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EDITORIAL

Yet another year has passed and the Club has been presented with a varied fare in its lectures. As noted in last year's Editorial, the Club now meets on only ten months of the year, on the first Tuesday of the month at the Warburg Institute, Woburn Square, and auctions have been cut to one a year. As will be seen from Tony Gilbert's Report below, the income from auction sales has been much increased by the continuing dispersal of the Club's library.

Old friends have returned to speak to members, notable amongst them Andrew Burnett and David Sellwood, and it should noted that whilst the Club is delighted to welcome and hear outside visitors, we can pride ourselves on having amongst our membership Club members who not only give talks to other numismatic societies and clubs (and also other groups such as the Women's Institute and NADFAS), but also regale our own members about their particular numismatic interests. This year, out of the eight lecture meetings, half were talks presented by Club members - long may this continue. The Club has continued to live up to the ideas behind its foundation more than half a century ago. The talks have, again, this year covered a wide sweep of numismatics: Greeks and Romans have both featured, as have commemorative medals relating to archaeological ladies, history and fantasy in the person of Salome, and communion tokens. All have been splendidly illustrated and often the talks have been accompanied by small exhibitions of coins and medallions relating to them - a very welcome 'hands on' experience for members.

Despite the high standard and quality of the talks of which the Club is proud, the number of members present at the talks is still, sadly, very low. The Committee have had this problem in mind for a long time, and have tried various remedies in the hope of increasing our numbers - once upon a time the Editor can remember when, after the two senior societies, the London Numismatic Club was in friendly rivalry with the Yorkshire Numismatic Society over who had and could keep the greatest number of members - we were for many years over 100 strong, but where are they all now ? Indeed, in this parlous state one wonders what the future of numismatics might be without an infusion of new, younger blood into the hobby that , when you are hooked, fast becomes a study.

To see a junior member at any numismatic society gathering nowadays is a rare sight indeed, and yet there is money available to meet the expenses of younger members attending Congresses and the like from both the senior societies. The support of the numismatic trade as well as the Royal Mint is always gratefully acknowledged at the Annual Numismatic Congress arranged by the BANS. The next one will be a pleasant return to Chester on 2-4 April, 2004. Members of the London Club are always very evident at these gatherings, and there is an interesting and varied programme of lectures and visits arranged in a most beautiful and historically interesting city. Full details and a copy of the programme can be obtained from the Congress Secretary Jonathan Morris (Tel: 01829 260897).

Finally, the Honorary Editor repeats his usual plea for material to include in the Newsletter in addition to the reported talks – short contributions that would be of interest to members, or book or exhibition reviews and discussion of recent numismatic publications, will always be looked upon with a favourable editorial eye.

Peter A. Clayton, Honorary Editor

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 7 January 2003

The Club was very pleased to welcome back a very old friend, David Sellwood, former President of both the Royal Numismatic Society and of the British Association of Numismatic Societies, to speak on **'Roman Portrait Gold Coins'.**

David pointed out that the first living Roman to appear on a coin was the general T. Quinctius Flamininus in c. 196/5 BC, but it was on a Greek coin, or at least a coin struck in Greece at an unknown mint, and not properly a Roman coin. The coin is excessively rare, only some dozen being known. Flamininus had defeated Philip V at Cynoscephalae in 197 BC. The Romans then withdrew and declared Greece 'free', but Greece saw this as an unbelievable act of severity. The portrait on the coin (emulating Alexander the Great with the general's flowing hair) was but one of the many honours heaped upon him. It is almost certainly an accurate portrait with several particular characteristics, notably his pointed nose. The reverse is a standing figure of Victory, again close to Alexander the Great's gold staters.

An aureus of Julius Caesar, struck at a mint travelling with Caesar, bore the head of Clementia or Pietas (?), although some would say that it was Caesar veiled as a priest to officiate at a sacrifice. Caesar was, actually, the first living Roman to appear on a Roman coin, but this was mainly on the denarius series. The gold coin was struck after the battle of Pharsalus, 9 August 48 BC, by Hirtius in honour of Caesar's quadruple triumph for victories in Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. The reverse type was a group of priestly sacrificial implements. In 41 BC an aureus from a mint in the East carried the bare head portrait of Cn Domitius L. F. Ahenobarbus. He was a naval commander under Brutus and an allusion to his naval calling is a tetrastyle temple on the reverse with the letters NE and PT on either side of the pitched roof. Ahenobarbus was consul in 32 BC, and died when his son, the future emperor Nero, was three years old.

Another major naval and military figure, Sextus Pompey, son of Pompey 'the Great', appeared on an aureus struck in Sicily. In 43 BC he had been appointed by the Senate to command the fleet but soon afterwards was proscribed and set up a power base in Sicily whence he blockaded Italy. Such was his long mastery of the seas that he styled himself 'son of Neptune' on his coinage. Brutus, Caesar's major assassin, had his right profile within a wreath on a coin struck in an eastern mint in 42 BC by Casca, who may have been his fleet commander. Brutus' opponent in the east, Mark Antony, had his portrait on a double-headed aureus struck in the East which bore the bare head of his younger brother Lucius Antony on the reverse. He had been consul in 41 BC and appointed by Augustus to command in Iberia. An aureus from the Rome mint in 43 BC carried the portrait of the murdered Julius Caesar, a military issue on the direct authority of Caesar's heir, Octavian. An absolutely splendid portrait of Augustus (as Octavian became) from an uncertain mint after 27 BC showed a softness of form in the modelling that created a truly noble image. There are only three known specimens of this aureus.

Tiberius appeared on an aureus struck at Lugdunum (Lyons), AD 33-37, portraying his bony portrait with sunken cheeks, an elderly emperor in the final years of his reign. The same mint also produced a portrait piece of Caligula in AD 37. the reverse types of these gold pieces featured, separately, portraits of Augustus and Tiberius, his predecessors. Antonia, younger daughter of Mark Antony and mother of Claudius., appears on aurei of the Rome mint. She was probably poisoned by her grandson, Caligula. Claudius' portrait on a piece struck in AD 41-2 was probably struck to celebrate his accession and shows the Praetorian camp on the reverse - the army had proclaimed him. His adopted successor, Nero, appeared as the young prince, *princeps iuventutis,* on pieces struck under Claudius in 51-54.

In the Year of the Four Emperors (AD 68) the first of the usurpers, Galba, struck his gold on a heavier standard than Nero's last issue, a hidden donative. With Otho, he used his gold as a promised donative to lure the Praetorians away from Galba. Vitellius, commander in Germany, struck his second issue of gold after he got to Rome. Vespasian was the eventual victor in AD 69, founding the Flavian dynasty and featuring his successful military son Titus as Caesar on a coin of AD 76. Julia Titi, daughter of Titus, appeared on an aureus of Rome in AD 86 - she came to a tragic end, dying as a result of an abortion, she had been seduced by Domitian. Another of his 'victims' was Domitia, daughter of Corbulo, on a Roman issue of c. AD 82. Despite her good reason to be, she was not associated with the assassination of the hated Domitian in AD 96.

Into the second century, Trajan featured a portrait of his elderly predecessor emperor Nerva together with Trajan Pater on the reverse. Ladies of the period portrayed on the gold, all wearing a stephane, were Plotina, Trajan's wife; Matidia, daughter of Trajan's sister Marciana, and Sabina the wife of Hadrian. The latter issued an extensive series of portrait gold, several referring to his travels and the provinces. The somewhat austere portrait of Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, cannot be missed, nor the issues for the elder and the younger Faustina, the latter to become the wife of Marcus Aurelius.

Throughout the second century a fine series of portraits of the reigning emperor and a number of members of his family appeared on both gold and silver issues. Usurpers Pertinax and Didius Julianus at the end of the century both issued gold to try and consolidate their position, to no avail. Septimius Severus returning from the East, was triumphant and his distinctive portrait with his 'Serapis' beard is a prominent feature of his gold issues, as are his sons Caracalla and (murdered) Geta. An unusual and interesting issue of the period is the aureus of Hostilian, younger son of Trajan Decius (249-251) which was struck c. 251 using a reverse die of Trebonianus Gallus. An extremely rare aureus of the usurper in Syria, Uranius Antoninus, was struck at Emesa in 253-4, and his portrait bears some resemblance to that of Caracalla some 40 years previously.

Another very rare portrait of an empress on gold in the last years of the third century after the recovery of the Empire under Aurelian, is that of Magnia Urbica, wife of Carinus who was advanced to Caesar in the summer of 283 and this piece, with its reverse of Venus standing holding an apple, presumably records Urbica's marriage and may be dated to the last two year's of Carinus' reign, 283-285. A short-lived usurper who rebelled against Carinus in 284-5 was Julian of Pannonia who issued coins, including rare gold, from the mint of Siscia.

With the stabilisation of the Empire under the Tetrarchy, the prime Augusti being Diocletian and Maximian, there are a number of splendid multiple-aurei pieces, many of them featuring the two emperors in their adopted personae with Diocletian as Zeus and Maximian as Hercules - a five-aureus piece from Ticinum mint is typical of this 'godly' association. In the Second and Third Tetrarchies (305-313) some large and outstanding gold medallions are still struck such as the large medallion (21.44gm) of Maxentius struck at Rome. Constantine continues with fine gold solidi and also multiple pieces such as a 9-aureus piece from Trier, and, in 320, a double solidus from Sirmium. Constantine's wife, Fausta, appears on a solidus from Thessalonika c. 324. She was the mother of Constantine H, Constantius II, and Constans. She appears to have been involved in the death of her stepson, Crispus (Constantine's son by his first wife Minervina), and was strangled in her bath in August 326.

The fifth century saw the Empire divided into west and east and there are many fleeting emperors. One of them, Marjorian (457-461), a former general, held power only with the support of Ricimer and Licinia Eudoxia, widow of Valentinian III. He struck gold at Ravenna, but was seized and killed at Tortona in 461. Licinia Eudoxia, a very powerful lady, was the daughter of Theodosius I and wife of Valentinian III who was murdered in 455. The style of her gold solidi, struck at Ravenna and Constantinople, bridge the art of the classical world and the early medieval ages.

David's talk was illustrated by a wide selection of the coin featuring portraits of the people of whom he spoke.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, Tuesday 4 February

It was a pleasure for the Club to welcome once again Dr Andrew Burnett to address the Club on **'Roman Coinage and Greek Culture in the 3rd century BC'.** As Keeper of the Department of Coin & Medals in the British Museum Andrew had an unrivalled collection in his care as well as an international reputation for his own scholarship in Roman coinage. [Andrew has recently, September, 2003, been made Deputy Director of the British Museum and also been elected a Fellow of the British Academy; the Club offers him its warmest congratulations. Joe Cribb has been appointed as Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals in succession to Andrew.]

As may well be imagined, with such a collection at his finger tips, as it were, Andrew's slides of the relevant coins were splendid.

He began his talk with an historical introduction to the legend of the founding of Rome in 753 BC. This was seen in the well known Wolf and Twins reverse on a silver didrachm of c. 269 BC which showed influence, if not the work of, Greek die engravers. A map showing hoards of silver and bronze coin areas for Rome and Italy was very illuminating, as was a useful table of issues. Didrachms and drachms of the third quarter of the third century BC featured the helmeted head of Mars with horse's head with bridle reverse and the legend ROMA. Apollo also appeared as an obverse type, this time with the full horse shown and similar legend. Some large bronze coins (the *as)* of the period weighing 291 gm featured the head of Diana on both obverse and reverse whilst others had the head of Janus obverse and a ship's prow reverse, these carried a mark of value **I** below the prow. Smaller bronze denominations, all cast, showed their value as a series of appropriate dots, e.g. . . . . , on a 'reduced' libral standard triens. A 'casting tree' for these aes grave was especially interesting from the technical information it provided.

The large cast bronze pieces, actually bronze bars, of the 280s and 270s BC had types of a flying left Pegasus with ROMANON, or an elephant left obverse with a sow right reverse - this was probably an allusion to the battle with Pyrrhus of Epirus where, legend said, pigs released from the Roman side terrified Pyrrhus' elephants who turned and charged their own side.

With the introduction of the denarius coinage, c. 211-125 BC, the silver denarius and its smaller denominations (quinarius and sestertius) carried the basic type of helmeted Roma head/Dioscuri on horseback. The bronze coinage was now of more manageable size with the Janus head/prow coins weighing around 32.5gm, and the smaller denominations such as the semis carrying an S to indicate its denomination whilst the triens still had its four dots under prow reverse.

The functions of the coinage were outlined, noting the different origins, the uncoordinated nature and spasmodic production as well as the small scale of some issues. Maps of hoard distribution brought much of this to light, as did die counting.

In the early coinage of Rome the Greek nature of the coinage was very evident not only in the artistic styles but also in the denominations used such as the didrachm. Some of the decoration harked back to the issues of Alexander the Great (356-332 BC) with the representation of goddess/lion, Roma/Victory (especially the latter from the reverses of Alexander's gold staters). The Macedonian helmet appeared, and there were connotations from Alexander's rare silver dekadrachm with its obverse type of Alexander on his famous horse Bucephalus attacking the rear of an elephant ridden by King Porus, and the reverse of standing

Alexander with Victory (Nike) flying to crown him. Influences and parallels could be drawn from coins issued at Syracuse, Metapontum and Rome, and one might note the Pegasus used at Rome, Corinth (where it is the obverse type and Artemis or Athena helmeted the reverse), and Syracuse. There were also parallels and influences to be seen between coins and sculpture such as the dolphin rider from the Esquiline in Rome and the 'boy (Taras) on a dolphin' type from Tarentum in southern Italy. Heracles was another prominent feature of both coins and sculpture with some very close analogies at times in the representation.

In conclusion, Andrew pointed out how, stemming from an early Wolf and Twins type, the manufacture, ideas, decoration and hellenisation was all part of the development of the city of Rome on its way to becoming a major influence across the ancient world.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, Tuesday 1 April

John Roberts-Lewis, a stalwart member of the Club who also does excellent service as Assistant Secretary, took up his especial interest in British colonial coinage in the Far East to speak on 'Nineteenth Century British Colonial Tokens in the Far East'.

Tokens of Singapore, Ceylon, the Andaman Islands, Cocos-Keeling Islands, and British North Borneo were covered in approximately chronological order. Dutch colonial coins, especially doits, had widespread acceptance in much of the East Indies. Singapore, merchants needed to buy them from the Dutch in order to be able to trade in the area. Thus a lucrative business for the Dutch began to be affected by copies being made of their coins, which were being obtained from Birmingham manufacturers from about 1828.

In response to Dutch objections, evasions based on the East India Company's 1804 keping from Sumatra began to be imported from Birmingham. Early types had an altered inscription, but design differences increased progressively to avoid accusations of forgery despite the fact that the original coin was no longer used officially. Whilst these lightweight tokens were accepted, another group produced from about 1831 was struck at the Soho Mint, Birmingham,. They were well struck and of good weight, being one and two keping pieces with Malay

Arabic inscriptions. These referred to Dutch-ruled states such as Sumatra, Acheen, Taruman, etc., which had no independent coinage. The kepings were accepted as they fulfilled a need, the two kepings were less popular.

In 1844 in response to even stronger Dutch objections and seizure of the coins, the East India Company issued copper for the Straits Settlements including a quarter cent equivalent to the keping. These were dated 1845 and arrived in 1847 with an official prohibition of some tokens from 1848.

There was a third distinct series of tokens, also from Birmingham, using a fighting cock design and produced from around 1831. Nothing similar had been used previously and they had become the most prolific issues with a number of varieties. Token use therefore continued with sales and rate fluctuations being published in Singapore. In 1849 some of the Rajahs of the native states prohibited all tokens and sales began to fall, none are recorded after 1853.

The Ceylon tokens are more correctly described as work tickets or tallies, produced both to record production and to pay workers on the coffee estates. In the 1840s Ceylon's official coinage was a mixture of pre-1821 issues, Indian coins and British copper, which was in short supply. In the upland areas, where the crops were grown, it is possible that with no banks and little coinage some tokens were used outside the estates. Coffee production expanded rapidly between 1835 and 1845 and by 1870 had reached four times the level of the 1850s. However, coffee blight, first recorded in 1868, had wiped out the industry by 1882. By then other crops, especially tea, had replaced coffee and some of the token designs reflect the change.

To start with the use of paper chits is recorded, followed by the use of crude punched discs around 1850. These would have been easy to copy and may have hastened the use of mint-produced tokens, beginning with uniface before becoming coin-like with some better designs and interesting subjects.

Until 1869 values, where stated, were in pence sterling and based on a standard day's work picking a bushel (56lbs) of clean coffee beans. From 1870 Ceylon issued currency using a rupee of 100 cents. Payments per bushel fluctuated from 17 cents to 25 cents, and a few tokens had a value inscribed on them. Their use gradually declined and by 1891 the last mill had ceased to use tokens.

The Andaman Islands tokens are said to be the rarest in the British colonial series. They were officially requested for use in their penal colony in 1860. Records mention two series of cardboard tickets for 1860, though no specimens are known. The 1860 one rupee in copper was minted by the Calcutta Mint, For the obverse, to keep costs down, they used a redundant obverse by L. C. Wyon of the head of Queen Victoria for the 1845 Straits Settlements one cent. The reverse was sketched by the prison superintendent, Captain J. C. Maughton. This was a pedestrian design around a central hole. The 20,000 tokens were supplied having the extraordinary feature of a hole through the centre of the Queen's head. [A rampant case of laissez-majestie! Editor.] A further issue of 20,800 dated 1866 were similar, but the obverse used Wyon's design for India's regal rupee. In 1870 tokens had been recalled, though some 17,788 pieces were said to be outstanding. As few specimens are known we can presume that most were collected and melted down for reuse.

Another unusual series of tokens are those from the Cocos-Keeling Islands. They were printed and hand-written on parchment in 1879; on sheepskin in 1880 and 1888, and also on vellum in 1888, and in 1897 on 'stout paper'. Values from a quarter rupee to five rupees exist. They seem to have been necessary to pay Malay workers after the use of convict labour from Java stopped in 1875. The coconut palm was the main crop cultivated, and the tokens were only used in the company store. Such arrangements were suppressed in Britain from 1830 by the Truck Acts legislation.

Tokens carry a puzzling promise to be exchanged for the sum stated of 'x' rupees copper, where 'x' is the value of the token. The Islands did not use coin and if the intent was to enable the Malay workers to return home with savings in spendable copper coins, then whose were the coins concerned? Malays would need dollar standard not rupee standard -no plausible explanation has been put forward, and no contemporary copper coins seem correct.

John's talk concluded with the tokens of British North Borneo where the British North Borneo Company had obtained a Royal Charter in 1881. Between 1882 and 1902 companies with a hundred or more employees could obtain the right to issue monetary tokens but not in excess of five dollars each. Specimens had to be deposited with the Treasury in Sandakan and with the nearest District Office of their estates.

Values from five cents to one dollar were issued in paper note form, coloured 'plastic', copper, brass, and nickel. Some writers describe them as fantasy pieces claiming that only proofs exist; however, specimens are encountered. A slide of a ten cents in red vulcanite issued by the New Darrel Bay (Borneo) Tobacco Plantations Ltd shows considerable wear. It came from an old European collection whose latest coins dated to the mid-1920s. Slides of tokens from other companies were shown and collectors in the Far East have published additional tokens in the last twenty years, many of which appear to have circulated.

London Numismatic Club Meeting. Tuesday 3 June

This month's meeting was a Members' Own Meeting, moved from its more accustomed place in August since it had been decided in the revision on dates for meetings that there would no longer be a meeting in August, hitherto allocated to the Members' Own

Etienne Cabet and the Icaria Colony was the subject of **Philip Mernick's** (our President) contribution. Philip exhibited two medals, dated 1848, and described this French attempt at creating a Socialist Community in the United States of

Etienne Cabet was born in Dijon, the son of a cooper, in 1788. he had an excellent education and took a degree in law, but he soon abandoned his legal career in favour of politics and was prominent in the opposition to the restored Bourbon Government. Louis-Philippe I rewarded him for this, but he soon fell out with his Government and in 1834 was exiled for five =e years. These years he served in England, where he was influenced by the methods of Robert Owen and published several books. One of these was A *Voyage to Icaria,* a novel inspired by Thomas More's much earlier *Utopia* where people voyage to a distant land and where men and women work together - everyone contributing to the best of their ability and being equally rewarded by the democratic state. Upon his return to France, Cabet started an attempt to achieve this, in the USA.

In 1848 a group of 69 people landed at New Orleans to start a trek to the Red River Territory in Texas. Cabet was not part of this group as he was deeply involved in the events of the revolution of 1848. However, as a firm believer in non-violence he fell out with their leaders and went, with a second group of settlers, to the USA to join the first group. There he found that the Texas venture had collapsed as they had been misled about the ownership of the land they were intending to settle. The full contingent, now numbering 281, went instead to Nauvoo, Illinois, and took over a settlement originally created by the Mormons. Cabet went back to France in 1851 to answer charges of fraud over the Texas venture and was exonerated. In 18554 he took American citizenship, but some of his followers found him too dictatorial and voted him out of his own 'colony' He died in 1856 and the Icarians carried on in various locations until 1898.

A number of medals are known, produced by both his critics and his followers. The two that Philip exhibited probably fall into the former category.
Copper 28mm.
Obv. Bust of Cabet, AU GRAND CABET, SES MOUTONS RECONNAISSANTS 1848 (To the great Cabet, from his grateful sheep) rev. SI VOUS VOUS PLAIZEZ DANS LA MISERE LE PACHA D'ICARIE VOUS OFFRE UN SORT HEUREUX 1848 (If you enjoy poverty, the Pacha of Icaria offers you a happy fate)

Lead 37mm.
Obv. Bearded bust of Cabet wearing a feathered hat.
Rev. CABET CHEF DES ICARIENIENS 1848. Below are various revolutionary symbols.

Philip added that his interest in Cabet came from reading an article by Peter Horwitz in the NI Bulletin (the monthly publication of Numismatics International, USA), for October 202, the source of much of the above information. Both medals, the second apparently unrecorded, were purchased from Internet auctions (Ebay).
David Sealy showed a replica George V one shilling piece dated 1917 which he had acquired it at Sandringham in Norfolk for £1. It had been produced by Westair Reproductions Ltd of Birmingham, and the WRL under the bust referred to them as the manufacturers. He thought that it was a curious yet interesting piece for them to have produced, and speculated on the reason for its manufacture. He continued to inform

members about his continuing monitoring of fake £1 pieces in circulation, and had been in contact with a very interested Detective Inspector. David exhibited two fake £1 coins, notably at variance with the proper issues with their mixed legend edges for the UK and for Scotland. Apparently, apart from their fabric, it is forgers' failure to match the correct edge inscription with the correct designs that literally shouts, to those who notice, that they are not right.

David Powell spoke on the subject of early lead tokens, to which the membership responded with a variety of interesting contributions. He commenced with some which borrowed from Roman and Byzantine originals, although Tony Gilbert suggested that perhaps a pseudo-20 nummi should perhaps be turned through 90 degrees and that the "K" was in fact not a "K" at all.

This was followed by a number of London pieces, mostly Thames finds. One, which had the sun-in-splendour of Edward IV on one side and the crescent and stars of the Plantagenets on the other, was the subject of some discussion; as also was what appeared to be a fairly typically crude plume piece, which one member thought might be intended to depict snakes issuing from a pot! An attractive piece depicting a sailing vessel was taken to be a ferry token, as also possibly was another with an anchor, although one member conjectured that this might be a merchant's mark.

It was pointed out by one member that some of these early London tokens were Thameside pub pieces, particularly those depicting bottles or illustrating possible pub names; from dated pieces in his own collection, he conjectured that they dated c.1700. He went on to say that the bottle pieces had once been thought to be communion tokens, until one was found with a totally inappropriate reverse: a pipe!

Another illustrated piece was conjectured to be a communion token in *BNJ* 54 but was felt not to be. It depicted an interesting merchant's mark containing a monogram, in which the letters of 'Thomas' were clearly visible. This had been construed as standing for 'St Thomas' in the *BNJ;* however, we thought it commercial rather than ecclesiastical in character, with Thomas being either the name of the merchant or, if really a saint, the name of the parish of origin.

The talk then moved on to a number of more rustic pieces which were more probably fruit pickers' or farmers' tokens, and which were thought mostly to be of 18th century origin. Approximate find spots were known in most cases; south-east Kent predominated, but other pieces from Herts and Bucks were also shown. The more unusual of the latter included a heart-shaped piece with what appeared to be something like a bull's head, and another with a cross on shield.

Two particular interesting pieces came from the Quantocks, and appeared to be both mid-17th century. One, which was twice holed and depicted a rider and horse in the manner of a Charles I half crown, albeit incuse, was almost certainly a baggage seal; however, the other, in the style of a 17th century farthing sunk into a mould, was unholed and therefore of less obvious purpose.

John Roberts-Lewis gave a talk on British coins, tokens and tickets with East India Company connections. Considering that the East India Company (E.I.C.) lasted for over 350 years there is not much reference to it in British numismatic material. This, of course, excludes coining of orders placed by the E.I.C.

Two regal coins are gold from the reign of George II; dated 1729, they are the five guineas, one guinea and a half guinea with and also without the initials E.I.C. under the king's bust. This distinguishes coins made of gold provided by the Company from those of gold from various other sources. Guineas and halves of 1731 and 1732, and half guineas of 1739, also have E.I.C. under the bust by John Croker. Identifying the source of the bullion was an established minting practice at this time. A shilling from the series minted between 1723 and 1726 was shown that had W.C.C. beneath the bust, identifying it as silver supplied by the Welsh Copper Company.

Curiously, Mint records show no gold minted for 1729 and this would be possible if dies in late 1728 engraved for the coming year for the ordinary issues. If the E.I.C. gold was received in 1729, as we think, the dies would have been cut in that year and the cons struck in 1730. Mint figures, showing no breakdown record £58,000 worth of gold struck for 1728, and £91,000 worth for 1730.

Eighteenth century tokens have a number of familiar designs which clearly connect them with the E.I.C., especially to East India House. Whether the buildings depicted are the Company headquarters in Lombard Street, or a local building, is not certain. In the case of the Bath token shown, it is part of a series showing known buildings and called

INDIA HOUSE. A Bristol token refers to 'the Indian Tea warehouse', also probably a local building. The tile suggest that the tea came from India, but this is not so since the tea estates in northern India were not developed until the second half of the nineteenth century. At the time of the tokens the tea would have come from China; India refers to the E.I.C.

Grocers' tokens from Huddersfield and Manchester used the same dies for a 1792 issue so the building labelled 'EAST INDIA HOUSE' may be the London one. No depiction of a modified building standing at this time has been found, although the buildings before and afterwards appear in a number of publications. A group of related Huddersfield tokens use the E.I.0 balemark as a reverse for the same grocer, one Fielding. The type shown was introduced on E.I.0 coinage in India in the early 18th century, but token manufacturers may have ben aware of its use by Matthew Boulton for the Soho mint's first ever order which was for Sumatran coinage of the E.I.C. in 1786.

Finally, a recruiting ticket for the 'Horse Artillery' was shown. Though undated it was known to be earlier than 1835 since its address is 35 Soho Square, <London. In 1865 the recruiting office is recorded at 28 Soho Square, London, where it stayed until the end of the Company. In 1865 is recorded at 28 Soho Square where it now stayed until the end of the Company. Men were 'wanted for the East Indies', as the ticket says, but which would nowadays suggest Bengal. However, whilst forces of the E.I.C. sometimes operated in the East Indies and elsewhere they were based in the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. It was, of course, the Company's name which was familiar and though its main base was India the words 'East India' and 'East Indies' had become ingrained.

Slides and a display of most of the tokens illustrated on them for the talk were put out on display.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, Tuesday 8 July

The Club members were extremely pleased to welcome Dr Richard Doty from the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, who had kindly agreed to address the Club, fitting us into a very busy schedule during his UK visit. Dr Doty spoke on **'Life After Boulton'.**

He said: As some of you may know, I am the author of a book on Matthew Boulton and the Soho Mint. The volume was published jointly by the British Numismatic Society, Spink, and the Smithsonian Institution, Washington - and the story of how this collaboration came together and nearly fell apart would make a plausible subject for another talk at another time. I began research for the book in 1983. Over the next decade and a half, there were times when I felt I was spending as much time on Matthew Bolton's life and work as he had. But the work got completed and the book finally did appear, in 1998. I am extremely pleased and relieved that it did so, and I am happy to have been involved with the project, even though it gave me considerable trouble at the time.

Despite my experiences with Mr. Boulton, I decided to remain in numismatics. The publication of the Soho book left a considerable gap in my life; but things came along to fill the void, as they generally do; and I wanted to share some of them with you tonight.

My activities are grounded on the Smithsonian Institution, where **I** serve as Curator of Numismatics. The Smithsonian serves and has served as the foundation and conditioner of everything I've done in our field for nearly two decades. That being the case, you may be wondering about the nature of its Numismatic Collection, its strengths and weaknesses, its prospects and problems.

The Numismatic Collection of the Smithsonian Institution is among the major cabinets of the world: we now have over 1.6 million objects, ranging from Babylonian clay tablets, among the oldest monetary instruments in existence, to twenty-first century proof sets. But it is unusual in several ways.

First, it is the only collection with which I have worked wherein currency items outnumber coins. In our case, we have about five hundred thousand coins and related objects - tokens. medals, decorations. We have more than twice that many notes - roughly 1.1 million of them. This lopsidedness leads to the second oddity associated with the Smithsonian's Numismatic Collection. In most cases, the growth of important cabinets is slow, incremental, occupying decades, even centuries. Our pattern has been somnolence alternating with frenzy - periods when nothing much happens for decades, interspersed with periods when all hell breaks lose.

Allow me to explain. After more than a century of existence, the numismatic cabinet numbered about 65,000 specimens in 1955. That figure sounds impressive; but if you consider that this was the national cabinet of the world's richest nation, and that there was a private collection several times as large in New York at the same time, you might conclude that there was room for expansion. Between 1955 and 1982, expansion took place: the collection grew by more than 900,000 pieces. Three-hundred-thousand came from a transfer from the Bureau of Engraving and Printing - 'certified proof pulls of everything the federal printery ever did. Another half million objects came from large private donors - that's how we got most of our foreign paper money. And to cap it off, a transfer which had been agreed to back in 1958 finally took place early in 1998, when an armoured truck drove the 200 yards from the National Archives to the National Museum of American History (where the Numismatic Collection lives) with a cargo of Confederate States paper currency. It had been carried from Richmond at the conclusion of the American Civil War in 1865, and had languished in a variety of venues, ending up at the National Archives in the mid-1930s. We thought we were getting 125 boxes of one thousand notes each - the figures mentioned by the National Archives. What we were actually getting (did those clever archivists deliberately mislead us?) was indeed 125 boxes, but of five or six thousand notes each. The truck sped away before we could renege on the deal, and we still have the notes.

Any museum collection, anywhere, depends on the generosity of strangers, friends, and collectors. If growth takes place in an incremental way, with generations of curators expressing interest in filling particular holes, and generations of collectors rising to the challenge - then the cabinet is likely to be well-balanced, with many areas of strength. But when growth occurs in dramatic spurts, as it has in our case - then the cabinet may enjoy incredible depth in areas of limited interest, while lacking basic materials in areas of general interest. So it is with us; and this is the third oddity about the Smithsonian Numismatic Collection.

Our cabinet of ancient coinage is generally adequate for display purposes, but of limited value for research purposes. There is one exception: Greek Imperial or Roman provincial issues. Here, incremental giving has indeed been the rule, and a collection of in excess of 10,000 pieces is beginning to attract the scholarly attention it deserves. But our Byzantine and medieval collections are embarrassingly incomplete, and largely useless for display or research.

Our Modern European collection goes somewhat beyond the ancient cabinet in its research possibilities, and in one case goes very far beyond it. I refer to our collection of Russian coinage, which is the most complete outside the Hermitage, in Saint-Petersburg. The coins (as well as a distinguished assemblage of Russian medals) formed the cabinet of Grand Duke, Georgii Mikhailovich, who perished during the Russian Civil War. His collection came on the market in the 1920s, when the new Soviet regime was strapped for hard currency; it was eventually acquired by the DuPont family, who bequeathed it to us during the 1960s. It has great depth of material in all metals, boasting classic rarities, such as the Constantine rouble, and more common coins with tales to tell, such as an early Petrine rouble overstruck on a crown of Charles II. It is pleasant to speculate on the adventures which carried this coin from a mint in the Tower of London to one in the Kremlin.

As you might expect, our holdings in United States coinage are generally good, occasionally superb. We have strength in early gold, early proofs, and patterns of all periods. In the latter case, we have some pieces which literally do not exist anywhere else, but our Latin American collection came as something of a disappointment to me. While we have many rarities in gold, we lack many more of the common issues in copper or silver, and the research possibilities of this part of the cabinet are accordingly limited. The Far Eastern collections are decent, while our Islamic and Indian holdings would generously repay the scrutiny of the specialist.

As I said at the beginning, this is the only numismatic cabinet with which I've worked where the currency component is larger than the coin component. One of the core areas of our paper money collection consists of certified proofs, many for national bank notes, dating from the latter part of the nineteenth century. Such impressions are often the only records we have of particular denominations for particular banks, no circulating notes having been produced or survived. Another core area is the enormous Richmond, or Confederate, Hoard. Both the certified proofs and the Confederate notes are now receiving considerable research attention; from both we are uncovering precious bits of history, precious documentation of otherwise unremembered monetary practices in bygone eras; this is particularly true in the case of the Confederate material. However, our collection of world currency is of equal or greater potential importance, and it is enjoying only little or no scholarly attention at the moment. I gave a talk about it before the International Bank Note Society here back in 1988, and now as then, I would be happy discuss it at length with interested parties.

A final component of the currency collection is that of American obsolete currency, or 'broken bank' notes. I am now working directly with this type of material - in a new way which poses new questions.

Thus the Numismatic Collection of the Smithsonian Institution - it has great possibilities, but it also has great problems.

The greatest of these may be expressed in two numbers. When I arrived in 1986, the cabinet (which was then an autonomous unit called the National Numismatic Collection) had eleven employees. Today it has three - or four, if you count a temporary hire whom we shall lose next year. Granted that several of the eleven were unnecessary (did we really need three secretaries? We had them regardless); and granted that we are probably getting more work done now than we were then; our dramatic diminution in staff has cost us, and cost us dearly. When everybody is present, we can just about cover all bases, without too much daylight showing through. However, when one of us is out on medical leave, or on holiday - then the work can come to a complete halt. We do what we can, and I can say that I've never worked with better people, even as I lament the fact that there aren't more of them.

One our people has become extremely adept at getting word about the collection out on the world-wide web - and we have more web material than any other department in the entire eleven-museum Smithsonian complex. The other has become a real expert in American federal currency, shepherding many researchers through the intricacies of the certified proofs, carrying displays of materials to local and national numismatic expositions, building increasing collecting and research excitement among the American people in what is, after all, part of their patrimony. I write a good deal, and I serve as president of an international organisation of money museums.

All that said, there is still only so much that the three of us can do. For specialised work (and not so specialised work, including answering the telephone) we are dependent on the dedication and service of a battery of volunteers. We currently have seven, including one expert in military decorations, a second (with an unbelievably high threshold for pain) who is burrowing his way through the half-million-plus items of the Richmond

Hoard, others still who are helping to prepare a book on the Mikhailovich Collection. I do not exaggerate when I say that their devotion and enthusiasm have our highest appreciation, and I cannot exaggerate their importance for the continued functioning of the Smithsonian Numismatic Cabinet. The sad truth is that we are not likely to gain any additional salaried employees and, if we are lucky, we shall do no more than hold on to those we already have.

These are difficult times for museums world-wide. Official subventions are down, while public expectations are up: museums are therefore caught in a classic double bind. In the case of our museum, there are several additional difficulties. There is always the potential for friction between members of the American Congress and staff at the National Museum: the fact that the former hold the financial whip hand over the latter increases the tension. There is also an ongoing policy to make the Smithsonian more 'visitor-friendly'; the result has been a series of exhibits creating a genteel Disneyland, where patrons are treated to History as 'comfort food', where annoying facts are kept low key lest they disturb the clientele.

There is a final difficulty, one unique to the numismatic cabinet. That is, our home base is the National Museum of American History. How do we justify Greek, Roman or British coins, or Chinese paper money, in such a setting? How do we justify time spent on their research and publication? Do we really need such objects in an American museum? Of course we do, and much of our work consists in convincing the rest of the Institution - together with Congress, and the larger public -that the question need never be posed. That is why we prepare exhibits. That is why we work on websites. And that is why I do many of the things which I do.

I serve as President of ICOMON - the International Committee of Money and Banking Museums. ICOMON was founded in the spring of 1994, our meeting of incorporation taking place, appropriately enough, at the Bank of England. We came together because many of us who served in mint, banking, and numismatic museums seemed to be encountering the same sort of problems: questions of conservation, of public outreach, of security, of relationships with officialdom on all levels. Once we realised we had similar challenges and strengths, it only made sense for us to band together in a formal way. I was elected Vice-President at the London meeting. Four years later I because President, and I was reelected for a second and final three-year term in 2001.

In many ways, ICOMON is a good deal like the Smithsonian Numismatic Collection. There are not many of us (official members number 125, adjunct persons another two hundred or so); so we have had to learn to make as much noise as possible. All things considered, I think we have done rather well. We have held successive annual conferences in Stavanger, Vienna, Berlin, Melbourne, Madrid, Buenos Aires, Barcelona, and Beijing - conferences which have been enthusiastically attended (the last conference, in Beijing, had more than 300 participants, from 40 countries). At these meetings, anywhere from 20 (at Buenos Aires) to 65 (at Beijing) speakers have given oral presentations, and many more have prepared poster presentations. No fewer than seven volumes of proceedings have seen publication. Most important, we have continued the global dialogue which brought us together in the first place. As mentioned, I serve as President - and to keep the dialogue flowing on an even keel, I also serve as editor and publisher of the ICOMON Newsletter, which goes out to about 300 recipients in electronic as well as print format, three or four times a year. We may be operating on a shoestring, but so far, the shoestring hasn't broken.

One of the reasons I agreed to serve as President of ICOMON was to gain some input into decision-making among museums concerned with an admittedly specialised discipline, that of numismatics. I wanted to do my bit to encourage the spread of numismatic museums around the world. I also wanted a way of keeping colleagues informed about what was happening in America and elsewhere. Since ICOMON is an integral part of ICOM, the International Council of Museums, I thought that serving would represent an extra insurance, an extra layer of protection, if you will, for our Numismatic Collection. Thus far, such insurance has not been required; but these are difficult times for us all, and I am glad to know it is there if required.

My other activities currently run in three directions. Two of them are extra-American, but the third goes to the heart of our numismatic experience. It also is an insurance in troubling times; but I would have embraced it anyway.

I have completed a book on American 'obsolete' currency - that is, roughly, the transatlantic equivalents of British provincial bank notes. This was the prevalent form of American paper money for the years between 1790 and 1865 - which means it was the major form of money, period, during that three-quarters of a century, Americans lacking the raw materials for an adequate coinage until late in the game. The Smithsonian has some 15,000 examples of the series, possibly the largest such assemblage in public or private hands. I have always liked the old notes, admired the ingenuity and sheer artistry that went into their creation -they formed the only instance in the story of numismatics about which it could be said, with strict accuracy, that America led the way. We had the finest security printing in the world. It is a matter of chagrin to me, at least, that, once leaders, we are now bringing up the rear in printing technology and artistry. In any case, I had always admired these representatives of a long-ago age, and I had always wanted to write an extended treatment of them.

The end of the Boulton affair gave me the opportunity. What happened was this: I came up with the title first, *Pictures from a Distant Country* - and then liked the title so much that I thought I had better write a book to put underneath it!

The title gives a hint of the approach I took. There are many ways of writing about this early currency - one can examine it from the standpoint of financial history, technological innovation, state or local events, aesthetics. I wanted to adopt a different approach altogether. I wanted to concentrate on the vignettes and portraits which the notes displayed, and see whether or not they would give me a new insight into the people and circumstances responsible for them. I wanted to pose new questions: what did 19th-century Americans think - about themselves, each other, the fortunes of the Republic, the nature of work, the workings of Providence and Progress - and how was what they thought reflected on their currency?

I shall not go into too many details. Let me just say that exhaustive examination of the material eventually resulted in a dozen or so discrete categories of images: creation of a national identity; woman's role; the people in the way [Native Americans]; the people in the middle [African-Americans]; childhood and family; work; whimsy; and a number of others.

Speaking of the first category, national symbols appear on many thousands of the notes - eagles, depictions of Liberty, homages to the flag, occasionally all intertwined. Ours was and is a tetchy sort of national self-awareness, and so the eagles are frequently screaming. As time went on and our sense of nationality matured, our people sometimes paused to reflect on our collective past, favouring images of shared suffering and triumph for our money. This choice of imagery reached its high point in the late 1850s and early 1860s, times when the new nationality was called into question as never before or since.

Woman's role underwent a fascinating evolution on the currency, hinting at larger events, or at least changing perceptions of the nature of one gender by the other. Women began their reign on the obsolete notes while semi-clad or completely nude (which was fine: they were allegories, for whom clothing was optional); midway along, they gained clothes but were depicted in a saccharine fashion which was scarcely an improvement; but toward the end of the private currency era, they were being seen in a new, more realistic light, as comrades and helpers, and even as wage-earners. The evolution in the ways in which Woman was portrayed spoke of larger events.

Nowhere was the connection between imagery and American viewpoints more fascinating than in the cases of two populations with which white Americans were necessarily on intimate if uncomfortable terms - Native Americans and African-Americans. The native was widely perceived as being the person in the way, and the white bankers, and the white engravers who worked for them, had a number of ingenious tools for suggesting that it would be better for all concerned if the natives simply went away, or were moved away. In time, a sort of heraldic shorthand was devised, wherein the point was made in a minimum of space with a minimum of ink. One of my favourites shows a white woman initiating a Native American into the joys of agriculture - in this case, the cultivation of the pineapple. When I observe that the vignette appeared on a bank note from upstate New York, you may conclude that reality was never allowed to get in the way of making of a good point!

For African-Americans, the story was more temporally circumscribed, but no less interesting. These people were largely slaves in the days of the Distant Country, and therefore beneath notice during most of the era of the obsolete note. But they came to an abrupt prominence after 1850, and as the debate over slavery gained momentum, blacks began appearing on the products of Southern banks (notes which circulated in both sections, regardless of origin), and they began doing so in very specific ways.

At first, northern printers were caught off-guard, lacking slave vignettes. So they made do: they re-touched white vignettes, and that gave them time to devise new vignettes, whose denizens were, at first, accurately depicted going about their daily activities. As Northern criticism of slavery reached a crescendo in the late 1850s, the images changed. They became 'loaded': this person was in this state for his or her own good - and knew and approved of the arrangement. The culmination of this line of propaganda was an image which was created late in 1857 and which then appeared on notes across the South within a very short time. It must have struck a nerve then - as it does now, if for different reasons.

You now have an idea of what I am doing. We are producing the book as an electronic publication. I make a point of never writing books which I cannot afford to buy, and a paper version of this work would have been prohibitively expensive to produce, let alone purchase. I hope to see it out before the end of the year.

I am also involved with two other activities, one of which brings me to the UK. I have long been interested in British provincial coins of the 18th century (which Americans refer to as 'Conder' tokens - this despite my best efforts to spread the word that the coppers in question have little if anything to do with the National Bird of Chile!). Such pieces provided welcome employment for Matthew Boulton's Soho Mint when no other work was around, and they inevitably crept into my book on the man and his innovations. I have since carried my investigations in other directions, combing British magazines of the 1780s and 1790s for eyewitness accounts of the new money and the economic crisis which inspired it. And I've been invited to come to the Fitzwilliam Museum to look at an essentially-unsearched collection of several thousand pieces, accomplish some basic organisation, check for unknown varieties, etc. I shall report my findings back to this year's meeting of the Conder Token Collectors Society, to be held in Baltimore, Maryland, at the beginning of August. I serve as President of the club, but even in that elevated capacity have been unable to get the membership to change its name!

When I had finished with Mr Boulton, or he with me, I swore that I would never again get involved with a project that large and complex -and I haven't. Instead, I am now enmeshed in one several times as large and very much more complex. The new project also centres on moneying technology; but on this occasion, I have gone back in time, and east, and south, in space. Specifically, I am doing research on the technology of coining in 16-, 17-, and 18- century Italy. I came to this topic by chance, which is how I ordinarily do business.

What happened was this. My wife, Margaret D'Ambrosio, whom some of you have met, got an incredible job offer in Italy. She was asked to become the senior cataloguer, computer guru, and court of last resort for a consortium of five Renaissance libraries in Florence, Italy. I could hardly deny her the opportunity, even it if did involve a considerable amount of travel and lives apart. She had consented to leave New York (which she loved) and come with me to the Smithsonian - all well and good, but I make a poor tourist and I don't like being away from work, because I love my work.

Miraculously something was provided. I learned that there were dies, punches, and occasionally actual coining machinery scattered in museums across Italy, and that much of the material was three or four centuries old. I also learned that no one seemed to be doing very much with it. What an opportunity! You can look at a group of 16-century coins and, if you know what you are doing, you can form a fairly definite idea about how the coins were struck. The more coins you have of the same type, the clearer your supposition will become, but it will remain conjecture, because you lack the final piece in the puzzle. However, if you have a coin die along with the coin - then you know how the coin was struck. The opportunity was too tempting to resist, and I grabbed it with both hands.

Specifically, I closely examined our Italian holdings (and to a lesser degree, those of the American Numismatic Society), noted any and all distinctive traits in the production process, then sat down and concocted theories. I theorised that the geopolitical position of an Italian mint might have bearing on the choice of technology which it adopted -that areas under Austrian influence might embrace Austrian technology, for example. I theorised that large, busy mints would adopt machinery more readily than small, under utilised facilities. I theorised that areas of strong monarchy would embrace presses that promised better portraiture, that mints required to make huge coins would turn to mechanical means more quickly than those producing only small coins, etc. Then I came to Italy to test my ideas.

Armed with an elderly Nikon camera and an insecure command of the Italian language, my work was made possible by the generosity and forbearance of Italian colleagues. I thrashed about from one end of the Peninsula to the other, taking hundreds of photos, perhaps 40 rolls of film, in a dozen museums. This was in 1998 to 1999. My research visits have continued in 2000, 2001, and 2002. My photographs, typical of the work I did on the first attempts, I cheerfully admit were mediocre at best. Nevertheless, they, and my notes, have allowed me to begin writing on Italian technology - and in any event, I have finally purchased a decent digital camera for the next phases, and for better illustrations.

The on-the-spot work has convinced me that some of my theories were correct, but that others were wrong, or incomplete. That is, the Tuscan Grand Dukes (who were interested in improving the quality of design and portraiture) did indeed adopt machinery fairly quickly; but they introduced and employed several kinds at once, only gradually coming to the conclusion that one was superior to the others. While several small mints such as Piacenza adopted machinery quite early, another, huge one, that of Venice, got along quite happily without it, down to the demise of the Republic, in 1797. All of this convinces me that we are dealing here as much with the irrational as we are with the logical - which, coinage being one of the most distinctly human products one can imagine, only makes sense.

I have one article in the press on the Italian research: my general survey of dies and other machinery in Italian museums, with special attention to the superbly-organised holdings of the Museo Civico di Bologna, will shortly appear in Lucia Travaini's publication, *Le Zecche italiane.* Another article has already been published, in Italian translation. It details the story of the mechanisation of the Modena mint and will be found in 'Le Monete dello Stato Estense: due secoli di coniazione nella Zecca di Modena', published in 1999 in *Bollettino di Numismatica,* 30-31. A third paper opened the Euromint Conference in Oporto, held last November. These efforts are only the beginning, and the rest will occupy the remainder of my career.

...And from somewhere off-stage, I hear ghostly laughter. It is Matthew Boulton, and he is amused by my penchant for getting myself deeper and deeper into trouble - and deeper and deeper into numismatics.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, Tuesday 2 September

The speaker this month was Peter Clayton, a Past-President of the Club, who had taken as his topic 'Some Archaeological Ladies - A Medallic and Archaeological View'. For many years Peter has collected medallions relating to archaeology and especially those concerned with ancient Egypt, the French Conquest in 1798 and thereafter - a number were illustrated in his book, *The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt* (Thames & Hudson, 1982, repr. 1990, and also published French, German, Italian and Spanish). It was the representation of an Egyptian bronze statuette on a medallion of Champollion and other personifications and sculptures that led him to put together a series of slides from the collection that represented 'Archaeological Ladies'. Supporting the illustrations of many of the ladies were slides of the original sources, statuettes, etc., and also of the ancient sites associated with them.

The first illustration was of a silver plaque by the French medallist S.E. Vernier. It showed a nubile and naked young woman kneeling to hold up in her right hand a Greek pot she had just excavated, and with her short pickaxe in her left. As Peter remarked, he had excavated in Egypt in temperatures of 126 degrees on site, but had never encountered such a vision in his work! Everyone's idea of finding Treasure Trove was illustrated on another medallion, issued to mark an international numismatic congress in Brussels in 1911. The obverse showed a seated, decorously dressed (this time), young lady in ancient Greek costume watching a young man excavating a hoard of coins; in the backgrounds a view of classical ruins. Two other French medallions featured 'Rediscovery', one with a Gallic centurion unveiling a voluptuous Egyptian queen reclining on a crocodile before an Egyptian temple (Dendera). It was struck to mark the printing of the second edition of the great *Description de l'Egypte* in 1826, the other medallion of a veiled lady, celebrated the discovery of and French work at the ancient site of Nineveh in 1845.

The reverse of a large medallion commemorating the decipherment of hieroglyphs by Champollion in 1822 represented the remarkable Egyptian bronze statuette with gold inlay details on her dress and Broad Collar of Queen Karomana II, wife of Takelot II (850-825 BC), now in the Louvre, that Champollion had bought in Luxor in 1829. A coin of Cleopatra VII was also part of the design, which was compared with a silver tetradrachm portrait of her from the mint of Antioch. A slide was also shown of a ushabti figure of the queen (these were mummiform faience statuettes, 'workers') from her tomb, but the actual tomb has never been officially found - although the figures began appearing in the antiquities market in the 1840s, and were known to have been offered to Flinders Petrie in the 1890s at Thebes (Luxor).

A medallion commemorating the work of the French archaeologist Pierre Montet (1885-1966) referred to his discovery and excavation of the royal tombs at ancient Byblos, Lebanon, and Tanis in the eastern Delta of Egypt. There he found the intact tomb of the pharaoh Psousennes (c. 1000 BC), the only intact royal tomb found, so far, in Egypt. The medallion's reverse featured the full length figure of the sky-goddess Nut who is carved on the underside of the lid of the pharaoh's sarcophagus, stretching over him in protection.

A very large medallion, almost a small plate, cast in Paris in 1956, showed the figure of the faience goddess from Knossos found by Sir Arthur Evans, and now in the Herakleion Museum. A cast Paduan medallion carried an apocryphal portrait of Queen Artemisia with the reverse of the Mausoleum which she completed for her brother Mausollos at Halicarnasus (Bodrum) in 351 BC. - one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. Two great statues, probably of the queen and her brother/husband Mausollos, together with other statues and reliefs from the site were recovered by Sir Charles Newton in the 1850s and are now in the British Museum.

An attractive silver plaque by Louis Muller showing the 'Mourning Athena' in the Acropolis Museum celebrated the centenary of the Athens Archaeological Society, 1837-1937. It was also issued in bronze. It has been suggested that the short pillar over which Athena bows her head once had an inscription on it in paint that may have recorded the Athenian dead of either the battles of Marathon (490 BC), or Salamis (480 BC).

The famous statue of the Victory of Samothrace in the Louvre on a bronze plaquette by E. Blin commemorated those mutilated in the First

World War. Standing on a ship's prow, a good idea of what the whole monument once looked like was seen on a silver tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorcetes ((294-288 BC). The statue of Victory on a prow was probably set up to commemorate Demetrius' victory over Ptolemy I at the sea battle of Salamis in Cyprus in 306 BC.

Still with monuments in the Louvre, the Venus de Milo (found on the island of Melos in 1820), was on a medallion that celebrated the founding of the museum by Louis XVIII in 1822.

The French School of Archaeology at Athens commemorated its centenary, 1846-1946, with a scene of a young ancient Greek lady holding up a just excavated figurine of herself with a view of the Parthenon in the background, pottery and the ubiquitous pick beside her. A rather curiously shaped small plaquette featured the lady flutist carved on the side of the so-called Ludovisi Throne in the Palazzo Altempe, Rome, found in Rome and dating from c. 460 BC.

A monument to a lady rather than the lady herself appeared on another medallion - the well known huge circular tomb on the Appian Way of Cecilia Metella. This was the obverse of a bronze medallion of 1889 that related to the nearby Church and catacombs of S. Sebastiano where, for a short while, the remains of both St Peter and St Paul rested before their translation to their respective magnificent churches in Rome.

A lady much concerned with archaeological excavation and restoration in Rome in the early 19th century was Elizabeth Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire (1758-1824), who went to Rome after the death of the Duke in 1811. She died in Rome. Her covered portrait appeared on two tiny silver medallions, one with an identifying legend, the other anepigraphic. The reverse showed the Column of Phocas, found in the Roman Forum near the Temple of Saturn in 1816, and the Duchess was very involved in its re-erection. The Column was the last monument to be set up in the Forum in 608 AD by Smaragdus, Exarch of Rome, in honour of the emperor Phocas who had given the Pantheon to Pope Boniface IV (608-1615).

A final medallion summed it all up with the delightful representation of a draped Roman lady seated high up on the Capitol contemplating the Roman Forum laid out below her. Entitled 'Meditation', it was by C. Dupré. The reverse shows an interior view of the Colosseum with ivy growing over its stones, and the legend on it, translated from the French, reads: 'The ivy, anxious for immortality, triumphs in possessing [taking over] that which Man has abandoned'.

Peter showed a splendid series of slides illustrating many more medallions than those described above and the relevant ancient sculptures, coins or sites that were illustrated on them or associated with them.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, Tuesday 7 October

The speaker this month was Michael Anderson who said that when he responded to a message that David Berry had left on his ansaphone with an offer to give this talk, David's reaction was, 'But you've already done that'. So, Michael said, to those who were at the Members' Evening on Wednesday, 7 August 1996, he apologised and hoped that they would find something new in this longer version with its much more historical detail and featuring many paintings of Salome. [Michael presented very many illustrations of the latter which, in a printed text, simply become a non-numismatic catalogue, meaningless without illustration. Only major paintings with specific comment attached have been retained. Editor.]

Michael said:

One of the fascinations I find with coins is that they provide a tangible link with famous names from history. You can actually hold in your hand contemporary representations of people such as Napoleon Bonaparte, Oliver Cromwell, Robert the Bruce, Alfred the Great, Julius Caesar, or whoever grabs you. This is something that you cannot do to the same extent with postage stamps, 'phone cards or cheese labels. I find Salome particularly fascinating in this respect because of the way she has captured the imagination of artists and writers throughout the centuries to an extent unparalleled by any other person of whom coins are known [Or perhaps, Cleopatra? Editor.]

I first became aware that Salome had coins in July 1982, when members of the Essex Numismatic Society, including myself, went to give short papers to the Rayleigh Numismatic Society. I was then in my 'Lebanese phase' and decided to speak on the coins of Chalcis, of which I had a virtually complete collection from Ptolemy, son of Mennaeus, down to Zenodorus, including all three Chalcis types of Cleopatra, with reverses of Nike, Athena, and of Mark Antony himself, who had given the kingdom to Cleopatra after having put to death the previous ruler Lysanias. When you're trying to score with a lady the odd spare kingdom certainly beats a box of chocolates or a bunch of flowers.

The only coin later than Zenodorus of which I was then aware was a bronze of Herod of Chalcis, son of Herod the Great's son Aristobulus, of which I had seen a specimen at £300 at Coinex 1979 and had passed on - this may have been a mistake as it is in the 1996 edition of David Hendin's *Guide to Biblical Coins at* $5000. However, a few days before the talk was due I received my copy of David Sear's recently published (1982) *Greek Imperial Coins,* and there I found, under Judaea, three coins of Aristobulus of Chalcis, son of Herod of Chalcis, none of them illustrated, the third of which had a reverse described as 'diademed and draped bust of Queen Salome left', *(GIC* 5605) and a reference to Reifenberg's *Ancient Jewish Coins* (no. 71). So I dashed round to the RNS Library in the Warburg Institute to get hold of Reifenberg, and of Philip Greenall, on whom I used to rely for all my coin photography, and he kindly made me a slide in time for my talk. On the reverse of the coin you have Salome herself, with the inscription ΒΑϹΙΛΙϹϹΗ ϹΑΛΩΜΗϹ, and on the obverse her second husband, Aristobulus of Chalcis, with the inscription ΒΑϹΙΛΕΩϹ ΑΡΙϹΤΟΒΟVΛΟV and an illegible date, variously read as 1,3,8 or 16. This coin is in the Bibliothêque Nationale in Paris.

I visited Chalcis, now Anjaar in southern Lebanon, on 27 December 2000. There are extensive ancient remains there, but they are early Ummayad rather than the early Roman, and in any case it is now fairly certain that Aristobulus' coins relate to his reign in Armenia Minor and not to Chalcis. Aristobulus is the only ruler of the Herodian dynasty to have put his wife's portrait on his coins, which I feel shows that he must have thought very highly of her, and that she was in no way the monster that she has become in Christian tradition.

I had better mention the statement in *Roman Provincial Coins* that 'The identity of Salome has been discussed by N. Kokkinos, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 118 (1986), pp. 33-50, who has concluded that Aristobulus' Queen Salome was not the daughter of Herodias, but some other Herodian princess, probably the daughter of Antipas'. However, Kokkinos is not suggesting that Aristobulus' Salome is not the Salome of the Biblical tradition, but is only questioning whether Herodias could physically have been her biological mother. The Jewish historian Josephus, who was alive at the time and knew the family, is quite definite that she was, a view which doesn't seem to have caused any problem for other modern academics, and I think Kokkinos' difficulty is that he assumes Herodias to have been older than she was. If Herodias' brothers were contemporaries of Germanicus and Claudius, who were born in 15 and 10 BC, Herodias is presumably of similar age. Her grandmother was still alive up to about AD 10, and it would be unusual for a woman past child-bearing age to have a grandmother alive, especially in the first century AD. Also, Salome must have been a lot younger than she is normally depicted in art; one lady academic refers to her as prepubescent. I think this makes a lot of sense; a young lady of the age at which she is usually represented, if told by her kind uncle Antipas, 'Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt and I will give it thee', is going to ask for a Gucci outfit or a Porsche convertible; it would only be an eight- or nine-year-old who would throw up an opportunity like that in favour of the head of some smelly old prophet that uncle Antipas kept locked in the basement, just because Mummy told her to ask for it.

Salome first appears in art in the ninth century, at the same time as representations of St John the Baptist also first emerge. She appears with the head of John the Baptist on a panel in the ninth-century bronze doors in the church of San Zeno in Verona, and in a miniature in Luithar's Evangeliary of 990 in Aachen Cathedral. Her dance at Antipas' banquet is shown on the twelfth-century south door of Auxerre Cathedral, in stained glass at Rouen and Bourges, and in a mosaic in St Mark's in Venice.

Another early representation is on a thirteenth-century tympanum from Rouen Cathedral. Here the Baptist is seen being beheaded far right, Salome handing his head to her mother, Herodias, right centre, a young and athletic Salome doing a hand-stand centre, and Antipas and Herodias at their banquet at the left.

Then there is a gilt bronze of about 1330 by Andrea Pisano from the Baptistery of San Giovanni at Florence. Salome is represented presenting the head to Antipas as Herodias watches from the far end of the table. Close to it in date is a triptych altarpiece of 1387 of the baptism of Christ by Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, now in the National Gallery in

London, at the base of which is a series of predella panels (a step at the top of an altar supporting the altar-piece), on one of which you can see John the Baptist beheaded, a soldier presenting the head to a horrified Antipas at the feast, and Salome handing the head to an in no way horrified Herodias.

On a baptismal font of 1427 by Donatello in Siena Cathedral, Herod recoils in horror from the head being presented to him, similarly also on a marble relief by Donatello of about 1433, now in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Lille.

Wrongly described by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as the earliest painting of Salome is a fresco of 1435 on the south wall of the Baptistery at Castiglione Olona by Masolino da Panicale. On the left is Antipas at his feast, and at the right Salome is presenting the Baptist's head to Herodias; here it is the servant in the background who is recoiling in horror.

A fresco of 1452 by Fra Filippo Lippi on the right wall of the Capella Maggiore in Prato Cathedral shows Salome receiving the Baptist's head on the left, dancing before Antipas in the centre, and presenting the head to Herodias on the right. A similar treatment is in a painting of the 1460s by Benozzo Gozzoli in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., with the Baptist being beheaded on the left, Salome presenting the head to Herodias in the centre, and dancing before Antipas on the right.

A different way of presenting the same series of events is shown in another painting of similar date by Rogier van der Weyden in the Gemaldegalerie in Berlin. Here we have the Baptist's head being handed to Salome in the foreground, being presented to Antipas at the banquet in the background, and carried off by a servant on the far right, while the earlier part of the story is carved on the archway, ending with the Baptist's arrest and imprisonment and, fmally, Salome's dance before Antipas and Herodias. Note that Antipas and Herodias are wearing the same clothes at Salome's dance on the sculpture as they are when the head is presented to them in the background, so the sculptor must have worked very fast to get the arch completed before his subjects had even finished their meal! Also of similar date is a predella panel by Giovanni di Paolo in the National Gallery, London.

In a painting of about 1475 by Hans Memlinc in the Hospital of St

John in Bruges, Salome is receiving the Baptist's head while Antipas and Herodias can be seen feasting in the room above, whilst in another painting, by Quentin Metsys in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp, Salome is presenting the head to Antipas and Herodias, while the actual execution can be seen taking place through an arch.

Salome was a popular subject with many painters in the 16th century; they include Sebastiano del Piombo (1510), in the National Gallery, London, as is one of similar date and subject, by Giampetrino. Other painters include Cesare da Sesto, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, which appears to have been the original for one by the same artist, in the National Gallery, London, and there is yet another version at Hampton Court. There are paintings featuring Salome by Bernardino Luini of about 1527-31 in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence; another, now in Buckingham Palace, was purchased by the Prince Consort in 1844 and is thought to be by Vincenzo Catena, c. 1478-1531, whilst one at Hampton Court from the collection of King Charles I is attributed to Girolamo Romanino, c. 1485-1559.

Lucas Cranach the Elder produced a woodcut, c. 1509, of the beheading of John the Baptist with Salome and Herodias looking on, and a painting of c. 1540 of Salome with the head of John the Baptist (in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon), and another of 1531 of Antipas' feast now in the Wordsworth Athenaeum in Hartford, Connecticut. I can't help feeling that Antipas in this latter painting has a strong resemblance to our Henry VIII.

Salome was a favourite subject of Titian. A painting by him of c. 1516, now in the Galleria Doria Pamphili in Rome, is particularly interesting in that the Baptist's head is a self-portrait. *In* a much later one, of c.1550, in the Prado in Madrid, Salome is holding up her trophy as though she has just won the ladies' singles at Wimbledon. Salome here appears to have been based on Titian's daughter Lavinia, of whom there is a portrait in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden.

In a painting of 1608 by Caravaggio, in the National Gallery in London, Salome averts her gaze as the head is presented to her, as she does in one in the Escorial Palace near Madrid, while in his Beheading of the Baptist in the Oratorio di San Giovanni in St John's Pro-Cathedral in Valetta, Malta, Salome is leaning forward to receive the head. This is reckoned by many to be Caravaggio's greatest masterpiece, and it is also his largest painting. His signature is actually written on the Baptist's blood.

It was however not only graphic artists who were inspired by Salome. Poets such as the English Henry Vaughan, the German Heinrich Heine, the French Stéphane Mallarmé and the American J. C. Heywood all produced versions of the story. Heinrich Heine's poem inspired the painting of c.1869 by Pierre Cécile Puvis de Chavannes in the National Gallery in London, in which Salome is based on his mistress, the Romanian Princess Marie Cantacuzène, whom he later married; Antipas in the painting is based on the writer Anatole France. Another version of this painting is in the Birmingham Art Gallery. Meanwhile Gustave Flaubert's story *Hérodias* inspired the French artist Gustave Moreau, who produced a succession of drawings and paintings on the Salome theme. One of the earliest is a water-colour of c.1875 in the Gustave Moreau Museum in Paris, in which Salome is looking down at the Baptist's head in the charger at her feet. The museum also holds preparatory sketches for an 1876 oil painting of Salome dancing before Antipas, now in the Armand Hammer Foundation in Los Angeles, while there is another of the same date and title but less clothing, in the Gustave Moreau Museum. Still in 1876 is a painting, l'Apparition, in the Louvre, in which the Baptist's severed head, dripping with blood, appears before the dancing Salome.

The public exhibition of so many of Moreau's paintings of Salome spawned a whole range of other manifestations of the theme, notably Massenet's opera of 1881, *Hérodiade,* with libretto by P. Milliot and H. Grémont, which was not allowed to be performed in London until its frightful happenings had been transferred from the Holy Land to Ethiopia. There was also J-K Huysman's novel of 1884, A *Rebours,* not to mention the re-publication in 1887 of J. C. Heywood's 1867 dramatic poem on the subject. All this inspired Oscar Wilde to write his *Salomé,* written in French in 1891 and published on 22 February 1893. In Wilde's play Salome lusts after the Baptist and brings about his death in revenge for his spurning of her advances. In March 1893 Wilde inscribed a copy of the play to his friend Aubrey Beardsley, who was so impressed by it that he produced a drawing of Salome holding the Baptist's head, with the quotation from the play 'J'ai baisé ta bouche, Iokanaan, j'ai basé ta bouche', as she kisses the lips in death that she had been denied in life.

Wilde's *Salomé* was translated into English by Lord Alfred Douglas, another close friend of Oscar Wilde (I am slightly puzzled that he couldn't have translated it himself); on the strength of this drawing Beardsley was commissioned to draw illustrations for the English edition. He produced a total of 16 illustrations and a cover design between July and November 1893, but the book's publisher, John Lane, rejected five of them as unfit to print. 'The Toilette of Salome, which is in the British Museum and was exhibited at the Tate Gallery as part of the Age of Rosetti Exhibition at the end of 1997, replaced one of those which the publisher rejected. Wilde's play was banned by the Lord Chamberlain because it depicted Biblical characters, and was not deemed fit for public performance in England until 1931. If that prohibition had remained in force Andrew Lloyd-Webber and Tim Rice could not have given us productions like 'Jesus Christ Superstar' or 'Joseph and his Amazing Technicolour Dreamcoat'.

The same scene from Wilde's play that inspired Beardsley's 'J'ai baisé to bouche' drawing also inspired the German artist Lovis Corinth to produce paintings on the Salome theme in 1899 and 1900. The latter version, normally in the Museum der bildenden Künste in Leipzig, .was exhibited in the Corinth exhibition at the Tate Gallery in 1997 and used for the cover of the *Telegraph Magazine.* It shows Salome opening the Baptist's eye so that he can see the charms that he spurned in his lifetime. See how far Salome has progressed from the little girl doing handstands on the 13th-century Rouen tympanum.

The German translation of Wilde's play, by Hedwig Lachmann, provided the libretto for Richard Strauss' opera, first performed in Dresden in 1905, in which the dance of the Seven Veils, now inextricably linked with Salome, first appeared, and also inspired Florent Schmitt's ballet *La tragedie de Salomé.* Salome has also provided the subject for a number of films, including William Dieterle's 1953 *Salome,* with Rita Hayworth as Salome, Alan Badel as John the Baptist, Charles Laughton as Antipas and Judith Anderson as Herodias, and Ken Russell's 1988 *Salome's Last Dance,* with Imogen Millais-Scott as Salome, Douglas Hodge as John the Baptist, Stratford Johns (better known as Inspector Barlow of Z-cars), as Antipas, and the Labour Member of Parliament for Hampstead and Highgate as Herodias.

Having brought the fantasy of Salome up to date, we can now take a quick look at the historical background and see how she came to appear on coins as the wife of the king of Armenia Minor. Herodias was the daughter of Herod the Great's son Aristobulus. Aristobulus and his brother Alexander were strangled in 7 BC on the orders of their increasingly paranoid father, Herod the Great, who suspected them of plotting against him. Thus were left seven fatherless children: Herodias and her sister Mariamne; Herodias' three brothers, Agrippa, future king of Judaea, Herod, future king of Chalcis, and Aristobulus; and Alexander's two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, the future Tigranes V, king of Armenia.

Fortunately Herodias' mother, Berenice, was a great friend of Antonia, widow of Tiberius' brother Nero Claudius Drusus, and her maternal grandmother, Herod the Great's sister Salome, was a friend of Augustus' wife Livia, and the five orphaned boys were sent to Rome to be educated alongside their contemporaries, Nero Claudius Drusus' sons Germanicus and Claudius, so they were well in with the imperial family, which was to do them no harm career-wise. Of the girls, it was arranged that Mariamne should marry another of Herod the Great's sons, Archelaus, and for Herodias to marry another son, the heir presumptive to the Kingdom of Judaea, another Herod. Unfortunately for Herodias, her future husband was disinherited by his father, on whose death the kingdom was divided into four parts, between three of Herod's sons and his sister. Herod Archelaus received Judaea itself with the title of ethnarch, or ruler of a race, i.e. the Jews; Herod Antipas received Galilee, and Peraea, with the title of tetrarch, i.e. one of four rulers; Philip received Trachonitis, also with the title of tetrarch, and Herod's sister Salome, mother of Herodias' mother Berenice and therefore great-grandmother to our Salome, received Jamnia and Azotus and Phaesalis. The Phoenician mints along the coast were: Caesarea, Dora, Ptolemais-Ake, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Byblus, Botrys, Tripoli, Orthosia and Laodicea ad Libanum, and also Chalcis, the kingdom of Salome's future father-in-law.

However, Archelaus was unpopular with his Jewish subjects, and in AD 6 Augustus deposed him and had him exiled to Vienne in France, and Judaea was put under the rule of Roman procurators, as were Salome's territories after her death in about AD 10. Jerusalem, then the traditional capital of Judaea, was in Archelaus' territories and so came under direct Roman rule. Antipas had to build himself a new capital, which he did at Tiberias, named after the Roman Emperor Tiberius, on the shores of Lake Galilee, so he was actually based about 70 miles from Jerusalem. He only visited Jerusalem on the occasions of the great Jewish festivals, such as Passover, which is how he came to be there at the time of Jesus' trial, and also at the time of Pontius Pilate's banishment a few years later. Philip likewise built himself a new capital, which he called Caesarea Philippi after himself.

A coin of Antipas struck in his year 34 (LD), equivalent to AD 30/31, is traditionally the year of the Baptist's execution. Antipas married a daughter of Aretas IV of Nabataea and, according to Josephus, they had been married for a long time. Antipas was setting out on one of his frequent visits to the Emperor Tiberius in Rome and while waiting for a convenient ship stayed with his half-brother Herod. Herod had married his niece Herodias, and they had a young daughter Salome. Despite being already married to Aretas IV's daughter, Antipas fell in love with Herodias and proposed marriage to her. Herodias was very status conscious, and having failed to become Queen of Judaea she was quite prepared to settle for being the wife of the tetrarch of Galilee, so she agreed to marry Antipas as soon as he returned from Rome, with the proviso that his present wife must go.

Antipas' wife, however, got wind of what was afoot and set off south to inform her father Aretas. Meanwhile Antipas returned to Galilee with Herodias and Salome, despite widespread criticism that the marriage contravened Jewish law. Josephus says that Antipas put John the Baptist to death, although he recognised that he was a good man and exhorted the Jews to lead righteous lives.

Philip seems to have been a remarkably good ruler. He spent his time touring around his territories administering justice and seeing to the welfare of his subjects, rather than spending long periods in Rome currying favour with the imperial family as his brothers had done. He remained a bachelor most of his life, but eventually married Salome, daughter of his half-brother Herod and grand-daughter of his half-brother Aristobulus, so she was in fact his great-niece. As the major part of Philip's subjects were non-Jews, his coinage was not subject to the usual Jewish taboo on human representations, and many of his coins have a portrait of the Emperor, and a few his own portrait. Philip died in AD 34, leaving Salome a very young widow, and his territories were annexed by Rome.

While Herodias' brother Agrippa was in Rome cultivating Gaius, better known as Caligula, the son of his late school friend Germanicus, he was overheard saying to Gaius that he hoped Tiberius would soon leave the stage and make way for Gaius. This remark was reported to Tiberius, who had Agrippa arrested and imprisoned. Meanwhile Aretas IV, who had manufactured a dispute with Antipas over the boundaries of southeastern Peraea but was really intent on avenging Antipas' treatment of his daughter, invaded Galilee, and the Galilaean army was virtually annihilated. Josephus says that many of the Jews considered Antipas' defeat to be divine retribution for his treatment of John the Baptist. As a result Tiberius ordered Vitellius, the Governor of Syria, to declare war on Aretas and to bring him in chains to Rome if he were captured alive, or to bring his head if he were dead. This is not the Aulus Vitellius, who was briefly emperor in AD 69, but his father Lucius Vitellius. A coin shows both the Vitellii, Lucius the father and Aulus the son. However, Lucius Vitellius was already unhappy with Antipas, who had been acting as a mediator in negotiations between Vitellius and Artabanus II of Parthia; Vitellius had no wish for a conflict with Aretas IV of Nabataea. Consequently Vitellius was not reluctant to accede to a request from the Jews that his army should not march through Judaea, and he sent them on a detour via the coast. Meanwhile he decided to accompany Antipas to Jerusalem for the Feast of the Passover, in **AD** 37. In Jerusalem he found the inhabitants in great turmoil; the procurator, Pontius Pilate, had used military force to quell a riot by Jews protesting against his proposal to use temple funds to build an aqueduct and also to disperse a religious gathering of Samaritans, in both cases with considerable loss of life, The national council of the Samaritans appealed to Vitellius, who deposed Pilate from the procuratorship and ordered him to Rome to stand trial, where he died soon after, according to some accounts by suicide. On the fourth day of his visit to Jerusalem, Vitellius heard news of the death of Tiberius, so he administered to the people an oath of loyalty to the new Emperor Gaius Caligula, and ordered his army to return to winter quarters as he had no instructions from the new Emperor regarding the invasion of Nabataea.

The death of Tiberius not only thwarted Antipas' hopes of revenge on Aretas IV, but also restored to favour Herodias' brother Agrippa. Gaius not only released Agrippa from prison, but made him a praetor and had him crowned king of Philip's old tetrarchy of Panaeas and Trachonitis. One of his earliest coins from the mint at Caesarea Philippi shows the head of Agrippa on the obverse and his young son, the future Agrippa II, on horseback on the reverse. Herodias, as already noted, was very status conscious and so was jealous that her brother was an instant king while her husband was still a mere tetrarch after 40 years of rule. She persuaded Antipas to go to Rome to try to turn Caligula against Agrippa. Agrippa heard what was going on, and sent his own messenger to Rome with information that Antipas was conspiring against the Empire with Artabanus II of Parthia. Vitellius confirmed the story and Caligula deposed Antipas and banished him to Lugdunum Convenarum, St Bertrand de Comminges in Haute Garonne, where Herodias joined him. As a reward for his loyalty, Agrippa was given Antipas' tetrarchy to add to his kingdom.

Agrippa was in Rome at the time of Caligula's assassination in AD 41. As a praetor and childhood friend of Claudius he was instrumental in persuading the Senate to accept Claudius' accession. In gratitude Claudius made Agrippa Consul, which must at least have been an improvement on his predecessor's horse Incitatus, and gave him the province of Judaea and the tetrarchy of Abilene to add to his kingdom, while he made his brother Herod praetor and King of Chalcis. A coin shows Herodias' two brothers, Salome's uncles, Herod on the left and Agrippa on the right, crowning Claudius in the centre. A coin of Herod as King of Chalcis, similar to the one mentioned earlier that I spurned at the first Coinex, dated to year 3 of his reign, AD 43, has the inscription in Greek that translates as 'King Herod the Claudius lover', which must be about as sycophantic a coin inscription as you can get.

Herod's first wife had been Mariamne a grand-daughter of Herod the Great's brother Joseph, and they had a son, Aristobulus, who was therefore Salome's cousin and closer to Salome's own age than her great-uncle Philip. Salome was still a young woman and she married Aristobulus, and they had three sons: Herod, Agrippa and Aristobulus. There was not a lot of originality when choosing children's names in that family.

Agrippa I died in AD 44 and Claudius placed the kingdom of Judaea once again under procuratorial rule, but gave the right to nominate the Jewish high priests to Salome's father-in-law, Herod. Herod himself died in AD 48, and the Kingdom of Chalcis was also put under Roman rule. However, in AD 50 Claudius gave the kingdom of Chalcis and the right to nominate high priests to Agrippa's son, Agrippa II, Salome's cousin. Then in AD 53 Claudius gave Agrippa a kingdom more equivalent to his great-uncle Philip's former tetrarchy of Panaeas and Trachonitis, to which further territories were added by Nero and Vespasian.

It is normally assumed that Aristobulus received the Kingdom of Chalcis when Agrippa II was given Trachonitis. In any case as soon as Nero became Emperor in AD 54 he gave Aristobulus the Kingdom of Armenia Minor, and his coins appear to relate to his reign there. An example with Salome's portrait, which is in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, if it has been correctly read as year 3, would have been struck in AD 56/7. One of year 8, equivalent to AD 61/2 mentions Nero on the reverse, and another of year IZ or 17, equivalent to AD 70/1, mentions Titus.

Incidentally, Titus fell in love with Aristobulus' stepmother Berenice, widow of Herod of Chalcis and daughter of Agrippa I. She is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles 25 as being in Caesarea with her brother Agrippa II at the time of at Festus' examination of St Paul, and she went to Rome and lived with Titus for several years as his mistress. She would have become his wife had it not been for Roman objections to the idea of a foreign Empress. The French 17th- century playwright Jean Racine wrote a play about her. So, Salome was very nearly Titus' stepdaughter-in-law. St Paul himself, in his Epistle to the Romans, chapter 16, sends salutations to the household of Aristobulus. The controversial Australian academic Dr Barbara Thiering, in her book *Jesus the Man,* based on her researches into the Dead Sea scrolls, and even puts forward the theory that St Paul's companion Timothy was in fact Salome and Aristobulus' eldest son Herod.

Tacitus says that Aristobulus was given parts of Armenia in AD 61, which suggests that his territories were further extended, and Josephus tells us that he supported the Romans in the war against Antiochus IV of Commagene in AD 72. That is really the last sound historical reference to Aristobulus. That same year, AD 72, is sometimes given as Salome's date of death, but I do not know on what historical basis. The story that she met her death by drowning in an icy river is almost certainly a later myth. Aristobulus is almost always given a date of death of AD 92, but as I explained in an article in *Coins & Antiquities* in April 1999, this is derived from coins of Chalcis suggesting a new era starting at that time, but these are in fact from Chalcis in Chalcidice, which is not the Chalcis of which Aristobulus is normally reckoned to have been king.

So there we have so far as possible the real Salome. A long and apparently happy marriage, blessed by three children and certainly highly thought of by her husband since he gave her the unique distinction for the period of putting her portrait on his coins, blood related to most of the royal houses of the area and with connections to the imperial court at Rome and to St Paul. This is a far cry from the *femme fatale,* described by Henry Vaughan as 'the young sorceress', as she has been portrayed, I think unjustly, by Christian writers on the basis of one small incident into which she was inveigled as an impressionable little girl by her scheming mother.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, Tuesday 4 November

David Powell gave a talk upon a subject that, in the Editor's memory (and that goes back a long way!), has not previously been addressed in the Club - it was on **'Communion Tokens of the British Isles'.**

David began by explaining that most of the quotations in various of the sections below derive from Internet extracts, written by church officials, members or those interested in ecclesiastical history. In his text he cites two major works on communion tokens (B..., and C...), and also Miss K.B. Cory's book. Lester Burzinski's Communion *Tokens of the World* (1999) is the first extensively illustrated book on the series and is rapidly becoming the standard reference work, taking over from 0. D. Creswell's Comprehensive *Directory of World Communion Tokens* (1985); apart from the one defect of not having a full cross-referencing concordance to the latter, it is highly thought of.

Tracing your Scottish Ancestry, by K. B. Cory, is also very useful since so many of the tokens are of Scottish origin.

The reason for communion tokens.

John Calvin first recommended Communion tokens, or *mereaux* as they were known in France, with the intent that no unworthy person would be admitted to the communion service; one source records that they were first used by the Huguenots in 1531, another says 1560. Scotland is thought to have started using them fairly soon after this date. The Dutch are reputed to have used tokens in Amsterdam as early as 1586. England and Ireland began to use communion tokens near the end of the 16th century when authorities found it useful to know who did or did not conform to the legal form of worship of the state church.

Although the Huguenots invented them, and continued to use them until the mid-19th century, it was in the Presbyterian churches of Scotland that communion tokens were most widely used. Many believe that there may have been a second reason for using tokens, and that was to protect communicants from betrayal by spies during periods of religious persecution.

It would appear that in many cases, especially in Covenanting times, the tokens were retained by communicants and used by them for identification purposes in similar fashion to the use of the fish symbol by the earliest Christians in times of religious persecution in Rome and elsewhere. In a period of some 50 years ending about 1688, Covenanters were fined, jailed, exiled, tortured and violently killed, so that the showing of a token led to the acceptance of a stranger as a sympathiser and not a Government spy.

'Tokens were commonly used in Presbyterian churches in Scotland and America from the Reformation through the early 19th century. In the weeks before the celebration of communion, the church's elders would visit each member and examine his or her knowledge of the faith and purity of life. Those who met with the elders' approval were given a small lead token which permitted them to receive communion. The goal was a careful protection of the Table from profanation by immoral or unfaithful people. It was part of a larger system of church discipline.

Through the acculturation of the church and the rise of liberal theology during the 19th century, communion tokens fell out of favour. Theologically, clergy and elders came to see communion as a means of grace rather than as a reward for good behaviour. Socially, members came to see church discipline as unfashionable and judgmental.'

One could also be excluded for ignorance, as well as behaviour:
'In one parish, for example, it was decreed that such persons should be able to repeat 'the Shorter Catechism as formerly', while in another no one was to receive a token unless he or she was 'weel instructit in the Belief, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commands.' In other words, oral examinations were conducted.

Practicalities of use

It should be remembered that some if not most of the Scottish churches decline to administer the sacraments with the same frequency as is done down south, hoping that by doing so only very rarely, one, two or three times a year, they may make it a truly special occasion invested with a much greater reverence. The following excerpt from a Free Church member is a fairly typical description of Communion token use:
'A service of Communion is held twice or three times a year. The Communion weekend usually starts on Thursday (or in some places on Friday) with special services and a visiting preacher. Friday night used to be the "question night" when the minister gave out a Bible text and invited the men present to speak about their own experience. This is still practised in some congregations.

'In many congregations, after the Saturday night service those who hope to take Communion wait behind and receive tokens. These are small metal rectangles (of silver or pewter) bearing the words of Jesus "This do in remembrance of me". On the other side of the token is the name of the congregation. It was a custom, in the past, for other congregations to join in, so many people who were not known to the Elders would attend. The tokens were a way of identifying those who were members in their own Church and should be at the Lord's Table.

'After the sermon, before the Communion service, there is a special talk known as "fencing the tables". The preacher explains the meaning of the service and tells about the type of people who should be at the Table and who shouldn't.

'Those who wish to take Communion move forward during the singing of a Psalm and, after handing over their token, they sit down at tables.

'Without the allocated emblem of approval, members were barred from the Lord's table at other congregations of the same denomination. If

Christians had to guard the Lord's Table jealously and scrutinize other congregations of the same church, then what future has the church, indeed any church?' - one wonders how these cross-boundary decisions were policed in practice.

Attitudes to use

'It appears that the elders generally gave tokens to the vast majority of those who desired them. In one congregation, these persons were then summoned before the elders and told to appear before the congregation that very afternoon and acknowledge their sins. All who did so were publicly absolved; all who would not come before us or, coming, could not be induced to acknowledge their fault before the congregation, upon the Saturday preceding the communion, their names, scandals, and impenitency, were read out before the congregation and they debarred from communion; which proved such a terror that we found few of that sort.' Even 'those who were given tokens were reminded through preparatory sermons that while they appeared worthy, in fact they probably were not.'

'Tokens were highly revered, achieving for some the status of quasi-sacred objects, and some communicants, undoubtedly in agreement with that sentiment, tried to have tokens sealed with them in their coffins at death. Whether according to legend St. Peter would be sufficiently impressed after being slipped a metallic entrance fee to open the Pearly Gates we can only imagine. At any rate, burying owners with their tokens confirmed the hallowed status of the metallic fetish.'

'A great deal of the solemnity of the Sacrament seems to have been attached to the tokens, making them objects of reverence and respect. An example of the almost superstitious awe or regard in which they were held was the tradition that the only acceptable way to dispose or old tokens was to bury them beneath the pulpit.'

'In 1727 the Ettrick Kirk-Session recorded, "The session met to distribute tokens, but finding that a horse race was to come off before Communion Sunday, forbade any member to attend, and decided to hold over the tokens till after the race." The grim invigilators wanted to preserve any member from soiling his holiness by cheering for a horse at the Ettrick race meeting with a token in his pocket.'

General observations

'Communion tokens were used in a number of different parts of the world but chiefly where Scottish influence made itself felt. Most if not all of the 901 ancient parishes of Scotland used them, plus many nonconformist or splinter groups which set themselves up throughout the country. Northumbria and parts of the adjoining English counties, Durham and Cumberland, behave as Scottish rather than English in their use of tokens, at least where the denominations from north of the border made themselves felt; that border was always more fluid than the authorities have described it, not surprisingly so when rival armies of each side have attempted to redraw its line so many times over the centuries. Elsewhere in England communion tokens mostly occur in ports and trading centres, where Scottish churches are likely to be have been set up for visiting seamen; e.g. Tyneside, the east coast ports, London, Southampton, Liverpool and, thanks to the Mersey Canal, Manchester. English pieces are not greatly different in style from the Scottish, insofar as there are any standards in this series.' (Dull: B.2098)

Communion tokens may lack any pictorial reference other than references to the solitary theme with which they are concerned, but they are not without their compensatory interests. They are rich in varieties of typography and, in certain parts of Scotland, ornamentation; compared with most series, they derive from a vast number of different sources. Compare, for example, the main British coinage in the century before the Norman Conquest; nearly 90 mints, in a period of nearly as many years. They were governed by central policy and had to adhere to rules regarding design, weight, timing etc; although there were individual die-engravers whose work can be distinguished by various interesting idiosyncrasies, none of those mints deviated from the norm by that much. Now imagine ten times that number of mints, swelled by the ranks of the non-conformists, all with total liberty to design and strike in their own manner. That is what happened with communion tokens! so far do the artistic practices of the different parish craftsman diverge that you will find examples of design a century ahead, or behind, the norm.

Scottish church history

Scottish ecclesiastical history is littered with feuding factions which were forever splitting and merging as any theological whim led them. For a diagram of who did what when, which looks somewhat like the underground map of a major city, I can do little better here than to refer you to fig. 7 of Kathleen Cory's *Tracing your Scottish Ancestry,* itself taken from an earlier work known as Burleigh's chart of Scottish churches. Suffice it that apart from the established Church of Scotland, also known as 'the Kirk', the following were amongst the other main players, and were frequently the users of tokens:

1733-date: Church of the {first} Secession, also known as the Associated Congregation of Original Seceders; now of minimal size after major splits in 1747, 1806 and 1852.

1761-1847 Relief Church, also known as Church of the Second Secession.

1820-1847 United Secession Church, consisting of the middle two of four factions into which the Church of the (first) Secession had subdivided.

1847-1900 United Presbyterian Church, formed by a merger of the Relief and United Secession Churches.

1843-1900 Free Church; broke from the Kirk in 1843 under Dr Thomas Chalmers' leadership, absorbed two other factions in 1852 and 1876 and suffered a split in 1892 when the Free Presbyterians broke away.

1900-date United Free Church; formed by a merger of the United Presbyterian Church and the remnant of the Free Church in 1900, and partially absorbed back into the Kirk in 1929. The other faction remains independent.

The above is not fully exhaustive, but I do not wish to get more deeply involved in these bodies and their perennial disputes than is necessary to introduce the names of the various Churches found on the tokens.

In addition to the denominations native to Scotland, tokens were also used by the Episcopalians (the Scottish equivalent of the Church of England), by three Methodist congregations, and by one Baptist church (in Dundee).

There are about 90 different verses found on the tokens, according to one source, although a few (1. Cor 11:23-29) predominate. For those theologically inclined, there is some scope for analysis. Sometimes the text is written out in full, sometimes the reference alone is given, but also sometimes both; in the 19th century one or both are the norm, but in the 18th century they are quite rare. Early example of full text are B.5833, Ratho. One feature to look out for is an Old Testament reference, which exist, but are very few.

Miss Cory's book also describes the parish numbering system which is widely used by the various Scottish record offices and other reference works, whereby you start from the top (Shetland 1-12 in alphabetic order, Orkney 13-33 ditto, etc.), so that if you want such a labelling, you would do well to adopt it.

General remarks on style and preservation

The metallic content is various, with lead (18th cent) or white metal (19th cent) being the commonest; there are other pieces in bronze, brass, iron and aluminium, and a few of even other materials beyond that. An aluminium piece dated 1900 from Tongue, Sutherland, which predates the earliest official coinage in that metal by six or seven years, attracted significant interest when offered at auction recently; alternatively, Jedburgh's bronze piece of 1816 (B.3443) could have quite easily been passed as a halfpenny. Brass is also used, albeit very rarely (B.4298).

Lead and white metal are notoriously vulnerable to damp and cold. There is little which can be done to help the latter, once they have darkened and stained under adverse conditions, although brushing with a toothbrush can sometimes help where the damage is from cold alone. In the case of lead, which tends to go white in extreme cold (B.6148), following up with a little beeswax polish can sometimes produce very pleasing enhancement.

The earliest tokens consist of a parish or minister's initial alone, then graduating to provide the parish's abbreviated or later full name, the date, sometimes the minister's full name and, if relevant, that of the breakaway denomination. By the mid-19th century all of these would usually be present, accompanied sometimes by a table number or, very rarely, a serial number. These numbers are sometimes embodied as part of the design but often counterstruck, with varying degrees of efficiency.

There are various patterns to be observed regarding general evolution, and designs associated with either one part of the country and/or a specific denomination; but equally, one must expect these same rules to be broken because of the extent of local individuality.

The oldest known dated piece is 1648, several decades after their supposed introduction; dates are rare before 1690, and on a number of pieces, mainly 19th century, the date of foundation rather than the date of issue appears. In my own collection, 79% of the pieces are dated. Pieces do not appear with contiguous date ranges, like coins; the norm is for a parish to purchase a batch several times throughout its history, often several decades apart. Occasionally a parish is so addicted to the style of its current pieces that it specifies a look-alike replacement, despite the fact that the design and manufacture may be a few decades or even a century behind what is currently in vogue (B.7012, Udny). Or occasionally in front! (B.6285, Slamannan.)

Attempting to group by region, denomination or manufacturer is one of the fascinating exercises of the series; however, whilst I attempt below to pick out a few of the more easily observable examples of thematic similarities, there are many cases where small numbers of pieces can be grouped together without forming a category large enough to attract general notice. Only rarely is one helped by an engraver's name, such as Crawford or Cunninghame of Glasgow (various of the Free Church stock tokens, e.g. B.7579; sect 9, q.v.), or Alexander Kirkwood of Edinburgh (B.0366, Alyth), and where these do occur, from the mid-19th century on, they are so small that they can be very easily missed. It was clearly not thought very reverent to have makers' names appearing on communion tokens, and the success of attempts to disguise them is surprising.

The Alyth token, apart from being diamond-shaped, is also one of the relatively few which exhibits an overstrike.

Both dated and undated pieces abound, the latter predominating in later years, although there a number of pieces where the foundation date rather than the mintage date is shown, and others where both appear (B.6601). The foundation date not uncommonly includes day and month as well as year.

Chronology: The early period

The earliest pieces are cut fragments of lead, or occasionally tin, of possibly irregular shape; bearing merely a single initial, the meaning of which has to be deduced from the location of the find. Fortunately, because the pieces never have cause to travel much outside their place of issue, the latter is usually known. They were probably manufactured, in many cases, by the local blacksmith (B.0026).

By about 1700 to 1720, where the local craftsman had the ability, a limited design starts to appear, usually in the form of beading; however, simple initials remain the norm for much of the early part of the 18th century. If the second letter of a pair is K, this often stands for Kirk, although it could alternatively be the initial of the minister's surname; thus, for any initial (e.g. C) there could be a lot of pieces with similar initials (e.g. CK) which, although they appear to be related superficially, have in fact nothing more in common than that their parish names beginning with the same letter.

Likewise, beware of the first initial M, which may or may not stand for Minister, for the same reasons. It is not unknown for numismatic dealers to get communion and hop tokens mixed (e.g. B.0031 from Auchterhouse, in my own experience) so if Burzinski cannot find your piece for you take Henderson off your bookshelf, or vice versa. Especially when it comes to M and K. As a further example of inter-series confusion, I have also had the unusually chunky piece from Glencairn, Dumfriesshire (B.2903, offered to me as a weight.

Most early pieces are small, and quite often uniface; where the parish name is attempted, it often has to be abbreviated to three or four letters. A number of the earlier tokens have minister's initials and nothing else, which has led some observers to the opinion that in some cases the minister took his pieces with him when he moved on. Certainly a significant number marked the beginning of their incumbency in the same way that a monarch does his reign, with an issue of pieces bearing his initials or name, but in other parishes they were struck simply as needed.

As the early 17th century developed, the parish name sometimes started expanding to several letters; rarely, to its full length, as on a selection of 1720s pieces. Once the minister's initials start appearing, there are reference works which can help you identify most of them, even if they are not known from local folklore:

Fasti Ecclesiae Scotianae, 7 vols.

History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church, 17331900.

Fasti of United Free Church of Scotland, 1900-29.

Information, once again, courtesy of Miss Cory's book. The first of these, referring to the Kirk and listing all ministers in chronological order within alphabetic order of parish, is available in London at the Society of Genealogists. Not that you will probably need to use it all that much; Burzinski has got there before you. Many ministers commissioned a consignment of pieces upon their arrival in post, but that is by no means invariable.

Gradually during the 50 to 70 years which preceded the great Chalmers breakaway of 1843 (the commonest year by far to fmd represented), the archetypal cut rectangle and oval types of the mid-19th century evolved; however, there a number of tales here to tell, in terms of individual areas and denomination, which will be related below.

Geographic regionalisms

Patterns in the early years are difficult to discern, but can be found. One example is the Fifeshire small rectangle, in existence very soon after 1700: it has a rectangular rim both sides and a silvery appearance suggesting above-average metal quality; Obv. parish name or abbreviation above, date below; Rev. 'M' over minister's initials. Typical examples are Collessie (B.1553) and Flisk (B.2577); Dennino (B.1931) is an interesting later development.

By the mid-1770s Kirks in the Glasgow neighbourhood and the south-west were developing a distinctive type: about 2lmm square, with two rings inside, between which words (typically the name of the parish) could be accommodated. The outer ring went to the edge of the piece, and either or both might be beaded (e.g. Rutherglen 1782: B.6094). In the centre of the inner ring a variety of details appeared; perhaps the city arms, a date, or the minister's initials, according to inclination. As time wore on both the number of words increased and the angles were well supplied with ornamentation, of a typically floral nature, which made the pieces quite attractive (e.g. Sandyford 1836: B.6152). In the 1830s there was something of a move to elongate this basic concept into a cut rectangle containing two ovals, the latter not now reaching to the edge (St Matthew's, Glasgow 1839: B.6504), whilst one occasional variation on the theme was to utilise this extra space with radiating lines.

Upright types have a greater tendency to come from Edinburgh, nearby Leith, or Perth. The Edinburgh and Leith pieces typically have a ring round the outside of an normally-shaped oval or cut rectangle, inside which might be a cross, a table number or a text (B.3311, B.6359). City arms are also an occasional choice of design for all the larger locations. Some of Perth's pieces are highly individualistic however, and feature such unlikely designs as the double- headed eagle.

The Aberdeen area has a reputation for robust, down-to-earth, matter-of-fact leaden squares; good solid pieces, not all of the same size, stating the bare facts of parish name and minister's initials without ornamentation. Examples are Nigg (B.4004), Nairn (B.5164), Newhills (B.5262), Aberdeen South (B.6388), and the Mariners' Church in Aberdeen (B.4628).

An occasional design, typically of the 1790s, involves the use of scrollwork, as an attractive often low-key background design; examples are Buncle-Preston (B.1075) and Houghton & Kilellan (B.3225). It is obviously quite southerly, but I have not been able to pin it to an area as yet.

There are other less obvious groups to be discerned, perhaps associated with more rural areas; for example, there is a family of rather small but dumpy white metal pieces, sometimes cut rectangle and sometimes round, which are usually dated c.1829-43 and almost always come from parishes in or very near Dumfriesshire (B.2111, B.4991, B.6101, B.6934).

English pieces tend to mildly individualistic, especially down south, but not exceptionally so (e.g. London: B.5168, B.5911 and Southampton: B6351).

Denominational patterns

The United Assoc. Cong. (of Original Seceders) had a liking for oval pieces, rather narrow top to bottom, which between the two sides contain the denomination, placename, minister and/or date. These typically occupy two or three lines on each side, occasionally only one, and are totally devoid of ornamentation. Those of the 1790-1810 period typically have a tall, thin and occasionally italic script; those after about 1810 tend to have a thicker script, albeit seriffed (B.3694, B.3861). They also tend to prefix the minister's name by 'Mr.'. By about 1830 the text tends to replace the minister's name, and the text is much squatter (B.5567, B.7011). After 1852 they merge with the Relief Church to become the

United Presbyterians and continue the same lettering.

Wider ovals of the same early 19th century period tend to be Kirk pieces (B.3706, B.3832).

The Free Church was quite varied regarding the finer points of design, although conservatively adhering to the two basic shapes of oval and cut rectangle. The latter was undoubtedly its favourite, and on it made frequent use of one or other of two types of standard obverse; the burning bush, and a picture of a church. There was also a standard reverse, depicting the quotation 'This do in remembrance of Me: 1 Cor 11.24', which, when paired with the above, as it often was, produced an anonymous stock token which could be purchased and used by any church of the denomination. Some preferred to do this, rather than buy their own individualised supply.

Table and serial numbers

Larger churches often served communion at two or more tables, and used the tokens to administrate who used which; i.e. to ensure an equal division between the servers, to speed things up and prevent crowding, in addition to purely defming eligibility. It is possible in some cases to find most of a church's surviving tokens as a hoard, in which case a token for each table can be procured. Few people collect in this manner, in the same way that few pay overmuch attention to the die numbers on Victorian shillings; most simply content themselves with one specimen of whatever die number comes to hand, with the result the maximum table number remains unknown and unrecorded for the majority of churches. The number of tables is often four or six, occasionally eight or ten; double figure numbers are rare (ex. Auchterarder, B.0582). The earliest table numbers, are usually counterstruck on the back of uniface pieces, and can be found by about the 1780s (B.2214, B.4496); by the second quarter of the 19th century they are often an integral part of the design, although counterstriking is often still employed in preference. In the sample represented by my own collection, 14% have table numbers. One relative scarcity to look out for is the table number expressed in Roman numerals (e.g. Mearns in 1849, B.4706), for which there are only a handful of parishes.

Very occasionally, much larger numbers, running perhaps up to several hundreds, or even a thousand or two, are seen; design as per table numbers, but clearly having a very different meaning. The highest I have yet seen pictured is 1970, from Edinburgh St Cuthbert's (B.6453) . There are only a minute handful of these series, all from big city churches, and all individually, albeit neatly, overstruck. It would appear that these churches opted for a different system of administration, whereby every member had his own serially-numbered token. One of the reasons for the replacement of tokens by cards, apart from cost, was that the latter could be more easily marked with an individual identity.

The 1938 piece from Fairmilehead (mentioned below) extended this serial number system *in* an exceptional manner, by numbering within initial letter of surname; Burzinski quotes the example '66A'.

The Methodist George Whitefield had 17 tables of communicants after one of his revival services at Cambuslang in 1725, but that was before the table number, largely a 19th century innovation, featured. A case was noted in Perthshire in 1791, where 29 tables were used to serve 2361 communicants.

Pictorial subject matter.

This is obviously very limited, but not so much as one might expect, especially in the 19th century. There is an attractive variety of church buildings (various shown); likewise city arms (Glasgow, Edinburgh shown).

The communion utensils feature from time to time (e.g. B.1694, B.4440, B.6453), with or without the table on which the meal is served, and on one exceptionally early case, the Dalrymple piece of 1742, the result is reminiscent of an a Jewish coin of Bible times (B.1868). On another highly unusual piece, undated but probably c.1710 from Kilwinning, Ayrshire (B.7466), a vine appears amidst a square border or surrounding words.

The Cross appears but occasionally in pictorial form, usually on Edinburgh and Perth pieces, but '+' is occasionally smuggled in amongst the letters on 18th century pieces. The burning bush is highly common, particularly but not exclusively on stock tokens.

Idiosyncratic shapes and designs

Like the 17th century token series, there are a number of pieces which stand out by way of being of odd shape or design; octagons are not that rare (mainly 18th century; e.g. South Knapdale, Argyll: B.6306), and a number of pieces are either heart-shaped or depict hearts (e.g. Etal, Northumberland in 1724: B.2467 and Grange, Banffs: B.2946). Alyth's diamond has already been referred to. As with the 17th century tokens, all these tend to attract a premium. There are also the rather odd 'love' tokens, such as illustrated by the 1791 piece from Cawdor, in Nairnshire (B.1201).

Not paralleled in the 17th century are the six-pointed star-shaped tokens deriving from a few churches in Edinburgh and Perthshire, e.g. Lady Glenorchy's chapel (B.4103), whilst the 1855 piece from Alvah, Banffs (B.0360) feels more like a pass from the railway or mining industries. Similarly, the obverse of the 1831 piece from Kirriemuir, Angus (B.3929) could pass as a contemporary hop token by virtue of its design. Another irregular shape is the inverted trefoil from Strathy, Sutherland (B.6308, shown with B.6306 above).

The fairly common piece from Oathlaw, Angus (B.7470) has the thickness and rim of a button.

The cut rectangle or lozenge which became so popular in the 1840s began not many years earlier, perhaps around 1830, and from 1850 became also one of the most favoured shapes for apothecaries' weights, following the series begun by W.& T. Avery in September that year and continued up to very modern times.

The end of communion tokens

'Communion tokens were used in the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland until World War I', says one Internet site. Many churches apparently moved to using cards for the same purpose, the transition dates being as early as 1860 at North Shields, but for the most part being very late 19th century or early 20th; the dates 1894 recorded for the last use of tokens at Torthorwald, Dumfriesshire, 1900 for Bonkle, Lanarkshire and 1904 for Arroquhar, Dunbartonshire are probably more typical. There are not so many tokens recorded for the later years of the 19th century, after about 1870, and those that there are have a tendency to become slightly more modern and individualistic in design. The popular cut rectangle shape continues, but after about 1860 tends to be squarer than formerly, the top to bottom dimension being increased. Occasional commemorative issues make their appearance, they are typically for centenaries of their church's foundation; e.g. for Kettle UPC, Fife in 1878 (B.3626) and South Leith in 1909 (B.6365). After WW I almost all pieces are of this type; however, I have seen a piece dated 1938 from Fairmilehead, near Edinburgh, very much in 1860s large cut rectangle style (B.2497). A few of the commemoratives are very modern. Whether these were used for their original purpose, or merely for mementoes, I do not know. The Galashiels piece B.2699, is a particularly attractive example.

I note from the Internet that in 2000 a Presbyterian church official from New Zealand, charged with the task of setting up an affiliated congregation in Singapore, was contemplating bringing a supply of tokens with him from Down Under; so, perhaps the practice is not totally dead yet. Indeed, it would appear that there are a few people, a very small conservative minority, who would like to reintroduce it.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, Tuesday 2 December

This evening's talk was on **'The Greeks in Bactria (Northern Afghanistan) and their successors',** by Joe Cribb. Since the date of the talk Joe has been made Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, and the Club offers him its congratulations and all best wishes in his new post.

Alexander the Great's defeat of the Achaemenid Empire and his invasion of its eastern territories established Greek influence in the territories now known as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan for more than three centuries. After Alexander withdrew he left his eastern conquests under the control of his generals and local kings who had submitted to him.

By about 305 BC a large part of the territories in Pakistan and Afghanistan had been incorporated into the new Mauryan Empire of India, but the northern part of Afghanistan and the areas to its north and north-west remained under Greek rule, in the form of the Seleucid successors of Alexander's rule in Iran and Iraq.

The Seleucid kings ruled this region until about 250 BC when Diodotus their governor in northern Afghanistan declared his independence and took from them the provinces of Bactria (northern Afghanistan and southern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan), Sogdia (northern

Uzbekistan) and Margiana (Turkmenistan). Twelve Greek kings followed him as rulers of the region, at first the whole territory gained by Diodotus, but gradually losing the northern and north-western parts (Sogdia and Margiana). At the same time as losing these territories they started to expand into southern Afghanistan. Eventually all the territory in Bactria was also lost and the Greek kingdom became confined to southern Afghanistan (the Kabul Valley region, Paramopasidae and the Qandahar region, Arachosia), until it spread into Pakistan (northern Pakistan, Gandhara).

Our knowledge of the easternmost Greek kingdom is based in part on obscure references in Greek texts to five of the Bactrian kings and one of their southern successors, but mostly on numismatic evidence. Since the discovery in the 18th century of coins which appeared to he issues of the Greek kings of Bactria, and in the early 19th century of coins of their successors in Gandhara, a gradual growth in evidence from coins, both from their designs and from their find spots and hoards, has enabled a skeleton history of Greek rule in the region to be written. This history continues to be worked out as gradually more information emerges, particularly in the form of overstruck coins and hoards. A gradual consensus about the interpretation of the evidence is emerging, particularly following the work of Michael Mitchiner, Osmund Bopearachchi, Natasha Smirnova, Elizabeth Errington and Bob Senior.

Archaeological evidence relating to the Greeks in the East also continues to accumulate, with five major cities excavated: Taxila and Charsadda in northern Pakistan, Begram in south-eastern Afghanistan, Qandahar in southern Afghanistan, Ai-Khanum in northern Afghanistan, Samarkand in Uzbekistan and Mer[y] in Turkmenistan. Excavations have also taken place at the site of a Greek period temple at Takti-Sangin in Tajikistan. The excavations have been conducted with varying degrees of competence and varying levels of success. The most informative site has been Ai-Khanum which French excavators were able to demonstrate to be a major city of the Greek kings of Bactria. Greek rule in Samarkand, Merv, Begram and Taxila has also been fully demonstrated. The discovery of coins, both individual finds and hoards, at these sites have been the central evidence for understanding the history and chronology of the sites.

As with many historical topics, the evidence has been too thin to create a full agreement over the sequence and dates of many of the kings identified as rulers in the Greek kingdoms. The scholars who have addressed most attention to the question of the Bactrian kingdom have proposed a variety of sequences and dates for the kings. They agree about the sequence of the first four kings, because these are the first of the kings named in Western literary sources, but for the remainder, including Eucratides who is also attested in the sources, there is wide disagreement (Table l). Tarn was less interested in the dates than in establishing family relationships.

My own research into the Bactrian problem stems from my research on the Kushans. In 2001 an American collector, David Smith, published in a collectors' magazine, *The Celator,* a new Kushan coin which had the emblem of the Kushan king Wima Takto (Soter Megas) placed on a coin imitating the issues of the last Bactrian king Heliocles I. My dating for Wima Takto places him in the late first century AD, i.e. nearly 200 years later than the latest date so far proposed for the end of the reign of Heliocles. Because of this I decided to review the evidence for the dating and sequencing of the Bactrian kings to see how reliable the suggested dates for Heliocles were. After looking again at the Greek, Latin and Chinese historical sources and the ways in which they have been interpreted, I focused on the copper coinages of the Bactrian Greeks to see if sequences could be constructed from the changing technology and denomination systems of these coins (Table 2). I also looked at their geographical distribution from site finds (Table 3).

The sequence of the first four kings: Diodotus I, Diodotus II, Euthydemus I and Demetrius I is based on literary texts, but is supported by the use of bevelled-edged coins by the first three king. These are both single and double unit denominations. During the third king's reign round-edged coins replace the bevelled-edged coins. The fourth king continues the round-edged coins and also adds a triple unit coinage linking him with the next king, Euthydemus II. The triple denomination is only issued after Euthydemus II by the ninth king, Eucratides I. Euthydemus II is, however, also linked by the issue of round-edged single and double denomination coins made of a copper alloy containing nickel (the coins have a silvery appearance, but their designs are the same as those of the bronze coins) to the sixth and seventh kings Pantaleon and Agathocles. Pantaleon and Agathocles are also linked with Eucratides I

Table 1 Sequence and dates of Bactrian Kings according to Tarn, Narain, Mitchiner and Bopearachchi

King	Tarn		Narain		Mitchiner		Bop	
Diodotus I	1	245-230	1	256-248	1	256-239	1	250-230
Diodotus II	2 son of 1	230	2 son of 1	248-235	2	239-230	2	250-230
Euthydemus I	3 son-in-law of 1	230-189	3 usurper	235-200	3	230-190	3	230-200
Demetrius I	4 son 1 of 3	187-165	4 son of 3	200-185	4	205-171	4	200-190
Euthydemus II	7 son 1 of 4		5 son of 3	200-190	5 with 4	190-171	5	190-185
Pantaleon	9 son 3 of 4		7 son of 4	185-175	8 with 6	171-160	7 with 6	190-180
Agathocles	10 son 4 of 4		8 son of 4	180-165	7 with 6	171-160	6	190-185
Antimachus I	5 son 2 of 3		6	190-180	6	171-160	8	185-170
Eucratides I	13 usurper	169-159	10 usurper	171-155	9	171-135	12	170-145
Demetrius II	8 son 2 of 4		9 son of 6	180-165	[4]		10	175-170
Eucratides II	16 son of 13		14 son of 13	140-	[9]		13 with 15	145-140
Plato	14 bro of 13		12 son of 10	155	10 with 9	150	14 with 15	145-140
Heliocles I	15 son of 13	159-145	13 son of 10	155-140	13	135-110	15	145-130

Table 2 Development of copper alloy coinage under the Bactrian kings

● = Round Coin, ■ = Square Coin

	Issues North of Hindu Kush					Issues South of Hindu Kush		
king	Bevel-edged Copper coins	Regular Copper coins X2	Regular Copper coins X3	Cupro-nickel Copper coins	No Copper coins	Square Copper with Brahmi	Square Copper with Greek	Square Copper with Kharoshthi
Diodotus I	●							
Diodotus II	●							
Euthydemus I	●	●						
Demetrius I		●	●					
Euthydemus II		●	●	●				
Pantaleon		●		●		■		
Agathocles		●		●		■		
Antimachus I		●					■	
Eucratides I		●	●				■	■
Demetrius II					*			
Eucratides II					*			
Plato					*			
Heliocles I					*			

Table 3 Distribution of Bactrian copper alloy coins by sites

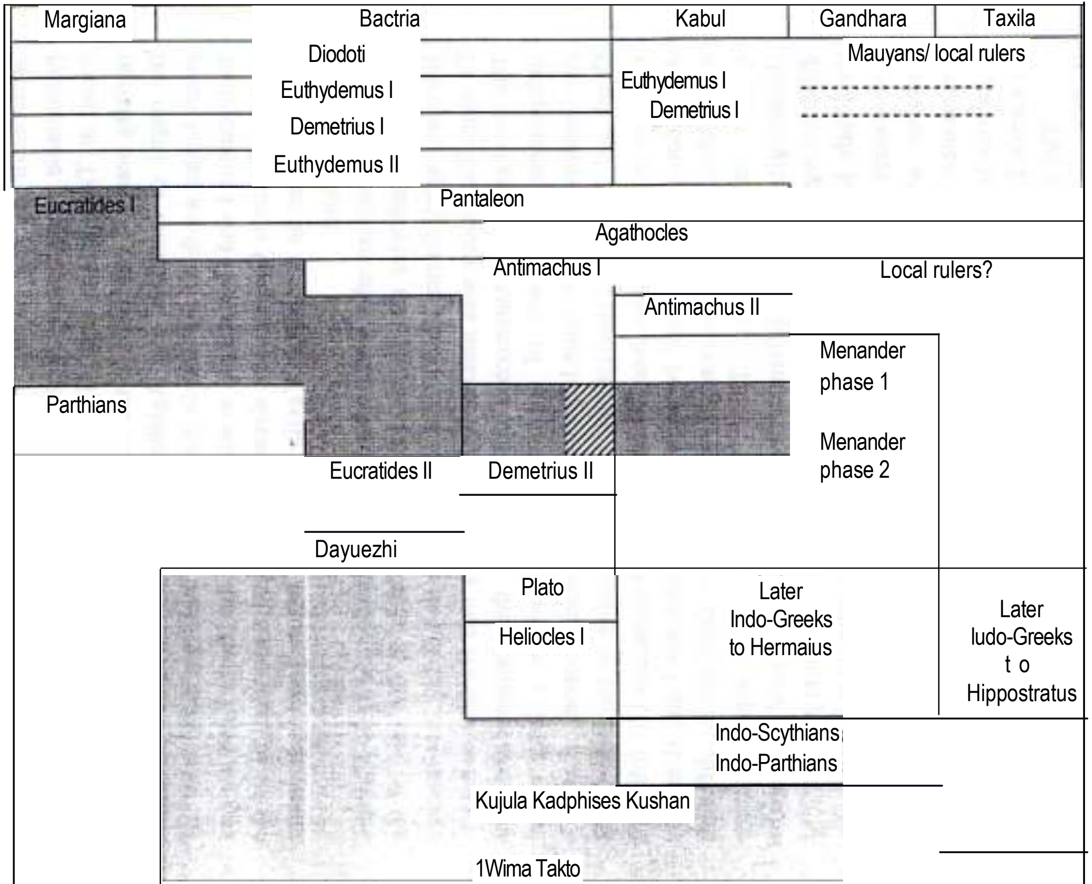
King \ archaeological sites	Mer^y Turkmenistan	Takti-Sangin Tajikistan	Ai-Khanum N. Afghanistan	Begram S.E. Afghanistan (Masson)	Taxila Pakistan
Diodotus I	)4 Ae ●	}4 Ae ●	126 Ae ●		
Diodotus II					
Euthydemus I	4 Ae ●	15 A e ●	49 A e ●	3 Ae ●	3 Ae ●
Demetrius I	2 Ae ●		6 Ae ●	1Ae ●	1 Ae ●
Euthydemus II	1 CuNk ●; 1 Ae ●	2 Ae ●	5 Ae ●		
Pantaleon				7 Ae ■	
Agathocles		1 CuNk ●	3 CuNk ●	43 Ae ■	4 Ae ■
Antimachus I			2 Ae ●		
Eucratides I	6 Ae ●	1 Ae ■	11 Ae ■	269 Ae ■	4 Ae ■
Demetrius II					
Eucratides II					
Plato					
Heliocles I					

and with the eighth king Antimachus because they all issued square coins. The square coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles are inscribed in Greek and Brahmi (a curious Kharoshthi); only square or triangular issue of Agathocles have been found at Taxila, whereas Antimachus I's are only in Greek, and Eucratides I's are of two kinds: like those of Antimachus only in Greek, or like the Indo-Greek coinages in Greek and Kharoshthi. These connections suggest that Eucratides I's copper coins show a range of connections with the fourth to eighth kings. The historical sources talk of Eucratides I as a usurper, so perhaps this range of connections show him gradually taking territory from Euthydemus II and his successors. The last four kings: Demetrius II, Eucratides H, Plato and Heliocles I, can be linked together because they share the characteristic of not issuing copper coins.

The geographical distribution of the finds of the copper coins of these twelve kings also points to similar connections and sequences. In Table 3 the copper coins found at five sites are listed. The most obvious feature, already highlighted by the development of copper coinage, is the distinction between the round coins issued in Bactria and elsewhere north of the Hindu Kush and the square coins issued to the south-east of the Hindu Kush in the Paramopasidae and Gandhara regions. The first five kings did not issue square coins, but the next four did. Apart from the issues of Eucratides I, the square coins are mostly found south of the Hindu Kush. Examples of Antimachus I's Greek only square coppers are very rare and not recorded from the sites listed, but two were found in the first treasure from Mir-Zakah (Bopearachchi, p. 61), i.e. south of the Hindu Kush.

In Table 4, I have suggested a sequence and geographical distribution for the Bactrian kings which reflects the evidence provided by their copper coins. The link between Euthydemus II and Eucratides I created by their use of the triple denomination seems to have occurred in the most westerly part of the Bactrian kingdom, at the oasis city of Merv. Site finds from the city show the coins of the first five Bactrian kings being followed by coins of Eucratides I (Smirnova), which are in turn followed by coins of the Parthian king Phraates II, 138-127 BC (Loginov and Nikitin). Further east, Euthydemus II was followed by Pantaleon and Agathocles, continuing his issue of cupro-nickel alloy coins. Pantaleon's issues are scarce, suggesting a short reign. Agathocles names him as a

Table 4 Chronological an geographical sequence of Bactrian kings



predecessor on one of his 'dynastic pedigree' silver coins, so he presumable ruled before Agathocles. Coins of Agathocles have been found at Takti-Sangin and Ai-Khanum, suggesting that Eucratides I's uprising was still contained in the western territories for a while. During the reigns of Pantaleon and Agathocles the issue of square bi-lingual coins began south of the Hindu Kush. Round northern issue coins of Euthydemus I and Demetrius I at sites south of the Hindu Kush suggest that the Bactrian Greeks may already have taken some control of the southern areas as far east as Taxila some time before local coin issues were made there.

The Bactrian ruler Antimachus I issued coins for use at Ai-Khanum between Agathocles and Eucratides I. This city is to the east of the Bactrian capital Bactra (Balkh) and it is possible that during Antimachus I's reign Eucratides was making further inroads into Bactrian territory. The weakening of Antimachus could explain the commencement of independent rule south of the Hindu Kush where a king called Apollodotus I began to issue large quantities of square copper coins with Greek and Kharoshthi inscriptions, i.e. the beginning of the Indo-Greek kingdom and its coinage. Another king called Antimachus (II) followed Apollodotus I, and it could be argued that Antimachus I and II are the same ruler, but they are normally separated by their use of different epithets on their coins. There is no reason to separate them chronologically and the differences between their coins could relate to the different regions in which they were issued. In Ai-Khanum and south of the Hindu Kush Eucratides I's coins both follow soon after issues by an Antimachus and show close affinities with their coin issues. There is, however, what appears to be a brief gap south of the Hindu Kush represented by the early issues of an Indo-Greek king Menander I. The numerous issues of Eucratides I south of the Hindu Kush were followed by a second phase of Menander I's coins.

The issues of the last four Bactrian kings, Demetrius II, Eucratides II, Plato and Heliocles I, are more difficult to place as they issued no copper coins. Excavators are therefore unable to document their sequence or geographical range. A single Eucratides II silver coin was recorded from a hoard said to come from Ai-Khanum (Holt). Another hoard from Qunduz, south-west of Ai-Khanum and south-east of Takti-Sangin, contained a large number of the silver coins of each of these four kings.

Although the find spot of the hoard is known, it cannot be used to identify where these four rulers lived. However, it does give a strong indication of their position after Eucratides I, as all the earlier kings except Pantaleon are represented in the hoard, but in much smaller numbers than the last four kings. The hoard shows that the coins of the last four kings were still plentiful at the time of the hoard's deposit and that Heliocles I was the last of these.

The dating of Heliocles I is therefore dependant on the fact that he is later than Eucratides I, who is identified in the Classical texts as a usurper who was a close contemporary of the Parthian king Mithradates I (171-138 BC). Eucratides can also be dated in this way on the basis of Mithradates and another contemporary imitating his coins. The reverse design of his gold, silver and copper coins, the Dioscuroi charging on horseback holding lances, is also repeated by Mithradates I on one issue of copper coins. Mithradates I also issued a copper coin type with the same arrangement of Eucratides I's innovative inscription, with *basileos megalou* (great king) in an arc above the king's name which is in a straight line. The first Parthian coins found at Merv, where Eucratides coins have been found, are issues of Phraates II (138-127 BC), the immediate successor of Mithradates I. There is also a silver coinage of a Seleucid usurper called Timarchus which imitates directly the silver coin design of Eucratides I. Timarchus revolted against the Seleucid king Demetrius I in 162 BC. The length of his revolt is not known, but is thought to have been short-lived. On the basis of this evidence, Eucratides I is dated to c. 171-138 BC, and Heliocles I and the other three late Bactrian kings are to be dated after about 138 BC. As it seems likely that Demetrius II, Eucratides II and Plato come between Eucratides I and Heliocles I, then a date significantly later than 138 BC can be suggested. The Qunduz hoard contains, alongside the Bactrian coins, issues of several Indo-Greek kings: Lysias, Antialkidas, Amyntas, Archebius, Philoxenus and Hermaius, i.e. Greek kings who only reigned south of the Hindu Kush and not in Bactria. The dates of these kings are no more certain than those of the late Bactrian kings. Several attempts have been made to date them and these dates are being continually revised. The current opinion seems to be that the latest of these is likely to be Amyntas and that his reign is in the first half of the first century BC. The deposit of the Qunduz hoard is therefore likely to be between about 90 and 60 BC.

I am therefore inclined to date Heliocles I in the first half of the first century BC, rather than the second half of the second century BC as Tarn, Narain, Mitchiner and Bopearachchi propose.

The dating of Heliocles to the second century BC is largely based on the statement in the Chinese sources (Pulleyblank and Z,rcher) that by about 130 BC the Dayuezhi nomads (forerunners of the Kushans) were overlords of Bactria ruling from a region to its north. The Chinese sources can, however, be interpreted from a different perspective. The control of Bactria by the Dayuezhi appears to be a loose control as the Chinese continued to send ambassadors to Bactria as though it was a separate country from the Dayuezhi until at least 90 BC (no embassies are reported for the next century), and the first Chinese reference to the Dayuezhi occupying Bactria does not appear until about AD 75. The case for the end of the Greek kingdom of Bactria by 130 BC, and therefore Heliocles I's reign ending about the same time, is not upheld by the Chinese testimony. The absence of copper coinage during the last four Bactrian reigns does suggest, however, that the arrival of the Dayuezhi in the region had a drastic effect on monetary circulation, perhaps linked with the loss of the major urban centres of the kingdom. The excavations at Ai-Khanum certainly show that this city was sacked in the reign of Eucratides II, at least two reigns (Demetrius II and Plato) before Heliocles I.

Although my starting point was to determine the relationship between Heliocles I's coinage and the Kushan copy of his coinage, I have ended up with a suggested restructuring of the chronology and sequence of the Greek kings of Bactria. The Kushan copies are still separated from their prototypes by almost 200 years. The puzzle they pose remains to be solved.

I would like to thank Elizabeth Ellington (British Museum), Natasha Smirnova (Pushkin Museum, Moscow) and Osmund Bopearachchi (CNRS, Paris) for their helpful support and comments on this paper. I dedicate it to the memory of my much-missed friend Yevgeny Zeymal.

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50 Years Amongst Ancient Coins

Richard Reece

[Dr Richard Reece has recently retired from his teaching post in the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, and the Club is grateful to him for agreeing to this publication of his reminiscences.]

To many people the idea of spending 50 years surrounded by coins would bring to mind images of gold, silver, hoards, and luxury. But then most people are not archaeologists. When the archaeologist takes to the coin world, or vice versa, gold almost disappears, silver is invariably clipped, and corroded copper rules. Going for gold is easy to understand, but why would anyone choose copper? It has taken a long time - about 50 years -to find a convincing answer. Reading through a number of my past papers it has been interesting to see how ideas have changed and how, at last, the common coins are being given a voice.

When I dug my first trench aged 16 the curator of the museum sponsoring the excavaion taught me to identify them. Then he dropped his bombshell in a very gentle way: 'You realise that the finds from the dig must come into the museum, coins and all?' He went on quickly without pausing, 'But don't worry, you have had the fun of identifying these, so they are finished with. I have a small collection that I used for teaching, you can have those instead - much better.' Since my main activity from that point to the present, apart from teaching, has been the identification of Roman coins from excavations, I reckon that was a good investment on his part.

A change in scale came when Barry Cunliffe was selected in the early 1960s to complete the publication of excavations at the Roman fort at Richborough, Kent. He asked me to look over the report prepared for the fifth volume and to say something about the total of 56,000 coins that the excavations and site clearances during the depression of the 1920s had turned up. All well and good. Or rather, for about a year of my spare time, endless lists and bits of paper derived from earlier coin reports, and distraction at never being able to get the lists of figures to agree. As a scientist I was not particularly worried by errors of only 0.1%, but to most Roman archaeologists who were then classicists that meant that I had got 56 coins wrong.

Two separate enquiries opened out of Richborough, once I had recovered. The first was to try to find out what the Roman coins in the rest of Britain were like, and then how Britain compared with the rest of the empire. I took a year off teaching sixth form chemistry because the questions could not be answered by simply going to a good library and reading round the subject. The subject was not there to read about. Part of the year was taken up with identifying coins from British excavations and part of the year was spent in southern France.

I find it difficult now to think myself back to 1965 in terms of information and contacts. Today if I want some information I can fire off e-mails to colleagues in Frankfurt or Beirut, Dijon, or Warsaw, Toulouse or Aarhus. When I set off in late September 1965 I had one letter of introduction to the coin cabinet at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and one introduction to a Roman archaeologist in Lille who turned out to be away on fieldwork in Syria. But surely Paris could help? With the best will in the world they could only say, 'Who knows. Good luck. Tell us on your way back.'

Both enquiries matured over the years. British sites turned out to have very similar characteristics - few coins up to AD 260, lots from 260296, then a gap, followed by lots of coins from AD 330 to 402. This similarity causes a new problem. Should we simply throw up our hands in horror and say 'British sites are all the same'? No, we should accept the similarity as a background and develop a method by which each separate site could be judged against this background. That search took about 20 years and produced a lot of complicated attempts at comparison. Since 1995 I have stuck with what I hope is a final method, which puts it all in fairly simple pictorial form.

Foreign work also expanded, first to Italy, then to the north of France. This was hardly a study of the whole Empire, but at least it was a decent slice from Hadrian's Wall to Rome. Then British excavations on foreign sites started publishing their coins and that involved me in Carthage and Jerusalem. I reckon that the coins from the British excavations at Carthage took up at least a whole working year of my life. But then, as I had moved from teaching sixth-formers chemistry to teaching undergraduate archaeology, that 'year' is made up of vacation times, holidays, weekends, and evenings for quite a time.

Then people started including me in gatherings and asked me to say something about coins and villas, or coins and temples, or coins and the army, or coins and the 3rd century. This made me stand back from my lists of coins from separate sites in order to try to see a wider picture. At times I have even dabbled in economic history, from site-fmds of course, and wondered about the motives of coin production and the mechanics of distribution.

The good thing was that the idea was spreading. Coins from excavations at Toulouse and St Bertrand-de-Comminges have just appeared; coins from Augst in Switzerland have been published; coins from the post-civil war redevelopment in Beirut are being written up, and so it goes on in Germany, Israel, Spain, Morocco, and beyond.

When I went information gathering on later trips they never reached the excitement of that first tour around southern France because they became more set in their methods and their aims. Now the information is being published instead of having to go to look for it. But might it be an idea to retrace that first trip on its 40th anniversary in 2005, just to see how things have changed?

Many of the papers published as a result of these ideas and projects have been gathered together and reprinted as R. Reece, *Roman Coins and Archaeology* (Collection Moneta 32, Wetteren, 2003; 80 Euros). Available in Britain from Oxbow Books, David Brown Book Company, Park Place, Oxford, or direct from Moneta, Hoenderstraat 22, 9230 Wetteren, Belgium.

CLUB AUCTION RESULTS by Anthony Gilbert

107th Club Auction, 6 May 2003

Twelve members and one guest were present at the Club's Spring Auction meeting, held at the Warburg Institute, Woburn Square. David Sealy acted as the Club's auctioneer for the 79 lots on offer. The first 40 lots comprised books from the Club's library which, as members will know by now, is gradually being disposed of. As with previous auctions of the library's books, postal bids had been accepted in order to allow as many members as possible to have the opportunity to bid. This section of the auction did extremely well: every lot bar two was sold under the hammer, and the two lots which did not reach their reserves but, on the suggestion of the writer (acting as cashier) they were re-submitted at a lower reserve and both found buyers - a most satisfactory conclusion.

The highest price fetched in the book section was £85 for lot 34 -*Seventeenth Century Tokens of the British Isles and Their Values,* by Michael Dickinson, Seaby 1986. This hammer price was against a reserve of £40. The buyer informed the writer that he should have purchased the book when it was originally published. [Editorial note: The Newsletter Editor edited this book when he was Publishing Director at Seaby, when it was published at £35 - not a bad increase in value since 1986!.]

The second highest price realised was £60 against a reserve of £50 for lot 1 - *Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum,* by R. S. Poole, London 1887, which had an ex-House of Commons Library bookplate. Perhaps this 'provenance' helped with the sale? Other lots of note were lot 17 - *Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Age,* by A. Engel and R. Serrure, in three volumes. This was the Forni, Bologna, reprint of the 1891-1905 edition, which fetched £50 against a reserve of £30. Also, lot 32, *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, two volumes, by E. Hawkins, London 1885, which went for its reserve price of £50. The writer considers that these two latter lots were the 'best buys' in this section of the auction. Copies of the *Numismatic Chronicle,* the Royal Numismatic Society's annual publication, for the years 1990, 1991 and 1993, were sold at their bargain reserves of £5 each.

Total sales for this bibliographic section of the auction were an excellent £586. Once again the Club has to thank its sub-committee for their work in assessing appropriate reserve prices, and this against a potentially small platform of Club bidders.

The 'regular' lots, numbered 41 to 79, were submitted by four Club members. In this section only 21 of these lots (54%) found buyers. The total achieved was £95.50. The top price of £20 was paid for lot 47, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* 33, *The John G. Brooker Collection of Charles* I *(1625-1649),* by *J.* J. North and Peter Preston-Morley, Spink & Son, 1984. This lot was kindly donated by a Club member. The second highest price in this section was £12, achieved for lot 50 - a silver litra of Syracuse (Sicily) with Arethusa/cuttlefish, of 474-450 BC *(Greek Coins and Their Values,* vol. 1, no. 929, there £75).

Club commission of this section was £27.55 (including the donated lot). In total, therefore, the Club benefited by an excellent £613,55 on the night - truly very satisfactory.

Considering the interest shown in the book section of the auction, the writer was somewhat surprised that there were not more Club members present to bid; there were certainly some desirable and unusual items on offer.

The auction organiser is beginning to find it difficult to gather enough lots together for the regular numismatic section (i.e. ignoring the 'one-off Club library book sales), in order to offer a reasonably attractive and interesting evening's entertainment. Hence, for the time being, Club auctions will only be held annually, with the next one scheduled for 4 May 2004. The success of our Club auctions lies in our own hands.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Coinage of Roman Britain. Richard Reece. Tempus Publishing, Stroud, 2002. 160pp, 44 colour plates, 46 b/w illus, 3 tables. 3 figs. Paperback, £17.99.

Many will know Dr Reece as a prolific author on Roman coins and aspects of Roman Britain and the later Roman Empire. He has recently retired from lecturing for some 30 years at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. For all those years, and when he was carrying out research before he joined the Institute - many will recall his long series of articles in Seaby's *Coin & Medal Bulletin* dealing with his travels around French museums examining their Roman coin holdings. He was noted for coming out with an often 'alternative' view of Roman coins - he was certainly one of the liveliest scholars in the field, some would describe him as *l'enfant terrible* of Roman numismatics. No matter what, his views were always of interest and thought provoking.

Richard Reece has written books previously on the coins of Roman Britain, notably *Coinage in Roman Britain* (Seaby,1987), and (with Simon James) *Identifying Roman Coins* (Seaby, 1986; 2nd edition, 2000), the latter was a practical guide to the identification of site finds in Britain. So, what is different with his new book? First, it is not a collector's coin listing - that kind of information can be found in many other sources. Richard Reece lays down his brief early on: 'the subject matter of this book is quite easy to define: coins of the Roman period found in Britain.' What he aims at is, in his first two chapters, to look at coinage in the Roman world at large, and then in Roman Britain. There we have the parameters set out. As he notes, there is a considerable difference in coins from Roman Britain that occur in hoards and those which are site-finds or single finds. Why - surely, you ask, they are all Roman coins. But the difference lies in what their proper examination and interpretation can tell us about the conditions prevailing when they were in circulation. Why, for example, should there be as many as 56,000 coins from the Roman fort at Richborough? This was one of the conundrums, and their identification, that was thrown at a young Reece by the excavator, Professor Barry Cunliffe, some 40 years ago. One might say that Richard Reece has not looked back - but he has, to many published reports, and forwards, and around, the coins. That is the difference in this book: it allows, indeed leads, the reader to understand the place of coinage in Roman Britain by taking the information from the coins themselves and from archaeology.

Separate chapters examine hoards and site-finds. For hoards he looks at what they mean, what they say, what kind are they - savings, cumulative, safety precautions in times of attack, what is their composition - single denomination or metal, mixed, etc. There is invariably more to a hoard than that which meets the eye, when they are properly examined. Site-finds, or single coins plotted in a distribution, can tell so much about the environment in which they were lost, what the economic situation was at the time - were the small coins of such low value that they weren't worth picking up (how many of us notice a lp in the street, and cannot be bothered to stoop for it ?). How grievous a loss could even a silver denarius be to the proverbial man-in-the-street, or even worse, a gold aureus or solidus. The latter one would certainly search for, hopefully but not always successfully, as finds show.

The last two chapters look at the use of Roman coins and at Britain and abroad. Britain was on the outskirts of Empire, but it does not follow that Empire patterns of living, let alone use of coins, will follow the more central areas. Once again, Richard Reece brings his own inimitable analytical and scientific mind to work (he was, after, all originally a scientist, teaching sixth form chemistry), to show the reader new paths to follow, new ways of looking at coins, and below the surface, as it were -how reliable are the written sources that we quote, many of them actually suffering in translation to produce nonsenses when one knows about the coins and their ratios. All this is put across succinctly and in Richard Reece's own inimitable style, the words come off the page as if he were speaking directly to you in a personal or lecture presentation. Realising this in his text, he keeps the tables and graphs and mathematics to the end, safely tucked up in Appendix 2 for those who wish to venture there.

For once, without doubting it, one can reproduce the publisher's blurb, which is wholly accurate in saying: '[This] is a book sparkling with Dr Reece's characteristically incisive insights that can be appreciated by anyone interested in Britain's past.' *Peter A. Clayton*

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

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

Publications such as *Coins Hoards from Roman Britain* (vols 1-11), as well as the detailed publication of some individual hoards, have indicated the wealth of information that has become available. Here Richard Abdy has distilled this down into a very readable and informative account which sets the hoards into their contexts and economic situation in Roman Britain. Hoards of coins can be made for a variety of reasons, most notably as savings or hidden in an emergency - in both instances and others, never to be recovered for whatever reason by their owner. The reporting and recording of such hoards has increased tremendously since the introduction of the Treasure Act 1996 (effective as from 23September 1997), and the voluntary Portable Antiquities Scheme. It is only in recent months that this scheme, employing local Finds Liaison Officers, has been considerably increased by a Heritage Lottery Fund grant to extend over the whole country. It is through the interpretation of the hoard contents that can reveal so much of the background of Roman Britain.

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

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

Tokens & Tallies Through the Ages. Edward Fletcher. Greenlight Publishing, Witham, 2003. 98pp, illus throughout in colour. Paperback, £15.

This book is a welcome addition to the useful series of A4 size books, guides and introductions to archaeological objects and coins, that the publisher has produced over recent years. Books on tokens of the 17th and 18th century are always obviously period focused; to find details of earlier, leaden tokens invariably means searching the periodical literature such as *The Numismatic Chronicle;* for the unofficial farthings and other products of the 19th century one has to turn to the late Dr R. C. Bell's several books; not to be forgotten are the (mainly) Scottish communion tokens, which is becoming a collecting field that is evoking more interest. Edward Fletcher has taken an extremely useful overview of all these, as his title says. There are abundant illustrations to each of his chapters, in chronological order of the pieces, that follow his Introduction that outlines the broad picture. Useful Further Reading titles are given at the end of each chapter. Tokens, especially the early ones, often simple lead castings, are not always that easy to illustrate and here the illustrations overall are very successful, even for some of the small and dark 17th century tokens.

There is a four-page A5 size insert, a 'Tokens & Tallies Price Guide'. This discuses under headings the same as the book's chapters the availability of the pieces, the choices to make and what the prices might be. There is also a select list of dealers specialising in the pieces, and notes on their individual areas of stock or expertise. Where this book is added to public library stock, the insert will not last long, and it might have been better to have included it in the book's overall pagination at the back, rather than becoming the despair of librarians.

Edward Fletcher's book is a most welcome overview of these often insignificant numismatic items, so often denigrated both officially and by the public, but, that said, they had a very important place in the economic history of Britain. *Peter A. Clayton*

Guide to Conservation for Metal Detectorists. Richard Hobbs, Celia Honeycombe and Sarah Watkins. Tempus, Stroud, 2002. 96pp, 32 colour plates, 11 b/w illus, 5 tables. Paperback, £9.99.

Whenever the question is raised either for coins or small finds: 'how do I clean it ?', back comes the swift answer, 'don't!'. Now, at last, here is a published and reasoned answer to the question and, what is even better, the reasons why. The book is written by three acknowledged experts: Richard Hobbs who was Outreach Officer dealing with the Finds Liaison Scheme set up alongside the voluntary Portable Antiquities Reporting Scheme, and his co-authors are two conservators with vast experience. The book divides into three parts (like Caesar's Gaul): Background; Practical Advice, and Appendices (of which there are four). As it says in the Foreword: 'This guide is NOT a manual on "how to clean metal finds"... The primary aim of this guide is to inform finders of good conservation practice for their archaeological discoveries'. This is exactly what the book does, by clear explanation, excellent illustrations, and citing both good and bad practice, often succinctly illustrating each so that there can be no mistake.

Essential information is provided in three sections under Background, where conservation is explained, and the metals used in the past, and then corrosion and 'original surfaces' are discussed - the latter is particularly relevant to surface find coins. Part Two, Practical Advice, is all that one could hope for, set out in eight chapters that take the reader through the whole gamut from the find in the field, and then detailing with storage, signs of trouble in a coin or object, examining and recording, cleaning methods that are appropriate (and those to avoid), ending with some wise words on repair, reconstruction and display. The colour plates recording bad practice in cleaning coins (using current coins of course) are an object lesson and eye-opener in themselves.

The Appendices are very important because they explain the situation regarding metal detecting in England and Wales (Scotland and Northern Ireland have different laws), the Treasure Act, the use of map references (so very important in recording coin find distribution), a list of recommended suppliers for good practice materials, and a useful bibliography for further reading.

Not only is the text clear and explicit, the illustrations have been chosen with great care and are well reproduced - especially the 'before' and 'after' views of coins and small objects. The text drawings also make their point well about good and bad practice.

For a relatively short book the information packed into it is remarkable - it is a book that every one who is concerned with their coin finds, or any small metal finds that need treatment, should have, be they collectors, detectorists, museum curators, or Finds Liaison Officers. Long may it remain in print (or reprinted) as here, in a handy format, is the book that everyone has been waiting for, hoping for, for many years.

Peter A. Clayton

EDITORIAL TAIL PIECE

Doesn't anyone else in the Club read books on numismatics - if they do, their views on them would be welcome.