



THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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(THE)
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
(AND
(JOURNAL
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.)

EDITED BY
W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.S.A.,
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S.,
AND
FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

NEW SERIES.—VOL. VII.

1866/67



Factum abiit—monumenta manent.—Ov. *Fast.*

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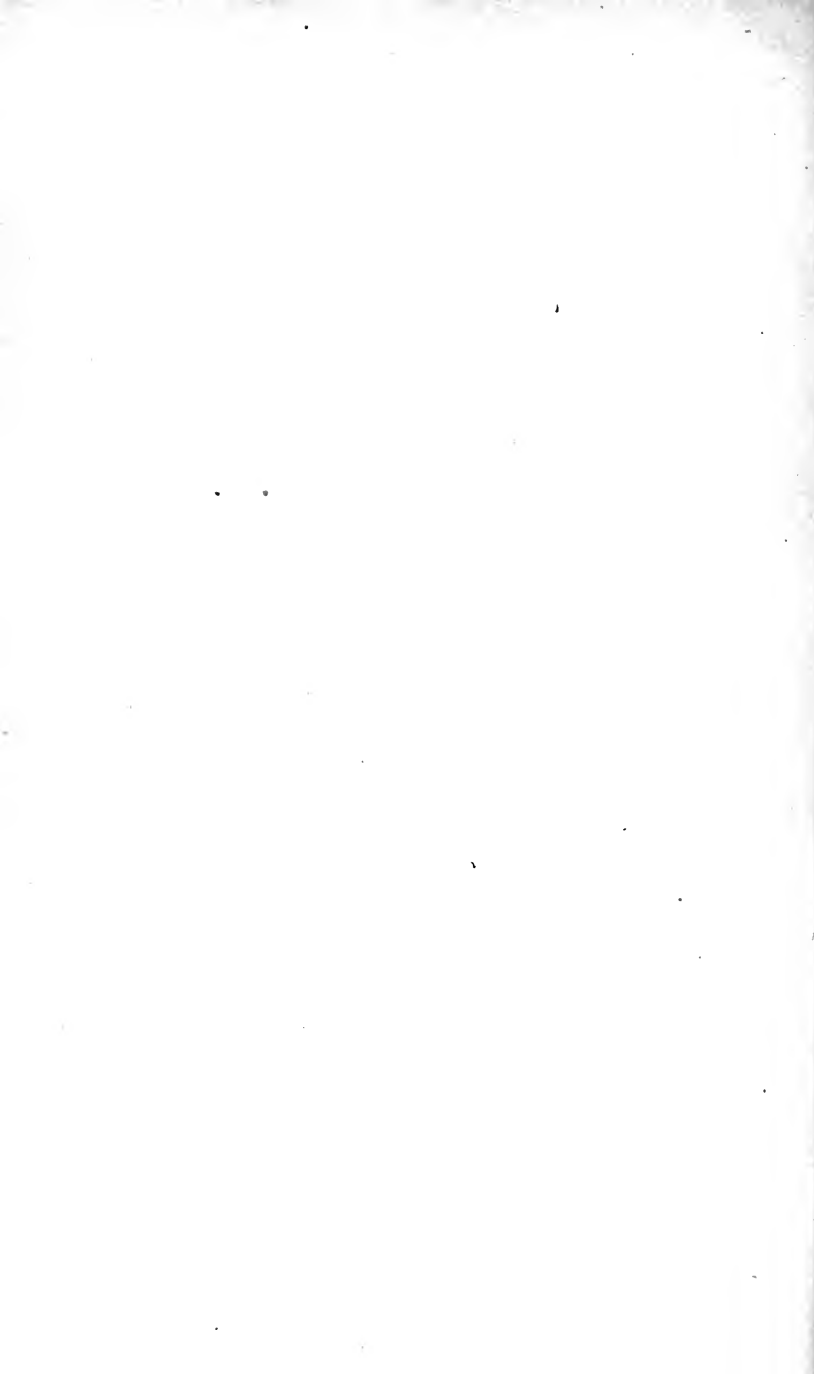
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1866—1867.

OCTOBER 18, 1866.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table:—

1. Byzantinische Nachahmungen, by M. le Baron de Kœhne. From the Author.

2. Médailles en l'honneur du Prince Alexander Labanoff de Rostoff, by M. le Baron de Kœhne. From the Author.

3. Monnaies d'or Suévo-Lusitaniennes, by MM. E. A. Allen and H. N. Teixeira. From the Authors.

4. Era of the Arsacidæ, by M. le Baron de Kœhne. From the Author.

5. Rivista della Numismatica, Part IV. and Index. From the Editor.

6. Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 34 année, 2nd Ser., t. xx., 1865; 35 année, 2nd Ser., t. xxi., 1866. From the Academy.

7. Annuaire de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 1866. From the Academy.

8. Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, vol. v., N.S., No. 50, Oct., 1865; No. 51, Jan., 1866. From the Society.

9. Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de l'Orléannais, 1^{ère} trimestre de 1866, No. 51. From the Society.

10. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 2^{me} trimestre, 1866. From the Society.

11. Photographic Journal, Nos. 170—173.

12. Archæologia Cantiana, vol. vi., 1866. From the Kent Archæological Society.

13. Revue de la Numismatique Belge, 4 Ser., t. iv., 2^{me} livraison, 3^{me} livraison, 1866. From the Society.

14. Proceedings of the Manchester Numismatic Society. Part III. From the Society.

Mr Smallfield exhibited, on behalf of the Kent Archæological Society, three Saxon sceattas—two of them from the cemetery at Sarre, and the third from Canterbury, found during the restoration of the cathedral.

Mr. Evans read a paper communicated by W. Allen, Esq., "On a Find of Coins of Allectus at Old Ford, Bow, in February, 1866."—See Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. vi. p. 304.

Mr. Gaston Feuarent communicated a note "On the Gold Staters of Athens."—See Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. vi. p. 320.

Mr. Madden read a paper by himself, "On some Roman Coins and Medallions recently purchased for the British Museum."—See Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. vi. p. 257.

NOVEMBER 15, 1866.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Gaston Feuarent, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

The Rev. A. Pownall exhibited a cast of a groat of Edward IV., countermarked with the arms of Dantzic; also a silver medal of Charles I. and his Queen.

Mr. Akerman exhibited a sterling of John Duke of Brabant, probably the third of that name, or John the Triumphant, who reigned from 1312 to 1316. This coin, which was struck at Brussels, had lately been found near Abingdon. It is of the type Snelling, No. 40, having on the obverse a triple towered castle and the legend I. DVX. D&C BR&CANT, and on the reverse the usual cross with MON&C BRV&C.

Mr. Evans exhibited a small gold coin of Andocomius, of the type Evans, pl. v., No. 5, which had been ploughed up between Burford and Witney.

The Rev. A. Pownall read a paper by himself, entitled "An account of Coins found at Holwell, in the county of Leicester, with remarks on the money of the Calais Mint."—See Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. vii. p. 8.

Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe communicated a paper "On the Distinction between the Pennies of Henry IV., V., and VI."—See Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. vii. p. 20.

DECEMBER 13, 1866.

J. B. BERGNE, Esq., in the Chair

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table :—

1. *Σκεψεις επι των Νομισματων της Αχαϊκης Συμμαχιας*, being a translation of the article in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. vi. p. 21, by Dr. G. Finlay. From the Author.

2. *La Croix de Saint Ulrich d'Augsbourg*, by M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

3. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geld-und Münzwesens in Deutschland*, 4^{er} Abschnitt, by A. D. Soetbeer. From the Author.

4. *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, N.S., vol. v. From the Society.

Mr. W. S. Jones exhibited some coins found in Egypt and Palestine. Among those from Thebes were Alexandrian coins of Diocletian, Maximinus, and small brass coins of the later emperors. Among the coins found at Samaria were some Cufic coins, and one probably of John Hyrcanus or Alexander Jannæus. The other coins were principally Byzantine.

Mr. Evans exhibited a specimen of the silver medalet of Elizabeth, with the legends, *Unum a Deo duobus sustineo—Afflictorum conservatrix*, 1601; of which no satisfactory interpretation has been offered.

Mr. S. F. Corkran, communicated a paper "On two Gold Medals of Queen Elizabeth."—See *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. vii. p. 45.

JANUARY 17, 1867.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

W. G. Heppel, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

MM. Müller, Bergmann, and Van der Chijs were elected honorary members of the Society.

The following present was announced, and laid on the table:—

1. *Revue Numismatique Belge*, 4 Ser. Vol. v., 1^{ere} livraison, 1867.

Mr. Freudenthal exhibited some specimens of the newly-issued coinage of "grani," or thirds of a farthing, intended for Malta.

Mr. J. F. Neck exhibited and read an account of a heavy farthing of Edward IV.—See *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. vii. p. 43.

Mr. G. A. Rogers exhibited a gold piece of singular workmanship, which appeared to be of modern but barbarous execution.

Mr. Evans read a notice of a find of coins at Neideraschau, in Bavaria.—See *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. vii. p. 336.

Mr. Evans read a paper by himself, "On some unpublished Roman Medallions," printed in *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. vii, p. 1.

FEBRUARY 21, 1867.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid on the table:—

1. *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. IV. Band. No. 5.—Katha Sant Sagana, Leipzig, 1866. 8vo. From the Society.

2. *Les Légendes dans la Numismatique Ancienne*, by M. Fr. Lenormant, Paris. From the Author.

3. *Angelsaksische Munten in 1866, gevonden in Friesland beschreven en Historisch Toergelicht*, 1866.

Mr. Freudenthal exhibited a "piece of necessity," lately issued by Chang Wang, the leader of the Tae-Pings in China. It is a rude imitation of the pillar half-dollar of Charles III. of Spain (1771), but struck on pasteboard coated with tin-foil, instead of on silver. He also exhibited a forgery of a copper coin of the Visigothic King Sisebutus.

Mr. Warren, of Ixworth, exhibited casts of a penny of Eadmund, struck by a moneyer not mentioned by Ruding, Litolman, whose name, however, occurs on coins of Eadwig.

The Rev. Tullie Cornthwaite exhibited three copper coins of Morocco, of different denominations.

Mr. Vaux read a notice by himself of a find of Anglo-Saxon coins at Upper Chancton Farm, near Steyning, Sussex.

Mr. Madden read a notice by himself of the coins purchased for the national collection from that of the late Duc de Blacas.

Mr. Horne communicated an account of a discovery of Roman silver coins at Gillingwood Hall, near Richmond, Yorkshire. They are fourteen in number, and range in date from the Consular coinage down to the time of Vespasian.

MARCH 21, 1867.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

J. Clay Lucas, Esq., F.S.A., and M. E. C. Phillips, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid on the table:—

1. *Annuaire de la Société Numismatique Française*, 1866. From the Society.

2. *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 1866. From the Society.

3. *Bulletino di Numismatica Italiana*. Anno I. Num. 2. From Dr. Caucich.

Mr. J. F. Neck exhibited a portion of a vase of grey earthenware, found at the Surrey Commercial Docks, and which contained 1,900 Roman copper coins of the age of Theodosius and Arcadius.

The Rev. J. H. Pollexfen exhibited a small silver British coin (Ev. F. No. 6) found with a coin of Domitian and other antiquities at Colchester.

Mr. Evans read a paper communicated by Mr. W. Blades, and entitled "*Numismata Typographica; or, the Medallic History of Printing.*" Several interesting and rare medals relating to printing were exhibited.—*Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. vii. p. 137.

The Rev. A. Pownall read a paper by himself, "On certain silver coins of Henry VI. which form a connecting link with the first mintage of Edward IV."—*Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. vii. p. 127.

APRIL 18, 1867.

W. S. W. VAUX, President, in the Chair.

Hyde Clarke, Esq., and Alexander Dickson Mills, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

Herr Pastor J. Leitzmann and Dr. Heinrich Meyer were elected honorary members of the Society.

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table :—

1. Catalogue of a selection of British and English coins exhibited under glass in the library of the Fitz-William Museum, by the Rev. Professor Churchill Babington, B.D. From the Author.

2. Rivista Numismatica Italiana, pubblicata da E. Maggiora-Vergano, vol. ii. Fasc. i. From the Editor.

3. Das Münz-Mass- und Gewichts-Wesen in Vorder-Asien bis auf Alexander den Grossen, by J. Brandis, Leipzig, 1866. From the Author.

4. Revue Numismatique Belge, 4 ser. vol. v. 2^{me} livraison. 1867. From the Society.

5. Jeton de Mariage, by R. Chalon. From the Author.

Mr. C. Roach Smith exhibited impressions of a denarius of Gordian III. and Tranquillina, found at Cowling, near Strood, and in the possession of Humphry Wickham, Esq. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS AVG. Radiated bust of the emperor in paludamentum to the right. *Rev.* SABINIA TRANQVILLINA AVG. Draped bust of the empress to the right, surmounting a crescent. This coin is not mentioned by Cohen, who, however, cites one of Becker's forgeries with the same heads. Becker's legend, however, is IMP. GORDIANVS PIVS FEL. AVG., which at once distinguishes it from the present coin.

Mr. C. Roach Smith also exhibited a Merovingian or Frankish imitation of the Roman gold *triens*. It is of extremely barbarous fabric, with unintelligible legends. It was found near Hythe, and is in the possession of H. B. Mackeson, Esq., F.G.S.

Mr. C. Roach Smith also noticed the discovery of an *aureus* of Avitus, at Hoo (*Rev.* VICTORIA AVGGG—Ex. CONOB), and of a denarius of Galba (*Rev.* ROMA RENASCES) and one of Barbia Orbiana, at Strood.

Mr. Evans exhibited impressions of two ancient British coins in gold (Evans, Plate B 8 and 10) found near Chequers Court, Aylesbury. They weigh 93 and 87 grains respectively. He also exhibited a 50 real piece in silver of Philip IV. of Spain, struck at Segovia in 1623.

Mr. Sharp exhibited a groat of Edward V., found at Towcester, having on the obverse the boar's head mint-mark, and on the reverse the rose and sun combined.

Mr. Akerman exhibited a penny of Æthelred II. of the Crux type, found at Little Wittenham, Berks, bearing the name of the moneyer, DVRKSILE MO BARD, the name being regarded by him as an equivalent of "door-sill."

Professor Babington exhibited a cast of a copper British coin (Ev. pl. xiii. 11), probably found in Cheshire.

Mr. B. V. Head communicated a paper "On the coins of Edward the Confessor found at Chancton Farm, near Steyning, Sussex."—Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. vii. p. 63.

MAY 16, 1867.

W. FREUDENTHAL, Esq., M.D., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table:—

1. Proceedings of the Manchester Numismatic Society. Part iv. 1867. From the Society.

2. Publications de la Société pour la recherche et la conservation des Monuments historiques dans la Grand Duché de Luxembourg. Années 1865-6. Parts xx., xxi. From the Society.

3. Bulletino di Numismatica Italiana. Ann. I., Jan., Feb., No. 2. From Dr. Caucich.

The Rev. T. Cornthwaite exhibited an earthenware imitation of the type of the coins of Sicily, which appeared to be of modern fabrication.

Mr. Lambert exhibited a tekal, as a specimen of the coinage of Siam.

Dr. Freudenthal noticed from the *Numismatische Zeitung* of Weissensee, a report of a find of groats of Henry V. and Edward III. and IV. at Stamford, Lincolnshire, in which the writer suggested that the coins of Edward IV. must be those of Edward the Black Prince, being unaware of the long period during which the coin of Edward III. remained in circulation.

JUNE 20, 1867.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed. The Report of the Council was then read to the Meeting:—

GENTLEMEN,—In accordance with the usual custom of the Society, the Council have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society, at this, another Anniversary Meeting.

The Council regret to have to announce their loss by *death* of the five following members:—

George Eastwood, Esq.

Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.S.A.

Rev. Henry Meason.

Rev. H. J. B. Nicholson, D.D., F.S.A.

George Henry Virtue, Esq., F.S.A.

and by *resignation* of,

Lieut.-Col. Fraser.

J. G. Grenfell, Esq.

J. Leckenby, Esq., F.G.S.

E. J. Powell, Esq.

A. G. Scott, Esq.

In consequence of the non-payment of subscription for several years the name of G. G. Brooks has, by order of the Council, been erased from the list of members.

On the other hand the Council have much pleasure in recording the election of the six following members:—

Hyde Clarke, Esq.
 Gaston Feuardent, Esq.
 W. G. Heppel, Esq.
 John Clay Lucas, Esq., F.S.A.
 A. Dickson Mills, Esq.
 M. E. C. Phillips, Esq.

and of the five following well-known Numismatists as *Honorary Members*:—

Dr. Joseph Ritter von Bergmann.
 Dr. P. O. Van der Chijs.¹
 Herr Pastor J. Leitzmann
 Dr. Heinrich Meyer.
 Dr. L. Müller.

According to our Secretary's Report, our numbers are therefore as follows:—

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Total.
Members, June, 1866	7	120	37	164
Since elected	—	6	5	11
	7	126	42	175
Deceased.	1	4	—	5
Resigned	—	5	—	5
Erased	—	1	—	1
Members, June, 1867	6	116	42	164

¹ Since this was written we regret to have to record the death of M. le Professor P. O. Van der Chijs, who expired at Leyden on the 4th of November, 1867. We hope to give a notice of this distinguished Numismatist at the next annual meeting.

We proceed to give a brief notice of some of the friends whom we have lost. First among these stands the name of Mr. EDWARD HAWKINS, F.S.A., who for many years took a warm interest in the affairs of this Society. From his early years he devoted much time and attention to the study of coins generally, and to the collection of a remarkably complete series of English medals (now in the National Collection). Hence, on the death of Mr. Taylor Combe, in 1826, he was deservedly appointed Keeper of the Antiquities in the British Museum—an office he held, greatly to the advantage of the students of Art as well as of Antiquities, till the end of the year, 1860. During the period of his Keepership, Mr. Hawkins published several valuable works on Numismatic subjects, all of which contain numerous plates, drawn with scrupulous accuracy under his own eye, chiefly by the late Messrs. Corbould and Fairholt. As such may be mentioned “An Account of the Anglo-Gallic Coins in the British Museum,” and “The Silver Coins of England,” which is still, and has been ever since it was published, the text-book on the subject. Mr. Hawkins also prepared and put in type fifteen years since a considerable portion of a complete history of all known English medals, under the title of “Numismata Britannica.” This work, it is understood, is now in progress towards completion, and will shortly be made public. Mr. Hawkins was for many years Fellow and Vice-President of the Royal Society, Fellow and President of the Numismatic Society, and Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries. To the *Transactions* of each of the two last Societies he gave many valuable papers; and as keeper of his own department of the Museum, he contributed much to the efficiency and accuracy of the eighth, ninth, and tenth Parts of the “Account of the Ancient Marbles in the British Museum,” printed between the years 1839 and 1845, at the expense of the Trustees.¹ He died at his house in

¹ For this notice we are indebted to the *Athenæum* of June 15, 1867.

Lower Berkeley Street, on the 22nd of May, 1867, in the 88th year of his age.

The Rev. HENRY JOSEPH BOONE NICHOLSON, D.D., F.S.A., an Honorary Canon of Rochester Cathedral, was the son of the Rev. J. Payler Nicholson, formerly Rector of St. Albans, to which rectory he was himself instituted in the year 1835. Living in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient city of Verulanium, and being moreover rector of the magnificent abbey church of St. Albans, for which he had a deep affection, it would have been strange indeed if he had not evinced antiquarian tastes. His handbook to the Abbey of St. Albans is a model work of its kind, and shows, not only a thorough acquaintance with the various styles of architecture exhibited in the building, but a large amount of varied historical research. His Numismatic collection was principally of a local character; but he took an interest in all coins in any way connected with English history. Though not a frequent attendant at our meetings, he was for upwards of five years a member of this Society.

He died on the 27th of July, 1866, at the age of 71, universally regretted.

The late Mr. GEORGE HENRY VIRTUE, F.S.A., was elected a member of this Society in November, 1856, and accepted the office of Treasurer, on the retirement of Mr. Bergne in June, 1857, an office which he retained until the day of his death, May 21st, 1866, at the early age of 39. He was the eldest son of Mr. George Virtue, the well-known publisher of the *Art-Journal*, in the City Road, and was himself for many years a partner in the firm of Hall and Virtue, publishers, in Paternoster Row, where also latterly he carried on the same business in partnership with his brother. Although he never communicated any Paper to this Society, his antiquarian tastes were evinced by the publication, under his auspices, of

more than one of the works of the late Mr. Fairholt, and of Mr. Wright, while his genial manner and uniform good-nature gained him the esteem of all those who were brought in contact with him.

The late Mr. GEORGE EASTWOOD was known to many members of this Society, not only as a dealer, but as a remarkably good judge, more especially of Greek and Roman coins, and as possessing considerable knowledge in other branches of archæology than Numismatics. For some years he carried on business in Fore Street, subsequently in the City Road, and of late years at 27, Haymarket. He was carried off by consumption on October 15th, 1866, in the 47th year of his age.

The Council can congratulate the Society upon the completion of the sixth volume of the New Series of the Chronicle, which at present shows no sign of falling off for want of good material. It cannot, however, be expected to retain its reputation without assistance from the members.

The Report of the Treasurer is as follows :—

Statement of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June 20, 1866, to June 20, 1867.
Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH W. FREUDENTHAL, TREASURER. *Cr.*

1866.		1867.		1868.	
£	s	£	s	£	s
Aug. 28.	To Mr. F. J. Lees, for Engraving		10	5	0
Oct. 18.	" Mr. F. W. Madden, for Letters, &c.		18	0	0
" 20.	" Mr. F. J. Lees, for Engraving		14	0	0
" 22.	" Mr. T. D. Scott, for Woodcut		4	13	0
Nov. 15.	" Mr. A. M. Williams, for ditto		0	10	0
" 15.	" Mr. R. Maxwell, for Stationery		0	16	6
" 19.	" Messrs. Virtue & Co., for Printing Chronicle, Part 22		27	6	3
" 19.	" Ditto ditto		29	3	9
" 26.	" Messrs. Collis, for Printing		0	10	6
Dec. 8.	" Mr. J. H. Rimbault, for Woodcuts		1	15	0
" 27.	" Mr. B. Paradise, Voucher-Book		1	0	0
1867.					
Jan. 17.	" Miss Gann, for Engraving		0	15	0
" 17.	" Davy and Sons, for Printing		1	4	0
Feb. 23.	" Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, 6 months' Rent		10	0	0
" 25.	" Ditto, for Soiree		5	0	0
Mar. 2.	" Asher & Co., Saller's Palmyra		0	2	6
" 25.	" Mr. F. J. Lees, for Engraving		3	10	0
Apr. 18.	" Messrs. Virtue & Co., for Printing Chronicle, Part 24		37	6	8
" 20.	" Mr. A. M. Williams, for Woodcuts		5	0	0
" 20.	" Mr. W. Oldham, ditto		1	16	0
May 14.	" Mr. W. Lewis, for Bookbinding		14	0	0
" 30.	" Collector, 5 per cent. Commission on £125		6	5	0
" 30.	" Ditto, for Postage, &c.		0	4	6
June 1.	" Book post		0	3	6
" 4.	" Mr. F. W. Madden, for Letters, &c.		2	15	2
" 20.	" Treasurer, for Stationery, Letters, &c.		0	17	3
" 20.	" Balance on hand to next account		143	1	2
			<u>£325</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>9</u>
			143	1	2
			<u>£325</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>9</u>
			143	1	2

Balance in hands of Treasurer . . . 143 1 2
W. FREUDENTHAL, TREASURER.

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected:—

President.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.A.S.

Vice-Presidents.

J. B. BERGNE, Esq., F.S.A.

RT. HON. THE EARL OF ENNISKILLEN, Hon. D.C.L.,
F.R.S., F.G.S.

Treasurer.

W. FREUDENTHAL, Esq., M.D.

Secretaries.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN, Esq.

Foreign Secretary.

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

Librarian.

SUTTON FRASER CORKRAN, Esq.

Members of the Council.

REV. PROF. CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D.

S. BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

JOHN DAVIDSON, Esq.

BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, Esq.

W. STAVENHAGEN JONES, Esq.

J. F. NECK, Esq.

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The Society then adjourned until October 17th, 1867.



LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OF LONDON,
DECEMBER, 1867.

Handwritten text on the right edge of the page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side. The text is faint and difficult to decipher but appears to include the characters 'X', '1', '2', '3', '4', '5', '6', '7', '8', '9', '0'.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OF LONDON,
DECEMBER, 1867.

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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

ON SOME RARE OR UNPUBLISHED ROMAN MEDALLIONS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 17, 1867.]

WE have lately been favoured by my colleague, Mr. Madden, with an account containing much valuable information with regard to several interesting Roman medallions, recently added to the collection in the British Museum; and though it is impossible for any private collector to compete with the national collection, especially in the acquisition of such princely pieces as Roman medallions, yet it so happens that I possess three specimens of that class, two of which I believe to be hitherto unpublished, and the other of great rarity, and of which, therefore, some notice may be acceptable to this Society.

The first is of middle brass size, and struck under Antoninus Pius.

Obv.—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P.P. TR.P. COS.

III. Laureate bust of Antoninus to the right, the neck bare.

Rev.—Uninscribed. Youthful male figure, nude, standing to the left, the right hand on a staff, which rests on the ground, and around which a ser-

pent is entwined; in the left hand drapery. In front a tall cippus, on which is a central stem, with three basins (?) around it, one below the other; behind, a tree. (*Æ.* 8, Pl. I. No. 1.)

Though of small size, the absence of the S. C., and the gem-like character of the work, prove this piece to be a medallion, rather than a coin. It is in fair, though not absolutely fine preservation, and unpatinated.

Owing to the absence of the year of the Tribunitian Power, it is impossible to fix, exactly, the date of this medallion; it belongs, however, to the period between the years A.D. 145 and 161. The medallion of Antoninus, *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. vi. pl. x. 3, which was struck in A.D. 156, is of the same class; the tree in the background being a common adjunct of the period.

The device of the reverse is by no means of easy interpretation. At first sight the serpent coiled around the wand would suggest that the principal figure was that of *Æsculapius*. We know, however, that the god of healing was usually represented with a beard, and at all events partially draped, though there are instances in which the nude and unbearded figure has been considered from the accessory attributes to have been intended for *Æsculapius*. As to the beard, indeed, it is on record that *Dionysius*, Tyrant of Syracuse, removed it from his statues, assigning as a reason that it was improper that *Æsculapius* should be worshipped bearded, while his father, *Apollo*, was beardless.

It will be remembered that on the small medallion of *Hadrian*, in the *British Museum*, which resembles this of *Antoninus* in size and the gem-like character of its workmanship, and which was described by *Mr. Madden*, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. i. p. 97, *Salus*

is accompanied by a youthful figure, naked, but having a mantle flowing from his left shoulder, over the arm, and holding a "scipio," round which is entwined a serpent. This figure has been regarded as that of Æsculapius, of young Hercules, of Antoninus, or of Apollo, in which latter case the statue on the pedestal behind, which appears to be that of Apollo, has to be considered as that of some other god.

In the case of some large brass coins of Galba, of which one is in the British Museum, and another, with a different obverse, is in the French collection (Cohen, Nos. 221 and 222), the device of the reverse, a standing naked figure holding a wand, around which is entwined a serpent, is described by Cohen as either a beardless Æsculapius or Apollo. Mionnet seems to have described the one coin as bearing Æsculapius, and the other Apollo. Vaillant describes the figure as having a patera in the right hand, and is inclined to regard it as Apollo.

From a similar figure occurring on pieces struck under Galba, Hadrian, and Antoninus, it appears probable that some statue well known at the time was represented. We have not any record, that I am acquainted with, of any such statue of Apollo Alexicacus or Salutaris, but I am inclined to think that the figure on these medallions and coins is that of Apollo, under some such attributes. The Apollo Salutaris of the time of Trebonianus Gallus has usually a branch of laurel in his right hand, and his lyre lying at his side; but that affords no argument against the figure we are now considering being equally that of Apollo. A valid reason for doubting it to be the representation of Æsculapius is to be found in the fact that on the medallion (Cohen, No. 382) struck during

the third Consulate of Antoninus, we have a different but apparently unquestionable representation of that divinity holding the staff with the serpent twined around it. So unquestionably, indeed, does the figure appear to be that of Æsculapius, that M. Cohen does not mention whether it is draped or undraped, bearded or unbearded; but if the representation of the medallion given in the "Musei Pisani Numismata," tab. xv. fig. 1, can be trusted, he is enveloped in a mantle, leaving only a portion of the body and the right arm bare, and is decidedly bearded. On the medallion bearing the legend AESCVLAPIVS he appears under the form of a serpent only, on the prow of a vessel in the Tiber, the whole scene commemorating the embassy to Epidaurus. On another medallion, also of Antoninus (Cohen, No. 429; Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 33), we have Æsculapius seated before an altar, and accompanied by Salus, standing. The ordinary representation of Æsculapius occurring therefore on more than one medallion of this period, it seems impossible that he should appear on others under a totally different form; and I think, therefore, we must accept the youthful nude figure with the serpent around his staff as that of some other divinity, probably Apollo. Whether the tree behind is introduced merely for the sake of filling up the blank space in the field, or is to be regarded as the laurel, sacred to Apollo, may be an open question, as must also be that of the signification of the object upon the column in front of the figure, more especially as it is unfortunately not sufficiently distinct for its exact character to be ascertained. It has, however, much the appearance of being a military standard, placed upon a column or cippus.

The next medallion to which I wish to call attention is, like the first, unpublished. It is of Septimius Severus.

Obv.—L. SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS PERTINAX
AVG. IMP. III. Laureate bust to the
right in the paludamentum.

Rev.—VICT. AVG. P.M. TR.P. II. COS. II. P.P.
Victory marching rapidly to the right, her
right hand extended and holding a garland,
with her left carrying a palm-branch over her
shoulder. (Æ. 13½. Pl. I. No. 2.)

Unfortunately this large and originally very fine medallion has suffered much by oxidation, especially on the obverse. The reverse is fairly preserved, and the design of the Victory is in the best style of art of the period, the figure being boldly, yet gracefully drawn, and the proportions good.

It differs from the nearly analogous medallion published by Cohen, No. 474, merely in the size, and in having been struck a year earlier, or in the second year of the Tribunitian Power, A.D. 194, instead of the third, A.D. 195. A medallion like that described by Cohen is engraved in the "Musei Pisani Numismata," tab. xxxiii. No. 2.

The type is common, and appears to have been adopted by Severus, even in his first year, whether on the occasion of a victory over Pescennius, or by his generals over some barbarous nation, is, as Eckhel says, uncertain. The date of the medallion now under consideration falls in with that of the important battle of Issus, in which Pescennius Niger was conquered, and soon afterwards taken and decapitated.

The medallion, as is so commonly the case with these large pieces, is carefully struck, so that the position of the devices on the obverse and reverse agree in such a manner that the head of Victory is exactly opposite to or underneath the upper part of the head of the Emperor.

On either side of the Victory, about midway between her head and the exergual line, are two small pivot-holes, drilled into the edge of the coin. These holes are a little above the centre of the medallion, so that when pivots are placed in them, it hangs in a vertical position, with the lower part of the bust and the feet of the Victory downwards. It would seem then, like many other similar pieces, to have been mounted in some kind of frame, and not improbably may have served as the centre-piece of a military standard. The bronze head of a vexillum, the central ring of which would be well adapted for framing such a medallion, will be found engraved in the "Archæological Association Journal," vol. xiii. p. 316.

The remaining medallion of which I have to speak is of Gallienus and his son Saloninus. It has already been published by Cohen (No. 4), who cites it from Mionnet.

Obv.—CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM. Bare bust of Saloninus to the right in the paludamentum, facing the laureate bust of Gallienus to the left in the paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM. The two Emperors, in military costume, facing each other, and holding conjointly a small globe, on which is a Victory with a garland and palm-branch; behind the Emperors, on each side, a soldier holding a spear, the one to the left holds also a standard. (Æ. 11. Pl. I. No. 3.)

This medallion, like others of the period, is thick, very circular, and with the edges very square, almost as if struck in a collar. The workmanship is coarse, and the letters rather rounded, and there is somewhat of a contorniate appearance about the outer circle, which, however, is not concentric with the coin. Though not entirely above all suspicion, I believe this medallion to be genuine, the

patination, especially of the edge, being such as would hardly be counterfeited.

The device of the reverse differs in some minute particulars from that described by Mionnet, and by Vaillant, from the Museum Theupolum; as, for instance, in one of the soldiers holding both a spear and a standard.

The practice of placing the portraits of the Emperor and his son facing each other on medallions, with the legend, *CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM*, and with no means of identifying the Augusti under whom they were struck, except their portraits, commenced under the Philips, and so difficult is it to determine from the portraits alone which of the Emperors are represented, that there is some uncertainty whether this medallion should not be regarded as bearing the heads of Philip the father and son rather than of Gallienus and Saloninus. Vaillant indeed mentions a medallion with a similar reverse, but having the heads not only of the two Philips, but of Otacilia also, on the obverse. If such a piece really exists, it would afford a strong argument in favour of assigning this medallion to the Philips also. There is, however, such an identity between the obverse and that of the medallion in the British Museum with *ADVENTVS AVGG.* on the reverse, which appears to be rightly assigned to Gallienus and his son, that I suspect there may have been some mistake in the "Eadem capita" of Vaillant, and that he intended to refer to two heads only, and not to three. If so, it is probable that he has described the same type both under Philip and Gallienus, and we shall be justified in classing the *ADVENTVS AVGG.* and *CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM* medallions together, and assigning both types to Gallienus and Saloninus.

JOHN EVANS.

II.

ACCOUNT OF COINS FOUND AT HOLWELL, IN
THE COUNTY OF LEICESTER.

WITH REMARKS ON MONEY OF THE CALAIS MINT.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, November 15, 1866.]

It would have been highly convenient for unspeculative collectors of English coins, if our early kings had only dated the money they issued, caused numerals to be placed after the names inscribed on their coins, and given us a distinct type for each reign. In that case a cabinet would have looked like a well-kept garden; numismatic study, if less engaging, would have been more precise; and the uncertainties must have been avoided which so often disturb the coin theories of our time. That our Norman kings and their successors did not do this, adds something, however, in my estimation, to the interest one feels in their coins; because those of us who look for correct attribution must oftentimes, perforce of circumstance, be content to find it in other ways, perhaps laboriously. And is there no pleasure in this? Numismatists now taste something of the excitement of the chase, when they are compelled to beat every bush of knowledge, and hunt up mere scraps of evidence, that they may exchange uncertainty for certainty as regards a Rufus, a Fifth Edward, or a doubtful Henry. These have often been

my thoughts when I have again locked up the hoard of coins about to be described, after an evening apparently spent in a fruitless examination of it. I only wish that, after many evenings spent on them, I could offer more in the way of information to the members of this Society; but since records of the finds of the fifteenth century are not abundant in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle, it seems desirable for us to multiply them; because who can say that the cloud which hangs over our own knowledge of the moneys of that period, shall not in some future day be removed partly by the help of our investigations?

On the 5th of August, 1864, certain men were employed in levelling ground in the gateway of a farm at Holwell, in Leicestershire, when they discovered about 900 English silver coins, of values ranging from the halfpenny to the groat, and of kings' reigns from that of Edward I. to Henry VI., inclusive. The find underwent some filtering in the neighbourhood, there is no doubt, but it was quickly claimed for the Crown, as treasure-trove; a claim, by the way, which I, for one, should like to see the Crown renounce, touching bullion in quantities despicably small for royalty to stoop at. After an interval of six months or more, between 700 and 800 of these coins passed under the inspection of our President, the learned "*custos monetæ*" at the British Museum; and then to his courtesy was I indebted for such of them, by purchase of the Treasury, as were not required for the national collection.

The following list presents an analysis of the whole find; while a letter addressed to me by Mr. Longstaffe contains the results of his careful examination of a number of the smaller pieces which I had the pleasure of submitting to him. It is quite unnecessary for me to

express my own sense of the value of his remarks, on a subject known to us all as being highly difficult.

Kings.	Mints.	Coins.	Number.	Condition.	Remarks.
Edward I., II.	London	Pennies	25	v. poor	
Edward III.	"	Groats	43	"	
	"	½-groats	46	"	
	York	Groat	1	"	
	"	½-groats	4	"	
	"	Pennies	3	"	
	"	Halfpenny	1	"	
			98		
Richard II.	London	Penny	1	"	
	York	"	2	"	
			3		
Henry IV.	London	Groats	2	Fair	{ Both groats rather less than 60 gr. The penny also light.
	York	Penny	1	"	
			3		
Henry V. VI.	London	Groats	59	{ Fair to fine	Types IX. XI. Hawkins, "Anglo-Gallic," pp. 81, 82.
	"	½ groats	8		
	Calais	Groats	277	{ Usually fine to v. fine.	
	"	½-groats	56		
	Durham	Pennies	3	Poor	
	York	Groats	2	Fair	
	"	Pennies, some illegible, and some catalogued by Mr. Longstaffe.	219	A few fine	
			624		
Robert III. of Scotland.	Perth	Groat	1		
			754		

It will be seen by this list that about two-thirds of the Holwell find bear the name $\eta\epsilon\text{NRICVS}$; and I am afraid, of that large number a very few only can with *positive certainty* be attributed to one or other of the Henries. Even the two rare groats struck at York, now in the Museum, which by some would be claimed for Henry VI., may be given to him with a certain degree of questioning by others. At least I myself am not prepared to say no coins were struck at York in Henry V.'s time, in the face

of that ordinance, made by his parliament (in 1421), that a mint should be worked there for the relief of the northern counties. There are York pennies of Henry IV., but I suppose no mint records exist to account for them. So too regarding these York groats: without being able to say that the reference made in Henry VI.'s second year (1423) to the previous working of the mint at York demonstrates the coinage of money in that town during the former king's reign, I do say it should leave it as a question more open than it is wont to be made; and if undetermined questions like this are unsatisfactory, questions determined on insufficient evidence are more unsatisfactory still. In the remarks about to follow I trust so sound a principle of judgment may not seem to have been neglected. A single glance at the foregoing list shows how much of the Holwell find consists of the ordinary Calais groats and half groats. There are no fewer than 345 coins, out of the 754 which came under my inspection. They bear one name only, that of Henry. To which Henry do they belong? Clearly not to Henry IV. The ancient mint of Calais, established immediately after the surrender of the town to the forces of Edward III., was not at work, we have good reason to believe, during the first score years of the fifteenth century;—I may say, from the beginning of Henry IV.'s reign, and throughout the greater part of his son's. It was only in 1421 that the mayor, constables, and merchants of the King's staple at Calais, made this representation¹ concerning the payment of their bonds of subsidy to the King's treasurer and victualler: "They" (the treasurer and victualler) "would not receive any money but the King's nobles, which it

¹ Ruding, vol. i. p. 264.

was not in the power of the said mayor, &c., to give, unless the King had his mint and coinage there, *as it was of ancient time,*" &c. &c. This, their representation, having been attended to, the mint was set again to work, and in the second parliament of that year (1421), held at Westminster, December 1, it was ordained, "Que la mynt du roi soit cunés et fait," at Calais, "in the manner that it is made and governed in the Tower of London." Thus the HENRICVS coins of our Anglo-Gallic possession came to be; probably not earlier than the beginning of 1422, and they are thus shut off from the possibility of a claim on behalf of the fourth Henry. This question remains; can they be claimed for one, or both, of his immediate successors? Eight months only of that year had passed when Henry V. deceased, for he died on August 31, 1422; so that Calais money struck in his name must hold place in the short interval between December 1, 1421, and August 31, 1422. May this circumstance be borne in mind by those who continue to look on all that common class of Calais money, with the annulet or eyelet hole on each side of the king's head, as being coins of Henry V. As his money are they still considered by some, and as his money are they sometimes sold. Popular regard for the merits of such a king will account for this eagerness to clutch at some distinctive mark by which a coin of his day may be ascertained, but I apprehend the idea to be only a pleasing delusion, as its origin can be traced. S. M. Leake, the author of an account of English money, more than a century ago, appears to be the authority on which it rests. He says (2nd edition, 1745, p. 139):—"The silver money (of Henry V.) is like his father's, and known from them only by two little circles, on each side the head, probably intended for eyelet holes,

from an odd stratagem when he was prince, whereby he recovered his father's favour, being then dressed in a suit full of eyelet holes." For this statement he cites both Stow and Speed.

Now the circumstance is indeed described in Stow, but nothing appears in Stow's account whereby we may connect the eyelet holes in the Prince of Wales's dress with the annulet mark on these coins. One must therefore be excused for entering upon this subject with a minuteness it may scarcely seem to deserve, but the baseless opinion I have named exists more commonly than numismatists would imagine; so John Stow's account of the scene shall be partly transcribed:—

"During the sicknesse of the king, some evill disposed people laboured to make dissension between the king and the prince, his sonne, by reason whereof . . . the king suspected that he would presume to usurpe the crowne, he being alive, which suspicious jealousie was occasion that he in part withdrew his affection and singular love from the prince. But when the noble prince was advertised of his father's jealousie and mistrust, by some of his secret friends of the king's counsaile, he disguised himself in a gowne of blue sattén, or damaske, wrought full of eyelet holes, and at every eyelet hole the needle wherewith it was made, hanging still by the silke," &c. (p. 339).

This is all that bears on the matter, yet can we say there is anything here to justify the attribution of pieces with the annulet mint-mark to Henry V.? Snelling quotes Archbishop Sharpe, but dismisses the fancy in a few words. Archbishop Sharpe so ascribes them without stating any reason, except that the coin, given by Speed for the groat of Henry V., exactly agrees with those ascribed by the archbishop to that king, thus making Speed his master!

And what does Speed say? Speed says absolutely nothing to connect the tale of the eyelet-holed robe with the annulet mark upon the money. He merely gives one of the pieces so marked to Henry V. without any explanation!

We must find stronger foundations to build opinions on than these. Rather would I trust to such documentary evidence as Ruding brought together for a decision in dealing with these pieces. We may not have in the mint accounts of the Exchequer the case in its completeness, but we can at least see what it amounts to, and determine what it points at, without giving it more consequence than it can carry.²

To show that money was minted at Calais in Henry V.'s time there is in the Exchequer mint accounts no proof at all; but from an unclassified bundle of papers in the Tower it appears his son struck the amount of bullion, at the Calais mint, which is here given:—

	lbs.	oz.	dwt.
1. From Feb. 25th, of second year, to Jan. 31 of sixth year, <i>i.e.</i> , from 1423—27	67,745	4	10
2. From Feb. 20th, of sixth year, to Aug. 3rd, of ninth year (1427—30)	89,660	9	0
3. From (no date given) to eleventh year (1432)	26,182	10	1
	<hr/>		
	183,588	11	11

Now, taken by itself, this could only lead to one conclusion,—namely this, that our common Calais groats belong alone to Henry VI.'s reign, and to the early rather than the later portion of it. But do other records substantiate or supplement this testimony of the mint accounts? Here we are assisted by the notices which

² Ruding, vol. i. p. 85.

have been preserved of trials of the pyx. And if one of them proves conclusively that money *was* coined at Calais while Henry V. was king, the record seems to narrow those nine months spoken of before (*i.e.* between Dec. 1, 1421, and Aug. 31, 1422) into fewer weeks.

I refer now to an ordinance of Henry VI.'s fourth year (1425), in which he commanded the treasurer and barons of his Exchequer to return an account of the assay which had been made of all moneys of gold and silver coined by Bartholomew Goldbeter, master of the mint, in the Tower of London, the vill of Calais, and castle of York.³ Of the "Cales" moneys tried, were the coins struck (not issued, but struck) at "Cales" between

20th July, 10th of H. 5, and
30th January, 2nd of H. 6.

The other trials do not concern us now, but their dates show the fullness of the records we here possess. The last having been 30th Jan., 1423, we find the next assay was made of coins struck between

25th Feb., 1423, and Jan., 1427 ;

the next, of those struck between

20th Feb., 1427, and 3rd Aug., 1430.

Taking into account these recorded facts, I think as much as this may be assumed :—(1), No common variety of our Calais money is likely to have been hammered into coin between July 20th and Aug. 31st of the year 1422 ; (2), any picces thrown off from the standards of the moneyers in those forty days must now be found among our rarer sorts ; (3), such types as now yield abundant specimens to our hands must belong to Henry VI.

³ Ruding, vol. ii. p. 451.

Before putting these conclusions to any use, let me first of all state other facts connected with this mint, which enable us to measure with some exactness the length of time it was busy. For a few years the Exchequer records indicate considerable activity—but only for a few years. By his eleventh year (1432), I have shown that Henry VI. had coined 183,588 lbs. of silver; indeed, by his ninth year about eleven-thirteenths of it had appeared. That which now remains to be told exhibits the cause of this decrease.

As early as 1429, the Commons presented a petition praying that the statutes relating to the mint at Calais might be enforced, because the mint there “was like to stand void, dissolate, and to be distruded.”⁴ In 1432, the complaint was repeated; the mint at Calais, it was urged, was not “sustained.” In 1433, a statute of that year was ordered to be enforced, enjoining the carrying of bullion to Calais—a prop, we must suppose, to a tottering wall. Still later, that is, in 1437, and also in 1442, we find further legislative measures applied for, and in the end successfully, to repeal former regulations, which had worked injuriously, and “had occasioned the mint to fall into great decay.”⁵ This use of the pluperfect tense marks how little large coinages from that town are to be looked for in the latter half of Henry VI.’s long reign. Calais then was scarcely, if at all, a coin-producing mint. And when we hear of letters patent being granted to John Langton, clerk, and Walter Aumener, newly-appointed wardens and receivers of this mint,⁶—the wages to be the same as Robert Whittingham had received, that is, twenty

⁴ Ruding, vol. i. p. 273.

⁵ Ruding, vol. i., 275.

⁶ 16th May, 1445.

pounds per annum for himself and twelve-pence a-day for his clerk, "out of the first money that should arise from this mint,"—one is tempted to hope that these good men had something else than their places at the mint to depend on, for the mint was dying; and when dead, no one brought it to life again, as we find no moneys of Calais in a subsequent reign.⁷

And now if this argument be good for anything, it surely must be seen to point to the precise period of the fifteenth century when Calais gave us the bulk of the pieces we find now; and assuming this to have been proved, then may we not use it in dealing with HENRICVS groats of London, of the weight of 60 grains, at present left unclassed? I will take certain of these Holwell coins in illustration of this use. The coins of Calais and London have been associated in that hoard, and the fact of this association does not weaken my case.

Among them, in plenty, are three Calais varieties, which I believe are plentiful enough everywhere. We will say they must be Henry VI.'s on account of their abundance, struck sometime between 1422—32. Surely, when we find London groats, mark for mark alike, is it *only a probability* that they belong to the same ten years of time, and came forth from dies prepared by the hand of the same engraver? Is it not certainty, as far as we can hope to reach it? A comparison between the coins of these two mints would be an inquiry of considerable interest; at present, I am bound to say my own examination of them stops very far short of completeness.

⁷ Ruding, vol. ii. p. 257. The statute of Edward IV.'s third year, about the staple and mint at Calais (p. 282), looks only as though the King would do more for the mint, than the mint for the King.

	LONDON.	CAULISIA.
A.	+ <i>Obv.</i>	+ <i>Obv.</i>
Ruding, pl. iv. 10 and 9.	+ <i>Rev.</i> ○ after POSVI ○ in 2nd and 3rd quarters × separates the words	+ <i>Rev.</i> ○ at each side of neck ○ after POSVI. ○ in 2nd and 3rd quarters × separates words
B.	* ◇ after ηΕΝΡΙCΙ. DI. and GRΛ.	* ◇ after ηΕΝΡΙCΙ. DI. and GRΛ.
Ruding, pl. iv. 14 Hawkins, Anglo-Gallic, p. 83 11,	+ ◇ after REX + ◇ after POSVI. and LONDON ◇ after CIVITAS.	+ ◇ after REX + ◇ after POSVI and CAULISIA ◇ divides VILOLA
C.	+ ✱ after ηΕΝΡΙCΙDI and GRΛ.	+ ✱ after ηΕΝΡΙCΙ. DI. and GRΛ.
Hawkins 330 Silver coins of England. Ruding, pl. iv. 15.	+ ✱ after REX + ✱ after POSVI. and LONDON ◇ after CIVITAS	+ ✱ after REX + ✱ after POSVI and CAULISIA ◇ divides VILOLA

Here is close resemblance every one will allow, and was there no cause for it? That we may look for resemblance in the marks of coins struck during those ten years is reasonable, owing to another circumstance we can also find stated in Ruding. Gilbert Vanbrauburg, or Brandeburg, or Guisbryght Van Brondeburg (so variously is the name spelled) was "sculptor of the dies" in Henry V.'s ninth year, down to Henry VI.'s ninth year. He was succeeded then (1430) by John Orewell. Be it observed, therefore, that in the very term of years during which $\frac{1}{3}$ ths of the bullion coined at all at Calais was converted into money of the realm, in that term of years lay Vanbrauburg's tenure of office. Similarity in work-

manship and in mint-marks between 1420—30, is therefore to be expected; and the more minute are the points of resemblance, the better are the tests supplied to our eyes of that one man's handiwork. The better are the tests, for a likeness in the lesser marks deserves our attention more even than likeness, or the absence of it, in the form of the initial cross of the legend, the mint-mark proper.⁸ Nothing can have been less calculated to catch notice from the superficial observer than the "point secret" of the French money, yet that one point, underneath one letter of the legend, revealed to the initiated the name of the town from which came the coin in his hand.

Here I am content to stop. The statements which have been adduced lead to one conclusion. They show that certain varieties of the common HENRICVS groat, usually and most unsatisfactorily described in catalogues as the coins of Henry IV., V., or VI., or, at the best, to the latest of these kings, without a reason, may with a fair show of reason be assigned to King Henry VI. The case must now stand or fall on its own merits; but should it stand, we shall have detached these varieties, at all events, from our heap of unclassified Henries, and have before us a stepping-stone to further knowledge still.

I hope on another occasion to establish, without question, the connection others of them maintain with the money of Edward IV.

ASSHETON POWNALL.

⁸ I am inclined to think that in Henry VI.'s time and previously the form of the initial cross on obverse and reverse was more a matter of ornamentation than distinction, and that in the lesser markings have we the real mint-marks. Mr. Hawkins in his work on the Anglo-Gallic coins (p. 73) expresses the same opinion.



III.

ON THE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE PENNIES
OF HENRY IV., V., AND VI.

A LETTER FROM W. H. D. LONGSTAFFE ESQ., TO THE REV. A.
POWNALL.

Gateshead, 18th Oct., 1866.

MY DEAR SIR,

To comment upon the sixty pennies from the Holwell find, which you have kindly submitted to me, requires some general explanation of my views on the coins of the three Henries. I had intended to elaborate an article for the Numismatic Society expounding them. Just now such a process would interfere with other engagements. But, by confining myself as much as possible to the denomination of money illustrated by our Durham evidences, I may be able, at once, to give

some idea of what I conceive to be the broad divisions of the coins in question.

The most worn of the pieces you have sent are those of Edward III.; the most perfect is one of Henry VI., with a leaf on the breast. All the intervening monarchs are represented. The range of time is long and remarkable. The York pennies of Edward III., with the roundel on the breast and little quatrefoil before CIVITAS, are late; the other coins of that king are earlier, but of 18 grains.

Of Richard II. we have the York penny with an *escallop* after CIVITAS. Probably you may have observed that the general peculiarities of the York mint are increased in this reign by the introduction of barbarous types, having the same relation to the coins of Richard II.,¹ Henry V., and Henry VI., as the Berwick pieces bear to those of the Edwards. They do not *supersede* the Tower workmanship, and were doubtless struck by the archbishops, who were perhaps permitted to engrave their own dies if they chose, a privilege extended to Durham by Edward IV. You will also have noticed the extraordinary increase of episcopal small moneys in proportion to the regal issue² after the introduction of groats. In 1423 the Commons of the infant Henry VI. complained that hardly any small coins were struck, but only nobles and groats. At last, in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII., the pennies, and even the half-groats, of good silver, were almost wholly prelatial.

We now come to the Henries. My position is, that,

¹ In Richard's time they frequently read *Angile* for *Angliæ*.

² I do not wish to be understood to assert that there ever was a regal mint at Durham, save during vacancies of the Palatinate. I am speaking of the kingdom generally.

having traced the sequence of types by means of transitional features, they are to be distributed into reigns by ascertaining in which of the varieties the portraits of the pennies change. Not but that the other denominations of money, especially the half-groats, are very valuable, but the pennies are sufficient for our purpose, and their history affords useful collateral evidences. The difficulty which would have arisen, had each Henry used several heads, as did Edward IV., does not occur. There are three leading phases of portrait for the three Henries—one for each. The divisions occur exactly where, historically, they ought to be found, the style of each monarch slightly overlapping the reign of his successor, and disappearing in his first coinage.

The three heads differ in their hair. That of Henry IV. resembles and rather exaggerates Richard II.'s. That of Henry VI. was continued by Edward IV. The intermediate type stands for Henry V. The first we have long recognised. It has not the projecting tufts under the crown, and it is brushed to an inordinate distance from the head, the bold curls at the bottom advancing beyond the rest of the hair. The second is kept closer to the head; it has the tufts, and the feebler curls do not project beyond the higher portions. Still they *are* curls; while the third type can hardly be said to have any. The effect of the hair being turned up is formed by coarse striations. If you will take a penny of Henry IV. and one of Henry VI. with Bishop Nevil's interlacing rings, about which there can be no mistake, and place between them a Durham penny with a star and an annulet, my meaning will be clear. If you have not these Durhamites at hand, the following will do as well:—1. Hawkins's Fig. 323 of Henry IV.'s half-groat; 2. One of the half-

groats with a star on the breast; 3. A half-groat with a rosette or leaf after Posvi,—any, in fact, with the open lozenges.

But there are other distinctions arising from that of portrait. In these half-groats you will find that the cusps of the crown, which up to and inclusive of Henry IV. leave little triangular spandrils, in Henry V.'s time rise above a row of pierced circles, which continue down to Henry VII.; and most likely the tressure of Henry V. will have ten, eleven, or twelve members instead of the nine of Henry IV. and VI. The hair of the groats is, as you know, very different from that of the halves and pennies. However, if you take one of Henry IV.'s light groats with the Roman N, one of the groats with the star on the breast, and a third of one of the lozenge coinages, I think you will find that the first will most likely have the cusps of the tressure fleured above the head, as in the previous reigns, or present slipped trefoils on the breast or elsewhere; that the second will have the cusp on the breast fleured, and the reading ANGLIE, as in Henry IV.'s coins; while the third will give ANGL, as in Edward IV.'s coins, will exhibit no fleur in the base,³ and will have the breasts severely and coarsely defined instead of the more delicate busts of the preceding coinages. There are some differences of expression of face, not easily described, but the queer twist of the mouth, which sets in on the half-groats of Henry VI. and extends into Edward IV.'s reign, will be familiar to you.

Now, if you put before you a number of groats, half-groats, and pennies of the great annulet coinage, which

³ The fleur revives on some of the later coinages of Henry VI.

has variously been given to Henry V. and the first years of Henry VI., they will divide into the second and third of the above divisions.⁴ So that both parties are right as to certain coins, for Henry V. and VI. may be said to meet in the great annulet coinage. Both the first and second peculiarities of head occur in the curious pennies (Hawkins, 326) which read DI GRA.

There are also certain marks confined to certain heads. The slipped trefoil and wedge or triangular-shaped sign of contraction are only found with Henry IV.'s. A peculiar quatrefoil, used singly, generally *in cross*, rarely *in saltire*, only occurs with Henry V.'s. Henry VI.'s head is accompanied by rosettes, pine cones, lozenges, and crosses patonce or crosslet, never presented by his two predecessors.

Having thus set out three classes of coins, which ought, *primá facie*, to be referred to the three Henries respectively, I proceed to notice some of your coins and mine, in connection with my notes of other evidences of the order in which the pennies of the three Henries should be placed.

Of the rare heavy pennies of Henry IV., those struck at the exceptional mint of York (HÆRRIC) appear to be the only ones published. The Durham penny described in the Numismatic Chronicle, viii. 125, as weighing 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs. in a clipped state, and presumed to have originally weighed 18, was, as I infer from the description, the one catalogued at Christmas's sale as a heavy Durham penny, much clipped. If so, it is Henry V.'s struck upon thickish silver. Probably it never was much larger.

⁴ In the first, the annulets often have the appearance of a dot in their centres, as if they had been drawn on the die by compasses, instead of being punched.

We have, however, historical evidence that the Durham mint was working at the time of Henry IV.'s light coinage, when the weight of the penny was reduced from 18 to 15 grs. In an old episcopal survey we find that the mint was on the east side of *le Place* (hodie *Palace Green*), and "Cunia monetæ est in approuamento per Mulkinum de Florencia cunatorem Domini, et valet per annum quadraginta solidos, sed, tempore mutacionis cuniæ monetæ Angliæ, redd. xx marcas." This Mulkin of Florence was coining at Durham in the next reign, during 1416-17, the bishop's profit, at 5*d.* for every pound of silver troy, amounting to 76*s.* 3*d.* His name reminds one of Richard II.'s mint-masters—Nicholas Malakin, a Florentine, and Geoffrey Mullekyn.

The Durham pennies of Henry IV.'s light coinage are extremely rare. The slipped trefoil lies on the breast, and the reading is + HENRICVS × REX × ANGLIÆ — × CIVITVS × DVROLN'. One in the Museum, perhaps a blundered rather than a false coin, has DVRWIC. The London penny reading HENRIC', and resembling the groat, has an annulet and a dot at the sides of the crown. A rubbed specimen of the unpublished York penny in your Holwell find appears to be from the same dies as mine, which was Christmas's, and reads + HENRIC' • × REX × ANGLIÆ — ∶ CIVITVS ∶ EBORACI. There is an *annulet* (broken?) on the breast. As the heavy money of York and the pieces leading to Henry V. read HENRIC, and the time is short, it may be that the HENRICVS of Durham is peculiar to that place.

Henry V. acceded to the throne in 1413, and, in deference to Lindsay, it is well to designate a mark which comes in with the regal money of Shakspeare's "Star of England," as a star. Though it is but of five

points, it probably really *is* a star, with its rays obtusely pointed or blunted, like those of Edward IV.'s sun in some examples. His earliest coins bear a head like that of Henry IV.

My first coin which bears it strongly resembles the light London penny of Henry IV. But the Roman N has given way to the gEnglish R, and the pellets are now united by stalks. The slipped trefoil does not precede CIVITAS. The obverse retains the wedge-like contraction after ηΑΝΡΙC, and the annulet at the side of the crown under ΠΝGΛIΘ. But the dot is now a star, and the trefoil on the breast is now the quatrefoil of Henry V.

Next comes Hawkins's No. 326 (see his page 104), like the last, save in legend, on which DI GRK is now inserted, being "ηΑΝΡΙC' × DI × GRK × REX ΠΝGΛI." The pellets seem to be severed. And here ends the head of Henry IV.

The continuation of the DI GRK coinage presents, for the first time, the head of Henry V. In Rud. Sup. ii. 25, of which I have a specimen, the marks on the side of the crown and on the breast have disappeared; the crown is still the old one of Richard II. and Henry IV., and the title is still confined to England. But my next piece is affected by the claims of the new king to the French throne, and the title of France is revived on the pennies, S F being added after ΠΝGΛ. The star takes the position on the dexter side of the crown, under ΠΝGΛ, which it retains until the great Calais coinage at the end of the reign. Three dots occur on the sinister side. The pellets on the reverse are united. The king's neck is inordinately long.⁵

On a half-groat possessing the same peculiarity of neck

A new and striking feature sets in with this coin. Instead of the old crown of the half-groats and pennies, the new one introduced on the half-groats at the same time, with its row of sunk circles, is substituted, and occurs on Henry V.'s pennies for some time. On the new crown the smaller unfleured cusps are no longer knobbed.

With what may be called the quatrefoil coinage the $\text{DI GR}\pi$ disappears, but the French title and reading of $\eta\text{ENRI}\text{C}$ continue. The peculiar quatrefoil which comes after POSVI in the larger coins, occurs after $\text{CIVIT}\pi\text{S}$ on the Durham pennies, and occasionally, as in one of your Holwell specimens, after the obverse legend. Similar coins occur for York (Holwell), but the quatrefoil is often placed saltirewise. (Hawkins, No. 338.)

There are some little varieties in these coins. On the Durham ones, the marks are generally a star and annulet, or horse-shoe,⁶ but occasionally the latter is rather a dot

there is an annulet at the dexter side of the crown as usual, but no star on the breast, the tressure, which is of *twelve* cusps, being fleured at the base instead. The mark after POSVI is the little saltire used to separate words, and not the peculiar quatrefoil of Henry V. What appears to be a contemporary forgery of an early groat of him, with the same long neck, has nothing after POSVI , and reads $\text{FR}\pi$, instead of $\text{FR}\pi\text{C}$. The star appears on the breast, but the hair has no tufts under the crown, and the cusps above the crown are fleured as in the groats of Henry IV. This piece is in my cabinet. The metal seems to be base.

⁶ This part of the subject may doubtless be greatly elaborated after a careful study of the halfpennies, which present the *broken annulet*, if the term is allowable, in considerable abundance. It occurs in all directions. In the halfpennies it is mostly in the usual direction of the heraldic horseshoe. It is so frequent, and so carefully worked, especially in the type which has one quarter composed of $\text{IOT}\pi\text{S}$, that the theory of an annulet punch having been broken by accident is excluded. Little

or pellet, and the French title is *FRANCI* instead of *F*. One of them has five curled objects, like annulets, round the pellets under *QIVI*, and a dot among the pellets under *DVR*. That the engraver had in his head the plume of feathers which formed Cardinal Langley's crest may be a fancy.⁷ More certainly, on another coin, also reading *FRANCI*, but having the annulet instead of the dot, has the artist scratched a slight representation of Langley's shield, paly of six, in the centre of the reverse. These eccentricities are of no numismatic importance, as the Cardinal lived in the three reigns. His mint was tolerably active in 4 Henry V., under the coinership of Mulkin de Florence.

The York pennies also occasionally have the pellet on the sinister side of the crown. My specimen, however, reads *F*. Several, moreover, agree with Durham in having the annulet or horse-shoe, and one of mine reads *FRANCI*. Before the new crown and *HENRIC* ceased, the annulet gave way to a trefoil, which continued into the next coinage.

There are coins both of Durham and York, Durham still retaining the annulet, with the crown of the half-groat, but without the French title, and reading *HENRICVS REX ANGLIE*—a formula which continued to the latter

light on the marks of money is yielded by the regal badges. The broken annulet reminds one of Celtic objects, assuming, as it does, very occasionally, even a knobbed appearance. So that it can hardly be the crescent mentioned by Hollinshed as a badge of Henry IV.; and I have difficulty in connecting it with the fetterlock, although it is plain that the badge was not confined to the Dukedom of York, as is generally supposed. (See the Will of John of Gaunt.)

⁷ The coin is not in good state. That there are five circled objects is obvious enough. I incline to think that they are specimens of the broken annulet.

part of Henry VI.'s reign. I infer, therefore, that this peculiar crown was used until the middle of 1420, Henry having relinquished the French title by treaty in May of that year. It soon disappeared also. Roundly speaking, its existence nearly corresponded with that of the French title on the pennies, and this synchronism affords an easy mode of distinguishing the coins of Henry V. for about seven years of his reign.

The old crown of Henry IV. was now resumed, and we have several York coins, usually barbarous, with the head of Henry V. so crowned, the star and trefoil still accompanying it. This type continues until we come to what may be termed the annulet coinage, on which we find an annulet after CIVITVS , and another among the pellets under CIVI . So also we have Durham coins with the same head and crown, retaining the star and annulet, and showing an annulet among the pellets, but not after CIVITVS . This is perhaps the best place to remark that while the York coins give in their legends the annulet, rosette, and cone, which now succeed each other as marks after POSVI on the larger coins, and also in the latter part of Henry VI.'s reign, like the London pieces of that time, give the dots in two quarters, the Durham coins are without such marks, though possessing other and very interesting evidences of their dates. In the Durham penny figured in Rud. Sup. ii. 16, there are annulets in two quarters, like the London and Calais pennies, and the legend is ANGLI . It was John White's, and I should like to see it before quoting it. Many York examples of both reigns have the annulet in one quarter only. I may here mention that I have not yet observed a Durham penny of this annulet type with Henry VI.'s head. Indeed we know, from the roll corresponding to 3 Henry VI., that

Mulkin de Florence's house had in that and the preceding year been let to somebody else for 9s., and the mint produced nothing. This accounts for the specimens being (as a rule at least) of Henry V., and somewhat scarce.

That the great annulet coinage was the immediate successor of that which on the half-groats had the star on the king's breast, $\text{K} \text{R} \text{G} \text{L} \text{I} \text{E}$ instead of $\text{K} \text{R} \text{G} \text{L}$,⁸ and an unusual number of cusps, is obvious from very occasional examples retaining the last two features, besides having Henry V.'s head, which continues with the more common annulet types.

In 8 Hen. V. there was great scarcity of money. In 9 Hen. V. a good noble could not be changed into white money. The groats and half-groats with the star on the breast are *comparatively* scarce, and as to the London pennies during the period succeeding the $\text{D} \text{I} \text{G} \text{R} \text{T}$ mintage, I only know them dimly by the figure Rud. Sup. ii. 26. The mint at Calais had long ceased. So that I can quite understand the cry from that place, and the ordinance of Parliament, among its other arrangements for a new coinage, that there should be a mint there. Bartholomew Goldbeter became mint-master, and so continued until 11 Hen. VI. The indenture with him is dated 13th February, 1422. Henry V. died 31st August in that year. On that event Goldbeter was charged to hold his office as before. He petitioned the Parliament

⁸ You will observe that this change took place on the half-groats sooner than on the groats. Throughout the groats keep rather aloof from the half-groats and pennies, when we come to close details, though the succession synchronises. So also the hair of Henry V. extends in the fractional parts of a penny down to Edward IV.

which met in November for more remuneration, speaking of his already "great and insupportable loss." That Parliament accordingly added the profit of the exchange to his office; and on the petition of the northern commons ordained that he should have a mint at York as well as at London and Calais, for gold and silver. On the 16th February, 1423, his old indenture was endorsed with a memorandum extending the renewal thereof to York and Bristol. On the same day the new indenture issued, mentioning only London and Calais. There seems to have been some "dodge." No Bristol money of the Henries is known. As to York, Goldbeter came and worked the mint, but retired. At the Parliament, which met on the 20th October, 1423, he was ordered back.

From all which premises, from a Calais petition of 1442 that the mint there could not be sustained as it was *in the reign of Henry V.* and many years after, and from existing coins, we may draw two or three inferences. 1. That the new coinage was in active operation during the reign of Henry V. 2. That the regal money of the Henries, the gold and the larger denominations of silver, were struck at York in the time of Henry VI. only. 3. That, inasmuch as such denominations struck at York embrace the heads of both kings, the dies of Henry V. were used into the reign of Henry VI. as usual in changes of sovereigns. 4. That, as all such larger denominations struck at York are marked on the obverse by two fleurs-de-lis at the sides of the neck, instead of the annulets which distinguish the obverses of the Calais coins, and as certain pennies, probably regal, are also so marked,⁹ it is

⁹ A penny in the British Museum of the York mint has Henry V.'s head, has a fleur-de-lis at each side of the neck, and an annulet under CIVI and EBOR, among the pellets.

probable that a fleur-de-lis on the archiepiscopal pennies may also refer to the babe who became king of France by treaty. 5. That, consequently, the pennies of the annulet type with the head of Henry V., having a star at the dexter side of the crown, and a trefoil or a fleur-de-lis on the sinister side, may with propriety be referred to one king or the other by means of those marks, the trefoil having occurred in the same place in previous coinages of Henry V., and the fleur-de-lis being found there in annulet pennies with the hair of Henry VI.

The London silver of this great coinage has no distinctions on the obverse, and is much rarer than that of Calais. Indeed we know from the imperfect mint accounts that while Calais, in the four years between 1424 and 1428, coined 67,745 lbs., London, in the five years between 1425 and 1431, only issued 4,919 lbs. The Calais mint itself seems to have fluctuated. Between 1428 and 1431 it issued 89,660 lbs. Yet in 1429 the staple at Calais was enforced, the mint, from its previous neglect, being like to stand void and desolate. In 1432 and 1433 the same operation took place, for the mint of Calais was not sustained. And yet, in 1432, 26,182 lbs. of coined silver appear in the Calais accounts, the continuations of which are not forthcoming. In that year William Rus, or Russe, was made mint-master, in the place of Goldbeter, deceased, for London, Calais, Bristol, and York. He only remained for about two years, John de Paddeslee superseding him in 12 Hen. VI.; and I do not therefore think much of the coincidence that the rosette mark was introduced much about the same time. But you will expect me to give my reasons for so dating the coins with that device after POSVI and elsewhere.

Bearing in mind that Cardinal Langley died in 1437,

16 Hen. VI., we find from his roll of 1434-5 that the Durham mint had been resuscitated. Only 10*s.* 10*d.* was received from it in that year,—a sign of decay; and I should be inclined to place any coins of Henry VI., struck by Langley, before, rather than after it. Well, the first Durham coins we have after those with Henry V.'s head, have under $\text{R} \text{N} \text{G} \text{L} \text{I} \text{E}$, at the side of the crown, a large *mullet*, regular and heraldic, quite distinguishable from the stars of Henry V. and VI.; while the pennies on which it occurs are far removed in style from the late groats of Henry VI., which introduce a mullet in their legends, but which, as we shall see, have marks corresponding with the pennies of Bishops Nevil and Booth, and generally lack the lozenge or mascle,¹⁰ which came in immediately after the annulet period, and is found on the Durham pennies with the mullet. Now the great seal of Cardinal Langley is sprinkled over with mullets. He also wore it in his arms as a difference, just as Bishop Nevil, his successor, used his badge of interlacing rings, which marked his money. That the mullet¹¹ was, in its separate state, a distinguishing mark of Cardinal Langley, is clear from his roll of 1416, where the expenditure of 12*d.* occurs, “in factura cujusdam signi ferrei fact' cum j *molet* ad signand' mensuras vini et alia pondera mercatorum.” We may therefore conclude that heraldry was again an element on the episcopal coinage, that the coins of Henry VI. with the mullet are Langley's, and that before his death, in 1437, the mascle, which never occurs on the great annulet coinage, had been freely introduced.

¹⁰ A mascle, in old heraldry, might be either open or close, and therefore, on the whole, is the more convenient term. The mark occurs in both forms with Henry VI., but is generally open.

¹¹ It occurs both pierced and close.

Such introduction, though not during the annulet coinage proper, took place during the transition from it. We lose an annulet from one of the quarters of the reverse. In Jewitt's handbook is engraved a half-groat with the ordinary Calais obverse of the great coinage, having the annulets still at the sides of the neck, but with a London reverse, having the annulet after POSVI as usual, but only one among the pellets. Again we have Calais groats and half-groats with the same obverse, but with an annulet in the CTL quarter only, while the mark after POSVI has altered from an annulet to a trefoil.¹² The trefoil coinage was probably of very brief duration, for we have both groats and half-groats of Calais with rosette reverses, but without any mascles, and with the old annulet obverses.¹³ During its continuance we may fairly place Sainthill's Durham penny, numbered 39 by Lindsay, which is described as identical with the coins I give to Langley, except that instead of a mullet there are three points. We cannot well give the mulleted coins themselves to a date later than the early rosette pieces, for they retain the plain cross as the mint-mark, which

¹² This trefoil type seems to culminate in Duby's Calais groat, xxvi. 9, where all the words on the obverse are divided by trefoils, except that after REX is the *mascle*. On the reverse are trefoils after POSVI and $\text{C}\text{T}\text{L}\text{I}\text{S}\text{I}\text{G}$, and the *mascle* assumes a position before LA, which, as that after REX, is long filled. The annulets have entirely disappeared. The groat, Duby, xxvi. 10, according to Lindsay's description, is similar, but *rosettes* occur before and after Z on the obverse. I have not Duby to refer to, and these coins, at the best, seem to be exceptionable. I therefore mention them in a note only.

¹³ Groats of this period occur without any trace of the *mascle*. We have half-groats without it on the obverse, at all events. When the annulets disappeared we get groats and half-groats with *mascles* in two spandrils of the tressure on the obverse, but still omitting it in the legend of that side.

during the use of the rosette changed into a cross patonce or crosslet, the prevailing mint-mark for the rest of the reign. *Pennies* of other mints, after the annulet type, with the plain cross mint-mark, seem to be very rare. When the cross patonce sets in, we have York pennies with the mascle after REX and CIVI, and a small plain cross at each side of the hair. Their place is settled by the old reading, ΗΕΝΡΙΟΥΣ REX ANGLIÆ, in which we shall soon find a change. There are others only differing in having the crosses at the sides of the hair placed saltire-wise, and the proper reading, ΕΒΟΡΑΓΓΙ; whereas the first-named read in all your Holwell specimens ΕΒΔΡΑΓΓΙ, the D being in one of them an E reversed, thus Β. My own specimen of the first agrees, but of the second gives ΕΒΔΡΑΓΓΙ, showing the close proximity of the varieties. The Calais pennies have the cross patonce and a rosette after ΗΕΝΡΙΟΥΣ and ΑΓΛΙΣΙÆ; and some York pennies follow suit, placing the rosette, however, *before* ΕΒΟΡΑΓΓΙ. They have stars on each side of the crown, and are obviously late in the rosette period. One of mine with these stars, wanting any marks on the reverse, but retaining the mascle on the obverse, reads ΑΓΓΛ instead of ΑΓΛΙÆ, corresponding with the following coinage, and possibly a portion of it, as Calais retained ΑΓΛΙÆ into it. Some barbarous York coins, with the stars, but without the rosettes, read ΑΓΓΛÆ.

The mark of a rosette (which, by the way, in good specimens, seems to be composed of one cinquefoil laid over another, the central piercing serving for both) was succeeded immediately by a *stalked cone*, supposed to be a pine cone: Transitional coins of the larger sizes, with rosettes on one side, and stalked cones on the other, are not uncommon. The York pennies read ΑΓΓΛ, and have

the stalked cone after DIVI. The mascle keeps its place on both obverse and reverse; but the stars on the sides of the crown have disappeared. Two of your Holwell coins, however, give a star on the breast. They differ from the preceding York coins in wanting the usual York quatrefoil¹⁴ in the centre of the reverse.

There are some Durham coins closely resembling those with the mullet, but differing from them, not only in the want of that mark, but also in substituting the new $\pi\Omega\text{GL}$ and cross patonce for the old $\pi\Omega\text{GLI}\Theta$ and plain cross. We may with every probability give these to the vacancy of more than four months before the restitution of the Durham temporalities to Langley's successor, Nevil. They want both the mullet of the former and the interlaced rings of the latter prelate.

It is remarkable that although the seals of Bishop Nevil, showing his use of the interlacing rings, both as a badge and a difference of the entire coat of his ancestry, were published by Mr. Surtees in his History of Durham many years ago, it was not until 1852 that the identification of his coins was given to the world by Dr. Raine, in his "Auckland Castle," from the information of William Greenwell, of Durham; and that though the meaning of these rings, as used by the bishop and his brothers, Lords Latimer and Fauconberge, has been discussed by heralds, the coins presenting them have up to this day been catalogued as of Henry IV., V., or VI.

The device, both as a badge and armorial difference,

¹⁴ I find this mark on both good and bad coins of York. While hesitating to assert that latterly it indicated more than a York penny in the general, I strongly incline to believe that originally it was peculiar to the archiepiscopal mint, and arose out of the handle of St. Peter's key.

occurs in two fashions, in fess and in pale, horizontally and vertically. Both varieties occur on the coins. In his first roll, corresponding to 17 Henry VI., 1438-9, Bishop Nevil is proved to have coined 147 lbs. of silver, by Alan Bedale, his coiner. In 1453-4 he coined 72 lbs., by John Arscot, his moneyer. His successor, Booth, in his first roll, 1458-9, gives 60 lbs., coined by the same Arscot. We shall find that Nevil's coins, both early and late, were marked with his rings, and that they continued to be used by him to the last, as his old reverses so marked were used up by Booth.

The early coins of Bishop Nevil give the reading $\eta\text{ENRICVS}$, which we shall soon find to give way to ηENRIC . They also lack the dots at the sides of the crown, which in general are present on his coins as on other later pieces of Henry VI. These early pieces are very rare. Mr. Haswell, of North Shields, has one. It retains the mascle after $R\text{EX}$, but a new mark, viz., an unstalked leaf, on the breast, appears. The title has neither $\text{R}\text{EG}\text{LI}\text{A}$, nor $\text{R}\text{E}\text{G}\text{L}$, but $\text{R}\text{E}\text{G}\text{LI}$, as in Nevil's later coins. The coin given by Sainthill in "Olla Podrida," ii., 207, as a light penny, is evidently an early Nevil. I should like to see both it and that described by Hawkins as in Cuff's cabinet (if the two are not identical), before I dare affirm that any Nevils have a fleur-de-lis on the breast. The reading, $\text{D}\text{V}\text{N}\text{E}\text{L}\text{M}$, as in Haswell's impression, the legend, the general appearance, the remnants of Nevil's rings, the frequent failure of the ordinary tests in Henry VI.'s reign, and the imperfect state of the coin, will excuse my setting aside the weight, 12 grains, as any criterion. But I sincerely thank Sainthill and Smith for its publication.

We now approach the later coinages of the weak king, which differ materially from the annulet one be-

queathed by his father, and from the mascle coins of his youth.

One of the first transitional coins is a Calais half-groat (Hawkins's "Anglo-Gallic Coins," p. 86), only differing from its predecessors by having no cone after POSVI. I have a London penny without dots, but with the newly-introduced breast-leaf, reading $\eta\epsilon\text{NRICVS}$ and PNGL , and still retaining the mascle; also a Calais ϵ ne of the same sort, with a leaf in one quarter under $\text{SI}\epsilon$. This is obviously contemporary with the London groat, Hawkins, 328, and a London half-penny mentioned by him in p. 111. The three dots, or trefoil, found in the legend of Nevil's later coins, makes its appearance in the same position that it afterwards held. Thus, in a London groat, resembling Lindsay's No. 25, cones occur after the first words of the obverse, and after CIVITVS , but the mascle has gone; there is nothing after POSVI, and a trefoil appears after $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$ and LONDON. His No. 26 closely resembles the last, but the leaf appears on the breast. Again, a London penny in the Holwell find, without dots, and reading $\eta\epsilon\text{NRICVS}$, gives a leaf on the breast and trefoil after $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$, and lacks the mascle. The Durham penny (Snelling, ii., 23) is in all respects like a later Nevil coin, except that it wants dots, and has a plain cross for the mint-mark—a temporary revival which, by the way, is not unusual in these transitional pieces. The London penny first mentioned has that mint-mark.

Not to multiply instances, we may conclude that in the early days of Bishop Nevil distinguishing marks after POSVI, and a profusion of them in the legend and elsewhere, together with the mascle, disappeared *as a rule*; that the application of a leaf to some position other than that of the cone in the legend of the coins, the insertion of a large trefoil or three dots in the legend, and the placing

dots at the sides of the crown, began ; and that at the same time $h\epsilon N R I C V S$ on the pennies changed to $h\epsilon N R I C$. The last two characteristics seem to have continued to the end of the reign.

In 20 Henry VI., the Act of 8 Henry VI. had, instead of supporting the Calais mint, caused it to fall into great decay. In 24 Henry VI., Paddesley, the king's mint-master, was succeeded by Robert Manfeld, who continued until 38 Henry VI., three years after Bishop Nevil died. That bishop's accession had been in 16 Henry VI. It may well be that Manfeld introduced the later phase of Henry VI.'s coins.

In 1454 the Calais mint was again declared to be like to stand void, desolate, and destroyed ; while in 35 Henry VI. the scarcity of money was so great that the king gravely held out his expectation that alchemy would be a remedy. In 37 Henry VI., two years before the king's overthrow, Sir Richard Tunstall became master of the mint. In those two years, Bishop Booth, by Arscot, his moneyer, coined 82 lbs. 4 ozs. of silver.

Of the character of the product we are not in ignorance. The reverses retain the badge of Bishop Nevil, but on the dotted obverse is a capital B above the king's left shoulder, and sometimes a saltire above his right one. The coins with the last characteristic have the pellets united by lines, pellets on each arm of the cross, and a dot among the pellets in the quarter under $T K S$. The leaf on the breast, which had disappeared during Nevil's episcopacy, revives, and the king's name has a stop between $h\epsilon N$ and $R I C$. The London pennies with the name so divided have a saltire or bold quatrefoil on the neck, connecting them in date with the groats presenting mullets in the legends. There is in these late coins a tendency to reproduce earlier

details. The leaf on the breast has already been mentioned; the mullet sometimes occurs after POSVI, after the fashion of marks of former days, and the mascle occurs on the obverse, though differently disposed as compared with its place on the old coins. But the accuracy of the position of these peculiar coins is proved by some of the early heavy groats of Edward IV. being dotted on both sides, and presenting the mascle. Some of these dotted groats have the \mathcal{C} of $\mathcal{C}DWTARD$ reversed, a feature also found among those barbarous pennies of Durham which have a rose in the centre of the cross, have sometimes the dots on the obverse, and want the $DI\ GR\mathcal{A}$ of the usual pennies of Edward IV. It has already been remarked that none of the Durham pennies of Nevil and Booth have dots in two quarters of the reverse, as have the contemporary coins of London and York.

Although Nevil's reverses were used by Booth, we have reason to think that during the vacancy between them, which was only short, a reverse clear from episcopal marks was improvised, probably at York. I have before me three coins, the obverses being all from one die. An accidental projection from one side of the crown places this beyond doubt. The obverses are dotted at the sides of the crown, read $h\mathcal{E}N \times R\mathcal{I}C$, and have not any leaf on the breast. After $\mathcal{A}N\mathcal{G}LI$ there is something which at first sight looked like $\times VI$, but at second, $\times \times P$. The last stroke is quite plain. None of the three coins shows any trace of Booth, but one of them has Nevil's reverse, with his rings, and $DVROL\Omega$. The other reverses are without them, and are of inferior workmanship; on one only can I read the name of the city in full—it is $DVROLIN$.

Among your Holwell coins there is a decent York penny, dotted on both sides, and reading $h\mathcal{E}N \times R\mathcal{I}C$ and $\mathcal{A}N\mathcal{G}LI$,

and I have two pieces of fair workmanship from the same mint, with a little saltire at each side of the neck, as well as the dots. But I have others, with the same marks, of most barbarous craft. I also have one which, unless I am deceived by its green coat, lacks the saltires and the reverse dots.

Notwithstanding all the shortcomings of these last coins of Henry VI.'s proper reign, there is one ornament which comes out on the obverses in good style. It is formed of the old saltire-like stop, with the addition of a bold boss in the centre. On one of the barbarous York coins it occurs after ANGLI , and on one of Booth's $\times B$ coins after R\&X .

I have only used published descriptions and plates so far as was necessary to connect the coins I have actually seen. The subject will bear a vast amount of further illustration. That the isolated observations of an obscure Bernician, in the neighbourhood of that most inartistic mint of York, can be beyond criticism, is not to be expected. If they lead to a more scientific treatment of the matter, their object will be effected. Numismatic research in the south has been sorely let and hindered by mere collectorism and all its attendant evils. Still, with all its imperfections, it will contrast favourably with some other studies, in which forgeries are openly commended. I leave the larger pieces of the Henries to you, and shall be very glad to give any slight assistance of which I am capable in their elucidation.

Believe me, my dear sir,

Yours very truly,

W. HYLTON DYER LONGSTAFFE.

The Rev. Assheton Pownall,
South Kilworth, Rugby.

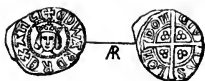
[P.S.

P.S.—I do not think that I previously noticed one peculiarity about the half-groats and pennies of Henry V. before his last coinages. This is the ornamentation of the ends of the letter I in the fashion which I believe was also introduced by him on the groats, and which survived on them until Edward IV.'s time. The first appearance of the decorated I occurs on the reverse only of the transitional penny with the head of Henry IV., accompanied by the quatrefoil and star of Henry V. It is on all the many-cusped half-groats and pennies, with the crown of the half-groats, that I have seen. As to its termination, I have not found it in the York star-and-trefoil pennies which, after the disappearance of the crown of the half-groats, immediately preceded the great annulet coinage. Still, some very early specimens of that last type of Henry V. from other mints present it—the Durham annulet penny, for instance, and the obverse of my transitional Calais half-groat, which retains the eleven cusps instead of the ordinary nine. It is satisfactory as an additional evidence, and as a ready mark of Henry V.'s typical coins, for beginners.

The enlarged heads at the commencement are taken from pennies, but each of them is rather a free sketch of a conventional head than a precise copy from any one coin, my specimens being often selected for evidence, not for state. More than one were, therefore, used to yield all the details.

In stone, Langley's mullet (close) occurs on his tomb in Durham Galilee. Nevil's interlaced rings are found over the doorway of the Exchequer on the Palace Green, and on a venatura at St. Andrew's Auckland. This last yields a fine and perfect example of them.

W. H. D. L.



IV.

HEAVY FARTHING OF EDWARD IV.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 17, 1867.]

MUCH uncertainty prevails respecting farthings of Edward IV., and it is even doubted whether a satisfactory specimen of this rare piece has come down to the present time. This doubt I am able to dispel, for the coin I now submit for inspection is undoubtedly a farthing of Edward IV., struck before his fourth year. No drapery appears on the shoulders of the King. Weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs.¹

Obv.—† EDWARD. REX. ANGL.

Rev.— . CIVITAS. LONDON.

From the engraving above, it will be seen that this coin is in far better preservation than the generality of the small pieces of this period. The late Mr. Cuff is stated² to have had a farthing of this monarch weighing $2\frac{1}{3}$ grs., but all trace of it is lost in his sale catalogue. It might have formed part of Lot 910, thus described:—

¹ Heavy farthings when issued weighed $3\frac{3}{4}$ grs., the others 3 grs.

² Hawkins, "English Silver Coins," p. 117.

“Farthings, one struck before his fourth year, weight 6 grs.; the other after; the former very fine and rare, struck at London.”

The piece weighing 6 grs. was of course a half-penny; but if the coin passed over as unworthy the scales was the farthing engraved in Hawkins, No. 355, it seems strange that the difference between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 6 grs. should have escaped notice.

Ruding, Sup. 11, pl. xvi., No. 14, was engraved from a coin in the Martin Collection. It reads EDWARDVS REX. , weighs $4\frac{1}{4}$ grs.,³ and although alleged to be a farthing of Edward IV., really belongs to the last coinage of Edward III., and as such was catalogued for auction. Snelling, pl. 2, No. 35, is useless as a reference. I suspect, from the type, that the engraving was taken from an illegible farthing of Henry IV., V., or VI.

It may, I think, be reasonably assumed that the farthing engraved in Hawkins was a specimen of the second coinage of Edward IV. The plates in this work are to be relied on, and the coin I refer to, although clipped, does certainly not appear to have lost more than two-thirds of a grain, taking its original weight at 3 grs. On the other hand, was it possible for a farthing weighing $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs. to have been reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ grs., and yet present the tolerable appearance shown in the plate alluded to? Would any legend, after such a loss, have been visible? Compare the engraving on this paper with Hawkins, No. 355. Both coins read $\text{EDWARD. REX. ANGL.}$ The shape of the crowns differs slightly, but the type otherwise will be found to be identical.

J. FRED. NECK.

³ I have a similar farthing of this weight, type, and legend.

V.

ON TWO GOLD MEDALS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, December 13, 1866.]

I HAVE the honour of laying before the Society a description of two gold medals of Elizabeth in the collection of English Medals in the British Museum. They are supposed to have been struck in 1589, to commemorate the overthrow of the Spanish Armada, and were most likely intended for presents to the superior naval officers of the English fleet, as they both have a ring for suspension. A silver medal of the same style, formerly belonging to Edward Hawkins, Esq., and now the property of the trustees of the British Museum, has its original silver chain. The first of these two gold medals was purchased by Mr. Webster at a late sale at the Hague. It weighs 4 oz. 45 grs., and is very highly wrought. The bust of the queen is full-faced, crowned; the crown surmounted by a cross, and surrounded by a band of fleur-de-lys; high ruff, opened in front; pearl necklace; gown richly adorned with pearls; sleeves puffed out and covered with pearls, terminating on the shoulders in high, pointed bows. She holds a sceptre and orb. The field of the medal is covered with fine arabesque work. M.M. Fleur-de-lys. Leg., DITIOR . IN . TOTO . NON . ALTER .

CIRCVLVS. ORBE. The words are separated by mullets. Rev. Bay-tree, uninjured by lightning, standing on an island. In the distance are vessels blown about; in the sea are monsters; near the island a fish. On the island are several buildings. Inscription on the island: NON. IPSA. PERICVLA. TANGVNT. The whole is surrounded by a border of leaves. Size $15\frac{1}{2}$ by $14\frac{1}{2}$. [Pl. II.] The second medal is smaller. Size, $13\frac{3}{4}$ by 13. Weight, 1 oz. $408\frac{1}{2}$ grs. Bust of the queen almost full-faced; diapered and jewelled crown; high ruff, opened in front, richly ornamented with pearls; pearl necklace; gown finely worked. The hands in this medal are not represented. The legend is the same. M.M. a rose. Rev. Bay-tree, uninjured by lightning, on an island. Distance: ships, sea-monsters. Upon the field, E. R. Border of leaves. The ring for suspension is chased.

It will be seen that these two interesting medals differ in many respects; the first being heavier and larger. The work on both is fine; though it may be said to excel on the second. On the island of the first are several buildings; there are none on that of the second. Upon the field of the rev. of the second are the letters E. R. The field also of the obv. of the first is covered with fine arabesque work. These two medals must have formed most valuable and queenly presents.

I have to thank Mr. Evans for calling my attention to pl. xx. of the "Monumenta Vetusta," where the smaller of these medals is represented.

S. F. CORKRAN.

NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS

In No. 6 (November—December) of the *Revue Numismatique* there are the following articles:—

1. "Anépigraphous coins of the Volcæ-Tectosages," by M. L. de la Saussaye.
2. "Letters to M. A. de Longpérier on Gaulish Numismatics. No. XXIV. Coins of the Petrocorii, of Apta Julia, of Nemausus, and others uncertain," by M. F. de Saulcy.
3. "On the Chronology of the Kings of Pontus and the Bosphorus, and the princes of Olba, *à propos* of a work by M. de Sallet," by M. W. H. Waddington.
4. "Examination of apocryphal documents relative to coins," by M. A. de Barthélemy.
5. "On some imitations of the French coinage from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth. Coins of the Abbés of Saint Honorat de Lérins," by M. A. de Longpérier.

In the *Chronique* is the continuation of the life and works of the late Abbé Cavedoni, by M. J. de Witte.

In the *première livraison* of the *Revue Numismatique Belge* for 1867 there are the following articles:—

1. "Supplement to the catalogue of coins of the principality and bishopric of Liège," by M. A. Perreau.
2. "Catalogue of obsidional coins and pieces of necessity" (fourth article), by M. le Lt.-Col. P. Maillet.
3. "A double enigma," by M. J. Dirks.
4. "Coin of a *Seigneur de Cunre* struck at Emeloord in the island of Schokland," by M. J. Hooft van Iddekinge.
5. "Some counters and leads relating to Artois," by M. L. Deschamps de Pas.
6. "A Frisian coin of Brunon attributed wrongly to the lords of Kuinre, and to Mewekinus, lord of Ruinen, by M. L. Oldenhuis Gratama," a review of the *brochure*, by M. J. Dirks.
7. "Gold honorary medal given by George William, Elector of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia, &c., to William de Pabst, Lord of Kaldenbach, in 1620," by the Count Maurin Nahuys.
8. "Second supplement to the attempt at a monograph of coins and counters of the Corporations of the Pays-Bas permitted to wear arms" (1550—1800), by M. J. Dirks.
9. "Treasure of Wieuwerd. Gold ornaments and Merovingian and Byzantine coins," by M. J. Dirks.

10. "Documents pour servir à l'histoire des Monnaies," by M. de la Fons-Milicocq.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of various numismatic publications.

The *Annuaire* for 1866 (the first year) of the *Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie* has just appeared. It contains the following articles:—

1. "Revision of the legends of the coins of Gaul, given by M. Duchalais in his 'Description of Gaulish coins, Paris, 1846,'" by M. E. Hucher.

2. "Examination of M. Boudard's essay on Iberian numismatics," by M. le Vicomte de Charencey.

3. "Homonymous Greek cities and their legends," by M. Ernest Muret.

The list of towns of the same name will be found of great use to those desiring to determine the attribution of homonymous coins.

4. "Inedited Roman coins," by M. J. Sabatier.

Among the coins here published from the cabinet of M. Hoffmann may be mentioned a gold coin of Julia Domna, of Caracalla, a very rare gold coin of Julia Soæmias, of which no specimen exists in London, Paris, Vienna, or Berlin, a new billon coin of Uranius Antoninus, struck at Emesa, a silver *quinarius* of Constantine I., with the legend PLVR. NATAL. FEL. in three lines, &c. Most of the *aurei* have since passed into the hands of M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt, President of the French Numismatic Society. There are also some Greek imperial coins published from the collection of M. Gréau.

In illustrating a brass medallion of Antinous, struck at Tarsus, in Cilicia, M. Sabatier has quoted in full a letter of the Emperor Hadrian to the consul Servianus, the husband of Domitia Paulina, the Emperor's sister, given by the historian Vopiscus, and said to have been taken from the works of Phlegon, a freedman of Hadrian. It may, however, be observed that one or two of the passages in it, notably that speaking of "one God, him Christians, Jews, and Gentiles worship alike," are in all probability corrupt. Indeed it is a question if any of the letter is genuine, for, in the first place, Verus is mentioned as Hadrian's *son*, whereas he was his *adopted son*; and in the second place, this letter is not given by Spartian, the biographer of Hadrian, but occurs *incidentally* in the life of Saturninus (an usurper in the East under Probus) by Vopiscus.

An interesting portion of M. Sabatier's paper is that in which he gives a comparative table of the gold Roman coins which

have once been in the collections of Ennery, Schellersheim, Thomas, and Dupré. To these he has added another list, *i.e.* "Pieces of the Dupré Collection given to the Cabinet of London." From what source M. Sabatier has obtained the information concerning these coins, I am unable to say. He cannot, of course, have taken them from my account of the Wigan Collection published in 1865, or he would surely have had the courtesy to give a reference to my articles, and might have been spared falling into one or two errors. I must therefore assume that he was not aware of the publication in the Numismatic Chronicle, 1865, of the "Account of the Wigan Collection presented to the Trustees of the British Museum." In consequence I seize the opportunity of pointing out that 117 Dupré coins were given to the trustees, and *not* 114; that the four following coins were not given, *i.e.* *Lucius Verus* 2, *Mæsa* 1, *Claudius Gothicus II.* 1, and that the seven following, which were given, are omitted in M. Sabatier's list: *Cassia* 1, *Claudia* 1, *Rustia* 1, *Brutus* 1, *Caracalla*, *Severus*, and *Domna* 1, *Saloninus* 1, and *Carus* 1.—F. W. M.

5. "Description of some inedited small brass Roman coins," by M. J. Roman.

6. "Numismatic excursion in Burgundy of the seventh century and on the frontiers of Austrasia," by M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt.

7. "Description of two Merovingian coins," by M. Paul Galy.

8. "Description of six Merovingian coins of Gévaudan," by M. de Moré.

9. "On four Carlovingian *deniers*," by M. le Dr. Colson.

10. "On the Gold Coins of Saint Louis," by M. le Baron Jérôme Pichon.

11. "Note on an Inedited Coin of Rogier, Bishop of Beauvais," by M. E. Caron.

12. "French Coinage in 1865," by M. Albert Barre.

In the *Chronique* are:—

1. "Numismatic and Archæological discoveries in 1865."

2. "Public Sales of Coins in 1865."

3. "Statistics of Archæological and Numismatic Museums of France," by M. A. Lemaître.

4. "A General Review on the situation, developments, and Tendencies of particular Collections," by M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt.

5. "Foreign Numismatic and Archæological Societies."

6. "The Commerce of Coins at Paris."

7. "Periodical Publications relative to Numismatics."

8. "Works announced or in course of publication."

9. "Prizes founded in France for Numismatics and Archæology."

10. "The Universal Exhibition in Paris of 1867."

11. "Assay of Coins in England."

12. "Necrology of Members of the Society."

Here may be found a touching account of the late Duke de Blacas by M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt. An excellent portrait of the late Duke is given at the beginning of the *Annuaire*. This section also includes brief notices of numismatists who died during 1865.

In the *Bibliographie* are the following articles:—

1. "Publications relative to Numismatics in 1864 and 1865," by M. Arthur Demarsy.

The subjects are here arranged separately, ancient, Roman, Jewish, &c. These lists will be found of much use to persons studying particular subjects.

2. "General Bibliography of Merovingian Coins," by M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt.

3. "List of Numismatic, Historical, and Archæological Works of members of the Society" (to be continued).

The volume concludes with a general alphabetic table of contents.

We must congratulate the Society not only on the numerous valuable articles in this their first year's publication, but also on the admirable "get-up" of the volume, which is a large octavo, containing several plates by the skilful hand of M. Dardel. We heartily wish the new Society success.

In consequence of some irregularity in our receipt of the *Berliner Blätter für Münz-Siegel-und Wappenkunde* our notices of that publication have been for some time interrupted, but we now resume them.

In the third *Heft* of Vol. II., 1865, are the following articles.

1. "Inedited Coins of Panticapæum," by the Baron von Koehne. Among the three coins here described, one in gold and two in silver, the former is in the British Museum.

2. "Rare and inedited coins in the collection of the Baron von Prokesch-Osten," by the Baron von Koehne.

3. "Regnal years on the Alexandrian Coins of Augustus," by Dr. Julius Friedlaender.

4. "Rain represented on Ancient Coins," by Dr. Ed. Rapp. The author is of opinion that on the large brass coins of the Ptolemies it is *rain* that is represented as falling from the cornucopiæ held by the eagle.

5. "Numismatic history of Neumark, Lebus, and the lower Lausitz," by M. Ed. Philippi.

6. "Three Pfennigs in the Laessoe Collection," and

7. "Leo Zar," both by the Baron von Koehne.

8. "Contributions to the Numismatic History of Dantzig," by M. Vossberg.

9. "Portrait-medallion of Sigismund Báthors, Prince of Siebenbürgen, &c.," by the Baron von Koehne.

10. "Two Medals of Count Rochus von Lynar," by Dr. Julius Friedlaender.

11. "Medals and Seals of Tilly," by the Baron von Koehne.

The Part concludes as usual with miscellanea and notices of the most recent coins, medals, and numismatic literature.

The first part of the third volume comprises the following articles:—

1. "Lorenz Beger," by Dr. Julius Friedlaender.

2. "Some inedited and rare Greek Coins in German and Italian collections," by the same.

3. "Coins struck under Hadrian, in Elis, with the representation of the statue of the Olympian Zeus of Phidias," by the same.

4. "Memorial of Christian Jürgensen Thomsen," by the Baron von Koehne.

5. "The Munkegaard Find," by the late C. J. Thomsen. This hoard, which was discovered on the Island of Bornholm in 1864, consisted of 866 silver coins, associated, as is so commonly the case with hoards belonging to the same period, viz., about A.D. 1000, with ingots, rings, and armlets of the same metal. Among the coins were a few of Cufic origin, the earliest being of Ismael ben Achmed, A.D. 906, and the latest of Mansur ben Nuh, A.D. 961—975. Swedish, Bohemian, Swiss, Italian, and German, struck in various places, were also present: but the most numerous seem to have been the Anglo-Saxon. Of Æthelred II. there were no less than 164 coins, all of his earlier types. Hildebrand, A B and C, viz., the small cross, hand of Providence, and CRVX types. Of the other types, Hildebrand, D, E, F, and C, not a single specimen was found. There were isolated coins of the rare mints, Bridgnorth, Guildford, Lymne, and 'Torksey, two of which were unknown to Ruding, though given by Hildebrand.

6. "Deniers of Aix and Cologne of the Hohenstaufen Period," by M. H. Dannenberg.

7. "The Kyselowitz Find (Bohemian)." by Dr. F. S. Kupidó.

The other articles are heraldic, miscellanea, and notices.

In the second part of the third volume are the following :—

1. "On the Alexandrian Coins of Augustus," by Dr. Schledehaus, with remarks by Drs. Stüve and Friedlaender.
2. "On Barbarous Coins found in Austria," by Dr. F. S. Kupido. The principal coins noticed are barbarous imitations of the Macedonian tetradrachm, known to have been found in Carinthia and Styria. Among them are some bearing the legends ADNAMATI and NEMET.
3. "On some Roman Gold Coins of Postumus and his Contemporaries, in the Royal Collection (at Berlin)," by Dr. Julius Friedlaender. Among these are a gold coin of Macrianus the Younger, with the reverse VICTORIA AVGG, sixteen of Postumus, including one or two not mentioned by Cohen, five gold coins of Victorinus, two of them Legionary, and one each of Tetricus I. and II.
4. "Coins of Opus in Locris struck under Galba and Otho, and of Thebes in Bœotia struck under Galba," by Dr. Julius Friedlaender.
5. "On two '*Regenbogenschüssel*,' with inscriptions," by the same. We noticed some years ago (N. S., vol. i. 250) the late Dr. Streber's work on these barbarous gold coins of Southern Germany, and pointed out that the antiquity of four or five centuries B.C. assigned to these coins could hardly be conceded to them. Dr. Friedlaender, though not inclined to carry the date so far back as Dr. Streber, regards them as forming an original coinage, and not as derived from the coinage of neighbouring and more civilised nations. The improbability of this hypothesis is great, and the presence of inscriptions in Roman characters, A TV and CVR (retrograde) proves that some, at all events, of the coins belong to a period when Roman civilisation had come in contact with the German tribes who struck these *dish-shaped* pieces.
6. "Unpublished Coins of the Middle Ages," by M. H. Dannenberg.
7. "Coins of Chieti, Atri, and Sulmona," by Dr. Julius Friedlaender.
8. "Medal of Johann von Kohticski," by M. von Duisberg;
- 9 and 10. "Medals of Bishop Andrew Jerin of Breslau and of Tilly," by the Baron von Koehne.
11. "Medal of Lucretia Borgia, by Filippino Lippi," by Dr. Julius Friedlaender.
12. "The Rouble of Constantine I." by the Baron von Koehne. Of the coin here described but five specimens were struck, of which two were destroyed, and that here engraved is the only one of the other three now known to exist.

The part concludes as usual with miscellanea and notices.

ANGELSAKSISCHE MUNTEN IN 1866 GEVONDEN IN FRIESLAND.—By MM. F. de Haan and W. Eekhoff. 8vo., pp. 26, with Two Plates; Leeuwarden. 1866. Privately printed.

This little publication gives an account of a find of Anglo-Saxon sceattas in Friesland of a somewhat similar character to that described by M. Dirks in the *Revue Numismatique Belge*, Fourth Series, vol. i. p. 393, of which a notice appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., vol. iv., p. 22. The hoard here described was rather more extensive. It was discovered in September last at a depth of about five feet, in a peat-bog not far from Hallum, a village five or six miles to the north of Leeuwarden. It had been buried in a coarse unglazed earthenware urn of reddish grey colour, about 12 inches high, with an opening of 10 inches diameter. The neck contracts a little, and the body of the urn then bulges out to 13 inches in diameter, the lower part being nearly hemispherical, with the exception of a small flat base. In general outline the urn is much like those found in Saxon cemeteries in the eastern counties, though devoid of ornament. The coins were all sceattas, of which 223 were examined, presenting thirty-one varieties more or less important. By far the greater number are varieties of Hawkins, No. 44; but Hawkins, Nos. 42 and 43, Ruding, pl. i., 7, 17, and 28, and varieties of these types, were also present. Besides there are three or four types which do not appear in English numismatic works, and may possibly be continental. The whole class of sceattas requires to be taken in hand by some competent numismatist, before we shall be able to assign a definite home and parentage to the various types comprised under the general name of sceattas, and whoever undertakes this task must not omit to consult this carefully compiled account of Messrs. de Haan and Eekhoff.

NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM 1066 TO THE PRESENT TIME. In two papers, read before the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, by FREDERICK J JEFFERY, F.G.H.S. Liverpool, 1867.

IT is satisfactory to find that the spirit of enterprise for which our northern counties have so long been distinguished has not departed from them; and that a gentleman, whose principal, if not only numismatic acquirement, is a copy of Ruding, is able to sit down and indite a *Numismatic History of England*, such as a local society finds worthy of being printed in its transactions. Highly satisfactory, however, as it may be to find such

a spirit, it is, on the other hand, no less unsatisfactory to find how complete is the numismatic ignorance of the author, and, therefore (it might be inferred), *à fortiori*, of his hearers, were such an ignorance possible.

It would be an almost hopeless and an unthankworthy task to attempt to point out all the new facts which this enterprising writer produces, and all the new views he entertains; but we may observe that in the first few pages we find him adopting the two coins engraved in Ruding, Supp. Part II., pl. ii., 1 and 2, as genuine coins of William Rufus, informing his readers that on the English coins of John we may read *Johannes* and *Johannes Rex*, and on the reverse, as usual, the names of his moneyer and mint; and giving in one of his plates a quarter noble of Henry VI. as one of Edward III. He further tells them that a pennyweight was the weight of 24 grains of *flour* from the middle of the ear of wheat—a statement which probably refers only to *milled* money; that in the reign of Henry III. the weight of the penny had been reduced to 12 grains; that angels bore the impression of St. Michael and the Dragon, which design is supposed to have been the origin of St. George and the Dragon—a piece of information of value to ecclesiastical antiquaries; that Henry VIII. having come into possession of his father's throne and wealth in 1509, issued leaden tokens to supply the want of silver in the early part of his reign, and that afterwards he issued base coins when he had exhausted his father's wealth and adulterated the silver; that the siege-pieces of Charles I. mark, by the impressions they bear, the different towns he stopped at during his war with his Parliament; and that only three specimens of the Petition Crown of Charles II. are known to exist—a fact which we commend to Mr. Bergne's attention, who in an earlier volume of the Numismatic Chronicle has actually dared to enumerate fifteen.

Any abstract of Ruding, however bad, will, of course, contain much valuable matter, but to any one possessed of even a slight acquaintance with the English coinage, Mr. Jeffery offers amusement as well as instruction. His style is also such as is not often to be met with. We annex an extract relating to the coinage of Queen Anne. "Though the late Sovereign's coins were good, they stand meagre when compared with the elegant dies of this Queen. The impression seems as if it is meant to stand the wear and the friction of the currency, and is considered by some as the point to divide the history of the coinage into two parts, though the authorities of such an opinion admit that they do not excel Simon's impressions on the Protector's issue."

In vol. vii. part i. of the original papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society is a notice of Roman coins and antiquities found at Caistor, next Yarmouth, by the late Rev. E. S. Taylor. The coins, chiefly third brass, were principally found at the time of the construction of the reservoir of the Great Yarmouth Waterworks, in 1855, the Roman camp having been selected as the site of a reservoir in consequence of its occupying the highest ground in the neighbourhood. About one hundred varieties of coins are described, ranging in date from A.D. 80 to A.D. 370, those of the Lower Empire predominating. Numerous of the small barbarous imitations of the coins of the Lower Empire were also found. The coins described present no particular features of interest, so far as regards novelty of type, or even rarity. There are, however, among them a Julia Paula in silver, and a Delmatius in third brass.

MISCELLANEA.

LIST OF COINS found by William Garrick Wright, at Abernethy, in Perthshire, on lowering the clay floor of one of the rooms of his house, in November, 1866. The coins were in an earthenware vessel, which was broken to pieces:—

Henry VIII. side-faced groat	1
James III. half-plack.	1
James III. and IV. placks (about equal)	111
James V. placks	45
„ half-placks	3
„ third of groat	1
Mary testoons, 1558, "IN VIRTUTE," &c.	3
„ testoon, 1558, Francis and Mary, "FECIT VTRAQUE VNVM"	1
„ testoons, Francis and Mary, 1560, "VICIT LEO," &c.	2
„ Francis and Mary, "IAM NON SVNT."	9
„ Edinburgh placks	248
„ half-placks	21
„ Stirling placks	6
„ placks, <i>Rev.</i> "SERVIO ET VSV TEROR."	65
„ penny with Queen's head crowned	1
Total	518

In January last a gold coin of Nero, in excellent preservation, *Rev.* "Salus," was found in the parish of Eccles, near Coldstream, and is now at Exchequer. G. SIM.

NUMISMATIC QUERIES.—I have two small electrum coins in my possession, as to which I should be much pleased to receive some information.

1. Size, 1; 38 grs.; head of Apollo, l.
Rev. Macedonian incuse.
2. Size $1\frac{1}{2}$; $39\frac{1}{2}$ grs. Female head, veiled, r., Demeter.
Rev. Tripod with two pendent fillets, within a square.

They came into my possession some years ago, before I thought of becoming a collector. No. 1 was attributed (I believe) to Phocis. No. 2 to Gaulos or Melite. I have not been able to find No. 1 in Eckhel or Leake. But they have similar types to No. 2; though they are all in brass and with Punic or Greek inscriptions. (Eck., i. 267-8. Leake, *Ins. Gr.* 56, 62.)

A few years back I saw the same coins in gold in the Museum at Berlin, and I made a memorandum of the towns to which they were attributed; but unfortunately I have lost it.

T. J. ARNOLD.

I am a good deal puzzled with the legend on the following gold coin of Syracuse. Size 2.

Σ Υ Ρ. Head of young Heracles in lion's scalp.

Rev. Σ. Υ. } in the angles of a quad. inc. divided into four;
Α. ϕ. } in the centre a female head, l., in a sunken circle.

The coin is evidently of a very ancient type. It is not mentioned by Eckhel. But it is given by Leake (*Ins. Gr.* 70). He, however, reads the legend on the reverse Σ. Υ. Ρ. Α., and does not say it is boustrophedon. Nor does it appear that ϕ was a form of Ρ (See table of Gr. letters, I. Eck., *Proleg. Gen.*, civ.), but it was an ancient form of Κ. Is it possible that in the above coin the Ρ is omitted, and that the legend is Σ Υ (Ρ) Α ϕ? It is to be remarked that the Ρ on the obverse is in the usual form.

T. J. ARNOLD.

REPLIES.—The two electrum coins are of Asia Minor; the first unattributed, the second ascribed to Parium.

The gold coins of Syracuse of the type described above, known to me, always read Σ Υ
Ρ Α

The specimen above seems to read in a different direction, but the supposed ϕ can only, I venture to think, be a misshapen Ρ.

REGINALD STUART POOLE.



Æ
1



Æ
2



Æ
3









VI.

ROMAN COINS STRUCK IN BRITAIN.

THIS catalogue is one of the results of a new classification of the Lower Empire series lately adopted at the British Museum. The coins of this period are no longer classed by *emperors* and *alphabetically* according to their reverses, but by *mints* and *monetary periods*. This arrangement shows the chronological order of the coins issued by each mint, and illustrates history far better than the system generally followed.

Coins of Carausius and Allectus.

- 287-290? Coins of Carausius without mint-marks, and mostly of inferior workmanship.
- 290?-293. Gold and copper coins of Carausius with the mint-mark of London, and copper only with that of Camulodunum. His silver coins with the exergual mark RSR probably belong to this period and to the mint of London. Also gold and copper coins of Maximian with the mint-mark of London, and copper of Diocletian with those of London and Camulodunum, all struck by Carausius. No gold coins of Diocletian struck in London, nor copper of Maximian struck at Camulodunum, have yet been found, but there can be little doubt of their existence.
- 293-296. Gold and copper coins of Allectus with the mint-mark of London, and copper only with that of Camulodunum. He does not appear to have issued any silver. The large copper coin called *folles* was introduced in the continental

provinces about this time, and was issued at the restoration, instead of the copper denarius of the two usurpers. The mint-mark of Camulodunum, C or CL, which may also be read Colonia, disappears after the reign of Allectus, and nothing but copper and billon seems to have been coined in London during those of Maximian, Constantius, and Constantine.

Copper Coins without Mint-marks.

296-305.	Diocletian Augustus . . .	} GENIO POPVLI ROMANI.
	Maximian Augustus . . .	
	(Pl. III. No. 3.)	
	Constantius Cæsar . . .	
	(Pl. III. No. 1.)	}
	Galerius Cæsar . . .	

Although mint-marks are wanting, the attribution of these coins to Britain may be considered as certain. The earlier are similar in style to the coinage of Carausius and Allectus, and unlike that of the Continental mints of the same period. The later, as well as those that follow, are imitated from the better designed coins issued by the Gallic mints.

305-306.	Diocletian after abdication	} PROVIDENTIA DEORVM
	Maximian after abdication	
	(Pl. III. No. 4.)	} QUIES AVGG.
	Constantius Augustus . . .	
	(Pl. III. No. 5.)	} GENIO POPVLI ROMANI.
	Galerius Augustus . . .	
	Severus Cæsar . . .	
	(Pl. III. No. 5.)	
	Maximin Cæsar . . .	
306.	Severus Augustus . . .	}
	(Pl. III. No. 5.)	
	Constantine Cæsar . . .	

Besides these coins, in which the bust is always paludated, robed, or cuirassed, there is an extremely rare set of Diocletian and Maximian as Augusti, and Constantius and Galerius as Cæsars, with the mint-mark LON, the bust bare, and the usual reverse, GENIO POPVLI ROMANI (Pl. III. No. 2). There are three sets of the same tetrarchy, with the same reverse, which, from their fabric, evidently belong to the mint of Lyons, and not to that of London. In the two first the bust is always bare; in the third, either bare or ornamented. The mint-mark is wanting in the first; it is, in the second, LA or LB, and in the third, LP or PL, with A or B.

Copper Coins with or without PLN.

- 306-307. Diocletian after abdication QVIES AVGG. (Pl. III. No. 6.)
 GENIO POP. ROM.
 Galerius Augustus. . . GENIO POP. ROM.
 (Pl. III. No. 8.)
 Maximin Cæsar. . . . GENIO POP. ROM.
 Constantine Cæsar. . . GENIO POP. ROM.
 MARTI PACIF.
 MARS VICTOR.
 ROMAE AETER.
- 306-310. Maximian after abdication GENIO POP. ROM.
 HERCVLI CONSERVATORI.
 (Pl. III. No. 7.)
 MARS VICTOR.
 MARTI PATRI PROPVGNATORI.
 ROMAE AETER.
- 306-312. Constantius after death . MEMORIA FELIX.
- 307-312. Constantine Augustus. . GENIO POP. ROM.
 MARTI PATRI PROPVG.
 (Pl. III. No. 9.)
 PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS.

These coins are smaller than those of the preceding class, and there is a further gradual reduction in the two next.

Copper Coins with PLN and a Star in the Field.

- 312-317? Constantine Augustus. . ADVENTVS AVG.
 ADVENTVS AVG. N.
 ADVENTVS AVG. NN.
 COMITI AAVGG. (*sic.*)
 COMITI AVGG. NN.
 CONCORD. MILIT.
 FELICITAS AVGG. NN.
 MARTI CONSERVATORI.
 PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS.
 ROMAE RESTITVTAE.
 SECVRITAS AVGG.
 SOLI INVICTO COMITI.
 (Pl. III. No. 10.)
 SPES REIPVBL.
- Licinius Augustus. . . . COMITI AAVGG. (*sic.*)
 GENIO POP. ROM.
 (Pl. III. No. 11.)
 SECVRITAS AVGG.
- 312-313. Maximin Augustus . . COMITI AAVGG. (*sic.*)
 GENIO POP. ROM.
 (Pl. III. No. 11.)

Copper Coins with MLL, MSL, MLN, or PLN, and F, SF, SP, TF, a Crescent, or a Crescent and Star in the Field.

- 317?-321? Constantine Augustus . . . ADVENTVS AVG. N.
 GENIO POP. ROM.
 MARTI CONSERVATORI.
 PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS.
 (Pl. III. No. 12.)
 SOLI INVICTO COMITI.
 (Pl. III. No. 13, and Pl. IV. No. 1.)
- Licinius Augustus . . . GENIO POP. ROM.
 SOLI INVICTO COMITI.
 (Pl. III. No. 14.)
- 317-321? Crispus Cæsar PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS.
 (Pl. IV. No. 2.)
 SOLI INVICTO COMITI.
- Constantine jun. Cæsar PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS.
 SOLI INVICTO COMITI.
 (Pl. IV. No. 3.)
- Licinius jun. Cæsar No coins yet found.

Copper Coins with PLN.

- 321?-323. Constantine Augustus . . . }
 Crispus Cæsar } VIRTVS EXERCIT.
 Constantine jun. Cæsar } (Pl. IV. No. 4.)

Billon Coins with PLN, or two Captives with or without PL.

- 312-323. Constantine Augustus . . . }
 317-323. Crispus Cæsar } VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.
 Constantine jun. Cæsar } (Pl. IV. Nos. 5, 6, 7.)

Copper Coins with PLON, and head to right or left.

323. Constantine Augustus . . . }
 Crispus Cæsar } BEATA TRANQLITAS (sic.) }
 Constantine jun. Cæsar } VIRTVS EXERCIT. }
 (Pl. III. Nos. 8, 9.)

Copper Coins with PLON, and head to right.

- 323-330? Constantine Augustus . . . PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. }
 SARMATIA DEVICTA. }
 (Pl. IV. No. 10.)
- 323-326. Crispus Cæsar PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.
 VOT X CAESARVM NOSTRORVM.
 (Pl. IV. No. 11.)
- Constantine jun. Cæsar . . . PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.
 VOT X CAESARVM NOSTRORVM.
 (Pl. IV. No. 11.)
- Constantius jun. Cæsar . . . PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.
 (Pl. IV. No. 12.)

- 323-326. Fausta Augusta. . . . SALVS REIPVBLICAE.
 (Pl. IV. No. 13.)
 323-328? Helena Augusta SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE. (sic.)
 (Pl. IV. No. 14.)

Copper Coins of the reign of Constantine not found with the Mint-mark of London.

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| 330?-337. Constantine Augustus . | } | GLORIA EXERCITVS. |
| Constantine jun. Cæsar | | |
| Constantius jun. Cæsar . . . | | |
| 333-337. Constans Cæsar . . . | | |
| 335-337. Delmatius Cæsar . . . | | |
| Hanniballian Rex | | SECVRITAS PVBLICA. |
| 330?-337. Helena after death . . . | | PAX PVBLICA. |
| Theodora after death . . . | | PIETAS ROMANA. |
| Rome | | VRBS ROMA. |
| Constantinople | | CONSTANTINOPOLIS. |

These types must have been introduced about the time of the dedication of Constantinople, in 330, and there can be little doubt that the mint of London, which was not very important, was suppressed in the general reorganisation of the empire which then took place. The London series is less complete than those of some of the Continental mints. It is therefore necessary, in order to determine even approximately the date of a class of coins of the London mint, to compare it with the corresponding class of other mints, particularly of that of Treves.

Revival of the London Mint by Magnus Maximus, in 383.

There are very rare gold solidi of Magnus Maximus, with the legend VICTORIA AVGG., and the mint-mark AVGOB. (Pl. IV. No. 15), which are generally supposed to have been struck at Treves, but as we have similar coins of this usurper with both SMTR and TROB, it is far more likely that AVGOB belongs to Londinium-Augusta than to Augusta Trevirorum, better known under the later empire by the name of Treviri (Smith's Geographical Dictionary, LONDINIVM and AVGVSTA TREVIRORVM).

That Magnus Maximus should have revived the mint of London is not to be wondered at. He rebelled in Britain, and some time elapsed before he got possession

of Gaul and of the mints of Treves, Lyons, and Arles. A mint was indispensable to a Roman emperor, and particularly so to one who owed the purple to his army. Had he failed to overthrow Gratian, these Augusta coins would have been the only numismatic record of his usurpation.

It is very likely that this mint was again suppressed when Magnus Maximus had established himself in Gaul. At all events, it does not seem to have been kept up after his death, as we have no London coins of his successors, Valentinian II and Eugenius. After the defeat of the latter, by Theodosius, in 394, the three Gallic mints were closed till revived under Honorius by the usurpers Constantine and Jovinus (407—413).

There is at the British Museum a solidus of Theodosius I with the mint-mark AVGOB and the same reverse as those of Magnus Maximus (Pl. IV. No. 16). It is of inferior pale gold, and of bad workmanship, and probably belongs, not to the imperial mint of London, but to a numerous series of barbarous imitations which, together with the coins of the usurpers Constantine and Jovinus, fill up the interval between the last Gallic coins of Eugenius, and the several classes of still more barbarous workmanship traceable to the Visigothic, Burgundian, and other early mediæval monarchies.

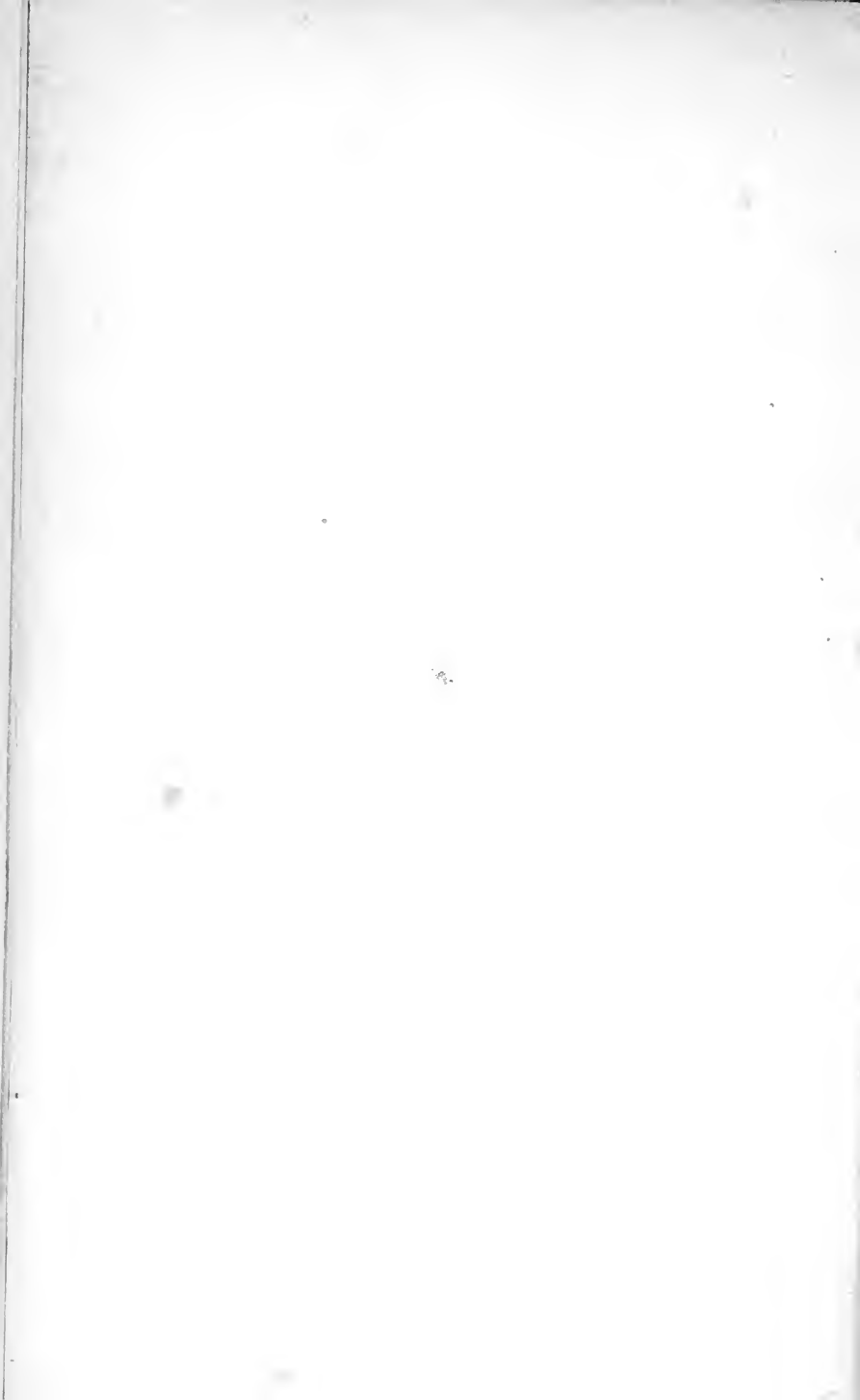
Since this paper was read, Mr. John Evans has met with, and has most kindly offered to the national collection a specimen, unpublished and hitherto unique, of the silver struck in London by Magnus Maximus. This coin is not very well preserved, and weighs 27·5 grains. The legend of the reverse is, like that of the solidus, VICTORIA AVGG., and the exergual mint-mark AVGPS, instead of AVGOB (Pl. IV. No. 17).

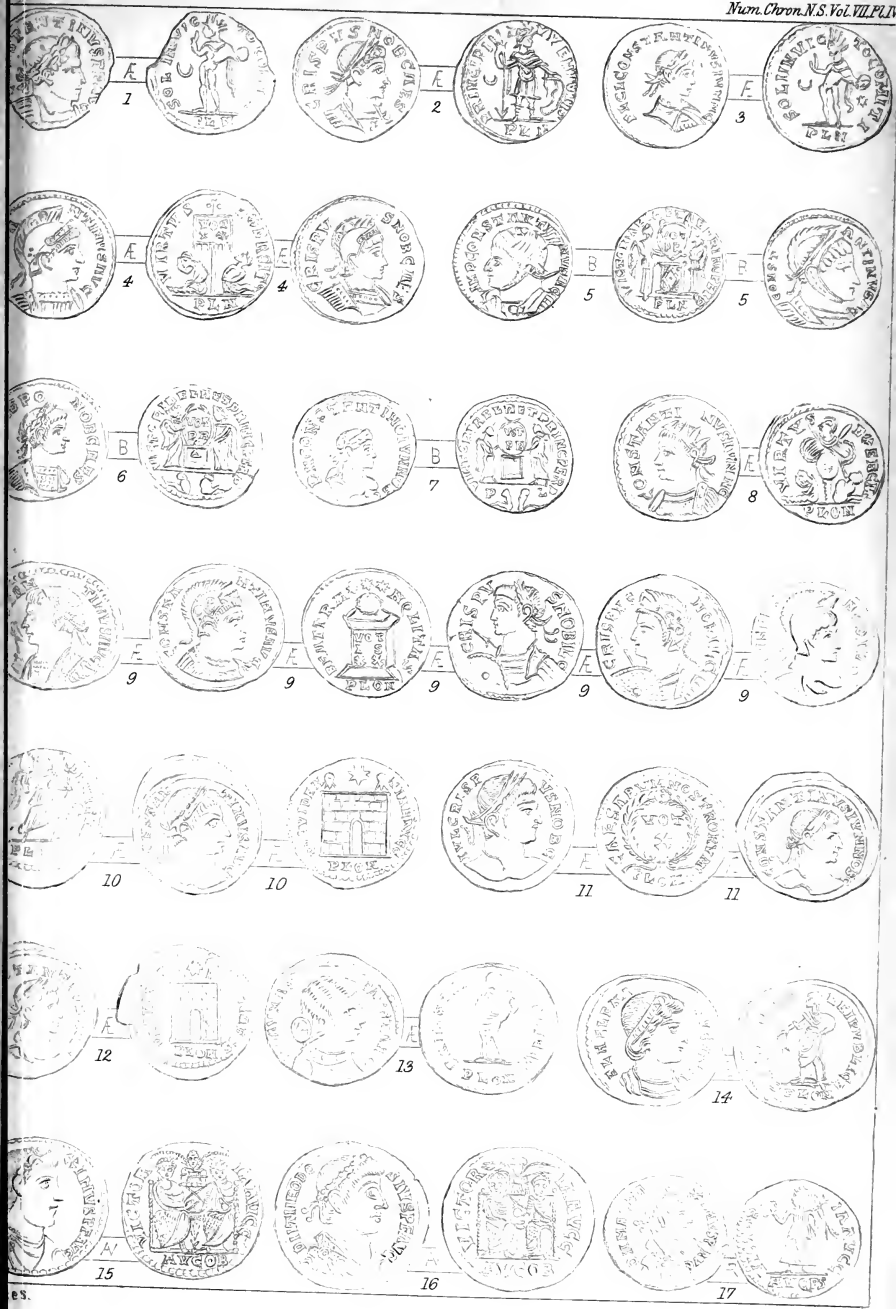
J. F. W. DE SALIS.



Lees.

ROMAN COINS STRUCK IN BRITAIN.





ROMAN COINS STRUCK IN BRITAIN.

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VII.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE HOARD OF ANGLO-SAXON
COINS FOUND AT CHANCTON FARM, SUSSEX.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, April 18, 1867.]

SOME time ago Mr. Vaux read, at a meeting of the Numismatic Society, a paper on a large and important hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins found at Chancton Farm, in the neighbourhood of Steyning, Sussex.

On that occasion he gave the Society a full account of the circumstances of their discovery, together with a list of some of the types occurring in the hoard, and of those mints which, after our first examination of the coins in question, he found represented.

Since that time I have myself been at work upon the coins, and have been obliged to go with great minuteness into the numerous varieties of mints, moneyers, and types which occur upon them, so that I am at length able to lay before the Society the result of my examination.

As, however, Mr. Vaux does not intend to print what he then read before the Society, and has most kindly given me every information respecting the history of this important discovery—for which he was indebted to the Rev. James Beck, Vicar of Storrington—I will (before giving an account of the coins) briefly recapitulate the circumstances under which they were found.

About two years ago, at Upper Chancton Farm, three

miles from Storrington, an old barn, fenced in and surrounded by a hedge-row (in which were some large trees), was removed ; the trees were cut down and the ground ploughed up. It was not, however, until the 21st of last December that a large root in the hedgerow was removed to allow the plough to pass, which, in so doing, brought to light a crock full of silver coins—not, however, without (at the same time) smashing it into fragments so small that we are unable to say what may have been its exact magnitude.

A scramble took place among the labourers on the spot, and many of the coins were carried away by them ; the bulk, however, found its way to the Government, and in answer to an application, made without delay by Mr. Vaux to Mr. Greenwood, the Solicitor of the Treasury, all the coins which had come into his hands (in number about 1,611) were forwarded to the Museum for examination ; these, together with 108 specimens previously forwarded by Mr. Beck, made the total number thus recovered amount to about 1,720. Before these coins were collected, however, considerable numbers are supposed to have been sold to people at Shoreham, Brighton, and even London ; while some, Mr. Beck informs us, are still secreted by the villagers, in the hope of obtaining, at some future time, a good price for them.

The land on which these coins were found is the property of the Duke of Norfolk, who readily waived any claim he might be supposed to have had upon the coins found on his estate, sending to tell Mr. Vaux so some days before the arrival of the coins from the Treasury.

As soon as the collection was placed in our hands we carefully went through the whole of it, and found that, with the exception of 58 coins of Harold II., it consisted

of pennies of Edward the Confessor. The coins, on the whole, may be said to be in very good preservation; many of them being as fresh as though they had just been issued from the mint. A large number, however, were coated with a green rust, which had formed in lumps of considerable thickness, generally only on a small portion of the coin, so that it rarely interfered to any extent with the deciphering of the legend. This copper verdigris, Professor Maskelyne, Keeper of the Mineralogical Department in the British Museum, informs us, could not have arisen from the working out of any alloy which might originally have been blended with the silver; whence it came we have, therefore, no evidence to show.

After having selected such of the coins as were not already represented in Museum Collection, and having classified the entire collection according to mints, I proceeded to make a complete catalogue of the whole, which I have now the honour of laying before the Society.

It is, I suppose, by far the richest collection of Edward the Confessor's coins which exists, for the present hoard more than doubles the collection previously in the Museum.

I have partially adopted Hildebrand's arrangement, as by far the best and most scientific we possess; I have noticed in my remarks on the types what I consider to be the main varieties in the obverse legends, though I have thought it unnecessary to enumerate the endless irregularities of spelling which occur upon the obverses of coins of this period; in proof of which, I need only mention the fact that Hildebrand finds the king's name spelt in no less than sixty-seven different ways. My attention has therefore been, in a great measure, confined to the reverses, although I have taken notice of all such variations

in the obverse as may be considered of sufficient importance to constitute a variety of type.

To show the importance of the Chancton Find, I have given a complete catalogue of the Confessor's coins, previously represented in the National Collection, side by side with that of the new hoard. It will thus be seen at a glance how the present find stands in regard to our previous collection, in what respects it is richer, and where it is defective.

In this catalogue I have distinguished the types according to Hildebrand's plates, keeping to the same letters of the alphabet.

In my remarks on the types, I have been, however, led by various considerations to depart in some instances from Hildebrand's arrangement; and I there submit to the Society a new arrangement of my own, not in confidence that it is an improvement upon Hildebrand's, for, by my ignorance of the Swedish language, I have unfortunately been prevented from altogether following the reasons he gives for his arrangement of the types.

For the convenience of such as may not possess Hildebrand's work, I have given under each type references to Mr. Hawkins's book and to Ruding's plates.

Now, the main interest attaching to coins of this period is of a local character. They are monuments contributing to the local history of the time. It is, therefore, very necessary in a catalogue to arrange them under the towns to which they belong; only in this way can we hope to obtain some knowledge of the relative importance of the various mints. A mere list of the moneyers' names, unless coupled with one of the towns where they occur, is worse than useless—I say *worse*, for in many cases we are actually led astray by such a list. Ruding

for instance, makes frequent blunders in his detached lists of mints and moneyers, solely for lack of the aid which the comparison of one coin with another affords, when they are properly classified under their respective towns.

In the catalogue, I have therefore arranged the coins under their mints, at the same time keeping the types separate, not, as Hildebrand does, mingling the various types, by adhering to an alphabetical list of moneyers; this of course necessitates a repetition of some of the moneyers under each successive type, and renders the list somewhat lengthy, but I think on the whole it is the better arrangement.

Moneyers of similar names, and at the same place, may or may not be the same men,—in most cases probably they are; but by keeping the various types distinct, we are enabled to discern certain peculiarities in the spelling of the names, both on the obverse and reverse, which seem to be characteristic marks of the several types.

I will now give an account of the types as I find them upon these coins; I shall afterwards, under the head of Mints, notice certain additions to some of them which are hardly of sufficient importance to constitute varieties, but which seem to be the distinguishing marks of moneyers, and in one or two cases of towns, when we find a similar mark adopted by more than one moneyer in the same locality. Such, for instance, is the annulet, the well-known distinctive mint-mark of York. Some of these that I shall mention are new to us, and others, though not new, have not, to the best of my knowledge, been noticed by any one before.

Nearly all these remarkable coins will be found figured upon Plate VI.

TYPES.

TYPE I. [Hildebrand, Type A.]

Obv.—Bust of the king to left, radiated crown.

Rev.—Small cross within inner circle.

Plate V., No. 1. Hawkins, xvii. 226. Ruding, xxv. 33, 34.

This type is only represented in the Chancton hoard by four specimens, one each of London and Chester, and two of Winchester. The obverse bears a general resemblance to some of the types of Harthacnut and Harold I.; the usual reading is ED γ ERD REX A. This type is more largely represented in the Cabinet of Stockholm than any other, there being ninety-eight specimens: a strong reason for assigning it to quite the early part of Edward's reign, before the remission of the Danegeld, which took place in 1052.

TYPE II. [Hildebrand, Type B.]

Obv.—King's bust to left, filleted.

Rev.—Cross voided.

Hawkins, xvii. 229. Ruding, xxvi. 36, 37, 38.

This type is entirely unrepresented in the Chancton Find, although there are as many as 140 specimens of it in the British Museum.

The legend of the obverse is ED γ ERD RE.

The coins of this type are considerably smaller and lighter than those of any other of this king's reign. It is probably one of his early types.

TYPE III. [Hildebrand, Type C.]

Obv.—King's bust to left, filleted ; sceptre.

Rev.—Cross voided within inner circle ; on the centre a square compartment, with three pellets at each corner.

Plate V., No 2. Hawkins, xvii. 220. Ruding, xxv. 21, 22, 23, 24.

This type closely resembles a type of Harthacnut (Hawkins, xvii. 218). At Stockholm there are as many as sixty-eight specimens of it ; in the present find there is only one example ; and as we know that this hoard was not deposited until the time of Harold II., we may suppose these coins to have been out of circulation, or nearly so. The obverse legend is generally ED Ψ ERD REX.

TYPE IV. [Hildebrand, Type D.]

Obv.—King's bust to left, filleted ; sceptre.

Rev.—Cross voided, each limb terminating in a crescent, an annulet on the centre. P—A—E—X in the angles.

Hawkins, xvii. 221. Ruding, xxiv. 12.

There are no examples of this type in the Chancton hoard. It closely resembles one of Cnut's types. (Hawkins, xvi. 210.)

The obverse legend of this type is ED Ψ ERD or ED Ψ ARD REX.

TYPE V. [Hildebrand, Type E.]

Obv.—King's bust to left, filleted ; sceptre.

Rev.—Cross, limbs gradually expanding, issuing from a central circle or circles.

Plate V., No. 3. Hawkins, xvii. 219. Ruding, xxiv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

There are 133 specimens of this type in the Chancton hoard; and among them are a few affording certain peculiarities, which are engraved on Plate VI., Nos. 7, 13, 14.

This is probably the last of the earlier types of the Confessor's reign.

The obverses of the five types I have just considered, as may be seen by a glance at the plates to which I have referred, bear to one another a striking resemblance. The head of the king is youthful and unbearded, the hair is enclosed in a round cap, peaked in front, which is encircled by a fillet, except upon the coins of Type I., where a radiated crown is substituted for the fillet. Upon all these types the king's name is spelt ED Ψ ERD or ED Ψ ARD, while upon his later types it is almost always written EAD Ψ ARD.

Before proceeding to the next type, the two varieties engraved on Plate V., Nos. 4 and 5, should be noticed. These appear to be intermediate links between Types V. and VI.

No. 4, retaining the obverse of Type V., is quite a new variety; it is a coin of Thetford, and reads:—

Obv.—✠ ED Ψ ERD REEX:

Rev.—✠ GODELEOF ON Δ EOT.

No. 5 has the new obverse of Type VI., but the bust is turned to the left, as upon all the early types. Of this variety there are four examples in the Chancton hoard; they are from Southampton, Hereford, London, and Winchester.

A coin of this variety is engraved in Ruding, pl. xxv. 19.

TYPE VI. [Hildebrand, Type F.]

Obv.—King's bust to the right, bearded, wearing a pointed helmet; sceptre terminating in a cross; fleur-de-llys, or three pellets, in his right hand.

Rev.—Cross voided, terminating in three crescents within inner circle, annulet on the centre.

Plate V., No. 6. Hawkins, xvii. 227. Ruding, xxv. 18, 20.

This type is very largely represented in the Chancton hoard; there are as many as 425 specimens of it. It is the first of the later types of the king's reign. He is henceforth represented as an older man, and bearded. That these, and, in fact, all coins of the middle ages, are intended to be real portraits, and are trustworthy, however rudely they may be executed, is, I believe, now generally admitted by those who have studied the subject of historical portraiture.

The obverses of this type still retain the old spelling, EDPERD or EDWARD.

The letter S on these coins is frequently formed thus S.

I have already noticed the connecting links between this type and the preceding ones. I will now endeavour to show how it is connected with the types that follow, and to determine which of them is to be its immediate successor.

Hildebrand places next in order the type engraved on Plate V., No. 8. Now if we grant, what I confess appears to me a probable supposition, viz., that at the introduction of a new type the old dies continued for a short period in occasional use, thus forming combinations of the obverse of one type and the reverse of another—if we acknowledge that these combinations do form links between successive types, then I must differ from Hilde-

brand's arrangement, and place next in order what is commonly called the Sovereign type; I mean that which bears on the reverse the arms of Edward the Confessor. I place this type next, first, because there is a coin in the Hunter Museum at Glasgow, engraved in Ruding, xxv. 17, having the obverse of Type VI., and the reverse of the Sovereign type; and second, because in the Chancton hoard I have met with two coins on which there are plainly visible traces of the four martlets below the new type struck upon them; the reverse of Type VIII. being struck over that of Type VII., thus proving beyond a doubt that it ought to succeed that type.

TYPE VII. [Hildebrand, Type H.]

Obv.—The king seated on throne, generally bearded, and wearing a crown of two arches surmounted by three pearls, holding in his right hand a sceptre, in his left an orb surmounted by a cross.

Rev.—Cross voided within inner circle. A martlet in each angle.

Plate V., No. 7. Hawkins, xvii. 228 Ruding, pl. xxiv. 13, 14; xxv. 15, 16; xxviii. 2.

Of this type there are 303 coins in the Chancton Find.

The obverse legend is generally EADWARD or EADVVEARDVS REX. AN, ANGL, ANGLOR, &c., &c. The letters on these coins are perhaps not quite so clearly struck as usual,—often rendering them difficult to decipher.

The obverse of this type is probably imitated from the last silver Roman coins current in England,—those of Valentinian II., Theodosius I., Arcadius, and Eugenius,—numbers of which must have remained and been in circulation long after the departure of the Romans; and though of course they could not have circulated largely

after a lapse of centuries, they would have been probably well known, and formed a good model for an entirely new style of type.

The cross and martlets which form the reverse of this type are commonly called the arms of the Confessor. In a manuscript work in the British Museum, by Segar, Garter-King-at-Arms in the reign of James I., which professes to give the arms of every king of England, from the time of Brute downwards, I find the following account of the arms of Edward the Confessor. He says, "Edward bare upon his armes 'Crucem floridam auream in campo cæruleo, inter quinque merulas sine pedibus,' which armes are called the ancient armes of England. Theis martletts (birdes withoute feet) were assumed by him, for that, being disinherited by the Danes, hee was forced to flye, having no assured ground to rest on, and therefore was called in scorne by the Danes 'Edwardus sine terrâ.'"

This, of course, must be taken for what it is worth, which I am afraid is not very much; for the birds upon these coins *have* legs; so have the birds upon the Confessor's arms sculptured upon the south wall of Westminster Abbey. The heraldic martlet without legs and beak is of much later origin.

The cross and martlets, then, though no doubt used in Saxon times as a distinctive device for banners, &c., cannot be correctly called the *arms* of the Confessor; for the science of heraldry, properly so called, had its origin only in the Holy Wars, and was not perfected until the middle of the thirteenth century. The venerable Bede, in his Ecclesiastical History, perhaps refers to the standard used by some of the Saxon kings, in the following passage, where he mentions the standard of St. Oswald, which was laid upon his tomb:—"Lota igitur ossa intulerunt in

thecam, quam in hoc præparaverant, atque in ecclesiâ juxta honorem congruum posuerunt: et ut regia viri sancti persona memoriam haberet æternam, vexillum ejus super tumbam auro et purpurâ compositum adposuerunt, ipsamque aquam in quâ laverant ossa, in angulo sacrarii fuderunt.”—Hist. Eccles., iii. xi. Monumenta Historica Britannica, i. 183.

Nevertheless, this device has from very early times been regarded as the arms of St. Edward, and in the time of Richard II. was impaled with the then received arms of England.

Willement, in his Regal Heraldry, gives the following extract from Froissart (Edit. Pynson, vol. ii., fol. 258), which, though it differs in the tinctures from the arms usually assigned to St. Edward, is borne out by these coins, as he mentions only four martlets, while Edward is generally said to have added a fifth to the device already used since the time of Edgar:—

“Of olde tyme there was a Kynge in Englade named Edwarde, who is a saynt and canonised, and honoured through all this realme. In his tyme he subdued the Danes, and discomfited them by batayle on the see thre times. And this Saint Edwarde, Kynge of Englande, Lorde of Irelande and of Acquitaine, the Yrishmen loved and dredde him muche more than any other Kynge of Englande that had been before. And therefore our soverayne lorde Kyng Rychard this yere past, when he was in Irelande, in all his armories and devices, he left the bering of the armes of England, as the lybardes and flour delyces quarterly, and bare the armes of this Saint Edwarde, that is a crosse patent golde and goules with four white martenettes in the felde; whereof it was sayd the Yrishmen were well pleased, and the soner they enclyned to him.”

We now come to the link between Types VII. and VIII. It is a coin of Lincoln, on which the obverse of Type VII. is still retained, after the introduction of the

new reverse. It is engraved in Ruding, xxviii. 3, and is in the British Museum. There is no example of this unique variety in the Chancton Find.

TYPE VIII. [Hildebrand, Type G.]

Obv.—King's bust to the right, bearded, and wearing a crown of two arches surmounted by three pearls; sceptre.

Rev.—Cross voided, each limb terminating in an incurved segment of a circle.

Plate V., No. 8. Hawkins, xvii. 222. Ruding, xxiv. 9, 10.

Of this type there are 578 specimens in the Chancton hoard.

The obverse legend is usually EADPARD RE.

In the British Museum is a coin of Chester, reading AGLRIE ON LEHR (Pl. V., No. 9). It unites the obverse of Type VIII. with the reverse of Type I. Now, as I have already shown, there can be little doubt but that Type I. is, if not indeed the very first, at any rate one of the early types of the Confessor's reign.

Here, then, is a coin with the obverse of a late type, and the reverse of quite an early one; we must place it, therefore, after Type VIII., and conclude that the early reverse must have been revived. The character of the obverse surely precludes us from considering it, with Hildebrand, merely as a variety of Type I.

TYPE IX. [Hildebrand, Type A, var. c.]

Obv.—Bust of the king, front, bearded, and wearing the same crown as on the preceding type.

Rev.—Small cross within inner circle.

Plate V., No. 10. Hawkins, xvii. 225. Ruding, xxv. 29, 30, 31.

Though Hildebrand calls this type a variety of Type I., the following reasons will, I think, justify me not only in treating it as a distinct type, but in transferring it from the beginning to the latter part of the reign.

1st. In the present Find there are as many as 138 specimens of it; we can therefore hardly consider it as a mere occasional variety.

2nd. There are only three examples of it in the cabinet of Stockholm, while of Type I. there are as many as 98. This fact alone is sufficient to prove that it was not struck until after the remission of the Danegeld in 1052, otherwise it would doubtless have been as well represented at Stockholm as the other early types.

3rd. The king is represented, as on the later types, with a beard, and wearing the crown with two arches and three pearls, as upon Types VII. and VIII., the only difference being that he is drawn full-face, and that the sceptre is omitted.

4th. The name of the king upon the obverse, as upon Types VII., VIII., and X., is spelt EADƆARD, while upon the earlier types the usual reading is EDƆERD or EDƆARD.

In the Chancton hoard are several coins of this type, with peculiar additions to the usual reverse. I will notice them when I come to consider the mints; they are engraved on Plate VI., Nos. 3, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12.

The variety engraved in Ruding, xxv. 32, having four small crescents in the circle opposite each angle of the cross, still remains unique.

TYPE X. [Hildebrand, Type I.]

Obv.—King's bust to the right, bearded; crown arched, with pendant terminating in three pellets hanging down at the side; sceptre in front.

Rev.—Cross voided, pyramid terminating in a pellet in each angle.

Plate V., No. 12. Ruding, xxv. 26, 27.

This type, from the resemblance it bears to the coins of Harold II., is probably the last coinage of any importance in this reign.

There are 54 examples of it in the Chancton hoard. Among these is a specimen of the very rare full-face variety (Ruding, xxv. 25). The Chancton specimen reads LEOFRED ON ERELLA. It is in perfect preservation. On Plate V., No. 11, I have placed it before Type X. The obverse being somewhat similar to Type IX., seems to connect the two. On the coins of this type I have noticed a peculiarity in the formation of the diphthong Æ, which is shared by many coins of Type IX. (another reason for transferring that type to the latter part of the reign). Instead of the usual short stroke attached to the top of the E, to represent the A, we find on these coins a long stroke quite detached from the E; thus, ST ÆN, ÆLF ÆINE, are written ST ÆEN, ÆELF ÆINE.

Of the varieties of this type engraved in Ruding, xxv. 28, 35, there are no examples in the Chancton Find; nor is there a specimen of the type with PAX written across the field (Ruding, xxiv. 11; c. 21).

The following is a table of the types of King Edward, with the number of coins of each which occur in the Chancton Find. These numbers include the varieties:—

Early types.	{	I. Plate V. No. 1	4 coins.
		II. Hawkins, xvii. 229	0
		III. Plate V. No. 2	1 „
		IV. Hawkins, xvii. 221	0
		V. Plate V. No. 3	133 „
		VI. „ V. No. 6	430 „

Later types.	{	VII.	Plate V. No. 7 . . .	303 coins.
		VIII.	" " No. 8 . . .	578 "
		IX.	" " No. 10 . . .	138 "
		X.	" " No. 12 . . .	54 "

Of these types, the first five have the bust to the left, and upon these the usual form of the king's name is ED ψ ERD or ED ψ ARD.

The last five have the bust to the right, except Type IX., which is full-face, and upon the last four the king's name is written EAD ψ ARD.

MINTS.

On the opposite page is a table of the Mints represented in the Chancton Find, with the number of moneyers coining under each type. The total number who coined in each town during the reign of the Confessor is obtained by amalgamating the types, and only counting once the same or similar names occurring under more than one type. In some cases perhaps these names may represent different persons; but, as a rule, it is safer to treat them as identical.

Those who wish to know the names of the moneyers, I must refer to my catalogue.

Of these fifty-three mints, the twenty following are not mentioned by Hildebrand as occurring upon the Confessor's coins:—

Bedford	Rochester
Bedwin	Romney
Chichester	Sandwich
Colchester	Shaftesbury
Cricklade	Steyning
Guildford	Southwark
Huntingdon	Taunton
Maldon	Wallingford
Malmesbury	Wareham
Newport	Watchet

Types.	I.	III.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	Total of Moneyers.
Aylesbury	1	..	1
Bath	1	2	1	3	1	..	4
Bedford	1	1	1	1	..	3
Bedwin	1	..	..	1
Bristol	2	..	..	3	1	..	5
Cambridge	1	2	..	..	..	2
Canterbury	3	6	4	7	4	2	11
Chester	1	..	..	2	1	1	1	..	5
Chichester	1	3	3	3	2	2	3
Colchester	5	..	..	..	1	5
Cricklade	1	1	1	1	..	1	2
Derby	1	..	..	..	..	1
Dorchester	1	1	..	1
Dover	1	3	3	2	3	1	5
Exeter	2	4	2	3	1	2	6
Gloucester	1	4	2	2	1	..	7
Guildford	1	1	1	2	1	..	2
Hastings	2	2	2	3	1	..	4
Hereford	2	1	1	1	..	4
Hertford	1	..	..	1	..	1
Huntingdon	1	1	..	2
Hythe	1	..	1	1 (?)	..	2 (3?)
Iichester	1	..	1	1	..	2
Ipswich	1	..	1	2
Leicester	1	2	2	..	1	..	6
Lewes	3	4	4	4	3	3	8
Lincoln	2	7	1	5	2	3	14
London	1	..	16	24	17	12	8	4	45
Malden	1	1	..	..	..	1
Malmesbury	1	..	1	..	..	1
Newport	1	..	..	..	..	1
Norwich	1	..	2	..	1	3
Oxford	1	5	4	..	..	7
Rochester	1	..	1	..	..	2
Romney	2	1	1	..	..	2
Salisbury	1	1	..	1	2
Sandwich	1	..	..	..	..	1
Shaftesbury	1	1	2	..	1	5
Shrewsbury	1	..	..	..	..	1
Stamford	1	1	1	1	..	2	5
Stamford or Sandwich	1	..	1	..	..	1
Steyning	1	3	1	1	1	1	3
Southampton	2	1	..	..	..	3
Southwark	1	2	2	2	2	..	5
Taunton	1	..	..	1
Thetford	1	2	..	1	1	..	4
Wallingford	1	5	2	2	2	..	6
Warwick	1	1
Wareham	1	1	2	1	1	2
Watchet	1	..	..	..	..	1
Wilton	1	1	3	8	3	2	..	9
Winchester	2	..	8	10	7	6	6	3	17
Worcester	2	..	..	2
York	3	3	3	1	4	12

These twenty, however, with the exception of Bedford, Guildford, Malmesbury, Newport, Steyning, and Watchet, were previously represented in the collection at the British Museum.

Three of the above mints, viz., Bedwin, Newport, and Sandwich, are altogether new to Hildebrand, not being included in his list of Anglo-Saxon places of mintage; for he assigned all the coins reading SAN and SA to the town of Stamford. There can, however, be no longer any doubt of the existence of a mint at Sandwich, for there is one coin in the Chancton find which reads LIFȚINE ON SANDȚ. Unfortunately there happens to be a moneyer of the same name at Stamford, and as the name of this town is often written SANFORD, those coins of LEOFȚINE, LEȚINE, or LIFȚINE, which only read SA or SAN, we are unable to assign with certainty to either one or other of these places.

I will now notice certain peculiarities which appear to be in some cases mint-marks, in others the private marks of certain moneyers. The most remarkable of these is the annulet, the well-known York mint-mark.

This annulet we find upon the reverses of coins struck at York of Types I., II., V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., and X. Types III. and IV. alone are without it, although upon Type VII. it is sometimes omitted. Upon Type X. it is substituted for one of the pyramids of the reverse type.

Very rarely, too, we find this annulet upon coins of the Lincoln mint. Of this variety there are three examples in the Museum, of the moneyers, Othgrim (Type VI.), Godric, and Wulbrn (Type IX.) (Plate VI., No. 10.) A Chancton coin, reading VLF ON LINCOL, of Type IX., has four pellets on the inner circle, opposite the limbs of

the cross. (Pl. VI., No. 11.) A somewhat similar peculiarity occurs upon a coin reading \mathfrak{P} ILEGRIP ON HEOR (Hertford). (Plate VI. No. 12.) Also upon several London coins of Type V. of the moneyers \mathfrak{A} ELREDD, ED \mathfrak{P} INE, and LOD \mathfrak{P} INE. (Plate VI. No. 13.)

Nos. 1, 2, and 3, of Plate VI. are coins of Ilchester, of Types VI., VIII., and IX.; the first two are of one moneyer, Godric; that of Type IX. reads \mathfrak{A} ELL \mathfrak{P} INE ON LIFELL. It would be interesting to know whether the short bar which occurs upon these Ilchester coins is a distinctive mark of that town, as the annulet is of York; it is certainly a remarkable fact that the only three coins of Ilchester in the Chancton hoard should have this peculiarity. There were previously no coins of that town in the National Collection.

Nos. 4, 5, and 6, of Plate VI., are coins of Dorchester. No. 4 reads \mathfrak{P} VLSTAN ON DOR. It has a pellet in one quarter. The two latter are from the Chancton Find of Types VIII. and IX.; they are probably by the same moneyer, Blakeman. That of Type VIII. has a sort of ray issuing from the centre of the cross in two quarters; that of Type IX. has two small crosses besides the usual cross in the reverse field.

Nos. 7, 8, and 9 are all from the Chancton hoard; they are coins of Hastings, of the moneyers Brid and Dunninc.

No. 14 is a coin reading \mathfrak{A} EL \mathfrak{P} INE ON \mathfrak{P} ILT; it has a 6 in the field. No. 15, a coin of Wareham, has in one quarter the letter A or V, and in another a cross. What these letters may signify I cannot even conjecture.

There are a few coins in the Chancton Find which I have placed at the end of the catalogue under the head of "Uncertain Mints." Some of these are, doubtless,

blundered coins; there are, however, a few which may perhaps be assigned to their respective towns.

There are two coins reading *ÆLFYINE ON TIMM*, and *TIME*, of Type VI. Ruding supposes that this may represent Teignmouth.

A coin of Type VIII. reads *ÆLEREARD ON LVM* . . . This may be Combe in Kent, or Compton in Sussex, names spelt in the Saxon charters, *LVMB*, *LVMTVN*.

Another coin of this type reads *∞VMERLIYF ON YIODFO*. This mint is mentioned in Ruding's list; I cannot, however, find any name resembling it in the Saxon Charters.

Of Type VII. there are coins which read—

EADPEARD ON IENENE
EILNOÐ ON LINE
LEOFSTAN ON BIG

All that I can do is to suggest that *LINE* may stand for *LINLESTVN* (Kingston in Surrey), and that *BIG* may be *BIGGRAF* (Bygrave in Wiltshire). For these two names, see Thorpe's "Diplomatarium Anglicanum," pp. 312, 561. In an agreement between Earl Godwine and Byrhtic, the father of his second wife, we read "Dis wæs gespeceu æt Cincgestune beforan Cnute cinge."

And in the will of *Æthelstân Ætheling*, third son of *Æthelred II.*, by his first wife, *Ælflæd*, he says, "∫ ic geann Leommære æt Biggrafan pæs landes pe ic him ær of nam."

HAROLD II.

The coins of this king represented in the Chancton hoard are fifty-eight in number; fifty-one of these, however, as will be seen from the following list, are of two

moneyers only; and as the additions to our present collection in the Museum are so few, I have not thought it necessary to lengthen my paper by giving a catalogue of the whole collection. These are the coins of Harold II. which occur in the Chancton hoard:—

ÆLLÆR ON LVNDI	1
ÆLFƿOLD ON ƿILTV	1
ALDGAR ON LVNDI	1
DERMON ON STÆNI	16
LEOFÆI ON LVNDEN	1
LEOFSI ON LVND	1
LEOFSTAN ON HA	1
LEOFƿARD ON LEƿE	1
OZƿOLD ON LEƿEEI	35

Total 58 coins.

These coins are all of the type engraved on Plate VI., No. 17, except that reading LEOFSTAN ON HA, which is without the sceptre. (Plate VI. No. 16.)

I must now bring to a conclusion my remarks upon this important find.

There is still, however, much to be learned concerning the coinage of this period, the duties and privileges of the various officers of the mint, &c., &c. How is it, too, that so few mints are mentioned in the Domesday Survey, compared with the vast number of towns we find upon the coins? These and all similar queries I leave to the consideration of those more intimately acquainted than myself with the history and constitution of the Mint during the Anglo-Saxon period.

The following is a catalogue of the coins of the Confessor in the British Museum, side by side with that of the Chancton Find, according to Hildebrand's arrangement.

ÆLLESBYRIL.

*(Aylesbury.)*British Museum. TYPE A, *var. c.*

Chancton Find.
✠ VLFRED ON Æ
(Broken coin.)

TYPE F.

✠ ꝥVLFRED ON ELELE

BAÐAN.

*(Bath.)*TYPE A, *var. c.*

✠ OSMÆR ON BAÐE
✠ OSMÆR ON BAÐE

TYPE E.

✠ ÆIELMÆR ON BAÐ

TYPE F.

✠ GODRIE ON BAÐAN
✠ GODRIE ONN BAÐANN
✠ OSMÆR ON BAÐANN

TYPE F, *var. a.*

✠ GODRIE ONN BAÐANN

TYPE G.

✠ GODRIE ON BAÐEN
✠ OSMÆR ON BAÐEN
✠ VRELEÞINE ON BAÐEN

TYPE H.

✠ GODRIE ON BAÐAN

BEDANFORD.

*(Bedford.)*TYPE A, *var. c.*

✠ SIGOD ON BEDEFOR

TYPE F.

✠ ꝥVLFYI ON BEDEFOR

TYPE G.

✠ WIGOD ON BEDEFOR

British Museum. TYPE H. Chancton Find.
✠ LODRIE ONN BEDE

BEDEȝINDE.
(*Bedwin, Wilts.*)

TYPE G.

✠ EILD : ON BEDEȝINDE ✠ EILD : ON BEDEȝINDE
✠ EILD ON BEDEȝINO :

BRYLLSTOȝ.
(*Bristol.*)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

✠ GODȝINE ON BRVLE
✠ GODȝINE ON BRV E

TYPE E.

✠ ÆLFȝARD ON BRIEST.
✠ ÆĎESTAN ON BRI

TYPE G.

✠ ÆLFRIE ON BRYLȝTO ✠ ÆLFRIE ON BRYLȝTO
✠ ÆLFȝINE ON BRE :
✠ ELFȝINE ON BRVCSTO
✠ ĞODȝINE ON BREEEL

TYPE I.

✠ LEORL ON BRVLE

LÆNTȝARABYRIL.
(*Canterbury.*)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

✠ ÆDRIE ON LANTȝ
✠ ĞILDEȝINE ON LA
✠ LEOFȝNE ON LAN
✠ MAN. ON LANTȝVI

TYPE B.

✠ BRVMAN ON LEN
✠ EDȝARD ON LEN
✠ ELFRED ON LÆNT
✠ LIFSTAN ON LEN
✠ MANA ON LENT

British Museum.

- * BRVMMAN ON LENT
- * EADƿERD ON LENTN
- * ELFRED ON EENT . .
- * GYLDEƿINE ON LE
- * GVLDEƿNE ON LENT:
- * GYLƿINE ON LENT
- * MAN: ON LENTE:
- * RVDEARL ON LENT:

TYPE C.

Chancton Find.

TYPE E.

- * ÆLFRED ON LENTƿA
- * LIƿINE ON LÆNT
- * MANNA ON LANTƿA

TYPE F.

- * EADƿARD ON LENT
- * EADƿARD ON LÆNT
- * EDƿERD ON LENT:
- * ELRÆD ON LÆNTE A
- * ELRED: O: N LENTƿA . .
- * GYLDEƿINE ON LENT
- * LEOFNTAN ON LENT:
- * MANNA ON LANTƿ
- * ƿVLSTAN ON LENT . .

TYPE G.

- * ÆLRÆD . . ON LÆNTƿA
- * ÆLRÆD: ON LÆNTN
- * EADƿARD ON LÆNT . .
- * ELFRID: ON LÆNTN
- * GYLDEƿINE ON LÆNT:
- * LIOFNTAN ON LÆNT:
- * LIOƿINE ON LÆNTN
- * LIOƿINE ON LÆNT
- * MANNE ON LÆNTNE
- * MANNE ON LÆNTNE

TYPE H.

- * EADƿEARD ON LAE
- * ÆLRED ONN FENT
- * ELRED ONN FENTNƿ
- * GYLDEƿINE ON CENTƿINR
- * GYLDEƿINE ON LÆNTN
(Double struck)
- * MANNA ON ENET

TYPE I.

British Museum.

Chancton Find.

- * ÆLFƿEARD ON KEN
- * MANA ON LANT

LISELEASTER.

(Chichester.)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

- * ÆLFƿINE ON EIE
- * ƿVLFRIE ON EIE

- * ÆLFƿINE ON EIE
- * ƿVLFRIE ON EIE

TYPE B.

- * ƿIRINE ON EI

TYPE E.

- * ÆLƿIN·E ON EIEEST : R :
- * ÆLFƿINE ON EI : : : STR :
- * ÆLFƿINE ON EIEEST :
- * ÆLFƿINE ON EIELST

TYPE F.

- * ÆLFƿINE ON EIEE∞T
- * ÆLFƿINE ON EIEEIE·
- * EILFƿINE·ON ENLEEIE··
- * GODƿINE ON EIEE∞T
- * GODƿINE ON EIEE :
- * ƿVLFRIE ON EIEEST
- * ƿVLFRIE ON EIEE∞T

TYPE G.

- * ÆLFƿINE ON EIEEIT :
- * ÆLFƿINE ON EIEEA∞
- * ÆLFƿINE ON EIEE ∞T
- * GODƿINE ON EIEEIT·
- * GODƿINE ON EIEE∞T
- * ƿVLFRIE ON EIEEIT

TYPE H.

- * ÆLFƿINE ON EIEES··
- * ÆLFƿINE : ON EIEE∞T··
- * GODƿINE ON EIEE··
- * GODƿINE ·· ON EIEE∞IT :
- * GODƿINE : ON EIEE∞TN
- * ƿVLFRIE ON EIEE∞T :
- * ƿVLFRIE ON EIEES·

British Museum.

* ÆLFYINE ON EIEE^z

* ÞVLDRIE ON EID

TYPE I.

Chancton Find.

* /ELFYINE ON EIEE^zT* ÆLFYINE ON EIEE^z

* IELFYINE ON EIEES

* ÞVLFRIE ON EIEEST

LOLENLEASTER.

(Colchester.)

TYPE C.

* ELFYINE ON EOLI

* BRVLNYSE ON EOLA

* LEOFYARD ON EOLE

* ÞVLFYINE ON EOLAE

TYPE F.

* BRIHTRIE ON COLEEE:

* BRVNNE^zE ON COLEE

* DEORMAN ON COLEEE

* LEOFYORD ON COLEEE

* ÞVLFYINE ON COLEET

TYPE H.

* ÞVLFYINE ON COLEEET:

TYPE I.

* ÞVLFYINE ON COLEEE

EROLELADE OR DRECLADE.

(Cricklade.)

TYPE E.

* EILYINE ON CREELA

TYPE F.

* ÆIELYINE ON CREEL.

* LEOFRED ON EROE:

TYPE G.

* LIOFRED ON CREEL

TYPE H.

* LEOFRED ON DREEEA

TYPE I.

* LEOFRED ON DREELA

TYPE I, *var. a.*
 British Museum. Chancton Find.
 ✠ LEOFRED ON CRELLA
 (Plate V. No. 11.)

DEORABY OR DOREBI.

(*Derby.*)

TYPE B.

✠ FROM ON DEOR

TYPE F.

✠ FROME ON DOREBI:

TYPE G.

✠ FROMA ON DOR

DORLEELEASTER.

(*Dorchester.*)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

✠ BLAKEMAN ON DORE
 (Plate VI. No. 6.)

TYPE B.

✠ ÞVLSTAN ON DOR
 (Plate VI. No. 4.)

TYPE D.

✠ BIALAMAN DOR

TYPE G.

✠ BLAKEMAN ON DORE
 (Plate VI. No. 5.)

DOFERAN.

(*Dover.*)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

✠ EINSTAN ON DOFE
 ✠ ÞLANÞINE ON DOFR.
 ✠ ÞVLFÞARD ON DO

TYPE B.

✠ EINSTAN ON DOF
 ✠ EINSTAN ON DOFR.

[British Museum.

TYPE C.

Chancton Find.

- * EINSTAN ON DOIRI
- * ETSILE ON DOFR . .

TYPE E.

- * EINSTAN ON DOF .
- * EN ω TAN ON DOFER

TYPE F.

- * EN ω TAN ON DOFERE :
- * EIL γ I . . ON DOFEREN
- * EN ω TAN ON DOFERER
- * EN ω TAN ON DOFER :
- * ENSTAN ON DOEER :
- * GOD γ INE ON DOFERE
- * GOD γ INE ON DOFER

TYPE G.

- * EIL γ I : ON DOFERE
- * GOD γ INE : ON DOFER :

TYPE H.

- * EIL γ I : ON DOFERENN
- * EN ω TAN : ON DOFERE
- * GOD γ INE ON DOFER

TYPE I.

- * EEOL γ I ON DOFERI

EXELEASTER.

*(Exeter.)*TYPE A, *var. c.*

- * LIFING ON EXELE

TYPE B.

- * PVLMAR ON EEX

TYPE E.

- * ED γ N ON EX·ELEST.

- * . . . γ PINE ON ESLEX
- * γ VLMÆR ON ESLEX

TYPE F.

British Museum.

Chancton Find.

- * LIFING ON EXELEOT
- * EZVINE ON EXELEOT

- * ÆLFRIE ON EXLES
- * ÆLFRIE ON EXLESTR
- * LIFINE ON EXELESTR
- * zÆVINE ON EXELEz
- * VVLMER ON EDXELE
- * VVLMER ON EXELE

TYPE G.

- * ÆLFRIE ON EXELEOTE :
- * ÆLFRIE ON EXELEOT
- * ÆLFRIE ON EXELEO
- * VVING ON EXELEOT :
- * VVLMÆR ON EXELEOT

TYPE H.

- * ÆLFRIE ON EXECES.
- * ÆLFRIE ONN EX·EE :
- * VVLMÆR ONN EXE :

TYPE I.

- * SIEVINE ON EXEEE
- * VVLFVINE ON EXELE

EOFERVIL.

(York.)

TYPE A.

- * ÆLVINE ON EOFE
- * ARKETEL ON EOFE
- * ARNCETEL ON EOFEVIC
- * ARNLIM ON EOF
- * ELVINE ON EOFERI
- * IOLANA ON EOFE·
- * ODIN ONN· EOFERYE
- * RÆFEN ON EOFE·
- * RÆFEN ON EOFEI
- * SEVLA ON EOFE
- * SEVLAA ONN EOFE
- * SEFVEL ON EOFE.
- * SEFVEL ON EOF
- * STIREOLL ON EOFE
- * DVRRIM ON EOF.
- * VLFLETTEL ON EOF·
- * VNOLT ON EOFE

British Museum.

TYPE A, *var. c.*

Chancton Find.

- * ARCEL ON EOFRꝛI.
- * ARIL ON EOFRꝛ
- * ARNLRIM ON E
- * ARNLRIM ON EOF
- * IOETEL ON EORꝛ

* IOETEL ON EOFR

- * IOETEL ON EOFRꝛI
- * ODBEN ON EOFRI
- * ODLRIM ON EOFRR
- * ODLRIM ON EOFR
- * ODLRIM ON EOF
- * SEVLA ON EOFRꝛ
- * SEVLA ON EOFERꝛ
- * SEVLA ON EOF
- * SNÆBORN ON EOF
- * SꝛRTEOL ON EOFR
- * ÐORR ON EOFERꝛ
- * ÐORR ON EOFR.
- * ÐORR ON EOFRꝛ.
- * VLFETEL ON EOFR

TYPE B.

- * ÆLFER ON EOF:
- * ARNLRIM ON EOF
- * ARNLRIM ON EO
- * ARNEEL ON EOFE
- * ELFERE ON ECR
- * ELFꝛINE ON EOFI
- * EOLA ON EOFER
- * IVLKTTEL ON EOF
- * LEOFNOÐ ON EO
- * LIFILE ON EOB:
- * œÆFVLEEF ON EO
- * œLVLA ON EOF:
- * ÐOR ON E,OFER

TYPE C.

- * ÆLFHERE ON EOFR.
- * ÆLFꝛINE ON EONER
- * ELFꝛINE ON EON EOF
- * ÆLFꝛINE ON EOF:
- * ARNLRIM ON EOFERꝛ
- * ELTAN ON EOFRꝛI
- * ELTAN ON EOFEERI ∴
- * ER·NLIL ON EOFER

British Museum.

Chancton Find.

- * ERNŪYTEL ON EOF :
- * IVKELEL ON EOFER·
- * OÐEN ON EFROÞIE ∴
- * RÆFEN ON EONEO
- * SÆFVHEL ON EOFR
- * SEVLA ON EOFER·
- * ÐO : R ON EOFEERÞI
- * ÐYRĠRIM ON EOFE :
- * ÐVRĠRIM ON EOF

TYPE E.

- * ÆLFÞINEE ON EOFERI
- * ARŪYTEL ON EOFERÞI
- * ARNĠRIM ON EOFER :
- * AR·NĠRIM ON EOFER
- * ARNĠRIM ON EOF
- * ARNĠRIM ON EOFERÞI
- * ARNĠRIM ON EOFE
- * ARNĠRIMLOA ON EO
- * ERNĠRIM ON EOFER :
- * ĠEOLA ON EOFERÞI
- * IOLA ON EOFERÞIĠĠ :
- * LEOFENOÐ ON EOFE :
- * SEVLA ON EOFERÞ.
- * ∞EVLA ON EOFERI
- * ∞EVLA ON EOFERÞIE
- * STYRĠOL ON EOFERÞ.
- * STYRĠOL ON EOFER.
- * SPERTĠOL ON EOF
- * ÐORR ON EOFRÞIE
- * VLFĠIL ON EOFERÞI
- * VLFĠIL ON EOFER
- * ÞINTEFVHEL ON EO
- * ÞINTERFVHL ON EOF.

TYPE F.

- * ·ARNĠEL ON EOFER·
- * ARNĠTEL ON EOFE
- * ARNĠTEL ON EOFER.
- * ARNĠRIM ON EOFRÞIE
- * ARNĠRIM ON EOFER
- * ARNĠRIM ON EOFR
- * ARNĠRIM ON EOFE
- * IOLE ON EOFERÞIE
- * LEOFENOÐ ON EOF
- * LEOFENOÐ ON EOFE

- * ·ARNĠEL ON EOFER·
- * ARNĠTEL ON EOFE

British Museum.

- * RAFEN ON EOFERY
- * SEVLE ON EOFERIE
- * SEVLE ON EOFERYII
- * STIREOL ON EOFER
- * STIREOL ON EOFRY
- * STIREOL ON EOFERYIE
- * SPARTEOL ON EOFER
- * SPARTEOL ON EOFER
- * DORR ON EOFERYI
- * VLFETEL ON EOFERYIE
- * VLFETEL ON EOFR
- * YINTERFVGL ON EOF
- * YINTERFVGEL ON EO

Chancton Find.

- * R·AFEN ON EOFERYI
- * STIREOL ON EOFRY

TYPE G.

- * ARNETEL ON EOFR
- * ARNGRIM ON EOFER
- * IOLITEL ON EOFRY

- * ODLRIM ON EOFI
(Without the annulet.)

- * ODLRIM ON EOFER
- * SEVLAE ON EOFRYI

- * SEVLA ON EOFRYIE

- * SNEBORN ON EOF
- * DORR ON EOFERYIE
- * DORR ON EOFERYI
- * VLFETEL ON EOFRY

- * VLFETEL ON EOFR

TYPE H.

- * IOKETEL ON EOFE
- * SEVLA ON EOFRYIE
(Without the annulets.)
- * DORR ONN EOFRYE
- * DORR ON EOFERYIE
- * VLFEL ON EOFRYIE
- * VLFLETL ON EOFRY.

- * ARNGRIM ON EOFD.
- (Without the annulets.)
- * ARNGRIM ON EOFR.
- (Without the annulets.)
- * IOLA ON EOFER.
- (Without the annulets.)

- * DORR ON EOFRYIE

TYPE I.

British Museum.

Chancton Find.

- * ALEOF ON EOFERȝ
- * ALEIF ON EOFRȝILL
- * EARDIL ON EOFRȝIL

- * EARDIL ON EOFERȝ :
- * IOLEETEL ON EOFE

- * IOLEETEL ON EOFE
- * OÐBORN ON EOFRR
- * OVÐBEARN ON EO
- * OVÐGRIM ON EOF
- * OVÐȝVLF ON EOFE

- * OVÐVLF ON EOFEI

- * SEVLA ON EOFR
- * SEVLA ON EOFER.
- * SNEBEARN ON EO
- * SNEBRN ON EOFRȝIL
- * SENEBRN ON EOFR

- * SȝEARTDOL ON EO.

- * DOR ON EOFERȝIL :
- * DORR ON EOFRȝIEL
- * VLFLETL ON EOFER

TYPE L.

- * SENEBRN ON EOFR.

LIFELLEASTER.

(Ilchester.)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

- * ÆGLȝINE ON GIFEL
(Plate VI. No. 3.)

TYPE F.

- * LODRIE ON LIFELD :
(Plate VI. No. 1.)

TYPE G.

- * LODRIE ON LIEELLE
(Plate VI. No. 2.)

LIPESȝIL.

(Ipswich.)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

- * ÆLFȝINE ON GIPPE

	British Museum.	TYPE B.	Chancton Find.
✠	Ƴ.VLSIE ON LIP		

TYPE G.

✠ BRVMAN ON LIPE ω ƳI

TYPE I.

✠ ÆLFƳINE ON GIPP

✠ ÆLFƳINE ON GIPP

GLEAƳELEASTER.

(Gloucester.)

TYPE A.

✠ ƳVLFƳERD ON GLEƳ

TYPE A, *var. c.*

✠ SILAE · ON GLEƳE

TYPE B.

✠ LEOFNOD ON GLE

✠ ƳVLFƳIL ON GLE

TYPE E.

✠ ÆIELRIC ON GLEƳE

TYPE F.

✠ ÆILRIC ON GLEƳEL
 ✠ ÆELFSIE ON GLEƳEL
 ✠ GODRIC ON GLEƳE:
 ✠ IVLFERD O GLEƳ:

TYPE G.

✠ LIOFƳINE ON GLEƳELE
 ✠ ƳVLFƳARD ON GLEƳELE

TYPE H.

✠ GODƳINE ON GLEƳELST
 ✠ SILAE ON GLEƳE

TYPE I.

✠ SILAE ON GLEƳE

GRANTABRYLL.

(*Cambridge.*)

TYPE B.

British Museum.

Chancton Find.

* ETSTAN ON GRA

TYPE F.

* GODVINE ON GRANT

TYPE H.

* ÆLFVIL ONN GRA.

* GODVINE ON GRANT

GYLDEFORD.

(*Guildford.*)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

* ÆLFRIE ON GILDE

TYPE E.

* BLAEMAN ON GYL

* BLAEMAN ON GYL

TYPE F.

* BLAEMAN ON GVLD :

* BLAEMAN ON GYLD

TYPE G.

* ÆLFRIE · ON GILDEFOR

* ÆLFRIE : ON GILDEFOR

* BLAEMAN ON GLDE

TYPE H.

* BLAEMAN ON GIL

* BLAEMAN ON GYLDEOR

HÆSTINGAS.

(*Hastings.*)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

* DVNNINE ON HEST

(Plate VI. No. 9.)

* DVNNINE ON HÆ

TYPE B.

* BRID ON HÆSTI

British Museum.

✠ BRID : ON HESTST :

TYPE C.

Chancton Find.

TYPE E.

- ✠ BRID ON HESTINPO :
- ✠ BRID ON HESTINPOR
(Plate VI. No. 7.)
- ✠ LEOFÞINE ON HÆS
- ✠ LEOFÞINE ON HÆSTE
- ✠ LEOFÞINE ON HÆSTILLE
- ✠ LIFÞINE ON HAST :

TYPE F.

✠ DVINNE ON HÆSTIN

- ✠ BRID ON HÆSTINĠ
- ✠ BRID ON HÆSTINĠ
- ✠ BRID : O : N HÆSTIEN
- ✠ DVINNE ON HÆSTIN
- ✠ DVINNE ON HÆSTIE

TYPE G.

- ✠ BRID : ON HÆSTI
- ✠ DVNNINE ON HÆST
- ✠ DVNINE ON HÆSTIN :
- ✠ DVNINĠ ON HÆST
- (Plate VI. No. 8.)
- ✠ ÞVLFRIE ON HÆSTI

TYPE H.

✠ BRND ON HÆSTIEN :

- ✠ BRND ON HÆSTIEN :
- ✠ BRID ON HÆ : SÐIŪ
- ✠ DVNNINE ONN HÆS

HAMTVN.

(Southampton.)

TYPE A.

✠ LEOFÞINE ON HAMTV

TYPE C.

✠ ÆLFÞINE ON HAM

TYPE F.

- ✠ LEOFRIE ON HAMTV

TYPE F, *var. a.*

- ✠ ÆLFÞINE ON HA

TYPE H.

British Museum.

Chancton Find.

✠ ꝥVLNOÐ ON HAM:

✠ ꝥVLNOÐ ON HAMTV

HEORTFORD.

(*Hertford.*)

TYPE A, c, (*new variety*).

✠ ꝥVILEGRIP ON HEOR
(Plate VI. No. 12.)

TYPE C.

✠ ÆLFVINE ON HERTE
✠ GODMAN ON HEOR
✠ GODVINE ON HIR :.
✠ GODVINE ON HEOR
✠ RÆDVLF ON HER

TYPE E.

✠ ꝥILTRIP ON HEORT:

HEREFORD.

(*Hereford.*)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

✠ ÆLFVI ON HORE

TYPE B.

✠ ERNVII ON HERE

TYPE C.

✠ EIEERIE ON HERE

TYPE F.

✠ ꝥVLFVINE ON HER

TYPE F. *var. a.*

✠ ERMVI ON HERE

TYPE G.

✠ EARNVI: ON HEREFO

✠ EARNVI: ON HERE
✠ ELRIE ON HEREFOE

British Museum. TYPE H. Chancton Find.
✱ LEFENOÐ ON HEREFO.

HORNINĠDVN.
(*Horningdon.*)

TYPE H.
✱ DVDINE ON HORNIDVNE :

HVNTENA-TVN.
(*Huntingdon.*)

TYPE A, *var. c.*
✱ GODÞINE ON HVNT

TYPE B.

✱ ÆLFÞINE ON HV
✱ VLFETL ON HVNT

TYPE C.

✱ ÆLFÞINE ON HVNTE

TYPE G.

✱ GODÞINE ON HVNTE

✱ LIOFÞINE ON MVNT (*sic*)

TYPE I.

✱ S/EÞINE ON H (?)

HYÐE.
(*Hythe.*)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

✱ ÐREODRED ON H (?)
(Doubtful, perhaps blundered.)

TYPE B.

✱ LIOFÞINE ON HY

TYPE F.

✱ ĠVÐRED ON HYÐE
✱ ĠVÐRED ON HYÐE :

British Museum.

TYPE G.

Chancton Find.

✠ GOLDVINE ON HEDE

LÆVES.

(*Lewes.*)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

✠ GODVINE · ON LÆVE

✠ OSVOLD · ON LÆVE

✠ LEOFVORD ON LÆ

TYPE B.

✠ DIRINE ON LÆVENEN

✠ EADVIG ON LÆVEN

✠ EDVINE ON LÆV

✠ LEFMAN O LÆVE

✠ LEOFVI ON LÆV

TYPE C.

GODRILL ON LEVEEI :

TYPE E.

✠ ÆLF ω IE ON LÆVEE ·

✠ ÆLFSIE ONN LÆVEE :

✠ EDVERD ON LÆVEE ·

✠ EDVERD ON LÆVE

✠ GODVINE ON LÆVE

✠ GODVINLE ON LIE

TYPE F.

✠ EADVARD ON LÆVE :

✠ ÆDVARD ON LÆVE :

✠ EDVINE ON LÆVE

✠ EDVINE ON LÆVEE · :

✠ GODVINE ON LÆVI

✠ OSVOLD ON LÆVE

✠ O ω VOLD ON LÆVEE ·

TYPE G.

✠ GODVINE ON LÆVE · ·

✠ LIOFVÆRD ON LÆVE

✠ O ω VOLD : ON LÆVE · ·

✠ VVLFVINE ON LÆVE

TYPE H.

British Museum.

Chaneton Find.

- ✠ EADƳARD ONN LÆƳE
- ✠ EADƳARD ON LÆƳE .
- ✠ EADƳINE ON LÆƳ :
- ✠ EADƳINE ON LÆƳE :
- ✠ GODƳINE ONN LÆƳE
- ✠ OƳƳOLD : ON LÆƳEN :
- ✠ OSƳOLD ONN LÆƳE

TYPE I.

- ✠ GODƳINE ON LIEƳ
- ✠ LEOFƳOLD ON LÆƳ
- ✠ OƳƳOLD ON EÆƳE

LEILEASTER OR LELELESTRIA

*(Leicester.)*TYPE A, *var. c.*

- ✠ BRVNNVSEL · O LE

TYPE B.

- ✠ AFESIE ON IEII :
- ✠ B...RYIN ON LEILEI
- ✠ LEOFƳINE ON LEI :

TYPE C.

- ✠ COLBRAND ON LIE
- ✠ ELFSIE ON LEIEST

TYPE E.

- ✠ ELFSIE ON LEIDEST.

- ✠ LEOFƳINE ON LEIIE

TYPE F.

- ✠ ÆLFLAR ON LEIIE
- ✠ BRVNINE ON LEIIE
- ✠ BRYNNIE ON LEIIE

- ✠ COLBRAND ON LEIIE

- ✠ HVSEAR ON LEIIE

- ✠ HVSEARL ON LEIIE

TYPE G.

- ✠ ÆLFƳI ON LELEEE
- ✠ HVƳEALR ON LELEEE
- ✠ LIOFENOƳ ON LELEEE :

British Museum.

TYPE H.

Chancton Find.

* ÆLSIG ONN LEILE
* BR·YNNIE ON LEG :

* BRYNNIE ON LEIE

* LOLBRAND ON LEI
* LEOFNOÐ ON LEIE

* SƷEARTEOL ON LEI

TYPE I.

* /ELFS ON LEGE^{EE} :
* ALXXI ON LEGE^{EE} ·
* HVSEARL ON LE^{GE}
* HV^ƷRALR ON LE^{GE}

LIGERLEASTER OR LEHERLEASTER.

(*Chester.*)

TYPE A.

* ƷVLFRIE ON LEHR·

TYPE A, *var. b.*

* A6LRIE ON LEHR·
(See page 75.)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

* A6LRIE ON LEHR

* LODRIE ON LEHR

TYPE B.

* LODRIE ON LEHER

TYPE F.

* GELDEƷINE ON LEH

* LODRIE ON LEHER
* ƷVLENMOÐ ON LEH
* ƷVLENOÐ ON LE

* ƷVLNAÐ ON LEGR

TYPE G.

* ELRIE ON LEHREDE

LODRIE ON LEHRELE

TYPE H.

* ÆLELRIE ON LEH
* LEOFƷINE ON LEH (?)

LINCOLN.

(Lincoln.)

TYPE A.

British Museum.

Chancton Find.

- * ÆLFNOÐ ONN LINCOL
- * GODRIE ON LINEE
(Annulet in field.)
- * GODRIE ON LINEE

TYPE A, *var. c.*

- * VLF ON LINEOL
(Plate VI. No. 11.)
- * ÞVEBRN ON LINE
- * ÞVEBRN ON LINEO
(Annulet in field.)

TYPE B.

- * BRITHRIE OE
- * BRITHRIE ON LI
- * GODRIE ON LI
(Pellet in 2nd quarter.)
- * GODRIE ON LIN
- * OÐGRIM ON LIN

TYPE C.

- * ÆDRICE ON LINEOLE
- * BRITHRIE ON LINEOL
- * EOLGRIM ON LINEO
- * GODRIE ON LINEOL
- * GODRIE ON LINEOLN
- * GODRIE ON LINEOL
- * LEOFFINE ON LINE
- * OSFERÐ ON LINEOL
- * ÐVREGRIM ON LIN
- * ÐVRIERIM ON LINEO
- * VLF ON LINEOLEE
- * ÞVLF ON LINEOLN :
- * ÞVLF ON LINEOLEI . .

TYPE D.

- * GODRIE ON LINE
- * VLF ON LINEOLNA

TYPE D, *var. a.*

- * EILLIN ONN LNEOLNN.

TYPE E.

British Museum.

* ODLRIM ON LINEO

Chancton Find.

* GODRIE ON LINEO :
* VLF ON LINEOLNE :

TYPE F.

* ODLRIM ON LINEO
* ODLRIM ON LINEOL

* ASEFERÐ ON LINEO
* DOLGRIM ON LIN
* ELFNOÐ ON LINEO
* GODRIE ON LINEOL
* GODRIE ON LINEO :
* MANNA ON LINEOLL
* OSFERÐ ON LINEO
* OÐBERN ON LINEO
* ODLRIM ON LINE
* ODLRIM ON LINEO

TYPE G.

* ODLRIM ON LINEO

* AVTI ON LINEOLNN
* ELFNOÐ ON LINEO
* LODRE ON LINEOL

* O...SLAC ON LINEO
* VLF ON LINEOLNE

TYPE G, *var. a.*

* ELFNOÐ ON LINEO

TYPE H.

* ÞVLBEREN ON LIN

* MANNA ON LINEO

TYPE I.

/ELFLERT ON LINE
ÆLGEAT ON LIN
EDRIE ON LINEOL
LEOFYOLD ON LINE

LVNDENBYRIE.

(*London.*)

TYPE A.

* BRIHTMÆR ON LVD
* DVDINE ONN LVN
* FÞIII OIIN LVNDE

* GODÞINE ON LVND :

British Museum.

Chancton Find.

- * GODVINE ON LVD
- * LEOFRED ONN LVND
- * VVLSILE ON LVDE

TYPE A, *var. c.*

- * ÆLELYI ON LVND
 - * ÆLELYI ON LVNDE
 - * ÆLLYI ON LVNDEN
 - * ÆLLYIN ON LVNDE
- * ÆELFVARD N LVNDE
 - * ÆELFVARD ON LVND
 - * EADVINE ON LVND
 - * EDVINE. O LVNDE
 - * EDVINE ON LVND
 - * GODRIE ON LVND
 - * wVETMAN ON LVN:
 - * sVETMAN. ON LVN
 - * VVLGAR ON LVND
 - * VVLFGAR ON LVND
 - * VVLFwI ON LVNDE
 - * VVLFVARD ON LVND
 - * DVLFDARD ON LV

TYPE A, *var. d.*

- * VVLGAR ON LVNDE

TYPE B.

- * ÆEFVINE ON LVN
- * ÆLELIG ON LVN
- * ÆLELYI ON LVN
- * ÆLLYIG ON LVN
- * ÆLFLET ON LVN
- * ÆLFRED ON LVND
- * ÆLFV ON LVNDE
- * ÆLFVIG ON LVN
- * .ÆLV.II ON LVN
- * ÆLFVINE ON LVND
- * ÆLFVOND ON LVND
- * ALDLAR ON LVN
- * ALDLAR ON LV
- * NLDLAR ON LVN
- * BINRED ON LVN
- * BVRNREI ON LVN
- * LINEMÆR (?) ON LV
- * DEOMEN ON LVN
- * DEONEN ON LVN

British Museum.

Chancton Find.

- * DEORMAN ON LV
- * DIREMA ON LVN
- * DVLƷL ON LVND
- * EADƷIL ON LVN
- * EDƷALD ON LVND
- * EDƷINE ON LVND
- * EDƷINE ON LV:
- * EDƷINNE ON LVNI
- * EƷELRIC ON LVND
- * EƷELRIC ON LVN
- * ELFSTAN ON LVDI
- * ELFSTAN ON EƷ
- * ELFƷINE ON LVD
- * ELFƷINE O. LVN
- * GODRIC ON LVND
- * GODƷI ON LVND
- * GODƷINE ON LV
- * GODƷINE ON LVN
- * GODƷINE ON LVND
- * GOLDSIE ON LVN
- * GOLTINE ON LY
- * LEOFƷI ON LVND
- * LIFINE ON LVND
- * LIFINE ON LINDI
- * LIFINEE ON LVN
- * LIFRED ON LVN
- * LIOFRED ON LVN
- * DOR ON LVNDI
- * ƷVLFRED ON LVND
- * ƷVLERED ON LVN
- * ƷVLFRIE ON LVI
- * ƷVLCI ON LVND
- * ƷVLFINE ON LVN
- * ƷVRREB ON LVN

TYPE C.

- * ÆEELƷI ON LVNDE
- * ÆEELƷI ON LVNDE
- * ÆELƷI : ON LVNDE:
- * ÆELƷAR ON LVNDE
- * ÆELFRED ON LVND
- * ÆELƷI: ON LVNDE
- * ÆELƷIL ON LVND
- * ÆELƷINE ON LVNDE
- * ÆELƷN ON LVNDE:

British Museum.

Chancton Find.

- * ALRIC ON LVNDE
- * BRIHTRED ON LVND
- * EADRIC : ON LVND
- * EÆLEÞIG ON LVND
- * EOLDFINE ON LVND
- * GODÞINE ON LVND
- * GOLTSIGE ON LVNDE
- * GOVSIV ON LVND :
- * LEOFÞIG ON LVNDN
- * LEOFÞINE O LVND :
- * EIFRED ON LVND
- * LOD SVNIV ON LVND
- * LOD SVNNV ON LVND
- * SBEIMAN ON LVND
- * VHTRED ON LVND
- * ÞVIERED ON LVND :
- * ÞVLERED ON LVND
- * ÞVLFÞINE ON LVND
- * ÞVLFÞINE ON LVND
- * ÞVLSIE ON LVND

TYPE D.

- * ÆL : ELPARD ON LVN
- * LEOFRIE ON LVNDE

TYPE E.

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| | * ÆLFRED ON LVNDEN : |
| | * ÆLFRED ON LVNDENE |
| | * ÆLREDD ON LVND : |
| * ÆLFÞINE ON LVNDENE : | * ÆLFÞINE ON LVNDENE |
| * ÆLFÞINE ON LVND | * ÆLFÞINE ON LVND |
| | * ÆDÞINE ON LVNDE |
| | * EDRED ON LVNDE |
| * ELFSIE ON LVNDEN : | |
| * ELFSIE ON LVNDENE : | |
| | * ETSIE ON LVND : |
| | * ETSE ONN LVNDE : |
| | * ETSE ONN LVNDE : |
| | * BRIESIE ON LVND : |
| | * BRIXSIE ON LVNDENE |
| | * BRIHTRED ON LVND |
| | * BVRED ON LVND |
| | * DVDINE ON LVNDE |
| * GODÞINE ON LVN | |
| | * GODÞINE ON LVND : |
| | (Plate VI. No. 13.) |
| | * GODÞINE ON LVNDE |

British Museum.

* LIOFVINE ON LVND

* ÆLFVARD ON LVNDE

* GODVINE ON LVND

* LEOFRED ON LVNI:

Chancton Find.

* GODRD ON LVNDEE . .

* GOLTSNE ON LVNDE

* LEOFRED ON LVNDE

* LEOFRED ON LVN:

* LIFIND ON LVNDE:

* SPRAEELING ON LVND

* VVLERDD ON LVNDE . .

* VVLFRED ON LVND:

* VVLFVINE ON LVNDEN

* V.VEINEE ON LVDN

TYPE F.

* ÆDRED ON LVNDE:

* ÆGELVIG ON LVNDEE

* ÆGELVIG ON LVND

* ÆLFRED ON LVND .

* ÆLFVARD ON LVND:

* ÆLVARD ON LVNDENE

* ÆLVINE ON LVNDE

* ÆLVINE: ON LVNDE:

* ÆIELRIE ON LVND:

* ÆLVORD ON LVNDE

* BRIHTVINE ON LV

* BRIHTVINE ON LVND

* BRVNLAR ON LVND:

* BRVNLAR ON LVNDE

* BRYNLAR ON LVNDE:

* EADVOLD ON LVND:

* EALDVY . . . ON LVNDENE

* ELVIG ONN LVNDENE:

* EDVINE ON LVNDE:

* ESTMVND ON LVNE

* GODMAN ON LVN

* GODMAN ON LVND:

* GODRIE ON LVNDENE

* GODVINE ON LVNDE

* GLIFVINE ON LVNDE . .

* GOLD∞.E ON LVNDE

* LEOFRED ON LVND:

* ÆLEORIE ON LVNDE

* ÆLEOVINE ON LVND

British Museum.

✠ ÞVLFÞINE ON LVNDENE

TYPE F, *var. a.*

✠ EADÞOLD ONN LVND :

TYPE G.

✠ ÆLFÞINE ON LVNDO :

✠ AEDGAR ON LVNDE :
 ✠ EDÞINE ON LVNDE
 ✠ ÆLFRED ON LVNDE
 ✠ ÆLFÆILE ON LVNDE
 ✠ ÆLFÞARD ON LVND
 ✠ ÆLFÞEARD ON LVND

✠ ÆLFÞINE ON LVNDE :.
 ✠ ÆLFÞINE ON LVNDEN
 ✠ ÆLFÞINE ON LVND
 ✠ ÆLFÞINE ON LVNDEN
 ✠ DIRINE : ON LVNDE :
 ✠ DVRIE : ON LVNDE :.
 ✠ GODRIE ON LVNDE :
 ✠ GODRIE ON LVND :
 ✠ GODÞINE ON LVNDE
 ✠ GODÞINE ON LVNDND :
 ✠ OMMVND ON LVNDE
 ✠ O : SMVND ON LVNDE
 ✠ ÞVLFÞAR ON LVND :
 ✠ ÞVLFÞAR ON LVNDE
 ✠ ÞVLFÞER ON LVNDENE

TYPE H.

✠ ÆLEÞER ON LVND :
 ✠ ÆLFRED ON LVND :
 ✠ ÆLFSIIE ON LVNDEN
 ✠ ÆLFÞERD ON LVND
 ✠ ÆLFÞERD ON LVND :
 ✠ DEORMAN ON LVND :
 ✠ DEORMAN ON LVNDE :

Chancton Find.

✠ LEOÞINE ON LVND
 ✠ LIOFRED ON LVNDEN
 ✠ OMOVND ON LVNDEI
 ✠ OMOVND ONN LVNDEI
 ✠ NIREÐ : ON LVNDENE
 ✠ ÆIREÐ ON LVDEN
 ✠ NÞETMAN ON LVN
 ✠ ÞVLFÞAR : ON LVNDEN

British Museum.

Chancton Find.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * ÞVLFR<small>ED</small> ON LVND * ÞVLGAR ON LVNDE | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * DIREMAN ON LVNDENLDE * EALDGAR ON LVNDE * EALDGAR ON LVNDEI * EDÞI ON LVNDENEN ∴ * GODRIE ON LVND * GODRIC ON LVNDEN * GODRIE ON LVNDE * GODÞNE ON LVND * GODÞINE ON LVND * LEFÞINE ON LVND : * LIFIND : ON LVNDEEN : * LIOFINC ON LVNDEN * OMYND ONN LVND : * OMÞND : O : N LVNDNED * RVLFRIIX ON LVNDIN * ÞLVFR<small>ED</small> ON LVNDE ∴ * ÞVLFLAR ON LVND * ÞVLGAR ON LVNDE * ÞVLGAR ON LVND * ÞVLGAR ON LVNDENE * Þ.VL.GA.R ON LVNDE * ÞVLFÞINE ON LVNDENE * ÞVLFÞINE ON LVNDEN * ÞVLFÞINE ON LVND |
|---|--|

TYPE I.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * ÆELFSI ON LVNDE * ∞ÞETMAN ON LVN | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * GODRIE ON LVND * ∞ÞETMAN ON LVN * ÞVL . GAR ON LVN * ÞVLFÞARD ON LVN |
|---|---|

MÆLDVNE.

(Maldon.)

TYPE B.

- * DÆININT ON MÆL

TYPE F.

- * GODRIE ON MÆLD :

- * GODÞINE ON MEL

TYPE H.

- * SÞETRIE ON MAL

- * GODÞINE ON MÆLDVN

MEALMESBYRIL.

(Malmesbury.)

British Museum.

TYPE F.

Chancton Find.

✠ EALDƿILG ONN MEALM

TYPE G.

✠ BRIHƿI ON MELME

NIƿEPORTE.

(Newport.)

TYPE F.

✠ ƿIREDD ON NIƿEPO :

✠ ·SIREDD ON NIƿEPORTE·

NORÐƿIL.

(Norwich.)

TYPE A.

✠ LEOLƿINE ON NOR :

TYPE B.

✠ LEOƿIL ON NOR

TYPE C.

✠ LEOFƿINE ON NORÐ

TYPE D.

✠ OS : MVND ON NOR

TYPE F.

✠ ÐORSTAN O NORÐƿ

TYPE G.

✠ LEFƿINE O NORÐƿI

✠ LIOFƿINE ON NORÐ

TYPE I.

✠ ÐVRSTAN ON NOR

OXNAFORD.

(Oxford.)

TYPE B.

✠ ELƿIN ON OELX ·

British Museum.

TYPE E.

Chancton Find.

* EIELÞINE ON OXENE ·

TYPE F.

* ÆLFÞILG ON OL·XENE

* ÆLFÞIL ON OLEXENAF

* ÆLFÞII ON OLEXENEFO

TYPE G.

* ÆGELÞINE ON OXENEX :

* ÆLFRIL ONN OXN·E :

* ÆLFÞI : ON OXENEXFO

* ÆLFÞI : ON OXENEX ·

* HARELOD ON OXENEX

TYPE H.

* ÆLFÞIL ON OX :

* EADÞINE ONN OXNE :

* ELÞINE ONN OXNE ∴

* HÆRGOD ON OXNEF :

* SETMAN ON OXEN ∴

ROFELEASTER.

(*Rochester.*)

TYPE C.

* EDÞINE ON ROFE :

* GODÞINE ON ROFE

TYPE D.

* GODÞI:NE ON RO

TYPE F.

* EDÞINE ONN ROF :

TYPE G.

* LIFÞINE : ON ROFE ∴

* LIFÞINEHORN ON ROF

RVMENEA.

(*Romney.*)

TYPE B.

* ÞVLMED ON RVM

British Museum.

TYPE F.

Chancton Find.

- * LEOFRE ONN · RVM ·
- * ꝥVLMÆR ON RVMEE ·

TYPE G.

- * ꝥVLMÆR ON RVMED

TYPE H.

- * ꝥVLMÆR ONN RVM

SLEAFTESBYRIL.

(Shaftesbury.)

TYPE E.

- * GODESBRAND ON SE
- * ꝥVLFRIE ON SLEFTE :

TYPE F.

- * ꝥVDVLOE ON SLEFT .

TYPE G.

- * ÆLFYERD ON SLEFTE
- * GODESBRAND ON SE

TYPE H.

- * ꝥVLFRIE ON SLEF
- * ꝥVLFRIE ON SLEAF

TYPE I.

- * GODRIE ON SLEAFI

TYPE K.

- * GODESBRAND ON S

SROBESBYRIL.

(Shrewsbury.)

TYPE F.

- * LEOFSTAN ON SRO

TYPE G.

- * LODYINE ON SRO
- * ꝥVDEMAN ON SROB
- * ꝥVDEMAN ON SROB
- * ꝥVLMÆR ON SROBE

TYPE I.

- * EARNYI ON SROꝥ

SEARBYRIG.

(*Salisbury.*)

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---------|--------------------------------|
| British Museum. | TYPE G. | Chancton Find. |
| | | ✱ LODRIC ON ω ERBV |
| | | ✱ GODRIC : ON ω ERBVR : |
| | TYPE H. | |
| ✱ GODERIC ON IERBIRGE | | ✱ GODERIC ON IERBIRGE : |
| | | ✱ GODERIC ON SERBIRGE |
| | | ✱ GODRIC ON SEARBIR |
| | TYPE I. | |
| ✱ S/EBODE ON SEAL | | ✱ S/EBODE ON SERB : |

SNOTINGAHAM.

(*Nottingham.*)

- | | |
|---------------------|---------|
| ✱ ALMMV NDA SNO | TYPE B. |
| | TYPE C. |
| ✱ BLALMAN ON SNOTI | |
| ✱ BLALMAN ON SNOTIN | |

STÆNIG.

(*Steyning.*)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

- ✱ DERMON ON STÆ
- ✱ DIORMAN ON ω TÆ

TYPE E.

- ✱ \mathfrak{V} VLFLET ON STÆN
- ✱ \mathfrak{V} VLLET ON STENI . .

TYPE F.

- ✱ \mathfrak{V} VFERIE ON ω TÆ . .
- ✱ \mathfrak{V} VLFRIE ON · ST/ENI
- ✱ \mathfrak{V} VLFRIE ON STÆ

TYPE G.

- ✱ DIORMAN ON ω TÆNIG

British Museum. TYPE H. Chancton Find.
 ✖ ÞVLFRIL ONN STÆ
 ✖ ÞVLFRIL ON STÆN

TYPE I.
 ✖ DERMON ON ST/EN

SANDYIL.
 (*Sandwich.*)

TYPE F.
 ✖ LIFÞINE ON SANDY

STANFORD OR SANFORD.
 (*Stamford.*)

TYPE B.

✖ ARFRA ON STA :
 ✖ GODÞINE ON S :
 ✖ GODÞINE ON S . .
 ✖ LEFÞINE ON STAI :
 ✖ LEOFÞINE ON STA

TYPE C.

✖ HARIN ONN STAN
 ✖ LEOFRINE ON STANF :
 ✖ LEOFÞINE ON STANF
 ✖ ÞILDRIF ON STANF :

TYPE D.

✖ ÞVLENO:Ð ON STAI :

TYPE E.

✖ ÆRFRE ON STANEOR :

TYPE F.

✖ BRVÞINE ON STA

TYPE G.

✖ OÞYARD ON STAN

TYPE H.

✖ LEOFRII ON STANF

TYPE I.

British Museum.

Chancton Find.

- ✠ BRVŪINE ON STA
- ✠ LODŪINE ON STNE
- ✠ LODŪINE ON STA

✠ BRVŪINE ON ST :

✠ SPAREOLF ON ST :

SANFORD OR SANDŪIL.

(*Stamford or Sandwich.*)

TYPE B.

- ✠ FAREDIR ON SA
- ✠ LEFŪINE ON SA
- ✠ LIFŪINE ON SAN
- ✠ LEOFŪINE ON SA
- ✠ LEOFŪINE ON SA

TYPE C.

- ✠ LIOEŪINE ON SAN

TYPE F.

✠ LIFŪINE ON ōANEI

TYPE G.

- ✠ LIOEŪINE ON SAI
- ✠ LIOEŪINE ON ōANLE

SVÐLEŪERE.

(*Southwark.*)

TYPE A, var. c.

- ✠ GODRIE · ON · SVDŪ
- ✠ OōMVND ON ōVÐE :

TYPE B.

- ✠ ÆLFŪINE ON SVÐE
- ✠ LIOEŪINE ON ōVÐ

TYPE E.

✠ LIOFRED ON ōVÐE :

TYPE F.

- ✠ OōMVND ON SVÐE .·

- ✠ OōMVND ON SVÐL :
- ✠ SPETMAN ON SVÐG

British Museum.

TYPE G.

Chancton Find.

- * OSMAND ON 2IDI
- * 2PETMAN ON 2VD6 :

TYPE H.

- * GODMAN ON SVÐLE :
- * OSMVND ON SVÐL :

TANTVN.

(Taunton.)

TYPE B.

- * BOEA ON TANT .:

TYPE C.

- * BOEA ON TANTVNE

TYPE D, *var. a.*

- * EILLEERIST ONN TAN

TYPE G.

- * BRIHRIE ON TANT :

- * BRIHTRIE ON TANTVNE

ÐEODFORD.

(Thetford.)

TYPE A.

- * ELSIIE ON ÐEO
- * ESTMVND ON ÐEO :

TYPE A, *var. c.*

- * ÆELFYNE ON ÐETF

TYPE B.

- * ÆELFRIE ON ÐE
- * ESTMVNDN ÐE
- * LEFRIE ON ÐE

TYPE C.

- * ÆELLSIE ON ÐEOD :
- * LEGOFREDE ON ÐEO

TYPE D.

- * ED : RIEO : NÐ : EOD
- * EDRIE ON ÐEDO I
- * EDRIE : E ON ÐEO
- * TN : DRED ON : ÐED

British Museum.

TYPE E.

Chancton Find.

✠ ESTMVND ON DEO

TYPE F.

✠ BLAKERE ON ðITFOR

✠ LIſſINE ON ðIDFOR

TYPE F (*new variety*).

✠ GODELEOF ON DEOT
(Plate V. No. 4.)

TYPE G.

✠ BLAER ON ðETFO

✠ FOLLERD ON ðETFOR :

ſÆLINGAFORD.

(*Wallingford.*)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

✠ BRAND ON ſALI

✠ BRIHTMÆR ON ſA

✠ BVREſINE ON ſA

✠ BVREſINE ON ſA

TYPE C.

✠ BRIHTRIE ON ſELIN

TYPE E.

✠ BRVNſINE ON ſA

TYPE F.

✠ BRAND ON ſALING

✠ BRANDD ON ſELING :

✠ BRIHTRIE ON ſALI

✠ BRIHTſINE ON ſALI

✠ BRVNſINE ON ſAL

✠ BVREſINE ON ſALIN .

TYPE G.

✠ BRAD: ON ſALINGE

✠ BRIHTMÆR ON ſALI

TYPE H.

✠ BRAND ON ſALIN

✠ BRAND ON ſALI:

✠ BRIHTſIN ON ſALI

✠ BRVNſINE ON ſÆL

✠ BRVNſINE ON ſALI

✠ BRVNſINE ON ſALI

British Museum.

TYPE I.

Chancton Find.

✠ BVREÞINE ON ÞA

ÞÆRINGÞIL.

(Warwick.)

TYPE I.

✠ DEODRIC ON ÞÆR

ÞELEDPORT.

(Watchet.)

TYPE F.

✠ GODEILD ON ÞEECE :

ÞERHAM.

(Warham.)

TYPE A, *var. c.*

✠ SIDEMAN ÞERHA

TYPE F.

✠ SIDEMAN ON ÞERHAM.

✠ SIDEMAN ON ÞERI

TYPE G.

✠ BIORN ONN ÞERHAM

✠ SIDEMAN ON ÞERHA

TYPE G (*new variety*).

✠ BIORN ON ÞERHAM :

(Plate VI. No, 15.)

TYPE H.

✠ SIDEMAN ON ÞARH

TYPE I.

✠ SIDEMAN ON ÞER

✠ SIDEMAN ON ÞER :

ÞIHRALEASTER.

(Worcester.)

TYPE F.

✠ ÞHEINEE ON ÞIHER

British Museum.

TYPE G.

Chancton Find.

* LIOF ∞ TAN ON ψ IHR \mathcal{E}

* ÆLE ψ INE ON ψ IHR \mathcal{E}

* ψ I \mathcal{E} INE ON ψ I \mathcal{E} EE

TYPE H.

* ÆLE ψ INE ON ψ IL \mathcal{R}

ψ ILTVNE.

(*Wilton.*)

TYPE A.

* LIFINE \mathcal{E} ON ψ ILTVN

TYPE A, *var. c.*

* ÆLE ψ INE ON ψ ILT

* AL ψ OLD ON ψ ILTI

* HERRED ON ψ ILTV

* HERRED ON ψ ILT:

TYPE C.

* LIFINE \mathcal{E} ON ψ ILTVN

TYPE E.

* ÆLE ψ INE \odot ON ψ ILT
(Plate VI. No. 14.)

TYPE F.

* ÆLE ψ INE ON ψ IETE $\cdot\cdot$

* ÆLE ψ I \cdot N \cdot E ON ψ ILT

* AL ψ OLD ON ψ ILTVNE

* AL ψ OLD ON ψ ILTVN

* \mathcal{E} VREIL ON ψ ILTVNE

* \mathcal{E} VREIL ON ψ ILT

TYPE G.

* AL ψ OLD ON ψ ILTV

* AL ψ OLD ON ψ ILTVNE

* AL ψ OD \cdot ON ψ ILT:

* HÆRRED ON ψ ILTVN \mathcal{D}

* HÆRRD: ON ψ ILTVN $\cdot\cdot$

* ψ VREIL ON ψ ILTVNE

British Museum.

TYPE H.

Chancton Find.

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| | * ÆLEÞINE ON ÞILT |
| | * ÆLFÞINE ON ÞILT |
| | * ELFÞINE ON ÞILTVNEIIL |
| | * ALFÞOLD ON ÞILTVNE |
| | * ALFÞOLD ON ÞILT |
| | * EADÞINE ON ÞILTVNEN |
| | * HÆRRED. ON ÞILTVNE |
| | * HÆRRED ON ÞILTV |
| | * HÆRRED: ON ÞILTVN: |
| | * SÆÞINE: ON ÞILTVNE |
| | * SÆÞINE ON ÞILT |
| | * SÞETRIC ON ÞILT |
| | * SÞETRIC ON ÞILTV |
| * ÞVREIL: ON ÞILTVNE | * ÞVREIL ON ÞILTVNE |
| | * ÞVREIL ON ÞIL |

TYPE I.

- * ALFÞOLD ON ÞILTV
- * EENTÞINE ON ÞIL
- * KENTÞINE ON ÞIL
- * ÞINVS ON ÞILTVN
- * ÞINVS ON ÞILTVNE

ÞINLEASTER.

(Winchester.)

TYPE A.

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| * LEOFSTAN ON ÞI | * EADMÆR ON ÞINE: |
| | * LIFINLE ON ÞINLE |

TYPE A, *var. c.*

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|
| | * ÆLFÞINE ON ÞI: |
| | * ANDERBODA ON Þ |
| | * ANDERBODE ON ÞI |
| | * EASTMÆR ON ÞIN |
| | * LEOFÞOLD ON ÞIN |
| | * LEOFÞOLE ON ÞN |
| | * LIFING ON ÞINE |
| | * LIFNE ON ÞINLES |
| | * LIFNE ON ÞINLE |
| | * SPRACELINE ON Þ |
| | * SPRACLELIN ON ÞIN |
| | * ω PRAKELNL ON ÞIN |
| * SPRACALNG ON ÞI | * SPRACALNG ON ÞI |

British Museum.

- * ÆSTAN ON VIN :
- * BRVN ON VIN
- * EDVIE ON VIN
- * ELFSTAN ON VIN
- * GODVINE O VIN
- * LEOFVINE ON VIN

* LIFINE ON VINEE

* ELVINE : ON VIN :

* BRAND ON VINEESTR

* LIOFINE ON VINCEST

TYPE B.

Chancton Find.

TYPE C.

TYPE D.

TYPE E.

- * ÆLVINE ON VINCE :
- * ÆSTANN LOE ON VI
- * ÆSTAN ON VIN :
- * ESTAN ON VINCEST

- * GODVINE ON VIN
- * LEOFVINE ON VIN
- * LIOFINE ON VINCEST
- * LIFINE ON VINCES :
- * LOE ON VINCEST
- * LOE ON VINCE ∞ T :
- * VIDI..... ON VINCEST :
- * VYNSTAN ON VINCEST ..

TYPE F.

- * ÆLVINE ON VINCE ∞
- * ÆLVINE ON VINCES :
- * ÆLVINE ON VINCES
- * ÆSTAN ON VINCESTI
- * Æ ∞ TAN ON VINCE ∞ T
- * ÆSTAN ON VINCEST
- * ÆÐESTAN ON VINCES
- * BRIHTMÆR ON VINCE
- * BRIHTMÆR ON VIN
- * ER·TAN ON VI·NEEI
- * ERTAN ON VI·NEES
- * GODMAN ON VIN·I :
- * GODMAN ON VINCE ∞
- * GODMAN ON VI
- * GODMANN ON VIN·EX·
- * GODMANN ON VINCE

British Museum.

Chancton Find.

- * GODMÆAN ON ÞNE
- * GODÞINE ON ÞINE
- * GODÞINE ON ÞINCY
- * GODÞINEÞIDIA OE ÞINE
- * GODÞINEÞIDIA ON ÞIN
- * GODÞIDIA O ÞINI
- * GODÞI·D·I·A O· ÞINI
- * G·ODÞIDIA O ÞIN·II.
- * LADMÆR ON ÞINEE:
- * LADMÆR ON ÞINE
- * LIINE ON ÞINEE ∞T:
- * LIFINE ON ÞINEEST
- * LIFIND ON ÞINEE∞
- * LIFIND ON ÞINEE ∞T
- * ÞIDA ON ÞINEESI:
- * ÞIDIA ON ÞINEESTI

TYPE F, *var. a.*

GARVL...ON ÞIN....E:
(Plate V. No. 5)

TYPE G.

- * ÆLFÞINE ON ÞINDE ∞T
- * ÆLFÞINE ON ÞIND∞
- * ÆLFÞINE ON ÞINEE
- * ÆLFÞINE ON ÞINEE∞
- * ANDERBODA ON ÞIN
- * ANDERBODE ON ÞINEE:
- * ANDERBODE ON ÞINE
- * BRIHTMÆR ON ÞINEE
- * GODÞINE ON ÞINEE∞
- * GODÞINE ON ÞINEE
- * GODÞINE: ON ÞINE
- * GOLDÞINE ON ÞINEELE
- * LEOFÞOLD. ON ÞINEE
- * LEOFÞOLD. ON ÞINE
- * LEOÞOLD ON ÞINEE
- * LIOFÞOLD ON ÞINEE∞
- * LIOFÞOLD ON ÞINEE∞T
- * LIOFÞOLD ON ÞINEE
- * ∞PRALLING ON ÞINEE:
- * ∞PRAKELINE ON ÞINEE:
- * ∞PRAELING ON ÞINEE:

TYPE H.

- * ÆLFÞINE ON ÞINCES
- * ÆLFÞINE ON ÞINCE

British Museum.

* ANDERBODA ON VINEE

Chancton Find.

* ÆLFVINE ON VINES:
 * ÆNTAN ON VINCES:
 * EÐESTAN ON VNCES
 * ANDERBOD ON VIN

* ANDERBODA: ON VI:
 * ANDERODA· ON VINC
 * BRIHTMÆR· ON VINC
 * BRIHMEHR: ON VINCES
 * GODVINE ON VINGES
 * GODVINE ON VINE:
 * GODVINE ON VINE
 (Retrograde)
 * GODVINE ON V:INE:
 * GODVINE: ON VINE:·
 * LIFINC ON VINCEST
 * LIFINE ONN VINEE
 * SPRÆELING ON VINC

TYPE I.

* ÆLFVINE ON VIN
 * ÆLFVINE ON VN
 * ÆLFVINE ON VINE
 * ANDERBODA ON VIN
 * ANDERBODE ON.
 * ANDERBODE ON V
 * ANDRBODE ON V.
 * ANDERBODE ON VI
 * LEOFPOLD ON VDI
 * LEOFPOLD ON VEN
 * LEOFPOLD ON VI
 * LEOFPOLLD ON VIN
 * LEOFPOLD ON VINE:
 * LFINE ON VINEE
 * LIFINE ON VINEE:
 * LIFINE ON VINVI
 * SPRÆELING ON:
 * SPRÆELINE ON V
 * SPRÆELING ON VI
 * SPRÆELING ON VIN

* ÆLFVINE ON VINE

* LEOFPOLD ON VEN
 * LEOFPOLLD ON VIN
 * LEOFPOLD ON VINE:
 * LIFINE ON VINEE:

TYPE L.

* SPEARTING ON VI

UNCERTAIN MINTS.

British Museum.

- * ELEIPRENPHIO
- * ESTAN ON RIN
- * EE ON LÆȳOR · I ·
- * ECI ON EIOED
- * LCOE NO : EI ON E
- * NORLER ON LD
- * VEDATEL ON B
- * ȳIDRED ON NTE :
- * ȳVLLAR O DYR :

TYPE B.

Chancton Find.

TYPE E.

- * NLINHNOĠNFHIII ·
- * LEOFNON

TYPE F.

- * ÆELȳINE ONN TIME :
- * ÆELȳINE ONN TIMM
- * ĠODȳINEĠĠOON

TYPE G.

- * ÆELEREARD ON EV
- * ƿVMERLIVE ON ȳIODFO

TYPE H.

- * EADȳEARD O IENE

- * EADȳEARD O IENE
- * EADȳEARD O IENENE :
- * EILNOÐ ON EINE
- * LEOFSTAN ON BIG ·

TYPE I.

- * RVLĠNR ON LNI

BARCLAY V: HEAD.

VIII.

ON CERTAIN SILVER COINS OF HENRY VI.,
WHICH FORM A CONNECTING LINK WITH
THE FIRST MINTAGE OF EDWARD IV.

BETWEEN Michaelmas, 1459, and Michaelmas, 1460, there was issued silver coin from the mint of Henry VI. to the amount of 3,103 lbs. 2 oz. ; and, as far as we know, it was the last money struck for him before his dethronement. Amongst the many coins of that day now in our possession, I consider it may be shown with accuracy which of them belong to this particular issue.

In a recent communication of mine to the Society, the argument went some way to establish which of our common HENRICVS groats must be Henry VI.'s early money ; in this, which I now propound for its consideration, an attempt will be made to prove, without risk of gainsaying, which was most certainly his latest,—I say without risk of gainsaying, for the coins have only to be permitted to speak for themselves, and the conclusion you will arrive at can hardly fail to be the same as mine.

Among the groats of Edward IV., struck before he reduced the pennyweight from fifteen grains to twelve (1464), are some like that which is thus described in the "Silver Coins of England," page 112. London mint:—

“M.M. cross, dot on each side of the crown, and in two quarters of the reverse, lis on neck.”¹ This coin is to be found in the Museum collection, as we might expect; another, I am happy to say, finds a place in mine; and, though far from being common, others probably are to be met with.² Several varieties of it, which were not noted by Mr. Hawkins at the time his useful book was published, are also in my possession; but the coin he mentions will suffice, as a good type of the series, to form the end link of a chain connecting the money of Edward with that of his predecessor.

Now, if we discover among the *HERRICVS* pieces of the London mint of that period some of like workmanship with this coin of Edward's, retaining mint-marks identical in minute particulars, need we look further for evidence to justify the numismatist in attributing such to Henry VI. alone? And considering their very close resemblance to the coins of the subsequent reign, are they not, or at least some of them, in all probability the issue of his thirty-seventh year, of which the mint accounts preserve the record?

I will now submit for the consideration of the Society the list of the coins in question, as far as I could note them.


¹ It is worthy of notice that the “dot on each side of the crown” is found on one of the two known specimens of Edward IV.'s first gold coinage. Mr. Evans, the fortunate possessor of these rarities, has kindly called my attention to this fact. See *Num. Chron.*, vol. xix. p. 8.

² At Colonel Durrant's sale, lots 307, 308, and 314, consisted of single coins of Edward IV.'s heavy money, marked as described above. In the catalogue they are said to have come from the Tyssen sale.

LIST OF GROATS OF HENRY VI. STRUCK AT LONDON, AND CONNECTED BY THEIR MARKS WITH THE FIRST COINAGE OF EDWARD IV.

No.	Initial Cross.	Obverse. Other Marks.	Initial Cross.	Reverse. Other Marks.	Remarks.
1	+	Pine cone after hENRIC, DL, and GR ^A , ∴ after REX.	+	Cone before LONDON. ∴ after DOR.	Lord Ravensworth. Lindsay, 25. Lindsay's 26 has a leaf on the breast. One mentioned by Hawkins, p. 109, has ∴ after GR ^A , and ∴ at each side of neck.
2	+	Reads TGL.	+	∴ after LONDON.	Mr. Sainthill of Cork.
3	×	Words of legend are divided by x ∴ dot at each side of crown.	None.	∴ in 1st and 4th quarter; <i>outside</i> , not among, the pellets.	Numbers 1 and 2 belong to an earlier series, but having affinity with the coins which follow, they may stand in the list. No. 3 is a groat in the British Museum. There is also a half groat, with the pellet on reverse "trefoil-wise," as in early Henries.
4	+	hENRIC DI GR ^A × REX ∴ TGL × ~ FRTD. ∴ at sides of neck. Leaf on breast. The two last letters in FRTD form a monogram.	None.	TDIVTOR·GM ×	
5	+	Legend as No. 4. ∴ at each side of neck. ∴ at each side of crown.	None.	LOR × DOR.	

LIST OF GROATS—(continued).

No.	Initial Cross.	Obverse. Other Marks.	Initial Cross.	Reverse. Other Marks.	Remarks.
6	+	Legend as No. 5. Marks as above.	None.	Legend has words divided by × LOR × DOR.	
7	+	HERRIC' DIGET × BEX ∴ KDEL ★ ~ FRDQ. Other marks as 5 and 6.	None.	POSVI × &c. DIVITORS × • in 1st and 4th quarters. LOR × DOR.	Hawkins, p. 109, mentions a groat which retains the ∴ at each side of neck, and has a leaf on the breast like No. 8, which is a coin of Mr. Longstaffe's.
8	+	HERRIC × &c.; appearance of a leaf on breast Q	None.	POSVI × &c. • removed to 2nd and 3rd quarters.	
9	+	HERRIC × DI × &c. KDEL, instead of crown. • at 'each side of crown. Q leaf on breast.	None.	— — —	Query—if the cusp in base is fleured?
10	+	KDEL changed to KDLI, as in 9. Q leaf removed from breast to neck. Cusp in base fleured.	None.	DIVITORS × LOR DOR †; • in first quarter only.	Mr. Longstaffe's coin. In a private letter he calls my attention to the peculiar shape of the M in many of these coins. The two outer limbs of the letter are gathered or drawn in towards the base of the central line 

11	+	Legend as usual. Q leaf on breast. • on each side crown. Cusp in base fleured.	None.	• in 1st and 4th quarters, or, in 2nd and 3rd quarters.	No. 11 is in British Museum.
12	+	hENRRIQ • DI GRÆ, &c. • on each side of crown. Cusp in base fleured.	None.	• in 3rd quarter.	The poor condition of No. 12 makes it untrustworthy as an example.
13	+	hENRRIQ' DI GRÆ REX TIOGLI FRAND ✱ • at each side of crown. X on king's neck. Cusp in base fleured.	None.	• in 1st and 4th quarter.	In No. 13 should be noticed the disappearance of the sign for "et" in the legend, and its being tacked on at the end; in No. 14 it is nowhere.
14	+	Same legend as 13, but the mullet is pierced, ✱ • at each side of crown. X on king's neck. Cusp in base fleured.	None.	• in 1st and 4th quarter.	
15	+	Same legend as 14. • at each side of neck. X on king's neck.	None.	Pierced mullet after POSVI ✱ • in 2nd and 3rd quarters.	
16	+	hENRRIQ ✱ DI GRÆ, &c. • at each side of neck. X on king's neck.	None.	Like No. 15.	The mullet on the obverse is changed in place.

LIST OF GROATS—(continued).

No.	Initial Cross.	Obverse. Other Marks.	Initial Cross.	Reverse. Other Marks.	Remarks.
17	+	Legend as No. 16. • at each side of neck. X on king's neck. Cusp in base fleured.	None.	POSVI DÆVΩ, &c.	The pierced mullet and the dots in quarters disappear.
18	+	Legend, ANGLI FRANC, as its companions. • at each side of crown. Cusp in base fleured.	None.	• in 1st and 4th quarters.	
19	+	HENRIC ◊ DI GRÆ REX ANGL x FRANC. • on each side of crown. X on king's neck. Cusp in base fleured.	None.	POSVI ★ DÆVΩ. • in 2nd and 3rd quarters.	Hawkins, pl. xxv. 329. Query as to its reading ANGLI. Another similar to this, but without pierced mullet after POSVI, is named in Hawkins, p. 109.
20	+	HENRIC ◊ DI GRÆ REX ANGLI FRANC. • at each side of crown. Cusp in base fleured. ψ on king's neck.	None.	— —	The C in FRANC is confused, like a D struck over a C.
21	+	HENRIC ◊ DI GRÆ, &c. • at each side of crown. ψ on king's neck. Cusp in base fleured.	+	• in 2nd and 3rd quarters.	HENRY VI. deposed.

22	+	<p>EDWTRD' DI × GRV REX TRL × S × FRV. • at each side of crown. ψ on king's neck.</p>	+	<p>• in 2nd and 3rd quarters. TDIVTOR ×</p>	<p>EDWARD IV. began to reign March 4, 1461.</p>
23	+	<p>EDWTRD × DI × GRV REX TRL × S × FRV • on each side of crown. ψ on king's neck.</p>	×	<p>• in 2nd and 3rd quarters. TDIVTOR ×</p>	<p>23. Haswell. I give this on Mr. Longstaffe's information. He says there is a wedge-like object above the little initial cross of reverse legend. It certainly does not appear on No. 22.</p>
24	+	<p>EDWTRD × &c. ψ placed on breast instead of neck.</p>	! ×	<p>TDIVTOR ×</p>	
25	+	<p>Legend as No. 22 × • on each side of crown. ψ on king's neck. Cusp in base fleured.</p>	ψ	<p>TDIVTOR × • in 2nd and 3rd quarters.</p>	<p>No. 25 has the A in FRV made with four punch marks A</p>
26	+ or †	<p>Legend as No. 25, • on each side of crown. ψ on king's neck. Cusp in base fleured.</p>	⊗?	<p>DENV × TDIVTOR ×</p>	

The coins in this list belong to me, unless it is otherwise stated. The order in which they are placed, as far as it concerns two or three of them, perhaps might have been different; but on the whole the sequence seems well preserved, with the links of connection evident. It may be here observed that I have usually set down only the mint-marks which are present on a coin; in cases when it was wished that attention be drawn to the absence of a mark, that is done in the side note. This method seems to me less confusing than that which is sometimes adopted; and I trust sufficient care has been taken to assure any reader of this paper, who may think the list worth studying, that marks unrecorded are not to be found in the coin described, so that from their absence he may safely draw his own conclusions. One exception has been made to this rule in the case of the initial cross of the reverse legend. Its constant absence on this series of the *HERICVS* groats constitutes a feature pervading the whole, as important, for the purpose of distinguishing them, as the constant presence of the dots on each side of the crown; or those others which, with some variations, are to be detected commonly among the pellets of the quarters. It must not be inferred that the coins of this class are of necessity limited to the larger pieces, because groats only have been registered; some half-groats and pennies might have been added to it, in small numbers; but the object I have in view will be met by being allowed to present to coin collectors a catalogue of one easily marked type of the sixth Henry's money, which is far from being the commonest.

I believe no one hitherto has attempted to form a catalogue of this variety of his coins; but the resemblance

existing between them and the earliest of Edward IV. was noticed some years ago, as far as it affects one particular coin.

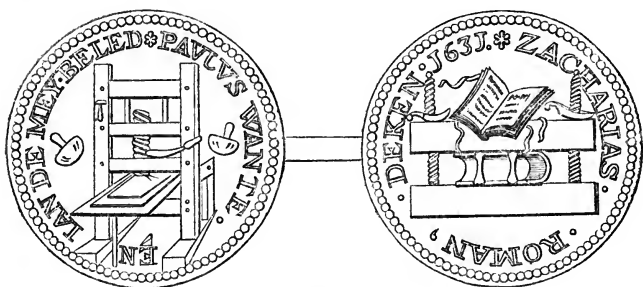
In the "Olla Podrida," vol. ii., p. 181, Mr. Sainthill, with his usual discernment, says, "Quite in contrast with these is a groat published by Mr. Hawkins in the 'Silver Coins of England,' plate 25, No. 329. It has not a mint-mark, or any of the ornaments specified in the preceding coins, on its reverse; which brings its appearance on that side so near to those of Edward IV., that I think it very probable that it was one of the latest of the heavy or 60 grain groats coined by Henry VI., which would be about A.D. 1460."

I am myself disposed to extend Mr. Sainthill's remark to some of the pieces enumerated in Mr. Hawkins's book, one of which is figured in the same plate as the groat. (No. 333).

The catalogue thus published for the first time does not, therefore, pretend to be complete; but it includes examples enough to show the existence of a series, and I trust it may be the beginning of a real attempt to group the whole of this extensive family of ancient money; for by throwing it into well-defined groups shall we be able most likely in the course of time to assign them their proper places. My present essay amounts, however, to this. Just as I am tempted to believe we may use the Calais mint of this period—its history not less than its coins—to detach certain London groats of a Henry, and attribute them, without much hesitation, to Henry VI., so now I confidently indicate how the heavy coinage of King Edward IV. befriends us, as we separate others also from the heap, and give them to the last issue of Henry's reign. It remains to be seen how many varieties yet

stand untouched. Opinions I myself have formed, or am forming, may be modified by an examination of a large hoard of these coins recently found at Stamford; and it is prudent to confine one's present expression of them within limits. Still, good will come, I feel sure, from bringing this question before the Society, reduced even to these two points; for by attacking the numerous pieces of that long reign, at its beginning and end—like engineers tunnelling on either side of a mountain chain, with the expectation of meeting midway—we may reasonably calculate on finding ourselves sooner or later in possession of a road through the perplexing obstacles hitherto presented by the mintages of this portion of the fifteenth century.

ASSHETON POWNALL.



IX.

NUMISMATA TYPOGRAPHICA; OR, THE
MEDALLIC HISTORY OF PRINTING.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, March 21, 1867.]

THE art of coining, or printing on metal, may not inaptly be called the elder sister of typography, or the art of printing on paper; indeed, the first idea of movable types was foreshadowed in the metal punch of the moneyer. It is, therefore, interesting to find the typographer calling to his aid the medallist, in order to secure a more lasting memorial of his art than he could expect from his own ink and paper.

The trays now before the Society contain a selected portion of a collection of medals, struck during the last three centuries in various parts of Europe, and all having reference to printers or the art of printing. At present I am able to reckon only 82 medals as strictly belonging to this series. Of these, some, struck by the most celebrated medallists of their age, are noted for great beauty of execution, and, having been preserved in many cabinets, are comparatively easy of acquisition. On the other hand, those struck for a temporary purpose, and with no

artistic beauty to recommend them, perished with the occasion which called them forth, and have thus become excessively rare. This is especially the case with a very interesting class, the medals and jetons of the trade guilds, which were extensively used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even at the present time have not been entirely discontinued.

The earliest medal on my list was struck in 1545 to honour the learned printer of Nuremberg, Johannes Petreijus; its rarity is extreme. The next is in memory of George Baumann, the celebrated printer of Breslau, who, when, in 1601, he was chosen master of his trade guild, commemorated the event by striking a medal in gold, one of which he presented to each of his fellow members, who probably melted them, as no specimen seems to have been handed down to the present age. An engraving of it may be seen in Gessner's *Buchdrucker-kunst*. To this class belongs also a very rare oval piece, struck by order of the University of Leyden in honour of their celebrated printer, Abraham Elzevier.

In No. 24 before you we have a fine bust of the well-known printer, Frobenius, the bosom friend of Erasmus, who, in the prevailing license of the press of his age, was able on his death-bed to thank God that never from his presses had issued a single line injurious to mankind or morality. Here also we must notice the issue of a medal in 1804 at Breslau, No. 38, which celebrates the 300th anniversary of the printing office established by the George Baumann already noticed. This class—personal medals—numbering fourteen, closes with the fine portrait of Firmin Didot (No. 4), the present well-known printer of Paris.

The next class consists of medals struck by printers'

guilds, and "jetons de presence," or medals given to the guild members as evidence of attendance at special meetings. These are very rare. Three interesting jetons of the Paris Guild, sixteenth century, bearing St. John on the obverse, and the cup of poison offered to him on the reverse, were found in the Seine a few years ago, and are now preserved in the Cluny Museum.

There is also a jeton of the Lille Guild of printers, seventeenth century. Nos. 20, 22, and 23 are guild medals of the seventeenth century struck at Amsterdam, and No. 21 at Middleburg, an engraving of which is at the head of this article. These, by their boldness of execution and their metal, silver, recall vividly the important part in history played by the trade guilds of the past. Nos. 9 and 41 are civic medals of Haarlem, and were presented to each Counsellor on his entering the Chamber; they celebrate that city as the birthplace of printing. The number in this class is thirteen.

Jubilee medals form the third and last class. In the early part of the seventeenth century the rival claims of the Hollanders on one side, and the Germans on the other, as the inventors of printing, gave rise to much angry discussion throughout Europe. Both fixed the year 1440 as the date of the original discovery, and when the third centenary arrived in 1740, the two countries vied with each other in their celebrations to the honour of their respective heroes. To glorify Holland and their "beloved" Coster, the Dutch published in that year six silver medals, designed and engraved by their best artists. Five of them are before you. The Germans, with their greater extent of territory, struck in various towns thirteen medals, chiefly bronze, to celebrate the invention of printing by Gutenberg at Mayence. Eleven of them are

here. In 1823 four others were issued in Holland during the Typographical Festival then held, and again a fine bronze at Haarlem in 1856. In Germany, during the years 1837 and 1840, at least twenty-three medals (and probably many more) were struck in honour of Gutenberg. Of these, the only one to which I will ask your particular attention is No. 3. It was published at Mayence in 1837, designed by the great sculptor Thorwaldsen, and engraved under his own supervision at Rome by Lorentz.

Italy, who may well be proud of her muster-roll of famous printers, has, so far as I can learn, paid no medallic honours to them, not even to the famous Aldus Manutius.¹

England has not been the birthplace of many medals, and it is not, therefore, a matter for wonder that no memorial of that kind has been struck to commemorate her great Prototypographer, William Caxton. Among the tradesmen's tokens of the seventeenth century I have not been able to trace a single specimen issued by a printer, but one or two occur among the similar tokens of the end of the eighteenth century.

It is my intention shortly to print an illustrated monograph on printers' medals, and, with the hope of drawing attention to the subject, and of obtaining information which might otherwise escape me, I have ventured to lay these few remarks before the Society.

WILLIAM BLADES.

¹ Since writing the above, I have obtained a medal of Bononi, the printer of Parma.

X.

EARLY ARMENIAN COINS.

A CASUAL notice of some Armenian coins, which a newly-awakened interest in the subject induced me to supplement, in anomalous juxtaposition with, and in material curtailment of, the proper design of a paper on "Sassanian Gems,"¹ has been received with so much encouragement by the Editors of the Numismatic Chronicle, that I have been induced to extend my examination of this series of coins. And as, on this occasion, I have neither been limited in regard to illustrations, nor confined in respect to space, I trust I may be able to do more justice to this comparatively undeveloped branch of Oriental research.

Our western interest in Armenia dates from the earliest dawn of tradition, in its association with the Scriptural record of the temporary resting-place of the survivors of the Noachian Deluge; and though her mountain ranges were soon deserted by the mass of her growing population for more fruitful plains, she necessarily secured, in her close proximity to the advancing civilization of the re-peopled world, a prominent share in the intellectual and material progress of the nationalities that grew up around her, while her own comparative isolation preserved for

¹ Num. Chron., N.S., vi. 241.

her, through many ages, so large a measure of the archaic element she had inherited as the second nidus of the human race.

Though destined to occupy no high position among the dominant races of antiquity, which the relative poverty of the country would alone have prohibited, she proved occasionally an unexpectedly powerful neighbour, dangerous to assail, difficult to subdue, and able to exert an effective interference in the general political system of Asia ; but in later times, as growing populations were found to form the test of national power, appearing in the lower grade of a mere strategic centre, upon whose southern radii so many successive combatants held their battle-fields, and into whose strife she was so often drawn, either as a sanguine partisan, or too frequently as the inoffensive victim of the conqueror. The physical configuration of the country, while limiting the prolific growth of its inhabitants, secured for them comparative freedom from foreign intrusion ; so that whatever primitive civilization they achieved for themselves, or acquired from the more prosperous nationalities to the southward, was narrowed within prescribed limits, and retained, as a consequence, much of the fixity and immutability for which it has since been famed.

A larger field of inquiry—as to whence the Armenians derived their special national characteristics—has lately been opened out by the discovery of the very early and complete development of the cognate Aryan race in Khárisim, indicating a high state of intellectual and social advancement, regarding which history has hitherto been silent, the evidence of which was extracted from the local annals, and preserved by a native of the soil, in comparatively modern times, in the then conventional Arabic

tongue, but regarding whose good faith or means of accurate information there need be no question.² If the

² We are indebted to Sir H. Rawlinson for this information, the details of which are embodied in a late article of his on "Central Asia," in the October (1866) number of the *Quarterly Review*. The particulars in question are stated to have been obtained from a chronological work entitled "Athar-el-Bakíeh," composed by the celebrated Abu Rihan, a native of the city of Birun, in Kharism, who flourished towards the end of the tenth and early part of the eleventh centuries. A.D. Abu Rihan enlarges upon the antiquity, general merits, and exactness of the Kharismian astronomy, the local *origination* of both the solar and lunar zodiacs; and goes on to add the most important item, perhaps, we gain from all his revelations, that there existed, in Kharism, a serial system of dating, commencing from 980 years anterior to the official epoch of the Seleucidæ (312—311 B.C.) = 1304 B.C. It is seldom that a given arithmetical problem obtains such definite results as to establish, beyond its own mission, so distinct an identity between scattered and severed branches of one and the same section of the human family; but it is more than a curious coincidence to associate with this independent method of reckoning the fact that the Oriental world has been wearying itself, for a long time past, to explain whence, how, and why, a fixed sacrificial date, variously calculated by modern astronomers, and possibly, but imperfectly, sustained in the transmuted versions of the old texts, should have developed so close an identity, in its latest and most matured average, with the original numbers of 1304 B.C.; but such would seem to be the result of the independent tests applied to the Jyotisha observation of the Colures, still in use in the Vedic rituals of India under the manipulation of the later Brahmanical exponents of the ancient creed. As a large number of the more advanced Indianists have already recognised the banks of the Oxus as the ancient *nidus* of the Aryan races, they will not fail to welcome this new proof of their own sagacity, combined as it is with other interesting evidences collected by Sir H. Rawlinson, embracing his own speculations on ethnic migrations, the vague impressions of the Greeks regarding the "early empire in Central Asia," or the more definite support of Justin's heretofore distrusted "thousand cities of Bactria."

See also Num. Chron., N.S., iv. pp. 46, 126; Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, viii.; Archdeacon Pratt, Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1862, p. 49; Max. Müller, Sanskrit Literature (1859),

statements adduced on this head will stand the test of criticism, they establish for us, beyond any subsidiary bearing upon Armenia, the site of the ancient home from whence the diverse migrations of our kindred races issued forth to occupy so many sections of the earth's surface.

There is nothing inconsistent in the deduction of full and free intercommunication between Armenia and the Oxus from the earliest dawn of time, especially as that river clearly emptied itself into the Caspian.³ The Jihun, one of the rivers of Eden,⁴ is alike recognised by Scriptural and profane writers, while the Ararat of Genesis appears in the Cuneiform inscriptions, and its name is preserved amid the popular legends the Greeks collected from Chaldean sources. The Western spread of Aryan institutions possibly owed something to the enterprise of the Armenians, who then, as now, may be supposed to have been adventurous traders, even if traditional story does not justly give them a higher place as primitive settlers on the further shores of the Mediterranean after the mythical expedition of Hercules to Spain, in absolute priority to the vaunted Phœnician expansion in that direction.⁵

p. 521; Text of Rig. Veda, vol. iv., *preface*, p. lxxiv.; Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Dr. Whitney, vol. i. n.s., p. 316; Sir Edward Colebrooke, "Note on the preceding article," p. 332.

³ Strabo, ii. c. i. 15, xi. c. vi. 1, c. vii. 3, c. xi. 5; Pliny, vi. 18, 19; Arrian, iii. c. 29, vii. c. 16; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, 144; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 564; Journal R. Geographical Society, xix. (1849) p. lxiv.; and Sir R. Murchison's *Address*, 1867, p. 38.

⁴ Genesis ii. 13; Anquetil du Perron (*Vah Rood*), ii. p. 393; Burnouf, *Yaçna*, p. clxxxiv.; Vishnu Purāna (variously *Vanju*, *Vanchu*, *Vankshu*, and *Chakshu*), vol. ii. pp. 112, 120; Renan, *Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques* (Paris, 1850), pp. 450, 452.

⁵ § 18. Sed postquam in Hispaniâ Hercules, sicut Afri putant, interiit, exercitus ejus compositus ex gentibus variis, amisso

With all these external testimonies to Armenia's advance in concert with, or independent of, the world around her, we are met by most discouraging obstacles when we come to examine any of the extant internal records of her early history. Her ancient Cuneiform Monuments at Van, which can scarcely date later than the Semiramis, who is so identified with the country's home associations, still remain simply unintelligible,—undecipherable they are not, as names and words have, with certain reservations, been accepted by all Assyrian scholars,⁶ who, while they can read unhesitatingly the Semitic inscriptions of the Nineveh kings, confess themselves foiled in their attempts to explain the epigraphy of the more northerly sites, even while admitting that the system of writing, pure and simple, is nearly identical with the now fully legible Cuneiform of Upper Mesopotamia. While the ancient monuments of the land are obscured for the present by linguistic difficulties,⁷ the historical annals, in

duce, ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persæ, et Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari locos occupavère. . . . Medis autem, et Armeniis accessère Libyes. Nam hi propiùs mare Africam agitabant: (Getuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus :) hique maturè oppida habuère. Nam, freto divisi ab Hispaniâ, mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paulatim Libyes corrupère, barbarâ linguâ Mauros pro Medis appellantes. . . . § 19. Postea Phœnices, alii multitudinis domi minuendæ gratiâ, pars imperii cupidine sollicitatâ plebe, et aliis novarum rerum avidis, &c.—Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum*.

⁶ Hincks, *Journal Royal As. Soc.* ix. 387; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 402; Sir H. Rawlinson, *J.R.A.S.* xii. 475; MM. Oppert et Mènant, *Journal Asiatique* (1864), p. 173.

⁷ The best summary account of the nature and peculiarities of the Armenian language to be met with, is furnished by M. Ed. Dulaurier:—

“ La langue arménienne possède une foule d'autres mots qui

their proper sense, are still more defective. As history, if cultivated at all, in the days when Armenia had not achieved for herself a permanent dynastic nationality, may either have been suppressed by succeeding rulers, or degraded from natural causes, among a people who only commenced a national literature with their conversion to Christianity :⁸ certain it is, that their prominent historian, Moses of Khorene, had to rely, for the ancient chronicles of the kingdom, upon gleanings from foreign though proximate sources, accumulated long after their contemporary date by an earlier compiler from Chaldean archives, Mar Apas Gardina,⁹ who, however, depended for his materials upon Greek translations from the original records.¹⁰

I do not propose to enter into the early history of Armenia in any detail, but it may be useful to quote the succession of kings preserved by Moses of Khorene, and it will be interesting to see how far these are confirmed

existent aussi en persan et qu'elle a puisés à un fonds commun, le zend et le pehlvi. Mais il y a entre les deux idiomes cette différence que l'arménien, parlé par les rudes populations d'un pays de montagnes, est demeuré invariable et a maintenu la forme archaïque, tandis que le persan, sous l'influence d'une civilisation raffinée, l'a assouplie et altérée. L'arménien est un des plus rapprochés du tronc. Il présente une foule d'analogies avec le sanskrit, qui donneraient lieu à un travail de comparaison d'un haut intérêt. Je signalerai, entre autres, l'application toute particulière qu'il a faite de la théorie du *gouna*, et la reproduction constante qu'il offre de la loi du balancement du corps des mots avec leur terminaison."—Journal Asiatique (1852), p. 39.

See, also, Moses of Khorene, French edit., preface, p. v.; and M. Evariste Prud'homme, Journal Asiatique (1864), p. 103.

⁸ M. Evariste Prud'homme, Journal Asiatique (1864), p. 104.

⁹ Mar Apas Gardina's investigations were conducted at the instance, and under the patronage, of the first Arsacidan king of Armenia, *Val Arsaces* (B.C. 149—127). The writings of Moses of Khorene date in the fifth century A.D.

¹⁰ St. Martin Arménie, i. p. 4; Moses of Khorene, French edit., i. pp. viii. 29, 41, 43.

by the Cuneiform inscriptions, an abstract of all passages from which relating to Armenia will be found below.

LIST OF KINGS FROM MOSES OF KHORENE.

Armenians.	Armenians.	Contemporary Chal- deans.
1. Haïg.	10. Anouchavan.	Sosares.
2. Arménag.	11. Bared.	Xerxes.
3. Aramaïs.	12. Arpag.	Galeus.
4. Amassia.	13. Zavan.	Armamitres.
5. Kéghan.	14. Parnas (Josué).	Belochus.
6. Harma.	15. Sour.	Altadas
7. Aram.	16. Havanag.	Mamithus.
8. Ara, <i>Keghetsig</i> (Semiramis).	17. Vachdag.	Machaleus.
9. Ara II. <i>Gartos</i> .	18. Haïga I. ¹¹	Sphærus.
		Mamylus.
		Sparethus.
		Ascatades.
		Amynthas.
		Belochus.

Moses of Khorene, quoting Abydemus, Whiston, London, 1736, pp. 13. 51; Vaillant de Florival, Paris edition, i. pp. 27, 45, 89, 95; St. Martin, Arménie, i. pp. 407-8.

I continue the list of kings from Moses of Khorene, interpolating those added in Michel Tchamtchean's History of Armenia (Venice, 1784-5), as the names may prove useful for the purposes of identification. The dates given by the latter authority are omitted as obviously untrustworthy:—

19. Ampag I.	22. Noraïr.
20. Arnag.	23. Vesdasgar (in St. Martin, "Ves- dam" and "Gar," <i>two kings</i> .)
21. Chavarch I.	

¹¹ "Haïgag, qui, dit-on, vivait sous Bélochus, périt dans une émeute inconsidérément soulevée par lui."

- | | |
|--|---|
| 24. Kornag. | 32. Pazoug. |
| 25. Hrandi I. (Orontes) | 33. Ho |
| 26. Entzak. | 34 Housag (St. M. Ampag II.) |
| 27. Kegahag. | 35. Gaïbag (St. M. P'harhnavaz i., or Pharnabaze—P'harhnag II.) |
| 28. Horo. | 36. Sgaïorti. |
| 29. Zarmaïr (siege of Troy).
Interregnum (Chavarch II.) | |
| 30. Berdj I. | |
| 31. Arpoun (St. M. Berdj II.) | |

We now reach the period of more legitimate history, where the knowledge of the Armenian compilers may be tested by independent authorities.

ARMENIAN KINGS.¹²

- i. Barouïr, son of Sgaïorti,
No. 36 of previous list.¹³
- ii. Hratchia.
- iii. Parnouas.
- iv. Badjouïdj.
- v. Gornag.
- vi. Pavos.
- vii. Haïgag II.
- viii. E'rouant.
- ix. Dicran, *Tigranes I.*

MEDES.

- i. Varbaces (Premier roi des Mèdes).
 - ii. Mandaces.
 - iii. (Sosarmas)
 - iv. Artysias.
 - v. Déjoces.
 - vi. Phraortes.
 - vii. Ciaxares.
 - viii. Astyages.
- CYRUS.

After filling in the list of kings up to Tigranes I., Moses of Khorene continues:—

“Depuis cette époque jusqu'au regne de Vagharchag en Arménie, je n'ai rien de plus certain à te rapporter; car au milieu du conflit des bandes révoltées, on voyait guerriers contre guerriers vouloir commander à notre pays. C'est pourquoi le grand Archag étant entré facilement en Arménie, fait son frère Vagharchag roi du pays des Arméniens.”—i. 127, Latin edit., p. 75.

¹² Whiston, p. 58, Paris edition, i. 97—101; St. Martin, i. 409.

¹³ “Barouïr sous Sardanapale; Barouïr aidé puissamment par Varbace le Mède ravit le royaume de Sardanapale (Concholéros).”

St. Martin completes the series after Dicran :—

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| x. Vahakn, B.C. 520. | xiv. Armok, B.C. 394. |
| xi. Arhavan, B.C. 493. | xv. Païkam, B.C. 385. |
| xii. Nerseh, B.C. 475. | xvi. Van, B.C. 371. |
| xiii. Zareh, B.C. 440. | xvii. Vahé, B.C. 351—328. |

“Après un règne de 23 ans, il périt en combattant contre Alexandre, et la dynastie de Haïganiens fut éteinte.”

The earliest reference to Armenia, in the Cuneiform writings, is to be found in the inscriptions of the Great Sardanapalus (B.C. 885—861), amid the sculptures of the North-west Palace of Nimrud. From the tenor of the passage, as epitomised by Sir H. Rawlinson,¹⁴ the country would appear to have as yet escaped undisturbed by the Assyrian arms. But Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 861—827), in his Obelisk,¹⁵ and other inscriptions, among the events of his third year, mentions Arzaskán (*Arjaskun*, Hincks), the capital city of Arama, king of Ararat; and in the records of his ninth year, he adds, “A second time I went up to Armenia and took the city of Lunanta.”¹⁶ While in his tenth year he boasts of a much larger success: “I proceeded to the country belonging to Arama. I took the city of Arnia (*Arnin*, Hincks), which was the capital of the country, and I gave up to pillage one hundred of the dependent towns.” The operations of the eleventh year embrace the capture of “one hundred cities belonging to Arama,” and that “of the city of *Habbaril* (Apparazu), one of the chief cities belonging to Arama.” The fifteenth year is marked by a descent into the plains of Lanbuna

¹⁴ Rawlinson, J. R. A. S. (1850), xii. p. 429; also Athenæum, August 22, 1863, and May 18, 1867.

¹⁵ The obelisk in question is in the Central Assyrian Room in the British Museum. Sir H. Rawlinson's translations are to be found in the Jour. Royal As. Soc., xii. p. 431 (1850); and Dr. Hincks' version in the Dublin Magazine, October, 1853, p. 422.

¹⁶ “The name here made use of is *Hekdi* (Akkade).”

and the devastation of "the cities of Arama, king of Ararat, and all the country about the head-waters of the Euphrates." The annals of the twenty-fourth year are continued. "Afterwards I removed from the land of the Persians, and entered the territory of the Medes, going on to Ratsir (*Arajias*, Hincks), and Kharkhar . . . and I established the authority of my empire in the city of Kharkhar (modern *Holwán*, Hincks). Yanru, the son of Khaban [*Khanab*], I carried away captive." Amid the incidents of the twenty-fifth year Shalmaneser records: "Afterwards, in the city of Bahura (*Muru*, Hincks), the capital city of Aram, son of Hagus (*Ashaltsi*, Hincks), I dedicated a temple to the god Rimmon, and I built a royal palace at the same place." . . . In the twenty-seventh year: "I sent Detarasar of Ittána . . . to Armenia; he proceeded to the land of Khamána, and in the plains belonging to the city of Ambaret, he crossed the river Artseni. Asiduri (*Tsindura*, Hincks), of Armenia" was defeated, and "submitted to my authority." In the thirty-first year "Detarasar . . . continued his march to the land of Armenia, and he gave over to pillage fifty cities belonging to that territory."¹⁷

After the interval of more than a century from the date of these notices, Assyrian kings again contribute their incidental boasts of operations and asserted successes against Armenia. These are found embodied in the repeated versions of Sargon's Inscriptions, in his palace of Khorsabad (B.C. 721—704). This monarch commences with a frank admission of the independent suzerainty of

¹⁷ This is the last mention of Armenia; but Huelka of Minni (*Mannas*, Hincks) is named in the 30th year, and a reference to the province is repeated in the 31st year. Sir H. Rawlinson has several speculative geographical and ethnographical notes appended to his summary of the original text, which may be referred to with advantage.

“Ursa of Armenia.”¹⁸ He then continues, “As long as Iranzou of Van lived, he recognised my supremacy; but when his subjects placed his son Aza on the throne, Ursa the Armenian seduced the neighbouring tribes, and, on the death of Aza, Allousoun, his brother, surrendered to Ursa twenty-two strong places.” Whereupon Sargon advances into Armenia, and after describing the operations undertaken against Ursa and his allies, and enumerating the usual triumphant results, he mentions the eventual pardon of Allousoun, and the restitution of his rights. The chronicle then proceeds: “Urzana of Musasir”¹⁹ had pledged his allegiance to Ursa, as a punishment for which Sargon captures the town of Musasir, “with its treasures and its gods—H’aldia and Bagabarta,”²⁰ the loss of which

¹⁸ M. M. Jules Oppert et Joachim Ménant, *Journal Asiatique*, 1863, pp. 10—17.

¹⁹ Extant seal of this king, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1864, p. 168.

²⁰ These names are curiously suggestive. *Haldia* (Khaldia) seems to connect itself with the 𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎡 *Haddia* and 𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎡 *Hatia* of Sapor’s inscriptions at Hajiabad, as well as with the 𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎡 *Kadi* of Feroz’s coins (A. D. 458—488), the *Khuda* of the old *Khudai Namah*, the modern شاهنامه “Book of Kings,” and finally with the Persian conventional term for *God*, خدا. Aryan philologists attempt to derive the word, through the Persian, from *khúd*, “self,” and *á*, the initial letter of the verb, آمدن “to come,” while its Sanskrit origin is variously traced through *swa-datta*, “self-given,” or, with more reason, from *swadháta*, from *dhá*, “to generate” (Benfey). But the appearance of the word in the form now quoted from the Cuneiform Inscriptions may possibly suggest new identifications.

From the way in which the term is used in the Armenian Cuneiform Inscriptions, it may be supposed to stand for the divinity from whom the Royal line claimed descent, or it may perchance refer to the deified ancestor of the family, whose statue might naturally have been elevated into an object of adoration, in a land which so long retained many of the leading elements of “Manes” worship. (Strabo, xi. c. xiii. 9; Ammian

is stated to have so affected Ursa as to have led to his suicide.

After this, Argisti seems to have succeeded in ordinary

Marcell., xxiii. c. vi., sec. 4, 5, 6 ; Justin, xlii. c. iii. ; Mos. Khor. i. pp. 163, 173, 331).

The purport of the name of the second Armenian God, *Bagabarta*, is likewise a subject of legitimate speculation, in its close identity with the conventional designation of the Indian Buddha, *Bhágavata*. There is no reason why the Buddhist religion in its earlier form should not have prevailed in other parts of Asia prior to its special development under Sakya Muni, in Magadha, in the sixth century B.C. A singular piece of evidence has lately come to light, showing how early the energetic missionaries of the reformed faith had succeeded in establishing the worship in Armenia itself. We learn from the history of Darôn, by Zenob, the secretary of St. Gregory (*Histoire de Darôn, par Zénob de Klag, évêque syrien*; M. Prud'homme, *Journal Asiatique*, 1863, vol. ii. (sixth series), p. 401 ; St. Martin, i. 99 ; *Jour. As. Soc., Bengal*, 1836, p. 331), that when his superior had converted Tiridates II. of Armenia to the Christian faith, a crusade was undertaken against the various idolaters of the country; among the rest, a full account is given of an assault upon the descendants of what the French translator calls "une colonie sacerdotale nombreuse," which, some four centuries previously, had been conducted from India to Armenia under the auspices of two brothers of a royal house named Kiçané [Kṛiṣṇa] and Têmêtr [Demetrius]. In the interval the community had increased and multiplied sufficiently to find themselves in a condition to oppose a powerful and prolonged resistance. Amid the various details which casually come to the surface, it would seem that the colony in question must have originated in a *Buddhist* missionary movement. The sacerdotal character of the migration and the traces of monastic isolation so much in accord with the traditions of that creed, and so opposed to all Brahmanical notions, would alone go far to establish this inference. Added to which, the colossal statues of the idols, to which so much importance was attached, remind one of the large bronze statue of Buddha, lately discovered at Sultángunj (*Journal Asiatic Soc., Bengal*, 1864, p. 372), and now in the Birmingham Museum. The exact period of the original migration is not very distinctly defined; in one passage it is vaguely estimated at four hundred years previous to 304 A.D. (= 96 B.C.), while in another chapter it is stated to have occurred during the reign of Vagharshag (149—127 B.C.); but,

course to the throne of Armenia, and no more is heard of Sargon's expeditions to that country.

Sennacherib, in the records of the first year of his reign, claims to have received tribute from "Nebo, lord of names, chief of Ararat"²¹ (*Hararti*).

as the Armenian authors recognise nothing earlier in the authentic history of their own nationality than the elevation of their first Arsacidan king, we may fairly expand the interval so as to bring the occurrence within the surviving influence of the treaties for the propagation and protection of Buddhism and its professors, which the Indian king Asoka mentions in his Inscriptions (circa 246 B.C.), that he had concluded with Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander: treaties which, now for the first time, under the light of these early intercommunications, assume an appearance of effective reality, about which there had previously existed doubts and suspicions. We were content to acknowledge the energy and success of the Buddhist missionary efforts in Ceylon and elsewhere in the East, but we were hardly prepared to credit the expansion of the creed to the Westward to such an extent as to render treaties for the encouragement of its votaries a matter of state policy, though it is now clear that if these propagation missions were undertaken by organised communities moving in large bodies, some understanding with the authorities through whose territories they were to pass would be imperative.

It may sound strange that the Greek name of Demetrius should be carried back towards its own fatherland by a prince tinged with an Indian hue, but such is exactly the result to have been anticipated from the settlement and local intermarrying of the Bactrian successors of Alexander in the Punjab, who, in the failure of new colonists, were speedily absorbed into the general mass of the indigenous population. That these domesticated dynasties became easy converts to the various superstitions of the country may be well conceived, and there is evidence in abundance to prove the dominancy of Buddhism in those parts; while the Indo-Greeks in their own handiwork, amid the Buddhist monuments they have left behind them, disclose not only classical conception, but, in one instance, that of a figure of Buddha, now in the Lahore Museum, an unmistakable design, not only of adhering to technical Greek art, but of producing a form which should address itself to Greek worshippers, and altogether opposed to the outline of the conventional Indian Buddha, which followed the typical peculiarities of the native physique.

²¹ Fox Talbot, *Annals of the First Eight Years of his Reign*

The names of the following kings of Armenia occur in the Cuneiform Inscriptions at Van.²²

- | | | |
|------------|-------------|--------------|
| 1. Haldia. | 3. Isbúini. | 5. Argisti. |
| 2. Minua. | 4. Minua. | 6. Tiriduri. |

I need not recapitulate the casual and sometimes conflicting notices of Armenia, during the Achæmænian period, to be found in the classic authors ; but I may refer momentarily to the illustrations of the condition of that kingdom to be gathered from the Cuneiform Inscriptions. Darius Hystaspis, without specifying the name of any local leader, confesses that his own generals encountered the Armenians in five successive engagements,²³ at Zuza (in May, 519 B.C.), at Tigra (in the same month), at the fort of Uhyama (in August), at Achidu, in Assyria (in December), and at Otiara (in May, 518). While the tenor of Xerxes' Inscription at Van,²⁴ where he mentions that his father had prepared a monument, but left the writing unexecuted, would seem to imply that Darius's eventual hold upon the country was but uncertain. Xerxes, however, must

(B.C. 702—694), from an hexagonal prism from Koyunjik. *Journal R. As. Soc.*, xiv. 135—8.

²² Three of these names were, in the first instance, partially deciphered by Dr. Hincks (*Jour. R. A. S.*, ix. 417). Sir H. Rawlinson subsequently amended the readings and added three more names to the list (*Jour. R. A. S.*, xii. 475). I am indebted to Mr. Norris for the corrections in the orthography now adopted; though it must be borne in mind that these rectifications can scarcely be considered conclusive, as the enhanced knowledge of Cuneiform scholars has enabled them to detect the manifest imperfection and uncertainty of Schulz's original Plates. (*Jour. Asiatique*, third series, vol. ix. p. 277).

²³ Rawlinson, *J. R. A. S.*, x., p. xxx. col. ii., sec. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Oppert, *Journal Asiatique*, xviii. (1851), pp. 546, 551, 2, 4, 6. The dates above given are suggested by M. Oppert. The names of the places are taken from the Scythic text. Norris, *Scythic version*, *J. R. A. S.*, xix. 139, col. ii., para.'s 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

²⁴ Rawlinson, *J. R. A. S.*, x., 334; Oppert, *J. A.* xix. (1852), 118; Norris, *J. R. A. S.*, xv. 156.

clearly have been in definite possession of the land, which finally passed to Alexander the Great, in the ordinary course, on his conquest of Darius Codomanus.

We now reach the section of history more directly introductory to the period illustrated by the coins. Mithrenes, the Persian commandant of Sardis, who surrendered to Alexander, after the battle of the Granicus²⁵ (B.C. 334), was appointed, on the conqueror's entry into Babylon (B.C. 331),²⁶ Satrap of the province of Armenia. After Alexander's death, Neoptolemus²⁷ was nominated Governor, a post which he held till B.C. 321, when he was killed in the celebrated combat à l'outrance with Eumenes²⁸ in the battle where Craterus also met his death.

Shortly after this, we hear of Ardoates as the independent king of Armenia, who proved not only strong enough to hold his own kingdom, but in 315 B.C. to recover from the Macedonians, and restore to Ariarathes II., the neighbouring province of Cappadocia.²⁹

The next ruler of Armenia of whom any record has been preserved, named Orontes (in Armenian, *Hrand*), is stated to have been a descendant of Hydarnes, one of the seven Persian conspirators.³⁰ It is probable that he paid fealty to, if he was not originally nominated by, the

²⁵ Arrian, i. 18.

²⁶ Arrian, iii. 16; Quintus Curtius, v. c. i., sec. 44.

²⁷ "Phrataphernes," Justin, xiii. c. iv.; Orosius, iii.

²⁸ Diod. Sic., xviii. 31; Justin, xiii. c. 8; Plutarch, *Eumenes*, c. vii.; Cornelius Nepos, *Eumenes*, c. iv.

²⁹ Ἀριαράθης δὲ ὁ τοῦ προβεβασιλευκότος υἱὸς ἀπελπίσας κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἀποχωρεῖ μετ' ὀλίγων πρὸς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τῶν περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ καὶ Περδίκκαν τελευτησάντων, Ἀντιγόνου δὲ καὶ Σελεύκου περισπωμέναν, λαβὼν δύναμιν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀρμενίων Ἀρδοάτου τὸν μὲν τῶν Μακεδόνων στρατηγὸν Ἀμύνταν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐξέβαλε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας ταχέως τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀρχὴν ἀνεκῆσατο.—Diod. sic. xxxi. 28.

³⁰ Strabo, xi. c. 14, sec. 15, quoted hereafter.

Seleucidæ.³¹ Michel Tchamtchean, a modern Armenian historian (1784-6), interpolates an Artavasdes (with the date of B.C. 239), as administering for the Seleucidæ between this last monarch and Artaxias; but M. St. Martin, while quoting the statement, does not guarantee or confirm its accuracy.³²

EDWARD THOMAS.

(To be continued.)

³¹ The French numismatists attribute the following coin to Armenia:—

Arménie. Rois d'Arménie.

Arsames. Règne vers l'an 245 avant J. C.

Les médailles de ce roi sont:

En bronze . R^s.—F. o. Petit module . . . 40 fr.

I. Tête diadémée d'Arsame, ornée de la tiare, à droite, dans une couronne.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ . ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ. Cavalier en course, à droite, coiffé de la tiare et la main droite armée d'un javalot.

E. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ —R^s—F.o.—40 fr.

Mionnet, iv. p. 454, and Suppt. vii. (1835), p. 723. "La médaille grecque de ce roi, en bronze, qui peut être regardée comme unique, et qui sous ce rapport n'a pas été assez estimée; au lieu de 40 fr., elle peut être portée à 100 fr."

Visconti's remarks on the original publication of the coin, in 1801, are to the following effect:—

"Cependant on a été persuadé jusqu'à présent qu'aucune mention d'un Arsamès, roi d'Arménie, postérieur à Alexandre-le-Grand, n'existoit dans les anciens écrivains, et que nulle autorité directe ne pouvoit fixer avec précision l'époque où il avoit vécu. Malgré cette prévention mes recherches m'ont fait découvrir un passage de Polyen où il est parlé d'un chef Arménien nommé Arsamès qui avoit embrassé le parti d'Antiochus Hiérax dans la guerre que ce prince soutenoit contre Séleucus II., son frère (Polyen, Strateg. Liv. iv. c. 17, *Αρσάμης* = *Αρσάμης*). Je ne doute pas que cet Arsamès ne soit le même qui a fait frapper la médaille dont il s'agit: son âge est donc connu, puisqu'il a dû régner vers l'an 245 avant J. C."—Visconti, vol. ii., plate 45, fig. 1. See also Pellerin, Rois, pl. 21; and Trésor de Numismatique, Rois Grecs., p. 81, pl. xxxiv., fig. 9; V. Langlois, Num. d'Arménie, Paris, 1859. Visconti also assigns certain coins, bearing the names of Sames, Xerxes, and Mithridates, to Armenia, attributing to them a date proximate to the period now under consideration, but the variety of the types would lead to the inference that if these coins belong to Armenia at all, they must be referred to local or provincial issues.

³² St. Martin, i. 404, 409.

NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In No. 1 (January and February) of the *Revue Numismatique* for 1867 there are the following articles:—

1. "Letters to M. A. de Longpérier on Gaulish Numismatics—XXV. Coins with the Cross or Wheel," by M. F. de Saulcy.

2. "Coins of Lorraine," by M. Jules Laurent.

3. "Letter to M. de Saulcy on some inedited Coins of the Crusaders," by M. F. de Pfaffenhoffen.

4. "Chronological Variations of the Reign of Charles VIII., *à propos* of a Medal struck at Lyons."

5. "Introduction to the Study of Jetons," by M. d'Affry de la Monnoye.

In the *Chronique* is a notice by M. Véry of a Gaulish coin, some numismatic rectifications by M. A. de Longpérier, and the continuation of the list of works of the late Abbé Cavedoni, by M. J. de Witte.

In the *deuxième livraison* of the *Revue Numismatique Belge* for 1867 there are the following articles:—

1. "Roman Imperial Coins," by M. J. Sabatier.

This extremely interesting article is a monograph on the coins of the Roman emperors which offer in their legends a name of a country, province, or town, or which in any way can be termed geographical.

2. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and Pieces of Necessity," by M. le Lieut.-Col. P. Mailliet (fifth article).

3. "Inedited Medal in Honour of Jean-François le Petit," by M. le Comte Maurin Nahuys.

4. "Notice of some Numismatic Works recently published in Italy," by M. Morel Fatio.

5. "Jetons de Mariage," by M. R. Chalon.

6. "Two Medals of the engraver Etienne, of Holland," by M. W. J. de Voogt.

7. "Names Attributed by a Moralist of the Fifteenth Century to Different Coins," by M. de la Fons-Mélicocq.

8. "Official Acts—the New Gold Coinage of Leopold II."

In the *Mélanges* are notices of recent numismatic publications, &c.

In the third part of the third volume of the *Berliner Blätter für Münz-Siegel- und Wappenkunde* for 1867 are the following:—

1. "Inedited Coins in the Collection of Baron Prokesch-Osten of Constantinople," by M. le Baron de Köhne.

These coins are published by the Baron Prokesch-Osten (with a plate) in vol. vi., p. 134, of the Numismatic Chronicle.

2. "The Coins of Asander and Polemon I., kings of the Bosphorus," by M. le Baron de Köhne.

3. "The Coins of Vaballathus," by Dr. Alfred von Sallet.

This article is an extract from a small work by Dr. Sallet, entitled "Die Fürsten von Palmyra unter Gallienus, Claudius, and Aurelian," Berlin, 1866.

The legend on the coins of Vaballathus and Aurelian is usually transcribed

ΑΥΤ. CPUJAC . ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟC ΑΘΗΝΟΥ;

but Dr. Sallet conclusively proves that the legend commences with the letters IAC to the left of the bust, where, indeed, legends of coins usually begin; the bust on most of the coins dividing the letters IAC from the letters CP or CPU.

It is known from Palmyrene inscriptions that the names of *Julius*, *Aurelius*, and *Septimius*, are the only ones common at the period of Odenathus and Zenobia. The letters I, A, C may therefore represent *Ἰούλιος*, *Αὐρήλιος*, *Σεπτίμιος*.

The inscriptions on these coins, as now given by Dr. Sallet are

I. A. .C ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟC ΑΘΗΝ. Υ. ΑΥΤ. C. P. or

I. A. C. ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟC ΑΘΗΝ. Υ. ΑΥΤ. C. ΡΩ.

which stand for *Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Σεπτίμιος ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟC Ἀθηνοῦδωρος Αὐτοκράτωρ Στρατηγὸς Ρωμαίων*.

The title *στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων* occurs upon inscriptions.

This interpretation throws great light on the curious word VCRIMDR, which may be found on the Latin coins of Vaballathus and Aurelian, and which is now proved—as has been before suggested—to have the same meaning as the Greek inscription. The Latin coins therefore read—*VABALATHVS Vir Consularis Romanorum IMperator Dux Romanorum*.—

[F. W. M.]

4. "A Letter of Eckhel," communicated by Dr. Julius Friedländer.

5. "Vandal Coins," by Dr. Julius Friedländer.

6. "Inedited Mediæval Coins," by M. H. Dannenberg.

7. "An inedited Coin of Silesia," by M. C. F. Trochsel.

8. "Mexican Copper Coins," by M. le Baron de Köhne.

9. "On a recently-discovered Seal-stamp of Duke Mestwin I., of East Pomerania," by M. Ernst Strehlke.

The part concludes with *Miscellanea*, and *Notices of New Coins or Medals and New Books*.

In the *Revue Archéologique* for May, 1867, is an article by M. Anatole de Barthélemy, giving an interesting account of four Gaulish dies for striking coins. The first of these, found at Avenches (Canton de Vaud), is composed of bronze let into

iron, and has already been described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. iv. p. 290, and in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xix. p. 253.

The second, found at Coirent, near Clermont Ferrand (Puy de Dôme), is at present lost, though a drawing of it has been preserved. It is for the reverse of a coin having the horse upon it, and consists of a flat disc, with a round projecting tang, perhaps for fixing it in a wooden block.

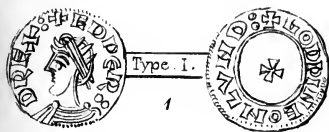
The third, also found at Coirent, is of sugar-loaf form, fully $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch high and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, with the reverse of a coin engraved on its base.

The fourth is a die for the reverse of a coin of Togirix, and was found at Bar-sur-Aube. It is also of conical form, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch high. Unfortunately, M. de Barthélemy omits to specify the metal of which these dies are made, though it is presumably bronze.

MISCELLANEA.

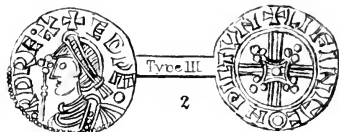
SALE OF COINS.—The important collection of Greek coins of James Whittall, Esq., of Smyrna, was dispersed by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, on the 20th May, 1867, and seven following days. It contained many fine and rare specimens some of which are deserving of special notice. Lot 47. Panormus, \mathcal{A} 7, wt. 262 grs.; rev. horse's head and palm-tree—£5. Lot 96. Lysimachus, \mathcal{A} 9, wt. $263\frac{2}{10}$ grs., usual type, with a terminal Priapus in the field—£5. Lot 111. Amphipolis, \mathcal{A} $6\frac{1}{2}$, wt. 216 grs.; head of Apollo, nearly full face; rev. AMΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ in a sunken square—£14 5s. Lot 117. Orestæ, \mathcal{A} 4, wt. $156\frac{2}{10}$ grs.—£9 10s. Lot 175. Locri Opuntii, \mathcal{A} 6, wt. 186 grs.; female head, of fine work, to left; rev. ΟΗΟΝΤΙΩΝ; Ajax Oileus, an excellent piece—£7 10s. Lot 191. Ægina, \mathcal{A} $5\frac{1}{2}$, wt. $188\frac{7}{10}$ grs.; A-I and tortoise; rev. N I and dolphin in a sunken square of five divisions—£5 12s. 6d. Lot 197. Axus Cretæ, \mathcal{A} 7, wt. 174 grs.; head of Apollo to right; rev. tripod in a sunken circle, of rough work—£9 15s. Lot 198. Chersonesus, \mathcal{A} $6\frac{1}{2}$, wt. $172\frac{8}{10}$ grs.; female head to left; rev. ΧΕΡΣΟ, retrograde, and Hercules striking with a club; of rough work, but perfect condition—£15. Lot 200. Chersonesus, \mathcal{A} 7, wt. $162\frac{5}{10}$ grs.; same types, but with ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣΙΩΝ, of better work, fine condition—£18. Lot 205. Eleuthernæ, \mathcal{A} 7, wt. $169\frac{5}{10}$ grs.; head of Apollo to right; rev. ΕΑΕΥΘΕΡΝΑΙΟΝ, retrograde; nude Apollo (?), holding a bow and an apple; very fine—£16. Lot 206. Another, \mathcal{A} 8, wt. $176\frac{3}{10}$ grs.; ΕΑΕΥΘΕΡ, retrograde; a female head to right, rev. man holding a bow,

—£10. Lot 213. Polyrrhenium, \mathcal{R} $5\frac{1}{2}$, wt. $178\frac{6}{10}$ grs.; head of Jupiter to right; rev. ΠΟΛΥΡΗΦΝΙΟΝ, &c.; head of a bull; fine work, and very fine condition—£18. Lot 214. Præsus, \mathcal{R} 7, wt. $164\frac{6}{10}$ grs.; Jupiter Aetophorus seated; rev. forepart of stag: extra fine—£16 10s. Lot 229. Mithradates VI., King of Pontus, \mathcal{R} $9\frac{1}{2}$, wt. $252\frac{3}{10}$ grs.; rev. Pegasus, extra fine—£25 10s. Lot 234. Nicomedia Bithyniæ, of Aurelius and Verus, \mathcal{A} $8\frac{1}{2}$ —£16. Lot 241. Cyzicus Mysiæ; electrum, s. 5, wt. $247\frac{7}{10}$ grs.—£32. Lot 243. Cyzicus, \mathcal{R} $9\frac{1}{2}$, wt. $257\frac{3}{10}$ grs.; head of Ceres; rev. a torch—£17. Lot 292. Alexandria Troas, \mathcal{R} 8, wt. $242\frac{3}{10}$ grs.; head of Apollo; rev. Apollo with bow—£11. Lot 450. Smyrna, \mathcal{R} $4\frac{1}{2}$, wt. $55\frac{3}{10}$ grs.; female head to right; rev. Homer seated—£44. Lot 520. Palæopolis of Sep. Severus, \mathcal{A} 7; rev. Jupiter seated—£12. Lot 547. Cæs, \mathcal{R} 6, wt. $226\frac{5}{10}$ grs.; head of Hercules; rev. a crab—£121 5s. Lot 666. Paphos, \mathcal{A} $1\frac{1}{2}$; head of Venus Urania; rev. ΠΑΦΙ; dove to right—£6 15s. Lot 792. Seleucus I., \mathcal{R} $6\frac{1}{2}$, wt. $263\frac{7}{10}$ grs.; head of Jupiter; rev. quadriga of elephants—£9. Lot 794. Antiochus I., \mathcal{R} 8, wt. 264 grs.; usual type; perfect condition £9 15s. Lot 816. Antiochus II., \mathcal{R} $8\frac{1}{2}$, wt. $263\frac{7}{10}$ grs.; head to right; rev. Apollo—£19 10s. Lot 826. Antiochus Hierax, \mathcal{R} 9, wt. 264 grs.; rev. Apollo seated on the cortina—£10 15s. Lot 858. Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII., \mathcal{R} $7\frac{3}{4}$, wt. $245\frac{3}{10}$ grs.; usual type—£12 15s. Lot 864. Antiochus VIII., \mathcal{R} $7\frac{3}{4}$, wt. 247 grs.; rev. mausoleum of Sardanapalus—£9. Lot 895. Shekel of Judea, year 2, \mathcal{R} $5\frac{3}{4}$, wt. $202\frac{7}{10}$ grs.—£12 10s. Lot 896. Half Shekel, same year, \mathcal{R} 4, wt. $106\frac{5}{10}$ grs.; a perfect specimen—£21 10s. Lot 898. Simon Barcocebas, \mathcal{R} $6\frac{1}{2}$, wt. 207 grs.; type of De Sauley, xi. n. 1—£12 12s. Lot 905. Persia, the Double Daric, \mathcal{A} 4, wt. $256\frac{7}{10}$ grs.—£17. Lot 1031. Lacedæmon, \mathcal{R} $7\frac{1}{2}$, wt. $226\frac{7}{10}$ grs.; head of Minerva to right; rev. $\Lambda\Lambda$ nude Hercules to left—£15. Lot 1043. Smyrna Ioniæ, \mathcal{R} $9\frac{1}{4}$, wt. $252\frac{7}{10}$ grs.; rev. ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ, lion, &c.—£16 15s. Lot 1044. Seleucus Nicator, \mathcal{A} 4, wt. $132\frac{7}{10}$ grs.; head of Minerva to right; rev. Victory holding a crown and a trident—£30. Lot 1045. Chios Insula, \mathcal{R} $5\frac{1}{2}$, wt. $236\frac{7}{10}$ grs.; sphinx to left; rev. a deep incuse square of four divisions—£11. Lot 1050. Mechrápata, \mathcal{R} 6, wt. $151\frac{7}{10}$ grs.; rev. a sunken square containing six Lycian letters and triquetra; very fine—£9. Lot 1054. Ialysus Rhodi, \mathcal{R} 7, wt. 223 grs.; ΙΑΛΥΣΙΟΝ, a winged boar to left; rev. ΙΑΛΥΣΙΟΝ (the Σ reversed); head of a bird to left—£39. Lot 1057. Arcadia in genere, \mathcal{R} 6, wt. $174\frac{7}{10}$ grs.; head of Jupiter, left; rev. A P in mon. Pan seated on a rock, holding his pedum and syrinx—£26.



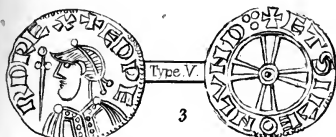
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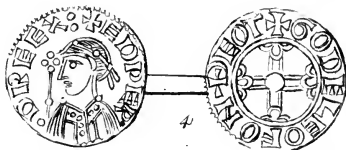
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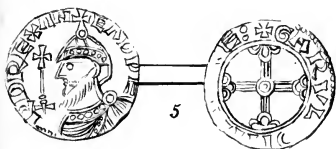


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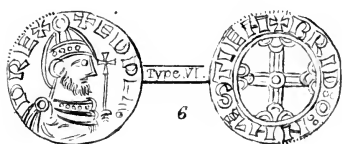
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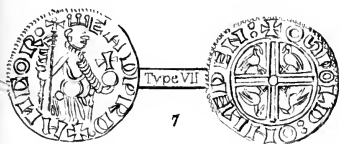


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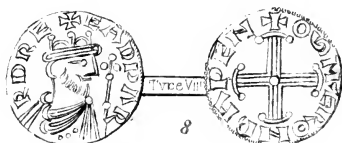
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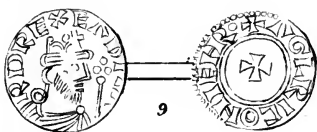
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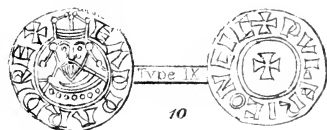


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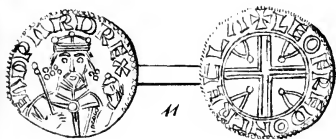


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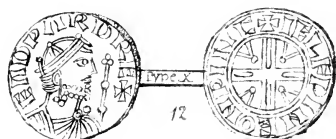


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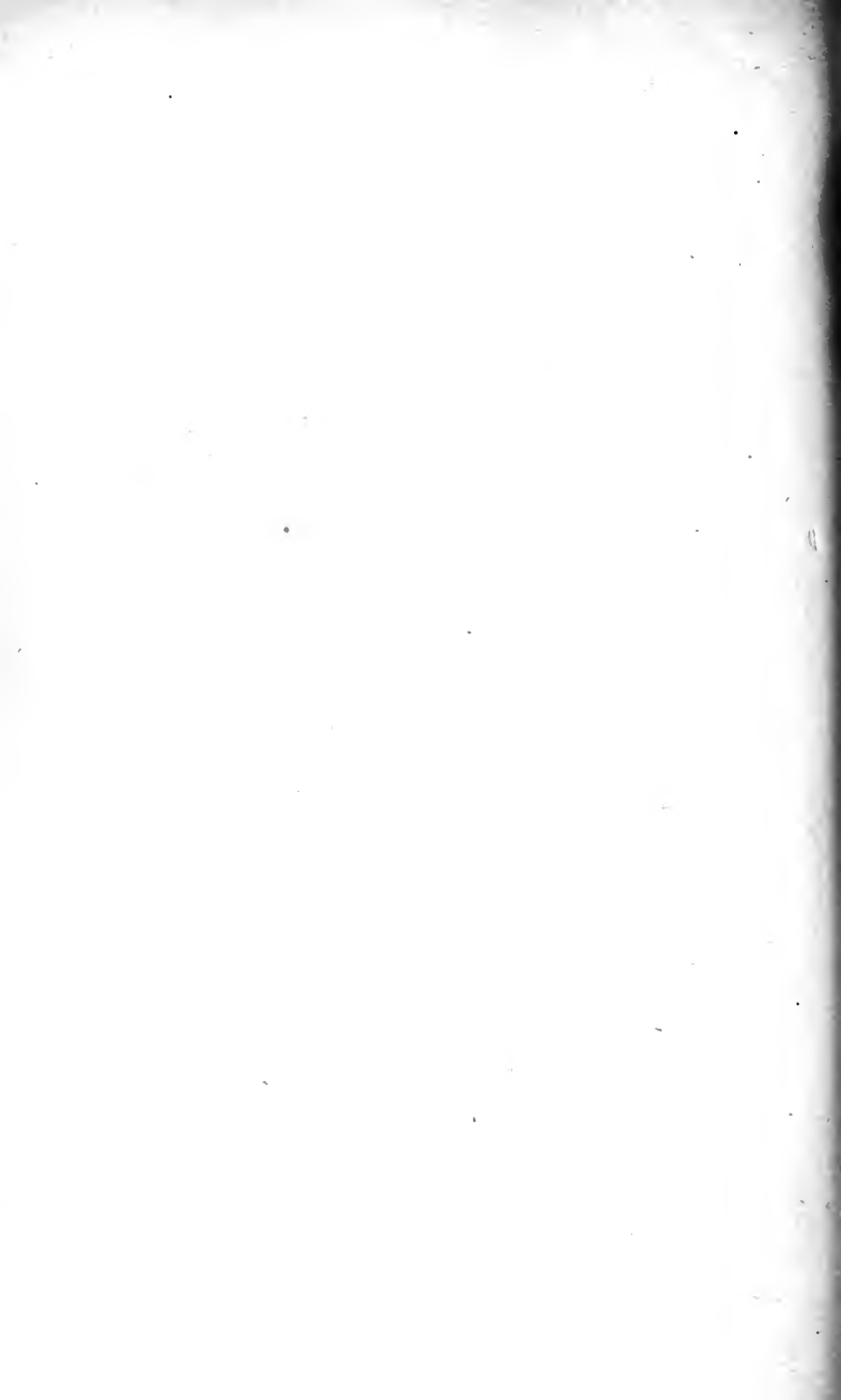


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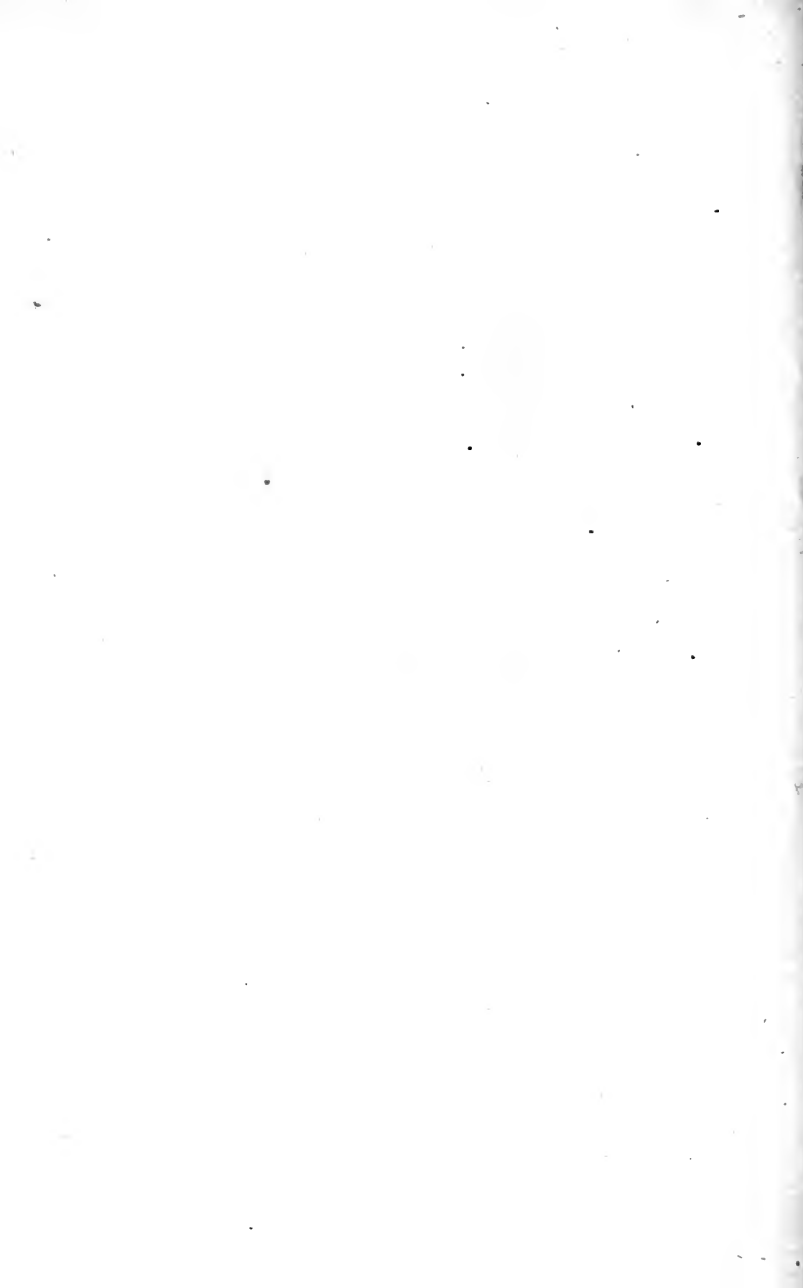


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N.C. 186

XI.

COINS OF THE PTOLEMIES.

(Continued.)

REMARKS ON THE STATERS OF THE PTOLEMIES.

“A stater in a big jar makes á big noise.”—*Talmud*.

“The attempt to reconcile these authorities would seem to be, what the old German proverb calls, ‘making a cloak for the moon.’”

Hussey, *Essay*, pp. 35, 36.

SOME fault having been found with me for calling the Egyptian silver stater a didrachm, I feel it is necessary I should enter at some length on the difficult question of the nomenclature of the principal Egyptian gold and silver coins.

It may be premised that the commonest gold coin, the gold stater, has a full weight of nearly 430 grs. troy, and the commonest silver coin, the silver stater, a full weight of about 220 grs. They are obviously struck on the same system, and the lighter weight of the gold may no doubt be explained. The question is whether the gold stater is an octodrachm or a tetradrachm, the silver stater a tetradrachm or a didrachm.

I. Boeckh, in his “*Metrologische Untersuchungen*,” p. 138, adopting the results of Raper,¹ holds the regular Pto-

¹ *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lxi. p. 484.

lemaic gold and silver money² to have been probably struck on what he terms the "Macedonio-Æginetan standard," the well-known standard of Philip's silver money. If he is correct in his nomenclature of the older coins struck on this standard, the gold stater of the Ptolemies would be a tetradrachm, and the silver stater a didrachm, always supposing that the nomenclature had not changed at or after the adoption of the standard by the Ptolemies. In the statements of writers of the latest Ptolemaic, or early Roman, and Roman period, which either lay down or imply that the silver stater was a tetradrachm, he finds the difficulty which is the subject of this paper, and suggests, as the right explanation, that there were two talents at the time of which the "Alexandrian" metrologist wrote, a great Ptolemaic or Æginetan equal to 125 Roman pounds, and its half, the little [or depreciated] Attic, equal to 62½. I have not thought it necessary to quote Boeckh, as the passages he discusses have since been more fully investigated.³

II. Mommsen, in discussing the coinage of the Ptolemies, alleges various important data which must be fully examined. He takes it for granted that the gold stater is an octodrachm, and the silver stater a tetradrachm. It must be premised that in his opinion the heaviest Persian silver coin, probably, as he holds, struck at Babylon, may be considered an octodrachm of the Babylonian (?) system,⁴ and similarly the Tyrian silver coin of the same weight as the Ptolemaic silver stater is, with him, a tetradrachm.⁵ He

² He excepts the coins of Attic and *supposed* Attic weight, pp. 144, 145.

³ *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, pp. 197, seqq.

⁴ *Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine*, p. 42.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 45.

expresses no doubt as to the correctness of his nomenclature of the Egyptian coins: our purpose is to examine how far his data affect that nomenclature. The principal passages from the section on Egyptian money may now be given:—

“La drachme des Ptolémées se rapproche encore plus exactement que celle de Rhodes de la drachme de Tyr. Les monnaies d’or du premier des Ptolémées sont des trioboles, des didrachmes et des pentadrachmes frappés sur le pied de 3^{sr.}, 57 par drachme. Leurs octodrachmes dépassent rarement le poids de 27^{sr.}88 à 27^{sr.}73, ce que donne à la drachme un poids variant de 3^{sr.}, 486 à 3^{sr.}466.

“La monnaie d’argent des Ptolémées est taillée sur le même pied que la monnaie d’or. . . . La pièce la plus commune est le tétradrachme; les didrachmes sont rares. On conserva aux monnaies d’argent leur poids quand celui de la monnaie d’or fut réduit, probablement pour ne pas les mettre dans une position trop désavantageuse vis-à-vis de la monnaie de Tyr.⁶ On peut en conclure que la drachme de cuivre, dont il est si souvent parlé, devait être du même poids; rien dans les monnaies elles-mêmes ne s’oppose à cette conclusion, quoiqu’en Égypte, comme partout ailleurs, les pièces de cuivre soient si inégalement frappés qu’il est difficile, pour ne pas dire impossible, d’en déterminer la valeur monétaire par le poids, comme on le fait pour l’or et pour l’argent. Les très-grosses pièces de cuivre étaient fort estimées en Égypte, car il en existe qui pèsent jusqu’à 100 grammes, et qui devaient par conséquent valoir au moins 30 drachmes de cuivre.

“Letronne fut le premier qui détermina la proportion existant en Égypte entre l’or et l’argent.⁷ La pièce d’or de 8 drachmes (le statère des Ptolémées) valait une mine d’argent, ou 100 drachmes,⁸ ce qui donne une proportion de 1 : 12,5.

⁶ This would be conclusive, were there any coins of Tyre contemporary with the earlier Egyptian gold staters, which have the deficient weight of all their successors.—R. S. P.

⁷ Récompense promise à celui qui découvrira deux esclaves. Paris. 1833. (Extrait du Journal des Savants.)

⁸ Un esclave s’enfuit, ayant sur lui trois mines en pièces d’or, *ἔχων χρυσίου ἐπισήμου μναιεῖα γ’* (Letronne, *ibid.*). Jamais pièce d’or n’a valu 100 drachmes de cuivre, mais la plus forte et en même temps celle que l’on a frappée le plus souvent, valait

“ Le rapport entre l'argent monnayé et le cuivre monnayé a donné lieu à beaucoup de controverses sans aucun résultat très-satisfaisant. Le témoignage de Festus est cependant décisif pour l'époque romaine. Cet auteur fixe le talent alexandrin à 12 deniers romains ; la drachme d'argent valait un quart de denier, comme nous le verrons ci-après ; par conséquent, 48 drachmes d'argent des Ptolémées égalaient 6,000 drachmes de cuivre du même système, et l'argent était au cuivre comme 1 : 125, ce qui est une proportion très-admissible. Il est fort douteux cependant que cette proportion soit applicable à l'époque qui précéda la domination romaine. En effet, il est clair que l'argent étant au cuivre comme 1 : 125, le cuivre sera à l'or comme 1 : 562½ [*sic*] ; or cette proportion, par nombre fractionnaire, n'est pas applicable à de grandes sommes, et certainement elle n'a été trouvée qu'après coup ; il est évident que cette règle a été faite pour assimiler la drachme au sesterce, le tétradrachme d'Alexandrie au denier romain et 100 drachmes d'Alexandrie à l'aureus impérial. Cherchons donc un document plus ancien et antérieur à la domination romaine en Egypte.

“ Peyron⁹ se base sur ce que, dans les documents historiques des Egyptiens, 2 drachmes d'argent sont regardées comme un prix très-bas pour le froment, et 300 drachmes de cuivre comme un prix élevé, et il en tire la proportion 1 : 120. Letronne¹⁰ part du principe que l'intérêt de l'argent était chez les anciens de 1 pour 100 par mois, et comme pour une statère d'or on donnait à Alexandrie 60 drachmes de cuivre par mois, il arrive aux proportions suivantes : 1 : 750 pour l'or et le cuivre, et 1 : 60 pour l'or et l'argent [*sic*]. Cette argumentation laisse beaucoup à désirer, et Letronne en convient tout le premier ; cependant on arrive exactement au même résultat par d'autres données.

“ Philémon, auteur comique d'Athènes, et après lui les grammairiens, parlent souvent d'un talent d'or valant trois pièces d'or attiques,¹¹ ou 6 drachmes d'or de la même monnaie ; or l'Egypte se trouve être le seul des pays en relation commerciale avec Athènes où une somme peut être indifféremment comptée en pièces d'or ou en talents de cuivre ; de plus les historiens et les inscriptions attiques de l'époque plus récente font souvent mention des pièces d'or et de cuivre que la Grèce tirait de l'Egypte.

100 drachmes d'argent ; c'est ce que prouve le passage suivant de Pollux (ix. 57) : Ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς στατήρ μνᾶν ἡδύνατο.

⁹ Voy. Corpus. Inscr. Gr., t. iii. pp. 299, 300.

¹⁰ Letronne, *loc. cit.*, pp. 11, 13.

¹¹ Voy. Pollux, iv. 173 ; ix. 53 ; et dans Boeckh. (*Met. Unters.*, p. 344), les diverses données des grammairiens.

Il est donc tout à fait probable que par talent d'or l'auteur veut parler ici du talent de cuivre égyptien évalué en pièces d'or. Eustathe, qui en parle, l'appelait *talent macédonien*, et ces deux locutions s'accordent parfaitement, puisque c'est du talent des Lagides qu'il s'agit.

"Ainsi nous arrivons à ce résultat, que 6 drachmes attiques pèsent 268,20, tandis que 8 drachmes d'Égypte pèsent 278,84. La différence entre les deux drachmes [*sic*] est si minime qu'elle a pu résulter d'une variation momentanée dans le cours du change, d'autant plus qu'il s'agit de monnaies étrangères. Du temps de Philémon, 8 drachmes d'or d'Égypte valaient donc 6,000 drachmes de cuivre, ce qui nous ramène au résultat que Letronne avait obtenu par une autre voie.

"L'or est au cuivre comme 1 : 750,

„ à l'argent comme 1 : 12,5,

L'argent est au cuivre comme 1 : 60,

et par conséquent un statère d'or est l'équivalent d'une mine d'argent et d'un talent de cuivre.

"Sous la domination des Romains, ces proportions restèrent à peu près les mêmes. Le nouveau statère d'or, *l'aureus impérial*, valut toujours une mine d'argent; mais la monnaie de cuivre, qui avait déjà sensiblement baissé, fut presque entièrement dépréciée. L'aureus ne pesant pas tout à fait le tiers de l'ancien octadrachme, la drachme d'argent, qui valait un poids d'or égal à 0,288, tomba à 0,082, et le cuivre se trouvant à cette époque vis-à-vis de l'argent dans la proportion de 1 : 125, la drachme de cuivre tomba d'une valeur en or de 0,048 à celle de 0,00066."—Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine, traduite par le Duc de Blacas, t. i. pp. 52—56.

The reader will readily perceive that no direct proof of the nomenclature of the Ptolemaic coins is here given. There is neither a positive passage from any ancient author, nor is there any immediately convincing inference. It seems to be taken for granted that the gold stater was an octodrachm and the silver stater a tetradrachm, because the former was equivalent to a mina of silver, the said mina containing 100 drachms, and the proportion could only be 8 dr. $N = 100 \mathcal{A}$, not 4 dr. $N = 100 \mathcal{A}$, for in the latter case gold would have been to silver 1 : 25 *q. e. a.*

Here, however, we have a postulate that may be vicious, that the mina contained 100 drachms; for if this was the case, the Ptolemaic talent must have been half its original. It may be supposed, however, that the ancient writers and modern critics referred to by Mommsen have proved this supposed postulate, and changed it to an axiom. The passages to which he draws attention must therefore be carefully examined.

First let us see what information is given in Letronne's essay, of which the correct title is as follows:—"Papyrus Grec du règne d'Evergète II., contenant l'annonce d'une récompense promise à qui ramènera deux esclaves échappés." (*Journal des Savants*, 1833, pp. 329—341 (Juin), 477—486 (Août), and plate.) The document is of so much importance in connection with Ptolemaic numismatics, that I cannot do better than insert Letronne's transcription and translation before entering upon the discussion of his inferences:—

<p>Τοῦ ΚΕ ἐπιέφ ΙΣ, Ἀριστογένου τοῦ Χρυσίππου, Ἀλαβανδέως, πριεσβετου, παῖς ἀνακεχώ-</p>	<p>L'an xxv., le xvi. d'épiphî.</p>
<p>ρηκεν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ᾧ ὄνομα Ἑρμων, ὃς καὶ Νεῖλος καλεῖται, τὸ γένος Σύρος ἀπὸ Βαμβύκης, ὃ ὡς ἐτῶν ΙΗ, μιγέθει μέσος, ἀγένειος, εὐκνημος, κοίλογένειος, φάκος παρὰ ῥίνα ἐξ ἀριστερῶν, οὐλή ὑπὲρ χαλιῶν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν, ἐστιγμένος τὸν δεξιὸν καρπὸν γράμμασι βαρβαρικοῖς, ἔσιν ἔχων χρυσίου ἐπι- σήμω</p>	<p>Un esclave d'Aristogène, fils de Chrysippe, d'Alabanda, député, s'est échappé à Alexandrie. Il se nomme Hermon, aussi appelé Nîos; Syrien de naissance, de la ville de Bamyce; environ 18 ans.</p>
<p>10 μναῖα Γ, πίνας Ι, κρίκον σιδηροῦν ἐν ᾧ λήκυθος καὶ ξύστραι, καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα</p>	<p>Grandeur moyenne; sans barbe; jambes bien faites; creux au menton; signe près de la narine gauche; cicatrice au-dessus du coin gauche de la bouche; le poignet droit marqué de lettres barbares ponctuées.</p>
<p>χλαμῦδα καὶ περιζώμα· τοῦτον ὃς ἀνάνα- γάγγ λήψεται χαλκοῦ ΤΑΒΓ, ἐφ' ἱεροῦ δείξας ΤΑΛΒ,</p>	<p>Il avait [quand il s'est enfui] une ceinture qui contenait en or monnayé trois pièces de la valeur d'une mine, et dix , un anneau de fer sur lequel sont un lécythus et des strigiles, son corps était couvert d'une chlamyde et d un périζώμα.</p>
<p>παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἀξιοχρέφ καὶ δωσιδικῷ ΤΑΓ Ε. 15 Μηνύειν δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ.</p>	<p>Celui qui le ramènera recevra 2 talents et 3,000 drachmes; mais indiquant (seulement) le lieu de sa retraite il recevra, si c'est dans un lieu sacré, 1 talent et 2,000 drachmes si c'est chez un homme solvable et qui aura subi la peine, 3 talents, et 5,000 drachmes.</p>

Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ὁ συναποδεδρακὼς αὐτῷ
 Βίων, δοῦλος Καλλίκρατου τῶν περι
 αὐλῆν
 ἀρχυπηρετῶν, μεγέθει βραχὺς, πλατὺς

Faire la déclaration, si l'on veut,
 auprès des employés du stratège.

S'est encore échappé avec lui Bion,
 esclave de Callicrate, un des archy-
 pérètes de la cour.

20 ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων, κατάκνημος, χαροπὸς.
 ὃς καὶ ἔχων ἀνακεχώρηκεν ἱμάτιον καὶ
 ἱματίδιον παιδαρίου καὶ σεβίτιον γυναι-
 κείου ἀξίον ΤΛΣ καὶ χαλκοῦ Ξ.

Taille petite; épaules larges ;
 jambes fortes; yeux pers.

Il avait, lorsqu'il s'est enfui, une tuni-
 que, un petit manteau d'esclave, et
 un coffret de femme du prix de 6 ta-
 lents et 5,000 drachmes.

τοῦτον ὃς ἂν ἀνάγη λήψεται ὅσα καὶ
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 προγεγραμμένου. Μηνύειν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ
 τούτου τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ.

Celui qui le ramènera recevra au-
 tant que pour le premier.

Faire de même sa déclaration, pour
 celui-ci, aux employés du stratège.

This very interesting document is a copy of one of those placards (*γραμμᾶτια, libelli*), cried as a *proclamatio*, or publicly exhibited, in which a reward was promised to the restorer or discoverer of a lost person or thing. I am compelled to pass by this point of view, only remarking that M. Letronne has excellently illustrated it. I go on to the question of date.

The year is alone indicated, no sovereign is named; but from the absence of any Roman name and the form of the characters ("par des caractères"), M. Letronne is convinced that the record is of the time of the Ptolemies. The form τοῦ ΚΕ (understand *ἔτους*) is not known to him ("du moins je ne m'en rappelle pas d'exemple") in any other papyrus or inscription, whether of Egypt or the Cyrenaïca. The king's name is often omitted, but then the year is marked by the numerical letters, preceded either by the sign L,¹² or else by *ἔτους* or *ἔτει*. Between lines 2 and 3 are some indistinct letters ("peu distinctes") which can only be ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ; therefore the owner of the slave Hermon was there when the slave ran away. The owner was a deputy (*πρεσβευτής*) of the Carian town of Alabanda. Evidently, therefore, he was some envoy of

¹² See ante, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iv. p. 235. *Tirage*, p. 31.

the Carian cities at the court of Alexandria to promote the interests of Lycia and Caria, which brings us to the reigns of Epiphanes, Philometor, and Euergetes [II.], under whom these interests were matters of negotiation. According to Polybius, Lycia, after the defeat of Antiochus the Great in the year B.C. 189, was given to the Rhodians. The Lycians refused to accept this domination, and a war followed, in which Ptolemy Epiphanes aided the continentals, and Eumenes the Rhodians, a war which ended in B.C. 177. After many vicissitudes, a decree of the Romans, probably concerted with the king of Egypt, in B.C. 146, ordered the liberation of the Lycians and Carians from the Rhodian rule. It is apparent from Polybius that the Carian towns Mylasa and Alabanda played a principal part in these events.¹³ It is, therefore, more than probable that the stay of a deputy of Alabanda at Alexandria was connected with these negotiations, and this is rendered almost certain by the facts that the year B.C. 146, when they were closed by the liberation of the Carian towns, falls exactly in the twenty-fifth year of a king of Egypt, Euergetes II., and the papyrus is dated in the twenty-fifth year of a sovereign of Egypt. Nothing, I admit, could be more plausible than this argument. Unfortunately, however, there is an almost insuperable fact in its way. As will be perceived in noticing Letronne's explanation, this document speaks only of gold and copper currency, and in such terms that there can be no doubt there was nothing then that could be called a silver currency, and that the gold coins mentioned are the well-known heaviest gold pieces of the Ptolemies. We must therefore assign the document to a sovereign in whose reign there was a gold currency, including these coins, as well as a copper cur-

¹³ Polybius, xxx. 5, 12 and 15.

rency, but no silver currency. The gold coins in question begin with the contemporary ones of Arsinoë I. and II., or Arsinoë II. only, struck during, and perhaps a few years before, the accession as sole king of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, and were struck under each succeeding reign until that of Ptolemy VII. Philometor, of whom and his successors not one specimen is known; although it is possible that some coins of "Arsinoë Philadelphos" of base style were struck as late as the time of Philometor or Euergetes II. But again, the issue of a regular silver currency ceases early in the reign of Ptolemy II., or of Ptolemy III., and recommences under that of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, after which it is not interrupted, except during some years of the reign of Ptolemy VII. Philometor, before his nineteenth, until the end of the reign of Ptolemy XIII. Auletes. It must be remembered, however, that a silver currency would last some time after the latest date of its issue. These conditions point to the reigns of Ptolemy III., Euergetes I., or Ptolemy IV. Philopator. As, however, Ptolemy Euergetes I. reigned twenty-five years, and his successor only seventeen, it follows that the date of the document, year twenty-five, if limited to these two reigns, can only indicate that of the former king. It is almost certain, however, that the Egyptian sovereigns were not deprived of the possession of Caria from at least the reign of Philadelphus until that of Epiphanes, under whom it was taken by the Seleucid king; and it may reasonably be asked whether an ambassador—*πρεσβευτής*—could have been sent from a dependency to the court of Alexandria. This depends very much upon the degree of autonomy the Greek provinces of Egypt enjoyed. Judging from the coins, I am disposed to think it was considerable; and I

see no reason why a Carian city should not have despatched an envoy to transact business at the Egyptian court. The reader must choose between this difficulty and that of placing the date of the document at a time to which we cannot certainly assign any gold staters, or indeed any gold coins whatever, and, what seems still more important, a time of an abundant silver currency. I have laid great stress here, and elsewhere, on the evidence of the remaining coins. I may cite two passages, confirmatory of the classification of the coins of the Ptolemies, by indicating the nature of the currency at the time specified. Ptolemy IV. Philopator promised the Rhodians various supplies, including three hundred talents of silver, and a thousand talents of copper money (*Ἐπηγγείλατο δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος αὐτοῖς ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριακόσια καὶ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος τάλαντα χίλια*, v. § 89, 1, 2). Ptolemy V. Epiphanes gave the Achæans two hundred talents of struck copper money (*διακόσια δὲ τάλαντα νομίσματος ἐπισήμου χαλκοῦ*, *Id.* xxiii. § 9, 3). Under both these kings the great currency was of copper, though Epiphanes began a silver currency in Cyprus. Philopator struck very little gold or silver, Epiphanes more gold and silver, though, apparently, less than later kings of the latter.

Coming to the consideration of the numismatic information derivable from the papyrus, I must first quote Letronne's criticism:—

“Quant à la construction *δέσιν ἔχων . . . μναιεῖα*, je crois que *μναιεῖα* est régime de *ἔχουσαν* sous-entendu; à moins qu'on n'y voie une apposition de *δέσις*. La locution *χρυσίου ἐπισήμου μναιεῖα Γ* est précisément la même chose que *ἀργυρίου δτ (i. e. δραχμὰς τριακοσίας)*, qu'on trouve dans un papyrus de Turin,¹³ et ailleurs. Je ne puis voir dans ces *μναιεῖα* que l'adjectif dérivé de *μνᾶ* mine; la forme usitée est *μναιαῖος* comme celle de tous les adjectifs de ce genre, *ταλαντιαῖος*, *δραχμιαῖος*, etc.¹⁴; la forme

¹⁴ Reuven's, *Lettres sur des Papyrus Grecs*, iii. p. 22.

μναιεῖος en diffère très-peu ; le substantif sous-entendu est νόμισμα ; et par μναιεῖον ou μναιαῖον νόμισμα χρυσίου ἐπισήμον, je ne puis entendre que le *statère d'or*, dont la valeur était égale à une mine (*d'argent*), μνᾶν ἡδύνατο ὁ χρυσοῦς στατήρ, dit P'ollux,¹⁵ et c'est en ce sens que le même Pollux a pu dire que la *mine* était à la fois un *poids* et une *monnaie*.¹⁶ Un des papyrus de Leide fait mention de ce *statère d'or* ; et la valeur qu'il représentait était considérable, puisqu'il portait intérêt de soixante drachmes de cuivre par mois, ou sept cent vingt par an." . . .

" Au reste, ces divers passages de P'ollux ont offert de grandes difficultés, et l'on a voulu corriger diversement son texte.¹⁷ En effet, ils sont inexplicables si on les entend du numéraire attique, puisqu'un *statère d'or*, pour équivaloir à une mine d'argent, devait peser comme huit drachmes, dans la proportion douzième ; ou comme dix, dans la proportion dixième ; or, de pareils *statères d'or* n'ont jamais existé à Athènes :¹⁸ les auteurs n'en parlent pas, et il ne s'en est pas conservé un seul ; mais ces passages s'expliquent facilement, rapportés au numéraire alexandrin, au moins tel que nous le font connaître les monnaies des Lagides qui nous restent."

M. Letronne then gives weights of three denominations of gold money, which he concludes to be octodrachms, tetradrachms, and drachms, and he then determines the so-called silver medallion of Arsinoë (I. or II.) to be a decadrachm, and the other silver coins (the ordinary currency) to be tetradrachms. It must be added that it has not escaped his observation that there is a special and small class of Ptolemaic coins with Attic weight.

" Il s'ensuit que la *drachme* alexandrine était presque égale en poids au denier romain de 96 à la livre $\frac{6 \frac{1}{9} 60}{96} = 64,16$ [grains Fr., not grammes], et que la mine de 100 drachmes s'éloignait peu du poids de la livre romaine.

" D'après ces observations, le μναιαῖον ou μναιεῖον νόμισμα χρυσίου est le χρυσοῦς στατήρ dont il est question dans un papyrus du Musée de Leide.¹⁹ Ce *statère d'or* ne peut avoir été

¹⁵ ix. 57.

¹⁶ xi. 56.

¹⁷ Cf. Böckh, Staatshaushaltung, i. 27.

¹⁸ This may be considered doubtful. M. Huber's sale contained a gold tetradrachm of Athens (Cat. 1862, No. 378).—R. S. P.

¹⁹ Reuven's, Lettres sur des Papyrus Grecs, iii., p. 22.

qu'une monnaie égale en poids au grand médaillon des Lagides : d'où résulte la preuve que ce médaillon d'or a été une *monnaie* réelle, et non une pièce de présent ou de prix.

“ Son poids, de 520 à 524 grains, nous montre que c'était un *octodrachme d'or* ; et puisqu'il valait une *mine d'argent* ou 100 drachmes, on a pour la proportion monétaire des deux métaux ($\frac{100}{520}$) = $12\frac{1}{2}$ à 1 ; rapport très-vraisemblable, puisque leur proportion flottait alors entre 10 et 12.”

Observe, that the whole ground for making the gold stater an octodrachm is to be found in the necessary division of the mina into 100 drachms. If it be proved that the Ptolemaic mina, like most others, contained 100 drachms, then the gold stater is an octodrachm. But M. Letronne does not prove this.

He next discusses the copper talent, a subject upon which I do not at present enter further than to say that he gives no grounds for determining the contents in drachms of the staters of gold and silver. His main data and results I have already given from Mommsen (*ante*, p. 164. *Tirage*, p. 106).

“ Viennent ensuite les mots *πίνας δέκα* ; ce mot *πίνας* m'est inconnu, et nulle analogie ne me met sur la voie pour en découvrir le sens. J'ignore de même si ce mot indique une sorte de monnaie, fraction du statère ; ce qui est probable, puisque les mots *χρυσίου ἐπισήμων* semblent dominer à la fois *μυαεῖα* et *πίνας* ; ou bien s'il désigne une espèce particulière d'objets, au nombre de dix ; *πίνας δέκα* étant considéré comme un second régime de *ἔχων*. Cette dernière supposition ne me paraît pas la meilleure.”

I reprint these observations to draw the reader's attention to the difficult word, regretting that I can throw no light upon its meaning.

I have now to cite what M. Letronne says of the passages containing mention of the drachms of copper :—

“ Lign. 12, 13. Je viens à l'article le plus intéressant, à celui de la récompense promise. Le passage n'est pas sans difficulté ; je crois toutefois en avoir saisi le vrai sens. Il y a ici

trois sommes différentes, dont l'expression est composé de la sigle $\tau\lambda$, qui est celle du *talent*, des lettres B, A et Γ, qui indiquent le nombre de ces *talents*, et enfin d'une plus petite lettre placée au-dessus; savoir: Γ au-dessus de B, B de A, et € de Γ. Quand on connaît l'usage suivi dans les papyrus grecs d'Égypte, d'exprimer les fractions du talent en drachmes, on ne peut douter que la première somme ne soit égale à 2 talents 3,000 drachmes (= 15,000); la seconde à 1 talent 2,000 drachmes (= 8,000); et la troisième à 3 talents 5,000 drachmes (= 23,000 drachmes)."²⁰

I do not enter into the question of the rewards offered. M. Letronne has most satisfactorily explained them; but I may satisfy the reader's curiosity by remarking that the lowest reward was offered if the slave had taken asylum, as in such a case he would be difficult to recover, supposing the asylum had not the right of protecting runaway slaves, as had the Theseum at Athens,²¹ and that the highest reward was in case of the fugitive's being detected hidden in the house of "a paying man," *παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἀξιοχρέω*, for such a man could pay fines, or the like, which would enable the owner to give this largest sum.

It will be perceived that I have been unable to deduce from M. Letronne's paper any evidence, beyond that for the relation of gold to silver, bearing upon our problem. Let us now turn to MM. Peyron and Reuvens, and see whether the papyri edited by them, and their comments, further illustrate our difficulty.

The papyri examined by M. Amedeo Peyron have yielded the curious result that the private transactions were in copper money, the fines paid to the sovereign in coined silver. "All the contracts referred to in the Turin Papyri, or the Greek Registers of Grey, are in copper

²⁰ C'est le seul exemple que je connaisse de cette manière de placer la fraction du talent. On le mettait ordinairement à côté, comme à la ligne 23.

²¹ Plut. *in Thes.* 36.

money—among them the important contract of Papyrus XIII., of Turin; but the two fines settled in Pap. IV. l. 26, and in Pap. VIII. l. 36, to be paid to the king, were in silver drachms. So the Rosetta Stone speaks of revenue and charges ἀργυρικάι in silver, and σιτικάι in corn (ll. 11, 14, 15, 21, 29), but not of payments in copper money.”²²

I do not find in the papyri edited by A. Peyron any indication of the coin in which the silver drachms were paid. The sums stated are reconcileable with either tetradrachms or didrachms without fractions; fractions of the silver stater, be it observed, having been struck very rarely.

In one of these papyri, however, dated in the year thirty-four of a king Peyron decides to be Ptolemy IX. Euergetes II., we find not only mention of silver drachms, but though two drachms are specified, we do not find the term didrachm used, nor do we find any mention of tetradrachms or of staters, nor indeed of minæ, though a sum of 1,268 drachms is mentioned; five talents of copper are also mentioned, but no lower sum. The portion of the document containing these data I give below, with Peyron's rendering.²³

²² Avvegnachè di già aveva io osservato nei Papyri Taurinenses, Pap. II. p. 33, che in Egitto solevano i privati contrattare fra loro in moneta di rame, ma pattuire in dracme d'argento coniato le multe da pagarsi al Re. Tutti i contratti riferiti nei Papiri Torinesi, e nei Greci Registri del Grey sono tutti in moneta di rame, tranne il contratto vitalizio del Papiro XIII. Torinese; ma le due multe stabilite nel Pap. IV., lin. 26, e nel Pap. VIII., l. 36, da pagarsi al Re erano in dracme d'argento. Così l'Inscrizione di Rosetta parla di entrate e di spese ἀργυρικάι in argento, e σιτικάι in fromento, lin. 11, 14, 15, 21, 29, non mai di redditi in moneta di rame.—Papyri Greco-Egizi di Zoide, pp. 23, 24.

²³ Κατασταντος Χονουφιος του Πεσητιος τουδε προσκεκλημενου Φαρμμεως, ος υπακουσαντος διαπσε . . . Χονουφιος δεδωκει εν-τευξεως εισημανεν δεδαηκεναι τωι ευθονο μενωι (δι)α συγγραφη

Upon the mention of the price of corn made in this papyrus, Peyron bases a calculation which may be thus briefly stated.

The value of an artaba of olyra, a kind of wheat, *tritium spelta*, spelt, is here put at two silver drachms. According to the Alexandrian metrologist, the artaba in the time of the Ptolemies was worth $4\frac{1}{2}$ Roman modii, but under the Romans, became worth only $3\frac{1}{3}$, in which latter value two other authorities agree. According to Appian, of Alexandria, the silver talent of Alexandria would be equal to 6,500 Italian lire, and the drachm in consequence to 1·08 lira. Therefore an artaba of spelt, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ Roman modii, was of the value of 2·16 lire, and the Roman modius of spelt was in Egypt of the value of 0·48 centesimi. But

τροφιτιν την αναγραφεισαν δια του γραφιου αρ Ϛ φ επι τη εξονομαζο
 μνην Θ(αυ)ητι τη και Ασκληπιαδι εις το χορηγειν ταυτη καθ ετος
 ολυρων Ϛ ξ και αρ Ϛ οβ ευδοκησασης της τε του Ψαμμεους
 γυναικος Θανητος και του αμφοτερων μαυρεους δια τα
 τος τα υπαρχοντα αυτω υποκεισθαι προς το δικαιον της συγ-
 γραφης δια τε τουτο και ηξιοκει εισαι αυ(το)ν τας προκει-
 μενας αρ (Γ φ) και ετων δ τας συναγομενας ολ Ϛ σμ ως της Ϛ (αρ) Γ β
 τας δε πασας αρ Γ εσξη, βλαβων δε και δαπανηματων χ2ε, κ.τ.λ.

Quem in iudicium venisset Chonuphis, filius Pesetii, cognominanti Psammei, qui audiente Dia . . . Chonuphis filio, dedit libellum, significavit se mutuo dedisse reo per syngrapham alimentariam in Registrum Graphii relatam drachmas argenti quingentas, pro cognominata Thauete, quæ alio nomine appellatur Asclepias, ut huic suppeditaret quædam olyrarum mensuras sexaginta, et argenti drachmas septuaginta duas. . . . Consentiente tum Thauete uxore Psammei, tum utrorumque . . . quum bona ipsius (rei) pignerata essent pro jure syngraphæ . . . ac petiit ut ipse (solveret) prædictas argenti (drachmas quingentas), et pro anno quatuor simul sumptus olyrarum mensuras duascentas quadraginta ita ut si quævis mensura constet drachmis duab, universæ argenti drachmæ sint 1268. Solvat præterea pro damnis et expensis ærea talenta quinque.—Papyri Græci, Reg. Taur. Mus. Æg., ed. ab Amedeo Peyron, ii. pp. 69, 70. For the date, see pp. 71—73. See also facsimile.

²⁴ Lib. v. ii. 35, ed. Schw.

a modius of wheat used to sell at Rome for 3 sesterces, or 0·60 centesimi. Therefore the Romans used to sell corn in their forum for 0·60 centesimi, which the Egyptians in their own country, whence the Romans obtained their corn, sold for 0·48. The Alexandrian talent must not be reckoned as above 6,500 lire; rather should it be diminished. For if, with Varro, we give it a weight of 7,200, and a drachm of 1·20, the artaba would have been worth 2·40, and the Roman modius in the forum of Alexandria would have been equal to 0·53, and it is then improbable that it would have been worth only 0·60 centesimi at Rome. It should also be noted that spelt was an inferior kind of corn.²⁵

²⁵ Interea juvat nonnulla de talenti argentei valore addere, quibus viam sternam philologis meliora dicturis. In Papyro XIII. video olyræ mensuram, certe artabam, æstimari binis drachmis argenti. Didymi Alexandrini auctoritatem sequor testantis artabam ætate Ptolemaica respondisse modiis Romanis $4\frac{1}{2}$, at subinde ex consuetudine Romanorum eo dilapsam esse ut modios tantum $3\frac{1}{3}$ æquaret ἦν γὰρ ἡ ἀρτάβη μοδίων δ' ε", νῦν δὲ διὰ τὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν χρῆσιν ἡ ἀρτάβη χρηματίζει γ' γ" (vide eum ad calcem *Iliadis Fragmentorum*, edit. ab Aug. Mai); atque adeo de Romanorum temporibus accipio D. Hieronymi (Comm. in Daniel, xi. 5; in Esai, v. 10), et Q. Rhemnii Palæmonis (in libello de Pond. et Mens.) loca, in quibus traditur artaba esse modiorum $3\frac{1}{3}$.* Deinde Appiani Alexandrini traditionem am-

* Hæc non ita facile conciliatur cum iis, quæ de artabis Cyrenensibus tradit Ptolemæus Evergetes II., in libro viii. *Commentariorum* (apud Athenæum, lib. xii. p. 549, f.) referens Cyrenensem Sacerdotem Apollinis cœna excipientem collegas suos apponere singulis consuevisse τρύβλια· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ κεραμεοῦν ἄγγος ἐπιδεχόμενον ὡς εἴκοσιν ἀρτάβας, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀγριμαίων ἐγκείται πεπονημένα, πολλὰ δὲ σίτα, καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων ορνίθων, ἐτι δὲ θαλαττίων ἰχθύων, ταρίχους τε ξενικοῦ πλείονα γένη· catinos; vas fictile hoc est artabas fere capiens viginti; in quo posita multe carnes farinæ diligenter paratæ, panificia multa, et domesticarum avium, marinorum piscium et peregrini salsamenta plura genera. At quis credat vas fictile capiens viginti artabas seu modios nonaginta tum edolari potuisse, tum mensæ apponi?

This reasoning would be excellent were it founded on safe premises, but we know that the Egyptian silver stater of Ptolemy IX. Euergetes II. weighed 220 grains, and was either a tetradrachm or a didrachm. The weight in silver paid for the artaba of spelt was, therefore, either 220 or 110 grains. Letronne states the mean price of wheat at Rome at 3 sesterces in the time of Cicero, on whose authority he finds that to have been the mean price at which it sold in Sicily.²⁶ If, therefore, we take the didrachm at 220 grains troy, the modius would, in the time of Euergetes II., have been worth $220 \div 4.5 = 48.8$. The denarius of Cicero's time weighs 60 grains, and therefore the value of 3 sesterces in silver, or three-quarters of a denarius, would be 45 grains.

plector, quæ talentum argenteum Alexandrinum exæquat nostris libellis 6500, atque adeo drachmam nostris 1,08. Hisce præstitutis, sequitur artabam olyræ, seu modios Romanos $4\frac{1}{2}$ veniisse in Aegypto libellis 2,16, atque adeo Romanum modium stetisse in Aegypto centesimis 0,48. Atqui ternis sestertiis esse solebat Romæ modius tritici (vide Letronne, *Considérations sur l'Évaluation des Monnaies*, p. 117), seu nostris 0,60 (vide laudatum Letronne, *ibid.* p. 85). Hinc patet fieri potuisse, ut Romani suo in foro vendiderunt centesimis 0,60 illud frumentum, quod centesimis 0,48 emerant in Aegypto, quæ erat frumentaria Romanorum provincia. Patet etiam talentum Alexandrinum nedum augendum esse supra libellas nostras 6500, potius esse minuendum. Si enim cum Varrone talentum argenteum compares cum nostris 7200, atque adeo drachmam cum 1,20, sequeretur artabam constasse 2,40, et modium Romanum in foro Alexandriæ fuisse 0,53; porro improbable fit eundem modium veniisse Romæ solis centesimis 0,60. Tandem magis magisque persuasum habebimus minuendum esse valorem talenti, si perpendamus, me olyram Papyri XIII. duabus drachmis æstimatam huc usque comparasse frumento, quum olyra non nobilior, sed vilius esset frumenti genus, adeoque vilior etiam pretio constare deberet, erat enim olyra nostrum *tritium spelta*, teste Plinio, lib. xviii. 10. *facilis fertilisque in Aegypto*, uti ad Papyrum XIII. dicam. Papyri Græci, ii. p. 23—29.

²⁶ Verr. III. § 75; *Considérations*, p. 117.

If we take the didrachm at 110 grains, the first sum is of course 24·4. Of the two I very much prefer the former computation, for it is scarcely probable that the price of wheat at Rome, under the good commercial system of the close of the Republic, would have been nearly double that of an inferior kind of corn in Egypt in the disturbed reign of Euergetes II. Under the early emperors, three sesterces was a very low price.²⁷ It may therefore be reasonably supposed that as high a price obtained in Egypt. And it is not to be overlooked that in the reign of Euergetes II. a sensible depreciation of the metal of the silver coins by means of alloy begins, a depreciation which increased in that of Lathurus, and reached its height in that of Auletes, affording an easy stepping-stone to the final degradation to one-fourth of its proper value under the Romans, that the stater might be equal to a denarius. If assayed, we very much doubt whether a silver stater of the thirty-fourth year of Euergetes II. would weigh anything like 220 grains of silver, but we doubt if any but accidental alloy would be found in the denarius of the time of Cicero. — Thus far I have argued on Peyron's data, but the next citation will show that we have the more satisfactory evidence of the price of wheat in Egypt under the Ptolemies as having been 100 drachms of copper for the artaba. Taking, then, the Roman price of 3 sesterces the modius, the artaba would be equal to 13·5 sesterces (or 3·375 denarii) : 13·5 sesterces of Caligula weigh rather more than 5,800 grains ; and if the value of wheat in Egypt was about the same, the copper drachm would be $(5,800 \div 100 =)$ 58 grains, or identical with the Ptolemaic drachm of Mommsen. Again, if the price of wheat and

²⁷ Tacit. Ann. xv. § 40, " Pretiumque frumenti minutum usque ad III. nummos," ap. Letronne loc. laud.

spelt were at all similar, 100 drachms of copper would be about equal to 2 drachms of silver, which, in the ratio of 1 to 120, would make for the supposed drachm of 55 grains a copper drachm of 132, but, in the ratio of 1 to 60, of 66. But all these calculations are extremely doubtful, and nothing can more eminently shew this than the contrary results of the two learned Peyrons as to the relative values of wheat and spelt in Egypt, a matter that will be proved by a comparison of our next extract with that on which we have just been commenting.

This evidence has been discussed by Bern. Peyron (apparently confounded with A. Peyron by Mommsen, see ante, p. 164) and by Boeckh, whose summary of B. Peyron's reasoning and comments upon it may here be epitomized as bearing on our subject. Differing from Letronne, B. Peyron makes the relation of silver to copper money 1:120. He compares with the Turin Papyrus XIII. the British Museum Papyrus XV. of year twenty of Philometor, which indicates a maximum of 300 drachms of copper as the price of an artaba of spelt, whence he argues the ordinary price to have been between 200 and 250, probably 240. That spelt should have been dearer than wheat, of which the price is fixed at 100 drachms of copper (Brit. Pap. II.) the artaba, is to be understood by the fact that the Egyptians lived on the former. But as the Papyrus XIII. of Turin gives the current price of the artaba of spelt under Ptolemy Euergetes II. as two silver drachms, a silver drachm would be equal to 120 copper drachms, and 50 silver drachms to a copper talent. But if the common price were 200 drachms of copper, the silver drachm would be equal to 100 copper drachms; but the other ratio is more probable. Boeckh thinks B. Peyron's arguments doubtful. The price of 300 drachms was that

of a time of scarcity. According to Letronne, two drachms of silver are equal to 120 drachms of copper. Could not this price be raised to 300? The artaba of wheat (Brit. Pap. II.) is valued at 100 drachms of copper, according to Letronne equal to $1\frac{2}{3}$ drachm of silver, but according to B. Peyron to $\frac{2}{3}$ drachm. The Alexandrian drachm Letronne thinks is very near the weight of the Roman denarius, equal to five Attic obols. Thus the artaba of spelt, reckoned as worth two silver drachms, would be sold for one Attic drachm and four obols; the artaba of wheat, which was valued at $1\frac{2}{3}$ silver drachms, at a price a little lower.²⁸

²⁸ "Atque hanc Letronnii rationem quum alia multa tum nummorum superstitem pondus tueri videntur. Aliter Bern. Peyronus, qui (Memor. dell' Accad. Tor., sect. ii. tom. iii. 1841, p. 77) argenti et æris rationem 1 : 120 sibi visus est invenisse compositis duobus locis papyrorum Brit. XV. et Taur. XIII. Quippe in pap. Brit. XV. ex a. XX. Philometoris leguntur hæc: $\pi[\omega]\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ $\tau\eta\eta\upsilon$ $\delta\lambda\upsilon\rho\alpha\upsilon$ $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\eta\eta\upsilon$ $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\rho\alpha\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\tau\rho\iota[\acute{\alpha}]$ - $\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ $\mu[\eta]\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\tau\eta\eta\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta\eta\upsilon$ \vdash $\bar{\tau}$, quæ fere eadem verba redeunt in pap. Brit. XIII. ut certe illud $\bar{\tau}$ verum videntur. Quodsi pretium $\delta\lambda\upsilon\rho\omega\upsilon$ maximum habetur ccc dr. $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon$, Peyronus pretium vulgare inter cc et ccl positum arbitratur ponitque fuisse cxxl dr. $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon$. Pretium majus $\delta\lambda\upsilon\rho\omega\upsilon$ fuisse quam $\pi\rho\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$, ejus pretium censetur cdr. $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ (pap. Brit. II.) inde credibile, quod Aegyptii fere $\delta\lambda\upsilon\rho\alpha\upsilon$ consumpsissent nefas putantes vesci frumento (Herod. ii. 36). Jam vero in pap. Taur. XIII. ex a. XXXIV. Euergetæ II. legitur: $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ $\delta\acute{\omicron}\lambda$. $\bar{\tau}$ $\sigma\mu$, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\bar{\tau}$ ($\acute{\alpha}\rho$) $\bar{\tau}\beta$, ubi signum $\bar{\tau}$ pro artaba habetur ab A. Peyrono; ex quo B. Peyronus $\delta\lambda\upsilon\rho\omega\upsilon$ artabam vulgo binis drachmis argenteis venisse statuens ponit duas drachmas argenteas æquales esse cxxl drachmis $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ indeque sequi putat, drachmam argenteam æquasse cxx drachmas $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ talentumque $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ l drachmis constitisse argenteis. Quodsi quis putaverit vulgare pretium fuisse cc drachmas $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon$, posse etiam videri drachmam argenteam æqualem c drachmis $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ fuisse; probabilius tamen alterum esse, quod numerus 120 systemata quæ dicimus decimale et duodecimale conjuncta contineat. Et hanc rationem (1 : 12c) confirmari etiam exemplo Romanorum a Letronnio in suum usum converso, si consideraveris eos imperio promovendo

M. Reuvens has some curious remarks on questions connected with money occurring in the Leyden papyri.

In one he finds a contract as to a loan. I quote his words :—

“ La somme prêtée qui fait l'objet du présent acte, y est indiquée avec toute la clarté et la précision qui convient dans une obligation pécuniaire : ἀργυριον επισημον Πτολεμαϊκου νομισματος δραχμαι δεκαδυο. Douze drachmes d'argent monnaie, monnaies des Ptolémées²⁹ [rather de Ptolémée? see note 29, infra.]— Je ne trouvé pas qu'il y ait des intérêts stipulés pour cause du prêt même, et jusqu'au terme fixé pour le remboursement, mais seulement pour le retardement du tems qui court au-delà : dans

potius quam commercio excolendo intentos ex materia decem assium æris procuris cxxl assibus semuncialibus denarium non jam decem assibus jussisse sed sedecim permutari. Nam si denarius decem assium stetisset, ad eam, quæ subest, rationem, 16 : 240 = 10 : 150, debuisset potius cl assibus semuncialibus permutari. At Romanis magnopere abusos esse valore nominali assium ; contra factum esse a Ptolemæis commercio consulentibus ; atque etiam Romanos paulatim rationem 1 : 125 restituisse. Quæ tamen vereor ne parum recte disputata sint. Nam ut alia omittam, argumenta, quibus nititur B. Peyroni ratio, non ejusmodi sunt, ut omni dubitatione caveant. Certum quidem hoc est, annonæ caritate ὀλυρῶν artabam ccc drachmis veniisse ; neque improbable signum ∞ artabam significare. At nimis lubricum, opinor, de pretio majore ὀλυρῶν pretium vulgare velle deducere. Nam potest multi minus esse quam voluit B. Peyronus. Ex ratione Letronnii duæ drachmæ argenteæ sunt cxx drachmæ χαλκοῦ. Nonne pretium ὀλυρῶν a cxx drachmis intendi potuit ad ccc dr. ab hominibus præsertim lucro faciendi deditissimis? Artaba tritici (Brit. Pap. ii.) censetur c drachmis χαλκοῦ, quæ ex Letronnii ratione fiunt 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ drachmæ argenteæ, ex Peyroni ratione $\frac{2}{3}$ dr. arg. Utrum probabilius sit, non difficile est dictu. Nam drachmam Alexandrinam Letronnius pondere proxime accedere ad denarium Romanum putat, quinque obolis Atticis æqualem esse Boeckhii ratione (Disquis. Metrol., p. 149) supra diximus. Itaque artaba ὀλυρῶν, quæ duabus drachmis argenteis censetur, 1 drachma Attica et 4 obolis vendebatur ; artaba πυροῦ, quæ 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ drachmis argenteis, pretio paulo minore.” (Corpus Inscr. Græc. iii. pp. 299, 300.)

²⁹ “ J'observe, en passant, qu'une pareille expression se trouve dans le petit papyrus grec de *Casati*, lign. 10 : σεβαστων νο-

ce cas, l'emprunteur serait tenu de payer au prêteur, savoir : το μεν δανειον ημισιολιον παραχημα, και του υπερπεσοντος χρονου του τοκουσ ως του στατηρος χαλκου δραχμων εξηκοντα κατα μηνα : *sur-le-champ la somme prêtée, plus la moitié de la même somme, et à titre d'intérêt, pour le tms de la demeure, soixante drachmes de cuivre par statère et par mois.*

M. Reuvens and M. Letronne³⁰ consider the stater here mentioned to be a gold stater. As, however, no gold stater is certainly known later than the reign of Epi-phanes, between which and the date of this papyrus, the twenty-sixth year of Ptolemy XI. Alexander I., ninety-three years had elapsed, it seems unlikely that the term stater would be used in the sense of gold stater. I am rather disposed to think that the silver stater is intended, and that the exorbitant rate of interest was meant to hasten the payment of a very small debt. But the stater may be here a money of account; though why, in that case, a mina should not be spoken of, I cannot understand.

It is, however, of interest to observe that 12 drachms of silver are specified, and the half. If this was to be paid in staters, 12 drachms would be equal to 6 staters of 2 drachms each, to 3 of 4; but the half, 6 drachms, would make 3 staters of the former kind $1\frac{1}{2}$ of the latter; so, again, the total sum, 18 drachms, is divisible by 2 without a fraction, but not by 4. From this it would appear that the "Ptolemaic coinage" was of didrachms. Of this time I have seen nothing but staters, but of the second year of Alexander I. there is a quarter stater, a coin of which I know no other certain example. It would

μισματος δραχμων ; drachmes, monnaies des Em-pereurs. Cette leçon rectifie celle proposée, sur une inspection provisoire, par M. SAINT MARTIN, Journ. d. Sav. Sept. 822, p. 566 : *μβ αργυριου νομισματος.*"

³⁰ Papyrus Grec du règne d'Evergète II.

seem, therefore, probable from this evidence that the current staters were then considered to be didrachms, though I do not offer the inference as more than a conjecture.³¹

III. M. Hultsch has, in his "Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiæ," carefully discussed the Ptolemaic weights. I summarize his results, giving the passages in foot-notes.

1. The table of Cleopatra, in the Galen collection.—This was no doubt inscribed with the name of the famous Cleopatra [VI.], to whom a book on cosmetics would be especially appropriate. It is unquestionably of Egyptian origin.

2. The oldest Egyptian Mina, here called Πτολεμαϊκή.—In the beginning of the list three minæ are described: the third is called Ptolemaic, and is allowed xviii uncia. It is also defined in two other lists (vii. 11, xi. 1) [ἡ Πτολεμαϊκή [μνᾶ] λίτραν μίαν καὶ ἡμίσειαν, vii. 11; ἡ δε Πτολεμαϊκή [μνᾶ] ἔχει Γο ιγ xi. 1]. If we derive its weight from the Roman ounce, we find it is the same as the Assyrian or Babylonian mina. It may therefore be reasonably supposed that the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians had the same mina. The Ptolemies found it in use in Egypt, and struck their money in some relation to it.³² [This conclusion must be accepted with much reservation, but it is certainly remarkable that the old Egyptian unit and pound are respectively not very much less than the $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{50}$ of the mina here described.]

³¹ See Reuvens, *Lettres à M. Letronne*, *Let.* III. 18—24.

³² § 65. De antiquissima mina Ægyptia, quæ in his tabulis Πτολεμαϊκή vocatur.

"Initio tabulæ tres minæ describuntur, e quibus tertia Πτολεμαϊκή vocatur eique xviii uncia tribuuntur. Eadem Ptolemaicæ minæ definitio etiam in duabus aliis tabulis (vii. 11, xi. 1) reperitur. Jam quæritur, quale id pondus atque under ortum esse

3. The Alexandrian Mina.—Besides the old mina of the Egyptians, retained by the Ptolemies, and therefore called

videatur. Ut autem a certis ordiamur, ex uncia Romana calculos subducamus. Efficitur inde minæ pondus, quod quin antiquæ Assyriæ minæ cognitum sit mihi quidem non dubium videtur.* Hinc Assyriam sive Babyloniam illam minam dico, cujus exactum pondus ex æneis leonibus marmoreisque anatibus Nini Assyriæ in urbe Luper inventis exploratum est.† Quod quanti momenti sit ad omnem ponderum historiam cognoscendam, dicere vix possum, neque in præsentia res jam eo usque exquisita et illustrata est, ut breviter de eo argumento dicere liceat. Sed hoc meo me jure suspicari posse videor, quæ mina Assyria et Babylonia et Persica fuerit, eandem fuisse Ægyptiam, nec vero a Persis eam in Ægyptum translata esse, sed contra antiquitus Ægyptiorum propriam fuisse atque ex Ægypto ad Asiæ gentes et regna traductam esse. Quam minam cum Ptolemæi in Ægypto invenirent, eam non magis quam regium cubitum aut artabam aboleverunt, sed nihil nisi hujus antiquæ popularisquæ minæ certam rationem ad nummaria pondera definiverunt. Fuit igitur in Ægypto perinde atque Athenis ex Solonis temporibus aliud nummarium, aliud mercatorium et popolare pondus. Atque Athenis quidem quæ ratio inter nummaria et mercatoria pondera intercesserit, accurate cognitum habemus:‡ de Ægypto nondum exploratum est, nec tamen ego despero futurum esse ut quando ea ratio indagetur.” §

* Unciæ Romanæ 18 faciunt gramm. 491, mina autem Babylonia habet gramm. 510. Interest sane aliquantulum, sed plurimis de caussis, quas hic in medium proferre non possum, hæc duo pondera inter se cognata esse probata. Unum quod huc pertineat leges adn. 4 [§] extr.

† Note stating the greater Assyrian mina to weigh 1020, the lesser, or half, 510 grammes, from these weights.

‡ V. Metrol., pp. 108, 138—140.

§ Duabus diversis rationibus ego ad eandem suspicionem deductus sum, minam antiquam a Ptolemæis definitam esse 135 drachmis Ptolemaicis nummariis. Quæ etsi præpropere et re nondum satis ab omnibus partibus expensa eloqui vereor, tamen, ut alii habeant quibus aut assentiantur aut refragentur, nunc, quibus fundamentis mea nitatur conjectura, in medio proponam. Prior ratio hæc est: Esto A major mina Assyria. Ex hac Mommseni judicio facti sunt argentei stateres 90. Hujus stateris pars tertia fuit Ptolemaica drachma. Denique hæc

Ptolemaic, there is mention of another, the Alexandrian, equal to xx unciaë. In the oldest list of weights (fr. 28,6) we read, ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρινὴ μνᾶ ἄγει ὀκτὰς ρύ, ἀλλαχοῦ ρηή. Ptolemy I. adopted for his coins the current system of Phœnicia, which had that relation to the Attic that six of its drachms were equal to five Attic drachms. The Phœnician stater, three times the Ptolemaic drachm, was the $\frac{1}{100}$ of the great mina of Syria, the $\frac{1}{50}$ of the half or lesser, which, after Herodotus, we call the Babylonian. But this latter is identical with the Alexandrian, therefore it contained 150 Ptolemaic drachms. It would thus be equal to 125 Attic drachms. The different value of 158 drachms is no doubt due to the number of denarii the mina was made to equal.³³

³³ § 66. *De Mina Alexandrina.*

Antiquissima igitur et popularis Ægyptiorum mina a Ptolemæis servata atque exinde Ptolemaica appellata est. Sed apud alios auctores non spernendos etiam mina quædam Alexandrina invenitur, quæ cum xx unciarum esse dicatur, minime cum priore confundi et misceri debet. Galeni locus supra exhibuimus (§ 46), quibus accedit tabula Dioscoridea (prol. § 81).

altera mina de qua agimus fuit dimidia pars majoris Assyriæ minæ. Hæc igitur est æquatio—

$$\frac{A}{2} = \frac{A x}{90 \times 3}$$

unde fit $x = 270 : 2 = 135$. Tot igitur drachmæ conveniunt minæ Ptolemaicæ mercatoriae.—Altera ratio pendet ex iis quæ de mina Alexandrina et de ponderis Attici et Ptolemaici ratione suspicor (§ 66) [next quotation]. Mina Ptolemæorum mercatoria, quoniam a Romanis cum 18 unciis æquiperata est, Atticam minam habuit $1\frac{1}{2}$ sive Atticas drachmas $112\frac{1}{2}$. Jam sumpta Atticæ drachmæ ratione ad Ptolemaicam 6 : 5 (§ 66, adn. 3) efficiuntur drachmæ Ptolemaicæ 135. Rursus igitur idem habes mercatoriae minæ pondus. Quæ rationes si veræ sunt, non id quidem sequitur, ut hoc proprium antiquæ minæ Ægyptiæ pondus fuerit, sed tantummodo, ut Ptolemæi hanc mercatoriae minæ ad drachmas nummarias legitimam rationem esse juserint."

4. The true Ptolemaic Mina, afterwards called the Attic.
—Besides the two minæ above discussed, must not the

Præterea in vetustissima tabula ponderum (fr. 28,6) legimus : ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρινὴ μινᾶ ἄγει ὀλκᾶς ρν', ἀλλαχοῦ ρνη'. Quid ? pos-suntne hæc testimonia inter se conjungi ? Possunt veri facillime, dummodo unum, quod consentaneum est, concedatur, hujus Alexandriae minæ pondus ad Ptolemaicam drachmam revo-candam esse* Ptolemæi reges quo genere nummorum usi sint, satis constat.† Nam cum reliqui, qui post Alexandri mortem reges facti sunt, nummos ad Atticum pondus exprimere per-gerent, Ptolemæus, Lagi filius, diversum nummorum pondus, quod maxime in Phœnicum civitatibus multisque Asiæ minoris regionibus usitatum erat, secutus est. Quod qua de causa fuerit, hic non est disputandi locus : hoc autem quæramus, nullane ratio Ptolemaici nummorum ponderis ad Atticum fuerit. Certe si rationes mensurarum et porrectarum et cubicarum a Ptolemæis institutas comparamus, dubitari vix potest, quin nummarium etiam pondus ex Attica norma a Ptolemæo I. definitum sit. Age vero, Atticæ drachmæ v exactis calculis faciunt Ptole-maicas drachmas vi : ‡ hanc habes simplicissimam et, ut mihi videtur, legitimam utriusque monetæ rationem.

Jam satis constat hanc Ptolemaicam drachmam et in compu-tandis nummis et in ponderationibus suam minam centenariam habuisse (§ 67) [next quotation]; sed eam rem hoc loco non curo: illud potius quæro, Alexandrina mina quale pondus fue-rit. His rursus nonnulla eaque gravissima nondum explanata sunt nec satis certis vestigiis insistimus; sed tamen, etsi demon-stratio fieri non potest, temptanda est probabilis conjectura. Ptolemaica sive Tyria sive Asiatica drachma tertia pars fuit Asiatici illius stateris, cujus in pondus antiquitus omne argentum in Asia signatum est.§ Ex eo statere primum centenaria rati-one derivata est magna illa mina quam popularem Syrorum fuisse constat (§ 69), tum quinquagenaria ratione ex eodem orta est altera quædam dimidio minor, quam Babyloniam Herodoto auctore vocare consuevimus.|| Eadem autem est Alexandrina

* A reference to Christius, p. 85 s., for an independent state-ment of the same conclusion.

† V. Mommsen, p. 40 s.

‡ A statement of weights.

|| V. me eo loco quem § 65 adn. 2 citavi. Ne quis tamen hanc Herodoteam minam Babyloniam confundat cum illa quæ ex ponderibus Nini inventis cognita est, hæc duæ sic inter se dif-ferunt : ex minore illa mina quam pondera Assyria ostendunt,

Ptolemies have had a mina of their own? Now, when every drachm, according to the Greek method, had its centenarian mina, would they have had a drachm weight and wanted a mina? The existence of a Ptolemaic mina and its parts from the half to the drachm is proved by

mina, de qua nunc agimus: hanc igitur drachmas Ptolemaicas et habuisse necesse est.

Jam vide, quæ meæ sententiæ, quatenus hic explicari potest, sit summa. Præter indigenam minam, de qua supra diximus (§ 65), mercatorum frequentia etiam illam minam, quæ ex Asiatico statere facta est, ab Ægyptiis receptam esse eamque maxime Alexandriæ, in celebratissimo emporio, usitatum fuisse. Hinc Alexandrinam eam dictam esse. Pondus autem ejus a Ptolemæo primo ita definitum esse, ut æquaret drachmas Ptolemaicas $\alpha\lambda$, sive Atticas drachmas $\alpha\chi\chi\upsilon$, sive Atticam minam unam et quadrantem.* Quod pondus postea Romanos tenuisse et cum suis $\alpha\chi$ unciis comparavisse.

Denique restat ut is locus quem initio e ponderum tabula attulimus explicetur. Jam apparet illud $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \rho\acute{\nu}$ Ptolemaicas intelligi. Quid vero $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\upsilon \rho\eta\acute{\nu}$? Mihi non dubium est, quin hi sint Romani denarii ejus ponderis quod post Neronem legitimum fuit.† Videtur igitur illo tempore legatus quidam, qui Ægypto præfuit diligenter exacto libræ Alexandrinæ pondere edixisse, ne ea minus $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\iota\iota$ denariis penderet. Quod quidem pondus, etsi duo denarii de summa $\alpha\chi$ unciarum desunt, tamen pro usu vulgari popularibusque rationibus satis accuratum fuit.‡

facti sunt argentei Persici sive $\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\lambda\omicron\iota$ 90 (singuli gr. 5,6); tales autem argentei 100 fecerunt Babyloniam minam ab Herodoto commemoratam (conf. infra, § 69, adn. 1).

* Hæc sunt gramm. 546. Item uncia 20 faciunt gr. 546.

† Hic igitur locus post Neronem scriptus est, quod repugnare videtur cum nostra de ætate illius tabulæ sententia (§ 40). Verum ita distinguendum videtur, summam tabulæ totius ad ætatem ante Neronem pertinere, hunc autem locum postea additum esse. Nam unum quod relinquitur, totam tabulam post Neronem compositam esse, propterea statuere non licet, quia omnino ab eo denario qui est septima uncia pars ponderum et mensurarum fit æstimatio.

‡ Denarii 158 Neroniani faciunt gramm. 539. Quæ admodum exiguo momento differunt a legitimo quod diximus Ptolemæorum pondere (adn. 6 [*]).

the Egyptian weights at Paris and Berlin, from which we find it to be the hundredth multiple of the drachm. [As calculated from the weight of the coins.] It is to be noticed, however, that these weights are all probably of Roman time. Thus the mina comes to be divided into 96 instead of 100 parts. The Ptolemaic mina must be distinguished from the Roman pound, which it exceeds, being about equal to 13 ounces, and the Ptolemaic ounce from the Roman, for the same reason; and it must also be noticed that the uncial drachm, as the $\frac{1}{96}$ part of the mina, is different at once from the Roman denarius and the old Ptolemaic drachm, which was the $\frac{1}{108}$.

The Romans, having made the Attic drachm equal to their denarius, so that the Attic talent contained 6,000 denarii, the Greek writers of that time almost always wrote *δραχμάς* when they meant denarii. Thus commonly no distinction was made between drachms and denarii. But the denarius was never of as heavy weight as the Attic drachm, and suffered depreciation, having first been the $\frac{1}{4}$ and then the $\frac{1}{8}$ of the uncia. On the latter scale the Attic mina contained $12\frac{1}{2}$ unciaë, and the talent $62\frac{1}{2}$ pounds. But the true Attic mina was then well known to have a weight of xvi unciaë. Thus the Attic weight remained the same, but its name was transferred in common use to the Ptolemaic.

It remains to allege the testimony of the Alexandrian writer (§ 99), who says distinctly, τὸ Ἀττικὸν τάλαντον ἰσοστάσιον τῷ Πτολεμαϊκῷ καὶ Ἀντιοχικῷ καὶ ἰσάριθμον ἐν πᾶσι.

Therefore there was in Egypt a Ptolemaic mina of 100 Ptolemaic drachms, which the Romans left, except that they divided it, as it seems, uncially. Besides, there was another less accurate estimation of mina and talent, by

which, the drachm being considered equal to the denarius, the talent was reduced to $62\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, and called Attic.³⁴

³⁴ § 67. *De propria Ptolemæorum mina, quæ postea Attica vocata est.*

Adhuc in tabulis ponderum et mensurarum duas Ægyptias minas commemorari vidimus, quarum altera Ptolemaica appellatur, quod antiquissimum Ægyptiorum pondus fuisse suspicamur, altera Alexandrina, quæ ex argenteo statere Asiatico deducta est habuitque Ptolemaicas drachmas CL. Age vero: nullane sua mina Ptolemæos usos esse? quid, cum omni drachmæ e Græcorum ratione suam minam centenariam convenisse necesse est, illosne reges proprium drachmæ pondus habuisse, minam non habuisse? Sed quid multa? extant certissima ejus quam dico minæ documenta. Servantur Parisiis et Berolini complura Ægyptiorum pondera, ex quibus et ipsa Ptolemaica mina centenaria et variæ ejus partes a semisse ad drachmam dilucide cognoscantur.* Hinc justam Ptolemaicam minam

* Primus Saigey nonnulla ex his ponderibus protulit (*Métrologie*, p. 53). Alia addidit Queipo, cujus e libro (i. pp. 188—193) ego hanc quæ sequitur tabulam composui:

1 (Queipo, p. 188): <i>caillou roulé à surface raboteuse, portant une inscription hiéroglyphique, Musée du Louvre, pendit gramm.</i>	352,16
2 (id. p. 189): <i>petit poids, Musée du L. n. 3113</i>	176,75
3 (id. p. 190): <i>poids en serpentine, marqué de trois points, Musée du L. n. 3060</i>	89,06
4 (Saigey, p. 53): <i>poids en bronze, ibidem</i>	59,12
5 (id. ibid.): <i>alterum, ibidem</i>	58,65
6 (Queipo, p. 190): <i>petit poids en serpentine, ibidem</i>	29,48
7 (Saigey, p. 53): <i>poids en bronze, ibidem</i>	29,37
8 (Queipo, p. 192, coll. p. 564): <i>cube d'un travail achevé, orné d'un filet d'argent incrusté sur toutes ses faces, et l'on voit sur l'une d'elles les caractères grecs gamma et alpha, c'est-à-dire 1 once, ibidem</i>	28,10
9 (id. p. 191): <i>petit poids en fer, Berolini in museo Ægyptio</i>	14,68
10 (id. p. 193): <i>poids en bronze, Musée du L. n. 3031</i>	14,23
11—13 (id. p. 189): <i>trois petits poids carrés, en bronze, ibidem, n. 3035, 3051, 3052, quæ pendunt gr.</i>	3,62 3,57 3,56

Huic tabulæ non dubito quin plurima ex aliis museis pondera

NOTE.—In speaking of the Roman estimation of the Ptolemaic drachm, Hultsch remarks that first thi_s

XIII uncias Romanas tantum non æquasse exploratum habemus.

Jam inter omnes et veteres auctores et eos qui nostra ætate de ponderibus scripserunt hoc constat, Atticam drachmam a Romanis cum suo denario ita æquiperatam esse, ut et talentum Atticum VI millia denarium, non drachmarum, significaret et Græci illorum temporum scriptores fere semper, ubi denarios intelligerent, δραχμᾶς dicerent. Omnino igitur in vulgaribus rationibus nullum inter hæc discrimen faciebant.* Quibus autem in provinciis Romani imperatores edixerunt, ut Attica drachma denario æstimaretur, ibi ipsum denarium Atticæ drachmæ locum, hoc est regiæ Alexandria, occupare volu-

addi possint; sed hæc ipsa, quanti res momenti sit, declarant. Quod nunc pro rei gravitate satis explanare non possum. Sed tamen hoc commemoro nostræ tabulæ pondera 1. 2. 9 exhibere ipsam minam Ptolemaicam ejusque semissem et semunciam. Exactum igitur ejus minæ pondus sub Romanis imperatoribus concludimus fuisse medium ex his = gr. 352,6, quæ summa quam proxime cum drachma gr. 3,57 convenit, quod pondus Ptolemæi in signandis nummis secuti sunt (v. Mommsen, p. 40). Romano autem pondere eadem summa est unciarum 13 (tot enim uncia faciunt gr. 354,7). Cetera quæ in hac tabula latent brevi oratione expediri non possunt. Tamen hoc certe manifestum esse videtur minam Ptolemaicam sub Romanorum imperio non in 100 drachmas, sed plane ad libræ Romanæ similitudinem divisam esse. Ergo, siquidem omnia hæc pondera ad Romanam ætatem pertinent, pondus nostræ tabulæ 3 habendum est pro quadrante sive tribus unciis, pondera 4 et 5 pro sextantibus; tum pondera 6. 7. 8 sunt uncia (ut expressis notis in pondere 8 scriptum exstat), 9 et 10 semuncia. Porro, si nostra ratio valet, semuncia habet 4 drachmas—et reperiuntur 4 puncta in pondere 9 (v. Queip., p. 191)—tota mina, quoniam libræ instar dividitur, drachmas 96 non 100. Hæc omnino satis probabilia sunt. Sed ne quis jam omnia inter se misceri posse existimet. Utique et mina Ptolemaica secernenda est a Romana libra et uncia Ptolemaica a Romana, quippe quæ Romanum pondus aliquanto superent, et quæ drachma ex unciali ratione pars 96^{ma} Ptolemaicæ minæ fuit, ea diversa est non solum a Romano denario sed etiam a vetere Ptolemaica drachma, quæ ejusdem minæ pars fuit 100^{ma}.

* V. Metrol. p. 185 s.

drachm was equal to $\frac{1}{7\frac{1}{2}}$ unciae, but from the time of Nero's reduction of the denarius, to $\frac{1}{8}$, and that the former scale was

erunt.* Porro cum Attici tetradrachmi pondus quaternos denarios manifesto exsuperaret eoque majore argenti pretio tetradrachma essent, necessario factum est, ut ea loco mercis haberentur.† Minime vero hæc Romanorum æstimatio ad exactum minæ aut talenti Attici pondus pertinere potuit. Nam id nullum est pondus, quod ex nummis pretio imminutis suspensum sit. Quid, quod ipse denarius, cum primum Attica drachma a Romanis æstimata est, septima pars unciae, tum autem a Neronis temporibus octava fuit? Neutiquam ex incerto denarii pondere illud Attici talenti pondus repeti potest quod a scriptoribus ætatis imperatoriæ sæpius commemoratur. Nempe cum Attica drachma denario æqualis esse putaretur, denarius autem octava pars unciae esset, mina Attica habebat uncias XII s. et talentum libras LXII s. At tamen verum Atticæ minæ pondus esse XVI unciarum ne illis quidem temporibus ignorabatur.‡ Ne multa, postquam Attica drachma cum denario æquiperata est, ipsum quidem Atticum pondus integrum mansit minimeque ejus memoria oblitterata est; sed nomen Attici talenti Atticæque minæ post Neronem vulgo ad aliud pondus transferre cœperunt, Ptolemaicum scilicet dico. Et enim cum Ptolemaica drachma vix ab eo denario qui est octava pars unciae differat, mina Ptolemaica unciis XII s. talentum libris LXII s. æstimata sunt. Hæc igitur meæ argumentationis est summa: Attici talenti pondus vulgari ratione non propterea ad libras LXII s. redactum esse, quod Attica drachma denario æstimari solebat, sed Ptolemaicum istud talentum fuisse eique, quoniam et Ptolemaica et Attica drachma denario æquiperabatur, minus accurate Attici nomen impositum esse.

Restat ut illum Alexandrinum scriptorem, de quo infra disseremus (§ 99), gravissimum testem citemus. Qui expressis verbis dicit (fr. 95,2): τὸ Ἀττικὸν τάλαντον ἰσοστάσιον τῷ Πτολεμαϊκῷ καὶ Ἀντιοχικῷ καὶ ἰσάριθμον ἐν πᾶσι. Ptolemaicum igitur talentum quasi fundamentum subjicit eique Atticum æquale esse significat.

Denique ad id unde digressa est oratio mea revertitur. Fuit

* Mommsen, p. 690 s.

† Volus. Mæc. distrib.

‡ Galen, coll. cap. iii. (prol. § 51), ix. 1 (prol. § 62). Constat etiam Euboicum appellatum esse proprium Attici talenti pondus (v. Metrol. p. 143, adn. 11).

evidently adopted when Egypt became a Roman province, and to it the weights before cited no doubt belong. But this applies not to the value of the coins, but only to their weight³⁵ [for after Augustus the denarius was equal in value to the so-called tetradrachm].³⁶

5. On the Stater mentioned in these tables.—The Ptolemaic mina contained 25 staters, the stater 4 drachms, and thus in the table of Cleopatra the coin is called a *στατήρ* as well as a *τετράδραχμον*, and made equal to 4 denarii. The same coin is the shekel, or *σίκλος*, of the Hebrews. This was its original signification; afterwards

in Ægypto Ptolemaica mina c drachmarum Ptolemaicarum, quam intactam Romani relinquerunt, nisi quod unciali ratione, ut videtur, eam dividebant. Præterea autem alia minus accurata minæ et talenti æstimatio obtinuit, ex qua drachma cum denario æquiperata talentum ad libras LXII s. redactum est, idque, sicut demonstravimus, Atticum appellatum.

³⁵ Ne quis tamen ea quæ dixi ad nummorum pretia pertinere existimet. Hæc enim omnino, ut auctor de talentis dilucide explanat (fr. 95,2) sub aliam legem cadunt. § 71.

³⁶ Alexandria autem eum [auctorem frag. *περὶ ταλάντων*] vixisse primum inde colligitur, quod omnes ponderum et nummorum rationes ad Ptolemaicum talentum revocantur; tum quod *στατήρ* ille qui pondere quattuor drachmarum, pretio autem unius drachmæ esse dicitur, itemque vocabula *ὀγκή* ac *ψευμός* Ægyptiacam fragmenti originem luculenter produunt. . . Tum ad ætatem ejusdem scriptoris definiendam primum in memoriam revocanda sunt ea quæ Mommsenus de ea re disputavit (p. 723 s.) Quæ hic a me, quoniam difficillima est quæstio, breviter repeti non possunt; at vero satis est hæc duo quæ pro certis habenda sunt proponere: primum Atticam drachmam ab Alexandrino scriptore commemoratam Romanorum esse denarium (§ 67), deinde stateris appellatione apud eundem significari Ægyptiaca tetradrachma, quæ inde a Tiberii temporibus ex ære admixto argento signabantur, quorum pondus ad quattuor denarios accedebat, pretium autem æquabat unum denarium (§ 72). Hinc statim efficitur scriptorem non ante Tiberium vixisse; nec vero ante Neronem, cum idem octo denarios uncia tribuat.

interpreters of Scripture called the half-stater a shekel.³⁷

³⁷ § 72. *De Staterē qui in his tabulis reperitur.*

Quoniam accuratiore de Ptolemaicis et ponderibus et nummis disputatione abstinere non potui, hoc ipso loco adjungenda est ejus stateris memoria qui et in fragmento de talentis et aliis locis affertur. De quo Alexandrinus ille scriptor ita exponit, ut eum necessariam quasi talenti partem faciat: *πᾶν τάλαντον ἰδίᾳς ἔχει μνᾶς ξ', ἡ δὲ μνᾶ στατήρας κέ', ὁ δὲ στατήρ δραχμᾶς, αἷ εἰσιν ὀλκαί, δ'.* Jam cum idem scriptor, quippe qui Alexandrinus sit, omnino Ptolemaicas et ponderum et nummorum rationes sequatur, hunc quoque staterem inter Ptolemaicos nummos referendum esse neminem negaturum esse arbitror. Accedit vero aliud momentum gravissimum. Memineris, quæso, imperatores Romani quam rei nummariæ rationem toto imperio instituerint. Etsi nonnullis civitatibus jus nummos signandi aliquamdiu relictum est, tamen ea licentia quam angustissimis finibus circumscribatur omninoque Romanorum et aurei et argenti nummi in omnibus provinciis principatum quasi tenebant. Denique Marcus Aurelius edixit, ne ulla in provinciis civitas nummos signaret. Verum tamen unam excepit Ægyptum, quæ singulari loco inter omnes provincias semper habebatur.* Ibi inde a Tiberii temporibus tetradrachma ænea admixto argento signabantur, quorum pondus vetustis Ptolemaicis tetradrachmis simile erat† [sed pretium denariis ejus temporis æquiperatum]. Ea in Cleopatrarum tabula (x. 14, item xi. 11) proprio nomine *τετράδραχμα* appellantur denariisque Romanis iv æquiperantur. Quod autem eadem *στατήρες* nuncupantur,‡ id ad Hebræorum hominum disciplinam et studia, quæ Alexandria floruerunt, revocandum videtur. Nam qui Ptolemæorum nummus Græco more *τετράδραχμον* vocabatur, eum *shekel* sive *σίκλον* Hebræos pro sua consuetudine dicere solitos esse satis constat. Ejus autem vocis Græca interpretatio est *στατήρ*.

Quid, quod ipsum *σίκλον* vocabulum et in lapide illo qui talentum Hebraicum pendit et in his tabulis exstat. § Utiq̄ hæc est propria vocis significatio; quamquam postea Sacra scripturæ interpretes dimidium staterem *σίκλον* appellare consueverunt (fr. 82,40).

* Mommsen, p. 728. † Ibid. p. 723 s.; conf. infra, § 99.

‡ Cap. x. 14, xi. 11, vii. 7 (ubi *ἄσσορία δύο* quattuor denarios significant: conf. supra, § 57), viii. 15, (ubi idem pondus tribus stagiis Constantianis expressum est: vide § 58), Epiphanius (fr. 82,39) al.

§ V. supra, § 68, et Gal. cap. viii. 17, xii. 13.

The results at which Hultsch arrives may be thus briefly summarized. There were three Egyptian minæ:—1. The old Egyptian, equal to the Assyrio-Babylonian. 2. The Alexandrian, equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ true Ptolemaic mina. 3. The true Ptolemaic mina. This was the mina of the Ptolemaic coinage. The Egyptian weights that have been found are of this standard, but divided uncially, so as not to have a drachm of 100 to the mina. Already at the beginning of the imperial time the Attic drachm, with which the supposed Ptolemaic was then nearly identical, was popularly made equal to the denarius; and so the supposed Ptolemaic tetradrachm came to be roughly equal to four denarii; but shortly after, the same supposed tetradrachm was depreciated in value, not in weight, so as to be equivalent to a denarius. Hultsch brings forward no distinct evidence of the division of the true Ptolemaic mina into 100 parts beyond that of metrologists of the period at which this Egyptian and the Attic talents, minæ, and drachms were considered equivalent, and the postulate which he advances as an axiom, that as a Greek drachm the Ptolemaic must have been the $\frac{1}{100}$ of its mina, where he has to prove (1) that this drachm was Greek, and (2) that no Greek mina was otherwise divided than the Attic.

IV. This last question but one raised has been, I think, conclusively answered by M. Brandis, in his "Münz-Mass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien bis auf Alexander den Grossen." He holds the silver stater of the Phœnician-Asia Minor class (Fünfehnstaterfuss) to be a didrachm, and to have become a tetradrachm in Egypt, being, like the Hebrew shekel and Æginetan didrachm, originally the fiftieth part of a mina. The only difficulty is when the change of name took place. He states, on Mommsen's authority, that the silver stater of the Ptole-

mies was a tetradrachm, but he explains that it was so considered by the Greeks in common with the Tyrian and Maccabæan staters, which, I may add, we know to have been didrachms.³⁸

³⁸ He thus sums up:—"Durch diese Analogie erklärt es sich auch, wie das Grosstück überhaupt als Didrachmon oder Stater angesehen werden konnte, was thatsächlich, wenn auch nicht immer, geschehen ist,* und nicht durch die Vergleichung des in Kleinasien fast gar nicht mehr vorkommenden äginäischen Staters veranlasst sein kann.† Dass übrigens an einigen Orten, wo der Fünfzehnstaterfuss herrschte, ausnahmsweise nicht auch dem Viertel des Staters die Bezeichnung Drachme beigelegt worden sei, wie dieses Nominal denn kurz vor und nach Alexander dem Grossen in Klazomenæ, Kromna, Kolophon, Teos allein ausgebracht wurde, in Erythræ und Chios in derselben Periode das Halbstück verdrängt hat, soll nicht behauptet werden.

"Wahrscheinlich ward diese neue Benennung aber erst allgemeiner, als durch Alexander's Eroberungszüge das attische Tetradrachmon auch in Asien zur Herrschaft gelangte und nun allmählig so sehr an Gewicht verlor, dass sich das Grosstück des Fünfzehnstaterfusses von ihm nicht sehr erheblich mehr unterschied.‡ Am frühesten lässt sich der neue Sprachgebrauch in Aegypten nachweisen, wo von den Ptolemäern auch dasselbe Gewicht sowohl Gold wie Silber geprägt wurde und das goldene Grosstück von 27·88 Gr., welches übrigens als Stater bezeichnet wurde, nach dem zwölfeinhalbfachen Werthe des Goldes gegen Silber gesetzlich eine Mine oder 100 Drachmen von 3·56 Gr. Silber, das Grosssilberstück von 14·23 Gr.

* Nach dem ungenannten Alexandriner a. a. O. stand die äginäische Drachme, in der Mommsen S. 48, die Cistophorendrachme erkennt, der rhodischen, die er auf 1½ Denar ansetzt, gleich, und der Cistophorus ward von ihm mithin als Didrachmon angesehen, während er anderswo als Tetradrachmon bezeichnet und betrachtet wird. Vgl. Mommsen, S. 49.

† Mommsen, S. 47 nimmt das letztere an.

‡ Vgl. Mommsen R. M. S. 73, Anm. 225. Wenn die oben S. 68 Anm. 1, vorgeschlagene Erklärung der bei Plut. Ages. 15 vorausgesetzten Gleichung von 10,000 Dareiken mit 50 leichten kleinasiatisch-phönikischen Silbertalenten richtig ist, so hat die Bezeichnung des Silberstücks von 3·75 Gr. als Drachme schon früher begonnen.

Here, as before, the reasoning is inferential. It seems, however, to have escaped M. Brandis that if Ptolemy I. struck a talent of which the mina contained 25 instead of 50 silver staters, he must have lowered the weight by one-half, adopting a talent containing 6,000 units of 55 grains instead of one of the same number of units of 110, and thus abandoning both the old Macedonian talent and that of Palestine, and adopting, as if by anticipation, a debased Attic talent. This apparent anomaly may be explained if we suppose, with Boeckh, that there was a light talent, the half of the heavy Macedonian talent, and that Ptolemy adopted it. It is very well known that the Babylonians had two talents of this kind, and I have shown that the same

mithin als Tetradrachmon galt.* Es war natürlich, dass demgemäss auch die den ptolemäischen gleichartigen Silbermünzen, wie sie zur Diadochenzeit in Tyros (zu 14·34 Gr.), in Sidon (zu 13·97 Gr.), in Arados (zu 15·29 Gr.), und seit Augustus in Antiochia (zu 15·28 Gr.), sowie von den makkabäischen Fürsten in Jerusalem (zu 14·65), geschlagen worden sind, von den Griechen als Tetradrachmen betrachtet wurden, † obgleich dies der orientalischen Auffassung widersprach. Denn nach dieser blieb die Münze der in 12 oder 24 Theile getheilte Stater oder Shekel, wie dies die Aufschrift des nach Tyrischem Fusse gemünzten Silberstücks der Makkabäer 'Shekel Israel' beweist. . . . Diese ursprüngliche Auffassungsweise verschwand vollends, als Pompeius das syrische Grosssilberstück zu 4 Denaren tarifirte, ‡ und man nun jene Münze vier 'attischen' Drachmen gleichsetzte, worunter man in Rom seit der gesetzlichen Uebertragung dieses Namens auf den römischen Denar § den letzteren verstand."—(pp. 114—116.)

* Vgl. Mommsen, S. 41.

† Vgl. Joseph. de b. Jud. 2, 21, 2, *συνωνόμενος τοῦ Τυρίου νομίσματος, ὃ τέσσαρας*. Ἀττικὰς δύνανται Ant. J. 3, 8, 2, ὁ σίκλος νόμισμα Ἐβραίων ὡν Ἀττικὰς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας. Vgl. Boeckh. S. 62, 63 Mommsen, S. 35 f.

‡ Mommsen, S. 35. 715.

§ Im Jahre 608 d. St. = 145 v. Chr. Mommsen, S. 71.

was the case with the Attic talents.³⁹ This may be explained by a table :—

Babylonian.	Macedonian or Eginetan Proper.	Attic.	Attic debased (B.C. 100 cir.).	Ptolemaic.
Heavy T. 960,000 gr. troy				
Light T. 480,000 „	T. 660,000	Heavy 860,520 Light 430,260	[660,000] 330,000	[Heavy 660,000] [Light] 330,000

The evidence on which M. Brandis would make the Ptolemaic stater a tetradrachm is therefore wholly separate from any contemporary facts, and unless we assume either that the Ptolemies had no heavy talent, or that a Greek mina must have contained 100 drachms, it is absolutely of no force. The earliest authorities on metrology who touch on this question simply state that the Ptolemaic was the same as the Attic talent, and as we know their chief monetary divisions were at that time identical in weight, there can be no doubt that they would have been identified. But do these statements apply to the period of the Greek rule in Egypt? Let us see, in conclusion, what positive evidence we have as to that age.

1. It is now well known that the ancient Egyptians, before the Greek rule, had two principal weights, the MeN or UTeN, which we may call a pound, and its tenth part the KeT.

A weight, inscribed in hieroglyphics "5 KeT," and weighing 698 grains troy, has been discovered. Its original weight was probably about 700 grains. We thus determine the weight of the KeT at about 140 grains, and that of the MeN or UTeN at about 1,400. As these weights do not correspond to any Greek system, we may fairly conclude that the specimen above mentioned gives us the old Egyptian standard.⁴⁰

The name of the lower weight is found in Coptic, and

³⁹ Dict. of the Bible, vol. iii. p. 1728, "Weights."

⁴⁰ Chabas, Rev. Archeol., 1861, p. 16, seqq.; Dict. of the Bible, "Weights," iii. p. 1732; Brandis, p. 76 and note 1.

its use is very remarkable, as will be seen from the following abridgment of articles in Peyron's Lexicon:—

RITE T. RIϥ M. Drachma Gen. xxiv. 22. Didrachma Gen. xx. 14, xxiii. 15; Exod. xxi. 32; Matt. xvii. 24.

ϫЄCRITϥ M. Dimidium didrachmi, Drachma Luc. xv. 8, 9.

ϚICKRITE T. Idem Z [oega. Cat. Codicum Copti-
corum manuscriptorum] 513, note 7. **ϚICKRITE.**
الدرهم [ed-dirhem] scribitur Cod. Par. 44, fol. 58.

CRITE T. Drachma, Luc. xv. 9.⁴¹

The Egyptian unit, therefore, is used to designate at once the Hebrew shekel and its half. If the Egyptian stater were originally a didrachm, and became a tetradrachm, this is precisely what would occur. The KeT, no doubt depreciated, would be at once the representative of a didrachm and a drachm.

2. Horapollo Nilous says that the Egyptian unit, the parent of all numeration, was "the two drachms," hieroglyphically represented by a vulture (παρ' Αἰγυπτίους Μονάς ἐστὶν αἱ δύο δραχμαί· Μονὰς δὲ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ γένεσις. Εὐλόγως οὖν δύο δραχμὰς βουλόμενοι δηλώσαι γύπα γράφουσι, ἐπεὶ μήτηρ δοκεῖ καὶ γένεσις εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Μονάς, i. 11). It is important first of all to determine the use of this term μονάς for a unit. It is employed for the δάκτυλος⁴² as the unit of

⁴¹ The term **ϚΑΘЄPI ЄΥRHЄ** didrachmata, Levit. xxvii. 3, 4, 5, is nothing but "double staters;" but it is curious to observe that the word **ϚΑΘЄPI, ϚΑΘHPI**, a corrupt form of *στατήρ*, is used for *δηνάριον* in Matt. xviii. 28, xxii. 19 (Peyron, Lex. s. vv. **RUB, ϚΑΘЄPI**), and we thus see that the base stater of Egypt must have continued to be held equal to a denarius down to a late time.

⁴² ὁ γὰρ δάκτυλος ἀρχὴ καὶ οἶον μονάς Incert. auct. ap. Hultsch, Metr. Scriptorum, i. p. 198; cf. index, s. v. *μονάς*.

length, for the *κεράτιον* as the smallest weight,⁴³ and for the Roman *as*. The last or inverse usage is only, as far as I know, found in Volusius Mæcianus, who evidently, where he says unit, means unity.⁴⁴ Taking *μονάς*, therefore, in the sense of unit, Horapollo would mean either the smallest coin or the smallest principal weight. The smallest coin is the stater; therefore it was a didrachm: the smallest principal weight, the drachm, equivalent, in my opinion, to a debased Attic didrachm. Either explanation accords with my theory.

3. The use of the terms *δίδραχμον*, *δραχμή*, in the LXX. Apocrypha and New Testament, is very remarkable.

A. In the LXX. we find *δίδραχμον* is constantly used for the Hebrew shekel, and *τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου* for the half-shekel. The shekel was, we know, identical with the Egyptian and Tyrian silver stater. There can be no reasonable doubt that the earlier books of the Old Testament were translated in Egypt during the Ptolemaic rule. We may therefore infer either that the current Egyptian stater was a didrachm, or that the Hebrew and Tyrian staters were. This would really amount to the same thing, for the Alexandrian Jews would not have used a term liable to be misunderstood in Egypt. It is, moreover, highly probable that part of the LXX. translation was made before any Hebrew or Tyrian silver staters were struck, and that the word shekel as a weight was translated by didrachm in consequence of its agreement with the weight of the Egyptian coin.

B. In the Apocrypha drachms are mentioned as if current. Jason sent 300 drachms of silver for sacrifices

⁴³ Col. Galenea ap. Hultsch, i. p. 228; cf. p. 96.

⁴⁴ Id. ii. p. 64.

to the Tyrian Hercules.⁴⁵ Some soldiers of Simon Maccabæus were bribed by Idumæans, who gave them 70,000 drachms.⁴⁶ Judas Maccabæus sent to Jerusalem a sin-offering of 2,000 drachms of silver.⁴⁷ In the Egyptian and Tyrian currency of this time there is nothing but the stater and half-stater. Is the latter a drachm or a didrachm?

C. In the New Testament the usage of the LXX. continues, and we find, in the Miracle of the Tribute-Money, a stater paid for two to the receivers of didrachma. Didrachms are still received; a stater is still a didrachm.

4. How do the coins of the Ptolemies affect the inference it seems reasonable to draw from these premises?

All the principal coins, with one important exception, present no fractions, whether the drachm be of 55 or of 110 grains.

The exception is the very remarkable one of the principal gold coin of Ptolemy I., which is either a pentadrachm or a piece of two drachms and a half.

This coin bears no distinct relation to the gold stater of later sovereigns; for 5 or 2·5 is no divisor of 8 or 4, and if $8 = 1$ mina of 100 drachms (or $4 = 50$), then 5 would be $= 62\cdot5$ (2·5 to $31\cdot25$). It is, however, to be remarked that the former piece is of full weight, even exceeding 275 grains by some fraction, and so on the same standard as the silver coins, which have a maximum weight of 220 grains, but the latter never exceeds 429 grains and a fraction. If, therefore, we take the last weight to be the mina in gold, then in actual value the silver stater would be 17·16 in gold, the drachm or hemidrachm 4·29. At this rate the gold coin of 275 grains would be equal to

⁴⁵ 2 Macc. iv. 19. δραχμὰς, Vulg. didrachmas.

⁴⁶ Id. x. 20.

⁴⁷ Id. xii. 43.

64·1 drachms or hemidrachms. Are we to suppose that this coin was struck as two-thirds of a silver mina in gold? This, the $\frac{1}{60}$ of a talent, is an unlikely fraction. Is there any other explanation? I am disposed to think that the introduction of the octodrachm or tetradrachm of gold was a reform in the coinage. Much points in that direction. For the first time we have this coin and the large copper coin, about three times its weight; almost for the first time, if not for the first, the decadrachm or pentadrachm in silver.

We know that under the Persians in the time of Herodotus the relation of gold to silver was $13\frac{1}{2} : 1$. Under the Ptolemies, when the great gold coins were current, it was $12\frac{1}{2} : 1$. What was it during the interval? On this subject we are quite in the dark as to the time immediately before Ptolemy I., though it is reasonable to suppose it was $12\frac{1}{2} : 1$, for it is noticeable that Alexander struck both gold and silver on the same standard, which would imply a relation of $10 : 1$, or more likely $12\cdot5 : 1$. If we might suppose $12 : 1$, and that this relation was that originally in use by Ptolemy I., the piece of 275 grains would have been the equivalent of the $\frac{1}{100}$ or $\frac{1}{200}$ of the talent in silver. But this is conjecture.

Thus we have nothing to explain the very existence of this piece. It would have been satisfactory had we found some special reason for striking a piece of this exact weight which would have overridden the difficulty of a fractionary coin. It must, however, be remembered that it is by no means certain, that the largest known coin of Ptolemy I. is not half of a still larger one, and that the gold coinage of his line must be considered as from the first representing silver equivalents. And it is not to be forgotten that the supposed pentadrachm utterly disappears

from the coinage, as though there had been a radical change, or some objection to its use.

To conclude. The evidence of the metrologists is certainly positive as to the gold stater's being an octodrachm, the silver a tetradrachm. But they write at a period when Attic and Ptolemaic weights had become identical, and we must beware of accepting their evidence as conclusive. The other evidence I have alleged is, except the important matter of the pentadrachm, in favour of the opinion that the gold coin was a tetradrachm, the silver a didrachm. May I attempt to reconcile these seemingly contradictory data by adopting Boeckh's hypothesis of two talents, a heavy and a light, as in the Babylonian and Attic systems? It should be remembered that the original talent on the standard of which the Egyptian staters were struck was undoubtedly double the Egyptian talent of the modern metrologists.⁴⁸ It must be proved, by those who refuse to admit the hypothesis of two talents, that the Egyptian mina was not divisible by 50.

To avoid confusion and the charge of novelty, I will in future speak of gold and silver staters, but I protest against the term being held to mean, in the latter case, a tetradrachm.

I must acknowledge the kind and valuable aid my colleague, Mr. Alexander S. Murray, has given me while I have been carrying this article through the press. I hope I may express a wish that his patient investigation of metrological data will soon lead him to some results which may be laid before the learned world.

REGINALD STUART POOLE.

(To be continued.)

⁴⁸ Brandis, p. 160.

XII.

THE COINS OF THE TWO EUDOXIAS, EUDOCIA, PLACIDIA, AND HONORIA, AND OF THEODOSIUS II., MARCIAN, AND LEO I., STRUCK IN ITALY.

It is needless to recapitulate all that has been written on the coins which bear the legends AEL. EVDOXIA AVG. and AEL. EVDOXIA AVG., because a rational apportionment of them between the mother and the wife of Theodosius II., to whom exclusively they have hitherto been ascribed, is simply an impossibility. It is only by bringing in a heavy claim on the part of Eudoxia, daughter of Theodosius II., that the problem becomes capable of a satisfactory solution. Nothing is then easier than to determine the coins that belong to each of the three princesses called by the Byzantine and ecclesiastical authors Eudoxia the elder, wife of Arcadius, Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II., and Eudoxia the younger, daughter of Theodosius II., and wife of Valentinian III.

The mother and the wife of Valentinian III. are always called, on their Italian coins, Galla Placidia and Licinia Eudoxia, and it occurred very naturally to the early numismatic writers that none but coins bearing these names ought to be attributed to them. AEL. PLACIDIA AVG., with the reverse VOT. XX MVLT. XXX, was

therefore given to the wife of Olybrius, while AEL. EVDOXIA AVG., even when accompanied by reverses evidently belonging to the reigns of Theodosius II. and Marcian, was lumped with AEL. EVDOCIA AVG. into a class of *incerti* common to Eudoxia the elder and Eudocia, it being, of course, taken for granted that the latter, if not both these princesses, were called indifferently by either name.

The former, and more absurd of these attributions, has not held its ground till the present day, and the coins which bear the name of Aelia Placidia have already been restored to the mother of Valentinian III. The latter, and several other doubtful attributions, can only be rectified by a rational system of classification, which will bring together contemporary coins of the same mint, although of different sizes and metals, and often bearing different names. Such an arrangement would be to that at present in general use exactly what a book is to its alphabetical table.

Four of the six solidi with the names of Aelia Eudoxia and Aelia Eudocia, at present known, belong to three sets of coins issued by the mint of Constantinople, respectively, in the earlier and later parts of the reign of Theodosius II., and during that of Marcian. The first two consist of five coins each, the last of four, and the whole fourteen are engraved in Plate VII. 1—14.

The *first set* consists of Theodosius II., his wife Eudocia, his sister Pulcheria, his uncle Honorius, and his aunt Placidia, all with the reverse VOT. XX MVLT. XXX.

The exact date of the *vicennalia* of Theodosius II. is not known, but as the *tricennalia* were celebrated in 430, it may have been as early as 420. Eudocia, whom he had

married on the 7th June, 421, received the title of Augusta on the 10th January, 423, the twenty-first anniversary of her husband's admission to imperial honours. Honorius died on the 27th August, 423. Constantius Patricius and Placidia, whose marriage had taken place in 417, were recognised as Augusti by Honorius, but not by Theodosius II., on the 8th February, 421. Constantius III. died on the 2nd September of the same year, and in the early part of 423 Honorius banished Placidia and her children to Constantinople, where they were well received by Theodosius II. She was then acknowledged as Augusta, and her son as Nobilissimus, which title he exchanged the next year for that of Cæsar, on being betrothed to Eudoxia the younger, but no coins were struck in his name till he became Emperor of the West, on the 23rd October, 425. As he is not included in this set, we may suppose that the reverse VOT. XX MVLT. XXX was no longer in use at the mint of Constantinople when Theodosius II. made him his colleague.

We have here Eudocia only, and no Eudoxia. The elder Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius, had died before her husband, on the 6th October, 404, and the younger, born in 422, did not, in all probability, become entitled to imperial honours till her marriage with Valentinian III., on the 29th October, 437, and certainly not before the accession of her future husband, of whom, we have just seen, there are no coins with the reverse VOT. XX MVLT. XXX.

The *second set* consists of Theodosius II., his wife Eudocia, his sister Pulcheria, his cousin and son-in-law Valentinian III., and his daughter Eudoxia the younger, all with the reverse IMP. XXXXII COS. XVII.

Theodosius II. entered upon his seventeenth consulship on the 1st January, 439, and upon his eighteenth on the

1st January, 444. These coins were struck in 443, the forty-second year since he had received the title of Augustus, on the 10th January, 402.

We have here both Eudocia and Eudoxia, because Eudoxia the younger had been married to Valentinian III. on the 29th October, 437.

The *third set* consists of Marcian, his wife Pulcheria, his wife's cousin Valentinian III., and his wife's niece Eudoxia the younger, all with the side-faced Victory holding a cross, and the legend VICTORIA AVGGG., a reverse not in use during the reign of Theodosius II.

We have here Eudoxia only, and no Eudocia, because Eudoxia the younger was the wife of Marcian's colleague, the Emperor of the West, while Eudocia was living in retirement at Jerusalem, having quarrelled with her husband shortly before his death.

The two remaining solidi (Plate VIII. 1, 2), also issued by the mint of Constantinople, both bear the name of Aelia Eudoxia.

The reverse legend of the first, SALVS ORIENTIS FELICITAS OCCIDENTIS, can only apply to Eudoxia the younger, and must have been struck on the occasion of her marriage with Valentinian III., on the 29th October, 437. She was SALVS ORIENTIS as well as FELICITAS OCCIDENTIS, because Theodosius II. had no son, and the Eastern empire seemed likely, as well as the Western, to become the inheritance of his elder daughter's issue. FELICITAS OCCIDENTIS, on the coins of the elder Eudoxia, would have been a silly piece of impertinence to Honorius, who had married, in 398, Maria, the elder daughter of Stilicho. Maria lived till 407, while all the coins of Eudoxia the elder must have been issued between 400 and 404.

This solidus, and those of Theodosius II., Pulcheria, and Honorius, with the reverse VOT. XX MVLT. XXX, are not marked on the reverse with the star which is seen on all the other gold coins issued by the mints of Constantinople and Thessalonica during the reign of Theodosius II., but not on those struck by Arcadius and Theodosius I., under whom gold and silver were no longer issued by the other Eastern mints. These were Heraclea, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Antioch, and Alexandria.

The absence of the star on the reverse of the second solidus; the fabric, which is that of the full-faced helmeted gold coins of Arcadius, struck at Constantinople; the reverse, SALVS REIPUBLICAE, which is that of the solidus of Flaccilla (Plate VIII. 3), while the more appropriate legend, SALVS ORIENTIS FELICITAS OCCIDENTIS, is applied on a coin of the same mint to the daughter of Theodosius II., are strong arguments in favour of its attribution to the elder Eudoxia. It evidently matches a coin of Arcadius, NOVA SPES REIPUBLICAE XX XXX (Plate VIII. 4), which it closely resembles both in fabric and appearance. This legend refers to Theodosius II., and we may presume that the *vicennalia* of Arcadius, of which we do not know the exact date, were celebrated about the time of the birth of his son, which took place on the 11th April, 401. Arcadius had become his father's colleague on the 16th January, 383.

All doubts respecting the attribution of this solidus will be removed by comparing it with the two copper coins, GLORIA ROMANORVM and SALVS REIPUBLICAE, which bear the name of Eudoxia, and with the gold and copper coins struck in the Eastern mints during the reign of Arcadius.

Eudoxia the younger can have no claim to these two copper coins, because there are none of the same size and metal, struck in the same mints, of Pulcheria, Eudocia, Valentinian III., and Marcian. Such are found of Theodosius II., but we shall see that they belong to the period preceding the reign of Valentinian III., whose very rare Eastern copper coins are of a much smaller size. It is not likely that Theodosius II. and Marcian would have issued coins in honour of a daughter in the first instance, and of a colleague's wife in the second, while omitting themselves and the more important members of the imperial family.

The only copper coins which agree in every requisite with the two Eudoxias of the same metal, are the two sets issued in the Eastern mints during the reign of Arcadius.

The first, with side-faced diademed busts, and the reverse VIRTUS EXERCITI (*sic*), is common to Arcadius and Honorius only; the second, with full-faced helmeted busts, and the reverse CONCORDIA AVGG., to Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II. They were struck, respectively, before and after the elevation of Theodosius II. to the rank of Augustus on the 10th January, 402, and it is doubtful whether the latter, excepting, of course, coins of Arcadius, continued to be issued after his father's death. All the copper coins undoubtedly struck after his accession, which took place on the 1st May, 408, are much smaller, and of the same size as the *minimi* of Marcian and Leo I. There are some of this size of Valentinian III. with the cross reverse, matching similar coins of Theodosius II., but I have not met with any of Honorius, Eudocia, Pulcheria, or Eudoxia the younger.

Eudoxia the elder became Augusta on the 9th January, 400, and died on the 6th October, 404, and I believe that the reverses GLORIA ROMANORVM and SALVS

REIPVBLICAE accompany, respectively, the two sets, VIRTUS EXERCITI (*sic*) and CONCORDIA AVGG., struck before and after the 10th January, 402. If so, we should have, before the accession of Theodosius II. to imperial honours, copper reverses different from those of the gold, to which they afterwards became similar, matching the gold reverses CONCORDIA AVGG. of Arcadius and Honorius, and SALVS REIPVBLICAE of Eudoxia the elder. I have not yet seen any gold coins of Theodosius II. struck in his father's lifetime, without the star on the reverse, like those of Arcadius and Honorius.

I give the copper coins with full-faced helmeted busts and the reverse CONCORDIA AVGG. to Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II., because we have similar gold solidi struck at Rome by Honorius at the beginning of his reign, with COMOB, and no star; by Arcadius and Honorius at Constantinople, with CONOB, and no star; and by Theodosius II. and Honorius at Constantinople, with the star. There is also a solidus of Honorius, with the same type and the star, struck at Thessalonica, which is probably matched by a similar coin of Theodosius II.

All the other *triads* bearing these names, whether gold, silver, or copper, have side-faced diademed busts, and belong to Theodosius I., Arcadius, and Honorius; and when the reverse is CONCORDIA AVGGG., there are three G's instead of two. The copper *minimi* with the cross reverse, struck at Constantinople and Alexandria, have CONCORDIA AVG., instead of CONCORDIA AVGGG., which is seen on those of Heraclea, Cyzicus, and Nicomedia. I have not yet met with any of these little coins struck at Thessalonica or Antioch.

The *minimi* of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III.

with the cross reverse, struck in the Eastern mints, differ from those of the preceding class in not having the legend *CONCORDIA AVGGG.* or *AVG.*

Of smaller gold and silver we find—

1. A semissis of Eudoxia, with the monogram of Christ in a wreath, and the exergual mark *CONOB*, without the star.

2. A tremissis of Eudoxia, with the cross in a wreath, and the exergual mark *CON.*, without the star.

These two coins are evidently the fractions of the solidus attributed to Eudoxia the elder. The three are of similar workmanship.

3. A tremissis of Eudocia, with the cross in a wreath, and the exergual mark *CONOB* followed by a star.

4. A silver coin of Eudocia, with the cross in a wreath, and the exergual mark *CONS.* followed by a star.

These are matched by similar coins of Pulcheria, and their fabric agrees with that of the solidi of the first Theodosian period. No corresponding coins have been found of Placidia.

5. A tremissis of Eudocia, similar to No. 3, but of inferior workmanship, matched by corresponding coins of Pulcheria and Eudoxia the younger. These evidently belong to the second Theodosian period.

Of the Marcian period we have no Eudoxias, but only a semissis and tremissis of Pulcheria, similar in fabric to those of her husband. The reverses are similar to those of the Eudoxias Nos. 1 and 2, with the exception of the exergual marks, which are both *CONOB* followed by a star.

We shall probably meet with

1. A silver coin of Eudoxia the elder, with the exergual mark *CONS.*, and no star.

2. A solidus of Eudocia, matching those of Theodosius II., Pulcheria, and Valentinian III., with the reverse VOT. XXX MVL. XXXX, struck at Constantinople in and after 430.

The reverse SALVS REIPVBLICAE was applicable to Pulcheria, before her brother's marriage, and we find it with the star, matching his GLORIA REIPVBLICAE VOT. XV MVL. XX, with the side-faced helmeted bust, to which it is precisely similar in fabric. She was admitted to the rank of Augusta on the 4th July, 414, and the second *quinquennalia* of Theodosius II. were celebrated on the 11th January, 415.

We have seen that there are coins of Placidia with the reverse VOT. XX MVL. XXX, struck by Theodosius II. at Constantinople, before her son's accession in 425. The same reverse appears on three solidi struck at Aquileia, Rome, and Ravenna (Plate VIII. 6, 8, 11), in which she is called Galla Placidia instead of Aelia, just as her daughter-in-law is called on her Italian coins Licinia instead of Aelia Eudoxia.

The date VOT. XX MVL. XXX has been naturally supposed to refer to her brother Honorius, or to her son Valentinian III., but there is a similar solidus of her daughter Honoria (Plate VIII. 12), of the Ravenna mint, which must have been struck between the accession of her brother in 425 and her exile to Constantinople in 434, so that this date can only apply to Theodosius II.

That these coins are copies of the solidi with the same reverse, issued at Constantinople between 420 and 425, is evident from the fact that the star which appears on the Eastern coins of the married or widowed empresses, Eudocia and Placidia, is repeated on the Italian imitations of the latter, but not on those of her unmarried

daughter, which are copied from the coins of Pulcheria. Those of the reigning emperors, Theodosius II. and Honorius, are also without the star. There is at the British Museum a solidus of Theodosius II., with the reverse VOT. XX MVLT. XXX and the star, but it is of barbarous workmanship.

If referred to Honorius, we should certainly have coins of Constantius III. struck at Aquileia and at Rome, as well as at Ravenna; and if to Valentinian III., we should find on some of his solidi the date VOT. XX MVLT. XXX, as well as VOT. X MVLT. XX, and VOT. XXX MVLT. XXXX; and there would also be coins issued in his name by the mint of Aquileia. None of these exist.

Instead of being matched by coins of Honorius, Constantius III., or Valentinian III., these three solidi of Placidia are accompanied by coins of Theodosius II., struck at Aquileia, Rome, and Ravenna, as sole emperor before, or as senior emperor after, the restoration of Valentinian III.

The Aquileia coin (Plate VIII. 5) represents on the reverse Theodosius III. *with the nimbus*, as Augustus, and Valentinian, *without it*, as Cæsar, and must have been struck when the town was taken possession of by the army sent against the usurper John. The mint of Aquileia was certainly suppressed after the downfall of John and the recovery of Ravenna, as there are no coins struck there by Valentinian III. and his successors. A small copper coin of Placidia, with the cross reverse, and the legend SALVS REIPVBLICAE, finds its place here.

The Rome coin (Plate VIII. 7) is similar to the common Constantinople solidi of Theodosius II., with the reverse CONCORDIA AVGG., but the exergual mark is

COMOB instead of CONOB. It is also, with the addition of the star on the reverse, a copy of the solidi issued at Rome by Honorius at the beginning of his reign. The fabric is Italian, not Eastern, and similar to that of the Aquileia coin. I assign these two coins, which have the Eastern full-faced helmeted bust and the star on the reverse, to the period during which Theodosius II. was sole emperor, because the Ravenna set that follows, struck immediately after the restoration of a Western emperor, has the side-faced bust and the reverse VICTORIA AVGGG. introduced by Theodosius I. at Sirmium and in the north of Italy, and adopted by Honorius. Rome probably declared against the usurper at the beginning of the war, and issued coins of the Eastern type used by the legitimate emperor, while that of Honorius was continued at Ravenna by John.

The Ravenna coin (Plate VIII. 9), struck by Theodosius II., not as sole, but as senior emperor, is matched not only by Placidia, but also by Valentinian III. and Honoria (Plate VIII. 10, 11, 12). The solidus of Valentinian III., with the reverse of Honorius, is extremely rare, and its issue must have ceased very soon after his restoration. The Ravenna solidus of Theodosius II., with the same reverse, is not uncommon, but it is usually similar in style to, and contemporary with, the coinage of the last years of Honorius, while the one we engrave unmistakably matches the first coin struck in the name of Valentinian III. This set is accompanied by small copper coins of Valentinian III. and Placidia, with the victory reverse, and the legend SALVS REIPUBLICAE, similar to those of the usurper John issued by the same mint.

There are other coins of Placidia, all struck at Ravenna,

which belong to the reigns of Honorius and Valentinian III. I give to the reign of Honorius—

1. A solidus with the reverse SALVS REIPVBLICAE of the same fabric as the gold coins of her husband Constantius III.

2. A silver coin of the same type, with the exergual mark RVPS instead of COMOB.

3. A semmissis with the same legend on the reverse, and the monogram of Christ in a wreath, with the exergual mark COMOB.

4. A tremissis similar to the semmissis, with the monogram of Christ in a wreath, but without the legend SALVS REIPVBLICAE.

5. A small silver coin similar to the tremissis, but with the exergual mark RV instead of COMOB.

These, with the exception of the semmissis, have no corresponding coins of Honoria. I give to the reign of Valentinian III. the following, which are matched by similar coins of Honoria—

6. A solidus with the reverse BONO REIPVBLICAE.

7. A semmissis of a fabric inferior to that of No. 3.

8. A tremissis with a cross instead of the monogram of Christ, which is seen in No. 4.

The BONO REIPVBLICAE solidi of both the mother and daughter have the star on the reverse, no doubt because the Victory holding the cross is copied from one of the Placidias, and not from the Honoria of the Theodosian period in Italy.

I do not think any of Placidia's coins were struck after her daughter's exile to Constantinople in 434, as none are found of the fabric of those of Licinia Eudoxia, who alone shared monetary honours with Valentinian III. during the latter part of his reign. There are two Italian solidi of

the daughter of Theodosius II., SALVS REIPVBLICAE, struck at Rome and Ravenna, and VOT. XXX MVLT. XXXX, at Rome only.

Valentinian III. began to issue, very soon after his accession, the type of the full-faced (Plate VIII. 13, 14), instead of the side-faced (Plate VIII. 9, 10) Victory. Of this there are no corresponding coins of his colleague Theodosius II., but we find some of Marcian and Leo I. (Plate VIII., 13, 14), struck at Ravenna, Rome, and Milan.

I am inclined to think, from the absence of coins of Theodosius II. struck by Valentinian III., and of Leo I. with the full-faced bust, corresponding with those of Anthemius, who owed the purple to him, that the practice of coining in honour of the colleague emperor had then ceased in the Italian mints; and that the Italian coins of Marcian and Leo I. were struck while they were sole emperors, the former before the accession, and after the downfall, of Avitus; and the latter before the elevation of Majorian, and during the interregnum of twenty months which elapsed between the death of Libius Severus and the accession of Anthemius.

J. F. W. DE SALIS.

XIII.

EARLY ARMENIAN COINS.

(Continued from page 156.)

BEFORE proceeding to describe the coins, it is incumbent upon me to explain the nature and construction of the alphabet in which the legends are couched. This is the more necessary, as it will be seen that the characters on the coins, though manifestly derived from a Phœnico-Babylonian source, do not in all cases correspond in their outlines or values with the better known varieties of contemporary Phœnician writing in use more to the westward. Indeed, too implicit a reliance on exclusively Phœnician models has hitherto obstructed any satisfactory decipherment of the names and titles on the money now under review.

The test which I propose to apply to the letters of these legends is derived from the vernacular writing on the later Parthian coins, and the more definitely-shaped characters of similar type employed in the Rock Inscriptions of the early Sassanidæ. Of the latter class of Epigraphy we have now numerous examples in the biliteral and dialectically-bilingual mural manifestoes of Ardeshír Bábekán, and his son Sapor, the sites of which extend in a rough parallel along the east of the Tigris, from Shahrzor ($35^{\circ} 50'$, $44^{\circ} 24'$) to Persepolis.¹

¹ Num. Chron. xii. p. 80; Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, London, 1858, vol. ii. p. 164.

More recent inquirers can claim but a limited share in the determination and systematic arrangement of these alphabets, a task which was accomplished with a near approach to completeness by M. de Sacy, so long ago as 1787;² but, on the other hand, enlarged ethnological knowledge has corrected certain doubtful readings, and the possession of direct plaster casts of the original inscriptions at Hájí-ábád³ has aided in the precise definition of the normal outlines, which were but imperfectly reproduced in the eye-copies of early travellers, to whom indeed the characters were quite as unintelligible and far more difficult to delineate than the more severe Cuneiform itself.

Of the associate Chaldæo Pehlvi and Sassanian Pehlvi letters, which convey the duplicate versions of these inscriptions, we are more directly concerned with the former; but as they each, in their degree, illustrate the progressive development of the writing from whence they jointly took their origin, the Palæographic data they contribute cannot fail to be useful in any inquiry which has for its object the determination of the values of antecedent alphabets of the same class.

A cardinal point in all Palæographic discussions is the determination of the causes of divergence of collateral systems of writing obviously owning a common source. And, as in the parallel instance of the concurrent Cuneiform and Phœnician, the means and materials employed in the endorsement of the record may be held to have

² Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse, Paris, 1793.

³ Sir E. Stannus's *first casts* are in Dublin; reproductions are to be seen on the walls of the B. M. (in the Assyrian room); and similar copies are in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society (5, New Burlington Street).

influenced the ultimate formation and outlines of the letters themselves, so, in the present case it may be necessary to attribute much of the diversity between the apparently archaic forms of the Chaldæo Pehlvi, and the more free hand of its Sassanian counterpart, to the readily accessible materials and the dependent conventional mode of writing peculiar to each.

It will be seen that the former character follows the ordinary tracings of what is now called Hebrew ; in fact, many of its forms had already attained the fixed configuration their correspondents retain, to this day, in modern Hebrew type. The mechanical formation of the letters seems to have been identical with the method employed by the Scribes, who are figured in the Assyrian sculptures, where the second amanuensis is depicted as writing on a leather or parchment scroll, the only support for the material, at the point of contact of the pen, being the forefinger of the left hand. The line of writing in this case would have to be carried over a curved surface, and the shape of the letters would necessarily be affected accordingly. The actual configuration of the majority of the characters seems to have originated from a given point, at the top of the line of writing, thence proceeding with a more or less lengthened stroke backwards, followed by an almost constant curve downwards, the main discriminative mark of many of the letters commencing only with the concluding turn of the pen—the leading idea being, in all cases, a series of letters following a nearly uniform tracing, supplemented by very limited and imperfect devices, for their discrimination *inter se*, those definitions being chiefly confined to the lower or completing manipulation which was to give individuality to the character. Hence arose the special characteristic of protracting finals in the downward

line of writing—which practice, however, the Chaldæo Pehlvi notably departed from under the influences about to be noticed.

With all this identity with Phœnician models proper, there is a strange admixture of free importations from other and independent systems, especially in the less determinate Semitic phonetic signs; so that, taking the double series in their simple relation to one another, we cannot fail to perceive that the seemingly more archaic Chaldæo Pehlvi has borrowed from its fellow alphabet of more Eastern currency many of the manipulative peculiarities of its cursive style—a style due, in all appearance, to the facile run of the pen over the smooth surface of the birch bark, which is known to have been so largely employed.⁴ The tenuity of the material would of itself

⁴ There is no doubt but that the Eastern nations had for long past been acquainted with the writing materials of Western civilisation, and tradition asserts that Zoroaster's revelations were engrossed upon 12,000 cow-skins (Masaudi, French edit., ii. p. 125; Haug, 123). But in countries where the tree flourished, birch-bark must have very early recommended itself. The discoveries of Mr. Masson in the tumuli of Afghanistan sufficiently attest the universality of its use in those countries (*Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 60, 84). [Specimens of these are in the E. I. Museum.] Hamza Ispaháni (writing in A.D. 961) gives us a curious account of the discovery of ancient Persian archives, written on birch-bark. My Western readers will be glad to be spared the original Arabic text, and will be better satisfied with the independent Latin translation of Dr. Gottwaldt:—

“Anno CCCL. (A. D. 961) latus ejus aedificii, quod Saraveih nominatur atque intra urbem Djei [Ispahan] situm est, corrui et domum retexit, in qua fere L. utres erant, e corio confecti atque inscripti literis, quales antea nemo viderat. Quando ibi depositi fuissent, ignotum erat. Cum a me quaesitum esset, quae de mirabili illo aedificio scirem, hominibus promsi librum Abu Mascharis, astrologi Balchensis, cujus nomen est: Liber de diversitate Tabularum astronomicarum. Ibi ille: Reges [Persarum], inquit, tanto studio tenebantur disciplinas conser-

necessitate a departure from the prevailing system of writing over the fingers of the left hand, and the obvious remedy of placing the strip of bark upon a flat surface, would, in like manner, lead to improved freedom of calligraphy, and an unchecked movement forwards and backwards in the line of writing. This enhanced power can be traced in the contrasted Sassanian forms of *b*, *sh*, and *ī*; while the continuity and eccentric arrangement of the curves is shown in *p*, *h*, and *m*; and the facility of back strokes is evidenced in the foot lines of the letters *t*, *r*, *k*, *n*, &c. The general trending of the forms of the characters of the Sassanian alphabet will be seen to differ from the ruling principle of the Chaldæo Pehlvi, in the frequency of simple curves, commencing near the top of the line, thence carried slightly upwards, and in succession backwards and downwards, after the design of a reversed English C; and the variants of this simple form may be said to embody the essential characteristics of this style of writing, as opposed to the downward tendency of the penmanship of the associate alphabet.

The influence of the habitual onward sweep of the

vandi, tanta cupiditate eas per omne ævum perpetuandi, tanta sollicitudine eas ab injuriis aëris et humi defendendi, ut iis inter materias scriptorias eam eligerent, quæ illas injurias optime ferret, vetustati diutissime resisteret ac mucori et obliterationi minime obnoxia esset, id est, librum [corticem interiorem] fagi, qui liber vocatur tûz . . . ubi multi majorum libri inventi sunt, in quibus depositæ erant variae eorum disciplinae, omnes lingua persica antiqua scripti in cortice tûz."—Hamzæ Ispahanensis Annalium, libri x., pp. 151, 152.

Abu Rihan, a later Arabic writer (circa 950 A.D.), also informs us:—"Mais dans les provinces du centre et du nord de l'Inde, on emploie l'écorce intérieure d'un arbre appelé *touz*. C'est avec l'écorce d'un arbre du même genre qu'on recouvre les arcs; celle-ci se nomme *boudj* [Bhúrjja]."—Renaud, Mém. sur l'Inde, p. 305. See also Prinsep's Essays, ii. 45.

Sassanian system of writing seems to have communicated itself in many instances to the outlines of the characters in the Chaldæan counterpart of the inscription at Hájíábád.

This tendency is especially remarkable in the configuration of certain letters that occur, in their modified shape, as medials, and more obviously in their less contracted position as finals. It is true that these alterations may be fortuitous, as the general contour of the letters is but imperfectly preserved, and the contrast between initials and finals is not of constant and absolutely uniform expression ; but the difference is so marked, in the majority of instances, as to imply a conventional leaning, falling short possibly of direct systematic intention. This is especially the case with rendering of the letter A, for while the initial scrupulously retains the normal delineation of \mathfrak{A} , the final is almost invariably prolonged into \mathfrak{A} .

The only letter in the Sassanian scheme which affects a discriminating form in its final expression, is the short *i*, which letter in the ordinary course consists of less than a semicircle opening onwards and upwards, whereas the true final operates as a sort of check to the flow of the pen. Commencing below the centre of the horizontal line of writing, it is turned upwards and backwards, and after completing more than two-thirds of a circle, it leaves the remaining space open towards the bottom [\circ].

The crude conception of the short *i* seems to have held something in common with the definition of the relative form of the *a*, of which, in later times, it was clearly held to constitute but a single limb ; that is to say, as two *i*'s made one *a*, so three *i*'s stood either for *ai*, or *ia*, in current Pehlvi ; while, in the later elaborations of the Zend, the triple form ω answered to the Sanskrit long \bar{a} , in intentional contrast to the duplicated lines, which retained

their early value of the simple *a*, whose Semitic consonantal prototype did duty for so many indeterminate utterances. These incidental but direct evidences, taken in connection with the obvious fact that the Sassanian alphabet borrowed in all its simplicity the Phenico-Babylonian \aleph , as equally the Persian Cuneiform accepted a nearly identical graphical adaptation for its *i* (𐎠),⁵ would seem to indicate that the short *i* of the associate Pehlvi systems had an origin altogether independent of Semitic influences. It is well known that the archaic alphabet of exclusively Phœnician type limited the variations of the primary form of the letter *i*, to the typical symbol \aleph or to some easily recognisable modification of that model;⁶ and in such guise the ancient character figures upon the coins of the Achæmenians in the word מדי "divine."⁷ The earliest numismatic appearance of the exceptional outline of the *i*, which eventually settled itself into the accepted sign of the short vowel in the Chaldæo Pehlvi proper, occurs on the money of Artaxias, about to be described; but we are able to trace, incidentally, a far anterior development of the archetype, in the earlier Greek designs ι Ι ,⁸ the latter of which approaches, with even a degree

⁵ Rawlinson, J. R. A. S., vol. x., pp. 61, 62.

⁶ Gesenius, pl. i. p. 30; Judas, "La Langue Phénicienne" (Paris, 1847), pl. i., p. 35; M. de Luynes, "Alphabet Phénicien," in Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 166.

⁷ Gesenius, pl. xxxvi., fig. G.; Mionnet, Nos. 35, 36, pl. lxi., fig. 1; Trésor de Numismatique, pl. lxvi., figs. 1, 2.

⁸ Gesenius, pl. ii.; Mionnet, volume "Planches," &c., 1808, pl. xxxi., Nos. 1, 2; "Inscriptiones Græcæ Vetustissimæ," H. G. Rose (Cambridge, 1825), table i., Nos. 11, 15, 18, &c.; "Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum," A. Boeckh (Berlin, 1828), p. 6. "Sed imprimis insignis est litteræ Iota forma ι , quæ etiam in ære Petiliensi reperitur, et tum in nummis aliquot urbium Magnæ Græciæ, et tum in nummo Gortyniorum, in quo $\text{ι} \text{ΛVT} \text{Ϟ} \text{O} \text{Γ}$, hoc est *Gortyni* (Payne-Knight, de alp. 114), derivata ex Oriente."—Swinton, Insc. Cit., Oxford, 1750.

of exaggeration in its curves, to the ultimate outline arrived at. Thus it would seem that the Greeks, the Etruscans, as well as the Romans themselves, sought no primary or secondary Phœnician inspirations for their device of this letter, but reduced the normal *i* to the very simplest element of alphabetical composition, a single unrelieved down-stroke, which, in the very type of this article, still holds its own as the *I* we owe to our Aryan teachers; and such an elementary symbol, varied only in the manipulation dictated by the means and appliances of writing, now reasserts its oriental derivation;—a connection which is more completely established in the manifestly common origin of the nearly identical symbol for the same letter in the Bactrian writing of the third century B.C., where the crude sloping line once again appears as the representative of the vowel *i* in its *medial* form [/], and in combination with the lead *g a* constitutes the proper *I initial* of the same series [⚡].⁹

As the Persian dialects required for their due expression a second *long* or optionally double vowel *i*, the Chaldaeo Pehlvi had to supply itself with the needful symbol, and it is curious that, notwithstanding its many associations with the old Semitic form, the alphabet had so far emancipated itself from parental tutelage, as to abstain from borrowing the character still in use in the Western systems, but constructed for itself, out of its own elements, a suitable representative of the double articulation. The manner in which this was effected is highly instructive, and were any such evidence requisite, would in itself go far to prove the correctness of the value assigned to the fellow

⁹ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iii. pl. vi. Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. pl. xi. p. 161.

character in the Sassanian series, about which so many doubts have hitherto prevailed.¹⁰ The *Ϸ*, as may be shown from its very formation, is nothing but a duplication of the short *i*, the final curve, which completed the conjunction, being further demanded for the purpose of discriminating the letter from the current *a*; but the functions of the letter did not stop short with the simple definition of two *i*'s, for in those days of imperfect alphabets the character was used convertibly for *ī*, *ii*, *īī* *āi*, and most important of all, for *yi* if not for *iy*.¹¹ The force of the semi-vowel *y*, as distinguished from the more directly vocalic sound of *i*, had early been recognised by Aryan nations, though the Semitic races contented themselves with the consonantal compromise of *Yod*.

We have seen that a certain amount of doubt exists as to the derivation of the Greek *Iota*, and there are some indications of an equally independent construction of a *y*, in the Hellenic system, to supply the shortcomings of the Semitic literal scheme. A leading peculiarity of the Greek alphabetical series consists in the implicit manner in which it adhered to the sequence of the parent alphabet, and, as a consequence, to the numerical values attaching to the ancient letters of the Phœnicians. The degradation and partial disappearance of the *Vau*, simultaneously with the retention of a modification of its early symbol as the constant alphabetical numeral for 6, has always been recognised, but it is more singular that the first letter

¹⁰ De Sacy, *Mém. sur. div. Ant. de la Perse*, p. 98; Haug, "Language of the Parsees" (Bombay, 1862), p. 45; Haug, "An Old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary" (Stuttgart, 1867), p. xxi.; F. Lenormant (*Journal Asiatique*, 1865), p. 193.

¹¹ The Zend *medial* semi-vowel *y* is composed in a similar way from a simple duplication of the short vowel *i* of the same alphabet.

introduced in the numerical order, after the final *Tau* of the exotic alphabet, should have been a sign destined to supersede the use of the device of the *digamma*, and its dubious values of *v*, *w*, *u*, &c., and to supplant it by a character which, as a definitive vowel, should represent a *y* or a *u* according to circumstances.

An apt illustration of the multiplicity of *i*'s entering into the Persian speech, and the difficulty the Hebrew character had to contend with in striving to define the varied sonant responsibilities embraced by the two exceptional letters of the Sassanian's, was oddly contributed some years ago, on the occasion of the Bible Society having to produce a "New Testament" for the use of the Jewish converts in Persia, composed in the language of the country, but printed in Hebrew text, which the early education of the converts was supposed to recommend.¹² I need not dwell upon the obstacles encountered in the adaptation of twenty-two alphabetical signs to fulfil the functions of thirty-two, but confine my remarks to the employment of the *i*, in special regard to its duplication, with which we are more immediately concerned. As finals, the elaborations of the definition of *i* may be cited in the words 'וי, "he," לוי, "a Levite,"¹³ and in composition in בטר' ירידו מי רפה [he] "went towards Jericho." In its medial duplicate form, it occurs in דר איין מושד "in the law of Moses" (Luke xxiv. 44); but its most frequent appearance is in verbs, as במייד, כשאייד, &c., where the introductory *y* is absolute. The *Izafat* form of the short *i* is expressed by a sign over the line,

¹² This was printed by Harrison & Sons (St. Martin's Lane) in 1847, under the supervision of Mr. Norris.

¹³ In German Rabbinical ם represents the diphthong *ei*.

thus, *בית אבי* "in the house of my father" (John xiv. 2).

One of the letters of the Chaldæan alphabet that for a long time remained imperfectly defined in form and unascertained in value, was the π , a sign which is now known to stand for σ , *s*. The true outline of the character will be seen to vary but slightly from that of the π , *kh*, and it is liable in some cases to be mistaken for a τ , *t*, or even for an imperfect μ , *m*. The discriminating slope of the initial line, and the point of junction of the second down-stroke, alone determine the phonetic force of the letter. The direct association of the contour of the character with the Bactrian π , *s*,¹⁴ would go far to establish its power; but the absolute identity may be demonstrated in the ordinary course, by tracing the formation of the Chaldæan character through its own elements as compared with the cognate manipulation of the Sassanian *s*, which, in the early examples, appears as σ , or as if it had been formed of a combination of the letters *i* and *z* of that system. From this normal outline the letter soon passes into the more cursive *s* figured in the accompanying table; and eventually it contributes a very striking example of the tendency, above noticed, to the prolongation of onward lines in the *s*, in *مزديسنی* reproduced in the facsimile of Varahrán's seal legend (Num. Chron. N.S. vi. p. 243).

It only remains to advert to the single letter *ch* of the Sassanian column, which was clearly constructed, by the adapters of the new alphabet, to meet the wants of an Aryan form of speech. It will be seen to have been formed out of the ordinary Semitic *h*, by the addition

¹⁴ Num. Chron. N.S., vol. iii. pl. vi.; Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. pl. xi., p. 159.

of a discriminative final back-stroke, which so essentially constituted the speciality of the Pehlvi and Zend modifications of the same character. The Aryan correspondent of the Semitic *ħ* will be found to be altogether wanting in the associate Sassanian, and it was only later in point of time that a compromise was effected, in the introduction of the compound articulation *hu*, which was made to do duty for that guttural.

In conclusion, I must warn future students of some of the more striking obstacles in the way of a satisfactory decipherment and interpretation of these Chaldæo Pehlvi writings. Most prominent among these is the difficulty of discriminating between the nearly identical forms of the *i* and *z*. Next in order may be cited the want of appreciation of the sound, and indifference in the use of the symbols for *d* and *t* as likewise for *g* and *h*; and finally is to be noted the uncertainty of the definition of the relative sounds of *z* and *s*, and other letters of less importance.

After so much prefatory matter, but little remains to be said regarding the forms of the letters inserted in the subjoined Table of Alphabets, except that I have to confess that the artistic execution does not achieve all that I could desire.¹⁵ The Rabbinical Hebrew has been placed in close juxtaposition with the Chaldæo Pehlvi, more on account of its obvious identities than for any direct association or illustration that might be drawn from the similitudes. The old Syriac is valuable for the purposes of comparison

¹⁵ My original tracings of the several letters, to the typical outlines of which my eye had got practically accustomed, were very successfully copied, in the first instance, on the wood; but it is to the wood-engraver that all faults and shortcomings are due.

in its near proximity in point of date and the authenticity of its derivation, which is vouched for by the imprimatur of the late Dr. Cureton, for whose texts it was especially prepared by Messrs. Watts and Co.¹⁶ The modern Pehlvi was engraved by Marcellin Legrand, of Paris, under the superintendence of M. Jules Mohl,¹⁷ and, to my perception, offers the best reproduction of the ancient writing yet achieved. I must mention that I have so far taken a liberty with original adaptation of this alphabet, as to use the pointed letter *h*, which was intended to correspond with the modern *kh*, as the representative of a simple *h*, in order to mark the contrast between the *a* in this font and the ordinary *h*, which was otherwise unprovided for.

¹⁶ Dr. Cureton's account of the production of this type is, "that it was principally copied from MSS. of the sixth century, and represents the earliest form of the character known to us. It is identical with that of the most ancient MS. in the British Museum — date A.D. 411; but the forms of the letters are made a little more carefully than they were written by the person who copied that MS., and imitate more closely those of some better scribe, although about a century later." The parallel course of alphabetical development from the parent Phœnician to the westward has been well sketched by M. de Vogüé in the *Revue Archéologique*, vol. ix. (1863), p. 204.

¹⁷ I am indebted to Messrs. Harrison & Sons, St. Martin's Lane, for the specimens here given. The old font has lately been greatly improved by the introduction of new forms engraved to represent the lapidary character of the inscriptions.

	Modern Hebrew.	Old Syriac.	Rabbinical Hebrew.	Chaldaeo-Pehlvi.	Sassanian Pehlvi.	Modern Pehlvi.	Persian Naekhi.
A	א	𐤀	א	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا
B	ב	𐤁	ב	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	ب
G	ג	𐤂	ג	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	گ
D	ד	𐤃	ד	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	د
H	ה	𐤄	ה	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	ه
W	ו	𐤅	ו	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅	و
Z	ז	𐤆	ז	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	ز
Kh	ח	𐤇	ח	𐬇	𐬇	𐬇	خ
I	י	𐤈	י	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈	ي
K	כ	𐤉	כ	𐬉	𐬉	𐬉	ک
L	ל	𐤊	ל	𐬊	𐬊	𐬊	ل
M	מ	𐤋	מ	𐬋	𐬋	𐬋	م
N	נ	𐤌	נ	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	ن
S	ס	𐤍	ס	𐬍	𐬍	𐬍	س
P	פ	𐤎	פ	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	پ
Ts	צ	𐤏	צ	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	ت
R	ר	𐤐	ר	𐬐	𐬐	𐬐	ر
Sh	ש	𐤑	ש	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	ش
T	ת	𐤒	ת	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	ت
Ī				𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	ي

Hebrew Letters not used in the Pehlvi:—**ט** Teth = **𐬔**;
ץ Ayin = **𐬕**; **ק** Koph = **𐬖**; **שׁ** Sin.

The materials for the biography of Artaxias are limited in the extreme, and reach us only in the casual mention of his name by the classical writers, while treating on the more special themes of the period—the varied fortunes of the Greek generals, and the Seleucidan successors of Alexander the Great. The kingdom Artaxias re-established, and raised to so high a position in the scale of contemporary nations, has preserved no single historical reminiscence of his rule, amid the annals of its own soil; and the sole memorial of the reign of the individual whose titular designation became dynastic with subsequent monarchs, has hitherto been supposed to consist in the tradition of the deserted site of the “Armenian Carthage,”¹⁸ a city which in intermediate times had retained its founder’s original denomination.¹⁹

Artaxias, who is held to have been a native of the country, first appears upon the historic scene as one of the generals in local command, and conventionally as ruler of Armenia proper, under Antiochus the Great.²⁰ From this

¹⁸ Plutarch, in Lucullus, xxxii. 4.

¹⁹ Tacitus, Annals, ii. 56.

²⁰ As these passages are of considerable importance, I transcribe them entire:—

Ἱστοροῦσι δὲ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν μικρὰν πρότερον οὖσαν αὐξηθῆναι διὰ τῶν περὶ Ἀρταξίαν καὶ Ζαριάδριν, οἳ πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου στρατηγῶν, βασιλεύσαντες δ’ ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἦτταν ὁ μὲν τῆς Σωφηνῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀκισιηῆς καὶ Ὀδομαντίδος καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ὁ δὲ τῆς περὶ Ἀρτάξατα, συνήύξησαν ἐκ τῶν περικειμένων ἔθνων ἀποτεμόμενοι μέρη, ἐκ Μήδων μὲν τὴν τε Κασπιανὴν καὶ Φαυνίτιν καὶ Βασοροπέδαν, Ἰβήρων δὲ τὴν τε παρῶρειαν τοῦ Παρνάδρου καὶ τὴν Χορζηνὴν καὶ Γωγαρηγὴν, πέραν οὖσαν τοῦ Κύρου, Χαλύβων δὲ καὶ Μοσσυνοίκων Καρηνίτιν καὶ Ξερξήνην, ἃ τῇ μικρᾷ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἐστὶν ὄμορα ἢ καὶ μέρη αὐτῆς ἐστὶ, Καταόνων δὲ Ἀκισιηγὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίταυρον, Σύρων δὲ Ταρωνίτιν, ὥστε πάντας ὁμογλώττους εἶναι.—Strabo, xi., c. xiv. § 5.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ παλαιὸς λόγος οὗτος, ὁ δὲ τούτου νεώτερος καὶ κατὰ Πέρσας εἰς τὸ ἐφεξῆς μέχρι εἰς ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐν κεφαλαιῷ πρέποι ἂν μέχρι τοσοῦτου λεχθεὶς, ὅτι κατεῖχον τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Πέρσαι καὶ Μακεδόνες, μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ

indeterminate subordination he readily emancipated himself, on or probably before the treaty of the Syrian king with the Romans, in 188 B.C. Of the minor incidents of his reign, by far the most interesting to Western ideas is the singular association of the fugitive Hannibal in the consolidation of the newly organised sovereignty, and the personal superintendence he contributed towards the selection of the site, and the laying out of the future capital of his adopted home, *Artaxata*.²¹

In 179 B.C., the position of Artaxias in the political system of Asia was sufficiently assured to entitle him to a special article in the treaty between Eumenes and Pharnaces.²² Later, in point of time, he is incidentally adverted to as intriguing with Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia (B.C. 162—130), for the purpose of extending his boundaries by their joint absorption of the province of Sophene.²³ And, finally, the public career of Artaxias was closed,

τὴν Συρίαν ἔχοντες καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν· τελευταῖος δ' ὑπῆρξεν Ὀρόντης ἀπόγονος Ὑδάριου τῶν ἐπτὰ Περσῶν ἐνός· εἶθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου στρατηγῶν τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσαντος διηρέθη δίχα, Ἀρταξίου τε καὶ Ζαριάδριος· καὶ ἦρχον οὗτοι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρέψαντος· ἠττηθέντος δ' ἐκείνου προσθήμενοι Ῥωμαίοις καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐτάττοντο βασιλεῖς προσαγορευθέντες τοῦ μὲν οὖν Ἀρταξίου Τυγράνης ἦν ἀπόγονος καὶ εἶχε τὴν ἰδίως λεγομένην Ἀρμενίαν, . . . τοῦ δὲ Ζαριάδριος ὁ Σωφηνὸς Ἀρτάνης ἔχων τὰ νότια μέρη καὶ τούτων τὰ πρὸς δύσιν μάλλον. κατελύθη δ' οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυγράνου, καὶ πάντων κατέστη κύριος ἐκείνος.—Strabo, xi., c. xiv. § 15.

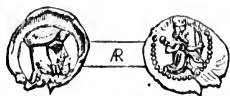
²¹ Plutarch, in Lucullus, xxxi. 5; Strabo, xi., c. xiv. 6.

²² Ἐπεγράφη δὲ καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ, τῷ τῆς Ἀρμενίας σατραπίῃ, τ' ἄλλα, διότι παραβῆς τὰς πρὸς Εὐμένην συνθήκας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀριαράθῃ. Περιελήφθησαν δὲ ταῖς συνθήκαις, τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν δυναστῶν Ἀρταξίας, ὁ τῆς πλείστης Ἀρμενίας ἄρχων, κ.τ.λ.—Polybius, xxvi. 31, 15.

²³ ὅτι τὸν Μιθροβουζάνην ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῶν ἀρχὴν καταγαγόντος Ἀριαράθους, Ἀρταξίας ὁ τῆς Ἀρμενίας βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἀφιστάμενος τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλεονεξίας πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Ἀριαράθην, παρακαλῶν συμφρονησαὶ καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ἐκίτερον παρ' τὸν ἑαυτοῦ διαχειρισάμενον διελεῖσθαι τὴν Σωφηνήν, κ.τ.λ.—Diod. Sic. xxxi. 32.

rather ignominiously, by his capture by Antiochus Epi-
phanes, in 165 B.C.²⁴

As in a certain sense typically introductory to the sequent series of Armenian mintages, I reproduce, in a woodcut, a rare if not unique coin, which Mr. Vaux some years ago selected from the ample stores of the British Museum, as seeming to establish, in the association of the conventional device of the early Daric archer with the exceptional form of head-dress figured on the obverse, a direct connection with the class of money I once again seek to interest my readers in. The design of the Scythic head-piece will have to be considered hereafter, so I leave this small gem to tell its own tale.²⁵



No. 1.—Silver. Weight, 8·9 grains.

On the same occasion, Mr. Vaux, while passing in review other important numismatic novelties,²⁶ incidentally sought to reduce within more reasonable limits the fabulous antiquity heretofore assigned to Persian Darics, the opportunity being afforded by the determination of the personal identity of an unknown Greek of the name of Pythagoras, whose designation figured on another variety of these mintages, in combination with a well-executed and conventionally archaic type of the national bowman. The

²⁴ § 45. *ἑστράτευσε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρταξίαν, τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα.*
46. *Καὶ αὐτὸν ἔλων, ἐτελεύτησεν ἕνναετῆς παιδίον ὑπολιπῶν.*
κ τ. λ.—Appian, Syr. See also Section 66.

²⁵ The peculiar bossed spear of the Persians (Herodotus, vii. 41) seems to have had a crude counterpart in the spears of the Mosynœci, with the lower knob formed from the wood of the shaft.—Xenophon, v. c. 4, 12.

²⁶ Num. Chron. xviii. 147.

discovery by Mr. Loftus of a Greek inscription cut upon an already-fallen column of a palace at Susa, which had once called both Xerxes and Artaxerxes master, suggested to Mr. Vaux the identification of the Pythagoras, the son of Aristarchus, mentioned therein as the commander of the body-guard (Σωματοφύλαξ) of the Greek mercenaries in that region, with the individual of the same name, the corresponding letters of which encircle the ancient archerking, the reverse of whose coin consists merely of an obscured or imperfect incused square. In explanation of the obvious difficulties attendant upon this identification, the not unreasonable supposition is advanced, that as leader of the foreign troops, their captain may have been permitted to place his own name, in the letters of their native tongue, on the money designed for the payment of the general subsidy. Mr. Vaux remarks upon the curious coincidence of the name of Pythagoras being written on the coins as ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗ, instead of in the grammatical form of ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΟΥ; but this might be easily accounted for, if all other things fell in, by supposing that among soldiers domesticated, if not frequently born and bred, in the country, the Persian genitive termination²⁷ was colloquially adopted in lieu of the more severe Greek, as we have seen that, in a nearly parallel instance, it was customary to inscribe the larger Achaemenian coins with מור in the genitive or adjective form, which was effected by the simple addition of the final *i* to the substantive מור (מורר מור).

The medals of Tiribazes, which we have next to refer to, bear more directly on the history of Armenia, in the fact that he was governor of the western division of that

²⁷ The other examples of this type of coinage are very defective in the orthography of the Greek name.—Trésor de Numismatique, p. 139, pl. xlvi. No 14.

country during the revolt of Cyrus the younger, and the "retreat of the ten thousand."²⁸ His reverse types, also, in the figure of Ormazd, connect themselves with the Zoroastrian doctrines as accepted by the Achæmenians, and have a certain bearing upon the local development of the creed, in the design of that divinity rising from the flames of the fire altar, which so early became a distinguishing feature of the Armenian reverse devices. With every desire, however, to claim such admirable specimens of Greek art for the further kingdom of Armenia proper, I cannot concur in any notion that should attribute these coins to provincial mints, or indeed to any period while Tiribazes held so minor an office as Satrap of Western Armenia. The purely Phœnician style of the legends, as well as the alternative Greek, limits these issues to more westerly sites, which the absence of all Armenian peculiarities would still further confirm,²⁹ though in the name itself and its derivation nothing but unadulterated Persian is to be detected; and it is singular that the very difficulty which the Duc de Luynes felt about the unexplained final *vau* was inherent in the simple necessities of the language out of whose elements the name was framed. The *Tir*, "an arrow" (a name of Mercury), Sanskrit *tír*,

²⁸ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iv. c. 4, § 4, et seq.; vii. c. 8, § 25. Diodorus Siculus, xiv. c. 5. Mr. Ainsworth supposes the site of the palace of Tiribazes to have been "at or near to Perak or Lis, north of Lake Nazuk." (About lat. 30° 0', long. 42° 20'.)

²⁹ After I had written the above, my attention was called to an article by Mr. W. H. Waddington in the *Revue Numismatique* (Paris, 1860), in which I find he has discussed this question from an independent point of view, and arrived at an almost identical conclusion with myself in assigning these coins "à l'époque où Tiribaze commandait en Cypre (386—380 B.C.)," p. 435.

in combination with *Bázu* (Zend, *Bázu*, Sanskrit *Báhu*), "an arm," sufficiently indicates the origin of the designation, the second component element of which entered so largely into the nominal compounds, as in *Pharnabazes* and *Artaxerxes*, *μακρόχειρ*, &c.

These coins may be briefly described :—

1. Silver. Size 5.

Obv.—Baal standing to the left, clothed in a Greek mantle. The left hand rests upon a spear; the right hand is extended, and supports a small eagle.

Legend. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣. Monogram T. (Variants of monogram in the field, ΣO.)

Rev.—Ormazd, as ordinarily represented in the Persepolitan sculptures. The right hand holds aloft a chaplet, as if in the act of bestowal; a diminutive eagle perches on his left hand (in some specimens this eagle is replaced by a flower).

Though the number of extant coins of Artaxias would appear to be limited in the extreme, the variety and suggestive importance of the types and devices contributed by the five specimens now engraved may well appeal to the interest of those who are as yet unprepared to follow the minor details of the local coinage. The examples immediately available present a singular illustration of the origination and speedy growth of a reassertive effort amid an ancient nationality, guided by the inspiration and leadership of a seeming scion of their own race, who had attained eminence and command in other lands and under the foreign rulers who still held the more fruitful provinces of the empire of Darius, under a somewhat dubious prestige, as the generals and successors of Alexander the Great.

The portrait of Artaxias is first presented on his coins as a young and singularly handsome man, a native model, under Greek treatment, of one of the best types of human

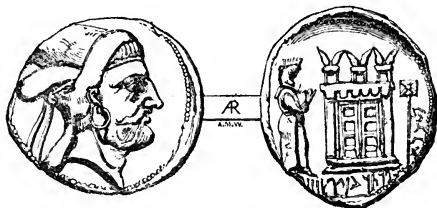
beauty.³⁰ His head-dress would seem strange to western eyes, but it has preserved its significance in almost the last home of the fire-worshippers, who live undisturbed under British sway in their chosen refuge on the west coast of India, whither it would seem to have travelled in all its pristine integrity from that early centre of Zoroastrian faith, *Azerbaiján*, the Caspian border-province of close ethnic identity with Armenia itself.

As far as can be gathered from the classic authors, there is no evidence of any special association of this style of turban with the localities indicated, but for long past numismatists have thoroughly identified the open-top, mitre-like cap with the kingship of the whole or some portion of Armenia in its more extended geographical sense. The elaborately-folded and artistically-arranged head-dress may be supposed to have been constructed from fine linen ;³¹ and it would seem, from the contrast between the

³⁰ I fear I must not appeal to the illustrations here produced for confirmation of my assertion ; but, in truth, though every exertion has been made in the trial of different artists (Nos. 2 and 3 obverses are, as may be seen, from different hands), even to the calling in of the aid of photography (No. 6), the drawings altogether fail to realise the typical characteristics of the oriental models. As a work of art, nothing, perhaps, could be better than Mr. Williams's cut (No. 2), but the likeness is palpably defective. Mr. Vaux's engraver failed most signally in the plate in N. C., vol. xviii.; as also did the Duc de Luynes' artist in pl. vi. of his *Satrapies*. On the other hand, I must give all honour to Mr. Williams for the success with which he has treated the profile of Alexander the Great in No. 4.

³¹ The small horns, which would discountenance any idea of so light a substance, are, I understand, fashioned in these days, in Bombay, by successive layers or folds of muslin stiffened in the ordinary way. In the more civilised cities frames of the Turban, in cardboard, are kept ready for intending purchasers, who select their own colours for the outer covering. White is reserved for the Priests.

obverse and reverse of coin No. 2, to have constituted the indoor or summer costume, as opposed to the more ample and substantial covering which was requisite for open-air worship at a fire-altar, or the more vigorous action of a campaign, in so severe a winter climate as that notoriously endured by the inhabitants of the country Artaxias ruled over.




No. 2.—Silver. Weight, 236·2 grains. B. M.

Obv.—Head of the king to the right, wearing the Armenian turban and conspicuous ear-rings, corded diadem, &c.

Rev.—A fire-temple, to the right of which is a standard exhibiting the device of the ancient cuneiform symbol for an altar; to the left is the standing figure of the king, in the act of worship, clothed in the long Median robe, and wearing the Armenian variety of the Phrygian bonnet.

Legend בהרת ורתשינ

The second coin of Artaxias introduces him more fully in his capacity of priest-king. Oriental instincts had too clear a knowledge of the importance attaching to the head of the national faith to contemplate a delegation of this function of royalty to any *Βασιλεύς ἄρχων*, or *Rex sacrificulus*; indeed, as is here seen, the tendency was to elevate the ruler into a very near approach to the divinity, and Artaxias even arrogates to himself the throne of Jupiter, and introduces his own portrait in place of and in

the very attitude devoted to the conventional representation of Baal-Tars.³² The small standard which was placed on the right side of the fire-temple altar in the previous coin, here occupies a more prominent position in the field; and if the object it was designed to represent proves to be a simple reproduction of the old Assyrian sign for “a temple or an altar,” its use in the present case may be associated with the monarch’s less formal devotion in court or chamber, in contrast to the higher ceremonial of public ministration before the sacred fire. The exact cuneiform device is , and its meaning in the sense now given is unhesitatingly accepted by both English and continental scholars.³³



No. 3.—Silver. Weight, 256·5 grains, B. M.

Obv.—Head of the king to the right, with Armenian turban, large ear-rings, twisted diadem, &c.

Rev.—King seated on his throne (after the design of the Baal-Tars device on the coins of Tarsus),³⁴ wearing the Median robe with hanging sleeves,

³² M. de Luynes, *Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapies*, &c., pl. ix. 20, 21; pl. x. 20—24.

³³ Rawlinson’s *Ancient Monarchies*, i. p. 337. MM. Oppert and Menant, &c. Mr. Norris informs me, in explanation of the marked repetition of *fours* in this symbol, that the *fours* all import the same thing in Babylonian, “Action or Creation,” and, with the determinative sign of *God*, always signify Nebo, as the active god, perhaps the Creator.

³⁴ M. de Luynes, ix. 13, 14, &c.

and a turban similar to that on the obverse. The right hand rests upon a spear; the left holds a cup. To the front is seen the typical standard with the device of an altar.

Legend בנדי ורהר'שני ארסנך

The impression of the Armenian die on No. 4, which has only partially obliterated the head of Alexander the Great, previously in relief on the coin, seems to have been left incomplete in many of its details from the resistance the irregular and uneven surface presented in the process of the second stamping. Though the profile is altogether defective, the outline of the head-dress is sufficiently distinct, and the prominent and stiff peak in front and other indications seem to identify it with one of the varieties of the Paphlagonian helmet, which is described by Xenophon as being composed of leather,³⁵ while Herodotus has taught us that it was netted or plaited,³⁶ a definition that has given rise to some controversy, which, however, may perhaps be reconciled and explained by supposing that the obvious rigidity of the front and sides of the helmet may have been secured by a wicker-work frame, over which the outside leather covering was laid. It is clearly shown in the enumeration of the varied costumes of the nationalities serving in the

³⁵ Χιτωνίσκουσ δὲ ἐνδεδύκεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων, πάχος ὡσ λινού στρωματοδέσμου· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνη σκύτινα, οἷά περ τὰ Παφλαγονικά, κρώβυλον ἔχοντα κατὰ μέσον ἐγγυτάτω τιυροειδῆ εἶχον δὲ καὶ σαγάρεις σιδηρᾶς.—Xenophon. Anab. v. c. iv. § 13.

³⁶ Οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἷδε ἦσαν· Πέρσαι μὲν ὧδε ἐσκενασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τίαρασ καλεομένους, πιλους, ὑπαγαεασ —Herodotus, vii. § 61.

· Κίσσιοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσκενάδατο, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πύλων μιτρηφόροι ἦσαν.—§ 62.

Παφλαγόνεσ δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο, ἐπὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχοντεσ κράνεα πεπλεγμένα, ἀσπίδασ δὲ σμικρὰσ, αἰχμὰσ δὲ οὐ μεγάλασ.—§ 72.

army of Xerxes, that the Armenians, Phrygians, and the Paphlagonians wore mere modifications of one and the same style of head-gear; it is moreover understood that the Phrygian bonnet, like the helmet on these coins, tied under the chin, a custom common to many of the subject races under the Achæmenians, whose costumes are figured in careful detail amid the sculptures at Persepolis.

There are many foreign but closely contemporaneous examples of a similar arrangement for the continuation of the cap, bonnet, or helmet, designed for the protection of the sides of the face, and to a lesser degree than is here shown for the covering of the chin, which last peculiarity is so exaggerated in the present examples as almost to imply that this leather case constituted an outer covering, or else rejoined in a fur lining, within the visible outline represented on the coins. To the former conclusion, indeed, the odd corner at the back of the helmet gives countenance, inasmuch as its hollow recess would just have been fitted to receive the mitred top of the turban.

A singular illustration comes to us from without, in the parallel delineation of the Persians at the battle of Issus, which quoad costume we receive in an authentic shape, though fashioned by the independent hands of adversaries, in the celebrated Mosaic from Pompeii—the presumed copy of a picture by Apelles of the triumphant charge of Alexander, and the final rout of the party immediately in attendance on Darius, all of whom, even to the charioteer, are swathed around both head, much of the face, and the entire chin with apparently light loose folds of linen, which retain one generally consistent form; and that form differs but little—with the excep-

tion of the marked prominence of the leather peak—from the leading idea of the contour of the Armenian head-gear. But the particular point that this picture of the artist's own time would seem to establish for us is, that whether for the extremes of summer or winter, or even for ordinary exposure under the rays of the sun, it was the custom to add an outer covering for the head, independent of the ordinary tiara; and the main difference between Darius and his chiefs in this instance consists in the regal tint of his linen or silk muffler, and in the relative height of his tiara, which interferes inconveniently with the ordinary arrangement of the folds of cloth.³⁷

But to revert to the Armenian bonnet on the coins, both Nos. 4 and 5 exhibit another peculiarity of the Mosynœcian helmet described by Xenophon, in "the plait of hair round the middle, nearly resembling a tiara,"³⁸ which in this case seems to have consisted of a diadem passing over the forehead at the point of junction of the hair, carried round the head, and terminating in the regal fillets at the back; when worn with the mitre-like turban, Nos. 2 and 3, the cord passed under one of the sloping folds of the linen, but it is carried round the outside of the bonnet, and may have served as an additional means of retaining that ungainly head-dress in its place.

The reverses of Nos. 4 and 5 are marked by an innovation upon the earlier type of No. 2 in the introduction of the

³⁷ "Les ruines de Pompeii."—M. F. Mazois (Paris, 1829), pl. xlviii.

Overbeck (Leipzig, 1856), p. 424.

"Pompeii," Dr. Dyer (London, 1867), p. 277.

³⁸ This is Watson's rendering of the text. French translators make it "sur le milieu desquels une tresse en crin s'élevait en spirale comme une tiare."

figure of Ormazd rising from the flames—a change which finds its parallel in the sequent series of Sassanian coins, where the simplicity of the sacred flame on Ardeshir's fire-altar is elaborated among his later successors with the like adjunct. This may indicate some advance in, or modification of, the Zoroastrian creed itself, of which there are other evidences in the legends themselves, which I propose to reserve for examination hereafter.

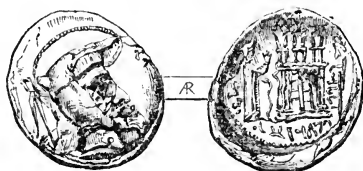


No. 4.—Silver. Weight, 254·0 grains. B. M.

Obv.—Imperfectly developed head of the king, covered with the Phrygo-Armenian bonnet. (This device will be seen to have been stamped over the old device of a current coin of Alexander the Great, whose profile is distinctly visible on the lower edge of the double-struck piece.)

Rev.—A fire-temple, from amid the flames of which issues the figure of Ormazd. To the right, the usual symbolical altar-standard; to the left, the king standing with his hand resting on a bow, and wearing the conventional Armenian bonnet.

Legend ורתדאט
בר



No. 5.—Silver. Weight, 64·7. B. M.

Obv.—Head of the king in the usual Armenian bonnet,

with projecting front, and prominent chin-protector. The definition of the face is imperfect, and for the same reason as that which interfered with the complete impression of No. 4, the piece having been struck over an earlier coin.

Rev.—Fire-temple, with Ormazd, as in No. 4. The king's cap is similar to that on the obverse, and the left hand rests upon a bow.

Legend - [סג] רתיר

The coin, however, in the entire Armenian series that will most interest European antiquaries is No. 6, which depicts, in the head on the obverse, the first effort at the transformation of the capote of the savage into the model of the head-piece which ran so lengthened a career among mediæval men-at-arms, our own among the rest—only to disappear with the uniform of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem at their last parade.

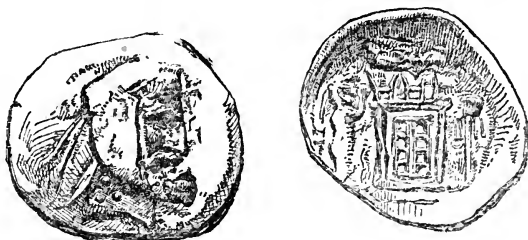
The coin, as may be inferred from the woodcut, is in a very damaged condition,³⁹ but the outline of the profile in the original is sufficiently preserved to convey with the full force of Archaic Greek art the more firm, but equally characteristic features of the king at an advanced period of life.

The low-crowned head-piece has attached to it broad cheek-plates of metal,⁴⁰ which were probably supplemented by a third, or back-plate, above the junction of which, or

³⁹ This cut has been executed from a photograph of the coin directly thrown upon the wood *itself*; but it only affords another instance of how unsatisfactory a process photography may become under an imperfect treatment of lights and shadows.

⁴⁰ There is a curious example of the adaptation of cheek-plates to a Greek helmet on one of the coins of Eucratides (of the type of No. 1, pl. iii., *Ariana Antiqua*), figured by General Cunningham in his supplementary Bactrian plates.

possibly around it, but within the cheek-plates, is carried the diadem, the fillets of which fall freely from the back of the cap. It is difficult to distinguish the material of which the chin-protector is composed, and the option may be left between fur, scale, or even chain armour, if such was known in those early days.⁴¹ The neck-plate, with its three bosses, seems to connect the helmet with the body-armour, which was probably of the ancient scale fabric so frequently represented in the Assyrian sculptures.



No. 6.—Silver. Weight, 249·0 grains.
General A. CUNNINGHAM.

Obv.—The head of the king, at a more advanced period of life, wearing a flat-crowned helmet with broad cheek-plates and projecting protection for the chin; the whole secured to the body-armour by a connecting neck-piece. The fillets of the diadem fall from the back of the steel cap.

Rev.—Fire-temple, with adjuncts, as in No. 4.
Legend *obliterated*.

EDWARD THOMAS.

(*To be continued.*)

⁴¹ Mr. Gosse considered that he could detect traces of chain-armour among the sculptures at Kouyunjik.—“Assyria,” P. H. Gosse. London, 1852, p. 287.

“The antiquity of interlaced chain-mail has been much discussed. It is most clearly sculptured on the base of the Trajan column.”—“Ancient Armour,” by John Hewitt, ii. 109, *note*. Oxford, 1860.

NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In the *troisième livraison* of the *Revue Numismatique Belge* for 1867 there are the following articles:—

1. "Souvenir of the Crusades—Quarter *denier*, found near Ypres," by M. R. Chalon.
2. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins, or Pieces of Necessity," by M. le Lieut.-Col. P. Mailliet (sixth article).
3. "Imperial Coins struck at Nimègue," by M. W. de Voogt.
4. "Weights of the Middle Ages," by M. R. Chalon.
5. "Medal of Albert Pio of Savoy, Count de Carpi," by M. François Rabut.
6. "Jettons of Tournai," by M. R. Chalon.
7. "Some Account of Jettons which are wanting," by M. le Comte de Limburg-Hirum.
8. "The Largest Medal ever struck," by M. R. Chalon.

The medal here described was engraved by the late Laurent Joseph Hart, and is of most remarkable dimensions, being 150 millimètres or 6 inches in diameter. On one side is the bust of Leopold I., with an appropriate inscription on the other, CONGRES NATIONAL DE BELGIQUE, 1830—1831, and the names of all the members of this assembly within a crown of laurel, with coats of arms, &c. The largest medal struck in France is that of the *Chemins de Fer*, by Bovy; its diameter is only 114 millimètres. The *Waterloo Medal*, by Pistrucci, is 138 millimètres, but it only exists in electrotypes. Forty examples in bronze and ten in white metal only have been issued of this extraordinary piece.

9. "Medal of a Numismatist, *à propos* of the laying of the First Stone of a Lighthouse on one of the Summits of the Alps," by M. A. Durand.

This medal has been issued by M. Ernest Griolet, member of the Swiss Alpine Club, to commemorate his erection of a lighthouse on the mountain of Bella-Tola, which had been presented to him by the commune of Saint-Luc, for his generous behaviour to the inhabitants of Saint-Luc after a severe fire had nearly destroyed this village. On one side ERNEST GRIOLET, a *pharos*, and view of the Alps on a shield; the crest, a head of a *chamois* placed upon two alpen-stocks crossed. On each side a bouquet of flowers of the Alps; beneath, a star; below, BELLA TOLA between two stars. *Rev. AU CLUB ALPIN*. In a garland of pine and Swiss pine the cross of the Swiss Confederation above two hands clasped; in the *exergue*, 1866.

In the *Correspondance* is a letter from M. Fr. Seguin to M. R. Chalon respecting some Russian copper coins.

In the *Mélanges*, a notice of recent numismatic publications.

"NOTIZIE INTORNO ALLA VITA ED ALLE OPERE DI MONSIGNOR CELESTINO CAVEDONI CON APPENDICE DI SUE LETTERE ED ALTRE COSE INEDITE," Modena, Tipografia editrice dell'Immacolata Concezione, 8vo. 1867; also large 8vo. with photograph.

This most interesting volume, containing the life, list of works, and other matters relating to the late Abbé Cavedoni, has been produced under the editorship of Dr. Pietro Bortolotti, Dr. D. Antonio Massinelli, Dr. D. Antonio Dondi, and Sig. D. Luigi Della Valle. It is divided into two parts and an appendix, together forming a volume of 589 pages. The *first part* opens with a short life of Cavedoni by Dr. Massinelli, followed by three inscriptions in Latin, and at p. 55 commences a list of the writings of Cavedoni, amounting to no less than 962, and extending over forty-four years (1822—1866). The archæological articles comprise *Numismatics*, *Epigraphy*, and *various Archæology*. The sacred papers are numerous, and there are various literary studies on different subjects, besides several Latin inscriptions of funerals, of sacred subjects, and of a miscellaneous nature.¹ A useful list of the journals in which most of the papers have appeared is given at p. 63, and the number amounts to 52. What advantage it would be if they could all be reprinted in full, as has been done for the works of Borghesi. This part of the volume forms the most useful portion, for when necessary Dr. Bortolotti has put notes and explanations. The *second part* consists of various complimentary letters from most of the distinguished archæologists and numismatists of the day—Galvani, Ferrucci, Henzen, Garrucci, Patrizi, Mommsen, Gerhard, Secchi, Minervini, &c., &c.,² showing, if it had been required, how valuable the work of Cavedoni has

¹ A translation of this portion into French has been published by M. le Baron de Witte (*Rev. Num.* 1866, p. 367).

² Among the letters is one (p. 306) from Sig. Antonio Panizzi, late Principal Librarian at the British Museum, addressed to Sig. Vincenzo Mattioli, in which he says, "Il Cav. Madden (di cui mi dici han trovato lettere tra quelle di Monsignore) è alla Testa del Dipartimento de MSS. in questo Museo." There is here a mistake. Cavedoni corresponded with me, and not with my father (see p. 536 and 219).

been considered. The *Appendix* consists of 165 unpublished letters written by Cavedoni to his friends and correspondents. In some of these there is much valuable matter, which would not otherwise have been made public. These letters are also accompanied by excellent notes. The *Appendix* is followed by an article of the late Sig. Cavedoni, entitled, *Osservazioni Critiche sopra gli Antichi Medaglioni Contorniati*, which, though printed in 1862 in the *Bulletino Archeologico Italiano*, vol. ii. No. 5, pp. 33—38; No. 7, pp. 49—56 (a journal which has now ceased to exist, and was always of limited circulation), was considered by Cav. Minervini and the editors of the *Notizie* of sufficient importance to reprint again.

The volume concludes with some further additions to the list of works written by Cavedoni, and with some observations. Among them is a notice of the short account of the life and writings of Cavedoni, published in the Numismatic Chronicle of last year (N.S., vol. vi.; *Proceedings*, pp. 17—21), and kindly communicated by the Cav. Carlo Gonzales. Dr. Bortolotti says (p. 585), "At the moment of going to press there came into my hands a brief biographical and bibliographical notice of Cavedoni, as published in London on the faith of information furnished from Italy, in which references are made to certain periodicals containing articles of Cavedoni: *L'Educatore Storico* and *L'Indicatore Econimo* of Modena, the *Journal des Savants* and the *Revue Numismatique* of Brussels, periodicals not mentioned in my catalogue; and the conclusion to which others would be led by this respectable London journal and its Italian correspondent would be that I had overlooked these important sources of information.

"The truth is that, as regards the two former publications, there was no need of my mentioning them at all. I passed them over with many others in which I found nothing. With respect to the other two, it so happened that I had already occasion to mention, at p. 57, how they had been in vain examined and looked over; the *Revue* of Brussels (unknown at Modena) by a friend in Belgium, and the *Journal des Savants*, embracing the period 1820 to 1865, corresponding to the letters and life of Cavedoni, by myself.

"I simply state facts without pronouncing an opinion, acknowledging as I do that the most diligent inquirer may sometimes commit oversight, or fail in attention. I am aware, moreover, of the risk and difficulties both of denial and of absolute assertion regarding the facts of such inquiries. I hope, on the other hand, not to have laid myself open to the charge of discourtesy or of presumption if I hesitate to place full reliance upon the information forwarded to the English periodical, and

the more so because in other particulars I have, to say the truth, found it not quite accurate, and incomplete. But enough of this."

It is not for one moment to be supposed that Sig. Gonzales had carefully and minutely examined every periodical mentioned in his information, and most likely these four were put down by him as probably containing articles of Cavedoni. The editors of the Numismatic Chronicle were at the time anxious to obtain some information on the life and writings of Cavedoni, and were and are deeply indebted to Sig. Gonzales for his prompt courtesy in replying to their request. It is a matter of great surprise that Sig. Gonzales has not contributed any memorial letter to the long list printed in the *Notizie*, and still more that none of Cavedoni's letters to this gentleman—and we know they exist—have been published. But perhaps Sig. Gonzales is reserving materials for a government publication (see Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. v. p. 372), which was at the time delayed on account of the late war.

In conclusion, we must congratulate the editors of the *Notizie* on the result of their labours. The book will not only be valued generally for its intrinsic worth, but will be treasured by the friends and acquaintance of the late Monsignor Cavedoni as a lasting memorial of this great man.

The first part of a new numismatic publication, entitled, "Die Münzen und Medaillen Granbündens" (The Coins and Medals of the Canton Grisons), by C. F. Trachsel, has recently appeared at Berlin (1866). The work is to be divided into twelve chapters, containing the following information:—I. The oldest numismatic monuments of the eleventh century. II. The coins of the bishops of Coire—first part, from the eleventh to the sixteenth century; second part, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. III. The coins of the Benedictine Abbey of Disentis. IV. The coins of the League of the House of God. V. The coins of the town of Coire. VI. The coins of the barony of Haldenstein. VII. The coins of the Barons and Counts of Schauenstein. VIII. The coins and medals of the Counts of Trivulzi, as lords of the barony of Misocco (Masox). IX. The coins of the Princes of Dietrichstein, as lords of the barony of Tarasp (Trasp). X. The coins and medals of Veltlin. XI. The coins of the Canton Grisons in the nineteenth century. XII. History of the Medals of the Canton Grisons, including eminent men, *curiosa*, and appendix.

The first part concludes with the *groschen* of Thomas Bishop of Coire in 1554. We defer a fuller notice of this interesting pamphlet till the entire work is concluded.

In the *Reliquary* for January and April, 1867, is a continuation of the excellent account of the Traders' Tokens of Derbyshire, by Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A. In the January number is also an account of a find of English silver coins at Stamford, with some remarks thereon by Mr. Justin Simpson. The coins, about 3,000 in number, appear to be nearly all of the Henrys and the Edwards; the latest being of Edward IV. We hope to hear more on the subject of this hoard, which is now under examination at the British Museum.

 MISCELLANEA.

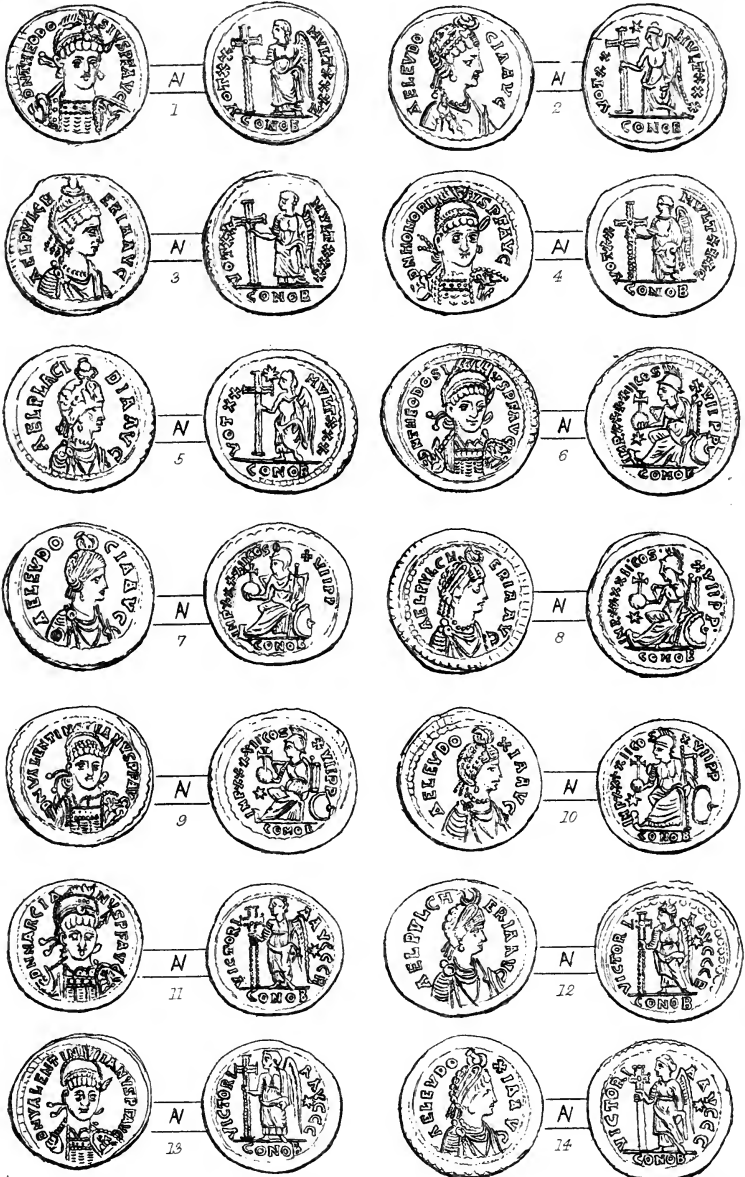
SALE OF COINS.—The valuable collection of coins and medals comprising Greek, Roman, early British, Anglo-Saxon, English, Scotch, &c., formed by John Lindsay, Esq., of Cork, was dispersed by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, & Hodge, on the 14th August, and three following days, and realised £1,260 3s. The under-mentioned pieces are deserving of notice.

Lot 28. Regnald, *Rud.* pl. xi. n. 1—£24. Lot 41. Egebeorht, *Rud.* pl. xxvii. n. 1—£6 6s. Lot 46. Alfred, *Lind.* pl. iv. n. 93; rev. SPONIVIL in monogram for Swanage, of great rarity—£2 11s. Lot 52. Aethelstan, *Lind.* pl. iv. n. 108, of the Rochester Mint, the earliest coin known of the town—£4 5s. Lot 150. Edward III. London groat with Roman M in DEVM, &c.—£2 11s. Lot 151. Richard II. London groat—£3 5s. Lot 165. Henry IV. London light half-groat—£4 4s. Lot 591. Constantine III. *N.*; rev. VICTORIA AAVGGG—£4 16s. Lot 593. Majorian *N.*; rev. VICTORIA AVGGG—£3 12s. Lot 640. Medal *R.* Destruction of Kittanning by Col. Armstrong, 1756; rev. Arms of the City of Philadelphia—£14 5s. Lot 673. Henry, Earl of Northumberland, *Lind.* pl. i. n. 21—£4. Lot 681. Alexander II. pennies, *Lind.* pl. iii. n. 46, 50—£5 5s. Lot 702. James IV. open-crown groat, minted at Edinburgh, *Lind.* n. 160, with PROTECTOR NEVORUM—£4 4s. Lot 703. James IV. penny, *Lind. Supp.* n. 27; * rev. SALV. FAC., &c.—£2 14s. Lot 707. Mary testoon, *Lind.* 182—£4 4s. Lot 711. Mary, after the death of Francis, testoon, 1561—£9. Lot 738. James III. unicorn, *Lind.* pl. xiii. n. 25—£5 10s. Lot 739. James IV. unicorn, *Lind. Supp.* pl. iii. n. 2—£10 10s. Lot 740. James III. rider—£5. Lot 741. James IV. $\frac{2}{3}$ rider, *Lind.* n. 30—£5. Lot 742. James IV. $\frac{2}{3}$ St. Andrew—£9 9s. Lot 743. James V. écu, *Lind. Supp.* pl. iii. n. 3—£9 9s. Lot 746. James V. bonnet-piece—£7 7s. Lot 747. James V

$\frac{2}{3}$ bonnet-piece—£10 10s. Lot 750. Mary lion, with MARIA REGINA in monogram—£6 10s. Lot 751. Mary $\frac{1}{2}$ lion, 1553—6 15s. Lot 753. James VI. hat-piece, 1592—£10. Lot 756. James VI. $\frac{1}{2}$ rider, 1601—£6 6s. Lot 761. Charles I. $\frac{1}{2}$ unit—£5 10s. Lot 763. Charles I. $\frac{1}{4}$ unit—£4 8s. Lot 764. Charles I. $\frac{1}{8}$ unit—£5. Lot 779. Fulcho de Villaret, Grand Master of Malta, R.—£6 6s.

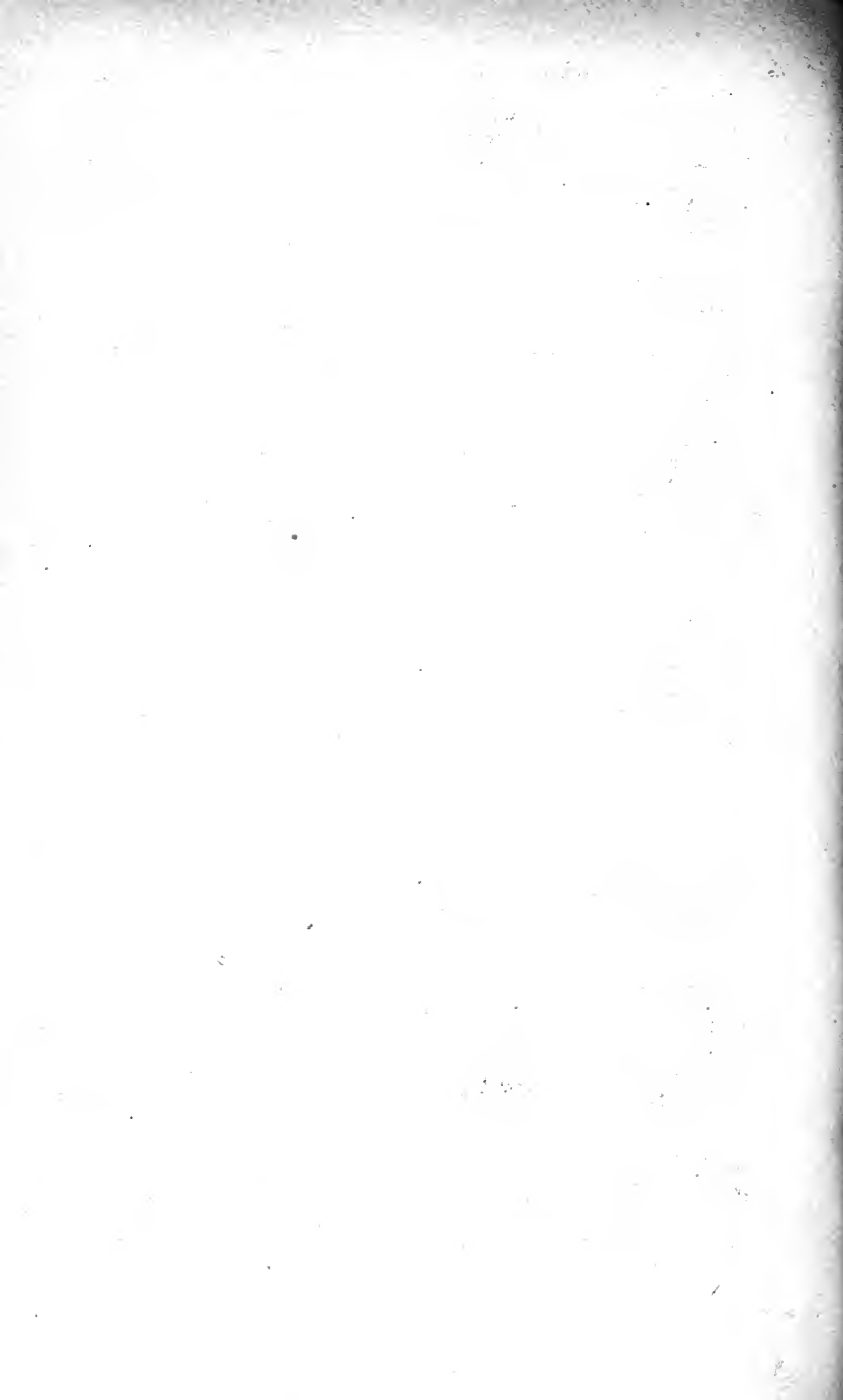
SALE OF COINS.—The small but choice cabinet of English coins, in gold, silver, and copper, formed by Sir William Baynes, Bart., was dispersed by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, on the 22nd August, 1867, and realised £459 3s. 6d. The following pieces are worth recording. Lot 24. Mary, Queen of Scots, testoon, 1561—£8. Lot 25. Mary, Queen of Scots, $\frac{1}{2}$ testoon, 1561—£10. Lot 43. Charles I. Worcester halfcrown—£3 16s. Lot 44. Charles I. Chester half-crown—£3 7s. Lot 51. Charles I. Oxford half-pound, with OXON and the city under the horse—£10. Lot 52. Charles I. Oxford pound, 1642; with MAGNI BRITANI—£5 10s. Lot 58. Cromwell crown, 1653, an early impression—£7 5s. Lot 88. Charles II. REDDITE crown—£36 10s. Lot 89. Charles II. broad, 1660; rev. MAGNALIA DEI, in brilliant condition—£10 10s. Lot 94. George I. half-crown, 1715, a fine proof—£5 2s. 6d. Lot 102. George III. five-guinea piece, 1777, by Yeo, a brilliant pattern—£25 5s. Lot 107. George IV. crown, MDCCCXX. Whiteaves' pattern, without the collar—£4 8s. Lot 118. Victoria crown, 1839, with rev. of five-sovereign piece—£5 5s. Lot 132. Richard II. half-hardi, of the Bordeaux Mint, the second known—£16. Lot 136. Henry VII. sovereign—£11 5s. Lot 139. Elizabeth fine sovereign, m. m. tun.—£9 15s. Lot 141. James I. rial—£9 5s. Lot 142. James I. fifteen-shilling piece—£18 5s. Lot 143. Charles I. Oxford treble unit, 1643—£8 5s. Lot 146. Cromwell broad, 1656—£5 7s. 6d.

ERRATA.—P. 60, *fifth line from the bottom*—Before the name of Constantine jun. Cæsar, insert the date 323—330? P. 158, line 23, for Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Σεπτίμιος ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟΟ ΑΘΗΝόδωρος ΑΥΤΟκράτωρ Στρατηγὸς ΡΩμαίων, read Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Σεπτίμιος ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟΟ ΑΘΗΝόδωρος Ὑπατικὸς ΑΥΤΟκράτωρ Στρατηγὸς ΡΩμαίων.



J. L. C. D. S.

BYZANTINE COINS OF THE TIME OF ARCADIVS
AND HIS SUCCESSORS.





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BYZANTINE COINS OF THE TIME OF ARCADIVS

AND HIS SUCCESSORS



XIV.

ACCOUNT OF THE COLLECTION OF ROMAN GOLD
COINS OF THE LATE DUKE DE BLACAS,PURCHASED, WITH OTHER ANTIQUITIES, FOR THE BRITISH
MUSEUM.

NEARLY two years have elapsed since I laid before the Numismatic Society the account of the splendid cabinet of Roman gold coins, presented by Edward Wigan, Esq., to the Trustees of the British Museum.¹ I have now the pleasure of calling the attention of Numismatists to the magnificent collection of Roman gold coins purchased from the heirs of the late Duke de Blacas, by the present Government.

Before entering into description, it will not be uninteresting to briefly give an account of the Blacas collection of antiquities.

“The Blacas Museum, purchased at Paris in the month of November, 1866, was principally formed by the father of the late Duke de Blacas, who was French Ambassador at Rome and at Naples for many years, and who was distinguished for his knowledge of ancient art, and also for the liberal manner in which he promoted archæological studies, as the President of the Archæological Correspondence at Rome. His official position at Rome and at Naples, his ample fortune, and his high reputation as

¹ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. v. pp. 1—56, 81—125, 372.

a connoisseur, gave him advantages as a collector of antiquities, such as few foreigners resident in Italy have possessed.

“After his death in 1839, his Museum passed into the hands of his son, the late Duke de Blacas, a worthy successor to this noble inheritance, who possessed the same refined taste for archæology as his father, and devoted himself especially to the study of Numismatics, having been engaged up to the date of his death in the translation of Mommsen’s work on Roman coins.

“He enriched his father’s collection by many valuable purchases, and with the assistance of his friend, the Baron de Witte, prepared the text and illustrations of a magnificent work, in which he intended to publish all the more remarkable objects in his collections.

“The Museum formed under such favourable auspices by some generations may be classified under the following heads :—

1. Gems.
2. Greek Fictile Vases.
3. Roman Mural Paintings.
4. Greek and Roman Terra-cottas.
5. Greek and Roman Glass.
6. Silver Toilet Service of a Roman Bride.
7. Gold ornaments.
8. GREEK AND ROMAN COINS.
9. Antiquities in bronze, lead, and silver.
10. Sculptures.
11. Greek, Latin, and Oriental Inscriptions.
12. Egyptian Antiquities.
13. Oriental and Mediæval MSS. and Antiquities.
14. Miscellaneous Antiquities.”²

In Mr. Newton’s Guide, from which I have here quoted, will be found a description of the principal objects in the

² C. T. Newton, *A Guide to the Blacas Collection of Antiquities*, p. 1. Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum. 1867.

Blacas collection exhibited to the public. The coins being in a private department, can only be seen under the usual regulations, and consequently an account of them forms no portion of this Guide. Though the present articles will only contain a description of the Roman gold coins, I hope at some future time to lay before Numismatists the most remarkable specimens of the Greek series, of the Etruscan, Latin, and Roman *aes grave*, and of the Roman silver and brass, the latter two forming no mean portion of this collection.

The Blacas collection of coins, as selected for the British Museum, consists of the following subdivisions:—

Greek autonomous	15 <i>A</i>	
	324 <i>A</i>	
	149 <i>A</i>	
	<hr/>	
	488	488
	<hr/>	
Greek Imperial	4 <i>A</i>	
Coins of Nemausus (extra)	13 <i>A</i>	
	1 lead	
<i>Lingots carrés</i>	3 <i>A</i>	
<i>Aes grave</i> , Etruscan	51 <i>A</i>	
„ Latin and Roman	30 <i>A</i>	
Roman	515 <i>A</i>	
	1 <i>A</i> medallion.	
	585 <i>A</i> { (including	
	billon.)	
	138 <i>A</i> consular.	
	147 <i>A</i> I.	
	51 <i>A</i> II.	
	216 <i>A</i> { Imp. from	
	Gallienus.	
	44 <i>A</i> Byzantine.	
	<hr/>	
	1799	1799
	<hr/>	
Sceatta	1	1
Padouans	16	16
	<hr/>	
Total		23

In my remarks on these gold coins, I have followed a similar plan to the one I adopted in my account of the Wigan collection. Every coin only existing in the collection (as far as I have been able to ascertain) is marked with an asterisk (*). It is excessively probable that in M. Cohen's work, the "Médailles Impériales," to which I have given copious references, there will be found the description of several coins from the *Cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas* of which I have made no mention. In this case, it is to be remembered that all duplicates were returned, specimens of these pieces already existing in the British Museum.

Of the historical, as well as numismatic value of this collection, ample proof will be afforded in my descriptions. There is no need of further introduction.

EARLY AUREUS OF ROME.

1. *Obv.*—Young head of Janus, crowned with laurel.

Rev.—ROMA (in *exergue*). Roman chief standing to the left, holding a rod and spear and *parazonium*. Opposite an Italian chief, also holding a rod and spear; between them a man kneeling (*camillus*, priest's assistant), holding a pig.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, p. 345; engraved pl. xlv., No. 8; D'Ailly, *Recherches sur la Mon. Rom.*, vol. i., p. 192, No. 2; engraved pl. xlvii., No. 2).

The gold coin here described has been generally classed to Campania. Both ancient and modern numismatists have agreed upon this attribution.³ The Baron d'Ailly⁴

³ Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. v. p. 34; Ch. Lenormant, *Rev. Num.* 1844, p. 170; Mommsen, *Histoire de la Monnaie Rom.*, translated from the German by the late Duke de Blacas, vol. i. p. 261; Cohen, *Méd. Cons.* p. 345; Leake, *Num. Hell.*, Eur. Greece, p. 140.

⁴ *Recherches sur la Mon. Rom.*, vol. i. p. 180.

has, however, now attributed them—and with good reason—to Rome, and considers them to have been issued—as well as the silver coins with the Janus head—about the year A.U.C. 358 (B.C. 396). Pliny, as is well known, has stated that a gold coin was introduced at Rome 62 years after the silver, which he assigns to the date 485 (B.C. 269), thus making the gold coinage to have been issued in 547 (B.C. 207).⁵ The Bamberg MS. however, quoted by Mommsen, gives the time as 51 years after the silver, which would bring the date to 537 (B.C. 217), a period Mommsen seems to incline to accept⁶ for the issue of the gold coinage, though it must be mentioned that he is speaking of the gold *sesterces* (to which I shall presently allude), and not of the gold Janus-headed coins.

This statement of Pliny is certainly out of the question. Though the Baron d'Ailly has fixed a positive date, 358 (B.C. 396), it may be perhaps safer to assume that the gold and silver of the Republic was not issued earlier than 303 (B.C. 451), or later than 433 (B.C. 321). In all probability it was struck shortly after the *aes grave libralis*, which Mommsen has clearly proved to have been first coined by the Decemvirate in 303 (B.C. 451).⁷

The reverse of this coin represents an alliance contracted by a Roman warrior with an Italian chief. The same type occurs upon the coins of the *Veturia* family, issued in 665 (B.C. 89). A pig was generally sacrificed at a treaty.⁸

⁵ "Aureus nummus post annum LXII percussus est quam argenteus."—Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii. 3.

⁶ *Geschichte des Römischen Münzwesens*, p. 404.

⁷ *Hist. de la Mon. Rom.*, ed. Blacas, vol. i. p. 179.

⁸ Livy, i. 24; Virg. *Æn.*, viii. 639—641. See also the coin of Antistius Reginus, Wigan coll., *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. v. p. 21.

SESTERCES OF THE REPUBLIC.

- * 2. *Obv.*—Head of Mars to the right, helmeted; behind, VX (60).

Rev.—ROMA (in the *exergue*). Eagle standing to the right, on a thunderbolt; above, a rod.

Unpublished. This coin is a variety of Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, p. 345; engraved pl. xliii., *Méd. de fabrique Camp.*, No. 1).

3. 20 SESTERCES. *Rev.*—ROMA (in *exergue*). (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, p. 345; engraved pl. xliii.; *Méd. de fabrique Camp.*, No. 3.)

These last two coins, as well as the piece of 40 *sesterces*, have also been attributed to Campania;⁹ but the Baron d' Ailly¹⁰ considers them to have been issued at Rome in 485 (B.C. 269), at the same time as the *denarius*.¹¹

4. CORNELIA—MANLIA. *Rev.*—L. SVLLA IMP. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Cornelia, No. 42; engraved pl. xxv., Manlia, No. 2; a slight variety, other coins having only L. SVLLA IM.)

POMPEY THE GREAT.

5. *Obv.*—MAGNVS. Head of Africa to the right, covered with head of elephant, between *præfericulum* and *lituus*; all within crown of laurel.

Rev.—PRO. COS (in the *exergue*). Pompey in a quadriga to the right, holding a palm; on one of the horses, a figure riding; above, Victory flying to right. (Plate I., No. 1.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Pompeia, No. 11; engraved *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xxxiii., Pompeia, No. 2; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 14), as existing only in the *Musée de Bologne*. This coin

⁹ Cohen, *l. c.*; Leake, *Num. Hell.*, Eur. Greece, p. 140.

¹⁰ *Hist. de la Mon. Rom.*, vol. i. p. 182; vol. ii., part i., p. 90, pl. liii., Nos. 2, 3, 4.

¹¹ Engraved Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, pl. xliii., No. 1. Momm- sen (*Geschichte des Röm. Münzwesens*, p. 302), as I have above stated, considers them to have been struck in 537 (B.C. 217). This is too late.

is published also in the *Cat. des Méd. de M. d'Ennery* (p. 195 ; No. 41). The specimen there described is said to have weighed 2 *gros* 24 *grains*, which, thanks to the assistance of Mr. de Salis, I find equals 137·7 English grains, exactly the weight of the Blacas specimen. We may, therefore, suppose them to be the same coin.

There are two silver coins of Pompey the Great existing, with the title PRO. COS.,¹² and accompanied with the names of the proquæstors Varro and Piso. These two coins are attributed by Eckhel,¹³ and later by Cavendon¹⁴ and Cohen,¹⁵ to B.C. 67, in which year Pompey the Great made his expedition against the Pirates ; and hence the above gold coin is also attributed by Eckhel and Cohen to B.C. 67. It is certainly true that M. Terentius Varro served under Pompey in this war,¹⁶ and a Piso, not Cnæus Piso, but a Publius Piso.¹⁷ Mr. de Salis prefers, however, considering these two coins to have been struck in Spain in B.C. 49, and M. Terentius Varro is known by history to have been Pompey's lieutenant in Spain in this year.¹⁸ No mention is made of Cn. Piso, but if the coin of Varro belongs to B.C. 49, that of Cn. Piso from its fabric, must also belong to this year. With respect to the date of the gold coin, Mr. de Salis is of opinion that it was struck in B.C. 77, at Rome, just pre-

¹² Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Pompeia, Nos. 12, 13 ; engraved pl. xxxix., Terentia, No. 6 ; pl. x., Calpurnia, No. 25 ; *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 2 and 3.

¹³ *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. v. pp. 160, 323.

¹⁴ *Ragguaglio storico archeologico de' precipui Ripostigli antichi di Medaglie consolari e di Famiglie Romane d'argento*, etc., p. 210. Modena. 8vo. 1854.

¹⁵ *L. c.*

¹⁶ Appian, *Mithr.*, c. 95 ; Florus, iii. 6.

¹⁷ Πούπλιος Πείσω, Appian, *l. c.*

¹⁸ Cæsar, *Bell. Civ.*, i. 38 ; Dion. Cass. *Hist.*, xli. 23 ; xliii. 36 ; Plut., *Cæs.*, c. 36.

vious to Pompey's departure for Spain to oppose Sertorius. The title of Proconsul was conferred upon Pompey by the Senate, and it is recorded that some of the Senate having objected to a private individual being sent as proconsul, L. Philippus said, "Non se illum suâ sententiâ pro Consule sed pro Consulibus mittere,"¹⁹ the consuls of the year not being of any note, nor any senator worthy of the distinction.²⁰

The title of *Magnus* was bestowed upon Pompey by Sulla in B.C. 80, on his return from Africa, but he did not use it till the war with Sertorius, when the above coin was struck.²¹ The head of Africa no doubt recalls Pompey's brilliant victories in that country, and the quadriga alludes to his triumph, which he celebrated in B.C. 81, as a simple eques, and before he was 28 years of age, his father-in-law, Sulla, being forced to give his consent.²²

JULIUS CÆSAR.

6. *Obv.*—III. Head of Piety to the right, crowned with oak; a necklace round her neck.

Rev.—CAESAR. Trophy fixed on the trunk of a tree, holding in right hand a shield, on which is a thunderbolt, and in the left the Gallic trumpet (*carnyx*); to the right an axe (*secespita*).

This coin, which is in magnificent preservation, is similar to the one published by me from the Wigan col-

¹⁹ Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, 21; cf. *Orat. Phil.*, xi. 8.

²⁰ "Ὅτε, καὶ φασιν ἐν συγκλήτῳ πυθομένον τινος καὶ θανμάζοντος, εἰ Πομπήμιον ἀνθύπατον οἶεται, δεῖν ἐκπεμφθῆναι Φίλιππος "οὐκ ἔγωγε φάσαι τὸν Φίλιππον, ἀλλ' ἀνθ' ὑπάτων," ὡς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς τότε ὑπατεύοντας οὐδενὸς ἀξίους ὄντας."—Plut., *Pomp.*, 17.

²¹ Plut., *Pomp.*, 13.

²² Smith's *Dict. of Biog.*, s. v. *Pompeius*.

lection of gold coins, presented to the Trustees of the British Museum.²³ I refer my readers to the remarks there made on the numbers LIII (52), signifying the age of Julius Cæsar, in B.C. 49,⁴ and to the observations on the interesting reverse of this rare coin. The Wigan and Blacas specimens are at present the only examples in existence.

7. *Obv.*—C. CAESAR. Head of Julius Cæsar to the right, veiled and laureated.

Rev.—*Lituus, præfericulum*, and axe. (Pl. I. No. 2.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Julia, No. 29; engraved pl. xx., Julia, 19; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 48.)

This coin is excessively rare, only two other specimens being known, one in the *Cabinet des Médailles* at Paris, and the other in the collection of the Bank of England, now deposited at the British Museum. It was issued in B.C. 46. In this year very similar coins were struck with the name of A. HIRTIVS PR., having on the obverse the legend C. CAESAR COS. TER., and the veiled head of Piety.²⁵ From this head, which in some specimens assumes a gradual scale from ideality to portraiture,²⁶ there is not much doubt that the head of Julius Cæsar on this present coin is imitated. There has been much

²³ Num. Chron., N.S., vol. v. p. 5.

²⁴ See also a paper by Mr. de Salis in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1866, vol. xiv. p. 17, entitled, "*Date de la naissance de Jules César.*"

²⁵ Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Hirtia, No. 1; engraved, pl. xix., Hirtia, No. 1; Julia, No. 20; *Méd. Imp.*, J. Cæsar, Nos. 2 and 3.

²⁶ "In museo Cæsareo quinque sunt similes, omnes capite muliebri, sed variâ ætate, sic ut primus sistat per adolescentem, eamque reliqui per gradus in turpe senium deducant."—Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. v. p. 224; cf. Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, J. Cæsar, No. 3.

question whether A. Hirtius was *prætor* or *præfectus (urbis)*, as upon this coin only the letters PR. occur. A similar doubt is occasioned by the coins of Cestius and Norbanus PR., to a specimen of which we shall allude presently. Havercamp, however, though first of opinion that *prætor* was the correct explanation, suggests under the family *Hirtia*,²⁷ that Hirtius was one of the six or eight præfects appointed by Julius Cæsar under Lepidus, when he started for Spain in A.U.C 708 (B.C. 46).²⁸ The names of these præfects have been given by Havercamp²⁹ as *Clovius, Hirtius, Plancus, Regulus, Cestius, Norbanus*, and *Oppius*, to which, in order to make up the eight mentioned by Dion, Havercamp has added *Lucius Rubrius*.³⁰ The coins, however, of Lucius Rubrius, are of much earlier date, being struck in 668 (B.C. 86), whilst those of Regulus are some years later, 715 (B.C. 39).³¹ From a careful study of the consular coins, Mr. de Salis has fixed the following chronology for the coins of

²⁷ *Thes.* Morell, vol. ii. p. 193, ed. Havercamp. Amstel., 1734.

²⁸ “οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξεστράτευσεν, τὴν πόλιν τῷ Λεπίδῳ, καὶ πολιανόμοις τισὶν ὀκτὼ, ὡς τισι δοκεῖ, ἢ ἕξ, ὡς μᾶλλον πεπίστευται, ἐπιτρέψας.”—Dion Cass., xliii. 28. “Præfectosque pro prætoribus constituit qui præsentē se res urbanas administrarent,” Suet. in *Cæs.* 76. The *præsentē se* must be a mistake for *absentē se*, or *pro se*, or *pro absentē se* (cf. Baumgarten-Crusius in *loc.*; and Dion Cass., xliii. 48, καὶ τότε ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος).

²⁹ *Op. cit.* s. vv. *Hirtia, Norbana*, and *Oppia*.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, s. v. *Rubria*.

³¹ This date is that given by Mr. de Salis, who considers that all the coins bearing the names of REGVLVS PR. or REGVLVS F. PRAEF. VRB., to have been struck by the quatuorvir, L. Livineius Regulus. The *prætor* would, therefore, be his grandfather, and the *præfectus urbis*, his father, though at what date either of these dignities were conferred upon them there is no record, nor did either of them issue coins.

this period. A. Hirtius PR. (gold coins) in 708 (B.C. 46); L. Plancus PRAEF.VRB. or PR.VRB. (gold coins), and C. Clovius PRAEF. (copper coins) in 709 (B.C. 45);³² Cestius and Norbanus PR. (gold coins), and Q. Oppius PR. (copper coins) in 710 (B.C. 44), by which time J. Cæsar had returned to Rome from Spain. There would therefore be *six præfects*, as the words of Dion, it will be remembered, rather tend to show.³³

The emblems on the reverse of these coins, allude to the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, and it was while holding this office that J. Cæsar, in B.C. 46, added ninety days to the year, and rectified the calendar.³⁴

8. J. CAESAR. *Rev.*—COS. QVINC. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Julia, No. 28; engraved pl. xx., Julia, No. 19; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 13).

CESTIA }
NORBANA }

* 9. *Obv.*—No legend. Bust of Africa to the right, covered with the head of a lion.

Rev.—L. CESTIVS (above); C. NORBA (in the *exergue*); EX. S. C. (in *field l.*) PR (in *field r.*). Curule chair ornamented with two snakes, the heads of which form a back, and with two birds on the legs. (Pl. I., No. 3.)

This is a variety of the coins published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Cestia, No. 1; engraved pl. xii., Cestia; Norbana, No. 2).

This coin was issued, as I have above stated, in B.C. 44 (See. No. 7). The head of Africa alludes to Cæsar's

³² In this year Dion (xliii. 48) expressly mentions *two* præfects of the city managing the public treasury, as no quæstor was created. (Καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως δύο τῶν πολιορκουμένων, ἐπειδὴ ταμίας οὐδεὶς προκεχειροτόνητο, ἐγένοντο.)

³³ ἢ ἕξ ὡς μᾶλλον πεπίστευται.—xliii. 28.

³⁴ Smith, *Dict. of Antiq.*, s. v. *Calendarium*, p. 181.

African campaign in B.C. 47. The curule chair was part of the *insignia* of a præfect.³⁵

LEPIDUS.

10. *Obv.*—M. LEPIDVS IIIVIR R.P.C. Head of Lepidus, to the left, bare.

Rev.—L. MVSSIDIVS LONGVS. Cornu-copiæ. (Pl. I., No. 4.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.* Mussidia, No. 10 ; engraved pl. xxix., No. 9 ; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1).

This coin was issued in B.C. 39, on the renewal of the triumvirate of Lepidus, Octavian, and Antony, by the moneyer Mussidius Longus. Nothing is known of Mussidius historically, but there are several independent coins of his existing in both gold and silver.

11. AVGVSTVS. *Rev.*—CAESAR DIVI F. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Julia, No. 67 ; engraved, pl. xxi., Julia, No. 39 ; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 71.)

12. AVGVSTVS. *Rev.*—SIGNIS RECEPTIS S.P.Q.R. CL.V. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 204.)

* 13. *Obv.*—AVGVST. Head of Augustus, to the right, bare.

Rev.—No legend. Victory standing to the right on a globe, holding a branch and a standard, surmounted with an eagle. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 256 ; engraved pl. iii.).

* 14. *Obv.*—The same as No. 13.

Rev.—No legend. Victory standing facing on globe, holding a wreath and a standard. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 255 ; engraved pl. iii.).

15. AVGVSTVS. *Rev.*—MAR. VLT. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 165.)

³⁵ "Πολιανόμοι καὶ αἰτιαθέντες, ὅτι καὶ ῥαβδούχοις, καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι, τῷ τε δίφρω, τοῖς ἀρχικοῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἵππαρχος, ἐκέχρητο, ἀφείθησαν."—Dion Cass. xliii. 48.

16. **MONEYERS OF AUGUSTUS.** *Rev.*—L. AQVILLIVS FLORVS IIIVIR. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Aquillia, No. 13; engraved pl. vi., Aquillia, No. 13; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 303.)

* 17. *Obv.*—AVGVSTVS DIVI F. Head to the right, bare.
Rev.—L. CANINIVS GALLVS OB C.S. Crown on a door between two branches of laurel. (Pl. I., No. 5.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd., Cons.*, Caninia, No. 4; engraved pl. x., Caninia, No. 4; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 309).

This coin was not issued by the L. Caninius Gallus who was consul in B.C. 37 with M. Agrippa, as stated of the silver coins in Smith's *Dict. of Biography*; nor is its date B.C. 18 or B.C. 20, as some assert. The list of moneyers of Augustus has been chronologically arranged by Mr. de Salis, who considers that all the coins of Caninius Gallus were struck in B.C. 5. The monetary triumvirs are in most cases unknown persons, and must not be identified with known historical personages.

18. **M. ANTONY.** *Rev.*—PIETAS COS. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Antonia, No. 34; engraved pl. iv., Antonia, No. 24; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 74).

GAUL.

AUGUSTUS.

* 19. *Obv.*—AVGVSTVS. Head to the right, bare.
Rev.—MARTIS VLTORIS. Tetrastyle temple, within which a statue of Mars holding the eagle and a standard. (Pl. I. No. 6.)

Unpublished.

This coin was issued in Gaul in 749 (B.C. 5), and is an imitation of similar coins struck at Rome about 736 (B.C. 18).

With respect to the temple there is a difficulty. According to Suetonius, Augustus erected a temple to Mars

Ultor in the *Forum*, to complete a vow made by him during the civil wars to avenge his adoptive father.³⁶ But there is not much doubt that the types, as well as those of the coins with the legend SIGNIS RECEPTIS, allude also to the victories over the Parthians, and to the restoration of the standards lost by Crassus.³⁷

But Dion Cassius mentions a temple of Mars Ultor on the *Capitol*—νεὸν Ἄρεος Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ.³⁸ Commentators observe on this passage that the words ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ should be removed and placed after the sentence, τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου.³⁹ Mr. Dyer⁴⁰ thinks that this account of Augustus erecting a temple on the Capitoline is very doubtful; whilst Mr. Bunbury⁴¹ seems to consider that there were two temples—one large building in the *Forum*, the other a sort of *ædicula*, or chapel, on the *Capitol*, and that it is this latter which is represented on the coins.

Professor Mommsen is also of opinion⁴² that there were two temples—a small one on the *Capitol* dedicated in 734

³⁶ "Forum cum æde Martis Ultoris . . . ædem Martis, bello Phillippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto, voverat."—Suet. *In Aug.* 29. "Martis Ultoris Templum forumque Augustum ex manibis feci."—*Mon. Ancyr.* iv. 21. "Ea autem signa in penetrali, quod est in Templo Martis Ultoris, reposui."—v. 42, ed. Mommsen, Berl. 1865.

³⁷ SIGNIS RECEPTIS (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 200—206); SIGNIS PARTHICIS RECEPTIS (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 197, 198, 522); CIVIB. ET SIGN. MILIT. A PART. RECVP. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, 84, 85, 521).

³⁸ *Hist. Rom.*, liv. 8.

³⁹ Dion Cass., ed. Sturz, vol. iii. p. 261, *note r*; vol. vi. p. 104, *note 65*.

⁴⁰ Smith, *Dict. of Geog.*, s. v. *Roma*, vol. ii. p. 770. Mr. Dyer gives the reference as lv. 10, instead of liv. 8, which does not seem correct.

⁴¹ *Classical Museum*. vol. iv. pp. 120, 440

⁴² *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. i. p. 393, Berl. 1863; *Res gestæ divi Augusti*, p. 86, Berl. 1865.

(B.C. 20), and a larger one in the *Forum* dedicated in 752 (B.C. 2).⁴³ This latter temple was dedicated on the 1st of August in that year, and there were games instituted on that day,⁴⁴ whilst the games of the former were held on the 12th of May.⁴⁵ He also considers that the standards taken from the Parthians were first placed in the small temple on the Capitol, as the building of the *Forum* and larger temple proceeded very slowly, and that on the dedication of this latter the standards were then removed.⁴⁶

As regards the representation on the coins, he is not quite certain to which temple it alludes, though he is rather inclined, with Borghesi,⁴⁷ to consider it the representation of the larger one in the *Forum*. As, however, these coins were first introduced about 736 (B.C. 18), and the larger temple in the *Forum* was not finished and dedicated till 752 (B.C. 2), whilst the smaller one on the *Capitol* was dedicated in 734 (B.C. 20), I prefer, with Mr. Bunsbury⁴⁸ and M. Pinder,⁴⁹ to consider the temple on these

⁴³ "Augustus, abhinc annos xxx., se et Gallo Caninio Coss. dedicato Martis templo."—Velleius, *Hist. Rom.*, ii. 100.

⁴⁴ Dion Cass., *Hist. Rom.* lv. 10. "Ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ τοῦ Ἀγούστου νομηνίᾳ . . . ὁτοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ἐν ταύτῃ καθιέρωτο," lx. 5; cf. Suet. in *Claud.* 4. In all probability the passages of Dion Cassius (lvi. 27, 46) refer to these games.

⁴⁵ *Fasti*, Mommsen, *Corp. Ins. Lat.*, vol. i. p. 393.

⁴⁶ Mommsen (*Res gestæ div. Aug.* p. 86) seems to suggest that Horace and Propertius indicate very clearly (*non obscure*) that in their time the temple of Mars Ultor stood on the Capitol. ("Signa nostro restituit *Jovi*," Hor. *Carm.* iv. 15, 6; "Adsuescant *Latio* Partha tropæa *Jovi*," Propert., *Carm.*, iv. 4, 6). I cannot confess that these passages are convincing, though the suggestion is ingenious.

⁴⁷ *Œuvres Numismatiques*, vol. ii. p. 379, Paris, 1864.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, l. c.

⁴⁹ *Über die Cistophoren und über die Kaiserlichen Silbermedaillons der Rom. provinz Asia*, p. 612, pl. iv., No. 3, Berl. 1856. The silver medallion representing this temple, struck in Asia, bears

coins as the smaller one on the Capitol. Whether the games on the 1st of August were continued does not appear, but those on the 12th of May were in vogue A.D. 354, as appears from the *fasti* of Philocalus.⁵⁰

20. AUGUSTUS. *Rev.*—IMP. X. (Cohen, *Méd Imp.*, No. 116.)
21. AUGUSTUS. *Rev.*—IMP. XII. SICIL. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 150.)
22. AUGUSTUS. *Rev.*—IMP. XII. SICIL. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 171. Head to right, not left.)
- * 23. *Obv.*—AVGVSTVS DIVI F. Head to the right laureated.
Rev.—TR. POT. XVII. Victory seated on a globe to the right. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 236).

EAST.

24. BRUTUS. *Rev.*—ΚΟΣΩΝ. Brutus, togated, walking between two lictors (Leake, *Num. Hell.*, Eur. Greece, p. 42, Cosa Thraciæ).

LABIENUS.

- * 25. *Obv.*—Q. LABIENVS PARTHICVS IMP. Head of Labienus to the right, bare.
Rev.—No legend. Horse standing to the right, saddled and bridled. (Pl. I. No. 7.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Atia No. 2; cf. the engraving pl. vii., Atia No. 2), from *Mionnet*, who quotes it from the *Cabinet de M. d'Orville à Londres*, and who has given an engraving of it (*Méd. Rom.*, p. 22). Both this coin and the one engraved by *Mionnet* have a hole, and there is little doubt but that they are one and the same coin.

the date IMP. IX. TR.PO.V. (736—B.C. 18). Pinder has adopted the 12th of May, 752 (B.C. 2), for the date of the dedication of the larger temple, making no allusion to the passage of Dion Cassius (lx. 5), quoted in *note* 44.

⁵⁰ Mommsen, *Corp. Insc. Lat.*, vol. i. p. 342, and p. 393.

This coin was struck in the East in 714 or 715 (B.C. 40 or 39), while Labienus, on the part of the Parthian king, Orodes (Arsaces XIV.), was fighting against the Romans under Decidius Saxa. After his victories in Syria he entered Asia Minor, and besieged and conquered the cities of Alabanda and Mylassa, the city of Stratonicæa, which he had also attacked, successfully resisting him. It was now that he assumed the title of *Parthicus imperator*, so different from Roman custom, as Dion Cassius remarks; "for he takes the name from those whom he had lead against the Romans, as if indeed he had conquered them, and not his own citizens."⁵¹ It was in consequence of this that Hybreas, when defending Mylassa against Labienus, taunted him by saying that he would call himself the "Carian emperor."⁵²

The horse on the reverse no doubt refers to the famed cavalry of the Parthians.

There is no authority for attributing this coin to the *gens Atia*. It appears first to have been so assigned by P. Manutius, and copied after by all numismatists to the present time, notwithstanding the strong objections raised by Spanheim.⁵³

The name *Labienus* has been supposed by Borghesi⁵⁴ to

⁵¹ "Καὶ ὁ μὲν χρήματά τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπράσσετο, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσύλα· αὐτοκράτορά τε αὐτὸν, καὶ Παρθικὸν γε, ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔθους ὠνόμαζεν. οὗς γὰρ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπῆγεν, ἀπὸ τούτων ἑαυτὸν, ὡς καὶ ἐκείνους, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς πολίτας νικῶν, ἐπεκάλει."—xlvi. 26.

⁵² "Ἐκείνου γὰρ ἀνειπόντος ἑαυτὸν Παρθικὸν αὐτοκράτορα, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, καὶ γὼ λέγω ἑμαυτὸν Καρικὸν αὐτοκράτορα."—Strab., xiv. cap. ii. sect. 24.

⁵³ *De præst. et usu Num. Antiq.*, vol. ii. p. 12. Amstel., 1717.

⁵⁴ *Œuvres compl.*, vol. iv. p. 318. Paris. 4to. 1865. Cf. Cavedoni, *Ragguaglio*, etc., p. 232.

be a name of adoption; but Henzen⁵⁵ shows that Borghesi's opinion is erroneous, and that all names ending in *enus* are *gentilitia*, and not *cognomina*.⁵⁶

M. ANTONY AND L. ANTONY.

* 26. *Obr.*—M. ANT. IMP. AVG. III VIR R.P.C. M. NERVA PROQ. P. Head of M. Antony, to the right, bare.

Rev.—L. ANTONIVS COS. Head of L. Antony to the right, bare. (Pl. I. No. 8.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Antonia, No. 31; Cocceia, No. 2, engraved pl. xiii., Cocceia, No. 1; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 2).

This coin was struck in the East in the year 713 (B.C. 41), when L. Antony obtained the consulship, and celebrated a triumph for his victories in the Alps.⁵⁷

The M. Nerva on this coin is probably the same as the Cocceius Nerva who in 714 (B.C. 40) was mediator between Octavian and M. Antony,⁵⁸ and who was consul in 718 (B.C. 36).⁵⁹

The letters PROQ. P. in all probability stand for *proquæstor pro prætore*.⁶⁰ Vaillant,⁶¹ however, has suggested *proquæstor provincialis*, which has been adopted by Cohen.⁶²

⁵⁵ In notes to Borghesi, *l. c.*, and vol. i. p. 78.

⁵⁶ Cf. Orelli, *Inscript. Lat. Sel.*, ed. Henzen, vol. iii. p. 242, No. 6,247; Mommsen, *Unterital. Dialekte*, p. 362.

⁵⁷ Dion Cass., xlvi. 4.

⁵⁸ Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, v. 60—64. Nerva is here called *Lucius*, which has caused Havercamp and others to consider him a brother of Marcus; but Borghesi (*Œuvres Num.*, vol. i. p. 434, Dec. ix., *Osservaz.* v.) considers them to be the same.

⁵⁹ Clinton, *Fast. Hell.*, vol. iii. p. 222.

⁶⁰ Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. iv. p. 247.

⁶¹ *Num. Imp. Rom. Præst.*, vol. ii. p. 8.

⁶² *Méd. Cons.*, Cocceia, No. 1; Barbatia, No. 1.

The *pro prætore* seems to be the more correct interpretation.⁶³

Other coins of M. and L. Antony in silver are said to exist, struck by M. Barbatius Q. P. (*Quæstor pro prætore*) in 713 (B.C. 41).⁶⁴ There are also some coins in gold and silver struck by M. Antony in Gaul in the same year, with the reverse legend PIETAS COS.⁶⁵ History informs us that L. Antony assumed the name of *Pietas* out of regard for his brother's interests.⁶⁶

M. ANTONY AND HIS SON.

27. *Obv.*—ANTON. AVG. IMP. III. COS. DES. III. IIIV. R.P.C. Head of M. Antony to the right, bare.

Rev.—M. ANTONIVS. M. F. E. ? Head of young Antony to the right, bare. (Pl. I. No. 9.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Antonia, No. 62; engraved pl. v. Antonia, No. 36; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1; engraved pl. ii.).

This remarkable coin was called to notice—though not first published—by Vaillant,⁶⁷ who gives the reverse legend

⁶³ *Œuvres Num.*, vol. i. p. 427, Dec. ix., *Oss.* iv.; p. 486, Dec. x., *Oss.* v.

⁶⁴ Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Barbatia, No. 3; engraved, pl. viii., Barbatia, No. 2; in the Cab. of M. le Baron d'Ailly. For M. Barbatius, see Borghesi, *Œuvres Num.*, vol. i. p. 427, Dec. ix., *Oss.* iv. The coins of M. Barbatius and Cæsar are in both gold and silver.

⁶⁵ Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, Antonia, Nos. 32—35; engraved pl. iv. Antonia, Nos. 23, 24; *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 72—75.

⁶⁶ “Διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐνσέβειαν, καὶ ἐπωνομίαν ἐαντῷ Πιέταν ἐπέθετο,” Dion Cass., xlvi. 5; “Α. Ἀντώνιος Μ. υἱ. Πιέτας,” Dion Cass., heading to chap. xlvi. ; “Antonio *Pietate* et Isaurico,” *Fast.* in *Corp. Inscript. Lat.*, ed. Mommsen, vol. i. p. 542. Vitellius took the name of *Concordia*.—Suet. in *Vit.*, 15; Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 3—7, 61—64, 100.

⁶⁷ *Num. Ant. Fam. Rom.*, vol. i. p. 111; engraved, pl. xvi, No. 65, Amstel., fol., 1703; *Num. Imp. Rom. præst.*, vol. ii, p. 9. Rome, 4to., 1743.

as M. ANTONIVS M. FIL., attributing this to the young Antony. He unfortunately omits to state in what collection it then existed. Havercamp, who appears to have next published it,⁶⁸ describes the reverse legend as M. ANTONIVS M. F., and also assigns it to young Antony. At the time of Eckhel two examples were existing; one formerly in the museum of Petrus Seguinus⁶⁹—the earliest example known—afterwards transferred to the cabinet of the king of France; the other in the museum at Vienna.⁷⁰ He thus speaks of these pieces:—"Singulare in utroque, non tam, quod alterum alteri ut gutta guttæ simillimum est, quam quod utrumque eodem plane loco in parte anticâ vitium fecit. An propterea fraudis in ambobus suspicio? Sane exemplar Vindobonense habet nonnulla, quæ peritioribus minus possint adridere."

But it has been observed by Dr. Alessandro Visconti⁷¹ (I know not on what authority) that the specimen in the Museum at Vienna is not similar as "a drop of water" (*gutta guttæ*, Eckhel) to that in Paris, in any case on the obverse, as the legend is ANTON[IVS?] AVG. IMP. III. COS. DES. III. V.R.P.C., the figure III. being left out either after DES. or before V.⁷² He is also

⁶⁸ *Thes.* Morell. vol. ii. p. 30; engraved vol. i., pl. xi., Antonia, No. 3. Amstel., fol., 1734.

⁶⁹ *Sel. Num. Ant.* p. 112, Lut. Par., 4to., 1684. The legend is given as M. ANTONIVS M.F.

⁷⁰ *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vi. p. 68; *Cat. Mus. Cæs. Vindobon.*, vol. ii. p. 15, fol., 1779.

⁷¹ *Diss. della Pontifica Accad. Rom. di Archeologia*, vol. iv. p. 290. Rome, 4to. 1831.

⁷² This reading is also given by Mionnet (*Méd. Rom.*, vol. i. p. 95), as the legend of the Paris specimen, but its engraving (*Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, pl. iii. No. 2) shows this description to be erroneous. Moreover, Cohen, in his *Méd. Cons.*, pl. v., Antonia, No. 36, engraves from the Vienna specimen, and the legend of the obverse is DES. III. IIIIVIR. Of the reverse legend I shall speak presently.

of opinion⁷³ that some dealer or fanatic antiquary had altered the proper legend to M. ANTONIVS M. F. Dr. Visconti considers the only correct legend to be M. ANTONIVS M. E. E. His explanation I shall give shortly.

As regards the specimen in Vienna, I am, by the kindness of Dr. F. Keller, Under Keeper of the Coins and Antiquities, enabled to give a short account. He says, in a letter to me, "The inscription of the reverse is the same as that of the coin published by Cohen (vol. i., pl. ii.), M. ANTONIVS M. E. E."⁷⁴ (The last letter is indistinct.) The late M. Arneht has written on the label to this coin the remark that one ought to read according to the Duke de Blacas, *Magister Equitum* [Where does he say so?]; but he makes no mention of the last letter." Dr. Keller also kindly sent me an impression, and I am nearly certain that the legend is M. ANTONIVS M. F. [E?]. Of the specimen formerly in Paris, stolen in 1831, it can be affirmed, on the authority of Mionnet,⁷⁵ that the reverse legend was M. ANTONIVS M. F., which is again corroborated by the engraving given in the *Trésor de Numismatique*,⁷⁶ and there stated to have been taken from an impression in M. Mionnet's cabinet.

To return to Dr. Visconti's explanation. He reads, as I have above stated, and he is actually speaking of the coin in the collection of the Duke de Blacas, the reverse

⁷³ *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁷⁴ The engraving of this coin in Cohen certainly represents the legend M. ANTONIVS M. E. E.; but look at his description (*Méd. Imp.*, p. 37), to which I shall allude later.

⁷⁵ *Méd. Rom.*, vol. i. p. 95.

⁷⁶ Pl. iii. No. 2. From this engraving the coin would seem to have been broken, as there is no room for any letter after the F.

legend, M. ANTONIVS M. E. E. These last three letters he takes to mean⁷⁷ *magister equitum emeritus*. In order to establish his hypothesis he finds that Mark Antony was *magister equitum* in 707 (B.C. 47);⁷⁸ that in 710 (B.C. 44) he was consul with Octavian; that between this time and 721 (B.C. 33) he was friends or otherwise with Octavian, and in this latter year, preparations for hostilities being commenced, he issued this rare coin, with his portrait on both sides, but on one side *young*, with the title *magister equitum*, recalling his prowess at Pharsalia when *still young*, and adding *emeritus* at the termination of his career,⁷⁹ at which time he was "Augur," "Consul designate for the third time," and "triumvir for the organisation of the Republic." Moreover, that the portrait could not represent young Antony (or Antyllus, as he was called by the Greeks), who was not considered in the distribution of the kingdoms to Cleopatra and her son Cæsarion, and to his children by Cleopatra—Ptolemy, Cleopatra, and Alexander—in 720 (B.C. 34);⁸⁰ and that as he is not mentioned till after the defeat of Antony at Actium in 723 (B.C. 31), when he received with his step-brother Cæsarion the *toga virilis* (724 = B.C. 30),⁸¹ it seems

⁷⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 289.

⁷⁸ *Fast. Capit.* in *Corp. Inscript. Lat.*, ed. Mommsen, vol. i. p. 440; Berl., fol., 1863. "Καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, μηδὲ ἐστρατηγήκοτα, ἱππαρχὸν προσελόμενος."—Dion Cass. xlii. 21. "Ἀντώνιον δὲ ἱππαρχόν."—Plut. *Anton.* 8; cf. Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, ii. 92.

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 293.

⁸⁰ Dion Cass. xlix. 41. Cleopatra was made βασιλίδα βασιλείων, and her son Cæsarion βασιλέα βασιλείων. Coins of Antony and Cleopatra have the legend CLEOPATRAE REGINAE REGVM FILIORVM REGVM (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1).

⁸¹ "Καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς, Κλεοπάτρα μὲν Καισαρίωνα, Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ἀντυλλον, ὃν ἐκ τῆς Φουλονίας γεννηθέντα οἱ εἶχεν, ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσέγραψαν." Dion Cass. li. 6. Plutarch (*Anton.* 71) seems to make

improbable that Mark Antony would have issued this coin with the portrait of his son by Fulvia, in 721 (B.C. 33).

So much for Dr. Visconti's opinion. His arguments might have some value if we acknowledged his reading to be correct, which we do not. The late Abbé Cavedoni has advanced another opinion,⁸² and transcribes the legend M. ANTONIVS M. F. F., which he takes to mean the word *filius* repeated, to distinguish young Antony from his father, who was also M. F.⁸³ Lastly, we come to M. Cohen (whose observations, when he wrote his *Médailles Consulaires*, I have already given),⁸⁴ but who, in his *Médailles Impériales*,⁸⁵ describes the legend, from the coin in the cabinet of the Duke de Blacas, as M. ANTONIVS M. F. ? E., without giving any explanation

I have now this coin before me, and I find that the very letter queried by Cohen—the F—is one of which there can be no doubt. It is the *last letter* which is doubtful; this certainly looks like an E. If we do not, therefore, accept the reading and interpretation of Cavedoni, I should be inclined to suggest that the legend meant M. ANTONIVS. *Marci Filius Eques*. On the authority, however, of Dion Cassius, it is asserted that those entering the equestrian order should be eighteen years of age.⁸⁶ But this regulation was not kept in force. The *equus* was

a distinction between the honours conferred on the two youths, —ἐγράφων μὲν εἰς ἐφήβους τὸν Κλεοπάτρας παῖδα καὶ Καίσαρος, τὸ δὲ ἀπόρφυρον καὶ τέλειον ἰμάτιον Ἄντυλλῳ τῷ ἐκ Φουλβίας περιτιθεῖς.

⁸² *Ragguaglio storico Arch. di precipui Ripostigli Ant.*, etc., p. 12, note. Modena, 8vo., 1854.

⁸³ Cf. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. v. p. 200.

⁸⁴ See note 74.

⁸⁵ Vol. i. p. 37.

⁸⁶ “Καταλέγεσθαι δὲ χρὴ ἐς μὲν τὴν ἰππάδα οκτωκαιδέκεις.”—li. 20.

at an early time equivalent to the *princeps juventutis*,⁸⁷ though the latter title was not adopted on coins till the time of Augustus, whose grandson, Caius Cæsar, received it and the *toga virilis* at the age of fifteen.⁸⁸ Antony was not married to Fulvia till about B.C. 44,⁸⁹ so that in B.C. 34 Antyllus could only have been nine or ten years old. It is, however, certain that the legend does not admit of the interpretation given by Dr. Visconti, nor can it be attributed to B.C. 30, when Antyllus received the *toga virilis* a few months before the death of Antony, no coins being struck in that year. In any case, notwithstanding that it is rather remarkable no mention is made of Antyllus in the passage of Dion Cassius above quoted,⁹⁰ it is certain that this coin is of *Antony and his son*, that it was struck in 720 (B.C. 34), and that for the interpretation of the legend there is still left the suggestion by Cavedoni.

It is also certain that this coin was issued in the East. Havercamp has suggested Alexandria, though he has made a curious jumble of facts.⁹¹ A note of Servius to Virgil states that after Antony married Cleopatra he struck coins at *Anagnia*.⁹² There is not much doubt that

⁸⁷ Liv. xlii. 61.

⁸⁸ Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Aug., No. 86; Clinton, *F.H.*, vol. iii. p. 254.

⁸⁹ Smith's *Dict of Biog.*, s.v. *Fulvia*.

⁹⁰ See note 80.

⁹¹ "Cusum est numisma Alexandriae anno DCCXX urbis quum post triumphum de Armenia et Artavasde, filios Reges et Cleopatram Reginam Regum appelasset Antonius, | | Cæsariionque et Antyllum sumpta virili toga in viros transcripsisset."—Morell, *Thes.* ed. Havercamp, vol. ii. p. 30. The facts in the former part of this sentence took place in 720 (B.C. 34); in the latter in 724 (B.C. 30). See notes 80 and 81.

⁹² "Antonius Augusti sorore contemptu postquam Cleopatram duxit uxorem monetam ejus nomine in *Anagnia* civitate jussit feriri."—*Ad. Æn.*, vii. 684.

this should be read *Alexandria*, and Letronne suggests⁹³ that there was probably the abbreviation *Alndria* before the eyes of Servius when he wrote. Dr. Visconti⁹⁴ considers it to have been struck at Lyons. This is out of the question.

M. ANTONY.

*28. *Obv.*—ANT. AVG. III VIR. R. P. C. Galley.

Rev.—LEG. IV. Roman eagle between two military standards. (Pl. I. No. 10.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Cons.*, Antonia, No. 73; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 13) from Mionnet, who has engraved it (*Méd. Rom.*, vol. i. p. 19).

The legions of M. Antony, as represented by coins, may with certainty be counted from I. to XXIII. The coin of the XXIVth legion is said to exist in the cabinet of the Baron d'Ailly;⁹⁵ that of the XXVth in the *Cabinet Fontana*,⁹⁶ and that of the XXXth is quoted by Eckhel from the Vienna Museum as *fidei indubitatae*,⁹⁷ and published by Cohen as existing in the British Museum collection.⁹⁸ The specimen, however, in the British Museum has certainly been altered. M. Cohen⁹⁹ has already called attention to the fact that the legions I., XXIV., XXV., XXVI., and XXX. have been often made by taking away or adding I. or X., and one would be much inclined to think that such was the case with all the coins representing a legion above XXIII. Some of these legionary

⁹³ *Rev. Num.*, 1843, p. 179.

⁹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 298.

⁹⁵ Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, No. 101, engraved pl. v., Antonia, No. 68; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 24.

⁹⁶ Cohen, *l. c.*, pl. v. No. 69.

⁹⁷ *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vi. p. 52.

⁹⁸ *L. c.*, pl. vi., Antonia, No. 70; *Méd. Imp.*, No. 43.

⁹⁹ *Méd. Imp.*, vol. i. p. 26, note.

coins bear titles, as the XIIth legion, *Antiqua*; the XVIIth, *Classica*; the XVIIIth, *Lybica*. There is no mention in history of these names, but a fragment of a standard of the XVIIth *Classica legio* has been published by Caylus.¹⁰⁰ Gold legionary coins are very rare, there being only one other legion—the XIXth—of which a gold coin is known, and this specimen is only published by Mionnet.¹⁰¹

The date of issue of the legionary coins is considered by Mr. de Salis to extend from 715 (B.C. 39) to 723 (B.C. 31), the year of the battle of Actium. The types allude to the navy and army of Antony.

29. AUGUSTUS. *Rev.*—AVGVSTVS (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 59), of splendid workmanship and style.

30. AUGUSTUS. *Rev.*—SIGNIS PARTHICIS RECEPTIS (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 197).

IMPERIAL SERIES.

31. AUGUSTUS. *Rev.*—C. L. CAESARES AVGVSTI F. COS. DESIG. PRINC. IVVENT. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 86.)

* 32. *Obv.*—AVGVSTVS. DIVI F. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev.—TR. POT. XXVIII. Victory seated on globe to the right. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 238).

33. AUGUSTUS. *Rev.*—PONTIF. MAXIM. (*cf.* Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 184. Livia on the present specimen holds a sceptre and ears of corn.)

34. AUGUSTUS. *Rev.*—TI. CAESAR AVG. F. TR. POT. XV. (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.*, No. 231.)

35 and 36. TIBERIUS. *Rev.*—PONTIF. MAXIM. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1; on one specimen Livia holds a sceptre, on the other a spear.)

¹⁰⁰ *Recueil d'Antiquités*, vol. v. p. 257, pl. 92, fig. 6.

¹⁰¹ *Méd. Imp.*, vol. i. p. 19.

37. TIBERIUS. *Rev.*—TR. POT. XVI. IMP. VII. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 3.)

38. TIBERIUS. *Rev.*—TR. POT. XVII. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 7.) *Quinarius*.

* 39. *Obv.*—TI. DIVI F. AVGVSTVS. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev.—TR. POT. XXIII. Victory seated to the right on globe. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 10).

* 40. *Obv.*—Same as No. 39.

Rev.—TR. POT. XXVIII. Victory seated to the right on globe. *Quinarius*. In a setting.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 13).

41. TIBERIUS. *Rev.* TR. POT. XXXII. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 16.) *Quinarius*.

CAIUS (Caligula).

* 42. *Obv.*—C. CAESAR AVG. GERMANICVS. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev.—P. M. TR. POT. ITER. Victory seated to the right on globe. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 3).

43. CALIGULA AND AUGUSTUS. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 5.)

44. CALIGULA AND GERMANICUS. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 3.)

CALIGULA AND AGRIPPINA I.

* 45. *Obv.*—C. CAESAR AVG. GERM. P.M. TR. POT. Head of Caligula to the right, bare.

Rev.—AGRIPPINA MAT. C. CAES. AVG. GERM. Bust of Agrippina to the right.

A variety of Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 1), the obverse of which gives the head of Caligula laureated. A silver specimen of this gold coin (No. 45) exists in the Museum, but is not published.

46. CLAUDIUS. *Rev.* CONSTANTIAE AVG [VSTI]. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 10.)

47. CLAUDIUS. *Rev.* DE BRITANN. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 14.)

- * 48. *Obv.*—TI. CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR.P. VIII. IMP. XVIII. Head of Claudius to the right, laureated.

Rev.—S. P. Q. R. P.P. OB. C.S., within a crown of oak.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 66).

49. CLAUDIUS AND AGRIPPINA II. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 3.)

50. NERO. *Rev.*—PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. VI. COS. IIII. P.P. EX. S. C. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 29.)

- * 51. *Obv.*—NERO CAESAR AVG. IMP. Head of Nero to the right, bare.

Rev.—PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. VII. COS. IIII. P.P. Mars standing to the left, placing right foot on arms, and holding a *parazonium* and a spear. In *field* EX. S. C.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 39).

- * 52. *Obv.*—NERO CL. DIVI F. CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. II. Head of Nero to the right, bare.

Rev.—VICT. AVG. Victory flying to the left, holding a shield. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 66).

53. GALBA. *Rev.*—DIVA AVGVSTA. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 22.)

- * 54. *Obv.*—IMP. GALBA CAESAR AVG. P. P. Head of Galba to the right, laureated; beneath, a globe.

Rev.—PAX AVG. Female figure standing to the left, holding flowers. (Pl. I. No. 11.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 54), from *Mionnet*. This rare piece was found in 1861 at Paris, near the *Place Saint Michel*. (*Rev. Num.* 1862, p. 216, *note*).

- * 55. *Obv.*—SERV. GALB[A]. Galba on horseback to the right.

Rev.—ROMA RENASCENS (this last word nearly off the coin). Rome, helmeted, standing to the right holding spear, and small Victory on globe. (Pl. I. No. 12.)

Unpublished by Cohen.

56. *Obv.*—GENIVS P. R. Head of the Genius of the Roman people to the right, bearded and with diadem; behind, a sceptre.

Rev.—MARS VLTOR. Mars walking to the right, holding a shield and spear.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, Augustus, No. 509) as existing in the *Musée de Vienne*.

For an account of the "Autonomous Roman Coins of the Imperial Times," see the excellent paper by the late Duke de Blacas.¹⁰² These last two coins are both there published, and the latter one is engraved. These pieces seem to have been issued during the revolutions of the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

The coin of Galba with the legend SERV. GALB. (No. 55) is interesting, as proving, if proof were needed, that Galba's name was *Servius*, and not *Sergius*, as some pretend.

VITELLIUS.

* 57. *Obv.*—A. VITELLIVS IMP. GERMAN. Head of Vitellius to the right, laureated; below, a globe.

Rev.—FIDES EXERCITVVM. Two hands joined.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 12).

VITELLIUS AND HIS CHILDREN.

* 58. *Obv.*—A. VITELLIVS GERMAN. IMP. TR.P. Head of Vitellius to the right, laureated.

Rev.—LIBERI IMP. GERMAN. Busts *vis-à-vis* of his son and daughter. (Pl. II. No. 1.)

Published only in *silver* by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 4).

Vitellius was married twice—first to Petronia, by whom he had one son, Petronianus, who was blind of one eye, and whom he put to death;¹⁰³ and, secondly, to Galeria

¹⁰² *Rev. Num.*, 1862, p. 197, pl. vii., viii., ix., and x.

¹⁰³ Suet. *in Vitell.*, 6.

Fundana, by whom he had a son and a daughter, the former of whom is described as stammering so much, that he was almost dumb.¹⁰⁴ His son, when six years of age, was called *Germanicus*, and invested with the *insignia* of imperial dignity.¹⁰⁵ After the death of Vitellius in A.D. 69, Mucianus put his son to death.¹⁰⁶ His daughter was splendidly married under Vespasian, who gave her a handsome dowry,¹⁰⁷ and in all probability to Valerius Asiaticus, whom Vitellius himself is said to have approved of as a son-in-law.¹⁰⁸ These coins of Vitellius and his children, whose names unfortunately have not come down to us, will in any case, as Eckhel¹⁰⁹ has remarked, refute the statement of Josephus, who says that Vitellius had no children.¹¹⁰

VITELLIUS AND HIS FATHER.

* 59. *Obv.*—A. . . LLIVS GERMAN. IMP. TR. P. Head of A. Vitellius to the right, laureated.

Rev.—L. VITELLIUS COS. III. CENSOR. Bust of L. Vitellius to the right, laureated; in the front a standard with Roman eagle. (Pl. II. No. 2.)

Unpublished. A variety of the silver coin published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 2).

¹⁰⁴ Suet. *l. c.*

¹⁰⁵ Tac. *Hist.*, ii. 59. Vitellius was at Lyons when this took place, and as his children by Fundana were left in Rome when he started for Gaul (Suet. *in Vitell.*, 7), and his son Petronianus would have been grown up if alive (for Suetonius, as previously stated, says that Vitellius killed him), there must be an error in the account of Tacitus. But this is not remarkable, for of this very Fundana, Tacitus (*Hist.*, ii. 60, 64) speaks in high praise, whilst Dion Cassius (lxv. 4) mentions her in opprobrious terms. His infant son was with him on his return to Rome (Tac. *Hist.*, iii 67).

¹⁰⁶ Tac. *Hist.*, iv. 80; Dion Cass., lxx. 22.

¹⁰⁷ Suet. *in Vesp.*, 14.

¹⁰⁸ Tac. *Hist.*, i. 59. It is related (Suet. *in Otho.*, 8) that Otho had sought to become the son-in-law of Vitellius.

¹⁰⁹ *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. iv. p. 316.

¹¹⁰ *Ἀπαιδα*, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. 10, 2.

Lucius Vitellius, in whose memory this coin was struck, was three times consul: (1) in A.D. 34 with P. F. Persicus, (2) in A.D. 43 with the Emperor Claudius, and (3) in A.D. 47 with the same emperor. He was censor in A.D. 48¹¹¹ also with Claudius. Upon some other coins (gold and silver) of A. Vitellius he is represented on the reverse seated, dressed as a censor;¹¹² and upon a remarkable large brass coin he is designated CENSOR II.¹¹³ No mention is made in history of the second censorship, and Eckhel concludes a long argument by suggesting that Aulus Vitellius, to honour even more the name of his father, gave him the title of Censor for the second time on his coins.¹¹⁴

It may also be observed that the head of Lucius Vitellius has a *laurel wreath*, although he was a private individual, and had been dead some years. Eckhel¹¹⁵ has shown that the laurel wreath was not necessarily one of the *insignia* of an emperor, but was conferred in honour of a victory. In the case of L. Vitellius it would allude to his having insisted on Artabanus, the Parthian king, making obeisance to the Roman standards in A.D. 34.¹¹⁶ The eagle in front of the bust of these coins is doubtless an emblem of his consular dignity.

At the death of L. Vitellius in A.D. 48 or 49 the senate honoured him with a public funeral, and erected a statue in front of the *rostra*, with the inscription, PIETATIS

¹¹¹ His two sons, Lucius and Aulus Vitellius (afterwards emperor), were consuls in this year.

¹¹² Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 26, 27.

¹¹³ Cohen, *l. c.*, No. 72.

¹¹⁴ *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. iv. pp. 314, 315.

¹¹⁵ *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. viii. p. 361.

¹¹⁶ Dion Cass., lix. 27; Suet. *in Vitell.*, 2.

IMMOBILIS ERGA PRINCIPEM.¹¹⁷ The coins with his seated figure, above alluded to, doubtless give a representation of this statue.

VESPASIAN.

- * 60. *Obv.*—CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.
Rev.—CERES AVGVST. Ceres standing to the left, holding ears of corn with poppy head and torch.
 Published only in *silver* by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 16).
61. VESPASIAN. *Rev.*—FORTVNA AVGVST. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 90.)
- * 62. *Obv.*—IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.
Rev.—VICTORIA AVGVST. Victory seated to the left, holding crown and palm. *Quinarius*.
 Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 226).

VESPASIAN, TITUS, AND DOMITIAN.

- * 63. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. VESP. AVG. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.
Rev.—CAESAR AVG. F. COS. CAESAR AVG. TR. P. Busts *vis-à-vis* of Titus and Domitian, both bare. (Pl. II. No. 3.)
 Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 2).

VESPASIAN AND TITUS.

- * 64. *Obv.*—IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AV. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.
Rev.—IMP. T. FL. AV. I. . . . Head of Titus to the right, laureated. (Pl. II. No. 4.)
 Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 4), of barbarous work.

¹¹⁷ Suet. *in Vitell.*, 3. His great "piety towards the prince" consisted in the grossest and vilest flattery (Dion Cass., lix. 27; *cf.* Smith's *Dict. of Biog.*, s.v. *Vitellius*, No. 5.)

TITUS.

* 65. *Obv.*—T. CAES. IMP. VESP. PON. TR. POT. CENS.
Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

Rev.—PAX AVG. Peace standing to the left, leaning
left arm on a column, and holding a winged
caduceus and olive-branch; in front a tripod on
which a cow's udder (*uber*).

A variety of that published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 53).

In the year 1861¹¹⁸ I had occasion to call attention to a similar coin, and to the object on the tripod. M. Cohen, as there stated, in his description of some similar coins of Vespasian,¹¹⁹ called it "la bourse de Mercure," whilst I advanced as a suggestion that it was a wine-bag (*ἄσκος*). The late Abbé Cavedoni, in his article on M. Cohen's work (which is translated from the Italian into French by the Baron de Witte),¹²⁰ hinted that it might be "a fish,"¹²¹ as upon certain other coins of Vitellius;¹²² though he says that if it were really "the purse of Mercury," this attribute would show that money was a friend of peace, and might also recall the extreme fondness of Vespasian for money, especially for gold coins.¹²³ The Baron de Witte, however, in a note to this sentence, says that it is not "a fish," nor "the purse of Mercury," but the same object as held by Fertility (*Ubertas*). The late Cavedoni pointed out to M. Cohen in a letter that this object was "a cow's udder" (*uber*), which is corroborated by coins of Carausius with the legend VBERITAS, and the type, "a female

¹¹⁸ *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. i. p. 94.

¹¹⁹ *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 143—145.

¹²⁰ *Rev. Num.*, 1861, p. 479; 1862, pp. 70, 306.

¹²¹ *Rev. Num.*, 1861, p. 75.

¹²² Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 45, 46.

¹²³ Suet. *in Vesp.*, 23.

leading a cow."¹²⁴ M. de Witte and M. Cohen accept this ingenious explanation without hesitation.

66. TITUS. *Rev.*—COS. V. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No, 18.)
67. TITUS. *Rev.*—TR. P. IX. IMP. XV. COS. VIII. P.P. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 96.)
68. DOMITIAN. *Rev.*—GERMANICVS. COS. XVI. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 64.)
69. DOMITIAN. *Rev.*—GERMANICVS COS. XVII. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 65.)
70. NERVA. *Rev.*—LIBERTAS PVBLICA (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 50.)
71. NERVA. *Rev.*—AEQVITAS AVGVST. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 6.)
72. NERVA. *Rev.*—CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 11.)
- * 73. *Obv.*—IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR.P. COS. III. P.P. Head of Nerva to the right, laureated.
Rev.—VICTORIA AVGVST. Victory seated to the left, holding wreath and palm-branch. (Pl. II. No. 5.) *Quinarius.*

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 64).

74. TRAJAN. *Rev.*—TR.P. COS. II. P.P. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 281, read IMP. NERVA CAES. instead of IMP. CAES. NERVA, etc.)
- * 75. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. NERVA TRAIAN. AVG. GERM. Head of Trajan to the right, laureated.
Rev.—PONT. MAX. TR. POT. COS. II. Victory seated, holding *patera* and wreath. *Quinarius.*

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 189).

76. TRAJAN. *Rev.*—DACICVS COS. V. P.P. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 82.) *Quinarius.*
77. TRAJAN. *Rev.*—COS. V. P.P. S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINC. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 49.)
78. *Obv.*—IMP. TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P.M. TR.P. COS. V. P.P. Head of Trajan to the right, laureated.

¹²⁴ Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 253.

Rev.—S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Abundance standing to the right, emptying a cornu-copiae.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 257).

* 79. *Obv.*—IMP. TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC. P.M. TR.P. Bust of Trajan to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—COS. VI. P.P. S.P.Q.R. Triptolemus standing to the left, holding a *patera* and ears of corn.

Unpublished. A silver coin of similar type is published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 61) from the specimen in the Museum.

80. TRAJAN. *Rev.*—FORT. RED. (in *exergue*) P.M. TR.P. COS. VI. P.P. S.P.Q.R. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 92.)

* 81. *Obv.*—IMP. TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P.M. TR.P. COS. VI. P.P. Bust of Trajan to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Victory walking to the right, holding crown and palm-branch. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 241), from *Wiczay*.

* 82. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—P.M. TR.P. COS. VI. P.P. S.P.Q.R. Victory walking to the right, holding crown and palm-branch. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 178).

* 83. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIAN. OPTIM. AVG. GER. DAC. PARTHICO. Bust of Trajan to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—VOTA SVSCEPTA (in the *exergue*) P.M. TR.P. COS. VI. P.P. S.P.Q.R. Trajan standing to the left, sacrificing at an altar before a genius standing and holding *patera* and cornu-copiae. (Pl. II. No. 6.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 292) incorrectly; for the obverse legend is *not* IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO OPTIM. AVG. GERM. DAC. PARTHICO, nor is there a globe under the bust. A similar gold coin in the Museum has the legend IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC.

84. TRAJAN. *Rev.*—AVGVSTI PROFECTIO. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 16.)
85. TRAJAN, TRAJAN FATHER, AND NERVA. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1.) Pl. II., No. 7.
86. TRAJAN AND TRAJAN FATHER. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1.) Pl. II., No. 8.

These two coins are the actual specimens engraved in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1859, pl. iv., Nos. 1 and 2, though other specimens exist both in the Museum collection and in the *Cabinet des Médailles* at Paris. We shall allude to these coins later under Hadrian. (See Nos. 105 and 106.)

87. J. CÆSAR RESTORED BY TRAJAN. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, J. Cæsar, No. 54.)

MARCIANA.

- * 88. *Obv.*—DIVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA. Bust of Marciana to the right.
- Rev.*—CONSECRATIO. *Carpentum* ornamented with bas-reliefs drawn to the left by two mules. (Pl. II., No. 9.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 6), but with no indication of Museum. He probably saw it at some dealer's. The coin of Marciana described by him (No. 8) is not in the collection of the Duke de Blacas, a fact noticed by him in his general *errata*. (*Méd. Imp.*, vol. vi. p. 612.)

I have already alluded to this coin and to the *carpentum* in a former paper.¹²⁵

HADRIAN.

- * 89. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. TRAIAN. HADRIANO OPT. AVG. GER. DAC. Bust of Hadrian to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.
- Rev.*—ADOPTIO (in *exergue*) PARTHIC. DIVI TRAIAN. AVG. F. P. M. TR.P. COS. P.P. Trajan and Hadrian standing, shaking hands; the

¹²⁵ *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 259.

figure on the left hand holds a book. (Pl. II., No. 10.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 51) from the *Catalogue du Cabinet des Médailles de 1700*.

There are silver coins existing of this same type, and also gold and silver coins of the same type and legend, excepting the word ADOPTIO, which is omitted. The gold coin only exists in the Museum.

This coin is interesting as recording the *adoptio* of Hadrian by Trajan, which appears really to have not taken place, but to have been managed by the Empress Plotina. Dion Cassius records that his father Apronianus told him that the death of Trajan was kept a secret for some days, in order that the *adoptio* might be managed; and that the letters which were written to the Senate were not subscribed by Trajan, but by Plotina herself.¹²⁶

* 90. *Obv.*—IMP. CAESAR TRAIAN. HADRIANVS AVG.
Bust of Hadrian to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—GEN. PR. (in *field*) P.M. TR.P. COS. III. The Genius of the Roman people standing to the left, holding *patera* and cornu-copiae.

Published only in *silver* by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 260).

* 91. *Obv.*—Same as No. 90.

Rev.—V. S. [*vota suscepta*] PRO RED. (in *exergue*)
P. M. TR.P. COS. III. Hadrian, holding a sceptre in left hand, standing before an altar, opposite a genius holding a *patera* and cornu-copiae.

Unpublished.

The legend VOTA SVSCEPTA occurs in full upon

¹²⁶ Dion Cass., lxix. 1; cf. Eutrop., viii. 3; and Spart. in *Hadr.*, 4.

some other gold coins of Hadrian.¹²⁷ The type is similar to some gold coins with the legend VOT. PVB.¹²⁸

92. HADRIAN. *Rev.*—P. M. TR.P. COS. III. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 361.)

93. HADRIAN. *Rev.*—P. M. TR.P. COS. III. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 357.)

* 94. HADRIAN. *Rev.*—AFRICA. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 88. A specimen without the *paludamentum* is in the Museum.)

* 95. *Obv.*—HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P.P. Head of Hadrian to the left, bare.

Rev.—AFRICA. Africa seated on the ground to the left, holding scorpion and cornu-copiæ; in front a basket of fruits.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 84).

Respecting the scorpion Eckhel says — “Præterea Africam subjectam fuisse scorpio signo cœlesti, tradit Manilius.”¹²⁹

* 96. *Obv.*—HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P.P. Head of Hadrian to the right, bare.

Rev.—ROMA AETERNA. Rome seated to the left on a curule chair, holding Victory and spear.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 460).

97. HADRIAN. *Rev.*—COS. III. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 174.)

* 98. *Obv.*—HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Bust of Hadrian, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—COS. III. Hadrian on horseback galloping to the left, raising right hand, and holding spear.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 179), from *Caylus*.

* 99. *Obv.*—HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Head of Hadrian to the right, laureated.

¹²⁷ Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 526.

¹²⁸ Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 521, 522.

¹²⁹ *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vi. p. 488; Manil. iv. ver. 776.

Rev.—COS. III. Victory seated to the left, holding wreath and palm-branch. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 149).

- * 100. *Obv.*—HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Bust of Hadrian to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—COS. III. Salus seated to the left, feeding from a *patera* a serpent entwined around an altar. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 151).

- * 101. *Obv.*—IMP. CAESAR TRAIAN. HADRIANVS AVG. Bust of Hadrian to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—P. M. TR.P. COS. III. Victory walking to the right, holding wreath and palm. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 404).

- * 102. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

Rev.—P. M. TR.P. COS. III. Victory seated to the left, holding wreath and palm-branch. *Quinarius*.

Published only in *silver* by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 416).

103. HADRIAN. *Rev.*—MONETA AVG. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 323.) *Quinarius*.

- * 104. *Obv.*—HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P.P. Head of Hadrian to the right, bare.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVG. Victory standing, holding crown and palm. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 511).

105. HADRIAN AND TRAJAN. *Rev.*—DIVO TRAIANO PATRI AVG. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1.) Pl. II., No. 11.

- * 106. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. TRAIAN. HADRIANO OPT. AVG. G. D. PART. Bust of Hadrian to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—DIVO TRAIANO PATRI. Bust of Trajan to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass. (Pl. II., No. 12.)

Unpublished by Cohen, but engraved by Longpérier (*Rev. Num.*, 1859, pl. iv., No. 8).

The coins of Trajan, of Trajan his father, and of Plotina his wife, have already given rise to discussion between two distinguished numismatists, M. A. Deville and M. A. de Longpérier. A more fitting occasion for a re-examination of the question, than the present, there being some of these interesting coins in this collection (Nos. 85, 86, 105, and 106), could not be afforded; and I avail myself of the opportunity of briefly alluding to the statements of these gentlemen, and of giving some observations of my own.

M. A. Deville¹³⁰ is of opinion that the coins of Trajan issued in his sixth consulate, bearing on the reverse the legend DIVVS PATER TRAIANVS, and having for type the head of an elderly personage, which head has from the time of Spanheim been considered to be that of Trajan the *father*, represent the head of Trajan *emperor* on both sides—on one side young, on the other as an old man—and that they were issued *by Hadrian*. In proof of these assertions he adduces the coins of Augustus having for legend DIVVS PATER AVGVSTVS, DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER, and also the rare coin of Trajan, likewise with the date of his sixth consulate, with, on the reverse, the heads of Nerva and Plotina, both dead and deified—a convincing proof to him, because Plotina died during the reign of Hadrian, that all these coins were issued by this emperor. It is true that there are very similar coins with the head of Hadrian on one side, and on the other the head of Trajan, with the legends DIVO TRAIANO PATRI and DIVO TRAIANO PATRI AVG.,¹³¹ which certainly allude to Trajan emperor. From history M. Deville obtains the statement that

¹³⁰ *Rev. Num.*, 1859, p. 124.

¹³¹ M. Deville (*op. cit.*, p. 127), has mentioned the legend DIVVS TRAIANVS PARTH. PATER on a coin of Trajan,

Hadrian requested the Senate's permission to render divine honours to Trajan;¹³² and suggests that while he was waiting for his confirmation as emperor, not daring to strike his own coins, he issued the pieces bearing the mark of the sixth and last consulate of Trajan. Among these is also to be included the coin of Trajan with the reverse, DIVI NERVA ET TRAIANVS PAT. He also quotes a passage from Pliny Junior, who, writing in A.D. 100, thus speaks of Trajan *father*:—"Sed et tu pater Trajane (nam tu quoque si *non sidera*, proximam tamen sideribus obtines sedem) quantam percipis voluptatem quum illum tribunum, illum militem tuum, tantum imperatorem, tantum principem cernis! Cumque eo qui adoptavit amicissime contendis, pulchrius fuisse genuisse talem an elegisse. Macte uterque ingenti in rempublicam merito, cui hoc tantum boni contulistis. Licet alteri vestrum filii virtus *triumphalia*, *cælum* alteri *dederit*; non minor tamen vestra laus, quod ista per filium quamsi ipsi meruissetis."¹³³ From this M. Deville concludes that Trajan *father* obtained from the *Emperor Trajan non sidera*, but

which M. de Longpérier (*Rev. Num.*, 1859, p. 141, note 1), has stated is only to be found in Vaillant (*Num. Imp. Rom. Præst.*, 1743, vol. i. p. 64), and in all probability does not exist. In the *errata*, however, to the volume of the *Revue Numismatique* for 1859 he notices another coin from Vaillant struck by Hadrian (*op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 48), which has the legend DIVVS PATER TRAIANVS. It is also pointed out that a brass coin with the legend DIVVS TRAIAN. AVG. PARTH. PATER, and with the Emperor Trajan seated to the left, on the reverse of a coin of Hadrian, is published by Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, vol. ii. p. 198, No. 783. I may add that a gold coin of Hadrian, with, on the reverse, the legend DIVO TRAIANO PART. AVG. PATRI, and the bust of Trajan, is preserved in the Museum collection.

¹³² "Trajano divinos honores, datis ad senatum et quidem accuratissimis literis postulavit."—Spart. in *Hadri.*, 6.

¹³³ Pliny, *Panegyricus*, c. lxxxix.

triumphalia, whilst *Nerva cælum dederit*. He is therefore convinced that Trajan *father* must be erased from Roman iconography.

To this extremely interesting paper M. A. de Longpérier has made some remarks in reply.¹³⁴ He shows that Pliny spoke his Panegyric in the third consulate of Trajan, A.D. 100, leaving ample time between that date and the death of Trajan in A.D. 117 for the Senate to have permitted Trajan to issue coins commemorating his father; that the Senate allowed Hadrian "more than he asked for;"¹³⁵ and that the aged head could not by any possibility be taken for Trajan *emperor*.¹³⁶ Other arguments are advanced, to which I must refer my readers; and M. de Longpérier concludes by maintaining that the portrait of Trajan *father* must still be numismatically retained, and by considering, on account of the coin of Trajan,

¹³⁴ *Rev. Num.*, 1859, p. 137, pl. iv.

¹³⁵ "Et cunctis volentibus meruit, ita ut senatus multa quæ *Adrianus non postulaverat*, in honorem *Trajani* sponte decreverat."—Spart. in *Hadri.*, 6. This is the concluding portion of the sentence from Spartian quoted in note 132.

¹³⁶ A very rare marble bust of Trajan *father*, purchased from the collection of Baron Behr, and found at Tralles in Lydia, is in the *Bibliothèque* at Paris, and has been so attributed by M. Fr. Lenormant (*Descript. des Méd. et Antiq. de M. le Baron Behr*, p. 223, No. 36, Paris, 8vo., 1857), and M. de Longpérier (*Rev. Num.*, 1859, p. 140, note) cites this bust as forcibly distinguishing the portrait of Trajan *father* from that of the emperor. There is also a bust of Trajan *father* published by Visconti (*Opere varie*, ed. Labus, vol. iv. p. 308), from the *Museo Napoleone* (No. 63), which is described as presenting some resemblance to the portraits of Trajan *father* as occurring upon the rare coins of his son the emperor. M. Lenormant (*op. cit.*) points out that the busts of Trajan *father* are very rare, and that only two others are known—one in the Vatican, the other at the Museum of Aix in Provence.

Nerva, and Plotina, above alluded to, that *all these coins were issued by Hadrian after the death of Trajan*.¹³⁷

Let us now examine the coins of Trajan and Hadrian, remembering that coins of a similar style are generally contemporary, and cannot be indiscriminately separated.

Upon the early coins of Trajan, extending from his second consulate, in A.D. 98, to the introduction of a new coinage in the middle of Cos. V. (which consulate lasted from A.D. 104 to A.D. 111), the obverse legend is always accompanied with the name of *Nerva*.¹³⁸ From A.D. 98 to A.D. 103 the title *Germanicus* is found, and the *Dacicus* is added at the end of the fourth consulate, when he was designate for the fifth in A.D. 103.¹³⁹ About the middle of the fifth consulate the legend is changed to the dative case,—IMP. TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC., &c., and so continues to the end of the sixth consulship in A.D. 117. At the commencement of the sixth consulship, in A.D. 112, the legend IMP. TRAIANVS AVG. GER. DAC. P.M. TR.P. COS. VI. P.P. is also introduced, which lasts during A.D. 112-113. In A.D. 114 the title *Optimus Augus-*

¹³⁷ I had completed my remarks on this question several weeks, when, thanks to the newly-published *Notizie alla vita ed alle opere di Mons. Cavedoni* (p. 91), I discovered that this numismatist had also written on the same subject, reviewing the papers of MM. Deville and Longpérier (*Bull. Arch. Nap.*, N.S., No. 183, April, 1860, p. 52). I am therefore surprised that no notice has been taken of these remarks in the *Revue Numismatique*, especially as the articles of Cavedoni on M. Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*, which occur in *this same Bulletin* a few pages before, were translated into the French review. I am pleased to find that Cavedoni has treated the question in precisely the same manner as myself.

¹³⁸ I am speaking only of the *gold coins*, but on the brass the name *Nerva* continues through the fifth and sixth consulates.

¹³⁹ Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 539—545; Clinton, *F.R.*, vcl. i. p. 90.

tus is assumed.¹⁴⁰ In A.D. 116 the title *Parthicus* is added, and the name *Nerva* again reappeared.

In order that the statements here advanced may be made clear to the reader, I tabulate those legends of the coins of Trajan, Hadrian, &c., which are necessary for the solution of the question.

TRAJAN.

A.D. 98 to A.D. 103.	{	IMP. CAES. NERVA TRAIAN.
Cos. II. to Cos. IV. Des. V.		AVG. GERM.
	{	IMP. NERVA TRAIANVS AVG.
		GER. DACICVS.
A.D. 104 to A.D. 111.	{	IMP. CAES. NERVA TRAIAN.
Cos. V. to Cos. V. Des. VI.		AVG. GERM. DACICVS.
	{	IMP. TRAIANO AVG. GER.
		DAC. P.M. TR.P.
	{	IMP. TRAIANO AVG. GER.
		DAC. P.M. TR. P.V.P.P.
	{	IMP. TRAIANO AVG. GER.
		DAC. P.M. TR.P. COS. VI.
	{	P.P.
A.D. 112-113. Cos. VI.		IMP. TRAIANVS AVG. GER.
	{	DAC. P.M. TR.P. COS. VI.
		P.P. <i>Rev.</i> FORVM TRAIAN. ¹⁴¹
	{	IMP. TRAIANVS AVG. GER.
		DAC. P.M. TR.P. COS. VI.
	{	P.P. <i>Rev.</i> DIVI NERVA ET

¹⁴⁰ Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vi. p. 449; Clinton, *F.R.*, vol. i. p. 98. The title *Optimus Princeps* was conferred before Sept. A.D. 100. (Eckhel, *op. cit.*, pp. 418, 458; Clinton, *F.R.*, vol. i. p. 93.)

¹⁴¹ Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 95) gives this coin also with the legend IMP. TRAIANO, etc. The gold coin with the *Basilica Ulpia* has likewise, according to Cohen (No. 18), the legend IMP. TRAIANVS or TRAIANO, etc. The brass coins of these types have TRAIANO (Nos. 319 and 350). Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vi. p. 431) is also of opinion that the coins with the *Forum Trajani*, *Basilica Ulpia*, and *Trajan father*, were struck at the same time, but assigns them to A.D. 114. He has curiously enough anticipated our

A.D. 112-113. Cos. VI.

TRAIANVS PAT.¹⁴² [B. M.,
Blacas (now in B. M.), Paris.
Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1, en-
graved pl. iv.; *Rev. Num.*, 1859.
pl. iv., No. 2.] Pl. II., No. 7.
IMP. TRAIANVS AVG. GER.
DAC. P.M. TR.P. COS. VI. P.P.
Rev. DIVVS PATER TRAI-
ANVS. [B. M., Blacas (now
in B. M.), Paris. Cohen, *Méd.*
Imp., No. 1, engraved pl. iv.;
Rev. Num., 1859, pl. iv., No. 1.]
Pl. II., No. 8.
IMP. TRAIANVS AVG. GER.
DAC. P.M. TR.P. COS. VI.
P.P. *Rev.* DIVVS PATER
TRAIAN. [B. M. — *Num.*
Chron., N.S., vol. i. p. 96.]
[IMP. TRAIANVS AVG. GER.
DAC. P.M. TR.P. COS. VI.
P.P. *Rev.* DIVVS PATER
TRAIAN. Seated figure of
Trajan father. R. Cohen, *Méd.*
Imp., No. 88.]¹⁴³

It will be seen that this is the fitting and proper place for the coins of Trajan *father*, struck by Trajan, and *not*

ideas on this subject:—"Quoniam numi hi eandem habent ætatem, eandem etiam rationem inscriptionis anticæ, quæ est in numis *Fori Trajani et Basilicæ Ulpie*, verisimile est, Trajanum eo tempore, quo forum suum dedicavit, novos quosdam honores Nervæ jam consecrato addidisse, constituta forte in foro æde sacra, atque eosdem honores cum naturali suo patre communes esse voluisse. Fingitur Trajanus pater sine laureâ, ut privatus distingueretur a Nervâ imperatore."—(Vol. vi. p. 436.)

¹⁴² A variety of this coin, representing the bust of Trajan *father* on the left hand, is published by Longpérier (*Rev. Num.*, 1859, pl. iv., No. 3), from a specimen in the *Bibliothèque*, though it is not mentioned by Cohen.

¹⁴³ A very barbarous gold coin exists in this collection, with, on the obverse, the legend IMP. GOR.. ANVS CES. AVG. Head, r, laureated; and on the reverse, DIVVS PATER TRAIANVS. Female figure standing and holding a winged caduceus and cornu-copiæ. (See No. 216.)

by Hadrian. Had they been issued later, either by Trajan or by Hadrian, they would either have had the title *Optimus Augustus* and *Parthicus* assumed later, or, if struck by Hadrian, all the less important titles would have been omitted, as we shall see later. [See page 301.]¹⁴⁴

A.D. 114-115.	Cos. VI.	{ IMP. TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC. P.M. TR.P. IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC.
A.D. 116-117.	Cos. VI.	
		{ IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO OPTIM. AVG. GERM. DAC. PARTHICO.

The existence of coins of Trajan *father* having been satisfactorily re-established, as also the date of their issue, I will now proceed to give a table of the coins struck by Hadrian. It will be observed that the bust of Hadrian on these coins is the one which we find on those issued at the commencement of his reign.

HADRIAN.

A.D. 117.	Cos. I.	{ IMP. CAES. TRAIANO HA- DRIANO AVG.P.M.TR.P.COS. <i>Rev.</i> DIVO TRAIANO PART. AVG. PATRI. [B. M. Cohen, <i>Med. Imp.</i> , No. 2.] DIVO TRAIANO PARTH. AVG. PATRI. <i>Rev.</i> PLOTINAE AVG. [B. M., Paris. Cohen, <i>Méd.</i> <i>Imp.</i> , No. 1; <i>Rev. Num.</i> , 1859, pl. iv., No. 5.]

¹⁴⁴ Cavedoni (*op. cit.*, p. 53) says that Hadrian would never have given the title of DIVI to Nerva and Trajan father, and denied it to his adoptive father, nor issued coins with a legend anterior to the Parthian war. Moreover, the word PATER or PATRES is not applicable; they were *avi*, not *patres*, of Hadrian, who, in truth, on the coins of the first year of his reign, styles himself DIVI NERVÆ NEPOS. The coin of Trajan, Nerva, and Plotina (all dead), to which I shall allude presently, is an exceptional piece.

A.D. 118. Cos. II.

[DIVO TRAIANO PARTH. AVG.
PATRI. Rev. TRIVMPHVS.
PARTHICVS.¹⁴⁶ B.M. Cohen,
Méd. Imp., No. 280, engraved
pl. iii.]

DIVO TRAIANO PARTH. AVG.
PATRI. Rev. No legend. Phoenix
on branch. B. M., *Paris.*
Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 294;
engraved pl. ii.]

DIVO TRAIANO PARTH. AVG.
PATRI. Rev. No legend.
Phoenix without branch. B. M.,
Num. Chron., N.S., vol. i.,
p. 95; pl. iv., No. 6.]

A.D. 118. Cos. II.

[IMP. CAES. TRAIAN. HA-
DRIANO OPT. AVG. G. D.
PART. Rev. PLOTINAE
AVG.¹⁴⁶ [*Paris.* Cohen, *Méd.*
Imp., No. 1; engraved pl. iii.,
Rev. Num., 1859, pl. iv., No.
6.]

¹⁴⁵ There is no doubt that this coin was issued at this time from the similarity of the bust of Trajan to the one previously described. Moreover, history records, as Eckhel has pointed out, that Hadrian, on his return to Rome, carried the image of Trajan in a triumphal car (*Spart. in Hadr.*, 6); and Dion Cassius says (lxix. 2) that games were decreed by the Senate in his honour, and named *Parthica*, which are supposed to have been celebrated on the XIVth Kal. Oct. (Sept. 18), the birthday of Trajan. Mommsen, however, shows that this latter statement is ill-founded, and that the games recorded in the *fasti* of the fourth century have nothing whatever to do with the Parthian games or the birthday of Trajan (*Corp. Inscript. Lat.*, vol. i. pp. 350, 402). Numbers of contorniates representing Trajan record the triumphal games (Sabatier, *Méd. Contorn.*, passim), and a remarkable coin of "Æ. Max. Mod.," is published by Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.*, p. 442), with on one side DIVO NERVAE TRAIANO AVG., the head of Trajan; and on the other S.P.Q.R. DIVO TRAIANO PARTHICO, with the type of Aurora in a chariot. He appears to have taken it from Havercamp, who considers it a contorniate. I cannot find that it is alluded to either by Sabatier or Cohen.

¹⁴⁶ This coin is immensely rare. M. de Longpérier (*Rev.*

A.D. 118. Cos. II.

DIVO TRAIANO PATRI AVG.
Rev. PLOTINAE AVG. [*B. M.*
Num. Chron., N.S., vol. v. p.
 29; Pl. II., No. 7.]

MATIDIAE AVG. *Rev.* PLO-
 TINAE AVG. [*B. M.*, *Paris.*
 Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 1.]

IMP. CAES. TRAIAN. HA-
 DRIANO OPT. AVG. G.D.
 PART. *Rev.* DIVO TRAIANO
 PATRI AVG.¹⁴⁷ [*Blacas* (now
 in *B. M.*), *Paris.* Cohen, *Méd.*
Imp., No. 1; *Rev. Num.*, pl.
 iv., No. 7.] Pl. II., No. 11.

IMP. CAES. TRAIAN. HA-
 DRIANO OPT. AVG. G.D.
 PART. *Rev.* DIVO TRAIANO
 PATRI. [*Blacas* (now in *B. M.*)
Rev. Num., 1859, pl. iv., No.
 8; not published by Cohen.]
 Pl. II., No. 12.

Upon the coins above described we see that Plotina was still alive; history confirms this.¹⁴⁸ There is no precise date of her death;¹⁴⁹ but this we do know for certain,

Num., 1859, p. 146, note 1) has stated that it is probably the piece published as unique by Guattani (*Monum. Ant. ined.*, Rom. 1788, pl. iii., October, No. 8, and p. xci.). A very rare silver *quinarius* of Hadrian and Plotina is in the Museum. Unfortunately, it is in a dreadful state of preservation (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 2).

¹⁴⁷ A very rare silver coin is preserved in the *Musée de Vienne*, of which the following is a description:—*Obv.* DIVVS TRAIANVS PATER AVGVSTVS. Head of Trajan, laureated. *Rev.* IMP. HADRIAN. DIVI NER. TRAIAN. OPT. FIL. REST. Hadrian standing sacrificing at an altar (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 549). It was, in all probability, issued in A.D. 118.

¹⁴⁸ [Hadrianus] secundo Cos. favore Plotinæ factus.—Spart. *in Hadr.*, 4.

¹⁴⁹ Spart. (*in Hadr.*, 12) says that Hadrian erected a *basilica* to Plotina at Nemausus about A.D. 120. *Cf.* Dion Cass. lxi., 10. Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vi. p. 47) places her death *pluribus post maritum annis*; whilst Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, vol. ii.

that coins were issued during the third consulate of Hadrian, recording the memory of his adoptive parents, of which the following is a description:—

Obv.—HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P.P. Bust of Hadrian to the right, bare, showing portion of *paludamentum*.

Rev.—DIVIS PARENTIBVS. Busts *vis-à-vis* of Trajan and his wife Plotina; the former bare, above each a star.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 2, engraved pl. iv.; ¹⁵⁰*Rev. Num.*, 1859, pl. iv., No. 11; *B. M. and Blacas*; this last specimen given back to M. Feuardent).

p. 90), without a word, gives the date to A.D. 129. I suppose he has adopted it from Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp.*, vol. ii. p. 242; Paris, 4to., 1720), who under this date says, "Dion semble mettre avant ce dernier voyage d'Orient la mort de Plotine, veuve de Trajan. Adrien, qui tenait l'empire d'elle, lui fit toutes sortes d'honneurs [légitimes et illégitimes]. On marque qu'il fut neuf jours habillé de noir. Il fit des vers à sa louange." But this account is given in Dion Cassius under the year 121. (Ed. Sturz., vol. iv. p. 369.)

¹⁵⁰ A variety of this coin having on the reverse the jugate heads of Trajan and Plotina, and in the *field* an extra star, is published by Cohen from the French collection (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 1). There is also a very rare gold coin existing, preserved in the *Musée de Vienne*. On the obverse is DIVO TRAIANO AVGVSTI PATRI; bust of Trajan to the right, bare; in front a star. On the reverse, DIVAE PLOTINAE AVGVSTI MATRI; bust of Plotina to the left; in front a star. It is published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 2), and by Longpérier (*Rev. Num.*, 1859, pl. iv., No. 9), who obtained the impression from the late M. Arneth. It only weighs 6·85 grammes, (105·7 grains), and, having a dull look, has been suspected (Arneth, *Synop. Num. Ant. Vindob.*, part ii. p. 82). The style, however, as far as I can judge from the engraving, is, as Longpérier says (*Rev. Num.*, 1859, p. 142, *note*), antique, and it has been described by Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vi. p. 466), without a word of doubt. If true, it was struck at the same time as the one described in the text. It is curious that the bust of Trajan is on both these coins bare, but this style of bust is prevalent under Hadrian.

There are upon this coin the letters P.P. (*Pater patriæ*), which title he is proved to have assumed in A.D. 128.¹⁵¹ This coin, then, is not earlier than A.D. 128. The Cos. III. P.P. extended to A.D. 138, the year of the death of Hadrian; it is therefore impossible to fix exactly the year of its issue, though in all probability, from the style of the coin, it was struck in A.D. 128, or very soon afterwards.

But there is an inscription which has not yet, at least as far as I have been able to ascertain, been made use of for the elucidation of the point. Though partially quoted by Eckhel,¹⁵² he has not offered any observation upon it, perhaps because the coin he was illustrating (the DIVIS PARENTIBVS), which he had taken from Vaillant, had the obverse legend obliterated (*Epigraphe incerta*). The inscription is as follows:—

DIVO NERVAE TRAIANO PARTHICO ET DIVAE
PLOTINAE DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI VXORI
IMP. CAES. TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS
PONT. MAX. TR.P. COS. III. PARENTIBVS SVIS.¹⁵³

The titles and date on this inscription agree with the coins of Hadrian with the legend IMP. CAESAR TRAIAN. HADRIANVS AVG. *Rev.* P.M. TR.P. COS. III., the earliest of which, struck in A.D. 119, have the type of the bust similar to the first coinage of Hadrian. This legend, however, extends to the coins with the later

¹⁵¹ Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vi. pp. 516, 517; Clinton, *F.R.*, vol. i. p. 114). The letters P. P. occur upon some coins commencing with the legend PARTHIC. DIVI., and struck during the first consulate, but it must be remembered that the title *Pater Patriæ* in these cases refers to Trajan (*cf.* Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, vol. ii. p. 99, *note*).

¹⁵² *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vi. p. 466.

¹⁵³ Orelli, *Inscript. Lat. Vet.*, vol. i. p. 191, No. 797.

bust, though, from the absence of the letters P.P., we know they must have been issued before A.D. 128.

There is still another coin of this period to which I have not yet alluded, reserving it for special comment. It may be thus described :—

Obv.—IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIAN. OPTIM. AVG.
P. M. TR.P. COS. VI. P. P. Bust of Trajan
to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and
cuirass.

Rev.—DIVI NERVA P. ET PLOTINA AVG. IMP.
TRAIAN. Busts *vis-à-vis* of Nerva and Plo-
tina.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 1) from *Vaillant*, but by Longpérier (*Rev. Num.*, 1859, p. 146; pl. iv., No. 4) from the specimen in the *Bibliothèque*. This coin is of immense rarity.

It will be seen that Plotina, who survived Trajan, is deified on this coin, whilst the word DIVVS is omitted before the name of Trajan on the obverse; and that consequently, though it bears the date of the sixth consulate of Trajan, it must have been issued by *Hadrian*. The style and treatment of the coin, so similar to those issued by Trajan during his sixth consulate, show positively that it must have been struck shortly after his death. It will be observed that the obverse legend differs considerably from that on most of the coins of Trajan, but that it is nearly the same as that on the coins struck in A.D. 114, on his assumption of the title *Optimus Augustus*, or even more like that on the coins of A.D. 116-117, with the title *Parthicus*, but the GERM. DAC. PARTH. is omitted to make room for the more important legend, P.M. TR.P. COS. VI. P.P.¹⁵⁴ [See page 296.] The reverse legend is an imitation of the coin struck by Trajan.

¹⁵⁴ It was during the *sixth consulate* that all the titles of Trajan were assumed. There would, therefore, be no need for

I should therefore be inclined to place the death of Plotina soon after that of Trajan, probably late in A.D. 118, or during A.D. 119, and not later than A.D. 120.^{154*}

From the statements I have given above respecting these interesting coins, I have therefore arrived at the following

CONCLUSIONS.

1. That the coins of Trajan *emperor* and Trajan *father*, and of Trajan *emperor* with Nerva and Trajan *father*, were issued *by Trajan emperor* in A.D. 112-113.

2. That the coins of Hadrian and Trajan (dead), of Trajan (dead) and Plotina (alive), of Trajan alone *divus*, of Hadrian and Plotina (alive), of Plotina (alive) with Matidia (alive), were issued *by Hadrian* in A.D. 117 and A.D. 118.

Hadrian to repeat them on a memorial coin. Cavedoni (*op. cit.*, p. 55) has remarked, "On the hypothesis that the coins in question were all together struck by Hadrian, there is no means of rendering a plausible reason either for the difference of the inscription regarding Trajan or for the omission of the title DIVVS accorded to him soon after his death. On the other hand, on the supposition that of the four above-mentioned coins only the fourth, which bears the name and effigy of Plotina deified, was struck by Hadrian, one has at least some means of giving a reason for such a fact. Hadrian is shown to have intended to finish the deeds of Trajan, who, after having deified his adoptive father and his natural father also, consecrated to their memory special gold and silver coins. There remained, then, to pay the same honours to his imperial consort Plotina, but as she had outlived her husband, it fell to the lot of Hadrian to complete the pious work; and he dedicated to the memory of Diva Plotina special gold coins with such a legend as had appeared struck with the name of his defunct predecessor, and which would be similar to those of Trajan with the heads of Divi Nerva, and Trajan father."

^{154*} We know that Hadrian visited Gaul in this year and erected at Nemausus a splendid *basilica* to the memory of Plotina (Spart. *in Hadr.* 12; see note 149). Plotina may have accompanied him in his journeys, and died at Nemausus.

3. That the coin of Trajan emperor, with Nerva and Plotina (all dead), was struck *by Hadrian* late in A.D. 118, or during A.D. 119, and not later than A.D. 120.

And 4. That the coins of Hadrian, with Trajan and Plotina (DIVIS PARENTIBVS), and the coin representing Trajan and Plotina (AVGVSTI PATRI and MATRI), were struck about the same time *by Hadrian*, certainly not before A.D. 128, probably soon after, and not later than A.D. 138.

SABINA.

* 107. *Obv.*—SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG. P.P.
Bust of Sabina to the right, with diadem.

Rev.—CONCORDIA AVG. Concord seated to the left, holding *patera*, and resting left arm on a small statuette of Hope.

A variety of Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 2), there being *no cornu-copiæ* under the chair on this specimen.

* 108. Same legend and type as No. 107.

Rev.—CONCORDIA AVG. Concord standing to the left, holding *patera* and double *cornu-copiæ*.
Quinarius. (Pl. III., No. 1.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 9; engraved pl. vii.).

109. SABINA. *Rev.*—CONSECRATIO. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 12.)

ÆLIUS CÆSAR.

* 110. *Obv.*—L. AELIVS CAESAR. Head of Ælius to the right, bare.

Rev.—TR. POT. COS. II. Female figure standing to the left, holding *caduceus* and *cornu-copiæ*.
Quinarius.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 20; engraved pl. ix.).

111. AELIVS. *Rev.*—CONCORD. (in *exergue*) TRIB. POT. COS. II. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 5; engraved pl. ix.).

ANTONINUS PIUS.

- * 112. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P.P. TR.P. COS. III. Head of Antoninus Pius to the left, laureated.

Rev.—IMPERATOR II. Victory flying to the right, holding a trophy.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 159).

- * 113. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P.P. Head of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated.

Rev.—TR.P. COS. III. Victory flying to the left, and placing a garland on two shields resting on an altar. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 269; engraved pl. xii.).

114. ANTONINUS PIUS. *Rev.*—PIETAS AVG. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 212.)

115. ANTONINUS PIUS. *Rev.*—IOVI STATORI. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 167.)

116. ANTONINUS PIUS. *Rev.*—COS. IIII. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 83.)

117. ANTONINUS PIUS. *Rev.*—No legend. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 372.)

118. ANTONINUS PIUS. *Rev.*—No legend. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 369; a slight variety, being a head on the coin, and not a bust.)

119. ANTONINUS PIUS. *Rev.*—No legend. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 368.)

- * 120. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P.P. TR.P. XI. Head of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated.

Rev.—PRIMI DECEN. COS. IIII. within a laurel wreath. *Quinarius*. (Pl. III., No. 2.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 228).

The origin of the *decennalia* or vows accepting the government for ten years is due to Augustus¹⁵⁵ in B.C. 27.

¹⁵⁵ Dion Cass., liii. 13.

M. Cohen has observed¹⁵⁶ that Antoninus Pius is the first prince upon whose coins these vows are mentioned.

* 121. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P.P. TR.P. XI.
Head of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated.

Rev. LIB. V. (in *field*) COS. IIII. Liberality standing to the left, holding *tessera* and cornu-copiae.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 194).

122. ANTONINUS PIUS. *Rev.* LIB. VI. (in *field*) COS. IIII.
(Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 196.) *Quinarius*.

123. ANTONINUS PIUS. *Rev.*—PAX (in *exergue*) TR. POT. XV. COS. IIII. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 208.)

124. ANTONINUS PIUS. *Rev.*—TR. POT. XXI. COS. IIII.
(Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 346.)

* 125. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P.P. IMP. II. Bust of Antoninus Pius to the left, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—TR. POT. XXI. COS. IIII. Salus seated to the left holding a *patera* and sceptre; before her an altar, round which is entwined a serpent.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 344) incorrectly, for he gives the obverse legend as IMP. CAES. T. AEL. HADR. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P.P.

126. ANTONINUS PIUS and M. AURELIUS. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 7.)

127. FAUSTINA I. *Rev.*—VESTA. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 112.)

* 128. *Obv.*—DIVA FAUSTINA. Bust of Faustina I. to the right.

Rev.—AETERNITAS. Eternity veiled standing to the left, raising right hand and holding a sceptre. (Pl. III., No. 3.) *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 9).

129. FAUSTINA I. *Rev.*—EX SENATVS CONSVLTO.
(Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 84.)

130. FAUSTINA I. *Rev.*—IVNO. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 85.) *Quinarius*.

¹⁵⁶ *Méd. Imp.*, vol. ii. p. 306, note.

131. FAUSTINA I. *Rev.*—PIETAS AVG. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 95, but with tripod.) The coin described by Cohen (No. 97 and vol. vi. *errata*, p. 616) as *Cab. Blacas*, also exists in the British Museum. Cohen seems to have made great confusion in the description of these types, nor even now has he distinguished the *altar* and the *tripod* on the gold, from the *candelabrum* on the silver coin in the Museum. The varieties still require describing.
132. M. AURELIUS. *Rev.*—HILARITAS. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 85.)
133. M. AURELIUS. *Rev.*—TR. POT. COS. II. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 203.)
- * 134. *Obv.*—AVRELIUS CAESAR AVG. PII F. Bust of M. Aurelius to the left, bare, with the *paludamentum*.
- Rev.*—TR. POT. II. COS. II. Faith standing to the right, holding two ears of corn and a basket of fruit. (Pl. III., No. 4.)
- Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 210).
- * 135. *Obv.*—AVRELIUS CAESAR ANTONINI AVG. PII FIL. Bust of M. Aurelius to the left, bare, with the *paludamentum*.
- Rev.*—CLEM. (in *exergue*) TR. POT. VI. COS. II. Clemency standing to the left, holding *patera* and raising her dress.
- Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 8).
136. M. AURELIUS. *Rev.*—TR. POT. VIII. COS. II. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 235.)
137. M. AURELIUS. *Rev.*—TR. POT. XIII. COS. II. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 262.)
- * 138. *Obv.*—AVRELIUS CAES. AVG. PII F. Bust of M. Aurelius to the right, bare, with *paludamentum*.
- Rev.*—TR. POT. XIII. COS. II. Hope walking to the left, holding a flower and raising her robe. *Quinarius*.
- Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 264).

139. M. AURELIUS. *Rev.*—CONG. AVG. IIII. TR.P. XXI. IMP. IIII. COS. III. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 24.)

* 140. *Obv.*—M. ANTONINVS AVG. Head of M. Aurelius to the right, laureated.

Rev.—TR.P. XXI. COS. III. Mars walking to the right, holding spear and trophy. (Pl. III., No. 5.) *Quinarius*.

Unpublished.

141. M. AURELIUS. *Rev.*—IMP. VI. COS. III.; on shield VIC. GER. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 97.)

* 142. *Obv.*—M. ANTONINVS AVG. GERM. SARM. Bust of M. Aurelius to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—DE GERM. (in *exergue*) TR.P. XXX. IMP. VIII. COS. III. P.P. Pile of arms, consisting of shields, standards, cuirasses, helmets, trumpets, &c. (Pl. III., No. 6.)

Unpublished.

This rare coin alludes to the triumph celebrated by M. Aurelius and Commodus on December 23, A.D. 176.¹⁵⁷ No gold coins of TR.P. XXX. with allusion to "Germany" or "Sarmatia" have been published by Cohen, whilst the silver one of this year, with the legend DE SARM. TR.P. XXX., &c., is only described by him from *Welz*.¹⁵⁸ This rare silver coin exists in the Museum collection.¹⁵⁹ Both gold and silver coins of Commodus struck in 176, commemorating "Germania," and with the types of the "arms" and "captives with trophy,"

¹⁵⁷ Lamprid. *in Comm.*, 2.

¹⁵⁸ *Méd. Imp.*, No. 71.

¹⁵⁹ As the description of this coin is incomplete in Cohen, I have transcribed the legends. *Obv.* M. ANTONINVS AVG. GERM. SARM. Head, r, laureated. *Rev.* DE SARM. (in *exergue*) TR.P. XXX. IMP. VIII. COS. III. P.P. Trophy and captives.

are published by Eckhel¹⁶⁰ from Vaillant. Cohen¹⁶¹ publishes the gold DE GERMANIS and DE SARMATIS of Commodus from *Caylus*, and describes the silver coin with the "captives and trophy" from the Paris collection.¹⁶² This triumph is commemorated on an inscription in Gruter, published with corrections by Eckhel.¹⁶³ The type of this coin is continued in future years.¹⁶⁴

143. FAUSTINA II. *Rev.*—AVGVSTI PII FIL. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 6.)

* 144. *Obv.*—FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Bust of Faustina II. to the right.

Rev.—AVGVSTI PII FIL. Diana standing to the left, holding arrow and bow. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 7).

* 145. *Obv.*—FAVSTINA AVG. PII AVG. FIL. Bust of Faustina II. to the right.

Rev.—CONCORDIA. Concord standing, looking to the right, raising her robe and holding cornucopiæ.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 14).

146. FAUSTINA II. *Rev.*—IVNONI LVCINAE. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 50. The coin with the same reverse legend, and the type Juno standing, described by Cohen (No. 48), from a coin in the Museum, does not exist in the Museum with the obverse legend FAVSTINA AVGVSTA, but with FAVSTINA AVG. PII AVG. FIL.)

* 147. *Obv.*—FAVSTINAE AVG. PII AVG. FIL. Bust of Faustina II. to the right, with band.

Rev.—VENVS. Venus standing to the right, raising her veil and holding an apple. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 88).

¹⁶⁰ *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vii. p. 105.

¹⁶¹ *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 34 and 36.

¹⁶² *Méd. Imp.*, No. 35.

¹⁶³ *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vii. p. 75.

¹⁶⁴ The gold coin of Aurelius with the legend DE SARM. TR.P. XXXI. IMP. VIII. COS. III. P.P. and type "Arms,"

* 148. *Obv.*—FAVSTINA AVG. PII AVG. FIL. Bust of Faustina II. to the right.

Rev.—VENVS. Venus standing to the left, holding apple and sceptre.

A variety of Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 83), who gives the obverse legend as FAVSTINA AVGVSTA AVG. PII F.

* 149. *Obv.*—FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Bust of Faustina II. to the left.

Rev.—VENVS. Venus standing to the left, holding apple and sceptre. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 91), but incorrectly, for he describes the reverse as "Venus holding an apple and a rudder placed on a dove." I may here observe that the *quinarius* published by Cohen (No. 84) from the Museum collection has not the obverse legend FAVSTINA AVGVSTA AVG. PII F., but FAVSTINA AVGVSTA, and that there is another gold *quinarius* in the Museum with the obverse legend FAVSTINAE AVG. PII AVG. FIL. Bust r; *Rev.* "VENVS holding apple and rudder on dove," not published by Cohen.

150. *Obv.*—FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Bust of Faustina II. to the right.

Rev.—VENVS VICTRIX. Venus in short dress standing to the left, holding Victory and leaning on a shield, which rests on a helmet(?); on the shield the wolf, with Romulus and Remus.

Unpublished. A specimen of this coin is described in the *Sale Catalogue* of M. D. G. de A * * *, No. 623. Paris, 1867.

* 151. *Obv.*—DIVAE FAVSTINAE PIAE. Bust of Faustina II. to the right, veiled.

Rev.—MATRI CASTRORUM. Faustina II. seated to the left, holding a globe surmounted with a phoenix and a sceptre; before her three military standards on a base. (Pl. III., No. 7.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 60).

The title of *Mater Castrorum* was conferred upon Faus-

published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 69), from *Caylus*, is in the Museum collection.

tina II. in A.D. 74, the same year as M. Aurelius was *imperator* for the seventh time, after his victory over the Quadi.¹⁶⁵ Large brass coins struck during the lifetime of Faustina II. bear this title.¹⁶⁶ She died the following year, and was made *diva*, great honours being accorded to her, the title of *Mater Castrorum* being confirmed.¹⁶⁷ The same legend and type occur upon both her silver and her brass coins.¹⁶⁸ This title was afterwards taken by Julia Domna¹⁶⁹ and Julia Mamæa,¹⁷⁰ and occur upon their coins, and the ΜΗΤΗΡ ΤΡΑΤΟΠÉΔΟΥ may be found on the Alexandrian coins of Mæsa, Mamæa and Otacilia.¹⁷¹ According to Trebellius Pollio, Victorina, after the death of her son Victorinus, was hailed by the troops as *Mater Castrorum*.¹⁷² There are, however, no coins existing of hers with either this title or even her name, notwithstanding that her historian says that coins of gold, silver, and brass were struck for her especially at Treves.¹⁷³ I have already

¹⁶⁵ “ Ἠλέησε γούν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ Μάρκος παρὰ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ ἔβδομον αὐτοκράτωρ προσηγορεύθη ἢ μέντοι Φαυστίνα μήτηρ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπεκλήθη.”—Dion Cass., lxxi. 10.

¹⁶⁶ Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 192, 193.

¹⁶⁷ “ Divam etiam Faustina à senatu appellatam gratulatus est; quam secum et in æstivis habuerat, ut matrem castrorum appellaret.”—Capit. in *Anton. Philos.*, 26; cf. Dion Cass., lxxi. 29, 30, 31.

¹⁶⁸ Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 61, 194, 195.

¹⁶⁹ Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 67—70, 176, 177.

¹⁷⁰ Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 32, 54—56.

¹⁷¹ Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. iv. p. 85. Domna also dared to assume the title of *Mater Senatus*, *Mater Patriæ*, as her coins attest (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 57—60, 168, 169). The gold coin published by Cohen (No. 57), from the *Cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas* also exists in the Museum collection.

¹⁷² “ Victorina, sive Victoria, quæ mater castrorum dicta est.”—*Treb. Poll.*, xxx. tyr. 6. “ Insignita est præterea hoc titulo, ut castrorum se dicent matrem.”—xxx. tyr. 31.

¹⁷³ “ Cusi sunt ejus nummi ærei, aurei et argentei, quorum

published those gold coins that have been attributed to her,¹⁷⁴ and shall have occasion again to allude to her when I come to the specimen which is preserved in this collection.

L. VERUS.

- * 152. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. VERVS. AVG. Bust of L. Verus to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.
- Rev.*—PROV. DEOR. TR.P. COS. II. Providence standing to the left, holding globe and cornucopiæ.
- Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 32).
153. L. VERUS. *Rev.*—FORT. RED. TR. POT. II. COS. II. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 19. This specimen has the *ægis* on the bust of Verus, and not the *paludamentum*).
154. L. VERUS. *Rev.*—PROFECTIO AVG. TR.P. II. COS. II. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 29. This coin has the obverse legend IMP. L. VERVS AVG., and not IMP. L. AVREL. VERVS. AVG. as the specimen in the French cabinet, if the legend be given correctly by Cohen.)
155. L. VERUS. *Rev.*—ARMEN. (in *exergue*), TR.P. IIII. IMP. II. COS. II. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 4.)
156. L. VERUS. *Rev.*—TR.P. IIII. IMP. II. COS. II.; on shield VIC. AVG. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 56.)
157. L. VERUS. *Rev.*—TR.P. V. IMP. II. COS. II. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 61.)
158. L. VERUS. *Rev.*—CONG. AVG. IIII. TR.P. VII. IMP. IIII. COS. III. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 14.)
- * 159. *Obv.*—L. VERVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. Bust of L. Verus to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

hodieque forma extat apud Treviros; quæ quidem non diutius vixit."—*Treb. Poll.*, xxx. *tyr.* 31.

¹⁷⁴ *Num. Chron.* N.S., vol. v., pp. 87, 88.

Rev.—FORT. RED. TR.P. VIII. IMP. V. COS. III.
 Fortune seated to the left, holding rudder and
 cornu-copiae. (Pl. III., No. 8.)

Unpublished.

There are no *gold* or *silver* coins of the ninth tribunitian power of Verus published by Cohen, though he has admitted this date among the medallions and first and second brass,¹⁷⁵ specimens of which are to be found in most museums; nor are there any examples of the *gold* and *silver* with this date in the Museum. Eckhel has published a *silver* coin of this date with the type of "Equity" from the Vienna Museum,¹⁷⁶ which ought to have been noticed by Cohen, unless it has been considered false.

This rare piece was struck in A.D. 169, and as L. Verus died in the middle of January of this year,¹⁷⁷ there is sufficient reason for the scarcity and rarity of the coin with this date.

LUCILLA.

* 160. *Obv.*—LVCILLAE AVGVSTAE. Bust of Lucilla to the right.

Rev.—PIETAS. Piety veiled, standing to the left near a lighted altar, raising her hand and holding a box of perfumes. (Pl. III., No. 9.) *Quinarius*, enclosed in a setting.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 19).

COMMODUS.

* 161. *Obv.*—COMMODO CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. Head of young Commodus to the right, bare.

Rev.—PRINC. IVVENT. Commodus standing to the left, holding branch and sceptre; behind him a

¹⁷⁵ *Méd. Imp.*, Nos. 92, 102, 205, 206, 234, 235.

¹⁷⁶ *Cat. Mus. Vindob.*, vol. ii. p. 245, No. 125.

¹⁷⁷ Clinton, *Fast. Rom.*, vol. i. p. 162.

trophy, at the foot of which a shield, a bow, parazonium, &c.

A variety of Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 206), the head on the obverse having the *paludamentum*.

* 162. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. COMMÓDVS GERM. SARM. Bust of young Commodus to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—DE SARM. (in the *exergue*) TR. POT. II. COS. Pile of arms, composed of cuirass, shields, spear, &c.

Unpublished.

I have already called attention to this type under M. Aurelius (No. 142), and there stated that it was introduced in A.D. 176. The present coin was struck in A.D. 177. The analogous type of this year with DE GERM. (in *exergue*) TR. POT. II. COS. is also in the Museum, though incorrectly described by Cohen both in the text and in the *errata*.¹⁷⁸

* 163. *Obv.*—M. COMMÓDVS ANTONINVS AVG. Bust of Commodus to the right, laureated, with cuirass.

Rev.—TR.P. V. IMP. IIII. COS. II. P.P. Fortune seated to the left, holding rudder and cornucopiæ; beneath the chair a wheel. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 268).

164. COMMÓDVS. *Rev.*—VIRTVS AVG. TR.P. VII. IMP. IIII. COS. III. P.P. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 335.)

* 165. *Obv.*—M. COMMÓDVS ANTON. AVG. PIVS. Bust of Commodus to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—TR.P. VIII. IMP. VI. COS. IIII. P.P. Jupiter seated to the left, holding Victory and sceptre.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 309).

¹⁷⁸ *Méd. Imp.*, No. 32; vol. vi. p. 618.

166. *Obv.*—M. COMMODVS ANTON. AVG. PIVS. Head of Commodus to the right, laureated.

Rev.—TR.P. VIII. IMP. VI. COS. III. P.P. Victory walking to the left, holding crown and wreath. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 315), from the *Cabinet de M. Wigan*. He may perhaps have made an error; but this is not certain, as Mr. Wigan still possesses his gold *quinarii*.

167. COMMODUS. *Rev.*—P.M. TR.P. VIII. IMP. VI. COS. III. P.P. Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 133.)

* 168. *Obv.*—M. COMM. ANT. AVG. P. BRIT. FEL. Bust of Commodus to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—P.M. TR.P. X. IMP. VII. COS. III. P.P. Victory walking to the left, holding crown and wreath. *Quinarius*, enclosed in a setting.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 160).

169. COMMODUS. *Rev.*—P.M. TR.P. XI. IMP. VII. COS. V. P.P. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 165.)

170. COMMODUS. *Rev.*—CONC. MIL. (in *exergue*) P.M. TR. P. XI. IMP. VII. COS. V. P.P. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 20.)

* 171. *Obv.*—M. COMM. ANT. P. FEL. AVG. BRIT. P.P. Bust of Commodus to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—P.M. TR.P. XV. IMP. VIII. COS. VI. Victory walking to the left, holding wreath and palm-branch. *Quinarius*—a hole through coin.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 191).

* 172. *Obv.*—Same legend and type as No. 171.

Rev.—CONCORDIAE COMMODI AVG. Concord standing to the left, holding a *patera* and a sceptre.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 13).

173. CRISPINA. *Rev.*—DIS CONIVGALIBVS. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No 6. A similar coin, with the obverse legend CRISPINA AVGVSTA, and the bust of Crispina to the left, is published and engraved by Mionnet, *Méd. Rom.*, vol. i. p. 266.)

174. PERTINAX. *Rev.*—LAETITIA TEMPOR. COS. II.
(Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 9.)

175. PERTINAX. *Rev.*—VOT. DECEN. TR.P. COS II.
(Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 22; no *paludamentum*
on the present coin.)

DIDIUS JULIANUS.

* 176. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. M. DID. IVLIAN. AVG. Head
of Julian to the right, laureated.

Rev.—P.M. TR.P. COS. Fortune standing to the left,
holding a rudder on a globe, and a cornu-copiae.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 4). A variety of this
coin, showing a portion of the *paludamentum* on
the bust, is in the Museum collection. The
Becker coin represents the *entire paludamentum*.

177. ALBINUS. *Rev.*—FORT. REDVCI COS. II. (Cohen,
Méd. Imp., No. 16.)

* 178. *Obv.*—D. CL. SEPT. ALBIN. CAES. Head of Albinus
to the right, bare.

Rev.—COS. II. Fortune seated to the left, holding
rudder on globe and cornu-copiae; beneath the
chair a wheel. *Quinarius*.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 7; engraved pl. vi.).

SEPT. SEVERUS.

* 179. *Obv.*—L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. VIII. Bust
of Sept. Severus to the right, laureated, with
paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—FORTVNAE REDVCI. Same type as No. 178.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 106). A variety of this
coin, with only a portion of the *paludamentum* on the bust, is
in the Museum collection. This latter piece was found under
the walls of a mud fort in the Sholapoor collectorate, to the
east of Poonah, Mahratta country. Some years ago I published
a gold coin of Geta, found in the same place. (*Num. Chron.*,
N. S., vol. i. p. 100).

* 180. *Obv.*—L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. VIII. Head
of Sept. Severus to the right, laureated.

Rev.—P.M. TR.P. IIII. COS. II. P.P. Victory walking to the left, holding wreath and trophy.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 265) incorrectly, for he gives the date on the obverse as IMP. VIII. *instead of* IMP. VIII.

* 181. *Obv.*—SEVERVS PIVS AVG. Head of Sept. Severus to the right.

Rev.—PROVIDENTIA. Head of Medusa surrounded with snakes. (Pl. III., No. 10.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 351; engraved pl. vii.).

The head of Medusa on this coin evidently alludes to Minerva, this being one of her numerous attributes. The same type occurs upon a very rare gold coin preserved in the Vienna Museum, bearing the date P.M. TR.P. XV. COS. III. P.P. (A.D.207),¹⁷⁹ and in this same year other gold coins were issued, having on the reverse the helmeted bust of Minerva.¹⁸⁰ The type of the Medusa's head likewise occurs with the same legend of PROVIDENTIA on the silver coins of Severus,¹⁸¹ and upon the silver coins of Caracalla.¹⁸²

The legend PROVIDENTIA seems also applicable to this goddess, especially as she was considered the goddess

¹⁷⁹ Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 307.

¹⁸⁰ Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 301.

¹⁸¹ Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 352. Upon a rare silver coin of Severus described by Cohen (No. 353), from *Mionnet, du Cab. Gosselin*, but without the obverse legend, the head of Medusa is on the *ægis*. This coin was sold in 1864 with the rest of M. Gosselin's coins, and, with another coin, produced 74 francs 55 cents (*Gosselin, Sale Cat.*, Nos. 852, 853. Paris, 1864). A specimen of this piece, but in very poor preservation, is in the Museum. The obverse legend is SEVERVS PIVS A[VG]. The same type may be found on the silver coins of Caracalla (Cohen, No. 300).

¹⁸² Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 299.

of prudence and wisdom.¹⁸³ The Greek equivalent to *Providentia* is *Πρόνοια*, and in some authors, as we shall presently show, it has been stated that temples were erected to 'Αθηνᾶ Πρόνοια, whilst in others temples are said to have been built to 'Αθηνᾶ Προναία—namely, to Athena, *having a temple in front of that of some other deity*, according to Harpocration, διὰ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἰδρῦσθαι.

Liddell and Scott,¹⁸⁴ quoting from Bekker's edition of Æschines¹⁸⁵ (who flourished about B.C. 346), assign to Minerva, on his authority, the title of *Πρόνοια*, though in the edition of this same author by Müller the text is printed 'Αθηνᾶ Προναία.¹⁸⁶ In one of the best editions of Pausanias¹⁸⁷ (c. A.D. 160), also quoted by Liddell and Scott, we read that the golden shield which had been dedicated at Delphi to 'Αθηνᾶ Πρόνοια by Cræsus was taken away by Philomelus, the Phocian general; but Herodotus, who notices the gift of the shield, says that it was in the temple of 'Αθηνᾶ Προναία.¹⁸⁸ It may, however, be remarked

¹⁸³ *Dea sapientissima*, Cic. *Orat. pro Milone*, iii. 8; cf. the coins of Licinius and Constantine, with the legend SAPIENTIA PRINCIPIS PROVIDENTISSIMI, and attributes of Minerva (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. v. pp. 102—104).

¹⁸⁴ *Lex*, s.v. Πρόνοια.

¹⁸⁵ Æschin., *contra Ctesiphon*. *Orat. Attici*, ed. Bekker, vol. iii. pp. 502, 503; Oxford, 8vo., 1823. In an earlier edition (Halle, 8vo., 1815, pp. 51, 52, 56), Bekker also prints 'Αθηνᾶ Πρόνοια. It is, however, found earlier than the time of Æschines, in Demosthenes (*contra Aristog.*, *Orat.* i. Didot ed., p. 407), about B.C. 355, but these orations are considered to be spurious (Smith, *Dict. of Biog.*, s.v. *Demosthenes*).

¹⁸⁶ Æschin., *l.c.* *Orat. Att.* ed. Müller, Didot ed., vol. ii. pp. 116, 117; Προναία, "sic cod. Paris unus;" Stephanus, *Thes. Græc. Ling.*, ed. Hase and G. and L. Dindorf., s.v. cit.

¹⁸⁷ x., 8, 5, ed. Siebel.

¹⁸⁸ "Ἐν δὲ Προνηίης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπίς χρυσή μεγάλη, i. 92; τῆς Προνηίης 'Αθηναίης," viii. 37.—Müller's ed. in Didot ed.

that in the edition of Pausanias by Dindorf,¹⁸⁹ though the Greek text is printed *Πρόνοια*, yet the Latin interpretation is printed “*Pronœa (Pronœa)*,” as if this latter was the correct form.¹⁹⁰

Ἀθηνᾶ Προναία is mentioned also in Æschylus,¹⁹⁰ Diodorus Siculus,¹⁹² and Plutarch,¹⁹³ and in all these passages Lennep¹⁹⁴ proposes to correct to *Πρόνοια*; but in any case, as regards Æschylus, who flourished about B.C. 484, Bentley¹⁹⁵ proves that *Πρόνοια*, in the sense of *Providence*, was not employed before the time of Plato (c. B.C. 395), an opinion adopted by Liddell and Scott.

The writer of the article *Delphi* in Smith’s “*Dictionary of Geography*” has adopted the form *Pronœa*, citing as authorities all the authors I have above mentioned, without noticing the discrepancies.

I must not omit to call attention to the statements of Aristides¹⁹⁶ (c. A.D. 150), or Macrobius,¹⁹⁷ (A.D. 400), both of whom speak of a temple at Delos to *Ἀθηνᾶ Πρόνοια*.

¹⁸⁹ Didot ed., p. 499.

¹⁹⁰ In another passage of Pausanias (ix. 10, 2), in speaking of a temple of Athena at Thebes, he uses the form *Πρόναον*.

¹⁹¹ *Eumen.*, 21.

¹⁹² xi. 14, 4. Wesseling, in his note to this passage (vol. iv. p. 329), considers this to be the correct form for the temple at Delphi.

¹⁹³ *Præcep. ger. Reip.*, 32, 16; Didot ed. In two other editions (ed. Wytttenbach, vol. iv. part i. p. 305, Oxford, 1797; and ed. Reisk, vol. ix. p. 281, Leipzig, 1774—82), the former of which is considered one of the best, the reading is *Πρόνοια*, and no doubt rightly, for Plutarch flourished about A.D. 110.

¹⁹⁴ *Ad Phalar.*, p. 145.

¹⁹⁵ *Dissertation upon Phalaris*, p. 524. Lond., 8vo., 1699.

¹⁹⁶ Ed. Dindorf, vol. i. p. 157. The writer of the article *Delphi* in Smith’s *Dict. of Geog.* also quotes the passage of Aristides in favour of *Pronœa* without a comment.

¹⁹⁷ *Saturnal.*, i. 17, 55, ed. Janus, Leipzig, 1848. Also *Πρόνοια* in Parthenius (*Erot.* xxv.) c. B.C. 63.

Upon the passage of the former author the scholiast has remarked, that "Minerva was called *Πρόνοια* (*Providentia*) because she looked after the confinement of Latona."¹⁹⁸

There is not much doubt that the nearer the writer lived to Roman times, the more likely he would have been to have used the word *Πρόνοια*, this being the exact equivalent of *Providentia*, which had been continually applied by the Romans to their gods.¹⁹⁹ It is certain that at Delphi, as the temple was really in front of that of Apollo, it was styled that of Ἐθηνᾶ Προναία,²⁰⁰ and though at Delos there might have been one to Ἐθηνᾶ Πρόνοια, yet in all probability the real form was Προναία, altered in Roman times to Πρόνοια.²⁰¹

Sept. Severus seems, as many other emperors, to have had a partiality for Minerva,²⁰² for on his coins, as also on those of his son Geta, we not only find the legend *Minerva Victrix*, but also that of *Minerva Sancta*.²⁰³

¹⁹⁸ "Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκλήθη Πρόνοια Ἐθηνᾶ, ὅτι προνοήθη τοῦ τόκου τῆς Λητοῦς."—Arist. ed. Dindorf, vol. iii. p. 27; cf. Hyperides, *frag.* Didot, ed. Orat. Att., vol. ii. p. 393.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Dion Cass., lvi. 4; PROVID. or PROVIDENT. on coins of J. Cæsar and Augustus; PROVIDENTIA DEORVM on coins of Hadrian, Aurelius, Pertinax, Caracalla, etc. A bilingual inscription of Ephesus records that by the *providence of the gods* Severus, Caracalla, and J. Domna had put down the *parricidiales insidiatores*, Böck, C. I. G., No. 2971; Orelli, No. 5497; see the reading by Cavedoni (*Inst. Corr. Arch.*, vol. xxxi. p. 286, 1859).

²⁰⁰ "Sed Delphos προναίαν appellasse hodie inscriptionum Delphicarum auctoritate (*ap. Curt. Anecd. Delp.*, pp. 77, 78) extra dubitationem positum est."—Stephanus, *Thes. Græc. Ling.*, ed. Hase and G. and L. Dindorf, vol. vi., s.v. πρόναος.

²⁰¹ "Itaque sic statuendum videtur, Delphos omni tempore προναίον coluisse, Atticos vero quique hos secuti sunt scriptores recentiores πρόνοιον appellasse."—Stephanus, *Thes.*, l.c.

²⁰² *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 269.

²⁰³ Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Sept. Sev., No. 210; Geta, Nos. 41, 42; the legend *Minerva Pacifera* also occurs on a coin of Geta (No. 40).

SEPT. SEVERUS AND JULIA DOMNA.

* 182. *Obv.*—SEVERVS AVG. PART. MAX. Bust of Sept. Severus to the right, laureated, with the *agis*.

Rev.—IVLIA AVGVSTA. Bust of Julia Domna to the right. (Pl. III., No. 11.)

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 1).

JULIA DOMNA.

* 183. *Obv.*—IVLIA AVGVSTA. Bust of Julia to the right.

Rev.—DIANA LVCIFERA. Diana standing to the left, holding a torch with both hands.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 18), as *autrefois*, *Cab. de France*. On similar gold coins Diana has a crescent round her neck. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 16.)

* 184. *Obv.*—IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG. Bust of Julia to the right, with diadem, on a crescent.

Rev.—VENVS [G]ENETRIX. Venus seated to the left, holding a *patra* and a sceptre. (Pl. III., No. 12.) Small medallion. Wt. 206 + grains (a hole in it).

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.*, No. 2), from *Mionnet*.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

(*To be continued.*)

XV.

ROMAN COINS STRUCK IN BRITAIN.

[Reprinted from the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxiv.]

No attempt has yet been made to class separately the Roman coins struck in Britain. Had this been done, it would have been perceived at once that the coins of Constantine I. and other members of his family with the mint-mark PLON are the continuation of those marked PLN; and that there is another class of unmarked coins which connects the coinage of Allectus with the latter, and completes an unbroken series from Carausius to Constantine I.

Each of these classes begins exactly where the preceding ends, and the *connecting links* are of similar style and fabric. Had the unmarked London coins of Diocletian, Maximian, and their successors, been of the same size as the copper of Carausius and Allectus, this similarity might, perhaps, have been detected; but such a result was most effectually prevented by the laws of numismatic orthodoxy, according to which they are classed separately, under the names of Second and Third brass.

The mint-mark L, which appears on many coins of Carausius and Allectus, was dropped for a time at the restoration, no doubt because it was then used, as we shall see, by the mint of Lyons. The marks of the two mints

of London and Lyons afterwards became, respectively, LN or LON, and LG or LVG.

A brief sketch of the Roman series will enable the reader to form an idea of the relative importance of the two British mints, London and Camulodunum, considered as a part of the general system.

The Roman coinage is divided by an event which took place in A.D. 260—the defeat and captivity of Valerian—into two very distinct classes. The first is to a great extent *local*, the second strictly *imperial*.

The disaster of Valerian brought to a crisis the bankruptcy which had long been impending. From the time of Septimius Severus, and even earlier, the silver currency had been gradually debased, though still issued at the rate of 25 denarii to an aureus, while the taxes and government dues had to be paid in pure gold. The early billon coins of Gallienus, which are matched by analogous coins of his father, contain a small proportion of silver; but the later ones, which are not accompanied by any of Valerian, and strongly resemble those of Claudius II., are made of copper washed with tin.

In consequence of this bankruptcy, the bronze and copper fractions of the now worthless billon denarii naturally ceased to be issued, both at Rome and in the towns and dependent states which still availed themselves of their right of coining these metals. The whole coinage thus became imperial, and remained so through every successive change.

We find in the early period of the Roman coinage:—

1. A series struck at Rome, complete as to silver, but with gaps in the gold and copper, which were not issued at all times.
2. Gold, silver, and copper coins, struck in other parts

of Italy and in the provinces by Roman magistrates, generals, and emperors. These coins are easily recognised by their peculiar fabric, and are generally traceable to events which account for their issue. In the Republican period, we find many struck during the Punic and civil wars, the former in Italy only, the latter in every part of the Roman dominions. During the triumvirate and empire they were chiefly issued at Lyons, Ephesus, and Antioch. There is a numerous class struck at Lyons during the triumvirate and the Cantabrian and German wars under Augustus; this includes, amongst other coins, all those with the reverses IMP. X-XIIII., which refer to the pacification of Spain and to the campaigns of Agrippa, Tiberius, and Drusus, in Pannonia and Germany, from 740 to 746. The coins of Clodius Albinus, with the title of Augustus, were also, no doubt, struck there; while those of Pescennius Niger are of Antioch fabric, as well as many issued during the Parthian and Persian wars of Septimius Severus and his successors. The Jewish war accounts for numerous coins of the reign of Vespasian struck both at Ephesus and Antioch.

3. Silver and copper coins issued by Roman colonies, *municipia*, cities, and dependent states, which possessed, or had received, or been allowed to retain, the right of coining. Rome reserved for herself the right of issuing gold, and with very few exceptions, also silver, but allowed a local system of copper coinage in the towns and states entitled to mints of their own.

No coins of this description were ever struck in Britain, and comparatively few in the other Western provinces. Britain, Gaul, Spain, and the greater part of Africa, were in a semi-barbarous state at the time they were conquered, and their national currency disappeared. It was replaced

by that of Rome, which soon took almost exclusive possession of the vacant ground. The development of the local coinage was checked very early; it ceased in Italy and Sicily soon after the death of Augustus, and in the other provinces before the accession of Vespasian.

In the civilised countries of the East, where the Roman monetary system had grafted itself upon, instead of superseding, the former state of things, the local mints remained in activity till the reign of Gallienus, and there are even a few coins of this category struck during the reigns of Claudius II., Aurelian, and Tacitus. The civic mint of Alexandria did not become imperial till the reign of the usurper Domitius Domitian, of whom there are both Greek and Latin coins.

The absence of mint-initials creates some uncertainty in the classification of the coins of Gallienus and his successors. It is the rule before the monetary reform of Diocletian, which took place about the time of the elevation of Constantius and Galerius to the rank of Cæsars, and the exception after that change. When they are wanting or doubtful, we must be guided by style, fabric, metal, types, and other peculiarities.

We find in the later period of the Roman coinage positive indications of twenty-one, or rather twenty-four, mints:—

1. Camulodunum, established by Carausius, and suppressed after the death of Allectus.
2. London, established by Carausius, and suppressed, as we shall see, about the time of the dedication of Constantinople.
3. Treves, established at the time of the monetary reform of Diocletian.
4. Lyons, established by Gallienus, of whom we find billon coins of the same fabric as those of Postumus.

5. Arles, or Constantina, established by Constantine I. after the overthrow of Maxentius and Maximin.

The three mints of Treves, Lyons, and Arles were suppressed after the downfall of Eugenius, and restored for a short time by the usurpers Constantine and Jovinus.

6. Amiens, *Ambianum*, established by Magnentius, and suppressed soon after his death by Constantius II.

7. Tarragona, established by Aurelian, if not earlier, and suppressed at the same time as London. Its mark T was afterwards occasionally used at Thessalonica.

8. Carthage, established at the time of the monetary reform of Diocletian, transferred by Maxentius to Ostia in consequence of the rebellion of Alexander, and suppressed or transferred to Arles soon after the conquest of Italy by Constantine I.

The mark K preceded by P belongs to Carthage, in all other cases to Cyzicus, to which may also be ascribed, on account of their Eastern fabric, the coins of Probus marked CM or MC. KA, before the monetary reform of Diocletian, is not a mint-mark, but the Greek translation of the Latin numeral XXI, indicating the number of base denarii which, according to the monetary reform of Aurelian, were equal to the silver denarius, or twenty-fifth part of the aureus. In the provinces reclaimed from Tetricus, the proportion of the old to the base denarius seems to have been, till the middle of the reign of Probus, as one to twenty instead of twenty-one. After the monetary reform of Diocletian, PKA and KA mean, respectively, "struck in the first *officina* of the mint of Carthage, or Cyzicus," and we then find also PKB, KB, &c.

9. Rome.

10. Aquileia, established at the time of the monetary reform of Diocletian, probably transferred by Honorius to

Ravenna, and restored for a short time by Theodosius II. during the war against the usurper John.

The mark of Aquileia is always AQ. A on billon and copper belongs to Arles ; on gold it is always coupled with Ξ , 60, the number of coins struck out of a pound of metal under Diocletian, Galerius, Maximin, and Licinius, and belongs to Antioch.

11. Milan, *Mediolanum*, established after the defeat of Magnentius by Constantius II., and suppressed about the beginning of the Ostrogothic period.

12. Sirmium, established at the same time as Milan, suppressed after the death of Valentinian I., and restored for a short time by Theodosius I., probably during the war against Eugenius.

13. Siscia, established by Probus, if not earlier, and probably suppressed or transferred to Sirmium at the death of Valentinian II. The mark S belongs to it, and not to Serdica or Sirmium.

14. Thessalonica, established at the time of the monetary reform of Diocletian, and suppressed about the time of Zeno.

15. Serdica, established by Aurelian, if not earlier, and perhaps a continuation of the local mint, the last coins of which are of Gallienus. It was transferred by Constantine I. to Sirmium after the first war against Licinius, and thence to Constantinople after the second.

There is some difficulty in distinguishing the mint-marks of Constantina from those of Constantinople. CONST. or CON., preceded by a *Latin* differential letter, or accompanied by OF. I, II, or III, in the field of the reverse, belong to Constantina, where we also find KONSTAN on gold under Constantius II. and his successors ; KA, followed by the differential letter P, on a few silver coins of

Valentinian I. and Gratian; and KONT on silver under the usurpers Constantine and Jovinus. All other *Constantinian* marks, with two exceptions, COM and COMOB, belong to Constantinople; and the differential, when there is one, is a *Greek* numeral, which *follows*, when placed in the exergue, the indication of the town.

COM and COMOB belong to Rome, when not accompanied in the field of the reverse by the initials TR, LD, AR, MD, AQ, RV, or SM. Both are also found with RM; and COB, the contraction of the latter, with RV. These marks, used in the mints of the Western empire, evidently mean "struck according to the standard of the mint of Constantinople." With regard to the interpretation of OB, on which so much has been written, I beg to refer the reader to an article published by the late M. de Pétigny in the "Revue Numismatique" of 1857, p. 115, in which he gives most convincing arguments for reading OBRYZA, pure gold, instead of 72, the number of solidi coined out of a pound of metal.

These remarks do not apply to the Byzantine gold coinage of Italy, Sicily, and Africa, after the recovery of these provinces by Justinian I., CONOB being then used throughout the empire. In the barbarous imitations struck in Gaul, Spain, and Africa, we find both COMOB and CONOB according to the prototype copied, and these marks are frequently blundered as well as the legends.

16. Heraclea of Thrace, formerly Perinthus, established before the monetary reform of Diocletian, and suppressed about the time of Leo I.

17. Cyzicus, probably a continuation of the local mint, of which there are coins of Claudius II., suppressed about the same time as Heraclea.

18. Nicomedia, established at the time of the monetary

reform of Diocletian, and suppressed about the same time as Heraclea and Cyzicus.

19. Tarsus, probably a continuation of the local mint, of which there are coins of the reign of Gallienus, suppressed or transferred to Heraclea in the early part of the reign of Diocletian. It was closed before the opening of Treves, which adopted its mint-mark, TR.

20. Antioch, continuation of the local mint, the last coins of which bear the name of Valerian, suppressed, as well as Alexandria, about the time of Theodosius II.

21. Alexandria, continuation of the local mint which became Imperial under the usurper Domitius Domitian, better known by the name of Achilles.

The mint of Carthage was restored by the Vandal kings, and Byzantine coins were struck there, at Rome and Ravenna, and in Sicily, till the Western provinces were lost to the emperors of Constantinople. Thessalonica, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Antioch, and Alexandria also reappear under Anastasius and his two successors; but they issued nothing except copper, and their mint-marks are not found after the reign of Heraclius.

[Here follows the part already printed, Num. Chron., n.s., vol. vii. p. 57.]

P.S. A second specimen of the London silver coinage of Magnus Maximus, in very bad condition, has just been deciphered and most generously presented by Mr. John Evans to the British Museum. It is of the same size as the former, and the reverse is VOT. V MVLTV. X' in a wreath, with the exergual mark AVG. (see Mr. Evans's paper, p. 331.) Both these hitherto unique coins are from the same find, concerning which I have not been able to obtain any information.

XVI.

COINS OF MAGNUS MAXIMUS STRUCK AT
LONDON.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Oct. 17, 1867.]

ALTHOUGH coins of Magnus Maximus, bearing upon the exergue of the reverse the legend AVG OB, have long been known, having been described by Banduri¹ in 1718, it was not until 1861 that these pieces were attributed by Mr. de Salis to the London mint, an attribution first published by Mr. Madden in his paper on the Three Valentinians,² in the first volume of the new series of the Numismatic Chronicle.

Mr. Akerman, in 1843, mentions the coins of Magnus Maximus in his volume³ on the coins of the Romans relating to Britain, but observes that they all bear exergual letters of the continental mints only; and other authors, under whose notice the coins bearing the exergual letters AVG OB must have come, failed to associate them with Augusta Trinobantum or Londinium Augusta. Cohen,⁴

¹ Vol. ii. p. 519.

² *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. i. p. 122.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 166.

⁴ *Méd. Imp.* vol. vi. p. 466.

though omitting AVG OB in the list of exergual inscriptions prefixed to his account of the coins of Maximus, accepts in a note the attribution to London.

Mr. de Salis's attribution can, indeed, hardly fail to be generally accepted, especially after the remarks he has made upon the subject in the present volume of the Numismatic Chronicle.

The passages in which Ammianus Marcellinus (an author who flourished about A.D. 390, and was consequently a contemporary of Maximus) speaks of the ancient town of London being then called Augusta, have already been quoted by Mr. Madden, and need not be here repeated. The anonymous Geographer of Ravenna, who probably wrote in the seventh century, and couples the name of Augusta with that of Londinium, has also been cited. In the *Notitia Dignitatum*⁵ is mentioned a *Præpositus Thesaurorum Augustensium in Britanniiis*. It is true that Treves was also known as *Augusta Trevirorum*, but Mr. de Salis has already pointed out the extreme improbability of the Treves mint issuing coins with the mint-marks TR and AVG indifferently.

We must, therefore, accept these gold coins as, in all probability, struck at London, and it is extremely satisfactory to find that there are silver coins which must have issued from the same mint. The first of these that was known, I was so fortunate as to discover among a number of coins found, I believe, in one of our western counties. It has already been described and engraved by Mr. de Salis,⁶ as I was induced, from the rarity of the coin and its interest as struck in London, to cede it to the National

⁵ Smith's *Dict. Geog. s.v. Londinium*.

⁶ *Num. Chron.* vol. vii. p. 62, pl. iv. 17.

Collection. It is to be observed that the exact legend upon it, VICTORIA AVGG, does not occur upon any of the silver coins struck at the other mints of Maximus, so that the coin is singular both in its legend and place of mintage, and even in the form of its exergual legend, which is AVGPS.

I have now the great satisfaction of adding a second silver coin to the list of the issues of Magnus Maximus from the London mint. It was found in company with the first, but is, unfortunately, in very poor preservation. It may be thus described:—

Obv.—D. N. MAG. MA-XIMVS P.F. AVG. Diademate bust in paludamentum, to the right.

Rev.—VOT. V. MVLT. X., within a wreath; in exergue AVG. Æ

Like the other coin, it differs from the more common silver pieces struck at Treves, in dividing the name of the Emperor MA-XIMVS instead of MAX-IMVS. The coins struck at Milan and Aquileia, and a very few of those from Treves, adopt, however, the same division.

The reverse presents us with a new type, at all events in the small silver coins, though it occurs on a rare silver medallion of Maximus in the French collection, engraved by Cohen,⁷ and on the small brass coins of this Emperor.

As the reign of Maximus lasted from A.D. 383 until the year 388, it seems probable that, notwithstanding the chronological laxity of the later empire with regard to the VOTIS coins, these pieces were struck in the last year of Maximus. If so, the coin I have just described would seem to prove that the mint of London continued in existence, if not in very active operation, during the whole

⁷ *Méd. Imp.* vol. vi. pl. xvi. No. 3.

period of the occupation of the Western Empire by Magnus Maximus, and that it was not, as was originally supposed by Mr. de Salis and Mr. Madden, a merely temporary mint, which was given up on Maximus becoming master of Gaul and Italy. The coin of Theodosius just published by Mr. de Salis, pl. iv. No. 16, seems to afford similar testimony, unless it be too barbarous for its evidence to be of any value.

It appears to me by no means improbable, that if a careful search were made among the copper coinage of Maximus, specimens might be discovered issued from this same mint. I have a small coin of the SPES ROMAN-ORVM type, with the gate of a camp, on which it is almost impossible to say whether the exergual legend is AVGS or LVGS, but I am afraid it is the latter. It was found in the amphitheatre at Richborough in 1849.

At present no coins of Victor, the son and colleague of Maximus, are known of this mint. It would, however, be of interest to ascertain what is the correct reading of the exergual legend, ANLOP, which is given by Mionnet as occurring on a silver coin of Victor with the Prætorian camp, and reading SPES ROMANORVM.

I will only add that as the silver coin of Maximus which I last described is, notwithstanding its poor preservation, of some national interest, I have much pleasure in presenting it to our President, for him to add it to the National Collection.

JOHN EVANS.

NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

IN No. 2 (March—April) of the *Revue Numismatique* for 1867, there are the following articles:—

1. "Third Letter to M. de Saulcy on Gaulish Numismatics," by M. Eugène Hucher.
2. "Coins of Meleager, King of Macedonia; a Notice followed by Observations on the type commonly called the Macedonian Buckler" (2nd part), by M. Ferd. Bompou.
3. "The Portraits of the Pro-Consuls of Asia and Africa on Coins," by M. W. H. Waddington.
4. "Weights of Imperial Gold Medallions," by M. Fr. Lenormant.
6. "Inedited Baronial Coins," by M. L. Chauffier.
7. "Introduction to the Study of Jetons," by M. A. D'Affry de la Monnoye (second article).

In the *Chronique* is a notice of a Numidian Medallion, of a find of coins at Carpentias, and a continuation of M. de Witte's article on the works and numismatic papers of the late Celestino Cavedoni.

The *quatrième livraison* of the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge* for 1867 contains the following articles:—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and *Pièces de Nécessité*" (seventh article), by M. P. Mailliet.
2. "The Earliest Coin of the Seigneurs of Coevorde," by M. J. E. H. Hooft van Iddekinge.
3. "Italian Numismatic Bibliography," by M. A. Morel-Fatio.
4. "Nomination of M. Renier Chalon to the Order of Leopold."

The remainder of the part consists of Correspondence and Miscellanea. Among the latter is a notice of the acquisition by the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris of the unique gold piece of twenty staters of Eucratides for the sum of 30,000 francs = £1,200!!

In the *Nécrologie* is a notice of the late M. Jacques Baart de la Faille.

The first part of the fourth volume of the *Berliner Blätter für Münz Siegel- und Wappenkunde* contains the following papers:—

1. An interesting Biography of Domenico Sestini, illustrated by a lithographed portrait, and with some rectifications

of the *Lettere*, parts vi. and viii., annexed, by Dr. Julius Friedländer.

2. "Coins of the Nomes of Egypt under Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian," by the same.

3. "Elea in Epirus," by the same.

4. "Unpublished Coins of the Middle Ages," by H. Dannenberg.

5. "Numismatics of Ragusa," by the Baron von Köhne.

The remainder of the part consists of heraldic, sphragistic, and miscellaneous notices.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, FROM MAY 4, 1865, TO DECEMBER 31, 1866.

THE society, of the proceedings of which we have here the record, is now of ten years' standing, and is the oldest Numismatic Society among our transatlantic brethren. Besides notices of the monthly meetings of the society, this part contains the following numismatic papers:—

1. "Some Observations on the Early Currency of Maryland," by Henry Phillips, Jun.

2. "The Pleasures of Numismatic Science," by the same author.

3. "A Historical Sketch of the National Medals issued pursuant to Resolution of Congress, 1776—1815," by Charles H. Hart.

There are also several antiquarian and historical essays.

NOUVELLES DÉCOUVERTES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES FAITES À CONSTANTINOPLE, par le DR. DETHIER. 4to. pp. 30, and 1 plate. 1867.

DR. DETHIER in this little work, besides mentioning various archæological discoveries, notices some remarkable coins procured at Constantinople. One of these is a unique gold coin of Pescennius Niger, brought from Syria, and in his own collection. The type of the reverse is the same as that of the silver coin of Pescennius described by Cohen (No. 21), from the collection of the late Duc de Blacas, viz., Jupiter seated to the left, holding a sceptre and a Victory, with an eagle at his feet. The legend is IOVI CONSERVATORI. The coin has been pronounced genuine by all who have seen it in the East, but has been sent for the inspection of western numismatists, to the care of M. L. Hachette, Boulevard St. Germain 77, Paris. The weight is 5.10 grammes (787 grs.).

Another remarkable coin is a bronze medallion in the possession of His Excellency Cabouli Pacha, found in the mouth of a skeleton in Asia Minor. It commemorates the two Valerians, Gallienus and Salonina, and was struck at Temenothyra in Lydia. On the obverse are four heads in a row, arranged two and two, facing each other, with the inscription above and below, TOYC CEBBBB. BAAEPIANOYC TAAAIHNON CAAΩNEINAN. On the reverse is a naked figure holding a torch in each hand, with a cloak flying from the shoulders, and the head radiated, in a quadriga to the right. The legend is KΛEOBOYAOC APXΩN A THMENO@YPEYCIN. A medallion of Valerian and Gallienus, but of a different type, struck by the same Archon at Temenothyra, is engraved in the *Musei Pisani Numismata*, pl. lxiii. Another of these medallions of a different type is described by Vaillant, *Num. Græc.*, p. 179. The legend on the medallion engraved by Dr. Dethier is distinctly THMENO@YPEYCIN, not ΓPIMENO@YPEYCIN.

J. E.

In the *Revue Archéologique* for October, 1867, is a notice of a discovery of Gaulish coins, by M. J. Gaultier du Mottay. The coins in question were found by the side of the old Roman road from Rennes to Carhaix, about two miles from the small town of Merdrignac. They were 583 in number, and enclosed in an urn of burnt clay. They are all of Potin, and of the class attributed to Armorican Gaul. The most common type is that of Lambert, *Numismatique Gauloise du Nord Ouest de la France*, 2nd part, pl. ix. No. 14 and 15, of which there are 408 specimens. Of Lambert, pl. x. Nos. 1 and 6, there are 42; and of pl. x. Nos. 7 to 10, 46 specimens. There are also 5 or 6 of Lambert, pl. ix. Nos. 18 and 19; the remainder being too much oxidised to be determined. M. du Mottay attributes the first class, with a sort of lyre beneath the horse, to the *Curiosolitæ*; and those of the 2nd and 3rd types, with a bear beneath the horse, to the *Osismii*.

MISCELLANEA.

KOBANG.—The principal coins of Japan circulating anterior to 1853 were the gold *kobang*, the gold *itzebu*, and the silver *itzebu*. The original kobang of gold was worth about \$3.50. The gold itzebu was worth one-third of the gold kobang, and

the silver itzebu equalled in value 32 cents. At the time of the partial opening up of foreign trade transactions the kobang circulated in Japan at 4 itzebus, although its European value was actually nearly 14 itzebus! The immediate consequence of this latter circumstance on the sharp traders of America and England was to induce them to buy up all the kobangs that came in their way, at Japanese valuation. By this proceeding, which no doubt enlightened the poor natives, and revealed to them the truly commercial character of their new customers, the latter gained large sums of money. The lesson thus practically taught, and forcibly illustrated, was speedily learned by the Japanese, who set about purchasing the remaining kobangs. The result necessarily was a total disappearance of the kobang from the channels of general circulation. Another result is, that the Japanese are about coining the money on the American standard with American machinery.—*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.*

FIND OF ROMAN DENARII AT NIEDERASCHAU, BAVARIA.—In the twenty-seventh volume of the *Archiv*, of Upper Bavaria, is an account from the pen of Count Hundt of a find of Roman silver coins at Niederaschau, near the Chiem See, in Bavaria, In removing a small mound of stones, a narrow-necked earthen vessel was found filled with coins, and near it a plain penannular bracelet, and a large fibula of silver, upwards of three inches long and about an inch and three-quarters wide. Besides these there was a heap of bones, which, however, were pronounced to be those of a horse. The vessel proved to contain about 800 coins, exclusively denarii, of which 766 were examined. They range in date from about A.D. 100 to 236, there being one coin of Maximinus in the hoard, and consist of coins of the following Emperors and Empresses:—

Trajan	1	Brought forward	281
Hadrian	1	Geta	30
Antoninus Pius	6	Macrinus	6
Faustina I.	4	Elagabalus	148
Marcus Aurelius	1	Julia Paula	6
Faustina II.	1	Aquilia Severa	2
Commodus	11	Julia Mæsa	39
Albinus	1	Julia Soæmias	14
Septimius Severus	120	Julia Mameæa	48
Julia Domna	48	Alexander Severus	190
Caracalla	81	Barbia Orbiana	1
Plautilla	6	Maximinus I.	1
Carried forward	281		766

It will be observed that some few of the coins are by no means common; but of course the bulk of the hoard consists of coins

already well known and described by Cohen. There are, however, some few combinations of obverses and reverses which are not noticed by him, and, in addition, Count Hundt specifies the following as unpublished :—

FAUSTINA.

1. *Obv.*—DIVA FAVSTINA.
Rev.—AV—GVSTA. Veiled female figure standing to the right, holding up a wand with her right and her robe with her left hand (Vesta?).

COMMODUS.

2. *Obv.*—M. COMM. ANT. P. FEL. AVG. [BRIT.]
Rev.—ITER SANAT. P.M. TR. P. XII. IMP. VIII. COS. V.P.P. The Emperor in imperial robes to the right, raising his right hand, in his left a wand.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

3. As Cohen, No. 264, but IMP. X. on obverse.
4. *Obv.*—IMP CAE. L. SEP. S[EV. PERT. AVG. CO]S. II.
Rev.—VENER VICT. Venus to the right; in her right the apple, in her left a wand.

JULIA MÆSA.

5. *Rev.*—CONCORDIA. Concord seated to the right, in her right a garland, her left supported on her chair; to the right, above, a star.
6. *Rev.*—PIETAS. Like Cohen, No. 12, but the goddess extending both hands.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

7. *Obv.*—IMP SEV ALEXAND. AVG. Laureate bust with incipient bea.d.
Rev.—VESTA. Veiled goddess to the right; in her right a patera, in her left a sceptre.

It seems possible that some of these may, notwithstanding no mention being made of the fact, be plated coins. Certainly, No. 3, which would appear to combine the IMP. X of Severus with his TR. P. IIII., cannot be accepted as a trustworthy coin. The other coin, No. 4, would appear to have been struck with a reverse die of Domna (Cohen, No. 98), though with VENER., instead of VENERI, in the same manner as the coin of Alexander (No. 7) has a reverse of Mamæa (Cohen, No. 29.)

By far the most remarkable coin is No. 2, of Commodus, with the legend, ITER SANAT., for not only, as Count Hundt remarks, is there no record of the illness, the recovery from which is recorded upon the coin, but we know nothing of any coins commemorating the recovery from the first attack of the disorder from which Commodus was thus cured for a second time in A.D. 187. Nor can the legend be paralleled on any other Roman coin. We find, indeed, DICT. ITER, COS. ITER, IMP. ITER, &c., but never SANATVS ITERVM, much less ITERVM SANATVS. There are, however, some not very uncommon coins of Commodus, which, singularly enough, were struck in that same year, 187, and on which the legend commences with PATER SENAT. Can there have been a misreading on the part of the Bavarian numismatists? I acknowledge that appearances are in favour of such having been the case.

Count Hundt's paper concludes with the assays made by Mr. Millauer of the various coins, giving the weight and fineness, and also of a number of Antoniniani found at Klugham and Ratisbon.

J. E.

COINS OF HENRY IV. OF ENGLAND.—Collectors of English coins who have, or think they have, coins of Henry IV. (light or heavy), will greatly oblige the Rev. Assheton Pownall by forwarding to him sealing-wax impressions of them; and an account of their weight in grains.—South Kilworth Rectory, Rugby.

BLUNDERED COIN OF MARONEIA.—I have fallen in with a Greek copper coin which exhibits a curious typographical error, if I may use the expression. It is a coin of Maroneia in Thrace, s. 3, of the usual type. *Obv.* A horse galloping to right, with a monogram below, similar to that given in Leake's table, No. 76 (except that the two short lines to the right forming an angle are worn away). *Rev.* A vine, with four bunches of grapes in a square. Round it, MAT | ΩNI | T . . instead of ΜΑΡΩ-ΝΙΤΩΝ. The first T is distinct. Have any of your readers ever noticed a similar blunder on a Greek coin?—Yours truly, T. J. ARNOLD.

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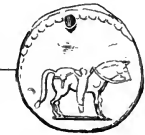
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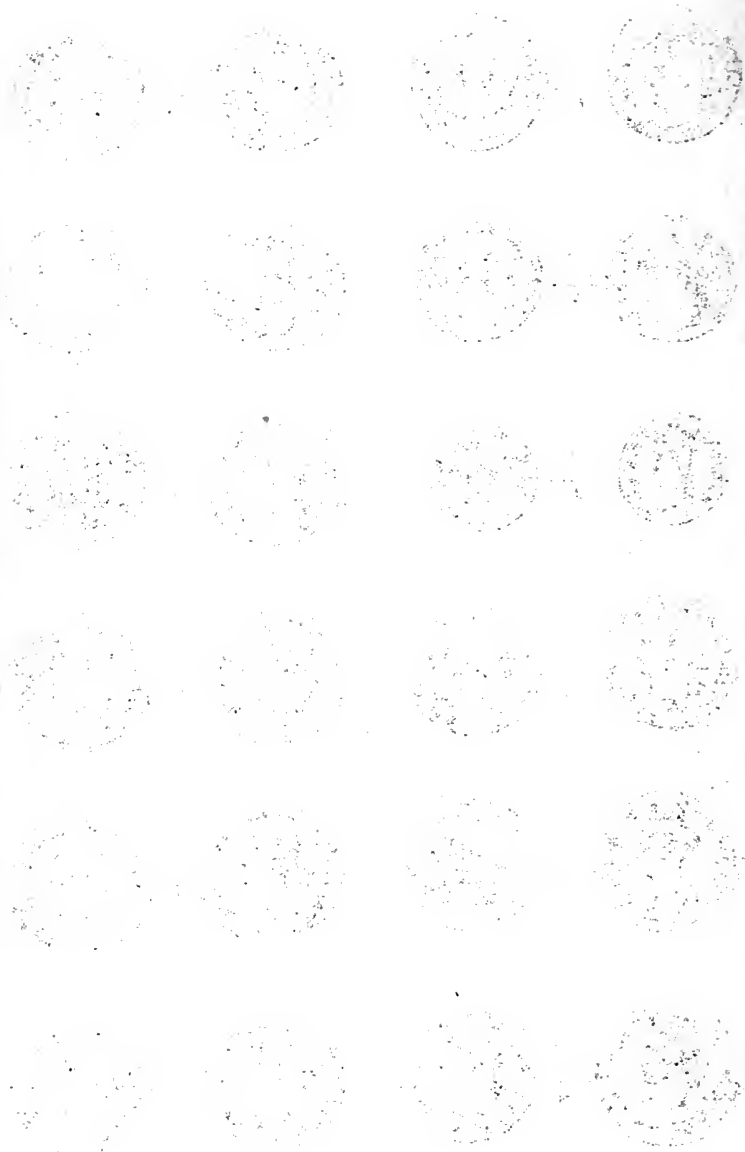
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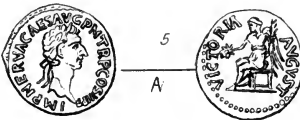
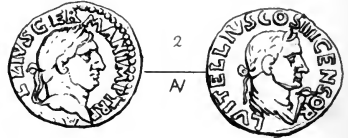
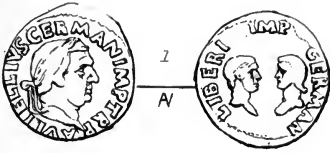


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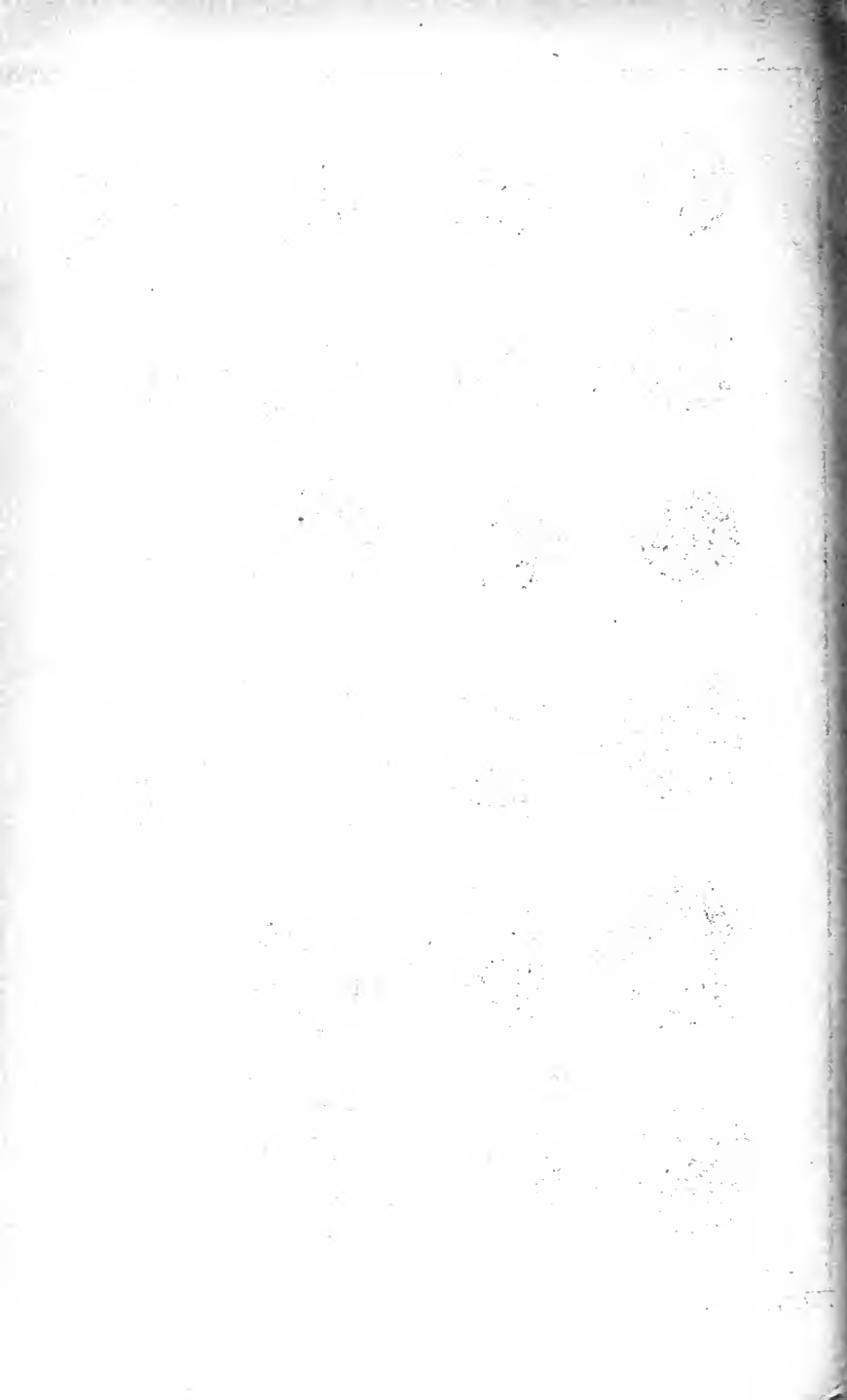


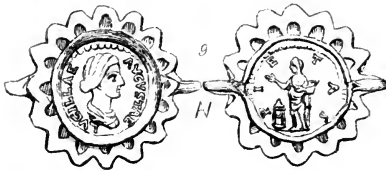
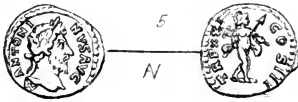
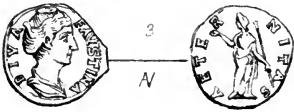
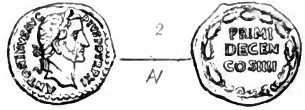
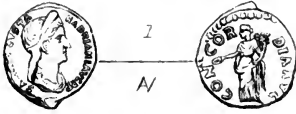
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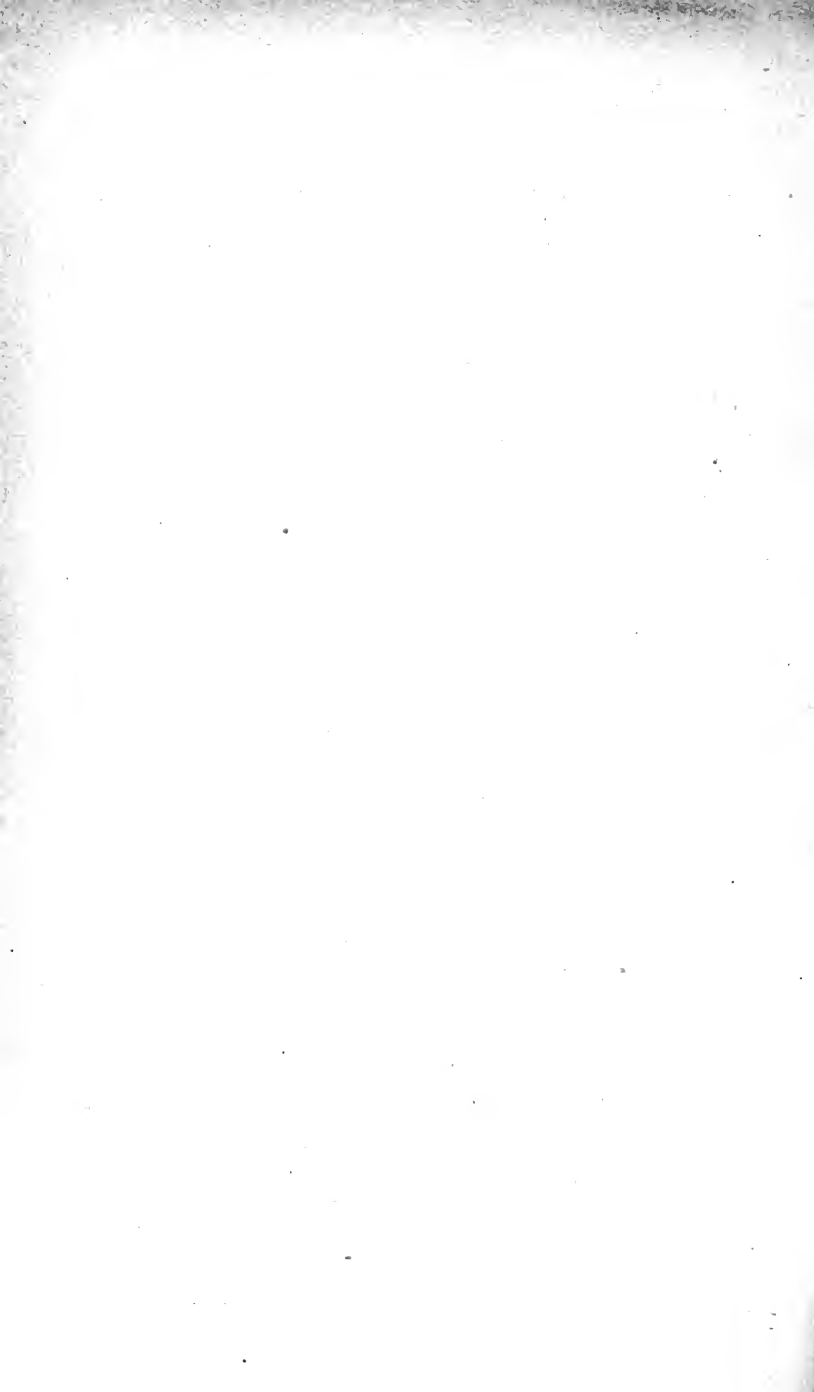


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