



## NEWSLETTER

**THE JOURNAL OF THE LONDON NUMISMATIC CLUB  
HONORARY EDITOR**

**Peter A. Clayton**

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## **EDITORIAL**

The Club, once again, has been fortunate in having a series of excellent speakers this past year, many of whom kindly troubled to supply scripts for publication in the Club's Newsletter. This is not as straightforward as it may seem; for the Editor still has to edit those scripts from the spoken to the written word, and then to type them all into the computer (unless, on rare occasions, a disc and a hard copy printout is supplied by the speaker). If contributors of reviews, notes, etc, could also supply their material on disc, it would be much appreciated and, not least, probably save a lot of errors in transmission.

After many years in the post of Speaker Finder, David Sealy has stepped down, but has agreed to remain on the Committee - the Club owes a lot to David's enthusiasm and commitment, not least also as joint auctioneer with Marcus Phillips. The Committee has taken on the task of finding speakers (unless any member out there is prepared to come forward and take on the cloak), and any member with ideas for a speaker is asked to contact any member of the Committee.

For the 2003 - 2004 programme the number of meetings has been dropped from twelve to ten - January and August being the months where there will not be no meeting. All meetings are now held on the first Tuesday of the month at the Warburg Institute, Woburn Square. Auctions will continue to be held at not less than 12-month intervals, and will be appropriately listed in the programme and notified. As Tony Gilbert has remarked below in his Auction Reports, the auction can only be as good and as interesting as, first, the lots which members offer and, second, the number of members who attend to bid on those lots.

The Editor's last plea is, as usual - this is the Club's newsletter and, as such, is a forum as well as a reporting vehicle. Several members have submitted pieces for this Newsletter additional to the talk and auction reports, and others have taken up the Editor's challenge from the last Newsletter and not only read some books, but also submitted a review or comment on them. Do remember that many of our members are unable to visit the Club and hear the talks, so the Newsletter is their link - let us make sure that it is a continuing welcome and interesting one.

*Peter A. Clayton, Honorary Editor*

## London Numismatic Coin Club Meeting, 9 January 2002

The Club's first speaker of the year was Gareth Williams of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum. He had been the curator responsible for a special exhibition at the British Museum, 'Paid in Burnt Silver: Wealth and Power in the Viking Age'. The exhibition (which closed on 13 August 2000) brought together the collections of the British Museum together with material from several other collections in the UK and Scandinavia. Gareth took this as his starting point in his talk.

The word Viking immediately brings to mind the traditional image of bloodthirsty pirates, raiding defenseless monasteries in search of plunder, raping, looting and pillaging. Since the 1970s, however, a new picture has emerged of the Vikings, which emphasises the more peaceful aspects of life in the Viking Age, including trade, craftsmanship and agriculture. Viking society is often presented in terms of a polarised debate on which of these two views of the Vikings is the right one, often simplified to the question 'Were the Vikings raiders or traders?'. Most archaeologists and historians today would accept that the situation is not as black and white as these polarised positions suggest. Some Vikings were undoubtedly savage raiders, although not necessarily more savage than their Anglo-Saxon, Celtic and Frankish contemporaries. There is equally no doubt that such men were not representative of the whole society, and that the Viking Age saw a huge expansion in trade and urbanisation, while the importance of craftsmanship in the Viking Age is clear from the many surviving artefacts which, of course, include vast quantities of silver coinage.

What all these different aspects of Viking society share is some concept of wealth. Although raiders made their journeys in search of plunder, and traders in search of more legitimate profits, both set out with the intention of coming home richer than when they went away. The development of towns occurred because they generated wealth as centres both of production and trade. Craftsmen produced their work either under the private patronage of rich kings, chieftains and priests, or sold their goods more widely in the marketplace. Most important of all, the farmers produced the food which fed the population, and which allowed wealthy landowners to raise a following for war, or provided a surplus which could be exchanged for other forms of wealth.

In the course of the Viking Age, from the late 8th century to the mid-11th century, there were many changes in Scandinavian society. The Vikings adopted Christianity, and new kingdoms with centralised authority took shape. Among other changes, the concept of wealth developed considerably in this period. Land ownership alone remained an absolutely stable form of wealth throughout the Viking Age, and land was often granted by kings and chieftains to their followers as a reward for loyalty and service. Whether in the 8th century or the 11th, landowners were wealthy and important people, even if they had little ready money.

At one end of the scale were small farmers who possessed only enough land to support their own families, and often relying on patronage to survive. At the other end of the scale were powerful chieftains, who might be as rich and powerful as the kings or jarls. Such chieftains supported not only their own families, but large retinues of free followers and slaves. Svein Asleifarson, a chieftain in the Orkneys, was said to keep 80 men over the winter in his hall at his own *expense*. *Svein* lived in the 12th century, after the Viking Age is generally thought to be over, but his lifestyle was that of a typical Viking chieftain.

The other main measure of wealth in the Viking Age was precious metal, particularly silver. Gold was considered even more valuable, but it was very rare, while the use of silver was extremely widespread. Even so, gold jewellery from the Viking Age is known, including ear-rings, finger-rings, arm-rings and neck-rings. Showing off wealth in the form of expensive jewellery was the main use for precious metal at the beginning of the Viking Age, and coins were hardly used at all. Both men and women wore jewellery to show how rich they were, and rich men also had their weapons decorated with precious metal. Only the wealthiest could afford gold, but silver was more common, and for those who could not afford pure silver, gilt bronze was often used.

Like land, both jewellery and ornate weapons were used to reward loyal followers for their service. A particularly popular form of wealth within this 'status economy' seems to have been the arm-ring. Arm-rings are one of the most common categories of jewellery to be found, and poems and sagas often refer to kings and chieftains rewarding their warriors with arm-rings. It was important for a lord to be seen to be generous, and 'ring-giving' was a common symbol of both lordship and generosity in early poems.

Jewellery required a supply of precious metal, and the Vikings first became interested in coins as a source of silver to be melted down for jewellery. Large quantities of Islamic coins entered Scandinavia as a result of trade along the great Russian river systems. The Arab writer Ibn Fadlan describes meeting the 'Rus' (a term used both for the Vikings in Russia and their Slavic subjects) and how the Vikings sold their trade goods in exchange for thousands of silver dirhams, which were then turned into neck-rings for the traders' wives. For the Arabs, the coins were a means of exchange, but for the Vikings they were no more than a raw material for the display of wealth. Coins were sometimes even converted into jewellery without even being melted down. Individual coins were sometimes mounted as pendants or brooches, and several coins were sometimes strung together with beads to form necklaces.

At the same time, the Vikings also used silver as a means of exchange. They valued it by weight, and the form it took did not matter. Anglo-Saxon, Byzantine, Frankish, German and Islamic coins might all be mixed together, along with ingots (small bars) and chopped up silver jewellery and dishes, known as hack-silver. Viking hoards often contain a mixture of all these different object types, and sometimes also contain intact pieces of jewellery together with the rest. The famous hoard from Cuerdale in Lancashire, buried around AD 905-910 is remarkable for its size, but represents a fairly typical mixture of different types of silver objects, including over 7,000 coins. It also shows the geographical spread of Viking contacts, with Byzantine and Islamic coins alongside coins and jewellery from the British Isles.

The use of silver by weight is reflected in finds of scales and weights in many Viking settlements and graves. The *eyrir* (ounce) of c. 24-26.6g and the *ertog* (third of an ounce) were widely used, although there was apparently considerable variation in the precise weight standards in different parts of the Viking world, and at different periods. Scales and weights are particularly common from urban sites such as Hedeby (then in Denmark, now in northern Germany) and Dublin, and clearly played an important part in trade, but they were also useful for dividing up loot. Loot in precious metal was clearly a major target for Viking raids, but precious metal was also an important means of exchange for long distance trade within and beyond Scandinavia before the Vikings adopted the use of coins.

One particular type of weight, flat cylinders or blobs of lead, with Anglo-Saxon coins set into the top, reflects the Vikings' growing familiarity with coinage. They were probably produced in the Viking settlements in northern England in the late 9th century, the period just before the Vikings started to issue coins of their own.

The valuation of silver by weight as a means of exchange could also be incorporated with the 'status economy' of ostentatious display. By manufacturing jewellery to recognised weight-standards, it was possible to produce items which could be used for the personal display of wealth, but which also had a clear value as a result of their weight. Weight-adjusted jewellery was produced in a number of areas. The most famous examples are the so-called 'Permian rings'. These were neck-rings of twisted silver from northern Russia, which are sometimes found coiled into spirals for use as arm-rings. They normally seem to have weights in multiples of 100g, around four Viking ounces, a weight which the Vikings had probably adopted from Islamic coins. The same weight-units appear in certain type of arm-rings known as 'ring-money' from Sweden, and 'ring-money' based on a slightly lighter ounce was also produced in Scotland.

The Scottish 'ring-money' circulated alongside coinage, ingots and hack-silver as part of a mixed silver bullion economy. We know this from the archaeological evidence, but this also finds support in the Sagas. Although these are not reliable, they often seem to agree with other forms of evidence. The Eyrbyggja Saga gives an account of the conquest of the Isle of Man by Earl Sigurd of Orkney in the late 10th century, and goes on to mention that:

'He imposed tribute on the inhabited lands of Man. And when they had come to terms, the earl set men behind [him] to wait for the tax, and that was mostly paid in burnt silver [i.e. refined silver].'

Another Saga reference to the same period describes silver functioning in a number of different types of exchange in Iceland. Heimskringla includes an account of how the poet Eyvind the Plagiarist wrote a poem about Iceland that pleased the farmers so much that each contributed a 'tribute penny' equivalent to three weighed pennies of refined silver.

These were then converted into a brooch weighing 50 marks (about 10kg). A brooch that heavy would have been much too heavy to wear, and Eyvind had it broken up and used the pieces to buy cattle. This account mentions silver pennies as the basis of a system of weight, a payment in silver bullion, the creation of a high-status display object, and the breaking up of that object into hack-silver to be used as a means of exchange.

The fact that silver bullion served as a means of exchange makes it interesting that the Vikings eventually introduced coinage of their own. For purely economic reasons, they did not need to do this, since they tested silver for purity by cutting into it with knives, and were able to value it by weight and purity without needing to go to the additional trouble of melting the silver down, hammering it flat, stamping designs on it and cutting it into small discs. The introduction of coinage needs to be seen in the context of broader social changes which came about as a result of increasing contact with Western Europe in the course of the Viking Age.

By the late 8th century, most of the kingdoms in Western Europe shared a common idea of kingship. This was promoted by the Papacy, ultimately deriving from the Late Roman Empire and combining elements of Roman legal and political thought with Christian theology. Within this common concept of kingship, the king had duties, but he also had a number of rights, and among these was the right to issue coinage. In this respect it is interesting to note that the kingdoms on the Celtic fringe, in Ireland, Scotland and Wales, which did not embrace a particularly Roman view of Christianity, also failed to develop coinage of their own, despite trading contacts with England and the Continent, and a broadly similar level of material culture. It was only when Norman influence brought about the reform of both Church and government in Scotland and Wales that coinage was established there, while coinage was first introduced in Ireland by the Viking settlers.

The Vikings first produced coins in large numbers in England in the late 9th century. The 'great army' of 865 conquered first Northumbria, then East Anglia, then a large part of Mercia. All three kingdoms had well-established traditions of coinage, and the Vikings were quick to adopt the use of currency as they tried to take over the roles of the kings they had displaced. An element of continuity is particularly



visible in East Anglia, where the last Anglo-Saxon ruler, Edmund, was killed by the Vikings. His death involved an element of martyrdom, and Edmund quickly became regarded as a saint. What is particularly striking, however, is that within a generation of his death, his sanctity was proclaimed on coins of the East Anglian Vikings. They issued silver pennies identical to those of Edmund himself, but placing SC for *sanctus* before the king's name.

Other coins in both East Anglia and Mercia imitated the coins of the one surviving Anglo-Saxon king, Alfred the Great of Wessex. When Alfred defeated the Vikings at Edington in 878, the Viking leader adopted Christianity and became king of East Anglia under Alfred's patronage. He took the baptismal name Athelstan, and issued coins with blundered versions of this name, copying Alfred's last main coin type, the so-called Two-line type. In Viking Mercia, anonymous imitations were also produced of Alfred's slightly earlier London monogram coinage.

With the exception of the 'Athelstan' coins, the coins of the southern Danelaw largely missed the point that coinage was a symbol of royal power as well as of Christian authority. Both of these are apparent in Viking coins from north of the Humber. A few of the Northumbrian pennies are also anonymous, carrying religious legends like 'Lord God and King', or, 'He has done wonderful things', and a substantial coinage was produced at York in the name of St Peter in the early 10th century. However, a large number of the coins carry the name of Viking kings, some of whom are only known to us from their coins, like a King Cnut who reigned in Northumbria around the turn of the 10th century. As in the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish kingdoms, however, coinage remained fundamentally a royal prerogative. With the exception of an extremely rare coinage in the name of an Earl Sihtric, all the names on the coins of the Danelaw are of kings, although some of the anonymous coins may have been issued under the auspices of the Church.

The coinage of the Danelaw shows a certain confusion about the newly adopted role of Christian kings. A few of the coin types show Thor's hammer, but this generally appears in combination with the name of St Peter, and probably represents a period of religious co-existence. Only a few coins carry the hammer alone, and even these include a cross within the inscription so none of the coins appear to be wholly pagan. However, a few of the coins are more distinctively Scandinavian in

character. One type of Anlaf Guthfrithsson, who ruled briefly from 939-941, carries the king's title in Old Norse, rather than Latin, and shows what can be interpreted as an eagle or a raven, both birds associated with Odin, but again combined with Christian crosses. Later, in the 940s, the brothers Anlaf and Sihtric Sihtricsson issued coins with a typically Viking geometric pattern on one side, and a war banner or wind vane on the other, and again gave their royal titles in Old Norse. The coinage of Viking Northumbria ceased, however, in 954, when the death of Eric Bloodaxe brought Northumbria back under lasting Anglo-Saxon authority.

The end of the Viking coins in England came just before their adoption in Scandinavia itself. Apart from a small experimental coinage in the early 9th century, coinage began in Scandinavia in Denmark in the mid-10th century. This was in the reign of Harald Bluetooth, who also left a fine runestone at Jelling in Jutland which tells us that Harald ruled all of Denmark and Norway, and made the Danes Christian. Harald's power can be seen in a number of building works, including several circular fortresses and a huge bridge across the Vejle valley not far from Jelling. His Christianity can also be observed on his coins, most of which feature crosses in their designs. One even carries what looks like three crosses on a hill, probably a representation of the three crosses of Calvary. Harald thus fits the broader pattern of a strong Christian king issuing coins, although none of his coins carry his name.

The next development in Viking coinage came in the last few years of the 10th century. Coins were issued in Denmark, Norway and Sweden in the late 990s, imitating the CRVX type of Ethelred II of England. The coins carry the names of the three kings: Sven Forkbeard, Olaf Tryggvason and Olof Tribute-king respectively. Around the same time, imitations of Ethelred's pennies were also produced in the name of Sihtric Silkbeard, king of Dublin. The early 11th century saw the conquest of England by the Danes, and the establishment both of Christianity and a strong kingdom in Denmark. Cnut's conquest of England brought contact with the sophisticated Anglo-Saxon network of mints, and a more modest national network appeared in Denmark under Cnut's son Harthacnut, and later under Sven Estridsen (1047-74). Many of the coins copied Anglo-Saxon designs, but others copied Byzantine

coins brought back to Scandinavia by mercenaries returning from service in the Byzantine army, or German coins as a result of expanding trade with the Rhineland. Others show purely Scandinavian geometric designs.

Christianity and firm kingship, and coinage with them, took slightly longer to become established in Norway, and coinage there only really began on a large scale under Harald Hardruler (1047-66) and his son Olaf the Peaceful (1066-93). In Sweden, both Christianity and central royal power collapsed, and with them the coinage. It was only in the mid-12th century that coinage was introduced on a lasting basis in a newly reunified kingdom. Nevertheless, the same processes of Christianisation and the development of national royal authority took place in all three kingdoms. The development of coinage and a fully monetary economy can thus be linked with state formation, and social and religious changes, as well as with major developments in trade.

At the beginning of the Viking Age, Scandinavia was an assortment of petty kingdoms and chieftaincies, completely peripheral to the rest of Europe. By the end of the period, Viking raiders had humbled many of the greatest European powers, a trading network had been established from the Black Sea to the North Atlantic, and the Viking kingdoms were evolving into typical Christian European states. The development of coinage and the transformation of the silver economy reflect these wide changes.

### **London Numismatic Club Meeting, 7 February 2002**

The speaker was Roy Liddell who gave a talk on the Royal Maundy and Maundy coins. He said that he would first outline the history of the ceremony and discuss the coins later. The story of the Royal Maundy is one of the most interesting of ancient ceremonies and, although much of its early history is obscure, there can be no doubt as to its origins. John, 13, 4-5, tells how, after the Last Supper, Christ laid aside his garments, girded himself with a towel, poured water into a basin, and then washed the feet of his disciples each in turn. Afterwards he gave them a command, in Latin *Mandatum*, for his followers to love one another, and said, 'I have given you an example, that ye may do as I have done to you.' One explanation of the word maundy is that it derives from *Mandatunz*. Another is that it comes from the Latin *mundus*, meaning clean. Yet

another would suggest it comes from the Anglo-Saxon word *inaundye*, meaning a feast.

In the western church the Pope, various Cardinals and Bishops, as well as the Holy Roman Emperors and many kings and magnates, annually carried out this rite, the recipients of the bounty being twelve poor men, to represent the Apostles. It is recorded that on Holy Thursday in 1034, the Byzantine Emperor Romanus III distributed the customary gifts to the poor. In England, the Maundy is referred to by St Augustine in about AD 600, and the rite can be traced back to the *pedilavium* which follows the Holy Communion on Maundy Thursday. In the early church, and prior to the Norman Conquest in 1066, the *pedilavium* was not confined to that one day but was carried out daily in some monasteries. The first English king recorded as washing the feet of the poor was Edward II in 1307.

Britain's monarchs seem to be the only ones to choose as many men and women as they have numbers of years. This adds an element of poetic fantasy to a very sacred and solemn ceremony, and this has been taken a step further in that the monetary gift to each person consists of as many pence as the monarch has years. For example, when Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II was 40, she gave 40 men and 40 women 40 pence each at the Maundy ceremony. This could cause problems as once on the Maundy list a person had stayed on it for life. However, when a monarch died it was quite probable that their successor was younger. When William IV died at the age of 72, and therefore having 72 recipients, he was succeeded by Victoria, who was only 18. So, 54 recipients were given £3 as a discretionary bounty. The life tenure rule was changed after 1951 (see below).

It is recorded that King John held the ceremony in 1213 at Rochester Castle, and he chose 13 poor men to receive 13 pence. During the 14th century it seems to have been the custom for most members of the royal family to be present at the Maundy ceremony in order to distribute gifts of money and clothing to poor men. It was Henry IV who began the practice of relating the number of recipients to the sovereign's age, but usually being restricted to those of the same sex as the sovereign. Because it became the custom for the sovereign to perform the ceremony, it became the Royal Maundy. Gradually the name Maundy came to include the gifts of clothing and food that were given with the money.

Some accounts say that the sovereign kissed the washed feet of the poor people and gave them the gowns that they were wearing. In the Venetian calendar there is a long account of Mary I's great fervour in carrying out this fatiguing rite in 1556 and taking great pains and trouble to find a worthy recipient for her gown of finest purple cloth with sleeves 'so long and wide that they reached to the ground.' Then she gave a leather purse containing 41 pennies according to the number of her years.

Regarding the presentation of the gown it is interesting to note that on 19 March 1572, Elizabeth I is recorded as substituting a money gift in lieu of her gown in that 'She changed the reward into money to be equally divided amongst them all, namely 20 shillings a piece.' The reason she did this was because it was difficult to choose one person to receive the gown as it caused ill will amongst the other poor people. Also, part of the reason was that she was too vain to part readily with her bejewelled garment. However, a precedent had been set by her young brother, Edward VI, when his childish robes had been redeemed at 20 shillings each, and he had also given ten pence each to 12 men in his first regal year. This payment continues to be given and forms part of the Maundy given to each recipient, but in ordinary coinage and a £1 is now given.

A detailed account of the 1572 ceremony states that Queen Elizabeth took part in the Maundy ceremonial in the Great Hall at Greenwich. A cushion was placed in front of each person for her to kneel on and her chaplain conducted the service. The feet of the poor people were first washed by a laundress with warm water from a silver bowl then, after the singing of a hymn, the Sub-Almoner and the Lord High Almoner repeated the process. The chaplain read the lesson from John's Gospel describing the washing of the disciples' feet, and then the Queen entered the Hall attended by 39 ladies and gentlemen, the number corresponding to her age. The 'gentlefolk' put on aprons and, bearing towels, basins of water and sweet flowers waited on the Queen, who washed and kissed the feet of the poor people. She then distributed the presents: broadcloth to make gowns, a pair of sleeves, a wooden platter upon which there was half a side of salmon, the same amount of ling, six red herrings, and six loaves of 'cheat bread', together with a wooden bowl of claret wine. She also gave the towels and aprons used to the poor women. Another account records that, 'By Her Highness' own hands she gave to 39 women 39 pence in memory of Her Majesties age.' The money

was given 'to every poor women in a white purse and to the said women in a red purse 20 shillings in lieu of her Majesties own gown, the purses costing the unusually large sum of 13d a dozen.'

The presence of the Yeomen of the Guard at the ceremony dates back to the reign of Henry VII in 1485, when he announced that they were there not only for his protection but for 'The upholding of the dignity and grandeur of the English crown in perpetuity, his successors the Kings and Queens of England for all time.'

Whilst it is known that in Tudor and earlier times the Queen Consorts gave their own Maundy, there are few records of the wives of the Stuart Kings performing this office. Henry VIII allowed Catherine of Aragon to carry out her own Maundy after divorcing her, as long as she did not do it as his Queen. It was also quite usual for other royal personages at that time to give out Maundy doles. Cardinal Wolsey and other prelates, and great noblemen such as the Earl of Northumberland, also did so, but generally this was a distribution to 12 people only.

During the Civil War Charles I did not fail to keep his Maundy, although it was distributed for him by the Bishop of Winchester. Charles, like some of his predecessors, refrained from the ceremony of washing of feet due to an outbreak of plague. Charles II, however, despite the plague, courted the utmost popularity by resuming the custom of 'personal service', restoring more or less the distribution in vogue under the Tudors.

In Somerset House, in a small book entitled *Royal Register*, it is recorded that 'on Maundy Thursday, April 16th, 1685, our gracious King James II washed, wiped and kissed the feet of 52 poor men with wonderful humility and all the service of the Church of England usual on that occasion was performed, His Majesty being present.' William III, in 1698, seems to have been the last monarch to wash the feet of the poor and under George I in 1714 as many men and women as the sovereign's age was instituted. An alteration in 1724 gave a money allowance to women instead of clothing. The reason for this change was that as the garments were of a feminine nature, and not made to measure, the desire of the recipients to find out if the clothes fitted them created an unseemly bustle in church. Later accounts indicate that the clothing element was reintroduced but in the form of cloth instead of ready made garments. George II did away with the 20 shillings redemption of the Royal gown, but it was restored by George III.

A short account of the ceremony in 1802 says that as many poor men and women as the King had years (63) sat down at low tables in Whitehall Chapel. Each person received about four pounds of beef (2kg) and four loaves. Clothes and money were distributed in the afternoon and a cup of ale, and they departed in cheerful spirits. In 1814, due to preparations for a concert under the auspices of Queen Charlotte, the ante-chapel was not available, so a lean-to was erected against the wall of the chapel facing Whitehall Gardens. This temporary structure was set out with forms, tables and other necessities. Every effort was made to ensure the comfort of the 150 recipients, and was used subsequently until 1837 when the festival or would-be dinner was dispensed with, the reason being given that the recipients often sold the provisions they received for a trifling sum, often as low as five shillings. As the contract allowance for the provisions was 30 shillings per head, William IV sanctioned a money allowance in lieu of the provisions. In 1833 a further alteration was made when a money bounty was paid to each man instead of the clothing, the reason for this being that they were too poor to be able to have the fabric made up.

In 1890 the Chapel Royal was handed over to the Royal United Services Institution and for an almost unbroken 60 years from 1891 the Maundy ceremony was held in Westminster Abbey. The exceptions were in 1911 and 1937 when the Abbey was closed for the coronation preparations and the Maundy ceremony was held in St Paul's Cathedral. Since the various gifts in kind had now been replaced by monetary gifts, the emphasis was quite rightly centered more on the message and meaning of the service itself.

Though the Maundy ceremony had been witnessed from time to time by various members of the Royal family, no reigning monarch had actually participated in the ceremony since 1698, and the distribution had been made by the Lord High Almoner or the Sub-Almoner. In 1932 King George V restored the custom and attended Westminster Abbey in person to hand out the traditional red and white purses to the recipients in the second distribution. It was during the latter part of his reign that the green and white purses with the short strings were introduced and were used for the gifts in lieu of clothing. Prior to this the money for clothing had been given in the form of a pay packet taken from a silk pouch. In 1935, as Princess Elizabeth, Her Majesty the Queen attended the service for the

first time.

In 1936 Edward VIII attended the service to distribute the gifts, and George VI distributed the Maundy on seven occasions, three of them in war time. Probably at no other time has the service gained such widespread interest as it has today; this can be attributed not only to the importance placed upon the ceremony by the Queen by attending in person on so many occasions, but also because the venue has varied from year to year.

At the beginning of her reign the Queen began the custom of holding the service at Westminster Abbey in alternate years, and in the intervening years at some other cathedral or church. Initially the alternate venues were in or around London, but before long the ceremony was witnessed by congregations in other parts of England. An immediate effect of this change was the necessity to revise the rule relating to the selection of recipients. Until 1951 it had been possible for recipients, having been selected to remain on the Maundy list for the rest of their lives. Now that the ceremony was observed in various areas it became necessary to grant gifts to new applicants on the one occasion only. On only four occasions has the Queen missed distributing the Maundy: in 1954 it was distributed by the Lord High Almoner; in 1960 and 1970 by the late Queen Mother, and in 1964 by the Princess Royal.

In Coronation Year, 1953, the Queen held the Maundy ceremony in St Paul's Cathedral; two years later the venue was Southwark Cathedral, coinciding with the Golden Jubilee of the diocese. In 1957 history was made when the venue was St Alban's Cathedral - although merely 20 miles from London, it meant that for the first time in 200 years the ceremony was held outside of London. During Easter the Court is customarily at Windsor, and so St Georges Chapel at Windsor was the venue for 1959. In 1961 Rochester celebrated the 500th anniversary of the granting of its Charter by Edward IV, and so the Maundy ceremony took place in its Cathedral.

The ceremony has altered considerably since 1213 when King John washed the feet of recipients, but the meaning and the message has remained the same. Considering that the average age of recipients is around 80, it was remarkable that 1961 was one of the few occasions when all the recipients were able to be present. Chelmsford saw the distribution in 1963, and Canterbury in 1965. By then the ceremony has



been held in seven churches or cathedrals other than Westminster Abbey, all those chosen being within 70 miles of London. Durham Cathedral, however, was chosen in 1967, the first time in over 300 years that the ceremony had been held in the north; it was also the first time that the ceremony had been shown on television. At a special festival marking the 900th anniversary of the founding of Selby Abbey, Yorkshire, in 1969, the service was held there. The 500th anniversary of the battle of Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, and the 850th anniversary of the Abbey in 1971 saw the ceremony held there in the west. York Minster was the venue in 1972, and Salisbury Cathedral in 1974 to mark the 900th anniversary of the founding of the diocese. In 1530 at Peterborough Cathedral Cardinal Wolsey had distributed his Maundy, and it was the scene of a distribution again in 1975. The following year it was held at Hereford Cathedral to mark the founding of the See in the seventh century. Carlisle Cathedral, founded in 1123, was the venue in 1978, and Winchester, to celebrate its 900th year, in 1979. Worcester Cathedral celebrated its 1300th anniversary of the founding of the diocese with the distribution in 1980. In the last twenty years many more towns and cities have been the scene of the ceremony as well as Westminster.

The very large silver-gill Maundy dish used in the first part of the distribution is part of the Royal regalia, and housed in the Tower of London. It was made for Charles II but bears the cypher of William III and Mary. Also displayed in the Tower are the altar dishes used since 1971 which are part of the Royal Chapel plate and date from the time of Charles II.

The early white purses for the Maundy coins were alum-dressed sheep or goat skin. In the 19th century they were made by poor children in industrial schools. The modern purses are machine made and better sewn, but in size and style they are close to their predecessors, although they cost more than the 13 pence a dozen of Elizabeth I's day.

The distribution now consists of a green purse containing £1.75 for the women, and the men receive £2.25 in a white purse instead of clothing formerly given. In the second distribution the men and women receive two purses each - the red purse with long white strings contains £1.50 for provisions and £1 for redemption of the Sovereign's gown. The white purse contains the silver Maundy coins in sets, reflecting in number the years of the Sovereign.

The towels, symbolic of the washing of the feet, used to be worn around the waist by officials but nowadays only the four main officials still wear towels, and have them over their right shoulder. Prior to 1880 the towels were presented to the officials, but since then they have been handed back to the Royal Almonry. Those used today date back to 1883.

Turning to the actual coins themselves, there are records that on 2 April 1574 (Maundy Thursday was on 8 April that year), 10lbs of silver, about enough for £30 worth of silver pennies was ordered to be struck into silver pennies at the rate of 720 to the pound Troy, and 11oz 2dwts of fine silver for Elizabeth's private use and the Maundy. In 1576, the Acts of Council state: '18th April Mr. Martin officer of the mint, to deliver £12 in single pence for Her Majesty's service on Maundy Thursday'. The pence must have already been struck as Maundy Thursday was the next day. Two years later we find, '18th March 1578 warrant to the Warden of the mint to deliver £13 in new pence for Maundy' (Maundy Thursday was a week later, 27 March). From these orders it is apparent that about ten shillings worth of pence was added each year to meet the increasing age of Elizabeth who, in 1587, would require £8.8s.9d (i.e. 2,025 pennies given by 45 x 45), as against £7.14s.1d. (1849 pennies, given 43 x 43) in 1576.

Maundy money, as known today, began with an undated issue of hammered coinage of Charles II in 1662, the coins being in four, three, two and one penny denominations. The second set, also undated, engraved by Thomas Simon, appeared the following year with the bust facing right. The first dated Maundy coin is the 2d piece of Charles II, dated 1668, and the earliest dated full set of groat (4d), threepenny, half groat (2d) and penny, is 1670. A precedent that still holds good today was set in this reign: on his hammered and undated coins Charles faced left, but on his later issues and all his coins from 1662 he faces right, establishing the custom whereby successive sovereigns faced in the reverse direction from their predecessor (the exception was Edward VIII in 1936). It is reputed that the change of direction was because Charles turned his back on the Commonwealth and the Puritanical life it represented. Also, for the first time, he wears a wreath on the silver coinage, and the interlocked Cs represent the coin's value. James II used Roman numerals to indicate the coin's value, or the I can be taken to be the King's initial from his name in Latin, Iacobus. Sets were issued for all

three years of his short reign.

With William III and Mary there appear a number of varieties amongst the Maundy coins. There are different busts on the four and three pence; the first bust was issued 1689-91 on the 4d and in 1689 and 1690 on the 3d. This second bust, with a tie to William's wreath and the legend broken, was issued until 1694. The 2d had only one variety, no tie but broken legend. The extremely rare penny of 1689 has a continuous legend above the heads. In subsequent years the legend was broken above the heads, and the value shown in Arabic numerals, a practice that continues to the present day. Maundy coins of William III alone were only issued as 4d from 1697 to 1702, and 3d, 2d and 1 from 1698 to 1701.

The Act of Union in 1707 did not affect the design of Maundy coins, so only one type was issued under Queen Anne. With George I there were only two full sets issued, in 1723 and 1727, the other denominations appeared in various years, not all consecutively. Although George II's coinage had both 'Young Head' and 'Old Head' issues, all the Maundy was struck with the 'Young Head' portrait. Again, not all the denominations were issued in each year.

George III's Maundy was divided into four issues: the 'Young Head' from 1762 to 1786; the second issue, known as 'wire money' from its very thin numerals, was only issued in 1792. Prior to this date all Maundy coins had also been currency coins but, with the issue of the large copper twopence and penny in 1797, the coins were only struck as Maundy. George III's third coinage is known as the 'Armoured Bust' for obvious reasons; it was issued in 1795 and 1800. Maundy money was not issued in each year, in some years not even pennies were struck, making it an interesting question as to how the authorities completed the quota of gifts in those years. Presumably either coins were struck with old dates, or there were enough available to meet the purpose. In 1800 George III was 62, which meant that he would have given a total 7,699 pence between 62 men and women. His last coinage, 'Old Head', was issued in 1817, 1818 and 1820, and is the only issue with the date on the obverse. In the recoinage of 1816 Maundy coins were effected alongside the normal issues. By the Treaty of Amiens (ending the Napoleonic wars, but only for a short time), George gave up the title of 'King of France' ('FR.'), and the union with Ireland in 1800 removed 'Et.Hib' from the reverses, now

leaving room to put 'FID.DEF.'('Defender of the Faith') there.

George IV had only one type of Maundy, despite having three issues of silver, and it was issued in complete sets each year from 1822. Edward Hawkins, in his *Silver Coinage of England*, 1841, recounts an interesting story regarding George III's 3d of 1822. It can be seen that the King's head is smaller than it ought to be and it is said that the original die broke; there was no time to engrave the proper size head so the artificers at the mint improvised by making a new one from the 2d punch. As Hawkins wrote soon after the event he may have had first-hand information.

Under William IV and the early years of Victoria's reign some small coins identical with Maundy pieces were struck for Colonial use. In both reigns some 3d pieces were issued for currency; these had a slightly dull surface. In 1836 the 'Britannia Groats' were issued for ordinary currency of a different design from the Maundy groat, and they were issued until 1888. Victoria's Maundy has three changes of portrait, the 'Young Head' being issued from 1838 until 1887. These sets are plentiful since not only were they issued each year but anyone with a bank account could order a set. The 'Jubilee Head' appeared on the coins from 1888 until 1892, and the crown over the numeral was now the Imperial crown and not the crown of England. The 'Old' or 'Widows Head' appeared on the coins from 1893 to 1901.

In 1909, in Edward VII's reign, the practice of obtaining Maundy sets from banks was stopped, and there was greater control on the number of sets issued. In addition to the recipients' sets, other sets were given as fees to those who either participated in the ceremony or were concerned with its preparation. Additionally to the 1902 sets a proof set was included in the proof sets of coins issued for the coronation.

The silver was debased in George V's reign and the Maundy was not spared, its silver content was reduced from 92.5% to 50%. This apart, sets were issued each year and remained unchanged. Until 1927 the Maundy and currency 3d had been identical, but this was changed so that all the Maundy were then different in design from currency coins. Maundy have always been legal tender, and remain so until today, although presumably no one would wish to use them as such.

The reign of George VI saw three changes in the Maundy money. The initial issue was at 50% fine but the second restored the 92.5%

standard when the rest of the coinage changed to cupronickel. The Deputy Master of the Mint's report for 1946 referred to the cessation of the manufacture of silver coins and said, 'the use of silver in English coinage, which has been continuous since the seventh century is not however to disappear entirely the decision, welcome to everyone, having been taken to resume the use of the sterling standard in Maundy money, the silver penny, twopence, threepence and fourpence. Of these coins the English silver penny was instituted c. AD 760 and gave its later name of sterling to our whole currency system. All were struck in sterling silver (silver of 925 millesimal fineness), with one brief interruption in Henry VIII's debasement of all coinage, until a general change in 1920 in which these small coins were included with the rest. The Act of 1946 thus restores to their ancient standard all those silver coins which antedate the discovery of argentiferous America, while those introduced after that date, including those required for circulation, are converted to cupronickel.' The third issue of George VI's Maundy from 1949 to 1952 (in the latter year it was distributed by our present Queen) omitted 'IND.IMP.' from the legend.

Coming right up to date with our present Queen's reign, the Maundy coins are now the only silver coins issued, and when the United Kingdom changed to decimal currency on 15 February 1971, the face value of a set of Maundy coins became 10 new pence instead of 10d under the old £.s.d. system. It was decided that the new effigy that had been prepared for the use on the decimal coinage should not be applied to the Maundy money. The first issue in 1953 contained 'BRITT.OMN.' in the legend, but this was omitted in subsequent years, and the portrait has remained the same.

In support of his talk Roy showed a number of slides of Maundy coins but first set the scene with Ford Madox Brown's famous painting in the Tate Gallery, London, of 'Jesus Washing Peter's Feet', based on John 13, 4-12. Painted between 1851 and 1856, it is 46 inches high by 52 1/2 inches wide.

A unique miniature showed Elizabeth I and her ladies at Greenwich in 1572; only 2.25 inches wide it nevertheless the artists has most skillfully shown over 100 people - it truly is a microcosm of the world, of 16th century London..

## **London Numismatic Club Meeting, 5 March 2002**

This meeting was the **Annual General Meeting** of the Club. The President, Philip Mernick, gave a resume of the Club's activities during the year, making especial mention of the excellent programme of speakers and talks that had been enjoyed through the efforts of our Speaker Secretary, David Sealy. He also thanked the other members of the Committee for their support and input during the year. The election of officers ensued, and all, having expressed their willingness to serve, were re-elected for the forthcoming Club year.

There followed the Club's Cheese and Wine Party at which several of the speakers who had addressed the Club during the year were guests, as were a number of other people notable in the numismatic world. As usual, it was a great success much enjoyed by all.

The following are the Club's Officers and Committee for 2002-2003:

President: Philip Mernick

Vice President & Librarian: Philip Rueff

Secretary: Robert Hatch; Assistant Secretary: John Roberts-Lewis

Treasurer: Paul Edis; Programme Secretary: David Sealy Editor,  
Newsletter: Peter Clayton

Committee: Tony Gilbert; Harold Mernick; Anthony Portner.

## **London Numismatic Club Meeting, 10 April 2002**

Ian Roper, a longtime member of the Club, spoke on Roman countermarked coins. Ian began with a question; 'How do we all begin a hobby?' Something sparks off a little thought, or challenge in our head, or we are simply curious about something we saw or heard that we don't quite understand.

So it was for me. I picked up an almost unrecognisable Roman coin. Very worn but with these curious marks on it. I was told it was a Roman coin with two countermarks. Thus, from small beginnings, began the second great numismatic quest of my life. The first, the study of Byzantine coins, weights and seals finished some twenty years ago, when I began to collect antiquities - this interest has been revived recently

though. [Ian has combined that latter interest with having a stand in Grays-in-the-Mews market, where a number of antiquities dealers in many different civilisations may be found. Editorial note.]

The *bible* for those interested in this subject is Chris Howgego's *Greek Imperial Countermarks: Studies in the Provincial Coinage of the Roman Empire* (Royal Numismatic Society, 1985). This deals only with the countermarks on Roman Colonial issues, not on its Imperial ones. Another useful article was published by Colin M. Kraay in 1952, 'The Behaviour of Early Roman Countermarks'.

I must now try to clarify the subject. There are three principal types of coins marked after their original issue which do not interest us in relation to my topic. But these need to be clarified to save confusion. They are:

**1. Bankers marks.** These were usually small punch marks, sometimes a little crescent or other symbol struck into the coin. They served to show that the coins were passed by some authority to be of good value. The punch marks cut deep enough to show, for example, that the coins, if silver or gold, were not plated.

These marks could also be used on coins designated for a particular purpose, e.g. a special payment, or for future referral.

**2. Graffiti.** All series of coins suffer from this form of defacement. Individuals have been known to scratch their names, lover's names, horses, numbers and a whole variety of weird and wonderful symbols.

**3. Over-striking.** This occurs when a mint is short of blanks to use for a new issue, often in an emergency. Here the intention is to issue a new coin obliterating all trace of the original under type. Often they failed to do this, much to the delight of numismatists who have been able to use this to reconstruct the chronology of a series. The Byzantine anonymous bronzes are one of the best known instances.

True countermarks are those produced when the mint used a small punch or die to revalidate coins which may have been worn, obsolete or from another area. This saved the expense of cutting new full size dies and making new blanks, etc.

This phenomenon, which continues a widely used Greek tradition, began during the early Empire under Tiberius, AD 14-37. There are coins known of the Late Republic, as well as of Augustus, that are countermarked, but the practice seems to have begun in earnest under Tiberius. It continued for Roman Imperial issues until at least Nero, but possibly on through the Flavians, AD 69-96. With the Roman Colonial coins, however, it lasted right up to end of their issues in the late 3rd century. Countermarks of coins of Aurelian are known, possibly some later, but definitely ending with the great coinage reform of Diocletian in AD 296.

The authority for these issues could be the Imperial government, local civic councils, or the army. In some cases local temples made issues, and it should be remembered that they were often used as banks.

Countermarks can vary in size, sometimes even up to half the area of the coin. Many look like little cameos, and can be set in a square, round, oval or any odd shape of frame. They can appear on both sides of a coin, and with any die-axis, and in many cases we find there are more than one. I have been told of some Greek coins with up to ten countermarks. In my own collection there is one with six.

Many of the coins were in bad shape when they were reissued, but this does not mean that worn coins were always used. Because the countermark dies sank deep into the coin, their impressions have survived better than the original which, in actuality, was having second life. There are some examples where 'a' has been used to state the new value of a coin. Others from Spain have DV on them. This was to reduce the value of the coin from a sestertius to a dupondius. It is interesting to note that some of the undertypes were themselves irregular issues. There are many 3rd century coins with a mark of value countermarked on them. This usually takes the form of a Greek letter. Although I suppose people got used to them, they do sometimes appear to very confusing.

There are quite large number of early Imperial issues countermarked with AVG or AV for Augustus and TIB, TIB IMP, etc. for Tiberius. I sometimes wonder just how many coins were in fact countermarked, Dr Howgego reckoned that as many as 4% of the whole Roman coinage up to Diocletian could have been countermarked, which would be a very considerable number indeed.



During the invasion of Britain by Claudius in AD 43, coins marked TC IMP were issued, and some of these have been found in the Balkans, possibly carried there by soldiers from the British campaign.

Sometimes a later emperor would order that existing coins be countermarked to enforce his authority in using coins from previous reigns: Nero used NCAPR - *Nero Caesar Augustus Probatum* (i.e. this coin is of good standing by order of the emperor Nero).

Vespasian also had huge numbers of silver denarii, and denarius-size coins countermarked in the East with IMPVESP. This appeared on Late Republican and earlier Imperial silver as well as local issues of drachms of the Attic standard. He was keen to have his name on coins as quickly as possible, hence this emergency issue.

Vitellius in his bid for power in AD 68 had the countermarks VIT or VITE put on coins in his haste to establish his authority. Another anti-Nero rival, Vindex in Gaul, is thought to be responsible for the issue of coins with SPQR on them.

Military issues account for quite large numbers of countermarked coins, especially when the legions were campaigning in areas where there was no local mint, or where the supply of money was short. Some issued countermarks using their Legionary name and number: e.g. LVIF for the 6th *Ferrata*, or XF for the 10th *Fretensis*.

The Eastern provincial cities were responsible for large numbers of issues, amounting to hundreds and thousands of coins. Some of these were by Imperial decree but others for local need. Often their coinage had become worn and their rich variety would cause confusion. Some were marked with a value in *assaria*, the Eastern equivalent of the *as*. In some cases coins which were held in stock at the mint were countermarked before they were issued, so they were actually issued for the first time with their countermarks on them.

Local temples and cult centres would seek to promote their gods. For example, OEOV represents Hekate or Zeus Panamaros from Stratoniceia in Caria. There are issues of Nemausus in Gaul, such as a dupondius and its half the *as*, a broken in half dupondius, both with the same countermark, D X D. Another coin has a monogram of Varus on it, but sadly he is a later namesake to the Varus who lost three legions (XVII, XVIII and XIX) in the Teutenburg Forest in AD 9. His issues are very much sought after.

Ian then illustrated and discussed a large number of countermarks from slides of coins in his extensive collection. He said that he had hopes of, perhaps one day, preparing a publication on the subject.

### **London Numismatic Club Meeting, 7 June**

Martin Allen of the Department of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge to speak on 'Recent coin finds in the Cambridge area', However, as he explained, he felt that it would be more interesting for the Club members if he spoke on recent work that he had been carrying out on the coins. This did raise a problem in providing a script as much of what he imparted to members was 'work in progress' and therefore not ready for wider dissemination. Martin suggested, however, in order to revert to the title he had been originally booked to speak on, that for the Newsletter an article on a medieval coin hoard found in Cambridge might be of interest to members. The original article, which was approved by Martin, is reproduced from *Minerva* Nov/Dec 2001, pp. 50-51 (but here without the illustrations that accompanied it).

In October 2000, during work by Anglia Water sinking a new shaft to lay new sewers under Chesterton Lane, Cambridge, a remarkable discovery was made. The site would have been one of the cottages facing St Giles Church, but they were demolished in 1911 for the widening of the lane. The find was made by archaeologists Richard Mortimer and Roderick Regan of the Cambridge Archaeological Unit who had been brought in by Anglia Water to ensure that no historical sites were being disturbed by the work .

The first sight of the coins was a glinting group in the section wall, and it could be immediately seen that there were two layers of coins, together with traces of a wooden box in the soil. The excavation was actually a three-metre wide access shaft for a tunnel at the junction of Chesterton Lane and Magdalene Street, so it was quite incredible that the coin hoard was revealed. The hoard is only the second medieval coin hoard found in the city - the previous one was in 1817 on the site of the Old Dolphin Inn, but unfortunately it was dispersed.

The present hoard consists of more than 1,800 silver and gold coins of Edward I to III. It was deposited in two parts, the first being buried in the wooden box in the late 1340s around the time of the Black Death. The

second portion, dating to the mid-1350s, was the nine gold coins added into the top of the box, which was then sealed beneath the cottage floor. The silver pennies are from mints in England, Ireland, Scotland and mainland Europe. The gold coins, seven English nobles and two half-nobles of Edward III (1327-77), were added to the original silver penny hoard several years later. A coin hoard found in an archaeological context like this is extremely rare.

The original owner of the hoard was obviously a wealthy person since the total value was about £10. 3s 4d - a very large sum of money at the period, representing as much as three to four years' pay for a craftsman in the town.

When fully analysed, the hoard will throw very interesting light on a period in the history of Cambridge when the first university colleges were being founded and the country as a whole was in the grip of the Black Death when thousands perished; perhaps the original owner was one of its victims, hence the hoard was not recovered.

The hoard was put on show in the Fitzwilliam Museum's exhibition, 'Town and Gown: Cambridge on Parade', which marked the 800th anniversary of the grant of a Borough Charter to Cambridge by King John in 1201. Dr Mark Blackburn, Keeper of Coins and Medals at the Museum, said, 'We were keen to let the public see this large hoard as soon as possible, but it will need months of further conservation and study before all its secrets will be revealed.' The Fitzwilliam Museum hopes to be able to acquire the hoard, and Cambridge City Council, Cambridgeshire County Council, and the archaeologists involved have all waived any rights to a reward so that the hoard may go the Museum.

On the site of the access shaft the archaeological sequence revealed is quite remarkable as it moves backwards in time from the modern tarmac road through the Middle Ages and then on down through an Anglo-Saxon cemetery and culminates on an early Roman road.

### **London Numismatic Society Club Meeting, 2 July 2002**

Tony Holmes, a Past-President of the Club, spoke on 'Pictures on Coins'. Tony said that he chosen this title because there were things to be learned from the subjects illustrated on coins, as well as from the inscriptions.

Sometimes things can look the same when they are not: e.g. the

Doge and St Mark on a Venetian matapan looks just like Stephen V and St Stephen on a Serbian gros; Michael III and St George on a Bulgarian groshove, and even Andronicus II and Michael IX on a Byzantine basilicon.

An enquiry as to what was on the 1857 halfpenny of Upper Canada had produced interesting information. Canada was quite a frontier country at that time; in 1849 rioters had burned down the Parliament House in Montreal and Parliament, aggrieved, had moved to Toronto. Officially British coins were used, but there were not enough and the Bank of Montreal had been allowed to fill the gap with its 'Bouquet', 'Bank' and 'Habitant' tokens. Now the contract went to the Bank of Upper Canada in Toronto, and their token had St George and the dragon, with an heraldic design on the back, crowned sword and anchor, two cornucopiae, a Union Flag to right, and an arrow and tomahawk bound with a cable.

Thus the description in the leading book on Canadian coinage following Hocking's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Museum of the Royal Mint*. But, Canada had no arms at the time and the design is taken from the seal of Upper Canada, 28 March 1792. Sir Conrad Swan (Garter King of Arms), in *Symbols of Sovereignty*, quotes from the Royal Warrant which says the design contains a pipe of peace, not a tomahawk! [Editor's note: but many pipes of peace exist which are indeed tomahawks as well; so both descriptions could be correct.] Incidentally, the Union Flag omits the cross of St Patrick because it faithfully copies the 1792 seal, and Ireland was not incorporated with the British Isles until 1901.

Many coins could leave one in doubt as to what was actually intended, and Tony proceeded to illustrate and describe some, of which the following is a list.

- Gwalior, quarter anna, 1901. Cobra, trident of Siva and sceptre.
- Vatican, 100 lire, 1975. The miraculous draught of fishes.
- Travancore, half rupee, 1885 and 1924. A chank shell, symbol of Vishnu.
- Seleukid bronze of Antiochus VII, 138-129 BC. Headdress of Isis.
- Eion in Macedonia, AR obol, 500-400 BC. Goose looking backwards, lizard above.
- Pontius Pilate, Procurator of Judaea, AD 29/30. A simpulum (a ladle)
-

for pouring libations). As some scholars think the Crucifixion occurred in AD 30, this would have been a bright new prutah circulating in Judaea at the time.

- Mithradates VI of Pontus and Bosphoros, 120-63 BC. A leather cap.
- Seleukid, Antiochus X, 94-83 BC. 'The pilei of the Dioscuri', i.e. the conical caps of Castor and Pollux, sons of Zeus by Leda who, in legend, fought on the Roman side at the battle of Lake Regillus, in 496 BC.
- Husam ed-din Zuluk Arslan, Atabeg of Mardin, 1184-1200. Seated man holding a sword and a severed head. This may represent Saladin decapitating Reynald de Chatillon in 1187 for attacking the Mecca caravan in breach of a treaty. But Spengler and Sayles, in a recent book, say that it is an astrological reference, representing Perseus in Andromeda (so the head should be that of Medusa).
- L. Musidius Longus, Roman Republican denarius, 42 BC. The outfall of the Cloaca Maxima in Rome, with two statues of Venus who, strangely, became the goddess of sewers. The only coin Tony knew of with a sewer outfall on it!
- Phokis, central Greece, a trichalcon. Three cows' heads, to show that it was worth three chalcoi.
- Byzantine AE of Byzantium and Nicaea alliance, 253-268 AD. Two baskets - to show that you could shop in both markets - an early euro-coin?
- Kunindas, AR of NE India, late 2nd century BC. Athene and her deer in a very un-Greek style [especially as the owl is associated with Athene, and deer with Artemis. Ed.] These coins are found with Indo Greek pieces, suggesting a sub-Himalayan trade route.
- Himyarites, AR, of Arabia, 100-50 BC. A copy of the Athenian tetradrachm in a wildly different style.
- Sikyon, half drachm, 360-330 BC. A chimaera, which has the forepart of a lion, the middle of a goat complete with a second head, and the tail of a serpent.
- Frederick of Austria, AR, 1308-30. A mermaid wearing a hood.
- Wajid Ali of Awadh, quarter rupee, 1847-56. Arms supported by two mermaids (the British were endeavouring to make the Indian princes into English aristocrats!)

- Al Ashraf Sha'aban II, Mamluk AR, 1363-77. A shark. Professor Paul Balog believed it to be heraldic; Mayer's *Saracen Heraldry* denies this.
- Andronicus II, Byzantine trachy, 1282-1328. A cherub, with four wings and two spears; see Ezekiel x, 14-22.
- Andronicus II and Michael IX, 1294-1320. A seraph who, of course, has six wings; see Isaiah vi, 2.
- Ivan, Shishman of Bulgaria, AR, 1371-93. Some sales list have this as the 'Angry Ghost', but it is intended to be the Virgin and Child.
- Suleiman, Abbasid Governors of Tabiristan, AR, late 8th century AD. The governors generally took the portrait from the Ispahbad coinage, itself copying the Sasanian Khusru II. Here, this governor has replaced the face with a lozenge, as a good Muslim, yet retaining the crown and robed shoulders.
- Charles II of Spain, jeton of the Spanish Netherlands, 1667. An aerial view of the fortifications of Charleroi.
- Wolf Lauffer II, jeton of Nuremberg, 1612-51. Although looking like a boat, it is a tortoise rigged with a mast and sails! 'Festine lente' - hasten slowly, it says.
- Nicaea in Bithynia, billon, 253-255. Three urns containing palm branches, prizes in the Games, probably a local event, though the Olympic Games were still being held at this date. Begun in 776 BC, they continued until banned by Theodosius II in AD 395.
- Sidon, Phoenicia, AE, 218-222. a baetyl (conical stone, probably in origin a meteorite), sacred to the goddess Astarte, in a cart.
- Hadrian, 117-138, billon tetradrachm of Alexandria. 'Canopus of Isis', with her symbols upon it. Canopic jars, four in number, were used in ancient Egypt to hold the internal organs removed from the body during mummification.
- Commodus, 177-192, AE, Caesarea in Cappadocia. 'Agalma of Mount Argaeus on altar'. An agalma is an object of worship shown in glory - here a mountain with little men going up and down.
- Elector George Ludwig of Brunswick-Luneburg, 1696-1727 (later King George I of England). A 'wildman' - a giant with a tree-trunk in his right hand. The similar wildman for Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel has the tree in his left hand.
- Queen Tamar of Georgia, 1184-1212, AE. Valentine says that this is a

cross-bow, but it is more probably a dynastic symbol.

- Vasu Deva, c. 195-230, Kushan gold. Siva and his bull.
- Louis II de Male, Count of Flanders, 13438-84, AR double-gros. A lion wearing a helmet. Not the happiest of designs, it has been called 'botdrager', as it looked like a dog with a pot on its head.
- Magdalen islands, 1815, token 1d. A dried cod.
- Hard Times token cent, 1837, USA. A donkey: 'I follow in the steps of my illustrious predecessor' - a comment on the Presidential election of 1837.
- Sind, AR rupee, 1843-5. A hare whose back legs are 'Mahmud Shah' in Persian script. Issued by Sir Charles Napier after he had sent the telegram with the single word 'Peccavi' - I have sinned - a pun on his conquest of Sind. It tries to resemble a Mughal rupee.
- Greece, 10 drachmas. 1992. An atomic diagram having, on the other side, Democritus, c. 460-357 BC, who evolved the atomic theory. It has, however, been pointed out that since three electrons are shown it must be an atom of Lithium, but it may have been simply to make a simple diagram.
- Indonesia, 100 rupees. A cow racing!  
And so one could go on ad infinitum....

### **London Numismatic Club Meeting, 6 August, 2002**

This was a most unusual meeting of the Club as it welcomed Grunal the Moneyer (aka David Greenhalgh) to speak about 'The Trouble with Piles'. David Greenhalgh has long been known for his research into aspects of the hammered series but then, unlike anyone else, he took it further into the practicalities of minting and the essence of an Anglo-Saxon moneyer, inventing and indeed literally living, the character of Grunal the Moneyer. No doubt many members of the Club have seen David in his *alta ego*, dressed appropriately and surrounded by the tools of his money's trade, giving practical demonstrations of the money's art at various venues around the country. He was even invited to set up his workshop in the colonnade under the hallowed portico of the British Museum. Not only does he strike coins but he is extremely adept at cutting the dies for them, and is often commissioned to cut a die for special occasions such as numismatic conferences and conventions, or to record family events.

For the Club's meeting he brought along a lot of his equipment and kept members enthralled as he described and demonstrated his art. There are numerous re-enactment groups around the UK, ranging from Roman legionaries, to Anglo-Saxons and Vikings, Norman and medieval knights and, perhaps premier of all, The Sealed Knot founded by the late Brigadier Peter Young, whose huge English Civil War battle scenarios draw huge crowds. But, Grunal the Moneyer is unique, a one man show, and much appreciated for the practical elements and knowledge that he has brought to the understanding of the craft of the hammered coin moneyer.

### **London Numismatic Club Meeting, 3 September, 2002**

This meeting was the Members' Own, which for many years has been held in the so-called 'dead month' of August, but a change was made. Several members of the Club gave short presentations, as is our normal procedure, some of which appear here from texts supplied.

Philip Mernick brought to members' notice a generally little known 18th century Dutch numismatist, Gerard van Loon, 1683-1758. Van Loon had studied philosophy and held a degree in law but, as far as is known, he never practised as a lawyer, nor did he marry. As a Catholic he was prevented from holding public office but he came of a noble family and therefore may have had private means. His best known publication is the four volume book on Netherlands historical medals: *Beschrijving van Nederlandsche historiepenningen ten verfolge op zijn werk*, that was published between 1723 and 1737. A five volume version in French was published between 1732 and 1737. Even after all these years, it is still the standard work on the subject of Dutch medals and jettons of the period covered. However, Philip wanted to draw attention to another of van Loon's works which was much less known because it was only available in Dutch until an English translation became available in 1995. The original title was *Hedendaagsche Penningkunde*, which has been translated as *Contemporary Numismatics*. It was first published in 1717, then greatly expanded and republished in 1732, and again in 1734.

The translation was done by Robert Turfboer, and the editing and graphics by James Sweeney. The reprint is in the same large format (13.5



x 9.5 inches) as the original and reproduces its layout with many illustrations in the text. It must have been expensive to produce but seems to have financial support from the Dutch ABN-AMRA Bank. The title page indicates the depth of coverage of the subject, and the book includes topics which are still important today.

**C O N T E M P O R A R Y  
N U M I S M A T I C S**

Being a treatise about money  
**THE ORIGIN OF MONEY,**

The development and distinguishing features of  
**COMMEMORATIVE MEDALS;**

The nature and methods of reckoning with  
J E T T O N S ;

How the ancients did their calculations; The origins of  
**NUMERALS, MAGIC COINS**

**and EMERGENCY MONEY**

A S W E L L A S

The ground rules that should be followed in properly designing  
c o l l e c t i o n s ,

And in arranging and working with coins and medals.

Van Loon seems to have been one of the first people to promote the value of collecting contemporary coins and medals and gives tips for housing your collection such as the type of wood suitable for cabinets and the style of tray to make organising and display easier. He also gives tips on how to avoid your valuable (time and money) collection being broken up when you die - i.e. don't spend so much money on gold specimens and the largest sizes of medal that your heirs have to sell them immediately!

It is a fascinating book that is now available to modern numismatists although the reprint itself is probably hard to find.

Using slides, **John Roberts-Lewis** gave a talk on 'Some Greek coins and their Libyan connections'. Whilst working in Libya he had bought two small bronze coins at ancient Apollonia, the port of Cyrene. One had a female head with an inscription in Greek for King Ptolemy, the other an eagle on a thunderbolt; both were assumed to be Egyptian issues. As Cyrenaica was part of the Ptolemaic Empire for most of the time, this

seemed to be the limit of the connection.

Back in England, catalogue to hand, the female head was identified as 'Libya', and the coin's obverse male head as Ptolemy I, though the issue was assigned to Ptolemy V (204-193 BC), and was for Cyrenaica and possibly struck there. The obverse of the second coin was in poor condition, but was probably second century BC Egyptian.

A silver tetradrachm was used to show the designs on a series of coins minted for Ptolemy I. Both the head of Ptolemy I and eagle on the thunderbolt reverse were heavily used on the silver coins of the subsequent Ptolemaic rulers. His head is said to be the first portrait on a coin of a living man, that is if one excludes the deified images of Alexander the Great that appeared on the coins of his general Lysimachus. The little copper coins were good examples and one of them had a specific Libyan use.

A third small bronze coin obtained in London, also from Cyrene, can be dated to 300 to 277 BC when Magas, the stepson of Ptolemy I was Governor of the area. Here the obverse has the head of Zeus Ammon, the reverse a palm tree and the Greek letters *KYPA* and a silphium plant. The latter is very small and might not have been identified as such were it not for the fact that there is extensive and detailed depictions of the plant on the silver tetradrachms. The plant became extinct in the first century AD. Its use, like a city badge, shows its importance in the economy of Cyrene during the early centuries when it was the main export. Used medicinally, and also as a vegetable, its habitat was very restricted and the spread of olive cultivation, which became Libya's main export, or animal over grazing, may have caused its extinction.

Slides of Cyrene's extensive excavated site, contemporary with the two coins, together with an explanation of the mythology connected to the names encountered, helped to put the coins into context.

The Club's Past President, **Tony Holmes**, spoke about Constantine the Great, Crispus and Fausta. He said that Crispus, the son of Constantine by his first wife, Minervina, and Fausta, his second wife, were regularly portrayed on the coinage, but the end of their relationship is shrouded in mystery.

In 325 Constantine celebrated the beginning of his jubilee year - his vicennalia, 20 years on the throne - at Nicaea, in what is now Turkey. He had gone there to open and preside over a general council of the

church, the Council of Nicaea (which drew up the familiar Nicene Creed). He still holds the record for being the only layman (and unbaptised at that!) ever to preside at a general council of the church.

Returning, he was accompanied by his empress, the Augusta Fausta, his eldest son, the Caesar Crispus, the former Caesar Licinius II, and Helena, his mother, upon whom he had just bestowed the title Augusta. By February they had reached Serdica, now Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria. The basilica where the emperor received a civic welcome can still be seen in the city, as well as other striking Roman remains. Shortly afterwards, according to Eutropius, 'he put to death that exceptional man, his son [i.e. Crispus], his sister's son [Licinius II, actually his sister's adopted son], and soon afterwards his wife, and later, numbers of his friends.'

Victor says, in his *Histories*, that the reasons for the executions were never disclosed, but in his *Epitome* he adds, 'they say it was by the prompting of Fausta that he ordered his son Crispus to be killed'. Philostorgus says, 'It is said that Constantine killed his own son Crispus because of slanders made against him by his stepmother'. Jerome says, 'Crispus, Constantine's son, and the younger Licinius, son of Constantia and Licinius, were most cruelly put to death in the ninth year of their reign'. The ninth year ended on 1 March 326 so, if this account is accurate, the executions took place, much earlier in the year than is generally supposed.

There are two main theories as to why Constantine ordered the executions. One suggests that Fausta forged evidence of Crispus being involved in a treasonable plot, and that Constantine executed him and the younger Licinius, no doubt as a co-plotter. Then, discovering the falsity of the accusation, he had Fausta thrown into a bath of boiling water. The second theory, put forward by Zosimus and Sidonius Apollinaris, was that Crispus was suspected of adultery with his step-mother, Fausta, and they were both executed for this. In support of the second theory, it has been argued that Constantine promulgated severe sexual laws at about this time. However, these laws start earlier, and are primarily concerned with those about virgins, and not appropriate to this supposed situation.

Do the coins thrown any light on this? At Heraclea during the period 324-330 there are five mint marks; with the first, SMHA, both Fausta and Crispus appear; with the second, SMHA', Fausta appears but

not Crispus, and neither appears with the three later mint marks. The mints of Ticinum and Nicomedia are much the same, but the other mints show them both disappearing in the same period. It is clear that some mints had more mint-mark periods than others, so this fits in with Eutropius, who is quite clear that Fausta's execution was later than that of Crispus.

Had the pair been executed for adultery, one would expect them both to have been condemned together, so it is perhaps more likely that the conspiracy theory is correct. Fausta was the mother of Constantine's three younger sons, and the brilliant and popular Crispus may have seemed a threat to their future. This also fits in with the execution of numbers of friends, though the evidence is perhaps more persuasive than certain.

A Carlisle token of 1646 was the subject presented by **David Powell**. The piece is the exact size of a silver penny of the period, albeit of a soft pewterish metal, and the diameter varies between 11.5 and 13mm. The obverse carries a monogram KAR, which could be the monarch's name, a place name, or a set of issuer's initials, with the Roman numeral I above and the date 1646 below.

It was reputedly found at Low Crosby, three miles north-east of Carlisle, and somewhere on the short stretch between the River Eden and Hadrian's Wall. It was part of a small hoard containing both English and Scottish small silver of the period.

The reverse, whilst not containing anything which can be easily described, or photographed, is not wholly flat. When viewed in a strong light at certain angles one is tempted to feel that certain features of a Mary head-band exist, including the lion and the '155' of the date, although the piece is the size of what a half-hardhead would be, and it is not of the same metal quality. Whether this might be somewhat over-imaginative in thinking that it is a restrike is not at all sure.

The opinion of the 2001 Token Congress favoured the piece being a precursor of the main 17th century series, rather than a Carlisle siege piece.



## London Numismatic Club Meeting, 1 October 2002

Andrew Meadows, of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, described a Greek coin hoard from Media - the Malayer hoard in the National Museum of Iran.

For a long time this hoard had been known to scholars only through the highly summary account of it presented by Daniel Schlumberger in Appendix III of his *L'Argent Grec dans l'Empire Achéménide* (Paris 1953). The Malayer Hoard (IGCH 1790) was apparently unearthed in 1934. Apparently 306 pieces were reported to have been confiscated by the police at Malayer, and are now in the collection of the National Museum of Iran in Teheran. A substantial number of coins evaded confiscation, however, and entered commerce. Some were acquired by a Mme Godard, some by M. Pozzi, the French ambassador to Iran, some by the French scholar Henri Seyrig, some by a Mr. Aziz Beglou, and still more made their way onto the market in London. Casts of some of this last group are now held by the British Museum.

The London portion of the hoard was first summarised by E.S.G. Robinson in *Iraq* 12 (1950), pp. 50-51. A basic listing of the contents, including the portion preserved in Teheran, as well as those pieces in private collections, was provided by Schlumberger. This listing, alongside that of Robinson, was utilised by C.M. Kraay and P.R.S. Moorey for comparative purposes in their publication of two fifth-century hoards from Syria and Jordan (*Rev. Num.* 1968, pp. 222-8 and tables pp. 232-5), as well as by H.A. Troxell and W.F. Spengler in their publication of a hoard from Afghanistan (*ANSMN* 15 (1969), pp. 14-16). More recently the hoard has been discussed by J and A.G. Elayi (*Trésors de Monnaies Phéniciennes et Circulation Monétaire (Ve-IVe siècles avant J.-C.)*, Paris, 1993, pp. 277-9) and N. Vismara (*Ripostigli d'epoca preellenistica (VI-IV sec. a.C.) con monete della Lycia arcaica: aspetti e problemi di distribuzione e di circolazione. Catalogo dei ritrovamenti di Lycia(?) 1972(?) e Lycia(?) 1973(?)*, Milan, 1999, pp. 142-3) 'a propos of its Phoenician and Lycian contents respectively. But, always, discussions of this important hoard have been based on the imperfect and incomplete summary of Schlumberger. Clearly a full examination and publication of the hoard was highly desirable, and offered a number of obvious benefits.

The hoard is of considerable importance from two points of view. First, it offers a rare glimpse of monetary circulation in Media in the Achaemenid period. As Elayi and Elayi note (p. 279), for example, 11 seraient utiles de savoir notamment si beaucoup de pièces portaient des coups de ciseau comme les 4 mentionnées par D. Schlumberger'. Moreover, of the 160 Athenian tetradrachms listed by Schlumberger as being in Teheran, it is important to determine how many, if any, are eastern imitations. Second, the hoard offers potentially significant information for the study of the Greek mints whose coins it contains. Several of the coinages listed by Robinson and Schlumberger are currently represented by only a handful of published specimens. In such circumstances the addition of even only a single specimen is a significant advance, the more so when that specimen has a clear provenance.

Crucially, there was also important doubt to be removed concerning the deposit date of the Malayer hoard. Of the coins that appeared on the London market, at least two seem to have been 20-century intrusions, not belonging to the original hoard. Given this apparent contamination of the hoard after it left its original findspot, it was particularly important to examine the types preserved in Teheran, and to establish precisely the types included. From Schlumberger's listing the Teheran coins seem to belong to the fifth century. If this was the case, then the standard dating of the Malayer hoard (c. 375 in IGCH), would need to be raised to c. 425 BC. Clearly a visit to Tehran was necessary and, thanks to a grant from the British Institute of Persian Studies, has now been made.

Andrew Meadows visited Iran from 17 to 29 January 2002, during which time he was able to spend a total of eight days working in the coin room of the National Museum, under the supervision of the curator of coins, Mrs. E. Askari. Permission was granted by the Director of the National Museum both to study the coins from the Malayer hoard and to take photographs of them using a digital camera. In this way a comparatively brief visit to Iran will allow a thorough study of the hoard and, in collaboration with Mrs. Askari, publication of the hoard in *Iran*, the journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies, for 2003.

At this stage only a preliminary account of the hoard's contents and import can be given. Nonetheless it can already be stated that the hoard is of extremely high significance for the history of the coinages of several of

the cities included in it. First and foremost it can now be confirmed that the hoard was deposited in the fifth century (probably c. 425 BC), not the fourth, as had hitherto been supposed. This has important implications for several coinages. It will revolutionise our appreciation of the activity of the Phoenician mints of Tyre and Sidon, both of whose earliest issues are present in the hoard in unparalleled quantities. Similarly, our appreciation of the coinage of the mid-fifth century mint on the island of Melos is transformed. For the important mint of Aegina the hoard is potentially of great significance. One of the great cruces of fifth-century Greek numismatics is the date of the change in coin design at this mint from the turtle to a tortoise (chronologically much else hangs on this shift). The Malayer hoard was deposited very shortly after this change: only one 'tortoise' is present. The vast majority of the hoard was composed of Athenian tetradrachms and no imitations are immediately apparent. The context and date provided by the Malayer hoard will prove crucial to our understanding of the activity of the Athenian mint in the third quarter of the fifth century, and of the circulation of its products. Completely unexpected, at least from previous descriptions of the hoard's contents, was the presence in the hoard of cut pieces of unminted silver. The hoard thus now enters the category of partial 'hacksilber' hoards, attested elsewhere in the fifth century, to the east of the main circulation area of Greek coinage. The Elayi's question regarding cut coins can now also be answered: many coins had been cut, although comparatively few of the cut pieces were Athenian.

### **London Numismatic Club Meeting, 3 December, 2002**

'The Image of the Emperor on Byzantine Coins' was the subject that Dr Barrie Cook of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum spoke on, illustrating his points with their portraits from coins in the National Collection.

The emperor stood at the centre of Byzantine life: the court, the army, the church, the civil administration, the citizens of Constantinople, the great families, all looked to the emperor for leadership, protection, satisfaction and support. The image of the emperor was also thus the centre of official imperial art. Yet official representations of the emperor do not survive in great quantities. The loss of the great Byzantine palaces

and their interior decoration, of much secular-oriented statuary and other art forms, has accounted for this. Yet at least one form of representation survives in great numbers, and indeed was produced in vast numbers, outstripping by several degrees of magnitude every other vehicle for conveying the imperial image. This is, of course, coinage.

Money was crucial to the empire. Civic life, the functioning of Constantinople itself, depended on it. Troops needed to be paid, foreigners subsidised or paid off; commerce needed to be facilitated, and administrators receive their salaries. For much of the empire's existence money appeared to be in reasonably good supply, at least the empire's premier, defining coin, the gold solidus or nomisma. Even throughout the Byzantine 'Dark Ages' of the 6th-7th centuries coinage appears to have been plentiful, at least to the extent that the gold coinage remained solid, reliable and constant in standards for over seven hundred years, before the emperors of the mid-11th century precipitated a debasement. Even thereafter, the reform of Alexius I established a new good gold standard maintained into the time of the Nicaean empire, after the crisis of the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Only from the mid-13th century did a collapse of the gold coinage become final, and even here a good silver coinage managed to take its place, at least for a while.

The propagandist element in coinage can be easily overstressed: familiarity, stability and lack of controversy were often much more important considerations. But the appearance of Byzantine coinage was undoubtedly a significant factor, and emperors, or at least their mint officials, were clearly concerned to ensure that the currency in the hands of their subjects should reflect the authority not just of the 'emperor' in a general sense, but also the specific, current emperor as an individual, and a member of a dynasty. Coinage survives in reasonable quantities for all but the most short-lived of emperors (even regimes of a few weeks have left numismatic memorials), and the ability to issue coinage was the important factor in the legitimacy of an emperor, as it went along with control of Constantinople itself. Rebels rarely had an opportunity to compete because of the concentration of minting in the capital, particularly after the Arab invasions in the east, and the loss of Italy in the west.

However, having said that, emperors were concerned to represent themselves in a relatively individual way on their coinage; this is not to



say that realistic portraiture analogous to that of, say, the Julio-Claudians or the princes of Renaissance Italy is to be envisaged. The depiction of the emperor on the coinage changed and evolved, and usually in response to a deliberate intent, but it generally employed conventions and symbols to indicate an individual emperor, not idiosyncrasy and personality. Pose, costume and companions are the most commonly varying factors, and even here, within a relatively restricted repertory.

The beginnings of a distinctly Byzantine coinage is generally held to be a development of the late 5th and 6th centuries: the Emperor Anastasius' introduction of the large bronze follis can be seen as the first significant stage in this. The two principal coins of his reign were the gold solidus and bronze follis. In terms of design they offer no radical change from their predecessors. Anastasius was already a relatively elderly court official when chosen to be emperor by the widowed Empress Ariadne in 491. By no stretch of the imagination do his coins indicate his appearance: we see him, particularly on the solidus, as a three-quarter facing bust of a youthful, military figure, in helmet and cuirass, brandishing a spear and shield, active and dynamic. Even on the follis he wears a breastplate, along with a diadem, in a profile portrait. This is still a Late Roman image of power, and from this point on there were to be many changes.

The principal element of continuity would be the use of the imperial bust, not to be normally displaced until the 10th century. The few exceptions to this were unusual, and tended to accommodate short-lived political developments. In 527 the elderly emperor Justin I elevated his nephew Justinian to be his co-emperor, just five months before his own death. The solidi of the short joint reign show the two emperors enthroned, full-figure, facing out of the coin. The senior emperor Justin is on the left as we look at the coin, always the place of honour. On this type their arms are folded across their chests, but on another, each holds a globus, an orb, at this time a purely symbolic image of universal sovereignty with no physical reality as an object of ceremonial. It had featured previously on coins only in the hands of the personification of Constantinople, but from this time onwards it became a regular feature of the imperial costume on coinage. Both the emperors have halos, and a cross hangs between them.

The eschewing of accurate, or even realistic, portraits was a policy

with considerable appeal. **On** a technical level, characterised portraiture is difficult in small-scale, low relief work like a coin. But in the 6th century it was further hindered by the next change in imperial representation on coins: the adoption of a full facing bust, instead of profile or three-quarter facing images, a type much less easy to characterise, even if this was desired. When Justinian's sole reign began in August 527 he at first retained the older types, but on the solidus and follis the facing bust type soon became established, gazing out hieratically, serene and impassive; authority free from personality. The image is still strongly military, however, with cuirass, helmet and shield, but the globus surmounted by a cross came generally to replace the spear in the emperor's right hand. The emperor as military leader remained the predominant image throughout the 6th century, with the paludamentum, or military cloak, often added to the basic costume. Only occasionally was the emperor shown in civilian costume, in the consular robes and insignia.

Under Justinian's nephew, Justin **II** (565-78), the political importance of his wife, the Empress Sophia (niece of the great Theodora) was recognised by her representation on the coinage. The emperor reigned alone on the gold solidus, with an atavistic pagan throwback of Victory replacing the cross on his globus. But the emperor and empress were shown together, enthroned full-figure, on the follis and lesser copper denominations. Both wear halos, Justin carries a globus with cross, and Sophia a cruciform sceptre. From this reign it became the practice at the mint of Thessalonica to reuse this design of emperor and empress, but only for the half-follis denomination.

Justin **II's** mental condition eventually made it necessary for the creation of an effective regency, with the appointment of Tiberius, Count of the Excubitors, as Caesar in 574. In 578 he was made Augustus, full co-emperor, which arrangement lasted for just nine days before Justin's death. This brief period was still sufficient for the issue of a coinage in their joint names, with busts of the two emperors.

During Tiberius **II** Constantine's sole reign (578-82) the depiction of the emperor in civilian, consular garb became **more** frequent. The gold solidus here shows the usual military image, though the helmet is now replaced by a crown, but the follis clearly depicts the consular *loros*, a garment derived from the ancient toga, and evolved into a scarf-life band

of material elaborately decorated with jewelled and embroidered squares which was wound around the body. In one hand is held the mappa, a piece of cloth originally dropped by the consul to start official games, and in the other an eagle-tipped sceptre. Another innovation of Tiberius's reign can be seen on the reverse of the solidus, where what would become a long-standing image of a cross on steps replaced the figurative images of the Justinianic age: Victory on Justinian's issues and the personified Constantinople on Justin II's. The historian John of Ephesus explained this change as a reaction to misinterpretations of the latter, the female figure being seen as the goddess Venus. Another possibility may be to link the change to Tiberius' own imperial name: as the first Constantine to rule for two centuries, a link with the cross might have been seen as appropriate.

This, however, is moving away from the main subject - the depiction of the emperor. In the early 7th century during the disastrous reign of Phocas (602-10), a rare degree of characterisation appears to be applied to the imperial image. A rather straggly-looking beard, presumably reflecting the appearance of the emperor, or at least current masculine fashion, was added to the facing bust. Indeed, facial hair is one of the few physical features which can easily be made in any way distinctive on a facing bust and Byzantium in the 7th century would present probably the greatest age of beards in the history of world coinage. In 610 Phocas was overthrown by Heraclius, conqueror of the Persians and the Avars, and founder of a great dynasty. Dynasticism now begins to feature prominently on Byzantine coinage, and the emperors are frequently accompanied by members of their families.

Despite the huge military problems of the empire, triumphing after huge efforts against the Persians and Avars only to face the onslaught of Islam, representations of the emperor increasingly lose their military character in the 7th century, as the old classical style of representation finally fails. Profile busts (still in use on lesser denominations), Victories and wreaths all make their final bows, and armour and helmets also disappear, to be replaced by the chlamys, a great long purple cloak worn over the divitision, a belted tunic; or by the loros, which gradually evolved from its scarf-like form into a single robe with a jewelled pattern, the long train of which could be carried over the arm as the old version had been.

An early solidus of Heraclius shows the old, military style of emperor in plumed helmet, cuirass and military cloak, holding a cross. Now, however, we see a complete change, with not a military element in sight. Heraclius is shown at various points in his reign with his sons, all in crown and chlamys, not helmet and cloak: he is shown with the eldest Heraclius Constantine, made Augustus and thus co-emperor in 613, his small size, round and beardless face, and his position on the right, indicating his youth and junior status. His imperial status and inclusion on the coinage began at this early stage, when he was just an infant, a clear attempt to establish a dynasty as firmly as possible by emphasising the position of the intended successor. In the centre are the same two, Heraclius again on the left and prominent with his spectacular beard and moustachios, against his tonsorially challenged son. On the right, Heraclius now takes the centre position between his two elder sons, Heraclius Constantine being joined by Heraclonas, made Augustus in 638, and each of them holding a globus. The junior emperors are both shown beardless.

Also appearing, but only on the bronze coinage, was Heraclonas' mother, Heraclius' second wife Martina, almost a challenge to her massively unpopularity, because of her relationship to the empero (she was his niece, as well as wife).

Heraclius' grandson and successor, Constans II (641-68), continued the emphasis on civilian garb, wearing the chlamys on all his coinage. Again beards are given prominence, to put it mildly, later in the reign while, more significantly, the use of coinage to reinforce dynastic continuity is continued. A solidus shows Constans with his eldest son Constantine IV, proclaimed Augustus in 654. On the reverse, on each side of the usual cross on steps design, stand the emperor's younger sons, Heraclius and Tiberius, both proclaimed Augustus in 659. However, when Constantine IV himself became senior emperor on his father's death by assassination in 668, a change in the imperial image ensued. Early in the reign the old military paraphernalia was revived to give an image of imperial power and not seen since Justinian's early years: three-quarter facing, with spear, helmet and shield. Constantine was faced with a new Arab onslaught, culminating in the great siege of Constantinople in 674- 8, during which the famous Greek Fire was first used, and it may have been felt the revival of a military image would be helpful.

The Heraclian dynastic approach also faltered, with Constantine keeping his brothers and notional co-emperors firmly on the reverse of the coinage until 681, when he deposed them, hence their disappearance from the coinage. Thereafter he ruled alone until his death in 685, very unusually not giving his son Justinian the title of Augustus nor, consequently, depicting him on the coinage. The latter, coming to the throne at age sixteen, returned the imperial image to its civilian aspect, banishing the armour and weaponry of his father and restoring the chlamys and globus as the principal imperial costume. Early types show the new young emperor beardless, then later, with maturity, he becomes bearded, a development which can be reasonably interpreted as simultaneously symbolic and a reflection of reality.

Yet Justinian II also made a potent innovation to the Byzantine coinage which was to be of profound significance in the long term. In a great break with tradition, the emperor's image was removed from the obverse, the front of the coin, to be replaced by that of Christ, with the legend *Rex Regnantium* (King of Kings). The emperor is relegated to the reverse, where, on a first issue, he is shown full-figure (another major change) grasping a cross. The legend names him as *Servus Christi*, the servant of Christ. A relationship between the heavenly and earthly sovereigns is thus being proclaimed. It was in 692 that the Sixteenth Ecumenical Council prohibited representations of Christ as the Paschal Lamb, and established that he should be depicted in human form.

The Toros now makes a come-back, perhaps because the costume had come to be used ceremonially by the emperor, particularly in the Easter procession, through a parallel between it and the winding-sheet of Christ. It was thus an appropriate costume to wear in the presence of Christ. Another novelty was the appearance of a new item of insignia held by the emperor, the akakia, which replaced the mappa. This was a cylindrical object which contained a quantity of dust, a symbolic injunction to humility as a reminder to the emperor of his own mortality.

Intimations of mortality were perhaps useful to Justinian who was overthrown, mutilated and sent into exile in 695. His overthrower, Leontius, was, in his turn, deposed and imprisoned in 698 by Tiberius III, and both suffered appalling vengeance when Justinian unexpectedly regained the throne in 705. During the usurpations the imperial image had returned to the obverse, Leontius dressed in the Toros with akakia and

orb, but Tiberius adopting the military costume last used by Constantine IV. It is worth noting how each new emperor was characterised through his costume change: even illiterate users of coin could recognise the fact of a change and sequence. The restored Justinian II immediately restored Christ to the obverse, and placed himself on the reverse, though reverting to a bust instead of a full-length figure, wearing the *loros*, and holding globus and akakia, though he soon declared his year-old son Tiberius Augustus and their busts appeared together wearing chlamys and divitision, and holding a cross between them.

The great era of the dominance of religious imagery on coinage, however, had not yet arrived. In 711 the last two Heraclians, Justinian and his six-year old son, were overthrown and put to death. His three short-lived successors restored their own portraits to the obverse, Philippicus depicting himself in *loros*, with globus and eagle-tipped sceptre, and Anastasius II in chlamys, with globus and akakia; and Theodosius III going back to the *loros*. These alternations demonstrate yet again a clear attempt at differentiation as each ruler overthrew his predecessor.

In 717 the formidable Leo III, first of the Isaurian dynasty, made himself emperor, inaugurating a period of military success, but also of religious turmoil as Leo initiated the great iconoclasm controversy. The prime concern of this was the hostility of the iconoclasts to the veneration (they thought adoration) of icons, that is artistic representations of religious subjects, above all that of Christ in human form. There was clearly no question of religious images adorning the coinage under Leo, and while the iconoclasts did not object to the use of the cross as a religious symbol (indeed a bare cross became their principal standard and badge), nevertheless it also was removed from its, by now, very long-standing position as the standard reverse design of the solidus. Instead, Leo quickly revived and adapted the Heraclian pattern of reinforcing dynastic feeling by associating his son, Constantine with the imperial power through proclaiming him Augustus in 720. It was the image of the co-emperor that replaced the cross on the solidus reverse were both emperors wear the chlamys, and hold the globus and akakia.

The Isaurians made dynasticism the main focus of their coinage design, taking it to extremes undreamt of by the Heraclians. As each new member of the family successfully achieved the throne, he joined but did

not displace his predecessors on the coinage. Thus, Constantine V in 741 simply reversed his father's design to put himself on the obverse and his deceased predecessor on the reverse. In 751 he made his son Leo **IV** co-emperor, and brought him on to the coinage alongside himself, leaving the deceased Leo **III** (now in Toros and holding a cross) on the reverse. **In** his turn, when Leo IV became senior emperor in 775, his late father joined his grandfather on the reverse; while in 776 his own infant son Constantine VI became Augustus and joined him on the obverse, the two of them shown, unusually, enthroned. Four generations of emperors on the coinage, with impossibly crowded inscriptions!

One might have thought this would be the limit, but when Leo IV died prematurely in 780, power passed to his wife Irene, who would be the effective ruler of the empire for the next two decades. She now joined the dynastic crowd jostling on the gold coinage. The infant Constantine VI retains the place of honour on the left (at least for the moment); he wears the chlamys and holds an globus, his mother wears the Toros and an empress's distinctive crown, and holds a cruciform sceptre. The three previous emperors of the dynasty are then crammed together on the reverse.

Irene was the first woman to appear on the gold coinage for over three hundred years. As her authority became established, and as she advanced her intention to depart from the Isaurians' promotion of Iconoclasm, the coinage dispensed with its cluttered dynasticism. Soon after the Council of Constantinople condemned iconoclasm in 787 the presiding ancestors were removed and the later part of the reign of Irene and Constantine saw the empress alone on the obverse and her son alone on the reverse, his beardless depiction reinforcing his subordinate position. Following tensions with her son and a period of withdrawal, she had him deposed and blinded: this, probably accidentally, caused his death. She was thus left in an extremely anomalous position. She was not by blood a member of the Isaurian dynasty, and had cut herself off from its most identifiable policy, iconoclasm. The Byzantine throne was not easily occupied by a woman; any new husband or nominated heir would almost certainly immediately displace her, and yet the failure to identify an heir itself increased tension and likely conspiracy. Her coinage, slightly desperately perhaps, simply shows the same image on both sides: the empress in loros, holding globus and cruciform sceptre,

with the title *Basilissa*.

Irene's immediate successors, following her deposition in 802, restored the Isaurian practice of depicting their heir and co-emperor on the reverse of the gold coinage from the beginning of their reigns, as all had sons available for this. Michael I Rhangabe (811-13), clad in chlamys, with cross and akakia, had his son Theophylactus on the reverse, in loros, with globus and cruciform sceptre.

Michael II (820-9), first of the Amorian dynasty, continued this practice with his son Theophilus, made Augustus in 821. When Michael died, his sixteen-year old son was still unmarried and childless, and thus, for the first time in a century, the reverse of the solidus carried no imperial image. Instead it reverted to the ancient, and one might have thought long forgotten, design of a cross on steps. Theophilus, alone on both gold and bronze pieces, wears the loros, but on the follis his crown is adorned by the elaborate plume known as the tufa, and he holds a labarum, a type of standard which originally had the Christogram atop it. This was an imperial attribute with an implicit link to Constantine the Great. As Theophilus acquired a family, the use of coinage as a vehicle for dynastic support reappeared. Almost uniquely, he depicted his wife and daughters on one ceremonial issue, but on the births of his sons, Constantine in 830 and Michael III in 840, each was made co-emperor and took his expected place on the reverse of the gold coinage. Between the death of the infant Constantine in about 831 and the birth of Michael, Theophilus, an ardent Iconoclast, reverted to Isaurian practice and on the reverse depicted both his deceased father and newly deceased son: all three wear the chlamys, and Theophilus holds a cross and akakia.

Theophilus was to be the last Iconoclast emperor. On his death in 842 his widow Theodora, regent for the young Michael III, steered the government back to the iconodule side, and reconciliation with the majority opinion of the church and empire as a whole. This shift was echoed in the coinage. At first the familiar array of imperial family members is seen: Theodora on the obverse, in Toros and with globus and sceptre, and on the reverse the young Michael III and his eldest sister Thecla. It may be significant, however, that the emperor's iconoclastic father and grandfather are not commemorated. Instead, soon there would be the restoration of the image of Christ to the obverse, a position which



he would retain for centuries to come. Michael III (who removed his mother from the regency in 856), then goes to the reverse, in loros, and holding labarum and akakia.

When, in 867, Michael III was murdered by his favourite, Basil I, the first Macedonian emperor, no-one could have foreseen that the new emperor would successfully found the greatest of Byzantine dynasties. However, the longevity and achievements of the Macedonians should not disguise the sometimes tenuous nature of the dynasty's hold on the imperial title, a situation reflected almost inevitably, and usually quite accurately, on the coinage.

The figure of Christ continued on the obverse of the gold coinage, and this must have been deliberate policy, as in recent memory this had been a feature of less than two decades, and its survival was not automatic. On the other hand, the rise to power of Basil I was unorthodox even by Byzantine standards, and the backing of divine forces was one of the principal elements in early Macedonian propaganda. In this circumstance, it is perhaps unlikely that removing Christ from the bulk of the coinage would have been seriously contemplated. However, naturally the emperor still needed to secure the position of his heirs, and so the reverses of Macedonian coinage began to fill up with family members: Basil I himself, in loros, takes the place of honour, with his eldest, and favourite, son Constantine. There is a short-lived return to the Isaurian pattern, with Christ displaced by the senior emperor on the obverse, and on the reverse Constantine and Basil's wife, the Empress Eudocia Ingerina. This, however, is a rare type and was probably a ceremonial issue of some sort, but it does not negate the general rule that Christ was to rule alone on the obverse of Byzantine coins for centuries to come.

The dynastic insecurity of the Macedonians first came to the fore on the deaths of Basil I's son and successor Leo VI in 912 and his brother and co-emperor Alexander in 913. This left just the infant son of Leo, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. He was to occupy the throne in some capacity from 913 until his death in 959, but the coinage well illustrates the vicissitudes of his reign. A short-lived government headed by the Patriarch of Constantinople was replaced by the regency of the emperor's mother, the Empress Zoe, from 914 until 919. She was only to be

depicted on the copper coinage where the young emperor is on the left in the loros, and Zoe is on the right, in the chlamys, and with the empress's distinctive long pendilia.

The empire was coming under pressure from Symeon of Bulgaria and power passed to the able commander of the Byzantine fleet, Romanus Lecapenus. He became co-emperor in 920, a situation reflected on the coinage. Constantine has the place of honour still, being on the left of the coin, with Romanus on the right. However, the dominant position of Romanus became increasingly evident, and his own sons were also made co-emperors: his favorite Christopher in 921 and two others Stephen and Constantine in 924. These coins echo the shifting political tides: Romanus holding the labarum, takes the place of honour in the centre, flanked by Constantine VII in second place, on the left, and Christopher on the right. All three wear the loros. In the centre poor Constantine vanishes altogether, with just Romanus and Christopher on view, and on the copper piece, Romanus rules alone in a jeweled chlamys, holding labarum and globus.

The death of Christopher in 931 saw a change, with Constantine VII, now an adult, beginning a fight-back. His opportunity came when Romanus' surviving sons deposed their father in 944. Constantine seized his opportunity and removed them also, becoming sole emperor at the age of 40 in 945. However, that same year he made his son Romanus II co-ruler, and they appeared together on the coinage for the rest of the reign, obviously with Constantine restored to the place of honour on the left.

Yet the dynasty was by no means out of the wood yet, as Romanus II's own reign, 959-63 was a short affair and he left, once again, infant heirs: his sons Basil II and Constantine VIII, who were made co-emperors in 960 and 961 respectively. The able general Nicephorus Phocas was crowned emperor a few months after Romanus's death, and married the latter's widow. Once again, the legitimate Macedonian emperors were to be squeezed off the coinage. At first, Nicephorus and Basil II were shown together, though with Nicephorus in the place of honour from the very start. Soon, however, another development became common: while Christ remains on the obverse, religious figures begin to intrude on to the reverse also, in close association with the emperor. The first such case had occurred in the short reign on Alexander, brother of Leo VI, when the emperor was shown being crowned by his patron saint, St Alexander.

Now Nicephorus's much more common solidi showed him alongside Mary, the Mother of God, holding a patriarchal cross between them: obviously the Virgin has to take the place of honour. On a silver milaresion, also in the name of Nicephorus alone, the emperor's bust appears in a medallion at the centre of the cross, a development seemingly putting the emperor in the place of Christ, of whom indeed a similar medallion was sometimes used on the milaresion. More likely, however, the emperor was thus seeking divine protection.

Nicephorus' murder and replacement by his nephew John I Tzimisce in 969 saw the continuation of this new degree of religious authority being claimed by the emperor. The nominal co-emperors throughout his reign, the sons of Romanus II, never appeared on the coinage at all. Instead, every form of heavenly support was called into play. Christ, of course, remained on the obverse, while on the reverse John was crowned by Mary, while also being blessed by the Hand of God. This pose has involved a change in the position of the emperor, who technically has the place of honour on the left - this was made necessary as the Virgin had to crown the emperor with her right hand.

The other great change of John's reign affected the copper coinage, which became anonymous, without the emperor's name or image, from this point until the 1090s. Its types were all religious, with Christ always on the obverse, and the reverse showing either a legend proclaiming Him king of kings; a cross; or the Mother of God.

On the death of John I in 976, the Macedonian dynasty made another of its come-backs, in the shape of its greatest member, Basil II, and dynastic authority resumed its place on the coinage. Throughout Basil's long reign (976-1025), his coinage simply showed himself and his brother and co-emperor Constantine VIII, Basil, obviously, in the place of honour, wearing the loros, and Constantine, in a jewelled chlamys. During Constantine's sole reign, 1025-28, the emperor was depicted alone, in rare solitude.

The dynasty left no male heirs, and for nearly 30 years, the position of Constantine VIII's daughters, as bearers of dynastic legitimacy, was a central political question. On his death-bed Constantine VIII had designated Romanus III Argyrus to marry his eldest daughter Zoe, and it was he who ascended the throne in 1028. Yet despite the importance of the Macedonian princesses, they made little impact on the coinage.

Romanus III chose to ignore the dynastic inheritance of his wife, and instead turned back to John I's practice, showing himself being crowned by the Mother of God. Zoe's next two husbands, Michael IV (1034-41) and Constantine IX (1042-55), similarly depicted themselves alone on the coinage, though dispensing with the heavenly coronation scene. Nomismata of Constantine IX show the basic form of the imperial image in these decades: a facing half-figure of the emperor, crowned and holding a cross or sceptre with globus. A sword hilt, slightly visible, marks the beginning of a revival of a very long-absent military aspect to the imperial image.

It should be noted that, although the Zoe was kept off the coinage while her husbands and adopted son were in power, she seems to have been quick off the mark to depict herself during her two brief periods of direct rule. Pattern coinage appears to survive from her three days of rule in December 1041, and the joint rule of Zoe and her sister Theodora, which lasted for about six weeks in 1042, producing very rare nomismata showing the sister-empresses, Zoe in the place of honour, holding a labarum between them.

Zoe predeceased her last husband Constantine IX, and on his death the last Macedonian, Theodora, though now elderly, emerged from her retirement to rule alone for a year and a half in 1055-6. She has two types of gold coin: on the light-weight tetarteron nomisma she is shown alone, with sceptre and globus; and on the histamenon nomisma (descendant of the old solidus), she stands with the Mother of God, who presents her with a labarum. The queens of Heaven and earth side by side.

In the confused years of the late 11th century, with the empire facing increasing political and military crisis, there was no strong consistency in the way the emperor appeared on the coinage. Michael VI (1056-7) and Constantine X Ducas (1059-67) both followed the pattern of coronation by the Virgin, though they were both also shown alone: Constantine X, a full-length figure wearing the loros, and holding labarum and globus. He is, however, elevated from the ground by a small stool or podium, another feature beginning on coins at this time. Between these two emperors, however, had come the reign of Isaac I Comnenus, a member of the leading military aristocracy. His portrayal was quite distinctive, and took up the military imagery that was prefigured under

Constantine IX. Isaac wears military attire (cuirass, tunic, cloak and high boots), and his sword is prominent, as seen on his tetarteron nomisma; on the histamenon nomisma he carries it drawn from its sheath. This image proved controversial, and at the time was criticised as seeming to imply that the emperor won his power from his sword, not by God's Grace, comments which demonstrate that contemporaries could give serious and alert attention to the coinage design.

Constantine X Ducas did not maintain this controversial image but his reign did introduce novelties: for the first time in centuries the empress appeared regularly, simply as the emperor's wife, not as regent or mother. This was not, admittedly at the top of the coinage hierarchy, on the gold, but on the lesser silver and copper issues. The Empress Eudocia's greatest prominence, however, was still to come. In 1067, on her husband's death, she took power for eight months in the name of her young sons Michael VII, Constantius and Andronicus. The three of them appear together with the empress in the centre, raised on a footstool in the place of honour, flanked by Michael (on the left, next in precedence) and Constantius. Yet the empire was coming under great pressure from the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor and Eudocia was forced to take the risk of marrying and bringing to the throne a leading general, Romanus IV Diogenes, while hoping, like the Macedonians, thus to preserve her children's claims.

Under the new regime Christ ceases to be alone on the obverse for the first time. Romanus and Eudocia are in his presence, being crowned by him, the emperor on the left and the empress on the right. On the reverse stand the three sons of Constantine X and Eudocia: Michael VII in the centre holding the labarum, flanked by his brothers each holding a globus. In 1071, however, Romanus and the Byzantine army suffered the catastrophic defeat at Manzikert at the hands of the Turks.

In Constantinople Michael VII asserted his authority in Romanus' absence. While the coin at the head of the coinage hierarchy, the histamenon nomisma, carried his image alone, on other pieces he perpetuated some recent innovations. The tetarteron nomisma showed him with his wife, Maria of Alania, as did some of the silver milaresia, while his other type for the latter showed him in military garb reminiscent of Isaac Comnenus. In 1078 the feeble Michael and the nascent Ducas dynasty was overthrown by the elderly general Nicephorus III Botaniates.

He took over the former emperor's wife also, and she continued to appear alongside him on the silver coinage. The gold however, displayed the emperor alone, either full-figure, raised on a footstool, or a half-figure. Calling this gold coinage was just a courtesy; after seven centuries of stability the Byzantine gold coinage was being subjected to debasement, and its gold was now adulterated by so much silver as to become effectively electrum.

Reform of the coinage was clearly needed, and was provided in this area, as in so many of the empires institutions, by Alexius I Comnenus, who overthrew Nicephorus III in 1081 and inaugurated a dynasty whose brilliance gave the empire a new lease of life. From the point of view of the imperial image, Alexius's reform was not dramatic. The obverse of the coinage, whether gold hyperperon, electrum or base silver aspron trachys, or copper tetartera, retained the image of Christ, usually enthroned and full-figure. The emperor's own image was also to be usually full-figure from this point on; and he was now the only living human to appear, other family members, even heirs, vanishing from the coinage. The typical image of Alexius, on a hyperperon of the Thessalonica mint, shows him standing in his jewelled chlamys, over a long robe, the saccos (black, according to contemporary sources, symbolising the mystery of royalty), holding globus and labarum, and blessed by the Hand of God (also shown in a copper tetarteron with the emperor's image).

However, the emperor did not remain in splendid solitude for long. A small crowd of religious figures vied for incorporation. Under Alexius' son John II (1118-43), the emperor is habitually joined by the Mother of God, who either presents him with a cross under the Hand of God, or crowns him. Apart from the Virgin, it would be the military saints who came to join the emperors on coinage. St George appears on electrum trachys of John II; coins of Manuel I (1143-80) show, on the gold, the emperor alone under the Hand of God and, on the electrum, accompanied by first the Mother of God, and by St Theodore, who appears on the right in military garb. The other saint sometimes portrayed was Demetrius, another soldier-saint and patron of Thessalonica.

The downfall of the Comneni in 1185 and the rule of the Angelus family added yet more variety to the personnel on coinage. For the first time in centuries Christ was displaced on the obverse of the gold, but only

to make way for his Mother, the Virgin Mary. The emperor's companion became the Archangel Michael, protector of the Angelus family, and yet another military figure. He appears in combination with Isaac II Angelus (1185-95), first of the dynasty. His brother Alexius III (1195-1203) even called upon the canonised Constantine the Great to attempt to reinforce his authority and enhance his legitimacy, as can be seen on a hyperperon.

This brings us to the eve of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, and the shattering of the fabric of the empire. The Byzantine states which grew up in exile while the Latins held Constantinople all sought to use coinage to stress their own particular legitimacy. By 1208 Theodore I Comnenus - Lascaris of Nicaea had been crowned true successor of the Byzantine emperors by the patriarch of Constantinople, and the coinage of Nicaea carried on the traditions of the empire with little divergence from recent practice. St Theodore supported Theodore I, as might be expected; under John III Ducas-Vatatzes, greatest of the Nicene emperors, gold hyperpera showed the emperor being crowned by the Virgin, while the silver trachys usually showed either St Constantine, or St Theodore again. There was the greatest variety on the billon trachy coinage where the emperor was accompanied by any one of a number of saints: the Virgin, Saints Constantine, Theodore, George, Demetrius, Michael and Tryphon (a local Nicene saint). Some of these also occupied the obverses instead of Christ.

When Michael VIII Palaeologus, first of the last Byzantine imperial dynasty, recovered Constantinople in 1261, the Byzantine gold coinage received its last distinctive form. The obverse continued to be occupied by a religious figure, but now the Mother of God is shown within the city walls of Constantinople. The imperial image becomes even more enveloped by religious supporters, and for the first time the emperor is regularly shown in direct, personal association with Christ on the gold coinage: on a hyperperon the Emperor Michael is kneeling in worship before the seated Christ, and is supported by the Archangel Michael, who hovers protectively over his namesake.

This image of worship and adoration is one of the very few on Byzantine coins to show the emperor engaged in performing an action. It is not very dynamic, perhaps, but it has some sort of interaction and movement. It is normally the heavenly figures who act: Christ raises his hand in blessing; the Mother of God lifts her arms in prayer; she or one

of the saints crowns the imperial figure. However, the emperor or empress simply stands or (occasionally) sits, holding the emblems of authority. He, or she, may be being crowned by a heavenly figure, but they just accept it impassively; they do not move, kneel, or pray, but simply reflect divine power through their own majesty. Co-emperors stand side by side, their seniority indicated by position and size, not gesture or interaction. Isaac I was condemned for simply drawing a sword. Now, however, the emperor is active, performing homage. Angels and saints continue to throng the base coinage, as seen on the trachys: they have a seraph or St Michael on the obverse and on the reverse either the emperor and St George, or the emperor and St Michael.

On the coinage of Michael VIII's son, Andronicus II, during his sole reign (1282-95), the emperor again kneels in the presence of Christ; and during his joint rule with his son Michael IX (1295-1320), the two emperors kneel on either side of Christ, who crowns them. An apparent reversion to the older style can be seen on the silver basilikon, with Christ alone on the obverse and the two emperors side by side on the reverse, but this simply reflected the coin's nature as an imitation of the Venetian silver grosso. The base metal coinage continued to depict the emperors with a wide array of both companions (though no new personalities were added to the repertory already outlined), and paraphernalia: crosses, sceptres, models of cities, globus and akakia, and stars, but almost all are atrociously executed and often barely distinguishable.

The gold coinage of Byzantium came to an inglorious end in the mid-14th century, marred by debasement and poor engraving skills. The new principal coin for the remainder of the empire's existence was the silver stavration (or half hyperperon). Here is a stavraton of John V (1351-91) and a half of Manuel II (1391-1423). There is little difference on these denominations from John V (1351-91) and his successors down to the last emperor, Constantine XI (1448-53); all show crude images of Christ on the obverse and the emperor on the reverse, both in halos.

The use of coinage to reflect imperial personality, seniority, religious or secular authority, military skill, or dynastic continuity was long over. To see a numismatic image of a late Byzantine emperor which took on any of these challenges, one needs to go to the west, to Pisanello's great portrait medal of the Emperor John VIII - here we are no longer in Byzantium, but in Renaissance Italy.



## CLUB AUCTION RESULTS

by Anthony Gilbert

### 105th Club Auction, Thursday 9 May 2002

Seventeen members attended the Club's Spring Auction meeting, which was held at the Warburg Institute, London.

Once again, David Sealy and Marcus Phillips were the evening's auctioneers. Forty-nine lots were on offer, submitted by five vendors. The lots included 13 for sale in aid of Club Funds, and of these twelve were books from the Club's Library. As with any Club auction, just about anything can turn up, and usually does! On this occasion books were very prominent, providing 21 of the lots on offer. Only seven lots out of the 42 offered were unsold. The top price of the evening was £20 for a Gelderland silver Liondaallar dated 1640 which fetched its reserve. Notably, the 1971 publication, *Mints, Dies and Currency* by R.A.G. Carson, went for £12 against a reserve of £3. A UK 1937 crown was knocked down at £10 against a reserve of £2 and a BANS video was bought for £8 against its reserve of £3.

Another good buy was a mixed lot of 19 miscellaneous booklets, etc, on the coins, medals and banknotes of several Central and South American states, which sold for £15 against its reserve of £4. Finally, in this short round up of bargains, an unreserved lot of a collection of Thomas Cook specimen travellers' cheques made £6.50.

The total sales were £196 and the Club's commission, including the sale of some of its library books, was £61. Thus the hire fee for the room for the evening was covered.

The Committee has debated whether the Club can sustain two auctions a year. On this occasion just 49 lots were entered. I reiterate the last paragraph of my Report on the Club's 104th auction... 'an auction can only be as successful as the sum of its parts, i.e. the amount of material submitted, and that at sensible reserves, together with enough interested bidders turning up on the night'. At this auction there were no problems with the reserves, and one Club member has indeed been generous with his pricing over the past few auctions. One auction is clearly a good item to include in the Club programme, for the auctions tend to be the best attended Club meetings and they do, of course, also generate revenue for the Club. The writer suggests that the auctions could be staggered over a

three-year Club programme cycle. This would produce: May 2003; February, 2004; December 2004; September 2005, and then a return to May 2006; February 2007. This sequence would give four auctions in months 5, 2, 12 and 9 spread over three years, with gaps of 9, 10, 9 and 8 months, and the cycle then returns upon itself in May.

The writer invites constructive comments.

### **106th Club Auction, Tuesday 5 November 2002**

Fourteen members were present at the Club's Autumn Auction meeting, which was held in the lecture room of the Warburg Institute. The evening's auctioneers were David Sealy and Marcus Phillips. A total of 83 lots were on offer, including 40 lots of books withdrawn from the Club Library. Postal bids for the books had been accepted in order to allow all members the opportunity of making a purchase.

The sale of the ex-Club Library books did extremely well, and for this we have to thank the sub-committee for their expertise in setting the reserve prices. All but two lots sold at or above the reserve price, though one lot was later accepted at a slightly lower price. The unsold lot was the two volumes of W. Wroth's *Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (1908), which failed to find a buyer at a reserve of £100. Two lower bids were noted, and it was decided that the sub-committee would negotiate a sale. Top price fetched amongst the books was for Robert Van Arsdell's *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (1989) at £75, against a reserve of £50. Also to do well was *Medieval European Coinage I (The Early Middle Ages 5th-10th Centuries)* (1986), by Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn - this fetched £70 against a reserve of £60. A classic reference work, E. Sydenham's *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (1952), sold for £42 against its reserve of £30. All together, the total sale value of the books on the night was £565.

The 'regular' lots, numbered 41 to 83, were submitted by three members. Thirty-one of these lots (72%) found buyers, leaving twelve unsold, though the maximum price for an unsold lot was just £5. The top price amongst the coins was £20 (its reserve) for a Henry III silver Long Cross penny, Class IIIb of London with mm star. This section of the sale made exactly £100, with the Club receiving £10 in commission. It was a good evening and one much enjoyed by those present.

**BRITISH ASSOCIATION OF NUMISMATIC SOCIETIES  
ANNUAL CONGRESS, BELFAST, 5-7 APRIL 2002**

**by Anthony Gilbert**

This Congress was held at the 4-star Wellington Park Hotel in the University/Museum district of Belfast. The city of Belfast has been described as one of Europe's greenest cities because of the profusion of civic and country parks and golf courses. This provided the perfect setting for the first BANS Congress to be held in Ireland. The Congress was hosted by the Numismatic Society of Ireland (Northern Branch) [NSI (NB)], and well supported by the Numismatic Society of Ireland (Dublin) [NSI(D)]. The host society, chaired by Noel Simpson, had a Congress Project Team (CPT) consisting of Alan Dunlop, Neil McCormick and John Rainey. The team had done a marvelous job in attracting or receiving either direct or indirect sponsorship or support from no less than 14 organisations or institutions, plus a number of individual donors.

Currently, the budget airlines' cheap flights within the UK made this Congress easily accessible from mainland UK to Belfast across the Irish Sea. Seventy-three people from all parts of the British Isles attended the Congress, and we were blessed with fine weather, being cool to warm, for the whole weekend.

The CPT had been innovative in including in the Congress pack a short curriculum vitae of the speakers. The Friday evening opener was a visit to the nearby Ulster Museum. Robert Heslip, Director of Numismatics at the Museums and Galleries of Northern Ireland, gave a talk on 'The History of the Ulster Museum numismatic collection'. The Museum's coin cabinet contains about 50,000 items, and is particularly strong in tokens and banknotes. The collection was begun in the 1820s and has grown mainly through inheriting collections and receiving donations. A buffet was provided in the Museum and we were able to view the numismatic display.

The first talk on Saturday morning was given by Harrington Manville on 'Early Milled English Misstrikes'. He explained that errors were human mistakes, e.g. misspellings, mules, and the use of incorrect punches and flans. Misstrikes were essentially mechanical or accidental, and could be grouped into minor misstrikes and major misstrikes. The

former covered altered dies, die chips and cracks, broken dies and broken letter punches. The latter grouping included brockages, off-centre strikes, double-strikes, clashed dies and spread flans (or broadstruck).

Michael Kenny of the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, was originally scheduled to speak on 'The Plaster Designs for the Free State Coinage', but unfortunately he could not be present. The similarly named Michael E. Kenny (no relation) took his place at short notice. He is the chairman of the NSI(D), and gave a talk on 'The Trial of Charles I - An Introduction to Irish Coins'.

Col Gallaher of the NSI(D) delivered 'Profit, Prestige and some artists - The Free State Coinage of 1928', or, as he put it, 'Some funny things happened on the way to the coinage'. This was an incisive, in-depth and measured story of political shenanigans, with all the interested groups contributing their 'two-penny worth' to the Advisory Committee's comments on Percy Metcalfe's models of animal designs for the proposed 1928 coinage (originally planned for 1926).

Noel Simpson, Chairman of the NSI(NB), had previously worked for the Northern Bank. His inside knowledge of the Province's banks and their banknotes was evident in his talk entitled 'An Introduction to Northern Ireland Banknotes'. Northern Ireland has had its own banknotes since 1929. The speaker traced the evolution of the banking system through its various mergers. Of note is the fact that some of the Irish banks, such as the Bank of Ireland, which conduct business in both Ulster and the Irish Republic have issued notes showing slight differences to indicate where they are current, e.g. 'Payable at Belfast', or 'Northern Ireland Issue'.

Robert Thompson spoke on 'David Ramage and his tokens for England, Wales and Ireland'. He concentrated on those 17th century tokens with the signature 'R'. There are 26 die varieties of the 1652 Bristol farthings. Issues for Ireland were struck for Dublin, Drogheda and Wexford.

For the Saturday afternoon the host society had arranged the traditional BANS visit or excursion, and on this occasion it was a trip by bus to Mount Stewart. On the way there we stopped off at North Down Heritage Centre which occupies the former out-buildings of Bangor Castle. Then, on our continued bus journey, we viewed Strangford Lough on our right - it has a narrowed mouth and its marine life traverses the

whole range from freshwater to seawater species. The afternoon's destination was the former home of Lord Castlereagh (of Congress of Vienna fame), the impressive Mount Stewart house and estate situated on the Ards Peninsula overlooking Strangford Lough, and 16 miles from Belfast. The mild weather was ideal for the enjoyment of the estate grounds and for the house, for which we had a guided tour. On our return trip to Belfast we were joined on the bus by Derek Harkness of the Blair Mayne Association. Derek spoke to us about the exploits of Robert Blair ('Paddy') Mayne, who came from Newtonards. He was Britain's most decorated World War II soldier and had been instrumental, together with David Stirling, in establishing the Special Air Service (SAS) which saw service initially in North Africa and then widely in the European theatre of war. Tragically, 'Paddy' Mayne was killed in a car accident in December 1955.

The customary Saturday evening Congress Dinner was held at the Congress hotel. The first presentation on Sunday morning was a joint paper by Graham Dyer of the Royal Mint and John Rainey, who is the sole surviving founder member of the NSI(NB). Their paper was entitled 'Royal Mint Contracts on Eighteenth Century Irish Coinage'. Between 1730 and 1780 there were eight contracts which were placed indirectly by the Irish Government - the Royal Mint did not decide. From some 400 tons of copper 49 million halfpennies of George II and III and four and a quarter million farthings of George II were struck. John Rainey's slides of his collection of 18th century Irish copper halfpennies were truly excellent. Graham Dyer said that the 1755 Irish halfpenny was not genuine, although it was listed by most authorities (motto: go back to the records!). Their joint conclusion was to believe the records, and not to judge by appearances. New facilities and techniques always come to light, but one should never suspend one's critical faculties.

The BANS President, Joe Bispham, gave his talk entitled 'Eye to the main chance: Official countermarks on Edward VI base shillings 1561', in which he outlined the base testoons and forgeries from 1549. Counterstamps were introduced to guarantee the lightweight coin issue, but at half the face value.

Dr Donal Bateson of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, delivered a studied paper on 'Prize medals and the Agricultural Revolution', The Agricultural Revolution was overshadowed by the Industrial Revolution.

Viscount Townshend ('Turnip' Townshend) introduced the root crop rotation system. The Agricultural Society and the Farming Society are little known about and little lauded, but they were nevertheless important. The speaker covered the agricultural medals of the Royal Dublin Society which had been researched and subsequently published by Arthur Went in the early 1970s.

The last talk was given by John Stafford-Langan of the NSI(D) on 'Irish Coins and the English Economy'. He said that this could be better entitled as 'The Irish Coinage for the English Economy'. Before 1185 there were oddments of coins circulating on the east coast, essentially for trade with England and northern France. King John was appointed Lord of Ireland in 1185 and he struck the first all-Ireland coin - a penny, to be followed in 1189 by a halfpenny, and then farthings. The coinage of John was introduced to get coins accepted, thus enabling them to be exported as rents collected by absentee English landlords. The same applied to the following reigns of Henry III and Edward I, where the coins were struck essentially for the English nobility and not for the Irish economy, in effect, tapping into Irish silver. In England, coinage was struck for the circulation of trade, whilst in Ireland it was struck for repatriation.

All Congress attendees received a souvenir plastic shoulder bag produced by The Denroy Group Ltd, of which John Rainey (CPT member) is the Managing Director. In the bag were a complimentary presentation wallet containing the Northern Bank's first £5 polymer banknote. Also in the bag was a Northern Ireland £1 specimen training note and an old cheque dating from the 1860s. In addition to the gifts we received two tokens (see illustration) specially produced by Denroy Plastics Ltd from designs prepared by Neil McCormick (CPT member). The tokens are coloured red or blue, 33mm in diameter, and produced in ABS plastics. The common obverse of each token shows the BANS logo whilst one of the reverses shows the NSI(NB) logo which is based on a halfpenny issued by John de Courcy (1185-1204) in Downpatrick. The alternative reverse shows the logo of the NSI(Dublin), and is based on the 'three crowns' Dublin coinage of Richard III and Henry VIII issued c. 1483 to 1490.

It has taken nearly half a century for the BANS to be finally hosted in all four of the Home Countries. The NSI(NB) , which was well supported by the NSI(Dublin), deserves our warmest congratulations for

hosting such a fine Congress - as they say in Ireland: 'the "craic" was good'. For those of us who were not sure what 'craic' was, or meant, before we went, then we had a fair or good idea by the time we had departed.

### BANS CONGRESS BELFAST 2002

Commemorative tokens, 33mm in diameter, issued by the Numismatic Society of Ireland (Northern Branch) in red and blue ABS plastics for both types.

Common obverse



Northern Branch reverse

Dublin reverse



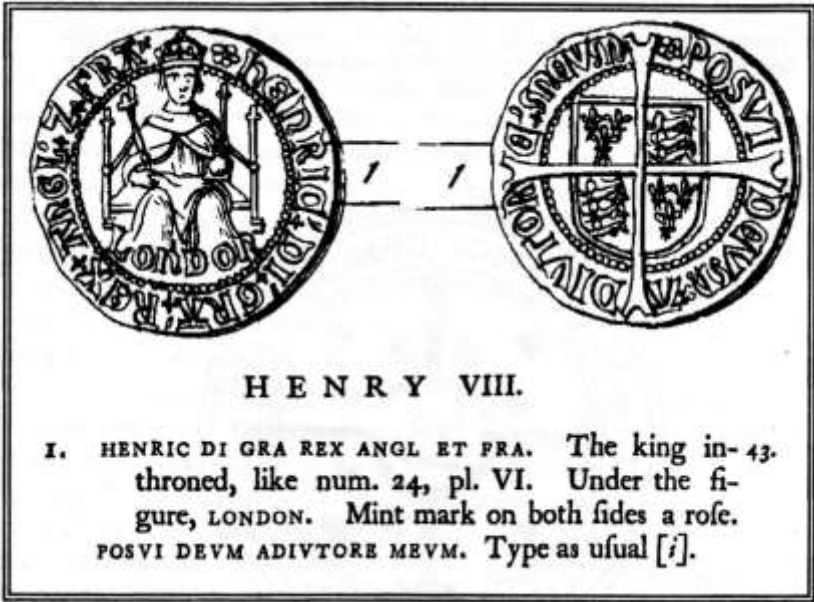
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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

from D.L.F. Sealy.

### Henry VII Sovereign-type Groat



*The original logo or emblem of the London Numismatic Club and its reverse and descriptive text as printed by Martin Folkes in his Tables of English Silver and Gold Coins (Society of Antiquaries, London, 1763), plate VII and text on p. 29. The plates were also used for Rogers Ruding's Annals of the Coinage (last and best edition, 1840).*

I was fascinated with Barrie Cook's paper ('Coin Designs and Pattern Coins in Tudor and Early Stuart England') given to the British Numismatic Society on 26 February 2002. And I was particularly glad to hear Lord Stewartby's defence, in subsequent discussion, of the authenticity of the unique 'London' sovereign-type groat of Henry VII - a view he had first put forward as long ago as 1974 (*Num. Chron.* pp. 1349).



This coin, of course, is the emblem of the London Numismatic Club, and was chosen by the Club's founders because it is the only coin to have the word **LONDON** on the obverse! Strictly speaking, however, the Club's emblem is the engraving by Martin Folkes in *Tables of English and Gold Coins* (1763), pl. VII, fig. 1, and not the coin itself. The engraving only superficially resembles the extant specimen (now in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow), probably because Folkes made it following a verbal description of the piece, without the actual coin, or a rubbing or a cast (?) before him. Folkes, and subsequent authors such as Ruding, who used the same plates, erroneously ascribed it to Henry VIII.

## **OBITUARY**

### **DENIS R. COOPER T.D., B.Sc., F.I.Mech. E.**

The name of Denis Cooper always comes immediately to everyone's mind whenever mints, their history, minting technology, and especially the problems of the reducing machine, are mentioned. He was born on 16 September 1913, the second child of Ralph and Nellie Cooper of Merton Road, Wandsworth, London. He had a sister five years older than him, and, subsequently a brother four and a half years younger. The family moved to nearby Southfields and Denis went to Wandsworth Grammar School. He was then admitted to King's College, London, where he studied for three years, and where he first met Peggy, a visitor one evening to the College. After gaining an Honours Degree in Mechanical Engineering he continued with Post-graduate experience and a further qualification. In 1937 he was appointed a Junior Engineer at the Royal Mint, then on Tower Hill in London. A year later he renewed his acquaintance with Peggy, and by New Year 1939 they were making marriage plans. However, with the outbreak of war in September 1939 Denis joined the Royal Army Ordnance Corps (RAOC, later to become the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, REME). He was soon promoted to the rank of Captain and placed in charge of several Military Repair Workshops throughout south-eastern England. He managed to get a few days leave at Christmas 1939 and he and Peggy (née Filer) were married on Boxing Day 1939. Because of his frequent moves they were

only able to be together on the few occasions when Denis was settled at one place for perhaps a few weeks, or an occasional month but, in March 1940. in the middle of an air raid, Peggy gave birth to their son Roger -now a retired medical doctor living in Devon.

In 1942 Denis was posted overseas to Algeria and was then moved to Tunisia, Sicily, Italy, and Austria, gaining promotion to Lieutenant Colonel on the way. At the end of his military service he was in charge of the de-militarisation of factories within his area, and was demobbed in September 1945. At last he and Peggy could set up a proper home together. In January 1946 Denis returned to work at the Royal Mint, and was immediately promoted to Maintenance Engineer. In 1963, at the age of 50, he became the youngest Superintendent and Chief Engineer to be appointed at the Mint. However, Denis had other ideas and, 18 months later, after a struggle, he was able to obtain his release from his appointment within the Civil Service, and was able to start out on his own. After experience as a Consultant, he founded his own small but specialist company - Minting Equipment Ltd, with Peggy as his co-director. This became very successful as Denis, with his remarkable mechanical knowledge and experience, was commissioned to design many special purpose machines for the satisfactory production of coins and medals all over the world. Together he and Peggy travelled widely in their work advising both major and minor mints.

In 1983 Denis wrote a short book, *Coins and Minting*, for Shire Books, and this proved to be but an *hors d'oeuvre* for his larger and important book, *The Art and Craft of Coinmaking: A History of Minting Technology*, published by Spink in 1988. Professor Philip Grierson of Cambridge University wrote of it: '... it is difficult to imagine this book, as interesting to the historian and engineer as it is to the numismatist, being superseded or replaced in the foreseeable future', and his words have proved to be completely true. In this book there is so much information, and unusual illustrations, garnered from Denis's extensive travels to and research in the world's mints that cannot be found elsewhere.

Despite his very active and mechanically oriented mind he was devoted to his garden, and to Peggy. He died on 26 September 2002, aged 89.

*Peter A. Clayton*

## BOOK REVIEWS

**The History and Coinage of the Roman Imperators 49-27 BC.** David R. Sear. Spink. 1998. xxxii + 360pp, 10 b/w plates, 435 coin illus, 2 maps. Hardback, £50.

This is a priced catalogue with a difference. The obverse and reverse of each of the 435 coins are clearly illustrated and cross-referenced to major works. Prices in sterling or US dollars are found in a 'Table of Comparative Rarities and Values' placed after Appendix 2. The latter lists, with a location map, a further 523 'Local Coinages of the Imperial Period' continuing the sequence, but in less detail and without the prices.

The story begins with Julius Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in 49 BC, signalling the beginning of two decades that were to be a major turning point in ancient history. The repercussions were to last for 1500 years as a republic was replaced by the rule of Emperors. Leading figures were commemorated in art and literature, and are still of interest today through Shakespearean productions, cinema films, and their reshewing on television.

The period is divided into six logically arranged chapters, each giving an historical overview followed by details of the coins, whose relevance is discussed in depth. It is a model of how coins can be used both to illustrate history and have their numismatic interest enhanced. Illustrations of archaeological sites and sculptures have also been used. This is normal for historical works, but coins have often been neglected by historians with some notable exceptions such as Professor Michael Grant. Here we have the other extreme for which no apologies are needed because of the combination of numismatic and historical information. There is a wealth of useful detail on the Roman world which, through the extensive index, is easy to access. A map gives the principal locations around the Mediterranean, with an extensive commentary of several pages, enabling the reader to follow every twist in the plot. It is a compulsive story, well told.

Two major problems with ancient coins concern how to decide when and where they were minted. Evidence must be drawn from inscriptions, designs, fabric and their presence in hoards. Archaeological

inspirational evidence for consular and other honours have produced a useful time frame, consequently, taking many factors into account, authorities can agree on many coin issues. Where there is insufficient evidence, deductive reasoning is necessary and differences of opinion occur. The author discusses these with references and in some cases gives his own reattribution or his preference for a particular solution. Research use is aided as all coins are cross-referenced individually as well as in lists of concordances.

The quantity of coins necessary to pay the troops in the many campaigns was vast. The various factions sometimes borrowed money, but were more likely to obtain their funds by coercion of cities or wealthy civilians, and also through booty when successful. Payment was needed both for fighting and for donatives. For example, Caesar, celebrating his Quadruple Triumph in 46 BC, paid his legionaries who had served more than ten years 5000 denarii each. Not only were large numbers of silver coins minted, but he authorised what is described as the first mass production of Roman gold coins; the aureus then being equivalent to 25 denarii.

At the height of the struggles between Octavian and Anthony there were up to 60 legions plus large numbers of auxiliaries employed. After the battle of Actium (31 BC), Octavian paid off and resettled around 100,000 legionary veterans, adding to the many *coloniae* founded between 49 and 27 BC. When Octavian became Emperor (as Augustus in 27 BC) he considered that 28 legions were sufficient for the security of the whole state.

Though there are a great number of issues, sadly for collectors, low survival and/or a low mintage of many types makes them beyond average means. The later coins of Julius Caesar were the first Roman issues to have a portrait of a living person. Within a couple of years this revolutionary step had become commonplace and portraits of historically famous people are on many issues. Many coins have reverses with plausible historical connections and prices are high for top grade pieces. However, there are issues, especially in the lower grades, that are both interesting and affordable.

The legionary denarii of Mark Anthony are a good example, having been struck in very large numbers, though for some legions they are rare. Minted in 31 BC, 23 legions and some auxiliaries are named.

These coins were still in circulation and being hoarded two and a half centuries later, mainly because being debased they were less likely to be melted down. The book, and its catalogue approach, is obviously of use to numismatists and should also be of interest to Roman historians and others studying the period.

*John E. Roberts-Lewis*

[Editor's Note: Whilst some readers might consider a review of this title somewhat passé in view of its date of publication, first, some might not have heard of it, or considered it, and may well now take an interest and, not least, John was moved enough by it to suggest contributing a review, which the Editor welcomes.]

**Roman Coins and Their Values. Vol. 2: Nerva to the Overthrow of the Severan Dynasty, AD 96-235.** David R. Sear. Spink, 2002. 696pp, b/w illus throughout. Hardback, £65.

It is almost 40 years since the first edition of RCTV, as it became known, appeared under the Seaby imprint. After three revisions, the 4th revised 1988 edition saw photographs (mainly by the reviewer) replacing the line drawings in the text and also still retaining Frank Purvey's 12 pages of end plates. With Spink taking on the cloak of Seaby's numismatic publishing, David Sear aimed at a thorough revision of the old RCTV, and also realised that the expansion required would necessitate more than one volume. RCTV, vol. 1: The Republic and The Twelve Caesars, 280 BC-AD 96, appeared in 2000, much enlarged for the period it covered (see *Minerva*, Nov/Dec 2000, p. 56). Now volume 2 takes the story on to another natural break in Roman numismatic history with the end of the Severan dynasty - its present length bears little comparison with the 69 pages covering the same period in 1964, expanded to 90 pages in the 1988 edition. -

The first 72 pages of volume 2 usefully reproduce those in volume 1, with the background information about Roman coins, denominations, reverse types, mints, etc so that vol. 2 can stand on its own for the collector. The major revisions and expansions are everywhere evident in the volume, particularly with much larger introductory notes for each reign and imperial relatives featured on the coins. Over 5000 coins are listed and an enormous amount of work has been put into cataloguing the coins, adding their references and their values in sterling and in dollars in

at least two conditions, VF and EF for gold and silver, F, VF and EF for base metals, and also F and VF for the provincial issues. As with volume 1, the listing of provincial issues has been considerably extended, notably for Alexandria. Also, Sear prefers, as he mentions on p. 335 in vol. 1, to see the large bronze issues from Alexandria as hemidrachms rather than drachms as they are normally identified; this therefore also alters the structure and nomenclature of the lower denominations.

On the book production side the book, although substantial, is a joy to handle and read. It has fine clear type (especially for the Greek fount used), and the coin illustrations throughout the text are of excellent quality. Pedants will, of course, remark 'that it is not the same as using Roman Imperial Coins ' (also published by Spink) in its 10 volumes, but then RCTV is not meant to be. What we have here is a concise guide to the major types, good illustrations of a large number, a price guide in different conditions and a concise history of Rome seen from a numismatic point of view. It is a book that can be used for a quick reference, a check for identification, price guide, and background details of the Roman coinage. For all that, its size, scope, authority, and quality it cannot be surpassed and, bearing that in mind, the published price is very reasonable. Literally, every collector of the series in the period covered, or anyone who has to deal with these coins, either commercially or academically, cannot be without a copy.

*Peter A. Clayton*

***Romano-British Coin Hoards.*** Richard Anthony Abdy. Shire Publications, Princes Risborough. 2002. 72pp, 43 b/w illus. Paperback, £5.99.

In recent years the incredible increase of metal detecting as a widespread hobby has led to vast numbers of finds, individual objects and also large hoards, often of jewellery or plate. The harvest from Roman Britain has been immense with hoards such as the huge Hoxne Roman treasure of gold and silver coins and jewellery (valued at £1.75 million), and other hoards of gold coins, such as Didcot (Oxfordshire, 126 aurei), silver denarii in their thousands at Shapwick (Somerset, 9213 pieces), and bronze at Cunetio (Wiltshire), the largest yet found at 54,951 coins.

Publications such as *Coins Hoards from Roman Britain* (vols 1-11), as well as the detailed publication of some individual hoards, have indicated the wealth of information that has become available. Here Richard Abdy has distilled this down into a very readable and informative account which sets the hoards into their contexts and economic situation

in Roman Britain. Hoards of coins can be made for a variety of reasons, most notably as savings or hidden in an emergency - in both instances and others, never to be recovered for whatever reason by their owner. The reporting and recording of such hoards has increased tremendously since the introduction of the Treasure Act 1996 (effective as from 23 September 1997), and the voluntary Portable Antiquities Scheme. It is only in recent months that this scheme, employing local Finds Liaison Officers, has been considerably increased by a Heritage Lottery Fund grant to extend over the whole country. It is through the interpretation of the hoard contents that can reveal so much of the background of Roman Britain.

The book leads with an overview and an assessment of the early Roman hoards, then the sections that follow examine of the silver denarius-based coinage of the second and third centuries; the age of debased silver and extreme hoarding that followed, and winding up with the hoards of the fourth and fifth centuries that precede the end of Roman Britain.

This book is an invaluable overview of coin hoards from Roman Britain, with a useful concentration on and interpretation of many that are finds made within the last decade or so. Seeing them examined in context in relation to each other, and the information that such an examination can produce, places them properly within the story of the province's monetary system.

*Peter A. Clayton*

*The Farthings and Halfpennies of Edward I and II.* . Small Change I. Paul and Bente R. Withers. Galata Print, Llanfyllin, 2001. 60pp, illus throughout. Paperback, £10.

*The Halfpennies and Farthings of Edward III and Richard II.* Small Change II. Paul and Bente R. Withers, Galata Print, Llanfyllin, 2002. 56pp, illus throughout. Paperback, £10.

When Dr David Rogers was tragically killed in a road accident in February 1999 at the early age of 52 he had a number of numismatic projects in hand. He was a meticulous observer of what many of us would rate as 'unconsidered trifles'. His interests included lead weights and medieval small change. His work on the former objects was published by Norman Biggs and Paul Withers in 2000 (see *Minerva*, March/April

2001, p. 45). Now Paul and Bente Withers have continued to use Rogers's work and collection as a base to publish his notes and collection and to enlarge on his material by examining medieval small change in two books covering the reigns from Edward I to Richard II.

Interest in the small change of the English medieval series of coins, essentially the pennies, has been on the increase in recent years. This has largely been fuelled by the additional examples being found and made available by metal detectorists. The high incidence of such finds has been highlighted by the Under Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport in the recent annual reports of the Treasure Committee, and of the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

Silver pennies have received most attention, but the growing availability of the smaller farthings and halfpennies, themselves extremely difficult pieces to detect, have now focused minds on that series of denominations.

For Edward I and II the publications of the Fox brothers in the *British Numismatic Journal* between 1910 and 1914 have long remained the basic 'Bible', supplemented by J. J. North's later monograph (1968) on the coins of these two reigns. Now, the husband and wife team of Paul and Bente Withers have gone a step further and produced an admirable and handy format (A5) guide and new classification for these small denominations in a series entitled 'Small Change'. The illustrations of the coins are in x4 photos of excellent clarity for such small and difficult coins. Legends are quoted in full for each type and sub-type, and there are many previously unpublished types included. For Edward I and II, London and the provincial mints (except for Berwick) are covered and a concordance listing, cross-linked from the Withers' type to the Fox/North penny classes, is extremely useful.

Following on, the second book covers the small change of Edward III and Richard II. There is again a new classification that makes life much easier for the student of the series, and a concordance with Fox, North, Spink and Woodhead. The mints concerned here are London and Reading and, once more, it is the David Rogers collection and notes that are the basis of the publication, supplemented by information, illustrations and examples gathered from noted public and private collections. As with the first volume in the series, there are excellent illustrations at x4 and legends quoted in full for each type and sub-type



which all goes to make these tiny coins more understandable. The meticulous examination of the series has produced several previously unrecorded types and varieties.

There is no doubt at all that this handy-sized yet detailed format will prove to be of inestimable value to collectors, curators, archaeologists and metal detectorists alike in aiding their identification and attribution of these small silver coins. Further volumes in similar format on Small Change will be awaited with interest.

*Peter A. Clayton*

**British Copper Tokens, 1811-1820.** Paul and Bente R. Withers. Galata Print, 1999.. Hardback, £80.

This catalogue covers England, Scotland and the Channel Islands between 1811 and 1817, and Ireland and the Isle of Man from 1800 to 1834. Until 1999 the main reference used for early 19th century copper tokens was the book by W. J. Davis, first published in 1904. Originally the authors had intended to reprint this with additions, but it ended up being totally rewritten to include a wealth of extra information. Now organised differently in a generally logical, clear and well-illustrated way it very quickly became the standard work.

There is background material from contemporary sources covering issuers and places of issue, information from newspapers and other 19th century publications give a flavour of the times. Those who collect by county will have to get used to the alphabetical listing by town, subdivided into issuers in alphabetical order, whether companies, small firms or individuals. Concordances with Davis are given by county, or with Eimer for 'tokens' of Wellington. A list of Davis to Dalton and Hamer concordances covers tokens in Davis outside the scope of this work.

The clear photographs of the obverse and reverse of each token are accompanied by brief descriptions, keeping heraldic terminology, etc, to a minimum. Cross-references, usually to Davis, are given, also edge descriptions; 48 of these, mostly photographed, are shown in an appendix. Additionally, diameters, weights, die axis and rarity are given. The latter is calculated on the basis of tokens available to collectors excluding museum holdings. There is a useful index of legends and

another on types, plus a General and a Geographical Index.

Another major strength, contained in 23 pre-catalogue pages, gives token history, details of engravers, die sinkers and manufacturers, though who struck what seems less well known. Worth a comment is an idiosyncratic assemblage of photographs of some of today's numismatists, presumably there for posterity, which echoes one in Davis; the contrasts are startling!

It was in 1811, during the Napoleonic Wars, that the shortage of copper and silver small change was so serious that commerce became adversely affected. The Government wouldn't act and so people took matters into their own hands (as they had done in the later 17th century in a similar situation). Initially issues were of good weight and issued by firms or individuals, well known and trusted locally, backed by redemption pledges and arrangements. Soon, however, lightweight imitations and anonymous issues appeared. By 1812 these were causing distrust and often refusal of tokens in general, but with nothing to replace them, they were not made illegal until 1 January 1818. Even then an exception was made for the Birmingham and Sheffield workhouses, the former stopping in 1820, the latter in 1823. Regal copper farthing only became available from 1821, and pennies and halfpennies from 1825.

There appear to be few cross-references to banks, bankers or firms that also issued notes and/or silver. Only ten were found and this may reflect the speed with which the genuine attempts made to provide small change were undermined by a flood of unredeemable issues profitable only to their unknown issuers and makers. However, unattributable tokens classified as non-local are not without interest. This catalogue adds to Davis's listing of mules which, apart from die-pairing, have no issuer's name or place of origin. Most are rare to extremely rare, and presumably the results of dubious practices by manufacturers. Some non-local pieces can be assigned to Canada because of either inscriptions, designs or weights too light to have been accepted in Britain. As the authors say, their listing is more complete for some Canadian tokens than can be found elsewhere.

This book provides a sound platform and should stimulate further research into biographical detail from local sources. Some of this may possibly be already known to local history societies or to industrial

archaeological groups ? For collectors of varieties it should enable more to be found, but I do not anticipate many tokens now being offered and described as being 'Not in Withers'.  
*John E. Roberts-Lewis*

**Coins of Scotland, Ireland and the Islands.** Spink, 2003. 228pp. Hardback, £25.

From 1945 to 1960 Seaby's *Standard Catalogue of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland* included sections on the Scottish, Irish and island coinages and those of us eccentric enough to collect such peripheral series could look forward to updates every three or four years on the same basis as our English and United Kingdom colleagues. However, in 1962 there appeared a *Standard Catalogue of British Coins - Parts 1 and 2 - Coins of England and the United Kingdom*, with frequent regular new editions, whereas we had to wait a further eight years until 1970 for *Part 3 - Coins and Tokens of Ireland*, and two more, until 1972, for *Part 4 - Coins and Tokens of Scotland*. In 1978 *Coins of England and the United Kingdom* was redesignated as Volume 1 of the *Standard Catalogue of British Coins*, but again it took six more years before Volume 2, *Coins of Scotland, Ireland and the Islands*, appeared in 1984. It has taken a further 18 years for the second edition of this volume of the catalogue to be published, whereas the English and United Kingdom volume is now a regular annual event. So, has it been worth the wait?

It is encouraging that it says in the Preface that it is hoped to publish revised editions of this catalogue on a more regular basis. I hope that this means 'more frequently'. since once every 18 years would certainly still be 'regular'. Spink have confirmed to me that 'this time round the hammered section is mostly as it was in the old edition except, of course, the important prices changes'. One would have thought that 18 years would have allowed time to revise rather more than just price changes.

The pricing strikes me as conservative, although being currently a purchaser rather than vendor I have no quarrel with that. However, the statement in the section headed 'Value of a Coin' that 'values given are our selling prices at the time of going to press' does not accord with my own recent experience of buying Scottish coins at Spink. It is good to see that some of the coins that were previously described as 'extremely rare'

(nos. 5001, 5003, 5005, 5012, 5015, 5021, 5022, 5032, 5039, 5064, 5073, 5075, 5079, 5081-6, 5090, 5142, 5144, etc) now have prices, although the fact that a non-existent coin (the Philip and Mary York penny, no. 6502) is priced in two conditions makes one wonder how reliable these may be. I wrote to Spink in November 2000 about the footnote relating to this non-coin which appeared below no. 2510A in the *Coins of England and the United Kingdom* volume, and it has now been deleted from there but has, nevertheless, survived in the volume under review. Most prices have increased, as one would expect after an interval of 18 years, but in many cases only by some 20% or so, which has not kept pace with the rate of inflation (or the price of this volume, up by 170% from £9.25), but several have gone down (nos. 5027, 5030, 5031, 5063, 5074, 5081, 5113, 5122, 5129, 5186, 5187, etc), perhaps as a result of detector finds having outstripped the collector base.

There have been a few additions to the Bibliography on pp. 5-7, and one obviously cannot expect an extensive bibliography in a volume of this size, but I feel that Nick Holmes' *A History of Small Change in Scotland* (1998) might have deserved a mention, and Lord Stewartby's article in *BNJ* XLIV on the Scottish portion of the Colchester hoard might have been include under Alexander III (this article is, in fact, mentioned in the Irish bibliography on p. 106).

The map on p. 8 has been lifted without amendment from the 1984 edition, but even then it seemed to owe more to Burns than to current thinking. It includes four towns not mentioned in the text as mints: Dunbar and Forres, suggested by Burns as possible sources of the DUN and FRES coins of Alexander III, but for which Lord Stewartby's attribution in the 1971 Baldwin memorial volume (*Mints, Dies and Currency*) to Dumfries (not shown on the map) is now widely accepted; Jedburgh, suggested by Burns as a mint for a coin attributed by him to Malcolm IV, which no longer appears in the catalogue (it was n. 5020 in the 1972 edition) but which Lord Stewartby suggested, again in 1971, might be Newcastle, and in *BNJ* 63 quoted a suggestion by Joan Murray that it could be Durham, and Kelso, which was suggested by Burns as a mint for a short-cross penny of the transitional coinage of Alexander III, which Stewartby (in 1971) suggested is a combination of three moneyers' names with no mint stated. Finally, Renfrew, which was eliminated as a mint by R.W. Kirton and Lord Stewartby in *Num. Chron.* 2000.

In the first paragraph on p. 9 the David I penny copying Henry I type XV is described as unique, although immediately below at no. 5001 it is priced in two conditions, and indeed I know that it is not unique because I have one.

At no, 5011, p. 11, the suggested spelling HENRIC F RE should be replaced by HENRIC ERL, as it is at no, 1309 in the *Coins of England and the United Kingdom* volume. Again, I know because I have one on which the reading is quite clear.

The illustration to no. 5288 appears to me to be 5287 (cf. plate VIII, no. 107, in Lord Stewartby's *The Scottish Coinage*), which is how it is identified in the 1972 edition.

It is good to see that the listing of the Alexander III second coinage pennies has been revised in the light of the article by Lord Stewartby and J.J. North in *BNJ* 60, but a pity that something similar could not have been done for the James V groats to take account of Robert Stevenson's article in *BNJ* 61, especially as that article is cited in the Bibliography. One reason why there appear to be so many 2577/8 mules is that the Edinburgh mint in the 1520s did not have the benefit of Burns' classification, and so did not realise that they were supposed to delay the introduction of the round-based shield and the OPPIDV spelling until they had the open mantle portrait of the king.

I am not qualified to comment in detail on the Irish section, but again any revision in the hammered series seems mostly confined to the prices. I notice that nos. 6100 to 6146 have been priced in F and VF instead of the optimistic VF and EF of the 1984 edition. Downward price revisions seem to be even more widespread here than in the Scottish series, which must be somewhat discouraging for anyone who has viewed the Hiberno-Norse series as a possible investment. The assimilation of the Irish proofs into the main text instead of having a separate section at the end makes for much greater clarity, and the decision to restrict the volume to the pre-decimal issues has at least stopped it being totally swamped by the Isle of Man issues.

This is an essential volume for anyone who does not have its 1984 predecessor, and more portable and easier to follow than its Coincraft counterpart. I would encourage everyone to buy it, if only to persuade Spink to publish a more thorough revision without waiting a further 18 years.

*Michael Anderson*

*Mussolini's Medals*. . A Novel by David Weimer. Colossus Press, Summit, New Jersey, 2001. 300pp. \$24.95 (available from Colossus Press, c/o Bookmasters, Inc., P.O. Box 388, Ashland, Ohio, 44805, USA, plus p&p).

The thriller novels with a numismatic theme can surely be counted on the fingers of one hand, and David Weimer has now added another to the genre, following on his highly successful, and intriguing *The Sicilian Hoard*. His central character is, once again the historian Michael Gardner, a classicist and keen numismatist.

The scenario opens in London with Gardner almost killed in a mystery explosion - and then the plot races away. What is the background to a walnut box holding a series of bronze medals with the Duce's famous profile; the last wish of a man that the box be buried with him - who designed these previously unknown medals, why were they never in circulation and, why, of all things, have they the Colossus of Nero and the Colosseum on the reverse? These are but a few of the threads of the tapestry that David Weimer has cleverly interwoven for his character, his lover Adriana, and his old collaborator the coin dealer Massimo Bellini. There are echoes of *The Sicilian Hoard* as the characters find their way through the labyrinth. The action moves to Rome, and eventually to Berlin via the glorious island of Rhodes - and there's a clue about the reverse type: think about it! We meet some curious and indeed at times unsavoury characters: Greek sponge divers with a secret, old-time former English spies in the Dodecanese, Italian neo-Fascists and dedicated German engineers. How does this *pot pourri* work out ? very well is the only answer - it is a gripping tale told with verve. At the end, well, there is the cliff hanger for the next novel - go to it David! *Peter A. Clayton*