NEWSLETTER

The Journal of the London Numismatic Club

C O N T E N T S

EDITORIAL

This year's <u>Newsletter</u> appears a year after its predecessor. The problem has been a dearth of copy. Club speakers often will not supply us with texts, Club members will not write anything. A Club periodical written by its editors has no <u>raison d'etre.</u>

Does this represent a tail spin in the Club's fortunes? We have a large (theoretical) membership but this is not reflected in attendance at meetings.

The Norman Turner Memorial Lecture in January was a depressing example. The weather was unhelpful but the speaker went to considerable trouble to attend and delivered an important lecture which was given to the London N.C. in advance of various other prestigious gatherings. Only ten people, not all of them Club members, turned up. Recent auctions, by contrast, have been a great success. The moral seems obvious. The L.N.C. is a club, not a learned society. Most people attend because they are interested in coins and like to collect them. Far too few coins are shewn around at and after meetings and nothing is offered for sale or exchange. There is no point in luring youngsters to meetings and subjecting them to specialised papers illustrated, if at all, with slides and then simply sending them home - because they will not come back.

<u>CLUB NEWS:</u> Just as *we* were about to go to press we were saddened to hear of the death of our long standing member, Past President and Treasurer, Philip Greenall. Our sympathy goes to Stella. There will be a full obituary of Philip in our next issue.

Resignations: R. Edwards, A.C. Eimer, D. Hall, R.M. Lubbock, P.K. Randeria.

New Members: N. Wetton, D. Robinson, I.F. Yarwood, E.R. Cox.

<u>AUCTION RESULTS:</u> 82nd Club auction held on 8 November 1990.

102 lots on offer of which 81 sold for £578.90. Club commission etc. amounted to £65.99.

One auction only was held during the 1990/1991 year but a shew of hands following a brief discussion before the November auction gave an overwhelming vote in favour of two auctions a year. Hopefully they will continue to be as successful as in the past year or two.

Results of the 83rd Club auction held on 8 May 1991.

92 lots on offer of which 77 sold for £379.50. Club commission etc. amounted to £45.15.

    As usual *we* are very grateful to Tony Gilbert for supplying these figures so promptly after each auction.

THE PAX COINAGE OF CARAUSIUS - a paper delivered to the Club on February 6th 1990 by Hugh Williams

Tonight I hope to look at some aspects of the reign and coinage of Carausius who has often been referred to as the founder of the first British Empire.

For my talk tonight I have chosen to take as a topic the most common of all the reverse types used by the Emperor, namely the PAX AVG (Peace of the Emperor) type. Any collector of Roman coins with a few, or even a single specimen of the coinage of Carausius is likely to have this reverse type in his collection.

Before looking at the coinage of this Emperor I will first summarise the non-numismatic evidence, contemporary, mediaeval and modern, for events relating to his reign.

Contemporary epigraphic evidence from Britain is limited to a single inscription on a milestone found on the bed of the River Petterill near Carlisle in 1894. It is worth noting that the inscription had a limited audience as within a few years it had been turned upside down, with the legend buried, and re-engraved.

> FLVAL
> CONS
> TANT(I) or TANT(IN)
> ONOB
> CAES

Although some scholars, including Collingwood, attribute this inscription to Constantine I as Caesar (305-305 AD), I would tend to agree with those who attribute it to Constantius I between 296-305 AD.

Contemporary literary evidence comes from the panegyrics to Maximian on the eve of his ill-fated attempt to retake Britain in 289 AD and to Constantius after his more successful attempt of 296 AD. These accounts are given from a biased view point and as such can be thought of as possibly being "economical with the truth".

Later historical writers who have helped add fact and fiction to the life of Carausius include Eutropius, Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth and two Scottish chroniclers, John of Fordun and Hector Boethius. It would take far too long to compare the contributions of each to the jigsaw, but the foundation was laid for a Frenchman, Grenebrier, to write a history of Carausius in 1740. This was followed in 1757 by a remarkable book by the eminent antiquary, William Stukeley, entitled The Medallic History of Marcus Aurelius Valerius Carausius, which lists all types of the coins of Carausius known to Stukeley, some read with more enthusiasm than accuracy. It attributes

each reverse type in turn to daily events in the Emperor's life. Although much of the historical content is pure fiction it is none the less amusing and well worth reading. I quote . "PAX AVG S.C. , type of peace. Struck on the 8th of October (289), when the ceremony is performed of an olive branch with fruit hung up in the Palace." and "... the 30th of January 290 is the solemn service in commemoration of peace and the particular day when the mints teem with the following coins ... a sacred coin with C in the exergue struck at Cataractonium (Catterick)."

Since the numismatic evidence of the reign is by far the most prolific it is fitting that our twentieth century progress in this field is based upon Percy Webb's "Reign and coinage of Carausius" first published in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1907.

So what does all this tell us of Carausius? It is likely that he was born to poor Menapian parents about the middle of the third century. Since Menapia constitutes the area around the Low Countries, does this tell us that our first Emperor was not indeed British? According to Webb, who seems to have been influenced by Genebrier, there were several well established Menapian trading posts around Britain, notably on the isle of Man and the Welsh coast. His subsequent acceptance by the people of Britain and his revered memory in folklore make this form of British origin quite plausible. He probably saw distinguished military service under Aurelian, Probus and Carus before Diocletian gave him command of the Roman fleet in the English Channel with the task of controlling the Saxon pirates.

In late 286 AD or early 287 AD Diocletian ordered the arrest of Carausius on a charge of piracy. Word had reached Rome that Carausius invariably intercepted the Saxon raiders on their return from Britain loaded with the spoils of their expedition. The booty so reclaimed was apparently never returned to the rightful owner, nor, worse still, to the Imperial coffers. Carausius apparently heard of the charges and with the support of the entire fleet effectively declared U.D.I.

It is quite likely that he maintained a base in Rouen at the beginning of his reign and a distinctive series of coins, which I will refer to as the Rouen type were probably struck there.

The actual mechanics of his take over in Britain raise several as yet unanswered questions. Did Carausius stay in Rouen until his foothold was secure? Does this explain such reverse types as ADVENTVS AVG and EXPECTATE VENI. The latter is often considered a quote from Vergil although I have my doubts as to the literary background of the Carausian exchequer being so erudite. Did the three legions in Britain shew unwavering support? Why is the sixth legion, based at York, not commemorated on the coinage while the second, based at Caerleon, and the twentieth, based at Chester, are? Did Carausius land in the south of England or the north? Was any

battle fought between opposing Roman armies? Legions not under the control of Carausius also receive mention. Were some renegades from these legions in the Carausian force or were they merely odd vexillations already serving alongside the British legions? Exactly how many extra troops came over with Carausius is unknown but archaeological evidence seems to indicate that some previously abandoned military quarters were reoccupied. (Many legionary coins may be direct copies of types used by Victorinus and others.)

Whatever the answers to these questions may be, the Carausian regime was soon in power and the numismatic publicity machine was rolling. Vast quantities of coins were needed quickly, and if these could be used for publicity and propaganda, so much the better. Let us now focus on the reverse type that I wish to examine.

After Saxon raids, uncertainty and invasion (even if peaceful), the reverse legend PAX AVG would have been a welcome sight to the inhabitants of Britain. Coupled with the portrait of a man of the obvious immense strength as their new leader the "news content" of the coinage would have been even more appealing.

It must be noted that PAX is not a common issue at the beginning of most reigns but the propaganda value in this instance would have been considerable. Michael Grant in his Roman Anniversary Issues considers that this type may have been both an accessionary and an anniversary type. PAX, though a rare accessionary issue in the first half of the second century, was used by Antoninus Pius on his accession in 138 AD. He considers that Carausius may have gained power in 287 AD or even 288 AD and that the 150th anniversary of Pius' accession type may have led to the issue. Against this may be argued the following points. The issue was extremely common throughout the reign, not just at the beginning. Carausius may well have gained power in late 286 AD and with his urgent need for coinage a detailed study of the mint practices at Rome 150 years earlier would not have been high on the new Emperor's list of priorities.

At this point it is worth looking at the possibilities of locations of the Carausian mints. It is quite likely that an early mint operated in northern France, probably at Rouen. This produced a distinctive coinage with a small, neat and very orthodox third century bust. The issue was fairly small and short lived. The majority of British coins fall into three main groups - the unmarked coins, the L coins and the C coins. I will leave out of the discussion some scarcer mint marks such as RSR, BRI and XX. The L coins, so-called because of an L (often accompanied by other letters) in the exergue are almost certainly the London mint. For many years the C mint has been fought for by Colchester (Camulodunum) and Bitterne (Clausentum). In recent years the former has gained more acceptance. Gloucester (Glevum) has recently been suggested but

evidence for this is not convincing. The unmarked coins, the main part of my studies, cause even more complications. Was there more than one mint producing the unmarked coinage? Did the L and C mints produce unmarked coinage? How much of the unmarked coinage is official and where is the dividing line between official and non-official issues? Enough evidence has come to light over the past 15 years or so to make the case for the unmarked coinage being produced in Britain a most convincing one.

The relative occurrence of the marks in four early hoards shew just how large the production of the unmarked issues was. The chronology of the indexed-marked pieces from the London and C mints was put forward by Robert Carson in 1971. His arguments are sound and the system fits in well with hoard evidence.

In order to investigate just how common the PAX reverse types are, I have illustrated the reverse type analysis from five important sources. Croydon, Suffolk (a hoard discovered last year which I am writing up) and Little Orme represent three early Carausian hoards with 67, 54 and 556 Carausian coins respectively. The famous Blackmoor hoard which was probably buried in 296 AD is a late Allectan hoard which contained 522 Carausian coins, while the excavations at Richborough yielded over 1100 Carausian coins. If we examine well over 2000 Carausian coins we find that just over 607 of the coins have a PAX reverse. Considering the great variety of reverse types employed by Carausius this is an exceedingly high ratio.

Looking at the 522 Carausian coins from the Blackmoor hoard we find the following breakdown. Within this single reverse type lies a diversity of artistic expression, both of quality and style, which would make a complete examination of the evidence longer than a single talk permits. I will thus confine myself to the following main points:

The standard PAX types

Some more unusual representations of PAX on the coinage

When is a PAX not a PAX? Types where the legend cites PAX but a different personification is shewn. Conversely those types that shew PAX under a different legend

Semi-literate PAX legends

Some of the more interesting portraiture that is found in conjunction with PAX reverses

PAX as a reverse type is common throughout the reign. Carausian gold is rare, but PAX is a known reverse type. The silver denarius (an innovation of the Carausian system not copied immediately by the central Empire) is also scarce. Many of the silver coins have the reverse mark RSR which modern thinking attributes to RATIONALIS SUMMAE REI or an issue by the Chief Finance Ministry, presumably then under the control of Allectus. No denarii with a PAX reverse have yet been recorded with the RSR mark, but denarii do exist of the unmarked type,

and have a laureate bust on the obverse. A denarius of RSR with a PAX standing left reverse and legend PAX CARAUSI AUG has recently come to light.

The short-lived mint at Rouen, can, to all intents and purposes, be thought of as a PAX-free mint. RIC650 is quoted as PAX EXERCITI but as yet I have not found a single specimen of this type. The nearest I can find to a PAX reverse is a reverse of PROVIDENTIA looking very PAX-like in appearance. The obverse bust at Rouen is so characteristic that such specimens are easily spotted, although I have found a surprising number of such coins that have been wrongly attributed.

The standard attributes of PAX are the sceptre and olive branch. The two most common representations of PAX show her standing with either a vertical or transverse sceptre. Both these versions had been common during the Gallic Empire. Under Carausius the vertical sceptre version was more common. The two types are contemporary, and the suggestion has been made that the angle of sceptre differentiates the issues of two officina. Both types exist throughout the reign and follow on into the coinage of Allectus. Standard types exist for London, where the F/0/ML mark is by far the most common, for the C mint and the unmarked issue. Flan sizes vary considerably. Later in the reign the uneasy alliance between Carausius and his fellow Emperors on the continent is celebrated by the PAX AUGGG reverse and by the issue of coins in the names of Diocletian and Maximian.

Amongst the much scarcer but more unusual representations of PAX is a delightful running PAX (the style of which is not dissimilar to those of Bonosus struck during his revolt of 280 AD). The three provenanced examples of the Carausian issue, which is from early in his reign, come from hoards from Surrey, Lincolnshire and North Wales. This illustrates the speed with which the coinage dispersed around the province and emphasises the difficulties in trying to locate the site of the mint. A seated PAX is again an unusual breakaway from tradition.

Sometimes PAX legends are used with un-PAX like figures such as, most ironically, Mars, the god of war, as well as Moneta and Salus. PAX sometimes carries unusual attributes such as a cornucopia or even an eagle on globe. Some of these issues are probably barbarous, but a large number are of excellent style and must be considered official.

Illiterate reverse types pose a particular problem. It would be easy to dismiss these as contemporary forgeries, but the style of the obverse is often good. It is quite likely that in the early months of the reign, when the need for quickly produced coinage was most acute, untrained local gem engravers may have been utilised; the less literate of whom may have often been given responsibility for the reverse types. Articles have been written by both Mann and Shiel on the use of vulgar Latin forms

in inscriptions from Britain, some probably being transcribed phonetically. Legends reading PAS AVG and PAC AVG exist as do similar variations of other reverses such as PIATAS AVG AND LITIT AVG.

As many of these coins are overstruck on earlier issues, mostly of the Gallic Empire, I feel that there is a good case to be made for regarding overstruck coins as official since little profit is to be made by a forger who reissues perfectly acceptable current coin at its original face value unless the new coins were intended to circulate at a higher value,

value than the typical Gallic Empire antoniniani. This is not to deny that unofficial production at local level was not present. Many coins by style, fabric, and size are far from official in appearance.

Finally I would like to examine some of the more interesting aspects of the portraiture of Carausius found in conjunction with the PAX reverse types. One, of great significance, shews a Consular bust of Carausius. This is a clear indication that he accepted a Consulship, either of his own making or with the blessing of his fellow Emperors after the temporary peace of 289 AD. Armed busts exist, usually being executed with much care by most proficient engravers.

A mere handful of coins with a jugate bust of Carausius exist. The other bust is usually interpreted as that of Sol, although on the coins that I have examined the bust certainly looks feminine, and this leads to the suggestion that it may represent the wife of Carausius. The family of Carausius is not recorded, but coins shewing a youth and bearing the title PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS do exist, a title usually bestowed on the Emperor's son.

No account of the portraiture would be complete without a mention of the most spectacular obverse type issued by Carausius. This issue commemorates the uneasy peace with the central Empire and shews Carausius and his brother Emperors "CARAUSIUS ET FRATRES SUI". It has a PAX reverse, and like so many of the unusual portraits was issued at the C mint. A type with the triple portrait and legend AVGVSTIS CUM DIOCLETIANO has recently been published by R.A.G. Carson.

The PAX type remained prominent, but never to such an extent as previously, during the reign of Allectus and is used on aurei and antoniniani.

Finally let me express my sincere thanks to the staff of the Coin Room at the British Museum and especially Mr. Roger Bland, and also to the many other museums, university departments and archaeological trusts that have patiently put up with my enquiries and demands over the past three years. PAX VOBISCUM!

The Roman Emperor Severus Alexander born about 208, was adopted by his cousin Elagabalus and became Caesar in 221, then reigned as Emperor 222-235. He was a totally different type of person from his cousin, being, according to his biographer (1) a paragon of all virtues, especially when compared with his predecessor for whom no vice was barred. Biographies of both Emperors are undoubtedly equally exaggerated and one suspects that Severus Alexander, as well as being rather a weak character, very much under the influence of his mother, was also rather boring. Nevertheless he *was* certainly an improvement on Elagabalus.

Severus Alexander issued two rare and interesting types of dupondii.

1. Obv: Radiate head to right. IMP SEV ALEXANDER AVG
   Rev: Moneta standing, holding scales and cornucopia.
   MON. RESTITVTA SC
   Cohen 180, RIC 589.
2. Obv: as above
   Rev: Emperor standing to left, in military uniform
   holding long sceptre in left hand and extending right hand. RESTITVTOR MON
   SC
   Cohen 517, RIC 601, Sear, Roman coins and their values,
   4th ed, no. 2275, illus. on p.218. (1125)

These two types are only known on dupondii - the sestertius similar to no.2 above quoted by Cohen probably does not exist, and there are no aureii, denarii etc. using this type. The main feature of the coinage of Severus Alexander is the virtual total disappearance of silver radiate antoniniani. Only one example is known (with reverse type MARS VICTOR, RIC 157).

These two types of dupondii clearly refer to the restoration of the coinage, but what sort of restoration, how was it done and when? The coins are not dated but judging from the style of the obverse they were probably struck in the middle of the reign, c.228-231 perhaps.

One possible solution may lie in a passage in Lampridius' biography of Severus Alexander (probably written about the time of Constantine, with later additions) which contains one of the very few specific references to coins by Roman historians.

"The taxes paid to the state were so reduced that those whose taxes under Elagabalus had amounted to 10 aurei now paid a third of an aureus, a thirtieth, that is, of their former tax. Then for the first time half-aurei (i.e. semisses aureorum) were minted, and also third-aurei (i.e. tremisses), after the tax had been reduced to this amount and Alexander declared that quarter-aurei too would be issued - for he could not issue a

smaller coin. And he did indeed coin these, but kept them in the mint, waiting to issue them until he could reduce the tax; however, when this proved impossible because of the needs of the state he had them melted down and issued only third-aurei (tremisses) and solidi. He also melted down the pieces of two, three, four and ten aurei and the coins of larger denominations even up to the value of a pound and of a hundred aurei - which had been introduced by Elagabalus - and so withdrew them from circulation."

In spite of being specific the above account is so full of errors and confusion as to be useless. Firstly it is very unlikely that Severus Alexander reduced taxes to 1/30th of those of Elagabalus. Secondly, half aurei (quinarii) were not minted under Elagabalus nor were they minted for the first time under Severus Alexander. They had already been issued by Julius Caesar **in** 45 BC and possibly before. Thirdly, tremisses (1/3 solidi) were issued for the first time by Theodosius I and Valentinian II c.383 which suggests perhaps that the biography was written after that date. Fourthly, solidi appear at the earliest under Diocletian after his coinage reform at the end of the third century. Fifthly, there are no known examples of

aurei. Sixthly, so far as I am aware there are no examples of multiple gold coins of Elagabalus. A 100 aureus piece would have weighed about 700 grams. Multiple aurei do however begin to appear a generation later, in about 250.

We must therefore look elsewhere for a solution. Cohen appears to suggest that the legend refers to Severus Alexander's reduction of taxation, but this does not seem likely as the concepts and words for coins and taxes were quite different in the Roman state. A comparison of the distinctive features of Severus Alexander's coinage with that of his predecessor might prove fruitful.

1. The disappearance of the antoninianus. The traditional view is that the radiate head of the Emperor and its association with the sun god would remind people of the Emperor Elagabalus and his obsession with the sun god Elagabalus. Hence Severus Alexander abolished them. The argument against this is that Severus Alexander issued dupondii with radiate heads and also it appears that Elegabalus himself ceased to mint antoniniani since they are found for the following years only:

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        year 1   TR P      218
             2   TR PII    219
and not:     3   TR PIII   220
             4   TR PIV    221
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Anyway if MON RESTITUTA does refer to this aspect, why does the legend appear on dupondii but not denarii?

2. The revival of the gold half aureus. This coin was issued by Severus Alexander, and not Elagabalus, but again, why is the

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MON RESTITUTA legend not found on them rather than on the dupondii?

3. A possible attempt to increase the weight or quality of the coinage. I am not aware however of any sudden dramatic improvement in either, at any stage of Severus Alexander's reign. There is a picture of gradual decline throughout the 3rd century.

4. It has been suggested (2) that the legend might refer to a restoration of the dupondius after an initial abolition of both the antoninianus and dupondius at the beginning of the reign, but according to RIC itself one finds dupondii issued for every one of Severus Alexander's regnal/TRP years.

5. I am indebted to Mr. Paul Munro-Walker for the suggestion that there was an improvement in the quality of the designs and the striking of these bronze coins during Severus Alexander's reign and it is to this aspect that the legends refer. In the absence of cogent evidence pointing in other directions this seems the most plausible suggestion to date.

1. Scriptores Historiae Augustae; Severus Alexander by Aelius Lampridius, translated by David Magie; vol. II, pp. 254-7, XXXIX, 6-9. Loeb Classical Library, London 1967.
(The source is of dubious integrity and uncertain chronology - eds.)
2. Mattingly, H. & Sydenham, E., Roman Imperial Coinage, vol. IV, part II, p. vi.

A TOKEN JOURNEY INTO ESSEX. A paper given to the Club on 9th January 1991 by Stuart Adams

To most collectors tokens bring to mind the series issued in the 17th and 18th centuries. These are well documented but the tokens and paranumismatic items issued in the 19th and 20th centuries have been poorly recorded. The journey we shall be taking will look at the record a researcher can obtain from some of the tokens, tallies, medallions and farm tallies issued in the last 150 years or so. The route travelled will basically be along the A13, starting at Bow Creek, crossing into Essex and then travelling eastwards.

It is perhaps best to define Essex before *we* start our journey as confusion often arises about where the true border lies. This is a result of the administrative powers of London extending into the boroughs originally adjacent to London, such as those of East and West Ham and latterly almost as far east as Aveley. Since many of the tokens were from towns formerly in Essex, now in one of the London boroughs, it was decided to look at any numismatic item from any town or village within the old County boundary. In the west this follows the River Lee; in the north it partly follows the River Stour whilst the southern

and eastern boundaries are formed by the River Thames and the North Sea respectively. Most dates have been retrieved from Kellys Post Office Directories and whilst they are a good guide for providing a date bracket for a farmer or business these dates should be treated with some latitude.

The journey starts on the London side of Bow Creek where Ditchburn and Mare established a boat building yard in 1837. By 1839 they also had a yard on the Essex side of Bow Creek. To transport their workers across the creek a ferry was established and tokens (1) were supplied to the workers. We shall use one to start our journey into Essex. Having crossed into Essex our first port of call is Stratford.

Many industries sprang up in the Stratford area in the late 19th century and to support the growth in demand for food the Great Eastern Railway established the Stratford Wholesale Fruit and Vegetable Market in 1879. Sited at the end of Burford Road the market grew, the original covered market being extended in 1924 to cover the open Green Market sited at the end of the market buildings. Traders gradually extended their premises until the market took up the whole of Burford Road and spilled into Channelsea Road. Its proximity to the railway allowed speedy delivery of fresh farm produce from the Essex farms and imports via the seaport at Harwich. Illustrated below is one of the earlier tallies issued by Thomas Skeels which was in use approximately between the years 1881 and 1884. The purpose of the tallies was to act as a deposit receipt on boxes or sacks containing produce purchased by the retailer. The retailer could then redeem his deposit by producing the correct number of tallies and containers. There were many tallies issued over the years by the traders and these are described by King. (2) Stratford Wholesale Market will close in May 1991 and move to Hackney Marshes with Spitalfields Market.

Travelling eastwards into Plaistow we find that two public houses, the Old Greyhound in Balaam Street and the Essex Arms, issued tokens. The former was issued by W. Evans between 1878 and 1882, had a value of 1½d (approximately equivalent to 0.6p) and was made by W.J. Taylor. The piece from the Essex Arms, issued by G.S. Ayers from about 1855 to 1861, raises two points of interest. The first is that this token states that Plaistow is actually in Essex, the second lies in the spelling of

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Pla(i)stow. When looking at contemporary maps it is observed that the village is spelt with an "i' but the surrounding marshes are spelt without. The current spelling of the area favours the "i' version. No maker is indicated on the token and values known to exist are Id, 2d and 4d (0.4p, O.8p, 1.7p approx.).

The area of Barking, like many parts of Essex that have been encroached upon by London, has undergone change. Here we can find at least 3 types of tokens. Farming tallies such as those issued by W.W. Glenny who also had outlets at Spitalfields, a pub check from Robert Barrett and tokens of three Cooperative Societies whose rise and fall we can trace.

Considering these in order, it appears that William Wallis Glenny farmed between 1874 and 1895 and then became a Justice of the Peace. The tally he issued had a value of 12d (not written as 1/-, equivalent to 5p) and was made by W.J. Taylor.

Robert Barrett is first listed in the Post Office Directories as a beer retailer at 17 Walter Terrace, North Woolwich Road, in 1855. The road had its name changed in 1857 to Victoria Dock Road, coinciding with the completion of the Victoria Docks (1855-6). The Directories after 1857 and until 1859 then record Robert Barrett as the landlord of the Victoria Dock Tavern, still incidentally at 17, Walter Terrace.

A total of 3 Barking Cooperative Societies came and went during the years 1867 and 1897, Stratford Cooperative Society coming to the rescue of the third remaining Society in 1898. Dividend tokens are known for the Barking Industrial Cooperative Society and the Barking Provident Society as well as the Stratford Cooperative Society.

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The area between Romford and Dagenham, known as Becontree, was a farming community prior to 1920 but in the 10 years that followed up to 4 square miles of farmland was built on, providing housing, shops and schools for London's growing population. The farmers that worked the land are recorded by their tallies. These tallies were mostly used to pay pea and potato pickers and examples are known for David Bixby, C.&J. Parrish and C.D. Parrish.

By 1931 Fords had moved into Dagenham opening what was to become one of Europe's largest vehicle factories. Fords even issued a medallion to celebrate the production of the one millionth Cortina, which incidentally was flown across the English Channel underneath a helicopter to its new owner in Ostend.

The villages of Rainham and Aveley were surrounded by farms, many of which still exist today and there are tallies known for Frederick Bodger, W.O. Watt and Albert Parrish. But it is at Grays that we shall make our next stop.

The Grays Cooperative was one of the survivors from when cooperation businesses began in the 1860's. This Society issued dividend checks between 1867 and 1906 after which they changed to the Climax system. This involved recording your purchases and dividend number in a book and issuing a paper receipt. The tokens known at present are a brass series, the denominations being d, id, 2d, 3d, 4d, 6d, 1/- and a half sovereign (0.2p, 0.4p, 0.8p, 1.3p, 1.7p, 2.5p, 5p, and 50p).

At 55, High Street was the Grays and District People's Cafe where they sold non-alcoholic beverages. A twopenny piece made in the style of and attributed to W.J. Taylor is known.

Just off the A13 route that *we* are travelling lies Kynocktown south of Stanford le Hope. In 1894 Kynock & Co. began manufacturing explosives on this coastal site and in their heyday employed some 6000 people, built a school and houses and even had their own light railway system. Following the peace in 1919 the demand for explosives declined and in 1921 the site was sold to Cory Bros. and subsequently became known as Corytown, which still **exists** today. The illustration below is

of a paycheck, the design of which resembles the end of a munitions shell.

Back on our journey, we enter Southend, popular as a seaside and holiday resort, particularly for the population of east London. One of the major features was the Kursaal. Established about 1900 as the Southend Kursaal Ltd., it provided a wide range of entertainment and in 1912 it was re-registered as Southend Amusements Ltd. The token illustrated below is one used in the fairground.

Other Southend tokens known are those issued by The Original London Stores in Southchurch Road, and an advertising piece provided by Greers Whisky for the Minerva Hotel (c. 1906 .

The last stop is at Shoeburyness. The area is still rural in character and remnants of the farming activities are represented by the tally issued by Swann & Thomson. They farmed in Shoeburyness between 1909 and about 1935.

So ends this excursion into Essex. The information given here is just a part of the research I have been doing on modern Essex numismatic material with the intention of publishing a work devoted to Essex. If any reader has anything associated with Essex I would be most grateful to hear from them - even if it is only one piece! All communications should be sent via the Editors.

References

1. Hawkins, R.N.P., <u>Four studies of British metallic tickets and commercial checks of the 19th and 20th centuries. </u>Doris Stockwell Memorial Papers, no. 2, 1975. B.A.N.S.

2. King, J.R.P., <u>A catalogue of Stratford Market tallies. </u>1990, West Essex Coin Investments, 176, Hoe Street, Walthamstow, London E17.

<u>JAMES STUART AND THE SOBIESKI BRIDE - a paper delivered to the Club on 10 April 1991 by Noel Woolf </u>

There have been several accounts of the wooing and wedding of Clementina Sobieski by James Francis Stuart. At least one account is so scholarly as to be virtually unreadable, but fortunately some of the adventurers who took part in the securing of this unusual royal marriage left more human, though perhaps less accurate, accounts.

From its very beginning the necessary secrecy ensured a lack of dignity which extended from the wooing to the bedding. At the age of 29 James, known to his friends as the Chevalier de St. George, and to the English as the Pretender, was being urged by his supporters to find himself a wife and to propagate the Stuart line of which he was the last male. He had been chased - diplomatically - by King George whose aim was to drive him ever closer to Rome, first to Lorraine, then to the Papal city of Avignon, and then to Italy, where he was living in Urbino.

At this time the Continent was awash with Irishmen. After William III had driven James II back to France and settled the Irish problem "once and for all" as he thought by the Treaty of Limerick, he allowed all who had opposed him to go to France. There, many of them formed an Irish regiment under General Dillon and continued to fight against England in the service of Louis XIV. One member of this regiment, Charles Wogan, was chosen by James to scour the Continent for unmarried Catholic Princesses.

The mission had to be carried out in the greatest secrecy as George I would have made every effort to prevent James from marrying. Wogan set out in February 1718 disguised as an English tourist. He travelled widely in abominable weather but found all the Catholic Princesses dull and uninspiring - until he reached Ohlau, in Silesia. Ohlau was the home of Prince

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James Sobieski, son of Jan Sobieski, the late King of Poland. Wogan, with the assistance of another expatriate, soon learned that the Prince had 3 unmarried daughters, the youngest of whom was amiable, well-mannered, with good features and lovely black eyes. Clementina was a God-daughter of the Pope and a cousin of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles VI - a fit prize for any young king!

By the end of March Wogan was back in Urbino to report his success, but greatly to his disgust and fury James Murray of Stormont was chosen to go back to Ohlau to negotiate the marriage. Portraits were soon exchanged and the contract was signed on July 23rd. In September John Hay, James's secretary was sent to Ohlau to escort Clementina and her mother to Bologna where the wedding would take place. George I however learnt of the proposed marriage and was determined to stop it. He forced the H.R.E. Charles VI to agree to stop Clementina and her mother on their way through Imperial territory. Charles VI sent a messenger to Innsbruck to arrest the party, but told him not to hurry. Charles perhaps did not like being ordered about by someone who until recently had been only a German Elector. The Dowager Empress also thought, maybe, that the arrest of her sister and her niece was going too far.

The bridal party stopped on the way for a week at Augsburg, where Clementina's uncle was Bishop, and in spite of his dilatoriness the Imperial messenger could not avoid reaching Innsbruck before them. As the party arrived they were arrested and conducted to the Schloss Ambras (or, according to some accounts the palace), which was to be their home for the next 7 months. The Pope was furious and demanded the immediate release of his God-daughter and her mother. James sent Wogan to Innsbruck in disguise where he managed to gain access to Clementina and her mother. Though he offered them a plan for escape they refused to be rescued unless Prince James Sobieski gave his permission!

Wogan travelled to Ohlau once more - 300 miles in mid-December - but the Prince refused his permission. lie did however offer Wogan a valuable gift for his pains. When the gift was diplomatically declined by Wogan on the grounds that he could not return to Italy with a gift for himself and a refusal for his King, the Prince was won over by Wogan's obvious integrity, and gave his permission for the planned escape.

Meanwhile in early November James had made another attempt to invade Scotland with the aid of the Spanish fleet, but the fleet had been completely destroyed before it left Spanish waters. Two ships with 274 Spanish troops however had left earlier and, escaping the storm, made their way to Scotland. The troops occupied Eilean Donan Castle but soon after the mini-invasion was defeated - like the 1908 and 1715, the 1719 failed.

Meanwhile Wogan chose his rescue team from amongst his friends in Dillon's regiment. It consisted of his cousin Captain Lucas O'Toole, his uncle Major Richard Gaydon, his trusted friend Captain John Misset, Mrs Misset who would be a suitable companion to the Princess, and Janetta, Mrs Misset's maid. This party was later joined by Michael Vezzoni, James valet-de-chambre, who acted as courier.

After dark on 27th April the Rescue Party entered Innsbruck and went straight to the inn opposite the castle. Wogan met Chateaudoux, the Princess's chamberlain who handed him a key and told him that General Hester had orders to visit the prisoners morning and evening. Mrs Misset's maid, Janetta, having been bribed with a piece of gold and some of her mistress's clothes, pretended to have toothache and kept her face wrapped up so that she could be smuggled into the castle to take the place of Clementina. Wogan and Janetta walked to the castle and after they had waited in the pouring rain for an hour the Princess came out, followed by Konska, the page with a small package and Janetta entered the castle.

By 2 o'clock in the morning Clementina, Mrs Misset, Gaydon and Wogan were on board the travelling coach, a Berlin they had brought with them. O'Toole followed them on horseback whilst the rest of the party went on ahead. It was soon discovered that the package Konska had brought from the castle had been left behind. Clementina was not bothered by the loss in spite of the fact that it had contained her jewels, but the rest of the party were, and O'Toole immediately rode back to the inn. On finding it locked up for the night he lifted the door off its hinges, found the package and was away without anyone being the wiser.

By 8.30 the next morning the Berlin had covered 3 staging posts and the party had caught up with Misset and Michael at the top of the Brenner Pass. They pretended not to know each other and after a short rest the main party continued, leaving Misset and Michael to deal with any Imperial courier who might follow. Four stages from Trent, the next big town, Michael was sent ahead to arrange fresh horses, while O'Toole and Misset managed to delay the Imperial courier who had caught them up by lacing his wine with brandy. Before he passed out they learnt that he had been sent by General Hester with orders to the Governor of Trent to arrest the escaping party. The dispatches were destroyed and the courier put to bed.

At Trent Wogan came up against the first real problem. They had caught up with the Prince and Dowager Princess of Baden (who had been hoping to win the hand of Clementina while she was imprisoned at Innsbruck) who had passed through taking all the available post horses. The Governor would at first do nothing to help and they were left stranded in the town square, but when they threatened him with a state visit the gout ridden Governor agreed to let them have some fresh horses. By late

afternoon they were through the last of the Imperial garrison towns, Rovereto, but not yet out of the Emperor's territory. Just as they were hoping their troubles were over a broken axle overturned the Berlin. Wogan and Clementina walked to the next village for help. Clementina, who had eaten practically nothing since they left Innsbruck also hoped to get some milk to drink - but they was none in the village!

By the time the axle was repaired it was getting dark and they hired 2 men to walk beside the coach. One hundred and eighteen miles had been covered and there were 14 more to safety. Later that night the second axle broke and since it would take until morning to repair they hired a covered cart and the tired horses were harnessed to it. The two women travelled in the cart while Wogan and Gaydon walked beside it. At 3.30 in the morning they saw the wall that marked the end of Imperial territory and the beginning of the Papal States. By 5 o clock they were safely in Peri where they were soon joined by Misset, O'Toole and Michael with the repaired Berlin. Their next stop was Verona, the journey only being delayed by a half hour walk up a hill too steep for the horses to pull a loaded Berlin, but this was managed even by Clementina who, her companions reckoned, had never walked so far in her life. On May 2nd at 5 o'clock in the afternoon they arrived in Bologna.

Clementina's escape was considered of great importance by the Pope, Innocent XI, who ordered a medal to be struck to commemorate the event. The obverse has a fine portrait of Clementina with the legend

CLEMENTINA M. BRITAN. FR. ET. HIB. REGINA.

It is the work of Ottone Hamerani and bears his signature. On the reverse Clementina is seen driving a biga, with Rome in the background. The legend is

FORTVNAM CASANQVE SEQVOR

"I follow his fortune and his cause". In the exergue is a reference to the classic escape

DECEPTIS CVSTODIBVS MDCCXIX

"The guards being deceived 1719". (M.I. II, p.444, no.49) The medal was not struck until some time afterwards.

The party was now in Papal territory but by no means out of all danger as there was still a risk that Clementina might be murdered. An English priest, Father Maas was sent from Rome to perform a proxy wedding (9th May 1719).

The first of the two marriage medals appears to refer to this proxy wedding. The portraits of the bride and groom appear separately. The obverse shews James III facing right with his usual regal titles. The reverse shews Clementina, again with her regal titles as on the escape medal. There is no date. The medal is signed in full by Ottone Hamerani. (M.I. II, p.446, no.52)

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Clementine was now lawfully the wife of James Stuart, but in one way this made the danger even greater. If she were to be abducted James would be unable to marry again and King George's victory would be complete. The day after the proxy wedding the party set off for Rome, a journey of five days. On arrival the 16 year old "Queen of England" *was* showered with gifts, but had to wait three months before her husband returned from Spain, and the second marriage could be performed in Montefiascone.

The official medal that commemorated the second wedding is more conventional than the previous one. The obverse shews the conjoined busts of the couple, with the legend

<p align="center">IACOB III R CLEMENTINA R</p>

and is signed HAMERAN. The reverse shews Hercules taking the hand of Venus attended by a cupid with a caduceus. The legend reads

<p align="center">REGIVM CONVBIVM</p>

"The royal nuptials". In the exergue is the date

<p align="center">KAL SEPTEMBR MDCCXXX</p>

(M.I. II, p.445, no.51) This medal is also usually attributed, to Ottone Hamerani, but the sharper, more vigorous style of the portraits suggests that it is rather the work of his brother Ermenegildo.

Another rare medal or badge which appears to commemorate the marriage may have been made unofficially at this time, possibly in England. It is not struck - all copies have been individually engraved. It shews a pair of clasped hands with UNITED above and the date, 1719, below. The reverse shows Charles I with the legend REMEMBER. The use of this portrait may link the medal with earlier ones depicting Queen Anne on one side and Charles I on the other. (M.I. II, p.383, no.233) In both cases the point was probably to emphasise that Anne and the newlyweds were direct descendants of the Martyr King - and obviously more directly descended than the Hanoverian George.

Editorial note: In the subsequent discussion it was pointed out that the medal might also be referring to the 70th anniversary of Charles' execution. Another suggestion was that the portrait was so unflattering as to imply that the message was anti-Stuart, the implication being that the marriage renewed the threat of tyranny and civil war. It seems more likely however that the engraver was not a good portraitist.

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PUB CURRENCY CARVED OUT OF STONE by S.Tyler-Smith and M.Phillips.

An item in <u>Bedfordshire on Sunday,</u> 24.6.90 with the above title gave details of an interesting variant in the use of pub checks:

> "You need hard currency to get a drink at the White Horse at Wilstead. Stones to be precise.
>
> The landlord has dreamed up the idea of using odd shaped stones and giving them to people who have a drink in the stable'. The scheme has become such a talking point that regulars are now coming in with bricks and demanding 'drinks all round'."

The report continued, quoting a local, Sam Cooke, suggesting that the stones has been traded in at the local post office and newsagents and were used as currency in the village. From the report we could not work out how the system worked, and the statement that they had become a local currency seemed too good to be true. So we decided to investigate.
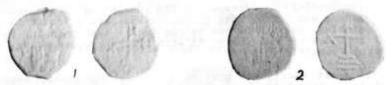
On the map Wilstead lies to the east of the A6 a few miles due south of Bedford. In practice a few houses have been built on the west side of the road, and the pub, the White Horse, is situated there. The landlady, Monica Addison, confirmed that the system existed. It was designed, she said, to avoid unpleasantness in the evening when they were very busy. 'In the stable' meant that a customer had been bought a drink by someone else, but did not want to consume it immediately, and was given a stone to confirm that the drink had been paid for. Anyone who was still in possession of a stone at the end of the evening was supposed to hand it back to the landlord and they were put on a list for a drink the following day. The stones were only given to regular customers. The scheme was introduced after someone claimed that they had been bought a drink and the ensuing argument threatened to get out of hand until the person had admitted that "it had all been a wind-up".

The "stones" turned out to be machine polished, cone shaped objects about 3/4" high and made of a hard grey material. They were not used as local currency although someone had once tried to cash them at the post office. The landlady had never heard of Sam Cooke - nor had anyone else.

Have other pubs, past or present, issued checks for this purpose? It seems an obvious use once it has been pointed out. Is it the practice referred to in the 1871 reference quoted by Robert Thompson <u>(Newsletter,</u> VII, 6 (Oct, 1984) p.26) 7

ANTIOCHENE ANOMALIES by Marcus Phillips

The American excavations at Antioch on the Orontes brought to light four examples of a hitherto unknown copper coin. (1) The obverse depicts a figure resembling a Byzantine Emperor, the reverse a cross on steps with the letters R E X on the arms of the cross. Recently Michael O'Hara has published two further examples, one of them mine, and suggested that they might have been struck at Antioch in the name of the short lived Byzantine Emperor Alexius II (1180-4), coins of whom are otherwise unknown. (2)

There seems every reason to suppose that the coins were struck at Antioch. Quite apart from the excavation provenance, they are unrecorded from anywhere else and it *is* difficult to imagine any other mint in the Latin East which could have issued them. One needs to be careful in relying on style when considering what by Byzantine standards would have been the product of *a* very provincial, not to say barbarian, mint, but the depiction of the emperor, and the cross on steps design, support O'Hara's contention that the coins belong to the latter part of the twelfth century. I am not convinced, however, by the attribution to Alexius II.

O'Hara argues that since REX was the Latin equivalent of basileus, as the Byzantine Emperor was usually termed in Greek literary sources, the coin, must be an imperial issue. This, of course, accords with the obverse design. The attribution to Alexius II is based on the supposition that his mother Mary, an Antiochene Princess, might have been at Antioch when Alexius' father Manuel Comnenus died in Constantinople (1180) and caused the coin to be struck in her son's name before returning to the capital to take over the regency for Alexius who was still a minor.

There is no suggestion in any source that Mary left Constantinople after she married Manuel except, possibly, to accompany him. To go to Antioch would have required convoy by the Byzantine fleet and this would have been such an extraordinary event as to have surely led to some comment in the sources. In 1180 Mary had every reason to be in Constantinople and none

1. Antioch (1952) 170, #2306. The Antioch excavation material is now at Princeton. When I enquired about the REX coins only one could be found which was the piece not illustrated in the 1952 publication. I am most grateful to Dr. Brooks Levy for sending me a cast of the coin which is illustrated as fig.l. It weighs 0.85 gm. A cast of mine (wt. 1.03 gms) *is* illustrated as fig.2.

2. O'Hara (1989). His coin has since been sold: Munzzentrum (Cologne) Auction 69 (12.9.90), lot 674.

whatever to go to Antioch. Manuel's health was already giving cause for concern before the onset of his final illness early in the year. By March the Patriarch of Constantinople *was* sufficiently concerned to urge him on several occasions to make arrangements for the succession. He refused, fortified by the prognostications of the court astrologers that he would live for another 14 years. He fell seriously ill in May and died in October. (3) In view of the uncertainties of the succession Mary would not have left Constantinople to go anywhere (let alone a remote outpost like Antioch!) after Manuel became ill. The silence of the chroniclers as to her whereabouts during Manuel's last illness imply that she was where one would have expected her to be - in Constantinople.

I would also reject the possibility that the coin could have been struck in Antioch had Mary not been there. It is true that relations between Antioch and Constantinople had been very close during Manuel's reign and the new Emperor was the nephew of the then Prince of Antioch Bohemond III but Manuel's death occasioned a weakening not a strengthening of relations. Bohemond's first response on hearing the news was to repudiate his Byzantine wife in favour of *a* local mistress!

The statement that REX might refer to the Byzantine emperor cannot be accepted without *a* good deal of additional argument. The title REX had last been used on a Byzantine coin in the ninth century specifically to denote a junior emperor - a junior emperor would not normally issue by himself (the only instance is John II, co-emperor after 1092 with Alexius I) - so the coin cannot be an official 12th century Byzantine issue. If the word REX does refer to the emperor it must have come from a crusader (ie. a Latin) mint. This is borne out by the fact that the coins do not have a regular die axis. It is true that the terms REX and basileus were originally equivalents but this was no longer the case (see Appendix 1). Latin authors in the east, to the best of my knowledge, invariably describe the emperor of Constantinople as IMPERATOR. Similar protocol is also observed in the bilingual inscription at the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem dated 1169 which refers to the Byzantine emperor *as*

Manouel megalou basileos,Porphurogenetou

and the King of Jerusalem as

megalou regos Ierosolumou kurou Ammori. (4)

Leaving aside, for the moment, the idea that REX refers to a Byzantine basileus there is also the alternative possibility that it has its customary Latin meaning of "King". If this is the case there seem to be four candidates:

1. A visiting king from the west eg Louis VII in 1148.
2. The King of Jerusalem,
3. The King of Armenia.
4. Jesus Christ, i.e. the design is a rebus for "Christ the King".

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3. Nicetas Choniates, Historia, CFHB, Series Berolinensis (Berlin,1975) 220-222.

4. de Vogue,(1860), 77, transcribes the inscription in full.

The first of these can be ruled out. No king from the west ever held regalian rights in Antioch and had no reason to coin there. The other three, however, are worth considering. The kings of Jerusalem had a claim to suzerainty over all the Frankish states in the east but Antioch was not part of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the precise legal relationship was never clearly defined. The kings did, however, occasionally act as regents and settled disputes at Antioch although they seemed to have acted either on the invitation of the High Court of Antioch or in their capacity of head of the family rather than *as* liege lord. (5) Is it conceivable that they issued coins as regents? Such a coin has indeed recently been identified.

After the death of Roger on the Field of Blood in 1119 the regency of Antioch was exercised on behalf of the young Bohemond II by King Baldwin II of Jerusalem although the principality was administered by the Patriarch Bertrand. The sequence of overstrikes on the coins indicates that coinage went straight from Roger to Bohemond II. No coins can be positively attributed to the period after the death of Bohemond II (1130) and the commencement of the silver penny coinage in the name of Raymond of Poitiers (1136 or later) (6). During this time the regency was again held by Baldwin II and his successor Fulk but only in the teeth of determined opposition from Bohemond's widow Alice. In 1149 when the death of Raymond of Poitiers occasioned another regency coins were issued only in the name of the infant Bohemond III.

The coin attributed to Baldwin's first regency at Antioch is a unique silver piece with the obverse legend +/BAΛΛ/OYιHOC/ΔECITO/THC in five lines across the field on one side and IX-XC-NI-KA in the angles of a cross on the other.(7) Other possible attributions are to Edessa after Baldwin, who was Count of Edessa, was elected King of Jerusalem and Baldwin the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople. (8) No one has suggested that it could come from Baldwin's second regency at Antioch when his authority was openly challenged.

Since the coin is silver it does not fit into the contemporary Edessene or Antiochene series, but if it was a special issue this need not matter.

5.Runciman (1957), 305.

6.Some of the anonymous coins of Antioch were presumably issued at this time. See Porteous (1989) 393.

7.The coin is in the Museum of St John at Clerkenwell. Metcalf & Willis (1979) 136 describe it as "silver or good billon", though Porteous gives the metal as "billon", *a* description he applies to another anomalous Baldwin coin which, in my experience exists only in copper. My own impression is that the Clerkenwell coin is of quite good silver albeit now heavily toned and crystalline. It is certainly not base billon. I am grateful to Jill Findlater for letting me examine the coin at short notice. Pesant (1988) incorrectly describes the coin as copper. His identification of it as an undertype of an Edessa coin is therefore ruled out unless one posits a parallel issue in copper.

8.Porteous (1989) 365-6 & 368.

Similarly as long the coin is not part of the regular series of Antioch the evidence of overstrikes on the ordinary copper *is* irrelevant. The use of the term <u>despotes</u> is interesting. In attributing the coin to Antioch Pesant suggests that "perhaps Baldwin thought despot an appropriate title for the ruler of Antioch since the principality was nominally pledged to Byzantine authority." (9) The precise meaning of this is ambiguous. Does Pesant mean that Baldwin thought the term "despot" was appropriate to a Byzantine provincial governor or vassal or that the term was the Greek equivalent of "King"? The first is impossible. As far as the authorities in Constantinople were concerned, Antioch *was* Byzantine territory and no one except the Emperor had the right to issue coins there - least of all in precious metal.(10) The Crusaders were well aware of this.

The alternative is possible but unlikely. There were two other Greek words that could have been used as an alternative to <u>despotes</u> : <u>basileus</u> and rex.(11) The former was still the correct literary address for the Emperor but it had been replaced by <u>despotes</u> on imperial coins and seals. The latter was the term used by Greek writers to describe western kings in general including the King of Jerusalem and if Baldwin had wished to avoid offense as far as the Byzantines were concerned he would have used it. There is also the question of his status in Antioch. I have followed Runciman in suggesting that his role was not that of *a* feudal liege lord but on this occasion at least he had rescued the Principality from the consequences of a military disaster which had threatened its very existence and Walter the Chancellor, the source closest to events, implies that his authority was accepted at Antioch though the assertions of Fulcher of Chartres and Cerebanus that he acted as King of Antioch can be dismissed as rhetorical exaggerations.(12) All the same the use of the term <u>despotes</u> must have seemed somewhat overbearing to the Antiochene knights or what was left of them but they were in no position to argue.

If the coin was struck by Baldwin as King of Jerusalem in Antioch it is technically a coin of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. If this is the case, however, we cannot be certain that it was struck at Antioch *at all;* it could equally well have been issued by Baldwin at Edessa to celebrate his election as King of Jerusalem. If Baldwin issued the coin in his capacity as regent he used a provocative term which, numismatically at least, was tantamount to calling himself Emperor. It is also strange that, having

9.Pesant (1988) quoting the (stillborn?) publication on Crusader coins by Seltman and Preston.

10.Nicetas (ed. cit., 115 line 55) refers to the Prince of Antioch as an Imperial satrap.

11.This is discussed in detail in Appendix 1. I have tried to shew that although these points may seem rather technical to us, both Latins and Greeks took them very seriously.

12."ut rex...fere omne regnum orientalium Christicolarum subdiderat". Hagenmeyer (1896) 98 & 265-6. For the statements of Fulcher and Cerebanus *see* RHC 0cc, III, 44E and V,322 C respectively.

struck such *a* coin in precious metal he should not have issued any subsequent coins as King of Jerusalem. (13)

None of these objections apply to Baldwin of Constantinople who employed the term despotes on his bilingual seals as an equivalent to IMPERATOR. The design and fabric of the coin, however, are hardly consistent with 13th century Constantinople. It is worth pointing out that the early Crusader issues of Antioch and Edessa, like some early Turkish coins, have great affinity with the designs on Byzantine seals because the local seal engravers must have been employed to cut the dies. The same would apply to an ephemeral coinage struck after the sack of Constantinople which would explain why the coin resembles the pieces of Edessa and Antioch and also why the engraver made a mistake over the reverse legend (IX-XC instead of IC-XC) since the latter formula was not commonly used on seals. This aspect of the problem will hopefully be settled when provenanced examples appear. If the Baldwin coin really *is* Syrian all that can be said is that there was *a* precedent for the issue of special coins by the Kings of Jerusalem in Syria. The use of Latin on the REX coin under discussion suggests it comes from the time when Latin was used exclusively on the coins of Antioch.

To return to the original coin under discussion; Levon I (Leo in Latin) of Armenia is the only candidate known to have issued coins for circulation in Antioch with the title REX. Be had designs on the principality and used the pretext of supporting a candidate in a succession dispute to occupy Antioch on three occasions in 1203, 1208 and 1216. He also struck coins resembling the billon deniers of Antioch with both Armenian and Latin legends. Bedoukian has argued that although these were not necessarily struck in Antioch they were intended to circulate there (14) though none were found in the Antioch excavations. Could the coins under discussion be coppers which complemented the Latin billon issues? In some ways this seems more plausible. Levon had "motive and opportunity" and was not hindered by the legal constraints of the kings of Jerusalem. Given the Armenians' attitude to the Greeks, however, he is even less likely to have copied the effigy of *a* Byzantine emperor.

If the design simply refers to Jesus it could have been struck at any time during the twelfth century and must therefore simply be consigned to the numerous anonymous copper issues of Antioch under the Franks. Alternatively there could be a disguised reference to the King of Jerusalem. Neither explanation accounts for the Byzantine effigy on the obverse.

This brings us back to the possibility of a Byzantine issue at Antioch. When the First Crusade arrived in Constantinople the Emperor Alexius I exacted an oath from its leaders that they would return to him any former

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13. The attribution by Pesant (1990) of another coin to Antioch during Baldwin's captivity in Aleppo (1123-4) seems very hazardous. The coin (Schlumberger (1880) pl. II no. 9) is not rare but none were found in the Antioch excavations so there seems to be no compelling reason to attribute it to the town or even to the Crusaders. Porteous (1989) and Metcalf (1983) do not apparently regard it as Crusader since neither author mentions it.

14.Bedoukian, (1967), 189-197.

lands of the empire which they might conquer. Antioch, recaptured from the Arabs by Nicephorus Phocas in 969 but lost to the Seljuks in 1084/5, was captured by Bohemond of Taranto in 1098. He finally swore homage for Antioch to Alexius by a formal treaty of 1108. This allegiance was renewed on several occasions in the 12th century and, according to one source, homage was still paid to the Latin emperor in 1204. The Byzantines had *a* theoretical claim to suzerainty over the other crusader states but it was never accepted by the latter.

Relations with Byzantium were at their closest between 1159 and 1180. The marriage of Mary of Antioch to Manuel I was only one of *a* number of marriage alliances between the Comneni and Antioch. The two states were represented by *a* single embassy to England in 1178-9 and between 1165 and 1171 a Greek Orthodox Patriarch displaced the Latin one in Antioch. For their part the princes of Antioch seem to have accepted their dependence on the empire in theory but only acknowledged it in fact when they had to, especially when the Emperor descended in person in 1138 and 1159. After the Byzantine defeat at Myriocephalum (1176) Byzantine power in Syria was destroyed and there was never any chance that they would intervene in Antioch again. (15)

In 1137 John II besieged Antioch and forced Raymond to swear homage to him. He did not enter the city though his standard was placed on the citadel. The following year he made a ceremonial entry into the city which *was* cut short owing to a Frankish inspired riot. He *was* planning *a* full scale conquest of Syria when he died in 1143.

Manuel I's visit in 1159 was *a* more relaxed and lavish occasion. He staged *a* full blown Byzantine triumph in which Reynald of Chatillon, regent for Bohemond III, walked before the Emperor leading his horse and the King of Jerusalem, Baldwin III, rode behind uncrowned and unarmed. The ensuing celebrations lasted another week. (16)

Of the two emperors John was the more formidable and the more likely to exercise coining rights as a gesture of sovereignty. He would, however, have had very little time to do so whereas Manuel had plenty of time and there are some hints in the sources that suggest why he might have done so. John Cinnamus says that during his stay Manuel took over Raymond's judicial functions. Since Manuel was obviously exercising imperial power he might equally well have struck coins (17) though one would have thought that Cinnamus or Choniates might have mentioned it if he had. More to the point is the statement by William of Tyr that Manuel "showered the most generous

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The above two paragraphs are based on La Mont (1932)

15.   See Runciman (1957) 213-7 and 353-4 for the visits of John and Manuel respectively.

16. This precise point is made by Du Cange in a note to Migne's edition of Cinnamus (Patrologia Graeco Latina, vol. 133, co1.533, n.38). His analogies with Western practice, however, may be misleading.

largesse on the people of the town as was accustomed practice".(18) It seems reasonable to suppose that Manuel would have gone to some lengths to ensure that such donations were made in accordance with established Byzantine protocol and this specified a carefully graded hierarchy of payments: high value coins to top officials, low value ones to less important people. (19) This would explain why a ceremonial coin which one would normally expect to be issued in gold should have been produced in base metal on a small flan. There is the further point that the imperial baggage train contained plenty of gold and silver but not necessarily much copper. The local Antiochene base metal coinage was available but Manuel might have been reluctant to use coins in someone else's name. (20)

This occasion also offers a solution to the problem of REX. The Byzantines would not have used the title to refer to the Emperor and the local moneyers who were striking the coins are most unlikely to have done so out of ignorance. It would, however, be perfectly appropriate for the King of Jerusalem who was also present. In other words Manuel as the senior figure is represented in effigy while the King is referred to by title. The infant prince and the regent of Antioch were ignored.

If, one the other hand, the reference is simply to Jesus the coin would have been especially appropriate for largesse. Perhaps it had a double meaning. The Byzantines could regard the coin as referring to Christ, the Franks as referring to the King of Jerusalem.

The possibility remains that the coins are some local die cutter's fantasy production and have no historical significance. This consideration always has to be born in mind when dealing with anomalous coins. The number of different dies and the care of the engraving suggest something more official. If so, we are left with the fact that the King of Jerusalem would not have depicted himself as a Byzantine Emperor and the latter would not have called himself REX. Furthermore the coins are so unusual and rare that they must surely have been issued under exceptional circumstances. The presence of Baldwin III at Manuel's "triumph" at Antioch in 1159 seems the most likely occasion.

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18. William of Tyre XVIII-25: " effusa in populum civitatis, more solito, roga liberalissima" RHC 0cc. I,ii, p.863.

19. The typicon of the monastery of the Pantcrator in Constantinople specifies a complex hierarchy of gratuities for the various holy days down to the distribution of 309 tetartera to the hospital staff at the feast of the Presentation and 920 at the feast of the Transfiguration. Cf. Metcalf, (1965), 92-93. I am most grateful to Dr. Metcalf for pointing this out to me.

20. This last point is, of course, pure speculation, a comment which many will no doubt feel applies to the whole article!

In his review of Sear's <u>Byzantine Coins and their Values</u>, 2nd edition, (<u>NC</u>, 1989, p. 266) Kent warns users not to rely on the translations:

> 'King' as a translation of <u>Basileus</u> is unfortunate; 'King of the Greeks', or even 'of the Romans' is a Western medieval mistranslation that gave great offence.

Yet as late as the time of Manuel Comnenus the Byzantine Chancellery translated βασιλεύς as REX when rendering the Emperor's formal title into Latin even though IMPERATOR had long been the official equivalent. Similarly Western chancelleries, certainly that of the Empire, were quite aware that βασιλεύς did not simply mean "king". The story of the changing relationship between the terms was, like the evolution of the Imperial title itself, not only long and complex, but also revealing of the different traditions and mentalities of the Eastern and Western halves of the Roman Empire. It was complicated after 800 AD by the existence of two rulers both claiming to be "Emperor of the Romans". This offered much scope for the trading of diplomatic insults but created difficulties when the two states were attempting a rapprochement.

When the Empire was first established the various Latin titles and salutations were literally translated in the Greek speaking parts of the Empire thus:

IMPERATOR = ἀντοκράτωρ
AUGUSTUS = Σεβαστός
DOMINUS = χύριος

After the assassination of Julius Caesar the title of King was anathema to the Romans. Augustus and Tiberius even refused to use the title DOMINUS though their successors gradually adopted it. In the East however a different mentality operated: it was far more logical to apply the old titles of Alexander and the Seleucids. By the first century AD the term δεσπότης which implies total subjection to the power of the Emperor had replaced the less emphatic χύριος . (Note, however, its use in the Bethlehem inscription referred to above.) In Egypt the scribes regarded the Caesars as linear descendants of the Ptolemies and continued to refer to them as βασιλεύς . By the second century the term was generally applied in the East in literary sources (one of the earliest references is 1 Peter 2, 13 and 17), monumental inscriptions and so on. (1)

After Constantine δεσποτης became the exclusive title of the Emperor. βασιλεύς was also used and still was regarded as the equivilant of REX, but according to Procopius, Justinian did not think it an adequate title and demanded to be addressed as δεσποτης. (2) Byzantine authors, however, were faced with the problem of how to refer to barbarian kings such as the kings of the Goths who could hardly be regarded as having the same rank as the Emperor in Constantinople. In the 5th and 6th centuries the literary

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1. This and the next two paragraphs are based on Brehier (1906).

2. Procopius, <u>Anecdota or Secret History</u> xxx, 25-26 (Loeb ed., London 1935) pp.356.

sources developed the habit of calling barbarian kings ῥῆξ (ie. the Latin transliterated into Greek). As a result βασιλεύς became the equivilant of a "super king" i.e. an Emperor. The only other ruler thus designated was the Sasanian King of Kings. In official documents the Emperor's praenomen remained αὐτοχράτωρ until Heraclius officially adopted the designation βασιλεύς after his victory over the Iranians in 629. The latter does not appear on coins until Leo III.

The reason for this extraordinary conservatism seems to have been the Byzantines' concern to regard themselves as continuing the traditions of Rome. In the 6th century, in his book "The Magistrate", John Lydus carefully defines 3 sorts of king:

τύραννος - a tyrant ruling over slaves, eg. the king of the Goths,

βασιλεύς - a ruler under the law

αὐτοχράτωρ - a ruler who had introduced stability with the aid of the army.

A similar idea is expressed in a letter of Gregory the Great who saluted the Byzantine Emperor thus in 603 AD:

Hoc namque inter reges gentium et reipublicae imperatores distat, quod reges gentium domini servorum sunt, imperatores vero reipublicae domini liberorum. (3) This corresponded well with the traditions of Roman jurists but not with the reality of the Empires of Justinian or Focas!!

The above differs somewhat from the assertion by Ostrogorsky that the Byzantines were quite happy to address barbarian kings as βασιλεύς because it was synonymous with REX until Heraclius' formal adoption of the title βασιλεύς. From this point on it was synonymous with IMPERATOR. (4) While I hesitate to question such an authority I feel that he gives a misleading impression of finality. Imperial titulature contined to devlop after Heraclius in response to changing political and religious circumstances.

Charlemagne was crowned "Emperor of the Romans" in 800 but declined to use the title using the formula IMPERATOR ROMANUM GUBERNANS IMPERIUM instead. This has been seen as a diplomatic gesture towards Constantinople but up to that time the Eastern emperors had not made much use of it either. The first to call himself βασιλεύς χαὶ αὐτοχράτωρ ῥωμαίων was apparently Constantine IV in 681 and Justinian II also used the title βασιλεύσ ῥωμαίου. in 692.(5)

In 812 a treaty between Michael I and Charelemagne stipulated that Byzantine ambassadors would salute the latter as βασιλεύς/IMPERATOR. The

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3. "The greatest intellect of the Occident, Gregory the Great,...saluted the Emperor Phocas, in 603, *as* reigning only over free men, while the kings of the Occident reigned only over slaves." This sentence concludes the first part of Henri Pirenne's Mohammed and Charlemagne (1939) devoted to proving that the Roman Empire had essentially survived the Germanic invasions. Even so Pirenne might have pointed out that Gregory should have known better!

5. Ostrogorsky (1968) 106-75.

7. Stein (1930) 182-3

title $\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \varepsilon \dot{\upsilon} \varsigma$ $\rho \omega \mu \alpha \dot{\iota} \omega \nu$ now appeared on coins for the first time. It was as though the emperors in Constantinople had taken it for granted that they were Emperors of Rome but only felt the the need to emphasize the point when a rival claimant appeared. At all events a precedent was set which lasted until the end of the Empire. The Emperors would, reluctantly, recognise other rulers as "Emperor" if they thought it necessary for political reasons. They would not accept that anyone else had the right to call themselves "Emperor of the Romans."

Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Pious, preferred to style himself "Emperor of the Franks" but the question became acute again in the reigns of Louis II (King of Italy and Emperor 855-75) and Michael III (842-867) and was apparently triggered by the religious rivalry between Rome and Constantinople. In an attempt to drive a wedge between Pope and Emperor, the Photian synod at Constantinople in 867 which condemned Pope Nicholas I ended by saluting Louis as IMPERATOR/$\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \varepsilon \dot{\upsilon} \varsigma$ and his wife as Augusta! While these unprecedented salutations were taking place Michael was too drunk to care. He had, however, for some time been using the title $\mu \dot{\varepsilon} \gamma \alpha \varsigma$ $\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \varepsilon \dot{\upsilon} \varsigma$ and it has been suggested that this was likewise an attempt to emphasize his pre-eminence over the Western Emperor though Grierson points out that the term had been used before.(6)

These cavortings provided the background to the famous Latin follis on which Michael styles himself IMPERATOR, while his junior colleague, Basil, is titled REX. According to Grierson these were a retort to an admonition from Nicholas I on the Byzantines' ignorance of Latin. At this stage Basil was co-emperor and the contemporary historian Nicetas Paphlagonas, for example, carefully distinguishes between Michael as $\alpha \dot{\upsilon} \tau o \kappa \rho \dot{\alpha} \tau \omega \rho$ and Basil as $\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \varepsilon \dot{\upsilon} \varsigma$. This implies that even at this late stage REX was regarded as the equivalent of $\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \varepsilon \dot{\upsilon} \varsigma$. An alternative explanation is that Michael was deliberatly insulting Basil by suggesting that he was simply the "king" of a barbarian tribe! This would have been consistent with what we know of Michael's character, but it seems rather far fetched. The problem was that once IMPERATOR was used for the senior ruler there was no obvious Latin equivalent for his junior collegue. This point is amplified by the acts of the 8th Ecumenical Council. The Latin invariably refers to the Emperor as IMPERATOR. In the Greek translation this is translated as $\alpha \dot{\upsilon} \tau o \kappa \rho \dot{\alpha} \tau \omega \rho$ when applied to a single effective sovereign (Michael or Basil) and $\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \varepsilon \dot{\upsilon} \varsigma$ when used in the plural to refer to Basil and his sons (7).

The plethora of terms for ruler in Greek and the dearth of them in Latin is a linguistic reflection of the cultural differences between East and West. The difficulty posed by the lack of an additional equivalent to IMPERATOR was finally solved interestingly enough in the time of Manuel. One thing is certain, REX could not be used to refer to a senior or sole emperor.

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6. See Mansi,J.P., Sacra Concilia, vol. XVI, 417 DE for the wording of the Synodal acclamations. Photius referred to both Michael and Basil as $\mu \varepsilon \gamma \alpha \varsigma$ $\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \varepsilon \dot{\upsilon} \varsigma$ The records of the Synod were subsequently destroyed by decree of the 8th Ecumenical Council so that what survives is a summary by Photius's enemies. Grierson's comments are at DOC III, 455-456.

7. Stein (1933) 904.

The accession of Basil, however, saw an immediate reversion to established practice when a letter addressing Louis II as ῥήξ received a very long reply in which Louis argued his right to be called Emperor. (8) It has been suggested that this letter is a forgery because Louis calls himself IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS ROMANORUM which was unusual at the time. In fact the letter makes it quite clear why Louis used the term. Basil had "marvelled" that Louis called himself "Emperor of the Romans" instead of "Emperor of the Franks" which he, conceivably, would have been prepared to accept. Louis insisted, however, that one was meaningless without the other. He was also most indignant at being termed "rix" which he thought a throughly barbarous term. A century later (968) exactly the same indignation was felt by Liudprand, Otto I's envoy in Constantinople.

> I had a tiring altercation with the Emperor's brother who out of rudeness kept referring to you (ie. Otto) not as IMPERATOR which is βασιλεύς in their language but as ῥήγα which is REX in ours. (9)

Soon, however, the Byzantines had even more reason to be touchy about their Roman title. In the time of Otto II the Western Emperors began to use the title "Roman Emperor" on a regular basis which their Carolingian predecessors had not. The Byzantines also had a menacing rival closer to home. In 925 Symeon of the Bulgars styled himself βασιλεύς βουλγάρων καὶ ρωμαίων and in 927 Constantinople acknowledged his less bellicose successor as βασιλεύς βουλγ. as part of a diplomatic compromise. (10)

The Western Emperors could be just *as* sensitive as their Eastern counterparts. In 1145 Conrad III who had previously saluted John as "Emperor at Constantinople" pointedly addressed Manuel as "King of the Greeks" in response to the Byzantine letter calling him "our most noble brother". In his letter Conrad complained that the imperial envoy "Nykyforo" (ie. Nicephorus) had begun by addressing him with "certain harsh words" that "could not have provoked our majesty to greater anger if the said Nykyforo had struck Henry, our only son, dead before our eyes"! Negotiations had been broken off for three days until "Nykyforo" had found a more appropriate formula with which to address Conrad. (11) Yet this exchange took place against a background of unusually amicable relations between the two courts. Manuel was able to achieve a rapport with Conrad which he never

8. MGH., Epistolae, VII, pp. 386-391.

9. Liudprand of Cremona, Relatio de legation° Constantinopolitanta, Ausgewahlte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, Bd. VIII, (Darmstadt 1965), p.526.

10. Ostogrosky (1968) 266-7. Symeon's use of the title is confirmed by the existence of *a* lead bulla.

11. Otto of Freising, Gesta Frederici, Ausgewahlte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, Bd. XVII(Darmstadt, 1971) p. 176. A very similar incident occurred at Wurzburg in 1157, ibid., p. 404.
Conrad had addressed John as follows: Conradus dei gratia Romanorum imperator augustus Iohanni eadem gratia Constantinopolitano imperatori. Ibid., p. 401.

managed with his far more powerful successor. Whether it *was a* genuine sense of rivalry with Frederick Barbarossa or simply Manuel's elevated view of himself another minor change now took place in the imperial title, which shewed that Manuel found it intolerable to be described as REX even if it was only for the convenience of translation.

The full titles of John Comnenus were as follows:

Ἰωάννης ἐν Χριστῶ τῶ θεῶ Πιστὸς βασιλεὺς πορφυρογέννητος ἄναξ ὑψηλὸς κραταιὸς αὐγουστος καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ῥωμαίων ὁ κομνηνός

which the Imperial secretariat rendered in Latin, when necessary, as :

IOANNES IN CHRISTO DEO FIDELIS REX PORPHYROGENITUS SUBLIMIS
CELSUS FORTIS AUGUSTUS ET IMPERATOR ROMANORUM.

In 1164, however, in a letter to the King of France, Manuel changed the translation of βασιλεὺς to IMPERATOR and since it could no longer be used to translate αὐτοκράτωρ ῥωμαίων this was simply transliterated AUTOCRATOR ROMANORUM. This unsatisfactory situation was resolved after 1176 when αὐτοκράτωρ was translated as MODERATOR an arrangement which lasted into the fifteenth century. (12)

It was one thing for the Holy Roman Emperor to insult the <u>basileus </u> by calling him "king of the Greeks" from a safe distance. It was another for the Regent of Antioch to risk upsetting him when he turned up on the doorstep with *a* large army. Nor could the mistake have been made from ignorance. The Western "Roman" chancelleries lacked the continuity of the Eastern and may have had to learn things afresh occasionally but they were quite aware of the distinction of imperial titulature. The diplomatic intercourse between the Staufer and the Comneni during the period of amicable relations just referred to greatly deepened the sophistication of the former *as* they shewed in their subsequent dealings with the Pope. (13) The same *was* true of the Latins in the East, however ignorant they may have been to begin with.

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12. Ohnsorge (1932) 346-7. He is misled by this into assuming that there was in effect little difference between REX and βασιλεὺς at this stage. See the comments by F. Dolger in <u>Byz. Zeit</u>, 1933, p.444.

13. Ohnsorge, (1932) 358-9. It was a two way process. When Frederick I used the term DEO CORONATUS Manuel revived the disused θεοστεπτός ("divinely crowned") for the imperial title. <u>ibid</u>., 348.

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Then and Now or Coins as an Investment 7

Members will no doubt be aware of the sale of Fred Willis' collection at Glendinings. The hammered *was* sold in June, the milled will follow in October. Most of Mr. Willis' purchases were made when, proverbially, coins were cheap and he bought high quality pieces from some outstanding collections. If anything should shew *a* plus these should, but did they? We leave it to members to judge. If nothing else the prices are an interesting pointer to changing fashions.

In the following tables we give first the price that Willis paid for individual coins at three famous Glendining sales: Lingford (24.X.50), Nightingale (24.X.1951) and Ryan 2 (22.1.1952) and in the second the hammer price achieved at Glens for the *same* coin in June this year.

Henry VIII fantasy 5/-	Lingford Lot	1	£2.6	Lot	16	£160
Eliz I Crown	"	40		"	69	£430
Chas I Shrewsbury Pound	11	137	Willis	"	304	£1250
Exeter Crown	"	200	£6	"	328	£210
11 Ormonde Crown	"	209	£4		439	£190
11 Commonwealth Crown	"	252	£10.10	"	380	'£490
11	0	257	£10	11	379	£550
Philip of Spain Daalder Nightingale		21	£5.10	"	38	£110
		23	£6.15	"	39	£210
Chas I Chester halfcrown	Ryan	1160	£33	"	270	£1500
Hartlebury Castle 2/6	"	1332	£26	"	271	£2500
" Oxford pound	"	1222	£80	0	277	£2300
" half crown	"	1251	£5.5	"	299	£160
" Shrewsbury half pound	"	1271	£26	11	307	£650
Uncertain mint 2/6		1333	£16.10	"	351	£280
" Carlisle siege 3/-	"	1344	£52	"	352	£3700

NB Average weekly wages in 1950=124/-,1951-136/-, 1952=147/-.