



NEWSLETTER

THE JOURNAL OF THE LONDON NUMISMATIC CLUB
HONORARY EDITOR

Peter A. Clayton

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EDITORIAL

The last year has seen the Club go from strength to strength in the papers presented to members. This has been due to our indefatigable Programme Secretary, David Sealey. The year has also seen our departure from the Institute of Archaeology where we have held our meetings for many a long year. This has arisen from the Institute's policy of restricting the use of the lecture theatre, **06**, to use by more allied associations and societies, and also the Director's request that we no longer hold our two annual auctions at the Institute. Once more thanks are due to David who was able to move the venue of our auctions to the Warburg Institute at quite short notice, and he was also able to arrange a new lecture theatre for us to meet in at University College, the Garwood Theatre within UCL itself. This has proved to be a very satisfactory venue and we hope that we may now have found another long term home.

Arising out of our move from the Institute has arisen the 'problem' of the library. Rather like Coleridge's Ancient Mariner and his albatross, we have taken the library with us over the years and, of course, our Honorary Librarian, Philip Rueff, has enlarged our holdings as books of appropriate interest have been published. To remove the library at fairly short notice from the Institute of Archaeology was a problem and, of course, where to house it. Fortunately, our Treasurer, Paul Edis, came to the rescue and presently houses the library, but this cannot go on. The

question has been raised in Committee and in open discussion within the Club of what to do with the library. In fact, do we still really need to hold a library since most members either have their own copies of books relating to their areas of interest, or have access to the joint Royal and British Numismatic Societies library at the Warburg. If the decision is taken to disperse the library, then the question of how to do it arises.

Some members in favour of this step have said that members should have first choice and offer of the books, but logistically this raises enormous problems of administration: circulating a list with prices (or should it be a mail bid sale ?), collating the bids, invoicing, packing and posting the books - then, what do you do with the residue, which will be low key and of little interest to a dealer to take off our hands.

Another solution is to offer any titles of interest and lacking in the **joint RNS/BNS** library to those societies as a donation, and then offer the remainder to a dealer; or, offer the library complete as it stands to a dealer with a proviso that any member of the Club wishing to buy a book when they have been priced and listed will be given a discount (? 20%) upon identifying himself/herself as a Club member. The options are there, and the Club must make a decision in the near future as it cannot presume on the good will and hospitality of a member for too long.

Turning to other topics that have exercised members for quite a while - the proposed single currency and the Millennium - numismatics has quite an input in both these spheres. Numismatically the introduction of a single currency, the euro, could in theory destroy numismatics, collecting coins, as we know it today - how or where will the young enthusiast find their material or anything to take an interest in - how many of us started by collecting foreign coins brought back from holidays abroad, and went on from there ? Then there is the question of what and whose Millennium ? The Editor has been closely involved with the *Standard Catalogue of British Coins*, published by Seaby, for many years. When its publication moved to Spinks from Batsford a couple of years ago, he was invited by Spinks to contribute a short essay on Treasure Trove. For the Millennium edition he was asked to write a piece on the subject of coins through the millennia on the dates of year 0, AD 1000, 1500 and 2000, then, whither numismatics. This appeared in the current issue of the *Standard Catalogue*, entitled 'Coins and History: The Changing Face Over Two Millennia', pp. xiii-xv. He was rather amused

to see that Paul Withers, in noticing the publication of this 35th edition in his publication, *Sacra Moneta* (Galata booklist 2000), p. 3, referred to the author as 'that *eminence grise* of numismatics', which he takes as a compliment from an old numismatic friend - in both senses of the 'old'.

Finally, do please remember that the Newsletter is the official journal of the Club. That does not mean only reporting talks that have been given in various depth of detail depending on what material the Editor has available. Contributions are welcomed from members and if you do have an idea in mind for an article, do please get into touch with the Editor to talk it over and discuss what might be possible. Similarly, if you've read a numismatic book that you think others might have missed or that it deserves wider recognition, how about writing a book review ?

Peter A. Clayton

London Numismatic Club meeting, 5th January 1999

Sue Tyler-Smith gave an illustrated talk on 'Merv, Herat and Balkh: Kushans, Sasanians and others', and supplied the following summary.

'Roundabouts are regions on which routes converge from all quarters of the compass and from which routes radiate to all quarters of the compass again. [One] classical example of a roundabout is present-day Afghanistan. Afghanistan has been a highway for migrating peoples and for expanding civilizations and religions, and it has been a key point in the structure of empires. The examples of Afghanistan's role as a roundabout (in the economic, political, demographic, artistic and religious fields) are so numerous that an exhaustive catalogue would fill a volume.' So wrote Arnold Toynbee in *Between Oxus and Jumna* (London 1961).

Sue began with the quotation above, saying that she hoped to illustrate some of Toynbee's characteristics of a roundabout during her talk. The area under discussion would be the region between the Hindu Kush in the south, the River Oxus (Amu Daria) in the north, Kabul in the east and Merv in the west. For convenience this region would be referred to as 'northern Afghanistan'. She explained briefly why the three cities of the

title were important - essentially because they were all on trade routes - and that the period under discussion would be AD 220 to 650, i.e. the duration of the Sasanian empire.

The area of northern Afghanistan was at this time always part of another kingdom or empire, and was often divided between two rivals such as the Sasanians and nomad invaders from the north. Although all three cities struck regular Sasanian drachms at some period, those of Merv, the city furthest north-east which can be regarded as an integral part of the Sasanian empire, are by far the most common, Herat is scarce and Balkh rare. The only other city that would be mentioned regularly, Kabul the modern capital, did not put its name on coins.

The written sources for the history of northern Afghanistan are sketchy so the coins assume considerable importance in unravelling the sequence of events, though as far as Sue knew, no-one had tried to take the overview she was attempting here. The importance of the coins in indicating when the cities fell under the control of different powers was demonstrated as the talk unfolded, and the limitations of the numismatic evidence also became apparent.

The numismatic portion of the talk began with illustrations of coins, both gold and copper, of the Kushans, the occupiers of the region in the early 200s AD. The legends were in Bactrian, Greek and Kharoshti. Details of the design such as the king sacrificing at a small altar, and the reverse image of Shiva and his bull, were noted as they would be seen on later Kushano-Sasanian coins. The different characteristics of the early Sasanian coinage were pointed out: Pahlevi legends, a crowned bust of the king, a fire altar on the reverse. Also, there was a predominance of silver denominations as opposed to the Kushan gold and copper issues.

The first Sasanian king, Ardashir I (224-241), gained control of Merv (but we do not know if he also controlled other parts of northern Afghanistan as well), and installed a sub-king who struck copper coins with a horseman reverse type and the title 'Mervshah'. These coins have been found in considerable numbers during the excavations at Merv, in association with coins of Shapur I (241-272). Shortly after this issue the Mervshah must have been deposed by the Sasanians, probably by Shapur I, who issued a very small number of gold coins with the mint name Merv. It is very unusual to find a mint name on any Sasanian coins this early, and it must have been intended to advertise Shapur's conquest of

the city - more examples of this were shown later.

Merv probably remained under the Sasanians for the next 100 years or so, though the rest of northern Afghanistan was ruled by sub-kings acknowledging the authority of the Sasanian King of Kings. These sub-kings are known as the Kushanshahs and their coinage as Kushano-Sasanian. Their coinage is, in fact, a hybrid between the Sasanian and Kushan, being mostly of gold and copper but with Sasanian-influenced designs and legends. A number of Kushano-Sasanian coins were illustrated, and the origins of their designs pointed out. It is possible that evidence of a revolt by a king, Hormizd, referred to in the Greek texts as 'Ormies', could be seen on the coinage. Hormizd struck gold, silver and copper using the title 'King of Kings', a title used exclusively by his superior, the Sasanian King of Kings. Hormizd also struck gold and silver in the style and fabric of the Sasanians at Merv and Herat, as well as typical Kushano-Sasanian gold scyphates at Balkh. It is therefore evident that he did have control of all three cities for a brief time.

Hormizd's revolt was put down, probably by the Sasanian king Varhran II, of whom a (unique ?) drachm exists which he struck at Merv. His successor, Hormizd II (303-309), struck a few rare dinars with the name Merv, though Shapur II (309-379) minted a large number of rather crude gold pieces there. The Kushanshahs apparently continued to rule as sub-kings up to and during the reign of Shapur II, striking coins at Balkh, but presumably Merv was not under their control.

The latest (possible) mention of the Kushanshahs in western literature is on a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus where, in the preliminaries to the siege of Amida, he describes a king who 'exchanged his diadem for a helmet in the shape of a ram's head, of gold set with precious stones' (*The Later Roman Empire (AD 354-378)*, Penguin edition, 1986, Bk 19, p. 163, l. 7-8). Since this could not be the Sasanian king it has been suggested that Ammianus saw the Kushanshah. On a copper Kushano-Sasanian coin a king can be seen wearing a crown with ram's horns and a silver gilt Sasanian dish in the Hermitage Museum shows a royal hunter wearing a similar crown.

Shapur II spent the winter of 356-7 in Kabul campaigning against an invasion of Hums, known as Chionites, from the north and he and his successors may have struck silver drachms in Kabul since a distinctive 'eastern style' coinage has been found in hoards near Kabul, but none bear

a mint name. Shapur was ultimately unsuccessful in his attempt to keep out the Huns, and various different tribes passed through northern Afghanistan for the next 60 years or so on their journey south to India. The Sasanians seem to have lost control of Merv, Herat and Balkh at this time and only occasional issues of drachms are known. In one case (a coin of Yazdgerd I), the mint name is engraved three times - a case of showing that they were in possession of the city if ever there was one !

Varhran V (420-438) struck a distinctive and relatively common coinage at Mer^v and founded a town nearby called Merv-i-Rod expressly for the purpose of defending the Sasanian empire against the Huns. For the next 10 years Sasanian relations with the Huns ranged from friendship to hostility. Throughout the period Balkh was in the possession of the Huns, although the two western cities were sometimes in Sasanian hands. We can be fairly certain that Peroz (457-483) struck no coins at either Merv, Herat or Balkh because by this period all Sasanian coins bore a mint name. He may possibly have had to surrender them to the Huns in return for their help at the beginning of his reign. Later on he had to pay a huge ransom to them and his coins are much copied by the Huns - and they were still being copied hundreds of years later in India. Peroz's son, Kavad (484-531), controlled Mer^v and Herat during the last 20 years of his reign, but Balkh was apparently still in Hun hands. The Huns copied Kavad's coins, though less extensively than those of Peroz, and also at some stage started to mint their own distinctive types loosely based on Sasanian issues. The latter are neither dated nor do they have a mint name.

Khusrau I (531-579) retained control of Mer^v and Herat and, in a last attempt to drive the Huns out of northern Afghanistan, allied himself with the final wave of invaders to be discussed here - the Turks. The alliance was successful, and the Huns were pushed east and south. By the terms of the alliance, land south of the River Oxus fell to the Sasanians, and that to the north to the Turkish tribes.

The alliance between the Turks and the Sasanians lasted only 20 years and by the time of Khusrau's son, Hormizd IV (570-590), came to the throne the Turks had crossed the Oxus and soon took advantage of Hormizd's preoccupations in the west to invade the north-eastern provinces of the Sasanian empire. Sasanian activity in northern Afghanistan in the next few years can be traced numismatically as by this

time coins not only carried a mint name but also a date. Hormizd's general, Varhran Chubin, was sent to the east and had drachms struck in Hormizd's name at many of the towns he operated from or captured, including Merv, Merv-i-Rod, Herat and Balkh. He then went even further north-east, crossed the Oxus and struck drachms in Samarkand and possibly even Tashkent. This firm evidence from the coins enables present day scholars to disentangle the facts from the myths which grew up around Varhran Chubin (and were muddled up with those connected with his namesake, Varhran V). The sources state that the Sasanian armies plundered the lands they captured and destroyed the towns and cities, then retreated to Mer^v and Merv-i-Rod - implying that Balkh was not part of the Sasanian empire.

For the last 60 years of Sasanian rule Mer^v and Herat were part of the empire, Mer^v in particular being a prolific mint under Khusrau II (590-628). Khusrau II's coins with his distinctive winged crown were copied by the Turks who produced a particularly attractive tri-lingual drachm, always found countermarked and with an electrum plug. In the chaotic four years which followed Khusrau's murder only Queen Buran struck drachms at any of the three cities. Herat produced spectacular pieces - quite remarkable considering the political circumstances and its position on the edge of the empire.

The last Sasanian king, Yazdgerd III (632-651), did not mint at any of the three cities though we know from later Arab historians that he fled to Merv, where there was still a 'marcher' lord, and was murdered there. It is not surprising that no coins of Yazdgerd are known from northern Afghanistan since, after the first few years of his reign, coin issue is effectively restricted to the provinces of Sakastan and Kirman.

Sue ended her talk saying that she hoped she had illustrated just how important coins can be in adding to our knowledge of the history of this area, as well as showing that northern Afghanistan was a significant 'roundabout' during the 400 years of Sasanian rule. The coins themselves by their legends and details of design amplify our scrappy information from written sources and archaeological excavations, whilst hoard evidence has also played its part in locating mintless coins. Unfortunately there are unlikely to be many more hoards coming from Afghanistan - the metal detectors supplied by the American to the Afghans so they could find mines have been used to ransack archaeological sites.

Since the talk was being delivered in the Institute of Archaeology, Sue felt that it was worth pointing out that refusal by collectors in western countries to buy these coins would not mean that they would automatically remain in the ground for future archaeological excavation. When Charles Masson went to Afghanistan in the 1830s he bought huge quantities of coins, the majority off one site, Begram near Kabul. It has been calculated that he bought about 80,000 coins - a practice which Sue was sure the Institute would now frown upon. But what happened to the coins before Masson bought them ? They were collected by local people every year - about 30,000 per annum Masson estimated - and then sold by weight to the local coppersmiths, who then sold them on to the Kabul mint, where they were melted down.

It is surely better for us to buy the coins in order to study them and thereby enhance our knowledge than for the evidence to be melted down again, as seems possible given the mentality of the current rulers of Afghanistan.

[**Editorial note:** Mer^v is currently the scene of large scale excavations under the direction of **Dr** Georgina Hermann of the Institute of Archaeology.]

London Numismatic Club meeting, 10 February 1999

The speaker, the Club's Past President **Peter Clayton**, presented a view of three major naval battles from a numismatic standpoint. They were the Battle of Actium, 2 September 31 **BC**; the Battle of Lepanto, 7 October 1571, and the Battle of the **Nile**, 1 August 1798. Peter said that his particular interest in these three naval battles arose, first, from the Egyptian connections of the first and last and secondly because he often gave a short talk on each of them as a 'deck talk' from the bridge as he was cruise lecturing and the ship passed through the scenes of the battles. His aim was to present the historical aspects of the battles but also to consider the coins, medallions, and with the last battle, the campaign medals associated with each of them.

Not least, he also saw these three naval actions as three great 'if battles - in that 'if the ultimate winner had actually lost, and each was won by chance, history as we know it today would be totally different.

If Antony and Cleopatra had won the battle of Actium, and most things were on their side to do so, the Roman Empire as we know it would not have come about. Octavian, later to become the first emperor of Rome as Augustus in 27 BC, would have either been killed in the battle or, if captured, executed. It was only by virtue of a superior naval commander, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, on Octavian's side that, literally turned the tide.

At Lepanto, the last great galley battle of the medieval world, had Don John of Austria and the combined Christian fleet not overcome the Turks, Europe would have been overrun and probably Islam, not Christianity, would have become the major religion.

At the Battle of the Nile (more properly, the battle of Aboukir Bay), had Nelson not utterly destroyed the French fleet at anchor, Napoleon's dream of an eastern empire would have become a reality, British India would have been swiftly lost and England subsequently invaded. It is also salutary to remember that such are the vagaries of war, had there not been a dense fog on the night of 22/23 June 1798 when the British and French fleets passed each other within hailing distance, Nelson would have met the French in the open sea, and we would not now have in London Trafalgar Square or Waterloo Station - at least not by those names since those engagements would not have taken place. Napoleon would have been either dead or captured.

To return to the first battle, Actium in September 31 BC. It occurred in the interval between the death of the Roman Republic and the birth of Imperial Rome which we refer to as the Imperial period. For an excellent, numismatic and historical account of the period you should read David Sear's splendid new book, *The History and Coinage of the Roman Emperors 49-27 BC* (Spink, 1998). After the assassination of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March, 44BC, power was vested in the First Triumvirate of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus. Surely the most emotive and historical of all Roman coins must be the silver denarius struck by Brutus, one of the assassins, from an eastern travelling mint that carries his lightly bearded head on the obverse and, on the reverse, the inscription EID MAR flanked by two daggers and with the small cap of liberty above. Both of the leading conspirators were to die at the land battle of Philippi in 42 BC.

Antony, having espoused Cleopatra VII of Egypt's cause, and

fallen under her spell (as had Caesar before him), issued denarii with his portrait obverse referring to his Armenian conquests, and Cleopatra's portrait on the reverse with an inscription CLEOPATRAE REGINAE REGUM FILIORUM REGUM - 'Of Cleopatra, Queen of Kings and of her sons who are Kings'. Proust remarked in his *Penses* that had Cleopatra's nose been but half an inch longer it could well have altered the whole face of history. To the Senate, the 'conscript fathers' as the members termed themselves, this was unforgivable. Antony, in his infatuation, had done the unforgivable - he had ceded Roman territory to the 'foreign' queen and to her children by him - in effect, it looked to them that he was creating an eastern empire. The only outcome possible was war between Octavian as the upholder of the essentially now mythical Republic and the eastern temptress. Cleopatra's image appears on bronze 40 and 80 drachm pieces issued at Alexandria but a tetradrachm issued at Antioch carries a splendid portrait of Antony looking all the world like a fairground 'bruiser' and she as the exotic and bejewelled eastern queen. Few authentic and accepted sculptures of Cleopatra exist so the coins are our best evidence for her appearance.

To pay his troops (and encourage them) Antony issued a long series of silver denarii with the numbers of the legions, rising to LEG XXIII (examples are known for XXIV to XXX, but these are probably forgeries). There are also rare gold aurei.

After several Triumvirates, the last of which Antony was obviously excluded from, the denouement came at Actium off the west coast of the Peloponnese. Antony's forces and his fleet were drawn up around and in the bay, Octavian's army was suffering from malaria in the marshlands surrounding Actium and his fleet lay in wait outside. Apparently Antony and Cleopatra had intended to make use of the light off shore wind that rises early in the afternoon to sweep out and destroy Agrippa and the fleet waiting for them. Antony's sailors were uncertain as to what was to happen since before a battle galleys normally left their sails on shore because they were an unnecessary impediment, but Antony's ships were putting to sea with their sails on board. Having the sails on board suggested to some crews, and to the army, that they were to be abandoned in a precipitous flight. What really happened is not known - whether there was a sudden mutiny, a misinterpretation of Antony's orders, or a mis-

understanding by Antony of Cleopatra's intentions as her ship was seen to set its sails. He consequently left his flagship in a small boat to chase after her and join her ship.

Octavian and Agrippa were victorious, many of Antony's men immediately changing sides. A series of denarii refer to the victory, usually showing a figure of the god Apollo (who had a sanctuary on the nearby headland) and with the abbreviation ACT in the exergue. In thanks giving for his victory Octavian/Augustus founded the city of Nikopolis ('Victory City') near the site. Its walls still stand to a considerable height and there is a large theatre and a later Byzantine basilica still in evidence.

Octavian's veterans were settled at Nimes in southern France after the battle and there, at *Colonia Nemausus*, a bronze local coinage featured the heads of Octavian and Agrippa back to back and, on the reverse, a crocodile chained to a palm tree with the city identification, COL NEM, - the crocodile symbolising Egypt. The same design was to reappear as the reverse of a bronze medallion designed by Vivant Denon commemorating Napoleon's conquest of Egypt in 1798. The crocodile also appeared on denarii and some rare aurei with the legend AEGVPTO CAPTA. So ended Antony and Cleopatra's dream of an eastern empire. On 1 August 30 BC Octavian marched victorious into Alexandria and ten days later, on the 11th, the couple died - Antony falling on his sword and Cleopatra by the bite of an asp - he was 53, she was 39.

The second sea battle to consider, Lepanto, fought on 7 October 1571 between Christians and Turks, was the last great galley battle in history. The Turks had even reached the gates of Vienna but been repulsed, Ottoman sea power was threatening the whole of the eastern Mediterranean and disrupting Europe's trade with the east. The Pope called for a concerted Christian push to repel the danger and the allied fleet consisting of ships from Venice, Genoa and Spain under the command of Don John of Austria (Philip II of Spain's half-brother), assembled at Messina, Sicily, on 24 August 1571. News came that the Turkish fleet was in the Gulf of Patras and the allied fleet of over 20 ships sailed for Corfu on 15 September. Around 9am on 7 October both fleets advanced on each other in four squadrons.

Don John was one of the three most able galley admirals in history (the other two were Andrea Doria and Khair ed-Din). The opposing

Turkish fleet was led by Ali Pasha, Muhammed Saulak (governor of Alexandria) and Uluj Ali (governor of Algiers). The allied fleet consisted of 108 Venetian galleys, 81 Spanish galleys and 32 others provided by the Pope and smaller states, plus six giant galleasses. The Turks has 270 galleys but their crews were not as experienced as the Christians, many of them being captured Christian prisoners. battle formation was drawn up in the time-honoured way (for the last time - a long line of three divisions facing each other with a reserve held behind the central division. The battle line was over five miles long.

Battle commenced around 10.30am and by noon, with the fleets heavily engaged, the superior skill; and armament of the Christians, plus the wind being in their favour, began to tell. The Turkish right flank, nearest the shore, never did get clear and was driven ashore and destroyed. The giant galleasses broke the Turkish line and the left wing, under Uluj Ali, out towards the open sea turned and fled when it was discovered what had happened to the rest of the Turkish fleet. Ali's ships, he escaped with 47 of his 95 galleys (plus one captured Venetian galley), were the only Turkish survivors of the battles. The Turkish casualties were astronomical: 60 galleys aground, 53 sunk and 117 captured. Some 15,000 Christian galley slaves were freed from the Turkish ships but at least 10,000 were lost with their ships. Between 15 to 20,000 Turks were either killed or drowned, and only 300 prisoners were taken. The Christian allied fleet lost 13 galleys, 7,566 dead and nearly 8000 wounded.

The victory had a great effect on European morale - it was the subject of paintings by Titian, Tintoretto and Veronese. Papal medallions of Pius V struck in silver and bronze show the Pope's bust facing left on the obverse and the reverse has a melee of ships sinking with the Archangel Michael presiding over the scene. There are other medallions with a portrait of Marcantonio Colonna, Commander of the Papal fleet, with a reverse showing a triumphal arch framing within its single span a rostra decorated with ships' prows. The Genoese admiral Andrea Doria is shown classically draped facing right with a trident behind his shoulder. The design is by the famous medallist Leoni Leone whose self- portrait appears facing right with a small galley represented at his shoulder. His portrait is surrounded by a ring of galley slaves' chains, a reference by Leone to Andrea Doria having saved him from being condemned to the

galleys for murdering a man.

The victor, Don John himself is seen on a handsome portrait medallion as a Spanish grandee complete with a high ruff; the reverse shows a bird's eye view of the battle with, towering above it in the foreground, a rostra decorated with ships' prows and, on top of it, an armoured figure of Don John with Nike (Victory) flying to crown him with a wreath from the left.

In 1915, 344 years later, G.K. Chesterton wrote his epic poem 'Lepanto' whose refrain of 'Don John of Austria is going to the war' is well known. The last stanza runs:

'Cervantes on his galley sets the sword back in the sheath
(Don John of Austria rides homeward with a wreath.)

And he sees across a weary land a stragglng road to Spain,
Up which a lean and foolish knight forever rides in vain,
And he smiles, but not as Sultans smile, and settles back the blade...
(But Don John of Austria rides home from the Crusade.)'

The reference in the first line is to Miguel Cervantes who fought at Lepanto and was one of the wounded - he lost his left hand - and who subsequently returned to Spain to write the Spanish classic, *Don Quixote*.

The last of the three naval battles to concern us is Nelson's great victory over the French at the Battle of the Nile on 1 August 1798 (it was actually fought in Aboukir Bay, 25 kilometres east of Alexandria). Nelson caught up with the French fleet, anchored in wide line in the shallows of Aboukir Bay around 6pm on 1 August. Not waiting until the next day to engage, which was the usual practice, he attacked straight away, catching the French in an effective pincer movement as Captain Foley in the *Goliath* cut through the French line between their ships and the shore whilst Nelson, leading in the *Vanguard*, came down the seaward side of the line. Alexander Davison, Nelson's prize agent, issued a commemorative medallion (designed by Kuchler and struck in Birmingham) with a portrait of Nelson in a medallion held by Hope on the obverse and a bird's eye view of the battles with the sun setting on the reverse. The reverse legend carried the opening words of Nelson's despatch to King George III: '**ALMIGHTY GOD HAS BLESSED HIS MAJESTY'S ARMS**'. The incuse inscription in the edge reads: 'FROM ALEXANDER DAVISON ESQR. ST. JAMES'S SQUARE = A

TRIBUTE OF REGARD.' It was given in gold to the captains, silver to the officers, bronze-gilt to the petty officers, and bronze to all sailors and marines engaged. Nelson's gold medal was stolen, along with his other decorations, from the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich early this century and have never been recovered. A number of Davison's medals are found with the owner's name and ship engraved in the open field above the representation of the battle on the reverse - some of those who named these medals also survived to collect their Naval General Service medal in 1848 (see below).

Another medal by Hancock, has an attractive three-quarters portrait of Nelson on the obverse and a view of the battle, overseen by the reclining personification of the Nile on the reverse. The legend gives the final toll of casualties: 'AUGUST 1 1798 WITH 14 SHIPS & A BRIG DEFEATED THE FRENCH FLEET OF 15 SHIPS & 4 FRIGATES SUPPORTED BY GUN BOATS AND A BATTERY ERY ON SHORE. NINE SHIPS TAKEN AND 4 DESTROYED'.

The British went mad with joy when the news reached London on 2 October, brought overland by Captain the Hon. Thomas Capel. There were very many medallions struck to commemorate the victory in both bronze and white metal, some better than others, and a whole series of caricatures by Gillray flooded the streets to be bought by an eager populace.

Although there were Captain's large and small gold medals issued for actions at this time there were no campaign medals for 'rankers'. The Naval General Service medal, with its Young Head Victoria obverse and a helmeted Britannia seated on a hippocamp on the reverse, was only sanctioned in February 1848, fifty years after the battle. Appropriate bars were issued with the medal to those who were, first alive to claim, and second were literate enough to read the newspaper announcements inviting claimants. Of some 17,000 men who took part on the British ships, there were only 336 who claimed their NGS with the Nile bar.

London Numismatic Club meeting, 10 June 1999.

The Club was pleased to welcome a very old friend in the person of **David Sellwood**, a Past President of both the Royal Numismatic Society and of the British Association of Numismatic Societies. For his talk, David chose this time the subject of 'The Gonzagas'.

The Gonzagas came from Mantua, a city with a population of about 100,000 souls in an area of 20,000 hectares. It was part of the Holy Roman Empire. In the 13th century the Bonacolsi family had become the hereditary 'Capitane del Popolo', although they were nominally democratically elected. Their power was increased by the simple expedient of exiling recalcitrant aristocrats and was such that they gained the title of 'Imperial Vicar of Mantua' from the Emperor Henry VII.

Among the few trusted supporters of the Bonacolsi family were Luigi and Guido Gonzaga of a family of the Corradi from Gonzaga. On 16 August 1328 the brothers, assisted by Scaliger troops, suddenly drove out the Bonacolsi, seized their treasure house and took over as Capitane del Popolo. They continued the same type of coinage, in the name of Mantua, but also of its most famous son, the Roman poet Virgil. Luigi struck coins from 1328 to 1360. On Guido's coins (1360-69) there was a frontal representation of Virgil, who continued to form a motif for the Gonzaga issues which also was connected with the rise of classical learning especially at Mantua with its variety of references to ancient legends on the coins. John of Salisbury and Gervaise of Tilbury both reported in the 12th century that Virgil's reputed bones were honoured as those of a saint.

Guido's successors were Ludovico I (1370-82) and Francesco I (1382-1407), both of whom were Captains of People. On the silver grosso of Gianfrancesco, Capitane 1407-32 and Marchese 1432-44, there appears a most original panoramic view of Mantua with its battlemented towers facing the lake. Above it is a representation of the Pyx said to contain some of the blood of Christ gathered as He was stabbed on the Cross and brought to Mantua by the Roman Longinus. This now continued as an icon on many of the later Mantuan issues. The famous medallist Pisanello cast a medal of John VIII in 1438 and then went to Mantua from 1439 to 1448. A cast medal of Gianfrancesco shows that the Gonzagas were among the first to adopt this new artistic form.

Under Ludovico II (1444-78) Pisanello carried out new work for the Gonzagas, breaking the umbilical cord which, as Captain of People, linked the Gonzagas to the social matrix. The change had been wrought and Ludovico was now a prince - a position immortalised by Mantegna's cartoons. A testone of Ludovico gives us one of the first Renaissance portraits on coins, following soon after those of Francesco Sforza at Milan and Borso d'Este at Ferrara . They were based on those of Roman coins collected by Pope Paul II and Lorenzo the Magnificent at Florence. Such portraits became the symbol of power - the individual had become the centre of life. Ludovico was now called 'dear Cousin' by d'Este, Visconti, the Medici, etc.

Federico I (1478-84), as one of several sons whose father had divided his dominions among them, and ended up with only Mantua itself. He appears on a cast medal by Bartolo Talpa, a student of Mantegna, and the medal may be based on a painting by the latter. Federico was said to be particularly courteous and affable, highly cultured and a lover of the arts and letters. He was also a good soldier who allied himself to the Sforzas and Estense. A medal attributed to Adriano Fiorentino shows Elisabetta (1471-1526), daughter of Federico I who married Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino, in 1489. He was dethroned by Cesare Borgia in 1502. Her court is celebrated in *The Courtier* by Castiglione which showed how the Gonzagas were now accepted as equals by other Italian princes.

A testone of Francesco II shows him on horseback with a baton of command and the legend VENE(TORVM) CAPI(TAN) GE(NERALIS), and a medal by Bartolo Talpa commemorates the battle of Fornova in 1495 where Francesco was Captain General of the Italian allies that defeated Charles VIII. The reverse of another testone shows a crucible containing gold bars above flames and a quotation from Psalm 138: 'O Lord, test me and then recognise me. It was said that this referred to the suspicion that Francesco had let the defeated Charles VIII escape after the battle of Fornova.

Federico II was Marchese 1519-30, Duca 1530-36, and Duca di Mantova and Marchese de Monferrato 1536-40, having obtained the title of Duke from Charles V. He introduced the first gold doppio ducato and (as Duke) the scudo d'argento. By his marriage to Margarete Paleologo he became Marchese of Monferrato with its mint. A doppio ducato unites in

its type the classical and modern worlds with a representation of Mount Olympus (identified in Greek lettering) and the Christian Tides' above it. Under him urban society flourished and artisans' skills in wool and silk weaving contributed to increasing riches and ostentation among the aristocracy. However, fiscal oppression of the rural communities provoked rebellion and harsh repression right up to the end of the Gonzaga dynasty two centuries later.

Francesco III, Duca di Mantua and Marchese del Monferrato 1540-50, succeeded at the age of eight and so a regency under Margarete Paleologa governed. Despite his young age, the lavish expenditure of the court continued. One of his testone shows Homer handing the lyre of poetry to Virgil with the legend 'Thou hast it now' - emphasising the continued claim to Virgil's pre-eminence.

The unexpected death of his brother brought Guglielmo to the throne as Duca di Mantova and Marchese del Monferrato (1550-75), then Duca di Mantova and del Monferrato, 1575-89. Guglielmo was an anomalous figure among the princes of his time - he curtailed unnecessary expenditure, reduced the army and relied, instead, on diplomacy. Music alone received large support. His reign was the last in which Mantua really counted for much in Italian politics.

Under Vincenzo I, 1587-1612, the State started to decline, e.g. the Court now had to feed 267 instead of 800 as previously. Costly military operations were undertaken at the request of the Emperor against the Turks, and the fortress of Casale was rebuilt - bringing with it debt and the need to sell off land.

Francesco IV was only Duca di Mantova and del Monferrato for the short period of February to December 1612. Unusually, on his *doppia*, he is shown sharing the obverse with his wife, Margaret of Savoy; alternatively, it has been suggested that this is a coin of Francesco III and Margarete Paleologo. On a *ducatone* St Francis is shown embracing the Cross in a typically Baroque representation.

An unexpected death once again called a younger brother to the throne, this time Fernando (1612-26) from an ecclesiastical vocation.. A unique *dodici doppie* shows Fernando in his *biretta* and robes since at the time of its issue he had not yet received the Papal dispensation to leave his Cardinalate. Vincenzo II, who succeeded for only a short reign from

1626 to 1627, was known for his ostentatious luxury and love of hunting. The multi-oared galley seen trying to weather a stormy sea on his ducatone largo was said to be symbolic of the bad times in Mantua.

Carlo I was ruler of Nevers and Rethel, 1707-27, and became Duca di Mantova and del Monferrato, 1627-37. He was the nephew of Ludovico, the third son of Margarete Paleologo who, in 1549, had been invited into France to serve the Dauphin. A ducatone issued by him was struck at the mint of Charleville which was then under the supervision of Didier Briot, the father of the famous Nicholas who was to bring his revolutionary striking machinery to Britain. Carlo caused a war of succession during the course of which he besieged Casale in 1628 and 1630, and Mantua in 1629. The latter was sacked by the Imperial troops who also brought the plague with them. This meant terrible hardship for the local population whose decreased numbers allowed dams to decay and canals to become blocked - making life even harder.

The three sons of Carlo I predeceased him and his young nephew succeeded him as Carlo II with his mother, Maria Gonzaga, acting as Regent, 1637-47. As Duca di Mantova and del Monferrato, 1647-65, after he came of age, Carlo presided over an increasingly impoverished court but, nevertheless, he still issued prestigious gold pieces, some of the reverse, such as that on a cinque doppia with its sun reverse, alluded to many earlier Gonzaga issues, notably those of Ferdinando.

The 17th century saw the continuing decline of the court of Mantua. Ferdinando Carlo ruled under the Regency of Isabella Clara of Austria, 1663-9, becoming Duca from 1669 to 1707. Increasingly impoverished, the court came ever more under Hapsburg influence, culminating when the Austrians took direct control of Mantua and forced Ferdinando to flee to Venice. So ended a glorious Gonzaga dynasty noted essentially for its opulence and splendid coins.

Throughout the talk many slides of the Gonzagas brought these rich aristocrats to life in the remarkable series of portraits and reverse types on their coins.

London Numismatic Club meeting, 6 July 1999

The Club's guest and speaker this evening was **Graham Dyer**, Librarian and Curator of the Royal Mint, who is an old friend of the London Numismatic Club and whose visits are always most welcome. Graham spoke on 'British Imperial Currency for the Colonies', and kindly supplied the following résumé.

The British currency reform of 1816 did not contemplate the use of British coins overseas. In 1825, however, the British Government decided to issue silver and copper coins to colonies and foreign stations, so that at a stroke the British subsidiary coinage was transformed into a truly international, imperial currency.

The consequences for the Royal Mint were immediate. Between 1826 and 1829 nearly £500,000 in silver coin was shipped abroad, and by 1832 overseas issues of copper exceeded £40,000. These were substantial amounts, and the special needs of the colonies were to have a further effect in extending the range of denominations to include fractional farthings and low-value silver coins. The Young Head crowns of the 1840s, too, owed their existence to overseas and domestic demand.

Treasury officials such as Charles Trevelyan were keen that only British coins should circulate throughout the British Empire. Large shipments therefore continued to be made in the 1840s and 1850s, but the universal applicability of sterling proved to be a policy that could not be maintained. Different colonies had different traditions, different habits, different trading patterns, and were at different stages of economic development. Convergence in the short and medium term was, accordingly, not possible.

Local coinages were soon being adopted, for instance by Canada, Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, Ceylon and Mauritius. Nevertheless, issues of British silver coin remained a significant element in Royal Mint output, a third or so of all new silver coins struck in the period from 1875 to 1914 being shipped overseas. The demand for bronze was less extensive, but even so, 8.5 per cent in the same period was taken up by the colonies, with the lion's share going to Australasia.

After the turn of the century, as the countries of the Empire reached political maturity and sought for themselves the profit that would accrue

from the issue of token coinages, the desertion from sterling became a flood. By the time of decimalisation, only places like Malta, Gibraltar, Ascension Island and Tristan de Cunha remained faithful - the legacy of a policy doomed to ultimate failure.

London Numismatic Club meeting, 4 August 1999

As usual, the August meeting of the Club was the occasion of a series of six short contributions in a Members' Own evening.

Robert Hatch introduced his 3rd favourite coin (the preceding two being Leopold the Hogmouth, and Bolivar the Liberator). This coin was a silver honor of Gustavus **II** of Sweden struck in 1932 to commemorate the 300th anniversary of his death on 6 November 1632 at the battle of Lützen (a town in Prussian Saxony). Of particular note was the striking laureate and bearded portrait of Gustavus facing right filling the flan. A small mintmark of a crowned head appears behind the king's shoulder and also a 'G', this almost certainly being the initial of the mint master, Alf Grabe, 1927-45. A panel centred on the reverse gives, in Swedish, the reason for the issue. **Also** present are three crowns which, since 1336, have been regarded as a symbol of the Three Wise Kings, or Magi (whose relics are treasured in Cologne Cathedral), but now represent the three provinces of Sweden: Svealand - Middle Sweden; Götland - south, and Norrlands - north.

The battle of Lützen where Gustavus Adolphus died was a melee fought in thick mist between the Swedes and the Imperialists, under Wallenstein. How the king fell is uncertain but, apparently, he lost his way in the darkness while leading the Småland horse to the assistance of his infantry and was killed as he lay severely wounded on the ground.

Philip Mernick spoke on English jettons, giving a resume of the publications on them but also pointing out that there was no proper publication that covered the series. The jettons were issued from c. 1280 until around 1350 to 1360 and, to date, some 200 types have been listed. Their use was largely on counting boards and a Nuremberg counter was interesting in showing a man using such a board. Examples of many of the jettons were illustrated in slides.

David Sealy introduced an interesting topic for discussion - 'Numismatics in Britain in 2000'. He noted that, unlike the USA, there is

no national home for numismatics in the UK. He felt that a great opportunity had been missed when the old Royal Mint buildings on Tower Hill were given up - not, as he remarked, that we would have needed it all but, unlike the American Numismatic Association, we have no numismatic home, no headquarters, no real estate, of our own, not even the Coin Room at the British Museum...

His dream for the 2000s was that, somehow, a suitable building in central London could be found for the exclusive use of the UK numismatic world, providing a suitable meeting place for the Royal and British Numismatic Societies, the British Association of Numismatic Societies, the Oriental Numismatic Society, even the LNC!. The lecture room could be made available for hire to like-minded bodies such as philatelists, archaeologists (although the latter are presently largely catered for by the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, as is the RNS), token collectors and the like. It would provide a place for the joint RNSBNS library, research facilities and, even perhaps, a museum.

The difficulties are, obviously, enormous - not least of which is funding, but possibly lottery or government funding could be sought. Could not a wealthy numismatist [is there such a mythical beast? Ed.], could be persuaded to leave money for this purpose, but until the need is felt, no one will, of course! Does not the vision of the 'Bloggs Foundation for Numismatics' have an appeal for a rich 'Mr Bloggs, FRNS'? A lively discussion followed.

[There is, of course, the relatively recently founded McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research in Cambridge, with its purpose-built building set into the quad of Downing College. This was provided by a wealthy and interested Mr McDonald - not of burger fame. Ed.]

Trevor Stephenson presented a survey of the Lima mint, first giving some background to the period saying that when Francisco Pizarro and his Spaniards landed in Peru their interest was not in money but in quantities of gold and silver. This they acquired, murdering in the process the Inca Atahualpa. Money, however, became a necessity when the first Viceroy arrived in Lima with his many officials and sundry Spanish settlers. He therefore petitioned Philip II of Spain for permission to open a mint. This was granted by a Decree of 21 August 1565, laying down that only silver coins were permitted, that an official assayer was to mark each silver ingot, and that his initial was to appear on all coins made from

those ingots.

The coins were to be in the denominations of quarter, half, one, two, four and eight Reales. The obverse was to be the crowned Pillars of Hercules standing on the waves with the motto *PLVS VLTRA*, with the denomination, 'P' for Lima mint, and the assayer's initial. The reverse design was to be the quartered shields of Leon and Castille. The legend of Philip II with his titles, *NIARVM ET INDIARVM REX PHILIPVS.II.D.HISPA*, also had to appear. The first assayer was Alonso Rincon, so it was an 'R' that appeared on the first coins. Fifteen officials were attached to the mint, machinery and dies were sent from Spain and, of course, all this took time so the first coins only appeared in 1568.

In 1570 the Crown ordered new designs for the obverse. In future the Pillars of Hercules were to be replaced by the arms of the Spanish dynasty, namely: Hapsburg, Castille, Catalonia, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, Austria, Burgundy ancient and modern, Brabant, and with a small shield in the middle of Flanders and Tyrol. With this complicated design of nine quarterings it is small wonder that it is now difficult to find a perfect specimen of the coin.

Quite soon the Lima mint found difficulty in obtaining sufficient supplies of silver since the silver merchants found it more advantageous to sell their silver to Spain rather than to the mint, which only paid the official price. Since the silver came from the mine at Potosi, in what is now Bolivia, the Viceroy sensibly decided to transfer the mint to that town. This was time consuming so a limited amount of coining equipment was kept back at Lime to supply coins until Potosi became operational. The Lima mint, therefore, continued to strike coins until 1588, when it was finally closed.

Over the next 100 years coins from the Potosi mint steadily deteriorated in quality. This was understandable when it is realised that they were working at an altitude of 13,600 feet in the cold, and in a stone-walled building which had no windows and an earthen floor. To keep going they chewed Coca leaves and drank Chicha. The latter is a powerful drink made ritually from corn. The method of production involved the oldest women in the village, preferably those without teeth, chewing the grains of corn, then spitting them into a copper cauldron to ferment. The net result was that the coins became more and more irregular; the dies for the obverse were split into several parts with the

result that the coiners often got the different parts in the wrong order; the engravers misspelt words, and the coin blanks were no longer round and pieces had to be cut off to achieve the correct weight.

Finally, in 1659, things had got so bad that the Viceroy requested permission from Carlos II to reopen the Lima mint. Since the reply took a long time to arrive, the Viceroy decided to open the mint anyway. He not only designed the dies, reverting to the Pillars of Hercules, he also ordered gold escudo coins to be produced. However, the Potosi mint officials objected very strongly to such competition and they sent word by fast ship complaining to the King. In 1660 advice was received in Lima that the mint should cease forthwith and the Viceroy promptly recalled all the coins he could, but a few, now much sought after, escaped.

In 1684, however, the King relented and gave orders that the Lima mint should reopen. In 1752 new machinery was received, milled coins were produced and the famous 'cobs' or 'mascuquinos' came to an end. The new coins were very attractive, showing the Pillars of Hercules and, consequently, becoming known as 'Pillar' dollars.

In 1822, when General San Martin declared the Independence of Peru, he took charge of the mint. However, the Royalists briefly retook Lima and the mint, coining 8-reales coins with the figure of Ferdinando VII. The Republicans then retook the city, and over stamped the Royalist coins.

From 1826 the mint produced a new series of coins with the new arms of Peru and a standing figure of Liberty on the reverse. This series continued until 1858 when the Government made a contract with Robert Britten of Birmingham to go to Peru and to design the new coinage which passed from the 'real' to the 'Sol'. Britten copied the English design of Britannia and, saying that 'Liberty has been standing long enough', let her sit down! In 1863 a new series of coins, including the famous silver Sots started, and this continued without a break until 1935. The Lima mint has continued working to this day, and all coins bear the Lima mark.

Inflation in the 1980s added more and more zeros to the currency until when bank notes were already up to the 50,000 Soles, the unit was changed to the Inti. However, inflation was rampant and very soon bank notes of 5,000,000 Intis were being printed. Then the Government

knocked off six zeros and created the Novo Sol. Although inflation has been brought down from 7000%, it is now just into single figures with the exchange rate being S/.3.30 to the US dollar.

John Roberts-Lewis spoke on the mail coach tokens, giving a background history that began with the famous John Palmer and his speedy mail coach service. Conditions were very harsh for those engaged in driving the coaches, especially the guards on the outside, suitably armed against highwaymen and muffled against the weather. The last of the mail coach routes ended in 1846, six years after the introduction of the Penny postage by Rowland Hill.

The final part of the evening was introduced by **Philip Rueff**, our Librarian. The situation regarding the library has been referred to above in the Editorial, and there was certainly quite some discussion amongst members present. Sue and Marcus Phillips had produced a very useful and considered paper on the aspects of the library and its future that was much appreciated. It might be said, 'The jury is still out'.

London Numismatic Club meeting, 9 September 1999

At this meeting **John Roberts-Lewis** took a look at 'The East India Company outside India'.

The East India Company (E.I.C.) was granted its Charter in 1600 and sent out its first expedition in 1601. It carried trade goods and coined silver, some of which may have been the 'trade coins' now better known as 'Portcullis money', struck in 1600. The 8, 4, 2 and 1 reales were struck without a portrait, which was said to ensure their acceptance in Muslim states (human representation is not acceptable in Islam). However, this was not repeated since the pieces failed to replace the well-established Spanish dollars.

A number of expeditions followed, but the Depot in Bantam in north-east Java did not prosper and was closed in 1683 or 1684. A return in 1687 to found the settlement of Fort York in Sumatra introduced silver Fanams and copper cash 'dumps' minted in Madras between 1687 and 1695. They use the original orb and cross balemark of the London E.I.C. with G.C. over E. Twenty-four Fanams were equivalent to one dollar, and 20 cash to one Fanam, but there were only 400 cash to the dollar. All these pieces are rare as are any of the 17th and 18th century E.I.C. issues.

In 1714 coins for St Helena, a supply base used and administered by the E.I.C. for Great Britain, were issued. Consisting of a silver threepence and a copper halfpenny and farthing, they display a heart-shaped balemark enclosing V.E.I.C., being the mark of the London E.I.C. amalgamated with the New or English E.I.C.

No further coins were issued for 88 years until a copper 2-keping was struck in 1783 for Sumatra by John Prinseps at his private mint in Bengal. It used a balemark and gave the date and value in Arabic. Keping, like cash, were 400 to the dollar. Also in 1783 a silver coin of 2 sookoos with the name of Fort Marlboro' was issued. This fort was built in 1714 three miles south of Fort York, which it replaced, when a convict settlement was founded for prisoners to work in the Company's plantations. A further issue was dated 1784. Sookoo in Malay means 'a part', usually a quarter, so these coins were equivalent to half dollars.

In 1786 an historic issue of copper 3, 2 and 1 keping pieces for Sumatra was the first contract placed with Matthew Boulton's Soho mint in Birmingham. The coins were neat, and well struck with a balemark on the obverse and its Arabic value on the reverse. A repeat order was struck in 1787 and also in 1798 when steam-powered machinery was in use at Soho. A mistake on this issue had the Arabic numeral for 3 on all three values, but they were accepted because of the shortage of small change.

Also in 1786, a coinage for the island of Penang began with a unique balemark coin of 1 Pie (or 1 cent at 100 to the dollar). Struck at Calcutta, it accompanied the founding expedition, the island having been ceded by the Rajah of Kedah, whose daughter had married an Englishman named Frank Light. Further coins in copper (one, a half, and one-tenth cents) and silver (half, quarter, and one-tenth dollar) followed in 1787 and 1787 respectively.

In Sumatra by 1797 an emergency coinage was needed and a half dollar in copper was struck over earlier 3-keping pieces for Fort Marlboro'. Only a few of these have survived and in 1798 a Soho issue of copper relieved the shortage. A further issue in 1804 for Sumatra consisted of 4, 2 and 1 keping pieces in copper. They used the arms of the E.I.C. and in 1823 and 1824 there were repeat orders of the same diameter but now lighter in weight.

In 1809 Penang requested a 'sound coinage' and issued a contract to the Royal Mint in London. During the first decade of the 19th century

locally issued tin coinage had filled the gap, but this was much counterfeited and also liable to be melted down. The Royal Mint had just been supplied with a Soho-built mint machinery configured for silver and gold, but their rolling equipment from John Rennie was yet to arrive. A request to Soho to supply blanks was turned down as they thought that, unofficially, it had been agreed that they would handle the copper contracts. Eventually the Royal Mint coins, dated 1810, were produced with difficulty, being poorly struck and not arriving in Penang until 1812.

With the Netherlands being incorporated into the French Empire in 1810, the Dutch and French territories were seized by the E.I.C. Java and the Celebes were captured in 1811 by an expedition under Lord Minto assisted by Stamford Raffles. Coinage was produced quickly by reopening the Dutch mints and by using their workers, particularly Johan Anthonie Zwekkert, whose initial Z is on many issues. The copper doits (of 1811 and 1812), half stivers (1811-15) and stivers (1812, 14 and 15) have a B, for Batavia, over the V.E.I.C. balemark. A doit of local tin was struck in 1813 and 1814, but was unpopular and much forged. Rupees and their halves were minted in silver as well as a gold half rupee. After the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 the island was returned to the Dutch in 1816.

The Soho mint, Birmingham, which had struck little for anyone between 1811 and 1821 produced a large order of half pennies for St Helena in 1821. Napoleon died in that year and the garrison guarding him was being withdrawn when 44 casks containing 700,000 coins arrived. Subsequently, in 1831, 35 casks of coins were returned to be melted down.

In 1824 a treaty with Holland exchanged the Dutch interests in India and Malacca for British interests in Sumatra. Malacca, Penang and Singapore (founded by Raffles in 1819), were combined by the E.I.C. into the Straits Settlements. In the same year, 1824, copper two, one and half pice dated 1825 were received from the Madras mint. The designs were copied by a local engraver from the Royal Mint 1810 issues. A second issue was dated 1828; the values were changed to pice (48 pice were equivalent to one rupee) on the Bengal Sicca rupee standard because the money of account had changed from the dollar standard in 1826.

Whilst not official E.I.C. issues, a number of Birmingham-made Singapore merchants' tokens were widely accepted, even being bought by

the E.I.C. at times, to fill a vacuum in official coinage.

The numerous issues can be divided into three groups. The first was issued from about 1829 until 1844 and consists of imitations of E.I.C. and Dutch colonial coins or with coins sufficiently changed to avoid charges of forgery. Examples included substituting Island of Sumatra or Sultana (a fictitious place) for the East India Company inscription, or substituting horses for lions and changing the shield they supported.

The second group, usually better made and starting around 1831, uses Malay Arabic names for various native states in Sumatra and Malaya. The third group uses a cock on the obverse with 'Land of the Malays' in Arabic and the value in Arabic on the reverse. The issues were prolific, but only one merchant, C.R. Read, Chairman of the Singapore Merchants Association, placed his name on a version of the 'cock' tokens.

The final E.I.C. issues came from their own Calcutta mint in 1845 when copper cents, halves and quarters were supplied to the Straits Settlements. The matrix dies were engraved by William Wyon whose initials appear on the truncation of Queen Victoria's head on some of the half cents. The E.I.C.'s last trading monopoly was abolished in 1853 and the Government of India Act transferred all its property to the Crown in 1858. At its height the Company ('John Company') ruled over nearly one-fifth of the world's population. Its army in the 1820s at over 250,000 men was greater than that of any European power and its navy sometimes even exceeded that of Great Britain.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 5 October 1999

Robert Thompson, well-known for his work on the Norweb *Sylloge* volumes on seventeenth century tokens, spoke on 'Seventeenth-century tokens and heraldry', illustrating his talk with a series of slides showing the tokens, relevant arms and extracts from Heralds' Visitations. He said that heraldry has to be defined as something appearing on a shield. Looking at the 6,434 different tokens in the Norweb Collection which will have been published by the time Part VI is out (Part III has ten numbers intercalated), arms occur on 29%. This percentage double-counts those tokens with arms on both sides, the number of which must

be small, but a larger number of armorial tokens are die-linked; so the count merely gives a rough idea for the British Isles beyond London and Middlesex, which have still to be catalogued.

State arms appear on fewer than 2% of those armorial tokens, mostly the King's Arms as a sign, although the French Arms occur in Chelmsford and in Dover. A few bear the Commonwealth Arms, with the conjoined shields of England and Ireland. Amongst the tokens of Ireland is placed a CORKE FARTHING which bears not the arms of Cork but the arms of England on one side and on the other a harp, which looks like some sort of official issue of the Commonwealth.

Ten per cent of the armorial tokens bear what are or may be personal arms. Some have expressed suspicions about the validity of the arms represented on the tokens, but while there may have been a substantial illicit use of heraldry, findings establish that in particular cases the arms are genuine. These records confirm the arms in a family of the right name, and give the relationship between the bearer of those arms and the token-issuer, if indeed he was not himself the bearer.

Municipal arms account for 13%. They will not feature in this survey beyond one example, the 'Commonwealth coat' of the City of Gloucester on a Gloucester farthing dated 1657.

Finally, 75% of these tokens bear the arms of merchant companies or guilds, so let us begin with these. Complete achievements, i.e. the shield with the addition of a crest, supporters etc., are a rare occurrence. One can instance the Blacksmiths, *A chevron between three hammers crowned, crest A phoenix standing upon a hill firing herself with the sun's beams*; and the Glovers as united with the Leather sellers, *Three bucks passant, crest On a wreath a ram's head issuing from a basket filled with wool between two wings erect*.

The Mercers, the pre-eminent London guild, bear the arms *Issuant from a bank of clouds a figure of the Virgin couped at the shoulders, the neck encircled by a jewelled necklace, wreathed about the temples with a chaplet of roses, and crowned with a celestial crown, the whole within a bordure of clouds*. These were easy to represent on tokens by means of a shield bearing a crowned facing female bust, otherwise the Maiden, or the Maidenhead; sometimes there is an attempt to show the necklace, the chaplet of roses, and even the bordure of clouds. One problem, however, is that the defunct Company of Pin Makers were ascribed the arms A

demi-virgin couped at the waist..., her hair dishevelled, on her head an eastern crown, which is not very different from the Mercers. Indeed, the token of William Pureur in Marlborough has the Maidenhead punch in a shield but the legend PINN MAKER.

The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries is one of the few guilds which continues to fulfil the functions for which it was founded. It was granted armorial bearings in 1617, and the original grant survives. This gives *Apollo the inventor of physic with his head radiant, holding in his left hand a bow and in his right hand an arrow, supplanting a serpent*. Strangely, the tokens consistently give Apollo holding the bow in his right hand and the arrow in his left. His face can sometimes be seen, so a rear view is not the explanation; presumably Apollo derives from some engraving that was reversed. The same incorrect version can be found in books and on pottery of the seventeenth century.

The Bakers' Company bears *Three garbs, on a chief barry wavy of six two anchors, over all issuant from a cloud radiated in chief a cubit arm descending therefrom the hand holding a balance*. On the tokens, however, the anchors and the rays are regularly omitted, understandably so given the scale of the tokens. Incidentally, a *lozenge fusily of nine* was employed not only by Thomas Powell in Cambridge, trade unrecorded, but also by John Bancraft in Derby, 'baker', John Hatley in St Neots, BAKER, and Thomas Hunt in The Strand, BAKER; yet the identity of the device remains somewhat mysterious. Is it intended to represent a loaf (possibly the plaited loaf for harvest festival), or a batch of loaves? Help in interpreting the device may come from the arms of the Hamburg Bäckergilde. Leonhard terms these charges *Wecken*, English 'rolls' or perhaps 'wigs'. Are we facing Taylor the Water Poet's disgust in 1620 that, 'The Bakers metamorphose their trade from one shape to another, his round halfe-penny loaves are transform'd into square wiggles...the Rowles are turn'd to... the light puft up foure-comerd Bun'?

In Bromley's standard work the Butchers' Company is given the arms *Two poleaxes in saltire blades inwards between two bulls' heads couped in fesse, on a chief a boar's head couped between two bunches of holly*. This is based on an interpretation of early records in the College of Arms, for the original patent has not survived. On most tokens, however, the blades of the poleaxes are outwards, and they are between three bulls' heads, two in fess and one in base. This version may be worthy of

respect, for it is also engraved in works published in the seventeenth century. Also on the tokens is a version of the Butchers' arms with the bulls' heads reduced to one in base. The following tokens show that these issuers, if members of the particular company, did not then practise such a trade: the Carpenters' arms borne by John Barnes, CHANDLER; and the Grocers' arms borne by several issuers who called themselves MERCER.

The Maidenhead without a shield therefore may indicate a mercer, or a man practising another trade who had become free of the Mercers' Company, or an inn- or tavern-keeper using the sign of the Maidenhead - or even someone who had inherited a mercer's business premises. At least the identification of the Maidenhead should be unambiguous, apart from the possibility of a pin maker. Unambiguous also should be a pavilion between two mantles and in chief a lion passant guardant, which must come from the Merchant Taylors' arms; three pairs of swords in saltire, or even a single pair of swords in saltire, for the Cutlers' arms; three crowned hammers, for the Blacksmiths' arms; and three leopards' heads, for the Weavers' arms.

All these seem sufficiently distinctive to be charges from the arms, yet it is unwise to place too much reliance on this. Thomas Hunsdon in Oxford also bears three leopards' heads, yet he was a chandler. Jasper Eve of Springfield in Essex bears a tree environed with a serpent between naked male and female figures, which might have represented the Fruiterers' arms; but he was a clothier. Adam and Eve covered their nakedness, of course, not with cloth but with fig leaves, and Jasper Eve doubtless used the device because of his surname.

A London token, reading on the reverse LOWER.END.MILK:S[treet], bears arms unidentified previously, though they were illustrated by Akerman in a paper in which he assimilated MILK:S to Melksham in Wiltshire. They seem to be the only numismatic representation of the arms of the Broderers' (i.e. embroiderers') Company, *Paly of six on a fesse between three lions passant guardant... two broaches in saltire between as many quills*, a broach being a combined bodkin and spindle on which was wound the gold thread used by the broderer. There was a good specimen in the Phillip Greenall collection.

An undated halfpenny issued by Thomas Johnson bears *On a chevron between three birds three swans*. Although the larger birds are

not cranes (or storks - there is uncertainty over which they should be), these must be the arms of the London Company of Poulterers, i.e. poulterers. Thomas Johnson has given us possibly the only numismatic representation of the Poulterers' Company arms.

The Upholders dealt in soft furnishings or upholstery. In Bromley they are given the arms *Three spervers Ermine, beneath the sperver in base a lamb couchant on a cushion...*, spervers or sparvers being bed-canopies or pavilions. This was based on a transcript of the lost patent. However, tokens of William Preston, VPHOLSTER in King's Lynn, Thomas Stevenson in Oxford, who had been apprenticed to an upholsterer, and William Sackler, VPHOLSTER in Salisbury, all bear *On a chevron between three pavilions three roses*. Similar arms, with the chevron and roses, are attributed to the Company of Upholders or Upholdsters in published sources from the seventeenth century, and in the Lords' Roll of c.1495, the only difference from the tokens being the presence of a lamb within the tent in base, an understandable omission at that scale. It seems that the tokens can properly be said to bear the Upholders' arms, and represent an older tradition about the correct form of the Upholders' Company arms.

Since 1544 the arms of the Brewers' Company have been *On a chevron engrailed, between six barley-sheaves in saltire, three kilderkins*. John Roy in Dorchester bears arms which were previously described with a query as the Upholsterers' or Weavers'. They are actually *On a chevron between three barley-sheaves three barrels, as borne by the Brewers between 1468 and 1544*. It is strange to find arms more than a century out of date used by the moneyers of the Tower of London, who are now known to have made virtually all the tokens of England and Wales.

Almost all the tokens, wherever they were issued in England or Wales, use the arms of the London guilds, even in old-established corporate towns having their own guilds. For example, John Collibeer in Exeter did not use the arms of the Exeter Weavers & Fullers *Per saltire Azure and Gules, in fess two shuttles filled palewise Or, in chief a teazel, in base a pair of shears lying fesswise Argent, on a chief ermine a slay between two burling-irons Or*. Instead he used the arms of the London Weavers. This must be some sort of testimony to the predominance of London and its institutions. Only where a provincial guild employed the

same charges as the London guild, perhaps with a change of tinctures, is it possible that tokens issued in those towns intended to use the arms of the local guild. John Pearce in Exeter used arms which could be either the London Haberdashers', or those of the Exeter Incorporation of Cappers, Haberdashers & Feltmakers.

Little work has been done to check token issuers ostensibly belonging to particular guilds in the records of those guilds. The Ironmongers' arms were borne by Lawrence Righton of Dorchester, yet in 1625 Lawrence Riton, cutler, had been complained of for interloping into other men's trades, as namely, for buying and selling of reins, bridles and spurs, nails, locks and other things belonging to the trade of an ironmonger. In 1630, however, a Dorchester Company of Ironmongers was formed which included the cutlers. Various individual issuers have been researched, notably Robert Hichcock in Chichester, who was to become free of the London Needlemakers' Company in 1674. He has almost the only example of the London Needlemakers' arms, *Three needles palewise in fesse crowned*; though the Greenall collection had another Needlemaker issuer. There exists no authority for these arms, and the earliest example discovered for the standard work on guild arms is from 1680; yet Hichcock's token is dated 1667.

The halfpenny of William Winstanley, supposed to have been the popular writer 'Poor Robin' though more likely to have been the writer's father, brings us to the Drapers' Company, whose arms are *Three clouds with sunbeams issuing crowned with imperial crowns*. Boyd has published a very helpful list of all known members of the Drapers' Company, and their apprentices. For few guilds otherwise does anything like a comprehensive published list exist. Clockmakers have been well documented, but few clockmakers issued tokens.

It is important for the sake of accuracy to distinguish armorial tokens from those where a charge or charges from the arms occur without a shield. Indeed, one might frame a hypothesis that the presence of a shield identifies a member of the particular Company. In the case of Nicholas Shepherd of Saxmundham, however, it appears not to have been significant whether or not there was a shield, unless something changed during his lifetime.

Turning to private arms, assiduous readers of Williamson or of the Norweb Sylloges may remember the note that William Dugdale, Norroy

King of Arms, made in his diary between the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to Elias Ashmole on 3 November 1668, and his first entry for 1669: 'John Salmon, of Chester, maketh brass pence, with Armes upon them (3 Salmons) to disclayme him'. John Salmon's 1667 penny indeed bears on the obverse the arms *Three fishes hauriant, a crescent for difference, impaling a two-headed eagle displayed, within a bordure*. Dugdale had already carried out his Visitation of Cheshire, so he would have known that Salmon could not justify his use of these arms.

Henry Norborne in Southampton issued a halfpenny in 1668 which bears on the obverse, between the letters N above H A, the arms *Ermine a fess nebuly and in a canton a ducal coronet*. In the 1686 Visitation of Hampshire these arms with the tinctures were entered by Henry Norborne himself, in his interview with Clarenceux King of Arms at the Dolphin Inn, Southampton, on 29 July 1686. The Visitation record adds Norborne's family details, including his wife Averina (whence the A on the token), to whose father Richard Cornelius, grocer and also a token-issuer, Captain Norborne had been apprenticed.

Will Filbrigg, linen-draper, issued a 1658 token in Oundle, Northants., bearing the arms *A lion rampant, with crest*. The Visitation of Northamptonshire and Rutland indeed enters Filbrigge of Oundle, including William, aged 48, though no arms are recorded. The family came out of Norfolk, where other sources give the tinctures to the arms.

Anthony Speer issued an undated token in Wokingham, Berkshire, which bears the arms *A chevron surmounted by another between three trefoils slipped*. These are the arms of Spier of Wargrave, Berks, and the record of the 1665 Visitation shows not only the bearer of these arms, Richard Spier or Spire aged 36, but also a younger brother Anthony 'now of Ockingham', who must be the Wokingham token-issuer; though there should have been a mark of cadency on the token, a mullet if he was the third son.

Sam: Greenwood of Leeds his halfe penny 1668 appears on one side of a token in the Norweb Collection, the other side bearing the arms *A chevron ermine between three saltires*. These are indeed the arms exhibited for James Greenwood of Stapleton at Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire in 1665-6, which also recorded his son Samuel aged 30, who would issue his token two years later, and become head of the family in 1670, as one learns from the information added to the italicised details of

the Visitation record.

Will Crane of Beccles in Suffolk issued undated tokens bearing on the reverse the Drapers' arms, and on the obverse the arms *On a bend three cross crosslets*, which are accepted as being the arms borne by Crane of Beccles. In the 1664 Visitation of Suffolk William Crane, gent., is indeed recorded, though without arms; so the tokens make a contribution to what is known from the Visitation.

Gervase Mapliden of Maidstone issued an undated halfpenny bearing the arms *A cross formy (itthy)*. These are the arms recorded for Maplesden in the Visitation of Kent, in which the pedigree for one branch was signed by the token-issuer himself.

Some token-issuers can be found in Visitations much earlier. Gideon Hayne, marchant in TRIN i.e. Trim, Co. Meath, issued an undated penny bearing the full achievement *On a fess three plates, in chief a greyhound courant, crest An eagle displayed*. This is the first quarter and crest [on a tortoise?] of Hayne of Dorchester, Dorset, and the 1623 Visitation of that county not only includes Oliver Hayne, who bore the arms, but also Morgan Hayne his son and heir, and Morgan's son Gideon, the future token-issuer, aged five.

John Richardson issued a 1664 token in Durham which bears the Grocers' arms on the obverse, and on the reverse the arms *On a chief three lions' heads erased*. These are entered as the arms of Richardson of Durham in the Visitations, and the pedigree gives not only John as the head of the family, but also John, his son and heir and Counsellor at Lawe, and the latter's son John, one of whom may well have inherited the arms which he put on his token. These arms were granted in 1615.

Not everyone who qualified appeared at the Visitation, perhaps because he was ill, or away from home; or perhaps he refused to appear, like those Oxford gentlemen reported by Anthony Wood, who regarded the Visitation as no more than a trick to get money, and preferred to go to Brackley races. This could explain why some issuers of armorial tokens are missing, or why the arms on Robert Grove's Robertsbridge halfpenny are so often defaced.

For example, John Whetcombe in Sherborne, who issued an armorial token dated 1657, was not entered in the 1677 Visitation of Dorset, but G. D. Squibb believed that John Whetcombe senior would have been summoned to appear since he was described as gentleman in

1685; the arms on his token will be the same as those of Mary Whetcombe *Argent on 3 pallets sable as many eagles displayed counterchanged*, rather than those of the the Somerset Whitcombes cited in Norweb Part II.

The Visitation process was also designed to disclaim 'divers of the vulgar' who had arrogantly assumed to bear arms. Among those disclaimed in 1672 in Somerset was 'Henry Gutch of Glaston', a mercer who issued tokens in 1653 and 1666 bearing the extraordinary device of Glastonbury Tor; Wenceslaus Hollar's engraving published in 1655, but probably prepared before 1652, may have been the first die-sinker's model. A couple of issuers put out tokens bearing family arms after being disclaimed, among them William Alanson of Wem, who is presumably the 'Wm. Allison - Wemme' disclaimed at the 1664 Lent Assizes at Shrewsbury. His halfpenny token of 1666 bears the arms *A fess between three boars' heads couped*. Unless he had in the interim proved his right to bear these arms and paid the necessary fees, and as far as I can find he had not done so, the issuing of this token would seem to have been somewhat foolhardy and rash.

[Robert acknowledged the help of Sue Philips in providing slides of the merchant companies or guilds, and of Peter Clayton for producing the slides of tokens bearing family arms and of the Heralds' Visitations.]

London Numismatic Club meeting, 9 December

A this meeting, Hugh Pagan, well-known for his work and publications on the Anglo-Saxon series and as an antiquarian bookseller, spoke on 'Numismatics in London before the Numismatic Society of London'. He said:

In the dying days of the last Conservative government, it was observed, in my view truthfully, that the United Kingdom's system of government as it existed at that time was the most centralised system of government that existed in any of the member states of the European Union and was also more centralised than that in almost any comparable democratic state. The consequence of London having had for centuries to house the monarch, parliament, the civil service, the courts of law, the head offices of the principal banks and public companies, and all the other comparable

organisations that require space in a capital city has been that London has also necessarily served as the headquarters of all the principal national learned societies, other than those whose sphere of activities is specifically related to Scotland, Wales or Ireland.

Some of these societies, such as the Royal Society, have seen their role as national from the outset, while others, such as the Society of Antiquaries of London and the Numismatic Society of London (now the Royal Numismatic Society), were conceived as societies for London-based antiquaries or numismatists but were quick to recruit Fellows or members from further afield and soon lost any specific London character. It has however historically remained the case that the regular meetings of such societies have continued to be held in central London, and this has enabled Londoners to play a much larger part in their proceedings than their numerical strength within each such society might strictly have entitled them to.

Since this has been overwhelmingly to the benefit of scholarship, rather than the reverse, this is nothing for us to be ashamed about, but it has had the slightly unfortunate consequence that whereas the histories of the Wessex or Yorkshire Numismatic Societies, or the history of the study of numismatics at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, are self-contained topics with which some present or future scholar may easily grapple, the contribution of Londoners to numismatics is normally considered as a contribution to national numismatics, and almost no thought has been given to the study of coins in London and by Londoners.

What I want to do here is to consider the period of about a century and a half up to the foundation of the Numismatic Society of London in 1836, and to bring together some of the rather scattered evidence for numismatic activity in London during that time.

During the seventeenth century coin collecting in England seems to have been predominantly an occupation for royalty, the nobility and for the educated clergy; royalty and the nobility because higher denomination coins and aesthetically satisfying commemorative medals came their way as an automatic part of court life, the educated clergy because Roman coins were those most likely to come to hand and Church of England clergymen with Oxford or Cambridge degrees and a knowledge of the classics were the sector of society particularly knowledgeable about, and

interested in, the names, dates and achievements of Roman emperors. In such circumstances it is not surprising that for much of the century scholarly discussion of numismatics was mainly a matter for clergymen, dispersed geographically across the country because of the livings, canonries or bishoprics that they held, but having in common Oxford or Cambridge education and enjoying the possibility either of access to the respective university coin collections or of correspondence with their curators.

It is understandable in the circumstances that there is very little evidence for serious numismatic activity in London until towards the end of the seventeenth century. Apart from the Royal collection, dispersed after the Civil War, the only significant collection housed within the cities of London and Westminster at the middle of the century was that formed by the antiquary Sir Robert Cotton who, as a layman interested in English history and the origins of parliament, had a rather different collecting agenda than most of his contemporaries. It is not clear how many of the coins in the collection had come from London sources, and although the collection was preserved by his descendants at Sir Robert's London residence, Cotton House, just next door to the Palace of Westminster, access to it was difficult. Most numismatists knew of its contents only because it was the source of the coin illustrations in successive editions of Speed's *History of Great Britain*.

There had, however, been since the late Middle Ages one place in London, the Inns of Court, where there was a concentration of educated men not in clerical orders, and two of the first London coin collectors of whom we really know anything were resident there. The first of these was Elias Ashmole (1617-92), remembered today as the founder of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, but for much of his later life a London-based civil servant. John Evelyn records of him, in a letter to Samuel Pepys of 12 August 1689, that 'Mr Ashmole, our common friend, had collected all the antient & moderne coins of this kingdom, which were very rare, together with severall medalls of our British, Saxon & other kings upon occasion of births, coronations, marriages. & other solemnities'. However, by the time this letter was written the bulk of the collection, comprising 'neere 9000 coynes & medalls ancient & moderne, being the gather of 32 yeares', had been lost in a fire in Ashmole's chambers in the Middle Temple, and the 556 coins which Ashmole

presented to the Ashmolean Museum in 1687 were a residue only.

A happier fate awaited the coins accumulated by a second Inns of Court collector, William Courten (1642-1702). Courten, who for some reason was living in the Middle Temple under the assumed name of Charleton, possessed, as the coin collector Ralph Thoresby noted when he visited him there in May 1695, 'a noble collection of Roman coins', particularly strong in the Roman Republican series and in imperial denarii, and he also owned, to quote Thoresby again, 'a costly collection of medals, of eminent persons in church and state, domestic and foreign reformers'. As it happened, Courten, who had studied botany in Montpellier in France as a younger man, had made the acquaintance there of the eminent London physician Sir Hans Sloane, who remained a friend. On Courten's death Sloane was able to acquire the entirety of the collection, with the result that when Sloane's collection was bequeathed to the nation in 1753 Courten's coins came with it, and many of them no doubt lurk in the British Museum trays today.

Thoresby himself was a wool and cloth merchant in Leeds, Yorkshire, and he exemplifies a new breed of collector, just as interested in medieval and modern coins as in the coinage of the ancient world, and delighted to pick up almost any item of numismatic interest. He only visited London on a few occasions, but his visits are relatively fully documented in his surviving diaries. What is striking is that although when in London he paid visits to the town houses of such coin-collecting grandees as the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Andrew Fountaine and William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, he does not appear to have visited anyone who he regarded as a coin dealer. The only middle class London collectors on whom he called were William Courten, already mentioned; the Revd William Stonestreet, Rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook; and an individual called John Kemp of whom I shall speak in a moment. As it happens, Thoresby records in the printed catalogue of his collection, published in 1713 as part of his book *Ducatus Leodiensis*, most of the sources from which the coins in his collection came, and the absence of any significant number of coins described as having been acquired in London or from Londoners tends to confirm the rather surprising lack of evidence for London as a centre for numismatics before 1700.

As just noted, Thoresby does not seem to have located any London coin dealer; but things are not always quite as they seem. Although in

Thoresby's eyes John Kemp appears to have been simply an antiquary and collector keen to show Thoresby 'his noble collection of Greek and Roman medals, several of the large medallions in silver, and others larger in copper', a contemporary German visitor to London, Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, thought differently. In his diary for 11 June 1710 he records that 'in the afternoon we were at Herr Campe's, who lives at Charing Cross in the house of a tinman. He is really a sword-cutler by trade, though he shows no signs of it. For he has taken to dealing in ancient coins, in which he has done so well that he has now set up for himself alone and has two fairly large rooms full of antiques and an extremely elegant cabinet of coins'. Whether Kemp was a dealer or not remains to some degree an open question, for the core of his collection had come to him as a single purchase from a Frenchman called Jean Gailhard, and he seems to have still been in the possession of Gailhard's coins at his death, but Kemp is certainly a candidate for the role of being one of London's earliest coin dealers.

Uffenbach was also able to pay a visit to an Italian living in London, Francesco Benedetti, whom he describes as 'an artful fellow' who 'does a lively trade in antiques and manages to swindle the English shockingly, palming off on them for prodigious sums articles which he gets from France and Italy for nothing'. Benedetti may also have been not quite what he seemed - Uffenbach believed him to be a covert Catholic priest - but he produced a range of Roman coins for Uffenbach to inspect and claimed to have sold others to Lord Pembroke.

For Benedetti, buying and selling coins was evidently a subsidiary aspect of a larger business trading in artefacts of the past, and, to pursue the theme of coin dealing, most of those who are recorded as trading in coins in London in the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century combined it with some other occupation. Thus, William Tanner, recorded as selling medals to Lord Harley in 1719-20, was a goldsmith and plate worker at the sign of the Spotted Dog in Cheapside. Joseph Barret, who is recorded in February 1724 as buying the coin collection of Dr Arthur Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford, with a view to offering it to Harley, is described by Harley's librarian, Humphrey Wanley, as an 'emaciated young man' who had been 'apprentice to honest Mr Tanner goldsmith in Cheapside, and having gained the freedom of the city, keeps the same shop & house, & runs directly into the several parts of his late

master's business'.

After Barret, evidence for coin dealing in London again becomes scanty, but in the middle of the century Angel Carmey, whose Christian name indicates that he was probably of Italian or Spanish origin, seems, like Benedetti, to have dealt in antiquities as well as in coins. He was evidently a dealer of some substance being, for example, the only obviously identifiable coin dealer among the purchasers at the auction sale of Bryan Fairfax's substantial coin collection in 1751, but his career and status need further investigation (did he really conduct his business from the house in Ranelagh Row, Chelsea, where he was living at his death in 1765?).

By the date of the sale of the collection of Dr Richard Mead in 1755 there were others in the field, for although named copies of the sale catalogue show Carmey as buying many lots of Roman coins, the parts of the sale devoted to English and modern European coins, and to commemorative medals, saw numerous lots being purchased either by John White or by Thomas Snelling, the two key personalities in the London coin trade of their period. Of Snelling, who died in 1773 and traded from premises in Fleet Street, I shall say little, for he is to be the subject of an article by Robert Thompson in the new *Dictionary of National Biography* and Robert knows more about him than I do. He is described in contemporary sources as a bookseller as well as a coin dealer, but the bookselling side of his business seems chiefly to have involved the sale of his own publications on various numismatic topics, and by the end of his career it looks as if he made most of his living from the coin trade.

John White is more of a puzzle. When he emerges from obscurity he was already in business as 'an ingenious tradesman & hatter in the wholesale way' in Newgate Street in the City of London. He seems to have started out as a coin collector rather than as a dealer, for a sale in 1820 included a manuscript catalogue dated 1752 of the 'English and foreign money & medals in the cabinet of John White, from the conquest to this present time'; it may be that what he bought at the Mead sale was for himself personally. But by 1757 the antiquary Joseph Ames was writing to a colleague to report that "I am at Mr John White's in Newgate Street, where I beg the favour of you to conduct our friend Mr William Borlase... Mr White would oblige him with the sight of the late Earl of

Winchilsea's British coins, etc. etc.' One may reasonably conclude that White had by then started dealing. He was to live to 1787, and the pinnacle of his dealing career seems to have been a period after Thomas Snelling's death in which he became the principal supplier of coins to Dr William Hunter, the creator of the great Hunterian collection of Greek, Roman and English coins now housed in the University of Glasgow. White's reputation for ethical behaviour was not good - he had a fondness for having the inscriptions on common coins re-engraved to make them appear to be of rarer rulers or of rarer mints - and although Anne Robertson and Christopher Blunt were inclined to believe that in his transactions with William Hunter he behaved on the whole honourably, I am less sure of this myself. Let me quote to you a relevant passage from J.T.Smith's biography of the eighteenth-century sculptor Joseph Nollekens:

'When straw hats had become unfashionable, Mrs Nollekens hinted to old White, the latter ... who frequently came to show Nollekens one of his Roman medals or a lamp, that possibly he could accommodate her with a Leghorn hat at a moderate rate. White, who was a cunning old fox, and well knew how to plough with another man's heifer, seldom visited Mr Nollekens' studio, by way of getting a loan of a model, or a squeeze of something old or singularly curious; without first looking into the parlour to see how [Mrs Nollekens] was, at the same time taking care to present her with an old-fashioned hat, well knowing that she cut them into more modern shapes... Nollekens, finding his wife always benefited by these visits, never refused White a squeeze of a patera, or anything that would answer his purpose; and at the same time, when he was gone, he readily joined in the laugh against old Gerrard, and the other fools who had been for years duped by old White, who had turned his wine-cellars into manufactories for the produce of cast coins, and modern squeezes from Roman lamps'.

By the 1780s those contemporary collectors who had previously dealt with Snelling and who had reservations about White had been able to transfer their loyalty to three other suppliers. One was John Thane, primarily a print seller but also a dealer in coins and antiquities, and often trusted with commissions at coin sales. Another was Henry Young, a

goldsmith, jeweller and toy man at the sign of the Star and Garter, 18 Ludgate Street (the present-day Ludgate Hill), who seems to have specialised in relatively modern coins and medals but had evidently built up a customer base subsequently developed by his more celebrated coin-dealing son Matthew Young. It is recorded that one of the Young firm's customers for medals, the 3rd Duke of Atholl, used to visit their premises as early as seven in the morning two or three times a week when in London. For collectors interested in classical or medieval coins, the dealer to go to was neither Young nor Thane but Richard Miles (born 1740, died 1819). He was described many years later by Richard Sainthill as 'a strictly conscientious man, and a perfect gentleman of the old school, a strenuous supporter of our invaluable constitution, and a model for the life of a Christian'. Miles had started life as cashier and book-keeper to the King's Jeweller, and his integrity was buttressed by the fact that during much of his dealing career he was also the British Museum's accountant. He operated from a house in Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, and his connections with, and proximity to, the British Museum, made Tavistock Street a natural port of call for the more scholarly collector. It should be noted that although the absence of an accession register for the Department of Coins and Medals before the 1830s makes the growth of the British Museum's collection before that date obscure, surviving tickets marked 'M', or similar, evidence numerous purchases by the Department from Miles's stock.

In the next generation, still dominating the coin trade in 1836, the principal figure was Matthew Young, Henry Young's son, who by the 1820s had moved the family business from Ludgate Street to Tavistock Street and had clearly assumed Miles's role as the most respected member of the dealing fraternity. Something of his personality can be gleaned from correspondence addressed to him by his customers, edited some thirty years ago by Portia, and a diligent researcher of the future will be able to piece together his major role in the auction rooms from a study of his marked set of catalogues, still preserved in the Department of Coins and Medals. By comparison, William Till, trading from 17 Great Russell Street, was a lesser figure, and so was Peter Reynolds, in business first at 86 Cheapside and then at 35 High Holborn. After Young's death in 1838, the major player in the sale rooms was neither Till nor Reynolds,

but Henry Osborne Cureton, operating from two rooms with no servant at 81 Aldersgate Street in the City of London, but with a stock valued at £8000 by the second half of the 1830s.

No reference has been made to the firm of Spink, allegedly in the coin trade since before the end of the seventeenth century, but although the name of Spink occasionally occurs as a purchaser at coin sales before 1836, it is as a purchaser of individual lots on commission or of lots with a value as bullion, and the Spink firm did not in reality enter the coin trade until the early 1880s.

To turn now from the coin trade to numismatics in London generally, and first to the evidence for numismatic activity within the Society of Antiquaries of London over the century or so before the Numismatic Society of London was founded. The continuous history of the Society of Antiquaries of London goes back to July 1717, when it was launched with 23 founder members at a meeting in the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street. Among these several were interested in coins, including William Stukeley, Roger Gale and Browne Willis, and four years after the Society's foundation it was decided that the Society should undertake 'a compleat description and history of all the coyns relating to Great Britain from the earliest times to our own'. William Stukeley undertook the Ancient British series, with special reference to those in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane; Roger Gale undertook Roman coins relating to Britain, and his brother Samuel 'those of the Danish reigns'. George Holmes, Keeper of the Records at the Tower of London, 'undertook the Saxon coyns in possession of Mr. Hill a Counsellor', and a Mr James Hill 'undertook to get a description of Lord Harley's Saxon coins^o.

Although nothing actually came of this scheme, either then or when it was revived in 1724, it attracted the attention both of Ruding and of Joan Evans in her *History of the Society of Antiquaries* (1956), and it is curious that neither of them identified 'Mr. Hill a counsellor' who possessed a collection of Saxon coins and who was evidently not the same person as the James Hill who volunteered to obtain details of Harley's coins. In fact, 'Mr. Hill a counsellor' was John Hill, a barrister of the Inner Temple, and therefore an Inns of Court collector in the tradition of Ashmole and Courten. Hill's collection of valuable antiquities, sold by auction on 4 April 1723, included nearly 400 Anglo Saxon coins, unfortunately not further described in the catalogue, as well as 54 'small

antique British coins, gold'.

After 1724 the Society's interest in a history of the coinage of Great Britain as a collective project lapsed, but Martin Folkes, successively its Vice-President and President, took a personal interest in the coinage of England from the Norman Conquest onwards. He encouraged the Society to have two plates of rare English coins engraved in 1732, and he eventually asked it to meet the expense of having plates engraved as part of an improved edition of his own previously unillustrated treatises on the English gold and silver coinages. The Society agreed to this in December 1744, but the new edition of Folkes's book was unfinished on his death. A rash decision by the Society in 1754 to buy the copyright in it and the copper plates for it from Folkes's executors involved them in so much subsequent trouble that it is really no surprise that the Society did not afterwards wish to play any managerial role in the promotion of the study of the British coinage.

The Society of Antiquaries did, however, remain until 1836 the principal forum for the reading of scholarly papers on numismatic topics, and it might reasonably be supposed that among these there were lectures by distinguished scholars of the day which significantly advanced the study of our subject. Regrettably, this was hardly the case at all until after 1800, and even in the early nineteenth century, when reports on major coin hoards had begun to be read at the Society's meetings by such scholars as Taylor Combe and Edward Hawkins, the Society's periodical *Archaeologia* still included very few papers which discussed the dating and classification of particular coinages or types.

One might surmise that what was published in *Archaeologia* under-represented the numismatic papers actually read, but there does not appear to be any evidence that any substantive numismatic papers delivered to the Society between the launching of *Archaeologia* in 1770 and the mid-1830s remained unprinted. What we must understand is that the concept of a lecture providing a general survey of the coinage of the Emperor Diocletian, or of the monetary policies of King Henry VIII for example, is essentially a modern one. The reality is that most papers read to the Society of Antiquaries in its early years related to individual objects exhibited at the meetings, and one can see that individual coins might not have provided as good a starting point for extended scholarly discussion as objects of a more three-dimensional character. In this

context it is helpful to realise that up to 1929 even the physical arrangement of the Antiquaries' meeting room was geared to exhibits, those attending being seated on three rows of benches on either side of a central table.

How was it then, if not from papers read at meetings, that Londoners interested in coins were able to appreciate what were rarities and what were not, and which coins were struck by which rulers ? Books of reference were one obvious resource, particularly for those interested in the Roman series, on which there were many useful publications by European scholars; but there were great tracts of coinage on which the published literature was unhelpful right up to the end of our period, and other areas where the appearance of a publication simply revealed how much about the series to which it related still needed to be discovered.

Although Londoners of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century found reference books on numismatics useful, their knowledge of individual series was founded not so much on what they had read in books as on their practical knowledge of the coins themselves and on what they managed to glean from past auction sale catalogues or from conversation or correspondence with their contemporaries. If the publications of the coin dealer and bookseller Thomas Snelling remain useful, it is not because of the information in them which he had repeated from earlier books or copied from official publications, but because he was able to record previously unpublished material either in his own stock or which he had seen in the possession of contemporary collectors.

If Snelling is untypical, because he did publish much of what he knew, there were throughout the period well-informed dealers and collectors who never published anything, but whose knowledge of coin varieties was more advanced and extensive than anything that had been set down in print. The exact degree of knowledge possessed by London's eighteenth-century dealers and collectors is difficult to quantify, but Porritt's edition of the letters addressed to Matthew Young by his customers in the 1820s leaves one in little doubt that such customers as Thomas Thomas, a grocer, and tea-dealer at 221 Oxford Street, possessed a complete mastery of the series in which they collected.

In being a grocer Thomas was probably unusual among collectors of his time, but by this time the range of occupations being followed by coin collectors was as diverse as the character of their collections.

Although collections made by clergymen **or** lawyers still tended to be strong in coins of the ancient world, while collections made by bankers, tradesmen and apothecaries were of a more general character, the Greek and Roman parts of Thomas Thomas's collection were particularly strong. Another contemporary London tradesman, James Broad, a coach ironmonger at 149 Drury Lane, seems to have collected Greek coins and Roman large brass only. I have not time to mention the great mass of London coin collectors of this period, but I note in passing that the first carefully selected specialist collection of English milled coins was made by Abraham Edmonds, a surveyor in business at 53 Castle Street, Southwark.

Reference was made earlier to the bequest by Sir Hans Sloane **in** 1753 which brought his and William Courten's coins to the British Museum. The British Museum was not, in fact, in existence at the time the bequest was made, and it was the gift of Sloane's collections that gave the necessary impetus for its foundation in the following year. As originally constituted, The British Museum had three departments: of Printed Books, Manuscripts and Natural History. It was not until the first decade of the nineteenth century that its coin collection was transferred to the care of the newly created Department of Antiquities. In consequence, although the collection had steadily been growing during the late eighteenth century, those interested in numismatics were given ready access to it. The individuals on the Museum's staff who took an interest in coins - particularly Andrew Gifford and Richard Southgate, both employed as Assistant Librarians **in** the Department of Printed Books, and both, incidentally, clergymen - were too low down the Museum's administrative food chain for the Museum to give any priority to fostering the study of coinage. When, therefore, Taylor Combe, son of the London physician **Dr** Charles Combe who had previously catalogued William Hunter's Greek coins, joined the Museum staff early in the new century, initially to take charge of the coin collection only but soon to be appointed as the first Keeper of the Department of Antiquities, this was a real turning point both for the Museum and in the wider history of British and London numismatics. From Taylor Combe onwards there was always a numismatist in a senior post at the British Museum prepared to make use of his position for the benefit of numismatic scholarship. Additionally, both Taylor Combe and his immediate successor, Edward

Hawkins, possessed a commitment to the study of the subject that went beyond their departmental duties. In Hawkins's case this went so far that while Keeper of the Department of Antiquities he built up an extensive personal collection of British commemorative medals, mostly purchased by him under his own name at the same sales where coins or other medals were being purchased for his Department on commission by Matthew Young, or later by Henry Osborne Cureton, that unsung warrior of London coin dealing.

AUCTION RESULTS

by Anthony Gilbert

99th Club Auction, 5 May 1999

Twenty members were present to bid on the 115 lots on offer, submitted by ten members. There was the usual mixture of coins, medals, tokens and banknotes, though this auction was particularly strong in European items. Thirty lots failed to secure a bid. Lot 105 - three denarii of Trajan, Septimius Severus and Maximinus with a reserve of £40, could more sensibly have been offered as three separate lots as could have been Lot 114 consisting of 22 hammered English coins with a reserve of **£55**. Some vendors should seriously 'smarten up', as they say, and consider the sales potential to collector members and not offer 'dealer lots'. A scarce 1939 Seychelles rupee failed with a reserve of £8.

Banknotes did well and are usually popular with buyers when they are sensibly grouped with attractive reserves.

The top price of £32 (reserve £20) was fetched by a group of Roman provincial bronze issues. An Edward Long Cross penny of the Durham mint sold for £25 (reserve £15), and a base silver Syrian tetradrachm of Caracalla fetched £25 (reserve £22).

The total sales fetched £422, with the Club collecting 10% of that in commission.

100th Club Auction, 4 November 1999

Seventeen members were present at the Club's centenary auction. The Club is presently experiencing problems over its meeting place, having had to 'remove' itself from the Institute of Archaeology (see Editorial). Its

new regular meeting place, the Garwood Theatre in University College has proved to be both suitable and popular for speaker-based meetings. but the Club auctions, being deemed unacceptably 'commercial' in some quarters, are not now possible at UCL. David Sealey, the Club's Programme secretary and auction organiser, nevertheless successfully arranged for the centenary auction to be held in the lecture room of the Warburg Institute, the regular venue for meetings of the British Numismatic Society. The layout and lighting proved to be very acceptable to the members present, a pleasant change from the vagaries of the spotlights (or lack of them) previously experienced in the Common Room at the Institute of Archaeology.

Marcus Phillips and David Sealey acted as the auctioneers and 63 lots out of a total of 102 fell under the gavel. David Sealey had previously asked for better lots to be entered for this special auction. Members had responded magnificently, and we have to thank seven vendors, but especially Brian Geal and Kevin Wicker. However, any auction's success does depend on just which members turn up on the night, and mostly the more expensive lots did not sell - which was a pity.

Vendors experienced mixed success. Some copies of the *British Numismatic Journal* from the early 1970s failed to attract a buyer, but this was probably because these particular volumes are amongst the least interesting. Lots with the highest reserves, from £60 up to £160 (an Ambiani first century gold stater) did not generate any raised hands. However, the top price of the night was £70 for a Byzantine histamenon nomisma of Nicephorus III (Seaby 1881), which sold at its reserve. The biggest surprise was a gilt Henry VIII 2nd coinage groat, profile bust, with initial mark rose, which sold for £40 against a reserve of £15. A Henry VI Class A London groat, initial mark cross (Seaby 1116), also sold for £40, which was its reserve.

The total sales were £839,50 with the Club benefiting by £83.95 in commission. All in all, the centenary auction provided members with a good and entertaining evening.

Club Ties

When the Club's library was removed from the Institute of Archaeology and the tin cabinets cleared, a stock of 15 Club ties was discovered. This was while Tony Gilbert was actively pursuing on behalf of the Committee the production of a new batch with a new design. So far, six of the ties have been sold, thus leaving only nine available. If you feel that you would like a tie (if you don't have one, or need a replacement) at the economical price of **£5**, then please see Tony at a meeting of the Club.

This is a last and final offer since once this existing stock is sold a new design will be prepared and it will almost certainly involve an increase in price.

EXHIBITION REVIEW

IS THIS A CASE OF A NUMISMATIC 'EMPEROR'S CLOTHES'?

Peter Clayton visited the British Museum's exhibition 'The Metal Mirror: Coin Photographs by Stephen Sack' and writes:

The press release from the British Museum reads: 'In the present exhibition the artist [Stephen Sack] returns to the subject of coins, a theme that has fascinated him for many years, to produce a series of challenging new works largely derived from the numismatic collections of the British Museum and the Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Belgique Royale, Brussels. The photographs themselves are the result of an eighteen month collaboration between the Department of Coins and Medals [British Museum] and the artist.' With such an introduction one's appetite is whetted, visions of some of the many superb examples of coins held in the two collections float before one's eyes - what gems have been selected if it has taken an 18-month collaboration to reach the final goal? If that is what you have in your mind - disappointment looms, the balloon of fantastic images of the die-engraver's art will burst when you have realised that no, you have come to the right gallery. The coins chosen for illustration are the waifs and strays, the battered relics and sad distorted remains of once fine coins. **In** fact, truthfully, no numismatic dealer would even put them in his 'Roman coins, 10p each' bowl to encourage

young collectors. One is only surprised that, first, **it** took so long to 'select' these sad items and, second, that the relevant Keepers would wish their cabinets to be associated with them - it is not as if any of them were rare coins. 'Sack has worked closely with curatorial staff exploring cabinets full of coins' we are told, and that 'under the lens of the artist's camera [they] are transformed to reveal images of phantom-like figures, mythical beasts and shadowy architecture - all suggestive of a lost world.' [!] Was Hans Christian Anderson the writer of this press copy ?

True, from the technical photographic point of view the images are outstanding - averaging a metre high, their round framework removed by close-up detail, they are indeed transformed. But, the visitor has no idea of whence they came - no photograph of the complete original coin is shown alongside the enlargement, when one could have appreciated indeed the skill in the photography and the printing. **It** is only by buying the 24-page full-colour catalogue that the visitor will find a list of the coins that form the basis of the 17 images in the exhibition

What then, to make of it ? As with reviewing a book, so with an exhibition, the reviewer presents a personal view based on their own knowledge and acceptance of the material. So, as a numismatist, **I** can only view **it** as a numismatic disaster; whether it is 'modern art' is a question beyond my capabilities - few of us can understand some of the much vaunted subjects that compete for the annual huge Turner Prize. Should this be, after all, an exhibition in the British Museum? A very debatable point - perhaps the Tate Gallery **on** Millbank, or perhaps the Institute of Contemporary Arts (**ICA**) Gallery in the Mall, would have been more appropriate locations. Who knows - the answer lies in your own personal response - whatever view you might take, the exhibition was certainly numismatically controversial.

'The Metal Mirror' was shown at the British Museum from 5 October to 5 December 1999.

BOOK REVIEW

Greek Coin Hoards in Turkey: The Antalya Archaeological Museum and the C.S. Okray Collection. Melih Arslan and Chris Lightfoot. The authors, Ankara, 1999. 197pp, incl 75 pls and 2 maps. Hardback, £48 (available from Spink & Son).

As Professor Peter Robert Franke of Munich points out in his Preface, this is an important record of numismatic finds from Asia Minor and Thrace, and the authors are to be congratulated on their dedication in producing such a find book and, not least, taking the publication and distribution of it upon themselves - they deserve to succeed. The book is a fully descriptive catalogue of 1,036 coins, each coin illustrated with a digitally enhanced image taken from a plaster cast, and the result is remarkably good.

The original intention was to publish the Greek coin hoards in the Antalya Archaeological Museum, but it has expanded beyond that to include hoards from the Burdur, Fethiye and Sinop museums to the benefit of numismatists interested in the area. Five significant hoards from the fourth to first centuries BC are included. The essay on Pamphylia and its coinage takes in Aspendus and includes the Ürkütlü hoard of 12 silver staters and the Varsak-Düden hoard of 206 staters; the essay on Side includes the Gazipasa hoard of 38 staters, the Side hoard of 129 tetradrachms and Karakuyu with its 269 tetradrachms. From Lycia come five bronze coins which are the first evidence for the city of Kitanaura.

The Sinop museum can boast the Ordu hoard, found during construction work at the Black Sea town of Ordu in 1970. It was immediately dispersed but was pursued by the authorities, and 69 coins were recovered for the Sinop museum. In 1975 Christof Boehringer published a group of 138 tetradrachms from the hoard, suggesting that there had been some 220 to 230 tetradrachms in the hoard; it is now accepted that the true number was closer to c. 220-230 pieces. The 69 in the Sinop museum represent 13 different types whilst Boehringer's list has 18 types which, put together, produces 24 types which include seven New Style Athenian tetradrachms, coins of the Antiochi and, the largest group, 31 posthumous issues of Lysimachus from four different mints. It

also included the presently unique tetradrachm of Ariarathes III or IV (now more probably thought to be IV). The date of deposit appears to be late in the reign of Mithradates V, c. 140-120 BC.

The Cafer S. Okray collection, now over 520 coins and probably the largest collection in private hands in Turkey, is represented by a selection of 250 pieces which give a good indication of the scope and quantity of numismatic material that has been circulating in Turkey during the last decade. Most of the coins in the collection seem to be hoards, or part of hoards.

The book covers a wide span of coins from Turkey, including a few individual specimens struck at Roman cities in Thrace. It is a welcome addition to knowledge of coins that circulated in Asia Minor and Thrace and, from the spate of coins now being found in the area, will form a useful base to work from.

Peter A. Clayton

OBITUARY

David Rogers died in a road accident on 1 February 1999. He was a long-time member of the London Numismatic Club, known to most members for his quiet good humour, extensive numismatic knowledge and especially for his interest in tumbrels, small coin weighing scales (see *LNC Newsletter*, Vol. VII, No. 20, pp. 26-30; *op cit.* Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 32-3). Paul Withers, an old and close friend of David's who has his posthumous publication in hand, contributes the following obituary.

David John de Sola Rogers was born on 9th April 1946 in Blackhill, County Durham, the youngest of three children, in a 'clever' family. His father, before he retired, was a well-known pathologist, who had worked with Alexander Fleming. His uncle was Claude Rogers, the well-known painter. Numismatics runs in the family too, and Michael J Freeman is a distant cousin.

David was educated at Oundle, and then read medicine at Birmingham University.

After qualifying as a doctor, he worked in several hospitals, including Sutton Coldfield, Worcester, Hull and Cardiff, trying his hand at various specialities before taking a job for two years on St. Helena where there were three doctors on the island to look after 5,000 people. If this sounds

like a good ratio of doctors to population, remember that those three, as well as being GPs, had to provide round-the-clock cover for everything from psychiatry to midwifery, run and staff the local hospital and pharmacy, and act as Health and Safety Inspectors into the bargain - so David, who, strangely, for a doctor, had a honor of blood, was obliged to turn his hand to anaesthetics when operations were required, as he was not very good at sewing or tying neat knots, the first essential of surgery apart from a steady hand.

St. Helena is one of the most isolated places in the world; there is no piece of land long, flat or level enough for a landing strip for aircraft, and it is well outside of helicopter range. The fastest boat service, the island's only connection with the outside world, took three weeks to get to or from Capetown in S. Africa. As there were no friendly specialists round the corner to whom to refer difficult cases, they had to be self-contained. It was here that David's earlier inability to settle down to one speciality came in handy, especially the time he had spent studying general medicine and paediatrics.

He joined in the life of the island, taking part in activities as diverse as pantomimes and teaching the local teachers how to teach science better. In his rare spare time he swam, or walked the island, learning about and photographing its flora and fauna. For a short while romance blossomed with a nurse, but nothing came of it.

Infuriated by the incompetence and lack of concern of the Crown Agents, and the way they were supplied with only the most basic of drugs, and also the way that the island was governed, he returned to U.K. when his tour of duty was up, and worked at hospitals in Yeovil and Exeter whilst continuing to study for his fellowship examinations to become an anaesthetist, before taking a teaching post in Edinburgh .

He did not suffer fools gladly and found the rigidity and hierarchy of the N.H.S. and its administration increasingly tedious. He did not like deferring to senior ranking colleagues whom he considered in error and he did not endear himself to them by being right more often than not.

After gaining his Fellowship he took up a job in London at St Mary's and then joined an independent IVF team with the status of consultant anaesthetist. One of his colleagues, a gynaecologist and surgeon on the same team, remarked how thorough and careful David was, checking even the minor details often ignored by others, and that this was done

thoroughly and conscientiously every time. Were he to need an anaesthetist for himself or his family; he said, he would choose David. High praise from a surgeon, a profession that seems to dread the anaesthetist almost as much as anaesthetists fear surgeons.

After a few years at this he began to suffer ill-health, headed by an attack of Bell's palsy, first on one side of his face and then the other, which left him unable to blink his eyes automatically. So, when a great uncle died leaving him enough money to be independent, he decided to leave medicine and become a numismatist, at which he was successful as the skills required to be a good numismatist are much the same as those required to practise medicine : a sharp eye, patience, a good memory for words and visual detail, and the ability to think laterally, all of which David possessed in good measure.

His first numismatic publication was *Toy Coins*. Although a little outside mainstream numismatics, future generations will be much the wiser for this catalogue, and it is accepted as the standard reference work on the subject. At the time of his death he was preparing a supplement to it, but he would not be pushed into producing something unless it was perfect. Like his earlier meandering in the medical world it was some time before he settled down to working on the subject of small change, which was to become his *idēe fixe*. Pennies cut to make halfpennies or farthings, and their later round equivalents, fell into this category which, until he put his mind and resources to it, no one had really studied in detail. He soon excelled, becoming one of those irritating people who are able to look at a cut halfpenny and pronounce within seconds that it is a 4 a/c mule of London mint, whilst all that you have decided is whether it is long or short cross.

He wrote widely on other numismatic subjects too. It is characteristic of him that he chose fields that no one had looked at in depth before, making interesting discoveries. His opinions were occasionally in contravention of current accepted thinking and the pages of the *Numismatic Circular* sometimes almost burned with the passion of his and his opponent's writings.

Some subjects he had made his own, these included the tumbrel balance, a particular kind of small hand held scales used in ancient and medieval times for weighing coins. His recent article on these, although

not lengthy, specifies all that there is known about such things, much of which David himself had discovered, showing that these objects were a great deal more sophisticated than they were thought to be.

His energy was tremendous, he hardly ever seemed to sleep for more than a few hours at night, he had incredible patience and before his stroke, an exceptionally good memory. We could not see much difference afterwards, though he complained that he could. He more or less recovered from the stroke, but was left with a weakness that meant he had to use a stick. His brush with Bell's palsy meant that he had to wear an eye patch, giving him the air of a limping pirate, and it was thus that he went around coin fairs looking for the things that interested him. His collections : cut coins, early lead and pewter tokens, jetons, coin-weights, forgeries of medieval coins, to many of those interested only in the pretty coins of mainstream numismatics, could appear as so much junk - but David was a true numismatist and not concerned with price of a piece, so much as its intellectual value, the link that it made to others, the story behind it, and how much it revealed. In his time he also made collections of toy coins, card-filled brass French and Anglo-French advertising pieces, French banknotes, anything numismatic related to smoking (which he hated), anything counterstamped and almost everything that was not mainstream providing that it was metallic and stamped with one or more dies.

He helped considerably with our book on coin-weights. Indeed, it was the initial comparison of his collection with ours, which showed that his collection of 250 pieces and ours of 350 had only about 50 pieces in common, that turned it from being an outline catalogue for collectors into the carefully constructed corpus that it became.

Those who knew him well would probably describe him as a mild, unassuming, shy and courteous gentleman: an *Archers* fan, a lover of Mozart and Mahler, a connoisseur of fine wine, single malt whiskey and a knowledgeable gourmet. He played a passable game of bridge and was an expert on the science fiction genre and his knowledge of what had appeared - and when - and when it had been republished in a different cover was encyclopaedic. He had a finely tuned sense of humour, adored clever puns and enjoyed authors such as Terry Pratchett. However, despite this he was essentially a serious person - though a smile was never far away. Few, however, would credit him as being powerful, fast-

moving and brave - not realising that he had had experience of dealing with violent drunks in casualty departments and psychiatric patients who had gone berserk. Whilst we were living in Wolverhampton he had been staying with us one Christmas and New Year. A man had made an appointment to come to see us. Shortly after he turned up he began waving a gun. I recognised it as an imitation and had already pressed the button beneath my desk that called the police. David, however, thought that the gun was the real thing and launched himself at him, wresting the weapon from his grasp. The would-be robber then decided that it was time to leave. I, however, had decided otherwise and dashed downstairs to bolt the front door. David followed, leaping down the stairs three or four at a time. There was a fight. The police turned up some ten minutes later, by which time the fight had been so fierce that David's shirt and mine too were literally torn to shreds. The miscreant claimed that he had been set upon by racially prejudiced people. The police were pleased to inform him that was unlikely as David was Jewish. The robber then complained that undue force had been used to restrain him. The police informed him that David was a doctor and knew exactly how much force was necessary. Effectively silenced he was sent down to the cells; the judge was not overly impressed with his case either and he got five and a half years.

Most numismatists do not publish young, but David, aged 52, was close to that point when the fruits of a lifetime were becoming ripe and ready to be harvested. He was working on several projects. I would ring him and ask if anything was ready to go to print - but he was unwilling to finish until things were complete and acceptable - and there was always something new turning up : his latest buy was an unpublished heavy farthing of Edward IV. Fortunately we have his notes so it is certain that some of his work will yet see the light of day.

David was knocked down by a car and killed while crossing the North Circular Road, near his home, early in the morning of February 1st - as usual on a Monday morning on his way to search for bargains at the Covent Garden market.

He is survived by his father and step-mother, two sisters and many nephews and nieces.

[Since the above obituary was written, David's collection of Romano

British cosmetic palettes, small pestles and mortars, which few knew he collected amongst his many other interests, has been acquired by the British Museum and has entered the collections of the Department of Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities. Ralph Jackson, a curator in the Department, has made a special study of these very personal relics from Roman Britain.]

