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THE  
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,  
AND  
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.



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

EDITED BY

JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., LL.D., TREAS.R.S., F.S.A.,  
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AND

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ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF COINS, BRITISH MUSEUM; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE  
IMPERIAL GERMAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

THIRD SERIES.—VOL. I.



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

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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SESSION 1880—81.

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OCTOBER 21, 1880.

JOHN EVANS, ESQ., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the chair.

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

1. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. VII. Nos. 3 and 4. From the Numismatic Society of Montreal.

2. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. 2nd Series, Vol. VIII. Nos. 2 and 3, with List of Members. From the Society.

3. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. N.S., Vol. XII. Parts 3 and 4. From the Society.

4. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Vol. V. 4th Series, No. 40. From the Association.

5. Collectanea Antiqua. Vol. VII. Part 4. By C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A. From the Author.

6. Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. XV. Parts 1—9; XXVI. Parts 2—22. Cunningham Memoirs, No. 1, Irish MS. Series. Vol. 1 and Proceedings, November, 1879, and April, 1880. From the Academy.

7. The Smithsonian Report, 1878. From the Smithsonian Institution.

8. *Compte-rendu de la Commission Impériale archéologique*

de St. Pétersbourg pour l'année 1877, avec Atlas. From the Commission.

9. Revue belge de Numismatique, 1880, 3<sup>me</sup> et 4<sup>me</sup> livraisons. From the Society.

10. Numismatische Zeitschrift. Vienna. Band XII. 1st semester, 1880. From the Society.

11. Bullettino di corrispondenza archeologica. Nos. IV.—IX. 1880. From the German Archæological Institute.

12. Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut grand-ducal de Luxembourg. Vol. XII. 1880. From the Institute.

13. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie. 3<sup>me</sup> Série, Tome VI. From the Society.

14. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 1<sup>re</sup> trimestre, 1880. From the Society.

15. Bulletins de la Société de Borda à Dax. 5<sup>me</sup> année, 1883, 2<sup>me</sup> trimestre. From the Society.

16. Report of the operations of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, 1878—79. From the Society; also a bronze medal of the founder, Mr. Eli K. Price.

17. A parcel of leaden coins found at Kistna, in Southern India. From the Superintendent of the Government Central Museums, Madras.

18. Coins of Khusrau Shah and Khusrau Malik, the Ghaznavi kings of Lahore. By C. J. Rodgers, Esq. From the Author.

19. The copper coins of the old Mahárájáhs of Kashmir. From the same.

20. The copper coins of the Sultans of Kashmir. From the same.

21. Drachme inédite frappée dans l'Étrurie. By F. Bompois. From the Author.

22. Ἀνέκδοτα νομίσματα καὶ μολυβδοβοῦλλα τῶν κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας δυνάστων τῆς Ἑλλάδος: ὑπὸ Παύλου Λάμπρου. From the Author.

23. Les monnaies à légendes grecques de la dynastie turque des fils du Danishmend. By G. Schlumberger. From the Author.

24. Notes on the coins in the Cardiff Museum. By the Rev. W. E. Winks. From the Author.

Mr. Hoblyn exhibited patterns for a penny and halfpenny of George III., 1788, by Pingo, the former being the first copper coin struck of that denomination; also a penny of Jamaica, struck in copper instead of white metal, and patterns for one-cent and half-cent pieces of Nova Scotia, 1861, differing materially from the current coin.

Mr. Pearson exhibited a curious and unpublished leaden medallet of Queen Elizabeth, with the inscription, NIL NISI CONCLIO, 1588.

Mr. Gill exhibited a styca of Ulphere, Archbishop of York, of base silver, and a copper coin of Cunobeline found at Chester Camp, near Wellingborough, of the type of Evans, Pl. XII. 6.

Mr. P. Gardner read a paper on some new and unpublished Bactrian coins.—See “Numismatic Chronicle,” N.S., Vol. xx. p. 181.

Captain E. Hoare communicated a paper on some early and modern tokens bearing the name of Hoare.—See “Numismatic Chronicle,” N.S., Vol. xx. p. 332.

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NOVEMBER 18, 1880.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., President, in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—Louis Blacker, Esq.; Lord Edward Spencer Churchill; Ralph Nelson, Esq.; Dr. C. R. Stülpnagel; and John Toplis, Esq.

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

1. *Archæologia Cantiana*. Vol. XIII. From the Kent Archæological Society.

2. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*. Band VIII. Parts 1 and 2. From the Editor.

3. *Description des ivoires de la ville de Volterra*. Par J. Sambon. From the Author.

4. *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*. Vol. ix., No. 1. From the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.

5. *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland*. 4th Series, Vol. v. No. 41. From the Association.

6. *Salomon de Caux gravant sa médaille, iconographie de la furie Espagnole*. Par Camille Picqué. From the Author.

Mr. B. V. Head exhibited, on behalf of Mr. H. Baker, a set of countermarked shillings of the present century, all having the appearance of being designedly stamped, but with what object it was not apparent.

Mr. J. Toplis exhibited a selection from a hoard of silver coins lately found at Nottingham, among which were pennies of Henry I.; of Stephen, struck at Norwich, Nottingham, London, &c., two being countermarked with a cross; one of Matilda similar to Hawkins's *Suppl.*, Pl. vi., No. 634, *rev.* SVE...ON.OX.; and one of Roger, Earl of Warwick, Hawkins's *Suppl.*, Pl. vi., No. 632.—See "*Numismatic Chronicle*," 3rd Series, Vol. i., p. 37.

The Baron G. de Worms exhibited a gold pound sovereign of Elizabeth, m.m. Woolpack; a crown piece of James VIII., the elder Pretender; and other coins.

Mr. T. T. Bent exhibited two copper coins of the Republic of San Marino, 1869 and 1875; a Danish coin of Waldemar III. der Store; a coin of Frederic di Montefeltro, d. 1482, Duke of Urbino; and a copper coin of Pavia, *obv.* emperor's head; *rev.* San Siro, 1683.

The Rev. Canon Pownall exhibited a bronze medal of Charles I., by J. Roettier, *rev.* VIRTVT . EX . ME . FORTVNAM EX . ALIJS, a hand from out of a cloud holding a martyr's

crown ; a silver medal of James II. and his queen, by Bower, *rev.* SEMPER TIBI PENDEAT HAMVS, in exergue NAVFRAGA REPERTA, 1687 ; and a bronze medallion of Calvin, executed by A. Bovy, chief medallist of the Swiss Mint in 1864 : *rev.* ECCLESIAE REFORMATOR . GENEVAE PASTOR ET TVTAMEN . CORPORE FRACTVS . ANIMO POTENS . FIDE VICTOR . IL TEINT FERME COME S'IL EVST VEV CELVY QVI EST INVISIBLE.

Mr. A. J. Evans read a paper on some recent discoveries of Illyrian coins, the result of considerable personal researches in North Albania and Southern Dalmatia. From the mountains above Gusinje in Albania the writer had obtained a small hoard of Illyrian coins, belonging chiefly to the second century B.C., and comprising many types entirely new to numismatists.—See “Numismatic Chronicle,” N.S., Vol. xx. p. 269.

The Rev. Canon Pownall read a paper “On the Testoons of Edward VI.,” to prove that some among them, of base metal, bearing mint-marks identical with some of Henry VIII.’s coins (indisputably Irish), and being, moreover, identical in date with the fine silver struck for England, are, in fact, the Irish currency of Edward VI., against the badness of which all Ireland was then exclaiming. This is printed in the “Numismatic Chronicle,” 3rd Series, Vol. I. p. 48.

DECEMBER 16, 1880.

ALFRED E. COPP, Esq., Treasurer, in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—William Arnold, Esq., and the Rev. S. Maude.

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

1. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal, Vol. xi. No. 2. From the Numismatic Society of Montreal.
2. A paper entitled Act and Bull. By L. A. Scott. From the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia.

3. Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. 29<sup>me</sup> année, N.S., 115<sup>e</sup> livraison.

Mr. B. V. Head exhibited on behalf of Mr. A. Grant four Roman imperial aurei: two of Julia Domna, one with the reverse IVNO, Juno holding a patera and sceptre, at her feet a peacock, and the other with the inscription, MATRI CASTROVVM, the empress standing before an altar sacrificing in front of two military standards, a type not uncommon on silver coins, but of extreme rarity on gold; one of Caracalla and Geta, as Cohen, p. 451, No. 4; and one of Plautilla, *obv.* bust of the empress to right, *rev.* PROPAGO IMPERI, Plautilla and Caracalla joining hands.

Mr. Durlacher exhibited a specimen of the silver medal formerly given by the Corporation of London to sworn brokers.

Mr. Krumbholz showed a Spanish dollar countermarked as a five-shilling token by the Deanston Cotton Mills.

Mr. E. H. Willett communicated a paper on the resident character of the office of Monetarius in Saxon times, and Mr. C. Roach Smith an account of certain large finds composed chiefly of coins of Tetricus, which are frequent both in this country and in France, and which must have been concealed about the period of the reunion of the provinces of Gaul and Britain to the Roman Empire.—See “Numismatic Chronicle,” 3rd Series, Vol. i. pp. 32 and 24.

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JANUARY 20, 1881.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., President, in the chair.

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

1. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Pts. 2—4, 1878; 1—4, 1879; 1, 1880, with Tillæg for 1877 and 1878. From the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

2. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. 1881. 1<sup>re</sup> livraison.  
From the Society.

3. *The Ancient Coins of Norwich*. By H. W. Henfrey, Esq.  
From the Author.

4. *Notes on a denarius of Augustus Cæsar*. By H. Phillips,  
Esq., junior. From the Author.

Mr. Evans exhibited two silver staters of Aradus in Phœnicia: *obv.* head of Melkarth bearded and laureate; *rev.* **𐤍𐤃** in Phœnician characters, galley with rowers on the sea. The two letters on these coins were supposed by Mr. Evans to stand for "Melek Arvad," King of Aradus.

Mr. A. Grant sent for exhibition a number of gold, silver, and copper coins, procured by him in the Punjab, and supposed to have formed part of the Oxus find. The most remarkable among them were the following:—1. A double daric of the time of Alexander the Great, with the letter  $\Phi$  and a bunch of grapes on the obverse. 2. Two beautiful gold staters of Antiochus I., with the head of the horned horse Bucephalus on the reverse. 3. Several tetradrachms, &c., of Seleucus Nicator, with a quadriga of elephants on the reverse. 4. A gold stater of Antiochus II., with the types of Diodotus: *obv.* head of Diodotus; *rev.* **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ**, Zeus with ægis wielding thunderbolt, at his feet an eagle: a coin in all respects except the king's name identical with the usual staters of Diodotus, and interesting as proving that Diodotus placed his portrait on the coinage before he ventured to issue it in his own name. 5. A copper coin of Seleucus I.: *obv.* head of one of the Dioscuri; *rev.* fore part of Bucephalus, a type altogether new.

Mr. B. V. Head read a paper "On a Himyarite Tetradrachm of the second century B.C.," imitated from a coin of Alexander the Great, but inscribed in the Himyaritic character with the name of a king, *Ab-yatha*, not mentioned by any of the writers on the ancient history of Southern Arabia.—See "Numismatic Chronicle," N.S., Vol. xx. p. 303.

FEBRUARY 17, 1881.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., President, in the chair.

Mr. P. R. Reed was elected a member of the Society.

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

1. The coins of the Sunga, or Mitra dynasty, found near Rāmanagar or Ahichhatra, the ancient capital of North Panchāla in Rohilkhand, the property of H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., described by A. C. Carlleyle, of the Archæological Survey of India, with a memorandum on the same by H. R. Carnac, Esq.

2. A Guide to the select Greek and Roman coins exhibited in electrotype in the British Museum. London, 8vo. 1880. By Barclay V. Head. From the Author.

3. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. N.S., Vol. XIII. Part I. From the Society.

4. *Bullettino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*. Nos. x.—xii. Oct.—Dec. 1880. From the German Archæological Institute.

5. Report of the Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, 1880. From the Society.

6. *Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie*. 29<sup>me</sup> année, N.S., 116<sup>me</sup> livraison, 1880. From the Society.

7. The Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. I., Text and Plates. April—Oct. 1880. From the Society.

8. Japanese Coinage. Part 1; and Japanese Chronological Tables. By W. Bramsen, Esq. From the Author.

9. *Κεράτια συμβολικά*. By Achilleus Postolaca. From W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., F.R.S.

Mr. Evans exhibited a selection of silver Celtiberian coins, part of a large hoard lately discovered at Barcus, near Dax. The selection consisted of five varieties, attributed respectively to Balsio or Belsinum, Turiaso, Aregrat, Arsa, and Segobriga. They were all of the same type, having on the obverse a

bearded head, and on the reverse a galloping horseman; and they all apparently belonged to the period of Sertorius, B.C. 80—73.

Mr. Copp exhibited some unpublished English gold coins, viz. five guineas, 1676, without the elephant and castle; two guineas, 1677, with the large head; one guinea, 1694, with the elephant and castle under the busts of William and Mary.

Canon Pownall exhibited a guinea dated 1692, also a specimen of the new Mexican gold coinage, 1880.

Mr. B. V. Head read a paper "On the Constitution of the Ephesian Mint before the time of the Empire," in the course of which he stated that, through the kindness of M. Waddington, who had communicated to him all the unpublished coins of Ephesus in his rich collection, he was now in a position to make a very considerable addition to the long list of Ephesian magistrates' names already compiled by him in his "History of the Coinage of Ephesus." Mr. Head further expressed his opinion that some of the conclusions which he had in that work striven to establish could not, in the face of the evidence now accessible, be accepted without modification.—See "Numismatic Chronicle," 3rd Series, Vol. i. p. 13.

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MARCH 17, 1881.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the chair.

W. Bramsen, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

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

1. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. ix. No. 3. From the Numismatic Society of Montreal.
2. The Articles of Incorporation and Bye Laws of the American Numismatic and Archæological Society.
3. Dictionnaire de Numismatique. By M. A. Boutkowski. Tome i. From the Author.

4. *Bullettino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1881. Nos. 1—2, with list of members for 1880. From the German Archæological Institute.

5. Six copper coins of the Sunga or Mitra dynasty. From H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., C.I.E., F.S.A.

Mr. A. E. Copp exhibited specimens of various farthings and halfpence of Queen Anne's reign.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited a proof of the large farthing of Charles II. in silver, with the rare date 1675; also a proof of the Maltese *grano* or one-third of a farthing of 1866.

Professor P. Gardner communicated a paper on floral patterns on archaic Greek coins, in which he expressed his opinion that the device on the coins of Corcyra commonly called the Gardens of Alcinoüs, does not represent a garden, but simply a flower or floral ornament, similar to that which is also to be seen on early coins of Cyrene and Miletus, &c. Professor Gardner further remarked that various flowers were consecrated to various deities, and that in each city the flower chosen for the type of its coin was closely connected with the ruling cultus of that city.—See “*Numismatic Chronicle*,” 3rd Series, Vol. I. p. 1.

The Rev. Canon A. Pownall contributed a paper on a recent find at Nottingham of coins of Henry I. and Stephen, with the object of calling attention to certain defaced coins of Stephen, of which there are a large number in that hoard. This paper is printed in the “*Numismatic Chronicle*,” 3rd Series, Vol. I. p. 42.

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APRIL 21, 1881.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., President, in the chair.

Samuel Powell, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

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

1. The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N.S., Vol. XIII. Part II. From the Society.

2. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 1881. 2<sup>me</sup> livraison.  
From the Society.

3. *The Numismatische Zeitschrift of Vienna*, 1880. Vol.  
xii. Part II. From the Society,

4. *Bulletin de la Société de Borda à Dax*. Année 6, Part 1.  
From the Society.

5. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*.  
Second Series, Vol. viii. No. 4. From the Society.

6. *Academie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-  
Arts de Belgique*. 2<sup>me</sup> Série. *Bulletins* 1846—50 and *Annales*  
1879—81.

Mr. W. Myers exhibited eight tetradrachms of Alexander the  
Great and two of Alexander Ægus, lately acquired by him in  
Egypt; also a Gaulish silver coin.

Mr. Krumbholz exhibited a pattern for a five-franc piece, 1848,  
by Farochon, and another of the same date by Alard; pattern  
proofs in gold and silver of a two-keeping piece of the East  
India Company struck for Bencoolen, and a proof in silver of  
an East India Company's rupee of 1784.

Mr. Sheriff Mackenzie communicated a paper "On an un-  
published penny of Alexander II. of Scotland," struck at  
Forres.—See "*Numismatic Chronicle*," 3rd Series, Vol. i. p. 158.

The Hon. J. J. Gibbs communicated a paper "On the Bah-  
mani Coins of the Deccan," in which he described several  
hitherto unknown coins of the kings of this dynasty both in  
gold and silver.—See "*Numismatic Chronicle*," 3rd Series,  
Vol. i. p. 91.

MAY 19, 1881.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., President, in the  
chair.

Frank Latchmore, Esq., was elected a member of the  
Society.

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

1. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Fourth Series, Vol. v. No. 43, July, 1880. From the Association.

2. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. Tome xvi. (1879—81). From the Society.

3. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 2<sup>me</sup> Série, Tome II. 1878—9. Bulletins of the same. First Quarter, 1881. From the Society.

4. *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*. 1881, Nos. 3, 4. From the German Archæological Institute.

5. *Verhandlungen der Numismatischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, 1879—80. From the Society.

6. The Numismatic Directory, 1881. From the Publishers.

7. Discovery near Liège of a *Tabula honestæ missionis* relating to Britain, by C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A. From the Author.

Mr. A. Grant exhibited four tetradrachms, a drachm, and a hemidrachm of Heliocles, king of Bactria, showing variations in the king's portrait; also five copper coins of the Sakas, of which the obverses were imitated from the money of Heliocles.

Mr. Durlacher exhibited a set of the different types of Queen Anne's farthings, all in fine condition.

The Rev. C. Soames exhibited three small silver ancient British coins and one of copper, the last mentioned having on the obverse a boar and on the reverse a cock.

Mr. Krumbholz exhibited seventeen silver pennies of Edward the Confessor, of various types, mints, and moneyers, including two varieties of the sovereign type.

Mr. H. S. Gill read a paper on some seventeenth century tokens of Devonshire not described in Boyne's work; and M. H. Sauvaire communicated an article on an inedited *fels* of a prince of Sejestan of the second branch of the Saffaride family.—See "Numismatic Chronicle," 3rd Series, Vol. I. pp. 162 and 129.

JUNE 16, 1881.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., President,  
in the chair.

The minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed. Herbert A. Bu'l, Esq., and George Charles Williamson, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

The Report of the Council was then read to the Meeting, as follows :—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society, and have to announce the loss by resignation of the three following members :—

S. Birch, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.  
Miss C. C. Ireland.  
M. C. Sykes, Esq.

The following six gentlemen have also ceased to belong to the Society :—

C. C. Davison, Esq.  
H. F. W. Holt, Esq.  
K. M. Nicholson, Esq.  
T. M. Simkiss, Esq.  
Captain J. S. Swann.  
G. E. Swithenbank, Esq.

It is with great regret that they also have to announce their loss by death of—

Edwin Guest, Esq., LL.D., D.C.L., and  
D. B. Wingrove, Esq.

And of our honorary members—

M. Ferdinand Bompis, and  
M. F. de Sauley, Membre de l'Institut.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in recording the election of the thirteen following members :—

|                                   |                       |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| W. Arnold, Esq.                   | Rev. S. Maude.        |
| L. Blacker, Esq.                  | R. Nelson, Esq.       |
| W. Bramsen, Esq.                  | S. Powell, Esq.       |
| H. A. Bull, Esq.                  | P. R. Reed, Esq.      |
| Lord Edward Spencer<br>Churchill. | Dr. C. R. Stülpnagel. |
| F. Latchmore, Esq.                | J. Toplis, Esq.       |
|                                   | G. C. Williamson Esq. |

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

|                         | Elected. | Honorary. | Total. |
|-------------------------|----------|-----------|--------|
| June, 1880 . . . . .    | 197      | 37        | 234    |
| Since elected . . . . . | 13       | —         | 13     |
|                         | 210      | 37        | 247    |
| Deceased . . . . .      | 2        | 2         | 4      |
| Resigned . . . . .      | 3        | —         | 3      |
| Erased . . . . .        | 6        | —         | 6      |
| June, 1881 . . . . .    | 199      | 35        | 234    |

The President then delivered the following address :—

At the close of another session it again becomes my duty to address a few words to the members of this Society, and I am glad that I can again congratulate them on the highly satisfactory condition of their body, both as regards its financial and its numerical strength.

In reviewing our work during the past year, the most important event which I have to record is the completion of the twentieth and last volume of the Second Series of the "Numismatic Chronicle," and the commencement of a Third Series. It may, perhaps, be worth while to say a few words as to the series just completed, and its connection with the history of this

Society. Part I. of the Series appeared in the spring of 1861, at a time when it was thought desirable to infuse new life into the Society by bringing the "Numismatic Chronicle" into closer connection with it and making it the undivided property of the Society. The First Series of the Chronicle, which also consists of twenty volumes, as well as its predecessor, the "Numismatic Journal," of which two volumes were published, had in the main been private property, a certain number of copies being subscribed for on behalf of the Society, which also from time to time contributed towards the cost of the illustrations. This arrangement does not appear to have worked well for the Society, inasmuch as the number of ordinary members, which in July, 1840, amounted to 166, had by June, 1860, fallen off to 61.

Under the new arrangement our numbers had, by June, 1861, increased to 71 ordinary members, and by June, 1880, to no less than 197 members. You have just heard from the Report of the Council that we at present number 199.

Such a result is highly gratifying to all connected with the management of the affairs of the Society, and especially to the Editors of the "Numismatic Chronicle," of whom I have now been one for a period of upwards of twenty years. As must inevitably be the case with all such publications, the volumes in different years, and the papers in each volume, vary considerably in value and importance. On the whole, however, I venture to think that the Second Series of the "Numismatic Chronicle" will bear a comparison with any foreign periodical of the same kind, which has appeared during the same period; while the mere fact of its containing upwards of two hundred and fifty plates, giving faithful delineations of coins of all classes, shows what an invaluable repertory it must be to those who are interested in numismatic science.

Its value is much increased by the careful Indices which have been published on the completion of each decade of Volumes. Those for Vols. I. to X. were compiled by Mr.

Barclay V. Head, and those for Vols. xi. to xx. by Mr. H. W. Henfrey.<sup>1</sup> Turning now to the papers which have been brought before us during the past year, it will, I think, be found that they are not wanting in interest or importance, though, as a whole, they may not quite come up to the standard of some few former years, when the Society has been exceptionally favoured.

As usual the communications made to the Society range over a wide area, both in time and space, from the earliest coins of Greece to the modern tradesmen's tokens, and from Afghanistan to Ireland.

Among the papers relating to ancient numismatics are several by our accomplished Foreign Secretary, Professor Percy Gardner. In the first of these he has made us acquainted with several remarkable coins of Syria and Bactria, some of which have been recently acquired for the national collection. Foremost among these is the tetradrachm of Agathocles, with the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ at the side of the lion's skin covered head on the obverse. On analogous pieces struck under Agathocles, the heads of Euthydemus, Diodotus and Antiochus were already known, while that of Diodotus occurs on a coin of Antimachus; and the heads of Eucratides, Heliocles, and Laodice are portrayed on another coin. As Professor Gardner points out, the discovery of this coin with the head of Alexander goes far to prove that the whole of these pieces are to be regarded as medals rather than as coins, and tends to corroborate in a remarkable manner the view of Dr. von Sallet, which was founded on the evidence of medals bearing the names of Bactrian princes only. From some other coins bearing the names of Seleucus and Antiochus, the former only having the title of King, the inference is drawn that Antiochus became a colleague of his father and struck these

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<sup>1</sup> We have now to lament the early death of this ardent young numismatist, which took place on July 31, 1881.

coins in the extreme East as his father's representative. Possibly at some future time corroborative numismatic evidence will be forthcoming.

In another paper Professor Gardner publishes a tetradrachm bearing the name of Andragoras, of whom he had published a gold stater, in the "Numismatic Chronicle" for 1879, bearing the same monogram. Unfortunately there is nothing conclusive in the type or legend to determine its Parthian origin. The head on the obverse is that of a city, and not of a deity or king. Some other remarkable coins from the collection of Mr. Alexander Grant are described in the same paper.

Professor Gardner's third essay concerning Floral Patterns on Archaic Greek Coins is of a more speculative nature. In it he advances the view that the device on the early coins of Corcyra and some of its colonies which many of the elder numismatists have regarded as representing the gardens of Alcinoüs, are merely a floral representation. The connection between the rose and the worship of Apollo as a sun-god is undoubted, and as the author further points out, other flowers were connected with the *cultus* of other divinities. On coins of Cyrene, Cyme, and other towns, floral ornaments seem to occur, and on some varieties of the coins of Corcyra itself, petals with stamens between them can be traced. When, however, a type is so obscure that some authors regard it as the representation of a garden, others as a fortuitous collection of strokes, and others again as the stars of the Dioscouri, it is evident that any interpretation will not be at once accepted by all, though probably all will agree in Professor Gardner's conviction that the type is not without meaning. Taking into account the marvellous artistic skill of the early Greek coin-engravers, the question why in this instance it is so hard to recognise what they intended to represent is almost as perplexing as the design on the coins itself.

Another important paper on Greek numismatics is a supplementary note on the Coinage of Ephesus by our

Secretary, Mr. B. V. Head. Since the publication of his important paper in June last, so much attention has been directed to this series of coins that nearly eighty new names of Ephesian magistrates have become known. As a consequence, there are now in some of the periods into which the coinage has been divided more names than years, so that, though the names of many of the Eponymi appear on the coins, it seems probable that the name of a magistrate appears on a coin, not as Eponymus, but as a member of a board of Prytaneis who had charge of the mint. This slight modification but little affects the conclusions previously arrived at by Mr. Head, and the great value of his previous paper is enhanced and not impaired by the supplementary knowledge now obtained.

Another paper mainly on what must be classed as Greek numismatics is that by my son on some recent discoveries of Illyrian coins. The coins of Lissos, and those of Skodra, of the Macedonian type, both with and without the name of King Genthios, are new to science, and serve in the hands of one so well acquainted with Illyrian history as the author of this paper to throw some light on an obscure period. The autonomous coins of Rhizon and some of those of King Ballæus and of one of his successors are also novel, and in their turn illustrate the period when Illyria had already become subject to the influence and power of Rome. What adds to the interest of the paper is the fact that several of the coins described were picked up by the hands of Mr. Arthur Evans himself, on the site of the ancient Rhizon or Rhizonium.

The paper by Mr. Head on a Himyaritic tetradrachm and the Trésor de San'â occupies an intermediate position between Greek and Oriental numismatics. That a tetradrachm so closely resembling those of Alexander the Great but bearing the name of Ab-yatha should so long have escaped observation encourages the hope that other coins of the same class may yet be forthcoming. The style of art is peculiar, and could hardly have been

developed at a single step from that of the more Hellenic coins.

The San'â group, mainly imitated from the coins of Athens, evidently belongs to a later period. With these the magnificent volume of M. Schlumberger has made us well acquainted, but the possessors of this work will do well attentively to study Mr. Head's comment upon it.

On Roman numismatics we have had but few communications. In one of these, on the coins ordinarily attributed to Livia, which has been sent us by the veteran Dr. A. Colson, of Noyon, an attempt is made to attribute the female heads with the legends PIETAS, IVSTITIA, and SALVS AVGVSTA respectively, to Julia Livia, wife of Drusus; Livia, wife of Augustus, and Julia, his daughter. The subject is one on which speculation is permissible, but time will show to what extent the author's conclusions can be generally accepted.

In an interesting note on some discoveries of Roman coins, our honorary member, Mr. C. Roach Smith, has given us details of various hoards, for the most part deposited during the reign of Aurelian. The coins in such hoards usually commence with those of Valerian; but in some instances a few coins of rather earlier date occur, though in the hoard of Jublains twelve coins of the higher Empire are reported to have been present among nearly 4,500 coins, mostly of Tetricus. As there is a complete blank between the reigns of Commodus and Valerian, it seems to me not impossible that a separate small hoard of earlier date may accidentally have been mixed with a far larger hoard of the usual character. In the Baconsthorpe hoard, of which it is to be regretted that we have not more detailed statistics, the earliest coins seem to have been of Gordian III. The general absence of coins of the early Emperors from hoards deposited about A.D. 272, appears to prove that by that time they had dropped out of circulation, and strengthens the view that hoards such as that of Procolitia, comprising coins from the period of Marc Antony to that of Gratian, cannot represent

the currency of the latter period, but that they must have accumulated where found from some other cause than deposition for safety. The view of M. Hucher and Mr. Roach Smith, that the minute and illegible coins commonly called *minimi* belong to the time of the Tetrici, can only be partially true, as many, if not most, of these small pieces are imitations of the late Constantine period. The barbarous coins which are evidently imitations of those of Tetricus, and which from the Jublains hoard are proved to be contemporaneous with them, are, I think, usually of larger module than the *minimi*, properly so-called.

Turning to the English coinage, we have an interesting paper on the resident character of the *Monetarius* in Saxon times, by Mr. Ernest H. Willett. In it he controverts Canon Pownall's view as to the meaning of the word ON in connection with the name of the place of mintage, and attempts to show from the coins of Edward the Confessor in the City hoard, that, as a rule, a moneyer of a certain name was fixed at some certain town. Where the same name occurs in connection with various mints, it is usually a name of common occurrence, such as Leofric, or Wulfric, or Godwin. The name of EVLIN occurring on coins both of the Stafford and Tamworth mints, is a strong point with Canon Pownall, but as the Stafford coin of that moneyer was struck under the Confessor, while those of the Tamworth mint belong to the time of Rufus, Coline, if there were not two moneyers of the name, might, in the interval, well have removed from one town to the other. The question, however, whether a single moneyer never exercised his privileges in more than one town at a time is hardly yet solved.

Whether the penny of Cnut apparently struck at Norwich may not have been struck in Denmark, and belong to the time of Cnut the Saint, and not to that of Cnut the Great, has been the subject of an able discussion by Professor Herbst, of Copenhagen, and Mr. Henfrey.

A remarkable hoard of coins belonging to the days of Stephen, and recently found at Nottingham, has been brought under our notice by Mr. Toplis. Among the coins are examples of those attributed to the Empress Maud, and of those bearing the name of Wereric; but among the most interesting are a large number struck from dies bearing the image and superscription of Stephen, but purposely defaced, either by a large cross extending over the whole die, or by a smaller one partially obliterating the head. Nearly twenty years ago Canon Pownall first called attention to one of these coins defaced by the long cross on the obverse, and he has now communicated to us another interesting paper on the subject of these coins, making the suggestion that they may be "the Duke's money," of which mention is made by Hoveden, which was struck by Henry, the son of Maud, afterwards Henry II. It certainly seems not at all improbable that during hostilities, when money was in demand and a mint of the enemy had been captured, the device of defacing the dies before bringing them again into use might have been adopted. To engrave new dies involved the presence of punches for letters and the skill to use them; but by softening the steel dies a simple cross could readily be made in them either by the file or chisel, and when rehardened the dies would again be fit for use, producing coins with the locally deposited king's image and superscription defaced.

In another convincing paper Canon Pownall has vindicated, principally on documentary evidence, the Irish origin of certain testoons of Edward VI. From their base alloy, these coins had been a puzzle to English numismatists, as the restored money of fine silver was already in circulation in England the year before these base pieces were struck. The testoons with the harp mint-mark will doubtless in future be assigned to the Dublin mint. Whether those with the lion, the rose, and the fleur-de-lis which are classed with the harp coins in the proclamation of Elizabeth, are also of Irish origin, is a question requiring further investigation.

In Scottish numismatics Mr. Cochran-Patrick has favoured us with another paper on the Medals of Private Scottish Persons, and Sheriff Mackenzie with a notice of a penny of Alexander, from the mint of Forres. Whether these pennies with the long double cross are to be assigned to the second or third Alexander of Scotland, is a subject which has been much under discussion by Scottish antiquaries. Looking at it from the English point of view, which regards Scotland as indebted to England for some of its early types, and not England as borrowing devices from Scotland, it would seem as if few if any of their coins were struck under Alexander II. The long-cross type was first introduced in England in 1247 or 1248, and continued in use until about 1279. The reign of Alexander II. closed on July 8th, 1249, when that of Alexander III. began. Even, therefore, if the type had been promptly imitated in Scotland, Alexander II. would have had but little more than a year in which to strike such coins, while Alexander III. would have had thirty. The Chronicle of Melrose records an alteration of the coinage in 1247, while the continuator of Fordun records one in 1250. It appears to me that both these records may refer to one and the same innovation of type, the introduction of the long double cross. This is, however, hardly the place for discussing the subject in any detail.

The only other British paper that I need mention is a note on tokens, &c., bearing the name of Hoare, in illustration of which the author, Captain Edward Hoare, has presented the Society with a plate.

In Oriental numismatics we have had a valuable paper by Mr. Stanley Poole, giving a scheme of the Mohammadan dynasties during the Khalifate, which shows at one glance the succession of rulers over the different Mohammedan provinces from Spain to Afghanistan during a period of 600 years.

General Houtum-Schindler has given us an account of the coinage of the decline of the Mongols in Persia, and M. Sauvaire a notice of an inedited *fels* of a prince of Sejestân.

From this brief review it will be seen that we have, during the past year, ranged over a wide area, and have gathered a more or less abundant harvest in different fields of research. I need now but express a hope that at the end of the year on which we are just entering we may have to record results at least as satisfactory.

Turning now to the more melancholy duty of saying a few words as to those of our members whom we have lost by death, I must first refer to our distinguished honorary members, M. F. de Sauley and M. Ferdinand Bompis.

Monsieur François Caignard de Sauley, Member of the Institute, was born at Lille, in the year 1807, and after passing through the *École Polytechnique*, entered the artillery, of which he eventually became a *chef d'escadron*. His numismatic tastes must have commenced in early life, for in 1836 he published his "Essai sur la Classification des Monnaies byzantines," for which he obtained the Prix de Numismatique of the French Académie des Inscriptions. He subsequently was appointed Conservator of the Musée d'Artillerie, and in 1842, on the death of Mionnet, he became a Member of the Institute. In 1850 he visited Palestine, and there gathered the collections which formed the basis of his well-known work on Jewish numismatics.

He had, however, long been at work in other branches of the science, and the pages of the "Revue Numismatique," from its commencement in 1836 until its close, and those of the subsequent "Annuaire de Numismatique," are replete with essays from his pen. Altogether his works, including essays and minor publications, are not less than three hundred in number. Byzantine, Arab, Spanish, and Phœnician coins, as well as those of the Crusaders, of Lorraine and of the French Revolution in 1848, in turn engaged his pen, which from time to time was also busied on other archaeological and epigraphic subjects. Of late years he had been principally engaged on the coins of the French Kings, but probably the researches in connection with which his name will be best known to posterity are those on the coinage of

Ancient Gaul. Of this series, his collection, comprising some 7,000 pieces, and now added to that in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is by far the finest that ever was formed. It is to be hoped that some day or other a complete catalogue of it will be published, suitably illustrated. The value of such a work would no doubt have been greater had it been published during M. de Saulcy's lifetime, as his knowledge of the *provenance* and character of Gaulish coins was such as can only be acquired by long practice; and his knowledge of Gaulish history was also very extensive. Unless rumour speaks falsely, this knowledge was of some service to the late Emperor of the French in compiling his life of Cæsar. Unhappily his fortunes, which were much linked with the Empire, under which he was a member of the Senate, suffered materially on its fall, and his last years were not altogether unclouded. Personally, M. de Saulcy was a man of fine presence and courteous manners, always ready to impart knowledge, and liberal in his dealings with others. His memory will long be cherished by those who, like myself, had enjoyed his friendship for years.

In M. Ferdinand Bompis we have lost another ardent numismatist, whose tastes, however, did not range over so wide a field. His papers on Greek coins appeared, for the most part, in the "Revue Numismatique," commencing, I believe, in 1863. He occasionally touched on Roman numismatics, as, for instance, in his essay on the portraits of Octavia, sister of Augustus ("Revue Numismatique," 1868), and published at least one essay on Carolingian coins. To the "Numismatic Chronicle" he contributed an interesting paper on an unpublished didrachm of Ichnæ, Macedonia, together with some remarks on the coins of Dicæopolis and of the Bottiæans.<sup>1</sup> His "Examen chronologique des monnaies frappées par la Communauté des Macédoniens avant, pendant, et après la conquête romaine," has already been noticed in our journal,<sup>2</sup> as well as

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<sup>1</sup> N.S. vol. xiv. pp. 177, 273.

<sup>2</sup> N.S. vol. xvii. p. 77.

his essays on the coins of Heraclea in Bithynia, and on those usually attributed to Maronea in Thrace.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Edwin Guest, Master of Caius College, Cambridge, though one of our oldest members and a distinguished scholar, never devoted himself specially to numismatic pursuits. His papers on archaeological subjects were, however, numerous and important, as is well known to those interested in ancient earth-works, and in the successive conquests of foreign invaders in Britain. They are to be found for the most part in the pages of the "Archæological Journal." Dr. Guest was born in the year 1800, and became master of his old college in 1852, a position which he resigned in October last year, and died in the following month at Sandford, near Oxford. He had been called to the bar, but never practised, as his fellowship of Caius College enabled him to follow more congenial studies.

Mr. Wingrove had also been for many years a member of our Society, but never communicated any essay to our journal.

I regret that these notices are so imperfect in their details, but the meeting will probably excuse me if I no longer detain them.

The Treasurer's Report is appended :—

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<sup>3</sup> N.S. vol. xviii. p. 303.



The meeting then proceeded to ballot for the Council and officers for the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected:—

*President.*

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.,  
F.G.S.

*Vice-Presidents.*

E. H. BUNBURY, Esq., M.A., F.G.S.  
W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.

*Treasurer.*

ALFRED E. COPP, Esq.

*Secretaries.*

HERBERT A. GRUEBER, Esq.  
BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, Esq.

*Foreign Secretary.*

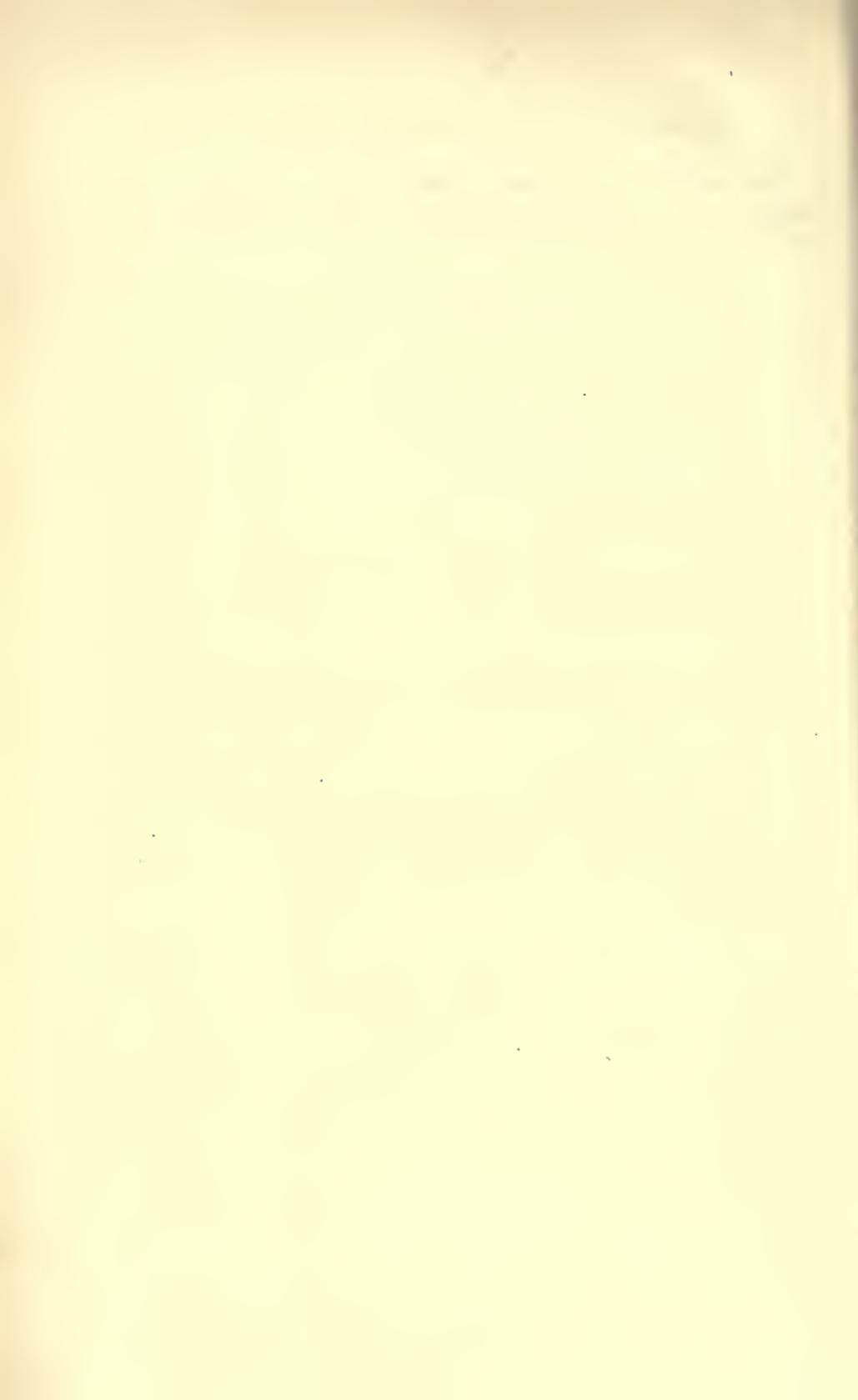
PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, M.A., F.S.A.

*Librarian.*

RICHARD HOBLYN, Esq.

*Members of the Council.*

SIR EDWARD CLIVE BAYLEY, K.C.S.I.  
RT. HON. THE EARL OF ENNISKILLEN, D.C.L., F.R.S.,  
F.G.S.  
H. W. HENFREY, Esq.  
CHARLES F. KEARY, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.  
J. H. MIDDLETON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.  
J. F. NECK, Esq.  
R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK, Esq., M.P., F.S.A. SCOT.  
THE REV. CANON POWNALL, M.A., F.S.A.  
MAJOR-GEN. SIR HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B.  
EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., F.R.S., F.R.A.S.



LIST OF MEMBERS  
OF THE  
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
OF LONDON.

DECEMBER, 1881.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 311 - 1964-1965

LECTURE NOTES

BY

LIST OF MEMBERS  
OF THE  
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
OF LONDON,  
DECEMBER, 1881.

*An Asterisk prefixed to a name indicates that the Member has compounded for his annual contribution.*

- \*ALEXÉIEFF, M. GEORGE DE, Chambellan de S.M. l'Empereur de Russie, Ekaterinoslaw (par Moscou), Russie Méridionale.
- ARNOLD, W. T., Esq., Guardian Office, Manchester.
- \*BABINGTON, REV. CHURCHILL, B.D., M.R.S.L., Cockfield Rectory, Sudbury, Suffolk.
- BAGNALL-OAKLEY, MRS., Newlands, Coleford, Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire.
- BAKER, W. R., Esq., Bayfordbury, Hertford.
- BARON, REV. JOHN, D.D., F.S.A., Rectory, Upton Scudamore, Warminster.
- BARRETT, T. B., Esq., Welsh Pool, Montgomeryshire.
- \*BAYLEY, SIR E. CLIVE, K.C.S.I., The Wilderness, Ascot.
- BENT, J. T., Esq., 43, Great Cumberland Place, Hyde Park.
- \*BIEBER, G. W. EGMONT, Esq., Champion Hill House, Champion Hill, S.E.
- BLACKER, LOUIS, Esq., Flowermead, Wimbledon Park.
- BLADES, WILLIAM, Esq., 11, Abchurch Lane.
- BLAIR, ROBERT, Esq., South Shields.
- BLUNDELL, J. H., Esq., 35, St. Paul's Churchyard.
- \*BRIGGS, ARTHUR, Esq., Cragg Royd, Rawden, Leeds.
- BROWN, G. D., Esq., Dudley House, Deal.
- BUCHAN, J. S., Esq., 15, Barrack Street, Dundee.
- BULL, HERBERT A., Esq., Wellington College, Wokingham.
- BUNBURY, EDWARD H., Esq., M.A., F.G.S., 35, St. James's Street.
- BURNS, EDWARD, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., 3, London Street, Edinburgh.
- BURSTAL, EDWARD K., Esq., 11, Grand Pont, Oxford.
- BUSH, COLONEL J. TOBIN, 14, St. James's Square; and 29, Rue de l'Orangerie, le Havre.
- BUTLER, CHARLES, Esq., Warren Wood, Hatfield.

BUTLER, JOHN, Esq., Park View, Bolton.

\*BUTTERY, W., Esq., Wellington College; Wokingham.

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CAVE, LAURENCE TRENT, Esq., 13, Lowndes Square.

CHAMBERS, MONTAGU, Esq., Q.C., 3, Serjeant's Inn, Chancery Lane.

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CREEKE, MAJOR ANTHONY BUCK, Monkholme, Burnley.

\*CROÿ, PRINCE ALFRED EMMANUEL DE, Château du Rœulx, Hainaut, Belgium.

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DAVIDSON, JOHN, Esq., Arts Club, Hanover Square.

DAVIES, MAJOR A., Ladbroke House, Redhill, Surrey.

DAVIES, WILLIAM RUSHER, Esq., Market Place, Wallingford.

DAWSON, W., Esq., Almora House, Chiswick Mall.

DOUGLAS, CAPTAIN R. J. H., Junior United Service Club.

DOULTON, J. DUNCAN, Esq., 97, Piccadilly.

DRYDEN, SIR HENRY, BART., Canon's Ashby, Daventry.

DURLACHER, A., Esq., 15, Old Burlington Street, W.

EADES, GEORGE, Esq., The Abbey, Evesham, Worcestershire.

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ERHARDT, H., Esq., 9, Bond Court, Walbrook, E.C.

EVANS, ARTHUR J., Esq., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.

EVANS, JOHN, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead; and 65, Old Bailey, *President*.

EVANS, SEBASTIAN, Esq., LL.D., Heathfield, Alleyne Park, West Dulwich, S.E.

FEUARDENT, GASTON, Esq., 61, Great Russell Street.

FEWSTER, C. E., Esq., 17, Harley Street, Hull.

- FORD, T. K., Esq., 12, Portland Terrace, Southsea.  
 FOWKES, J. W., Esq., 9, Sandon Place, Sheffield.  
 FRANKS, AUGUSTUS WOLLASTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Brit.  
 Mus.  
 FREMANTLE, THE HON. C. W., Royal Mint.  
 FRENTZEL, RUDOLPH, Esq., 6, New Street, Bishopsgate, E.  
 FREUDENTHAL, W., Esq., M.D., 9, Bruchthor Promenade, Brunswick.
- GARDNER, PROF. PERCY, M.A., British Museum, *Foreign Secretary*.  
 GEORGE, A. DURAND, Esq., 112, Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.  
 GIBBS, the HON. JAS., C.S.I., Council of the Supreme Government,  
 India.  
 GIBSON, J. HARRIS, Esq., 73, Renshaw Street, Liverpool.  
 GILL, HENRY SEPTIMUS, Esq., Tiverton.  
 GILLESPIE, W. J., Whitehall, Foxrock, co. Dublin.  
 GRANT, ALEXANDER, Esq., Roseq Villa, Cheltenham.  
 GREENWELL, REV. CANON, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Durham.  
 GRUEBER, HERBERT A., Esq., British Museum, *Secretary*.
- HALL, ROBERT, Esq., The Hollies, Victoria Road, Sutton, Surrey.  
 HAYNS, W. E., Esq., Byron Villa, Whitehorse Road, Selhurst, S.E.  
 HEAD, BARCLAY VINCENT, Esq., M.R.A.S., British Museum, *Secretary*.  
 HEWARD, PETER, Esq., Charnwood Villa, Newbold, Ashby-de-la-  
 Zouch.  
 HEYWOOD, NATHAN, Esq., 3, Mount Street, Manchester.  
 HOBLYN, RICHARD A., Esq., 2, Sussex Place, Regent's Park, *Librarian*.  
 HODGKIN, T., Esq., Benwelldene, Newcastle.  
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# NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

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## I.

### FLORAL PATTERNS ON ARCHAIC GREEK COINS.

THE device on the reverse of the early coins of Corcyra, and of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, the colonies of Corcyra, has caused much difficulty among numismatists. Eckhel accepted the opinion of Beger that it represented the celebrated gardens of Alcinoüs, King of the Phæacians, of which Homer speaks in terms of high praise (*Odys.*, vii. 112). There was, he says, without the court of Alcinoüs, a large orchard near the doors, and around it a wall drawn all round. In it grew pears, apples, pomegranates, and figs, which ripened in succession all the year through. And beside it was a vineyard, and a vegetable garden, and in the midst two fountains. Of these orchards and gardens the type of the coins was supposed to represent a sort of rude ground-plan.

This attribution was followed by Eckhel, but by scarcely any more recent numismatist. Boeckh, Müller, and others consider the type to be merely a star-like but fortuitous collection of strokes without special meaning. Friedländer and Von Sallet see in it the stars of the Dioscuri (*K. M. K.*, p. 62). In the course of an examination of the coins of Corcyra, I have come to the conviction that the type is not without meaning; but that it

does not represent the stars of the Dioscuri, and certainly not the Gardens of Alcinoüs.

The latter supposition is indeed entirely disposed of by the fact that the type does not appear to originate at Corcyra at all. The reverse-type of the Corcyrean didrachms (Pl. I. No. 2) occurs on very early coins of Cyrene (*Rev. Num.*, 1850, Pl. vii. 4). The reverse-type of Corcyrean drachms (Pl. I. No. 3) is found not only on the money of Cyrene (Pl. I. No. 13), but also on that of Miletus (Pl. I. No. 8), of Pharae, in Bœotia (*Num. Zeit.*, ix., Pl. I. 85), of Thebes (*Num. Zeit.*, iii., Pl. X. 19), of Gortyna (*Fox Collection*, No. 107), and probably of other cities. The coins of Cyrene, which offer us both the double and the single type, are probably more ancient than those of Corcyra. This at once sets us inquiring whether Cyrene and Corcyra had any religious cults in common, the religious origin of coin-types being now admitted on all hands. And this inquiry leads us to observe that Apollo-Aristæus was held in high honour at both places. At Cyrene he was regarded as a national hero, and the giver of the silphium-plant, the most celebrated of all drugs, and the source of Cyrenean prosperity. At Corcyra the same deity<sup>1</sup> was worshipped under slightly different form as Agreus or Zeus Aristus, protector of flocks. And the Apollo of Miletus, a city celebrated for its sheep, was no doubt a deity of the same class. The occurrence of our type at Pharae, Thebes, and other cities is so exceptional that it need not detain us.

It would therefore seem probable that, alike at Corcyra,

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<sup>1</sup> See Eckhel, *Num. vet. anect.*, p. 107. Müller, *De Corcyraorum Republica*, p. 54.

Cyrene, and Miletus, the type called the Gardens of Alcinöus is connected with the worship of a particular deity who, though called by various names at various places, was an Apolline deity of the Solar class, and nearly connected with cattle and sheep. This does not at once decide the nature of the type. It might at first be supposed to be a star, as emblem of the sun. Certainly on later coins of Miletus the object figured in conjunction with the lion is a star, and a star is a not uncommon type in the island of Ceos, which was especially dedicated to Aristæus.

Nevertheless, the balance of evidence seems to be in favour of the floral origin of the type. Not only is it far more like a flower in shape generally, but in particular instances it seems to be intentionally modified in order to make it more decidedly floral. Thus in the case of No. 5 of the Plate we may clearly see the petals of a flower and stamens between the petals.<sup>2</sup> And in No. 14, a coin of Cyrene, we have the disk of the flower figured.

The close connection of the rose with the worship of Apollo as sun-god, especially in the case of the Island of Rhodes, is notorious. The rose is a constant type on the Rhodian coinage from about B.C. 400 onwards. At Erythræ also there occurs as reverse-type on early coins (Pl. I. No. 10) a flower with several petals; and Erythræ was a city devoted to the worship of the Tyrian sun-god Herakles. On early coins of Tarentum Apollo holds in his hand a flower, which may probably be a rose, though some prefer to see in it the hyacinth, a flower specially

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<sup>2</sup> It may be at first sight doubted whether this type be identical with the earlier one in meaning and origin; but a closer examination of the sequence of the coins of Coreyra will render it almost certain that it is so. See p. 6.

connected in myth with Apollo. The close connection of the roses of the Pangæan district with the worship of the sun-god Ares has already been dwelt on in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle (1880, p. 57).

But it was not only with Apollo and the other sun-gods that flowers were in cultus connected. This clearly is a subject far too wide to be treated of incidentally in a paper in the Numismatic Chronicle.<sup>3</sup> The apple and the rose were favourites of Aphrodite, the orange of Hera; the pomegranate was sacred alike to Persephone and Hera. The crocus arose from the blood of a youth whom Hermes had slain with a discus, the violet from the blood of Atys, the lily from the milk of Hera, the anemone from the tears of Aphrodite over the dead Adonis. And among the local myths cherished and preserved by various Greek cities, with regard to the history of the deities whom they respectively held in highest honour, there were very many which connected those deities with plants and with flowers. Some of these myths have been lost in the wreck of ancient life, but we possess enough to show us their character. And that such local myths should find an expression on coins is exactly in accord with all that we learn from other sources as to the nature and meaning of coin-types.

The commonness of floral representations in early art cannot be unknown to any one who has even a slight acquaintance with the art of Egypt and Assyria, or who has examined some of the early vases of Phœnician and Greek work.

It being then *à priori* not unlikely that the flowers

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<sup>3</sup> On the whole subject see Bötticher—*Baumcultus*, pp. 266—270, 456—486.

sacred to various deities should appear on the coins issued by cities under the protection of those deities, let us examine the instances already mentioned, and those cited in the plate, to see whether they bear out in detail the general presumption. The case with regard to Cyrene is strong. On coins of this city we find (Pl. I. Nos. 13, 14), between the four main branches of the types which may stand for petals, other devices which give a decidedly floral look to the whole. In one case (No. 14), as already stated, the type is surrounded by a circular line which seems clearly to stand for the disk of the flower. And with these facts we may combine the well-known circumstance that the types of Cyrene are usually of a floral character, the silphium-plant being the special symbol of the city alike as one of the chief objects of its culture and as sacred to Apollo-Aristæus. But the roses of Cyrene were scarcely less celebrated than its silphium, and it is more probable that the type of the coins in the Plate is intended to represent a rose than a flower of the silphium-plant.

The type of the coins of Miletus has been taken for a star. But on the earlier coins, such as those in the Plate (Nos. 7, 8), and even on the money issued by Hecatomnus (No. 9), the device appears to be of floral character. The chief deity of Miletus was of course the Apollo of Didyma, to whom star and flower would be alike appropriate.

At the city of Cyme, if indeed the coin No. 11 in my Plate is rightly given to that city, we have a pattern of still more clearly floral character. But in this case what is represented is not a single flower, but rather a tree or plant, which is symbolically rendered like the sacred tree among the Assyrians. Also on electrum coins of uncertain attribution (No. 12), we find what seems clearly to be a flower with pistils and stamens as obverse type.

To return to the coins of Corcyra. In that island Apollo-Aristæus was held in not less high honour than at Cyrene, and a flower is as appropriate to his cult at the one place as the other. In the Plate (Nos. 1—6) will be found the various forms assumed by the flower in the Corcyrean coinage. In these are some peculiarities which merit attention.

Firstly, in the case of the earlier coins there are peculiarities which later disappear. Their reverse-type is in the case of didrachms two figures of square or oblong shape, whereof one has in the midst a small square and the other a small rhombus or lozenge. In the case of drachms there is but one of these figures, with either square or rhombus in the midst. The meaning of this variation, for it is clearly intentional and must have a meaning, is quite unknown to me. Both square and rhombus give place to a dot or pellet in the middle of the fifth century. And at the same time the general pattern, while retained in the case of didrachms, gives place in that of drachms to a circular floral design.

Dyrrhachium and Apollonia copy the type of their mother-city, Corcyra. And among the varieties introduced into it by the latter city is one which merits special notice. On the drachms issued by the magistrate Chaeren we find the conventional linear square which usually encloses the pattern called the Gardens of Alcinoüs, but in place of that pattern a fire and a pedum or shepherd's staff. This variety had already attracted the attention of Mr. Borrell,<sup>4</sup> and forms the ground on which he started the theory that the so-called 'Gardens of Alcinous' pattern really represented a cave at Apollonia where the flocks sacred to

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<sup>4</sup> *Num. Chron.*, vii. p. 126.

Apollonia were put away at night. In refutation of this theory it is sufficient to observe that the people of Apollonia undoubtedly borrowed their type from Coreyra; and that the Coreyreans had nothing to do with the cave in question. A simpler explanation will be truer. No doubt the meaning of the device was entirely forgotten at the time (second century B.C.) of the magistrate Chaeren. In modifying it by the introduction of a fire and a pedum he probably wished to make it more appropriate to the city of Apollonia; the fire being introduced as a symbol of the hot-springs of the place, as it is in later issues, and the pedum probably having reference to Apollo-Aristæus in his character of *Nomius*.

In closing this brief discussion I may remark that all analogy is in favour of an attempt to show that a group of types belonging to early Greek coins has a meaning, and that meaning a religious one. If I maintained it to have no meaning, or to be purely secular in character, there would be more need to make the ground secure.

PERCY GARDNER.

## II.

### COINS FROM CENTRAL ASIA.

#### I.—A SILVER TETRADRACHM OF ANDRAGORAS.

I HAD the pleasure of publishing in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1879 (page 1) a remarkable gold coin bearing the name of Andragoras. The British Museum now possesses a silver coin apparently issued by the same prince, which presents many interesting features.

*Obv.*—Head of a City r. wearing turreted crown; behind, monogram  $\text{AN}^{\text{P}}$ .

*Rev.*— $\text{ANΔΡΑΓΟΡΟΥ}$ . Pallas standing l. clad in helmet, chiton, and cloak (*ἰμάτιον*); she holds out in extended r. hand an owl, her l. hand rests on shield adorned with Medusa head; a spear leans against her left side.

Weight, 255·8 grains. Pl. II. 1.

With regard to the ruler who issued this coin, I regret that I have nothing to add to my previous statement. Andragoras was, if we may believe Justin, the name of two generals who ruled in Parthia. The first was made satrap of that country by Alexander; the second was slain by Arsaces, founder of the Parthian Empire. But the accounts of Justin are so confused, and his authority as a historian so small, that we are unable to be sure of the existence of either of these rulers, or to decide whether they were the same or different.



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The types of the present coin are of an unusually interesting character. The turreted head of the obverse may probably be that of the *τυχή*, or genius of a city. Does this imply that the city which issued the coin was not directly subject to Andragoras, but had merely accepted his protection? This would seem probable, and in that case the coin would be the earliest specimen of the civic coinage which continued, during the whole period of Parthian hegemony in Asia, to be issued by semi-Greek cities of interior Asia. On the later issues of coins of this class the head of the Parthian King is seldom wanting; but the city makes her appearance on the reverse presenting a wreath to the seated monarch.<sup>1</sup> The turreted head on our coin closely resembles that on the money of Marathus and of Smyrna, being unveiled, whereas the similar head on coins of Seleucia, Aradus, and other cities is veiled. The monogram  is the same which occurs on the gold coin of Andragoras already published. It is also found on money of Antiochus VI.<sup>2</sup> It seems impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to extract any exacter information from this monogram.

The reverse-type is very carefully executed, and although of provincial work, not without merit. The folds of the mantle, *ἰμάτιον*, are rendered in detail and with some skill. It is most unusual to find on coins a figure of Pallas with such mantle, the goddess usually wearing only the chiton and ægis. Exceptions occur, however, in Thessaly.

With this figure it is very instructive to compare the Pallas which appears on the coins of Side.<sup>3</sup> Here the

<sup>1</sup> See my *Parthian Coinage*, p. 21, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. Seleucidae*, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> De Luynes, *Num. des Satrapies*, pl. iii.

goddess is sometimes represented in the attitude of the Athene Parthenos at Athens,<sup>4</sup> with a Victory in her right hand and with spear and shield in her left. But sometimes the place of the Victory is occupied by an owl closely resembling that of our coin.

I am not aware of any Pallas on coins more closely resembling the type adopted by Andragoras than that just mentioned; and the coins of Side, being common, probably had a large circulation in Western Asia. Nevertheless it would of course be rash to say that the type of Andragoras was copied from this source, especially considering the difference in dress.

But whencesoever the type of Pallas was immediately derived, it cannot be doubted that it was ultimately derived from Athens, and thus we are enabled to add another to the numberless proofs of the rapid and wide spread of Greek, and more especially of Athenian, civilisation through the regions of Central Asia in the age immediately succeeding that of Alexander the Great.

## II.—SELEUCID COINS IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. GRANT.

Mr. Alexander Grant, who has lately arrived from N. W. India, has kindly allowed me and the editors of the Numismatic Chronicle to add to the plate representing the silver coin of Andragoras, photographic reproductions of the more remarkable among the many coins which he has brought back with him. Among these are no less than six gold staters of the early Antiochi. The publication of these pieces offers us a favourable opportunity for

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<sup>4</sup> See the recently discovered statuette, published by Mr. Newton in the second volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

considering the question of the Iconography of Antiochus I., II., and III., in the series of Syrian kings.

No. 2 (Pl. ii.) is a tetradrachm of Seleucus I. Types: *obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* Pallas fighting in Quadriga of Elephants; above **AT** in monogram, and an anchor. Wt. 255 grs.

Nos. 3 to 6 and 8 are gold staters presenting us with portraits of the earlier Antiochi. According to the arrangement adopted in my Catalogue of the Seleucidæ the head on coins 3 and 4 will be that of Antiochus I., the head on 5 and 6 that of Antiochus II., and the head on 8 that of Antiochus Hierax. But the last of these attributions must, I fear, be abandoned. A number of gold staters bearing this portrait have lately made their way from Bokhara into India; their fabric is Oriental, and the mints where they were issued seem to be Bactrian. As then Antiochus Hierax was acknowledged as king only in Asia Minor, it is almost certain that these gold staters cannot be his. It is far more probable that they were minted by Antiochus III. in the early part of his reign, during which he made an expedition to the East. Wts. No. 3, 130·5; No. 4, 130·9; No. 5, 131·4; No. 6, 131·4; No. 8, 130·4 grs.

No. 7 is a tetradrachm of Antiochus I. with the type of a horned horse's head, as to which see *Num. Chron.* for 1879, p. 11. Wt. 257 grs.

No. 9 is a gold stater, wt. 128·5 grs., of Antiochus II., but bearing the portrait and type of Diodotus, King of Bactria. I had already advanced the theory<sup>5</sup> that Diodotus placed his own portrait on his coin, while meditating revolt against the King of Syria, Antiochus, before he

<sup>5</sup> *Cat. of Seleucidæ*, p. 16.

ventured to place his name there, and this theory, the justice of which has been denied by Dr. von Sallet, seems to me to be fully borne out by No. 9, the portrait on which piece is absolutely identical with that on the common gold coins of Diodotus, whence we may reasonably infer that it represents that king.

Mr. Grant is of opinion that all these coins are derived from the find by the Oxus River, of which mention has already been made in the Chronicle.<sup>6</sup> His reason for this belief is that they were brought to Rawul-Pindee in the winter of 1877—8 at the same time and by the same individuals. As, however, besides coins of the Seleucidæ, these individuals brought money of King Lysimachus, Tarsus, Sinope, Aspendus, and Ephesus, it would seem most likely that they added to their stock on the road from the Oxus to India by purchasing any ancient coins they could find in the bazaars.

Mr. Grant has been fortunate enough to secure a number of other pieces in silver and copper of the Syrian, Bactrian, and Parthian kings. As, however, they do not present new types of importance, but only interesting varieties, and as a dry list of these would scarcely interest readers of the Numismatic Chronicle, I will not describe them in detail.

PERCY GARDNER.

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<sup>6</sup> Vol. xix. pp. 1—12.



F. J. Lees.

PENNIES OF STEPHEN. &c.



### III.

#### COINAGE OF EPHEBUS.

##### ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

SINCE the publication of my paper on the chronological sequence of the coins of Ephesus, in June last (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. xx. pp. 85—173), I have been favoured, through the kindness of M. Waddington and others, with so much additional matter that I am now able to contribute as many as seventy-seven new names to my lists of Ephesian magistrates; thus raising the total number of names from 238 to 315. There are also a few erroneous readings (chiefly Mionnet's) which M. Waddington, who has himself examined and taken notes of most of the great public collections of Ephesian coins in Europe, has most kindly enabled me to correct. I lose no time, therefore, in laying before the readers of the *Numismatic Chronicle* these additions and corrections.

My readers will remember that the three main points which I strove to establish in that essay were:—

- 1st. The approximate chronological sequence of the coinage of Ephesus from the earliest times to the establishment of the empire.
- 2nd. That the magistrate whose name appears regularly on the coinage is an annual magistrate.
- 3rd. That this annual magistrate was the first Prytanis who at Ephesus was the President of the Com-

mittee of Prytaneis, entrusted with the execution of the decrees of the Boulê and Demos.

The first of these conclusions was based upon a minute and critical examination of the style of the art-work of the various classes of Ephesian coins, and there is nothing to induce me to make any material alteration in the order which I then adopted.

My second conclusion as to the annual tenure of office of the signing magistrate must, however, now be slightly modified. On page 39 I remarked that one contingency might affect the conclusion at which I had arrived, viz. the discovery of such a number of new names as to destroy the due proportion of names to years. Now this is precisely what has occurred. There are now, in fact, in some periods, too many names for the number of years, the excess being especially remarkable in Period V., see Table on p. 23.

My third conclusion is also affected in so far as, and no farther than, it is dependent upon my second. That in five several instances the coinage of the State was signed by the eponymous Prytanis, I think I have sufficiently established. Now the eponymous Prytanis was most certainly an annual magistrate, who gave his name to the year, and whose name, even in case of his death during office, could not be replaced by that of a new Eponymus, until the commencement of a new year.

If, then, we have on the coins more names than years, it follows that these names can hardly be those of the Eponymi *as such*, but it does not follow that the Eponymi did not, as a rule, sign the coins. The fact that of the seven Eponymi whose names have been handed down to us by inscriptions and by Josephus, viz. Demagoras, Manticrates, Apollas, and Danaos (B.C. 324—319), Badromios (probably in the latter half of the second century), Artemon (B.C. 44—43), and Menophilus (B.C. 43—42), the

names of as many as five occur on the coins of precisely these same periods, is quite enough to prove that the eponymous Prytanis frequently signed the money. But as there are more names on the coins in some periods than there could possibly have been Eponymi, it likewise follows that the annual chief magistrate cannot have signed in his character of Eponymus, but simply as one of the board of Prytaneis, either in turn with the others or in conjunction with one of them, or in virtue of some commission, office, or duty, which was often held by him but was not his sole prerogative. That there were sometimes in one and the same year several issues from the Ephesian mint, or contemporary emissions from different officinæ of that mint, each issue bearing a different signature, is proved by an examination of the dated cistophori. It would seem, therefore, that whenever a fresh issue was necessary, a magistrate, or perhaps two magistrates at different officinæ, were required to place their names upon the dies, and that moreover one of these magistrates was frequently the eponymous Prytanis of the year.

Beyond this it would be unsafe to speculate until we know more of the constitution of Ephesus in the autonomous period.

The following are the additional coins in the various Periods :—

PERIOD III. CIRC. B.C. 415—394.

*Obv.*—E—Φ. Bee with curved wings; beneath,

**TIMAPXOΣ.**

*Rev.*—Incuse square quartered by narrow bands.

Æ. 4. Wt. 115 grs.

[Collection of Mr. Whittall, of Smyrna].

This coin gives the magistrate's name, **TIMAPXOΣ**, in full, cf. p. 23 in separate copies = Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xx. p. 107, No. 3. Pl. I. 17.

*Obv.*—**Ε—Φ**. Bee with curved wings.

*Rev.*—Incuse square, quartered by two broad bands, on one of which **ΔΙΟΤΙΜΙΔΑ** or **ΔΙΟΤΙΜΟΣ**.

[Coll. Waddington.]

Æ.

The number of magistrates' names in this period is thus raised from 8 to 9.

PERIOD IV. CIRC. B.C. 394—387.

TETRADRACHMS.

*Obv.*—**Ε—Φ**. Bee with curved wings.

*Rev.*—Forepart of stag r., with head turned back, behind a palm-tree, and magistrate's name **ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ**.

[Coll. Waddington.]

Another with **ΜΗΤΡΑΣ** [Dr. Imhoof-Blumer] to be transferred from Period V.

Another with **ΤΕΙΜΑΓΟΡ**////. [Coll. Waddington.]

These three new names raise the total number in this Period from 5 to 8.

PERIOD V. CIRC. B.C. 387—295.

*Obv.*—Bee with straight wings.

*Rev.*—Forepart of stag r. looking back, behind palm-tree and magistrate's name.

CLASS (α) TETRADRACHMS.

|                   |       |              |                                |
|-------------------|-------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>ΑΡΙΔΕΙΧΗΣ</b>  | . . . | 227 grs.     | Whittall.                      |
| <b>ΒΛΟΣΩΝ</b>     | . . . |              | Waddington, from Fontana coll. |
| <b>ΔΙΩΝ</b>       | . . . |              | Coll. of Mr. Alex. Grant.      |
| <b>ΕΟΕΛΩΝ</b>     | . . . |              | Naples Museum.                 |
| <b>ΚΑΛΛΙΔΑΜΑΣ</b> | . . . |              | Milan, Brera.                  |
| <b>ΜΕΝΟΙΤΙΟΣ</b>  | . . . |              | In dealer's hands.             |
| <b>ΠΙΤΘΕΥΟΣ</b>   | . . . | Wt. 224 grs. | Whittall.                      |
| <b>ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΣ</b> | . . . |              | Paris.                         |
| <b>ΠΡΟΜΕΝΗΣ</b>   | . . . |              | Waddington.                    |
| <b>ΤΙΜΟΛΑΣ</b>    | . . . |              | Waddington, from Fontana coll. |
| <b>ΤΙΜΗΣΙΑΝΑ</b>  | [Ξ.   |              | Florence, Uffizi.              |

In this class also the following corrections must be noted:—

For **ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ** read **ΜΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ**.  
 „ **ΙΓΝΩΤΗΣ** „ **ΙΓΓΟΤΗΣ**.  
 „ **ΓΑΝΑΙΤΙΟΣ** „ **ΓΑΝΔΙΩΝ**.  
 „ **ΠΟΛΥΞΗΝ**//// „ **ΠΟΛΥΞΗΛΟΣ**.

On Dr. Imhoof Blumer's coin, reading **ΜΗΤΡΑΣ**, the bee has curved wings; it must therefore be transferred to Period IV.

CLASS β. OCTOBOLS.

**ΑΘΗΝΟΜΑ[ΝΔΡΟΣ.** Naples Museum.

Also, in this class on the coin, reading **ΥΛΑΚΟΣ**, a letter is wanting at the beginning of the name, which may therefore have been **ΦΥΛΑΚΟΣ**.

CLASSES V. (γ) AND VIII. (β) COPPER.

*Obv.*—**Ε—Φ.** Bee.

*Rev.*—Stag kneeling l. above astragalus, in front magistrate's name :—

|        |                               |                                      |
|--------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Æ. 3.  | <b>ΑΘΗΝΟΜΑΝΔ[ΡΟΣ</b>          | Quiver instead of astragalus. Milan. |
| Æ. 2½. | <b>ΑΜΥΝΤΩΡ</b>                | Munich.                              |
| Æ. 2½. | <b>ΑΙΣΣΙΔΗΣ</b>               | Waddington.                          |
| Æ. 4.  | <b>ΑΙΣΥΡΙΟ[Σ</b>              | Munich.                              |
| Æ. 1½. | <b>ΔΟΚΚΑΛΟΣ</b>               | No astragalus. Waddington.           |
| Æ. 3.  | <b>ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟ[Σ</b>              | Milan.                               |
| Æ. 4.  | <b>Ε]ΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ or Ι]ΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ</b> | Lawson.                              |
| Æ. 2½. | <b>ΕΥΑΝΘΗΣ</b>                | Waddington.                          |
| Æ. 3.  | <b>Θ]ΕΟΜΗΔΗΣ</b>              | Munich.                              |
| Æ. 2½. | <b>ΜΟΡΙΜΟΣ</b>                | Lawson.                              |
| Æ. 3.  | <b>ΝΙΚΗΡΑΤ[ΟΣ</b>             | Munich.                              |
| Æ. 2½. | <b>ΠΟΛΥΞΗΛΟΣ</b>              | Waddington.                          |
| Æ. 4.  | <b>ΣΚΟΓΗΣ</b>                 | Waddington.                          |
| Æ. 2½. | <b>ΤΗΛΕΦΟΣ</b>                | Waddington.                          |
| Æ. 3.  | <b>ΓΕΙΘΗΣ</b>                 | Munich.                              |

To Class V. (γ) I would also transfer the eleven coins placed by me (page 47 = 131 of Num. Chron.,) under Period VIII. (β) viz. :—

|        |                                |
|--------|--------------------------------|
| Æ. 2.  | ΑΛΚ]ΙΓΡΟΣ or perhaps ΓΥΛ]ΙΓΡΟΣ |
| Æ. 1½. | Α]ΓΡΟΛΛΩΝ////                  |
| Æ. 2½. | ΑΤΡΕΑΣ.                        |
| Æ. 2½. | Δ]ΗΜΟΦΩΝ                       |
| Æ. 3.  | ΔΙΑΔ////////                   |
| Æ. 2½. | ΕΟΕΛΘΩΝ                        |
| Æ. 2½. | ΕΧΕΔΑΜ[ΟΣ                      |
| Æ. 1.  | ΚΟΥ[ΛΑΣ                        |
| Æ. 2½. | ΜΕΓΑΛΗΤΩΡ                      |
| Æ. 1½. | ΣΩΣ]ΙΚΡΑΤ[ΗΣ                   |
| Æ. 2½. | ////////ΤΡΙΟΣ                  |

These, with the seven names previously given by me (page 38, = N.C. 122), make up a total of thirty-three different names on the copper money of this type, of which the following, however, occur also on silver coins of the same Period V. :—

|              |              |
|--------------|--------------|
| ΑΘΗΝΟΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ | Tetradrachm. |
| ΑΛΚΙΓΡΟΣ     | "            |
| ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΑΣ  | "            |
| ΔΟΚΚΑΛΟΣ     | Octobol.     |
| ΕΚΑΤΟΚΛ[ΗΣ   | Octobol.     |
| ΕΟΕΛΘΩΝ      | Tetradrachm. |
| ΝΙΚΗΡΑ[ΤΟΣ   | "            |
| ΠΟΛΥΪΗΛΟΣ    | "            |
| ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ  | "            |
| ΧΙΜΑΡΟΣ      | "            |

So that in all we have 10 names on silver coins and 23 on copper to add to the 87 already assigned by me to this Period, making a total of 120 names for the 92 years included in the Period.

#### PERIOD VI. B.C. 295—288.

*Obv.*—Head of Artemis diademed right

*Rev.*—Ε Φ Ε. Bow and quiver, in field bee and magistrate's name [ΜΝΗ]ΣΑΡ.  
ΙΩΠΥΡΟΣ.

Æ. 4½. Wt. 75·6 grs.

[Coll. Whittall.]

*Obv.*—E—Φ. Bee.

*Rev.*—Stag standing r. above quiver, in front magistrate's name ΕΥΘΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ. Æ. 3½.

[Coll. Waddington.]

The first of these coins has the appearance of being double struck, the name **ΙΩΓΥΡΟΣ** is quite clear. **ΜΝΗΣΑΡ**, which is not quite parallel with **ΙΩΓΥΡΟΣ**, may perhaps be a vestige of a previous striking.

The number of names in this Period of 7 years is thus raised from 7 to 9 or 10.

PERIOD VII. B.C. 288—280.

In this Period, during which Ephesus bore the name of Arsinoë, I have as yet heard of no fresh names.

PERIOD VIII. B.C. 280—258.

From this Period, as I have already mentioned, I would propose to remove the small copper coins (class β, p. 47) with the kneeling stag and astragalus (size 2½ and under) and to incorporate them with the larger coins of the same type under Period V. This leaves us 10 names for a period of 22 years.

PERIOD IX. B.C. 258—202.

*Obv.*—Bust of Artemis draped r. wearing stephane, no earring; bow and quiver at her shoulder.

*Rev.*—E—Φ. Fore part of stag r. head turned back, in field l. magistrate's name :—

SILVER.

|          |                                   |                 |
|----------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Didrachm | <b>ΑΡΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ</b>                | Waddington      |
| „        | <b>ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ</b>                  | Lawson, Smyrna. |
| „        | <b>ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑΤΟΣ</b> ( <i>sic</i> ) | Waddington.     |

COPPER.

Æ. 2½. ...**ΒΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ** Waddington.

Also on a didrachm of this Period the name ΑΘΗΝΟ-ΓΟΛΙΤ[ΗΣ should be read ΑΘΗΝΟΓΟΛΙΣ.

Mr. Lawson has also a didrachm reading ΕΥΝΙΧΟΣ as in Mion. Suppl. VI. No. 132, not ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ.

The total number of names in this Period of 56 years is thus raised from 41 to 44.

PERIOD X. B.C. 202—133.

In this Period the additions are extremely numerous.

ATTIC DRACHMS.

*Obv.*—Ε—Φ. Bee, border of dots.

*Rev.*—Stag standing r. before a palm-tree ; in front magistrate's name :—

|                |                                  |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
| ΑΝΔΡΩΝ         | Waddington.                      |
| ΑΡΙΣΤΟΛΟΧΟΣ    | Milan.                           |
| ΑΡΚΑΣ          | Waddington (from Fontana Coll.). |
| ΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΗΣ      | Seen by Mr. Ramsay at Smyrna.    |
| ΑΡΧΙΔΗΜΟΣ      | Margaritis.                      |
| ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ    | Waddington.                      |
| ΔΗΜΟΦ.....     | Munich.                          |
| ΕΡΜΟΛΑΟΣ       | Waddington.                      |
| ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ        | (a proper name ?) Waddington.    |
| ΕΥ]ΘΥΚΡΑΤΗ[Σ   | Paris.                           |
| ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡ[ΟΣ     | Milan.                           |
| ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟ[Σ      | Waddington.                      |
| Κ]ΑΣΤΡΟΓΙΔΗΣ   | Paris.                           |
| ΚΑΣΤΟΡΙΔΗΣ     | Rev. S. S. Lewis.                |
| ΜΑΝΔΡΩΝ        | Waddington.                      |
| ΜΟΝΙΜΟΣ        | Paris.                           |
| ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ        | Paris.                           |
| ΝΙΚΩΝ          | Waddington.                      |
| ΓΡΟΓΙΔΗΣ       | Munich.                          |
| ΓΥΡΡΑΛΙΩΝ      | Waddington and Munich.           |
| ΣΙΜΑΛΙΩΝ       | Waddington.                      |
| ΤΕΛΕΣΙΦΡΩΝ     | Waddington.                      |
| ΧΑΡΜΙΝΟΣ       | Waddington.                      |
| ΧΟΡΙΣΚΟΣ       | Seen by Mr. Ramsay at Smyrna.    |
| ///ΟΥΛΑΓΟΡΑ/// | Univ., Turin.                    |

Of the above

|              |                            |            |
|--------------|----------------------------|------------|
| ΔΗΜΟΦ        | is the correct reading for | ΜΗΝΟΦΑ...  |
| Κ ΑΣΤΡΟΓΙΔΗΣ | „                          | ΑΣΤΡΟΓΙΔΗΣ |
| ΓΡΟΓΙΔΗΣ     | „                          | ΔΡΟΓΙΔΗΣ   |
| ΠΥΡΡΑΛΙΩΝ    | „                          | ΚΥΡΡΑΛΙΑΣ  |

Also in my list of Attic drachms on page 57 *sqq.* = N.C. 141 *sqq.* substitute—

|          |     |           |
|----------|-----|-----------|
| ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ | for | ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ. |
| ΣΩΤΑΣ    | „   | ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ.  |

There are therefore in all 19 new names to be added to the long list of 64 already given, raising the total number to 83 for the Period commencing about B.C. 202, and which I brought to a close in B.C. 133. In the face, however, of this new accession of names, I am now inclined to extend the Period during which these drachms continued to be issued down perhaps to the year B.C. 48. Many of them would thus be contemporary with the dated as well as with the earlier undated cistophori of which they would pass as thirds.

PERIOD X. CLASS (ε) UNDATED CISTOPHORI.

B.C. 159—133.

Mr. Whittall, of Smyrna, sends me an impression of one new variety to be added to my list on page 63 = N.C. 147.

*Obv.*—Cista mystica, &c., as usual.

*Rev.*—Serpents and bow-case as usual; in the centre a small figure of the Ephesian Artemis holding a torch in each hand; in field r. a cock.

℞. Wt. 189·8 grs.

PERIOD XI. DATED CISTOPHORI. B.C. 133—67.

Year 65 = B.C. 69. Usual type, but on the reverse in the centre between the two cornuacopiæ a bunch of grapes.

[Acad. des Sciences, Amsterdam.]

This variety added to the other two given by me, and to one described by Pinder, No. 49, which I omitted to notice, proves that in the single year B.C. 69 there were as many as four different emissions of cistophori at Ephesus.

GOLD COINAGE OF THE TIME OF MITHRADATES. B.C. 87—84.

*Obv.*—Bust draped of Artemis r. wearing stephane, at her shoulder bow and quiver.

*Rev.*—**E—Φ**. Statue of the Ephesian Artemis, a fillet hanging from each hand, in field l. between statue and fillet an uncertain object resembling a torch or candelabrum. *N.* 4. Wt. 128. grs.

[Coll. Whittall.]

PERIOD XII. PROCONSULAR CISTOPHORI. B.C. 67—48.

*Obv.*—Cista mystica, &c., as usual.

*Rev.*—**ΕΦΕ ΟΗ C . FABI . M . F . PRO . COS .**  
Bow-case between serpents. Upon the bow-case stands a one-handed vase; in field l. long torch beneath **ΗΡΑΚΩΝ**. *R.* 7. Wt. 180·5 grs.

(Coll. Whittall.)

The date of this coin, which corresponds with B.C. 56, confirms the order of the succession of the Proconsuls, T. Ampius and C. Fabius, as already corrected by me, viz. T. Ampius B.C. 58—57 and C. Fabius B.C. 57—56. This cistophorus also gives us a new magistrate's name.

PERIOD XIII. B.C. 48—27.

*Obv.*—**E—Φ**. Beo in wreath of laurel.

*Rev.*—Stag standing r. head turned back, magistrate's name **ΙΩΡΥΡΟΣ**. *Æ.* 2½.

[Coll. Waddington.]

This completes the list of the autonomous Ephesian coins as far as I am able to complete it. It is certain,

however, that many coins are unknown to me. If any of my readers who possess such will kindly send me impressions of them I shall feel obliged. I append a table of periods, years, and magistrates' names, which may for the present supersede that which I gave on page 78 of my paper.

| PERIODS.          |                    | YEARS.    | NAMES. |
|-------------------|--------------------|-----------|--------|
| Period I.         | B.C. circ. 700—480 | circ. 200 | —      |
| „ II.             | „ 480—415          | 65        | —      |
| „ III.            | „ 415—394          | 21        | 9      |
| „ IV.             | „ 394—387          | 7         | 8      |
| „ V.              | „ 387—295          | 92        | 120    |
| „ VI.             | „ 295—288          | 7         | 9      |
| „ VII.            | „ 288—280          | 8         | 8      |
| „ VIII.           | „ 280—258          | 22        | 10     |
| „ IX.             | „ 258—202          | 56        | 44     |
| „ X.              | „ 202—133          | 154       | 92     |
| „ XI.             | „ 133—67           |           |        |
| „ XII.            | „ 67—48            |           |        |
| „ XIII.           | „ 48—27            | 21        | 15     |
| Total from 415—27 |                    | 988       | 315    |

## ERRATA IN COINAGE OF EPHEBUS.

Page 35 and 36 = N.C. 119, 120, for Schottenstik read Schottenstift.

Page 37 = N.C. 121, for Whittall read Whittall, 1867.

Page 52 = N.C. 136, for Whittall „ Whittall, 1858.

Page 67 = N.C. 151, for P. 49 „ P. 48.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

#### IV.

##### NOTE ON SOME DISCOVERIES OF ROMAN COINS IN GAUL AND BRITAIN.

THE recent discovery of a hoard of Roman coins on the line of the Roman Wall in Northumberland, of which an elaborate account, by John Clayton, Esq., F.S.A., appears in the *Archæologia Eliana*, suggests my offering a few remarks on the numerous very similar hoards continually discovered in this country and in France, one of the latest having been found at Jublains in August last.

I believe that nearly all large hoards point to important historical epochs when, from the movements of military forces, the carrying of heavy accumulations of coin necessitated the possessors to resort to concealment in the earth. This mode of deposit was easy, simple, and perfectly safe; but in hundreds and thousands of cases the fate of war or the casualties of military life prevented the owners from ever returning to disinter their deposits, which remained to exercise the wonder and cupidity, and also (in our days) the scientific investigations, of the far future. But for the purposes of science the numismatic historian has had to struggle and fight. It has been comparatively seldom that he has been able to examine, with confidence in its integrity, a hoard of coins fresh from beneath the ground. Abstractions by the finder naturally



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follow; and then come, as naturally, ignorance in the acquirers and, the result of that ignorance, ultimate dispersion without criticising analysis.

I submit that the whole of the deposits of coins which include a very large proportion of those of the Tetrici, and a very small number of Aurelian, indicate conclusively the closing days of the rule of the former, and the reunion of the provinces of Gaul and Britain to the Empire. To meet the advance of the Roman Emperor, Tetricus had assembled a powerful army drawn chiefly from both provinces. Notwithstanding the treachery of Tetricus, the provincials fought bravely, and the slaughter was consequently large. Many of the survivors were, no doubt, incorporated into the imperial army, or sent to recruit distant legions as auxiliaries; and here, I think, we have a satisfactory explanation of the cause of deposit of the peculiar hoards to which I draw your attention and of which I give examples. M. Eugène Hucher, who has published an excellent Report on the Jublains coins,<sup>1</sup> seems to suggest, if I understand him correctly, that the incursions of the Franks and Germans may also have contributed to the panic which caused the concealment of the two large hoards he has so well analyzed; but I doubt if at this critical period to which the coins themselves point, the province of Gaul was much molested by them; and we have no evidence to show that they overran Britain, in all parts of which precisely similar hoards are often discovered.

I refer to the observations I made so long ago as the publication of the third volume of my "Collectanea

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<sup>1</sup> "Trésor de Jublains (Mayenne)," décrit, dessiné et gravé par Eugène Hucher. Mamers et le Mans, 1880. I am indebted to M. Henri Barbe, of Jublains, for a copy.

Antiqua," on the conclusions I arrived at from the coins then collected at various times, from the castrum of Jublains and its vicinity, and it will be seen how they are confirmed by this late discovery. I then noted 421. Of these some 350 were of the Tetrici, and only a single specimen of Aurelian.

DISCOVERIES OF HOARDS OF COINS DEPOSITED TOWARDS THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF TETRICUS, IN BRITAIN AND GAUL.

NUNBURNHOLME, IN YORKSHIRE, 1855.<sup>2</sup>

|                             |                             |       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| Valerianus . . . . . 4      | Brought forward             | 1908  |
| Gallienus . . . . . 310     | Tetricus, Jun. . . . .      | 434   |
| Salonina . . . . . 24       | Claudius Gothicus . . . . . | 321   |
| Postumus . . . . . 13       | Quintillus . . . . .        | 13    |
| Victorinus . . . . . 456    | Aurelianus . . . . .        | 4     |
| Marius . . . . . 4          | Undecipherable ; but        |       |
| Tetricus, Sen. . . . . 1097 | probably of the Tetrici     | 415   |
|                             |                             | <hr/> |
| Carried forward             | 1908                        | 3095  |

MIDWAY BETWEEN BENWELL AND ROCHESTER, ON THE LINE OF THE ROMAN WALL, 1879.<sup>3</sup>

|                         |                        |       |
|-------------------------|------------------------|-------|
| Otacilia . . . . . 1    | Brought forward        | 1589  |
| Hostilianus . . . . . 1 | Victorinus . . . . .   | 1678  |
| Trebonianus . . . . . 1 | Marius . . . . .       | 24    |
| Volusianus . . . . . 2  | Macrianus . . . . .    | 1     |
| Æmilianus . . . . . 1   | Quietus . . . . .      | 1     |
| Valerianus . . . . . 49 | Claudius II. . . . .   | 696   |
| Mariniana . . . . . 2   | Quintillus . . . . .   | 95    |
| Gallienus . . . . . 915 | Tetricus, Sen. . . . . | 424   |
| Salonina . . . . . 136  | Tetricus, Jun. . . . . | 92    |
| Saloninus . . . . . 21  | Aurelianus . . . . .   | 8     |
| Postumus . . . . . 454  | Unexamined . . . . .   | 416   |
| Laelianus . . . . . 6   |                        | <hr/> |
| Carried forward         | 1589                   | 5024  |

<sup>2</sup> "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. v. p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> "The Discovery of a Hoard of Roman Coins on the Wall of Hadrian," by John Clayton, F.S.A. From the "Archæologia Æliana," Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1880.

FOUND NEAR EASTBOURNE, IN SUSSEX, IN JULY, 1879.<sup>4</sup>

|                      |    |                        |     |
|----------------------|----|------------------------|-----|
| Valerianus . . . . . | 1  | Brought forward        | 72  |
| Gallienus . . . . .  | 45 | Victorinus . . . . .   | 11  |
| Salonina . . . . .   | 6  | Claudius II. . . . .   | 42  |
| Saloninus . . . . .  | 1  | Quintillus . . . . .   | 7   |
| Postumus . . . . .   | 16 | Tetricus, Sen. . . . . | 9   |
| Laelianus . . . . .  | 2  | Tetricus, Jun. . . . . | 5   |
| Marius . . . . .     | 1  | Aurelianus . . . . .   | 2   |
|                      | 72 |                        | 148 |
| Carried forward      |    |                        |     |

These were selected by the Rev. Thomas Calvert, who informs me that they were, in all, about 680. The others were very illegible; but apparently of the Tetrici chiefly.

THE DISCOVERY AT JUBLAINS, IN AUGUST, 1880.

|   |                                |      |
|---|--------------------------------|------|
| Large brass of Hadrian, Sabina, Faustina,<br>Sen., Faustina, Jun., and Lucilla . . . . .  |                                | 5    |
| Middle brass of Tiberius, Claudius, Trajan,<br>Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus<br>Aurelius, Faustina, Jun., and Com-<br>modus . . . . . |                                | 7    |
| Valerianus  | } <i>petits bronzes saucés</i> | 6    |
| Gallienus   |                                | 309  |
| Salonina  |                                | 38   |
| Saloninus   |                                | 1    |
| Postumus  |                                | 32   |
| Victorinus  | } <i>cuivre</i>                | 295  |
| Marius  |                                | 1    |
| Claudius II.  |                                | 337  |
| Quintillus  |                                | 13   |
| Tetricus, Sen.  |                                | 2640 |
| Tetricus, Jun.  |                                | 801  |
| Aurelianus  |                                | 8    |
|   |                                | 4498 |

<sup>4</sup> A Descriptive Catalogue of third brass Roman Coins selected from a "Find," in July, 1879, near Eastbourne, Sussex; and presented to the Brighton Free Library and Museum by his Grace the Duke of Devonshire.—Brighton, 1880.

The hoard found at Blanchardière, near Le Mans, consisted of 8,578 coins, M. Hucher states, of almost all the Emperors of the third century. I have not received a catalogue; but it appears that the relative proportions are almost the same in the two hoards. They both close with Aurelian, without having a single specimen of his successor, Tacitus.

In 1867 a deposit was found near Netley Abbey, in Hampshire. A detailed account, drawn up by Dr. De Chaumont, was published by the British Archæological Association in their Journal of the same year. The following is a summary of the coins:—

|                      |       |                             |       |
|----------------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|
| Valerianus . . . . . | 3     | Brought forward             | 615   |
| Gallienus . . . . .  | 162   | Claudius Gothicus . . . . . | 186   |
| Salonina . . . . .   | 13    | Quintillus . . . . .        | 15    |
| Postumus . . . . .   | 26    | Tetricus, Sen. . . . .      | 749   |
| Victorinus . . . . . | 410   | Tetricus, Jun. . . . .      | 255   |
| Marius . . . . .     | 1     | Aurelianus . . . . .        | 1     |
|                      | <hr/> |                             | <hr/> |
| Carried forward      | 615   |                             | 1821  |

The Rev. E. Kell, in his remarks on the discovery appended to Dr. De Chaumont's report, stated his belief that the preponderance of the coins of the Tetrici was due to the especial influence of Tetricus at Clausentum, now Bittern Manor, only a few miles distant, where several inscriptions to Tetricus have been discovered.<sup>5</sup> But, as we see, similar hoards are found throughout England; and their interest lies in a very different direction from that conjectured by Mr. Kell, as must be evident from the facts here instanced.

The discovery at Jublains so fully and ably described by Mr. Hucher, deserves a little further attention in

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<sup>5</sup> "Transactions of the British Archæological Association at Winchester," p. 161.

justice to this experienced numismatist's exhaustive report.

The *castrum* to which I have referred as the object of a visit with my friend Mr. Charles Warne, F.S.A., and of which I believe I have succeeded in giving a fair notion in the "Collectanea Antiqua," remains as it then was; but in the vicinity researches have been made, chiefly by M. Henri Barbe,<sup>6</sup> which have brought to light extensive buildings and a theatre, proving that the *castrum* was an appendage to a large town. Its extent is indicated by ruins, many of which are covered by brushwood and copse, and in this district, called La Tonnelle, near the foundations of a temple, supposed the temple of Fortune, and in the wall of a hypocaust were discovered the 4,500 coins before referred to.

About the same time was discovered at Blanchardière, near Le Mans, another hoard consisting of 8,578 coins similar to those of Jublains, and in the same proportions except that it contained rather more of Aurelian. But while the same emperors are represented in both, there is a remarkable difference in the character of the coins themselves. Those of Jublains constitute an undigested and unselected mass, while the Blanchardière hoard is a homogeneous mass composed of coins carefully sorted, of uniform module, and official mintages. The Jublains hoard is made up of coins of all sizes from the large brass of the first century to the most minute pieces of the Tetrici.

M. Hucher points out a further dissemblance between the two hoards. He notices certain series of the coins of Victorinus and of the Tetrici in the Blanchardière hoard

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<sup>6</sup> M. Barbe's researches are extremely well described in a volume with an atlas published at Le Mans, entitled "Jublains: Notes sur ses Antiquités," 1865.

hitherto unknown to him, which are entirely wanting in those of Jublains. M. Cohen and M. de Witte, he observes, have never noticed these series; and it remains to be explained how not a single specimen in them, issued in the territory of the Cenomanni, found its way into the neighbouring district of the Diablintes. This is a remarkable fact which could only have been made clear by the minute and almost simultaneous examination of the two complete hoards composed of coins of the same emperors and buried at the same epoch. As to when this epoch was, as before remarked, there can be no doubt; and to this epoch the numerous similar hoards found in France and in England conclusively point. M. Hucher, in referring to one in Wales,<sup>7</sup> observes that it is not easy to understand why a Gaulish fugitive on his arrival in a strange land, having buried his money, should not have ultimately disinterred it. But I believe that it was deposited by a British soldier or camp-follower on leaving Britain for Gaul, and that he never returned to reclaim it. A similar misconception in regard to a hoard of 9,000 coins found at Baconsthorpe occurs in a notice printed by the Norfolk Archæological Society.

At one time I believed, with others, that the minute and illegible coins commonly called *minimi* were post-Roman;<sup>8</sup> but I have long since been convinced that they belong to the Tetrici; and this is M. Hucher's opinion, confirmed by the appearance of a large number in the Jublains hoard. He corrects M. Cohen, who considered them long posterior to the Tetrici, observing, "Il n'est pas nécessaire de croire que toutes ces monnaies, si bar-

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<sup>7</sup> "Revue Numismatique," 1836, p. 456.

<sup>8</sup> "Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne," p. 156.

bare qu'elles soient, sont le produit d'une basse époque. Nous avons trouvé dans le trésor de Jublains plus de douze cents monnaies des deux Tetricus affreusement traitées et telles qu'on en croirait les coins ciselés par un pâtre, ignorant des plus simples notions du dessin et des plus élémentaires principes de l'épigraphie."

M. Hucher has copiously illustrated his work by examples, for comparison, from the two hoards. Some few are not mentioned by M. Cohen or by M. de Witte; but it is probable that examples may be found elsewhere. He reads the names of both father and son as *Caius Pius Esuvius Tetricus*. In the Blanchardière collection he has found several of the younger Tetricus with the word *Pius* at full length; but it seems that only one instance occurs in the coins of Jublains.

C. ROACH SMITH.

STROOD, Dec. 11th, 1880.

## V.

### ON THE RESIDENT CHARACTER OF THE OFFICE OF MONETARIUS IN SAXON TIMES.

IN Canon Assheton Pownall's paper on the Stafford Mint in Vol. XX. N.S. of the Chronicle, p. 66, he again opens up the question of the itinerant services rendered by the Saxon monetarii, and he dwells on the assistance which may be obtained in correctly attributing specimens of their handiwork from the similarity or identity in the names of moneyers of neighbouring towns.

Naturally we cannot, as he says, pretend to be positive about so speculative a question, and it is much to be regretted that we have no documentary evidence on such important points in the elucidation of the question as the position of the mint-masters, by whose authority, under what conditions, and in what circumstances they issued a coinage. But we have, nevertheless, a very large field of inquiry from which to draw our conclusions in the number and variety of the coins of the Confessor that have come down to us, as we know of more than 12,000 coins of 12 distinct types, minted at 58 different towns, and bearing more than 300 different moneyers' names; and I cannot but think that the general character of the evidence they adduce points to a local and stationary, rather than to a perambulating and ubiquitous, nature of the office.





The actual significance of the word *ON* does not prejudice the question. Whether it means "in" or "of," it would be quite as applicable to a resident as to a visitor; but there are other circumstances which seem to suggest that, if it is desirable to suppose the co-existence of the two classes, the resident moneyers were by far the most numerous; and that whilst we can occasionally rightly attribute a blundered or corroded coin to a particular town by the occurrence of the name of the monetarius somewhere else in the vicinity, we have much more frequently the opportunity of identifying the *provenance* of one partly illegible by the local peculiarity of the minter's name.

I had not before noticed the quotations from Ruding cited by Mr. Pownall: "That there are many reasons for believing that Saxon kings were always attended by monetarii, who frequently coined money for the present exigencies in towns where the king rested, which will account for our finding money minted in obscure places, and that only once;" and, "I know not of what kind the many reasons may be, but it will not be easy to assign one more satisfactory for the appearance of towns of such little importance as mints." But Ruding's reasons do not appear to me by any means conclusive in the face of the evidence of the coins themselves. If it were as he states, we should expect to find the same names connected with the small towns that we meet with in the more important cities; but this is exactly what we do not find, as the names occurring at the rarer and less important mints have a peculiar *cachet* of their own, and are not the common Saxon names we find widely distributed over the larger towns.

In the Account of the City Hoard, Table V. (Num.

Chron., vol. xvi., p. 375), occur 220 different moneyers' names, and an examination of this list will show that 155, or nearly three-fourths, *occur in one town only*; of the remaining 65, 32 occur only in two towns, and 11 in but three, reducing the number of widely distributed names down to 22, or just one-tenth of the whole; of these one, Leofwine, occurs in 19 towns, Godwine in 16, Elfwine in 13, Godric in 12, the rest are distributed as under. Four occur in 7 towns, four in 6, three in 5, and seven in 4.

The following is a list of some of the peculiarly local names which, in the City Hoard at least, were only associated with the towns they are connected with here. Being at present out of England, I have no means of referring to Ruding, Hawkins, or Hildebrand, but it would be interesting to see whether the connection is maintained in the coinage of previous and succeeding kings.

|            |   |   |   |                      |
|------------|---|---|---|----------------------|
| Agamund or | } | . | . | of Lincoln.          |
| Ahmund     |   |   |   |                      |
| Anderboda  | . | . | . | of Winchester.       |
| Boga       | . | . | . | of Taunton.          |
| Braceman   | . | . | . | of Dorchester.       |
| Brid       | . | . | . | of Hastings.         |
| Cenelm     | . | . | . | of Norwich.          |
| Cilda      | . | . | . | of Bedwin.           |
| Cinstan    | . | . | . | of Dover.            |
| Froma      | . | . | . | of Derby.            |
| Sigod      | } | . | . | of Bedford.          |
| Spot       |   |   |   |                      |
| Elm        |   |   |   |                      |
| Godchild   | . | . | . | of Watchet.          |
| Morcere    | . | . | . | of Bury St. Edmunds. |
| Snoter     | . | . | . | of Nottingham.       |
| Folewine   | . | . | . | of Sudbury.          |
| Farebiw    | . | . | . | of Sandwich.         |
| Rihiwi     | . | . | . | of Malmsbury.        |
| Semer      | . | . | . | of Hertford.         |

|           |   |     |              |
|-----------|---|-----|--------------|
| Atsera    | } | . . | of Thetford. |
| Blacera   |   |     |              |
| Godelif   |   |     |              |
| Sumerlide |   |     |              |
| Arcetel   | } | . . | of York.     |
| Iola      |   |     |              |
| Othgrim   |   |     |              |
| Stircol   |   |     |              |

Of the above list, which could be largely increased, one name is strikingly local, and which could have belonged to no other than to a native of the town, and that is SNOTER ON SN (Notts of Nottingham). Here the moneyer actually takes his name from that of his town.

Another less striking instance, but which at the least is a curious coincidence, is the occurrence of the moneyer Wolsey, of Ipswich. A fact attesting the antiquity of the family of the great Cardinal, who was born in the chief town of Suffolk.

The York and Thetford mints present many little peculiarities worthy of study. They both have many uncommon names and there are slight differences of type, and striking amongst others may be cited the singular annulets on the coins of the former town; and I may mention as an instance of the importance of the system of localisation, that it was entirely from the singularity of names peculiar to Thetford that I was enabled to confirm Mr. Evans's suggested attribution to that town of the coins reading  $\text{PIODFO}$ , as the names Atsera, Blacera, Sumerlide, all occur on coins reading both  $\text{DEOTFO}$  and  $\text{PIODFO}$  and on those of no other town.

If we examine the table before referred to with a view to ascertaining whether the towns in which the same name occurs are close together or far removed from one another, the evidence is most conflicting, as a glance at

the following extracted list will show. In some cases the proximity is undeniable, in others they are widely separated from one another.

| Name of Moneyer.  | Towns at which the name occurs.  |
|-------------------|--|
| Estan . . .       | Winchester, Bristol, Worcester.  |
| Leofnoth . . .    | Gloucester, Hereford, Leicester, York.                                 |
| Leofwold . . .    | Ipswich, Winchester.   |
| Leofric . . .     | Stamford, Chester, Warwick, Worcester, Southampton, Norwich, Thetford. |
| Manna . . .       | Canterbury, Lincoln.   |
| Swetman . . .     | London, Oxford, Southampton, Southwark.                                |
| Wicing . . .      | Exeter, Worcester.   |
| Wulnoth . . .     | Southampton and Chester.   |
| Wulfsi (or Wulsi) | London, Wareham, Norwich, Canterbury, Ipswich.                         |
| Wulfric . . .     | Chichester, Lincoln, Hastings, Shaftesbury, Steyning, Rochester.       |
| Wurstan . . .     | Norwich and Wareham.   |

The suggestion put forward by Mr. Sharp in the last number of the Chronicle, that the word ON is an abbreviation of M (ON) ETARIUS seems a most likely proposition, but it does not assist the solution of the other part of the problem which has grown out of the original query as to the meaning of the word, and which, I suppose, must still be left *ad referendum*.

I take this opportunity of stating that I have discovered, through the courtesy of Mr. Læssøe, keeper of the Royal Cabinet at Copenhagen, that the coin figured on Plate X., vol. xvi., No. 9, and which in that volume I referred to "Unknown German, eleventh Century," is a coin of the Emperor Henry II. of Germany (1002—1024), and was minted at Celle, near Dinant, in Belgium. A similar one is figured and described in the *Revue Numismatique Belge* (2nd Ser., vol. vi. Pl. XX. No. 20), and is there attributed to Henry IV.

ERNEST H. WILLETT.



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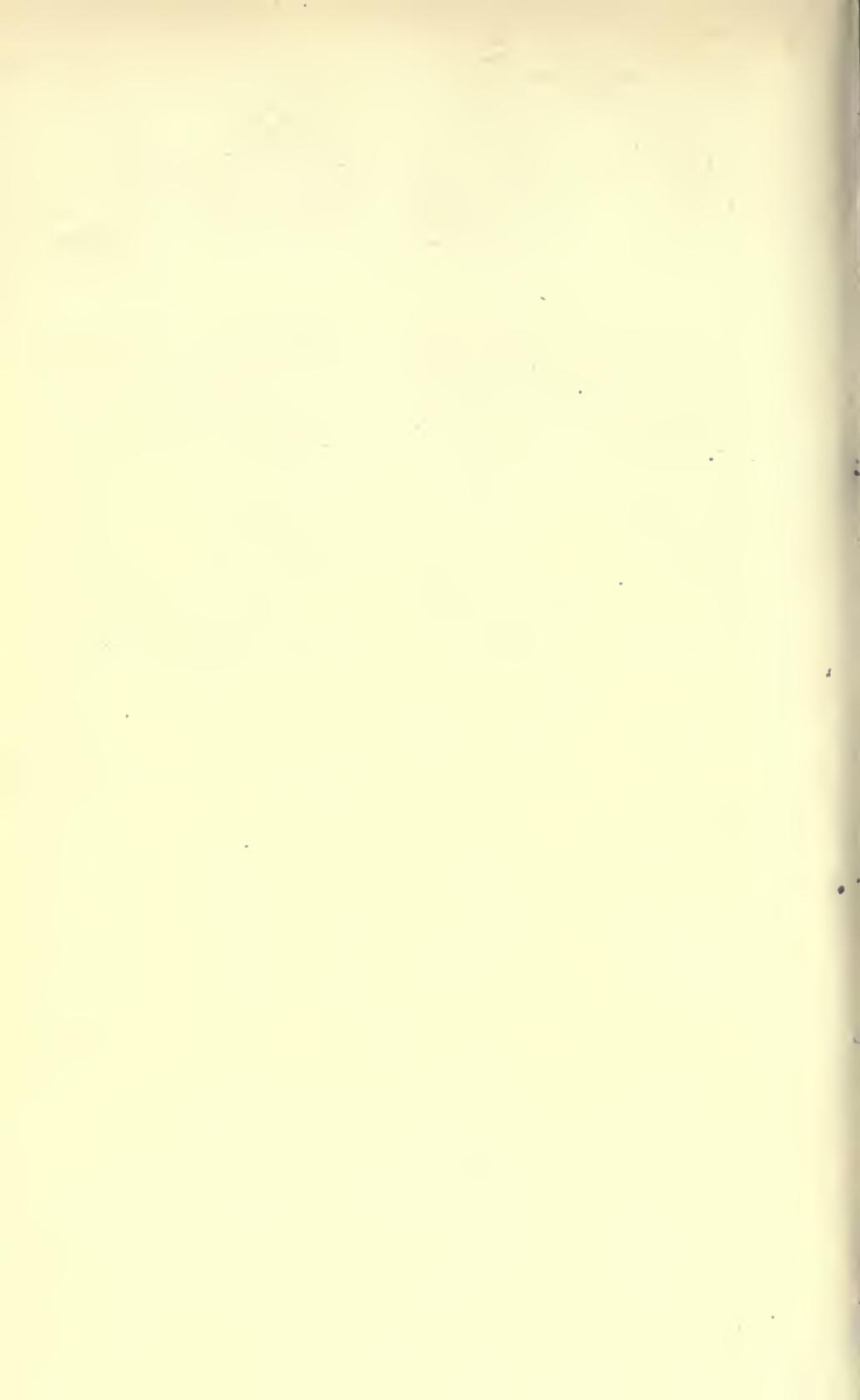
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AR



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## VI.

### COINS OF STEPHEN AND OTHERS FOUND AT NOTTINGHAM.

FROM a variety of circumstances I am led to believe that a description of the find of the Henry and Stephen pennies in this town on the 5th day of January, 1880, would be of interest to the readers of the "Numismatic Chronicle," so that I venture to lay before them the following facts. Some workmen whilst making excavations at the back of old property in Bridlesmith Gate, for larger cellaring in connection with bonded stores, came upon a hoard of pennies of these reigns. Unfortunately they were ignorant of what they had found, and thinking they were only the tops or capsules of bottles, or pieces of tin thickly coated with oxide, commenced throwing them at each other. One man, however, gathered a couple of hundred or more, and sold them to a jeweller close by. Another workman, calling at "The Old Moot Hall" for a glass of something to drink after his day's toil, and speaking openly to the company present of the circumstances, and showing a few specimens to them, it fortunately happened that Mr. John Henry Brown, the son of the proprietor of the house, whose attention had been called, immediately saw what they were, and communicated with the steward of the manor, Samuel George Johnson, Esq., and he at once took steps and secured what he could for our Castle Museum. Numbers, however, got dispersed, and I am told many were carted away in the

sand, and boys set to look it over when deposited, and a trifle given for every one they found. Had it been possible to have secured the whole find, it would in my opinion have added much to our numismatic knowledge, for some rare specimens were discovered; and from those which have been submitted to me or have come under my observation I have now the pleasure of describing the following:—

#### HENRY I.

Type No. 1. One coin as Hawkins 251.

*Obv.*—+H NRI . . . .

*Rev.*—+HOPORD ONORÐI, 17 grs. See Plate III. No. 1.

A careful examination of the reverse shows that the letters, of which a part only is visible, form NORÐI, so that this coin was struck in the Norwich mint. HOPORD was a moneyer at that town under the Williams, and at least twenty-five pennies of the PAXS type of his mintage were present in the great hoard found at Beaworth,<sup>1</sup> Hants.

No. 2. Another coin of Henry I. of the same character as Ruding Supp., Pl. I. 6, and Pt. II. Pl. II. 6.

*Obv.*—+RENRIEVS REX ꝥ.

*Rev.*—+BRAND O EILES. 20 grs. Plate III. No. 2.

This coin is unfortunately cracked. The mint of Chichester is among those mentioned by Ruding, but the name of BRAND does not appear in his list of moneyers.

No. 3. Type of Hawkins, No. 255. Of this type I have seen at least seven specimens. They appear to be all of the London or Norwich mint. One of them is double struck, and weighs twenty grains.

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<sup>1</sup> Archæol., vol. xxvi. p. 12. Ruding, vol. i. p. 156.

## STEPHEN.

The coins of Stephen present in the hoard are more numerous than those of Henry, and some of them, as will be seen, are of peculiar interest, though the general type is by no means uncommon, being that of Hawkins, No. 270.

The most remarkable are some coins of which the obverse die has been intentionally defaced, and of these there are two varieties. In the case of one of these a large cross has been cut in the die reaching to the edge of the coin and defacing the King's head. A coin of this kind has already been published in the "Numismatic Chronicle"<sup>2</sup> by Canon Pownall, F.S.A., who has suggested that such coins were struck under the Empress Maud when for lack of time to engrave fresh dies those of Stephen were used, having been previously defaced in this manner.

Two coins of this peculiar character are shown in the Plate (Nos. 3 and 4), and both seem to have been issued from the Norwich mint, though the legend on the reverse is in neither case entirely legible. They appear to be—

No. 3.—+EDS . . . ON NOR. (17½ grs.) Pl. III. No. 3.

No. 4.—+ . . LAREI? ON: NO. (19½ grs.) Pl. III. No. 4.

In the other variety of coins struck from the defaced dies of Stephen a line has been cut from the edge of the die up to the back of the crown on the King's head, and a cross has been impressed upon his cheek, below which is a pellet. These coins appear to be all of the Nottingham mint—a point of great interest in connection with this find. The moneyer's name is probably Sweyn, though it appears to read SIEIN.

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<sup>2</sup> N.S., vol. ii. p. 189.

An example is shown in No. 5.

*Rev.*—SIEIN ON SNOT. Weight,  $14\frac{1}{2}$  to  $16\frac{1}{2}$  grs.

Two other coins seem to have been defaced, one by having the die of the reverse impressed upon the royal profile, and the other by a defacing cross towards the edge of the coin. This specimen shows a peculiar sceptre on the obverse. The legend on the reverse is almost undecipherable. The mint-town may possibly be Stamford. See Plate III. No. 6.

Of the ordinary coins of Stephen (Hawkins, 270) there were upwards of one hundred and fifty present in the hoard. They were struck by various moneyers and at different mints.

An example is shown in Plate III. No. 7.

*Obv.*—∞TIEFNE.

*Rev.*—+RODBERT ON LV. 19 grains.

This coin does not appear to bear the title REX, and the bust extends to the edge.

Another variety having a small star in front of the sceptre is shown in No. 8. The legends are difficult to read with certainty; but the moneyer's name may possibly be ROBERD. There are annulets in the angles of the cross on the reverse.

In No. 9 is shown another coin with a remarkably large bust occupying nearly the whole field. The place of mintage is uncertain.

On the obverse of another shown in No. 10 the letters NC only are visible. The legend of the reverse is divided by four fleurs-de-lis forming the ends of a cross. The mint town is possibly Lincoln.

*Rev.*—ANDE ——CO ?

## MATILDA.

Among the coins was at least one specimen of the type Hawkins Supp. 634, which seems to have been struck under this empress.

*Obv.*—+ . . . ILDI : IM.

*Rev.*—+SVE : ON : OX. Plate III. No. 11. 16 grs.

Although the type is the same as that of the coin first attributed to Matilda by Mr. Evans<sup>3</sup> this coin was struck at another mint—Oxford. It is to be observed that in a charter dated at that city in 1141, the year of her coronation, she styles herself “Matilda Imperatrix Henrici Regis filia, Domina Anglorum.” Of the rarity of her coins it is needless to speak.

## ROGER, EARL OF WARWICK ?

The hoard also comprised one of the curious coins reading PERERIE on the obverse, but unfortunately in poor condition. It is shown in the Plate No. 12.

Some other coins<sup>4</sup> I have rather doubtfully attributed to Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and Stephen and Matilda, but the legends are by no means distinct. The coins were in most cases much corroded, and the process of cleaning them has no doubt contributed to reduce their weight, which, as will have been observed, is below the average.

JOHN TOPLIS.

8, ARTHUR STREET, NOTTINGHAM.

<sup>3</sup> Num. Chron., vol. xiv. p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> “Old Nottinghamshire,” 1881, p. 102.

## VII.

### DEFACED COINS OF STEPHEN.

THE Numismatic Society has lately received from one of its members, Mr. Toplis, his account of a find of coins, money of Henry I. and Stephen, which, in January, 1880, occurred at the town of Nottingham. My object in this paper is to call attention to some of those belonging to Stephen's reign, if not to Stephen himself; for among them, I am told, thirty-seven of those examined were *defaced coins*, resembling in an important feature one which was described by me in the pages of the "Chronicle" nearly twenty years ago (N.S. vol. ii. p. 189). Until the occurrence of this find that coin of mine stood alone; standing alone, it was to be looked at rather as a curiosity in a cabinet, than as that upon which any one could found anything beyond a few conjectures.

The case seems altered now, when, after deducting Henry I.'s money, a number (approaching one-fourth of those examined) exhibit the head of Stephen defaced, as it is on my coin. I do not say likewise defaced; because in this newly discovered hoard it is to be observed how while as regards all the mode of defacement is the same, as regards about five-and-twenty the cross is a different cross from that which defaces the remainder. That coin of mine was thus described: "A cross has been rudely cut into the die from which it came, causing such deface-



1



2



3



4



5



5



7



8



9



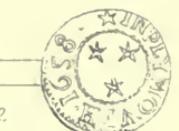
10



11



12



J. J. Lane



ment that Stephen's profile is nearly gone, and the E after FN is run through, or over; a portion of his crown and sceptre is, however, still visible." <sup>1</sup>

What I have now further to remark is this; in the new type of these defaced coins, the intention of those who meddled with the die is more clearly seen than it is on the other. That intention was to get rid of the sight of the King's head as completely as possible, and this riddance has been sufficiently effected by a smaller, shorter cross, not extending to the edges, but only to that part of the field in which lies the head of the King.<sup>2</sup>

This evidence of intention on the part of those who tampered with the royal die goes far to confirm the conjectures advanced in 1862; and more than that, the discovery of such altered coins in number must be held to prove that in reality we have got to deal with a class, and not merely with a coin.

I have taken as a heading for this paper the words "Defaced Coins of Stephen;" but the question may be raised, Does this heading describe the case completely, for can this class in strictness be regarded now as belonging to that king? Considering the circumstances of his reign, to which I shall presently allude, should we not be disregarding suitable numismatic classification, as well as the apparent intention of those who defaced his coinage, were we thus to place them with other coins, the production of Stephen's unaltered dies? Just as the counter-marked Spanish dollar of Charles IV. would be arranged in an English collection with crown pieces of George III.;

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<sup>1</sup> Reference is made to this coin in the new edition of the "Silver Coins of England."

<sup>2</sup> For a more particular description I refer to the descriptive account of the find at p. 37. See Plate III. 5, 6.

and sixpences of Elizabeth, marked with the arms of Zealand, in a Belgian collection would be included with the money of the Low Countries; so it seems to me a place by themselves must be allotted to this class of our twelfth century money; nay, perhaps we must allow ourselves to call it by another name than Stephen's. By whose name? We have no ground at all that I know of for assigning it to the Empress Maude. We have some ground I think for being not content to consider it the money of Stephen's rebellious earls. Is there any for supposing it to be that money of Stephen's successor on the throne, which was known to his contemporaries as *the Duke's money*, or *the Duke's coin*, and of which it has been imagined and asserted hitherto that no examples have come down to us? Quoting a book, accessible to most people, I take this from Leake's "Historical Account of English Money," page 49: "In the month of May, 1149, Henry, the Empress' son (afterwards King Henry II.) coming into England with a great company of chosen Men at Arms and others, many Castles and Strong Holds were delivered, *and he made a new Coin, which was called the Duke's Coin*; and afterwards (I suppose when he was King) the Duke did inhibit the most part of these Coins."<sup>3</sup>

Turning over a few more pages, in his account of Henry II.'s money, Leake says, after referring to the passage just quoted:—"What sort of Money it was we don't know, but it may probably be one of those pieces which are doubtfully ascribed to the two first Henrys."

In Ruding we have a similar account; and at the foot of page 167, vol. i., a note: "Mr. North says, On this coin perhaps is 'Dux instead of Rex.' MS. note to

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<sup>3</sup> Query. Was Nottingham Castle one of these so delivered?

Folkes's Table. No such coin, however, has yet been discovered."

Here it must be at once noticed that Leake speaks of the Duke's money as "a new coin;" for of course it may be argued in answer to my question that the defaced money of Stephen is not new coin at all, but only old coin newly stamped. That is true. Yet Leake evidently took his expression from the chroniclers, and with them it should be remembered how the term *moneta nova* stood for less than it stands for with us. With us the great re-coinages of 1696—97, of 1817, the issue of the bronze money in the present reign, constitute "new money" in our view, without demur; but the coinages of 1156 and 1180 were *moneta nova* in the eyes of the old writers, and who does not know that one of the puzzles for inquirers of our own day has arisen from the difficulty of determining the respective coins of that new money? We believe we know them now, but it requires training of the eye to distinguish one sort from another. This being so, I do not myself expect that "the Duke's money," whenever or wherever it may appear, will be "new money" in our sense of the word, or differ in any marked way from the ordinary currency of Stephen's reign.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> I learn from the late Mr. Sainthill's "Olla Podrida," vol. ii. p. 178, that Hoveden is the authority for this statement of Leake's. Sub anno 1149. "Et fecit monetam novam quam vocabant monetam ducis, et non tantum ipse sed omnes potentes tam episcopi quam comites et barones, suam faciebant monetam. Sed ex quo dux ille venit, plurimorum monetam cassavit." (Vol. i. p. 11, edit. 1868.) After quoting Hoveden's words, Mr. Sainthill added, "If it can be ascertained what towns were in the possession of the Duke of Normandy at this time, and if there are coins of these towns inscribed on the obverse with only 'Henricus,' such coins, at present appropriated to Henry I., may be the 'Duke's money.'"

Let us recollect the situation of Henry, political and personal, at the time this "Duke's money" was struck. In that same year, 1149, he had become Duke of Normandy. It was an intermediate and somewhat ambiguous position, that of his, when he was only Duke and not King. His mother, the Empress, had not as yet withdrawn in his favour her own claims to the crown; though by quitting England finally in 1147 she had withdrawn from all personal assertion of them. I ask, is it not likely that any money struck by Duke Henry in such a juncture will be found to bear on the very face of it some tokens of his peculiar position? He could not call himself King; more than an affront to Stephen, it would have been a slight upon Maude; he would hardly style himself DVX instead of REX, that would have been at least impolitic. The crown, though the subject of contest, was on Stephen's head, and the contesting parties were nicely balanced; he was a Duke indeed, but he was Duke of Normandy, and the sound of that title in the ears of English soldiery would have been like the crack of a whip. As "pieces of necessity" what more likely than that the Duke's money is bare of all titles? Recalling, then, Henry's personal situation only, there is something to be said in favour of this view, with which, too, the very appearance of the defaced regal money is consistent. But recollecting also the critical condition of the times and the exhausted state of the kingdom, what Henry really wanted must have been *ready money*—money readily produced; and to answer his purpose, could anything be produced more readily than this? "Rough and ready" was the mode then as regards the money and a great deal more than the money. To use a common expression, the object of his opponents was to "stamp out" Stephen, and on these coins it was done.

I shall now leave this subject to the judgment of others, but I must add a word or two about the Nottingham find; the weights given by Mr. Toplis of these newly-discovered coins differ widely from that of those which came under the experienced eye of the late Mr. Hawkins. Of the coins of Stephen which he weighed, he was led to say "all his coins appear of the proper weight and standard, though very carelessly struck." Now, the Nottingham coins of Stephen do not appear to average more than  $17\frac{1}{2}$  grains, and some of them come down as low as  $14\frac{1}{2}$  grains. In this respect, while they differ from those known to Mr. Hawkins, they illustrate the fact recorded by another chronicler, who, under the year 1141, wrote as follows: "The King himself (Stephen) was reported to have ordered the weight of the penny, as established in King Henry's time, to be reduced, because, having exhausted the vast treasures of his predecessor, he was unable to provide for the expense of so many soldiers" (Malmesbury).

ASSHETON POWNALL.

## VIII.

### HAVE WE NO IRISH COINS OF EDWARD VI.?

THE question asked and answered by Dr. Aquilla Smith in the Numismatic Chronicle (N.S. vol. xix. p. 177) leads on to another. Was there a mint working in Ireland in the reign of Edward VI. ? and further, if there was, how is it we are said not to possess at this time any coins of his which can be attributed to Ireland? We possess Irish coins of his father, Henry VIII., although there was no Irish mint at work in Henry's time. And we are supposed to have no Irish coins of King Edward, though it can be shown that in his reign the mint in Dublin was at work.

This subject shall be approached, after drawing together some notices of the Dublin mint which occur in the Irish series of State Papers of that period.<sup>1</sup>

These notices sketch graphically for us the difficulties in Ireland which had to be surmounted before the currency was rectified, the distress of the whole people consequent upon those difficulties, and the fruitless efforts made there throughout Edward's reign to get things right.

It was not until his father's last year, namely, on the 24th of September, 1546, that the establishment of a mint in Ireland was approved, "with the like establishment

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<sup>1</sup> Calendar of State Papers (Irish Series). Hamilton. 1509—1573. London, 1860.

of officers as in the English mint." (State Papers, vol. iii. p. 581, quoted Num. Chron. N.S. vol. xix. p. 178.)

On the 28th of January, 1547, Henry died, and in the second year of his successor (1548), "Sir Edward Bellyngham, Lord Justice, by the King's command erected a mint in the castle" of Dublin.

This we are told in Ruding.<sup>1</sup> I do not consider we are to understand from it that the Irish mint began thenceforth to coin money; because, together with this statement we must read another, which is to be found in a note in the first volume (p. 318), and the information it affords conflicts with any such idea. It is an extract from entries in the books of the Privy Council, "dated at Westminster, the viii day of July, 1550," and runs thus:— "For as much as the kinge's maties continuall chardges in Ireland did drawe the coine of this realme awaye, consideringe moreovere that without erecting a minte there, those charges might ill be borne; it was not only *agreed that the minte should be sett up againe*, but also that it should be lett out to farme for xij monthes at the conditions followinge" ("Archæologia," vol. xviii. p. 137.)

Now, had the first of these statements implied more than it says; that is, had we been obliged to conclude from it that the active working of this revived mint commenced in Edward's second year, then I do not see how we could understand the last statement, which relates how this occurred in his fourth year. From some of the abstracts of the State Papers which I am about to give, it is quite clear that money of some kind was to be got out of the mint as early as November, 1548; but it does not follow that it was money which had been produced in the

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<sup>1</sup> "Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain," vol. ii. p. 224.

mint. More probably it was money brought there, as to a place of security, to meet the King's "chardges." So understanding these passages, then Irish minted money of Edward VI. (if it exists) is to be looked for among his coins of a date later than July, 1550.

From causes which perhaps may be divined, the newly erected mint, and the bullion brought to the mint, were not placed under the control of Bellyngham. This displeased him; he was now Lord Deputy, and his displeasure found expression in the remonstrance which forms the subject of a letter "to my Lord Great Master, John Duddelay, Earl of Warwick" (an enclosure in a letter from the Lord Deputy to the Protector Somerset). In answer to his Lordship's letter, touching the exemption of the mint from Bellyngham's rule, "he reckons he should be privy to the King's treasure in the mint, or in any other place in Ireland. He has neither bought house, land, fee, nor office, diced nor carded, nor otherwise lasciviously and riotously spent, nor unworthily given, the King's treasure, nor yet hidden nor lent what he has remaining." And then (by way of contrast, I suppose) he names one Agard, or Agar, as "having spent £2,000 of the Bristol coin which he brought over to his own use, besides the £1,000 delivered to him for bullion." This letter is dated November 22, 1548, and is, as I have said, the first notice we find in the calendar of State Papers concerning the Dublin mint. The second occurs in March of the following year, 1549, in the form of a complaint to the Lord Deputy, from Harry Coldwell, "graver of the mint at Dublin," to this effect—"he has not one iron to sink, in his office, at the present hour."

In December Lord Deputy Bellyngham made room for Sir Anthony Sentleger, who had held the office once

before. Sentleger appears to have resumed it with good intentions, as far as the mint was concerned—for “*the mynes to be wrought and the mint continued,*” were among his “remembrances fore Ireland.” These mines were silver mines at Clonmines, Co. Wexford, and became as vexatious to all concerned in working them as ever mines were. The Lord Deputy’s first step was to send to Derbyshire for “miners and smelters,” with a view of trying what ore might be got out of them. This was in September, 1550. Early in the following year, February, 1551, we find him, like his predecessor, urging that “he is restrained from receipt of money out of the mint in Ireland;” but there is nothing even as yet to show that he is speaking of money *actually coined there*. His first remonstrance is quickly followed by another (March): “he has been ordered to prepare to furnish Cork and Kinsale, and yet he is restrained from having money from the mint.” Again, in May, a third, signed by part of the Council as well as the Lord Deputy, notifies “the arrival of 1,000 soldiers from Bristol and 120 pioneers, but they are much distressed for money to pay them,”—“the Master is so destitute of bullyon that he has not wherewithal to pay his ordinary charges;”—that, “though there be here presently an honest substance of woore (ore) drawn in the mynes, which we think wolde make a good masse of bullyon, yet forasmuch as we be not authorized for the assay thereof we forbearc to put in use, otherwise than the labouring for more woore.” The much desired relief is, however, obtained from England. Three months previously, that is to say in February, there was a report from Martin Pirri, detailing to the Privy Council the particulars of his journey from Holyhead to Dublin, in conveying bullion and treasure; together with a statc-

ment of the account of £7,273 18s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. delivered to the warrant of Deputy Sentleger, and *coined from the 1st of October to the 31st of January*. If then we are not to look for Edward's Irish money upon coins of his struck before July, 1550, clearly we are entitled to look for it among his coins struck after that date; for we have not only the above report of Pirri's, but also at that time, that is to say, *in May, 1551*, there appears among the State Papers, "*A note of money due to the King out of such as has been coined in the castle of Dublin, being £7,273 18s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. and £5,372 6s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.*" It is signed by the Lord Deputy, Chancellor Cusake, and others, and is accompanied by "a Declaration of the monthly charges of officers' and miners' wages employed in the King's mines." Although we do not ascertain from this important paper all that we should like to know, it certainly does give us that precise information, and it gives dates. On June 1st Lord Deputy is superseded; he had fallen under the displeasure of the Court, and his important office is filled by Sir James Croft.<sup>2</sup>

Within three months of Croft's assuming office, there is mention made of a further sum sent him by the King, £16,000, the coinage of which is intrusted to Pirri.<sup>3</sup>

Lord Deputy Croft felt more strongly than his prede-

<sup>2</sup> From Bishop Burnet's "History of the Reformation" (iii. 332) it seems that by the Archbishop of Dublin complaint had been made against Croft of some high words which he had used. He was, however, acquitted and restored to favour, as we learn under the King's own hand ("King Edward's Journal of his own Reign," December, 1551, June, 1552).

<sup>3</sup> Pirri is repeatedly named in the King's Journal, and in these papers. When things are amiss, either in the Mint or at the mines, Pirri is the good Genius whose wand is to put them straight. In a later agreement with the King to coin money, he is described as "Martin Pirri, Esquire, of London." The initial of his surname occurs as a mint mark on some of the threepences of Henry VIII.'s seventh coinage, 1544—45. Was it his initial which appears upon the coin?

cessors in office the hardship of the position into which Ireland had fallen through its bastard currency. His remonstrances do credit to his feeling. "The present state of dearth is to be wondered at; everything that was worth one penny is now worth four, and yet of all things there is a reasonable plenty," he says in the month of August. In November, writing to the Duke of Northumberland, he draws his Grace's attention "to the great misery, by reason of the bad state of the currency; he knows not why this realm should have worse money than England." Moved by the vigour of his representations, the King and Privy Council resolve to act; first of all, there is a promise to send Pirri shortly, "with a device for the improvement of the currency to a better proportion in fineness;" and, secondly, an inquiry shall be made. Croft is ordered to consult the Irish Council and other wise men, for the regulation of the Standard—" (i) Whether it be expedient that the King's money current in Ireland should be of such value as that in England; and (ii) Whether it be profitable for the King but not for the people; or, for the people, but not for the King." Inquiry is also to be made about the mines. We then come to a Report of Deputy Croft's (likewise addressed to the Duke of Northumberland), which is dated December 22; and therefore it is subsequent to the re-coinage in England of fine silver. This Report is remarkable in several ways. He is of opinion that "the same reason that persuaded the (English) Council to make the money fine in England should serve for Ireland and other realms;" then (after touching other points) he proceeds to argue that "money is for none other use but for exchange, and should be taken for the value proclaimed. . . . It followeth not we sholde esteme anything otherwyse than reason wolde we did esteme it. . . . Yf we wolde use leade to make armour, or edged tooles, our

labour were in wayne. Yf we sholde use iron to make monney, it wolde . . . . ruste, canker, break, and be fylthie."

We cannot fail to remark, at this point, a change in the Lord Deputy's complaints. It is no longer that money is not received, but this—that he receives nothing except debased money, money so debased that its purchasing power is seriously diminished. Having noted this, we may leave him to finish his tale.

The year 1552 opens with a reiteration of these complaints, for in January again the Lord Deputy addresses the Privy Council. On the 26th, when sending his deliberate answer to the instructions brought over by Thomas Wood relative to the coin and currency of Ireland, he assures them—"The baseness of the coin causeth universal dearth, increaseth ydleness, decayeth nobilitie, one of the principall kayes of a commonwelthe, and bringeth magistrates in contempt and hatred of the people." "The Commonwelthe now in decay will never be restored till fine monies be set forth as they be in all other realms." He encloses in his letter, "A Common Supplication from the Lord Deputy and Council, with the rest of the nobility, gentlemen and merchants, and divers others the King's subjects to the Privy Council." This supplication sets forth that the universal dearth of all things risen in Ireland is attributable to the money as "the furste and principall cawse; without remedye thereof yt is thought almoste ympossible to sett a staye;" and it concludes with a petition that the money of Ireland be like that of England. In March he is writing to the Marquis of Winchester,<sup>1</sup> and his letter gives curious particulars as to

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<sup>1</sup> William, Earl of Wiltshire, was created Marquis of Winchester, October, 1550.

the excessive price to which commodities had risen—quickly risen. The measure of corn that was wont to be at 2 or 3 shillings, and at Croft's coming at 6s. 8d., is now at 30s.; and then he adds quaintly, "The Yrishmen are in the best case, for he hath least nede of money; he careth only for his bealy, and that not delicately. . . . We that are stypendaries must live upon our stypends, and by with our money, which no man estemithe." This, however, is not all. He tells the Council plainly, in his next letter (April 16), "the clamour of the poor artificers who live in townes, and are reduced to extreme hunger by means of the great scarcity, soundeth continually in my ears." The occasion of this distress, this extraordinary rise of prices, makes me suspect that the degradation of the money was greater now than any known before, greater than any which any indentures point to.

Again Croft's incessant appeals were listened to by the King and Council, and the Lord Deputy is told in reply that "Pirri is to be sent to Ireland for the mines;" and then, in a despatch of June 10th, a Commission is appointed to him, as under-treasurer of the mint, and to Oliver Daubeny, controller, William Williams, assay master, to coin certain moneys for Ireland. (Referred to in the King's Journal, under the date June 10, 1552.)

Whether anything came out of this Commission or not, we have no evidence in these notices to prove. The scene shifts now to the mines, and while it offers no improvement in the prospect, it discloses to our view squabbling officials, plundering as well as blundering.

The Derbyshire miners sent for by Sentleger appear to have been replaced, after a few months' trial, by some Germans, in July, 1551; and, passing on to the month of February, 1552, we come upon two notices affecting them and their

work. One is "a note of the silver and lead ore gotten at Clomyne, and molten at Ross;" the other is a damaging report from "Robert Record, surveyor of the mines," to the Privy Council; he says (under the date February 28th), "The wastes of the Almain miners in their washings, roastings, meltings, and finings are excessive. English and Irish men can better skill of that work than Almains can. He hopes to save £2,000 yearly, till the mines can be sunk deeper, and then the hope is of much greater gains. The King's charges at this hour are above £260 every month, and the gains not above £40, so his Majesty loses £220 monthly." I am afraid his accusation of waste against the miners did not exculpate himself; at least, it appears that Record becomes the object of attack in "a brief certificate" dated the same month, exhibited by one Gerrard Harman. So far from thinking ill of the Germans, Harman "imputes the decay of the mines to the ill conduct of Record" himself; and, while he declares "the mines to be very rich, profitable, and commodious, he complains of the wilfulness, pride, presumption, and covetousness of Dr. Robert Record." This counter-charge receives support from a paper which comes before us a little later, and appears to be the report of one of the accused "Almains." After speaking thus of the state of the mines, "many of our folk have fallen sick, and three are dead for lack of victuals," Joachim Gundelfinger then tacks on to the report his own complaint against Mr. Record. The remaining notices indicate a determination on the part of the authorities to wind up the whole business. On June 13th instructions are sent to Williams, Brabazon, and another, to "view and survey Clonmines, where the Almains have wrought, and to take an account of the melting, fining, and assaying the produce and charges of

the same." This was the beginning of the end. For next comes, in August, "a book of check of the Almain miners from the commencement of their work, 17 July, 1551, till 1 August, 1552, at Clonmines and Ross," together with "a Declaration of the state of the mines, taken by Sir Edward North, Sir John Mason, Sir James Croft, and Sir Martin Bower," by which is shown how *the King's profit was only £474*; while his charges amount to £3478 15s. 1d., "besides £2,000 paid to the Almaines before they wrought a day."

I do not think it necessary to add anything more about the mines in Wexford. Enough has been produced to demonstrate the worthless nature of the mining operations there, and how it came to pass that the reconstituted mint in Dublin languished and decayed. King Edward died on the 6th of July, 1553, and with his death expires our interest in these notices of the contents of the Irish State Papers, so far as any present purpose is concerned.

Sum up their net results, and it is evident that something is now to be added to our stock of information about the Irish mint. Abstracts, as these calendared papers are, they sketch for us a view of it which we did not obtain in the pages of Simon and Lindsay. We learned from those writers that the mint was in operation, and gradually decayed;<sup>1</sup> but here we learn, besides the names of the mint officials, one or two important facts of distinct usefulness when we approach the question at the head of this paper. Recorded in these notices we have both the value of certain specified sums paid into the mint as bullion and withdrawn as coin, together with the exact period which the operation

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<sup>1</sup> "After a while, for want of bullion, by little and little the work decayed" (Simon, "Essay on Irish Coins," p. 84). This appears to be a quotation from Ware.

of coining occupied as regards one of those amounts. We have recorded in them the exact period in Edward's reign to which we may reasonably look, in the expectation of meeting with examples of his Irish mint. This is so much gain. Several things, however, we are not told. We are not told the depth of degradation to which the Irish currency was carried, nor the marks which separated one issue from another. On these points we have no information in the State Papers; considering the state of the mint, have we the right to look for it? But, even as the case stands, are we to believe that none of this money so produced is to be recognised now? Certainly, from such evidence as came before him forty years ago, Mr. Lindsay's conclusion was to that effect. "It is, I think, certain that money was struck in Ireland in this king's reign; none has, however, hitherto been discovered." ("A View of the Coinage of Ireland," p. 51.)

Since Mr. Lindsay's book was published, I do not think a different opinion has been advanced; it is therefore my wish to direct attention by this paper to certain coins of Edward VI., already known to numismatists, and to state my reasons for believing that in them we possess the Irish money of Edward VI. Among the mint marks of his reign, described by various writers, is "the harp." It would be strange indeed if money so marked were English, yet English it has apparently been considered. For example, we have this mark on a testoon figured in Ruding, (Suppl. Pl. IV. 30) without any apparent suspicion that it is an Irish coin. It is described simply—

*Obv.*—EDW . . D VI AGL FRA HIB R . . M.M. a  
harp.

*Rev.*— . . MO . . OMINI . . . SVI . . . DLI. Shield as  
No. 28, but without the letters at the sides.

Again, a testoon with this mint mark was sold at Sir Henry Ellis's sale (May, 1869), with other coins in lot 88, and was thus catalogued: "One with MDLII., and without E. R. on the reverse. m. m. harp. *Very rare.*"

Three such testoons are in my collection. These are only latten, and do not even look as if they had been washed with silver, as do some of Edward's base testoons. One of them weighs  $74\frac{3}{4}$  grains (the required weight being 80), and it reads,—

*Obv.*—EDWꝚRD : VI : D : G : ꝚGL : FRꝚN : Z : ꝒB : RÆ }  
 m.m. "harp" on obv. and rev.

*Rev.*—TIMOR : DOMINI : FONS : VITÆ : Ω : DLII  
 E.R. on either side of shield.

Another likewise reads FRꝚN, has m. m. "harp," on obverse and reverse, and otherwise corresponds, except that it has no letters at the side of the shield, weighs only 48 grains, and is holed. The third weighs as much as 93 grains. Two more are in the collection of the President of the Numismatic Society; and there is another of this class in the British Museum, referred to in both editions of the "Silver Coins of England," but in both one edition and the other the mint mark has been mistaken. In the last edition it is thus described (p. 289) under the date MDLII.: "We have also m. m. obverse 'Y.' reverse 'Rose,'<sup>4</sup> FRAN, instead of FRA. (M.B). It is not easy to account for this date on a base shilling, as the money of fine silver was certainly in circulation in the preceding year." These words also occur in the first edition. The mint mark on the obverse in reality is the "harp." Now when we take into account all that had passed in Edward's reign about a restoration of the coinage, if we are compelled to suppose there were in that year two concurrent issues in

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<sup>4</sup> Note the combination of these two marks in this coin; and observe that this class commonly reads FRAN, instead of FRA.

England, one of base, the other of fine testoons, the surprise felt by Mr. Hawkins was only natural; but detach those base testoons from the English money of the same date, class them with Irish coins, and nothing to occasion surprise remains.<sup>5</sup> Comparing them with Henry VIII.'s seventh coinage for Ireland (1544—45), in which the harp is used, as a mint mark, not as a device as on the "harpe groats" (Simon, Pl. V. 100, 101, 102); comparing them with the Irish shilling and sixpence of Elizabeth, which likewise bear as a mint mark the harp (Simon, Pl. VI. 118, 119)—why should not we do this?

Moreover, there is a distinction to be observed in these base testoons of 1551—52, unnoticed hitherto, which is important to observe, because at once it separates them from the earlier side-faced testoons of Edward's second coinage (1549), and allies them in appearance with his fine silver money, as also with the early Irish coins of his successor. That distinction lies in the alphabet employed; on the testoons in question it is in part Roman, but in part it is Lombardic. This, I say, has escaped notice. In Ruding's plate, already referred to, the coin itself in this respect seems to have been correctly engraved; but when we come to the description of it in the letterpress (vol. ii. 374) the characters are changed to those entirely Roman,—and that is not the alphabet used upon the coin. This Lombardic lettering on the debased side-faced testoons of 1551—52 separates them from the

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<sup>5</sup> The coinage of fine silver commenced in the autumn of 1551. The harp-marked testoons were in use, as appears from the dates upon them, not only in 1551, but also in 1552; that is to say, at the very time when Lord Deputy Croft was complaining of the great misery by reason of the bad state of the currency, and entreating the Council to grant fine money as in England.

earlier testoons of 1549, with purely Roman lettering, as clearly as the metallic difference separates the base money from the fine; it enables us to assert that side by side with the great issue of standard silver in 1551—52 there was running another issue of a standard about which we lack authentic information. For what purpose was this base issue? Was it for use in England? No one will affirm that. The commission for the great recoinage of 1551 is not supposed to exist, but no one can imagine it authorised another coinage than that of the full-faced shillings of fine silver. Knowing all we do know of the common practice of the Crown before and after Edward's reign, is it unreasonable to consider that this debased currency of 1551—52, which so ran out side by side with the restored standard silver, was meant for circulation in Ireland? I am afraid anything was thought good enough for Ireland.

It may be said that this opinion gets no assistance from certain documents quoted by Ruding, for in one of the most important of this period (the Proclamation of Elizabeth of September 27, 1560) these testoons with "the harp" are named; and the passage taken by itself appears to treat them as only English. It names them among the basest, it prescribes their reduced value, it puts them by themselves in a class with certain others; it certainly does not call them Irish. "Her Majesty did therefore by proclamation reduce the said base coins as near to their value as might be, viz. . . . . excepting the testoons marked in the uppermost part in the border thereof with one of the four marks, viz. a lion, a rose, a harp, a flower-de-luce, which were not above a sixth part of the said base testoons, but which were so base and full of copper (as was easy to be seen and understood), and differed so

much in value from all the rest of the base testoons, that they could not without great inconvenience to the realm, by reason of the number of counterfeiters, bear any convenient or like value as the others did; and therefore it was commanded that the testoons with such marks should from that time be taken as current at twopence farthing and no more, being as much as they were proved to contain in value." (Ruding, vol. i. p. 333.)

Now, allowing that we have nothing on the surface of this Proclamation to prove that these were other than English coins, yet below the surface lies a fact which must not be missed, for its bearing on the case is direct. Three out of four of the testoons so named, so culled from the rest on account of their being "base and full of copper," actually bear, as mint marks, *the very marks impressed upon unquestioned Irish money of the preceding reign*. The "harp" was borne on Henry VIII.'s seventh coinage (1544—45); the "lis" and the "rose" upon his sixth. Writing of that coinage (Numismatic Chronicle, N.S. lxxv. p. 170), Dr. Aquilla Smith says, "The fleur-de-lis and rose mint marks, which occur on his English money, now first appear on his Irish coins." I suppose they appeared then first, because through Henry's assumption of the regal title, HIBERNIÆ REX, then first had Ireland become a part of the Kingdom, in a sense it had not been before; so the "rose" and "lis" marks, which hitherto had been English only, might now be used also for Ireland.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> In the "Silver Coins of England" it is said that the testoons marked with the "rose" were coined at Durham House, in the Strand. Those marked with the "lion" appear to be the rarest. Indeed it is stated in Ruding (vol. ii. p. 374) they have never occurred. Upon this I would observe that at

Before replying to the question raised by the title of this paper, I have asked you to observe (i) that among the coins of Edward VI. are some, which, placed amongst his English money, appear to be misplaced. Of the same date as the re-coinage of fine silver, they do not belong to it; nor have we any evidence suggesting the idea, that issuing from his English mints in 1551 were two coinages, one base and the other fine. (ii) That at the very time when the English mint was sending out its fine silver, the Irish mint was issuing money of a quality so base as to make it the subject of repeated official remonstrance. (iii) That base pieces of the date in question (1551—52) undoubtedly exist, and are readily disconnected from the English base pieces of earlier date by the character of the lettering, as they are from the contemporary English coin by the character of the metal. (iv) That belonging as they do to the very period in Edward's reign when all Ireland was exclaiming against the debased currency, these base moneys bear mint marks which, in the preceding and succeeding reigns, are the mint marks of moneys indisputably Irish.

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the sale of Colonel Durrant's coins (April, 1847), lot 419 contained one; it was dated 1551, and I have noted one among Mr. Evans's collection at Nash Mills. It is in poor condition, and must have been one of the earliest issued of this class. Dated MDL, it will belong therefore to coins issued after July in that year. The lettering is Roman. I go on to hazard a conjecture that York and not Dublin was the place of mintage for such. It will be remembered that the "lion passant" was the mark on Charles I. half-crowns and shillings struck there; and also it was at York, as well as Canterbury, that a portion of the small base money for England continued to be struck in Edward VI.'s reign, while the larger pieces of fine silver were issuing from the London mints. The lion is found among Elizabeth's mint marks in 1566—67; not elsewhere, I think.

Observe also I am not asserting that the "lion" is proved to be an Irish mark, nor even of the "lis," the "rose," and the "harp," that all coins so marked were minted at Dublin. That some were minted there I entertain no doubt,—the very strongest probability attaching to those with the "harp" mint mark.

Such are the facts and such are the arguments which occur to me in this case. If I seem drawn irresistibly to the conclusion that in these coins we possess the Irish money of King Edward VI., I wish not to forget how the decision rather belongs to numismatists on the other side of St. George's Channel, of such eminence as Dr. Aquilla Smith enjoys amongst us.

ASSHETON POWNALL.

## MISCELLANEA.

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NOTE UPON "PENNY OF CNUT THE GREAT: A RECTIFICATION."

*Letter from Prof. C. F. Herbst to John Evans, Esq., Pres. of the Num. Soc.*

COPENHAGEN, 28th April, 1881.

IN my letter to Henry W. Henfrey, Esq., which appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. xx. pp. 226—231, a couple of misapprehensions have unfortunately crept in which I feel myself called upon to put right. My letter was translated into English for me by my friend Professor George Stephens, of the University of Copenhagen, a born Englishman. It exactly expressed my meaning, but without my knowledge or consent it has been in several places altered by Mr. Henfrey. I have no doubt that in so doing Mr. Henfrey intended nothing but benevolence to me, and I care very little for such small changes—however uncalled for—in general; but a couple of these are so serious that I am compelled to protest against them.

At p. 227, line 16 from above, in the sentence "dates only from the time of Cnut the Saint," the word "only" is added. This I did not write. At p. 228, line 5 from above, we read, "of the reign of Cnut the Saint," instead of my own words, "from the time of Cnut the Saint." These two changes I entirely disallow. I purposely used the expression, "from the time of Cnut the Saint," and at p. 228, lines 24—28, I say, in agreement herewith, "that I can give no satisfactory answer upon the pertinent question, how the piece can belong to Cnut the Saint." But on the same page I have stated the grounds which convinced me that the coin is "from the time of Cnut the Saint," not "from the time of Cnut the Great." Mr. Henfrey has given no direct reasons in opposition hereto in the answer he appended to my letter; and I am persuaded that every numismatist, familiar with the English and Danish coins of the eleventh century, will acknowledge the validity of the arguments I have advanced.

At p. 232 Mr. Henfrey characterizes the three examples of puzzling pieces I have given as being "blundered;" at the same time he asserts, in opposition to me, that Mr. Brice's penny is "exceedingly well struck," and not at all "blundered." I cannot understand by what right he makes this curious dis-

tion, for the three coins mentioned by me are as "well struck" and apparently as little "blundered" as the penny of Mr. Brice himself. In case, as a consequence of the likeness of this piece to the cited coin of Edward the Confessor ("Num. Chron.," vol. xvi. Pl. XII. No. 7), he assumes Mr. Brice's penny to have been struck in the last years of this king's reign, and for him, and that the moneyer carelessly put LNV T as the King's name instead of EDPARD, he will find it to be exactly parallel with the Swedish piece described by me at p. 230, lines 3—6, on which LNV T is carelessly engraved instead of ANYND.

My great object was to show that the coin in question could not be "struck by King Cnut the Great, as assumed by the English numismatists," but must be about fifty years later; and this I expressed by the words that it "dates from the time of Cnut the Saint, as Thomsen thought" (p. 227, lines 15—17)—Cnut the Saint being the second Danish king of that name in the eleventh century. I used this expression on purpose, because I would be cautious, and because I cannot prove that the piece is from this particular king. But on the ground that the coinage of money in England was an institution centuries old and well consolidated, and that in the long series of English coins we scarcely find any example of such extraordinary riddles as that on Mr. Brice's penny; while, on the other hand, such riddles not seldom occur on coins struck in Scandinavia, where coining money was comparatively new and little consolidated, I willingly admit that I am inclined to believe this piece, in spite of its REX AN and NORPI, to be really Danish; and, as far as we can judge from its size, type, style, and royal name, from the *reign* of Cnut the Saint.

Believe me, &c.,

C. F. HEREST.

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## NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Band. VIII. Heft. I.—II., contains the following articles:—

1. J. Friedlaender. The acquisitions of the royal coin-cabinet from April to December, 1879. Two more important collections have been added to the rapidly increasing treasures at Berlin: first, the unrivalled collection of nearly ten thousand mediæval coins, formed by the late Dr. H. Grote, of Hanover; and secondly, the exquisite Collection of Roman Imperial medallions and coins from the cabinet of our countryman, Captain Sandes.

The Grote collection, consisting for the most part of German coins of the Early Middle Ages, finds doubtless its natural resting-place in the capital of the German Empire. We cannot, however, abstain from expressing our regret that the Sandes collection should have been lost to our own national Museum. This is now the third remarkable collection formed by an officer in the English army which has passed into the Berlin Museum, those of General Fox and Colonel Guthrie being the two others.

Nevertheless, although we deplore the loss to England of so many priceless treasures, we are aware that in Germany they will be appreciated by a cultured and intelligent people at their full value; while the very fact that our own Governments, whether Liberal or Conservative (for there is nothing to choose between them in this respect), are placidly content to see the national coin-cabinet beaten out of the market, and gradually losing its position among the European museums, and all for lack of a few hundred pounds more a year, is amply sufficient to prove that the English people, and even our ruling class, are lamentably ignorant on the subject of numismatics, and quite unaware that coins have any value except as the merest curiosities. The fact that coins are sometimes the most valuable, always the most exact, as well as the most permanent, and often, indeed, the only historical documents which have been handed down to us from remote antiquity, our English educated public has yet to learn. But to return to Dr. Friedlaender's article. The gem of the Sandes collection is the famous silver medallion of Julia Domna, a unique coin, in magnificent preservation. It once belonged to Lord Northwick, and fetched at the Northwick sale nearly £300.

Among the other purchases made by Berlin during the year are the following :—

An octadrachm of Alexander I. of Macedon, and a decadrachm of Alexander the Great, which is said to be finer than either the English or the French specimen of that rare coin.

Eleven gold staters of Ptolemy Soter, all of one type, the quadriga of elephants, and varying only in their monograms.

Dr. Friedlaender has also acquired—not by purchase but by exchange (a process of improving a cabinet which our own Museum might adopt with advantage)—the fine and rare coin of Pheneus, in Arcadia, of the type of Hermes carrying the boy Arcas; and the rare variety of the tetradrachm of Amphipolis, *Rev.*, torch within a wreath.

On a *hecte* of Asia Minor, also recently acquired, is on one side a head of Hera, and on the other a comic mask, also representing Hera. This leads Dr. Friedlaender into a disquisition on the comic symbols and adjuncts on Greek coins, and into a discussion on the subject of the types occurring on electrum *hectæ*, which he rightly declines to accept as the types of cities, but takes to be simply due to the choice or whim of the die engraver. May they not be rather the signets or badges of the officers in charge of the mints?

In the mediæval series, beside the Grote collection the Berlin cabinet has purchased two remarkable gold coins of the Merovingian kings—Childeric II., 668—673, and Childebert III., 694—711, both struck at Marseilles; also a curious Irish penny, which Dr. Friedlaender attributes to King Anlaf V., 1029—1034, the successor of Sigtric III., the *obv.* of which reads EANLF EVNMLH, the *reverse* being copied from an English coin struck by Ealdred on Exeter.

2. v. Graba. On Saint Maurice or St. Denys on Bracteates.

3. Th. Mommsen. On the names of the Emperor Balbinus.

4. J. Naue. On the portrait of Alexander on coins of Lysimachus. In this interesting paper the writer gives good reasons for supposing that the heads of Alexander on certain tetradrachms of Lysimachus are actually engraved by Lysippus' own hand.

5. A. Klügmann. On moneymen's names on Roman Republican denarii.

6. H. Riggauer. Eros on coins.

7. R. Weil. Asklepios and Hygieia on coins of Bizya, in Thrace.

8. A. von Sallet. Nymphodorus of Abdera, circ. B.C. 430. A tetradrachm of the usual type, with the name of this magistrate on the reverse, has led Dr. v. Sallet to identify it with the

Nymphodorus, who is mentioned by Thucydides (ii. 29) and Herodotus (vii. 137) as a powerful citizen of Abdera, connected by marriage with Sitalces, King of Thrace, and appointed their Proxenos by the Athenians.

9. A. v. Sallet. On the Successors of Alexander the Great in Bactria and India. Second supplement.

10. A. v. Sallet. On a sixteenth-century medal by Giovanni Cavino, having on the *obr.* a head of Christ and the inscription PORVS CONSILII FILIVS. The key to this hitherto unexplained inscription Dr. v. Sallet has discovered in a passage of Plato (Symp. 203 b.c.), where mention is made of a mythological personage called Πόρος, "*the Way*," the son of Μηρίς, "*Counsel*," and Zeus. This Poros, married to Penia, "*Poverty*," begat Eros, "*Love*." Plato's myth, according to Dr. v. Sallet, has been seized upon by Cavino as a beautiful and poetic prophecy of Christ.

11. A. v. Sallet. A letter of Eckhel's.

12. F. Bardt. The Frankfort-on-Oder Find, consisting of silver groschen of Frederic II., Elector of Brandenburg.

13. F. van Vleuten. On the Bonn Find of eleventh-century coins of the Archbishops of Cologne, Anno II., 1037—73; Hiltolf, 1075—79; Sigewin, 1079—89; and Herman III. (?), 1089—99, &c.

14. F. von Vleuten. On a silver medallion of Gordian III., found near Bonn, having on the reverse AEQVITAS AVGVSTA, and the three Monetæ.

Band VIII. Heft. III., contains the following articles:—

1. H. Dannenberg. On the coinage of Brandenburg.

2. H. Dannenberg. On a Find at Seydel, near Manow, in 1878, consisting of over 2,000 coins of Pomerania and Brandenburg of the fifteenth and early years of the sixteenth century.

3. H. Dannenberg. On the Bünstorf Find of Bracteates. Supplement.

4. A. v. Sallet. Tobias Wolf, the Breslau goldsmith.

5. A. v. Sallet. On Kamnaskires and his Dynasty. The result of Dr. v. Sallet's inquiry in this field is, that Kamnaskires was not a king of Parthia, but of a small neighbouring State, either independent or tributary to Syria or Parthia, the date of his coins being b.c. 83—81. The writer conjectures that Kamnaskires was preceded in his dominions by a king named Arsaces, of whom there is a remarkable tetradrachm in the Prokesch collection (Berlin), with the well-known Seleucid type, Apollo seated on the Omphalos.

6. A. y. Sallet. On the coins of the Kings of Characene. The list of these kings, and their dates, is as follows:—

|                    |                         |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Hyspaosines . . .  | B.C. 124.               |
| Apodacus . . .     | B.C. 109.               |
| Tiræus . . .       | B.C. 60—51 or 54.       |
| Attambelus I. . .  | B.C. 29 or 27 — A.D. 5. |
| Abinerglus . . .   | A.D. 9.                 |
| Adinerglus . . .   | A.D. 21.                |
| Attambelus II. . . | A.D. 51—60.             |
| Theonneses . . .   | A.D. 109—119 or 122.    |
| Attambelus IV. . . | No coins.               |
| Attambelus V. . .  |                         |
| Artabazus . . .    | No coins.               |

7. J. Friedländer. Letters of Eckhel.

8. J. Friedländer. Lamia.—A reply to Professor Gardner's note in "Num. Chron.," Part 74, p. 268, in which he maintained his attribution of the portrait on the coins of the town of Lamia as being that of Lamia, the Hetaera of Demetrius Poliorcetes, against Dr. Friedländer, who takes it to be a head of Apollo.

In the *Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique* for 1878, 1879, and 1880, the following are some of the principal articles:—

On the changes in the doctrine of money, and the practical consequences of such changes in antiquity, by F. Lenormant.

In this remarkable paper, which has since been incorporated by the author in his latest numismatic work, "La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité," tome iii.,<sup>1</sup> the writer traces the theory of money in ancient Greece and Rome, and shows how the Greeks, the inventors of the use of money, were imbued with the only true theory as to its character of real merchandise, and how we find in no one of the Greek writers of the autonomous period any trace of the baneful theory which treats gold and silver coins merely as conventional signs of value, subject to the will of the sovereign or of the State. Turning from Greece and Rome, M. Lenormant tells us that neither the coins nor the records indicate any mistaken notions on the subject of money during the flourishing ages of the Republic. The Flaminian law, passed when Hannibal was at the gates of Rome, was the first which gave to money a conventional value which it could not command as merchandise. This temporary measure, adopted in a time of pressure to recruit an exhausted treasury, was the fatal precedent upon which was based the false theory that a legislative decision was sufficient to fix the value of the metallic specie.

<sup>1</sup> The notice here given is extracted from a review of the third volume of M. Lenormant's work which we contributed to the *Athenæum*, Sept. 6, 1879.

This theory henceforth became one of the dogmas of the new aristocratic party, and against it the democrats protested in vain. Marius Gratidianus, in the eyes of this party, committed a heinous crime in assailing the right of the State to depreciate the currency, and on this account Sulla visited him with cruel retribution. The Cæsarean despotism restored for a time the public credit by issuing good money; but Augustus and his successors had absolute control over the gold and silver coinage, and before many years adulteration commenced, and went on increasing until the systematic alterations in the coinage by Imperial orders produced such confusion as was scarcely equalled in the most disastrous years of the fourteenth century.

M. E. Gariel contributes two articles, one on a Paris denier of Charles le Mauvais, the other on the Classification of the Coins of the Carolingian dynasty.

M. Aloiss Heiss has also two papers on two bronze medals, by Francis Laurana, one being of Jeanne de Laval, second wife of René d'Anjou, King of Sicily, 1461, the other representing Triboulet, one of the Court Fools of the same monarch.

M. le Vicomte Ponton d'Amécourt contributes two short papers on the types of the Praying Angel, and the Star on Merovingian coins.

M. F. de Sauley on an unpublished coin of Philip the Tetrarch.

M. E. Caron on the Corbie Find, consisting chiefly of coins of Picardy, struck at Amiens and Corbie in the reign of Louis VI., 1108—37.

The remainder of the volume is occupied almost entirely with descriptions of the various collections of coins exhibited at the International Exhibition of 1878.

#### THE BRITISH MUSEUM COIN ROOM.

While most of the other great Museums of Europe are busy enriching their collections, the custodians of our own Medal Room are throwing all their strength into cataloguing. The catalogue of Greek coins has now reached a fifth volume, Macedonia, by Mr. B. V. Head; and the sixth, consisting of the coins of the Ptolemies, by Mr. R. S. Poole, is now in the press; the seventh, by Prof. Gardner, Thessaly, Epirus, &c., is also in an advanced state; while Mr. Head is already at work upon the eighth, Loeris, Phocis, Bœotia, &c. It will be remembered that the volumes already published of this catalogue are—(i.) Italy, (ii.) Sicily, (iii.) Thrace, (iv.) Seleucidæ, (v.) Macedon.

When this great work has been brought to a completion, which can hardly be for another ten years at the least, it will

form a nucleus for a universal *corpus* of Greek coins, for by that time it may be hoped that Paris, Berlin, Munich, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, may also have begun to catalogue their collections on the same system. It is hopeless to expect a complete *corpus* of Greek coins before the contents of every great cabinet have been minutely and accurately described.

The catalogue of the Roman coins in the British Museum has not progressed beyond Mr. Grueber's volume of Roman medallions.

The Oriental series, on the other hand, has already extended to six volumes, this portion being compiled by Mr. Lane-Poole.

All these catalogues are now illustrated by the autotype process, by the adoption of which in the place of woodcuts a large reduction in the price has been effected.

In addition to this work of classifying and cataloguing, time has also been found to do something for the non-numismatic public, by way of introducing them to the study of coins. A good beginning in this direction has been made, first, by exhibiting extensive selections of coins and medals of various classes in the public galleries, and next, by the publication of cheap hand-books or guides. Of these, Mr. Head's chronological Guide to Greek Coins was the first. This little book, which was illustrated by seven excellent autotype plates containing figures of about eighty coins, had a rapid sale, and though published less than a year ago is now out of print. A second edition is, however, in progress, which promises to be even more popular than its predecessor, for instead of seven plates, the new Guide will have seventy, the number of coins represented on these plates being no less than 800. It is to be brought out in ten consecutive parts at half-a-crown each. Part I., which is just out, contains the coins of the archaic period; Part II. will illustrate those of the transitional style; Part III., the coins of the period of finest art, &c., &c.; an instalment of the seventy plates accompanying each part.

Fully as popular among a different class of collectors will be the new Guide to English Medals, by Mr. Grueber, ranging from the reign of Edward VI. to the battle of Waterloo. This is a book which contains an immense mass of information which may be sought for in vain elsewhere.

The same may be said of Mr. Keary's Guide to the Italian Medals of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which will be simply invaluable to all who are interested in *cinque cento* art, and in the history of the great Italian families. Each of these little guides, like that to the Greek coins, will be accompanied by seven autotype plates, and sold for half-a-crown.

## IX.

### ON SOME UNPUBLISHED COINS OF ATHENS AND ONE OF ELEUSIS.

THERE is hardly any class of Greek coins—except, perhaps, the beautiful series of Sicily—that may be regarded as better known than those of Athens. The exhaustive work of M. Beulé, published in 1858,<sup>1</sup> contained a complete review of all that was known upon the subject, and a catalogue of even the minutest varieties in all the different collections of Europe. Hardly any additions have since been made to the series. To the ordinary collector, indeed, the coins of Athens offer but little attraction. They are not remarkable for artistic design or beauty of execution; while, with the exception of the later copper coinage, they present scarcely any variety of type. The later tetradrachms, indeed, present a very numerous series of magistrates' names, but these are, unfortunately, for the most part unknown from history or inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> and cannot be arranged otherwise than in alphabetical order. It may, therefore, not be without interest to the society if I com-

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<sup>1</sup> *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, 4to. Paris, 1858.

<sup>2</sup> The few exceptions, such as the series with the names of Micion and Eurycleides, and those with Apollicon, Aristion, and the royal name of Mithridates himself, are too isolated to afford us any material assistance. They are, however, valuable as criterions of style.

municate to them a few additional varieties not contained in M. Beulé's work, together with some supplementary notes on the series already published by him.

All collectors are familiar with the fact that there exist two wholly different classes of Athenian silver coins, having nothing in common but the general type, which in both cases alike presents on the obverse the head of the tutelary deity of the city, Pallas Athena, and on the reverse her favourite attendant, the owl.<sup>3</sup> It is certainly a curious circumstance in the history of art, that the coins of the former class, which display no kind of pretension to artistic merit or improvement of design, but on the contrary retain a conventional and almost unvarying style, should belong, as they unquestionably do, to the most flourishing period of Athenian art; and that they continued, with scarcely any change, from the time of Pericles and Phidias to that of Alexander the Great.

The cause of this singular persistence in the style and treatment of the type once established, is undoubtedly to be found in the reputation that the Athenian coinage had obtained from an early period for purity of standard and correctness of weight. We have no account of the period at which the silver mines of Laurium, in Attica, were first worked, but we know from the contemporary testimony of Æschylus that they were in full operation as early as the Persian war (B.C. 480), and had already attained to such importance that the poet speaks of them as "a fount

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<sup>3</sup> It may be interesting to those who have not visited Athens to mention that the sacred owl of Pallas Athena—which is not any of the kinds commonly known in this country, but the Little Owl (*Strix passerina*) of naturalists—though common throughout Greece and the Levant, is nowhere more abundant than at Athens, and especially in the Acropolis and the precincts of the Parthenon.

of silver, the treasure of the land," and ascribes the wealth of Athens to its possession of this resource.<sup>4</sup> The extensive diffusion of the "Lauriotic owls," as the Athenian tetradrachms were familiarly termed,<sup>5</sup> at this early period, is further attested by the fact that a recent "find" of silver coins in the south of Italy contained several Athenian tetradrachms of the earliest style, associated with coins of Rhegium and other cities that unquestionably belong to the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Aristophanes, writing before the end of the Peloponnesian war, speaks of "the old coins" of Athens "as the only ones which were correctly struck and duly tested for purity, and universally regarded, both among Greeks and barbarians, as the most perfect of all money."<sup>6</sup>

It would naturally happen, however, that before the Athenian coinage acquired the remarkable fixity of style and character which distinguished it for more than a century, there would be considerable variation of design in the details, while the principal types underwent no alteration. Accordingly, we find that the earliest coins of the Athenian series,<sup>7</sup> though presenting always the same

<sup>4</sup> AT. καὶ τί πρὸς τούτοισιν ἄλλο. πλόντος ἐξαρκῆς δόμοις ;  
 XO. ἀργύρου πῆγη τις αὐτοῖς ἐστι, θησαυρὸς χθονός.  
*Persæ*, v. 238.

<sup>5</sup> γλαῦκες Λαυριωτικάί.—Aristophanis, *Aves*, v. 1106.

<sup>6</sup> οὔτε γὰρ τούτοισιν οὔσιν ὄν κεκιβδηλευμένοι,  
 ἀλλὰ καλλίστοις ἀπάντων, ὡς δοκεῖ, νομισμάτων,  
 καὶ μόνοις ὀρθῶς κοπέεισι καὶ κεκωδωνισμένοι  
 ἔν τε τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖς βαρβάρουσι πανταχοῦ  
 χρώμεθ' οὐδέν.  
 Aristophanis, *Ranæ*, v. 725.

<sup>7</sup> I am speaking here only of the coins with Athenian types. The question whether those with the Gorgon's head, and other types, figured by M. Beulé (at pp. 19, 23, and 25), are really to be assigned to Athens, or, as appears to me much more probable, to the different cities of Eubœa, is one on which I do not propose to enter in this place.

types and even the same arrangement of details, vary considerably more in character than those of the succeeding period, from which they are readily distinguished by the more archaic style of design, as well as the more irregular and unequal execution. Some specimens of these earlier coins are extremely well figured by M. Beulé at p. 35 of his invaluable work; but he has scarcely done justice to this part of his subject, and might with advantage have given figures of several other varieties, which, though not marked by any important differences, afford evidences of the comparative fluctuation and irregularity of design in the period preceding that when the coinage had settled down into the precise form that it permanently assumed.<sup>8</sup> I have therefore thought it worth while to figure a very remarkable coin belonging to this class, which was formerly in the cabinet of the late Mr. W. R. Hamilton, and is now in my possession (Pl. IV. fig. 1). It differs materially—as a glance at the figure will show better than any description—from any of those represented by M. Beulé. The bold archaic character of the head of Pallas on the obverse contrasts singularly with the imperfect execution of the reverse, on which not only are the letters **AOE** and the sprig of olive very indistinctly marked, but even the legs of the owl (usually made much more prominent than they would really be) are so slightly represented as to look almost as if the engraver had in the first instance forgotten them altogether, and only added them as an afterthought.

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<sup>8</sup> It is a sufficient proof of the remarkable fixity of the type once established, during this long period, that we uniformly find the little sprig of olive (consisting only of two leaves and a berry) maintaining the same place, in the left-hand corner of the field of the reverse, with a crescent immediately in front of it. On the obverse, also, three leaves of olive and a spiral form the unvarying ornament of the helmet of Athena.

A more remarkable peculiarity will be found in the following coin, which is, so far as I know, entirely unpublished.

*Obv.*—Head of Pallas, to the right, of archaic style, with the ægis knotted around her neck, and two serpents proceeding from it, one in front and the other behind, with their heads erect and their mouths open.

*Rev.*—Owl standing, to the right, within an impressed square: a sprig of olive in front, and the legend **ΑΘΕ** in archaic characters in the angle behind the head of the owl.

Size 6. Wt. 259 grs. Pl. IV. fig. 2.

The style of work and character of the head on this remarkable coin differ materially from those of any other example of this class of coins which has come under my observation. The helmet is, indeed, adorned with a spiral just above the ear, as is found also in several of those figured by M. Beulé, while the hair falls in long curled locks over the forehead and cheeks, a fashion also found on other coins of this archaic series. But on this coin, as well as on that last described, the three olive leaves are wanting on the helmet, which (as observed by M. Beulé) subsequently became its characteristic ornament for a period of more than two centuries.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, it differs from some of the earliest tetradrachms in not having that peculiarly large round eye, which gives so singular a character to the physiognomy of the goddess, and which is not found, I think, to the same degree in any other class of archaic Greek coins.

But the chief peculiarity which gives a special interest to the coin in question is the introduction of the ægis

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<sup>9</sup> Beulé, p. 37. See preceding note.

as forming a collar round the neck of the goddess, with the two serpents proceeding from it; an addition that is, so far as I have observed, wholly unknown on the silver coinage of Athens, and is, indeed, very rarely found on Greek coins of an early period at all. The ægis is, however, introduced in the usual form, as an ornament on the breast of the goddess, upon some of the later copper coins of Athens; but these belong to the period of the Roman Empire. On the present coin, as is so often the case with archaic works of art, it is rather indicated than represented, the body of the ægis being reduced to a mere collar around the neck, the meaning of which would not be suspected but for the two serpents that proceed from it.

I purchased this coin in 1861, at Thebes, from an Athenian coin dealer, who had just been making a tour through the villages of Bœotia, in the course of which, in addition to this interesting tetradrachm, he had procured the fine coin of Haliartus (with the legend **APIAPTION**) that was afterwards sold in England in November, 1861, at the sale of Mr. Merlin's coins. I had subsequently an opportunity of showing it to the Baron Prokesch Osten, who had enjoyed almost unrivalled opportunities of collecting Athenian coins during his long residence in the Levant, but he had never seen a similar specimen.

Before passing to the later coins of Athens, it may be worth while to mention that I possess a very well preserved specimen of the *didrachm* of the usual style, or middle period of the coinage. The extreme rarity of this denomination is well known. Baron Prokesch Osten, indeed (writing in 1854), speaks of only four specimens as then known to him. That in my collection is precisely similar to the one figured in the Museum Hunterianum,

and is probably from the same die; the two agreeing in the minute peculiarity of having one of the two leaves of olive on the reverse stamped on the border of the incuse square instead of within it. Another coin of the same period, the rarity of which is, perhaps, overlooked in consequence of its extreme smallness, is a tetartemorion, or fourth part of an obolus, the minutest of all Athenian coins, having only a sprig of olive on the reverse instead of the crescent, which is the customary symbol on these tiny coins.<sup>10</sup> Both Colonel Leake and Baron Prokesch Osten, who have bestowed especial attention upon these minute subdivisions of Athenian silver coinage, notice only the crescent as the characteristic type of this, the lowest denomination of all. M. Beulé alone recognises the two varieties. After enumerating the subdivisions of the obolus, he says: "Enfin le tartémorion, ou quart d'obole, a un seul croissant. Parfois, *mais cela est très rare*, une pousse d'olivier remplace le croissant" (p. 54). On the next page he gives a very accurate figure of this little coin. It is worthy of notice that neither on his figure nor on my specimen are the letters **AOE** found, which invariably occur on the coins of similar denomination with the crescent. Probably the engraver found it impossible to introduce them from want of space; and this circumstance may possibly have led to the change of type and the adoption of the crescent, which afforded more space in the field in which to insert the three letters.

I come now to the coins of the later style, the general characters of which are too well known to collectors, as

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<sup>10</sup> The specimen in my collection weighs only two grains and three tenths. There is none in the British Museum.

well as numismatists, to require a detailed description. It is remarkable that so complete a transition from the one class to the other appears to have been made abruptly, and must therefore, without doubt, have coincided with some marked change in the political circumstances and situation of Athens. But we are, nevertheless, unable to determine with any approach to certainty the exact date at which it took place. M. Beulé, indeed, has attempted to prove that this change was connected with the settlement of affairs at Athens that ensued after the Lamian war and the death of Alexander (B.C. 323). But it must be confessed that his arguments are very inconclusive. At the same time, there is every reason to believe that the alteration may be referred to *about* this period, or the interval from the death of Alexander to the visit of Demetrius Poliorcetes to Athens, when the number of the Athenian tribes was raised from ten to twelve, and other changes were made in the constitution (B.C. 303).

It must be borne in mind that though Athens enjoyed no real freedom after the time of Alexander, she always retained her nominal independence and municipal liberty down to the time of Augustus, and even under the Roman Empire. The right of striking silver coins, however, certainly was withdrawn from her after the settlement of the Empire under Augustus, when this privilege was limited to a very small number of cities. It may probably have ceased at a somewhat earlier period, but of this there is no proof. The latest tetradrachms to which a date can be assigned on any satisfactory grounds are those struck under the temporary dominion of Mithridates, B.C. 88; and the attempt of M. Beulé to attribute the series bearing the names of Karaichos and Ergokleides to the time of the triumvir M. Antonius (about B.C. 60) has certainly very

little to recommend it. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the coins of the time of Mithridates are really the last of the series; and, on the whole, it may fairly be assumed that this latest class of the Athenian coinage continued to be struck during a period of at least two hundred and fifty years.

We cannot therefore wonder at the great number and variety of the coins transmitted to us bearing the names of magistrates, most of whom were probably changed every year, some of them even at shorter intervals; and the classification and arrangement of these later coins undoubtedly form the most valuable part of M. Beulé's elaborate work. So diligently, indeed, has he collected and catalogued all the varieties accessible to him, whether in public or private collections, that it is extremely difficult to make any important additions to their number. He has described in all ninety different series, or what may be termed principal varieties, each characterized by a different pair of magistrates' names, which are found in the great majority of cases to be constant, while the third name is changed, in some instances as often as twelve times, frequently as much as five or six. It may be regarded as a proof of the comparative completeness of our knowledge of the Athenian coinage, that out of more than a hundred and twenty tetradrachms of this class in my collection—selected with considerable care, and in great part since the publication of M. Beulé's work—I am only able to add *one* new series, in which the names of the leading magistrates are different, while in five other cases the name of a new *third* magistrate is associated with two others that are already known.

On the other hand, the rarity of the smaller denominations of this later coinage—the drachms and

hemidrachms—as compared with the abundance of tetradrachms, is certainly a remarkable fact. But it is probable that this is owing, in part at least, to the greater amount of degradation to which such small pieces are always liable, so that the magistrates' names would be rapidly effaced, and coins in this condition are not usually preserved in collections. There can be little doubt that if more attention were paid to these smaller coins the number of varieties would be materially increased. It is a sufficient proof of this that out of the small number of them in my own cabinet, considerably more than half are not to be found in M. Beulé's work.

I proceed to describe the one tetradrachm in my possession, which belongs to a series wholly different from any of those described by M. Beulé.

*Obv.*—Head of Pallas of later style, with helmet ornamented as usual on the coins of this class.

*Rev.*—Owl standing on amphora: in the field to right Bacchus standing, full front, holding a thyrsus in his left hand, and a cantharus in his right. The magistrates' names **ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ . ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ** are both written at full, with no third name: the letter on the amphora is **A**: those beneath too indistinct to be legible.

Wt. 250½ grs. Pl. IV. fig. 3.

The coin is very well preserved, though in great part coated with a black oxide, and both the legend and the standing figure are perfectly distinct.

Both the magistrates' names are found on coins of other series, though not in combination with one another. That of Dionysius, indeed, is so common that no inference at all can be drawn from it; that of Mnasagoras, on the other hand, is not a name of frequent occurrence, but is found on another series of tetradrachms, associated with that of

Aropos as first magistrate, and with six different varieties of the third name (*see* Beulé, p. 222). It may be observed that the execution of the head of Athena on the coin I am now describing is decidedly of that ruder and slightly barbarous character which is found on the later series, such as those of Apellicon and Aristion, both of which can be assigned with certainty to the time of Mithridates; and those of Aropos and Mnasagoras present the same style of execution and character of head. It is therefore not improbable that the name of Mnasagoras may in both cases belong to the same individual, while the other coins with the name of Dionysius, which form a numerous series,<sup>11</sup> are of a very superior style of art, and doubtless belong to a much earlier period.<sup>12</sup>

There is, however, a difficulty in supposing the Mnasagoras on the two coins to be the same magistrate, arising from the difference in the accessory figure, which on those with the names of Aropos and Mnasagoras is Cupid or Eros, in a wholly different attitude from that of Bacchus on the coin I am discussing. Now, according to the rule observed by M. Beulé, which certainly is generally true, the accessory symbol belongs to the second magistrate of the three, and ought, therefore, to be the same in both

<sup>11</sup> Beulé, p. 264. They are associated with no less than twelve names of third magistrates.

<sup>12</sup> While M. Beulé admits the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of arranging the coins of this class according to the style of their execution, there is no doubt that certain groups present marked characteristics, by which they may be referred to the later and declining period of art, in the first century B.C., while others may be unquestionably assigned to an earlier period, when art was more flourishing, and some pains were taken to apply it to the coinage, notwithstanding the conventional character which always continued to distinguish it.

cases. This rule is not, however, without exceptions;<sup>13</sup> and it appears not improbable that Mnasagoras, if appointed a second time to the charge of the mint, under a different colleague, and perhaps after an interval of some years, may have chosen a different official symbol. The figure of Bacchus or Dionysus would seem at first sight to refer rather to the name of the first magistrate, Dionysius; but no reliance can be placed upon this connection, as on the earlier series of coins, on which both the first and second magistrates bear the name of Dionysius, the accessory figure (the rising sun in a quadriga) has no immediate reference to the worship of Dionysus.

Next to the coin just described, that of most interest among the tetradrachms of this later style in my possession, is unquestionably one which bears the name of Mithridates the king, and must have been struck as a memorial of his short-lived domination over Athens and the adjoining parts of Greece. Though not unpublished, its rarity, as well as its special historical interest, entitle it to a separate notice in this place. Until within a few years only two specimens of this remarkable coin were known, and, by a singular accident, both were in this country—the one in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, the other in the British Museum. But a few years ago (I believe in 1875) a few specimens were found at Athens, associated with tetradrachms of Mithridates of the ordinary type, and I was fortunately able to secure the specimen now in my collection. It is somewhat obscured by oxide, but is otherwise

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<sup>13</sup> Thus the series with the names of Eumareides and Cleomenes retains the same symbol with that of Eumareides and Aleidamas: that of Metrodorus and Miltiades is continued also by Metrodorus and Demosthenes: and the same thing occurs in several other cases.

well preserved, especially on the reverse, and the legend perfectly distinct. It differs from the specimen in the British Museum, which is that figured by Beulé, only in having the letter A on the amphora instead of B; the letters below the amphora are illegible from oxidation. But as it presents some other slight variations from M. Beulé's figure, the only one, I believe, which exists, for that in the Hunter Museum was unfortunately not figured by Combe, I have thought it worth while to add a description and figure of the specimen in my cabinet (Pl. IV. fig. 4).

*Obv.*—Head of Pallas, as usual, much resembling in style the coins of Apellicon and Aristion.

*Rev.*—Owl standing on amphora: in field to right, a star or sun between two crescents: the legend ΑΘΕ .  
**ΒΑΣΙΛΕ . ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ . ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ .**  
 on the amphora A. Letters beneath it illegible.

Every numismatist will remember that the star and crescent are the ordinary accessory on the coins of Mithridates VI., and they are in all probability inserted on the present coin as a symbol suitable to accompany his name, just as his deputy and vicegerent Aristion inserted on the tetradrachms bearing his own name the pegasus, which is found on the earlier coins of Mithridates. M. Beulé indeed supposes this symbol to be of Athenian origin, and that it was derived from them by the King of Pontus: a supposition that appears to me to be altogether improbable. Among other reasons it may be observed that the combined sun and moon are found as an accessory symbol on *all* the extant coins of Mithridates, whether with the pegasus or stag on the reverse, and it is certain that some of these were coined prior to the year 88, when he established his temporary dominion at Athens.

I now subjoin a list of the Athenian tetradrachms of this

later class in my possession, which differ from those already published by M. Beulé, either by having a different name of the third magistrate, or only a different letter on the amphora, or still more frequently different letters beneath it. The number of these varieties is indeed extraordinary. While the principal series, as has been already observed, are not very numerous, and it is difficult to add to the number of those already known, the subordinate varieties are almost endless, and notwithstanding the diligence with which they have been catalogued by M. Beulé, every large collection will be found to contain a considerable number not included in his lists. The addition of these trifling varieties may indeed appear of little interest ; but it is only by thus bringing them all together that we can justly appreciate the extraordinary copiousness of the Athenian coinage.

The number of varieties still remaining to be discovered would indeed be enormously great, if we were bound to accept M. Beulé's suggestion that there were probably, *in all cases*, not less than *twelve* varieties of the third name, with *twelve* corresponding letters on the amphora (independent of those beneath it) for every pair of principal names, or what may be regarded as distinct series. But it may be safely affirmed that this supposition rests on no adequate foundations, and is based on the assumption of a degree of symmetry and regularity in the arrangements of the Athenian mint, of which there is no evidence, and which in many instances is at variance with the facts of the case, so far as they are known to us.

|   |      |                  |             |
|---|------|------------------|-------------|
| ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ . ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ . ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ[ΔΗΣ] .         | with | Γ on amphora and | ME beneath. |
| ΕΥΠΟΛΕ[ΜΟΣ]                                 | "    | "                | ΠΕ .        |
| ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ . ΝΙΚΟΓ[ΕΝΗΣ] . ΝΙΚΩΝ . Η .        | "    | Κ (?)            | ΜΕ          |
| _____                                       | "    | Β (?)            | ΣΩ          |
| * ΚΑΡΑΙΧΟΣ . ΑΓΑΘΑ                          | "    | Κ .              | ΣΩ          |
| ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ . ΦΙΛΩΝ . ΘΕΟ[ΔΩΡΟΣ]               | "    | Ε                | ΠΕ          |
| ΑΡΧΙΤΙΜΟΣ . ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ[ΟΣ]                     | "    | Θ                | ΔΙ (?)      |
| * ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙ[ΟΣ] . ΔΙΟΓΕ[ΝΗΣ] . ΣΑΤΥ[ΡΟΣ]     | "    | Λ                | ΜΕ          |
| ΔΑΜΩΝ . ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ . ΘΕΟΔΩΡ[ΟΣ]             | "    | Ε (?)            | ΑΠ          |
| * ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ . ΑΓΑΘΙΠΠΟΣ . [Π]ΟΛΥ            | "    | Ε (?)            | ΜΗ .        |
| ΔΗΜΗ[ΤΡΙΟΣ] . ΙΕΡΩ[Ν]                       | "    | (?)              | ΜΗ .        |
| ΕΥΜΗΛΟΣ . ΚΑΛΛΙΦΩΝ . ΔΙΟΚ[ΛΗΣ]              | "    | Δ                | ΜΗ .        |
| _____ ΗΡΑ[ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ]                          | "    | Λ                | ΣΦ .        |
| ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ[ΔΗΣ] . ΑΡΙΑΡΑ[ΦΗΣ] . ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ[ΔΗΣ]  | "    | Θ                | ΜΕ .        |
| _____ ΚΑΛΛΙ[ΑΣ]                             | "    | Ν .              | ΜΕ .        |
| ΖΩΙΛΟΣ . ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ . ΖΩΙΛΟΣ                  | "    | Θ                | ΣΟ          |
| ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ . ΕΥΚΛΗΣ . ΔΙΟΚ[ΛΗΣ]             | "    | Ν .              | ΜΕ .        |
| ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ[ΚΛΗΣ] . ΘΕΟΠΟΜ[ΠΟΣ] . ΦΙΛΩΝΙ[ΔΗΣ] . | "    | Α                | ΜΕ          |
| _____ ΑΡΙΣΤΟ[ΚΛΗΣ]                          | "    | (?)              | ΜΕ .        |
| ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ . ΚΛΕΑΣ . ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ[ΟΣ]               | "    | Γ .              | ΠΡ .        |
| ΛΥΣΑΝ[ΔΡΟΣ] . ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ . ΑΘΗΝΟΒΙ[ΟΣ]         | "    | Ι .              | ΣΦ .        |
| ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ . ΜΙΛΤΙΑΔΗΣ . ΑΝΤΙΦΑΝΗΣ .        | "    | Α                | ΜΕ .        |
| _____ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝ[ΗΣ] . ΣΜΙΚΥΘ[ΟΣ]             | "    | Μ .              | ΜΕ .        |
| ΜΙΚΙ[ΩΝ] . ΘΕΟΦΡΑ[ΣΤΟΣ]                     | "    | Η .              | ΑΡ .        |
| ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ . ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ[ΟΣ] . ΕΜΒΙ[ΟΣ]            | "    | Θ                | ΠΕ          |
| _____ ΜΕΝΕ[ΔΗΜΟΣ ?] .                       | "    | Γ                | —           |
| ΝΙΚΟΓΕΝΗΣ . ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ . ΚΑΛΛΙΘΕΟΣ .        | "    | Κ .              | ΔΙ .        |
| _____                                       | "    | Λ                | ΣΤ          |
| ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ . ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ .                      | "    | Ε                | ΠΡ .        |
| ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ . ΑΛΚΕΤΗΣ . ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ .              | "    | Α                | ΜΕ .        |
| * ΠΟΛΥΧΑΡΜ[ΟΣ] . ΝΙΚΟΓ[ΕΝΗΣ] . ΦΙΛΟΔ .      | "    | Γ                | ΜΕ .        |
| _____ ΚΑΡΑΙΧΟΥ                              | "    | Κ                | ΣΦ .-       |
| * ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ . ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩ[ΡΟΣ] . ΑΘΗΝΙ[ΩΝ]     | "    | Ε                | ΣΦ .        |
| _____                                       | "    | "                | "           |

In the five series marked with an asterisk, the third name is a new one. The abbreviated forms can only be filled up by conjecture, and though this has been generally done by M. Beulé, it is hardly worth while. ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ may, however, safely be supplied. The third new name (following Demetrios and Agathippos) in all probability begins with ΠΟΛΥ, though the Π is off the coin, but there are comparatively few proper names which begin with ΟΛΥ, while those with ΠΟΛΥ are very numerous.

The name of ΚΑΡΑΙΧΟΥ on the last series but one is perfectly distinct, and affords another instance of the use of the genitive case, which is remarked by M. Beulé as a peculiar anomaly in the case of the series which begins with ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ.

It will be observed that in two cases the letter on the amphora is Ν, in both instances quite distinct; though according to M. Beulé's supposition that these letters refer to the twelve Athenian tribes, the highest ought to be Μ. But these exceptions are so rare that they probably arise merely from accidental error on the part of the engraver.

I now proceed to enumerate the drachms and hemi-drachm in my cabinet which are not found in the work of M. Beulé.

ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ . ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ . (no third name).  
 ΔΙΟΤΙΜΟΣ . ΜΑΓΑΣ . ΜΥΣΚΕ[ΛΛΟΣ]  
 ΕΥΜΑΡ[ΕΙΔΗΣ] . ΑΛΚΙ[ΔΑΜΑΣ] . ΘΟΙ[ΝΙΟΝ]  
 beneath the amphora ΜΕ.  
 ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡ[ΟΣ] . ΔΗΜΟΣΘ[ΕΝΗΣ] . ΚΑΛ  
 beneath the amphora ΜΕ.  
 ΠΟΛΥΧΑΡΜ . ΝΙΚΟΓ . ΦΙΛΟ . on amphora Γ.  
 ΤΙΜΑΡΧ[ΟΥ] . ΝΙΚΑ[ΓΟΡΑΣ] . ΣΩΣΙ[ΓΕΝΗΣ]  
 ————— . ΑΡΧ[ΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ] . hemi-  
 drachm.

We have here five examples of drachms, and one hemi-drachm, hitherto unpublished, but belonging to series

already known from the tetradrachms; one which furnishes a third magistrate's name, Myskellus (?), not previously known; while the fifth in the list has the name of Philo—corresponding to the Philod of the same series, which appears in the above list of tetradrachms, but is not found in Beulé.

Before quitting the subject of the Athenian coinage, I may take the opportunity to mention a little coin, hitherto, I believe, unpublished, belonging to the neighbouring town of Eleusis. It is well known that though in historical times Eleusis was wholly dependent upon Athens, and was in fact only a demos of Attica, it enjoyed the privilege of coining in its own name small copper coins, which are found in considerable quantities. These, as might be expected, bear types with a distinct reference to the worship of the goddess Demeter, to whose temple Eleusis was indebted for all its celebrity. But they present in other respects little variety or interest; the type of the obverse being uniformly the figure of Demeter or Trip-tolemus,<sup>14</sup> seated in a winged car, drawn by two serpents, and on the reverse the sacrificial pig, which was the victim peculiarly appropriated to the goddess.

The following coin, however, presents a wholly different type:—

*Obv.*—Female head, with long hair (Demeter or the Cora ?) to the right.

*Rev.*—A vase of the peculiar form known as the *plemochoë*: above, the legend ΕΛΕΥΣΙ: the whole in a wreath formed by two ears of corn.

Æ. size 2½. Pl. IV. fig. 5.

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<sup>14</sup> The seated figure is commonly described as Demeter or Ceres (see the Museum Hunterianum, Mionnet, &c.); but on some of the best preserved specimens it is undoubtedly a *malæ*

A vase of similar form is found on some of the copper coins of Athens itself, and appears as an accessory on several of the series of tetradrachms with magistrates' names.<sup>15</sup> I must refer my readers to M. Beulé's work<sup>16</sup> for the reasons which have induced the learned author to identify it with the vase termed *plemochoë* (πλημοχόη), which is described by Pollux, Hesychius, and Athenæus, and is particularly stated to be one "employed in the sacred rites on the last day of the mysteries at Eleusis."<sup>17</sup> This circumstance adds a special interest to its appearance on a coin of Eleusis.

I obtained this little coin at Athens as far back as 1861 ; but it has remained, so far as I am aware, unpublished during this interval. I have since seen a second specimen (now in the British Museum), but in poor preservation, while mine is well preserved, and both the type and legend perfectly distinct.

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figure, and must therefore be taken to represent Triptolemus, rather than the goddess herself.

<sup>15</sup> See Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, pp. 154, 192, 344.

The copper coins with the *plemochoë* on the reverse, of which several varieties are figured in the Museum Hunterianum, are erroneously described by Combe as bearing a lamp: to which, indeed, this peculiar form of vase has much resemblance. It is well characterized by Athenæus as βεμβικῶδες—like a spinning-top.

It is always represented on these Athenian coins with a lid or cover, which is wanting on the coin of Eleusis.

<sup>16</sup> P. 156.

<sup>17</sup> Pollux, *Onomasticon*, x. § 74 ; Hesychius, v. Πλημοχόη ; Athenæus, xi. p. 496.

E. H. BUNBURY.

X.

GOLD AND SILVER COINS OF THE BAHMANI  
DYNASTY.<sup>1</sup>

ONE of the results of the late famine in the Deccan and Southern Mahratta country, in Western India, was to throw into the Bazaar the chance hoardings of many years. Having the aid of friends stationed in those parts, I had the opportunity of examining a great number of coins of various classes. In this paper I shall confine myself to noticing those of the Bahmani dynasty.

Of the rulers of this dynasty, the following is a complete list, which is taken from Mr. Thomas's "Pathán Kings of Delhi," pp. 340—346:—

|       | A.H. | A.D.  |   |
|-------|------|-------|---|
| I.    | 748. | 1347. | Hasan Gango.                            |
| II.   | 759. | 1358. | Muhammad Sháh I. Gházi.                 |
| III.  | 776. | 1375. | Mujáhid Sháh.                           |
| IV.   | 780. | 1378. | Daúd Sháh.                              |
| V.    | 780. | 1378. | Mahmúd Sháh I. (Muhammad on the coins). |
| VI.   | 799. | 1397. | Ghíás-ud-dín.                           |
| VII.  | 799. | 1397. | Shams-ud-dín.                           |
| VIII. | 800. | 1397. | Firoze Sháh (Roz Afzún).                |
| IX.   | 825. | 1422. | Ahmad Sháh I.                           |
| X.    | 838. | 1435. | 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh (Ahmad) II.            |
| XI.   | 862. | 1457. | Humáyún Sháh (Zálim).                   |
| XII.  | 865. | 1461. | Nizám Sháh.                             |
| XIII. | 867. | 1463. | Muhammad Sháh II.                       |
| XIV.  | 887. | 1482. | Mahmúd Sháh II.                         |

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gibbs having been obliged to return to India, Mr. Grueber has consented to see this article through the press, and is therefore responsible for any errors.

|        | A.H. | A.D.  |                       |
|--------|------|-------|-----------------------|
| XV.    | 924. | 1518. | Ahmad Sháh II.        |
| XVI.   | 927. | 1520. | 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh III. |
| XVII.  | 929. | 1522. | Wali-ullah Sháh.      |
| XVIII. | 932. | 1525. | Kalim-ullah Sháh.     |

As I believe this is the first notice which has appeared in the "Numismatic Chronicle" of the coins of this remarkable dynasty, which ruled over the Deccan for the space of more than a century and a half, I may perhaps be pardoned, if I first give a slight historical sketch of it. This sketch is taken from Ferishta's "History of India," and also from the excellent history of India by Meadows Taylor.

At the period of the foundation of the Bahmani dynasty, the Deccan was subject to the Kings of Delhi, who were of the House of Gházi Beg Tughlak. It had been invaded during the rule of the Khilji dynasty, when Jelál-ud-dín Khilji sat on the throne of Delhi, but it remained for Muhammad-ben-Tughlak, the son of Gházi Beg Tughlak, to bring it into complete subjection. This he accomplished about the year A.D. 1327, and so great was his partiality for this newly conquered district that he determined to transfer the seat of Government from Delhi to Dowlatabád, and actually did so, compelling the inhabitants themselves to abandon their native city and to proceed to the Deccan. Muhammad's residence in his new capital was, however, of short duration, and he again returned to Delhi, and permitted those of the inhabitants who desired to do so, to accompany him. The journey from Delhi to the Deccan and the return had, however, cost the lives of a majority of the population, who perished on the route either by famine or fever. These changes on the part of Muhammad resulted in a series of rebellions and insurrections in nearly all the provinces, in which

the Deccan joined, and set up a new king by the name of Ismail, who took the title of Násir-ud-dín. At the news of this rebellion, the King, who was engaged in an expedition in Guzerát, marched to the Deccan, and defeating the rebels, who were commanded by the Viceroy, Ameer Judeeda, besieged them in their chief city of Dowlatabád. From this siege the King was called away by a fresh outbreak in Guzerát, and the army was left under the command of Ismail-ul-Mulk, Viceroy of Berár, who was defeated by an officer named Zuffur Khan, and all the royal troops were expelled from the country.

The new King of the Deccan, Násir-ud-dín, now resigned, and Zuffur Khan became King, under the title of 'Alá-ud-dín Hasan Gango Bahmani, and was the founder of a noble and long-enduring dynasty. These events took place about A.D. 1347.

The history of Hasan Gango is one of the most remarkable in the annals of India. He was originally a menial servant in the employ of a Brahmin of Delhi named Gango. One day ploughing in a field of his master, he turned up a pot filled with coins, which he at once took to Gango. The Brahmin, appreciating his honesty, constructed his horoscope, and informed him that some day he would attain to royal honours. Shortly after this circumstance Hasan entered the service of the King of Delhi, and by his bravery and quickness soon rose to high military command in the Deccan, and received the title of Zuffur Khan. On the outbreak of the rebellion, he was placed at the head of the rebellious army, and, as we have seen above, defeated the royal troops near the town of Beeder.

No further attempts to quell the rebellion having been made by Muhammad, and Násir-ud-dín resigning his new

crown, Zuffur Khan was chosen King, and out of regard to his former master, whom he appointed his chief treasurer, assumed the title of 'Alá-ud-dín Hasan Gango Bahmani. The kingdom thus formed had Berár in the north, and the eastern frontier extended from Berár, Mahore, and Ramgeer to Indore and Kowlas; on the south the boundary was formed by the rivers Krishna and Tumboodra; and on the west was the sea, with the ports of Dabul and Choule. For its capital, Hasan Gango selected the city of Koolburga, on account of its central position—which city, Ferishta says, was now named Ahsanábád. Having thus attained to royal honours Gango at once applied himself to the organization of his dominions, and by the justice of his rule soon earned the affection of all his subjects.

For some years the Deccan enjoyed a period of peace, and it was not till an ancient prince of Guzerát invited Gango to occupy that province that the new State was involved in any war. The expedition failed, chiefly through the ill-health of the King, who soon returned to his capital, where he died on the 10th Feb., 1358, and was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Sháh I. Ghází. Scarcely had Muhammad mounted his throne than his kingdom was menaced by two formidable Hindoo powers, that of Wurungul on the east and south-east, and Beejanugger on the south and south-west, these states demanding the restoration of certain dominions which had been conquered by Gango. Muhammad first turned his attention to Wurungul, which he entered, and after a severe struggle compelled to submit to his terms. Having thus disposed of one enemy, he was not long in provoking a quarrel with the Hindoo King of Beejanugger. This contest he found more severe, and on more than one occasion he almost despaired

of success ; but being of a fierce and daring character he persevered, and eventually gained a great victory in which the Hindoo general was killed. Following up this success with the wholesale massacre of all the inhabitants in his march, men, women, and children, and finally with the siege of Beejanugger, he compelled the whole population to surrender, and he granted them honourable terms. It is said that in this war upwards of 500,000 Hindoos fell to the swords of the Mahommedans.

These are the only wars which occurred during the reign of Muhammad, who, like his father, availed himself of peaceful times to continue the work of providing for the security of his people. This he accomplished by yearly tours throughout his dominions ; so that at his death, March 21, 1375, he left a flourishing country, a rich treasury, and a well-disciplined army.

Muhammad Sháh was succeeded by his son, Mujáhid Sháh, who soon became involved in a war with Beejanugger, and marching into the country forced the reigning rajah to retire to the woods and forests south and west of his capital. This was followed by the siege of Beejanugger itself, during the course of which Mujáhid forced his way into the second line of works, where there was a celebrated and much-venerated image of the monkey-god, Hunoomán, which the Brahmins tried to save. In the conflict for the possession of this image, the King struck it and mutilated its features. For this act a wounded Brahmin cursed him, and prophesied that he would die ere he reached his kingdom—a prophecy which was soon fulfilled, for after making peace with his enemies, he was preparing to return to his capital, when he was murdered by his uncle, Daúd Sháh, who immediately afterwards caused himself to be proclaimed King, the murdered

man leaving no children. The death of Mujáhid Sháh occurred 14th April, 1378, and Daúd Sháh was himself murdered after a short reign of a month and five days, whilst praying in a mosque at Koolburga, by one of his nephew's attached attendants. Daúd Sháh was succeeded by Mahmúd Sháh I., who was the youngest son of the first King, Hasan Gango. The reign of this prince was a peaceful one, and was not disturbed by either foreign wars or domestic insurrections. Having for his minister Seif-ud-dín Ghooory, the faithful counsellor of his father, Mahmúd applied himself to the improvement of the state of his subjects. Being a man of great literary tastes, he founded schools throughout his dominions, which he also richly endowed; other charities at the same time receiving a due share of his sympathy. Mahmúd Sháh died of fever 20th April, 1397, and was succeeded by his son, Ghías-ud-dín, whose reign only lasted six weeks, having been seized at a banquet by his minister, Lalleheen, whom he had on several occasions insulted, and who caused him to be blinded and imprisoned. Lalleheen now placed Shams-ud-dín, brother of Ghías-ud-dín, upon the throne, and appointed himself Prime Minister. This act was, however, not allowed to go long unpunished, for Firoze Khán, a son of Daúd Sháh, who had been protected and kindly treated by Mahmúd Sháh I., raised a rebellion against the new King, and caused both him and Lalleheen to be confined in prison. Ghías-ud-dín, the blinded and imprisoned King, was released, and with his own hand cut off the head of Lalleheen, and thus having obtained revenge for the cruelties he had received, appointed Firoze King and retired to Mecca, where he died at a very advanced age.

Firoze ascended the throne under the title of Firoze

Sháh (Roz Afzún) Gango Bahmani, on 15th November, 1397. During the greater part of his reign, which extended over twenty-five years, Firoze was engaged in a long contest with the old enemy of the Bahmani dynasty, the Rajah of Beejanugger, who made frequent inroads into the dominions of the Deccan. Déo Rái, the Rajah, was, however, finally defeated, and as the means of obtaining more favourable terms, gave his daughter in marriage to Firoze; but even this act was not sufficient to prevent a fresh outbreak between the two kings, and a war was again declared in 1417, which proved for a long time disastrous to the forces of Firoze, whose fortunes were redeemed by his brother Khán Khanan.

The health of Firoze having given way, he resigned the throne and set up his brother Khán Khanan, who assumed the title of Ahmad Sháh. Firoze's resignation took place 15th September, 1422, and he died ten days afterwards. Of Firoze it is said that, though devoted to pleasure, he was one of the most enlightened kings of his age. He delighted in music and reading, and amongst all his books there were none which pleased him more than the Old and New Testaments, being thoroughly tolerant in all matters of religion. He also entirely rebuilt his capital, Koolburga, adorning it with the most splendid palaces, the ruins of which exist at the present day. The first act of Ahmad Sháh, who had added to his name that of Wully, or Saint, was to declare war against Beejanugger, in order to avenge the invasions of Déo Rái, and in spite of an agreement made by Muhammad Sháh I., and since strictly observed, he put to the sword upwards of 20,000 of the inoffensive Hindoos, destroying at the same time their temples and colleges, and desecrating their holy places. The sequel of these acts was the surrender of the Rajah,

who agreed to pay a heavy tribute in order to free his dominions of so dangerous a foe. The other events of this reign were a war with Wurungul in 1421, and another with the Sultán of Malwáh in 1426. On his return from Malwáh, Ahmad founded the city Beeder, which in a short time was to become the seat of the Government. This was the last important act of Ahmad, who died 12th February, 1432, the crown passing to his son, 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh II.

The reign of 'Alá-ud-dín was marked by a serious rebellion, at the head of which was the King's brother, Mahomed Khán. The rebellion failed, and the King treated his brother with much more leniency than he could have expected, not only pardoning him, but conferring upon him the estate of Raichore and its dependencies. This event was followed by the invasion and reduction of Konkan, and the defeat of the Kings of Khandésh and Guzerát, both of whom had sought to overthrow the power of the Bahmani dynasty. Beeder now became the capital of the kingdom ; it was a city well suited for such a purpose, being situated in the healthiest and most beautiful part of the Deccan, and being furnished with splendid fortifications, which exist at the present time. It was further protected by a fort which rose at a little distance far above the level of the city, and contained the royal palaces and gardens. In 1443 Déo Rái, Rajah of Beejanugger, wearied of having to pay a large tribute, again invaded the Deccan, but only again to be defeated and to pay an increased amount.

Peace now reigned throughout the Deccan, and the King, following the example of his predecessors, turned his attention to the internal improvement of his empire. He cleared it of idle vagabonds and robbers, who swarmed

the country, and erected and endowed hospitals throughout the land. In spite of these good qualities, 'Alá-ud-dín had one great fault, which was a too great partiality for fermented liquors. He issued edicts prohibiting their use amongst his subjects; but he does not appear to have applied their force to his own case. This intemperate habit brought on a disorder, of which he died in the year 1457. Before his death he appointed his son, Humáyún Sháh, his successor. This prince named as his minister Khwajah Mahmúd Gawan, a man much respected for his strict honour, integrity, and justice.

The reign of Humáyún Sháh was a short one, but it was marked by acts of great cruelty. An attempt having been made to place the King's brother Hasan on the throne, the latter was seized by Humáyún and murdered, with a large portion of the city guard, who were either staked, or boiled in oil, or thrown to wild beasts, the King himself superintending the execution of his own orders. For these acts he was hated by his people, who hailed his death in 1461 with delight. Before his death the King appointed his son, Nizám Sháh, then only eight years old, his successor, at the same time nominating a council of Regency, consisting of the Queen-mother, of Khwajah Mahmúd Gáwan, and of Khwajah Jehan Turk.

The attention of the Regency was first occupied by a serious invasion of the Hindoos of Wurungul, who advanced within a few miles of Beeder; but who for some unknown reason took flight and returned to their country. This invasion was followed by a more serious one under the Sultán of Malwáh, who compelled the King to evacuate his capital and to fly to Firozábád, and it was only repulsed by the aid of the King of Guzerát, who was

unwilling to see the balance of power destroyed. These campaigns ended, the King returned to his capital, and being seized with an attack of fever, died 29th July, 1463. He was succeeded by his brother, Muhammad Sháh II., and the Regency which had been appointed by his father continued as before. For a short time the Regency succeeded; but soon one of the trio, Jehan Turk, began to usurp all authority, which the Queen-mother resented, and having found that he had been guilty of corrupt practices, she complained to the King, who caused Jehan Turk to be put to death.

Mahmúd Gáwan, who had been sent to a distance from the capital, now returned to Beeder, and was placed near the King's person, the supreme power, which he never abused, being committed to his hands, and under his guidance the Bahmani dynasty rose to its highest pitch. The first undertaking of the King was the acquisition of Kéhrla from the dominions of the King of Malwáh, and the annexation of Konkan from the dependencies of the Rajah of Beejanugger. In 1471 he undertook a campaign in Telingána at the instance of Ambur Rái, who promised to become his tributary if restored to his rights. The campaign came to a successful conclusion. In the following year he entered upon a campaign against the Rajah of Belgaum, and this was followed by a second expedition to Orissa and the capture of Conjeveram. By these conquests the Bahmani territory extended from sea to sea and attained its greatest limits. In consequence of these large acquisitions, a new division of the empire took place. In the midst of the success a rash act of the King was destined to destroy all his future happiness. Mahmúd Gáwan, under whose advice all the late reforms had been carried out, and to whose good counsel the suc-

cesses of the King were due, had at the court many enemies, who began to set the heart of the King against him. By the means of forged letters they persuaded the King that Mahmúd Gáwan was aiming at the crown. The King believing his minister to be guilty, caused him to be put to death without hearing a defence, and in spite of Mahmúd Gáwan's warning that his own death would be fatal to the welfare of the State. The King was not long in discovering the great error he had made, for on requiring a statement to be prepared of the estate of the murdered minister he found him to be possessed of only such a sum as sufficed to furnish him with the most humble necessaries. Mahmúd Gáwan had spent all he possessed in charity and in founding a college at Beeder, in which he had placed a valuable library. Remorse for this act drove the King to habits of intemperance, and being attacked by fever, he died 24th March, 1482. He was succeeded by his son, Mahmúd Sháh II., a boy of twelve years of age. Nizám-ul-Mulk, the author of the plot against Mahmúd Gáwan, was appointed Prime Minister, and under his treacherous rule the prophecy of the late minister was being fulfilled.

Yoosuf-Adil-Khan, who had commanded with great success for Muhammad Sháh II., declared the independence of Beejapoor, and Nizám-ul-Mulk plotted with his son Mulluk Ahmad a rebellion in Joonair. The death, by the hand of an assassin, of Nizám-ul-Mulk frustrated his designs; but his son shortly afterwards carried out his designs, and Joonair threw off the yoke of the Bahmani House. In Berár also Imád-ul-Mulk was proclaimed King. Thus were lost to the successors of Hasan Gango their finest provinces in the north, west, and south-west, and only the districts around the capital, with Telingána,

remained; but Telingána soon followed the example of the other dependencies, and declared itself free in 1512. In vain did the King, acting under the advice of his minister, Ameer Bereed, endeavour to win back his old dominions by invading Beejapoor; the expedition failed, and the King was taken prisoner by the enemy, who treated him with more kindness than he could have expected, escorting him back to his capital and for a while supporting him on his throne. When the Beejapoor troops withdrew, Mahmúd, weary of submitting to the rule of his minister Bereed, fled to the King of Berar, but finally returned to Beeder, where he died 21st October, 1518, and with his death the dynasty of the Bahmani kings virtually closed.

Mahmúd Sháh II. was succeeded by his son, Ahmad Sháh II., who reigned two years, and dying in 1520, was himself succeeded by his brother, 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh III., who, attempting to rid himself of his minister Bereed, was discovered in his plot and put to death in 1522. He was succeeded by Wali-ullah Sháh, the third son of Mahmúd Sháh II., but he was poisoned by Bereed in 1525, the minister conceiving a passion for the king's wife.

The last king of the Bahmani line now mounted the throne in the person of Kalim-ullah Sháh, the son of Ahmad Sháh II., but he was denied any liberty by Bereed, who placed him in close confinement. From his prison he escaped to Beejapoor, where he entrusted himself to the protection of his uncle, Ismail-Adil-Sháh. From Beejapoor he returned to Ahmudnugger, where he died, and with him ended the Bahmani dynasty. The Deccan country was now divided into five separate and independent kingdoms.

Although the Bahmani dynasty was one of great power

and wealth, but very few specimens of its coinage are known to exist, and it is only of recent date that we have any notice of them. Mr. Thomas, in his work on the Pathán Kings of Delhi, gives woodcuts of two coins, viz., of Mahmúd Sháh I. and 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh II., and a list which includes, besides these coins, silver of Firoze Sháh, Humáyún Sháh, and Muhammad Sháh II., and also copper of Firoze Sháh, 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh II., and Mahmúd Sháh II. (?) On examining the British Museum collection I find there are specimens in silver of—

- VIII. Firoze Sháh, A.H. 801, 802, 807, 822, 8 x x ?
- X. 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh, no date legible.
- XI. Humáyún Sháh, A.H. 863.

and copper of—

- X. 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh, 14 specimens.
- XI. Humáyún Sháh, 3 specimens.
- XIII. Muhammad Sháh II., 4 specimens.
- XIV. Mahmúd Sháh II., 3 specimens.

During my residence in India and since my return last year, I have had the good fortune to procure three gold coins and more than a dozen silver which give specimens of the following kings:—

#### GOLD.

|                         |       |              |
|-------------------------|-------|--------------|
| II. Muhammad Sháh I.    | . . . | A.H.<br>775. |
| VIII. Firoze Sháh       | . . . | 800.         |
| X. 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh II. | . . . | 860.         |

#### SILVER.

|                        |       |           |
|------------------------|-------|-----------|
| I. Hasan Gango         | . . . | 758.      |
| II. Muhammad Sháh I.   | . . . | 760, 772. |
| III. Mujáhid Sháh      | . . . | 779.      |
| V. Mahmúd Sháh I.      | . . . | 797.      |
| VII. Shams-ud-dín Sháh | . . . | 799.      |

|                                 |                                |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| VIII. Firoze Sháh . . . . .     | A.H.<br>803, 804,<br>824, 825. |
| IX. Ahmad Sháh I. . . . .       | 826.                           |
| X. 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh II. . . . . | 847, 857.                      |
| XIII. Muhammad Sháh II. . . . . | 879.                           |

We have no records of the Bahmani coinage, as to its type or denominations, beyond what Ferishta tells us in one solitary passage in his history of the dynasty. He says, in narrating the history of Muhammad Sháh I., that the coins of that king are of four denominations of gold and silver, ranging from two tolahs to a quarter of a tolah in weight, having on one side the creed of the faithful (the Kulmah) and the names of the ashab (the first four caliphs), while on the other side was the king's title and the year of his reign in which the coin was struck. The Hindoo bankers, at the instance of the Rajahs of Beejanugger and Telingána, melted all the coins which fell into their hands in order that those of the infidels might alone be current in the Deccan. Incensed at this, Muhammad Sháh put many persons to death and limited the business of the mint and of the bank to a few *Khatris*, the descendants of the inhabitants of Delhi, who had formerly emigrated to the Deccan. After this the Bahmani coins alone were used in the Mahommedan dominions.

This description of the coins of Muhammad Sháh I. corresponds very closely with the specimens which I have in my collection (Nos. 2—4). Ferishta appears to have been wrong about the names of the four caliphs being on the obverse, as in no instance of this coinage do they occur. He also omits to state that besides the date of the issue of the coin, its place of mintage also was stamped upon it—the place of mintage, as we know from the coins, was Ahsanábád, which was the name given by Hasan Gango to

Koolburga upon his accession to the throne. And when the capital was transferred to Beeder the mint appears to have still existed at Ahsanábád, as the coins of 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh II., Humáyún Sháh, and Muhammad Sháh II. (Nos. 14—18) testify. Also as to the denominations of which Ferishta says there were four, we have hitherto but two, viz., one of gold and another of silver, unless we include also the copper coin, of which Ferishta does not make any mention. The gold coins, Ferishta tells us later on in his work, were called *astruffies*; these may have been equal in value to twenty of the silver ones. The names of the silver coins at present are unknown to us. I shall hope, however, before I leave India, by further acquisitions, to be able to throw more light upon this as well as other points connected with this coinage.

Of the gold coins in my collection the first is that of Muhammad Sháh I. (No. 2): this coin I have only quite recently acquired, since my return to India last summer. It bears, so far as I can see, no place of mintage; but this may have been on the coin, as although in good preservation its edge seems to have been clipped. I have, however, no doubt but that, like the silver coins of Muhammad, it was issued at Ahsanábád.

The second gold coin is of Firoze Sháh (No. 8). It was sold to me by one of my Marwani agents for a coin of Muhammad-ben-Tughlak, which it greatly resembles both in fabric and type. It was brought to me only a few days before I left Bombay, when I was very busy, and I took it without giving it more than a casual glance. I did not attempt to read it until some time ago, when I was showing the coins to Mr. R. Stuart Poole of the British Museum, who readily found it to be a coin of Firoze Sháh (Roz-Afzún) dated A.H. 800, and struck at

Ahsanábád, the capital which afterwards gave a name to one of the districts into which the single Mahomedan kingdom in the Deccan was divided by Muhammad Sháh II. As Firoze Sháh came to the throne in the year in which this coin was struck, it was most likely one of those prepared for his coronation, as we know that it was the custom of all the Bahmani kings to distribute large sums on this event among the people. This was probably done by Firoze Sháh with a liberal hand, as he had no direct claim to the crown, and, besides that, he was the son of Daúd Sháh, for whom the people of the Deccan entertained no kindly feeling. The coin in my collection appears never to have been in circulation, being as fine as when it came from the mint.

As regards the gold coin of 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh II. (No. 14), it is one of three pieces which were received from a Marwani who was on business in Sholapore to whom they had been tendered for sale. One of my Bombay Marwani agents procured them, selling one to Dr. De Canha, and bringing me a second. What became of the third I do not know; I believe it was sold to a native, as the agent brought it to show me one day. Dr. De Canha also kindly allowed me to see his, and I found that all three coins apparently came from the same die, but on none of these coins was the legend perfect. Dr. De Canha's has the upper line on the reverse, which is incomplete on mine, whilst mine has the date more perfect than his; the third was not so well preserved as either of the others. I have had the gold tested and weighed, and both corresponded with what genuine coins of this description should show; but at that time, never having heard of any specimens of the gold coinage of this dynasty, and looking at the type of the inscription, I felt uncertain

as to the coins being genuine; but competent judges who have seen my specimen have little doubt of its being a real coin. It will be seen from the descriptions (Nos. 14—16) that the types of the gold and silver coins of 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh II. were similar; but in my gold coin, as I have remarked, the inscription is incomplete, that is, the first line on the reverse is omitted. This similarity of type is very unusual, and as the coin is certainly inferior in style to the other two gold ones in my collection, and the date is somewhat blundered, it is not surprising that at first sight it created some doubt. In spite of these drawbacks I am, however, not inclined to change my mind in the determination at which I have arrived.

The only other gold coin, so far as I am aware, existing of the Bahmani series is one of Mahmúd Sháh II. dated A.H. 914, which is in the collection of General Cunningham.

Of the silver coins, that of Hasan Gango (No. 1), the first king, I also acquired upon my return to India last summer. It is a very remarkable coin, as it shows that Hasan Gango took for the type of his coinage that of 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh, the fourteenth Pathán King of Delhi A.H. 695—715, and like him assumes the title of Second Alexander, *سكندر الثاني*. It is very probable that at the time of the accession of Hasan Gango, the coins of Delhi were current throughout the Deccan. The inscription of 'Alá-ud-dín would serve for either monarch, and the only alteration necessary to make the coin a record of the newly founded dynasty was to insert in the third line of the obverse inscription the title *بيمني* for that of *محمد*, and the addition of the date. As the coin in my collection was issued in the last year of the reign of Hasan Gango, we may conclude that he adopted this type for his coinage at the commencement of

his reign, and that it remained unaltered to the end. This silver coin, I believe, is unique, and I have met with only one other coin of Hasan Gango, which is of copper and is in the collection of General Cunningham, and is inscribed very distinctly احسن, being spelt in the same manner as "Ahsanábád" on the gold coin of Firoze Sháh. The coin of General Cunningham bears no date. The silver coins of Muhammad Sháh I. Gházi offer no ground for remark, excepting that they are the first which bear the name of the place of mintage.

For the coin of Mujáhid Sháh (No. 5) I am indebted to Dr. De Canha, who procured it from a Marwani in Bombay. As from the history of Ferishta we find that Daúd Sháh only reigned a month and four days, it is not surprising that no coins of this king have been found, and the probability is that none were struck by him; but the short reign of Ghíás-ud-dín, which extended over only six weeks, did produce a coinage, since General Cunningham has in his collection a copper coin of that prince, which reads *Ghíás-ed-dunya-wa-ud-dín*; but it is not dated. The silver coin of Shams-ud-dín (No. 7) is an important one, as in my opinion it helps to clear up what hitherto has been a doubtful point, viz., the descent of that king.

Meadows Taylor, in his History, says that after the blinding and imprisonment of Ghíás-ud-dín, Lallechen raised to the throne Shams-ud-dín, brother of Mahmúd Sháh; but this statement is against the evidence of Ferishta, who calls Shams-ud-dín the younger brother of Ghíás-ud-dín, and the heading of his chapter concerning him is Sultan Shams-ud-dín Bahmani ben Sultán Mahmúd Sháh; in other words, that he was grandson to Hasan Gango by his youngest son, Mahmúd Sháh. Also Professor Dowson has favoured me with the following remark: "A history, of which I have not discovered the

real name, but which is labelled 'Tarikh i Bahmani,' has the following: 'Reign of Sultán Shams-ud-dín Daúd Sháh ben Sultán Muhammad Sháh ben Mahmúd Sháh ben Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín Hasan Sháh,' but of which the text says, '*Biradar i kuchak i orú (i.e. Ghíás-ud-dín) ké Sultán Shams-ud-dín nám dásht ba Sultánet bar-dásht,*' i.e. 'He raised to the throne his (Ghíás-ud-dín's) younger brother, who was named Shams-ud-dín.' " This author also says Shams-ud-dín had not yet passed the seventh age of his life; he could therefore not have been, as Meadows Taylor says, a son of Hasan Gango. This last writer is distinctly in favour of the reading of my coin, which I take to be "Shams-ud-dunya-wa-ud-dín Daúd Sháh Sultán ben Sultán." It is also probable that Shams-ud-dín was named after his uncle, Daúd Sháh.

The silver coins of Firoze Sháh (Nos. 9—12) are the same as those described by Marsden in his "Numismata Orientalia," p. 575, and figured in Pl. XXXVIII, DCCLXXVIII, and attributed by him to Firoze Sháh Habshi, thirty-third Pathán King of Bengal. This wrong attribution by Marsden is chiefly due to his having mistaken the date on his coin, which he took for ٨٩٧, A.H. 897, instead of ٩٠٧, A. H. 807, which it really is; besides, he seems to have had some difficulty in reading the inscription, for he says, "the reverse has some honorary epithets, the text of which, although not wanting in distinctness of the strokes, is rendered unintelligible by the formation of the characters. It appears to end with the word احمد." Marsden must have had some doubt in his mind concerning his attribution of his coin as he could not explain the title of تاج الدنيا or, as he reads it, تاج الدين, which he says is not mentioned by historians as having been assumed by Firoze Sháh Habshi. The name of the mint and also the dates on my coins

place my attribution of these coins beyond question. The type of the early coinage of Firoze Sháh extended throughout his entire reign, as my coins range from A.H. 804—825.

The coin of Ahmad Sháh I. (No. 13) is different in type and legend to the other coins of his dynasty, the place of mintage and date being placed above and below the inscription on the area. Although Ahmad Sháh I., on his accession to the throne took the title of Wully <sup>الولي</sup>, he did not place it on his coins, but his son and grandson, 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh II. and Humáyún Sháh, added the title to his name.

The silver coins of 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh II. (Nos. 15—16) have been published by Thomas in his work on the Pathán Kings of Delhi, p. 343.

The coin of Humáyún Sháh (No. 17) is from a specimen in the British Museum.

By my recent acquisitions, as well as those of General Cunningham, the list of the kings of the Bahmani dynasty who are unrepresented by coins is very much reduced, and there remain only: iv. Daúd Sháh; xii. Nizám Sháh; xv. Ahmad Sháh II.; xvi. 'Alá-ud-dín Sháh III.; xvii. Wali-ullah Sháh, and xviii. Kalím-ullah Sháh. The last three reigns were so short and so troubled that it is not unlikely that very few if any coins were issued during that period.

I now append a description of the coins the greater portion of which are illustrated on Pl. V.

On the obverse there is no marginal inscription; but with the exception of Nos. 8 and 13 the reverse area inscription is within a square, and the mintage and date are placed in the segments between the square and the outer circle, the date being always in the lowest angle. On No. 8 the reverse area inscription is within a circle

and that of the margin outside the circle. No. 13 has the area inscription within an oval, the mint and date being placed above and below.

I.—HASAN GANGO.

1. Silver. A.H. 758.

| Obv. Area.   | Rev. Area.  |
|--|---|
| السلطان الاعظم<br>علا الدنيا و الدين [ين]<br>ابو المظفر شاد بهمني<br>السلطان | سكندر الثاني<br>يمين الخلافة ناصر<br>امير المومنين<br>٧٥٨ |
|  | AR. 1.05, wt. 160.4. Pl. v.                               |

II.—MUHAMMAD SHÁH I. GHÁZI.

2. Gold. A.H. 775.

| Obv. Area.                            | Rev. Area.                                |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| سلطان<br>العهد و الزمان<br>ابو المظفر | محمد شاد<br>السلطان ابن<br>السلطان<br>٧٧٥ |
|                                       | AR. .85, wt. 167.5. Pl. v.                |

3. Silver. Ahsanábád, A.H. 760.

| Obv. Area.   | Rev. Area.                                    |
|--|---|
| سلطان<br>العهد و الزمان<br>الحامي ملة رسول<br>الرحمن | ابو المظفر<br>محمد شاد بن<br>بهمن شاد السلطان |

Margin on reverse. ٧٦٠ | بحضرة | احسناباد | ضرب |  
AR. 1.05, wt. 166.7.

4. Another; same mint, but year  $\nu\nu r =$  A.H. 772.

$\mathcal{R}$ . 1.1, wt. 166. Pl. v.

### III.—MUJÁHID SHÁH.

5. Silver. Ahsanábád, A.H. 779.

| Obv. Area.        | Rev. Area.        |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| السلطان الاعظم    | المويد بنصر الله  |
| علا الدنيا والدين | يمين الخليفة ناصر |
| ابو المغازى مجاهد | امير المومنين     |
| شاه السلطان       |                   |

Margin on reverse.  $\nu\nu 9$  | بحضرة | احسناباد |

$\mathcal{R}$ . 1.05, wt. 166.5. Pl. v.

### V.—MAHMUD SHÁH.

6. Silver. Ahsanábád, A.H. 797.

| Obv. Area.    | Rev. Area.        |
|---------------|-------------------|
| الناصر لدين   | الوائق بستائيد    |
| الدنان الحامي | الرحمن ابو المظفر |
| لاهل الايمان  | محمد شاه السلطان  |

Margin on reverse.  $\nu 9 \nu$  | بحضرة | احسناباد | . . .

$\mathcal{R}$ . 1.05, wt. 164.7.

### VII.—SHAMS-UD-DÍN.

7. Silver. Ahsanábád, A.H. 799.

| Obv. Area.        | Rev. Area. |
|-------------------|------------|
| المستوثق لله      | داود شاه   |
| الحنان ابو المظفر | السلطانين  |
| شمس الدنيا والدين | السلطان    |

Margin on reverse. ضرب | ..... | احساناد | ٧٩٩  
*R.* 1·05, wt. 168. Pl. v.

VIII.—FIROZE SHÁH.

8. Gold. Ahsanábád, A.H. 800.

| Obv. Area.        | Rev. Area.    |
|-------------------|---------------|
| اشهد ان لا        | الوائق بتائيد |
| اله الا الله وحده | الرحمن ابو    |
| لا شريك له و اشهد | المظفر فيروز  |
| ان محمد عبده      | شاه السلطان   |
| و رسوله           |               |

Margin on outer circle on reverse.

ضرب هذا الدينار بحضرة دار الملك احساناد سنه ثمانماية  
*A.* 01, wt. 195. Pl. v.

9. Silver. Ahsanábád, A.H. 803.

| Obv. Area.           | Rev. Area.   |
|----------------------|--------------|
| سلطان                | تاج الدنيا   |
| العهد والزمان        | والدين فيروز |
| الوائق بتائيد الرحمن | شاه السلطان  |
| ابو المظفر           |              |

Margin on reverse. ..... | احساناد | ٨٠٣  
*R.* 1, wt. 155·3.

10. Another; same mint, but year ٨٠٤ = A.H. 804.

*R.* 1, wt. 166·4.

11. Another; same mint, but year  $\text{٨٢٤} = \text{A.H. 824}$ .

$\mathcal{R}$ . 1·15, wt. 169·4.

12. Another; same mint, ornament on obverse and year  $\text{٨٢٥} = \text{A.H. 825}$ .

$\mathcal{R}$ . 1·05, wt. 169·4.

### IX.—AHMAD SHÁH I.

13. Silver. Ahsanábád, A.H. 826.

| Obv. Area.              | Rev. Area.                            |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| السلطان                 | ضرب   بحضر[ة]                         |
| العادل البادل الناصر    | شهاب الدنيا والدين                    |
| لدين الدقان ابو المغازى | احمد شاه السلطان                      |
|                         | [١] حسناباد ٨٢٦                       |
|                         | $\mathcal{R}$ . 1·15, wt. 169. Pl. v. |

### X.—'ALÁ-UD-DIN SHÁH (AHMAD) II.

14. Gold. No mint. A.H. 860?

| Obv. Area.                                      | Rev. Area.                          |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| السلطان   | [ابو المظفر علا]                    |
| الحلیم الكریم                                   | الدنيا والدين احمد                  |
| الرؤف على عباد الله                             | شاه بن احمد شاه                     |
| الغني المصممي                                   | الولي البيمني                       |
| Below in margin, $\text{٨٦} = \text{A.H. 860?}$ | $\mathcal{N}$ . ·8, wt. 171. Pl. v. |

15. Silver. Ahsanábád, A.H. 847.

Same as preceding, but whole of inscription on reverse complete, and in margin on reverse :

ضرب | بحضرة | احسناباد | ٨٤٧

R. 1, wt. 161.

16. Another; same mint, but year ٨٥٧ = A.H. 857.

R. 1, wt. 169.7. Pl. v.

XI.—HUMÁYÚN SHÁH.

17. Silver. Ahsanábád, A.H. 863.

Obv. Area.

المتوكل  
علي الله القوي  
الغني ابو المغازي

Rev. Area.

علا الدنيا والدين  
همايون شاه ابن احمد  
شاه ابن احمد شاه  
الولي البهمني

Margin on reverse, ٨٦٣ | احسناباد | . . . . . | . . .

R. 1, wt. 171.2. Pl. v.

XIII.—MUHAMMAD SHÁH II.

18. Silver. Ahsanábád, A.H. 879.

Obv. Area.

بالله  
المعتصم  
وابو المظفر شمس  
الدنيا والدين

Rev. Area.

محمد شاه ابن  
همايون شاه  
السلطان خلد ملكه

Margin on reverse, ٨٧٩ | [أ] احسناباد | . . . . . | ضرب

R. .95, wt. 168.7. Pl. v.

## XI.

### BILINGUAL COINS OF BUKHÁRA.

At the Third Congress of Orientalists, which assembled in St. Pétersbourg, in 1876, M. Pierre Lerch announced that he had succeeded in deciphering the enigmatical letters, embodying the title of *Bukhárá Khuddát*, found on certain coins of that locality.

This discovery was reported, in brief terms, by Mr. Brandreth, in the (London) "Academy" (No. 229, page 315), and was followed by a more amply explanatory letter from the author in a subsequent number of that periodical.

As my attention had been directed to these obscure legends so long ago as 1858,<sup>1</sup> and as I had endeavoured to keep myself well-up to the knowledge of the day, I thought it right to put upon record the substance of my independent investigations,<sup>2</sup> without awaiting the possibly delayed publication of the full report of the Proceedings of the Congress.

These latter documents were made available to the public some time after April, 1879: and I am now anxious to reduce into a combined form the leading results of our separate studies.

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<sup>1</sup> Prinsep's *Essays on "Indian Antiquities,"* edited by Edward Thomas, London (Murray), 1858, vol. ii. p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, edited by James Burgess, Bombay, 1879, page 269.

M. Lerch had the advantage of discovering among the Oriental MSS. within his reach a notice of the origin of this class of money—though the information contributed bears more upon the fiscal aspect of the question, than on the historical details, which would have proved of greater general interest.<sup>1</sup> The coins themselves, however, as illustrated by prior and subsequent issues, do much to tell their own tale, and the legends, as now interpreted, open out a large and unexplored field of ethnographical and palæographical inquiry.

The first duty of a Numismatist is to endeavour to trace the prototype of the coins he has to describe. In the present case this task is easy, and the result assuring. The practice obtaining among the Sassanian kings which led them to select, on their accession, the typical form of Crown and its accessories by which their conventional portraits and the impress on their money might be distinctly recognized, enables us to pronounce, at once, and without reference to the formal associate legend, from whose mints any given specimen was issued. The lead-

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<sup>1</sup> " Il nous dit, que le premier prince qui introduisit le monnayage d'argent à Boukhara fut le *Boukhâr Khoudât Kâna*, [نام او كانا بخارخداات], qui régna 30 ans. De son temps le commerce de la toile et du froment fut très-animé à Boukhara. On lui soumit, que dans d'autres pays on frappait de la monnaie d'argent. Alors il donna l'ordre de frapper de la monnaie d'argent *fin* aussi à Boukhara [از نقره خالص و بران صورت خویش فرمود باتاج و این]. Ce fut du temps du Khaliphe Abou-Bekr" (A.H. 11, A.D. 632). The Persian text goes on to say, that this coinage was continued unaltered up to the time of Hárún al Rashíd (A.H. 170, A.D. 786), when the inhabitants applied to his newly-appointed Governor of Khorasán, by name *Ghitrif* (غطريف), for a reduction of the high standard of these coins, in order to meet the debased money current in the proximate province of Khwárisim (*Khiva*). This new issue, which retained all the old numismatic forms and devices, is said to have been composed of a curious mixture of six different metals, which combination, however, had the unpopular property of speedily losing its pristine brightness. These new pieces received the name of the presiding Governor and were estimated, in the local markets, to be of the value of *six* to the pure silver dirhams previously current.

ing original from which the Bukhárá coins, now under review, were copied, reveals itself manifestly in the mintages of Varahrán V. In this obvious assignment, I find that M. Lerch has no more hesitation than myself. There is, however, this difference in our views, that he assumes that the imitative type described by me in the Num. Chron. for 1873, p. 240, No. 77*a*—which we both accept as the direct prototype of the Bukhárá coins<sup>1</sup>—formed one of the ordinary, though degraded, series of the coins of Varahrán V.; whereas, I am disposed to consider them as mintages improved upon the first crude camp-issues of Varahrán Chobín, as he grew in power.

No. 1.—Plate VI. Fig. 1. *Coin of Varahrán Chobín before A.D. 578.*<sup>2</sup>

*Obverse.*—Head of Varahrán Chobín, similar in its typical details to the technical bust of Varahrán V. The execution of the die is, however, very inferior to that of the earlier regal models, and the ornamentation of the dress, etc., is far less rich than that appertaining to his royal namesake, and the profile itself seems to point to an independent set of features.

Legend, in very imperfect letters, *reversed*, and reading from the outside, from the front point of the crown.

وَرَهْرَانَ چَوْب

“Varahrán of the mace.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Planche xii. No. 16 de la collection . . . de M. de Bartholomaei publiée par M. Dorn, sec. éd. St. Pétersbourg, 1875; Third Oriental Congress, 1876, vol. ii. p. 422.

<sup>2</sup> The autotype reproduction in Plate VI. is taken from a sulphur cast of Mr. Steuart's original coin *engraved* by his Italian artist, and reproduced in Plate IX. Fig. 10, Vol. XIII. Num. Chron.

<sup>3</sup> The mace was the special weapon of the heroes of the Sháh Námah, and formed part of the ordinary equipment of the heavy cavalry of the Parthians and Persians. It was calculated to prove peculiarly effective against the chain armour of the period. Mahmúd of Ghazní was celebrated for the use of the mace, and its ceremonial employment survives to this day in the “*Chobdárs*” of Indian native courts.

*Reverse.* — Device closely following the design of Varahrán V. *Reverses*, but of coarser execution. The head below the fire on the side of the altar is very prominent, and properly coincides with the outline of the leading profile on the obverse.

Legend to the right, *س د*, *ai*, or possibly *انی* *aní*,  
An-Irán (*i.e.* Turán).

to the left, *سین*, *sin*, China. Samarkand, before the time of Shamar, was called *Chín* (Tabari, ii. 158).

In my previous notice of this strange mintage, I ventured upon some speculations as to the motives which possibly prompted its production, and I preferred to suppose, that Varahrán Chobín, “on his return march with the plunder of Balkh, etc., at his disposal, utilized the available silver in the form of crude camp-issues” (Num. Chron. Vol. XIII. p. 237).

The simple narrative of the events attending his revolt, given by the Armenian author, Sépêos,<sup>1</sup> seems to confirm this view, with this addition, that we must conclude that the pieces in question were coined after his army had, so to say, compelled him to throw off his allegiance to Hormazd, but before he took upon himself regal titles.

No. 2. — *Coin of Varahrán Chobín*, advanced period, M. Bartholomaei's Plates xii. 16. Silver. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale.

*Obverse.*—Head of the king to the right, with the con-

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<sup>1</sup> “Vahram *Mérhévandak* dirigea contre les Thétals une guerre victorieuse, s'empara de Balkh et de tout le pays des *Kouschans*, et poussa au delà du grand fleuve *Veh-Rhot* (Oxus), jusqu'au lieu appelé *Kazbion*. A la suite d'une victoire éclatante remportée sur le roi des *Mazkouths*, il le tua et fit sur ses terres un butin immense. La guerre terminée, il envoya à la Porte une petite portion des trésors provenant du pillage, avec un rapport sur la victoire. Blessé de la mesquinerie du présent, le roi donna l'ordre . . . d'exiger le butin entier. A cette nouvelle, l'armée se révolta contre Ormizd, proclama roi Vahram et” . . . —Sépêos, quoted in *Journal Asiatique*, 1866, p. 187.



occasionally in Russian and other Continental collections.<sup>1</sup> These coins are bilingual; the Kufic legends, though of rude execution, and involved in the ornamentation of the device, were found to represent variously the names of محمد *Muhammad* and the authorized title of this son of the Khalif Al Mansúr, viz. المهدي *Al Mahdi*, "The Directed."<sup>2</sup> The third alternating word I have only lately been able to decipher, and it proves to be سني *sanniy*, "orthodox" (tradition), which, it will be seen, accords well with the position of Muhammad, Al Mahdi, in Khorasán, and presents us with a curiously contemporaneous illustration of the great schism of the Moslem faith of *Shi'ah* and *Sunni*. See Plate VI. Figs. 4, 5, 6.

The unknown characters forming the combined legend, but reading in the opposite direction—which had hitherto defied interpretation—were, as I have said, first read and explained by M. Lerch.

No. 4.—The coin represented in the Plate, under Fig. 3, is inserted for the purpose of showing the link between the older specimens bearing exclusively Pehlvi legends and the first stage of the mixed or bilingual writing in Pehlvi and Bukhárá letters—introductory to the supercession of the former by the Kufic characters in Figs. 4, 5, and 6. Traces of a portion of the Sassanian legend 𐭌𐭎𐭓𐭕𐭎𐭓𐭕 *Mazdesan bagí*, may be seen at the back of the crown.

<sup>1</sup> M. Lerch's experience as to the localities of discovery of specimens of this class of coin is instructive. He says: "Autant que je sache elles se rencontrent principalement dans des trouvailles faites dans les environs de Boukhara; en second lieu aux environs de Samarkand. Enfin on en a rapporté des exemplaires de Khojend et du Khiva. Les marchands boukhares les apportent souvent chez nous avec d'autres monnaies antiques trouvées dans le sol de leur pays. Mais jamais elles n'ont été trouvées ni en Russie ni en d'autres pays ordinairement si riches en monnaies orientales."—Report of Oriental Congress at St. Pétersbourg, p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> The Kufic coins of Bokhárá dated in A.H. 143 (A.D. 760-1) give both the name and title of this Khalif, thus في ولية المهدي الامير محمد بن امير المومنين.—Fræhn's Recensio, p. 21, No. 22; Tiesenhausen, p. 71, No. 724.



haps a prolonged adherence to a popular device, which is now seen to have carried with it a recognized commercial value.<sup>1</sup>

The original legend, now restored to its primary meaning, is highly suggestive, in reproducing in its elements a very archaic form of the old Aryan (Tájik)<sup>2</sup> title of God and King—which is composed of two Persian words *خُد* *khud* or *خود* *khúd*, “self,” and *داد* *dád*, from the verb *دادن* *dádan* “to give,” i.e. “self-given,” “self-created,” which has its counterparts in the Zend *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀* *Qa-dáta*, “créé par soi même,”<sup>3</sup> and in the Sanskrit *स्व* *swa*, *दत्त* *datta*, “self-given.”<sup>4</sup> The latter portion of the term comes home to us, in the names of *Mithradates*, *Tiridates* and other parallel compounds; while the primitive Persian title, in its subdued sense of “Prince,” has lately made itself known to the European world, as the prefix to the personal designation of the *Khedive* (*خدیو*).<sup>5</sup> The local transcription seems to have retained the final *t* in *خُدا* *khuda*, and M. Vambéry informs me that the current speech of the day equally gives expression to the concluding sound.

One of the most interesting questions connected with these coins is the palæographic associations of their

<sup>1</sup> The maintenance of the current values and incidental forms of the local money constituted a very important item, not only to the populace, but in the estimate of Revenues due from each province. See my *Sassanian Coins*, p. 90; *Num. Chron.* Vol. XIII. p. 247; Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 258; *Istakhri, text*, 1870, pp. 314, 323; *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 179, and 1865, p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Major Wood, “Oxus,” 1872, p. 141, says, “Tájik, a Caucasian race whom I believe to be the indigenous inhabitants of Persia.” Mr. Shaw, in the *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1876, p. 139, remarks that, “the Tájiks form the substratum of the population all over Western Turkistán, where, as well as in Persia, the Iranians are intermixed with and dominated over by Turkish tribes. To us the Tájiks represent the earliest inhabitants of the regions occupied by them.”

<sup>3</sup> Bopp, French edition, vol. i. p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> So also, *Svayam-bhú* and *Atma-bhú*, “self-existent.”

<sup>5</sup> This title was frequently employed at Dehli in speaking of the reigning sovereign. *Budaoni*, vol. i. p. 313, in noticing the death of Bahlol Lodi, has,

خدیو ملک ستان جهان کشا بیلول .

legends which may be formulated—thus, do these strange characters, which embody the sounds of *Bukhára Khud-dáo*, represent the original letters of the ancient Soghdian alphabet, as M. Lerch is inclined to suppose,<sup>1</sup> or are they the outcome of a hybrid collection of symbols from concurrent and more recent systems of writing? My own impressions are still in favour of the latter theory. On my first examination of this class of coin in 1858, I remarked that their “alphabetical devices” seemed “to pertain to more westerly nations, though the sites of discovery connect them with the Central Asian types,” enumerated in the conjoint classification,<sup>2</sup> and I further remarked upon the fact, “that the forms of the letters” gave “it (the alphabet) a decidedly Phœnician aspect.” This verdict must remain unimpaired with regard to the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 11th letters of the legend, consisting of eleven letters in all; the two compound letters doing duty for *هو hú* or *كُ khu* have the second conjunct letter identical in form with the other, *u*’s. So that we have virtually only two characters remaining to account for, *i.e.* the triangular letter which constitutes the *h* in *هو* and the reversed form of *u* which represents the *l = á*. Whatever may have been the derivation of this letter *h*, its combination with *u* to form the equivalent of the later Arabic *خ* points to Pehlvi teaching and acknowledged conventional practice; and its appearance on these pieces indicates a certain amount of imitation of the system of Pehlvi orthography in use upon their prototypes.

There is a letter very similar to this triangular *h*, which stands for an *v = i* in Aramæan—in Gesenius’ Table

<sup>1</sup> “Quant aux caractères inconnus de l’inscription je pense qu’il sera le meilleur de les nommer ‘soghdians’” (p. 429).

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep’s *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 116.

No. IV.,<sup>1</sup> and a nearly similar form is given to the same letter in the Duc de Luynes' *Alphabets*, Pl. xi. *a*. Prinsep's *Essays*. The  $\zeta$  *kh* may after all have been represented in the anomalous conversion of sounds by *iu* or *eu*. It will be seen from the Aryan titles, quoted above, that the definition of the equivalent of  $\zeta$  was altogether indeterminate; and a like difficulty, in regard to the *kh*, still exists among the Turks in their pronunciation of such names as *Tophana* and *Hiva*. The peculiar shape of the *a*, in its backward curve, reminds us of the Syriac definition of that letter, and the earliest type of that character on the *stèle* of Mesha (*the Moabite Stone*), with the omission of its down-stroke, might well have formed the model upon which many early varieties were designed and improved upon. There are other coincidences to be detected in this system of writing, which seem to connect it with Syriac (pre-Nestorian<sup>2</sup>) teachings,<sup>3</sup> the fuller examination of which may be reserved for a future opportunity.

<sup>1</sup> Carpentras *Insc.* 1st cent. A.D. See also F. Lenormant (Paris, 1872), vol. i. pl. xi. *Alphabet Araméen des Papyrus*, and plates xii. to xiii., xv., xvi., as well as Dr. J. Euting's *Tables*, Strasbourg, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> "Our attention is naturally drawn, in the first place, to the contemporary Syriac literature, but the reports of the Nestorian missionaries, who went forth preaching Christianity throughout the Sassanian empire and beyond its northern and eastern boundaries, are lost, with the exception of a single one (Elias, Bishop of Múkán). Besides, the same Nestorians, and before them the orthodox Eastern Church, established the Christian communities scattered through nearly the whole of Persia, the head of which was the Játhelik (Catholicus) of Seleucia, and founded a literature for their Persian converts, a literature of translations, a few leaves of which, if extant, would afford us quite unlooked-for elucidations, because they were probably written in Syriac characters, if we consider the testimony of Epiphanius, Adv. Hæres, 66. . . . As this literature has not been noticed anywhere, I shall here produce my proofs, specifying no less than three authors who translated Syriac works into Persian for the Christians of the Sassanian empire. (1) Ma'ná Játhelik of Seleucia A.D. 420. (2) Acacius, appointed Játhelik in A.D. 485, officiated as ambassador of Féróz to the court of Zeno. (3) Job, who flourished about A.D. 550, a Nestorian monk from Hardashír. . . . A great many of the writers and chief authorities for the Eastern Church were native Persians, several of them converts from the Zoroastrian creed."—Dr. E. Sachau, *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv. p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> Gibbon, cap. xlvii. vol. v. p. 259, edition of 1867.

Albírúní tells us that the whole stock of the primitive literature of Khárizm was utterly destroyed, root and branch, by K̄otaibah bin Muslim—even as the Khalif O'mar, on the other extremity of the Arab conquests, sanctioned the conflagration of the Library of Alexandria.<sup>1</sup> If this eradication of all ancient records, and the coincident extermination of the living exponents of traditional lore, was practically carried out, to the extent the Khárizmian author would imply—we can well understand and account for the necessity of a reconstruction of alphabets—partaking alike of what had been preserved and recovered from local sources, re-adjusted to the advanced spread of independent forms of writing and intermixture of speech. Albírúní's invaluable notices of local traditions, with his personal confirmation of their credibility and virtual authenticity, are here reproduced from the new English version of the Arabic text, which latter was reduced to writing so long ago as A.H. 390=A.D. 1000.

“K̄utaiba bin Muslim had extinguished and ruined in every possible way all those who knew how to write and to read the Khwárizmí writing,<sup>2</sup> who knew the history of the country, and who studied their sciences. In consequence these things are involved in so much obscurity, that it is impossible to obtain an accurate knowledge of the history of the country since the time of Islám (not to speak of pre-Muhammadan times).” And again: “For after K̄utaiba bin Muslim Albáhilí had killed their learned men and priests, and had burned their books and writings,

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<sup>1</sup> Ockley, “History of the Saracens,” A.H. 21=A.D. 641, under “Omar.” Abu'l Faraje, Pocock, 114. Gibbon, cap. li.

<sup>2</sup> Albírúní describes the Khwárizmians as “a branch of the great tree of the Persian nation” (p. 57). Professor Sachau incidentally remarks (p. vi) that “the author had learned the subject from hearsay among a population which was then on the eve of dying out.”

they became entirely illiterate (forgot writing and reading), and relied in every knowledge or science which they required solely upon memory.”<sup>1</sup>

The determination of the circumstances under which the several names of Muhammad, al Mahdi and the *سنتی* or “orthodox” substitution appear on these coins, is sufficiently illustrated and explained in the following extracts from the Persian version of the Chronicle of the historian Tabari:—

“Après l’affaire des Ráwendiens, Mançour (envoya dans le Khorásán) son fils Mo’hammed, à qui il donna le surnom de Mahdí, en le désignant comme son successeur au trône. \* \* \* \*

“Mo’hammed, fils d’Abdallah, avait pris le surnom de Mahdí; il disait à ses adhérents qu’il était le *Mahdi de la famille de Mohammed*, et que son frère Ibráhim était le *Hádi*. Or, lorsque Mançour fit reconnaître son fils comme son successeur au trône, il lui donna également le surnom de Mahdí, disant: C’est mon fils et non le fils d’Abdallah bin Hassan [fils d’ ’Alí, fils d’Abú Tálíb], qui est le Mahdí, *de la famille de Mo’hammed*.”<sup>2</sup> “Depuis que Mançour était monté sur le trône, il cherchait à découvrir le séjour de Mo’hammed et d’Ibráhim fils d’ ’Abdallah, fils de ’Hasan.” \* \* “Or ceux-ci se cachaient tantôt à la Mecque, tantôt en Egypte ou dans l’ ’Iráq, en faisant de la propagande en vue des droits de leur famille, et ils avaient des missionnaires dans le Khorásán.” \* \* “Abú-’Aoun, gouverneur du Khorásán, annonça à Mançour que les partisans de Mo’hammed fils d’ ’Abdallah devenaient

<sup>1</sup> *Albirúni*, “Chronology of Ancient Nations,” translated from the original Arabic, by Dr. E. Sachau, for the “Oriental Translation Fund” (London, 1879, W. H. Allen and Co.), pp. 42-58.

<sup>2</sup> Tabari, Oriental Translation Fund, Zotenberg, vol. iv. pp. 375, 382, 392, See also Masaudi (French edition, vol. vi. p. 209, and vol. viii. p. 293).

de plus en plus nombreux dans sa province et qu'un soulèvement était à craindre," [Muhammad was killed in 145 A.H., and Ibrahím fell in action shortly afterwards.]

No. 6.—Plate VI. Fig. 7. Coin of 'Alí Sulaiman.

*Obverse.* Sassanian head, in outline.

Kufic legend, *الله بسم الله محمد رسول الله محمد له ما امره*  
الامير على سليمان

*Reverse.* Sassanian Fire-altar and supporters, with the head below the flames.

The coins of the proximate province of Tabaristán, A.H. 136-7, give the same version of the name of سليمان *Sulaimān*, without the usual penultimate *á*.<sup>1</sup>

I am disposed to attribute the pieces (vi. 7) to the kingdom of *Soghd*, the title of *الخاقان* *Al-khāqān* (*طرخان* *Turkhān*) identify them with *Turki* races.<sup>2</sup> While the goodness of the silver seems to remove them from the category of the "mauvaise monnaie" of Khárisim.

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Roy. As. Soc. N.S. vol. v. p. 458; Journal Asiatique, 1862, p. 185; Zeitschrift, 1854, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Fræhn, Nov.-Symb. 1819, p. 45, fig. 14.; Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 118; Tabari vol. iv. p. 166; Albírúni, p. 109.

E. THOMAS.

## XII.

### LETTRE À M. STANLEY LANE-POOLE, SUR UN FELS SAFFÂRÎDE INÉDIT DE LA COLLECTION DE M. CH. DE L'ECLUSE.

CHER CONFRÈRE ET AMI,

La petite pièce dont vous trouverez ci-dessous la description est un fels de Tâdj el moloûk *Harb*, fils de Mohammad 'Ezz el moloûk et prince du Sedjestân, de la seconde branche des Saffârîdes. M. Ch. de l'Ecluse possède quatre variétés de ces monnaies; leur diamètre est d'environ 14 millimètres. Elles sont plus ou moins incomplètes.

|     |                  |   |
|-----|------------------|---|
| Av. | لا اله الا الله  | <i>Il n'y a de Dieu que Dieu.</i>       |
|     | محمد رسول الله   | <i>Mohammad (est) l'envoyé de Dieu.</i> |
|     | الناصر لدين الله | <i>En-Nâser lé-dîn Allah.</i>           |
|     | محمد             | <i>Mohammad.</i>                        |

Ces quatre lignes n'offrent aucun doute sur leur lecture. Sur l'une des pièces, محمد de la 4<sup>e</sup> ligne semble placé au dessus du mot بن (fils de).<sup>1</sup> Tout autour est un cercle fin, en dehors duquel il reste des traces d'une légende qui

---

<sup>1</sup> A défaut, on pourrait supposer حرب et محمد unis par l'annexion persane.

devait nous donner la date. Une variété contient, dans le haut, une première ligne dans laquelle je désirerais lire *تاج الملوك* ou *تاج الدين* ; je n'y trouve que *حابوب* ?

*Rev.* Au centre, en gros caractères :


Harb.

Les trois annelets placés triangulairement figurent sur les quatre exemplaires ; ils sont légèrement plus gros ou plus petits. Le point placé sous le *ب* ne se rencontre que sur deux variétés.

Tout autour du nom du prince, un cercle très fin. En dehors, des restes de la mission prophétique. En dehors encore, traces d'un cercle très fin et d'un rebord.

Dans votre beau Catalogue des Monnaies orientales du *British Museum* (t. iii., p. 13—18), vous signalez l'existence de 14 pièces de gouverneurs du Sedjestân, savoir :

- 1 derham de Kutheyyir ibn Ahmad de l'an 306.
- 3 dinârs de Khalaf des années 33x, 334,<sup>2</sup> et 33x.
- 1 fels du même de l'année 325.
- 2 fels d'Ahmad ibn Mohammad, Sidjistân, ans 340 et 343.
- 6 dinârs de Khalaf ibn Ahmad, Sidjistân, ans 366, 3xx, 3x3, 375 et 37x (sans nom de localité sur trois de ces pièces ; sans date sur l'une d'elles).
- 1 dinâr d'El Hosayn ebn Tâher, sous le Khalifat d'Et-Tâyé' lillah (qui régna de 363 à 381).

Le premier et le dernier des gouverneurs sus-mentionnés n'appartiennent pas à la famille des Saffârides.

Ni Ebn el Aîr ni Ebn Khaldou'n n'indiquant qu'il faille

<sup>2</sup> La localité douteuse de ce dinâr ne pourrait-elle se lire *زرنج* ?

donner à Kaṭîr la forme diminutive, je vous demanderai la permission de suivre leur exemple.

Kaṭîr ebn Ahmad ebn Chahfoûr s'était emparé du Sedjestân à une époque qui n'est pas précisée par les auteurs que j'ai sous la main,<sup>3</sup> mais postérieure à l'an 300 de l'hégire. A cette dernière date en effet, Simdjoûr ed-Dawâty fut investi du gouvernement de cette province par Ahmad, fils d'Ismâ'îl, le Samanide, qui l'avait déjà conquise une première fois en 298. Aussitôt que Kaṭîr se fut rendu maître du pays, le Khalife (El Moqtader billah) envoya l'ordre à Badr ebn 'Abd Allah el Hamâmy, gouverneur du Fârès, d'expédier une armée contre lui, sous le commandement de Dard<sup>4</sup> et de charger Zayd ebn Ibrâhîm de la perception de l'impôt dans le Sedjestân. En conséquence Badr équipa une nombreuse armée et la fit partir. Quand elle fut arrivée, Kaṭîr lui livra bataille ; mais il ne se trouvait pas assez fort pour soutenir la lutte et l'armée faillit s'emparer de la capitale. Cependant les habitants ayant été informés que Zayd apportait avec lui des chaînes et des carcans qu'il destinait aux plus notables, se réunirent à Kaṭîr, dont ils devinrent les ardents partisans et combattirent sous ses drapeaux. Ils mirent en déroute les troupes du Khalife et firent Zayd prisonnier. On trouva en sa possession les chaînes et les carcans et on les lui mit aux pieds et au cou. Kaṭîr écrivit au Khalife pour se disculper de cette conduite en en rejetant la faute sur les habitants de la ville. Le Khalife enjoignit alors à Badr el Hamâmy de marcher en personne contre le rebelle. Kaṭîr, ayant appris que Badr avait fait ses préparatifs, eut peur et envoya demander que, moyennant le

<sup>3</sup> Ebn el Aṭîr, viii. 77.—Ebn Khaldoun, iii. 370 et 388.

<sup>4</sup> Quelques manuscrits et Ebn Khaldoun écrivent Dark.

paiement annuel de 500,000 derhams,<sup>5</sup> la *moqâta'ah*<sup>6</sup> (ferme, *apalte*) lui fût concédée. Sa demande fut accueillie favorablement et il fut confirmé dans la possession du pays. Il est difficile de savoir jusqu'à quelle année il en resta le maître. Il l'était encore en 306, ainsi que le prouve le derham du *British Museum*. Mais Ebn el Aṭîr nous apprend implicitement qu'un 'Amr ebn El Layṭ (peut-être le fils d'El Layṭ ebn 'Aly ebn El Layṭ, ou le frère de Tâher et d'Ya'qoûb) était seigneur du Sedjestân en 307.<sup>7</sup> "Ahmad ebn Sahl," rapporte l'historien, "était le lieutenant d'Amr ebn El Layṭ à Merou. 'Amr se saisit de lui et le fit conduire à Sedjestân où il l'emprisonna. S'étant sauvé de prison, il enleva Merou au lieutenant d'Amr et s'en empara; il demanda ensuite *l'amân* à Ismâ'il ebn Ahmad, à Bokhâra, et ce prince le lui accorda."

Jusqu'à l'année 316, il n'est plus question du Sedjestân. A cette époque, un *Khârédjite* s'empara de ce pays et marcha à la tête d'une bande de ses partisans contre le pays de Fâres dans le but de s'en rendre maître. Mais ses compagnons le tuèrent avant qu'il y fût parvenu et se dispersèrent.<sup>8</sup>

En 318, El Moqtader donna à son fils Hâroûn le gouvernement du Fâres, du Kermân, du *Sedjestân* et du Mokrân.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Le MS. A de Tornberg et Ebn Khaldou'n portent *dînârs*. Le derham du *British Museum* pesant 3·551 gr., les 500,000 derhams auraient pesé 1,775,500 grammes d'argent, alliage compris.

<sup>6</sup> Ebn Khaldou'n se sert du mot *iqṭâ'*, que l'on traduit généralement par *sief*, *bénéfice*.

<sup>7</sup> viii. 86—87.

<sup>8</sup> Ebn el Aṭîr, viii. 146.

<sup>9</sup> Ebn el Aṭîr, viii. 164.

En 319, le même Khalife investit Abou Bakr Mohamad ebn Ya'qoûb du gouvernement du *Sedjestân*.<sup>10</sup>

“Il faut savoir que<sup>11</sup> le *Sedjestân*<sup>12</sup> se nomme aussi Séistân et Nîmrouz<sup>13</sup>. C'est une vaste contrée dont toutes les villes font partie du troisième *climat*. Sa capitale Zarandj est une grande cité; les eaux coulent au milieu des rues; ses marchés et ses bazars sont très beaux. Les limites de la contrée sont: à l'ouest, le Khorâsân; au sud et à l'est, le désert et, au nord, l'Hindostân. Le pays est tout plat; il n'y a pas une seule montagne. Il y souffle des vents violents qui transportent le sable d'un endroit à un autre.<sup>14</sup> La vie, dans cette province, est à bas prix; les grenades, les raisins et les dattes y abondent. Le grand *Sandjâq* de Rokhkhadj<sup>15</sup> est une province très vaste dont la capitale est la ville de Nakhdjowân.<sup>16</sup> Les villes les plus connues du Séistân sont: Khowâch,<sup>17</sup> Dar-

<sup>10</sup> Ebn el Aîr, viii. 165. Ebn Khaldoun place cet événement en l'année 318.

<sup>11</sup> Munedjdjim Bâchi, ii. 424.

<sup>12</sup> On appelle *Sedjestân* la province aussi bien que sa capitale Zarandj, dont le nom est tombé en désuétude. Cf. Abou'l féda, Géogr., p. 340.

<sup>13</sup> Le *Marâsed* ne donne pas le nom de Séistân; mais sous Nîmrouz l'auteur dit que ce dernier nom est persan et donné à la province et à la contrée du *Sedjestân*.

<sup>14</sup> Abou'l féda, *l.c.*, p. 341, s'exprime ainsi: “Lorsque les habitants veulent transporter le sable d'un endroit à un autre, ils font un mur en bois ou autres matériaux et pratiquent dans le bas des portes et des fenêtres. Le vent, pénétrant par ces portes, fait voler le sable, qu'il projette au loin.”

<sup>15</sup> “*Kourah* dépendante du *Sedjestân*.”—*Marâsed*.

<sup>16</sup> Nakhdjowân, appelé aussi Naqdjowân, est une ville de l'extrême Adrabidjân. C'est Bendjowân qu'il faut lire ici. Voy. Abou'l féda, *l.c.*, p. 343.

<sup>17</sup> “Ville du *Sedjestân*, à la gauche de celui qui se dirige vers Tostar, à une journée de marche de *Sedjestân*. Les dattiers, les (autres) arbres et les eaux y abondent.”—*Marâsed*.

ghach,<sup>18</sup> le château d'Et-Tâq,<sup>19</sup> Sarwân,<sup>20</sup> Bost,<sup>21</sup>—la longitude de cette dernière ville est de 95 et sa latitude de 35 degrés.<sup>22</sup> Elle est située sur la rive du fleuve Hendmend et à quatorze journées de marche de Ghazneh ;—Ars<sup>23</sup> est une petite ville d'où sont sortis les rois Saffârîdes. Hérât est à quatorze journées de marche de Zarandj, qui est la capitale ; Bost en est à huit journées ; la frontière du Kermân en est également à huit journées.

“ Au commencement (de l'islamisme), en l'année 22 (de l'hégire), 'Âsem ebn 'Amr fit la conquête de la province<sup>24</sup> et la soumit au paiement du *kharâdj*. Les habitants ayant rompu le traité en l'année 31, Rabî' ebn Zyâd s'empara une seconde fois du pays<sup>25</sup> après une lutte acharnée. Plus tard, par suite des discordes qui éclatèrent entre les musulmans, les infidèles s'en rendirent maîtres de nouveau. Enfin, sous le règne d'Abd el Malek, il fut purifié.”

Munedjdjim Bâchi nous expose ensuite en ces termes les origines de la dynastie des Saffârîdes de la seconde branche, gouverneurs du Sedjestân :

<sup>18</sup> Manque dans le *Marâsed* ; est mentionnée par Abou'l féda.

<sup>19</sup> “ Et-Tâq, ville du Sedjestân, du côté du Khorasân. Elle possède un arrondissement cultivé (*rostâq*) étendu et on y trouve beaucoup de raisins.”—*Marâsed*.

<sup>20</sup> “ Petite ville des dépendances (من أعمال) ; Abou'l féda dit seulement (من) du Sedjestân. On y trouve beaucoup de fruits, des raisins et des dattiers. Elle est située à deux journées de marche de Bost.”—*Marâsed*.

<sup>21</sup> “ Ville située entre Sedjestân, Ghaznîn et Hérât. Elle est du nombre des villes chaudes et abonde en cours d'eau et en jardins.”—*Marâsed*.

<sup>22</sup> Abou'l féda lui donne pour longitude 91° 32' et pour latitude 32° 15'.

<sup>23</sup> Il n'en est pas fait mention dans le *Marâsed*.

<sup>24</sup> Ebn el Ațir place cet événement sous l'année 23 (t. ii. 34).

<sup>25</sup> Ebn el Ațir, iii. 100—101.

“Tâher, fils de Layṭ Saffâr,<sup>26</sup> ayant été tué, laissa un fils nommé Khalaf; celui-ci fut élevé par ses oncles paternels Ya‘qoûb et ‘Amr,<sup>27</sup> qui lui confiaient quelques fonctions peu importantes. Ce prince mourut aussi, laissant un fils du nom de Mohammad, qui eut à son tour un fils nommé Ahmad. Tous deux furent au service d’Amr. Ensuite Mohammad ayant été tué, Ahmad se traîna quelque temps dans l’affliction et le malheur. Mais comme en sa personne éclataient des marques de loyauté et d’intelligence, l’émir Ahmad ebn Ismâ‘il, de la famille des Samanîdes, étant venu à Hérât,<sup>28</sup> l’attacha à sa personne et, par suite de sa fidélité à remplir ses fonctions, l’admit dans son intimité. L’émir Ahmad ayant été tué,<sup>29</sup> les grands de la cour voulurent proclamer son fils Nasr, âgé

<sup>26</sup> Les chroniqueurs ne font aucune mention de ce Tâher, qui aurait été le quatrième fils d’El Layṭ es-Saffâr.

<sup>27</sup> Il s’agit sans doute ici des deux princes Saffarîdes dont les monnaies nous sont connues; le premier cessa de régner en 265 et le second en 287.

<sup>28</sup> En 297. Au commencement de l’année suivante, il envoya une armée contre le Sedjestân, qu’il enleva à El Mo’addel ebn ‘Aly ebn El Layṭ. Le frère de ce dernier, El Layṭ ebn ‘Aly, avait été envoyé par Mounès à Baghdâd en 297; c’est donc à cette date que s’arrêterait son règne, et la liste des Saffarîdes qui figure dans le Catalogue du *British Museum* aurait pu ajouter comme V<sup>e</sup> souverain, de 297 à 298, El Mo’addel ebn ‘Aly, sur qui Ahmad ebn Ismâ‘il conquiert le Sedjestân. Cf. Ebn el Aṭîr, viii. 43 et 46. Il faut remarquer toutefois que le Catalogue mentionne un derham frappé à Bost par El Layṭ ebn ‘Aly en l’année 298; ce qui prouve d’une manière incontestable que ce n’est pas en 297, mais l’année suivante qu’El Layṭ cessa de régner. Le règne d’El Mo’addel n’a pu avoir qu’une très courte durée.

<sup>29</sup> En l’année 301.—Les habitants du Sedjestân profitèrent de cet événement pour se soulever; Simdjoûr ed-Dawâty quitta le pays. El Moqtader billah donna alors le gouvernement du Sedjestân à Badr el Kabîr (Ebn el Aṭîr, viii. 59—60).

de huit ans. Epouvanté par le meurtre de son père auquel il avait assisté, le jeune prince résistait. 'Vous voulez,' disait-il, 'me tuer comme mon père.' Notre Ahmad<sup>30</sup> l'ayant pris sur ses épaules, l'éleva sur le trône et parvint à le calmer par des caresses. Sa conduite en cette circonstance lui attira naturellement l'affection de Nasr : parvenu à sa majorité, il le nomma, avec l'assentiment des grands officiers du royaume, gouverneur du Sedjestân, dont la population vivait au milieu des troubles et des désordres, refusant d'obéir à tout autre qu'un membre des Banou Layt. Ahmad exerça le pouvoir jusqu'à sa mort.

" Ces (souverains) furent au nombre de huit. Le siège de leur royauté était Zarandj. Ils régnèrent depuis l'année 310 jusqu'à l'année 952,<sup>31</sup> pendant 642 ans. Voici leur généalogie :

" Ahmad, fils de Mohammad, fils de Khalaf, fils de Tâher,  
 fils de Layt;  
 Khalaf, fils d'Ahmad;  
 Tâher, fils de Khalaf;  
 ['Amr, fils de Khalaf;]<sup>32</sup>  
 [Abou Hafs, fils de Khalaf;]  
 Mohammad, fils de Tâher;  
 Tâher, fils de Mohammad;  
 [Tâdj ed-din Abou'l fadl] Nasr, fils de Tâher;  
 Mohammad 'Ezz el moloûk  
 et [Abou'l fath] Chams ed-din Ahmad } fils de Nasr ;

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Ebn el Aâtir, viii. 58 *sub anno* 301. Cet auteur et Mirkhond (*Hist. des Samanides*, p. 131) l'appellent Ahmad ebn Mohammad ebn El Layt. Ont-ils supprimé dans la filiation, avant *ebn El Layt*, ebn Khalaf ebn Tâher? Dans le tableau généalogique de cette dynastie je ne trouve pas de Mohammad ebn El Layt.

<sup>31</sup> Cette date et le chiffre qui suit sont évidemment erronés, les Tatars ayant envahi le Sedjestân en l'année 617.

<sup>32</sup> Les noms placés entre crochets ne figurent pas dans la liste de Munedjdjim Bâchi.

Tâdj el moloûk [ou Tâdj ed-dîn] Harb, fils de Mo-  
hammad 'Ezz el moloûk ;  
Nâser ed-dîn, fils de Tâdj el moloûk ;  
Yamîn ed-dauleh Chehrân Châh, fils de Nâser ed-din ;  
Nasîr ed-dîn Behrâm Châh } fils d'Yamîn ed-dauleh  
et Reukn ed-dîn Mahmôûd } Chehrân Châh."

## AHMAD.

A la relation, donnée ci-dessus, de la part que prit ce prince à l'élévation au trône de Nasr ebn Ahmad, le Samanide, en l'année 301, il faut ajouter qu'en l'année 261,<sup>33</sup> il avait été nommé pour peu de temps gouverneur de Bokhâra et qu'en l'année 263,<sup>34</sup> Ya'qoûb ebn El Layt s'étant avancé du Fâres et étant parvenu à Noubandadjân,<sup>35</sup> Ahmad ebn El Layt (*sic*) s'en alla de Tostar.<sup>36</sup> A sa mort, son fils

KHALAF<sup>37</sup>

lui succéda. Versé dans la science, esprit supérieur, aimant les savants et accueillant les gens de mérite, il donna son nom à plusieurs ouvrages estimés. De ce nombre est un commentaire (du Qor'ân) en cent volumes, qui fut rédigé par un groupe d'*culamâ* et dans lequel se trouve réuni tout ce qui est relatif à cette science.<sup>38</sup> Les

<sup>33</sup> Ebn el Aîr, vii. 193.

<sup>34</sup> Ebn el Aîr, vii. 213.

<sup>35</sup> " Ville sur le territoire du Fâres et faisant partie de l'arrondissement (*Koûrah*) de Sâboûr ; elle est à proximité de la vallée de Bawwân, vantée pour sa beauté et ses sites pittoresques. Entre Noubandadjân et Arradjân on compte 26 parasanges ; la même distance à peu près la sépare de Chîrâz."—*Marâsed*.

<sup>36</sup> " Actuellement la plus grande ville du Khouzistân. . . ."—*Marâsed*. Voy. pour plus de détails sur cette ville le *Dict. de la Perse* de M. Barbier de Meynard.

<sup>37</sup> Munedjdjîm Bâchi, ii. p. 425—427 ; Ebn el Aîr, viii. 416—417.

<sup>38</sup> Hadji Khalifah (ii. p. 360, No. 3263) fait mention de cet ouvrage sous le titre de "*Tafsîr Khalaf ebn Ahmad, seigneur du Sedjestân, mort en l'année 399, une des œuvres les plus considérables.*"

poètes les plus célèbres et une foule de littérateurs ont chanté, dans les poèmes les plus harmonieux, les louanges et les belles qualités de ce prince. On cite parmi eux Abou'l fath Bosty, Abou Bakr Khawârezmy et la *merveille* (*du temps*), Hamadâny, dont il existe des *qasîdeh* élégantes et sans pareilles.<sup>39</sup>

En l'année 353,<sup>40</sup> Khalaf voulant accomplir le devoir du pèlerinage sacré, laissa dans le Sedjestân, en qualité de son lieutenant, son gendre<sup>41</sup> Tâher ebn El Hosayn. Tâher trouva ainsi des forces et, l'année suivante, quand Khalaf revint de la Mekke, il leva l'étendard de la révolte. Le souverain dépossédé se rendit à Bokhâra auprès du prince Samanîde Mansoûr ebn Noûh, dont il implora le secours et, avec les troupes qu'il lui donna, il reprit le chemin du Sedjestân. Informé de leur marche, Tâher abandonna la ville et gagna Asfarâin.<sup>42</sup> Khalaf rentra dans sa capitale et reprit possession de son royaume. Mais à peine

<sup>39</sup> Les biographies de ces trois poètes se trouvent dans *Ebn Khallikân's Dictionary*: t. ii. p. 314; t. ii. p. 108; et t. i. p. 112.

<sup>40</sup> Il est évident qu'à cette date Khalaf régnait déjà depuis plusieurs années, probablement depuis 344. On doit croire aussi qu'il avait usurpé le trône du vivant de son père, puisque le *British Museum* possède 3 dinârs frappés par lui postérieurement à l'année 330 et un fels de l'an 325? L'absence, sur ces pièces, du nom d'Ahmad me paraît venir à l'appui de mon hypothèse. D'ailleurs quel autre Khalaf aurait pu, à l'époque dont il s'agit, régner sur le Sedjestân?

<sup>41</sup> صهرى, porte le texte turc. "Un de ses compagnons," dit Ebn el Aîr.

<sup>42</sup> "Petite ville fortifiée des districts de Naysâboûr, à mi-chemin du Djordjân. Elle s'appelaît autrefois Mehradjân. Actuellement Mehradjân est un village de ses dépendances."—*Marâsed*. Ebn el Aîr est plus exact en appelant cette localité *Asforâr*; mais il faut lire *Asfozâr*, "ville des districts du Sedjestân, du côté d'Hérât."—*Marâsed*.

eut-il congédié ses troupes que Tâher en ayant eu connaissance revint l'attaquer et se rendit maître du Sedjestân. Khalaf retourna à Bokhâra. L'émir Mansoûr le combla d'honneurs et de marques de bienveillance et lui prêta l'aide d'une armée nombreuse avec laquelle il le renvoya dans le Sedjestân. Son arrivée coïncida avec la mort de Tâher et l'élévation au trône de son fils El Hosayn. Khalaf assiégea celui-ci, le serra de près et, après de fortes pertes des deux côtés, demeura vainqueur. En présence de sa défaite, El Hosayn écrivit à Bokhâra pour s'excuser : il protestait de sa soumission et implorait son pardon. L'émir Mansoûr accueillit favorablement sa prière et lui fit savoir qu'il pouvait se rendre à sa cour. Il quitta donc le pays, se dirigeant vers Bokhâra, et Khalaf ebn Ahmad demeura dans le Sedjestân, où son règne se prolongea.<sup>43</sup> Toutefois, avec le temps, ses richesses s'accrurent, le nombre de ses guerriers augmenta. Il cessa alors d'envoyer à Bokhâra les robes d'honneur, les présents et le tribut qu'il était tenu d'adresser aux Samanîdes. L'émir Mansoûr expédia aussitôt, sous le commandement du dit El Hosayn ebn Tâher, des troupes qui marchèrent sur le Sedjestân et assiégèrent Khalaf dans la citadelle d'Ark,<sup>44</sup> l'une des plus fortes et des plus élevées qui existent et dont le fossé est aussi un des plus profonds. Le siège dura sept ans et devint la cause de l'affaiblissement de la dynastie des Samanîdes, car chaque année il absorbait de grandes sommes et un nombre considérable d'hommes.

<sup>43</sup> En l'an 857, il adressait des envoyés à 'Adeud ed-daulch dans le Fâres et faisait célébrer la *kheutbeh* au nom de ce prince. Voy. Ebn el Atîr, viii. 433.

<sup>44</sup> "Ark, nom donné à d'énormes constructions élevées à Zarandj, capitale du Sedjestân et résidence de l'émir; elles renferment la citadelle."—*Marâsed*.

Khalaf avait recours pour soutenir la lutte à toute sorte d'armes et de ruses : il faisait même faire la chasse aux serpents et, à l'aide de machines, lancer ces reptiles, mis dans des sacs, au milieu des assiégeants ; ce qui les obligeait à se transporter d'un endroit à un autre. Cependant le siège traînait en longueur ; les approvisionnements et les munitions étaient épuisés. Noûh ebn Mansoûr envoya à Abou'l Hasan ebn Simdjoûr, émir des armées du Khorâsân et en ce moment destitué de ses fonctions, l'ordre de marcher contre Khalaf et de l'assiéger. Le général se trouvait dans le Qohestân ;<sup>45</sup> il en partit pour se rendre dans le Sedjestân et assiéger Khalaf. Comme il était lié d'amitié avec le prince, il lui fit parvenir, à l'aide d'un messager, le conseil d'abandonner la forteresse d'Ark et de la livrer à El Hosayn ebn Tâher : il fournirait ainsi aux troupes qui le tenaient assiégé le moyen et le prétexte de retourner à Bokhâra ; une fois l'armée dispersée, il reprendrait la lutte contre El Hosayn et Bakr ebn El Hosayn qui se trouveraient sans soldats. Khalaf suivit ce conseil et quitta la forteresse d'Ark pour celle d'Et-Tâq.<sup>46</sup> Abou'l Hasan es-Sîmdjoûry entra dans la place abandonnée et y fit célébrer la prière publique au nom de l'émir Noûh ebn Mansoûr ; puis il s'éloigna après y avoir installé

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<sup>45</sup> " Qoûhestân, par arabisation du mot *Kiouhistân*, qui signifie *endroit montagneux*. Ce qui est connu sous ce nom est un district (du Khorasân) dont les extrémités se relient aux districts d'Hérât. Il s'étend dans les montagnes, en longueur, jusque près de Nahâwend, de Hamadân et de Baroûdjerd. Ce sont des montagnes appelées toutes de ce nom, entre Hérât et Naysâboûr. La capitale du Qoûhestân est Qâin et ses villes les plus importantes sont Qawn, Djonâbed, Tabas et Torçit."—*Marâsed*.

<sup>46</sup> Tornberg a imprimé par erreur Et-Târeq.

El Hosayn ebn Tâher.<sup>47</sup> Deux mois après, les troupes de Bokhâra considérant leur tâche comme terminée retournèrent dans leurs foyers et sur ces entrefaites Khalaf revint, chassa El Hosayn du Sedjestân et reprit possession de son royaume. Ses forces et sa puissance s'étaient accrues avec ses richesses; mais malgré qu'il nourrît dans son esprit le projet de s'emparer du Kermân, il ne pouvait y donner cours à cause de la trêve qui existait entre lui et 'Adeud ed-dauleh. Ce prince étant mort,<sup>48</sup> Charaf ed-daulch (son fils) monta sur le trône: son gouvernement fut paisible et régulier et s'écoula au milieu de la sécurité. Khalaf ne bougea pas. Mais lorsque, après la mort de Charaf ed-dauleh,<sup>49</sup> les princes Bouwayhîdes se querellèrent entre eux et que la zizanie éclata entre Samsâm ed-dauleh et Bahâ ed-dauleh, la convoitise de Khalaf<sup>50</sup> devint plus ardente et, saisissant l'occasion, il expédia,<sup>51</sup> à la tête

<sup>47</sup> Le dinâr d'El Hosayn ebn Tâher, décrit dans le Catalogue du *British Museum* (iii. p. 18) et dont la date et la localité sont effacées, doit avoir été frappé à cette époque, c'est-à-dire entre les années 375 et 380. J'inclinerais pour la dernière date. En effet, le Khalife Et-Tâyé' cessa de régner en ramadân 381. Khalaf se retrouvait alors non seulement maître du Sedjestân, mais assez fort pour envoyer son fils attaquer le Kermân. En outre il avait continué à battre monnaie pendant le siège, puisqu'il existe au *British Museum* un dinâr portant son nom et frappé en l'an 375. Il est possible, cependant, que le dinâr d'El Hosayn ait été frappé lors de la première occupation du Sedjestân par le fils et successeur de Tâher.

<sup>48</sup> En l'an 372.

<sup>49</sup> Il mourut en l'an 379.

<sup>50</sup> En commençant le récit de cette expédition, Ebn el Atîr (ix. 57—59) appelle Khalaf *fils de Bânou*, fille d'Amr ebn El Layt es-Saffâr. Il faut supposer que l'historien omet deux degrés de filiation, 'Amr ebn El Layt es-Saffâr étant mort en 387, et que Bânou était fille d'Amr, fils d'Ya'qoûb, fils de Mohammad, fils d'Amr, fils de Layt es-Saffâr.

<sup>51</sup> Cette campagne eut lieu en l'an 381.

d'une nombreuse armée, son fils 'Amr contre le Kermân, où se trouvait un général appelé Tamortâch, que Charaf ed-dauleh avait investi du gouvernement de cette province. Avant que ce gouverneur eût connaissance de rien, 'Amr était déjà dans son voisinage. Il ne lui restait d'autre ressource que celle d'entrer dans Bardasîr<sup>52</sup> avec ses compagnons. Ils emportèrent ce qu'ils purent; 'Amr se saisit du reste et s'empara du Kermân à l'exception de Bardasîr. Il extorqua des habitants de fortes sommes et recueillit les impôts.

Quand la nouvelle de ces événements parvint à Samsâm ed-dauleh, qui était seigneur du Fârès,<sup>53</sup> il envoya des troupes à Tamortâch, sous le commandement d'un général nommé Abou Dja'far, et ordonna à celui-ci de se saisir de Tamortâch, dès qu'il l'aurait rejoint, attendu qu'il le soupçonnait de pencher en faveur de son frère Bahâ ed-dauleh. Abou Dja'far se mit en marche, arriva auprès de Tamortâch et, l'ayant logé chez lui sous prétexte qu'ils avaient à se concerter sur ce qu'ils devaient faire, le fit arrêter et conduire à Chîràz. Il se dirigea alors, à la tête de toutes les troupes, contre 'Amr ebn Khalaf pour lui livrer bataille. La rencontre eut lieu à Dârazîn.<sup>54</sup> Les deux partis en étant venus aux mains, Abou Dja'far et les Daylamîtes furent mis en déroute et s'en retournèrent par le chemin de Djyraft.<sup>55</sup> Samsâm ed-dauleh et ses officiers furent très

<sup>52</sup> "La plus grande ville du Kermân, sur la limite du désert situé entre le Kermân et le Khorâsân; elle se trouve à deux journées de marche d'Es-Sîradjân."—*Marâsed*.

<sup>53</sup> Depuis l'an 379. Le Fârès est limitrophe du Kermân.

<sup>54</sup> "*Dâr Razîn*, district du Sedjestân ou, suivant quelques-uns, du Kermân."—*Marâsed*. La dernière opinion est la bonne.

<sup>55</sup> "Ville du Kermân, une des plus importantes et des plus

troublés en apprenant cette nouvelle; puis ils tombèrent d'accord sur l'envoi d'El 'Abbâs ebn Ahmad à la tête d'une armée plus nombreuse que la première. Ils le firent donc partir avec des troupes considérables et d'immenses munitions. Il marcha jusqu'à ce qu'il atteignit 'Amr; l'ayant rencontré près de Sîradjân,<sup>56</sup> il engagea le combat. Mais le fils de Khalaf fut défait et plusieurs de ses généraux et compagnons tombèrent prisonniers. Cette bataille eut lieu en moharram, l'an 382. 'Amr retourna en pleine déroute dans le Sedjestân auprès de son père. Quand il parut devant lui, celui-ci l'accabla de reproches, puis il l'emprisonna et, quelques jours après, le fit mettre à mort. Il lava lui-même son corps, récita la prière funèbre et l'inhuma dans la citadelle. "On est très étonné," ajoute Munedjdjim Bâchi, "de trouver une telle inhumanité unie à tant de science et de mérite!"

Quelque temps après, Samsâm ed-dauleh enleva le (gouvernement du) Kermân à El 'Abbâs pour en investir l'Ostâd d'Hormoz.<sup>57</sup> Quand ce dernier fut arrivé dans le Kermân, Khalaf, ayant peur de lui, lui adressa des propositions de paix et s'excusa de ce qu'il avait fait. La paix fut conclue; mais Khalaf n'en conservait pas moins le

pittoresques de cette province. On y trouve des dattiers et des fruits."—*Marâsed*.

<sup>56</sup> "Ville entre le Kermân et le Fârs. Suivant quelques-uns, elle est le chef-lieu de *l'eqlîm* du Kermân, la plus grande de ses villes principales et celle où l'on rencontre le plus de science, d'intelligence et de beauté physique. L'air y est sain; l'eau tempérée. Les eaux sont fournies par deux canaux; elles coulent dans l'intérieur de la ville et entrent dans les maisons."—*Marâsed*.

<sup>57</sup> Le *Marâsed* ne cite que la ville de ce nom située sur le golfe persique. La carte de Spruner en marque une autre au nord-est de Djyraft et au sud de Bamm. C'est probablement de celle-ci qu'il s'agit d'après la suite du récit.

désir de soumettre le Kermân à son empire. Or il y avait dans le Sedjestân un qâdy de l'islâm, personnage dévot, très vénéré et estimé du peuple, accueilli par les grands et par les petits; il s'appelait Abou Yousef et prêchait sans cesse à la population de s'abstenir de faire la guerre à des musulmans pour le bon plaisir du souverain. A cause de lui Khalaf ne pouvait attaquer le Kermân. Il l'envoya donc auprès de l'Ostâd d'Hormoz en le faisant accompagner par un homme chargé de l'empoisonner dès qu'il serait chez le gouverneur et de revenir en toute hâte en publiant partout que l'Ostâd d'Hormoz l'avait tué. Abou Yousef partit pour le Kermân. L'Ostâd l'ayant invité à un repas, il se rendit à son invitation et mangea. Mais aussitôt qu'il fut rentré chez lui, l'assassin lui administra un breuvage empoisonné dont il mourut, puis étant monté sur un dromadaire il retourna à marches forcées auprès de son maître. Khalaf réunit en sa présence les notables de la ville afin qu'ils entendissent son récit: il raconta alors que l'Ostâd d'Hormoz avait tué le qâdy Abou Yousef. Khalaf versa des larmes et se montra très affligé de sa mort. Il fit en même temps publier qu'il fallait envahir le Kermân et venger Abou Yousef. La population accourut en masse à son appel, et il fit partir cette armée sous le commandement de son fils Tâher. Arrivés à Narmâsîr<sup>58</sup> où se trouvaient les troupes Daylamîtes, les envahisseurs les mirent en déroute et leur enlevèrent la ville. Les Daylams atteignirent Djyraft où ils se rassemblèrent, et mirent en état de défense Bardasîr, la ville la plus importante et la capitale du Kermân.

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<sup>58</sup> "Ville connue, une des principales du Kermân, à une journée de marche de Bamm et à la même distance d'El Foradj par la route du désert." — *Marâsed*.

Tâher se dirigea vers cette ville, qu'il assiégea pendant trois mois. Réduits à la dernière extrémité, les habitants écrivirent à l'Ostâd d'Hormoz pour lui faire connaître leur situation, ajoutant que, s'il n'accourait à leur secours, ils livreraient la place. Ce gouverneur, bravant tous les dangers, pressa sa marche à travers les défilés et les montagnes escarpées jusqu'à ce qu'il atteignit Bardasîr. A son arrivée près de la ville, Tâher et ses compagnons s'éloignèrent et retournèrent dans le Sedjestân. Le Kermân resta aux Daylams. Cet événement eut lieu l'année 384.<sup>59</sup>

Khalaf affecta pendant quelque temps une certaine amitié pour Yamîn ed-dauleh Mahmoûd, fils de Sebuktékîn. Puis, profitant de ce que ce prince était occupé à faire la guerre à son frère Ismâ'îl, il envoya son fils Tâher dans le Qohestân (en l'année 390). Tâher s'empara de cette province et ensuite de Bouchandj,<sup>60</sup> ville qui, avec Hérât,<sup>61</sup> appartenait en propre à Boghrâdjîq, oncle paternel d'Yamîn ed-dauleh. Aussitôt qu'Yamîn ed-dauleh fut débarrassé de la guerre qu'il avait entreprise, son oncle lui demanda et obtint l'autorisation de chasser Tâher de ses domaines. Il marcha contre lui, l'atteignit dans les districts de Bouchandj et le mit en déroute dans une première rencontre ; mais Boghrâdjîq s'étant entêté à le poursuivre, Tâher fit volte face, s'élança sur lui, le tua et, étant descendu de cheval, lui coupa la

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<sup>59</sup> Muncedjîm Bâchi dit que cette campagne infructueuse fut conduite par Khalaf lui-même.

<sup>60</sup> " Petite ville pittoresque et forte, dans une vallée bien boisée, à dix parasanges d'Hérât, dont elle forme un des districts." — *Marâsed*.

<sup>61</sup> *Harât*, grande ville connue, une des principales du Khorâsân. On y trouve de nombreux jardins et des eaux abondantes. Toutefois elle a été ruinée par les Tatars." — *Marâsed*.

tête et l'emporta. Mahmoûd fut très affligé de la mort de son oncle : il rassembla aussitôt ses troupes et marcha contre Khalaf, qui se fortifia dans le château d'Asbahbod,<sup>62</sup> si élevé qu'il menace les astres. Il l'y assiégea vigoureuusement et le réduisit à la dernière extrémité. A bout de ressources, Khalaf demanda humblement l'*amân*, en envoyant une somme considérable et s'engageant à verser encore chaque année autant d'argent que le vainqueur en exigerait. Yamîn ed-dauleh accorda la paix à ces conditions et prit des ôtages pour assurer le paiement des sommes promises.<sup>63</sup>

En l'année 391, Tâher ebn Khalaf ebn Ahmad se révolta contre son père et, après avoir été plusieurs fois vaincu, il sortit du Sedjestân et se dirigea vers le Kermân, où se trouvaient les troupes de Bahâ ed-dauleh à qui le pays appartenait. Elles se réunirent en masse auprès d'Abou Mousa Siâhdjil, leur chef et en même temps l'administrateur de la ville. "Cet homme," lui dirent-elles, "est arrivé avec peu de forces ; notre avis est que tu prennes les devants avant qu'il devienne plus fort et que ses bandes augmentent." Le gouverneur ne tint aucun compte du conseil et dédaigna son adversaire. Cependant la troupe de Tâher s'accrut : il pénétra dans les montagnes, où il rencontra une bande d'hommes révoltés contre le sultan. Avec ce nouveau renfort il descendit sur Djyraft, dont il s'empara ainsi que d'autres villes. convoitant de nouvelles conquêtes, il défit Abou Mousa et les Daylams qui avaient marché contre lui et s'empara d'une partie de

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<sup>62</sup> D'après le commentateur d'Otby (i. p. 359, éd. du Caire), "c'est un fort connu, dans le Sedjestân."

<sup>63</sup> Ebn el Atîr, ix. 113—114. En l'année 390, on découvrit dans le Sedjestân une mine d'or ; on creusait la terre et l'on en extrayait de l'or rouge. (Do. ix. 116.)

ce qui restait en leur possession. Informé par les lettres qu'ils lui adressèrent de la défaite qu'ils avaient essuyée, Bahâ ed-dauleh leur envoya sur-le-champ une armée commandée par Abou Dja'far, fils de l'Ostâd d'Hormoz. Ce général se dirigea vers le Kermân et gagna Bamm,<sup>64</sup> où se trouvait Tâher. Après un combat livré entre les avant-gardes des deux armées, ce dernier quitta le Kermân et reprit la route du Sedjestân. Parvenu dans cette province, il relâcha les prisonniers et les invita à combattre avec lui contre son père, leur jurant que s'ils l'aidaient et se battaient avec lui, il leur donnerait la liberté. Ils acceptèrent sa proposition. Tâher livra bataille à son père, qu'il mit en déroute, et s'empara du pays. Khalaf se retira dans un château qui lui appartenait et où il se fortifia. Après y avoir été assiégé pendant quelque temps, il eut recours à la ruse. Déjà il avait tenté de faire révolter les officiers de son fils ; mais il était aimé à cause de sa bonne conduite qui contrastait avec celle de son père. N'ayant pas réussi, il lui envoya une lettre pleine de caresses et dans laquelle il lui exprimait ses regrets de ce qu'il avait fait et cherchait à le ramener à lui : il n'avait pas d'autre fils,<sup>65</sup> lui disait-il, et craignait qu'après sa mort le pays ne tombât aux mains d'un autre que lui. Il terminait sa lettre en l'engageant à se rendre auprès de lui accompagné d'un détachement, pour conférer ensemble et connaître la situation des affaires. Le rendez-

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<sup>64</sup> " Une des villes les plus considérables du Kermân. Ses habitants ont de l'habileté ; la plupart d'entre eux sont tisserands. Une journée de marche sépare cette ville de Djyraft." — *Marâsed*.

<sup>65</sup> Néanmoins Ebn el Ațir mentionne (ix. 123) un troisième fils de Khalaf, lequel survécut à son père et hérita de ses biens. Munedjdjim Bâchi dit que cet héritier fut Tâher, petit-fils de Khalaf.

vous était donné sous la citadelle. Tâher arrive avec une escorte. Khalaf descend également escorté ; mais il avait disposé une embuscade tout près de là. Dès qu'il se trouve auprès de son fils, il l'embrasse et verse des larmes ; puis, tout en pleurant, pousse un cri. Aussitôt l'embuscade sort et fait Tâher prisonnier. Khalaf tua son fils de sa propre main, lava son corps et l'ensevelit. Il n'avait pas d'autre fils.<sup>66</sup> A peine Tâher fut-il mort que Khalaf se trouva en butte aux convoitises de ses voisins, qui redoutaient son fils à cause de sa bravoure. C'est à cette époque qu'il fut attaqué par Mahmoûd ebn Sebuktékîn<sup>67</sup> et que le souverain Ghaznévide s'empara de son royaume (an 393).

El 'Otby, dans son *Tarikh Yamîny*<sup>68</sup> dit que le motif de la conquête du Sedjestân par Yamîn ed-dauleh fut le suivant : lorsque, en 390, Yamîn ed-dauleh, après avoir fait la paix avec Khalaf, se fut éloigné, le souverain du Sedjestân abandonna volontairement le trône à son fils Tâher et se retira dans un lieu écarté pour se consacrer à la prière et à la science. Mais il n'avait d'autre but en affectant les dehors de la dévotion, que de faire croire à Yamîn ed-dauleh qu'il avait abandonné le pouvoir royal pour ne plus s'occuper que de la vie future, et cela afin que le prince cessât de convoiter son pays. Tâher, une fois sur le trône, désobéit à son père, ne tint aucun compte de ses ordres et se révolta contre lui. Khalaf simula alors une maladie ; il cajola son fils et se montra

<sup>66</sup> Voy. la note précédente. Cf. aussi le *Fath el Wahby*.

<sup>67</sup> Ebn el A'îr, ix. 118—119.

<sup>68</sup> *Histoire d'Yamîn ed-dauleh Mahmoûd ebn Sebuktékîn*. Voy. Hadji Khal, vi. p. 514. Cet ouvrage a été imprimé au Caire en marge de l'édition du *Kâmel d'Ebn el A'îr*. Le commentaire intitulé *El fath el Wahby* a été également imprimé au Caire, en 2 vols.

plein de bienveillance à son égard ; puis, sous prétexte de lui dicter ses dernières volontés, il l'appela dans son château. Tâher, oubliant la méchanceté de son père, vint sans méfiance. Khalaf le fit aussitôt arrêter et jeter en prison. Il y resta jusqu'à ce qu'il mourut. Son père fit croire qu'il s'était donné la mort. Lorsque les troupes de Khalaf et le commandant en chef de son armée apprirent ce qui s'était passé, ils le prirent en haine et refusèrent de lui obéir ; l'armée avait toujours été attachée et dévouée à Tâher. Ils se fortifièrent dans la capitale et, s'étant proclamés sujets d'Yamîn ed-dauleh, ils célébrèrent la prière publique au nom de ce prince, auquel ils dépêchèrent en même temps des envoyés pour lui demander quelqu'un qui prît livraison de la ville. Mahmoûd étant arrivé à la tête d'une armée s'empara de la ville cette même année (393) et forma le projet de poursuivre Khalaf, de se rendre maître de ce qu'il détenait encore et d'en finir avec ses tromperies. Il marcha donc contre lui et l'assiégea dans le château d'Et-Tâq où il s'était réfugié. Cette citadelle était munie de sept solides enceintes et entourée d'un large et profond fossé qu'on ne franchissait que sur un pont-levis qui était relevé à la moindre alerte. Mahmoûd serra de près son ennemi, sans pouvoir toutefois arriver jusqu'à lui. Il ordonna alors de combler le fossé afin que le passage pût s'effectuer. Des bois furent coupés et avec ceux-ci et de la terre on obtint en un seul jour un passage praticable d'où l'on pouvait combattre. Les assiégeants se précipitèrent amenant avec eux les éléphants. Le combat devint acharné ; le danger, menaçant. Déjà le plus grand des éléphants avait arraché et jeté par terre la porte de l'enceinte extérieure et les compagnons d'Yamîn ed-dauleh s'en étaient emparés. Les soldats de Khalaf avaient dû se retirer derrière la deuxième muraille,

et les soldats d'Yamîn ed-dauleh les faisaient reculer d'une enceinte à l'autre. Jugeant à l'acharnement avec lequel on se battait que ses remparts, que ses troupes étaient impuissantes à défendre, allaient tomber au pouvoir de l'ennemi; voyant en même temps ses hommes écrasés sous les pieds des éléphants, Khalaf fut saisi de frayeur et d'épouvante: il envoya implorer l'*amân*, qui lui fut accordé par Yamîn ed-dauleh. Quand il se présenta devant lui, ce prince le combla d'honneurs et de marques de respect et l'autorisa à résider dans telle ville qu'il préférerait. Khalaf choisit le territoire de Djoûzdjân,<sup>69</sup> où il fut conduit avec une pompe convenable. Après s'être emparé du Sedjestân, Yamîn ed-dauleh quitta ce pays et y laissa comme son lieutenant un de ses officiers connu sous le nom de Qandjy le *chambellan*, et qui traita les habitants avec douceur. Cependant des bandes de mauvais sujets ne tardèrent pas à se réunir sous un chef et se révoltèrent contre le sultan. Yamîn ed-dauleh marcha contre eux et les assiégea dans le château d'Ark. Il fut vainqueur, s'empara de leur forteresse et en passa un grand nombre au fil de l'épée. Il fit poursuivre les fuyards, qui furent atteints et massacrés pour la plupart. Le Sedjestân ainsi purgé des rebelles, Yamîn ed-dauleh demeura le maître paisible du pays, qu'il donna en fief à son frère Nasr, déjà investi du gouvernement de Naysâboûr.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Le Commentaire d'El 'Oby, p. 373, dit que le Djoûzdjân (district du Khorâsân) faisait partie des états de Mahmôud. Munedjdjim Bâchi porte par erreur Djordjân.—'Djoûzdjânân, qu'on écrit aussi Djoûzdjân, est le nom d'un vaste arrondissement (*Kourah*) dépendant, avec d'autres, de Balkh, entre cette ville et Merou er-roûd; son chef-lieu s'appelle Yahoudiyeh.'—*Marâsed*.

<sup>70</sup> Ebn el A'îr, ix. 124.

Il y avait quatre ans que Khalaf résidait à Djoûzdjân quand Yamîn ed-dauleh, à qui on rapporta que Khalaf entretenait une correspondance avec le Khân Ylek pour le pousser à l'attaquer, le transféra à Djardîn<sup>71</sup> et l'y fit étroitement surveiller jusqu'à ce qu'il mourut en radjab de l'année 399. Yamîn ed-dauleh remit toute sa succession à son fils Abou Hafs,<sup>72</sup> ou, suivant Munedjdjim Bâchi, à son petit-fils Tâher. Dans la suite, continue ce dernier chroniqueur, la dynastie des Seldjouqîdes ayant fait son apparition, Tâher, qui s'était attaché à Mohammad Alb Arslân et à son fils Malek Châh<sup>73</sup> et était entré à leur service, se rendit avec leur appui maître du Sedjestân, son royaume héréditaire.

Il est à présumer cependant que la dynastie des Saffârides occupa plus d'une fois le trône du Sedjestân entre les années 399 et 455—465. Nous voyons, il est vrai, Mas'oud, fils de Mahmoûd, réunir sous son sceptre, en 422, le Khorâsân, Ghazneh, l'Inde, le Send, le *Sedjestân*, le Kermân, le Mekrân, Er-Rayy, Isbahân, le Djébâl, etc.<sup>74</sup> Sous l'année 433, Ebn el Aîr décrit de nouveau l'étendue de royaume de ce prince et nous dit qu'il se rendit maître d'Isbahân, d'Er-Rayy, de Hamađân et de ses dépendances, du Tabarestân, du Djordjân, du Khorâsân, du Khawârezm,

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<sup>71</sup> C'est Djardiz qu'il faut lire, ainsi que le porte le *Tarîkh Yamîny*, dont le commentateur ajoute, d'après *Sadr el Afâdel*, que ce nom, arabisé de Guerdiz, est celui d'un village fortifié près de Ghazneh et où il existe un château fort. Suivant le *Marâsed*, "Kardiz est une vaste province entre Ghazneh et l'Inde." Dans le texte ture de Munedjdjim Bâchi on a imprimé par erreur *Gueuz*.

<sup>72</sup> Ebn el Aîr, ix. 122—123.

<sup>73</sup> Alb Arslân régna de 455 à 465 et Malek Châh de 465 à 485.

<sup>74</sup> Ebn el Aîr, ix. 283A.

du pays d'Er-Râwen, du Kermân, du *Sedjestân*, du Send, du Rokhkhadj, du pays de Ghoûr et de l'Inde.<sup>75</sup>

En 434, Ibrâhîm Yannâl, frère du sultan Seldjouqide Toghroulbek, marcha sur le *Sedjestân*.<sup>76</sup>

En 441, Mawdoûd, fils de Mas'ouûd, ayant dû rentrer à Ghazneh, malade, fit partir son vizir Abou 'l fath 'Abd er-Râzzâq ebn Ahmad el Mîmandy<sup>77</sup> avec une nombreuse armée pour le *Sedjestân* afin de l'enlever aux Ghozz.<sup>78</sup>

En 444, Toghroul, *hâdjeb* en chef d'Abd er-Rachîd, obtint du sultan Ghaznawîde la permission de chasser les Ghozz du Khorâsân et partit à la tête de mille cavaliers. Il prit la direction du *Sedjestân*, où se trouvait Abou'l fadl en qualité de nâib de (Fakhr el meulk) Bayghou<sup>79</sup> et assiégea la citadelle de Tâq. Puis il envoya inviter Abou'l fadl à reconnaître la souveraineté d'Abd er-Rachîd. Sur son refus, il continua le siège de Tâq pendant quarante jours ; mais, ennuyé de la longueur du siège, il se dirigea vers la ville de *Sedjestân* et, après avoir mis en déroute Bayghou, qui était arrivé au secours de son lieutenant, il s'empara de la ville. . . . A son retour, Toghroul se rendit maître de Ghazneh, tua 'Abd er-Rachîd et épousa, malgré elle, la fille de Mas'ouûd. Il fut lui-même assassiné bientôt après.<sup>80</sup>

Sous l'année 451, il est fait allusion à la prise du Khorâsân, du Tabarestân et du *Sedjestân* par Toghroulbek.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Ebn el A'îr, ix. 333—334.

<sup>76</sup> Ebn el A'îr, ix. 347 et 349.

<sup>77</sup> C'est-à-dire de Mîmand.—“. . . . Il y a aussi un Mîmand dans les districts de Ghazneh.”—*Marâsed*.

<sup>78</sup> Ebn el A'îr, ix. 382.

<sup>79</sup> Prince Seldjouqide, fils de Mikâïl, frère de Toghroulbek et oncle paternel d'Alb Arslân. Cf. Ebn el A'îr, ix. et x.

<sup>80</sup> Ebn el A'îr, ix. 399—400.

<sup>81</sup> Ebn el A'îr, x. 4.

TÂHER.<sup>82</sup>

Ce prince occupa le trône pendant quelque temps, grâce à l'appui des deux souverains Seldjouqîdes Alb Arslân et Malek Châh, ainsi qu'il vient d'être dit. A sa mort, survenue en l'année 479, il eut pour successeur son fils

TÂDJ ED-DÎN ABOU'L FADL NASR.<sup>83</sup>

C'était un prince juste et modéré, savant, vertueux et d'une grande continence. Il fut un des partisans de Sandjar et se signala par sa valeur en plusieurs rencontres.

En l'année 508,<sup>84</sup> le sultan Sandjar ebn Malek Châh, souverain du Khorâsân, expédia des troupes sur Ghazneh contre Arslân Châh,<sup>85</sup> fils d'Alâ ed-dauleh Abou Sa'd Mas'ôud ebn Abî'l Modaffar Ibrâhîm ebn Abî Sa'd Mas'ôud ebn Mahmoûd ebn Sebuktékîn. Il avait placé à la tête de son avant-garde l'émir Onar, général de ses troupes, et était accompagné du roi Behrân Châh (frère d'Arslân Châh). L'armée s'avança jusqu'à Bost, où elle fut rejointe par Abou'l fadl Nasr ebn Khalaf (*sic*), seigneur du Sedjestân.

La rencontre eut lieu à une parasange de Ghazneh, dans la plaine de Chehrâbâd.<sup>86</sup> Arslân Châh avait sous ses ordres trente mille cavaliers et un grand nombre de fantassins; son armée comprenait en outre cent-vingt éléphants portant chacun quatre hommes. Les éléphants se jetèrent sur le centre, où était Sandjar. Ce corps

<sup>82</sup> Munedjdjim Bâchi, ii. 427.

<sup>83</sup> Munedjdjim Bâchi, ii. 427—428. Ebn el A'tîr l'appelle Nasr ebn Kbalaf.

<sup>84</sup> Ebn el A'tîr, x. 353—354. Sandjar régna de 511 à 552.

<sup>85</sup> Ce Ghaznawîde régna de 508 à 512. Sa mère était Seldjouqîde et sœur du sultan Alb Arslân ebn Dâoùd. Son oncle paternel, Nasr, avait aussi épousé une princesse Seldjouqîde, sœur de Sandjar.

<sup>86</sup> Cette plaine n'est pas mentionnée dans le *Marâsed*.

d'armée prenait la fuite ; Sandjar cria à ses pages tures de lancer leurs flèches contre ces animaux. Aussitôt trois mille pages s'avancèrent et, lançant à la fois une volée de traits contre les éléphants, ils en tuèrent un certain nombre. Les autres, se détournant du centre, se jetèrent sur l'aile gauche, commandée par Abou'l fadl, seigneur du Sedjestân. L'épouvante fut la même. Abou'l fadl releva le courage de ses hommes et leur fit peur d'une défaite à une si grande distance de leur pays. Lui-même descendit de cheval, se dirigea vers l'éléphant placé en tête et le chef de la bande, pénétra sous la bête et lui fendit le ventre. Il tua encore deux autres éléphants. L'émir Onar, qui commandait l'aile droite, voyant la lutte soutenue par l'aile gauche et craignant qu'elle ne fût écrasée, se porta à son secours en chargeant par derrière l'armée de Ghazneh, qu'il traversa. La victoire se prononça contre les Ghaznawîdes et fut due au courage de Tâdj ed-dîn. . . . Le sultan Sandjar entra dans Ghazneh le 20 chawwâl de l'année 510, accompagné de Behrâm Châh. Il installa ce prince sur le trône et reprit le chemin du Khorâsân. Jamais avant cette époque, la prière publique n'avait été célébrée à Ghazneh au nom d'un Seldjouqîde.

En l'année 513,<sup>87</sup> la guerre éclata entre Sandjar et son neveu le sultan Mahmoûd,<sup>88</sup> fils de Mohammad.<sup>89</sup> L'armée du Khorâsân comptait 20,000 hommes et 18 éléphants. Au nombre des grands émirs se trouvaient : le fils de l'émir Abou'l fadl, seigneur du Sedjestân, Khawârezm Châh Mohammad, l'émir Onar et l'émir Qomâdj. Elle fut rejointe par 'Alâ ed-dauleh Kerchâsef, fils de Ferâmerz

<sup>87</sup> Ebn el Atîr, x. 387.

<sup>88</sup> Il avait épousé la fille de Sandjar.

<sup>89</sup> Le sultan Mohammad, fils de Malek Châh, fils d'Alb Arslân, mourut l'an 511.

ebn Kakwayh, seigneur d'Yezd et beau-frère du sultan Mohammad et de Sandjar dont il avait épousé la sœur. . . . Sandjar remporta la victoire.

Tâdj ed-dîn se distingua encore par sa bravoure dans une bataille qui eut lieu en l'année 535 : Sandjar ayant été mis en déroute par l'armée des Khétâ, il se dévoua<sup>90</sup> et adressa au sultan ces paroles : " Vous, sauvez votre tête ; moi, je demeurerai à votre place." En effet Sandjar prit la fuite et Tâdj ed-dîn resta sous le parasol, de sorte que l'ennemi étant arrivé le fit prisonnier. Puis Kourkhân<sup>91</sup> ayant été informé de son héroïque conduite et du dévouement qu'il avait montré pour Sandjar, le relâcha et le traita honorablement. Ce Tâdj ed-dîn, parvenu à l'âge de plus de cent ans, mourut en l'année 559, après un règne de quatre-vingts ans, plein d'équité et de justice. Il laissa le trône à son fils

CHAMS ED-DÎN ABOU'L FATH AHMAD.<sup>92</sup>

Prince injuste et sanguinaire, il égorga en une seule nuit quinze de ses frères ; il eut en quelque sorte compassion de l'un d'eux<sup>93</sup> et se contenta de lui ôter la vue à l'aide d'un poinçon rougi au feu. Mais le peuple l'ayant

<sup>90</sup> Ebn el Ațir le désigne dans cette circonstance sous les seuls noms de " roi " et de " seigneur du Sedjestân." D'après cet historien, la bataille fut livrée le 5 safar 536 et " le seigneur du Sedjestân " fut fait prisonnier. Le Mawarâ'n-nahr resta aux mains des Khétâ jusqu'à ce qu'ils en furent dépossédés par 'Alâ ed-dîn Mohammad Khawârezm Châh l'an 612. (Ebn el Ațir, xi. 56—57.)

<sup>91</sup> Ebn el Ațir (xi. 56 et suiv.) appelle cet empereur de la Chine Kourkhân, successeur de Kourkhân ; il mourut en radjab 537.

<sup>92</sup> Munedjdjim Bâchi, ii. 428. Ebn el Ațir, xi. 207.

<sup>93</sup> Quoique notre historien ne le nomme pas, il s'agit de Mohammad 'Ezz el moloûk.

pris en haine se mit d'accord avec sa sœur et, profitant d'une occasion pour le tuer, plaça sur le trône le fils de ce frère aveugle,

TÂDJ ED-DÎN<sup>94</sup> HARB,

qui parvint également à l'âge de près de cent ans et en régna cinquante.

En l'année 597 les troupes du Sedjestân faisaient partie d'une armée commandée par Chéhâb ed-dîn, frère de Ghiât ed-dîn, roi des Ghoûrides.<sup>95</sup>

En rabî' 1<sup>er</sup> de l'année 603,<sup>96</sup> El Hosayn ebn Khourmîl, seigneur d'Hérât, après s'être emparé d'Asfêrâr,<sup>97</sup> envoya inviter Harb ebn Mohammad, seigneur du Sedjestân, à reconnaître la souveraineté et à faire célébrer dans ses états la prière publique au nom de Khawârezm Châh. Harb y consentit.

La même année, Tâdj ed-dîn Aldoz, qui venait de se rendre maître de Tekyabâd, de Bost et de tous ces districts, y supprima la *kheutbeh* de Ghiât ed-dîn et adressa au seigneur du Sedjestân l'ordre de faire réciter de nouveau les prières de condoléance pour Chéhâb ed-dîn et de cesser la *kheutbeh* célébrée en l'honneur de Khawârezm Châh.<sup>98</sup>

Vers la fin de son règne, Harb se vit enlever une partie

<sup>94</sup> Dans sa liste généalogique, Munedjdjim Bâchi l'appelle Tâdj el molouk Harb.

<sup>95</sup> Ebn el Aîr, xii. 108. Chéhâb ed-dîn Abou'l Modaffar Mohammad ebn Sâm, le Ghoûride, roi de Ghazneh et d'une partie du Khorâsân, fut assassiné en l'an 602.

<sup>96</sup> Ebn el Aîr, xii. 163.

<sup>97</sup> Il faut lire Asfêzâr. "Asfêzâr ou Asfozâr, ville des districts du Sedjestân, du côté d'Hérât."—*Marâsed*. Cette ville et Bost composaient le fief de Ghiât ed-dîn Mahmoûd, fils de Ghiât ed-dîn. Cf. Ebn el Aîr, xii. 146.

<sup>98</sup> Ebn el Aîr, xii. 164.

de ses états par Khawârezm Châh.<sup>99</sup> Il mourut l'an 612 et eut pour successeur son petit-fils

YAMÎN ED-DÎN CHEHRÂNCHÂH.<sup>100</sup>

Ce prince tomba martyr sous les coups d'un *fédéri* aposté par la secte des Bâténiens, dont il s'était attiré l'inimitié par ses nombreuses incursions sur leur territoire. Son fils

NASÎR ED-DÎN BEHRÂMCHÂH<sup>101</sup>

lui succéda et périt au milieu de l'invasion de Djenguîz. Le trône échut alors à son frère

REUKN ED-DÎN MAHMOÛD CHEHRÂNCHÂH.

Mais ce prince ne tarda pas à périr de la main des Tatars et les Djenguîzîdes s'emparèrent du Sedjestân.<sup>102</sup>

Vous me pardonnerez, cher confrère et ami, d'être entré dans de si longs détails. Il m'a semblé que l'histoire de cette petite dynastie, dont les monuments monétaires sont rares, n'était pas entièrement dépourvue d'intérêt.

Agréez, &c.

H. SAUVAIRE.

ROBERNIER PAR MONTFORT (VAR), le 10 avril 1881.

<sup>99</sup> Ebn el Ațir s'exprime ainsi (xii. 198, *sub anno* 611): "Abou Bakr (que Khawârezm Châh avait investi du gouvernement du Zouzan) ayant offert au sultan, s'il lui envoyait des troupes, de s'emparer du pays de Kermân, voisin de sa résidence, Khawârezm Châh lui expédia une armée nombreuse avec laquelle Abou Bakr marcha sur le Kermân, dont le souverain se nommait Harb, fils de Mohammad, fils d'Abou'l fadl qui était seigneur du Sedjestân à l'époque du sultan Sandjar. Harb lui livra bataille; mais il ne put tenir contre Abou Bakr et ce général s'empara de la province en très peu de temps."

<sup>100</sup> Munedjdjim Bâchi, ii, 428.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> Ebn el Ațir dit (xii. 234) que le Sedjestân fut envahi par les Tatars en l'année 617. Cette province était antérieurement tombée au pouvoir d'Alâ ed-din Mohammad ebn 'Alâ ed-din Tokoch Khawârezm Châh (Do. xii. 242).



### XIII.

#### NOTES ON A FORRES PENNY OF ALEXANDER II.

I SEND for inspection a long double cross penny of Alexander II. of Scotland, struck at the Forres mint. The coin is of extreme rarity, and I know of only two other specimens, both of which are now in a cabinet in Renfrewshire. In all three the moneyer is WALTER, but in the coin now submitted the name of the mint is more distinctly rendered than in the others, and appears as FRES. Whether these four letters are intended to represent in full the ancient name of the modern town of Forres, or are simply a contraction of it, I cannot say, but from inquiries made, I find that in old records the town occasionally appears as "Fores," thus showing but an additional letter, viz., O, in the spelling. There is no other Scottish mint to which these coins can be attributed; and as Alexander II. was for some time in Forres (where he held courts), and as the combination of letters FRES, when pronounced with a stress upon the second letter, gives a very fair sounding of the modern name Forres, it

may be conceded that the appropriation of these coins to the Forres mint is correct.

The two coins in the Renfrewshire cabinet above referred to will be found figured in Mr. Lindsay's book on the Coinage of Scotland, in Plate III. Fig. 63, and second supplement to same work, Plate I. Fig. 6, so that it is unnecessary to do more than to refer to these representations for comparison with the present coin. It is remarkable that all the three coins have differences in the legends, and must, therefore, have been struck from different dies—a circumstance indicating either a protracted stay of the King at Forres, or a sudden demand upon his treasury while there, necessitating a multiplication of dies for an immediate and extensive coinage. The die from which the obverse of the coin now exhibited was struck would seem to have done much previous service, for the impression is blurred, and has none of the sharpness to be expected from a newly cut and slightly used die. On the other hand, the reverse is very much clearer, and very probably was prepared in Forres for this special coinage, and so may be regarded as an undoubted example of native handiwork of a very early period.

The obverse of the coin is of the usual type, and represents the King with an old, haggard face—

ALEXANDER REX.

But the reverse legend is rendered differently from those on the coins already published, and is

WA LTE RONF RES

The weight, too, is considerably above the standard, being no less than 26 grains; but this is not an exceptional instance in the long double cross pennies of the Alex-

anders, and in no way detracts from the genuineness of the coin.

I have attributed this piece to Alexander II., for I have long held the opinion that these long double cross pennies of the Scottish series were begun to be struck in 1247, during his reign, and that the mature portrait upon them represented the appearance of the King as he then was, a man well advanced in life. The same type of coinage was doubtless continued after his death, in 1249, during the commencement of the reign of Alexander III., who, at his accession, was a child of but eight years of age. I am aware that Mr. Lindsay has attributed *all* these long double cross pennies to Alexander III., and has divided them into three classes or coinages, viz. :—

*First.* Those with bare head to left.<sup>1</sup>

*Second.* Those with crowned head to left ;<sup>2</sup> and

*Third.* Those with crowned head to right.<sup>3</sup>

But Mr. Lindsay has ignored the fact that these long double cross pennies were first coined in 1247, during Alexander II.'s reign, and from the appearance of the old face on the coins of Class 3 (which are the most numerous), I am inclined to think that that type, viz., Lindsay's third coinage or class, was the type of the *original* coinage in Alexander II.'s days, and being struck then and during his successor's minority, it naturally formed the great bulk of the long double cross coinage which has come down to us. Mr. Lindsay's first and second classes of the long double cross coinage (which are comparatively so scarce) I would attribute to Alexander III., and account for them as perhaps having been but the attempts of the

<sup>1</sup> Lindsay, Plate III., Fig. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 54.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 58.

moneyers to strike a new and distinctive coinage for Alexander III. when he arrived at years when he might be expected to have such a distinctive coinage of his own; and these attempts may have been of short duration, and not persisted in, in consequence of the introduction of the long single cross coinage, which undoubtedly forms the bulk of the third Alexander's coinage,<sup>4</sup> and which presents us with the likeness of a youthful king, as Alexander III. then was.

This theory would reconcile the numerous difficulties presented by the different presentments of the King's portrait on Lindsay's first, second, and third double cross pennies. By regarding the third coinage type as antecedent to the other two, and as struck by both Alexander II. and III., the difficulties attending the present appropriation of all these coinages to Alexander III. are got rid of, and the plan is one which noways outrages probability.

THOMAS MACKENZIE, M.A., F.S.A. SCOT.

DORNOCH, SUTHERLANDSHIRE.

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<sup>4</sup> Lindsay, Plate III., Fig. 68.

## XIV.

### ADDENDA TO DEVONSHIRE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TOKENS, NOT DESCRIBED IN BOYNE'S WORK.

*Continued from N.C., N.S., Vol. XVI., page 266.*

DURING the five years that have passed since my previous list of ninety-six unpublished tokens appeared in our Num. Chron., seventeen new to myself, and to several large collectors elsewhere, have been found in different parts of the county. Four of them belong to Plymouth, making forty in all issued from that old port.

Three others in the following list were sent out from places not represented in Boyne, viz., Dodbrooke, Halberton, and Hatherleigh.

I have the two latter in my collection; that of Halberton is brass, having for device the Clothworkers' Arms (see Boyne's Introduction, page xiv., for description), with the chevron carefully engraved as *ermine*, showing five spots on the fur.

The Hatherleigh farthing is copper, having only the date on the obverse, instead of a device.

As Devonshire is but poorly illustrated in Boyne's plates, none of the town-pieces (the most interesting of the series) being shown, I have had three of them engraved that are imperfectly or incorrectly described by Boyne, for the benefit of our members who are interested

in these local tokens, and do not possess, or have not seen them.

The first engraved is the Ashburton <sup>1</sup> town-piece, which in Boyne (see page 48, No. 1) is described as having on the reverse *inter alia*, a "branch with acorns," whereas it is a fuller's teasel, *Dipsacus fullonum*.

This plant was introduced into the arms of the old borough because the manufacture of woollen cloth was the staple trade of Ashburton for several centuries, and the teasel has always been used for raising the nap on the surface of cloth, as no mechanical contrivance has yet been found to equal it for that purpose. Part of the old trade lingers yet in Ashburton, the manufacture of serges being still extensively carried on there.

The Church was probably represented in the arms as being the most important building in the town, and the saltire because it is dedicated to St. Andrew. The sun in splendour and the crescent moon are said to refer to the metallurgy of the district, although gold and silver, of which those two heavenly bodies were formerly the symbols, are only to be found there in infinitesimal quantities.

The Bideford town-pieces (B., page 49, No. 15, 16) are described as having for device on obverse "an antique ship under a bridge;" but they both have also a frame for a beacon light over the centre arch of the bridge, and both have on the reverse, under the dates, a small R, showing they were engraved by Thomas Rawlins, the same artist whose initial appears on most of the Corporation pieces of Bristol, of the Mayor of Oxford, Luke Nourse of Gloucester, and some others.

The beacon frame points to earlier times than the dates

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<sup>1</sup> See Plate VII., which is kindly presented by Mr. H. S. Gill.

of the tokens, but it might be remaining over the bridge, —built in the fourteenth century—when Rawlins engraved his dies, as there is one still preserved on the top of Hadley Church, near Barnet, the shape of which is very similar to the one shown in the engraving of the Bideford farthing. (See Plate VII. No. 2.) It is singular that this farthing town-piece is quite as large, and somewhat heavier, than the halfpenny town-piece issued in 1670, or eleven years later. The farthing weighs  $1\frac{3}{4}$  dwt., or 42 grains, the halfpenny four grains less. Evidently the Corporate authorities were dissatisfied with the small profits arising from the earlier issue.

I have been favoured by Mr. S. Shaw, of Andover, with the following curious extracts from the Corporation records of Henley-on-Thames, by which it will be seen there must have been a large profit accruing from the issue of town-pieces in those days. “1669, May 13. The farthings and halfpence made of late years by several inhabitants of Henley, ordered to be cried down, and the Wardens to procure a stamp for the Corporation like that on the Borough Seal, and procure to be immediately stamped as many farthings and halfpence of copper as can be bought with £7 10s. 0d. of silver.” “1670, April 8, the stamps for the tokens delivered to the Churchwardens to be put into the Vestry with the Town Seal. The stamps (dies) for the farthings cost 10s.” “167 $\frac{2}{3}$ , Jany. 26. Mr. W. Bridgman received the profits of 21 lbs. of farthings and 44 lbs. of halfpence, *viz.* £46 0s. 0d., which was laid out in repairing the bridge.” The weight of these two town-pieces is 14 grains for the farthing, or exactly a third of the large honest Bideford one, and 18 grains the halfpenny.

The Moretonhampstead town-piece (see Boyne, page 55,

No. 135) has  $\frac{1}{4}$  over the Church to show its value ; this is not noticed by him. The eight men in the legend were the Wardens and Sidesmen of the Parish Church (Plate 3). It seems strange that so small a town should have had two town-pieces, for besides the one now engraved, there was another, unknown to Boyne, described in my previous paper on Devonshire Tokens in vol. xvi., page 255, No. 49. As the former emanated from the Churchwardens and "Feeffees," it may be the latter was issued by the Overseers. They both claim it to be "FOR YE BENEFIT OF YE POOR."

A similar occurrence took place at Peterborough, between two apparently rival bodies of that old city, "*the Overseers' halfpenny*" appearing in 1669, and "*a halfe penny to be changed by the Towne bailife,*" doubtless as representative of the Corporation, came out in 1670. (See Boyne, page 361, Nos. 82, 83.) The same page contains the two Oundle town-pieces, Nos. 67, 68, one "TO BE CHANGED BY YE FEEFEES," undated, the other "FOR . THE VSE . OF . THE . POOR," struck in 1669, probably by the Overseers.

I am informed by a local collector, Mr. Thos. Beal, of that town, the latter is much the rarer of the two.

No. 4 on the plate illustrates the token described in my former list, vol. xvi., N.S., page 250, No. 8 ; it is an early date for a halfpenny, very few being issued before 1660.

No. 5 has been engraved, not only because of its rarity, but of its being the only  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. known of Exeter ; it is described in N.S., vol. xvi., at page 253, No. 31.

No. 6, described in N.S., vol. xvi., page 258, No. 69, was engraved as being an unique specimen, and also the only rhyming Devonshire token known.

## BARNSTAPLE.

97. *Obv.* RICHARD . WEBER . IN.—A castle.

*Rev.* BARNSTABLE . 1669.—HIS HALFEFENY.

This token was issued two years after R. W.'s farthing, described in B., page 49, No. 14. It is in the possession of Mr. T. Wainwright, Grammar School, Barnstaple.

## CHUMLEIGH.

98. *Obv.* HYPHREY . MORGAN.—Pair large scissors.

*Rev.* IN . CHVLMLEY.—H. M. 1658. (See Plate, No. 7.)

This token was issued ten years earlier than any other of that place. It belongs to Mr. W. Gill, of Tavistock, who kindly lent it for the purpose of engraving.

## CREDITON.

99. *Obv.* IOSEPH . MEDLTON.—A full-blown rose.

*Rev.* OF . CREDDYTON.—I. M. 1667.

This token is in the author's collection. The spelling of the town on it exactly represents its pronunciation by the natives. "Medlton" may be a corruption of Middleton.

## DODBROOKE.

100. *Obv.* WILLIAM . MASKELL.—1666.

*Rev.* (No legend.) An ancient galley (filling the field).

The issuer, a merchant of Dodbrooke, was buried in the centre aisle of his parish church, where a stone slab is inscribed to his memory.

## EXETER.

101. *Obv.* IOHN . MABER.—The Grocers' Arms.

*Rev.* IN . EXON . 1663.—I. R. M.

Kindly transferred from the extensive collection of

Col. Harding, F.G.S., Upcot House, Pilton, Barnstaple, to that of the author.

## HALBERTON.

102. *Obv.* SIMON . HVSSEY . 1667.—Clothworkers' Arms.

*Rev.* OF . HALBERTON . IN . DEV(ON).—S. D. H. (Plate, No. 9.)

In the Church Register of his parish is this entry, "Simon Hussey and Dorithy Osmond were married the 6th daie of July, 1659." The name of the issuer still exists in the village. The token was found in Tiverton.

## HATHERLEIGH.

103. *Obv.* IOHN . GIDLEY.—1665. (Plate, No. 10.)

*Rev.* OF . HATHERLEIGH.—I. A. G.

It is probable other issuers may yet be found in this old town; its two nearest neighbours, Great Torrington to the north, and Okehampton to the south, have each seven tokens of the period. The coin was kindly presented to me by Mr. F. Goulding, Plymouth.

## KINGSBRIDGE.

104. *Obv.* HEAD . OF . THE . MAYDEN.—The Mercers' Arms.

*Rev.* KINGS . BRIDGE . 1657.—I. M. H.

The singular, if not unique, legend on the above, evidently refers to the device, viz. the bust of the Virgin Mary crowned. It was found in the town, and described in Miss Fox's "History of Kingsbridge," Appendix, page 268. The name of the issuer, who was married, is unknown.

105. *Obv.* IOHN . TRIPE . 1659.—A ship. (Plate, No. 11.)

*Rev.* IN . KINGS . BRIDGE.—I. C. T.

By a mistake of the engraver the *obv.* and *rev.* are

transposed. The Tripe family still exists in South Devon.

MODBURY.

106. *Obv.* IONATHAN . ELLE.—A full-faced bust with crowned broad-brimmed hat and pointed beard.

*Rev.* OF . MODBVRY . 1662.—A roll of tobacco.

This variety of Boyne, page 55, No. 133, was issued two years before that published specimen, and four years after it the following was issued :—

107. *Obv.* Legend and device same as No. 106.

*Rev.* OF . MODBVRY . 1668.—HE (filling the field) probably meaning I. H. E.

I am indebted to George Fox, Esq., Kingsbridge, for the two last descriptions, and for the sight of two pen-and-ink drawings of the tokens by him.

OTTERY ST. MARY.

108. *Obv.* RICHARD . NESBITT.—(Device not stated.)

*Rev.* IN . OTTERY . ST. . MARY.—R. R. N.

This imperfect unpublished description was found by the writer in a MS. list of coins and tokens, in the library of our London Numismatic Society.

PLYMOUTH.

109. *Obv.* MAXEMILLIAN . BOVSH.—A trefoil. (Plate, No. 12.)

*Rev.* IN . PLYMOVTH . 1658.—Three cinquefoils pierced.

The above was bought by Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S., of Plymouth, at a curiosity shop in London, who kindly lent it to the writer for engraving.

110. *Obv.* RALPH . GORDGE (*sic.*)—Three fishes ? palewise.

*Rev.* IN . PLYMOVTH.—R. M. G. (Plate, No. 8.)

This token belongs to Mr. Gill, of Tavistock, and I have

again to record his kindness in lending this, and No. 105, to be engraved.

111. *Obv.* RICHARD . HAMLYN.—A bunch of grapes.

*Rev.* IN . PLYMOUTH . 1659.—R. P. H.

This description was sent from Limerick to Mr. R. N. Worth, by a gentleman who took the token with him from Plymouth, several years ago.

112. *Obv.* IOSIAS . PICKES.—An anchor with cable.

*Rev.* PLYMOUTH . 1657.—I. E. P.

Mr. R. N. Worth has this specimen, and kindly sent me the description.

#### TORRINGTON.

113. *Obv.* THO' . POWELL . IN . GREAT.—The Mercers' Arms.

*Rev.* TORINGTON . MERCER . 71.—T. E. P.

Recently dug up in a garden in that town. It is of a later date than any other issued there.

The token of "Richard Huchings in Tavistock," partly described in N.C., vol. xvi., page 259, No. 74, has lately been acquired by the writer, and the arms are those of the Incorporated Grocers' Company.

The token assigned by Boyne to Austrey, Co. Warwick, (B. page 468, No. 18), has lately been found at Ottery St. Mary (locally pronounced *Autry*), and is now in the possession of the writer, so that my suggestion that it should be transferred to Devonshire has proved correct. It reads thus,

*Obv.* NATHANIELL . SWEET.—A man smoking.

*Rev.* OF . AVTRY . 1658.—N. M. S.

It is among the proposed transfers to Devon, see N.C. vol. xvi., page 265.

H. S. GILL.

## MISCELLANEA.

NOTICES OF SALES OF COINS AND MEDALS.—YOUNG COLLECTION.—On the 7th to the 12th April last the collection of Early British, Anglo-Saxon, and English coins belonging to Mr. James Halliburton Young was sold by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, 13, Wellington Street, Strand. This collection contained many rarities, as well as a large number of very fine patterns and proofs selected from the Cuff, Thomas, Howard, Jackson, Murchison, Chetwynd, Bergne, Wigan, Marshall, and other well-known cabinets. The more notable lots were the following:—A gold coin of the British chief Verica, obv. VI—RI divided by leaf, rev. CO . F ., horseman r. with spear and shield (Ev. pl. ii. 9), £5 5s.; an unpublished penny of Egbert, + ELLBEARHT REX, head r., rev. + AENRED . MONETA, king's name in monogram, £7; a penny of Alfred, ÆLFRED REX SAX, bust diademed r., rev. HEAHSTAN MONETA, long cross extending to edge of coin, with pellets in angles, the centre composed of a lozenge enclosing small cross ("Num. Chron.," vol. v., pl. i. n. 4), £15 15s. (This coin was originally in the Cuerdale find, and had passed through the Kenyon, Huxtable, Murchison, and Bergne cabinets.) Another penny of same monarch, with rev. TILEVINE . MONETA, and LONDINI . in mon. (Rud. pl. xv. n. 8), £4 15s.; a penny of Edward the Elder, with rev. HEREMOD, and above, a flower (Rud. pl. xvi. n. 9), £5 5s.; a penny of Athelstan, with head of king and rev. + LEOFRIE . MO . VVIN—LI, Winchester, and small cross in centre, from the Wigan cabinet (Rud. pl. xvii. n. 11), £5 7s. 6d.; a penny of Eadmund, with bust r. and rev. MANTILEN . MO . NOPL ., Norwich, and small cross in centre (Rud. pl. xviii. n. 2), £4; a penny of Eadred, with bust r. and rev. + VALTER . MONETA, and small cross in centre, from the Bergne cabinet (Rud. pl. xix. n. 3), £4 16s.; a penny of Eadgar, with rev. + PVLFHÆR . MO . HEORT ., Hertford, and small cross in centre (Rud. pl. xx. n. 7), £4; a similar coin of Harthacanut, with bust r., and rev. + PV . LNOD . ON EXEE, Exeter (Rud. pl. xxiv. n. 1), £7 7s. (This coin was from the Dymock, Murchison, and Bergne cabinets.) Pennies of Edward the Confessor, all in fine condition, realised sums varying from £1 to £2 17s.; and similar coins of William I. from 14s. to £1 13s., the canopy and bonnet types being the rarest. The same pieces of William II., of the London, Wilton, and Exeter mints, sold for £2 7s., £2, and

£1 19s. respectively. A penny of Henry I., having full face with annulets, and rev. + LIFPORD . ON . SVDE, Southwark, £5 10s.; a pattern groat of Edward I., with rev. CIVI . LONDONIA (Hks. 290), £5 10s. Nobles of Edward III., all in fine condition, £3 1s. to £4 6s.; that of the twenty-seventh year of the usual type, but with small lis at head of lion in second curve of tressure, selling for the higher price. Nobles of Richard II., with and without flag, and with AQT, £3 13s. to £4; the half noble of same monarch, without flag, £4 6s.; and quarter nobles, with and without French title, £2 2s. each. A noble of Henry IV., after thirteenth year, without flag, with trefoil over ship and above head of lion in last curve of tressure (Rud. pl. xi. n. 6), £14 6s.; and like coins of Henry VI., but varying in type, £2 9s. to £3 11s.; a Rose noble of Edward IV. of the usual type (Rud. pl. iii. n. 4), £3 10s.; an angel of Edward V., m.m. rose and sun conjoined of the usual type, St. Michael slaying the dragon, £9 15s.; and a similar coin of Richard III., with m.m. rose and sun on both sides, £7 12s. 6d. Of Henry VII. a shilling, with m.m. lis, ΗΕΝΡΙCIVS+DI'GRÆ, &c., profile head, and rev. POSVI, &c., and small lis in each angle of cross (Rud. pl. vi. n. 18), £12; the "Septim" groat, with ΗΕΝΡΙC' SEPTIM'DI'GRÆ. &c., profile head to r. and rev. m.m. lis, POSVI, &c. (Hks. 384), a very rare coin, £12; a sovereign or double rial with king seated under a canopy, the field ornamented with fleurs-de-lis, m.m. lis, and rev. royal arms in centre of expanded rose within a double tressure of ten curves, with stars in the outer angles, m.m. dragon (Rud. pl. iv. n. 4), £26. (This coin was from the Dimsdale, Thomas, and Wigan cabinets.) Of Henry VIII., a sovereign, eighteenth year, with king seated on throne, holding sceptre and orb, at his feet, portcullis, m.m. lis, and rev. royal arms in centre of rose, same m.m. (Rud. pl. v. n. 2), £10 15s.; a similar piece with king seated, ΗΕΝΡΙC + 8 + &c., m.m. lis, and rev. royal arms supported by lion and dragon, below H. R. on tablet (Rud. pl. vi. n. 1), £13 13s.; and a "George Noble," ship with rose on mast, at the sides Η—K, and rev. TALI†, &c., St. George on horseback slaying the dragon (Rud. pl. v. n. 3), £25 10s. (from the Dimsdale, Thomas and Wigan Cabinets). Crowns in gold of the same monarch realised sums varying from £1 9s. to £3 4s. Of Edward VI. a sovereign, third year, with m.m. Y on both sides, king seated holding long sword and orb, EDWARD VI., &c., and rev. arms supported by lion and dragon (Rud. pl. vii. n. 2), £12; and a similar coin of the sixth year, m.m. y. on both sides, three-quarter length figure of the king in armour (Rud. pl. viii. n. 6), £9 15s. A silver penny of Mary with bust to l., rev. CIVITAS LONDON, and arms (Rud.

pl. xi. n. 3), £13 5s. ; also a sovereign of same queen, 1553, obv. queen on throne with sceptre and orb, at her feet portcullis, rev. arms within a full-blown rose (Rud. pl. ix. n. 1), £10 10s. ; and a noble or rial of same year, queen standing on a ship holding sword in r. hand and resting l. on shield with arms (Rud. pl. ix. n. 2), £20 10s. (This coin usually sells for £60 to £70, but this specimen being cracked and only in a fair state of preservation went for a lower sum than general.) Of Philip and Mary a shilling, with their busts and arms without date or mark of value, £11 11s. ; and a penny with rev. CIVITAS LONDON and arms (Rud. pl. xi. n. 7), £8 10s. ; also an angel with obv. legend ending REGINA . A . , St. Michael and the dragon, and rev. royal arms on mast, above, P. M., £6 12s. 6d. Of Elizabeth a crown with m.m. 2 (Rud. pl. xiv. n. 12), £7 2s. 6d. ; a similar coin of the portcullis money with m.m. annulet on both sides, ELIZABETH, &c., arms crossed with E . R., crowned at sides, rev. POSVI, &c., portcullis crowned, £12 ; also a half-crown, shilling, and sixpence of same coinage for £9, £9 5s., and £3 17s. 6d. respectively ; and of same monarch, a sovereign with queen seated holding orb and sceptre, rev. royal arms, £6 10s., and a rial with queen standing on ship holding orb and sceptre, rev. radiated rose and m.m. escallop (Rud. pl. ix. n. 7), £13 10s. ; the angels, half-angels and quarter-angels sold for £2 2s. to £2 10s. each, and milled crowns for £9 and £9 9s. each. Of the crowns in silver of James I. one with m.m. thistle and EXVRGAT DEVS, &c., sold for £7 7s. ; and another with m.m. lis and QVÆ DEVS, &c., for £5 7s. 6d. ; and of the gold coins of the king were sold a rose rial, or sovereign, third year, m.m. rose on both sides, king seated holding orb and sceptre, at his feet portcullis, rev. A . DNO . FACTVM, &c., royal arms in centre of expanded rose (Rud. pl. xii. n. 1), £9 10s. ; a thirty-shilling piece of similar type, m.m. spur-rowel, and rev. royal arms with XXX above the shield, with garter composed of roses, lions, and fleurs-de-lis, £9 10s. ; a sovereign, second coinage, m.m. lis on both sides, bust in armour to r., with orb and sceptre, rev. FACIAM . EOS., &c., £6 5s. ; a noble with king standing in a ship, rev. radiated rose, £13 ; also a fifteen-shilling piece, lion crowned and holding sceptre and supporting royal shield, at sides X—V, rev. A . DNO . FACTVM, &c., radiated rose within a dotted tressure, m.m. spur-rowel on both sides, £14. In the silver series of Charles I. the local mints, as well as that of London, were well represented. Of the Tower mint a crown in fine condition, with plume on the horse's head and rump, sold for £5 2s. 6d., and similar pieces with m.m. harp, eye, &c., for £4 6s., £3 12s., and £3 each. Of Briot's coinage a crown, £5 ; a half-crown, £5 5s., and another, £5. Of

the Oxford mint a pound piece (1643), with plume behind the horse, beneath, military arms, m.m. plume, £20 5s.; another similar and of same year, £19 5s.; a similar coin of 1644 with rev. EXVRGAT, &c., and within the compartment RELIG . PROT, &c.; above, XX under large plume; below, 1644, OX (Rud. pl. xxiii. n. 3), £37. (This coin was from the Cuff, Murchison, and Bergne cabinets, and is in a very fine state of preservation.) Also a half-pound piece, of 1643, usual type (Rud. pl. xxxiii. n. 3), £4 2s. Of the Exeter mint, crowns of 1644 and 1645, with m.m. rose on both sides (Rud. pl. xxv. n. 2, 3), £2 2s. and £2 each; and a half-crown with king on horseback, beneath, arms, rev. oval shield garnished, and 1642 (Rud. pl. xxv. n. 1), £32. And a similar coin of the Combe Martin mint, with royal arms and supporters, below, 1645 (Rud. pl. xxvi. n. 3), £5 12s. 6d. Of an uncertain mint, a half-crown, with globe beneath horse, m.m. lis, and rev. oval shield, with arms and lion's paws in garniture, m.m. helmet, £10 10s. Among the patterns in silver were several by Briot, of which a crown, with head of king to l. bare, rev. HAVD . VLLI VETERVM, &c., king on horseback, l., sold for £20; a half-crown, king on horseback to r., O REX . DA . FACILEM &c., rev. royal arms, 1628, ATQVE . AVDACIBVS, &c., and signed by artist, £8 10s.; also a shilling, with bust crowned to l., above, B., rev. m.m. St. George and Dragon, AVSPICIIS . REX . MAGNE . TVIS . B., 1630, shield with square top, with arms, garnished, £15 10s. Of the gold coins of Charles I. were sold, a sovereign, Tower mint, with rev. FLORENT, &c., oval shield with arms crowned, at sides, C—R, m.m. plume, £7 15s.; and a similar piece with square-topped shield, crowned, £7 5s.; also a sovereign and half-sovereign, by Briot (Rud. pl. xiv. n. 1, 2), £8 10s. and £8 15s. each; a three-pound piece, Oxford mint, 1644, with OXON on rev. (Snelling, pl. vi. n. 10), £15; and a pattern sovereign, m.m. lis, bust bare in high relief to l., rev. same m.m. FLORENT, &c., garnished oval shield with arms crowned (Snelling, pl. vi. n. 4, but no mark of value), £18. Of the Commonwealth the more important silver coins were a half-crown, pattern, by Ramage, m.m. mullet, THE COMMONWEALTH . OF . ENGLAND, St. George's cross, rev. GVARDED . WITH . ANGELES . 1651, angel supporting the arms of the Commonwealth, on edge TRVTH . AND . PEACE . 1651 (Rud. pl. xxxii. n. 2), £27; a pattern shilling by same artist, but no inscription on edge, £35 10s. (this coin was from the Tutet, Tyssen, Trattle, Durrant, and Bergne cabinets); a pattern sixpence also by Ramage, m.m. mullet, TRVTH . AND . PEACE, St. George's shield, rev. same legend as half-crown, and Irish harp, on edge TRVTH .

AND . PEACE, 1651 (Rud. pl. xxxii. n. 1), £18 10s.; a pattern half-crown by Blondeau (Snelling, pl. vi. n. 13), on edge TRVTH . AND . PEACE . 1651 . PETRVS . BLONDÆVS . INVENTOR . FECIT., £25; another by same artist (Snelling, pl. vi. n. 14), on edge, IN . THE . THIRD . YEARE . OF . FREEDOME . BY . GODS . BLESSING . RESTORED . 1651., £11 15s.; and a like shilling, with engrailed edge (Snelling, pl. vi. n. 12), £7 10s. Of the Protector's coinage of 1658, with rev. PAX . QVÆRITVR . BELLO, a crown, half-crown, shilling, and crown (Dutch) in silver, all of same type, realised £5, £3 3s., £2 18s., and £8 15s. respectively; and a two-shilling piece, 1656, with bare neck, and with &c. before PRO., edge plain, £25; and of the gold coins a fifty-shilling piece, 1656, laureate head to l., neck bare, rev. PAX . QVÆRITVR . BELLO., edge inscribed + PROTECTOR . LITERIS . LITERÆ . NVMMIS . CORONA . ET SALVS, £77. (This coin was from the Hollis, Edmonds, Duncombe, and Wigan cabinets.) Of the hammered coins of Charles II. were sold a half-crown, m.m. crown, without value and inner circle, £9 2s. 6d.; and a similar coin, with value XXX and inner circle, £1 7s.; also a half-sovereign, gold, of the usual type and without value, £14 10s. Of the milled coinage of Charles II., a five-guinea piece, 1668, with elephant under bust, realised £8 17s. 6d.; a similar coin of James II., 1687, with elephant and castle, £15 10s.; and another of William and Mary, of same type, dated 1691, £13 10s.; the two-guinea piece, of 1694, was sold for £10 1s. Five guinea pieces, of succeeding sovereigns, were sold as follows, of William III., £9; of Anne, £15; of George I., £11; and of George II. £9 5s. and £8 10s. Of Anne a pattern guinea, 1702, undraped bust to l., with lock of hair on shoulder, rev. legend and type as on current guinea, £15 15s. Among the rarer coins of George III. there were, in silver, a pattern crown, 1818, by Pistrucci, very large head laureate to r., rev. St. George and Dragon within garter, £20; in gold, a pattern five-guinea piece, 1773, by Tanner, young bust, with long hair, but not curling below truncation, rev. M . B . F . ET . H . REX, &c., garnished shield of arms, crowned, £23 10s.; a similar piece, 1777, by Yeo, bust different with hair curling below the truncation, edge plain, £25 10s.; and a pattern two-guinea piece, 1768, by Tanner, of the same type as his five-guinea piece, £8 15s.; the pattern five-pound piece, 1820, by Pistrucci, large head of king to r., below, PISTRUCCI, rev. St. George and the Dragon, with artist's name, on edge, DECUS, &c., £31. The pattern five-pound piece of George IV., 1826, by Wyon, arms on mantle crowned, sold for £8; and a pattern crown in gold, 1831, of William IV., rev. royal arms encircled by the collar of

St. George, with pendant badge turned to l., edge plain, £3 10s. Of the gold coins of Victoria there were sold a pattern five-pound piece, 1889, by Wyon, bust of Queen to l., with ornamented diadem and plain fillet, rev. DIRIGIT . DEVS, &c., Queen as Una leading lion, no garter on shoulder, £13 10s.; another of same date, but with fillet ornamented, rev. DIRIGE . DEVS ., similar type and garter on shoulder, £12 10s.; a pattern quarter-sovereign, 1853, rev. QUARTER . SOVEREIGN, royal arms, crowned, dividing date, £14; and a five-shilling piece, 1853, rev. FIVE . SHILLINGS . 1853, in three lines, under a crown, below, rose, thistle and shamrock, £14 10s. There were a few Greek coins, among which was a fine Syracusan medallion or decadrachm of the usual type, but no artist's signature, £30.

**BALE COLLECTION.**—In the large collection of works of art formed by Mr. Charles Sackville Bale, recently sold by public auction by Messrs. Christie, Manson, and Woods, there were some rare Greek and English coins, as well as a few English medals, and a very fine series of cinque-cento Italian medals. This portion of the collection was sold at King Street on the 30th and 31st May last, and comprised the following remarkable lots. Among the Greek coins, a medallion or decadrachm of Syracuse, with scallop shell behind head of Persephone, no artist's name, £18; another, with scallop shell, and very fine, £48; another, with hair in sphendone and ΑΘΛΑ on reverse, £56; also a tetradrachm of same place, with [ΑΡΕΘ]ΟΣΑ, full-faced head of Arethusa, with ΚΙΜΩΝ on diadem, rev. ΣΥΡΑΚ . ΣΙΩΝ, quadriga, and Victory on two of the horses' heads, in ex. ear of corn, £135. Of gold coins a stater of Bruttii, with head of Neptune to l., behind, trident, rev. ΒΡΕΤΤΙΩΝ, nereid seated on hippocamp, in front, cornucopiæ, £24 10s.; and another of Nicocles, King of Cyprus, BA, female head to l., diademed, &c., rev. ΝΙ ., female head turreted to l., £117. Among the English coins there was only one coin of particular note. This was a specimen of Simon's Petition Crown, which realised £215. (This coin was originally presented to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and was in its original case.) The only English medal of any particular note was one in gold of General Monke as Lord General, by Thomas Simon, obv. head of Monke, rev. name and date 1660 in seven lines, £73 10s. Among the Italian there were some very fine specimens of early castings, of which were a medal of Vittorino da Feltre, the mathematician, by Pisano, with rev. pelican feeding its young ones, £49 7s.; a fine casting of a medal of Nicolo Piccinino by Pisano, with rev. winged griffin with PERVSIA inscribed on collar, but with no legend on obv., £19 19s.; others of Bartolommeo Colleone, by Guidiziani, rev.

IVSTITIA . AVGVSTA, &c., nude man seated on cuirass, £40 19s. ; of Galeazzo Marescotti, Senator of Bologna, by Antonio Marescotti, with bust to l., rev. LOIALMENT, &c., broken column surrounded by plaited hair, £157 10s. ; of Constantio Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, by Enzola, with his bust to l., rev. bust of his father, Alessandro Sforza, £102 18s. ; of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, by Pisano, rev. duke on horseback attended by two soldiers, £157 10s. ; of Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, by Pisano, rev. Gonzaga on horseback attended by knight, OPVS . PISANI, &c., £105 ; of Alfonso V. the Magnanimous, King of Aragon and Sicily, by Pisano, bust to r. between helmet and crown, rev. eagle and vultures, LIBERALITAS . AVGVSTA . , £68 5s. ; of Sigismondo d'Este, by Sperandio, rev. winged Genius holding palm and scales, £182 14s. ; of Borso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, by Amadio da Milano(?), rev. flower, from centre of which rises serpent, £50 8s. ; of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, by Pisano, rev. horse's head, beneath, sword, £42 ; of Vergilio Malvezzi, Bolognese Ambassador, by Sperandio, rev. nude bearded man seated, holding sword and left foot on hound, £159 12s. ; of Isotta da Rimini, by M. de Pasti, rev. elephant, £22 1s. ; of Filippo Maselano, Venetian poet, by Giov. Boldu, rev. Arion on dolphin, £173 5s. ; of Prisciano de Prisciani, by Sperandio, rev. Prometheus holding arrow and plumes, under his feet, dead vulture, £236 5s. ; of Vittorio Pavoni, Orator and Scribe, and his wife Tadea, with their portraits, by Sperandio, £372 15s. ; of Aretino, the poet, by Augustino Veneziano, rev. VERITAS . ODIVM, &c., angel crowning Truth, £27 6s. ; of Elisabetto Gonzaga Feltre, Duchess of Urbino, rev. Danaë receiving golden shower, £136 10s. ; of Aemilia Pia Feltre, of Urbino, rev. a pyramid, £94 10s. ; a square plaque which appears to be a portion of a medal with male bust to l. dividing A.—F . , £215 5s. ; of Louis XII. of France and Anne of Brittany, marriage medal, bust of king surrounded by fleurs-de-lis, £42 ; and another of same king, with rev. soldier on horseback with firebrand, followed by hounds riding towards group of women, £134 8s. ; of Rabelais, with rev. winged Genius stepping out of ship, £19 19s. ; a shell with portrait of Charles V., Emperor, wearing golden fleece, £21 ; and a medal of Mazarin, with rev. Hercules and Atlas supporting globe, £20 2s. It will be seen from the above quotations that the prices realised by the artistic medals in this sale are higher than those of any previous sale of this class of medals, and that the taste for these works of art is much on the increase.



I. B. C. 600-550



II. B. C. 550-480



III. B. C. 480-457





## XV.

### ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE COINS OF BÆOTIA.

#### INTRODUCTION.

THE basis of a scientific arrangement of the Coins of Bœotia has already been laid by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in his two admirable articles in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* of Vienna, vols. iii. and ix. In endeavouring to follow out in greater detail the study of the Numismatics of the Bœotian Confederacy, especially with the view of classifying the coins of the various epochs in chronological order, I shall not be accused of encroaching upon Dr. Imhoof's field. The object which he had chiefly in view was the correct attribution of the coins to the various Bœotian cities, a subject which numismatists, not possessed of the requisite knowledge either of the palæography or of the peculiarities of the Bœotian dialect, had allowed to fall into the direst confusion.

It is not too much to say that Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's two papers contain all that is necessary for a minute study of Bœotian numismatics.

In attempting to arrange the materials collected by him in a more strict chronological sequence, I do so rather in the hope of eliciting further criticism than with the idea that my classification will prove to be in all points final.

Bœotian coins, owing to the fact that the shield, which

as a rule they bear, offers, from first to last, the slightest possible indication of the progressive changes in the style of art, form, as a class, an extremely difficult series to arrange; and when, as is frequently the case, the coins of Bœotia have on one side a shield and on the other an amphora, the task becomes still more difficult. The amphora, like the shield, affords very slender scope for the display of those methods of work which often enable us to fix the date of a coin with a very near approach to certainty. Nevertheless, there are not wanting among the coins of Bœotia some few well-marked and characteristic reverse types which can only belong to certain definite epochs, and around these, upwards and downwards, we must find place as best we may for the various groups of coins with which we have to deal, keeping well and constantly in view fabric, style, palæography, and the historical possibilities of the period under consideration.

Among these fixed points or notes of time may be mentioned the Herakles types, circ. B.C. 446—426, with the well-defined incuse square; the gold coins of circ. B.C. 395—387; and the silver coins, with the infant Herakles, but without the incuse square, of the same period; a type which was at this time adopted by the cities of Ephesus, Samos, Rhodes, and Cnidus after the battle of Cnidus,<sup>1</sup> and especially the local Separatist currency of various Bœotian towns which obtained their autonomy on the temporary dissolution of the Bœotian League after the Peace of Antalcidas in B.C. 387.

The coins which bear the name of the illustrious Epaminondas are also very valuable, as indications of the date of the whole class to which they belong.

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<sup>1</sup> Waddington, *Mélanges*, ii. p. 7 seqq.

These, together with some others, are the landmarks around which I have attempted to arrange the coins in the following sixteen historical periods, extending from about B.C. 600 down to the time of the Empire.

EPOCHS OF BŒOTIAN HISTORY AND COINAGE.

Period.      Circ. B.C.

I. 600–550. **Orchomenus and the Bœotian League.**

Coinage of *Orchomenus* modelled upon that of *Aegina*. The earliest Bœotian federal coinage also consisting of Aeginetic diachms and smaller divisions, issued at *Thebes*, *Haliartus*, and *Tanagra*. Its characteristic type, the shield of Herakles, commonly called the Bœotian shield.

II. 550–480. **Apparent advance in commercial activity.**

First issue of the didrachm or stater in Bœotia. Coinage distinguished by initial letters of *Acræphium*, *Coroneia*, *Haliartus*, *Mycalessus*, *Pharæ*, *Tanagra*, and *Thebes*, which cities, with *Orchomenus*, were the leading members of the Union before the Persian wars.

III. 480–457. **Effect on Bœotia of the Persian wars and humiliation of Thebes.**

First introduction of reverse-types. Coinage struck at *Tanagra* in the name of the *Bœotians* 'in genere.' Origin of the wheel as a Tanagræan

Period.      Circ. B.C.

coin-type in the worship of Apollo as a Sun-god at Delium (?), and of the amphora as a Theban type in that of Dionysus.

The coinage of *Orchomenus* remains unimportant.

IV. 456-446. Athenian influence in Bœotia. Establishment of Democratical Constitutions.

Coinage in this period at *Acraephium*, type, kantharos; *Coroneia*, type, Gorgon-head; *Haliartus*, types, amphora, kantharos; *Tanagra*, type, half-horse; *Thebes*, type, amphora.

V. 446-426. Renewed ascendancy of Thebes.

No coinage in Bœotia in this period except that of *Thebes*. Plentiful issue of Theban staters bearing various types, mainly representations of Herakles, of great artistic merit, resembling in style the contemporary works of the school of Pheidias.

VI. 426-395. Continued hegemony of Thebes.

The coinage of Bœotia still monopolised by *Thebes*; principal types, head of Herakles, head of Dionysus, amphora, &c.

VII. 395-387. Anti-Spartan alliance between Thebes, Corinth, Argos, &c. Influx into Greece of Persian gold.

Gold coined at *Thebes*, *obv.* head of Dionysus; *rev.* infant Herakles.

Silver coinage; types, amphora, infant Herakles, head of Dionysus facing, &c.

Period.      Circ. B.C.

Abandonment of all traces of the incuse square.

VIII. 387-374. Peace of Antalcidas: Its effect in Bœotia. Dissolution of the Bœotian League, and establishment of oligarchies under Spartan patronage in the various Bœotian cities. Seizure of the Cadmeia by the Spartans, B.C. 382; its recovery, B.C. 379.

Coinage in this period at *Charoneia*,  $\mathcal{A}$  and  $\mathcal{Æ}$ , type, club; *Copæ*,  $\mathcal{A}$ ,  $\mathcal{Æ}$ , half bull, &c.; *Coroneia*,  $\mathcal{A}$ , Gorgon-head, head of Athena; *Haliartus*,  $\mathcal{A}$ , Poseidon Onchestius; *Lebadeia*,  $\mathcal{A}$ , thunderbolt; *Mycalessus*,  $\mathcal{A}$ , thunderbolt, &c.; *Orchomenus*,  $\mathcal{A}$ , horse, amphora, wheel, corn wreath, ear of corn, &c.,  $\mathcal{Æ}$ , star; *Pharæ*,  $\mathcal{A}$ , amphora; *Platæa*,  $\mathcal{A}$ , head of Hera,  $\mathcal{Æ}$ , head of Hera, bull, &c.; *Tanagra*,  $\mathcal{A}$ , half-horse, half-galley, &c.; *Thebes* for *Bœotia* 'in genere,'  $\frac{1}{2}$  drachms with  $\mathbf{BO-I}$ , &c.; *Thespieæ*,  $\mathcal{A}$ , crescents, head of Aphrodite with crescents, amphora with crescent; *Uncertain*, archaistic,  $\mathcal{A}$ , with amphora and various letters,  $\mathbf{A-P}$ ,  $\mathbf{\Delta-I}$ ,  $\mathbf{\Lambda-\Omega}$ ,  $\mathbf{H-I}$ , &c.

IX. 379-338. Thebes the leading State in Greece. Age of Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

Institution circ. 378 of a new *federal* currency. The coinage signed by one of the Bœotarchs (?) but not by the eponymous archon of the League.

Period.      Circ. B.C.

More probably by the three annual Polemarchs in rotation. Silver staters known with names of about forty magistrates. Small  $\mathcal{A}$  and  $\mathcal{E}$ , with head of young Herakles, and magistrates' names also struck in this period.

- X. 338-315. Battle of Chæroneia. A Macedonian garrison in the Cadmeia (B.C. 338). Restoration of Orchomenus, Thespiæ, and Plataea. Destruction of Thebes by Alexander (B.C. 335), and partition of its territory.

Coinage during this period for *Bœotia* 'in genere' probably at *Orchomenus* and *Thespie*. Staters with  $\text{BO} - \text{I}\Omega$ ; Hemidrachms and obols with  $\text{BO} - \text{I}$  and crescent;  $\mathcal{E}$ , with  $\text{BOI}\Omega\text{T}\Omega\text{N}$ , type, trident; also large  $\mathcal{E}$ , of various Bœotian towns (Thebes excepted) with  $\text{API}$ ,  $\text{ΘEΞ}$ ,  $\text{ΛEB}$ ,  $\text{OPX}$ ,  $\text{ΓΛA}$ ,  $\text{TAN}$ .

- XI. 315-288. Restoration of Thebes by Cassander. The Cadmeia his stronghold in Bœotia. Demetrius Poliorcetes expels Cassander's garrison (B.C. 304), but afterwards adopts his policy when he becomes king of Macedon. Finally, in B.C. 288, he presents Thebes with her liberty.

Coinage in  $\mathcal{A}$ ,  $\mathcal{R}$ , and  $\mathcal{E}$ , with types of Alexander the Great, struck at Thebes under Cassander and Demetrius. Also

Period.      Circ. B.C.

Æ, with ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ, probably of this period.

XII. 288-244. Reconstruction of the Bœotian League.

Repulse of the Gauls (B.C. 278).

Alliance with the Achæans. Inva-

sion of Bœotia by the Ætoliens (B.C.

245). Failure of the Achæans to

defend their allies. Bœotia turns for

protection to Macedon.

Coinage of tetradrachms of the Attic

standard; *obv.* head of Zeus, *rev.*

ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ, Poseidon seated; Æ, head

of Pallas, *rev.* trophy; head of Herakles,

*rev.* winged Pallas; head of Dionysus,

*rev.* Apollo seated.

XIII. 244-197. Bœotia subject to Macedon under An-

tigonus Gonatas, Demetrius II., and

Antigonus Doson (B.C. 244-221).

During this period Macedonian coins

current in Bœotia.

Accession of Philip V., B.C. 220; his

policy of non-interference. Bœotia

adheres to the Macedonian alliance.

Wars with the Romans.

Coinage B.C. 220-197, Æ, head of Per-

sephone facing, *rev.* Poseidon standing;

Æ, similar types restruck on coins of

Antigonus Doson.

XIV. 197-146. Flaminius master of Thebes. He allows

the Bœotians to retain their freedom.

Bœotia sides first with Antiochus and

then with Perseus against Rome, but

again submits in B.C. 172. The

Period.      Circ. B.C.

Bœotian League formally dissolved  
by Rome, B.C. 146.

Coinage, *Æ*, head of Zeus, *rev.* Nike; *Æ*,  
same types; also *Æ*, *obv.* shield, *rev.*  
Nike, trident.

XV. 146-27. Bœotia under the Romans. A nominal  
autonomy permitted.

Autonomous copper coinage in this period  
at *Lebadeia*, *Orchomenus*, *Thebes*, and  
*Thespiae*.

XVI. B.C. 27- Bœotia under the Empire.

A.D. 192. Copper coinage of *Thebes*, with magis-  
trates' names; of *Tanagra*, Augustus  
to Commodus, often without the Em-  
peror's head; of *Thespiae*, only known  
under Domitian.

PERIOD I. CIRC. B.C. 600—550.

The coinage of Bœotia begins in the sixth century B.C., probably about the same time as that of Athens. In very early times the Minyan Orchomenus, once the first city in Bœotia, had been a member of the naval confederation of Calauria, on the Saronic gulf. This fact points to the existence of commercial relations between Orchomenus and Aegina, the centre of trade in those waters, which is fully borne out by an examination of the ancient money of Orchomenus, which is as it were modelled upon that of Aegina.

It seems indeed probable that, as at Athens before the time of Solon, so also in Bœotia, the Aeginetan staters were at first the only circulating medium. Hence, perhaps, in these remote times there was no need felt in Bœotia for any local coinage excepting for small denominations such as the obol.

This small money appears to have been provided in the first instance by the city of Orchomenus. The grain of corn, which is the type of the obols of Orchomenus, although referring more or less directly to the unrivalled productiveness of the Orchomenian Plain, may yet have been selected as a coin-type from its close resemblance, as represented on the coinage, to the well-known tortoise on the money of Aegina, which island still contributed in all probability by far the greatest portion of the currency in the Bœotian markets. The incuse square on the reverse

of these earliest Orchomenian obols is also identical with that of the Aeginetan money, and it is curious to observe that as time goes on this reverse undergoes precisely the same developments at Orchomenus as at Aegina.

Shortly after circ. B.C. 600, the Bœotian coinage, properly so called, commences. Even if we had known nothing from other sources of the Bœotian Confederacy, its coinage would be alone sufficient to throw some light upon the subject, for no ancient money is more clearly federal in character.

The distinguishing type of the coinage of this league is the so-called Bœotian buckler, a round or oval shield with a semicircular opening at either side. As, among others, Herakles is commonly represented on vase paintings bearing a shield of this peculiar form, it is probable that the coin-type originated at Thebes in the worship of Herakles, the national divinity of that city.

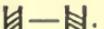
The most ancient coins bearing on the obverse this shield, are characterized by an incuse square on the reverse, of the ancient Aeginetan pattern, that is to say, divided into eight triangular compartments, often of very rude and irregular form, four of which are in relief, the other four being deeply indented. The obverse or shield side is either without any inscription (in which case it is presumable that the coin is Theban), or else it has within the openings of the shield on either side the letters  $\mathbb{N}-\mathbb{N}$ ,  $\mathbb{T}-\mathbb{T}$ , or  $\mathbb{T}-\mathbb{A}$ , the mint-marks of the towns Haliartus and Tanagra.

These three cities, Thebes, Haliartus, and Tanagra, seem to have been the only minting places of the Bœotian Confederacy during the first half of the sixth century, the obols of Orchomenus above mentioned not being considered as federal money.

(i.) THEBES.—The following uninscribed coins being of very frequent occurrence may be ascribed to Thebes.

|   |                        |   |
|---|------------------------|---|
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>95—90 grs.              | Bœotianshield.         | Incuse square, in eight triangular compartments, of which four are deeply indented. |
|   | [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 1.] |   |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>Drachm.</i><br>45·8 grs. | Same.                  | Same.   |
|   | [Brit. Mus.]           |   |
| <i>Obol.</i><br>15 grs.                   | Same.                  | Same.   |
|   | [Brit. Mus.]           |   |
| <i>Hemi-obol.</i><br>7·7 grs.             | Half shield.           | Same.   |
|   | [Brit. Mus.]           |   |
| <i>Tetartemorion.</i><br>2·7 grs.         | Bœotianshield.         | Same.   |
|   | [Brit. Mus.]           |   |

(ii.) HALIARTUS, on the southern shore of the Lake Copais, was in early times one of the chief cities of the Bœotian Confederation, and the only one which remained faithful to the Hellenic cause in the struggle with Persia. On the following coins, which are certainly as early as any in Bœotia of the federal type, the mint-mark, consisting of the initial letter of Haliartus, the aspirate, is evidently not intended to attract notice, being half-concealed in the openings on either side of the shield.

|                             |   |   |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>95 grs.   | Bœotian shield, within the openings in either side of which,<br> | Incuse square, in eight triangular compartments, of which four are deeply indented. |
|                             | [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 2.]  |   |
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>93·5 grs. | Similar, but   | Similar.  |
|                             | [Brit. Mus.]  |   |

(iii.) TANAGRA.—This city, which stood on the left bank of the Asopus, not far from the borders of Attica, was in importance second only to Thebes, among all the members of the Bœotian League. Its earliest coins are, saving the mint-mark, identical with those of Haliartus, and with the anepigraphic coins of Thebes.

|                                  |   |  |
|----------------------------------|---|--|
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>88·5 grs.      | Bœotian shield,<br>in either opening<br>— — . | Incuse square, in eight com-<br>partments, of which four are<br>deeply indented. |
|                                  | [Brit. Mus.]                                  |  |
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>92 grs.        | Similar, but one<br>  — .                     | Similar.   |
|                                  | [ <i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. p. 379.]             |  |
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>93 grs.        | Similar, but<br>  — — .                       | Similar.   |
|                                  | [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 3.]                        |  |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>41·5 grs. | Similar, but<br>  — — .                       | Similar.   |
|                                  | [Brit. Mus.]                                  |  |
| <i>Obol.</i><br>15·5 grs.        | Similar, — — .                                | Similar.   |
|                                  | [Brit. Mus.]                                  |  |

PERIOD II. CIRC. B.C. 550—480.

During the half century or thereabouts which preceded the Persian invasion, Bœotia, if we may judge from its coinage, must have made a great advance in commercial activity. Now for the first time the stater or didrachm makes its appearance, and the incuse reverse becomes more symmetrical, the alternate incuse triangles assuming the form of a conventional device which has been compared to the sails of a wind-mill.

The mint-mark also now takes up a more conspicuous position, being placed generally in the centre of the reverse instead of being half hidden in the narrow openings of the shield on the obverse.

The obols have the mint letter prominently placed in the centre of an incuse square. Of this type coins are known of the following towns.

(i.) ACRÆPHIUM, a town on the eastern shore of the Lake Copais, which is said by Pausanias (ix. 23, 3) to have belonged from the earliest times to Thebes. It would seem, however, that before the Persian wars, and indeed down to about the middle of the fifth century, it must have enjoyed at any rate certain intervals of autonomy. The coins of Acræphium, B.C. 550—480 are :—

|                     |  |                 |  |   |  |
|---------------------|--|-----------------|--|---|--|
| Stater.<br>192 grs. |  | Bœotian shield. |  |  | in the centre of mill-sail,<br>incuse. |
|---------------------|--|-----------------|--|---|--|

[Paris. *Num. Zeit.* ix. Taf. i. 35.]

|                           |  |                 |  |   |
|---------------------------|--|-----------------|--|---|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>12·5 grs. |  | Bœotian shield. |  |  in incuse square. |
|                           |  |                 |  | [Brit. Mus.]  |

|                               |  |                           |  |   |
|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------|--|---|
| <i>Hemi-obol.</i><br>7·5 grs. |  | Half - Bœotian<br>shield. |  |  in incuse square. |
|                               |  |                           |  | [Brit. Mus.]  |

(ii.) CORONEIA, which stood on a hill at the entrance of a valley leading upwards to Mt. Helicon, visible at the head of the valley in the south, while towards the north is a broad level plain, and beyond this the Lake Copais. The coins of this city of the time before the Persian wars are :—

|                           |  |                 |  |   |
|---------------------------|--|-----------------|--|---|
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>93 grs. |  | Bœotian shield. |  |  in centre of mill-sail, incuse. |
|                           |  |                 |  | [Bunbury Collection.]   |

|                           |  |                 |  |   |
|---------------------------|--|-----------------|--|---|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>15·7 grs. |  | Bœotian shield. |  |  in incuse square; others with  . |
|                           |  |                 |  | [Brit. Mus.]  |

|                               |  |                           |  |  |
|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------|--|--|
| <i>Hemi-obol.</i><br>7·5 grs. |  | Half - Bœotian<br>shield. |  |  , similar. |
|                               |  |                           |  | [ <i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix. p. 19.]  |

|                                   |  |                 |  |   |
|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------|--|---|
| <i>Tetartemorion.</i><br>4·2 grs. |  | Bœotian shield. |  |  , similar. |
|                                   |  |                 |  | [ <i>Num Zeit.</i> l.c.]  |

(iii.) HALIARTUS, in B.C. 480, was utterly destroyed by the Persians on account of her having remained faithful to the Hellenic cause. The following coins are anterior to that event :—

|                              |  |                 |  |   |
|------------------------------|--|-----------------|--|---|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>190·5 grs. |  | Bœotian shield. |  |  in centre of mill-sail, incuse; others with  . |
|                              |  |                 |  | [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 4.]  |

|                           |  |                 |  |              |
|---------------------------|--|-----------------|--|--------------|
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>94 grs. |  | Bœotian shield. |  | Similar.     |
|                           |  |                 |  | [Brit. Mus.] |

|                                   |                 |  |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>47·2 grs.  | Bœotian shield. | Similar.<br>[Brit. Mus.]                   |
| <i>Obol.</i><br>15 grs.           | Bœotian shield. | <b>H</b> in incuse square.<br>[Brit. Mus.] |
| <i>Tetartemorion.</i><br>2·7 grs. | Bœotian shield. | Similar.<br>[Num. Zeit. ix. p. 17.]        |

(iv.) MYCALESSUS, a Bœotian town mentioned in Homer (Il. ii. 498), was situate not far from the Euripus. Of its coinage before the Persian wars the following specimens have come down to us :—

|                               |                        |   |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|---|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>189 grs.    | Bœotian shield.        | <b>M</b> in centre of mill-sail, incuse.<br>[Paris. Num. Zeit. ix. Taf. i. 60.] |
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>93 grs.     | Same.                  | Same.<br>[Berlin. Num. Zeit. l.c. p. 21.]                                       |
| <i>Hemi-obol.</i><br>4·5 grs. | Half - Bœotian shield. | <b>M</b> in incuse square.<br>[Num. Zeit. ix. p. 22; Cat. Margaritis, No. 34.]  |

(v.) PHARÆ.—As to this town, which was probably situate about four miles north-west of Tanagra, we have very little information. From the number of its coins which are still extant, it would seem to have ranked as one of the most prosperous members of the Confederacy during the flourishing period before the invasion of the armies of Xerxes.

|                              |                 |  |
|------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>192·1 grs. | Bœotian shield. | <b>⊙</b> in centre of mill-sail, incuse.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 5.] |
|------------------------------|-----------------|--|

|                                |  |  |
|--------------------------------|--|--|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>189 grs.     | Similar, but  in one of the openings of the shield. | Mill-sail, incuse.<br>[ <i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. No. 57a]  |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>200 grs.     | Same die.  |  in centre of a star or floral pattern, the whole in incuse square.<br>[ <i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix. Taf. i. 85.] |
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>95 grs.      | Bœotian shield.  |  in centre of mill-sail, incuse.<br>[ <i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. Taf. ix. 11.]                                  |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>47 grs. | Same.  | Same.<br>[Munich. <i>Num. Zeit.</i> l.c. p. 372.]  |
| <i>Obol.</i><br>16 grs.        | Same.  |  in incuse square.<br>[Paris. <i>Num. Zeit.</i> l.c.]   |

(vi.) TANAGRA.—The only coins of this city which certainly belong to Period II., being later in style than those described under Period I., are the following :—

|                             |   |  |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>90·2 grs. | Bœotian shield, in one opening,  . | Incuse square, within which four incuse compartments, symmetrically arranged; in the alternate ones,  —  . |
| [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 6.]      |   |  |

(vii.) THEBES.—Of Thebes the coinage of the concluding years of the sixth and early parts of the fifth centuries is very plentiful.

|                              |                 |  |
|------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>192·7 grs. | Bœotian shield. |  in the centre of an incuse square, irregularly divided into eight compartments, of which four deeply indented (mill-sail pattern). |
| [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 7.]       |                 |  |

|                                  |                 |   |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>95·5 grs.      | Same.           | Same.   |
|                                  |                 | [Brit. Mus.]  |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>46·5 grs. | Same.           | Same.   |
|                                  |                 | [Brit. Mus.]  |
| <i>Obol.</i><br>16·4 grs.        | Same.           | ⊕ in the centre of an incuse square.  |
|                                  |                 | [Brit. Mus.]  |
| <i>Hemi-obol.</i><br>8·3 grs.    | Half shield.    | Same.   |
|                                  |                 | [Brit. Mus.]  |
| <i>Tetartemorion.</i><br>4 grs.  | Bœotian shield. | Same.   |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>190·2 grs.     | Bœotian shield. | ⊕ in centre of mill-sail incuse, within the four sunken compartments ⊕ — E — B — A. |
|                                  | [Brit. Mus.]    | Pl. I. 8.]  |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>190 grs.       | Bœotian shield. | ⊕ in the centre of a star or floral pattern, the whole in incuse square.            |
|                                  |                 | [Num. Zeit. iii. pl. x. 19.]  |

The obverse of this coin being, according to Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, from the same die as one of those previously described, it must belong to the same period.

From a consideration of the above-described coins, all presumably issued before the Persian wars, it may be inferred that the Bœotian League at this time consisted of at least the seven cities, Acræphium, Coroneia, Haliartus, Mycalessus, Pharæ, Tanagra, and Thebes. The number of confederate cities, however, varied from time to time, and whether or not the towns which possessed the right of coining their own money represent only the leading members of the union, we are unable at present to decide.

On the whole question of the constitution of the Bœotian League the evidence is only too scanty. All that we are able to affirm with confidence is that the more important cities were autonomous members of the League, and that the smaller towns and villages were comprised in the territories of the larger and subject to their jurisdiction. The probability is, therefore, that those cities of which we possess the larger denominations of the silver money of any given period, were during that period the principal members of the Bœotian League.

With regard to the coins of Orchomenus the case is somewhat different. Of all the cities in Bœotia Orchomenus is the only one of which the coinage does not, in early times, bear the shield, the type of all the contemporary federal money of the other allied cities, but its own peculiar and distinct type, the grain of corn, referring, as a religious symbol, to the extraordinary productiveness of the Orchomenian plain, the fertility of which even in our own days is so remarkable that Leake was able to count as many as 900 grains in a single ear of corn. The stem of this plant is very strong and large, and when plastered with mud forms the most common material of the present cottages near the Cephissic marshes. (Leake, *N. Greece*, p. 158.)

The fact that none of the early coins of Orchomenus are of the Federal type would seem to indicate that Orchomenus, still perhaps the richest town in all Bœotia, continued to stand aloof from the confederacy. On the other hand, as there are no large silver coins of Orchomenus of the sixth and fifth centuries, it is probable that this independence of Orchomenus was not complete. The city doubtless retained certain privileges, forms rather than

realities, which may have served the useful purpose of recalling to the minds of the people the memory of their ancient prestige.

The following are some of the principal varieties of the coinage of Orchomenus which appear, on account of their globular fabric, to belong to the sixth and earlier part of the fifth centuries.

The thinner and flatter coins of the next half-century will be described in the next Period.

|                           |  |   |
|---------------------------|--|---|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>16·5 grs. | Sprouting corn-grain on<br>one side of which  . | Incuse square divided into<br>eight triangular compart-<br>ments as on the earliest<br>coins of Aegina. |
|---------------------------|--|---|

[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 9.]

The reverses of these obols are not always identical, the most frequent variety has three of the triangles in relief and five incuse.

|                               |                                  |                   |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Hemi-obol.</i><br>7·3 grs. | Half of sprouti g<br>corn-grain. | Incuse, as above. |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|

[Brit. Mus.]

|                           |                                       |   |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>15·3 grs. | <b>Ξ — R</b> sprouting<br>corn-grain. | Aeginetan incuse of later form<br>thus  . |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|

[Brit. Mus.]

|                          |                         |          |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>13· grs. | <b>Ϡ — E</b> , similar. | Similar. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------|

[Brit. Mus.]

|                           |                     |   |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>13·5 grs. | No inser., similar. | Similar, in two of the divi-<br>sions, <b>Ξ — R</b> . |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---|

[Brit. Mus.]

|                           |          |                             |
|---------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>14·5 grs. | Similar. | Similar, but <b>E — R</b> . |
|---------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|

[Brit. Mus.]

|                           |          |   |
|---------------------------|----------|---|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>13·8 grs. | Similar. | Incuse square, within which,<br>in large characters, <b>E R</b> . |
|---------------------------|----------|---|

[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 10.]

PERIOD III. CIRC. B.C. 480—457.

Perhaps no district of Hellas suffered more from the Persian wars, both at the time and afterwards, than Bœotia. With the exception of the Plataeans and Thespians, the Bœotians were generally looked upon as traitors to the cause of freedom, and treated accordingly. Not only was Thebes humiliated before all Greece, but her authority in Bœotia itself received a serious check. She was no longer able as formerly to assert her undisputed claim to the hegemony of the League. Unfortunately, we know very little of the internal affairs of Bœotia during the twenty years which elapsed between the battle of Plataea in 479 and the expedition of the Lacedæmonians into Bœotia in 457, the principal object of which was to restore Thebes to her old position as chief of the Bœotian confederacy, with the view of counterbalancing the growing influence of Athens in Central Greece.

In the absence of other evidence concerning the affairs of Bœotia during the time of the humiliation of Thebes, B.C. 479—457, the coinage comes to our aid, not as affording direct information, but rather as suggesting an inference. This inference is that Tanagra, relying perhaps on the support of Athens, aspired for a time to the leadership of all Bœotia. Of this fact, if it be one, I am not aware that there is any hint whatever in history, but the money of Tanagra struck in the name of the Bœotians

'*in genere*' can hardly be accounted for on any other hypothesis.

The following are the coins to which I allude :—

TANAGRA.

|   |  |   |  |
|---|--|---|--|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>190·8 grs.</p>                          | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">                 Bœotian shield in the openings of which <math>\dashv</math>—<math>\nabla</math>.             </td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">                 B in a circle in the centre of a mill-sail incuse.             </td> </tr> </table> | Bœotian shield in the openings of which $\dashv$ — $\nabla$ . | B in a circle in the centre of a mill-sail incuse. |
| Bœotian shield in the openings of which $\dashv$ — $\nabla$ . | B in a circle in the centre of a mill-sail incuse.   |   |  |
| [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 13.]                                       |  |   |  |

The reverse type of this coin being (but for the letter B in the middle) identical with those of Period II., we may confidently place it soon after the year B.C. 479, for before the fall of Thebes Tanagra would hardly have ventured to strike coins in the name of all Bœotia.

|  |   |  |  |
|--|---|--|--|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>186·7 grs.</p>   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">                 Bœotian shield, on the rim of which at one end a small T, in the side openings <math>\dashv</math>—<math>\nabla</math>.             </td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">                 B—O—l in three quarters of a wheel of four spokes, the whole in incuse circle.             </td> </tr> </table> | Bœotian shield, on the rim of which at one end a small T, in the side openings $\dashv$ — $\nabla$ . | B—O—l in three quarters of a wheel of four spokes, the whole in incuse circle. |
| Bœotian shield, on the rim of which at one end a small T, in the side openings $\dashv$ — $\nabla$ . | B—O—l in three quarters of a wheel of four spokes, the whole in incuse circle.  |  |  |
| [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 14.]  |   |  |  |

|  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>189·6 grs.</p>                             | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">                 Bœotian shield, on the rim of which at both ends <math>\frac{1}{T}</math>.             </td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">                 B—O in two quarters of a wheel of four spokes, the whole in incuse circle.             </td> </tr> </table> | Bœotian shield, on the rim of which at both ends $\frac{1}{T}$ . | B—O in two quarters of a wheel of four spokes, the whole in incuse circle. |
| Bœotian shield, on the rim of which at both ends $\frac{1}{T}$ . | B—O in two quarters of a wheel of four spokes, the whole in incuse circle.   |  |  |
| [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 15.]  |  |  |  |

|                                   |  |                 |                     |
|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------|---------------------|
| <p><i>Obol.</i><br/>15·5 grs.</p> | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">                 Bœotian shield.             </td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">                 B in incuse square.             </td> </tr> </table> | Bœotian shield. | B in incuse square. |
| Bœotian shield.                   | B in incuse square.  |                 |                     |
| [Brit. Mus.]                      |  |                 |                     |

The following coins of Tanagra belong apparently to the same period as those struck in the name of the Bœotians.

|  |   |  |  |
|--|---|--|--|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>184 grs.</p>                             | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">                 Bœotian shield, in the openings of which <math>\dashv</math>—<math>\nabla</math>.             </td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">                 Wheel of four spokes in incuse circle.             </td> </tr> </table> | Bœotian shield, in the openings of which $\dashv$ — $\nabla$ . | Wheel of four spokes in incuse circle. |
| Bœotian shield, in the openings of which $\dashv$ — $\nabla$ . | Wheel of four spokes in incuse circle.  |  |  |
| [Brit. Mus.]   |   |  |  |

|                                  |  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|--|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>187·2 grs.     | Similar, but only.                              | Similar wheel, in two quarters  .<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 16.]          |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>187·4 grs.     | Similar, no letter.  |  in two quarters of similar wheel.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. 1. 17.]         |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>186 grs.       | Bœotian shield, on rim of which at both ends  . | Wheel of four spokes, no inscription, the whole in incuse circle.<br>[Brit. Mus.]  |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>45·5.     | Similar shield, in the openings of which  .     | Wheel of four spokes in incuse circle.<br>[Brit. Mus.]   |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>47·8 grs. | Similar, but in one opening  .                  | Wheel of four spokes, in two quarters of which  .                     |
| <i>Obol.</i><br>14·5 grs.        | Bœotian shield.  | Wheel of four spokes (not letter  ) in incuse square.<br>[Brit. Mus.] |

The wheel as a Tanagræan coin-type may have been borrowed from the wheel on the archaic coins of the neighbouring Eubœan town of Chalcis, which was distant from Tanagra only about 100 stadia (circ. 12 English miles), and which must have been in constant commercial relations with Aulis, the port of Tanagra on the opposite bank of the Euripus. This interchange of coin-types between Tanagra and Chalcis is further exemplified by a remarkable stater of Chalcis of the Euboic standard in the cabinet of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, having on the obverse a Bœotian shield and the letter  $\Psi$ , the initial letter of Chalcis, and on the reverse a wheel in an incuse square.

Another type which may also be borrowed by Tanagra from Eubœa, in this instance perhaps rather

from Eretria than from Chalcis, is the Gorgon-head on the following rare obol :—

|                           |  |              |  |  |
|---------------------------|--|--------------|--|--|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>10·8 grs. |  | Gorgon-head. |  | Fore-part of horse springing r., in incuse square.<br>[Brit. Mus.] |
|---------------------------|--|--------------|--|--|

As, however, the weight of this piece does not exceed that of the Euboic obols, it may be attributed with equal probability to Eubœa, and to a somewhat later date (circ. B.C. 456—445), in which case the reverse type might be borrowed from the coins of Tanagra of the next period. There can be little doubt that the wheel both on the coins of Chalcis and Tanagra is symbolical of the cultus of Apollo, as a sun-god, and that the Gorgon-head symbolizes moon-worship.

THEBES B.C. 480—457.—The coinage of Thebes which I would assign to the time of her humiliation, compared with that of Tanagra, is far from plentiful. Here also, as at Tanagra, the mill-sail incuse of the period before the Persian wars gives place to an artistic though simple reverse type, in this case the amphora, symbolical of the worship of Dionysus, in the same way as the wheel on the coins of Tanagra indicates that of Apollo.

|                              |  |                 |  |  |
|------------------------------|--|-----------------|--|--|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>182·2 grs. |  | Bœotian shield. |  | Amphora in incuse square.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 18.] |
|------------------------------|--|-----------------|--|--|

|                           |  |       |  |                                  |
|---------------------------|--|-------|--|----------------------------------|
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>94 grs. |  | Same. |  | Same.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 19.] |
|---------------------------|--|-------|--|----------------------------------|

|                       |  |       |  |                                  |
|-----------------------|--|-------|--|----------------------------------|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>15·5. |  | Same. |  | Same.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 20.] |
|-----------------------|--|-------|--|----------------------------------|

ORCHOMENUS.—The following small coins of Orchomenus clearly belong to the same period as the foregoing.

They are much flatter in fabric than the obols of this town previous to the Persian wars. The incuse reverses are identical in style with the latest obols of Aegina, which ceased to coin silver when it surrendered to the Athenians in 456.

|  |  |                                      |  |   |
|--|--|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>12·5 grs.  |  | E—P, sprouting grain<br>of corn.     |  | Aeginetan incuse of the<br>later form  |
|  |  | [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 11.]              |  |   |
| $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>obol or</i><br><i>tritemorion.</i><br>10·2 grs. |  | E—P, three sprouting<br>corn-grains. |  | Same.   |
|  |  | [Brit. Mus.]                         |  |   |
| <i>Tetartemorion.</i><br>3·5 grs.                                |  | E—R, sprouting corn-<br>grain.       |  | Same.   |
|  |  | [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 12.]              |  |   |

PERIOD IV. CIRC. B.C. 456—446.

The disorganization of the ancient Bœotian confederacy which was the result of the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, and of the consequent lowering of the influence of Thebes, lasted about twenty years (circ. B.C. 479—459), during which the Athenian ascendancy in Bœotia was continually on the increase.

At length, however, Sparta awoke to the consciousness that the time was come to take active steps to reinstate Thebes in her old position as the effective ruler of all Bœotia, in order to prevent the various autonomous communities in Central Greece from joining the Athenian alliance. The Lacedæmonians accordingly sent a force into Bœotia, nominally to chastise the Phocians for an aggression upon the territory of the Dorians, but in reality to compel the Bœotian cities to submit to the headship of Thebes. This result they brought about by rebuilding the fortifications of Thebes on a larger scale, and by establishing oligarchical governments in all the Bœotian towns.

At first Sparta was entirely successful, the Athenians, who marched across their borders to meet them, being vanquished at the battle of Tanagra (B.C. 457), but in the following year Athens not only retrieved on the field of Oenophyta, near Tanagra, all she had lost, but became absolute mistress, not merely of Bœotia, but of all Central Greece. The Spartan policy was thus at once reversed,

free democracies being substituted in all the towns for close oligarchies and the leading oligarchs driven into exile.

This state of affairs lasted for a period of about ten years, 456—446, during which it is probable that the principal democratical municipalities were eager to celebrate the recovery of their autonomy by the issue of coins in their own name and bearing their own types.

We can point without hesitation to the following coinages as almost certainly inaugurated during this decade of Bœotian democratical government.

CIRC. B.C. 456—446.

ACRÆPHIUM.

|                              |  |                 |  |   |
|------------------------------|--|-----------------|--|---|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>180·5 grs. |  | Bœotian shield. |  | <b>A — K.</b> Kantharos, above which laurel leaf, the whole in incuse square. |
|                              |  |                 |  | [Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 1.]   |

Acraephium possessed a temple and a statue of Dionysus (Paus. ix. 23, 3), to whose cultus the type of the stater refers.

CORONEIA.

|                                  |  |                 |  |   |
|----------------------------------|--|-----------------|--|---|
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>44·7 grs. |  | Bœotian shield. |  | <b>K — O</b> Gorgon-head in incuse<br><b>R — O.</b> square. |
|                                  |  |                 |  | [Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 2.]                                     |

Epigraphically this coin is of importance as showing that the  $\varphi$  of the coins before 480 has now given place to **K**. It will be observed that the *Rho* still retains its ancient form. The Gorgon-head on the coins of this town may perhaps refer to the worship of Athena Itonia, whose temple stood within the territory of Coroneia, and was the meeting place of the council of the Bœotian League

(Paus. ix. 34, 1). Compare the story of Iodama, priestess of Athena Itonia (Paus. l.c.), to whom, when one night she entered the sacred temenos, the goddess appeared with the Gorgon-head upon her chiton, and transformed Iodama into stone. The custom of daily kindling fire upon the altar of Iodama was still kept up at the time when Pausanias visited Coroneia.

HALIARTUS.

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>188·4 grs.</p>      | <p>Œotian shield, of which the rim is studded with nails.</p> | <p>  I — S — A. Amphora wreathed with ivy, the whole in incuse square.<br/>[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 3.]</p> |
| <p><i>Obol.</i><br/>16·5 grs.</p>         | <p>Œotian shield.</p>   | <p>  S<sup>1</sup> A. Kantharos in incuse square.<br/>[Berlin. <i>Prok. Osten.</i>]</p>                |
| <p><i>Tetartemorion.</i><br/>3·4 grs.</p> | <p>Œotian shield.</p>   | <p>  A. Kantharos in incuse square.<br/>[Berlin.]</p>  |

Haliartus was, as we have seen, destroyed by the Persians in 480. It must have been rebuilt in the first half of the fifth century: the exact date we do not know. Although the above coinage can hardly have commenced before B.C. 456, there is nothing to show that it ceased in 446; it may therefore in part belong also to the next period.

TANAGRA.

|                                    |   |   |
|------------------------------------|---|---|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>188 grs.</p> | <p>Œotian shield, rim divided into twelve sections.</p> | <p>  T — A. Forepart of horse springing l., the whole in incuse square.<br/>[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 4.]</p> |
| <p><i>Stater.</i></p>              | <p>Similar.</p>   | <p>  A — T Similar typo r.,<br/>N — A.<br/>[<i>Prok. Ost. Ined.</i>, 1854, pl. ii. 59.]</p>             |
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>183 grs.</p> | <p>Similar, rim plain.</p>                              | <p>  T — A. Similar horse, bridled.<br/>[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 5.]</p>                                     |

|                               |                      |  |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| Stater.<br>189·5 grs.         | Similar.             | T—A. Similar horse, bridled,<br>around his shoulder, wreath.<br>[Num. Zeit. iii. pl. x. 15.] |
| Stater.<br>189 grs.           | Similar.             | T Δ W. Similar.<br>[Brit. Mus.]  |
| Hemi-<br>drachm.<br>47·3 grs. | Similar.             | T Δ W. Similar.<br>[Brit. Mus.]  |
| Hemi-<br>drachm.<br>47 grs.   | Similar.             | T—A. Similar.<br>[Brit. Mus.]  |
| Obol.<br>15·5 grs.            | Similar.             | T A. Horse's head r., in in-<br>cuse square.<br>[Brit. Mus.]                                 |
| Hemi-<br>obol.<br>5·5 grs.    | Half Bœotian shield. | T--A. Similar.<br>[Brit. Mus.]   |

At Pheræ in Thessaly the forepart of a horse springing from a rock perhaps represents the fountain Hypereia. It may be then that at Tanagra a similar horse (where, however, the rock does not appear) symbolizes the river Asopus, which is seen from Tanagra, forcing its way through a rocky ravine from the Parasopia into the Tanagraean plain (Leake, N. Gr. ii. 424).

Another and far more probable explanation of the horse may be sought in the worship of Apollo as a sun-god. In this case it would express the same idea as the wheel on the older coinage of Tanagra. The famous temple of Apollo at Delium, which belonged to Tanagra, was doubtless the centre from which this worship spread.

THEBES.

|                                  |                 |              |                              |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>187·5 grs.     | Bœotian shield. | ☞ — ⊕.       | Amphora in incuse<br>square. |
|                                  | [Brit. Mus.     | Pl. II. 6.]  |                              |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>186·6 grs.     | Similar.        | ⊕ — E.       | Similar.                     |
|                                  | [Brit. Mus.     | Pl. II. 7.]  |                              |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>46·2 grs. | Similar.        | ⊕.           | Similar.                     |
|                                  |                 | [Brit. Mus.] |                              |
| <i>Hemi-Obol.</i><br>5·5 grs.    | Similar.        | ⊕.           | Similar.                     |
|                                  |                 | [Brit. Mus.] |                              |

PERIOD V. CIRC. B.C. 446—426.

During the years of democratical government which followed the success of the Athenians at Oenophyta, the exiled oligarchs, no inconsiderable body, mustered their forces and had obtained possession of Orchomenus and some neighbouring towns of smaller importance. The Athenians then dispatched a force to expel them, a force, however, too hastily got together, and eager more to show their mettle than to follow the wise counsels of Pericles, who advised delay. The result was a disastrous defeat in the neighbourhood of Coroneia. A counter-revolution throughout Bœotia was the immediate effect of this repulse of the Athenians, the democracies sustained by Athens were overthrown, the exiled oligarchs were reinstated, and Thebes was once more the leading state in Bœotia (B.C. 446).

From the battle of Coroneia to the commencement of the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 431), Thebes was occupied in consolidating her authority throughout Bœotia. Plataea alone of all the Bœotian townships remained faithful to Athens, and though only about nine English miles distant from Thebes, steadily refused to join the League. The treacherous attack of a body of Thebans upon Plataea in 431, the subsequent two years' siege of the brave little town by the united forces of the Peloponnesians (B.C. 429—427), the heroic defence, the hair-breadth escape of half the garrison, the surrender when at the point of starvation, the cold-blooded execution, man by man, of

the sturdy defenders, and the ultimate destruction of the city B.C. 426, need only be mentioned to recall to our minds a thrilling chapter of history. With the fall of Plataea Thebes becomes the undisputed ruler of a united Bæotian Confederacy.

COINAGE OF THEBES B.C. 446—426.

|                                      |                        |   |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|---|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>185·9 grs.</p> | <p>Bæotian shield.</p> | <p>⊗ Herakles, naked, advancing r., holding club and bow, the whole in incuse square.</p> |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|---|

[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 8.]

|                                      |                 |   |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>188·2 grs.</p> | <p>Similar.</p> | <p>⊕ ΕΒΑΙΟΣ. Herakles naked, kneeling r. on one knee and stringing his bow, the whole in incuse square.</p> |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|---|

[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 9.]

|                                      |                 |                                      |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>194·5 grs.</p> | <p>Similar.</p> | <p>Similar, but club behind him.</p> |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|

[Brit. Mus.]

|                                      |                 |                                    |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>195·2 grs.</p> | <p>Similar.</p> | <p>Similar, but club in front.</p> |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|

[Brit. Mus.]

|                                    |                 |  |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>195 grs.</p> | <p>Similar.</p> | <p>Same inscr., Herakles kneeling r. on one knee and shooting an arrow from his bow, the whole in incuse square.</p> |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|--|

[Brit. Mus.]

|                                    |                 |   |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>187 grs.</p> | <p>Similar.</p> | <p>⊕ ΕΒΑΙΩΝ. Herakles naked, stooping and stringing bow, in front club, the whole in incuse square.</p> |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|---|

[Coll. Bompois. *Num. Zeit.* ix. p. 38.]

|                                    |                 |  |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>185 grs.</p> | <p>Similar.</p> | <p>⊕ ΕΒΑΙΩΝ. Herakles naked, striding towards r., carrying off the Delphic tripod and wielding his club, the whole in incuse square.</p> |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|--|

[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 10.]

|                             |          |  |
|-----------------------------|----------|--|
| Stater.<br>189·8 grs.       | Similar. |  Infant Herakles kneeling l., strangling serpents, the whole in incuse square.<br>[Brit. Mus.]  |
| Stater.<br>192·7 grs.       | Similar. | Similar, but infant Herakles kneeling in a more upright attitude, the whole in incuse square.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 11.]  |
| Stater.<br>180 grs.         | Similar. | Similar, but above to l. a large ivy-leaf.<br>[Brit. Mus.]   |
| Stater.                     | Similar. |  Herakles wearing short chiton and chlamys, kneeling r. and looking back, both hands raised, his r. holding club, the whole in incuse square.<br>[Paris. Pl. II. 12.] |
| Stater.<br>185·6 grs.       | Similar. |  Female figure seated r. on chair without back, holding a helmet in her hand, the whole in incuse square.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 13.]                                 |
| Hemi-<br>drachm.<br>47 grs. | Similar. |  Kantharos, in incuse square.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 14.]   |
| Obol.<br>16·8 grs.          | Similar. | Similar.<br>[Brit. Mus.]   |
| Obol.<br>15 grs.            | Similar. |  in incuse square.<br>[Brit. Mus.]  |

Concerning the attribution of the above-described series of coins to the period of about twenty years preceding the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, there can hardly be much doubt. Nevertheless, it must not be assumed that *all* Bœotian coins with the archaic forms **A**, **B**, **D**, **Θ**, **Ρ**, **ς**, **Υ**, &c., &c., are necessarily anterior to others

with the later forms of those letters. The introduction of the more modern forms was a gradual process, and some of the archaic letters are met with on the coins as late as circ. 370.<sup>2</sup> **D**, **R**, **S**, and **Y** seem to have continued in occasional use in Bœotia for many years after **H**, **A**, and **⊕** had ceased to be employed. A surer note of time is offered by style of art than by epigraphy. Fabric also, where both fail us, must not be overlooked, and is indeed always of the utmost value. But a wide experience is needed before the eye attains the power of accurate discrimination which, when once acquired, becomes almost an instinct.

The style of the art of the Theban coinage here given to the period B.C. 446—426 resembles in so many respects that of the Metopes of the Parthenon, which are generally believed to be rather earlier than the frieze, and to date from about 450—445, that I have no hesitation in making them almost contemporary works. After Pheidias a remarkable change took place in Greek art, of which there are no indications in the Herakles types above described. The style of the seated female figure on the stater reading **ΘΕΒΑ** is quite consistent with that of the Herakles types, and notwithstanding the **Θ** certainly contemporary with them. With regard to the question as to whom this figure may represent there is much doubt. I would suggest that it may be Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, and wife of the Theban hero Cadmus.

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<sup>2</sup> See Kirchhoff, *Studien*, 3rd edition, p. 133.

PERIOD VI. CIRC. B.C. 426—395.

Once more did the Athenians make an attempt to regain their lost ascendancy in Bœotia, in compliance with the wishes of the repressed democratic parties in the various Bœotian towns, but it was all to no purpose. Near Delium, which they had seized and garrisoned, they sustained a crushing defeat which put an end for ever to all hopes of recovering Bœotia. From this time until the close of the Peloponnesian war and the fall of Athens, Thebes was reckoned among her bitterest enemies.

But after the close of the Peloponnesian war and the humiliation of Athens, B.C. 404, a complete revolution took place in the sentiments and policy of the previous allies of Sparta. Thebes especially, which so long as Athens was a formidable rival was her bitterest foe, now afforded a refuge to the Athenian fugitives, and supplied substantial aid to Thrasybulus in his noble struggle against the Thirty, in gratitude for which he dedicated in the Herakleion at Thebes statues of Athena and Herakles, said to be by Alcamenes (Paus. ix. 11, 4). This timely assistance and sympathy was more than requited by Athens in 396, when she sent an army into Bœotia to help Thebes against the Spartans, who had invaded their territory from both sides at once. The result of this 'Bœotian war,' as it is usually called, was the defeat of the Spartans and the death of their great general Lysander under the walls of Haliartus. Orchomenus, as the rival

of Thebes, took the side of the Spartans in their struggle. From this time forward we find Thebes occupying a much more prominent position in the international policy of the Grecian states than heretofore.

During the whole of the period B.C. 426—395, of which the above is a slight sketch, there is no indication of any Bœotian coinage except that of Thebes. This is entirely in accordance with what we should expect from all that we know of the history of the growth of the dominion of Thebes, whose harsh treatment of the other confederate towns is exemplified by her conduct towards Thespiæ after the battle of Delium (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, iii. 5, 6).

CLASS (a)

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>182·2 grs.</p>    | <p>  Bœotian shield.</p>                      | <p>  —E. Head of bearded Herakles r., in lion's skin; the whole in incuse square.</p> |
|   | <p>  [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 1.]</p>             |  |
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>188·2 grs.</p>    | <p>  Similar.</p>                             | <p>  —E. Similar head l.</p>  |
|   | <p>  [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 2.]</p>             |  |
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>186 grs.</p>      | <p>  Similar.</p>                             | <p>  —E. Head of bearded Herakles facing.</p>  |
|   | <p>  [Num. Zeit. ix., Taf. ii., No. 129.]</p> |  |
| <p><i>Hemi-obol.</i><br/>6·5 grs.</p>   | <p>  Half Bœotian shield</p>                  | <p>  E B A. Club l., beneath, ivy-leaf.</p>   |
|   | <p>  [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 3.]</p>             |  |
| <p><i>Hemi-obol.</i><br/>7 grs.</p>     | <p>  Similar, but on it a half-club.</p>      | <p>  Similar.</p>  |
|   | <p>  [Num. Zeit. ix., No. 149.]</p>           |  |
| <p><i>Hemi-obol.</i><br/>6·5 grs.</p>   | <p>  Similar (no club).</p>                   | <p>  EBA. Club l., above ivy-leaf.</p>  |
|   | <p>  [Brit. Mus.]</p>                         |  |
| <p><i>Tetartemorion.</i><br/>3 grs.</p> | <p>  Bœotian shield.</p>                      | <p>  —E. Club diagonally in incuse square.</p>                                      |
|   | <p>  [Num. Zeit. ix., p. 46., No. 147.]</p>   |  |

|                                   |          |  |
|-----------------------------------|----------|--|
| <i>Tetartemorion.</i><br>3·5 grs. | Similar. | ⊙—E. Club.<br>[ <i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. Pl. X. 21.]       |
| <i>Tetartemorion.</i><br>3·8 grs. | Similar. | Club between ⊙ and<br>ivy-leaf.<br>[ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> ] |

## CLASS (β).

|                              |                                  |   |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>190·2 grs. | Bœotian shield.                  | ⊙ Head of bearded<br>Dionysos r. in incuse<br>square.<br>[ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. III. 4.] |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>189·7 grs. | Bœotian shield on<br>which club. | Similar.<br>[ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. III. 5.]  |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>187·7 grs. | Similar.                         | ⊙—E. Similar.<br>[ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. III. 6.]   |

Of these staters numerous varieties exist.

|                                  |                 |  |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>39·8 grs. | Bœotian shield. | ⊙ — EB. Kantharos,<br>above which club, the<br>whole in incuse square.<br>[ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. III. 7.] |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>38·5 grs. | Similar.        | Similar, in field l. battle-<br>axe.<br>[ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> ]  |

The hemi-drachms reading ⊙—EB seem to be some years earlier than others of the same type reading ⊙EBH.

## CLASS (γ).

|                |   |   |
|----------------|---|---|
| <i>Stater.</i> | Bœotian shield on<br>which sometimes<br>a club. | ⊙—E. Amphora of<br>which the upper part is<br>ribbed or fluted; to one<br>or both handles an<br>ivy-leaf is sometimes<br>attached: the whole in<br>incuse square. <sup>3</sup><br>[ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> , 8 specimens. Pl. III. 8.] |
|----------------|---|---|

<sup>3</sup> The coin engraved by Dumersan, *Cat. Allier de Haute-roche*, Pl. VI. 6. *Obv.* E—⊙. Amphora, an ivy-leaf hanging

|  |                             |  |
|--|-----------------------------|--|
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>187·7 grs.</p>     | <p>Boeotian shield.</p>     | <p>Ⓞ<sup>B</sup>—E. Similar amphora; incuse square.<br/>[Brit. Mus.]</p>                   |
| <p><i>Stater.</i><br/>184 grs.</p>       | <p>Similar.</p>             | <p>Ⓞ—E. Similar amphora; in field r., bunch of grapes, incuse square.<br/>[Brit. Mus.]</p> |
| <p><i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br/>40·3 grs.</p> | <p>Similar.</p>             | <p>ⓄE—BH. Kantbaros, above which club; incuse square.<br/>[Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 9.]</p>     |
| <p><i>Hemi-obol.</i><br/>8 grs.</p>      | <p>Half Boeotian shield</p> | <p>Ⓞ—E. Bunch of grapes.<br/>[Brit. Mus.]</p>  |
| <p><i>Tetartemorion.</i><br/>3 grs.</p>  | <p>Boeotian shield.</p>     | <p>Ⓞ—E. Bunch of grapes.<br/>[Brit. Mus.]</p>  |
| <p><i>Tetartemorion.</i><br/>3 grs.</p>  | <p>Similar.</p>             | <p>Ⓞ—E. Bunch of grapes and two ivy-leaves.<br/>[Cat. Margaritis, No. 44.]</p>             |

With the exception of the staters of class (a) with the head of Herakles, all the coins of this period are of frequent occurrence. The incuse square is still plainly visible upon every well-preserved specimen. During this period a remarkable innovation takes place in the spelling. Instead of the form **ⓄEBAION** we now find **ⓄEBH[ON]**, the letter **H** having been adopted to take the place of the diphthong **AI** some time before the introduction of the other letters of the Ionian alphabet. An intermediate method of representing this same diphthong was **AE** for

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from one handle. *Rev.* Incuse of the early Corinthian *Swastika* type, is probably false. The obverse appears to be from a die by Bekker; the reverse is certainly not Boeotian in type, and seems to be much too archaic for the obverse. A specimen of this coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris weighs 32·4 grs.

a short time towards the close of the fifth century, but up to the present this form has only been noticed in inscriptions of Tanagra (P. Foucart, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii. p. 136). Possibly the inscription  $\Theta\epsilon\beta\alpha$  on coins which I would place between those with  $\Theta\epsilon\beta\alpha\text{ION}$  and those with  $\Theta\epsilon\beta\eta$  may point to a similar transitional orthography at Thebes.

The staters of this period are of three types: (i.) the head of bearded Herakles in profile or facing, which preserves much of the archaic treatment; (ii.) the head of bearded Dionysus; and (iii.) an amphora. Of the two last mentioned it is hard to say which is the more recent, but probably it is the amphora, as this is the type which, as we shall see, was ultimately adopted to the exclusion of all others.

In these series the drachm is wanting; the half-drachm is distinguished by the kantharos; and the obols, &c., by the club of Herakles or the bunch of grapes.<sup>4</sup>

On all the coins of this period except the smallest the ancient incuse square is still retained, but is less sharply cut than on the more archaic series. In the next period it gradually disappears altogether, at first on the staters and afterwards on the hemi-drachms.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Dr. Imhoof-Blumer engraves in the *Num. Zeit.* iii., Pl. X. 20, a hemi-obol in the Munich cabinet, wt. 8 grs. *Obv.*  $\Theta$ —E, head of Dionysus r., bearded and with wreath, the whole in dotted circle. *Rev.*  $\Theta$ E in monogram in dotted square within incuse square.

This remarkable little coin, if it be Theban at all, would belong to this period.

<sup>5</sup> A very sharply defined incuse square occurs, however, upon a series of coins which I am compelled on other grounds to assign to a later period (B.C. 387—374). See page 233.

PERIOD VII. CIRC. B.C. 395—387.

The first offensive movement undertaken by Thebes against the Spartan Empire in Northern Greece was the expedition into Thessaly to expel the Lacedæmonian harmosts and garrisons in those regions. This object was effected by the Theban leader Ismenias.

Thebes now became one of the principal states of a great anti-Spartan alliance, including among its members Athens, Corinth, Argos, and nearly the whole of Central Greece.

The events of the next few years are in brief as follows :—

395. Formation of the anti-Spartan alliance by Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Argos.

394. Spartan victory over the allies near Corinth.

394. Defeat of the Lacedæmonian fleet off Cnidus by Conon.

Agesilaus, recalled from Asia, crosses the Hellespont and invades Bœotia from the north.

Battle of Coroncia. Hard-won victory of Agesilaus. The result not unfavourable to the Thebans. Agesilaus withdraws his forces into Peloponnesus.

393—387. Corinthian war and other campaigns.

391. Abortive peace negotiations. Thebes offers to recognise the autonomy of Orchomenus.

387. Conclusion of the Peace of Antalcidas, by which the Bœotian confederacy was for a time dissolved, each city in Bœotia being recognised as autonomous.

## PALE GOLD.

|                                  |   |   |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Half-drachm.</i><br>46·3 grs. | Head of beard-<br>ed Dionysus<br>right, wearing<br>wreath of ivy. | ☉—E. Infant Herakles<br>seated, facing, head towards<br>left, strangling serpents; be-<br>neath club: traces of incuse<br>square. |
|                                  |   | [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 10.]   |
| <i>Obol.</i><br>15·8 grs.        | Similar.  | ☉—E. Similar type, to-<br>wards right; no club.   |
|                                  |   | [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 11.]   |

## SILVER.

|                              |                 |  |
|------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>191 grs.   | Bœotian shield. | ☉. Amphora of which the<br>upper part is ribbed or<br>fluted; concave field.                             |
|                              |                 | [Brit. Mus.]   |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>191·3 grs. | Similar.        | <b>B</b><br>☉—E. Similar; in field l.<br>bow; concave field or cir-<br>cular incuse.                     |
|                              |                 | [Brit. Mus.]   |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>191 grs.   | Similar.        | ☉—E. Similar; in field,<br>bow, club, or bunch of<br>grapes; concave field.                              |
|                              |                 | [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 12.]  |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>185·6 grs. | Similar.        | ☉—E. Similar amphora, an<br>ivy-leaf above attached to<br>handle; in field l. œnochoë,<br>concave field. |
|                              |                 | [Brit. Mus.]   |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>184·2 grs. | Similar.        | ☉—E. Similar amphora,<br>the whole in wreath of ivy;<br>concave field.                                   |
|                              |                 | [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 13.]  |

|                                   |                                       |  |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>186·8 grs.      | Similar.                              | ⊙—E. Infant Herakles seated, facing, head to r., strangling serpents; in field r. on one specimen a bow; concave field.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 14, 15.] |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>188·2 grs.      | Similar.                              | [⊙—E]. Head of bearded Dionysos facing, wearing ivy wreath; field nearly flat.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 16.]  |
| <i>Tritemorion.</i><br>10·2 grs.  | Three half-shields, in the centre ⊙.  | Same type as obverse, but on each half-shield a club; concave field.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 17.]  |
| <i>Hemi-obol.</i><br>5·7 grs.     | Half - Bœotian shield, on which club. | ⊙ <sup>B</sup> —E. Amphora, in field l., club; concave field.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 18.]   |
| <i>Hemi-obol.</i><br>5·2 grains.  | Similar, without club.                | ⊙ <sup>B</sup> —E. Similar; no club.<br>[Brit. Mus.]   |
| <i>Tetartemorion.</i><br>3·5 grs. | Bœotianshield.                        | ⊙—E. Kantharos, above, club; concave field.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 19.]   |

The introduction of a gold, or rather electrum, coinage at Thebes during this period is doubtless due to the intimate relations which commenced about this time between the Persians and certain states of Greece, and the consequent influx into Greece of Persian gold. The Rhodian envoy Timocrates visited this year (B.C. 395) Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and other cities with the sum of 50 talents, which he was directed by the Satrap Tithraustes to expend in the promotion of the anti-Spartan alliance.

It is noteworthy that Athens begins to coin gold money about the same time as Thebes. The Theban coins of this period are easily distinguishable from earlier coins of the same types, first by the total disappearance of the incuse square, and next by the much more infantile appearance of the Herakles.

PERIOD VIII. CIRC. B.C. 387—374.

The condition of Bœotia after the signing of the Peace of Antalcidas was greatly changed. Though all the cities of that land, with the exception of Orchomenus and Thespiæ, appear to have been sincerely attached to the time-honoured form of government, of which their elected representatives the Bœotarchs, formed the executive; and although they were on the whole content with the federal head-ship of Thebes, nevertheless there was in each of them a Separatist minority favourable to the independent autonomy of the individual communities, and this party was now won over to the Spartan alliance.

Oligarchies under Spartan patronage, and upheld by the presence in most of the towns of a Spartan harmost and garrison, were now set up throughout Bœotia, while at the same time Plataea was rebuilt as a dependency of Sparta, nominally, like the rest, autonomous.

From the time of the signing of this peace there were no longer any general assemblies of the Bœotians, or any elections of the Bœotarchs. The ancient confederacy was broken up into its constituent parts.

At Thebes itself there was a Spartan faction headed by Leontiades, one of the Polemarchs. This was the man who betrayed the Theban citadel into the hands of the Spartans under Phœbidas in B.C. 382, and drove into exile his fellow Polemarch, Ismenias, together with Pelopidas and many others. Sparta was now supreme, and for three

years her will was law in every Bœotian town. Then came the reaction. The carefully contrived conspiracy of Pelopidas and his friends was completely successful; the Cadmeia was recovered; the Spartans expelled; and the ancient institutions, at least in Thebes, were restored (B.C. 379—8). The other Bœotian towns remained in the hands of the Spartans for some years longer, until the Thebans under Pelopidas gained a victory over the Lacedæmonians, B.C. 376, which enabled them to restore the ancient confederacy, and by the year B.C. 374 Orchomenus was the only Bœotian town not included in the League. This city, the ancient rival of Thebes, remained faithful to Sparta down to the battle of Leuctra, B.C. 371.

This period of disintegration, B.C. 387—374, has left marked traces upon the coinage. At no other epoch in the history of Bœotia can we point to such a variety of coin-types, the issue of so many independent mints. The Bœotian shield on the obverse is, however, still retained as a matter of custom, rather perhaps than as the symbol of any actual union between the different Bœotian cities.

The following are the coins of the non-Theban mints which, perhaps with a few exceptions, can only belong to this period. The coinage of Thebes itself is less easily distinguished, and will be discussed later on.

#### CHAERONEIA.

|                                |                 |  |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>36 grs. | Bœotian shield. | X in two lines, between<br>A I. them a club r. |
|                                |                 | [ <i>Prok. Ost.</i> , 1854, Taf. ii. 49.]      |

|  |          |  |
|--|----------|--|
| <i>Bronze.</i><br>Size 4, <i>Mion.</i> | Similar. | XAI in two lines, be-<br>PΩNE. tween them club<br>r. |
|  |          | [ <i>Prok. Ost.</i> , l. c. No. 50.]                 |

Chaeroneia, which was formerly included in the terri-

tory of Orchomenus, probably obtained autonomy at the Peace of Antalcidas.

COPÆ.

*Obol.* | Bœotian shield. | ΚΩΓΑΙΩΝ. Forepart of bull,  
10·8 grs. | | rushing r.  
[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 1.]

*Bronze.* | Bœotian shield. | Κ—Ω. Bull's head, facing.  
Size 1½. | |  
[Prok. Ost., 1854, Pl. II. 51.]

The town of Copæ stood on the edge of the Lake Copais, not far from the Katabothra, into which the Cephissus flows on emerging from the lake. The rushing bull may symbolise that river.

CORONEIA.

*Obol.* | Bœotian shield. | Κ—Ο. Gorgon-head in circular  
14 grs. | | incuse.  
[Brit. Mus.]

*Obol.* | Similar. | No inscription; similar.  
10·2 grs. | |  
[Brit. Mus.]

*Obol.* | Similar. | Ο—Α. Head of Athena Itonia  
13·5 grs. | | facing, wearing helmet with  
three crests.  
[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 2.]

*Obol.* | Similar. | Ο—Κ(?). Head of Athena Itonia  
16 grs. | | helmeted, r., in circular incuse.  
[Brit. Mus.]

These are the latest-known coins of Coroneia. It is not probable that this city continued to strike money after B.C. 374, although it remained for about ten years after that date a member of the confederacy, when it appears to have been destroyed by the Thebans and its territory appro-

priated, about the same time that Orchomenus was similarly treated, circ. B.C. 364.

#### HALIARTUS.

|                     |   |   |
|---------------------|---|---|
| Stater.<br>182 grs. | Bœotian shield,<br>on which tri-<br>dent. | <b>ARIARTIOΣ</b> . Naked Poseidon<br>advancing right, striking with<br>trident. |
|---------------------|---|---|

[Imhoof Coll., *Num. Zeit.* iii. Taf. ix. Fig. 3. Pl. IV. 3.]

This remarkable stater is attributed by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer to the same period as the early Theban staters reading **ΘΕΒΑΙΟΣ**. I venture to give it to a later time, first, because it has a symbol on the shield, which I believe never occurs on any of the Theban coins of that early date; next, because there are no traces of an incuse square on the reverse, while on the Theban coins B.C. 446—426 the incuse square is always clearly defined; and in the third place, because the figure of Poseidon is far less archaic than any of the figures on the Theban coins in question. The similarity in the form of the inscription does not, in my judgment, outweigh the other considerations, for it is well known that many archaic forms of letters remained in use in Bœotia even down to the time of Epaminondas.<sup>6</sup> The type of this coin refers to the celebrated temple and grove of Poseidon at Onchestus in the territory of Haliartus, which was the meeting-place of the Amphictyonic Council of the Bœotians (Strab. ix. 2, 33). The statue of Poseidon Onchestus was still standing there in the time of Pausanias (ix. 26, 5).

#### LEBADEIA.

|                       |                 |   |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---|
| Di-obol.<br>29·3 grs. | Bœotian shield. | <b>Λ—Ε</b> In two lines, between<br><b>Β—Α</b> . them, a thunderbolt. |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---|

[*Arch. Zeit.*, 1848, Pl. XVIII. 6.]

<sup>6</sup> See Kirchhoff, *Studien*, third edition, p. 133.

This is the only known silver coin of Lebadeia. Cavendish (*Arch. Zeit.* 1851, p. 384) takes the thunderbolt to be a symbol of the worship of Ζεὺς Ἰστῖος, whose statue stood in the grove of Trophonius in the open air (Paus. ix. 39, 3).

MYCALESSUS.

|   |  |                      |  |   |
|---|--|----------------------|--|---|
| <p><i>Obol.</i><br/>13 grs.</p>                           |  | Bœotian shield.      |  | <p><b>M—Υ.</b> Thunderbolt.</p>                                   |
|   |  |                      |  | [ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. IV. 4.]                                   |
| <p><i>Obol.</i><br/>12·5 grs.</p>                         |  | Similar.             |  | <p><b>Υ—M.</b> Similar.</p>                                       |
|   |  |                      |  | [ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> ]   |
| <p><i>Hemi-obol.</i><br/>7 grs.</p>                       |  | Half Bœotian shield. |  | <p><b>M—Υ.</b> Thunderbolt.</p>                                   |
|   |  |                      |  | [Imhoof, <i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix. No. 63.]                           |
| <p><i>Tetartemorion.</i><br/>2·7 grs.</p>                 |  | Bœotian shield.      |  | <p><b>M—Υ.</b> Thunderbolt.</p>                                   |
|   |  |                      |  | [ <i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. Taf. ix. No. 4.]                         |
| <p><i>Tetartemorion.</i><br/>4 grs.</p>                   |  | Similar.             |  | <p>Bunch of grapes between ivy-leaf, and <b>Σ</b> [<b>M</b>].</p> |
|   |  |                      |  | [ <i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. Taf. x. 13.]                             |
| <p><math>\frac{1}{8}</math> <i>Obol.</i><br/>2·5 grs.</p> |  | Similar.             |  | <p><b>M</b> over a kantharos, in incuse square.</p>               |
|   |  |                      |  | [ <i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix. No. 64.]                                  |

Mycalessus was utterly destroyed by some Thracian mercenaries in B.C. 413. I do not know whether there is any evidence as to its having been restored other than the coins above described, which are too recent in style to be attributed to the time before the destruction. Although this town does not seem to have ever attained to any impor-

tance, it probably enjoyed a few years of autonomy between B.C. 387 and 374.

ORCHOMENUS.

|                                      |  |   |  |                                      |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|--|--------------------------------------|
| $\frac{3}{4}$ Obol or Tritemorion.   |  | E—P. Three sprouting grains of corn.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 10.]                      |  | Free horse.                          |
| $\frac{3}{4}$ Obol.                  |  | Similar, beneath, ER.<br>[Num. Zeit. iii. Taf. ix. 8.]                                |  | Wheel of four spokes.                |
| $\frac{3}{4}$ Obol.                  |  | Similar.<br>[Num. Zeit. iii. Taf. ix. 9.]   |  | Wreath composed of two ears of corn. |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ Obol.                  |  | Half - sprouting corn-grain in field, sometimes ivy-leaf.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 11.] |  | E—R. Ear of corn.                    |
| $\frac{1}{4}$ Obol or Tetartemorion. |  | E—R. Sprouting grain of corn.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 12.]                             |  | E—R. Ear of corn.                    |

Many slight varieties of the above coins are known with the letters **Ξ**, **ΡΞ**, **ER**, **EP**, and in one instance **OP**, on one or both sides. These small coins of Orchomenus probably extend over the whole period between B.C. 395, when Orchomenus revolted from the League and joined the Spartans, and 364, the year of its destruction.

The following larger coins, having on the obverse the Bœotian shield, belong to the latter part of the same period, the stater with the amphora being closely copied from the new Federal coinage first issued at Thebes about B.C. 379—8 (see below, p. 237. Pl. V. 1—5).

|                       |  |                 |  |  |
|-----------------------|--|-----------------|--|--|
| Stater.<br>183·2 grs. |  | Bœotian shield. |  | EPX. Free horse galloping r., above, <b>ΥΔΟΡΟ</b> and ear of corn.<br>[Brit. Mus.; Millingen, <i>Anc. Coins</i> , Pl. IV. 6. Pl. IV. 5.] |
|-----------------------|--|-----------------|--|--|

|                                  |                                    |   |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Stater.</i>                   | Similar.                           | Similar, without <b>EPX</b> .<br>[ <i>Mion. Suppl.</i> iii. 520, 97.]   |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>38·3 grs. | Similar.                           | <b>EPX</b> within a wreath composed of two ears of corn.<br>[ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. IV. 9.]                                     |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>186 grs.       | Bœotian shield.                    | <b>EP—XO</b> . Amphora, of which the upper half is fluted, in field r. ear of corn.<br>[ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. IV. 6.]          |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>167 grs.       | Similar.                           | <b>O—X</b> Similar amphora ;<br><b>E—P</b> . above, <b>EVD</b> .<br>[ <i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix. Taf. i. 83.]                        |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>189·5 grs.     | Similar, on shield<br>ear of corn. | <b>EP—XO</b> . Similar amphora ;<br>above, <b>EY</b> .<br>[ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. IV. 8.]                                       |
| <i>Stater.</i>                   | Similar, shield<br>plain.          | <b>EP—X</b> . Similar ; above, <b>EYDO</b> ,<br>in field l. ear of corn.<br>[ <i>Cat. Allier de Hauteroche</i> , Pl. VI. 2.]    |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>183·2 grs.     | Similar.                           | <b>EP— [ X ? ]</b> . Similar ; above,<br><b>EY▷O</b> , in field r. ear of corn. <sup>7</sup><br>[ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. IV. 7.] |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>187 grs.       | Similar.                           | <b>E—P</b> . Similar amphora ; above,<br><b>EYΔO</b> .<br>[ <i>Prok. Ost. Ined.</i> , 1859, p. 14.]                             |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>168 grs.       | Similar.                           | <b>E—P</b> Similar amphora ;<br><b>O—X</b> . above, <b>EYΔO</b> .<br>[ <i>Prok. Ost. Ined.</i> , 1859, p. 15.]                  |

The above-described coins have the appearance of having been issued by the Separatist party in power at Orchomenus as a sort of protest against the arrogance of the Federal party at Thebes, who were endeavouring to centralise the government of all Bœotia in Thebes alone.

The magistrate whose name appears on these Orcho-

<sup>7</sup> Traces of the ear of corn are visible on the original coin, but not on the Plate.

menian coins, variously spelt  $\Upsilon\Delta\text{OPO}$ ,  $\text{EVD}$ , and  $\text{EY}\Delta\text{O}$ , may be supposed to have held in that city the same post (perhaps that of a Polemarch) as the magistrate at Thebes, who is responsible for the contemporary Federal money.

The following bronze coin may also belong to this period :—

|                                       |  |   |  |   |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|---|
| Æ., size 3.<br>Average wt.<br>40 grs. |  | Bœotian shield on<br>which ear of corn. |  | $\text{E—P—X—O}$ between<br>the eight rays of a star. |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|---|

[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 13.]

#### PHARÆ.

|                         |  |                 |  |                            |
|-------------------------|--|-----------------|--|----------------------------|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>12 grs. |  | Bœotian shield. |  | $\Phi—\text{A}$ . Amphora. |
|-------------------------|--|-----------------|--|----------------------------|

[Brit. Mus.]

|                           |  |          |  |  |
|---------------------------|--|----------|--|--|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>12·5 grs. |  | Similar. |  | $\Phi—\text{A}$ . Amphora, to left of<br>which, ear of corn. |
|---------------------------|--|----------|--|--|

[Brit. Mus.]

Between the Persian wars and the Peace of Antalcidas, a period of nearly a hundred years, Pharæ struck no coins. At the Peace of Antalcidas its autonomy, like that of the other Bœotian cities, was restored.

#### PLATÆA.

|                                  |  |                 |  |   |
|----------------------------------|--|-----------------|--|---|
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>38·7 grs. |  | Bœotian shield. |  | $\Gamma\Lambda\Lambda$ . Head of Hera r.,<br>wearing stephanos. |
|----------------------------------|--|-----------------|--|---|

[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 14.<sup>5</sup>]

|                              |  |          |  |          |
|------------------------------|--|----------|--|----------|
| <i>Di-obol.</i><br>28·5 grs. |  | Similar. |  | Similar. |
|------------------------------|--|----------|--|----------|

[*Rev. Num.*, 1860, p. 270.]

|                          |  |          |  |                          |
|--------------------------|--|----------|--|--------------------------|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>9·7 grs. |  | Similar. |  | No inscription. Similar. |
|--------------------------|--|----------|--|--------------------------|

[*Rev. Num.* l. c.]

|                                  |  |          |  |   |
|----------------------------------|--|----------|--|---|
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>37·2 grs. |  | Similar. |  | $\Gamma\Lambda\Lambda$ . Head of Hera facing,<br>wearing stephanos. |
|----------------------------------|--|----------|--|---|

[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 15.<sup>6</sup>]

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 14 and 15 are by an oversight marked Æ on the Plate.

There are no coins of Plataea which can be attributed either to the time before the Persian wars or even to the remaining portion of the fifth century. After its destruction by the Peloponnesians in 426 no coinage is possible until the Peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, when it was restored by the Lacedæmonians, to be again destroyed by the Thebans in B.C. 372. This is the period to which the above-described silver coins appear to belong. Some of the copper coins may belong to this period, others are apparently subsequent to the restoration of the town for the third time by Philip of Macedon after the battle of Chæroneia.

The head of Hera on these coins may be that of the statue by Praxiteles in the Heraeum (Paus. ix. 2, 7).

BRONZE B.C. 387—374?

Æ. 3. | Bœotian shield. | Π in laurel-wreath.  
[*Prok. Ost. Ined.*, 1854, Taf. ii. 56.]

Æ. Size 1½. | Head of Hera r., | ΠΛΑ. Bull walking r.  
27 and 18 grs. | wearing stephane. |  
[*Brit. Mus.*]

Æ. 2. | Similar. | Similar type 1.  
15·4 grs. |  
[*Num. Zeit.* iii. Pl. IX. No. 12.]

Of the following two coins, the first seems to belong to a later period than the foregoing; but as it stands alone I have not thought it necessary to remove it from the other pieces. The second coin is very probably not Plataean at all.

Æ. 3½. | Head of Apollo, | ΠΛΑ in circle of dots.  
Dionysus, or Zeus | ΤΑΙ  
Eleutherios (?) l.,  
with flowing hair. |  
[*Prok. Ost. Ined.*, 1854, Taf. ii. 58.]

|                                       |   |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| Æ. 4.                                 | Head of Pallas, helmeted r., ΠΛΑΤ-ΕΙ//////. | /////ΛΑΤΙΟ/////.<br>Owl r., in front of olive-branch. |
| [ <i>Rev. Num.</i> , 1843, Pl. X. 5.] |   |   |

## TANAGRA.

|                       |                 |   |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---|
| Stater.<br>182·7 grs. | Bœotian shield. | T—A. Forepart of horse springing r., his neck bound with laurel-wreath, the whole in concave field. |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---|

[*Brit. Mus.* Pl. IV. 16.]

|                    |          |          |
|--------------------|----------|----------|
| Obol.<br>10·3 grs. | Similar. | Similar. |
|--------------------|----------|----------|

[*Brit. Mus.*]

|                     |          |   |
|---------------------|----------|---|
| Stater.<br>180 grs. | Similar. | TA. Similar, but beneath horse bunch of grapes. |
|---------------------|----------|---|

[*Num. Zeit.* iii. 381.]

|                    |                 |   |
|--------------------|-----------------|---|
| Obol.<br>15·4 grs. | Bœotian shield. | TA. Forepart of horse r., in concave field. |
|--------------------|-----------------|---|

[*Brit. Mus.*]

Of these obols there are many varieties reading T—A, TA—NA,  $\begin{matrix} T & - & A \\ & W & \end{matrix}$ , &c., the horse on the reverse being sometimes to the left. A specimen described by Mionnet, ii. p. 107, has the letter  $\Phi$  in the field.

|                        |                      |   |
|------------------------|----------------------|---|
| Hemi-obol.<br>6·7 grs. | Half Bœotian shield. | T—A. Horse's head r., in concave field. |
|------------------------|----------------------|---|

[*Brit. Mus.*]

|                          |                 |                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Tetartemorion.<br>4 grs. | Bœotian shield. | Similar, r. or l. |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|

[*Num. Zeit.* ix. No. 95.]

|                           |          |  |
|---------------------------|----------|--|
| Tetartemorion.<br>2½ grs. | Similar. | T—A. Forepart of horse l., in concave field. |
|---------------------------|----------|--|

[*Num. Zeit.* ix. No. 100.]

On all the above coins the square incuse is replaced by

a circular one, which little by little disappears altogether. The coinage of small silver coins at Tanagra during this period appears to have been very plentiful; among the most recent specimens are the following.

|                                   |                          |  |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| <p><i>Obol.</i><br/>13·7 grs.</p> | <p>  Bœotian shield.</p> | <p>  Forepart of bridled horse, beneath<br/>  ivy-spray.</p> |
| <p>[Brit. Mus.]</p>               |                          |  |

|                                 |                   |  |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| <p><i>Obol.</i><br/>14 grs.</p> | <p>  Similar.</p> | <p>  T—A. Similar; beneath, ivy-<br/>  leaf.</p> |
| <p>[Brit. Mus.]</p>             |                   |  |

|                                   |                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|---|
| <p><i>Obol.</i><br/>12·7 grs.</p> | <p>  Similar.</p> | <p>  T—A. Similar; beneath, grapes.</p> |
| <p>[Brit. Mus.]</p>               |                   |   |

|   |                   |   |
|---|-------------------|---|
| <p><i>Obol.</i><br/>14 grs.</p>         | <p>  Similar.</p> | <p>  T—A. Similar; beneath, pellet.</p> |
| <p>[<i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. No. 75.]</p> |                   |   |

|   |                   |                                     |
|---|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <p><i>Obol.</i><br/>14·5 grs.</p>       | <p>  Similar.</p> | <p>  T—A. Similar; in field, ☉.</p> |
| <p>[<i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. No. 76.]</p> |                   |                                     |

|   |                   |   |
|---|-------------------|---|
| <p><i>Obol.</i><br/>13 grs.</p>         | <p>  Similar.</p> | <p>  AT. Stern of galley, in concave<br/>  field.</p> |
| <p>[<i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix. No. 101.]</p> |                   |   |

|                                   |                   |                              |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| <p><i>Obol.</i><br/>13·7 grs.</p> | <p>  Similar.</p> | <p>  TA. Stern, r. or l.</p> |
| <p>[Brit. Mus.]</p>               |                   |                              |

|                                     |                                     |                       |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <p><i>Hemi-obol.</i><br/>6 grs.</p> | <p>  Half Bœotian<br/>  shield.</p> | <p>  TA. Stern l.</p> |
| <p>[Brit. Mus.]</p>                 |                                     |                       |

Tanagra was not, like many of the Bœotian towns, cut off from the sea, for its harbour of Aulis was, according to Strabo (ix. 403), capable of containing fifty galleys. Hence, perhaps, the above coin type.

THEBES.—It now remains to be considered what was the coinage of Thebes herself during this period of Spartan supremacy in Bœotia, B.C. 387—379. The provisions of the Peace of Antalcidas investing with autonomy the various members of the Bœotian confederacy were a blow to the Theban influence throughout the length and breadth of the land such as had not been felt since the Persian wars. The effect which this loss of supremacy had upon the coinage was probably a very considerable diminution in the quantity of money issued from the Theban mint, but it does not seem certain that any change was made in the types.

There is, however, a class of hemi-drachms and smaller coins, reading **BOIΩ** and **BOI** (Pl. IV. 17), distinctly later in style than those of the same type described above (p. 212 *sq.*), reading **ΘEB** and **ΘEBH** (Pl. III. 7, 9), while they are earlier than another series of similar coins *without the incuse square* which I have attributed to a subsequent period (see p. 254 and Pl. V. 12). These coins, struck in the name of Bœotia '*in genere*,' fall naturally therefore into this intermediate period when, it will be remembered, Thebes put in a claim to sign the peace on behalf of the whole of Bœotia.

Although this claim was not admitted by Sparta, it does not seem improbable that Thebes may have issued coins in assertion of some such claim about this time.

The following are the coins in question :—

|                                |  |                |  |   |
|--------------------------------|--|----------------|--|---|
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>38 grs. |  | Bœotian shield |  | <b>BO—IΩ.</b> Kantharos, above<br>which, thunderbolt. |
|                                |  |                |  | [Brit. Mus.]  |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>32 grs. |  | Similar.       |  | Similar; above, club.                                 |
|                                |  |                |  | [Brit. Mus.]  |

|                                  |              |   |
|----------------------------------|--------------|---|
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>41·3 grs. | Similar.     | B—OI. Similar.                                      |
|                                  |              | [Brit. Mus.]  |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>39·7 grs. | Similar.     | B—O. Above kantharos a club; in field r., ivy-leaf. |
|                                  |              | [Brit. Mus.]  |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>40·5 grs. | Similar.     | B—OI. Similar.                                      |
|                                  | [Brit. Mus.] | Pl. IV. 17.]  |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>41 grs.   | Similar.     | BO—I. Similar.                                      |
|                                  |              | [Brit. Mus.]  |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>37·7 grs. | Similar.     | BO—I. Similar, but in field r., grapes.             |
|                                  |              | [Brit. Mus.]  |

The above coins all have traces more or less distinct of the incuse square on the reverse.

|                                   |                |  |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|--|
| <i>Tetartemorion.</i><br>3·1 grs. | Bœotian shield | B—O. Bunch of grapes in concave field. |
|                                   |                | [Brit. Mus.]                           |

THESPIÆ.

|                                 |                      |   |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>43 grs.  | Bœotian shield       | No inser. Amphora; in field r., crescent, the whole in incuse square.   |
|                                 |                      | [Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 21.]  |
| <i>Obol.</i><br>15·2 grs.       | Bœotian shield       | O—E—Σ—ΓI around two crescents back to back, the whole in concave field. |
|                                 |                      | [Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 18.]  |
| <i>Obol.</i><br>14·4 grs.       | Similar.             | OES. Crescent, horns upwards.   |
|                                 |                      | [Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 19.]  |
| <i>Hemi-obol.</i><br>5·7 grs.   | Half Bœotian shield. | OES. Similar.   |
|                                 |                      | Prokesch-Osten. <i>Arch. Zeit.</i> , 1849., Taf. ix. 13.]               |
| <i>Tetartemorion.</i><br>3 grs. | Bœotian shield       | OES. Similar.   |
|                                 |                      | [Brit. Mus.]  |

*Note.*—On the above coins the  $\leq$  is sometimes reversed  $\geq$ .

|                              |                                       |  |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>191·5 grs. | Bœotian shield                        | ΘΕΣΠ—ΙΚΟΝ. Head of Aphrodite r., wearing earring and necklace; in front and beneath, a crescent; the whole in concave field. |
|                              | [Brit. Mus.                           | Pl. IV. 20.]   |
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>43·5. | Similar.                              | Θ—Ε—Σ. Similar head; in front, crescent.   |
|                              | [Brit. Mus.]                          |  |
| <i>Obol.</i><br>14·2 grs.    | Bœotian shield,<br>on which crescent. | Θ. Similar head, no crescent.  |
|                              | [Brit. Mus.]                          |  |

Thespiaë, like Plataea, an ancient enemy of Thebes, became, after the peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, one of the strongholds of Sparta in Bœotia. When, therefore, Thebes in 379—8 shook off the foreign yoke and began to reconstitute the old confederacy, Thespiaë and Plataea were among the last of the Bœotian towns to submit, and did so in the end only by constraint when their friends the Spartans had been finally driven out of the country, circ. B.C. 376.

It is probable that all the above-described varieties of silver coins of Thespiaë fall into the ten or dozen years between B.C. 387 and circ. 376—4, for subsequently the Thespians were, however unwillingly, attached to the League and no longer in the enjoyment of autonomy. At the battle of Leuctra, in B.C. 371, this hostility of the Thespians to the Bœotian cause was evidenced by their retirement *en masse* from the ranks before the engagement; after which the Thebans refused to readmit them as members of the League and expelled them from Bœotia.

The coins of this city are epigraphically very instructive, as indicating the exact period of the introduction of

the  $\Sigma$  in place of the older form  $\leq$ , and should be compared with the contemporary coins of Orchomenus, which show the substitution of  $\Delta$  for the older  $D$ , and  $P$  for  $R$ , and with those of Haliartus with **ARIARTIOΣ**, &c.

Mythologically also the coins of Thespiæ are of value, as they prove that in addition to Eros, who was the god especially revered at that city, Aphrodite *Melainis* (Pausanias, ix. 27) was there worshipped as a moon goddess. The crescent-moon is more constant as a mint-mark on the coins of Thespiæ than the club on those of Thebes, the ear of corn on those of Orchomenus, or the trident on those of Haliartus.

UNCERTAIN.

CIRC. B.C. 387—374.

(a.)

|  |                 |  |
|--|-----------------|--|
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>36 grs.                         | Bœotian shield. | <b>A—9.</b> Amphora in in-<br>cuse square. |
| [ <i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix. No. 48. Coll. Soutzo, Athens.] |                 |  |

|                                |          |                      |
|--------------------------------|----------|----------------------|
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>40 grs. | Similar. | <b>A—P.</b> Similar. |
| [Berlin. Prokesch-Osten Coll.] |          |                      |

(b.)

|  |                 |  |
|--|-----------------|--|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>186 grs.               | Bœotian shield. | <b>Δ—I.</b> Amphora in in-<br>cuse square; above<br>amphora, pellet. |
| [ <i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. p. 326, No. 9.] |                 |  |

|                             |                                       |  |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Drachm.</i><br>90·8 grs. | Bœotian shield, on<br>which caduceus. | <b>Δ—I.</b> Amphora in in-<br>cuse square. |
| [Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 22.]    |                                       |  |

|                                  |                            |                      |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Hemi-drachm.</i><br>44·2 grs. | Similar, no cadu-<br>ceus. | <b>Δ—I.</b> Similar. |
| [Brit. Mus.]                     |                            |                      |

|                                   |          |  |
|-----------------------------------|----------|--|
| <i>Tetartemorion.</i><br>3·7 grs. | Similar. | <b>Δ—I.</b> Kantharos in in-<br>cuse square. |
| [Brit. Mus.]                      |          |  |

(c.)

|                         |                 |                                |
|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Hemi-drachm.<br>34 grs. | Bœotian shield. | Λ—O. Amphora in incuse square. |
|                         |                 | [Cat. Margaritis, Pl. I. 36.]  |

|                           |          |  |
|---------------------------|----------|--|
| Hemi-drachm.<br>36·5 grs. | Similar. | Λ—Ω. Similar.  |
|                           |          | [Paris and Berlin. Prokesch-Osten Coll. Pl. IV. 23.] |

(d.)

|                         |                 |  |
|-------------------------|-----------------|--|
| Hemi-drachm.<br>43 grs. | Bœotian shield. | No inser. Amphora, in field C, the whole in incuse square. |
|                         |                 | [Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 21.]                                   |

(Probably struck at Thespiæ, see p. 233).

(e.)

|                    |                 |                                     |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| Drachm.<br>87 grs. | Bœotian shield. | No inser. Amphora in incuse square. |
|                    |                 | [Brit. Mus.]                        |

|                           |          |              |
|---------------------------|----------|--------------|
| Hemi-drachm.<br>44·5 grs. | Similar. | Similar.     |
|                           |          | [Brit. Mus.] |

(f.)

|                          |                 |                                |
|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Tetartemorion.<br>4 grs. | Bœotian shield. | H—I. Bunch of grapes.          |
|                          |                 | [Rev. Num., 1869, Pl. VI. 15.] |

(g.)

|                          |                 |   |
|--------------------------|-----------------|---|
| Tetartemorion.<br>4 grs. | Bœotian shield. | Σ. Bunch of grapes, in field l. ivy-leaf. |
|                          |                 | [Num. Zeit. iii., Pl. X. 13.]             |

(Perhaps struck at Mycalessus, if Σ = M, see p. 223).

To what town or towns the above described series of coins belong it is difficult to decide. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has proved most satisfactorily that none of the old attributions, such as Delium, Dionysia, Olmium, &c. (*Num. Zeit.*, iii. p. 326, *sqq.* ix. p. 15), can be accepted, although

he has no objections to offer to Haliartus as the place of mintage of the coins with **A — P**.

For my part I am inclined to attribute the whole series to a later period than has hitherto been usual, and to look upon the letters on the reverse as the initials not of towns but of magistrates.

That they are not contemporary either with the anepigraphous coins of Haliartus and Thebes, with the amphora, (B.C. 480—456, Pl. I. 18, 19), or with those reading  $\text{I}\Sigma\text{A}$  and  $\text{Ξ}—\text{⊕}$ , which I have given to Period IV. (B.C. 456—446, Pl. II. 3, 6, 7), will be evident to any one who examines the two classes side by side. Not only are they of a much flatter and more recent fabric, but some of them bear a symbol (caduceus) upon the shield, an indication that they cannot well be earlier than the latter end of the fifth century, after which time a symbol very commonly appears in this position. Moreover the  $\Omega$  on the two hemi-drachms in the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the Prokesch-Osten Collection now at Berlin is quite distinct, and this brings them down at any rate to B.C. 400. At this time, however, and as late as the Peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, there was no coin in Bœotia except that of Thebes. Is there any reason, then, why they should not be brought down to the period of autonomy subsequent to B.C. 387? I know of none except the presence of the well-defined incuse square on the reverses; and although as a general rule there is no better indication of date than the presence or absence of the incuse square, no numismatist will deny that there are exceptions to this rule [cf. my "Coinage of Syracuse," Pl. V. 13].

I would suggest, therefore, that these coins may have been struck at various Bœotian cities B.C. 387—374,

among which the crescent may stand for Thespiæ and the caduceus for Tanagra (?),<sup>9</sup> not yet brought under subjection by Thebes. The magistrates' names, as at Orchomenus and Thebes during the same period, are doubtless those of the local superintendents of the currency at the cities in question.

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<sup>9</sup> The worship of Hermes at Tanagra is referred to by several of the late bronze coins.—*Num. Zeit.* ix. p. 29, *sqq.*

PERIOD IX. CIRC. B.C. 379—338.

THEBES.—Next follows a long series of Bœotian didrachms which, judging by style, certainly commences early in the fourth century—*obv.* Bœotian shield, *rev.* amphora and the three or four first letters of a magistrate's name. Of these names a very large number is known, so many indeed that there can be no doubt that this series must extend down to the capture of Thebes by Philip in B.C. 338. The point to be settled is the exact date of its commencement.

The total number of names handed down to us by these coins is about forty. It is also, on other grounds, tolerably certain that this coinage lasted about forty years.

The temptation to regard the names on the coins as those of the eponymous archons of the Bœotians is doubtless very strong. Nevertheless, when we bear in mind how improbable it is that the number of names now known can be anything like the complete list, I think it is safer to reject the theory that they are the names of the annual eponymi, either of the Bœotian League or of the city of Thebes, for there was an eponymous archon in each town as well as an eponymous archon of the whole League.

It seems to me that it is, on the whole, more reasonable to suppose that certain municipal (or federal) magistrates, perhaps the three Polemarchs (concerning whose duties see Foucart, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iv., Inscriptions d'Orcho-

mène), who were elected annually, formed themselves into a committee for the regulation of the currency, and that the president of this board placed his name upon the coin struck during his term of office.

Supposing, therefore, that of the three Polemarchs each was in turn president of the board of currency for a term of one month, and that there were several issues from the Theban mint during the year, it might so happen that the names of all three Polemarchs appeared on the coinage during their year of office, or, on the other hand, it might happen that all the issues took place quarterly, and in those particular months during which the same man happened to be president. In this case of course only one name would appear on the coinage for the year in question. It is thus manifest that when once the eponymous character of the signature on the coins is not provable the number of names can be but a very rough test of the duration of any given series of signed coins.

We must, therefore, have recourse to other methods of fixing the date of the commencement of this series of coins.

It should be noted: 1st, that the coinage in question forms a single and unbroken series; 2nd, that it is federal in character, not bearing the name of any one city in particular; 3rd, that it is closely imitated by certain coins of Orchomenus above described (see p. 225, Pl. IV., 6—8). It would seem, therefore, that it must have been in circulation before the destruction of that city, B.C. 364.

Now, as we have already traced the Theban coinage down to about B.C. 387, we may take it for granted that the new federal coinage can hardly have commenced before that date; and from B.C. 387—379, as the Bœotian confederacy had ceased to exist, no general coinage on a large scale such as this is possible. But with the appoint-

ment of the new Bæotarchs, Pelopidas, Mellon, and Charon, in B.C. 379—8, the reconstitution of the League commenced, and by the year B.C. 374 it was again generally recognised throughout Bæotia, excepting at Orchomenus. The year of the restoration of the old order by Pelopidas and his friends, B.C. 379—8, seems therefore to be the date when the new federal money was first issued, and the fact that it does not bear the name of Thebes is an additional argument for its having originated at a time when the Theban authority was not generally recognised by the other cities.

That there is a difference in style and palæography between the earliest and latest specimens of this long series of didrachms is indisputable. By patient and prolonged study and comparison of minute points of detail, one might even arrive, perhaps, at an approximately correct chronological classification of the whole series. This, however, is a task which it is hardly worth while to undertake. I proceed, therefore, to give a list of all the names on this class with which I am acquainted, arranged in alphabetical order:—

*Obv.* Bæotian shield. | *Rev.* Amphora, in concave field.

| NAME.               | ABOVE. | ON HANDLE. | IN FIELD. |                           |
|---------------------|--------|------------|-----------|---------------------------|
| A Γ—ΛΑ              |        |            |           | B. M., Mion. tom. ii. 13. |
| AM—ΦΙ               |        |            |           | Mion. 15.                 |
| AN—ΔP <sup>10</sup> |        |            |           | B. M., Mion. 17.          |
| AN—ΔP               | Wreath |            |           | Mion. 16.                 |
| T—I                 |        |            |           | B. M.                     |
| A—N                 |        |            |           |                           |
| A—N                 | Club   |            |           | B. M.                     |
| T—I                 |        |            |           |                           |

<sup>10</sup> Amphora with tall stem.

| NAME.   | ABOVE.                                 | ON HANDLE.                    | IN FIELD. |  |
|---|--|-------------------------------|-----------|--|
| AN—TI<br>IT—WA  | Dolphin                                |                               |           | Mion. S. iii. 10.<br>L. Müller, Cat. Thorwaldsen, 293.                                 |
| AP—OA<br>AR—KA<br>AP—KA   | Grapes                                 |                               |           | B. M., Mion. 18.<br>Leake, p. 28.<br>B. M., Mion. 19.                                  |
| FA—ΣΤ<br>FA—ΣΤ  | Corn-grain                             | two ivy-leaves on each handle |           | Cat. Allier, p. 45.<br>B. M., Mion. 46.<br>[Pl. V. 4.]<br>B. M., Mion. 47.             |
| FA—ΣΤ<br>FA—ΣΤ<br>A—Σ   | Ivy-branch<br>Bucranium<br>Bull's head |                               |           | Num. Zeit. ix. p. 7, 15.<br>Cat. C. Roma, 1863, n. 101.<br>B. M.                       |
| A—Σ<br>Ω<br>A—Σ<br>Ω<br>A—Σ<br>Ω Γ                                    |  |                               | r. grapes |  |
| A—Σ<br>Ω<br>A—Σ<br>Ω Γ  | Club                                   |                               | crescent  | Mion. S. iii. 11.  |
| A—Σ<br>Ω Γ  | Club                                   |                               |           | B. M.  |
| ΔA—IM<br>ΔA—IM  | Club                                   | ivy-leaf                      |           | B. M.<br>Sestini, Descr. p. 172, 8.  |
| ΔA—MO   |  |                               |           | Cat. Allier, p. 45.  |
| ΔA—M[O<br>ΔA—MO   | Ivy-wreath<br>Club                     | l. ivy-branch                 |           | B. M.<br>B. M.<br>[Pl. V. 3.]  |
| ΔA—MO<br>ΔA—MΩ<br>ΔA—MΩ   | Club<br>Club<br>Wreath                 | l. ivy-leaf<br>l. ivy-branch  |           | Num. Zeit. p. 7, 17.<br>B. M.<br>Mion. 21; M. Six,<br>ΔA—MO?                           |
| ΔA—MO<br>K Λ<br>Δ—I<br>O Γ  | Club<br>Club                           |                               |           | B. M.<br>B. M.   |
| ΔI—O[K?<br>ΔI—OK<br>ΔI—Ω[N?<br>EP—PA<br>EP—PA<br>EP—AMI <sup>11</sup> |  |                               |           | B. M.<br>Mion. 22.<br>B. M.<br>Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.<br>Mion. 24.<br>B. M.<br>[Pl. V. 2.] |
|   | Bocotian shield<br>Rose                |                               |           |  |

<sup>11</sup> Altered in the die from coin, reading EP—PA.

| NAME.                | ABOVE.        | ON HANDLE.       | IN FIELD.        |   |
|----------------------|---------------|------------------|------------------|---|
| ΕΓ—ΑΜ                |               |                  |                  | B. M.                                   |
| Ε]Γ—ΑΜ <sup>12</sup> |               |                  |                  | B. M.                                   |
| FE—PΓ                |               |                  |                  | B. M.                                   |
| EY—FA                | Club & grapes |                  |                  | B. M.                                   |
| P A                  |               |                  |                  | [Pl. V. 5.]                             |
| EY—FA                | Crescent      |                  |                  | Mion. 28.                               |
| P A                  |               |                  |                  |   |
| EY—FA                | Grapes        |                  | r. club          | Pembroke, 736; Mion. S. 16.             |
| P A                  |               |                  |                  |   |
| EY—ΓΙ                |               |                  |                  | Mion. S. 15; Pembroke, 740.             |
| E—E                  | Club          | r. & l. ivy-leaf |                  | B. M.                                   |
| Υ                    |               |                  |                  |   |
| E—XE                 | Club          | r. & l. ivy-leaf |                  | B. M.                                   |
| E—XE                 |               |                  |                  |   |
| ΘE—OΓ                | Caduceus      |                  |                  | B. M., Mion. 26.                        |
| ΘE—OΓ                | Club          |                  |                  | B. M.                                   |
| ΘE—OΠ                |               |                  |                  | Leake, Sup. p. 117.                     |
|                      |               |                  |                  | Prokesch. Ined. 1859, p. 16.            |
| ΘE—OΤ <sup>13</sup>  |               |                  |                  | Mion. 34.                               |
| HI—KE                | Club          | r. ivy-leaf      |                  | B. M.                                   |
| HI—KE <sup>14</sup>  | Club          | r. & l. ivy-leaf | l. olive-sprig   | Mion. 31.                               |
| HI—KE                | [Club?]       | r. & l. ivy-leaf | r. olive-sprig   | B. M.                                   |
| HI—KE                | Laurel-wreath |                  |                  | B. M.                                   |
| HI≡—ME               |               |                  |                  | B. M.                                   |
| HI≡—                 |               |                  |                  | Eckhel, ii. p. 196.                     |
| MEN                  |               |                  |                  |   |
| KA—BI                |               |                  |                  | B. M.                                   |
| KA—ΛΙ                |               |                  |                  | Mion. 36.                               |
| KA—ΛΛ                |               |                  |                  | Hunter, No. 14.                         |
| KA—ΛΛΙ               |               |                  |                  | B. M.                                   |
| KV—EE                |               |                  | r. thymia-terion | Fox, Uned. Coins, i., No. 88, pl. viii. |
| KV—EE≡               |               |                  | r. thymia-terion | Num. Zeit. ix. p. 8, n. 19.             |
| K]Λ—EE≡              | Laurel-wreath |                  |                  | Paris.                                  |
| KΛ—E[≡               | Laurel-wreath |                  |                  | B. M., M. Six.                          |
| KΛ—ΙΩ                |               |                  |                  | B. M.                                   |

<sup>12</sup> Plated.

<sup>13</sup> Probably misread for ΘEOP.

<sup>14</sup> Cast, weighing only 164 grs.

| NAME.   | ABOVE.                      | ON HANDLE.  | IN FIELD.              |   |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------|------------------------|---|
| ΚΛΙ—ΩΝ<br>ΚΛ—ΙΩΝ <sup>15</sup><br>ΚΡ—ΑΤ<br>ΛΥ—ΚΙ            |                             |             |                        | Mion. 38.<br>B. M.<br>B. M.<br>v. Prokesch. Ined.,<br>1859, p. 16 & 21. |
| ΞΕ—ΝΟ <sup>16</sup>   | Arrow                       |             |                        | Mion. 39; Rec. pl.<br>72, 6.  |
| ΟΛ—ΥΜ<br>ΟΛ—ΥΜ <sup>17</sup>                                | Laurel-leaf?<br>Spear-head? |             |                        | B. M.<br>Eckhel. M. Cæs., p.<br>110, 6.                                 |
| ΟΝ—ΑΣ<br>ΡΕ—ΛΙ <sup>18</sup><br>ΡΤ—Ο[Ι<br>Τ—Ι <sup>19</sup> |                             |             | r. club                | B. M.<br>M. Six.<br>B. M., Mion. 42.<br>Num. Zeit. ix. p. 8, 20.        |
| Μ<br>Τ—Ι  |                             |             | r. club                | B. M.   |
| Μ<br>Τ]Ι—ΜΙ<br>ΤΙ—ΜΙ  |                             |             | l. club                | B. M.   |
| ΤΙ—ΜΟ<br>ΦΙ—ΔΟ<br>ΦΙ—ΛΟ                                     | Club<br>Grapes<br>Grapes    | l. ivy-leaf |                        | B. M.<br>B. M.<br>B. M.<br>M. Six.                                      |
| ΨΑ—ΡΟ   | Laurel-wreath               |             |                        | B. M.   |
| ΨΑ—ΡΟ   | Ivy-wreath                  |             |                        | [Pl. V. 1.]<br>Mion. 48; Pellerin,<br>Rec. i., pl. 24, 6.               |
| ΨΑ—ΡΟ   |                             |             | r. & l. ivy-<br>wreath | B. M.   |
| ΨΑ—ΡΟ   |                             |             |                        | Num. Zeit. ix. p. 9,<br>No. 23.   |
| ΟΡ—ΑΥ   | Ivy-leaf in<br>ivy-wreath   |             |                        | Num. Zeit. ix. p. 9,<br>No. 22.   |
| ΧΑΡ   |                             |             |                        | Prokesch. Ined., 1859,<br>p. 16.  |

Concerning some of these names a few remarks are called for. Above all, we must be careful not to strain

<sup>15</sup> A plated specimen at the Hague has a fish on the shield on the *obv.*

<sup>16</sup> Amphora entirely fluted.

<sup>17</sup> These two are probably identical.

<sup>18</sup> Amphora entirely fluted.

<sup>19</sup> On shield on *obv.* club.

the classification, which should rest upon style, for the purpose of identifying any of the names with those of persons mentioned in history. Thus, for instance, although **HIΞME** doubtless stands for *an* Ismenias, it would be rash to assert that it is the great Ismenias, one of the Polemarchs of Thebes in B.C. 382, the victim of the treachery of his colleague Leontiades, and judicially murdered by the Spartans in the same year.

Not only is the coin reading **HIΞME** later in style than is consistent with such a supposition, but there is every reason to suppose, as I have already remarked, that the signed money did not commence for some three or four years after the death of that distinguished Theban. **ANΔP** also, on another coin, for the same reasons can hardly stand for Androkleidas, who was murdered while in exile at Athens, by an assassin hired for the purpose, by the usurping rulers of Thebes, circ. B.C. 379. Again, **KABI** cannot be the eponymous archon of Thebes for the year B.C. 379, named Kabeirichos, who was slain together with the two Polemarchs, Archias and Philippos, by Pelopidas and the other Liberators (Plutarch, *De Gen. Soc.* c. 30), since the coin which bears this name is not by any means one of the earliest of the series.

On the other hand, there is no absolute objection to the identification of the **ΥΑΡΟ** on the coins with the Charon of history, one of the Liberators and a Bœotarch in B.C. 379—8, the very year in which I suppose this coinage to have commenced, although, as Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has remarked,<sup>20</sup> this is an abbreviation more conformable to such a name as *Χαροπίνος*.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Num. Zeit.* ix. p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Bœckh, *C. I. G.*, 1575, **ΧΑΡΟΠΙΝΩ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΟΙΩΤΟΙΣ**.

Nor does there seem to be any objection to a recognition of the name of the illustrious Epaminondas in the ΕΠ ΓΑ, ΕΠ ΑΜΙ, and ΕΠ ΑΜ of the coins. Epaminondas was a Bœotarch in 371, 370, 369, 367, 363, and 362.

ΔΑΜΟ, ΘΕΟΠ, and ΗΙΞΜΕ may also stand for Damokleidas, Theopompus, and Ismenias, all friends of Pelopidas (Plutarch, Pelop. c. 7, 8 ; Diod. xv. 78), the last-mentioned perhaps a son of the great Ismenias, and on more than one occasion a colleague in office with Pelopidas.

It is unfortunate that among so many names we have no precise information as to what offices excepting that of Bœotarch, in the cases of Charon and Epaminondas, the men who bore them held.

It is extremely unlikely that all the seven (or more) Bœotarchs were in the habit of placing their names upon the coinage *quâ* Bœotarchs. The large number of names on the coins as compared with the possible number of years during which this coinage can have lasted, makes it also very improbable that the signatures are only of those particular Bœotarchs who held the office of eponymous archons of Bœotia. The same fact precludes the idea that they are those of the eponymous archons of Thebes, or of any other single city. All that we can say about them, therefore, is that they seem to be the names of the presiding magistrates of a board or committee, consisting of some of the Bœotarchs and entrusted with the supervision of the mints.

SMALL SILVER AND BRONZE CURRENCY. B.C. 379—338.

To the same period as the foregoing didrachms we must attribute the following *obols* :—*obv.* shield, *rev.* head of young Herakles ; and *bronze* :—*obv.* head of Herakles, *rev.* club, &c.

The occurrence of many of the same magistrates' names on the coins of both these series, as on the didrachms, is a sufficient proof that they are contemporary. It is noticeable that some of these coins bear two magistrates' names. The names common to the two classes are—

| <i>Obols.</i> | = | ? | <i>Didrachms.</i>    |
|---------------|---|---|----------------------|
| ΕΠ            | = | ? | ΕΠΑΜ.                |
| ΘΕ            | = |   | ΘΕΟΓ, ΘΕΟΡ, or ΘΕΟΤ. |
| ΙΣ            | = | ? | ΗΙΣΜΕΝ.              |
| ΚΛΕ           | = |   | ΚΛΕΣ.                |

| <i>Bronze.</i> | = | <i>Didrachms.</i> |
|----------------|---|-------------------|
| ΦΕΡΓ           | = | ΦΕΡΓ.             |
| ΘΕΟΤΙ          | = | ΘΕΟΤ.             |
| ΛΥΚΙΝΩ         | = | ΛΥΚΙ.             |
| ΟΛΥΜ           | = | ΟΛΥΜ.             |
| ΟΝΑΣΙ          | = | ΟΝΑΣ.             |
| ΦΕΙΔΟ          | = | ? ΦΙΔΟ.           |

The following is a description of the coins:—

OBOLS.

|                         |                                    |  |      |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|--|------|
| <i>Obol.</i><br>14 grs. | Bœotian shield<br>  on which club. | Head of young Herakles r., in<br>  lion's skin; in front | ΕΠ   |
|                         |                                    | [ <i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. 386, 91.]                       |      |
| <i>Obol.</i><br>13 grs. | Similar.                           | Similar, but   | ΘΕ   |
|                         |                                    | [ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. V. 6.]                           |      |
| <i>Obol.</i><br>14 grs. | Similar.                           | Similar, but   | ΙΣ ? |
|                         |                                    | [ <i>Brit. Mus.</i> ]                                    |      |
| <i>Obol.</i>            | Similar.                           | Similar, but   | ΚΛΕ  |
|                         |                                    | [ <i>Prokesch-Osten. Ined.</i> 1859, p. 16.]             |      |
| <i>Obol.</i>            | Similar.                           | Similar, but   | ΚΟ   |
|                         |                                    | [ <i>Mion. S.</i> III., No. 53.]                         |      |

## BRONZE COINAGE.

Average Size, 2½. Average weight, 33 grs.

Type (a), R. Club.

|                            |      |            |  |
|----------------------------|------|------------|--|
| Head of young Herakles, l. | Club | ΛΥΚ—ΙΝΩ    | Brit. Mus.<br>[Pl. V. 7.]                  |
| ” ” ” ”                    | ”    | ΟΛΥΜ—ΕΠΙ   | <i>Num. Zeit.</i><br>ix. p. 11.<br>No. 30. |
| ” ” r.                     | ”    | ΘΕΟ—ΤΙ     | Leake, p. 29.                              |
| ” ” ” ”                    | ”    | ΘΕΟ—Ρ:~:~? | <i>Mus. Kotschoubey</i> , i. p. 277.       |

Type (b), R. Club and Arrow.

|                            |                |         |            |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Head of young Herakles, r. | Club and Arrow | ΘΕΟ—ΤΙ  | Brit. Mus. |
| ” ” ” ”                    | ” ”            | ΛΑΑΝ—ΘΕ | Brit. Mus. |

Type (c), R. Club and Bow.

|                            |              |                     |                                       |
|----------------------------|--------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Head of young Herakles, l. | Club and Bow | ΑΡΙΞ                | Brit. Mus.                            |
| ” ” ” ”                    | ”            | ΑΡΙΞ—ΦΕΙΔΟ          | Brit. Mus.                            |
| ” ” r.                     | ”            | ΞΙϞΑ—ΦΕΙΔΟ          | Cited by M. Six.                      |
| ” ” l.                     | ”            | ΦΕΙΔΟ               | Brit. Mus.                            |
| ” ” ” ”                    | ”            | ΕΠΙ?—ΟΛΥΜ           | Brit. Mus.                            |
| ” ” ” ”                    | ”            | ΟΛΥΜ                | Cited by M. Six.                      |
| ” ” ” ”                    | ”            | ΘΕΟ—ΤΙ              | ”                                     |
| ” ” l.                     | ”            | ΓΥΡ—ΡΙ              | ”                                     |
| ” ” r.                     | ”            | ΞΑ—ΦΕΡΓ             | Brit. Mus.                            |
| ” ” ” ”                    | ”            | Ρ—ΑΓΕΙ              | Cited by M. Six.                      |
| ” ” l.                     | ”            | Α—ΘΙΩΝ              | Brit. Mus.                            |
| ” ” r.                     | ”            | Η—ΘΙΩΝ              | Brit. Mus.                            |
| ” ” ” ”                    | ”            | ΘΕ—ΘΙΩΝ             | Cited by M. Six.                      |
| ” ” l.                     | ”            | Λ—ΘΙΩΝ              | Munich.                               |
| ” ” r.                     | ”            | ΙΜ—ΘΙΩΝ             | Munich.                               |
| ” ” l.                     | ”            | Kantharos—ΘΙΩΝ      | Paris.                                |
| ” ” ?                      | ”            | ΘΩΝΑ                | Baretta, No. 50.                      |
| ” ” r.                     | ”            | and Star; no inser. | <i>Prok. - Ost.</i> ,<br>1854, p. 24. |
| ” ” l.                     | ”            | ΦΑ—ΡΑΙ              | <i>Num. Zeit.</i><br>iii. p. 374.     |

Type (d), R. Club and Thyrsus.

|                            |                  |      |                        |
|----------------------------|------------------|------|------------------------|
| Head of young Herakles, l. | Club and Thyrsus | ΑΡΙΞ | Brit. Mus. [Pl. V. 8.] |
|----------------------------|------------------|------|------------------------|

Type (e), R. Club and Grapes.

|                            |                 |        |            |
|----------------------------|-----------------|--------|------------|
| Head of young Herakles, r. | Club and Grapes | ΟΝΑ—ΞΙ | Brit. Mus. |
|----------------------------|-----------------|--------|------------|

Type (f), R. Club and Caduceus.

|                            |                   |               |  |
|----------------------------|-------------------|---------------|--|
| Head of young Herakles, l. | Club and Caduceus | ΟΛΥΜ          | Brit. Mus.<br>Brit. Mus. cf.<br><i>Num. Zeit.</i><br>ix., No. 30<br>Brit. Mus. |
|                            |                   | „ ΟΛΥΜ—ΕΠΙ(?) |  |
|                            |                   | „ ΦΕΙΔΟ       |  |

Type (g), R. Club and Bœotian Shield.

|                            |                         |        |                        |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|--------|------------------------|
| Head of young Herakles, r. | Club and Bœotian shield | ΓΥΡ—ΡΙ | Brit. Mus. [Pl. V. 9.] |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|--------|------------------------|

Whether these bronze coins are *chalkoi*, of which the Bœotian obol was worth twelve and the Attic obol eight,<sup>22</sup> or only three-fourths of the *chalkous*, it is difficult to decide. If the contemporary Phokian bronze coins, weight 135 grs., marked with a **Τ** and three bulls' heads, are *trichalkoi*, the *chalkous* ought to weigh 45 grs. The Theban coins, however, of this period do not weigh on the average more than 33 grs.

The Bœotian coinage from B.C. 378—338 consisted, therefore, of didrachms, obols, and bronze coins bearing the signature of a magistrate, but without the name of Thebes.

As there is nothing in the history of this period which bears upon the coinage, it is only necessary to recall to our minds the principal events.

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<sup>22</sup> Foucart, Inscriptions d'Orchomène. *Bull. corr. Hell.* iv. p. 90.

- <sup>B.C.</sup>  
372. Destruction of Platæa by Thebes.  
371. Battle of Leuctra. Commencement of Theban supremacy.  
371. Expulsion of the Thespians from Bœotia.  
364. Destruction of Orchomenus.  
362. Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminondas.  
358. Eubœa recovered from Thebes by Athens.  
357. Irritation of the Thebans against the Phokians. The Amphictyonic Council under Theban influence consecrates the Phokian territory to Apollo.  
356—346. Sacred war.  
353—2. Successes of Onomarchus. Embarrassment of the Thebans. The Phokians come into conflict with Philip of Macedon.  
346. Philip victorious, and appointed President of the Amphictyonic Council.  
338. Second expedition of Philip into Greece. Battle of Chæroneia.

PERIOD X. CIRC. B.C. 338—315.

Whether Thebes made any further resistance after the battle of Chæroneia we are not informed, but it is certain that the city fell almost immediately into the hands of the conqueror.

The leading citizens were now either put to death or driven into exile, and a council of 300 Thebans, partizans of Philip, was invested with absolute power and supported by a Macedonian garrison in the Cadmeia.

Thebes was now degraded from her proud position as head of all Bœotia, her ancient enemies, Orchomenus, Thespiæ, and Plataæ, were restored, and autonomy was conferred once more upon all the more important Bœotian towns, such as Orchomenus, Thespiæ, Haliartus, Leba-deia, and Plataæ.

The constitution of Bœotia was once more very much what it had been in the days when the Spartans held the land half a century before. Now, as then, Thebes was the greatest sufferer, and galling in the extreme were the insults and personal injuries which her citizens were compelled to submit to at the hands of the barbarous Macedonian soldiery.

Driven at length to despair they rose against their oppressors, B.C. 335, slew Timolaus, one of the leading partizans of Philip, proclaimed themselves autonomous, and proceeded to the election of Bœotarchs. But the Macedonian garrison in the Cadmeia was not to be so

easily expelled, and as no adequate assistance was forthcoming, the Thebans were driven to blockade their own citadel.

In time, no doubt, they would have been successful, had not Alexander, whose reported death had encouraged them to revolt, suddenly appeared in Bœotia at the head of an army of relief. The tables were now again turned, and Thebes, although she made a brave resistance, was taken by storm, and her whole population given over by her conqueror to indiscriminate slaughter. Orchomenus and Plataea were now more than revenged. Thebes was levelled with the ground, the Cadmeia being alone spared as a convenient fortress by means of which all Bœotia might be held in subjection.

The Theban territory was now divided among the cities of Orchomenus, Thespiæ, and Plataea, and for twenty years to come the site of Thebes was a desert.

In the Lamian war (323) the Bœotians held fast to the Macedonian alliance, as there was nothing they dreaded so much as the restoration of Thebes, which would immediately have followed the success of the Greeks; nevertheless, in B.C. 315, when Cassander advanced into Bœotia at the head of a formidable army, and announced his intention of rebuilding the ruined city, they thought it more politic not only to abstain from all resistance, but actually to assist in the restoration of their ancient enemy. Thus after lying in ruins twenty years, the walls of Thebes once again rose at the bidding of Cassander, amid general rejoicing throughout Hellas.

It is interesting to observe how, as history repeats itself, the coinage, so to speak, reflects the history. There are three distinct periods in which the influence and importance of Thebes had sunk to the lowest point: first,

after the battle of Plataea, B.C. 479; second, after the Peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387; and third, after the battle of Chæroneia, B.C. 338. Now on each of these three several occasions a considerable portion of the currency appears to have been issued in the name of *the Bæotians*, with the inscription **B**, **BO**, **BOI**, or **BOIΩ**, while the coinage of Thebes itself either sank for the time being into insignificance or ceased to be issued altogether.

With the battle of Chæroneia and the Macedonian occupation of the Cadmeia it is probable that the long series of didrachms bearing the names of (presumably Theban) Bæotarchs was brought to an abrupt close, after lasting with little or no change for just forty years. The revolution in the municipal organization of Thebes which then took place is sufficient to account for the omission henceforth of the magistrate's name on the coinage, supposing the didrachms reading **BOIΩ** to have been struck at Thebes, but that they are Theban at all is a point which is exceedingly doubtful. Granting that a portion of them may be earlier than the destruction of Thebes by Alexander in B.C. 335, it seems certain from the number of varieties which have come down to us that the majority of them must belong to the twenty years between the devastation of Thebes in B.C. 335 and its restoration by Cassander in B.C. 315. They must in this case have been struck at one or more of the other Bæotian towns which were restored by Philip after the battle of Chæroneia.

The hemi-drachms with the same inscription **BOIΩ**, which I would also attribute to this time, are all marked with a little crescent in the field beside the kantharos. This I take to be the mint-mark of Thespiæ (see above, p. 233). However closely these coins may resemble the series of similar hemi-drachms previously described (p. 230),

there are, nevertheless, differences in style and fabric, such as the final disappearance of all traces of the incuse square, which have led me to bring them down to a later period.

It may be, then, that in 338 or 335 B.C. Orchomenus began the issue of didrachms for the whole of Bœotia, while Thespiæ undertook to supply the smaller currency in silver. In addition to the silver staters and hemi-drachms reading **BO IO**, certain small copper coins reading **BOIOΤΩΝ** appear to belong to this period. These copper pieces have on the reverse the trident, the symbol of Poseidon Onchestios.

At the same time a new local bronze coinage was commenced, in which most of the leading towns of Bœotia took part. These coins bear the inscriptions **API**, **ΘΕΞ**, **ΛΕΒ**, **ΟΡΧ**, **ΠΛΑ**, **ΤΑΝ** (Haliartus, Thespiæ, Leba-deia, Orchomenus, Plataea, and Tanagra), but no types whatever on the reverse. The absence of the name of Thebes on the coins of this class is a strong argument that they belong to the period when Thebes was not in existence. In fabric, these bronze coins resemble the didrachms reading **BOIO**, the surface of the reverse being slightly concave. The shield on the obverse is in very low relief, and has a narrow double rim. In weight they are somewhat lighter than the Phocian *trichalkoi*, averaging about 120 grains. It is probable, however, they are also pieces of 3 chalkoi, and if so they would be equal in value to the tetartemorion, or  $\frac{1}{4}$  obol (the Bœotian obol being equal in value to 12 chalkoi), which had ceased to be coined in silver when the *chalkous* was introduced into Bœotia in the first half of the fourth century. Supposing the early bronze money of Greece to have been real money corresponding approximately in value to its

weight in metal, and not (as it afterwards became) merely a token currency,<sup>23</sup> the proportionate value of bronze to silver would have been in those days about 30 to 1 in Central Greece, or about twice what it was in Egypt shortly afterwards under the Ptolemies.

B.C. 338—315.

ORCHOMENUS ?

*Staters.*

|                              |                 |   |
|------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| <i>Stater.</i><br>186 grs.   | Bœotian shield. | <b>BO—1Ω.</b> Amphora; above,<br>club and grapes.<br>[Brit. Mus.]                                   |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>189·5 grs. | Similar.        | <b>BO—1Ω.</b> Amphora; above,<br>grapes.<br>[Brit. Mus.]  |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>190 grs.   | Similar.        | <b>BO—1Ω.</b> Amphora; above,<br>bow.<br>[Brit. Mus.]   |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>191 grs.   | Similar.        | <b>BO—1Ω.</b> Amphora wholly<br>fluted; above, bow.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 10.]                      |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>190 grs.   | Similar.        | <b>BO—1Ω.</b> Amphora; above,<br>bow and arrow.<br>[Brit. Mus.]                                     |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>187 grs.   | Similar.        | <b>BO—1Ω.</b> Amphora; above,<br>club and bow.<br>[Mion., No. 58.]                                  |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>189·5 grs. | Similar.        | <b>BO—1Ω.</b> Amphora; above,<br>club.<br>[Brit. Mus.]  |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>188 grs.   | Similar.        | <b>BO—1Ω.</b> Amphora; ivy-leaves<br>on one handle; above, club.<br>[Berlin. Münzkabinet, No. 179.] |
| <i>Stater.</i><br>184·2 grs. | Similar.        | <b>BO—1Ω.</b> Amphora; above,<br>dolphin.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 11.]                                |

<sup>23</sup> See below, p. 267.

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| <p><i>Stater.</i>   Similar (on shield, club).<br/>189.5 grs.  </p> | <p>Similar (on shield, club).<br/> </p> | <p><b>BO—Ω.</b> Amphora; above, dolphin and corn-grain.<br/>[Cadavène, p. 152.]</p> |
| <p><i>Stater.</i>   Similar.<br/>187 grs.  </p>                     | <p>Similar.<br/> </p>                   | <p><b>Ω—OB.</b> Amphora; above, grapes.<br/>[Brit. Mus.]</p>                        |
| <p><i>Stater.</i>   Similar (club on shield).<br/>187 grs.  </p>    | <p>Similar (club on shield).<br/> </p>  | <p><b>BO—Ω.</b> Amphora; above, bow.<br/>[<i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix., Pl. I. 13.]</p>    |

## THESPIÆ?

*Hemi-drachms.*

|  |                              |   |
|--|------------------------------|---|
| <p><i>Hemi-drachm.</i>   Bœotian shield.<br/>45.2 grs.  </p> | <p>Bœotian shield.<br/> </p> | <p><b>BO—I.</b> Kantharos; above, club; in field r., crescent; concave field.<br/>[Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 12.]</p> |
| <p><i>Obol.</i>   Similar.<br/>13 grs.  </p>                 | <p>Similar.<br/> </p>        | <p><b>BO—I.</b> Similar.<br/>[Brit. Mus.]</p>   |

## UNCERTAIN MINT.

*Bronze.*

|   |                              |   |
|---|------------------------------|---|
| <p>Æ., size 2½.   Bœotian shield.<br/>30 grs.  </p> | <p>Bœotian shield.<br/> </p> | <p><b>BOIΩTΩN.</b> Ornamented trident, beside which, dolphin; in field r. ivy-leaf.<br/>[Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 14.]</p> |
| <p>Æ., size 2½.   Similar.<br/>30 grs.  </p>        | <p>Similar.<br/> </p>        | <p>Similar, but in field r. grapes.<br/>[Brit. Mus.]</p>  |

## HALIARTUS.

|  |                              |   |
|--|------------------------------|---|
| <p>Æ., 6, 133 grs.   Bœotian shield.<br/> </p> | <p>Bœotian shield.<br/> </p> | <p><b>API</b> in large letters, concave field.<br/>[Brit. Mus.]</p> |
|--|------------------------------|---|

## THESPIÆ.

|  |                       |   |
|--|-----------------------|---|
| <p>Æ., 5½, 125 grs.   Similar.<br/> </p> | <p>Similar.<br/> </p> | <p><b>OEΞ.</b> Similar.<br/>[Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 13.]</p> |
|--|-----------------------|---|

## LEBADEIA.

|                                |                       |   |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| <p>Æ., 5.   Similar.<br/> </p> | <p>Similar.<br/> </p> | <p><b>ΛEB.</b> Similar.<br/>[<i>Num. Chron.</i> i. p. 248.]</p> |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---|

ORCHOMENUS.

Æ., 5, 101 grs. | Similar. | OPX. Similar.  
 [Brit. Mus.]

PLATÆA.

Æ., 5½, 119 grs. | Similar. | ΠΛΑ. Similar.  
 [Brit. Mus.]

TANAGRA.

Æ., 5½, 120 grs. | Similar. | TAN. Similar.  
 [Brit. Mus.]

PERIOD XI. CIRC. B.C. 315—288.

The Bœotians as a body now again stood in opposition to Thebes, which, with its Macedonian garrison in the Cadmeia, remained faithful to Cassander. The Bœotians, therefore, welcomed Demetrius as a deliverer when he landed in Greece in B.C. 304, drove out Cassander's garrisons, and proclaimed freedom in Hellas. Foremost among the flatterers of Demetrius was Thebes, herself so lately the stronghold of Cassander. The Thebans even went so far as to dedicate a temple to Lamia, the mistress of Demetrius, under the name of Lamia Aphrodite (B.C. 302).<sup>24</sup>

Notwithstanding all this, Bœotia, including Thebes, turned against Demetrius when, in B.C. 294, he took the place of Cassander, and necessarily adopted his policy as King of Macedon. In the campaigns which followed Thebes was twice taken by Demetrius, once in B.C. 293, and again in B.C. 290, but on each occasion he used his victory with moderation, allowing the city to retain its municipal institutions, although he took care to keep the Cadmeia well garrisoned with Macedonian troops. This garrison does not appear to have been withdrawn until B.C. 288, when Demetrius, who had then fallen from the height of his power, presented Thebes with her freedom, hoping perhaps thereby to attach Bœotia to his cause.

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<sup>24</sup> See *Num. Chron.* N.S. vol. xviii. p. 267.

The coins which clearly belong to the period of the Macedonian occupation of Thebes, first by Cassander and then by Demetrius, are the following, with Macedonian types :—

|                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>Æ. Stater.</i>               | Alexandrine types.   <i>Symbol</i> , Bæotian shield.<br>[Müller, No. 751.]  |
| <i>Æ. Tetradrachm.</i>          | Alexandrine types.   <i>Symbol</i> , Bæotian shield.<br>[Müller, No. 752, Cl. IV.]  |
| <i>Æ. Obol.</i>                 | Alexandrine types.   <i>Symbol</i> , half Bæotian shield.<br>[Müller, No. 753.]   |
| <i>Æ.</i> , size 3½.<br>62 grs. | Young male head   <b>ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.</b><br>r., laur.   Prancing horse r., be-<br>neath, Bæotian shield.<br>[Müller, No. 753b.] |
| <i>Æ. Tetradrachm.</i>          | Alexandrine types.   <i>Symbol</i> , Bæotian shield<br>and serpent.<br>[Müller, No. 754, Cl. IV.]                           |
| <i>Æ. Tetradrachm.</i>          | Alexandrine types.   <i>Symbol</i> , Bæotian shield<br>and thyrsus.<br>[Müller, No. 755, Cl. IV.]                           |
| <i>Æ. Tetradrachm.</i>          | Alexandrine types.   <i>Symbol</i> , Bæotian shield,<br>in front thyrsus.<br>[Müller, No. 756, Cl. IV.]                     |
| <i>Æ. Tetradrachm.</i>          | Alexandrine types.   <i>Symbol</i> , Bæotian shield,<br>in front thyrsus and <b>E.</b><br>[Brit. Mus.]                      |

The two coins which follow seem also to fall into this period, the head of Herakles being later in style than that which occurs on the somewhat similar *Æ.* coins of Period IX.

|                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>Æ.</i> , size 2.<br>35 grs.  | Head of young   Thyrsus and club, between<br>Herakles, r.   them <b>ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.</b><br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 15.] |
| <i>Æ.</i> , size 1½.<br>23 grs. | Bæotian shield.   <b>ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.</b> Trident.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 16.]                                       |

PERIOD XII. CIRC. B.C. 288—244.

From this time the Bœotian League began to reconstruct itself, and of the seven Bœotarchs, the representative of Thebes appears to have been chosen as the archon of the League.

Ten years afterwards (B.C. 278) we hear of the Bœotians as taking an active part in the struggle with the Gauls.

About B.C. 246 they entered into an alliance with the Achæan League, but in the very next year the Aetolians invaded Bœotia and gained a signal victory near Chæroneia, in which the Bœotians lost their general, Abœocritus or Amaocritus, and a thousand men. They were now compelled to ally themselves with their conquerors, the Aetolians, but this did not prevent them from being fallen upon by an armed band of Aetolians while they were peacefully celebrating the festival of the Pambœotia in B.C. 244. This perfidious attack threw Bœotia once more into the hands of the King of Macedon, Antigonus Gonatas, to whom alone they could look for protection against the Aetolians (B.C. 244).

The coins which on stylistic grounds seem to me to belong to this interval of independence and autonomy (B.C. 288—244), which was the free gift of Demetrius Poliorcetes, are the following :—

|   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <p>Æ. <i>Tetra-</i><br/><i>drachm.</i><br/>263 grs.</p>               | <p>Head of Zeus r.,<br/>laur.</p>  | <p><b>BOI—ΩΤΩΝ.</b> Poseidon<br/>holding dolphin and trident,<br/>seated l. on throne, on the<br/>side of which, Bœotian<br/>shield.</p>                                  |
| <p>[Paris. <i>Mion.</i> ii. p. 103, No. 59.]</p>                      |  |   |
| <p>Æ. <i>Tetra-</i><br/><i>drachm.</i><br/>238·4 grs.<br/>(worn).</p> | <p>Similar.</p>  | <p><b>BOIΩ</b><br/><b>ΤΩΝ.</b> Similar.</p>   |
| <p>[Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 1.]</p>  |  |   |
| <p>Æ., size 5.<br/>Average 110<br/>grs.</p>                           | <p>Head of Pallas r.,<br/>wearing crested<br/>Corinthian hel-<br/>met.</p> | <p><b>BOIΩΤΩΝ.</b> Trophy of<br/>arms.</p>  |
| <p>[Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 2.]</p>  |  |   |
| <p>Æ., size 4.<br/>Average 75<br/>grs.</p>                            | <p>Head of young<br/>Herakles r., in<br/>lion's skin.</p>                  | <p><b>BOIΩΤΩΝ.</b> Winged Pal-<br/>las standing r., wielding<br/>thunderbolt and holding<br/>ægis. In field, r., Bœotian<br/>shield.</p>                                  |
| <p>[Brit. Mus.]</p>   |  |   |
| <p>Æ., size 4.</p>  | <p>Similar.</p>  | <p>Similar in field, l., </p>  |
| <p>[Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 3.]</p>  |  |   |
| <p>Æ., size 4.</p>  | <p>Similar.</p>  | <p>Similar, without shield or<br/>monogram. Pallas helmeted<br/>and without wings.</p>  |
| <p>[Brit. Mus.]</p>   |  |   |
| <p>Æ., size 5.</p>  | <p>Similar.</p>  | <p><b>BOIΩΤΩΝ.</b> Winged Pal-<br/>las running r., wielding<br/>thunderbolt and holding<br/>ægis. In field, r., wreath.</p>   |
| <p>[Brit. Mus.]</p>   |  |   |
| <p>Æ., size 4.<br/>Av. 53 grs.</p>                                    | <p>Head of young<br/>Dionysus<br/>crowned with<br/>ivy.</p>                | <p><b>BOIΩΤΩΝ.</b> Apollo, naked,<br/>holding bow, seated left on<br/>cippus marked with trident,<br/>on which and behind Apollo,<br/>tripod. In field, left, wreath.</p> |
| <p>[Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 4.]</p>  |  |   |

PERIOD XIII. CIRC. B.C. 244—197.

The quarter of a century which follows the second absorption of Bœotia into the orbit of Greek states dependent upon and virtually subject to Macedon (B.C. 244) is marked by the total absence of any coins issued either in the name of the Bœotian League or of Bœotian towns. Nevertheless, the anti-Macedonian party was not idle, and in B.C. 229, on the death of Demetrius II., an attempt was made to renew the Aetolian alliance. But Antigonus Doson had many and faithful adherents in Bœotia, among whom the names of Ascondas and Neon are conspicuous.<sup>25</sup>

The latter of these, who held the office of Hipparch, was enabled to confer a signal favour upon Antigonus, by persuading his countrymen to spare him on one occasion when the king and his fleet, stranded by stress of weather on the Bœotian coast, were entirely at the mercy of the Bœotian horse (B.C. 228).<sup>26</sup>

The influence of Antigonus Doson became now paramount, and was openly acknowledged in a formal congress held at Aegium, consisting of Achæans, Bœotians with Megarians, Epirots, Acarnanians, Phocians, and Thessalians. These were the allies of Antigonus when in B.C. 221 he fought the battle of Sellasia and conquered the Spartans under Cleomenes. In this engagement the Bœotian contingent consisted of 2,000 foot and 200 horse.

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<sup>25</sup> *Polyb.* xx. 5.

<sup>26</sup> *Polyb.* xx. 5.

Immediately after this Antigonus appointed Brachyllas, the son of Neon, to be Epistates of Thebes in acknowledgment of the fidelity of all his family to the Macedonian cause.

In B.C. 220 Philip V., a youth of seventeen, succeeded his uncle Antigonus, and it was not long before he gave evidence of a remarkable talent for governing. It appears to have been his policy to interfere as little as possible with the domestic concerns of the allied states, and to allow them considerable freedom of action, provided always that it was not detrimental to the general interests of the confederacy.<sup>27</sup>

It may be taken for granted that Bœotia, now virtually governed by members of the family of Neon, on whom Philip could implicitly rely, was treated with especial generosity. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that about this time we find the Bœotians once more beginning to coin money in their own name after an interval of some five-and-twenty years or thereabouts, during which the Macedonian coinage was probably the recognised currency of Bœotia. That this was the case is at any rate to be inferred from the fact that nearly all the copper coins which I would attribute to the period commencing about B.C. 200 are *restruck* on pieces of Antigonus Doson: *obv.* head of Herakles; *rev.* B—A, youth on horse, beneath which is the monogram  (ANTI). During the reign of Antigonus himself a general recoinage of the royal money in Bœotia is, to say the least, highly improbable. Such a proceeding would have been tantamount to an act of rebellion. Neither does it seem at all likely that these bronze pieces were restruck in Bœotia for the first time

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<sup>27</sup> *Polyb.* iv. 24.

after the general declaration of freedom in Hellas by Flamininus in B.C. 197, for had this been the case the coins restruck would assuredly have been those of Philip and not those of Antigonus, who died in B.C. 220.

All things considered, it seems, therefore, safer to attribute to the reign of Philip and to the period *before* B.C. 197 the bronze coins in question, as well as the silver with the same obverse type, viz. the head of Persephone facing, which cannot be separated from the bronze.

These silver coins weigh about 80 grains, and may be called *drachms* of a standard, to which for distinction's sake we may give the name of Aetolian. The origin of this standard is doubtful (perhaps it is simply the Aeginetic reduced). In the coinage of the Aetolian League we find it combined with the Attic, the various Aetolian denominations weighing 260 grs. (Attic tetradrachm), 160 grs., 80 grs., and 40 grs. The same coin-standard is also prevalent during the same period in Corcyra, Epirus, Acarnania, and Eubœa.

SILVER AND BRONZE, CIRC. B.C. 220—197.

|            |  |   |
|------------|--|---|
| Æ. 78 grs. | Head of Persephone facing, wearing cornwreath. | <b>ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ.</b> Poseidon, naked, standing r., resting on trident and holding dolphin; in field, Bœotian shield and various letters or monograms, among which are the following, ΔΙ, ΔΞ, Α, Δ, ΕΙ, Κ, Ε. |
|------------|--|---|

[Pl. VI. 5.]

|                                  |          |  |
|----------------------------------|----------|--|
| Æ. Size 4.<br>Average 57<br>grs. | Similar. | <b>ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ.</b> Poseidon, naked, standing l., resting one foot upon a rock and leaning on trident. |
|----------------------------------|----------|--|

[Pl. VI. 6.]

A large majority, if not all, of these bronze coins are restruck on bronze of Antigonus Dason: *obv.* head of Herakles in lion's skin; *rev.* B—A; youth on horse r. beneath, monogram Α|.

|                        |                                 |  |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Æ., size 3.<br>28 grs. | Head of Pallas r.,<br>helmeted. | ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ. Poseidon<br>standing l., resting on tri-<br>dent and holding dolphin. |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|--|

[*Num. Zeit.* iii. p. 325.]

#### PERIOD XIV. CIRC. B.C. 197—146.

In the wars which ensued, B.C. 214—197, between the Romans and Philip, the Bœotians were among the allies of the latter; but when Flaminius, in B.C. 197, made himself master of Thebes by stratagem, a decree was carried, without a single dissentient voice, of alliance with Rome, in a general assembly of the Bœotians, convoked by the Bœotarch Antiphilus the day after the entry of Flaminius into the city.

Notwithstanding this nominal alliance, a number of Bœotians fought on Philip's side at the battle of Cynoscephalæ under the command of Brachyllas, who was taken prisoner on that occasion, but released by Flaminius soon afterwards. Brachyllas was immediately elected archon of the Bœotian League by his fellow-countrymen, who thus openly displayed their Macedonian tendencies. Not long after, Brachyllas was assassinated with the connivance of Flaminius, which so incensed the Bœotians that they wreaked their vengeance on Rome by privately murdering about 500 Roman soldiers as they passed either singly or in small bodies through Bœotia.

Flaminius next laid siege (B.C. 196) to the cities of Acræphium and Coroneia, which he supposed to be chiefly responsible for the murders which had been committed, and all Bœotia became again subject to Rome, being condemned also to pay a fine of thirty talents. The Romans nevertheless still abstained from any active interference

with the internal government of Bœotia, which yet remained in the hands of the party opposed to Rome.

When, therefore, Antiochus the Great landed in Greece, B.C. 192, the Bœotians were among the foremost to join the coalition against Rome, but were once more compelled to surrender on the defeat of Antiochus in the following year.

Bœotia now became a prey to internal dissensions and disorders of every description, and it became evident that the old League was rapidly falling to pieces.

On the occasion of the rupture between Rome and Perseus, the new king of Macedon, B.C. 173, two at least of the Bœotian cities, Haliartus and Coroneia, sided with the latter, so also did Neon, Hippias, and Ismenias, one of the Bœotarchs. But when the Roman envoy demanded an explanation, the government of the confederacy represented what had occurred as merely the work of a faction.

The Romans, however, gladly seized the opportunity which now offered of breaking up the League without resorting to open force. A mere hint that it would best appear which cities adhered to Rome and which to Macedon if they would severally and separately declare their decisions was all that was necessary. The federal body immediately broke up into a number of helpless communities, each anxious to obtain for itself the most favourable terms. This was in B.C. 172. Henceforth we hear little of Bœotian affairs until B.C. 146, when, after the destruction of Corinth, the Bœotian confederacy, which had practically ceased to exist B.C. 172, was legally and formally dissolved. Some of the Bœotian cities, with Pytheas, who had been elected Bœotarch, had joined the Achæans in this final struggle, and Thebes was now punished by the demolition of her walls.

The following are the coins which fall into the period between the declaration of freedom in Hellas by Flaminius in B.C. 197, and the legal dissolution of the Bœotian League in B.C. 146 :—

|                            |  |   |
|----------------------------|--|---|
| Æ. 78 grs.                 | Head of Zeus r.,<br>laur. border of<br>dots. | <b>ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ.</b> Nike standing l., holding wreath, and resting on trident; in front, various monograms, &c., of which the following are in the Brit. Mus. and Paris collections, Α', Β', grapes and<br>     <br>M, bipennis and Γ, ✕ and crab? thyrsus and M,<br> , thyrsus and Α', <br>   and Ι,  ,  . |
|                            |  | [Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 7.]   |
| Æ., size 5.                | Similar.                                     | Similar.<br>[Hunter, Pl. XIII. 14.]   |
| Æ., size 3.<br>Av. 44 grs. | Bœotian shield,<br>on which club.            | <b>ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ.</b> Similar type.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 8.]  |
| Æ., size 2.<br>Av. 27 grs. | Bœotian shield.                              | <b>ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ.</b> Trident and<br>dolphin.<br>[Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 9.]  |

These coins are much ruder in style and fabric than the previous series of this type attributed to Period X. (Pl. V. 14).

With regard to the respective values of the silver and bronze money of Bœotia during this period, B.C. 197—146, some light may be gained from a very remarkable inscription now in the museum at Thebes,<sup>28</sup> by which it

<sup>28</sup> *Hermes*, 1874, p. 431.

appears that a certain Hipparch named Pompidas, being insufficiently supplied with funds by the State, and being obliged to pay the salaries of his officers in silver, was compelled to buy, or rather borrow, 110 silver drachms of the federal currency from a banker named Kaphisodorus, and that subsequently he repaid the amount borrowed in the same number of bronze drachms plus 25 per cent. *agio*, in all  $137\frac{1}{2}$  Æ drachms.

*ἐπριάμεθα παρὰ Καφισοδώρου . . . συμμαχικῶν ΗΔ (= 110 Æ drachms).* Thus he records the sum borrowed. The repayment is noted in the following terms:—

*Καφισοδώρῳ ἀργυρίου συμμαχικῶν δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν δέκα τιμῆν . . . χαλκῶν ΗΔΔΔΡΤΤΙΙΙ (= 137 drachms 3 obols of bronze, or  $137\frac{1}{2}$  Æ drachms).*

It is thus evident that the bronze drachm must have been treated simply as a money of account, and that it had been rendered legally equivalent to the silver drachm. At the same time it would seem that although the Hipparch was able to obtain silver in exchange for bronze at the banker's by paying him 25 per cent. on the transaction, he was obliged to pay his officers in silver.

This looks as if in the general financial disorganization which prevailed at this time in Bœotia, the State had commenced the issue of drachms in bronze, and had enacted a law to make them legal tender in the place of the silver drachms, but that the salaries of the troops continued to be paid in good silver.

The three denominations referred to in the inscription would seem, therefore, to be the following, which are more fully described above.

- 1st. The silver drachm, weighing about 80 grs. *Obv.* head of Zeus. *Rev.* ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ, Nike, &c.  
Called ἀργύριον συμμαχικόν or βοιώτιον.

- 2nd. The copper drachm, identical in size and types with the silver. [Cf. Hunter, Pl. 13, ix. and xiv.]  
Called δραχμή χαλκοῦ.
- 3rd. The obol, probably the smaller copper coin with the shield on the obverse, and either Nike or a trident on the reverse, six of which were equivalent to one drachm.

PERIOD XV. CIRC. B.C. 146—27.

Not many years after the dissolution of the League in B.C. 146, Pausanias tells us,<sup>29</sup> the Romans, repenting of their severity, restored to the Greeks (the Bœotians we may suppose among the rest) their ancient republican institutions, ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἐτράποντο ἐς ἔλεον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ συνέδριά τε κατὰ ἔθνος ἀποδιδόασιν ἐκάστοις τὰ ἀρχαῖα. Of course these so-called ἀρχαῖα συνέδρια were mere empty forms and shadows of what had in the olden days been living realities.

Between 146 and the time of the early empire, the coins which were struck in Bœotia are neither numerous nor of any great interest. The following bronze coins of Bœotian towns appear to belong for the most part to this period. Some of them may, however, be of imperial times, but as they are without the head of an emperor it is more convenient to include them all under one heading:—

LEBADEIA.

|                        |   |                     |
|------------------------|---|---------------------|
| Æ., size 3.<br>40 grs. | Head of Pallas<br>wearing crested<br>helmet, l. | ÆE in olive wreath. |
|------------------------|---|---------------------|

[Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 10.]

|                        |                  |                     |
|------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Æ., size 3.<br>42 grs. | Similar head, r. | Similar, but ruder. |
|------------------------|------------------|---------------------|

[Brit. Mus.]

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<sup>29</sup> *Paus.* vii. 16, 7.

## ORCHOMENUS.

|                         |  |   |
|-------------------------|--|---|
| Æ., size 2½.<br>38 grs. | Bust of Hera r.,<br>veiled, over her<br>shoulder, sceptre,<br>border of dots.<br>[Brit. Mus. | EP—XO. Tripod, the whole<br>in laurel-wreath.<br>Pl. VI. 11.] |
| Æ., 2.<br>27 grs.       | Similar.<br>[Num. Zeit. iii. p. 369, No. 55.]  | Similar, no wreath.   |

## THEBES.

|             |  |   |
|-------------|--|---|
| Æ., size 2. | Bœotian shield,<br>on which club.<br>[Num. Zeit. ix. p. 47.] | ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ. Nike stand-<br>ing l., holding patera and<br>resting on trident. |
|-------------|--|---|

This coin may have been struck before the total dis-  
solution of the League between B.C. 172 and B.C. 146.

|             |  |  |
|-------------|--|--|
| Æ., size 3. | Torch between<br>two ears of corn<br>and two poppy-<br>heads.<br>[Brit. Mus. | ΘΗΒΑ—ΙΩΝ. Lyre; bor-<br>der of dots.<br>Pl. VI. 12.] |
|-------------|--|--|

## THESPIÆ.

|               |  |  |
|---------------|--|--|
| Æ., size 3-2. | Female head r.,<br>laur. wearing<br>stephanos (?)<br>and veiled; bor-<br>der of dots.<br>[Brit. Mus. | ΘΕΣΠΙ<br>ΕΩΝ. Lyre; the whole<br>in laurel wreath.<br>Pl. VI. 13.] |
|---------------|--|--|

|              |   |  |
|--------------|---|--|
| Æ., size 2½. | Head of Pallas l.<br>wearing Co-<br>rinthian helmet<br>without crest.<br>[Sestini, Mus. Font. ii., Pl. IV. 17.] | ΘΕΣΠ<br>ΙΕΩΝ. Artemis huntress,<br>advancing l., hold-<br>ing bow. |
|--------------|---|--|

PERIOD XVI. IMPERIAL TIMES.

There can be little doubt that the following coins, even those which are without the emperor's head, belong to imperial times.

THEBES.

|              |  |  |
|--------------|--|--|
| Æ., size 4½. | ΘΗΒ—ΑΙΩΝ.  | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙ—ΠΕΜΠΤΙΔΟ                                  |
|              | Head of bearded<br>Herakles, l. laur.<br>border of dots. | —Υ. Club and arrow (or<br>rather thyrsus) crossed. |
|              | [Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 15.]                                 |  |

|             |   |  |
|-------------|---|--|
| Æ., size 4. | ΘΗΒΑΙ—ΩΝ.                                     | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙ—ΠΕΜΠΤΙ-   |
|             | Female head r.,<br>turretted and<br>laurcate. | ΔΟ—Υ <sup>30</sup> . Dionysus wear-<br>ing long robes standing r.,<br>holding kantharos. |
|             | [Sestini, <i>Mus. Font.</i> , Pl. IV. 16.]    |  |

*With Head of Galba*, A.D. 68—69.

|             |  |   |
|-------------|--|---|
| Æ., size 5. | ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ<br>ΓΑΛΒΑΣ ΣΕΒ-<br>ΑΚΤΟΣ. Head | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΠΕΜΠΤΙ-   |
|             | of Galba r.                              | ΔΟΥ and in an inner<br>circle.<br>ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ. Nike on<br>prow, l., holding wreath<br>and palm. |
|             | [ <i>Berl. Blätt.</i> Bd. III. p. 167.]  |   |

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<sup>30</sup> The reading here given is conjectural. Sestini both in his Plate and in his text has ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ ΜΠΤΙΔΟ, which must, I think, be a misreading. *Proke h-Ost. Ined.*, 1859, p. 16, in describing a coin which evidently bears the same name, gives it as ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΠ—ΕΜΠΩΔΟΥ. *Mion. ii.*, p. 110, has another coin, *obr.* head of Herakles, r. laur.; *rev.*

Whether the Magistrate's name on the above coins is Archipemptides or Pemptides we cannot positively decide. Such a name as Archipemptides, although of course possible, is quite new. Pemptides, on the other hand, is a known Theban name.<sup>31</sup> If, therefore, we read Pemptides, the legend of the coins must be completed thus **ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙ** [ερέως] **ΠΕΜΠΤΙΔΟΥ**, and we must suppose Pemptides to have been high priest of the Imperial cultus (των Σεβαστῶν) at Thebes in the time of Galba. No ἀρχιερεύς is, however, known on any coin of Greece proper.

|             |  |  |
|-------------|--|--|
| Æ., size 4. | <b>ΘΗΒΑΙ—ΩΝ.</b><br>Female head r.,<br>turreted and<br>laur. | <b>ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΕΜ. Γ. Κ.</b><br><b>ΜΑΚΡΟΥ.</b> Dionysus<br>wearing long robes, standing<br>r., holding kantharos. |
|             | [Prok.-Ost., 1859, Pl. II. 32.]                              |  |

|             |   |   |
|-------------|---|---|
| Æ., size 4. | <b>ΘΗΒ—ΑΙΩΝ.</b><br>Head of bearded<br>Herakles, l.,<br>laur. | <b>ΕΠ ΠΟΛΕΜ Γ.Κ. ΜΑΚ-</b><br><b>ΡΟΥ.</b> Club and arrow<br>crossed, border of dots. |
|             | [Kœnner, <i>Stift St. Florian</i> , p. 57.]                   |   |

These two coins may be attributed to a Roman of the name of Gaius Calpurnius Macer. It does not seem improbable that he may be identical with the Calpurnius Macer who lived in the reign of Trajan, and was a correspondent of the younger Pliny's.

Whether he issued money in virtue of his office of Polemarch of Thebes, or whether the mention of his magistracy is, as is sometimes the case, merely a statement of the fact that while holding the office of moneyer he was at the same time Polemarch, is a point which there

**ΕΠΙ ΩΝΟΚΛΕΤΙΑΣ**, club and arrow. This, I think, must be another misreading for **ΕΠΙΑΡΧΙ ΠΕΜΠΤΙΔΟ—Υ**.

<sup>31</sup> Plut. Erot. XII., *seqq.* See also Keil's restoration of the inscription in Bœckh, C. I. G., 1636, where the name also occurs.

is no evidence in this instance to decide.<sup>32</sup> This remark applies also to the coins reading **ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙ**[ερείως?] **ΠΕΜΠΤΙΔΟΥ**. It is not probable that Pemptides struck money *quâ* archiereus, but there is no reason why he may not have been also a monetarius (Polemarch?) at the same time.

*With Head of Trajan, A.D. 98—117.*

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| Æ., size 6.  | ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤ-<br>ΩΡ ΤΡΑΙΑΝ-<br>ΟΣ. Head of<br>Trajan laur. | ΕΠΙ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΠΟΛΕ-<br>ΜΑ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ. Nike<br>on globe with wreath and<br>palm. |
| [Sestini, <i>Lett. Num. Cont.</i> , t. ix., Pl. I. 4.] |  |   |

The above coin is thus described by Sestini. It does not seem at all unlikely (when it is remembered how inaccurate Sestini's descriptions often are) that we should read **ΜΑΚΡΟΥ** for **ΜΑΡΚΟΥ**, in which case this coin would help us to date those of the Polemarch C. Calpurnius Maecr. I would, therefore, in this case conjecture the true reading to be **ΕΠΙ ΜΑΚΡΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΥ**.

In addition to the above-described coins of Thebes which belong to Imperial times, there are numerous coins of this period struck at the two cities of Tanagra and Thespiæ, the only towns of any importance remaining in Bœotia in the time of Augustus. The Tanagræan coins, like the Theban, are frequently without the emperor's head.

**TANAGRA.**

|             |   |   |
|-------------|---|---|
| Æ., size 3. | T—A Beardless<br>N—[A. head r.,<br>border of<br>dots. | A]ΕΩΠΟΣ. Bearded head<br>of the river Asopus r. |
|-------------|---|---|

[*Num. Zeit.* ix, p. 30.]

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Lenormant, *Mon. dans l'antiquité*, tom. iii. p. 103.

- Æ., size 3. | **TANA** in laurel | **T—A** Winged caduceus.  
**ΓΡΑΙ** wreath. | **N—A.**  
 [Brit. Mus.]
- Æ., size 3. | Pegasus flying r. | **T—A.** Winged caduceus.  
 [Num. Zeit. ix. p. 29.]
- Æ., size 3. | Youthful bust r., | **TANA Γ ΠΑΙΩΝ.** Her-  
 draped, at shoul- | mes Kriophoros standing,  
 der crooked | facing, carrying a ram across  
 staff, in front, | his shoulders.  
 ear of corn ?  
 [Brit. Mus. Cf. Num. Zeit. ix. p. 30. Pl. VI. 14.]
- Æ., size 3. | Laureate head r. | **T—A** Similar.  
**N—A.**  
 [Prok.-Ost., 1854, Pl. II. 62.]
- Æ., size 3½. | **ΠΟΙΜ** **ΑΝ** | **TΑΝΑΓΡ—ΑΙΩΝ.** Similar.  
**ΔΡΟΣ.** Beard-  
 ed bust of Poe-  
 mander r.  
 [Num. Zeit. ix. p. 29.]
- Æ., size 3. | Female head r. | **T—A** Artemis running r.  
**N—A.** holding torch.  
 [Prok.-Ost., 1859, taf. ii. 31.]
- Æ., size 2½. | **TANA—ΓΡΑΙ.** | Artemis running with torch.  
 Turreted female  
 head r.  
 [Num. Zeit. ix. p. 29.]

Near Tanagra was Mount Kerukion, where it was related that Hermes was born. Of this god there were two temples at Tanagra, where he was worshipped respectively as Kriophoros and Promachos. Concerning the statue of Hermes Kriophoros, Pausanias (ix. 22) tells us that it was the work of Calamis. On the festival of Hermes, the Tanagræan youth who surpassed all the rest in beauty was in Pausanias's time still wont to carry round the walls a ram upon his shoulders, in remembrance of the deliverance of the city from a pestilence which the god himself was believed to have thus expelled.

With regard to Pœmander, all that we know is that he was the founder of Tanagra and the spouse of the nymph of that name, who was a daughter of the river Asopus (Paus. ix. 20).

Imperial coins of Tanagra bearing the head of the emperor are known of Augustus, Tiberius, Drusus, Germanicus, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and Commodus. The most interesting types have been already fully explained by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Num. Zeitschrift*, ix. p. 30, *sqq.*

#### THESPIÆ.

Of this town there are Imperial coins of the Emperor Domitian only. See *Mion. Supp.*, tom. iii. p. 533.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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In the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Band VIII. Heft IV., are the following articles:—

1. A. v. Sallet. On the oldest Numismatics and History of Brandenburg.
2. J. Friedlaender. On a denarius of Albert the Bear, Margrave of Brandenburg.
3. A. v. Sallet. On the same.
4. S. Bergsöe. On Danish coins of the eleventh century.
5. F. Bardt. On the Find of coins at Frankfort-on-Oder.
6. H. Oldenberg. On the dates of the older Indian coins and inscriptions.
7. R. Weil. King Saumakos.
8. R. Weil. On the Parthenos Statue of Pheidias.
9. A. v. Sallet. The denarii of Margrave Albert the Bear, as *Schutzrogt* of Halberstadt.

Band IX. Heft I., contains the following articles:—

1. J. Friedlaender. The acquisitions of the Berlin coin-cabinet during the year 1880. The number of coins added to the collection is not so large as of late years. In the Greek series is a heavy Aeginetic stater weighing 212 grs. Dr. Friedlaender supposes this piece to have weighed originally about 224 grs., and to be in fact a didrachm of the earliest unreduced Aeginetic standard. If this be so, the reduction of the drachm from 112 to 96 grs. must have taken place considerably before the time of Solon, when 100 Attic drachms of  $67\frac{1}{2}$  grs. were equal in value to 73 of the præ-Solonian Aeginetic drachms averaging about  $92\frac{1}{2}$  grs.

The Berlin cabinet has also been fortunate enough to acquire a good specimen of the didrachm of Alexander of Pheræ, in Thessaly, of which hitherto the British Museum specimen (Guide to Ancient Coins, Pl. XXII. Fig. 21) was the only example known. The fine head of Hecate or Artemis on this coin, Dr. Friedlaender, in spite of the ear-ring, thinks may be an Apollo.

Among the Imperial coins are two of Antoninus, struck at Alexandria, the one representing the cleansing of the Augean stables, the other the slaying of the Amazon Hippolyte.

Among this year's acquisitions is a fine Roman medallion of Antoninus Pius, with, on the reverse, an Artemis of archaistic style, standing beside her stag, and holding one of its horns, clearly copied from some Greek original. A large gold medallion of Constans, weighing  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a pound, has also been purchased by the Berlin Museum.

2. R. Weil. On Arcadian coins. A paper of considerable interest. The author gives us a complete sketch of the history of Arcadia, pointing out the various circumstances in which coins were issued. The earliest Arcadian money was probably issued from the sanctuary of Zeus Lycæus at Lycosura, the religious centre of the loosely connected Arcadian cantons. The splendid didrachms, with the head of Zeus and seated Pan, date from the time of Epaminondas, and were struck perhaps at Megalopolis, the political capital of the newly united Arcadia. Those on the other hand of Pheneos and Stymphalos belong to a rather later period (circ. B.C. 362), and represent the reaction of the Federalists against the Centralists.

Among other points of interest Dr. Weil remarks that the type of the coins of Tegea, a fighting warrior, in which Otto Jahn saw Telephos, is in fact Kepheus, an ancient king of Tegea, and an ally of Heracles against Sparta.

3. P. Lambros. On an inedited coin of Hypate, the chief town of the Aenianes. *Obv.* Head of Zeus, r., laur. *Rev.* ΥΠΑΤΑΙΩΝ, Pallas standing facing, holding Nike and spear, by her side a shield.

4. P. Lambros. On an inedited coin of Michael Palæologus, Emperor of Nicæa.

This coin, which is of copper, bears upon the reverse the figure and name of St. Tryphon, the patron saint of Nicæa, who suffered under Trajan Decius.

5. A. Düning. On a Groschen of Sophia, Countess of Gleichen and Abbess of Essen.

6. Th. Stenzel. On a Find of mediæval coins at Grochewitz, in Anhalt.

7. F. Friedensburg. Tobias Wolff, the goldsmith of Breslau.

8. F. Friedensburg. The Silesian coin cabinet at Breslau.

9. H. Grote. Sophia or Petrissa. A protest.

10. M. Hartmann. On an inedited silver coin of the Khalif and Sultan Abu'l-fadl El-'Abbâs Ibn Mohammad, and on two dinars of the Mamluks.

11. H. Oldenberg. On the chronology of the Kshatrapa and Gupta Dynasty.

12. G. Hoffmann. On two coins of Ashdod.

## BRITISH MUSEUM GUIDES.

*A Guide to the Italian Medals exhibited in the King's Library.*  
By C. F. Keary, M.A., F.S.A.

*A Guide to the English Medals exhibited in the King's Library.*  
By H. A. Grueber.

By the publication of these two works, the Trustees of the British Museum have, at length, done something towards making known to the public at large some of those hitherto neglected works of art which have remained for years safely stowed away in the innermost recesses of the Department of Coins and Medals.

Collectors of coins, both ancient and modern, are comparatively numerous, but until quite recently amateurs have rather fought shy of Italian medals. There are signs, however, that this indifference to a class of works, no less beautiful than historically interesting, is on the wane, and we think that Mr. Keary's delightful little handbook will do much to popularize the medals of the Cinque-cento period and of the following century among all students of the history of Italian art.

Mr. Keary's Guide is divided into three parts, devoted respectively to the medals of the fifteenth century, those of the sixteenth century, and those of the Popes down to the end of the seventeenth century. There is also in each of the first two parts a double classification, (A) under artists, and (B) under persons represented on the medals. A short introduction gives the history of the medallic art in Italy from the time of its founder, Vittore Pisano, who flourished in the middle of the fifteenth century, down to its decline in the next century. The process of casting as it was understood and practised by the Cinque-cento medallists is also here described. This was a process which fell into disuse when, in the sixteenth century, medals began to be struck instead of cast, and this is perhaps the reason why the later casts, made by a less perfect method, are generally very inferior to the original casts as produced in the fifteenth century.

Short biographies of all the well-known medallists precede the descriptions of their works, and useful genealogical tables enable us to see at a glance what members of the great Italian families, such as the Medici, the Sforzas, the Gonzagas, the Estes, and the Farneses, are represented on the medals described in the work.

This Guide is accompanied by seven excellent autotype plates, on which forty-five select medals are beautifully reproduced. Owing, however, to the great size of some of the originals, it

has been found necessary in some cases to reduce them by photography.

Among the medals represented on the plates are the large pieces of Alfonso V., King of Aragon, by Pisano. The one with the reverse, VENATOR INTREPIDVS, and the king as a naked youth hunting the boar, upon the back of which he is leaping, is grandly conceived. The reverse of No. 3, LIBERALITAS AVGVSTA, is also one of Pisano's most famous works. Here we see the royal eagle seated on the stump of a tree encircled by vultures and other inferior birds of prey, to whom he is magnanimously yielding up his share of the spoil.

Pisano's portraits of Sigismondo di Malatesta (No. 4), of Malatesta Novello (No. 5), that of Lorenzo de' Medici (the Magnificent), by Nicolo Fiorentino, and of Savonarola, by an unknown artist, are some only among many which are equally deserving of notice.

Among the best medals of the sixteenth century, Pomedello's charming portrait of Jacoba Corregio, with the inscription, IACOBA . CORRIGIA . FORME AC MORVM DOMINA, is a work of the highest excellence.

Benvenuto Cellini's two medals of Clement VII., CLAVDVTVR BELLI PORTAE (No. 86) and VT BIBAT POPVLVS, Moses striking the rock (No. 87), are both mentioned by Cellini himself in his *Trattati sopra l'oreficeria e la scultura*.

No. 94, of Paul III., reverse, Ganymede watering lilies, by Il Greco, is a striking type, sculpturesque in style. No. 93, by the same artist, representing Alexander the Great kneeling before the High Priest of Jerusalem, is, unfortunately, not one of those selected for illustration. This is the medal of which Vasari relates that Michelangelo declared, when he saw it, that the hour for the death of art had arrived, since it was not possible that a better work could be seen.

Mr. Grueber's Guide to the English Medals, if less interesting to the artist, will be found invaluable as a companion to the history of England from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth.

The series of English Medals may be said to commence with the reign of Henry VIII., whose portrait after Holbein (No. 3) is a work of some merit. Other medals of this time bear the portraits of Sir Thomas More, Thomas Cromwell, Anne Boleyn, &c., &c.

The medals of Philip and Mary are by the Spanish artist, Trezzo, of whom Vasari says, "This master has no equal for portraits from life, and is an artist of the highest merit in other respects."

During the reign of Elizabeth a great improvement took place in the medallic art as practised by English artists. This is manifested in the medals commemorating the defeat of the Spanish Armada, all of which are supposed to have been produced by native artists. Among the works of this period by foreign artists is the beautiful portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots, by Primavera (No. 27).

The medals of the Stuart family form a very fine series; but perhaps the most interesting records of this time are the numerous private medals, which furnish us with a whole gallery of portraits of the leading statesmen of the age, both royalist and parliamentary.

The works of the two brothers, Thomas and Abraham Simon, consisting of portraits of the Protector and his family, are unequalled among all the English medals for the beauty of their execution.

During the reigns of William and Mary and of Anne it is not too much to say that there is hardly an event of any public interest which has not left us a commemorative medal.

With the accession of the House of Hanover the English medallic series suddenly loses nearly all its interest, for, with the single exception of Pistrucci's great Waterloo Medal, there is not one of any merit between that time and the present day.

The military and naval decorative medals, commonly known as war medals, commencing with the Battle of Culloden, form a separate class, and are doubtless interesting in their way, though they cannot take high rank as works of art.

The chief value of Mr. Grueber's Guide to English Medals lies, to our mind, not in the intrinsic merit of the medals so much as in the vast store of historical information yielded by the inscriptions and grotesque types of many of the specimens, and in the curious side-lights thus thrown upon events and characters, by means of which they are often lifted out of the category of bare facts and names, and become inspired for us with a living interest.

We note that it is proposed, when the first issue of these two excellent little guides is exhausted, to bring out a second, which will be, as far as the text is concerned, identical with the present edition, but will be accompanied by a different set of plates. This plan has already been adopted in the case of the British Museum *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*, which, published in June last, has already passed through three issues, each with a new set of plates.



IV. B. C. 456-446

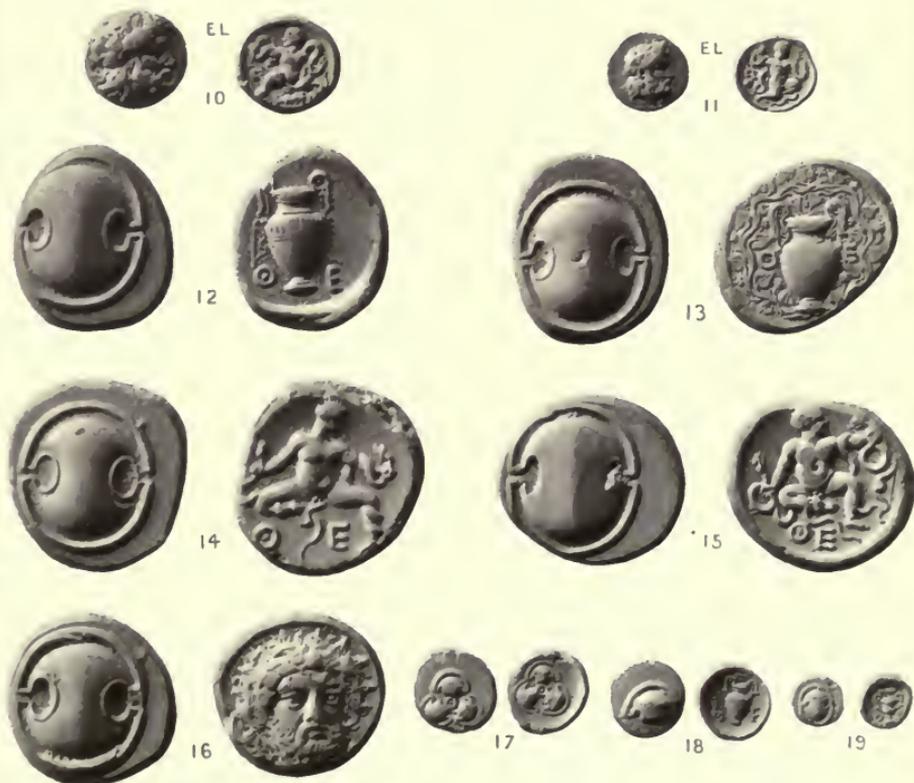


V. B. C. 446-426



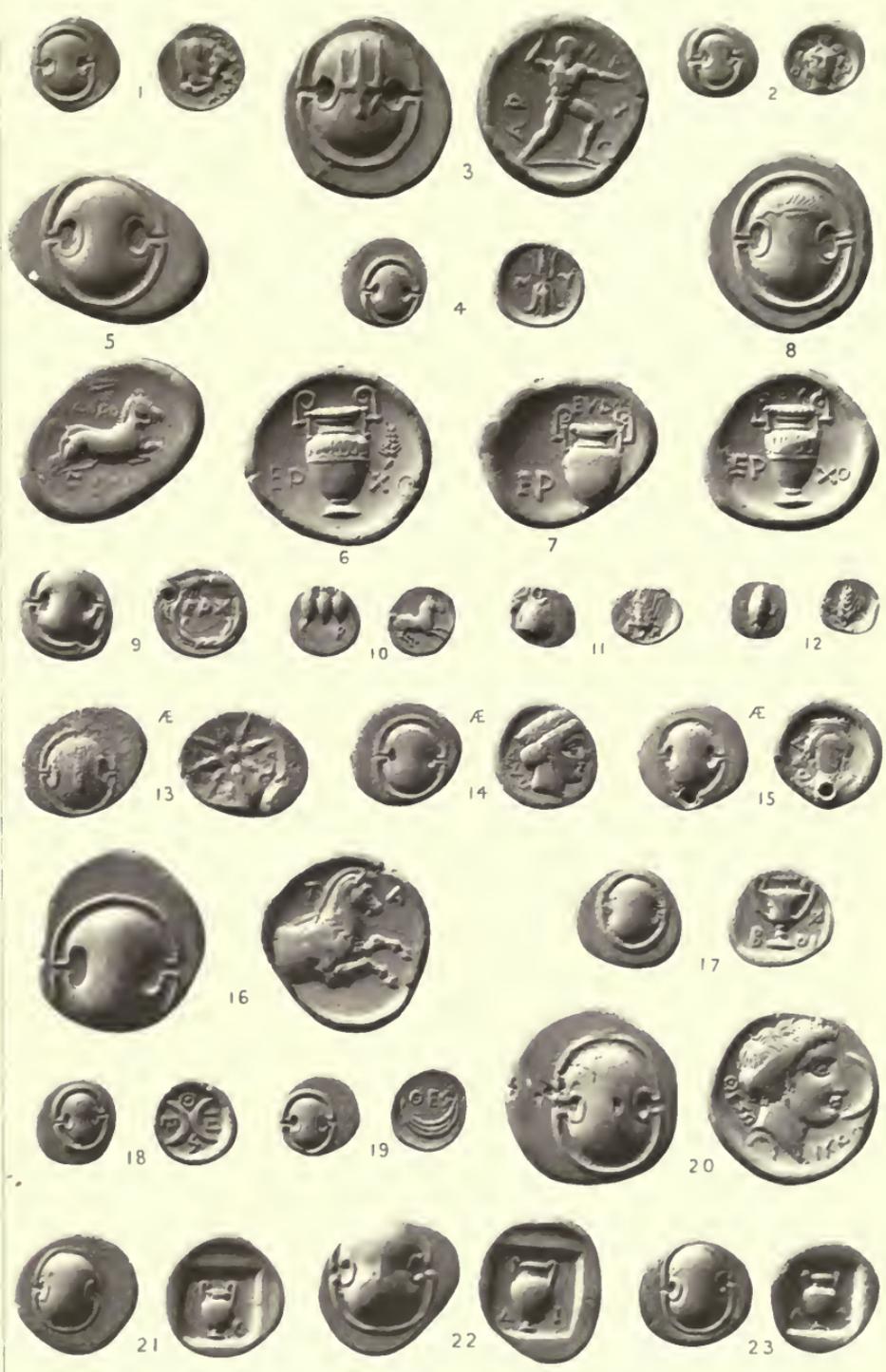


VI. B. C. 426-395



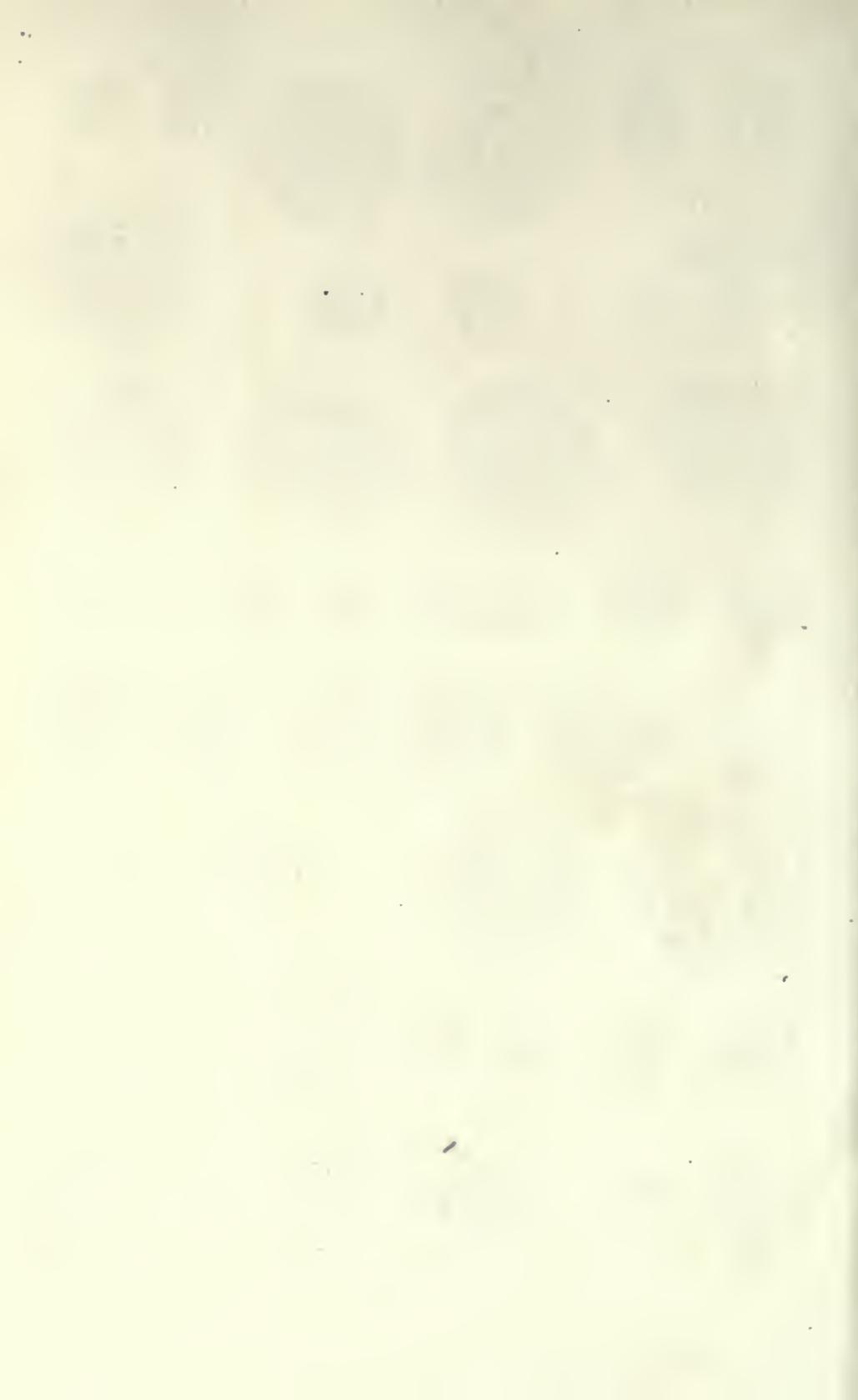
VII. B. C. 395-387





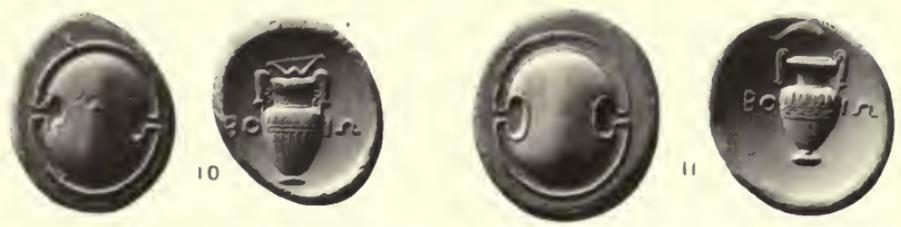
VIII B C. 387 - 374.

ALBANY





IX. B.C. 379 - 338



X. B.C. 338 - 315



XI. B.C. 315 - 288





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I



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2



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XII. B.C. 288 - 244



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XIII. B.C. 244 - 197



Æ



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9

XIV. B.C. 197 - 146



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13

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XV. B.C. 146 - 27



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14



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15



XVI IMPERIAL TIMES





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8

SILVER COINS OF TIBET.



## XVI.

### POLLUX' ACCOUNT OF ANCIENT COINS.

IN offering to the members of the Numismatic Society a translation, with notes, of the valuable chapter of Pollux (ix., 51—67, and 70—93) which deals with ancient coins, I have found myself confined within very narrow limits. Anything like a detailed or textual criticism of the author would have been unsuited to the pages of the Chronicle. Nor could I hope within a small compass to compress the discussions and criticisms which occupy 166 pages (pp. 947—1113) of the complete edition of Pollux by Dindorf (Leipzig, 1824). I have, therefore, taken the text of Pollux as it stands in the edition of Hultsch (*“Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiæ,”* vol. i., pp. 280—297), who, being distinguished as a scholar and at the same time as a metrologist, is in every way most competent to settle it. The translation is by my brother, Mr. E. A. Gardner, of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and revised by myself with the kind aid of Mr. J. S. Reid and Mr. I. Bywater. I have added notes which are concerned almost solely with the subject-matter, and wherein one thing only is attempted, to bring into closer relations the statements of Pollux and his authorities on the one hand, and existing coins and the researches of recent metrologists on the other hand. And this task I have endeavoured to accomplish within the briefest possible limits of space.

There is, however, one preliminary question of such importance that I am bound to briefly discuss it. It is this: What are the authorities of Pollux for his statements in this section? There can be little doubt that one of the principal of these was Aristotle, whom Pollux frequently cites by name, and whose *πολιτεῖαι* is unquestionably the source whence many of his statements are taken. Other writers, such as Xenophanes, Aristophanes, and Hyperides, are also quoted by name. Hultsch, however, maintains that the statements of Pollux, in cases where he cites professed writers on coins, are taken from two sources only—Aristotle, and a writer who lived shortly after the time of Tiberius. The date of this unknown writer is inferred by Hultsch from his statement as to the Egyptian talent (see p. 300). And this passage may suffice to prove that Pollux does in that particular case quote a writer of the period named. But I have endeavoured to show that the other statements which occur in the same passage are probably taken from another and much earlier authority. This, if it be so, would be enough in itself to invalidate the theory of Hultsch. And even if I am wrong in this particular case, there are several statements in paragraphs 84 and 85 which seem taken from early writers on the subject of coins, so that there seems no sufficient evidence to prove that Pollux cites from one author only. Rather it is probable that he combines the statements of a number of writers on the subject, taking from each, without much discrimination, statements which struck his attention. On this supposition are my notes written.

PERCY GARDNER.

OF THE KINDS AND DIVISIONS OF COINS; THE TALENT, THE MINA, THE STATER, THE DRACHM, THE PENTECONTADRACHM, THE PENTADRACHM AND THEIR DIVISIONS.

(51.) It will be worth while to say a few words about coins also. As regards bankers you have already heard, as well as about spurious and stamped coin, and there is nothing to prevent us from defining the kinds and divisions of coins. For Plato<sup>1</sup> mentions an art and a business of money-changing. (52.) If the talent is the largest denomination<sup>2</sup> of gold and silver money, Demosthenes' expression, "pentecontalent,"<sup>3</sup> too, would in this case be fitting. And it is easy to increase and to diminish the sum according to the established measure; for we can speak of a hecatontalent,<sup>4</sup> as suggested by the form just mentioned, and a decalent, and so with every number, greater and smaller, where such a course is not hindered by difficulty in pronunciation or harshness to the ear. The talent was also a name for a weight,<sup>5</sup> whence we find in Aristophanes—"But will they judge of music by the talent?"<sup>6</sup> and in Homer—"And then the Father stretched

<sup>1</sup> *Sophistes*, 223, B.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* the largest unit of account which has a special name.

<sup>3</sup> This word does not seem to be found in our text of Demosthenes.

<sup>4</sup> The adjective ἑκατοντάλαντος occurs in the *Knights*, line 442; δεκατάλαντος is used by Aristophanes, Aeschines, and others.

<sup>5</sup> This bare statement is somewhat misleading; of course the talent as a weight is much the older use, but at a later time, as has happened in the case of our English pound, the word talent was applied specially to a certain weight of silver, and so became a measure of value. The older use was never, however, abandoned.

<sup>6</sup> Pollux seems to be quoting incorrectly from memory the line of the *Frogs* (l. 797). Καὶ γὰρ τάλαντῳ μουσικὴ σταθμῆσεται.

out golden scales.”<sup>7</sup> (53.) Here, it is the name of the scales themselves. On the other hand, in the *Ventures* of Crates—“First of all tell me which of the men comes up to a talent”—it is uncertain whether the reference is to value or to weight; so again when Alcaeus, the comic poet, speaks in the *Endymion* of diseases of a talent. For the *talenting* (ταλάντωσις) of Antiphon indicates weight; so does the ten-talent stone of Aristophanes in the *Dramata* or the *Centaur*. The talent of gold was worth three Attic gold pieces,<sup>8</sup> and that of silver, sixty Attic minas. (54.) The term was also applied to number,<sup>9</sup> as when the rich man is called a man of many talents, and what is expensive, a thing of many talents. Also in Homer—“And there lay in the midst of them two talents<sup>10</sup> of gold.” You may speak of a ditalent,

<sup>7</sup> Iliad  $\theta$ , 69, and  $\chi$ , 209. This must be the correct translation, but “spread forth golden talents” would better suit the context, with “weights” for “scales” in the next line.

<sup>8</sup> Didrachms in gold were issued at Athens for a short period during the fourth century, B.C. That the term talent was applied at Athens to six drachms of gold is in itself unlikely, and we have no proof of the fact beyond the assertion of Pollux.

<sup>9</sup> The instances cited by Pollux scarcely bear out this assertion; the reference in them is to talents as money not as number. He probably means that there is in that reference a notion of general quantity rather than a defined sum.

<sup>10</sup> Il.  $\sigma$ , 507. The Scholiast ad Il.  $\beta$ , 169 (cf. ad  $\psi$ , 269), quotes with approval the statement of Aristotle that in the time of Homer the term talent was applied to any bar of gold independently of the weight. The opinion of Aristotle, however, can in such a matter as this have little authority. It cannot in any case be accepted, because long before the invention of coinage bars of metal of fixed weight were the medium of exchange in Asia Minor, and such have been found among extremely early remains at Hissarlik. (*Academy*, xvi. 376.) Moreover, weighing is especially implied in the word talent. That, however, the Homeric talent was of small weight is certain, as Pollux shows farther on.

as does Demosthenes,<sup>11</sup> a tritalent, and a decatalent, and a hemitalent, as, in Homer,<sup>12</sup> "But I will add for thee a hemitalent of gold."

An ancient usage also was that of the "fifth hemitalent" and "third hemitalent" and "seventh hemitalent," *i.e.* four and a half and two and a half and six and a half talents. In short, whatever be the number of the hemitalent mentioned, the number before this must be an integer; (55) if the seventh, six; if the third, two; and to this must in every case be added the half. The ancients also liked to call one talent and a half three hemitalents, as also one mina and a half three hemiminas. That the talent was worth little among Homer's contemporaries can be seen from the horse-race,<sup>13</sup> in which the prize for the third is a caldron, and for the fourth, two talents of gold.

(56.) The mina<sup>14</sup> is the largest division of the talent—to come down, in the subdivisions of the talent, to one which has a name of its own; since you could also speak of the third part and fourth part, the third and quarter of a talent; but such divisions as these are expressed in terms of number, and not by a name of their own. The mina also<sup>15</sup> was at the same time the name of a weight and of a coin; its half is a hemimina; and if you speak of

<sup>11</sup> *De Corona*, p. 329.

<sup>12</sup> *Il. ψ*, 796.

<sup>13</sup> *Il. ψ*, 262. This passage has been overlooked by Sir H. Maine and Mr. P. Laurence (*Journ. of Philol.* viii. 125), who suppose the Homeric talent to have been a large sum.

<sup>14</sup> *Talent* is a Greek word, but *mina* is taken direct from a Semitic language, probably that of the Phoenicians. The Greeks adopted it from this latter people in the course of their mercantile transactions with them, and adopted not only the name but the weight also. See Brandis, *Münzwesen*.

<sup>15</sup> *I.e.* as well as the talent.

the third hemimina, you will mean two minas and a half. They used the word mina to form part of compound words, as Herodotus in his fifth book uses the term—*δίμνος*;<sup>16</sup> (57) and Lysias, in his *Speech against Autocrates*, writes—“There has fallen to my lot also a contribution of twenty minas (*εἰκοσίμνος*).

The gold stater was worth a mina.<sup>17</sup> For in the case of things weighed they call a mina used as a weight a stater, and when they speak of the weight of five staters, they are thought to mean five minas, as in the *Deposit* of Sosicrates—“For when, I suppose, a pale, fat, lazy man, accustomed to luxury, takes up a mattock of five staters, his breath gets short.” (58.) The stater is, however, also a coin,<sup>18</sup> as when Aristophanes says<sup>19</sup>—“And we servants play at odd and even with staters.” In the words in the *Ecclesiastusae*,<sup>20</sup> “a salvation of four staters,” it is uncertain whether the reference is to weight or to number. But

<sup>16</sup> c. 77.

<sup>17</sup> There seems to be only one gold stater known worth a mina, the gold octadrachm of the Ptolemies of Egypt. If the proportion of value of gold to silver was  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, these would be worth 100 silver drachms or one mina. Mommsen, *R.M.*, p. 41; R. S. Poole in *Num. Chron.* 1867, p. 163. The statement, however, may be only an assumption of Pollux made to explain what follows, which in fact needs no explanation. The stater, whether of money or weight, is the regulating unit of account, and that the mina was in weighing such a unit will be readily understood if we consider the convenience of its weight, about an English pound. Scaliger amends the passage by omitting *χρυσούς*: but this renders it too trite.

<sup>18</sup> In many coinages if not all, the coin which was used as the unit of reckoning was called the stater. Thus the stater was of gold in the kingdom of Alexander, of electrum at Cyzicus, of silver in Greece. At Athens it was a tetradrachm, at Corinth a tridrachm, at Thebes a didrachm.

<sup>19</sup> *Plutus*, l. 817.

<sup>20</sup> l. 413.

Eupolis, in the *Demes*, clearly refers to the coin—"With three thousand staters of gold;"<sup>21</sup> while, in the *Taxiarchs*, he refers to the weight—"Yet, when he was younger, he had on five staters of cloth, he had by Zeus; now he has a good two talents of dirt." (59.) Some staters were called Darics, others Philippine, and others Alexandrine, all being of gold. If you speak of a gold piece, the stater is implied; but if of a stater, it need not necessarily be gold. And Anaxandrides, in the *Anchises*, also mentions half pieces<sup>22</sup> of gold. You may call a thing of the value of a stater a stater's worth, as Theopompus, in his *Callaeschrus*—"He says the general run of Hetaerae are not a stater's worth."

The Attic mina contained a hundred drachms, as is most accurately shown in the *Flatterers* of Eupolis—"Put down—dinner, a hundred drachms; well;" then he adds, "Put down—wine, another mina." (60.) Clearly, he calls the other hundred drachms a mina. The drachm contained six obols; and hence the assessment of an obol in the drachm (ἕκτωβελία) is the sixth of the value of the damages claimed. And what is of the value of a drachm is a drachm's worth, as in the *Merchantmen* of Aristophanes. Not only was the drachm a coin, but also the terms pentecontadrachm and pentadrachm were used by the Cyreneans, and tetradrachm and tridrachm and

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<sup>21</sup> In the age of Eupolis only one class of gold coin was in use in the civilised world, the Persian Daric (στατήρ Δαρείκος). But the Cyzicene staters of electrum, not pure gold, were also called χρυσοῖ by the Greeks, and their circulation commenced as early as B.C. 450 (*Num. Chron.* xvi. 292), so that the allusion may be to them.

<sup>22</sup> These must have been halves of Philippi, for half-Darics are not extant, nor the halves of Cyzicene and Lampsacene staters.

didrachm.<sup>23</sup> This (didrachm) was of old the coin of the Athenians, and was called a bull, because it had a bull stamped upon it.<sup>24</sup> And it is supposed that Homer knew of

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<sup>23</sup> This translation appears to me exact, although the meaning is, like that of the text, obscure. In the time of Aristotle, who was probably the authority for this statement as well as for that below as to the *stater* of Cyrene, the standard in use for silver coin was the Phoenician, on which standard were struck tetradrachms of 216—192 gr., drachms of 54—48 gr., and smaller divisions. It is also highly probable, as Brandis suggests (*Münzw.* p. 125), that the Attic tetradrachms (270 gr.) struck at an earlier period, passed current among these pieces as pentadrachms. It is noteworthy that the people of Cyrene did not issue tridrachms and didrachms in silver, so far as we know. It seems certain that they cannot have issued pieces of so large denomination as a pentecontadrachm. Is it, however, implied in the text that they did so? This is at least doubtful. Perhaps we should alter the punctuation so as to make the passage translate thus:—"Also the pentecontadrachm and pentadrachm (which was also called a tetradrachm at Cyrene) and tridrachm and didrachm." Ptolemy I. of Egypt struck gold pentadrachms which may have passed as the equivalent of fifty drachms of silver and been called pentecontadrachms. Didrachms in gold on the Attic standard (135 gr.) were issued, and probably in the age of Aristotle; but it does not seem possible that they can have passed as the equivalent of 50 drachms of silver. For Brandis's theory that the drachm at Cyrene was only in weight half of the Attic drachm (*Münzw.* p. 124) there seems no sufficient justification.

<sup>24</sup> So also Plutarch in the *Life of Theseus*. There is reason to suppose that this is an imagination of later times, based on a misunderstanding of the fact that in old Greece, as in early Italy, before the introduction of coins, sums of money were calculated in oxen and sheep. So in Homer in the passages quoted by Pollux. At all events it is reasonably certain that neither at Athens, nor at Delos, was a didrachm in use stamped with the figure of a bull. In Phocis and Euboea coins marked with a bull's head were issued in early times, but it is not likely that these gave rise to the sayings quoted by Pollux. It is barely possible that so late as the time of Draco (B.C. 620) fines were calculated in oxen, as coins were certainly current in Greece early in the sixth century, and for some time before that a currency of bars of metal must have been in use. Probably all early Attic laws were in late times quoted as Draco's.

this when he said,<sup>25</sup> "Arms worth a hundred bulls for those worth nine." (61.) And in fact we find even in the laws of Draco, "to pay twenty bulls' worth." And in the festival at Delos they say the herald announces, whenever a gift is awarded to any one, that so many bulls shall be given to him, and two Attic drachms are given for each bull. Hence some suppose that the bull was a coin peculiar to the Delians, and not to the Athenians, and that this is also the origin of the proverb—"A bull stands on his tongue," when one keeps silence for a bribe.<sup>26</sup> (62.) In Cyrene, however, according to Aristotle, there were tetrastaters and staters and hemi-staters, all gold coins.<sup>27</sup> Half a drachm is called a hemidrachm, and two and a half drachms the third hemidrachm. You may call the hemidrachm also a triobol.<sup>28</sup> Eight obols, however, were called<sup>29</sup> a half-hecte, as Crates says

<sup>25</sup> Il. ξ, 236.

<sup>26</sup> This saying seems to be a mere oriental hyperbole (cf. *Num. Chron.* N.S. xiii. 179). In the passage of Aeschylus (*Agam.* 36) where the proverb occurs, the man who utters it keeps silence not because he is bribed, but from fear. Possibly βούς may have been a cant name for a gag of leather. Cf. too Menander's saying ὕς ἐπὶ στόμα.

<sup>27</sup> This statement is puzzling. At Cyrene in the time of Aristotle gold was minted on the Attic standard: didrachms 135 grs., drachms 67·5, hemidrachms 33·75, and coins weighing about 13 grs., of which the denomination is uncertain. Of these the didrachms would naturally be the staters and the drachms hemi-staters; but there are certainly no contemporary tetrastaters known, for the gold octadrachms struck in the name of Arsinoë, queen of Ptolemy II., and perhaps current in Cyrene, date from a time much later than that of Aristotle. They may have been called tetrastaters.

<sup>28</sup> The drachm containing six obols.

<sup>29</sup> ὀνομάζοντο. They were certainly not called a half-hecte, but may have been equivalent to one. The half-hecte or twelfth part of a stater of Cyzicus or Phocæa was a small coin of pale

in his *Lamia*—"It is a half-hecte of gold, do you see? Eight obols."

The triobol and the diobol also were kinds of Attic coins, (63) the diobol having an owl stamped on it, and on the other side a head of Zeus; and the tetrobol, the head the same, but the owls two.<sup>30</sup> The terms tetrobol and triobol have been much in use; but the diobol they generally spoke of *divisim* as two obols, for instance Demosthenes<sup>31</sup>—"But they would have seen the show in the two obol seats, but for this decree." The diobol also occurs in the *Aeolosicon* of Aristophanes—"And the only thing I had left in my mouth, a diobol, has become a dicollybon."<sup>32</sup> (64.) Further, in the *Female Campaigners* of Theopompus, to receive a tetrobol is called to tetrobolize (to serve in an army)—"Yet who would not be likely to be prosperous, when *tetrobolizing*, if now with merely a diobol he keeps a wife?" Half an obol is a hemiobol,<sup>33</sup> and what can be bought for that, a hemiobol's worth, as Aristophanes says in the *Frogs*<sup>34</sup>—"And, besides,

electrum, weighing about 20 grs. That such pieces should have passed at Athens in the middle of the fifth century for only 8 obols (90 grs.) of Attic silver shows that they were held in low esteem, an opinion justified by the inferiority of their metal. In the time of Demosthenes the value of a Cyzicene stater had fallen to 28 Attic drachms of silver (Demosth. in *Phormionem*, p. 914). In the Treasurer's list at Athens for the year B.C. 434, we find special mention of a Cyzicene  $\epsilon\kappa\tau\eta$ .

<sup>30</sup> This requires correction. All the silver coins of Athens bear on the obverse the head of Athene. The tetrobols have on the reverse two owls, the triobols an owl standing, the diobols two owls with but one head. This is in the pre-Alexandrine coinage. The tetrobol is scarce, the other coins common.

<sup>31</sup> *De Corona*, 234.

<sup>32</sup> As to the  $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\upsilon\beta\omicron\nu$ , see below, p. 293.

<sup>33</sup> Athenian hemiobols and trihemiobols are both extant.

<sup>34</sup> l. 554.

twenty bits of boiled meat, of a hemiobol's worth each." And, in the *Anagyrus*, he calls three hemiobols a trihemiobol—"With a trihemiobol in his mouth." (65.) Again, the obol contained eight coppers (χαλκοῖ), and two coppers were called a quarter, τεταρτημόριον; and, by apocope, ταρτημόριον; [this may also be called a two-copper piece, δίχαλκον],<sup>35</sup> because they were a fourth of an obol, and four coppers a hemiobol, and six a tritemorion, because they are three-fourths of an obol. Some also called them tritartemorion, as they contain three-fourths. But, that they called six coppers tritemorion, can be found in Philemon's *Sardian*—"You owe me five coppers, you remember? I owe you five coppers; and you owe me a tritemorion; pay me my six, and take your five coppers." (66.) And clearly also in the *Pittocopumenus*—"Here it is, as you see. Each of you has paid for entrance a tritemorion; he has taken a triobol from us for the four." For, there being twenty-four coppers in the triobol, there are six coppers for each of the four, and these six he calls a tritemorion. When, however, Thucydides says<sup>36</sup>—"But about a third (τριτημόριον) were cavalry," he means the third part; and so Herodotus speaks of a third (τριτημορίς). But what Philemon calls τριτημόριον, is sometimes called by Plato three-quarters (τριταρτημόριον). (67.) That four coppers are a hemibol, is shown by the same play of

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<sup>35</sup> Of the extant Athenian copper coins a few only are earlier than the time of Alexander, and none would seem to belong to an earlier time than the beginning of the fourth century. The denomination of these coins is matter of doubt; but it would seem probable, from the analogy of the silver tetrobols and diobols that the copper pieces with type of two owls are tetra-chalei and those with the type of two owls with one head are dichalci.

<sup>36</sup> II. 98.

Philemon—"He poured us out wine at first for an obol, and after that for four coppers. That makes up three hemiobols; the warm water cost a copper."

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(70.) We also find five coppers named a five-copper piece<sup>37</sup> (πεντέχαλκον) in Aristophon's *Twins*, or *Pan of coals*—"Then he added some liver and tripe, I think, getting a five-copper piece extra." The σύμβολον is apparently a small coin, or the half of a coin.<sup>38</sup> (71.) At any rate Hermippus, in his *Porters*, says—"I will get the symbolon from the hucksters;" and in the *Demesmen*—"Alas! what shall I do now with my head shaven in symbolon fashion?"<sup>39</sup> Here the half seems to have been shaved, so that we must either suppose that this little coin was only stamped on one side, or else that it was divided so that each party had one portion, the seller and the buyer, as a pledge that the one had received a deposit, and that the other still had more to pay (or, that the one party has received something before payment, and that to the other party payment for it is still due). (72.) That its value was small is demonstrated by the words of Aristophanes, in the *Anagyrus*—"That very thing I am troubling about, two obols and a symbolon under the couch. Has any one picked them up?" and

<sup>37</sup> This was probably a silver coin, five-eighths of an obol.

<sup>38</sup> M. Beulé (*Monn. d'Athènes*, p. 76) suggests that Pollux is here in error, and that the σύμβολον was really any coin divided as pledge by the two parties to an agreement, a proceeding lately common between lovers in some parts of England. This interpretation would suit the passages quoted.

<sup>39</sup> σύμβολον κεκαρμένος, the meaning of this phrase is rather obscure; but Dobree is probably right in referring the phrase to the appearance from above or in front of a head of which one side was shaven, which would look like half a coin.

by those of Archippus, in *Hercules' Wedding*—"The best of men, and my dearest friend; but when he was with me he had not even a symbolon." The κόλλυβον<sup>40</sup> was also, probably some trifling coin; at any rate Callimachus says, speaking about those in Hades—"From the regions where they sell a bull for a collybon," as one would say, "for an old song." The poets also mentioned some tricollybon, a small coin. (73.) Those who suppose that Homer, too, shows knowledge of the "bull," the coin so called from its design,<sup>41</sup> or type, in the words—"worth a hundred bulls for those worth nine," reckoning the value of the arms as if by the number of drachms, are foolish in attributing such a thought to Homer, who himself testifies that he supposed that exchange did not formerly take place by coins, but by bartering one thing for another, as when he says<sup>42</sup>—"Thence did the long-haired Achæans get them wine, some for bronze, some for bright iron, others for hides, others for the cows themselves;" (74) for by opposing the cows to the hides, he clearly refers to the animal, and not to the coin."<sup>43</sup>

Some, again, have thought the Peloponnesian coin was called a tortoise, from its type;<sup>44</sup> whence comes the proverb—"Virtue and wisdom are conquered by tortoises;" and in the *Helots* of Eupolis, there are the words—"the fair-tortoisèd obol."

<sup>40</sup> The value of this coin is quite doubtful. M. Beulé (p. 76) agrees with Prokesch-Osten that it was a lepton, one-seventh of a chalcus, but the latter gives no valid reason for the theory.

<sup>41</sup> τυπώματος.

<sup>42</sup> Il. η, 472.

<sup>43</sup> See above, p. 288.

<sup>44</sup> The coinage of Aegina, of which the type was a tortoise, the symbol of the Phœnician Aphrodite, was in early times (sixth century) universally current in the Peloponnesè and the Greek islands.

The Athenians also had a coin called a "maiden" (κόρη), as Hyperides shows, saying that there were offered to the child of the priestess at Brauron, when receiving some offering, a "maiden" and a tetradrachm,<sup>45</sup> to test its intelligence, (75) and that, by choosing the tetradrachm, it seemed already to have some discrimination as to profit. It may be a κόρη which Euripides mentions as the "virgin" coin (παρθένος) in the *Sciron*, speaking of the hetære in Corinth—"Some you will win if you give one horse (πῶλος), some by a pair; some come for four silver horses; but what they really like is virgins from Athens, when you bring many;" by the virgins he seems to mean the maidens, on which was stamped a head of Athene; (76) whence Eubulus calls this coin in the *Anchises* a Pallas. By horse is meant the Corinthian coin, because it had Pegasus struck upon it.

The Aeginetan drachm being larger than the Attic (for it was worth ten Attic obols),<sup>46</sup> was called by the Athenians a thick drachm, they being unwilling, from their hatred of the Aeginetans, to call it Aeginetan.

It can easily be seen from the *Deposit* of Menander that gold was ten times the value of silver.<sup>47</sup> Having first

<sup>45</sup> Hence it would seem that the term *maiden*, which might well be applied to any of the coins of Athens, seeing that they all bear as type the head of Athene Parthenos, was in practice applied not to the usual currency, the tetradrachm, but to a smaller coin, no doubt the drachm.

<sup>46</sup> This statement is not quite correct; the Aeginetan drachm was worth rather less than 9 Attic obols, which weighed 101 grs. Here, as elsewhere, Pollux may be quoting some local rate of exchange.

<sup>47</sup> Not having the context of Menander we cannot say whether or not his words imply this. But Brandis (*Münzwesen*, p. 86) has shown it to be probable that a relation of 10 to 1 between the value of gold and that of silver existed in the time of Alexander the Great, and was, in fact, the basis of his coinage.

said—"I am ever keeping the weight of a gold talent for you, boy," (77) he afterwards brings in the same thing—"Happy is he; for he has eaten ten talents." As to the name of the obol, some say that spits (ὀβελοί), fit for spitting beef<sup>48</sup> were once used for exchange,<sup>49</sup> and that the quantity of these which would fill the grasp (δράξ) used to be called a drachm; the names, however, even after the custom had changed to our present usage, survived from remembrance of ancient custom. Aristotle, making the same statement in the *Sicyonian Commonwealth*, takes a slightly new course, saying they were once called ὀφελοί, ὀφέλλειν meaning "to increase," and they being so called because they were stretched out in length. (78.) Whence, too, he says ὀφείλειν is derived in some way or other. Yet, in the case of ὀβελός, the φ, he says, has changed into the kindred letter β.

The Byzantians having, in fact, an iron coinage, possessed a small coin called an iron (σιδάρεος),<sup>50</sup> so that instead of "buy it me for three coppers," they said "buy it me for three irons." Whence also we find in the *Myrmidons* of Strattis—"In the baths the day of the journey (?) all the world, armies of irons." (79.) The Lacedaemonians also use an iron coinage, of great weight

<sup>48</sup> Obviously, spits to roast pieces of beef on; in the passage of Herodotus (II. 135) L. and S., following Stephanus and Rawlinson, translate, "fit for roasting oxen whole on," but the reason for this rendering does not appear (*s.v.* βουπόρος).

<sup>49</sup> This statement of Pollux, which is confirmed by Etym. M. *s.v.* ὀβελίσκος, has been generally accepted. It should, however, be noted that on Egyptian monuments the precious metals occur always in the form of rings; and our Celtic ancestors also used rings in exchange (N. C., 1854, p. 150).

<sup>50</sup> No trace of Byzantine or Lacedaemonian iron-money has reached us. But this may be explained from the perishable nature of the metal.

and small value. They blunt its edge with vinegar so as not to cut (?). Dionysius once compelled the Syracusans to use as currency tin instead of silver ; and the coin was worth four Attic drachms instead of one.<sup>51</sup>

As to the "nummus," the name of the coin seems to be Roman, but it is really Greek, belonging to the Dorians both in Italy and Sicily.<sup>52</sup> For Epicharmus, in the *Pitchers*, says—"But yet, being goodly fat lambs, they will fetch me ten nummi (νόμοι) by sale ; so good was their dam ;" and (80) again—"Crier, go and straightway buy me a goodly heifer for ten nummi." Aristotle, too, in the *Tarentine Commonwealth*, says that a coin was called a nummus<sup>53</sup> amongst them, on which was represented Taras the son of

<sup>51</sup> This statement has much perplexed numismatists, because the reign of Dionysius is the most flourishing period of Syracusan numismatics, and his money remarkable for weight as for beauty (*Num. Chron.* 1874, p. 20). Possibly, during the Siege of Syracuse by the Carthaginians, a money of necessity was made of tin, but afterwards called in or destroyed.

<sup>52</sup> Varro agrees as to the Sicilian origin of the word nummus, νοῦμμος being a dialectic form of the Greek νόμος, i.e. νόμισμα. The term among the Romans was applied originally to the sestertius. Among the Greeks of Sicily, as Mommsen has shown (*Röm. Münzw.* p. 78), the nummus was the equivalent of the litra of silver, which was in its turn equal to a litra or pound of copper. As to the litra of Syracuse see *Num. Chron.* 1874, p. 8 *sqq.*

<sup>53</sup> Mommsen (p. 101) asserts that the type here mentioned is peculiar at Tarentum to the didrachm (120-8 grains), and hence supposes that at Tarentum the nummus, which elsewhere is a small silver coin like the Sicilian litra or the Roman sestertius, the equivalent of a pound of copper, was exceptionally a far heavier coin. But this supposition is not strictly necessary, as the type of Taras is also found on small coins of the weight of the Roman sestertius, probably diobols. (*Cat. Gr. Coins ; Sicily*, p. 209.) The Tarentine nummi are mentioned in the *Tabulae of Heracleia*, C.I.G. 5774, l. 123. It appears to me that the value as there given, if reckoned on the basis of the equivalence of nummus and didrachm, is excessive.

Poseidon borne upon a dolphin. In the *Aeragantine Commonwealth*, Aristotle says that some people were fined 30 litrae, and that the litra was worth an Aeginetan obol.<sup>54</sup> One might also find the names of other Sicilian coins mentioned by him in the *Himeracan Commonwealth*, such as the uncia, worth one copper;<sup>55</sup> (81) the hexas, two; the trias, three; the hemilitron, six; and the litra, worth an obol. The decalitron, he says, is worth ten obols, and is a Corinthian stater.<sup>56</sup> It has been stated above, in speaking of weights, that some comic writers also mention litrae; for not only the Dorians, but also some Attic poets do this, as Diphilus, in the *Sicilian*<sup>57</sup>—"As to sell all, and have nothing at all left, except curls, to the amount of two litrae." And with the litrae Epicharmus mentions other

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<sup>54</sup> This is not strictly accurate, as the Aeginetan obol weighed about 16 grs., and the litra 13·5 only, but in Sicily this obol being foreign may have been tariffed below its value. Below, Pollux gives again on the authority of Aristotle the value of the litra as an (Attic) obol and a half, which is almost exactly the equivalent of an Aeginetan obol. In what follows the litra and the Aeginetan obol are assumed by Pollux to be equivalent.

<sup>55</sup> That is, worth one ounce or one-twelfth of a pound of copper. But the copper coins of Sicily, as we may see from their marks of value, were not usually struck at anything like their nominal weight. They were mere money of account. The copper at Athens, χαλκοῦς, being one-eighth of an obol, was assimilated to the Sicilian uncia, one-twelfth of a litra. We must accept the statement of the text with caution, for if the trias is three unciae, the hexas ought according to analogy to be six: perhaps, as Jungermann suggests, δὲξάντα should be read instead of ἐξάντα.

<sup>56</sup> Ten litrae, 135 grains, are equivalent to one of the Corinthian staters or tridrachms, bearing the type of a Pegasus, which are found in large quantities in Sicily and S. Italy. The Sicilian litra is fully discussed by Mommsen (*Gesch. d. Röm. M.*, p. 77), and Head (*N. C.* 1874).

<sup>57</sup> This being the name of the play, the word litra would seem to be introduced as a piece of local colouring. The litra as a weight was two-thirds of the Roman as, or about 8,375 grs.

names of coins in the *Robberies*—(82) “Like worthless fortune-tellers, who deceive silly women, getting a silver pentuncion, others a litra, others a hemilitron,<sup>58</sup> and know everything;” and again—“For I [—? placed—] in my purse a litra, a stater, a hexantion, and a pentuncion.” The knowledge of these things has something interesting in it, and perhaps even may not be without use, if even Xenophon did not hesitate to speak of “sigli,”<sup>59</sup> the name of a barbarian coin. And some say that the danaces,<sup>60</sup> too, is a Persian coin. (83.) “Crapatalus” (a fish), too, is a name of a coin, whether Pherecrates mentions it in jest or earnest in the play of that name. He says the crapatalus is a drachm in Hades, and contains two psothiæ (crumbs), the psothia being a triobol, and worth eight ciccabi (mites?).

Perhaps some would think it ambitious to investigate the question regarding coinage, whether coins were first struck by Pheidon the Argive, or by the Cymæan Demo-

<sup>58</sup> These coins can be identified by the marks of value which they bear, six pellets for a hemilitron, five for a pentuncion, three for a trias, two for a hexas; and so forth. The pentuncion was actually struck in silver (*Cat. Gr. Coins; Sicily*, p. 88), and probably passed current as half an obol of Attic standard, which was of nearly the same value.

<sup>59</sup> The siglos or shekel was the ordinary current silver coin of the Persian Empire. Originally it was one-sixtieth of a mina. The type of the Persian sigli is the King kneeling, and the weight about 86 grs.

<sup>60</sup> Or danace. This word, according to Dindorf, comes from a Persian root signifying one-sixth. Hesychius (*s.v.*) says that it was somewhat greater than an obol. It was doubtless the sixth of the Persian siglos, which is a denomination not existing in the regular Persian coinage, but among the coins issued in Cilicia by Persian satraps. Hesychius also says that this was the coin put in the mouths of corpses to pay Charon with. On several occasions an obol has been found in the mouth of corpses.

dice, wife of the Phrygian Midas, who was daughter of Agamemnon, King of the Cymæans, or by the Athenians, Erichthonius and Lycus, or by the Lydians, as Xenophanes asserts, or the Naxians, according to the opinion of Aglosthenes.<sup>61</sup> (84.) For no one will expect us to go out of our way to inquire whether the Mityleneans struck Sappho on their coins; the Chians, Homer; the Iasians, a boy riding on a dolphin; the Dardans, a cock-fight; the Aspendians, a wrestling-match; the Rhegians, a hare; the Cephallenians, a horse; the Thasians, a Persian; the Argives, a mouse.<sup>62</sup> For such a digression would be outside the plan of this book, and, besides, others

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<sup>61</sup> The opinion of modern writers is that the Lydians first issued coins of electrum early in the seventh century B.C., or at the end of the eighth; but that the first *silver* coins were issued by Pheidon, King of Argos, as to whose date there is considerable doubt (cf. *Num. Chron.* N.S., xv., where is a paper by Mr. Head, with chronological table). There are no known coins of Athens older than the Solonic reduction of standard, about B.C. 594. The earliest coins of Naxos seem to be copied from those of Aegina. No early Phrygian money has as yet been identified.

<sup>62</sup> These statements are of various degrees of accuracy. The ordinary type of Iasus is a youth on a dolphin, that of Dardanus a fighting-cock, or cocks fighting, that of Aspendus a wrestling-match. The coins of Rhegium of the age of Anaxilaüs bear a hare. All these are town-arms or civic devices. The head of Sappho at Mytilene (unless we recognise it on electrum hectæe of doubtful attribution) and the figure of Homer at Chios appear in Roman times only, and then with the idea of producing a memorial of eminent citizens, not of giving the official stamp to the coin. With regard to the Cephallenians, Thasians, and Argives, Pollux would seem to have been misinformed, unless his text is corrupt. An usual type at Argos is a wolf, in Cephallenia a ram or a hound, in Thasos a figure of Heracles shooting. Possibly the Authority of Pollux mistook this last figure for a Persian bowman; or it may be, as Dindorf suggests, that Πέρσην is a false reading for Ἡρακλῆ. In the same way κριόν for ἵππον and λυκόν for μῆν would not be very violent corrections.

have already made collections of such facts. But perhaps an account of coins should include Croesean, Philippine, and Doric staters, and the Berenicean, (85) Alexandrine, Ptolemaic, and Damaretean pieces,<sup>63</sup> those whom they are named after being universally known; Damarete was the wife of Gelon, who, when that ruler was in straits in his war against the Libyans, asked the women for their ornaments, and melted them down to make coins.

It is at any rate not out of place to mention that the Attic talent was worth 6,000 Attic drachms; the Babylonian, 7,000; (86) the Aeginetan, 10,000; the Syrian, 4,500; the Cilician, 3,000; the Egyptian, 1,500, reckoned according to the Attic drachm, as also the Attic mina.<sup>64</sup> The

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<sup>63</sup> All these pieces are extant and well known. Croesus introduced into his kingdom, in the place of the previous coins of electrum, staters of gold bearing as type the fore-parts of a bull and a lion (*Num. Chron. N.S.*, xv. 257). In imitation of these coins, and of the same weight, were the official gold pieces of the Persian Empire, issued first by Darius Hystaspis, and called from him Darics. These were in the middle of the fourth century superseded as the main currency of the world by the coins of Philip and Alexander. The Ptolemaic tetradrachms had a wide circulation in the third century, but the hexadrachms and other coins issued in the name of Berenice II. are comparatively rare. Conclusive arguments lead us to see in the Damareteia the noble silver decadrachms of Syracuse of early style (*Num. Chron. N.S.*, xiv. 9). For Diodorus expressly states (xi. 26) that the Damareteion was equal to ten Attic drachms or fifty litræ (grs. 675), which is just the weight of the coins in question.

<sup>64</sup> As the full elucidation of this passage would require a treatise, I must in the main content myself with references. It is asserted by Hultsch (*Metrologici Græci*, p. 154) that the author whom Pollux here follows must have lived after the time of Tiberius, in whose reign the Egyptian tetradrachm, being much adulterated, passed as a denarius or an Attic drachm, in which case the statement of the text that the Egyptian talent was worth only one-quarter of the Attic would hold good. But in those times neither Babylonian nor Aeginetan weights were

Attic talent contained 60 of these minas, the Babylonian 70, the Aeginetan 100, and so on. And as the mina amongst the Athenians contained 100 Attic drachms, so amongst the rest did it contain 100 local drachms, whose

in use for coins. And moreover the weights given by Pollux for the talents of Babylon, Aegina, and Syria (Phoenicia), although not exact, are more nearly those of an early than those of a late period. This will appear from the following table :—

|                  | Wt. accordg. to Pollux.<br>(Attic dr.=67½ gr.) | True weight.<br>(B.M. Guide.) |
|------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| Attic . . .      | 405000 gr.                                     | 405000 gr.                    |
| Babylonian . . . | 472000   | 507000                        |
| Aeginetan . . .  | 675000   | 582000                        |
| Syrian . . .     | 303750   | 336000                        |

Here the weights given for the various talents are those ascertained by induction to have been usual in the fifth century B.C. Pollux had no such means as we have for arriving at accuracy ; he had to rely upon writers who probably misled him because they calculated by the rate of exchange in their own cities. I mean something of the following kind. At Athens the Babylonian drachm may have passed with the money-changers as only seven-sixths of an Attic drachm. And any person who calculated the value of a Babylonian talent on that basis would make it, as does Pollux or his Authority, equal to 70 Attic minae, though in reality the value was greater. In the same way, in Bœotia, and other districts where the Aeginetan standard was used, an Attic drachm might pass as six-tenths of one of the local drachms, and so a local talent be calculated at 100 Attic minae. Of course the amount of agio charged by ancient money-changers was far greater than it would be now. Yet even in our days in the Levant it is very heavy. In 1869 Mr. R. S. Poole found by experience that a Turkish beshlk was worth at Smyrna 5 piastres, in Cyprus 5½, at Beyrout 6, at Acre 6½, at Jaffa 7, and at Port Said did not pass at all. It should, however, be observed that the enumeration of Pollux, though inaccurate in details, is right as to general proportions. He, rightly arranges in order of weight the Aeginetan, Babylonian, Attic, and Syrian (or Phœnician) talents.

The above statement is true only if Pollux' Authority wrote as early as the days of Alexander. After that time the Aeginetan standard fell and was much less in use ; the Babylonian, at least for coins, also went out of use. Hultsch, who supposes

value, whether more or less, was proportionate in each case to the local talent. (87.) The Sicilian talent was of least value,<sup>65</sup> the old one, as Aristotle states, being worth 24 of their nummi, and the later one 12, the nummus being worth an obol and a half.<sup>66</sup>

There is nothing to prevent our adding to our discussion of coins that the Attic writers would speak of *χρήματα* (as money), but that *χρήμα* (in the singular) is used by them for a thing or possession, but by the Ionians also for money; (88) as also it is Attic usage to speak of *κέρματα* (change), and not *κέρμα*, while *κέρμα* also is used by the Dorians. It may also be found in Attic writers, as in the *Vine-dresser* of Amphis—"a little change (*κέρμα*)," and in

Pollux' Authority to be late, is obliged to suppose that by Aeginetan talent he means the Hebrew, which is excessively unlikely (*Metr. Gr.*, p. 154).

It remains to speak of the Cilician and Egyptian talents of the text. What the former may be, there is no clue; we know of no Cilician drachm of 33 grains; although the later drachm of Rhodes practically weighed no more. The explanation of Mommsen (*R. M.*, p. 47) seems to me inadmissible. The Egyptian talent, which was worth one-fourth of the Attic, may, as already stated, be that of the time of Tiberius; in that case Pollux' Authority for his statement with regard to it must of course be quite late.

<sup>65</sup> The reason of this small value is that while the Greek talent was reckoned in silver, that of Sicily was reckoned in copper. The history of the Sicilian talent has been traced by Mommsen (*R. M.*, 77 *sqq.*) and Head (*Num. Chron.* N.S. xiv., p. 13). Boeckh had already proved (*Metrol. Unters.* p. 294) from Sicilian inscriptions that the Sicilian talent was originally equal to 120 *litrae* of copper. As the *litra* was 3,375 grs., or half an Attic mina in weight, the Sicilian and Attic talents were identical as to actual weight, only one was reckoned in silver, the other in copper. Of the two reductions in weight of the Sicilian talent, both of which must have taken place before the time of Aristotle, the first reduced the talent to 24, the second to 12 *litrae* or nummi.

<sup>66</sup> See above, p. 296.

the *Cyclops* of Antiphanes—"for I happen (to have) some change." But in the *Phil-Euripides* of Philippides we find—"He thinks to rob him of his small change (*κερμάτιον*);" and Plato uses *κατακεκερματίσθαι* (to be turned into small change) of argument, and Aristophanes of silver in the *Banqueters*—"There is not even any silver in small change;" (89) and in the *Wasps*<sup>67</sup>—"The day before yesterday, having received a drachm (to share) with me, he went and changed it in the fish-market." In the *Aeolosicon* he calls want of change *ἀκερματία*. And as in the case of *κέρματα* the old Attic writers very rarely used the singular, so in that of *ἀργύριον*, they avoided the plural. For *τὰργύρια*, for silver, can be very rarely found in them; I have seen it in the *Islands* of Aristophanes, only that the play is suspected of being spurious. (90.) But there is no doubt about the *Flatterers* of Eupolis, in which he says—"They seize and carry from the house the gold; the silver (*τὰργύρια*) is plundered." In the *Triphales*, Aristophanes has *ἀργυρίδιον*, too—"I asked the women for some silver (*ἀργυρίδιον*)." What is now called a copper (*χαλκός*), the Attic writers usually call *χαλκίον*, like *ἀργύριον* from *ἄργυρος*, and *χρυσίον* from *χρυσός*. As Aristophanes says in the *Frogs*—"For we do not use these at all, though they are free from alloy, and the best of all coin, as I think, (91) the only ones true-struck and with the right ring, but those wretched coppers (*χαλκίους*),<sup>68</sup> struck but yesterday from the worst die."

<sup>67</sup> l. 788.

<sup>68</sup> l. 721. This is a very interesting passage, and explains much in the history of Athenian money. The silver coin of Athens which has come down to us is almost pure from alloy, and is very cleanly and strongly struck. It is, however, very

And more clearly, Eubulus, in the *Pamphilus*—"First, taking from him the two coppers (χαλκίω),<sup>69</sup> he sponged the rust from his hand." And so Cratinus, in the *Thracian Women*, seems to have called gold χρυσία,— "Because they stopped the crows stealing the gold (χρυσία) from Egypt."<sup>70</sup> (92.) The copper was a small coin, as we see from Demosthenes<sup>71</sup>—"Not even a single copper yet up to this day." But common and popular usage calls the silver coin a copper, as "I have not a copper," "I owe a copper." This is found, too, in the *Persae* of Epicharmus—"Owing gold and copper." Perhaps in case of necessity (?) one might quote as an instance of the same use in Attic writers the passage of Aristophanes referring to money in the *Ecclesiazusae*,<sup>72</sup> when he says—"I came away with my mouth full of coppers;" (93) but what follows is clear enough—"The crier proclaimed that none should in future receive copper; for we use silver."

Thucydides<sup>73</sup> calls some staters Phocaeen, and there was a kind of coin so called. At any rate Callisthenes says in his *Apophthegms*, that he was surprised by the poet Persinus writing, when, neglected by Eubulus the Atarnian, he had gone away to Mytilene, that he could change

poor from the artistic point of view: it is evident that the Athenians kept their types unimproved from generation to generation from a commercial prejudice against any innovation in a currency which passed in all Greece and Western Asia. It does not appear that any of the copper pieces used for a short time during the Peloponnesian War are extant.

<sup>69</sup> See above, p. 291.

<sup>70</sup> These would probably be the Daric staters, the only gold coins allowed to circulate in any part of the Persian Empire.

<sup>71</sup> In Meidiam.

<sup>72</sup> l. 818.

<sup>73</sup> IV. 52.

the Phocaean coins (*φωκαίδας*) which he had brought with him to greater advantage in Mytilene than in Atarna.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Pollux would seem to be here a little confused, for the word *φωκαίδας* cannot agree with *στατήρας*, the word *στατήρ* being masculine. We are probably justified in substituting for it *ἕκτας*, hectae, Phocaean hectae being still very abundant. As their name implies, they are the sixth part of a stater. They are of pale electrum much alloyed with silver, and bear besides a type, which varies, the mint-mark of a seal (*phoca*). Of the saying of Persinus we have a curious illustration in an inscription published by Mr. Newton (*Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, viii. 549). This inscription records an agreement between Phocaea and Mytilene, whereby the same gold (or electrum) coin shall circulate in both cities, and both share the profit. This being the case, it is clear that Phocaean hectae would circulate at greater advantage in Lesbos than at Atarna, where they would be subject to a considerable agio, not being in general favour on account of the impurity of their metal. The Phocaean staters are mentioned not only by Thucydides, but in Inscriptions, as C.I.G. 150, but no known specimen is extant.

## XVII.

### NOTE ON A FIND OF ROMAN COINS NEAR NUNEATON.

SOME few years ago the workmen engaged in digging a railway cutting near Nuneaton came upon a small urn, which was at once broken in order that its contents might be ascertained. It proved to contain a considerable number of Roman silver coins, but the exact number cannot now be determined. What I was at first assured was that the whole deposit came into my hands during the past autumn, but on subsequent inquiry I found reason to believe that some portion of the hoard had fallen into other hands. Those which I have examined consisted of thirty-nine Imperial denarii, and with them were sent two coins of the Cassia and Livineia family (both Cohen, No. 7) which not improbably came from some other source. The following list gives the names of the various Emperors and Empresses whose coins were present in the hoard, the figures annexed referring to the types as numbered by Cohen.

VESPASIAN, No. 12, 36.

NERON, No. 8.

TRAJAN, No. 22, 43 (2 specimens), 93, 104, 106, 145, 175, 228, 255.

A variety of No. 39 in which the figure on the reverse holds a short wand instead of a caduceus.

Another not in Cohen—

*Obv.*—IMP. TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P.M.T.R.P.

*Rev.*—SAL. AVG. in exergue P.M. TR.P.COS. III. Salus seated, in her r. a patera, in her l. a serpent.

Matidia as No. 1, but reading on obverse DIVA MATIDIA  
AVGVSTA.

Hadrian, No. 137, 156, 189, 233, 298, 345, 368, 476, 514.  
Supp., No. 35.

Ælius, No. 22.

Antoninus Pius as No. 108, but TR.P.X. 109, 134, 166,  
276.

Antoninus and Aurelius, No. 4.

Faustina the Elder, No. 14, 34.

Marcus Aurelius, No. 40, 213, 288, 353.

The latest of these coins is that of Aurelius (Cohen, No. 288), which is of his twentieth year of Tribunitian power or A.D. 166, so that the hoard cannot have been deposited until after that date. History, however, does not seem to record any special circumstances in Britain such as might naturally lead to the concealment of hoards of money about that period. The deposit was therefore probably a treasure belonging to some private person who after having buried it was from some cause or other unable to recover it. The district around Nuneaton must have been fairly peopled in Roman times. The Watling Street runs within a few miles of the place, and the Roman Station of Manduessedum, now Mancetter, is also not far off, where coins have frequently been found. There are, as will have been seen, a few rather scarce coins in the hoard. Both the Matidia and the Ælius are in good condition, especially the latter, and it is a remarkable circumstance that among these coins found in central Britain there should be one of Matidia presenting a fresh arrangement of the obverse legend. The coin of Antoninus Pius (Cohen, No. 134) with the Emperor standing in a temple, and the legend COS IIII is also of a scarce type. With but few exceptions the other coins are of common occurrence; but the Trajan with the reverse of SAL. AVG is, I think, a new variety.

JOHN EVANS.



### XVIII.

#### ACCOUNT OF COINS OF HENRY III. FOUND AT NEWARK IN JUNE, 1881.

8, ARTHUR STREET, NOTTINGHAM, 27th June, 1881.

DEAR SIR,—I have much pleasure in reporting to you a small find of coins at Newark made in this county on the 7th day of June last, upon the premises of Messrs. Caparn, Hankey & Co., the eminent brewers. Through the kindness of these gentlemen I have been enabled to examine a dozen of the pieces, particulars of which are annexed. The jar or urn *under* which they were found (for it was upside down) is quite perfect, as will be seen in woodcut above. It is of light red, somewhat gritty ware, turned on a wheel. On the outside are one or two accidental patches of a bottle-green glaze. The coins were as usual very much oxidized and corroded, but have cleaned very well, and are, with perhaps one exception, of the London and Canterbury mints, long-cross pennies struck in the reign of Henry III. They are of the same class and types as the hoard of coins found on Tower Hill and reported upon by you to the Numismatic Society in 1869.

Messrs. Caparn, Hankey & Co., for the purpose of enlarging their premises, had purchased and were taking down a portion of what once had been the old gaol at Newark, and it was in that part and perhaps six feet from the surface where they and the jar were discovered. I understand originally there were in all twenty-eight pennies, eleven halfpennies, and some broken pieces of coins. Several of the coins were given by the firm to friends, but these which I have had the pleasure of examining and the jar are still in their possession.

I am, dear sir, yours very respectfully,

JOHN EVANS, ESQ.

J. TOPLIS.

LIST OF COINS FOUND AT NEWARK.

HENRICVS REX III. Sceptre.

*London.*

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| HENRI ON LVND . . . . .  | 2 |
| NICOLÆ ON LVND . . . . . | 1 |
| RONTVD ON LVND . . . . . | 1 |

*Canterbury.*

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| GILBERT ON CNT . . . . . | 1 |
| IOHES ON CNTER . . . . . | 1 |
| ION ON ...TER . . . . .  | 1 |

HENRICVS REX III. No Sceptre.

*London.*

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| NICOLÆ ON LVND . . . . . | 1 |
|--------------------------|---|

*Canterbury.*

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| WILLÆM ON CNT . . . . .  | 1 |
| ...TER ON ..T . . . . .  | 1 |
| ..... ON ....N . . . . . | 1 |

*Newcastle.*

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| ..... NIÆWÆ . . . . . | 1 |
|-----------------------|---|

12

|                         |    |
|-------------------------|----|
| Halfpence . . . . .     | 11 |
| Broken pieces . . . . . | 17 |

## XIX.

### ON THE IRISH COINS OF RICHARD III.

My first intention in writing this essay was merely to describe an unpublished groat having Richard's name on the obverse, and Waterford on the reverse, it being the only coin known of that mint.

On considering how little information has been published respecting Richard's Irish coins, I determined to describe those I have seen, and to attempt to show how far they agree with the records which have been preserved.

James Simon, F.R.S., in "An Essay towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins," first published at Dublin in 1749, 4to, describes only one groat with three crowns on the reverse (Pl. V. fig. 96); and since his time no further contributions have been made to the history of Richard's Irish coins, except the engravings of a few which will be noticed hereafter.

Simon describes the Roll 1 Ric. III., Anno 1483, as being "partly destroyed by time or vermin;" and as I had reason to suspect that he had printed "troy-weight of London," instead of Tower-weight, I went to the Record Office, Dublin, to inspect the original Roll from which he made his abstract, and my suspicion was confirmed by finding the words, "pois de la Tour de London."

The heading of the Roll is in Latin, and the text in Norman-French. In one margin there are many semi-circular gaps, apparently caused by the gnawing of rats

or mice when the roll was closely tied up, and not by damp. Otherwise it is in sufficiently good preservation, but the writing is pale.

In the Record Office there are several folio volumes of translations of the Irish Rolls made in the first quarter of the present century for the use of the Irish Record Commission. I obtained the translation of the Roll (1 Ric. III.), and finding it to be more complete than I expected, I was courteously permitted to copy so much of it as relates to the coinage. The defective portions are indicated in the translation by brackets, within which are words supplied by the official translator with the aid of the context; and I satisfied myself that the translation is correct in all essential particulars.

Simon's abstract is generally correct, but it is too brief; and as he overlooked some important matter, it is necessary to publish *in extenso* the only record of Richard's coinage which exists in Ireland.

Richard succeeded to the throne on the 26th of June, 1483, and was crowned on the 6th of July. He was prompt in attending to the coinage, as appears by a writ dated the 17th of that month, he "appointed Robert Blackenbury, Esq., master worker of the money in the Tower, realm of England, town of Calais, and marches of the same,"<sup>1</sup> and on the day following a "Proclamation touching the Irish Coinage," was issued for the instruction of the authorities in Ireland.

PROCLAMATION TOUCHING THE IRISH COINAGE.

[MS. Harl. 433, f. 233.]

BY THE KING,—

[A.D. 1483, 18th July.] Right trusty and welbeloved, we

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<sup>1</sup> Ruding, vol. i. p. 291, third edition.

grete you wele, and woll and charge you that under oure prive seale, being in your warde, ye make our letters in forme following :—

Forsomoche as we doubt not but afore this tyme ye have herd and understande of the grete clamor, grugge, and complaints which our liege people of this our reyalme have made, of and upon the coigne of silver, made in our lande of Irelande, for discording both in weight and in alloy frome the coigne of sylver of this our reyalme, and the which for lak of expresse difference that shuld have be graved upon the same, hath be ignorantly received here within this our royalme, in stede of suche substantiveall coigne as is by good auctorite coigned within the same, to the universall losse and hurt of all thoo to whose handes it hath comyn in wey of payment. Which inconvenience, by subtyll and crafty meanes of coveties persons, as wele bringing out of this our royalme sylver bullion in grete quantite to our mynte of Ireland, as ther forging and streking of the same unto the said deceavable prynte, daily encreseth more and more, and is like to bring this our royalme, by process of tyme, to extreme poverte and desolacion, enlesse that then other due provision be had thereupon in all hast. We therefore woll and charge you, and everie of you, as to him it shall or may apperteigne in the straytest wise, that incontynent upon the rescept of these our lettres ye see and provide that on either side of every pece of sylver to be coigned hereafter within our said land of Ireland, ther be prynted and set in the mydell thereof a clere and expresse difference fro that sylver that is coigned here within this our royalme, that is to say, on the one side the armes of England, and on the other side ij corones; damning and utterly distroying all the stamps and irons, as touching the graving that is in them, wherwith the sylver coignes of that our land hath hiderto be made and stryken at any place or tyme; revoking also and utterly setting aside all maner power of coynng in any place within the same our lande, except our cite of Dyvelyn and our cite of Waterforde, upon payne of forfaitur of all that shall happen to be coigned elleswhere within our said land, or otherwise, then is afore expressed, unto the tyme we have otherwise ordeigned in this behalve. And that ye certifie us and our counsaill, by writing from you in all spede possible, how ye shall have put you in devoir touching the premisses; not failling herein as ye love and tendre the honnour, wele, and profite of us and of alle our subgettes. Yoven the xvijth day of Juylle, the first yere of our reigne.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See "Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of

This document, the existence of which was unknown to me when I entered on the investigation of Richard's Irish coinage, is important, as its date is eight months previous to the first meeting of the Irish Parliament in March, 1483, O.S.; and it will serve in some degree to remove the obscurity in Simon's abstract from the Roll of 1483, in which he says, "All that can be gathered from it relating to coin is, that the coin struck within the Castle of Dublin, or elsewhere in Ireland, by the king's officers according to the print described (which cannot be read), shall pass and be current among all the subjects."<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Lindsay also was unable to understand (from Simon's account) the Act, which in his opinion "is evidently composed of parts of two Acts, and relate to coin of very different description."<sup>4</sup>

There is also a document from which I have copied only the following items "concernyng the mynte of Ireland."

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.

[MS. Harl. 433, f. 242.]

[A.D. 1483, August.] INSTRUCCIONS yeven by the King our soverayn lord to his trusty welbeloved maister William Lacy, sent from his highness unto his saide lande in Irland.

Item, the said maister William shall have with him a lettre undre the kinges prive seall concernyng the mynte of Irlande, the whiche lettre is directe unto the lordes of the counsaile there, and he shal ensiste that in al possible hast the content of that lettre be put in execucion.

Item, to appoynt officers besides the maister of the mynte,

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Richard III. and Henry VII." (edited by James Gairdner). Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, 8vo, 1863, vol. ii., Appendix B, page 286.

<sup>3</sup> Simon, Appendix, No. xviii. *cap.* 7.

<sup>4</sup> Lindsay's "View of the Coinage of Ireland," Cork, 4to, 1839, p. 47.

with the advise of the kinges counsaill, as shal finde sufficient suerte for the said office, that is to say, wardeyn and comptroller, &c., of the said mynt.

Item, the said maister William shall have with him a copy of the last indentur and therupon commune with the said erle by protestacion that nothing shalbe takyn for concluded in that matier without the kinges especiall advise and assent, soo and in suche wise that the mater of the said endenture may be wele ripe afore. And as for any certain terme to be assigned therin, the king woll that it be for one yere, to begynne the first day of Octobre next to comme, and so furthre at the kinges pleasure, the charges and emolymentes to be borne and perceyved rately for suche a tyme above the said yere according to the said indenture.<sup>5</sup>

OFFICIAL TRANSLATION FROM THE ROLL, 1 RIC. III., 1483.

At a Parliament held at Dublin on the Friday next after the feast of St. Patrick [17 March, O.S.], in the first year of Richard III., before Gerald Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy. Adjourned to Naas to the Monday next after the feast of [the decollation] of St. John the Baptist [29th August].

*Cap. 7.*—Also at the request of the Commons. For that whereas the King's coin is to be made and coined in his land of Ireland, as well by command [of the King as by ordinance] of Parliament established and ordained, under a certain impression and form different from the impression of his coin of his King [dom of England, having] the arms of England on the one side with a cross trefoil at each end, and three crowns on the other side with a [cross trefoil at each end], as is more fully specified in the said command, act and ordinance, to the intent that it should remain and rest within [the said land for the benefit] and good of his subjects in the same. In consideration thereof, it is ordained enacted and established by authority of this Parliament, that [the King's coin] in the Castle of Dublin and elsewhere in any other place, that shall be legally appointed to be made and worked by the legal officers or [any of them] under this stamp, shall be taken and passed among all the King's subjects, and by the same authority it is ordained and established [that if any] person or persons of whatever degree or condition he or they be refuse, or shall be found refusing to take in payment [the said coin] legally made, and to be made and coined in the aforesaid form in any manner of city town

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<sup>5</sup> "Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.," 1863, vol. i. p. 45.

or market-place or elsewhere in this land [of Ireland], he shall lose for the value of every halfpenny of the said money so refused twelve pence, one moiety to the King and the other moiety to the party who will s[ue for the] same, and if it shall happen that any manner of person of the said persons shall be found or proved refusing the said coin for payment as is aforesaid, in any of the said cities or townes, that then the said penalties and forfeitures of every twelve pence in form aforesaid shall be received and levied, one moiety thereof to the King, and the other moiety for murage and pavage of that city or town where any such offence or offences shall happen to be committed, and the body or bodies of every of them so found offending shall be arrested and put into custody and prison, there to remain without bail or mainprise, until the said penalties and every part of them shall be lawfully contented and paid, or agreement made for the same, and that by the same authority if any manner of person or persons of the inhabitants or citizens or burgesses in any of the cities or towns of Waterford, Wexford, Ross, Kilkenny, Dungarvan, Youghall, Cork, Kynsale, Kilmallock, Limerick, Galway, Athenry, and elsewhere in these parts of this land, in the aforesaid form shall be found or duly by credible witnesses proved refusing the said lawful money, that they or he of those who shall be found thus offending shall forfeit or lose [the sum of] twenty pounds, to be levied and received of all their goods and chattels wheresoever they be found, one moiety to the King, and the other moiety [to such] as sue or will sue for the same on behalf of the King or on his and their behalf, and if shall happen that any of the said [persons] and inhabitants or citizens or burgesses of any of the said cities or towns for the time being, shall resist this present act and ordinance, or refuse and will not suffer the said lawful coin in form as it is ordained in payment and currency amongst them, that upon due proof thereof made by due examination and sufficient credible witnesses before the King in his Chancery in Ireland, that such citizens and burgesses of them who shall thus be proved [offending] shall forfeit and lose their franchise, until they shall have made fine to the King for such contempts [at the will and] discretion of the said court, and that by the same authority it is ordained that this act and ordinance shall not extend in any manner [in prejudice] to the citizens of Dublin, nor to the burgesses of the town of Drogheda.

*Cap. 8.*—Also at the request of the Commons. For that whereas the public good of this land now of late within these three years passed has been grievously [injured, inasmuch] as the King's mint heretofore had and used in this land for the forging

and striking of silver, the current money then ordained [for the] common profit of the King's liege people in the same, hath been for the space and time aforesaid surceased and not exercised in the land, by which all manner [of strangers] as Portuguese, Spaniards, Brittons, people of France, and Flemings, frequenting these parts in course of trade who [used] to bring as well the silver coin used in their parts as other bullion to be stricken in the King's mint here, and substituting therewith their exchanges in merchandize by which the common profit of this land was greatly increased, and especially in regard to the current money of this [land] conveniently had, and current money among them the faithful liegemen of the King in the same, and whereas by the stoppage of the said mint and restriction of the bringing of such money and bullion by the said strangers during the aforesaid time, such dearth and failure of the King's coin and money, and in the currency aforesaid has and does happen among the common people in the same, that it cannot now be had either for buying or selling in markets for exchange, now without great losses for exchange to pay small parcels to servants, labourers, or artificers, whereby divers and many of the King's liegemen have gone hence, and daily do depart this land and leave their habitations desolate and waste, and whereas the inconvenience and injury of the public good is, nor can it in any thing be remedied by the order of that kind of mint which was sent out of England, and limited to the weight of thirty-seven shillings and sixpence to every pound weight of the Tower of London to be so used in this land,<sup>6</sup> and the causes whereof more fully appear by a certain ordinance of late made in the great council lately holden in this land before the said Parliament, and whereas for this cause as also for the reformation thereof by virtue of the said ordinance, it is established and ordained that the weight of every such pound shall be stricken and [coined] into the number of four hundred and fifty<sup>7</sup> pieces which are thirty pieces in every ounce, and every such piece to be current and taken among the [liege] people for two pence, still the said inconvenience is not fully remedied nor the public good in anything increased thereby, [because that no] manner of bullion brought to the said mint in cups, spoons, and other silver worked in goldsmith's work could be received [to be] coined according to the said ordinance without that the bringer of the said bullion was put to very great losses to stand the refining thereof, [and further that the] tranquillity and good of

<sup>6</sup> From the word land the following eighteen lines to parliament are omitted in Simon's abstract.

<sup>7</sup> In the Roll, 450 is expressed in Roman numerals.

the common people, still by virtue of the said ordinance is nothing increased but diminished, that in consideration [of the] inconveniences aforesaid by authority of this said Parliament it is ordained, enacted, and established that it shall be lawful for the master or masters of the [mint for the] King's coinage in this land for the time being to forge, strike, stamp, coin, caused to be forged, stricken, coined and stamped for the [benefit of the] people, and increase as well of the public good four kinds of silver or monies, to wit, groats, half-groats, pence, halfpence [in the same] manner as well as in every such place and places as it is ordained to be stamped by the statute in this matter made in the Parliament late [holden] on the Monday next after the feast of St. Katherine the virgin, in the tenth year of the reign of King Edward the fourth late King of England, [and by the same] authority that the said four kinds of coins so to be forged, stamped, and coined, shall be forged, stamped, and coined, and of the fineness in [and of] such assay with all such manner of remedies in the weight of every twenty shillings thereof, for the master or masters aforesaid, the forging, stamping, [coining], and workmen thereof, as by the statute, act, and ordinance in a parliament of the said late King, holden at Dublin in the twelfth year of his reign, was [enacted] to be used for the right standard of the groat, half-groat, penny, and halfpenny of the coin then ordained and called the groat, half-groat, [penny and] halfpenny of the coin of the Doubles, as under the stamp lately sent out of England by the command of our sovereign lord the King is [made], used, and stricken for the said coin and money, and the same so to be uttered, received, and passed current among his subjects of this land, different from the stamps of his coin of his kingdom of England, to wit, the groats, half-groats, the pence, the half-pence, according to the said command to have on one side the arms of England with a cross trefoil on each end with inscription "Ricardus dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Dominus Hiberniæ," and on the other side of the same three crowns one above the other with a cross trefoil in each end bearing in the circumference of the same the name of the place where in the aforesaid form it shall be legally forged, stricken, and coined, of which groats in form as it is aforesaid specified to be made and coined two hundred and twenty-five pieces with the remedies aforesaid shall make the pound of Troy weight, and every of them not cut nor clipped by the same authority shall be taken and shall pass among all the King's subjects through and in all this land at and in the value of four pence, and the half-groat by the same authority shall be made with like manner of stamp as is before specified of the said groats, with

the same inscription, or as far as it can be comprehended in the same, according to the discretion of the said master or masters or gravers of the said coins, of which half-groats four hundred and fifty pieces shall make the pound of T[roy] weight, with the remedies aforesaid, and every such piece of them not cut nor clipped, by the same authority shall be taken, and shall pass among all the King's [subjects] through and in all the land at and in the value of two pence, and the penny by the same authority shall be made in similar stamps with the said half [groats with] the same inscription as far as can be contained in them according to the discretions of the master or masters and gravers aforesaid, and of which pence [900 pieces] shall make the pound of Troy weight with the remedies aforesaid, and every of these not cut nor clipped, by the same authority shall be taken [and shall pass among] all the King's subjects of this land at and in the value of one penny, and the halfpenny by the same authority shall be made in like [manner] of the said pence with the same inscription as far as can be contained in them according to the discretions of the said master or masters and gravers, of which halfpence eighteen hundred pieces shall make the pound of Troy weight, with the remedies aforesaid, and for the tranquillity of the common people it is ordained [and enacted by] the [same] authority to strike at least the fifth part thereof and of every such pound into small pieces, to wit, half-groats, pence, and halfpence, and also by the [same] authority it shall be lawful for the said master or masters in the presence of the comptroller or comptrollers of the King's mint or the deputy or de[puties] of any of them for the time being, to receive their stuff and all lawful bullion brought to the same mint in cups, spoons, and other work of [silver] for the tranquillity of the common people, which shall be understood of the fineness of the said standard of the Doubles, and the same to forge, strike, and coin, or cause to be forged, stri[ck]en, and coined] in manner and form aforesaid, and the bringer and merchants shall have for every ounce of their bullion and silver out of the mint four shillings and sixpence, and the master and [masters] twopence, and the residue of every ounce shall be reserved, perceived, and received by the King, and that by the same authority it shall be lawful for the governor of this land for the time being under his attestation as often as it is requisite, to direct the King's gracious writs to such person or persons who may know how to engrave dies for the stamps of the aforesaid money, commanding them or him to execute the King's command in this behalf directed, and that every such writs or writ by the same authority shall be adjudged a lawful authority and discharge in law for the sculpture of the same, and by the

same authority all and every manner of pieces of silver and sums of money which have been forged, stricken, and coined, and the sculpture of the same stamps by the master or masters gravers and workmen aforesaid, or any of them at any time from the first day of January last past to the day of the making of this present act and ordinance in groats, half-groats, pence, and halfpence, in and of the fineness of the standard of the money aforesaid, shall be adjudged good and sufficient in law, and that all and every manner of indictments in any of the King's courts or before any of his officers or ministers, as well against any of the said masters or gravers as also against any of the said workmen, bringers of the bullion to any of the King's mints, or any officers or officer employing themselves in the said ways, [or] the utterers of the said money for this cause and occasion in any manner had, and all and every manner of writs, processes, exigents, and outlawries against any manner of the said persons on this account made pronounced, or had by the same authority, shall be adjudged void and of no effect in law.

*Cap. 9.*—Also at the request of the Commons. For that in consideration of the great and chargeable costs and expenses which the good Lord Gerot [Earl] of Kildare, Deputy Lieutenant of Ireland, and daily trouble which he has in defence of the King's subjects against the Irish E[nemies] and the rebels, it is ordained, enacted, and established by authority of this Parliament, that it shall be lawful for the said deputy during the time which he has h[ad or] so shall have the government of this land daily and annually to take, perceive, and receive the issues, profits, and revenues [daily] and annually coming from the King's mint or mints, used or to be used in this land of Ireland by the h[ands] of the master or masters of the said mint or mints for the time being, or any other manner of officer or officers of the [mints] for the time being, and that by the same authority all and every manner of acquittances made and to be made and delivered by [the said] Earl, under his signet or seal of arms, to any of the said master or masters, officer or officers, aforesaid, and for every several parcel or full receipt in their and for every of their acquittal and discharge of the said issues, profits, and revenues perceived [and] received, and to be perceived and received in form aforesaid, of the same shall be adjudged good and effectual in law, and that by the same authority all such his acquittances thereof severally to every of the said master or masters, officer or officers, so made and delivered shall be adjudged and allowed for every of them a lawful and full discharge of the debt thereof, and of all manner of accounts to be had thereof, and also in every of the King's

courts against the King, his officers and ministers, according to the purport and tenor of all such acquittances, any manner of thing in any manner to the contrary had, and to be made and had notwithstanding.

*Cap. 13.*—Also at the request of the Commons. For that whereas there is daily made much counterfeit and false money and coin, without lawful authority, as well by Germyn Lynch, late coiner in and very near the purlieus of Waterford, as by divers Irish kerds,<sup>6</sup> in those parts and elsewhere in this land, and by divers persons of their affinity uttered among the King's liegemen and subjects within his land contrary to the King's laws, and in deceit and very mischievous injury to the public good of this land. Whereupon the premisses being considered. It is ordained, enacted, and established by authority of this Parliament, that it shall be lawful for every of the King's subjects that shall see or find such false and counterfeit money with any manner of person, or any such to be uttered in payment among or to any of the King's subjects or liegemen, to break it and to deliver it to the possessor back again, and that all and every manner of letters patent, gifts, grants, and all and every manner of Acts and Statutes of Parliament heretofore in any manner made to and for the said Germyn of and concerning the office of master of the King's mints or mint in Ireland be by authority of this present Parliament revoked, repealed, and annulled, and adjudged void and of no effect in law, and that by the same authority every manner of lord, gentleman, and other persons who from henceforward shall suffer or be found and lawfully proved abetting [to] the said Germyn or any manner of kerd without any lawful authority to strike and make such counterfeit coin and false money shall be ad[judged in] law as principal maker or makers of the same, and shall be adjudged in such execution as the law directs should be executed against them and every of them for the same.

*Cap. 23.*—Also at the request of the Commons. For that whereas James Collynge Clerk has counterfeited the great seal of our sovereign Lord the King of his land of Ireland, and by the same has given the King's letters patent and pardon under the said counterfeited seal to one Geoffrey Arthur, by the name of the same Geoffrey Arthur, Treasurer of the Cathedral of Lymerick. All letters under such seal declared to be void, and Collynge to be outlawed if he did not appear before the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland.

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<sup>6</sup> In Irish *cepd*, a workman, a tinker.

The first type of Richard's coins is the one with VILLA DROGHEDA on the reverse.

## FIRST COINAGE.

## GROATS.

1. *Obv.*—King's head crowned, a small sun at the right side of the crown and left side of the King's neck, a small rose at the left of the crown and right of the neck, surrounded by a tressure of nine double arches within a beaded circle. Mint mark, a rose. Legend, RICHARDVS × DEI GRATIA DROGHEDA.

RICH punched over the letters EDWIC, the outlines of which are visible.

This coin was struck from an altered die of Edward IV.; its type corresponds in every particular with Edward's Drogheda groat, engraved in Smith's Irish coins of that king, Pl. II. fig. 29, published in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, 4to, vol. xix. 1840.

This coin is of so much importance in the present inquiry I may relate how it came to my knowledge. It was as a duplicate in the cabinet of James D. Cuff, Esq., and passed in exchange to the Rev. J. W. Martin, who sent it to me for my opinion as to its genuineness, when I at once detected the alteration of the die. At the sale of Mr. Martin's coins it was purchased by the Rev. Henry Christmas, by whom it was presented to me in 1859, and now it rests in the Royal Irish Academy.

*Rev.*—In the centre a large rose surmounting a plain cross the arms of which extend to the outer circle. Legend | a rose POSVI | DEI GRATIA | DIVTOR | EDWIC | , in the inner circle | VILLA DROGHEDA | . Weight 30 grains.

Two groats from the same dies as No. 1 are in the cabinet of William Gillespie, Esq., Dublin.

2. *Obv.*—Same as No. 1 except that the termination of the legend is  $\eta\text{YB}$ , instead of  $\eta\text{YB}\Theta$ .

*Rev.*—Same as No. 1. Weight 28·8 grains.<sup>9</sup>

This coin is engraved in Lindsay's "View of the Coinage of Ireland," Pl. VI. fig. 131.

3. *Obv.*—Mint mark, a rose. Legend,  $\text{RIC}\text{A}\text{R}\text{D}\text{U}\text{S}\ \text{d}\Theta\text{I}\ \times\ \text{G}\text{R}\text{T}\ \times\ \text{D}\text{N}\text{S}\ \times\ \eta\text{YB}\Theta$ . Small rose at right side of the crown and left side of the neck, small sun at left of the crown and right of the neck.

*Rev.*—Legend | a rose  $\text{P}\text{O}\text{S}\text{V}\text{I}$  |  $\text{d}\Theta\text{V}\Omega\alpha$  | diutor |  $\text{e}\ \times\ \Omega\Theta\text{V}\Omega$  |, in inner circle |  $\text{V}\text{I}\text{L}\text{L}$  |  $\text{K}\ \times\ \text{D}\text{R}$  |  $\text{O}\text{G}\eta$  |  $\Theta\text{D}\text{K}$  |. Weight 31 grains.<sup>10</sup>

This coin differs from Nos. 1 and 2 in the position of the small suns and roses on the obverse, and in this variety of type it corresponds with the Drogheda groat of Edward IV.,<sup>11</sup> and on the reverse it has  $\Omega\Theta\text{V}\Omega$ , instead of  $\Omega\Theta\text{V}$ , at the end of the legend in the outer circle.

#### PENNY.

*Obv.*—King's head within a beaded circle, suns and roses as on the groat No. 1, no tressure. Mint mark, a rose. Legend,  $\text{RIC}\text{A}\text{R}\ \text{d}\text{N}\text{S}\ +\ \eta\text{YB}\Theta\text{R}$ .

*Rev.*—In the centre a large rose within a beaded circle surmounting a cross. Legend, |  $\text{V}\text{I}\text{L}\text{L}$  |  $\text{K}\text{D}\text{R}$  |  $\text{O}\text{G}\eta$  |  $\text{e}\text{d}\alpha$  |. Weight 5·2 grains.<sup>12</sup>

Similar to the penny in Snelling's Supplement to Simon, published soon after 1760, Pl. I. fig. 27, which was republished by Ruding, Supplement, part ii., Pl. IV. fig. 20. In the description of the plate, vol. ii. p. 387, the weight of the penny is stated to be eight and a half grains.

<sup>9</sup> R. I. Academy.

<sup>10</sup> George Coffey, Esq., Dublin.

<sup>11</sup> Smith, Pl. II. fig. 30.

<sup>12</sup> R. I. Academy.

As there is not in the preceding records any mention of Drogheda as a mint, or of the type of the groats struck from three different dies, it is necessary to investigate the circumstances under which those coins were issued.

The proclamation issued the 18th of July, 1483, within one month after Richard's accession, appears to be addressed to the King's Council in Ireland. It mentions the defect "both in weight and in allay" of the Irish coins, and charges the Council immediately on receipt of the proclamation to provide that the money to be coined in Ireland shall have "a clere and express difference," from the English money; the new coin to have on one side the arms of England, and on the other side three crowns, and "all the stamps and irons" previously employed in Ireland to be utterly destroyed. No money to be coined except in Dublin and Waterford, and finally "that ye certifie us and our counsail," by writing in all speed possible, what had been done "touching the premisses."

In the instructions given to William Lacy, in the month after the issue of the proclamation, he was to insist that a letter under the King's privy seal, which he was to deliver to the Council, concerning a new mint in Ireland, should be put in execution "in al possible haste." He was also to have "a copy of the last indenture," and thereupon to commune with the Lord Deputy "by protestation" that nothing concerning it should be done without the King's assent. The indenture to be in operation from the first of October next for one year, and further at the King's pleasure, all charges and emoluments to be according to said indenture.

Those documents show that the King was very desirous to establish a new mint in Ireland, and at the same time

to maintain his prerogative that nothing should be done without his assent.

The Drogheda groat struck from the altered die of Edward is very important, because it establishes the fact that the authorities in Ireland were in haste to issue new money which should differ clearly from the English money, and so far they put in execution the King's commands; it also proves that they did not, at that time, adopt the type with the arms of England on one side, and on the other three crowns, and that they disregarded the injunction to utterly destroy the stamps and irons previously employed in the Irish mints, and also not to coin money except in Dublin or Waterford. They not only coined money immediately at Drogheda, but continued to do so for some time, as appears from the groats Nos. 2 and 3, and the penny, which were struck from new dies. It is evident from these facts that the authorities in Ireland disregarded the letter under the King's privy seal, the contents of which Lacy was instructed to insist should be put into execution with all possible haste. This extraordinary defiance of the King's authority can only be accounted for by attributing it to the influence exercised by the Lord Deputy.

The Earls of Kildare for a long period possessed great power and authority in Ireland. In the reign of Edward IV. the seventh Earl of Kildare "summoned a Parliament in defiance of an explicit prohibition from the King, and that Parliament had passed Acts and levied a subsidy. His son, the eighth earl, succeeded him as Lord Deputy in the latter years of Edward IV., and was continued in it by Richard III." This same earl when summoned by Henry VII. to appear before him on a certain day, demanded "written assurances under the seals of the

King and some of the nobles for his security while in England." On another occasion when "Henry summoned him to England, he took no notice of the letter for ten months, and at last sent an excuse backed by the lords of the Irish Parliament, stating that his presence was so essential to the peace of the country that he could not be spared." "The story, whether true or not, of his burning Cashel Cathedral, and pleading, when called to answer before the Council, that he had only done it because the archbishop was inside, gives us a notion of utter irresponsibility, which is borne out by the most authentic documents."<sup>13</sup>

The Lord Deputy from time to time was invested with authority over the mint in Ireland. In 1467, when the double groats were coined, it was enacted "that the halfpence and farthings may be alloyed at the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant or Lord Deputy."<sup>14</sup> In 1477 Edward granted at Westminster to Henry, Lord Grey, Lord Deputy, "the offices of seneschal and treasurer of Meath, during the life of the said Henry, which was confirmed by the Irish Act, 18 Edward IV. By this Act the said Henry, by himself or his officers, may for the future strike and coin all manner of coins of silver within the Castle of Trym, according to such fineness and alloy, as in the Statute for that purpose is provided."<sup>15</sup>

In 1479, Gerald, Earl of Kildare, succeeded Henry, Lord Grey, as Lord Deputy, and that he exercised authority over the mint is evident by the small shield bearing a saltire, the arms of the Earl, at each side of the large

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<sup>13</sup> Letters and Papers of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII., vol. i., 8vo, Preface, pp. 31, 32.

<sup>14</sup> Smith, "Coins of Edward IV.," p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Simon, Appendix, No. xvi.

shield with the royal arms, on the three crown groats and half-groats of Edward IV.<sup>16</sup> The Lord Deputy's arms are in like manner on a groat of Henry VII.<sup>17</sup>

Any doubt arising from the preceding account of the Lord Deputy's authority over the Irish mints is entirely removed by cap. 9, 1 Ric. III., from which it appears, the King finding that he could not control his Lord Deputy or dispense with his services, conferred on "the good Lord Gerot, Earl of Kildare," during his term of office, unlimited power over the mints and officers of the mint in Ireland, in consideration of the costs and trouble he had in defending the King's subjects against the Irish rebels, and vested in the Earl all the profits and revenues arising daily and annually from the mints.

Further provisions in favour of the Lord Deputy are made in cap. 13, 1 Ric. III. Germyn Lynch, late master of the mint, and divers other persons are charged with having made much counterfeit and false money, and it enacts that the King's subjects, when in the course of trade they meet with false money, may break it and return it to the owner. It also revokes all letters patent, &c., granted to Lynch and declares them to be void, and that any lord, gentleman, or other person who shall be found abetting Lynch or kerds to make false money, shall in law be dealt with as principals.

The only other matter for consideration is the type of Edward's Drogheda groat, which was selected for the first coinage after Richard's accession. This type was expressly different from the English coins, and had on the reverse a large rose, the badge of the house of York. Every other type with Edward's head had the York rose

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<sup>16</sup> Smith, Pl. IV. figs. 82 to 85, and 92.

<sup>17</sup> Smith, "Irish Coins of Henry VII.," Pl. II. fig. 20.

associated with a large sun, the special badge of Edward, or a cross and pellets on the reverse like the English coins.

No record is known relating to Edward's Drogheda groats, but from their type and weight they seem to have been coined after the double groats of 1467, and before the introduction of the English type in 1470. The full weight of the single groat coined in 1467 was  $22\frac{1}{2}$  grains, and that of 1470 was 43·6 grains.

The preamble of the 10 Edw. IV. attributes the impoverished condition of the people and the dearness of provisions to the coinage of 1467.<sup>18</sup>

It seems that when the Drogheda type was coined the standard weight of the groat was raised from  $22\frac{1}{2}$  as it was in 1467 to at least 30 grains, or in the exact proportion of 4 to 3, with the view of relieving the public distress. The average weight of Edward's Drogheda and Dublin groats of the same type is about 30 grains, which accords with the weight of Richard's first coinage, and also of the second coinage to be presently described.

## SECOND COINAGE.

### GROATS.

1. *Obv.*—Arms of England on a large shield with a beaded border, surmounting a cross trefoil, within a beaded circle. Legend | RIQTR | DORAX | TRGLI | franc |

*Rev.*—Three crowns, the arms of Ireland in pale, within a beaded circle, surmounting a cross. Legend | doMI | RVS : | hYBθR | RIθ a rose | . Wt. 30·3 grains.

2. *Obv.*— | RIQTR | D<sup>x</sup> RθX | TRGLI | FRTRQ |

*Rev.*—DOMI : | RVS<sup>x</sup> | hYBθ | rnIθ | . Wt. 29·5 grs.

<sup>18</sup> Simon, Appendix, No. x.

3. *Obv.*—RICT | R<sup>×</sup> REX | ΠΩΓΛΙ | FRΠΩΩ |

*Rev.*—DOSMI : | NVS<sup>×</sup> ηYBΩ | rnΩΩ | . Weight 28·8 grs.

These three varieties are in the Royal Irish Academy. The type is engraved in Simon, Pl. V. fig. 96, and in Lindsay, Pl. VI. fig. 130. No. 3 is engraved in Sainthill's *Olla Podrida*, vol. i., Pl. XIII. fig. 5.

Those coins have on "one side the armes of England, and on the other side iij crowns," the type mentioned in the Proclamation of July 18th, 1483, in addition to which they have the King's name and titles, as ordered in the Act for the new coinage, but they do not bear "in the circumference of the" reverse the name of the place where they were coined (see p. 317).

The tenor of the entire Act shows that the King was determined to have a new coinage in accordance with his express commands, and to put an end to the frauds and abuses which existed in the mint and elsewhere.

Cap. 7, which is only a preamble, ignores all previous coinages by stating "that whereas the King's coin is to be made and coined in Ireland," by command of the King, and by ordinance of Parliament, "as is more fully specified in the said command and ordinance" in cap. 8, and imposes very heavy penalties for refusing the said coin.

Cap. 8 describes the general distress in Ireland, "within these three years passed," and attributes to the stoppage of the King's mint, and to the restraint on foreigners bringing bullion to the mint, the "dearth and failure of the King's coin" among the common people, and also that the public good could not be remedied by "that kind of mint (*i.e.* money) which was sent out of England and limited to the weight of thirty-seven shillings and sixpence to every pound weight of the

Tower<sup>19</sup> of London," as appears from an ordinance of the great Council lately holden in Ireland.

The type of these coins with the arms of England on one side and three crowns on the other side is first mentioned in the proclamation of July 18th, 1483, which forbids any money to be coined except in the cities of Dublin and Waterford, and in the instructions to Lacy in the following month he was to insist that a master of the mint and other officers should be appointed. The copy of the indenture which Lacy brought with him probably contained full instructions for establishing the new mint, which was "to begynne the first of October next to come."

It seems that the Council in Ireland did establish a mint in Dublin, and that the three-crown groats were issued before the meeting of Richard's first Parliament in Ireland, the 17th of March, 1483, O.S.

The portion of the Roll now first published shows that the groat was to weigh 30 grains, which corresponds with the weight of the existing coins and also with the Drogheda groats, and that these were the coinages which failed to increase and did not diminish the tranquillity and good of the common people.

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<sup>19</sup> The words in Simon's abstract are "Troy-weight of London," and in the line following "(the rest of the preamble is destroyed)," Appendix, No. xviii. But, as already stated, the actual words are "pois de la Tour de London." The words "of London" in Simon prove that he had read the Roll, and his clerical error of Troy-weight was probably suggested by its occurrence in subsequent parts of the Act, which is correct, for when Troy weight is mentioned it is never followed by the words "of London." The next portion of the Act which Simon says "is destroyed" is important, for without the information it supplies the coinage under consideration could not be accounted for.

## THIRD COINAGE.

WATERFORD MINT.

GROAT.



In the year 1858 I obtained this coin, which I believe is the only one known, and it is now in the Royal Irish Academy.

*Obv.*—A shield with plain border bearing the arms of England and France, surmounting a “cross trefoil,” within a tressure of four single arches, outside which is a beaded circle, and in the circumference the legend RICAR | DVS Dei | gRPI | TRRX |

*Rev.*—Three broad flat crowns “one above the other” surmounting a cross trefoil, within a tressure of eight double arches, outside which is a beaded circle, and in the circumference the legend CIVI | WPI | TOOR | FOORD | . Weight 22·2 grains.

## PENNY.

Snelling in his Supplement to Simon published a Waterford penny of Richard, which is reproduced in Lindsay, Pl. VI. fig. 132. The type is the King’s head on obverse, cross and pellets with an open quatrefoil in the centre on the reverse; it is similar to the Waterford penny of Edward IV. in Smith, Pl. IV. fig. 73.

So much of the Act as has been considered is only a preamble to the ordinance for a new coinage to be made according to the statute passed 10 Edward IV., and of the standard to be the same as the double of 1467, with

the same remedies as are ordained by the 12 Edward IV., "under the stamp lately sent out of England" by the King's command. This new coin to have on one side the arms of England with a cross trefoil, and the inscription, "Ricardus dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Dominus Hiberniæ," and on the other side three crowns one above the other, with a cross trefoil, and in the circumference the name of the place of mintage; 225 groats to make the pound Troy in weight, and each to pass for fourpence, a fifth part of the pound to be coined into small pieces.

Bullion of the standard of the double of 1467 to be received at the mint.

One pound weight of the new coin was current by tale for £3 15s., or 6s. 3d. an ounce. The merchant in return for one ounce of bullion received from the mint 4s. 6d. in coin, the mint master was allowed 2d., and the King had a profit of 1s. 7d.

The Lord Deputy had authority to issue writs to persons to engrave dies for the new coin, and all coin made since the 1st of January last past of due fineness was to be good in law, and all indictments against persons who held writs from the Lord Deputy were to be void and of no effect in law.

This is the only coin of the three-crown type which has the place of mintage "in the circumference" on the side with the three crowns, as directed by the ordinance for the new coin, but the legend on the obverse is not in accordance with the specification, as the words "Angliæ et Dominus Hiberniæ" are omitted. It was not possible to place such a long legend on the die, and the mint master took advantage of the discretion which he was permitted to exercise in making the half-groats "with the

same inscription, or as far as it can be comprehended." The broad flat crowns are peculiar and very different from the crowns on the second coinage, from which it also differs in having a tressure of four single arches round the shield, and a tressure of eight double arches round the crowns. The name of the mint, "Wattoorfoord," is remarkable, because the groats of Edward IV. and Henry VII. always have Waterford. The full weight of the new groat, made according to the standard of 1467,<sup>20</sup> should be 22·5 grains, and this Waterford groat, which appears to be of good silver, weighs 22·2 grains.

Ruding mentions Trim as a mint of Richard, but does not give any authority.<sup>21</sup>

Cap. 9.—The King knowing that he could not control his Lord Deputy or dispense with his services, adopted a policy of conciliation, and in consideration of the great expense and trouble of the Lord Deputy in defending the King's subjects against the Irish rebels, he granted to "the good Lord Gerot, Earl of Kildare," all the profits arising from the mints in Ireland, as well as absolute control over the master of the mint and all other officers; and in order to put an end to the issuing of counterfeit money by Germyn Lynch, master of the mint for many years, and by divers Irish kerds or tinkers, it is ordained by cap. 13 that every one of the King's subjects who should in the course of business meet with any false money might break it and return it to the owner, and that all letters patent and grants by Germyn Lynch were "revoked, repealed, and annulled" in law, and that every lord, gentleman, or other person found abetting the said

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<sup>20</sup> Simon, Appendix, No. ix., and page 317 *ante*.

<sup>21</sup> Ruding, vol. i. p. 293.

Lynch or any kerd to make money without lawful authority, shall be dealt with as principal offenders and be punished according to law.

Cap. 20 was overlooked by Simon when he made his abstract from the Roll. It gives the name of the priest who counterfeited the great seal of Ireland, and gave false letters patent and pardon to the treasurer of the Cathedral of Limerick and to makers of false coins in the south of Ireland, one of whom, John Fannin, in 1472, showed letters patent which were not of record, and were declared to be void.<sup>22</sup>

Soon after I commenced this investigation I was disposed to abandon it altogether on account of the difficulties I experienced ; but after my attention was directed to the proclamation, and subsequently on finding the instructions to Lacy, I was stimulated to pursue the inquiry.

In my attempt to give a more complete account of Richard's Irish coins than Simon was able to render with the knowledge of only one coin, and a somewhat imperfect abstract of the Act of Parliament, I may have failed in some respects, but the putting together authentic documents and describing unpublished coins may enable others to correct the defects in this contribution to the history of the coinage of Ireland.

AQUILLA SMITH.

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<sup>22</sup> Simon, Appendix, No. xii.

## XX.

### MEDALS BY G. M. POMEDELLO.

THE medals of Giovanni Maria Pomedello are always justly admired for their remarkable beauty even among the many excellent works of his contemporaries, and as the number of his known productions is limited, and original specimens are extremely rare, any new discovery of his authorship can hardly fail to be of interest. I am anxious, therefore, to make known a medal in my possession which has not before been traced to him, but which bears upon it his "sigla,"<sup>1</sup> or device, hereafter to be described.

The person represented is Charles V., but before he became Emperor and when he was as yet only King of Spain. Sufficient evidence of this is given by the terms of the legend—KAROLVS . REX . CATOLICVS—with no further title; and as he succeeded to the Spanish crown on the death of Ferdinand in 1516, and did not attain the empire till 1519, the period of the portrait must lie between these two dates. The young King (bust to r.) wears a cap, the order of the Golden Fleece, &c. *Rev.*, VICTORIA. A

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<sup>1</sup> Cicognara says, "Aveva egli in uso di porre una Sigla in quasi tutte le sue medaglie, oltre l'indicar chiaramente il suo nome, e per conseguenza noi abbiamo argomento di credere, che alcune medaglie, cui manca il nome, possano essere per la Sigla esistente opere di lui."—*Stor. della Scultura*, vol. v. p. 407.

winged genius, kneeling on one knee, writes on a shield suspended from an oak-tree; above, an eagle bears a wreath; in the exergue appears the artist's device. The diameter of the piece, which is cast in bronze, is 35 millimètres. The medal is of some importance, as being the first of the long series executed for this monarch, and it is also interesting on the side of the artist, inasmuch as it is probably one of his earliest works, his first dated medal being of the year 1519. It is figured in Van Mieris (vol. ii. p. 49), and is assigned by him to the date 1517, in which year Charles first went to Spain to enter on his sovereignty. The medal, according to Van Mieris, celebrates the victories gained by the troops of Charles over those of Gelderland. The Duke of this province had been almost constantly at war with Maximilian, the grandfather of Charles.

The singular device which alone affords the clue to the authorship of the medal appears to be an apple (*pomello*, *pomedello*) traversed by a monogram, varying slightly in form in different specimens, but which can only be construed into the five letters—Z, V, I, A, and N. As Pomedello appears to have worked much in Venice, it has been plausibly suggested that the combination may mean ZAN or ZVAN, the Venetian pronunciation of the name Giovan. It is, however, quite as likely that it may stand for NANNI, an abbreviation of the same name. In addition to the device and monogram, a small instrument, perhaps a chasing-tool, is to be seen lying on either side. The form of the apple is so unnatural, and the monogram is so obscure, that its ownership could hardly have been traced but for the fact that it is accompanied by Pomedello's full signature in the case of three of his medals, representing (1) a certain Caoussa; (2) Stefano

Magno, a patrician of Venice; and (3) Giovanni Emo, also a Venetian, and "Veronæ Prætor."

M. Armand publishes (*Méd. Ital.*, 1879) eight medals by Pomedello, to which total M. Friedlaender, in the last number of the *Jahrbuch*, has added two, one of these being a small portrait of the artist himself, but unsigned. M. Friedlaender has also been the first to give a plate of the Canossa medal (in the Imperial collection at Vienna), the previous knowledge of which had only been derived from the account of Cicognara. On this piece the device, which always appears on the reverse side, is not accompanied by the chasing-tools.

There is still another medal to be added to the list, the discovery of which was made at the time of the sale of the His de la Salle collection last year—a collection singularly rich in fine specimens by Pomedello. This represents Charles the Fifth's great rival, Francis I. It is figured in the *Trésor de Num. Méd. Fran.*, Pl. VII., 4, having on the reverse a vase containing a salamander in the flames—*NVTRISCO . EXTINGVO*—under which appears the same Pomedello mark, quite distinguishable in the illustration. As Francis is styled King, the medal cannot be earlier than 1515, and as he, like Charles, is represented without hair on the face, it is probably not later than 1521, at which time he is said to have worn a beard to hide the scar of a wound.

Having, then, portrait-medals of these two foreign potentates by a Veronese artist, we are led to inquire how he came to be employed in their execution. There seems to be no trace of Charles having been in Italy before he became Emperor, so that we must conclude that Pomedello was engaged at his court either in the Netherlands or in Spain. If so, he probably produced

other medals of distinguished persons at the same time and place. On page 46 of the same volume, and under the same date, Van Mieris gives another larger medal of Charles with the same legend, having on the other side a portrait of Maximilian. This work may not improbably have come from the hand of Pomedello, for it resembles to some extent the Canossa medal, which is the only signed example of Pomedello's reaching the dimensions of a medallion.

It remains to be ascertained whether this portrait of Francis was executed in Italy, or at the French Court.

Taking eleven, then, as the present limit of Pomedello's authenticated works, we find three bearing both his signature and device, four with his signature without the device, and four with the device only, these last being two of Isabella Sessi, a Venetian lady, one of Francis I., and one of Charles V. The medalet of Pomedello himself, without either, must remain for the present in the rank of attributions.

It should be added that some engravings by Pomedello, bearing the date 1534, are signed with the apple and monogram, without the chasing-tools. These engravings, executed later in his life, are said to be far inferior to his medals.

Fig. 1 in the accompanying plate (XIV.) is the medal of Charles V. Figs. 2 and 3, also taken from specimens in the writer's collection, represent Pomedello's larger medal of the Isabella Sessi above-mentioned, and that of Frederick II., fifth Marquis of Mantua. Of this Isabella little is known, but it appears from the legend—*ISABELLA . SESSA . MICHAEL . VENETA*—that she was the wife of one of the Michieli, a distinguished family of Venice. The seated figure, personifying

Fortune, on the reverse, holds in her right hand three large nails, and in the left a horse's bit, her right foot resting on a skull, and her left on a richly ornamented helmet. The treatment of the hair, floating forwards in a tress fastened above the forehead, is exceptional, as also the Greek legend, **ΕΚ ΠΑΛΑΙ ΜΟΙ ΜΗΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΗ**. In the exergue, the "sigla," corresponding to that on the medal of Charles, is plainly distinguishable. The diameter of this fine example is 46 mm.

In the smaller medal (diameter 30 mm.) of the same person, published by Friedlaender (*Taf.* xix. 6), the head is turned to the right, and the **ÆTERNA . FORTVNA** is undraped and standing, but all the peculiarities and accompaniments are repeated. The apple and monogram here appear in the field, instead of in the exergue.

Cicognara speaks of the medal of Isabella as "degnade' primi artisti del secolo," and regards the "figura ignuda" of the reverse as a representation of Temperance. He evidently refers to the larger medal, for though the figure is only partially nude, the legend in the smaller piece shows the personification of Fortune to be intended. "E riscontrarsi," he adds, "in questa la sigla indicata senza che siavi il nome dell' autore; ma non tanto per la cifra come per lo stile sembra doverglisi assegnare senza alcun dubbio." He reserves, however, his highest praise for the medal of Stefano Magno, executed in 1519, which he describes as Pomedello's *chef d'œuvre*, and as being unsurpassed in this branch of art.

The third medal (diameter 40 mm), of which an illustration is given, is that of Frederick II., of Gonzaga, who was born in 1500, and became fifth Marquis of Mantua in 1519. In 1530 he was created Duke of Mantua by Charles V., and he lived till 1540. It is clear, then, from

his title in the legend—FEDERICVS . II . MARCHIO . MANTVAE . V—that the medal was executed between the years 1519 and 1530. The reverse exhibits a temple on the summit of a mountain (Olympus), above which is inscribed FIDES. In the exergue the artist has placed his name, IOĀNES . MARIA . POMED . F. The whole is enclosed within an olive-wreath.

The reverse in each case is seen by turning the medal from right to left, and is not placed in an inverse position to the portrait, after the manner of some medallists of this time. The relief employed is remarkably low, and like the rest of Pomedello's works of the kind, all the medals are cast from the model. This operation has been so skilfully performed that they have not needed subsequent chasing, a fact which should not be lost sight of in estimating the almost incomparable merit of the artist.

T. WHITCOMBE GREENE.

## THE SILVER COINAGE OF TIBET.

NEPAL and China have always provided for the wants of Tibet in regard to the coinage, and their influence is conspicuous even when the coins were struck within the Tibetan frontiers. As the series of these coins illustrates in the most interesting manner the chief political events of the end of the last century in those countries, the present notice has been compiled from the coins which I have classified in preparing my catalogue of the Coins of Far-Eastern Asia in the Collections of the British Museum.

Previously to the extension to Tibet of the Indian Rupee, which gradually supersedes the old system, the silver currency consisted of ancient mohurs (= 8 anna piece, the Mohammedan half rupee) of the last century, struck in Nepal by the former Râjas of Kathmandu, Bhatgaon, and Patan,<sup>1</sup> of rare silver pieces Tibeto-Nepalese,

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<sup>1</sup> For practical purposes the Nepalese mohurs were in Tibet cut in pieces of  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{2}{3}$ , and Father Huc has brought back in 1847 to the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, a set of the fractions and an entire mohur. The impressions, which have been kindly sent to me by Mr. Ernest Babelon, of the Cabinet des Médailles, with their names, *Karmanga*, *Tcheptchet*, *Chogan*, and *Tchangka*, as written by Father Huc (in French orthography), show that the parts are from Patan coins, and the entire is a Bhatgaon one. The British Museum Collection contains a set of the same kind, one entire and three pieces, but without indication as to the traveller who brought them back. Pundit Nain Singh, in the report of his journey to Lhasa (1867), says: "The current coin of the country is a silver piece called Naktang,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  of which pieces being the equivalent of one rupee. The silver pieces are cut into halves or into three pieces, the half-pieces are called *Chikyah*, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the Naktang is called *Karma*, and  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the Naktang is called *Shokang* or *Miscal*. There is also a large lump of silver, bearing the seal of the Chinese Emperor, the value of which is equal to 333 Naktangs called *Dojah* or *Kuras*." See *Report of a Route-Survey made by Pundit \* \* \**—*from Nepal to Lhasa, and thence through the Upper Valley of the Bramapoutra to its source*, by Capt. T. G. Montgomerie, in *Journ. R. Geogr. Soc.* vol.

of silver pieces Tibeto-Chinese, and of silver lumps of Chinese origin used by weight.<sup>2</sup>

xxxviii. p. 173. This information from independent sources is so far exact, that with the help of the two dictionaries of Rev. H. A. Jaeschke (*A Romanized Tibetan and English Dictionary*, Lith. Kyelang in British Lahoul, 1866, 8vo., and *A Tibetan and English Dictionary with special reference to the prevailing dialects*; prepared and published at the charge of the Secretary of State for India in Council, London, 1881, 4to.), I have been able to trace back to their written original form, these spoken words so widely differentiated from their orthography. *Tchangka* (Huc) or *Tchran-ka* (Baber) is (with the phonetic decay of the lingual *t*) the word *táng-ka* borrowed from Hindustani, used in Eastern Tibet for a coin having a value of about six annas. (See *Rom. Dict.* p. 129). On the extension of the word, see the interesting remarks of a well known scholar Mr. A. Wylie, in *Journ. Shanghai Lit. and Scient. Soc.* (Shanghai, 1858, 8vo.) pp. 68-69.—*Naktang* of the Pundit is *Nags-rkyáng* used in Western Tibet for cash. (See Jaeschke, *Rom. Dict.* p. 82).—*Karmanga* of F. Huc, *Karma* of the Pundit, show the process by which the real word *skar-lñá* =  $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee (see *Dict. Tibet.* p. 20), receives a popular etymology by attraction from *skár-ma* = star.—*Tcheptchet* of F. Huc, *Chikyah* of the Pundit, is *p'yed-brgyad* for *p'yed-dan-brgyad*, hence subst. half a rupee, in central provinces (*ibid.* p. 352). The extraordinary alterations of this word are regular according to the phonetic laws of alteration on the two sides of the country.—*Chogan* of F. Huc, *Shokang* of the Pundit, is *šo-gań* =  $\frac{2}{3}$  rupee (*ibid.* p. 478). *Miscal* is probably according to Col. Yule a transfer of the Arabic.—*Dojah* of the Pundit is the *do-t'sád* (= *yám-bu, rta-rmig-ma*), a bar of silver-bullion, of about 156½ *tolas* (4 pounds) in weight, the common medium of barter in Central Asia (*ibid.* p. 287.)

<sup>2</sup> Csoma Körösi in 1833 states that the English rupee circulates freely through Western Tibet. (Prinsep and Thomas, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 31, U.T.) Father Desgodins on the Eastern side writes: "La Chine reçoit du Thibet: de l'argent en grande quantité, et dans cet argent beaucoup de roupies anglaises de l'Inde qui sont fondues et remises en globules ou lingots par les Chinois; elles n'ont plus cours à l'Est de Ta-tsién-lou. Sur la grande route du Thibet elles ne se pèsent pas; elles comptent pour  $\frac{3}{10}$  d'once chinoise, ce qui vont 2 fr. 25, 2 fr. 30; ailleurs elles se pèsent comme tout autre argent." See *La Mission du Thibet de 1855-1870* (Verdun, 1872, 8vo.), p. 304.—Mr. Colborne Baber, of H. B. M. Legation at Peking, who has travelled lately on the Eastern borders of Tibet, says (MS. note of Col. Yule): "A coin is called in Tibetan *Tchran-Ka*. Rupees are called *Pei-ling Tchran-Ka*, i.e. English coins." I find in Rev. H. A. Jaeschko's *Dictionary of the Tibetan Language*, art. *rgya*, p. 106, an interesting note on this expression, spoken *pei-ling*, written *p'yi-glin*. He writes: *rgya-p'i-liń* name of the country, *rgya-p'i-liń-pa* name of the people, through which the Tibetans heard first (probably at the beginning of the eighteenth century) of the civilized nations of the Occident, hence name for British India, for Englishman, or European resident of British India, and also (sometimes without *rgya*) for Europe and Europeans in general. The word is of course not to be found in literature. Some derive it from "Feringhi," which term in the slightly altered form of *p'a-ráń, p'e-ráń*, is current in Central Provinces, along with the above-mentioned *rgya-p'i-liń*; it is therefore not improbable that *p'i-liń* represents only the more vulgar pronunciation of the genuine Tibetan word *p'yi-glin*, an out-country, a distant foreign country, and especially Europe." On *tchranka*, see note above.

1. *Nepalese Coins.*

By special agreement<sup>3</sup> which had been imposed by the Nepalese Râjas, the silver lumps were sent by the Tibetan to the Nepalese mints,<sup>4</sup> with a small proportion of gold dust,<sup>5</sup> to be exchanged weight for weight against the mohurs of Nepal. The profit derived from the

<sup>3</sup> The date of the beginning of this agreement does not appear, but it was in force in the early years of the seventeenth century.

<sup>4</sup> "The silver anna piece now called Mohr, and Addheeda, was formerly denominated Mehnder Mulie, after the Prince who first struck it, and by treaty established its currency in the neighbouring kingdom of Tibet; this prince would appear to have been one of the successors of Hur sing Deo and of the dynasty of Khatmanda, which city is said to have exclusively enjoyed for some time the privilege of supplying Tibet with coin, a privilege the more singular as it was from this very country that Nepal obtained her silver bullion. The origin of this practice is ordinarily referred to the superstitious reverence in which the Valley of Nepal, and more especially the North-West parts of it (highly celebrated for their sanctity), has been wont to be held by the spiritual sovereigns of Tibet. . . . The Mehnder Mulie exhibited anciently a representation of Lehassa on one side, and on the reverse the name, titles and emblems of the reigning sovereign of Khatmanda. Since the conquest of Nepal by Purthi Nerain, no allusion to Lehassa has been preserved. . . ." See Kirkpatrick's *An Account of Nepal*, pp. 217, 218 (London, 1811, 4to).—Mehnder Mulie is Mahindra Malla, Purthi Nerain is Prithwī-Nārāyaṇa Sāh.—In the *History of Nepal* by Vamsāvalī, translated from the Parbatīyā, edited by Dr. Wright (Cambridge, 1877, 8vo.), we read, p. 207: "He (Mahindra Malla, Rajah of Khatmandu) went to Delhi with a present of a swan and hawks for the Emperor, who being much pleased therewith, granted him permission to strike coins in his own name, in weight six māshas. He struck this coin and called it mohar, and made it current in every part of his country."—The British Museum Collection does not contain any coin of this Raja, who, according to the above quoted *History of Nepal*, was ruling in N.E. 669 and 686 (= A.D. 1548 and 1565). As to the plan of Lhasa, it is difficult to know, on the old Nepalese coins, which shape is intended to represent it. According to Pundit Nain Singh the city of Lhasa is circular, with a circumference of 2½ miles (see *Journ. R. Geogr. Soc.* vol. xxxviii. p. 167). But the plan published by Klaproth from Chinese sources does not answer to that shape (see his *Notice sur H' Lassa, capitale du Tibet*, in *Nouv. Annal. de Voyag.* vol. xi. 1829, pl.). Now besides the eight flower-leaf lotus pattern which occurs everywhere, and a complicated *Svastika*, we find the star with eight points (= two squares crossing) or one square and two triangles intermingled, a simple square, a circle, and on the Patan coins a square having the four corners smaller, which may have been intended for the said plan.

<sup>5</sup> Gold dust separated into Phetangs, each tied up in a bit of cloth, still figures in the Trans-Himalayan commerce with Northern India and with Indo-China. In Traill's *Report on the Bhotea Mahals of Kumaon* (*Asiat. Res.* xvii. p. 24), we read that those curious little bags filled with crude gold to the amount of one phetang (= Sarswo = 7½ Māsas) are current as coin at eight rupees. See Edw. Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights*, pp. 25, 33, in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, new edition, Part I.—The British Museum collections possess

transaction was very satisfactory to the Râjas, amounting to 12 per cent., four per cent. being derived from the gold dust, and eight per cent. arising from the alloy of the mohur.<sup>6</sup>

Before its conquest by the Gurkhali (Newar Era 888 = A.D. 1768), the Valley of Nepal was governed by three dynasties of Râjas, who all coined money.<sup>7</sup> These coins were generally distinguished by a shell for Bhatgaon, a trisûl (trident) for Patan, and a sword for Kathmandu.

We have a proof of the use of coins of the Nepalese Râjas in Tibet, by the engravings of so-called Tibetan coins published in 1736 by Du Halde<sup>8</sup> from information given to him by the Missionaries.<sup>9</sup> The three coins figured on his plate, which I have compared with those in the British Museum Collection, are: the first, of Bhatgaon,<sup>10</sup> of Jaya Bhupati Indra Malla, Newar Era 815 (=A.D. 1694); the second, of Kathmandu, Jaya Bhaskara Malla, N.E. 821 (=A.D. 1700); the third, of Patan, Yoga Narendra Malla, N.E. 810 (=1689).

three of these little bags, one only is entire.—On one of the water-coloured drawings of rude tribes of China in an album lent to me by Dr. W. Lockhart, formerly of Peking, I see that the 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 Sih-Ko in the prefecture of K'ai-hwa (Yun-nan) use the same gold-bag currency.—Capt. Jules Favre, formerly of Haï-phang (Tong-King), has reported to me that such little bags were found on the junks captured in November, 1874, at Pun-lun from the pretender Lê.

<sup>6</sup> Kirkpatrick, *An Account of Nepal*, pp. 212-213.

<sup>7</sup> The British Museum Collection contains specimens of: the Khatmandu series from Newar era 739 to 874 = A.D. 1618—1753; Bhatgaon series from Newar Era 782 to 842 = A.D. 1661—1721; Patan series from Newar Era 771 to 873 = A.D. 1650—1752. After the Gurkha conquest the old system of reckoning years from the Newar Era (= A.D. 879—880), was superseded by the Vikrama Era for ordinary purposes, and the Sâka commonly used in Indûstân has been introduced upon the coins.

<sup>8</sup> *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, t. iii. p. 268 (ed. fol.)

<sup>9</sup> Father Desideri, writing from *Lassa*, 10 April, 1716, to F. Ildebrand, says that the coins used are those of the Mogol, and are worth five Jul. Rom. See *Lettres Edifiantes*, 1722, t. xv. p. 194.—Father Desideri was not aware that the coins in use were struck in Nepal.

<sup>10</sup> Bhâtgaon or Bhaktapur, Kâthmâñdû or Kântipur, Pâtan or Lalitâpur.

The custom was kept till the time of the last reigning Râja of Bhatgaon, Ranjit Malla,<sup>11</sup> who sent such base coins<sup>12</sup> as to cause a decrease of nearly half of the value of the mohurs, a decrease which led to a desertion of the Nepalese mints.<sup>13</sup>

As soon as he had his authority established in Nepal, the first Gurkha Prithwî Nārāyaṇa Sāh endeavoured to introduce his coin into Tibet, and to avail himself of the important profits which ancient custom had procured to the old Râjas of Nepal. For this purpose, he sent a deputation to Lhasa with a large sum in rupees struck in his name, and requested the sanction of Government to circulate them through the country. The merchants, aware of the Gurkha Râja's bad faith, refused to accept them.<sup>14</sup>

## 2. Tibetan Coinage.

Thus matters came to a stand-still, and nothing more seems to have been done as long as the first of the Gurkhali lived; the Tibetans being intimidated by his power. But soon after his death we see a change in the situation. Availing themselves of the comparative weakness of his successor, Pratapa Sinha Sāh, the Tibetan rulers issued, in 1772, a fine silver coin,<sup>15</sup> which was

<sup>11</sup> He ruled from N.E. 842 (= A.D. 1721), and was the first to treat with Gurkhas, who finally overthrew him after more than 40 years reign.

<sup>12</sup> The amount contracted for on this occasion was ten lākhs of silver mohurs, exactly similar to those current in Nepal (see Prinsep, ed. Thomas, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 32, U.T.). The Parbātāyā *History of Nepāl*, p. 196, says only this: "Ranjit Malla was very prudent and economical. He sent a great quantity of his coins to Lhasā, in exchange for which he got a large quantity of gold and silver."

<sup>13</sup> Kirkpatrick, *An Account of Nepal*, p. 170.

<sup>14</sup> See Markham, *Narratives of the Mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*, pp. 128-129.

<sup>15</sup> Three specimens exist in the British Museum, and four in the India Office Collections. But two of the B.M. Coll. are of a lower standard, and weigh only 81 dwt. 80 gr., and as metal are more like the Tibeto-Nepalese coinage. See below. They have the appearance of bad casts of the good coin.

struck at the Palace of Galdan, near Lhasa (pl. xv. fig. 1), in imitation of the good mohurs of the former Râjas, but with sufficient alterations to show their independence. They chose the pattern<sup>16</sup> used by Jaya Bhaskara Malla of Kâthmandu in N.E. 821 (=A.D. 1700), bearing on the obverse eight fleurets containing the eight Vitaragas or Mangals,<sup>17</sup> and on the reverse in the same number of fleurets the Devânagari characters of his name and date. The shape of the fleurets of the obverse had been borrowed from the linga pattern. The Tibetan coin is in general character the same. With the exception of several of the Buddhist symbols which are different, and the legend in Tibetan letters, it is the same design drawn with the remarkable skilfulness and taste which is conspicuous on the Nepalese coins, and which we fail to find in any other Tibetan production. The flowery emblem of the *gada* (mace) in the centre of the obverse exhibits a delicacy and harmony which are perfect. It is certainly not of Tibetan workmanship, but the work of a Nepalese artist. The size is 8 of Mionnet's scale, and the average weight of five specimens is 83·5 grains. The legend, which is more or less defaced on any single specimen, can be restored by comparing several of them. It reads as follows: རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་ཟང་ཕྱེད་ལས་ *nam rgyal dgah ldan pho brang phyogs las.*

“*nam rgyal*” is the name of the twenty-seventh year

<sup>16</sup> The same pattern has been partially used on their coins by the Râjas Jaya Mahindra Sinha Malla of Kâthmandu in N.E. 836 (=A.D. 1715), and by Jaya Yoga Prakasa Malla of Patan in N.E. 852 (=A.D. 1731). We do not find it on any coins of Bhatgaon, probably because of the discredit which had fallen on that name.

<sup>17</sup> On the Vitaragas, see B. H. Hodgson, *Naipâliya Devata Kalyana*, p. 401, in *J. As. Soc. Beng.* 1843, vol. xii. pp. 400-409. The late H. A. Oldfield has given a list of the eight Mangals in his *Sketches from Nipal* (London, 1880, 8vo.), vol. ii. p. 179.

of the Vrihaspatitchakra or Jovian cycle, and the Tibetan translation of the Sanscrit Vidjaya.<sup>18</sup> This cycle was introduced into Tibet from India in A.D. 1025.<sup>19</sup> So taking 1025-6 as the first year for the sake of the current year of the events, we find that a twenty-seventh year happened during the last century, the only one possible, in 1711-2 and 1771-2. The first is out of the question, as we know from the Missionaries at Lhasa<sup>20</sup> that no special coinage existed at the time, and that the specimens communicated to Du Halde have proved to be Nepalese. Besides this fact, we know that Tibet was too narrowly entangled under Nepalese yoke during these years to have issued any coinage when the Nepalese currency was altogether satisfactory. Later on, this last reason, as we have seen, disappeared by the avidity of the Râjas, and the death of the bold and energetic Prithwi Narayana Sah in Saka year 1693 (=A.D. 1771) was the occasion of the new issue of money in Tibet. The very year therefore after this they issued (in all probability not without some sort of an approval on the part of his successor Pratapa Sinha Sāh) the coin we now describe, and of which no other issue is known in later years, perhaps because there was a new Gurkha ruler, the said Râja's reign lasting only three years, as he died in Saka year 1697 (=A.D. 1775).

“*dgah ldan*” = “Celestial beatitude,” is one of the great monasteries near Lhasa at 50 *li* E. on the mountain

<sup>18</sup> See Ph. Ed. Foucaux, *Grammaire . . . . . Tibetaine*, p. 152 (Paris, 1858, 8vo.).—Csoma Kőrösi, *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, p. 149.

<sup>19</sup> See Prinsep, ed. Thomas, *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, vol. ii. U.T. p. 161.—E. Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, pp. 47, 276.

<sup>20</sup> Father Desideri, in 1716, from Lassa, writes: “il n’y a point de monnaie particulière.” Cf. trad. Du Halde, *Lettres Edifiantes*, loc. cit.—Cf. Stewart, *Account of the Kingdom of Tibet* (*Philosophical Transactions*, 1777, p. 486).

of the same name, founded by Tsongkhapa, uncle of the first Dalai Lama, about the year 1407.<sup>21</sup> The other words of the legend on the coin, "*pho-brang phyogs-las*," mean "palace region from." So the whole legend is to be read: "(In the year) *rnam rgyal* from the palace of *dgah ldan*."

### 3. *Tibeto-Nepalese Coinage.*

During the fifteen following years there is no evidence of coins in the Collections of the British Museum and India Office. We have specimens dated 1788-9, 1790-1, 1791-2, 1792-3, of which we shall speak further on, of another pattern (pl. xv. fig. 2), and progressively inferior in workmanship and quality of the metal. They are imitations of the preceding one, more roughly made with the following differences:—The eight fleurets of the obverse have no longer the linga pattern; they are like those of the reverse, and contain the same eight Buddhist emblems as does the coin of Galdan. The flowery emblem of the gada (mace) is very roughly and more simply drawn, even hardly recognizable in the two last ones, the most base of all as the proportion of alloy is considerable in them. The weights of those dated 1788-9, 1790-1, are 80·5, 81, and 83·5 grains, and of the two last dated 1791-2, 1792-3, are 66 and 66 grains, but with no diminution of the size, which is still 8 of Mionnet's scale. The reverse no longer has the flower with eight petals nor the eight fleurets of the Galdan coin. The design is a square surrounded by a pattern imitating the

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<sup>21</sup> See J. Klaproth, *Description du Tibet*, pp. 275, 290, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1829.—Csoma Körösi, *Geographical Description of Tibet*, p. 123, in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, April, 1832.—Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, ii. p. 345.—Jaeschke, *Dictionary of the Tibetan Language* (1881, 4to.), p. 83.—Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 152, says 1417.

Sri, Sri, Sri<sup>22</sup> of former Nepalese coins, and in the square under a fanciful form of ཨྲི འམ, the mystical interjection, are in Tibetan figures the numbers of the year according to the cycle of sixty, but noted in a peculiar manner, viz.

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc} ༡༢ & ༡༢ & ༡༢ & ༡༢ & 13 & 13 & 13 & 13 \\ ཨྲི & ཨྲི & ཨྲི & ཨྲི & = & 44 & 46 & 47 & 48 \end{array}$$

The upper figures indicate the running cycle, and the lower ones the number of the year of that cycle during which the coin was issued. Thus we have the 44th, 46th, 47th, and 48th years of the 13th cycle. Of the 45th year I have not seen any specimen, and I do not know if that coinage began earlier than the 44th year. We may be pretty sure that the specimen of the 48th year is the last, for it was superseded by the Sino-Tibetan coinage the following year or at the end of the same year. The first year of the first cycle of 60 in Tibet being, as we have seen, A.D. 1025, we have to add 720 years to 1024-5 for twelve cycles elapsed since that date, and respectively 44, 46, 47, 48 years for each specimen, making A.D. 1788-9, 1790-1, 1791-2, 1792-3 as the years of emission of these coins. Their general Nepalese appearance speaks for itself, and their progressive baseness confirms what we know from Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, and others<sup>24</sup> that the war of Nepal against Tibet was occasioned by the rapacity of the Nepalese Râjas, which culminated by the plunder of Tashilunpo.

<sup>22</sup> The British Museum possesses a coin or rather a medal or token with that pattern and nothing else.

<sup>23</sup> The figure 3 = 3 is very well drawn on the specimens <sup>13</sup> 44, <sup>13</sup> 46, but on the two others so badly made as to resemble ཨྲི za with a tail.

<sup>24</sup> Speaking of the Nepalese Mintage for Tibet, Kirkpatrick says: "There is not a doubt that the present Nepal Government made the departure of the Tibetans from ancient usage in this respect, the pretext for the war which it waged about four years ago against the confederated Lamas; as evidently appears from a memorial transmitted to me from Nepal on this subject, an extract of which is given in the Appendix." See his *Account of . . . Nepal*, p. 217—Cf. Francis Hamilton, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal* (1819, 4to.), p. 213.—S. Turner, *Acc. of an Embassy in Tibet* (1800, 4to.), p. 438.

After the death of Pratapa Sinha Sāh in Saka year 1697 (=A.D. 1775), his son Ran Bahadur was the legal Rāja, but being under age, his mother Rajendra Lakshmī dēvī assumed the regency. She seems to have ruled very quietly without interfering with Tibet. After nine years she died, and the regency was in the hands of the uncle of the young Rāja, Bahadur Sāh, whose restless rapacity caused the evils of the war against Tibet, and eventually of China succouring the Dalai-lama against his own country, which was obliged to submit to the Chinese rule after several defeats, and a humiliating treaty at the beginning of 1793.<sup>25</sup> It is obvious that these coins are those which were the occasion of the war waged by Bahadur Sāh, who imposed them upon Tibet, as they show by their increasing baseness the growth of his armed influence. The specimens of 1788-9 and 1790-1 are not of so low a standard as those dated 1791-2 and 1792-3, issued after his victories over the Tibetans. The last is the worst of all.

#### 4. *Tibeto-Chinese Coinage.*

The intervention of the Chinese, who endeavoured to repair the disasters caused by the last base standard, is illustrated by the coinage they issued, in 1793, from a mint they established at Lhasa.<sup>26</sup> It is a pure silver

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<sup>25</sup> The Chinese army was twenty miles from Kathmandu in September, 1792. Captain Kirkpatrick arrived the 1st of March, 1793, when the Treaty by which the Nepalese recognized their vassalage to China was signed. The *Parbatiya History* for that period is nothing but lies. The British, to whom they had applied to interfere, are represented several times as trembling in the south, and the Chinese, who inflicted upon them a terrible defeat, are represented as cut in pieces.

<sup>26</sup> These coins are not altogether unedited. Prinsep-Thomas in their *Indian Antiquities* have published one of the second size. Dr. Bushell of Peking, a distinguished Numismatist, has also published one of the same size, with description, in the *China Review*, 1878, vol. vi. pp. 348-349, and the smallest one in the same periodical, 1880, vol. viii. p. 392.

coinage, of which specimens until 1822 exist in the British Museum and India Office Collections. The first issue was made of four sizes, but of three different weights, and the following issues seem to have been made only of the second weight, if we may infer this from the absence of any other in the said collections. According to the Regulations of the Chinese Board of Works,<sup>27</sup> which are not applicable to the issues of the first year, but only to those of the years after, two series of coins only ought to be regularly issued, one coin weighing one *tsien*=58·3 grains, and another one smaller weighing five *fön*=29·1 grains. It is this last one which is wanting.

The first coins issued, in 1793, are beautifully cast, the others of the following years and reigns are very bad. An ornamental characteristic of this last coinage is, on the obverse and reverse, four fleurets like those of the Tibeto-Nepalese base coins, but turned, by the usual Chinese process of modifying the emblems, into the early shape of their character for *nose*, symbolizing the beginning, the ancestor. It bears all around the border a pearly ornament like all the other three coinages here mentioned.

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<sup>27</sup> The rules of this Mintage are detailed in the regulations of the Board of Works 欽定戶部則例 ch. xxxiv. ff. 35-36. It is under the superintendence of four officers jointly appointed by the Chinese Resident and the Dalai Lama. The coins directed to be cast from standard sycee silver, unmixed with other ingredients, and to be of two sizes respectively, one *ch'ien* and five *fen* respectively; one *taël* of silver to exchange for nine of the former, eighteen of the latter, the difference being retained to pay for the expense of coinage, so that the seignorage amounts to ten per cent. The inscription on the obverse in Tanguth (Tibetan), and on the rim the date of the year. See Bushell, *China Review*, 1878, vol. vi. p. 348.

The specimens I have seen are the following :

I.—Obv. ཅན་ལུང་པུ་གཙང་ཅན་ཅན་ *Ch'an Lung pau gtsang*<sup>28</sup> = Tsang (=Tibet) coinage of Ch'an Lung. On the rim ལྷ་བཙུ་ཅ་བཙུ་ལྷ་ *lga bchu rtsa bryad* = Fifty-eight.

Rev. 乾隆寶藏 *Kien Lung pao Tsang* (same meaning as the Tibetan legend). On the rim 五十八年 *Wu shih pah nien* = Fifty-eighth year (of the Emperor's reign begun in 1736) = 1793. (Pl. xv. fig. 3). Size 8·5. Average weight 86 grains. 4 specim. India Off. Collect.

II.—Obv. and Rev. same as preceding.

(Pl. xv. fig. 4). Size 7·5. Weight 85·5 gr. India Off. Coll.

III.—Obv. and Rev. same as I.

(Pl. xv. fig. 5). Size 6. Wt. 57 gr. Ind. Off. Coll.

IV.<sup>29</sup>—Obv. and Rev. same as I.

(Plate xv. fig. 6). Size 4·5. Weight 28 gr. Ind. Off. Coll.

These four coins are exactly the same and of excellent casting.

V.—Obv. and Rev. same as I., but of an inferior casting, and do not seem to have been issued with the preceding ones.<sup>30</sup>

Size 7·5. Weight 2 spec. 57 and 55 gr. B.M.

VI.—Obv. *Ch'an Lung pau gtsang* (as I.). On the rim : ལྷ་བཙུ་ཅ་དགུ་ *lga bchu rtsa dgu* = Fifty-nine.

Rev. *Kien Lung pao tsang* (as I.). On the rim : 五十九年 *Wu shih kiü nien* = Fifty-ninth year (= 1795). Size 7. Weight 5 spec. 58, 57, 53, 59, 56. 4 B.M. 1 Ind. Off.

<sup>28</sup> The central legends are to be read from top to bottom and from right to left, those of the rim from left to right.

<sup>29</sup> Published by Dr. Bushell, see note <sup>26</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> This peculiarity is explained by the fact that for the mint of I-li as well as for the silver coinage of Tibet, the regulation was made in succeeding reigns that one-fifth of the coins issued should have the inscription *Kien Lung* in memory of the great Emperor's conquest. Cf. S. W. Bushell, *Coins of the present dynasty of China*, p. 197, in *Journ. North China Branch R. As. S.*, 1880, vol. xv. pp. 195-308.

VII.—Obv. Same. On the rim: ལྷག་ལྷ་ཐམ་པ་ *drug chu tham pa*=Sixty.

Rev. Same. On the rim: 六十年 *Luh shih nien*=Sixtieth year (=1796).

Size 7. Weight 52·5. B.M.

VIII.—Obv. ཅའ་འཚོན་པུ་གཚོང་ *cha htsin*<sup>31</sup> *pau gtsang*=Tsang coinage of Cha Ts'in. On the rim: བྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་ *brgyad pa*=Eighth.

Rev. 嘉慶寶藏 *Kia K'ing pao Tsang*. Same meaning with the difference of pronunciation of the proper name. On the rim: 八年 *pah nien*=Eighth year (of the Emperor's reign begun in 1796)=1803. Size 7. Weight of 3 spec. 57, 57, 57. B.M. (Pl. xv. fig. 7.)

Those coins of the eighth year of Kia King are the worst of all this coinage, as castings. On the Chinese side the four fleurets have been dropped altogether.

IX.—Obv. བཅའ་འཚོང་ *bcha htsing* . . . the remaining *pau gtsang* as the preceding.<sup>32</sup> On the rim: ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་ལྔ་ *ñi shu rtsa lnga*=Twenty-five.

Rev. Same as preceding. On the rim: 二十五年 *Æt shih wu nien*<sup>33</sup>=Twenty-fifth year (=1820).

Size 7. Weight 3 spec. 56, 57, 58 gr. B.M.

X.—Obv. ར་འོ་གྲོང་པུ་གཚོང་ *rdao guong pau gtsang*=Coinage of Dao Guong for Tsang.<sup>34</sup> On the rim: གཉིས་པ་ *gñis pa*=Second.

Rev. 道光寶藏 *Tao Kuang pao Tsang*. Same meaning as Tibetan obverse. On the rim: 二年 *Æt nien*=Second year (of Tao Kuang's reign begun 1821)=1822.

Size 7·5. Weight 6 spec. 57, 58, 56, 58, 59, 58. 3 B.M. 3 Ind. Off. (Pl. xv. fig. 8.)

<sup>31</sup> The orthography of the first two words is wrong, cf. No. IX., but there is no doubt about the reading. The analysis of one of these coins is given in Prinsep-Thomas, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. ii. U.T. p. 130, as weight 58 grains; touch 79·2; pure contents 45·91 grains; intrinsic value of 100, 27·827 Furukhabad rupees.

<sup>32</sup> On some issues of this coin the last letter of *gtsang* ང་ *ng* is missing.

<sup>33</sup> In contradistinction with the others, reads top, bottom, right, left.

<sup>34</sup> Dr. Bushell, *loc. cit.*, has published the coin No. VI., and also a specimen

of Tao Kuang, but dated on the Tibetan side རྩ་པོ་ *dang po*=first, and on the Chinese side 元年 *yuen nien*=first year.

The Tibetan transcriptions of proper names on these coins exhibit, when compared with the Mandarin pronunciation and with the present pronunciation of the Pekinese, the rapidity of the progressive phonetic decay of this dialect. Of course the Chinese officers brought with them to Tibet the pronunciation of the Court. So *Kien-Lung* in Mandarinic is *Ch'an Lung*<sup>35</sup> on the Tibetan coins in 1793-96, and is now *Ch'ien Lung* in present Pekinese pronunciation. *Kia K'ing* (M.) was *Cha Ts'ing* (T.C.), and is now *Chia Ch'ing* in the more and more corrupted pronunciation of the Court dialect.

TERRIEN DE LA COUPERIE.

LONDON, Dec. 1881.

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<sup>35</sup> Wrappers with coins sent from Peking the last century have *Chen Lung*.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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*Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Swedish Cabinet of Medals at Stockholm, all found in Sweden. Arranged and described by Bror Emil Hildebrand. (New augmented Edition, with 14 Plates. Stockholm, 1881. Pp. viii. and 502.)*

It will be with great satisfaction that all English numismatists will hail the appearance of this second and enlarged edition of Hildebrand's important work. After an interval of thirty-five years it was to be expected that the collection of Anglo-Saxon coins at Stockholm would be somewhat increased; but the actual increment surpasses any reasonable expectation and may almost be characterized as startling, being very nearly 150 per cent. Already in 1846 when these coins found in Swedish soil numbered 4,232, it was constantly the case that the English student had to refer to the Swedish Catalogue for details of the English coinage of the tenth and eleventh centuries, but this enlarged list, comprising as it does some 10,458 coins, will be absolutely indispensable to all those who wish to be familiar with the coins of that period. The restriction in time of the coins found in the Swedish hoards is very remarkable. Of Eadweard I., Æthelstan, and Sihtric of Northumberland, the coins are not unknown, but the examples of the three reigns taken altogether may be reckoned upon a single hand. Eadgar's coins are about 60, and Eadweard II.'s under 30; but of Æthelred II. there are nearly 4,400, of Cnut nearly 3,900, of Harold I. 1,050, of Harthacnut over 200, and of Edward the Confessor about 800. These are the different varieties described; of actual coins, Prof. Hildebrand reckons that more than 22,000 have been found in Sweden. The preponderance of the coins belonging to the time of Cnut, or a little before or after that time, seems to show that a large proportion of this treasure may have arisen from trade rather than from plunder, as at that time the relations between this country and Scandinavia were of the closest, and one king occupied the throne of both Denmark and England. The fact of nearly half the coins having been found in the Island of Gotland, the emporium of northern trade, also, as Prof. Hildebrand observes, points to this conclusion. Of the ravages of the Danes in England in the eighth and ninth centuries few or no numismatic records appear to be found in Scandinavia.

But to return to the book before us. The arrangement

followed is the same as in the first edition, the coins of each reign being placed under the different mints arranged in alphabetical order, the different types being numbered. A list of the names of the moneymen and the towns at which they exercised their calling is appended to the catalogue of the coins of each reign. The Plates showing the different types are increased in number from ten to fourteen, but the map showing the localities of the numerous finds and the original Introduction are not repeated in this second edition, which is, moreover, a large octavo instead of a quarto. The identification of the places of mintage with their modern representatives has been carefully considered, but in some few cases the attribution has not been decided, so that some puzzling questions are still left for the English reader. Including those of the Irish coins struck in imitation of the pennies of Æthelred II. and Cnut, to which a section is dedicated, the mint towns are upwards of a hundred in number; but it would be beyond the province of this notice to discuss them. It may, however, be suggested that the Rieyebyrig of the coins may quite as probably be Richborough near Sandwich as Rising Castle in Norfolk, or Richborough (Risborough?) in Buckinghamshire. Although the site of this once famous town is now a mere mass of ruins, it was still occupied in Saxon times, as is proved by coins from the reign of Offa<sup>1</sup> to that of Æthelred II. having been found there. It is, indeed, said to have been the port at which St. Augustin landed in A.D. 597.

In conclusion we cannot do better than cite a few words from Prof. Hildebrand's new Preface which all our readers will endorse. "This collection is of its kind the largest that exists, and therefore has special historical importance, not alone for Sweden, in whose soil these coins were deposited, but also for the country from which they were carried away." J. E.

The *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Band XII. 1st Semester, contains the following articles:—

1. Address of the President, A. Ritter von Pawlowski.
2. F. Kenner. Review of the first decade of the Numismatic Society of Vienna.
3. The Medal of the Society.
4. C. v. Ernst. The art of coining, from the earliest times till the present day.
5. H. C. Reichardt. On the coins of Canatha in Decapolis.

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<sup>1</sup> C. Roach Smith, "Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne," p. 157.

6. F. Kenner. On the portraits of Constantine the Great, and his sons, with upturned faces.

7. J. Neudeck. On the coins of the Quadi.

8. E. Bahrfeldt. Contributions to the Numismatics of Brandenburg.

9. H. Dannenberg. On gold gulden of the Florentine type.

10. C. Schalk. On the standard of the Vienna pennies from 1424—1480.

11. A. Luschin v. Ebengreuth. On coins reading *Alemani*, & *Marsal*.

Band XII. 2nd Semester contains :—

12. J. H. Mordtmann. On new Himyaritic coins. This article is an important contribution to the rapidly increasing literature of Himyaritic Numismatics. Dr. Mordtmann's reading of the mysterious inscription on the coins of the *San'â Find*, first published in the Numismatic Chronicle (N.S., Vol. xviii.) as *Vlagash* or *Vologeses*, is, however, anything but convincing.

13. A. Missong. On an unpublished coin of the Emperor Tacitus.

14. C. Schalk. On the standard of the Vienna pennies from 1424—1480.

15. A. Luschin v. Ebengreuth. On the so-called *Rollbatzen*.

16. C. F. Trachsel. On some unpublished coins of Appenzell and St. Gallen.

17. M. Donebauer. The forgeries of Bohemian coins and their dies.

18. C. F. Trachsel. Notice of the coins and medals of the Counts and Princes of Ettingen.

19. A. Meyer. On coins with the portraits of the Emperor Francis I. and his wife Maria Theresa.

20. J. Haas. On Siamese coins.

The Part concludes with a General Index of the first twelve volumes of the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*.

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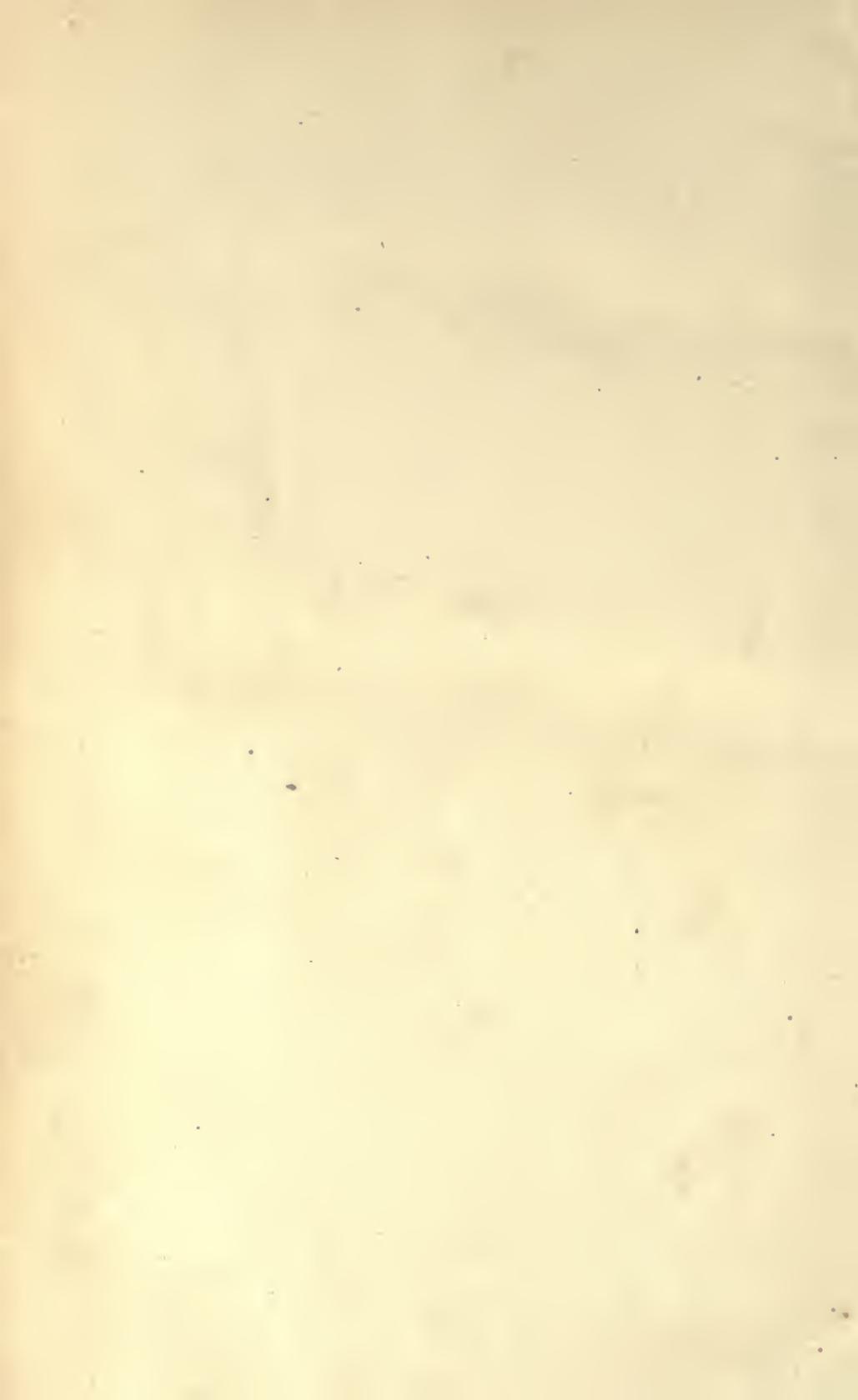
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