed last, as less obvious in its full signification, is supposed to have been struck in Mutina for the payment of the garrison during the siege; and while, by the head of Aulus Postumius on the obverse, it intimated the just pride entertained by this Brutus at having been adopted into a family sprung from so illustrious a person, is supposed, also, to have signified that as, of old, the consul Postumius defeated, in the decisive battle at lake Regillus, the adherents and allies of the banished Tarquins, so the party of Brutus, contending once more for freedom, hoped, after this example, utterly to defeat and expel the tyrannical faction headed by the ambitious Anthony. The wheaten garland, or symbol of abundance, inclosing the name "Albinus," may relate to the ample store of provisions prepared in anticipation of the siege (as stated particularly by the historian Appian), and have been intended, therefore, to encourage and satisfy the troops.

The coins of these Bruti, together with those of C. Cassius (to whom, indeed, one of the daggers in the celebrated type before-mentioned is to be attributed) complete the series belonging to the conspirators, as they bear also the names of several others of the party, as legates, &c.; and I take the liberty of suggesting that the *whole* of them (at least, those with their own names) may, with great

propriety, be arranged in our cabinets, not with the coins of the respective families, but, as we are so certain of the period at which they were struck, between those of J. Cæsar and of the second Triumvirate. This, I am aware, is already partially done; but to adopt the plan in a few instances, leaving the other coins (because the names of the moneyers appear on the obverses,) scattered up and down in the alphabetical sets, is rather mischievous than otherwise; since, by breaking the chain of commemorative types, it lessens their historic utility. To mention a particular class—all the coins (and they are numerous) that have the legend CÆPIO · BRVTVS, or BRVTVS · IMP, either on the obverse, or reverse—either without, or *with* the names of other families—ought, I conceive, to be brought together as coins of Marcus Brutus, having been struck by his authority, or, at least, in commemoration of circumstances connected with him⁷. I have little doubt of the possibility of so arranging the whole of the conspirators' coins, that each, without material error, shall occupy its proper chronological niche, and thus the series present a genuine and consistent medallie picture of a most important course of events. The plan suggested, especially if followed in all other cases of coins ascertained to be struck after the dictatorship of Cæsar, might, indeed, seem to impoverish the consular divisions of our cabinets, and to burden other compartments; but unless we make coins mere play-things, which no intelligent collector will do, it is fit, in all clearly justifiable instances, to follow chronological, in preference to alphabetical, order. We shall find our account in the

⁷ See those with the names, *Casca Longus, Costa, Flavius Hemicius, Plætorius Cestianus, M. Servilius, L. Sestius, Lentulus Spinther.*

increased historical interest and instruction, which these cherished relics of antiquity will be the means of communicating.

E. C. B.



XII.

SKEATTA OF ALDFRITH KING OF NORTHUMBRIA.

SIR,

THE coin published in the first number of your journal, and attributed, I think rightly, to Wildfrid, archbishop of York, strengthens an opinion I have formed, that the skeattæ are, in reality, the peculiar coinage of the kingdom of Northumbria. The grounds on which I have formed this opinion I will state as concisely as I can. The skeatta, of which I send a drawing, and which has been in my possession some years, has on one side a dragon, and on the other, in distinct characters, Aldfrith; and I know not to whom it can be assigned but to the Northumbrian king Aldfrith. May not, also, *Alchred*, on the coin published by Ruding, be considered the name of the northern king, rather than of a moneyer?

When, too, the type, a full-length human figure, with a pastoral staff in each hand, on some of the coins assigned to Egbert, king of Kent, is considered, may they not be taken from him and given to Ecgbert, archbishop of York, who died in 766, and was succeeded by Æthebert?

That the skeattæ formed a large portion of the circulation of the country in the time of Athelstan, is certain, for they

are mentioned in his laws, which also shew that no such coins were struck by him; for we read "*Statuimus ut una sit moneta per omnem ditionem Regis.*"

What has been written may be considered a mere reverie; but, if assented to, will explain why so few pennies of Northumbrian kings, until Anlaff, have been found.

C. W. L.

XIII.

ALLECTUS AND CONSTANS.

THAT medals are recovered from hidden sources in surprising numbers, by casualty or design, is a fact so notorious, that to mention it were a mere truism, were there not a special object in calling attention thereunto. There is hardly a spot in Europe in which such memorials of past ages may not be found; and every remarkable place has already yielded a tribute of the kind: but the advantage which ought to have accrued to history from such accidental aid, has not been co-ordinate, because the circumstances of site and date are seldom duly recorded. Medals appear in the market in great abundance, but under circumstances in which it is impossible to ascertain the local, or other particulars of their revisiting the light. Such neglect of circumstantial evidence has, probably, been more owing to the want of a ready means of communicating with the public, than to any reservedness on the part of the finders, or possessors, who—according to my own experience—are not generally desirous of keeping their treasures unnoticed or unknown. On this account, the launching of a periodical work expressly devoted to numismatics, must be gratifying to collectors and medallists, since it offers a medium through

which the story of individual specimens may be promptly promulgated: for, however trite a coin may be in itself, a due notice of its peculiarities may offer, in the aggregate, seasonable hints, and additional evidence on contested points. Under this conviction, I shall offer no excuse for the following remarks.

In the spring of this year, a farmer, ploughing in a field just beyond Shefford, in Bedfordshire, turned up several silver, potin, and small brass coins, which were submitted to my inspection. They were all nearly of the same date, common, and generally in bad condition; but three were in such good preservation, that I considered a notice of them might not be unacceptable to your readers. It should be mentioned, that the whole site is pregnant with relics of antiquity; and from what has been rescued from destruction by the exertions of Mr. Inskipp, a resident there, it is clear that a Roman encampment existed at Stanford-bury, on the hills adjacent to Shefford, and a burial-ground about a stadium west of it; the former being proved by the camp apparatus and implements found,—the latter by the Samian ware, cinereal vases, and sacrificial utensils. This disposition of place is interesting, as shewing that the law of the Twelve Tables which regulated the funerals of Rome, was also observed in the encampments abroad.

I.

Obverse. IMP · C · ALLECTVS · P · F · AVG. (*Imperator Cæsar Allectus Pius Felix Augustus.*) The head of Allectus with a radiated crown, long face, good features, and trimmed beard; the whole indicative of a man of middle age. This coin is of excellent silver, a rare thing in this reign; and the orthography ought to correct those who spell the name with a single L.

Reverse. VIRTVS · AVG. (*Virtus Augusti.*) On the exergum, Q · L, a galley on the sea, with six passengers on deck,

and, apparently, another sitting under the aplustre of the poop; it is furnished with a mast having a stay and back-stay without shrouds; the stern is formidably armed; and six oars, besides a rudder, appear along its side, as if issuing from a-tween decks.

II.

Obverse. IMP · C · ALLECTVS · P · F · AVG. (*Imperator Cæsar Allectus Pius Felix Augustus.*) A portrait of the emperor which resembles the above, but with smaller and more pleasing features, giving no indication of one capable of perfidy or assassination. This is a small-brass coin in very high condition, and was struck between the years 293 and 296, A.D.

Reverse. VIRTVS · AVG. (*Virtus Augusti.*) On the exergum C · I. A long galley floating on the waves, with curious upper-works, parásemon, and aplustre,—and a stout mast supported by double stays and back-stays. There is a line of oars on the broadside, and a rudder on the quarter, all apparently projected from a-tween decks; but, excepting a figure on the forecastle, there are no men along the upper-deck.

The ancestors and connections of Allectus are alike unknown to history; but it will be remembered that he was a sea-officer in the somewhat piratical fleet, commanded by Carausius: the latter being the hero of Stukeley's queer reverie, wherein he figures as a Welshman, while Jupiter presenting an orb to him, is transmogrified, by a *coup de plume*, into Venus holding the mystic apple! The gallantry and address of Allectus recommended him to the confidence of his master, who elevated him to a post where he had the opportunity of making unwarrantable exactions, and being detected, resolved to evade punishment by rebellion. Having perfidiously slain his benefactor, A.D. 293, he seized the imperial authority, and retained it by the strength of the navy. At length the energetic Constantius Chlorus, who had been no less than three years completing his preparations, sailed from the ports of Gaul for England,

and threatening several points at once, disconcerted both the councils and plans of the usurper. The latter had, however, judiciously stationed a powerful fleet off the Isle of Wight, for the purpose of intercepting the invader in his passage across the channel. A dense fog rendered the measure abortive, so that a formidable division of the Romans, under the præfect Asclepiodotus, disembarked in safety.¹ Allectus had posted himself near London for the purpose of encountering Constantius himself, who was hovering on the shores of Kent; but the descent just mentioned, caused the usurper to move by forced marches to the westward, to oppose the præfect's progress, and in hope of overcoming him before the junction of the invading forces. Asclepiodotus, as an earnest of his intentions, had no sooner disembarked his army than he set fire to his fleet, that there might be no safety but in victory. A pitched battle ensued, in which the Roman troops proved superior to the mere foreign auxiliaries of the usurper, who was totally defeated and slain, A.D. 296. But he seems to have died with the same determined courage he had manifested while living,—for, perceiving his fate to be inevitable, he threw off his purple, and other distinctions by which his body might be recognized, dashed among the enemy at the head of a devoted band of adherents, the companions of former successes, and met the death he sought. Even the panegyrist Eumenius, in landing the victor, pays a tribute to the vanquished.

The reverse of the medals before us, affords a proof of the high esteem in which Allectus held his fleet, as the

¹ This landing of the Romans, according to Gibbon, convinced the Britons "that a superiority of naval strength will not always protect their country from a foreign invasion." It is difficult to say, after the lengthy preparations of Constantius, whether the invading fleets were not the strongest; and it is more than probable that the Britons wasted no thoughts upon the subject.

chief defence of his insular empire; and the emblem has been proved appropriate, in the subsequent naval career of the nation. Carausius had also had a galley struck, and Neptune appeared on his coins,—but they were introduced as types of felicity, rather than of *Virtus*, or valour. Among the first regular gold mintage of England, her maritime prowess was again recognized,—for Edward the third, after his naval victory off Flushing, struck the famous Rose Nobles,—a coinage then superior to any currency in the world for fabric, and at least equal in metal. They bore on one side, *Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat*, with a cross and the arms impaled in an undulating circle, resembling the outline of an expanded rose; whence the name: on the other side appears the king's own effigies, with a sword in his right hand, a crown on his head, and a blazoned shield held on his left arm; he is seated in a richly-carved ship, floating on waves. This gave rise to the old couplet—

“ Four things our noble sheweth unto me,
King, ship, and sword, and power of the sea.”

This national type was occasionally continued, particularly by such conquering sovereigns as Henry the fifth, and Queen Elizabeth,—but it had generally to give way to the spiritless and unintellectual armorial balderdash with which the numismatology of modern Europe has been so bitterly degraded. It is high time that objects of meaning, elegance, and—in this country—of naval allusion, should supersede the soul-less quarterings which have hitherto offended the eye of judgment. The prospect is, however, dimmed by the absurdities of our mint regulations, the restrictions of ignorance, and the careless apathy of most of those to whom the management of our matters of taste is committed. Pinkerton observes—“It has ever been the curse of this

country, that, while it superabounds in men calculated for all the arts and employments, yet, by a singular phrenzy, foreigners are always sure to obtain the preference." He then instances the flagrant case of Simon, a superlative native artist, who was displaced by Roettier, a Dutchman of no such eminence. So in the present day we see the energies of a Wyon cramped, and one well capable of affording appropriate emblems of our maritime, military, commercial, agricultural, and scientific greatness, is still doomed to the deadening tether of a political mintmaster, an Italian associate, and a knot of pence-screwing moneyers. But our third coin must not be forgotten.

III.

Obverse. D · N · CONSTANS · P · F · AVG. (*Dominus noster Constans Pius Felix Augustus.*) The beardless head of Constans regarding the right. It is encircled with a jewelled diadem, and the bust is paludated over armour. The visage is long, the eyes large, and the features though not bad, somewhat unpleasing. The coin is of brass, darkly patinated, of ordinary fabric, and in excellent preservation: it was probably struck A.D. 340, when the death of his designing brother left Constans nothing to fear.

Reverse. FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO (*Felix temporum reparatio*), with the mintmark A · P. The emperor in military attire standing in a prætorian galley, with his right foot on the prow; it is steered by a winged Victory, who is naked to the waist. With his left hand he holds the labarum, inscribed with the sacred monogram of Christ, and his right supports a radiated phoenix on a globe, or *orbis terrarum*.

This medal offers nothing very peculiar, except its being among the first bearing *Felix temporum reparatio*, which afterwards became a favourite legend. Of Constans himself (to save the reader the trouble of reference) it may be remarked, that he was the third and last son of Constantine the Great and Fausta; that he participated in the division

of the empire with his brothers, on the death of their father, A. D. 337; that three years afterwards, his provinces were unjustly encroached upon by Constantine the second, who was defeated and slain near Aquileia; and that, after a reign remarkable for voluptuousness and Nimrodism, he was assassinated by the partisans of Magnentius, at the age of thirty, A. D. 350.

The character of Constans has been most liberally, or rather largely, discussed by parties agreeing as cordially as do fire and water; so that we are, after all our pains, left to guess between the conflicting authorities. As a zealous defender of orthodoxy, Constans is not only always warmly greeted among the Christian writers, but is styled the "blessed" by Athanasius; yet Zozimus is not so courteous, since he roundly declares that he was the most cruel and sordid tyrant that ever disgraced a diadem. Some say he was vigilant, laborious, and pious; while others assert that he was a slave to gluttony and the worst vices, and that though he was inordinately elated by the successes over his brother, little was owing to his own talents or conduct. By one author we are told that he drank too freely, and by another that he was the very type of sobriety. Some attribute to him the most vicious licentiousness, while others mention his carefulness to be such that, like a watchful master-at-arms, he nightly paraded his palace, javelin in hand, to see that all was right. Amidst such discordant details, however, we collect that Constans actually possessed great personal bravery; and it appears that he conducted an expedition into Britain, in spite of contrary weather, and many other difficulties, magnanimously defying the rigours of winter, and the natural turbulence of the British sea. He passed over with a powerful fleet, put down the insurgents, and partially pacified the island. Who knows but

that the coin now described was dropped at Shefford, by one of his body guard, or other immediate follower? And might not the reverse itself be in compliment to his landing in Britain? If so, it may have been struck in anticipation of a victorious result, as hath since been exemplified in the noted medal of the Napoleon series, inscribed *Descente en Angleterre*, which also bears the premeditated falsehood, *Frappée à Londres*. Σ.

XIV.

ON THE SKEATTA ASCRIBED TO WILDFRID
IN ARTICLE III.

SIR,

IN your new and very interesting journal, I find an account of a skeatta assigned to Wilfrid, archbishop of York, on which, with your leave, I wish to offer a few observations.

The legend of this coin, if properly delineated, as I suppose it to be, does not appear to me to bear the name of Wilfrid; the first letter seems clearly an M, for even admitting it to be turned upside down, it will, I believe, be found that few instances occur, on Anglo Saxon coins, of the two Vs forming the W being joined at all, much less in the form of an M reversed: the second letter appears to be intended for E; indeed I know no instance of the Anglo Saxons forming a monogram in the manner conjectured, and I think if they had intended to express the letters IL by one character, they would, probably, have denoted it by the letter L alone.

The other letters will bear the reading given to them by your learned correspondent but I am not so certain that

one or two of them will not admit of a different interpretation.

Having thus given my opinion, that the legend does not satisfactorily express the word WILFRID, it is right I should give my own reading of the word.

The first letter I consider M, the second E, the third seems D, but it may, perhaps, have been intended for G: the fourth, fifth, and sixth there can be no dispute about, being plainly FRI: the seventh seems D: the eighth may certainly have been intended for H or N, but it is exactly of the form of the V on the coins of Offa, and I think was intended for that letter: the last letter, although like T, will, I think, admit of being considered as 3, which, on Anglo Saxon coins, was as often turned to the left as the right; and the whole legend I conceive to form + MEGFRIDVS, or EGFRIDVS + M, the last letter being the initial of Merciorum; and the letters being all exactly of the form used on the coins of Offa, I consider a strong additional proof that this coin belonged to his son and successor, Egfrid; but were it not for the M and the form of the other letters, I should have been more inclined to assign it to Egfrid of Northumbria.

As to the supposition, that the name may be that of a moneyer, I admit the possibility, in which case I should certainly read the coin EDFRIDVS · M, which I think is the most obvious reading; but I think the appropriation to Egfrid more probable. As to the supposition, however, that it may be the name of a moneyer of Egbert, king of Kent, I must refer your learned correspondent to an article in the Gentleman's Magazine for February, 1827, in which reasons are given for assigning to Edbert, king of Northumberland, and his brother Egbert, archbishop of York, the coins formerly given to Egbert, king of Kent. If, however, he has

seen it, but remains so completely unconvinced by the arguments there adduced, as to think them unworthy of comment, I should feel extremely obliged to him if he would publish his reasons for assigning these coins to Egbert, king of Kent.

To appropriate coins rightly, must be the object of all numismatists, and I shall be most happy to give up any opinion I may have entertained, as soon as public opinion should have pronounced it to be erroneous. The animal on the coin described by your correspondent, would seem to assign it to the same kingdom as those of Egbert, whether they belong to Kent or Northumberland, but the letters exactly resemble those of Offa, and as your correspondent has justly observed, are completely different from those on the coins of Egbert. I am, Sir, Your obedient servant,

JOHN LINDSAY.

Cork, 16th Aug. 1836.



XV.

AN INEDITED COIN OF TITUS.

SIR,

You will receive with pleasure for the Numismatic Journal, a description of an inedited Roman coin of great interest, historically considered. This coin was recently found at Pont-sur-Yonne, near Sens in France, and is now in the possession of M. Leys, a distinguished amateur resident in that town. Its description is as follows:—

Obv. T · CAES · IMP · AVG · F · TR · P · COS · VI · CENSOR. Laureated head of Titus to the right.

R. IVDAEA · NAVALIS · S · C. Judæa seated beneath a palm tree; behind her a heap of arms.

The legends *Judæa Capta* and *Judæa Devicta* are well known on the coins of Vespasian and Titus; but *Judæa Navalis* was, until the discovery of this example, unknown. The Jews never enjoyed a great reputation as seamen; but, I think, I have found in Josephus a narration of the event to which the legend and type of this coin allude, the character of which is rather derisory than triumphal. This author relates, in his history of the war with the Romans (Book iii. chap. ix.), that when the town of Joppa was destroyed by Cestius, the inhabitants driven by famine, sought refuge by sea, the Romans having destroyed the neighbouring towns and villages. They built vessels (σκάφη) and committed piracies on the shores of Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt. The town being attacked a second time by the Roman troops, the Jews fled during the night towards their ships; but a violent tempest drove them on the rocks which border the coast of Joppa, and they were exterminated. Soon after, they were defeated on the Lake of Genesareth, their barks being unable to cope with the warlike vessels of Vespasian.

To these events, and most probably to the first, the legend *Judæa Navalis* must allude, Titus, as it is well known, having accompanied his father in the Judaic war. This curious coin illustrates that of large brass of Vespasian with the legend *Judæa Capta*, upon which a Roman warrior is represented resting his right foot on the prow of a vessel, a type but imperfectly explained until the discovery of this coin by M. Leys.

Receive, Sir, &c.

DUMERSAN.

Du Cabinet des Médailles de Paris.

We feel particularly obliged by the preceding communication. The legend described (IVDAEA · NAVALIS) is, however, of so unusual a character, and, indeed, so difficult to reconcile with idiomatic propriety, that had the information reached us from a less intelligent source, we should be strongly disposed, either to doubt the genuineness of the coin altogether, or to consider that it must have been altered from one with the legend IVDAEA · DEVICTA, or possibly blundered, by doubly striking, between the two types, IVDAEA · DEVICTA (or CAPTA), and VICTORIA · NAVALIS, equally well known in the brass series of Vespasian and his sons. The last-mentioned type occurs, we believe, only in second brass, of which size also is the type in question (as appears by the drawing with which we have been favoured), and we cannot but suspect some confusion to have taken place between them. The device, too, of Judaea seated under a palm tree, with piled arms (the common one to denote her military and territorial subjugation), unaccompanied by any emblem peculiarly naval, is inconsistent with the legend IVDAEA · NAVALIS, while its suitability and beauty are universally felt and admired in connexion with that of IVDAEA · DEVICTA.

M. Dumersan remarks that the legend must be of a "derisory" character. If decided to be perfectly genuine, we should agree with him. But the device does not seem to be analogous, being similar to many others plainly of serious historical import; nor are we aware of any other instance in which the language of satire, or derision, is employed on Roman medals intended for regular currency. These we conceive to be additional reasons for suspecting either some falsity, or blunder. At the same time we beg to be understood as not making these observations without due deference to the judgment of our valued correspondent, who has the opportunity of inspecting the coin itself.

ED. N. J.



XVI.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE COINS OF THE
ANCIENT BRITONS. .

THE obscurity in which the early history of Britain is involved, has led many learned men to indulge in the wildest speculations. Some have discovered that the manners and customs of the Britons closely resembled those of the Greeks; others have brought forward weighty arguments to prove the extensive commerce which our forefathers had with the Phoenicians; while many, with a still greater love for the fabulous, have descanted on

“Brute’s, first arrival and first victory,”

and attempted to shew that the Britons came direct from Troy! The few remains of ancient Britain discovered at various times in tumuli, have thrown but little light on her early history; and the coins supposed by most antiquaries to be of British origin, are sadly deficient in historical illustration. These relics, however, have been descanted upon with great zeal, and great want of judgment. Pegg, who was the first to consider the British

coins in detail, has exhausted much learning on the subject, but has allowed his fancy to prevail against his judgment. Another writer optstrips Pegg¹, and attempts to explain the signification of the most minute symbols on the coins of the Britons. From him, we learn that the rude representation of a horse, so often found on the British coins, is the figure of the Genius, Kêd or Ceridwen, and that the joints of the animal were the various mystic symbols of the Druids! Pegg, scarcely less fanciful, because he finds an ear of barley on British coins, immediately concludes that it was adopted on account of its being the grain of which our rude forefathers made their favourite drink. An animal which, if really at that time existing, no modern naturalist could identify, must, according to this writer, be "either a sheep or a dog, either of which is, undoubtedly, a proper device for a British coin, their dogs being famous, and their sheep most useful creatures to them." This, if founded upon reason, might be very instructive; but, unfortunately for the writer, it cannot be satisfactorily proved that a single British coin bears the representation of any deity, weapon, or utensil, peculiar to the people by whom they are supposed to have been minted². We have, besides, many curious observations in Mr. Pegg's work, upon the prince Cuno-belinus; the manner of his dressing his hair; his wife (!) and other particulars; but as these observations should be confined to matter of fact, the laughter of the reader shall

¹ *Mythology and Rites of the British Druids*, by Edward Davies. 8vo., London, 1809.

² It must, nevertheless, be confessed that the two semicircular objects in the centre of the convex side of the coins engraved at the head of these remarks, are precisely similar in shape to the crescent held by the druidical figure given by Montfaucon. These crescents of gold have been found in Ireland, and may possibly have been given, intentionally, on the British coins; but we have no proof of this.

not be farther provoked by quotations from the learned and ingenious, but absurdly speculative, tract.

The often-cited passage in Cæsar, who tells us that the Britons, on his arrival among them, had no other money than rude pieces of brass and rings of iron and copper, has been, by many, received as sufficient evidence that the coins under notice are of a date subsequent to the reign of that emperor. A glance at the specimens here given, will at once shew that their workmanship is of an earlier period, or at least, that they are imitated from Greek coins, minted long before Cæsar visited Britain. It should be remarked that Suetonius informs us that Cæsar highly valued the pearls of this country, and offered them up in the Temple of Venus; while Pliny, in his natural history, describes them as small and of a bad colour. To say that Cæsar's account of this island is correct in every particular, would be to libel the travellers of every age and country, for where shall we find two works on the same country, written by persons who travelled in a peaceful character, agree on all points? It must be confessed that Cæsar had no favourable opportunity for acquiring information with respect to the civil habits of our ancestors, since they furnished ample occupation for the choicest legions, during his stay in Britain.

E. Lhuyd was of opinion that the art of coinage was known to, and practised by, the Britons before the Roman invasion, "because there have been found thick pieces of gold, hollowed on one side, with a variety of unintelligible marks and characters upon them;" and he observes that if the Britons had learnt the art from their invaders, they would have executed more intelligible coins. That the rude pieces to which Lhuyd refers are of a date anterior to Cæsar's visit, there can be but little doubt; but it is more

than probable that those coins belong to another people, and that they are, in fact, the earliest attempt of the Gaulish artists. This conjecture is supported by the number of rude coins, of the description mentioned by Lhuyd, found from time to time, in various parts of France.

Montfaucon has expressed his belief that the Gauls coined money before the time of Cæsar; and of this there can scarcely be a doubt: and but for the passage in the Commentaries of Cæsar, the class of coin distinguished as ancient British, would doubtless have been assigned to a much earlier period by our English antiquaries. Strange, indeed, would it be, if the Britons were unacquainted with the art of coining money, when the Gaulish merchants were constantly trading with them; and stranger still, that Cæsar should, amidst the occupations of war, gather correct information respecting a people of whose habits he had hitherto been so ignorant, that he was compelled to make inquiries of those very merchants previous to his setting sail for that island.

The rudest, and, as may be supposed, the earliest, specimens of the ancient British coinage, resemble the barbarous money of the Gauls, who, as is allowed on all sides, took the coins of the Greeks for their models: indeed, it is obvious that the money of civilised states has always formed the models of their less refined neighbours. Thus, the Saxon coins are, in numerous instances, imitated from those of the Romans after the time of Theodosius; and, although it is doubtful whether the Saxon monarchs ever wore diadems similar to those which encircled the heads of the emperors, we have many side-faced portraits on the Saxon coins with the heads thus ornamented.

Although there have been many discoveries in England, of rude coins, supposed to be of British origin, it is by no

means certain that they are not importations from Gaul. These, however, if really belonging to Britain, are apparently of the earliest period; those of better workmanship would appear to be of a later date, while those bearing the letters CVN·CVNO, and the word CVNOBELINVS at length, are, doubtless, coins of the prince to whom they are, by universal consent, assigned. Ruding has engraved many specimens of the coins of Cunobelinus; and a glance at these engravings, or the originals, will shew that even the moneyers of the British prince did not draw on their own fancy for the subjects represented on their coins.

The coins here engraved are unpublished, and differ materially from the examples given by Ruding. Both appear to have the remains of the debated word *Tascio* on the concave side. No. 1 bears, on the ornamented convex side, a T in the centre, and the letter V. This coin resembles one in the British Museum, found, with several others, in the neighbourhood of West Wickham, a few years since. No. 2 apparently bears, on the concave side, a portion of the word *Tascio*, and on the convex side, in very minute but distinct letters, VER, which our antiquaries appear warranted in reading *Verulamium*³; both are in the possession of Mr. J. D. Cuff⁴.

It is worthy of remark that these coins, though weighing as near as possible, alike, namely eighty-four grains each, differ much in colour, No. 1 being of red ~~gold~~^{gr}, and the other of a pale hue resembling electrum.

J. Y. A.

³ See Ruding, Plate 5, No. 25.

⁴ Mr. Cuff considers that these letters may possibly occur on other types, and that from their minuteness they have been overlooked, which is by no means improbable.



XVII.

UNPUBLISHED HALF-CROWN OF CHARLES I.

THE above coin, though of rude execution, is one of considerable interest to the English collector, and is a curious addition to the extensive series of the money of Charles the First. The obverse bears the equestrian figure of the king, crowned and clad in the half armour of the time: legend, CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BR ···· AN ··· HI · RX (*sic*): under the horse are the letters : SA : which I conceive denote that this piece was struck at Sarum. The reverse has the royal arms surmounted by a large crown: legend CHRISTO · (AV)SPICE · REGNO. The mint mark on the reverse appears to be a full-faced helmet. The piece has been badly struck, owing perhaps to its shifting while under the blows of the hammer. If we admit the supposition that the king's moneymen often moved from place to place with the army, this coin was minted while the royal forces sojourned at Salisbury.

J. D. C.

XVIII.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE MOTIVE, WHICH INFLUENCED THE ANCIENTS, IN THEIR CHOICE OF THE VARIOUS REPRESENTATIONS WHICH WE FIND STAMPED ON THEIR MONEY.

THE coins of the ancient Greeks, when collected for purposes of examination and study¹, may be looked upon in a twofold point of view: and the *civic coins*, in particular, which first attract our attention, seem naturally to lead us into two principal branches of preliminary inquiry; each of which will be found susceptible of separate investigation, though both are necessarily and intimately interwoven.

The first branch of inquiry may be said to relate to such coins, *considered as money*; or, in other words, to comprise a knowledge of all that may tend to the discovery of their local origin, and age; and consequently, lead to their geographical and chronological classification in the cabinet, as well as to their value and denomination.

The second branch may be considered to relate to such coins, *as works of ancient art*; requiring explanation as to the *meaning of the various representations which we find stamped*

¹ The later coins so often throw light upon the earlier ones, that our notion of a collection of greek coins, should not, by any means, be confined to the more ancient and beautiful class, struck during the period of the freedom of Greece, commonly called *Autonomous coins*. Experience shews, that for the purposes of useful study, a collection must necessarily include not only the *Regal coins*, but also comprise those which were struck in the cities of Greece and Asia, during the Roman sway. These latter (having mostly greek inscriptions) are usually called *Greek Imperial coins*: and are continued down to the extinction of the Roman power in the East about the time of Gallienus, at which period the greek series terminates:—except the few coins of the Byzantine Emperors, which it may be possible to class to any of the Cities, and which may still be added to close this important series.

upon them; and which representations are technically called their Types².

The possibility of adding very materially to the common stock of knowledge, by the study of ancient coins, was perceived soon after the revival of learning; and, hence, we may observe, that, with a view to introduce some order and method in the study, the classification of coins, and the meaning of their types, have occupied the attention of a host of learned and eminent men, in succession, from the middle of the sixteenth century, down to our own times. Considerable progress has therefore been made, and among the number of justly celebrated writers to whom the numismatic world will be ever indebted, the names of Spanheim, Vaillant, Haym, Haverkamp, Frölich, Pellerin, C. Combe, Torremuzza, Eckhel, Sanclementi, T. Combe, and Sestini may be particularly pointed out, without any disparagement to the rest, as having contributed mainly, to the advancement of numismatic study in general, and, particularly, to the labour of perfecting and correcting the classification of coins already known, as well as the publication of those newly discovered.

It must, however, be confessed, that the progress hitherto made in developing the meaning of the types of coins, has not, by any means, kept pace with the advancement which has taken place in most of the other inquiries which the study has given rise to.

In endeavouring to discover the cause of the slow progress made in that which has been just distinguished as the

² In speaking of the types of coins, we must be understood only to allude to those representations which form the chief subject. Small symbols in the field, or exergue of a coin, and which vary in different coins, form no part of the type in our present view of it, and should be considered separately. These accessory symbols are probably a kind of *mint marks* adopted to supersede the necessity of placing the magistrate's name on the coin.

second branch of inquiry, it soon becomes apparent that it must not only be attributed to the obvious difficulties which oppose themselves to its development, but that it may be also satisfactorily traced to the existence of an opinion, which, in a greater or less degree, has been admitted by all numismatic writers, that *a variety of different motives influenced the ancients in choosing the types of their money.*

Hence we find, that, although the types of some coins have been often referred by every numismatic writer to the religious worship, or mythology of the ancients, it has been, at the same time, as frequently admitted by them all, that other types require a different mode of interpretation.

Passing over this part of our subject as rapidly as possible, since the task is ungrateful of pointing out opinions which appear to be erroneous, in the works of most learned and distinguished men, whose names must ever be held in grateful remembrance by every lover of numismatic study, it becomes, nevertheless, absolutely necessary, in furtherance of the object of this inquiry, to advert to some of these opinions.

I proceed, therefore, to remark that the types of coins have been sometimes supposed to allude,

1. To the fertility of the soil.

Thus, to take one of many passages in the works of Pellerin, he says³ of a coin of Sagalassus, that the ears of corn and vine-branch indicate the fertility of the territory. The same principle is recognised by Frölich⁴ and Eckhel⁵. Sanclementi also says of a coin of Metapontum, that the ear of wheat, on the reverse, is a suitable symbol of the

³ *Recueil de Medailles*, vol. iii. p. 143.

⁴ *Notitia Elementaris Numismatum*, &c. 4to, Vienna, 1758, cap. v. p. 56.

⁵ *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. i. cap. xviii. *De. typis*, p. cv.

fertility of the soil⁶; and, again he says of a coin of Myconus, having on the reverse, a bunch of grapes, and a double ear of corn, that the type clearly points out the productiveness of the island in corn and wine⁷, and quotes Pliny's testimony to that effect, without alluding to the connexion of the grapes with the head of Bacchus on the obverse of the same coin. Sestini, in like manner, thinks the fertility of the Agrigentine territory to be indicated by a bunch of grapes, and not to refer to the worship of Bacchus⁸.

2. Some types have been supposed to allude to the abundance of particular animals, as fish, horses, goats, cattle, &c. Eckhel, speaking of the coins of Issa, decidedly expresses his opinion that the motive for goats being represented upon them, was the abundance of that animal on the island⁹; and Sanclementi explains, in a similar manner, the horse on the coins of Thessaly¹⁰, and the crab on the coins of Gaulos¹¹. Frölich admits the same principle of explanation¹²; and Sestini prefers an allusion to a tunny-fishery in the type of the coins of Cyzicus¹³, to the more obvious motive of the local worship of Apollo, which he himself admits may be conjectured from a passage in Callimachus.

3. Other types are supposed to represent arts or manufactures, or to allude to the commercial pursuits, or the local situation, of the place to which such coins may belong. Among the various subjects which Frölich enumerates as represented on coins, is the cultivation of the arts¹⁴, and

⁶ *Mus. Sanclementiani Numis. Select.*, 4to. Romæ, 1808, vol. i. p. 236.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 237.

⁸ *Lettere e Dissertazione Numismatiche*, 4to. 1789—1806, (first series,) vol. ii. p. 5.

⁹ *Num. Vet. Anecdoti*, p. 98, and *Doct. Num. Vet.* ii. p. 159.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 196.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 190.

¹² *Ubi suprâ.*

¹³ *Descrizione degli Stateri Antichi*, 4to. 1817, p. 49.

¹⁴ *Ubi suprâ.*

Eckhel considers that the Bæotians and Macedonians represented the shape or fashion of their shields on their coins¹⁵. The naval pursuits and commerce of the inhabitants of Cius are presumed, by Sestini, to be alluded to by the prow of a ship¹⁶ on their coins, as well as by the types of those of Lampsacus¹⁷. Noeden entertained a similar opinion of the type of a coin of Brettium¹⁸.

4. Eckhel was of opinion that natural phenomena were often represented on coins¹⁹.

5. Some coins have been supposed to be commemorative of historical events. The modern custom of striking medals on such occasions, seems to have induced the belief that ancient coins were occasionally struck for the same purpose. Thus, we find Sestini, in a letter on a coin of Agrigentum²⁰, although he admits that it bears the characteristic type of Jupiter, nevertheless prefers a very dubious historical explanation to the more obvious one of local worship. In the same spirit, the erudite and ingenious author of the explanations of some of the most beautiful coins in Lord Northwick's collection, has considered each coin as a kind of enigmatical medal. Thus the types on the obverse and reverse of a magnificent coin of Agrigentum are taken, altogether²¹, as commemorative of the victory gained at Himera by Gelo, the ruler of Syracuse, and Theron, the chief of Agrigentum, over the Carthaginians and their ally, Anaxilas, the lord of Rhegium and Messana²²; in which opinion he was preceded by Beger²³.

However agreeable to our classical feelings the discovery of an interesting historical signification in these symbolical

¹⁵ Vol. i. p. cv.

¹⁶ Vol. iii. p. 128.

¹⁷ Vol. iv. p. 68.

¹⁸ *Specimens of Ancient Coins*, fol. p. 1.

¹⁹ *Ubi suprà*.

²⁰ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 5.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 8.

²² *Ibid.* note 12, p. 8.

²³ *Thesaur. Brandenburg*, vol. i. p. 375.

representations would be, it is to be feared that facts will not sanction the admission of such opinions. The conjectures before us, however plausible, and although supported with considerable erudition and ability, are not admissible, for two principal reasons; the first of which is, that on many other coins *of the same town, but of different ages*, the type recurs so varied and modified, as to be no longer susceptible of the same historical interpretation. The second is, that analogous representations occur on the coins of other cities, totally unconnected with the historical events supposed to be alluded to. Thus, on two coins (among many others) of Agrigentum²⁴, *one eagle is devouring a serpent*, instead of *two eagles devouring a hare*; and the type of an eagle devouring its prey, whether it be a hare, a lamb, or a serpent, is common to the coins of many cities and people²⁵. Thus, also, the monster Scylla, (whose representations are most rare on coins, as her worship, probably, was confined to few places) is nevertheless to be found on an unique coin of Cuma²⁶ in my cabinet; at which place, according to the learned author of the work just referred to, she appears to have been worshipped in common with

²⁴ Hunter, tab. 2, fig. iii and ix.

²⁵ Pydna in Macedon, *Mionnet*, vol. i. p. 487, No. 286; Chalcis in Eubœa, *Hunter*, tab. 17, figs. iii and iv; Elis, Tab. 27, figs. xvii, xviii, and xix; Siphnus Insula, tab. 49, fig. xxvii. See also the coins of Elis, engraved in Stanhope's *Olympia*, large fol., London, 1824, particularly Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, and 17.

Instead of venturing to offer any explanation of the precise meaning of this difficult symbolic type, I am ready to confess that it is more easy to shew what such representations *are not*, than what they *are*: we may judge, however, from the various modifications shown in the plates just referred to, and from its general adoption, as the type of the coins of so many places, that it had a religious, and not an historical signification.

²⁶ See Millingen's *Recueil de quelques Medailles Grecques Inédites*, 4to. Rome, 1812; plate 1. fig. 4.

Ægæon, or Briareus²⁷, and probably with other marine divinities.

6. Sometimes symbols have been supposed to have general significations; and accordingly we find, in explaining a coin of Laodicea²⁸, on the reverse of which a cornucopia appears in connexion with a caduceus, it has been observed by Pellerin that the former was a highly appropriate symbol of a territory which historians describe as very fertile; and that the caduceus is a suitable indication of peace, the attendant of plenty. Sestini supposes abundance to be indicated by an ear of wheat²⁹, and kingly power to be denoted by an eagle standing on a thunderbolt³⁰.

Torremuzza, in discussing a coin of Entella, on which Ceres is represented holding a torch in one hand, and an olive branch in the other, with a bunch of grapes and wreath of wheat in the field, takes the whole, collectively, to denote the productiveness of the country³¹.

Noeden suggests that the ant and the bee on a coin of Brettium, betoken the industry of the people³², and that the ox's head is a type of agriculture³³. Others have adopted the notion, that national wealth, prosperity, and valour, are respectively indicated by the several symbols of a cornucopia, an ear of wheat, and a club; and that strength and power were indicated by bulls, lions, eagles, &c.

7. It has also been supposed, that *the types on certain coins were adopted from their representing, emblematically, the name of the place to which the coins belong.* These have been,

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 3, *et seq.* plate 1. fig. 3.

²⁸ Vol. iii. p. 198.

²⁹ Vol. iii. p. 128.

³⁰ Vol. i. p. 83.

³¹ Sicilia Pop. and Urb., &c., 1781, p. 28.

³² *Ibid.* p. 2.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 1.

in consequence, sometimes called *speaking types*; and seem, at first sight, particularly calculated to induce the opinion which we find promulgated concerning them. Thus, the *Rose* (ρόδον), on the reverse of the coins of Rhodes, is considered to mean the name of the island; the *Parsley-leaf* (σέλινον), on the coins of Selinus is supposed to indicate the name of the town. In like manner are explained, the *Pomegranate* (σίδη) on the coins of Side; the *Apple* (μήλον) on the coins of Melos; the *Seal* (φώκη) on the coins of Phocæa; the *Elbow* (ἀγκών) on the coins of Ancona; the *Heart* (καρδία) on the coins of Cardia; and perhaps others.

However plausible this method of explaining these types may appear (and it must be confessed that most numismatic writers have adopted it), there is yet reason to think that it is not correct.

For example, it has never been supposed that the type of *Minerva* (Ἀθηνᾶ) on the coins of Athens, was intended to express the name of that city; or that such a motive influenced either the inhabitants of Posidonia, in stamping the figure of *Neptune* (Ποσειδῶν) on their coins; or the inhabitants of Zancle, in choosing the type of the *Sickle* (ζάγκλη) for theirs; because the types of these coins are easily referable to the mythology, or religious belief of the respective places where they were struck. At the same time, they might, with equal propriety, have been considered to belong to the class of speaking types.

If the *rose* on the coins of Rhodes be looked upon as indicative of the name of the island, it may be asked why the letters PO are always to be found, even on the most ancient coins: and why, on the more recent, we should find POΔΙΩΝ at full length, at a period when it might be presumed that a speaking type would be perfectly understood, without any letters at all.

The rose, though seldom occurring as a principal type on the coins of other places, is, however, to be found occasionally³⁴; and, as an accessory symbol, is very common, and occurs on the coins of many places³⁵.

Whatever its meaning may be, there seems to be no good reason for supposing that there should have been, anciently many meanings attached to the same symbol; and unless we assume that this was the case, it will be impossible to explain the *rose* when it recurs on the coins of other places.

The difficulties which it is presumed these considerations may offer to the notion of a *speaking type*, may be all obviated by the adoption of the opinion, that the natural and uniform motive of religious belief influenced the choice of the *rose*, as the symbol of Venus; whose daughter, by a beautiful poetical fiction, the island of Rhodes was said to be; and, at the same time, feigned to have been espoused to the sun³⁶, the peculiar object of Rhodian worship.

In speaking of the coins of Selinus (as, in fact, in attempting to explain the meaning of any of the very ancient symbolical types), it must not be expected that the slight data left us, after a lapse of so many centuries, will enable us often to obtain more than a very imperfect glimpse of the truth. I am therefore only desirous of showing the probable existence of a religious motive in the type before us.

The town of Selinus was situated between the two rivers, Hypsa and Selinus³⁷, and the banks of the latter, it is said,

³⁴ See the coins of Trælium, *Mionnet*, vol. i. p. 505; of Cythnus, vol. ii. p. 315; of Soli, vol. iii. p. 612, &c.

³⁵ Nagidus, Corinth, and many others.

³⁶ Pindar, *Olymp. Od.* vii. ver. 25.

³⁷ *Selinuntine Sculptures, described by S. Angell and T. Evans*, folio, London, 1826, page 28.

were covered with parsley³⁸. The inhabitants of Sicily, it is well known, were remarkable for the worship of their rivers³⁹; and on consulting the later coins of Selinus, there seems reason to suppose, not only that the people of that town paid divine honours to both the adjacent rivers⁴⁰, but that the leaf of parsley was symbolic of that worship, since we find it, as an accessory type, on the representations referred to. This plant appears therefore to be connected with the worship of the inhabitants of Selinus; and that it was in other respects a sacred plant, may be inferred from its being used at funerals, and for wreaths at the Nemæan and Isthmian games⁴¹. The passage in Plutarch which Eckhel quotes⁴², seems strongly to confirm the sacred motive of the type: for we learn from it, that the people of Selinus dedicated to Apollo a golden parsley-leaf⁴³, the sacred symbol of their city; which religious act, is in perfect analogy with that performed by the people of Metapontum⁴⁴, who dedicated at Delphi *a harvest of gold* (probably a wheat-sheaf), the type of their coins being *an ear of wheat*: and that of the inhabitants of *Platea*⁴⁵, who dedicated *a brazen bull* at Delphi,—the type of their money being *a bull*.

Finally, the remark made on the letters which are found on the earliest Rhodian coins applies with equal force to

³⁸ *Ibid.* Note 1.

³⁹ Eckhel enumerates eight of the principal towns in Sicily which represented their rivers on the coins. *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. i. p. 185.

⁴⁰ Hunter, p. 268, Coins, No. 4, 7 and 9.

⁴¹ See Potter's *Archæologia Græca*, book 2, chap. xxiv. and the circumstance quoted from Plutarch, relative to Timoleon, when in Sicily.

⁴² *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. i. p. 238.

⁴³ *De Pythra. Oc.* p. 399.

⁴⁴ *Strabo*, lib. vi. § 6.

⁴⁵ Millingen, *Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings*, 4to. London, 1831, p. 58, plate IV. fig. 10.

those of Selinus; for they may be found of very early date with the letters ΣΕΛΙ.

The attribution of the coins with the type of the *pomegranate* to Side⁴⁶, and to which Eckhel refers⁴⁷, appears to have taken place in consequence of the presumed allusion of the type to the name of the place. The attribution of these coins is, however, somewhat dubious; and appears to require that peculiar species of confirmation which can only be afforded by the discovery of new coins. On comparing, however, the coins in question with others⁴⁸, and *especially considering, that the pomegranate is the constant symbol* in the field of the later coins of Side⁴⁹, we may perhaps not err in admitting these coins to belong to that city.—In doing so, however, I would still contend, that the sacred signification of the pomegranate was the motive for its appearing on the coin; perhaps as symbolic of Juno. A very remarkable passage in Pausanias⁵⁰ may be connected with this fruit, as having a meaning peculiarly sacred.

I should apply the same arguments to the *apple* on the coins of Melos.

The apple was the symbol of Venus, and her worship at that island may be inferred from the late discovery there of the beautiful statue of that goddess⁵¹, now in the Royal

⁴⁶ See Hunter, *Vet. Pop. et Urb.* p. 270, and tab. 49, figs. iii. iv. v. vi. and vii.

⁴⁷ *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. i. cap. xviii. pag. cv. *De Typis*, and vol. iii. p. 14.

⁴⁸ Mionnet, vol. iii. p. 471; N. 137, 141 to 145, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179 and 180.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* N. 146 to 173.

⁵⁰ *Lib. ii.* cap. 17.

⁵¹ See an interesting Dissertation connected with this exquisite statue, in the elegant and erudite work of my friend Mr. Millingen. *Ancient Unedited Monuments.* Series 2, p. 7, plate VI. See also note 5, page 7; from which it appears, that a left hand holding an apple was found near the statue.

Museum, at Paris:—I have also had occasion to observe several small gold *laminæ*, from tombs at Melos, on which an apple is embossed. These objects were deposited with the dead, from the influence of religious motives, and cannot reasonably be supposed to present us with *speaking types*.

The *seal* on the coins of Phocæa, in the present state of numismatic knowledge, is as difficult to explain as the *tortoise* on the coins of Ægina, or the *bee* on those of Ephesus. The remark made, when speaking of the coins of Selinus, will apply with peculiar force to the type of the coins of Phocæa, which is so obscure, and of such rare occurrence, that little can be said in illustration of it; except that, as a maritime symbol, it is by no means out of place on the coins of a maritime city, which doubtless paid divine honours to Neptune. Stephanus relates⁵², that the founders of Phocæa were followed by a shoal of seals, from which circumstance the place took its name; and possibly, some mythological tradition of the kind may have been a motive for the adoption of the type, which it would be quite unreasonable to suppose should form an almost solitary exception to the whole range of Greek coins; and, instead of the usual sanctity of motive, present us with an unworthy and puerile conceit.

The *Elbow* on the coins of Ancona⁵³, might rather be described as an arm holding a palm-branch, above which are seen two stars. For the mere purpose of a speaking type, an elbow would have been sufficient, and the additional symbols must naturally be looked upon as showing that something more was contemplated. The symbols appear clearly to be susceptible of a religious interpretation. The two stars obviously referring to the Dioscuri; and the palm-

⁵² *In voc.* Phocæa.

⁵³ Pellerin. Plate VII. fig. 1.

branch, which was sometimes represented in their hands⁵⁴, being symbolic of the games and festivals (*Dioscuria*) celebrated in honour of those divinities. On the coins in question, we find also the word *ΑΓΚΩΝ* invariably inscribed at full length,—which would rob the conceit of its point.

It only remains to consider the coins attributed to Cardia; the types of which are supposed to be emblematical of the name of that place. Pellerin appears to have been the first who published a coin without any inscription, on which is represented an object resembling a heart in shape⁵⁵, and which the received opinion of *speaking types* (strengthened by passages in Pliny and Solinus) induced him to believe was indicative of the name of Cardia; to which place he, accordingly, ventured to attribute the coin.

Eckhel, evidently influenced by the same notion of a speaking type, also classed the coin to Cardia⁵⁶, citing Pellerin, and adding, “*typus cordis, quod Græcis καρδιά, epigraphen abunde supplet.*”

The attribution of this coin having been thus sanctioned by such high authority, was apparently confirmed by Sestini; who, subsequently, published two copper coins with inscriptions at length, and having apparently a heart on the reverse⁵⁷, and remarks (notwithstanding the inscription) when speaking of the latter of these coins, “*that it affords a second example of a speaking type, namely, a heart; from which the city derived its name.*”

⁵⁴ See Millingen's *Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings*. 4to. London, 1831, p.10; and plate i. n. 12.

⁵⁵ *Peuples et Villes*, vol. i. p. 196. and plate xxxiv. No. 24.

⁵⁶ *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 50.

⁵⁷ *Lettere, &c. (first Series)* vol. vi. p. 23. plate i. fig. 10. and vol. ix. p. 17. plate i. fig. 21.

Having thus briefly pointed out the origin of the attribution of certain coins to Cardia, and shewn, at the same time, that the attribution in question gave rise to the notion that another speaking type was discovered, it becomes necessary to inquire how far that notion has any good foundation.

Having become possessed, many years since, of a silver coin similar to that published by Pellerin, I was very dubious, on an attentive consideration of the type, whether it could be supposed to represent a heart or not. This doubt was subsequently confirmed by the acquisition of two most rare coins, of the same metal, evidently (from the analogy of type) belonging to the same place; but on each of which are to be observed *two* of these double-lobed objects, supposed to be hearts. These are placed side by side on one of the coins, and so disposed on the other, as to bring the upper extremities of the two hearts in contact. The former of these coins, which is of remote antiquity, and has an oblong indentation on the reverse, has never been engraved; but a similar coin to the latter has been lately published⁵⁸.

It will be evident from an inspection of the plate, that these objects are not hearts⁵⁹; but even supposing that such a representation was intended, it may be reasonably presumed, that the emblematical signification of the type is destroyed by the representation of two hearts on the most ancient coin. Had Pellerin and Eckhel seen these coins, it is due to their knowledge and sagacity to presume, that we should never have heard of the speaking type of Cardia.

⁵⁸ See Cadalvene's *Recueil de Medailles Grecques inédites*, 4to. Paris, 1828, plate i. fig. 10.

⁵⁹ They are perhaps seed-vessels or other objects of natural history now very difficult to recognize.

Further, and to remove all doubt with regard to this supposed speaking type of Cardia on the silver coins in question, I have no hesitation in pronouncing, from the fabric, as well as from other considerations, that they are all Asiatic coins, and most probably belong to Miletus⁶⁰.

We proceed to consider the only remaining point connected with this discussion; namely, the two copper coins described and engraved by Sestini⁶¹. It will be easily perceived, both by the description and the engraving of these coins, that they were in such a bad state of preservation, as to be unfit for publication: purporting to be new coins, it required more caution in giving them to the public, than seems to have been exercised. Never having been able to see a coin of Cardia with the type of a heart, and no such coin existing in any collection, or in any numismatic work, with which I am acquainted, I am led strongly to suspect, that we may attribute to the bad condition of these two coins, aided by the preconceived opinion of speaking types, the mistake into which the learned author appears to have been led.

It is not difficult to point out a type which might occasion such a mistake; the *ivy leaf* on the reverse of such a rare little coin of Philetærus as that published by Eckhel⁶², when somewhat corroded, would present an appearance approximating extremely to that form, which is conventionally used by the moderns to represent a heart; but which does not occur to my knowledge, with the same meaning, on ancient monuments.

Should future discoveries, however, prove Sestini to be correct, the reader's attention must be again directed to the

⁶⁰ The question of the right attribution of these coins, however interesting, is foreign to the purpose of the present inquiry.

⁶¹ *Loco citato*.

⁶² *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 474.

circumstance, that, as in the preceding examples, the inscription on both these coins is at full length, and seems, therefore, to preclude the idea of a speaking type: in addition to which, might be adduced the curious tradition connected with Cardia, recorded by Stephanus⁶³; which would offer an explanation of a heart, more in accordance with the motive which may be shewn to have, probably, influenced the choice of the types on the certain coins of Cardia. Thus has been exemplified the practical evil which must ever result from the admission of a false principle in the classification of coins.

But it is not only to some of the coins of cities, that the notion of a *speaking type* has been attached. Examples are to be found of the same notion having been extended to coins of kings; and it may be even slightly hinted in this place, that certain of the Roman Consular Coins *seem* also to offer very knotty points of this nature for discussion. It would, however, lead me too far away from the main purpose of our inquiry to follow this subject to the Roman Consular Coins; more especially as the same arguments would be employed in discussing Roman, as in treating of Greek coins. To avoid repetitions, therefore, which might become tiresome, I will only take one example of a *regal speaking type*, namely, the representation of Ceres (ΔΗΜΗΤΕΡ) on the silver tetradrachms of Demetrius I. king of Syria, which has been recently promulgated by a distinguished antiquary⁶⁴, doubtless without his having perceived its obvious tendency to mislead. This example seems the more fit for discussion, because the very high authority on which it rests, and the erudition with which it is supported, render it peculiarly calculated to give a wrong impression of *the motive of the types of coins*.

⁶³ *In voce* Cardia.

⁶⁴ Visconti, *Iconog. Grecque*. vol. ii. p. 323.

We may, in the first place, observe, that the arguments advanced in support of the opinion, that the goddess Ceres is represented on the coins in question, however plausible and ingenious, cannot be considered as quite conclusive; and it is not improbable that the name of Demetrius suggested the opinion, which the arguments so pertinently support. It is moreover to be inferred, from the silence of Eckhel⁶⁵, to which Visconti alludes, that the learned keeper of the Vienna cabinet felt a degree of uncertainty, which prevented his offering a conjecture on this figure. The opinion of Visconti, however, may be perhaps considered so far probable, as to be passed over without further comment at present.

If, however, this type on the large silver coins of Demetrius be supposed to present us with a kind of pun on his name, there would be much stronger grounds for supposing another speaking type to exist on the coins of Philip of Macedon, as *a lover of horses* (ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ), since we uniformly find on his gold coins a car at full speed; and on those of silver and copper, no types are known to exist but of horses with riders: notwithstanding this peculiarity however, no one, I believe, has ever advanced an opinion that the types of the coins of Philip had any reference to his name. It is, therefore, the more remarkable, considering that the types of the coins of Demetrius vary occasionally, both in silver and copper, that the learned Visconti should have assigned such a motive for the type in question.

On an unique tetradrachm of this king in my cabinet, the type of Apollo sitting occurs. Would it not, therefore, be more natural to refer the *motive of the type*, or the meaning of the Ceres on the tetradrachms of Demetrius,

⁶⁵ *Doct. Num. Vet.* p. 226.

to the peculiar devotion of Demetrius to that Goddess? instead of gratuitously involving ourselves in an obvious difficulty, by being obliged to admit *two distinct motives* to have influenced the choice of the types of the coins of this king alone, and that Ceres (*Δημήτηρ*) was placed on one tetradrachm, because the king's name was Demetrius; and Apollo on the other, because Apollo was the deity peculiarly revered by all the Syrian kings. The real motive is presumed to be, however, too clear to admit of further question, and the most that can be conceded is, that Demetrius might have been peculiarly devoted to the worship of Ceres, from some peculiar event connected with his birth⁶⁶; and which might have influenced his parents in the choice of his name.

We may conclude by applying to regal coins a remark analogous to some of those already made on coins of cities; namely, why should we not find on the coins of Demetrius II. or Demetrius III. a renewal of the type of Ceres? since it would have been equally applicable to their names, and they had the authority of precedent for adopting such a type. As, however, no such type has yet been found on their coins⁶⁷, my opinion may perhaps be considered to derive some support, even from this negative evidence.

We have now concluded⁶⁸ the review which we proposed

⁶⁶ See chap. xiv. of the fourth book of Potter's *Archæologia Græca*.

⁶⁷ In point of fact, it must be remarked, that Visconti (vol. ii. p. 323, note 1), with his usual judgment and acuteness, has supported his argument by citing, on the authority of Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 229—230), a coin of Demetrius II. with the same type as on the coins of Demetrius I: but the existence of the coin described by Eckhel may be doubted; 1st, because in this instance he deviates from his usual practice, and gives no authority; and 2ndly, because such a coin is not to be found in any cabinet, as far as my observations have extended.

⁶⁸ It will be perceived that I have abstained from quoting the works of living authors. It appeared to be abundantly sufficient

to take, of the various opinions which have been entertained by the best numismatic authorities on the types of coins; and which I believe, to have had a tendency to impede the progress of the study which they intended to advance.

In the course of this review, it will no doubt have been perceived, that a uniform and religious motive in the types of coins has been frequently spoken of. That this motive is very often religious, is, indeed, so evident, that it has been necessarily admitted by every one; but as the view intended to be developed in these pages⁶⁹, recognizes *no other mode of interpretation*, it now becomes necessary to explain that view as briefly as possible.

We are apt, in speaking of the types of ancient coins, to consider them as allusions. This has been a source of fundamental error;—they are not general allusions, but representations, having a distinct and specific meaning⁷⁰. That

for the purpose of this brief inquiry to refer to works which are justly looked up to as the highest numismatic authorities, more especially, as the opinions of the present day may be considered to have been derived from those sources.

⁶⁹ I have been encouraged to prepare this sketch of the view which suggested itself to me above twenty years ago, during a long practical study of coins in Turkey; and having since made many observations uniformly tending to strengthen my opinion on this subject, I have only to hope, that notwithstanding the compressed form in which it now appears, and its many imperfections, it may not prove altogether unserviceable in directing the attention of younger numismatists to a long-established source of error.

⁷⁰ I hold an opinion in this particular, to which I will presently recur, and which I would fain possess learning and leisure enough to develop fully. I do not believe that the types of coins are, on any occasion, original compositions; but always copied (from the earliest to the lowest times) from some sacred public monument. Thus, when we find what is called a Bæotian buckler on coins, we are not to look upon the representation as *a Bæotian buckler*, but as *the buckler* of some Bæotian hero, well known to the ancient inhabitants of that country, and accounted to be sacred by them. In like manner, when we find Minerva represented on coins, we

meaning cannot now, on every occasion, be discovered at first sight; and, in my humble opinion, will never, on any occasion, be discovered—except sought for, as about to be proposed;—that is to say, through the medium of *the motive which influenced the choice of those types*; and which motive or principle, is the religious⁷¹ belief of the ancients.

There can be no doubt, that our advancement in the knowledge of the types of coins would have kept pace with our progress in the other great branch of numismatic study, which we defined at the commencement of this inquiry, had the united labour which has been bestowed on this subject, been uniformly directed in the right channel.

I will therefore repeat, that from the first striking of money, down to the extinction of the Byzantine empire⁷²,

are not to understand the type as a *Minerva*, but *the Minerva of that place*; and, in some cases which might be brought forward, the individual statues which are represented on coins, or ancient copies, will be found still to exist. The only example of originality of composition apparent on coins, is where types have been *doubled*, or *halved*, to express similar modifications of value. Thus are to be explained such types as two owls, or one, three, or four crescents on coins of Athens;—double tridents on coins of Trœzene;—half bucklers on coins of Bœotia, &c. &c.

⁷¹ In order to explain what I mean by religious belief, I will refer to a work, by a very profound scholar, which is in the hands of every one. See Potter's *Archæologia Græca*; book ii. *passim*, book iii. chap. xii; book iv. chaps. i. to viii. on the religious worship of Greece, and on the sacred Games, Festivals, Funeral Ceremonies, and Dedications, which formed such important parts of it.

⁷² After the conversion of Constantine to Christianity, we find, as might be expected, a change in the types and inscriptions of the coins. Such inscriptions, as *Jovi Conservatori*, give place to *Gloria Romanorum*; *Felicitas Perpetua*, &c. On a coin of his son Constantius, the type of the reverse is the monogram of Christ, between the letters A and Ω, with the inscription *Salus. Aug. Nostri*; and on another, the same monogram appears on the standard, with the inscription *Concordia Militum*. (Banduri, *Numismata Imp. Roman.* folio, 1718. tom. ii. page 368, plate.) At this period, the deification of the emperors, to which we shall

religion was the sole motive of the types of coins; and that this is the invariable principle which is to guide our search in endeavouring to explain them⁷³.

At first sight, it may not appear probable that such objects as coins, which must, no doubt, be considered originally to owe their existence to commercial wants, should have representations upon them so intimately mixed up with religious belief.

Passing over, however, for the present, the well-known and intimate connexion of the religious and civil government of Greece, especially in early times, we may be perhaps allowed to make a short digression on the probable origin of coinage, as tending to support the view taken of the sacred meaning of the types of coins, and as favouring the inference that a religious feeling influenced the choice of them.

It cannot reasonably be doubted, that the common use of uncoined pieces of gold and silver (probably adjusted to particular weights) preceded the use of coined money among the Greeks; and it may be further supposed, that considerable inconvenience was long felt, and that many evils resulted to individuals from the want of some public pledge or assurance, that the weight and standard of the circulating medium might be depended upon by the community at large, as well as by strangers. Such a state of

shortly advert, had become a consecration, from which the sacred ceremony of coronation has been handed down to us.

On coins of later emperors, we find at length *Jesus Christus Rex Regnantium*; *Jesus Christus Basileus Basileon*, &c. (Tanini, *Supp. to Banduri*, folio, 1791, plate x.)

⁷³The same motive evidently influenced other nations, as the Persians, &c., who, in adopting or deriving from the Greeks the use of coined money, also adopted at the same time the religious motive of the types, which they modified to their peculiar views, as is evident even from the Pelvi coins.

things may be supposed to have led the heads of the community, whether civil or sacerdotal persons, to devise a remedy for the evil, by the issue of money adjusted to a particular weight and purity, under their authority and particular sanction.

Further, As the act of impressing a seal or signet was an understood sign of solemn compact from the most early periods; and as engraved seals and signets were undoubtedly in general use long anterior to the invention of coining, it appears highly probable that the original idea of impressing a stamp on the uncoined lumps of gold or silver, was most probably derived from the common application of a seal to wax. The earliest coins may be therefore looked upon as pieces of *sealed metal*, which in fact they are; it being well known, that at first, coins were impressed only on one side.

No device that could be imagined, was so well adapted to the peculiar necessity of the case, or so likely to satisfy the public mind, as the impress, by public authority, of the symbol of the tutelar divinity of their city; or some equally sacred and well-known emblem: and even with respect to the inhabitants of distant cities, to which the coin might be carried for purposes of commerce, the common reverence for the gods which was universally entertained, as well as for the sacred games and festivals instituted in their honour, would render sacred symbols not only grateful to their feelings, but would have the great additional advantage of speaking a language universally intelligible.

Returning, however, from this digression, we resume our remarks on the various opinions which have been entertained by others, in explaining the types of coins; and in dissenting from which, it must not be imagined, that the facts on which those opinions are based are called in

question. Thus it is readily conceded, that those ancient people who stamped the fruit of the vine and ears of corn on their money, were eminently blessed with those natural productions; but it is contended, that the local worship of Bacchus and of Ceres was the sole motive for representing those objects on their coins.

It is also granted, in accordance with ancient testimony, that horses were excellent and abundant in Thessaly, and that the Thessalians were excellent horsemen; but we contend, that those circumstances did not constitute the motive of the types of the coins of that province, which, either in honour of Neptune, or the Games, present us with a horse.

There is no more reason for believing this animal, on the coins in question, to be indicative of abundance of horses in Thessaly, than for ascribing to Eleusis an abundance of sows; to Ephesus, an abundance of stags; or to Athens, an abundance of owls. But when we consider that the sow is an animal well known to have been peculiarly sacred to Ceres, the goddess of Eleusis; that the stag was the well-known symbol of the "Diana of the Ephesians;" and that the owl was the bird of the Athenian Minerva;—not a doubt can be entertained as to the real motive of these types. If we do not so readily recognize a religious motive in the horse, it arises solely from our being less familiar with the objects of Thessalian worship.

In like manner, we concur in the belief, that a prow may sometimes indirectly indicate a maritime situation and naval importance, by occurring on the coins of a people remarkable for both; but, as the contrary will sometimes happen, the motive for the representation must, invariably, be sought in the mythological traditions or ceremonies of the people; as in the case of the sacred galley on coins of Megara, and many others.

There is no difficulty in referring to religion the types representing those natural phenomena before spoken of, and alluded to by the learned Eckhel.

Again, it is not contended that historical events were never indirectly commemorated on coins, especially on those of later times; but the opinion sought to be established, is, that it is only incidentally, and through the religious ceremony of consecrations, or dedications, that such representations ever occur.

With respect to the general significations of power, industry, valour, plenty, &c., which have been attributed to certain symbols, very little need be said; as these assumptions are too vague to be answered, without reference to the individual coins on which the symbols occur.

It only remains to consider the speaking types; concerning which we would not be supposed rigidly to assert, that there was absolutely on no occasion any allusion whatever to the name of the place; but the object I have in view, is, to show that even this allusion, if it exist, must still be viewed as connected with some unapparent or lost religious tradition or motive; the elucidation of which must be left to future researches.

I would remark, in addition to the foregoing observations, that it would necessarily follow from the admission of the various opinions which have been examined, that each coin would become a kind of numismatic enigma: to the solution of which, might be alternately applied any of the suppositions pointed out: and therefore it is clear, if such views be correct, that there could not have existed that *uniformity of motive* among the ancients, in the types of their money, which is a main point for which we contend.

The confusion necessarily resulting from the admission of such a variety of opinions, would not only increase the ac-

knowledge and natural difficulties which attend the explanation of the types of coins, but tend to prejudice the study itself, by making it appear to be so much beset with interminable uncertainty, and unsurmountable difficulty, as not to deserve the care and attention of the rational and sober inquirer.

Having endeavoured to point out the importance of some steady light in all attempts to explain the types of coins, as well as the disadvantage resulting from unsettled opinions, which not only confuse and paralyze the efforts of the beginner, but may be said to close up the avenue to a vast and unexplored field of information, it may be well to endeavour to ascertain how far a cursory survey of a collection of Greek coins will support the view taken.

In the absence of any sufficient and positive ancient testimony, illustrative of our subject, a discussion, founded on the scattered and scanty materials to be gleaned from ancient authors, would be insufficient for the purpose of this inquiry; and as it will, moreover, always be found in numismatic questions, that *coins are the most correct and valuable commentators on coins* (for no class of ancient objects illustrate and explain each other so frequently) it will be more safe, and more to the point, to refer directly to coins themselves, as furnishing the only unerring data which have been handed down to us.

In proceeding in our endeavour to illustrate the question before us, it will be necessary to begin with the evident and uncontroverted fact, that, on the most superficial examination of a collection of Greek coins, there will be found to occur many types, of which we shall understand the meaning by mere inspection: and it will also be found equally evident, that *all* such types are susceptible of a direct and uniform reference to the religion of the ancients; and more

especially to the particular worship, or some prevalent mythological belief of the places where such coins were struck⁷⁴.

⁷⁴ Among many thousands of coins which might be adduced in proof of this assertion, by an extended reference to the plates of numismatic works, we will confine our examination to such coins only as are to be found engraved in two well-known modern catalogues, for the sake of brevity and easy reference.

ITALY.—Crotona: Apollo and infant Hercules. (*Mionnet*, Description de Medailles, &c. vol. vii. pl. lxxv. fig. 6. and *Hunter*, Num. Vet. Pop. tab. 22. fig. vii. and viii.) — Posidonia: Neptune. (*Mionnet*, pl. lix. fig. 4.)

SICILY.—Syracuse: Minerva and Diana. (*Mionnet*, pl. lxxvii. fig. 6.)—Agrigentum: Jupiter. (*Hunter*, tab. ii. fig. vi.)—Messana: Neptune. (*Hunter*, tab. 37. fig. ix.)

EPIRUS.—Jupiter. (*Hunter*, tab. 26. fig. xv. and xvii.)

THESSALY.—Apollo and Minerva. (*Hunter*, tab. 59. fig. xii.)

ACARNANIA.—Leucas: Hercules. (*Hunter*, tab. 33. fig. xiii.)

THRACE.—Byzantium: Ceres and Neptune. (*Hunter*, tab. 13. fig. xvii.)

MACEDONIA.—Chalcis: Apollo. (*Mionnet*, pl. lxxiv. fig. 1.)—Heraclea: Apollo and Hercules. (*Hunter*, tab. 30. fig. iv.)—Pella: Apollo. (*Hunter*, tab. 42. fig. iv. and v.)—Thessalonica: Hercules. (*Hunter*, tab. 59. fig. xxvi.)

ATTICA.—Athens: Minerva. (*Hunter*, tab. 8. fig. vii. &c.)—Megara: Apollo. (*Hunter*, tab. 36. fig. xxi.)

BCEOTIA.—Thebes: Bacchus and Hercules. (*Hunter*, tab. 59. fig. iii. iv. and vi.)

ARGOLIS.—Epidaurus: Æsculapius. (*Hunter*, tab. 26. fig. xiii.)

ELIS.—Jupiter. (*Hunter*, tab. 27. fig. xvi.)

LACONIA.—Lacedæmon: Jupiter. (*Hunter*, tab. 31. fig. xix.)

ISLANDS.—Zacynthus: Apollo. (*Hunter*, tab. 62. fig. xxi. and xxix.)—Thasus: Diana and Hercules. (*Hunter*, tab. 58. fig. xxiii.)—Bacchus and Hercules. (*Mionnet*, pl. lv. fig. 5.)—Delos: Apollo. (*Mionnet*, pl. lxxiv. fig. 4.)—Naxos: Bacchus. (*Hunter*, tab. 39. fig. xv.)—Seriphus: Perseus. (*Hunter*, tab. 49. fig. ii.)—Rhaucus (in Crete): Neptune. (*Hunter*, tab. 44. fig. x. and xii.)—Cos: Æsculapius. (*Mionnet*, pl. lii. fig. 6. *Hunter*, tab. 21. fig. vi.)

On extending our examination, after having well considered the coins just referred to, we shall discover, that in fact we can find but few towns, whether situated in Europe, Asia, or Africa, the coins of which (provided numerous specimens are extant) do not present some types, which, either on the obverse or reverse, can also be readily and certainly understood by mere inspection; and these types will *uniformly* be found to confirm our previous observation, that the existence of the religious motive of the types of coins was to be found throughout the ancient world.

But it will necessarily be asked, how the motive of religion, having solely influenced the types, can possibly be applied to the coins of kings, queens, emperors, &c., and especially to persons of less rank, and far inferior power to

PAPHLAGONIA.—Amisus: Bacchus and Jupiter. (*Hunter*, tab. 4. fig. xi. and xii.)

BITHYNIA.—Chalcedon: Ceres and Apollo. (*Mionnet*, pl. lxxiv. fig. 9.)

TROAS.—Ilium: Minerva. (*Mionnet*, pl. lxxv. fig. 6.)

MYSIA.—Cyzicus: Ceres and Apollo. (*Hunter*, tab. 24. fig. vi. viii. ix. and x.)—Pergamus: Minerva, Æsculapius, and Jupiter. (*Hunter*, tab. 42. fig. xi. and xii.)

IONIA.—Erythræ: Hercules. (*Mionnet*, pl. lxxvi. fig. 4.)—Ephesus: Diana. (*Mionnet*, supp. vol. vi. pl. iii. fig. 2. 3. 4. and 5. *rev.*)—Magnesia: Diana and Apollo. (*Hunter*, tab. 35. fig. ix.)—Smyrna: Hercules, (*Mionnet*, pl. lxxvi. fig. 5.) Jupiter and Apollo. (*Hunter*, tab. 50. fig. xxi. and tab. 51. fig. x.)

LYDIA.—Sardis: Diana and Minerva. (*Hunter*, tab. 47. fig. xiii.)—Thyatira: Jupiter, Serapis, and Minerva. (*Hunter*, tab. 60. fig. viii. and x.)

PHRYGIA.—Docimeum: Hercules and Mercury. (*Hunter*, tab. 25. fig. ix.)

SYRIA.—Seleucia: Jupiter. (*Hunter*, tab. 48. fig. xi.)

PHOENICIA.—Tyre: Hercules and Æsculapius. (*Hunter*, tab. 61. fig. xiii. and xiv.)

CYRENIACA.—Cyrene: Jupiter. (*Hunter*, tab. 23. fig. ix. & x.)—Barce: Jupiter Ammon. (*Hunter*, tab. 12. fig. xxviii.)

these personages. This question, so far from being a difficulty, is one of the strongest arguments in favour of the universal range of *the religious motive of the types*.

It is not, perhaps, generally imagined, that there is the strongest possible ground for concluding that no mortal *ever* appears upon an ancient coin, but *in the character of a deity*.

It is well known that the ancients, in conferring divine honours on mortals, used two different degrees: they either paid them the honours of heroes, or raised them to the rank of gods. These differed considerably in degree; for to worship the former was called *εραγίζεω*; but the latter *θεύω*⁷⁵. The former, may perhaps be considered to correspond in modern language with canonization⁷⁶; and the latter with deification⁷⁷. Both were however parts of the religion of the ancients, which became, in later times, so corrupt in this particular, that divine honours were paid to the most abandoned and worthless, and even on the very slightest occasions; of which abundant proof might be produced from coins, as well as from ancient authors, if it were necessary.

This consideration will explain many coins of this class; and so far from invalidating, in any way, my opinion of *the universal and uniform sanctity of the types*, will always be found to confirm it.

We must not expect that the deification of every individual whose portrait may be found on a coin, can, at this

⁷⁵ Potter, *Archæologia Græca*, book iv. chap. 8.

⁷⁶ We cannot but perceive that the usage of the church of Rome, in *the canonization of saints*, may be traced to this custom of the ancients of conferring divine honours on distinguished individuals. It is well known that this was sometimes done, both in ancient and modern times, many centuries after the death of the persons so honoured.

⁷⁷ Knight's *Inquiry*, &c. § 225.

distance of time, be distinctly proved; but the fact may be nevertheless most readily and satisfactorily inferred, from the numberless examples which are well-established.

The few difficult coins which may occur, are not to be considered as exceptions to a custom, necessarily uniform and universal, from its peculiar nature. Thus there can be no doubt that Cicero⁷⁸ received divine honours at Magnesia ad Sipylum, though history is silent on the subject; and such a local and almost private event appears to have been no where recorded. On the other hand, an unique gold coin of the Roman consul, Titus Quinctius Flaminius, in the magnificent public collection at Paris⁷⁹, furnishes at once an agreeable illustration of the preceding conjecture, and affords a most remarkable and striking confirmation of our main argument; since there happens to be abundant testimony to the fact, that divine honours were paid to this Roman General⁸⁰.

This coin, if no ancient testimony had been happily found to support the fact of the divinity of the personage represented upon it, would, no doubt, in sceptical hands, have furnished an apparently triumphant argument in refutation of the universality of the principle contended for; since it would have appeared, that there might be occasionally found solitary instances of coins struck in the spirit of modern times; namely, for the mere purpose of giving a

⁷⁸ I possess a very rare copper coin, with the portrait of Cicero,—inscribed with his name at full length, ΜΑΡΚΟΣ· ΤΥΛΛΙΟΣ· ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ, struck at Magnesia ad Sipylum; and which, from the type of the reverse (a hand holding a wreath, a palm-branch, an ear of corn, and branch of vine with a bunch of grapes), must allude to some games celebrated in his honour.

⁷⁹ Engraved at p. 260 of Mionnet's *supp.* vol. iii.—I cordially concur with M. Mionnet in the opinion he has expressed in the note (a).

⁸⁰ Visconti, *Iconog. Grecque.* vol. i. p. 59.

portrait without any admixture of religious motive. This is a memorable example, and shows the danger of accepting on such occasions, the negative evidence of the silence of classic authors.

As it might, however, appear to an inexperienced observer, that, in the immense number and endless variety of types, some might be found to which the principle of religious explanation could not be applied; it seems desirable, before taking leave of the subject, to shew, that the view developed in the preceding pages may be supported by an analysis, or general classification of the types, to which we will therefore proceed.

The types of coins, though very numerous, appear to be susceptible of being divided into four classes; namely, 1, Symbols; 2, Divinities; 3, Sacred Localities; and 4, Dedicated Pictorial Representations connected therewith. These classes are mentioned with some reference to the order of their antiquity; the symbolic types being generally found on the oldest coins, and the sacred localities and pictorial representations, &c. generally on the most modern. This, however, is by no means a rule, because in later coins the first and second classes of types are often united in the same coin; and thus the older coins are illustrated by those of a later period, the old symbol being, as it were, superseded by the representation of the Divinity itself, although it may still occupy the reverse. The later types, by careful study in the spirit pointed out in the preceding pages, will be found to illustrate the older coins in the most remarkable manner, by frequently giving us the most positive explanations of most difficult symbolic types.

1. The symbolical types may be considered to include not only those which appear referable to particular divinities, as a trident, a thunderbolt, &c. but also those referable to

the sacred games and festivals; as cars⁸¹, race-horses⁸², wreaths⁸³, metæ⁸⁴, and prize vases⁸⁵, armour⁸⁶, and other *athla*⁸⁷; as well as those referable to ceremonies, particularly dedications; as votive bucklers⁸⁸, arms, trophies⁸⁹, &c.

Thus, symbols are representations either of natural⁹⁰, artificial⁹¹, or ideal objects⁹², as well as of real⁹³, or imagi-

⁸¹ See *Hunter*, tab. 52. fig. ix. rev.

⁸² *Ibid.* tab. 55. fig. xiii. & xv. rev.

⁸³ *Ibid.* tab. 26. fig. vi. rev.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* tab. 56. fig. xv. & xvi. — Tab. 57. fig. ix. — Tab. 60. fig. xv.

⁸⁵ See *Mionnet*, pl. xxxix. fig. 3. In complete elucidation of this symbol, see a *Dissertation on Panathenaic Vases*, by the Chevalier Bröndsted in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. ii. part 1. page 102; and note 36, page 118. At the end of the Dissertation, an accurate engraving will be found of an unique coin of Athens in my collection, on which a Panathenaic prize amphora is represented. — Noehden, *Specimens*, &c. p. 13. pl. 5.

⁸⁶ See *Millingen*. Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings, 4to. London, 1831, tab. 1. fig. 17.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* tab. 1. fig. 21. — *Hunter*, tab. ii. fig. vii. viii. ix.

⁸⁸ See *Stanhope's* Olympia, plate of coins, N. 1, 2 & 6.

⁸⁹ See *Millingen*, tab. 1. fig. 17. — *Mionnet* (plates) vol. vii. pl. 1. fig. 2 & 3, rev. — Noehden, *Specimens*, &c. p. 41. pl. 13.

⁹⁰ *Hunter*, tab. 36. fig. xxvi. (worship of Venus). Tab. 45. fig. 1. rev. (worship of Venus). Tab. 49. fig. iv. rev. (pomegranate? worship of Juno?). *Mionnet*, pl. xl. fig. 6. (sacred games) pl. xlviii. fig. 5. rev. (worship of Bacchus); pl. li. fig. 8. rev. (worship of Bacchus).

⁹¹ *Hunter*, tab. 1. fig. xi. rev. — Tab. 21. fig. xix. (worship of Apollo). Tab. 43. fig. xi. (dedication?). *Mionnet*, pl. xxxix. fig. 3. (sacred games), and 4. (dedication) pl. xl. fig. 4 & 5. (wheels of cars, symbolic of sacred games). — *Mionnet*, supp. vol. i. pl. xi. fig. 5. obv. (dedication), rev. (Apollo). — Vol. v. pl. 3. fig. 1.

⁹² *Hunter*, tab. 1. fig. xi. obverse, (Ægis, worship of Minerva; or head of Medusa, worship of Perseus); tab. 7. fig. xvi. rev. (symbolic of the foot-race in public games); tab. 17. fig. i. obv. (Ægis, worship of Minerva); tab. 18. fig. xv. and xvi. rev. (labyrinth; mythology); tab. 27. fig. xvii. rev. (worship of Jupiter); tab. 40. fig. iii. (head of Medusa, worship of Perseus?)

⁹³ *Hunter*, tab. 1. fig. xvi. — Tab. 2. fig. ix. — Tab. 16. fig. xv. Tab. 27. fig. xvii. obv. — Tab. 28. fig. xx. rev. (species of Sæpia;

nary⁹⁴ animals. These, whenever they can be understood, will be always found to indicate the public religious belief, and particularly the sacred games, festivals, and ceremonies in honour of certain divinities, which formed so prominent a part of the religion of the Greeks.

As it is not the object of this inquiry to explain the types of coins, but merely to point out the existence of an uniform motive or principle, the knowledge of which, may facilitate such endeavours by narrowing the field of conjecture on this very difficult class of types, I have, in the notes just referred to, only hinted at the probable meaning of such symbols as appear explicable without discussion.

2. The Divinities include also heroes⁹⁵, founders⁹⁶, personifications of people and towns⁹⁷, august assemblies⁹⁸, rivers⁹⁹, springs¹⁰⁰, &c.; as well as kings, and other individuals who had received divine honours¹⁰¹.

3. By Sacred Localities, are meant such representations

(worship of Neptune).—Tab.30. fig.xix.—Tab.34. fig.vi.—Tab 37. fig.ii.—*Mionnet*, pl.xxxvii. fig. 5 and 7. (worship of Neptune?); pl. xxxviii. fig. 5. (worship of Silenus?); pl. xxxix. fig. 1, 2, and 10. *Mionnet*, supp. vol.3. pl.3. fig. 4.—pl. 7. fig. 1, 2, 3. (Bacchus or Silenus.) pl. 9. fig. 4. pl. 9. fig. 8.—Vol.vi. pl.3. fig.5. *obv.*

⁹⁴ *Hunter*, tab. 17. fig.x.—Tab.28. fig.iii. *obv.* (a river.) tab. 33. fig.iv. (Metope?); tab. 49. fig.1. *obv.* (worship of Bellerophon); tab. 57. fig.xiv. (worship of Bacchus); tab.20. fig.vi. and *Mionnet*, pl. xxxviii. fig.9. (worship of Bellerophon).—*Mionnet*, supp. vol.3. pl. xiii. fig.5. *rev.* (Pluto?)

⁹⁵ See *Mionnet*, supp.vol.v. pl.v. fig.3. (Hector). *Millingen*, Ancient Coins, &c. pl.i. fig.12. (Dioscuri.)

⁹⁶ *Eckhel*, vol.iv. cap.xvii. p.347.

⁹⁷ *Millingen*, tab.ii. fig.2. (Terina). *T. Combe*, Vet. Pop. et Reg. Numi in Mus. Brit. tab.xi. fig. 5. (Magnesia); 12, (Tralles,) and 16, (Cadi) *T. Combe*.

⁹⁸ *T. Combe*, tab.x. fig. 22.—Tab. xi. fig. 2, 9, 10, 19, 20.

⁹⁹ *Eckhel*, vol.iv. cap.10, § 6, p. 317. ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Mionnet*, vol. ii, p.97. N. 30.—vol.iii. p.226. N.1262; p. 70, N.79; p.212, N.1172; p. 82, N.147; p.83, N.149. *Visconti*, Iconog. Grecque. vol.i. p. 236. note 2.

as Parnassus¹⁰², Mount Argæus¹⁰³, the Acropolis of Athens¹⁰⁴ and of Corinth¹⁰⁵, the port of Cenchrea¹⁰⁶, &c., and, of course, temples, and other sacred edifices.

4. By Dedicated Pictorial Representations, are meant such compositions as the Dream of Alexander¹⁰⁷, Hero and Leander¹⁰⁸, *et cetera*,¹⁰⁹, as well as sculpture on temples, as metopes, or other basso-relievos; of which there may be found ancient examples¹¹⁰, as well as modern¹¹¹.

Lastly, to meet as much as possible every difficulty in uniformly referring the motive of all types to religion, a few words of digression, intended to elucidate the probable origin of the most difficult class (the symbolic types), may be permitted.

It is generally acknowledged, that, at a remote period, the divinities venerated by the Greeks, or rather, perhaps, their attributes, were represented by symbols. This custom of using symbolic representations may probably be attributed, in its origin, to a defective state of art; but having been sanctioned, and become familiar by usage, it was ever after continued in consequence of its early and intimate connexion with all their religious associations.

¹⁰² *Millingen*, Recueil, &c., 4to Rome, 1812; plate ii. fig. 11.

¹⁰³ *Hunter*, tab. 27, fig. xiv.

¹⁰⁴ *Mionnet*, supp. vol. iii. pl. xviii. fig. 3.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* vol. iv. pl. iii. *Bis.* fig. 4. *Millingen*, Recueil, &c., pl. ii. fig. 20 and 21.

¹⁰⁶ *Millingen*, Recueil, &c., pl. ii. fig. 19.

¹⁰⁷ *Mionnet*, vol. iii. p. 231, No. 1296.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* supp. vol. v. pl. v. fig. 1.

¹⁰⁹ See *Mionnet*, vol. i. p. 409, N. 307. Supp. vol. ii. pl. i. fig. 2. and pl. viii. fig. 1. Supp. vol. vi. pl. iv. fig. 1.

¹¹⁰ *Mionnet*, supp. vol. ii. p. 545, plate, fig. 2, 3, and 4. Supp. vol. iii. pl. vi, fig. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7; and pl. xii. fig. 1. *rev.* fig. 2. *obv.* Vol. vii. pl. 1. fig. 2 and 3, *obv.* *Mionnet*, (plates) vol. vii, pl. 1. fig. 2 and 3, *obv.*

¹¹¹ See *T. Combe*, tab. vi. and vii. (Copper coins of Athens.)

Hence these symbolic representations were looked upon as sacred, from the most ancient times; and we may reasonably conclude, that a religious motive or feeling influenced the stamping of such symbols on coins: religious belief having been found at all times to exercise, not only the most strong, but the most universal influence, over the minds of men in every state of society.

In conclusion, I would remark that if the explanations of the types of coins can be facilitated by the removal of unnecessary difficulties, and the study thereby placed on a firmer footing, it will soon be readily acknowledged that the representations in question open, perhaps, a wider field for useful research than any other single class of objects of ancient art.

Owing to the peculiar nature of coins, they have survived uninjured the wreck of the many states and kingdoms which gave them birth; and these curious specimens of the taste and skill of a highly civilized and celebrated people, now form a class of ancient monuments, which, unlike Marbles, Bronzes, Vases, Terra-Cottas, or Gems, have not only the peculiar advantage of being free from any doubt as to their original destination or use, their age or their country; but each coin forms a whole, and having been struck by public authority, cannot have been subjected to individual caprice. Coins derive additional importance from their wide range over all the countries inhabited by the Greeks; and from their having been gradually produced in those countries, during a lapse of at least one thousand years¹¹², which terminated above one thousand five hundred

¹¹² From the invention of money, to about the time of Gallienus; with whose family the Greek series of coins may be considered to terminate.

years ago: thus becoming data of the greatest importance for reference and comparison, in ascertaining the age, or in elucidating the style, of other ancient monuments; as well as in solving many of the interesting inquiries to which the study of the remains of Grecian Art gives rise.

THOMAS BURGON.

*Brunswick Square,
August 29th, 1836.*

MISCELLANIES.

DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS IN WALES.—In June 1835, a tremendous thunder storm happened near the Gwindy¹ in Llansamlet. The heavy rain which fell, exposed, what a little girl, who was passing just after the storm had ceased, supposed to be a quantity of buttons. She picked up a handful and carried them home, when they were discovered to be coins. The fact soon became known; and a number of persons repaired to the spot, when the urn or vase which contained the coins was scrambled for, and pulled to pieces. George G. Francis, Esq., of Swansea, hearing of the discovery, with a laudable anxiety for the preservation of the whole hoard, sent over a person with instructions to obtain the vessel and its contents, but only two hundred and sixty, out of about five hundred of the coins were recovered. This gentleman and a friend subsequently had the ground excavated at the spot where the vessel was found, but the result was only a few bones and shells. A workman stated that he had seen some bones which were found near the coins, thrown into the stream and washed away by the current. Mr. Francis states that the shape of the vessel was oval, eight inches by five, and about four inches high, with a large mouth, and no cover; but apparently it had had one. It was formed of coarse brown earth. The coins (all of brass and of the third size) were of the following emperors, &c., Gallienus, Salonina, his wife; Victorinus; Marius, Claud Gothicus, Quintillus, and Aurelianus, of which those of Marius are rare, the others are very common. Perhaps the gentleman who exerted himself for the preservation of this very interesting collection, will, at his leisure, give us some account of the types of the coins of that usurper, whose money, although, as we are told, he reigned only three days in Gaul, reached this country. Eckhel supposes that he reigned for a longer period, as his coins, though comparatively rare, are of numerous types. This is the case with the coins of other usurpers who reigned but a short period; but it appears to us that the discrepancy may be thus explained. The friends of the usurper, in all probability, made due preparations for the announcement of his design; and as money was no less powerful in those days than in the present, a

¹ The Gwindy is about two miles from Swansea, and not very far from the Via Julia, between the Nidium and Leucanum of the Romans.

fund was prepared beforehand for the occasion. The day arrived; and when the usurper appeared and announced his intentions, a shower of coins, which had been secretly prepared with his effigies, was thrown among the soldiery. Such must have been the case with the coins of Marius, if we may credit the relations of historians, who say his usurpation extended to three days only.

THE DIOSCURI ON REVERSES.—As an *addendum* (modestly intended) to the observations, p. 16. No. 1. of this journal (from the valuable posthumous papers of Dr. J. G. King), respecting the *Dioscuri*, or Castor and Pollux—it may be remarked, that when they appear, as they so frequently do on the earlier consular coins, riding at full speed, with levelled spears, they are supposed to be *in the act of charging* in the battle near Lake Regillus, in aid of the Romans under Postumius against the Latins, and the party of the exiled Tarquins.

There is a reverse in the family Postumia, with three horsemen abreast, galloping over a retreating enemy on foot, and the two caps of the Dioscuri flying in the air immediately before them, signifying the irresistible charge of the Roman cavalry associated with, and inspired by, these celestial heroes; and illustrating a passage in Florus:—"Apud Regilli lacum dimicatur - - - *commilitonibus* deis." *Lib. 1, Cap. 2.*

On a well-known reverse of the Servilian family, they are represented caracoling together, with the points of their spears downwards, as exulting after the victory achieved, indicated by the laurel-wreath behind the head of Rome on the obverse.

On one equally well-known of the Postumian family, where they appear dismounted, watering their horses on the evening of the same day at the fountain near the temple of Vesta at Rome, there is a further allusion to the elegant fable respecting them narrated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

The reverse first mentioned is quite common till about the period of the decline of pure republican principles in the Roman state, or the era of the dictatorship of Sylla, when the principal families, who obtained, at different times, the controul of the mint, were chiefly desirous of commemorating circumstances that would perpetuate the fame of their own ancestors, and keep up their influence with the people during the struggle among themselves for political power.

It was this spirit that led ultimately to the head of the first Cæsar, as a living ruler, being stamped upon the coin, and to all the ensuing types of imperial despotism. E. C. B.

N.B. Many coins of comparatively late date have the heads only of the Dioscuri, as *Dei Penates*.

ADLOCVT · COH.—First Brass of CALIGULA.—It must have been observed by numismatists, that this type wants the S. C. (*Senatus Consulto*). The deficiency, if it occurred on any other coin than one of this imperial madman, would occasion more surprise. But he, who is said to have intended to make his horse consul, and who put numbers of senators to death merely from infuriate malice, may well be supposed to have usurped their right in this instance, by commanding the allocution type of his first brass to be struck independently of their decree. He may have been piqued at their recommending him to accept of an ovation only, instead of the triumph which he demanded for his military exploits on the shore of the German ocean, where, after a pompous harangue, he ordered the soldiers to fill their helmets with cockle shells as the spoils of conquest. This usurpation of the senate's right and privilege may have contributed to induce them, after the tyrant's assassination, to call in and melt his money; from which fact the coins of Caligula are comparatively scarce.

E. C. B.

COINAGE OF THE UNITED STATES.—By the law and mint regulations of the United States, the American gold eagle contained $247\frac{1}{2}$ grains of pure gold, and was a legal tender for ten dollars.

But by an act of Congress of July 1834, the weight of the gold eagle was reduced to 232 grains of pure gold, but no alteration having been made in either the weight or fineness of the silver coins, and the gold eagle though reduced in weight, being still a legal tender for ten dollars, the relative proportion between gold and silver in the American coinage was altered, and by the reduction in the weight of the gold eagle, the intrinsic par of exchange between America and every other country was also altered.

The English gold sovereign, according to mint regulations, contains 5 dwts. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains, or 123 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains of standard gold, of 22 carats fine, and the American eagle containing by mint regulations 232 grains of pure gold, the intrinsic value of the sovereign in American gold coin, is 4 dollars 87 cents, as will appear from the following statement:—

1 Sovereign is equal to	123 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains,
24 grains standard.....	22 grains pure,
322 grains pure.....	1 eagle.
1 eagle.....	10 dollars.

Result, 4 dollars 87 cents.

MEDALS OF TEMPERANCE.—The Society of Emulation of Abbeville, in France, has resolved that a bronze medal and a sum

of money, in amount according to the society's means, should be granted annually to such workmen belonging to the town or arrondissement, as shall have distinguished himself by his moral conduct, his love of industry, his economy, and above all his temperance. The medal is to bear on one side the inscription, "Medaille de Temperance—Prix de Travail."—And on the other the name of the individual to whom it is granted.

ORIGINAL LETTER OF AINSWORTH.—It is said that Ainsworth the compiler of the excellent latin dictionary which bears his name, was a coin collector; and that such was the fact appears by the following letter (the original of which is in the possession of Dr. J. Lee,) to Brian Fairfax, Esq. the antiquarian. This letter is interesting from the circumstance of its appearing to indicate that the writer's means were on the wane, and that he had already parted with a portion of his collection,

Kind Sir,

Since you had not time the other day to take my Thanks along wth you for y^r late civilities, you oblige me to send them after you, & desire your acceptance of 'em; & to assure y^u I am heartily sorry it is not in my power to serve you. I conceived hopes from Mr. Beeches' acc^t. drawn, I suppose, from your modesty, that I might have done y^u some little service, either by my knowledge in Medals, or my assistance in procuring some for you, but the former vanished in my Conversation with y^u, and the latter upon the sight of your Collection. All I can do for the present is to shew all the broken remains of my Medals, out of w^{ch} you shall pick any thing y^u please, on what terms y^u please, and will faithfully endeavour to procure what you want, but that must be the work of some time. I desire y^u to give me notice the day before y^u shall be pleased to honour me with a visit, that I may be ready to attend y^u, who am, as y^r Goodness has made me.

Kind Sir,

7^{br} 12ⁿ 1730.

Y^r Obliged Serv^t,

To

—Fairfax, Esq.
This.

Robt. Ainsworth.

MEDALS OF THE POPES.—Is there not to be found a medal engraver who would undertake to continue in the same style as the last, the suite of popes in pewter by Caspar Theodore Lauffer, which contains Pope Clement XIII. As the collection by Lauffer

is scattered in many hands, it is to be expected that the undertaking would pay, but to make it more certain a subscription might be opened for the purpose, so that the continuation could be had in silver, copper, or pewter.—*Blätter für Münzkunde.*

GENERAL ALLARD has brought to Paris from India, among other curiosities, a considerable quantity of old coins, most of them belonging to the kings of Bactria. The coins were found in north India in the territory of the Seikhs, whom General Allard instructed in tactics. It is reported that the general is in treaty with the French government to exchange his coins (value 400,000 fs.) for arms, &c. from their arsenals, and that he has already chosen four hundred cuirasses for the equipment of a regiment in Lahore; others say he has presented his collection to the king of the French.—*Ibid.*

A young medal engraver at Paris named Rogat, had a desire to engrave a medal representing the head of Rouget de L'Isle, author of the Marseillaise, and on the reverse, the poem and the melody; but according to an existing law of the French republic, all medals must be stamped in the mint, unless a special permission be obtained for executing them elsewhere. Mons. Rogat accordingly applied to the authorities, but was denied the required permission; and his petition to the minister of the home department had no better success. He considered this double refusal a kind of censure that he was not bound to submit to, under the charter of 1830; and accordingly put his design into execution about two years ago. The tribunal only lately cited him before it; and notwithstanding the very able defence by his counsel, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 1000 francs. This same person, in the year 1832, obtained permission to have a medal of Marshal Ney struck with the inscription, "*Executed notwithstanding the military capitulation of the 6th July, 1815.*" A few months ago the copies being all disposed of, he applied to have more struck from the same dye, when the reply was, "That it could only be done *if the inscription were omitted.*"—*Ibid.*

GOLD MEDALLION OF CHARLES THE FIRST.—The illustration of our present number, is a gold medallion of Charles the First, in the collection of the British Museum, bearing on the obverse side the legend, CAROLUS · D · G · MAG · BRITAN FRAN · ET · HIB · REX · FI · DE. And on the reverse an armed equestrian figure, and the letters, C · P. It is doubtless one of the numerous memorials of the kind worn by the cavaliers in those stormy times. The plate is a fac-simile of the medal, executed by Mr. Bate, who has made considerable improvements in this style of engraving.

GOLD MEDALLION OF CHARLES, I.
In the collection of the British Museum.



J. Bate, ex Poultry, London.*





THE above is an accurate representation of the new rupee for India. It is the work of a native artist, and though deficient in design, the common fault of all modern coins, is a respectable performance.

Silver is the legally constituted medium of exchange in all money transactions throughout the British Indian possessions. Gold coin is a legal tender, at a fixed value of 16 rupees for the gold mohur of Calcutta, and 15 rupees for the gold rupee of Madras and Bombay; but it is not demandable in payment, and is left to find its current value in the market. Copper coin is only a legal tender at the established rate of 64 pysa to the rupee, on payments falling short of one rupee.

The rupee is, then, the unit or standard measure of value throughout India; and by the regulation lately passed, a perfect assimilation in weight and fineness has been effected in this unit of currency of the three presidencies, so that the rupee of upper India, of Madras, and of Bombay, are now identical in value.

Weight, 180 grains—standard quality.

W. D. H.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. Francis has our best thanks for his communication.

Our correspondent *Omega* has wasted much time upon a very worthless forgery: all shekels with the common *Hebrew* characters are forgeries of a recent period. The genuine, which are of considerable rarity, have *Samaritan* characters. The medals with Hebrew characters, given by Dr. Walsh, are modern forgeries, of which the very style of the workmanship is a sufficient proof. The earliest representations of the Saviour, on coins or medals, are those which appear on the rude money of the Byzantine Emperors.

The Edward groat with HVBBER is curious, but not of sufficient interest to warrant a particular notice of it in the *Numismatic Journal*. It shall be carefully preserved and returned.

J.S.'s coin is certainly a brass Otho, and of some rarity; but it was struck at Alexandria, not at *Antioch*. The Pescennius Niger is a forgery, and a very clumsy one.

Mr. Stephenson will find nearly all the varieties of his coin engraved in *Morell*.

Mr. Green will find his coin described in *Banduri*, tom. ii. p.106.

G. C. of Camden Town. The coins are forgeries, and clumsily executed: they shall be returned as directed. The silver coin of Athens is very common.

Mons. de L. is thanked for his letter, but the subject has been illustrated by *Pellerin*. The coin of Abydos does occur in the *Catalogue D'Ennery*.

H***. The silver medallion of Claudius described in "*Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*," is undoubtedly genuine. It has been recently obtained for the British Museum, together with another example of the same type, but not so well preserved.

G. C.—n. The coins are all of consular families, and are described and illustrated by *Vaillant* and *Morell*.

The very valuable communication of Mr. Burgon, appeared to us of so much importance, that, though the printing of the whole of it has greatly increased our present number, we could not resist the desire of presenting it in a complete form.

ERRATUM.

Page 27, line 23, *for* understood *read* misunderstood.

XIX.

ON TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.

" Money being the common scale
 Of things by measure, weight, and tale;
 In all th' affairs of church and state,
 Is both the balance and the weight."

SUCH being the recorded opinion of the sagacious Butler on the importance of money as a moving power, it may seem strange to pass the gold florins, nobles, angels, and spur-ryals of an Edward, a Henry, or an Elizabeth, in order to descend to the base metal and paltry symbols of a Smith, a Brown, a Jones, or a Robinson. But fate impels us onwards, although we feel aware that many old square-toes of the numismatic world will no sooner perceive the ominous title to our rambling remarks, than their noses will be released by the return of their spectacles to the morocco cases in which they repose, while a growl, perhaps maledictive, will be poured against the writer.

Nor is it by the living antiquary only that our path will be obstructed. Evelyn, a gentleman after our own heart, predicts that the tokens which abounded in every tavern and tippling-house, would be hereafter pored over with ill-spent diligence, and "may haply, in after-times," says he, "come to exercise and busy the learned what they should signify, and fill whole volumes with conjectures, as I am persuaded as arrant trifles have done." This is manna compared with Pinkerton's oppugnancy, who, however, was no great medallist, and often mistook the "venom of the

shaft for the vigour of the bow." This gentle dictator assures us that such small coins are collected by some antiquaries with an avidity truly puerile. "I will venture to say," he continues, "that their workmanship is always utterly contemptible, and that not one purpose of taste, information, or curiosity, can be drawn from them. It needs hardly be added that they are recommended to the supreme scorn of the reader, who may justly regard the studying or collecting of them, along with the admiration of counters, as beneath any man of taste."

This, as the comic Liston would say, is "coming it strong," in rampant phrase; but we have assumed our panoply, and nothing daunted by the contemptuous prophecy of the one, or the bitter sarcasm of the other, shall pursue our purposed inquiry; for, however unimportant some may deem it, in recollecting "*Suave enim est in minimis etiam vera scire*," they must acknowledge that truth is desirable even in trifles. But, since some of our readers may, in consequence of such satire, scarcely know the meaning of the term "Tradesmen's Tokens," we shall be excused a few prefatory words on their story; hoping that our temerity in running counter to these recorded denunciations may place the problem on the horns of a dilemma, and cause a repetition of the often asked

"Who shall decide when doctors disagree,
And antiquaries doubt?"

The British coinage is too well known to those for whom this is written, to need much remark; but we must remind them of the great scarcity of copper money, for the purpose of small change, which prevailed during the time of our early sovereigns. The Saxon stycas offer no obstacle to this axiom, since they relate to a very confined circulation, and are mostly of billon, or copper slightly alloyed with

silver; and the easterlings, or sterlings, seem to have been pennies. So much was this want felt, that the Saxon silver coins were halved and quartered on the reverse, for the convenience of breaking them into smaller money, a practice which, according to Hoveden, continued till the time of Henry the First. This has been impugned as a gratuitous assertion by Leake, who treats Camden with no small disrespect on the occasion. But the Britannia is not the only evidence that those pieces were actually quartered into fourthings, or farthings, for currency. Besides the passage in Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, Stow asserts that "the penny was wont to have a double cross with a crest, in such sort that the same might be easily broken in the midst, or into four quarters." And there can be no reasonable doubt that the custom of breaking love-money as a pledge of fidelity, originated from the public practice:—

"The half of silver sixpence broken—

'Twixt youths and maids a true-love token."

During this time, the old English silver pennies, which formed our staple currency in the middle-ages, maintained the highest character for neatness of fabric, and purity of metal; and were consequently a favourite piece in all parts of Europe. The small change seems to have been chiefly managed by means of counterfeit coins, as maile, black-maile, Nuremberg tokens, crokards, turneys, dotkins, galley-pieces, staldings, pollards, and similar base currency, which were introduced by Jews and other foreigners; and against which Edward the Third, and other sovereigns, fulminated severe edicts. This state of silver money continued till the reign of Henry the Eighth, when a most extensive deterioration took place. This prince, who threw his handkerchief as he listed, and showered domains upon court-parasites, like an Arabian-Night caliph bestowing kingdoms,

among other meddlings, debased the currency of the realm to the disgraceful pitch of upwards of sixty-six per cent. So mean a resort of despotism was not likely to flourish in English soil, as it has done in Austria and in Turkey; accordingly we find that in 1552, the silver coin was restored to the old standard, at which it has ever since steadily remained. A curious circumstance occurred on this occasion, which, though it has no more to do with our tokens than with the squaring of a circle, or the trisection of a triangle, we cannot but relate. It is recorded that the workmen who were employed in melting down Henry's base and full-faced money, fell sick with the "savour," (probably the fumes of arsenic,) and that they were sagaciously advised to drink from a dead man's skull for their cure. The advice was thankfully accepted, government was petitioned, and accordingly a warrant was procured from the council, to take away the heads which then bedecked London-bridge, to make cups of them for the patients.

These general remarks, by shewing that there was no authorised copper money, will account for the appearance of Town and Tradesmen's Tokens. We know that some medallists, backed by an old and barbarous poem, wish to maintain that Edward the First ordered a coinage much in the present form; but further inquiry will prove that he merely directed that the money should be made round; and all which the poet enumerates were then of silver, as plainly appears from the "crosse" therein mentioned. This sacred emblem was so habitual a reverse on our "white" coinage that its name was bestowed on the money so distinguished; and not only does Shakspeare frequently quibble upon it, but that old proverb "the worst of crosses is never to have had any," may, like Paddy Macoul's broad hint, have a

double meaning. We must now append the lines alluded to:—

“ Edward did smite round penny, halfpenny, farthing;
The crosse passes the bond of all, throughout the ring:
The king's side whereon his name was written;
The crosse side, what city it was incoyned and smitten.
To poor man, ne to priest, the penny frayes nothing,
Men give God ay the least; they feast him with a farthing.
A thousand, two hundred, fourscore years and mo,
On this money men wondred, when it first began to goe.”

To proceed. Before the time of James the First, there was no royal brass or copper money coined for England, though most of the neighbouring states had used it some time before. Notwithstanding her known aversion to the measure, it is evident that Queen Elizabeth intended a copper coinage, from the proposition of Sir Richard Martin¹, her warden of the mint, as to whether the new farthings should be made of silver, silver debased, or copper,—himself preferring the latter, since silver would be inconvenient for striking, as well as for handling, from the minuteness of

¹ An Elizabeth shilling, with a martlet as a mintmark, was coined by Martin, but instead of an allusion to the warden, the public, who were not much illuminated by the artist's power of representation, mistook the bird for one of the *Anas* tribe, and thereby intended as an honour to our illustrious navigator. Hence that shilling was commonly called a *Drake*. We admire this stroke of popular feeling, as well as that conveyed in the epigram on the *Thalassiarachus Anglus* and his sovereign,—

“ O Nature! to Old England true,
Continue these mistakes;
And for our *Kings* give us such *Queens*,
And for our *dux* such *Drakes*.”

As this sketch is not to be considered under scholastic trammels, we must add the contrast to this epigram. It was let fly by the French at the murderer of Raleigh,—

“ Tandis qu' *Elizabeth* fût *Roi*
L'Anglais fût d'Espagne l'effroi,
Maintenant devise et caquette,
Régé par la Reine *Jaquette*.”

its spread, and, moreover, as easily counterfeited as any. Nothing, however, was made of the motion; whence, for want of some such state money, most of the chandlers, victuallers, grocers, and other dealers, made tokens of lead or brass, which were current among their customers and townsmen: upon returning which to the issuer, he gave current coin, or value for them, as desired.

This autonomic derogation of the king's prerogative increased so extensively towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, that after the accession of James, the absolute necessity of coining a small currency under authority became obvious. Sir Robert Cotton estimated that, in and about London, there were no fewer than three thousand retailers of food and small wares, who used their own tokens, in an average annual quantity to the value of 5*l.* sterling each, whereof not a tenth remained at the year's end; besides what was used and expended in other parts of the nation. He therefore proposed a coinage of royal farthing tokens, which received the king's assent; and in 1613 the new patent coppers were issued by proclamation, but not forced upon the people as established coin. They were of poor fabric, bearing on one side two sceptres in saltier, surmounted by a diadem, in allusion to the union between England and Scotland, and on the opposite side a harp, the symbol of Ireland, each side inscribed IACOBVS D. G. MAGNÆ BRIT. FRAN. ET HIB. REX. These, from a judicious method of re-change being established, obtained circulation, though not a brisk one, through the kingdom, without any loss being sustained by the holders of Tradesmen's Tokens. Small payments were thus readily made under James and Charles the First; but no copper money being struck by authority under the commonwealth, the former practice was renewed, and cities, corporations,

and tradesmen, again resorted to their particular brass or copper tokens, of different dimensions and stamp, till A. D. 1672, when the king's copper coinage, superseding private mints, became duly authorised, and has ever since been continued. In thus giving the genealogy of the farthing, let not the hoarders and admirers of rose-nobles and spur-ryals slue their sterns round in contempt; for that humble coin has been honoured with the talents of our very best numismatic artists, as witness the patterns of Simon for Oliver Cromwell, of Croker for Queen Anne², and of Wyon for George the Fourth.

Such was the rise, progress, and decline of the money called Tradesmen's Tokens; for that which suddenly started forth a hundred and twenty years afterwards, and had a short run, was contradistinguished as provincial coin and pocket-pieces. We have now to acquaint the reader with a circumstance which may go far to prove that Pinkerton, however positive and pragmatrical in assertion, is not altogether a true prophet in pronouncing "that not one purpose of taste, information, or curiosity, can be drawn from tokens."

The snug and neat county town of Bedford is equally notable for the wealth of its endowments, and the general liberality of their administration. But, as in all cases where the petty notions of petty people must be listened to, acerbities occasionally interrupt the general harmony, though, thanks to the firmness of the most steady and

² We are amused, or rather concerned, to find that the popular delusion respecting the wonderful virtue of Queen Anne's farthings still continues, notwithstanding the efforts of medallists to dispel it. In this very summer, a poor fellow travelled from Exeter with one to London, at considerable expence, thinking to make a little fortune by its disposal: his consternation may be imagined, at being offered a shilling for it!

disinterested of its trustees, such effervescences merely retard rather than seriously interrupt the main progress. In attending to several astute discussions respecting the allotment of alms-houses and other charitable dispensations, we often heard of the unalienable rights of the "Bedford-born," an alliterative laconism which equally fills the labial, the guttural, and the nasal enunciation of those who correctly speak His Majesty's English, or those who clip it,—for clipping is a word not assignable to coiners only. The strength of an argument, however, must not be estimated by that of the lungs; nor is the ear to be deceived by the mouthing of a mere phrase. "Bedford-born" would come trippingly enough, were the glib utterers of it lineal descendants of the companions of a Harpur, a Hawes, a Paradine, or a Christie, names which ought ever to be venerated in Bedford. But in the course of such debates, we were struck with the fact, that some of the most blatant asserters of this claim, albeit they may esteem themselves before all men, cut but little figure in the parish registers, tombs, deeds, and other records, wherein the line of provincials is to be traced.

Following up the inquiry, and recollecting the utility of medals to history on the grand scale, we resolved to reduce that system to a more confined object, by calling in the aid of Tradesmen's Tokens. For this purpose, besides our own collection, we examined those of some friends, and, moreover, had access to all those in the possession of the well-known Mr. Matthew Young, of London, which were the fruits of many years' collecting by the late Mr. Tyssen. These steps soon opened a new mine in a statistical light, for in the examination of pieces of money struck in the different towns and villages of Bedfordshire, it would appear that some places, now too inconsiderable to support more than a mere huckster's hovel, were formerly the *locale* of

substantial tradesmen; and that the borough of Bedford has undergone a total change of population since the year 1672, the æra when tokens were extinguished. Nay more, the standing of most of the present residents is under half a century; and none of the oldest whom we have traced can reckon much more than a century of settlement. This is a singular vicissitude for the quiet capital of an agricultural county to have undergone in so limited a period, and one which offers much food for reflection.

Nor has the county itself changed hands in a less remarkable degree, as is visible even to the mere sight while riding about it, in the numerous mansions and manorial residences of former days, now occupied as farm-houses. "Hungry Time," said the observant Fuller, "hath made a glutton's meal" on the gentry of Bedford, "and hath left but a very little morsel, for manners, remaining." But what would that good old worthy have said now? In the Lansdown MSS. No. 887, in the British Museum, fifty families are mentioned as having removed or gone to decay within one gentleman's time; and of seventeen baronets residing round Bedford one hundred years ago, only one now remains, and his claim to the title is such as Segar would have stickled at. There are still vestiges of the names of Gostwicke, Conquest, Devereux, Blundell, Boteler, and Gascoigne, but they have dropped upon persons of low station, who, apparently, can advance but little legitimate right to them³. This may be partly owing to the circumstance

³ The *prestige* for investigating the concerns of our ancestors, is a very prevalent passion among educated Englishmen, though at present absurd notions about the perfection of the age, somewhat tamper therewith. It was in the full enjoyment of such pleasurable sensations that, on our first visit to Stratford upon Avon, in passing the bridge, we met a cart bearing, in uncial letters, the renowned name of LVCY. Nor were we less amused to find that

that, after the reformation, numbers of persons, the juniors, both men and women, of good families, were turned adrift from religious houses, when the males went to work, and the females, if they could, got married. In some cases, the disclosures are of a delicate nature; but, professing no intemperate *rigida virtus*, we will neither personally or allusively wound the feelings of any one living; it being to us more grateful to render a tribute of praise to honest integrity, than to castigate folly or knavery; though the latter be a task from which we would not flinch in matters of necessity. We shall, therefore, dwell no longer upon equivocal points than is absolutely requisite for the inquiry, and follow our clue with a moderation which might have placed us at the celebrated table of St. Augustine, whereon was the anti-Grundy inscription,

“ Quisquis amet dictis absentem rodere vitam,
Hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sibi.”

We will now endeavour to trace the families of those who issued tokens at a particular epoch in Bedford; and by shewing their substantiality in the municipal offices which they held, the fact which follows, of the removal or total extinction of their families will be the more extraordinary. We should also say, that besides title-deeds, court records, corporate and parish registers, and other unquestionable muniments, we have had access, through the liberality of the noble possessor, to a very curious and valuable manuscript belonging to the Marquess of Bute, which throws great light on the families who resided in Bedfordshire between 1475 and the “dispersion” in 1550.

the present holder of the honours of that house, maintains its dignity so far, that he was annoyed by being asked, a few months ago, to a dinner in commemoration of Shakspeare, for the committee “ought to recollect how ill his ancestor had been treated by *that person*”. Shade of Shallow, how thou must have chuckled!

It is intituled "Registerium sive Liber Fundatorum, Magistrorum, Custodum, Fratrum et Sororum Fraternitatis sive Gylde, sancte et individue Trinitatis ac beatissime Virginis Marie, Ecclesie Parochii de Luyton, in comitate de Bedford." It is accompanied by the accounts of the Gylde, from the nineteenth year of King Henry the Eighth, to the festival of St. Michael, next after the accession of Edward the Sixth, among which, are many rare particulars concerning the value of lands and the prices of provisions at the time; while the details of their anniversary "*feast*" shew the great magnificence of our ancestors in their entertainments. To these documents, we may have to revert as often as of erst did Boniface to his ale.

Our own collection of Bedford Tokens comprises those of fourteen individuals, under dates which, though varying from 1654 to 1668, may be termed contemporaneous. Now, when it is considered that in those days the town consisted of little more than what is equivalent to its present High-street, it will be seen that these fourteen issuers of their own coins, must have included nearly all the most substantial tradesmen who then constituted its citizens. This is the more apparent, since, in order to maintain the privileges of the burgesses, the corporate customs strictly ordained that "no freeman of the borough, being either a freeman born, or any other way a freeman, by service as an apprentice, or by admittance, or allowance of redemption, or otherwise, shall keep any shop, or use any trade, art, or mystery within this town." And the disparity between a burgess and a freeman was so strictly enforced, that we find, on the 21st of September, 1668, a minute of two persons being reduced from the former to the latter rank. It is couched in these terms, "Whereas Edward Veale and Robert Paulin having, by colour of a levelling Act of

Council, made in the time of the late anarchy, by which the ancient distinction of burgess and freeman was abolished, came to be sworn of the burgessdom; and the commissioners for regulating of corporations, at their sitting for the execution of the Act of Parliament, did, through want of due information, or other accident, pretermitt the disburgessing of those two persons; it is ordained that they be disburgessed."

In opposition to this view of the case, some black-letter adepts might blazon the former prosperity of Bedford, and advance that our fourteen worthies were but a tithe of the mercantile standards of the place. They may tell us of castles and sieges; that besides the abbeys of Newnham and Cauldwell, the priory of Grey Friars, the nunnery of Elstow, and the monastic hospital of St. Leonard's, all situate in the immediate vicinity, the town contained no fewer than six churches and several chapels. Nor will they forget to remind us, it was from this ecclesiastical prosperity that the potent king, Offa, was buried on the banks of the Ouse, a river "more mæandrous than Mæander;" and that, from the chapel on the bridge came the name of *Bede*, or prayer, *ford*, as it was then spelt. All this and much more may be told; but we should reply, that the palmy days of Bedford had passed away long before the period of our inquiry, at which time its population was considerably under 1500; and that even then it was in a transition state towards recovery from the extreme depression which it had undergone since the destruction of its castle. So low, indeed, had the capital of the county fallen, that we find a dismal Jeremiad in the charter, about the year 1447. Among the lamentations there poured forth, it is stated that the Burgesses and Commonalty could not bear the burthen imposed on them, nor pay yearly, more of the 42*l*.

of the fee farm of the town than 20*l.* only, "without their final destruction, and the desolation of the town for ever." Various reasons are then given for this incapacity; and it was urged, that, in consequence of the excessive decay and ruin which the place had fallen into, and the paucity of inhabitants, one hundred and eighty messuages were left desolate, "and the greater part of the men were disposed to remove from thence very shortly." The mitigation of taxes which followed the hearing of their prayer, may have contributed to the restoration of prosperity.

On the grounds above stated, it may be concluded that we have a fair numismatic representation of the town for the time we treat of: it is, therefore, natural to infer that the descendants of the persons about to be named, still occupy a place therein, even if not inhabiting the same houses. This, however, is not at all the case, according to the inquiries which we have instituted, and in which we have been kindly and diligently assisted by several intelligent residents of the neighbourhood.

These premises being made, we will proceed with the details of the Tokens and their issuers, in chronological order: observing that, from the absence of portraits, we shall call the side bearing the name the *obverse*, and its opposite the *reverse*.

I.

Obv. JOHN PAVLIN, with a mullet mark, around an engrailed circle of dots. In the centre is an escutcheon charged with nine cloves, six in chief, and three in base, divided by a chevronel. These arms denote that the issuer was a grocer; under which term, in country places, was then comprehended a most extensive dealer in hardware, gingerbread, bobbins, laces, haberdashery, mousetraps, curling-tongs, candles, soap, bacon, pickles, and every variety of grocery; besides which, they sold small coins for money-changing. But tea, the

staple by which grocers now make gross fortunes⁴, had not then obtained its footing; for this lymph must have been beyond the means of most sippers, seeing that in 1666 a pound of tea cost sixty shillings, and money was then at a far higher value than in the present century.

The multifarious ramifications of these traders, justified the application of the term, Grocers, as well to those "engrossing" merchandize, as because they sold by the gross. Their more ancient name was Pepperers, from the drugs and spices which they sold; a branch which was mostly abstracted from them, not long before the epoch of this token, by a seceding party, who were incorporated by King James the First, under the designation of Apothecaries.

Rev. IN BEDFORD, 1654, encircling a field which bears I·P·D with a cinquefoil between the letters. A small blanchéd farthing token.

The Paulin family were residents in Bedford for a considerable period, and the name occurs very frequently during the reigns of the second Charles and James. There are none now either in the town or county, and they seem to have hauled their wind to other berths, or died off, about the year 1710. John was of great respectability, as is evident from the registry of his family, though we find little more than the marriage of his sister "Rebecka" with Walther Faldo, the baptism of his son and three daughters, and the death of Elizabeth, one of the daughters, and his wife "Douglassé". His brother Robert, as we have shewn, was reduced from the burgess-ship in 1668. He himself served in the responsible charge of bailiff of the corporation in the years 1669, 1673, 1677 and 1686; and was mayor in 1693.

As the word bailiff will appear frequently, we caution the reader against supposing that we mean the "bound" shoulder-tapper of Doe and Roe notoriety; our subject being a municipal officer of trust and consideration. Two bailiffs were elected annually, who were jointly considered as the sheriff of the borough. In a court of aldermen, their united votes

⁴ The attention of the public has lately been drawn towards a fortune of this sort, by the rumour that a faded gentleman, who is a peer and a cabinet Proteus, is about to marry the widow of the old Screw of Fenchurch-street, and her half million of money. Did his lordship address her in Italian or Latin? "Senza di TE non posso vivere;" or, wrapt in classic poesy, he may exclaim—

"TEcum vivere amem, TEcum obeam libens."

were equivalent to that of one alderman; but in common council they voted singly.

II.

Obv. ROBERT FITZHVGH, and a mullet. In the field R · F · M with three pellets. A thin farthing token.

Rev. IN BEDFORD, closed by a mullet. A neat engrailment round the verge, and 1654 in the centre of a circle.

The Fitzhughs were formerly in high consideration, both in the town and its vicinity: but they appear to have been a different family from the celebrated barons of the North. Those of Bedfordshire bore three martlets *Or* on a chief *Gules*, over a charge of ermine; while the others had three chevrons braided in the base of an escutcheon, and a chief *Or*. In an autograph note by Lady Mary Wortley Montague, in a copy of Guillim's *Heraldry* belonging to the Marquess of Bute, that lady says, opposite to the northern Fitzhugh arms,—

“A great neglected name in a madman's hands.”

Robert Fitzhugh was a man evidently in high esteem, since his name is coupled with all the occurrences of the town for many years. He was chamberlain in 1647, bailiff in 1653, and mayor in 1656. Being senior alderman in 1679, he was sworn provisional mayor, vice W. Fenn, who died in office. From the minutes, this election appears to have been as much in compliment to character, as in strict routine, Fitzhugh not lying under the poet's lash—

“How fond must that man be of place,
Who courts it from the mean and base.”

III.

Obv. HENRY FITZHVGH. In the field, 1655, between two stars. A little farthing token. A die mark preceding the Henry, might be mistaken for an initial letter; but it is curious that there is no instance of a double Christian name on any of those Bedfordshire tokens which we have examined.

Rev. IN BEDFORD, terminated by a cross between two mullets, and bearing in the centre a repetition of the date and stars of the obverse.

Henry was a brother of Robert Fitzhugh, and was elected mayor in 1649, without having served in any of the subordinate corporate offices, except that of common councillor. The family entirely disappeared about the commencement of the 18th century; and though the name has recently been

revived, it is worn by a party from Northamptonshire, who claim no lineal descent or affinity whatever with the Bedford branch. That the Fitzhughs were considered most respectable, is evident from the distinctive "Mr." being prefixed to them in the registers and records; for that appellation was then even more than equivalent to the now widely corrupted "Esq.;" a style and title so abused, that every one, not actually wearing an apron, assumes it.

This token is without the third letter appended to the initials upon nearly all the rest, and which Mr. Akerman suggests may be the wife's, as in the following, where the letters T^P E most probably stand for Thomas and Elizabeth Pare, as on a tea-spoon, or any household article. If so, the tokens are as uxorious as the money immortalized by Butler, where the heads, in *adverse*, are

"Still amorous, and fond, and billing,
Like Phillip and Mary on a shilling."

IV.

- Obv.* THOMAS PARE, with a mullet or star. In the centre, three cloves and three pellets, an "elegant" extract from the arms of the ancient Society of Grocers.
- Rev.* OF BEDFORD, 1656. In the field T · P · E, with four pellets. A small farthing token.

Of those that rejoiced in the name of Pare, little can now be traced, there not having been a freeman, or even a resident of the name, for upwards of a century. The parish registers record the baptism of some little Pares, that Susan Pare paired off with Richard Owen, and that Thomas himself was gathered unto his forefathers in 1671. The family had, however, been long resident in the town, though they had originally migrated from Hitchin, where, in 1509, they were in so good a station, that a Thomas Pare was one of the "Baculari" of Luton Gylde. The apprentice rolls shew that the issuer of our token was an "eminent" grocer, and it further appears that he was "well to do" after the "father before him" left the stage in 1642. He was many years one of the common council, and served as chamberlain in 1653. After the squalls which agitated the magnates of Bedford, at the revolution of 1688, there were rulers who knew not Pare; so Thomas, junior, Abigail his sister, and some smaller Pares, repaired to the habitat of their kindred in Hertfordshire, where they might have assumed as a motto—

"Pares cum paribus facillime congregantur."

V.

Obv. WILLIAM FALDO, with a mullet. In the centre W·F·A with three pellets. A very thin farthing token.

Rev. IN BEDFORD 1659, with the initial letters of the obverse repeated in the field.

Faldo is the name of a numerous and ancient family, whose pedigree is entered in the visitation-book of Bedfordshire; and their names appear in the Luton Gylde. The first person mentioned is Adam de Faldho, of Faldho, an old house in the parish of Pulloxhill. They afterwards flourished in Maulden, at Biddenham, and other parts of the county. The name has been vernacularized to Faulder, and still exists, though not of this kin, in Bedford. In Maulden church, where Richard Faldo was interred in 1576, there are two monuments bearing the family arms, which are three bucks' heads caboshed, under a crest of three arrows passing through a ducal coronet, one in pale, and two in saltier. This discountenances the armorial rebus formerly seen in Biddenham church, where FAL over a couchant doe presented the name; an unauthorized pun, which provoked the wrath of both Ferne and Guillim, names ever dear in heraldry.

The Bedford family, though exercising trade, were a highly respectable and acknowledged branch of the Faldos; and there are abundant traces of them in the registers, deeds, and records of the borough. William, the issuer of the token before us, was of the then important business of a grocer; and there is direct evidence that he was a man of substance. He became chamberlain of the corporation in 1648, bailiff in 1651, and mayor in 1652. He was exceedingly diligent in the aldermanic courts, and was re-elected to the chair in 1664, but died before his period of office had expired, and was buried in St. Mary's church, where also the mortal remains of Ann, his "widow," were carried in less than two months after him. In 1687, the son and a nephew of William Faldo were both dismissed from the station of aldermen, by the royal mandate of James the Second, in the squabbles above alluded to, as disturbing the Pares; but they were shortly afterwards restored by King William, and Faldo *fils* was mayor in 1697 and 1711.

The registers are so replete with the births and marriages of the Faldos, as to shew that the family was a flourishing one; and thus it continued till about 1759; but from being "Misters," Magnates, and "Maiors" of the town and liberties, they dwindled and dwandled till the last representative was under the incarnation of a *Kορσεύς*, the which, in

plain though paraphrastical English, signifieth a shaver ! This poor, but honest body was a burgess of 1746, and heir-at-law to the manor farm at Harrowden, near Bedford, now possessed by Mr. Whitbread. He plied hard in several vocations, dropping to leeward on each tack, till he struck to Necessity, and bore up for a barber's shop, wherein the lineal descendant of all the Faldos took chapmen by the nose, till 1800, when the race and himself became defunct. But even in these reduced circumstances, he had to endure further buffets from Fortune, for, waxing old, he was barber-ously supplanted by one Symes, a man now well stricken in years himself, which gave rise to a distich in the Parnassus Bedfordiensis :—

“ Oh how we are changed in these modern times,
We leave poor old Faldo, to lather with Symes ! ”

VI.

Obv. THOMAS COX, with 1664, two stars, and four roundels in an engrailed central circle. A small farthing token.

Rev. IN BEDFORD, with two mullets between the first and last letters. In the field T · C · I, and three cinquefoils. This little farthing token is covered with a thin patina.

The Coxes do not seem to have been of much consideration, though the parish registers prove that between the years 1640 and 1690, they were sufficiently prolific to prolong the race. Thomas did not serve in any corporate capacity, yet he must have been a burgess, otherwise the municipal regulations, which were then strictly enforced, would have prevented him from exercising his calling. The heir of Thomas, also Thomas, a bricklayer of repute, married in the very year in which this token was smitten, and was elected a freeman of the borough in the seventeenth year of Charles the Second. About the commencement of the last century, a bit of an accident happened to the representative of the family honours, who was a mighty destroyer of game. Compelled to take in a reef, he worked “Tom Cox's traverse,” shifted his berth, and sought smooth water in Oxford, where his descendants are still traceable. The name is common in the county, both among the yeomen and peasantry, but those who bear it in the town are of comparatively recent arrival.

VII.

Obv. PAVLL BAMFORTH, with a mullet and cinquefoils; in the field P · B · E, with three cinquefoils.

Rev. IN BEDFORD, 1665, with the initials and cinquefoils of the obverse repeated. A little farthing token.

The Bamforths, or Bamfords, were regular standards of the town and county. The name is enrolled in the Luton Gylde; and a "Sir" Thomas Bamfor, as beneficed clergy were styled before the adopting of the self-assumed title of "Reverend," was vicar of Cople (*olim* Cow-pool) in 1521. The nephew of "Sir" Thomas was intimate with the celebrated Sir Simon Luke, whose mansion, with a singularly contrived room for concealment in those troublous days, still exists; but, like nearly all its contemporaneous mansions in this country, exists as a farm-house. Here Butler found refuge, and wrote the immortal Hudibras; but we can hardly imagine he would make Sir Luke, his benefactor, the hero. Such, however, is asserted to be the fact; and Dr. Johnson, alluding to the poet's residence at Cople, says, that it is likely he there "saw the principles and practices of the rebels, audacious and undisguised in the confidence of success."

The Bamforths of Bedford were highly respectable; and on the registers "Mr." is always prefixed to their name. They left several legacies to the poor of the borough, which are still enjoyed; but the family has disappeared since about 1725; one of the last dying rector of Little Barford, in 1720. Paul, the son of alderman Robert Bamforth, seems to have been an able citizen; since we find that he was chamberlain of the corporation in 1661 and 1666, bailiff in 1663 and 1669, and mayor in 1681, two years after his brother William had served in the same capacity.

The year in which this token was struck, was one of alarm, not only in Bedford, but generally over England, on account of the plague raging in London. Little precaution seems to have been used in the borough to prevent its introduction, and the toll of the bridge was even lowered. The infection was communicated from the metropolis; and about forty persons who died on the north side of the river, were buried in the "Pest-house Close," in front of the present Crescent.

VIII.

Obv. WILLIAM ISAAC. In the field 1666, with two mullets and five pellets, tolerably struck.

Rev. OF BEDFORD. In an engrailed circle, W·I·M, with three stars. This farthing token is thinly patinated.

Of this family, which has long since disappeared, there are so few recollections, that it was evidently of less consideration than the Faldos, Fitzhughs, and Bamforths. William Isaac

was the hope and prop of his father Edward, who left him in fairish circumstances. He was early enrolled among the councillors of the corporation, and served the office of chamberlain in 1673 and 1675, and bailiff in 1674, 1676 and 1681. The mandate by which King James dismissed the two Faldos, as beforementioned, directed that his Majesty's trusty and well-beloved William Isaac be elected mayor of Bedford. He, however, waited on William of Orange with the warm congratulations of the corporation on his arrival; and 14*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* were "the monies expended about the regulation and delivery of the address." This act of homage was duly appreciated, insomuch that in August, 1688, a mandatory letter arrived from the new king for again electing William Isaac to the chair; and he was accordingly continued in office. This certainly looks a little vicar-of-Bray-ish, and stamps Isaac to have either been cunning or useful: at all events, he afforded one of the extremely rare instances which appear in the annals of the borough, of a person holding the dignity of mayor for two consecutive years.

The family toddled along in business, but with a leewardly course; and the only corporate honours attained by the descendants of William, was the bailiff's mace, in 1718. One person only remained master of the name in 1729, and he, being master of nothing else, bagpipied his mizen, put his helm aweather, and went right before it, leaving "not a wreck behind."

IX.

Obv. HVGH HOLTON, with a broad cinquefoil. In the field, is a utensil of extensive utility, by which the trade of Hugh was symbolized. *Per Diis immortalibus*, it is too much for the gravity of our discussion that its name should be exposed, and yet candour insists that it be given. The symbol, then, is a huge *τήγανον*, *sartago*, or, if it must out, plebeian frying-pan, with H · H on the sides of the handle.

Rev. IN BEDFORD, 1666, with a pellet and cinquefoil. In the field HIS HALFPENY.

There is little mention of the Holtons; and they have long since entirely disappeared. From the registers, we find that Hugh was the son of Edward and Fanny Holton; that he had children, of whom the heir-apparent was presented and sworn a freeman in 1678; and that the daughter Elizabeth, baptized in 1670, was married in 1685. Neither Hugh nor any of his family gained any corporate honours, yet he must

have been respectable, for it seems that he was able to befriend John Bunyan during his imprisonment on Bedford bridge. There can be little doubt that the author of *Pilgrim's Progress* had many warm friends in the town, or it is unlikely that such strong intercessions would have been made in his behalf, as were used by the worthy bishop of Lincoln.

X.

Obv. ROBERT FARMAN · BAKER. In the centre, an escutcheon with a chief of bars wavy, from which an arm, issuing out of a cloud, holds a pair of scales between three garbes, or wheatsheaves, in base.

Rev. IN BEDFORD, 1667, with a cinquefoil; in the field HIS HALFPENY, R · F · E. This token is of a good yellow brass, which has become patinated.

The family of Farman or Fairman, for the registers use both spellings, was of considerable respectability, and even opulence; but they have long been gathered to the vault of the Capulets. The race is said to have been extinguished in a silly love-cross, about the year 1732.⁵

Robert was the son of William Farman, had a son and daughter, and buried his wife Elizabeth in the year in which this token was stamped. He was some years in the common council, served as chamberlain in 1681, and as bailiff in 1685. On the 2nd of September, 1695, he was elected mayor, but declined the chair under the plea of age, infirmities, incapacity, and non-residence. The representation was attended to, and he was excused from serving, after "paying all expences." He had previously resigned his business to a son, and hauled his wind into a "villa."

XI.

Obv. ANTHONY BOVLTON · IN. The field bears an escutcheon with nine cloves divided by a chevron charged couple-close.

Rev. BEDFORD · GROCER · 1667. In the centre, HIS HALFPENY · A · B · S, with two stars and three pellets.

⁵ Slight indeed are the tenures by which descent hangs at times. Witness the family of Sir George Sondes, of Leeze, in Kent, which, after flourishing several centuries, became extinct by a quarrel of two brothers, boys, about a satin waistcoat.

The Boultons have utterly vanished, those now in Bedford being unconnected with the token-issuer. Anthony, as both the coin and the apprentice-roll unite in informing us, was a grocer by trade; and the registers shew that he baptized his son by the same Christian name in 1662, which is about the sum of what we gather as to his private life. His public career must be considered useful, since he was long on the common council, served as chamberlain in 1673, bailiff in 1675, and was twice mayor, namely, in the years 1680 and 1690. He seems to have clewed up for a full-due about 1698, since all traces of him are then lost.

XII.

Obv. RALPH SMYTH · LINNEN, in the field, R · S · S quartered with a couple of flowers, the stalks of which are "fretted and nowed," so as to run between the letters, and form a flourish under them.

Rev. DRAPER IN BEDFORD, with two mullets and a cinquefoil. In the centre, HIS HALFEPENY · 1668. This is a well-struck token, and entirely coated with a fine yellow patina.

The Smyths bear a proverbially *popular* name in all parts of Europe; and it is certain that they mustered in great force in Bedfordshire. The branch which we have been able to trace, was one of no small respectability, having furnished several abbots to the "brethren and systren" of the Luton Gylde; where they carried on the war, and made as good a spread as any that the boasted "march-of-mind" men can undertake. In proof of this, we may state that the expenses of the "*feaste*" of Robert Smyth, in the thirty-fourth year of Henry the Eighth, as recorded in Lord Bute's manuscript, would startle the stewards of a dinner got up in these degenerate days. We need hardly say that plenty was a distinguishing feature at those entertainments, because abundance was then considered a type of hospitality; but we can assure our readers, that quantity was not the only virtue of the board, for it is sufficient to make an anchorite's mouth water, to read the items of expense, wherein are enumerated wheat, wine, malt, bacon, geese, pigs, capons, chickens, rabbits, beef, venison, mutton, lamb, eggs, vinegar, verjuice, spice, butter, milk, honey, salt fish, salmon, sturgeon, and other good things, besides a gang of minstrels to keep the game alive.

Ralph Smyth, who was evidently one of the out-liers of the county family, did not, perhaps, feast upon sturgeons; but he must have understood something of gastronomy in detail, since

he was long a worthy member of the Corporation of Bedford, a body which had not quite lost its epulary renown, when Oliver Goldsmith publicly complimented its manducatory energies. Our ancestors ordered these matters wisely. They were well aware of the kindly feelings promoted by drawing people to a common board, many of whom otherwise were not likely to meet each other. The Immaculates of these clamorous and mutable times, however, in contempt of experience, "*ont changé tout cela*;" and the fruits may be, that before five hundred years shall have passed away, most corporate bodies will present, instead of a fraternity rowing together, a knot of cold-blooded blustering balatrones bearding one another—so that each succeeding meeting will exhibit such increasing hardness of heart, as may vitiate the morals; and if there be a good Samaritan among them, he will reluctantly attend, crawling towards the scene of confusion, like a dog to his &c.

But we must not forget our friend Ralph. He was long upon the common council, served as chamberlain in 1671, as bailiff in 1672 and 1674, and as mayor during the years 1676 and 1692. There is little more to be learnt of him than that he was well-connected, and left children; but though the town is never without lots of Smyths, no lineal descendants of Ralph are known to exist.

XIII.

Obv. JOHN WALLER · AT THE BLEW. In the field a hedgehog-looking creature, intended for the "Blew Bore," the sign of an inn formerly of note, but of which *periere ruinæ* may truly be said, for even the "oldest inhabitant" recollects nothing of its locality.

Rev. BORE IN BEDFORD · 1668, with a broad cinquefoil; in the field, HIS HALFEPENY · I · W · M.

This was a man of much respectability in Bedford; for Thomas his father, who was a grocer, served the office of mayor in 1630, and his uncle William was one of the justices of Bedford in 1632. As the Wallers came originally from Hertfordshire, there is reason to suppose that mine host of the "Blew Bore" was a connection of the poetical and political Edmund Waller; but though cotemporaries, as the one was in the enjoyment of a princely fortune, and the other vending beer in Bedford, it is likely they never met or knew of each other.

John Waller boasted of no corporate honours, but his family contrived to be respectable for several generations. The last of the lineage died an apothecary, about 50 years

ago. He is still remembered as a wag, who, by a stroke of humour, broke an alarming quinsey which threatened the valuable life of a gentleman still living in Bedford, by exciting that irresistible mirth which Professor Wilson calls the unsophisticated cholic of laughter.

Victuallers struck great quantities of small coin for the convenience of change, whence the term Tavern-Token: thus in the old play with an unmentionable title;—"I have a device will sting him if he have but a thimbleful of blood, or a spleen not so big as a *taavern-token*."

XIV.

Obv. JOHN CLARKE, with a pellet and mullet, and two keys crossed in saltier in the centre. The house to which these keys sufficed as a bush still exists, though under a doom of demolition.

Rev. OF BEDFORD, no date. In the centre J · C · S, with two stars. A neat little darkly patinated farthing token, of fair fabric.

The Clarkes appear in great numbers on the registers and other muniments; but the branch to which the keeper of the Cross-Keys pertained came into Bedford from the respectable stock at Sandy, in the same county, several of whose names appear among the "*baculari et puelli*" of the *Luton frater-nite*, which was recruited from all the towns in Bedfordshire.

Some little scandal has been whispered against the integrity of John Clarke, going far to shew that a man can place both the publican and the sinner under one hat. The honour of the Cross-Keys was said to be tainted with the vicious *scacoëthes aleatorium* which "fillet the hungry with good things, and sendeth the rich empty away." The circumstances happen to be unimportant to our object, or they should have been submitted, on the axiom

"*Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, sed magis amicus Veritas.*"

John had a son, baptized Robert in 1662, whose descendants disappeared from the town about 1733. But another ramification of the same "house" is to be traced from old John Clarke, a cordwainer, in 1617, which, for several generations, carried on the mystery of tawers and tanners, and having thus lived till they could no longer live thus in Bedford, removed elsewhere, after the death of Robert Clarke, freeman and currier, in 1780, whose father served as bailiff in 1712. The Clarkes supplied several common councilmen, and other corporate officers, but none of them ever sat in the municipal chair.

We have now examined all our tokens in detail; and from the researches thus carried on, it follows, that in no instance has any one of the fourteen individuals who formed the *elite*, or substantial residents, in 1670, now a representative in the town of Bedford; besides which, in tracing their career, the disappearance of the Abbis, Elton, Fenn, Easton, Paradine, and other co-citizen families, is also abundantly proved. As to the descendants of the benevolent SIR WILLIAM HARPUR, a name which should live in the borough till organized Nature forget her motions, or tradition her powers of utterance, they were swept away long before the epoch of which we treat. The whole population of the place may, therefore, be called a new one, since it clearly appears that none of the present claimants to "Bedford-born" exclusiveness, are in any way sprung from, or connected with, the pious and liberal benefactors, whose names adorn the local records, nor even of the townsmen who co-operated with them. Yet this unexpected result need not make the features of any *parvenu* relax to the inverted curve (\wedge), since he is only the sport of circumstances over which he had no controul: but he should beware of crude boasting, and recollect that snarlers must keep their teeth to themselves, unless, like Mrs. Matador, they glory in having them drawn:—

" Learn, sons of wind, and all your kin,
To bluster 's not the way to win."

In conclusion. Not having the fear of the redoubtable Pinkerton before our eyes, we think that the time spent in this investigation has not been altogether useless; and we are certain that so remarkable a change in the tide of population, in so circumscribed a period and space, has yielded a point for the gravest meditation. We, therefore, of this experience, entreat such readers as may be desirous

of investigating the local story of their neighbourhood, neither to cast their Tradesmen's Tokens overboard, nor despise the lowliest means which may conduce to establish Truth. Σ.

XX.

ON CERTAIN COINS HITHERTO ATTRIBUTED TO
HERACLEUM IN THE CHERSONESUS TAURICA.

BY M. STEINBÜCHEL.

OF the small island of Lesina (the ancient Pharos), situated between the continent of Austrian Dalmatia and the island of Lissa, there is perhaps little to be recorded of recent interest¹; the ancient history, however, of this little island opens a field of inquiry, perhaps, not altogether uninteresting or unproductive.

I would preface a few remarks on the subject by reminding you, that commerce, with its wonderful results, is independent of place, attaching equally to the most remarkable and the most insignificant localities, and that an intimate relation subsists between the ancient prosperity of a country, and the quantity of coins yet to be found there. Impressed with these preliminary data, I have been accidentally led to the interesting conclusion, that the little island of Pharos was enriched and rendered important by the active trade which was anciently carried on within it.

¹ A trait of the archbishop residing there deserves honourable notice. That excellent man had so impoverished himself by relieving the poor of his diocese, that, when the Emperor of Austria, a few years ago, conferred upon him the honour of a decoration, it was discovered that he was absolutely unable to pay the moderate fees customary on such occasions.

You are, of course, acquainted with the coins of Heracleum, Chers. Taur. of which the type is as follows:—

Cap. Herculis leonis exuviis tectum) (HPAK. *Arcus et clava.*
Æ. 3.

The attribution of these coins has never been called in question; and in writing to my friend M. Niseteo, of Citta Vecchia, in the island of Lesina, I spoke of them as belonging to Heracleum. In reply, I received the following communication: “Si trovano in numero fra noi delle monete di Eraclea. Io ne tengo 49, di proprietà di un mio contadino che la rinvenne sotterrate, unite à 58 di Pharos, e 55 altre dell' istessa isola, coll' iscrizione di *Ionio*. Tra queste di Eraclea sono 3 con leggenda da d. à s. sotto l'arco; 2 con leggenda da s. à d. sotto l'arco; 35 colla leggenda HPAKA o HPAKAE sotto la glava; 6 colla leggenda HPA; 1 senza leggenda; 2 di piccolo conio².”

Is it not remarkable, that such a quantity of common brass coins of Heracleum, a city on the shores of the Black Sea, should be discovered in a little island in the Adriatic? Gold and silver coins might have been transported in abundance for commercial purposes; but this could hardly have been the case with brass, since large payments are never made in that metal.

In comparing the coins in question with the known coins of Pharos, having noticed a great similarity of fabric, I was led to inquire whether there had ever been a city named

² Coins of Heracleum are found in this island in abundance. I possess 49, which one of my labourers found under ground, together with 58 of Pharos, and 55 others of the same island, inscribed *Ionio*. Of the coins of Heracleum, 3 have the legend from right to left, under the bow; on 2, the legend runs from left to right; 35 have the legend HPAKA or HPAKAE under the club; 6 are inscribed HPA; 1 has no inscription, and the other 2 are of very small size.

Heracleum in that island; and though I was unsuccessful in this part of my inquiry, I accidentally met with a memorandum of the late M. Sestini, which strongly confirmed my suspicion, that these supposed coins of Heracleum, on the Black Sea, were in reality to be attributed to the coast of Dalmatia, if not to the little island of Pharos itself.

The memorandum to which I allude, occurs in the autograph of M. Sestini, in a precious MS. now in my possession, and which formerly belonged to the late Count Wiczay, who formed the celebrated collection of ancient coins at Hedervar, in Hungary. It exhibits the result of M. Sestini's numismatic experience, comprehending, in twelve large folio volumes, to which he has given the title of *Systema Geographicum Numarium*, a description of all the Greek coins seen by him in his various travels in Europe and the East, whether in public or private collections; and it is interspersed and enriched throughout with the notes and original memoranda of the learned writer. In the present instance I find as follows:—

“ *Chersonesus Taur.*

Heracleum.

Cap. Herculis leonis exuviis tectum.)(*HPAK vel HPAKA arcus et clava*, Æ. 3.—(Eckh. Cat. Æ. 2 Mus. Gall. Mus. Allier.)
Metall. crass. et fabrica rudis.”

And then he adds: “*Numi fabricæ barbaræ et non hujus sedis. Monente cl. Köhlero non dantur, neque inveniuntur in hoc tractu.*”

This, you will observe, is consistent with the real fact, that these coins are found in abundance in the island of Lesina, the ancient Pharos.

More decisive still, however, is the following quotation supplied by my friend M. Niseteo, whom it would be unjust to deprive of the honour of having pointed out so apposite

a passage. He writes me as follows: "La notizia comunicatami colla pregma sua 17 Maggio, riguardo le monete di Eraclea, è per la nostra ragione un preziosissimo dono, —l'autorità di Sestini è di grande valore. Nessuno storico, è vero, parla di un' Eraclea in Dalmazia, mà abbiamo l'antichissimo geografo Scylace Caryandeno che ne fa menzione, la nomina là dove dice, (*Geogr. Vet. Scriptt. Græc. Oxoniæ. vol. i. p. 7.*) '*Liburnos sequitur Illyriorum gens estque ibi urbs Græca, cui nomen Heraclea, cum portu.*' Nella posizione di Eraclea successe il Pretorio dell' epoca dei Romani. Questa posizione continentale e distante circa 13 miglie maritimi dell' Isola di Lesina. *Queste sorte di monete si trovano e sull' isola nostra, ed in parecchi punti della costa*³."

From these considerations, there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt entertained, that certain coins of Heraclea in Dalmatia, have been erroneously attributed to Heracleum in the Chersonesus Taurica.

Now, as ancient coins are so intimately connected with the history and commercial importance of ancient cities, allow me, in conclusion, to inquire what is to be learnt from the coins of Pharos?

1st. It is known that a very distinct inscription, ΟΜΗΡΟΣ, round the bearded head on the brass coins of Pharos, in the *Museum Hedervarianum* of the late Count Wiczay, shows evidently what was intended by that repre-

³ Your communication of the 17th May, concerning the coins of Heracleum, I value extremely; the authority of Sestini is of the highest importance. Although no ancient author mentions a Heracleum in Dalmatia, the old geographer Scylax, in the following passage, makes mention of a town of that name, "*Liburnos*," &c. The site of Heraclea was occupied subsequently by the Roman Pretorium, which was situated on the main land about 13 nautical miles from the island of Lesina. The coins in question are found not only on this island, but all along the coast of Dalmatia.

sensation. Among many other possible motives for this type which might be adduced, I suppose the circumstance of a party of the original colonists of the island of Pharos having migrated thither, from one of the cities which claimed the honour of having given birth to the great Greek poet, might be admitted as not the least probable. A passage in *Aulus Gellius*, where he speaks of the island of Ios, supplies an interesting hint on this subject, though the evidence does not amount to historical proof.

2dly. It is known that of late years, some ancient *silver coins* of Pharos have been discovered, from which it may be inferred, that this island enjoyed a greater degree of commercial importance than has been hitherto supposed. The circumstance of a *gold coin* of Agrigentum, which is of rare occurrence, having been found there among a number of coins of Pharos itself, may perhaps indicate the direction of the trade which proved so beneficial to the inhabitants of that little island. I am well aware, however, that as the ancients said, *one swallow is not a proof of Spring*; and that other instances would be necessary to establish the fact here glanced at.

3dly. A very particular circumstance, are the known brass coins of Pharos with the lettersIONIO....., *all of which are re-struck*; but it has been impossible hitherto to discover, satisfactorily, what was the original type. So many similar re-struck coins of other ancient cities, have been found connected with some interesting historical fact, (which would furnish materials for a separate dissertation), that it seemed worth while to notice that circumstance occurring on the coins of the little island of Pharos.

“ Since forwarding my brief numismatic notice, I have met with some more copper coins of Pharos, mingled with a large hoard of

coins of Heraclea. I suppose no doubt can be entertained that the *Chers. Taur.* must cede to Dalmatia the honour of a numismatic city."—(*Extract from a letter of M. Steinbüchel, dated Vienna, 16 November, received since the preceding pages were in print.*—ED.)

XXI.

ON THE MONEY CALLED "LUCULLEA."

PLUTARCH, in his life of Lucullus, acquaints us with the following facts:—

"Sylla frequently employed him (Lucullus) in important affairs, and also in the management of the mint; so that most of the money provided for the Mithradatic war, was struck in the Peloponnesus by Lucullus, from whom it was called *Lucullea*; and it continued long in use for the occasions of the army, from the ease with which it passed." And in another account: "When peace was agreed upon, Mithradates sailed into the Euxine, and Sylla imposed a fine upon Asia of 20,000 talents: Lucullus was commissioned to collect the tax and to coin money."

The historical interest thus given to a particular class of coins is a sufficient excuse, if any be deemed necessary, for the full indulgence of inquisitiveness on the subject. It is evident that Lucullus acted under Sylla as *Quæstor Provincialis*, or *Militaris*, an office that corresponded in a great measure to those jointly of *Quæstor Urbanus* and *Triumvir Monetalis* in Rome itself. It might, therefore, at first be supposed, not unreasonably, that the money bore his name

as Quæstor, as well as that of Sylla as Imperator; indeed, that the soldiers in the designation they gave it, out of compliment to the mint-master for its superior weight, referred in some measure to its inscription or legend. It might also be expected, from the large quantity that must have been struck, and the general and continued currency it obtained on account of its goodness, that much would be found remaining among other coins of the same era. The fact, however, is, that the name of Lucullus does not occur on a single Roman coin known at present to exist. Goltzius has given two in his "*Fasti*," which Morell places among those "*incertæ fidei*;" but these, if still to be found, and perfectly genuine, can have nothing to do with the money in question, as they bear the evidence of having been minted at Rome, and relate to circumstances in the life of Lucullus that occurred long after his connexion with Sylla, especially the one commemorating *his own* triumph, in a subsequent war, over Mithradates and Tigranes¹. It is certainly very unlikely that the whole of the money specified by Plutarch should be lost; and, though our first ideas respecting it are probably, in most respects, erroneous, it is clear that whatever may remain of it must be sought for among the coins of Sylla struck during his life. Those extant of this class appear to be confined to the following types:—

I.

L · SVLLA. Head of Venus; in front of which Cupid stands holding in his right hand a long palm-branch.

R.—IMP · ITERVM. The præfericulum and lituus between two trophies. Weight of the aureus 202 grains, RRR. (*Pembroke Collection*.) Silver moderately rare.

¹ Goltzius gives also a third, not known to subsequent numismatists, which reads, TERENTI · VARRO · LVCVLLVS, and ROMA.

II.

A · MAN or A · MANLI · A · F · Q. Head of Pallas.

℞.—L · SVLL · IMP. or L · SVLLA · FELIX · DIC. The Emperor on horseback in the character of pacificator.
 IV. RRR. Weight 204 grains. (*Pembroke Collection.*)

III.

L · MANLI · PROQ. Helmed and winged head of Pallas.

℞.—L · SVLLA · IMP. Sylla in a triumphal quadriga; a caduceus in his right hand, and Victory flying to meet him with a crown.
 —Weight of the aureus about 202 grains. RRR. (*Pembroke Collection.*) One of this type, in admirable preservation, belongs to the cabinet of T. Thomas, Esq. and is, as nearly as possible, of the same weight. Silver R.

IV.

Bust of Pallas galeated, crowned from behind by Victory standing.

℞.—SVLLA · IMP. Sylla in the paludamentum standing; his left hand placed on the parazonium at his side, his right joined with that of a soldier meeting him and carrying a reversed spear; behind Sylla the prow of a vessel, from which he seems to have just disembarked; a raised anchor and laid-up arms appearing above the deck. ℞. and RRR.

The weight of the aurei here cited is very remarkable. It exceeds that of others of the same era by a quarter part. The standard weight of the aureus from the year 650 to 717 U. C. was about 153 grains, or 40 to the pound. Those of Sylla, in the midst of this very period, weigh from 202 to 204 grs., making only 30 to the pound². There can be little doubt, therefore, that they were the class of money called, generally, Lucullea, from the earliest having been struck by Lucullus by Sylla's direction, in order that the

² The only one which our Museum possesses, No. I, weighs 165 grains; and from an instance or two of this kind, Pinkerton must have made his statement (*Essay*, vol. i. p. 181), that the aurei of Sylla weighed from 164 to 168 grains, a sufficient excess over the standard weight, 163 grains, to account for the credit which the money enjoyed, but still remarkably different from the well-authenticated weights of several others. The beautiful one mentioned under No. III, has, I know, been carefully ascertained to amount to 202 grains within a fraction.

latter might ingratiate himself with the troops, who found their pay actually much increased, though nominally the same. No wonder such money passed with ease, and obtained celebrity for its original fabricator. Indeed, the chief numismatic writers seem more or less agreed respecting it; but the opinion of Eckhel, justly called the prince of numismatists, who omits no point of importance, and is admirably sagacious upon all (and whose venerable portrait we place upon our covers, in the fond hope of making him the tutelary genius of our pages), appears to me by far the most satisfactory that has yet been advanced. He is disposed to limit the money actually struck by Lucullus (that is, as far as can be conjectured from existing coins), to the type described No. I. He notices a peculiarity that has escaped the observation of other commentators. Describing the denarii, he says, "Omnes, quot viderim, sunt operis rudis, et videntur fusi;" and that on this account they are "easily attributable to camp manufacture." There are certainly good reasons for assigning the others to later mint-ages than the military one in the Peloponnesus. I will therefore dispose of these Nos. before I say more of No. I.

The reverse of No. II., representing Sylla on horseback in the character of pacificator, Eckhel considers to be illustrated by an allusion of Cicero³ to an equestrian statue in gold that had been erected to him at Rome; the most probable occasion of which was the peace concluded with Mithradates, after a war carried on with glory, and productive of great treasure to the state; so that this type must have been struck after his return, which is sufficiently proved also by the titles that occur in the legend, of *Felix* and *Dictator*, both having been assumed by him towards the termination of his career.

³ *Phil.* ix. c. 6.

No. III. plainly enough celebrates the triumph he led up in consequence of his victories in the East, and is in the same chronological predicament as the former. The name too which both bear, of Manlius, as Quæstor or Pro-quæstor, preclude them from having been under the superintendence of Lucullus.

The signification of No. IV. has been regarded as doubtful. We know, however, fully from Appian, that on Sylla's landing in Italy, the senate, in some apprehension of the measures he might intend to adopt, sent a conciliatory deputation to welcome him, which circumstance seems clearly to form the subject of the reverse.

Having disposed of these, perhaps satisfactorily, I revert to No. I., as most probably the only type of the money actually struck by Lucullus that has come down to our times, if not the only one issued from the camp-mint in the Peloponnesus. And as Eckhel appears to have identified it from the nature of its fabric, so, I humbly conceive, an additional argument may be drawn from the character of its type. We will first attend to the obverse. To be fanciful in the interpretation of coins is, I am aware, to amuse oneself impertinently at the expense of the time and patience of others; but in this instance, I believe I have only to point out the ingenuity of Lucullus in the device he selected for flattering his patron Sylla. Venus was the deity in whose good offices Sylla professed chiefly to confide. He seems to have availed himself of the enchantment of her name much in the way that his successor Cæsar did, whose signal word at Pharsalia was "Venus the Victorious," and on whose coins she frequently appears; and probably he wished to be considered as a kind of adopted son of this renowned goddess⁴, a hint afterwards improved upon by

⁴ "In writing to the Grecians, he took the additional name of

Cæsar, who declared his actual descent from her. It was the policy of Lucullus to touch pretty strongly, yet tastefully, upon this point, which he appears to have done in placing the figure of Cupid, gracefully holding a prodigious palm-branch, before the delighted eyes of his mother, as though she were regarding with complacency, in her own offspring, an emblematic image of the victories and felicity of her favourite Sylla. If any be disposed to condemn this interpretation, and to dismiss the author of it to a low station in the class headed by Hardouin and Stukeley, I beg they will first reflect for a moment on the known elegant inventions of this same Lucullus at subsequent periods of his life; let his taste in villas, porticoes and fish-ponds, be remembered, his suppers in the "Saloon of Apollo," and especially that famous one in which, to flatter his two guests, Cicero and Pompey, and of course also to gratify his own vanity, he expended fifty thousand drachmas. He was, in fact, the very man whom we should expect to hit upon a device of exaggerated compliment for the gratification of such a person as Sylla, to whom also he was under great obligations. Why, with all his vanity, he refrained from associating his own name with that of Sylla in the legend of the coin, according to the usual privilege of the quæstor or triumvir monetalis, may be accounted for from the shrewd prudence that directed his conduct on certain occasions. Had his name been so inscribed, the money, in all likelihood, would never have received its peculiar designation. Sylla's jealousy would have been excited, had the term *Lucullea* been applied to it otherwise than in evident reference to the mere fabricator. In short, Lucullus made a show of modesty in the

Epaphroditus (*the favourite of Venus*); and the inscription upon the trophies left among us is, "Lucius Cornelius Sylla *Epaphroditus*."

affair, which we may presume was pleasing to his patron, and had the good fortune, no doubt unexpected, of giving his own appellative, without the actual impress of a letter of it, to a large portion of the Roman currency.

Should doubts, however, remain as to the soundness of the explanation given of the obverse, the reverse type is sufficiently in correspondence with historical circumstances to establish its identity with the original *Moneta Lucullea*. That usefully gossiping historian, our friend Plutarch, who beguiled us into this investigation, does not leave us in any difficulty as to the *two* trophies which are here represented. From the minute account he gives, they are clearly those that were erected by Sylla after the great victory gained at Chæronea over the forces of Mithradates, commanded by his general Archelaus. He expressly tells us, "one trophy was erected on the plain, where the troops of Archelaus began to give way, the other trophy upon the top of Thurium." This craggy mountain had been the enemy's strong-hold, from which it had required extraordinary efforts of valour to dislodge them, and the scene of contest being detached from the main battle on the plains below, an additional victory was considered to be achieved, and just cause to exist for the erection of a second trophy. Sylla was on this occasion saluted by his army, for the second time, Imperator, the completeness of the victory rendering it a well-merited honour. He entered upon the war with Mithradates, of course, as IMP., and the first affair that followed of great military glory being that of Chæronea, he was then saluted "IMP·ITERVM." Plutarch adds, "He inscribed his trophies to Mars, to Victory, and to *Venus*." The *Venus Victrix* of the obverse is thus connected with the trophies of the reverse. And it may be proper to remark, that the number of trophies on

an ancient coin invariably signified that so many distinct victories had been won, and, in commemoration of the same, so many trophies had been set up and dedicated to the deities whom the victors wished to honour. They were never engraved vaguely as mere decorative symbols, or in fulsome compliment to a prince, or general, whose success in war was equivocal. They were objects of real existence, and in a degree as sacred as the temples of the gods themselves. Consequently, their appearance on a coin will frequently chronologize it as accurately as the most intelligible inscription, by pointing to certain well-known historical events. Hence we assign to this coin a date derivable from Sylla's victory at Chæronea, at which period, there is every reason to believe Lucullus had the immediate direction of his mint in Greece⁵.

With respect to the money he was commissioned to coin in the Asiatic provinces, when left there to conduct affairs, after the peace concluded with Mithradates and the return of Sylla to Italy (as stated in the second passage quoted from Plutarch at the commencement of this paper), I am unable to discover any trace of it whatever in the Roman coinage, and conceive it must have been struck upon the model of the Greek currency in that region.

It has been remarked that all the coins given in the numbered list may be considered to belong to the

⁵ We learn incidentally from Dion Cassius, that Sylla was very particular about the number of his trophies. On his victory at Orchomenus, some time subsequent to that at Chæronea, he erected a *third*, and afterwards adopted "three trophies" as the device of his signet-ring. The same device is met with on a coin apparently struck by his son, Faustus, after his death, in honour of his memory; but as it did not relate to new or recent circumstances, it bears no other inscription than the word "Faustus," which is expressed in a difficult monogram.

Lucullian money. Sylla having experienced the advantage of subsidizing his forces with good heavy metal, wisely continued the plan in other mintages when he got back to Rome, and the money having once acquired a particular name, retained it naturally enough through a variety of types. To the influence of this talisman, I doubt not, he owed his success with the troops of the consul Scipio, who joined him to a man, leaving to their general an empty camp; nor is it improbable that this very Lucullian cash paved the way to the seat of the Dictator; so that though I have prosed about it at some length, and perhaps, in the opinion of the reader, to little purpose, it may, in former days, have been of vast importance, and one of the most efficient instruments in the hand of an ambitious and crafty tyrant for the destruction of his country's liberty and happiness.

I do not, however, wish to put my brother coin-collectors out of conceit with it, especially after the trouble I have taken to bring it under their notice; but if it will be at all satisfactory, they may be reminded that they need not be particularly apprehensive of meeting with the most dangerous portion of it, the gold, since two out of the three types existing in this metal are almost unique, and the remaining one in so safe a state of rarity that it is not likely to be offensive. This rarity, fortunate, or otherwise, may be explained by the simple fact of their extraordinary weight, which probably led to their being re-melted from time to time into aurei of the usual standard, with considerable profit from the difference of intrinsic values.

Indeed, it is most likely that the fame spoken of was attached, originally, to the gold only, for the denarii of the same types offer nothing remarkable as to weight; and if they shared in the reputation of the aurei, it must have been from their corresponding devices. I do not attempt to

account for the apparent disproportionate values of aurei and denarii of the same mintages, and must leave this point, if considered worth investigation, to more competent numismatists.

In silver, Nos I. and II. are not very uncommon, though the former, which appears to be the most interesting, may be a degree rarer than the latter. Few of us can ever expect to possess more than this scanty remnant of the celebrated "*Lucullea*."

E. C. B.

XXII.

MEDALLION OF ANTONINUS.

THE medallion, of which an engraving is here presented, was obligingly forwarded by C. W. Loscombe, Esq. who has the good fortune to number it among the treasures of his cabinet. It is of the finest fabric, in admirable preservation, and richly coated with that noble green *ærugeo*, so grateful to the eye of a numismatist of good taste. The portrait of Antoninus Pius, always uniting dignity and benevolence, appears on this little "*monumentum æris*," to more than usual advantage, and thoroughly satisfies the mind in the contemplation of the most faultless character of heathen antiquity.

The reverse type, which seems to have been hitherto unpublished, is the winged figure of Victory slaying a bull, it is to be presumed, for a sacrifice in celebration of some great military achievement. The only victory, however, of any note, during the generally peaceful reign of Antoninus, was that gained by his lieutenant, Lollius Urbicus, in the north of Britain over the Brigantes, a tribe (as Pausanius



states) that had revolted and made attacks upon a neighbouring tribe in subjection to the Romans. This medallion, therefore, in all probability, relates to British history; and to the same event positively recorded on several coins of this emperor.

Mr. L., in a note which accompanied it, remarks that "the reverse derives interest from its close resemblance to a group in the Townley collection of marbles, and which was found among the ruins of his (Antoninus's) villa; and that by drawing a little on that faculty in which antiquaries, the gravest of all students, are said sometimes particularly to indulge—imagination, we may fancy this to be the faithful record of the work of Myron."

From the remarkable coincidence between the marble and the medallion, our correspondent draws the following inference,— "The representations of ancient statues are no doubt often to be met with on coins. The Venus on a coin of Ambracia (*Mionnet*, Sup.III. p.13.) is in point. I will mention another probable instance. On the tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, struck at Corinth, the small Pegasus is placed on a plinth; and as it differs in this respect from the Pegasus on all the common coins of Corinth and her colonies, it may be conjectured that this small Pegasus was copied from some statue then existing in that city."

Observations of a similar kind might easily be multiplied. We fully believe that a large portion of the noblest and most celebrated statues of antiquity are faithfully represented to us on surviving medals. Jupiter, Minerva, Apollo, &c. are portrayed on the coins of cities where they were particularly worshipped, with evidently so scrupulous an attention to exactness, as to leave no doubt on the mind of their being as perfect copies of dedicated statues, the

work of the finest Greek artists, as the smallness of the field in each instance would allow. From the wonderfully accurate correspondence which exists between the busts of the ancients that have been handed down to us, and the features of the same individuals stamped upon coins, we may be sure of the fidelity of medallic representations where no memorials of remarkable characters are extant in marble or bronze. Who that is familiar with Roman coins needs a Cicerone, or guide-book, in walking through the Vatican, Florentine, and other galleries, or among the marbles of our own Museum, for information as to the names belonging to particular physiognomies? He recognizes at a glance, beyond the possibility of mistake, the identical faces, only enlarged in their proportions, that he left at home in a cabinet drawer. On a comparison, too, of the temples and public edifices that appear on coins, with the ruins of the few that remain, we are satisfied with the general truth of such representations, and prize, as we ought, in other cases the only actual memorials that exist of scenes and circumstances of the highest historical interest. Numberless magnificent structures have utterly vanished, multitudes of splendid and exquisite statues that were worshipped almost equally from motives of superstition and the love of the beautiful, are lost in the rubbish and dust of ages; but their miniatures are, in many instances, still preserved on medals, which have proved faithful to the trust committed to them.

E. C. B.

P. S. In a future paper an attempt may be made by the light afforded by authentic historical notices, to identify more particularly some remarkable figures on Greek and Roman coins, as accurate representations of distinguished statues of the gods and demi-gods of antiquity.

XXIII.

ROMAN COINS DISCOVERED AT EXETER.

SIR,

Having lately perused your two first numbers of the Numismatic Journal, I found, in that of June last, a notice thanking me for the offer I had made you respecting the numerous coins, &c. found at Exeter in the last excavations, during the city improvements. You, at the same time, expressed a doubt as to the *genuineness* of many such coins, at least as respects their authenticity. I am very happy to be able to state that I will throw down the gauntlet on this subject with the greatest pleasure, having it in my power to *swear* to the *authenticity* of most of those found here, particularly in our Upper and Lower Markets, having been PERSONALLY on the spot when most of them were exhumed, as well as of the greatest part of the SAMIAN POTTERY, and other reliques of the Roman times, at the period when Exeter was the flourishing station of ISCA, and the capital of *Dumnonium*, and of which they are the *debris*. I have been almost constantly with the workmen, and have seen such coins and medals repeatedly dug up; among others, I could particularize the beautiful medal of *Nero*, last April 7th, with the *Macellum* on it, which I HAD the moment it was found, not to enumerate many others, at a great depth.

I have also seen most of the pottery taken up, and have had Roman PATERÆ and other vessels, with the potter's *marks*, taken out of the made earth, with my own

hands I might almost say, in our Lower Market, as well as lacrymatories and lamps. If any doubts could arise on the *trite* subject of coins found here, which have been certainly met with to a prodigious degree, let it be considered that a man could, at one time, hardly dig a cellar under his own house, in some parts of this city, without half a dozen Cæsars staring him full in the face; that he could not lay a new floor without trampling on the bones of some dead Roman, or, to speak figuratively, breaking his shins over a *Samian testa*, a chequered pavement, or *sepulchral vase*. This was really the case in South street, where most of our Roman antiquities seem first to have appeared; and in the Lower Market, the traces of that ancient people make it indisputable that a Roman city existed at the depth of twenty feet below the present streets and houses.

Such men as *Stukeley* and *Horsely* would have been gratified to see the mighty, though mutilated, remains of the Cohorts which "fleshed their maiden steel" in our southern hemispheres; the latter (*proh pudor!*) placed ISCA the most important station in the West (and mother of *Voliba*, *Uxela*, and *Tamare*) at *Chiselboro*!! misled by the erroneous transcribing in the twelfth, or, at least the fifteenth, *Iter* of Antoninus.

This I have endeavoured to correct, and the *Ισκα λεγων Δεύτερα Σεβάσση* of Ptolemy, was twenty-five miles, evidently, from *Moridunum* (*Seaton*), which last was thirty-six miles from Dorchester, and not fifteen as the *Iter* gives it, on the ancient *Foss-way*, which, coming from Somersetshire, proceeded to Hembury Ford, along the old Taunton road to Exeter, till it met the Ikenild street at Streetway Head, nine miles from Exeter; which *Stratum* or street meets the London road at Axminster.

I shall be happy to refer you to many persons here

who have seen the numismatical affairs continually dug up, in particular to Mr. Henry Hooper, *junior*, (the Messrs. Hoopers are architects of the markets and builders), who was, at one time, always among the workmen, and has found a *coin* occasionally himself. Other authorities here are Mr. Davenum, the clerk of the works in the Lower Market, Mr. Abraham, Mr. Flood, senior, and a host of others ready and willing to give their testimony, to say nothing of the poor labourers, Orchard, Calcott, Browning, Moore, Escott, and others, who have been most successful in these researches, and had no *means*, nor even opportunity, of "proceeding to their work with a good supply of specimens," as you have termed it (June Notice to Correspondents.) I, therefore, trust you will, in your next Journal, notice us more kindly.

It is certainly surprising so much Roman money should be found here, particularly of Claudius, Vespasian, and Nero; but it proves that *Exeter* was an important *station*, and, in fact, the great number of lamps and military posts near, and pointing to, Exeter, evidently prove the thing.

While the Romans had military possession of this part of the country, Exeter was then the *Hibernaculum* of their troops, or a winter station, also a stipendiary city, paying its taxes in money, the *Aestiva*, or summer stations, being on Stokehill and Durgard, communicating with it, and thence with Woodbury camp, the vale of the Otter, and also a chain of posts across the *Jugum Ovinum* (Dartmoor) to Hartland, and through Crediton to Molland Botreaux; all excellent specimens of *castrametation*, and many of them to guard the country against the Saxon piratical incursions.

OTHER EVIDENCES.

Mr. *Arthur* of Northernhay shewed me, lately, five coins, found some years since (1818) under one of his houses in North street. They were of Adrian (large brass), Anton. Pius, ditto; Vespasian, 2 ditto; Aurelius, (Carus or Marius,) sacrificial emblems; and Constantine II., with VOT. XX. in a wreath.

Mr. Carter, silversmith, has one hundred and twenty coins, found in taking down Broad-gate some years ago, near the spot where the Roman *penates* were found in July, 1778, described by Dean Miller, *Archæologia*, vol. vi. p. 1. But I refer you for more particulars, if needful, to Mr. H. Hooper's (junior) collections of the last two years, which are very rare and curious. We have also two gold pieces of NERO, *aurei* or didrachms.

I began to look after these matters first in October 1832, and intend to give a small pamphlet, which will fully elucidate where every one was found, and the finders' names, in most instances.

Mere notices of coins which illustrate no subject, are extremely unsatisfactory. Mine, as connected with the antiquity of a noble Roman station, cannot be so. Most of the London and provincial papers have transcribed them from Exeter prints, and I sent a particular account of my discoveries to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of last August and September.

You will, perhaps, say of many of our Exeter coins, that they are *trite*, and some of them *common*; they, however, are, in *your own words*, the *gazettes* of the Roman times, and, therefore, invaluable to us, as respecting the station here. *Le bon grain est mêlé avec la paille*, as our Gallic neighbours would phrase it, and we must take it as we

find it: and hoping you will have a better opinion of us and them, I remain, yours, truly, W. W. SHORTT.

*Heavitree, near Exeter,
November 2, 1836.*

P. S. It is indisputable that among many curiosities dug up in our ancient city, a number of coins of the Roman colonial possessions have come to light, from the GREEK cities in Syria and Asia Minor. I was at first sceptical on this point; but my doubts were entirely removed by the repeated appearance of such coins. How they came here is matter of conjecture. We know that many of the Roman auxiliary corps were composed of Greek levies, as the Thracian and Dalmatian Horse sufficiently prove; and the *EQUITES SYRI* of the *Notitia* (sect. 4). garrisoned the interior of the province, under the Hon. the Count of Britain. A Syrian Legion introduced the worship of the goddess Astarte here. I traced Greek letters on some of the red pottery found here, as in the instance of *DIAIXVMI* in the western market.—These relics prove either the resort of Mediterranean merchants from Phœnicia or Syria, or the cantonments of auxiliary soldiers from thence at *ISCA* in later times.

My attention was at first awakened by the medal of Julia Mammæa, found where the present catacombs are excavating, last January, and a coin of Maconia in the Upper Market; since which time, another medal of Trajan, and a coin of Alexander Severus, both of Greek cities and with Greek legends, came to light; also another (Bithynian) of Macrinus, from Nicæa, with the goddess *CYBELE* on a rock, and Euphrates who gave name to that river beneath—a frequent type of Samosata in Syria also. These were found in South street, along its upper part, between the Conduit and Stacey's house, with many others, some of which were Byzantine, relating to the lower Greek empire, and its epochs. Of these I record only one, a Justinian, with *ANNO XXIV*. The Trajan was of Laodicea, a maritime city of note, with the

river Nile on it, as Osiris or Canopus reclining on a crocodile, ΛΑΩΔΕΚ.

The others I have met with since are as follow :—

1. A coarse massy coin, with an eagle holding a thunderbolt, supposed an Antoninus or Commodus. ANT·NO·BACIAEOC, of what city is unknown, perhaps Nicomedia in Bithynia.

2. Philip (about 253 A.D.) AK·M·IOYAI·ΦΙΑ. Reverse, a Victory. L.Σ. *Ludi Sæculares*, celebrated by him.

3. A coin of Philip, defaced. The reverse is entire, presenting Dis or Pluto crowned, and the letters L. S., or *Ludi Sæculares*, performed by Philip and his son with great magnificence to Dis (Pluto) and Proserpine, 43 years after Severus, 1000 A.U.C.

Our correspondent will accept our best thanks for his communication. He is, however, mistaken in supposing that we for one moment doubted the correctness of his former statement, as to the discovery of coins in the ancient city of Exeter. With all due respect for the zeal, learning, and ability of our correspondent, we are, nevertheless, compelled to say, that he occasionally gives his imagination the rein, as is shown in the letter with which we have been favoured. He may rest assured that the letters DIAIXVMI are not Greek characters, and that they have nothing whatever to do with the trading of the Phœnicians to this island. Such a theory, however rational, cannot be supported by the production of a rude potter's stamp. The coin attributed to Maconia we suspect to be badly read, and we are led to this conclusion from the circumstance of our correspondent having been guilty of a singular error in reading the coin of Trajan ΛΑΩΔΕΚ. A more minute inspection of this piece will satisfy our correspondent that the second letter should be a *delta*, and that the legend should be Λ'ΔΩΔΕΚατθ (year 12). It is, in fact, one of the numerous coins of Trajan, struck at Alexandria. (See *Vaillant, Num. Græca*, p. 360. *Mionnet Descrip. de Medailles Antiques*, tom. vi. p. 105. to 552. inclusive; and *Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet.*) The

fabric of all Egyptian coins of this period is peculiar, and ought in a moment to be recognised by the numismatist. The "coarse massy coin" is, doubtless, a *Probus*, struck in the same city. That of *Philip* is also an Alexandrian coin, the L signifying *Λυχάβαρος*. The Σ we think is misread for E. (See *Mionnet's Descrip.* tom. vi., and *Rasche's Lexicon*, tom. ii. part 2.) No. 4 is also a coin of Alexandria; and the figure is that of a female, with a turreted crown, symbolical of the city. (*Mionnet. Descrip.* tom. vi. 427.)

We have been led into these remarks by a conviction that Mr. Shortt, who deserves well of our English antiquaries, will profit by them; and avoid rushing to hasty conclusions on a subject which, of all others, requires the most minute and deliberate investigation. Mr. Shortt promises us a small work on the antiquities recently discovered at Exeter, which we shall be glad to see; but he must carefully revise what he has already written, and be less fanciful in his description of the interesting relics which have been lately brought to light in that city. He imagines the joy which would have possessed Stukeley had he witnessed these discoveries, and appears to consider that writer an authority. Stukeley was a madman, and has done more to bring antiquarian studies into contempt than any author that ever wrote. The late Mr. Douce never neglected an opportunity of ridiculing him. [ED. N. J.]

XXIV.

ON THE SKEATTA ATTRIBUTED TO WILDFRID, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, IN ARTICLE III.

SIR,

CHANCE having thrown in my way the first and second numbers of your very interesting Numismatic Journal, I noticed the appropriation of a Saxon skeatta to Wildfrid, archbishop of York, and a letter upon the same article, giving another opinion, by J. Lindsay, dated from

Cork. Having a considerable number of stycas in my possession, I have been led much to the study of the early Saxon coinage: and, thinking I might possibly cast more light on the subject, I beg leave to offer a few remarks on the coin in question. That letters of the Saxon mint are often united, I have abundant proof in my collection. Reversed and redundant letters are as common; and the W is invariably two VV, or the peculiar Saxon þ; but another skeatta is given in the last number of the Journal, bearing the name of Aldfridht, which, to me, raises a doubt on that of Wildfrid, the two coins so nearly resembling each other, that to reconcile the M in the place of A appears the only difficulty.

The letter W mostly, or altogether, on Saxon coins, is broader at the top, inclining inwards at the bottom, and the connecting transverse line begins at the very top of the sides. The M in question is different; its two perpendicular lines running full up to the margin of the coin, stand quite above the connecting horizontal line, wanting only another on the top to make out the Saxon A. Should this be too imaginative, there is sufficient excuse for the intruding letter in the careless orthography of the Northumbrian mint.

My collection of stycas, which I believe is the best known, amounts to above one thousand, including six hundred and twenty distinct varieties, I have above seventy unpublished drawings of varieties, one of them a coin of Eanred, Rex, begins EAENRED ERX; one of Vigmund, EIGMVND, and many others, which strongly lead me to presume that the coin in dispute is clearly another Aldfrith.

On further examination of the skeatta of Wildfrid, I perceive the concluding letter is not perfect; the top is evidently wanting. If the drawing of the coin is faithful,

we may fairly suppose the first letter also imperfect. Had the skeatta of Aldfrith not appeared, the claim of Mr. Lindsay for Egfridus is plausible; the unlucky M might have been disposed of in the character of the Runic M, common too on the coins of Offa, the next letter, the square-formed E, and the following letter is fairly convertible into D or G. Should these remarks assist in leading to any further conclusion, I should feel much gratified. I am, Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

J. FAIRLESS.

*Hexham, Northumberland,
November 25.*

SIR,

IN the first number of the Numismatic Journal there is a representation of a Saxon skeatta, upon which your learned correspondent has given a very ingenious dissertation, and which, according to him, affords the name WILDFRIDHT or WILDFRID. And not finding any king of that name in the Saxon annals, he assigns the coin to Wilfrid, archbishop of York. Your second number contains an account of another skeatta, attributed to Aldfrith, King of Northumberland. This last, which is a styca, appears to throw some light on the first. It reads distinctly, ALDFRIDVS, and every letter appears to be formed the same as those on the skeatta attributed to Wildfrid. The animals represented on the coins referred to, closely resemble each other. A careful examination of the letters on these pieces has led me to the conclusion that that which stands first on the coin of Wildfrid, though like an M, is, upon closer inspection, an A, the cross bar being formed by a sharp angle, and the top line omitted, probably from want of space. The first letter on the styca is also

decidedly an A, but the cross bar is formed by a curve instead of an angular line, with the completing line on the top. This will appear when the two letters are placed together thus, A A. By supposing a line placed on, and completing, the first of these two letters, it will be most clearly an A like the second. The eighth letter is the same as V on the coins of Offa, and the ninth is more like an S than a T. I am, Sir, &c.

J. D. CUFF.

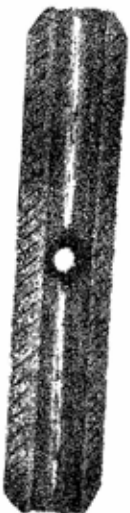
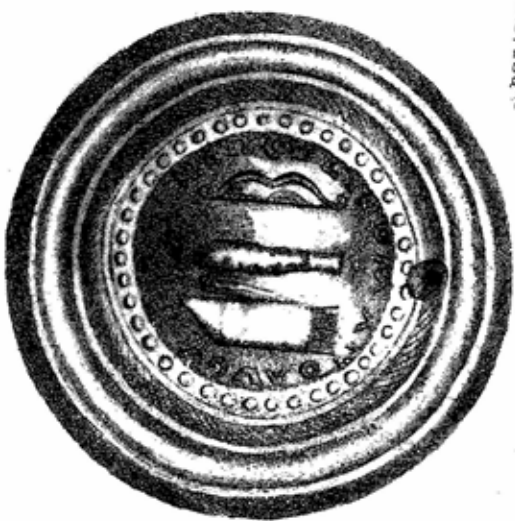
We think this sets the question at rest. Both the coins are clearly of Aldfriht. [ED. N. J.]

XXV.

MEDALLION OF COMMODUS.

THE relic, of which a faithful representation is given in the accompanying plate, is a medallion of Commodus, of a type already published, but mounted in an ornamented rim or circle. The medallion and its mounting are of bronze; the obverse bears the head of Commodus covered with the lion's skin, and the legend *Lucius · AELIVS AVRELIVS · COMMODVS · AVGustus · PIVS · FELIX*. The reverse has a bow, a club, and a quiver full of arrows, with the legend *HERCVLI · ROMANO · AVGVsto*. In the rim of the mounting a hole has been pierced, which the present possessor imagines, and we think correctly, to have been for the purpose of connecting it with a Roman standard. In this case, probably, the medallion was so placed that the Imperial eagle, or the legionary hand, was fixed into its rim, and formed with this appropriate addition, the top of

MOUNTED MEDALLION OF COMODUS.
IN THE COLLECTION OF T. THOMAS, ESQ.



London: Published by W. Thomas, 26, Finsbury Square, near St. Paul's Church, 1837.

Engraved by Henry Smith.



the standard. Or, as we frequently see in the representations of standards on coins, a number of circular ornaments along the staves, it may have formed one in an arrangement of this kind. We prefer, however, the former idea, as most consistent with the imperial dignity that would, no doubt, be attached to such a medallion by the army.

That medals thus mounted were used as personal ornaments there can be no doubt, since several bas reliefs exist, upon which military figures are represented decorated with them. The most remarkable collection of these mounted medals is that of the Imperial Cabinet of Vienna, an account of which has been published by M. Steinbüchel, who observes that it is not unlikely that many of the pieces distributed by the emperors at *congiaries*¹ were thus ornamented. In the "*Historisch-Antiquarische Mittheilungen*," published at Copenhagen in 1835, is an account with engravings of several rude imitations of the mounted medallions of the time of Valens, evidently the work of a barbarous people, who were ambitious of imitating the dress and ornaments of their civilized enemies.

Although the piece here engraved may have formed part of the trappings of a war horse, it is still more probable that it was inserted in a standard. The standards of the Romans were objects of especial care and veneration; and, as their emperors were often invested with divine attributes, the placing their portraits on these ensigns was in character with that description of adulation.

J. Y. A.

¹ Suetonius in Aug. c. 75. et Vespasian, c. 19.

XXVI.

REMARKS ON ARTICLE XVIII.

I WILL commence my observations by expressing my concurrence with the learned author of the above in the opinion, "That coins are the most correct and valuable commentators on coins."

My intention is to refer to the types of the coins of the middle ages, to inquire into the motive which led to their adoption, and to compare them with those of antiquity.

From the darkest period of the middle ages to the revival of the arts, the symbols of the Christian religion are almost always observed to have influenced the types of the coins of emperors, kings, princes, pontiffs and prelates. The reverses of those of the Merovingians, the Franks, the Lombards, &c. &c., have generally a cross, similar to that on the Roman coins after Theodosius II. (408—450) and Valentinianus III. (424—455). So that the Christian money, in the fifth century of the two empires, was marked with the elevated cross, either placed on a globe, or on several steps. Among the early Venetian coins, one of Orso Justiniani, first tribune of the Isle of Grado (460), bearing the cross with equal branches is already observed¹. On the coins of Orso Ipato, third tribune of Heraclea (726), appears an ecclesiastical building (Roman design), and later a similar

¹ *Delle Monete de' Veneziani dal Principio al Fino della Loro Repubblica.* Venezia, 1818.

temple on the coins of the Carolingians, with "XPISTIANA RELIGIO." With respect to saints represented on coins, I observe the bust of St. Mark, as early as 827, on a coin of the duke of Venice, Justiniani Partecipazio. Religious legends, such as, *Christus vincet—Dextra Dom. exaltavit me—* or *Roger, strong by the help of God*, are first observed on the Norman coins of Sicily (1098—1200), and are apparently derived from similar inscriptions on Cufic coins. On the coins of Trevers and Cologne, from the eleventh century the bust of the archbishop begins to be observed; but about 1206 the figures of prelates appear in pontifical costume and with the Cross and Gospel. I possess some Bracteates from the abbey of Kempten (lately found in the environs of Schafhausen) of Rudolph Wolfgang of Koenigseck, abbot 1208—1220, which represent the abbot in a chair, with pontifical ornaments, and are inscribed PRINCEPS · CAMPIDONH. Above the right arm is a cross, and to the left over the gospel a star, symbolizing his loyalty to the pope, as well as to the emperor Otho IV.²

I will come, however, to the result of article XVIII in the Numismatic Journal, p. 117, "That religion was the sole motive of the types of coins, and that it should be the invariable principle which is to guide our search in endeavouring to explain them."

It seems to me not quite evident that religion was the sole motive which dictated the types of ancient coins. For instance, on coins of cities independent at times of church or state, and on a multitude of those of the powerful and haughty feudal nobility of the middle ages, who considered themselves at one period quite independent of the emperor,

² Vide Dr. D. E. Beyschlag's *Münzgeschichte Augsburgs*, p. 111. Tab. 5. No. 26—27.

and regarded their authority as immediately derived from God: even knights used the "*Dei gratia.*" *Nos D. G. viri nobiles de Hacheborn* (1270—1306).—*Albero D. G. Burggrav de Lyznic* (1198).—*Burchard D. G. vir nobilis, dictus Burggravius de Magdeburg* (1290).—*Nos Bruno D. G. nobilis in Sman, dictus in Quernvorde* (1317).—*Nos Burchard D. G. comes in Mansfeld* (1329—1339). Even if now and then the cross occupies the reverses of some of these coins, it may be more properly attributed to a habit—to imitation rather than a religious motive.

Why should not the rose on the coins of Rhodes be regarded as indicative of the name of the island, and be considered as the symbol of Venus? Compare with this the early coins of Florence, the silver *floreni*, vulgo *fiorini*, about the eleventh century, on which a lily is stamped, surely indicating the name of the city, Florentia³.

To the observation, "that the rose of Rhodes occurs on the coins of other places of ancient Greece," I would reply, has not the fine gold florin which appeared in 1252 been imitated exactly in design by other states of Italy, of France, England, and great part of Germany, mostly by ecclesiastic princes and free towns? May not a similar occurrence have caused the Rhodians to inscribe ΡΟΔΙΩΝ at full length on their more recent coins? If Eckhel refers to the pomegranate on the coins of Side as alluding to the name of the place, the city of Granada in Spain has also a pomegranate for her emblem from remote times to the present day. On the early coins of Genoa, inscribed Janua, in the field is a

³ Vid. Gori. *Il Fiorino d'oro*, p. 2. "Tali monete die qualunque metallo, e qualità si fossero, per lunghissimo tempo indifferentemente furono dette Fiorini, dall' insegna del fiore del giglio, che in essa i Fiorentini fecero scolpire, e del nome della loro città."

portico, or gate, indicative of the name of the city. The same type was imitated by Parma and other places. Aquila, the capital of the province of Abruzzo, has on her coins an eagle. Lyons, on a fine medallion of Louis XII., has a lion. The coins of Luneburg have a half-moon, Munich the bust of a monk, Magdeburg a female figure on the battlement of a castle, &c. &c.

The country, now the canton of Berne, chiefly belonged to Duke Berthold IV. of Zæhringen; the duke's residence was at the town of Zofingen. One day, the pursuit of an immense bear brought the duke to the peninsula where the city of Berne now stands, and after the animal had been killed, the duke surveyed the spot, which was remarkable for its natural fortification surrounded by the river Aar, and appeared to him very suitable for building a city upon, particularly, too, as it might enable him to controul an obstinate nobility; and to commemorate the event of the day, he named it Bern, in the year 1191.

Du holz laß dich umhauen gern,
Denn diese Stadt soll heißen Bern—

was the wood-cutters' ditty in clearing away the forest, as the Swiss chronicle has it. The citizens received, amongst other liberal grants, the privilege of a mint, and, naturally enough, adopted on their coins the speaking type of a *bear*, as strong an instance of the kind as any that can be mentioned. I possess some of the earliest specimens of their coins, which are Bracteates, and here present the designs⁴.



⁴ Nos. 1 and 2 have, I believe, been hitherto unpublished.

Nos. 1 and 2 have above the bear the head of the duke of Zæhringen. Nos. 3 and 4 have the imperial eagle. These two last must have been struck after the duke's death, which happened in 1218. He had left all his dominions to his sisters, except his newly built town, which he consigned to the emperor's protection; and in the same year (1218), Frederic II. confirmed the right of coinage⁵.

The well-known small money current throughout Switzerland, the Batz, derives its name from those early little coins, the Bracteates, which were called diminutively Bæzle, from the old German word *Betz* for bear⁶.

It is observed, p. 115, "the types of coins are not on any occasion original compositions, but always copied from the earliest to the latest times."

I am sure these coins of Berne are original enough, and similar occasions may have occurred in ancient Greece to produce all sorts of types. And it is interesting to observe that the Bracteates of Sweden, Denmark, Germany and Switzerland, are stamped only on one side, like the earliest coins of ancient Greece.

Eckhel's opinion, that the goat represented on the coins of Issa signifies an abundance of these animals in that island, seems to be justified by the earliest coins of Schafhausen, also Bracteates, which have for their type a sheep; on some later ones the sheep issuing from a house, *Schaf-haus* (Sheep house), Schafhausen, plainly signifies that the scite of the town of Schafhausen was formerly a sheep-walk, whereon a house, or hut, was erected to shelter them in stormy weather, as is still the practice in the Helvetian high-

⁵ Haller's *Schweitzermünzen*, vol.i. p.288.

⁶ Vide Hoffman, *Münzschlüssel*, p.255. Et quàm Bernenses primi cudere monetam nomine Bazones, cepit sibi nomen ab urso, parvus Germanis ursus nam Betz vocatur.

lands. Some derive the name from *Scapha*, a boat, (ship house), a ferry over the Rhine; the types of her earliest coins, however, seem to contradict it.



“The parsley leaf on the coins of Selinus is supposed to indicate the name of the town.” (p. 104).

With this may be compared the type of the coins of Münzenberg from the twelfth century, which is a mint-plant referring to the quantity of mint growing on the mountain on which the castel of the town was built, *Münzenberg* (Mint Mountain). Dr. H. Grote of Hanover has published a large bracteate of this town and five solidos of different lords of Münzenberg⁷, bearing their effigies, and on the reverses the castle and the mint-plant above it. The city of Thann (Pinecum, Villas Tanne, Moneta Tanensis) presents on her coins the type of a kind of fir-tree, in German called *Tanne*, referring to a great forest (*Tannen-Wald*) of fir and larch-trees⁸, some of which were remarkably lofty. Tiberius ordered a beam of a larch-tree, 120 feet long and 2 in diameter, to be sent to Rome for the rebuilding of a bridge, and which occasioned universal astonishment.

It is known that the subdued countries and colonies of the Romans had generally on their coins a type or symbol, indicating the most striking object, or property which the country possessed. Thus, the fertility of Spain was sym-

⁷ *Numismatic Papers*, No. 12, tab. 8, October 15th, 1834.

⁸ Köhler, vol. xvi. p. 18.

symbolised by an ear of wheat, India and Tyre were represented by a palm-tree, or branch, seaport towns by different kinds of fishes, Arabia by a camel, Africa by an elephant, and Egypt by a crocodile; and even colonies in Germany seem to have been represented by such like symbols; for instance, Thann, then the city of Augsburg (Colonia Augusta Vindelicum), has on her coins a fir-nut, again referring to the extensive forests, by which she was formerly surrounded. Welser⁹ attributes three coins of Augustus, on which a fir-nut is represented, to Augsburg. Sometimes on the coins of the middle ages, where no suitable type identifying the name of a town could be given, the field of the coin is occupied the first letter of her name, as on early coins of Perugia, Pisa, Siena, &c. &c. But, strange enough, some have the final letter, for example, those terminating in A, as Bologna, Cremona, Cammerina, and others which may be explained probably on the principle of the Alpha and Omega.

“But it is not only to some of the coins of cities that the notion of a speaking type has been attached; examples are to be found of the same notion having been extended to coins of kings.” (p. 112.)

In reply to this I beg to ask, has not Pope Sixtus IV. an oak-tree represented on his coins, indicating his family name, *Rovere*? The Hungarian king, Corvinus, stamped his ducats with a raven. The Carrarese have a car on their coins and medals, surely not alluding to the celestial constellation. The lords of Verona, the mighty house of the Scaligei, have on their coins a ladder, indicative of their name *Scala*. On the coins of the counts of Rethel is represented a rake. A hen is the type of the coins of Henneberg, &c. &c.

⁹ Lib. VI. *Augustanar*, p. 284. These coins are, however, dubious.

May not the name of Posidonia be as well attributed to Neptune, as that of the town of St. Gallen is certainly derived from the Irish Benedictine monk, Gallus, A. D. 612?

"Some coins have been supposed to be commemorative of historical events."

It is interesting to observe that, even on coins of the middle ages historical events may be clearly traced. In the year 827, Justiniani Partecipazio, duke of Venice, ordered that the effigy of St. Mark should be represented on the coinage, to commemorate the event of the relics of that saint having been brought from Alexandria to Venice in the same year¹⁰. It may be observed that the year was marked on the Venetian coins as early as 460,¹¹ see one of Orso Justiniani,—in the field, XXXXLX, and around, VRSUS. JUST. inianus TRIB unus,—on the reverse, a cross having in its angles the four letters, G R A D (Grado). There are coins of Aix-la-Chapelle referring to coronations of the emperors Rudolph, Adolph of Nassau, and Albert. The noble of Edward III. was struck on his great naval victory, and he appears appropriately in a ship asserting the British dominion of the ocean.

In Orsini's History of the Florentine coins, is given one called Grosso Guelfo, of the year 1363, which, besides two different marks of the officers of the mint, has a fox lying on its back under the feet of their patron saint, which explains why in the same year the Florentines, returning from some successful skirmishes with the Pisans, impressed on

¹⁰ *Delle Monete de Veneziani*, p. 55. "Si e questa la moneta che Justiniano Partecipazio fece battere per perpetuare la memoria della traslazione del Santo corpo dell' Evangelista. La moneta porta da una parte la croce in campo, e nel contorno Justinianus Dux. dell' altra nel contorno Adventus Corpus, e nel mezzo Sancti Marci."

¹¹ *Ibid.* Nos. 2, 3.

their coins the figure of a fox under the feet of John the Baptist, which was to stigmatize the vanquished Pisans, whom they nick-named foxes, and not because, as another writer supposed, the fox was the badge of the Florentine captain, Messer Piero Farnese.¹² Zanetti gives a coin of Ferdinand I. king of Naples (1458), who was a natural son of Alfonso V. of Aragon, with "*Coronatus, quia legitime certavit.*" Obermayer in his account of Bavarian coins alludes to many historical facts represented on coins from the eleventh century.

In the year 1529, Cardinal Wolsey was disgraced; and one of the articles of impeachment against him was that of having placed his hat on the coins.

"There is the strongest possible ground for concluding that no mortal ever appears upon an ancient coin, but in the character of a deity" (page 124).

It is a great question whether the words *Divinus*, *Divus*, *Diva*, on coins and medals, can have any other meaning than that of most excellent; because it was not only given to most virtuous persons, but also to those of extraordinary qualities or talents; and it seems that the Greeks and Romans were rather liberal with the word Divine, for we find Homer gives it to an excellent herdsman, and Juvenal to a savoury dish. Referring to more recent times, I possess a medallion of Alphonso, king of Naples (1449), by Pisani, with *Divus Alphonsus Rex*, which may be understood in the sense of Corn. Nepos in the life of Pomponius Atticus, cap. ix. "*Secutum est bellum gestum apud Mutinam; in quo si*

¹² Orsini, *Introduction*, p. xxx. "Adi 30 di Maggio, 1363, vi fece battere la moneta del Comune di Firenze d'oro e d'Argento con una volpe a rovescio sotto il S. Giovanni, non perche questa fosse l'arme e impresa di Piero, ma per dinotare per la volpe i Pisani, come e Fiorentini costumavan di chiamarli, disegnati per cosi fatto animali fin dagli Scritti de' lor piu sommi poeti."

tantum cū prudentem dicam minus quā debeam, prædicem, cū ille potius *Divinus* fuerit, si divinatio appellanda est perpetua naturalis bonitas, quæ nullis casibus neque agitur neque minuitur¹³." However, singular enough, there are several fine medals of Pietro Aretino inscribed "*Divus Petrus Aretinus*."

I have only to add, that the motive which urged me to venture these remarks was, that I was sorry such veterans as Eckhel, Frölich and Sestini, should lose any of those laurels which the numismatists of Europe have so justly awarded to them. For my own part, deprived as I am of many sources of reference, I hope the reader will pardon any remarks which may not appear so scientific and satisfactory as I could wish them to be.

J. G. PFISTER.

¹³ Köhler, vol. xvii. p. 130.

MISCELLANIES.

COINS AT CAMBRIDGE.—In a late visit to this University, an opportunity was taken of inspecting the collection of Greek and Roman coins in the public library, the only collection, we understand, of any extent, which Alma Mater possesses. It was originally bequeathed by Mr. Roger Gale to the Woodwardian Professor, but is at present deposited in the University library under the custody of the chief librarian, by whom it was obligingly shown on the occasion referred to. The best portions consist of Consular and Imperial denarii, but coins of rarity, or in fine preservation, are in these, as well as the other compartments, unfortunately "few and far between." The library contains, as may be supposed, a fine collection of numismatic works; but in the genuine materials of numismatic study, coins themselves, it is lamentably deficient. This is the more to be regretted, since for some years past classical learning has wisely been attended to at Cambridge far more than formerly; indeed, by university enactment, classical competency to a certain degree, in conjunction with mathematics, has become indispensable; and surely an acquaintance with the coins of the ancients would be found most usefully and also agreeably subservient to the end in view. The classical lecturers in the several colleges may render mythology, history, and ancient manners, peculiarly interesting to their pupils by occasional references to positive numismatic documents known to exist conveniently within their reach. Most minds are so constituted that palpable evidences of persons and events in ancient times, such as are presented in a judiciously selected and well-filled cabinet of medals, make a far better impression upon them than the most erudite remarks, and quotations from the best authors. Lecturers in the sciences generally are aware of the advantage of matter-of-fact illustrations. The professor of mineralogy exhibits his minerals, which are handed through the class for examination; the professor of chemistry draws attention to a series of experiments, without which a mere statement of combinations and their results would soon be forgotten, if at the time comprehended; and if a similar plan were pursued in the elucidation of the classics by the production of medals (or good casts, with the power of easy reference to the originals) much important information would be fixed in the memory. There are few points in relation to classical

antiquity that may not be "*proved*" by medals, an argument that ought to find favour with mathematicians; and the mode of proof, so likely to gain attention by the charm of curiosity, commends it strongly for adoption. Many also of our young men educated at the Universities proceed immediately afterwards to the continent, for the avowed purpose of enlarging their knowledge and cultivating their taste. It is hardly necessary to say that a previous acquaintance in a good measure with Greek and Roman coins is essential to the profitable enjoyment of classic relics and localities.

The coins in the Bodleian Library at Oxford are numerous and valuable, and form a noble collection, especially since the acquisition of the cabinets of the late Mr. Douce. At Cambridge there is ample room for a handsome bequest, or a liberal purchase.

E. C. B.

SILVER COIN OF CARAUSIUS.—A few weeks since, a denarius of this Britanno-Roman emperor was discovered, according to the statement of the finders, in the course of ballast-heaving in the river Thames. It "*turned up*" (to use a phrase of the practical numismatist) in better condition than is usual with coins of the same class, but, like all its brethren that we have hitherto seen, is more notable for rarity than beauty.

Obv. IMP· CARAVSIVS· P· F· AVG. Bust of Carausius, looking to the right, with the coarse bluff countenance and enormous neck, which invariably distinguish his portrait independently of the declaration of the legend.

Rev. VBERTA· AVG. A figure (most probably a female) milking a cow.

There may be some difficulty as to the precise signification of this reverse. We know, however, that milk formed the principal part of the food of our pastoral ancestors (if ancestors they can be considered, after the Saxon, Danish, Norman, and other intermixtures in the race); and there may be an allusion to the fruitfulness and internal prosperity of the country under Carausius, who, whether originally a Menapian of Wales or Batavia, became a naturalized and domesticated ruler in this island, as in a little empire of his own.

The device in question may remind the reader of two first brass coins given in Pinkerton's plate of those relating to Britain. Unfortunately for the exercise of fancy, but the contrary, perhaps, for the sake of truth, the former of these, purporting to be of Claudius, is not satisfactorily authenticated*, and therefore no argument can be drawn from it; otherwise, from the figure of Britannia holding forth a capacious vase, supposed by some to be an offering of native pearls, by others of milk, as more fully characteristic of the country, an analogy might be inferred to the type of the denarius. The latter of them, however, (that of Antoninus

* It is professedly adduced from Havercamp; but it is nowhere to be found in his work.

Pius) is correctly cited from *Pedrusi Mus. Farnes.* and represents Britannia seated in the usual manner, with her left arm resting on the edge of a shield which displays the embossed head of a bull, alluding probably to the abundance and excellence of her herds.

It may be observed that the coins of the Upper Empire relating to this country, refer to its conquest and colonization; and when the personification occurs, the importance of Britain as an additional province appears to be attributed to her natural strength and advantageous situation—she sits upon rocks, in one hand holds her own spear, in the other the standard of a Roman colonial cohort; but during the usurpation of that rather extraordinary person, Carausius, and the temporary separation of Britain from the central authority at Rome, her domestic coinage, however rude in fabric, imitates the style of the general Roman currency, in attributing prosperity and good of every kind to the emperor's god-like superintendence of affairs. Hence the very fertility of her soil and fruitfulness of her herds is made, at least by a very strong hint, to result from the "Uberty" of the august Carausius himself. If by "Ubertas" be meant a goddess supposed to bless with fruitfulness, she is thus noticed only for the purpose of showing the "august" alliance between herself and the personage on the front of the medal. The deified virtues that occur on coins are almost always intended to intimate the transcendent qualities of the emperor.

This rare and valuable coin, shortly after its discovery, came into the possession of Mr. Young, of Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, and has since passed into the cabinet of a distinguished collector.
E. C. B.

SKEATTA ATTRIBUTED TO WILDFRID.—The half suspicion of your correspondent, Mr. Lindsay, that the representation of the Skeatta attributed to Wildfrid might be incorrectly given, is fully borne out by the fact that the first two letters of the legend are deficient in resemblance to those on the coin in question.

I take blame to myself for omitting to examine the engraving or procure a proof of it before the publication; but hope that previous to the appearance of your next number, I may be enabled to furnish a correct plate of this little piece, as an assistant to its just appropriation.
I am, &c. B.

RUSSIAN MEDALS.—The *Prussian State Gazette*, of July 28, says that the minister of public instruction has sent an engraver, M. Menzoff, to London, where he is to learn of Mr. Bate, the engraver, his new mode of engraving coins.—With the aid of this method, the minister intends, in the sequel, to publish a representation of ancient Russian coined medals.

GROATS OF EDWARD IV. AND HENRY VII.—A correspondent of the Gentleman's Magazine observes: "I have a London groat of Edward IV. mint-mark, a cross voided in the centre. In the inscription on the reverse, of 'POSUI, &c.' there is a rose at DEUM, and a star at ADJUTORE, as stops. The inscription on Henry the Seventh's groats is considered to be uniformly 'HENRIC · DI · GRA · REX · A'GL · & FR. I have observed there is a considerable variety, which I presume was progressive, until it reached and settled as above; and I find also a variety in the crowns, which Henry VII. changed from being flat to arched. On a London groat, which has one arch only, and probably was the first innovation, the inscription is HENRIC · DI · GRA · REX ANGLIE · ET · FR. The next has two arches, but plain, HENRIC · DI · GRA · REX · ANGL · ET · FRAN; and the bust is large like Edward the Fourth's, with a cross on each side the neck. This is followed by a groat, with similar arches and inscription, but the bust smaller. Then the smaller bust, with ornamented arches, HENRIC · DI · GRA · REX · ANGL · ET · FRAN. Similar crown and bust, REX · ANGL · ET · FRA, and REX · A'GLI · ET FR."

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.—The first meeting of the Numismatic Society was held in the apartments of the Royal Astronomical Society, on Thursday evening, the 22nd December.

Dr. J. Lee, of Hartwell, being called to the chair, observed, that gratifying as it was to see so many of the friends of Numismatic Science around him, he yet felt some embarrassment, being assured that several of those who had assembled that evening were much better qualified to state the views and intentions of the promoters of the Society than himself. He was anxious, no one could be more so, to see such a Society established, at which opportunities would be afforded to amateurs in medals of exhibiting and inspecting rare and curious specimens in numismatic art of all ages and countries, as well as for the reading of papers in illustration of Numismatic subjects. Having thus briefly stated the objects which the friends of the Society had in view, he moved the following resolutions, which were carried unanimously.

That a Numismatic Society be formed, and that the annual subscription be one guinea, and that it be considered to be due on the 1st of January in each year.

That any gentleman who may be desirous of becoming a member, shall signify his wish by a letter addressed to one of the Secretaries before the 26th January next, and that after that time the admission fee be one guinea, and the election be by ballot.

That the following gentlemen be requested to accept the office of Council for conducting the affairs of the Society; namely

Edward Hawkins, Esq. F.R.S, F.S.A.
 C. F. Barnwell, Esq. F.R.S, F.S.A.
 Capt. W. H. Smyth, R. N. F.R.S, F.S.A. &c.
 Sir Henry Ellis, K H. F.R.S, F.S.A.
 Thomas Burgon, Esq.
 William Wyon, Esq. A.R.A.
 W. D. Haggard, Esq. F.S.A, F.R.A.S.

That John Yonge Akerman, Esq. F.S.A. and Isaac Cullimore, Esq. M.R.S.L. be requested to accept the office of Secretaries.

Edward Hawkins, Esq. then moved, that Dr. Lee be requested to accept the office of President for the year, and also the office of Treasurer to the Society, which was carried unanimously.

Among the gentlemen present; were Messrs. Hawkins and Barnwell, Sir Henry Ellis, Messrs. Burgon, Haggard, Cuff, Brice, Wansey, H. W. Diamond, Cullimore, Akerman, Bergne, and several others of numismatic note.

Mr. Hawkins exhibited a bronze medal of Dr. Wiseman by Mr. Scipio Clint, accompanied by a letter from that gentleman, after which the meeting adjourned to the 26th January.

SCOTTISH COINS.—A short time since, as several young men were engaged herding cattle at Borrera, North Uist, they discovered a considerable number of silver coins and a few gold ones which had been hidden in the earth, a few inches below the surface. There were about 400 of the silver coins all of the reign of James VI. dated 1592, and in size a little less than half crowns, but much thinner. They were in excellent preservation. It is possible that this money was concealed in the reign of James VI. at that stormy period, when the monarch sent a colony of Lowlanders to the Isles to subdue and civilize the people, and when the whole army of Scotland was called out "to raise the King's dues in the Hebrides," which consisted of a tax of five per cent. upon all rents in lieu of personal service. *Scotch Paper.*

COINS OF SCOTLAND.—At a sale by auction last month in London, the following Scotch coins brought the prices affixed:—

	SILVER.	£	s.	d.
Mary's Half-testoon, 1561, her bust in profile, <i>well preserved</i> ,		10	0	0
James VI., Thistle Dollar, 1578, <i>fine</i> ,		2	0	0
James VI., Thirty-shilling piece, the King's profile crowned, three-quarter bodied in armour, holding a sword, <i>well preserved</i> ,		1	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Another, same as last,	1	7	0
James VI., Twenty-shilling piece, 1582, <i>well preserved</i>	1	8	0
James VI., Ten-shilling piece, 1582, <i>fine</i> ,	3	4	0

GOLD.

Robert II., St. Andrew, <i>fine</i> ,	1	7	0
Robert III., St. Andrew	1	8	0
James I., St. Andrew, two fleurs-de-lis in the field, on both obverse and reverse sides, <i>fine</i>	2	10	0
Ditto, Half St. Andrew	1	1	0
James II., Lion	0	14	0
James III., Half-unicorn	1	0	0
Ditto, Unicorn	1	3	0
James IV., Rider, <i>fine</i> ,	2	8	0
James V., Bonnet piece, 1540, <i>well preserved</i> ,	3	3	0
James V., Ecu	1	3	0
Mary and Francis, Lion, 1553	3	10	0
Ditto, ditto, 1553	4	6	0
Ditto, Half-lion, 1553	4	4	0
James V., Noble	2	14	0
James VI., Lion, <i>well preserved</i> ,	2	10	0
James VI., Bonnet piece, 1592, <i>fine</i> ,	2	6	0
James VI., Half-rider, 1593	3	3	0
James VI., ditto, 1594	3	0	0

At the same sale, a Half-crown of Charles I., in fair preservation, of the Oxford type, 1644, attracted considerable attention from its singularity, the obverse being very similar to that of the Chester half-crown in Snelling's plate 14, No. 15. It brought £3 10s.

CABINET OF MEDALS AT MADRID.—This cabinet is said to contain 90,227 pieces, of which 2,672 are gold, 30,692 in silver, and 51,186 in copper, besides imitations in wood, wax, and gypsum.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The brass coins of Carausius, though varying much both in size and weight, are only ranged with those of the same size of that period.

We shall be obliged to any of our correspondents who may favour us with well-authenticated accounts of discoveries of coins of Cunobeline, or, indeed, of any other supposed British coins in England. A numismatic friend is of opinion that sufficient evidence may in time be collected to warrant the appropriation of these coins to particular counties.

A. will be obliged by the communication (through the Editor) of any tradesman's token of the town of Crickdale in Wiltshire.

ERRATA.

Page 95, line 26, *for red gred read red gold.*

„ 97, *In some of the copies, for MOTIVES read MOTIVE in the title of ART. XVIII.*

„ 167, line 8, *for Illyriorum read Illyricorum.*

„ 198, line 7, — *Vindeliorum — Vindellicorum.*

XXVII.

THE COINAGE OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

A RECENT perusal of the opinions of several writers on the early British coinage, has induced me to renew my inquiries on that very interesting theme. Referring to Eckhel¹, I find him thus dismissing the coins assumed to be British:—

“Hujus regionis numos veteres certos non tenemus, “si eos demas, qui inclinante imperio R. ab iis, qui se “Augustos in hac regione ferebant, signati sunt, sed qui ad “hanc classem non pertinent.” Sestini², holding the same opinion, assigns even the coins which bear the word CVNOBELINVS, or a portion of the letters forming that name, to the Gaulish chiefs, and Mionnet³, following in their train, places the coins of that prince under those of the “chefs Gaulois.” The Marquis Roger de Lagoy has, however, in a very interesting and sensible brochure⁴ established the claim of Britain to these coins. “Serait-ce,” observes he, “l’identité de leur fabrique avec les médailles des Gaules, qui pourrait faire présumer qu’elles appartiennent à ce pays? Mais pour porter un pareil jugement, il faudrait avoir sous les yeux les pièces originales, afin de pouvoir les comparer; et c’est ce qu’on n’a pu faire jusqu’à présent, ces médailles n’étant connues sur le continent que par

¹ *Doct. Num. Vet.* tom.i. p.80.

² *Classes Generales*, in loco.

³ *Supplement*, tom.i. p.154-5.

⁴ *Essai sur les Medailles Antiques de Cunobelinus, etc.* Aix. 4to. 1826.

des descriptions et les gravures de Pembrock." The very scarcity of the coins attributed to Britain, as compared with those by universal consent assigned to Gaul, coupled with the fact that the cabinet of the French king contains at this time but one British coin, ought to have awakened the attention of the numismatists of the continent. It is mortifying to an Englishman to find the venerable Eckhel, dismissing the coins of the ancient Britons with a doubt as to their having been minted in this country. For myself, I feel persuaded that had Eckhel devoted but a small portion of that ability and labour which he has exercised with such effect on other numismatic doubts and obscurities, he would have arrived at a different conclusion, and ceded to Britain many coins which have been so often classed with the Gaulish series.

The chief ground of Eckhel's doubts is the passage in Cæsar, "*Utuntur (Britanni) aut ære, aut taleis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo*⁵." Pinkerton says this passage has been incorrectly transcribed, and quotes the folio edition of the Commentaries printed at Rome in 1469, in which Cæsar's words are thus given: "*utuntur tamen ære, ut nummo aureo, aut annulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummis.*" After a snarl at Scaliger for interpolating subsequent editions, the Cynic says, "Cæsar's meaning clearly is, that our ancestors used brass apparently coined as a superior metal, in like manner as more advanced nations used gold. And that (*pro nummis*) instead of the brass coinage of Rome (*nummus* being a peculiar name for the brass sestertius) they used iron rings examined and reduced to a stated weight⁶." This extract, for the most part, is unworthy

⁵ *Bell. Gall.* lib. v. c. 12.

⁶ *Essay on Medals*, vol. i. p. 295, edit. 1789.

of notice, but the idea that the iron rings were used for inferior money (supposing that such things were in actual use among the Britons), appears to be entitled to some consideration. Of these rings, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Pinkerton had little practical knowledge of medals; and it is very probable that he never attentively examined an ancient British or Gaulish coin. M. Mionnet doubtless never gave himself the trouble to compare the numerous coins found in France with those which are at intervals discovered in England, and has therefore concluded that there are no coins of the ancient Britons. Our English antiquaries have, however, good evidence to the contrary. In the first place, the coins which are usually supposed to be British, are of a very different fabric to those so often discovered in France. This will be apparent even to an unpractised eye. Secondly, no coins bearing the words, VERVLAMIO, or CVNOBELINVS, or their contractions⁷ are ever found in France⁸. "If," says the Marquis Lagoy, "these coins [of Cunobeline] are found in France, and were struck by the Gauls, how has it happened that they have escaped the researches of our French antiquaries? And by what chance have they all been secured for the cabinets of English collectors?" It should be borne in mind that coins of Cunobeline are cited by Speed, who wrote more than two centuries ago, and that the specimens of which he gives representations were in the collection of Sir Robert Cotton, who obtained them in England. In fact, the opinion even of the learned and accurate Eckhel is

⁷ See Ruding's "*Annals of the Coinage*," plates 4 and 5.

⁸ The marquis observes, that he looked in vain for representations of these coins in Bouteroue, Pellerin, and D'Ennery, and that M. Mionnet, in his catalogue, cites "Pembrock and Combe."

of no value, unsupported as it is by any concurrent testimony, while, as I have before observed, implicit credit cannot be attached to the narration of Cæsar, who possibly, in this instance, may have written on the report of others, and not from personal observation.

Assuming, therefore, that the coins bearing CVNOBELINVS, are undoubtedly British, and that they were minted in this country during the life-time of the Prince of that name mentioned by Dion Cassius⁹, and Suetonius¹⁰, our next inquiry has reference to those which have as strong claims to British origin as the pieces bearing CVNOBELINVS. Of these, we have many varieties, all differing in type and workmanship from those of the Gauls, and all *found in England only*. On examination, it will be seen that they are of an earlier date than the coins assigned to the British prince. There is little doubt but that the ancient British coins, like those of Gaul, may be divided into two or three classes, each belonging to different periods¹¹. If this supposition be admitted, are we not warranted in the belief that the rudest coins discovered in England, are the most ancient? Such is that given by Ruding¹² upon which the attempt to delineate a human head is so uncouth, that it is impossible to examine it without a smile. It may be asked on what grounds are these rude coins appropriated to England, to which I reply, that besides being much thinner, they are of a different weight to those of a very rude description found in France. Several coins of the type referred to in Ruding, were found below the bed of the canal in Saint James's Park about

⁹ Lib. 60.

¹⁰ *In Calig.* c. 44.

¹¹ See a very interesting and ingenious dissertation on Gaulish Coins by M. de la Saussaye in the 2nd number of the "*Revue de la Numismatique Francoise*."

¹² Plate 3, No. 65.

twelve years since. I have one of them before me from the cabinet of Mr. Edward Spencer. It closely resembles that given by Ruding, is thin, weighs $19\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and is covered with a dense black and shining patina. It has evidently been cast. I possess some cast Gaulish coins which were obligingly presented to me by M. Charles De Rheims of Calais some years since. They had been obtained by that gentleman at a town in Picardy in the neighbourhood of which they had doubtless been discovered. These pieces are extremely rude, but the head on what must be termed the obverse side is of much better execution than that on the coins discovered in Saint James's Park. They weigh 60 grains, and are of a mixed metal.

There is good reason for supposing that many of the coins of mixed metal given by Ruding are Gaulish¹³, while some are of the type of those of the large hoard discovered in the Island of Guernsey. The opinion of a gentleman who has made these pieces his study, has led me to attempt a classification of the coins described in the plates in Ruding's "Annals of the Coinage," some of which are certainly not British. This classification shall follow at the end of these remarks, with a notice of the hitherto unpublished specimens given in the accompanying plate.

With regard to the supposed ring-money of the ancient Britons, the passage in Cæsar would seem to forbid a doubt that our ancestors had such a description of metallic currency; but although metal rings adjusted to a certain weight, and used as personal ornaments, might *occasionally* be adopted as a substitute for money, particularly in large payments, there is no evidence that stamped coins were not

¹³ See Plate 3, Nos. 55 to 64, inclusive, and Nos. 66 to 73, also inclusive.

used by the Britons, at the time Cæsar wrote¹⁴. It is exceedingly probable that few, very few, persons at that period, in Britain, were equal to the execution of even the rude coins which have come down to us. In the absence, therefore, of a sufficient number of stamped coins, valuable personal ornaments would naturally be used as their substitute. We have records of this practice in the remotest times; but one reference to the Old Testament will be sufficient:—
 “And it came to pass as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden earring of *half a shekel weight*, and two bracelets for her hands of *ten shekels weight of gold*¹⁵.”

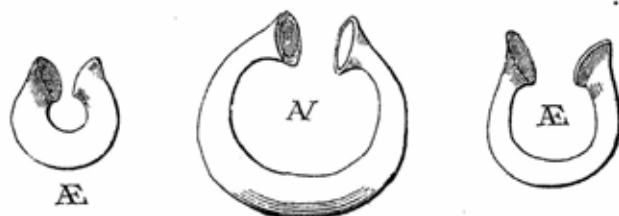
This brings me to the consideration of Sir William Beetham's observations “On the Ring-money of the Celtæ¹⁶.” On examination of the engravings in illustration of that

¹⁴ A writer in the 5th volume of the “*Journal des Travaux de la Société Française de Statistique Universelle*,” (1835) observes “Long temps avant le passage des Gaulois en Italie sous Brennus, les rois, dont l'un, Ambigatus, régnait 588 ans avant J. C. à Bourges, sur la Gaule Celtique, et les magistrats qui gouvernaient d'autres contrées de la Gaule faisaient battre de la monnaie d'or, d'argent, et de cuivre.” It is strange, then, that antiquaries should doubt the antiquity of the British coins, when it is an established fact that the Gauls traded with the inhabitants of this country. Cassiodorus speaks of the *leather money* of the Gauls; and we perceive that one of the questions proposed by the scientific congress of France is, whether there ever existed money of that material. Cassiodorus also says that the Gauls gave the name of *pecus* to their money because it was formed of leather. I leave the reader to reconcile this with the rude, and evidently very early, coins mentioned at page 213, all of which bear on the reverse the figure of some animal.

¹⁵ Gen. xxiv. 22. There are numerous other passages in holy writ, which show that among the Jews, personal ornaments were often used as money. See Job. xlii. 11. Exod. xxxv. 22, xxxii. 2. Numb. xxxi. 50. Judges xviii. 24, 25, 26, &c. &c. &c.

¹⁶ “*Papers read before the Royal Irish Academy*.”—Dublin, 1836, by Sir William Beetham, Ulster king of Arms.

gentleman's paper, it must be apparent that the various objects therein delineated, could not have been fabricated merely for the purpose to which coins are applied. I am well aware that it is much easier to dispute this point, than to show the purposes for which these rings were originally intended; but the very fact that there are several varieties in their shape, is against the supposition that they were used for one purpose only, namely, as a substitute for coined money. Sir William Beetham gives many representations of these rings which occur in gold, silver, and brass. One of them he tells us is of two inches and a half diameter. It is of brass, and is one of a large cart-load "found in a kind of tumulus in the county of Monaghan a few years since"¹⁷. That the reader may be enabled to form his own judgment on these curious relics, engravings of three varieties are here given.



Great numbers of rings of coral, ebony, or jet, are often discovered in the bogs of Ireland, affording additional proof that such objects were originally intended for personal ornaments.

I have next to notice the observations of M. de Saulcy in

the *Revue de la Numismatique Française*, on certain metal wheels discovered in France¹⁸. 'M. de Saulcy remarks, that at one time he entertained some doubt respecting the origin of these metal wheels.' When on a visit to Ville-Franche-sur-Saône, he saw, in the cabinet of M. Faure, a wheel formed of the metal known to Numismatists by the name of *Potin*, in every respect similar to one which he already possessed, and which was found in the neighbourhood of Châlons-sur-Marne. The wheel in the possession of M. Faure was discovered with seven or eight others in the neighbourhood of Lyons. They bear evident traces of having been cast. Another specimen in the cabinet of M. Liénard of Châlons-sur-Marne was found on the spot known as "the Camp of Attila," and is much worn, as M. de Saulcy supposes, by circulation. A third wheel in silver, in the possession of M. de Fienne of Bar-le-Duc, was dug up at Fains, a village near Bar, in which are many traces of ancient foundations. This wheel is of more simple form than the others (see fig. 2.); and M. de Saulcy observes that the cross has been inserted after the circle was formed. From a careful inspection of these interesting relics, that gentleman has arrived at the conclusion that they were the primitive money of the Gauls, and that they are the objects represented on most of the Gaulish coins of a later period¹⁹. A fourth piece, (fig. 4) is also described by M. de Saulcy from the cabinet of Dr. Richat of Châlons, which he supposes to mark the gradual change from the wheel to a more perfect coin.

¹⁸ " *Origine probable du Type de la Roue, placé fréquemment sur les monnaies Celtiques ou Gauloises*," p. 162.

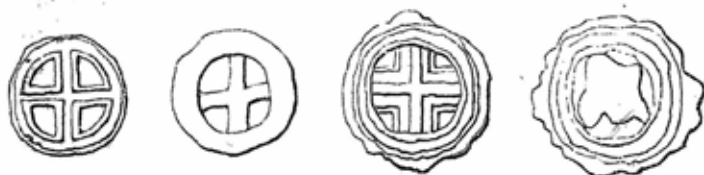
¹⁹ This idea is not altogether novel. Borlase was of opinion that the annulets on the British coins were representations of the ring-money mentioned by Cæsar. *Hist. of Cornwall*, p. 261.

With all possible respect for the opinion entertained by the author of the foregoing observations, I yet venture to differ from him. The evident scarcity of these wheels would seem to shew that they could not have been in use as money, but rather as charms or *amulets*. M. de Saulcy observes, that the *wheel* occurs on great numbers of Gaulish coins. The same might also be observed of the *cross*²⁰, which is found on all those gold pieces recently discovered at Quimper. At the risk of being censured for the exercise of that fancy which I have condemned in others, I venture to suggest that some mystic meaning might have been attached to the cross which forms the spokes of the wheel, and that, associated with the famed druidical circle, the whole formed an appropriate amulet or charm against evil²¹. The fondness of savage nations of all countries and ages for such

²⁰ It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that the cross is a mystical symbol of remote antiquity, and that it occurs on monuments many ages anterior to the appearance of the Messiah. Speed absurdly supposes a coin which has a cross upon it, and is of evident Gaulish fabric, to commemorate the baptism of a British king.

²¹ The reader will bear in mind the beautiful little silver coins of Massilia, which have a *wheel* on the reverse. Was this type adopted by the Massilienses out of compliment to the people in whose country they had settled? If so, the origin of the wheels produced by M. de Saulcy, is not so questionable; but it should be remembered that the wheel (or cross within a circle) is a symbol found even on Egyptian monuments. I have a scarabæus before me, upon which it appears with other symbols. It was also used by many cities which struck coins. See *Hunter*, *Luceria*, tab. xxxiv; *Tarentum*, tab. lvi; *Velia*, tab. lxii; *Segesta*, tab. xlviii; *Eckhel*, *Mesambria*, Num. Vet. tab. v. Also the parts of the Roman and Etruscan *As*. On some of these coins, the wheel is that of a chariot, but on others, it is clearly of a symbolical character. It is not probable that the wheel on the fine *As* in the British Museum, on the ancient pieces bearing the word TVTERE, in the same collection, or that on the Roman *Semis*, has allusion to the making or repairing of highways, or the manufacture of fictile vases; their meaning is obviously symbolical.

supposed preservatives against harm is well known. A representation of these very curious objects is here given:—



The circumstance of the cross being inserted in the silver wheel, after the circle was formed, is certainly not in favour of M. de Sauley's hypothesis.

The most common error of our English antiquaries, is that of supposing that the British coins of the third class²² bear the representations of objects peculiar to this country. Even the Marquis Lagoy, who has treated the subject more sensibly than any other writer, concludes his essay with the description of a coin which he supposes to have allusion to some British warrior:—

CVNO. Sphinx ailé, couché à dr.

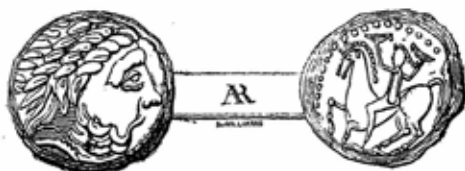
R. CAM. Figure nue, debout à gauche, revêtue d'une espèce de chlamyde, finissant en pointe par devant, tenant un sceptre sur l'épaule gauche, et de la main droite une tête humaine (à ce qu'il paraît) derrière un autel allumé.

Now this type is clearly the same as that published in Ruding²³, and it is singular that both that writer and the learned marquis have, in their belief that the figure on the reverse was a British chieftain, described him as holding a human head! In describing the object held in the right hand of the figure, the marquis, with that caution which should be the characteristic of a sound antiquary, says, "*une tete humaine (à ce qu'il paraît).*" The marquis' engraver has exercised the same caution, and merely given the outline

²² By third class is meant those of Cunobeline, or of the time of that prince.

²³ Plate 5, No. 9.

of the object held by the figure; but Ruding's draughtsman has actually delineated the features, and made a human head of that which is evidently a bunch of grapes²⁴! If any doubt can be entertained of this, I would refer the reader to the coins of Maronea, upon which Bacchus is represented in a similar posture, and with the same attributes. In fact, as I have before advanced, it is clear that the moneyers of Cunobeline never designed the subjects for his coins, but copied, or, to use a better term, endeavoured to imitate, any coin which struck their fancy. An inspection of the plates in Ruding will convince the reader that this opinion is well grounded. The Gaulish artists did the same²⁵, as will be seen by a remarkable coin in the cabinet of the Rev. E. C. Brice, which differs materially from any of the barbarous imitations of the money of Philip I have yet inspected.



I am aware that some antiquaries contend that the objects represented on the coins which are clearly of a period anterior to the time of Cunobeline, have relation to the manners or customs of the ancient Britons; but, as I have before observed, there is nothing to warrant such a conclusion. The only object which may reasonably be supposed

* ²⁴ Since writing this, I have examined the coin in the British Museum; and it is clear that the artist was not warranted in delineating the features of the supposed head. The coin itself is much worn and corroded.

²⁵ The Gauls took great liberties with the subjects they copied, or rather travestied, and some of their delineations vie with the extravagancies of Callot. To this may, perhaps, be attributed the origin of the androcephalous horse, an object never found on coins considered British.

to have been designed by the British moneyers is the *crescent*; but even this may have been imitated from the coins of a more civilized people. Numerous Greek cities, which it would be tedious to recite, made use of the crescent, either as a principal or subordinate symbol; and unless the commonly received opinion of the trading of the Phœnicians with this country be altogether abandoned, it would not be difficult to account for its adoption by a rude people who were taught to revere and worship the two great luminaries. It is admitted on all sides, that the moneyers of Cunobeline copied or endeavoured to imitate Greek and Roman coins. Why, then, should we doubt that the earlier coins of the Britons were copies of the money of those civilized states?

Before venturing on a description of the coins in the plates which accompany this paper, it may be well to notice in detail those given by Ruding, who unfortunately in one instance only has given any account of the places of their discovery.

Plate 1. Contains representations of twenty-one coins, most of which are clearly of British origin. I am well aware, however, that Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, are sometimes discovered on the coast of France. Nos. 9 to 14, closely resemble in style and fabric those which are often discovered on the southern coast of England from Portsmouth to Land's end.

Plate 2. Nos. 22 to 32, inclusive, are without doubt Gaulish coins, while the remainder in this plate are clearly British, no similar coins having been discovered in France. The resemblance of Nos. 22 to 32, to those of the large quantity discovered a short time since at Quimper in Brittany is evident; and, though the specimens from which Ruding made his drawings may have been discovered even in England, it is all but certain that they are not of British origin.

Plate 3. No. 43, doubtful, but in all probability, British.—No. 44 and 45, British.—46 and 47, resemble those found in the Isle of Wight. 48, Gaulish.—49, 50, 51, Isle of Wight.—52, British.—53, Gaulish.—54, British?



BRITISH COINS.

PLATE I



R.
1



AE
2



N
3



N
4



N
5



R.
6



EL
7



N
8



N



POT



EGT



BRITISH COINS.

PLATE II



N
1



N
2



N
3



N
4



N
5



N
6



N
7



N
8



N
9



N
10



N
11



N
12



From the collection of the British Museum.

London, published by W. Phillips, 1851.



55 to 66, and 67 to 73, resemble those found so often in Picardy, and are doubtless Gaulish.

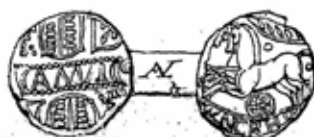
From the manner in which Ruding has classed these coins, particularly in his third plate, it is quite clear that he took but little pains to ascertain their origin, or the places of their discovery, which in all probability he might at that time have ascertained without much difficulty.²⁶ It is very seldom that we obtain correct information as to the localities in which these coins are discovered, unless the quantity renders concealment impossible. The very fact of the finding renders secrecy necessary, lest some legal claimant should rob the finder of his right of possession; it is not, therefore, surprising that we have but little information on this head. It is a remarkable fact, that coins closely resembling Pl. I. No. 9, in the accompanying plates, are often²⁷ discovered on the southern coast of England, while those resembling Nos. 11 & 12, are found in the inland counties.

Ruding observes that he did not find, on any British coins, letters like some of those given in the alphabet of Boute-roue. The like observation applies to the specimens accompanying this paper, with the exception of one coin upon which a Θ appears; but even this may have been an unfinished wheel, though occurring in what may be called the legend; for those ornaments are very fantastically arranged on some British coins. I obtained about five years since, a gold coin of Cunobeline which was discovered in Cam-

²⁶ A few years since a parcel amounting to nearly one hundred coins, in silver and mixed metal, were found near Portsmouth. They, for the most part, resembled those given by Ruding, Plate 3, Nos. 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, and, Plate 2, Nos. 32, 33, and 34. Mr. Cuff, who communicates this, observes, it is worthy of remark, that not one of them has the androcephalous horse.

²⁷ I had written *invariably*, but on looking over Borlase's history of Cornwall, I find that two coins of the same character were dug up in the Parish of Swacliffe, near Madmarston castle, Oxfordshire, in the year 1746.

bridgeshire, and upon which I at first supposed I had found the Greek character H, but, as a slip of the graver may have produced the longitudinal stroke, we cannot be certain that an H is intended. An engraving of this coin is here given. It differs slightly from that in Ruding.²⁸



I have now to notice the coins, given in the plate which accompanies these remarks. It is difficult to describe minutely pieces which have so many objects of doubtful meaning; but as the engravings may be relied on for correctness, a more minute account will not be necessary.

PLATE I.

- No. 1. This is the most barbarous specimen in the series of British coins; its execution is even ruder than that given by Ruding. It was found on Lenham Heath in 1781. AR. (*British Museum.*)
- No. 2. A coin of the same character, and evidently of the same period as the preceding. It is one of a parcel discovered under the bed of the canal in St. James' Park about ten years since. AE. (*Cab. of Mr. Edmund Spencer.*)
- No. 3. This coin is placed next to the foregoing, on account of the simplicity of the objects represented on it. On one side are six globules or pellets in very high relief, on the other some figures or characters, the name and meaning of which it would be hopeless to attempt to describe. The piece is convex and concave, and is of an oval shape. AV. (*British Museum.*)
- No. 4. It is difficult to describe this coin accurately. On one side is represented an animal, which, if intended for a horse, is of a very different shape to that usually found on British coins. In the field are pellets and other objects. The other side, placed as the reverse in the plate, has some

²⁸ Plate 4, No. 1.

object alike inexplicable, but the rude representation of a wreath is evident, extending across the field of the coin. AV. (*British Museum.*)

- No. 5. Bears on one side an uncouth figure of a horse between the legs of which appears the wheel. The reverse bears what may be supposed by some to represent a full-blown rose, but which may possibly have been imitated from some Jewish or Macedonian coin with the shield. AV. (*British Museum.*)
- No. 6. The obverse of this coin bears the rude representation of a human head, but in other respects is not remarkable. I possessed several coins of a similar description, which I have reason to believe were found in one of the midland counties. AR. (*Cabinet of Mr. J. D. Cuff.*)
- No. 7. *Obverse.* The disjointed figure of a horse; above, several globules or pellets, probably intended collectively to represent some object; below, a wheel with six spokes.—*Reverse.* A rudely drawn figure resembling a fern-leaf. This coin was found at Mount Batten, near Plymouth, in 1832. *Electrum.* (*British Museum.*)
- No. 8. This coin resembles the former, but its execution is less rude and the letters CATTI appear above the horse. It was discovered at Frome. *Electrum.* (*Cabinet of Mr. J. D. Cuff.*)
- No. 9. This coin is one of a considerable number found in the neighbourhood of Plymouth, near to which town many pieces of a similar character have frequently been discovered. It resembles those given by Borlase, in his history of Cornwall, and stated by that writer to have been dug up at Karn-Brê in the year 1749. The style of workmanship of the coins of this class is very different to all others discovered in this country, and certainly bears no resemblance to any of the Gaulish series. AR. (*British Museum.*)
- No. 10. A very remarkable coin found with several others of the same type in Yorkshire. On one side is the uncouth and disjointed figure of a horse with a legend which appears to stand thus—NOW VPOSDVM, but which I will not attempt to explain. It is difficult to describe the objects on the other side; but the two rows of squares placed longitudinally appear to have been designed for a wreath, a favourite object on British coins. There are also the remains of a legend in two lines— $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VO} \dots \text{N} \\ \text{SI} \dots \text{O} \end{array} \right\}$. AV. (*British Museum.*)

- No. 11. A neat little coin, having on one side a horse rudely drawn, though not without spirit. Above the horse is the head of a spear, and between the legs is a wheel or star. The reverse has a wreath crossing the field between two annulets. AV. (*British Museum.*)
- No. 12. This piece closely resembles in type and workmanship those engraved by Ruding, Plate 3, Nos. 49 & 50. It is one of a large number, discovered a few years since at Mount Batten. It is a fact well worthy of remark, that these pieces differ both from the Gaulish and British coins. The reverse bears a strange and uncouth representation of a horse above which appears a curious figure, which it would be difficult to describe, but which strongly reminds me of a gold Gaulish coin I formerly possessed (now in the cabinet of the Rev. E. C. Brice), upon which an eagle is represented holding the reins of a horse. I possess two coins of the same description found at Guernsey. This type appears to have been peculiar to the Channel Islands. *Potin.* (*Cab. of Mr. J. D. Cuff.*)
- No. 13. A small coin of barbarous execution and of base metal (*Potin*), discovered with the preceding. (*Cab. of Mr. Cuff.*)

PLATE II.

- No. 1. This very remarkable coin was found at Oxnead, Norfolk, in 1831. Though the obverse partakes of the character of some of the preceding specimens, the reverse is widely different; indeed it is altogether unlike any British coins I have hitherto seen; and this, added to the circumstance of its having been found far from the southern coast of England where so many British coins have "turned up," is certainly in favour of an opinion entertained by some of our best numismatists, that the ancient British coins may some day not only be shewn to belong to England, but also to particular districts. AV. (*British Museum.*)
- No. 2. The reverse of this coin is remarkable; besides other objects, it bears on a kind of tablet two crescents placed back to back. The obverse has the figure of an animal probably intended for a horse, and in the field a wreath, several pellets and some letters, among which appear TA. AR. (*Cabinet of Mr. Cuff.*)
- No. 3. This coin resembles those given by Ruding, plate 2, Nos. 35 and 36, but it has letters which are apparently Greek, and which stand thus: ΑΘΟΙΛ. The place of its discovery is not known; but there is no reason for supposing it Gaulish, although Greek characters do not appear on any

other British coin I have examined.²⁹ AV. (*British Museum.*)

- No. 4. Resembles the preceding, with the characters OAA. AV. (*Cabinet of J. D. Cuff.*)
- No. 5. This coin, though plain on one side, has the letters SONII. . over the horse. AV. (*British Museum.*)
- No. 6. Resembles the preceding, but has the letters ONA; and the skull of a horned animal appears in the field. AV. (*British Museum.*)
- No. 7. Portions of several letters appear on one side of this coin, which, besides the horse, has a branch in the field and three rings or annulets. The reverse has a curious ornament by no means unlike the feather surmounting the head of the Egyptian Deities. AV. (*British Museum.*)
- No. 8. The skull appears on this coin, and the ring is surrounded by a circle of dots or pellets. AV. (*British Museum.*)
- No. 9. Resembles No. 8, but the reverse is of better execution. Above the horse are several letters or characters. This coin, which was found near High-Wycombe in 1827, is of a very distinct character from those found near Plymouth. AV. (*British Museum.*)
- No. 10. Was also found near High-Wycombe. The obverse bears an equestrian figure with the arms raised aloft, and the letter V, without any ornament. The reverse, the same as that of the preceding coin. AV. (*British Museum.*)
- No. 11. Resembles No. 8, but is of better workmanship.
- No. 12. On this coin, the Equestrian figure flourishes a long club or pedom: two wheels, each with four spokes, appear in the field, and the Letters TASC doubtless intended for TASCIO, a word which, it should be remembered, never occurs on Gaulish coins³⁰. AV. (*British Museum.*)

²⁹ Gaulish coins often bear Greek characters. Cæsar, in speaking of the Gauls (*Bell. Gall.* l. vi. c. 14), says, "In rebus publicis, Græcis litteris utuntur."

³⁰ Many of the coins of Cunobeline bear this word on a kind of tablet across the field, which the Marquis Lagoy says, is never found on Gaulish coins.

All the coins given in the foregoing list differ from those published by Ruding; and the types of some of them are altogether new. Should the reader's cabinet contain any specimens of the Gaulish series, he may at once compare and decide for himself. He will not require to be told that there is a vast difference in the style of the coins of Gaul and Britain; that in many instances they are of a widely different type, and that those found in the Channel Islands resemble neither. I contend that we cannot, and indeed ought not, to rely on the authority of Cæsar, who, minute as he is in some particulars relating to the Gauls, cannot be accredited when he says, that the Britons at the period of his invasion, did not use stamped money. In looking over these remarks, an experienced numismatist observed, that "he had always thought it passing strange that the Britons should have used iron for money, and brass or mixed metal for swords and spear heads;" for the weapons often discovered in England are neither Roman nor Saxon. There is little doubt that Cæsar was induced to visit Britain by a thirst of conquest: he came to destroy, not to observe; and his own words shew that he had no leisure for observation during his short stay in this island.

I have to notice the observations of my friend, Mr. Haggard, in reference to the doubts I have expressed respecting the Ring-money described in Sir William Beetham's paper. Mr. Haggard observes:—"I had recently "the pleasure of a conversation with Sir William Beetham; "and from his remarks I was led to believe that he was well "acquainted with the use of these interesting rings, and "that he is fully justified in supposing them to have been "used as money. For my own part, I see no reason why "they should not have been so used. In this country, not "many years ago, there was a much ruder piece of money,

“namely, Mr. Ricardo’s *Gold Ingot*, but with this difference
 “certainly, that it would be impossible to mistake it for an
 “ornament. I have seen large quantities of Sisee money
 “from China, the exact shape of a horse’s hoof, and some
 “of them smaller, resembling the hoof of an ass. In Persia,
 “they had money in the form of a pair of lemon squeezers,
 “or nut-crackers; and in Morocco, rings of gold and silver
 “are the currency of the country, their exportation being
 “prohibited. The merchants who travel, string these money
 “rings, and hide them under their dresses. These rings are
 “found to be, in weight, the multiples of twelve grains. I
 “have occasionally seen consignments of bullion to this
 “country, comprising gold and silver ornaments mixed
 “with these rings.”

I have merely to add, that these facts do not prove that the rings of gold so often discovered in Ireland were originally designed for the purposes of money only. That they were occasionally used as such, there can be little doubt; and there is good reason for believing that other personal ornaments were, in time of need, applied to the same purposes by different nations. Probably to this circumstance may be attributed the purity of the gold used in the fabrication of all very ancient ornaments.

In conclusion, I have to express a hope, that the intelligent Numismatists of the continent, will institute a comparison between the early coins of the two countries; and that the result will be a conviction that the Britons were acquainted with the use of stamped money, and had a coinage of their own long previous to the arrival of Cæsar.

J. Y. A.

Peckham, March 1st, 1837.

(Read before the Numismatic Society, March 16th, 1837.)

XXVIII.

ON AN UNEDITED SILVER "FIORINO," WITH AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE FLORENTINE COINAGE DURING THE TIME OF THE REPUBLIC.

"Quante volte del tempo, che rimembre ;
 Legge, monete, e ufficio, e costume,
 Ha tu mutato, e renovato membre."—DANTE.

"How oft within the time we can retrace,
 Hast thou thy customs changed and changed again ;
 Thy laws, thy coin, and even thy very race."—J. C. WRIGHT.

THE coinage of Florence surpassed that of most of the cities of Italy in dignity and in fine types, which is confirmed by the statement of many numismatic writers who treated on the coins of the middle ages; but neither Villani, Orsini, nor Gorri, who wrote principally on the Florentine coins, point out a certain epoch as the commencement of the Florentine mint. In that truly classic work of Zanetti, "*Delle Monete e Zecche d'Italia*," much is said of the Florentine coinage; but still there is no fixed period given for its origin. "Incerta è l'epoca di questa Zecca, che altri dicono fu portato fino ai tempi di Arrigo I (the emperor Henry I). Il conte Carli, però, la credo nato nel XII secolo, benché le più antiche monete siono del secolo XIII."¹ M. Lelewel, in his newly-published work on coins of the middle ages², has merely devoted a few lines to those of Florence, and they begin with that terrible word obscurity—"l'obscurité couvre l'origin de la monnaie de Florence." However, in the preface to M. Lelewel's laborious and useful work, the reader will find an ample and satisfactory explanation of such omissions.

¹ Zanetti, vol. ii. p. 91.

² *Numismatique du Moyen Age, considéré sous le Rapport du Type*. Par Joachim Lelewel. Paris, 1835.

Florence was founded by the soldiers of Sylla, and embellished and enlarged by the Triumvirs. The Florentines renounced paganism about the year 326, under the pontificate of St. Silvester I. and under the imperial sway of Constantine the Great, when they consecrated the temple of Mars, whom they worshipped, as a Christian church, and dedicated it to St. John the Baptist (*Duomo di San Giovanni*).

"I' fui della citta che nel Battista
Cangiò 'l primo padrono ; onde per questo,
Sempre coll' arte sua la farà trista."

"Mine was that city which exchanged of yore,
For John the Baptist, her first guardian,—he
Will always use his means to make her sad."

J. C. WRIGHT.

Dante is here alluding to the everlasting broils of the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

In the frequent irruptions of the northern nations that subverted the Roman Italia, Florence followed the fate of the rest of Italy : it was destroyed by Totila, and rebuilt in the time of Charlemagne (801).

For several centuries Florence evidently had no mint, either imperial or of its own; and even after the Florentines had freed themselves from the emperors, and had acquired some degree of strength and independence, and enriched themselves by demolishing the place from which they sprung, Fiesole³ (1010), their old maternal town (*loro antica madre*), and had enriched themselves still more by taking many castles and lands from such families as derived their origin from officers of the armies of the Lombards and the Franks, the silver money then current at Florence and within its territory was only the imperial denar of Lucca, called the *Enerici* (*Henerici*), a small and badly executed

³ " See that ungrateful and malignant race,
Who erst came down from lofty Fiesole,
And of their mountain flint still bear the trace."

coin, and probably not always of the best silver. In many instances mention is made of "Denarios Lucenses bonos et spendibiles et non amplius." All transactions were made at that time in the Lucchese money. "Anno 1044, D. Gherardus Episc. Flor. concessit Presbitero Gironi Rectori S. Laurentii foras Muro (S. Lorenzo antichissima ed ora Regia Basilica, fuori del primo et antico cerchio di Firenze), in perpetuum unam sortem terræ, ad modios 80, positam in loco qui dicitur Cecina, pro annuo fictu solidorum 30 Luccensium⁴. The gold coins in circulation in Florence previous to the gold florin (1252), were the bizants of Constantinople (Byzantium). There is also mention made of Mancosos Aureos, or Mancusi d'Oro, which signifies Mark, and is derived from the Anglo Saxon Mancas, Mancus, Mancusa, Mearc, reckoned both in gold and silver.

In 680, Ina, king of the Saxons, obliged the men of Kent to purchase their peace at the price of 30,000 Mancusi auri. In the notes to King Canute's laws, is this distinction found, that Mancusa was of the same value as a mark of silver; and Manca, a square piece of gold, was valued at thirty pence. In France, they were called Mangon.

"Dist la Dame or abez faucon,
Deux bezans valent un Mangon,
Ce fu bien dit Deux mot a un,
Qu'il en auroit Deux pour un."

(*Le Roman de Guillaume au Faucon, MSS.*)

The bizants seem, by many documents, to have been at one time the principal current gold coin in France; they are mentioned even as late as the end of the thirteenth century. The author of the Romance of the Rose, who

⁴ *Zanetti*, vol.i. p.312.

wrote in the time of Philippe le Bel, makes Cupid speak of Venus.

"Ma Mere est de moult grand proress,
Elle a prises mainte fortresse,
Qui coutait plus de mille bezans,
Ou je fusse pas ja presens."

Bizants current in Germany are mentioned in the documents of Salzburg, from the time of the Emperor Henry IV. (1074.) In England, mention of the bizants is made as late as the reign of Edward III. the value of that coin was, however, so entirely forgotten, that when the bishop of Norwich was fined a bizantine of gold to be paid to the abbot of St. Edmundsbury for infringing his liberty, (as it had been enacted by parliament in the time of the Conqueror), no man, then living, could tell how much it was; so that it was referred to the king to decide how much he should pay⁵.

"Anno 1072, la contessa Matilde pone per pena duo millia bisantios auri, a chi contravverra ad un suo Placito, a favore di Berta, priora del Monasteo di S. Felicita, ora incluso in Firenze⁶." "Bizantios Auri" are also mentioned in a parchment of the date 1187, in the Archives of Valombrosa.

In 1158, for the first time, mention is made of the coins of Pisa in Florentine documents. "Anno 1158, le monache di S. Felicita comprano un pezzo di terra per lira 24 Lucchesi e Pisane." ("Ecco che principia ad aver corso e credito in Firenze la moneta Pisana," says Signor Zanetti⁷.) Every transaction or contract, as stated before, was made out either in the coins of Lucca or Pisa, so that the Florentine merchants, in order not to be too great losers in the exchange, were obliged to take their silver bars to

⁵ Chambers' *Encyclopedia* (Money). ⁶ Zanetti, vol. i. p. 280.

⁷ Zanetti, vol. i. p. 314.

Lucca, and have them coined into Lucchese money⁸. However, in the year 1181, the Pisans (then masters of the seas) began a reform in their coinage, and struck their fine *Frederici*, coins by far superior in dignity, size, and design, to those of Lucca; then the Lucchese money fell into discredit at Florence, and from that time every transaction made there, was made in the Pisan money. “Anno 1186, Raynaldinus et alii vendunt Abbati Rodulfo Monasterii de Pacciana petiam Terræ a Pacciana pro solidis 40, bonorum denariorum Pisanorum.” “Anno 1203, Ruggeroctus vendit domum positam Florentiæ pro libris 27, Pisæ monetæ⁹.”

When the Pisans had begun to strike those fine imperial coins, the *Frederici* (the Pisans being Ghibelines), the Florentines at length thought it time to do the same, and have proper coins of the Republic, when the fine silver Fiorini appeared. Gori, in addition to my argument, gives a confirmatory passage of Villani, who for the first time mentions, in 1182, the silver fiorino. “Nel 1182, correva in Firenze una moneta d'argento che si chiamava fiorini¹⁰.”

Orsini published two engravings of small coins, one of silver, and one of copper, which he thinks much older than the Fiorino d'argento; but the designs plainly prove, that the one is only a subdivision of the Fiorino, and the other a subdivision of the grosso of 20 denari from the year 1316.

Summing up these evidences, the result of my inquiries, I am enabled to fix a positive period for the beginning of the Florentine mint; to state that the first coin ever struck at Florence was in the year 1181, and that the name of that coin was the Fiorino d'argento.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 250.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 315.

¹⁰ Gori, *Il Fiorino d'oro*, p. 209.

I hope these evidences may be sufficient to prove the correctness of my statement.

Zu vieldeutig hüllet die Treffer nur ein.



THE FIORINO D'ARGENTO, 1181.

Obv. Observe the half length, full-faced, and bearded figure of St. John the Baptist, with the circle of glory around his head; the long hair floating down his shoulders, over which is a cloak fastened on the chest by a button. He is represented in the attitude of preaching, having the right hand raised to give the benediction, in the Greek manner; which is by holding out at full length the fore-finger and little finger, and having the two middle fingers closed against the thumb. In the left hand he is holding a staff surmounted by a cross; and in the field, to the left of the saint is the blossom of the lily (*Det tibi florere XPS Florentia vere*), referring to his protection of Florence. Inscribed (after a croslet) *IOHANNES Batista*. (The Italian Giovanni is derived from the Lombard Jovannes.)

Rev. In the field, a large lily, the arms of Florence (red in silver field), and inscribed (after a croslet) *FLORENTIA*.

This unedited silver florin differs from those already published in many numismatic works, as the following remarks will show.

The design of St. John is finer and rather larger; then there is the blossom of a lily to the left of the saint, which the others have not. In the inscription there is no S. for Sanctus, (in the remotest times the form was, Dominus Johannem Baptistam,) which the others have. The name has all its letters *IOHANNES*, while the others have only

IOHANNE. On the reverse is the design of the lily, a little different; and at the end of the inscription FLORENTIA, is a point where the others have a star.

This fine coin must be very rare, I have not observed it in any private collection I have seen on the Continent, nor lately at the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. There is a silver Fiorino at the British Museum (also unpublished) which comes near to mine, having in the legend no S. for Sanctus; but the small lily, or blossom of the lily in the field, on the left side of St. John, is wanted; and that Saint is also represented much older than on mine. I consider this coin as the earliest pattern of the silver Fiorino, and as a very fine specimen of the revival of the art of engraving in Italy. The head of St. John represented on it, might have been a model even for Michael Angelo in the execution of his Moses.

The Greeks are supposed to be the authors of these fine coins; and they introduced painting and architecture at Florence, according to Vasari, who also observes, that they were soon surpassed by Cimabue.

"In painting, Cimabue thought the field
Was all his own,—now Giotto has the cry,
And bids his predecessor's glory yield."—DANTE.

I give also several different designs of the whole length figure of St. John the Baptist, represented on the early coins of the republic, down to the time of Alexander de Medicis, the first duke; and I refer to an article on the revival of the art of painting in Italy, by Count A. de Razynski¹¹. "It was dry and inanimate. The draperies were stiff, angular, and heaped without plan and without reserve. The extremities were not well drawn, and were frequently

¹¹ *Geschichte der neuern Deutschen Kunst*. Berlin, 1836. *Histoire de l'Art moderne en Allemagne*. Paris, 1836.

too large, the limbs harsh, without muscular substance, the groups in straight lines; but in the head we begin already to discover truth, often correctness, sometimes even expression." The reader will soon observe how accurately this paragraph alludes also to the coins of that time.



No. 1. On the gold Florin, 1252. No. 2. On the Popolino, 1305. No. 3. On the Guelfo, 1314. No. 4. On the Grosso, 1483. No. 5. On the Battezzoni, 1505, so named

from the figure of St. John, baptizing our Saviour. No. 6. On a coin of Alexander dei Medici, first duke of Florence: the two figures represent St. Cosmus, and St. Damian. This fine and rare coin I saw in the British Museum, and at the Bibliothèque Royal, in Paris. It was struck by the famous Benvenuto Cellini, and is published by Gori¹², in 1738, who terms it, even at that time, a rare coin.

“Il Duca Alessandro dei Medici, fèce battere monete d’oro e d’argento, e in quella d’oro da una banda fece intagliare l’arme della sua famiglia, e dall’ altra una croce arabescata, in questa d’argento la sua effigie, e nel rovescio i santi Cosimo, e Damiano; la qual moneta è assai bella e rara, fatta dal famoso artefice, Benvenuto Cellini.” In the history of his eventful life, Cellini gives the description of the designs on several coins he made for the duke; but I do not recollect any mention of that fine one; and it is my opinion, Cellini’s reason for not noticing it was, that being an old republican, he was ashamed to own, that he was employed for the paltry sum of fifty crowns, to alter, on the coins of the republic, the beloved saint in whose church he was baptized.

It may be easily supposed, that, at the time of the commencement of the Florentine mint, not enough specie could be delivered, to supply all the demands of the Florentine merchants, nor the surrounding country, which carried on already a considerable commerce, particularly with the maritime republic of Pisa; so that I am not surprised, (from a scarcity of the proper Florentine money, as well as from the long-standing custom of settling all accounts in foreign coins), to find, on the evidence of many documents, that dealings in the Pisan money continued at Florence

¹² *Il Fiorino d’oro*, p. 240.

until the year 1279. "Anno 1255. La parte Guelfa di Firenze prestò alla parte Guelfa d'Arezzo, 'libras 12,000 Denariorum Pisanorum Veterum.' Monsignor Vine Borghini, spogli d'un libro di contratti appartenenti al Pubblico di Firenze¹³. Anno 1279. Severinus quond. Jacobi Pop. S. Pauli di Florentia civis in suo Testamento reliquit fratribus minoribus S. Crucis ad Templum de Florentia libras 200 Denariorum Pisanorum minutorum¹⁴."

The silver Fiorino may yet be compared to the silver Denar or penny of the middle ages, then almost the only species of money in Europe (primitively of fine silver), with its subdivisions, until the 13th century, when, after the discovery of some productive silver mines in Bohemia, a larger kind of coins appeared at Prague, the "Grossi Pragenses;" and in France, the "Gross Tournois." The former were soon imitated by the Dukes of Saxony, and other neighbouring states of Bohemia. But the Tournois, a coin of much more dignity, and finer in design than the Grossi Pragenses, was still more adopted; and the Tournois of Frankfort became very renowned. A somewhat larger coin than the Fiorino d'argento made its appearance at Florence with the Popolini in 1305; and the Grosso Guelfo about the size of the Gross Tournois, appeared in 1314. With the Popolini, the sign or arms of the mint-masters, who were chosen from the first families of Florence, appears, for the first time, on silver coins:—I Maestri Zecchieri che erano delle principale Famiglie de la Citta¹⁵.

"Anno 1305. Lapis de lo Strozza [and others], fuerunt pro communis Florentiæ, Domini et Officiales Monete Aureæ, &c. &c." The Medici appear, for the first time, in 1377. "Verio cambii de Medici pro arte camporum,

¹³ Zanetti, vol. i. p. 316.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Orsini, p. 46.

Civibus honorabilibus Florentinis cominis, et Officialibus Zecchæ Communis Florentiæ et cujuslibet Monetæ Auri, et Argenti quæ fit, et cuditur in dicta Zecca pro tempore sex mensium, inceptorum die primo mensis Maii dicti anni¹⁶.” “Anno 1430. In Christi nomine, Amen. Extentibus pro Magnifico Popolo, et Communi Florentiæ nobilibus viris Andrea Guglielmi de Pazzis, pro arte kallismale, [cloth merchant¹⁷],” &c. And so by those signs or family arms of the mint-masters, the date of the coins can be well ascertained.

The Florentines, as early as the year 1282, had classed themselves into distinct bodies, or municipal companies, according to their professions; and in order to place their government on a truly popular foundation, had determined that no person should be eligible to a public office, unless he was either actually, or professedly a member of one or other of these companies. By this regulation, the nobility were either excluded from the offices of the state, or in order to obtain them, were obliged to degrade the honours of their rank by the appellation of artizans. From these associated bodies, a certain number of members were deputed to exercise the supreme government, in conjunction with an officer whom they named Gonfaloniere, from his carrying the standard (Gonfalone) of the republic, whose authority was, however, subordinate to that of the delegated mechanics, or Priori delle arti (Magnifici, et Excelsi Domini, Domini Priores Libertatis et Vexillifer Justitiæ Populi Florentini.) They had increased at various intervals, to six, and eight, “Due Priori furono eletti dal Quartiere Santo Spirito, due dal Quartiere Santa Croce, due dal Quartiere Santa Maria Novella, e altri due dal Quartiere San Giovanni. Questi

¹⁶ *Orsini*. p. 118.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 185.

otto Priori insieme col Gonfaloniere governarono la Repubblica insino alla mutazione dello stato" (1532)¹⁸.

The small size of the coins in the middle ages must, of course, be attributed to the scarcity of the precious metals. Almost every town or monastery of any consequence, every independent duke or count, had each their own money struck; so that by such a variety and division, it must be supposed, that the quantity of coins struck by each party, was, as compared to our times, very limited; and I am of opinion, that it could not have been worth while for many artists to devote themselves entirely to the study of engraving, and it may be supposed that only the emperors and the great mercantile republics had, in those early times, regular mint engravers, until more recent periods, at the general revival of the arts, the art of engraving became again one of its brightest ornaments.

I believe, therefore, that the dies of many fine coins of those days, have been engraved only by a goldsmith, a painter, or a sculptor. The earliest mention of a regular mint engraver at Florence, I find to be in 1375. Niccholao Pazini, intagliatore "*ferrorum et coniorum auri et argenti, et monetæ quæ cuditur in dicta Zecca.*"

By such highly gifted men as Cimabue, Giundo, Pisano, Guido of Siena, Giotto, Donatello, any such work of art might have been executed. In 1300, Andreas di Pisa, son of the architect Nicolas, cast the admirable bronze gates of the baptistry at Florence. More general records state that medals and coins were executed by painters and sculptors; we have, however, only from the fifteenth and sixteenth century, any like those of Victor Pisani.

*Gratia Pisano debitor summa labori
Qui faciem Herois multos servavit in annos.*

¹⁸ *Gori*, p. 366.

Then we have Antonio Pollajuolo, a Florentine painter, of whom I possess two rare medals of the Medici, one commemorating the conjuration of the Pazzi, (1478.) "A. Pollajuolo fece alcune medaglie bellissime, e fra l'altra in una la congiura de' Pazzi, nella quale sono le teste di Lorenzo e Giuliano de' Medici, e nel reverso il choro di S. Maria del Fiore, e tutto il caso come passo appunto¹⁹.

The figures on that medal are all represented naked, as Pollajuolo excelled all his contemporaries in the knowledge of the human figure. Then we have Boldu, Marescoto, de Pastis, Albrecht Durer, Benvenuto Cellini, &c. &c. May not the fine silver medallion of Henry VIII. have been executed by Holbein? It is supposed that the author of two very fine coins (*Testone*) of Ludovico Sforza, duke of Milan, surnamed the Moor, is no other than Leonardo da Vinci; they are inscribed M·SF·ANGLUS·DUX·MLI, which word, "Anglus," Pinkerton was at a loss to understand²⁰. The word Anglus is derived from Angleria, (Italian Anghiera), a considerable county on the Lago Maggiore, to the north of the duchy of Milan, the possessor of which had formerly the honor of being first master of the ceremonies at the coronation of the German emperors as kings of Italy.

The Visconti were descended from the illustrious house of the counts of Anghiera, and gave themselves (with the permission of the Emperor Wenceslaus), also the name of Anglus, abbreviated from Anglerius, in fact, counts of Anghiera (Angleræque Comes). Otto, upon his obtaining Milan, took the name Visconti, or Bisconti, as being twice a count, by possessing two principalities, which had that title.

It was to this Ludovico Sforza, that Milan owed the lofty

¹⁹ *Vasari*, Vita di Ant. Pollajuoli.

²⁰ *Essay on Medals*, vol. ii. p. 16.

situation it once held among the cities celebrated as nurseries of the arts: and it was he who first patronized, with just and princely generosity, the great masters who carried Italian art to a degree of perfection hitherto unconceived in the minds of its professors. Leonardo da Vinci was a Florentine, and exercised his genius there for some time. Milan, at that period, beginning to experience the effect of Il Moro's magnificence, offered the greatest attraction to the ambitious artist, and he accordingly wrote to the protector, expressing a desire to enter into his service. The fame of Leonardo was already spread over Italy; and Ludovico availed himself of the opportunity of adding a man of such distinguished genius to the number of his favourites. And it is said, that Leonardo not only exercised his genius as a painter, engineer, and architect, but also as an engraver of the mint. I have no doubt, that, through the medium of Numismatic Periodicals, that branch of Numismatics hitherto so much neglected, the study of the coins of the middle ages of Europe, will, in a short time, take a firmer footing. A successful beginning has been made of late again in Germany and in France. Muratori gave to the Italians many a broad hint of the utility of the study of the coins of the middle ages; and they cultivated it for some time; all the rage, however, at present is again for the Greek and Roman coins. In Germany, the Romans begin to get out of fashion: this seems to be proved by the high prices given for interesting and rare coins of the middle ages, and by several new works published recently on them: and so it is in France. In travelling through that country, very few of the kind of coins I am alluding to can be obtained. Every town has one or more amateurs (not collectors for the market of Paris).

Far be it from me to pretend to say, that the illustration

of the very beautiful Greek, and fine Roman coins, is not very useful, and most interesting; but I do not see the reason why the illustration of the coins of the middle ages should not be quite as interesting. Surely they are more useful to the history of our own times; and I think Numismatic writers may as well allude now and then to the lives of some of the early promoters of Christianity, represented on those apparently insignificant coins, as to write pages concerning a heathen deity. Referring to medals, — may not the fine silver medal of Martin Luther from the year 1526, struck by Albrecht Durer, deserve a better illustration, than the finest one of the destroyers of Jerusalem. Is Charlemagne less than Alexander? Do antique medals represent greater patriots than Andrea Doria (Di Auria)? or more virtuous men than Carlo Borromeo? Is Hippolita Gonzaga represented on fine medals less lovely than Julia Mammæa or Anna Comnena? Can ancient coins be more interesting than those coins of the Visconti which have on one side the figure of the great archbishop, Ambrose of Milan, who was so distinguished by his energy and uprightness, (375-397), in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius the Great. What can be more pathetic than the recollection of the words of Petrarch, when speaking of the statue in the church of that saint, said to resemble him perfectly, and which appeared alive? Petrarch was never weary of beholding it. "It was a most agreeable object," says he, "this great archbishop appeared to give me his blessing. What majesty in his countenance, what sweetness and expression in his eyes. This sight spread over my heart a lively and inexpressible tranquillity; I rejoiced that I came to Milan." In this quotation, is not only recognised the piety and amiability for which Petrarch was so deservedly eminent, but a keen perception and love of the fine arts can be

traced, which made him also one of the earliest collectors of Roman coins on record, and must endear his name to every Numismatist.

J. G. PFISTER.

XXIX.

ON THE CLASS OF COINS DENOMINATED "RESTORED."

THE term "restored" belongs only to coins of the Roman mint, nothing of the same kind occurring in the Greek coinage, or that of any other nation; and the period during which they were issued, except in two or three instances, is confined to the reigns of Titus, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan.¹ Many coins bearing the name of Alexander (the Great), and similar in all respects to his own, were, from policy, struck long after his death, in parts of his former dominions (and hence probably the large number extant); but this was not a restoration, it was merely a continuation of the type. Nor certainly can some coins of the ancient Gauls (struck evidently in rude imitation of those of the Greeks,² with whom they traded, and perhaps especially

¹ The Consecration types of former emperors commonly attributed to Gallienus, and erroneously called "restored coins," will be noticed hereafter.

It has been stated that Claudius and Nero restored some middle brass types of Augustus, which is very possible; such medals, however, were unknown to Eckhel, who says, "*Si qui restitutorem alium memorant, quod nonnunquam fieri in catalogis videmus, in suspectis habendi.*"

² For instance, the imitations of the tetradrachms of Philip of Macedon, whose money obtained a most extensive circulation, and also of those of the island of Thasus, on which the brawny figure of Hercules seems to have been a favourite with the Gauls. The latter coins, generally sufficiently coarse in the originals, are rendered utterly barbarous in the Celtic copies.

after the colonization of Marseilles,) be considered in any proper sense restored coins; so that, not to enlarge on a point that I apprehend will not be disputed, the true "*numi restituti*" are the production of the Roman mint alone, and, indeed, speak for themselves, by presenting, in addition to the usual legend, the abbreviation REST. or, though rarely, the word RESTITVIT at full length, following the name of the emperor by whose authority they were republished.

Many coins, therefore, are to be excluded from this class, though they bear portraits of former emperors, or of deceased members of the imperial family. The portrait of J. Caesar is given on coins of Augustus, that of Augustus on several of Tiberius and Caligula; the last of whom struck medals in honour of his mother, Agrippina; and the same was done by Claudius in memory of his parents, Drusus senior and Antonia; but all such are clearly new types, the latter being altogether original commemorations. Indeed, some of these very coins were restored in the usual manner.

In preference to the term "*numi restituti*," Eckhel uses that of "*numi restitutionum*," as referring more suitably to the various kinds with which we are acquainted³. For in some instances where REST. occurs, no archetypes are known to exist, or the restored type appears in a different metal from that of the original, or the correspondence between the two is more general than exact. The conclusion from this is, either that some original types are lost, or that probably such never existed, and the professed restorations refer to the subjects of the medals, instead of to the medals themselves. For instance, a type in gold of Augustus, with the legionary eagle between two standards on the reverse, is

³ See *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*. Vol. 5. cap. 17.

known only as restored by Trajan, and may have been struck by this Imperial "Parthicus" of a later day, as a renewal, not of an old coin, but solely of the memory of an event particularly gratifying to the Romans under Augustus, the recovery of the eagles and standards lost by the army of Crassus. Of another in gold, also of Augustus (reverse, a crocodile), there is no archetype but in silver; from which it may be inferred that the intention was merely to restore the memory of the conquest of Egypt, especially as a restoration in silver is likewise extant. With respect to certain differences occasionally observable between type and archetype, it may be fairly considered, that when they are of an unimportant character, such as ANTONIVS AVGVR in a restored denarius for the abbreviation ANT·AVG in the original, or even the omission of the word PROVIDENT. on a restored second brass coin of "Divus Augustus" (R the well-known altar of Providence), there can be little doubt of the new coin having been designed to represent the old one; but when the variations are significant, as in the case of the restored coin of an uncertain family, (R Rome seated on shields, leaning on her spear, the wolf and twins at her feet, and in the field *two beaks of ships*, instead of two birds flying, as in the common type), we cannot but think, notwithstanding the general similarity between them, that another, accurately corresponding with the restoration, once existed, though long since unknown.

These coins, in fact, appear to be of three distinct sorts. First, those which are perfect and scrupulous imitations of original types, and which alone deserve to be called "restored coins." A remarkable example may be mentioned in the restored heavy denarius of the most ancient times, on which the indented, or incuse, letters of the word ROMA

are faithfully preserved. Secondly, those which renew the portraits of preceding emperors. Many such having on the reverse only the S·C, it is difficult to conceive that any other motive led to their repetition. Thirdly, those which were struck, as far as we can judge, principally to commemorate some glorious and interesting transactions, the differences between them and certain original types being too great to allow them to be considered as *re-coinages* of the latter.

The restorations (to use, for the reasons stated, the general term) are found in all the three metals; in gold about fifteen, in silver about forty, in brass between twenty and thirty; but there are more in the last metal, if we reckon the types repeated by different emperors. The gold and silver, with two or three exceptions, were all struck by Trajan; his three predecessors having confined themselves to restorations in brass⁴. A few of doubtful genuineness need not be taken into the account.

No instance is known of a restored *Medallion*. This, it appears to me, affords an additional argument, that pieces of this description formed no part of the regular currency.

The whole of the gold, and also the brass, belong to the imperial series; the silver are almost entirely of republican types; and these last are generally regarded as by far the most curious and interesting. They are of great rarity and price, M. Mionnet valuing them at 100 to 300 francs each; while the brass are in many instances of easy acquisition. Very few of the gold have any existing archetypes; and in cases where similar coins are known, the variations are con-

⁴ A coin in second brass of Alexander Severus, styles him RESTITVTOR MONETÆ, but certainly in a different sense, and most probably from his having ordered a discontinuance of the large denarius struck first under Caracalla.

siderable; but the consular restorations by Trajan are indisputably "*numi restituti*," their agreement with the original types being faithful and exact.

A notion has been entertained in consequence of the number of restored consular coins, however rare the individual types, that Trajan restored the whole series up to a certain period; and an argument has been attempted also on the fact of his having restored the coins of some obscure families, the types of which present nothing of remarkable historical interest, as in the instance of those of the family Rubria, of which we possess three varieties, and the same all "restored." We are, however, at this time of day, no very good judges of the motives which may have influenced Trajan in such cases; and most certainly the great majority of the coins, *selected* (as I imagine them to have been) for the honour of renewal, refer plainly enough to persons, events, or localities, connected in a striking manner with the ancient glories and most valued institutions of the republic. It was a noble, as well as refined stroke of policy, on the part of this deservedly illustrious prince, to refresh and keep alive in the minds of the people the pride of ancestry, the renown of brave achievements, the memory of the origin and growth of Roman power and independence, the associations produced by revered traditions and distinguished names; and by the simple process of replacing in their hands the money of their forefathers, to tell its silent but intelligible tale on these important points.

In truth, Trajan was a man after *our own* heart; he was evidently an admirable *numismatist*, skilful and judicious in the formation of his cabinet, and withal so magnanimously liberal, as to spread forth its precious contents in the continual view of the Roman people, that they might participate in the charms of numismatic lore, and the stirring recollections

of the olden time. If a modern medal were to be struck to his honour (and, notwithstanding the multitude already bearing his name and portrait, he deserves one more), we should take the liberty of suggesting to Mr. Wyon, who no doubt would be requested to engrave the die, the decided propriety of placing in the legend, in addition to the usual titles of "Germanicus, Dacicus, Parthicus," the agnomen, scarcely less honourable in *our* estimation, of *Numismaticus*.

In proof of a preceding remark, that his general plan appears to have been to restore types of historical interest and value, I may enumerate the following:—

Incerta.—*Obv.* Laureated head of Janus.

Rev. Jupiter in a quadriga, holding a sceptre and hurling thunder; Victory managing the reins; below, ROMA, the letters broadly incused in the antique fashion.

Incerta.—*Obv.* Helmed and winged head of Pallas, ROMA.

Rev. Rome seated on spoils, holding her spear, the wolf and twins at her feet; in the field, two prows of ships. This type referred to the period of the Social War, Rome asserting her claim by former conquest to the sovereignty of Italy; the prows of ships alluding to the type of the ancient *As*, and the age of Janus and Saturn. (*Morell*).

Æmilia.—*Rev.* M · LEPIDVS · ÆMILIA · REF · S · C. The *Basilica Æmilia*. The original was struck to commemorate the reparation of this edifice by a decree of the Senate. Pliny, who calls it *mirabilis*, states that among the intercolumniations were displayed small shields bearing the effigies of the illustrious men of this family; that the columns were of splendid marble from Phrygia and the Troad, from which ancient seat the Romans were fond of deriving the origin of their race and prowess.

Cæcilia.—*Rev.* The elephant, emblematical of the conquest of Africa.

Cassia.—Head of Juno MONETA. *Rev.* Implements of Vulcan. A fit type for a *Restitutor Monetæ*.

Cassia.—Head of Vesta. *Rev.* Her small rotunda, in the midst a curule chair; in the field, on one side, the ballot-urn, on the other, a tablet inscribed A · C. One of the Cassian family had been appointed a kind of Grand Inquisitor with

respect to the morals of the Roman nunnery of those days ; hence the curule chair so placed. The ballot-urn and tabellary letters, signifying *Absolvo*, *Condemno*, referred to an important law brought in by the same Cassius, giving the people the right of secret voting in criminal causes.

Claudia.—*Rev.* Marcellus entering the portico of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius to dedicate the *spolia opima* of Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, whom he had slain in battle with his own hand. Virgil exactly describes the type—

"Aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
Ingreditur." *Æn.* VI. v.869.

Cornelia.—*Rev.* Head of Agrippa with a combined mural and naval crown.

Horatia.—COCLES. A name needing no comment.

Junia.—Head of Liberty. *Rev.* The procession of the First Consul attended by his proper officers. The establishment of the Republic.

Mamilia.—*Rev.* Ulysses and his dog. A type complimentary to the Mamilian family, who traced their descent from Ulysses ; one, moreover, always likely to be popular from its pleasing character. There is a charming air of the antique in the pedestrian accoutrements of Ulysses, his Phrygian bonnet, short cloak, girt tunic, and long walking-staff. His dog seems to be one of the progenitors of the present Italian race of grey-hounds.

Memmia.—Venerable head of Quirinus, his beard in thick pendulous curls. *Rev.* The first celebration of the *Cerealia* by one of this family.

Numonia.—*Rev.* The famous exploit of Numonius Vaala, who singly carried a trench of the enemy's camp, which is curiously represented.

Pompeia.—Head of Pompey the Great.

Scribonia.—The PVTEAL religiously built by one of this family. It was a small, low, altar-shaped edifice, closed at the sides for safety, but open at top to the supposed influence of heaven, constructed over a celebrated pit, or fissure, which was deemed sacred from having been caused by lightning. In renewing this type, Trajan testified his reverence for the ancient superstitions of his country.

(Others are passed over for the sake of brevity.)

Are not these types precisely such as we might expect to find among the "restored"? Do they not seem to have

been particularly chosen for the lustre they reflect on past ages? It is true, we may consider that a few more had equal claims to the same honour; but from the extreme paucity (referring to the types individually) of the consular "restituti" known to numismatists, it is probable that others have failed to reach us, or possibly some may yet be discovered, and added to the vast number of those minute memorials, which from time to time have been safely redeemed from chinks and recesses, while the cumbrous monuments of antiquity have nearly all perished, either by their own weight, or from the very magnificence which was designed to render them immortal.

The rarity alluded to appears to have occasioned some surprise; especially since many of the original types are at present remarkably common, a point which, I think, admits readily of explanation. It has been stated that the consular denarii restored by Trajan amount to between thirty and forty different types—that is, we are positively acquainted with so many—this, too, in a reign during which incalculable numbers of the regular coins were issued from the Roman mints, so that, to a proverb, "the reverses of the coins of Trajan are infinite." Under these circumstances, it can hardly be supposed that in any case the issue of a restored type was a large one, or that it exceeded the number sufficient for the purpose intended, whether it were to preserve a singular medallion record, or to compliment a particular family by recurring to the fame of their ancestors, or to gratify the people of Rome generally by the reproduction of an authentic document relating to an ancient institution. Restored coins, it is most likely, would be meant chiefly for circulation in Rome itself, and be more remarkable for their character than their quantity. To have made them quite common, would have deprived them

of much of the interest they were calculated to excite. No doubt the old silver of the republic had become scarce, especially perhaps in the metropolis, in consequence of the prodigious drains occasioned by foreign wars, and the execution of expensive works in the provinces. Besides, a great portion of it had been necessarily defaced, and much deteriorated in value from long-continued use; and Xiphilinus, quoting from the life of Trajan by Dion Cassius (a book since unhappily lost) particularly says, that this emperor caused all the money reduced to the state mentioned to be melted up⁵, so that a reasonable apprehension may have been entertained of the entire disappearance of the old types. Most probably it was at this period, and out of the old metal, that Trajan, adopting a politic expedient, renewed to a certain extent the republican money; an additional motive for which may have been the ambition of surpassing his predecessors, who had renewed a portion of the imperial series in brass. A vast quantity, however, of the old coins still existed, though widely dispersed over the empire by a succession of armies and colonists, where, in fact, since the revival of science among modern European nations, they have been continually brought to light. The coins which Trajan missed are thus found by ourselves—are *restored* by the pickaxe, or the plough, and, naturally enough, in numbers far exceeding the remains of his "*restituti*." Many, from their injured condition, may be deemed fit only for the crucible into which he threw a host of their cotemporaries; but a considerable portion are in a state of perfect preservation, and must have lain snugly from a very early period in the receptacles where they were left by the accidents of war, or other circumstances leading to the de-

⁵ See Eckhel's remarks on this point. Vol. 5, p. 109.

posit of treasure. No one would be more surprised than Trajan himself, could he inspect our chief cabinets, to see complete sets of consular denarii, with almost the bloom of the die yet upon them, reposing in merited honour, after all the perils they have escaped, in carefully constructed cells, upon materials of the most approved tint and fabric⁶, and his own celebrated restorations of several of the types belonging most frequently to the class known by the name of *desiderata*. Their rarity, however, ought not to detract from their interest. Whether or not we possess them ourselves, or have no hope of ever obtaining them, the knowledge of their existence, of their types and peculiarities, is important to every one who would study satisfactorily by the aid of medals the history of the Roman republic.

Besides these restorations by Trajan, only two others are known in silver⁷,—one in honour of Trajan himself by his adopted son and successor Hadrian, with the legend “*Divus Trajanus Pater Augustus*” round the bust; a second by M. Aurelius and L. Verus of the denarius of the 6th Legion of M. Anthony. I can produce no certain reason for the latter, not being sufficiently versed in the Prætorian secrets of the period⁸.

Little need be added with regard to the restorations in

⁶ Cloth is generally used for this purpose, velvet being apt to contract damp, and, especially the black, to discolour silver. I have heard it remarked, by one who was not a currier, that “there’s nothing like leather.”

⁷ M. Mionnet refers to a very rare denarius of Augustus, restored by Trajan.

⁸ It may be plausibly conjectured, that the said 6th Legion had maintained, from the remote time of its enrolment under Anthony to the reign of Aurelius and Verus, a high reputation for valour and fidelity—that it was, in fact, to use a modern military phrase, a “*crack regiment*” at the Roman “*Horse-Guards*.”

gold. It has been already stated, that no instance occurs of a fac-simile correspondence with any known original type. As the case is so remarkably different with respect to the silver, the reasonable inference is, as before remarked, not that all exact originals have perished, but that such never existed, and that the restorations in question were meant to be honorary renewals of portraits and subjects, rather than studious repetitions of old pieces of money. Nor is the explanation of this so difficult as may be imagined. These gold are all of imperial types, commencing with "Divus Julius;" not one occurs of the consular; and it seems clear that Trajan's motive for striking them was very different from that which induced him to restore so carefully the republican silver. The latter he justly regarded as the old, regular money of the state, of great curiosity and importance, and which, from dispersion and long wear, was in danger of being altogether lost⁹: but the consular gold had been comparatively a modern coinage, had been struck only occasionally¹⁰, and, there are good reasons for believing, by no certain law till about the time of J. Cæsar. Trajan, therefore, properly omitted them, especially as the types offered nothing in preference to those of the silver. But with the pride and splendour of the empire, and the practice which thenceforward obtained of stamping the heads of the Augustan family on the coinage generally, the gold naturally took the lead. Great attention was paid to the execution of the money in all the metals, the most able and ingenious artists

⁹ That he restored none of the consular brass is readily accounted for by the nature of the types. It was hardly worth while to introduce again the parts of the *as* with its trite numeral knobs (even if practicable with its many alterations in size and weight), and whatever interesting devices they bore were to be met with on the *denarii* of the respective families.

¹⁰ Hence the scarcity of this class of coins.

being employed at the mint; and for the first time, the brass became remarkable for fineness of quality and beauty of workmanship. From this circumstance, and on account also of its immense circulation, Titus, Domitian and Nerva repeated several of the large and middle-sized brass in compliment to the memory of the deified Augustus and his immediate successors, from whom the imperial power had been deduced, and on the acknowledgment of whose titles by the senate and people they claimed a right to the continued enjoyment of their own. Trajan, following out the plan, gave repetitions of the portraits of all his predecessors in the empire, excepting five, in gold. These exceptions were Caligula, Nero, Otho, Vitellius and Domitian, of the predecessorship of each of whom a good emperor might well feel so ashamed, as to determine that the noblest of the metals should not, through him, again be disgraced by being compelled to give brilliancy to their names and features. That Tiberius obtained the honour, may have been owing to his close relationship to Augustus, most of his coins reading, "Divi Augusti Filius." The gold, as may be expected, are very rare; the brass in several instances common, having been struck by three emperors, and no doubt in considerable quantities.

A circumstance, both amusing and worthy of remark, as corroborating the idea that the portrait was the chief object in these recoinages, is, that frequently the restored head has been made to bear a strong resemblance to that of the restorer. I have before me in a row several which excite a smile on this account. A first-brass of Augustus restored by Nerva gives him the hollow cheek and attenuated visage of the grave sexagenarian, with a tendency in the profile to the "*cum naso adunco*" style, in compliment of course to Nerva's eagle-beaked organ. This portraiture could never

have exactly suited Augustus, for we are told that he was beautiful at all periods of his life¹¹. Yet still the general likeness is admirably hit off, so that no one could doubt for a moment for whose head it was intended. A second-brass coin of the same emperor restored by Titus presents a marvellous difference. Here all the bones are well covered, the hollows more than filled up, the lower jaw rounded, and extending to a chin of some prominence, the whole reminding us of the plumpness of the *Flavian* family; at the same time, it is evidently no other than Augustus himself, and we may imagine the true Julian blood to beat beneath the surface. In vol. I, p. 80, of M. Mionnet's "*Rareté des Médailles*," we find an engraving of a denarius of Pompey the Great, restored by Trajan, which is cited from the cabinet of M. Gossellin. Considering it, as no doubt we may, to be a faithful representation, we are struck with its great resemblance to Trajan. The nose, which appears on the regular coins of Pompey somewhat pug-fashioned, is here very tolerably bridged, and just such a one as Trajan might have claimed for his own. Indeed, were it not for the curly tuft upon the forehead, distinctive of Pompey (and, curiously enough, expressly mentioned by Plutarch), the portrait might pass for that of his great successor in Eastern triumphs. However, the Roman artist had on this occasion little difficulty, for, as far as we can judge from medals, these two famous men were much alike in person, as well as in military talents and achievements. The difficulty must have been greater in the instance of the portrait of J. Cæsar restored by Trajan in gold. I refer to a beautifully executed cast in my possession, one of a set taken from the

¹¹ *Forma fuit per omnes ætatis gradus venustissima.* Suet. in vitâ ejus, lxxix.

gold coins which have been since unfortunately plundered from the royal French cabinet. From the well-known difference between the spare physiognomy of the Dictator, and the massive proportions of Trajan's countenance, a glance at this portrait shows us that the *Cæsar Redivivus* of the latter was a disguised personation of himself. There is a pretension to the true Cæsarean style of features, but the mould seems to have been enlarged and squared. "The voice of the legend is Cæsar's voice, but the hands employed are Trajan's;" and we must be as blind as old Isaac was in the case of his two sons, if we do not perceive the trick. A similar practice was occasionally adopted at the commencement of a reign, the features of the new emperor being, as is well expressed by Captain Smyth in his work on Roman Large-brass Medals, "depicted under the flattering trace of a likeness to his predecessor."¹² This is precisely the case with a denarius which I have of Trajan, evidently one of the first struck, as it bears the date of his second consulate, in which he succeeded to the empire. The *Coelatores* and *Flatores* (query Flatterers?) of the mint fully accomplished their design, if it were to hint that the virtues of Nerva must necessarily belong to one who had already inherited both his empire and his face. These were the parties with whom all such clever modes of court-compliment originated, it being soon understood that they received at least the tacit approbation of their employers, and were in no danger of losing their situations by making somewhat

¹² Page 16. (*Tiberius*.) I cannot omit the opportunity of expressing my admiration of this interesting and useful book. I wish for the sake of the literary world I could call it a *publication*; for having been printed for private circulation only, the number of readers, who can have been gratified by its perusal, has been far too few. I was not at all surprised to hear lately that it was in the course of translation on the Continent.

free, on certain occasions, with the majesty of the imperial lineaments. The tyro in numismatics must not, on this account, however, be misled into the notion, that little dependence is to be placed on the fidelity of medallio portraits in general. No conclusion would be more false. The instances commented upon are peculiar exceptions, thoroughly understood by experienced numismatists, and, so far from misleading, merely amuse by the skill and ingenuity they display. The fact, that these ingenuities are so readily detected, proves the truth of the standard likenesses with which the regular coins abundantly furnish us. Certainly, excessive flattery prevailed on ancient coins, though scarcely more so than it does on most modern medals; but this was worked into the legends and imaginary devices, while the portraits were studiously copied from the reality.

Another point, and one relating to the restorations in brass, deserves notice. It is said, and with general propriety, that while the gold and silver coinages were under the direction of the emperors, the senate retained authority over that of the brass, and hence the stamp of S · C which almost invariably appears upon it. But why then do the legends of the restored brass coins so particularly attribute the act of restoration to the emperors? It is true, they bear the S · C equally with the others; but it can signify no more than that the senate approved of what the emperors had ordered. Why should not the senate have taken to themselves the merit of the restorations in their own metal? We may be led from these circumstances to conclude, that, after all, the authority of the senate over the brass was more nominal than real; that, in fact, every type they published required virtually the sanction of a "*cum regis privilegio*;" and this may be easily believed, when we consider the unbounded adulation displayed on Roman medals, and the

universal obsequiousness of the senate, as history fully shows, whether the emperors were good or bad.

I have only to add, in completion of this sketch, an observation or two on the Consecration types of some former emperors struck at a late period in *billon*. They are usually attributed to Gallienus, but with no better authority than conjecture. From their base material and coarse fabric, they must certainly belong to some part of the period comprehended between Philip and Gallienus; and from their uniformity must have been the production of the same mint. They have been given to Philip, because he might have struck them on the occasion of the secular games; to Decius, because he had a strong antiquarian turn, and, "rejoicing in the name" of Trajan, made some experiments upon the coinage; to Trebonian, because one of the reverses belongs also to coins of himself and his son Volusian, and occurs only during these two reigns; and to Gallienus, because by this time the calamities of the empire had accumulated to such a dreadful degree, that the interposition of all the gods, and of all the deified *worthies* of the Roman calendar in addition, was deemed necessary to avert from the state total destruction. I am sorry to finish in a perplexity among "*tot discrimina rerum*," but there is no help for it, as the author of these *extra* specimens of medallie art declined taking due pains for the transmission of his name to posterity. After all, however, perhaps he was a wise man to leave future numismatic *connoisseurs* in doubt, however distressing, upon a matter so little creditable, either to his bullion-office, or his taste in die-sinking.

E. C. BRICE.

XXX.

ON THE WEIGHT OF THE JEWISH COINS
DESCRIBED BY BAYER.

As Bayer, in describing the Jewish coins with Samaritan characters, has given the weight either in Spanish grains, or in French grains, it may not be unacceptable to some readers of his two excellent Latin works to know, at once, how to reduce those Foreign grains to English grains, and thus to be able, without delay, to compare the coins noticed by Bayer with others to which ready access may be had.

The Spanish weight called "*El Marco*," or *the Marc*, used in weighing gold, consists of 4608 Spanish grains, and of 3550 English grains. If, therefore, any number of Spanish grains be multiplied by $\cdot 770399$, the product will be the corresponding number of English grains. Thus, as Bayer himself possessed a copper or brass Jewish coin weighing 184 grains Spanish, that coin weighed $141\frac{3}{4}$ English grains, inasmuch as 184 multiplied by $\cdot 770399$ gives $141\cdot 753416$ for the product.

The French weight called "*La Livre de Paris*," or *the Paris Pound*, consists of 9,216 French grains, and of 7,560 English grains. If, therefore, any number of French grains, or Paris Marc grains, be multiplied by $\cdot 820313$, the product will be the corresponding number of English grains. Thus, as Louis the Sixteenth possessed a Jewish shekel weighing 256 French grains, that coin weighed 210 English grains. For, $256 \times \cdot 820313 = 210\cdot 000128$.

J. FREEMAN.

XXXI.

REVIVAL BY DR. WALSH OF A REFUTED
ERROR.

IN "An Essay on Ancient Coins, &c.," by the Rev. Dr. Walsh, we have been sorry to observe an old error revived, which, in the opinion of the best numismatists for a century past, had been most satisfactorily refuted. We allude to a legend on a brass coin of Constantine the Great, read incautiously by Occo, "Imp. Constantino P. Aug. BAP NAT," instead of "B · R · P · NAT," and interpreted by him BAPTismate NATo, instead of *Bono Rei Publicæ* NATo. Occo was followed upon trust by Mediobarba, Du Cange and Beger, which Jobert accounts for very naturally: "*L'envie qu'ils avaient que la découverte fût vraie, les avait empêché d'examiner trop exactement les caractères, et la signification qu'ils pouvaient avoir.*"¹ Dr. W. appears to have been influenced by a similar sentiment, though less excusably, for he has reverted to Occo's interpretation in defiance of the plainest evidence of its incorrectness, and produced the said coin among those "illustrative of the early progress of Christianity," as one struck in commemoration of the Baptism of Constantine. We say we are sorry for this, because we feel mortified that any English writer on coins in the present day, should have so unfortunately committed his judgment on a noted point. Hardouin was the first that found out the mistake, and the discovery was of such a convincing nature, that no one dreamt of contravening its truth, till Dr. W. imagined, we are bound to believe sincerely, that the former reading, so calculated to heighten

¹ *La Science des Médailles*, tom. ii. p. 321, (Ed. of 1739).

the interest of his Essay, was after all genuine. Eckel, with his usual good sense, dismisses the matter in few words. He says, "Inveteratum errorem felicitur difflavit Hardouinus," and contents himself with adding, that the same legend occurs on coins of nearly the same era, viz. of Magnus Maximus, and his son Fl. Victor, where we read at full length, "Bono Rei Publicæ nati."² It is to be observed, that the device of these coins is precisely similar to that of the coin in question, viz. the two emperors mutually supporting a globe, emblematical of the Roman "orbis terrarum."

The error originated in the similarity of form between the letters R and A on the coins of the lower empire, the two main strokes of the A being made nearly parallel, and apparently joined at top by another stroke, instead of meeting at a point, as on the coins of the Augustan age, and as we ourselves now form it on the purer Roman model. It is very possible to mistake the one for the other in a legend with which we are not familiar, or when the coin is indifferently preserved. In the case before us, no sooner had Hardouin given his own reading, than all the leading numismatists of Europe discovered on a re-examination of the coins, that he was perfectly right, and that the true legend was B · R · P · NAT. We beg to refer Dr. W. to a specimen which we presume he may conveniently inspect, we mean a coin of this type in the British Museum. We venture, also, confidently to refer him for another scrutiny to the *original*, if in fair preservation, of the engraving presented in his own book, requesting him to bear in mind our remark respecting the formation of the letter A. We say the original, for in consequence of the shape of this letter

² *Doctr. Vet. Num.* vol. viii. p. 32.

in the engraving being different from what we have seen on hundreds of the coins of Constantine, it would appear that the artist employed fully participated with Dr. W. himself in the desire of converting a Pagan into a Christian medal.

Historians are all agreed that Constantine delayed his baptism till he was almost "*in articulo mortis*." Our author, aware of this, says, that "the coin was struck probably after his death" (p. 94). But does not the type bear every indication of having been published while he was alive, and in the plenitude of ambition and power?

We are really surprised that any mistake respecting this coin should ever have been made, considering the character of its device. The emperor is represented standing, dressed in the civil robe of the statesman over the warrior's coat of mail, in his right hand a globe, in his left a spear. This is perfectly consonant with the legend, which, in the usual complimentary style of medals, declares that he was "born for the good of the republic;" but what, in the name of common sense, has it to do with his baptism? Dr. W. seems to have had some misgiving on the point, for he says, that the emperor holds "a globe on which the cross *had not yet been placed*." If there be any argument at all in this, it is one of the "*lucus à non lucendo*" sort.

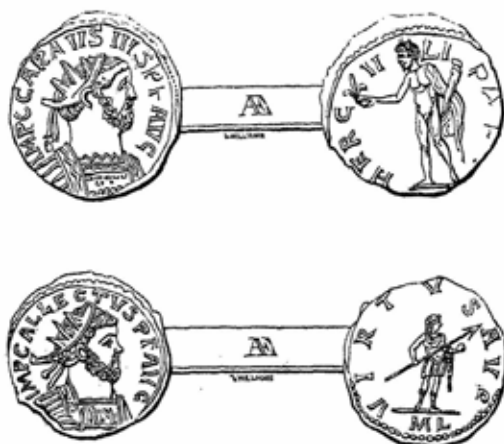
Jobert having misunderstood the letters P· AVG. to signify *Patri Augusto*, instead of *Pio Augusto*, and thereupon advanced a false argument in favour of the true reading, B·R·P·NAT, his judicious commentator, the Baron Bimard de la Bastie, duly corrected the error in an annotation on the opposite page. This correction, however, Dr. W. omits to notice. It better suited his purpose to deal on this point with Jobert alone, whose argument is shown up and demolished, though not for the first time. Dr. W. professes to cite Jobert's reasons with numerical precision; but how are we

to account for his having *left out* the following, and the most important:—"Le *Type de la médaille* n' a nul rapport avec le Batême, ni à la Religion?"³

Not content, however, with enhancing the interest of this coin, by making it refer to the baptism of Constantine, he expresses a pretty confident opinion, that it was minted in London itself. This he grounds on the exergual letters PLC. We admit the possibility of its correctness, but consider that the coin was far more probably struck at Lyons, which was one of the largest and most important cities of the empire, the military centre of a very extensive region, and where we know an immense quantity of money was coined at that period. He attempts to corroborate his opinion by stating, that while "Jobert reads PL, wherever it occurs, *Pecunia Lugduni*, "The money of Lyons," his commentator (the Baron de la Bastie) reads it *Pecunia Londini*, "The money of London." Begging Dr. Walsh's pardon with all due respect, the Baron says no such thing. What he does say, we find to be this (turning to *La Science des Médailles*, tom. ii. p. 104, to which Dr. W. particularly refers us)—"PLON." (a very different reading from PL.) "Je croirais qu'il faut lire *Percussa Londini*, ou *Pecunia Londinensis*,"—an interpretation with which all numismatists, Continental as well as English, are now satisfied.

We have been induced to make these observations, because we love especially the simple truth of an ancient medal, and are jealous of the application of any fanciful, unwarrantable meaning, however apparently calculated to render it more *interesting*. We admire and prize the rich gloss of a genuine patina, but repudiate with no very agreeable sensations a fictitious varnish. S.P.Q.R.

³ *La Science des Médailles*, tom. ii. p. 322.

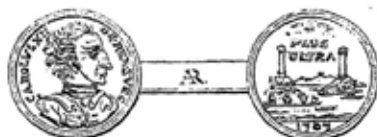


XXXII.

UNPUBLISHED COINS OF CARAVSIUS AND
ALLECTUS.

THE types here engraved have been hitherto unpublished. They are presented for this reason, rather than from their possessing any remarkable peculiarity. The former (Carausius) escaped the researches of the zealous Stukeley, nor does it occur in the very extensive and valuable list of the coins of this emperor given in Mr. Akerman's "*Descriptive Catalogue*." There is a coin of the same type of Maximian (Hercules), one of the two co-partners in the empire whom Carausius, the British Hercules of those days, termed, in pseudo-affection, "*fratres sui*." The type before us is clearly one of emulation and rivalry. The legend on the reverse is HERCVLI·PACIFERO. Some of the latter letters are defaced, otherwise the coin is in fine condition. It found its way to London from Bury St. Edmunds, where it was discovered.

CONTRIBUTOR.



MISCELLANIES.

MEDAL OF CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN. — Mr. Loscombe, who communicates the above interesting piece, observes,—“ This small jetton would be quite unworthy of notice, were it not, perhaps, unique, and did it not throw some light on a passage in the life of Charles XII. of Sweden, whose portrait is on its obverse. It bears the date 1709, in which year the duke of Marlborough was sent to discover in a conference with that monarch, whether he meditated an attack upon Russia, or an irruption into the North of Germany. The sagacious Marlborough soon saw where the storm would fall. The reverse of this medalet, however, seems to show that there was reason for the doubt. It represents a narrow strait of the sea, meant, no doubt, for the Cattegat, with the pillars; and PLUS · VLTRA alluding to possessions which were his, in hope and intention, beyond the Cattegat, which divided him from Germany.”

DISCOVERY OF GOLD COINS AT SOUTHEND NEAR LEWISHAM. Mr. J. D. Cuff obligingly communicates the following particulars respecting this discovery. “ Understanding that a Mr. Waghorn had the custody of the coins, I. went down to Southend, and he kindly brought for my inspection twenty pieces, and the jars in which they were enclosed. Nine of the pieces were the *Laurel Units* of James I. and the remaining eleven twenty-shilling pieces, or *Broads* of Charles I. of different coinage; some with the ruff, others with the band: all had the appearance of wear by circulation. Mr. Waghorn told me, that altogether there were four hundred and twenty-one coins, and that the twenty I had seen were a fair sample of the bulk, having been taken out promiscuously from the whole. The coins were discovered by a labourer trenching a field at the back of Mr. Forster's house, not more than a foot under the surface, in two blue and white china jars covered over with lead. The man very honestly and commendably communicated the circumstance to his employer; and the treasure now remains subject to the decision of the jury as to the ownership.”

RATIOS OF GOLD TO SILVER FROM 1760 TO 1829.

... Averages for each Ten Years, and the total Mean Average for Seventy Years.

From the Appendix to a Report of a Select Committee of the American Congress on Coins, June 30, 1832.

Years.	Pure Gold to pure Silver.	Average for Ten Years.	Years.	Pure Gold to pure Silver.	Average for Ten Years.
1760	14.29 to 1		1795	14.77 to 1	
1761	13.94 .. 1		1796	14.77 .. 1	
1762	14.63 .. 1		1797	15.45 .. 1	
1763	14.71 .. 1		1798	15.45 .. 1	
1764	14.91 .. 1		1799	14.29 .. 1	
1765	14.89 .. 1		1800	14.81 .. 1	1494 to 1
1766	14.41 .. 1		1801	14.47 .. 1	
1767	14.45 .. 1		1802	15.23 .. 1	
1768	14.58 .. 1		1803	14.47 .. 1	
1769	14.45 .. 1	14.51 to 1	1803	14.67 .. 1	
1770	14.35 .. 1		1805	15.14 .. 1	
1771	14.35 .. 1		1806	14.25 .. 1	
1772	14.19 .. 1		1807	14.46 .. 1	
1773	14.73 .. 1		1808	14.79 .. 1	
1774	15.05 .. 1		1809	16.25 .. 1	14.85 to 1
1775	14.62 .. 1	14.3	1810	16.15 .. 1	
1776	14.34 .. 1		1811	15.72 .. 1	
1777	14.04 .. 1		1812	15.04 .. 1	
1778	14.34 .. 1		1813	14.53 .. 1	
1779	13.89 .. 1	14.49 to 1	1814	15.85 .. 1	
1780	14.43 .. 1		1815	16.30 .. 1	
1781	13.33 .. 1	13.9	1816	13.64 .. 1	
1782	13.54 .. 1	14.8	1817	15.58 .. 1	
1783	13.78 .. 1		1818	15.42 .. 1	
1784	14.00 .. 1	28.7	1819	15.82 .. 1	15.41 to 1
1785	15.21 .. 1	14.3	1820	15.71 .. 1	
1786	14.89 .. 1		1821	15.98 .. 1	
1787	14.83 .. 1		1822	15.91 .. 1	
1788	14.71 .. 1		1823	15.91 .. 1	
1789	14.59 .. 1	14.45 to 1	1824	15.64 .. 1	
1790	15.01 .. 1	14.7	1825	15.69 .. 1	
1791	14.95 .. 1	14.9	1826	15.69 .. 1	
1792	14.43 .. 1		1827	15.77 .. 1	
1793	15.01 .. 1	29.6	1828	15.77 .. 1	
1794	15.32 .. 1	14.8	1829	15.95 .. 1	15.89 to 1
Total Mean for 70 years..... 14.92 to 1.					

A Table of the Prices in the Market of Gold and Silver, from 1760 to 1819, exhibiting the relative prices of Gold and Silver to each other.

STANDARD SILVER.			GOLD.		
Lowest.	Highest.	Average.			Av. for 10 years.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.		
1760 .. 5 3½	1764 .. 5 9½	5 6½ per oz.	3 19 5	13½ to 14½	14 3 }
1765 .. 5 3½	1769 .. 5 7½	5 6 ..	3 19 2	14½ .. 14½	14 4 }
1770 .. 5 2½	1774 .. 5 8½	5 5½ ..	3 19 1	14 .. 14½	14 4 }
1775 .. 5 2	1779 .. 5 9	5 5 ..	3 17 7	13½ .. 15	14 3 }
1780 .. 5 3	1784 .. 5 10½	5 7 ..	3 17 8	13½ .. 14½	13 9 }
		5) 27 6			
		5 6 ..	5) 19 12 11		14 3 }
1785 .. 5 1½	1789 .. 5 3½	5 3 ..	3 17 6	14½ .. 15½	14 8 }
1790 .. 5 1½	1794 .. 5 4½	5 4½ ..	3 17 6	14½ .. 15½	14 7 }
1795 .. 5 0	1799 .. 5 6	5 3 ..	3 17 6	14½ .. 15½	14 9 }
1800 .. 5 4	1804 .. 5 10½	5 8½ ..	4 3 9	13½ .. 15	14 3 }
1805 .. 5 4½	1809 .. 5 9	5 7 ..	4 4 2	14½ .. 16½	15 5 }
1810	1814	6 3½ ..	4 18 0	14½ .. 16	15 2 }
1815	1819	5 5½ ..	4 3 4	14½ .. 15½	15 2 }

TRANSACTIONS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

The first ordinary Meeting of the Society took place on Thursday the 26th January; Edward Hawkins, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A. in the chair.

The following communication from Sir Henry Ellis, K. H. was read.

British Museum, Jan. 14, 1837.

My dear Sir.—Among the popular errors of England, I know of no one so prevalent, as that which supposes a farthing of Queen Anne to be of enormous value; and it is not confined to the lower classes of life, but pervades even those who mix with the best society. The received tradition is, that after three impressions had been struck, the die of this farthing flew in pieces; that two of the impressions are known in our cabinets, but that the third has been constantly advertised for, almost from the days of Queen Anne without success, and still remains a desideratum. At the British Museum, scarcely a week passes, without some officer or other of the Institution receiving an offer for the Museum cabinet of the presumed lost coin, sometimes estimated at the value of 300*l.* sometimes at 600*l.*, and once I have known it estimated at 1000*l.* I possess one letter in which the writer states, that he had written about his farthing to the Lords of the Treasury, who had very uncivilly returned him no answer; and I have been assured that even his Majesty has been once personally addressed upon this supposed rare coin.

To the Members of the Numismatic Society, there can be no necessity for entering into detail respecting the farthings of Queen Anne: their history and varieties are sufficiently known. But possibly they may not all be aware that at the Quarter Sessions of Dublin in the year 1814, the error of the Queen Anne's farthing was actually a ground of serious litigation; and that the Counsel, Judge, and Jury, all followed each other, like sheep leaping a dry ditch; and that, for borrowing and detaining from a friend the supposed third farthing, one George Hone was sentenced to be imprisoned for twelve calendar months, and afterwards to find sureties.

A copy of the report of this trial, with the speeches of the Counsel and Recorder is enclosed, taken from the British Press

Newspaper of Feb. 14th, 1814. It is an instance of the singular effects which may be produced even from a popular error.—I am my dear Sir, ever faithfully yours,
HENRY ELLIS.

Dublin, February 8th, QUARTER SESSIONS.

A FARTHING!

The King, at the Prosecution of John Millar, against George Hone.

Mr. Green as Counsel of the Crown, stated the case in nearly the following terms:—

Although the privilege is often waved in this Court, yet there are some particularities in this case which you require to be acquainted with before you hear the evidence. It may appear at first sight trivial and insignificant, on account of the small value of the property taken; but, gentlemen, in morality, principle, and law, the offence is not the less culpable because the object is trivial. Gentlemen, you have probably all heard, that in the reign of Queen Anne, there were but three farthings coined: it was at a short period before the death of that sovereign this coinage took place; and, Gentlemen, it is a matter of historical record, that in the coining of the third farthing, the die broke. From this circumstance an adventitious value was added to these three pieces; so much so, that one of them is preserved in the King's Museum, as a great curiosity, a second is also in the British Museum; but the third is missing. I do not doubt but that the Gentlemen on the other side will argue, that a Jury ought not to take into their notice or consideration any extrinsic value that may be placed on it, but look upon it merely as a farthing. But, Gentlemen, I may say to you, in the words of Hudibras—

"Th' intrinsic value of a thing
Is just as much as it will bring."

Some years ago a public advertisement was sent, offering a reward of five hundred pounds for the third farthing; and so well aware of this circumstance was the Prosecutor, that when this farthing came by accident into his hands, he considered it of the greatest value, and kept it under lock and key. Gentlemen of the Jury, if it is the real farthing it must be of considerable value. The Prisoner convinced of this, conceived the base idea of securing it to himself, and for this purpose borrowed it from Mr. Millar (in whose service he was), under the pretence of shewing it to a person who was a judge of antient coins. Mr. Millar gave it to him without any suspicion of any sinister design; but on his making repeated application to the Prisoner for it, he got nothing but evasive replies in return. A few evenings after this transaction, the prisoner Hone asked Millar to accompany him to a public-house on the quay, which they had before been in the habit of resorting to.

Millar rather unwillingly accompanied him; but when he had sat down in the public room, he found a parcel of Hone's acquaintance there, who immediately began a conversation about a farthing, as to its value and what was to be done with it. Mr. Millar declined any conversation about it, conceiving he was only brought for the purpose of being betrayed into some expression before witnesses, but demanded the farthing from Hone. Now, Gentlemen of the Jury, what do you think of the modest proposal of Mr. Hone? Why that before he would give it up, Mr. Millar must execute a security or bond to the amount of £700, as half the expected price of the farthing. Mr. Millar spurned at this, went home, and the next day brought him before Mr. Guinness, one of the Magistrates of Duke Street Police Office. At first Mr. G. thought it a case too trifling for any legal process, but when he saw with what perseverance Hone kept possession of the farthing, he could not refuse to take the informations. Gentlemen, I must inform you, that even in this stage of the case he was attended by the attorney, and two barristers were there to defend his right of assuming to himself this part of the property of Mr. Millar. Let me ask you, Gentlemen of the Jury, would not a man who acted in this way shew you that he attached a much greater value to this piece of metal, than its nominal value. It is not to be allowed in a court of justice, that any man shall, with impunity, take even a farthing, and dare the person whom he thus deprived of his property. Mr. Greene then stated the nature of the indictment, and the reason that it contained so many counts. It was for the purpose of preventing any quibble in the defence which might be urged by the other side, that the pleadings were so widely spread. Mr. Greene concluded by stating a general principle of law, that if a person gets property in a fraudulent manner, or by fraudulent representation, he was guilty of larceny. To which the learned Recorder assented, by saying, that no person can have legal possession of property by fraudulent means.

Dorothea Millar examined by Mr. Wallace.

The substance of her examination was, that she was married and lived in Grafton Street, No. 3, where she keeps a confectioner's shop. She knew the prisoner Hone; he lived with them as a journeyman; he also boarded in the house. About eight or nine weeks ago, Hone came into the parlour where she was sitting, there had been some halfpence brought in by the servant-maid, which were laid on the mantelpiece, among which was the farthing in question. Hone took it into his hands, and said it was a Queen Anne's farthing; and, after some conversation as to the value of it, she locked it up in the shop. On the 22nd of September, Hone came to her, and asked her for a loan of the farthing; she asked her husband, Mr. Millar, where it was, not wishing to give it, but

Mr. Millar gave it to him, and he never returned it since. Hone never made any proposition as to buying it, there were several conversations about it, at all of which it was estimated at a great value; Hone said he had been looking for it for twelve years.

This witness was cross-examined with much ingenuity by Mr. Mc Nally, but nothing very important arose out of it.

John Millar, examined by Mr. Hitchcock, stated, that he was the husband of last witness; remembered the circumstances stated by his wife; remembered the night that Hone wanted to borrow the farthing—he went to the door, looked out, came back, hesitated, and then made the application to Mrs. Millar for the farthing; he desired her to let him have it, he considered it of great value; he had read in a Bath paper of three hundred pounds reward for the lost farthing. Hone said it was worth £1400. He remembers the evening when Hone brought him to the public-house; he had his friends there, who began asking witness what he would do with the farthing? After some conversation, Hone asked him to give security or a bond for £700, until they divided the profits of the farthing between them. The night he made Hone a prisoner, he asked three separate times for it; at the last application, Hone said he would be d—d before he would give it up. He also refused to give it up before the magistrates.

This witness was cross examined by Mr. Ridgeway.

Mark Magrath, Esq. was sworn, and stated that the Prisoner had promised before him at the police office to return the farthing, which he did not.

The Court then said, that Hone had made an affidavit stating his having lost the farthing.

On the part of the defence two witnesses were produced as to the character of Hone, whose knowledge went to but a short time, but during that time they gave him an excellent character.

Mr. Mc Nally submitted to the Recorder that there was no evidence to support the indictment; there was no stealing, the Prosecutor had given the farthing to his client voluntarily.

The Recorder then addressed the Jury by stating that it was for them to consider whether, when the Prisoner borrowed the farthing, it was with a fraudulent intention or not. If they believed it was so, they must find him guilty of larceny. There were a number of counts in the indictment, but none of them went further than to charge him with petty larceny, for none of them put a higher value on the farthing than one shilling; it was then for them to decide whether they conceived the borrowing was but a device to obtain possession of it. This they were to judge from the evidence, and the first circumstance for their attention was, that he knew the value of it, for he said he was for twelve years in search of it: the next was, his continually

refusing to return it: a third was, his collecting his friends in a place where he had invited the Prosecutor to come; and when he had succeeded in bringing him, he wanted, before those persons so assembled, to procure from Millar a security or bond for so large a sum as £700. Surely these circumstances are worthy to be taken into consideration by an intelligent Jury, as to what was the Prisoner's intention in getting possession of this farthing. There was also bringing counsel to the police office, and his anxiety to be discharged the first sitting day of that Court, after the informations were sworn, and before the bills of indictment had been found by the Grand Jury. His conduct on that occasion was, that when this application was made, he (the learned Judge) desired him to leave the farthing in the hands of the Clerk of the Crown: his answer was, that it was at his lodgings, which were a great way off; yet in an affidavit which he afterwards made, and in which he swore he had lost the farthing, it proved that his lodgings were so near the Court as Abbey Street. Besides, considering all these circumstances, by what right does he keep the property of Mr. Millar? Surely it cannot be said that he has a legal right. I think, Gentlemen of the Jury, all these circumstances considered, that it is by a fraudulent right he keeps possession of the property, and, with a fraudulent intention he obtained it.

The Jury instantly returned a verdict of Guilty.

The Recorder then addressed the Prisoner:—

“George Hone, the Court has taken into consideration all the circumstances of this case, in which you are only charged with petty larceny, yet it appears with more circumstances of aggravation than are generally to be found in crimes of that class. You were the servant of the man whose property you have taken—this was an aggravation. From your manners, appearance, and the character you have got, you ought to have been above the mean devices, the fraudulent schemes, by which you have obtained this property, and which you have kept without the smallest signs of contrition. Let me tell you, though you seem insensible of it, that the verdict of the Jury has stamped ignominy on your character. Your sentence is, that you be imprisoned in the gaol of Newgate for twelve calendar months, after which, you are to find two sureties in £20 each, and yourself in £40; and, unless you give up the farthing, not a day of that time will be remitted you.”

A list of the Members was read, amounting to upwards of one hundred. Several presents of books and coins were announced, and the President gave notice that the Society would meet again on Thursday the 23rd February.

At the second ordinary Meeting of the Society, which took place on the 23rd February, the following letter, addressed to the President, was read.

Coins of Claudius with
DE BRITANNIS.

Sir,—It has frequently been observed with regret, by Numismatists, that the best evidence of Antiquity has been strangely neglected by historical writers. In few instances, have medals been quoted; and even Gibbon, who sometimes deigns to notice them, appears not to have referred to actual specimens, but rather to the medallic authors by whom they are described. The establishment of a Numismatic Society affords, however, the assurance that the importance of medallic studies is at length duly felt and acknowledged; still there are many persons who appear to be all but ignorant of the existence of such an important adjunct to the annals of the historian.

I have been led into these remarks, in consequence of a paper having been very recently read at the Royal Society of Literature by Mr. Hogg, in which that gentleman, in giving an account of the inscription on a stone preserved in the wall of the Barberini Palace at Rome, recording the subjugation of the Britains by the Emperor Claudius, ventures, most unadvisedly, to offer a new reading of this very interesting record.

Mr. Hogg commences by stating, that although the prænomen IMP. is omitted, the inscription belongs to Claudius I. A reference to the coins of that emperor would have shown Mr. Hogg that the title IMPERATOR was never used by Claudius as a prænomen; and, indeed, Suetonius says, "*prænominē Imperatoris abstinuit*," of the truth of which we have the best possible evidence in the numerous coins of Claudius.

As regards the inscription itself, there can be no doubt that the *date*, as inserted by Ganges de' Gozze was supplied on the best authority—the coins above alluded to.

The mere Tyro in Numismatic Science must be familiar with the gold and silver coins of Claudius, bearing a triumphal arch inscribed DE BRITANNIS, and having on the obverse the titles, TRIB · POT · IX · COS · V · IMP · XVI; thus showing that the triumph decreed by the senate to Claudius, was while that emperor held the tribunitian power for the ninth and not for the eleventh time as Mr. Hogg supposes.—I have the honour to remain, Sir, your very faithful servant,

J. Y. AKERMAN.

The following note on the Pontefract money, addressed to the President, was also read. To the collectors of English coins, the extract which it introduces will be highly interesting.

Feb. 13, 1837.

Pontefract
Siege
Money.

My dear Sir;— I think I am right in stating that the authenticity of some of the siege pieces of Charles I. or rather of some of those of his time is questionable; that is, they are not spoken of in any contemporary document, and the place or places where they were struck are doubtful. This, however, is not the case with the shillings struck at Pontefract in Yorkshire. In a newspaper of the day, "The Kingdome's Faithfull and Impartial Scout," Feb. 2 to 9, 1648, we read, "Monday, Feb. 5. The Intelligence from Pontefract is this; the besieged have lately made two sallies forth, but repulsed without any great losse to us; in the last, they killed but one man of ours, and we took two of theirs prisoners, one of which had a small parcell of silver in his pocket, somewhat square, on the one side thereof, was stamp't a castle, with P · O for Pontefract, on the other side was the Crown, with C · R on each side of it. These pieces they make of Plate, which they get out of the country, and pass amongst them for coyn. They cry, they will have a king, whatever it cost them."

Such gentlemen as possess the Pomfret money in their cabinets, will, no doubt, recollect that what in the paragraph just quoted, is called P · O is in reality P · C; but I have seen several of these coins myself, in which, from bad striking or battering, the form of the C is carried round like an O. I communicate this trifling memorandum to you, simply as a contemporary notice of the Pomfret money, hitherto unseen by our Numismatic writers; and am, my dear Sir, with much respect, very faithfully yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

Mr. Cullimore commenced the reading of a paper on the Darics.

Sir Henry Ellis, in a note to the President, communicated the following interesting particulars.

British Museum, Feb. 25, 1837.

Pewter
Farthings. My dear Sir.—The kind manner in which the Numismatic Society was pleased to receive my communication at their last meeting, upon the Pomfret shillings, induces me to forward to you one or two other scraps of information upon coins, derived from a similar source. None of our Numismatic writers upon English coins appear to have thought of looking into old newspapers.

Ruding, in his annals of the Coinage of Britain, 8vo. edition, vol. iii. p. 270, refers to certain patterns for farthings in pewter and copper, of the time of the Commonwealth and Cromwell, engraved in figures 12, 13, 14, and 15, of his 31st plate; which he says, "*were never put into circulation.*" He may be right as to

the three last of the figures mentioned; but fig. 12 was certainly issued as a coin. It is the pewter farthing which has on one side the words, " $\frac{1}{4}$ OVNCE OF FINE PEWTR" with the letters T · K above an escutcheon; and, on the reverse, FOR NECES-SARY CHANGE. This farthing was certainly in circulation, and came out in 1654. In a newspaper of that year, to be found among what are called, "The King's Pamphlets," in the British Museum, in "Several Proceedings of State Affaires, 20 to 27 April," Num. 239, under April 26, we read, "*This night are come out new Farthings,*" weighing a quarter of an ounce fine pewter, which is but the price of new pewter; that so the people may never hereafter fear to loose much by them; with the harp on one side, and a crosse on the other, with T · K above it."

The publication of some sort of coin of this value had been long in contemplation. In a previous paper of the same title, 9th to 16th March, 1653, we read, "It is uncertain what will be done about farthing tokens."

Ruding and Snelling consider the letters T · K upon the particular coin in question, to be the initials of some private tradesman. From the language, however, of the newspaper, and the appearance and inscription of the coin, I cannot help suspecting that it was issued under some more extensive authority, though perhaps not by the government.

Another newspaper settles another trifle. The Public Intelligencer, Oct. 22 to 29, 1655, has an advertisement concerning one Abraham Stapley, a coiner. "This Abraham Stapley is a false coiner of money, for in his house at Deptford were found several false coining-irons for half-crowns, and false half-crowns, coined with the date of 1655. And this is to give notice to all persons whatsoever, that shall receive any of the said money of Stapley's, dated 1655; there being none of that date in his highness' mint coined to this day, the 26th of October."

I believe that subsequently to this date, no Commonwealth half-crowns of the year 1655, were struck. At least, I have enquired for such in numerous cabinets, and always without success. The fact, as stated in the above advertisement, I think, is worth preserving.—I am, My dear Sir, Very sincerely Yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

A paper was read by Mr. Akerman, on the Coinage of the Ancient Britons, which will be found at length in our present number.

Some observations by Mr. Cullimore were read, in which the writer expressed an opinion that Mr. Hogg was not in error

in his conjecture as to the date of the inscription in the palace Barberini¹.

A portion of a paper on the Coins of the Ptolemies, by Mr. Sharpe, was read by Mr. Cullimore.

Several presents were announced, and the Society adjourned to Thursday the 20th April.

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Dean of St. Patrick's, The very Reverend the, Dublin.

Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, &c. &c. &c.

¹ A reference to the Coins of Claudius, and to the admirable lectures of professor Cardwell "*On the Coinage of the Greeks and Romans*," Oxford, 1832, will set this question at rest.—*Ed. Num. Journal*.

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- Mons. E. Cartier, of Amboise, } Editors of the "Revue Nu-
 Mons. L. de la Saussaye, of Blois } mismatique Française."
 Mons F. de Saulcy, of Metz.
 Dr. H. Grote, of Hanover, Editor of the "Blätter für Münzkunde."

CORRESPONDENCE.

The following letter has passed through our hands on its way to "Σ," the Great Unknown.

Most highly esteemed and honoured Σ,

Be it known to you that having been much amused with your facetious lucubrations on "Tradesmen's Tokens," and much instructed by divers and sundry notes of sterling value therein contained, it is greatly my wish "to make acquaintance with you," the more so, as I infer that you are a student in the sublime science of the stars; and therefore, I expect that you will, on some future day, illustrate the astronomical series of the Great Moguls, the Sun and Moon on the coins of the Chalifs, and the astronomical brass of Egypt in the time of Hadrian. In the meanwhile, to hear the oracles delivered by such a mouth as yours, will be the quintessence of enjoyment, to one who was from his boyish days an admirer of "TRADESMEN'S TOKENS."

Mint Street, Currency Square, February 1837.

IVDAEA NAVALIS.—The Reverend Mr. Waddilove observes, in reference to the article of M. Dumersan on the coin of Titus bearing IVDAEA NAVALIS: "Besides Solomon's navy, and later attempts, I think there is not sufficient reason for believing that the Jews never enjoyed a great reputation as seamen, and that the cause of our having formed such an opinion, is the circumstance of their history not having been sufficiently attended to, as well as from the relations of those who wished "they should not be a people." Jerem. xxxii. 24, 26. Very early in history, the tribes of Dan and Asher (to the last of whom Tyre belonged) appear to have been naval, see the song of Deborah (Jud. v. 17); and as Tyre is not enumerated among the cities out of which Asher did not drive the Canaanites or original inhabitants (Jud. i. 31, 32), the natural inference is, that they did drive them out, and that, in fact, those seamen whom we are in the habit of calling Tyrians, were "Asherites."

We are obliged to I. W. M. for the impression of a coin of Har-diknute; but the type is already published.

Dr. Grote, the learned editor of the "*Blätter für Münzkunde*," will receive our best acknowledgments for his obliging letter, which we have answered by post. We cordially accede to his proposition. To Messrs. De la Saussaye and Cartier, editors of the "*Revue de la Numismatique Francoise*," our warmest thanks are also due. We have just received their packet.

We are much obliged to Mr. Lindsay (of Cork) for his interesting communication. Could he favour us with a drawing of the coin described, from which an accurate engraving might be made? In this case, we would gladly insert it in our next number, together with his letter, and any additional remarks he may be pleased to send us.

The "*Revue de la Numismatique Francoise*," edited by M. M. de la Saussaye and E. Cartier, appears at Blois every two months; six numbers form a volume. The first volume was completed at Christmas last, and the first number of the new volume has just appeared.

The "*Blätter für Münzkunde*," edited by Dr. Grote of Hanover, appears in single 4to sheets at intervals of a few days. A volume has already been completed.

The "*Numismatique du Moyen Age*," by J. Lelewel, a Polish gentleman, is a work of great labour and research, and cannot fail to interest our English numismatists. The atlas of plates, engraved by the author himself, is curious, and the coins are executed with singular fidelity.

OMITTED UNDER THE HEAD "TRANSACTIONS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY"

An extract of a letter from the very Reverend the Dean of St. Patrick's was read, in which he expressed his readiness to become a member of the Society; and stated, that it would give him pleasure to communicate any information respecting ancient Irish coins, of which his cabinet contained many unpublished specimens.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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