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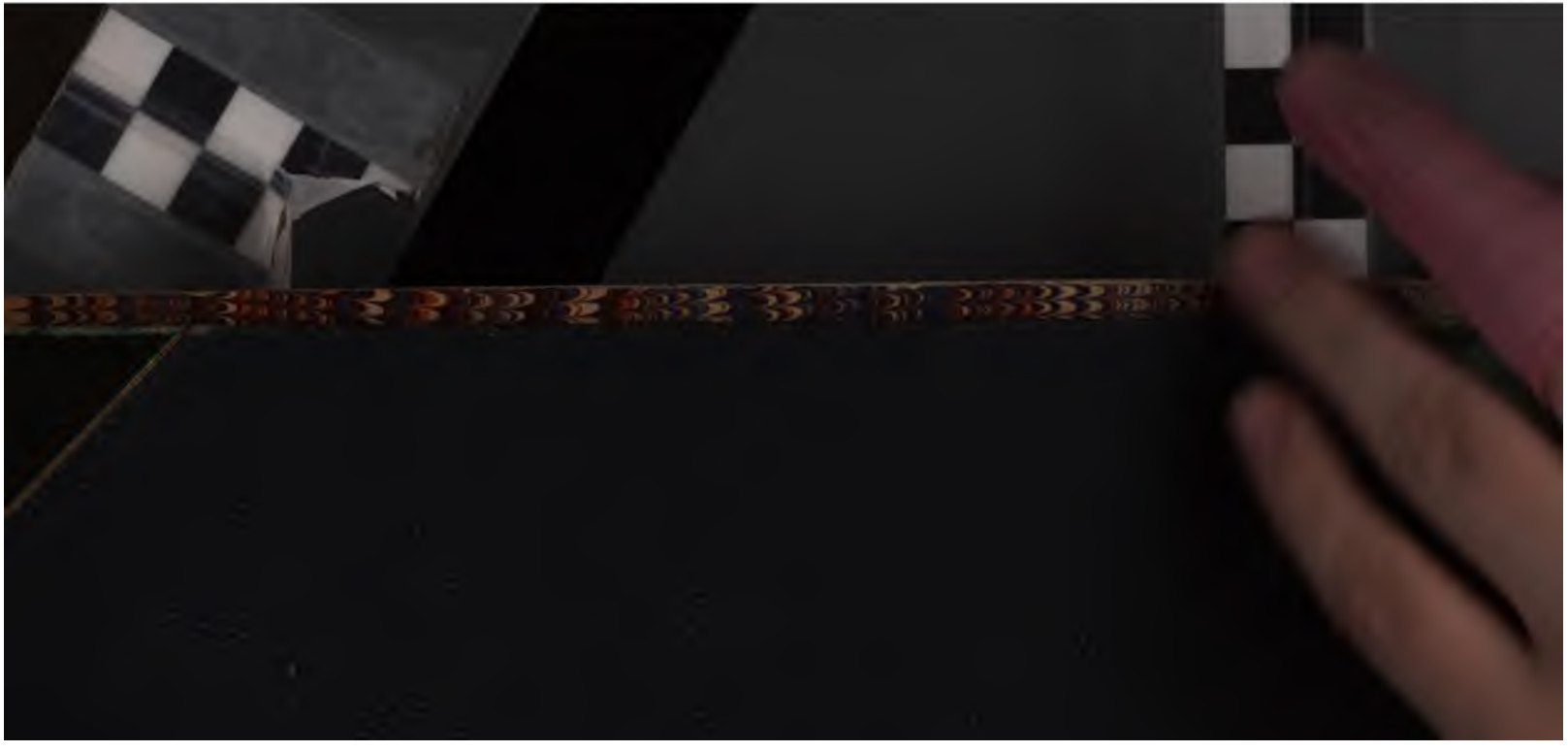

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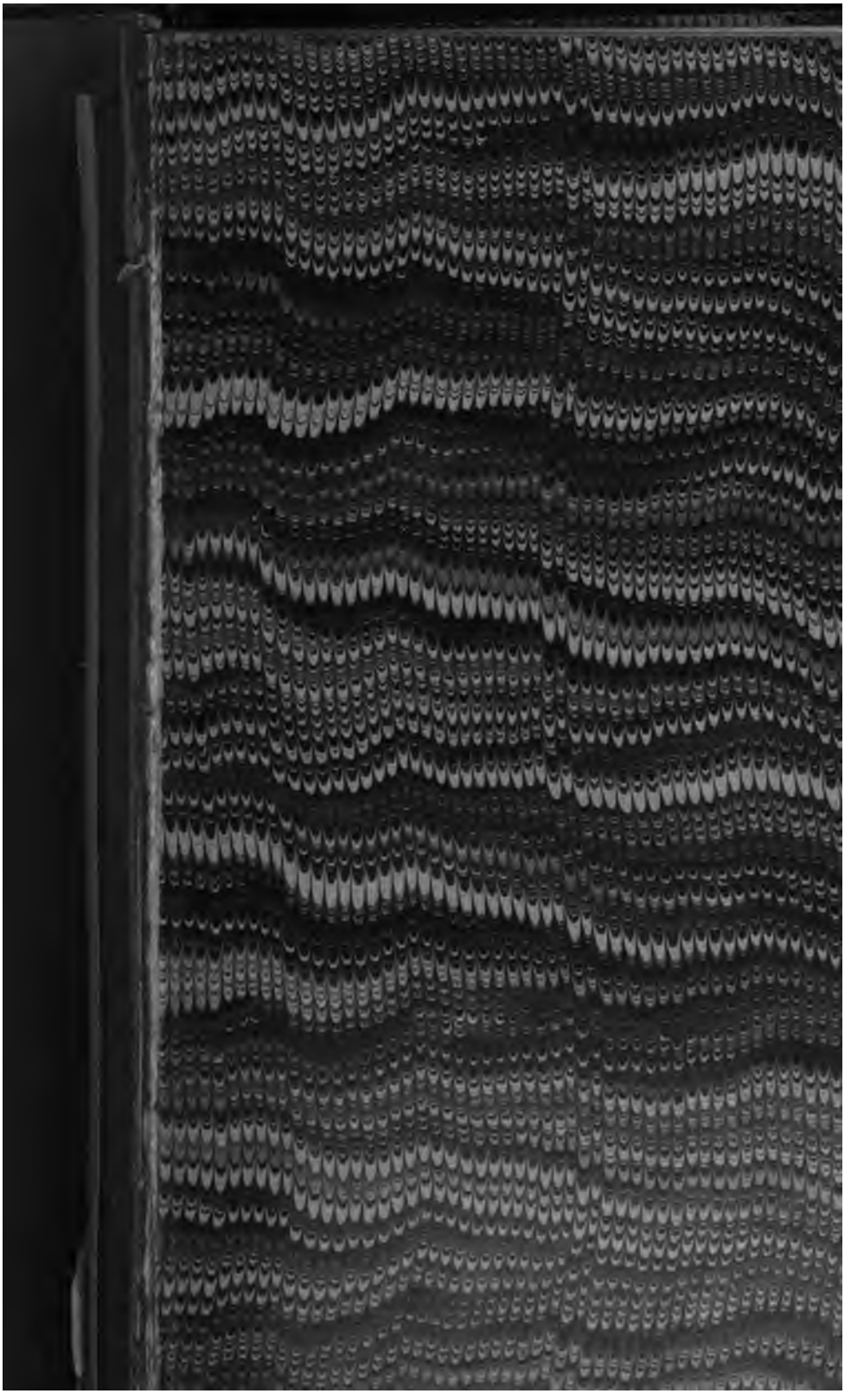

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THE

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,

AND

JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

CRETAN COINS.

THE following pages contain a description of several unpublished coins of Crete, and some remarks, chiefly on various types and attributions, which have suggested themselves to me whilst preparing the catalogue of the Cretan coins in the British Museum. Although there is still wanting a complete monograph on the subject, corresponding to those published by Mr. Head and Professor Gardner on various cities and districts of Hellas, the task of undertaking it would, at present, be somewhat unsatisfactory, and even premature; partly because only a comparatively small number of Cretan coins have been published by private collectors[1] and by the curators of public museums, and partly because our materials for the history of Crete, which, on the whole, are far from copious, might be, and ere long probably will be, considerably enlarged by excavations in the island. The great bulk of the information derivable from the literary sources has been collected in the three volumes of Hoeck's well-known *Kreta*,[2] a learned but ponderous work, of which, however,

[1] Among the numerous unpublished coins made known by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in his recent *Monnaies Grecques* (1883), comparatively few of Crete are included. We are glad, however, to have the assurance of the author that he has collected sufficient materials for a separate essay on the Cretan series.

[2] Göttingen, 1828.

there is now a readable summary in the *Précis de l'Histoire de Crète*, by MM. Bolanachi and Fazy.[3] Bursian, in his *Geographie von Griechenland* (vol. ii. pp. 529—581), has given a very useful account of the various Cretan towns, and has incorporated much of the material which has accumulated since the time of Hoeck; and a good chapter on the Cretan State will be found in the last edition of Schömann's *Griechische Alterthümer*.[4] The archæological contributions to our knowledge of Crete are not very numerous, for the good reason that no systematic excavations have ever been carried on in the island. Travellers like Pashley,[5] and Spratt[6] and Thénon[7] have indeed rendered good service, especially in identifying the ancient sites; but if we except the numerous lentoid gems which have been found in Crete, the coins, and a few isolated antiquities published in various periodicals, not much important evidence can be said to be derived from the monumental sources. Not only archæologists generally, but numismatists in particular, would certainly have much to gain from a thorough exploration of the island. We should obtain, to begin with, a trustworthy record of the find-spot of all the coins that were brought to light; if a hoard of coins were unearthed we should have an accurate analysis of its contents; and as it would almost certainly

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[3] Paris, 1869, Pt. I. Pt. II. deals with the post-classical history of Crete, on which see also Perrot, *L'île de Crète*. Paris, 1867.

[4] P. 295 ff. (Eng. trans., 1871): cp. also Hermann, *Lehrbuch der griech. Staatsalterthümer* (1875), §§ 21, 22.

[5] Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, 2 vols., Cambridge and London, 1837.

[6] Captain [now Admiral] Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, 2 vols. London, 1867.

[7] Thénon in *Revue Archéologique*, N.S., vols. xiv.—xviii.

include a number of non-Cretan coins, such as those of Aegina, Cyrene, and Argos, we should be provided with additional data for determining the periods of the Cretan coins themselves. Further, from inscriptions we might hope to glean new details of Cretan history; and by inscriptions and statuettes and votive tablets a flood of light could hardly fail to be shed upon many of the obscurer places of Cretan religion and mythology. Crete was a land that teemed with curious myths—*Creta multis famigerata fabulis* the geographer Mela calls it, and the native coins are full of mythology and full of evidence as to the local cults of Cretan towns. At present, however, some of the most curious coin-types, like the Πτολίοικος of Aptera and the Fελχανός of Phaestus, remain but little more than isolated curiosities, owing to our need of further monuments to explain and illustrate them. Of the remarkable art of Crete, now known chiefly from coins, and in them often seen under a barbarous form, we should also gladly welcome any fresh examples.

The incidents of Cretan history are of a somewhat uninteresting and even ignoble character. If we would seek the true glories of Crete we must turn to her legendary foretime, to the days of Minos and of Daedalus, to the days when Agamemnon, king of men, rejoiced before Troy as he saw the Cretans arming around the warlike Idomeneus: for they "all were skilled in warring, neither did disheartening dread keep back a man of them, nor did any one yielding to coward sloth avoid the evil contest." To the not unwholesome but almost too thorough-going scepticism of the historian Grote the legends of Minos and the rest remained mere legends; they were as curtains which might, indeed, conceal behind them figures of flesh and blood, but curtains which could not

by any possibility be withdrawn. The more brilliant and probably more discerning criticism of Curtius[8] has asserted that there attaches to the Crete of Minos the notion of a marked historical epoch of civilisation. Minos himself may be looked upon as the first sea-king, the lord of the Isles of Hellas. It is true that the nebulous veil of myth will hardly enable us to recognise the outlines of historical personages, but yet it is not difficult to make out that the essence of the legends of Minos consists in the fact that "order and law, the foundation of states, and a variety of forms of divine worship originated in his island." Open to three continents at once—to Greece, to Africa, and to Asia, and especially to the civilising influences of Phrygia and Phœnicia, Crete gave birth to a civilisation which bore a Hellenic stamp, and which was formed "out of the confused minglings of different phases of nationality by a process of elimination and refinement." The recovery of the historic element in legend is obviously a difficult if not exactly an impossible task, but there can be little doubt that well-directed excavations might discover in Crete, as they have at Mycenae, in Cyprus, and elsewhere, a clue to many dubious points in its early history, and even perhaps their solution. What, for instance, was the precise extent of that Phrygian and Phœnician influence in Crete which we now but dimly apprehend through the obscure indications of certain myths? What is the true significance of legends like those of Daedalus? Was Crete, as a recent German writer[9] has emphatically maintained, really an important centre of primitive artistic energy? These, we say, are questions which it might be possible for archæo-

[8] *History of Greece*, i. p. 71 f. (Eng. trans.).
[9] Milchhoeffer, *Die Anfängen d. Kunst.*

logy to answer, and upon which even the acutest literary criticism cannot claim to have said the last word.

But it is not so much with the half-mythical past as with the historical present of ancient Crete that the numismatist is concerned. And, first, we must notice how largely the whole course of Cretan history was determined by the geographical conformation of the island itself. Broken up into valleys divided one from another by barriers of mountain, Crete seemed to present a physical obstacle to political union and centralisation. Though certain traits of character and forms of polity, though the worship of certain divinities, as of the goddess Britomartis, or Diktynna, are found throughout the island, the history of Crete is principally the history of individual Cretan cities, each with its own government and isolated interests; each striking its own coins, and even using its own especial calendar. The history of these cities in earlier days is very imperfectly known to us: we know, however, that the streams of Cretan activity never mingled with the broad sea of Hellenic life. From the glorious contest with the Persians Crete stands aloof; she has neither part nor lot in the great Hellenic war of the fifth century.[10] The Cretans have always their hands too full with their own internal struggles, and if they fight beyond the limits of their island it is in the character of mercenaries, embracing any cause for pay. Three of the Cretan cities, namely Cnossos, Gortyna, and Cydonia, seem to tower above the rest, but we find them now united, now disunited, just as it suits their temporary purpose. Of these and of the other cities we obtain more frequent glimpses as time advances. A number of inscriptions

[10] See, however, Thuc., vii. 57.

belonging chiefly to the end of the third century B.C. record the treaties made between various communities of Crete—the alliance of Lato with Olus, of Hierapytna with Priansus, of Hierapytna with Lyttus, of Dreros, Cnossos, and Miletus against Lyttus;[11] and these inscriptions, together with the details given by Polybius, enable us to form some general notion of Cretan politics, and of the vehement strife of city with city. In B.C. 216 we find the Cretans, weary for a time of their internecine struggles, inviting Philip V. of Macedon to assume the general protection of the island; but no pressure from outside seems ever to have much affected the petty course of Cretan history, or to have forced the cities into a really permanent union. In the second and first centuries before our era the Cretans came into contact with the power of Rome, and in B.C. 67 the island, which had long been a stronghold of pirates, was finally reduced (not without some display of native bravery) by the Roman general Metellus.

The knowledge of these and other incidents in Cretan history does not, unfortunately, render us much assistance in arranging the Cretan coins; and it has further to be regretted that the evidence of style, usually so valuable to the numismatist, is here to a great extent unavailable on account of the peculiar character of Cretan art. The chronological sequence of the coins would, in fact, be far more uncertain than it is, were it not that the inhabitants of Crete had an especial fondness for using the coins of other Greek peoples as *flans* upon which to impress their own devices and legends. Dr. Friedlaender,[12] in one of the few articles as yet published upon the subject of Cretan

[11] See a list in Hicks, *Manual of Greek Inscriptions*, p. 295; cp. also *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, iii. (1879), p. 290 f.

[12] *Zeit. für Num.*, iv. p. 337 f.

coins, has called attention to some of these re-strikings: I have found others in the British Museum, and instances are probably very numerous, though it is not always possible to make out the original types of the re-struck specimens. Guided chiefly by indications of this kind we may perhaps approximately assign the extant coins of Crete to the four following periods:—I. *Circa* B.C. 480—431. II. B.C. 431—300. III. B.C. 300—200. IV. B.C. 200—67.

The first issue of money in most of the cities does not seem to have taken place much earlier than B.C. 431, the date assigned as the upward limit of our second period; and in some places probably not earlier than B.C. 400. As might be expected, however, from what we know from other sources, the important cities of Cnossus and Gortyna have considerable issues before B.C. 431, though perhaps no Cretan coins can be assigned to a date much anterior to the Persian wars, or about B.C. 480. To judge from extant specimens Cydonia, the third great city of Crete, does not appear to have had a coinage of its own till the end of the fifth century B.C.: a remarkable archaic coin of Phaestus, which I publish for the first time (see p. 45), is, on the other hand, a somewhat unexpected piece of evidence as to the importance of this city in early times. The first coinages of one or two other cities, as Itanus, Praesus, and Rhaucus, seem also to fall within our first period, though in the later rather than in the earlier part of it. It is apparently to our second division (B.C. 431—300) that the great bulk of Cretan money belongs: the coins assignable to the succeeding period (B.C. 300—200) are not so numerous. Müller[13] has attributed to one

[13] L. Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, p. 227 f.

or two of the Cretan cities tetradrachms with Alexander's types, but the attribution of these particular specimens is far from certain, though it is not improbable that coins of this class may have circulated in the island; it would be interesting to have well-authenticated instances of such specimens having been found in Crete. I have not been able to connect the various treaty inscriptions of the third century with the coinages of the cities to which they relate, though of one remarkable alliance between Cnossus and Gortyna we have, as I shall presently suggest, an interesting numismatic memorial. Our fourth period is composed of a good many coins, none of which seem to be much earlier in style than B.C. 200, and some of which may be placed nearly as late as B.C. 67, the date of the reduction of the island by the Romans, when the autonomous coinage must have come to an end.[14] The coinage of Crete under the Empire consists chiefly of the copper coins bearing the inscription **KOINON KPHTΩN**, and of certain coins in silver and copper struck under the earlier emperors, and bearing the names of different Cretan cities.

The strange and well-marked character of the art of Cretan coins was noted long ago by Eckhel; but it is Mr. Stuart Poole who must claim the credit of having been the first to call attention to such merits as it possesses, and especially to those realistic qualities which it often exhibits. The Cretan artist goes straight to nature for his inspiration: he excels, as Mr. Poole has pointed out, "in the portrayal of animal and vegetable subjects, and

[14] The silver coins published in the *Zeit. f. Num.*, x. (1883), p. 119 f., and by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Gr.*, p. 210, must not, however, be forgotten.

delights in perspective and foreshortening."[15] Since this was written some further suggestive criticism on the subject has been advanced by Professor Gardner, in his important work on the *Types of Greek Coins*.[16] One remark there made ought especially to be borne in mind when approaching Cretan coins from the artistic standpoint, namely, that the love of nature and the picturesque which strikes us in Cretan coin-designs is, to a great extent, the result of the *religious* conditions under which the Cretan artist worked. His task was to body forth and turn to shape bizarre and local myths—many of them associated (as Otto Jahn has shown) with a somewhat crude nature-worship. Those trees, for instance, which he so often introduces are not inserted primarily as ornamental accessories, but as integral parts of the type, to give an outward expression to a religious belief. He does not, for example on the coins of Gortyna, seat his Europa in a tree purely for the sake of artistic effect, but because the Gortynians venerated a sacred tree—that "juxta fontem Platanus nunquam folia dimittens" which was the witness of the loves of Zeus and Europa. But although to a great extent conditioned by the peculiar character of Cretan myths, the art of Crete, as displayed on its coins, has certainly originality and even charm. The Cretan coin-types are interesting, moreover, as exponents of certain qualities in a local school of Greek art of which otherwise we should know but little. It is, however, fairly open to question whether these very qualities of picturesqueness and uncompromising realism are those which we most

[15] R. S. Poole, in *Num. Chron.*, 1864, p. 240; cp. *Encyclop. Britannica*, 8th ed., art. "Numismatics."

[16] Pp. 160—167, and cp. Pl. IX.; see also p. 172.

desire for coin-reliefs. Now, on comparing the work of a Cretan coin engraver with that of a good Greek coin engraver who is not of Crete, what we are compelled, I think, to decide, is, that the designs of the Cretan artist are indeed excellent in themselves, but that the designs of the non-Cretan artist are not only excellent absolutely, but relatively, and peculiarly fitted for the purpose for which they are employed. The Cretans, in fact, seem to have lacked that sense of fitness, that habitual recollection of the material conditions under which they worked, which is one of the grand characteristics of the engravers of Greek coins, indeed of all Greek artists. In their love of natural objects pure and simple, they forgot that natural objects fastidiously selected and even conventionalized may, under some conditions, be more artistically satisfying than nature faithfully transcribed from field and wood; and thus, though the bull on the coins of Gortyna may be nearer nature than the bull on the coins of Thurium, the θούριος βοῦς must be pronounced the finer coin-type. All the foregoing remarks of course apply only to the best designed and executed Cretan coins, for, as is well known, there are many specimens in the series which are altogether beneath criticism. Some of these latter are simply the products of barbarian workmen who cannot make visible even the distinction between the male and female head; while many others, though better executed, betray an undoubted substratum of barbarism. Inequalities in the technical workmanship of contemporaneously issued coins are common enough in almost any Greek city, but they are particularly striking in Crete, and there may, I think, be observed in most of the Cretan towns, especially in the period B.C. 431—300, three distinct styles of coin-engraving all evidently contemporary. First, we

have the coin of creditable design and execution supplied, as one is sometimes tempted to believe, by a non-Cretan artist as a model for the Cretan mints; next, there is the tolerably faithful though unskilled imitation of this prototype; while, finally, we have the rudest attempts at reproduction by an utterly barbarous hand. These differences may be well seen in the coins of Gortyna photographed in Plate I. The obverse of No. 1, both for grace of design and delicacy of execution, is worthy of all praise. The next specimen (No. 2) successfully reproduces the original motive, but the delicacy of execution is gone; the minute folds in the drapery, for example, are almost beyond the powers of the second artist. The third engraver, as a glance at the plate will show (Plate I. No. 3), is only competent to design for us a blurred figure of uncertain sex perched in a tree of laths. Sometimes, though not very frequently, the Cretans deliberately used the coins of other Greek cities as patterns from which to copy direct; in some cases with considerable success, as in the Hera of Cnossus suggested by the Hera of Argos; though in others with disastrous results, as in the coins of Chersonesus, which are imitated from the fine money of Stymphalus in Arcadia.

With these preliminary remarks I now proceed to a discussion of individual coins in various Cretan cities, confining myself, as far as possible, to points on which I have some new suggestion to offer, or which seem to call for further examination.

Allaria.

The tetradrachm in the British Museum (weight, 235·3 grains) with obverse Head of Pallas, and reverse Λ A

Herakles seated on rock (Head, *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. 43, 28) formerly given to Laconia, seems to be rightly assigned by Mr. Newton [17] to Allaria. M. Bompois, in his *Étude . . des portraits attribués à Cléomene III.* (p. 32, note) has objected to Mr. Newton's attribution, chiefly on the ground that the coin reads not Α Λ but Λ Α. But the legend on some of the smaller silver coins of Allaria with obverse, Head of Pallas, and reverse, standing Herakles [18] is also retrograde—ΝΑΤΩΙϘΑΛΛΑ; and I am informed that M. Bompois, on subsequently comparing the tetradrachm with the smaller coins in the British Museum, admitted the correctness of Mr. Newton's view.

Apollonia.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., wearing wreath.

   Rev.—Tripod.

   Æ. ·9. Wt. 173·2 grs. Brit. Mus. Coll.

   [Re-struck; square labyrinth visible on reverse.]

2. Similar types.

   Æ. ·8. Wt. 79·7 grs. Brit. Mus.

A comparison of these coins with the similar specimens described in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1865 (p. 163) enables us to give them with tolerable certainty to Apollonia. The work of the obverse is extremely rude, especially in the case of No. 2. The coins may be assigned to the fourth century B.C., as the larger piece has been re-struck on a coin of Cnossus, apparently on one of the specimens with obverse, female head r., and reverse, **BIb**, and square labyrinth (Brit. Mus.), which may belong to the period B.C. 431—350.

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[17] *Num. Chron.*, vii. p. 114. [18] Brit. Mus. Coll.

APTERA.

1. *Obv.*—[A]ΠTAPAIΩN. Head of Artemis of Aptera r., wearing earring and stephane ornamented with floral pattern; hair rolled. In front of head, in small letters, artist's name ΠYΘ[OΔΩPOY].

Rev.—ΠTOΛIOIKOΣ. Warrior (Pteras ?) standing l., wearing cuirass, and holding in l. spear and shield ornamented with a star; his r. hand is raised to salute a sacred tree which stands before him.

Æ. ·95. Wt. 174·6 grs. Brit. Mus.

[Compare Pl. I., No. 4, from Mionnet's cast.]

This coin is apparently from the same die as the coin in Mionnet, t. ii., p. 261, No. 27, which is here photographed as being the better specimen of the two. The goddess represented on the obverse might at first sight appear to be Aphrodite or even Hera, but she is in all probability a local form of Artemis, as an inscription, published in Lebas and Waddington,[19] mentions τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ τᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος τᾶς Ἀπτέρας. The artist's signature in front of the head has been already read in divers ways, but always erroneously.[20] A coin in a private collection, of which I have seen an electrotype, reads with very fair distinctness, ΠYΘOΔΩ [POY], and the same inscription may even be made out on Mionnet's cast.[21] The artist is, in fact, that Pythodoros who worked at the not far distant town Polyrhenium, and whose work we know from coins in the British Museum (Pl. I. No. 7, and page 71), and from a specimen lately published by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer,[22] on which he signs his name in full, ΠYΘOΔΩPOY. The

[19] *Voyage Arch.* (*inscr.*), tom. iii. p. 37, No. 75.
[20] Cp. von Sallet, *Die Künstlerinschriften*, p. 51 and p. 35.
[21] Mion., tom. ii. p. 261, No. 27; see our Pl. I. No. 4.
[22] *Monnaies Grecques* (1883), p. 218, No. 86.

coins made by Pythodoros for Aptera and for Polyrhenium present us with a female head identical in style. They are the productions of a die-engraver with a tendency to over-ornateness in his work, but who is not without technical skill. His style is not unlike that of Neuantos, the engraver of Cydonia. The curious type of the reverse has been explained, with much probability, as relating to Pteras, the founder of Aptera, who also built one of the early temples at Delphi.[23] It is commonly stated that he is here engaged in plucking a leaf from the sacred bay, a somewhat meaningless action. It is much more probable that he is portrayed in the act of adoring the tree, or the divinity of which the tree is symbolical. The upraised hand is the ordinary Greek gesture of adoration, as may be seen on almost any votive tablet representing a deity and suppliants. On an Imperial coin of Pergamon the Emperor Caracalla may be observed saluting in the same manner a tree round which is coiled the serpent representative of Asklepios.[24] The reverse inscription of the Aptera coin is commonly ΠΤΟΛΙΟΙΚΟΣ, though a specimen in the Hunter Collection is said to read ΠΤΟΛΙΟΣΤΟΥ,[25] and I have seen a copy of one reading ΠΤΟΛΙΟΙΤΟ[Σ]. Πτολίοικος is a word not known to occur elsewhere: it has been explained as an epithet equivalent to πολιοῦχος, or, better, to πόλεως οἰκίστης. A coin in the British Museum similar to the above, but with ΑΠΤΕΡΑΙΩΝ before the head of the obverse, is countermarked with the caduceus; another similar specimen has the monogram ΓΑ on the reverse.

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[23] Paus., x. 5.
[24] *Num. Chron.*, Third Series, vol. ii. Pl. III. Fig. 7.
[25] Mion., *Sup.* tom. iv. p. 304, *note*.

[ARSINOE.]

1. *Obv.*—Female head r. (Artemis ?); hair tied in bunch behind.

   Rev.—**APΣI**. Helmeted male figure, naked, standing r.; his r. hand placed upon a spear round which is coiled a serpent, his l. resting on shield.

   Æ. ·8. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 5] (*obv.*).

   [The serpent is not noticed by Leake, *Num. Hell.*, "Arsinoe Cretae."]

2. *Obv.*—Helmeted (male ?) head l.

   Rev.—**APΣI**. Two dolphins swimming.

   Æ. ·4. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 9.]

Leake[26] speaks of specimens similar to these as being "certainly Cretan," though without stating his reasons. No. 2 has indeed a Cretan look, but not No. 1, and there is no evidence, I believe, of their having been found in Crete. The very existence of a Cretan town named Arsinoe seems doubtful. It depends upon a passage in Stephanus Byzantinus, who speaks of it, according to the common reading, as belonging to the territory of Lyttus (Ἀρσινόη Πόλις . . . ἐννάτη, Λύκτου). But the reading Λύκτου is extremely unsatisfactory, and Westermann and others substitute Λυκίας.[27] The attribution of these coins

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[26] *Num. Hell.*, "Arsinoe Cretae."

[27] "Ἐννάτη, Λύκτου:—Non dubito quin librariorum imperitia monstrum illud lectionis in textum irrepserat. Λύκτος enim neque provinciae neque regionis nomen est, sed oppidi in Creta. Fortasse rescribendum est: ἐννάτη, Λυκίας. Nihil occurrit melius divinandum: nam infra sequetur: ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Λυκίας. Hac loquendi formula non usus fuisset Stephanus, nisi in praecedentibus alterius meminisset."—Berkelii *Annotationes* in Steph. Byz.

to a Cretan town, Arsinoe, must, therefore, be considered as uncertain.

Axus.

The coins of this city have been made the subject of a short paper by Dr. Kenner in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*.[28] The form ΓΑΞΙΩΝ, which appears upon them, occurs in an inscription of Axus, published by Lebas and Waddington,[29], though Γαυξιων also appears in the same text. The orthography of the name, as M. Waddington remarks, varies in the authors, but all the variations arise from the initial digamma of the word in the local dialect.[30] Two specimens in the British Museum of the copper coins of Kenner's Class III. (p. 19) are countermarked with a laureate head of Apollo with quiver at his shoulder; a Museum specimen of the copper coin with *obv.* head of Zeus, and *rev.* thunderbolt, is countermarked with a head of Zeus, or perhaps Poseidon, and another specimen with these types is countermarked with a youthful head, perhaps of Apollo.

Chersonesus.

Dr. von Sallet[31] has already pointed out that one of the earlier silver coins of this place is a rude copy of a well-known coin of Stymphalus, in Arcadia. The British Museum has several barbarous Chersonesus imitations of the Stymphalian coin, on which the laurel wreath and elaborate earring of the Arcadian coin are preserved (*rev.*

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[28] Vol. viii. pp. 15—20.

[29] *Voyage Arch.* (*inscr.*), tom. iii. p. 31, No. 65.

[30] For other examples of the Ⅎ form of the digamma see Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Gesch. d. Griech. Alphabets*, 3rd ed., Taf. I. (Korkyra), Taf. II. (Bœotia, &c.).

[31] *Zeit. für Num.*, ii. pp. 124, 125.

Inscription, Herakles with club). The head on the coin of Stymphalus is that of the Artemis Stymphalia: the people of Chersonesus probably called it Artemis Britomartis, a goddess of whom there was a sanctuary in their town.[32] The Stymphalian head is more successfully copied on the coins of Chersonesus with the reverse type Apollo seated on omphalos, holding lyre and plectrum (see Pl. III. No. 12, *obv.* only). The coinage of the place probably came to an end about B.C. 220, for its copper money with *obv.* head of Pallas, and *rev.* XEP is exactly like that of Lyttus, which we have good reason to believe did not issue coins after that date (see p. 42). The copper coin described by Leake[33] with *obv.* eagle l., *rev.* XEP (in monogram) is also probably not later than B.C. 220. Specimens of these coins are in the British Museum.

CNOSSUS.

1. *Obv.*—Minotaur, head facing, running r.; he holds in r. round stone, his l. is raised.

   Rev.—Cruciform labyrinth of maeander pattern, in centre of which ⁘ (star); in each of its four angles is a deep incuse square in which is a pellet.

   Æ. ·8. Wt. 184·8 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 10.]

This coin probably belongs to the early part of the fifth century, and, to judge from its lumpy fabric, is anterior to the other Cnossian didrachms with similar types.[34] The legends of the Minotaur and labyrinth, like all the principal religious beliefs of Cnossus, are fully illustrated by the coinage of the place. The appearance

[32] Strabo, x. p. 479.
[33] *Num. Hell.*, "Chersonasus Cretæ," No. 1, *Suppl.*
[34] *E.g.*, Mion. ii. p. 265, No. 52.

of the labyrinth on this coin is important as showing, not, indeed, that it actually existed, but that the legends connected with it were current at an early period, though they are known to us through late writers.[35] The five dots in the centre of the labyrinth on the reverse of our coin are intended for a star; a star of the more usual form appears in the centre of the labyrinth on Cnossian coins of the fourth century, as does also a crescent.

2. *Obv.*—Minotaur (head towards l.) running r.; he holds in r. round stone, his l. hand is raised, and holds a stone (?); border of dots.

Rev.—Within a square frame of the maeander pattern, youthful male head r., with short hair bound by taenia. The whole in incuse square.

Æ. 1·1. Wt. 174·7 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I. No. 11.]

The head on the reverse of this interesting coin seems to be that of a hero rather than of a god. The maeander pattern evidently represents the labyrinth, and I would suggest that the head which it encloses is that of Theseus. His short hair seems to be bound with a fillet, as the head of Theseus is on a cylix in the British Museum, which represents the hero attacking the Minotaur.[36] Against this attribution it may be urged that the head within the maeander pattern has not *necessarily* any connection with it, for on a Cnossian coin of later style we find the head of the goddess Demeter enclosed within it;[37] in this case

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[35] Cp. R. S. Poole in *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. i. pp. 171, 172.

[36] Cecil Smith in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ii. p. 57 f. Pl. X.

[37] *Zeit. für Num.*, p. 232. The female head surrounded by the circular maeander pattern on the silver coin in Mion. ii. p. 266, No. 60, may perhaps be Ariadne, though Artemis Britomartis and even Persephone might put in a claim.

we might see in the head of our reverse, either that of Idomeneus or Meriones, whom we know to have been honoured with a cultus as heroes by the Cnossians;[38] but Theseus seems, on the whole, the most suitable. A large series of silver coins of various types may be attributed to Cnossus for the end of the fifth and for the fourth century. The two principal classes consist (1) of the didrachms with *obv.* head of Persephone (some of good style), and *rev.* cruciform labyrinth, or *rev.* Bucranium in maeander frame; (2) of the didrachms with *obv.* head of Hera, suggested by coins of Argos,[39] and *rev.* square labyrinth (cp. Head, *Guide*, Pl. 23, 39). All these coins are well known, and it is sufficient to observe upon the type of Persephone that early legends connected Demeter with Crete,[40] while Cnossus in particular disputed with Athens the glory of having been the first to possess the gifts of the Goddess of Corn. With regard to Hera, it was in the neighbourhood of Cnossus that her union with Zeus took place, an event which was afterwards commemorated by annual sacrifices, and by a mimetic representation of the marriage.[41] These and other silver coins of the period are reinforced by a considerable number of copper coins of thick fabric and of rude style, of which the following are specimens:—

8. *Obv.*—Female head l. (Demeter?), [countermarked with square labyrinth].

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[38] Bursian, *Geographie*, ii. p. 560.

[39] The head is reproduced, not from the finer Hera coins of Argos and Elis, which are of B.C. 421, but from the later coins of Argos (*rev.* Diomede), which are evidently of the fourth century, about the time of Epaminondas.

[40] Cp. Lenormant, art. "Ceres" in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, p. 1029.

[41] Cp. Pashley, *Travels*, i. p. 204; Bursian, *Geog.* ii. p. 558.

Rev.—Cruciform labyrinth of maeander pattern.
Æ. ·8. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 14. *Obv.*]

4. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.
Rev.—Cruciform labyrinth of maeander pattern, in centre a star.
Æ. ·6. Brit. Mus.

5. *Obv.*—Female head r. (Demeter or Artemis Britomartis), wearing necklace.
Rev.—KNΩ. Bearded male head r. (Zeus ?).
Æ. ·55. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 12.]

Nos. 3 and 4 were acquired by the British Museum from Mr. Petrides, from whom several of its Cretan coins have been obtained. The fact of their having come through him in itself raises some presumption of their Cretan provenance. The Apollo of No. 4 is probably the Apollo Delphinios of the place.[42]

The coins which follow I would assign to the end of the third century B.C.

6. *Obv.*—Bull advancing l., carrying Europa, with veil flying; beneath, two dolphins: border of rays.
Rev.—KNΩΣΙΩN. Square labyrinth: between the K and N of the inscription, star; border of dots.
Æ. ·7. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I. No. 13.]

7. Similar, but smaller.
Æ. ·6. Brit. Mus.

It is curious that the significance of these not uncommon coins should have been overlooked; yet the union on the same coin of the distinctive types of Cnossus and Gor-

[42] Cp. C. I. G., No. 2554.

tyna, namely the labyrinth and Europa[43] on the bull, can surely point only to some actual alliance between the two cities. Although such alliances were, as we know from inscriptions, not uncommon between cities of Crete, they have generally been but little noticed by ancient historians, and do not seem to have usually left their traces upon Cretan coinage. There was, however, concluded in the year 220 B.C. a very remarkable alliance between the powerful cities of Cnossus and Gortyna, which is recorded by Polybius.[44] The object of the allies was to bring the other cities of Crete under their supreme control, and in this, we are told, they actually succeeded, though the important town of Lyttus at first held out against them. That Cnossus should on this occasion give an additional emphasis to the alliance by admitting the coin-types of her great ally to a place on her own coinage is not at all unlikely, and an examination of the coins themselves will show, I think, that they may well be assigned on grounds of style to the end of the third century B.C.

Several of the flat tetradrachms of Cnossus having as their obverse-type the head of Zeus or Minos diademed (Pl. I. No. 15, *rev.* ΚΝΩΣΙΩΝ, square labyrinth, weight 257 grs.), are re-struck on money of the Seleucid kings; a specimen in the Vienna Cabinet is re-struck on a coin of Antiochus IX.[45] The Cnossian coins of this class, together with others in copper, with a bearded laureate head, and as reverse, an eagle, must have formed the chief part of the currency issued during the earlier part of the period B.C. 116—67. Some writers have called the bearded

[43] Not only the Europa but also the border of rays is distinctive of the money of Gortyna.

[44] iv. 53—55; cp. vii. 12, 9.

[45] *Zeit. für Num.*, iv. pp. 339, 340; *ib.* v. pp. 148, 149.

head on the obverse of the tetradrachms (Pl. I. No. 15) the head of Minos. They point out that it is bound, not with the laurel wreath commonly assumed by the Father of gods and men, but with a diadem, such as would be worn by the kingly Minos. That the Cnossians did represent their great legendary hero upon their coins we know with certainty, from the remarkable specimen at Berlin, bearing the inscription ΜΙΝΩΣ, on which Minos is represented as a Zeus-like figure, seated, and holding a sceptre.[46] A coin of Cnossus, published by Mionnet,[47] having for obverse a female head, perhaps Ariadne, encircled by the labyrinth, shows as its reverse another seated figure of Zeus-like appearance, which might also be termed Minos, though there he holds a patera as well as a sceptre. On the head of these seated figures the diadem cannot be clearly made out, and it may be urged against the identification with Minos of the head on the Cnossian tetradrachms that the copper coins which belong to about the same period have a bearded head, which is bound with a laurel wreath, and which it is difficult to call anything but Zeus. The claim of Minos to this head is therefore somewhat doubtful. A similar question as to identity also arises in the case of the figure seated on the reverse of the silver coin given in Pl. I. No. 16.

8. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo l., laureate.

Rev.—ΚΝΩΣΙ[ΩΝ]. Beardless male figure, drapery over knees, his hair bound with diadem, seated l. on square labyrinth; he holds in outstretched r. winged Victory; his l. rests upon sceptre. In field l. monogram [illegible] (beneath labyrinth, traces of inscription ?).

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[46] *Zeit. für Num.*, vi. p. 232 f.
[47] ii. p. 266, No. 60.

Æ. Mionnet, vol. ii., "Cnossus," No. 70 (See Pl. I., No. 16, *rev.* only), photographed from Mionnet's cast; a somewhat similar specimen in the Brit. Mus. Weighs 75·2 grs.

The Victory and sceptre being common attributes of Zeus on coins might dispose us to see in the interesting figure of the reverse a representation of Zeus as a youth. Crete, as is well known, claimed the honour of having been the birthplace of the god. His worship was common in the island, and he was above all honoured at Cnossus.[48] His appearance on the coins of Cnossus is, therefore, to be expected. On the other hand, it may be said that the diadem, and, still more, the labyrinth which our figure has chosen for a seat, as Apollo does his omphalos, point with almost equal directness to the youthful Minos. And between these contending claims of Zeus and Minos, Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστὴς, it is most difficult to decide.

After the conquest of Crete by Metellus, and probably before the battle of Actium, Cnossus became a Roman *colonia*. A good list of its colonial coins has been given by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in his *Monnaies Grecques* (pp. 213—214), to which I need only add the two following specimens in the British Museum, the attribution of which to Cnossus is extremely probable.

9. *Obv.*—C C plough r.; border of dots.
Rev.—· C ? square labyrinth.
Æ. Size ·55.

10. *Obv.*—[Inscription ?] Head of Augustus r.
Rev.—C C plough r.; border of dots.
Æ. ·65.

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[48] Hoeck, *Kreta*, i. p. 160 f.

No. 9 was obtained from Mr. Petrides: the inscription of its reverse is obscure; the only letter visible may be a C. A comparison of No. 9 with No. 10 would lead us to suppose that No. 9 was issued under Augustus.

CYDONIA.

It is remarkable that there should be no archaic coins of this important city; but no specimens at present known to us can be placed earlier than our second period (B.C. 431—300), to which, and to the period B.C. 200—67, most of the Cydonian money appears to belong.

1. *Obv.*—Female head r., wearing earring and necklace; hair rolled, and wreathed with grapes and vine leaves; behind, ⋈ (?); border of dots.

   Rev.—KYΔΩN. Naked male figure (Cydon ?) standing l., stringing bow; on l., dog r. looking up; border of dots.

   Æ. 1·05. Wt. 172·5 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 6, *obv.*]

The monogram behind the head is not very clear: it has been read by Mionnet ⋈, by Dr. Von Sallet ⋈, and the latter numismatist has suggested[49] that we have here an artist's signature. The difficulties in the way of accepting this suggestion are, first, that the Cretan coin-engravers, so far as we know, never sign in monogram; and, secondly, that the head on this coin is almost identical in style with the head on the silver coins of Cydonia signed by the artist Neuantos.[50] We may, therefore, perhaps regard our monogram as that of a magistrate, and see in the obverse of our coin another example of

[49] *Zeit. f. Num.*, ii. p. 7.
[50] Mion., ii. p. 271, No. 112.

the work of Neuantos. On the Cydonian coins of the period to which this specimen belongs we should naturally expect to find the effigy of Diktynna,[51] a Cretan goddess worshipped at Cydonia. The coin-types of this time are, however, of a Dionysiac character. The female head on the coin before us (Pl. I., No. 6) seems to be that of a Maenad, for we do not know that Diktynna had such attributes as the grape and vine-leaf. On other Cydonian coins of good style there occurs a head of similar appearance wreathed with ivy which has been called Dionysos;[52] but it should be noted that yet another Cydonian head[53] not dissimilar in character and wreathed with ivy, is certainly female, as it is adorned with an earring, so that perhaps we should see in all these heads a Maenad rather than Dionysos.

The earlier reverses of the Cydonian coins display a youthful hunter (sometimes accompanied by a dog), in the act of stringing his bow. Types of this class are common in Crete, and I shall endeavour to show farther on that it is generally a local form of Apollo who is thus represented. On the coins of Cydonia, however, the figure is perhaps the hero Cydon, who was doubtless venerated by the famous Cydonian bowmen as the first

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[51] Diktynna—worshipped in some parts of Crete as Britomartis—appears to have been a native Cretan goddess of hunters and fishermen who had also perhaps a lunar rôle. She was more or less completely assimilated to the Hellenic Artemis, and is represented on later coins of Cydonia quite in the character of that goddess. See Lenormant, *s.v.* Britomartis in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*; Hoeck, *Kreta*, ii. p. 158 ff.

[52] Gardner, *Types*, Pl. IX. No. 22; p. 166.

[53] Brit. Mus. Coll.

great bowman of their city.[54] To the infant suckled by a wolf—the reverse-type of other coins of Cydonia—may also be given the name of Cydon, though no legends of his infancy are related in the authors. According to Antoninus Liberalis,[55] Miletus, the son of Acacallis, was exposed, and suckled by a wolf, and it is not unlikely that a similar story may have been told by the Cydonians concerning their hero Cydon, who was (by Apollo or by Hermes) also a son of Acacallis. Prof. Gardner[56] considers that the animal represented on the coins is a female hound rather than a wolf, and it is quite possible that a hound may have been substituted for the wolf in the local Cydonian legend. The coins of which the reverse types are photographed in Plate II., Nos. 2, 4, belong to the interesting series of tetradrachms which exactly reproduce the types of the corresponding Athenian coins, though they present the name and badge of different Cretan cities. Coins of this class have been published by M. Beulé,[57] and by Mr. R. Stuart Poole,[58] and specimens of six Cretan cities are known, namely, Cnossus, Cydonia, Gortyna, Hierapytna, Polyrhenium and Priansus. The two writers just mentioned suggest that these specimens belong to the time when the Cretans were in alliance with Athens against Philip V., an alliance brought about by Cephisodorus[59] about B.C. 200. Mr. Barclay Head supposes that the Athenian types were adopted for commer-

[54] Paus., viii. 53, 2; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κυδωνία; Claudian, *Histrix*, v. 46.
[55] Cap. 30.
[56] *Types*, p. 167.
[57] *Mon. d'Athènes*, pp. 90, 91.
[58] *Num. Chron.*, N.S. i. p. 174.
[59] Paus., i. 36, 5 and 6.

cial reasons,[60] a theory which is also hinted at by Beulé as an alternative. Some of the heads of Athene on the obverse of these pieces are of the ordinary style of the later Athenian tetradrachms (*e.g.*, at Cnossus, see B. V. Head, *Guide*, Pl. 56, 30), while others again are somewhat barbarous and show the hand of an unskilful Cretan workman (*e g.*, at Polyrhenium and Priansus; see "Num. Chron." (N.S.) i., Pl. VII., Figs. 2, 3.)

2. *Obv.*—**ΑΙΘΩΝ** (before the head). Helmeted head of Pallas r.; border of dots.

   Rev.—**ΚΥΔΩΝΙΑ.** Owl on prostrate amphora; in field r., wolf or hound r., suckling infant; the whole in olive-wreath.

   Æ. 1·1. Wt. 211·2 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 2, *rev.*]

3. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 2.

   Rev.—**ΚΥΔΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ.** Owl on prostrate amphora, on which, B (?); in field r., naked male figure moving l. and hurling thunderbolt r. (round his l. arm chlamys ?); the whole in olive-wreath.

   Æ. Pl. II., No. 4, *rev.* (from cast of Mion. II., p. 272, No. 122).

No. 2 is unpublished; No. 3 is described by Mionnet,[61] and is engraved by him and by Beulé,[62] though erroneously as regards the small figure on the reverse. In their engravings he appears moving to the left, holding a club in his upraised right hand, and he is described by Mionnet as Herakles. As our photograph (Pl. II. No. 4) will show,

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[60] *Guide*, vi. B. 30; cp. F. Lenormant, *Monnaies et Médailles*, p. 145.

[61] Tom. ii. p. 272, No. 122.

[62] Mion., *Sup.* t. iv., pl. viii. 5; Beulé, *Les mon. d'Ath.*, p. 90.

the naked figure is probably Zeus hurling a thunderbolt towards the right. The appearance of this figure is remarkable because it does not correspond to any similar figure on the earlier coins of Cydonia. It is usual for these Creto-Athenian pieces to present as their subsidiary devices some object which is distinctive of the previous coinage of the towns. Thus Cnossus adopts the square labyrinth; Gortyna, a bull, and our first coin of Cydonia (No. 2) has the wolf or hound suckling Cydon, an incident often portrayed on the Cydonian coins. The Zeus on our No. 3 thus forms a curious exception to this rule; and it is not unlikely that Cydonian coins with the type of Zeus hurling a thunderbolt may one day be brought to light.[63]

Eleuthernae.

1. *Obv.*—Beardless male head r. (Apollo); round the head, fillet or wreath composed of dots.

   Rev.— ИΟΙΑΡΕΘΥΞΛΞ. Youthful male figure, naked, (Apollo) standing facing with head l.; he holds in r. bow, in upraised l. stone; framework of dots; the whole in incuse square.

   Æ. 1·15. Wt. 173·9 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 6.]

M. Lenormant,[64] in commenting on another coin of Eleuthernae with a type of somewhat the same character as that of our reverse, has contended that we ought not to recognise in it a figure of the god Apollo but of a Cretan hunter. In his brief notice M. Lenormant did not under-

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[63] The Creto-Athenian tetradrachm of Polyrhenium (specimen in Brit. Mus.; cp. Mion., *Sup.* t. iv. p. 334, No. 241) has as its subsidiary device a small figure wearing a short chiton and shooting r., perhaps Artemis Diktynna. This also does not occur as a type on any of the known Polyrhenian coins.

[64] *Rev. Num.* (1883), pp. 129—132.

take to bring together all the numismatic evidence bearing upon the point, and I therefore propose to do so now, stating beforehand that the weight of the evidence seems to be in favour of Apollo. The earliest of all the coins of Eleuthernae (Pl. II., No. 5) transports us at once to the forest and shows us the divine huntress and hunter following their favourite pursuit; for hunting itself, as Xenophon [65] will have it, is the invention and delight of gods—'Απόλλωνος γὰρ καὶ 'Αρτέμιδος ἄγραι καὶ κύνες. The female figure of the obverse shooting with her bow and attended by a hunting dog cannot fail to be recognised as the Artemis [66] of Crete—Diktynna or Britomartis, and it is natural to suppose that the male personage who occupies the reverse is her brother Apollo. This latter figure, who is apparently beardless, seems to be clad only in a short hunting tunic. He is advancing rapidly in the pursuit of his prey, holding in his left hand a stone, in his right his bow; a dog runs on before him, and forest scenery is indicated by the presence of two trees.[67] A youthful figure holding stone and bow, though undraped, is a common coin-type at Eleuthernae; it appears also on the silver

[65] *De Venat.*, i. 1.

[66] In an inscription found at Eleuthernæ we find a dedication to Artemis. See C. I. G. 2566.

[67] This remarkable coin, which is here photographed from an electrotype, was originally offered to the authorities of the British Museum, but had to be declined for want of funds. It has since been secured for the French Collection, and has been published by M. Muret in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1883, i. p. 65. M. Lenormant (*Rev. Num.*, 1883, p. 130 f.) has drawn attention to the hunting-dress worn by the male figure, though I cannot make out on his head the "large bandeau" to which that writer also refers. M. Muret and M. Lenormant do not seem to have noticed the stone which the figure holds, but it is quite plain, and is an important attribute.

money of the neighbouring Rhithymna.[68] The bow which the figure holds would be suitable either to Apollo or to a hero hunter, but the round stone is at Eleuthernae distinctly an attribute of Apollo, for on later bronze coins of the place (see Pl. II., No. 3, *rev.*) we find an unmistakable Apollo seated on the omphalos, beside which is a lyre, holding in his outstretched right hand a round stone, his bow-case or quiver at his shoulder. The head of a laureate Apollo is also common on both silver and bronze coins of Eleuthernae, and the barbarous head on our No. 1 of this town (see Pl. II., No. 6) is doubtless intended for the same divinity. The obverse type of the coins of Rhithymna already referred to, is likewise the head of Apollo. This type of a youthful figure holding stone and bow can hardly be discussed without taking into account a similar type which appears on a silver coin of Tylissos[69] (see Pl. II., No. 8, *rev.*; *obv.*, Head of Hera), that of a youthful figure with long hair, naked, and holding in one hand a goat's head and in the other a bow. The analogy of the Eleuthernian coins would incline us to see in this figure a representation of Apollo as a hunter, and there are, in fact, some slight indications that it is Apollo who is intended. It will be observed that in the field of this coin there appears an arrow-head; now this object ought not to be regarded as a mere isolated symbol denoting a magistrate, but as having reference to the type itself, and especially to the goat's head, for on a silver coin of Praesus[70] we find as the type a half-goat, and in the field an arrow-head. On coins of Elyrus also and on those of Hyrtacina the type is a goat's head, beneath which is an

[68] Brit. Mus. Coll.

[69] Brit. Mus. Coll.

[70] Brit. Mus. Coll.

arrow-head. Further, that the goat and arrow-head are connected with Apollo seems probable, because on the obverse of the coins of Praesus is a head of that god, and on another coin of the same place (Brit. Mus. Coll.) we have a goat's head within a laurel wreath, the obverse being a head of Apollo. The Elyrus goat would also seem to be connected with Apollo, for Pausanias[71] saw at Delphi a brazen goat dedicated by the people of Elyrus, and represented as suckling the infants Phylacis and Phylandros, who were children of Apollo by Acacallis. Pausanias adds that the god visited Acacallis in the city of Tarrha, where we know (from Stephanus Byzantinus) that an Apollo Tarrhaeus was worshipped.[72]

All these indications would therefore lead us to infer that the types which we have been discussing relate to Apollo in the character of a hunter, and especially as a hunter of the famous wild goats of Crete, whose horns we are told were used by the Cydonian archers for their bows. Even at this day the goats of Crete, according to modern travellers, might tax the energies of a mighty hunter. "Upon the bleak crest of Ida," says Admiral Spratt,[73] "we sighted a group of Agrimia, a species of ibex, that had been browsing upon the scanty pasture (and) were standing motionless upon its pinnacle. . . They were too wary of any approach of man (and) were not to be taken even by a Highland deer-stalker and keen sportsman . . . but

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[71] x. 16.

[72] The Cydonian type of a naked male figure stringing a bow has been referred to above (see p. 25). It may be added that a coin of Ceraitæ (Mion., ii. p. 264) has as reverse a spear-head and arrow-head side by side, the obverse being a barbarous head, probably either Artemis or Apollo.

[73] *Travels*, i. pp. 12, 13.

bounded away, as soon as we were perceived, over snow and steep, crag and precipice, until they had gained another commanding peak far out of reach of gun and rifle, and there again they watchfully grouped themselves, with their ponderous and sabre-shaped horns curved in relief against the western sky."

Elyrus.

The goat's head and arrow-head which constitute the obverse type of the silver coins of Elyrus have just been referred to; the bee on the reverse is more difficult of explanation. Pashley tells us that in his travels in Crete he tasted some very fine honey at the site of the ancient Elyrus; but we do not know that the Elyrian bees were famous in antiquity, or that they were sacred to any particular divinity. It would be natural to regard the bee on the coins as the symbol of the Ephesian Artemis, but that goddess does not seem to have been honoured with worship by the Cretans, and only appears quite exceptionally upon their coinage.[74] The Artemis to whom the Britomartis or Diktynna of Crete is akin is rather the virgin huntress of Hellas than the teeming mother of Asia. On the whole, it would seem that the divinity of whom the bee on Cretan coins is most likely to be symbolic is the god Zeus, for in the legend of his

[74] The Ephesian Artemis and the bee on the reverse of the Gortynian tetradrachm, probably issued after the conquest of the island by Metellus, may have been simply copied from gold coins of Ephesus (*Zeit. für Num.*, x., 1883, p. 119 f.), and can scarcely indicate that a cultus of that particular divinity existed even at Gortyna.

infancy bees play a part of some importance.[75] The bee occurs as a Cretan coin-type at Aptera (*Æ. obv.* head of Artemis of Aptera); at Praesus (*Æ. obv.* head of Persephone), and at Hyrtacina (*Æ. obv.* goat's head and arrow-head).

[ERYTHRAEA.]

1. *Obv.*—Ǝ Λ Bunch of grapes; border of dots.

Rev.—Naked male figure (Apollo?) standing, holding in r. stone, in l. bow.

Æ. ·65. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 1.]

A coin similar to the present, but reading E P, is engraved in Combe's Catalogue of the Hunter Collection,[76] and is there assigned to Erythraea, in Crete, a place about which there is little known, except that Florus (iii. 7) mentions it along with Cydonia and Cnossus as submitting to Metellus. A coin with similar types, but bearing no inscription, is classed by Leake under Eleuthernae, to which the type of the reverse would be particularly appropriate. I believe that our British Museum coin would also be rightly attributed to Eleuthernae, and that the reading E P of the Hunter specimen is probably incorrect, for the second letter on our coin, though not quite distinct, is certainly a Λ rather than a P. Admiral Spratt, in his *Travels*,[77] speaks of a coin of Eleuthernae which has a bunch of grapes as a type, and in his mention of it he seems to imply that it was found in the neighbourhood of that town.

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[75] Diod. Sic. v. 70; Antonin. Lib. *Metam.*, xix; Callim. *Hymn. in Jov.*, 47; Apollod., i. 1, § 3; cp. Meursius, *Creta*, p. 98 f.; Hoeck, *Kreta*, i. p. 177 f. and 186 f.

[76] Pl. xxvii. 4; cp. p. 141.

[77] ii. p. 97.

Gortyna.

1. *Obv.*—ИVTꟼ◇Λ. Bull reclining r., looking back.

Rev.— . . . . ⊃◇T . . . . . Within linear frame, lion's scalp; the whole in incuse square.

Æ. ·65. Wt. 86·6 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 7.]

Gortyna has a considerable number of specimens belonging to our first period. The early coin, formerly in the Fox collection, with the legend Γορτύνος τὸ παῖμα, is well known and need not here be discussed (see below under "Phaestus," and Fox, *Engravings of unedited or rare Greek Coins*, Pt. I. pl. x., No. 109; *Revue Numismatique*, 1864, p. 103 f.) Another Gortynian coin of the Fox Collection[78] has types precisely like those of the British Museum specimen here described. General Fox does not state that this coin bears any inscription, but from the engraving given of it,[79] it may be inferred that it was inscribed, at any rate on the obverse. The reverse legend of our coin is very imperfect, the only letters which are tolerably clear being ⊃◇T, but there are traces of an inscription on the right side of the coin, and the legend was probably continued on the left side also, the complete legend no doubt being [Aꟼ≷A] ⊃◇T[M◇ИVTꟼ◇Λ] that is, Γορτύνος τὸ παῖμα.

The familiar silver coins with Europa seated in the sacred plane-tree and with the bull for reverse (cp. Pl. I. Nos. 1—3) may be assigned with considerable certainty to our second period (B.C. 431—300). Some of them are re-struck on coins of Cnossus[80] with the Minotaur and

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[78] Pt. I. No. 108.
[79] Pl. x. No. 108.
[80] *Zeit. fur Num.*, iv. p. 338; a specimen in Brit. Mus.

labyrinth types and a deep square depression in each corner; but the greater number on coins of Cyrene[81] having as obverse type the bearded head of Zeus Ammon, and as reverse, the Silphium, which may be assigned to B.C. 400—322. The Europa types of Gortyna do not seem to need discussion here, especially as the representation of Europa in art has been made the subject of learned essays by Stephani and Otto Jahn, and a chapter is devoted to it in the *Kunstmythologie* of Overbeck.[82] There is, however, one didrachm in the British Museum with Europa in the tree, which ought not to be left unnoticed. It is of the ordinary types, except that partly in the field of the coin and partly on the trunk of the tree are the letters ƧOϘ VM S T, which Dr. von Sallet, who has engraved the specimen in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (vol. vi. p. 263), reads, and it would seem quite correctly, as τισυροι. Dr. von Sallet proposes to connect this inscription with the Cretan mountain Τίτυρος, though, as he admits that Mount Tityros was some distance from Gortyna, and that there is no direct mention of its being connected with Europa, his explanation cannot be regarded as altogether satisfactory. An ingenious suggestion has been made by Mr. R. Stuart Poole that the letters of this inscription are intended to represent some actual *graffiti* left by worshippers who visited the sacred Gortynian plane-tree. It is well known[83] that the Greek, no less than the Shakespearian, lovers delighted to carve on every tree the names of their Rosalinds; but against Mr. Poole's suggestion it may

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[81] *Zeit. für Num.* iv. 338; specimens in Brit. Mus.
[82] Vol. ii. ("Zeus"); cp. Gardner, *Types*, pp. 164, 165.
[83] Bötticher, *Baumcultus*, p. 53.

fairly be urged that the Greeks would hardly have ventured to cut words or names upon a *sacred* tree, and it might also be objected that the inscription in question is not entirely confined to the tree (as a *graffito* would be), but partly appears in the field of the coin. The only Greek word of which Dr. von Sallet's reading τισυροι is suggestive is Τίτυρος, the Doric form of Σάτυρος; though, according to Strabo,[84] the Τίτυροι are to be distinguished among the Dionysian followers from the Σάτυροι and Σειλήνοι. Within the same period as the Europa didrachms would also fall the drachms and hemidrachms of Cretan style and weight which have generally been assigned to Euboea, but which Dr. Imhoof Blumer[85] has lately restored to Gortyna.

Most of the other coins of Gortyna belong to our last period (B.C. 200—67.) An interesting tetradrachm of light Attic weight, with *obv.*, diademed head of Zeus or Minos; *rev.*, Athene standing, holding Victory, has

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[84] x. 466, 468, 470.

[85] *Monnaies Grecques*, 1883, pp. 215, 216, and p. 223. This classification is very satisfactory, as we thereby eliminate from the Euboean coinage specimens which are of Aeginetic weight and of Cretan work. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer still, however, leaves Euboea a didrachm of which the style is Cretan and the weight Aeginetic:—*Obv.*, Tête de femme, les cheveux relevés, à dr.; devant elle, EVB. (Ευβ); carré creux. *Rev.*, Taureau couché à g., retournant la tête. Cabinet de France. Æ. 28m. Gr. 11,92 (Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Grec.*, p. 223, No. 70). In connection with this coin Prof. Percy Gardner has made a very acute suggestion, which he kindly allows me to communicate here. The inscription EVB (Ευβ) he reads EVR (Ευρ), which would thus be a legend explanatory of the female head—*Europa*. This reading would obviate the only remaining difficulty in the assignment of the coin to Crete. Moreover, on the reverse, there appear to be traces of *another* legend, which, if it were perfectly legible, would doubtless give the name of the issuers—probably the Gortynians, for whose coinage the types of Europa, and a reclining bull looking back, would be especially suitable.

been published by Mr. Head.[86] It has the inscription ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ ΘΙΒΟΣ, the second word being, perhaps, merely a magistrate's name, though it is not given as a proper name in the second edition of Pape's *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*.[87] The reverse type of this coin and the reverse of the corresponding specimens in copper, Athene standing holding serpent (*obv.* head of Zeus) are perhaps almost the only evidence of the existence of the worship of Athene at Gortyna. Her presence on these coins also gives a slight clue to the identification of a curious unpublished relief, evidently votive, which was found at Gortyna and is now in the British Museum. It represents a female figure trampling on a diminutive male personage; on her right is a serpent erect, and on her left a winged monster, probably a griffin. The female figure is now unfortunately headless, but the drapery and the serpent would suggest Athene as the goddess represented, while the male figure may be one of her giant foes reduced in physical size—according to a well-known convention of ancient art—on account of his comparative inferiority to the divine Athene. The types of the Gortynian coinage in the earlier periods refer almost exclusively to the myth of Europa and Zeus; in this last period, however, we can trace on the coins several other important divinities of the place. The bearded head bound with the diadem is more likely to be that of Zeus Hecatombaios[88] than of Minos, especially as on other coins of this time

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[86] *Num. Chron.*, N.S., xiii. p. 116 f., and *Guide*, vi. B. 31, cp. Mion., ii. p. 281, No. 185.

[87] Θιβος is also found on a smaller silver coin of the same period (Mion., ii. p. 280, No. 179).

[88] Hesych. *s.v.* Ἑκατόμβαιος; cp. Ptolem. Hephæst., *Nov. Hist.*, p. 30, ed. Roulez.

we find it wreathed with laurel (Mion. ii., p. 280, No. 177). On the bronze coins[89] we find also heads of Artemis, Hermes, and Apollo, in which we may see the Artemis Britomartis, the Hermes Hedas, and the Apollo Pythios of the place.[90] The name of the male figure seated on a rock and holding bow and arrows is doubtful (Pl. II., No. 9, *rev.*; *obv.* head of diademed Zeus r.; Brit. Mus. Æ.); but perhaps it is the hunter Apollo rather than Herakles. The warrior with shield and spear who is seen on silver coins of the same class,[91] it is also difficult to name, unless he be Gortys,[92] the reputed founder of the place.

Itanus.

1. *Obv.*—Bearded male figure r., with body ending in fish's tail, striking r. with an object (fish?) held in his r. hand, his l. raised.

   Rev.—Within linear square, ornamented star; the whole in incuse square.

   Æ. ·95. Wt. 180·5 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 10.]

2. *Obv.*—Bearded male figure r., with body ending in fish's tail, striking r. with trident, and holding in l. fish by its tail.

   Rev.—Within linear square, star, with pellets between each ray; the whole in incuse square.

   Æ. 1·05. Wt. 174 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 11.]

3. *Obv.*—Similar figure striking r. with trident, his l. raised.

   Rev.—Within linear square, ornamented star.

   Æ. ·95. Wt. 177·9 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 12, *rev.*]

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[89] Brit. Mus. Coll.

[90] References in Bursian, *Geog.*, ii. p. 565.

[91] Mion., ii. p. 280, No. 183.

[92] Paus., viii. 53, 2; an armed warrior occurs on imperial coins of Gortyna. See Mion., t. ii. p. 283, No. 202.

4. *Obv.*—Similar, but finer style.

Rev.—ITA. Two sea monsters facing one another; the whole in circular incuse.

Æ. 1. Wt. 173·7 grs. Brit. Mus., see Head, *Guide*, Pl. 14, 36; P. Gardner, *Types*, Pl. IX., Fig. 1.

5. *Obv.*—Similar figure, with l. upraised and striking with trident held in r. at fish swimming downwards.

Rev.—ITANION. Two sea monsters facing one another.

Æ. 1·05. Wt. 175·7 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 14.]

No. 1, which is of lumpy fabric, must belong to our first period; Nos. 2—5 to the earlier part of our second. The figure on the obverse is perhaps Triton or Glaucus; or possibly we have a Phœnician deity of the Dagon class.[93] The monsters on the reverses of Nos. 4 and 5 are doubtless connected with this divinity, and are akin to the sea monsters which appear, *e.g.* as symbols on coins of Poseidonia.[94] The other coins of Itanus belonging to our second period are tolerably numerous; they have as obverse type the head of Pallas, and for the reverse an eagle or a star. The copper coin here described was obtained by the Museum from Mr. Petrides, and may be assigned to Itanus. It is perhaps not later than B.C. 300:—

6. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—Star of eight rays within linear square.

Æ. ·45. Brit. Mus. Coll.

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[93] Cp. *Rev. Num.*, 1845, p. 5 ff.

[94] *Cat. Gr. Coins in Brit. Mus.*, "Italy," Poseidonia.

LATUS.

1. *Obv.*—Female head l., with hair tied in bunch behind; border of dots.

Rev.—ΛΑΤΙΩΝ. Hermes walking r., holding caduceus, and wearing short chiton, petasus and talaria.

Æ. 55. Brit. Mus. Coll. [Pl. II., No. 13.]

(Cp. Mion., t. ii. p. 286.)

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer publishes in his *Monnaies Grecques*[95] another bronze coin of this place:—

Obv.—Tête d'Artemis, ceinte d'une stéphané, à g.

Rev.—Λ Α. Buste drapé de Hermès, coiffé de pétase ailé, dans un carré creux.

Æ. 10^{m}. Gr. 1,32.

The head on the obverses of these coins is perhaps intended for that of the goddess Eileithyia, of whom there was a temple at Latus (see C. I. G. No. 3058, and *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, iii. p. 293). In the record of an alliance between Latus and Olus we find the Latians swearing by Hermes among other deities (see C. I. G. No. 2554).

LYTTUS.

1. *Obv.*—Eagle flying r.

Rev.—ΛVTTSOΛ. (Λυττιων.) Boar's head r., within square of dots; the whole in incuse square.

Æ. ·95. Wt. 177·5 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 1.]

2. *Obv.*—Eagle standing r.

Rev.—ΓVTTSOΛ (*sic*). Boar's head r., within linear square; the whole in incuse square.

Æ. ·6. Wt. 89·4 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 3.]

[95] P. 217.

3. *Obv.*—Eagle flying l.; border of dots.

Rev.—ΛΥΤΤΙ. Boar's head l., within square of dots; Ψo the whole in incuse square.

Æ. 1. Wt. 174·9 grs. Brit. Mus.

4. *Obv.*—Boar's head r.; border of dots.

Rev.—ΛΥΤΤΙΩΝ. Eagle standing r.

Æ. ·7. Wt. 54·3. Brit. Mus.

5. *Obv.*—Helmeted head of Athene r.; border of dots.

Rev.—ΛΥΤ. Prow of vessel r.

Æ. ·5. Brit. Mus.

6. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus r. laureate; in field r., Ê; border of dots.

Rev.—ΛΥΤΤΙΩΝ. Eagle standing r.; in field r., boar's head; between eagle's legs, Ê; border of dots.

Æ. ·7. Brit. Mus.

7. *Obv.*—Boar's head r., within linear square; border of dots.

Rev.—ΛΥΤ. Eagle standing r.; border of dots.

Æ. ·5. Brit. Mus.

8. *Obv.*—Female head r.

Rev.—Eagle standing l.

Æ. ·45. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 4.]

The attribution to Lyttus of the two early coins with *obv.* boar's head, and *rev.* incuse square, in *Das Königliche Münzkabinet* (Nos. 12, 13), cannot be regarded as certain. Nos. 1—3 in our list may be given to our second period (B.C. 431—300), though it may be doubted whether the upward limit ought not to be placed somewhat higher, especially for No. 2, which has not only the early forms Λ, S, Θ, but is of lumpy fabric, and shows a standing,

not a flying eagle. No. 3 comes in, of course, later on in this period, Λ, Y, I, taking the place of Ⱶ, V, and S. Nos. 4—8 belong to a still later time, and may be assigned to a period B.C. 300—220. In the last-named year the Cnossians surprised Lyttus and utterly destroyed it, so that the citizens abandoned it and took refuge at Lampa. Some writers consider that the city was soon rebuilt, and it was certainly existing at the time of the Roman conquest (B.C. 67), and at a later date. None of the Lyttian coins necessarily belong to a time later than B.C. 220, and it would seem that after the complete destruction of their city in that year the Lyttians issued no further currency.

Of the two constant types of Lyttus, the boar's head and the eagle, it is difficult to explain the former; the eagle has evidently reference to Zeus, for according to the *Theogony* of Hesiod (477) it was in a cave of Mount Ægæon, near Lyttus, that Rhea gave birth to Zeus, and there are other traces of the presence of this god at Lyttus.[96]

OLUS.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Britomartis l., wearing earring and necklace; hair tied in bunch behind, bound with tænia, above which is a laurel wreath; at her shoulder, quiver; ? drapery on neck.

   Rev.—oΛoNTIΩN. Zeus seated l. on throne wearing himation over lower limbs; in his outstretched r. he holds eagle; his l. rests on sceptre; border of dots.

   Æ. 1. Wt. 164·1 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 2.]

[96] Adm. Spratt (*Travels*, i. 97) mentions there having been found on the site of Lyttus the lower half of a colossal statue "of Jupiter, known by an eagle sculptured behind the feet of the figure." Zeus is mentioned in the fragment of an inscription recording an alliance between Lyttus and Olus, published in the *Hermes*, iv. 266 ff.

A similar coin is described by Mionnet,[97] and there is a specimen in the Hunter Collection.[98] The head is evidently that of Britomartis, who had a temple in the city, and of whom there was a wooden image attributed to Daedalus.[99] The curious style of the obverse might seem to claim for the specimen a place among the characteristic Cretan coins of our second period (B.C. 431—300), but the reverse[100] shows at once that it is posterior to Alexander, and it is safer to assign it to a period B.C. 300—200, within which would also fall three other coins which have been made known by previous writers.

(α) A silver coin, now at Berlin, published by Dr. J. Friedlaender (*Berl. Blätt.* iii. p. 11) :—

Obv.—Head of Artemis l., wearing a band adorned with laurel leaves; behind her neck, quiver.

Rev.— in a wreath.

Wt. 2·2 grammes.

(β) A silver coin published by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in his *Monnaies Grecques* (p. 218), which he attributes to Olus on account of the head of the obverse, which he says is identical in style with that of the didrachms of Olus.

Obv.—Head of Artemis laureate, and wearing "bandeau," earrings and necklace; at her shoulder, quiver; neck draped.

Rev.—Star in concave field.

Æ. 13$^{m.}$ Gr. 0,73.

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[97] T. ii. p. 289, No. 243.

[98] Combe's Catalogue, pl. xl. 18.

[99] Paus., x. 40, 8.

[100] The people of Olus had a temple of Zeus Tallæus. See *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, iii. p. 293.

(γ) A small bronze coin given in Mionnet, ii. p. 289, No. 244 :—

Obv.—Head of "Diana" r.

Rev.—ΟΛΟΝΤΙ. Jupiter Aëtophorus seated l., spear (*haste*) in left hand.

Æ. 2.

To this period also we ought probably to attribute the following bronze coins in the British Museum :—

2. *Obv.*—Head of Britomartis r., hair tied in bunch behind; border of dots.

Rev.—O⍀N beneath, dolphin r.; the whole in incuse square.

Æ. ·45. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 5.]

3. *Obv.*—Head r. (? Britomartis); border of dots.

Rev.—⍀ beneath, dolphin l.; border of dots.

Æ. ·4. Brit. Mus.

A specimen in the Berlin Museum, similar to No. 2, has been published by Dr. Friedlaender,[101] and, according to him, it reads o⍀Γ; the last letter is not very clear on the British Museum example, but I believe it to be meant for Ν, *i.e.* ΟΛΟΝ[ΤΙΩΝ], and Leake also gives a similar specimen reading Ν and not Γ (*Num. Hell.*, "Islands," *Suppl.* p. 166, "Olus"). The dolphin may be a symbol of Apollo Delphinios, the existence of whose worship at Olus is perhaps to be inferred from the fact that one of the months was locally named Δελφίνιος (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii. p. 304; cp. p. 308).

[101] *Zeit. für Num.*, vi. 11.

PHAESTUS.

The town of Phaestus has a considerable series of silver coins belonging for the most part to our second period. It is one of the Cretan localities mentioned in Homer, and as the remarkable unpublished coin about to be described seems to indicate, it must have been a place of importance in early times.

1. *Obv.*—Europa seated on bull, which advances l.; her r. stretched out to bull's head, her l. resting on its back.

Rev.—AϢ≷A ƆOTИO≷TM≷A[Ɔ] [*Φαιστίων τὸ παῖμα*] in four lines around linear frame in which is lion's head facing; the whole in incuse square.

Æ. ·85. Wt. 183·2 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 6.]

This coin was acquired by the British Museum in 1882 from M. Lambros. It was sold as a coin of Gortyna, and indeed it bears a very close resemblance to the famous coin of the Fox Collection reading Γορτύνος τὸ παῖμα (see above, p. 34), only that on the latter coin the bull is moving towards the right. The inscription is not very easily read, but after a close examination of it I have been able to decipher the legend, *Φαιστίων τὸ παῖμα*, and to assign the coin to Phaestus. The most important letter in this inscription is the character which is the equivalent of π and φ. On the Fox coin of Gortyna the form Ɔ occurs, and this, though at first supposed to be equivalent to Σ, is certainly, as M. Lenormant[102] has suggested, Π—*παῖμα*, not *σαῖμα*. On our coin the first letter is, unfortunately, almost entirely obliterated: the initial letter of the third word (*παῖμα*) seems to have a horizontal bar, thus ɘ; but

[102] *Rev. Num.*, 1864, p. 103 f.

this may be accidental, and the letter is perhaps simply Ɔ, as the form Ɔ is equivalent to Π in an archaic lapidary inscription of Gortyna,[103] and on later coins of Phaestus itself. Of the other letters on our coin, A, Ƨ (= I), M (= Σ), O (nearly ◇), И (= N) ᴹ (obscure = M) are found also on the archaic Gortynian coin. The Gortynian lapidary inscription has A for our A and Ƨ for Ƨ. What precise political or religious relations are pointed to by the adoption both by Gortyna and Phaestus of coins with exactly similar types it is difficult to say. The type of Europa is of course the natural emblem of Gortyna, but the lion's head, though it occurs on several early coins of that city, has, so far as can be ascertained, no such close connection with the religious myths of the place. It is just possible that the lion's head may be really the property of the Phaestians, to whom, as a symbol of their divinity Herakles, it would be appropriate.

This is, of course, the only archaic coin of Phaestus at present known. At the head of the coins of the second period, B.C. 431—300, may stand the following:—

2. *Obv.*—. . . ƧTMƧAƆ [φαιστι . . .]. Europa wearing chiton and mantle over lower limbs, seated (on rocks ?) towards l., welcoming with her upraised r. hand bull which is advancing; border of dots.

Rev.—Youthful male figure, wearing mantle over lower limbs, seated l.; his r. hand slightly raised, and holding [? caduceus]; behind him, uncertain object.

Æ. 1·2. Wt. 172·6 grs. [Pl. III., No. 9.]

This coin was lately purchased from M. Lambros by my friend Dr. Hermann Weber, its present owner, who is so

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[103] Thénon in *Rev. Arch.*, vol. viii. N.S., p. 444; Bréal, *Rev. Arch.*, vol. xxxvi. N.S., p. 346 f.

good as to allow me to publish it here. Though of much interest it is not absolutely new to numismatists, as a similar specimen is engraved (not very satisfactorily) in Streber's *Numismata ex Museo Regis Bavariæ*.[104] Streber's coin[105] is apparently re-struck on an early coin of Cnossus with the Minotaur and labyrinth types, as in the engraving of the reverse there are visible two square indentations, such as appear on Cnossian coins with those types. On grounds of style, and especially after a comparison with the coins of Gortyna, we should be led to date our specimen about B.C. 430. The design of the obverse is certainly pleasing, though the execution, especially of the male and female figures, is very poor and touched with barbarism. I am inclined to think that this coin was copied from a specimen produced by a superior artist of the same city, whose power of execution, especially his skill in producing rich and delicate folds of drapery, were far above those of his humbler imitator, and this coin probably stands to its prototype in the same relation as the coin of Gortyna (Pl. I. No. 1) does to its prototype in Pl. I. No. 2. That the female figure is Europa and the bull Zeus there can be little doubt, and this type taken together with the obverse type of the archaic coin of Phaestus (No. 1) shows that the Europa myth was not unfamiliar to the Phaestians, though it leaves no trace on their later coinage. The first letter of the retrograde inscription is given by Streber as Ǝ, but on the present specimen it seems to be), though it is not quite clear. The reverse of the coin is, unfortunately, in very poor condition, and Streber's engraving is very slight, and

[104] Pl. ii. 5; p. 161 f.
[105] Cp. Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, vol. ii. p. 462.

probably taken from a bad specimen. He describes the figure as "Mercurius ad sin. sellæ insidens . . . . dextera caduceum oblongum tenet; in dorso petasus dependet." Of the caduceus and petasus, the attributes by which this figure is identified as Hermes, there are the very faintest traces on Dr. Weber's coin, and apparently only slight traces on the Bavarian coin, so that the name of the youthful figure must remain uncertain: the analogy of the Fελχανος type at Phaestus might lead us to suggest the youthful Zeus as the deity represented. Sestini described the figure on Streber's coin as sitting "in sella rustica cum dorsali." He appears on our coins rather to be seated on a rock, with which the curious object behind has no connection. On other coins of this period the divinity most frequently represented is Herakles. We do not learn from other sources that he was especially honoured with worship at Phaestus, though the eponymous hero Phaestus was said to be a grandson of the hero.[106] First in order are the coins with the inscription ИОКІТМІАↃ, having for obverse the standing figure of Herakles holding club and bow, and for the reverse a bull with its legs tied.[107] A specimen in the British Museum is re-struck on one of the coins of Cnossus with the four square depressions and Minotaur and labyrinth types. The other coins, with Herakles standing or seated, need not be minutely described. The fine coin with Herakles and the hydra, photographed by Mr. Head, *Guide*, Pl. 14, 38, is, as usual in Crete, followed by several inferior copies, of which there are specimens in the British Museum. Of the remarkable

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[106] Paus., ii. 6, 7; cp. Steph. Byz., *s.v.* φαιστός.

[107] One specimen in the Brit. Mus., weight 180 grains, has *rev.* large bucranium.

coin inscribed on the obverse ΓΕΛΧΑΝΟΣ, and showing a youthful figure holding a cock, there are two specimens in the British Museum. (Head, *Guide*, Pl. 14, 37). One with reverse ΦΑΙΣΤ (retrograde) and bull walking l., is re-struck on a coin of Cyrene with the head of the bearded Ammon; reverse, silphium: the other specimen has as its reverse ΦΑΙ ΣΤ and the bull butting r. within an olive-wreath. Overbeck in his *Kunstmythologie*[108] accepts the identification of the figure of the obverse with the youthful Zeus of Crete. This identification rests on a passage in Hesychius, in which the word Γελχανος (probably intended for Γέλχανος) is explained as Ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κρησίν.[109] The British Museum specimen of the didrachm with the winged Talos has been published by Mr. Head in his *Guide* (Pl. 23, 40). The last letter of the obverse inscription is not quite perfect; it should be read ΤΑΛΩΝ not ΤΑΛΩΣ, as there given.[110]

There are several smaller denominations of silver coins belonging to this period:—the drachms referred to by Kenner,[111] with obverse, youthful male head ΦΑΙΣ (? Herakles or Talos); and reverse, bull's head, or bull's head in olive wreath. The British Museum has a specimen of this class, as well as two pieces with somewhat similar types, of which the heads are barbarous. The Museum also possesses the following:—

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[108] Vol. ii. "Zeus," p. 197.

[109] On this type cp. Overbeck, *loc. cit.*; R. P. Secchi, *Sul Giove* Γελχανος *in the Proceed. of Accademia arch. di Roma*, 1840; Welcker, *Griech. Götterl.*, ii. p. 244, f.; Stephani in *Compte-rendu*, St. Pétersbourg, 1866, p. 127; Friedlaender, *Annali*, xviii. p. 154; *Rev. Num.*, 1842, p. 82; 1844, p. 313.

[110] Cp. *Das Königliche Münzkabinet* (Berlin, 1877), No. 163.

[111] *Die Münzsam. d. Stift. St. Flor.*, pp. 104, 105.

8. *Obv.*—ΦΑΙΣ (retrograde). Youthful male head l., with hair short (? Herakles or Talos); border of dots.

Rev.—Bucranium; border of dots.

Æ. ·55. Wt. 48·1 grs. [Pl. III., No. 7.]

4. *Obv.*—Youthful male head r. (? Herakles or Talos); border of dots.

Rev.—Bucranium; border of dots.

Æ. ·65. Wt. 46·9 grs.

The head on this coin is somewhat barbarous; it is re-struck, possibly on a coin of Ægina.

5. *Obv.*—Youthful male head r. (? Herakles or Talos).

Rev.—Bucranium.

Æ. ·6. Wt. 40·4 grs. [Pl. III., No. 8.]

6. Another specimen, with types similar to No. 5, shows marks of re-striking. Wt. 43 7 grs.

7. *Obv.*—Youthful male head l. (barbarous work—Herakles or Talos?).

Rev.—Bucranium within circular depression.

Æ. ·4. Wt. 12·8 grs.

8. *Obv.*—Youthful male head r. (barbarous work—Herakles or Talos?).

Rev.—Similar to No. 7.

Æ. Wt. 12·7 grs.

Nos. 4—7, though uninscribed, may be fairly attributed to Phaestus; 7 and 8 were acquired from Mr. Petrides. Last in the series of Phaestus must be placed the bronze coins representing Talos hurling a stone and on the reverse a dog (see Pl. III. No. 11). These types have been neatly explained in a paper by Baron de Witte.[112]

[112] *Rev. Num.* 1840, p. 188, ff.

On the obverse he sees the winged Talos, guardian of Crete, whose function it was to periodically perambulate the island; on the reverse, the golden dog made—like the Man of Brass himself—by Hephaistos and set as a protector to the infant Zeus in Crete and afterwards to the Temple of Zeus.[113] Talos, as we have seen, appears on coins of Phaestus as Talon, and is provided with wings, a detail not mentioned by the mythographers. On the copper specimens he is represented rushing forward, hurling a stone, perhaps to oppose the landing of the Argonauts or some other strangers who are nearing the shore. According to another account, the Man of Brass was accustomed to heat himself red hot and then to lock his victims in his fiery embrace, but of this unpleasant method of procedure the coins afford no illustration.

The bronze pieces of Phaestus seem to belong to the third century, for as they have the lunated form of Σ, (ΦΑΙCΤΙΩΝ), they can hardly be earlier than B.C. 300. We know that Phaestus was destroyed by the Gortynians, though the exact date of its destruction is not recorded. To judge from the numismatic evidence, it may have taken place towards the end of the third century B.C.

Phalasarna.

A didrachm of this town in the British Museum with *obv.*, head of Artemis Diktynna; *rev.*, ΦΑ, trident, is countermarked with an object which appears to be intended for a pomegranate. A similar countermark occurs on a didrachm of Cnossus in the British Museum (*obv.* head of Demeter, r.; *rev.* labyrinth of mæander pattern, in

[113] According to Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.*, viii. 30, a certain Cretan temple of Diktynna was guarded by dogs.

centre of which, star; in each angle, crescent), assignable to the period B.C. 431—350; on a didrachm of Gortyna with Europa in the tree[114] (B.C. 431—300), and on a didrachm of Eleuthernæ, belonging to the same period, of which there is a specimen among Mionnet's casts (cp. ii. p. 276, No. 146). This countermark may therefore indicate, as a date for the Phalasarna didrachms, our period B.C. 431—300, a date probable also on grounds of style. Dr. Friedlaender[115] states that three of the smaller coins of Phalasarna, in the Berlin Museum, are re-struck on coins of Argos, but he does not distinctly indicate to what period of the Argive coinage the latter pieces belong.

Polyrhenium.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Artemis Diktynna l., wearing earring and necklace; hair rolled; before the head in small letters ΠΥΘΟΔ[ΩΡΟΥ].

   Rev.—Filleted bucranium, facing; border of dots.

   Æ. ·65. Wt. 41·9 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 7.]

2. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 1; before the head in small letters [ΠΥΘΟ]ΔΩΡΟΥ.

   Rev.—Similar to No. 1.

   Æ. ·65. Wt. 37·1 grs. Brit. Mus.

3. *Obv.*—Head of Artemis Diktynna l., with hair in *sakkos*, wearing earring and necklace.

   Rev.—Similar to No. 1.

   Æ. ·65. Wt. 39·2 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 8, *obv.*]

These three coins show traces of having been re-struck, though on what specimens it is perhaps impossible to discern.

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[114] *Annuaire de la Soc. franç. de Num.*, iii. p. 31.
[115] *Zeit. für Num.*, iv. p. 339.

Of the artist Pythodoros who worked also at Aptera we have already spoken (p. 13). It is not improbable that No. 3 is also by him, though it is unsigned. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer mentions (*Mon. Gr.* p. 218, Nos. 36, 37) a specimen at Stuttgart, similar to No. 1, but reading ΓΟΛ, a legend which serves to identify the uninscribed coins of Polyrhenium. Nos. 1—3, I would assign to the period B.C. 400—330, making the succeeding period of the Polyrhenian coinage B.C. 330—280, of which the principal coins would be (in silver) those with the Zeus and bucranium and spear and bucranium types (cp. *Zeit. f. Num.*, iv. p. 338), and the copper pieces with devices of a kindred nature. The following bronze coin, obtained by the British Museum from Mr. Petrides, may possibly fall within the same period, on account of its reverse type :—

4. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas r., wearing crested helmet.

Rev.—ΓΟΛΥΡΗΝΙ. Filleted bucranium, facing.

Æ. ·65. Brit. Mus.

(Cp. a coin in *Rev. Num.*, 1843, p. 430.)

At the head of a third period, B.C. 220—67, I would place the remarkable specimen photographed in Pl. III., No. 10 (*obv.* only), which has been already published by Mr. Head (*Guide*, Pl. 32, 26 ; cp. Mion. ii., p. 293, No. 280) and Prof. Gardner (*Types*, Pl. XII., p. 204), having for its reverse type a female figure seated and holding out a winged Victory, and for its obverse a male head, beardless, but with whisker, and at the shoulder bow and quiver. This effigy is considered, both by Mr. Gardner and Mr. Head, to be an Apollo, though, as the former points out, it is obviously the head of some human personage in the character of that god, for we cannot certainly admit a *barbatus Apollo*. Mr. Gardner is rather inclined to think

that the personage here represented is Perseus, King of Macedon, though our coin does not bear a very striking likeness either to Perseus or to Philip V. of Macedon, another possible claimant. I should myself venture to prefer Philip, especially as we know that about B.C. 220 he had relations with the people of Polyrhenium. In that year the Polyrhenians united themselves with other Cretan cities to succour Lyttus, which was then attacked by Cnossus. Lyttus was destroyed, but the Polyrhenians and their allies continued the war against Cnossus, Gortyna, Cydonia, Aptera, and Eleuthernæ. The Cnossian party was aided by Ætolian auxiliaries, and the Polyrhenians consequently turned for aid to Philip of Macedon, the enemy of the Ætolians. A reinforcement was despatched, and the Polyrhenian league was victorious.[116] To our assigning the silver coin to this period its style and weight (light Attic, not Æginetan) would present no obstacles, and though Mr. Head in his *Guide* has included the coin in his Fourth Period (B.C. 336—280), he is now inclined, as he informs me, to allow a later date for it. The god is no doubt rightly called Apollo—the hunter Apollo—who must also be the god represented on the smaller silver coins of the same place and period, specimens of which show as their reverse a youthful male figure wearing a chlamys, advancing to the left, and holding in his left hand a bow, and for the obverse a head of Artemis, with bow and quiver at her shoulder. Probably the seated figure holding a Victory, which forms the reverse of the tetradrachm, is also Artemis (Diktynna), who, according to Strabo,[117] had a temple at Polyrhenium.

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[116] Cp. Thénon in *Rev. Arch.*, xv. (N.S.) p. 426.
[117] x. 479.

PRAESUS.

Obv.—Gorgoneion.

Rev.—Within linear compartment, youthful male figure, wearing chlamys which flies behind, kneeling r., and shooting with bow; the whole in incuse square.

Æ. ·95. Wt. 182·5 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 13.]

This remarkable unpublished coin was purchased by the trustees of the British Museum, in 1876, from Mr. A. J. Lawson. I do not know if there is any distinct record of its having been found in Crete, but in the same purchase there were included two other coins, undoubtedly of Crete, and it was bought at the time as a coin of Praesus. Its weight (Æginetan) would be suitable for Crete, and its reverse type is strikingly like that of undoubted coins of Praesus. The Gorgon head is very curious, and is, so far as I am aware, found nowhere else in the coinage of Crete. The earliest coins previously known of Praesus are inscribed, and have for obverse a youthful male figure shooting, and for reverse, a bird. These types have been called by Dr. Kenner a local hero and a dove; by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, Herakles and a Stymphalian bird. That the figure is Herakles is not improbable, especially as that god appears on another coin of Praesus holding his bow and club.[118] There seems to be no special reason for calling the bird on the reverse a Stymphalian bird; I should rather see in it an eagle—the representative of that Zeus Diktaios who had a temple in the territory of Praesus,[119] and who appears in his own person on later

[118] Imhoof-Blumer, *Mon. Grec.*, p. 219. The hunter Apollo might also perhaps put in a claim for the obverse.

[119] Cp. Bursian, *Geog.*, ii. 576.

coins of the place, enthroned, and holding sceptre and eagle.

Praesus was destroyed by the Hierapytnians, but the exact date of its destruction is not known. Its silver coins do not seem to be much later than B.C. 300, though there is a bronze piece with obverse, head of Apollo, and reverse, thunderbolt, which may be later. According to Mionnet, it has **C** for **Σ**, but the form of this letter on the British Museum specimen is unfortunately uncertain.

PRIANSUS.

The obverse type of the didrachms with a female figure seated under a palm-tree caressing a serpent has been discussed by Prof. Gardner in his *Types of Greek Coins* (p. 162). He decides, as M. Lenormant [120] has also done independently, that the figure is less likely to be Hygieia than the goddess Persephone (mother of the Cretan Zagreus), visited by Zeus under the form of a serpent. It may be added that on one of these didrachms in the British Museum the female figure certainly wears a wreath, which would be a small additional argument in favour of her being Persephone (cp. Mion., *Sup.* t. iv., pl. xi., 2.)

THALASSA.

A Cretan town Thalassa is not mentioned in Bursian's *Geographie*, but in a well-known passage of the *Acts of the Apostles*, describing the journeys of St. Paul, the Vulgate [121] has the words "Venimus in locum quendam qui vocatur

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[120] *Gazette Archéol.*, 1879, p. 24; cp. a gem in Overbeck (*Griech. Kunstmythologie*, Bd. 3, Gemmentafel iv. 9), called by him Demeter, *ib.* p. 507.

[121] *Act. Apost.*, 27, 8.

Boni Portus cui juxta erat civitas Thalassa." The reading of Codex A in the corresponding passage is Πόλις Ἄλασσα, and of the Sinaïticus, Λασσαία. Have we then any coins of this Thalassa, Alassa, or Lassaea? Leake[122] distinctly says that "coins of Thalassa are not uncommon in that part of Crete," *i.e.* on the southern coast, near St. Paul's Fair Havens. He cites, however, only three specimens (in copper), two of which bear no indication of their mint place, the other being:—

Obv.—ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC. Head of Domitian r.

Rev.—ЄΠΙ ΝЄΟΚΥΔΟΥ ΘΑ. Jupiter seated l.; holding in r. two ears of corn; l. resting upon hasta.

Æ.

Coins similar to these were attributed to Thalassa, first by Sestini and then by Dr. Kenner.[123] Sestini (cp. Mionnet, *Sup.* t. iv., p. 345) also gives a coin reading Θαλασσηων. It is doubtful, however, whether this latter reading is to be trusted, and from the evidence of a specimen in the British Museum similar to Leake's just described, I also doubt the reading ΘΑ. The inscription in large letters on the reverse of the Museum specimen is ЄΠΙ ΝЄΟΚΥΔΟΥ ΘΑ, but at the back of the seat of "Jupiter" is a small Ρ (probably overlooked by Leake and others) placed thus, ⊃, there being no room for it with the rest of the legend, so that the full inscription is probably not ΘΑ, but ΘΑΡ. The attribution of these

[122] *Num. Hell.*, *s.v.* "Thalassa."

[123] *Die Münzsamml. d. St. St. Flor.*, p. 101, f. Kenner, I may point out, is wrong in saying that Steph. Byz. mentions "Thalassa" as a Cretan town.

coins to a Cretan town, Thalassa, must therefore be considered as extremely uncertain.

Imperial Coins.

The Imperial coins which bear the names of Cretan cities, or which are inscribed **KOINON KPHTΩN**, present no difficulties. The class of small bronze coins having for reverse an altar, a tripod, or a basket between two torches, was assigned to the Κοινόν of Crete by Eckhel on account of their bearing the letters **K K**. This attribution is doubtless correct: a specimen in the British Museum with the basket and torches was obtained from Mr. Petrides.

Several other Imperial coins, both in silver and copper, with the heads of the earlier Emperors, have been assigned to the Cretan Κοινόν or to Thalassa (cp. Mion., *Sup.* t. iv. p. 345, ff. and reff. to vol. vi.; Leake, *Sup.* "Islands," p. 160), but as they do not bear any inscription indicative of the locality where they were issued, their attribution must be considered doubtful, at any rate until any trustworthy evidence be brought forward of their having been found in Crete.

Warwick Wroth.

ject, be left to the decision of individual collectors." The present coin does throw some such light, as it is much more probable that the reverse of a coin of Harold II. would be used, however accidentally, on a penny of William I. than on one of William's successor. This would no doubt be the general opinion, in spite of the startling example to the contrary afforded by the reappearance of a Pistrucci design, with the initials of the engraver attached, upon sovereigns of her present Majesty.

It is worthy of note that the type of Hks. 240, which was unknown before the Beaworth find, is a combination of this same obverse with the ordinary PAXS reverse; and the transition from that reverse to the disused type of Harold II. is both easy and natural. Whether, however, it was, as before inferred, accidental, or whether it was intended as a new design, can be a matter of conjecture only. The workmanship of the obverse is certainly of a late date; the spelling of the king's name PILLELM points also to a similar conclusion, and assists in assigning the coin to what must be considered its natural position, viz., between the types 239 and 241 of Hawkins.

While on this subject, I am inclined to make some observations upon the occurrence of the word PAX in different forms on pennies of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman series. It is first found in the form of PACX upon a penny of Cnut (Rud. XXIII. 25, Hks. 210) which is in the National Collection. This is said to be unique, and it has been supposed, according to Hawkins, to have been struck in commemoration of the peace established in 1016 between Cnut and Edmond Ironside, the eldest son and successor of Aethelred, who had then lately died. This is, however, a very doubtful origin, and I prefer the in-

terpretation which I have hereafter ventured to put upon the use of the word on coins of this and the subsequent reigns.

The word next occurs on an issue of pennies of Edward the Confessor (Rud. XXIV. 12), in the same form of PACX in the angles of the reverse, and almost identical in that respect with Cnut's coin. It occurs again on a penny of the same monarch in the form of PAX written across the field in the same way as on Harold's coins (Rud. XXIV. 11). A specimen of this last penny is in the British Museum; as the obverse is the same as that of an ordinary type (Rud. XXV. 26, 27), it was possibly a pattern or trial piece only. The same word PAX written across the field of the reverse forms the invariable type of the three known varieties of the penny of Harold II., but in the case of one of these varieties, it is written in a retrograde form. It then finds a place upon coins of William I. of the types 240, 241, and 242 of Hawkins, before referred to, and also on the penny I have above described, and it finally makes its appearance written as PAX across the reverse of a very rare penny of Henry I. (Rud. Sup. I. 7; Hks. 253), and nearly in the same way as it occurs on Harold's coins.

I am not disposed to attach any historical importance at all to the occurrence of this word on the pennies of these different monarchs, but rather to suggest that it was used in an abstract sense only and as conveying a general sentiment, and, perhaps, salutation. It would be difficult to imagine that the types of the various reigns of which I have given a list, should have been issued to commemorate, Janus-like, the establishment of peace, and if we cannot suggest this as to all, it is unsafe to do so with respect to any one or more of them. It might be suggested that

the doctrine involved is perhaps one of imitation only. PAX AUGUSTI and its contractions appear on the coins of several Roman emperors, and even on some of Carausius. There is every probability that on Roman coins an historical significance may, in most cases, be attached to the inscription, but it is equally probable that the design may have been borrowed from these by our own moneyers without reference to any such meaning. This is rendered the more likely as the mode of spelling PAX with a final S occurs on a quinarius of the Aemilia family, and also on a denarius of Galba.

On the whole, however, I am of opinion that the adoption of the word PAX in all its forms on coins of our own series is attributable to clerical influences.

In the same manner both the word LVX, which occurs on the scarce styca of Ecgfrith of Northumbria, and CRVX, which I presume could never have appeared on Roman coins, but which was used in connection with a very large issue of pennies in the reign of Ethelred II., betray a tendency towards religious inscriptions. The predominance of the Archbishop Lanfranc over the actions of William I. would also lend some weight to this argument, and I do not think it at all necessary to imagine, as some have done, that the issue of the PAXS penny was for the purpose of inducing a state of fancied security to the people at a time when it was intended to carry into execution measures of a vindictive character.

The form of ecclesiastical salutation PAX VOBISCUM, shows the importance attached to peace in the abstract; and the origin of this, apart from that of a divine nature attributed to it, is not difficult to trace, as in Oriental countries the same form of salutation has at all times prevailed, and among the ancient, as among the modern

Hebrews, the prayer for peace forms an important part of the ordinary ritual.

Since writing the above notes I have had an opportunity of consulting the new edition (published in 1881) of Hildebrand's valuable Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins in the Stockholm Royal Cabinet, and can now supplement my observations by the following remarks. Hildebrand describes a Thetford penny of Cnut (type F.), with PACX in the angles of the cross on the reverse, but which differs in many small details from the coin depicted in Hawkins (210), and also deprives the latter, which is in the British Museum, of the privilege of being alleged to be the unique exponent of this type. Hildebrand also describes a London penny of Harold I., with PACX similarly described (type E.), which is new to English numismatists. He also adds two pennies (types I. and I. var. a. respectively) of Harthacnut, one being of York and the other of London, with the same word, similarly spelt, in the angles on the reverse, and there is no reason to doubt but that these represent an Anglo-Saxon and not a Danish type, inasmuch as the York coin not only bears the well-known name of ÆRNGRIM (otherwise ARNGRIM) as mint-master, but also has the usual annulet in one of the angles on the reverse. This mint and mint-master appear to be thoroughly new to us so far as the reign of Harthacnut is concerned. I may add that the same author divides the usual PACX type of Edward the Confessor into three varieties (D., D. var. a. and D. var. b.) and represents a specimen of each. In the first variety the cross on the reverse penetrates through the legend to the edge of the coin, and each of its limbs terminates in a crescent containing a pellet; in the second, the cross does not extend beyond the legend, and its limbs are not orna-

mented, and in the third there is an inner circle and each of the limbs of the cross terminates within this in a small annulet.

The very rare penny of Edward the Confessor with PAX across the field of the reverse appears as type L. of Hildebrand, and the York coin illustrating this type in his catalogue is exactly identical with that appearing in Ruding, Pl. XXIV. 11. In conclusion I may state that seeing that the new edition of this author contains descriptions of 10,458 Anglo-Saxon pennies as against 4,232 only described in the edition of 1846, no collector should be without it. Numerous new types and mints are now described for the first time, and the work is a miracle of patience and industry. In a very few cases there are attributions of mints which may not be accepted by all numismatists here, but the difficulty in dealing with these must not be underrated, and in several cases it is all but impossible to arrive at anything like a certain conclusion.

H. MONTAGU.

III.

THE ARABIAN HISTORIANS ON MOHAMMADAN NUMISMATICS.

For some time past my learned friend M. H. Sauvaire has busied himself with collecting together all the statements he can find in the Arabian historians bearing upon Mohammadan coins and metrology. The results of his search have been from time to time published in the *Journal Asiatique*, and a series of the papers so contributed have now been republished, under the title of *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Numismatique et de la Métrologie musulmanes*. (Imprimerie Nationale.) This substantial volume of three hundred and sixty-seven pages deals entirely with the first part of the subject, with the numismatic records of the native historians. These records are carefully arranged under appropriate and systematically-ordered headings. First, the origin of the Mohammadan coinage is told in the words of a dozen historians who quote, *more suo*, at least twenty others, and establish their statements by the usual scrupulous relations of the names of the traditionists through whom the statements have been transmitted. M. Sauvaire gives minute references to the original texts, so that any one who is hardy enough to doubt the accuracy of his French translation can easily lay his doubts at rest, while the notes in which the

translator appends the dates of the writers and traditionists quoted in the text add greatly to the usefulness of the work. Indeed, no such work has ever before been attempted, and the subjects here boldly assailed by M. Sauvaire bristle with difficulties and confusion.

After the origin of the coinage has been treated from the historians' point of view, the *Mithkâl*, the basis of the Muslim monetary system, is explained by the statements of the native annalists, and in a similar manner the *Dînâr* and *Dirhem*, the *Dânik*, *Kirât*, *Tassûj*, *Kharrûbeh*, *Habbeh*, and *Aruzzeh*, subdivisions of the dînâr and dirhem; after which the *Fels* or copper coin obtains an interesting section. A long list of the *names and qualifications* of coins, to the number of one hundred and seventy-nine, replete with curious and valuable information, next follows; and an important section on *weight* and *standard*, and a hundred pages of records of *exchange*, which will be prized as much by the mediæval as the Oriental numismatist, bring the volume to a close. No more important contribution to the science of Oriental Numismatics has been made for many years. M. Sauvaire deserves the thanks of all who are interested in the subject for his industry and research; for the minute accuracy with which he has reproduced the records of a large series of authorities, and the skill with which he has arranged the fruits of his labour. These fruits are, it seems to me, so valuable, that I think I shall be rendering some service to numismatists if I summarize them as briefly and methodically as possible. The nature of M. Sauvaire's work, in which the translated words of the originals are properly retained, makes the perusal and comprehension of his various sections sometimes rather a difficult matter. The subject itself is so essentially obscure that the added complexity of the

Oriental method at times makes it almost impossible for the uninitiated to understand, and there is another obstacle in the absence of an index. I believe, therefore, that without in any way attempting to usurp the place of the original work, which every Oriental numismatist, indeed every Eastern scholar, is bound to possess, the following pages, in which the main results of M. Sauvaire's labours are briefly set forth, with his help and under his supervision, may smooth the way of those who are unfamiliar with the methods of Oriental historians.

I shall retain the order of paragraphs of the original work, with the exception of that on the "Names and Qualifications of Coins," which I reserve for another occasion.

I.—The Origin of the Coinage.

There is a general unanimity in Mohammadan historians in associating the foundation of a purely Muslim coinage with the name of the Khalif 'Abd-El-Melik ibn Marwân. We find this in the works of almost every Arabian annalist. El-Belâdhory († c. 260 A.H.) announces it on the authority of Daûd the Nâkid (or sorter of coins), who had it on the word of his predecessor; and by the historian Mohammad ibn Sa'd (born 130), on that of Abu-z-Zenâd, an early traditionist who died in A.H. 130, and may therefore have personally witnessed the introduction of the new money. All the later writers, such as El-Mawardy († 450), Ibn-el-Athîr († 630), Abu-l-Mahâsin († 874), Ed-Damîry († 808), Ibn-Khaldûn († 808), Es-Suyûty († 911), and others, who often had access to early authorities which are now lost, unite in crediting the reign of 'Abd-El-Melik with the inauguration of the Muslim coinage. Most agree in making the Khalif him-

self the author of the reform, but others ascribe the first experiments in coining to El-Hejjâj, his right-hand man. Nor are the authorities quite at one on the question of the date of the new issue; the accounts vary from A.H. 74 to 76. The following are the chief statements in support of these several views:—

I. For 'Abd-El-Melik's Invention of the Coinage.

A.H. 74, the "Year of Pacification," 'Abd-El-Melik struck gold coins. (Mohammad ibn Sa'd, A.H. 130—207, from Ibn Abî-z-Zenâd, whose father, a Tâby', died in 130. S. 11.[1]) Or "gold and silver," *after* that year (idem, from the same; but by a different channel, S. 14:) a variety of the same tradition, which neutralises the first.

Daûd, the sorter of coins, said that 'Abd-El-Melik struck some dînârs in 74, and some more in 75. (El-Belâdhory. S. 12.)

A.H. 75. 'Abd-El-Melik engraved the name of God on dînârs and dirhems. (Es-Suyûty, Abu-l-Mahâsin, both late. S. 32.)

A.H. 76. 'Abd-El-Melik struck dînârs and dirhems (Ibn-el-Athîr, S. 20, repeated by Abu-l-Mahâsin, S. 33, in contradiction of his other statements, S. 32, and by M. 17, who add that the coins had *an image on them*). El-Kutuby only puts it A.H. 76, "in the reign of," &c. (S. 23), and Ibn-Khaldûn "by order of" (S. 24). Abu-l-Mahâsin adds that it was by the advice of the Khalif's brother, 'Abd-El-Azîz.

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[1] S. 11 and similar references refer to the pages of M. Sauvaire's *Matériaux*. M. 17, etc. to De Sacy's translation of El-Makrîzy's *Traité*.

II. For El-Hejjâj's Invention of the Coinage.

'Abd-El-Melik wrote to El-Hejjâj to strike dirhems. (Mohammad ibn Sa'd and others. S. 7-8.)

El-Hejjâj struck dirhems at the end of A.H. 75, then ordered them to be struck in all the districts in 76. (Mohammad Ibn Sa'd, from El-Medâiny, born 135. S. 11.)

He struck the "disapproved dirhems," *vide infra*, and set up a mint after the Persian model. (Daûd the Nâkid, ap. El-Belâdhory. S. 12.)

Was the first to strike *white* dirhems. (El-Mawardy, S. 18. Cf. M. 25.)

Afterwards (after 'Abd-El-Melik's reform) El-Hejjâj struck dirhems. (Ibn-el-Athîr. S. 22.)

El-Hejjâj, by order of 'Abd-El-Melik, struck dirhems in 74 or 75; and in 76 the Khalif ordered them to be struck everywhere. (Ibn-Khaldûn, on the authority of the Tâby' Sa'îd ibn El-Musayyib, who died in 91, and of El-Medâiny, died 135. S. 24.)

Except in the question of date, these statements are not so conflicting as they at first appear. Whilst there can be little doubt that the general consensus of opinion which attributes an important share in the foundation of the Mohammadan coinage to the Khalif 'Abd-El-Melik is correct, there seems to be equally little doubt that it was his famous governor El-Hejjâj who made the first experiment in issuing silver coins. The true account would appear to be very much what Ibn-Khaldûn relates. El-Hejjâj, as Governor of El-'Irâk, probably struck the first trial dirhems, in his mint constructed after the Persian model, in the year 75, and the Khalif officially adopted the reform and ordered such dirhems to be universally issued in the year next following, himself at the same time inau-

gurating a corresponding gold currency. Thus 'Abd-El-Melik accepted, promulgated, and applied to both metals the monetary reform introduced in silver by El-Hejjâj.[2]

There is, however, some evidence that the idea of a Mohammadan coinage had occurred to others before it was successfully carried into execution by El-Hejjâj and his master. Setting aside the letter of Picendi, Bishop of Kuft (Coptos), at the time of the conquest of Egypt by 'Amr ibn El-Asy (preserved in the Paris Bibliothèque), which states (S. 2) that the Arabs replaced the figure of Christ on the coinage with the names of their prophet and Khalif—a statement which lacks confirmation, though El-Makrîzy says that 'Abd-El-'Azîz ibn Marwân struck engraved dirhems as governor of Egypt in 77—there are many records of an attempt on the part of the rival Khalif 'Abd-Allah ibn Ez-Zubeyr to issue dirhems on his own account. Mohammad ibn Sa'd (apud El-Belâdhory) reports from . . . En-No'mân El-Ghafâry, that Mus'ab ibn Ez-Zubeyr struck dirhems in A.H. 70 by his brother's order, on the model of the Persian pieces, but with the words البركة "Benediction" and من الله "From God" (S. 11, 80);[3] and the statement is repeated by Ibn-Khaldûn (S. 24), and incredulously by Ibn-el-Athîr (S. 23). El-Mawardy quotes a tradition to the effect that Ziyâd was the first to strike dirhems, 'Abd-El-Melik to strike dînârs, and 'Obeyd-Allah ibn Ziyâd to strike base dirhems (S. 18). Daûd the Nâkid spoke of having seen a dirhem inscribed "'Obeyd-Allah ibn Ziyâd," and another "struck at El-Kûfah in the year 73." (S. 11. Cf. M. 34, who makes

[2] On the incident of Sumeyr the Jew's coinage, see S. 18.

[3] According to M. 17, 'Abdallah inscribed on his coins the words امر الله بالعدل والوفا محمد رسول الله

the former A.H. 67 and at Basrah.) Both were considered by the experts to be forged. Mohammad Ibn Sa'd quotes Sufyân ibn 'Oyeyneh (born in 107), to prove that the first to issue dirhems at ten to the seven mithkâls was El-Hârith, in the time of 'Abd-Allah ibn Ez-Zubeyr (S. 10). All this points to some attempt at that time to produce a new coinage; and it is added that El-Hejjâj, who crushed the rebellion of Ibn-Ez-Zubeyr, abolished his coinage and substituted his own (S. 11). Nothing can be more probable than that the conqueror took his numismatic inspirations from the vanquished.

So much for the historians' account of the invention of the coinage. When we turn to the coins themselves we find no evidence whatever of El-Hejjâj's coinage, on which, according to several authorities, were inscribed the words "In the name of God, El-Hejjâj."[4] But too much stress must not be laid on this discrepancy. The same authorities make out that El-Hejjâj's dirhems were "disapproved" on account of the inscription which they also bore, "Say, He is one God, God the Eternal," &c., which exposed a verse from the Korân to the danger of being insulted by the touch of impure hands; and we are led to infer that the inscription was forthwith abolished. Yet this very formula, omitting the "Say," appears on all Amawy coins. Arabian historians seldom seem to have examined any specimens of the older coinage of their country, and all their statements about inscriptions must be treated with great distrust.[5] The facts of the coins are plain enough. After 'Abd-El-Melik's experiment with his own image

[4] See Mordtmann, Nos. 851—6, and Tiesenhausen.

[5] The three paragraphs quoted from Es-Suyûty, in S. 34—5, are full of mistakes in this respect. On the other hand, M.'s account, 20—1, is substantially correct.

on the dînârs of A.H. 76 and 77, the regular Mohammadan coinage runs on unchanged, the gold beginning in 77, and the silver in 79. The only silver coins known before this are three pieces which once belonged to Subhi Pasha's collection, and are now in the Paris cabinet. These are precisely of the ordinary Amawy type, but bear the remarkable dates: El-Basrah, A.H. 40; Damascus, A.H. 63 and 65; and Marw. Competent judges pronounce these coins to be genuine, and if they are so, they will supply further instances of the attempts to forestall 'Abd-El-Melik's monetary reform which the historians ascribe to the supporters of the rival Khalif Ibn-Ez-Zubeyr.[6] The last three of these would tally well enough in date with the time of Ibn-Ez-Zubeyr, but the mint Damascus, which was 'Abd-El-Melik's capital, is out of the question. Thus the numismatic evidence does not confirm the historical accounts of these early attempts, but substitutes others of its own; contradicts the statement that 'Abd-El-Melik reformed the coinage in 74—6, by showing dînârs of 76 and 77 which are still not of the reformed type, and of which the historians make no mention. Either some very important coins have been melted down so that not a specimen has survived, or the historians' account of the origin of the coinage is incorrect.

As to what was in use before the introduction of the new coinage the authorities are perfectly in accord: there was nothing but Byzantine gold and Chosroes (*i.e.* Sassanian) silver, with perhaps a few pieces from the Himyarites of the Yemen (S. 84). The Sassanian dirhems were

[6] Two coins of Mus'ab and 'Abd-Allah ibn Ez-Zubeyr which have been published by Mordtmann (839—58), of A.H. 71, and 62, are of the ordinary Pehlevy type, and the only Arabic inscription is بسم الله as usual.

of 8 dânik, or 4 dânik (heavy, or Baghly; light, or Tabary), of various weights, 20, 12, and 10 kîrâts, and the Muslim dirhem was formed by taking an average of these three, thus making the new dirhem of 14 kîrâts, so that ten dirhems weighed 1 mithkâl. (S. 6, 7, 8, 18, 22, 25, 30, 40. M. *pass.*)

II.—Mithkâl.

The *Mithkâl* is lexicographically any weight with which one weighs; but in common usage it means a certain fixed measure, a lump of gold, which has not varied in weight either before or after Islam (S. 35, 39). It is synonymous with the *dînâr*, or rather *mithkâl* is the *weight* of this *piece* called *dînâr*. The more ancient doctors of the law (up to the fifth century of the Hijreh) give 96 barleycorns (of medium size, not deprived of their husks, but with the awns cuts off) to the mithkâl; and this computation was accepted by the people of Samarkand and the arithmeticians (S. 35, ff.). The more recent lawyers (from the fifth century) give 100 barleycorns to the mithkâl, and this system was adopted in the Hijâz, and at Herât[7] (S. 35, ff.). The sub-divisions differ in these two systems, and in the third (recorded by the author of the Kitâb El-Hâwy, fifth or sixth century, S. 48), as follows:—

A. Ancient System.

Mithkâl .	1				
Dânik .	6	1			
[8] Tassûj .	24	4	1		
Habbeh .	48	8	2	1	
Barleycorn	96	16	4	2	1

[7] The legal mithkâl is stated in Ibn-Khaldûn to be of 72 grs. barley (S. 51 and 55), or 22 (Syrian) kîrâts less 1 habbeh at Mekka (S. 55; M. 9).

[8] According to some (S. 72) 8 habbehs made 1 tassûj. In

B. Later System.

Mithkâl	1			
Kîrât	20	1		
Barleycorn	100	5	1	

C. Third System.

Mithkâl	1			
Dânik	6	1		
Habbeh	60	10	1	
Aruzzeh	240	40	4	1

Ten *legal* dirhems = 7 mithkâls; 1 dirhem = $\frac{7}{10}$ mithkâl, in *weight*. In *exchange* 10 d. = 1 m. In practice the dirhem varied greatly, and the dînâr by no means always weighed a mithkâl: *e.g.* in 516, 20 Egyptian dînârs = 16 mithkâls (S. 47).

Minute divisions were 1 barleycorn = 10 grains of mustard seed; 1 gr. m. s. = 12 fels; 1 f. = 6 fatîlehs; 1 fat. = 6 nakîrehs; 1 n. = 8 kitmîrs; 1 k. = 12 dorahs (S. 38).

III.—Dînâr and Dirhem.

Dînârs and dirhems vary in weight and value in different countries and provinces; but as the law has ordained certain payments, such as the universal alms, it is essential to have a fixed value, or rather, since the alms (Zekâh) are levied by weight, a fixed weight, for the dînâr and dirhem. These legal or conventional coins have the relation of 7 to 10 in weight (S. 50); and a dirhem there-

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this case the habbeh must be the barleycorn of Mekka mentioned in the preceding note, and 2×24 tassûj would give the 72 grains of the legal mithkâl.

fore weighs $\frac{7}{10}$ths of a dînâr; and a dînâr $1\frac{3}{7}$ths of a dirhem. The legal dînâr (or mithkâl of gold), according to the opinions of all the learned,[9] weighed (and weighs) 72 medium barleycorns, and the dirhem ($\frac{7}{10}$ of 72 =) $50\frac{2}{5}$ b.c. (S. 51 ff.). At first there were no actual coins to correspond to these weights; but 'Abd-El-Melik's new coinage exactly fulfilled the requirements (S. 53). (The coinage of A.H. 77 ff., may therefore be taken to represent the legal dînâr and dirhem.) A Mufty of Medîna examined a series of dirhems of 'Abd-El-Melik, A.H. 79 and 83, Er-Rashîd 173, 181, and El-Mamûn; and reported that they all weighed $1\frac{1}{4}$ dirhem of Medîna (which was of 16 kîrâts, each of 4 habbehs of corn, *i.e.* 64 habbehs; and $1\frac{1}{4} \times 64$)= 80 habbehs or grs.[10] (S. 60.) Although the actual coinage is constantly falling away from the legal standard, the conventional dînâr and dirhem of account are retained in all legal computations. Legal dînâr = 20 kîrâts of 5 grs. = 100 grs.; dirhem = 14 kîrâts of 5 grs. = 70 grs. (S. 58, &c.). But the legal dirhem of the Zekâh is of 6

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[9] Except Ibn-Hazm, who says $82\frac{3}{5}$ b.c. (S. 54; M. 66). Cp. the tables under head *Mithkâl* and the footnote. The barleycorn and habbeh seem to have been variable quantities, merely divisions, not fixed weights.

[10] As the dirhems referred to must have actually weighed 45 English grains (to judge from the British Museum specimens) we have the definite result—80 habbehs = 45 Eng. grains, or 1 grain = $1\frac{7}{9}$ habbeh. At the same time the Medîna habbehs may have been peculiar; and 80 is an unusual number to assign to a dirhem. If the ordinary estimate of 70 habbehs to the dirhem be taken, 1 gr. Eng. = $1\frac{5}{7}$ habbeh; and the dînâr of 100 habbehs would thus = $100 \times \frac{9}{14} = 64\frac{2}{7}$ gr., which is very much the normal dînâr weight. If the other estimate of $50\frac{2}{5}$ habbehs to the dirhem (which seems to me manifestly made up) be accepted, 1 gr. = $1\frac{2}{7}$ habbeh, and the dînâr of 72 habbehs = $72 \times \frac{7}{9} = 64\frac{2}{7}$ gr., as above.

dâniks, each of $8\frac{2}{5}$ b.c. = $50\frac{2}{5}$ b.c., or 72 to the dînâr (S. 61). (The explanation is, the discrepancy in the preceding statements is doubtless the difference between those who hold that the legal dînâr consists of 72 habbehs, and those who maintain that it was of 100 habbehs. The proportion between the two denominations is identical in both : 100 : 70 : : 72 : $50\frac{2}{5}$.) Ten legal dirhems are worth one legal dînâr, as is proved by the law of Zekâh[11] (S. 49, 64, &c.). (Relations of gold to silver, however, as 1 to 7, S. 55, note.)

Dînâr.—The name of a round gold coin; also called in jurisprudence a mithkâl. Its divisions are those of the mithkâl (see above). The legal dînâr is a money of account, and is described above. The actual dînâr of currency is of variable weight; in Syria, *e.g.* it weighed 84 barleycorns; in Egypt, under the Fâtimis, one barleycorn less than the mithkal (S. 77).

Dirhem.—The name of a round silver coin; the round shape was first adopted by the Khalif 'Omar; formerly it had the shape of a date-stone and had no inscription (S. 89). The legal dirhem is a money of account (see above); the actual dirhem of currency varied greatly in weight, *e.g.* in 710 the Egyptian dirhem weighed 64 habbehs, at other times 48 (S. 88, 97). The divisions of the dirhem are into 6 dâniks, or 14 kîrâts, or 70 barleycorns.

Dânik.—The sixth of the dînâr and of the dirhem : [therefore of variable weight in reference to one or the other, and in respect of the varying weights of either. As $\frac{1}{6}$ of a dînâr, it is equal to 12, or to 10, or to 8 habbehs (or $8\frac{1}{3}$, M. 67), according to the number of habbehs to the dînâr (see under Mithkâl). Hence we find the following relations recorded :] = 2 kîrâts (of silver, *i.e.* $2\frac{1}{3}$, as there are 14 kîrâts or 6 dâniks to the dirhem); or = $3\frac{1}{3}$ kîrâts (*i.e.* in relation to the dînâr of 20 kîrâts) or =10

[11] Yet Esh-Shâfi'y and Ibn-Hanbal say 12 dirhems went to the dînâr in the Prophet's time (S. 73—4); doubtless they refer to other than legal dirhems (S. 74).

habbehs or 40 aruzzehs, *i.e.* in reference to the dînâr of 60 habbehs (S. 98); or = 12 grains, *i.e.* in reference to the dînâr of 72 habbehs (S. 102). Five dâniks of gold = 11$\frac{7}{8}$ths dirhems at Baghdâd, where the dînâr was worth 14$\frac{1}{3}$ (S. 99). The dânik was the quarter of a dirhem in Khwârizm, afterward $\frac{1}{4\frac{1}{2}}$ (S. 99, 155).

Kîrât—The $\frac{1}{20}$th of the legal dînâr and the $\frac{1}{14}$th of the legal dirhem, but in practice its relation varies greatly, = $\frac{1}{24}$, $\frac{1}{20}$ dînâr, and $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{18}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and even, under the Fatimis, $\frac{1}{8}$ dirhem (S. 79, 95, 102); but this was a gold coin kîrât which is properly equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ dirhem. In 599, under El-'Adil, 11 emîry kîrâts = 1 dînâr (S. 286). The kîrât is equal to 5 habbehs (S. 102), or 3$\frac{1}{2}$ (S. 77), &c.; 15 kîrâts to the Buweyhy dirhem, and 20 to the Imâmy (S. 279).

Tassûj.—The $\frac{1}{4}$ of a dânik and $\frac{1}{24}$th of a dînâr or of a dirhem. Equal to 2 habbehs in relation to the dirhem; or 8 habbehs in relation to the dînâr. It varies with the dânik.

Kharrûbeh.—The grain of the kharrub tree = $\frac{1}{24}$th mithkâl, or $\frac{1}{18}$th dirhem (or $\frac{1}{16}$th) = 8 grains of corn. [*Scil.* as the dînâr is to the dirhem, *i.e.* 10 : 7 :: 24 : 16$\frac{4}{5}$] (S. 96, 97, 103). As a coin, a sub-division of the bezant of Cyprus (S. 106); and a small gold coin struck on Lentil (Holy) Thursday = $\frac{1}{20}$th dînâr (S. 78).

Habbeh.—A grain, *i.e.* a barleycorn = 4 aruzzehs, = $\frac{1}{3}$ kîrât, = $\frac{1}{8}$ dânik (S. 107), or = 2 barleycorns, = $\frac{1}{4}$ tassûj, or = $\frac{1}{60}$ dînâr.

Aruzzeh or *Tamûnah* is a quarter of a *habbeh* or $\frac{1}{60}$ dânik (S. 100, 108), or $\frac{1}{48}$ dânik (S. 145).

IV.—Fels.

Fels is a copper coin used for buying cheap goods; but it has never been held to be money in the sense of the dînâr or dirhem. It is only a price by convention.

At first 48 fulûs went to the dirhem kâmily (*i.e.* of El-Kâmil, the Ayyûby), and the fels was split into four fragments (kitâ), each of which represented *a fels*. In 750

(654 ?) they struck fels at weight of mithkâl, and 24 to the dirhem; thus cheating the people of half. But in 695 it was ordered that fulûs should be weighed and should have the weight of a dirhem. A pound (ratl) of them was to be worth 2 dirhems. The Wezîr of Barkûk (784 ff.) brought red copper from France and struck many fulûs, establishing (794) a mint at Alexandria also for the purpose, striking no more dirhems (S. 108—112).

El-Kâmil had the fulûs of his predecessors cut.

658. Lack of fulûs at Damascus.
694. Cairo. Increase of number of fulûs; an ounce of them equalled a sixth of a dirhem in value.
705. New fulûs at Cairo, at 2½ dirhems per ratl.
717. Fels = $\frac{1}{48}$ dirhem. So 734.
759. Sultan Hasan struck new fulûs, each weighing a mithkâl.
794. *Vide supra.* Large number of bad fulûs struck. See *Annals of Coinage and Exchange.*

V.—Weight and Standard (Titre).

Before stamping the pieces with their inscriptions, it is necessary to make sure of the *titre* by refining them several times in the melting pot, and to give the flans the exact weight required. The office that attends to these matters is called *sikkeh*,[12] and is absolutely essential to the empire. It inspects the current coin, distinguishes good from bad, prevents sweating and chipping, and guarantees good coin by the Sultan's type, which is impressed on the pieces by means of an iron die which is superimposed upon the flan (after the weight has been adjusted) and struck with a hammer. This mark or type

[12] The *sikkeh* is properly the anvil on which the coin is struck (S. 86).

(*'aldmeh*) guarantees the fineness and correct weight of the coin, according to the usage of the country in which it is issued; for *titre* is arbitrary and varies in different countries. (Ibn-Khaldûn, S. 256—8.)

Ahmad-ibn-Tûlûn's dînârs were particularly pure (S. 123).

516. Cairo. Dînârs of El-Amir were of higher *titre* than those of other towns (S. 261).

Nâsiris or dirhems of En-Nâsir Salâh-ed-dîn were alloyed in equal parts silver and copper (S. 261).

Kâmilis or dirhems of El-Kâmil Mohammad (615—35) were alloyed in $\frac{1}{3}$ copper and $\frac{2}{3}$ silver (S. 261—96).

Dhâhiris or dirhems of Edh-Dhâhir Beybars (658—76) were alloyed in 30 parts copper to 70 of silver.

About 749 A.H., Egyptian dirhems were alloyed in $\frac{1}{3}$ copper and $\frac{2}{3}$ silver (S. 262).

(*Circ.* 570.) As to the coining of silver money, one takes 300 dirhems (weight) of silver and melts it with 700 dirhems (weight) of copper. When it is all melted together, it is cast in bars, from the end of which 15 dirhems are then cut and melted. If the assay now give $4\frac{1}{2}$ dirhems of pure silver, so as to give 3 for every 10 dirhems, the metal is satisfactory; otherwise one remelts the bars (S. 262).

The *legal* dirhem (of account) is supposed to be of pure unalloyed silver (S. 84).

No alloy in the dirhems of Ma-wara-n-nahr and Khwârizm (S. 96).

728 A.H. at Dhafâr, in Yemen, the dirhems are alloyed in copper and tin (S. 97).

The *titre* of the dînâr was very good and constant, as is seen from the following table (S. 266—8):—

Amawy dinâr of Yezid II., A.H. 104 . . .	·879
'Abbâsy dînâr of Harûn Er-Rashîd, A.H. 193 . .	·979
,, ,, El-Mutî', A.H. 361 . . .	·979
Fâtimy ,, El-Mo'izz, A.H. 345 . . .	·979
,, ,, Edh-Dhâhir, A.H. 416 . . .	·970
Amawy Governors of Spain, Bilingual dînâr . .	·791
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, . .	·850
,, Khalifs of Cordova dînâr of 'Abd Er-Rahmân I., A.H. 160	·979
Amawy Khalifs of Cordova, dînâr of 'Abd Er-Rahman III., A.H. 331	·895
Amawy Khalifs of Cordova, dînâr of El-Hakam II., A.H. 357	·979
Dînâr of 'Abd-El-Melik of Valentia, A.H. 452—7 .	·791
,, El-Mo'temid of Seville, A.H. 461—84 .	·728
El-Murabitîn (Almoravides), 'Aly, A.H. 500 . .	·875
,, ,, 505 . .	·916
,, ,, 515 . .	·937
,, ,, 535 . .	·916
,, Ibn Ayâd, A.H. 541 .	·895
El-Muwahhidîn (Almohades) 'Abd El-Mumin, dînâr of A.H. 552—8	·979
El-Muwahhidîn (Almohades) Abu-Ya'kûb Yûsuf, 2 doblas of A.H. 558—9	·979
El-Muwahhidîn (Almohades) Ya'kûb, dobla, A.H. 580—5	·979
Beni-Nasr, of Granada, Mohammad IV., dobla .	·904
,, ,, Yûsuf I. ,, .	·994
,, ,, Mohammad VIII. ,, .	·833

Dirhems, *titre* at first very fine (S. 263—5):—

Amawis, 'Abd-El-Melik, A.H. 80	·912
,, ,, ,, ...	·940
,, El-Welîd I., A.H. 90	·972
,, ,, A.H. 95	·965
,, Suleymân, A.H. 97	·958
,, 'Omar II., A.H. 100	·958
Amawis of Cordova, 'Abd-Er-Rahmân I., A.H. 154 .	·990

Amawis of Cordova,	Hishâm I., A.H. 173 . .	·970
,,	El-Hakam I., A.H. 187 . .	·958
,,	,, 206 . .	·958
,,	'Abd-Er-Rahmân II., A.H. 230.	·958
,,	Mohammad I., A.H. 252 . .	·958
,,	,, A.H. 269 . .	·958
,,	'Abd-Er-Rahmân III.. A.H. 331	·301
,,	El-Hakam II., A.H. 358 . .	·778
,,	Hishâm II., A.H. 380 . .	·728
,	Suleymân, A.H. 400 . .	·730
Dynasty of Cordova,	Idrîs ibn 'Aly, A.H. 430—8 .	·371
El-Murâbitîn (Almoravides)	⅓rd dirhem, 3 specimens	·937
Beny Nasr of Granada,	5 specimens, different sizes.	·937

Weight of legal dirhem = 3·0898 grammes (= 47½ grs. Eng.)

A.H. 327. 45,000 dînârs = 400 lbs. virgin gold in Spain (S. 274).
5 to 7 ,, = Maghraby lb. of coral (S. 287).

Under Fâtimis, 250 dirhems = 12 mithkâls of gold (S. 278.)

678—89. In Egypt, 20,000 dirhems = 1,000 mithkâls of gold (S. 288). So 695 (S. 289).

713. In Egypt, 100,000 dirhems = 5,000 mithkâls of gold (S. 302).

714—16, 717, 718, &c., 732, 741—2, 757, 823, in Egypt, the same proportion, 20 to 1 (S. 302—317).

But 737, in Egypt, 200,000 dirhems = 4,000 mithkâls of gold (*i.e.* 50 to 1), (S. 305).

742, temporary change in Egypt, 11 dirhems to the mithkâl (S. 308).

770, 790, in Egypt, 30 dirhems to the mithkâl of gold (S. 307, 310).

740 *circ.*, in Asia Minor (S. 306—7) :—
In Kermiyân, Tawâza, and Fûkeh, dirhem = ¾ dirhem of pure silver.
In Kastamûni, Kâwiya, and Tingislu, Akserâi, Marmora, Antalia, Kara Hissar, dirhem = ½ dirhem of pure silver.
In Brusa, dirhem = 1 Kâmily dirhem of pure silver.

695, in Egypt, 1 ratl of fels = 2 dirhems (S. 289), or 2¼ dirhems in 705 (S. 301).

806 *c.*, 100,000 dirhems of fels = 660 mithkâls of gold (instead of as formerly 1,000) (S. 311).

i.e. 150 [scil. 151] dirhems of fels = 1 mithkâl of gold (S. 311).

Or even 300 dirhems of fels = 1 mithkâl of gold (S. 311).

,, 5 dirhems of fels = 1 dirhem of silver (S. 312).

,, 1 ratl of fels = 6 dirhems of silver (S. 314).

806. Weight of fels fell from one mithkâl to ⅛ dirhem (S. 314).

825. Sherîfy dînâr of Barsabây (pure gold) = wt. of legal dirhem + ⅛th (S. 173).

Twelfth century, 460 rubâ'is of William of Sicily = 35 libra of gold.

,, ,, 210 rubâ'is of William of Sicily = 15½ libra of gold.

,, ,, 260 rubâ'is of William of Sicily = 11½ libra of gold *at weight of Juflûdy or of the city.*

,, ,, 415 rubâ'is of William of Sicily = 12 libra less 5 soldi, *at weight of Juflûdy or of the city.*

,, ,, 240 rubâ'is of William of Sicily = 14 libra in weight of the city (Palermo) (S. 281—4).

Thirteenth century, ounce of gold of Sicily weighed 26 grs. 85 (of which 18·50 were gold) was divided into 30 tarins, and was worth 54 fr. 86 cents., 45 fr. 72 cents., or 43 fr. 89 cents., according to exchange (S. 290).

Bezant of Acre varied in weight from 3 grs. 70 in 1251 A.D., to 3 grs. 05; 18 carats fine (S. 293).

Bezant of Marocco weighed 2 grs. 80 about 1228 A.D.; 20 carats fine (S. 294).

The following table of the weights of Mohammadan dînârs and dirhems is compiled from my Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum. The number of coins included in the estimate, their collective weight, average weight, highest weight, and lowest weight is given. Only those series are given which offer a sufficiently large induction to prevent the possibility of arguing from an exception. Specimens that have been pierced with large holes or clipped, or have a ring, or are otherwise exceptional, are omitted.

	GOLD.					SILVER.				
	No. of Coins.	Collective Weight.	Average Weight	Highest Weight.	Lowest Weight.	No. of Coins.	Collective Weight.	Average Weight.	Highest Weight.	Lowest Weight.
AMAWY KHALÎFEHS. A.H. 76—132.	34	2222·2	65·3	66·9	64·5	161	6982·1	43·36	48·4	38·0
'ABBÂSY KHALÎFEHS. A.H. 132—656										
i. Es-Seffâh A.H. 132—136	2	130·0	65·0	65·0	65·0	7	310·1	44·30	45·0	43·5
ii. El-Mansûr ,, 136—158	15	963·3	64·2	66·0	57·3	54	2396·1	44·37	46·9	39·6
iii. El-Mahdy ,, 158—169	8	508·0	63·5	65·3	62·0	43	1885·6	43·85	49·0	38·8
iv. El-Hâdy ,, 169—170	1	60·5	60·5	60·5	60·5	4	170·9	42·97	43·9	42·2
v. Er-Rashîd ,, 170—193	20	1260·6	63·0	65·6	56·2	67	2957·4	44·14	53·1	36·3
vi. El-Amîn ,, 193—198	2	123·8	61·9	63·8	60·0	11	488·9	44·44	45·8	42·9
vii. El-Mamûn ,, 198—218	19	1213·7	63·8	66·6	60·7	21	931·7	44·36	48·6	39·8
viii. El-Mo'tasim ,, 218—227	4	253·7	63·4	65·2	62·4	4	182·1	45·42	48·6	41·9
ix. El-Wâthik ,, 227—232	3	188·1	62·7	64·7	60·0	—	—	—	—	—
x. El-Mutawekkil ,, 232—247	6	391·2	65·2	65·9	64·5	10	449·0	44·90	46·9	43·0
xii. El Musta'în ,, 248—251	2	128·7	64·3	64·8	63·9	5	223·7	44·74	48·9	41·5
xiii. El-Mo'tezz ,, 251—255	4	261·0	65·2	65·5	64·8	6	242·4	40·40	45·3	37·7
xv. El-Motemid ,, 256—279	13	823·5	63·3	67·3	59·4	8	332·4	41·55	45·6	33·6
xvi. El-Mo'tadid ,, 279—289	1	65·3	65·3	65·3	65·3	11	520·0	47·27	51·7	42·9
xvii. El-Muktefy ,, 289—295	2	120·9	60·4	65·0	55·9	10	486·0	48·60	58·6	41·3
xviii. El-Muktedir ,, 295—320	16	1024·0	64·0	72·0	52·8	25	1163·2	46·52	58·3	30·4
xix. El-Kâhir ,, 320—322	—	—	—	—	—	4	212·4	53·10	62·2	40·4
xx. Er-Râdy ,, 322—329	7	413·9	59·1	67·2	50·2	8	373·8	46·75	60·2	37·0
xxi. El-Muttaky* ,, 329—333	2	119·8	59·9	63·1	56·7	4	222·0	55·50	69·9	44·0
	127	8050·0	63·3			302	13547·7	44·87		

* The dînârs of xxxiv. En-Nâsir (A.H. 575—622) range themselves under four heads: ½ dînârs, average of 4, 34·0; dînârs, average of 6, 63·1; double dînârs, 112·0, and triple dînârs, 158 grs. So xxxvi. El-Mustansir (A.H. 623—640), 35·8, 66·7, 105·4 and 124·7; and xxxvii. El-Musta'sim (640—656) 68·2, 111·7 (average of 4), and 177·1 (average of 3). The dirhems of En-Nâsir are not represented in the British Museum; but those of El-Mustansir (3) average 44·62, and of El-Musta'sim (2) 40·5. El-Mo'temid, El-Muktefy, El-Muktedir, and Er-Râdy, issued a few heavy dirhems of weight 76 0, 78·1, 67·0, 70·0, 67·1, and 83·0. There are also a few light gold pieces in the 'Abbâsy series; and thulths of 21·4 grs. and a nasf of 31·8 in the Amawy.

		GOLD.					SILVER.				
		No. of Coins.	Collective Weight.	Average Weight.	Highest Weight.	Lowest Weight.	No. of Coins.	Collective Weight.	Average Weight.	Highest Weight.	Lowest Weight.
Amawy Khalîfehs of Spain.	A.H. 138—422	6	378·5	63·0	70·0	57·2	119	4995·9	41·9	61·8	32·0
Beni-l-Aghlab	„ 184—296	11	705·1	64·1	66·0	60·6	2	82·8	41·4	41·6	41·2*
Beni-Tûlûn	„ 252—293	12	756·0	63·0	65·0	58·9	—	—	—	—	—
Saffârîs	„ 255—298	—	—	—	—	—	7	313·8	44·8	46·3	40·2
Sâmânîs	„ 261—389	10	629·7	62·9	75·0	54·5	99	494·8	49·9	72·0	33·0
Buweyhis	„ 320—447	24	1359·5	56·6	78·0	40·6	39	2132·9	54·6	75·0	40·6
Hamdânis	„ 317—394	—	—	—	—	—	16	870·0	54·3†	70·0	44·0
Seljûkîs	„ 429—590	34	1925·5	56·6	77·0	31·8	—‡	—	—	—	—
„ of Rûm	„ 485—708	—	—	—	—	—	169§	7506·6	44·4	50·1	36·5
Fâtimy Khalîfehs	„ 297—567	157	9751·7	62·1	73·5	52·7	12	248·1	20·6	25·0	17·4‖
Ayyûbîs	„ 564—650	67¶	4436·7	66·2	83·8	46·0	41**	1841·6	44·9	46·9	40·2
Memlûk Sultâns:											
i. Bahry	„ 648—784	31	3332·1	107·4	154·2	38·7	57††	2635·0	46·2	67·4	27·3
ii. Burjy A.	„ 784—820	13	1562·3	120·1	171·9	88 2	5	226·4	45·2	52·8	38·1
„ B.	„ 810—916	34	1778·7	52·3	54·7	50·6	7	147·4	21·0	30·2	13·9
El-Murâbitîn	„ 448—541	49	—	61·7	64·3	54·2	23‡‡	325 0	14·1	15·7	11·0
El-Muwahhidîn		12	428·4	35·7	36·0	35·2	22	526·8	22·9	24·3	20·7
„ (at first)		1	—	18·0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
„ (afterwards)		22	1558·4	70·8	71·7	68·6	—	—	—	—	—
Beny-Hafs, etc.		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mongols of Persia, large		7	929·7	132·8	138·1	123·3	—	—	—	—	—
„ „ small	„ 654—745	5	330·3	66·0	70·5	63·3	—	—	—	—	—
Down to Ghâzân		—	—	—	—	—	58	2142·1	36·9	44·0	30·8
Ghâzân and Uljaitu, Abu-Sa'îd foll.											
Jelairs	736—812	1	119·5	—	—	—	14	495·0	35·3	54·7	26·7
Khans of the Golden Horde		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	—	—
Timurîs, etc.		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	—	—

* Also ½ dirhems of 21·8 grs. (average of 3), and ¼ dînârs of 16·2 (average of 4); and some very small silver, average 3·6 grs.
† Also ½ dirhems of 30·1 grs. (average of 6), and one abnormal piece of 86·5.
‡ Also ½ dînâr 26·5, and ¼ 10·4. Two base metal specimens only of silver.
§ This series is unusually regular out of the first 119 coins, 72 range between 45·0 and 46 5; and in the whole series only 9 (except pierced coins) are below 40, and only 1 reaches 50.
‖ Also isolated pieces of 40·8, 10·0, 5·0, 2·30, and numerous ¼ dînârs or rubas, of 15 and 16 grs.
¶ Excluding 10 phenomena, l.g. 93·3, 114·6, 109 0. ** Also ½ dirhems 22·2 grs. (average of 9). †† Omitting 2, 81 4 and 88·4.
‡‡ Also some smaller pieces (average of 4) 3·9 grs. and of 2·15.

VI.—Exchange.

I. Relation of Dînâr and Dirhem.

Date. A.H.	Place.	Denominations.			
Time of Prophet	Hijâz	1 dînâr	= 10 dirhems		(Abû-Hanifeh, Málik, the Hedâyeh, and generally, S. 270, &c.).
,, ,,	,,	,,	= 12	,,	(Esh-Shâfi'y and Ibn Hanbal, S. 73, 271).
,, Omar	Irâk	,,	= 12	,,	(S. 279).
225		,,	= 15	,,	(S. 273).
303	Cordova	,,	= 13⅓	,,	(*dukhl*, S. 273).
330	Syria	,, (*Ibrîzy* of Ibn Hamdân)	= 13	,,	(instead of 10 as old dînârs, S. 274).
	Andalusia	,,	= 17	,,	(Ibn-Hawkal, S. 274).
	Mesopotamia	,,	= 15	,,	(,, S. 275).
363—5	Egypt	,, (of El-Mo'izz)	= 15⅓	,,	(S. 275).
	'Aden	,,	= 7	,,	(by weight, S. 275).
	'Omân	,,	= 30	,,	(by weight, S. 275).
	Egypt	,,	= 50	,,	(*muzahbak*, S. 276).
	Deylem	,,	= 30	,,	(S. 276).
396—7	Egypt	,,	= 26	,,	(*Zâideh and Kitâ'*, S. 276).
397	,,	,,	= 34	,,	(,, ,, S. 277).
,,	,,	,,	= 18	,,	(new issue, S. 277).
Fâtimy rule	,,	,,	= 36	,,	(S. 278).
436	,,	,,	= 16	,,	(S. 278).
,,	,,	,,	= 16¼	,,	(S. 278).
441	Kairuwân	,,	= 35	,,	(instead of 4 dînârs and 2 dirhems, S. 279).
	Baghdad	,,	= 14⅓	,,	(S. 279).
499	*Siege* of Tripoli	,,	= 100	,,	(S. 280).
572	Egypt	,,	= 13⅓	,,	(S. 281).
572—588	,,	,, (jeyshy)	= 13⅓	,,	(S. 285).

632	Baghdâd	,,	(imâmy)*	= 10 ,,	(new,* of the Imâm El-Mustansir, S. 286).
640—656	,,	,,		= 12 ,,	(S. 287).
656—76	Egypt	,,		= 28½ ,,	(S. 288).
690 *circ.*	,,	,,		= 20 ,,	(S. 288).
699	,,	,,		= 20 ,,	(S. 289).
En-Nasir Mohd.	,,	,,		= 20 ,,	(S. 289, 290).
714 ff.	,,	,,		= 20 ,,	(S. 302).
724	,,	,,		= 17 ,,	(S. 303).
727	,,	,,		= 25[13] ,,	,,
728	Marocco	,,		= 4 ,,	of Dehly (303), or of Shirâz (304).
732	,,	,,		= 50 or 60 dirhems of Azof (304).	
733	Egypt	,,		= 24⅔ dirhems (304).	
733	Marocco	,,		= 3½ (? 4) dirhems of Khwârizm (304).	
733, 742	Dehly	,,	(tankah)	= 2½ *dînars* of Marocco (304, 308).	
738	Egypt	,,		= about 20 dirhems (305).	
740 *circ.*	Transoxiana and Kipchak	,,		= 6 dirhems.	
	,,	,,	(Khorasâny)	= 4 ,,	(305).
740	Egypt	,,		= 25 ,,	(307).
742	,,	,,		= 20 ,,	308.
,,	,,	,,		= 25 ,,	,,
745	,,	,,		= 20 ,,	,,
,, *circ.*	,,	,,		= 21⅔ ,,	,,
746	,,	,,		= 20[14] ,,	,,
750	,,	,,		= 20 ,,	309.
761	,,	,,		= 20 ,,	310.

[13] Il a été imprimé 2,500 dirhems au lieu de 25,000.—S.

[14] Quoique le texte imprimé à Boulâq porte 2,200 dînârs, il faut sans doute lire 1,200 et porter le change à 20 dirhems environ.—S.

VI.—Exchange (*continued*).

I.—Relation of Dînâr and Dirhem (*continued*).

Date. A.H.	Place.	Denominations.	
749, 777	Egypt	1 dînâr (jeyshy)	= 13⅓ dirhems 310, 151.
801	,,	,,	= 24 and then 30 dirhems, 311.
806	,,	,,	= 33 dirhems, 314.
815	,,	,,	= 30 pure dirhems weighing ½ dirhem, 316; *nukrah* abolished (*i.e.* coin of $\frac{1}{10}$ silver, $\frac{9}{10}$ copper) (316).
821	Africa	,,	= 30 muayyadis of silver (317).
823	Dehly	,, (tankah)	= 800 dirhems (1,000 tankah = lak) (318).
In Khwârizm, &c.		,, ,,	= 8 ,, (S. 146, cf. 147—8).
		,, khorasâny	= 4 ,, (S. 154).

II.—Various Relations.

In Egypt, *circ.*	420, 1 dirhem	= 24 fels (S. 278).
,,	821, 1 ,, (muayyady)	= 7 dirhems of fels (S. 317).
In Transoxiana	two sorts of pure silver dirhems, one	= 4, the other = 8 fels (S. 96).
	748, 1 Marocco dirhem	= 8 Syrian fels (S. 309).
	,, ,, ,,	= ½ dirhem of Egypt (S. 309).
	720, 100 tomâns of gold	= 250 dînârs of Egypt (S. 302).
	823, 1 tomân	= 10,000 dînârs of 6 dirhems each (S. 149, 318).
	727, Basrah dirhem	= ½ nukrah dirhem of Egypt (S. 303).
	740 *circ.*, dirhem of Jingis Khan's descendants in Asia Minor	= generally ¾ of ours (*i.e.* of Egypt) (S. 306).

III.—Purchasing Power of Dînâr and Dirhem.

Time of Prophet		(for price of blood (S. 272), 1,000 dînârs (or 10,000 dirhems)	= 100 camels of five kinds (20 one year old, 20 two year old, and so on to 5).
,,		1,000 dînârs	= 200 cows.
,,		,,	= 1,000 sheep or 200 Yemen robes.
444	Ceuta	1 dirhem handûsy	= ounce of meat.
540 ff.	Baghdâd	600 dînârs emîry	= a turban embroidered with gold (133).
574	Môsil	1 ,, (*i.e.* with name of heir presumptive)	= 8 makkûks of barley (133).
303	Cordova	8 (or 40 dirhems *dokhl*)	= a kafîz of corn (famine time 273).
622	Egypt	1 dînâr, ⅓ kîrât	= 2 makkûks of corn (S. 105).
623	,,	18 kîrâts, and 18 kîrâts	= 1 kârah of corn (S. 105).
662	Egypt	200 dirhems	= ardebb of corn (very dear, S. 288).
695	,,	170 ,, (nukrah)	= ,, ,, (S. 289).
330	Baghdâd	2 kîrâts (emiris)	= 2 (or 4) ratls of bread.
439	,,	15 ,,	= menn of almonds.
,,	,,	2 ,,	= pomegranate.
,,	,,	1 ,,	= cucumber.
447	,,	5—10 kîrâts	= a bull.
,,	,,	2 ,,	= an ass.
448	,,	1 ,,	= 1 ratl of meat.[15]
496	,,	1 ,,	= 8 ounces of bread[15] (S. 103—5).
705	Egypt	10 dirhems, rose to 40 dirhems	= ardebb of corn (S. 301).

[15] These are famine prices; the ordinary price of bread was 1 kîrât for 10 ratls; 8 kîrâts for 1,000 ratls of dates was cheap (S. 104).

VI.—Exchange (*continued*).

III.—Purchasing Power of Dînâr and Dirhem (*continued*).

Date. A.H.	Place.	Denominations.	
732	India	100 of silver (or 25 Marocco dînârs)	= 1 hack (304).
,,	,,	1,000 ,, (or 250 ,, ,,)	= a pelisse of ermine, 304.
742	Bengal	1 dînâr of *silver*, or 8 dirhems	= rice of 25 ritl of Dehly, 308.
750 *circ.*	Egypt	1 dirhem	= 18 ounces mutton, 309.
776	,,	16 ,,	= one pomegranate (310).
806	,,	450 ,, of fels	= ardebb of corn, 312.
,,	,,	300 ,, ,,	= ,, barley and beans.
,,	,,	800 ,, ,,	= ,, peas.
,,	,,	500 ,, ,,	= ,, chickpeas.
,,	,,	15,000 dirhems of fels, (or 100 mithkals gold)	= 1 ox.
,,	,,	7 dirhems of fels	= 1 pound of beef.
,,	,,	15 ,, ,,	= 1 pound of mutton.
,,	,,	100 to 20 dirhems of fels	= 1 fowl.
,,	,,	200 to 50 ,, ,,	= an egg.
,,	,,	2,000 ,, ,,	= sheep.
,,	,,	7,000 ,, ,,	= camel.
,,	,,	120 ,, ,,	= kadah of grains of *courge* (312).
,,	,,	150 coined dirhems make 5¼ mithkals of gold, and each dînâr	= 24 dirhems (313).
815	Mekka	27 mes'oodis	= ¼ medd of corn (316—7).
,,	,,	mes'ûdy	= $\frac{1}{57}$th efrenty during pilgrimage, but afterwards $\frac{1}{50}$th.
819	,,	mes'ûdy	= $\frac{1}{54}$th efrenty.

A.D. 647	African (Tunis) dînâr = 1½ dînâr (legal?) (S. 271).							
Thirteenth Century,	1228	*Alexandrian Bezant*	1½	= livre de royaux coronats[16] *i.e.* bezant				= 12 fr. 16 c.
,, ,,	1228 (2nd tariff)	,, ,,	1¾	=	,,	,,	,,	= 10 fr. 42 c.
,, ,,	1235	,, ,,	2	=	,,	,,	,,	= 9 fr. 12 c.
,, ,,	1209	*Acre Bezant*	3¼	=	,,	,,	,,	= 6 fr. 20 c.
,, ,,	1228	,, ,,	2½	=	,,	,,	,,	= 7 fr. 29 c.
,, ,,	1228—39	,, ,,	3	=	,,	,,	,,	= 6 fr. 08 c.
,, ,,	1242 *circ.*	,, ,,	4	=	,,	,,	,,	= 4 fr. 56 c.
,, ,,	1244	,, ,,	3⅔	=	,,	,,	,,	= 4 fr. 61 c.
,, ,,	,,	,, ,,	3¾	=	,,	,,	,,	= 4 fr. 51 c.
,, ,,	1228	*Barbary Bezant*	4	=	,,	,,	,,	= 4 fr. 56 c.
,, ,,	,,		3½	=	,,	,,	,,	= 5 fr. 21 c.
,, ,,	1209 Barbary Marmotin		= 5s. 4d.	,,	,,	marmotin		= 5 fr. 37 c.
,, ,,	1283 Obol of the Emir of Barbary		= 6s.	,,	,,	obol		= 5 fr. 08 c.
,, ,,	1230 Double Bezant or mithkâl of Barbary		= 12s. 7/10	,,	,,	d. b.		= 11 fr. 58 c.
,, ,,	1237 Acre Bezant		= 4 tarins of Sicily at 4⅘ grains, at Trani.					
,, ,,	1285 Barbary Bezant		= 2½	,,	,,	at Naples.		
,, ,,	1268 Castille Morabotin		= 8s. 4d. of Toulouse tournois.					
,, ,,	,, Florin		= 8s. 6d.	,,	,,			
,, ,,	,, Double gold denier of Rousset		= 10s.	,,	,,			
,, ,,	,, Double gold denier de l'emir and the Augustal		= 10s. 6d.	,,	,,			[(S. 290—301)
,, ,,	1258 Agnel d'or		= 12s. 6d.	,,	,,	(little tournois).		
,, ,,	1564 (971) ½ piastre of Egypt		= 1 liv. 15s. 8d. of France (S. 319).					
,, ,,	1655 70 akchehs of Turkey		= 1 écu du lion					
,, ,,	1568 50 ,, ,,		= 1 écu de 6 livres (S. 168).					

(On the Metrology and Exchange of the Turkish Coinage, see my Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, vol. viii., Introduction. S. L.-P.)

1762. In Yemen 32 kebirs or 64 komâssi or 72 bâli or 160 harf = 1 écu espèce (S. 152).

[16] In 1263, the denier royal coronat = 0 fr. 07058, and the gold florin = 12s. 6d. of royal coronats or 10 fr. 58 c.
In 1290 ,, ,, = 0 fr. 06630, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, = 9 fr. 94 c.

VII.—Annals of the Coinage.

'Omar, in A.H. 18, struck coins after the Sassanian model, adding الحمد لله, or محمد رسول الله, or لا اله الا الله, or عمر (M. 13). 'Othmân put الله اكبر on his dirhems (M. 14). Mo'âwiyeh struck dînârs with his own figure, girt with a sword (M. 15).

The first to establish a mint (dâr-ed-darb) under Islâm was El-Hejjâj; here he assembled the coiners and set a seal on their hands. The chief improvers of the Amawy coinage were 'Omar-ibn-Hobeyreh (temp. Yezîd II.), Khâlid-ibn-'Abdallah[17] (temp. Hishâm), and Yûsuf-ibn-'Omar; and their issues were known as Hobeyris, Khâlidis, Yûsufis (13, 22). Es-Seffâh added "'Abbâsy money" to the inscription.

In 158, El-Mahdy Mohammad struck a round coinage with a *point* in it (M. 29). El-Mansûr was the first to put his name on the coinage. Reduced weight of dirhem 3 habbehs (M. 29). Harûn Er-Rashîd was the first Khalif to give up the personal superintendence of the coinage, and his delegation of this duty to Ja'far added greatly to the latter's prestige. Ja'far accordingly put his name on dînârs and dirhems struck at Medinet-es-Selâm (Baghdâd) and El-Mohammadîyeh (inscribed "by the order of him who has the inspection of dînârs and dirhems," M. 30). He also struck dînârs of 100 mithkâls for distribution at the feasts of Nerûz and Mehrjân, with a *couplet* inscribed on them. After the death of Ja'far, Harûn appointed Es-Sindy to direct the coinage, who

[17] Khâlid struck from 106—120, and Wâsit was the only mint; so, too, under Yûsuf, 120—26 (M. 28). To this the coins add Damascus.

struck dirhems equal to dînârs (M. 32). El-Amîn entrusted the mint to El-'Abbâs ibn El-Fadl ibn Er-Rebî'a, who engraved in the top-line ربى الله and in the bottom العباس بن الفضل (M. 32). El-Amîn also issued coins (dînârs and dirhems, weight of 6 dâniks each) in the name of his heir-designate, En-Nâtik bi-l-hakk, El-Mudhaffar li-llâh, with the inscription, "All honour and glory to Mûsâ El-Mudhaffar the king, whose name is specially preserved in the book of the eternal decrees" (M. 33). A.H. 194, El-Mamûn suppressed the name of El-Amîn on the coinage, and in 195 took the title of "Amir el-Mumenîn." 195, El-Amîn suppressed El-Mamûn's coins struck in Khorasân in 194, because El-Amîn's own name was not on them; when El-Amîn was dead, El-Mamûn could find no artist to engrave the dies for the dirhems, so they had to be done on the wheel, like seals (M. 33).

The 'Abbâsis had coins called *denânîr-el-kharîteh*, double (or perhaps 100 times) the value of the ordinary dînâr, and bearing the inscription "Issue of Hasany for the *escarcelle* of the Prince of the Faithful." They were used for presents for singers, and the like; Hasany is the name of a building in Baghdâd.

A.H.

206—238. 'Abd-Er-Rahmân II. was the first to strike coins at Cordova.

240. El-Mutawekkil adds the name of El-Mo'tezz to the coin inscriptions.

255—6. El-Muhtedy melted down cups of royal treasure into dinârs and dirhems.

267. Ahmad Ibn 'Abd-Allah El-Khojestany struck dinârs and dirhems in his own name in Khorasân.

294. Ziyâdet-Allah the Aghlaby engraved the name of a favourite page Khetâb on dînârs and dirhems.

296. Abu-'Abd-Allah, the Shi'y, struck coins at Kairawân with the words "Hujjet Allah" on one side, and "Teffarrak 'adâ-llah" on the other.

A.H.
300. Title of *Imâm* first appears on silver coins of 'Abd-Er-Rahmân en-Nasir, who also established in 316 a mint in the interior of Cordova, and set Ahmad ibn Mûsâ ibn Judeyr over it, whence pure and exact money was issued in 320; however, he was superseded by Yahyâ ibn Yûnus El-Kabarty (?).

322—9. Er-Râdy the Khalif held one day in his hand a dînâr and a dirhem each weighing about 10 mithkâls, and each bearing on one side the figure of Bejkem armed *cap-à-pie*, and surrounded by the inscription :—

انما العز فاعلم للامير المعظم سيد الناس بجكم

The reverse bore the effigy of the Khalif, seated, with head sunk as in thought.

334. Nâsir ed-dawleh ibn Hamdân forbade the issue of coins with the name of El-Muti', and struck gold and silver with date 331 and name of El-Muttaky.

336. 'Abd-Er-Rahmân III. transferred the coining from ('Abd-Allah ibn Mohammad's) mint at Cordova to Ez-Zahrâ.

The only mint of Fâris is at *Shirâz*, and those of Mawara-n-nahr at *Samarkand* and *Tûkant* (Istakhry) [and Bukhara and Ylak].

347. Jowhar took prisoner Mohammad ibn El-Feth ibn Wasul, who formed Sijilmâseh under the title of Amîr et Mumenîn, and had put his name on the coins, together with "Tekad-deset izzet allah."

354. Nâfi', the black, a vassal of the late Yusuf ibn Wejîh, recognised the suzerainty of Moizz ed-dawleh ibn Buweyh on coins and in prayers in Omân.

Weled As'ad ibn Abi-Ya'fur, lord of San'a, strikes dirhems in the name of Abu-l-Jeysh Ishâk ibn Ibrahîm ibn Zyâd, the chief prince of Arabia.

366—92. El-Mansûr Mohammad ibn Abi-'Âmir, hâjib of Cordova, puts his name on the coins.

376. Abu-l-Fehm Hasan ibn Nasruweyh, a Fâtimy missionary, began to strike coins and levy troops among the Ketâma, but was defeated and killed in 378 by El-Mansûr ibn Bologgîn.

378. A dînâr [medal] of 1,000 mithkâls was presented to Fakhr-ed-dawleh, bearing eight verses, Sûra CI, and the names and titles of Et-Ta'y, of Fakhr-ed-dawleh, and the mint-place Jurjân.

400. Cakes of bread used as money at Baghdâd.

Under the Fâtimis, the chief Kâdy had control of the mint. Inscription circular. There is a small rub' or quarter; also a kîrât or half (S. 78, 79, 95). Little

A.H.

kharrûbehs, 20 to dînâr, were struck on Lentil Thursday.

408. Coins struck in name of El-Hâkim at Mekka.

412. Nejâh, sole king of Yemen, coined in his own name: died 452.

440. Coins struck with name of 'Abbâsy El-Kaîm, instead of Fâtimy Khalif, by El-Mo'zz ibn Badîs; who in 441 put this inscription on one side of the dînârs, "Whoso desireth another religion than El-Islam," &c. (Kor. iii. 79), and on the other the ordinary لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله. A [fancy] coin [or medal] with verses issued by El-Mustansir and his Wezîr Yazûry.

462. Khalif of Egypt puts his son's name on dînârs, which were called *'âmiris*, and forbad use of other dînârs.

479. Yûsuf ibn Tâshifîn issued dînârs with inscriptions لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله; below, يوسف بن تاشفين امير المسلمين; around Kor. iii. 79; on the other side الامير عبد الله العباس امير المومنين, around which the date and mint.

The Zîry princes only issued coins towards the end of their domination; Mansûr, lord of Bejâyeh, first adopted a monetary type.

543. Yahyâ, son of El-'Aziz the Hammâdy, changed the type of the coinage, and arranged the inscription on each side in three lines in a circle; the circle on one side read: "Fear the day when ye shall be assembled before God; then shall each soul receive the reward of its works, and they shall be done no injustice" (Kor. ii. 281); and the three lines were, "There is no God but God; Mohammad is the Apostle of God; Yahyâ ibn El-'Aziz bi-llah, the victorious amir, holds fast the rope of God" (cf. Kor. iii. 98). In the reverse circle we read

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينار بالناصرية سنة ثلاث واربعين وخمسمائة

and in the three lines, "The Imâm is Abu-Abd Allah El-Muktefy li-amri-llah, Amîr El-Mu-menîn, El-'Abbâsy."

567. Salâh-ed-dîn struck coins in name of El-Mustady and Nûr-ed-dîn.

There are two mints in Egypt: at Cairo and Alexandria.

581. Tughtekin ibn Ayyûb struck dînârs and dirhems at Mekka with name of Salâh-ed-dîn.

583. Salâh-ed-dîn called in the old coin and struck new dînârs and *nâsiry* dirhems (half silver, half copper).

A.H.

626. El-Mamûn, the Muwahhid, ordered suppression of the Mahdy's name in prayers and in coinage, and had it effaced on the latter; made coins round instead of square. Er-Rashîd restored the former system.

648. Shejer-ed-durr's name, &c., engraved on coins المستعصمة الصالحيه ملكة المسلمين والدة المنصور خليل امير المومنين.

678. Coins struck in Egypt in Jumada, with Kalaûn on one side and Selâmish on the other.

703 or 706. Abu-Ziyân of Tèlimsân ('Abd-El-Wady dynasty) being relieved from siege by death of Yûsuf ibn Ya'kûb, put ما اقرب فرج الله gratefully on his coins.

In Rûm, after Tartar conquest, the coins were issued in the name of the prince of the family of Hulagu.

740—749. Artina struck coins in the name of En-Nâsir Mohammad.

Zeyn-eddin, the Mawâzîny (or maker of balances), was *mudawlib* of the mint, *i.e.* kept in order the balance and other machines used at the mint.

797. Barkûk appointed 'Ala-ed-dîn 'Aly et-Tablâwy master of the two mints.

809. Coins struck in Syria in name of the Pretender, the Amîr Hâkim.

929 *circ.* Ahmad Pasha revolts and strikes coins in his own name at Cairo.

971—3. Base coin fraudulently used for revenue payments.

S. LANE-POOLE.

FRESHWATER, 1883.

THE MEDAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

On Plate IV. we give an autotype reproduction of the Medal of the Numismatic Society, the dies for which were recently presented to the Society by the President. For a full description of the Medal the reader is referred to p. 19 of the *Proceedings* for 1883.

The first recipient of the Medal was Charles Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A., for his distinguished services to Numismatic Science in connection with the Romano-British Series.

côté et celles d'Alexandre le Grand de l'autre, ce qui a paru impossible au Duc de Luynes.[6]

Car les données des historiens, quelqu'incomplètes qu'elles soient, sont suffisantes pour nous renseigner sur l'époque où la Cilicie et plus tard la Syrie furent placées sous le gouvernement de Mazaïos.

En 351, il est en tête de la Cilicie et c'est lui qui avec le satrape de Syrie, Bélésys, s'oppose aux villes de Phénicie révoltées, en attendant l'arrivée du roi de Perse, Ochus, en personne.

Mais les forces dont ils disposent sont insuffisantes. Le roi de Sidon, Tennès, bat les satrapes et leur fait évacuer la Phénicie.[7]

Notons en passant qu'à cette époque, comme au temps de Darius, la cinquième satrapie comprenait tout le pays depuis Posidion jusqu'à l'Egypte: Célésyrie, Phénicie, Palestine, le nord de l'Arabie et l'île de Cypre.[8] Le nord de la Syrie, par contre, faisait partie de la quatrième satrapie Cilicie, et c'est là que résidait, en 401, Bélésys

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[6] Satrapies, p. 28.

[7] Diodore, xvi. 42. Βήλεσυς ὁ τῆς Συρίας σατράπης καὶ Μαζαῖος ὁ τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχων συνελθόντες ἐπολέμουν τοὺς Φοίνικας. Τέννης — τοῖς προερημένοις σατράπαις συμβαλὼν ἐνικήσε, etc. M. Noeldeke, à l'obligeance duquel je dois plus d'une donnée importante, a bien voulu me faire remarquer que ces événements, racontés par Diodore sous l'année 351, semblent avoir eu lieu plus tard, un ou deux ans avant la conquête de l'Egypte, dont Ochus paraît s'être rendu maître en 344. Ce qui m'empêche d'accepter ces dates sont les monnaies, dont il sera traité plus loin, p. 146—150, et qui prouvent, à mon avis, que déjà en 349 la Phénicie était sous les ordres de Mazaïos et que par conséquent la révolte ne peut guère avoir commencé après 351. Voyez l'article de M. Noeldeke dans les Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1884, n. 4, p. 290—300.

[8] Hérodote, iii. 91. Xénophon, Anabase, vii. 8, 25.

nommé satrape de Syrie et d'Assyrie dans Xenophon[9] et ancêtre peut-être du Bélésys de 351.

En 333, c'est Arsamès qui est satrape de Cilicie. Après avoir pris part à la bataille du Granique,[10] il s'enfuit quand Alexandre s'approche de Tarse, se rend près du roi de Perse, Darius et perd la vie à la bataille d'Issos.[11] Mazaïos, de son côté, est devenu satrape de la Syrie des deux côtés de l'Euphrate, comme successeur de Bélésys, à ce qu'il paraît.

C'est donc lui qui vient se joindre, en 331, à la tête du contingent de la Célésyrie et des Syriens de la Mésopotamie, à la grande armée qui se réunit près de Babylone.[12] Il est chargé d'observer le passage de l'Euphrate par Alexandre, se retire à l'approche des Grecs, se distingue à la bataille d'Arbêles[13] et lorsqu'Alexandre arrive à Babylone, lui ouvre les portes de la ville. Il est recompensé par le gouvernement de la Babylonie, charge qu'il remplit jusqu'à sa mort en 328.[14]

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[9] Xénophon, Anabase, i. 4, 10 : Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέσυος βασίλεια τοῦ Συρίας ἄρξαντος, etc ; vii. 8, 25 : Ἄρχοντες δὲ οἵδε τῆς βασιλέως χώρας—Κιλικίας Συέννεσις, Φοινίκης καὶ Ἀραβίας (Ἰ)δέρνης, Συρίας καὶ Ἀσσυρίας Βέλεσυς. La cinquième satrapie est désignée par Phénicie et Arabie et l'Assyrie équivaut au nord de la Mésopotamie, v. Schrader, Zeitschr. f. Keilschriftforsch. i. p. 18.

[10] Diodore, xvii. 19, où il est nommé Arsamenès. Droysen, Gesch. d. Hellen. I. i. p. 191.

[11] Droysen, l. c., p. 247, 252, 262.

[12] Arrien, Anabase iii., 8. 6. Σύρους δέ τούς τε ἐκ τῆς Κοίλης καὶ ὅσοι τῆς μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν Συρίας Μαζαῖος ἦγεν. Droysen, p. 312.

[13] Droysen, p. 313; 327; 330, 332, 340.

[14] Droysen, p. 344, 348; i. 2, p. 77. Quand Mazaïos devint satrape de la Babylonie, Ménès fut nommé hyparque de Syrie, de Phénicie et de Cilicie. Arrien, iii. 16, 9. Diodore, xvii. 64, 5.

On ne sait quand le satrape commença sa longue carrière, mais il est probable qu'il fut placé avant 360 à la tête de la Cilicie et qu'il succéda après 351 à Bélésys, tout en gardant le gouvernement de la Cilicie, dont l'administration semble avoir été confiée à Arsamès.

Il a donc pu battre monnaie pendant près de 30 ans en Cilicie et pendant plus de 15 ans en Syrie, pour le roi de Perse et pendant 3 ans à Babylone, pour Alexandre le Grand. C'est ce qu'il ne faudra pas oublier quand nous constaterons que les premières monnaies d'Alexandre, frappées en Asie, font immédiatement suite à celle de Mazaïos.

Examinons maintenant les émissions ciliciennes, marquées du mot מזדי, telles qu'elles ont été réunies dans l'ouvrage du Duc de Luynes.

Au premier abord il semblerait que les statères, gravés Pl. VIII. n. 3 et 4, sont de date bien antérieure au milieu du 4e siècle. Le type du revers est placé dans un carré creux, bien distinct sur le n. 4 et non moins visible sur un exemplaire du British Museum (Pl. V. 11).

Cela nous reporterait aux premières années du siècle, car parmi les monnaies d'Euagoras I., qui régna à Salamine de 410 à 374, il n'y en a qu'une seule sur laquelle un carré creux soit visible [15] et les monnaies de Tiribaze et de Pharnabaze n'en montrent pas de trace.

Pourtant cette objection n'est qu'apparente. A Cos, où le carré creux était déjà tombé en désuétude sur les anciens tétradrachmes au type d'Apollon et du crabe,[16] l'usage d'un coin carré pour le revers est repris après la restitution

[15] Revue Numism., 1883, p. 282, n. 9.
[16] Imhoof-Blumer, Monn. Grecq. p. 319, n. 101, 102.

de la ville, en 366, sur les monnaies à la tête d'Hercule. Il en aura été de même à Tarse, vers la même époque.

Mais ce revirement d'archaïsme ne fut pas de longue durée. Le même coin qui sert à marquer le droit du statère, Satr. Pl. VIII. 3, où le carré creux est bien apparent, est bientôt employé à frapper le n. 6, Pl. VII., dont le revers n'a plus rien d'archaïque.

Le type du revers se modifie en même temps.

Le groupe du lion terrassant un daim, d'origine Cypriote, est abandonné pour le type de Tarse, un lion dévorant un taureau.

Le daim, attaqué cette fois par un griffon, est réservé pour les hémistatères du dynaste de Cappadoce, Ariarathe, car ceux-ci, quoiqu'ils n'appartiennent pas directement à la série, s'y rattachent pourtant et en sont des copies évidentes.

Au droit, Baaltars tourne la tête *de face* et un *aigle*, réservé jusque là aux oboles, vient se joindre aux symboles que le dieu tient à la main. Puis ces symboles disparaissent, mais *l'aigle* reste et c'est ainsi que le type est adopté par Alexandre pour le revers de ses tétradrachmes.[17]

Là donc où finissent les émissions de Mazaïos, commencent celles d'Alexandre. Il n'y a pas de lacune apparente.

De l'autre côté, la série entière du satrape se relie immédiatement aux statères du soi-disant Datame, Satrapies, Pl. II., 1-5, auxquelles Mazaïos a emprunté le Baaltars assis sur son siège, tenant l'épi et la grappe d'une main et le sceptre de l'autre, la tête tantôt de face et tantôt de profil. En même temps le graveur de Mazaïos a conservé la pose des divinités qui se voient sur

[17] L. Müller, Numism. d'Alexandre, p. 98.

les statères de Sidé, de Nagidos et sur ceux d'Issos sous Tiribaze et qui sont tournés à *gauche, la main droite étendue* pour tenir une patère ou un de leurs symboles et qui *s'appuyent de la gauche sur un sceptre* ou sur un arbre placé à côté d'eux. C'est *cette manière de tenir le sceptre* qui permet de distinguer du premier coup d'œil les monnaies, dont la description va suivre,[18] des autres monnaies cilicienes de Mazaïos, qui formeront un second groupe.

I.

Tarcamos.

(Dernès, d'après le Duc de Luynes, Datamès d'après M. Waddington.)

Entre 380 et 360 environ.

1. Baaltars, le bas du corps drapé, assis à droite sur un siège, tenant de la main gauche un oiseau (colombe ou aigle), les ailes éployées, à g., et de la droite un sceptre surmonté d'une fleur. Cercle.

   Rev.—Tête de Pallas, portant le casque athénien à cimier, orné de feuilles d'olivier, à droite. Cercle.

   Æ. 1½/1. 0·80. Catal. Behr, n. 686. Brandis, Münzwesen, p. 500.
   „ 1½/1. 0·75. Cab. de Gotha. Imhoof, Monn. Grecq. p. 871, n. 71, Pl. G. n. 12.
   „ 1½/1. 0·75, 0·71 troué. Ma coll.

2. Même type, mais Baal tient un *épi*, au lieu de l'oiseau.

   Rev.—Tête imberbe, d'Hercule ? à gauche. Cercle.

   Æ. 1. 0·62. Coll. Imhoof, Monn. Grecq. p. 372, n. 72.

3. Même type, mais Baal porte une couronne de feuilles et tient de la main gauche un *épi* et une *grappe de raisin ;* son sceptre est surmonté de l'oiseau aux ailes éployées.

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[18] Si mes listes sont plus complètes que celles de mes dévanciers, c'est aux empreintes et aux données, dont M. B. V. Head et mon ami Imhoof-Blumer ont bien voulu me favoriser, que je le dois.

Derrière lui בעלתרז, à son côté thymiatérion. Sous le siège un symbole. Le tout dans un cercle crénelé (enceinte d'un camp, d'une ville ou d'un temple).

Rev.—תרכמו, Tarcamos, en costume de satrape perse, assis à droite sur un siège, tenant des deux mains une flèche. Devant lui, arc. En haut disque à ailes et queue de colombe. Grènetis.

Tête de taureau de face, sous le siège.

Æ. 5½. 10·56. Ancienne Coll. Wigan.
„ 6. 10·24. Catal. Londres, Févr. 1863.
„ 5. 9·87. Brit. Mus. Luynes, Satrap. p. 15, 8, Pl. II. 8.
„ 6. . Mus. Hunter. Dutens, Explic., 2d. éd. 1776, p. 1 vign., p. 20. Mionnet, Suppl. vii. p. 300, n. 580.
„ 6. . Catal. Behr, n. 867.

Partie antérieure de lion ailé à face humaine, sous le siège.

Æ. 5. 10·53. Ma coll.
„ 5. 10·15. Mus. de Berlin, K. Münzkab. 1877, n. 828, T. IX.
„ 5. . Luynes, Satrap, p. 16, 6.

Fleur de grenadier, sous le siège.

Æ. 6. 10·50. Coll. de Luynes, Satr. p. 16, 5. Pl. II. 5.
„ 5½. 10·37. Coll. Cunningham, Journal of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, 1881, i. p. 170, 19. Pl. XVII. 5.

Partie antérieure de taureau, à dr., sous le siège.

Æ. 6. 10·25. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
„ 5. 10·23. Brit. Mus. Satrap., p. 16, 4, Pl. II. 4. Brandis, p. 429. Gardner, Types, Pl. X. 30, 32. (Pl. V. 9.)
„ 5. . Coll. de Luynes. Choix de Méd. gr., Pl. XII. 21.

Lion (?) *accroupi, à dr.* sous le siège.

Æ. 5½. 10·03. Cab. de Munich.
„ 6. 9·38. Cab. de France. Mion. S. vii. p. 300, n. 579, Pl. IX. 2.

Symbole indistinct ou non décrit.

Æ. 7. 10·09. Cab. de France. Mion. S. vii. p. 299, n. 578, p. 302 vign. Contremarqué au revers d'un taureau à dr.

Æ. 6. 10·00. Coll. de Vogüé. Brandis, p. 429.

4. Même type et légende, mais Baal tourne le tête de face. Cercle crénelé.

Rev.—Le dieu אנא (Ana ?), nu et barbu, debout à droite, dans son temple, devant un thymiatérion, lève le bras droit vers תרכמו, Tarcamos, barbu, la tête nue, vêtu du chiton et du manteau, qui s'avance vers lui en levant la main droite en signe d'adoration. Traces de carré creux.

Æ. 6. 10·52. Mus. de Berlin. K. Münzk. 1877, n. 829; Revue Num., 1863, p. 109, vign.[19]
,, 6. 10·45. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
,, 6. 10·44. Mus. de Berlin, Prokesch.
,, 6. 10·30. Coll. de Luynes.
,, 6½.10·25. Catal. Bompois, n. 1649, Pl. V.
,, 5. 10·17. Brit. Mus. Satr., p. 15, 1, Pl. II. 1. Gardner, Types, Pl. X. 29. (Pl. V. 10.)
,, 6½. . Catal. Behr, n. 866.

Une souris, à dr., sous le siège.

Æ. 6. 9·40, fruste. Ma coll.

Autre, le nom אנא manque, ou ne parait pas.

Æ. 6. 11·20. Brit. Mus.
,, 6. 10·95. Coll. de Luynes. Satr., p. 15, 2., Pl. II. 2; Choix, Pl. XII. 20.
,, 6. 10·64. Coll. de Luynes. Brandis, p. 430.
,, 6. 10·34. Cab. de France; Mion. S. vii., p. 299, n. 576.

5. Autre, le type du droit est tourné à *gauche*.

Æ. 6. 10·56. Cab. de France. Mion. S. vii., p. 299, n. 577, Pl. IX. 1.

Mazaïos.

De 362 à 351 env.

6. Baaltars assis à gauche, tenant de la main droite un épi et une grappe de raisin et s'appuyant de la g. sur le

[19] Sur cet ex. il y a ⊣ ⅃ ⊣, le graveur, peut-être un Grec, ayant omis d'ajouter les deux petits points, qui en auraient fait אנא.

sceptre placé à côté de lui. Derrière, בעלתרז Sous le siège 𐤇. Grènetis.

Rev.—Lion, *la tête de profil*, s'élançant sur un *daim* fuyant à gauche. Au dessus מזרי, dans le champ à dr. Δ. *Carré creux.*

Æ. 6. 10·64. Mus. de Berlin, K. Münzk. 1877, n. 830.

Sous le siège, *tête casquée, avec cimier, de Pallas?* à dr. Dans le ch. du revers, O.

Æ. 6. 10·82. Brit. Mus.

Sous le siège, *croix ansée* ☥. D. le ch. du rev. O.

Æ. 5. 10·94. Catal. Thomas, n. 2398.
„ 6. 10·92. Cat. Pembroke, n. 1020.
„ 5. 10·90. Coll. de Luynes, Satr. p. 55, 4, Pl. VIII. 4.
„ 6. 10·89. Cat. Borrell, 1852, n. 301.
„ 5½. 10·83. Mion. iii. p. 667, n. 670, S. vii. Pl. VIII. 3, sans lettre apparente d. le ch.
„ 6. 10·73. Cat. Huber, n. 689.
„ 5½. 10·69. Cat. Whittall, 1858, n. 896.
„ 5¾. 10·65. Cat. Thomas, n. 2397.
„ 5½. 10·42. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
„ 5. 10·24, 9·72. Coll. Cunningham, Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, 1881, i. p. 175, 39, sans croix ansée?

Sans O dans le champ.

Æ. 6. 10·85. Brit. Mus. (Pl. V. 11.)

7. Autre, *sans carré creux*. *Croix ansée* sous le siège. Au revers מ. Cercle.

Æ. 5½. 10·94. Cat. Whittall, 58, n. 598.
„ 6. 10·82. Ma coll.
„ 6. 10·78. Mus. de Berlin, K. Münzk., 1877, n. 831.
„ 6. 10·78, 10·72. Cat. Borrell, 52, n. 303, 302.
„ 6. 10·71. Cat. Huber, n. 690.
„ 5½. 10·68. Cab. de France. Satr. p. 55, 5, Pl. VIII. 5. Mion. iii. p. 667, n. 671.
„ 5. 10 68. Cat. Whittall, 58, n. 597.
„ 5½. 10·59. Cat. Whittall, 67, n. 658.
„ 5½. 10·44. Leake, Suppl. p. 97.

Sans croix ansée. Au revers מ.

Æ. 6. 10·20. Brit. Mus.

Autre, *tête de bélier* sous le siège.

Æ. 6. 11·01. Catal. Langdon, n. 121.
„ 5½. 10·58. Ma coll. Cat. Borrell, 52, n. 488.
„ 6. 10·37. Cat. Borrell, 52, n. 304.
„ 5. . Coll. de Luynes. Choix, Pl. XII. 18.
„ 6. . Hoffmann, Numismate, n. 2454.

8. Autre, la tête de bélier sous le siège ressemble à une tête d'aigle et בעלתרז est écrit en lettres cursives.
De coin moderne. Friedlaender, Griech. falsche Münzen, 1883, p. 43.

Æ. 5. 11·92. Cat. Ivanoff, n. 516.
„ 7. 11·90. Cat. Behr, n. 678.
„ 7. 11·80. Coll. de Vogüé. Brandis, p. 500.
„ 6. 11·55. Sallet, Berliner Blätter, II. 1865, p. 354.
„ 6. 10·90. Coll. de Luynes, Satr. p. 55, 6, Pl. VIII. 6.
„ 7. . Hoffmann, Numismate, n. 2453.

9. Autre, le *lion* tourne la *tête de face.*[20] Sous le siège 𐤁.
Rev.—מק d. le champ à dr.

Æ. 6½. 10·75. Ancienne coll. Wigan.

10. Autre, sous le siège *croix ansée*, ☥. Au revers, מ d. le ch. Encadrement de perles et *carré creux.*

Æ. 5½. 10·70. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

Sous le siège ⊛.

Æ. 5½. 10·55. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
„ 5. 10·05. Ma coll.

Sous le siège ?

Æ. 5. 8·50, rogné. Coll. de Luynes. Satr. p. 55, 3, Pl. VIII. 3.
„ 6. . Cat. Subhi Pacha, n. 285.
„ 6. . Hoffmann, Numismate, n. 2451.

351 env.

11. Le droit du même coin que celui de la coll. de Luynes, Satr. Pl. VIII. 3.

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[20] Le lion tourne aussi la tête de face sur quelques hémidariques de Pymiathon, notamment sur ceux de l'an 25 (337).

Rev.—Même lion, la tête de face, s'élançant sur un *taureau*, courant à gauche. Dessus מזדי. Grènetis.

Æ. 6. 9·20. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 108, Pl. VII. 6.

12. Tête d'Hercule imberbe, couverte de la peau de lion, *de face*. Grènetis.

Rev.—Aigle, les ailes closes, debout à g. sur la tête d'un daim, à grands cors. Encadrement de perles.

Æ. 2/1½. 0·48. Cab. de France. Flan très mince.

13. Tête imberbe, ceinte d'épis, à gauche. Grènetis.

Rev.—*Aigle*, les ailes éployées, debout, à g., sur un lion, couché, à g. Encadrement de perles et carré creux.

Æ. 1½. 0·82. Cab. de France.
,, 1½. 0·67. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

Dans le champ du revers, *massue*.

Æ. 1½. 0·75. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Monn. Grecq. p. 375, n. 78. Pl. G. 16.

14. Baaltars assis à g. comme sur le n. 11. Grènetis.

Rev.—Même aigle debout à g. sur un *soc de charrue*. Encadrement de perles.

Æ. 2. 0·90. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Monn. Grecq. p. 375, n. 78ª.
,, 2. 0·87. Coll. Gonzenbach.
,, 2. 0·85. Ma coll.
,, 2. 0·76. Coll. de Luynes. Brandis, p. 501.
,, 2. 0·74. Mus. de Berlin. Prokesch-Osten, Inedita de 1854, p. 25.

15. Même type. Grènetis.

Rev.—Partie antérieure de *loup*, courant à *gauche*. Dessus *croissant renversé*. Encadrement de perles. Champ creux.

Æ. 2. 0·50. Ma coll.

Le loup *à droite*. Dessus ב (Λ).

Æ. 2. 0·47. Ma coll.

Autre, dessus *croissant renversé.*

Æ. 2. 0·81. Mus. de Berlin. Prokesch-Osten, Ined. 54, p. 59 (incorrectement décrit).
,, 2. 0·72. Cat. Behr, n. 679.
,, 1. 0·67. Ma coll.
,, 1½. 0·65. Mus. de Vienne. Satr. p. 57, 5. Pl. IX. 15.
,, 1½. 0·64. Catal. Ms. Borrell, p. 321, No. 4 (demi-taureau au lieu de loup ?).
,, 1½. 0·58, troué. Brit. Mus.
,, 2. 0·57, troué. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
,, 2. . Coll. de Luynes.

Grènetis et champ concave au revers.

Æ. 1½. 0·65. Coll. de Luynes, Satr. p. 57, 16, Pl. IX. 16.
,, 1½. 0·54. Brit. Mus.
,, 1½. 0·45. Ma coll.

Comparez Catal. Ivanoff, No. 510 (demi-lion au lieu de loup ?).

16. Soldat perse marchant à droite, l'arc et le carquois sur le dos, tenant la haste de la main droite et des flèches de la gauche. Cercle.

Rev.—Tête de Pallas, de face, portant le casque athénien à triple cimier, les épaules drapées. Cercle. Copie de la Parthenos de Phidias.

Æ. 2/1½. 0·65. Coll. Peez à Vienne.

17. Baaltars assis à gauche, la tête radiée ou couronnée, tenant de la main dr. l'épi, la grappe de raisin et un *aigle* debout à dr., et s'appuyant de la g. sur le sceptre.

Rev.—Tête casquée de face.

Æ. 5½. . Catal. Subhi Pacha, 1878, No. 278.

351—341 env.

18. Même Baal, *la tête de face.* Derrière בעלתרן. Grènetis.

Rev.—Lion et *taureau* et légende du n. 11.

Æ. 6. 10·83. Mus. de Vienne. Satr. p. 57, 10, Pl. VIII. 10.
,, 7/6. 10·30. Ma coll.

ב devant Baal.

Æ. 6. 10·72. Catal. Pembroke, n. 1023.

נת devant Baal, sous le siège מ. Dans le champ du revers, graffito ʌʃʏ.

Æ. 6½. 10·88. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 57, 9, Pl. VIII. 9. (Pl. V. 13.)

תנ devant Baal. Rien sous le siège.

Æ. 6. 10·78. Brit. Mus.

תנ devant Baal, sous le siège מ.

Æ. 6½. . Mus. Hunter. Dutens, Explic. p. 125, Pl. I. 2.

ר ou ד (ף) devant Baal, sous le siège מ.

Æ. 5. 10·77 Leake, Asiat. Gr., p. 127.
,, 5½. 10·68. Ma coll.
,, 6. 10·55. Coll. de Luynes. Satr. p. 57, 12. Pl. IX. 12.

נת devant Baal, sous le siège מ. Grènetis. Au revers ז (2) dans le ch. Cercle.

Æ. 6. 10·85. Col. Imhoof-Blumer.

ר ou ד (ף) devant Baal, sous le siège מ. Cercle. Au revers ז, et épi. Grènetis.

Æ. 6. 10·97. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

רמ ou דמ, et מ. Au rev. ז et épi.

Æ. 7/6. 10·72. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 57, 11, Pl. IX. 11.
,, 6. . Mus. Hunter. Dutens, Expl. p. 125, Pl. I. 3.

Deux lettres devant Baal, une sous le siège. Dans le champ du revers, tête de bélier à g.

Æ. 5. . Mus. de Naples, Catal. n. 8527.

ARIARATHES.

Entre 351 et 331.

19. Même type. Devant Baal ⋎; derrière בעלנזיר. Grènetis.
Rev.—Griffon, à gauche, s'élançant sur un *daim* fuyant à gauche. Au dessus *couronne*. La légende manque.
Æ. 4. 4·57. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

20. Autre, ⋎ et בעלנזור. Au revers, dessous אריורת. Cercle. Sans couronne.
Æ. 4½. 5·32. Ma coll. La lég. du droit emportée.
,, 4. 5·03. Brit. Mus. Revue Numism., 1861, p. 5, 6, Pl. I. 6. (Pl. V. 12.)
,, 4. 4·90. Coll. de Luynes. Satr. p. 36, 3, Pl. V. 3. Rev. Num. l. c. p. 5, 7, mais בעלנזיר.

21. Autre sans l'epi dans la main de Baal. La légende du droit est tournée dans l'autre sens, de haut en bas et écrite en caractères plus grands.

Æ. 4. 5·48. Cab. de France. Mion. S. vii. p. 301, n. 584, Pl. IX. 7. Satr. p. 36, 1, Pl. V. 1. Rev. Num. l. c. p. 5, 9, Pl. I. 8, mais בעלנזיר.
„ 4. 5·35. Mus. d'Athènes, n. 5787.
„ 4. 5·31. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 36, 2, Pl. V. 2. Rev. Num. 1861, p. 5, 8, Pl. I. 7.

MAZAÏOS.

341—333 env.

22. Types du n. 18. Sous le taureau סם, *Sama(s)*.[21] Les légendes מזדי et סם sont écrites en lettres ponctuées.

Æ. 6½. 10·64. Cat. Thomas, n. 2399.
„ 6. 10·44. Leake, Suppl. p. 97.
„ 7/6. 10·35. Cab. de France. Mion. iii. p. 667, n. 673, S. vii. Pl. IX. 5. Satr. p. 32, 8, Pl. V. 8.

חא (אח) devant Baal.

Æ. 6. 10·67. Ma coll.
„ 6. 9·24 troué. Mus. de Berlin. Prokesch-Osten, Ined. 1854, p. 25.

תנ devant Baal.

Æ. 5. 10·88. Cab. de France. Mion. iii. p. 667, n. 672. Satr. p. 32, 7, Pl. V. 7.

ת(? נ) devant Baal.

Æ. 6. 10·70. Coll. de Luynes. Satr. p. 31, 1, Pl. IV. 1.
„ 6. 10·69. Cat. Bowen, n. 674. Provenance Bagdad.
„ 6½. 10·68. Cat. Whittall, 67, n. 659.

נת devant Baal.

Æ. 5½. 10·82. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 31, 3, Pl. IV. 3. (Pl. V. 14.)

מר ou מד devant Baal.

Æ. 6. 10·83. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 31, 6, Pl. IV. 6.

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[21] Waddington, Rev. Num., 1860, p. 452. Ce Σαμᾶς ou Σᾶμος aura été hyparque ou questeur de Mazaïos et chargé par lui de l'administration des finances. Serait-ce Arsamès?

Æ. 6. 10·80. Cat. Behr, n. 677.
,, 6. 10·79. Cat. Ms. Borrell, p. 321, n. 1.

ר ou ד devant Baal.

Æ. 6. 10·88. Cat. Loscombe, n. 455. Cat. Fairholt, 1866, n. 18.
,, 6. 10·86. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer ; les lettres ne sont pas ponctuées.
,, 7/6½. 10·50. Coll. de Luynes. Choix, Pl. XII. 18. Satr. p. 81, 2, Pl. IV. 2.

23. Baal ne tient à la main que *l'aigle seul.* Les lettres ne sont pas ponctuées.

Æ. 5½. 10·88. Cat. Davis, 1876, n. 271.
,, 6. 10·80. Cat. Northwick, n. 1184.
,, 6. 10·59. Coll. Cunningham, Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, 1881, i., p. 175, n. 38.

א devant Baal.

Æ. 6. 10·50. Cab. de Munich.

נ devant Baal.

Æ. 6. . Mus. de Berlin.

ע (O) devant Baal.

Æ. 6. 11·01. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 81, 4, Pl. IV. 4.
,, 6. . Mus. de Berlin.

ר ou ד (ף) devant Baal.

Æ. 6. 10·69. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 81, 5, Pl. IV. 5.
,, 6. . Mus. de Berlin, de la Coll. Prokesch.

Les lettres isolées dans le champ des statères, n. 18, 22 et 23 sont phéniciennes et non araméennes, probablement parce que les monétaires étaient phéniciens.

ALEXANDRE, 333—323.

24. Baaltars, comme sur le n. 6 ; derrière אלכסנדר, devant lui thymiatérion et ט ponctué. Grènetis.

Rev.—La déesse Ateh voilée, tenant de la g. une fleur, assise sur un lion debout à *g.* ; devant ΔΙ, derrière, ט au dessus de עתה, en lettres ponctuées. Grènetis.

Æ. 5. 7·90. Cat. Behr, n. 681, Pl. II. 1, gravé à rebours.
,, 5. 7·80, fourré. Ma coll. Num. Chron. N.S. xviii. 1878, p. 104, 2.

25.—Tête d'Ateh, avec collier et pendants d'oreilles, à droite. Derrière עתהמז, dessus Δ. Grènetis.

Rev.—Lion, la tête de face, dévorant un taureau, comme sur le n. 2; dessous ד, dessus אלכסנדר, lettres ponctuées. Grènetis.

Æ. 5. 8·25 fourré. Coll. de Luynes. Satr. p. 97, Pl. XVI. 1. Num. Chron., l. c., p. 103, 1.

Quand j'ai traité de ces didrachmes dans le Numismatic Chronicle, j'ai proposé de les classer au règne nominal du fils de Roxane. Depuis je me suis demandé, si la série n'aurait pas commencé sous Alexandre le Grand lui-même.

Le type du lion dévorant un taureau se rencontre à Tarse, sur les monnaies d'argent, jusque sous l'Empereur Hadrien.

ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. ΘΕ. ΤΡΑ. ΠΑΡ. ΥΙ. ΘΕ. ΝΕΡ. ΥΙ. ΤΡΑΙ. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟϹ. ϹΕ. Buste lauré d'Hadrien, à dr.

Rev.—ΤΑΡϹΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩϹ. Lion dévorant un taureau, à g. Grènetis.

Æ. 6½. 10·64. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
„ 6½. 9·68. Cab. de France. Mion. iii., p. 624, n. 422.
„ 6½. 9·60. Satr., p. 109, Pl. VII. 7.
„ 6½. . Cat. Whittall, 58, n. 600; 67, n. 661; 84, n. 1273.

26. Tête d'Hercule, couverte de la dépouille du lion, à droite. Grènetis.

Rev.—Zeus, dans la même pose que le Baal du n. 23, mais la tête laurée de profil, tenant l'aigle et le sceptre. Derrière lui ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ou ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Sous le siège, lettre ou monogramme; devant Zeus monogramme ou symbole (charrue, arc, etc.). Grènetis.

Æ. 6, 7, ou 8. Classe II. de Müller, Alexandre. Les tétradrachmes de cette classe qui, d'après le style, font suite au statères de Mazaïos, sont ceux décrits par M. Müller sous les n. 1279—1302, 1308, 1316, 1319,

1320, 1337—1346 et, à en juger d'après mes exemplaires, n. 1641, 503 varié, 805, 806 varié et, sans doute, plusieurs autres. M. Müller classe les n. 1279—1336 à la Cilicie, le n. 1337 à la Commagène (Mélitène), le n. 1338—1346 à la Célésyrie (Damas).

SELEUCUS I., 306—280.

27. Tétradrachmes pareils et de même style, mais à la légende ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Monogrammes sous le siège et devant Zeus.

Æ. 7. . Mus. Lavy, i. p. 239, n. 2529, Pl. n. XXXII.
„ 7. . Brit. Mus. Catal. Kings of Syria, p. 2, n. 13.
„ 7. . Ma coll.
„ 7. . Cab. de La Haye, 4 exx. à monogr. différents.

Ceux qui prendront la peine de placer les monnaies, qui viennent d'être décrites, les unes à côté des autres, dans l'ordre indiqué, comme elles le sont en ce moment devant moi, en original ou en empreintes, seront, je le crois, de mon avis que les émissions se suivent assez régulièrement, et se rattachent les unes aux autres depuis Tarcamos jusqu'à Séleucus.

De nouvelles découvertes pourront bien compléter cette série, mais ne modifieront pas sensiblement le résultat obtenu. Il n'y a pas d'apparence qu'Arsamès, satrape de Cilicie en 333, ait battu monnaie à d'autres types. Il aura continué les émissions de Mazaïos, auquel il peut bien avoir été subordonné, et rien n'empêche de croire qu'on reconnaîtra un jour des statères pareils aux n. 22 ou 23, marqués de ses initiales.

Le nom de *Tarcamos*, que j'ai mis en tête de la série, ne peut manquer de paraître singulier à ceux qui se sont habitués à la transcription תדנמו, Datamès, proposée par M. Waddington, approuvée en la modifiant en תרדמו, par M. Judas et depuis adoptée généralement. Mais l'avant-dernière lettre n'est pas un *nun*, comme l'ont cru le Duc de Luynes, Blau, et M. Waddington, ni un *daleth*, comme

l'ont supposé Fr. Lenormant et A. Judas.[22] C'est un *caph*.

Le *nun*, partout où il est certain, comme dans בענא, פרנכזו, עברנהרא, אלכסנדר, a toujours cette forme-ci, 𐤍.

Le *caph* de חלך et כלך est ainsi formé 𐤊, 𐤋, 𐤊. Or ces dernières formes sont justement celles de la troisième lettre du mot en question, qui varie entre 𐤋 et 𐤊.

Il faut donc lire תרכמו ou תדכמו,[23] et transcrire Tadacmo ou plutôt *Tarcamo(s)*.

M. Waddington a fait voir que l'orthographe תרי du nom de Tiribaze exclut la transcription *Tiri* pour les initiales תר, quand le *jod* n'est pas ajouté. Il ne reste donc qu'à lire *Tarcamo(s)* ou *Tarcommo(s)*, et dès lors toute analogie avec un nom perse, et surtout avec celui de Datame,[24] disparait complètement.

Tarcamos, dont le nom rappelle celui de Tarsos et des dynastes ciliciens Ταρκόνδημος et Ταρκονδίμοτος,[25] surtout s'il était permis de lire *Tarcommos* pour Tarconmos, est évidemment un prince indigène, fils ou descendant du roi Syennesis, qui régnait à Tarse en 401.[26]

Il a été investi du gouvernement de la Cilicie par le roi de Perse, comme le prouve le statère n. 3, qui nous

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[22] Revue Numism. 1860, p. 439; 1863, p. 114. Catal. Behr, p. 159.

[23] Cette transcription vient d'être adoptée par M. Noeldeke, Goett. gel. Anz., 1884, p. 298.

[24] Datames ou Dotamas est bien un nom perse. Outre celui qui est devenu célèbre on rencontre un Datamas dans Eschyl., Perses 937, et un autre dans Xénophon, Cyrop. 8, 3, 17. Comment croire qu'un nom si simple eut été rendu en araméen par תדנמו plutôt que par דתמא ? v. Noeldeke, Goett. gel. Anz., 1884, p. 298.

[25] Voir Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch. V. (1883), p. 42, 43.

[26] Xénophon, Anabase, I. 2, 12, 23, 27.

le montre en costume de satrape perse, mais il était en même temps dynaste cilicien, à en juger par les statères n. 4 et 5, où on le voit, vêtu comme un grec, et tête nue, en adoration devant le Dieu de ses pères אנא (Anas ?), qui l'investit et lui confirme le pouvoir que Tarcamos réclame à titre héréditaire, comme l'a bien reconnu M. Judas,[27] et qui par sa complète nudité et par le nom inconnu qu'il porte, me semble parfaitement caractérisé comme une divinité cilicienne et non perse. Ainsi toute analogie s'évanouit entre ce nom divin Ana(s?) et celui d'Anaphas, ancêtre des rois de Cappadoce, et dont Datame était aussi censé descendre.[28] Car Anaphas ou Onophas est un nom perse très régulier.[29]

Les deux statères, n. 3 et 4, 5 sont contemporains et se font pendant. Ils indiquent bien la double qualité de Tarcamos, roi pour les Grecs et les Ciliciens, satrape pour les Perses, exactement comme son contemporain Maussolle l'était en Carie.

Il n'est guère possible d'assigner une date précise au règne de ce personnage, mais comme les types de quelques-uns de ces statères sont pareils à ceux de Pharnabaze et qu'après la grande révolte de l'an 362, à laquelle les Ciliciens prirent part,[30] commencent, à ce qu'il paraît, les émissions de Mazaïos, il me semble qu'on peut placer provisoirement entre 380 et 362 les monnaies assez abondantes de Tarcamos. Tant que Pharnabaze était satrape de Cilicie, ce que la légende חלך le démontre avoir été,[31]

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[27] Revue Num. 1868, p. 112.
[28] Judas, Rev. Num., 1863, p. 112.
[29] Je dois toutes ces données sur les noms perses à l'obligeance de M. Noeldeke.
[30] Diodore, XV. 90.
[31] Noeldeke, Goett. gel. Anz., 1884, p. 298.

Tarcamos n'aura été que dynaste, mais quand Pharnabaze fut rappelé, vers 373, c'est lui qui aura été investi de la satrapie qu'il aura régie jusqu'à ce qu'il fut remplacé par Mazaïos vers 362.

Les autres monnaies de cette première série donnent lieu à plus d'une remarque.

Les oboles n. 1 et 2, quoique anépigraphes, se rattachent trop aux statères n. 3—5, pour ne pas les croire frappées par le même personnage.

Mazaïos, en prenant les rênes du gouvernement, imite Tarcamos en tant qu'il adopte pour le droit de ses statères et de ses oboles le type de son devancier, tout en y apportant quelques modifications légères qui le simplifient sans en changer la valeur.

Au revers, il remplace les types politiques par les symboles des divinités principales, le combat du lion et du daim pour les statères, l'aigle et le lion pour les oboles.

Ce lion qui terrasse un daim est emprunté aux monnaies des rois de Cition en Cypre, où on le rencontre déjà au cinquième siècle sous Baalmalek et Azbaal. Après avoir été abandonné sous Démonicos, il est repris par Mélékiathon, dont le régne dure de 368 environ jusqu'en 362,[32] ce qui est justement la date où Mazaïos semble être devenu satrape. Cette coïncidence me paraît d'autant moins fortuite, qu'un statère, que j'ai cru devoir attribuer à Mélékiathon, combine les types de Célenderis, de Cilicie et de Cition.[33] La seule explication que j'ai à offrir pour

[32] Rev. Num., 1883, p. 328 s.

[33] *Ibid.* p. 335, n. 4. Hercule debout, étouffant le lion, est un type commun au roi cypriote Démonicos et à un des statères de Mallos de Cilicie, qui est sans doute contemporain de ce roi. Sur ce type *attique*, fréquent à Héraclée de Lucanie et qu'on retrouve en Péonie sous Lyccios, voyez Poole, Num. Chron., troisième ser., 1883, p. 274.

cette adoption d'un type cypriote par le satrape de Cilicie, c'est qu'en 362 commence le règne de Pymiathon à Cition, et que ce roi n'a fait battre que des monnaies d'or. L'argent de Mazaïos était peut-être destiné à circuler comme division des hémidariques de Pymiathon, et alors la reprise du carré creux, qui avait déjà disparu à Tarse, mais qui se maintient à Cition jusqu'après Alexandre, serait toute naturelle. Il s'en suivrait, peut-être, qu'après que la grande révolte de 362, contre Artaxerxès, à laquelle prirent part les Ciliciens, les Phéniciens, et presque tous les habitants de la côte,[34] eut été comprimée, le roi de Perse eut détaché l'île de Cypre de le cinquième satrapie pour la réunir à la Cilicie, dont il venait de confier la satrapie à Mazaïos. Le nouveau type indiquerait ce changement.

Le type cypriote ne resta en usage que quelques années, et fut alors remplacé par le groupe du lion et du taureau, que les monnaies qui seront décrites plus loin, p. 156, n. 13, montrent avoir été un des types dont la ville de Tarse s'était servi auparavant.

Le daim émigre alors en Cappadoce, où Ariarathe le place sur ses hémistatères, groupé avec un griffon qui s'acharne sur lui.

Il est vrai que ces monnaies nouvelles ne sont pas ciliciennes, et qu'au droit se lit בעלנזיר et בעלנזור au lieu de בעלתרז, mais le style (Pl. V. 12 comparée avec 13, 14), les ferait croire frappées dans l'atelier de Tarse. C'est là peut-être qu'Ariarathe fit graver les premiers coins, quand le besoin se fut fait sentir de mettre en circulation des espèces à son nom, et qu'on composa pour lui des types aussi semblables que possible à ceux du satrape

[34] Diodore, XV. 90.

de Cilicie, afin d'en rendre la circulation plus facile. Car il est très probable qu'à défaut d'autre monnaie, les statères de Tarse et d'autres villes avaient depuis longtemps cours en Cappadoce. C'est du moins ce qui semble ressortir de la composition d'un trésor, découvert à Césarée de Cappadoce vers 1850, où les statères de Tarcamos et de Tarse (sous Mazaïos, sans doute), étaient entremêlés à de nombreux statères d'Aspendos, au type des lutteurs.[35] Le poids de la monnaie d'Ariarathe, qui est juste la moitié de celui des statères ciliciens, dût aussi contribuer à les faire accepter avec faveur.

La seconde ou plutôt la troisième émission de ces hémistatères, avec ses caractères carrés et moins bien formés, peut avoir été faite en Cappadoce même.

Sur plusieurs exemplaires la légende du droit est בעלנזיר au lieu de בעלנזור. C'est une forme qui répond encore mieux au nom de la ville que les Grecs rendaient par Γαζίουρα.

M. Halévy[36] traduit בעלתרז par *habitants de Tarse*, ce qui équivaudrait à ΤΑΡΣΕΩΝ, et à l'appui de cette opinion on pourrait citer les légendes מבעלאנדר, מבעלצכץ, מבעלציץ, des monnaies de Gadès, de Sexs, et de Panorme. Mais il faudrait alors rendre aussi בעלנזיר et בעלנזור par *habitants de Gazicura*, ΓΑΖΙΟΥΡΩΝ.

Or, il est très improbable que les habitants de la résidence des rois de Cappadoce, ce qu'était Gazioura,[37] aient joui, à cette époque, d'une autonomie assez grande pour battre monnaie à leur propre nom, même en y ajoutant celui de leur souverain.

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[35] Blau, de Numis Achaemenidarum, 1855, p. 16, n. 25, d'après une communication de M. Meyer de Smyrne.

[36] Mélanges, p. 67, où il compare בלישכם, Juges ix. 2, 3.

[37] Strabon, XII. 13. Γαζίουρα, παλαιὸν βασίλειον, νὶν δ' ἔρημον.

Quand les noms de Datame, d'Ariarathe, et d'autres dynastes se lisent sur les monnaies de Sinope, le nom des habitants de la ville est supprimé.

Le plus simple est donc d'admettre que la légende Baalgazior ne doit son existence qu'au désir de copier aussi littéralement que possible les statères au Baaltars, et qu'à cet effet on s'est borné à remplacer la nom de la capitale de Cilicie par celui de la résidence d'Ariarathe.

Cet Ariarathe est, sans doute, celui que Perdiccas fit périr en 322, et qui avait alors atteint l'âge de 82 ans.[38] Il était donc né en 405. A en croire la généalogie des rois de Cappadoce, conservé par Diodore,[39] il aurait été fils d'un premier Ariarathe, fils à son tour d'Ariamnès, qui eut pour père le Datame bien connu et pour oncle Arimnaios.

Mais cette généalogie contient dans son état actuel des erreurs si palpables, qu'elle ne pourra servir de document historique qu'après avoir été corrigée et restituée sur plusieurs points.

Un règne de cinquante ans d'Ariamnès ne peut être intercalé entre Datame, mis à mort en 362 environ, et entre un Ariarathe, dont le frère Olopherne aurait pris part aux expéditions du roi Ochus contre l'Egypte, entre 359 et 344.

Puis ce premier Ariarathe n'a pu être le père d'un Ariarathe, né en 405, et qui avait plus de cinquante ans à

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[38] Lucien, Macrobes, c. 13. Si, en 331, Ariacès vient se joindre, à la tête du contingent des Cappadociens, à l'armée de Darius, c'est qu'Ariarathe avait alors 73 ans et qu'il se sera fait remplacer par un fils ou un neveu. Arrien, Anabase, III. 8. 5. M. Noeldeke identifie Ariace et Ariarathe, Goett. gel. Anz. 1884, p. 296.

[39] Diodore, XXXI. 19.

l'avénement d'Ochus. Toutes ces difficultés s'évanouissent en admettant que les deux Ariarathes ne sont qu'un seul et même personnage, Ariarathe I., né en 405, mort en 322 et que de même, Arimnaios et Ariamnès ne font qu'un, Ariaramnès I., père d'Ariarathes I. et roi de Cappadoce pendant 50 ans, de 410 ou 400 à 360 ou 350 environ. Il sera né vers 430. Si dans cette généalogie Datame lui est donné, d'abord comme frère aîné, puis comme père, c'est que le fils de Camisarès, ce que Datame était en effet,[40] s'était rendu maître de la Cappadoce et même de la Paphlagonie[41] et qu'il avait intérêt à être admis dans la liste officielle des souverains de la Cappadoce et à être considéré comme descendant légitime du fondateur de la dynastie, Anaphas, fils d'Otanès, un des sept Perses qui se conjurèrent avec Darius, fils d'Hystaspe. La généalogie, conservée par Diodore, nous fait voir comment on s'y prit pour transformer Datame, de cousin ou parent éloigné, ce qu'il peut avoir été, en frère et père du roi qu'il avait dépouillé de ses états et qui ne les recouvra qu'après la mort de l'usurpateur.

Pour expliquer le dédoublement d'Ariaramnès et d'Ariarathe il faut cependant une autre hypothèse. Faute de mieux, je propose la suivante.

Toute cette généalogie n'aurait-elle pas été tirée de quelque grand monument, élevé par un des rois de Cappadoce, dans le genre du tombeau d'Antiochus I., roi de Commagène, qui vient d'être retrouvé sur le Nemrud-dagh ?[42] Une suite de basreliefs ou de statues auraient

[40] Nepos, Datame, c. 1.

[41] *Ibid.* c. 5.

[42] Puchstein, Bericht über eine Reise in Kurdistan, dans les Sitzungsberichte d. K. Preuss. Akademie der Wissensch. Berlin, 1883, I. p. 29—64.

mis en regard les dynastes de Cappadoce et les rois de Perse et de Syrie dont la dynastie cappadocienne descendait par les femmes.

Envisagé sous ce point de vue, la liste devient plus logique. On comprend qu'un dynaste ait pu être représenté deux fois, vis-à-vis des deux souverains dont il a été le contemporain l'un après l'autre ; on s'explique le règne de 50 ans d'Ariamnès, parallèle à celui d'Artaxerxès II. de près d'un demi siècle ; puis, Datame et Arimnaios devenus frères par leur union fraternelle sur la même plaque de marbre. Ce qui reste obscur sont les relations que cet Arimnaios aurait eues avec Darius II., et qui l'auraient fait mettre lui et Datame en face de ce roi plutôt que d'Artaxerxès II.

Voici comme se seraient répondu ces images des ancêtres d'Ariarathe VI.

Pharnacès, épouse	Atossa, sœur de Cambyse.
Gallos,	Cyrus.
Smerdis,	Cambyse.
Artanmès (Ariaramnès, Ctésias, 16)	Darius I.
Anaphas (fils d'Otanès), un des sept Perses,	Xerxès.
Anaphas,	Artaxerxès I.
Datamès—Arimnaios,	Darius II.
Ariamnas, règne 50 ans,	Artaxerxès II., règne 46 ans.
Ariarathès I.—Olophernès,	Ochus.
Ariarathès II., tué en 322, —Arysas,	Arsès, ou Alexandre le Grand, mort en 323.
Ariarathès III.,	Seleucus I. ou Antiochus I.
Ariamnès,	Antiochus I. ou Antiochus II.
Ariarathès IV., épouse	Stratonice, fille d'Antiochus II.
Ariarathès V., épouse	Antiochis, fille d'Antiochus III.

Si la série, au type cypriote du *daim* terrassé par le lion, commence après la grande révolte de 362, quand finit-elle ? Et à quelle époque commence l'adoption par

Mazaïos du nouveau type, un *taureau* terrassé par le lion, qu'il emprunta aux monnaies de la ville de Tarse[43] (Pl. V. 3). La réponse me semble donnée par les statères sur lesquels Mazaïos prend le titre de satrape de Syrie et de Cilicie et qui sont empreints du même groupe[44] (Pl. VI. 1). Ceux-ci ne font pas partie de la série décrite plus haut. Le Baaltars est autre; il descend en droite ligne de celui que Pharnabaze a placé sur quelques-unes de ses monnaies (Pl. V. 7) et se continue sur les statères au revers d'un lion, jusque sous les Séleucides.

C'est une seconde série dont la description va suivre et qui est, d'un bout à l'autre, contemporaine de la première.

Quoique la raison d'être de ces deux séries parallèles ne soit pas tout à fait claire, notons pour le moment que le changement de type dans la première coïncide probablement avec les nouvelles fonctions auxquelles Mazaïos fut appelé en succédant, vers 350, au satrape de Syrie, Bélésys, et constatons qu'une nouvelle révolte avait éclatée et que le roi de Perse dut reconquérir l'île de Cypre[45] tout aussi bien que la Phénicie.

Ces événements ont pu altérer les rapports du roi de Cition avec le satrape de Cilicie et induire Mazaïos à faire disparaître de ses statères le type cypriote.

II.

394—387 environ.

1. Tête imberbe de Persée ? les cheveux crépus, à gauche, couverte d'un casque en forme de mitre, les mentonnières relevées. Cercle.

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[43] V. ci-après, p. 156, n. 13. [44] V. ci-après, p. 130, n. 12.
[45] Diodore, XVI. 40—46.

Rev.—Le roi de Perse coiffé de la tiare droite, assis sur un siège à dossier, à droite, tenant de la main dr. une fleur et de la g. le sceptre placé *devant lui.*

Æ. 1½. 0·73. Cab. de Gotha. Imhoof, Monn. Grecq. p. 371, n. 67.

,, 1½. . Haym, Tesoro Brittan. i. p. 142, vignette.

2. Tête de femme, diadémée, les cheveux épars, vue de trois-quarts et tournée vers la gauche. Dans le champ, à g., un poisson à g. Copie de la tête d'Aréthuse, gravée par Cimon, des tétradrachmes de Syracuse, émis sous Dénys I., vers 400.[46]

Rev.—Tête barbue d'Arès, portant le casque athénien à cimier, à gauche. Devant ΚΙΛΙΚΙΟΝ, חלך.

Æ. 4½. 10·59. Musée Hunter. Waddington, Rev. Num. 1860, p. 438, 2, Pl. XVIII. 4.

,, 5. 10·50. Mus. de Berlin. Fox, Uned. Coins, ii. p. 23, 131, Pl. VII. 131; Cat. Borrell, 52, n. 308. Rev. Num., l.c. n. 1, Pl. XVIII. 3.

Autre, la tête de face entre deux poissons. Au *revers*, חלך.

Æ. 1½. 5·75. Judas, Rev. Num., 1863, p. 106, vignette.

,, 1. 0·74. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 16, n. 12. Légende très indistincte.

Sans poissons. Au droit grènetis. Au *rev.*, derrière croix ansée, que Brandis a pris pour תע, devant חלך. Cercle.

Æ. 1. 0·75. Coll. de Luynes. Brandis, p. 429, descr. inexacte.

Autre, sans croix ansée ?

Æ. 1. 0·85. Coll. de Luynes. Brandis, p. 429.

Sans légende.

Æ. 1. 0·90, 0·80. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

,, 1. 0·65. Coll. de Luynes.

PHARNABAZE ET TARCAMOS.

387—373 environ.

3. Même tête, sans poissons. Riche collier autour du cou. Cercle.

[46] Cette tête d'Aréthuse a été copiée sur les monnaies de Motye, ville détruite par Dénys l'ancien en 397. En 393 Conon et Euagoras tentèrent en vain de rompre l'alliance de Dénys avec les Lacédémoniens et de lui faire conclure un traité avec Athènes. Holm, Geschichte Siciliens, ii. p. 137 et 442.

Rev.—Même tête, a *gauche*. Tête de griffon sur le garde-joue relevé. *Derrière* פרנבזו חלך. Cercle.

Æ. 5. 10·68. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
,, 5. 10·62. Musée de Berlin. K. Münzk. 1877, n. 833.
,, 6. 8·60 fourré. Ma coll.

Croix ansée, ☥, devant la tête casquée.

Æ. 5. 10·85. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
,, 5. 10·46. Cab. de France. Mion. iii. p. 666, n. 667; Satr., p. 4, 4, Pl. I. 4.
,, 5. 8·95 fourré. Coll. de Luynes. Brandis, p. 429.

Sans griffon et croix ansée. La légende *devant* la tête casquée.

Æ. 5/4. 10·69. Brit. Mus. Satr., p. 4, 2, Pl. I. 2.
Comp. Æ. 6½. 10·38. Cab. de France. Mion. iii., p. 666, n. 668.

Même tête, sans griffon, à *droite*. Trois feuilles d'olivier sur le casque. La légende derrière, et devant croix ansée ☥.

Æ. 5. 9·46. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 4, 3, Pl. I. 3. (Pl. V. 6.)

Devant, croix ansée d'une autre forme ⚹. Grènetis des deux côtés.

Æ. 6/5. 10·82. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. (Trois feuilles de laurier sur le devant du casque.)
,, 6/5. 9·35. Coll. de Vogüé. Brandis, p. 429.
,, 4¼. 9·05 fourré. Pembroke ii. T. 88, Cat. n. 1025. Satr., p. 17, 13; Leake, Suppl. p. 98.
,, 4¼. 8·90 fourré. Luynes, Rev. Num.

Sans croix ansée.

Æ. 6. 10·72. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

4. Même tête de face.

Rev.—Même tête casquée, à droite. Devant תרכמו, *Tarcamo(s)*.

Æ. 6. 10·85. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
,, 5. 10·78. Ma coll.
,, 5. 10·42. Leake, Suppl. p. 97.
,, 5. 10·37. Mus. de Berlin, K. Münzk. 1877, n. 832.
,, 5¼. 10·29. Haym, Tesoro Brit. i., p. 143 vign. Pembroke ii. T. 88, Catal. n. 1024.

Æ. 5. 10·19. Cat. Thomas, n. 2402.

„ 5. . Mus. Hunter. Dutens, Expl., p. 21, 26, Pl. I. 5, contremarqué d'un taureau passant à dr.; dessus בעל.

A M sur le casque.

Æ. 5¼. 10·20. Brit. Mus. Cat. Thomas, n. 2400. (Pl. V. 8.)

Trois feuilles d'olivier sur le devant du casque.

Æ. 5. 10·55. Cab. de France. Mion. iii. p. 666, n. 665, S. vii. Pl. IX. 3; Satr., p. 16, 10, Pl. II. 10.

„ 6. 10·45. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

„ 4¼. 10·38. Cab. de France. Pellerin. Rec. iii., p. 159—162, Pl. 122, 7; Mion. iii., p. 666, n. 666; Satr. p. 16, 9, Pl. II. 9. Contremarqué du taureau à dr.; dessus בעל.

„ 5. 10·37. Cat. Thomas, n. 2403. Même contremarque.

„ 5. 9·72. Coll. Cunningham, Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal, 1881, I. p. 170, 18, Pl. XVII. 4.

„ 6. 8·65 fourré. Cat. Borrell, 52, n. 809.

Sans légende.

Æ. 1. 0·64. Cat. Ms. Borrell, p. 321, n. 3.

La tête casquée à *gauche*. Devant, la légende.

Æ. 4¼. 10·90. Ma coll.

„ 5. 10·58. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

„ 5¼. 10·49. Brit. Mus. Satr., p. 16, 7, Pl. II. 7.

„ 6. 10·20. Coll. de Luynes. Satr., p. 16, 8, Pl. II. 8.

Sans légende apparente.

Æ. 1¼. 0·90. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Monn. Grecq. p. 368, n. 61.

„ 1. 0·75. Brit. Mus. Brandis, p. 429.

„ 1¼. 0·65. Coll. de Luynes. Satr., p. 16, 11, Pl. III. 1. Sans lég. d'après Brandis, p. 429.

5. Même tête, de face. Grènetis.

Rev.—Tête de Bésa, de face, coiffée du calathos.

Æ. 1. 0·63. Musée de Berlin. Num. Chron. N.S. xvii, 1877, p. 228, n. 37. Zeitschr. für Num. ix. 1882, p. 299, T. VI. 10. Provenance Beyrout.

Cette obole n'est pas une imitation mais une fraction des statères, n. 4. La tête du droit est du même faire que celle de mon exemplaire de 10 gr. 90. La tête de Besa sert aussi de type au revers d'une série de monnaies, imitées de celles d'Athènes, dont il sera question plus loin, troisième série, p. 143.

6. Tête diadémée d'Aphrodite, le cou drapé, avec collier et pendants d'oreilles, à droite. Grènetis.

Rev.—Tête casquée et légende du n. 4, à droite. Grènetis.

Æ. 1¼. 0·86. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Monn. Grecq., p. 368, n. 60. Choix, Pl. V. 176.
,, 1¼. . Cat. Behr, n. 865.

7. Baaltars assis, à gauche, sur un siège, tenant de la main dr. le sceptre *devant* lui et le *bras g. enveloppé dans son manteau.* Derrière בעלתרז. Cercle.

Rev.—Même tête casquée, à *gauche* ; devant פרנבזו, *Pharnabazo(s)*, derrière כלך. Cercle.

Æ. 6. 10·45. Brit. Mus. Brandis, p. 429. (Pl. V. 7.)
,, 6. 10·40. Coll. de Luynes. Sans כלך ?
,, 6. 10·25. Coll. de Luynes.
,, 5. 9·46. Cab. de France. Pellerin, Rec. iii. Pl. 122, 8. Mion. iii. p. 667, n. 669. Satr. p. 4, 1, Pl. I. 1.
,, 6. 9·27. Ma coll. Wigan.
,, 6. . Cat. Behr, n. 861.
,, 5. . Mus. de Naples, Cat. n. 8523.

Sans légende.

Æ. 1¼. 0·75. Coll. de Vogüé. Brandis, p. 429.
,, 1¼. 0·71. Ma coll.

TARSE. 378—351 env.

8.—Même type, mais de meilleur style. Le pied droit de Baal se voit derrière le pied gauche. Devant lui grand épi et grappe de raisin, derrière B. Grènetis.

Rev.—Buste drapé de Pallas, les cheveux épars, avec collier et boucles d'oreilles, portant le casque athénien à triple cimier, de face, regardant à gauche. Grènetis.

Æ. 5½. 10·68. Cat. Whittall, 58, n. 605.
,, 6. 10·62. Cat. Ivanoff, n. 506.

Sous le siège Ι, derrière Β.

Æ. 5. 10·88. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 63, 2, Pl. XI. 2.
„ 5½. 10·82. Cab. de la Haye.
„ 6. 10·62. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

Sous le siège Μ.

Æ. 5½. 11·36. Cab. de France. Mion. iii. p. 668, n. 680.
„ 6. 10·55. Mus. de Berlin. K. Münzk. 1877, n. 826.

Sous le siège Μ, derrière Β.

Æ. 6. 10·96. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 63, 4, Pl. XI. 4.
„ 6. 10·60. Imhoof, Annuaire de la Soc. Fr. de Num., 1883, p. 112, 49.
„ 5½, 5. 10·23, 10·13. Leake, Asiat. Greece, p. 127.

Sous le siège Μ, derrière Α en dessous de Β et *casque corinthien à cimier à g.* Au revers à g. *grappe de raisin*, à dr. Μ.

Æ. 6. 10·62. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer, Ann. l. c. p. 112, 47, Pl. II. 32.

Sous le siège Μ. Au revers à g. *grappe de raisin*, à dr. Τ.

Æ. 7. 10·88. Cab. de France; Mion. iii. p. 668, n. 679, S. vii. Pl. X. 4; Gallerie Mythol., Pl. XV. 2.

Sous le siège Τ (=σσ), derrière *feuille de lierre* et Β. Au revers d. le ch. à g. le *casque*.

Æ. 5½. 11·03. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
„ 5½. 10·80. Ma coll. Cat. Subhi Pacha, n. 268.
„ 5½. 10·67. Mus. de Berlin, K. Munzk. 1877, n. 827.

Sous le siège Σ, derrière Β.

Æ. 6. 11·01. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 62, 6.

Sous le siège Σ, derrière épi.

Æ. 6½. 10·54. Mus. de Vienne. Satr. p. 62, 5, Pl. XI. 5.

Sous le siège Ο au dessus de Σ.

Æ. 6. 10·95. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 63, 2, Pl. XI. 2.

Sous le siège Ο au dessus de Σ. Au revers le casque.

Æ. 6. 10·95. Coll. de Luynes. Satr. p. 63, 1, Pl. XI. 1.
„ 6. 10·90. Cat. Thomas, n. 2396.
„ 6. . Coll. de l'Acad. des Sciences, à Amsterdam.
„ 5½. 10·50. Ma coll.

Sous le siège Τ, derrière Β et *feuille de lierre*.

Æ. 6. 11·01. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

Æ. 6. 10·95. Coll. de Luynes. Choix, Pl. XII., 19.
,, 6. 10·94. Cab. de France. Mion. iii., p. 668, n. 677.
,, 6. 10·50. Cat. Behr, n. 683.
,, 6. 10·23. Cab. de France. Mion. iii. p. 668, n. 678.
,, 6. . Mus. de Vienne. Satr. p. 64, 7, Pl. XII. 7.
,, 6. . Wiczay, Mus. Hedervar., p. 285, n. 6164.

Sous le siège **T**, derrière *feuille de lierre.*

Æ. 6. 10·21. Cab. de Munich.

Sous le siège **T**, derrière *feuille de lierre.* Au revers dans le champ a g. *grappe de raisin.*

Æ. 6. . Mus. de Naples, Cat. n. 8523.

Sous le siège **T**, derrière *feuille de lierre et* **B**. Au revers dans le champ à droite *feuille de lierre.*

Æ. 6. 10·92. Brit. Mus. (Pl. VI. 4.)
,, 6/4. . Mus. de Vienne, sans **B**.

9. Comparez : Tête imberbe de Persée ? le cou drapé d'une peau d'animal ? portant un *casque* pareil à celui qui se voit dans le champ des statères précédents. Grènetis.

Rev.—Tête sans cou, de face, les cheveux épars, avec boucles d'oreilles, de Méduse ?

Æ. 2. 0·79. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Monn. Grecq. p. 372, 73, pl. G. 13.

Si cette obole est de Mallos, ce qui est possible, il serait fort probable que les lettres **I**, **M**, **Σ**, **T**, désignassent Issos, Mallos, Soli et Tarse, qui se seraient cotisées pour battre monnaie en commun. **B** serait-il alors pour *βασιλέως*, le roi de Perse ?

MAZAÏOS. 351 environ.

10. Type du n. 8 et du même style. Devant Baal épi et grappe de raisin, derrière **B** et *feuille de lierre.*

Rev.—Lion, à gauche, la tête *de face*, dévorant un *taureau* courant à gauche. Dessus מ(ז)די, dessous ז retrograde (**S**).

Æ. 5. 10·06. Brit. Mus. (Pl. VI. 3.)

TARSE. 351—341 environ.

11. Type du n. 7 et du même style. Devant Baal *épi*, derrière בעלתרז. Grènetis.

Rev.—Lion, à gauche, la tête de face, dévorant un taureau bossu agenouillé à droite. Au-dessous deux murs crénelés, munis chacun de quatre tours. Dans le champ *massue*. Grènetis.

Æ. 6. 11·14. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
„ 6. 11·10. Pembroke, II. T. 87, Cat. n. 1022.
„ 5½. 10·00, rognée. Coll. de Luynes. Satr. p. 56, 7, Pl. VIII. 7.

Au revers B.

Æ. 6½. . Cat. Loscombe, n. 460.
„ 6½. . Cat. Londres, Dec., 1870, n. 47.

Au revers 𐤁.

Æ. 6. . Cat. Londres, Dec. 1870, n. 48.

Sous le siège 𐤉.

Æ. 5½. 11·02. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 56, 8, Pl. VIII. 8., Pl. VI. 2.
„ 7. 10·51. Cat. Behr, n. 676.

Sous le siège 𐤌.

Æ. 6. 10·75. Brit. Mus.

Sous le siège 𐤎. Au revers B.

Æ. 6. 10·45. Ma coll.

Sous le siège T.

Æ. 6. 11·00. Cab. de France. Mion. iii. p. 668, n. 675.

Mazaïos. 341 env.—331.

12. Même type, le sceptre de Baal est surmonté d'un aigle. Devant lui grand épi et grappe de raisin. Derrière בעלתרז. Sous le siège מ. Grènetis.

Rev.—Même type, sans massue. Au-dessus מדדי זי על עברנהרא וחלז. Grènetis.

Æ. 6. 11·08. Brit. Mus. Satr. p. 26, 2, Pl. IV. 2; Head, Guide, p. 40, 40, pl. 20, 40. Devant Baal נ. (Pl. VI. 1.)
„ 6½. 10·94. Cab. de France; Mion. iii. p. 668, n. 676, S. vii., Pl. IX. 6; Satr. p. 26, 1, Pl. III. 1. Sans la grappe.
„ 6½. 10·91. Mus. de Vienne. Satr. p. 26, 5.
„ 6. 10·90. Leake, Asiat. Greece, p. 127; Cat. Pembroke, n. 1201.
„ 6. 10·70. Cóll. Imhoof-Blumer. Devant Baal א.
„ 6½. 10·50. Coll. de Luynes; Satr. p. 26, 4, Pl. IV. 4. Devant Baal א.

Æ. 6. 9·45, fruste. Ma coll.
„ 6. . Catal. Behr, n. 860.
„ 6. . Wiczay, Mus. Hedervar., p. 285, n. 6165, T. xxvi. 571.

Autre, עברנחר. Devant Baal א. Le droit du même coin que l'exemplaire de la coll. de Luynes de 10 gr. 50.

Æ. 6. 10·67. Coll. de Luynes. Satr. p. 26, 8, Pl. IV. 8.

Sans lettre sous le siège ou devant Baal. Au revers, עברנחר, le ח d'une autre forme, et cercle au lieu de grènetis.

Æ. 6. 10·62. Ma coll.; comp. Cat. Subhi Pacha, n. 883.

L'omission de l'aleph final d'Abarnahara et les diverses formes du hé semblent provenir de ce que les graveurs des coins n'étaient pas tous des araméens et qu'il y en avait qui étaient accoutumés à écrire עֲבִרַנָהָר.

13. Même type et légende. Grènetis.

Rev.—Lion marchant, à gauche. Dessus מזדי. Cercle.

Æ. 6. . Mion. S. vii. p. 301, n. 585. Sans légende apparente.

Devant Baal, symbole inconnu 𐤀.

Æ. 6. 10·57. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

Derrière Baal *bouclier rond.* A l'exergue du revers ף.

Æ. 6. 10·46. Brit. Mus.

Astre à 16 rayons au-dessus et grand *croissant de lune* au-dessous du lion.

Æ. 5. 10·64. Coll. Peez à Vienne. Sous le siège ↑.
„ 5. 10·56. Brit. Mus. Sous le siège ש. (Pl. VI. 5.)
„ 5¼. 10·04. Coll. Waddington.

Devant Baal, *bipenne.* Sous le siège מ ? Le lion marche sur un terrain inégal.

Æ. 5. 10·75. Brit. Mus.

Devant Baal, *thymiatérion.* Le lion marche sur un terrain inégal.

Æ. 5¼. 10·60. Coll. de Luynes. Satr. p. 57, 18, Pl. IX. 18.
„ 5¼. . Cat. Behr, n. 680.

Æ. 5. 10·53. Coll. Cunningham, Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, 1881, I. p. 175, n. 40.

Devant Baal, *thymiatérion* surmonté d'un aigle. Le lion marche sur des flots.

Æ. 5. 10·88. Brit. Mus.
„ 5½. 10·65. Cab. de la Haye.
„ 6. 10·62. Cat. Ivanoff, n. 517.
„ 5. . Cat. Subhi Pacha, n. 276.
„ 5½. . Cat. Rollin et Feuardent, n. 7788.

Pot 5. 8·32. Coll. de Luynes. Satr. p. 57, 14, Pl. IX. 14. Choix, Pl. XII. 22.

331—328 ?

14. Même type et légende. Grènetis.

Rev.—Même type et légende. Cercle.

Æ. 7. 15·50, fruste. Ma coll.

Un *serpent* sous le lion.

Æ. 6. 17·30. Coll. de Luynes. Satr. p. 57, 21, Pl. IX. 21.
„ 6. 17·20. Cab. de France. Satr. p. 57, 22, Pl. X. 22.
„ 6. 16·73. Mus. de Vienne. Eckhel, Num. Vet. An., T. xvi. 14. Mus. Caes. I. p. 287, T. v. 5. Mion. S. vii. p. 300, n. 583. Satr. p. 57, 20, Pl. IX. 20.

Couronne sous le lion.

Æ. 6. 17·22. Cab. de France. Satr. p. 57, 24, Pl. X. 24.
„ 6. 17·10. Brit. Mus. Head, Guide, p. 61, 84, pl. 29, 34. (Pl. VI. 6.)

K sous le lion.

Æ. 5½. 16·30. Coll. de Luynes. Choix, Pl. XII. 23. Satr. p. 57, 23, Pl. X. 23.

328—323 ?

15. Même type, sans בעלתרז.

Rev.—Même type, sans מזדי. *Fer de lance* au-dessus du lion. Grènetis.

Æ. 5. 17·00. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Monn. Grecq. p. 378, n. 33.
„ 6½. 15·75. Ma coll.
„ 1. 0·54. Mus. de Berlin. Imhoof, l. c. n. 35.

Le lion à *droite*. Au-dessus *fer de lance*.

Æ. 1. 0·71. Brit. Mus. Imhoof, l. c., n. 34.

Le lion à *gauche*. Au-dessus *foudre*.

Æ. 5. 16·94. Mus. de Vienne. Eckhel, Num. Vet. An. T. xvi. 16. Mus. Caes. I. T. v. 4. Mion. S. vii. p. 800, n. 582. Satr. p. 59, 17, Pl. IX. 17.

16. Même type, mais Baal, ou plutôt Zeus, pose la main gauche, que ne recouvre plus le manteau, sur le siège. Sans légende. Grènetis.

Rev.—Même lion, à *gauche*. Au-dessus *foudre*. Grènetis.

Æ. 1. 0·43. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Monn. Grecq. p. 378, n. 30.

„ 1. . Coll. Peez.

Une liste des statères et de leurs fractions, à ce type, avec symboles, lettres ou monogrammes divers, sur les deux faces, a été donnée par M. Imhoof-Blumer, Monn. Grecq. p. 377 et 378, n. 1—38. (Pl. VI. 8.)

17. Même type. Grènetis.

Rev.—Tête d'Hermès, le pétase en tête, à gauche. Champ creux.

Æ. 1. 0·70. Ma coll.

„ 1. 0·55, 0·40. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

18. Comme le n. 16. *L'ancre des Séleucides* au-dessus du lion. Imhoof-Blumer, l. c. p. 378, n. 39—52.

Buste de Bucéphale, à cornes de taureau, à g. devant Zeus.

Æ. 5½. 16·82. Mus. de Berlin. Imhoof, l. c., n. 46.

Même buste à *droite* devant Zeus. A l'exergue du revers ΔΙ.

Æ. 6. 16·59. Coll. Cunningham, Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, 1881, I. p. 176, 43, Pl. XVII. 10.

„ 4/8. 5·30 fruste. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer, l. c., n. 47; les lettres indistinctes.

„ 2. 2·00. Coll. Cunningham, l. c., n. 44.

Tête imberbe de Seleucus I? couverte de la dépouille d'un éléphant, à droite. Grènetis.

Rev.—Victoire debout, à gauche, portant de la main dr. une couronne, de la g. un bâton de trophée. Devant elle, la même *tête de Bucéphale cornue*, à dr., et ΔΙ. Grènetis.

N. 65. 16·60. Mus. de Berlin. Zeitschr. f. Num. XII. 1884, p. 8, T. VII. 1.
,, 5. 16·59. Brit. Mus. Gardner, Types, Pl. XIV. 3.
,, 5. 16·59. Coll. Cunningham, l. c., n. 24, Pl. XVII. 9.
,, 5. 16·39. Cat. Duthieul, 1869, n. 17.
,, 5. 16·08. Cab. de France. Rev. Num., 1883, p. 133, Pl. IV. 1.

Même tête.

Rev.—[A]ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ[Υ] L'ancre des Seleucides.

Æ. 2½. 5.72. Brit. Mus. Num. Chron. N.S. i., 1861, p. 137, n. 5, vignette.

La tête de Bucéphale et l'ancre servent de types sur plus d'une monnaie de Seleucus I., de son fils Antiochus I., auquel il avait cédé la partie orientale de son royaume et peut-être d'Antiochus II. Les lettres Δ Ι, probablement les initiales d'un officier monétaire ou d'un hyparque, se lisent mainte fois sur les monnaies de ces rois, v. Cat. Brit. Mus., Kings of Syria, p. 1—5. Num. Chron., N.S. xix. 1879, p. 9. Cunningham, l. c. p. 178, n. 67.

Cette seconde série donne encore lieu à quelques remarques. Les statères à la légende ΚΙΛΙΚΙΟΝ et ceux de Pharnabaze et de Tarcamos, ont pu être émis pendant tout le temps que Pharnabaze a passé en Cilicie en préparatifs pour les expéditions contre l'Egypte revoltée. La première eut lieu entre 390 et 387 environ, comme l'a exposé M. Wiedemann,[47] la seconde de 377 à 374.[48] En 372 elle n'était pas encore terminée, mais Pharnabaze semble avoir été rappelé et avoir été remplacé par Datame. Celui-ci, à peine arrivé, jugea prudent de quitter ce poste, pour se retirer en Cappadoce, où il fut tué vers 362. Tout ce groupe de monnaies, n. 2—7, peut dont être placé entre 394 et 372.

[47] Gesch. Aegyptens, p. 281.

[48] Diodore, XV. 29 et 41. Ἔτη δὲ πλείω τοῦ Φαρναβάζου κατανηλωκότος περὶ τὰς παρασκευάς.

Les statères qui constituent le groupe suivant, n. 8, et dont le poids est souvent très élevé, me semblent antérieurs de style au statère de Pharnabaze, n. 7, auquel se relient immédiatement les n. 10 et suivants. Ils font suite aux monnaies que voici :

Pallas Athéné, en chiton et le bas du corps enveloppé dans le manteau, portant le casque athénien à triple cimier, assise à gauche sur un rocher, contre l'olivier qui lui est consacré, tenant de la main dr. sa haste *devant elle* et appuyant le bras g. sur son bouclier.

Rev.—Aphrodite, à gauche, appuyée sur une colonne, par laquelle son temple est indiqué, pose la main dr. sur l'épaule de Hermès qui, le caducée dans la main dr. et le bras g. couvert de la chlamyde, est debout de face, se disposant à partir. A dr. **MAA.**

Æ. 4½. 10·62—10·30. Imhoof, Annuaire, l. c. p. 111, n. 44, Pl. VI. 29. (Pl. V. 5.)

Même type.

Rev.—Tête barbue d'Hercule ? à gauche. Champ concave.

Æ. 1. 0·70. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Monn. Grecq. p. 865, n. 52. Pl. F. 22.

Même type.

Rev.—**TEPΣIKON.** Aphrodite, agenouillée à gauche, joue aux osselets. Derrière elle une grande plante en fleur, un lis ?

Æ. 4½. 10·09. Mus. de Berlin. Imhoof, Zeitschr. f. Num. VII. 1880, p. 18.

En 374, comme l'a démontré M. Wiedemann,[49] Pharnabaze persuada les Athéniens à rappeler Chabrias d'Egypte, où il assistait le roi Nectanebus contre les Perses et à lui envoyer Iphicrate pour commander les vingt mille mercenaires Grecs,[50] enrolés par les Perses. Par là, l'alliance des Athéniens avec l'Egypte, qui avait commencée

[49] Gesch. Aegyptens, p. 282.

[50] Diodore, XV. 41.

sous Amasis, fut rompue et Pharnabaze reprit l'offensive contre les Egyptiens avec ses nouveaux alliés. C'est bien alors qu'Athéné, la déesse tutélaire d'Athènes,[51] mérita d'être placée sur les monnaies de Mallos et de Tarse, au revers de l'Aphrodite et du Baal ciliciens, surtout s'il est permis de supposer qu'Iphicrate ait été chargé de conclure un traité de commerce entre Athènes et les villes ciliciennes principales tout en aidant Pharnabaze. Aussi je propose de fixer la date d'émission de ces rares monnaies à cette même année 374. Ce qui me frappe surtout, c'est l'exacte ressemblance de pose entre cette Pallas d'Athènes [Pl. V. 5] et le Baal des statères n. 8 et 10 et encore avec celui de Pharnabaze n. 7 [Pl. V. 7]. Toutes ces pièces sont contemporaines et l'Athéné est le prototype de la série.

Les lettres Ⅰ, Μ, Σ et Τ, sous le siège de Baal, des statères n. 8 et 11, désignent-elles les villes voisines Issos, Mallos, Soli et Tarse, qui se seraient réunies pour battre monnaie en commun dans l'atelier de la capitale? On l'admet généralement[52] et rien ne prouve en effet le contraire. Pourtant la présence, à la même place, d'une autre lettre Ͳ qui équivaut à un double Σ,[53] n'est pas très favorable à cette hypothèse. Peut-être ne faut-il chercher dans ces lettres

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[51] Cette Pallas semble copiée d'après un de ces bas-reliefs, qui servaient de vignettes aux traités conclus entre Athènes et des villes étrangères pendant le quatrième siècle, et qui ont été réunis par M. Schoene, Griech. Reliefs, 1872, voyez T. viii. 50, ix. 52, et xxi. 92.

[52] Luynes, Satrap., p. 64; Blau, Z. d. D. M. Gesellsch. vi. p. 5 du tirage à part.

[53] Journal of Hellen. Studies, i. p. 248. C'est bien probablement le *Tsade* de l'alphabet phénicien, tombé d'assez bonne heure en désuétude chez les Grecs et qui n'a servi plus tard qu'à noter le chiffre 900. Dans cette dernière fonction il est désigné d'ordinaire par le nom de *Sampi*. M. Clermont-Ganneau, Mélanges Graux, 1884, p. 453—459, est d'un autre avis.

que des initiales d'officiers monétaires. La date des statères n. 12, sur lesquels Mazaïos prend le titre de satrape de Transeuphratique et de Cilicie, sera discutée plus loin en traitant de la 4e série. C'est à la fin du règne d'Ochus, vers 340, qu'ils ont été émis. Le changement de type, sur le n. 13, quand un lion seul remplace le groupe du lion dévorant un taureau, semble indiquer un nouveau régne et peut coïncider avec l'avènement d'Arsès en 338 ou de Darius III en 336. Mais il est moins facile de se rendre compte de l'absence de légende sur les statères n. 11. Le type est celui de Mazaïos. Pourquoi son nom est-il omis ? Sont-ce des monnaies émises par la ville de Tarse pour son propre compte, aux types du satrape? C'est bien probable. Quand on voit que les lettres dans le champ des monnaies de Mazaïos sont phéniciennes, tandis qu'ici elles sont grecques, on est conduit à admettre qu'il y avait alors à Tarse deux ateliers de monnayage, l'un pour le satrape, où travaillaient des phéniciens, l'autre pour la ville que conduisaient les Grecs. Les deux murs, flanqués de tours, sont, sans doute, les fortifications, décrites par Xénophon,[54] qui défendaient la route à travers le défilé qui sépare la Syrie et la Cilicie. Ils symbolisent parfaitement le fait que la sureté des deux provinces, jadis séparées, était maintenant confiée à la garde d'un seul dignitaire.

Rien, jusqu'ici, ne s'est opposé à l'attribution proposée par M. Halévy. Mais la difficulté commence dès qu'il

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[54] Anabase, I. 4, 4 : ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας· ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν τὸ πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας Συέννεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλίκων φυλακή· τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν· διὰ μέσου δὲ ῥεῖ τούτων ποταμὸς Κάρσος ὄνυμα, εὖρος πλέθρου, etc.

s'agit de classer à Mazaïos les quelques tétradrachmes de poids attique, énumérés sous le n. 14.

Car on admet généralement que le poids attique a été introduit en Asie, pour les monnaies royales, par Alexandre le Grand.

Pourtant il est bien sûr que les tétradrachmes d'Athènes y circulaient en masse depuis longtemps. Il en a été trouvé à Idalion entremêlés aux monnaies des rois de Chypre.[55]

Les fractions sont imitées à Gaza, où les premières émissions sont de poids attique qui s'affaiblit lentement.[56]

On pourrait donc admettre que ces tétradrachmes de Mazaïos ont été frappés pour les besoins d'une partie de sa vaste satrapie, où les habitants étaient accoutumés de longue date à se servir de monnaies athéniennes. Après la bataille d'Issos, il ne lui restait plus que la Syrie, au delà de l'Euphrate, où il s'était retiré et la légende בעלתרז n'est pas une preuve décisive que ces tétradrachmes sortent de l'atelier de Tarse. Elle était consacrée par l'usage et elle aura continué d'accompagner le type de Baal, lorsque les monétaires phéniciens eussent quitté la capitale et se fussent retirés en Syrie devant l'armée des Grecs. Je voudrais même aller plus loin avec eux et les suivre jusqu'à Babylone, où Mazaïos est chargé du gouvernement par Alexandre. En même temps Menès est nommé hyparque de Syrie, de Phénicie et de Cilicie.[57]

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[55] Num. Chron., N.S. XI. 1871, p. 17, n. 48 et p. 2.

[56] Num. Chron., N.S. XVII. 1877, p. 221—228.

[57] Arrien, III. 16, 9; Diodore, XVII. 64, 5. Ἀπολλόδωρον δὲ τὸν Ἀμφιπολίτην καὶ Μένητα τὸν Πέλλαιον ἀπέδειξε στρατηγοὺς τῆς τε Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν Σατραπειῶν μέχρι Κιλικίας. Krumbholz, de Asiæ minoris Satrapis persicis, Lips., 1883, p. 76, 2.

Donc toute l'ancienne province de Mazaïos reste réunie sous le point de vue administratif et financier.

Serait-il donc si impossible d'admettre qu'Alexandre, qui changeait aussi peu que possible dans l'administration organisée par les Perses et qui, au moment de partir pour l'extrême Orient, ne s'est pas, bien certainement, occupé des types ou des légendes de monnaies destinées aux populations indigènes — qu'Alexandre, dis-je, eût authorisé Mazaïos à continuer, sous son nom et sous sa responsabilité, les émissions nécessaires aux transactions des Syriens et des Ciliciens entre eux, à condition de les conformer au nouveau poids de la monnaie royale? Quelque solution que l'on adopte et malgré l'obscurité qui plane encore sur ce sujet, la difficulté ne me paraît pas assez grande pour refuser de reconnaître dans le mot מזדי le nom du satrape Mazaïos. Quand son nom et en même temps celui de Baaltars disparaissent, la série continue, d'abord sans changement. Puis le Baal, devenu sans doute le Zeus des Grecs, prend une pose un peu variée et alors commence une longue suite de variétés, suffisante à remplir tout le temps que la Cilicie resta au pouvoir d'Antigone et de son fils Démétrius, pour continuer et se terminer sous les premiers Séleucides.

M. Imhoof-Blumer a déjà remarqué[58] que les symboles et les monogrammes rattachent cette série de tétradrachmes au lion aux doubles dariques d'or dont ils semblent être les divisions et aux monnaies d'Alexandre, qui terminent la première série de Mazaïos.

Cette remarque peut nous mettre sur la voie de découvrir la raison d'être des deux séries contemporaines et parallèles que je viens de décrire. La première se com-

[58] Monnaies Grecques, p. 376.

pose des monnaies royales, frappées par le dynaste Tarcamos, par le satrape Mazaïos, qui lui succéda, et enfin par Alexandre le Grand et ses successeurs.

A la seconde appartiennent les monnaies de la ville de Tarse et celles qu'ont fait battre dans l'atelier de la capitale le commandant en chef des forces perses, Pharnabaze et Mazaïos quand il fut devenu satrape de Syrie. Il est donc fort possible que les monnaies de Tarcamos, pareilles à celles de Pharnabaze et celles de Mazaïos, au type du lion, ne sont pas à considérer comme des monnaies royales, mais comme des émissions faites par la ville ou par la province et qui ne portent le nom du dynaste ou du satrape que comme les bronzes frappés par les villes d'Asie, sous l'empire romain, portent la tête et le nom de l'empereur régnant. En tout cas, les tétradrachmes au lion, les doubles dariques, et autres monnaies à types archaïques, comme nous verrons tantôt, n'auraient pas continué d'être mises en circulation pendant plus d'un demi siècle après la chute de l'empire perse, si ces pièces n'avaient pas été frappées par une autre autorité que celle qui faisait battre la monnaie royale.

III.

La troisième série, qui ne contient que deux monnaies au nom de Mazaïos, se compose de tétradrachmes, drachmes, et fractions de drachme, copiés servilement d'après ceux d'Athènes, et qui se distinguent souvent à peine de leurs prototypes. Sur quelques-uns pourtant la légende est autre et des symboles ou monogrammes étrangers s'observent dans le champ.

J'ai donné la liste de celles de ces pièces qui m'étaient alors connues dans le Numismatic Chronicle de 1877,

p. 223—226, n. 12—21, 25, et depuis j'en ai vu et acquis d'autres encore.

Ici je ne décrirerai que celles de Mazaïos et une autre, toute nouvelle :—

1. Tête de Pallas, portant le casque athénien, à cimier et des boucles d'oreilles, à droite. Style négligé.

   Rev.—Chouette à droite, la tête de face. Derrière pousse d'olivier et croissant. Devant ᚢ, סע retrograde (ξ ∪) et 𐡌𐡆𐡃𐡉 ч, מזדי, la dernière lettre indistincte.

   Æ. 6. Empreinte au British Museum. (Pl. VI. 9.)

2. Autre, sans סע, le jod de la légende indistinct.

   Æ. 6/5. 16·95. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Monn. Grecq. p. 369, 63. Choix, Pl. V. 177.

3. Autre, devant ʘ et 𐡌𐡆𐡃𐡃, מזדד ou מזדר.

   Æ. 6. Empreinte au British Museum. (Pl. VI. 10.)

Le flan du n. 2 est très épais, et les bords sont coupés droit comme ceux des doubles dariques d'or et des tétradrachmes de Tarse, au lion, sans légende. Cette forme de flan, jointe au monogramme et à la lettre grecque, puis au *mem* et au סע, retournés à la manière grecque, oblige de placer ces tétradrachmes, aux types d'Athènes, aussi tard que possible, dans les dernières années du gouvernement de Mazaïos, et bien probablement après 331, quand il était satrape de Babylone.

Cette idée m'est venue par l'étude des monnaies suivantes, provenant de la grande trouvaille des bords de l'Oxus.

4. Tête de Pallas, comme sur les n. 1—3, mais de bon style. Derrière [monogramme].

   Rev.—Chouette, pousse d'olivier et croissant, comme sur les n. 1—3. Devant ΑΘΕ.

   Æ. 6. 16·85. Coll. Cunningham. Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, 1881, I. p. 174, n. 32, Pl. XVIII. 1.

Æ. 4. 7·84. Cunningham, n. 33.
,, 4. 6·98 fruste. Num. Chron., N.S., xix. 1879, p. 10, Pl. I. 7. Le monogramme effacé.

5. Double darique d'or au même monogramme. Comparez Cunningham, l. c., p. 169, n. 6. *N.* 4¼. 16·52. Dans le champ à g. Φ et MHT en monogr.

6. Baaltars assis.

Rev.—Lion, à g. Dessus *ancre des Séleucides* et Γ. Dessous croissant et le monogramme du n. 4.

Æ. 6. 16·78. Cunningham, l. c., p. 176, n. 42.
Un exemplaire de la coll. de M. Waddington, décrit par M. Imhoof, Monn. Grecq. p. 378, n. 44, ne diffère que par une légère variante dans la composition du monogramme.

Æ. 6. 15·18. Brit. Mus. (Pl. VI. 7.)
Même types. Au-dessus du lion *ancre*, dessous le même monogramme.

Æ. 6. 15·70. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Monn. Grecq. p. 378, n. 41.

Or comme le monogramme en question se rencontre sur des monnaies aux types d'Alexandre, [59] et sur celles de Seleucus I. et d'Antiochus I.,[60] il me paraît parfaitement démontré que des tétradrachmes aux types d'Athènes ont été frappés en Orient jusque sous le règne d'Antiochus I. Il n'y a donc aucun obstacle à admettre qu'il en a été de même sous Alexandre, et qu'à défaut de types propres à Babylone, le satrape se soit contenté de copier les tétradrachmes athéniens et les statères qu'il avait autrefois frappés à Tarse.

Ce qui me confirme dans cette opinion, c'est la légende du n. 3. Ici nous n'avons plus מזדי,[61] Mazaïos, mais מזדד,

[59] Müller, Alexandre, n. 1656, classe IV. et ailleurs.

[60] Cunningham, l. c., p. 177, n. 50, 51. Num. Chron., N.S. viii., p. 192, Pl. VII. Syr., n. 9; Cat. Brit. Mus., Kings of Syria, p. 9, n. 12—14.

[61] Comme le jod n'est pas distinct sur les n. 1 et 2, il se pourrait que la légende fut la même que celle du n. 3.

ou plutôt מזדר (*Mazaros*). Or Arrien[62] nous apprend qu'Alexandre, après avoir quitté Babylone, dont il avait laissé le gouvernement à Mazaïos, vint à Suse, où résidait le satrape perse Aboulitès. Celui-ci resta en possession de sa satrapie, mais Alexandre lui adjoignit Archelaos, comme stratège, et *Mazaros*, comme commandant de la garnison qui occupa l'acropole de Suse.

C'est ce Mazaros que je propose de reconnaître dans la légende du tétradrachme, n. 3, qui aurait ainsi été frappé à Suse, peu après 331, probablement pour la solde des Grecs dont la garnison était composée. Pourquoi, me dira-t-on, ne battait-on pas monnaie au nom et aux types d'Alexandre ? C'est, ce me semble, parcequ'Alexandre n'a créé une nouvelle monnaie pour son nouvel empire qu'après en avoir terminé la conquête. Jusque là il se sera contenté d'introduire le poids attique, et aura laissé aux villes libres d'Asie et aux satrapes de l'intérieur le soin de pourvoir aux besoins de la circulation journalière. Ceux-ci se mirent à copier les monnaies les plus courantes, tétradrachmes d'Athènes, statères de Tarse et autres peut-être, comme un siècle plus tard les villes libres d'Asie copiaient les tétradrachmes d'Alexandre pour avoir une monnaie qui fut acceptée en Europe aussi bien qu'en Asie.

Outre ces copies plus ou moins serviles des monnaies athéniennes, il y a une série d'oboles et de fractions d'obole, à la même tête de Pallas, mais sur lesquelles la chouette du revers est remplacée par une tête de Bésa, de face, semblable à celle que nous avons rencontrée dans la

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[62] Anabase, III. 16, 9. Ἀλέξανδρος—καταλιπὼν σατράπην μὲν τῆς Σουσιανῆς Ἀβουλίτην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην. Φρούραρχον δὲ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Σούσων Μάζαρον τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Θεοδώρου.

série précédente, n. 5.[63] Voilà donc la transition entre les monnaies ciliciennes et les copies serviles des monnaies d'Athènes.

M. Erman, qui les a fait graver, considère toutes ces pièces, à la tête de Bésa, comme frappées par les Arabes et je ne voudrais pas soutenir une opinion contraire. Mais il ne s'ensuit pas qu'il faille chercher ces Arabes hors des limites de la cinquième satrapie de Darius. Quand Théocrite[64] dit que Ptolémée Philadelphe s'est rendu maître d'une partie de la Phénicie, de l'Arabie, et de la Syrie, *καὶ μὴν Φοινίκας ἀποτέμνεται, Ἀῤῥαβίας τε καὶ Συρίας*, il désigne par ces trois noms l'ensemble de cette même satrapie, d'accord en cela avec Hérodote,[65] qui nous apprend que les places maritimes sur la côte entre Gaza et Jenysos, ville proche de Rhinocorura, étaient en possession des Arabes; et avec Xénophon,[66] dans lequel (I)dernès est nommé satrape de Phénicie et d'Arabie. Peut-être est-ce à ces Arabes que les monnaies en question doivent être assignées.

IV.

Outre ces trois séries il y en a encore une quatrième. C'est celle qu'autrefois j'ai proposé d'attribuer à Sidon.[67]

Je ne savais pas alors que מזרי désignât le satrape de Syrie et de Cilicie et j'avais objection à adopter la proposition de Brandis, qui classe cette série à la Célésyrie, parce-

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[63] Erman, Zeitschr. f. Num. ix. 1882, p. 298, T. vi. 4—9; Num. Chron., 1877, p. 228, n. 36.

[64] Théocrite, XVII. 86.

[65] Hérodote, III. 5: *τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιος ἔστι τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου αὖθις Σύρων.* Num. Chron., l. c. p. 233.

[66] Anabase, VII. 8, 25.

[67] Num. Chron., 1877, p. 195—214.

que ce classement ne rend pas compte du type du *vaisseau*, voguant sur les flots et qui, sur les plus anciens exemplaires, inconnus à Brandis, est à toutes voiles.

Ce n'est pas là un type approprié à une ville, située sur l'Oronte ou sur l'Euphrate, à Damas, à Hamath ou à Thapsaque.[68]

Aussi je reste persuadé que cette série doit son origine à une des villes de la côte et qu'elle était destinée à circuler en Phénicie aussi bien que dans l'intérieur de la satrapie. Car celle-ci, la cinquième de Darius et l'עברנהרא (עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר des textes hébreux)[69] ou Transeuphratique, comprenait tout le pays depuis Posidion jusqu'à l'Egypte: Célésyrie, Phénicie et Palestine et en outre l'île de Chypre, comme il a été dit plus haut. Le type du navire a donc pu symboliser les forces navales et la puissance maritime, par lesquelles la satrapie surpassait toutes les autres, sans qu'il soit nécessaire de chercher le lieu d'émission dans la ville de Sidon dont le roi commandait la flotte perse, surtout puisque c'est à Acé que cette flotte et l'armée se réunirent en 374.[70]

Ce qui surtout m'a fait changer d'opinion c'est un exemplaire des doubles statères décrits N. Chr. l. c. p. 201, II. 1; Head, Coins of Lydia, pl. II. 4—6, que j'ai eu l'occasion d'acquérir depuis peu et sur lequel les légendes, au droit et sous le navire, sont plus distinctes que de coutume.[71]

C'est ce qui m'a permis de constater que les lettres sont araméennes ou plutôt qu'elles ne sont pas phéniciennes et

[68] Brandis, Münzwesen, pp. 232, 233; Head, Coinage of Lydia and Persia, p. 43.

[69] Hérodote, III. 9. Esdras, 4, 10, 16; 8, 36; Néhémie, 2, 7, 9; 3, 7.

[70] Diodore, XV. 41. Τῆς δὲ τῶν Περσῶν δυνάμεως ἀθροισθείσης εἰς πόλιν Ἄκην—ὧν ἦρχε Φαρνάβασος.

[71] Navire sur un quai, devant un mur flanqué de cinq tours.

qu'ainsi l'attribution aux rois de Sidon ne peut plus être maintenue.

Du reste je ne vois aucun motif de changer l'ordre dans lequel les divers groupes dont se compose la série ont été disposées. Tout ce qu'il y a à faire c'est de changer les dates assignées, dans le Num. Chron., aux différentes émissions et de les reculer d'un quart de siècle environ.

Le premier groupe, p. 200, 201, I. n. 1—6, Head, pl. II. 1—3, serait donc frappé sous Darius II. (424—405).

Le second et le troisième, p. 201, II. 1—5, Head, pl. II. 4—12 et p. 202, III. 1—6; Head, pl. II. 15—17, sous Artexerxès II. (405—359).

Le quatrième, p. 209—212, IV. 1—11, Head, pl. II. 18—20, III. 1—9, depuis l'accession d'Ochus jusque sous Darius III. (359—333).

En effet, au lieu de faire commencer les monnaies datées, énumérées sur la table, p. 214 (sous Sidon) et qui constituent ce quatrième groupe, en 332, l'an 1 d'Alexandre, il suffit de les faire commencer en 359, l'an 1 d'Ochus, pour obtenir une concordance satisfaisante entre les dates associées au nom de Mazaïos et l'époque où ce satrape doit avoir été en tête de la Transeuphratique.

Son nom se lit sur les pièces suivantes:—

1. Galère, avec ses rameurs, au dessus des vagues de la mer. Dessus, ע־ ou ע-ו, (שנת)ב, An 10 ou 11 (350 ou 349). Grènetis.

   Rev.—Le roi de Perse, portant la tiare crénelée, debout dans un char, conduit par un aurige et tiré par des

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Sous la pouppe ח״ש, זת—מ ou לת—מ. A l'exergue deux lions courant en sens contraire.

Rev.—Le roi dans un bige gallopant à gauche. Dessous bélier incus et ח״ב, זת . . . . Grènetis.

Æ. 9/7. 27·95. Ma coll. Surfrappé sur un distatère comme Head, Pl. II. 1.

chevaux au pas, à g. Derrière un personnage en costume asiatique. Dans le champ, à g. מזדי.

Æ. 8. 25·76. Brit. Mus.

Autre, 𐤉–𐤌.

Æ. 8. 25·82. Brit. Mus. Head, l. c. p. 42.

2. Même type. Date effacée.

Rev.—Tête du roi de Perse, Ochus, avec longue barbe et portant la tiare droite, ceinte du diadème royal, à droite.

Æ. 8¼. . Mus. de Berlin. Prokesch-Osten, Ined. 1859, p. 53, pl. iii. 36.

Autre, 𐤉 𐤁. An 11 (349).

Æ. 8. 2·65. Brit. Mus. Catal. Huber, n. 899. Head, p. 44.

Autre, 𐤉𐤉 𐤁. An 12 (348).

Æ. 8. 3·30. Cab. de France. Mion. V. p. 648, n. 45, S. VIII. pl. xix. 7. Rois Grecs, p. 139, pl. lxvi. 9. Head, p. 44, pl. iii. 9. Brandis, p. 549.

Autre, même date. Le roi ne semble pas porter de tiare.

Æ. 8. 3·10. Cab. de France. Rois Grecs, p. 139, pl. lxvi. 10. Brandis, p. 549.

3. Même type. La date n'est pas visible.

Rev. Le roi de Perse, à droite, combattant un lion dressé devant lui. Entre eux מז. Carre creux.

Æ. 1. 0·75—0·65. Brandis, p. 426.
,, 1. 0·68. Ma coll.

Dessus, 𐤉𐤉𐤉 𐤉𐤉𐤉𐤉 𐤉𐤉 𐤁. An 19 (341).

Æ. 1. 0·73. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
,, 1. 0·68. Brit. Mus. Head, p. 42, pl. iii. 6.

4. Comme le n. 1. Dessus, 𐤔 𐤌. An 20 (340).

Æ. 8. 25·80. Cab. de France. Mion. V. p. 646, n. 35. Rec. pl. lxi. 1. Rois Grecs, pl. lxvi. 1. Head, p. 42, pl. iii. 5. Catal. d'Ennery, n. 194. (Pl. VI. 12.)
,, 7. . Mus. de Berlin.

Dessus, 𐤉 𐤔 𐤌. An 21 (339).

Æ. 8. 25·73. Brit. Mus. Head, p. 42.
,, 8. 25·70. Coll. de Luynes. Brandis, p. 426.

Dessus, יע. An 1 (338).

Æ. 8. 26·00. Coll. de Luynes. Brandis, p. 426.
„ 7. 25·70. Brit. Mus. Head, p. 42.
„ 8. 25·57. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Sans מזדי.

Dessus, יעב. An 2 (337).

Æ. 8. 25·83, 25·79. Coll. de Luynes. Brandis, p. 426.
„ 7. 25·66. Ma coll. Surfrappée.

Sans date distincte.

Æ. 8. 25·74. Cab. de France. Brandis, p. 426.
„ 8. 25·72. Mus. de Turin.
„ 8. 25·62. Coll. de Vogüé.

Sans date et sans (בשנת).

Æ. 7. 25·64. Brit. Mus. (Pl. VI. 11.)

Les premières émissions sont d'un style passable; les dernières d'une exécution si mauvaise qu'il faut bien les ranger à la fin de la série.

Mazaïos paraît donc pour la première fois en 350, ou 349 si la date 10 (ou 11) qui n'est pas très distincte sur l'empreinte que j'ai devant moi, et qui ne l'est pas non plus sur l'original comme M. Head me l'assure, a été bien lue par nous. Le trait horizontal — (10) me paraît certain.

Puis on le retrouve en 19, 20 et 21 du règne d'Ochus (341—339), l'an 1 et 2 d'Arsès (338 et 337), enfin sans date, probablement sous Darius III. (336 suiv.).

Il y a en outre un grand nombre d'exemplaires sans le nom de Mazaïos. Ils portent les dates 1 à 10 et 13 du règne d'Ochus (359—350 et 347). Ces pièces ont dû être frappées sous l'autorité du prédécesseur de Mazaïos, Bélésys, quoiqu'on n'y lise pas son nom, mais seulement les lettres עב, עע ou תע.

Il me paraît fort probable, à présent, que ces lettres, dont le sens m'échappait autrefois,[72] sont les initiales des noms

[72] Num. Chron., 1877, p. 218.

d'officiers monétaires ע' et ב', ע' et ע', ת' et ע', qui présidaient deux à deux à trois différents ateliers de monnayage.

A l'appui de cette hypothèse je citerai les derniers statères de la première série de Mazaïos, n. 18 et 22, qui présentent dans le champ les lettres נת, תנ, רמ, מר, ce qui fait bien voir qu'il s'agit de *duumviri monetales* נ' et ת', ר et מ, dont tantôt l'un, tantôt l'autre avait la préséance.

Ces émissions parallèles, dans les mêmes années, me font supposer que les trois ateliers sont à chercher à Tripolis, capitale politique de la Phénicie et composée de trois villes distinctes, l'une des Aradiens, les autres des Sidoniens et des Tyriens. Le satrape et le stratège résidaient dans la ville des Sidoniens et là aussi était le palais, qu'occupaient les rois de Perse, quand ils visitaient la Phénicie. C'est du moins ce qui semble ressortir des expressions dont se sert Diodore.[73]

D'après cette hypothèse, les monnaies en question auraient été frappées à Tripolis et notamment dans la ville des Sidoniens, par le satrape du roi de Perse. Ainsi s'expliquerait l'absence des monnaies de la ville de Sidon elle-même, les légendes plutôt araméennes que phéniciennes, le type du navire qui convient si bien à Sidon et enfin l'interruption subite de ce monnayage au moment de la révolte de la Phénicie et la reprise après la ruine de Sidon

[73] Diodore, XVI. 41 : *πόλις ἀξιόλογος—Τρίπολις—Τρεῖς γάρ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις—ἡ μὲν Ἀραδίων, ἡ δὲ Σιδωνίων, ἡ δὲ Τυρίων. Ἀξίωμα δ' ἔχει μέγιστον αὕτη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην πόλεων, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινε τοὺς Φοίνικας συνέδριον ἔχειν καὶ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. Τῶν δὲ σατραπῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ Σιδωνίων διατριβόντων κ. τ. λ.—τὸν μὲν βασιλικὸν παράδεισον, ἐν ᾧ τὰς καταλύσεις οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς εἰώθεισαν ποιεῖσθαι—διέφθειραν.*

et la rentrée du pays sous le joug des Perses. Car entre l'an 10, 350 (ou 11, 349) et l'an 19, 341, la table que j'ai donnée, p. 214, montre une grande lacune de huit années, dans lesquelles on ne rencontre que quelques bronzes des années 11 et 12, 349 et 348, à la tête du roi de Perse, Ochus, sans lettres ni légende, et quelques oboles de l'année suivante 13, 347 aux initiales עב et חע.

C'est que dans cet intervalle la Phénicie s'était révoltée, Bélésys et Mazaïos, les satrapes de Syrie et de Cilicie, avaient été défaits par le roi de Sidon, Ochus était venu en personne à la tête de l'armée des Perses, Sidon, trahie par son roi, avait été brulée par ses habitants et l'Egypte avait dû se rendre et rentrer sous le joug des Perses en 344.

Dans les entrefaites Bélésys avait été succédé par Mazaïos et les dates des monnaies semblent prouver que cette nomination a eu lieu vers 350[74] et que Diodore a eu raison en plaçant le commencement de la révolte en 351. D'après les bronzes aux dates 11 et 12, Ochus aurait résidé en Phénicie en 349 et en 348, et la ruine de Sidon serait à placer dans cette dernière année. Il est à noter que la série datée des monnaies de Pymiathon, le roi de Cition, présente une lacune entre 348 et 342. Les Cypriotes s'étaient aussi révoltés.

Plus d'une difficulté reste, sans doute, à résoudre et les hypothèses que j'ai proposées ne seront pas toutes acceptées, mais, après tout ce qui vient d'être dit, il n'y a

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[74] Il se peut toutefois que le nom de Mazaïos ne se lise sur les distatères des années 10 ou 11, que parcequ'il se trouvait alors en Phénicie pour aider Bélesys à comprimer la révolte et qu'il n'a succédé à ce dernier que plus tard, vers l'an 19 par exemple. De nouveaux exemplaires de ses monnaies, à dates plus distinctes, permettront de trancher la question.

pourtant pas d'obstacle sérieux, ce me semble, à adopter la traduction Mazaïos, proposée par M. Halévy pour le mot מזדי ou מזרי et à classer toutes les monnaies, sur lesquelles ces lettres sont inscrites, à Mazaïos, satrape de Cilicie et peut-être de Chypre, de 362 environ jusque vers 350, puis satrape de la Transeuphratique et de Ciseuphratique, en même temps que de la Cilicie jusqu'après 336 et peut-être jusqu'à l'arrivée d'Alexandre en Cilicie, 333 et en Mésopotamie, 331 ; enfin, satrape de la Babylonie de 331 jusqu'à sa mort en 328 ; un des plus haut dignitaires de la cour de Perse. Sa longue carrière doit avoir été fort honorable, puisqu'il resta en faveur près d'Alexandre et que ses fils Antibelos ou Artibolos et Hydarnès le furent après lui.[75]

A moins donc que les bronzes de Mazaïos, mentionnés par M. Imhoof-Blumer, Monn. Grecq., p. 369, n. 38[a], mais qui n'ont pas encore été décrits, ne soulèvent des obstacles nouveaux, je crois que les numismatistes peuvent déjà admettre, sans scrupules, le satrape Mazaïos parmi les dynastes dont ils ont à enregistrer les séries monétaires.

Tarse.

Puisque la grande majorité des monnaies, dont il a été question dans cet article, est sortie des ateliers de Tarse, il m'a semblé qu'il y aurait quelque intérêt à ajouter, sous forme d'appendice, la liste des plus anciennes monnaies de la ville, liste toute provisoire du reste et sans doute très incomplète, mais qui remplira le but dans laquelle elle a

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[75] Arrien, II. 21, 1 ; VII. 6, 4. Droysen, Gesch. d. Hell. i. 1, p. 369, 374-5 ; i. 2, p. 253.

été dressée, si elle engage les numismatistes à en combler les lacunes et à y joindre les monnaies nouvelles ou méconnues qu'ils rencontreront, jusqu'à ce qu'un jour Tarse devienne le sujet d'une monographie, comme M. Imhoof-Blumer en a écrit une sur Mallos.

SECONDE MOITIÉ DU SIXIÈME SIÈCLE.

1. Vache s'agenouillant, à droite, et retournant la tête vers le veau qu'elle allaite. Au-dessus, *fleur* à trois pétales; devant, *branche*.

Rev.—Creux oblong, comme celui des dariques.

N. 6/4. 13·95. Cab. de Munich. Sestini, statere antiche, p. 53; T. iv. 23. Mion. vi. p. 613, n. 2. Brandis, p. 402. Num. Chron. N.S. xv. p. 264. O. Aufleger, Verz. Griech. Münz. aus d. Münzk. München, 1883, T. vii. 2.

CINQUIÈME SIÈCLE.

2. Vache debout, à gauche, sur une ligne d'exergue, retournant la tête vers le veau qu'elle allaite. Grènetis.

Rev.—Hercule imberbe et nu, marchant à droite, s'apprêtant à frapper de la massue qu'il tient dans la main dr. levée un lion qu'il tient suspendu par le patte droite de derrière et qui retourne la tête. Carré creux.

R. 4. 10·64. Musée Hunter. Waddington, Rev. Num. 1860, p. 454, 2. (Pl. V. 1.)

BAÏNA, Βαανά ou Βανάιας.

Milieu du cinquième siècle.

3. Même Hercule, mais de style un peu moins archaïque, l'arc et le carquois au flanc g. Il tient par la queue un lion, qui ne retourne pas la tête. Grènetis.

Rev.—Vache debout, à gauche, allaitant son veau. Au dessus, , monogramme composé de בעלא, בעמא. Ligne d'exergue perlée. Carré creux bordé de perles.

Æ. 5. 11·07. Cab. de France. Mion. iii. p. 670, n. 687. Rec. Pl. LVI. 6. R. Rochette, Hercule Assyrien, Pl. II. 1. Luynes, Satr. p. 40, 1, Pl. V. 1. Brandis, p. 500.

,, 4½. 10·71. Mus. Hunter. Dutens, Explic. p. 67, Pl. II. 10. Rev. Num. 1860, p. 454, 3. Dutens obtint ce statère, avec un autre semblable, de M. l'Abbé Le Blond, à Paris.

4. Le roi de Perse, la couronne crénelée en tête, debout à droite, combattant, le glaive en main, un lion dressé devant lui. Grènetis.

Rev.—Même type, mais d'un autre style. Au dessus ܒܥܠܡ, בַּעֲנָא.[76] Même carré creux.

Æ. 4. 10·78. Mus. Hunter. Dutens, Expl. p. 132, Pl. 1, 5. Satr. p. 40, 2, Pl. V. 2; Rev. Num. 1860, p. 634, 1, Pl. XVIII. 8; Head, Coins of Lydia, p. 45, Pl. III. 12.

5. Hoplite grec, armé d'une cuirasse et d'un casque, à cimier, fermé, agenouillé à gauche et vu de dos, portant le bouclier rond au bras g. et la haste dans la main dr.

Rev.—Homme nu, monté sur la partie antérieure d'un cheval gallopant à droite. Carré creux bordé de perles.

Æ. 2¼. 2·72. Brit. Mus. (Pl. V. 2.)
,, 2. 2·72. Cat. Ivanoff, n. 519.
,, 2. 2·70. Cab. de Carlsruhe.
,, 2. 2·62. Muret, Bull. de Corr. Hellén. v. p. 295, descr. inexacte.

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[76] Le nom propre hébreu בַּעֲנָא, rendu par les Septante Βαανά et Βαναίας, n'a été reconnu ni par M. Waddington, Rev. Num. 1860, p. 455, ni par M. Head, Kings of Lydia and Persia, p. 45.

Il est digne de remarque que les lettres de cette légende, et peut-être le resch du n. 11, n'ont pas encore la forme araméenne qu'on constate sur les n. 6 et suivants. Le beth et l'ain ne sont pas encore ouverts. On pourrait en conclure que l'adoption des formes araméennes n'a eu lieu, à Tarse, que vers la fin du cinquième siècle, date probable du n. 6.

Æ. 2. 2·60. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
,, 2. 2·60. Cat. Bompois, n. 940, sans אדן.
,, 2. . W., Mus. Hederv. T. xii. n. 270.

De l'avis de M. Imhoof-Blumer ces monnaies ne sont pas thessaliennes. M. Head les croit ciliciennes.

6. Le roi de Cilicie, la tête couverte de la tiare perse, assis sur un cheval gallopant à droite, dont il tient les rênes des deux mains. Devant croix ansée, ♀. Grènetis.

Rev.—Hoplite grec s'agenouillant, à droite, le casque corinthien en tête, s'abritant de la main g. avec son bouclier et avançant la haste de la dr. Dessus, ואה, תרז. Derrière, croix ansée, ♀. Carré creux bordé de perles.

Æ. 5. 10·55. Coll. de Luynes. Satr. p. 55, 1, Pl. VIII. 1.

7. Même type, mais de style plus récent. Le dynaste paraît très âgé. Il est barbu, et tient les rênes de la main g., un fouet dans la dr. Au-dessus disque radié du soleil.

Rev.—Même type et légende. Même carré, dans lequel le hoplite est placé en diagonale.

Æ. 6. 10·40. Cab. de Munich. Cp. Catal. Whittall, 1884, n. 1271.

Sans disque radié.

Æ. 8. 8·20. Mus. de Vienne, Satr. p. 55, 2, Pl. VIII. 2.

8. Le roi de Cilicie à cheval au pas, à gauche, les rênes dans la main g., une fleur-de-lis? dans la dr. A l'exergue ואה, תרז. Grènetis.

Rev.—Archer, le carquois au dos, agenouillé à droite, et tirant de l'arc. Derrière, croix ansée, ♀. Carré creux bordé de perles.

Æ. 5. 10·88. Mus. Hunter, Rev. Num. 1860, p. 458, 2, Pl. XVIII. 6. Head, l. c. p. 45, Pl. III. 18.

Tête d'aigle à g. et ᴍ ? sous le cavalier. *Tête d'aigle à dr.* devant l'archer.

Æ. 5. . Cat. Gosselin, n. 160. Mion. iii. p. 665, n. 660. Lajard, Culte de Vénus, Pl. I. 5. Satr. p. 64, Pl. XII.

9. Partie antérieure d'hippocampe ailé ou de pégase,[77] à gauche. Grènetis.

Rev.—Même revers.

Æ. 2¾. 3·50. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Monn. Grecq. p. 370, n. 65, Pl. G. n. 6.

Tête d'aigle au-dessus du pégase et devant l'archer.

Æ. 2¾. 3·50. Cab. de Gotha. Imhoof, l. c. n. 66, Pl. G. n. 7.

„ 2¾. 3·18. Brit. Mus.

10. Type du n. 8. Sans ligne d'exergue. Dessous croix ansée ♀. Grènetis.

Rev.—Deux soldats perses (la garde des frontières de Syrie et le Cilicie ?), l'arc et le carquois au dos, tenant des deux mains devant eux leurs hastes, debout en face l'un de l'autre. Entre eux ıЧh, תרז et ʎ𐤋ʎ, ת . ק? le dernier mot défiguré par une intaille profonde. Carré creux.

Æ. 5. 10·64. Mus. Hunter. Rev. Num. 1860, p. 452, 1, Pl. XVIII. 1.

QUATRIÈME SIÈCLE.

11. Type du n. 4, mais de style plus récent. Le roi perce le lion de son glaive.

Rev.—Le roi de Perse, dans le même costume et dans la même attitude que sur la face antérieure, l'arc et le carquois sur le dos, tenant de la main dr. la haste devant lui, et de la g. la croix ansée ♀. Derrière ıЧh, תרז et fleur de lis ? Devant ΤΕΡΣΙ κον. Champ légèrement creux.

Æ. 4½/3½. 10·89. Mus. Hunter.[78] Waddington, Rev. Num., 1860, p. 452, 3, Pl. XVIII. 7. Head, l.c. p. 45, Pl. III. 11.

12. Tête casqué imberbe, à gauche.

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[77] Comparez : Tête virile, avec longue barbe et coiffée d'une tiare, à droite.

Rev.—Partie antérieure de pégase, à droite.

Æ. 1½. 0·66. Cat. Whittall, 58, n. 607.

[78] Tous ces rares statères du Musée Hunter ne proviendraient-ils pas d'une seule et même trouvaille ?

Rev.—Le roi de Perse assis à droite, tenant de la main g. la haste, de la dr. la fleur.

Æ. 1½. 0·73. Décrite, plus haut, p. 123, II. 1.

13. Lion, à droite, s'élançant sur le dos d'un taureau s'agenouillant à gauche. Grènetis.

Rev.—ᚢᛋᛁ, תרז et grand épi placé en diagonale dans un encadrement de perles. Champ concave.

Æ. 5/4½. 10·50. Brit. Mus. (Pl. V. 3.)

Comparez Æ. 5. 10·56. Prokesch-Osten, Inedita, 1859, n. 25.

Æ. 2½. 3·48. Cat. Whittall, 1858, n. 607.

Comparez Catal. Mus. de Naples, n. 8522, et Hoffmann, Numismate, n. 8522.

14. Type du n. 7, mais de style plus récent. Le dynaste paraît jeune et le menton est couvert par les fanons de la tiare. Il porte un ample manteau, tient les rênes de la main g. et un fouet de la dr. Cercle.

Rev.—Hoplite grec cuirassé, le casque corinthien à cimier en tête, se couvrant de sa main g. d'un grand bouclier orné d'une tête de Méduse sans serpents et la bouche close; il est agenouillé à gauche, l'épée au flanc g. et la haste en arrêt dans le main dr.

Æ. 5. 10·55. Cab. de France.
,, 5½/4½. 10·55. Cab. de Copenhagen, du même coin que le précédent.
,, 5½/4½. 10·50. Dans le commerce.
,, 5. 10·40. Cab. de France. Contremarqué d'un *loup* courant à droite; dessus אזף, dessous H.
,, 5. 10·37. Cat. Huber, n. 902.
,, 5. 10·30. Cat. Borrell, 52, n. 314.
,, 5. 10·30. Brit. Mus. (Pl. V. 4.)

Le *loup* se voit en contremarque sur des monnaies de Soli et de Sinope, décrites Satr. p. 58.

15. Hercule imberbe, agenouillé, à gauche, sur sa massue, étrangle des deux bras le lion. Grènetis.

Rev.—ΤΕΡΣΙΚΟΝ, tête d'Aphrodite, portant le calathos orné d'une palmette entre deux ⊙, un collier et des boucles d'oreilles, à gauche. Grènetis.

Æ. 5. 10·50. Cab. de France. Mion. iii. p. 619, 1, S. vii. Pl. VII. 3. Satr. p. 61, Pl. XI.

Le type d'Hercule se retrouve sur un statère de Mallos, de la coll. de Luynes, frappé en même temps que celui-ci.[79] Ce type est copié d'après celui des monnaies d'or de Syracuse, émises sous Denys l'ancien, vers 400, et gravées par Cimon.[80] En 387 Denys vint en aide aux Lacédémoniens et contribua à faire conclure la paix d'Antalcidas.[81] C'est bien en ce moment, ce me semble, que l'adoption des types du tyran sicilien doit avoir eu lieu en Cilicie, plutôt qu'en 393, quand Conon et Euagoras tentèrent en vain de gagner Denys à l'alliance d'Athènes.[82]

16. Pallas assise, à gauche.

Rev.—ΤΕΡΣΙΚΟΝ. Aphrodite agenouillée, à gauche, jouant aux osselets.

Æ. 4½. 10·09. Décrite plus haut, p. 135.

17. Même type d'Aphrodite, jouant aux osselets, à gauche.

Rev.—Tête imberbe d'Hercule, les cheveux crépus.

Æ. 1. 0·46. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Monn. Grecq. p. 365, n. 53, vignette.

Suivent les monnaies de la première série, p. 103 et suivantes, qui se relient au n. 15 par la tête imberbe d'Hercule du n. 2.

Celles de la seconde série, p. 123 et suivantes, commencent plus tôt et font suite au n. 14, excepté le n. 1, p. 123, dont j'ai répété la description p. 155, n. 12.

En disposant les premières émaissions de Tarse d'après les indices que fournit le style plus ou moins archaïque et

[79] Imhoof-Blumer, Annuaire Soc. Fr. de Num., 1883.
[80] Head, Num. Chron., N.S. xiv., 1874, Pl. IV. 1; Guide, Pl. 25, 27.
[81] Holm, Gesch. Siciliens, ii. p. 137 et p. 442, p. 111, n. 45, Pl. VI. 80.
[82] Holm, l. c.

le carré creux bien défini ou remplacé par un champ légèrement creux, on s'aperçoit bientôt que les mêmes types se répètent à intervalles, après avoir été remplacés par d'autres sujets qui, à leur tour, sont repris plus tard.

Ainsi le combat du roi contre le lion, sur le n. 4, ne diffère que peu de celui du n. 11 ; le cavalier des n. 6 et 7 se voit plus tard sur le n. 14.

Pourtant je n'ai pas réussi à arranger cette série de manière que les pièces aux mêmes types restassent réunies et que les groupes ainsi formés se succédassent régulièrement. Toujours la dernière pièce d'un groupe était plus récente et de style moins archaïque que la plus ancienne du groupe suivant. Il a donc bien fallu entremêler les types. Le nombre des monnaies de Tarse, qui me sont connues, n'est probablement pas suffisant et la série n'est pas assez complète encore, pour tenter un classement définitif. Peut-être aussi sommes nous, ici aussi, en présence de plus d'une série d'émissions contemporaines et parallèles, frappées simultanément par le dynaste indigène et par la ville ou le satrape du roi de Perse.

Dans cette incertitude, je me bornerai à émettre une seule hypothèse. Il me semble que le personnage à cheval des n. 6 et 7—et peut-être aussi des n. 8 et 10—et qui sur le n. 7 paraît très âgé—est le roi Syennesis, qui régnait sur la Cilicie, lors de l'expédition de Cyrus le jeune. D'après les renseignements que Xénophon et Diodore nous donnent sur son compte, il paraît avoir été âgé en 401. Son règne se placerait donc entre 430 ou 420 et 400 ou 390, surtout s'il a été le petit-fils du roi Syennesis qu'Hérodote, V. 118, mentionne en 499 et qui semble être identique avec le Syennesis, fils d'Oromédon, qu'Hérodote, VII. 98, nomme parmi les commandants de la flotte perse, en 480.

Je préférerais assigner au second Syennesis les années 430 à 400, afin d'obtenir un laps de temps suffisant pour y placer un successeur, antérieur à Tarcamos qui, comme il a été dit, paraît avoir été dynaste de 380 à 360 environ.

C'est à ce prédécesseur de Tarcamos que je voudrais donner les statères n. 14, sur lesquels le dynaste paraît jeune, autant que les exemplaires que j'ai vus permettent d'en juger, ne trouvant aucun motif de les assigner à Tarcamos lui-même.

A la même époque reviennent encore les monnaies n. 11, 12, 13 et 15 et celles de la seconde série, p. 123, n. 1 et 2.

Espérons que de nouvelles recherches et la découverte de documents inédits, permettront bientôt de dissiper quelque peu l'obscurité qui plane encore sur la numismatique de Tarse, mieux que je n'ai réussi à le faire dans cet essai.

J. P. Six.

Amsterdam, *avril* 1884.

V.

PAPAL MEDALS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Paul II. (Pietro Barbo), 1464—71.

On the 31st of August, 1464, Cardinal Barbo succeeded the astute Piccolomini, assuming the name Paul II, and in the following September he was crowned Pope with all the pomp he loved so well. The scion of a noble house at Venice, that of the Condulmieri, young Pietro was through his mother the nephew of Eugenius IV; upon hearing of his uncle's election to the papal chair, he relinquished the gains of a Venetian trader for the gown ecclesiastic, and it cannot be considered that he made any sacrifice; it was no unusual occurrence in those times, but at the early age of twenty-two the nephew found himself a Cardinal Deacon. His own election as Pope, twenty-four years later, was generally esteemed popular, for he had by affability of manner, and an unfeigned desire to please everybody, gained beforetime everybody's suffrages. His reign, however, left no great mark behind it; as Pope, he was more successful at home, when restricting himself to domestic politics, than in foreign enterprises. Of his character, personally, the account which Platina, his contemporary, has handed down to us, must be received with some degree of reserve, because Platina suffered far too severely at Paul's hands, to permit us to regard that writer

as an impartial witness; while therefore we cannot afford to lose the historian's evidence, we must be prepared to make allowance for the possibility of his prejudice.[1]

Paul possessed by nature gifts calculated in a great degree to add grace to high position. In stature tall, with features accounted extremely handsome, people were impressed by his presence, just as their goodwill also was conciliated by his happy freedom of manner. Far from being parsimonious, as has been said, he was even lavish in expenditure, but then he was not less lavish in acts of charity. Although many were wishful to see the show of the Roman Court curtailed, he wished rather to increase it. Show gratified him. He liked to be seen and admired. The receptions which he accorded to the Emperor Frederick IV, and to Borso d'Este, Duke of Mantua and Ferrara, were really royal in their magnificence. It was he who assigned to the Cardinals the red "berretta;" in consistory he gave them seats raised above the rest; he forbad ecclesiastics other than cardinals to wear the "red hat;" and in sustentation of the importance of that dignity, he gave to the poorer members of the College, what is called to this day "*il piatto*;" while for himself, the Pontiff, amongst other trappings of State, he provided a magnificent tiara, loaded with the most costly jewels. Grand in person, at a church ceremony he must have moved amidst them all, august as a second Aaron. How

[1] "Erat enim Petrus Barbo naturâ blandus, arte humanus, ubi opus est. Praeterea, cum precando, rogando, obtestando, quod vellet, consequi non posset, ut ad faciendam fidem precibus lacrymas adderet. Hanc ob rem Pius Pontifex hominem '*Mariam pientissimam*' appellari interdum per jocum solebat."—*Historia Platinae de Vitis Pontificum Romanorum.* Coloniae Agrippinae. Anno MDCX.

could such a man be expected to starve a pageant and curtail expense! Two spots darken Paul's reign: one, that really savage treatment which was dealt out to the historian Platina (who tells the story at full length), because Platina contested the Pope's right to abolish certain places about the Papal court, that the possessors had duly paid for; another was his persecution of "the Academy," a society of learned men, which having affected somewhat fantastically under the new influences, when (so to speak) Greece crossed over into Italy, classical names and modes, thereby strangely laid itself open to charges of heresy, and the Pope's displeasure.

After a reign of nearly seven years, Paul died suddenly in the night of July 25th, 1471, "nemine vidente," at the age of fifty-three. He had been holding a Consistory, then dinner was served, and he appears to have eaten so freely of two very large melons, a fruit of which he was extremely fond, that it was thought he died of the excess.[2]

The tomb erected to his memory in St. Peter's, is admirably figured in Litta's "Famiglie Celebri Italiane," vol. ix; the work of Mino da Fiesole, it occupied two years in construction. Vasari says, "It was at that time considered the most magnificent and most richly decorated sepulchre that had ever been erected to any Pontiff whatever." I believe it is now to be seen in the old subterranean church of the Vatican.

Let me commend the memory of this Pope to the

[2] "Varia ciborum genera sibi apponi volebat, et pejora quaeque semper degustabat. Clamabat interdum nisi quod expectebat ex sententiâ ei apposita fuissent. . . . . Peponum esu, cancrorum, pastillorum, piscium, succidiae admodum delectabatur. Quibus ex rebus, ortam crediderim apoplexiam illam, quâ e vitâ sublatus est, nam duos pepones, et quidem praegrandes comederat, eo die quo sequente nocte mortuus est."—*Platina.*

Numismatic Society, not so much because he was a patron of art, but on account of his taste for coins. "Vetustorum numismatum erat amator," writes Venuti; and according to M. Artaud ("Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains"). Paul himself possessed a large number, and was able, without reading the inscription upon a coin, to tell in a moment to what personage it ought to be assigned. This taste had originated in that day with Cyriac of Ancona, a learned antiquary and numismatist. To gratify the taste artists were soon forthcoming. Vasari asserts that Vellano of Padua executed a medal of this pontiff, and M. Armand cites Raphael of Volterra to show that Cristofero Geremia of Mantua did so likewise. Among the authentic medals of Paul II that have come down to our time, which these may be, we are not able to determine; but leaving this uncertain, I shall place those first in order which seem authentic, while the productions of a later day, or its reproductions, I shall place last. He struck two which bear date 1455, that is to say nine years before he became Pope.

1. *Obv.*—PETRVS · BARBVS · VENETVS · CARDINALIS · S · MARCI. Bust of the cardinal to left, bareheaded. See Plate VII.

   Rev.—HAS · AEDES · CONDIDIT · ANNO · CHRISTI · MCCCCLV. The palace of Venice, built by Cardinal Barbo at Rome, topped with two square towers, one at each end. Size 9, by scale of Mionnet.[3]

2. Same obverse.

   Rev.—Shield of Arms of the Barbi family, *azure*, a lion rampant, *or*, over all, a bend, *argent*. Size 9.

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[3] Where practicable, the scale of Mionnet is referred to. Bonanni sizes all medals alike, and therefore helps us less than he might have done by his engravings.

These types reappear when he became Pope, with later dates, and the necessary change from a cardinal's hat to a pope's tiara, and the crossed keys. A similar type appears also among the reproduced medals, of size 12 (No. 20, vol. ii. page 34. Armand). I consider that this reproduction of the type must be attributed to Paladino's hand, for the tiny asterisk which divides the words of the legend, in place of the ordinary point, allies it with other work of that medallist.

This representation of an edifice in Rome which has now disappeared is exceedingly interesting. Built for the Pope in 1455, by Francesco del Borgo di S. Sepolcro, as existing documents show, and not, as Vasari said, by Giuliano da Majano, it stood withdrawn from the Corso by but a little space. Paul has been charged with robbing the Coliseum to get stones for this palace —well, there was precedent in plenty for such spoliation; but a different story is told in Vasari, which is just as likely to be true. The towers at either end must have given the building the look of a feudal fortress. Within its walls Borso d'Este[1] was lodged, when he was received at Rome with extraordinary state. The palace was only pulled down in 1857, and then twenty of these medals, enclosed in an earthen vessel, were found in the cellar walls, both one type and the other being represented in the find. In connection with this discovery it is curious now to read Venuti's quotation describing the way in which Paul placed these same medals there in the foundations of the palace four hundred and two years before. "Numismatum amator, posuit, antiquos imitatus, in fundamentis numismata, quae cudi curaverat,

[1] See No. 27, Mr. Keary's "Guide to Italian Medals."

cum propria effigie, et his verbis, Petrus Barbus, Venetus, Cardinalis Sancti Marci," &c.[5]

Closely connected with these "HAS AEDES" medals, is another, which is figured in the "Trésor de Numismatique," Plate II. 6, "Médailles des Papes." Presenting the same obverse, you have as a reverse.

3. ANNO · CHRISTI · MCCCCLXX · HAS · AEDES · CONDIDIT. The "tribuna" of the ancient Vatican basilica, with the words TRIBUNA · S · PETRI on the exterior arch; in the exergue ROMA. Size 11.

This medal preserves for us a view of the old apsidal termination of the building, where stood the altar; that "tribuna," however, though only commenced under Nicolaus V by Rosselino, and completed by Paul II at his own charges in a costly way, was subsequently removed by Sixtus V (1587).

The medals which now follow seem allied to the foregoing, generally, in point of size and in rudeness of work. They are all casts.

4. *Obv.*—PAVLVS · II · VENETVS · PONT · MAX. Bust of Paul to left, bareheaded, and in the stiff collared "pluviale."

Rev.—HANC · ARCEM · CONDIDIT · ANNO · CHRISTI · MCCCCLXV. The pontifical arms, with the tiara, but without the keys.

Thus described in Venuti, of his size 4, which corresponds with 12 of Mionnet's scale, this reverse is figured in Bonanni, No. XVIII., but which "arx," or fortress,

[5] "Numismata prope infinita ex auro, argento, aereo, suâ imagine signâta, sine ullo senatus consulto in fundamentis aedificiorum suorum more veterum collocabat."—*Platina.*

is meant to be here represented is not clear. Paul built several; probably it is that at Todi (the ancient Umbrian town Tuder), on the road to Perugia which he built, as much a bridle for a seditious people, as a protection for his frontier. Under the walls of another fortress, Arx Casciae, Venuti tells us a medal of this type was found in his time.

5. *Obv.*—PAVLVS · II. · VENETVS · PONT · MAX. Bust to left, bareheaded, pluviale with ornamented collar (Arabesque work), and the "rationale," which was a kind of large brooch, on breast.

Rev.—The Apostles Paul and Peter sitting at the base of a rock, from it flows a stream, to which sheep flock to drink. Above is seen a Lamb with nimbus; the Lamb holds a chalice. At either side a palm-tree. In exergue, PABVLVM · SALVTIS. Size 12.

This is figured in Bonanni No. V., but an example is to be seen in the British Museum collection, and I know another, in the possession of Dr. Frazer of Dublin.

The "pabulum" referred to is that religious aliment which the Pope supplied to the Syrian Maronites, whose Archbishop had sent to Rome for Roman guidance. In the palms on either side there is obvious allusion to some Eastern land.

6. *Obv.*—PAVLVS · VENETVS · PONT · MAX. The bust to left, bareheaded, as before.

Rev.—The Pope giving audience. Deosculation. In the exergue, AVDIENTIA · PVBLICA · PONT · MAX. (British M.) Size between 11 and 12.

The figure kneeling and kissing the Pope's foot, accompanied by others also kneeling, has been the subject of much conjecture. Is it Borso d'Este? Venuti is

probably right in regarding it as no one person in particular, and seeing only in the reverse Paul's good-nature in giving audience to all comers. Platina, however, was ill-natured enough to question the advantage of these audiences: "His Holiness was too fond of hearing his own voice, to allow him to listen to any other." He also tells us of a strange habit which Paul had, even as Pope, of using the night as most people use the day, taking his meals, transacting business, giving these audiences, then—"nihil enim ferè nisi noctu agebát."

7. *Obv.*—As in the other, according to Venuti.

Rev.—LAETITIA SCHOLASTICA. Female figure, resembling "Spes" on Roman coins, holding in right hand a flower; beside her stand two children. In the exergue, A.BO. [figured in "Trésor de N., méd. coulées et ciselées en Italie aux XVe et XVIe Siècles"]. Size 12.

What the letters in the exergue may signify, has puzzled the learned. Bonanni conceived they stood for ACCADEMIA BONONIENSIS, and were to be understood to refer to certain privileges granted by the Pope to that University. Venuti pertinently remarks on this, that no mention of such privileges has ever been made, and suggests, though with a "perhaps," that the name of the artist who struck the medal is to be sought in the A·BO. We must wait for the real explanation. Paul, by his persecution of the Academy at Rome, has been represented by writers of the time as unfriendly to learning; and Platina accuses him of telling people that reading and writing alone were sufficient for their children. "Romanos adhortabatur ne filios diutius in studiis literarum paterentur satis esse si legere et scribere didicissent."

8. *Obv.*—PAVLVS · SECVNDVS · PONT · MAX. Head bare, bust to left, as before.

Rev.—HILARITAS PVBLICA. Female figure standing, in her left hand a cornucopiæ, a palm-branch in the right; at her feet two children. Size 9.

This medal is in the British Museum and also in my own collection; it will remind us by the legend, and by its rude imitation of classical coins, of the "Hilaritas Aug." a reverse of the Emperor Hadrian. There is yet another medal of Paul's bearing that legend, which, though rather larger in module, one might be tempted to put down as a variety of the above type, from which it differs only in this, that the female figure stands alone. Venuti does so class it (Nos. IX. and X., p. 26), but with a remark added, which being acted on, at once seems to push his No. X. into a very different class. For, at the right foot of the female figure (see the engraving in Bonanni's plate, No. IX.) will be recognised the well-known armorial badge of Del Monte, Pope Julius III (1550), "tres montium acervi." Whatever may be the obverse, I consider that the medal must be one of that mongrel sort, which is composed by combining one Pope's obverse with another Pope's reverse. M. Armand places this No. X. of Venuti among the "Médailles de restitution" (vol. ii. p. 34), as we might expect he would; and in my opinion its workmanship is not earlier than that of the seventeenth century, possibly belonging to the series of medals produced then by Ferdinand St. Urbain, resembling the "Victrix casta Fides" of Nicolaus V and the "Omnes reges servient Ei," of Calixtus III, of which series we shall come across others presently.

Again there is another medal of Paul's, which I only know from Venuti's description, and Bonanni's engraving,

No. XVII., about which I entertain suspicion, though I see M. Armand includes it in his list, No. 18, vol. ii., p. 33; for legend on the obverse it has "PAVLVS · VENETVS · PP · II · PO · MA · PACIS · FVN;" and for reverse "CONVIVIVM · PVB · ERGA · POPVLVM · ROMANVM," with two cornuacopiæ, and betwixt them, the word ROMA. Though spurious, at all events this medal has distinct historical reference to one marked feature in Paul's reign, and may well follow the "Hilaritas" type. All three point to his fondness for giving public entertainments to the Romans, and the *hilarity* of the populace on being jovially treated. Venuti gives us a long extract from a life of the Pope, written by Canesius, Bishop of Castro, of all which Paul did in this way, and Platina noting one festival in particular in the year 1466, has left on record how food was then cheapened; he also tells us of the races established under Paul's auspices, which were run along the Corso, from the arch of Domitian to the Palazzo di Venezia, races of all sorts, all sorts of people taking part in the fun, and laughing so as hardly to be able to stand. "Curebant (*sic*), senes, adolescentes, juvenes, Judaei, ac seorsum, pastillis primo quidem pleni, quo tardiores in cursu essent. Currebant et equi, equae, asini, bubali (buffaloes, or, as some say, antelopes) tanta cum omnium voluptate, ut omnes prae risu pedibus stare vix possent."

9. *Obv.*—PAVLO · VENETO · PAPE · II · ITALICE · PACIS · FVNDATORI · ROMA. The Pope, bareheaded, bust to right, in "pluviale."

Rev.—The Arms of the Pontiff (sometimes within a wreath), the tiara, and crossed Keys.

This medal is found in the British Museum and the South Kensington Museum collections. The unusual

fineness of the lettering is to be remarked. The shape is elliptic, and from point to point sizes a little over 13 of Mionnet's scale. Paul early set himself to secure the pacification of Italy, in order that war against the infidel might the better progress, so that the medal may be supposed to represent Rome's recognition of his peaceful zeal. The Republics of Venice and of Florence, the King of Naples, and Sforza, Duke of Milan, were the parties to be reconciled; accordingly in 1468, there was issued a papal edict, "Ut liberius justissimum bellum;" and on St. Mark's Day in that year, in the church of St. Mark's, at Rome, the Pontiff himself officiated at a solemn service, when the representatives of those Powers saluted with the kiss of peace; but it was short-lived joy, for new difficulties sprang up and choked all hope of peace. Number V. in Venuti constitutes a variety of this type, which hardly seems entitled to separate place.

We come now to the most important medal of Paul's reign. M. Armand (vol. ii. pp. 33, 34), describes it as not cast, but struck, like a coin in feeble relief; in so describing it, M. Armand differs from all other writers; assigning it, however, to this Pope's time, not merely to the later portion of the fifteenth century.

10. *Obv.*—+ SACRVM · PVBLICVM · APOSTOLICVM · CONCISTORIVM · PAVLVS · VENETV · PP · II. The Pope enthroned, under a "baldacchino," or canopy, wearing his tiara; at either side, the cardinals; in front of the Pope, and facing him, ecclesiastics; facing the eye, officials, three seated, two standing. Behind all, the cardinals, and the people, whose heads alone are visible. Beneath all, the papal arms, tiara and crossed Keys. See Plate VII.

Rev.—+ IVSTVS · ES · DOMINE · ET : RECTVM · IVDICIVM · TVVM · MISERERE · NOSTRI · DO · MISERERE · NOSTRI. The Doom. Our Saviour, coming in Judgment, is surrounded by the heavenly host; on either side, saints and doctors of the Church. Two seraphs support a cross, on which is hung a crown of thorns. Beneath, an altar with the instruments of the Passion, the general Resurrection,—the Virgin and St. John the Baptist in adoration. Size 19. (Figured in Litta, vol. ix.; also in "Trésor N., Médailles des Papes.")

The medal is thus heavily crowded with detail. A coupling of NE in Domine, and of other letters, must not escape observation. The form of the baldacchino is in the style of the fifteenth century. Venuti mentions the medal as "very rare." Both he and Bonanni speak of it as cast. The best example of it known to me is in the British Museum; but there is another good one at South Kensington. Mr. R. C. Fisher, of Florence, possesses another, and a fourth, by his courtesy, is now in my own cabinet. These are all in low relief, of bronze, but it must be noted how M. Armand speaks of having seen one in gold.

The event in Paul's reign, which has been thus grandly commemorated, was the holding of a sacred Consistory in Rome, 1466, at which ecclesiastical censures were fulminated against George Podiebrad, the Hussite King of Bohemia. By its ruling, King George's subjects were absolved from their allegiance, his kingdom granted to the King of Hungary, and a numerous army, drawn together by profuse promising of Indulgences, marched against George, promptly to give effect to this sentence. The army was ignominiously defeated, the action of the Consistory was altogether baffled, and its anathema fell

harmlessly as "fulmen brutum." The subject of the medal's reverse, so chosen, had a reference, easily perceived, to the future Judgment, and such a choice of subject was quite in harmony with the feeling of the age.

11. *Obv.*—PAVLVS · II · PONT · MAX. The saints Peter and Paul.

Rev.—PAVLVS · PP · II. The Pope enthroned, a cardinal on either side, seated. Five figures kneeling before the throne. Deosculation. In the exergue, CONSISTORIVM · PVBLICVM. Size 12.

This medal, somewhat resembling the "Audientia Publica," appears figured in Bonanni, No. VIII. He and Venuti agree in believing these five kneeling figures to represent an audience granted by the Pope to the children of Thomas Palaeologus, the brother of the last Emperor of the East. There were three, Andreas, Helena, and Zoe, or Sophia. There is some foundation for such an opinion, because Paul had received these princes graciously, and provided for them liberally.

12. *Obv.*—Head of Paul, obverse and reverse, to right. Tiara, ornamental border in relief.

Rev.—PAVLO · VENETO · PAPE · II · ANNO PVBLICATIONIS · IVBILAEI · — ROMA.

From motives of policy, not religion, several of Paul's predecessors had reduced the prescribed number of years, so as to produce a recurrence of the Jubilee more frequently, and their policy was acceptable to the people of Rome, for the jubilee with its crowd of pilgrims brought no small gain to traders. Paul himself lowered the number still further, to twenty-five years, perhaps in expectation of seeing the jubilee himself, but if so, expectation was vain, for life failed him before the day arrived.

This medal, elliptic in form, was struck on the publication of his Bull, in 1470, one year only before death surprised him. It is not noted in Bonanni, but an example occurs in the British Museum collection.

18. *Obv.*—PAVLVS · II. · VENETVS · PONT · MAX. Bust to right, the Pope bareheaded, wearing "pluviale," on the collar of which are worked the effigies of SS. Peter and Paul. On his breast the "rationale" (*pectorale sacrum*), on which are seen displayed the Pope's arms.

Rev.—A wood, out of which rushes a wild boar, which is being speared by a horseman; dogs join the chase, intermixed with wild animals, and a beater is seen in the distance; in the air birds are flying. At the foot of trees on right, three minute letters—G · P · F (*fecit*); in the exergue, SOLVM · IN · FERAS · PIVS · BELLATUR · PASTOR · X.[6] Size 12.

With this medal we pass right away from those which claim in any degree to belong to the workmanship of this period. M. Armand includes it in the "Médailles de restitution," but he does not assign it to Paladino, as I conceive the letters and the character of its work entitle us to do. The small initial letters apparently he has not noted; but neither did Bonanni or Venuti. The work may be compared with No. 2, of Calixtus III, "Hoc vovi deo," where the letters, G. P., occur. This reverse contains allusion, not a far-fetched one, to the Pope's energetic action against the Bohemian Hussites, and in particular, against George Podiebrad their King, who naturally to Papal view, was "the wild boar out of the wood," of the Psalmist (lxxx. 13).

The portrait on the obverse of these medals is rather more pleasing than that seen on those medals which are

[6] This reverse will be found to occur again under Pius III. —*Trésor de N.* (*Papes*), Pl. III. 9.

actually contemporary. In the sixteenth century the processes of medallic art had improved, yet it is impossible for us to feel that this portrait can quite do justice to those good looks with which Paul is credited by those who knew his appearance and have described it. Their description conflicts with this retreating forehead, heavy nose, and lips somewhat disagreeably compressed. Paul, conscious of his fine appearance, and somewhat vain, is said on the day of his election to have occasioned some perplexity to the electing cardinals, by announcing his intention to assume the name "Formosus," *handsome*. They overruled his wish; but had they not done so, he would not have been the first of the name, for at the close of the ninth century, one Formosus, Bishop of Porto, ruled the Church, as Pontiff.

14. *Obv.*—PAVLVS · II · VENETVS · PONT · MAX. Bust, as in others.

Rev.—TV · PRO · ME · NAVEM · LIQVISTI · SVSCIPE · CLAVEM. A hand stretched forth from a cloud, holds a key, which the Apostle Peter is on the point of receiving. Size 12.

I only know this medal from Bonanni's engraving, No. 20, and Venuti's description. In appearance and sentiment its place in the papal series is to be found two centuries later than the fifteenth.

15. *Obv.*—PAVLVS · II · VENETVS · PONT · MAX. Head, as in others.

Rev.—IACOBVS · GOTTIFREDVS · ROMAN · PHISICVS · EIVSDEM · SVFFRAGIO · HAS · AEDES · A · FVNDAMENTIS · EREXIT. Size 12.

The person whose name appears on the reverse was the Pope's friend and chief physician. Gottifred built a

house for himself in the Piazza Navona, where the church of St. Agnese now stands, and when this building was sold by his heirs and pulled down in the year 1692, one of these medals was discovered among the foundations. An example of it occurs in the British Museum collection.

Sixtus IV. (Francis della Rovere), 1471—84.

Francis della Rovere, a Franciscan, General of the Order, Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, a man learned, eloquent, and "by nature made to govern," was the choice of the Conclave which met in Rome, August 9, 1471. His birth was humble, but the fisherman's son of Savona experienced no difficulty, as he claimed to be descended from the noble family of Della Rovere, when once he was invested with the "Fisherman's Ring;" nor as Sixtus IV., does any one now dispute his claim to be remembered among "the great Popes" of the fifteenth century. Unhappily that greatness depended on his aggrandisement, and aggrandisement depended on the free play of the worse side of his nature. In that period, the papacy was often held by family-founding ecclesiastics, and Sixtus, though by no means the most successful of them, takes his place amongst them. He had nine nephews, and to their indulgent uncle each one of them lay under the most ample obligations.[7] But let us remember that arrant nepotism did not scandalize the fifteenth century in any appreciable degree. When Lorenzo di Medici,[8] "the wisest man in Italy," wrote to

[7] "Sixtus enim suorum amantissimus ac indulgentissimus omnium judicio est existimatus."—*Onuphrio Panvinio.*

[8] Mr. Keary's "Guide to Italian Medals," p. 16, No. 34.

Innocent VIII, urging him to provide for his own, he certainly had some interest in the provision, but his remonstrance, founded on "zeal and duty," was only expressing that which men, inferior to Lorenzo, commonly felt.[9] No one, however, even among friendly writers attempts now to extenuate the flagrant abuses of opportunity in that reign. M. Artaud writes kindly, but he has described Sixtus as "affligé si démesurément de la maladie du népotisme." That malady required for its indulgence two things, increased taxation, and acquisition by war;[10] and from war as a means of exalting the papacy and his own family, Sixtus drew much strength, often to the discomfiture of an enemy, but always to the discomfort of harried Italy. It is quite true he did some good there by putting down a number of petty usurpers, but then by the same stroke had he not doubled his own revenue? and further, if upon his accession, in the usual communications with the Princes of Europe, his proposals were eager for peace, so that these Princes in common with him might combine against the Turk, was it not also true that by this time the Turk had become a piece on the chessboard of European politics, to be moved by the hand of a political Pope, who felt that he could take with it something better in exchange? Strange to say, when in 1480, by anchoring off Otranto, the fleet of Mahomet II threw Italy into consternation, it did more through terror for the pacification of Italy, than was done for it by Sixtus in the whole of his reign. His complicity with the Pazzi conspiracy at Florence in 1478, is a question which has often been debated. Too large for me to enter on in these

[9] Ranke's "History of the Popes," vol. i., p. 88.

[10] "Ad arma conversus, quibus maxime deditus fuit. Vectigalia nova invenit, vetera auxit."—*Onuphrio Panvinio.*

pages, it is enough to say that it has been decided differently by different writers, and as an incident of the time, is the subject of a well-known contemporary medal, by Antonio Pollajuolo, the sculptor.[11]

LORENZO AND GIULIANO DI MEDICI.

Obv.—An octagonal scaffolding representing the pillars of the Duomo; above, the head of Lorenzo de Medici towards right; below, priests ministering at altar, and outside the enclosure, conspirators with swords drawn, and others, Lorenzo escaping. LAVRENTIVS MEDICES, and, below the head, SALVS PVBLICA.

Rev.—A similar scene; head of Giuliano above towards left, and Giuliano being slain below GIVLIANVS MEDICES LVCTVS PVBLICVS. Bronze, 2·5, cast. At South Kensington Museum.

Let us turn to matter that has something in it which concerns us English. In the Archives at Venice there are sundry letters to this Pope from our king Edward IV.[12] The first, dated August 10th, 1471, is merely a congratulation on the Pope's election; another, dated February 24th, 1476, is more interesting, because it touches on the state of things which was then springing up here in England, in reference to a reforming of the Church. "Shortly before we assumed this sceptre," writes the English King, "there arose a monstrous promoter of iniquity and perdition, one Reginald Pecock,[13] of yore

[11] See "Handbook to Italian Medals," No. 33, p. 16.

[12] "Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English affairs in the Archives of Venice," vol. i., 1864.

[13] Pecock, in the year 1457, had been cited before Kemp, Archbishop of Canterbury, for heresy, and had to read his recantation at Lambeth, and at Paul's Cross. He died a prisoner at Thorney Abbey.

considered Bishop of Chichester; . . . . the writings and treatises composed by him, multiplied in such wise that not only the laity, but churchmen and scholastic graduates scarcely studied anything else. We beseech you then to despatch Apostolic letters, by whose authority proceedings may be instituted. Given at our Castle of Windsor, in the year of grace, according to English reckoning, 1475. Signed, your Holiness' most devoted son, Edward, King of England and France."

Though possessing but little knowledge of art, as a story in Vasari shows,[14] Sixtus patronized art as a Pope ought to do. With the help of the architect Bacchio Pintelli, he built the Sistine chapel in the Vatican, and a palace in the Borgo Vecchio. The painter Perugino was by him invited to Rome, "to his great glory," says Vasari. So also was Ghirlandajo. More than this, he was munificent in relief of distress, in the repair of churches, in the founding of the only Foundling Hospital at Rome, in his enrichment of the treasures of the Vatican library. May not these things count as some "set-off" against the offences of his strong nature, ambitious and unscrupulous as it was? His reign of thirteen years came to its close quickly. In 1484 war was waged against the Venetians. The Pope, the King of Naples, the Florentines, and Lewis Sforza were apparently the closest allies, and were triumphing, when suddenly Sixtus was disconcerted by finding that peace had been made by them—made without him, nay, in distrust of him. And so the diarist records in conclusion, "on the evening of the 10th of August, he was seen at Vespers with his hands clasped together, and very sad;" at once he took

[14] Life of Cosimo Roselli.

to his bed, and on the 12th he died. When the Cardinals assembled to choose a successor (wrote the contemporary conclavist), "all spoke ill of him, nor was there any man to say a word in his favour, save a certain Franciscan friar. . . . . Many verses were made against him, perhaps because he had always been the enemy of literary men, and of all who lived good lives."[15]

Vindictive Roman bile could always find an outlet in the *carmen mordax*, yet the bite of the two couplets which I quote is not actually venomous, like that of others which might be quoted:

"*Dic unde, Alecto, pax ista refulsit, et unde*
Tam subito reticent praelia?—Sixtus obit."

Tell us, Alecto—peaceful beams are shed,
Whence comes this hush in war?—Sixtus is dead.

"*Non potuit saevum vis ulla extinguere Sixtum,*
Audito tandem nomine Pacis—obit."

To take his life, her utmost Warfare tries,
The name of Peace is heard, and Sixtus—dies.

From M. Armand's account of the medals of Pietro da Milano[16] (1461—85), it would appear that one of Sixtus by that artist is unknown now, but it was equally unknown to Venuti and Bonanni. We possess, however, certain authentic medals of Sixtus as Pope, which were known to both those writers.

1. *Obv.*—SIXTVS · IIII · PONT · MAX · SACRICVLTOR. Bust to left. Tiara.

Rev.—HEC (*sic*) · DAMVS · IN · TERRIS · AETERNA · DABVNTVR · OLIMPO (*sic*). The Pope enthroned. SS. Francis and Antony are placing

[15] Trollope's "Papal Conclaves," pp. 163, 164.
[16] Vol. i., p. 89, 5.

the tiara on his head. At B. Museum, and at S. Kensington. Size 12. Armand, i., 62, 1., figured in Trésor de N. (Italie). Bonanni, Pl. XXIV., 8.

The Pope's feeling towards these Saints was well known. He regarded St. Francis as his patron. This medal may be considered a "coronation medal," the prototype of others which occur in subsequent reigns. The day of his coronation was very nearly becoming the day of his death, for through the officious conduct of the pontifical guard, a popular tumult rose up as the Pope passed along the crowded streets from the Vatican to St. John's Lateran, stones were thrown, and he was for a few moments in serious danger. On the removal in 1635, of the finely executed sepulchral monument,[17] erected by Antonio Pollajuolo, to the chapel of the Sacrament, one of these medals was found "in cadavere."

2. *Obv.*—SIXTVS ▲ IIII ▲ PONT ▲ MAX ▲ SACRICVLTOR. Bust of Pope to left, bareheaded, in "pluviale" with ornamented collar, and the "rationale" on breast. Words separated by triangular-shaped points. See Plate VIII.

Rev.—View of a bridge of four arches, of which the parapet is pierced; within a wreath, above the bridge, is the legend, CVRA RERVM PVBLICARVM. Size 12. In the British Museum, and in my own collection; figured Trésor de N. (Italie). Pl. XXVI., 1; Armand, ii., p. 62, 8.

The ruined bridge over the Tiber, called by the ancients "Pons Janiculensis," was restored by Bacchio Pintelli for this Pope in preparation for the jubilee, and from that time, indeed by his direction, it was known as the

[17] See engraving "Famiglie Celebri Italiane." Del Conte Pompeo Litta. Vol. ix.

"Ponte Sisto." "Pontem veterem Janiculensem . . . a fundamentis magnâ curâ et impensâ ex Tibertino lapide restituit, suoque de nomine Xystum vocari jussit, opus sanè omni antiquo principe dignum." (*Onuphrio Panvinio.*) The foundations of the new bridge were laid in May, 1483—and under the stone were thrown medals of this type. The legend on the reverse points to a carefulness on the Pope's part to see to all such public improvements; and the following quotation in Venuti, from Raphael of Volaterra, sustains the legend—even as Augustus had found Rome of brick, and made it marble, so Sixtus found it clay and turned it into brick. "Templa insuper vetustate obsita, omnia restituit, Romam denique ex luteâ lateritiam fecit, sicut olim Augustus ex lateritiâ marmoream fecerat." It will be seen that allusion is made to these restorations in the legends of other medals.

8. *Obv.*—SIXTVS · IIII · PONTIFEX · MAXIMVS · VRBE · RESTAVRATA. Bust wearing pluviale to left, tiara on head.

Rev.—The Pope enthroned, with left hand extended, at his side a cardinal seated, before him figures kneeling and standing, in the background palatial buildings. In the exergue, OP (us) VICTORIS CAMELIO · VE · (in four lines). Size nearly 14.

This medal is figured in Dr. Friedlaender's "Italian Medals of the Fifteenth Century," Pl. XVII., also in the Trésor de Numismatique (Médailles des Papes), Pl. III., 3. M. Armand describes it under the name of the medallist, Camelio, vol. i. p. 116—9, and draws attention to its remarkable resemblance to the "Audientia Publica" of Paul II, without, however, asserting more than that medal was perhaps the model for this. Camelio was a Venetian, engraver for the Mint at Venice, 1484—1523.

The question raised about the figures kneeling at their audience with the Pope is answered by supposing they represent the royal personages who were received at Rome in the time of Sixtus. Christian, King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway,[18] the King of Bosnia, Charlotte, Queen of Cyprus, Ferdinand, King of Naples, and his eldest son, the Duke of Calabria.

4. *Obv.*—SIXTVS · IIII · PON · MAX · SACRICVLT'. Bust of Pope to left, tiara, &c.

Rev.—PARCERE · SVBIECTIS · ET · DEBELLARE · SVPERBOS. A figure of Constancy, nearly nude, stands leaning against a pillar; at feet, on one side are captives, on the other galleys; in the field, the words SIXTE · POTES complete the legend. Across the field is the date, engraved, MCCCCLXXXI. In the exergue, CONSTANTIA. Size 16. See Plate VIII.

This medal is figured in Dr. Friedlaender's work, (Pl. XXIV., p. 10), in conjunction with another, of Alphonsus (King of Naples, 1494), as Duke of Calabria,[19] which bears the artist's name "OP (us) AND · G · PRATENS," that is to say, the name of the medallist Guazzalotti. A comparison of the two medals must lead

[18] Under the name of the artist Melioli, M. Armand gives a description of a medal struck for this prince, which has close connection with this Pope's reign. *Obv.*—CHRISTIERNVS · DACIE · REX · CVI · ENSIS · ET · DEVS · III · SVBMISIT · REGNA. *Rev.*—TALIS · ROMAM · PETIIT · SISTI · QVARTI · PONT · MAX · ANNO · III—MELIOLVS · SACRAVIT. Struck on the occasion of the king's visit to Rome, 1484. It is also described in Venuti, p. 85. An example of it occurred in the sale of Sir W. F. Douglas' Cinque Cento Medals, in the spring of 1888. It formed lot 16, and was sold for £22.

[19] Armand, i. 48, 1. The medal itself is at South Kensington. The form of the letters of the legend is often singular.

us to follow Dr. Friedlaender in ascribing this medal of Sixtus to Guazzalotti's hand. The legend on reverse is a quotation from the Æneid, vi. 854, the words of "Pater Anchises;" they were taken to set forth here the Pope's energy in repelling the Turkish host from Italy, or else his action in dealing with those associated together against him after the Pazzi conspiracy, and his constancy therein. They were again used in the following century on a medal of Sigismund II, King of Poland, by Patavino (Armand, i. 140—2), but to no one could they be more pertinently applied than to Sixtus. At Sir William F. Douglas's sale in May, 1883, a medal of this type, "very fine," sold for £10.

5. *Obv.*—SIXTVS · IIII · PONT · MAX · VRB · REST. Bust of Pope to right, bareheaded. The collar of his robe is ornamented heavily with roses.

Rev.—IVL CARD NEPOS IN OSTIO TIBERINO. View of the fortified towers of Ostia. Size 12.

In the British Museum and in my own collection. It is figured Trésor de N. (Italie), Pl. XXIV., No. 4, and described by Armand, ii. 62—4. In point of workmanship it is rudeness itself; the letters expand a little at the extremities. It was struck by the "Cardinal nephew" Julius (afterwards Pope Julius II), to acknowledge his uncle's readiness in assisting him in war by the construction of this fortress at Ostia, of which place the "Cardinal nephew" was the castellan.[20]

Vasari informs us how Giuliano Sangallo, the architect, was employed there for two years, Julius "causing him

[20] In the South Kensington collection there is a medal of Julius as Bishop of Ostia. IVLIANVS · EPS · OSTIEN · CAR · S · P · AD VINCVLA. Fortifications of Ostia.

to do everything which his art could accomplish for the improvement of the place." The architect was no novice, so his work stands there to this day, consisting of massive semicircular towers, united by a curtain, and defended by a ditch; upon its gates remain the arms of the Della Rovere.

Here I conceive we lose sight of the medals which actually belong to this Pope's reign, though it will not be easy to say how much later than his reign is that which now follows. While Venuti classes it among the "Numismata noviter cusa," it is earlier than Paladino's medals (figured in Bonanni, 1699) which come last.

6. *Obv.*—SIXTVS · IIII · PON · M · ANO · IVBILEI. Bust of Pope to left, tiara, &c.

Rev.—GLORIOSA · DICTA · SVNT · DE · TE · CIVITAS · DEI. [Psalm lxxxvii. 3.] The Pope, silver hammer in hand, accompanied by three attendants, is striking the "Holy Door." Size 12.

This appears figured Trésor de N. (Italie), Pl. XXIV., No. 5. The workmanship is peculiar and coarse, as also is the lettering. The representation of the ceremony differs in various details from the types adopted later. The medal is described in Armand, vol. ii., 62, 2, and is placed under "Rome, et les Etats Romains." Though the earliest of this class of Jubilee medals, even Bonanni is the one to say it cannot be of the time of Sixtus, because the ceremony it commemorates was instituted later; it belongs to the sixteenth century. We come now to some medals of Paladino's.

7. *Obv.*—SIXTVS · IIII · PONT · MAX. Bust to left. The Pope wears tiara, &c.

Rev.—The Pope, attended by cross bearer and many mitred bishops, is bending forward, breaking through the masonry which has closed the doorway. Above his head, a cloud, from which rays of light shine down into the opening; cherubim are seen above it. On the left, a kneeling crowd. In the exergue, CITA · APERITIO · BREVES · ÆTERNAT · DIES. On the sill of the door, G · PALADINO. Size 12.

Figured T. de N. ("Papes") and in other books; described in Armand, vol. i. 297, 17. I am indebted to Artaud for an explanation of the legend in the exergue, which may be thus translated: "An expeditious opening lengthens short days." At the first institution of the ceremony, the pontiff's labour, a hammering down of the masonry piecemeal, was very tedious. Later on, it came to be exchanged for a simple plan, arranged overnight, by which almost at a blow the stones fell down, and without more ado the Pope entered the Basilica. This reverse appears again on medals of Alexander VI and Clement VII.

G. Paladino, whose signature appears here, is said to have worked about the close of the sixteenth century, and to have produced a series of papal medals of the fifteenth century, just as Giambattista Pozzi produced a series from St. Peter to Alexander V (1410). Dr. Friedlaender, in a paper written on the works of Andreas Guazzalotti, as long ago as 1857, calls attention to another difference in the medals of Pozzi and Paladino, namely this, that while Pozzi gave portraits of his Popes which are purely imaginary, Paladino copied for the most part from originals which may be depended on. I have not come upon any mention of Paladino in the older writers. Molinet, Bonanni, and even the more careful Venuti, appear never to have observed his signatures, for other medals were signed with his initials, and others again, without any

signature at all, must be attributed to him; but I agree with the reviewer of M. Armand's book ("Numismatic Chronicle," Third Series, No. II. 1883), in believing that a further acquaintance with these "Médailles de restitution" will lead us to eject some which now stand in M. Armand's list of the Paladino series, for they lack the characteristic marks of his hand. This I have already ventured to do with the "Redde cuique suum" of Eugenius IV, as well as with the "Claves regni celorum." If one cannot say who did produce these, we can say that it was not Paladino. The following is a complete list of those medals which are signed by him, so far as I know them.

Legends of Reverse.	Signature.	On Medals of Popes.
1. Cita aperitio aeternat breves dies	G. PALADINO	Sixtus IV. Alexander VI. Clement VII.
2. Solum in feras Pius bellatur pastor	G. P. F(ecit) .	Paul II. Pius III. (T.N. "Papes")
3. Hoc vovi Deo . . .	G. P. . .	Calixtus III. Pius V.
4. Ne multorum subruatur securitas	G. P. . .	Calixtus III.
5. Ecce sic benedicetur homo .	G. P. . .	Innocent VIII.
6. Sub umbra alarum tuarum .	G. P. . .	Pius III.

If I were asked what is the feature which characterizes Paladino's work, I should say, it is its staring want of proportion, whenever he essays to delineate the human form, or the forms of animals. It amounts to the grotesque, and stamps him as the "inferior artist" he is called by Dr. Friedlaender. Contrast the height of the

portal, on this medal of Sixtus, with the height of the bending Pope; observe the ill proportions of the ox in the Borgia shield, the size of the horse's head in the "Solum in feras" medal, of the huge hands and heads in those of Innocent VIII and Pius III, and the case is clear.

8. *Obv.*—SIXTVS · IIII · PONT · MAX. Bust to left, tiara, and, on the "rationale," the Della Rovere arms, an oak-tree eradicated.

Rev.—ANNO · IVBIL · ALMA · ROMA. "The Holy Door;" above, an effulgence of light from behind a cloud. Beneath, the date 1475, evidently altered from 1450, at some expense of the surface. The numerals are in relief, and older in style than the work they date. Size 12.

This reverse, *mutatis mutandis*, is a fac-simile of the reverse of Nicolaus V, No. 4. Four Basilicas in Rome have a "Porta Santa;" but this, a door in St. Peter's, on the right of the great central door, which is marked by a cross in the middle, and usually walled up, is the "Porta Santa" broken open by the Pope in person on the Christmas Eve of a Jubilee year. The Pope begins the ceremony by striking the door three times with a silver hammer, and it is constructed so as to fall almost at the stroke. The ceremony was not instituted until the reign of Alexander VI, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. An interesting account of it, as seen by an eye-witness, is to be found in a letter from J. Jackson to his uncle, Samuel Pepys, dated Rome, Dec. 25, 1699.[21]

9. *Obv.*—SIXTVS · IIII · PONT · MAX. "Effigies cum tiarâ et pluviale,"—Venuti.

[21] "Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys." London, 1849.

Rev.—CONSTITVIT · EVM · DOMINVM · DOMVS · SVE. The "Holy Door"; in the exergue, ROMA. Size 12.

Another of the Jubilee medals. My description is taken from Venuti's and from Bonanni's engraving. I am unable to say more than that M. Armand places this under Paladino's name.

10. *Obv.*—SIXTVS · IIII · PONT · MAX. Bust to left, tiara, &c.

Rev.—FRAN · DE · LA · ROVERE · DI · SAVONA · A · MCDLXXI. The arms of the Della Rovere, *azure*, an oak, eradicated, and with the branches interlaced, *or*, surmounted by tiara and crossed Keys. Size 12. Engraved in Litta; figured T. de N. ("Papes"), Pl. III. 1, and placed by M. Armand among the restorations of Paladino.

11. *Obv.*—SIXTVS · IIII · PONT · MAX. Bust to left, tiara, &c., as on the last.

Rev.—ETSI · ANNOSA · GERMINAT. The Della Rovere arms, as upon the preceding medal, surmounted with the tiara and crossed Keys. Size 12.

This reverse appears also among the reverses of Julius II, with an application in the words of the legend which here of course is wanting. M. Armand apparently has not seen this medal; had he seen it, I think he would have classed it also among the restorations of Paladino.

ASSHETON POWNALL.

Rev.—As on No. 4.

Weight 43½ grs.

6. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ⁚ DEI ⁚ GRA ⁚ REX ⁚ SCOTORVM.
Nine arcs, meeting bust, and six ending in trefoils.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁚ P· TECTOR MS + LIB ⁚ ATORMS
VILL A ⁚ AB ERD EN +

Weight 40½ grs. Pl. IX. 3.

7. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ⁚ DEI ⁚ GRA ⁚ REX ⁚ SCOTTOR.
Seven arcs, plain, meeting bust.

A similar obverse appears on an Edinburgh groat, No. 62.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁚ b ⁚ TECTOR MS ⁚ Z ⁚ II BATRMS
VILL A ⁚ DE ABER DEN✠

Weight 49 grs.

8. *Obv.*—Same as No. 7.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁚ P TECTOR ⁚ MS ⁚ ZLIB ATORMS
VILL A ⁚ DE ⁚ ABER DEN✠

Weight 43 grs.

9. *Obv.*—Same as No. 7, but SCOTORV. Seven arcs, two with trefoils on points.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁚ Z ⁚ TECTOR ⁚ MS ⁚ + LIB ATORMS
VILL A ⁚ DE ABER DEN✠

Weight 42 grs.

10. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ⁚ DEI ⁚ GRA ⁚ REX ⁚ SCOTTORVM.
Eight arcs ending in trefoils.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁚ P ⁚ TECTOR ⁚ MS ⁚ Z ⁚ LIB ATORMS
VILL A ⁚ DE ABER DEN+

Weight 34½ grs. Pl. IX. 4.

11. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ⁚ DEI GRA ⁚ REX ⁚ SCOTORVM.
Seven arcs ending in trefoils, and a trefoil on breast.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁚ Z ⁚ TETOR ⁚ MS ⁚ Z ⁚ LID ATORMS
VILL ABE RDE NE✠

Weight 41 grs.

12. *Obv.*—As on No. 11, but SCOTTORVM. Seven arcs, with trefoils on points of three.

Rev.—As on No. 11, but LIBATORM

Weight 40½ grs.

ADDITIONAL GROAT.

13. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ⁝ DEI ⁝ GRA ⁝ REX ⁝ SCOTORV. Six arcs, plain, meeting bust.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁘ P ⁘ TECT OR ⁘ MS ⁘ Z LIBATO
VILL· A ⁘ DE ABE RD✠

Weight 36 grs. Pl. IX. 2.

PERTH GROATS OF ROBERT III.

1. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ⁘ DEI ⁘ GRA ⁘ REX ⁘ SCOTTORVM. Seven arcs to tressure, ending in trefoils.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁘ P ⁘ TECTOR ⁘ MS ⁘ Z ⁘ LIB ATORMS
VILL A ⁘ DE ⁘ PER Th ✠.

2. *Obv.*—Legend as on No. 1. Eight arcs to tressure meeting bust, and ending in trefoils, also a trefoil on breast.

Rev.—As on No. 1, but no symbol ⁘ after TECTOR.

3. Same as No. 2, but symbol ⁘ after TECTOR.

4. Same as No. 1, but nine arcs of tressure passing through bust indistinctly, and trefoil on breast.

5. Same as No. 4, but no trefoil on breast, and symbol ⁘ after SCOTTORVM.

6. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ⁘ DEI ⁘ GRA ⁘ REX ⁘ SCOTTORV. Seven arcs meeting bust.

Rev.—As No. 1, but symbols in mint—
VILL A ⁘ DE ⁘ PER· Th ✠ ⁘

7. Same as No. 1, but TECTOB· and no symbol ⁘ before LIB. Also PEB·

8. Same as No. 7, but tressure of eight arcs, one passing through bust.

9. *Obv.*—Same as No. 6, but nine arcs surrounding bust, and trefoil on breast.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁘ P ⁘ TECTOR ⁘ MS ⁘ Z ⁘ LIB ΛTORMS
VILL Λ ⁘ DE PEBB Th✠

Two coins.

10. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ⁘ DEI ⁘ GRΛ ⁘ REX ⁘ SCOTTORVM.
Nine arcs, two of them passing through bust indisdinctly. Trefoil on breast.

Rev.—Same as No. 9, but no symbol ⁘ after TECTOR.

11. *Obv.*—✠ ROBERTVS ∧ DEI ∧ GRΛ ∧ REX ∧ SCOTTORV.
Eight arcs, one of them passing through bust indistinctly.

Rev.— +DNS ⁘ P ⁘ TECTOR MSZLIB ΛTORMS
VILL Λ ⁘DE ⁘ PER Th✠

12. Same as No. 11, but symbol ⁘ after TECTOR.

13. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ⁘ DEI ⁘ GRΛ ⁘ REX ⁘ SCOTORV.
Seven arcs meeting bust.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁘ P ⁘ TECTOR MS ⁘ Z ⁘ LIB ΛTORMS
VILL Λ ⁘ DE ⁘ PER Th✠

14. *Obv.*—+ ROBETVS ⁘ DEI GRΛ ⁘ REX ⁘ SCOTTORVM.
Seven arcs, annulets in angles, trefoil on breast.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁘ P ⁘ TECTOR MS ⁘ Z ⁘ LB ΛTORMS
VILL Λ ⁘ D ⁘ E PER Th✠

Pl. IX. 5.

15. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS + DEI GRΛ ⁘ REX ⁘ SCOTTORVM.
Seven arcs to tressure.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁘ P ⁘ TECTOR MS ⁘ Z ⁘ LIB ΛTORMS
VILL Λ ⁘ DE ⁘ PER Th✠

16. *Obv.*—As No. 15, but double cross after ROBERTVS ⁘.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁘ P TECTOR MS ⁘ Z ⁘ LIB ΛTORMS
VILL Λ ⁘ DE ⁘ PER Th✠

17. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ‡ DEI ‡ GRACIA ‡ REX ‡ SCTO-RVM. Seven arcs and trefoil on breast.

Rev.—As No. 15, but VILL A ‡ DE ‡ PER +Th⚒.

Two coins.

18. *Obv.*—As No. 15, but SCOTORM. Seven arcs, only two ending in trefoils, and crosses in external angles of tressure.

Rev.—As No. 15, but LD and VILL ADE PER Th⚒.

Pl. IX. 6.

19. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS + DEI GRA + REX + SCO—. Nine arcs surrounding bust, and without ornamentation.

Rev.—+DNS × Z TECTOR × MS × ZL IDATO ×
VILL ADE × PER Th⚒

20. *Obv.*—ROBERTVS ‡ DEI GRACIA REX SCOTOR. Nine arcs surrounding bust, and ending in trefoils. No M.M.

Rev.—+ DNS ‡ Z ‡ TECTOR MS ‡ ZL ‡ CATORM
VIL LAD EPE RTh

EDINBURGH GROATS OF ROBERT III.

1. *Obv.*—RORERTVS DEI GRA REX SCOTOR. Six-arched groat; no symbols between the words except after DNS.

Rev.—+ DNS × P TECTOR MSZLI RATORM
VILL AED INRV RGh

2. *Obv.*—As No. 1.

Rev.—+ DNS × PT ECTORM S × Z × LIRA TORMS ×

3. As No. 2, but SCOTORVM.

Pl. IX. 7.

4. *Obv.*—+ RORERTVS ⁝ DEI ⁝ GRA ⁝ REX ⁝ SCOTO RVM ×. Seven arcs ending in pellets.

Rev.—+ DNS × PT, &c., as on No. 2.

5. *Obv.*—As No. 4, but SCOTORVM :

Rev.—+ DNS + P TECTOR MS × ZLIB ΛTVRMS

6. *Obv.*—As No. 5.

Rev.—+ DNS + P TECTOR MS + Z + LIR ΛTORMS.

7. *Obv.*—As No. 5.

Rev.—+ DNS ×× P TECTOR MS Z LIR ΛTORMS
VILL Λ ED ×× INRV RGh

8. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS : DEI : GRΛ : REX : SCOTO-
RVM. Seven arcs ending in pellets.

Rev.—+ DNS ×× P TECTOR MS + Z + LIB ΛTORMS
VILL ΛED INBV RGh

9. Same as No. 8, but third quarter of reverse reads :
MS ×× ZLIB.

10. Same as No. 8, but no symbol before or after Z, and mint ends with two crosses : EDINBVRGh ××

11. As No. 8, but two crosses after mint : EDINBVRGh ××

12. As No. 11, but two crosses after Villa
VILL Λ ×× ED INBV RGh ××

13. As No. 12, but the M.M. a cross, which is formed on middle stroke of M in SCOTORVM, thus, M.

14. *Obv.*—As No. 8.

Rev.—+ DNS ×× P ×× TECTOR MS + Z + LIB ΛTORMS
VILL Λ ×× ED INBV RGh ××

15. *Obv.*—As No. 8, but reverse transposed, thus :

Rev.—+ DNS ×× P ×× TECTOR MS + Z + LIB ΛTORMS
INBV RGh ×× VILL Λ ×× ED

16. Obverse as No. 8, and reverse as No. 12, but no symbol *after* Z, only *before*.

17. As No. 16, but no symbol either before or after Z.

18. Obverse as No. 8, but reverse, which is transposed, reads:

+ DNS ×× P ×× MS × Z × LIB TECTOR ΛTORMS
VILL Λ ×× ED INBV RGh ××

19. *Obv.*—As No. 5.

Rev.—+ DNS ×× P TECTOR MSZLIB ΛTORMS
VILL Λ ×× ED INBV RGh

Two coins.

20. As No. 19, but two crosses after Edinburgh: EDINBVRGh ××

21. As No. 20, but symbols *before* and *after* Z, thus:
MS + Z + LIB

22. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ×× DEI ×× GRΛ ×× REX ⁝ SCOTORVM.
Seven arcs ending in pellets.

Rev.—As No. 20.

23. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ⁝ DEI ⁝ GRΛ ✣ REX ✣ SCOTORVM.
Seven arcs ending in pellets.

Rev.—+ DNS ✣ P TECTOR MSZLIB ΛTORMS
VILL Λ ✣ ED INBV RGh ✣

24. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ✣ DEI ✣ GRΛ ✣ REX ⁝ SCOTO-
RVM.

Rev.—Same as No. 23.

25. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTV ⁝ DEI ✣ GRΛ ⁝ REX ✣ SCOTO-
RVM ✣

Rev.—Same as No. 23.

26. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS ✣ DEI ✣ GRΛ ✣ REX ✣ SCOTO-
RVM

Rev.—Same as No. 23.

Two coins.

27. As No. 26, but *four* pellets on point of tressure on king's breast.

28. As No. 26, but the arc of tressure above king's crown is composed of three lines, thus ≡.

29. As No. 26, but arc of tressure opposite TVS of Robertus composed of three lines.

30. As No. 26, but ROBЄRTS.

Two coins.

31. As No 26, but no ✤ after RЄX.

Two coins.

32. As No. 26, but obverse legend ends with ✤.

33. As No. 26, but pellets on ends of arcs are shaped like trefoils, and there is a symbol both before and after Ƶ, thus, ꟽS + Ƶ + LIB.

34. *Obv.*—+ ROBЄRTVS ⁑ DЄI ⁑ ϬRΠ ⁑ RЄX ⁑ SCOTORVꟽ ⁑. Nine arcs ending in pellets.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁑ P ⁑ TЄCTOR ꟽS ⁑ Ƶ ⁑ LIB ΠTORꟽS
VILL Π ⁑ ЄD INBV RϬh ‡

35. As No. 32, but nine arcs to tressure.

Two coins, one with three lines to one arc of tressure.

36. As No. 26, but nine arcs, and legend reads, SCOTORV.

37. As No. 36, but SCOTORVꟽ.

38. As No. 37, but M.M. is formed as described on No. 13.

39. As No. 36, but SCTORVꟽ.

40. As No. 37, but M.M. fleur-de-lis, and words divided by large well-shaped fleur-de-lis.

A fine coin. Pl. IX. 8.

GROAT WITH TREF OIL-POINTED TRESSURE.

41. *Obv.*—+ ROBЄRTVS : DЄI : ϬRΠCIΠ : RЄX : SCOTORV. Seven arcs meeting bust, with trefoils.

Rev.—+ DNS : P : TЄCTOR ꟽS : Ƶ : LIB ΠTORꟽS
VILL Π ⁑ ЄD INBV RϬh

42. As No. 41, but two points after Villa :
VILL Π : ЄD INBV RЄh

43. As No. 42, but Π in LIBΠTOR with middle stroke, Ā.

44. *Obv.*—+ ROBЄRTVS : DЄI : ЄRΠ : RЄX : SCOTTORVM

Rev.—As No. 42.

45. As No. 44, but eight arcs to tressure.

46. *Obv.*—As No. 44.

Rev.—+ DNS ×× P TЄCTOR MS ×× Z ×× LIB ΠTORMS
VILL Π ×× ЄD INBV RЄh ××

47. *Obv.*—As No. 44, but SCOTTORVMЄ

Rev.—As No. 46.

48. *Obv.*—As No. 47.

Rev.—As No. 42.

49. *Obv.*—As No. 47.

Rev.—+ DNS ⁝ P ⁝ TЄCTOR MS ⁝ Z ⁝ LIB ΠTORMS
VILL Π : ЄD INBV RЄh ⁝

50. *Obv.*—+ ROBЄRTVS : DЄI : ЄRΠ : RЄX : SCOTTO-RVM ·⁝· Nine arcs, trefoil-pointed, and surrounding bust.

Rev.—+ DNS ×× P ×× TЄCTOR MS ×× Z ×× LIB ΠTORMS
VILL Π ×× ЄD INBV RЄh ××

51. *Obv.*—+ ROBЄRTVS ⁘ DЄI ⁘ ЄRΠCIΠ ⁘ RЄX ⁘ SCOT-ORV. Seven arcs meeting bust.

Rev.—+ DNS ×× P ⁘ TЄCTOR MS ⁘ Z ⁘ LIB ΠTORMS
VILL Π : ЄD INBV RЄh

52. *Obv.*—+ ROBЄRTVS ⁝ DЄI ⁝ ЄRΠRЄX ⁝ SCOTTORVM. Seven arcs, and annulets in external angles of tressure.

Rev.—+ DNS : Z : TETOR MS : Z : LC ATORMS
VILL AED INBV R6h

53. *Obv.*—Same as No. 52.

Rev.—+ DNS : Z : TETOR : MS : ZLID ATORMS
VILL A : ED INBV R6h

54. As No. 53, except first quarter of reverse legend, which reads : + DMS : Z, &c.

55. *Obv.*—As No. 52, but EOTTORVM.

Rev.—+ DNS : Z : TETOR MS : Z ∘ LD ATORMS
VILL A : ED INBV R6h :

56. *Obv.*—As No. 41.

Rev.—+ DNS : P : TECTOR MS : ZLIB ATORMS
VILL AE : D INBV R6h :

57. *Obv.*—ROBERT : DEI 6RA : REX : SCOTTORVM : :
Seven arcs, fleur-de-lis on breast, and annulets in external angles of tressure.

Rev.—+ DMS : Z : TETOR : MS : ZLID ATORMS
VILL A : ED INBV R6h
Pl. IX. 9.

58. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS : DEI : 6RA REX : SCOTTORRVM.
Seven arcs, annulets in external angles.

Rev.—+ DNS : Z : TECTOR MS : Z ∘ LD ATORMS
VILL AED ∘ ∘ ∘ INBV R6h
Two coins.

59. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS : DEI : 6RA REX : SCOTTOR.
Seven arcs ending in trefoils.

Rev.—+ DNS ×× Z TOTORI MSZLI ATORM
VILL AED INBV R6h

60. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS NI 6RACMA REX SCO. Nine arcs ending in trefoils.

Rev.—As on No. 59. Weight 44 grs.

61. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS DEI 6RAƆIA RE SƆO. Nine arcs, trefoil on breast.

Rev.—+ DNS PTECT ORMS ZIBAT
VIL LAE DIN BVI.

Weight 41 grs.

62. *Obv.*—+ ROBERTVS : DEI : GRA : REX : SCOTTOR.
Seven arcs. Same as Nos. 7 and 8 Aberdeen groats.

Rev.—+ DNS P : TECTOR MS : Z : LI BATORMS
VILL A : ED INBO VRh

Weight 43 grs.

HALF-GROAT.

63. *Obv.*—+ ROBERT DEI GRA REX SCOTOR. Six arcs meeting bust.

Rev.—+ DNS : PROT ECTOR MEVS
VILL A ED INBV RGh

Weight 18 grs. Pl. IX. 10.

This is an unique and unpublished half-groat of the earliest coinage, corresponding to the six-arched Edinburgh groats, Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

forgeries; it is of base metal covered with silver plating, and the workmanship also would have led the veriest tyro to a correct conclusion with regard to its want of authenticity. My coin is I believe a genuine one, and its weight and other incidents confirm this. It may be true that no half-crowns were coined up to the end of October, 1655, as stated in the *Public Intelligencer*, but there is nothing to show that they were not coined afterwards, and the extreme rarity and, so far as I know at present, uniqueness of this coin would proceed from the fact that within the two months remaining of that year very few would of necessity have been struck or issued.

H. MONTAGU.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

The *Revue Numismatique*, 3rd ser., tom. i., 3rd and 4th parts, contain the following articles:—

J. P. Six. On the Classification of the coins of Cyprus. A most important and highly suggestive article comprising all that is known of the interesting series of coins belonging to the nine ancient cities of Cyprus: (i.) Salamis, (ii.) Citium with Idalium, (iii.) Marium, (iv.) Amathus, (v.) Curium, (vi.) Paphos, (vii.) Soli, (viii.) Lapethus, and (ix.) Ceryneia. When we call to mind how few years have elapsed since the late George Smith of the British Museum discovered the key to the interpretation of the then mysterious Cypriote characters, which had baffled the ingenuity of students for more than twenty years, there is good reason to congratulate ourselves on the progress which has been made in this branch of numismatics. M. Six's latest contribution will be indispensable to all future workers in this field.

A. Boutkowski. Inedited Autonomous and Imperial Greek coins.

E. Muret. Coins of Lydia. In this paper the writer has undertaken to class the coins of the Imperial period, but without the head of the Emperor, to the various reigns to which they belong. This, we need hardly say, is only possible in those cases where the same magistrate's name occurs, both on so-called autonomous and on Imperial coins. There remain also a considerable number of Lydian coins bearing magistrates' names which are anterior to the age of Augustus. These it is quite impossible to classify in exact chronological order.

E. Babelon. Letter to Dr. J. Friedlaender on a Roman Republican Semis, attributed by Mommsen, *Hist. Mon. Rom.*,

vol. ii. p. 319, to the moneyer M. Aburius Geminus, B.C. 134—114. This coin according to M. Babelon is in reality a coin of M. Fabrinius, of which the inscription M . FABRI NI has been altered by a modern forger to M . ABVRI NI. Dr. Friedlaender, in his reply to M. Babelon, stated that he saw no reason to doubt the authenticity of the inscription on the specimen in the Berlin Museum.

M. Deloche. On unpublished Merovingian coins of Angoulême.

E. Gariel. On Carlovingian Coins.

L. Blancard. On the coins called Liliati or Caroleni (Gillats or Carlins) of the Angevin kings of Naples, first issued in A.D. 1302.

G. Schlumberger. On Byzantine Seals.

J. Rouyer. A jeton of Jacques Charmoule, "Changeur du Trésor," temp. Louis XII. and Francis I.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, band xi., heft iii., contains the following articles:—

Th. Mommsen. Restitution to Berytus in Phœnicia of a coin attributed by Eckhel, Mionnet, and De la Saussaye (after Vaillant) to Ruscino in Gallia Narbonensis.

H. Jaekel. On the Frisian *wede*, a woollen garment, as a medium of exchange, equivalent to twelve silver pennies.

M. Bahrfeldt. On the Masera find of Roman Republican denarii.

F. Bardt. On the Gross-Briesen Find of Bracteates.

J. Friedlaender. On the Medals of the Florentine Artist Nicolaus Forzorius.

Geschichte des aelteren römischen Münzwesens bis circa 200 *vor Christi*, from the posthumous papers of Dr. Karl Samwer, edited by M. Bahrfeldt. Wien, 1883.

This is a treatise which cannot fail to awaken the interest of all students of the growth and development of the early Roman coinage. In the conclusions at which the authors have arrived, after mature study of a mass of material which has never yet been placed at the disposal of metrologists, they have been led to differ essentially not only from all the older writers on the same subject, but from no less an authority than Mommsen. The commencement of the Roman coinage on the Libral system is fixed by Mommsen as having taken place in the time of the Decemvirs B.C. 451. Bahrfeldt and Samwer reject the evidence adduced by Mommsen in favour of so early a date, and chiefly

on the ground of the late style of the head of Janus, and of the prow on the earliest asses, place the commencement of the Roman aes grave in the first half of the fourth century B.C. The writers also show most satisfactorily that the earliest asses were *de facto* as well as *de jure* Libral, consisting of 12 ounces and not of 10, as Mommsen supposed, to whom the heavier specimens were unknown. This original As of 12 ounces sank, however, in the course of a very few years to about 10 ounces, at which stage it remained nearly stationary down to about B.C. 310, as we infer from the fact that the Roman colony of Luceria, founded B.C. 314, coined its money on the 10-ounce standard. Between B.C. 310 and 290 the weight of the As sank to about 7½ ounces, and between B.C. 290 and 268, during the wars with the Etruscans, the South Italians, and Pyrrhus, it fell still lower, viz., to less than 8 ounces. The writers show that throughout the whole of this period the reduction was a gradual one, and that the semi-libral and quadrantal reductions inferred by d'Ailly and de Salis had no legal status. The first real legal reduction took place in B.C. 268, when the Roman coinage was reorganized and the denarius of 72 to the lb. weight of silver was first issued. The reduction in the weight of the As then legally affirmed was according to our authors *Sextantal*, and not, as Mommsen supposed, *Triental*, the denarius being equivalent to 10 asses of 2 ounces each, and the proportionate value of silver to copper as 1·120. We shall be interested to learn whether Prof. Mommsen will have anything to say in reply to the weighty arguments adduced by Bahrfeldt on this subject. Between B.C. 268 and 241 Bahrfeldt gives lists of silver denarii and Sextantal bronze coins bearing identical moneyers' symbols. Again, M. Bahrfeldt differs from Mommsen with respect to the date of the reduction in the weight of the denarius from 70 to 60 grs., in other words from $\frac{1}{72}$ to $\frac{1}{84}$ lb. This reduction Mommsen makes contemporary with the uncial reduction of the As B.C. 217. Bahrfeldt places it as early as B.C. 241.

In B.C. 217 the As was legally reduced to the weight of 1 ounce, and the denarius was tariffed at 16 of these uncial asses, the proportionate value of silver to copper being now fixed at 1·112. The above brief notice of Messrs. Samwer and Bahrfeldt's interesting treatise will be sufficient to point out that numerous and important questions have been again raised, which since the appearance of Mommsen's standard work have been generally regarded as finally disposed of. We commend the book to the careful study of the metrologist, but we doubt whether the last word has yet been said on this obscure and intricate chapter of Roman numismatics.

B. V. H.

Of the gold coins known, I think I am right in saying that there is but one which bears a fairly-written, intelligible Greek inscription (Pl. X. No. 1). The others are either misspelt, or fail in conveying an intelligible meaning to the understanding. In describing the coins figured in Plate X., the majority of which are now published for the first time, I make no pretension to having reached a more advanced stage than my predecessors. There are difficulties involved in the study of these coins which I feel myself unable to conquer, but which I do not believe are insurmountable. As materials multiply, I am convinced that a satisfactory solution of the enigmas that now puzzle us will be arrived at, and it is rather with the view of assisting in the attainment of this end by bringing new acquisitions to the notice of archæologists than of offering suggestions or explanations myself, that I venture to publish the coins in question. I confine myself to those which bear Greek inscriptions, partly because those with Ethiopic legends belong to a later and distinct series, and partly because no recent discoveries of coins of this class have been reported.

The first to make a serious study of the Axumite coins was the late M. Adrien de Longpérier, who in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1868 published a careful description of the coins known up to that date. In the elucidation of the legends he was assisted by M. Antoine d'Abbadie, who regarded the words of which they were composed as springing from a *Kamite* source, that is to say, the language spoken by the Agao, or aboriginal inhabitants of Abyssinia. This hypothesis has not received the support of subsequent writers on the subject, nor does it seem susceptible of bearing serious examination. Although the Axumite sovereigns preferred to employ the Greek character for the

legends of their coins, there can be little doubt that the language of the court, if not of the people in general, was Ethiopic, which was closely allied to the Himyaritic of the opposite coast of South Arabia, if not originally identical with it. M. Longpérier was followed in his researches by Dr. Dillmann[1] and M. Joseph Halévy,[2] both of whom contributed by some valuable suggestions to our knowledge of these coins. The net results of their investigations have been summed up in an extremely able manner by M. E. Drouin in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1882.[3] Although I do not concur in all of M. Drouin's conclusions, I cannot refrain from testifying to the value of his work, which has done much to smooth the path of subsequent inquirers.

The gold coins of this series belong to two classes, one consisting of pieces struck anterior to the introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia, and the other of those struck subsequent to that event. They are all of one general type, which, in order to obviate the necessity of repetition in describing the coins separately, I shall detail here. The obverse bears the bust of the king turned to the right, encircled by two ears of a grain resembling barley. On the head is a radiated crown with four points, apparently placed above a fillet, which is tied behind, and in the hand is a sword or sceptre, pointing to the right. The bust is draped, and the figure in coins belonging to the post-Christian era is generally surrounded by a dotted or plain circle. The reverse bears a smaller bust, also turned to the right and encircled by two ears of barley.

[1] *Die Anfänge Axumitisch. Reiches*, 4to., 1879, pp. 226 *sqq.*

[2] *Mélanges d'épigraphie sémitique*, 1874, pp. 126—46.

[3] *Les listes royales éthiopiennes et leur autorité historique*, 1882.

On the head is a round tiara or diadem tied behind, and apparently with an ornament in front, and in the hand is a branch of olive or some other bacciferous plant. The præ-Christian coins bear upon their margins the well-known symbol of a crescent and globe; the post-Christian replace this by crosses, which are generally placed at the four cardinal points, and interrupt the legend in an arbitrary way, thus adding to the inherent difficulties of its interpretation.

The earliest coin of which specimens are known bears the following inscriptions:—

Obv.—ΑΦΙΛΑϹ ΒΑϹΙΛЄΥϹ.
Rev.—ΑΞWΜΙΤWΝ ΒΙϹΙΔΙΜΗΛΗ.

Several gold specimens of this type have been figured and described,[4] and the British Museum also possesses a copper coin which has not hitherto been published (Pl. X. No. 13), and which varies from the others in the fact of the head on the obverse being *en face*, instead of in profile. The inscription, which is perfectly legible, does not differ from that in the gold specimens, and it also bears the crescent and globe in both margins. The name of the king has been variously read as *Aphilas*, *Aphidas*, *Aridas*, and *Aqilas*. A careful examination of the coins will, I think, substantiate the first of these readings, but this does not remove the difficulty of identifying the monarch. In the lists of the Ethiopian kings we find in Period I., List A, No. 16, a *Filyâ*, ፊልያ: and in B, No. 20, a *Safêlyâ*, ሰፍልያ: both of whom lived in præ-Christian times, but at a date too remote for the style of the coin. M. Halévy suggests the Semitic root ሐፍለ: *hafela*,

[4] Drouin, *op. cit.*, Pl. XX., Nos. 1, 2, 3.

which in the form حَفَلَ is still employed in Arabic in the sense of *congregatus fuit populus*. I prefer to look on the name as the Greek form of the Ethiopic *Af-ilah*, the *mouth of Ilah*, which in the analogous forms of *Sa'd-ilah*, or *Sa'd-ilat*, &c., is often met with in Himyaritic. A similar compound is used to this day in Abyssinia in the honorary title of *Afa-negûs*, or *mouth of the king*, a royal officer whose business it is to communicate between the king and his subjects.[5]

The inscription on the reverse has in vain exercised the ingenuity of archæologists. It has not yet been settled whether it applies to the smaller crownless head or not, or whether the head in question belongs to a Cæsar or presumptive successor, to a viceroy of Arabia, or even to a royal consort. The sword in the king's hand would seem to connote the military functions of the Hâkim, or head of the State. Does the branch in the hand of the figure of the reverse indicate the more peaceful duties of a civil officer? It is difficult to answer the question until we know more of the Ethiopic system of government than can be gleaned from the bare annals of the Abyssinian historians. It may, however, be remarked that the two heads figure in the same manner on the Sabæan or Himyaritic coinage, and that, as will be shown farther on, there are good grounds for supposing that the smaller head represents the heir to the kingdom, and ex-officio viceroy of el-Yemen.

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[5] I follow Dillmann's classification of the lists of the Ethiopian kings. The first period extends from the earliest times to Bâzên, in whose reign Christ is said to have been born; the second to Ela-Abreha, under whom Christianity was introduced into Abyssinia; and the third to the accession of the Zagé dynasty and the temporary extinction of the Salomonians.

The legend **BICIΔIMHΛH** has been read by Rüppell as an abbreviation or corruption of **BACIΛEYC ΔIMIAN**, Dimian having been taken as the name of a viceroy of el-Yemen under the Axumite sovereigns. This hypothesis, although it has received the support of competent archæologists, does not, in view of the very clear epigraphy of the inscription, and the historical difficulties involved in its acceptance, seem to me to be tenable. M. Halévy is probably nearer the truth when he recognises an Ethiopic phrase in **BICIΔIMHΛH**. I believe myself that it is a territorial surname of the sovereign, formed in the same manner as the *laqabs* of so many of the Himyaritic monarchs. **BICI** is, as M. Halévy has pointed out, the Ethiopic ብእሲ: *a man*, and is equivalent to the Himyaritic 𐩱 or the Arabic بِن. In the Axum inscriptions, the King Ela-'Amedâ is styled Beësè Ḥalên, a phrase which has been interpreted by Dillmann as equivalent to φιλέλλην, a common surname of the Græcized sovereigns of Asia. I would, however, prefer to recognise in Ḥalên, ሐለኒ: a local name, possibly the ancient Κολόη of the Periplus, the modern Halai. In the same manner, the royal names compounded with Beësè in the Abyssinian lists, such as Beësè Bâzên,[6] Beësè Sarq, Beësè Tsawêzâ, may, I think, be referred to localities which careful research might yet find it possible to identify. It is not unlikely that **ΔIMHΛH** has some *rapport* with the modern province of Dembea.

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[6] Bâzê, for instance, is the indigenous name for the island which is usually known under the Semitic appellation of Masawwa' (مصوّع) or Massowah. This word literally signifies "the space across which a man's cry can be heard," and refers to the distance between the island and the mainland.

A silver-plated coin in the British Museum (Pl. X. No. 14) is also distinguished by the symbol of the globe and crescent. The legend is illegible, only fragments of the word **BACIΛЄYC** on the obverse, and **AΞωM** on the reverse, being discernible.

The earliest coins with Christian emblems are, in my opinion, those of King Okhsas. M. Halévy, in the memoir which I have cited,[7] states that when he was at Aden he received a gold coin as a present from Colonel Miles, having the inscription **OYCAC BACIΛЄYC** on the obverse, and **ΘЄOY + ЄYXA** on the reverse, and he compares the royal name with that of አውስያ : *Auseyá*, Period I., List B, No. 11, and derives it from the primitive form አወስ : *a gift*, which is often found in the nomenclature of the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula. I have not seen a figure or cast of M. Halévy's coin, but I can scarcely doubt that it is of the same type as those depicted in Plate X. Nos. 1 and 2. Of these, the former, which is in an excellent state of preservation, was lately found near Aden, and was presented by the Resident, Brigadier-General Blair, to the Museum of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The other was also discovered near Aden some years ago, and was presented by Colonel Miles to the Royal Asiatic Society of London. The legends are as follows :—

OKHSAS.

1. *Obv.*—**+OXCAC BACIΛЄYC.**

Rev.—**+ΘЄOY ЄYXAPICTIA.**

[Pl. X., No. 1. *Bombay Museum.*]

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[7] Halévy, *Mélanges d'épigraphie*, p. 140.

2. *Obv.*—+OXC+AC B+ACIA+EYC.

Rev.—+ΘEOY EYXAPICTIA.

[Pl. X., No. 2. *R. Asiat. Soc.*]

The reverses of these two coins are identical; the obverses vary slightly, as in No. 2 the marginal inscription is cut up into four segments by crosses at the cardinal points. Although the Greek orthography is perfectly correct, it is in these coins that we first see that degradation of the alphabet which often throws such difficulty in the way of the decipherment of the inscription. The letter B is sometimes written B, sometimes Ɔ, sometimes C; C and E are written indifferently C and Ɔ, and A is written A and A. The letter X is, however, perfectly recognisable on both these coins, and the theory that the name has any connection with *Aus* therefore falls to the ground. I venture to submit the opinion that the king *Okhsas* is identical with the *Bakhasa* of the following group of coins. The letter ቨ in the Amharic language has frequently the sound of the modern Greek B; *Ababá*, a flower, being, for instance, pronounced *Avavá*; *úb* or *úbít*, beauty, as *ūv*, *ūvīt*, &c. In the ear of the foreign die-sinker, the initial labial may easily have dropped, and the result would be the transmutation of the Ethiopic *Bakhasa* into the Greek *Okhsas*. I complete this hypothesis by suggesting that the coins with the Greek form of the regal name, and with the Greek inscription, "The grace of God," on the reverse, were intended for external use, while those with the Ethiopic form of the name, and with vernacular inscriptions in Greek characters on the reverse, were designed for the internal currency of the kingdom.

I next come to a larger group of coins, all of which bear upon the obverse the name of *Bakhasa* or *Sin Bakhasa*.

In the regal lists we find the name of ባሕሳ: *Baḥasa*, in Period I. List A, No. 8. It is true that this king belongs to one of the præ-Christian dynasties in the lists; but this point is of little importance when we consider that the names were handed down by oral tradition alone, and that the lists were apparently drawn up without method by the Abyssinian chroniclers, several names derived from the Holy Writings being found among the pagan monarchs. Before proceeding to describe the coins of Bakhasa I may mention that all of which I have notes were discovered in South Arabia, in the vicinity of Aden. The two following appear to be the earliest in date :—

BAKHASA.

1. *Obv.*—+ BAC + CIЧ + BAX + ACA.

   Rev.—+ IAN + AAΦ + EωЧ + BIC.

   [Pl. X. No. 3. *Brit. Mus.*]

2. *Obv.*—+ CIЧ + BAX + ACA + BAC.

   Rev.—+ IAN + AAΦ + EωЧ + BIC.

   [Pl. X. No. 4. *Bombay Mus.*]

The two first syllables of the inscription in the obverse have been read as BAC + CIA, for BACIAEYC, but I think without good grounds. BAC is, no doubt, an abbreviated form of BACIAEYC, and CIЧ would appear to be a title of the king, for which no adequate interpretation is yet available. With regard to the legend on the reverse, Dr. Mordtmann has pointed out, with much plausibility,[8] that the combination IANAAΦ is identical with the common Himyaritic surname ΦЧ٩, ينوف, يناف, and it was probably employed either as a designation of the king

[8] *Neue himyarische Münzen*, 1880, p. 9.

himself, or of his heir-apparent. The two other words ЄѠЧ + BIC +, offer greater difficulties. BIC is doubtless a short Greek form of ብእሴ: and ЄѠЧ, or, as it should probably be read, ЧѠЄ, may either be a local name or an Ethiopic word signifying *wealth* or *property*.

The following group of coins varies in the inscription on the reverse:—

3. *Obv.*—+ CIЧ + BAX + ACA + BAC.
   Rev.—+ AHΛ + BAC + ACA + ЄCB.
   [Pl. X. No. 5. *Brit. Mus.*]
4. *Obv.*—*Ib.*
   Rev.—*Ib.*
   [Pl. X. No. 6. *Brit. Mus.*]
5. *Obv.*—*Ib.*
   Rev.—*Ib.*
   [Pl. X. No. 7. *R. Asiat. Soc.*]
6. *Obv.*—*Ib.*, with the letter Λ over the crown.
   Rev.—*Ib.*
   [Pl. X. No. 8. *Col. Prideaux.*]

I have carefully examined all these coins, and have no doubt that the inscriptions are identical, notwithstanding the slight variations in the formation of the letters B, Є, and C that I have previously remarked upon. The legend of the obverse cannot easily be interpreted, but I am inclined to read it as BAC + ACA + ЄCB + AHΛ +, the first syllable being the usual abreviation of BACIΛЄYC. The signification of the second I am unable to explain; but the two last I venture to read as ЄCBAHΛ, *Esbaël*, a royal name equivalent to the more common form Elesbaa, or, in Ethiopic, ኤል: ኤስብሐ: in Greek, Ἐλεσβάας, meaning, *God has brightened*. The Ethiopian king Ela-Atsbeha is thought, on good grounds, to be identical with one of the kings under whom Christianity was first intro-

duced into Abyssinia, and he was probably one of the two brothers, Aizanas and Sazanas, to whom the Emperor Constantius II. (337—361) addressed, in the year 356, a letter, which is still extant.[9] This belief is supported by the numismatic evidence which will be shortly touched on.

The next coin of Bakhasa to which I would draw attention bears almost precisely identical inscriptions on both sides. It was found a few years ago at Hazki, a village in the vicinity of Aden, and is now in my possession.

7. *Obv.*—+ CIF + BAX + ACA + BAC.

Rev.—CYF + BAX + ACA + BAC.

[Pl. X. No. 9. *Col. Prideaux.*]

This piece was published by me, without a description, in the Transactions of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. l. (1881), Pl. X. No. 8. I have now restored the inscription, which in places has received rough treatment. The coin probably belongs to a period of Bakhasa's reign when he exercised sole sovereignty over both the southern coasts of the Red Sea.

The last of the gold coins of Bakhasa which are represented in the plate was acquired by the Berlin Museum in 1879, and has been figured in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vol. vii. Pl. IV. I have been favoured with a cast of this interesting piece, the legends of which I read as follows:—

Obv.—+ CFI + BAX + ACA + BAC. In front of the head, W.

Rev.—+ HEZANA BACIAEYC.

[Pl. X. No. 10. *Berlin Museum.*]

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[9] Drouin, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 *sqq.*

The name of the prince on the reverse has been hitherto read as NЄZANA. I am, however, inclined to think that it is the same name as that which appears on No. 11, and that the coin was struck during the last years of King Bakhasa, when Êzana or Aizanas was virtually sovereign of the Axumites.

In addition to the gold coins of Bakhasa, several copper coins of that prince are in existence, which have hitherto been incorrectly attributed to a certain King Asael, or Asahel. These coins bear on the obverse the bust of the king turned to the right, crowned, as on the gold coins, and bearing in the hand a long sceptre surmounted by a cross. M. Drouin remarks that the reading, Asahel, is certain, if note is taken of the fact that the sign + which follows the first letter is the cross in question. This is quite true, but previous commentators have read the legend as beginning from the top of the coin, instead of from the left-hand bottom corner. The reverse bears a Greek cross within a circle, surrounded by a legend :—

8. *Obv.*—BAX + ACA.
Rev.—TOYTO APECH TH XωPA.
[Pl. X. Nos. 15, 16, 17.]

The legend of the reverse, which is in nearly every instance misspelt (TOTYO, TOYT, &c.), is represented on the Geëz coins of a later date in the formula, ለእሕዛብ ፈቃዱ ለይኩን : "May it be a pleasure to the peoples!"

The coin which I am now about to describe was also found near Aden, and is in excellent preservation, the inscription being as fresh as when it issued from the mint. The legends read as follows :—

AIZANA.

1. *Obv.*—+ HZA + NA B + ACI + AЄY. Over the crown. ∩.

Rev.—+ AAHH + AΣѠ + MIT B + ICI.

[Pl. X. No. 11. *Col. Prideaux.*]

This coin was probably struck after the death of Bakhasa, when Êzana or Aizana, who had previously reigned in conjunction with his father (*v.* No. 10), became, as he styles himself on the coin, sole monarch of the Axumites. What the designation **BICI AAHH** may mean I am unable to say; but, as in other cases, it has probably a local signification. The date of the letter from the Emperor Constantius II., viz. A.D. 356, approximately fixes the period of Aizana's reign. It was this king who celebrated his victories over the adjacent provinces of Ethiopia in the well-known Greek inscription which was discovered by Salt in 1805. In this document Aizana calls himself "the son of the invincible Arês," υἱὸς θεοῦ ἀνικήτου Ἄρεως, a mere *façon de parler*, for the king was undoubtedly a Christian, although I think numismatic evidence is against his being the first chief who renounced paganism, this honour in all probability being more justly due to his predecessor Bakhasa. I may add here that in Period 2, List B, the name of the father of Abreha and Atsbeha (the latter identical, as I think, with Aizana) is called *Senfa* or *Saifa Ar'ad*. This may suggest an explanation of the syllable, *Sin*, *Syn*, or *Sni*, which precedes the name Bakhasa on his gold coinage.

The following coin belongs to a king who has been hitherto unknown. It was found near Aden a few years ago:—

AIÊB.

1. *Obv.*—+++AIHB BACIΛЄY.

Rev.—+++AIOCOIЄNЄNA.

[Pl. X. No. 12. *Col. Prideaux.*]

In the List A of the Second Period, No. 24, we find an Ela-Aïba, and this coin may perhaps be attributed to the prince in question, who, however, lived, according to the compiler of the list, at a date anterior to the introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia. I must admit my inability to interpret the legend of the reverse.

The only remaining prince of whose gold coinage any remains are extant is the one whose pieces bear the inscription + ΓЄ + PC + E + M on the reverse, and on the obverse +BACIΛI AZωMI. M. Halévy has, with great plausibility, assimilated the name of this monarch with those which figure in the lists as *Germa Asfarê*, or *Germa Safar*, and has proposed to read it ΓЄP(MA) CEM, "fear of the (divine) name." The analogy of this with other Ethiopic names, gives great weight to M. Halévy's suggestion.

There are several copper coins in existence bearing on the obverse a bust, turned to the right, and surrounded by two ears of barley, and on the reverse a smaller bust within a circle. The reading of the legends is not very clear, but it appears to be as follows:

1. *Obv.*—+ OYΛZHBAC BACIΛЄYC.

Rev.—+ TOYTO APECH TH XωPA.

[Pl. X. No. 18. *Brit. Mus.*]

M. Halévy compares this name with Wazḥa (Period I. List A. No. 12). According to this list King Wazḥa reigned only one year, and that at a period long prior to the introduction of Christianity. This latter circumstance is not of much moment, but if the duration of the monarch's reign was as short as tradition reported it to be, it is

difficult to account for the comparatively large number of his coins that have been found. I have more inclination to agree with M. Drouin's suggestion that Ûlzêbas is an ignorant moneyer's corruption of the common names Ela-Atsbeḥa or Ela-Tsebâḥ, which occur frequently in the regal lists.

In addition to the coins which bear royal names, copper pieces are occasionally found which simply have the title **BACIΛЄYC** round a small head on the obverse, and the legend **TOYTO APECH TH XωPA** on the reverse round a Greek cross (Pl. X., No. 19). These of course it is impossible to identify, or to attribute to any one of the numerous monarchs who fill the legendary lists.

W. F. Prideaux.

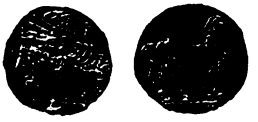
VIII.

COINS STRUCK BY HANNIBAL IN ITALY.

So far as I know no one has attempted to determine what coins were issued by Hannibal when in Italy. He must obviously, in paying a large army of mercenaries, have used money very largely. Indeed the employment of mercenaries was in ancient times one of the especial occasions for minting coins. M. Six has shown that the generals of the Persian Empire hardly ever issued coins in their own names except on the occasion of a military expedition; and Mommsen maintains that the early gold money of Rome owed its origin to military needs.

What money then did Hannibal use? Very probably he did not scruple to use any that he found current in the regions which he occupied, including the denarii of Rome herself. The Carthaginians can scarcely be said to have had a national coinage, most of their types being taken from the Greek issues of Sicily. They would therefore feel the less scruple in using coins bearing the types and legends of other races. Hannibal may also have issued in Italy some of those electrum pieces of the weight of 45–42 grains (2·90–2·70 grammes), which bear on one side the head of Persephone, and on the other a horse standing or trotting. These coins, alike in the badness of their style and the baseness of their metal, bear signs

of belonging to some of the last times of Carthaginian independence; but whether they are found in Italy I do not know.



There is, however, a set of the coins of Campania which appears to me to bear clear traces of the influence of Hannibal. They are the electrum coins placed by general consent at the end of the Romano-Campanian series, which may be thus described:— [1]

Obv.—Beardless janiform head.

Rev.—Zeus in quadriga, holding sceptre and hurling thunderbolt; Victory holds reins of chariot.

El. Wt. 3·10 to 2·58 (48–40 gr.)

That these pieces were minted at Capua, and that they belong to the last times of Campanian coinage, is recognised in Mommsen's great work;[2] but that writer does not bring them into special connexion with Hannibal. Several facts, however, seem to me fully to establish that connexion:—

(1.) Metal and weight are the same in these coins as in the above-mentioned late issues of Carthage. Electrum

[1] D'Ailly, i., Pl. XLVI., 4, cf. p. 189.
[2] Trans., vol. iii. p. 229, &c.; vol. i. p. 264.

as a material was usual in all the later Carthaginian issues; in Italy it was quite exceptional. The monetary standard is that called the Phœnician, somewhat debased. The weight of the Capuan coins is absolutely identical with that of the Carthaginian issue. But this weight does not occur elsewhere in Italy. The earlier coins of Capua are some eight grains heavier and of pure gold. The Roman gold coins of Hannibal's times, those bearing an eagle on the reverse, are struck of the weight of 3, 2, and 1 Roman scruples, that is, 52·5, 35, and 17·5 grains. But these electrum coins contain no exact number of Roman scruples. Mommsen[3] indeed suggests that they contain 2½ scruples of electrum, or 2 of pure gold, deducting 20 per cent. as alloy. But there is obviously something arbitrary in this supposition. With equal justice we might deduct 25 per cent., or any other proportion.

(2.) The types show Carthaginian influence. They are imitated, it is true, from earlier coins of Capua—silver coins, be it observed, not gold—which bear the name of Rome and the types of Janus head and quadriga of Zeus. But in the copying, instructive changes are introduced. The name of Rome is entirely dropped. We might, perhaps, have expected to find in its place the name of Capua, as the city in its convention with Hannibal expressly reserved its autonomy.[4] But the Capuans may for some reason have stopped short of that extreme assertion of independence alike of Rome and Carthage. The quadriga of Zeus seems to be a type especially affected by the Capuans, and not by any means forced on them by

[3] Trans., vol. i. p. 264.
[4] Livy, xxiii. 7.

Roman influence; indeed it is not originally a Roman type at all. There could, therefore, be no reason why they should drop the type when striking in independence and defiance of Rome. But it is in the obverse type of our electrum coins that we see clearest traces of Carthaginian influence. For the head there, though apparently an imitation of the beardless head of Janus, is not so really. It is decidedly female in character:[5] and not merely so; each of the faces corresponds in the closest degree in outline and character with the head of Persephone on late electrum coins of Carthage, and above each face clearly appear the two ears of corn which mark the Carthaginian head. Thus we have here no head of Janus, but a janiform head of Persephone, the accustomed deity of the Carthaginian money.[6] The doubling of the head is evidently a concession to local customs of mintage, as the Capuan mint was so accustomed to janiform representations. And abstracting this difference, only one remains, or seems to remain. Persephone on the Carthaginian coins wears invariably the feminine ornaments of necklace and earring; and these apparently do not figure on its Capuan copy. I would, however, remark in reply, first that the absence of the earring in the second case is not quite certain, and secondly that the janiform arrangement does not well lend itself to female adornment. At any rate this trifling difficulty is not strong enough to cancel the positive evidence which shows that

[5] D'Ailly remarks this, i. p. 188, but considers the appearance fallacious.

[6] A janiform female head occurs on the coins of Syracuse at an earlier period. See Head, "Coinage of Syracuse," Pl. VI., 15. It is the more important to note this because the types of coins of Carthage are so often suggested by those of Syracuse.

the intention was to produce a double female head crowned with corn.

It is I think clear that these electrum coins were issued at Capua during the subordination of that city to the Carthaginians under Hannibal. And we thus gain, not merely an interesting illustration of history, but an important fixed point for determining the dates of other Italian issues.

PERCY GARDNER.

IX.

A HOARD OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS FOUND IN ROME

AND DESCRIBED BY SIG. DE ROSSI.

A VERY interesting find of Anglo-Saxon coins has lately been made in Rome. It has been described by the Signor Commandante De Rossi, by whose kind permission I am able to lay before the Society the following account of the find, abridged from that of Signor De Rossi, such portions of his valuable paper as are not concerned directly with numismatic questions being omitted.

During some excavations which were being carried on near the House of the Vestals, at the foot of the Palatine, a hoard of coins was discovered, enclosed in an earthenware vessel. It consisted of 830 Anglo-Saxon pennies, ranging in date between 871 and 947, that is to say, of coins which to all intents may be accounted contemporary. Together with these English pieces were two denarii of Pavia, one of Ratisbon, and one of Limoges, all of the end of the ninth century, or the first half of the tenth, and finally, one solidus aureus of the Byzantine emperor, Theophilus (829—842). It is evident that the find forms a single treasure, collected probably by one person within a very short period, not hoarded for a number of years. It is to be noticed that the find does not include one coin of Rome, which seems to preclude the idea that it was amassed in that city. Everything, in fact, points to the conclusion that the main body of the pieces consisted of what were called in this country Peter's Pence, Rom-feoh, or Rom-scot. The denarii of Limoges and Ratisbon

might very well have made their way into England, and have formed part of the treasure collected. There would be nothing peculiar in the presence of the Byzantine gold coin in the hoard, for, as we know, the Byzantine solidi passed current over the whole of Western Europe at this time, supplying the place of a native gold coinage to these lands, much as the Persian darics passed current in Greece proper, and furnished its cities with the higher currency, which their native mints did not produce.

Had, then, these coins been found quite alone we should have said, with something like certainty, that they had been brought hither by some pilgrim from England, deposited by him and lost (probably through his death) before they could be delivered to the representative of the Pope. This idea is negatived, however, by the discovery with the coins of a fibula, unique in this respect, that it bears upon its two facets the inscription, + DOMNO MA + RINO PAPA (*sic*) (for Domino Marino Papæ). The Pope here referred to is undoubtedly Marinus II., who reigned from 942 to 946. The oxidation on the brooch and on some of the coins is so exactly the same, that there can be no question of their having formed parts of one and the same deposit. The brooch is, says Signor De Rossi, so far as the shape alone is concerned, of a kind that might have been worn by any soldier or official of the Papal court. The chief distinction between the dress of such persons and the dress of the clergy lay in the fact that, whereas all alike wore the short *cappa pluvialis*, which had succeeded to the earlier Byzantine chlamys, this cloak was worn by the clergy, as it still is by the higher orders of them, fastened in front, whereas by the laity it was fastened upon the shoulder by means of a brooch. But no such brooch has hitherto been found with the name of the Pope upon it. It cannot, therefore,

be supposed that such were worn by a large class of persons. Rather is it probable that their use was confined to the most intimate officers of the household. It is fair to suppose that the possessor of this fibula was entrusted with the receipt of a part, at any rate, of the Peter's Pence; that for some reason or other this particular receipt was kept separate from other batches, was buried by this officer, and thus lost sight of. With regard to the reasons which may have led to its interment, Signor De Rossi points out that during the pontificate of Marinus II. Alberic, Prince of the Romans, was at war with Ugo, King of Italy, the Pope being upon the side of the former. Ugo extended his troops as far as Rome, of which he attempted to gain possession by corrupting the citizens. Peace was not made between the two rivals before 946. It is highly probable that at a moment of panic the coins in question were buried.

Whatever else, then, may be doubtful about this treasure, there can, I think, be little question that it consists almost entirely of Peter's Pence. So far as I know, it is the first find of which so much can be said. It is worth while, therefore, to recall some of the circumstances in which this tribute was levied at this time. Signor De Rossi says: "Cardinal Garampi wrote a special dissertation upon the original institution of this pious tribute, which dissertation was read in Rome in 1750, and was one of the latest labours of that learned man. It is preserved in the *Codex Vaticanus Latinus*, 9022, from which I have drawn some of the following facts. The excessive devotion of the Anglo-Saxons of this period to the Apostle Peter brought a very large number of pilgrims from that nation to Rome, and many of their kings even, from the seventh century onwards, made the journey to Rome in order to pay their devotion to the tomb of the chief

of the apostles. Ceadwalla, King of the [West] Saxons, chose to be baptized in the font at the Vatican, and, dying at eighty in the white vestments of baptism, was buried in the basilica of St. Peter, 689. King Ini came to Rome about 725, chose never to depart thence, resigned his kingdom, and in like manner died near the tomb of the great apostle. The same pilgrimage was made by Offa I., Siric [King of Essex], Offa II. [there is, however, no foundation for this statement, as Archdeacon Pownall has pointed out in the pages of this Journal], and Coenred. Other Anglo-Saxon kings came to Rome in the eighth and ninth centuries. The hospitium of the Saxons, and their constantly growing colony round the gates of the Vatican, outdid anything of the sort which could be shown by any other nation. So much so that the earliest portions of the Leonine city were the *burgus Anglorum* and the *vicus Saxonum*. For the maintenance of such an important hospice, and as a gift of devotion to the basilica of the apostle and to the Pope, the Peter's Pence was instituted at the end of the eighth century, or the beginning of the ninth [by Ini, King of Wessex, according to some; Bishop Stubbs thinks more probably by Offa, King of Mercia, *circ.* 787]. It consisted of the contribution of a denarius from the head of each family possessed of a certain quantity of land. This contribution was in full vigour at the time of the above-named deposit during the pontificate of Marinus II., and mention is made of it in the laws of Edward I. [the elder], whose coins are very numerous in this hoard. Garampi points out that at the end of the tenth century (998) the annual tribute was calculated at a fixed sum of 300 marks of coined pennies. The mark was equivalent to 160 pennies, so that the above treasure, a little above 5 marks, was equal to the contribution of more than eight hundred families."

From all which it appears that in the ninth century there was as large an English colony in Rome in proportion to that of other nations, as there is in the nineteenth century. Our modern pilgrims pay their tribute too, but it is to hotel landlords rather than to the basilica of St. Peter's.

To the above account, given by Signor De Rossi, I will add all the passages that I know of in the early English laws which speak of this Rom-feoh. (See also Stubbs' *Const. Hist.*).

Gif hwâ Rom-feoh forhealde, gylde lah-slit mid Denum wîte mid Englum.

(If any one withhold the Peter's Penny, he shall pay the Danish mulct if a Dane, the English fine if an Englishman.) —*Laws of Eadweard (the Elder) and Guthrum*, 6, § 1.

peôðunge we beheôdað ælcum cristenum men be his cristendôme, and cyric-sceat and Romfeoh and suhl-ælmessan. And gif hit hwâ dôn nelle, sŷ he âmânsomod.

(We order of every Christian man by his Christianity to pay his tithe, and the church-money, and Peter's Penny and the plough-penny [paid by every hide of land for the poor]. And if any one will not do this let him be excommunicated.)— *Eadmund's Laws*, i. 2.

And sŷ ælc heorð-penig[1] âgifen be Petres mæsse-dæge, and se pe hine tô pâm andagen gelæst næbbe, læde hine tô Rome and pær to eâcan xxx pænega and bringe ponne ponon swutelunge pæt he pær swâ micel betæht habe.

And ponne he hâm cume, gylde pâm cynge hund-twelftig scillinga.

(And let every hearth-penny be given on St. Peter's mass; and if any one has not given it by that day he shall carry the same to Rome and 30 pennies more, and bring thence the proof (showing) that he has paid so much. And when he comes home he shall pay the king 120 shillings).—*Eadgar's Laws*, ii. 4.

And Rom-feoh be Petres mæssan and ciric-sceat tô Martinus mæssan.

[1] The word *hearth-penny* is here used for the *Rome-fee*; sometimes it is used for the *plough-penny*.

(And the Peter's Pence at Peter's mass and the church-money at Martinmass.)—*Æthelred's Laws*, vi. 18.

Et ut detur de omni carucâ denarius vel denarium valens et omnis qui familiam habet efficiat ut omnis hyremannus suus det unum denarium quod si non habeat det dominus ejus pro eo, et omnis thaynus decimet totum quicquid habet.

(Let there be given from every hide of land a penny or the worth of it, and let every head of a household see that every one of his tenants pays a penny; and if he have it not, let his lord pay it for him, and let every thane pay the tenth of what he has.)—*Æthelred's Laws*, vii. 1, § 2.

*** The heading of this chapter is "De denario sanctæ ecclesiæ dando et decimatione Thaynorum." It may refer to the Peter's Pence; more probably to the plough-penny. The last sentence, of course, refers to the tithe. In the A.-S. version, however, no mention of Peter's Pence is to be found (cf. Aethelred vii. Append. 5). The word *hyremannus* (for *hiredman*, see A.-S. vers.), is one possessing various significations. "Tenant" is perhaps the best translation that can be given here.

And Romfeoh gelæste man æghwilce geâre be Petres mæssan, and se þe þæt nelle gelæstan, sylle þar to eâcan xxx peninga and gilde þâm cyninge cxx scill.

(And let the Peter's Pence be paid every year at Peter's mass, and if any one will not give it, he shall pay in addition 30 pence, and to the king 120 shillings.)—*Ibid.*, viii. 10.

The provision in Cnut's Laws (i. 9) is almost identical with this last.

De denario Sancti Petri qui Anglice dicitur Romescot.—Omnis qui habuerit xxx denariatas vivæ pecuniæ de suo proprio in domo sua, lege Anglorum denarium Sancti Petri; et lege Danorum dimidiam marcam.

§ 1. Iste vero summoniri debet in festivitate sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli et ultra festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula non detineatur.

§ 2. Si quis vero eum detinuerit, ad justitiam regis clamor deferatur, quoniam ille denarius eleemosina regis est, et justitia regis reddere faciat denarium et forisfacturam regis et episcopi.

§ 3. Et si quis plures domos habuerit, de illa ubi residens fuerit festo Apost. Petri et Pauli, reddat denarium.

(Every one who shall have 30 pennies-worth of live-stock

of his own in his holding, by the English law shall give the St. Peter's Penny, by the Danish half-a-mark.

§ 1. Moreover, this is to be collected (applied for) at the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul (June 29), and is not to be kept back beyond the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (Aug. 1).

§ 2. But if any one does keep it back, the complaint is to be brought unto the king's court, seeing that this penny is the king's charity; and the king's court shall order the payment of the penny and the fine to the king and the bishop.

§ 3. And if any one was in possession of several houses, the penny shall be given (shall be assessed) for the house in which he resided at the time of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul.)—*Eadweard Confessor's Laws* [Codex Harl.], 10.

57, § 1. And we willaƀ, pæt ælc Rompænig beô gelæst be Petres mæssan to pâm bisceopstôle.

§ 2. And we willaƀ, pæt man namige on ælcon wæpengetæce ii trŷwe pegnas and ænne mæssepreôst, pæt hî hit gegaderian and eft âgifan, swâ hî durran to swerian.

58. Gif cyninges pegn oƀƀe ênig landrîca hit forhæbbe gilde x healf-marc, healf Criste, healf cynge.

59. Gif hwilc tûnesman ænigne pænig forhele oƀƀe forhæbbe, gilde se landrîca pone pænig and nime ænne oxan æt pam men; and gif landrîca pæt forgîme, ponne fô Crist and cyning to fulre bôte xii ôr.

57, § 1. And we order that every Peter's Penny shall be paid at the bishop's seat at Peter's mass.

§ 2. And that in every wappentake two true thanes and a mass priest shall be named, who shall collect it (the Rome Penny) and deliver it up according to oath.

58. If a king's thane or any landlord (squire) refuse the penny, he shall pay ten half-marks, half to Christ and half to the king.

59. If a townsman keep back or refuse the penny, the landlord shall pay the penny and take an ox from the man; and if the landlord neglect to do this, then let Christ and the king receive the full penalty of 12 öre (89 sh.).—*Northumbrian Priests' Law.*

The general upshot of this is that the Peter's Pence was a yearly tax of a penny levied on each household (on each free household, that is to say). It was due on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29th); but there having been some laxity in the collecting of it the latest

day on which it could be paid came to be the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (Aug. 1st). In some of the enactments we see further restrictions on the collection of it, as that it was not to be paid by a head of a household who had less than thirty pennyworth of live stock. In the case of tenants or vassals the lord was made responsible for their payment of the tax. The fines levied for neglect to pay the tax are various—30 pence to the Pope, and 120 shillings to the king, being the most usual.

The other taxes, or, as we might better call them, rates, levied by the Church were the tithe for the support of the clergy, and the suhlælmessan, or plough-penny, the poor-rate of a penny levied on every hide of land.

Before proceeding to speak of the points of interest belonging to the coins of the find in themselves, there is one other fact to be gathered from the general nature of the hoard considered as a relic of the Peter's Pence. This is the fact that it contains no specimen of the pennies which bear the legend, SCI PETRI, and which were once supposed by numismatists to have been struck for the special purpose which the coins of this find fulfilled. That theory has already been pretty well abandoned. But this find may be considered to put the question finally at rest. The pennies with the name of St. Peter could have had no connection whatever with the annual tribute to Rome. They were, we may say, certainly struck simply by the foundation at York, which was dedicated to St. Peter, and of which the Minster Church is the relic. This is exactly parallel to the case of the St. Edmund pennies, which were—in the beginning, at any rate—struck only by the monastery at Bury St. Edmunds.

I will now add the list of the coins as it is given by Signor De Rossi.

AELFRED.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*		
1	ÆLFRED REX	Monogram of LONDONIA or LONDONI[1]	1	with bust
2	AEL FRE DRE	RE▒RE I ΠÆRM	1	
3	ELF▒IIDR▒▒▒R⁻◇	DIARƤ I ALD MO	1	
			3	

EADWEARD THE ELDER.

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*			
4	ADAL I BERT	EADVVEARD REX		1	
5	ADEIᐅ I VLF MŌ	XƎЯЯƎVVDAƎ		1	
6	AÐEL I VLF MŌ	EADVVEARD REX		11	
7	ÆÐEL I FERÐ MŌ	—	—	6	
8	ÆÐELS I TAN MŌ	—	—	6	
9	ÆÐER I ED MŌ	—	—	18	
10	AGNEZ MŌ	—	—	1	
11	BAD I DA MŌ	—	—	1	
12	BEAH I RED MŌ	—	—	3	2 with bust
13	BEAH I STAN	—	—	8	1 „ „
14	BEORN I ERE MŌ	—	—	4	
	BEORИ I ERE MŌ	-	—	1	
15	BEORN I VLF MŌ	—	—	2	
16	BEORN I ƤOLD MŌ	—	—	1	
17	BIONN I EDE MO	—	—	2	
18	BIORNARD M̄	—	—	1	
19	BO≡≡GA	—	—	1	
				68	

[1] See Fountaine's Plates and Num. Chron. N.S., vol. x. 1870, p. 28, pl. iii.

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*		68
20	BONVS I HOMO MŌ	EADVVEARD REX		1
21	BYRN I ARD M̄	—	—	1
22	CENBR I EHT MŌ	—	—	1
23	CLIP M I ONETA	—	—	1
24	DEORA I MOD MŌ	—	—	2
	DIORM I OD MŌN	—	—	1
25	DEORV I VALD MŌ	—	—	7 1 with bust
26	DIORA I MONE	—	—	2
27	DRYHT I VALD MŌ	—	—	1
28	ÐVRL I AC MŌ	—	—	2
29	EADMV I ND MŌ	—	—	1
	— —	EADVVEARE REX		1
	EA tower or DY W palace ND[2]	EADWEARD REX		1
30	EALHS I TAN MŌ	EADVVEARD REX		4
31	EARD I VLF MŌ	—	—	1
32	EARИV I LF MOИ	—	—	1
33	EAVVLF I MONETA	—	—	1 with bust
34	ECLAF I MONE	—	—	2
35	EIGMV I ND MŌN	—	—	1
36	ELLAF[3] I MONETA	—	—	5 2 with bust
37	EOFER I NH MO	—	—	1
38	ETILA MONEꞖA			(see TILA)
39	FRIÐE I BRH MŌ	—	—	4
	FRIÐEB I RHT MŌ	—	—	7
40	GARE I ARD MŌ	—	—	4 1 with bust
41	GARV I LF MŌ	—	—	1
42	GRIM I ƤALD MŌ	—	—	5 1 with bust
				127

[2] See Fountaine, *l. c.* plate vii. 67.

[3] ECLAF (?)

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*		127	
43	ᗡVNDB I ERT MŌ	EADVVEARD REX		1	
44	HADEBALD MŌ	—	—	1	
	HEAER I ▩▩▩▩?			1	with bust badly struck
45	HEREM I FRETIA	—	—	1	
46	HERE I MOD M	—	—	2	
	HERE I MŌD M	—	—		
47	HIREBA I LD MŌ	obverse illegible		1	
48	IᗡEREII I NoNETA	EADVVEARD REX		1	with bust
49	LAND I AE MŌ	—	—	2	
50	LONDB I RIHTM̄[o] [4]	—	—	2	1 with bust
51	LIOFH I ELM MŌ	—	—	1	with bust
52	MAᗡN I ARD MŌ	—	—	1	
53	MAN M I ONETA	—	—	1	
54	MARB I ERT MŌ	+ЯƎЯAEDVVᗡΛƎ+		1	
55	ƠDO I MƠNE	EADVVEARD REX		1	
56	OSLAᗡ I MONE	—	—	1	
57	OS . VLF	—	—	1	
58	PAST I OR MŌ	—	—	1	
59	PINEᗡ I EAR MŌ	—	—	2	
60	PITIT I MŌNE	—	—	3	
61	RÆᗡEN I VLF MŌ	—	—	14	
62	RIHA I RD MŌ	—	—	1	
63	SAMS I VN MŌ	—	—	2	
64	SPROV I MŌNE	—	—	2	
	SPROV I MONE	—	—	1	
65	STEAR I MONETA	—	—	1	with bust
66	TILAM I ONETA	—	—	13	1 with bust
	ETILAM I ONEꞀA	—	—	1	
				187	

[4] BRIHT Mo LOND.

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*			
				187	
67	TVDA I MONĒ	EADVVEARD REX		1	
68	VVEALD I HELM MŌ	—	—	4	
	VVEAL I DELM MŌ	—	—	2	
69	VVIL I LVF M	—	—	1	
70	VVLA I ERD MŌ	—	—	1	
71	VVLF I AЯD MO	—	—	1	
	VVLFE I ARD MŌ	—	—	2	
	VVLFHE I ARD MŌ	—	—	3	
72	VVLF I RED MŌ	—	—	2	1 with bust
73	VVLFS I IGE MŌ	—	—	1	
74	EEEEO I OƎƎƎƎ	DRAEVVDA×XER		1	
75	OEOIↃ I DEVO	EADVVEARD REX			
	— —	EIADVVEAR REX		1	
76	OHↃƎ I IΛEDO	EADVVEARD REX		1	
77	ΛƎↃƎ I IEDMŌ	∀DVVEARD REX		1	
78	EDΓORƎↃOIƎ	+ƎↃRAƎVVↃ ЯƎX		1	
79	DEWO I BVOE	EADVVEARD REX		1	
80	NEIOIR I OIIEIIC I	—	—	1	with bust
81	OΛIOIƎ I BEIOE	E∀DVVEARD REX		1	
82	EↃOE I OIƎAЯ	EADVVEARD REX		1	
83	EЯEIO ▨▨▨▨?	—	—	1	
83*a*	Illegible	—	—	1	
				217	

ÆTHELSTAN.

84	ABBA I MON̄	ÆÐELSTAN REX		2
85	ABO I N̄EL	ÆÐEL · STAN REX		1
86	AÐEL I VLF MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX		1
87	ÆÐELF I ERÐ MO	—	—	1
				5

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*	5	
88	ÆÐELFR I EÐ MON̄	EÐELSTAN REX	1	
89	ÆÐEL I VVINEMM̄O	ÆDELSTAN REX	1	with bust
90	ÆÐELS I IGE MŌN	— —	1	
91	ÆLFR I ED MŌ	— —	1	
92	ÆLFV I VINE O	— —	1	
93	AENŁ I E MON	AÐEL·STAN̄ REX	1	
94	ALFEA I V MŌN	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	
	ALFEA I V MON⁻	— —	2	
	ALFEAV I MON	— —	1	
95	ARE M I OИETA	ÆÐEFSTAN REX	2	
96	ASVL I FNOD	ÆÐEL·STAN REX	1	
97	BEAH I RED MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX	2	
98	BELCI▒ I MOИET	— —	1	
99	BEOR I ARD M̄	— —	1	
	BEORA I RD MŌ	— —	1	
100	BEORH I NVC MŌ	EÐELSTAN REX	1	
101	BERN I GAR MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	
102	BIORHT I RIC MŌ	ÆÐEL·STAN REX	1	
103	BIORHT I PALD MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	
104	BVRNEL I D MONE	ÆÐEL·STAN REX	1	
105	CENBR I EHT MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	
106	CIOEH I FCMM	ÆÐELSTAИ REX	1	
107	CLAC I MONE	ÆÐEL·STAN REX	2	
108	CVEELI I LIOHH	— —	2	
109	CVNV I LF MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	
110	DVR·I I ANT	— —	1	
111	DOMEN I CES MŌ	ÆÐEL·STAN REX	1	
112	DOMI I NICM̄	— —	1	
113	ÐVRL I AC MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	
			39	

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*	
			39
114	ÐRYHT I VALD MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX	2
115	EADLILD MŌ	— —	1 with bust.
116	EADMV I ND MŌ	— —	1
	EADM I VИD	— —	1
	EADW I VИD	ÆÐELSTAИRRIX	1
117	EARD I VLF MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1
118	EARNV I LF MOИE	— —	1
	EARNV I LF MONE	— —	2
119	EÐELSIC I E MONĒ	— —	1
120	EFER I MVDM	ÆÐELSTANRREX	1
121	EIƆEИ I ELM MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1
	CFƟEИ I EIM MO	ÆÐELSTAИ REX	1
122	ELLAF I MONETA	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1
	ELLAF I MƟNE	— —	1
123	FRAW I MOHO	— —	1
124	FRIÐEB I RIHT MŌ	— —	1
125	FVCEL I MONĒT	— —	1
126	FVLRW I D MONE	ÆÐESTAИ REX	1
127	CARV I LFMŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX	
128	COTA I MONE	ÆÐEL·STAN RE	
	— —	ÆÐEL·STI	
129	CRIMP I ALD MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN	
130	HEREBE I AV MŌN	ÆÐELSTANI	
	HEREBE I AV MO	ÆÐELSTAN	
	HEREBE I AV MŌN	ÆÐELSTA	
	— —	ÆÐELSTAN	
131	HEREMOD M	ÆÐELSTAN RE	
132	BHHT I HAÐĒL	ÆÐELSTAN REX	
133	ICERE I MONETA	— —	

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*	
			73
134	ULF | ELDU (*sic*)	ИATZ⅃ƎG-Ǝ\+ +ƎЯ	1
135	ILDE | BERT	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1
136	IИCGE | ΓBERT	ÆÐEL·STAN REX	1
137	IИGA | MOИE	— —	2
138	IOHAN | N MONE	ÆÐELSTAN REX	2
	IOHAN | N MON	— —	2
139	LAND | ΨE MŌ	ÆÐEL·STAN REX	2
140	LIOFH | ELM MŌ	ÆÐEZTAN REX	1
141	LI·TI | LWAN·	ÆÐELESTAN REX	1
142	MAИ | ИA MO	XERNATZ⅃EÐ++	1
143	MAN M | ONETA	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1
144	NOÐE | MONE	— —	1
	— —	ÆÐEL·STAN REX	1
	NOÐER | MONE	— —	2
145	ODA M | ONETA	— —	11
	— —	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1
146	OSVLF | MONETA	ÆÐELSTAИ REX	1
147	PAVL | VS M	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1
148	PINE | ΓE MŌ	ÆÐEL·STAN REX	4
	PINE | LE MŌ	— —	6
	PNE | FE ИŌ	— —	1
	PNE | ΓEИO	— —	1
149	PITIT | MŌNE	— —	2
150	RÆGEN | VLF MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX	2
151	RIHA | RD MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX	2
	— —	ÆÐELSTATREXTOTBRIT	1
152	ROGH | ARD M̄	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1
153	SAND | VC MŌN	ÆÐEL·STAN REX	2
154	SIGEDR | VLDLIO	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1
			129

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*	
			129
155	SIGEL | AND M	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1
	SIGEL | AND M̄	ÆÐELZTAN REX	1
156	SPRO | HENE	ÆÐEL·STAN REX	1
157	STEF | ANVS	— —	1
	ANVS | STEF	— —	1
158	TIOTE | S MŌNE	EÐELSTAN REX	1
159	VFLE | RART	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1
160	VVEALD | HELM MŌ	— —	2
	VVEALD | HELMMŌ	— —	2
161	VVILEB | ALD MŌ	ÆDEL·STAN REX	1
162	VVILR | C MONE	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1
163	VVIM | VND M	ÆÐEL·STAN REX	1
164	VVLFHE | ARD MŌ	— —	2
165	VVLFG | AR ИO	ÆÐELSTAN REX?	1
166	VVLF | MAN M	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1
167	VVLFS | IGEI MŌ	— —	1
168	VVLFS | TAN MŌ	— —	1
169	ΓEERT | EИEE?	ИATSJƎDƎ\ XƎЯ	1
170	House or other building[1]	AEDELZTANREM+>X	1
171	Illegible	ÆÐELSTAN REX	2
			153

Coins of Æthelstan with the Moneyer's name in circle.

172	AÐELMVND MONE	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT	1
173	ÆÐELFREÐ MON	ÆÐELSTN REX	1 with bust
	EÐELFREÐ MO-	ÆÐELSTANREX	2 „
			6

[1] See Fountaine, *l.c.* pl. ii. 13, where the type is figured.

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*			
				4	
174	ALFEAV MON	ÆÐELSTANREX		1	with bust
	ALFEAV MONETA	ÆÐELSTAN REX		1	,,
175	BVRNƤALD MONE	—	—	1	,,
	BYRNƤALD MONE	—	—	1	,,
176	BVS MONETA	—	—	1	,,
177	ƇIALELM MŌN	—	—	1	,,
178	ƇREDARD NONEIT	—	—	1	,,
179	ƇYNEƤALD MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX TOT BRIT		1	
180	DIARVVALD MŌN	ÆÐELSTAN REX		1	with bust
181	FOLƇRED MON	—	—	1	,,
182	FVLRAD MONTA	—	—	1	,,
183	ƓRIMƤALD MONETA	—	—	1	,,
184	HERRIƇ MONETA	ÆÐELSTANREX		1	,,
185	HVNRIƇE MON	ÆÐELSTAN REX		1	,,
186	LIOVINƓ MONETA	ÆÐEL·STAN REX		4	,,
187	MAMVINƇ MON	ÆÐELSTANREX		1	,,
188	SIƓEVLF MŌ	ÆÐELSTAN REX		1	,,
189	SMALA MONETA	—	—	1	,,
190	STELAN MONETA	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR		1	,,
	STELAND MONETA	ÆÐELSTAN REX		1	,,
191	TORHTELM MO	—	—	1	,,
				28	

Coins of Æthelstan with the names of the mints in the circular legends.

BAT, BADAN (Bath)

192	HERECIS MO BADAN	ÆÐELSTAN REX OT	1
193	BIORHTVLƖ MON BAT CIVITAE	ÆÐELSTAN REX TOBRANƓ·T·I	1
			2

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*	
	CANTVN VRB (Canterbury)		2
194	EADGILD MO CANTVN VRB	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT	1
	CVSSAN? (Chichester?)		
195	CVSSAN CIV?	ÆÐELSTAN REX TŌ BRIT	1
	DARENT (Dartmouth)		
196	BEORN·TVLF MŌ·DARENT·VRB	ÆÐELSTAN·REX·TŌT·BRIT	1
	DEDRAEV, DEORABVI (Derby)		
197	TIVRMET DEDRAEV	EÐELXTAN REX IBIT	2
198	SIHARES WOT DEORABYI	EDELSTAN REX SAXORVM	1
199	BIÞAMOT·CT DEORABVI in the field M.	EDEL·STANRESXVOM	1
	DOR (Dorchester)		
200	ÆÐELSIGE·MO·DOR·CI	ÆÐELSTAN REX	3 with bust
	ÆÐELSIGE MO DOR CI	— —	1 „
	ÆÐELSIGE·MŌ·DOR·CI	ÆÐELSTAN REX TŌ BRĪT	2
201	ÆLFRIC MO·DOR·CIV	ÆÐELSTAN REX	2 with bust
	ÆLFRIC·MO·DOR CIVIT	— —	1 „
	ÆLFRIC·MO·DOR CIVI	— —	1 „
	ELFRIC MONDOR	— —	1 „
	ELFRIC MONETA DO⁻	— —	1 „
	ELFRIC MO⁻DOR CIVIT	— —	2 „
202	EÐELFRED MO·DOR CIVIT	EÐELSTAN REX TO BRĪT	1
203	MANNA·MŌ·DOR·CIVIT	EÐELSTAN REX TO BRĪT	1
204	TORHTELM MO DOR C̄	ÆÐELSTAN REX	3 with bust
	TORHTELM MŌ·DŌR CIVĪT	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT	1
			29

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*		
		EAX, EAXANIÆ (Exeter)	29	
205	ABVN·MO·EAX·CIVITA	ÆÐELSTAN REX·TŌT BRI	1	
206	RÆCENOLD MO EAXANIÆ CIV	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO·BRIT	2	
	— —	ÆÐELSTAN REX TOT·BRIT	2	
207	SIGELAND MO EA+	ÆÐELSTANREX	1	with bust
		EFE, EFEREC, EFORPIC (York)		
208	REINERE ME FECIT[5]	EÐEL·STAN REX TO	1	
209	ÆDELERD·MO EFEREC	ÆÐELSTAN REX T B	1	with bust
210	REGN·A·⊥·D·MŌ EFORPIC	EÐEL·STAN REX TO BRIC EÐELSTAN REX TOBRII	11	
	REGNALD MŌ EFORP	EÐELSTAN REX TO BRIC	1	
	REGNALD MŌ EFORPIC	EÐELoSTAN REX TO BRIC	1	
	REGN·⊥D MŌ EFORPO	Reverse repeated	1	
		HIORTFD (Hertford)		
211	ABONEL MŌ HIORT	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	with bust
	ABONELMONT O HIORTFD	— —		
		LÆ (Lewes)		
212	EADRIC·MONETA·LÆ	— —		with bust
		LANGPORT and LONGPORT (Longport)		
213	BYRNTELM MO LANGPORT	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO B	1	
214	VVYNSIGE MO LONGPORT	ÆÐELÐTAN·REX·TO·BRIT	1	
		LEICC (Leicester)		
215	ABBA MONIT LEGEC	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR	1	
	ABBA MOIN LEGEEF	ÆÐELSTAN RE TO BRLE	1	
	— —	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRLE	1	
			59	

[5] This coin may be from some other mint than York.—(Ed.)

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*		
				59
216	AEDERED MO LEIACIF	ÆÐEL·STAN REX TO BRI		1
217	BE·O·R·A·RD MON LEIECF	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR[a]		1
218	EADMVND MŌ LEGCF	—	—	1
	EADMVND MON LEIEC	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRLE		1
	EADMVND MO LEIGC	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRN		2
219	EFRARD MON LEIGCF	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR		1
220	ENAPA MON LEGCFE	—	—	1
	CNAPA MO LEIGCF	—	—	1
221	ERARD MŌ LEIGECF	—	—	1
222	MÆLDOMEN MŌ LEGC	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRI		1
223	MÆRTENE MO LEGECF	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRN		1
224	OSLAC MON LEGEC	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR		1
	O·SL·AC MONET LEIECF	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIE		1
225	PAVLES MŌ LEGECIF+	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR		1
	PAVLES MŌ LEGECF	—	—	1
226	SALCES MŌ LEGCFI	?ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT		1
227	SIGEFERD MON IEEGECF	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIE		1
	SIGEFERD MON IEGECF	—	—	1
228	VVLFSTAN MŌ LEIGC	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR		1
229	VVIARD MONETA LEIEC	EÐELSTAN REXTO BRIEN		1
	VVIARD MONET LEGCF	ÆÐELSTAN REXTO BRE		1

LOND, LVND (London)

230	ÆÐERED MO LVND CIVITT	ÆÐELSTAN REX		1
231	ÆLFSTAN MO LoND CIVI	—	—	2[a]
232	ÆLFPALD MO LOND CI	—	—	1
	ÆLFPALD MO LOND CI	—	—	1
	ÆLFPALD MO LOND CIVI	—	—	7
				—
				93

[a] In the field S.

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*		
			93	
233	BEAHRED MO LOND CI	ÆÐELSTAN REX	6	with bust
	BEAHRED MŌ LVND CIVI	AÐELSTAN REX TOT BRIT	2	
234	BIORNEARD MO LOND CI	ÆÐELSTAN REX	9	with bust
235	BIORNTRD MO LYND CIVITT	ÆÐELSTAN REX TOT BRIT	1	
236	ELLAF MO LONDONI CI	ÆÐELSTAN REX	4	with bust
	ELLAF MONETA LVNDCIVITT	ÆÐELSTAN REX TOT BRIT	1	
	ELLAF MŌ LVND CIVITT	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	
237	EFE MONETA LVND CIVIT	ÆÐLSTAN REX TOT BRIT	1	
	EFE MONETA LVND CIVIT-	ÆÐISTAN REX TOT BRIT	1	
	EFE MONTA LVND FOT	ÆÐELSTAN REX TOT BRIT	1	
	EIE MONETA LVNER	EÐISITANT+TOT BRIT	1	
238	FAFLE MONETA LVNDCIVITT	ÆÐELSTAN REX TOT BRIT	1	
239	GRIMFALD MO LOND CI	ÆÐELSTAN REX	5	with bust
	GRIMVVALD MO LoND CI	— —	1	,,
240	IGERE MO LVND CIVITT	— —	1	,,
	IGERE MONETA LVND CIVITT	ÆÐELSTAN REX TOT BRIT	3	
	IGERE MO LOND CIVI	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	with bust
	IGERE MŌ LVND CIVITT	— —	1	,,
	— —	— —	1	
241	FF MONETA LVND CIVITT	ÆÐLSTAN REX TOT BRIT	1	
242	LIOFHELM MO LOND CI	ÆÐELSTAN REX	6	with bust
	LIOFHELM MŌ LVND CIVITT	ÆÐELSTAN REX TOT BRIT	1	
243	MAN MŌ LVND CIVITT	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	with bust
244	FVLFHELM MO LOND CI	— —	2	,,
	FVLFHELM MŌ LVND CIVITT	— —	1	

MAELD? (Maldon)

245	MAELD ABONEL	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	with bust
			148	

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*			
		NORꟻIC (Norwich)		148	
246	BVRDEL IIO NORꟻ·I	ÆÐELSTAN REX		1	with bust
247	EADGAR MO NORÐꟻ	—	—	1	„
248	GIONGBALD MO NORÐꟻC	—	—	2	„
249	NAHEN NO NORDꟻE	—	—	3	„
250	HAИTIGEN MO NORꟻIC	EÐELSTAN REX		2	„
251	HRODGAR NO NORꟻIC	ÆÐELSTAN REX		2	„
252	LIFING MONEИ[7]	—	—	1	„
	— —	ÆÐELSTANREX		1	„
253	MYNTGEN MO NORꟻIC	ÆÐELSTAN REX		1	„
		OX (Oxford)			
254	EARDVLF MO OX VR	ÆÐELSTAN REX		2	„
255	MAÐELꟻALD MO OX VRBIS	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT		2	
256	SIGELAND MO OX VRBIS	ÆÐELSTAN REX		1	
	SIGELAND MO OX VRB	—	—	1	
257	VÐELRIC MO OX VRBIS	—	—	2	with bust
	VÐELRIC MŌ OX	—	—	1	„
		SCROB (Shrewsbury)			
258	CENBERHT MŌ SCROB	EÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT		1	
259	ECGHERD MONĒ SCR	—	—	1	
260	EOFRMVND SCROB	—	—	1	
261	FROꟻGER MŌ SCROB	—	—	2	
262	VVLAF MŌ SCROB	—	—	1	
263	[illegible]SCROB	—	—	1	
		SCEFTES (Shaftesbury)			
264	ÆÐELVVINE MO SCEFTES	ÆÐLSTAN REX TO BRIT		1	
				179	

[7] Doubtful if of Norwich.

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*		
			179	
	STEÐ-STEF-ST (Stafford)			
265	EARDVLF MŌ STEÐ	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT	1	
	EARDVLF MO STEF	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRT	1	
266	VVIHTCMVND MO ST	EÐELSTAN REX TO BR	1	
	TOLIC (?) (? Lincoln)			
267	DVRSTAN MO+TOLICCVI	ÆÐELSTAN REX TOT BRIT	1	
	— —	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT	2	
	VVIN (Winchester)			
268	AÐVLF·MŌ·VVIN·CIVIT	ÆÐELSTAN·REX·TOT·BRI·	2	
269	ÆÐELM·MO·VVIN·CI	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR	1	with bust
	— —	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	„
	ÆÐELM·MO VVIN·CIVI-T	— —	1	„
270	AMELRIC·MŌ·VVIN·CI	— —	1	„
	AMELRIC·MO VVIN CIVIT	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRI	1	
271	LEOFRIC MO VVIN CI	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR	2	with bust
	LEOFRIC MO VVIN CI†	— —	1	„
272	OTIC MONETA VVIN CI	ÆÐELSTAN REX T B	1	„
273	RÆCENVLF MŌ VVINCI	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR	2	„
	RÆCENVLF MŌ VVIN CI	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	„
	PELINCÐ (Wallingford)			
274	AÐELMNO PELINCÐ		1	„
275	BYRNPALD MON PF		2	„
	UNCERTAIN.			
276	MONFACN MOINVR	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR	1	
277	TEATDAEOETRNAIT	ÆÐEALSTARDETX	1	
278	EADBATDNOS·MRIC	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1	with bust
			205	

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*	
			205
279	RAPOIIEFEICTVBT	EÐELSTAZ RX◇BR	1
280	ER▨ANODIRBEO	ELSTAN REX TO E	1
281	TVIEΛRVV cMECISFI	EÐEISTVMX TO BRIT	1
282	VINTVLF· MOToBRIDIAN	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT	1
283	EDEILDIIOΛIIEO	ÆÐELSTAN REX TO	1
284	ELSTAИ REVA+OR+	EDELSTVN RLVEO+OR	1
285	Illegible	ÆÐELSTAN REX	1 with bust
			212

EADMVND.

286	ABENEL MŌ[8]	EADMVND REX	1
287	AÐEA | VHHO	— —	1
288	AÐELM | VND MŌ	— —	3
289	ÆÐEIИO | WNETA	— —	1
290	AEÐE | LM MŌ	— —	1
291	ÆÐEL | PINE MŌ	— —	1
	ÆÐELPINE MO	EADMV | ND RE+	1
292	ÆLFR | IC MŌ	EADMVND REX	1
293	ÆLFS | TAN MŌ	— —	11
294	ÆLFVI | NE MO	— —	1
295	ÆLFP | ALD MŌ	— —	2
296	ÆLFP | OLD MŌ	— —	1
297	AERN | VLF MŌ	— —	3
298	AMVИ | DESMOT	— —	2
	AMVИ | DESM▨	— —	1
	ИVMA | DESWOT	XƎЯ ᗡИVMᗡAƎ	1
	AMVИ | TOИᗡƎ	EADMVND REX	1
			33

[8] The undivided legends are circular.

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*			
				33	
299	AREM I ONETA	EADMVND	REX	2	
300	BALDV I VIN MO	—	—	1	
	BALDV I IN NOM	—	—	1	
301	BEAH I RED MŌ	—	—	3	
302	BEORꝼALD MŌ ꝼEL[9]	—	—	1	
303	BERHT I RED MO	—	—	3	
304	BERHT I ꝼIG MO	—	—	2	
305	BIAH I VLF MŌ	—	—	1	
306	BIORNE I ARD MŌ	—	—	2	
307	BIRNE I ARD MO	—	—	1	
	BYRN I EARD M̄	—	—	1	
308	BOE MONETA BI	EADMVN	REX	1	with bust
309	BYRN I ARD M̄	EADMVND	REX	10	
310	BYRNꝼ I ALD MŌ	—	—	4	
	BYRN I ꝼALD M̄	—	—	1	
	BYRN I L̄ALD M	—	—	2	
311	DEORV I ALD MŌ	ÆADMVND	REX	1	
312	DIARHE I LMMŌN	—	—	1	
	DIARHE I LMMŌ	EADMVND	REX	1	
	DIARHE I LM·MŌ	EADMVND	REX	2	
	DIARE I LM·MO	—	—	1	
313	DIARꝼ I ALD MŌ	—	—	1	
314	DIARꝼ I ELD MŌ	—	—	2	
315	DORV I LF MŌ	—	—	1	
316	DVDI I G MŌN	—	—	2	
317	EADL I ILD WŌ	—	—	1	
318	EADM I VND M	—	—	2	
	EAD I MVND	—	—	1	
				85	

[9] Wallingford?

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*		
			85	
319	EADR I ED MŌ	EADMVND REX	2	
	— —	EADMVND REX	1	
320	EARD I VLF W	EADMVND REX	1	
321	ECGBR I IHT MŌ	EADMVND REX	1	
322	EDIR I EÐEL	ƎDMИЯDVEX	1	
323	EDИO I EOC N	AEDMVND REX	1	
324	EFGE I V̄LF MO	— —	1	
325	EINA I RD MŌ	AEDMVoNDREX	1	
326	ELAET MONET REYOИ	EADMVND REXo	1	with bust
327	ELFERD I MONET	EADMVND REX	1	
328	ELFP I ALD MŌ	ÆADMVND REX	1	
329	ERGIHHTART MONETA	EADMVND REX	1	with bust
330	FARA I MAN	— —	2	
331	FOLC I RED MŌ	— —	1	
332	FREDARD ИOИEIT	— —	1	with bust
	— —	EADMVN REX	2	
333	FVGEN I MOИEN	EADMVND REX	1	
	FVGEI I MOИEИ	— —	1	
	FVGEL I MOИET	— —	1	
334	GIONGBꝏLD MO NORV[10]	EADMVND RE	1	with bust
335	GISMOИETA	EADMVN REX	1	,,
336	GOTA I MONE	EADMVND REX	1	
337	GRIMP I ALD MŌ	— —	4	
	GRIMV I VALD MŌ	— —	3	
338	GVND I FER MŌ	EADMVND RX	1	
339	HADEB I ALD MŌ	EADMVND REX	1	
			119	

[10] GIONGBALD.MO NORV (Norwich). [This moneyer with name of Norwich occurs on a coin of Eadmund in the B.M.]

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*		
			119	
340	HEREM | AN MŌ	EADMVND REX	2	
341	HERE | MOD MŌ	— —	2	
342	HLDEO | MERT	— —	1	
343	HVNSI | GE MŌ	— —	2	
	HWNS | IGE MŌ	— —	2	
344	IEDVLF MONETA	EADEMVND RX	1	with bust
345	INGEL | GAR MŌ	EADMVND REX	1	
346	LIAFI | NC MŌ	— —	2	
	— —	ÆADMVND REX	2	
	— —	EADMVND	1	
347	LEOF | RIC MŌ	EADMVND REX	4	
348	LIOFH | ELM MŌ	ÆADMVND REX	1	
349	LITIL | MAN	EADMVND REX	1	
350	MAИ | ИA NŌ	— —	3	
	MAN | NANO	EADMVND REX	1	
351	MANN | EL MŌ	EADMVND REX	1	
	MANN | EL MŌN	— —	4	
352	MART | IN MŌ	EADMVND·REX	1	
353	MÆRT | NE MŌ	EADMVND REX	1	
	MÆRT | EN MŌ	EƎ\DMVND REX	1	
354	NAIM | NA NO	EADMVND REX	1	
355	OBELRI | CES MoT	EADMVND REIX	1	
	OBELRI | ICES MO	— —	1	
356	ONDRES | MONETA	EADMVND REX	1	
357	OSFE | RD MŌ	— —	1	
358	OSMV | ND MŌ	— —	1	
359	OSVL F | MONE	— —	1	
360	OSPA | ΓD MO	— —	1	
	OSPA | LD MŌ	— —	1	
			162	

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*			
				162	
361	OTIC I MONĒ	EADMVND REX		2	
362	PRIM I MONE	—	—	1	
363	RÆCE I NOLD M̄	—	—	2	
	RÆCEN I OLD MŌ	—	—	4	
364	RANDV I LF MO	—	—	1	
365	RECBE I REſ MOT	—	—	1	
366	RECE I CRIM	—	—	1	
367	RODBE I RIHT M	EADMVND REIX		2	
368	RODEAR NO NORVC+N[11]	EADMVND REX		1	with bust
	RODEAR NO NORVE+M	—	—	1	„
369	SIADE I MAN MŌ	—	—	1	
	SIEDEM I AN MŌ	ÆADMVND REX		1	
370	SIGPOL I DES MOT	EADMVND REX		1	
371	STEFH I AN MO	—	—	1	
372	TELIA MONETA	EADMVND REX		2	with bust
373	VAREN I COD MO	EADMVND REX		1	
374	VVIH I TELM	—	—	1	
375	VVILA I FE MO	—	—	1	
376	VVLFS I TAN M	—	—	1	
377	PIGE I ARD N	EADMVИD REX		1	
378	PIGE I ARI N	EADMVИD RET		2	
379	PVLF I RIC MŌ	EADMVND REX		1	
380	IЯONV I IƎWVD	—	—	1	
381	CIEIO I RENR	XƎЯ ИVMDAƎ		1	
382	FAROMIÅLEŁÆ	EADMVND REX		1	with bust
				195	

[11] RODEAR MO NORVC (Norwich).

	Reverse.	*Obverse.*		
		ANLAF.		
3	AÐELFERD MONETRII	ANLAF CVNVNC N in centre, eagle [12]	1	circular inscription on rev.
4	RAÐVLF MONETR	ANLAF CVNVNC	2	„ „
5	NOÐE | MONE	ANLEF REX N	1	
6	OMFL | ARNV (Arnulf)	OИLAF REX	1	
7	?AZ+ƎƎ ЯИATIƎЯƎ+V⅃O	ANΓΛΓ CVNVNCᴠ	1	circular inscription on rev.
			6	
		SIHTRIC.		
8	RAÐWLF MONETR	SITRICE GNWNCW	1	
		PLEGMVND.		
9	ÆÐELFR | EÐ MON	PLEGMVND ARCHIEP	2	
0	EICMV | ND MON	— —	1	
1	SIGEHE | LM MON	— —	1	
			4	
		Uncertain Coins.		
2	ꓘERII | EDIM	+L▨+EII+D▨I+ꓘIc	1	
3	MODIO | oꓭ WIꓷ	ÆИVꓷƎꓷOIЯX	1	
4	TIVIEREVVOMSVVEI	+▨EREVVOMECINVI	1	
5	TIVI IEREVVOMSVVEGI	THꓘRBOAΛRNEZAGIT	1	
6	EИTAIERIXTBRHFO	EHBIZɔICIΛIFRIT	1	
7	— —	TMAEICꓕRIXICIOI	1	
8	+R▨IIИITOMAЯЯIM	EAИDYOEARI▨EX	1	
		Coin with reverse repeated.		
9		EÐLNOꓭ ON SNOTENCEHAM [13]	1	
0, 401		Undecipherable.	2	
			10	

[12] See engraving in Fountaine, *l.c.* pl. iii. 3.

[13] EÐELNOÐ ON SNOTENGEHAM (Nottingham). The reverse occurs on a coin Æthelstan.

Résumé.

It will be seen that the find gives us the names of many new moneyers and of some new towns; new, that is, as regards the kings under whom their coins were struck. The following is the list of those which do not occur in Mr. Kenyon's edition of Hawkins's *Silver Coins*, not taking account of mere differences in writing the same name.

Edward the Elder.—New Moneyers: Adalbert, Agnez, Badda, Beornwulf, Bonus Homo (a very remarkable signature—for Goodman, I suppose), Durlac, Eardulf, Earnvlf, Eavvlf (though we are not bound to suppose all these last three the names of different persons), Etila, Garulf, Gundbert, Hadebald (Harebald?), Heaer . . , Heremfretia (perhaps same as Heienfred—*Ken.*) Hirebald (if not the same with Hadebald), Magnard, Marbert, Odo, Pastor (another Latinization probably), Tuda, Pinegear (Winegear), Samsun, Stear.

Aethelstan.—Moneyers: Abonel, Aenle, Aethelvlf, Berngar, Biorhtvic, Cenbreht, Cioenec (?) Cvnvlf, Da(u?)riant, Fvam (= Ekvam?—*K.*) Fulrad, Eadlild (Eadgild), Eardvlf, Eðelsige, Efdenelm (Efthenelm), Herebeav, Ildebert, Inga, Ingelbert, Manning, Roðhard, or Roðnard (= Renard?—*K.*), Sanduc, Sihares, Sprohene, Wilebald, Wilre (Ulric), Ðurlac (Dorlfo?—*K.*).

Names of cities.—The inscription, Cantun Urb, is remarkable. The coins placed by Signor de Rossi under Dorchester belong to Canterbury. Cussan civ may be for Cyssancesster civitas. The suggestion was, indeed, my own, though the attribution must be considered but doubtful. I have far less hesitation in attributing Darent to Darentmutha (Dartmouth). This was also my sugges-

tion, and has been adopted by Signor De Rossi. The legend is given in Hawkins's (ed. Kenyon), but it has not been assigned to any town. The mints of Hertford, Lewes, Maldon, Shaftesbury, do not occur in Kenyon among the mints of this reign.

EADMUND.—Moneyers: Abenel Aðheav, Beorwold (this may be the same as Byrnwald, Deorwald, Diarwald, which also occur), Berhtred, Byrnwald, Diorwald, Eadlild, Edireðel, Efgeulf, Einard, Elaet, Elferd, Elfwald, Giongbald (?), Gis, Grimwald, Hadebald, Hereman, Hldeomert (?), Iedvlf (Aedulf?), Nainma (?), Oðelrices, Osferd, Osmund, Osvlf, Prim, Raegenold (= Regenulf?—*Ken.*), Rodberiht, Rodearn on Norwich, Sigwoldes, Stefhan, Telia, Varengod, Wulfric.

ANLAF.—Moneyers: Arnulf, Noðe.

SITRICE CYNVNC: Radvlf.

PLEGMUND (Archbishop): Aeðelfred.

C. F. K.

X.

ON THE MEDIÆVAL TYPE OF FRONT-FACED SEATED FIGURE.

FROM the earliest period the type of seated figure occurs on reverses, the figure in some cases, as on coins of Alexander the Great, representing Zeus, and in others, as on those of Imperial Rome, the Emperor, but until the decadence of the Roman Empire always in profile.

The earliest example I have of the front-faced type is on a denarius of Gratian, 361—89; the next is on a Byzantine solidus of Justinus II., 565—78, but, like the front-faced portraits on obverses, it is of unusual occurrence at this period, and transitional from the classic profile type to the mediæval front-faced one.

The general adoption of the latter type of figure dates from the eleventh century, at which period several examples of it occur on the solidi of Constantinople. Very few countries then had a gold coinage, and these solidi, or "bezants," circulated extensively beyond the limits of the Byzantine empire to supply that deficiency, and to this the almost simultaneous adoption of the type by various countries may probably be attributed.

The usual Byzantine type was Christ in the act of benediction, executed in a style superior to that of any existing contemporary coinage; and the strong religious feeling

then prevalent conduced to the imitation of that which was doubtless much admired.

Fig. 1, Pl. XI., a solidus of Isaac I., 1057—59, is an example of this type; fig. 2 is a rude imitation of it, struck in Bulgaria by the Czar Swiatoslaw Jaroslawicz between 1073 and 1078; on both of the foregoing coins the figure is that of Christ, but on a penny of Edward the Confessor 1042—56, (Hawkins, 228), it is that of the king.

Of the twelfth century, fig. 3, Leo II. of Armenia, 1185—1218, and fig. 4, Henry VI. of Germany, 1190—97, respectively represent those monarchs.

In the next century the type multiplies; on fig. 5, a Venetian matapan of the Doge Pietro Ziani, 1205—28, and fig. 7, a Servian coin of Stephen IV., 1272—75, the original Byzantine idea is retained; but on fig. 6, a soldino of Milan struck during the republican period, 1245—73, its patron, St. Ambrose, takes the place of Christ, as does the king on the gold penny of our Henry III. which was struck in 1257.

Of the fourteenth century, fig. 8 is the réal au lion of Louis de Male, of Flanders, 1346—84, representing the Count; but fig. 9, Andronicus II., of Constantinople, 1325—28, has the original Byzantine type of Christ; this type is also retained on the Venetian coins, as is that of St. Ambrose on those of Milan; while on fig. 10, Robert I., of Naples, 1309—43, the king is represented.

During the fifteenth century Venice retains the original type of the thirteenth (shown in fig. 5), and Milan that of St. Ambrose; sometimes, however, as in fig. 11, a coin of the Duke John Maria, 1402—12, the Saint, instead of blessing, brandishes a scourge (in allusion, it may be, to Christ driving the money-changers out of the temple).

Fig. 12, of Pisa, is a gros d'argent of the French King

Charles VIII., as "Pisanorum liberator," struck in 1494, and has a representation of the Virgin and Child.

Of the sixteenth century, fig. 13 is a testoon of Louis II. (Fieschi), Lord of Lavagna (a dependency of Genoa), 1528—32, representing St. Theonestus, Martyr; fig. 14 is a thaler of Ernest of Bavaria, Archbishop of Salzburg from 1540 to 1554, representing St. Rudbertus, and fig. 15, a testoon struck at Ancona, by Pope Paul IV., 1555—59, has St. Peter in the act of benediction.

The type now becomes very unfrequent, its place being taken either by some less conventional design, or, as is more frequently the case, the arms of the respective sovereigns by whom the coins were struck.

JOHN G. HALL.

the course of the present year. The head is to the right and extremely rude in its execution. The legend on the obverse can hardly be recognised, and that on the reverse besides being barbarous has been abbreviated to HVIID-OVIIVI. The weight of this coin, which is now in my own collection, is 67 grains, that of the Isle of Man coin being 68 grains, or very nearly the weight of the ordinary Byzantine *solidi* of the period. The weights of the two coins described in the *Revue Numismatique* are 132 and 77 French grains respectively, so that one of them may be a double *solidus*.

Notwithstanding the known existence of at least four or five of the *solidi* of Louis in 1837,[3] M. Cartier, in his dissertation on the coins of the second race in France, does not accept them as forming part of the currency, but regards them as either trial-pieces, such as some of our Anglo-Saxon gold coins seem actually to have been, or as specially struck for distribution by way of *largesse* at the time of the association of Louis in the empire with his father, or when he was a second time proclaimed Emperor after his father's death.

It seems more probable that there was an actual coinage of French *solidi* during the reign of Louis, and that though the issue may have been limited, enough were struck for them to become subjects of imitation not only in France but in neighbouring countries.

The *solidi* of Leo V., Michael II., and Theophilus, who were contemporaries of Louis le Débonnaire, are by no means rare, and though in their full-faced busts they essentially differ from those of Louis, yet their existence proves that in the Empire of the East a gold currency

[3] *Rev. Num.* vol. ii. p. 256.

was in full force, so that the coinage of an analogous circulating medium in the West is *à priori* probable. The prototype, however, of the Western coins must, I think, be sought in the Western gold coins of the fourth century, rather than in the contemporary Eastern *solidi*. The narrow, upright bust, and the cross or Christian monogram in the centre of a wreath are both of frequent occurrence on Roman coins of that period, though it is perhaps impossible to specify the coin which was actually copied in the case of the coin now under consideration.

One is strongly tempted to assign some definite meaning to the legend on the reverse of the Kirk Maughold coin, so as in some manner to localise its issue. I fear, however, that the most probable interpretation of the legend is that it is merely a barbarous reproduction of VICTORIA DD NN AVGG, though the figure can hardly be that of Victory, but may be an original design of the chief engraver of the mint of Louis le Débonnaire.

The presence of such a coin in the Isle of Man must I think be attributed to its having been brought there by some of the Viking settlers. Coins of Louis have ere now been found in Norway. In the find at Eger described by Professor Holmboe in Grote's "Blätter für Münz-kunde,"[4] were two such associated with a number of other coins and with gold ornaments. M. Cartier speaks of the coins as being of gold, but a reference to the Blätter makes me entertain doubts whether they were not of silver. One of them was struck at Arles, and had therefore travelled very far from its original home.

JOHN EVANS.

[4] Pt. II. 1836.

XII.

OBSERVATIONS ON TWO MEDALS OF SULEYMAN I. AND TAHMASB II. OF THE SUFI DYNASTY.

A FEW months ago I received from a friend, together with several coins, two medals which he had purchased in Persia from some persons of the lower class, who were wearing them at the time on their arms as amulets; and when they were given to me, each had two loops soldered on for the purpose of the string passing through them to fasten on to the arm, whilst one had traces of a loop on the margin, as if it had been suspended from the neck. The earliest of these medals belongs to Suleyman I., son of Abbas II., the eighth monarch of the Sufi dynasty, who reigned on the Persian throne from 1666 to 1694, and weighs 572·5 grains.

The second medal bears the name of Tahmasb II., grandson of Suleyman and son of Huseyn, whose nominal reign lasted from 1722 to 1732, and weighs 390 grains, being larger and thinner than the preceding. Both medals are of nearly pure silver, and the legends, which are partly in Persian and partly in Arabic, are finely executed and in excellent preservation. In vol. vii. of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, p. 416, Mr. Prinsep gives the drawing of a medal of Huseyn, dated A.H. 1118,

A.D. 1706, weight 844·3 grains, and Mr. Marsden also describes a large silver medal of Huseyn, A.H. 1121, A.D. 1709. With the exception of these two medals, I am not aware that any others belonging to the Sufi dynasty have ever been found or numismatically observed upon.[1] Tavernier speaks of these medals as having been principally coined in silver and thrown amongst the people at the coronation; but as neither of the coins of Huseyn nor that of Suleyman bears the dates of their respective coronations, it may be inferred that they were not only coined on such occasions, but were also struck in honour of some memorable event that occurred during their reigns. This would be more probable than that they were, as suggested by Mr. Prinsep, struck on the royal birthdays. The troublesome times in which these monarchs lived is also, I think, against such an assumption.

The date on the medal of Suleyman is A.H. 1099, A.D. 1687, and it is a curious coincidence that in this year Sultan Suleyman, the son of Ibrahim, ascended the masnad at Constantinople. The reign of Huseyn was much more disturbed than that of his father Suleyman by invasion both from the east and the west, and it is quite possible that in the vicissitudes which attended the fortune of these times, events may have occurred adding a temporary lustre to his otherwise unenviable position, which, like most oriental magnates, he sought to commemorate by the distribution of medals, which might also be the means of popularising and ingratiating him-

[1] The British Museum contains a few specimens of the reigns of Suleyman and Huseyn, including that of the latter king described by Marsden.—R. S. Poole.

self with subjects ever ready to transfer their allegiance to those who seemed best calculated for the time to advance their interests. In A.H. 1135, A.D. 1722, the Afghan chief, Meer Mahmood, having repulsed the Persians on all sides, completely routed them at Gulnabad, under the walls of Isfahan, and the capital, after enduring the horrors of famine for several months, was obliged to capitulate, Huseyn transferring the royal aigrette with his own hands from his turban to that of his conqueror Mahmood. Thus the rule of Persia, which for two hundred and twenty years had been in the hands of the Sufi dynasty, passed to the Afghans; for though Tahmasb II., who was in the west at the time, vainly endeavoured to assert his rights, we find that he had little power of his own, being at last almost entirely in the hand of Tahmasb Kooli Khan (Nadir Shah), who finally deposed him in 1732.

It is not clear how the medal of Tahmasb came to be struck at Kerman. True, Isfahan was in the hands of the Afghans, but Tahmasb was in the west at this time, and unfortunately there is nothing in the legends to explain the circumstances under which it was struck.

The following are the legends on the two medals, with their respective translations.

1. *Obv.*

Area.—The Shiah profession of the faith.

Margin.—The names of the twelve Imáms.

١٠٩٩.

Rev. Area.—سليمان بنده شاه ولايت ضرب اصفهان

"Suleyman, servant of the lord of the welee-ship (Ali). Struck at Isfahan, 1099."

Margin.—Couplet:

سکهٔ مهر علی را تازدم بر نقد جان
گشت از فضل خدا محکوم فرمانم جهان

"Since I struck the love of 'Ali on the metal of my soul
By the grace of God the world submitted to my sway."

2. *Obv.*

Area.—Shiah formula.

Margin.—"God bless Mohammed and Ali," &c., the other eleven Imams being enumerated, Mohammed, the 12th, being called the Mahdi.

Rev.—Couplet:

سکه زد طهماسب ثانی بر زر کمل عیار
لا فتی الا علی لا سیف الا ذوالفقار
ضرب کرمان ۱۱۳۵

"Tahmasb the Second struck in gold of pure quality:
There is no hero but Ali, no sword but Zulfikár.
Struck at Kerman, 1135."

E. LEGGETT.

Kurrachee.

ADDITIONAL NOTE BY R. S. POOLE, ESQ., LL.D.

The medal of Tahmasb II. is dated in the year when he was proclaimed at Kazvin. It affords the only evidence we have that his authority then extended eastward of Isfahan, where Mahmood ruled. The Shiah inscription, with its warlike defiance, is specially directed against the Sunni Afghan.

The author's remark that the Persians were fickle to the Sufis is not borne out by history. This medal, struck far away from the Sufi Shah's territory, is a fresh proof of their fidelity.

MISCELLANEA.

ADDEDOMAROS.—In a paper published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, in the year 1856 (vol. xviii., p. 155 ff.), Mr. John Evans was the first to read upon certain British gold coins, most of which bore only a fragmentary inscription, the legend ADDEDOMAROS. In that paper and in his *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 363 ff., Mr. Evans contended that this word must, on account of its termination, be Gaulish, and that it was likely to be the name of a chieftain rather than of a tribe. Of the history of this British prince, whose dominions must have lain in the eastern counties, it is unlikely that we shall ever learn much more; but as a confirmation of the substantial correctness of Mr. Evans's reading and explanation of the legend ADDEDOMAROS, it seems worth while to call attention to the fact that among the names which the researches of M. Adolphe Pictet (*Revue Archéologique*, N.S. xi., p. 8), and of M. A. de Longpérier (*Œuvres*, tom. iii. p. 343 ff.), have added with certainty to the Gaulish *onomasticon* is that of Atepomarus, a word which would seem to be the same as the Addedomaros of the coins. Atepomarus appears to have been a not uncommon Gaulish name (cp. also the name Ατεπόριξ, *Rev. Arch.* N.S. xi., p. 111). Aristides of Miletus, in a fragment preserved by Plutarch (*Fragm. hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 1851, tom. iv. p. 320) mentions a king of the Gauls who bore this name Ἀτεπόμαρος Γάλλων βασιλεύς; and a passage in the *Pseudoplutarchea* (*de Fluviis* vi. ed. Didot) records the existence of another Atepomarus, a Gaulish chief who founded Lugdunum. Atepomarus has also been recognised (Longpérier, *op. cit.*) as a Gaulish name in several inscriptions, in one case as being the name of a potter. Perhaps the name of our British Addedomaros would be more correctly given as Atedomaros, or, better, Atepomaros. The D's in the first syllable of ADDEDOMAROS are written on the coins in various ways, ranging (as Mr. Evans has already pointed out) from the Roman D through the Saxon Ð to the Greek Θ. This would seem to point to ATE—a frequent Gaulish prefix—as the true form of the name; possibly too the D in the syllable DOM should be read as P

(POM), though, so far as the specimens in the British Museum are concerned, the coins are not decisive upon this point. For some remarks on two other Gaulish names—Epaticcus and Eppillus—which appear on British coins, the reader may be referred to Pictet's article in the *Rev. Arch.* vol. x., N.S., pp. 312, 313.

WARWICK WROTH.

RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATION.

A Guide to the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland, in Gold, Silver, and Copper, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, with their Value. By Major W. Stewart Thorburn. With Numerous Illustrations. London: L. Upcott Gill, 170, Strand.

This comprehensive and at the same time cheap little work is well calculated to supply a want often felt both by collectors and casual possessors of coins. What is this coin worth ? is a question constantly arising, and, so far as such a question can be answered without the inspection of the coin by an expert, Major Thorburn's work will furnish the reply. Under the different heads of English, Scottish, and Irish coins, and those of our colonies, lists are given of nearly all the denominations at present known, to which are attached the prices realised for each at the different coin-sales in London and Edinburgh during the last thirty years. So much depends upon the condition of a coin and the particular state of competition for it at the time of its sale, that any scale of prices can only be regarded as approximate ; and the great range of prices specified in this work for different specimens of the same coin, or for different varieties of the pieces of the same denomination and of the same monarch, fully exemplifies the uncertainty of any absolute valuation. But the general result of an examination of the prices quoted in these lists is to leave a fair impression on the mind of the relative abundance or scarcity of the several coins enumerated. The lists of the Scottish and Irish coins are very full, and supply an amount of information as to value which it would be difficult to find elsewhere. The illustrations vary somewhat in their degree of merit, but on the whole are good. A complete index both to the text and the illustrations adds to the completeness of the work, which we recommend to all British numismatists, and especially to young collectors.

J. E.

XIII.

THE SANTORIN FIND OF 1821.

In the month of September, 1821, there was discovered in the island of Santorin (the ancient Thera), a large hoard consisting of seven hundred and sixty Greek silver coins, of archaic style, probably of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. A memorandum as to the contents of this hoard was fortunately made at the time by that careful coin-collector, Mr. H. P. Borrell, and was subsequently published by him in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1843—44 (vol. vi. page 134; cf. *ib.* page 47). Though Greek numismatists are not unaware, of course, of the existence of this memorandum, it has happened, owing to the extreme brevity of Mr. Borrell's descriptions and the absence of any accompanying illustrations, that the Santorin find has had but little attention bestowed upon it. I have, therefore, brought together in the present paper specimens of all the types of coins which I believe to be indicated in Mr. Borrell's memorandum, giving photographs of them and full descriptions. And I should be glad to think that numismatists may be induced thereby to offer further suggestions as to the attributions of these coins from Santorin, and also—what is still more important—that any collectors who happen to have coins of similar types may be led to state what they know as to the *provenance* of their spe-

cimens. Several coins from the Santorin hoard passed into the Borrell and Payne Knight collections and have now found a resting place in the British Museum. With regard to some of the specimens in my Plate I cannot, indeed, say positively whether or no they are actually from the hoard, but at any rate they correspond in type and fabric to coins mentioned by Mr. Borrell, and so will serve our purpose of laying once more before the numismatist this interesting island-treasure.

Before examining the items of Mr. Borrell's memorandum it will be useful to quote it in its entirety:—

"41 Silver, type half horse; some to the right, others to the left. *Rev.*—A double indented square; one much larger than the other; in each a large star.
47 Do. half lion. *Rev.*—Rude square.
1 Do. Do. *Rev.*—Rude square, a star in the centre.
2 Do. large fish's head, and the tail of a fish above. *Rev.*—Rude indented square.
14 Vase, with bunch of grapes to each handle, and an ivy-leaf above. *Rev.*—Indented square, divided in unequal compartments. Naxus? Mionnet, in his Supplement, gives them to Teos, in Ionia.
8 Dove flying. Sicyon.
1 Cock. Carystus?
1 Boar's head.
82 Do. half size. Lyttus Creta?
23 Two dolphins. Phidon. See my notice.
2 Goat upon a fish.
1 Plain vase, without handles.
541 Ægina.
1 Head of Silenus. *Rev.*—Rude indented square. Naxus? (*From Mr. Payne Knight's collection, now in the British Museum.*)

760 Total."

A. 41 *Silver, type half horse; some to the right, others to the left. Rev.—A double indented square; one much larger than the other; in each a large star.*

Several specimens of these coins (which are of the

weight of Æginetan Didrachms) are in the British Museum. They present two distinct types:—

1. *Obv.*—Forepart of horse r.; beneath it, uncertain letters.[1]
   Rev.—Star within an incuse square; below it, in a smaller incuse square, star.

   Æ. ·8 Wt. 184 grains. Brit. Mus. (from the Borrell coll.) [Pl. XII. No. 1.]

   (Similar specimens in Brit. Mus. weigh 183 grs. and 186·3 grs. respectively.)

2. *Obv.*—Fore part of horse l. (apparently no letters beneath).
   Rev.—Floral pattern within an incuse square; below it, in a smaller incuse square, star.

   Æ. ·9 Wt. 178 grains. Brit. Mus. (from Borrell coll.). [Pl. XII. No. 2.]

   (Cf. a similar specimen photographed in Head, *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*, Plate II., No. 20; wt. 181·5 grs. Brit. Mus.: *Num. Chron.*, 1881, Pl. I. No. 11; wt. 179·5 grs. Brit. Mus.)

The British Museum also possesses a hemi-drachm (Æ. ·55, wt. 43 grains) with types similar to No. 2, but without the smaller incuse square on the reverse. It was formerly in the Payne Knight collection, but does not appear to have occurred in the Santorin hoard.

The fact that the coins in the hoard are almost all uninscribed renders their attribution difficult. From the find-spot of the hoard, and from the presence in it of a large number of Æginetan coins, we must suppose that it contains specimens of the currency of the Ægean islands, of the Peloponnese, and, possibly, even of northern Greece. Our coins with the half horse do not by their types con-

[1] Einzelne Exemplare dieser Münzen haben unter dem Pferdetypus eine Aufschrift (scheinbar drei Buchstaben, von denen die letzten beiden—ΛP oder—Λ◦I gelesen werden könnten." Imhoof-Blumer in *Zeit. f Num.*, vol. iii. p. 276.

nect themselves with any island of the Ægean. They have been attributed to Maronea, to Cyme in Æolis, to Erythræ in Ionia, and (owing to a mistaken reading of Sestini's) to Clazomenæ.[2] The fifth century coins of Maronea[3] present a resemblance in type to those now under discussion, though the attribution thus suggested cannot be regarded as certain: the Æolic and Ionian attributions have been well shown by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, to be, on several grounds, extremely unsatisfactory. At present, indeed, without further knowledge of the *provenance* of other similar coins, the attribution of these specimens must be admitted to be little better than guess work.

B. 47 *Half lion. Rev.—Rude square.*
1 *Half lion. Rev.—Rude square, a star in the centre.*

1. *Obv.*—Fore part of lion, l., looking back.
Rev.—Rude incuse square, quartered and (apparently) divided diagonally.

Æ. ·75. Wt. 183·4 grs. Brit. Mus. (from the Payne Knight Coll.). [Pl. XII. No. 3.]

(Another similar in Brit. Mus. from the same collection, weighs 182·9 grains.)

[1.* *Obv.*—VAO fore part of lion l., looking back.
Rev.—Similar to No. 1.

Æ. ·8. Wt. 185·5 grs. Brit. Mus. (from the Borrell coll.). *Found in Milo.* [Pl. XII. No. 4.]]

(A similar specimen in the Brit. Mus., from the Woodhouse collection, weighs 180·8 grains.)

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[2] Cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *l. c.* p. 276 (notes).

[3] Brit. Mus. *Catalogue*, "Thrace," p. 123, No. 4. The coins belonging to the period before the expedition of Darius have *obv.*, fore part of horse; *rev.*, incuse square; see *ib.*, Nos. 1—3.

2. *Obv.*—Fore part of lion, l., looking back.
Rev.—Ornamented star within incuse square.

Æ. ·8. Wt. 188·8 grs. Brit. Mus. (from Payne Knight coll.). [Pl. XII. No. 5.]

All these coins, if we judge by the similarity of their fabric and of their obverse types, must be assigned to the same period; possibly, however, the specimen with the star for reverse may be somewhat later than the specimens which have only a plain incuse square. Coins with the type of 1* do not seem to have occurred in the Santorin deposit: Mr. Borrell states[4] that some were found in the island of Milo (a few years subsequent to 1821), together with other coins "bearing the same types [as those in the Santorin find, but which] were evidently of more modern date." The inscription on the obverse of 1* ought to give us the key to all the coins in our class: it was read by Mr. Borrell **OΛΥ** or **ΛΥΟ**.[5] Possibly, as Professor Percy Gardner has suggested, it is **ΘΥΛ** (retrograde, = Γυθ—), in which case it might be thought to indicate Gythium, the sea-port of Laconia: so far as the types are concerned, Miletus, or better, the Thracian Chersonese (cp. B. M. *Cat. Thrace*, p. 182, Nos. 1—4) would seem to have the best claim to the coins.

C. 2 *Large fish's head, and the tail of a fish above. Rev.—Rude indented square.*

1. *Obv.*—Head of fish l.; above, fish's tail.

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[4] *Num. Chron.*, Vol. vi. (O.S.), p. 184.

[5] "**ΥΛΟ** konnte auch für Ωγυ . . . stehen, die Gammaform **Λ** wird auf Münzen von Gortyna, Argos u.a. nicht selten getroffen." Imhoof-Blumer, Z. f. N. III., p. 278 (note 8). The attribution to Olus in Crete proposed by de Luynes seems out of the question.

Rev.—Rude incuse square (probably intended to be quartered and divided diagonally).

Æ. ·8. Wt. 227 grs. Brit. Mus. (from the Borrell coll.). [Pl. XII. No. 6.]

2. *Obv.*—Similar. Æ. ·85. Wt. 216·5 grs. Brit. Mus. (from the Bank of England coll.).

3. Similar. Æ. ·8. Wt. 219·5. Brit. Mus. (from the Payne Knight coll. = (?) Cadalvene, *Recueil de méd. grecq.*, Plate II. 23.

These three coins will serve to represent to us the coins with similar types in the Santorin hoard, though it is not certain they actually come from it. If No. 3 is, as it seems to be, the same coin as Cadalvene's Fig. 23 in Plate II. of his *Recueil*, it was found (in 1821) in Milo (cp. *ib.* page 174). With regard to our No. 1, I find from a note in Mr. Borrell's MS. catalogue of his own collection that it too was discovered in Milo. The provenance of No. 2 is not known to me, but possibly it is one of the two coins with fish's head and tail found in Santorin. There can be little doubt that we have on the obverse of these coins the "complete abridgment" of a fish —its head and tail. The head was thought by De Luynes to be that of a raven, and he attributed a specimen in his collection to Ialysos in Rhodes; the form of the incuse squares of these coins is, however, quite unlike that of the incuse reverses characteristic of Rhodian coins (cf. *e.g.*, Head, *Guide*, Pl. III. 30 and 32)[6]. At present, the find spot of these coins seems rather to point to their being the

[6] Brandis, *Das Münzwesen*, &c. p. 479, inserts De Luynes' coin under "Rhodos, Ialysos (Kleinasiatischer Fuss)," but says, "Die Zutheilung ist sehr zweifelhaft, sie rührt von Luynes her, der in seiner Sammlung die Münze, unter Vergleichung von Müller's Fr. h. Gr. IV. 405 Ialysos beigelegt hat."

currency of one of the Cyclades, but an attribution to Melos itself would perhaps be hazardous.

D. 14 *Vase, with bunch of grapes to each handle, and an ivy-leaf above. Rev.—Indented square, divided into unequal compartments. Naxus? Mionnet in his Supplement, gives them to Teos, in Ionia.*

Obv.—Kantharos; from each handle of which a bunch of grapes is suspended; above, an ivy-leaf.

Rev. Incuse square divided into four compartments.

Æ. ·8. Wt. 191 grs. Brit. Mus. (from the Woodhouse Coll.). [Pl. XII. No. 7.]

Cf. Head, *Guide*, Pl. VI., No. 84, wt. 187 grains (Kantharos wreathed with ivy), and *Das Königl Münzkabinet* (Berlin), Nos. 9 and 10; without wreath?

These are the well-known coins now generally assigned to the island of Naxos. They usually have the body of the Kantharos wreathed with ivy, but as Mr. Borrell makes no mention of the existence of a wreath on the specimens described in his memorandum, I have thought it better to photograph a piece in the British Museum which seems to be without the wreath—unless, indeed, that object has merely become obliterated. It would appear, however, from some remarks by Mr. Borrell published in the *Num. Chron* (vol. v. pp. 177, 178), that *one* at any rate of the Santorin coins was provided with the ivy-wreath, so that perhaps this may have been the case with all. Coins with the wreathed kantharos occurred in the well-known Myt-Rahineh *trouvaille* of sixth century Greek money.[7]

E. 8 *Dove flying. Sicyon.*

1. *Obv.*—Eagle flying r.

[7] *Revue numis.*, 1861, p. 421; Pl. XVIII. 8.

Rev.—Incuse square quartered and divided diagonally.

Æ. ·75. Wt. 196·6 grs. Brit. Mus. (formerly in the Borrell and Payne Knight collections). [Pl. XII. No. 8] = Head, *Guide*, Pl. VI. No. 86.

Mr. Borrell considered the bird on these coins to be a dove, and supposed them to be "the earliest essays of the Sicyonian coinage" (*Num. Chron.* vi. (O.S.) p. 132.). But the bird seems rather to be an eagle, and it is more likely that these specimens constituted the earliest money of the wealthy island of Siphnos, preceding the archaic, but not primitive, inscribed coins of that island with, *obv.*, female head, *rev.* eagle flying.

F. 1 *Cock. Carystus?*

I have been unable to make out from this description what coin is intended.

G. 1 *Boar's head.*

Obv.—Boar's head r.

Rev.—Rude incuse square (apparently not divided into compartments).

Æ. ·85. Wt. 223 grs. Brit. Mus. (from the Borrell coll.). [Pl. XII. No. 9.]

This coin is of rude globular fabric and much resembles the pieces with fish's head and tail (our class C). Like them it is above the right of the Æginetic didrachms in this find.

H. 82 *Boar's head, half size. Lyttus Creta?*

1. *Obv.*—Boar's head r.

Rev.—Rude incuse square.

Æ. ·55. Wt. 64·5 grains. Brit. Mus. (from the Borrell coll.). [Pl. XII. No. 10.]

2. Similar; incuse square, divided? Fabric somewhat less lumpy than that of No. 1.

   Æ. ·65. Wt. 64·4 grains. [Pl. XII. No. 11] = Head, *Guide*, I. A. 33; Pl. III. No. 33.

[3. *Obv.*—Boar's head r.

Rev.—Incuse square.

Æ. ·85. Wt. 7·2 grs. Brit. Mus. (from the Borrell coll.).]

The British Museum possesses several specimens of Nos. 1 and 2. No. 3 evidently belongs to the same class, though it is not, apparently, from the Santorin hoard. Mr. Head in his *Guide* (*loc. cit.*) has attributed No. 1 to Lycia, with a query; in the Guide to the Berlin collection,[8] on the other hand, two similar specimens are given to Lyttus (in Crete), on whose coinage a boar's head is a familiar type. Mons. J. P. Six[9] also writes strongly in favour of this attribution, and considers the pieces to be *thirds* of the Æginetan stater. He points out that Baron Prokesch-Osten obtained ten specimens of this class direct (apparently) from Crete. It must, however, be borne in mind that similar specimens have been found in Cyprus (*Catal.* Huber, No. 700), and, as our present find shows, in Thera. Specimens similar to our No. 3 have been found in the island of Seriphos.[10]

I. 23 *Two Dolphins. Phidon.*

1. *Obv.*—Dolphin swimming l.; beneath, a smaller dolphin swimming r.

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[8] *Das königl. Münzkabinet*, p. 54, Nos. 12, 13 (wt. = 4, 15, and 4, 1 grm.).

[9] In a letter to myself written in July, 1884.

[10] Prokesch-Osten, *Nichtbekannte Europ.-griech. Münzen*, Pl. III. Nos. 50, 51, under Lyttus. The boar's head on No. 50 has been mistaken for an eagle's head.

Rev.—Incuse square quartered and divided diagonally.

Æ. ·8. Wt. 189·3 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. XII. No. 12.]

(Other specimens in Brit. Mus. weigh 193·7 grs.; 188·4 grs.: for similar coins cf. *Das k Münzkabinet*, p. 54, No. 7, "Unbestimmt, eine der Inseln der ägäischen Meers;" Cadalvene, *Recueil*, Pl. II. No. 24, &c.)

Mr. Borrell (*Num. Chron.* vol. vi. (O.S.), p. 42 ff.), was of opinion that these specimens were the coins "minted by the Æginetæ for Phidon, King of Argos." Without going this length, we may admit that the suggestion that these coins formed the earliest currency of Argos seems at least worthy of consideration. Cadalvene thought that these pieces were actually struck in Ægina itself, being led to take this view by the similarity between the incuse square of the dolphin coins and those of Ægina with the tortoise; and also by the fact that he had procured several specimens of the former from Ægina.

Mr. Barclay Head has further suggested to me that if these coins are of one of the Ægean islands—and their find-spot, so far as it is at present known, would seem to indicate this—they might with probability be assigned to Delos. That island can hardly be supposed at that early period to have been without a currency of its own, and the type of the dolphin would be not unsuitable as a symbol of its god Apollo.

J. 2 *Goat upon a fish.*

1. *Obv.*—Goat r., looking back, with r. foreleg bent; beneath, dolphin.

   Rev.—Incuse square divided into (6 ?) compartments.

   Æ. ·85. Wt. 190·1 grs. Brit. Mus. (from the Borrell coll.). [Pl. XII. No. 13.]

2. Another, similar. Wt. 187·7 grs. Brit. Mus. = Head, *Guide*, I. B. 35; Plate VI. 35. "Paros."

The attribution of these coins to Paros seems a probable one.

K. 1. *Plain vase, without handles.*

Obv.—Amphora.

Rev.—Incuse square, quartered and divided diagonally.

Æ. ·8. Wt. 184·2 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. XII. No. 14.]

(Another similar specimen in Brit. Mus. weighs 186·2 grs.).

It is perhaps one of these coins of Carthæa in Ceos that is intended by Mr. Borrell, though the vase certainly has small handles.

L. 541 *Ægina.*

These were apparently all didrachms.[11] Mr. Borrell has not described the form of the incuse square on the reverse of the specimens, and we cannot be certain, therefore, whether the reverse had the square quartered and divided diagonally, as is the case with the coin in our Plate XII. No. 15 (wt. 192 grs., Brit. Mus.), or whether it consisted of five triangular sinkings (as on Pl. XII. No. 16, wt. 185·2 grains. Brit. Mus.); or whether, again, the find included specimens of both these classes. The British Museum obtained many of its early Æginetan Didrachms from the Borrell collection, all of which, I find, have the five (or four) triangular sinkings for reverse. It would, however, be somewhat hazardous to infer from this circumstance that none of the class with the quartered and diagonally divided square occurred in the find.

[11] I gather this from some observations appended to Borrell's memorandum (*Num. Chron. l. c.*)—"All the coins of the Santorina deposit, excepting the 82 small with the boar's head, agree pretty nearly with each other in weight, which shows them to have been adjusted to the Æginetan standard, of which they must have been didrachms."

M. 1 *Head of Silenus. Rev.—Rude indented square. Naxus ? (From Mr. Payne Knight's collection, now in the British Museum.)*

Obv.—Head of Satyr r. with pointed beard and long pointed ear.

Rev.—Rude incuse square (quartered and divided diagonally ?).

Æ. ·85. Wt. 211·5 grs. Brit. Mus. (from Payne Knight coll.). [Pl. XII. No. 17] = Gardner, *Types*, Pl. III. 19. Naxos ?

WARWICK WROTH.

Millbrook.

*8. *Obv.* GREGORY . DOWLINGE.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. OF . MILBROOKE . 1666.—G. D. ½d.

Shefford.

*9. *Obv.* WILLIAM . GROVES.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . SHEFFORD.—1666. ½d.

BERKSHIRE.

Abingdon.

10. *Obv.* ROBFRT . LIFORD . OF.—Spectacles amd scissors.
Rev. ABBINGTON . MILLINER.—Fish-hook and comb. ½d.
[See Boyne No. 2.]

Blewbury.

11. *Obv.* GEORGE . STANTON.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. OF . BLEWBERY . 1670.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

12. *Obv.* GEORGE . STANTON.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . BLEWBEREY.—G. S. ½d.

Hagborn.

13. *Obv.* THO . HVMFERY . AT.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. HAGBVRNE . IN . BARKS.—T. A. H. ½d.

14. *Obv.* THOMAS . HVMFREY . OF.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. HAGBORN . IN . BARKS.—T. A. H. ½d.

Lambourn.

15. *Obv.* HENRY . KNIGHTON . IN.—A crown.
Rev. LAMBORNE . 1652.—H. C. K. ½d.

16. *Obv.* HENRY . KNIGHTON . IN.—A crown.
Rev. LAMBORNE . 1665.—H. C. K. ½d.

17. *Obv.* HENRY . KNIGHTON . OF . 1666.—A crown.
Rev. LAMBORNE.—HIS HALF PENY.—H. C. K. ½d.

NEWBURY.

18. *Obv.* BOROVGH . OF . NEWBERY.—A castle.
Rev. IN . COVNTY . OF . BERKS—B. N., 1657. ½d.

READING.

19. *Obv.* SOLOMON . BARNARD.—A rabbit.
Rev. IN . REDING . 1653.—S. E. B. ½d.

*20. *Obv.* IOHN . BROWNE . AT . 3.—Three fishes.
Rev. IN . READINE.—I. C. B. ½d.

21. *Obv.* WILLIAM . CHAMPE.—R. A. M. (*sic*).
Rev. IN . READINGE.—Mercers' Arms. ½d.

22. *Obv.* WILLIAM . CHAMPE.—1658.
Rev. IN . READINGE.—W. T. C. ½d.
[See Boyne No. 56.]

*23. *Obv.* IOHN . WILDER . THE.—A pelican.
Rev. ELDER . IN . READING.—I. A. W. ½d.

*24. *Obv.* IOHN . WILDER . Y^E . ELDE^R.—A pelican.
Rev. IN . READING . 1663.—I. A. W.

STEVENTON.

25. *Obv.* RALPH . HARVIE.—A pair of scales. ½d.
Rev. IN . STERENTON.—R. R. H. ½d.

WANTAGE.

26. *Obv.* IOHN . CLEMENT.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . WONTAGE.—I. C. ½d.

*27. *Obv.* GEORGE . KERBY . AT . YE.—BEARE. A bear and chain.
Rev. AT . WANTING . 1669.—HIS HALFE PENY. ½d.

*28. *Obv.* IEFFERY . MASMORE.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . WANTAGE . 1663.—I. M. ½d.

29. *Obv.* IOHN . SEYMOR . AT . GOLD.—Lion rampant.
Rev. IN . WANTING . MERC^R.—I. M. S. ½d.

30. *Obv.* RICHARD . STAMP.—Fleur-de-lis.
Rev. IN . WANTAGE . 1669.—HIS HALF PENY. R. A. S. ½d.

WOKINGHAM.

*31. *Obv.* THOMAS . MAY.—Man making candles.
Rev. IN . OAKINGHAM.—T. M. ½d.

This token has been silvered.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

BEACONSFIELD.

*32. *Obv.* IOHN . FOSCET . OF.—Paschal Lamb.
Rev. BECKONSFEILD . 1669.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

ETON.

*33. *Obv.* IOHN . SMITH . AT . Y^E.—A cock.
Rev. IN . EATON . 1668.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

HADDENHAM.

34. *Obv.* IOHN . MOREFELD . OF.—A man walking.
Rev. HADENHAM . CARRIER.—I. M. ½d.

MARLOW.

*35. *Obv.* THO . SMITH . IN.—Two guns crossed.
Rev. GREAT . MARLO.—T. I. S. ½d.

NEWPORT PAGNELL.

*36. *Obv. John Child His Halfe Penny.*
Rev. IN . NEWPORT . 1667.—Roll of tobacco and two pipes. (Lead token.) ½d.

37. JOHN . NORMAN, ascribed by Boyne to Newport in Shropshire, is doubtless of Newport Pagnell. (Se Boyne, p. 19, no. 68). ½d.

STEWKLEY.

38. *Obv.* THOMAS . COLES.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . STEWTLY . 1667.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

STONY STRATFORD.

*89. *Obv.* ROBERT . ANDERTON.—Three cloves.
Rev. OF . STONI . STRATFORD.—R. M. A. ½d.

TINGEWICK.

40. *Obv.* IOHN . DVRRANT.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN TINGWICK.—Fleur-de-lis, 16—68. ½d.

WYCOMBE.

41. *Obv.* IEREMIAH . GRAY . IN.—A swan with chain.
Rev. HEY . WICKIAM . 1652.—I. M. G. ½d.

42. *Obv.* RICH . LVCAS . OF . WICKHAM.—R. D. L. 1670.
Rev. RATHER . DEAD . THEN . DISLOYAL.—Lion rampant. ½d.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

CAMBRIDGE.

43. *Obv.* WILL . BRYAN . IN . CAMBRIDG.—Three cloves.
Rev. CONFECTIONER . 1652.—W. H. B. ½d.

44. *Obv.* EDWARD . CHALLIS.—The Haberdashers' Arms.
Rev. IN . CAMBRIDG . 1668.—E. C. ½d.

45. *Obv.* IOHN . FROHOCK.—Arms of the Frohock family.
Rev. IN CAMBRIDG . 1670.—I. M. F. ½d.

46. *Obv.* PHILLIP . WILLIAMS.—Bakers' Arms.
Rev. [OF ?] CAMBRIDGE.—P. M. W. ½d.

ELY.

*47. *Obv.* WILLIAM . CHEWILL.—Merchant Tailors' Arms.
Rev. IN . EELEY . 1667.—W. S. C. ½d.

48. *Obv.* CORNLLVS . FVLLER.—Haberdashers' Arms.
Rev. IN . ELY . 1651.—C. F. ½d.

49. *Obv.* NICHOLAS . MALABAR.—Woolpack.
Rev. AT . ELLY . 1658.—N. M. ½d.

50. *Obv.* WILLIAM . TVCKINTON.—A stick of candles.
Rev. IN . ELY . CHANDLER.—W. T. ½d.

LITTLEPORT.

51. *Obv.* LITTLEPORT . ILE . OF . ELY.—A key.
Rev. Y^{E} . OVERSEERS . OF . Y^{E} . POOR.—1668. ½d.

SOHAM.

*52. *Obv.* HOVELL . IOANES.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . SOHAM . 1658.—H. F. I. ½d.

WISBEACH.

53. *Obv.* HENRY . COLDWELL . 1668.—Haberdashers' Arms.
Rev. I^{N} . WISBIDG . HABADASHER.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

CHESHIRE.

CHESTER.

*54. *Obv.* SARAH . BENNET . AT . Y^{E} 3.—Three tons.
Rev. TVNNS . IN . CHESTER . 1668.—HER HALF PENY. ½d.

55. *Obv.* IN . CHESTER . IN . NORTHGAT.—NATHA^{N} IOLLIE HIS 1^{P}
Rev. STREET . AT . Y^{E} PHEASANT . 68.—A pheasant. 1d.

*56. *Obv.* ROBBART . WIHITHER . IN . 16—6[9 ?]—Butchers' Arms.
Rev. IN . CHESTE[R] . HIS HALFE . PENY . R. I. W. (Heart shaped.) ½d.

CONGLETON.

*57. *Obv.* IOHN .GLOVER . 1667.
Rev. IN . CONGLETON.—HIS HALF PENY I. G. ½d.

CORNWALL.

BODMIN.

58. *Obv.* THOMAS . WILDS.—Arms, &c., as in Boyne No. 2.
Rev. IN . BODMYN.—T. F. W. ½d.

FALMOUTH.

59. *Obv.* THOMAS . HOLDEN.—Arms as in Boyne No. 8.
Rev. OF . FALMOVTH . 1668.—T. A. H. ½d.

HELSTON.

60. *Obv.* WILLIAM . PENHALVRICK.—W. P.
Rev. OF . HELSTON . 1667.—W. P. ½d.

NEWPORT.

61. *Obv.* IOHN . KERTON . OF . NVE.—Three sheep in a fold.
Rev. PORT . IN . CORNWELL.—I. I. K. ½d.

DERBYSHIRE.

BAKEWELL.

62. *Obv.* IOHN . DICKENS . OF.—Arm holding covered cup.
Rev. BACKWELL . 1669.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

CHESTERFIELD.

63. *Obv.* RICHARD . CLARKE . AT . THE.—HIS HALF PENY R. A. C.
Rev. ANGELL . IN . CHESTERFEILD.—An angel. ½d.

64. *Obv.* WILLIAM . MILLNES.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . CHESTERFEILD . 1667.—HIS HALFE PENY. ½d.

DERBY.

65. *Obv.* GEORGE . BLAGRAVE . 1668—Hand with sceptre.
Rev. IN . DARBY . HIS . HALF . PENY.—A crown. ½d.

*66. *Obv.* SAMVELL . FLECHER.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . DARBY.—S. F. 1664. ½d.

67. *Obv.* WILLIAM . FREIRSON.—HIS HALFE PENNY.
Rev. IN . DERBY . 1668.—DERBY . W. F. ½d.

68. *Obv.* THOMAS . LOCKHAR . 1668.—A shoe.
Rev. SHOOEMAKER . AT . DARBY.—HIS HALFE PENNY T. L. ½d.

DUFFIELD.

69. *Obv.* DOROTHY . ROSSINGTON . IN.—A griffin's head.
Rev. DVFFEILD . NEARE . DARBY.—HER HALF PENY 1669. ½d.

TIDESWELL.

70. *Obv.* ROBERT . BAGSHAW.—HIS HALFE PENNY.
Rev. IN . TIDSWALL . 1667.—R. S. B. ½d.

DEVONSHIRE.

BISHOP'S TEIGNTON.

71. *Obv.* IOHN . GRANTE . 1670.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. OF . BISHOPS . STANTON.—I. E. G. ½d.

COLEBROOK.

72. *Obv.* IOHN . GVY . CHANDLER.—A cock.
Rev. IN . COVLBROKE . 1652.—I. B. G. ½d.

COLLUMPTON.

*73. *Obv.* WILLIAM . SKINNER.—Three fleurs-de-lis.
Rev. OF . CVLLVMSTON.—W. S. S.

COLYTON.

74. *Obv.* BENIAMIN . MASSEY.—An anchor and a heart.
Rev. OF . CVLLITON . MERCER.—B. M.

EXETER.

75. *Rev.* WILLIAM . WOLLMAN.—A roll of tobacco W. W.
Obv. OF . EXON . 1668.—A stick of candles and trough (?)
(Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. XVI. p. 254, n. 89).

MORETON HAMPSTEAD.

76. *Obv.* Y^E . 8 . MEN . & . FEEFFEES—OF MORTON 1670.
Rev. FOR . Y^E . BENEFIT . OF . Y^E . POOR.—A church. ½. ½d.

*77. *Obv.* AN . HALF . PENNY . [FOR . Y^{E}] . BENEFIT.—A church.
Rev. OF . Y^{E}. POORE . OF . MORETON.—HEMPSTED 1670. ½d.
(Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. xvi. p. 255, n. 49).

PLYMOUTH.

*78. *Obv.* MARY . BAKER—1667.
Rev. IN . PLYMOVTH.—M. B. ½d.

*79. *Obv.* IAMES . IRIESH . AT . Y^{E} . 3.—Three fish-hooks.
Rev. OF . PLYMOVTH . 1667—I. E. I. ½d.

*80. *Obv.* THOMAS . PHILLIPPS—Mercers' Arms (?)
Rev. IN . PLYMOTH.—T. M. P. ½d.

81. *Obv.* WILLIAM . TOMS.—Arms as Boyne, No. 174.
Rev. IM . PLYMOVTH . 1663.—W. T. ½d.

SILVERTON.

82. *Obv.* SILFERTON.—1660.
Rev. DEVONSHIRE.—I. Y. ½d.

SOUTH MOLTON.

*83. *Obv.* EDWARD . BROAD.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . SOVTH . MOVLTON.—E. M. B. ½d.
(*Num. Chron.* N.S. xvi., p. 258, n. 70.)

84. *Obv.* CHRISTOPHER . MAY . IN.—A fleur-de-lis.
Rev. SOVTH . MOVLTON . 1668.—HIS HALFE PENNY. C. E. M. ½d.

TIVERTON.

85. *Obv.* IOHN . PATY . OF.—A cock.
Rev. TIVERTON . 1664.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.
(*Num. Chron.* N.S. xvi., p. 260, n. 80.)

TOTNES.

86. *Obv.* IEAMS . MARTYN . IN.—I. M.
Rev. TOTNES . IN . DEVON.—165[8] I. M. ½d.

DORSET.

Blandford.

87. *Obv.* WALLTER . RIDIOVT.—W. R.
Rev. IN . BLANDFORD . 1652.—W. R. ½d.

Bridport.

88. *Obv.* WILL . BVLL.—A bull's head.
Rev. IN . BRIDPORT.—W. E. B. ½d.

89. *Obv.* WILLIAM . BVRTE.—A columbine.
Rev. IN . BRIDPORTE. 166[0 ?].—W. S. B. ½d.

Dorchester.

*90. *Obv.* EDWARD . CHEAPMAN.—A roll of cloth.
Rev. OF . DORCHESTER . 1668.—E. C. ½d.

91. *Obv.* RICHARD . CHENEY.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . DORCHESTOR . 1659.—R. C. ½d.

92. *Obv.* LAWRENCE . RIGHTON.—Ironmongers' Arms.
Rev. OF . DORCHESTER . 1669.—L. R. ½d.

93. *Obv.* PHILLIP . STANSBIE.—Salters' Arms.
Rev. OF . DORCHESTER . 68.—P. S. (conjoined). ½d.

Poole.

94. *Obv.* MICHAELL . OKE . AT . Y^E^ OKE.—An oak tree.
Rev. TREE . IN . POOLE . DORSET.—HIS HALFE PENY 1668. ½d.

Sherborne.

95. *Obv.* ROBERT . ALFORD.—A rose and crown.
Rev. OF . SHERBONE.—R. M. A. ½d.

*96. *Obv.* WILLIAM . RIDEOVT.—Plain centre.
Rev. OF . SHERBOVRNE . 1666.—Plain centre. ½d.

97. *Obv.* ISACK . WILLIAMS.—Pestle and mortar.
Rev. AT . SHERBORNE . 1658.—I. W. ½d.

WEYMOUTH.

98. *Obv.* A . WEYMOVTH . FARTHING . FOR . THE . POOR . 1669.
Rev. Arms of Weymouth. ½d.

99. *Obv.* WILLIAM . POOKE.—W. P.
Rev. IN . WAYMOVTH.—Grocers' Arms. ½d.

WIMBORNE.

100. *Obv.* IOHN . KING . OF.—A horse drawing a waggon.
Rev. WIMBORNE . 1669.—I. I. K. ½ ½d.

DURHAM.

BARNARD CASTLE.

101. *Obv.* CRISTOPHER . BVRFEY.—IN . BARNERD . CASTELL.
Rev. GOD . SAVE . THE . KING.—King's head crowned. ½d.

102. *Obv.* IOHN . GOLIGHTLY.—King's head crowned.
Rev. IN . BARNARD . CASTELL.—I. I. G. ½d.

103. *Obv.* ANTHONY . MARKENDAILE.—King's head crowned.
Rev. IN . BARNARD . CASTELL . 1666.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

104. *Obv.* ANTHONY . MARKENDAILE.—Three fleurs-de-lis.
Rev. IN . BARNARD . CASTELL.—A. M. ½d.

105. Two types of Boyne, No. 10. One with C. E. P. below the crown, the other with C.E. below, and P. above, the crown.

DURHAM.

106. *Obv.* WILL . HVTCHESON.—Stationers' Arms.
Rev. BOOKSELLER . IN . DVRHAM.—W. E. H. ½d.

ESSEX.

BRENTWOOD.

107. *Obv.* IOHN . RHETT . 1669.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . BRENTWOOD . IN . ESSEX.—A stick of candles. I. E. R. ½d.

Chelmsford.

108. *Obv.* FRANCIS . ARWAKER.—Arms as Boyne, 35.
Rev. IN . CHELMESFORD.—F. A. ½d.

109. *Obv.* NATHNIALL . BOWND.—N. B.
Rev. OF . CHELMSFORD.—Arms: three fleur-de-lis. ½d.

110. *Obv.* IOHN . TVRNER . AT . THE . WHITE.—A horse.
Rev. HORSE . IN . CHELMSFORD . 1667.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

*111. *Obv.* SAMVELL . WHEELY.—A pickaxe.
Rev. OF . CHELMSFORD . 1666.—S. M. W. ½d.

Coggeshall.

*112. *Obv.* EDMOND . SPICER.—A sugar loaf.
Rev. IN . COGGESHALL.—Device, Boyne, pl. iii. n. 2. ½d.

Colchester.

*113. *Obv.* IOHN . ADLYN (?).—Fleur-de-lis.
Rev. IN . COVLCHESTER.—? ½d.

114. *Obv.* RICHARD . BOYSE . OF.—Lion rampant.
Rev. COLCHESTER . 1668.—HIS HALFE PENY. ½d.

115. *Obv.* NATHANIELL . LAWRENCE.—N. L. (conjoined).
Rev. OF . COLCHESTER.—N. L. (conjoined). ½d.

116. *Obv.* DANIELL . STVD . BAKER.—Bakers' Arms.
Rev. IN . COVLLTCHISTER.—D. A. S. ½. ½d.

Finchingfield.

*117. *Obv.* WIL . GREENE . AT . Y^E.—Rose crowned (?).
Rev. IN FINCHINGFILD.—W. D. G. ½d.

Hatfield Broadoak.

118. *Obv.* W. M. SPILTIMBER.—A tree.
Rev. HATFILD . BROAD . OCKE.—W. S. 16[5?]8. ½d.

HEDINGHAM (CASTLE).

119. *Obv.* IOHN . VNWIN . OF.—A wool pack.
Rev. HEDINGHAM . CASTELL.—I. V. ½d.

INGATESTONE.

120. *Obv.* GEORGE . EVANES.—Dove with olive-branch.
Rev. IN . INGATE . STONE . 1668.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

MALDON.

*121. *Obv.* MATHIAS . TOMPKINS.—St. George and dragon.
Rev. AT . MALDEN . 1667.—M. S. T. ½d.

MUCH BADDOW.

122. *Obv.* IOHN . LANGSTON . AT . THE.—HIS HALFE PENY.
Rev. WHIT . HORS . IN . MVCHBODDOW.—A horse. ½d.

ROMFORD.

123. *Obv.* RICHARD . CHARVELL.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . RVMFORD . 1668.—R. C. Hand holding scissors. ½d.

124. *Obv.* GEORGE . SILKE . AT . THE.—Angel.
Rev. ANGELL . IN . RVMFORD.—G.[E.]S. ½d.

SAFFRON WALDEN.

125. *Obv.* WILLIAM . LEADER . 1668.—Two pipes crossed.
Rev. IN . SAFORN . WALDING.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

*126. *Obv.* THOMAS . MEHEW . OF.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. SAFIORN . WALLDIN.—T. M. 1658. ½d.

SOUTH BENFLEET.

127. *Obv.* WALLT[ER] . THOMPSON . OF.—Blacksmiths' Arms.
Rev. SOVTH . BEN[FLEE]T . IN . ESSEX.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

STISTED.

128. *Obv.* IAMES . BONVN . 1666.—Pair of shears.
Rev. IN . STISTED . IN . ESSEX.—I. B. B. ½d.

WALTHAM ABBEY.

129. *Obv.* IOHN . HODGES . GROCER.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . WALTHAM . ABBY . 1668.—HIS HALF PENY. I. H. ½d.

WEST HAM.

130. *Obv.* IOANE . COYDE . 1667.—Royal Arms.
Rev. IN . WEST . HAM.—HER HALF PENY. ½d.

A variety of the token described by Boyne under West Ham, in Sussex. (Comp. Smallfield and Elman, *Sussex Tradesmen's Tokens*, s. v. West Ham.)

WICKHAM.

131. *Obv.* LAVRENCE . BROWN . IVNIOR.—A hand.
Rev. AT . WICKHAM . IN . ESSEX.—HIS HALF PENY, 1669. ½d.

WITHAM.

132. *Obv.* IOHN . FREEBVRNE.—Rose crowned.
Rev. IVNIOR . IN . WITHAM.—I. F., 1667. ½d.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

AWRE.

133. *Obv.* ROBERT . DOVER . OF . THE.—R. E. D.
Rev. VINE . IN . THE . PR . OF . AVRE.—1652. ½d.

BOURTON-ON-THE-WATER.

134. *Obv.* EDWARD . [L]AMLY . BAKER.—Bakers' Arms.
Rev. IN . BVRTON . ON . THE . WATER.—HIS HALF PENY. 1669. ½d.

BRISTOL.

135. *Obv.* BRISTOLL . FARTHING.—1591.
Rev. Ship issuing from castle. C. B.
Square, lead 9·5.[1]

186. *Obv.* On shield, Arms of Bristol (ship issuing r. from castle).
Rev. C. B.
Square, Æ, ·8.

137. *Obv.* A . BRISTOLL . FARTHING.—C. B. 1660 R.
Rev. THE . ARMES . OF . BRISTOLL.—Ship issuing l. from castle. ½d.

138. *Obv.* A . BRISTOLL . FARTHING.—C. B. 1662.
Rev. THE . ARMES . OF . BRISTOLL.—Same type as last. ½d.

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[1] This rare leaden token was purchased in 1880 from Mr. Webster, the coin dealer, and bears every mark of genuineness. Though not of the seventeenth century, it is here inserted and reproduced on account of its interest as the forerunner of the Town-pieces of that century. It is known that Elizabeth granted a license to the city of Bristol to issue Farthing Tokens in copper, and Ruding (*Annals*, i. 348) conjectures that this took place soon after the year 1574, though the exact date is unascertained. Possibly, however, the official issue of Bristol Tokens did not take place till a later period, for our specimen, which seems to be the pattern of a Town-piece put forth by authority, bears the date 1591. In May, 1594, an order was sent to the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol to call in all the private tokens which had been stamped and uttered by divers persons within that city without any manner of authority (Ruding, *Ann.* ii., p. 218).

CAMPDEN.

139. *Obv.* WILLIAM . YEATE.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . CAMPDE^{N} MERCE^{R}.—W. M. Y. ½d.

CHELTENHAM.

140. *Obv.* EDWARD . IOHNSON.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . CHELTENHAM.—E. M. I. ½d.

CIRENCESTER.

141. *Obv.* EDMVND . FREEMAN . IN.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. CIRENCESTER . 1655.—E. M. F. ½d.

142. *Obv.* THOMAS . PERRY.—Three doves.
Rev. IN . CIRENCISITER.—T. A. P. ½d.

GLOUCESTER.

143. *Obv.* HENRY . KNOWLES.—A flesh-pot.
Rev. OF . GLOCESTER.—H. K. ½d.

144. *Obv.* NATHANIELL . WEEB.—Brewers' Arms.
Rev. OF . GLOUCTER . BROVER.—N. M. W. ½d.

MITCHEL DEAN.

145. *Obv.* EDWARD . MORSE . OF. — Merchant's mark, as Boyne, 91.
Rev. MICHELL . DEANE . CLOTHIER.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

MORETON IN THE MARSH.

146. *Obv.* ROWLAND . FREEMAN . MERCE$^{[R]}$.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . MOVRTON . IN . MARSH.—R. E. F. ½d.

NORTHLEACH.

147. *Obv.* THOMAS . PAGE.—A falcon.
Rev. OF . NORLEGE.—T. M. P. ½d.

PAINSWICK.

148. *Obv.* GILES . SMITH . 1664.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . PAYNSSWICKE.—G. A. S. ½d.

STOW.

*149. *Obv.* HAZELWOOD . WELLS.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . STOW.—H. S. W. ½d.

TETBURY.

150. *Obv.* THIS . FARTHING . WIL . BE . OWND.—IN TETBVRY.
Rev. Y^E . ARMES . OF . THAT . BVRROVG^H.—The Arms of Tetbury. ½d.

151. *Obv.* ANTIPAS . SWINERTON.—A wool-pack.
Rev. OF . TETBVRY . WOLLMAN.—A. M. S. ½d.

TEWKESBURY.

152. *Obv.* HIS . HALFE . PENY . 1662.—WILLIAM . HALL.
Rev. THE . TOWNE . OF . TEWKSBVRY.—W. P. H. ½d.

153. *Obv.* THOMAS . IEANES.—A castle.
Rev. IN . TEWKSBERRY . 1669.—HIS HALFE PENY. ½d.

154. *Obv.* THOMAS . IEYNES . OF.—HIS HALFE PENY.
Rev. TEWKESBVRY . 1669.—A castle. ½d.

155. *Obv.* IOHN MILLINGTON.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . TWEXBVRIE.—$\frac{1\ M}{P}$ ½d.

WINCHCOMB.

156. *Obv.* WILLIAM . IONES.—Roll of cloth.
Rev. AT . WINCOMBE . 1666.—W. I. ½d.

*157. *Obv.* NICHOLAS . PEARSON.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . WINCHCOMBE . 1670.—N. M. P. (octagonal). ½d.

HAMPSHIRE.

ALRESFORD.

158. *Obv.* IARVAS . ABIN . AT . THE.—St. George and dragon. I. A.
Rev. IN . ALRESFORD . 1666.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

ANDOVER.

159. *Obv.* NVCOM . COKETT.—1666.
Rev. IN . ANDOVER.—N. F. C. ½d.

BASINGSTOKE.

160. *Obv.* IOHN . COLEMAN . THE [ELDER].—A bird.
Rev. OF . BASSING . STONE . 1652.—I. I. C. ½d.

161. *Obv.* BARNAF . REVE.—An angel.
Rev. OF . BASING . STOKE.—B. M. R. ½d.

162. *Obv.* BARNARD . REVE.—An angel.
Rev. IN . BAZINGSTOKE.—B. M. R. ½d.

163. *Obv.* IOHN . TRIMMER . OF.—A hat.
Rev. BASINGSTOAKE . 1670.—I. M. T. ½d.

BISHOP'S WALTHAM.

*164. *Obv.* IOHN . BRAFET . OF.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. BISHOPS . WALTOM . MERCER.—I. B. ½d.

BLACKWATER.

165. *Obv.* IOHN . WRIGHT . 1667.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . BLACKWATAR.—I. W. ½d.

CHRISTCHURCH.

166. *Obv.* HVMPHRY . RICHARDS.—HIS HALF PENY. H. E. R.
Rev. NEARE . CHRIST . CHVRCH.—Bridge of three arches. ½d.

HAMBLEDON.

167. *Obv.* RICHARD . STENT.—1666.
Rev. AT . HAMBLEDON.—R. M. S. ½d.

NEWPORT (ISLE OF WIGHT).

168. *Obv.* ELIZ . MAYNARD . NEW.—E. M.
Rev. PORT . ILF OF . WITE.—E. M. ½d.

PORTSMOUTH.

169. *Obv.* EDWARD . PEARSE . AT . Y^E . HVLKE.—A ship's hulk.
Rev. IN . PORTCHMOVTH . 1667.—HIS HALFE PENY. [E M] P ½d.

*170. *Obv.* PAVL . RICHARDS.—P. E. R.
Rev. IN . PORTSMOVTH.—1656. ½d.

ROMSEY.

171. *Obv.* CLEMENT . WARREN.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . RVMSY . 1667.—HIS HALF PENY. C. I. W. ½d.

SOUTHAMPTON.

*172. *Obv.* WILLIAM . IOLLIFE . OF.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. SOVTH . HAMPTON.—W. I. ½d.

173. *Obv.* CORNELIVS . MACHAM.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . SOVTHAMPTON . 1667.—C. M. ½d.

WINCHESTER.

174. *Obv.* WILLIAM . OVER . AT . Y^E.—W. M. O.
Rev. EAST . GATE . AT . WINTON.—Grocers' Arms. ½d.

175. *Obv.* WILLIAM . TAYLER.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . WINCHESTER.—W. R. I. ½d.

HEREFORDSHIRE.

COXALL.

176. *Obv.* FRANCIS . LAY . AT . THE.—A swan.
Rev. IN . COXHALL . THIS . FOR.—HALF A PENY. F. D. L. ½d.

HEREFORD.

177. *Obv.* WILLIAM . BARNES.—W. B. in a lozenge.
Rev. IN . HEREFORDE . 1661.—*Ob.* in a lozenge. ½d.

178. Same as Boyne, No. 8, but with ARMES.

LEDBURY.

179. *Obv.* REIGHNALD . RANDOLPH.—Three hammers.
Rev. IN . LEDBVRY . 1668.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

LEOMINSTER.

180. *Obv.* THO . HARDWICK . IVNIOR . IN.—A hart lodged.
Rev. LEOMINSTER . HIS . HALF . PENY.—T. H. ½d.

181. *Obv.* NATHANIELL . SMITH.—HIS HALFE PENNY.
Rev. OF . LEOMISTER . 1667.—N. M. S. ½d.

ROSS.

182. *Obv.* IOHN . HILL . OF.—I. E. H.
Rev. ROSS . MERCER.—I. E. H. ½d.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

BARNET.

183. *Obv.* IOHN . ROTHERHA.—A stick of candles.
Rev. IN . BARNAT . 1653.—I. R. ½d.

BISHOP STORTFORD.

184. *Obv.* ANN . BRITTAINE . OF . BISHOP.—Two keys crossed.
Rev. STARFORD . IN . SOVTH . STREET.—HER HALF PENY. 1669. (Octagonal.) ½d.

BUNTINGFORD.

185. *Obv.* WILLIAM . FERRIS . 1669.—A wool-pack.
Rev. OF . BVNTINGFORD.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

BUSHEY.

*186. *Obv.* RALPH . FEILD . IN . BVSHEE.—Three pipes.
Rev. HIS . HALFE . PENY . 16[6]9.—A cup. ½d.

EASTWICK.

*187. *Obv.* IOH. . CRAMPHORN . AT . Y^E.—Spray of hops (?)
Rev. NEER . EASTWICK . 1662.—I. M. C. ½d.

HATFIELD.

188. *Obv.* ROBERT . BARNARD . AT . THE.—St. George and dragon.

Rev. GEORGE . AT . HATFEILD . 1666.—HIS HALFE PENNY ½d.

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD.

189. *Obv.* WILLIAM . GLADMAN.—A fox and goose.

Rev. AT . HEMPSTED . HIS.—HALF PENY. ½d.

190. *Obv.* IOHN . NORRIS . AT . THE.—A swan.

Rev. IN . HEMPSTED . 1667.—HIS HALFE PENNY. I. M. N. ½d.

HITCHIN.

191. *Obv.* FRAN . FEILD . IN . BANCRO.—1667.

Rev. FT. . STREET . IN . HITCHIN.—F. F. ½d.

HODDESDON.

192. *Obv.* WILLIAM . PEDLEY.—Mercers' Arms.

Rev. OF . HODESDEN . 1668.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

REDBOURN.

193. *Obv.* IOHN . HALSEY . AT . Y^E^ . BLACK.—HIS HALFE PENIE.

Rev. LYON . IN . REDBOVRN.—Lion rampant. ½d.

ROYSTON.

194. *Obv.* IAMES . PARTRICH . OF.—A mitre.

Rev. ROYSTON . 1668.—I. C. P. ½d.

The description of Boyne, No. 109, implies that the rev. is ROYSTON VINTNER, 1668.

195. *Obv.* WILLIAM . WIND.—Arms of the City of London.

Rev. OF . ROYSTON . 1657.—W. E. W. ½d.

ST. ALBAN'S.

196. *Obv.* *Iohn . Cowlee . in . St. . Albans . Backer.*
Rev. *His . Halfe . peny.*—Scales and wheat sheaf (octagonal.) ½d.

STEVENAGE.

*197. *Obv.* THOMAS . FLETCHER.—A pair of scales.
Rev. IN . STEEVENEGE.—1668. ½d.

198. *Obv.* PETER . LANGTHORNE.—Blacksmiths' Arms.
Rev. IN . STEAVENIDG.—P. E. L. ½d.

WATFORD.

199. *Obv.* EDWARD . EWER . IN . WATFORDE.—A glove.
Rev. HIS . HALFE . PENNY . 1666.—E. M. E. ½d.

200. *Obv.* IOHN . MORSE . OF . WATTFORD.—A skeleton holding an hour-glass.
Rev. HIS . HALFE . PENNY . 1666.—I. I. M. ½d.

201. *Obv.* GEORG. . SMEANTH.—HIS HALFE PENY.
Rev. IN . WATFORD . 1668.—A man smoking. G. S. ½d.

WORMLEY.

202. *Obv.* HENRY . SPARKS.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . WORMLY . 1665.—H. A. S. ½d.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

EYNESBURY.

203. *Obv.* ANDREW . SELBY . OF . 1668.—Fleur-de-lis.
Rev. EYNSBVREY . AND . POTEN.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

FENSTANTON.

*204. *Obv.* TOBIAS . HARDMEAT.—Bee-hive.
Rev. IN . FENNY . STANTON.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

GODMANCHESTER.

*205. *Obv.* WILLIAM . WRIGHT . 1666.—HIS HALFE PENNY.
Rev. OF . GODMANCHESTER.—W. M. W. ½d.

ST. IVES.

206. *Obv.* IAMES . HEATON.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. OF . S^{T} . IVES . 1667.—I. H. ½d.

207. *Obv.* THO . IOHNSON . OF . INFEILD.—Rose crowned.
Rev. AND . S^{T} . IVES. HIS HALF PENY.—Arms as Boyne, No. 40. ½d.

ST. NEOTS.

*208. *Obv.* IOHN . HATLY . BAKER.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . S^{T} . NEOTES . 1668.—Chequers. ½d.

KENT.

AYLESFORD.

209. *Obv.* EDMON . SMITH . IN.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. ALSFORD . IN . KENT.—E. M. S. ½d.

BIDDENDEN.

210. *Obv.* ALIXANDER . HOLMSBY.—1658.
Rev. OF . BEDDENDEN . IN . KEN^{T}.—A. H. ½d.

CANTERBURY.

211. *Obv.* Grocers' Arms, 164 [2 ?][2].
Rev. THO . MAYNE. (LEAD). ½d.

212. *Obv.* THE . SARISONS . HEAD.—Saracen's head.
Rev. IN . CANTERBVRY . 1658.—I. M. P. ½d.

213. *Obv.* AT . THE . 3 . KINGS.—The Three Magi.
Rev. IN . CANTERBRY.—E. A. W. ½d.

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[2] The third numeral may possibly be a 5, the fourth is very doubtful.

Another specimen in the British Museum reads E. M. W., as Boyne, No. 72.

214. *Obv.* IARVISE . WILLMATT.—A horse.
Rev. IN . CANTERBVRY . 1664.—HIS HALFE PENY. ½d.

Another in British Museum reads HIS HALF PENY, as Boyne, No. 74.

CHATHAM.

215. *Obv.* AT . THE . GLOBE . [IN].—A globe.
Rev. CHATHAM . 1662.—W. S. I. ½d.

216. *Obv.* RICHARD . MATHEWS.—Merchant Tailors' Arms.
Rev. OF . CHATHAM . IN . KENT.—R. M. M. ½d.

217. *Obv.* ROBERT . SMITH . AT . Y^E^ . OLD.—King's Arms.
Rev. IN . CHATHAM . 1671.—HIS HALF PENY. R. I. S. ½d.

DEAL.

218. *Obv.* [WI]LLIAM . PITTOCKE . [IN].—D. Y. Bust of the Duke of York.
Rev. DEALE . H[IS . HAL]FE . PENNY.—W. P. 1668. ½d.

219. *Obv.* THOMAS . POTTER.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . DEALE . 1663.—T. M. P. ½d.

220. *Obv.* RICHARD . STVTLY.—R. M. S.
Rev. IN . DELL . 1658.—R. M. S. ½d.

DEPTFORD.

221. *Obv.* WILLIAM . ARCHER.—An archer.
Rev. IN DEPTFORD . 1663.—HIS HALFE PENY. ½d.

*222. *Obv.* THOMAS . BRIOND . IN.—Bakers' Arms.
Rev. DEPTHFORD . 1665.—T. R. B. ½d.

*223. *Obv.* THOMAS . CHILD . IN.—A sugar loaf.
Rev. DEPTFORD . CHANDLER.—T. B. C. ½d.

*224. *Obv.* RICHARD . IERRY . IN.—R. S. I.
Rev. DEPTFORD . MEALLMAN.—R. S. I. ½d.

225. *Obv.* IAMES . WATTERS . IN.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. DEPTFORD . MEALMAN.—Pair of scales. ½d.

EASTCHURCH.

226. *Obv.* WILL . MANYARINGE . OF . ESTCHV[RCH].—D. Y. Bust of the Duke of York.
Rev. IN . Y^E^ . ILE . OF . SHEPWAY . HABERDASHER. — HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

FAVERSHAM.

227. *Obv.* IOHN . BEALE . MERCER.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . FEVERSHAM . 1649.—Grocers' Arms. ½d.

GRAVESEND.

228. *Obv.* AT . THE . SWANE.—A swan with chain.
Rev. IN . GRAVESEND.—A. M. W. ½d.

GREENWICH.

229. *Obv.* AT . THE . GEORGE.—St. George and dragon.
Rev. IN . GREENWICH.—F. B. ½d.

230. *Obv.* IOHN . ELLIS.—A sugar loaf.
Rev. IN . GRENEWICH.—I. H. E. ½d.

231. *Obv.* AT . THE . SHIP . TAVERNE.—A ship.
Rev. IN . GREENWIG . 1649.—S. A. S. ½d.

232. *Obv.* IOHN . SHALLCROS . IN.—A unicorn.
Rev. EAST . GRENEWICH.—I. [E.] S. ½d.

MAIDSTONE.

233. *Obv.* ROBERT . HEATH . OF.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. MAYDSTONE . GROCER.—R. H. ½d.

234. *Obv.* IONATHAN . TROVGHTON.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . MAIDSTON . 1668.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

NEWINGTON.

235. *Obv.* WILLIAM . STANINOVGH . OF.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. NEWINGTON . IN . KENT . MERCER.—HIS HALF PENY. 1669. ½d.

NORTHFLEET.

236. *Obv.* THOMAS . HVMFRE . IN.—Beehive.
Rev. NORTHFLEETE . IN . KENT.—T H E (in one line.) ½d.

PENSHURST.

237. *Obv.* HENRY . CONSTABLE . OF.—Crown.
Rev. PENHVRST . IN . KENT . MERCER.—HIS HALF PENY. 1667. ½d.

Another specimen, the same in all other respects, has had the date altered in the die to 1669.

ROCHESTER.

238. *Obv.* S : IOHN . COBHAM . 1666—Arms of Cobham family.
Rev. IN . ROCHESTER.—Cobham crest I. C. ½d.

239. *Obv.* ANTHONYE . LOVELL . AT . THE.—Full face of Henry VIII.
Rev. KINGS . HEAD . IN . ROCHES.—A. L. ½d.

ST. MARY CRAY.

240. *Obv.* ANN . MANING . IN . S.—Boy holding pipe.
Rev. MAREY . CRAY . IN . KENT.—A. M. 1665. ½d.

SANDWICH.

241. *Obv.* IOSEPTH . DOE.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. OF . SANDWICH.—Man making candles. ½d.

242. *Obv.* RALFH . ROBINS.—Boat with rigging.
Rev. IN . SANDWICH . 16[5]5.—R. S. R. ½d.

243. *Obv.* IOHN . VANDEBROVCK.—Merchants' mark as Boyne, No. 420.

V.

Rev. IN . SANDWICH . 1656.—I. D.

B. ½d.

SEVENOAKS.

244. *Obv.* DANIELL . DAVES . 1668.—A bell.
Rev. IN . SEVENOAKS . IN . KENT.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

STROOD.

245. *Obv.* HENRY . ALLEN . AT . THE.—Bull's head.
Rev. CASTEL . IN . STROOD.—A castle. ½d.

WOOLWICH.

*246. *Obv.* LODWICK . POOLE . IN.—Carpenters' Arms.
Rev. WOOLLWICH . 1650.—L. E. P. ½d.

WROTHAM.

247. *Obv.* THOMAS . CAVERLEY.—Merchant Tailors' Arms.
Rev. IN . ROOTHAM . 1666.—T. C. ½d.

Boyne (York, 347) reads the rev. BOOTHAM and assigns it to York, but the first letter is certainly R. The only token of Wrotham given in Boyne has the name of the town correctly spelt. "Rootham" on the present specimen represents the modern pronunciation of the name. —Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. XX. p. 252 (H. S. Gill.)

LANCASHIRE.

LANCASTER.

See "Ancaster," Lincolnshire.

NEWTON.

248. *Obv.* WILLIAM . WILLIAMSON . OF.—HIS HALF PENY. 1669.
Rev. NEWTON . N[EA]R . MANCHESTER.—W. W. ½d.

TARLETON.

*249. *Obv.* TARLETON . TOWNE . HALPENIES.—A boat. 1669.
Rev. A church. ½d.

WARRINGTON.

250. *Obv.* *John . Dichfield . his Half . penny.*—In four lines.
Rev. IN . WARRINGTON . 1669.—Arms, three pigs, passant. ½d.

*251. *Obv.* IN . FVLLWOODS . RENTS.—N. H. E. (In monogram.)
Rev. AT . WARRINGTON . BRIDGE.—A bridge. ½d.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH.

252. *Obv.* FRANCIS . SIKES . AT . Y^E^ . RED.—A lion rampant.
Rev. IN . ASHBY . DALY . ZOVCH.—HIS HALF PENY. 1669. ½d.

HALLATON.

253. *Obv.* EDWARD . GOODMAY . OF.—Three cloves.
Rev. HALONGTON . LEST . SHIR.—E. A. G. ½d.

LEICESTER.

254. *Obv.* DANIELL . HEGGS . IN . 1667.—A unicorn.
Rev. LEICESTER . HIS . HALF . PENY.—D. S. H. ½d.

255. *Obv.* IOHN . PARES . IN . LEICESTER.—A hart lodged.
Rev. HIS . HALF . PENY . 1666.—I. M. P. ½d.

LUTTERWORTH.

256. *Obv.* PETER . MACKCARNES.—P. A. M.
Rev. IN . LETTERWORTH.—1662. ½d.

MELTON MOWBRAY.

257. *Obv.* ROBERT . BEATSON . AT . Y^E.—Three sheep.
Rev. IN . MELTON . MOBERY.—R. E. B. ½d.

258. *Obv.* THOMAS . CLOWDESLEY.—T. S. C.
Rev. OF . MELTON . MOWBRAY . 1668.—HIS HALFE PENNY ½d.

SADDINGTON.

259. *Obv.* IONATHAN . TAYLCOT.—Two pipes crossed.
Rev. OF . SADINGTON . CHANDLER.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

ANCASTER.

260. *Obv.* IOHN . SCHOCHEY.—Fleur-de-lis.
Rev. OF . ANCASTER . 1664.—Grocers' Arms. ½d.

A similar token of J. Schochey was read "Lancaster" by Boyne and misplaced under that town. The name "John Schochey" appears among those assessed for the Hearth Tax of 1671 at Ancaster. The editors are indebted for this last fact to Mr. Justin Simpson.

AUBOURN.

*261. *Obv.* FRANCIS . STRON[G].—HIS HALFE PENY.
Rev. OF . AWBORNE . 1[66]9.—F. S. ½d.

BOSTON.

262. *Obv.* ROBERT . BVSTORD.—Bakers' Arms.
Rev. IN . BOSTON . 1657.—R. E. B. ½d.

263. *Obv.* CHRISTOPHER . COXAL.—Ironmongers' Arms.
Rev. IN . BOSTON . 1666.—C. D. C. ½d.

264. *Obv.* ROBERT . PARKER.—Cutlers' Arms.
Rev. CVTLOR . IN . BOSTON.—R. E. P. ½d.

Bourn.

265. *Obv.* WILLIAM . BIRRIDGE.—The Mercers' Arms.
Rev. OF . BOVRNE . MERCER . 64.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

Brigg.

*266. *Obv.* WILLIAM . MELTON.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . BRIGGE.—W. M. ½d.

267. *Obv.* ROBERT . TROWAN.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . BRIG . 1668.—A rose. ½d.

Crowland.

268. *Obv.* ELIZABETH . COLLS.—E. C.
Rev. OF . CROWLAND.—1664. ½d.

Epworth.

*269. *Obv.* [IOHN] . MARSHALL . OF . EPWOR[TH].—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . T[HE . ILE (?) . OF] . AXON . 1668.—I. M. M. ½d.

Gainsborough.

270. *Obv.* SAMVELL . PARKER . MERCER.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . GAINSBROVGH . 1666.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

Horncastle.

271. *Obv.* IOHN . CHAPPMAN.—I. C. (conjoined).
Rev. The incuse of the obverse. ½d.

272. *Obv.* ALEXANDER . HOWGRAVE.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . HORNCASTLE . 1656.—A. H. ½d.

273. *Obv.* IOHN . SMYTH . OF.—Ironmongers' Arms.
Rev. HORNCASTLE.—I. S. ½d.

Lincoln.

274. *Obv.* SAMVELL . AISTROP . 1668.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. OF . THE . CITY . OF . LINCOLN.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

275. *Obv.* SAMVEL . ASTRVP.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. OF . LINCOLNE.—S. A. ½d.

276. *Obv.* GEO . BRACEWELL . AT . Y^E^.—Clothworkers' Arms.
Rev. BAILE . OF . LINCOLN.—G. B. ½d.

277. *Obv.* SAMVEL . LVDINTON . IN.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. THE . BALE . OF . LINCOLN.—S. L. ½d.

278. *Obv.* IOHN . OSGODLEY . IN.—Fishmongers' Arms.
Rev. THE . BAILE . OF . LINCOLN.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

LONG SUTTON.

279. *Obv.* WILLIAM . WALDEN.—W. M. W.
Rev. LONG . SVT[TO]N . 1662.—Grocers' Arms. ½d.

LOUTH.

280. *Obv.* IOHN . CHAPMAN.—Ironmongers' Arms.
Rev. IN . LOVTH . 1668.—I. C. ½d.

281. *Obv.* WILLIAM . FOX . MERCER.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . LOVTH . 1656.—Three cloves. ½d.

282. *Obv.* CHRISTOPHER . HEWSON.—Tallowchandlers' Arms.
Rev. OF . LOVTH . 1669.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

283. *Obv.* WILL . TOMPSON . OF.—Bunch of holly over two axes crossed. (Butchers' Arms.)
Rev. LOVTH . IN . LINCOLNSH.—W. F. T. ½d.

SPALDING.

284. *Obv.* THE . POORE . OF . SPALDING^a^ . HALFE . PENNY . 1667. (In six lines.)
Rev. Building (Poor House?). ½d.

This token is rightly engraved in Boyne.

285. *Obv.* ED. . BALL . OF . SPALDING.—A cog-wheel.
Rev. HIS . HALFE . PENY . 1666.—E. I. B. ½d.

286. *Obv.* SAMVELL CRAFORD.—A crown. S.
Rev. IN SPALDEN, 1666.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

STAMFORD.

287. *Obv.* LEONARD . ASHTON.—Haberdashers' Arms.
Rev. IN . STAMFORD . 1666.—L. S. A. ½d.

288. *Obv.* WILL . LARET . & . HVMPH.—W. L.
Rev. SISCAN . OF . STAMFORD.—H. S. ½d.

WAINFLEET.

289. *Obv.* ROBERT TEMPLE.—A ship.
Rev. IN. WANFLET . 1667.—An anchor. ½d.

MIDDLESEX.

BOW.

*290. *Obv.* IOHN . HANSCOMBE . AT . THE.—Head of Charles II.
Rev. KINGS . HEAD . IN . BOWE . 166 [6 ?].—HIS . HALF PENY . I. S. H. ½d.

BRENTFORD.

291. *Obv.* AT . THE . KINGS . ARMES.—Royal Arms.
Rev. IN . OVLD . BRANFORD.—W. M. C. ½d.

CHELSEA.

292. *Obv. Thomas . Munden . his . halfe . penny* (in four lines).
Rev. IN . CHELSEA . 1666.—Prince of Wales's feathers. ½d.

CHISWICK.

293. *Obv.* WILLIAM . BOND.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . CHISWICK . 1666.—W. S. B. ½d.

FINCHLEY.

*294. *Obv.* WILLIAM . HIDE.—Bust facing (Clarendon ?).
Rev. OF . FINCHLYE . 1665.—W. E. H. ½d.

HAMPTON COURT.

295. *Obv.* *John Druree att y^e.* (In three lines).
Rev. *Toye . att . Hamton . Coart.* (Heart-shaped.) ½d.

ISLEWORTH.

296. *Obv.* IOHN . BENGOVN . AT . Y^E . ROSE.—Rose crowned.
Rev. & . CROWN . IN . ISLEWORTH.—HIS . HALF . PENY. ½d.

STAINES.

*297. *Obv.* IOHN . BARNTT.—A swan.
Rev. IN . STANES . 1658.—I. V. B. ½d.

*298. *Obv.* MARY . KNOWLES . AT.—Prince of Wales's feathers.
Rev. Y^E . FETHERS . IN . STAN^S.—M. K. ½d.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

ABERGAVENNY.

299. *Obv.* *Phillip Morgan His Halfe Penny.* (In four lines).
Rev. OF . ABERGAVENY . 1667.—Mercers' Arms. ½d.

MONMOUTH.

*300. *Obv.* EDWARD . BEVAN.—Man making candles.
Rev. [OF] . MONMOVTH.—[HI]S . [HAL]F . [PEN]Y.—[E. E. B.?] ½d.

301. *Obv.* THOMAS . EDWARDS . 1671.—A portcullis.
Rev. MERCER . IN . MONMOVTH.—HIS . [HALFE] . [PE]NY . FOR . NECESARY . CHANGE. ½d.

NORFOLK.

Aldeby.

302. *Obv.* PHILLIP . ROBATS.—A lion passant; three stars.
Rev. OF . ABY . IN . NOFOCKE.—P. M. R. ½d.

Diss.

303. *Obv.* THOMAS . BVRTON . OF.—Ironmongers' Arms.
Rev. DISS . IN . NORFELKE.—T. B. ½d.

Fakenham.

*304. *Obv.* ROBERT . SHELDRAKE.—Apothecaries' Arms.
Rev. IN . FAKENHAM . 1667.—R. S. ½d.

Hingham.

305. *Obv.* WILLIAM . RIX . GROSER.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . HINGHAM . 1659.—W. A. R. ½d.

Lynn Regis.

*306. *Obv.* A . FARTHING . OF . LYME. R S.—L. R. 1669.
Rev. THE . ARMES . OF . LYME. R S.—Shield: wavy, in chief, lion passant gardant. ½d.

307. *Obv.* GYLES . BRIDGMAN.—Arms of Bridgman family.
Rev. IN . LYN . REGIS.—G. S. B. ½d.

New Buckenham.

*308. *Obv.* THO . YOVNGMAN . GROCER.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . NEW . BVCKENHAM.—1667. T. Y. ½d.

Norwich.

*309. *Obv.* NICHOLAS . BIL[HA]M.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . NORWIT[C]H.—N. B. ½d.

310. *Obv.* PEETER . BLOFELD.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . NORWICH.—P. B. ½d.

311. *Obv.* THOMAS . RANDOLL —Bakers' Arms.
Rev. IN . NORWICH.—T. E. R. ½d.

312. *Obv.* IOHN . SHEPPARD.—I S conjoined (?).
Rev. IN . N[OR]WICH . 1659.—[I S]. ½d.

WALSINGHAM.

313. *Obv.* IOHN . PARTINGTON . IN.—Haberdashers' Arms.
Rev. LITTLE . WALSINGHAM.—I. P. NORFOLK. ½d.

WYMONDHAM.

314. *Obv.* ANTHONY . LOCK . IN.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. WINDHAM . IN . NORFOLK.—A. L. ½d.

YARMOUTH.

315. *Obv.* IOHN . ARNOLD . IN.—A bunch of grapes.
Rev. NORTH . YARMOVTH.—I. M. A. ½d.

316. *Obv.* WILLIAM . BRETTON.—Wheatsheaf.
Rev. OF . YARMOVTH . BAKER.—W. R. B. ½d.

317. *Obv.* CHRIST . COZENS . IN . GREAT.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. YARMOVTH . GROCER.—C. A. C. ½d.

318. *Obv.* RICHARD . CRAFFORD.—Yarmouth Market-place.
Rev. IN . YEARMOVTH . 59.—R. D. C. ½d.

319. *Obv.* WILLIAM . LINCOLNE.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . YARMVTH . 1652.—W. I. L. ½d.

320. *Obv.* FRANC^{S} . SHIPDHAM.—A dolphin.
Rev. IN GRE^{T}. YARMOVTH.—F. S. ½d.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

GEDDINGTON.

321. *Obv.* IONATH . ROWLETT.—I. R.
Rev. OF . GEDINGTON.—1664. ½d.

NORTHAMPTON.

322. *Obv.* S. R. IN . NORTHHATON.—Gateway.
Rev. Two lions passant gardant. ½d.

323. *Obv.* I. S. IN . NORTHHAMTON.—Gateway.
Rev. Two lions passant gardant. ½d.

OUNDLE.

*324. *Obv.* IOHN . AVDLEY . TOBACCONIST.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . OWNDLE . 1669.—Still. ½d.

325. *Obv.* NATH . BROWING . IN.—Lamb couchant.
Rev. OVNDELL . CHANDLER.—N. B. 1659. ½d.

326. *Obv.* HENRY . COLDWEL . IN.—Haberdashers' Arms.
Rev. OWNDLE . HABADASHER.—H. E. C. ½d.

327. *Obv.* WILL^M . TERREWFST.—Merchant Tailors' Arms.
Rev. IN . OVNDELL.—W. K. T. ½d.

PETERBOROUGH.

328. *Obv.* *Peterburgh halfe penny to be changed by the towne Bailife.* 1670. (In six lines.)
Rev. Arms of Peterborough. (Octagonal) ½d.

329. *Obv.* ROBART . CAR[T?]ER.—Pelican feeding young.
Rev. OF . PEETERBROVGH.—R. C. ½d.

330. *Obv.* THO . DILLINGHAM.—T. D.
Rev. IN . P[ETE]RBORROW.—Roll of tobacco. ½d.

331. *Obv.* GEORGE . HAMERTON.—Grocers' Arms. G. M. H.
Rev. OF . PETERBOROVGH . 1667.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

332. *Obv.* NICHOLAS . HARDY.—Two pipes and roll of tobacco.
Rev. IN . PETERBOROVGH.—N. H. ½d.

*333. *Obv.* FRANCIS . MORTIMER.—A stocking.
Rev. IN . P[ET]ERBOROW.—*F. M.* ½d.

334. *Obv.* THOMAS . SHINN . 1667.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . PETERBOROVGH.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

STAMFORD BARON.

335. *Obv.* MILES . HODGSON.—A falcon.
Rev. OF . STAMFORD . 67.—A woolpack. ½d.

THINGDEN.

*336. *Obv.* IOHN . NIGHTI[NG]ALE.—A hart passant. I. N.
Rev. OF . TH[IN]DON . 1666.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

TOWCESTER.

337. *Obv.* THOMAS . CLARKE.—Drapers' Arms.
Rev. OF . TONCESTER.—T. A. C. ½d.

WELFORD.

338. *Obv.* WILL . WICKES . HIS . HALPENY.—St. George and dragon.
Rev. IN . WELLFORD . IN . NORTHAMPTON . SHEIR . 69. (In seven lines.) Heart-shaped ½d.

WHITTLEBURY.

*339. *Obv.* HENRY . DOLTON . OF.—A shovel, H. M. D.
Rev. WHITELBVRY . 1669.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

COLLINGHAM.

340. *Obv.* THOMAS . RIDGE . HIS . HALF . PENY.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . COLLINGHAM . MERCER . 1664.—Mercers' Arms. T. R. ½d.

Mansfield.

341. *Obv.* WILLIAM . POYZOR.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . MANSFEILD . 1671.—A swan. ½d.

342. *Obv.* GREGORY . SYLVESTER.—Mercers' Arms (?).
Rev. OF . MANSFEILD . 1666.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

Newark.

343. *Obv.* WILL . G[LO]VER . CHANDLER . IN.—Tallowchandlers' Arms.
Rev. NEWARK . HIS . HALF . PENY . 1664.—W. A. G. ½d.

344. *Obv.* WILLIAM GRANT.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. OF . NEWARKE . 1657.—W. G. ½d.

345. *Obv.* ROBERT . WILLSON.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. MERCER . IN . NEWORKE.—R. E. W. ½d.

Southwell.

346. *Obv.* GREGORY . SILVESTER.—SOVTHWELL.
Rev. WILLIAM . LEAVER . 1664.—G. S. . W. L. ½d.

OXFORDSHIRE.

Banbury.

347. *Obv.* THOMAS . DEKELL.—A horseshoe.
Rev. IN . BANBVRY.—T. E. D. ½d.

348. *Obv.* MATHEW . SMITH . GARDNER.—Fruiterers' Arms.
Rev. IN . BANBERY . 1669.—HIS HALFE PENY, M. M. S. ½d.

349. *Obv.* THOMAS . SVTTON . AT . THE.—A deer trippant, T. S. S.
Rev. RAINDEAR . IN . BANBVRY.—HIS HALF PENY . 1666. ½d.

BICESTER.

350. *Obv.* WILL . STEVENS . OF . BISTER.—Three crowns, 1669.

Rev. IN . OXFORDSHEIRE . HIS . HALF . PENNY . W. E. S. (In seven lines). Heart-shaped ½d.

CHIPPING NORTON.

351. *Obv.* EDMOND . ROWLRIGHT.—E. D. R.

Rev. OF . CHIPPINGNORTON.—A lion rampant. ½d.

*352. *Obv.* MAT[HI]AS . TROVT . OF.—(?)

Rev. CHIPPING . NORTON.—M. A. T. ½d.

DEDDINGTON.

*353. *Obv.* MICHAEL . ELKINTON . AT . Y^E.—HIS HALFE PENY. 1668.

Rev. VNICORNE . IN . DADINGTON.—A unicorn. ½d.

HENLEY-ON-THAMES.

354. *Obv.* RICHAR^D . FOWLER . 1668. (In three lines.)

Rev. AT HENLY . ONE . THAMES.—A cuirass (?). ½d.

OXFORD.

355. *Obv.* IOHN . BISHOP . AT . THE . GILT.—A square looking-glass.

Rev. OF . OXON . 1663.—I. B. ½d.

356. *Obv.* RICHARD . CONY . AT.—HIS HALF PENY.

Rev. S^T . MARYS . IN . OXON . 1666.—R. M. C. ½d.

357. *Obv.* RICHARD . ELY . AT . THE.—Three salmos fretted in triangle.

Rev. 8 . SAMMONS . IN . OXON.—R. A. E. ½d.

358. *Obv.* OLIFFE . HIND . MERC^R.—Mercers' Arms.

Rev. IN . OXFORD . 1666.—O. H. ½d.

359. *Obv.* NICH . ORVM . IN . OXON.—A lobster.

Rev. FISHMONGER . 1659.—N. O. ½d.

360. *Obv.* SAMSON . RAVLINS.—A salmon.
Rev. AT . THE . SALMON . IN . OXON.—S. M. R. ½d.

361. *Obv.* LAWRENCE . SHORT . NER.—A hand holding a coffee-pot.
Rev. NEW . COLLEDG . IN . OXON.—L. E. S. ½d.

362. *Obv.* WILLIAM . WALKER.—A hart trippant.
Rev. IN . OXON . 1668.—W. M. W. ½d.

363. *Obv.* ROB . WHITE . SILK . WEVE^{R}.—A shuttle.
Rev. IN . OXFORD.—R. W. 1657. ½d.

THAME.

364. *Obv.* WILL . COPE . GROCER . IN.—W. C.
Rev. TAME . IN . OXFORD . SHIR.—I. A. C. ½d.

WATLINGTON.

365. *Obv.* IOHN . COCKY.—I. E. C. 1663.
Rev. IN . WATTLETON.—I. E. C. 1663. ½d.

366. *Obv.* RICHARD . SEELEY.—Rose crowned.
Rev. OF . WATLINGTON.—R. A. S. ½d.

SHROPSHIRE.

BISHOP'S CASTLE.

367. *Obv.* EDWARD . WOLLASTON . IVNIOR.—Arms of Wollaston family (as Boyne, No. 8.)
Rev. IN . BISHOPS . CASLLE . 1670.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

LUDLOW.

368. *Obv.* TAMBERLAYN . DAVIES.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. OF . LVDLOW.—T. M. D. ½d.

369. *Obv.* GEORGE . HAVGHTON.—Ludlow Castle.
Rev. IN . LVDLOW . 1666.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

MADELEY MARKET.

870. *Obv.* EDWARD . LEWIS . OF . MADELY . IN . SHROPSHR.—HIS HALF PENY. 1669.

Rev. ABBLY . WOOD . & . FILDS . COLE . THATS . GOOD.—Collier's pick. ½d.

NEWPORT.

871. *Obv.* THOMAS . RVNHAM . AT . YE.—A bull.

Rev. IN . NEWPORT . 1667.—HIS HALFE PENY. ½d.

872. *Obv.* THOMAS . YOVNGE.—Mercers' Arms.

Rev. PINNER . IN . NEWPORTE.—HIS FARTHINGE. ¼d.

SHREWSBURY.

873. *Obv.* THOMAS . ACHELLEY . 71.—A wheatsheaf. T. A. 1?

Rev. IN . SALOPP . 1671.—Fleur-de-lis. T. A. (octagonal 1d.

874. *Obv.* THOMAS . MEYRICHE.—Vintners' Arms.

Rev. IN . SALOPP . 1668.—T. M. (conjoined.) ½d.

875. *Obv.* IOSHVA . WILLIS . OF.—Grocers' Arms.

Rev. SALOP . HIS . HALF . PENY.—I. W. ½d.

This token is of brass with copper centre.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

BATH.

*876. *Obv.* Arms of Bath (as Boyne, No. 5).

Rev. None.

This token is of lead and of the size of half-penny tokens. It was perhaps issued at the end of the sixteenth century; compare the lead token of Bristol of 1591, described above.

377. *Obv.* A . BATHE . FARTHING.—C. B. 1659.
Rev. THE . ARMES . OF . BATHE.—Arms of Bath (as Boyne, No. 5.) ½d.

378. *Obv.* A . BATHE . FARTHINGE.—C. B. 1670.
Rev. THE . ARMES . OF . BATHE.—Arms of Bath in shield. ½d.

379. *Obv.* IOHN . PEARCE . MERCE^{R}.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . BATHE . 1652.—I. I. P. ½d.

ILCHESTER.

380. *Obv.* THE . ARMES . OF . IVELCHESTE$^{[R]}$.—A star within a crescent.
Rev. BY . Y^{R}. BAYLIFF . OF . Y^{R}. BVRROV.—G. B. ½d.
(Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. xix. p. 107. H. S. Gill.)

ILMINSTER.

381. *Obv.* ROBERT . HORWOOD.—A pair of scales.
Rev. IN . ILMISTER . CHANDLE^{R}.—R. M. H. ½d.

382. *Obv.* ALICE . ROW . OF.—A. R.
Rev. ILEMESTER . 1664.—St. George and dragon. ½d.

SOMERTON.

383. *Obv.* IAMES . PATEY . 68.—A nag's head.
Rev. IN . SOMMERTON.—I. S. P. ½d.

TAUNTON.

384. *Obv.* EDWARD . DAWLEY .—A wool-comb.
Rev. IN . TANTON . IAMES.—E. T. D. ½d.

385. *Obv.* HENRY . DVNSCOMBE.—A cloth brush.
Rev. IN . TANTON . 1654.—H. A. D. ½d.
(Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. xix. p. 107. H. S. Gill.)

386. *Obv.* MATTHEW . GAYLARD.—A wool-comb. 1666.
Rev. OF . TAVNTON . 1666.—M. A. G. ½d.
(Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. xix. p. 107. H. S. Gill.)

387. *Obv.* IOHN . MERIDETH . MERCER.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . TAWNTON.—I. A. M. ½d.
(Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. xix. p. 105. H. S. Gill.)

WELLINGTON.

388. *Obv.* OVERSEERS . OF . WILLINGTON.—THEIR HALFE PENEY.
Rev. FOR . THE . BENEFIT . OF . THE.—POORE . 1666. ½d.

YEOVIL.

389. *Obv.* CHRIST . ALLEMBRIDG^{E}.—Pipe and roll of tobacco.
Rev. OF . YEAVILL . 1656.—C. M. A. ½d.
(Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. xix. p. 107. H. S. Gill.)

390. *Obv.* IOHN . COSHEY . AT . THE.—Pair of shears.
Rev. IN . YEAVELL . 1667.—I. C. ½d.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

BURNTWOOD.

*391. *Obv.* ABELL . LIFORD . AT . Y^{E}.—A crown.
Rev. IN . BVRNTWOOD . 1666.—A. M. L. ½d.

BURTON-ON-TRENT.

*392. *Obv.* WILLIAM . MORETON . 1666.—Mercers' Arms. W. I. M.
Rev. IN . BVRTON . VPPON . TRENT.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

GNOSHALL.

393. *Obv.* SEND . MEE . TO . THE . MERCER . OF . GNOSHALL.—Three cloves. (In six lines.)
Rev. GOD . GRANT . PEACE . 1667. (In four lines). Octagonal ½d.

LICHFIELD.

394. *Obv.* IOHN . BVRNES . IN.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. LEICHFEILD . 1666.—I. B. ½d.

395. *Obv.* EDWARD . MILWARD . BOOK.—Stationers' Arms.
Rev. SELER . IN . LICHFIELD.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

396. *Obv.* IOHN . QVINTO^{R}. MERCER.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . LICHFEILD . 1659.—I. Q. ½d.

397. *Obv.* HVMPHREY . ROGERSON . OF.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. LICHFEILD . MERCER . 1670.—HIS HALF PENY. H. E. R. ½d.

NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYNE.

398. *Obv.* RALPH . LOVATT . IN . 1667.—Lion and unicorn facing.
Rev. NEWCASTLE . VNDER . LYME.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

PENKRIDGE.

399. *Obv.* IOHN . PHILLIPES.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . PANCRIDGE . 1665.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

SMETHWICK.

400. *Obv.* MICHAELL . RVSSELL.—Arms, three scallops.
Rev. IN . SMITHICKE.—M. A. R. ½d.

STAFFORD.

401. *Obv.* THO . GYLES . APOTHECARY.—Apothecaries' Arms.
Rev. IN . STAFFORD . HIS . HALF . PENY.—The Stafford Knot. ½d.

402. *Obv.* RICHARD . HICHCOCK.—Head of Charles II.
Rev. OF . STAFFORD . HIS . HAPENNY.—R. A. H. 1667. ½d.

UTTOXETER.

403. *Obv.* WILL . WAKELIN . 1668.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. VIVE . LE . ROY . IN . VTTEXETOR.—A crown. ½d.

WEDNESBURY.

404. *Obv.* THOMAS . HINES.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . WEDNESBVRY . 1666.—T. A. H. ½d.

405. *Obv.* IOHN . RATLY . 1668.—Hand holding hammer; above, a crown.

Rev. OF . WEDNISBVRY.—HIS . HALF . PENY. ½d.

WOLVERHAMPTON.

406. *Obv.* ISAAC . FLETCHER . OF.—Mercers' Arms. I. F.

Rev. WOLVERHAMTON . 1666.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

407. *Obv.* KITT . OTH . COCK.—A cock.

Rev. IN . WOLLVERHAMPTO^{N}.—A tun. ½d.

SUFFOLK.

ALDBOROUGH.

*408. *Obv.* IOHN . MVRDOCKE.—Three doves (Tallowchandlers' Arms).

Rev. IN . ALDEBURGH.—I. A. M. ½d.

The name of John Murdocke occurs also on an Ipswich token.

BECCLES.

409. *Obv.* IOHN . NICHOLLS.—A roll of tobacco.

Rev. OF . BECCLES.—I. R. N. ½d.

This reading is given in Golding, *Suffolk Coinage*.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

*410. *Obv.* NICHOLAS . GILLING.—Mercers' Arms.

Rev. IN . S^{T} . EDMVNDS . BVREY.—N. R. G.

*411. *Obv.* RO . STANTON . AT . THE . COFFEE.—A hand pouring coffee into a cup.

Rev. HOVSE . IN . S^{T} . EDMVNDS . BVRY.—1^{D} 1669. 1d.

(Engraved in Golding, *Suffolk Coinage*.)

CAVENDISH.

412. *Obv.* IOHN . WOODS.—Three crowns on royal oak.
Rev. IN . CAVENDISH . 1668.—I. M. W. ½d.
(Compare Golding, Nos. 87, 88.)

DEBENHAM.

413. *Obv.* ROBERT . DRAPER.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . DEBENHAM . 1659.—R. M. D. ½d.
(Same in Golding.)

EYE.

414. *Obv.* NATHANIEL . FLOWERDEVO.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. GROCER . IN . AYE.—N. F. ½d.
(Same in Golding.)

FRAMLINGHAM.

415. *Obv.* IOHN . CAPON . GROSER.—A gateway.
Rev. OF . FRAMLINGHAM . 1656.—I. C. ½d.
(Same in Golding.)

GLEMSFORD.

416. *Obv.* GILES . MIDLEDITCH.—A lion rampant.
Rev. OF . GLENSFORD . 1669.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.
(Same in Golding.)

HALESWORTH.

417. *Obv.* MICHAELL . BARFOOT.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . HALLSWORTH . 1668.—M. S. B. ½d.
(Same in Golding.)

IPSWICH.

418. *Obv.* THOMAS . BVRROVGH.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . IPSWICH.—I. B. ½d.
(Same in Golding.)

419. *Obv.* IOSEPH . COLMAN.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . IPSWICH . 1664.—I. D. C. ½d.
(Same in Golding.)

420. *Obv.* EDWARD . PAYNE.—Pair of scales.
Rev. OF . IPSWICH . 1657.—E. P. ½d.

LAVENHAM.

421. *Obv.* NICHOLAS . DANSIE.—Man making candles.
Rev. IN . LAVENHAM . 1667.—N. S. D. ½d.
(Same in Golding.)

422. *Obv.* IOHN . WILLMOT.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . LAVENHAM . IN . SVFF.—I. W. ½d.

LONG MELFORD.

423. *Obv.* ANDREW . BYATE.—A. B.
Rev. LONG . MELFORD.—A. B. ½d.
(Same in Golding.)

424. *Obv.* WILLIAM . CLARKE . IN.—Bakers' Arms.
Rev. LONG . MILLFORD . 1667.—W. A. C. ½d.

NAYLAND.

425. *Obv.* EDMAN . TOWLLER . BAKER.—E. T.
Rev. IN . NEYLAND . IN SVFOLKE.—165[2]. ½d.

NEWMARKET.

*426. *Obv.* IOHN . GRAY . AT . MOTH . SHIPT^{ON}.—Mother Shipton.
Rev. PETER . STRE . IN . NEW . MARKET.—HIS HALFE PENY. 1667. ½d.

427. *Obv.* IOHN . HENDERSON . AT . THE.—A ship.
Rev. SHIPP . IN . NEWMARKETT.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

SOUTHWOLD.

428. *Obv.* THE . ARMES . OF . SOVTHWOVLD.—Arms as Boyne, No. 228. E. S.

Rev. A . ½ . FOR . THE . POORES . ADVANTAGᴱ. 1667. (In five lines.) ½d.

STRATFORD.

*429. *Obv.* THOMAS . IAMES.—Hand holding scissors.

Rev. IN . STRATFORD . 1670.—HIS HALF PENY. T. [?] I. ½d.

This token does not occur either in Boyne or Golding. It may belong to Stratford, in Essex.

WOODBRIDGE.

430. *Obv.* WOODBRIDGE . HALFE . PENY. (In four lines.)

Rev. THE . POORES . ADVANTAGE . 1670. (In five lines.) (Same in Golding.) ½d.

431. *Obv.* IOHN . COCKSON.—Merchant Tailors' Arms.

Rev. IN . WOODBRIDG.—I. S. C. ½d.

SURREY.

BEDDINGTON.

432. *Obv.* ROBERT . HILLER . IN.—Adze.

Rev. BEDINTON . IN . SVRRY.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

DORKING.

433. *Obv.* WILLIAM . PENFOLD.—W. M. P.

Rev. IN . DARKIN . 1668.—W. M. P. ½d.

EGHAM.

*434. *Obv.* STEPHEN . HALL . AT . Yᴱ.—King's head crowned.

Rev. IN . EGGHAM . 166 (?).—HIS HALFE PE[NY]. ½d.

435. *Obv.* EDWARD . HIDE . OF . EGHAM.—A crown.
Rev. HIS . HALFE . PENNY . 1667.—E. H. ½d.

GODALMING.

436. *Obv.* LAWRANCE . COLLINGS.—A wool-pack.
Rev. OF . GODALLMINGE . 69.—L. C. ½d.

437. *Obv.* IOHN . RANDALL.—Dove with olive-branch.
Rev. IN . GODLYMAN.—I. D. R. ½d.

438. *Obv.* WILLIAM . RA[L (?)]LEY.—W. R. R.
Rev. IN . GODALMING . 1666.—A spade. ½d.

GUILDFORD.

439. *Obv.* CHARLES . HANBY.—A wool-pack.
Rev. IN . GILFORD . 1662.—A castle. ½d.

440. *Obv.* NICHOLAS . LINTOTT.—A castle.
Rev. OF . GILFORD . 1656.—A wool-pack. ½d.

441. *Obv.* IOHN . REMNANT.—A castle.
Rev. OF . GILLFORD . 1667.—A wool-pack. ½d.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.

442. *Obv.* STEPHEN . FEILDER . HIS . HALF . PENNY. (In four lines.)
Rev. IN . KINGSTON.—Three salmons in pale. 1668. (Square) ½d.

MITCHAM.

*443. *Obv.* HENRY . LVKE.—HIS FARTHING.
Rev. OF . MICHAM . 1664.—H. A. L. ½d.

MORTLAKE.

444. *Obv.* WILLIAM . THORNETON.—Merchant Tailors' Arms.
Rev. IN . MORTLACKE . 1665.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

SUSSEX.

BROADWATER.

*445. *Obv.* WILLIAM . ROBISON.—Hand holding scissors.
Rev. OF . BROADWATER.—W. M. R. ½d.

CHICHESTER.

446. *Obv.* WILLIAM . FLETCHER.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . CHICHESTER.—W. F. 1667. ½d.

447. *Obv.* IOHN . GITTINS.—Vintners' Arms.
Rev. IN . CHICHESTER.—I. G. ½d.

*448. *Obv.* RICHARD . TREVET.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . CHICHESTER . 1667.—R. T. ½d.

A similar specimen is described in Smallfield and Ellman, *Sussex Tokens* (No. 60).

449. *Obv.* THOMAS . VALER.—Man making candles.
Rev. IN . CHESTER.—T. V. ½d.
(Cp. Boyne, No. 87.)

CLIFFE.

*450. *Obv.* RICHARD . WHITE . BRAZIER . IN.—A hammer. R. W.
Rev. Y^E^ . CLIFE . NEAR[E] . LEWES . 1668.—HIS HALFE PENY. ½d.

Differs from Smallfield and Ellman, *Sussex Tokens* (No. 70).

EAST GRINSTEAD.

*451. *Obv.* WILL . CLIFTON . SVSEX.—A sugar-loaf.
Rev. IN . EAST . GRIMSTED.—W. S. C. ½d.

*452. *Obv.* AT . THE . CATT . IN . EAST.—A cat.
Rev. GREENSTED . 1650.—T. E. P. ½d.

(Same as Smallfield and Ellman, No. 78.)

HAILSHAM.

458. A variety of Boyne No. 47 has only the reverse type, the other side being the same in incuse.

MAYFIELD.

454. *Obv.* CLEM . READE.—A garb.
Rev. OF . MAYFEILD . 1652.—C. V. R. ½d.

ROBERTSBRIDGE.

*455. *Obv.* IOHN . PADIAM (?) . OF.—Grocers' Arms (?).
Rev. ROBARTSBRIDG . SVSEX.—I. E. P. ½d.

STEYNING.

456. *Obv.* IOHN . GROOMES . IN.—Stick of candles.
Rev. STENNING . CHANDLER.—I. E. G. ½d.

WARWICKSHIRE.

ALCESTER.

457. *Obv.* WILLIAM . REYNOLDS.—A fox.
Rev. OF . ALCESTER . 1662.—W. E. R. ½d.

ATHERSTONE.

*458. *Obv.* RICH . EVERETT . IN.—Man making candles.
Rev. EADERSTONE . 1666.—R. E. E. ½d.

BIRMINGHAM.

459. *Obv.* IOHN . BRINGTON.—Cutlers' Arms.
Rev. IN . BIRMINGHAM.—HIS HALFE PENY. ½d.

COUGHTON.

460. *Obv.* EDMVND . HORNBLOWAR.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . COFFEN . 1667.—Hammer. ½d.

COVENTRY.

461. *Obv.* MICHAELL . EARLE . OF.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. COVENTRY . MERCER,—M. M. E. ½d.

*462. *Obv.* EDWARD . FAYERBROTHER.—Fleece.
Rev. CLOTHIER . IN . COVENTRY . 66.—E. S. F. ½d.

463. *Obv.* WILLIAM . GILBERT.—A boot between two spears (?).
Rev. MERCER . IN . COVENTRY.—W. G. ½d.

464. *Obv.* WILLIAM . GILBERT . IN.—Shield: a leg in armour between two spears. Crest, hand holding spear.
Rev. COVENTREY . MERCER.—W. M. G. ½d.

*465. *Obv.* EDWARD . LAPWORTH.—Dove (?).
Rev. IN . COVENTRY . 1659.—E. L. ½d.

466. *Obv.* SAMVELL . PEASLVE . AT.—Blazing sun.
Rev. THE . SVN . IN . COVENTR[Y].—S. E. P. ½d.

467. *Obv.* WILL . ROWNEY . SENIOR.—Elephant and Castle.
Rev. IN . COVENTRY . 166[3].—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

KINETON.

468. *Obv.* SAMVEL . BACON . IRONMONGER.—Ironmongers' Arms.
Rev. IN . KENTON . IN . WARRWICK : SH.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

SHIRLEY STREET.

469. *Obv.* HVGH . HYMAN . 1667.—Lion rampant. H. F. H.
Rev. OF . SHERLAY . STREET.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

470. *Obv.* DANIELL . MASON . IN.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. STRATFORD . ON . AVON.—D. M. ½d.

471. *Obv.* IOSEPH . PHILLIPPS . AT . Y^{E}.—A falcon. I. A. P.
Rev. IN . STRATFORD . VPPON . AVON.—HIS HALF PENY. 1668. ½d.

TAMWORTH.

472. *Obv.* TAMWORTH . CHAMBERLAINS.—THEIR HALFE PENNY.
Rev. FOR . CHANGE . AND . CHARITIE.—A fleur-de-lis. Octagonal ½d.

473. *Obv.* EDWARD . WHITE.—Fleur-de-lis.
Rev. IN . TAMWORTH.—E. W. 1658.

TANWORTH.

474. *Obv.* IOHN . CHAMBERS . OF.—Arms of Chambers family, as Boyne (Tamworth), 119.
Rev. TANWORTH . HIS . HALF . PENY.—Arms as on obv.

Read by Boyne TAMWORTH, and placed under that town.

WARWICK.

475. *Obv.* THOMAS . HICKS.—Dolphin.
Rev. OF . WARRWICK.—T. S. H. ½d.

476. *Obv.* ROB . WHINICKE . PIPE.—Rose crowned.
Rev. MAKER . IN . WARRWICK.—R. W. 1666. ½d.

WESTMORELAND.

KENDAL.

A specimen of Boyne (No. 7) is re-struck upon a token of Bradford (Boyne, Bradford, Yorkshire, No. 29), "Will. Bancks, of Bradford, Carrier for Kendall."

WILTSHIRE.

CALNE.

477. *Obv.* STEPHEN . BAYLIE.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. OF . CAVLNE.—S. S. B. ½d.

478. *Obv.* IOHN . IEFFREIS.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . CAVN . 1668.—I. M. I. ½d.

479. *Obv.* WIL . IEFFREY . ELDER.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . CALNE.—W. I. ½d.

CHIPPENHAM.

480. *Obv.* SAMVELL . GAGE . OF.—Three doves (Tallowchandlers' Arms).
Rev. CHIPPENHAM . 1653.—S. E. G. ½d.

CLACK.

481. *Obv.* FRANCES . ROGERS.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. OF . CLACK . 1658.—F. I. R. ½d.

CRICKLADE.

482. *Obv.* ANTHONY . WORME.—Horse trotting.
Rev. CARRIER . CRICKILAD.—A. A. W. ½d.

DEVIZES.

483. *Obv.* IOHN . HAMMOND.—I. S. H.
Rev. OF . THE . DEVISES.—Three clasped books (?).

HIGHWORTH.

484. *Obv.* THOMAS . OSBORNE.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . HIWORTH . 1658.—T. O. ½d.

MAIDEN BRADLEY.

485. *Obv.* GEORGE . AVDRY.—A crown.
Rev. IN . MAYDEN . BRADLEY.—G. A. ½d.

MALMSBURY.

486. *Obv.* THO . TANNER . CARIER.—A wool-pack.
Rev. IN . MALMESBVRY.—T. T. ½d.

MARLBOROUGH.

487. *Obv.* WILLIAM . PVREVR . PINN.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. MAKER . IN . MARLBROW.—W. D. P. ½d.

488. *Obv.* IOHN . SMITH . IN.—Two pipes crossed.
Rev. MALBROVGH . 1665.—I. K. S. ½d.

MERE.

489. *Obv.* RICHARD . PITMAN.—Man making candles.
Rev. OF . MEERE . 1669.—R. I. P. ½d.

SALISBURY.

490. *Obv.* EDWARD . FRIPP.—Shield, ermine, in chief, three crowns.
Rev. IN . SARVM . 1669.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

491. *Obv.* IOHN . HELE.—A lion rampant.
Rev. GROCER . IN . SARVM.—I. H. ½d.

492. *Obv.* EDWARD . LISTER . IN . SARVM.—The blazing sun.
Rev. AT . WINCHESTER . GATE.—HIS HALFE PENY. ½d.

493. *Obv.* FRANCIS . MANINGS . IN.—A goat.
Rev. KATHREN . STREET . SARVM.—F. I. M. ½d.

494. *Obv.* GEORGE . PAGE . GROCER.—A dove with olive-branch.
Rev. IN . SARVM . 1658.—G. K. P. ½d.

SHALBOURN.

495. *Obv.* IOHN . BRADELL . & . LENARD . LEE.—A bear.
Rev. IN . SHLATBOVRN . 71.—½. ½d.

SWINDON.

496. *Obv.* WILLIAM . HEATH.—WE.
Rev. IN . SWINDON.—WE. ½d.

TINHEAD.

497. *Obv.* IOHN . BERRY . OF.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. TINHEAD . 1651.—I. A. B. ½d.

WESTBURY.

*498. *Obv.* IOHN . WATTS.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . WESBVRY.—I. W. ½d.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

BEWDLEY.

499. *Obv.* PETE^{R}. WALTER . OF . BEWDLEY.—Arms as in Boyne, No. 9.
Rev. MERCER . HIS . HALF . PENY.—P. W. ½d.

BROADWAY.

*500. *Obv.* PHILIP . HODGES . IN.—A hart lodged.
Rev. BRODWAY . 1669.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

DUDLEY.

501. *Obv.* WILL . BRIGGS . OF.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. DVDLEY . IN . STAFFO.—W. M. B. ½d.

EVESHAM.

502. *Obv.* THE . BVRROW . OF . EVESHAM.—Arms of the borough (Boyne, 25).
Rev. FOR . NECESSARY . EXCHANG.—B. E. ½d.

503. *Obv.* No legend.—Arms of Evesham.
Rev. FOR . NECESSARY . EXCHANG.—B. E. ½d.

KIDDERMINSTER.

504. *Obv.* RICH . RADFORD . HIS . HALPENY.—Weavers' Arms.
Rev. OF . KIDDERMINSTER . 66.—Merchant Tailors' Arms. ½d.

PERSHORE.

505. *Obv.* HENRY . GIBBS.—HIS HALF PENY.
Rev. IN . PARSHORE . 1666.—H. G. ½d.

SHIPSTON-ON-STOUR.

506. *Obv.* RICHARD . COOPER . OF.—Pannier-basket.
Rev. SHIPSON . VPON . STOWER.—R. B. C. 1669. ½d.

507. *Obv.* SIMON . SIMONS.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. OF . SHIPSON . 1669.—HIS HALF PENY. S. I. S. (Octagonal.) ½d.

WORCESTER.

508. *Obv.* IOHN . IONES . OF Y^E^. CITTY . OF.—Arms of Worcester.
Rev. WORCESTER . HIS . HALF . PENY . 1666.—Open book. ½d.

509. *Obv.* WILLIAM . SWIFT . OF . Y.—S joined to first limb of W.
Rev. CITTY . OF . WORCEST^R^.—Arms of Worcester. ½d.

YORKSHIRE.

BEDALE.

510. *Obv. William Lodge of Beadle.* (In three lines.)
Rev. HIS . HALFE . PENY . 1668.—Rose-bush. ½d.
(Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. XX. p. 252.)

BEVERLEY.

511. *Obv.* GEORGE . LAMPLVGH . AT . THE.—King's Arms.
Rev. IN . BEVERLEY . 1666.—G. A. L. ½d.

DONCASTER.

512. *Obv.* GEORGE . RASINE . OF.—Apothecaries' Arms.
Rev. DONCASTER . 1665.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.
(Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. XX. p. 252.)

513. *Obv.* OTTEWEELL . ROBOTHAM.—HIS HALF PENY. 1669.
Rev. CHANDLER . IN . DONCASTER. — Tallowchandlers' Arms. ½d.

514. *Obv.* RICHARD . SPEIGHT . DIER.—HIS HALFE PENY.
Rev. IN . DONCASTER . 1668.—Dyers' Arms. ½d.
(Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. XX. p. 252.)

515. *Obv.* ROBERT . THWAITS.—The Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . DONCASTER . 1666.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

HONLEY.

*516. *Obv.* GEOR . DIXON . IN . HONLEY.—HIS HALFE PENY.
Rev. OR . HOLMEFIRTH . 1666.—G. S. D. A barrel. ½d.

HULL.

517. *Obv.* IOHN . BAKER.—Arm holding hammer.
Rev. OF . HVLL . 1668.—I. B. ½d.

518. *Obv.* THE . GOVLDEN . LYON . AT.—A lion passant.
Rev. THE . SOVTHEND . IN . HVLL.—S. and a Merchant's mark. ½d.

519. *Obv.* ELIZABETH . THOMPSON.—Ship.
Rev. IN . HVLL . 1669.—HER HALF PENY. (Octagonal.) ½d.

LEEDS.

*520. *Obv.* *Tho*[*mas*] . *Saul* . *in* . *Leeds* . *shooe* . *maker.* T. B. S. (In five lines.)
Rev. HIS . HALFE . PENY . 1667.—Shoe and leather cutter. ½d.

The name given as Saul is not certain. This token is described in *Num. Chron.* N.S. vol. XX. p. 247, No. 182A.

PONTEFRACT.

521. *Obv.* BONIFACE . COWPER.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . POMTEFRACT.—B. A. C. ½d.

522. *Obv.* *Lee* . *Hartley* . 1666. (In three lines.)
Rev. IN . PONTEFRACT.—A castle. ½d.
(Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. XX. p. 248, No. 226A.)

ROTHERHAM.

523. *Obv.* IOSEPH . SORESBIE.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . ROTHERAM . 1669.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

SCARBOROUGH.

524. *Obv.* EDWARD . PORTER . GROCR.—Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . SCARBROVGH . 1671.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

SHEFFIELD.

525. *Obv.* ROBERT . BREIGHT [& ?].—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IOSEPH . NAYLOR . 1666.—SHEFFEILD. ½d.
(Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. XX. p. 252.)

526. *Obv.* ROBERT . DOWNES . 1670.—A bunch of grapes.
Rev. IN . SHEFFEILD.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

527. *Obv.* IOHN . RAMSKER . OF.—Two swords crossed.
Rev. SHEAFFILD . 1655.—I. R. ½d.

YORK.

528. *Obv.* IAMES . CAVTON . MARRINER.—An anchor.
Rev. IN . YORKE . 1667.—HIS HALFE PENNY. I. M. C. ½d.

529. *Obv.* FRANCIS . HALL . OF . YORKE.—HIS HALFE PENY. F. H.
Rev. SILKE . WEAVER . 1666.—The Weavers' Arms. ½d.
(Cp. *Num. Chron.* N.S. XX. p. 252.)

530. *Obv.* THOMAS . HVRST . PINER . IN .—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. YORKE . HIS . HALF . PENY . 66.—T. H. ½d.

531. *Obv. George . Kighley . Yorke . his . ½.* (In four lines.)
Rev. 1668. Pegasus. ½d.

532. *Obv.* IONAS . MASCALL . OF . YORKE.—Indian holding bow, seated on bale smoking.
Rev. IN . STONEGAT . GROCER.—$\frac{I \quad I}{M \quad M}$ ½d.

533. *Obv.* IOHN . RAYSIN . IOYNER . IN.—Arms of Raising family (as Boyne, 880).
Rev. YORCKE . HIS . HALFE . PENY . 1668.—I. P. R. ½d.
(*Num. Chron.* N.S. XX. p. 252).

534. *Obv.* ROWLAND . RICHESON.—A hen and chickens.
Rev. PINNER . IN . YORK[E] . [16]68.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

535. *Obv.* PHILLIPP . ROSENDALL.—Three figures round a globe.
Rev. IN . WATER . LANE . IN . YORK.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.
(*Num. Chron.* N.S. XX. p. 252.)

536. *Obv.* CHRISTOP : SIMSON.—C. E. S.
Rev. BEARE . BRWER . IN . YORKE.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.
(*Num. Chron.* N.S. XX. p. 252.)

537. *Obv.* *Thomas . Wallcker . Dier . in . Yorke . his . ½.* (In five lines.)
Rev. 1669.—The Dyers' Arms. ½d.

WALES.

CARNARVON.

538. *Obv.* ELLIS . IONES . 1664.—A bird.
Rev. IN . CARNARVAN.—1ᴰ. 1d.

DENBIGH.

*539. *Obv.* OWEN . LLOYD . MERCER.—Mercers' Arms.
Rev. IN . DENBIGH . HIS . PENY.—(?) 1d.

SWANSEA.

540. *Obv.* ISAAC . AFTER.—I. A.
Rev. IN . SWANSEY.—I. A. ½d.

UNCERTAIN TOWNS.

541. *Obv.* THOMAS . CHAPMAN . AT . Yᴱ. RED.—Lion passant.
Rev. AT . CHERING . HOTH . HIS . ½ . PENY.—T. F. C. 1666. ½d.

*542. *Obv.* WILLIAM . HALL . AT . YE . KINGS.—Royal Arms.
Rev. AT . Sᵀ . MARY . HILL . 1668.—HIS HALFE PENNY. W. K. H. ½d.

*543. *Obv.* IOHN . PETERS . AT.—I. P.
Rev. THE . COCK . IN . REPING.—A cock. ½d.

WITHOUT NAME OF TOWN.

544. *Obv.* ANNE . ADKINS.—Three cloves.
Rev. FOR . NECESARY . CHAN^{G}.—Three cloves. ½d.

WITHOUT NAME OR INITIALS OF TOWN OR ISSUER.

*545. *Obv.* A . COFEE . PENEY . FOR.—A coffee pot and cup.
Rev. NESESARY . CHANGE.—A stove (?). 1d.

MISCELLANEOUS LEAD TOKENS.

The following are apparently tradesmen's farthing tokens of the seventeenth century. They resemble the regular copper and brass series in size and shape.

546. *Obv.* C. M. A.
Rev. Hart lodged.

547. *Obv.* I. B.
Rev. Shield: a bunch of grapes.

548. *Obv.* [MAR]GERY . GERDEN[ER].—M. G.
Rev. IN . . . . BERY . . . .—Grocers' Arms.

549. *Obv.* W. M. L.
Rev. Brewers' arms . 16[6 (?)]0.

550. *Obv.* W. M. M.
Rev. Bird to right.

551. *Obv.* A. E. S.
Rev. A stick of candles.

552. *Obv.* EDWARD . STEVENS.—E. S.
Rev. Barber Surgeons' Arms.

553. *Obv.* W. E. S.
Rev. Three bulls' heads erased. 1657.

554. *Obv.* Merchant's mark composed of 4. M. W.
Rev. A rose.

C. F. KEARY.
W. W. WROTH.

XV.

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED NOTTINGHAMSHIRE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TOKENS.

BRINSLEY.

1. *Obv.* ROBERT . HORESLEY . BLACK.—The Blacksmiths' Arms.
   Rev. SMITH . IN . BRINSLEY . 1669.—HIS HALF . PENY ½d.

LANEHAM.

2. *Obv.* MARY . ADLINGTON . IN . (Script in three lines).
   Rev. LANEHAM . HER . HALFE . PENY (Script in three lines). (Octagonal). ½d.

MANSFIELD.

2A. *Obv.* PEETER . BROWNE.—HIS HALF PENY.
   Rev. IN . MANSFEILD . 1664.—The Blacksmiths' Arms. ½d.

3. *Obv.* HENRY . HEATH . AT . THE.—A hound (Talbot).
   Rev. IN . MANSFEILD . 1671.—HIS . HALF . PENY. ½d.

4. *Obv.* EDWARD . SOVTHWORTH.—The Ironmongers' Arms.
   Rev. IN . MANSFEILD . HIS . HALFE . PENNY (Script in four lines). ½d.

5. *Obv.* FRANCIS . WILSON.—The Tallowchandlers' Arms.
   Rev. IN . MANSFIELD . 1667.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

6. *Obv.* The same.
   Rev. The same—date 1668. ½d.

This issuer's ½d. is in "Boyne," Notts, No. 15, but with date 1664.

MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE.

7. *Obv.* RICHARD . BREWITT.—A man on horseback.
Rev. MANSFEILD . WOODHOVS.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

8. *Obv.* RICHARD . SEWLAKE.—A pack horse.
Rev. MANSFEILD . WOODHOVSE.—HIS HALF PENY R. S. ½d.

NEWARK.

9. *Obv.* DENIS . COOLING . AN . APOTHECARY.—The Apothecaries' Arms.
Rev. HIS . HALFEPENY . IN NEWARKE . 1666 . DC (Script in five lines). ½d.

10. *Obv.* FRANCES . WHITON.—The Ironmongers' Arms.
Rev. OF . NEWARKE . 1659.—F. W. ½d.

NOTTINGHAM.

11. *Obv.* IOHN . BERRIDGE . IN.—The Apothecaries' Arms.
Rev. NOTTINGHAM . APOTHECARY.—I. B. small ½d.
This is a much smaller specimen than "Boyne's" No. 34.

12. *Obv.* SAMVELL . BLACKWELL.—A lion rampant.
Rev. IN . NOTTINGHAM . 1667.—HIS HALFE PENNY. ½d.

13. *Obv.* THOMAS . BVRROWES.—A rose with sun above.
Rev. IN . NOTTINGHAM.—A castle. ½d.
This is from a different die to "Boyne's" No. 37.

14. *Obv.* THOMAS . BARROWES.—The same.
Rev. The same. ½d.

15. *Obv.* THOMAS . BVRROWES.—A wild boar.
Rev. IN NOTTINGHAM . 1667.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

16. *Obv.* GEORGE . BORROWES . 1669.—IN NOTT ING HAM.
Rev. SALATHYELL . GROVES.—½d. under three goats' heads. ½d.

17. *Obv.* THOMAS . DODSLEY.—A wheatsheaf.
Rev. IN . NOTTINGHAM.—T. S. D. ½d.
This is from a different die to "Boyne's" No. 40.

18. *Obv.* THO . FRANCE . IN . NOTTINGHAM.—(Detrited).
Rev. SAMVEL . BLACKWELL . 1666.—(Detrited). ½d.

19. *Obv.* THOMAS . FRANCE.—T. T. F.
Rev. OF . NOTTINGHAM . CVTLER.—Armourers' Arms. ½d.

20. *Obv.* HVGH . FARNWORTH.—A wheatsheaf.
Rev. IN . NOTTINGHAM.—H. I. F. ½d.
This is from a different die to "Boyne's" No. 42.

21. *Obv.* STE . GARNER . TOVL . MAN.—HIS . HALP . HPEN.
Rev. AT . NOTTINGHAM . BRIDG.—Town Arms. ½d.

22. *Obv.* THOMAS . GREATON . IN.—HIS . HALFE PENY.
Rev. NOTTINGAME . BREWER.—Three tuns. ½d.

23. *Obv.* ROGER . HAWKSLY . 1666.—Merchant Tailors' Arms.
Rev. IN . NOTTINGHAM.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

24. *Obv.* IOHN . HART . CHANDLER.—A heart I. E. H.
Rev. IN . NOTTINGHAM . 1665.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

25. *Obv.* IOHN . HART . CHANDLER IN . NOTTINGHAM . HIS HALFE PENY (Script in six lines).
Rev. TAKE . THESE . THAT . WIL . ILE . CHAING . THEM . STIL.—A heart I. E. H. (Octagonal.) ½d.

26. *Obv.* WILLIAM . HEBB . IN.—The Tallowchandlers' Arms.
Rev. NOTTINGHAM . 1667.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

27. *Obv.* IOHN . MICHELL . IN . NOTINGHAM.—The Tallow-chandlers' Arms.
Rev. ROB . HARRYSON . THEIR . HALF . PENY.—The Distillers' Arms. ½d.

28. *Obv.* IOHN . PARKER.—The Apothecaries' Arms.
Rev. IN . NOTTINGHAM.—I. M. P. ½d.

29. *Obv.* IOHN . PARKER.—The Apothecaries' Arms.
Rev. IN . NOTTINGHAM.—I. M. P. ½d.

30. *Obv.* BENIAMIN . RICKARDS.—The Apothecaries' Arms.
Rev. IN . NOTTINGHAM.—B. R. ½d.

31. *Obv.* SAMVEL . SMITH.—The Apothecaries' Arms.
Rev. IN . NOTTINGHAM . 1664.—HIS . HALF . PENY. ½d.

32. *Obv.* SAMVEL . SMITH.—The Apothecaries' Arms.
Rev. IN . NOTTINGHAM.—S. S. ½d.

33. *Obv.* IONATHAN . SIMPSON.—The Saddlers' Arms.
Rev. SADLER . IN . NOTTINGHAM.—I. M. S. ½d.

34. *Obv.* IOHN . TREWMAN . OF.—Three crowns in royal oak.
Rev. NOTTINGHAM . 1669.—HIS (A dagger) ½d. ½d.

35. *Obv.* EDWARD . WRIGHT . IN . 67.—A fleur-de-lis.
Rev. NOTINGHAM . MILLINER.—HIS HALF PENY. ½d.

36. *Obv.* IOSEPH . WRIGHT.—Three bells.
Rev. IN . NOTTINGHAM —I. W. ½d.

37. *Obv.* GARVAS . WYLDE.—G. F. W.
Rev. TN . NOTTINGHAM.—G. F. W. ½d.

RETFORD.

38. *Obv.* WILLIAM . HALL.—HIS . HALF . PENY.
Rev. OF . RETTFORDE . 1668.—W. A. H. ½d.

J. TOPLIS.

ARTHUR STREET, NOTTINGHAM.

MISCELLANEA.

DATA FOR MAKING ALLOWANCES IN WEIGHT FOR CORROSION OF METALS.—Compounds of metal met with, alone or alloyed :—

	Specific Gravity (s).	Fraction of Specific Gravity of the Metal.	Weight of Metal in the Compound.	Weight of gain in the Compound.
Chloride of silver (usual) AgCl. . . .	5·55	·53	·758	·247
Sulphide of silver, AgS.	7·2	·69	·871	·129
Black oxide of copper, CuO. . . .	6·5	·78	·799	·201
Red oxide of copper, Cu_2O	5·75	·64	·888	·112
Sulphide of copper, Cu_2S	5·8	·65	·799	·201
Green carbonate of copper, CuO, H_2O, Cu, CO_2	3·8	·42	·575	·425
Blue carbonate of copper, CuO, H_2O, 2 Cu, CO_2	3·8	·42	·555	·445
Oxide of tin, SnO_2. .	6·95	·95	·787	·213
Carbonate of lead (usual) Pb CO_3 . . .	6·46	·56	·774	·226
Sulphate of lead, Pb SO_4	6·30	·55	·736	·264
Sulphide of zinc, ZnS .	4·1	·60	·670	·330
Carbonate of zinc, $ZnCO_3$	4·4	·64	·520	·480

Let P = per cent. of *volume* remaining metallic; p = per cent. of compound in the whole volume. S = sp. gr. of metal; s = sp. gr. of compound; g = gain of compound.

Then $\frac{p\,s}{P\,s + p\,s}$ of the present *weight* is compound, and

$\frac{p\,s\,g}{P\,S + p\,s}$ is the gain of the whole weight, to be deducted from present weight.

E.g., a piece of copper, eight-tenths metal, one-tenth red oxide, one-tenth green carbonate.

Then $\frac{(10 \times 5{\cdot}7 \times {\cdot}112) + (10 \times 3{\cdot}8 \times {\cdot}425)}{(80 \times 8{\cdot}9) + (10 \times 5{\cdot}7) + (10 \times 3{\cdot}8)}$ per cent. of the weight is gain = 2·77 per cent., or 10 grains in 360.

Roughly it is sufficient for small percentages to work the above example thus:—

10 per cent. volume oxide = about 6·4 per cent. of weight, gain ·7 per cent.

10 per cent. volume carbonate = about 4·2 per cent. of weight, gain 1·8 per cent.

(Total gain 2·5 per cent., which is probably as near as the volumes can be estimated.)

Observe the gain by carbonate of lime or sand encrusted. It is equal to about one-third of its volume of metal in weight.

Observe the losses by solution of carbonate of lead, or by scraping.

WM. FLINDERS PETRIE.

FIND OF ROMAN COINS IN WILTS.—The following is a short description of a small find of Roman Imperial silver coins which were recently dug up on Manton Downs, near Marlborough, Wilts, very close to the spot where a number of pewter dishes (twelve) and other articles of Roman manufacture were discovered a day or two later.

The silver coins were all found close together. Several of them have been so clipped or curtailed in size, that the legends and mint-marks have almost or entirely disappeared; otherwise they are in very good preservation. Some hardly at all worn.

About the same spot have been lately found fifteen or more 3rd-brass coins of different emperors, from Cornelia Salonina to Gratianus.

1 Julian. *Obv.*—Bearded head to right.

Rev.—Female figure seated to left, left leg bare, in right hand a globe. VIRTVS ROMANORVM.

1 Jovian. *Obv.*—Head to right.

VOTIS
Rev.—MVLTIS in wreath.
X

5 Valens. *Obv.*—Head to right.

Rev.—Female figure seated to left, in right hand a globe, on it a Victoriola presenting a crown; in left a spear. VRBS ROMA.

3 Magnus Maximus. *Rev.*—Same as Julian. TRPS in exergue.

4 Flavius Victor. *Obv.*—Head to right. DN . FL . VICTOR P. F. AVG.

Rev.—Same as Julian. MDPS in exergue.

7 Arcadius. *Obv.*—Head to right.

Rev.—Female figure seated to left; in right hand a globe, on it a Victoriola presenting a crown or wreath; in left a spear *barbed*. VRBS ROMA on one, LVGD in exergue, VIRTVS ROMANORVM on six, two MDPS, one TRPS in exergue.

5 Honorius. *Rev.*—Female figure on throne, left leg bare. VIRTVS ROMANORVM. One MDPS, one TRPS in exergue.

C. Soames.

Saxon Coins found on the Site of Waterloo Bridge, London.—Whilst workmen were excavating foundations for the present Waterloo Bridge, a small hoard of silver pennies was discovered, which on examination proved to belong exclusively to the reigns of Burgred, King of Mercia, and Æthelred I., King of Wessex. I have been unable to obtain exact information as to the number of coins in the find, but out of about one hundred specimens which I examined, the following varieties of moneyers' names and types were amongst the number. There was only one coin of Æthelred I. Of Burgred's coins there were twelve specimens of Hawkins' type 1, four of type 2, and about eighty of type 3. There were no specimens of type 4.

BVRGRED.

Hawkins, type 1.

CENRED, DIARVLF, DVDDA, EADVLF, HEREFERÐ, HVSSA, TATA, VVINE, VVLFEARD.

Hawkins, type 2.

DIGA, LENRED, EANRED.

Hawkins, type 3.

BEAGLIA, BERNEA, CVNEHE, CVÐHERE, DEALA, DEALGE, DIARVLF, DIGA, DVOVVINE, EADVLF, EÐEL-RED, EDELVLF, GVD, VND, HEAVVLF, HEREFERÐ, OS-MVND, OSSIVND, VVLFEARD, VVLFERD, VVLFRED.

ÆTHELRED I.

Hawkins, type 2.

BERNEAF.

NATHAN HEYWOOD.

HALFPENNY OF EADRED.—It is narrated in Hawkins (1876 ed.), p. 142, that at the sale of Captain Murchison's coins in 1866 there was a coin described as a unique halfpenny of Eadred, reading on the reverse BIORHTVLF MO in two lines, divided by three crosses, which was found at Tewkesbury, and was sold for £9 9s., but that it does not appear into whose hands it fell. Here Mr. Kenyon, the author of the work in question, seems, as he does also in his recent book on Gold Coins, to be entirely oblivious of the existence of marked catalogues of sales of celebrated collections, a reference to which is indispensable to any one who would treat accurately of individual rarities. Such a reference in the present case would have shown that the coin mentioned was purchased by the late Rev. Mr. Shepherd, in whose collection, preserved to this day by his family, it still probably is.

I possess what is undoubtedly the half of a halfpenny of Eadred, the original coin having apparently been bisected for the purpose of creating two farthings in the same way as pennies were often cut up into halfpennies. The weight of my piece is 4¼ grains, and this would be about the proper weight.

This coin differs from that before described. The inscription on the reverse is divided by a cross between two annulets, and the moneyer's name is necessarily imperfect, but terminates in ᴧF, followed as before by M̄O, beneath which is a rosette of dots.

H. MONTAGU.

THE MUSEUM OF GÖTEBORG.—The museum of Göteborg has recently acquired, chiefly through the liberality of one of the citizens of that place, Mr. J. W. Wilson, a large collection of

medals formed by Herr J. F. H. Oldenberg. A large number of duplicates were thus made in the museum collection and were offered for sale on the 20th September of the present year. Kammerherr Magnus Lagerberg, the keeper of the coins in the museum, has taken the opportunity to reprint, in an edition of one hundred copies only, the sale catalogue which he had prepared, and to preface it with a short history of the formation of the collection, and a list of the subscribers to the fund which was raised for the purchase of the Oldenberg medals. These subscriptions range from Mr. Wilson's donation of 30,000 kronor to the sum of 1 öre, considerably less than the scriptural mite. Among the donors to which the museum has been indebted in former years the name of Mr. Dickson is conspicuous by the gift of 80,000 kronor (nearly £5,000). Every one who has visited the Göteborg museum must have been struck by the excellence of its collections, and it is highly creditable to the town that this should be due solely to the liberality of its citizens and the energy of its keeper.

C. F. K.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Les Monnaies royales de France sous la race Carlovingienne. Par E. Gariel. Strasbourg: G. Jischbach. 1883.

The lamented death of M. E. Gariel deprives us of the present hope of seeing the completion of the work he had so well begun. We are therefore compelled to review a fragment only of his *Monnaies royales de France sous la race Carlovingienne.* The foretaste is so excellent, that it must double our regrets for the untimely loss of the author. It is to be hoped, however, that the work will not be left permanently unfinished, but will be taken up by some other hand. It is indeed inconceivable that so large a gap in French numismatic history should be left longer unfilled or inadequately filled; and we may hope that German numismatists will be inspirited to supply the corresponding material for the region beyond the Rhine. Let us consider how we stand in respect to the numismatics of mediæval Europe. We have yet no *locus classicus* for the Merovingian money, though an immense amount of material has been supplied in the pages of the *Revue Numismatique* and other publications. Then comes the great lacuna made by the Carlovingian system, which is very imperfectly described in the papers which have from time to time appeared in different

numismatic journals, excellent as some of these papers (and notably M. Robert's Studies) must be pronounced to be. M. Hoffmann's work upon the *Monnaies royales de France* (subsequent to Hugues Capet) again brings us into the light of day, and M. Poey d'Avant's *Monnaies féodales* is a still more valuable monument of industry and research. Beyond the Rhine clear daylight begins with the fall of the Carlovingian and the rise of the Saxon emperors, when Herr Dannenberg once more takes us in hand, and from that time forward the numerous memoirs on the local coinages of Germany supply information which, though very difficult to gather, leaves no large spaces unfilled. It will be seen, then, that in all the field of middle-age numismatics there is no class of coins which has been more neglected than the coinage of the Carlovingian emperors.

The difficulties which beset the study account for this neglect. As M. Gariel says, "We are too frequently left without any written documents to be able to proceed with sure steps. . . . It sometimes even happens that this documentary evidence is contradicted by evidence which comes from other quarters;" and it is not everybody who could add, "De là l'attrait que présente cette étude où, à chaque pas, se rencontre un problème à résoudre." The period over which our author's studies extend is perhaps, as he says, the most interesting of French history, for it is the period during which the fusion between the two races, the Franks and the Gauls, becomes complete. The rivalry ends by imposing upon the latter the Germanic form of government, which was the basis of what we call the feudal system. In all the four great states of Western Christendom—as Bishop Stubbs has said—"the constructive elements of new life are barbarian or Germanic." It is the triumph of this Germanic system under the Carlovingians—the Merovingian period having been transitional only—which, as I have myself elsewhere observed, is symbolised by the establishment of the silver Carlovingian denarius in place of the older currency, which was chiefly of gold: the greatest revolution in the coinage that Europe has ever known. Not that even this revolution was quite so sudden as it appears to be at the first glance. M. Gariel shows that for half a century or more before the House of Heristal rose to power, a silver Merovingian coinage had been on the increase in Northern France, and had by this time as large a currency as the gold. Nevertheless the disappearance of the latter metal, the entire remodelling of the silver coin, form changes the importance of which it would be hard to over-estimate.

The present instalment of M. Gariel's work contains the description of thirty-nine deposits containing coins of the Carlovingian emperors. This was a portion of the rough material of his work out of which he was to have settled the historical sequence and the geographical position of the Carlovingian money, and failing his further guidance the numismatist can to some extent do this for himself. It will be interesting to the students of English coins to learn that M. Gariel, while acknowledging that the general suffrage seems to be in favour of an English origin for the coins found at Cuerdale, is not for his part convinced "que plusieurs monnaies, outre celles de Quentovic, n'aient pas été émises en France par ces rois pirates et notamment par le fameux Sigefroi de 885 à 886" (p. 137). The same view, it may be remembered, was advocated by M. Bergsöe in the pages of this Chronicle. One highly useful and most interesting feature in this volume is the transcription made by M. De Barthélemy of all the passages in the capitularies and edicts of the Carlovingian age which relate to the money. Of these the Capitulary of Vernon and the Edict of Pîtres are among the most important and the most familiar to the numismatist.

C. F. K.

The Copper, Tin, and Bronze Coinage, and Patterns for Coins of England, from the reign of Elizabeth to that of her present Majesty. By H. Montagu. Rollin and Feuardent, 1885.

This most useful work is founded on that which was undertaken some years ago by the late Rev. H. Christmas, which, though passed through the press, was never, in fact, published, and the blocks for which are, with several additions, here reproduced. It is, however, a far more complete and careful treatise than that of Mr. Christmas, and contains much new and valuable matter. Beginning with an introductory chapter, the coins of each reign are passed successively in review, and notes are given of the rarity of each. The description of the various pattern-pieces is exhaustive, and perhaps constitutes the most valuable part of the work. The riches of the author's cabinet, and those of Mr. Brice, Mr. Hoblyn, and others, have here rendered good service; but as a guide to our regular coinage in the baser metals, this work will be a necessity to all collectors, and must for many years remain the standard authority. We commend it heartily to our readers.

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THE END.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1883—1884.

October 18, 1883.

John Evans, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

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

1. Numismatic Atlas for Canada, by Joseph Le Roux, M.D. From the Author.

2. Sitzungs-berichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1883. Parts I.—XXXVII. From the Academy.

3. The Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. iv. No. 1, 1883. Text and Plates. From the Society.

4. The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, Ser. iv. vol. vi. April, 1883. From the Association.

5. The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, October and November, 1882, and January to June, 1883, and Proceedings December, 1882, and January to June, 1883. From the Academy.

6. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S., vol. xv. Part III. From the Society.

7. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Series II., vol. ix., Nos. 1 and 2. From the Society.

8. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 8me and 4me livraisons, 1883. From the Belgian Numismatic Society.

9. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, vol. xviii., 1882—8, and Bulletin Historique, 126me livraison. From the Society.

10. Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Band xi., Heft 1, 1883. From the Editor.

11. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal, 1883. From the Society.

12. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 1882, Part IV., and 1883, Part I. From the Society.

13. Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie, 1883, Parts III. and IV. From the Society.

14. Ein Verzeichniss von Griechischen falschen Münzen, by Dr. J. Friedlaender. From the Author.

15. Coins of the Benee Rasool dynasty of South Arabia, by Lieut.-Col. Prideaux. From the Author.

16. A Guide to the Identification and Valuation of British Coins, Parts I.—III. By Major Stewart Thorburn. From the Publisher, Mr. L. Upcott Gill.

17. Constitution and By-Laws of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, 1883. From the Society.

18. A bronze medal by Wiener, commemorating the visit of the Queen to Epping Forest, in May, 1882. From the Corporation of the City of London.

Mr. J. G. Hall exhibited a "saluto d'oro" of Charles II. of Anjou, King of Naples, A.D. 1285—1309, which may have served as the prototype of the "salute" of Henry V. and VI. of England.

Mr. H. Montagu read a paper on a unique coin of William I. in his possession, having the type of the reverse similar to coins of Harold II., viz. the word PAX written across the field. See vol. iv. p. 59.

Dr. A. Smith communicated a paper on some Saxon coins found in Ireland, struck during the reigns of Eadweard the

Elder and Æthelstan. The coins of Æthelstan in this hoard contributed four additional names to that king's moneyers. See vol. iii. p. 282.

Mr. E. H. Bunbury communicated a paper on some "cistophori" of Ephesus, Parium, Pergamum, Sardis, &c., in which he described forty-five hitherto unpublished varieties of these coins. See vol. iii. p. 181.

A paper was read by Mr. Wroth on coins of Isauria and Lycaonia, being pieces not mentioned by M. Waddington in his article on those coins published in the *Revue Numismatique* (1883). This is printed in vol. iii. p. 177.

NOVEMBER 15, 1883.

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

Messrs. Francis Bigge and Walter R. Hubbard were elected members of the Society.

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

1. Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Band xi., Heft 2, 1883. From the Editor.

2. Sur la prétendue restauration du pouvoir de Maurice Tibère dans la province, par M. P. Ch. Robert. From the Author.

3. Notice sur M. de Saulcy. From the same.

4. Notes on a list of silver coins of Aurangzeb. By C. J. Rodgers, Esq. From the Author.

5. Coins supplementary to Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, No. 3. By C. J. Rodgers, Esq. From the Author.

6. The rupees of the months of the Iláhí years of Akbar. By C. J. Rodgers, Esq. From the Author.

7. Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord, N.S., 1882—4. From the Society.

8. Bulletin Historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. July—September, 1883. From the Society.

9. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1881. From the Institution.

Mr. Evans exhibited a portion of a hoard of clippings from English silver coins dating from the time of Elizabeth to that of Charles I. These clippings Mr. Evans thought were made shortly before the recoinage of 1696, about which time vast numbers of old coins must have been in circulation, the large dimensions of many of which would naturally offer temptations for clipping. The hoard was found near Frome.

Mr. J. W. Trist exhibited a specimen of the tetradrachm of Æsillas, quæstor in Macedon in the early part of the first century B.C., having the letter B behind the head on the obverse, and differing from all the specimens in Head's *Catalogue of Greek Coins: Macedonia*.

Mr. G. D. Brown exhibited a gold coin of Crispus Cæsar, *rev.* Victory, struck at Sirmium; and a gold coin of Cunobeline similar to Evans, "Ancient British Coins," pl. ix. 8.

Mr. H. Montagu brought for exhibition the following coins: a penny of Harthacnut struck at Dorchester, reading GODPINE ON DORCE, Dorchester being a mint hitherto unknown on the money of Harthacnut; a Piedfort half-groat of Edward III.; a Tower crown of Charles. I., m.m. Lis, a new variety, with a plume over the shield on the reverse; an unpublished Commonwealth half-crown by Ramage with uninscribed edge; a gold proof of the shilling of George III., 1816; and a five-shilling token of Bishop, de Jersey and Co., stamped over a Spanish dollar of Charles IV.

Canon Pownall exhibited four Papal medals (three of Paul II. and one of Sixtus IV.). One of those of Paul II. represented

the consistory in which George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, was declared to be deprived of his crown for favouring the Hussites.

Dr. Frazer also exhibited two Papal medals, one of Paul II. and one of Sixtus IV.

The Baron L. de Hirsch communicated a paper on some unique and inedited Sicilian coins in his own collection, the most remarkable among them being a tetradrachm of Ætna struck between B.C. 476 and 461, and one of Zancle. See vol. iii. p. 165.

Mr. B. V. Head exhibited an autotype plate of the Baron de Hirsch's coins, and contributed some further remarks on the coins of Ætna and Zancle. Vol. iii. p. 171.

Mr. Evans read a second notice of some Roman coins discovered in Lime Street, London. See vol. iii. p. 278.

DECEMBER 20, 1883.

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

Mr. Richard Hoe-Lawrence, Dr. Hermann Weber, and Mons. A. M. E. Lagerberg were elected members of the Society.

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

1. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xv. Part IV. From the Society.

2. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iv., N.S., 1882. From the Society.

3. Bulletin mensuel de Numismatique et d'Archéologie, 8me année, Nos. 1—4, 1883. From the Editor.

4. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 2me trimestre, 1883. From the Society.

5. On a hoard of Roman coins discovered in Cobham Park. By C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A. From the Author.

6. On Roman tesselated pavements. By C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A. From the Author.

Mr. T. Bliss exhibited a selection of Roman denarii from the Lime Street hoard. The most remarkable among them was one of Gordianus Africanus. Mr. Bliss also showed a lump of the coins rusted together in the condition in which they were found, and a gold ring discovered with them.

Mr. J. W. Trist brought for exhibition a Greek kylix with a representation of a tetradrachm of Syracuse in the centre.

Mr. G. D. Brown exhibited a penny of Ethelbert with DVDDA MONETA on the reverse.

Mr. J. G. Hall exhibited a gold St. Andrew of Robert III. of Scotland.

Mr. Krumbholz exhibited a selection of historical thalers of South Germany (Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden), and made some remarks, in the course of which he contrasted the extreme poverty of design and utter absence of beauty of the English shilling of Queen Victoria with the artistic and historically interesting reverse types of the South German silver coins by the well-known artist Voigt, who took the Roman coinage as his model.

Mr. H. Montagu exhibited a set of silver proofs of the coinage of Queen Victoria, including the penny and halfpenny of 1841, the farthing of 1889, and the penny, halfpenny, and farthing of 1861; also a nickel proof of the halfpenny of 1868, and nickel patterns of the twopence, penny, and halfpenny of 1859.

Mr. T. W. Greene communicated a paper on the medallion of Philibert the Fair of Savoy and Margaret of Austria. See vol. iii. p. 288.

Mr. B. V. Head read a paper by Mr. W. J. Andrew on a Saxon coin attributed by him to Ethered, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 871—891.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Evans expressed his opinion that the coin was in all probability an imitation of a penny of Alfred the Great, of which so many were present in the Cuerdale hoard.

JANUARY 17, 1884.

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

J. D. Leader, Esq., F.S.A., and Major W. Stewart Thorburn were elected members of the Society.

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

1. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vols. i., ii., v., xiii. —xxi. Smithsonian Reports, 1854, 1857, 1868, 1866, 1869, 1870. From the Smithsonian Institution.

2. Archæologia Æliana, vols. iii., iv., and N.S. vols. i.—ix. From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

3. Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring, Proceedings for 1882; and Kunst og Haandverk fra Norges Fortid. Part III., pl. xii.—xvii., and pp. 8—10. From the Society.

4. Report of the Council of the Art Union of London, 1883. From the Art Union.

5. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, vol. vi., 4th series, No. 55. From the Association.

6. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1884, Part I. From the Belgian Numismatic Society.

7. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, N.S. vol. xvi., Part I. From the Society.

8. Medals by G. Cavino, the Paduan. By R. Hoe Lawrence, Esq. From the Author.

Mr. H. Montagu exhibited a Saxon or Dano-Saxon penny

with a blundered legend, probably copied from a coin of the Canterbury mint of the time of Alfred the Great, similar to that described at the last meeting (on the reverse was the moneyer's name, BRVNED MO); also two patterns for crowns of Charles I. signed by Nicholas Briot, reading HAVD VLLI VETERVM VIRTVTE SECVNDVS. One piece had the king's bust on the obverse and the king on horseback on the reverse; the other had the obverse the same as the reverse of the preceding, and the four shields of England, Ireland, and Scotland arranged crosswise on the reverse. This pattern crown perhaps exhibits the first instance on coins of a reverse type which on the coinage of subsequent reigns became very common. It occurs, however, on a medalet of Charles I. as early as 1630.

Mr. J. G. Hall exhibited a sovereign of Elizabeth with the annulet mint-mark, which is supposed to stand for the numeral 0, indicating the year 1600, the pieces of 1601 and 1602 bearing in the same place the figures 1 and 2 respectively.

Mr. W. W. Wroth read a paper on the coinage of Crete. See vol. iv. p. 1.

FEBRUARY 21, 1884.

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

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

1. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1881—1882. From the Society.

2. Annuaire de Numismatique, 1883. 4me trimestre. From the Society.

3. Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Band xi., Heft 3. From the Editor.

4. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Tome v. Ser. 3, 1882. From the Society.

5. Table des Bulletins et Mémoires publiés par la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. Par M. E. Dramard. From the Society.

6. Bulletin Historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. N.S., 128me livr., Oct.—Dec., 1883. From the Society.

7. Recherches sur la Numismatique de la Novempopulanie. Par E. Taillebois. From C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.

8. Proceedings of the American Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of New York. March, 1883. From the Society.

9. The Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. iv., No. 2. Text and plates. From the Society.

Mr. G. D. Brown exhibited three pale gold staters of the kings of Bosporus: one of Sauromates III., with the head of Hadrian on the obverse and his own head on the reverse; and two of Eupator, one with the head of Antoninus Pius and one with those of M. Aurelius and Verus on the obverse.

The Rev. G. F. Crowther exhibited a three-halfpenny piece of Elizabeth with the portcullis mint-mark, and a half-groat of James I. with the key mint-mark.

Mr. Krumbholz exhibited a very rare thaler of Carl Caspar, Elector of Treves 1652—1676, with his portrait.

Mr. T. Mackenzie communicated a notice of a collection of groats of Robert III. of Scotland, comprising thirteen of the Aberdeen mint, twenty of that of Perth, and sixty-three of that of Edinburgh, and sent specimens for exhibition. See vol. iv. p. 189.

The Rev. C. Soames contributed a description of a small find of Roman imperial silver coins which were recently dug up at Manton Down, Marlborough, near the spot where twelve pewter dishes and other articles of Roman manufacture were discovered a few days later. The coins were of the Emperors Julian, Jovian, Valens, Magnus Maximus, Flavius Victor, Arcadius, and Honorius.

Mr. B. V. Head read a paper, by Mr. R. S. Poole, on

Athenian coin-engravers in Italy, and the influence of their school, as exemplified by the money of Terina, Thurium, and other cities of Lower Italy, dating from about B.C. 400. See vol. iii. p. 269.

MARCH 20, 1884.

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

M. Longworth Dames, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

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

1. Archæologia Cantiana. Vol. xv. From the Kent Archæological Society.

2. Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Parts XXXVIII.—LIII., with Index 1883. From the Academy.

3. Bulletin Mensuel de Numismatique et d'Archéologie. By M. R. Serrure. From the Editor.

4. A Guide to the Identification and Valuation of British Coins. Part VIII. From the Publishers.

5. Token Money. By John Evans, Esq., D.C.L. From the Author.

The following coins were exhibited at the meeting:—By Mr. Durlacher, a penny of Edward the Confessor, having on the reverse a long double cross terminating in small crescents, with the moneyer's name THORCETL . O . LVND; by Mr. Trist, an obol of Demetrius, King of Bactria, *Obv.* head of the king in elephant's skin head-dress, *Rev.* Heracles crowning himself; by Mr. Brown, a British gold coin of Cunobelinus, similar to Evans, Pl. IX., 2, but showing the heart-shaped ornaments in the corners and the termination of the five-fold wreath; by Mr. Montagu, a gold coin of the British Prince Vosilos or Vosil-

launos, of the Kentish district, reading VOSII; and by Mr. Bliss, a penny of Burgred and eleven varieties of the penny of Alfred the Great, five of which had the moneyer's name TILEVINE, with the London monogram.

Canon Pownall, F.S.A., read a paper, "On the medals of the Popes Paul II. and Sixtus IV." See vol. iv. p. 160.

APRIL 17, 1884.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Hon. J. Leicester-Warren, the Baron Lucien de Hirsch, and Messrs. R. Thornton Andrews, Walter Davis, T. W. Kitt, and C. H. Nash, were elected members of the Society.

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

1. Annuaire de Numismatique, 1884. 1re trimestre. From the Society.

2. Aarböger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1883, Parts II.—IV., with Supplement. From the Society of Northern Antiquaries.

3. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. v., N.S., 1882—1883. From the Society.

4. Archæologia Æliana. N.S., Part XXVI., vol. ix. From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

5. Views of Old Castles, Priories, Monasteries, &c., in the counties of Northumberland and Durham. Drawn and engraved by S. and N. Buck, originally published in 1728. From the same.

6. Remnants of Old Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1884. Part I., with a View of Newcastle in 1745. From the same.

7. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Vol. vi., 4th Series, No. 56. From the Association.

8. Bulletin de la Société de Borda (Dax), 9me année. 1re trimestre, 1884. From the Society.

9. Bibliographie générale et raisonnée de la Numismatique Belge. Par Georges Cumont. Bruxelles, 1883. From the Author.

10. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1884. From the Society.

11. The Hull Coinage. By C. E. Fewster, Esq. From the Author.

12. Bulletin Historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie; 31e année, N.S., 129me livraison, 1884. From the Society.

13. Photographic reproductions of the Ten Plates of Hildebrand's Anglo-Saxon coins. 1st edition. From G. C. Williamson, Esq.

Mr. Vaux exhibited, on behalf of Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac, a gold coin of the Gupta dynasty, having on the obverse a divinity standing between two female figures and the inscription "Kumâra Gupta," and on the reverse Lakhsmi on the lotus throne.

Mr. Burstal exhibited three pennies of Æthelred II., struck respectively at Dover, Winchester, and Colchester; a penny of Cnut struck at Norwich; one of Harold I. at Shrewsbury; and a blundered coin, apparently of Harthacnut, struck at Leicester.

Mr. Montagu exhibited a half-crown, believed to be unique, of the Commonwealth, dated 1655, and two specimens of the shilling of 1657.

Mr. J. G. Hall exhibited large silver pieces of Odoardo Farnese, Duke of Parma, 1622—1646, and of Leopold I., Emperor of Germany, 1658—1705, having on the reverse a bust of the Sultan Mahomet IV. and the legend MAHVMET IV. VICTVS TVRC. CAES.; also a gold noble of Philip II. or III., Count of Flanders, and a Japanese gold coin imitated from a Chinese coin of the Ming dynasty, cast in the beginning of the last century.

Mr. B. V. Head read an abstract of a paper by M. J. P. Six,

of Amsterdam, "On the Coinage of the Satrap Mazaios." See vol. iv. p. 97.

MAY 15, 1884.

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

Messrs. Joseph Clarke and W. Webster, junior, were elected members of the Society.

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

1. Bulletino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Nos. 5—12, 1883, and 1—4, 1884. From the Imperial German Archæological Institute at Rome.

2. Archæologia Æliana. Part XXVII. From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

3. Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences. Vol. iii., Part III., 1879—1881. From the Academy.

4. Report of the Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, 1883. From the Society.

5. Aarböger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1884, Part I.; and Supplement, 1883. From the Society of Northern Antiquaries.

6. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. N.S., vol. xvi., Part II. From the Society.

7. Sitzungsberichte der Kön. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Parts I.—XVII., January—March, 1884.

8. Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, &c., de Belgique. 3me Serie, tomes i.—v. 1881—1883, and Annuaire 1882—1883.

9. Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. 2nd Series, vol. xiii., Part I. From the Society.

10. A Guide to the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland. By Major W. Stewart Thorburn. From the Author.

Mr. H. Montagu exhibited a halfpenny or farthing of Eadred,

the original coin having been bisected for the purpose of creating two farthings, in the same way as pennies were frequently halved and quartered.

Mr. J. G. Hall exhibited a hammered sovereign of Charles II.'s first coinage, with the numerals XX behind the head of the king (weight 138 grains).

Mr. B. V. Head read a paper, by Mr. C. F. Keary, on a hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Rome during some recent excavations on the site of the House of the Vestals at the foot of the Palatine. The find had been described by the Cavaliere de Rossi. See vol. iv. p. 225.

Mr. N. Heywood communicated a notice of a find of Anglo-Saxon coins beneath the foundations of Waterloo Bridge. See vol. iv. p. 849.

Mr. Toplis sent a list of forty varieties of seventeenth century tradesmen's tokens of Nottinghamshire not described in Boyne's work. See vol. iv. p. 848.

JUNE 19, 1884.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

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

The Minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Lucas White King was elected a member of the Society.

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

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society.

With great regret they have to announce their loss by death of four ordinary members :—

Sir Edward Clive Bayley, K.C.S.I.
Thos. F. Coats, Esq.
J. H. K. Ford, Esq.
E. T. Rogers, Esq.

And of two honorary members :—

Dr. J. Friedlænder.
Monsieur F. Lenormant.

Also by resignation of the seven following members :—

J. T. Bent, Esq.
J. A. Cossins, Esq.
Major A. Davies.
J. H. Gibson, Esq.
P. Heward, Esq.
C. Williams, Esq.
T. A. Wize, Esq., M.D.

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

R. Thornton Andrews, Esq.
F. Bigge, Esq.
J. Clark, Esq.
M. Longworth Dames, Esq.
Walter Davis, Esq.
M. le Baron L. de Hirsch.
W. R. Hubbard, Esq.
L. White King, Esq.
T. W. Kitt, Esq.
Mons. A. M. E. Lagerberg.
Richard Hoe-Lawrence, Esq.
J. D. Leader, Esq., F.S.A.
C. H. Nash, Esq.
Major W. Stewart Thorburn.
Hon. J. Leicester-Warren.
Hermann Weber, Esq., M.D.
W. J. Webster, Esq.

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

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1883	215	39	254
Since elected	17	—	17
	232	39	271
Deceased	4	2	6
Resigned	7	—	7
Erased	—	—	—
June, 1884	221	37	258

The Council have also the honour to announce that they have unanimously awarded the medal of the Numismatic Society to Aquilla Smith, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A., for his distinguished services to the science of numismatics, especially in connection with the coinage of Ireland.

The Treasurer's Report was then read to the Meeting, by which it appeared that the balance in hand on June 19 was £178 8s.

The Report is appended :—

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1883, to June, 1884.

Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON IN ACCOUNT WITH ALFRED EVELYN COPP, TREAS. *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co., for printing Chronicle, Part I. of 1883	30	5	5
,, ditto ditto Part II. of 1883	46	15	9
,, ditto ditto Part III. of 1883	45	12	0
,, ditto ditto Part IV. of 1883	47	9	2
,, The Autotype Company	58	10	0
,, Mrs. Ayres, for Coffee, Postages, &c.	3	17	10
,, ditto one year's Rent to Christmas, 1883	20	0	0
,, ditto gratuity for Attendance	5	0	0
,, Messrs. Snell & Swaffield, stockbrokers, for £100 Consols at 101	101	4	10
,, Messrs. H. Bowyer & Co. for bookbinding	1	18	9
,, Mr. John Pinches, for striking 12 silver medals and engraving	15	1	6
,, Mr. R. O. Hearson, for stationery	0	10	6
,, J. Davy and Son, for printing	2	16	4
,, Fire Insurance premium on £500	0	15	0
,, Mr. F. J. Lees, for engraving	4	4	0
,, Treasurer and Librarian, for Postages, Receipts, Stationery, &c.	4	0	0
,, Secretary, for Postages, &c.	2	10	0
,, Collector (Mr. E. Robinson), for Commission 6 8 0			
Postages . 0 12 6			
	7	0	6
,, Balance	178	8	0
	£575	19	7

	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last Statement	243	14	5
,, Compositions	40	19	0
,, Entrance Fees	15	15	0
,, Annual Subscriptions	205	16	0
,, Received for Chronicles :—			
Of Mr. Head 1 12 0			
Of John Russell Smith 52 0 0			
	53	12	0
,, Half-year's Dividend on £500, 3 per cent. Consols, due 5th July, 1883	7	6	11
,, ,, ,, on £600, due 5th January, 1884	8	16	3
	£575	19	7

ALFRED E. COPP,
HONORARY TREASURER.

The President, in presenting the medal of the Society to Dr. Aquilla Smith, made the following remarks:—

Dr. Aquilla Smith, it is with much pleasure that I hand to you the medal of the Numismatic Society, which has been awarded to you by the Council in recognition of the great services you have rendered to our science, especially in connection with the coinage of Ireland. Nearly forty-five years have elapsed since you first communicated to the Royal Irish Academy a paper on the Irish coins of Edward IV., and since 1839 but few years have passed without something in connection with numismatics having appeared either from your active pen or faithful pencil. The pages and plates of the Kilkenny Archæological Society's Transactions, of Sainthill's "Olla Podrida," and lastly, of the Numismatic Chronicle, have all borne witness to your industry, discernment, and skill. That you may long continue to manifest your interest in numismatic pursuits in the same efficient manner is the earnest hope and desire of us all; and I trust that some of the gratification which we feel in presenting to you this token of our esteem may be shared by you in possessing such a memorial of old numismatic allies and friends.

Dr. A. Smith then returned thanks to the Society for its recognition of his work in numismatics.

The President then addressed the Meeting as follows:—

At the close of another Session it again devolves upon me to offer to you a few remarks upon the events of the past year. With regard to the Society itself, but little need be said, beyond again recording my gratification at its continued usefulness and prosperity. Our numbers still continue to increase and our finances are still in a healthy condition. There is, however, one element of uncertainty as to our immediate future prospects, inasmuch as the rooms of the Royal Society of Literature, in which we have had the privilege of being housed for so many years at a moderate rental, are likely to be required for Government purposes, and our landlords, as well as ourselves, will in

all probability shortly have to find a home elsewhere. The question of where this is to be, and on what terms it can be obtained, is receiving the anxious consideration of the Council, and I hope will eventually be solved in a manner satisfactory to the Society at large.

Our medal has this year again been awarded to one who deserves well not only of numismatic science in general, but of this Society in particular, to the publications of which he has so often contributed, and of which he has so long been an honorary member. I am sure that you will all agree with me in the hope that the name of Dr. Aquilla Smith may long continue to adorn our list of members.

The "Numismatic Chronicle" has, during the past year, continued to maintain its high standard of value and interest; and the papers which have appeared in its pages and the various communications which have been made to the Society have extended over a wide area of the numismatic field. The papers on Greek numismatics have been more than usually abundant, and most of them of considerable interest and importance.

Mr. E. H. Bunbury, in a memoir on unpublished cistophori, has from the riches of his own collection been able to add nearly fifty coins to those already known. Some of these are of Ephesus, to the series of which town Mr. Head had already largely contributed, and others again of Parium, Adramyttium, Pergamum, Sardis, Tralles, Laodicea, and Apamea. A half cistophorus of Sardis he has published for the first time. With regard to the date of the first issue of cistophori, Mr. Bunbury is inclined to carry it back to an earlier period than 159 B.C. as suggested by Mr. Head, and in corroboration of this view he cites specimens bearing the letters BA EY, which he considers to be indicative of King Eumenes II., whose reign terminated in that year. Passages in Livy suggest that cistophori were known even before the accession of Eumenes in B.C. 189, and the last word as to the date of their first issue does not as yet appear to have been said. In conclusion Mr. Bunbury calls

attention to the series of countermarks which occur in the well-known coins of Side in Pamphylia which seem to connect them with the cistophorus circulation in Asia Minor.

The Baron de Hirsch de Gereuth has favoured us with a notice of some rare and inedited Sicilian coins, two of which of Ætna and Zancle have been the subject of some farther remarks by Mr. Head. That of Ætna with the head of Silenus on the obverse and the seated figure of Zeus Ætnæus on the reverse is one of the most remarkable coins that modern discoveries have brought to light. Dating as it seems to do from the first half of the fifth century B.C., it is contemporary with the days of Pindar, one of whose finest odes is addressed to the Ætnæan Zeus, passages from which are cited by Mr. Head in illustration of the details of the types. The beetle, for which Ætna was celebrated, occupies a prominent place under the head of Silenus on the obverse. How far the cantharus, or drinking-cup sacred to Dionysos, may be connected with the cantharus of Ætna, which we find here associated with his inseparable companion Silenus, I leave to etymologists to determine. That the cup should have originally been made in the form of a beetle appears to me quite as probable as that it should, according to Athenæus, Pliny and Julius Pollux, have derived its name "from one Cantharus who first made cups of this form." The coin of Zancle is remarkable whether we regard it as preserving the name of that town to a period later than B.C. 476, when it is said to have been changed for that of Messana, or as exhibiting a highly advanced style of art at so early a date as the beginning of the fifth century B.C. From a metrological point of view it is also important.

Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole in an important paper on Athenian coin-engravers in Italy has shown how far the influence of the parent city has affected the style of medallic art in her colonies in Magna Græcia. Not only at Thurium, which was recolonized by Athens in the days of Pericles, but at Terina, Velia, Heraclea, and other towns, this influence is apparent, and points to the

existence of a distinctly Athenian school of engravers whose chief signs himself with a Φ, and who on the coins of Terina seem to have derived these inspirations for the figure of Nikê, from the famous balustrade-relief of the Temple of Nikê-Apteros at Athens.

Our Honorary Member, M. Six, has favoured us with a paper on the coins of the Satrap Mazaios which is of great importance and interest. Adopting the interpretation of M. Halévy, he finds in the word which has hitherto been read Mazdai or Mazrai the name of Mazaios, who, according to history, was Satrap of the trans-Euphratic provinces, and of Cilicia under the Persian kings during a period of nearly thirty years about the middle of the fourth century B.C. His coins form two distinct series struck in Cilicia and Syria, while a third consists of some coins struck in imitation of those of Athens, intended probably for local circulation while he was satrap of Babylon, and a fourth is attributed to Sidon. The paper concludes with a list of the most ancient coins of Tarsus, at which place the majority of the coins ascribed to Mazaios were struck. The coins bearing the name of Alexander in Phœnician characters, M. Six is now inclined to assign to the reign of Alexander the Great rather than to that of his son by Roxana. Altogether the paper is replete with historical and numismatic research, and whether the whole of the conclusions of the author will ultimately be accepted or not, it will always be of the highest value as placing on record all that is at present known with regard to the series of coins which bear such conclusive testimony to the power and extent of the old Persian monarchy.

Mr. Warwick Wroth has communicated two papers to our journal, the more important being a comprehensive memoir on the coins of the island of Crete. Although he regards any attempt to produce a complete monograph on the subject of these coins as premature, I venture to think that when the time arrives for its publication we shall not find many important additions to our knowledge beyond what is now placed in our

possession. So long ago as 1860 Mr. R. Stuart Poole called attention in our Chronicle to the peculiar characteristics of Cretan art, which he defined as being pictorial rather than sculptural, and the coin of Phæstus belonging to Dr. Hermann Weber, now for the first time published, affords an admirable example of this peculiarity. The suggestion of M. Lenormant that the ↄ on the early coins of Gortyna is really a Π, and the legend Γορτύνος τὸ παῖμα and not σοῖμα, is fully borne out by this coin of Phæstus. It is not a little remarkable that the same formula of τὸ παῖμα is now shown to occur on a coin of Phæstus also. Perhaps it may eventually be found on coins of Cnossus and Cydonia as well. The majority of Cretan cities do not however seem to have struck coins earlier than during Mr. Wroth's second period, from B.C. 431 to 800. His third and fourth periods comprise the intervals from B.C. 800 to 200, and from B.C. 200 to 67. The range in art shown by coins of the same type and of the same period seems to be more distinctly shown on the coins of Crete than on those of any other part of Greece, and was probably due to the demand for dies exceeding the supply of those competent to engrave them. It is however satisfactory to find that the names of some of the more skilful of the artists have been preserved; and Pythodorus of Aptera and Polyrhenium, and Nevantus of Cydonia, deserve a place on the list which comprises Cimon and Evaenetus, though they cannot aspire to the same high level. The extent to which the Cretan artists were influenced by religious conditions has already been pointed out by Professor Gardner, and though some of the local cults still stand in need of much elucidation, Mr. Wroth has been able in most cases to assign some reasonable interpretation for the various types, which unlike the inhabitants of the island, are certainly not ἀεὶ ψεῦσται.

The other paper by the same author relates to some coins of Isauria and Lycaonia, which however are of Imperial times, and the list is only intended to form a supplement to that recently published by M. Waddington in the *Revue Numismatique*.

In purely Roman numismatics but little has been brought before us during the past year. The Rev. C. Soames has however given us a list of a small hoard of Imperial coins lately found at Manton Down, near Marlborough, and extending over the reigns from Julian II. to Honorius. I have also, through the kindness of Mr. Bliss, been able to supplement my account of the coins found in Lime Street, bringing up the number there found to nearly five hundred. Among them were coins of several Emperors and Empresses who are rarely represented in English hoards.

Beyond a few exhibitions of rare and fine ancient British coins we have had nothing relating to that series before us; but we have been more fortunate with regard to Saxon coins. Our old and faithful friend, Dr. Aquilla Smith, has brought under our notice a small hoard, principally of Eadweard the Elder and Æthelstan, found near Dublin, which contained some interesting coins, and furnished the names of several moneyers not previously known.

Mr. Keary has also called our attention to the remarkable hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins lately discovered in the hall of the Vestals at Rome, and described by Signor Giov. Battista de Rossi. They are no less than eight hundred and thirty in number, and range from about A.D. 871 to 947, comprising examples of the coinage of Ælfred, Eadweard, Æthelstan, Eadmund, Sihtric, Anlaf, and Archbishop Plegmund. With them were two coins of Pavia, one of Limoges, and one of Ratisbon as well as a gold coin of Theophilus. It has been suggested that the hoard represents a consignment of "Peter's Pence" sent over from this country to Rome, and such may possibly be the case. The hoard, however, in its general features closely resembles some of those discovered in Ireland such as that which I have described in the third vol. of the N.S. of the Chronicle, and might possibly have been brought to Rome by some pious Dane who had been converted from the error of his ways, and was anxious to make atonement for his trans-

gressions. What is however most remarkable in the hoard is the number of new moneyers, and even of new mints, especially of Æthelstan, which it brings to light. The list given by Signor de Rossi makes me all the more regret that we have in English no work which gives us the same amount of detailed information with regard to the early Saxon coinage that the Swedish work of Hildebrand affords us for the later coins.

Mr. Heywood has supplied us with a notice of a hoard of coins of Burgred discovered under the foundations of Waterloo Bridge; and Mr. Walter Andrew has described to us a penny which he is inclined to attribute to Archbishop Ethered, but which has by others been regarded as a blundered imitation of a coin of Ælfred.

The communications on the subject of the English series have been but few. Mr. Montagu has, however, given us an account of an unpublished penny of William the Conqueror, with the word PAX across the centre of the reverse, as on the coins of Harold II. He has at the same time taken the opportunity of making some observations on the signification of this inscription on coins which certainly in most instances seems to bear no reference to any historical events, and may, as suggested by the author, be more of the nature of a salutation. I may add that the block representing the coin was liberally presented to the Society by Mr. Montagu. The only other paper on English numismatics is one by Mr. Toplis on Nottingham seventeenth century tokens not in Boyne's list, which will be found of special interest to local antiquaries.

A valuable paper on the Scottish Coinage has been sent in by Mr. Mackenzie, being a list of the Groats of Robert II., of which he enumerates nearly a hundred struck at Aberdeen, Perth, and Edinburgh.

The interesting medals of the Renaissance period have again been brought under our notice. Mr. T. Whitcombe Green has described the grand medallion of Philibert the Fair and Margaret of Austria, which is now shown by the labour and astuteness of

M. Natalis Rondot to have been the work of one Jean Marende, of Bourg-en-Bresse. To aid him in his work he called in an artist from Lyons, where a school of medallists seems to have been founded by Niccolo Fiorentino, who, in conjunction with his father-in-law, produced the magnificent medallion of Charles VIII. and Anne of Brittany which this of Philibert in many respects recalls to mind.

Canon, or, as we must now term him, Archdeacon Pownall, has continued his notes on the Papal medals of the fifteenth century. His present instalment relates to the times of Paul II. and Sixtus IV., and comprises several of the works of Camelio and Guazzalotti, as well as the subsequent productions of Paladino. I hope that other papers on the subject may follow it from the same skilful pen.

In Oriental numismatics we have been favoured with the catalogue of a portion of the remarkable collection of the coins of the Eastern Khalifehs belonging to the late E. Rogers Bey, whose recent decease we all have to deplore. This portion relates to the Ommiades of Damascus and the Abbâsîs of Baghdâd. The accuracy of this catalogue is vouched for by the fact that it was seen through the press by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, who has also communicated to us a curious series of extracts from the Arabian historians bearing upon the subject of Mohammadan numismatics.

Professor Terrien de LaCouperie's account of the old numerals, the counting-rods, and the swan-pan in China, throws much light on the development of numerals and processes of numeration in that singular country, in which so many European inventions appear to have been anticipated.

Such is a succinct account of the principal numismatic work which has been carried out by means of the Society during the past year. I must not, however, pass by an important independent work which after some years of labour has at last been published by one of our well-known members. I refer, of course, to the gold coins of England arranged and described by

Mr. Robert Lloyd Kenyon. The need of such a work has long been felt, and it would be hard to find any one more competent to undertake it than Mr. Kenyon, whose labours in editing the second edition of the English silver coins of his grandfather, Mr. Hawkins, had brought him into such close contact with another section of our coinage. In carrying out his work he has followed perhaps too closely on the lines of his ancestor, but to have given the details of each variety of coin *in extenso* would, it may be pleaded, have swelled the volume to an inordinate size. The amount of labour bestowed on the work, irrespective of that of condensation, must have been immense, and though no doubt numerous undescribed varieties will from time to time turn up, the great bulk of our English gold coins will be found carefully described in their minutest particulars in this standard work. The plates are excellent, and the frontispiece and the first thirteen pages of the book call attention to the series of English gold coins struck prior to the reign of Henry III., of which hitherto no collected history has been given.

Not improbably the list of Saxon trientes may eventually be increased; and indeed since the publication of Mr. Kenyon's book a triens has been attributed to Winchester by the Viscount de Ponton d'Amécourt.[1] There is, however, a remarkable feature in this case, viz. that the same coin which by the French author is described as reading +CAPAINΔI Ⱶ FILIO with VENTA Ɛ INA on the reverse, is by Professor G. Stephens claimed as bearing an inscription in runes AENIWVLV KV (nung) and the word LIOC or CLIO, while the reverse is made to read TENAES. Mr. Haigh[2] gave the legends as ANWVLVFV+CLIO and ꟼENAISI; while a second coin of the same type published by M. Renier Chalon[3] is said to read +CORNILIO + + ⅃ENE-SM. But to return to Mr.

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[1] *Ann. de la Soc. franç. de Num.*, 1883.
[2] *Num. Chron.*, N.S., ix. p. 172.
[3] *Rev. Num. Belge*, series ii. p. 501.

Kenyon's book, the remaining portion of which must contain descriptions of many hundred coins which were hitherto unpublished, or of which only scattered notices existed. Among them are several from my own cabinet, which I was glad to place at the author's disposal. At one time, indeed, I had contemplated a book on the same subject, but as years went on and no leisure to write it arrived, I was pleased to be able to place in such competent hands what little materials I had at command. Another of our members, Major W. Stewart Thorburn, has also just completed a useful guide to the valuation of the coins of the British Isles. Although so many elements enter into the market price of any given coin, yet some general ideas as to value and rarity may be formed by means of such a work as this, and even the variations in the prices recorded for the same coin at successive sales are highly instructive. No pains have been spared to make the work as complete as possible.

I must now briefly allude to some of the losses which the Society has sustained by the death of its members during the past year.

Sir Edward Clive Bayley, K.C.S.I., had for a very long period been a member of our Society, and at the time of his decease had a seat on our Council. For many years resident in India, he had given much attention to Oriental numismatics, on which he was one of the principal authorities, and so long ago as 1860 a paper of his on some double-struck coins of the Bactrian king Azes or Azas appeared in our journal. More recently, in 1881, he communicated an important paper on the dates occurring on the coins of the Hindu kings of Kabul, with a subsequent supplementary note. His other researches on Indian epigraphy and numismatics are mainly embodied in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, of which he was five times the President. He also communicated two papers on the Genealogy of Modern Numerals to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was the last surviving son of Mr. Edward Clive Bayley, of St. Petersburg, and after passing through Haileybury, entered the

Bengal Civil Service in 1841. In the course of twenty years he attained to posts of the highest responsibility, becoming Home Secretary to the Government of India, and subsequently member and President of the Indian Council. He also held the office of Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta from 1869 to 1874. He died at Wilmington Lodge, Keymer, Sussex, on April 30, 1884, at the age of sixty-two.

Mr. T. F. Coats, of Ferguslie, Paisley, was elected a member of our Society in November, 1875, and was for many years a diligent collector of Scottish coins, of which he formed an almost unrivalled series. In the hands of Mr. Burn they will to a great extent serve as the basis of an important work on the Scottish coinage, of which a portion is already in the press. Engaged with his brother, Sir Peter Coats, in an important branch of manufacture at Paisley, he found time to devote himself not only to business, but to the improvement of the moral and intellectual welfare of his native town, as well as to the cultivation of literature, science, and art. The Fountain Gardens at Paisley, tastefully laid out, and the well-furnished and nobly-endowed observatory which he presented to the town, testify to his considerate and princely liberality; and the great assistance which he rendered, both by gifts of money and devotion of time, towards the establishment of efficient schools in Paisley, proved his zeal in the cause of education. His numismatic tastes were, I believe, developed somewhat late in life, but his judicious liberality soon placed his collection among the first in the country.

In E. T. Rogers Bey the Society has lost an ardent numismatist and an accomplished antiquary. During his long residence in the East he availed himself diligently of all the opportunities which occurred to him, with the result of forming a magnificent collection of Oriental, and especially Mohammedan coins, some notices of which he from time to time communicated to the Chronicle. Indeed, in our last volume there appeared a portion of the catalogue of his Mohammedan coins, of which a further instalment was promised, and may even yet be forthcoming. His

former papers, extending over the last fourteen years, comprise essays on an early Dirhem of the Ommeyade Dynasty, on a Dinar of Bêdr son of Husnawiyeh, on some inedited coins of the Khalifahs of Bani-Umeya, and on coin-weights of glass. An accomplished Arabic scholar, he held the post of British Consul at Damascus and Cairo successively, and afterwards represented the Khedive of Egypt in London. On his return to Egypt he held office as Under Minister of Education, Inspector of Prisons, and Director of the Sale of State Lands. He was one of the most active members of the Commission for the Preservation of Monuments in Cairo, on which he presented a report to the Khedive only a month ago. Besides his essays communicated to this Society, he contributed to the publications of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Egyptian Institute. In Cairo his name will long be remembered as one whose devotion to Arabic learning and archæology was unrivalled, and whose energies for the preservation of all that told of former Arabic greatness was untiring. His death took place so recently as the 10th inst.[4]

Mr. John Kermack Ford, of Southsea, whose death we have also to deplore, was likewise well known as a collector. He joined the Society in 1877, but never communicated any memoirs to our publications, though he kindly allowed me to publish a gold coin of Allectus in his cabinet in the year 1868. The importance of his collections, which are at the present moment unfortunately being dispersed, can be judged from the sale catalogue, extending as it does over seven days. In the Scottish series it was extremely rich.

From among our list of honorary members we have lost two names of world-wide fame, Mons. François Lenormant, and Dr. Julius Friedlænder. The former, who was a Member of the French Institute, and Professor of Archæology at the Bibliothèque Nationale, died at Paris on December 9, 1883, at the age of only forty-seven. The son of a distinguished

[4] See *Athenæum*, June 14th, 1884.

archæologist, Charles Lenormant, he exhibited at an early age a taste for numismatics, and his *Essai sur la Classification des Monnaies des Lagides*, 1857, was published before he was twenty-one. This was followed by a succession of other works, among the most important of which is *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, 1878—9. His *Monnaies royales de la Lydie*, 1876, has already been noticed in the Numismatic Chronicle. His latest work, *Monnaies et Médailles*,[5] is an admirable little handbook, designed rather for the public at large than for specialists, and giving in a cheap form a fairly complete exposition of numismatic art profusely and well illustrated.

M. François Lenormant was a frequent contributor of the *Revue Archéologique*, and in palæographical inquiries his name will long occupy a foremost place in connection with his *Alphabet Phénicien* and his essay on the *Alphabetum* in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*.

Dr. Julius Friedlænder, Director of the Royal Cabinet of Coins at Berlin, and Honorary Member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, died, after a short illness, on the 4th of April last, in the seventy-first year of his age. He was born on the 26th of June, 1813, and, like François Lenormant, seems to have inherited his numismatic tastes, and I might almost say instincts, from his father. He was originally destined for the medical profession, but an attack of fever which befell him while on his travels in Italy having almost destroyed his power of hearing, he changed his vocation, and became assistant to Dr. Pinder in the Prussian Royal Cabinet in the year 1840, in conjunction with whom he published his essay on the coins of Justinian in 1843. He had previously published his *Numismata Inedita*, which comprised many important pieces from his father's collection. His other principal monographs on the coins of the Ostrogoths and the Vandals, and his *Oskis-*

[5] A. Quantin, Paris.

chen Münzen, are well known. His smaller essays in numismatic periodicals were numerous and important, and embraced coins belonging to all periods and countries. In 1858 he succeeded Dr. Pinder as Assistant Director, and he had the satisfaction of seeing the collection formed by his father incorporated in the Royal Cabinet under his charge. The importance of this collection can be estimated from the fact that among the seventeen thousand coins of which it consisted, many very rare, and all in fine preservation, there were no less than four hundred Italian bronze medallions. Many of them are figured in Dr. Friedlænder's last magnificent work, *Die Italienischen Schaumünzen des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1882, a work which by itself alone would have established the author's reputation.

In 1868, on Dr. Bolzenthal's retirement, Dr. Julius Friedlænder became Director, and under his energetic guidance acquisition followed acquisition, so that the Berlin Cabinet now ranks among the first in Europe. It may be mentioned as an instance of this rapid growth that the ancient coins in the collection, which in 1840[6] numbered 26,341, had in 1877 reached to 87,146, and of these the Greek had increased from 6,510 to 55,474, and the Greek gold coins from 126 to 1,454. Whole collections—some of them, unfortunately, diverted from this country—have continued to flow to Berlin, and the Fox,[7] Guthrie, Prokesch, Dannenberg, Sandes, and innumerable smaller instalments have now found a home in the German capital. Of all these rich acquisitions Dr. Friedlænder made the best use. From time to time his published accounts of recently acquired rarities made them available for numismatic students of all countries, while his personal kindness and courtesy to those who visited the collection was constant and unvarying. May his successor, our honorary member, Dr. von

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[6] *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, 15th May, 1884.
[7] *Zeitschrift für Numism.*, vol. xii. p. 118.

Sallet, long continue to follow in the footsteps of one whom he had learned so thoroughly to esteem.

In conclusion I will only express a hope that in the year on which we are now entering, our career may continue to be prosperous, and the losses to Numismatic Science less severe.

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DECEMBER, 1884.

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