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EDITORIAL

It is quite amazing how quickly each Club year comes round and it is time to produce another edition of the Club's *Newsletter*. A number of our speakers have been kind enough, or able, to produce transcripts of their talk on disc for the Editor. Then it is simply a case of adapting the spoken work to read as the written word, especially where slides have been described, and we are unable to reproduce illustrations in the *Newsletter* unless they are line drawings. Similarly, others have provided a reasonably hand written account of their presentation which the Editor can then at least type up. Usually this is done, as with this issue, whilst lecturing at sea around the Mediterranean in late November (the Editor is a coward and gets out of the British cold weather!) His laptop computer comes into its own then — it is only used on cruises for writing in-between his lectures. There are the odd occasions when no script has been available and the Editor has not been able to be present to take notes; fortunately this combination of events does not happen very often. Any errors therefore found in this issue, the Editor will naturally blame on the ship's movement affecting his typing and the fact that some speakers provided long pieces, expecting the Editor to retype it all (!), and this does take up hours of additional personal time which fall beyond editorial voluntary duties.

As usual, our lecture programme has been very varied. There are fewer talks and auctions reported in this *Newsletter* since the Committee took the decision to drop the January and August meetings, and also one of the two auctions that the Club has held each year. It is very much a feature of the Club's talks that they are either given by knowledgeable Club members, or by old friends of the Club who have returned to the scene of previous triumphant lectures. In this issue the first talk reported is on a topic, Tokens, Medals and the Law, not previously touched on in our annals (or at least to the best of the Editor's memory, and that does go back into the dim and distant past). Presented by Philip Rueff, the Club's Honorary Librarian, this merged his professional expertise with his collecting interests.

The Annual General Meeting in March went with its usual camaraderie and several guests were welcomed. Philip Mernick stepped

down as President and our long-time member David Sealy who has given much service to the Club, took on the badge of office.

The April meeting saw Ken Peters speaking on Ancient Coin Counterfeiting, ably backed by interesting slides and, not least, his own book on the subject. Our usual spot of having the Members' Own Evening was moved forward to June since it had been decided to drop the August meeting. This was followed in July by Gary Oddie's talk on the Circulation of Silver, 1697-1817, which was quite fascinating when facts and figures were presented.

A little touched on subject, British Lead Tokens, and one which can be quite complex, was explained by David Powell in September, and a very old friend of the Club, David Sellwood, returned in October to speak on Papal Portraits. November saw Edmund Redfern discoursing on the Coinage of the Severan Family, illustrated by slides of many coins from his own collection. The year ended with Tony Holmes, a Past-President of the Club, describing Having Fun with Junk Boxes, surely a most apposite finale to the Club's year before the Christmas break.

We also carry the report by Anthony Gilbert of a very successful 108th Club auction held in May, and several hook reviews.

As usual, the final word of the Editorial is the Honorary Editor's appeal/plea/invitation to members to submit other material for inclusion in the Newsletter outside of the talks presented for consideration. Book reviews are especially welcome, and also notes on any other items of numismatic interest that Club members may not be aware of.

Peter A. Clayton, Honorary Editor

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 3 February 2004

Philip Rueff, the Honorary Librarian of the Club, gave a talk on a topic close to his heart and his professional life, 'Medals, Tokens and the Law.'

Philip noted that legal institutions, lawyers, judges and 'the law' itself are not, generally, objects of love, wonder or worship. Somehow they lack intrinsic glamour, charisma or charm. People associate judges, courts and, above all, lawyers, with bad times, crimes, and expense. They go to a lawyer if they have a dispute which cannot be resolved sensibly and amicably. Once the case is over and the crisis resolved, with or without the lawyer's help, the litigant is very anxious to forget about that dark period in his life and those who apparently are associated with, and feed on, his misery. In short, lawyers both talk and charge too much.

Accordingly those who have the power and good taste to commission coins, medals and tokens, as well as those who have the ability and skill to design and engrave them, tend to depict gods, kings, emperors, etc, and sometimes buildings, city views, and animals — but not lawyers or legal events. However, even quite early on there were exceptions to this trend, particularly in the Roman era. Some of the Roman authorities at least shared a keen interest in the law, legality and legal institutions provided that they did not hinder the Romans in doing what they wanted to do. Certainly the Romans appear to have been the greatest and most prolific law givers and publishers of them up to that time. Thus in the Republican era some of the moneyers or mint masters — young members of the Senatorial class embarking on their professional careers — did depict on the reverses of their silver denarii scenes which are oblique but vivid references to popular laws or statutes promulgated by their ancestors. For example, in about 125 BC, Marcus Porcius Laeca struck a denarius showing on the reverse the personification of Liberty in a biga (a two horse chariot) which is believed to be a reference to a law extending the rights of appeal of Roman citizen residing outside the city that was proposed by his Praetorian ancestor 70 years before (cf. H.A. Seaby, *Roman Silver Coins*, vol. 1 (1978), p. 80, no. 3).

That master propagandist, the emperor Augustus (27 BC-AD 14), struck an extremely rare, if not unique, aureus in gold, and silver denarii, and silver cistophorii (=three-denarii pieces) bearing reverses which are generally regarded as referring to his constitutional settlement of

31-27 BC which, while it ended arbitrary proscriptions and executions, was something of a fig leaf, cloaking his naked power with a respectable veneer of legality and constitutionality.

The emperor Nerva, who reigned briefly between AD 96 and 98, had been a distinguished lawyer by profession before his accession following the assassination of the unpopular tyrant Domitian (81-96). Not surprisingly, Nerva did issue some coins which do appear to contain clear references to legal and quasi legal matters. For example, he issued a gold aureus with a reverse depicting Justice (Justicia) and with the legend JUSTITIA AVGVSTI, and a brass sestertius advertising tax relief measures for the Jewish minority and the Roman Empire generally in relation to the cost of transporting government officials and mail (cf. D. Sear, *Roman Coins and Their Values*, vol. 1 (2002), pp. 84-9). Many other Roman emperors issued coins the reverses of which invoke vaguely the legal, abstract concepts, such as Equity, Clemency, Justice and Liberty, all of which are represented as female personifications.

As far as I am aware, and so far as references to legal topics on coins are concerned, as least in Europe for the next thousand years or so from the fall of the Roman Empire in the west in AD 476, there is an arid desert.

Significantly the Renaissance saw, at least in relation to the educated minority, a revival of interest in Greek and Roman institutions, art, history and civilisation generally. One of the 'numismatic spin offs' from this revival was the use of the portrait medal, initially in Italy, but soon spreading northwards to France, Germany and the Low Countries, and eventually to England and Scotland as well. Such medals co-exist with, but are in strong contrast to, true coins or the regular, mass-produced currency depicting the local ruler, be they temporal or ecclesiastical. The great 15th century Italian medallists such as Pisanello, Matteo di Pasti, Sperardo and Fiorentino, and their imitators elsewhere, who designed and supervised the casting of such medals for their patrons still did engraving simultaneously for rulers in one form or another. However, in time such medals were also created in honour of and depicted people who were not political, military, or spiritual rulers – for teachers, artists, and general humanists who were rich or respectable enough, or both, to commission commemorative medals or have them commissioned in their honour by friends and admirers. The obverse of

such medals would show the portrait of the celebrated grandee with a suitably flattering Latin inscription. The reverse would often contain a reference to his (or her) ancestry or status or achievements often in the form of an interesting and not easily decipherable Latin riddle or pun.

I am not aware of any such medals depicting an eminent professional lawyer as such in the 15th century in Italy or elsewhere. However, such medallic luminaries do begin to appear in the 16th century and then more frequently in the 17th and 18th centuries. For example, Giovanni Cavino, c. 1500-1570, the well-known creator of medals, inspired by or imitating Roman sestertii, designed an attractive medal in honour of a lawyer called Luca Salvioni (died 1536). The obverse shows the robed and hook-nosed Salvioni looking suitably learned. The reverse depicts Ceres, the Roman corn goddess, suitably dishabille with a boar's head at her feet and it is inscribed 'Legiferae Cereri' (To law bearing Ceres). Whether the reverse is designed to indicate that Salvioni was a lawyer specialising in environmental protection, or just a love of both, history does not relate. To be fair, he seems to have been a respected and popular jurist and classical scholar – the medal is depicted in Steven Scher's splendid tome *The Currency of Fame*, pp, 184-5.

The portrait medal seems to have developed relatively late in the British Isles. Until the 17th century such medallists as there were working here seem to have been mostly foreign artists from the Continent. Thus in Britain, alongside other notables, self made men or lawyers and especially judges only begin to appear on medals in the 18th century. In the absence of any official record, or correction by someone more knowledgeable, I assume that such medals were commissioned either by the subject himself, or by a group of friends and/or colleagues, perhaps to commemorate a specific event such as the appointment to office.

Judges in the 17th and 18th century United Kingdom aroused fear, often from their draconian sentences, and sometimes, but not always, real respect. Many were ex-politicians or at least political appointments. Many could hardly be described as fair minded or impartial, being subservient to the interest of the monarch and State (examples being the notorious Judge Jeffries, and his Scottish equivalent Judge Braxfield). Certainly, some were not above bribery and corruption.

There were at least two exceptions to this tendency. One was Charles, Lord Camden, the Lord Chancellor and also a Lord Chief Justice

in the later part of the 18th century. In an era when some holders of those offices had low reputations as political timeservers who were not averse to profiting corruptly from their positions and patronage, he enjoyed a high reputation for honesty, integrity and learning. He is commemorated on a bronze medal struck by Thomas Pingo in 1766. The reverse depicts female personifications of Liberty and Equity that are directly inspired by Roman imperial coins.

A second outstanding figure was William Murray, c. 1705-93, Earl of Mansfield and Lord Chief Justice of the Court of the King's Bench. Not all Lord Chief Justices have been great successes in that office, and not all of them have preserved a good reputation after leaving it. Up to the early 20th century it was a tradition that if a Lord Chief Justice died or resigned from office, the current Attorney-General would be entitled to succeed him, and a successful lawyer or politicians do not necessarily have the qualities to be a good judge. However, Mansfield gained, and has generally maintained, a very high reputation as one of our greatest 18th century judges and Chief Justices. He had a profound knowledge of the principals of the Common Law of England and Wales and, unusually, those of Roman law on which the law of the Continental countries and Scotland was based. He is credited with being instrumental in developing in an ordered and principal fashion our Common Law, and laying the foundations of our Commercial Law, relying on the principles of Roman law to fill the gaps as and when appropriate. Mansfield's most famous decision is the one disallowing the status of slave in this country. He was apparently firm and formidable without being rude or unfair.

Mansfield is depicted in a full-bottomed wig on a small bronze medal struck by the accomplished Scottish medallist Kirk. The reverse, once again inspired by the coinage of Rome, shows the figure of Justice surrounded by the Latin motto *Utrique Fidelis* – Faithful [in terms of integrity] to both sides – which every judge should be.

A much more controversial late 18th century judicial personality was John Scott, Lord Eldon, who was Lord Chancellor from 1801 to 1806, and again from 1807 to 1827. He is the subject of a massive but neat portrait medal designed by Voight. It is commonly found struck in bronze and more rarely in silver. The obverse shows the bust of Eldon wearing a short wig which is very similar to that worn by senior professional judges today. The reverse of the medal lists Eldon's

successive titles and offices and the main events in his life, namely:

Born 4 June 1751

Called to the Bar 1776

Solicitor-General 1788

Attorney-General 1793

Judge of the Common Pleas 1798

Lord Chancellor 1801-6

Resigned 1806

Lord Chancellor (again) 1807-20 (death of George III), 1820-27

Created Lord Eldon 1821

Eldon was a 'mixed bag' as the highest judge and head of the judiciary. He was reputed to have a sound and profound knowledge of the principles of Equity – that part of the law that is administered by the Chancery Courts and covers such areas as trusts, mortgages and other aspects of land law. His judgements in that field are respected and followed today. On the other hand, he was slow, laborious and took an inordinately long time to deliver judgement, reserving his decision for many months and indeed, many years in some cases.

Under Eldon as head of the entire judiciary, and thus with responsibility for administering the court system as a whole, that system, and in particular the Court of Chancery, gained much notoriety for delay, expense and inability to arrive at a decision. This is satirised in the novels of Charles Dickens, himself (initially) a lawyer, the son of a lawyer and the father of an Old Bailey judge. Cases and litigants' money seemed to disappear into an infinite black hole.

Perhaps a less aristocratic but more interesting legal episode is the attempted suppression of the constitutional reform movement and its reformers by the British establishment and the successful 'fight back' by the former, aided by their lawyers, at the end of the 18th century. This episode is commemorated by a large series of political tokens – many rough and crude but always evocative – issued by Spence or by Skidmore. These are catalogued in R. C. Bell's *Political Pieces Simulating Tradesmen's' Tokens 1770-1802*. This is a valuable work containing much of legal and political as well as numismatic interest and repays detailed study.

[To be continued]

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 6 April 2004

Ken Peters came to give a talk on Ancient Coin Counterfeiting. Ken is the author of *The Counterfeit Coin Story* (reviewed below).

Ken said that coin counterfeiting is a theme that he got into originally quite by accident. Some years ago he had to write a thesis for an archaeological qualification, and having always been interested in coins, decided to write about some aspect of coinage. But what aspect to choose? Part of his archaeological activities at that time had involved digging with a team on a Roman temple site in Hampshire. This had been built by the Romans on top of a Celtic temple - not literally that is. They did first knock down the wooden Celtic structure before erecting their superior stone edifice. This was general practice with the Romans when civilising conquered countries, i.e. making them forsake their own gods and worship the Roman ones, but without the hassle of having to go to another site to do it. The Romans were obviously aware that old habits die hard. Anyway, an intriguing aspect of the dig's coin finds related not only to the original Celtic temple, but also to the succeeding Roman one, and there was a high incidence of contemporary counterfeits left by the worshippers for their sundry gods. An example of this was a plated forgery of a Tincomarus gold stater, he was one of the British tribal rulers later ousted by the Romans.

These plated copies of genuine Iron Age gold staters, and also of Roman silver denarii, were clearly spotted by the locals and deliberately off-loaded onto the gods, whom they obviously thought were easier to fool than they were. There is another theory that plated coins may have been made specifically as votive offerings, but this is not too convincing.

When did it all start? Considering that metallurgical skills had been well developed since the Bronze Age, it is surprising that such an obviously utilitarian device as coinage did not appear until the latter part of the seventh century BC. What is perhaps less surprising, given human nature, is that coin counterfeiting was already occurring within fifty years of that, and most likely even closer to its start. An early example of this, dating from around 600 to 550 BC is a plated electrum copy of a Cyzikos sixth-stater. Here the simplicity of the design got the forgers off to a nice,

easy start, especially with the incuse four-squares reverse, which couldn't really be simpler. It has to be said though that as the coins improved, so did the forgers' skills.

What was the point of this counterfeiting? In the first instance, and for many a long year thereafter, it was simply to make a fast and illegal profit. If you could reproduce these new-fangled devices sufficiently well to fool people, and at a lower cost than the value the authorities put on them, you gained. How could you achieve this? The first coins were made of electrum, a naturally occurring mixture of gold and silver. If you could make your copies lighter, by being thinner or smaller, or a combination of both, you could produce more than the official producers from the same weight of precious metal, which therefore equals a profit.

Soon, courtesy of Croesus, as in 'as rich as', coinage split into two metal groups – gold and silver, which gave forgers two new approaches. First, adulteration: coins with high precious metal contents would be copied in less pure proportions. Secondly: camouflage. False dies, imitating the designs of gold coins, would be used to strike on silver or base metal flans, which were then coated with gold. Similarly, silver coin copies would be base metal cores with a silver skin, such as an Athenian tetradrachm of the second century BC; when seen alongside its genuine prototype the quality of the genuine coin shines out compared to its contemporary fake that had been struck in bronze and plated in silver. It is also undersize, also adding to the forger's profit.

Once the first coins were issued bearing recognisable designs, imitation followed, and has persisted ever since, but it has meant different things at different times and places. Many early imitations were not intended to deceive. They arose when groups, adopting their neighbours' coin systems, also adopted designs that, to their own people, would have a familiar, and thus more immediately acceptable look.

The Persian Satrap Ariarathes thought this when he issued a coin copying the regular silver drachms of Sinope. Ariarathes' name appears on his coin, showing clearly that the intention was to imitate rather than deceive. These pieces are from the mid-fourth century BC. A slash or cut mark across the bust was a popular check for plating in ancient times. As imitations and counterfeits are both copying legitimate coinage, they can at times be confused. A case in point is a superb Syracusan decadrachm in the style of Euainetos, circa 400 BC, acquired by the FitzWilliam

Museum, Cambridge, in 1891. It was thought for some years to be a Punic imitation because of the poorly styled dolphins. However, it was later shown to be a 19th century forgery. The forger clearly started cutting his die from the left and found he had run out of space when he got to the right. Maybe that is why he didn't bother much with the design below the line, the exergue.

The silver tetradrachms of Alexander III – the Great, have a splendid head of the young Heracles on the obverse, with seated Zeus on the reverse, holding an eagle. These were copied by Philip III, Arrhidaeus (Alexander's half mad, half-brother), who took over part of Alexander's empire after his death. Three hundred years later the Danubian Celts were making lightweight copies of the same types.

One particular gold stater of Alexander's father, Philip II of Macedon, became the staple unit of trade from the mid-fourth century BC, spreading out from Greece and spawning imitations all across Europe. In its original form it depicted on the obverse, the head of Apollo, and on the reverse, a two-horse chariot or biga. It was extensively and barbarously copied by the Helvetii and Celtic Gauls, finally arriving in Britain c.125-100 BC. The gold stater copies of the Celtic Britons followed on, bearing little of the original design, particularly of the chariot – in some cases becoming just a stylised horse and a wheel. These were extensively forged, both contemporaneously and also in modern times. The contemporary forgeries are almost entirely plated, occasionally on silver cores, but predominantly are of gold-plated bronze. These were struck with forged dies. Contemporary plated forgeries of Iron Age staters often have, over the centuries, suffered corrosion that has caused the bronze core to expand and burst through its thin gold skin, an immediate indication of its falseness.

Then, in AD 43, the Romans came to Britain, and imposed their coinage on everyone. Counterfeiting was endemic throughout the Roman era. In this time there were three great epidemics of counterfeiting, which are generally considered to have arisen because of genuine coin shortages. These occurred in the first, third and fourth centuries AD. All three followed a pattern of weight reduction, and all were forgeries of low value bronze coins.

How did the forgers of this time go about their business? The two main forging methods throughout the Roman period were casting and die

striking. Where casts were made in the same metal as full-value genuine pieces, they had to be lighter to provide a profit. Not so where the genuine coins did not contain their full value of metal, a recurring situation in this era.

The Roman silver-plated coins were all die-struck after being plated. Plating was effected in various ways: silver foil envelopes - silver soldered on copper cores or hot-dipped in silver-alloy; and also by fusing granules or foil to the surface. Most plated examples can be clearly recognised as forgeries for reasons of style, garbled legends, wrong control marks, wrong die-axes and incorrect pairings of obverse and reverse designs.

Contemporary counterfeits of Roman gold coins are rare, although some examples are known where false denarii dies have been used to produce supposedly gold coins. They have, however, frequently been counterfeited to fool collectors from the 16th century right up to modern times. Some can reveal themselves by having the wrong purity of gold; others by the signs of wear on their designs and inscriptions, yet with their fields showing mint lustre. Many just look too bright and shiny new to be believable.

Rarity cannot be said to apply to the contemporary counterfeiting of silver Roman coins. The earliest were the plated copies of Republican denarii which approached epidemic proportions. From 124 to 37 BC examples are known of plated denarii in the names of almost every Republican moneyer. A Volteius denarius, circa 78 BC, shows a laureate head of Jupiter, with the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the reverse. Its quality suggests that it could be the product of a moonlighting mintworker.

Plating and, less frequently, base-metal casting, continued into the Imperial era until around AD 64. Some plated Claudian examples came from a Romano-Briton coiner's hoard found in East Anglia. A superb contemporary plated imitation of a silver denarius of Claudius has the rare reverse showing a spear-carrying Roman soldier standing on top of a battlemented wall. On this is the legend IMPER RECEPT, an abbreviation of Imperatore Recepto - a reference to the Praetorian Guard who had proclaimed Claudius emperor after the death of Caligula. The structure represents the Praetorian camp in Rome in the Campus Martius.

Counterfeiting of denarii peaked in Claudius' time with almost four out of five examples being plated. The plating is thicker at the edges than on the faces.

From AD 52 very occasional iron-cored examples occur. This use of iron is an approach that forgers probably got from official examples such as where, to spin out his stock of silver sufficiently to pay his legions before the battle of Actium in 31 BC, Mark Antony resorted to plating iron flans. In many worn examples, the iron can be seen to have rusted through to the surface.

Good quality silver-plated forgeries continued into the second century. A typical example is a silver-plated copy of a Faustina Junior denarius. This thick plated piece still has all its plating intact. The flan, although slightly oval, is even, with good surfaces on which a skilful and detailed portrait has been well-struck. On the reverse, Venus is holding an apple and a rudder, around which a dolphin is entwined.

As the second century progressed, the gradual official debasement that took place may have caused the noticeable lessening of silver-plated forgeries because the main source of metal for plating had been melted down official coins. With Septimius Severus' debasement of AD 193, the silver content fell below half, so it is not surprising that many fake denarii were then being made in white metal masquerading as silver. They were base-looking, light, hybrid and had eccentric die-axes. A number of clay moulds for making false denarii of Septimius Severus have been found in excavations.

There was an upsurge in cast counterfeits after the introduction of the officially plated, silver-bronze follis of Diocletian in 294. The eastern mints were producing increasingly illiterate and incomprehensible pieces, thereby encouraging counterfeiting, which was considerable. The appearance of silver siliquae in the early fourth century prompted plated copies again, many being lightweight and of low grade silver.

The only forgeries in quantity of brass and copper Roman coins are contemporary casts. But, from the 16th century to the present day, choice sestertii have attracted higher-grade efforts aimed at collectors - much higher in some cases, which can be their downfall, as they can look 'too good to be true'. A good example of this is a cast bronze purporting to be a sestertius of Caligula, but it is a 19th century product. It shows a seated Pietas, and is probably itself a copy of a 16th century Paduan 'fantasy'

Roman piece. In that century, Padua was the centre of a thriving industry in producing spurious Roman bronze coins and medallions. The most skilful practitioner was one Cavino, who is thought to have been the originator of what is probably the most famous example of a fantasy Roman coin, the Julius Caesar coin bearing the reverse legend 'VENI, VIDI, VICI'. Caesar may well have said 'I came, I saw, I conquered', but never on any of his coins, so this is a pure fantasy.

In Britain, following Claudius' invasion of AD 43 and up to Nero's re-opening of the Lyon Mint in 64, the imposed coinage, imported from the Rome mint, was in short supply, leading to the first counterfeit epidemic of Roman times. Local enterprise, or perhaps wholly or partly the Roman army, filled the gap. It is possible that at least half of the *asses* in circulation in Britain were local copies, and of these, three-quarters were Minerva imitations - in all stages of degradation. One of the cruder efforts has Minerva about to run round to the other side. A better Minerva copy, this time probably cast, is most likely a Romano-Iberian product as it was found in Spain.

The second century seems to have been a quieter period for bronze coinage counterfeiting, increasing again in Britain in the first part of the third century when casting in clay moulds was the usual method. Then came that century's epidemic: the copying of the issues of the Gallic usurper emperors Tetricus I and II, and Claudius Gothicus, etc, all of which featured a new type of obverse bust showing the emperor wearing a radiate crown. It became the most popular design of the third century and imitations, because of their generally poor nature, have been dubbed barbarous radiates. They were produced by unofficial individuals or groups of moneyers at irregular mints all around the Roman Empire, and were mainly die-struck. They are believed to have started in Gaul in 263 and in Britain some five or six years later, spreading also to North Africa, Germany and Spain. Peak production occurred between 268 and 274, tailing off by the early 280s.

When comparing a genuine radiate antoninianus with a forgery a skilful forger can often be seen at work. He has often produced a bust to rival genuine coins, but on a less than standard shaped flan. On extreme examples a typically pitiful portrait occurs, and with an eccentric legend —VIII. When examining the barbarous reverses it is clear that whatever the individual skill level, unofficial die-engravers often took more trouble

with the obverses than with the reverses. This is not always so as some efforts can be quite reasonable whilst others almost have a touch of the L.S. Lowry's about them - matchstick men. Barbarous flans rarely achieved the roundness of genuine coins.

The extremely undersized copies called minims were more a British phenomenon, but were not unknown in Gaul. These imitations ranged from close facsimiles to extreme barbarity. Die-struck pieces almost completely replaced cast ones during this epidemic. Crudely engraved efforts appeared, often with nonsensical reverse legends. This was not surprising as to make a profit out of such poor originals the forgers clearly went for quantity rather than quality. Most were die-struck, but there were some cast efforts, often with its give-away casting sprue still attached.

Most of the forgeries are copies of copies. When these in turn were used as models by other forgers, the decline led to 6mm diameter scraps. How could anyone have been fooled by these abysmal efforts? The only logical answer is that no one was and they were accepted as necessary evils because of the lack of coins. Eventually, there were more barbarous than genuine coins in circulation.

Counterfeiting subsided when the usurper Carausius assumed power in Britain in 287, and for some years into Constantine I's reign at the start of the 4th century, forgeries were uncommon. They began to increase again from 318 to 330, stimulated by the introduction of the centenialis to replace the follis. On this occasion, both struck and cast copies appeared. By the 320s, struck counterfeits were again dominant. Coins with the legend GLORIA EXERCITVS and two soldiers holding standards became an extremely common coin throughout Europe, and were copied in large quantities.

In the 330s, the supply of only high value coins led to the counterfeiting of small change. Minims began re-appearing. Flans were sliced off small, cast cylindrical rods - a production method started in the 3rd century, but mainly used in the fourth. The flans were usually smaller than the dies. Coins inscribed FEL.TEMP. REPARATIO, meaning the return of better times, appeared circa 348 to commemorate the 1100th anniversary of Rome. They were widely distributed in Britain, as were their copies, which reached epidemic proportions. The degeneration to tiny counterfeits went even further than the barbarous

radiates, which did not fall below 6mm diameter.

Minimissimi appeared, with weights dropping to .3 of a gram, and sizes down to 4mm in diameter. In the most extreme examples, the amount of metal in one genuine coin, 2.5 grams, could be used to produce up to eight of these minuscule copies. Despite their minute size, there were still fragments of design struck on them, suggesting strongly that they were passing as units of currency. Even some of these tiny scraps still have complete busts — although one would be hard pressed to say who they represented. Many minimissimi were made by cutting from drawn-out rods, which provided roundness, but often had a weak centre resulting from the drawing out process.

It is now generally accepted that, in not much more than ten years following the departure of the Romans from Britain in 410, the use of coinage in Britain had ceased. Britons returned to barter, and for almost 200 years thereafter there was no point in counterfeiting coins.

When coinage resumes in the Anglo-Saxon era, contemporary plated forgeries start appearing, but not in the quantities that occur from the 13th century. It is often difficult to separate the official coinage from contemporary imitations for this period. Those struck from counterfeit dies are more deceptive than modern forgeries, and they are also amongst the rarest of all contemporary counterfeits.

By /Ethelred II's reign, the draconian laws against counterfeiting indicate that it did go on, but little evidence remains. The threat of mutilation or death would certainly deter many, but not all, as dire punishments have accompanied counterfeiting throughout its history until comparatively recent times.

Significant collector-forging of Anglo-Saxon coins started in the 17th century, took off from the mid-18th, and continued into the 19th. At the start of the 20th century, good fakes were being made in silver to match the originals. Nearly all modern Anglo-Saxon forgeries are of silver coins. An exception, copying a mid-7th century Anglo-Saxon gold thrymsa, looks good, but gives itself away by its gold being too pure!

In the next century there was considerable contemporary forging of Offa's early silver coinage. These are more deceptive than other Anglo-Saxon forgeries. Coins of Offa, and of his wife Cynethryth, have been targeted by modern fakers. The cast efforts are fairly easily spotted, being

generally of variable quality, often with give away stylistic differences. Later, commoner Anglo-Norman coins were sometimes used as flans, thereby providing a very deceptive metal.

From Victorian times, fakes of ancient coins have been cast or struck. Some are silver-plated on a lead core. The cast efforts are mostly overweight and are often revealed by tests to be made from Rose's metal. This combination of lead, tin and antimony or bismuth was popular with forgers because it has a melting point lower than that of boiling water. It offers thereby an unusual test that is completely destructive if the piece is a Rose's metal fake, but non-destructive if not - boil it in a saucepan!

From at least Æthelstan I's time, the circulation of foreign coin was forbidden. Exceptions that were allowed from time to time, and given sterling values, promoted the widespread use of coin xbalances and weights, further stimulated by the forgers of the time naturally taking such less familiar pieces as an open invitation to cheat. Most contemporary counterfeiting in this period was on coins of Edward and Æthelstan, with Alfred not so much targeted.

Examples of 20th century copies of an Alfred penny were hand-struck in white metal on the Royal Mint's stand at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition at Wembley — the event that paid for the late lamented Wembley Stadium. These penny imitations are said to have sold well at sixpence (5p) each. Specially engraved dies were used that closely copied Alfred's London monogram type; so much so that, despite the date of 1924 on them, not to mention coin catalogue warnings, museums are still being shown them and asked if they are genuine! At the time it was quickly realised that the first efforts were too good, and a replacement design prominently displaying the word Wembley was substituted. Even these turn up at museums! Examples are known of the first design where someone has carefully tooled off the date, illustrating a popular short-cut for forgers — turning copies into counterfeits.

Comparatively few late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman contemporary counterfeits are now known, although they must have been around at the time, as St Dunstan, the 10th century Archbishop of Canterbury, would not start Mass until the latest batch of dishonest moneyers had been hanged.

Extreme penalties for counterfeiting were introduced by William the Conqueror. They may have worked for once, as contemporary forgeries are rare, but modern copies are not. In the reign of Henry I, control of the mint weakened and forgeries became a constant problem, despite attempts to curb them. The public took to cutting pennies to ensure that they were not plated counterfeits. Also many then refused to accept these damaged coins, even if genuine. This became such a problem that around 1107 'ready-cue coins were issued, forcing the public to accept all coins. This lasted for 20 years.

The coinage was improved to combat forgery and then gradually declined again; a feature of coinage production throughout the 12th and 13th centuries. The presence of the moneyer's own name on his products was significant, not only in deterring him from forgery but also in encouraging him to track down anyone else who might be tempted to take his name in vain. Pennies exist, struck from genuine dies, but with tooled reverse inscriptions. These appear to have been the work of moonlighting mint employees, intent on producing lightweight coins from purloined genuine dies. The moneyer and mint names have been altered or obscured so the crime could not be traced back to source; a wise precaution when those caught could face mutilation, such as hand-lobbing or death. Hanging was, in fact, one of the least painful methods used. In one part of Europe, molten metal poured down the throat was thought to be a rather appropriate punishment! The authorities then dropped putting moneyers' names on the coins. A bad move, as counterfeiting then increased.

The Cross-and-crosslets coinage of Henry II, known as Tealbys because of the huge hoard found in 1807 at Tealby in Lincolnshire, replaced Stephen's coinage that had become a mixture full of substandard and irregular pieces. Tealbys were of crude style compared with the preceding and following coinage, and so could be taken for copies or forgeries until one sees actual forgeries, which are even cruder than the originals. When a genuine Tealby is compared with a contemporary counterfeit the counterfeit is often of good weight and metal but, unlike all illustrated genuine Tealbys, the eye-nose triangle is not there. In fact, the eyes and mouth of the portrait have strayed so far apart as to barely resemble a face. Other give-aways are the irregular method of striking and the 'clumsy' die.

Short-cross coinage arrived in 1180 and lasted for nearly 70 years but, despite this, imitations are not common.

From the 8th century, Europe had managed with only silver coinage. Then 500 years later, in 1252, the city of Florence introduced a gold florin. This became so popular that it was extensively imitated. The obverses all showed St John the Baptist, but the reverses often revealed their new origins. For forgers, the advent of gold coinage was a double-edged development. On the one hand, a gold coin took no more effort to make than a silver one, yet offered much more potential profit. On the other hand, a gold coin would be much more closely examined before being accepted.

Much of the metal used for counterfeiting was obtained by coin clipping, paring off slivers of metal from the edges of silver coins in particular. Forgers in the late 13th century were adept at obtaining silver for their products by clipping genuine coins so delicately that the minute amounts removed from the edges could only be detected by weighing.

The re-coinage of 1247 saw the Short-cross design of the reverse replaced by that of the Long-cross, deliberately designed to discourage clipping. Each stem of the cross extended to the edge of the coin. Removal of the end-flare of the cross would thus make any clipping very obvious. Coins without all four cross-ends were illegal. By Elizabeth I's time, clipping had become much less subtle.

At this point Continental sterling should be considered. During the early 13th century, because of their popularity, English Short-cross pennies were being copied on the Continent, particularly by counts and clerics. These imitations tended to have similar reverses but diverse obverses. The copying grew and can be divided into three main phases: short voided cross (c. 1205 to 1245); long voided cross (c. 1247 to c. 1279), and long single cross (c. 1279 to 1300), which followed the introduction of Edward I's new penny of 1279, and its popular acceptance around Europe, particularly with rulers in the Low Countries, northern France and Germany.

In addition to these similar sterling copies, there were exact ones, initially almost entirely up to the English standard of 92.5% pure silver. The commonest of these bear the names of English mints, London (LON DON) and Canterbury (CAN TOR) and have English obverse legends,

making them hard to spot. There was a good reason for this. The English law of the time forced foreigners to buy English wool with English currency only. This meant that when they came to trade, they had to pay a minting charge for turning their foreign coin into sterling. So, by bringing in fake sterling, they dodged this charge. A genuine 13th century penny of Henry III of England had a continental imitation made of it by Henry II of Kuinre in the Low Countries. The genuine coins issued by Henry's successor, Edward II, were imitated by Robert de Bethune of Flanders.

As mentioned previously, early types were of full weight, but underweight coin then appeared of rather baser metal than the English sterling coins. They were dubbed Esterlings or Easterlings, with those replacing the King's crown with a chaplet of roses being called Crockards. Others, from ecclesiastical mints, showed a tonsured or 'polled' head and were therefore nicknamed Pollards. Crowned head types became known as Coronati.

When the silver content of the Continental imitations had dwindled down to half and sometimes even less, they started being exchanged by Continental traders for good English pennies. Back on the Continent, with the silver from these, a greater quantity of fake, low silver sterling could then be produced, for exchanging once again, creating a nice profit circle.

In Edward I's time, because of their assumed base alloy and light weight, the foreign coins flooding into Britain, by now officially declared 'false', had attracted even more nicknames - Brabants (from Brabant in the Low Countries), Croccodone, Eagles, Lions (or Leonines), Mitres, Scaldings and Sleepings (or Dormientum).

By the end of the 13th century, for every English sterling struck, there were possibly as many as ten Continental sterling, and, they were so debased that few people would accept them.

In 1299, with the Statute of Stepney, Edward I made the crockards and pollards circulating in England - to be identified by the absence of a crown in the design - legitimate, but only worth a halfpenny each. In natural consequence, examples have been found with a crown scratched onto them.

Halving the value was a clever move, because although they did not contain the full value of an English penny, they mostly had more than half, and so were melted down in great quantities, thus reducing them as a

problem. Despite this, the outflow of good English silver pennies continued and so, within a year, foreign sterling was completely demonetised and could only be converted to sterling at Exchanges.

Many of the Continental sterling coins were reminted at provincial mints between 1299 and 1302. Thus the problem of crockards and pollards had largely been solved. By 1307, there was, to all intents and purposes, no problem. It was not too many years, however, before once again prolific continental copying of the English penny was occurring. This new wave attracted its own set of nicknames - Black Money, Rosaries, Turneys, and Lusshebournes, for those thought to emanate from Luxembourg. Two contemporary writers had this to say about them. First, Piers Plowman:

`As in lusshe-borwes is a luther alay [that is, a bad alloy]
And yet loketh he Tyke a sterlynge,
The merke of that mone is good,
Ac the metal is feble.'

And Chaucer:

God woot! No lussheburghes payen ye!

Forged coins in Edward's reign were described as being of bad weight and alloy, cast in tin and other metals, pure copper, pewter or lead between leaves of silver. By the middle of Edward II's reign — 1310 to 1320 - the reaction on the Continent to Edward I's closed-door policy had meant that in order to slip them through, Continental forgeries had once more got closer to the English originals.

What was happening with gold coinage at this time? Well, the French circulated a gold coin in the 13th and 14th centuries that was admired and imitated by both Edward III and Henry V in the Anglo-Gallic series. From 1388, Flemish mints began producing imitation English nobles of slightly lower weight and fineness. Richard II countered these threats to his coinage with wool trade restrictions. Then in 1401, Parliament, under Henry IV, banned all Flemish nobles and they eventually tailed off by 1402. By this time though they formed a significant part of the gold coin circulating in England, possibly as much as 25 per cent. The problems posed by this situation were solved by a drop in the regal weight standard in 1412 from 120 grains to 108. Edward

III and Richard II nobles were officially clipped to this lighter weight standard so that they could continue in circulation as currency and the Mint started issuing bronze check-weights for this denomination.

With official clipping leading the way, it is not surprising that Henry IV's reign was plagued by illegal clipping. Counterfeiting was rife, and there was widespread use of small value foreign coins such as suskins, doitkins and the base-metal galley-halfpence (galyhalpens) from Venice. These were about the size of the contemporary English halfpenny, but of much poorer alloy, providing half or less value of silver. They were denounced at various times between 1402 and 1423.

Edward IV's first reign saw a rash of contemporary forgeries and Continental imitations. Low Countries' imitations of the noble were quite common, but can be identified by style differences, and similarly for Edward's London mint rose-noble, also known as the ryal. This was copied in the Netherlands from the 15th and throughout the 16th century. The best-known source was the Van Arkel family of Gorinchem. It is debatable whether all were straight counterfeits or whether, on the Continent at least, they were generally regarded as acceptable imitations of an English design.

Ken showed a very interesting series of slides illustrating his talk.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 1 June 2004

This meeting was the occasion of the ever popular 'Members' Own' Evening which had been moved from the usual month of August to June in view of the decision not to hold a Club meeting in

David Berry reflected on percentages, and relative values. His house in Southgate was bought for £17,000 in 1974 but rises in house prices in the interim had shown an increase by 1664% to now around £300,000. A 1758 EF shilling bought in the same year, 1974, in a Holborn coin shop, for £4 was now listed in the current Spink Catalogue at £95, reflecting an increase of 2275%.

A Cromwell 1658 halfcrown (S3227A) bought in November 1994 for £620 was listed in the Seaby Standard Catalogue 1993 as: F £225; VF £450, and EF £850. Ten years on the VF price rises to £1250, 177%

increase, and the EF rises by 135% to £2000. Take the same coin in this year's book listing and the VF price has now reached £1600, 28% up in a year, and the EF price at £2,750 is up 37.5%. Then, glance at the April 2004 Spinks *Numismatic Circular* and we have VF/VF £2,750, almost VF £2,500, and EF at £3,750.

A Queen Anne 1705 crown (S3577), in good EF, bought at Spinks auction on 19 November 1997, ex Hopetown House Collection and Myron Kaufman, reached hammer price £2,500, which with commission comes to £2,815.75, and appears in the 2004 Standard Catalogue listed at £4,250.

A Charles I Oxford mint crown of 1643 (S2947), about EF in the Spink auction of 17 November 1998, ex Paul Karon Collection, was £2,458.50 with commission yet the price in the 2004 Catalogue was only put at £2,750, when in all probability it should be nearer £4000.

In ten years a practically EF James II crown of 1687 (S3407) had risen from £380 paid at auction to being listed at £2000. Whereas a James I VF shilling (S2668) bought from the *Numismatic Circular* in October 2000 for £140 was only now, 2004, catalogued at £250. A Queen Anne nearly EF shilling of 1708 (S3614) at auction in July 2000 at £176.44 (with commission) had performed better at catalogue, 2004, £650.

Gavin Scott spoke about Alton, Hampshire and included 17th century tokens to more modern Co-op tokens.

David Powell, who is a genealogist as well as a numismatist, described three occasions in his own family history where the two disciplines met. The first concerned an elusive great-great-grandmother, Harriet; finally discovered after eight years in an unexpected part of the country, she turned out to be working as one of two shop assistants for a draper, Henry Bracey Ling, who issued a token in the 19th century unofficial series. Henry and his wife had given Harriet an autograph book for Christmas in 1851, and an entry signed by Henry was illustrated, together with one of his tokens {Bell/Whitmore/Sweeney 3110, late Suffolk 5}. As the latter were dated 1852, it is presumed that Harriet must very likely have had it pass through her hands. David also showed the Lowestoft penny token of 1795, Suffolk DH37, depicting the bathing huts like those from which some of Harriet's mother's people earned their living.

The second incident concerned David's wife's grandmother, whose quarter of the family she had never had any contact with until three years ago when David discovered, via the grapevine, the grandmother's elderly cousin alive and well in south-west London. This gentleman, born in 1912, and with a father born in 1856 and a grandfather in 1823, knew some of the family folklore well back into the second quarter of the 19th century, and produced amongst other things a Wyon medallion which his great-grandmother, Maria, had won for her millinery in 1825. Bury St Edmunds apparently had a reputation for its hats, and there exists a Hatter Street there to this day; the shop in which Maria resided at the time of the 1851 census is now a paper shop, and David bought one from it when he was on holiday in 2002. He illustrated a piece, found a few months ago on eBay, a counterstruck piece inscribed 'Hatters Mutual Association, Bury District'; rather the size and shape of a bronze penny, which he was hoping very much, but rather doubtfully, might have been used before Maria died in 1863. He also hoped that the vendor wouldn't tell him that it came from Bury, Lancs!

The third incident concerned David visiting an elderly great-uncle and aunt when he was in his teens, and still a fairly young numismatist. The aunt was the holder of the family's historical archives, but the uncle was a retired employee of a gas company, who had one of those accumulated hoards that every collector dreams of. The latter had for years been in the practice of retrieving elderly shillings from meters and replacing them with modern coin; except, that he didn't think anything later than 1910 worth bothering with! The delighted young visitor was invited to first sort the whole lot into date piles, which revealed that not many dates from 1816 were missing, and then help himself to a specimen from each date. Whilst the condition was variable, there were a few nice EFs. There were a number of other goodies also; the visitor adjudged that asking for the 1902 EF crown was a bit OTT, but came away with several more bits and pieces including a brass copy of a two-sovereign piece of 1823 and a copper Waterloo medallion. The latter was in moderate rather than perfect condition, which left the question: had it come out of circulation, or had one of David's fifth-generation ancestors won it in his youth? If so, which ancestor?

This same uncle also related that Cardiff Gas Company had 500,000 cut-down halfpennies in its vaults, thanks to dishonest meter

users, and that as disposal was not economically viable they were likely to remain there until eternity. Shortly afterwards, a radio programme came out with the statistic that the single county of Glamorgan is responsible for 45% of all the mutilated coinage in the British

Michael Anderson spoke on the Crux pellit coinage and said that it has on the obverse an orb usually with the legend *Jacobus Dei Gra Rex*, and on the reverse a cross in a quatrefoil and a legend abbreviated from *Crux pellit omne crimen*, a line taken from the *hymnus ante somnum* of Prudentius (348-410) which also provided the *Tali dicata sign mens fluctuare nequit* legend on the George Noble of Henry VIII. They were at one time known as 'Bishop Kennedy pennies' and before that as 'Crosraguel pennies'.

The first references to the Crux pellit coinage were in George Martine's *Reliquae Divi Andreae*, written in 1683, but not published until 1797, where he associates the coinage with Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews (1441-65) and Ralph Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis* of 1715, where he attributes them to James III of Scotland (1460-88). However these references remained unnoticed and forgotten until Robert Stevenson drew attention to them in his article in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (PSAS) for 1949-50.

The first mainstream numismatic reference to these coins is in Lelewel's *Numismatique du Moyen Age, considerée sous le rapport du type*, published in Brussels in 1835, where he attributes them to Jaime II of Aragon as Jacopo I of Sicily from 1285 to 1296. In 1853 Duchalais exhibited two specimens at the Societe des Antiquaires de France, and attributed them to Jacques de Bourbon, king of Naples from 1415 to 1416 as husband of Jeanne II of Anjou, queen of Naples 1414 to 1435. Chalon, writing in the *Revue beige de Numismatique* for 1855, pointed out that there were a number of Jameses who could have issued these coins, and that Belgium, where many of them were found, was rather far from Naples, but said he had no positive objection to M. Duchalais's attribution. The first mention of a coin of this series with the name of Charles was in Kristian Erslev's catalogue of the Christian J. Thomsen collection, *Description des monnaies du Moyen Age*, published in Copenhagen in 1873, where those with James are given to Jacques de Bourbon, and that with Charles to Charles III of Durazzo, king of Naples 1382-6. Cochran-Patrick queried the origin of these coins with George

Sim in 1873, who replied that they were of Jaime II of Aragon, 1291-1327 (his dates as king of Aragon rather than as king of Sicily), quoting the late Professor Henry Christmas as his source for this information, and saying that many Scottish numismatists had been very disappointed when he told them what these coins really were. A find was reported in the *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club* for 1879, where a Spanish origin was also suggested on the basis of the spelling of the word GRACIA on one of the specimens (although this spelling was in fact normal on Scottish coins of the period) and the coins were moved even earlier, to Jaime I of Aragon (1213-76). W.C. Hazlitt, in *The Coinage of the European Continent* (1893), illustrates a piece of type Ia as a coin of Jacopo II of Sicily.

It was not until the find at the abbey of Crosraguel in South Ayrshire in the spring of 1919, described by Sir George Macdonald in his paper 'The Mint of Crosraguel Abbey' in *PSAS* for 1919-20, reproduced in *The Numismatic Chronicle* for 1919, that the coins were reattributed to Scotland. It was Sir George who first identified the obverse design as an orb, although Neumann in his *Beschreibung der bekanntesten Kupfern, nzen*, vol. II, Prague 1861, had commented that the position of the cross mintmark above the globe on the obverse of one of the specimens illustrated almost gave it the impression of an orb ('Reichsapfel'). Sir George assigned the coins to three classes, depending on whether the orb was seen from above (type I) or below (type II), as indicated by the curvature of the central band of the orb, or had a rosette in the centre (type III). Fifty-one of the coins were found at Crosraguel, 21 each of types I and II and eight of type III (and one too worn to be assigned), along with 11 billon pennies and 38 'black money' farthings of James III, 80 'moneta pauperum' farthings, presumably also of James III, and nine billon pennies of James IV. Sir George believed that the presence of what he saw as blank flans and of scrap metal indicated that the Crux pellit coins were minted at the Abbey itself, and saw the coin's design of a cross and an orb as an allusion to the name Crosraguel. It has since been established that the supposed blank flans are in fact coins from which the design has been totally worn off, and that the scrap metal is of a different composition from that of the coins themselves. The coins are now in the Royal Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh.

The attribution of the Crux pellit coinage to Crosraguel Abbey held

for 30 years, until Robert Stevenson, in his paper 'Crosraguel pennies' - reattribution to Bishop Kennedy' in *PSAS* for 1949-50, revived George Martine's attribution to Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews. This theory was followed by Ian Stewart in *The Scottish Coinage*, 1955, and from there it got into the *Seaby Standard Catalogue* and became the accepted attribution for many years. In *The British Numismatic Journal* for 1960 David Metcalf published an article, 'Some finds of mediaeval coins from Scotland and the north of England', which included a map of the find spots of these Crux pellit coins. In 1961 Philip Grierson expressed reservations on the attribution of the coins to Bishop Kennedy on account of the size of the coinage and suggested that it might be of a later date in the reign of James III. Ian Stewart, in the second edition of *The Scottish Coinage*, 1967, also suggested that the issue of the coins must have continued after the death of Bishop Kennedy, and also inserted a reference to the piece with the name Karolus first illustrated in the Thomsen catalogue in 1873. Also in 1967, Ian Stewart first suggested in correspondence that the Crux pellit coins might relate to the black money devalued in July 1482, and in his article 'Scottish mints' in the Albert Baldwin memorial volume *Mints, Dies and Currency* (1971), he wrote 'though the Bishop of St. Andrews had possessed the right to coin since the thirteenth century, he did not normally exercise it, and it is questionable whether episcopal issues would have been on such a large scale as is implied by the variety and dispersion of these copper pennies, even if they were continued by Kennedy's successors'. He does however say, with reference to David Metcalf's map, that 'their find spots in Scotland are sufficient to prove beyond doubt that they are of Scottish origin', although since Metcalf's map does not include continental finds of the coins this argument is less convincing than it at first appears.

The attribution of the Crux pellit coins as a regal issue of James III was expanded by Joan Murray in her article 'The Black Money of James III', in David Metcalf's volume *Coinage in Mediaeval Scotland 1100-1600*, published in 1977, where she relates the coins to the threepenny pennies devalued to one twelfth of their value as farthings in 1482. In this article Mrs Murray first mentions a coin with the legend ending REX S, which strengthens the attribution to Scotland, although it does not rule out Sicily for instance. In November 1981 Claire van Nerom was cataloguing the coins in the Musee de l'Abbaye des Dunes de Coxyde and

had the idea of showing the Crux pellit coins in the collection to Philip Grierson, who was in Brussels at the time. Professor Grierson referred her to Ian Stewart, who put her in touch with Joan Murray, and they decided to publish the Crux pellit coins from Coxyde, together with those in the Cabinet des Medailles in Brussels and from other Belgian locations, in the *Revue beige de Numismatique* for 1983. Meanwhile, Ian Stewart, in an article 'The influence of Scottish types abroad' in the Grierson Festschrift volume *Studies in Numismatic Method* (1983), referred to the then still unique Karolus penny illustrated in the Thomsen catalogue, and suggested that if the legend was to be taken at its face value as a reference to a King Charles, the most likely candidates would be Charles VIII of Sweden (1448-70), or Charles VIII of France (1483-98), and said he favoured Charles VIII of Sweden if the coins could be dated that early, because France already had a well documented extensive low denomination billon coinage.

The Joan Murray and Claire van Nerom article previously mentioned increased the known number of Karolus Crux pellit coins from one to six, with one from East Dunkirk, three from Coxyde and one from La Panne. Mrs Murray also identified a further eight specimens of similar style to the Karolus pieces, with the obverse inner circle also serving as the outer edge of the orb, and no inner circle round the reverse quatrefoil, five with the name Jacobus and three with the monarch's name illegible, and said that no coins of this type had ever been found in Scotland. A further three Karolus coins, along with three Jacobus, from Lasarte, in the Basque country south-west of San Sebastian, were reported by J. I. San Vicente at the Spanish National Numismatic Congress at Madrid in 1989, whilst the find at the church of San Esteban in Oiartzun, in the Basque country east of San Sebastian, the report of which was published in 1995, contained 76 Crux pellit coins, one each of types I and II and 74 of type III, of which three had a legible name Karolus, bringing the total to 12, and 70 were of the type Mrs Murray said was never found in Scotland, five with the name Jacobus and 65 with the name illegible. Possibly even more interesting in the Oiartzun find were seven Crux pellit coins where the royal titles surrounding the orb on the obverse have been replaced by the legend *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*. This legend appeared on French coins from Louis IX (1226-70) to Louis XVI (1774-93) and on coins of Navarre from Carlos II

1349-87) to Felipe IV (Felipe II of Spain, 1556-98). On coins of Lower Navarre, however, the 'Sit nomen' legend was replaced by *Gratia Dei sum id quod sum*, but the Oiartzun find contains imitations of Lower Navarre coins, thought to be from Piedmont, on which the correct 'Gratia Dei' legend has been replaced by 'Sit nomen' just as the royal titles have been on the Crux pellit coins.

To make sense of the imitations, it seems necessary that they should have been made when the originals were valued at threepence, because they would not be worth imitating once they had been devalued to a farthing. But if they were intended for circulation in Scotland, what was the point in replacing the standard obverse legend with the name of a King Charles, or with a biblical text appropriate to a French or Navarre coinage? And if they were not intended for circulation in Scotland, what were they intended for and who made them?

(Editorial note: Since giving this talk, Michael believes he has made some progress in finding answers to these questions, which he has included in a draft article which he hopes may be accepted for publication in the 2005 *BNJ*.)

John Roberts-Lewis gave a short talk on a forged East India Company rupee of King William IV (1830-37). By the time the genuine coin was struck in 1835, the British controlled most of the Indian sub-continent one way or another. The East India Company had planned, from the early 19th century, to establish a unified coinage for their Indian territories. To help them produce the large number of coins needed, they purchased two steam-driven mints from the Soho works of Boulton, Watt & Co., in England. A new one went to Calcutta and Soho's own mint, refurbished, went to Bombay.

Lieutenant Forbes of the Bengal Engineers went to England in 1820 to learn about operating a steam mint and to liaise on the new machinery. He returned to supervise the building and the installation of the machinery for the New Calcutta Mint. It was producing copper coins by 1830 as a means of getting the workforce used to the new techniques. Forbes subsequently became Mint Master in 1836.

The first silver rupees of European style with William IV's profile were engraved by Kasinath Dass, the newly appointed Head Die Cutter.

He is said to have used a British halfcrown of William IV as his model.

The relevant coins were displayed and slides accompanied the talk. It could be seen that whilst the forgery should not deceive when alongside the original, it is quite likely that it may have done so with people unfamiliar with the language and the style. Further minting of rupees dated 1835 were made, and it was not until 1840, three years after William had died, that Victoria's profile was used.

Robert Hatch, the Club's long time Secretary, showed a silver rouble of Catherine the Great of Russia, 1762-96. Dated 1762, it was right at the beginning of her reign. It ranked as his fifth favourite coin (having previously enlightened Club members about the preceding four). After outlining her history, Robert then recounted how he had acquired the coin, actually buying it in Russia whilst on a visit to St Petersburg in 1993.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 6 July 2004

Gary Oddie addressed the Club on the Circulation of Silver between 1697 and 1817. He said: As a young boy, I collected all manner of coins, and then, twenty years ago, most of these were exchanged for a single shilling, which began a specialisation in that denomination since then. Collecting just one of each date and initial mark, a fairly comprehensive collection of low grade material was quickly accumulated. When the slow task of upgrading was started, an interest in tokens, counterfeits and other currency and the background understanding of why these existed in profusion for some periods and less so in others was also begun.

Quickly passing over the pieces that are present, we focus on the dates where no shillings were issued, being typical of the mint output of silver during this period. From the 1740s. there are just a few dates visible, the 1745/6 Lima pieces and the commonest milled shilling at 1758. After this the pieces are very sparse, with only the rare issues of 1763 (Northumberland) and the later patterns, the issue of 1787 and then from 1816 almost every date is present. The rest of the talk will look at why these large gaps in the silver coinage exist and the state of the currency that the general public had to put up with in this period.

By the end of the Civil War and Commonwealth, silver coins dating back as far as 1551 were still in circulation, Gresham's Law was in

operation and the coins were deteriorating, due to clipping, melting and hoarding of the best pieces. After 1662 milled silver coins – to the same weight and fineness as the hammered circulated alongside the hammered pieces. By 1696, the hammered coins were in such a state that a recoinage was considered necessary. After much debating between the great minds of the time, including Newton and Locke and in the light of the recent problems of the fluctuating gold price and gold/silver exchange rate it was decided to continue with the 5s 2d per ounce of fine silver. Provincial mints were set up at Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Norwich and York, though pieces from these mints are significantly rarer (especially in high grade) than their London counterparts, suggesting a limited output. To ease the recall of hammered coins they were redeemed at full face value provided the inner circle was complete. The converse of this is that unscrupulous people clipped coins down to the inner circle. Surviving clippings are very rare indeed. The £2 million deficit at the mint was made up by the introduction of the Window Tax, not repealed till 1850.

As well as remelted coins and government bullion, individuals and companies could take silver to the mint to be coined. Elephants, Plumes, Vigo, Roses and Plumes, SSC, WCC, Roses and Lima are all well known from the literature.

During the early years of George III we have three interesting issues of silver. The Northumberland shilling, of which maybe £100 was issued (though likely more); 1787, even now relatively common, but probably due to contemporary hoarding; and the fabled Dorrien and Magens shilling - of the many 1000s struck maybe just 20 survive having being melted by government order.

Amongst the huge series of small copper tokens (see Dalton and Hamer), there are a just a few higher denomination tokens including several shilling tokens from this period: Angus 1797 (dated 1777), Basingstoke canal, Arnold works, S. Fiuri's gambling house, Epping Forrest, an Admiral Nelson medallet attributed to Birmingham and a Birmingham Workhouse token. With little coinage between 1d and a half guinea these few token issues are negligible when spread across a population of a few million people. Though countermarked dollars were issued, they were easily counterfeited (see the books by Kelly and Challis for details).

After a small issue in Dublin in 1804, the mainland did not muster

the courage to issue a series of silver tokens till 1811. Maybe 400 die pairs exist, many of simple design and others more interesting (see James O'Donald Mays book *Tokens of Those Trying Tunes*). The last issue appeared in Wales in 1813, by which time the very large issues of Bank of England tokens (1804 and more significantly 1811-15) were widespread.

Taking the data on the silver output of the mint (see Snelling or Challis) and plotting it against the date on the horizontal axis we can see peaks at 1662/3 with the introduction of the milled coinage, the recoinage of 1696/7 peaking at about £2.5 million, smaller bumps at 1723 (SSC) and 1745 (Lima). The next peaks are around 1811-15 with the Bank of England tokens, followed by steadily increasing outputs after 1816. However, most of the mint output was too small to show on a graph in relation to these.

In a chart where the vertical axis has been made logarithmic, this allows the data of many different scales to be seen on the same chart. It is possible to see a systematic decline in the silver output from the recoinage of 1696/7 all the way down to 1816. With some years the only output of silver was a few pounds of Maundy money.

Assuming a simple rate of loss from circulation (4%, but see Oddie for detailed analysis), it is possible to work out just how much silver was circulating at any time during the period in question. From a peak of £10 million at the end of the recoinage, the decline is rapid down to about £1 to £2 million in 1760, in line with other estimates.

If we take the amount of silver in 1696/7 to be sufficient for the circulating needs of the country, then we might expect increases in prices to result in an increased need for silver coin. In a chart superimposing data for prices on top of the previous data for circulating silver, along with an average price rise (an index linked silver requirement if you wish), the discrepancy between the prices at the peak of the Industrial Revolution and the Napoleonic wars is significant - so what were people actually spending? There are parallels here with the copper coinage also, but it is still not practical to fill the gap between a penny and a half guinea with copper.

Trade does not stop just because there is no coinage. Foreign coin was imported (e.g. French 1/5 Ecu and Spanish 2 Reales coins slightly underweight and of lesser fineness but of a similar diameter to their

English equivalent, the shilling) but limits were set in 1776 to attempt to stem the flood of counterfeits. Truck, credit and promissory notes all appeared, as did ever more worn silver coins.

More of a grading exercise perhaps, but just how much silver is lost from a coin as it circulates. EF maybe 1%, all the way down to a blank disc at 30% light. So this is where my low grade collection comes in useful, since to estimate the average weight loss of a fine coin you need to have a sensible sample, maybe 50 specimens, to have a good measure.

I was not the first person to look at the deteriorating silver coins, and as early as 1712 people had been collecting together and weighing groups of each denomination and calculating the weight loss. This table and chart shows all of the data that I have been able to gather regarding coin weights through the period 1712-1810 and we can see the increasing wear rate as time passes. Again, it is Gresham's Law (bad coin drives out good) at work – given a choice of spending a high grade full weight coin and a worn disc, the worn coins circulate harder and wear faster as the fine coins are hoarded, filed, melted or exported.

Another simple mathematical exercise leads to an estimate of the average age of coins in circulation (see Oddie for more details). From the 1697 recoinage, the coins appear to be ageing continuously and by 1800 an average purse contained coins that were 100 years old – in other words the silver issued after the 1697 recoinage only made a small contribution to the circulating medium. This is confirmed by the fact that most silver coin metal detector finds are of William III.

Now that we have estimates of the wear rate of coins based on contemporary data and the age of coins from a simple model, we can probe just what the coins in a purse looked like as the 18th century progressed. The small silver coins wear the fastest and after 20 years the sixpences would grade fine and the crowns are gVF. After 100 years the sixpences and shillings are blank and the crowns have only worn down to fine.

So what became of these worn out coins? Many have been subsequently melted as they are considered of little numismatic interest. Others bear countermarks from single letters to names and devices, referred to as 'slap tokens' – possibly from an old Norse word for smooth.

Paper money such as these shilling notes from Fox Brothers of Tonedale (Somerset, undated, but c. 1795-1810) was issued which states that it was 'in consequence of the scarcity of silver', and from the Bawse and Kirk bank on the Isle of Man (dated 1815).

There are many counterfeits of this period, interesting in their quality and method of manufacture. From crude silver washed casts to well engraved dies or genuine silver coins with the cores machined out and replaced with base metal. Even the silver tokens of 1811-12 were counterfeited. The quality of some of these counterfeits suggests that the original manufacturer (Henry Morgan of Rathbone Place, London) might have been involved in many of the issues. New types of 'wrong metal' tokens continue to appear even after Dalton's exhaustive study.

There is a steel die, hand engraved and of the highest quality, for the reverse of a 1707 plain shilling. The die aims to produce a VF coin so it is perhaps from the 1740's, since a counterfeiter will aim to reproduce coins that blend in with the circulating medium. By 1800, a counterfeiter could just make a silver-coloured disc and it would pass easily till the base core showed through.

By 1816 there were serious difficulties with the circulating silver and a recoinage of token silver coins — just reducing the silver content slightly (i.e. reduced weigh coins) made it possible for the Mint to issue an adequate coinage that would not be melted. But what of the old worn coins? Broadsheets were sent out setting the terms and dates for the recall of the old coins and replacement with new — this broadsheet refers to Huntingdon and the local dignitaries who were given the responsibility for that recall.

Since this work was originally presented, Kevin Clancy, as part of his Ph.D thesis, has accessed the Royal Mint archives to look in detail at the recoinage and the recall of the silver. His published figure 13 shows the quantities of silver recalled from each county. Most of the counties follow the expected pattern — agricultural (e.g. most of Wales) shows a low silver return, whereas the more mercantile areas and large towns show larger silver returns.

The choice of paying 5s 2d per ounce of fine silver was too small, meaning that the Mint could not afford to issue silver coins. A simple model of the circulating silver fits contemporary wear rate data and estimates of the size of the circulating medium very well. Only the worn

coins circulate (Gresham's Law again). The Bank of England 3/-and 1/6 tokens made up nearly 60% of the required circulating medium by 1815. The 1811-12 tokens had a negligible impact on the circulating medium. Counterfeiting, credit and truck were unavoidable in making up for the lack of specie, making the recoinage of 1816 inevitable.

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London Numismatic Club Meeting, 7 September 2004

David Powell gave a talk on a little known and recognised aspect of British numismatics - British lead tokens.

He said that the object in his talk, which deliberately focuses on the later and cruder pieces rather than the fine ones of the mediaeval period, was two-fold:

- a. to provide an overview of the series as a whole, made up of several sub-series as it is, and to explore the boundaries between these various constituents, and
- b. to attempt a high-level classification which will enable the ordinary collector to get a handle on this vague and rather complicated series, without descending into a level of categorisation which becomes unwieldy.

Classification will be in terms of individual sides rather than whole pieces. Unlike most series it is not always possible to say which is the obverse and which the reverse, although for convention we will say that issuers' initials stake the first claim for a side to be considered an obverse, and that a definite design has higher claim than an indefinite one. In many cases the matter is decided very easily by the fact that the piece is uniface, or as near as makes no difference. Not that such concepts matter much in this series, nor do I feel that it is possible at present to say anything useful about which obverse/reverse combinations occur.

One of the beauties of lead tokens is that they are not so much a single series as a set of series, one knows not quite how many, which vaguely interact. There is very little written on them, the best known being Michael Mitchiner's two lengthy and well-illustrated articles in *BNJ* 53, 54 {1983,1984}. Mitchiner's multi-volume work on *Jetons, Medalets and Tokens* continues along the same lines, and there are a couple of useful articles amongst the older volumes of *BNJ* and *The Numismatic Chronicle* (see references at end), but beyond that there are for the most part only short snippets in the likes of Seaby's *Bulletin* and Spink's *Numismatic Circular*. All of which adds up to only a very limited corpus of knowledge, lacking in continuity, and relatively impervious to the research techniques which have led us to better knowledge of the better-known and more modern British paranumismatic series.

Perhaps therefore we have to accept a large measure of continuing ignorance as likely, but let that not detract us from the pleasure of wrestling with this unfashionable series in an attempt to ameliorate it!

The Sub-series

This paper is mainly targetted at what are generally considered to be crude agricultural tokens, although it may be too simplistic to consider them solely as such; a number of them could easily be tavern pieces, or from other sources. There are several earlier series in lead or pewter, which contain lead, and I need to mention them in passing if only to demonstrate (i) that they exist, and (ii) that they fit in some measure into the classification system proposed below. Apart from the crude pieces, which seem to centre on the surprisingly late date range of 1690-1810, the following may be identified as having some sort of interface:

- a. The oldest lead tokens in Britain, known as tesserae, date from Roman

times and are not very common. Little is known about them.

b. Several medieval series in pewter, as described by Mitchiner, are generally thought of as being deriving from London and other large cities. They include various pieces debatably thought to be tavern tokens, counters or for ecclesiastical use, although the latter types are not necessarily to be identified with communion tokens. The supposed ecclesiastical pieces are often extremely small, with a diameter of about 11 mm. The earliest of these series date from about 1200 and are thought to have been a token coinage used by pilgrims.

c. The main 17th century token series is almost entirely in copper and brass, but seems to have some kinship in design with a few of the better-designed lead pieces; in particular, in the way that they use issuers' initials.

d. The mainly Scottish communion token series is contemporary and struck at similar date almost solely in lead; it will have little in common in terms of usage, but could be confused in the early years where there was extreme simplicity of design.

e. The hop token series as defined by Henderson, starting c. 1770 and continuing until the late 19th century, seems to emerge naturally from agricultural lead and is probably that with which it has most affinity. The range of numeric values (1, 3, 6, 12, 30, 60, 120), usually indicating volume in bushels, is mirrored on a number of crude leaden pieces.

To the above must be added one other series. One criticism often levelled at displays of lead tokens is, 'that's not a token, that's a seal!'. I make no apology for considering seals here as a series in their own right, because (i) most of them are lead, (ii) some seals are of a shape which rendering them likely to be mistaken for tokens and (iii) they have features which connect strongly with 17th century tokens, which are another of the adjacent series. Fuzzy boundaries, between both series and types, are a feature. Lead pieces are usually made by pouring metal into a mould, sometimes in the form of a tree linking a family of cast holes via channels; protrusions, according to how the pieces are broken off, frequently result. Distinguishing between tokens and seals is often a matter of interpreting protrusions, and sometimes holes in the material, correctly.

Metal, condition and shape

The colour of lead and associated tokens needs to be described, but I find that the following scale of 1-5 is adequate:

1. Very light, almost white. Pieces in this category, adversely effected by chemistry and extreme cold, rarely look attractive; they sometimes look encrusted but they may, however, still retain their features.
2. Light.
3. Medium.
4. Dark.
5. Very dark. Significant presence of other constituents likely.

In a typical hoard, the norm will be to find common types in poor to fair condition. However, whilst this series is not for those who like fine artwork in good EF, crisp and unusual pieces do turn up, and it is possible by being carefully selective to produce an attractive and interesting collection. The metal detecting fraternity are a main source of supply and are responsible for unearthing quantities of material which previously escaped detection. The series is unfashionable, because (i) of its perceived lack of art and quality and (ii) the minimal information which it provides to help researchers; however, that (i) renders it fairly cheap and (ii) provides virgin territory for those that care to explore it.

Almost all crude lead is round although, like the 17th century series, exceptions exist; I have one square and one heart-shaped, in the 200 pieces of my sample.

Dating and purpose.

Dated pieces are scarce but not excessively so; I would estimate that about 7-8% of the pieces in the main series carry them. A high proportion of these are retrograde and/or so crude as not always to be instantly recognisable, but what is surprising is the date itself. Whilst one would expect, from the crudity, these pieces to be very early, perhaps late mediaeval or Elizabethan, almost all are from the 18th century. Early, and even mid, 19th century pieces are not unknown.

So, what of their use? The mode of employment of hop tokens has been discussed elsewhere; the tallying of bushels, or perhaps the scoring of where a picker left at the one session so he, and his supervisor, knew

where he started at the beginning of the next. Perhaps such devices were used elsewhere in agriculture. Does the frequency of anchor depictions indicate a maritime use, such as ferry tokens? Were the simplest just gaming counters, or even part of the game itself?. Perhaps all of these conjectures are right; we may never know. However, beyond these, the perennial problem which cursed much of the, 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries: the need, not adequately met by many governments of the period, for small units of coin.

Let us say that an average labourer earned at one stage around is per day, a figure not untypical of the early 1800s. The lowest coin of the realm was a farthing, i.e. approx. 0.35% of the weekly salary, or 0.007% of annual salary. Translate this to the present day and suppose that you are earning £25k, as many are. 0.007% of that is a little less than £2. Would you fancy trying to conduct your day-to-day business with nothing other than our two pound coins or larger? No wonder the populace felt a need to set to and make their own small change. It would appear also, from the number of worn Dutch duits and half-duits being dug up in East Anglia, that they also imported it from the Continent.

Geography

So little is written either on or about lead tokens that one of the first prerequisites must be to ask the provenance of any that come one's way. Often there is no information to be had, but where there is, preserve it.

The largest supplies of lead tokens seem to be in the extreme south-east, and Romney Marsh in particular. It is known that smugglers had secret ways through the Marsh unknown to the excisemen, and thereby enjoyed greater success than they would otherwise; however, whether that has any relation to lead tokens I do not know. There are also a fair number in southern East Anglia, and in the Bucks/Oxon area. I did wonder whether their use was a predominantly south-eastern practice, but then discovered that detectorists in Nottinghamshire and Co. Durham were digging them up in reasonable quantity. It would seem that not many come from too far west, but I remain to be corrected. One of the problems, I guess, is that the series has never been taken seriously and the find statistics not gathered; also, that it is only due to the advent of the metal detector that so many more of these often minuscule and seemingly insignificant pieces are now being found than formerly.

I have one piece only as yet from Wales. Scotland one might perhaps not expect to find represented, in view of its almost total omission from the main 17th century token series, but I have been shown a photo of a piece from Dunipace, Shropshire, with a date 1662 above initials DM, all straddling a central line. It could be a communion token conceivably, although Burzinski does not appear to know of it. It is only just within the period at which communion tokens start to be dated.

The next question to ask is: which pieces relate to which area? to which, rather surprisingly, the answer appears to be that most of the designs seem to be more or less universal. For example, one of my two worded pieces of type 29 {below} came from Whitburn, near Sunderland, and the other from Romney Marsh. Does that mean that they travelled that far? Both sites have also turned up anchors, i.e. type 5, whilst the commoner designs like petals, wheel spokes etc. are found all over the place. Markedly strong outer rims show a slight tendency towards being East Anglian, and slender circles about a quarter diameter in from the edge seem possibly to be a peculiarly North-Eastern feature, but even these observations are tenuous, based on very small samples.

Finally: were lead tokens used in other countries, or are they purely a British thing? the former, I understand. I am told that they are numerous in some places but, if our own are little known, what hope is there that we hear or see much of others? I have but one, possibly Hungarian, dated 1643.

Interpretation of the designs.

I start at the outset here by saying that nothing is conclusive, and that I just put the various theories and invite readers to consider for themselves. A small number of pieces clearly relate to given people, albeit unknown, or trades; however, the majority are singularly nondescript. What do we make of these?

Many of the designs are so simplistic that they could merely be classed as doodles; i.e. that the designer did not really care what he placed on his pieces; the irregular geometries, type 9 below, argue in this direction. Or perhaps he did care, but did not have any great artistic skill. A few designs, such as petals, grids and the like abound; perhaps this is so because they were easy to draw.

Certain designs which appear to be nondescript may in fact relate

to particular trades; e.g. the various grids, quartered designs and wide crosses of types 7, 12, 22 below could be a pictorial representation of the miller's stone or wheel. The petals and cartwheels are not incapable of translation as millwheels either. Does an anchor indicate a maritime connection, or a pub of that name, or neither?

Another possibility is that there was some system of understood denominational value now lost to us. Does it matter whether there were 3, 4, 5, or 6 petals on a flower? or four rather than any other number of pellets under a pair of initials? Perhaps other common designs such as the anchor or fleur-de-lis represent larger denominations? I incline against this theory, but it is not unreasonable.

More likely is that some of the commoner designs are drawn from the Church, which played a larger role than we can now imagine in the lives of our rustic villagers. Faced with the carvings on church furniture every Sunday morning, might they not have drawn their artistic inspiration from it? A quote or two from the Internet:

a. 'During the 15th century the poppy-head form of ornament now reached perfection and was constantly used for seats other than those of the choir, on the carved finial which is so often used to complete the top of the bench end and is peculiarly English in character. In the eastern counties thousands of examples remain. The quite simple fleur-de-lys form of poppy-head, suitable for the village, is seen in perfection at Trunch, Norfolk, and the very elaborate form when the poppy-head springs from a crocketed circle filled in with sculpture, at St Nicholas, Kings Lynn.' (Note: The fleur-de-lis, type 4 below, appears in a variety of different renderings on tokens, too.)

b. Wall decorations consist of various Christian emblems '...of the Church-ship or ark of salvation, anchor (emblem of Christian Hope) and several emblems of Christian Saints, e.g., wheel for St. Catherine, grid-iron for St. Laurence, etc'.

Classification.

The best attempt to date to classify lead tokens to date seems to be a series of articles by Bob Alvey in *Treasure Hunter* magazine in the late 1980s, in which he attempts to break down a collection of specimens (all with reference numbers and carefully illustrated with line drawings) into

45 different types. Whilst some of the earlier of these types correctly represent major categories, I do not feel that they represent a full classification:

- a. Within each type number, examples are listed and referenced more or less randomly without any regard as to whether they are of the same subtype.
- b. As the type list progresses, there is an increasing tendency to allocate a type number randomly to individual specimens simply because they do not seem to fit anywhere else.

In addition to this, a formal classification system also needs to be able to accommodate additions, especially in a field as obscure as this one. In short, it needs to be a bit more generic.

In an attempt to improve on this, but without detracting from Bob's existing work more than need be, I have attempted to build up a new classification which preserves as many of his type numbers as possible. I have, however, wanted to keep them in approximately descending order of frequency, which has necessitated a few reallocations. In summary:

- a. Types 1-7, 10-12, 15-17 have been approximately preserved.
- b. The original type 8 has been renumbered 18, to render the three wildlife types contiguous.
- c. The original types 9, 13, 14, 18-45 are thought to be too specific and have been worked into new types 19-32.

Development of these types into subtypes could be a separate, but future, phase of the same exercise. However, it is optional; do we want it? I venture to suggest that a simple single-number classification of the type proposed may be adequate enough for both collector and researcher, and that use of a more sophisticated system such as the Neubecker one employed by Robert Thompson for the main 17th century tokens may be (i) too cumbersome and (ii) inappropriate for this less formal series.

THE LIST

Bob Alvey's list of types, to number 17 (not that he necessarily named them all as such), and mine, are as follows:

	Bob Alvey, 1980s	Proposed list, 2004
1	Petalled flower	Petalled flower
2	Initials	Initials
3	Segments	Segments
4	Lis	Lis
5	Anchors	Anchors
6	Ship	Ship
7	Hatching	Hatching/Grid
8	Birds	Numeral
9	Keys	Irregular geometric
10	Heads	Heads and busts
11	Bottles	Tavern Utensils
12	Squared Geometric	Squared Geometric
13	Head of Wheat	Framework
14	Kite	Crosses
15	Religious	Religious
16	Arms	Arms
17	Trees and Plants	Trees and Plants
18		Birds
19		Animals, including fish and insects
20		Merchant Marks
21		Trades, other than milling
22		Mill-related
23		Buildings
24		Obscure characters
25		Misc objects (royal and imperial)
26		Misc objects (celestial)
27		Misc objects (other)
28		Outer rim series (several)
29		Words
30		Pellets
31		Circular geometric
32		People, other than heads

Explanation

Petalled flower (type 1): Apart possibly from initials, the commonest

type. The number of petals varies between three and six, five or six being the most frequent. Occasional pieces, usually larger, have the petals superimposed on a second design.

Initials (type 2): Includes sides where the initials are dominant or equivalent in prominence with any ornamentation. Sides where small initials flank the main design will be classified according to that design. Items with both initials and numbers will be dealt with either here or under type 8, depending on which is predominant, although it is recognised that they are hybrids.

Segments (type 3): Includes any side consisting of three or more segments emanating from the centre, except that quartered designs classify:

- a. under type 12 if they have any regular design other than crosses and pellets.
- b. under type 14 if they are simple crosses or crosses with pellets in the centre of the quarters, i.e. pseudo-mediaeval pennies.
- c. remain here if they are cartwheel type pieces with the pellets near the perimeter, i.e. are not intended to imitate the mediaeval penny.

This differs from Bob Alvey, whose types 3 and 12 map on to my 3,9, and 12 without exact one-to-one correspondence.

Lis (type 4): A wide family of lis designs, which include also those sides where the outer components of the lis curve out so far as to be occasionally mistaken for the initials CC, the second C retrograde.

Anchor (type 5): Fairly non-controversial.

Ship (type 6): Likewise.

Hatching (type 7): Includes those sides where the entire surface is hatched in an identical manner; where the hatching is quartered, it becomes type 12.

Numeral (type 8): Some of these are probably hop tokens, and a pseudo-weight has been seen. In addition to sides with low numbers indicating a specific value, those with dates and nothing else also come under this category.

Irregular geometrical (type 9): This type accommodates a large number of abstract designs which do not fit into either type 3 or type 12, other than those which have an obvious circular theme, which are type 31

Heads or busts (type 10): Most of these are pseudo-coin designs

which mimic the obverses of major series, e.g. Edward I pennies, although that is not invariably so. Pieces which mimic Cantian Celtic, Roman or other ancients are also occasionally seen. Whole bodies, rather than heads, are type 32, whilst other isolated body parts, e.g. hands or legs, go in type 27.

Tavern utensils (type 11): Bottles, jugs etc. Bob Alvey allocated this number to bottles specifically, but I have extended the application. Could have been absorbed into type 27, but I chose to keep tavern tokens as a separate category. One feels that they should be adjacent to the 17th century series, but a Richard Gladdle catalogue of March 2000 shows one dated to the 1790s.

Squared Geometric (type 12): Any quartered design where the number of segments is necessarily four, except:

- a. Simple cartwheels - type 3 as previously discussed.
- b. Potential mill sails - type 22.

Pieces with four quarters containing alternate horizontal and vertical lines will remain here for the moment, notwithstanding that they may depict millstones and should correctly reside in type 22.

Frameworks (type 13): This accommodates a number of designs which border between the abstract and the real, and which may actually represent objects, the nature of which cannot be determined. The design does not cover the whole side, or at least not without significant variation; if it did, it would belong to type 9.

Crosses (type 14): Not necessarily religious, although it may be. The cross should not obviously be the single letter X; if it does, the piece belongs in type 2; otherwise, any design, abstract or real, which:

- a. depicts two crossed lines or objects only as the major device, or
- b. indicates by the central positioning of any pellets within the quarters of a cross that it is meant to simulate the mediaeval penny.

One piece of this type, stark simplicity but with very well-drilled incuse pellets, came from Montgomeryshire; well off the beaten track for lead tokens, which tend to lessen in number as you go further west. Wide crosses, in which the arms are bands capable of displaying other design, go in type 12 (squared geometric) unless they are strong candidates for being mill piece, in which case they go to type 22. Quite frequent is a small dumpy piece, conical and hence much thicker than anything else in the series; one wonders, albeit without any proof, whether it might have

been used as part of a game.

Religious (type 15): Anything which is known to have religious use or depicts religious symbolism, e.g. a crozier, apart from simple crosses covered by type 14 above.

Arms (type 16): Anything where the major type is a shield depicting heraldry.

Trees and Plants (type 17): Anything botanical except national symbols, e.g. the rose covered by type 25.

Birds (type 18): Any birds except national symbols, e.g. the eagle covered by type 25. Moved out of its position in the Alvey sequence so that the three wildlife categories could be contiguous.

Animals, including fish (type 19): Self explanatory. Same proviso as per the last two types.

Merchant Marks (type 20): Usually monograms, these were frequently used by the more prominent tradesmen until at least the late 17th century.

Trade symbols and equipment (type 21): Accommodates sides containing the type of trade-related material which one might expect to find on the main series of 17th century tokens, with the one exception that anything related to milling goes in type 22.

Mills (type 22): Depictions of mills and designs likely to represent mill sails. Squared geometric designs which could be mill stones should probably go in here, but are being left in type 12 because of the uncertainty. One interesting possibility: could some of the petals of type 1, and/or the spoked wheels of type 3, represent crude attempts to render mill wheels or sails?

Buildings (type 23): Any buildings other than mills, which go in type 22. Possible division into rustic, urban and military might be possible, but I have resisted the temptation to subclassify.

Obscure characters (type 24): Any characters which are not obviously letters (type 2) or numbers (type 8), although they may be crude attempts at one or the other.

Miscellaneous Objects, Royal (type 25): Symbols such as crowns, roses, eagles and the like. The late Elizabethan pieces with double-headed eagle on one side and crowned rose on the other, c. 1570-1600, are a notable example, although they are not part of the run of crude agricultural pieces.

Miscellaneous Objects, Celestial (type 26): This contains such items as the sun, moon, and stars; also globes, although these could be a reference to a tavern or playhouse of such a name, rather than to the heavens. There were two total eclipses of the sun visible from England in 1715 and 1724, and it is conjectured that these may have been the inspiration for the occasionally found crescent and stars type. That of 1715 was particularly spectacular, covering most of England in an approximately diagonal North-Eastern sweep; the northern boundary of totality passed through Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the southern through mid-Kent. That of 1724 described an East-South-Eastern path across the West and South of England, the northern boundary running somewhere along the line of Aberystwyth-Gloucester-Eastbourne; a larger number of the lead token areas, which are predominantly eastern, are likely to have escaped totality, although they would still nearly all have experienced a very great dimming of light. The two pieces in my collection were found a few miles west of Oxford.

Miscellaneous Objects, Secular (type 27): A catch-all for items which are clearly objects, whether identifiable or not, and which do not come into other categories such as 11 {tavern implements} or 16 (coats of arms).

Outer rim series (type 28): Certain series exist which have an outer rim with various types of filler, e.g. shading, in. These could reasonably be subclassified 28.nn, where nn indicates the classification of the subject matter of the inner part of the token according to the above schema, which would take in certain series, such as some of the very small ecclesiastical tokens of the mediaeval period, which the main classification does not so easily cover.

Words (type 29): Complete words or names are rare on lead tokens, but not unknown. I have two pieces, clearly by the same issuer, one of which bears the comparatively late date of 1845.

Pellets (type 30): Accommodates pieces which have pellets and nothing else, as opposed to obscure blobs; the latter are unclassified until identified. An exceptional piece in the BM has seven pellets on one side and the date 1512 on the reverse, the earliest dated piece seen by a very long way.

Circular geometric (type 31): Another simplistic type; may or may not have a central hub.

People (type 32): Anyone standing, sitting, riding, walking, running or lying down; in other words, anything which shows the whole person, rather than a mere head or bust. The latter go in type 10, whilst other isolated body parts, e.g. hands or legs, go in type 27.

REFERENCES

Books and articles:

The primary reference on British lead tokens is the two part work by M.Mitchiner and A.Skinner in the *British Numismatic Journal*:: 'English Tokens, c.1200-1425', *BNJ* Vol 53, 1983; 'English Tokens, c.1425-1672', *BNJ* Vol 54, 1984.

Mitchiner has also published more material, in similar vein, in Vols 1 and 3 of his work *Jetons, Medalets and Tokens* (1988, 1998 respectively).

Other interesting articles on lead tokens are:

'Leaden Tokens', by J.B.Caldecott and G.C.Yates, *BNJ* Vol.4, 1907.

'Lead Tokens from the River Thames at Windsor and Wallingford', by M.Dean, *Num. Chron*, 1977.

The latter has a limited attempt at identifying types. There are also several useful snippets in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, e.g. November 1967, April 1969, December 1971, June 1972, April 1992, and a good batch of illustrations in Richard Gladdle's sale catalogue of March 2000.

Targeted at a more populist audience, R. C. Alvey's articles in *Treasure Hunting* magazine are scattered throughout the 1980s and consist almost entirely of line drawings. Edward Fletcher is producing more articles, again with a strong visual emphasis but this time using photography, for the same magazine at present. His recent *Tallies and Tokens through the Ages* (2003) illustrates the 80-odd pieces accumulated by one Nottinghamshire detectorist.

Seals are an even more obscure subject. The best introduction to them that I know is *Lead Cloth Seals and Related Items in the British Museum*, by Dr Geoff Egan, BM Occasional Paper no. 93, 1995.

The astronomical connection:

I am grateful to Hugh Williams for the suggestion that astronomic events

such as eclipses inspire coin types. He first suggested it in connection with the Hadrian denarius depicting a crescent and seven stars, which is generally reckoned to date from around AD 128, and fed the latitude and longitude of Rome into an astronomy programme which confirmed that the Pleiades (Seven Sisters) would have been visible there during a daytime eclipse in January 129. A similar reverse, with varying numbers of stars, also occurs on Roman provincial coins during the Severan period.

It is also interesting to conjecture whether the various astronomical events occurring during the later part of the reign of the Parthian king Phraates IV, and which inevitably get mentioned in any book concerned with exploring the date and circumstances of Christ's birth, have anything to do with the profusion of astronomical references which increasingly appear on his later coins. Parthia, let it be remembered, is favourite for being the most likely origin of the three wise men....

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 5 October 2004

David Sellwood, a very old friend of the Club and a Past-President of both The Royal Numismatic Society and of The British Association of Numismatic Societies, was welcomed to speak on Papal Portraits. Showing a selection of 29 slides with Papal portraits from a variety of coin denominations, and also some from medallions, he outlined some of the details and lives of a number of the Popes from John VIII (872-882) until Pius VI (1775-99) over a period of almost one thousand years.

[**Editorial note:** Since the Editor was unable to attend the lecture due to his own lecturing commitments, and the fact that David spoke from a series of jotted notes on 5x3 catalogue cards, it has not been possible to reproduce further details of this talk in the *Newsletter*.]

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 2 November 2004

Edmund Redfern came to the Club give an illustrated talk on 'The Coinage of the Severan Family'.

Lucius Septimius Severus was born in AD 145 at Lepcis Magna, a Roman city in North Africa, now in Tunisia. He was born into a wealthy Punic family; he rose through the senatorial and military ranks and in AD

192 was the Governor of Upper Pannonia in what is now the Balkans.

On New Year's Eve, 192, the emperor Commodus, by then virtually insane, was murdered by Pertinax, the Prefect of Rome, and was himself acclaimed emperor. The Praetorian Guard became annoyed at his attempt to economise and murdered him after a reign of only 88 days. They then put the Empire up for auction. Didius Julianus offered 23,000 sesterii per man, and so they proclaimed him emperor.

There was disgust throughout the empire and three provincial governors, each commanding three legions, vowed to avenge Pertinax. They were: Clodius Albinus in Britain; Septimius Severus in Upper Pannonia, and Pescennius Niger in Syria, and each was acclaimed as emperor by the troops under their command. Septimius was the nearest of the three to Rome. He safeguarded his rear by proclaiming Clodius Albinus as his Caesar (i.e. successor), and rapidly marched on Rome. Although 3000-strong and well armed, the Praetorian Guard were no match for hard-bitten frontier legions. They murdered Didius Julianus after a reign of 65 days. Septimius executed the ringleaders and disbanded the rest of the Guard, and then he marched east to meet Pescennius Niger and had defeated him in several battles by AD 194.

The silver content of the coinage had varied from 72.5% during Commodus' last year to 87% under Pertinax and was c.78% at the beginning of Severus' reign. He maintained this at Rome until late 194 or early 195, but the expenses of civil wars and donatives to the army (he increased a legionary's pay from 375 to 500 denarii per annum) caused him to reduce the silver content to 57%. The eastern mints (including the travelling mint which probably went with him during the campaign against Pescennius Niger) had been striking coins at this level since AD 193. Severus closed the Antioch mint, which had supported Pescennius Niger. Alexandria struck denarii in 194-5, Emesa from 194 to 196, and Laodicea from 194 to 202 or 203. Rome, meanwhile, continued striking silver at 57% until the end of his reign.

Rome struck coin at four officinae at the beginning of the reign but, with officinae for coins of Albinus, then Julia Domna and Caracalla, six were working before AD 198. This was the normal working arrangement of the mint except for an increase to seven in 203-5 (for Plautilla) and up to eight for the large 'Britannic Victory' issues in 210-11.

Not surprisingly, many of Severus' earliest issues were legionary coins, covering the 15 legions that had supported him. Other early reverses featured *Libero Patri* and *Mars Pater*, as well as four in the name of *Clodius Albinus* as *Caesar*. This changed late in 195 when Severus advanced *Caracalla* to the rank of *Caesar* and the Senate duly declared *Clodius Albinus* to be a public enemy.

Clodius, therefore, declared himself *Augustus* and prepared for war. After a hard struggle he was defeated in February 197 in a great battle fought near *Lugdunum* (Lyons) in southern France. Severus returned to Rome and, after a purge of the Senate and *Clodius Albinus'* North African friends, he marched east to deal with troubles with the *Parthians*. In 198, at the successful conclusion of the *Parthian* campaign, from which he took the title *Parthicus* with *VICT PART MAX + PM TRP ... PART MAX* appearing on the coins, he appointed *Caracalla* as *Augustus*.

For five years Severus travelled round his eastern provinces, only returning to Rome via the *Danubian* provinces in 202. *Adventus* reverses had also been issued in 196 in anticipation of his return. Severus made three issues that declared him as *Restitutor Urbis* (Restorer of the City, i.e. Rome) and also the usual imperial types celebrating the *Indulgence*, *Providence*, etc, of the emperors.

The obverses show an interesting development in the style of Severus' beard: first, short and curly, then with two points to it, followed by a fuller beard with three points to it (this has been referred to as the *Serapis*-style beard, and comments made about his association with that *Graeco-Egyptian* god).

Apart from a campaign in 203 to subdue desert tribes in his native North Africa, Severus remained in Rome for the next five years.

In 208, the *Scottii* and the *Picti* were causing trouble in North Britain and Severus took his whole family with him to Britain. In 209 and 210, together with *Caracalla*, he campaigned far up into eastern Scotland. These exertions, however, were too much for the elderly emperor (he was by now 65 years old), and he died at *York* in February 211. A 'wedding cake' funeral pyre appears as the reverse on some posthumous coins, and he was deified.

Turning to **Julia Domna**, she was born at *Emesa* in *Syria* in AD 170. Coming to Rome as a beautiful young girl she was married to

Septimius Severus in 187. Both beautiful and intelligent, Severus valued her intellect and she travelled with him on his military and political campaigns. She was created Augusta in 194 and the early reverses in her name celebrate her womanly good qualities — Pietas, Vesta, and Saeculi Felicitas. In 197 she was given the title of Mater Castrorum (Mother of the Camp, i.e. legions), and several of her reverses celebrate her role as a mother: MATER AUGG, and MATER DEVM.

The obverse portraits of Julia's coins show three or four stages. In the early ones she is youthful with a large hair bun; this is followed by a more sophisticated version, and the bun then disappears. The third style shows her with wig-like hair, and often with a stephane.

In 211 Julia was given the title of Pia Felix but, in 217, on the murder of Caracalla, she starved herself to death.

Caracalla was born in 188, made Caesar in 195, Pontifex in 197, and Augustus in 198. His early reverses show his imperial destiny and manly qualities with types such as DESTINATO IMPERATI, VIRTUS AVGG, and MARTI ULTORI (Mars the Avenger). He accompanied his parents both during the Parthian campaign and on their journeys in the east. Coins were struck in his name with VICT PART MAX, and PART MAX PONT TRP III legends.

In 202 Caracalla married Plautilla, the daughter of the powerful Prefect Plautianus, at his father's command. Her obverse portraits show three stages: a large bun with horizontal waves in her hair; a lower bun with vertical waves, and a small bun and a queue knot, with vertical lines. Her reverses mostly emphasise the family and the continuation of the Severan dynasty. Caracalla detested his wife and his father-in-law and, when the hated Plautianus fell from power, he divorced Plautilla and banished her.

The whole Severan family moved to Britain in 208 amid great preparations for a major campaign in north Britain. In these Caracalla accompanied his father well into Scotland in 209 and 210. In 210 there was a large Victoria Britannica issue of coins in various metals with the legend VICT BRIT TRP XIII COS III. Because Severus was elderly and ill Caracalla took full control and when Severus died at York he and his younger brother Geta hurried back to Rome. Hating to share power with Geta, Caracalla had him murdered late in 211 or early 212 — it was said that he slew his brother in their mother's (Julia Domna) arms.

All Caracalla's coinage was struck at Rome except for the years 196 to 120 when the mint of Laodicea was also working. Early in his reign he had reduced the silver content of the denarius from 57 to 51%. He increased army pay from 500 to 750 denarii per annum and was still hard up so, early in 215, he introduced the double denarius or antoninianus. This was also struck at 51% silver, and although rated at two denarii it only weighed as much as one and a half denarii.

The obverse portraits of Caracalla show very clearly his growth from early boyhood to a grim despot. They run from boy to youth to young man (the latter with sideboards appearing in 205), and then prematurely aged at 26 and 28.

He became increasingly unstable, both physically and mentally, and he was assassinated in Syria in April 217 whilst planning an attack on Parthia.

Geta, born in 189 and although only a year younger than Caracalla, was always promoted much later than his elder brother. He was made Caesar in 198, Pontifex in 199, and Pius Augustus in 209 – the latter eleven years after Caracalla. The various reverses in Geta's name reflect this: SECVRIT IMPERI (cf. DESTINATO IMPERAT for Caracalla), FELICITAS TEMPOR, and NOBILITAS, CASTOR. Caracalla had received his TRP in 198, Geta had to wait until 209 for his PONTIF TRP II COS H, LIBERALITAS. However, in 210 Geta did receive the title Britannicus with Severus and Caracalla, and in 211 travelled to Rome with Caracalla as co-emperor.

Geta's obverse portraits follow a similar pattern to Caracalla's but end in 211 with an adult portrait that is less ravaged than his brother's.

The co-rule of the brothers could not last – Caracalla hated having to share power, and Geta had long resented the delays in promoting him. After Caracalla's murder there was a brief gap from April 217 to June 218 when Macrinus was in power, but Macrinus had little success against the Parthians and was not popular with the army. Julia Maesa, sister of Julia Domna, fomented unrest amongst the Syrian legions and spread the story that her grandson Elagabalus was the son of Caracalla, who had been very popular among the soldiers.

A successful revolt in June 218 ended the lives of Macrinus and his son, and **Elagabalus** was acclaimed emperor. He was a priest of Elagabal, the sun god, and fantastically devoted to the orgiastic rites of

the god. Elagabalus' coins frequently refer to his priestly office: SVMMVS SACERDOS AVG. Some scarcer types also show the sacred baetyl of Emesa, probably a stone of meteoric origin, being carried on a chariot, or with an eagle perched on it. Many of his later issues show a horn protruding from his forehead — probably indicating the glory of the sun god proceeding from him.

An early type, VICTOR ANTONINVS AVG, refers to his victory over Macrinus (he had assumed the name Antoninus). Many of his other reverse types are typical, conventional ones: MARS VICTOR, and FORTVNAE REDVCI.

For the first year of his reign Elagabalus issued antoniniani as well as denarii, but very early in his reign he reduced the silver content of the coins from 51% to 45%. Rome was his main mint but Antioch and (probably) Emesa also struck imperial issues with, in 218-219, Nicomedia also striking coins for him.

In 219, although only 15 years old, he married Julia Paula, and 16 months later shocked Rome by marrying a Vestal Virgin, Aquila Severa, followed by Annia Faustina in 221. The behaviour of the young emperor and his dissolute mother, Julia Soaemias (she was reputed to be promiscuous, and certainly many of her reverse types show Venus), eventually became so scandalous that the Praetorian Guard murdered them both.

The intelligent and wily Julia Maesa realised that the excesses of her grandson and his mother were endangering her achievements, and she had persuaded Elagabalus to make his cousin, Sevens Alexander, Caesar in 221. So, when Elagabalus and Julia Soaemias were murdered, **Severus Alexander** was proclaimed emperor with enthusiasm. It is possible that the revolt of the Praetorian Guard and the murders were instigated by Julia Maesa, who was as wise as her younger sister, Julia Domna. Almost all of Julia Maesa's reverses refer to family life and good behaviour: FECVNDATES AV; SAECVLI FELICITAS, and PVDICITIA. With her mild-mannered grandson installed as emperor she retired into the background and died, aged nearly 70, in 225.

Rome struck the bulk of Alexander's coinage but Antioch also struck coins until 224. The silver content of the coinage was variable. The average declines very slowly from 45% over the years 222 to 227, but in the next five years it gradually rises back to 45%. Control at the mint was

much better from 232 to 235 and the silver content is much less variable. Alexander did not strike antoniniani, reasonable evidence of a satisfactory economy and no civil wars. His reverse types are typical imperial ones of the period: VICTORIA; VIRTVS, and AEQVITAS.

In 225 Alexander married Sallustia Barbia Orbiana. They seem to have been very fond of each other and Alexander's mother became jealous of Orbiana's influence over him. She falsely accused Orbiana's father of treason and banished Orbiana to North Africa. Julia Mamaea, the daughter of Julia Maesa, was determined to control imperial affairs and dominated her inoffensive son and a large coinage was struck in her name at Rome. The great goddess Juno appears on many of her reverses.

Alexander's coin portraits show the transition from a teenager of 14 to 15, to young manhood. The beard on his portrait appears in 231 when he was aged 23.

Alexander was not a good military leader. When frontier troubles came in 251 he achieved only modest success against the Parthians. In March 255, when Alexander and his mother bought off the raiding Alamanni, the Rhine legions, fed up with the long-time female domination, murdered them both. So, the Severan dynasty ended 42 years after Severus had established it.

Edmund showed a number of slides to support his talk, illustrating the major portraits and reverse types mentioned.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 7 December 2004

Tony Holmes, a Past-President of the Club, gave a talk entitled 'Having Fun with Junk Boxes', and then proceeded to mystify members with some of his finds. He had always enjoyed the feeling of having 2000 years of the world history in your fingers as you sort through a mass of coinage. Whilst most are easy to identify, and some very difficult, he presented in slides a number of illustrations, concentrating on the clues they provided.

At first glance a one rupee for King Birendra and Queen Aiswara of Nepal dated 2032 may seem in advance of itself. But, the date is given in the vikrama-samvat era which is known to have begun on 18 October 58 BC, although the reason why for this date is not known. It may have marked the accession of Azes I and Azilises to the leadership of the Scythian tribes. It is also a coin that reflects a tragedy in the Nepalese

House when reign ended in 2000. The Crown Prince, Dipendra, who had been forbidden to marry a woman of inadequate lineage, walked into a family party dressed in combat gear and proceeded to shoot dead his parents, his brother, his three sisters and some other relatives before turning the gun on himself and killing himself.

Look for the detail and, for example, on a half real of Charles III of Spain (1760-88), the M in the legend, plus the pillars on either side of the Spanish Arms (i.e. the Pillars of Gibraltar) will tell you that it is a colonial piece of the mint of Mexico.

A small curiosity was a Rose farthing of Charles I (1625-49). It had been issued under Royal Patent granted to Lord Maltravers and a small hole in it showed where an anti-forgery brass plug had fallen out.

A coin not in Krause and Mischler's 'Bible', a one dinero of Charles II (1665-1700), with a very worn legend that only just enabled the reign to be ascertained, gave itself away as a piece struck in Mallorca by the long cross with a lily in one quarter.

A bit of a puzzle with a strange alphabet and an eagle and a lion as supporters of the arms, was a 2003 coin of Armenia.

Hard economic times in 17th-century Spain, when the country became bankrupt three times, were well illustrated by a battered piece of copper, one of the counter-marked 'calderilla' coins. Much needed revenue was raised by calling in all the copper coinage and re-issuing it an enhanced value. Mint letters can be spotted by the new value, so a for maravedis at Madrid could become a six maravedis at Seville.

Baffling amongst the Anglo-Saxon series are the sceattas a primary sceatta 'Porcupine' type, c. 690-725 (Metcalf type G) was probably made (? inspired) in Dorestad in the Netherlands and the engraver almost certainly intended to represent a boar, not a porcupine, with a military standard on its back.

A three-headed coin, two heads on one side and one on the other was a copper coin of Nejm ed-din Alpi, Atabeg of Mardin, 1156-76, and it had a vaguely Byzantine inspiration about its design. Although it bore the name of Al-mustajid billah, the Caliph of Baghdad 1160-71, the actual issuer of the coin appeared on the other side and, unusually, at this period some Islamic coppers are struck with images of living things, normally unacceptable in Islam.

A coin simply marked '60', and nothing else, could be difficult, but it was a 60 reis or one tanga of Portuguese India under Maria II, 1834-53.

Crossed keys can mean different things. Together with a double eagle of the Holy Roman Empire on the other side indicates a coin of Regensburg, Bavaria, in this instance a one kreutzer of 1642. However, crossed keys with a cross in quatrefoil reverse, is papal, but not of Rome. It is an issue of Pope Urban VIII, 1623-44, a one patard, and the AVEN = Avenio, the Latin name of Avignon. The Popes no longer lived there but retained the ownership of the city until 1791 when it was taken by France.

Six balls on a shield did not fool the audience who immediately picked the Medicis, in this instance a billon quattrino of Ferdinand II de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, 1621-70. The Medici arms combined with a tiara and crossed keys indicate a Medici Pope, here a silver giulio of Clement VIII, 1523-34, with SS Peter and Paul on the reverse.

The names HENRICUS on a coin can be very misleading. The short-cross penny introduced in 1180 with that name on it continues through the reigns of Richard I and John (1199-1216) into Henry II. It is only the minute detail that shows that a silver penny is actually Type 5b or 5c and so struck under John; his name only appears on his Irish issues. To counteract clipping the coinage the long-cross penny was introduced in 1247, the cross extending to the edge of the coin, and all four ends of the cross need to be present to make it legal tender. Once again detail can reveal all. On a long-cross penny of Edward I, 1270-1307, the date of its issue can be closely narrowed down from the inscription VILL NOVI CASTRI = mint of Newcastle. The coin is a type 9b that is dated to 1299/1300, but the mint of Newcastle did not open until May 1300, which closely dates the coin to May - December 1300.

A tiny one pfennig of King Johann of Saxony, 1854-73, with the arms a coronet diagonally across a field barry, indicated the kingdom, F the mint of Dresden, and KSSM = Konigreich Sachsen Scheidemunz -small change of the Kingdom of Saxony. Although there were lots of duchies within Saxony, only one part ranked as a kingdom. Another pfennig with the Saxony arms but also the letters SWVE indicated Saxe Weimer and Eisenach which, together with the date, identifies Duke Carl August who had a remarkable 70-year reign, 1758-1828.

Most German land laws made land descend to all sons equally. This also applied to the country itself, so Saxony was divided in 1485,

1486, 1532, 1554, 1572, 1605 and 1662, by which time it was in small pieces with the name of the town or area preceded by Saxe. All the rulers were equally dukes, apart from the one who was the Elector. By adopting primogeniture, Prussia made itself the most powerful of the 700-odd German states and took over all the others in the German empire.

Constantine I, The Great, issued small bronze coins with obverse helmeted head of Roma and reverse wolf and twins to commemorate the millennium of Rome, from many mints across the empire, differentiated only by the letters in the reverse exergue. These were widely copied and spawned many barbarous copies. A similar, but thicker piece, with XX in the exergue was actually an Ostrogothic issue of Theodoric, 478-526, and ended up in a junk box because it was unrecognised and thought to be another Urbs Roma copy.

Tony continued his talk with many slides which, to list them without illustrations would merely become a catalogue of curiosities. The audience proved to be amazingly successful at identifying most of the pieces from slides of frequently worn specimens (hence their arriving in the junk box!) and received congratulations from the speaker!

CLUB AUCTION REPORTS: 108th Club Auction, 4 May 2004

Fourteen members were present at the Club's Spring Auction meeting which was held at the Warburg Institute, Woburn Square, WC1. Newly elected President David Sealy held the gavel for the first session of 49 lots, and Marcus Phillips took over for the second session, also of 49 lots.

This auction included a further selection of books (lots 1-40) which had been withdrawn from the Club's Library, and were thus on offer in aid of Club funds. Lots 41-98 provided a good mixture of coins, medals, tokens and bank notes submitted by five vendors.

As in previous auctions since the unfortunately regrettable (though necessary and enforced by circumstances) decision had been taken by the Club's Committee to dispose of the Club's Library, the book section of the auction was extremely well supported both from the floor and by the Treasurer (Paul Edis) acting on behalf of the postal bidders. As with previous auctions of the Club's books, none were presented on the night but had been adequately described in a separate sales sheet listing of the lots. Successful bidders were required to arrange for the best method

of delivery of their purchases, either by personal collection at a subsequent Club meeting or by postage, bearing the additional cost, via the Treasurer. Top price in the book section was fetched by lot 16 — *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*, vol. II, *Justinian-Phocas*, by W. Hahn, Vienna, 1975. This sold for £55 against a reserve of £35. Also, Vol. I of the same work (lot 15), *Anastasius-Justinian I*, published in 1973, was knocked down for £26 against a reserve of £15.

Joint second highest price was attained by lot 1 — *Roman Medallions in the British Museum*, by H.A. Grueber, London, 1874 (ex-House of Commons Library), which sold at its reserve of £50, and lot 23 — *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins in the British Museum*, 2nd edition, by C. Peck (London, 1964), which was knocked down also for £50 against a reserve of £25. In the writer's opinion, the best buy of the night, apart from the previously mentioned lot I, was lot 19 — *Traité de Numismatique Moderne et Contemporaine*, by Engel and Serrure, the Forni reprint of the 1897 printing, which fetched just £15 against a reserve of £12; a good purchase for nearly 800 pages.

Of note was our late member Noel Woolf's work, *The Medallie Record of the Jacobite Movement*, London, 1988, which went for £25 against a reserve of £8. Also, *Medals of the Renaissance* by Sir George Hill (the revised edition by Graham Pollard), British Museum 1978, was sold for £19 against a reserve of £12. Only four lots failed to find a buyer, and in the writer's opinion, two of those had been given reserve prices just five pounds of so too high. This is in no way to be taken as being critical of the excellent job that the sub-committee has performed so far in exacting a fair, sensible and acceptable method of disposing of the Club's Library. Total sales of the bibliographical section made an excellent £525.

In the 'regular' section of the auction, results were mixed. Twenty-one lots remained unsold, whilst 37 lots found a new home. The highest price achieved here was for lot 50, an Egypt, British Mandate 10 mils 1916 plain, error no hole, made its reserve of £15. Lot 77, an Elizabeth Russian silver 10 kopek piece, 1744, also made its reserve of £12. Lot 86, a Paine & Son pint token, did well selling for £11 against its £5 reserve.

The total for sales in this section of the auction was £143.50, the Club funds thereby benefiting by a commission charge of £16.15, which included £2 raised from the sale of one late entry donated lot. In toto the

Club's funds therefore benefited by £541.15.

Taken altogether, this was a good Club evening with some lively bidding from the floor for the books and the more unusual lots presented in the regular section.

Anthony Gilbert

BOOK REVIEWS

History Re-Stored: Ancient Greek Coins from the Zhuyuetang Collection.

Andrew Meadows and Richard W.C. Kan. Zhuyuetang Ltd, Hong Kong 2004. 118pp, illus in colour throughout, 3 maps. Hardback in slipcase, £40.

This beautifully produced book represents a labour of love collecting Greek coins over many years by the Hong Kong based collector Richard Kan. The collection of 126 coins is exemplary, and their presentation enlivened by the inclusion of enlarged details as well as illustrations of a number of relevant antiquities and views of sites. The book was produced to accompany the first public display of the collection in Hong Kong and to coincide with the hosting of the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens. The text and sequence of the coins is historically based to encompass some 600 years of Greek coinage, explained in 18 linked chapters followed by a detailed catalogue of the coins.

The book works on two levels, it attracts and informs the general reader about Greek coins, especially in the lucid Preface that ties the catalogued coins into the account. The reader is then beguiled by the splendid coins themselves. The academic text is the work of Dr Andrew Meadows, a Greek coin expert and Curator in the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum. The second level of the book is its attraction to the collector of Greek coins. Here any collector of this series will, literally, drool, at the pieces shown. Coins like the electrum stater (probably of Ephesus) with the grazing stag and the retrograde legend reading 'I am the badge of Phanes' (and there are also several of the very rare smaller denominations in the collection); a superb decadrachm of Athens (without a great chisel cut in it as the British Museum specimen has); the tridrachm of Delphi with its two rams' head rhyta obverse; a decadrachm of Alexander the Great of the usual tetradrachm types, and a Porus and elephant decadrachm (see *Minerva*, Sept/Oct 2004, pp. 46-7); the gold

nefer nub stater of the Egyptian pharaoh Nectanebo II, last native pharaoh of Egypt, and the Greek gold portrait stater in the name of the Roman general Flamininus, and many others - these are coins to die for! Here they can be appreciated in a collection that has been brought together with love, taste and discrimination. *Peter A. Clayton*

The Counterfeit Coin Story: Two and a Half Thousand Years of Deception . Ken Peters. Envoy Publicity, 8 Kings Road, Biggin Hill, Kent, TN16 3XU. 2002. 217pp, illus. Card covers, £25, plus postage.

There are few aspects of numismatics that are free from forgery. Probably the most difficult to detect are those of rare coins that are aimed at collectors. It is in everyone's interest, except the perpetrators, that detection details are widely available.

This book is a good place to start, its subtitle sums it all up. Such a wide field cannot cover everything and British material is emphasised. Many examples are illustrated and useful references given for specific detail.

Governments and the public are naturally more concerned with the forgery of circulating currency. At its worse this causes personal hardship, undermined trade, loss of confidence and of fiscal policies. Part of the problem was often a government who debased and/or overvalued official issues. Also, insufficient coin supply created a vacuum, to be quickly filled by unauthorised tokens whose very success was also exploited by forgers of legal and token coinage. Such fakes are readily detected by most numismatists, but the public at large at the time were fooled by clever techniques described by the author. Study of counterfeits can help however to illustrate the state of past coinage.

Draconian laws, often ineptly enforced, were less effective than expected - Chapter 14 gives some gruesome details. The chapters cover chronologically Greek, Celtic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon and post Norman Conquest problems for Britain and the Continent. Clipping and debasement of gold and silver, together with the counter measures, provide interesting reading. New technology developed in France made forgery more difficult, but as one door began to close so another opened with the official use of base metal for small change.

The 17th century is when collector forgeries of Anglo-Saxon coins

became a problem, which became much wider in the next 200 years. Chapter 9, 'Georgian Epidemics' well describes a time when up to half the circulating coinage was spurious. We are told that 'forgers loved new issues', and there were plenty of them. Conversely, there were long periods with no regal coin in any metal.

Technology led by men like Matthew Boulton was effective only when enough coin was supplied, which was the case by the mid-19th century. Forgery did not stop, but it became less of a problem and the book brings us right up to date with the current British one pound forgeries. On the way, chapters deal with Scotland and Ireland and a most interesting chapter on the forgers themselves. It surprised me to see so many of those designing or engraving for legal coins to be amongst the culprits.

The author uses mini-essays and 'highlight boxes' to good effect, together with many amusing anecdotes. This book is intended as the first in 'The Counterfeit Coin Library'. I look forward to future additions, particularly 'The Counterfeit Coin Companies' which promises hundreds of known counterfeits with numerous illustrations.

John Roberts-Lewis

Irish Small Silver: Anglo-Irish Coins John - Edward VI.

Paul and Bente R. Withers. Galata Print Ltd, Llanfyllin, 2004. 56pp, illus in b/w throughout. Paperback, £12.

This is the sixth book in the series 'Small Change' that Galata have published, and here it is concerned with the halfpennies and farthings of the period 1172 to 1553. Like its forerunners it is small, compact, heavily illustrated and packed with information. All the coins are reproduced at twice actual size which, with this series, is a great boon in aiding recognition. The introductory text is a little quirky, as may be expected from Paul Withers, but it does make the point about this series - it is not easy and the history is tangled. The Irish series of John especially is noted for its awfulness, struck off centre, often with almost illegible legends - in essence, a pain. Light is shone here in the darkness by the clear presentation of the coins, their legends reproduced and the various moneymen involved listed. For the really recalcitrant coins line drawings are added alongside the enlarged photographs.

As has happened previously with this series, latest research has necessitated a new classification, and there are a number of previously unpublished varieties included with the major mints represented being Dublin, Cork, and Waterford, with the odd unusual place. There is also an interesting page featuring fakes and other oddities.

Once again the Withers husband and wife team have produced a really useful book that should have a place alongside its companion titles on the shelves of every archaeologist, curator, collector, Finds Liaison Officer, and metal detectorist. More titles are promised in the pipeline, and they will be eagerly awaited.

Peter A. Clayton

Kruger Pond Imitations. Paul Withers. Galata Press, 2002. Paperback, £3.

This booklet is produced with the same meticulous care that one associates with Galata Publications. Kruger brass imitations of Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek One Pond gold coins will be familiar to many collectors. Not so familiar will be the number of varieties listed and illustrated here at twice actual size.

None are facsimiles of the real gold, the more obvious include a pond and half pond with IMITATION replacing the date on the reverse. Eleven, dated 1896, have IMITATION KRUGER SOVEREIGN in very small letters on the riband under the arms. They use a number of different dies in several styles. Two varieties replace the inscription around Kruger's head to advertise, in English, cigars on one and German beer on the other.

To complete the listing are a couple of types probably used for jewellery, a French quasi imitation and a German (?) issue with reverse wreath but no inscription. Of interest to the 20th century collectors is a piece from a Johannesburg theme park featuring a genuine gold mine shaft. Dated 1986, this token has a giraffe as the reverse and Kruger on the obverse.

The Introduction includes a biography of Kruger and a summary of historical events in Southern Africa during his lifetime. It explains the reason for these imitations as card counters some years after a British law prohibited the production of counters which might be confused with real

coin. Presumably, we are not told, it was British check makers who replaced their previous products with a foreign design. There is nothing on the imitations to connect them to individual makers. The 'easy-find' key enables quick identification of type and six grades from 'very common' to RRR are given.

John

Roberts-Lewis

EDITORIAL TAIL PIECE

Doesn't anyone else in the Club besides John R-L and the Editor read books on numismatics ? If they do, their views, i.e. a review, of what they have read, would be welcome material for the Newsletter.