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# NEWSLETTER

## The Journal of the London Numismatic Club

*Joint Honorary Editors of Newsletter*
DR M. S. PHILLIPS, M.A., PH.D. Miss S. TYLER-SMITH,

C O N T E N T S


Seljuks of Rum


Sterlings

## EDITORIAL

This issue commemorates the LNC's 40th Birthday and includes the long awaited interview with Dr. Kent. We have decided to call it a double number because it is more weighty and authoritative than usual and also to restore the sequence of two issues per year. Our especial thanks to those Club speakers who provided good texts and illustrations for us. Our pologies to contributors of short articles for taking so long to publish them. Please don't stop producing them.

The Librarian on behalf of the Club has asked us to record our thanks to Tony Davies for his most generous gift of a splendid copy of the 1819 edition of Ruding's Annals of the Coinage.

We take this opportunity of reminding members that the Club has a good library which is accessible on Club nights. All committee members now have a key to the locked cupboards and one or more can always be found to open them for members before and after the formal part of the meeting.

## FORTY YEARS ON - by Peter A. Clayton, President, L.N.C.

"Forty years on when afar and asunder, Parted are those who are singing today" - so runs the Harrow School song, and it was subsequently used by Alan Bennett in his play of the same name. Fortunately, there are still a number of members of the London Numismatic Club who, forty years on, are still active members. Many more will remember the celebration dinner for our 21st birthday at Williamson's Tavern in the City in 1968.

The Club held its inaugural meeting at the St Bride's Institute, off Fleet Street, on 4th November 1947. The interested people who gathered there had been brought together through announcements in Seaby's Bulletin following promotional publicity. It was then unanimously agreed to proceed with the formation of a numismatic club for the London area. The first general meeting was held on 2nd December 1947 with 35 people present, from whom were elected the Officers and Committee and the Rules drawn up. The President was Captain L.V.W. Wright and the Secretary Major C. Cheshire. The first ordinary business meeting took place on 9th January 1948 when several short talks were given and administrative details settled. The initial list of members numbered 80, and they were all deemed to be Founder Members, as such they were excused the entrance fee. The St Bride's Institute was to be the home of the Club for many years to come; generally we met in the small Printing Library upstairs, many will still remember when we had to negotiate a meeting around the large early hand printing press that also occupied the room.

The first Newsletter appeared in April 1948 and had three issues in that year. Our early Newsletters were all typed and then duplicated with only the Club's logo being specially printed on the first page. In my days as Editor I recall the amount of typing that had to be done, then it had to be taken to a shop in Victoria, close by the (now) National Trust shop housed in the old Blue Coat School, and which has long since disappeared, giving way to another tall glasshouse block of offices.

The Club's first dinner was held on 1st March 1949 and its first auction on 5th May that year. October 1949 saw the provision of a library 'chest' (a small cupboard) made by one of the members to house the growing library. Subsequently this was replaced by a steel cabinet, and the library still grows on apace, as our current Librarian, Philip Rueff, points out to us, in the basement of the Institute of Archaeology. At Christmas 1949 the Secretary sent one of the Club's new Christmas cards to H.M. Queen Mary, who graciously replied with one signed in her own hand. This pleasant exchange was kept up for the remainder of her life.

In 1948 the Chamber of the House of Commons was being rebuilt after bomb damage. The Club approached the Speaker of the House and the Librarian to enquire if, when the work was completed, the gift of a display of English coins individually representative of those current at the dates of important events in the House's history would be acceptable. This was accepted as a welcome gift.

A sub-committee under Major-General Alan Pigott compiled the list of coins required and they were all provided by donations of Club members, either the actual coins themselves or money to buy them, or coins to sell to provide funds for purchase. The coins were then placed in a display case with appropriate labels. On 9th May 1950 a presentation was made to the Speaker, Colonel the Rt Hon. D. Clifton Brown, M.P.. in the Speaker's Library at the House of Commons by Mr L.V.W. Wright, the President, accompanied by Major-General Pigott and Mr. W. Palmer. The House reciprocated in September 1950 with the gift of 116 numismatic titles from its library, the entire numismatic section, and all bearing its crest impressed on their covers.

The British Association of Numismatic Societies was formed in 1953 and the London Numismatic Club was one of the first nine societies on the first Executive Committee drawn up. Since that date it has had perhaps the closest links of all numismatic societies with the BANS, your President being the LNC representative for several years, then Secretary of BANS for 15 years (1963-78), Vice-President, 1978-82, and President 1982-86.

On 4th November 1954 the Club held its first exhibition, the brainchild of Mr. C. Balling, to attract new members. It was held at St Bride's Institute with over 1000 coins on show. A second exhibition was mounted in the foyer of the St Marylebone Central Public Library, from 17th April to 19th May 1961. It included a large selection of coins of all periods, enlarged photographs of coins and antiquarian and modern numismatic books. The resultant publicity saw reports in the national press and on the BBC programme listing "This week's exhibitions and attractions". We still have members in the Club who entered through that door, including one whose father had brought him along as a schoolboy!

Since the days of St Bride's the Club has changed its meeting place several times. Its home for various years has severally been the Friend's Meeting House on Euston Road and Bible House in Victoria Street; now we enjoy the hospitality of the Institute of Archaeology in Gordon Square. In our venues we have been extremely lucky, many numismatic societies throughout the country experience great difficulties in finding suitable halls.

The Presidents of the London Numismatic Club since its foundation have been:

Captain L.V.W. Wright 1947-54
Major Cyril Cheshire 1954-56
A.H. Paine 1956-57
Clifford H. Allen 1957-67
Robert N. Bridge 1967-73
Alan C. Fraser 1974-77
Alex G. Stone, OBE, CEng, FRGS 1978-80 Philip
D. Greenall, MSc, 1981-82
Anthony J. Holmes, LLB, AIB, 1983-84
Michael J. Anderson MA, 1985-86
Peter A. Clayton FLA, FSA, 1987-

Many of the details given above come from a short resume of the history of the

Club that was put together several years ago by our member Roy Hawkins who sadly died earlier this year.

UNDER THE ARCHES - by the Editors

London has had a weekend, morning, coin market ever since we have had more than pocket money to spend on coins. The Hungerford Lane (initially called Paradise Way) market started on 3.4.1976 underneath some railway arches in the Charing Cross station complex replacing the coin element of Cutler Street. In the new market coin dealers shared the space with those selling stamps, post cards, crockery and other collectables as well as militaria, as opposed to the predominantly jewellery stall holders of the old Cutler Street market. Shortly afterwards a collectors' centre opened nearby, under the bridge opposite the Embankment underground station.

The new market had the advantages over Cutler Street of being both larger and under cover. It was a popular meeting place as well as somewhere to buy and sell, not only for many LNC members but for provincial and foreign collectors and dealers as well. On the Saturday of COINEX you could be sure of seeing plenty of strangers under the arches picking up the bargains that had eluded them at the fair. Hungerford Lane usually had a pleasant and often lively atmosphere conducive to buying, selling and the exchange of ideas and gossip in spite of the collapsible tables, scruffyness, the dim light and the less pleasant elements amongst the stall holders.

In an earlier editorial (Newsletter October 1984) we commented on how the coin people seemed to be giving way to the ephemera and militaria dealers. To the very end there were complaints that it was not a patch on what it had been and also that the increasingly less discreet selling of exotic but nonetheless offensive weapons put people off coming altogether. Part of the trouble was simply the contracting market: there were fewer dealers and those that survived were the sharper ones. The ancient coin market in particular seems to have suffered from the tightening up of restrictions, especially in Turkey and the war in the Lebanon, which meant that material came out via organised gangs of runners and went straight to Switzerland and Germany or else America depending on quality.

Cheap material was not worth bringing out at all. In compensation the metal detectors (with their sui generis notions of value) arrived and the antiquities market developed.We cannot now remember when they first made an impact but although they were not much in evidence at the beginning they were important at the end. The week before the market closed we managed to find coins with a retail value of £40 plus in junk boxes and we know of at least one other LNC member who did the same - it beats collecting from dealers' lists!

LNC members living in London and actively collecting will by now be aware that this market was closed down early in July - 4th July was the last day - when British Rail decided to redevelop (a word which we find usually forebodes ill and makes us sceptical of promises to re-open the market in two years time) the whole site. The leaseholder and organiser of the market, Rodney, attempted to open up a new one across the river under some railway arches at Waterloo. We were told the site was excellent but unfortunately never visited it. After one week it was closed down because of opposition from residents of an adjacent housing estate.

London was suddenly without a weekend coin market. A few dealers managed to get stalls in the Camden Passage network whilst a few more set up with the stamp dealers in a basement disco "Heaven" underneath Charing Cross station itself. The Camden Passage location is pleasant, the disco we found depressing, but the most unsatisfactory aspect is that dealers are now scattered, to the detriment of the dealers themselves and the collectors.

In an attempt to alleviate the problem Mark Davidson and Graeme Monk have organised monthly coin fairs at the Marlborough Crest Hotel in Bloomsbury Street. At the time of writing one has taken place and was generally regarded as successful although many London collectors were unaware of its existence. The atmosphere at a fair is inevitably rather different from that at a market and people have to pay to go in but it is probably the best compromise in the circumstances. A previous monthly fair at the Russell Hotel failed to get established but we feel that London collectors and dealers should be able to support one on a smaller scale than the Cumberland (three times a year) or COINEX (annual) and hope that news of its establishment will soon reach all those interested.
The latest news we have heard is that Rodney hopes to organise a Saturday morning market on London Bridge Station starting on October 31st.

Many collectors feel the need for dealers who buy and sell in the cheaper, interesting end of the market, coins, jettons, medalets, seals etc. which can be bought for lop upwards, and who will take the trouble to identify poor coins which the beginner can buy for a pound or so. The larger dealers with expensive premises and their many staff cannot afford to trade in this material. It can only be marketed when overheads are low and turnover rapid. Beginners, and collectors with confidence in their own judgement who do not mind getting their hands dirty, flourish in cheap markets: it remains to be seen if they will get one.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS - delivered to the Club at the A.G.M. on 5th March 1986

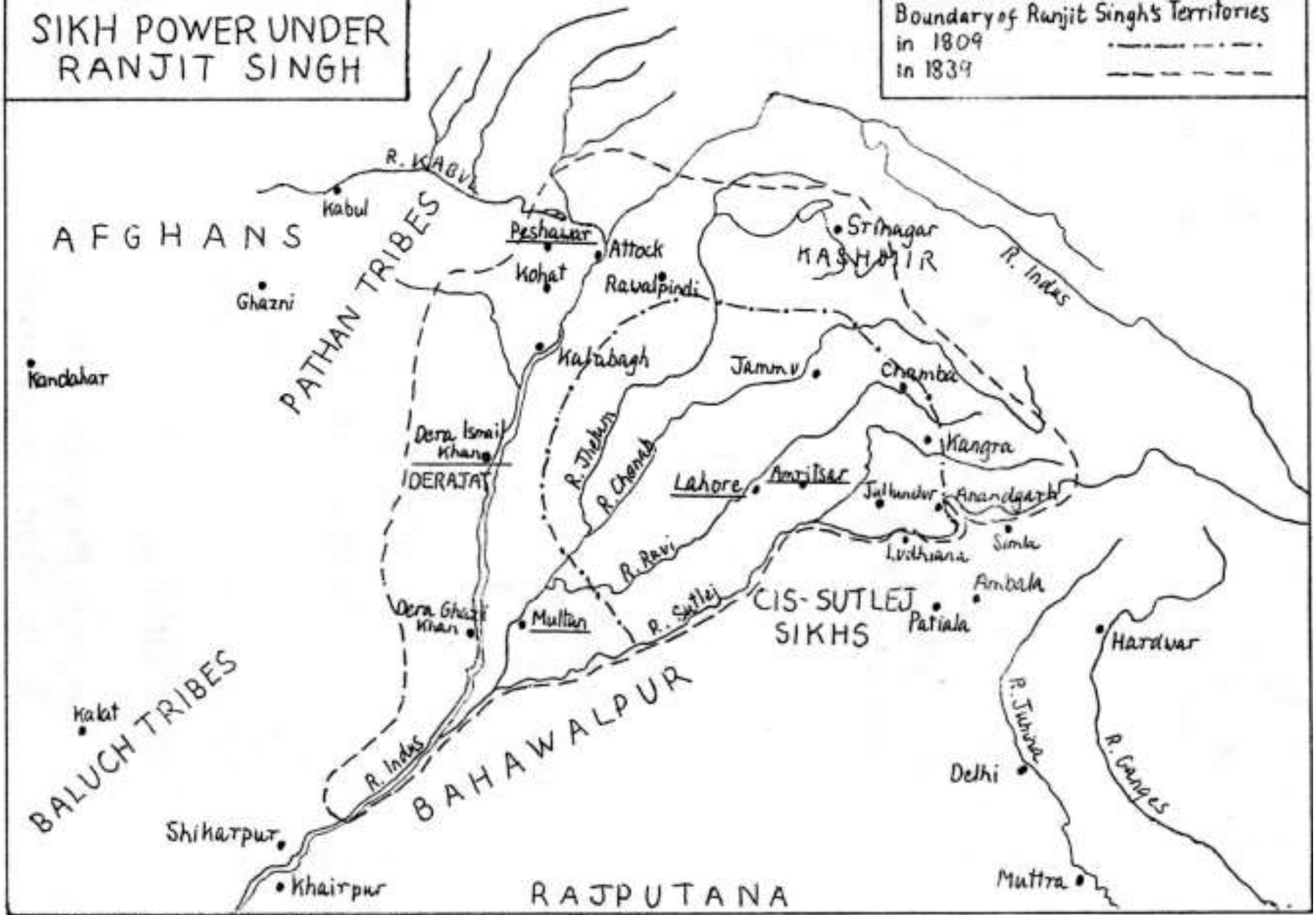
In the more leisurely times before telegraph and telephone and wireless, the normal means of communication between Her Majesty's Embassies and Legations abroad and the Foreign Office was in the form of despatches from the Head of Mission to the Secretary of State. In these days of instant communications and rapid decision making, Ambassadorial despatches are largely limited to set-piece essays of "first impressions" when the Ambassador first takes up his post, an "annual review" at the end of each year, and a "valedictory" when he is about to leave. Tonight's effort is a combination of "annual review" and "valedictory".
On this evening six years ago, Alex Stone said he felt that four years was "about the optimum term both for the Club to have one person as President and for that President to have made some sort of impact on the Club's activities to its general betterment. Alternatively, if he hasn't made that impact and consequential improvement, it's time for him to go." I felt that there was a lot of truth in what Alex said, and when I was Secretary I did my best to persuade both Philip Greenall and Tony Holmes to stay on for a second term. Each, however, had his own valid reasons for wishing to relinquish the post. When you generously elected me as your President two years ago, I had it in mind, if you would have me, to offer myself to you again tonight. However, I was given to understand that the Foreign Office might be planning to send me abroad this year, and it seemed sensible in the circumstances to stand down. I are much encouraged in this decision by the fact that, subject to your vote in a few minutes time, I shall be handing the Presidential jewel to someone as devoted to the welfare of the Club as Peter Clayton, a member of the Club since St Bride's Institute days, a Committee Member from 1958 to 1973 and again since 1985, Club Librarian for many years in succession to Mrs. Johnson and also Newsletter Editor, and for the past year Deputy President. In fact, everyone who has spoken to me on the subject has praised the choice of my successor, and several have expressed surprise that he did not receive the post sooner.

At the same time I am pleased that the Committee is putting forward for the position of Deputy President the name of Sue Tyler-Smith, who has served the Club as Secretary from 1977 to 1979, Assistant Secretary from 1979 to 1981, Librarian from 1979 to 1983, and as Joint Editor of the Newsletter from 1983 onwards. Our hardworking Secretary, Stephen Mansfield, has been forced by his other commitments to give up the post, but we are very pleased that he has agreed to stay on as Assistant Secretary, while the present Assistant Secretary, Peter Kincaid, has accepted the nomination for Secretary. Our efficient Treasurer, Philip Mernick, is willing to stay on for a fifth year in that post, and our Librarian, Philip Rueff, is also prepared to stay on in his position. Our thanks are especially due to him this year for his efforts in reorganizing our Library, despite its continued restricted location. Our Editors, Marcus Phillips and Sue Tyler-Smith, have agreed to continue their excellent work on the Newsletter. You will be pleased to see that the latest edition is available this evening, and I am told that the next one should follow shortly. Norman Sears has kindly agreed once again to act as our auditor. Finally I must thank the back bench members of the Committee, Tony Portner, David Sealy and John Malcolm, whom I hope to be joining.

One effect of the single-term Presidency is the difficulty of seeing any project through from beginning to end. When I took on the job two years ago I inherited the imminent demise of our premises at Bible House and the trauma of our move to the Institute • of Archaeology. That such suitable premises were found we have to thank Philip and Stella Greenall; nevertheless the move was a worrying time and I was much relieved when it was over. To my successors I am bequeathing the organisation of the 1989 British Association of Numismatic Societies Annual Congress. I have provisionally booked Connaught Hall in Tavistock Square for the weekend of 31st March to 2nd April 1989. Having myself attended the last nine Congresses and the last nine lecture courses I have formed a good idea pf what participants expect and the pitfalls to be avoided. I think people will find that Connaught Hall will be one of the best venues for facilities and convenience that we have had for some time and I have every expectation that the Congress will be a great success. I am confident that Peter Clayton, as a former President of BANS, will steer the organisation of the Congress along the right lines, and I hope that it will receive overwhelming support from our own membership.

The Club membership now stands at 115. During the year we have suffered four deaths, our most distinguished Honorary Member, Dr. Humphrey Sutherland, two very longstanding members, Bill Claridge, who used to print the Club's stationery and programme cards, and for many years acted as our auctioneer, and Roy Edwards, and our blind member Andrew Bowden, who had attended meetings for about ten years.On the other hand we have welcomed three new members, David Rogers, Chris Comber and Ian Cheffins. One member has resigned, and six have been amoved for non-payment of subscriptions. Our losses are, therefore, .still exceeding our gains, and this is something to which we shall have to turn our minds. However, we still have over twice the membership of any other non-national society, and in this our fortieth anniversary year it is very gratifying to note that we still have eight founder members on our list, two of whom, Mr. Gothsch and Laurence Brown, we *are* very pleased to see here with us tonight.

We have once again enjoyed a varied and interesting programme. Our first two papers were given by one of our most senior and one of our newest members, Laurence Brown on medals of explorers of Africa and Chris Comber on the mill coinage of Elizabeth I. Stan Goron spoke on the topical subject of coins of the Sikhs, and our American member, Harry Manville, entertained us with snippets from his research into early English auction sales. We had two speakers from the British Museum on Roman subjects, Andrew Burnett on Augustus and



After C. Colin Davies, An historical atlas of the Indian peninsula, O.U.P.

Roger Bland on the mid third century, both of whom I hope will be joining us this evening. Michael Broome spoke on the Seljuqs, and last month we were very fortunate that Robert Thompson agreed at less than forty-eight hours notice to speak on seventeenth century tokens in place of George Berry, whom we hope to have at a later date. The other meetings were taken up with a very interesting evening of short papers by members and two successful auctions. Although nothing to do with our Club, I think it is also worth mentioning that we were very fortunate that the 1986 International Congress was held here in London from 8th to 12th September and was attended by over twenty of our members, who found it a very memorable and worthwhile experience.

THE COINAGE OF THE SIKHS - A paper delivered to the Club on 8th July 1986 by Stan Goron (2 plates and map)

Historical Background

We have to go back to the fifteenth century to look for the beginnings of Sikhism. At the end of the previous century (1398), Timur had invaded India from Central Asia, laid waste much of northern India and sacked Delhi. This event had important repercussions. It led effectively to the disruption of organised government in northern India. Local governors declared their independence from Delhi. Much conflict arose as the increasing impoverishment of the Muslim ruling classes caused them to rob wealthy Hindus and impose burdensome taxes. The resultant political and social turmoil led to a polarisation of attitudes along religious lines.

Into this period of strife and unrest, in 1469, not far from Lahore, Nanak was born. It was he who was to found the Sikh community and become its first Guru. From an early age, Nanak became engrossed in matters spiritual and it was not long before he had his first mystical experience. In this, God gave him a cup of nectar (amrit) and charged him with the following mission:

> "Nanak, I am with thee. Through thee will my name be magnified. Whosoever follows thee, him will I save. Go into the world to pray and teach mankind how to pray. Be not sullied by the ways of the world. Let your life be one of praise of the Word, charity, ablution, service and prayer. Nanak, I give thee my pledge. Let this be my life's mission". "Nanak, he whom you bless will be blessed by me; he to whom you are benevolent shall receive my benevolence. I am the Great God, the Supreme Creator. Thou art the Guru, the Supreme Guru of God".

Nanak took his mission seriously. He travelled extensively both within and beyond India, and finally settled at Kartarpur where large crowds came to hear him preach. He imposed a strict routine on his followers, who became known as Sikhs (disciples). In effect, he founded a new religion, started a new pattern of living and set in motion an important agrarian movement.

Nanak was a strict monotheist and disapproved of idol-worship. He saw God as both truth and reality. He maintained that all people were equal irrespective of their religion and caste.

Despite his earlier preoccupation with spiritual affairs, Nanak was not an ascetic. His religion was designed for the ordinary house-holder who was enjoined to stay in his community and practise his religion there. In order to help break down the caste system and other social inequalities, he started a system of free community kitchens, langars, and persuaded his followers of all castes to dine together. He also emphasised the role of truthful companionship, i.e. both towards fellow Sikhs and others. His disciples, however, interpreted this companionship as being restricted to the Sikhs alone. This led to the Sikhs beginning to break away from their parent communities and to begin worshipping separately. Hymns were sung in the vernacular (Punjabi) and not in Sanskrit or Arabic as had previously been the case. In due course the first signs of a Punjabi consciousness and nationalism arose. Nanak died in 1539 and was succeeded as Guru by his appointee, Angad. During his 13 years as Guru, Angad consolidated the Sikh edifice and is said to have devised the Sikh script known as Gurmukhi. He was succeeded in 1552 by Amar Das. Amar Das forbade the practice of Sati (widow-burning) and attempted to abolish purdah. He was visited by the Moghul Emperor, Akbar, who was impressed with what he saw of the Sikh way of life. In due course, Amar Das introduced new ceremonies for births and deaths. This unfortunately incurred the hostility of certain Hindu Brahmins who, seeing their position threatened, encouraged local Moghul officials to harass the Sikhs.

The fourth Guru, Ram Das, took office in 1574 after 40 years service in the Sikh community. His wife had previously been given a grant of land by Akbar. Ram Das sunk a tank there and, having in due course moved there, started to build a town, which was called Chak Ram Das or Ram Das Pura. It was this town that was later to become known as Amritsar. Up to now, the office of Guru had been bestowed on merit; hereafter it became hereditory. When Ram Das died in 1581, he was succeeded by his son, Arjun. Arjun was Guru for 25 years. During this time he completed the tank at Chak Ram Das and built the Hari Mandir temple there. When this was done he renamed the town Amritsar (Pool of Nectar). He toured the neighbouring countryside and started several new towns. His greatest work was the compilation of the Granth Sahib, which was to become the sacred book of the Sikhs. This work comprised hymns of the previous Gurus as well as his own compositions and a selection of the work of a number of north Indian poet saints both Hindu and Muslim. During this period, the Guru began to be called Sacha Padshah - the True Emperor - a further change of emphasis. Whereas the Moghul Emperor Akbar had been on friendly terms with the Sikhs, his son and successor, Jehangir, who did not inherit his father's tolerance and eclecticism, adopted a hostile attitude towards them. He sought an opportunity to oppress them and found one when his own son, Prince Khurram (later to become Shah Jehan I) rebelled and was subsequently received by Arjun. Jehangir had Arjun arrested and tortured, as a result of which the latter died. This was in 1606 and came as a great shock to the Sikh community. It was this act more than any other that was to lead to the growing miitarisation of the Sikhs. Arjun was succeeded by his son Har Gobind. The new Guru encouraged a militant attitude among his followers and kept an army of some 2,500 soldiers. By this time the Guru and his entourage had taken on the appearance and trappings of a royal court. Har Gobind built the fortress of Lohgarh in Amritsar, and the Akal Takht opposite the Hari Mundir temple. In the course of his 38 years as Guru, he clashed a number of times with the Moghul forces and was actually imprisoned by Jehangir for a year. Har Gobind died peacefully in 1644.

Bangla Desh. In his absence, Aurangzeb, the bigoted but powerful Moghul emperor, who had seized the throne after imprisoning his father, Shah Jehan I (of Taj Mahal fame) and who had emerged victorious from a bloody battle of succession with his brothers, had begun to persecute Sikhs and Hindus. On his return to the Punjab, Tegh Bahadur toured the countryside stirring up support for the Sikh cause. After some time he was arrested by the Moghuls, brought to Delhi, tried and executed. This was in 1675.

The tenth and last Guru was Gobind who was only 9 when his father, Tegh Bahadur, was executed. Gobind soon realised which way the wind was blowing and knew that the Sikhs would have to fight hard to protect themselves in the years to come. He built a chain of fortresses, encouraged a martial atmosphere at court, and took steps to eliminate the decadence and disunity which had crept into the Sikh community. His most significant act was to abolish the institution of the Guru, to be replaced by the Granth Sahib (for spiritual guidance) and the Panchayat (or council of five, for temporal matters). In 1699 he invited his followers to Anandpur to celebrate the festival of Baisakh. During the celebrations he drew his sword and demanded five men for sacrifice. One after the other, five men duly offered themselves, but in due course re-emerged unscathed to be made the nucleus of a new community called the Khalsa (the pure). The five were baptised in a new way and their names changed to end in Singh. Gobind himself became Gobind Singh and prescribed 5 emblems that were to symbolise the Khalsa. These were:

Kes - unshorn hair and beard
Kangha - a comb to be carried in the
hair Kach knee breeches
Kara - a steel bracelet for the right
wrist Kirpan - a sword

Before long, 20,000 Sikhs had been baptised at Anandpur and many more all over India. A new crusading spirit was built up. The adjacent hill-rajas grew alarmed and turned to Aurangzeb for help. Aurangzeb ordered the Khalsa to be destroyed. This led to bitter fighting. At one point Gobind Singh succeeded in escaping from a very perilous position only to learn that his two young sons had been caught and executed. This cruel act created a great shock-wave throughout the countryside and resulted in flocks of new adherents to the Sikh cause.Thus strengthened, Gobind turned the tables o an ascetic named Lachman Das and had charged him with punishing those who had been persecuting the Sikhs and had killed his sons. At the same time he gave him the name Banda - the slave - by which he was to be known thenceforward. Banda immediately began to preach sermons and give benedictions and thereby attracted many followers. He also began to undertake military adventures. In 1710 he plundered Sarhind, north of Delhi, and various other towns. In this way he became master of extensive territory, making his headquarters at Mukhlisgarh in the Himalayas. It was at this time that he is said to have struck coin - the first Sikh .coinage (two or three specimens of which are known) . He also had a seal made the wording on which forms the basis for the legend on subsequent Sikh coin issues.

The next few years saw much military activity with the Sikhs making significant territorial gains. The Moghul authorities could not remain inactive in the light of this. Shah Alam I counter-attacked and succeeded in regaining much of the lost territory. He, however, died in 1712 and it was left to the Emperor Farrukhsiyar to resume the offensive. In due course Banda was captured, taken to Delhi and executed (1716).

Thereafter the Sikhs underwent a further period of persecution at the hand of the Moghuls. In 1738-9, however, the whole of northern India was thrown into confusion by the invasion of Nadir Shah from Persia. This situation was exacerbated several years later (1747/8) by the first of many invasions by the Afghan (Durrani) Ahmed Shah. In 1748 the Sikh army was fundamentally reorganised under Jassa Singh Ahluwalid. The army was renamed the Dal Khalsa and divided into 11 misles. Every Sikh was free to join any misl he chose; each misl was free to act in whatever way it wished in the area under its control. Only in matters affecting the whole Sikh community were the misles expected to coordinate their efforts under the Supreme Commander.

The next few decades saw considerable anarchy in Northern India. During this period there were numerous Afghan invasions and almost continuous fighting between Afghans, Moghuls, Sikhs and other militia, with each party gaining and losing territory repeatedly. In due course, the Sikhs were able to consolidate their position in the Punjab and succeeded in invading the lands close to Delhi itself. At one point the Sikhs had the opportunity to capture Delhi and the Moghul Emperor and thus possibly alter the course of Indian history. Because of their lack of cohesion, however, and their interest in plunder rather than government, they let the opportunity slip.

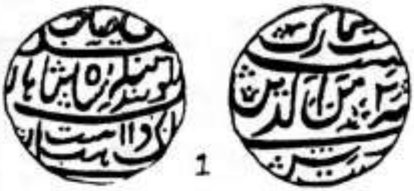
It was not until the advent of Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, that the concept of a Sikh state really took shape. There is not room here to give a detailed account of Ranjit Singh's career. Suffice it to say that he was one of, if not the, most accomplished Indian leader and ruler of his time, a master of strategy and diplomacy, unprepossessing in appearance (he was short in stature, scarred by smallpox which had left him with only one good eye) , always eager for knowledge on all subjects. He first comes to our attention in 1792 when he took charge of the Sukerchakia misl. Five years later he took command of the united Sikh Army. It was not long (1799) before he captured the important city of Lahore. Such was his success and following, that in 1801 he was proclaimed Maharaja of the Punjab. He soon came into contact with the British and signed a treaty of friendship with them in 1806, and the Treaty of Lahore in 1809 whereby the Cis-Sutlej States were ceded to the protection of the East India Company. In the following years the Sikhs captured Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar as well as areas further west. Their designs on Sind, however, were thwarted by the British. Ranjit Singh died in 1839 and was followed in all too quick succession by Kharrak Singh, Sher Singh and Dulip Singh. This was a period of intrigue and instablity in the Sikh realms and one which brought them into conflict with the British. In 1845 the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej and invaded territory under British protection. As far as the British were concerned, this constituted a casus belli and war was duly proclaimed. The Sikh wars continued until 1849, when the Sikh army was finally defeated and the Punjab annexed by the British.

This is necessarily a brief survey of Sikh history up till 1849. For further reading the following books can be recommended:

A History of the Sikhs (2 volumes) by Khushwant Singh
(Princeton University Press)

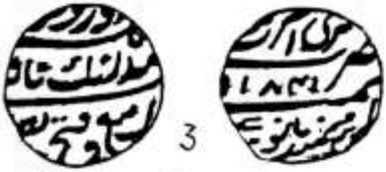
A History of the Sikhs (8 volumes planned) by Hari Ram Gupta
(Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, Delhi)

History of the Sikhs by J.D. Cunningham (originally published by Oxford University Press, reprinted by S. Chand a Co. Ltd., Delhi) Life and Times of Ranjit Singh by Bikrama Jit Hasrat
(published by the author at Hathikhana, Nabha, Punjab)



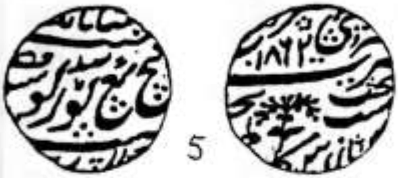

Banda Rupee

Amritsar Rupee Sv 1836



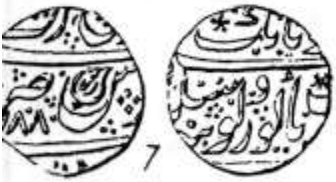

Amritsar Rupee Sv 1841

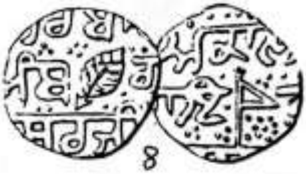
Amritsar Rupee Sv 1848

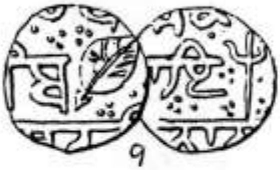



Amritsar Mora Rupee Sv 1862

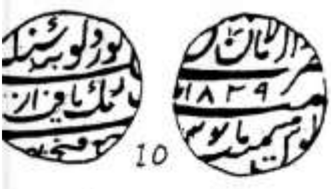
Amritsar Rupee Sv 1884/93
note actual date on obv.








Amritsar copper coins




Rupee Sv 1829

Gold Rupee Sv 1905

Copper coin

(all Multan)

# Sikh coinage

General

The Sikh coinage was struck in gold, silver and copper. The silver series is the most extensive, with copper becoming common relatively late. The gold coinage is very scarce. The gold and silver coinage is based on the Moghul mohur and rupee standards at around 11 grams, whereas the copper pieces vary in weight somewhat as is often the case with 19th century Indian copper. The first Sikh coins were struck by Banda around 1710 AD. Very few of these have come to light. There is then a gap until SV 1822 (1765 AD) when the Lahore series commences. Coins are thereafter known for practically every year up to SV 1906 (1849 AD) when the Sikh domains were annexed by the British.

The Mints

The early Banda coins do not specify the mint town, though they may well have been struck at Lohgarh, his headquarters. All later Sikh coins (apart from some crude coppers) state their minting place. The commonest mint is Amritsar. The earliest Amritsar rupee hitherto published is dated SV 1832 (1775 AD). This series continues until SV 1906 (1849 AD); coins struck in the 1830-1840's samvat are scarce to rare, while the later coins are generally very common. Oddly enough, copper coins do not appear to have been struck at Amritsar prior to SV 1880 (1823 AD), whereafter they become very common. The other main mints are Lahore, Multan and Kashmir. The Lahore series is the longest commencing in SV 1822 (1765 AD) and continuing until SV 1903 (1846 AD), and possibly a couple of years later. Despite the length of the series and the importance of Lahore as *a* city, the coinage is appreciably scarcer than all but the earliest Amritsar coinage. Multan coinage was struck during the two periods of Sikh occupation, viz SV 1829-36 (1772-79 AD) and SV 1875-1905 (1818-1848 AD). The early Multan rupees are rare and the later ones scarce. The Sikhs struck copper coins at both places, but presumably in small quantities as they do not turn up very frequently. The Kashmir rupee series commences in SV 1876 (1819 AD) and continues until SV 1903 (1846 AD) when the territory was handed over to the Doghra, Gulab Singh. Coins were also struck at several other mints for short periods, e.g. Anandgarh, Peshawar, Derajat. It is interesting to note that the coins of Lahore and Multan retain the Moghul mint epithets of Dar-us-Sultanat (seat of the Sultanate) and Dar-ul-Aman (place of safety) respectively.

Legends

Sikh coins do not bear the name of any contemporary ruler. The gold and silver coins refer to Guru Nanak and Gobind Singh, while the copper coins usually mention both or sometimes just Nanak. The Kashmir rupees, however, often bear one or more letters or part names that probably refer to governors responsible for the striking of the coins. The obverse legends of the gold and silver coins are in the form of a couplet and are based on the text of Banda's seal, mentioned above. There are five versions of this couplet, the two most common of which may be translated:

a) "Abundance, the sword, victory and help without delay, Guru Gobind Singh obtained from Nanak".

b) "Coin struck in each of two worlds; victory gained by the sword of Guru Gobind Singh and by the grace of Lord Nanak, who is the provider".

The reverse of these coins usually states the mint, the date and a regnal year formula which is normally the Moghul expression "jalus maimanat manus" (the year ... of tranquil prosperity) with or without an additional special Sikh expression "takht Akul bakht" (by the grace of the throne of God). The legends of all but a few special gold and silver coins are in Persian script as are some of the copper coins. Most of the Amritsar copper coins and a few rare gold and silver coins are in Gurmukhi script. Worthy of note are 2 or 3 rupees of Lahore depicting the Guru Nanak receiving an offering of flowers from his disciple and companion, Mardana.

Symbols

Various symbols are found on Sikh coins. These range from the lions found on some coins of Sher Singh ('Sher' means 'lion' in Persian), to various religious symbols, flowers, sun-faces and patterns. One very common symbol is that said to be the leaf of the pipal tree (Ficus religiosa), though its significance to the Sikh community is not clear. Another interesting symbol is that appearing on certain Amritsar rupees and said to represent the feathers of a peacock. This symbol was apparently put on the rupees by Ranjit Singh to represent one of his favourite ladies named Mora. Mora means peacock in Hindustani.

Dates

Sikh coins are dated in the Samvat era, which started in 57 BC. The date is usually prominent on the rupees, but often off the flan of the copper coins, especially the Gurmukhi ones of Amritsar. The later Amritsar and Lahore rupees are unusual in having a fixed date on the reverse (SV 1884 or 1885) and the actual date, or last two digits of it, in small figures on the obverse. Some earlier Amritsar rupees have an additional number in the range 315-323 which seems to refer back to the birth of Guru Nanak.

Metrology

Gold: The gold coinage, which in most cases is very scarce, is based on the Moghul mohur standard at around 11 grams. One or two double and half mohurs are known. The gold coins usually met with are small gold rupees weighing a bit over half a gram struck during the siege of Multan in SV 1905 (1848 AD)

The basic silver coin is the rupee of around 11 grams. Fractions of the rupee are scarce and are known mostly from the latter coinage of Amritsar.

The copper coinage varies considerably in weight and may in many cases not have been struck to any specific weight standard.

For further information on the coinage, readers are referred to:

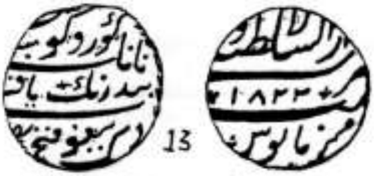
1. The gold and silver coins of the Sikhs by S. Goron and K. Wiggins published by The Oriental Numismatic Society as Information Papers Nos. 22, 24, 25, 26.

2. Copper coins of India by W.H. Valentine, published by Spink & Son Ltd.

## COINAGE OF THE SELJUKS OF RUM - a talk delivered to the Club on 5th November 1986 by Michael Broome (2 plates and map)

Fly to Istanbul, cross the Dardanelles and continue down the West coast of Anatolia past Pegamon and Izmir and you come to the extensive ruins of Ephesus. At the foot of a nearby hill is the village of Selcuk with its famous beehive tombs. This is the only place to bear the name of the Seljuk dynasty.

The Seljuks were a clan of Turks from the Aral steppes, the name deriving from a semi-mythical ancestor. We first hear of them as mercenaries employed by the Ghaznavid rulers of Iran and Afghanistan. They revolted against them in 1030



13

Lahore Rupee Sv 1822.

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Lahore Rupee Sv 1858

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Lahore Rupee Sv 1885
Guru Nanak with Murdana

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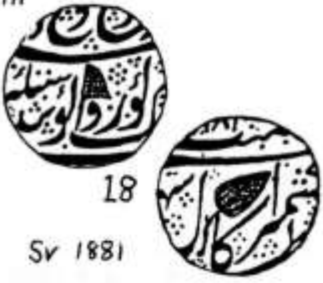
Peshawar Rupee Sv 1893

17

Sv 1878



18

Sv 1881

19

Sv 1898

Kashmir Rupees

20

Sv 1878

21

Sv 1899

22

Sv 1898

Kashmir copper coins

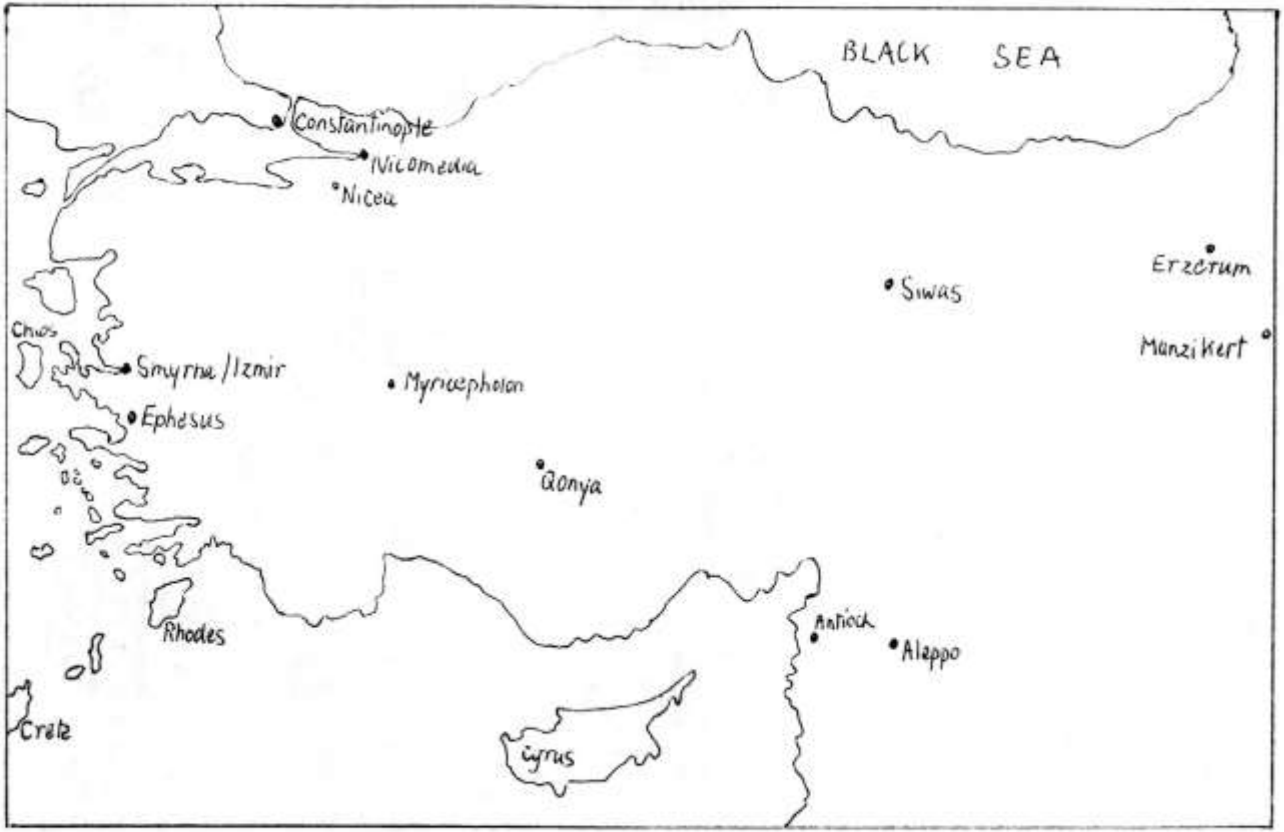
23

Anandgarth Rupee Sv 1846

24

Derajut Rupee Sv 1899

# Sikh coinage




Seljuks of Rum: Asia Minor

and in 1050, Tughril Beg, the senior prince of the house took Isfahan and made it the capital of a state comprising Iran and Khorosan, while his relatives established themselves on the Northern borders. Tughril died in 1063 without having taken much interest in his N.W. frontier but his nephew and successor, Alp Arslan (455-465H/1063-1072) began occupying Armenia and in 1071 annihilated the Byzantine army at Manzikert. The defeat was so comprehensive that Anatolia was left an undefended vacuum into which Turkish nomads steadily drifted over the next decades. Nomadic disruption of the settled agrarian population, de-urbanisation and destruction of Christian cultural institutions followed. The anarchic informality of this allowed the Byzantine state to survive on the littoral of Asia Minor but the Greeks never recovered control of the central plateau.

Among the Seljuk Turks who had supported Tughril Beg was a tribe called the Yabgulu. In 465H/1072 when Alp Arslan died they staged an unsuccessful revolt and then fled to Central Anatolia or Rum - the land of the Romans - where they re-formed under Sulayman bin Qutalmish. He captured the towns of Qonya and Nicea the former becoming the Rum Seljuks' capital.

At this stage traditional Islamic coin design had not altered much since the great reform of Abd al Malik in 77H/697. If we look at a typical Umayyad dirhem (the basic silver denomination) of the early post reform type we find on the obverse a religious formula in the field and the mint and date in the marginal legend. Both legends on the reverse repeat religious verses from the Quran (Fig.1). This early coin is anonymous but if we go forward nearly a hundred years to a dirhem of the famous caliph Haroun al Rashid we find both his name and that of his heir designate in the reverse field (Fig.2). The coinage of the Great Seljuks in Iran was essentially in this tradition although by this time the Islamic world was suffering from the great "silver famine" and their coinage is mostly in gold. The only innovation is the device of a bow and arrow (or mace) in the field. These coins are among the last of the traditional Islamic precious metal coins. It seems that as far as the Turks in Anatolia were concerned gold was also in short supply since the first four Turkish dynasties there: the Danishmends, Seljuks, Mangujakids and Saltukids all struck initially only in copper. Not only that but many of their designs were a sharp break with the essentially aniconic Islamic tradition using instead a remarkable variety of pictorial designs based on a wide variety of sources. These were first introduced by the Danishmends but the Seljuks rapidly followed suit, the favourite motif being a warrior on horseback with spear or mace.

Islamic coinage in silver recommenced on the grand scale at Aleppo in 571H/1174-5 under the Ayyubid ruler Salah al Din Yusuf (Saladin) and the first Rum Seljuk to issue silver and gold coins was Qilij Arslan II (551-588H/ 1156-1192) in 571H (silver) and 572H (gold). Until then only mintless undated copper had been issued. Silver coins were not issued in quantity until the time of Kay-Ka'us I (607-616H/1210-19). Gold coinage was always intermittent and is rare.

To begin with the two main rivals of the Seljuks in Qonya were the Danishmends in Siwas and the Saltukids in Erzerum. In 536H/1142 when the Danishmendid Malik Muhammad died the Seljuks under Mas'ud were strong enough to take the lead in beating off the Second Crusade of 542H/1147. Mas'ud's son Qilij Arslan II (Fig.3) overthrew the Danishmends, greatly extended Seljuk power and inflicted a major defeat on the Byzantine army at Myriocepholon (572H/1176). In 582H/1186, however, he decided to retire and divided his lands amongst his eleven sons and nephews. Inevitably they squabbled and in 1190 when Frederick Barbarossa arrived on the Third Crusade he was able to march into

and occupy Qonya without serious opposition. Qilij Arslan returned and managed to patch up a peace settlement before he finally died.

There followed another period of internecine warfare until Sulayman Shah, prince of Tokat, became Sultan in 59211/1196 defeating Qilij Arslan's nominated successor Kay-Khusraw who fled to Constantinople. He struck copper coins with the horseman device both as Prince of Tokat and later as Sultan when he also used the horseman design on silver coins. Sulayman was responsible for further extending Seljuk power conquering the Saltukids and setting up his brother Tughril in their place at Erzerum. When he died Kay Khusraw returned from Constantinople (Fig.4) and was followed by his sons Kay Kaus I and in 616H/1219 Kay Quybadh I. A clever politician, he managed to play off his various enemies by marriage alliances and treaties. He was quite undoctrinaire allying with the most useful party regardless of religion. Under his rule the country prospered, trade increased, alum mining which was important for the dyeing industry being a profitable monopoly. The seizure of ports on both sides of Rum gave control of an important transit trade. It is to this period that the architectural and artistic glories of Seljuk Qonya belong. The only cloud on the horizon was the growing threat of the Mongols in the East.

Kay Khusraw I struck both copper and silver similar in style to Sulayman's although he replaced the horseman design by a legend. The coins are named as dirhems and half dirhems also survive. The weight standard was indeed quite close to the post-reform Umayyad dirhem (2.9 *gm)* and this was maintained until the last few years of the Seljuk dynasty when it seems to have been reduced to 2.2 gms. It is still something of a mystery where all this silver came from considering how scarce it had been 30 years previously. Some of it at least must have come via the Crusades. Kay Kaus changed the design of the silver coins to show *a* marginal mint and date inscription on one side and the Kalima on the other, outside a double square surrounding the main legends. This derived from the Damascus issues of Saladin and his successors. Under Kay Qubadh the prosperity of the dynasty was reflected in the production of a large number of finely produced coins (Figs. 5 & 6). The square design was abandoned and the field was used to produce a coherent design. The calligraphy is particularly fine and there is good use of stars and other ornamentation. Kay Qubadh began the use of numbers for dating his coins though his engravers may not have realised their significance since they still wrote out the date in words on the other side!

Kay Khusraw II (634-644H/1237-1246) was more interested in pleasure and the end of his reign saw the destruction of the Seljuk army by the invading Mongolsat Koze Dagh (641H/1243). After this the Seljuk Sultan retained a nominal independence but had to pay an enormous tribute. Kay Khusraw II's coinage falls into three phases: 634-637 using designs similar to Kay Qubadh: 638-641 the sun and lion issue, and 642-644, a strictly inscriptional type in a square surround. Minting was concentrated at Qonya and Siwas. Evidence of Seljuk power in the early part of the reign is shown by Ayyubid coins of Aleppo and Damascus with Kay Khusraw's name and by bi-lingual trams of Armenia (Fig.14). The remarkable lion and sun types (Fig.7) have been explained as the horoscope of Kay Khusraw's Greek wife (i.e. Leo) the story being that he was so in love with her that he wanted to put her portrait on the coins but had to compromise! More likely the type may reflect Iranian influence at the Court. The reversion to more orthodox designs which give the Sultan three extra and religious titles likewise reflects the defeat at Koze Dagh. Coins dated after 641 are rare and one wonders if the very common sun and lion types continued to be minted with immobilised dates for the purpose of paying the tribute to the Mongols.

Kay Khusraw died in 644H/1246 leaving three sons all under 12: Kay Kawas II, Qilij Arslan IV and Kay Qubadh II all supported by different factions. Kay Kaus minted first (Fig.8), then Qilij Arslan copying a Mongol horseman type (Fig.9). Finally all three names appear: this is called the period of the three brothers (Fig.10). In 1249 Kay Kaus' party who held the Western half of Seljuk

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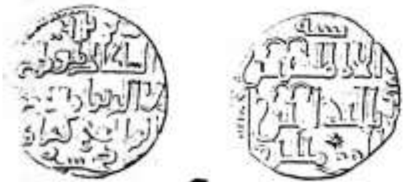

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Seljuks of Rum

lands defeated Qilij Arslan's army at Akseray and gained control of the whole territory. Kay Qubad disappeared on an embassy to the Great Khan in 1253 but the Mongols were powerful enough to insist on the territory being divided again between the remaining brothers. Kay Kaus fled to Constantinople in 65911/1261 leaving Qilij Arslan in sole command until his death four years later (Fig.11). On the coins the three brothers are sometimes identified by symbols or tamghas:

an example is found on the mosque at Erzerum built by Kay Qubadh II in 1253. Coins of this period also have *a* peculiar form of dating called Diwani numbers. These were the same numbers as were used by scribes and are a kind of shorthand derived from the Arabic names of the numerals.

A number of new mints were opened partly to coin newly mined silver. Coins are, however, found with no mint name. This may be an itinerant court mint. During Kay Ka'us II's last brief rule at Qonya in 65811 a new obverse was introduced for the silver coinage which set the fashion for most subsequent Seljuk issues. This consisted of a circular mint/date formula surrounding the Sultan's motto or the phrase "the glory of God". In 663H when the infant Kay Khusraw III was placed on the throne it was changed to "the power of God", with the exception of one mint (Fig.12). Kay Khusraw III, infant son of Qilij Arslan ruled for 20 years as a puppet of his amirs. At least 16 mints plus the anonymous one coined for him many of the mint names being preceeded by the word madinat or town perhaps indicating the unsettled state of the country. In 67511/1277 a Mamluk army led by Baybars I defeated a combined Mongol and Seljuk force and this created *a* power vacuum which encouraged local tribesmen to revolt. In 67511/1277 the Qaramanids attacked Qonya and put a puppet sultan, Siyavush, on the throne. The mongols regained control but several rapid changes of Khan reduced their effectiveness. In 1281 Kay Khusraw joined in a revolt against the Ilkhanids (Iranian Mongols) now the dominant power in the region and in 68211/1284 was replaced by Mas'ud II who, with his cousin Kay Qubadh III reigned four times each in 23 years (Fig.13). Seljuk power was now merely nominal. In 1297 the Ilkhan Ghazan Muhammed reformed and standardised the currency of the whole area and after 1299 standard Ilkhan types were minted at Siwas and Qonya. Seljuk coins were only minted in small numbers at peripheral mints mostly around Antalya. There is *a* wide variation in types and the weight falls as low as 2.1 gms. The last Seljuk ruler to issue coins was Mas'ud III and although the coinage is usually regarded as ending in 70211/1302 two coins are known of Mas'ud dated 1309. Turkish copies of the standard Ilkhan types continued to be struck in the region for many years.

Coinage of the Seljuks of Rum

Key to plates. All coins silver dirhems unless otherwise stated.

8. Umayyad; Wasit, 85
1. Abbasid, al-Muhammadiyya, 172; with names of Harun al-Rashid and his heir designate Muhammad al-Amin
2. Seljuks of Rum: Qilij Arslan II, Qonya, 582
3. Kay Khusraw I, no mint or date. AE fals
4. Kay Qubadh I, Qonya (off flan), 625
5. Kay Qubadh I, Siwas, 629
6. Kay Khusraw II, Qonya, 640

8. Seljuks of Rum: Kay Kaus II, mint off, 64X

9. Qilij Arslan IV, Siwas, 66X

10. "Three Brothers", Qonya, 650

11. Qilij Arslan IV, Qonya, 663

12. Kay Khusraw III, Siwas, 668

13. Masud II, mint and date off

14. Joint issue of Kay Khusraw II and Hetoum I of Armenia. Bilingual. Sis, 637

## STERLINGS AND THE CONTINENTAL CONTEXT - AN INTRODUCTION - A paper delivered to the Club on 7th July 1987, by Peter Woodhead

There is at the present time considerable interest in medieval sterlings and particularly in the continental imitations of English sterlings. For more than a century the only, significant work that brought together information on these was Chautard's book . [2] However, *recent* years have seen a number of important articles by Berghaus , Grierson , Mayhew , North , Rigold and others and the recent publication of Mayhew's excellent book on the later continental sterlings has advanced our knowledge in many respects. In particular, he has been able to investigate relative fineness through the use of non-destructive X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy and in another direction he has made great progress in attributing imitations with more or less English readings to particular continental series.

The purpose of this note is to provide a concise introduction to continental sterlings with sufficient background and references to take the interested reader further.

### The Origin and Significance of the word Sterling

The word sterling first appears in the late 11th century when it is used to distinguish the fine, heavy English penny from the **less** fine and generally lighter pennies (deniers) of Normandy, Maine and other territories in North West France. Grierson's paper on the subject gathers and reviews the evidence for this and concludes that:

a) references to payments in sterling appear no later than 1078. Then the adjective sterilensis was used to distinguish payments in English coin from payments in other coin.

b) the weight of the English silver penny which had varied between 17.0 and 21.5 grains (1.1 - 1.4 g.) during Edward the Confessor's reign had stabilised during the first five issues of William I at 21.5 grains (1.4 *g.)* and was increased to 22.5 grains (1.46 g.) starting with BMC type VI (say 1080) at which level it stayed for the next two centuries.

c) a likely derivation of the word sterling is from the ME word ster or steer meaning strong or stout. Thus the Anglo-Norman pennies would be strong pennies, stere pen gas, in contrast with late Anglo-Saxon ones or even, after 1080 in contrast with earlier Anglo-Norman ones and, certainly, in any case, in contrast with North West French ones. A latinisation of stere pengas could be sterilensis or, in the vernacular, sterling, just as feordan-pening could become feorthling, farthing.

The two qualities of the English sterling, its strength in terms of weight and fineness and, particularly, its constancy over a long period of time and thus its reliability ensured its continued reputation and desirability. Thus the word sterling became established. By the 13th century English pennies were referred to as sterlings or denarii indifferently in English official documents.

The qualities which gave the sterling its reputation were markedly lacking in many Continental coinages (the Cologne denier was an exception). To understand the reason for this one has to go back to the Carolingian Empire which in the late 8th century had established uniform monetary standards over most of Western Europe. The political unity of the Empire crumbled in the 10th century and even before it came to an end coinage standards had started to diversify as a result of the weakening and division of central government. By the 11th century the right to make coinage had been granted to or assumed by innumerable princes, counts, cities, bishops and abbeys. Some exploited the right purely as an opportunity to make profit, others saw the possession of a mint as a means for facilitating local trade. Probably many were motivated by a combination of these factors with perhaps political considerations too.

To these developments were added the consequences of economic and demographic change. The economy of Europe was emerging from the Dark Ages. Population and trade were growing. Towns were expanding, life was becoming less simple and there was an increasing need for coins. While there was always a supply of new silver from mines such as the one at Melle in Poitou there was never enough. So as time progressed silver was more and more 'stretched' by making coins lighter or baser or both. Not only this but mints which were not in the fortunate position of having a good supply of silver brought to them as a result of local trade or a local mine, found that they had to compete to attract the metal (by giving more coin per tale for a given amount of silver). This meant debasement, the debasement of one leading others to follow.

As a result of these pressures, by the late 12th century the Royal French denier had become a coin of black appearance containing 25% of silver and weighing 1.0g. The Low Countries denier remained at the stage of more or less fine silver but had shrunk in size to 0.4g. In North Italy the silver denier had become a tiny scyphate coin weighing 0.1g. Only in the Rhineland and Westphalia, as a result of the economic power of Cologne, did coins maintain a fineness and weight comparable with those of England .

## The Appearance of Continental Sterlings - Short-Cross Starlings

More than a century passed between the appearance of the word sterling and the appearance of coins on the Continent which physically imitated English pennies. The first time this seems to have happened was in about 1210 when coins which plainly copied the Short-Cross type were struck at Dortmund and Muenster.

Coin hoards discovered in North West Germany and the Lower Rhineland and deposited from about 1200 onwards often contain an element of English sterlings, and this is no doubt a reflection of the progressive development of trade during the later 12th century between England and North West German towns who had formed an influential alliance, the Hanseatic League. At that early date, unlike later in the 14th and 15th centuries, the League's centre was more with the Rhenish cities than with the cities of the North German plain and Cologne took a leading part. Evidence for the growing importance of trade with England in Henry II's time can be seen from the fact that immunities were granted in England to men of Cologne acting as spokesmen for the League .

In 1207 King John supported the campaign of his nephew Otto IV, King pc the Romans, for election as Holy Roman Emperor with a subsidy of 6,000 marks' .

In the event Otto was successful and it is possible to see that trade could have benefitted from the resulting favourable climate.

In fact, the first issue of Continental sterlings appears soon after this. They were struck at Dortmund, an Imperial City, in the name of Otto and with his title of Emperor (Fig.1), so they must have been struck after 1209, the date of his election and before 1218, the date of his death. Otto's sterlings were followed by similar coins in the name of his successor Frederick II (1218-50) (Fig.2).

At this period the mint of the most important economic centre of the area, Cologne, was firmly under the control of its powerful Archbishop Electors who had uneasy and often bad relations with the Emperors. This probably accounts for no sterlings being struck there at the time. The Dortmund sterlings, many of which have the reverse reading TREMONIA CIVIS are also found with a reverse reading SANCTA COLONIA which is considered to mean that the coins were of the same standard as the contemporary Cologne deniers .

The initial issue of the German Short-Cross sterlings with its generally uniform and imperial character form a separate group from the next, which also uses the Short-Cross type. These started to appear about 1225 and were from a slightly different and wider geographical area. The principal issuers were the Bishoprics of Muenster, Osnabrueck and Herford, the Abbeys of Corvey and Helmershausen and the Counties of Lippe, Arnsberg, Waldeck and Mark (Figs. 2, 3, 4).Many of these are no doubt contemporary with the trading activities indicated by the grant of new commercial privileges for German traders in England in 1230 by the betrothal of Henry III's sister to the Emperor Frederick, and the payment of a dowry of 30,000 marks in 1235 . The importance of the trading privileges is signified by their withdrawl in 1240 due to a temporary rupture in good relations in that year .

Long-Cross Sterlings

Long-Cross sterlings were first struck in England in 1247 and were already appearing in German hoards in the early 1250's. They were first imitated on the Continent by a smaller group of states than those who had imitated the Short-Cross coins although from approximately the same area, Westphalia. The states are Lippe, Schwalenberg and Arnsberg and the coins are very close imitations of the English prototype, even to the legend in some cases (Fig.5). In fact, on some coins the only perceptible difference is that the centre ornament of the crown is a rose instead of a lys (the rose is the emblem of Lippe) . All these coins are of a good standard of fineness and weight. Their issue must have extended from about 1250 to 1280, to take the widest limits. The bulk were probably struck in the period 1255 to 1265. Both the early star and crescent and the later sceptre types are copied. Contemporary Scottish Long-Cross types were also copied.

It is difficult to pick on a special motivation for this issue. It is perhaps a continuation of the earlier Short-Cross issue with an interruption due to the disagreements between Henry III and the Emperor Frederick in the early 1240's and to the recoinage in England later in the same decade.

This first group of Long-Cross imitations was closely followed by what was probably the first substantial attempt to profit from the quality of the English sterling by producing quantities of imitations of the same appearance but sensibly lower weight and fineness. The main culprit was the shadowy lordship of Cunre (Fig.6). Cunre was of small political importance and little wealth.

It was located in the marshy flatlands to the east of the Zuider Zee (today the Ijsselmeer, then more extensive than now) and it had a sort of piratical existence. There was a succession of rulers called Henry who sometimes called themselves Comes (Count) and sometimes Miles (Knight).

It is likely that these inferior imitations appeared in the late 1260's or early 1270's. It is possible that their appearance led or contributed to the cessation of the issue of good sterlings from Lippe and Arnsberg. They probably ceased to be issued in the early 1280's.

The third type of Long-Cross sterling appeared later than the two last and came from a new area, the Southern Netherlands. The coins are distinguished by armorial obverses and Long-Cross reverses and are sometimes called Brabantini,

Brabant being the first and most copious issuer of them. Mayhew considers that these started to be issued in the mid 1270's and that they continued into the Edwardian penny period, perhaps the early 1290's . These sterlings are known from Brabant, Namur, Maastricht and Herstal with outliers at Kleve and Arnhem (in Gelderland) to the North and Luxembourg to the South (Fig.7).

The shift in emphasis from Germany to the Low Countries corresponds with a strengthening of trading relationships between England and the Scheldt ports. The development of the port of Kingston upon Hull took place at the same period.

It was during the second half of the 13th century that North West Europe saw for the first time the appearance of other new denominations larger than the denier. In France, in 1266, the gros tournois was introduced valued at 12 deniers tournois. At the time this made it equal to approximately 3 English sterlings. Other Continental states soon followed suit in striking larger silver denominations. In the Low Countries these often took the form of coins equal to two sterlings, equal to 2/3 of a gros tournois.

## Sterlings of Edwardian Type

Edward I's great recoinage began in 1279 and the first Continental imitations at least of the single Long-Cross reverse type, were in existence by 1282. These maintained the heraldic obverses and were, in essence, an evolution from the Long-Cross brabantini and were struck in Brabant and Namur (Fig.8).

Imitations of Edwardian sterlings with a crowned head on the obverse first appeared in Norway. Coins survive in the name of Magnus VII who died in 1280 (Fig.9) as well as in the name of his successor, Eric II (1280-99). These coins are all very base - about 25% silver - and represent a development of sterling imitation quite different from that elsewhere.

The main stream of sterling imitation flowed through the Low Countries and the first types with the uncrowned head are thought to have appeared in the mid to late 1280's. These are the crockards (with a bare head Fig.10) and pollards (with a chaplet of roses on the head Fig.11). It is noteworthy that at this stage there is no serious attempt to produce deceptive imitations of the English sterling. The bare or chapleted head and the generally clear naming on the coins of the ruler and the mint makes it evident that there was nothing clandestine about these issues. Many of the early issues were of a good standard of weight and fineness, not far short of that of the English sterlings, although as time went on these aspects, particularly fineness, deteriorated. Crockards and/or pollards were struck at mints in Flanders, Namur, Brabant, Hainaut, Loos, Chiny, Cambrai, Liege, Herstal, Luxembourg, Agimont, Florennes, Horn and at two outliers Dordrecht in Holland and Wipperfuerth in Berg. There are two issues with crowned heads from the northern Netherlands that belong to this earlier period. These are from Gelderland (Arnhem) Fig.12 and Cunre. Finally at Siegen the Archbishop of Cologne struck sterlings with a seated archbishop on the obverse and a sterling type reverse.

Many crockards and pollards had been brought into England, although this was illegal but as progressively more were of a poorer standard than English coin it became more and more profitable to do this. As a reaction to this the Statute of Stepney was enacted in May 1299. This reinforced the prohibition of the import of crockards and pollards, it directed that all those found in circulation should not pass for more than a halfpenny and that only for a year and that thereafter it would be an offence to be in possession of foreign money. The silver derived from the crockards and pollards then withdrawn was recoined into English money. Mayhew has estimated that some £$_1$2P0,000 of crockards and pollards were processed in this way - 48 million coins .

It was undoubtedly as a response to the statute of Stepney that after 1300 Continental sterlings were nearly all struck with crowned heads like their prototypes (Figs. 13 & 14). Furthermore, on some issues legends identical to or close to those used on English pence were also employed and these can only be detected on grounds of style and use of punches in common with coins of explicit continental origin. On other coins legends are adapted so that at first glance they could be mistaken for English ones; Luxembourg sterlings reading EIWANES ( E+IWANES for John the Blind Fig.15) and Namur coins with EDWILLELMVS ( ED+WILLELMVS for Count William Fig.16) are examples of this. Many sterlings however retained legends appropriate to the issuer and his mint. One possibility is that the sterlings with deceptive legends were specifically aimed at the English market.

Soon more and more states began to produce sterlings that were worth less in terms of silver than their English counterparts. At first the decay was slow but by the 1320's most continental sterlings were visibly worse than English pennies. Here and there richer and more responsible states held out, in some cases the sterling metamorphosed into another denomination (1/3 gros and its double, Fig.19, schilling) and as late as the end of the 15th century some states in the Rhineland were still issuing a denomination called an Englisch!

The crowned head sterlings were struck at *a* large number of locations extending from the Low Countries south into France and east into Lorraine and Germany. These included mints in the territories of Flanders, Serain, Arleux, Herstal, Florennes, Chiny, Hainaut, Luxembourg, Sancerre, Rethel, Rummen, Lorraine, Toul, Verdun, Bar, Buren, Helmershausen, Aachen, Schoenecken and Liessem, Namur, Cologne, Trier and Durbuy and Le Roche. Scottish and Irish types were occasionally copied as well as the English type and at Cologne (Bonn) and Trier (Koblenz), as might be expected, a mitre was used instead of a crown (Figs. 17 & 18).

Finally mention must be made of the sterlings struck in Aquitaine in the names of Edward III of England and Edward the Black Prince (Figs.20 & 21). These cannot really be regarded as forming part of the imitative sterling series. Firstly, of course, this is because they are not imitative since they were struck for or with the authority of the King of England. Secondly they are considerably later than any continental imitations of comparable silver content. The general circulating medium in Aquitaine was composed of much baser coins and the sterlings must be seen as a response to particular circumstances where the Aquitaine government found it g$_f$pedient to be able to make payment in coin of equal quality to that of England .

FOOTNOTES

1. Chautard, J. Imitation des monnaies au type esterlin. Nancy, 1871.

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4. Grierson, P., Sterling in Anglo-Saxon Coins. Studies presented to F.M. Stenton on the occasion of his 80th birthday, 17 May 1960. London, 1961.

5. Mayhew, N.J. Gaucher de Chatillon and the imitation of sterlings in the name of Edward of England. RBN 121 (1975). La Chronologie des esterlins de Jean d'Avesnes compte de Hainaut (1280-1304). RN 17 (1975). The Aberdeen Upperkirkgate hoard of 1886. BNJ 45 (1975). Imitative sterlings in the Aberdeen and Montrave hoards. NC 16 (1q76). The sterlings of Gui de Dampierre and related enigmatic issues. NC 18 (1978).

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7. Rigold, S.E., The Trail of the Easterlings. BNJ26 (1949-51).

8. Mayhew, N.J., Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type. London 1983.

9. As, for example, may be seen in many of the extracts from contemporary documents appended to the Fox Brothers 'Numismatic History of the Reigns of Edward I, II and III' BNJ6-10 (1909-13).

10. But not after the end of the 13th century, however.

11. Rigold op.cit. quoting Hans.Urkundb.i, nos.13,14,25 (1157,1175).

12. Rigold **op.cit.** quoting Mat.Paris, His.Ang. iii,109; Chron.Min.ii,574 (under 1209).

13. Berghaus, Peter. Die Muenzen von Dortmund, Band 1 der Dortmunder Muenzgeschichte. Dortmund, 1978.

14. Rigold op.cit. quoting Munim. Gildhall II (Rolls Series), Pt.I.

15. Rigold op.cit. quoting Mat.Paris, Chron.Mai., 318.

16. Powicke., King Henry and Lord Edward, 314.

17. Mayhew, N.J., In the introduction of Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type. London 1983.

18. See Sterling Imitations. 24.

19. See Elias, E.R.D. The Anglo Gallic Coins. London 1984.

KEY TO PLATE

1. Dortmund, Imperial City. Otto IV, Emperor (1209-18). Short-Cross sterling. Chautard 296, pl.XXI, 1.

2. Muenster, Bishopric. Ludolf von Holte (1226-48). Short-Cross sterling. Chautard 385, pl.XXV,3.

3. Mark, County. Adolf I (1197-1249). Short-Cross sterling of Hamm. Chautard 453, pl.XXX,6.

4. Mark, County. Adolf I (1197-1249). Short-Cross sterling of ? Chautard 455, pl.XXX,8.

5. Lippe, County. Bernhard III (1229-65). Long-Cross sterling with English reading on rev.(REN//AUD//ONL//VND//). Chautard 421, pl.XXVII,11.

6. Cunre, Lordship. Henry? Long-Cross sterling with English reading on obv. (HENRICVS REX III). Chautard 475, p1.XXII,1.

7. Brabant, Duchy. John I (1261-94). Long-Cross sterling (brabantini). Mayhew pl.I,16. Chautard 91, pl.VIII,5.

8. Brabant, Duchy. John I (1261-94). Sterling (brabantini) of Edwardian reverse type. Mayhew 50var. Chautard 105,p1.IX,2.

9. Norway, Kingdom. Magnus VII (1263-80). Crowned head sterling. Mayhew 187. Chautard 492,p1. XXXIII,2.

10. Flanders, County. Gui de Dampierre (1251-1305). Bare head sterling (crockard). Mayhew 13. Chautard 1, p1.II,1.

11. Hainaut, County. John of Avesnes (1280-1304). Sterling with chaplet of roses on the head (pollard) of Valenciennes. Mayhew 29. Chautard 23, pl.IV,1.

Gelderland, County. Renald I (1272-1326). Crowned head sterling of Arnhem. Mayhew 186. Chautard 462, pl.XXXI,3.

Flanders, County. Robert of Bethune (1305-22). Crowned head sterling of Alost. Mayhew 212. Chautard 12, p1.III,1.

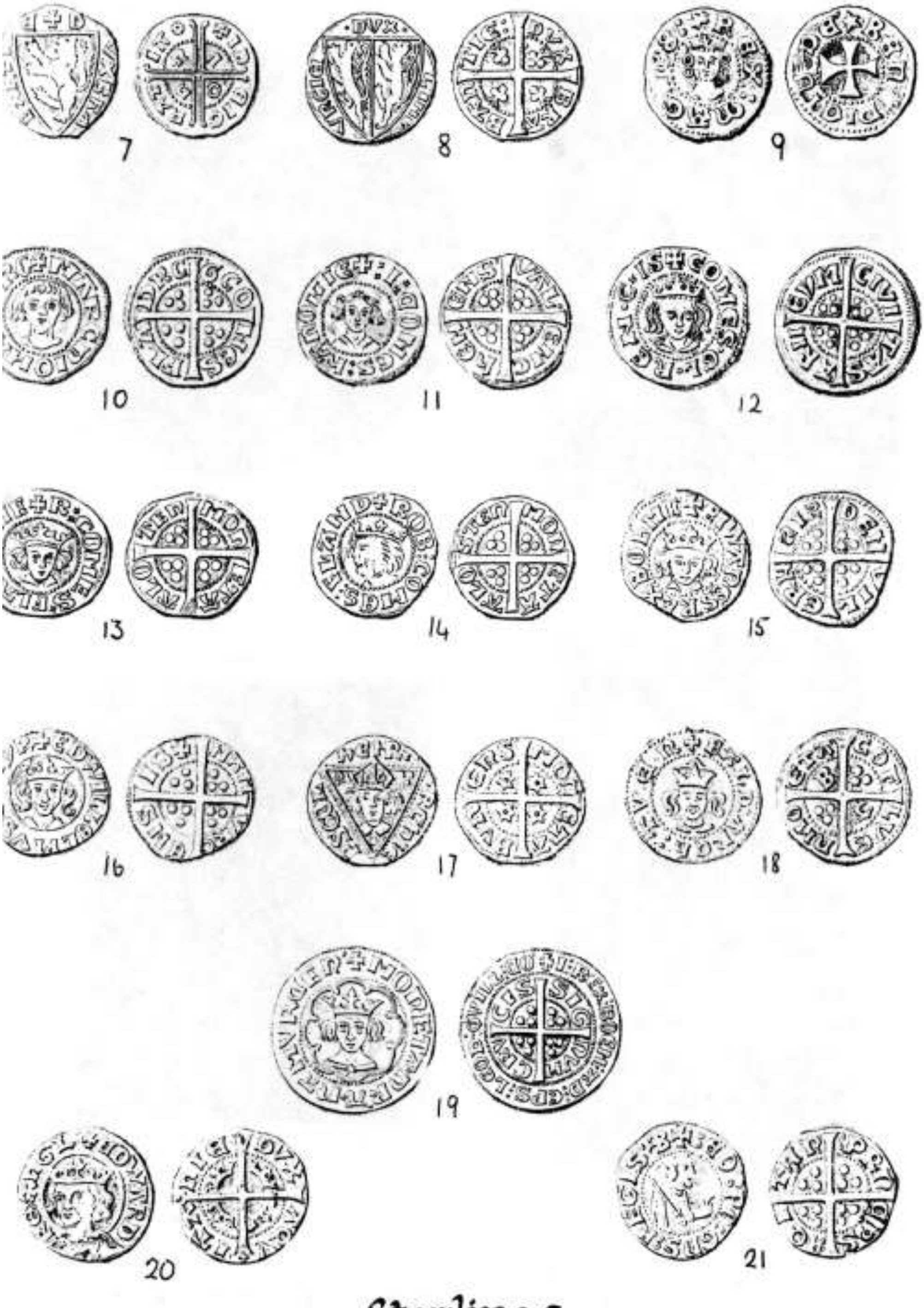
Flanders, County. Robert of Bethune (1305-22). Crowned head sterling of Scottish type of Alost. Mayhew 209. Chautard 16 , p1.III,5.

Luxembourg, County. John the Blind (1309-46). Crowned head sterling of Damvillers. Mayhew 284. Chautard 181, p1.XV,4.

Namur, County. William I (1337-91). Crowned head sterling of Namur. Mayhew 364. Chautard 67, pl.VI,2.

Cologne, Archbishopric. Henry of Virneburg (1304-32). Mitred head sterling of Bonn with obverse of Irish type and reverse of Scottish type. Mayhew 205. Chautard 354, pl.XXIV,3.

18. Trier, Archbishopric. Baldwin of Luxembourg (1309-54). Mitred head sterling of Koblenz. Mayhew 370. Chautard 327, pl.XXIII,1.




*Sterlings*

1

2

3

4

Some archaeological ladies

19. Namur, Luxembourg and Liege. Joint coinage in the names of John the Blind Count of Luxembourg (1309-46); Adolf, Bishop of Liege (1313-**44)** and William I, Count of Namur (1337-91). Petit gros (2 sterlings) struck at Namur between 1337 and 1344. Chautard 72, pl.VI,7.

20. Aquitaine, Duchy. Edward III (1327-62, 1372-77). Sterling. Elias 56. Chautard 27f, pl.XX,5.

21. Aquitaine, Duchy. Edward the Black Prince (1362-72). Sterling of Bordeaux. Elias 188. Chautard 263, pl.XX,4.

SOME ARCHAEOLOGICAL LADIES - A short talk given by Peter A. Clayton on 5th August 1987 (1 plate)

Most of you, I am sure, know of my interest and involvement in archaeology. This is reflected in my collecting archaeological commemorative medallions, with an especial emphasis on those relating to Egyptology. Obviously there is a thematic element in such a collection and I thought that as a short exercise which might prove to be of interest at a members' evening, I would refine the thematic classification *a* little more by looking at eight 'archaeological ladies' as represented on the medallions.

The first is an attractive silver plaque (Fig.1) by the French artist Seraphin Emile Vernier, produced in 1903. Labelled 'Archeologie' it shows a nubile, naked young girl, her hair attractively piled on her head in the fashion of the day, kneeling to the left and holding up a classical vessel which she has just excavated from the hole in front of her. To one side is a basket for shifting the spoil, around her are other small finds, and she holds a small pick in her left hand. Despite all my years of excavation, in both this country on sites of all periods and in the hotter climes of Egypt, I have yet to come across an assistant as pretty or as lightly clad as *she!* The reverse is largely plain except for *a* small area at the bottom which shows us an Athena head, an architectural pediment and a sphinx head appearing from the ground.

On an Egyptian theme there is the recent issue (1985; no. 23 from an issue of 100) of a large medallion to commemorate Pierre Montet (1885-1966). He is noted for his excavations in the 1920s at Byblos, where he found the tombs of the local ruling house that was in touch with Middle Kingdom Egypt, and at Tanis in 1939 where he found the tombs of several of the pharaohs of the Twenty-first Dynasty (10th century B.C.). The reverse of the medallion mentions these two sites and especially here the 'archaeological lady' represented is the goddess Nut, her arms stretched above her star-spangled body. She is taken from the underside of the lid of the granite sarcophagus of the pharaoh Psoussennes, whose intact tomb Montet found. Within the sarcophagus was a silver coffin (much more valuable than gold in ancient Egypt) and within that the pharaoh's mummy, its head encased in a gold funerary mask similar to but not so ornate as the better known example found on the mummy of the four centuries earlier Tutankhamun. The finds from Tanis, especially those from Psoussenes' tomb, formed a major loan exhibition from the Cairo Museum to the Petit Palais in Paris from March to July this year.

Still on an Egyptian theme we have a very large medallion commemorating the 150th anniversary of the decipherment of hieroglyphs by J.F. Champollion, 'the father of Egyptology', in 1822. By Corbin and issued in 1984 it shows Champollion's portrait (from *a* bust in the Louvre), and his name in hieroglyphs on the obverse. The reverse features *a* number of allusions to his work, the principal representation is that of *a* bronze standing statue of Queen Keromama II, wife of Takeloth II of the Twenty-second Dynasty (9th century B.C.).

This magnificent statue, its details inlaid in gold, was also featured in the Paris Tanis exhibition as a work of art of the period and because her husband was buried at Tanis. Champollion bought the statue in Luxor in 1829. It probably came from a shrine to the queen. The interesting thing is that the queen's tomb has never been found, although the German scholar Lepsius bought ushabti figures that came from the tomb in the area of Thebes (modern Luxor) in the 1840s and Sir Flinders Petrie also bought examples in the 1880s. (Ushabtis are mummiform figures with the name of the deceased, buried with them and intended to come alive and work for them in the next world.) Just for interest I exhibit alongside the medallion one of these ushabti figures which must come from the lost tomb of the queen.

A last Egyptian medallion is that struck in 1826 to commemorate the publication of the monumental work the "Description de l'Egypte". It is signed "Barre fecit". The obverse shows the rediscovery of ancient Egypt by Gallia in the guise of a Roman centurion unveiling the mysterious and voluptuous Egyptian Queen. It has interesting parallels with the granite sculpture by a modern Egyptian artist which stands in front of Cairo University. The theme is much the same, an Egyptian woman (modern Egypt) stands beside a sphinx and lifts her veil. On the reverse is a series of representations of Egyptian dieties with their names correctly written in hieroglyphs before them. Struck in bronze this particular example is of interest as it has been specially gilded and an added engraved inscription on the reverse notes that it was originally part of the Topographical Institute of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies ("Institut Ral Topographique du Royaume des Deux-Siciles") . No doubt it went there as a gift along with a set of the "Description" sent by Louis XVIII who, the medallion informs us, had ordered the publication.

Turning to the civilisations of the Mediterranean we have an exceedingly large and heavy cast medallion (125m diam.) that commemorates Knossos in Crete. The obverse shows a view of the Minoan Palace from the south with the prominent Horns of Consecration and the legend, in French, tells us that Zeus had chosen Crete to be born in, to reign and to love. Legend had it that it was near Knossos he married the goddess Hera, and she thus appears as an obverse type on tetradrachms of Knossos. The reverse is totally minoan in its concept. The major element is a standing, full-frontal, bare-breasted goddess with four large dolphins around her and three smaller fish. In the field are various symbols, including the Cretan double axe ("labrys", whence we get our word 'labyrinth', from the labyrinthine palace and its association with the Minotaur legend). The goddess is the sacred Snake Goddess whose nine-inch high figure was found, with some others, in the Temple Repositories at Knossos by Sir Arthur Evans. She dates from the 16th century B.C. and is now one of the major pieces in the Herakleion Museum. The medallion is signed GR and is no.4 out of 75 cast in Paris in 1975.

Our next young lady is also excavating, but rather more decorously dressed than our first example. The medallion (Fig.2) commemorates the Jubilee of the French School of Archaeology in Athens, 1848-98, and is signed by O. Roty. The obverse has a draped female figure seated left on a fallen column drum. She holds up and is examining a small statuette that she has just excavated; behind her is a group of ancient Greek pottery and the whole scene is within a
setting of ancient Greek temple ruins. The obverse is divided into two sections by an oblique sheaf of palm and an olive branch. Above it is a view of the west end of the Acropolis in Athens and below, the French School house. Names of four famous directors of the School and their dates are added.

Still in Athens, a uniface bronze plaque (Fig.3) by Louis Muller represents an enigmatic sculpture preserved in the Acropolis Museum. It shows the goddess Athena standing right, head slightly bowed and leaning on the long spear that she holds in her left hand. She is apparently gazing at a low stele before her. The original is in marble, in the so-called 'severe' style of around 460 B.C. The piece is variously known as the Pensive or the Mourning Athena. The occasion or purpose of the carving is not known. It is interesting to compare this profile with that of Athena which appears on the contemporary silver tetradrachms. Our last medallion is also a plaque (Fig.4) , this time by G. Dupre. The obverse has the legend 'Meditation' and shows a rather pensive Roman matron gazing out over a panoramic view of the Forum in Rome. To her left is the great Arch of Septimius Severus and the columns of the Capitoline Temple; to her right, the Palatine Hill and its palaces. The reverse has the interior of the Colosseum seen through an archway with ivy prominently creeping over it and framing the view. The legend reads: 'La le lierre jaloux de l'immortalite triomphe en possedant ce que l'homme a quitte' - 'There the ivy, jealous for immortality, triumphs in possessing what Man has abandoned'. A nice touch to a delightful scene and sentiment. This medallion I find particularly restful and it sits on its stand upon my desk where, at times, a great deal of meditation goes on before an article or a book gets started!

## AN INTERVIEW WITH DR. J.P.C. KENT, FBA, FSA, KEEPER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The text which follows is based on notes taken at an interview in 1986 between the Keeper and the Editors who are extremely grateful to Dr. Kent for giving up a whole morning. Figures relating to accessions and budget have been omitted. For precise figures, consult the latest Report of the Trustees of the British Museum and the Museums and Galleries Commission.

The British Museum's Department of Coins & Medals houses the British National collection which compares with other great collections in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Madrid, Budapest and Leningrad. It is dynamic and exists to preserve and advance knowledge of our cultural heritage. Of the twenty or so staff, half are academics, the remainder being technicians and typists. It is believed that conservation and photographic staff gain wider experience by being attached in turn to each of the Museum's departments, so are not part of any individual Department.

To enable the collection to be directly consulted, a Students' Room opens, by appointment, 10-12.30 each weekday (except Wednesday), 2-4.30 and Saturday mornings. Lunchtime appointments are available by prior arrangement. The late Charles Peck once said that he could not have written his catalogue 'English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins, 1558-1958' had the Department been closed during the lunch hour. Nowadays, however, lunchtimes and Saturday mornings are rarely busy. Saturday morning visitors arrived in smaller numbers when major coin dealers ceased their Saturday morning opening and collectors no longer needed to assess their purchases.

Dr. Kent believes that the numbers of student collectors or amateurs with serious academic interests and major collections are diminishing owing to high prices. Basic classification of most major series having been accomplished, much research is now carried out from photographs and documents. Formerly, schoolmasters, clergymen and businessmen (whether collectors or not) carried out research in their spare time, but this, too, happens less frequently. Unlike some museums, the British Museum does not discourage research by non- professionals. If such work does not require the examination of actual coins, Departmental staff may be consulted in the Interview Room, and Coins & Medals refuse to supply casts only if there is reason to suspect motives.

The Museum's Photographic Service has a studio within the Department, but is not part of it. In line with government policy, prices of prints are comparable with commercial rates. Much less expensive, though of variable quality, are prints taken from the Department's security negatives. Cast prices rise with increasing size.

The collecting policy of C & M has altered since John Kent joined the museum in November 1953. Banknotes and badges now form part of the collection. Badges are considered to be the successors to the popular medalets of the 18th century - the contemporary descendents of Spence's tokens. Each accession is entered into a register and the Trustees notified. Individual curators

incorporate the pieces after having arranged for a photographic record. The Keeper carefully inspects registers regularly to ensure that nothing has been forgotten.

The Department's policy on coin-weights varies according to the series. Weights, especially, raise conservation problems because of their lead content. In the past, lead objects have sometimes suffered through corrosion by the urban atmosphere and, for this reason, all curators examine their lead pieces regularly and the Conservation Department advises on their care. Good mahogany cabinets are recommended and fabric is used to prevent rubbing when trays are pulled out. Cloth discs are sometimes placed beneath proofs or any pieces with special finishes.

Coins & Medals is one of the few departments in the Museum to acquire modern material. The Trustees allocate special grants to this end, and separately for the purchase of medals.

In comparison with the National Gallery's annual purchase grant, that given to the British Museum is quite small - and the Department of Coins & Medals is only one of nine collecting departments. Purchases over a certain limit (which includes VAT and premiums) have to be referred to the Director, who retains control over a central fund. The Trustees themselves must approve major purchases. Few items are purchsed at auctions. When they are, dealers are commissioned to act on the Department's behalf as an open bid might artificially raise the value of an item. Great importance is attached to maintaining good relations with the numismatic trade. Occasionally, the work of a Curator who has studied and written up a particular hoard might be used as the basis for a sale catalogue.

In the past, duplicate coins were sometimes auctioned. Nowadays, however, they may not be sold but may be exchanged. Die-duplication is not the only consideration; coins which at first glance appear to be duplicates may differ in weight standard. New techniques in non-destructive analysis have led to greater care in the use of the word 'duplicate'. Weight and metal content are generally known for modern coins so these, therefore, are easier to exchange.

Although the Trustees welcome bequests they do not accept them when excessive conditions are attached. Nowadays, a collection often forms the major part of an estate and is, therefore, less likely to be given as a bequest, but occasionally the Inland Revenue has allowed the museum to purchase at a reduced price.

Questions on Treasure Trove policy and the use of metal detectors (always a thorny topic) were highlighted recently by the Wanborough case. The procedure at the Crown Court, with its rigorous rules of evidence and proof, is ill-suited to Treasure Trove inquiries, since likelihood rather than certainty is generally the case here. In the Keeper's opinion, the inquisitorial process of the Coroner's Court is much better suited to establishing probabilities. In the

Middle Ages, when TT law developed, English coinage was of gold or silver only. This resulted in TT law relating only to those precious metals. In Scotland, where currency early became debased, this restriction did not operate. However, John Kent believes that the removal of the restriction and a widening of the law to cover all circumstances of discovery would create administrative problems, unless additional staff and resources for the Department were made available.

Discussion of Treasure Trove led on to the subject of metal detecting. Following the wholesale clearance of sites by the use of metal detectors, the discovery of a hoard will eventually, said the Keeper, become a rare event. He compared it with the digging up of barrows in the 18th century - sometimes as many as thirty a week - which makes the discovery of intact barrows today extremely rare. The archaeological context of a coin hoard find is lost once it is casually removed. John Kent believes that, in fifty years' tine, although there will be great advances in metal analysis techniques, there may well be no new hoards to analyse. Even the removing of stray losses of modern coins from beaches means a loss to scholarship. Prices, too, have been affected by metal detecting. The volume of material being discovered means that once-rare coins are now relatively common and this has depressed prices.

The recent exhibition "Money: from cowrie shells to credit cards" attracted approximately 8,000 visitors per week, Sunday afternoons being the peak times. The Keeper pointed out the importance of correct illumination. For coins, generally, the light must be bright - spotlights were used recently to illuminate the plaster casts of Ronald Searle's medals, white on a black background. On the other hand, bank-notes need a reduced light to prevent fading and buckling. Small exhibitions on a variety of themes are on view in the C & M foyer, changes being made three or four times a year.

The Keeper expects the British Library's move to St. Pancras to create difficulties for both his staff and for BL 'readers' wishing to consult books in the Department, and it is now the policy to try to acquire major numismatic works at present only to be found in the British Library.

Future publications from the Department will include the second volume of the Catalogue of French Medals and a second volume, based on an up-dated edition of the late Derek Allen's catalogue of Celtic coins. Short Cross pennies and the Roman provincial series will soon be covered - the first volume of the latter concerning the Julio-Claudians and the second the Flavians.

John Kent is especially proud of the illustrative quality in the recently published Anglo-Saxon Sylloge. Good reproduction is often difficult to achieve and cleaning of coins before photography is inadmissable as patination often gives a clue to a coin's provenance. If print-size were doubled, die-comparison would become difficult. Students will be pleased to learn that they may write to the Department for a photograph if a clearer illustration is needed.

As our readers can see, the Department of Coins & Medals in the British Museum is very much alive and aware of coins in their context, their interest and the Department's own position in serving that interest and pursuing scholarship, both in this country and abroad. Members of staff are active participants in and often officers of our national numismatic and other learned societies, as well as representing Britain on international bodies. The 1986 International Numismatic Congress, largely organised in the Department, gave visible expression to the standing of the UK and of its national collection in the numismatic world.

EDITORIAL NOTE

We are grateful to Stella Greenall for reading our original text and making helpful comments, and totally indebted to Peter Clayton for all his assistance and superhuman perseverance.

## AN UNRECORDED PLANTAGENET JETTON? - by Gerry Buddle

The piece illustrated was obtained by the author at Hungerford Lane market some years ago. The jetton is copper or bronze, and of crude style. It's general appearance and fabric date it to the period c.1350 - 1450, during the time when the major centres of production were Paris and England. The piece is not centrally pierced (as are most of the English jettons) though it does have a very slight indentation in the centre of the obverse.

The legend (on obverse only) is a variation on the common AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA, the words AVE MARIA being slightly blundered and PLENA replaced by the curious hieroglyph shown, which is possibly a contraction of IESU or IHS.

The most interesting feature though is the obverse design which is a plant or branch between two rosettes, the latter also appearlng twice in the legend. It is a most uncommon type, not apparently recorded in Barnard (1) or Royer (2), and not represented in the British Museum or Ashmolean Museum collections.

In his work on the Anglo-Gallic series Duncan Elias (3) describes a rare group of coins bearing the Plantagenet badge of a branch of Broom (Planta genista). The jetton obverse rather resembles this, which leads me to the Plantagenet connection. It should be said that the 'broom' coins origlnate from Gascony and date from 1400 - 1450.

There is one further piece of circumstantial evidence in favour of an English connection. Although the rosette is a common symbol on English jettons, it is much less so on Parisian. It does appear on Tournai pieces, according to Barnard because Louis XI granted two branches of roses taken from his livery to the Royal guard on his entry to Tournai in 1478. However, this explanation will not do for the jetton in question, as it predates this event by at least 30 years.

My suggestion then is that this is an Anglo-Gallic (rather than English) jetton, possibly locally made in Gascony, and probably late 14th or early 15th century. As far as I am aware it is an unrecorded type, but I would be interested to hear of any similar specimens.

One final possibility: Duncan Elias notes that a seal bearing a branch of broom exists for John, Duke of Bedford, 3rd son of Henry IV. In this context, could the curious contraction at the end of the legend represent IEHAN?

References

(1) F.P. Barnard, The Casting Counter and the Counting Board, O.U.P. 1917 reprinted by Fox (Castle Cary) 1981.

(2) J. Royer and E. Hucher, Histoire du Jeton au Moyen Age, 1858, 1906, reprinted 1978.

(3) E.R. Duncan Elias, The Anglo-Gallic Coins, Spink, London, 1984, p.210.

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## AN UNPUBLISHED VARIETY OF MAURICE TIBERIUS (582-602 AD) - by A. Holmes

I recently acquired a half follis of the Antioch mint, issued in the first year of Maurice's reign. Underneath the mark of value (X X) on the reverse there is clearly a Γ . Colleagues with much sharper eyes than mine are quite sure it is a Γ and not the rather similar sign for Antioch which looks rather like a P. It is (for once !) a clear specimen, not overstruck on anything else.

# LONDON NUMISMATIC CLUB

1947 1987

40th ANNIVERSARY DINNER
at
IL FORNELLO
7th December 1987

Guest of Honour
Dr J.P.C. Kent, FBA, FSA,
Keeper of Coins & Medals
The British Museum

MENU

Sherry Aperitif Welcome

Home Made Minestrone Soup
with rolls and butter

Scaloppina di Vitello al Pomodora Garni
(slices of veal in white wine and tomato sauce)
with assorted vegetables
accompanied by the house wine

Black Forest Gateau

Coffee

***************

The Loyal Toast: The President
Welcome to the Guests: The President
Response on behalf of the Guests: Dr J.P.C. Kent


Antioch had at least 6 officinae working on bronze in this reign (there appear to have been ten for gold, though I have no real knowledge of this). Officina *r* had appeared on the first issue of folles for the preceeding reign (Tiberius II 578-582) - rather confusingly the first year is year 4 as Tiberius dated his regnal years from his appointment to the rank of Ceasar (deputy emperor) in December 574. The second issue of folles has the curved or Lombardic qq , with 3 "legs" so there is no room for the officina letter in its usual place between the two legs of the M and it is simply omitted by the Antioch mint, until the square M appears again in year 8 of Maurice: for years 8 and 9 the only officina is in fact r .

Half folles had not carried officina letters at Antioch since the coinage reform of Justinian in 538/9; this was quite usual for Byzantine half folles and most smaller denominations. Was it an attempt to raise standards with the first issue of the new emperor? Is the r really an officina or did the die engraver simply make a mistake, intending to draw the Antioch symbol P but using *r* instead ? It was not being used on other bronze issues at the time.

## "A ROYAL DIVORCE" - A CARDBOARD ADVERTISING TOKEN - by Gavin Scott

The issue of cardboard coin-like advertisement tokens was one of the loopholes round the legislation prohibiting the countermarking of copper coins (1853 Act "to prevent the defacing of the current coin of the Realm" - 16 & 17 Vict.c.102 - see my "British Countermarks on Copper and Bronze Coins" - 1975 - p.14). Such pieces span the period from the 1860's to the 1930's, though relatively few are known still to exist: like paper labels on coins the fragility of the material used and the lack of interest aroused by them among contemporary collectors have not helped survival.
Maurice Rickards has kindly advised me of the following interesting piece in his collection:

Cardboard, 40mm diameter

O. (gold-brown) NAPOLEON EMPEREUR around Laureate head right of Napoleon I, as AR 5 Francs 1809-14 (Craig 165) - embossed

R. (black on white) DON'T/FAIL TO SEE/A Royal Divorce/TO-NIGHT/ COME EARLY

"A Royal Divorce" was a romantic drama by W.G. Wills and C.G. Collingham. The story line is simple - Napoleon divorcing his true love Josephine in 1809 to marry the Austrian Queen, Marie-Louise, to produce an heir.

It appeared as a play for the theatre as follows:

10th September 1891 New Olympic London Theatre opened December 1890 closed 1899

25th July 1892 Princess's Oxford Street, London c1840-1902

13th January 1906 Scala London Theatre opened 23rd September 1905

26th July 1911 and, again, 31st March 1915 Lyceum - theatre in Wellington Street, London 1772-1939, empty since then

There was also a film version:

1923 - produced by G.B. Samuelson, directed by Alexander Butler, based on the Wills and Collingham story, with Gwylim Evans as Napoleon, Gertrude McCoy as Josephine and Mary Dibley as Marie-Louise.

1938 - produced by Herbert Wilcox, directed by Jack Raymond, written by Miles Malleson from the novel "Josephine" by Jacques Thery. Pierre Blanchar played Napoleon and Ruth Chatterton Josephine.

The piece is undated and one can only surmise when it was issued. The most likely time was probably when the play was first produced - i.e. 1891/2. Further information would be most welcome!

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PELHAUQUINS: PLUMBEAM PECUNIAM DE QUA LUDITUR - By Marcus Phillips

I briefly mentioned the following document in a short paper on Crusader lead tokens at the August 1986 meeting. Although of particular interest to students of medieval tokens the whole account is sufficiently fascinating to justify its reproduction in full together with a free

Anno domini M CCC LXVI die XII mensis junii accidit spud castrum de Torreves, bajulie Sancti Maximini et archiepiscopatus Aquensis, in quadam carreria publica que est inter ipsum castrum de Torreves et castrum de Sayssono quasi contiguum, circa horam nonam illius diei que erat dies veneris, dum tres pueruli ibidem venissent et ad excitandum quendam juvenem ibidem dormientem pastorem, habentem ibi gregem suum, accessissent, conversi post se dicti pueruli viderunt terrain evomentem pecuniam argenteam per subtile foramen in dicta carreria quasi de magnitudine introitus digiti, et dicentes esse pecuniam ipsam pelhauquins, scilicet plumbeam pecuniam de qua luditur, impleverunt de ills sua marsupia et deinde gremium. Et cum adhuc flueret pecunia ipsa ad modum fontis, ipsi infantes cum manu claudebant foramen ipsum, et tunc simile foramen erupebat in alia parte dicte carrerie ibi prope, a quo progrediebatur pecunia ipsa in tantum quod, secundum extimationem communem, jam apparebat ibi esse in superficie terre a dicto egressa foramine pecunia ipsa in quantitate ultra onus viginti mulorum.

Et superveniens quedam mulier, videns pecuniam ipsam, clamavit:- Ma part! Ma part! et inclinans se ad capiendum de illa, subito pecunia ipsa disparuit et unde progressa fuerat subintravit, remanentibus plenis gremiis et marsupiis puerulorum ipsorum; et erat ipsa pecunia forme talis, habens, ab una parte formam capitis sarraceni, et ab alia parte erat forme tails, habens crucem cum litteris sicut patet; et erat purl argenti fini; que dicebatur valere denarium quinque vel circa nunc usualis monete.

De quo eventu multi presagiati sunt potius malum quam bonum, quid autem per hoc futurum sit Deus novit.

The following incident occurred about 9 am on Friday 12th June 1366 in the village of Tourves in the district of St Maximin and the Archdiocese of Aix on a certain public highway which runs between Tourves and Seysson. Three young children from the village approached and woke up a young shepherd who was asleep with his flock at the side of the road. As he turned to them the children saw behind him the earth vomiting forth silver coins from a small hole about the size of a small finger in the side of the road. Thinking the coins were PELHAUQUINS (i.e. lead money which they play with) they first filled their pockets and then their purses with them. The children stopped up the whole with their hands and a similar hole broke open in another part of the road close by, and from this the coins flowed like water from a fountain and continued to do so so that according to the general consensus what had already appeared in the upper earth amounted to more than 20 mule loads.

A certain woman came up after and seeing the coins shouted "My share!" "My share!" but as she bent down to seize them the coins suddenly disappeared and buried themselves whence they had come. Those remaining in the full pockets and purses of the children were inscribed thus (sketch in mss.) on one side a saracen's head, and on the other side thus (sketch in mss.) a cross with clear letters. They were of pure fine silver and could be said to be worth about 5d of the local money.

These events caused many predictions to be made: they were evil rather than good so that God will make this future anew.

Original in Archives des Bouche-du Rhone, B.4 (Viridis), Fo.9.

In Provence a mule load was reckoned at 120 kilograms so 20 mule loads would be 2,400 kg. The coins in question were clearly obols struck by Phonecian colonists in Marseilles weighing just over 0.5 gm so 20 mule loads would be about 42 million coins (! !) . Why did the coins suddenly vanish? Witchcraft was probably suspected but could this possibly be an exaggerated account of crystalline coins crumbling to powder when roughly handled?

Not surprisingly this incident long remained part of the local folk lore mentioned by both Nostradamus and Eckhel among others. The full text of the document was first read to the Academie des Inscriptions at Belles-lettres on 20.5.1903 and subsequently published in the RN. (1) Blanchet also reproduced it in his Traite des monnaies gauloises (1905) p. 596, and in a subsequent article (2) associated the "Pelhauquins" with the lead tokens published from the Seine by Forgeais, and discussed the etymology of the word. I first heard of it via Jacques Labrot (3). PELHAUQUINS is Provencal and it is fortunate that the original author glossed it since it seems to be otherwise unknown. Per Blanchet it derives from the Provencal PELH meaning "rag" or "thin cloth" and indicates something of low value. To an English ear 'Pelhauquin' suggests an association with Pelerin i.e. pilgrim badges, but Mons. Labrot assures me that this is impossible. The question remains: what exactly were they used for. Medieval Latin "ludo" like modern French "jouer" can mean either 'play' or 'gamble' so they could have been gambling tokens as used in a modern casino, or toy money, which children played with. It may well be anachronistic to impose such distinctions. Labrot has shewn that although MERELLES (ancestor of MEREAUX the usual French equivalent of "Token" in the English sense) could refer to counters used in hopscotch some of the earliest references to them associate them with gambling and the evils thereof. He further suggests that the many French leads which copy contemporary coin designs are to be regarded primarily as gambling tokens. English tokens do not copy monetary types though there is no reason to suppose that they were not used in gambling even if not primarily manufactured for the purpose. At all events the stress on "lead money" seems to emphasise a monetary function rather than just objects that children played with.

NOTES

1. H. de Gerin-Ricard & A. d'Agnel, Decouverte d'un tresor a Tourves en 1366, RN, 1903, p. 164.
2. RN (1907) P.V., p.xxxix
3. Labrot, J., "Mereaux de jeu en plumb a types monetaires" Numismatique et change, Feb.1986 p.34, and "Jetons et mereaux du moyen age" Archeologia (Dijon) April 1986 p.52. Also letter to author 22nd September.

I am grateful to Frances Simmons for suggesting some improvements to the translation. 1986.