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Front cover: Sirinos/Pyxoes, incuse stater c540-510BC (not to scale). See article "An incuse stater from the series 'Sirinos/Pyxoes' "

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President's Report

Our sixth biennial international numismatic conference, NAAC2015, was held in Adelaide on 23rd–25th October, with national organiser Walter Bloom and Local Organizing Committee, Barrie Newman (Chair) and Peter Lane. This was our second biennial conference to be held outside ACANS (Macquarie University) and was a great success with four international numismatists and strong participation from South Australian numismatists, representing half the total of the 44 registrants. The conference venue, the Naval, Military and Air Force Club of South Australia, proved to be an ideal venue, which was appreciated by all registrants. We made a small loss on the conference, but this is one of our flagship activities.

The NAA continues to enjoy sponsorship at a sustainable level, with Noble Numismatics (Gold), Downies (Silver), Coinworks, Del Parker, Drake Sterling, Sterling & Currency, The Purple Penny and Universal Coin Co (bronze) all contributing to ensure the Association's continued success; I am grateful for their support.

Peter Lane won the Ray Jewell Silver Award this year, the seventh such award during the 17 years since its inception. Peter has been highly active in the NSSA, the Adelaide Coin Club and the NAA, and is currently Honorary Numismatist at the Art Gallery of South Australia.

This year the Paul Simon Memorial Award went to Queenslander Terry Davidson. Terry has been very active at a high level in both the ANS Queensland Branch and the QNS, having held Executive Committee positions for both societies.

With more and more information becoming available electronically and publication costs increasing markedly, we decided that Volume 25 would be the last printed NAA Journal. The present Volume 26 has been produced entirely electronically, with both the complete version and individual authors' papers downloadable from the NAA website. None of this would have happened without the considerable work of our Managing Editor, Gil Davis.

I am appreciative of the support of Council and other NAA members throughout the year, and particularly our Secretary, Jonathan Cohen, and Treasurer, Gwent Khoo, who have been pivotal in the running of the Association and also the Adelaide conference. I am also grateful to our late honorary auditor, George Cassim of CCS Partners, who died suddenly on 15 December 2015.

Walter R Bloom
President, NAA

Editor's note 2015

I am delighted with the quality and range of articles in this year's volume. Once again, we have a balance of modern and ancient topics, and the research is fresh and exciting. There are four articles on modern topics, principally concerned with medals. The 'ancients' are more wide-ranging and even include cutting-edge scientific analysis. Crucially, every article has great relevance beyond numismatics. This demonstrates the importance and relevance of numismatics to learning about and understanding our past from objects made by people for particular reasons at the time. And of course, the pieces are fun to collect and study!

I encourage members and others to submit draft articles for consideration. The editorial team will work with people without training in academic writing to bring their work up to the required standard. The only stipulations are that it must constitute original research, and the aspiring author must be prepared to take on board constructive criticism and suggestions especially in the peer review process. We are exploring ways in which numismatic notes and short pieces of interest can be put up on the NAA website as another publication medium.

This is the first year in which the journal has been produced electronically, albeit still after undergoing intensive proofing and quality control. This has made the journal cheaper to produce and sustainable. It is also the way of the future whether we like it or not. You can download and print it yourself for a lot less than it would cost to print it professionally and send it to you. Just as importantly, it allows us to use high resolution images, print longer articles, and readily disseminate them to international audiences. This is the reason for the incorporation of abstracts and key words at the beginning of each article.

I express my sincere appreciation to the many people who make the journal possible. Walter Bloom is a tireless support. John O'Connor is wonderful at proof-reading the articles and spotting all the little mistakes that have eluded me. The editorial committee, John Melville-Jones, Clare Rowan, Ken Sheedy, Peter Lane, and Martin Purdy have provided essential help with reviewing articles, as have a large number of external experts on a case-by-case basis. Finally, it is great to have Barrie Newman's sharp eyes and long experience involved in the production process.

I trust you will enjoy reading the 26th volume.

Dr Gil Davis
Managing Editor, JNAA

The Value of Money: Coinage and Diocletian's Price Edict

Howard Posner

Abstract

Diocletian's price edict of 301 CE, the Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de Pretiis Rerum Venalium*, listed maximum prices for over 1200 consumer items. The prices in the edict were expressed as* denarii*, although the* denarius *coin had not been commonly struck for many years. Most of the coins actually used to pay for the goods were the product of reforms by Diocletian in c. 294 CE. These were the gold* aureus*, silver* argenteus*, billon* nummus*, and two lighter copper coins. The earlier billon* antoninianus *also remained in mass circulation, although it was no longer struck. The value of these coins was not stated on them, and their purchasing power in price edict denarii could be varied by the state. Their relative values in late 301 CE when the edict was published are examined in this paper. Three criteria are used: the intrinsic bullion value of the coins, epigraphic evidence, and the internal pricing structure of the edict. Values of 4* denarii *for the old* antoninianus *and the new copper* radiate*, 25* denarii *for the* nummus*, 100* denarii *for the* argenteus*, and 2000* denarii *for the* aureus *are suggested. The last of these valuations is higher than any that have been previously considered for the* aureus*.*

Keywords

[Diocletian] [price edict] [Roman coins] [*argenteus*] [*nummus*] [*aureus*] [*denarius*] [radiate] [laureate]

Diocletian's Price Edict of 301 CE was a sophisticated, innovative and doomed attempt to solve Rome's chronic inflation and currency problems.* He had already made

* I gratefully acknowledge the help, encouragement, and advice given by Dr Gil Davis, who saw my original unstructured, unpublishable document, and put much time and effort into editing it over many early drafts into a concise academic paper. Professor John Melville Jones has patiently read and corrected my many later drafts of this paper, and contributed many insights which are acknowledged elsewhere in the text. I owe both Dr Davis and Professor Melville-Jones a huge debt of gratitude. This paper would never have seen the light of day without their advice and assistance. I thank the anonymous journal reviewers and proof readers for their helpful comments, corrections and suggestions. All coin illustrations are copyright Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. P.O. Box 479 Lancaster, PA 17608.

significant reforms to the currency, taxation system and Civil Service.[1] The edict is an important source of micro-economic data from the late Roman period for historians and numismatists. It set maximum allowed sale prices for over 1200 items, from common foods to exotic animals. Many thousands of the coins used to pay for these goods still exist, but the values attributed to some of them have never been conclusively established. This article is a contribution to that debate. It suggests a value of 2000 *denarii* for the *aureus*, at least 500 *denarii* higher than is usually argued for, 100 for the *argenteus*, 25 for the 10 gram billon laureate *nummus*, 4 for the billon radiate *antoniniani* remaining in circulation and for the new copper radiates, and 1 or 2 for the new copper laureates. The arguments are based on forensic evidence from the coins concerning their intrinsic bullion value, epigraphic material, and the pricing structure of the edict.

Diocletian became Emperor in 284 CE, after half a century of political and economic chaos. The Emperor Aurelian had already made significant fiscal reforms a decade earlier, introducing an improved and standardised billon coin with a guaranteed 5% silver content weighing about four grams. The obverse always showed the Emperor wearing a radiate crown (traditionally the symbol for a double value coin), the reverse usually the mark XX.I or XXI (KA on coins using Greek).[2] This coin was used by Aurelian's successors and, initially, by Diocletian.[3] The coin is called an *antoninianus* today. The contemporary name for it is unknown.

Aurelian's reforms did not prove successful in stabilising the currency, and early in his reign Diocletian increased the weight of the gold *aureus*, issuing it at sixty rather than seventy to the pound. In 293 CE he made more radical changes. He had just appointed Constantius and Galerius as his two junior Caesars, creating his four Emperor tetrarchy, and now he unified and standardised the coinage, introducing the two new major coins that would be used for the rest of his reign. The first was a billon coin struck at thirty-two to the Roman pound, weighing roughly ten grams. The obverse had an image of the Emperor wearing a laurel wreath, the reverse usually an image of Genius holding a *patera* and *cornucopiae*, with the legend *GENIO POPULI ROMANI*.[4] The Roman name for the coin is unknown. It was called a *follis* in the modern literature until the 1980s, but the term preferred now is *nummus*, which means coin or disc.[5] Diocletian also struck a nearly pure silver coin called an *argenteus* at ninety-six to the pound, weighing just over three grams. He also issued two other low denomination copper coins in smaller quantities, containing no silver. One weighed about 3 grams, with a radiate imperial

1 Williams 1997, 118-120.

2 Haklai-Rotenberg 2011, 16-18.

3 Williams 1997, 116-117; Hendy 1985, 455.

4 RIC volume VI *nummi* all have laureate obverses, indicating they are not double denominations, and most, but not all have the *Genio Populi* legend.

5 Abdy 2012, 586-588.

portrait, intended as a replacement for the old radiate billon antoninianus although millions of the old coins remained in circulation for many years. It could perhaps be called a *neoantoninanus*.[6] The other, showing a laureate head, weighed about 1.3 grams.

The four new coins, along with his existing heavier *aureus* and the old radiate *antoninianius* gave Diocletian six denominations. His three lower value coins were the old *antoninianus*, still in mass circulation although no new ones were struck after 294 CE, and his new radiate and laureate copper fractional coins, which seem to have been struck in comparatively small quantities. Diocletian's three higher value coins, the core of his monetary system, were his new billon laureate *nummus*, his new silver *argenteus* and his heavier gold *aureus*.[7]

Diocletian's fiscal innovations had a political as well as an economic purpose. He rearranged the provincial taxation base into dioceses and took far greater control over the Imperial mints than previously. Roman coins issued from all mints in the Empire were now standardised and used to promote Diocletian's concept of both fiscal and political unity.

Each mint produced Diocletian's new coins with the same obverse portraits, the same reverse designs and legends, and the same mint marking system. They were also of the same or similar weight, size and metal composition. The coins were struck in the name of all four tetrarchs, regardless of whose control a particular mint was under, and these rules applied to all mints. The regional and individual fluctuations that had developed during the chaos of the late third century were no longer to be tolerated.[8] The four tetrarchs were the limbs of a single organism running a universally applied political and economic system.

These were the coins issued to pay for the goods listed in the price edict, another attempt at standardisation throughout the Empire. The edict listed the maximum price allowed for over 1200 products, from 2 *denarii* for a *sextarius* of Egyptian beer to 150,000 *denarii* for a pound of dark purple silk.[9] Capital punishment was mandated for those who ignored or evaded it. Carved in stone in the market places of the Eastern Empire, fragments of the edict still survive in over forty locations, and it is likely that more fragments will be found.

Everything in the price edict was tariffed in *denarii*. The novel use of a permanently fixed price suggests the edict was using an artificial currency that could be regulated by

6 Callu 1969, 369.

7 Hendy 1985, 449-450.

8 Elliott 2014, 145-148.

9 Giacchero 1974, 140, 183.

altering the exchange rate with the real coinage to take account of inflation and other fiscal issues.[10] This innovation enabled Diocletian to exercise greater control over the nominal value of his coins while appearing to keep prices stable, and he used it to re-value the *nummus* and *argenteus* in 301 CE, just before he published the Price Edict.[11] Coin values did not remain constant. Those suggested in this article, if accepted, are not valid beyond the year or two immediately following publication of the edict in late 301 CE.[12]

The prologue to the edict states that the prices are maximums, and less could be charged when costs were low. However in the Phrygia/Caria fragments there is no prologue, and a postscript was added by the local Governor, Fulvius Asticus. It mandated the edict prices as fixed and to be adhered to at all times.[13]

Diocletian's economic and military reforms enabled him to stabilise the Empire, but his price edict never really worked.[14] One problem was that the maximum prices listed took no account of seasonality or locality. Within a decade the edict was universally discredited and no longer being used, if the Christian polemicists of the fourth century are to be believed.[15] Their testimony should be treated with caution, as they hated Diocletian for his persecution of their co-religionists.

The prologue to the edict suggests that the primary target was probably compulsory purchases for the army. The later Byzantine author John Malalas claimed the edict was intended to protect traders from intimidation by the commissary but this is unlikely.[16] Diocletian may have been unhappy with profiteering generally, but it is more likely that he took action to check the drain on his treasury when purchasing military supplies. The prologue to the edict complained that '... *the entire contributions of the whole world for maintaining the armies accrue to the detestable gains of plunderers ...*'. [17] There is another indicator that the edict may not have been aimed at civilian retail trade. All the bulk

10 Abbreviations for *denarii* are used in the edict, and the term *denarii communes* has been used in some modern sources as the name of the price edict's artificial unit of currency. There are no ancient sources that use the term. It was used as early as 1919 by Mitchell but appears to be a comparatively recent invention, and I use the term *denarii* in this article. The *denarii communes* anomaly was pointed out to me by Professor John Melville-Jones in private correspondence.

11 Erim, Reynolds and Crawford 1971, 175-6. The inscription they publish appears to be part of an Imperial letter, ordering the *Fiscus* (treasury) to now accept *pecunia* (bronze or billon money) at *geminata potentia* (doubled value).

12 Corcoran 1996, 200-206.

13 Crawford 2002, 154.

14 Mitchell 1947, 3-4.

15 Williams 1997, 132; West 1951, 293.

16 Crawford 2002, p 154.

17 Giacchero 1974, 136. Prologue translation: Kent, 1920, 46.

grains and flours have prices listed, but not their end product, bread, sold as a cheap staple in almost every marketplace.[18]

The exact values of the coins used to pay for these products have remained elusive to numismatists and historians. An early attempt to estimate them was made by Jones. He suggested 25 *denarii* for the *nummus* and 5 for the billon radiate.[19] His analysis was based on 4th century mosaics showing bags of coins marked at 12,500 *denarii*, and a papyrus recording a contemporary coin devaluation.[20] Sutherland suggested 5 *denarii* for the *nummus*, and West 4 *denarii* for the radiate.[21] All these early estimates were made without knowledge of the fragments discovered in Aphrodisias in 1970 and Aezani in 1971. These contained new epigraphic evidence for the *argenteus* and *nummus* values and gave edict bullion prices for the precious metals. The text of the new fragments was published by Erim, Reynolds and Crawford in 1971.[22] They reconsidered coin values in the light of the new information. Since then so have the historians and numismatologists Cope, Harl, Hendy and Corcoran. The billon radiate has been variously valued at 2 1/2, 4 and 5 *denarii*.[23] The *nummus* estimate ranges from 12 1/2 through 20 to 25 *denarii*,[24] and the *aureus* from 1000 to 1500 *denarii*.[25] Most scholars now agree that the *argenteus* was worth 100 *denarii*. There was a doubling of some coin values in September 301 CE, discussed in more detail below. This paper supports values for November/December 301 CE of 2 *denarii* for the new copper laureate coin, 4 *denarii* for the new copper radiate coin and also the old billon *antoninianus*, twenty five *denarii* for the *nummus*, 100 *denarii* for the *argenteus*, and 2000 *denarii* for the *aureus*. Three criteria are considered:

1) the intrinsic bullion value of the coins,
2) epigraphic evidence from the fragments discovered in 1970 and 1971, and
3) the internal pricing structure of the edict.

1) Bullion value.

Mints rarely strike coins that cost more to produce than their face value. The Aezani fragments discovered in 1970 give for the first time the edict bullion prices for silver

18 Matthews 2006, 204-208.

19 Jones 1959, 34-38.

20 Gentili 1956, plate 41. P. Ryl Gr. 4 607.

21 Sutherland 1961, 96; West 1951, 293.

22 Erim, Reynolds & Crawford, 1971, 177.

23 Harl 1996, 151 (2 ½ *denarii*); Cope 1977, 226 (4 *denarii*); Hendy 1985, pp 459-460 (4 *denarii*); Erim, Reynolds and Crawford 1971, 176-177 (5 *denarii*).

24 Harl 1985, 264 (12 ½ *denarii*); Cope 1977, 225-226 (20 *denarii*); Erim, Reynolds and Crawford 1971, 176-177 (20 *denarii*); Hendy 1985, 459 (25 *denarii*).

25 Corcoran 1996, 214-225 (1200 *denarii*); Harl 1985, 264 (1200 *denarii*); Cope 1977, 225 (1500 *denarii*).

(6000 *denarii* per pound) and gold (72,000 *denarii* per pound). This gives a ratio between silver and gold bullion of 12:1. Bullion prices for copper were also listed, in three different grades between 50 and 75 *denarii* per pound.[26] The term used for all copper grades in Latin was *aeramentum*, meaning copper or bronze. The Greek word used for the metal is *chalkos,* which has the same alternate meanings. Neither of these terms enable the type or source of copper or bronze to be identified.[27] Tin and lead are not priced separately in the Price Edict, and it is possible that some of the copper prices are for a bronze alloy.

Thirty-nine tetrarchic *nummi* were analysed in 1968 for their metal content by Cope.[28] The coins were destroyed by the gravimetric chemical analysis used, which involved reducing the alloy to a chemical slurry and measuring the elements precipitated from it. Cope's analysis showed a silver content between 1.265% and 3.84%, with an average of 2.9%. The balance was bronze, with a copper content between 81.29% and 96.8%. These percentages are broadly supported by later non-destructive surface analysis.[29] However, Butcher and Ponting have demonstrated that surface analysis should be treated with caution due to metal migration and oxidisation, and this is particularly true for a debased billon coinage where the surface composition is deliberately different from the core.[30] Cope's sample showed a wide variation in the silver content of the coins, although it was always under 4%. The percentages, while broadly useful, should not be treated as exact figures. The coins were struck to appear silvered on the exterior and some surface metal may have been lost to wear or cleaning over time.

The edict bullion value in 301 CE of the silver in the *nummi* Cope analysed varied from 2.4 *denarii* to 7.2 *denarii* per coin, with an average of 5.5 *denarii*. The bullion value of the copper or bronze was between 1.45 and 2.23 *denarii* per coin, depending on the grade used. The total bullion value of each coin ranged from 3.85 *denarii* to 9.43 *denarii*, with an average 7.34 *denarii*. The *nummus* had to be tariffed above 8 *denarii* to be worth striking, and had to have a sufficiently high mark up above that for the variations in silver content not to seriously affect the relative profitability of the mint.

The pre-reform radiate weighed approximately 4 grams, and was a billon coin with a silver content of approximately 3%, giving a bullion value of roughly 2.3 *denarii* each. It could not have been tariffed at less than 3 *denarii*. The post-reform radiate was a copper coin with no silver content, weighing between 3 and 4 grams, and a bullion value of less than half a *denarius*. It could have been tariffed at 2 *denarii* or even as low as 1

26 Giacchero 1974, 206-208 (gold); 68 (silver); 168 (copper/bronze).

27 Doyle 1976, 96-97.

28 Cope, 1968, 132.

29 Walker 1978, Part 3.

30 Butcher & Ponting 1998, 310-315.

denarius, although a radiate obverse usually indicated a double denomination. The few small laureate fractional copper coins that were struck cost even less to strike, and were probably originally intended as single *denarius* coins.

The three and a half gram *argenteus* had a silver content of more than 90%, giving a bullion value between 54 and 58 *denarii*.[31] The minimum tariff for the *argenteus* has to be more than 60 *denarii*. The *aureus* was a pure gold coin. Officially struck at 60 to the pound,[32] most weighed between 5.3 and 5.5 grams, with a bullion value between 1160 and 1200 *denarii*.

The bullion prices also explain the relative rarity of surviving *argentei*. Using the coin values argued for in this article, a mint with 10 grams of silver bullion could strike 3 *argentei*, costing 170 *denarii* and worth 300 *denarii* (100 *denarii* per *argenteus*). Adding 320 grams of copper or bronze to the 10 grams of silver produces 33 *nummi* costing 235 *denarii* and now worth 825 *denarii* (25 *denarii* per *nummus*). The most economically sound use of silver by a mint was to strike *nummi*, not *argentei*.

The entry for gold bullion at 72000 *denarii* per pound in the edict describes it as being '*in regulis sive [in] solidis*', bars or coins.[33] This line has bedevilled attempts to fix the value of the *aureus*, struck at 60 to the pound. It appears to set it at a fixed 1200 *denarii*, the bullion cost of the gold. Hendy suggests that the *aureus* was not a coin in the same way as the other denominations but a gold ingot of 1200 *denarii* fixed value. He could see no other way of accommodating the gold *solidis* bullion valuation in the edict.[34] A fixed 1200 *denarii* aureus creates many anomalies. It reduces the bullion silver:gold ratio of 12:1 to less than 7.5:1 when striking *aurei* and *argentei*. A mint striking an *aureus* at 1200 *denarii* will make a loss with each coin as there is no allowance for labour and production costs. A fixed *aureus* used in a monetary system with a floating *argenteus* and *nummus* would create two parallel currencies, only one of them responsive to market forces and capable of adjustment. Were there to be any future inflation, the *aureus* would become progressively devalued compared to the other denominations. The pricing structure of the edict discussed below does not support a 1200 *denarii aureus* as a practical coin. Almost none of the higher prices have been set with that number as a base or multiple.

31 Harl 1996, 149-150.

32 *Ibid*, 148.

33 Crawford and Reynolds 1979, 174. The Lauffer edition of the Price Edict has gold at 50000 per pound and no price for silver, but this is because Lauffer did not have access to the newly discovered Aezani fragments. The 50000 *denarii* gold price was based on a misreading of unclear lettering in the only fragment then available, from Elatense.

34 Hendy 1985, 450-4.

This paper argues that the Roman *aureus* is not the *solidis* the edict is referring to, and rejects the proposition that the *aureus* had a fixed 1200 denarii value. *Solidis* has as a first meaning in the Oxford Latin Dictionary 'made of the same material throughout.' This raises the possibility that *solidis* in the edict is not referring to a coin at all, but is another term for gold bullion. A difficulty with this interpretation is that in the single readable Greek fragment of the edict with this line, at Elatense, the term *holokottinois* is used. *Holokottinois,* like *Solidis,* later came to mean gold coins, although neither term was being used at this time to describe Roman *aureii.*[35] It appears that coins of some sort were meant. The Emperor Constantine later started using the term *solidus* for his Roman gold coinage, perhaps from as early as 309 CE, but in 301 the Roman gold coin was still an *aureus*, not a *solidus*.[36]

Many of Rome's trading partners also issued gold coins. It is possible that the gold *solidis* bullion price in the edict may not be referring to the Roman *aureus* but to other gold coins of all types from elsewhere. This would give a fixed exchange rate for foreign gold coins of unknown provenance but proven metal content, and leave the aureus as part of Diocletian's integrated adjustable coinage.

Whatever *solidis* means in this line, Diocletian's *aureus* had to be tariffed at a minimum of 1500 *denarii* to be worth striking as a coin, and had to have a floating value to be a working part of Diocletian's new coinage. A 1200 denarii fixed price aureus should be rejected. This paper argues for a 2000 *denarii aureus*, higher than anyone has yet suggested. A 2000 denarii aureus keeps the 12:1 silver to gold bullion ratio intact. The nominal *denarii* value per gram for a 2000 *denarii aureus* is 370.37, and the bullion cost 218.8 *denarii*. The nominal *denarii* value per gram for the 100 *denarii argenteus* is 30.3 and the bullion cost 18.23 *denarii*. The gross mark up on both coins is 40%. A 2000 *denarii aureus* is also strongly supported by analysis of the internal pricing structure of the edict, discussed below.

2) Epigraphic evidence.

The fragments uncovered in Aphrodisias included a fiscal inscription contemporary with the price edict. Originally thought of be a part of the edict, analysis of the text and the stone it was carved on showed it to be a letter from a provincial governor concerning debt repayment after the base metal coinage (*pecunia*) had been doubled in value (*geminata potentia*). The fiscal inscription can be dated to August 301 CE by the names of the Consuls for that year in the inscription, and by the statement that it would come into effect on September 1st. It has a passage that reads

35 Professor Melville-Jones has pointed out in private correspondence that this line in the edict at Elatense appears to be the first occurrence of the Greek term *holokottinois*, and neither it nor *solidis* were otherwise used to describe Roman gold coins until well into Constantine's reign, over 20 years later.

36 Abdy 2012, 590-591.

...[*nummus a*]*rgenteus centum denariis* …[37]

There is no known word in Latin apart from *argenteus* that ends *..rgenteus*, giving a reading of 'the argenteus (is worth) 100 denarii..'. This is the first primary source naming Diocletian's silver coin as an *argenteus* and very persuasive evidence for a 100 *denarii* value. The fiscal edict also uses the term *bicharacta* for the name of another coin.[38] The word means 'double stamped', and the most likely candidate is the coin now called the *nummus*.[39]

Another fragment of text exposed at Aphrodisias reads

'…*ti quinqu[a]e denariorum potentia vige [at* or *ant]* [40]

An obvious way to fill in the missing first letters is with *vigin*.., making the line read '..*viginti quinquae denariorum*..' and giving a meaning of '...is/are to flourish at a value of 25 *denarii*'. Erim, Reynolds and Crawford acknowledge this and the only candidate for a 25 *denarii* coin is the 10 gram *nummus*.[41] However they reject this reading as there is no already known 25 *denarii* coin, and the value cannot be reconciled with the XX.I markings on some coins. They instead suggest '*sed ut nummi radia…*'. for the missing letters. The line then reads 'but a radiate *nummus* is 5 *denarii*', tariffing the radiate copper coin at five *denarii*, rather than the laureate *nummus* at 25 *denarii*.[42]

There is a lacuna of over 20 spaces immediately before the '..*ti quinquae..*' line, making either interpretation possible. Internal evidence from the price list discussed below strongly suggests that the radiate could not have been tariffed at 5 *denarii*, and supports a 25 *denarii nummus*.

The meaning of the XX.I mark has never been satisfactorily established. Suggestions have included 20 *sestertii* to 1 *antoninianus* or *nummus*, 20 *sestertii* to 5 *denarii*, and 20 parts copper to 1 part silver.[43] The mark dated back to Aurelian's reign. Diocletian's *nummi* did not usually carry the mark, but a few Eastern mints used it in around 300 CE for a few *nummi*.[44] A persuasively argued analysis by Hendy concluded that only the metal content interpretation would have enabled the mark to have been used over

37 Erim, Reynolds and Crawford 1971, 173.

38 Erim, Reynolds and Crawford 1971, 172.

39 Sperber 1991, 62-64; Sperber 1974, 134.

40 Erim, Reynolds and Crawford 1971, 173, line 7.

41 *Ibid*, 75.

42 *Ibid*, 176.

43 Sutherland 1961, 95 (20 sestertii to one antoninianus); Harl 1985, 267 (20 sestertii to 5 denarii); Bolin 1958, 302 (20 parts copper to 1 part silver).

44 Harl 1985, 266.

the reigns of Aurelian's successors.[45] The current silver content of surviving *nummi* is around 3%, but comparatively few coins have been properly analysed and silver may have migrated to the surface and been lost over time. A nominal 5% silver content for the *nummus* is quite possible. That interpretation negates Erim, Reynolds and Crawford's concerns about the XX.I mark precluding a 25 *denarii nummus* reading of '*…ti quinquae denariorum*' in the Aphrodisias fiscal edict. This article suggests that the occasional use of the mark on *nummi* is insufficient reason to discard the 25 *denarii* reading.

The fiscal edict appears to mandate that all new debts incurred after 1 September 301 CE were to be paid using existing currency, but at a doubled face value.[46] There were precedents for this sort of fiscal manipulation. A papyrus from a few years earlier found in Roman Egypt instructs an employee to buy up all the goods he can 'at any price' as the currency was about to be halved in face value, and another refers to the nummi at 12 ½ attic drachmas. [47] There are contemporary mosaics which show bags of 1000 coins, marked at 12500 denarii, which would value them at 12 1/2 *denarii* each.[48] They offer some limited support for the 25 *denarii* valuation for the re-tariffed *nummus* in the Aphrodisias fiscal edict, based on doubling an existing 12.5 *denarii* face value.

Twelve and a half *denarii* does not seem a rational or useful value for a coin. The use in the '*...ti quinqu[a]e denariorum potentia vige..*' line of the verb *vigeo*, 'to flourish and be strong', rather than *valeo*, 'to be worth', suggests the possibility that it was restating an existing 25 *denarii* value, not creating a new one. [49] The second half of the [*a*]*rgenteus* line is missing and it is not possible to say whether the 100 *denarii* value, too, is a new one or a restatement of an existing one. That could leave only the lower value new coins with doubled values, retariffed from 1 and 2 *denarii* to 2 and 4 respectively. This would have given the ordinary soldiers a boost in purchasing power, kept the radiate obverse as a double denomination, and possibly brought the new copper radiate into line with the existing Aurelianic radiate still in general circulation at 4 *denarii*.

3) Internal evidence from the pricing structure of the edict.

The first person to recognise a pattern in the prices listed in the edict was West. He noted in 1951 how many times goods were priced at four *denarii* (he called them *Denarii*

45 Hendy 1985, 454.

46 Erim, Reynolds and Crawford 1971, 175.

47 *P.Rhyl* 607; *P.Osl* 83.

48 Gentili 1956, 46 (Mosaic No 26).

49 The interpretation of the word *vigeo* in the fiscal inscription, and the consequent insight that it was possible that only the lower denomination coins were revalued was made by Professor Melville-Jones who kindly shared it with me in private correspondence, along with his new translations of *P.Rhyl 607* and *P.Osl 83.*

Communis), and suggested the probability of a four *denarii* coin.[50] Since then many more fragments of the edict have been discovered, confirming West's observations. Cope's analysis of over 1200 prices found two thirds of all prices, and more than half of the items priced under thirty *denarii* divisible by four.[51] Cope suggested the most likely coin values were 1 or 2 *denarii* for the copper radiate, 4 *denarii* for the billon radiate, 20 *denarii* for the *nummus*, 100 *denarii* for the *argenteus*, and 1500 *denarii* for the *aureus*. Unaware of the epigraphic evidence in the later fragments, he justified a 100 *denarii argenteus* on the grounds that there were over ninety products priced at 100 or 200 *denarii*. He justified a 20 *denarii nummus* on the basis of 111 price points at 20, 40, 60 or 80 *denarii*.[52]

Cope's analysis used all the goods in the edict, including such occasional purchases as purple silk and leopards.[53] Lower denomination coin values are better assessed against more frequent purchases. Almost all levels of Roman urban society bought food from the *fora* on a near daily basis.[54] Below is a table of the prices of every food in the edict.

Table 1. Food and drink price points (in denarii) in the edict

PRICE	QTY	PRICE	QTY	PRICE	QTY	PRICE	QTY
2	**2**	12	**16**	40	**7**	125	**1**
4	**70**	16	**16**	50	**6**	150	**5**
6	**9**	20	**11**	60	**8**	200	**7**
8	**13**	24	**9**	80	**3**	250	**2**
10	**5**	30	**12**	100	**17**	300	**1**

Out of a total of 220 maximum prices 180 (88%) are divisible by 4. Thirty two percent of all foods are priced at 4 *denarii*, and often numbers of a product are grouped together so as to keep a 4 *denarii* price point (10 leeks, 20 small radishes, 4 eggs).[55] A 2 *denarii* coin would also fit the above model, but only 2 items are that price, no products are bundled together to create 2 *denarii* price points, and the billon radiate had a bullion value of more than 2 *denarii*.

Cope's argument for a 20 *denarii nummus* is less convincing when food prices are analysed. Fifty-four foods are priced in multiples of 20, but there are over 40 foods that cannot be purchased with only 4 *denarii* and 20 *denarii* coins–price points 6, 10, 30, 50, 125, 150 and 250. A 25 *denarii nummus* is much more practical. Thirty nine foods are

50 West 1951, 293.

51 Cope 1977, 8.

52 *Ibid*, 12.

53 Giacchero 1974, 183, 210.

54 Holleran 2012, 159-193.

55 Giacchero 1974, 146.

priced in multiples of 25, and every product listed in the edict (apart from those priced at less than 4 denarii) can be paid for using a combination of 4 *denarii* and 25 *denarii* coins.

Seventeen foods are marked at 100 *denarii*, more than for any other price other than 4 *denarii*, and 90 other products in the edict are priced at 100 or 200 *denarii*. While the prologue envisaged the possibility of cheaper prices, the maxima appear to have been fixed where possible at easily divisible and usable round numbers. Quantities of goods are often listed as a group so as to keep the 100 *denarii* price point (100 oysters, 2 larger reeds)[56]. There is little doubt that 100 *denarii* was a key price point, and that the *argenteus* was valued at that level.

Food prices are too low to be of much assistance in determining the value of the aureus. More evidence can be found in the higher priced products. Table 2 lists all goods priced at 1200 *denarii* or more.

Table 2. Price points of 1200 denarii or more in the price edict

Price	Qty	Price	Qty	Price	Qty	Price	Qty	Price	Qty	Price	Qty
		2100	**1**	5000	**17**	10000	**12**	23000	**2**	46000	**1**
1200	**7**	2250	**10**	5250	**1**	11000	**1**	25000	**4**	48000	**1**
1250	**14**	2300	**1**	5500	**2**	12000	**8**	30000	**3**	50000	**3**
1300	**1**	2500	**18**	6000	**11**	12500	**2**	31000	**1**	55000	**1**
1400	**1**	2750	**2**	6500	**3**	13000	**1**	32000	**3**	60000	**1**
1500	**16**	3000	**17**	7000	**9**	15000	**6**	34000	**1**	72000	**2**
1600	**2**	3250	**1**	7500	**6**	16000	**1**	36000	**4**	75000	**1**
1750	**10**	3500	**9**	8000	**9**	19000	**1**	40000	**2**	100000	**3**
1800	**1**	4000	**14**	8500	**1**	20000	**6**	44000	**1**	125000	**2**
2000	**17**	4500	**8**	9000	**4**	22000	**3**	45000	**1**	135000	**1**
										150000	**2**

There are 294 products priced at or over 1200 *denarii* and a 1200 *denarii aureus* can only be used to pay for 39 of them (13.27%) without resort to other denominations. A 1500 *denarii aureus* fits sixty four products out of 271 (23.62%). A 2000 *denarii aureus* fits 109 products out of 242 (45.04%), almost twice the percentage of the other suggested values. If half *aurei* are added, the proportion rises to over 62% (compared to 25% and 28% for the 1200 and 1500 valuations). Applying the same criteria to the most expensive items in the edict, the evidence is even more persuasive. Over 70% of the 81 products marked at 10000 *denarii* or more can be purchased using just 2000 *denarii aurei*. If half *aurei* are included, 100% can be purchased without resort to other denominations

56 Giacchero 1974, 144, 165.

(compared to 37% and 36% for the 1200 and 1500 valuations). However the half *aureus* was a comparatively rare coin, and its contribution should not be overrated.

This list also supports the argument for a 25 *denarii nummus*. There are 38 high priced products that do not end in a multiple of 100. All end in 50 (1250, 1750, 2250, 2750 and 5250), practical numbers if there is a 25 *denarii nummus*, but very inconvenient if it has a value of 15 or 20 *denarii*.

Conclusion.

Taking each coin in turn, the proposed valuation and supporting evidence is as follows:

1. The pre-reform billon radiate

Four *denarii*. The bullion value was around 2 *denarii*. There is persuasive evidence from the pricing structure of the edict that there had to be a common 4 *denarii* coin. The 10 gram *nummus* cannot be the 4 *denarii* coin as it cost twice that to strike, and the post-reform radiate had a minimal bullion value and was not struck in great quantities.

2. The post-reform fractional copper laureate.

One *denarius*. This is a comparatively rare coin. The bullion cost is minimal and it could have been tariffed at 1 or 2 *denarii*. The existence of a new radiate (double denomination) coin of similar intrinsic value makes it more likely that it was a 1 *denarius* coin. There is also the possibility that it was retariffed in mid-301 CE to 2 *denarii*.

3. The post-reform copper radiate.

Two *denarii*. The post-reform copper radiate had a bullion value of less than half a *denarii*. There had to be a need for a fractional coin of very low denomination, if only to give accurate change. The lists for cheaper priced articles in the edict generally avoid 1, 3 and 5 *denarii* price points, and there was a laureate coin of similar intrinsic value. This suggests a 2 *denarii* valuation for this coin, further supported by its radiate (double denomination) obverse portrait. There is also the possibility that it was retariffed in mid-301 CE to 4 *denarii*.

4. The post-reform billon nummus.

Twenty five *denarii*. The coin had an average bullion value of around 7 *denarii*, with a 2 *denarii* spread around that mean. The coin had to have a high enough mark up for the bullion difference not to seriously affect profitability. Epigraphic evidence supports a 25 *denarii* valuation. There are late third century illustrations of bags of 1000 *nummi* marked at 12.5 *denarii* each, and in mid-301 CE the *nummi* may have been doubled in face value. Internal pricing evidence from the edict suggests a value of 25 rather than 20 *denarii*, especially if a 4 *denarii* coin is accepted.

5. The post-reform argenteus.

One hundred *denarii*. The bullion value of the *argenteus* was more than 50 *denarii*. Epigraphic evidence both names the coin and gives it a 100 *denarii* value. The edict has more products priced at 100 *denarii* and 200 *denarii* than at any other price points.

6. The gold aureus.

Two thousand *denarii*. The bullion value was 1200 *denarii*. A fixed 1200 *denarii* value removes the aureus from the adjustable coinage system, and is unprofitable to strike. The internal pricing structure of the edict is more amenable to a 2000 *denarii aureus* than a 1200 or 1500 *denarii* one. A 2000 *denarii aureus* and a 100 *denarii argenteus* keep the silver to gold ratio at 12:1. The only persuasive argument in favour of a 1200 denarii aureus is the term *solidis*, an unusual word for this time, used in the gold bullion price line of the edict.

Coins in circulation 301 CE

Pre-reform billon antoninianus of Maximian. Tripolis mint 286-90 CE. RIC V Pt II 624 (Picture courtesy of CNG. Auction 84, lot 1421)

Post-reform billon *nummus* of Diocletian. Nicomedia mint 294-5 CE. *RIC VI 27a* (photo courtesy CNG. Auction 331 lot 332)

Laureate fractional copper coin of Diocletian. Rome mint 294-295 CE. RIC VI 48. (Courtesy of CNG. Auction 90, L1699).

Argenteus of Diocletian. Aquilea mint 300 CE. *RIC VI 16a* (Photo courtesy of CNG. Auction 93 lot 1237).

Aureus of Diocletian. Antioch mint 296 CE. RIC VI 22 (Courtesy of CNG. Auction 82, L1062).

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There is no single complete surviving copy of the edict. All the published texts are compilations of the various fragments. The first attempt to translate the edict into English was made by William Leake in 1826, the latest in 1940, by Elsa Graser. The prologue was translated by Roland Kent in the 1920s and some individual fragments have been translated more recently. The most comprehensive lists of fragments have been made by Siegfried Lauffer in 1971, with all the Latin and Greek text, and by Marta Giacchero in 1974, with the Latin and Greek texts updated to include the fragments discovered in 1970 and 1971, and the addition of a translation into Italian. This article uses the Giacchero text for edict products and prices wherever possible, as the Lauffer 1971 edition does not include all the 1970 and 1971 fragments which contain relevant silver, gold and copper prices. Some of the more recently discovered fragments are the subject of more detailed scholarship in articles dedicated to that fragment alone.

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World War I appeal medals of Western Australia

Walter R Bloom and John McDonald

Abstract

Appeal medals were produced in Western Australia over the first four years of World War I in support of various worthy causes, including the Red Cross, Children's Hospital and returned injured soldiers and widows of those who fought for Australia, the latter through the Ugly Men's Voluntary Workers' Association of Western Australia (Incorporated). There has been very little known about these medals, not even their manufacturer, but an analysis of the die characteristics together with an examination of newspapers of the day and other contemporary records leads us to their common manufacturer, Cumpston's City Electric Engraving Works, then located in Hay Street, Perth.

Keywords

[appeal medal] [Children's Hospital] [Cumpston] [Dardanelles] [Kitchener] [Ugly Men] [World War I]

Introduction

Patriotism and support for the war effort during World War I was widespread throughout Australia, and particularly in Western Australia which saw many of the troops leave from Albany, headed for Europe and the Middle East. The endless demand for supplies, including bandages for the wounded, and the support for a growing number of war widows and their children, led to a proliferation of charities and street appeals. And there was a strong numismatic flavour, with both medals and badges sold on street corners and at various fixtures. The large mintages of these, and the corresponding large sums raised, are quite surprising given the relatively small population of Western Australia and the scarcity of surplus cash at the time. Here we concentrate on a particular style of medal, most of them extolling the war effort, all around 23.5mm in diameter, and most but not all including Western Australia in the legends.

The medals

Carlisle lists several medals of the First World War period that have very similar flans (all with diameter 23.5mm) and die characteristics. We now detail these in chronological order where possible, according to Carlisle reference, and examine their origins. We

shall argue that all these medals were struck by Richard Stanley Cumpston (City Electric Engraving Works). Note that Carlisle doesn't list all the metal types.

Carlisle 1914/2
Declaration of War

This medal and the following one were probably issued to raise money for a "War Patriotic Fund" that was set up by the Governor of Western Australia, Sir Harry Barron, in August 1914.

Obverse: (Kitchener)/DECLARATION OF WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND & GERMANY.
Reverse: WESTERN AUSTRALIA. /STRIKE HARD/AND/STRIKE AGAIN/AUGUST. 1914. *Size*: 23.5mm *Metals*: Aluminium – Bronze – Brass *Mintage*: n/k *Mint*: Cumpston's.

Carlisle 1914/11 (Aluminium not listed in Carlisle)
Declaration of War

Obverse: (Crossed Australian and British flags and swan)/DECLARATION OF WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND & GERMANY. *Reverse:* WESTERN AUSTRALIA AUGUST. 1914./STRIKE HARD/AND/ STRIKE AGAIN. *Size*: 23.5mm *Metals*: Aluminium–Bronze–Brass *Mintage*: n/k *Mint*: Cumpston's. (die varieties)

An appeal from the Governor announcing the establishment of the War Patriotic Fund was circulated to newspaper editors in Western Australia by the Colonial Secretary's Office on 10th August 1914, for example:

PATRIOTIC FUND. (1914, August 15). *Great Southern Herald* (Katanning, WA : 1901–1954), p. 2. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article146217950

10th August, 1914.

To the Editor of the "Great Southern Herald.": Sir, The "attached appeal" is forwarded at the request of His Excellency the Governor for publication. Yours faithfully, J.M.Drew, Colonial Secretary.

War Patriotic Fund for Western Australia. The horrors of war are upon us. A number of our men will shortly be leaving for active service on behalf of the Empire. We ought not to let them depart without affording them some assurance that those whom they may leave behind, and who may be dependent on them, will not be forgotten by us. A practical way of doing this is by at once forming a fund which shall be applied for the assistance of their relatives and dependents in cases of need. I therefore confidently appeal to the people of this State to help me to establish such a "fund." The following committee has been appointed to control the fund ……..etc

Other newspaper extracts show that these "Declaration of War" medals went on sale to the public almost immediately afterwards, strongly suggesting that they were issued either by the Patriotic Fund Committee itself or for the benefit of the fund.

Advertising. (1914, August 17). *The West Australian* (Perth, WA : 1879–1954), p. 10. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28564721

Boys wanted to sell Declaration of War medals, 2s. doz. profit. Kinnenment, 40 William St.

Current Happening. (1914, August 25). *Goomalling-Dowerin Mail* (WA 1911–1916), p. 2. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article156481530

Mementoes of War Time.—Mr. J. W. Walker, the well-known stationer and bookseller has received a large number of war medals which he is offering to the public for pence (sic). They will form in years to come an interesting memento of Armageddon- They have as a motto the inscription "Strike Hard and Strike Again."

Carlisle 1915/17
East Perth Football Club (EPFC)

Obverse: (Soldier with rifle)/STRUCK IN HONOUR.OF.OUR.BOYS.AT THE DARDANELLES. *Reverse:* WESTERN AUSTRALIA .1915./GOD SPEED/THE/ALLIES. *Size*: 23.5mm *Metals*: Aluminium–Bronze–Brass *Mintage*: at least 12,000 *Mint*: Cumpston's.

In Perth, the *Daily News* of Friday 2nd July 1915, p. 7. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article81004976 carried a report quoting the President of the East Perth Football Club that included the following paragraph:

..... we have adopted what I think is a very appropriate idea in striking a medal to commemorate the landing of the Australians at the Dardanelles. These have now been prepared, and are to be sold by members of our ladies' committee at the various matches at 6d. each.

From this it seems quite clear that the medal referred to must have been struck by the end of June 1915, and given the timing, in Perth.

Just a week later, on 9th July, the same paper reported on p. 7 (http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article80996755) that:

The bronze medals struck by the East Perth Club to commemorate the Australian landing at the Dardanelles are selling very well. Already 1,600 have been disposed of. The proceeds are to be devoted, with those of the big bazaar, to the War Distress and Wounded Soldiers' Funds.

On the same date p. 6 of the *Westralian Worker* (http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article148348830) carried an article stating that:

East Perth have decided to devote the total receipts accruing from their efforts at the bazaar arranged during September to various funds. Ten thousand medals have been struck off, and lady members of the club's committee are selling them at 6d. apiece.

On Thursday 12th August 1915 an article on p. 11 of *The West Australian* (http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article26952120) under the headings WAR APPEALS / RED CROSS SOCIETY / EAST PERTH FOOTBALL CLUB included the following information:

..... twelve thousand medals have been issued for sale in the different portions of the State and, as they are of very attractive design, it is expected they will be eagerly purchased in aid of the cause.

The origins of this medal have previously been obscure, but we are confident that it can now be identified as the one struck for the East Perth Football Club and we can put the mintage at a minimum of 12,000. We also believe that this was the very first Australian medal commemorating the Gallipoli landing to be struck and issued to the public.

<u>Carlisle W/8 c1914.</u> West Australia Day

"West Australia Day" was celebrated on 30th July 1915 (Bloom & McDonald, 2015). It was part of a nationwide event (except for Queensland) known as "Australia Day" in other states. Both this medal and the following one were clearly struck for this occasion and should therefore be assigned to mid-1915 rather than Carlisle's tentative date of 1914.

Obverse: (Swan)/WEST AUSTRALIA*DAY*. *Reverse:* blank. *Size*: 23.5mm *Metal*: Aluminium *Mintage*: n/k *Mint*: Cumpston's. Image courtesy Leslie Carlisle, taken by Bob Climpson of Noble Numismatics

Obverse: (Swan)/WEST AUSTRALIA*DAY*. *Reverse:* (Kitchener)/DECLARATION OF WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND & GERMANY. *Size*: 23.5mm *Metal*: Aluminium *Mintage*: n/k *Mint*: Cumpston's. Image courtesy Leslie Carlisle, taken by Bob Climpson of Noble Numismatics

<u>Carlisle W/9 c1914.</u> West Australia Day

<u>1915/ (not listed in Carlisle)</u> West Australia Day

Drakesbrook was a small township some 100 kilometres south of Perth which is now known as Waroona. There are several regional variants of "Australia Day" medals from NSW, but this is the only known regional example from Western Australia.

<u>Carlisle 1916/10</u> Red Cross Society

This medal was issued as part of a major fund raising exercise held by the Red Cross on Anzac Day in April 1916. At the time the event received some coverage in Perth newspapers, but this contained no specific information about the manufacturer of the medal or the number produced. The price of the medal was not reported, but 6d seems to have been a common figure for similar medals issued around that time. If we assume this figure, then the amount of income from the "Sale of Anzac medals" reported by the

Obverse: (Swan)/WEST AUSTRALIA/* DAY *. *Reverse:* (Cross)/DRAKES * BROOK * ROADS * BOARD/30 July/1915. *Size*: 23.5mm *Metal*: Bronze *Mintage*: n/k *Mint*: Cumpston's.

Obverse: (Crossed Australian and British flags)/ W.A./1916. *Reverse:* (Cross with embedded 12)/RED CROSS QUEEN * MEDAL *. *Size*: 23.5mm *Metal*: Bronze *Mintage*: n/k *Mint*: ?

Red Cross in May 1916 (see below) would have been consistent with the disposal of over 8,500 medals, suggesting that the number minted was probably at least 9,000.

THE RED CROSS WORKERS' QUEEN. (1916, April 16). *Sunday Times* (Perth), p. 3 Section: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article58012072

The Red Cross Workers' Queen

A Fine Suggestion

Looking spick-and-span, the Red Cross Workers' Queen, the popular wife of Mr Alex Clydesdale, was found at her committee rooms, 55 William-street, Perth, on Thursday evening, surrounded by a busy committee, headed by her chairman (Mr. Harry Mann) and her secretary, all busy as bees.

MRS. ALEX. CLYDESDALE.
The Red Cross Workers' Queen.

"Well, Mrs. Clydsdale," was our natural query, "how goes the day?". To which she replied: "I am highly gratified with the work of this band of willing helpers that surrounds me. It is too early yet to speak about results. By the way, however, there is one matter of special importance that I would like your widely-read paper to mention, and that is Anzac Day. I feel that some emblem should be worn on that day to evidence the loyalty of all and to commemorate the brave deeds that were done at the Dardanelles that will live in history forever. To meet this we have had a medal struck, to which is attached a royal purple ribbon as a symbol of national mourning, whilst the medal commemorates the brave deeds of our soldier boys. These I propose to issue without cost of any kind. And Messrs. Boan Bros. have agreed to act as distributors free of cost. I have sent one of the medals to His Excellency the Governor, their Graces the Archbishops of Perth, the Premier and other prominent persons as a sample and asking their countenance and support, stating that the proceeds will be banked in a special fund to be used on behalf of our soldiers. If the badge is adopted by all as a national emblem, I shall indeed be a proud woman.

The interviewer quite agreed with Mrs. Clydesdale and expresses the hope that all will adopt and wear the medal, and that the demand will exceed the supply.

BADGE FOR ANZAC DAY. (1916, April 13). *The Daily News* (Perth), p. 1 Edition: THIRD EDITION. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article80888901

BADGE FOR ANZAC DAY
(to the Editor)

Sir,-I beg to enclose herewith for your approval a commemoration medal and badge which is proposed to issue by my committee as a national emblem on "Anzac Day", and for which a suitable ribbon of royal purple is attached, for which we ask your commendation and support. It is thought by me, and my committee, that by the sale of these suitable emblems a distinctive badge will be placed in the hands of the public. All proceeds from the sale of these badges I purpose banking in a special fund, which will be devoted to such purpose as will be beneficial in some direction to the soldiers who so bravely and have so well deserved a national day of mourning. I might add that the matter is being handled by my committee without one penny of cost, by free effort all round – Yours etc,.

May Clydesdale
Queen of the Red Cross Workers

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE RED CROSS WORKERS' QUEEN (MEN'S) COMMITTEE.

QUEEN CARNIVAL, 1916, TO MAY 10, 1916.

RECEIPTS. Cr.				EXPENDITURE. Dr.			
Street efforts, including sacrifice days	£186	15	2	Paid to Carnival Central Committee	1,225	0	0
Sundry efforts: Chinese £170 12s. 6d., Greeks £9 6s., Hairdressers £11 9s. 9d	191	8	3	Office expenses	11	3	8
Penny art unions	79	1	6	Printing	60	18	6
Ladies' Committee. Art union tickets, badges, etc	260	2	0	Advertising	22	17	0
Public entertainments	400	13	7	Wages (typist)	7	0	0
Goods wheel	40	19	8	Purchase of goods, medallions, ribbons, badges, etc	90	15	7
Sale of Anzac medals	214	1	4	Expenses incurred in public entertainments	24	15	11
Voting letter (incomplete)	69	11	0	Balance in hand	3	0	4
Sale of gifts and sundries	2	18	6				
	£1,445	11	0		£1,445	11	0

HARRY MANN, Chairman.
J. D. FULLER, Secretary and Treasurer.

Advertising. (1916, May 13). *The West Australian*, p. 10. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article26979292

Carlisle 1916/11
Children's Hospital (Perth)

Obverse: (Kitchener)/HONOUR THE BRAVE/IN OUR MEMORY HE LIVES. *Reverse:* KITCHENER'S COMMAND/TO US ALL/CARRY ON/SOLDIER & MAN/CLOSED HIS/LIFE/JUNE 5TH.1916. *Size*: 23.5mm *Metals*: Aluminium – Bronze – Gilded *Mintage*: n/k *Mint*: Cumpston's.

Of all the medals featured in this article, Carlisle 1916/11, Carlisle 1916/11a and 1916/11(b) are the only ones that at first glance have no connection with Western Australia; there is nothing in the legends or iconography to suggest that these even have an Australian connection, indeed up until recently local collectors and dealers had no idea of the origin of these pieces. A study through Trove indicates that the only mention of these medals is restricted to Western Australian newspapers, and reports of the time tell us that these were to be issued on 4th August 1916 which had been declared "Kitchener Memorial Day" in Perth (but this was subsequently delayed by a week to 11th August) . The brass and bronze versions were sold for 6d each to raise additional funds for the Perth Children's Hospital, which had received a disappointing amount from the previous Red Cross Queen event.

Carlisle 1916/11a
Children's Hospital (Perth)

Obverse: (Kitchener)/DECLARATION OF WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND & GERMANY. *Reverse:* KITCHENER'S COMMAND /TO US ALL/CARRY ON/SOLDIER & MAN/CLOSED HIS/LIFE/JUNE 5TH 1916. *Size*: 23.5mm *Metals*: Bronze–Brass – Gilded *Mintage*: n/k *Mint*: Cumpston's.

1916/ (not listed in Carlisle)
Children's Hospital (Perth)

Obverse: (Kitchener)/DECLARATION OF WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND & GERMANY. *Reverse:* LORD KITCHENER'S/COMMAND TO US ALL/CARRY ON/____/SOLDIER & MAN/CLOSED HIS LIFE/JUNE 5TH 1916. *Size*: 23.5mm *Metals*: Bronze *Mintage*: n/k *Mint*: Cumpston's.

CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL. (1916, July 19). *The West Australian*, p. 11. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article26985618

"Kitchener Memorial Medal.- In view of the fact that the amount received from the committee of the Queen carnival was not nearly up to our expectations, we are now forced to ask for funds to carry on. To assist in this direction it has been decided to issue a Kitchener memorial medal and dispose of it to the public on August 4, this being the anniversary of the day on which war was declared. Committees are being formed to carry out the scheme. The Minister for Education has approved of the medals being sold in State schools, and it is expected that in addition each soldier will purchase and wear the medals, by the sale of which our funds will be considerably augmented. We are pleased to state that the military committee of the Y.M.C.A. has expressed its willingness to do all in its power to help in the distribution of the medals, and we are extremely grateful for their generous offer.

KITCHENER MEMORIAL DAY. (1916, August 11). *The West Australian* (Perth, WA: 1879–1954), p. 5. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article26987947

KITCHENER MEMORIAL DAY
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL REPORT

Today is to be set apart by the committee of the Childrens' hospital as "Kitchener Memorial Day", when medals will be sold to the general public in the interests of the hospital finances, at a price of 6d. each. The movement has been made necessary, in view of the fact that the recent Queen carnival did not realise sufficient to serve the various charitable institutions as adequately as had been anticipated. Since the war began the cost of some hospital requisites has increased 300 and 400 per cent beyond the old prices, and when it is considered that, with the exception of an annual subsidy of £3,000 from the Government, the institution is maintained purely with the aid of public donations, the urgency of money to carry on will be recognised. In deciding upon a Kitchener medal the

committee considered that, in addition to augmenting the funds of the hospital, it would be showing some small appreciation of the late Secretary of State for War, and the idea is certain to prove popular with the public. The medal is a most picturesque and serviceable one. It is cast in bronze, and bears on one side the bust of the late Lord Kitchener, together with the words "Honour the brave in your memory he lives" and on the other side the War Lord's exhortation to the nation to "Carry on" until victory is achieved. Medals will be on sale from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m., and the following stalls have been appointed: St. George's-terrace, Mrs. Shirley White: Railway Station, Mrs. Killick: William-street, Mrs. Hillier: Mandover's (Hay-street), Mrs. McCallum Smith: Boans' (Wellington-street), Mrs. George Taylor: Barrack-street, Mrs. T.G. Molloy: Weld Club, Post Office and Moore's (Hay-street), Mrs. H. Mann: Foy and Gibson's (Hay-street), Mrs. Ockeby: Boans' (Murray-street), Mrs. Raphael: Town Hall, Mrs. Rae. In addition the management of both the Melrose Theatre and the English Pierrots have consented to assist the movement, and members of the two companies will render selections. Further assistance has also been willingly offered by the management of Vic's Britannia and Pavilion cinema theatres, all three agreeing to devote the whole of the proceeds of the entertainment between 2 and 5 p.m. towards the hospital fund. Every person attending any of these theatres will be handed a medal. Studying the convenience of the business men of the city, the committee has decided to make available what are known as "exemption" badges. These will consist of white metal and may be purchased for 2s. 6d. each. Any person wearing one will be exempted from further requests.

The seventh Annual Report of the Children's Hospital includes in its statement of receipts for the year ended 30th September 1916 the following entry:

Kitchener's Medals £602 17s 1d

The corresponding disbursements for the same period include the following entry:

Kitchener's Medals £318 0s 2d

At 6d apiece this represents sale proceeds from over 24,000 medals. Note that with the different obverses and metals, this makes for six different types in all.

The eighth Annual Report of the Children's Hospital includes in its statement of receipts for the year ended 30th September 1917 the following entry:

Kitchener's Medals £57 1s 4d

but with no corresponding entry under disbursements, so we could assume that this represents the proceeds of the sale of a further 2,282 medals from the original minting, giving a total of over 26,000 medals. Assuming that not all were sold, the total number minted may well have been something approaching 30,000, at an average production cost of around 2 ½ pence each.

Carlisle 1917/2
Returned Soldiers

Obverse: (Soldier with rifle)/IN HONOR OF OUR BOYS. SERVING THEIR COUNTRY. *Reverse:* WESTERN AUSTRALIA. 1917./GOD SPEED/ RETURNED/SOLDIERS. *Size*: 23.5mm *Metals*: Bronze – Gilded *Mintage*: n/k *Mint*: Cumpston's.

Although the legends are different the obverse and reverse designs on this medal are virtually identical to Carlisle 1915/17 (the East Perth Football Club medal). There can be no doubt that they came from the same manufacturer. However, for whom this medal was produced or how many were struck remains a mystery.

Carlisle W/7 (1917)
Ugly Men's Voluntary Workers' Association of Western Australia (Incorporated)

Obverse: (Fireman's helmet)/W.A. FIRE. BRIGADES. *Reverse:* UGLY MENS NATIONAL MINISTRY/ SUPPORT OUR/PRESIDENT/J.B. HOLMAN/& INCREASE THE/PATRIOTIC FUND. *Size*: 23.5mm *Metal*: Bronze *Mintage*: n/k *Mint*: Cumpston's.

To quote from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ugly_Men%27s_Association:

The Ugly Men's Voluntary Workers' Association of Western Australia Inc., generally shortened to the Ugly Men's Association or Ugly Men, was a fund-raising and charitable organisation established in Western Australia in 1917. Previously, a Mrs Alicia Pell had organised an "Uglie Man" competition to raise funds for the Red Cross in Kalgoorlie. The East Perth Football Club then built on the concept to raise funds for the Perth Children's Hospital and the War Patriotic Fund. The football club's work developed into a successful grassroots organisation with the first branch opening in the Perth suburb of Mount Lawley and focussing on supporting cases of hardship caused by war.

Further details of the Ugly Men's Voluntary Workers' Association of Western Australia (Incorporated) can be found in the comprehensive thesis of Rita Farrell (See Bibliography).

Mr J B Holman, mentioned on the medal, was President of the WA Fire Brigades Association, as indicated in *The West Australian*, (20th February 1906), p. 2. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article25632800.

COMPLIMENTARY SOCIAL. At the Hotel Fremantle, last night, the members of the Cue Fire Brigade, who are proceeding to Bendigo to take part in the annual demonstration of the Victorian Fire Brigade, were tendered a complimentary social by the W.A. Fire Brigades Association. The President of the Association (Mr. J. B. Holman, M.L.A.) presided over a large attendance, including Messrs. J. Price and F. Troy, M's.L.A.

His obituary can be found in *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24th February 1925) p 9. , http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article16187527

MEMBER'S DEATH

MR. J. B. HOLMAN
In PERTH, Monday (23rd February 1924)

Mr. J. B. Holman, member for Forrest in the State Parliament, died this morning. He was born at Bendigo, and subsequently worked as a miner at Broken Hill. Mr. Holman came to Western Australia in 1893, and became the general secretary and organiser of the AWU. In 1901 he was elected to the Assembly for South Murchison. He was the first Minister for Railways, and Minister for Labour and Industry in the Daglish Labour (sic) Government, and was Chairman of Committees in the Scaddan Labour (sic) Government for two Parliaments, but lost the Labour (sic) selection ballot in 1920, after holding the seat for l8 years. He was re-elected for Forrest on the death of Mr. Peter O'Loghlin.

Bill Forest, historian at the East Perth Football Club, provided the following details.

The 1916 Annual Report of the EPFC mentions the Ugly Men Competition, It was written up in the Truth Newspaper and Daily News. One fundraising activity was to get people to place a threepenny piece in a line in Hay St, with all of these going into the charity. The aim was to have 1 million pieces! Harry Mann, EPFC President, was very active in charity activities and was one of the founders of the Ugly Men's Voluntary Workers' Association of Western Australia.

Manufacturer and die comparisons

The most difficult piece of information to locate was the manufacturer. None of the sources cited above made any mention of who struck these medals, but the single decisive clue was to be found in the Advertising section (p.1) of the 13th August 1917 edition of *The Daily News* (Perth). http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article81076271. A public notice presenting a "Statement of Receipts and Expenditures in connection with Effort for the War Patriotic Fund" on behalf of the Ugly Men's National Ministry included the following expenditure item:

R. S. Cumpston, Medal Struck for J. B. Holman, Esq *£9.0.0*

This undoubtedly related to W/7 and firmly placed its striking with Richard Stanley Cumpston. It also verified the date of W/7 as 1917. The low charge by Cumpston, which includes the cost of dies, would indicate that the mintage of W/7 must have been very small, certainly well below five hundred.

All medals have the same diameter, 23.5mm, and a close study of the dies used in striking the medals reveals that they all came from the same engraver, with the possible exception of 1916/10, although the similarity of its cross design to 1915/(unlisted) suggests that it probably had the same origin.

W/7 is the only one for which we have documentary evidence to show that it came from Cumpston.

Distinctive lettering with a very low aspect ratio and a rather "squat" appearance is used in the circumferential obverse legend on W/7 ("W.A. FIRE BRIGADES"). This is exactly matched by lettering used in various parts of the legends that appear on 1914/2, 1914/11, 1915/17, W/8, W/9, 1915/(unlisted) and 1917/2, most obviously by the "E", "R" and "S", as shown in the following illustration. So based on lettering matches, all of these medals can now confidently be attributed to Cumpston.

Comparison of distinctive lettering in legends

We also have die matches as shown in the following table:

Carlisle Reference	W/7	1914/2	1914/11	1915/17	W/8	W/9	1915/ (unlisted)	1916/10	1916/11	1916/11a+ (unlisted)	1917/2
Obverse "Swan" die match											
Reverse "Strike Hard…." die match											
Reverse "Kitchener's Command" die match											
Bust match											
Same Obverse design (legends differ)											
Same Reverse design (legends differ)											
Parts of Reverse design the same (WESTERN AUSTRALIA)											
Exact lettering matches											
General lettering similarity											

Summary of die matches. By row: die and design matches shaded yellow, reverse design part matches shaded pink, exact lettering matches shaded apricot, general lettering similarity shaded green.

Taken together, the distinctive lettering and die matches provide a direct link to W7 for all but 1916/10. In summary, it is clear that Cumpston produced W/7, 1914/2, 1914/11, 1915/17, W/8, W/9, 1915/(unlisted), 1916/11, 1916/11a, 1916/(unlisted) and 1917/2. While we can't say anything about 1916/10 on the basis of the evidence above, it would be surprising if this medal wasn't made by Cumpston as well.

Cumpston's City Electric Engraving Works

A history of Cumpston's is beyond the scope of this article and is the subject of further research, but a flavour can be gleaned from the following excerpt from the Advertising. (1918, December 1). *Sunday Times*, p. 9. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article57998009

…..What gave birth to the above reflections was a visit we paid to the City Electric Engraving Works at 918 Hay-street, where is to be found one of the most complete electric engraving plants in the Commonwealth. This firm are contractors to the Commonwealth and State departments, and had the honor of making the seal for the Commonwealth government by order of Mr. C. H. Watson, the then Prime Minister. Mr. R. S. Cumpston has done a vast amount of important work here since he first completed orders for the Education Department some 16 years ago. The dating stamps at the G.P.O. were made by him, as well as all kind of bill stamps from 3d. to £100. He has had many orders from the Eastern States, but one he values most of all was one from the Governor-general, Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson, for a memorial tablet to keep for ever green the memory of one of his aides-de-camp who made the great sacrifice in France. Mr. Cumpston has made hundreds of honor boards and memorial tablets, and amongst the other branches in which he specializes may be mentioned brass plates and raised letter plates, borough and mining seals, dating and numbering stamps, club badges, burning brands, brass, steel and rubber stamps and dies, bottle seals, steel punches, newspaper headings, brass labels and checks, cattle and dog discs, camel discs, wood and type metal blocks, facsimiles and stencils. Amongst the machines to be found are two of the very latest for electric engraving, and one of these is capable of engraving a 5in letter or one small enough to reproduce the Lord's Prayer three times on a threepenny-bit. At his other establishment, near Foy and Gibson's, Mr. Cumpston keeps his big metal press, which weighs two and a half tons, and is said to be capable of striking about a seven and half ton blow, about which there is certainly no romance, and during the war has produced over half a million Badges and Medals.

Personalities

Finally, what do we know about those involved in these fundraising activities? The 1917-1918 Committee of Management of the Ugly Men's Voluntary Workers' Association of Western Australia (Incorporated) included its President, (Police Sergeant) Harry Mann, one of the three Vice-Presidents was Harry Boan (of Boan's Department Store) who was President of the Children's Hospital for 1917-1918, and the committee members included Alexander Clydesdale who went on with Harry Mann to develop the basis of the State Lotteries Commission.

Harry Mann was particularly active in organizations responsible for issuing appeal medals during WWI. In addition to the Ugly Men's Voluntary Workers' Association (Incorporated) (Carlisle W/7 in 1917), he was President of the East Perth Football Club in 1915 (Carlisle 1915/17) and in 1916 he was chairman of the Red Cross Workers' Queen Committee (Carlisle 1916/10).

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Eighth Annual Report of the Children's Hospital for the year ended 30th September 1917.

In researching this article the authors have made extensive use of the excellent *Trove* website created by the National Library of Australia (http://trove.nla.gov.au). Individual references are available from us on request.

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An incuse stater from the series 'Sirinos/Pyxoes'

K.A. Sheedy, P. Munroe, F. Salvemini, V. Luzin, U. Garbe and S. Olsen

Abstract

The South Italian silver incuse stater Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies inv. 07GS729 with the matching obverse/reverse type of the bull with head reverted and the inscriptions 'Sirinos/Pyxoes' was minted sometime between c.540 and 510 BC. We know very little about the mint in which it was struck. Here we present results from SEM studies and from the current joint project of the Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies (ACANS) and the Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organization (ANSTO) which explore the techniques for making incuse coinage.

Keywords

[ACANS] [ANSTO] [Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies] [Incuse Coinage] [Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organization] [neutron diffraction] [neutron imaging] [Pyxoes] [SEM] [Sirinos] [South Italian coinage] [Sybaris]

One of the most intriguing coins in the remarkable South Italian collection bequeathed to ACANS by the late Dr W. L. Gale is a silver stater (ACANS inv. 07GS729; Fig. 1) with the inscriptions 'Sirinos/Pyxoes' minted c.540-510 BC.[1] It is a product of the distinct incuse style and technique characteristic of the early issues of the first mints in South Italy.[2] The coin has a distinguished pedigree, having first appeared in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans at the end of the 19th century (another example from the Evans collection passed to the Lloyd collection and then to the British Museum; Fig. 2).[3] It was the subject of a short report by Dr Gale himself.[4] The coinage is attended by many

1 *SNG Australia* I, 729. We wish to thank Dr H. Horsnaes for her comments on an earlier draft of the paper. We also wish to warmly thank the journal's two anonymous reviewers for valuable suggestions that have improved the text.

2 Gorini (1975).

3 ACANS 07A729: A. J. Evans Catalogue no. 380. *SNG Lloyd* 448 = BM 1946,0101.448.

4 Gale (1996).

problems and resulting controversies.[5] In this paper we present the results of the first scientific studies of this rare series.

Figure 1. Sirinos/Pyxoes, stater, c.540-510 BC. ACANS inv. 07GS729.Weight: 6.73g. Diameter: 29.6mm. Scale 3:1. Photo© ACANS.

The Sirinos/Pyxoes coinage has the obverse type of a bull to left with head reverted, and an incuse reverse type which repeats this motif in intaglio but with less detail. This is the coinage type of Sybaris; on comparing examples from the two mints (Fig. 1, 3) we can see that the pose of the bull and the style of engraving are similar, and the same ground lines and borders are employed.[6] The ACANS example has an obverse border of dots between two lines, a dotted ground line and a ray border on the reverse.

Figure 2. Sirinos/Pyxoes, stater, c.540-510 BC. British Museum inv. 1946,0101.448. Weight: 7.85g. Photo courtesy of the British Museum. ©Trustees of the British Museum. Scale: 3:1.

5 Horsnaes (2011).

6 Sybaris: *HN Italy* 144-145, cat. 1729-1742.

Figure 3. Sybaris, stater, c.550-510 BC. ACANS inv. 07GS731.Weight: 6.99g. Diameter: 29.6mm. Photo© ACANS.

The only important difference lies in the inscription. The most common formula for the Sirinos/Pyxoes coinage is demonstrated on a stater in London (Fig. 2): obverse, ΣIPIN (retrograde) within the exergue; above, OΣ; on the reverse, within the exergue, ΠVX (retrograde).[7] Other examples complete the reverse inscription as PYXOES.[8] The letters within the obverse exergue of the ACANS example cannot be detected but it shares the same obverse die with the London stater. The weight standard is the Achaean, with a stater of 8.1g.[9] The ACANS coin weighs 6.73g.[10]

The range of problems associated with this coinage is remarkably diverse and cannot be fully addressed in this study.[11] We have, for example, no exact idea of the identity of the *polis* or community for which the coins were minted and, strangely enough, no conclusive evidence for the location of the main settlements that have been proposed. Even the remarkably long inscriptions that identify the minters present problems. This coinage can be grouped with other incuse coinages which employ the bull types of Sybaris but which have different inscriptions (AMI and SO) and with coins with the type of the boar to r. and the inscription PAL-MOL.[12] They are traditionally attributed to towns in Lucania thought to be allied with (if not colonies of) Sybaris.[13] Helle Horsnaes has recently revisited the theory that some or all of these coinages may have been struck

7 British Museum inv. 1946,0101.448 (7.85 g); *BMC Greek Coins, Italy,* 283 no.2.

8 Horsnaes (2011): 198-199.

9 *HN Italy* 3.

10 A lower weight is not uncommon; from a list of 40 known examples prepared by Libero Mangieri (1981), eight weigh between 6 and 7g.

11 The most recent account is provided by Horsnaes (2011).

12 *HN Italy* 108, 124, 143-4; Horsnaes (2011): 202-205.

13 Rutter (1997): 24-27.

by indigenous communities, perhaps with the assistance of Greek craftsmen who carved the dies.[14]

Following the pioneering account of J. Perret in 1941, the Sirinos/Pyxoes coinage has been independently studied and classified by H. R. Sternberg and G. Libero Mangieri.[15] Libero Mangieri divided his corpus of some 44 staters and one drachm (plus one stater of a slightly different type) into four groups on the basis of the module (*tozzi, normali, ridotti and snelli*).[16] Rutter *et al, HN Italy* (2001) adhered to the classification of Libero Mangieri.[17] Horsnaes also offers a division into four groups in an important review of this material, but her more convincing system is based on die identification.[18] Horsnaes Group 1, with the legends ΣIPIN –OΣ (retrograde) on the obverse and ΠVX (retrograde) on the reverse, is known from 15 coins all produced, according to Horsnaes, from one (possibly two) obverse and four dies (Horsnaes O1/R1-4).[19] The ACANS coin was included in this group. Group 2, ΣIPINO–Σ / ΠVXO-ES, contains three staters all struck from the same pair of dies (O2/R5).[20] Group 3, ΣIPI–NOΣ / ΠVXO-ES, is known from a single coin (British Museum RPK, p.287.1) (O3/R6).[21] Horsnaes Group 4, ΣIPI–NOΣ / ΠVX–OES, has 25 staters and is the largest group but there appears to be only one obverse die responsible which Horsnaes has identified as the same single die used in Group 3 (O3).[22] This die was used in conjunction with at least four reverse dies (R7-10). We are awaiting Horsnaes' final publication of her study. Nonetheless, her work has made clear that few dies were involved in the production of this coinage. She has suggested a chronological separation between the groups, but it is impossible to judge the length of the intervals.[23] They may have all been struck over a very brief period.

This coinage is often attributed to Siris in Lucania.[24] The inscription ΣIPINOΣ might be taken as an adjective for Siris in association with a word such as stater.[25] Zancani Montuoro pointed out that the usual adjective for Siris is *Sirites* (and *Siritis* for the territory) and

14 Horsnaes (2011): 205.

15 Perret (1941); Sternberg (1980); Libero Mangieri (1981).

16 Libero Mangieri (1981).

17 *HN Italy* 413, cat 1722-1725.

18 Horsnaes (2011): 198-200.

19 Horsnaes (2011): 199. We thank Dr Horsnaes for the information (*per. com* November 2015) that she now believes that a second obverse die is present.

20 Horsnaes (2011): 199.

21 Horsnaes (2011): 199. *BMC Greek Coins, Italy*, p. 283, no. 1.

22 Horsnaes (2011): 199.

23 Horsnaes (2011): 205.

24 *HN Italy* 143 provides an extensive bibliography.

25 The most detailed discussion, with a full bibliography, can be found in Fischer, Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo (2004): 293-295. See also Horsnaes (2011): 201-2.

argued that *Sirinos* was a noun.[26] He concluded that the coinage belonged to a city called Sirinos which he associated with the Sirini who were Lucanians mentioned by Pliny the Elder (*NH* III 15, 97).[27] The ethnic *Sirinos* for the people of Siris, however, was known to Stephanus Byzantinus (*Ethnika s.v.* Siris).[28] The location of Siris is disputed. According to the *Barrington Atlas* (2000) Map 46, it is to be found at lat. 40.10, long. 16.40, some c.5km south of Herakleia Leukania. Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo place both settlements 'on the plateau of modern Policoro, a location suggested by the archaeological evidence and at present widely accepted.'[29] They concluded from the admittedly piecemeal evidence that the city originally founded as Siris was later renamed Herakleia.[30] Diodorus (12.36.4) dated the foundation of Herakleia to 433/2 BC, and claimed that it was established on the site of Siris (and that the former inhabitants were deported).[31]

The meagre references in the surviving ancient texts indicate that Siris was founded by Ionians fleeing the expansion of the Lydian empire, perhaps in the 7th century BC; most probably the settlers came from Kolophon.[32] Strabo (6.1.14) claimed that the native town was originally called Sirinos but the Greek conquerors renamed it Polieion. It was destroyed by a coalition of its powerful neighbours, Croton, Metapontum and Sybaris, but the date of the destruction is unknown. The authors of the entry 'Sirinos/Pyxoes' in *HN Italy* concluded that the destruction occurred in the first half of the 6th century BC and that the coinage was minted in Siris II 'a minor refoundation peopled by Achaeans after the expulsion of the descendants of the Colophon colonizers'.[33]

Pyxoes is usually identified with Pyxus, the later site of Roman Buxentum, and modern Policastro Bussentino.[34] This presents difficulties as it lies on the opposite coast of Italy to Siris, facing the Tyrrhenian Sea. It would seem to be too distant for a joint coinage with Siris II. More importantly, however, Pyxus was not founded till 471/70 BC (Strabo VI. 1. 1). Zancani Montuoro proposed that the town of Sirinos was to be found 30km from Policastro Bussentino in the valley of Lauria near Rivello.[35] Stephanus Byzantinus again complicates matters by noting two locations: Pyxis and Pyxous.[36] Peter Bicknell

26 Zancani Montuoro (1965).

27 Zancani Montuoro (1965).

28 Fischer, Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo (2004): 293-294, who appear to support this claim.

29 Fischer, Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo (2004): 294.

30 Fischer, Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo (2004): 294.

31 Fischer, Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo (2004): 259.

32 Fischer, Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo (2004): 294.

33 *HN Italy* 143.

34 Fischer, Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo (2004): 289-290.

35 Zancani Montuoro (1965).

36 Fischer, Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo (2004): 289-290. Horsnaes (2011): 201.

also proposed that the Pyxoes on the coins referred to yet another settlement with this name that lay close to Siris II, near modern Policoro (ancient Herakleia).[37]

Here we wish to contribute some thoughts on the type. The type of the bull with reverted head is closely associated with Sybaris. Its use has led to the conclusion that the mints which produced these rare coinages with the inscriptions PAL/MOL, AMI and SO were all part of an empire or alliance ruled by Sybaris.[38] If the Sirinos/Pyxoes coins were struck by a people who identified themselves as being 'of Siris' (and inhabiting Siris II) it seems odd that they should use the type of a state which participated in the destruction of their formerly prosperous city. If it was refounded with people from Sybaris (or with a dominant element from Sybaris), it is perhaps surprising that the old name for the city was retained by the conquerors. Horsnaes has proposed that the Sirinos/Pyxoes coins and other related series with the bull type of Sybaris may have been indigenous issues produced with the intent of 'promoting identity'.[39] This is certainly possible. But the choice of the types (and incuse style) employed by the leading Greek city in the region would have arguably worked to obscure a bid for identity (especially if not everyone could read Greek). Furthermore, naming two different communities on the one coin bearing the same (borrowed) image might have further obscured their separate identities. If we revisit the related coinages we see that there had been a careful attempt to distinguish the types. The PAL/MOL coins have a boar not a bull, and the few AMI coins add a prominent locust over the bull.[40] The very peculiar 'SO' coins (three drachms on an unknown weight standard) are difficult to understand, and may well be imitations of the Sirinos/Pyxoes coins as Seltman suggested. Is it possible that we are to read …OΣ, with the rest of the inscription missing?[41] It might be claimed that only the Sirinos/Pyxoes coins copy the Sybaris type without attempting to make some alteration or addition to the type. This could suggest a closer relationship with Sybaris itself.

The location of the mint and the identity of the craftsmen involved present further problems which stem from our inability to establish the identity of the issuing community. As Horsnaes has recognized, it is possible that these coins were produced 'on demand' in the mint at Sybaris itself.[42] She has also raised the interesting suggestions that they were produced by itinerant craftsmen, perhaps assisted by local smiths. The production of incuse coinage, however, was a rather complex affair and in the next section of this paper we will outline something of the techniques. We would like to

37 Bicknell (1967).

38 Rutter (1997): 24-27.

39 Horsnaes (2011): 205-6.

40 PAL/MOL: *HN Italy* 108, cat. 1105-1106; Horsnaes (2011): 203-4. AMI: *HN Italy* 124, cat. 1356-7; Horsnaes (2011): 203.

41 *HN Italy* 143-4, cat. 1728; Horsnaes (2011): 204-5. Seltman (1911).

42 Horsnaes (2011): 206.

suggest that coins produced in this fashion would have required skills that may not have been at the disposal of many metal workers.

The incuse coinage method

In the mid sixth century BC the city state of Sybaris (Fig. 3), perhaps quickly followed by Metapontum, began to mint a very distinct form of coin whereby the image struck in relief on the obverse is repeated on the reverse but as an incuse or intaglio – hence the name 'incuse coins'.[43] By 525 BC incuse coinage was being minted by four major Achaean colonies on the east coast of Italy facing the Ionian Sea (Sybaris, Metapontum, Croton and Caulonia) and by Poseidonia (itself a colony of Sybaris) on the western coast.[44] These mints all employed the Achaean weight standard. As noted above, the incuse technique was also used to produce a series of small coinages, of which the 'Sirinos/Pyxoes' series is the best represented.[45]

The techniques of producing incuse coinage are being studied in a long-running project at ACANS which has its origins in the publication of the Gale collection (*SNG Australia* I). There are no ancient accounts of minting coins. What we believe we know of minting techniques has been derived from studies of the surviving coins, from attempts to recreate the tools, and from inferences derived from later minting practice.[46] Most numismatists accept that it was the practice of archaic mints issuing precious metal coinages to create blanks by pouring molten metal on to a flat surface or into an open mould, so as to produce a roughly circular or 'bun'-shape that could at times be quite irregular.[47] The amount of molten metal was carefully predetermined. The weight of the blank was adjusted if it did not conform. The blank was held (with pinchers) between two engraved dies and the upper die struck with a hammer, so that the images of both dies were transferred in reverse to the newly created coin.[48] The earliest reverse punches produced a simple incuse depression without a type but with a linear pattern.[49] As the two dies were not mechanically fixed together but completely separate, the orientation of the obverse and reverse images in relation to each other varied on each coin. The standard modern description of Greek minting practices was provided by Hill in 1922.[50]

43 Gorini (1975). *HN Italy* 3, 130-131 (Metapontum), 144-145 (Sybaris).

44 *HN Italy* 22-32.

45 Taras minted a small issue of incuse coins 510 -500 BC: *HN Italy* 93. Rhegium and Zancle both produced very small issues of incuse drachms c.510 BC. *HN Italy* 187.

46 For Greek coinage see Hackens (1975). A general account can be found in Kraay (1976), 1-19. For studies based on reproducing minting instruments and processes see Sellwood (1963) and Faucher (2009). On the question of the earliest preserved Greek die see Sheedy (2014) with bibliography on the surviving Greek dies.

47 Hill (1922) and Faucher (2009).

48 Hackens (1975).

49 Hackens (1975).

50 Hill (1922). Now see Faucher (2009).

The earliest coins of South Italy, the incuse issues, were produced using different methods from those outlined above.[51] The most obvious difference lies in the fact that the reverse type is the same as that on the obverse but is rendered as a 'negative' image sunk into the flan. But we should note that it is not a mirror image; the reverse type is nearly always a simpler version, lacking much of the detail used to mark out minor features. Naster has pointed out that the reverse in fact often carries elements that are in relief, notably the legend.[52] The standard account of this method was provided by Gorini in 1975.[53] Here we outline some of the salient points. In the first phase of production (c.540-510 BC) the flans are very thin (2-3mm) and broad (26 – 29mm in diameter). From c.510 BC the flan contracts to around 24mm in diameter and becomes of 'medium' thickness. After c.470 BC those mints still using the incuse technique adopt a thicker flan averaging around 20mm or less in diameter. A distinct feature of these flans is their regularity. Unlike the coins of the mainland they are evenly circular. A proper reverse type is in use from the very beginning of this coinage and not a simple reverse incuse square. The types are centred with great precision on both sides of the coin. The types are very closely aligned so that the obverse type almost appears to have been created when the reverse type was pushed in. Hill seems to have been the first to observe that a crucial feature of this technique of coin manufacture was the use of fixed or hinged dies.[54]

Scientific studies of the Sirinos/Pyxoes stater, ACANS inv. 07GS729

The scientific examination of the incuse coins of South Italy began with a study by C.F. Elam in 1931. [55] Within her sample of fifteen Greek coins were two archaic incuse staters from South Italy (Sybaris, Kroton).[56] In addition to the irregular boundaries of the grain structures within the metal of the stater from Sybaris, there were also "a number of blow-holes and inclusions particularly noticeable at the periphery of the coin, where they were not closed by the pressure of striking".[57] Elam observed that the dendritic structure (the crystal growth) was not distorted in this region of the coin (the edge), which also indicates the absence of homogenising heat treatments. In short, Elam concluded that the flan of the Sybaris stater had not been subjected to working prior to minting.

In 2003, as part of a new investigation of the incuse coinage method, the flans of three incuse staters from Metapontum and Kroton were restudied by P. Munroe (UNSW)

51 Gorini (1975); Kraay (1976): 163-4; Rutter (1997) 17-21.

52 Naster 1948.

53 Gorini (1975).

54 Hill (1922): 16. Noe concluded that the incuse coins of Metapontum had been struck with 'a pair of interlocking dies'. Noe/Johnston (1984): 3.

55 Elam (1931): 62.

56 Sybaris stater: Elam (1931): 62, No. 8, figs. 10-12.

57 Elam (1931): 62.

using a JEOL 840 scanning electron microscope.

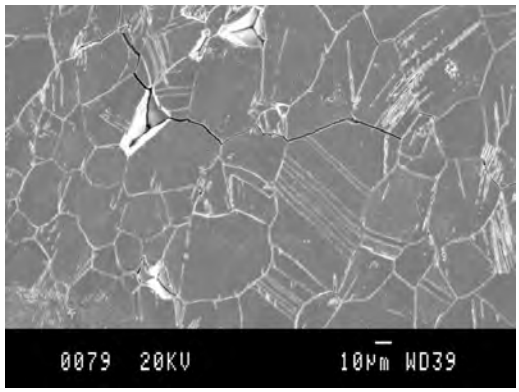


Figure 4. SEM photo of recrystallized, equiaxed grains with annealing twins in metal of incuse stater of Metapontum (Private Coll).

Munroe found that (Fig. 4) the metal of all three contained the same recrystallized, equiaxed grains (though the grains were different in size from coin to coin). He also saw that many of the grains displayed annealing twins. Annealing twins are created through the recrystallization of worked and annealed metals and are distinguished by the appearance of pairs of parallel lines across the metal grain during the process of crystal growth. These bands are characteristic in face centred cubic metals, such as silver, that have been deformed at room temperature and then annealed.[58] Munroe was thus able to confirm the conclusions of an unpublished 1980 study by Williams and Lock that these same coins showed evidence of hammering and annealing.[59] These conclusions were also reached by *Giovannelli et al*. in a study of the compositional, crystallographic and microstructural properties of five further silver incuse coins from Metapontum and Caulonia.[60] But there had still not been a modern study of the incuse staters of Sybaris that would test Elam's claims.

The Gale Sirinos/Pyxoes coin was examined by Munroe in regard to the shape of the edges. Here we hoped to learn something about the technique by which the flan had been created before minting. The photos (Fig. 5a-c) graphically illustrate that the edges were placed under intense pressure with the striking of the upper die. These rounded edges suggest the flan was prepared in a mould.

58 La Niece (1998).

59 Williams (1983). We thank Rick Williams for making the three incuse coins available for study.

60 Giovannelli (2005).

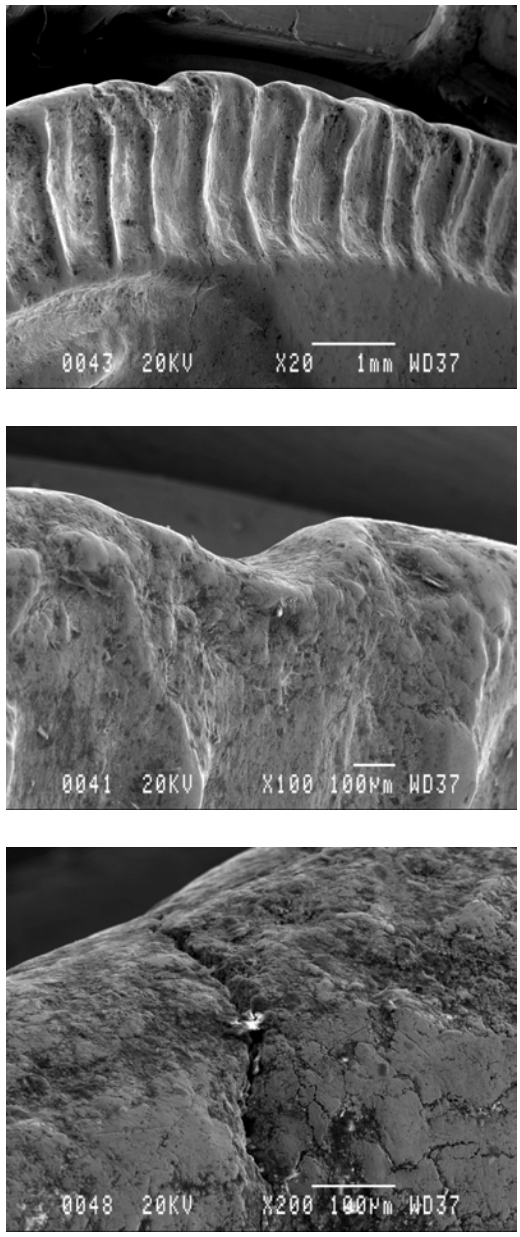


Figure 5a-c. SEM photos of the edge of Sirinos/Pyxis stater, ACANS inv. 07GS729.

In 2014 the Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies (ACANS) and the Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organization (ANSTO) undertook a joint project to explore the fabric of the incuse coinage using a combination of neutron diffraction, neutron texture analysis and neutron tomography. Among the coins studied was the ACANS Sirinos/Pyxis stater. Here we outline the methods of analysis and present some preliminary results.

Neutron imaging can be described as 'the direct production of images by transmitting a beam of neutrons through an object onto a detector… Although this may still seem to be "direct" imaging, in fact the image is "re-constructed" by software in a computer and sophisticated mathematical processes can be used to enhance particular features or generate virtual slices of the imaged object.'[61] Neutron radiography and tomography are based on measuring the degree to which an object attenuates the probing neutron beam and this depends on the elemental composition and density within its volume. The result of the interaction between the probe and the sample is a shadow image of the object yielding information on its inner structure and composition. In particular, neutron tomography involves the collection of radiographic projections while the object is rotated around its vertical axis over a range of (at least) 180°. These projections

61 Anderson (2006): vi.

are then used to create an image stack representing a virtual three-dimensional model of the object.[62]

Figure 6a. 3D model of the Sirinos/Pyxis stater, ACANS inv. 07GS729; 6b. orthogonal cross section showing pores; 6c. orthogonal cross section showing crack.

Fig. 6a shows each side of the coin as a 3D model. Tomography has highlighted two major cracks (one running diagonally from above the head of the bull joins a second crack passing across the coin from side to side) which are more visible on the reverse. They are also apparent in Fig. 6c (a cross section) and in Fig. 7 (an image taken from the obverse). These cracks developed on the surface and spread from 0.10mm up to 1.20mm into the bulk of the flan. There is no sign that the coin has been repaired. It is hardly

62 Hounsfield (1980).

likely that the coin was released from the mint if the cracks were visible. Were they created when the coin was minted (but not evident on the surface) or did they result from later impact or stresses when the coin was in circulation?

Figure 7. Detail of Sirinos/Pyxis stater, ACANS inv. 07GS729 showing break running from upper left to lower right.

We would like to propose that they were probably created when this coin was struck but that they were not immediately visible. Figs. 6b and 6c show orthogonal cross sections of the coin which vividly demonstrate the thinness of the metal and how closely the obverse relief and reverse incuse types are aligned. They also demonstrate that the design of these dies placed considerable pressure on the flan when it was struck. A few pores, which were detected in Fig. 6b, can be seen to lie close to the surface of the flan on the reverse. At the moment we are still investigating the reasons for their presence. Nonetheless, despite their presence we are inclined to believe on the evidence of the following poles figures that the metal blank was subjected to working prior to being struck.

Neutron diffraction studies can provide qualitative and quantitative data about 1) phase composition; 2) crystal and magnetic structures of each constituent phase; 3) microstrains and macro (residual) strains; and 4) crystallographic texture.[63] In this paper, however, we will focus only on the crystallographic texture; our investigation of other aspects of the data is still ongoing within the context of the broader study of incuse coinage. When metals are worked (rolled or hammered and subsequently annealed) these actions cause crystallographic preferred orientations in the alignment of the

63 Kockelmann (2006): 175; Liang (2009).

atomic lattice planes of metal grains.[64] The texture of a polycrystalline material, such as metal, is defined as the orientation distribution function (ODF) of its crystallites.[65] Pole figures are used for the graphical representation of the texture in a material for particular crystallographic lattice planes (hkl). A pole figure is usually plotted as a 2D stereographic projection of the density distribution for spheres of direction in the sample coordinate system. The circular shape of the pole figure is unrelated to the circular shape of coins. Our measurements were taken from the entire coin (and not from select regions).[66] Coloured bands indicate the intensity of the diffraction which relates to the proportion of crystallites oriented in a specific direction.[67] Higher intensities (red) indicate the most preferred alignment of (hkl) planes in certain directions while low intensity (blue) shows the least preferred alignment of (hkl) planes.

The tests were carried out with the use of ANSTO's neutron residual stress diffractometer.[68] It needs to be emphasized at this point that our study is still ongoing. Here we present observations which arise from a comparison of coins produced by different techniques. A graphical representation of the orientations of the crystallites (texture pattern) through pole figures of the (111) crystal planes of silver for a stater from Cycladic Naxos which was minted at the same time as the South Italian incuse coins is shown in Fig. 8: sample 1. We can compare this to the pole figure for an English silver penny of Edward I (1272-1307) (Fig. 8: sample 2) which was made by beating a sheet of silver to about 0.5mm and then cutting out a circular coin blank of the appropriate diameter before striking the coin between two dies.[69] The metal of the penny was strengthened through processes, such as hammering, which cause dislocation, nucleation and propagation within the crystal structure of the metal (dislocation is here defined as a crystalline defect or irregularity). As noted above, we still need to learn a good deal more about the manufacture of ancient coins (in contrast to mediaeval minting). The flan of the Naxian stater was evidently not worked before the coin was minted (and this observation is supported by the irregular shape of the coin and its 'lumpy' surface).

The texture data and pole figure for the Gale Sirinos/Pyxoes stater (Fig. 8: sample 3) may be compared with that obtained from other incuse coins. The main features of the data from two coins of Sybaris that we have studied (ACANS 07GS730-732; Fig. 8: sample 4-5) are very similar, and this is evident from the pole figures. In turn they are

64 Siano (2006).

65 Bunge (1989): 265.

66 The pole figures were created by illuminating the entire coin. The coin is then rotated in 2 directions as diffractions patterns are taken. These diffraction patterns were taken at angles α and β. We should repeat that the pole figure is a projection onto a plane. See Reimers (2008).

67 Liang (2009).

68 Kirstein (2009).

69 Sellwood 1962.

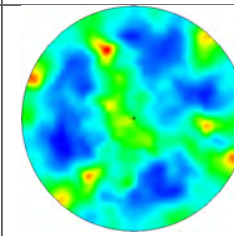
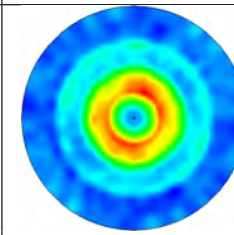
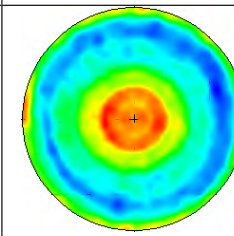
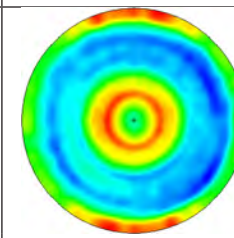
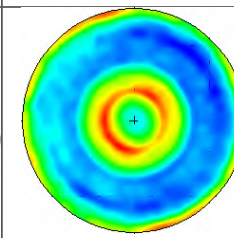
Sample information	Sample view	Ag(111) pole figure
1. Naxos c. 540/530-520/515 BC, ACANS 07A01. Non-incuse stater. Ø 19.5 mm; th ~ 3.3 mm; M = 10.25 g		 min: 0.37 max: 2.81
2. Edward I (1272-1307). Private collection. Silver penny Ø 18 mm; th ~ 0.5 mm; M = 1.37g.		 min: 0.50 max: 1.98
3. Sirinos/Pyxoes c. 540-510 BC, ACANS 729. Incuse stater. Ø 29.6 mm; th ~ 1.0mm; M = 6.74 g		 min: 0.44 max: 1.62
4. Sybaris c. 550-510 BC, ACANS 730. Incuse stater. Ø 29.6 mm; th ~ 1.0mm; M = 7.73 g		 min: 0.54 max: 1.60
5. Sybaris c. 550-510 BC, ACANS 731. Incuse stater. Ø 29.6 mm; th ~ 1.0mm; M = 7.00 g		 min: 0.45 max: 1.81

Figure 8. Pole figures from neutron diffraction studies.

comparable with the pole figure from the English penny (Fig. 8: sample 2). The pole figure for the Gale Sirinos/Pyxoes stater is generally similar to those of the Sybaris coins and the English penny and may be contrasted with the Naxian stater. The pole figure for the Sirinos/Pyxoes stater, however, does show an interesting difference: the broad maximum of intensity in the centre of the (111) pole figure is an indication that the flan was worked at a higher temperature, and suggests 'hot forging' rather than 'cold hammering'.

These analyses of the Gale Sirinos/Pyxoes stater are presented within the context of our current ongoing exploration of the techniques of manufacturing South Italian incuse coinage. They demonstrate a clear adherence to the same minting practices being followed by the mints at Sybaris, Metapontum, Croton, Caulonia and Poseidonia. The technique was perhaps not easily copied. It arguably required skilled metalworkers who were familiar with the pioneering practices created at Sybaris for the making of coins. It also required a willingness to take on coinage – which at this time was a novel invention and something that was still largely unknown to many Greek and non-Greek communities. We still have a lot more to learn about the Sirinos/Pyxoes coinage. But we can now see that it was produced by a mint with the same expertise as that in Sybaris, the source of the Sirinos/Pyxoes coin type.

Abbreviations

HN Italy = N. K. Rutter (ed.) *Historia Numorum Italy* (London 2001).

SNG Australia I= *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Australia I. The Gale Collection of South Italian Coins* (Sydney, 2008).

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The prize medals and decorations of Charles Allen Brown

Timothy Roberts

Abstract

Charles Allen Brown, one of the most prominent silversmiths and jewellers to work in Brisbane during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, established a career fashioning an impressive array of bespoke jewels for Queensland's discerning public. Among his works are numerous medals and decorations, many of which are connected to significant events and persons in the state's history. This article identifies a selection of exonumia produced by Brown, provides details of surviving pieces, and notes some important works awaiting rediscovery.

Keywords

[Charles Allen Brown] [Silversmith] [Queensland] [medals] [Freemasonry] [numismatics]

Introduction

Charles Allen Brown (1850-1908) was one of the most prominent silversmiths and jewellers to work in Brisbane during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Catering to Queensland's most discerning public, he crafted a varied assortment of bespoke jewellers' confections including items of exo-numismatic interest, notably prize medals, awards and decorations fashioned for a diverse range of institutional clients including sporting clubs, Masonic fraternities and Friendship societies.[1] This paper lists a selection of exo-numismatic fancies executed by Brown's firm, sourced from contemporary news reports and surviving examples. Although this list is not an exhaustive representation of Brown's exo-numismatic output, it reveals details about Queensland's social landscape in the later decades of the nineteenth century, highlighting the events and personalities that shaped the young colony.

1 Exonumia covers a broad range of objects including trade tokens, medals, badges, and modern currency equivalents including credit and debit cards. Currently there is no standardised definition for what is covered under this umbrella term. Charles Allen Brown did not create trade tokens or currency, so the term in this context is applied to his medals, awards, presentation jewels and medallions.

Charles Allen Brown: silversmith

Charles Allen Brown was born in Sydney on 2 February 1850, son of Henry and Elizabeth Brown. All that is known of Brown's upbringing is that his parents separated while he was still young, and as a young man he was placed in the custody of Sydney-based silversmith Christian Ludwig Qwist, where he undertook an apprenticeship as a jeweller and silversmith.[2]

Danish-born Qwist was a prominent silversmith in Sydney, and had previously operated a photographic studio in Bendigo. His first-class workmanship earned him a display at the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle, and allowed him to secure several major prize trophy commissions, including the 1870 and 1871 Sydney Cups. Qwist's name resonated further afield than New South Wales – an important gold openwork necklace made by Qwist around 1867 features photographic portraits of the family of Queensland pastoralist and politician John Watts (Fig.1).[3] Brown learnt all the techniques required by a capable jeweller while undertaking his seven-year apprenticeship under Qwist from 1863 until 1869, and used his skills professionally when he established his own business in Brisbane in 1870.

Figure 1. Christian Ludwig Qwist, *John Watts Necklace*. 18k gold openwork necklace with hand coloured photographs. 6681, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, Australia.

2 Sue Air, 'Charles Allen Brown (1850-1908): Australian Silversmith', *Australiana*, vol 23 no 3, August 2001, pp 72-73.

3 The John Watts Necklace, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland ACC6681. For further information, read Dianne Byrne, 'The John Watts Necklace: a masterpiece of Australian gold jewellery by Chrstian Ludwig Qwist', *Australiana*, vol 35 no 1, February 2013, pp 23-27. Other orders from Queensland are also reported. 'Mr Qwist has also on view at his shop a handsome set of wedding ornaments in gold, ordered for a lady in Queensland. These are all beautifully finished, and, for the most part, of a novel design, especially the bracelets, in which provision has very skilfully been made for portraits.' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 July 1866, p 5.

Brown's motivations for moving to Brisbane are unclear; family reasons are plausible, however, as his mother had moved to the city following her separation from her husband.[4] His arrival in Brisbane coincided with an affluent period in Queensland's history, as payable deposits of gold had been discovered in Gympie just three years earlier, and soon another large deposit of gold would be found in Charters Towers. Brisbane prospered as the seat of government for the 11-year young colony, and boasted a thriving manufacturing and commercial scene.

Brown was not the first manufacturing jeweller to establish himself in Brisbane. This distinction is usually given to Augustus Kosvitz, a Prussian-born watchmaker and jeweller who was a partner to Sydney-based jewellers Hogarth, Erichsen & Co before he established his own business in Brisbane in 1861.[5] Before Kosvitz arrived in Queensland, presentation silver was often sourced from England, or commissioned from prominent Sydney-based firms, including Flavelle Brothers and Hardy Brothers who both opened stores in Brisbane to accommodate such requests.

During Brown's nearly four-decade career in Brisbane, he produced dozens of presentation articles and various jewellers' confections. These ranged from a set of silver-mounted horse's hooves fashioned for James McConnel of Cressbrook Station, to a silver and vermeil model of a pile driver which was presented to Lady Musgrave on the occasion of driving the first pile of the South Brisbane wharves; several scale model wheelbarrows and bassinets in silver, and a set of silver mounts which were attached to an album of photographs presented to Queen Victoria on her Golden Jubilee in 1887.[6] Regrettably, many of these works have not come to light, however a handful of Brown's works are known to be in public and private collections internationally.[7]

4 Sue Air, *op cit*, pp 72-73.

5 For details on Augustus Kosvitz, Timothy Roberts, 'An early jeweller in Queensland: the life and career of Augustus Kosvitz', *Australiana*, vol 31 no 3, August 2009, pp 4-8. For details on Hogarth, Erichsen & Co, J B Hawkins, 'Julius Hogarth, behind the shopfront', *Australiana* vol 22 no 2, May 2000.

6 Brown collaborated with Alder in 1878; *The Brisbane Courier*, Fri 5 July 1878, p 2. In 1884 Brown supplied a scale model of a pile driver, for presentation to Lady Musgrave on the occasion of driving the first pile of the South Brisbane Wharves from contractor John Watson. *The Brisbane Courier*, Tues 4 November 1884, p 5. Brown prepared silver wheelbarrows for the turning of the sods of the Maryborough Railway in 1878; the Fassifern Railway extension in 1886; and the Maryborough to Gayndah Railway in 1887. *The Brisbane Courier*, Wed 20 March 1878, p 3; *The Queenslander*, Sat 23 March 1878, p 6; *The Brisbane Courier*, Fri 8 January 1886, p 6; Mon 19 August 1887, p 5. Silver cradles were supplied to Alderman Hipwood in 1886; Thomas L Holmes in 1889; George Watson in 1892; and Alderman J Nicol Robinson in 1901 on the births of their children. *The Brisbane Courier*, Wed 4 August 1886, p 4; Wed 5 February 1890, p 4; Mon 16 January 1893, p 5; Tues 20 December 1892, p 4; Thurs 7 February 1901, p 6. For Brown's 1887 Jubilee casket, Timothy Roberts 'Fit for a Queen: two Royal jubilee testimonials from colonial Queensland', *Australiana*, vol 35 no 4, November 2013, pp 11-15; *The Brisbane Courier*, Wed 16 March 1887, p 5.

7 Works by CA Brown's firm are held in the National Gallery of Australia, Queensland Art Gallery, State Library of Queensland, Museum of Brisbane, and The Royal Historical Society of Queensland.

Brown's work is distinguished by its quality, though not all of his creations bear his identifying stamps of "CA BROWN" or "CAB", and "BRISBANE". While not attempting to present an exhaustive list of Brown's prize medals and decorations, the following selection of exo-numismatic works identified to be produced by Brown's workshop indicate the importance of this silversmith amongst Queensland's late-nineteenth century decorative artists.

The Masonic and Friendship Society Decorations

Brown began producing official regalia and medallions early in his career, most notably a series of orders from Masonic fraternities and Friendship societies throughout Queensland. Brown's first order from a Friendship society came in 1872, just two years after he established his business in Brisbane. The Ancient Order of Foresters in Brisbane commissioned a presentation jewel for Brother Alfred Grant for his service as secretary – a post he had maintained since 1865. The *Brisbane Courier* described the jewel as taking the form of crossed pens bearing a stag's head, encircled by a band emblazoned with the Order's motto "Unitas Benevolentia et Concordia." The *Courier* noted that Robert King completed the engraving on the piece.[8]

In 1874 and 1875 Brown received two commissions from the Hiram Lodge and Royal Arch Chapter respectively for presentation inkstands fashioned from silver and emu eggs. The 1874 inkstand, the earliest known surviving piece by Brown at the time of writing, was donated to the Queensland Art Gallery in 2011 by descendants of the recipient, Edwin Young.[9]

The Hiram Lodge again commissioned Brown in 1877, this time a "most artistically executed" set of Masonic jewels, which the *Brisbane Courier* noted showed "considerable taste in design and ornamentation."[10] The following year Brown joined the St Andrew's Lodge, beginning a close professional relationship that saw the creation of no fewer than 19 presentation objects for various societies around Queensland.[11]

In 1880 the Athole and Melville Lodge commissioned a jewel to be presented to Walter Scott for his services as Right Worshipful Master from 1876 until 1879 (Fig.2). The jewel featured a variety of Masonic motifs including the eye and the square, and was encircled by a garland of thistles, symbolic of the Scottish constitution under which the lodge was founded.

8 *The Brisbane Courier*, Wed 30 October 1872, p 2.

9 *The Brisbane Courier*, Thurs 9 April 1874, p 2; Wed 3 March 1875, p 2; Timothy Roberts ' CA Brown, Inkwell 1874', Artlines 4-2014, p 43.

10 *The Brisbane Courier*, Tues 19 June 1877, p 3.

11 Brown was initiated into St Andrew's Lodge on 1 March 1878. Sue Air *op cit*, p 74.

Figure 2. Charles Allen Brown, *Masonic decoration* 1880. Gold. Masonic Memorial Centre, United Grand Lodge of Queensland. This decoration was presented to Walter Scott.

The next year, Brown completed a striking gold jewel modelled as a Maltese Cross for presentation to Past Grand Paul Modini from the members of the Loyal Star of the Downs Lodge, Warwick.[12] Modini had been a member of the Odd Fellows for 21 years and during that time had served in senior positions within the Lodge. The jewel was engraved with an inscription on one side, and bore emblems of Odd Fellows on the other.[13]

In 1883 Brown completed a suite of jewels for the three Trustees of the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Odd Fellows. The elaborately designed jewels comprised a gold medal which featured relief-work of two clasped-hands, roses, thistles and shamrocks, surrounded by the initials "M.U.I.O.O.F. 1883" in relief lettering.[14] Later

12 In the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the title of Grand corresponds to the Masonic title of Master, meaning the office bearer Chairs one Lodge. A Grand Master, like in Freemasonry, is in charge of all Lodges within a jurisdiction.

13 *Warwick Examiner and Times*, Sat 5 November 1881, p 2.

14 *The Brisbane Courier*, Sat 10 February 1883, p 5. The three Trustees' names were Messrs Martin, Smith and Dennis.

that year, Roma's Raphael Lodge celebrated Brother Abraham Hertzberg's service as Secretary by ordering Brown to execute an elegant jewel, featuring gold crossed pens in relief above a rose gold ground, circled by a gothic motif that Brown employed liberally in his presentation cups and silver-mounted emu egg ornaments (Fig. 3).

Figure 3. Charles Allen Brown, *Masonic decoration* 1883. Gold. Masonic Memorial Centre, United Grand Lodge of Queensland. This decoration was presented to Abraham Hertzberg.

The Raphael Lodge returned to Brown in 1885 calling for another "very tastefully executed" Past Master's jewel in 18 carat gold for presentation to CS Young.[15] The same year, Brown prepared emblems for the regalia presented to Edward Griffith upon his return to Europe, after having served as Grand Master of the Loyal Orange Lodges in Queensland. Such a distinguished position deserved a distinguished token, and the emblems Brown produced included a five-pointed star encircled within a gold garter, inscribed "L.O.L.Q. Presented to the Worshipful Grand Master, Brother Reverend Edward Griffith, by the brethren of the Loyal Orange Lodges of Queensland, at the Protestant Hall, Brisbane, 17th February 1885"; an open Bible inscribed "Search the Scriptures" and "This we will maintain"; a crown inscribed "Our cause is good, and firm

15 *The Brisbane Courier*, Tues 13 January 1885, p 4.

will stand"; arms of Australia, inscribed "United we stand, divided we fall"; and a figure of King William III on horseback crossing the Boyne, inscribed "Derry," "Aughrim," "Enniskillen," and "Boyne." (Fig. 4)[16]

Figure 4. Mathewson & Co. (photographer), Reverend Edward Griffith in Masonic robes c.1885-1891. Photograph. Negative 76288, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, Australia.

Curiously, despite a progressive downturn in Queensland's economy during the first years of the 1890s, Masonic patronage of Brown's workshop continued steadily. In 1890 Brown made a medallion from over an ounce of gold for the St George's Lodge at Herberton. The medallion depicted the Level and Problem in dull gold, with frosted gold surrounds detailing the name, number and constitution of the Lodge in polished gold block letters.[17] Scrollwork connected the medallion to a gold bar, which outlined the years 1889-90 and featured a pierced and engraved depiction of St. George and the Dragon. The reverse of the medal was inscribed "Presented to Worshipful Bro. James Wilkinson by the brethren of St. George's Lodge, Herberton, March, 1890."[18]

The beginning of 1891 saw Brown produce a gold Past Master's jewel for the Tweed Lodge, No. 2085 E.C. The jewel took the form of a medallion, with a Square and Problem in the centre, surrounded by a wreath of bay and laurel leaves. The highly ornate decoration included a one-carat diamond in the centre of the square, and relief-worked wording on the front detailing the initials of the recipient and the name and number of the lodge. The reverse was engraved "Presented to Bro. Wm. McGregor, past master, by officers and brethren of the Tweed Lodge, No. 2085, as a mark of esteem and respect. January 1891."[19]

One month later the Raphael Lodge again chose Brown to manufacture a Past Master's jewel. The 18 carat gold jewel represented the five pointed star, which had the Square

16 *The Brisbane Courier*, Wed 18 February 1885, p 5.

17 The Level, represented by a plumb level, and the Problem, represented by three squares forming a central triangle, are two symbols associated with Freemasonry.

18 *The Brisbane Courier*, Thurs 29 May 1890, p 4.

19 *The Brisbane Courier*, Sat 31 January 1891, p 4.

and Problem superimposed upon it. The jewel itself and the bars were engraved, and were attached to one another by scrollwork. The reverse of the medallion was inscribed "Presented to Worshipful Bro. John Fowles, P.M., by the members of the Raphael Lodge, 1850, E.C., Roma, in token of their appreciation as master in 1890."[20]

In June 1891 Brown produced a Masonic jewel for the Maranoa Lodge at Roma, No. 730, S.C. The jewel bore the emblem of a rising sun, over which was applied the family crest of the recipient engraved on a dull gold shield. The name of the Lodge was featured in raised letters in a circle on the jewel. Attached to the jewel was the Problem and the Square. On the reverse of the jewel was the inscription "Presented to R.W.M. Bro. Lewis Jackson by a few of the brethren of the No. 730, Maranoa Lodge, Roma, S.C., June 1891."[21]

Later in 1891 Brown fashioned a Past Master's jewel for Worshipful Brother J. J. Hogg, Past Master of the St. Andrew's Lodge No. 435 S.C. The gold jewel was engraved on the reverse "Presented to Past Master Bro. J. J. Hogg by the officers and brethren of the Lodge St. Andrew, 435, S.C., as a mark of esteem as master for two years. Sept. 2nd, 1891."[22]

1892 was an equally prosperous year for Brown, with another two Past Master's jewels being fashioned at his workshop. The Toowong Lodge, No. 2306 EC, commissioned a five-pointed star adorned with a Square and the forty-eighth Problem for presentation to James A Hamilton; and the St Andrew's Lodge, No. 455 SC, received a chased and ornamented 18-carat gold jewel representing a Square, for presentation to immediate Past Master Worshipful Brother J Lang.[23]

The Black February floods of 1893 caused widespread devastation throughout south-east Queensland. The event caused significant depreciation of the value of Brown's land holdings, and he also endured a decline in business due to the lack of community resources to spend on fancy objects and jewellery. Faced with the prospect of liquidation, Brown was forced to resign from the Masons, whose fraternity he had enjoyed for 15 years, but nonetheless he remained a preferred jeweller for lodges around Queensland.[24]

As Queensland's economy regained buoyancy in the mid-1890s, Brown was commissioned with several orders from Masons. In 1894 Brown executed an order from Roma's Maranoa Royal Arch Chapter No 247 SC. The elaborate jewel consisted of a solid gold sun surrounded by a wreath of Scotch thistle, resting on circumvolutory wavy

20 *The Brisbane Courier*, Wed 4 March 1891, p 4.

21 *The Brisbane Courier*, Wed 1 July 1891, p 5.

22 *The Brisbane Courier*, Fri 4 September 1891, p 6.

23 *The Brisbane Courier*, Thurs 28 January 1892, p 4; Mon 5 September 1892, p 3.

24 Sue Air, *op cit,* p 74

bars engraved *Sic itur ad astra* (Such is the way to Heaven), surrounded by a triangle on which reclined a crown studded with rubies and emeralds. The jewel was presented to Past Zerubbabel Mayfield as a token of the Chapter's high esteem.[25]

In 1896 Brown fashioned a Past Master's jewel to be presented to T J Holmes, retiring Master of the North Australian Lodge, No 796 EC. The Brisbane Courier reported that the jewel was "massive", and one of the "most costly and elegant presented to any Past Master here for many years."[26] The next year a special commemorative Past Master's jewel was ordered by the North Australian Lodge for presentation to J R H Lewis. The piece comprised a five-pointed star positioned above a base-plate of burnished gold set with a diamond. It was surrounded by the inscription "Victoria's Diamond Jubilee". The reverse of the jewel was inscribed "Presented to Wor. Bro. J. R. H. Lewis, P.M., by the brethren of the North Australian Lodge, 796, E.C. Brisbane, May 20, 1897."[27]

Brown created two more Past Master's jewels in 1898, firstly a medallion of gold surrounded by vine leaves with the jewel of the Past Master centrally set in burnished gold for presentation to J T Newell by the members of the North Australian Lodge; and secondly Brown's "handsome" Past Master's jewel for George Elliot was presented at the annual installation of officers of Lodge St Andrew, 435, SC.[28]

The North Australian Lodge, undoubtedly Brown's best Masonic client in the 1890s, commissioned Brown to fashion another Past Master's jewel in 1899, to be presented to J B Cochrane. The jewel was in the shape of the five-pointed star, with the Past Master's emblem and inscribed circle. A gold *Albert* chain fashioned by Brown was also presented to Cochrane.[29]

In 1902, Brown fashioned a "very handsome" 18 carat gold Past Master's jewel for the St. Mungo Lodge, Coorparoo. The jewel, which was in the form of a pendant, was presented to retiring Master Worshipful Brother George P Walker at the annual installation meeting on Tuesday 17 June 1902.[30]

Brown's Masonic connections afforded him a steady stream of commissions and income, as well as the opportunity to promote his work to an influential and affluent client base.

25 *The Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, Tues 26 November 1894, p 2. The title Zerubbabel belongs to the First Principal of a Royal Arch Chapter. There are three Principals in a Royal Arch Chapter who represent biblical heroes, namely Zerubbabel, Joshua, and Haggai.

26 *The Brisbane Courier*, Sat 23 May 1896, p 9.

27 *The Brisbane Courier*, Sat 22 May 1897, p 8.

28 *The Brisbane Courier*, Sat 21 May 1898, p 11; Mon 27 June 1898, p 6.

29 *The Brisbane Courier*, Sat 20 May 1899, p 7.

30 *The Brisbane Courier*, Fri 20 June 1902, p 7.

Though at the time of writing only a few of Brown's Masonic commissions have been located, it is hoped that more pieces will come to light in future years.[31]

Agricultural Exhibition medals and awards

From the 1860s Queensland communities organised Agricultural and Industrial Exhibitions to promote local industry. Brown was an enthusiastic exhibition participant, and contributed displays to the 1875, 1877, 1878, 1879, and 1886 Queensland Exhibitions, as well as the 1884 School of Arts Exhibition. A novel feature of Brown's displays from 1877 was the inclusion of a working jeweller's desk where visitors could witness the jeweller's art unfold before them. Brown won several awards from his exhibition displays, including a silver medal at the 1875 exhibition, and first prize at the 1877, 1878, 1879, and 1886 shows.[32]

Brown won the tender to produce prizes and medals for the 1875 Queensland Exhibition (Fig. 5).[33] He produced three patterns of medals, two in silver and one in gold, which reflected the monetary value of the prizes. The medals were engraved with the name of the winner and the nature of the exhibit. Similarly, the silver prize cups, which were valued at £5, were criticised by the *Brisbane Courier* for their plain appearance, but were considered to "have an honest colonial look about them".[34]

Figure 5. Charles Allen Brown, *Queensland Exhibition medal* 1875. 18 carat gold, 48mm diameter including gold rim mounting. Rim stamped CA BROWN BRISBANE 18 (crown). Private collection, Australia.

31 The author knows of three surviving examples of Brown's Masonic works. These are the 1874 presentation inkstand, today held in the QAGOMA Collection, Brisbane; the 1880 presentation jewel for Walter Scott and the 1883 presentation jewel for Abraham Hertzberg, both in the collection of the United Grand Lodge of Queensland.

32 *The Brisbane Courier*, Tues 13 July 1875, p 3; Fri 19 November 1875, p 3; Thurs 23 Aug 1877, p 3; Wed 21 August 1878, p 7; Sat 24 August 1878, p 7; Thurs 31 July 1879, p 6; Thurs 17 July 1884, p 5; Sat 21 August 1886, p 6.

33 *The Brisbane Courier*, Tue 10 August 1875, p 1.

34 *The Brisbane Courier*, Wed 27 October 1875, p 2.

Several examples of Brown's 1875 medals survive. An excellent gold medal, inscribed on the reverse "FOR BEST CARRAIGE" (sic) circling an engraved buggy, surrounded by a laurel wreath in low relief, was awarded to Grice & Co.[35] A silver medal awarded to F W Wilson & Co for "1st PRIZE BISCUITS" similarly features an engraved sheaf of wheat (Fig.6). In her article on CA Brown, Sue Air photographically records the silver medal valued at £3 for Brown's own efforts at the 1875 exhibition.[36]

Figure 6. Charles Allen Brown, *Queensland Exhibition medal* 1875. Silver, 35mm diameter. Photograph supplied by Noble Numismatics.

Besides serving the Queensland Exhibitions, Brown also established links with other Pastoral Societies throughout Queensland, and was in communication with both the Western Pastoral and Agricultural Society and the Eastern Downs Horticultural and Agricultural Association.[37] An unmarked silver medal attributed to Brown for "BEST DURHAM COW" was presented to E Cross following the Central Queensland Graziers & Farmers Society exhibition at Gracemere in 1878 (Fig.7). Several other similarly engraved medals from the 1877 Gracemere exhibition are held in a Brisbane private collection. Further research may confirm the attribution of these works to Brown's studio (Figs. 8 & 9).

35 This medal is in an Australian private collection.

36 *The Brisbane Courier*, Fri 19 November 1875, p 3.

37 *The Western Star and Roma Advertiser*, Wed 31 August 1887, p 2; *Warwick Examiner and Times*, Sat 9 March 1889, p 3.

Figure 7. Charles Allen Brown (attrib.), *Central Queensland Graziers & Farmers Society medal* 1878. Silver, 41mm diameter. Photograph supplied by Noble Numismatics.

Figure 8. Unknown silversmith (possibly CA Brown), *Graziers & Farmers' Society Central Queensland medal* 1877. Silver, 42mm diameter. Private Collection, Brisbane. Note the similarity of the engraving and comparable size of this medal to the 1878 medal.

Figure 9. Unknown silversmith (possibly CA Brown), *Graziers & Farmers' Society Central Queensland medal* 1877. Silver, 42mm diameter (50 mm including mount). Private Collection, Brisbane. Note the similarity of the engraving and comparable size of this medal to the 1878 medal.

Other exo-numismatic fancies

Outside the jeweller's workshop, Brown enjoyed many pursuits, including cricket. In 1875 he joined the Albert Cricket Club, and played several matches for the club as well as attending meetings.[38] He was responsible for a silver cup that was presented to the highest scorer of the 1875 Intercolonial Cricket match, and submitted two designs to the Queensland Cricket Association for a permanent Challenge Cup in 1879.[39] In 1879, Brown completed a suite of gold medals that were awarded to the Albert Cricket Club's best players of the season. On one side of each medal, the arms of the Albert Club were represented, and the other side bore the name of the recipient. Described by the *Brisbane Courier* as being "finished in first-class style, and reflect great credit on the maker," the medals were presented to Messrs J Egan and F Myers for batting; Messrs A Street, Henry Strickland, and John Marquis for bowling; and L G Dixon for his services as Captain of the Challenge Cup team.[40]

The following year Brown executed a design by Lieutenant Byrne for the D Company champion gold medal. The medal displayed the words "Champion Medal" on two gold bars, and "D Company, 1st Queenslanders" in raised letters on the gold medal, which featured a depiction of a laurel wreath, supported by crossed Martini-Henry rifles. The medal was presented on Monday 26 April 1880 to Sergeant G. Rogers.[41]

In 1881, Brown completed a gold medal for presentation to Bernard Simmonds from the St Stephen's Choir. The medal comprised three bands of ornamented and chased gold bearing the monogram "B. S." over a ribbon, to which a chased gold Maltese cross with harp in the centre was affixed. The medal was inscribed "Presented to Mr. Bernard Simmonds by the members of St. Stephen's Choir and admiring friends, for services rendered for the past eight years, 25th December, 1881."[42]

Brown's support for local sport continued into the 1880s and 1890s, during which time he presented several prize medals and cups to community sport gatherings around Brisbane. At the 1885 Annual athletic sports meet of the Union Athletic Club, Brown presented a gold medal to FW Belbridge, the winner of the amateur 2-mile Bicycle Handicap.[43] The next year, Brisbane's St Patrick's Day holiday featured a number of

38 The State Library of Queensland holds a selection of documents created by the Albert Cricket Club, including minute books confirming Brown's attendance at Club meetings, and correspondence. OM66-17 Albert Cricket Club Records, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, Australia.

39 *The Brisbane Courier*, Fri 24 December 1875, p 2; *The Queenslander*, Sat 22 February 1879, p 14.

40 *The Brisbane Courier*, Sat 13 December 1879, p 5. The medals were presented at a special meeting of the Albert Cricket Club at the Queen's Hotel, on 8 December 1879.

41 *The Brisbane Courier*, Tues 27 April 1880, p 2.

42 *The Brisbane Courier*, Sat 24 December 1881, p 4.

43 *The Queenslander*, Sat 6 June 1885, p 16.

races, including a 2 mile Handicap walking match. Brown offered a special gold medal as 1st prize for this race, valued at £5 5s. The medal was won by W Slattery.[44] It appears that Brown offered this prize several times, as in 1889 another medal was presented when W McCallum won the 2 mile Handicap.[45]

In 1888, the Arfoma Football Club commissioned a gold medal by Brown to commemorate the "untiring energy and zeal" that Arfoma FC Secretary George Beal had committed to the ongoing progress of the club. The medal was inscribed on one side "Presented to George Beal by the President, in recognition of his untiring zeal as secretary of the Club, season 1888." The reverse of the medal was inscribed, "Arfoma F.C.," with the sign of goal posts, cross bar and ball.[46]

In 1894, Brown produced a medal of 18-carat gold for presentation to Harry Darker from the Ipswich Cycling Club, celebrating his victory at the club championship. The medal is reported to have weighed as much as two sovereigns, and was shaped like a star with a bicycle on one side. A second silver medal was made by Ipswich jeweller J. H. Law, and was presented to Mr A Partridge.[47]

In 1900, teenager Joseph Neilson was presented with a silver medal for rescuing a man from drowning at the dam of the Syndicate Crushing Mill on 22 October 1899 (Fig.10). The obverse of the medal featured the Maltese Cross with a crown in the centre to symbolise Queensland, surrounded by the text "Queensland Government, 1900". The reverse of the medal was inscribed "Presented to Joseph Neilson, Charters Towers, Queensland, for bravery in saving life, 22 October, 1899."[48]

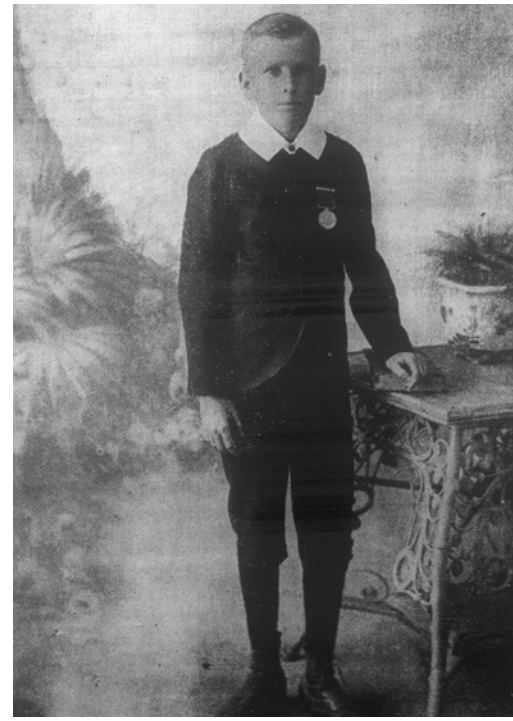

Figure 10. Marion Studio (Charters Towers), photograph of Joseph Neilson. Published in *The North Queensland Register*, Monday 10 December 1900, p 25. Neilson is wearing the silver medal fashioned by C A Brown's firm in this photograph.

44 *The Queensland Figaro and Punch*, Sat 20 March 1886, p 6.

45 *The Queensland Figaro and Punch*, Sat 23 March 1889, p 6.

46 *The Queensland Figaro and Punch*, Saturday 5 October 1888, p 5 (supplement).

47 *The Queenslander*, Saturday 22 December 1894, p 23.

48 *The Queenslander*, Sat 20 October 1900, p 5; *The North Queensland Register*, Monday 10 December 1900 pp 25, 31.

On 26 April 1901, the chains of office worn by Lord Mayors of Brisbane, arguably Brown's best-known work, were presented to the Brisbane Municipal Councillors[49]. The work was manufactured by Brown's son, Charles Brown Jr, and consisted of a handsome central medallion bearing the Arms of Brisbane surrounded by a wreath of palms, grapes and pineapples, accompanied by a 25-link chain in gold bearing the names of twelve Mayors who served the Brisbane electorate. These mayoral chains are still used by Lord Mayors of Brisbane, and the tradition of adding links to the chain bearing the names of Lord Mayors is still practiced.

The 1901 Queensland Federation Medalet

Following the lead of other Australian colonies, in October 1900 the Queensland Government sought tenders for the production of 100,000 medals commemorating the establishment of the Australian Commonwealth, for presentation to schoolchildren throughout Queensland. Tenders were received from Brown, WJ Amor, AJ Parkes, and HF Smith. Brown was awarded the tender at a cost of £1250, initially to produce an impression of the 1899 Promote Federation & Prosperity Medalet, though after some deliberation the 1901 Queensland Federation Medalet design was adopted (Fig. 11).[50] Brown sent the order to Melbourne firm Stokes and Martin to mint the coins in gilt bronze.[51] The medals were distributed throughout December 1900 in anticipation of Federation Celebrations in January 1901.[52]

Figure 11. Stokes & Sons (manufacturer), *Federation of Australian Commonwealth, Queensland medal* 1901 (Carlisle 1901/37). Proof medal with original swatch of ribbon used as evidence in the civil case McMahon Bros v CA Brown. State Archives of Queensland.

49 *The Brisbane Courier*, Mon 29 April 1901, p 4. The chains were produced at a cost of £62. *The Brisbane Courier*, Sat 1 June 1901, p 14.

50 *The Brisbane Courier*, Fri 23 November 1900, p 2.

51 *The Brisbane Courier*, Sat 31 August 1901, p 14.

52 *The Brisbane Courier*, Sat 22 December 1900, p 5.

In January 1901, Brisbane-based theatrical and general agents James and Joseph MacMahon commenced proceedings against Brown, claiming that he had breached terms of contract between the parties, which involved profits from the tender to be split 75% to the MacMahons and 25% to Brown. The case was heard before Justice Cooper in the Queensland Supreme Court on 30 and 31 August and 2 September 1901, during which time the Premier of Queensland Sir Robert Philp was called to give evidence as a witness. Premier Philp was summoned and sworn in, but before any questions were asked of him, the counsels for both parties conferred and agreed a settlement.[53] The Queensland State Archives contains a comprehensive collection of files relating to this case, including the case notes of Justice Cooper, various court documents and statements, and evidence that was presented to the Court. Remarkably, an example of the 1901 Queensland Federation Medalet and accompanying ribbon is preserved among the evidence, together with the 1899 Promote Federation & Prosperity Medalet that was initially tendered by Brown to the Government (Fig. 12).

Figure 12. *Promote Federation and Prosperity medalet* 1899 (Carlisle 1899/1). Proof medalet with original swatch of ribbon used as evidence in the civil case McMahon Bros v CA Brown. State Archives of Queensland.

Conclusion

After living and working in Brisbane for nearly 40 years, Charles Allen Brown died in 1908 of idiopathic anaemia, exhaustion and gastric catarrh. He was buried two days later in Toowong Cemetery. The family business was continued by his son Alan, while other sons Alfred, Charles Jr, and Frederick established their own jewellers' businesses.[54] The exonumia that Brown produced throughout his career are a significant contribution to Australia's colonial decorative art history, and offer an insight into life

53 *The Brisbane Courier*, Sat 31 August 1901, p 14; Mon 2 September 1901, p 4; Tues 3 September 1901, p 2. No details of the settlement are recorded in the court documents.

54 Sue Air, *op cit*. p 78.

around Queensland in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. The discovery of more works by Brown will ensure this silversmith may be appropriately recognised in the histories of Australian numismatics and decorative arts.

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Victory, torcs and iconology in Rome and Britain

Clare Rowan and David Swan

Abstract

*This article takes an iconological approach to the interpretation of coin imagery, highlighting the multiple, changing meanings of images as they travel from person to person and culture to culture. Two contrasting case studies are presented. The first discusses the movement of classical images to Iron Age Britain, focusing on the figure of Nike/Victory. The selective nature of image-adoption by British kings is demonstrated, as well as the different meanings Mediterranean classical images communicated in their new context. The second case study discusses the adoption of the torc as both an image and object in Roman culture, tracing how the torc transformed from a 'barbarian' attribute to a demonstration of Roman military valour and skill. Both case studies demonstrate the multiple meanings a coin image may have, dependant on viewer and context.****

Keywords

[Iron Age Britain] [Rome] [torc] [iconology] [social life of images] [Victory]

A picture is less like a statement or speech act, then, than like a speaker capable of an infinite number of utterances. An image is not a text to be read but a ventriloquist's dummy into which we project our own voice.

J.W.T. Mitchell, *What do Pictures Want?* (Chicago, 2005) 140

Mitchell's statement, symbolic of the approach practised within iconology, challenges the traditional interpretative framework of the numismatist. Coin imagery is often understood as a statement or speech act, with particular images communicating specific, even targeted, messages. However work within visual culture studies has increasingly begun to recognise that, just as there is a social life of objects, so too we can chart the social lives of images. Images might travel between cultures, objects or media, generating

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new meanings, associations and ways of seeing the world.[1] As an image moves from one medium to another (perhaps becoming a mental or verbal image for a time), or as the medium carrying an image (in this case a coin) physically travels from user to user and context to context, the meanings of the image transform. How can numismatists incorporate these perspectives? This article explores what an *iconological* approach to the study of numismatic iconography might look like.[2]

Ancient coins and their types passed from person to person, were taken out and put away, flowing between users, contexts and cultures. How did this social life affect the meaning of a coin's imagery, and how, in turn, did the movement of images actively contribute to the formation of identities and ideas? Two case studies are presented as a means of exploring these questions, tracing the movement of images to and from the Roman world. The first case study follows the image of the goddess Victory as it moves from Roman to British Iron Age coinage. The second case study takes the 'torc-wreath' carried by Victory on these Iron Age British coins as a starting point to consider the broader social life of the torc within the Roman world. Both case studies demonstrate the interconnectedness of the Mediterranean in antiquity, and the entangled web of meanings that (coin) imagery potentially possessed.

The Imagery of Success: Victory in Pre-Roman Britain

Images and myths play a significant role in the identity of a civilization, representing not only how a society sees itself, but also how it sees its place in the world.[3] Therefore, when a society adopts the images of another culture (mythical or otherwise), a significant statement is being made. Such is the case in pre-Roman Britain. After over a century of striking coinage depicting local plants and animals (e.g. boars), from c. 25 BC the inhabitants in the south-east of the island began to represent mythical creatures on their coins, images that had travelled to Britain from the Mediterranean. These included Medusa, the sphinx, the winged horse and the griffon, creatures previously unknown to the indigenous culture of the time.[4] The representation of these creatures was seen as an attempt by British rulers to appeal to the Roman state until Creighton identified that it was not the most common classical images that were being copied, rather the British

1 On object biography see I. Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process' in A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986) 64-94, and J. Joy, 'Reinvigorating object biography: reproducing the drama of object lives' *World Archaeology* 41 (2009) 540-56. For the social life of images see W.J.T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?* (Chicago, 2005) 90-3.

2 See also C. Rowan (a), 'Coinage between cultures: mediating power in Roman Macedonia' in P. Basu (ed.), *The In-Betweenness of Things: Materializing Mediation and Movement between Worlds* (London, forthcoming), and C. Rowan (b), 'Imagining Empire under the Republic' in F. Haymann, W. Hollstein & M. Jehne (eds), *Neue Forschungen zur Münzprägung der Römischen Republik* (Dresden, forthcoming).

3 J. Creighton, *Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain* (Cambridge, 2000) 80

4 ABC 1076, ABC 2909, ABC 2943, ABC 2987

were selective in which imagery they adopted.[5] British kings would have absorbed Roman visual culture during their time in Rome as hostages, but the overwhelming quantity of imagery in Rome on both public and private monuments would have meant that it would only take a brief visit to Rome to witness classical imagery.[6] This suggests that despite having access to the entire repertoire of Roman images, the inhabitants of Britain adopted only those images that appealed to their own interests and culture. They spoke the Roman 'language of images' differently.

The following discussion focuses on the representation of Victory (or Nike) on British coins of the early first century AD. Victory was popular with British moneyers of this period, appearing on the most common coins produced under the south-eastern king Cunobelin (ABC 2918 & 2972). She is also portrayed on a comparatively high number of types: fourteen types of four different British kings. What follows is an exploration of how the British may have seen Roman Victory, and why she might have been more appealing than other Roman divinities. The appearance of Victory on coins of the south-east in this period is outlined in Table 1 below.

Table 1: The Representation of Victory on coins of SE Britain in the early first century AD

Catalogue Number (ABC)	**Description**	**Diameter (mm)**	**Weight (g)**	**Rarity based on finds**[7]
387	Gold stater of Eppillus c. AD 1-15 Obv: Winged Victory standing l. in wreath holding palm branch in l. hand and torc/wreath in raised r. hand. Rev: EPPI.COM F Warrior on horse r., holding carnyx.	18	5.4	excessively rare
414	Bronze unit of Eppillus c. AD 1-15 Obv: laureate bust l., EPPI[L] in front. Rev: Winged Victory standing l., holding spear in r. hand and wreath/ torc in l.	16	1.9	very rare

5 J. Creighton *op.cit.* 84; M. Russell & S. Laycock, *Unroman Britain* (Stroud, 2010) 39

6 J. Creighton *op.cit.* 92, P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor, 2009) 27, 245

7. Information taken from the *Celtic Coin Index*.

Catalogue Number (ABC)	Description	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Rarity based on finds[7]
432	Silver unit of Touto c. AD 10-15 Obv: Bearded head l., wearing diadem, TOVTO before. Rev: Winged Victory walking r., r. hand on scabbarded sword, E to left, P to right.	12	1.3	excessively rare
1130	Silver unit of Tincomarus 25 BC – AD 10 Obv: CO F within wreath. Rev: Victory r., with laurel branch in l. hand and torc/wreath in r., altar r. with snake. TIN around.	?	?[8]	excessively rare
1349	Silver unit of Epaticcus c. AD 20-40 Obv: Victory seated r., holding torc/wreath in l. hand. TASCIO around. Rev: Boar r., tree behind. EPAT below.	12	1.3	scarce
2855	Silver unit of Cunobelin c. AD 10-40 Obv: Head l., CAMV[L] in front. Rev: Seated Victory r., wearing broad rimmed cap, holding wine cup in r. hand, CVNO below chair.	15	1.2	very rare
2870	Silver unit of Cunobelin c. AD 10-40 Obv: Winged bust r. Rev: Sphinx sitting l. TASCIO in front.	13	1.2	scarce
2882	Silver unit of Cunobelin c. AD 10-40 Obv: Female bust r., CVNO behind, BELINVS before. Rev: Winged Victory standing on globe, torc/wreath in r. hand.	13	1.3	very rare
2918	Bronze unit of Cunobelin c. AD 10-40 Obv: CVNOBELINI in two panels, pellets in ring above and below. Rev. Seated Victory l., TASC [F] in exergue.	16	1.7	common

8 Unknown owing to rarity of the type.

Catalogue Number (ABC)	Description	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Rarity based on finds[7]
2921	Bronze unit of Cunobelin c. AD 10-40 Obv: Winged horse l., head turned back, CAM below. Rev: Victory standing l., CVN in front.	15	2.9	scarce
2927	Bronze unit of Cunobelin c. AD 10-40 Obv: Winged horse l., CAMV below. Rev: Victory standing r., holding torc/ wreath in r. hand. CV to l., MV to r.	16	2.9	rare
2930	Bronze unit of Cunobelin c. AD 10-40 Obv: Victory standing. C to l., V to r. Rev: Warrior on horse r., CVN below.	17	3.2	very rare
2939	Bronze unit of Cunobelin c. AD 10-40 Obv: Ship, CVN below. Rev: Victory walking r., S to l., E to r.	17	4.1	extremely rare
2972	Bronze unit of Cunobelin c. AD 10-40 Obv: Winged horse r., CV above. Rev: Victory stabbing bull r. TASCI below.	14	2.2	very common

Before the adoption of the image from the Roman world, a winged deity was unknown in British iconography. In the broader Celtic pantheon of the European mainland, which often inspired British religion, there is evidence of a winged female deity, but depictions are confined to Avallon in France, and show the deity with more than two breasts, quite unlike the classically inspired Victory on British coins.[9] The image of Victory, therefore, was taken from the Roman world. For the Romans Victory could represent a specific victory in battle or represent general military success.[10] The goddess may also have served as a means of presenting war in an abstract manner, devoid of its associated horrors, and so Victory can also be associated with war itself.[11]

But the transferral of the image of Victory from one culture to another may have led to a shift in meaning, and the Roman associations of the goddess may not have been apparent to British viewers. In a similar manner to Roman depictions, Victory is often

9 M. Green, *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art* (London, 1989) 27

10 J. Creighton *op.cit.* 108

11 M. Koortbojian, 'The bringer of Victory: imagery and institutions at the advent of Empire' in *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*, eds. S. Dillon & K.E. Welch (Cambridge, 2006) 185

represented alone on pre-Roman British coinage, without reference to an enemy. It is therefore difficult to judge whether Victory in these contexts represented a specific success or battle. Indeed, the Romans had a conceptualisation of coinage as a 'monument in miniature' that may not have been replicated in Iron Age Britain. Meadows and Williams have demonstrated that the Roman association of money was connected to the temple close to where coinage was produced, the temple of Juno Moneta.[12] Moneta was associated with memory, and as a result, the images on coinage were a visual representation of a past event, and a form of maintaining that memory. Without any similar connections, it seems doubtful that the British would have seen money in this way, and thus the representation of particular events would be improbable. Therefore, it seems likely that they did not use Victory to commemorate a specific conflict.

Figure 1: AE unit, Cunobelin, AD 10-40, 15.69mm, 2.51g. Obverse: Winged horse, r., CVNO below. Reverse: Victory stabbing bull, r. TASCI (ABC 2972, Reproduced courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme: Williams, D (2011) SUR-14A066: A IRON AGE COIN Web page available at: https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/471949 [Accessed: Oct 9, 2015 4:57:09 PM])

Victory is shown with another creature on only one type, which displays Victory attacking a bull on the reverse (Fig. 1). This is one of the most common types of Cunobelin, a king whose kingdom covered parts of the counties of Essex, Hertfordshire and Kent. As the only example where Victory is presented with another creature, we might deduce that here success over a rival was communicated. However, there is no obvious candidate for who or what the bull might represent. Perhaps it was the symbol or even the name of a rival king now lost to history. Cunobelin's own name means "Hound of Belinus", so this is a possibility.[13] However, such a theory simply does not have the evidence to support it. The bull likely had another meaning.

12 J. Williams & A. Meadows, 'Moneta and the monuments: coinage and politics in Republican Rome' *Journal of Roman Studies* 91 (2001) 48

13 M. Russell, *Bloodline: The Celtic Kings of Roman Britain* (Stroud, 2010) 60

It is likely that the coin type was inspired by the sacrificial bull imagery that became increasingly common in Roman art during the Augustan era.[14] Morris identifies the prototype of Cunobelin's issue as a Roman imperial type struck at Pergamon from 19 BC.[15] However, whilst the type was inspired by Mediterranean visual culture, framed within British customs it takes on a new meaning. The bull was a prominent image in British art, both on coins and elsewhere. Indeed, horns themselves were seen as symbols of power, often incorporated into helmets and deities, and Irish literature such as the Ulster Cycle mentions bulls having supernatural powers.[16] Therefore the bull was seen as a powerful beast, and by presenting Victory in the act of subduing this beast, Victory too is presented as powerful. This would suggest that both the Romans and the British saw the winged goddess as a martial figure. Indeed, this is emphasised on other British coin types such as ABC 414 and ABC 432, which show Victory carrying, respectively, a spear and a sword, so the winged deity's relation to war seems to have been adopted alongside the imagery.

Figure 2: AR unit, Britain, AD 10-40, 1.13g, Cunobelin. Obverse: Head, l., spiky hair, [CAMVL] in front. Reverse: Seated Victory, r., wearing broad rimmed cap and holding bowl or wine cup in r. hand, pellet in annulet before, CVNO below chair (ABC 2855, Reproduced courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme: McLean, L (2009) ESS-42A011: A IRON AGE COIN Web page available at: https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/246674 [Accessed: Oct 9, 2015 5:01:01 PM])

But the British people also had an association with the image of the winged goddess that was not present in Rome. As mentioned above, Victory could refer to general (often military) success. In Britain, however, we see a different form of success being portrayed. Figure 2 is another issue of Cunobelin; here Victory is portrayed in a very different manner, wearing a *petasus*, the broad rimmed travelling cap, and holding what appears to be a wine cup. The *petasus* is often associated with Mercury, the Roman messenger god of commerce, so its inclusion may have been an attempt to affiliate the two deities.[17]

14 S.J. Green, 'Save our Cows? Augustan Discourse and Animal Sacrifice in Ovid's "Fasti"' *Greece and Rome* 55 (2008) 43

15 F. Morris, 'Cunobelinus' Bronze Coinage' *Britannia* 44 (2013) 41; RIC 1^2 514

16 M. Green, *op.cit*. 151, A. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* (London, 1974) 172

17 J. Creighton, *op.cit*. 186

It has even been suggested that the winged deity on this type may in fact be male, but this is not easily visible, and owing to the prominence of the figure's wings, it seems that this was the feature being emphasised, thus the figure likely relates to the other, female, winged figures depicted on other British coins.[18] The wine cup is also related to commerce, as archaeological finds of amphorae indicate wine was a conspicuous Roman import of this period.[19] Therefore this representation of Victory seems to be associated with commerce, and thus perhaps represents commercial success. Victory is also shown with a *petasus* on specimens of another issue of Cunobelin, ABC 2918.[20] A similar use of Victory can be seen in the Roman province of Germania Superior, where Victory was used by local populations to demonstrate their domestic success via the acquisition of Roman material culture.[21]

Other British coin types display Victory as a symbol of success. On six of the fourteen British types where Victory is depicted, she holds a circular object in the air.[22] To a Roman observer, this would be viewed as a wreath, a symbol of military success. However, to a British observer, the circular object could be interpreted as a torc, the famous jewellery of the Celts (Fig. 3).[23] This is most apparent on Figure 4: the object held up by Victory is unlike the wreath represented on Roman coins. There appears to be a gap on the far right of the circlet, and it appears to end in "buffers", similar to those of the torc shown in Figure 3.[24] Therefore, the wreath appears to have been converted so that an Iron Age viewer would identify it as a torc, an object worn by both men and women, with multivalent associations.[25] Such expressions were not always so overt: Figure 5 shows Victory holding up a circular object that does not appear to have a gap, suggesting it was not intended to depict a torc. However, for a British viewer of the image, the most common circular object they might be aware of would be the torc

18 *Ibid*

19 B. Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (London, 1978) 158

20 See Spink Auction 1011, lot 148, British Museum R.12760, R.12759, TC,p14.12.Cun, PAS ESS-42A011 and NMGW-F3F776

21 R. Kousser, 'Conquest and desire: Roman *Victoria* in public and provincial sculpture' in *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*, eds. S. Dillon & K.E. Welch (Cambridge, 2006) 221. The goddess Rosmerta is also often shown with attributes of Mercury (purse, caduceus) in Romano-British and Gallo-Roman contexts. See A. Aldhouse-Green, *An Archaeology of Images: Iconology and Cosmology in Iron Age and Roman Europe* (London, 2004) 63.

22 ABC 387, 414, 1130, 1349, 2882, 2927

23 J. Creighton, *op.cit*. 109

24 Also see the specimen from Timeline Auctions, 3rd September 2014, lot 1312 (http://www.timelineauctions.com/lot/catuvellauni-cunobelin-seated-victory-unit/35493/).

25 A. Aldhouse-Green, *op.cit*. 40-7, 58, and Dio 62.2.1-4 (the torc of Boudicea). A potin coin of the Remi depicts what has been interpreted as a female warrior, carrying a torc in her right hand and a spear in her left.

rather than the wreath, so it is fair to suggest that most British viewers would identify it as a torc, despite the intentions of the die engraver.

Figure 3. Ipswich Torc, gold, c. 150-50 BC, diameter 202mm, 1044.1g. (© The Trustees of the British Museum, 1969,0103.2)

Figure 4. AR unit, Britain, AD 10-40, 1.21g, Cunobelin. Obverse: Female bust, r. CVNO behind, BELINVS in front. Reverse: Winged Victory standing on globe, torc in r. hand, TAS behind, CIIOV in front. (ABC 2882, Reproduced courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme: Coin Index, C (2010) CCI-963154: A IRON AGE COIN Web page available at: https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/305337 [Accessed: Oct 12, 2015 11:13:34 AM])

Figure 5. AV stater, Britain, AD c. 1-15, 5.40g, Eppillus. Obverse: Winged Victory standing l. in wreath, holding wreath in r. hand. Reverse: Warrior on horse r., holding carnyx in r. hand. EPPI.COM F below (ABC 387, Reproduced courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme: Coin Index, C (2010) CCI-690226: A IRON AGE COIN Web page available at: https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/318994 [Accessed: Oct 9, 2015 5:03:44 PM])

Scholars have often interpreted the torc as a symbol of authority; its association with Victory therefore presents her as an entity of power associated with success.[26] There is even some evidence for the torc being related to commerce. In parts of ancient Germania the torc is thought to have acted as a form of currency, as torcs have been found that are exactly one hundred times the weight of coined staters in that area.[27] Additionally, the Celtic horned god Cernunnos, believed to be associated with commerce, is sometimes depicted with a torc instead of a coin purse, implying that both torc and coins were seen as forms of wealth.[28] While there is no strong evidence the torc was used as a form of currency in Britain, many golden torcs discovered in Ipswich, some weighing over one thousand grams of gold, certainly suggest the torc was a highly valuable item, and thus an excellent metaphor for wealth. Nevertheless, the representation of Victory with overt Mercury-style regalia indicates that Victory was seen as having a potential commercial role, and viewers may have brought this association to other Victory representations.

Therefore there seems to be a case for Victory being associated with commercial success in Britain. On multiple types she is carrying something related to a form of wealth. Another coin of Cunobelin, ABC 2939, could also potentially be seen in this light, as the obverse carries a ship and the reverse Victory, perhaps suggesting a connection between the goddess and maritime trade. British rulers in this period may thus have used the image of Victory to show success in the acquisition of desirable Roman imports. Indeed, Caesar writes that the Celtic Gauls worshipped Mercury above all others, declaring him

26 J. Creighton, *op.cit* 186 ; D. Fickett-Wilbar, 'Cernunnos: Looking a Different Way' *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 23 (2003) 95

27 D. Nash, *Coinage in the Celtic World* (London, 1987) 51

28 D. Fickett-Wilbar, *op.cit*. 95

the inventor of all arts (*omnium inventorem artium ferunt*), with numerous images of the god in existence.[29] Caesar's comment here might find support in the fact that Mercury was the most commonly depicted god in the later Roman province.[30] Commerce was thus a key field of concern for a Celtic god, suggesting why Victory may have been adapted in this way, and meaning that these associations of Victory would be welcome to British viewers.

The Hybrid Nature of Victory

Brennus, the king of the Gauls, on entering a temple found no dedications of gold or silver, and when he came only upon images of stone and wood he laughed at them, to think that men, believing that gods have human form, should set up their images in wood and stone. Diodorus Siculus 22.9.4

In tracing the social life of images we need to ask: why are some images more popular than others? Why do some move and appear to take on a life of their own, while others do not? Why, in the words of Mitchell, do some images 'have legs'?[31] In pre-Roman Britain, what was it about the image of Victory that made it more appealing than Jupiter, or other imagery from the classical world?

Victory was something of an anomaly within Roman religion, as, unlike the rest of the Roman pantheon, she was not strictly anthropomorphic. Very few Roman deities were represented with animal features such as wings or horns, perhaps because the Romans did not consider animals to be divine.[32] The conception of what a divine being should look like was very different in the Celtic pantheon. The passage of Diodorus above, describing the Gallic assault on Delphi in 280 BC encapsulates this: the Celts did not conceive the divine as having a human form, and mocked the Greeks for their beliefs. Diodorus Siculus may have included the extract to demonstrate the 'barbaric' nature of the sanctuary's attackers, but the story probably developed from Graeco-Roman knowledge surrounding the nature of Celtic gods.[33] Within pre-Roman Britain depictions of a horned god are one of the most prominent forms of religious art, suggesting the British often conceived their divinities as having non-human physical features.[34] The depiction of human-headed dogs from Lydney in Gloucestershire and cat-eared humans from Caerwent in Monmouthshire support the idea that hybrid

29 Caes. *BGall.* 6.17

30 M. Green, *op.cit*. 216

31 W.J.T. Mitchell, *op.cit.* 31, 87

32 M. Green, *op.cit*. 89

33 It should be noted that the idea that the divine could not be represented by an image (human or otherwise) is a concept also seen in classical literature. Plut. *Num*. 8.7-8 states that initially Numa forbade the Romans to represent the divine in the image of a beast or human. See M. Aldhouse-Green, *op.cit*. 9 for a discussion.

34 A. Ross, *op.cit.* 172

images were present within Britain.[35] Cat-eared humans decorated some of the antefixes at a legionary fortress in Caerleon; that even some post-conquest Roman deities were adjusted into this tradition can also be demonstrated by the Gosbecks Mercury now in the Colchester Castle Museum, which has had his winged cap removed, but the wings themselves have remained, making it appear as if the wings are coming from his head.

Anthropomorphic representations of deities did occur in pre-Roman Britain, so one should not conclude that hybrid deities were the only way the divine was represented.[36] However, it seems that the images 'with legs' in this region were those with hybrid components; deities that had some animal element were more attractive. Only five Iron Age British coin types show classical anthropomorphic deities: these are Jupiter, Neptune and Hercules (and possibly Diana), and these types are reasonably rare.[37] This is in direct contrast to the significant numbers of coins bearing classically inspired hybrid animals, such as centaurs, winged horses, griffons, sphinxes, Medusas, capricorns and hippocamps. The only other foreign deities to be produced on types as common as those bearing Victory are the two-headed Janus and Zeus Ammon.[38] Both of these deities would have fitted well with the idea, recorded by Diodorus, that the Celts preferred deities that did not look like humans. Indeed, Zeus Ammon would probably have been associated with the horned god of the British, as both portray a human figure with horns. Therefore, it seems likely that Victory was chosen as a deity to be prominently depicted because her hybrid nature meant she was able to fit the criteria of a British divine being.

From 'barbarian' to 'Roman': The iconology of the torc in the Roman world

Just as the classical image of the goddess Victory travelled from Rome to Britain, gaining new associations even as it retained original meaning(s), so too non-classical objects and images travelled to Rome. This section focuses on one such object, the torc, and explores how, like the arrival of Victory in Britain, this image became imbued with meaning particular to the culture that adopted it. The torc, as an object and an image, had multiple meanings both within and outside Roman society. As Roman coins displaying torcs circulated, some, all, or perhaps none of these associations may have been apparent to different users. As part of its social life the torc transformed from something associated with 'barbarians' to something 'Roman'. This transition complicates the appearance of the torc outside of Rome, for example the Victory carrying torc types of pre-Roman

35 M. Aldhouse-Green, *op.cit.* 169-172, Ross *op.cit.* 383

36 A. Ross, *op.cit*. 383

37 ABC 474, 2840, 2864, 2879, 29062. The depiction of Hercules wearing a lion-skin does, however, give him an animal-like attribute.

38 ABC 2978, 2981, 2984

Britain. The British kings would also have witnessed a 'Roman' context for the object, meaning that its appearance cannot necessarily be simply classified as a 'local' reference.

In his *ab Urbe condita* Livy recounts an incident stemming from one of the legendary genealogies of the Roman Republican nobility. During a conflict against the Gauls in 361 BC, an individual Gaul 'of extraordinary size' challenged the Romans to single combat. The Romans were reportedly less than enthusiastic to take on this giant, but one Titus Manlius (cos. 347 BC) volunteered and defeated his rival. What follows next is significant. Livy reports that he did nothing to the body of his defeated foe except he took as spoils (*spoliavit*) the Gaul's torc 'which, spattered with blood, he enclosed around his own neck'. The accompanying shouts of the Roman soldiers included the phrase *Torquatus*, and so, Livy writes, this became Manlius' *cognomen*, and remained the surname of his descendants.[39]

The story marks a transition point: the torc was no longer only associated with 'barbarian' Gauls in the Roman mind, but acquired a connection with the Manlii Torquati. As with the use of Victory in Britain, the association that the image acquired is unique to the culture that adopted it, in this instance shaped by the significant emphasis on ancestry amongst the Roman elite. Having defeated the giant Gaul, Manlius had also 'conquered' his opponent's most symbolic object: the torc. A similar phenomenon occurred during the German occupation of the Channel Islands in WWII: the imagery carried on the local currency (Guernsey and Jersey crests, as well as the king's portrait) was seen by the German occupiers as rightfully 'theirs', conquered along with the territory.[40] Local coins were sent back to Germany as souvenirs, or converted into trench art, even as local residents used these same images (and coins) in hidden acts of resistance. The same image (for example the king's portrait) thus came to possess two simultaneous and yet contradictory associations; meaning would change according to context and user. We see this 'conquest' of imagery elsewhere in the Roman Republic: the appropriation of the Macedonian shield by the Metelli, for example, or the triskeles by the Marcelli.[41]

As so nicely outlined by Livy, within the Republic the torc might refer to Gallic or Celtic people (indeed, the 'dying Gaul' now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome demonstrates the continued association of the object with barbarians), but it was also a symbol of the Manlii Torquati. This is most evident on coinage: when one of the Torquati *gens* becomes a moneyer in the Republic, a torc appears on his types, acting as both a canting symbol

39 Livy 7.10. The story is also told in Dio 7 (=Zonaras 7.24), Val. Max. 3.26, and Gell. *NA* 9.13, amongst others. On the passage of Livy see S. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy Books VI-X Vol. II: Books VII-VIII* (Oxford, 1998) 113-48.

40 G. Carr, 'Coins, crests and kings: symbols of identity and resistance in the Occupied Channel Islands' *Journal of Material Culture* 17 (2012) 327-44.

41 C. Rowan (a) *op.cit*, and C. Rowan (b) *op.cit.*

and a reference to the moneyer's legendary ancestry. The torc first appears on Roman coinage in c. 211-208 BC as a symbol on an otherwise anonymous victoriatus.[42] Whether a Manlius Torquatus is behind this issue cannot be known, but all later occurrences are struck by moneyers connected to the *gens*, with each moneyer using the torc as a border. Lucius Manlius Torquatus struck denarii in 113/12 BC (Fig. 6) and another moneyer of the same name minted in 65 BC (Fig. 7).[43] A torc also appears on the issues of one D. Iunius Silanus in 91 BC, who was also related to the Manlii Torquati (Fig. 8).[44] Decimus Junius Silanus adopted the son of T. Manlius Torquatus in 160 BC (the first known instance of the adoption of a patrician into a plebeian family); later a D. Iunius Silanus Manlianus was punished by his father, T. Manlius Torquatus, for misconduct in Macedonia.[45] The adoption of a patrician into a plebeian family appears to have resulted in the transfer of the Torquati's legendary ancestry, and associated imagery, to the Iunii Silani (at least, this is what the numismatic evidence suggests). The Manlii Torquati appear to have died out by the reign of Nero, and the cognomen Torquatus was then adopted by the Iunii Silani.[46]

Figure 6: AR denarius, mint of Rome, 113/12 BC, 3.83g, L. Manlius Torquatus moneyer. Obverse: Helmeted head of Roma, ROMA X. Torc as border. Reverse: Horseman charging left, Q above, border of dots. L TORQVA EX S C. (RRC 295/1, Reproduced courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, 1974.26.13, http://numismatics.org/collection/1974.26.13)

42 RRC 91/1b

43 RRC 295/1, 411/1a-b. A Torquatus was also moneyer under Sulla (82 BC, RRC 367/1-4), but no torc can be seen on his types, probably a result of the nature of these issues: they honored Sulla, with no space for familial references.

44 RRC 337/1a-2f

45 Cic. *Fin.* 1.24, see also Tac. *Ann.* 3.69.9, and J.F. Mitchell, 'The Torquati' *Historia* 15 (1966) 23-5

46 J.F. Mitchell, *op.cit.* 23

Figure 7: AR denarius, mint of Rome, 65 BC, 3.84g, L. Manlius Torquatus moneyer. Obverse: Head of Sibyl, wearing an ivy-wreath, SIBYLLA, dotted border. Reverse: Tripod, upon which is an amphora; star on either side of the amphora. L. TORQVAT III VIR. All within torc border. (RRC 411/1b, Reproduced courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, 1937.158.181, http://numismatics.org/collection/1937.158.181)

Figure 8: AR denarius, mint of Rome, 91 BC, D. Iunius Silanus, moneyer. Obverse: Mask of bearded Silenus, plough below, torc as border. Reverse: Victory in biga right, holding palm branch and reins in right hand and whip in left, carnyx below. D SILANVS L F. Border of dots. (RRC 337/1a, Reproduced courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, 1937.158.71, http://numismatics.org/collection/1937.158.71)

Torcs are listed amongst the precious metal items carried in Roman triumphal parades, and from at least 89 BC they also formed part of the *dona militaria,* the honours presented to soldiers who had performed well in battle.[47] Östenberg observes that from 130 BC onwards torcs cease to be mentioned as booty carried in triumph; she concludes that perhaps the adoption of the torc as a Roman military honour meant the objects were no longer valued, nor paraded, as spoils of war. Their meaning had changed.[48] This may also be the reason that the torc was never used in the commemoration of Gallic victories in the later Republican or Imperial period: the coinage of Caesar, for example, does not use the torc to communicate his conquests in Gaul, and the torc does not appear on the coinage of the Roman emperors. The changing associations of the torc can also be seen in a story recounted by Suetonius: the cognomen *Torquatus*, as well as a torc, was bestowed by Augustus upon one Nonius Asprenas when he fell from a horse and was injured during a Trojan games festival, presumably as compensation for

47 V.A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (London, 1981) 86-8, J. Linderski, 'Silver and gold of valor: the award of *armillae* and *torques*' *Latomus* 60 (2001) 3-15, I. Östenberg, *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession* (Oxford, 2009) 108-11.

48 I. Östenberg, *op.cit.* 109

the loss of his future military career.[49] It was the torc as a Roman military honour that British kings would have witnessed as hostages in Augustan Rome.

Torcs, as well as armbands or *armilla*, were evidently highly valued by their recipients as symbols of status and achievement. Funerary epitaphs mention these honours, and portraits display the deceased with the awarded torcs pinned to their cuirass (Fig. 9).[50] Although it is commonly believed that Roman soldiers only wore torcs pinned to their clothes, more recently it has been suggested that they may also have worn their torcs around their necks. In this case the famous Boscoreale cup, showing a man wearing a torc walking behind Tiberius' triumphal chariot, may be a Roman soldier who had been awarded the *dona militaria* and displayed this honour accordingly.[51] That the image of the torc became associated with Roman victory can also be seen on an orichalcum token. The token is evidently connected to a triumph: one side displays the *dona militaria*, while the other bears a laurel branch and the phrase "io io triump(he)", the phrase shouted by spectators and soldiers during the procession (Fig. 10).[52] The high quality of the engraving and the use of orichalcum as a material suggest that this may have been a token issued by an emperor. While finds from Germany, France and Britain indicate that the torc could be both a male and female object in these areas, in the Roman world it became solely connected to the hyper-masculine world of the military. The decision then to portray Victory holding a torc on the coinage of a British king who knew Roman iconography may have been an acknowledgement of the Roman associations of the torc, or, by placing a

Figure 9: Tombstone of M. Caelius, a centurion of the XVIII legion, who died in the Varian disaster in AD 9. Caelius is shown between his two freedmen, wearing a *corona civica*, his cuirass decorated with a set of *phalerae* and two torcs, he also wears *armilla* on each wrist. (Now in the LVR-Landesmuseum Museum, Bonn, U82, CIL XIII 8648). (Jürgen Vogel. LVR - LandesMuseum Bonn. (Inv.-Nr. U 82)

49 Suet. *Aug*. 43.2. One wonders whether the decline of the Manlii Torquati as a family may also have influenced Augustus' decision here.

50 CIL III 3158, CIL XII 2230

51 I. Östenberg, *op.cit.* 110, B. Woytek, 'IO IO TRIVMP und A.P.P.F. Zu zwei Typen römischer Buntmetall-Tesserae' In *Festschrift für Wolfgang Hahn zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Szaivert et al. (Wien, 2015) 480

52 B. Woytek, *op.cit.* 481

'male' attribute in the hands of a female goddess, the image may have been intended as a deliberate statement of dislocation or disjunction from the Roman language of images.[53]

Figure 10: Orichalcum Roman token, late first-second century AD (?). Two *armilla* within a torc, dotted border / Laurel branch, IO IO TRIVMP. Dotted border. (Reproduced courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group Inc., Electronic Auction 120 lot 113, www.cngcoins.com)

Thus the torc, as an image and as an object, came to possess multiple meanings in the Roman world: initially associated with the Celts or Gauls, it became a symbol of the Manlii Torquati, and then a military honour associated with victory and Roman triumph. As coins (or tokens or other objects bearing torc imagery) moved from user to user in the Roman world and circulated over time, one or several of these associations would have been evoked. No one message was communicated, rather, to return to the quote given at the beginning of this article, meaning was 'read into' the image. Coins operated, in a sense, as miniature monuments *in motion*, meaning that their viewing context could not be controlled to the same extent as larger, static monuments (e.g. triumphal arches in Rome).[54] Given this, the analysis of coins and their imagery invites an iconological approach.

One coin of Decimus Silanus, showing Salus within a torc on the obverse, was found in Surrey in Britain, forming part of what was probably a votive hoard (Fig. 11). The remainder of the deposit contained two Iron Age Celtic coins, and coins of the Roman Empire (Otho to Diva Faustina), as well as four miniature brooches, a fragment of a miniature axe and a spindle whorl. The wear on the coin, along with the accompanying finds, suggests it had been in circulation for quite some time before deposition. By the second century AD in Britain, the connection of the torc to military victory and the *dona militaria* was arguably more apparent than the connection with the Manlii Torquati (who died out under Nero). The meaning(s) read into the image then, were likely different to the original intention of the moneyer, as the coin moved geographically and

53 See M. Aldhouse-Green, *op.cit*. 58, 78-81

54 On the 'inherently unstable' viewing context of numismatic imagery see W. Mwangi, 'The lion, the native and the coffee plant: political imagery and the ambiguous art of currency design in colonial Kenya' *Geopolitics* 7 (2002) 35.

temporally. Similarly, one imagines that the Celtic coinage that was still in circulation in this period must have acquired additional meanings for the users.

Figure 11: AR denarius, mint of Rome, 91 BC, D. Silanus moneyer, 3.3g. Obverse: Head of Salus right, SALVS below. Torc as border. Reverse: Victory in biga right, holding palm-branch and reins in left hand and whip in right hand. D. SILANVS F. in exergue. Border of dots. (RRC 337/2f, Reproduced courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme: Williams, D (2011) *SUR-346844: A ROMAN COIN* Web page available at: https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/422612 [Accessed: Oct 9, 2015 5:20:41 PM]).

Conclusion: the social lives of images

This study has traced the movement of the image of Victory from the Mediterranean to Britain (where it gained additional meaning connected to trade and commerce) as well as the journey of the torc to Rome (where it gained additional associations with a particular Roman *gens* and military valour). In both journeys, the original association(s) of the images were never lost (the image of Victory in pre-Roman Britain would have recalled Rome and Roman power, and the torc maintained a Gallic reference within Roman culture), but additional meanings were created as the adopted image became a medium for the formation of new identities and culture. Mitchell demonstrates that images have an active role in the formation of culture, not only reflecting particular values, but also creating new forms of value, even at an unconscious level within the viewer.[55] In Britain, the classical Victory was a new way for British kings to display status and power at a time in which Rome (and her material culture) was becoming increasingly dominant, and provided a new language for the expression of commercial success. In Rome, the torc became the focus of a legendary mythology for one particular Roman family, affording them identity and status within the ancestry-focused culture of aristocratic Rome, before becoming a symbol through which Roman soldiers might publicly display their military skill and status at the end of the Republic and the Empire.

55 W.J.T. Mitchell *op.cit.* 105. On the power of 'unconscious' viewing see also L. Yarrow, 'Heracles, coinage and the West: three Hellenistic case-studies' in *The Hellenistic West: Rethinking the Ancient Mediterranean*, J. Prag & J. Quinn (eds) (Oxford, 2013) 348-66.

Why and how did some images acquire 'legs', and others not? British rulers had the entire Roman 'language of images' at their disposal, but clearly were selective regarding the imagery they utilised. This choice appears to have been based upon the Briton's own concept of divinity. The hybrid deities of the Mediterranean were favoured, while the majority of the anthropomorphic pantheon do not seem to have drawn British interest to the same extent. Victory was chosen as an image to adopt, but did not lose her classical role completely. The British acknowledged that she was a symbol of success, but Victory was adapted to conform to their own culture. Rather than being a symbol of conquest, Victory communicated economic success, and while in some cases she did not lose her martial aspect, this was often downplayed in favour of her new, British, role.

The torc, meanwhile, was a powerful status symbol within barbarian society, and thus was an appropriate image to 'conquer', becoming, in turn, a status symbol of the Torquati. But as the Torquati declined, and the Roman government became a principate, the use of the torc on coinage disappeared. The growing connection of the torc imagery to the *dona militaria*, in conjunction with the fact that the coinage of Rome came to increasingly focus on contemporary individuals (and eventually the emperor), may provide part of the reason. As Rome became an Empire, and then a principate, the complex competing ideologies of Roman aristocrats disappeared from currency; these complex familial types would not have been understood outside of the Roman elite, consequently they were unsuitable for a currency that circulated throughout a Mediterranean Empire. Not all Republican imagery was transferred into the repertoire of Imperial state art; Hölscher observes that those images that did not become part of the public image of the emperor were used by other classes–senators, equestrians and others.[56] This is what occurred with the torc, and its social life as an image or object (and subsequent appearances and use) can thus be connected to broader political and cultural shifts in this period.

While images may have been selected with a particular intent, the coins they graced did not just 'communicate' messages, but interacted with their users to form new, multiple, and even conflicting meanings. There is little textual evidence for pre-Roman Britain, but the surviving literature of the Roman world reveals that meanings were indeed 'read into' numismatic iconography. Suetonius, for example, mistakenly believed that Nero struck a coin of himself playing the lyre.[57] Eusebius believed that Constantine's numismatic portrait showed the emperor with his eyes uplifted in prayer, although this type of portrait was probably meant to connect Constantine to Alexander the

56 T. Hölscher, 'Historical representations of the Roman Republic: The repertory of coinage in comparison with other art media' in '*Art in the Round*'. *New Approaches to Ancient Coin Iconography*, (eds) N. Elkins & S. Krmnicek (Tübingen, 2014) 32

57 Suet. *Ner.* 25.4

Great, not to God.[58] Ovid writes that the imagery of a Roman Republican As (with Janus on the obverse and a ship on the reverse) commemorated the arrival of Saturn in Italy, a meaning given to an image well after the coin was struck.[59] On-going modern debates about the meaning of particular coin imagery (e.g. Caesar's famous 'elephant denarius', RRC 443/1) also reveal the multiple ways an image might be interpreted.[60] By incorporating these realisations into the study of numismatic iconography we will gain a better understanding of the full variety of roles and meanings these images had within antiquity, and how imagery and objects functioned within ancient societies more broadly.

Abbreviations

ABC: C. Rudd, *Ancient British Coinage* (Norwich, 2010)

RIC 1[2]: C.H.V. Sutherland & R.A.G. Carson, *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vol 1: From 31 BC to AD 69*. (London, 1984)

PAS: Portable Antiquities Scheme, https://finds.org.uk/

RRC: M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage (2 vols)*, (Cambridge, 1974)

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58 Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 4.15, with discussion of both passages in S. Krmnicek & N.T. Elkins, 'Dinosaurs, cocks, and coins: an introduction to 'Art in the Round'' in *'Art in the Round': New Approaches to Ancient Coin Iconography*, (eds) N. Elkins & S. Krmnicek (Tübingen, 2014) 7-8

59 Ov. *Fast.* 1.229ff, see also Macrob. *Sat.* 1.22

60 For an overview of the various theories see B. Woytek, *Arma et nummi. Forschungen zur römischen Finanzgeschichte und Münzprägung der Jahre 49 bis 42 v.Chr.* (Wien, 2003) 119-23, and then B. Woytek, 'Iulius Caesars Finanzen und Münzprägung im Jahre 49 v.Chr.: Bemerkungen zu RRC 433/1' in *XIII Congreso Internacional de numismática, Madrid, 2003, Actas* (Madrid, 2005) 643-4, D.L. Nouesk (2008) 'Turning points in Roman history: the case of Caesar's elephant denarius' *Phoenix* 62 (2008) 290-307, D. Woods (2009) 'Caesar the elephant against Juba the snake', *Numismatic Chronicle* 169 (2009) 189-92.

Peter Cameron and his Highland Society North West Province (Maryborough, Victoria) medals

Peter Lane

Abstract

Scottish settlers in Australia brought with them their culture including religion, sports, dress, music, and sometimes their Gaelic language. One such was Peter Cameron, who arrived in Victoria during the Gold Rush era. He was a proud Scott and an athlete who won a total of 5 medals relating to his Scottish heritage in his country of birth and his adopted country. Two of the medals recently surfaced in England, but the fate of the others is a mystery. This is Peter's story and some musings on his Highland Society medals.

Keywords

[Highland Society] [medals] [Peter Cameron] [Scottish heritage]

Background

Today around nine percent of Australia's population were either born in Scotland or have some Scottish heritage. Scots of Victoria website records that there are forty two Clan Societies, thirty seven Highland Pipe Bands, seventeen Scottish Dance Societies, nine Highland Dancing Societies, six Scottish/Caledonian Societies, three Highland Gathering Societies, a Robert Burns Club, a Scottish Gaelic Society of Victoria, and a Scottish Voice (newsletter) currently in existence in Victoria.[1] The oldest Scottish organization in Victoria was *Commun na Feinne* of Geelong, and it was established in 1856. It went into recess during the 1930s depression but it was re-established in 1958. Scottish organizations in Victoria have awarded sports medals for a number of events including tossing the caber, putting the light stone, foot races, throwing light and heavy hammers, hop step and jump, and quoits, plus cultural events like music and Highland dressing.

1 http://www.scotsofaus.org.au/

Peter Cameron

Peter Cameron was born in Scotland around 1830. He competed there in Highland Games and won a large silver 'Queen's Prize' medal for athletic 'feats'.[3] Wanting to improve his lot in life, he sailed from Liverpool on the *Prince Arthur* bound for Melbourne, arriving on 23 May, 1853. Little is known of his first few years in the colony but like many others at the time, he probably tried his luck on the goldfields. By the late 1850s he was living at or near Maryborough in the centre of the northern goldfields.[4] In 1859 he married Susan Vaughan, who was five years younger.[5] That union appears not to have produced children.[6]

Figure 1. Peter Cameron in a highland dress with four medals on his jacket c. 1868-69.[2]

On 1 January 1857, the Highland Society, North West Province (Marlborough, Victoria), held its first Highland Games sports events.[7] In 1859 Peter won the caber tossing and heavy hammer events. The latter event he won again in 1860 and 1861. For each win he was awarded 5 guineas. In 1862 he competed at another Highland Games in Melbourne and took home the prize money of 5 guineas.[8]

In 1863 he won a silver medal for the light hammer event at Maryborough–the first medal he won in Australia.[9] It appears he retired from these physically demanding events that year. At the 1868 Highland Games he competed and won the Best Dressed Highlander for which he was awarded a medal.[10] He competed and won medals in this event for the following two years.[11] Thus by 1870 he had won a total of five Highland medals in Scotland and Victoria. The photo of Cameron (Fig. 1) has him wearing four medals and can be dated between 1868 and 1869.

2 Willis. Barbara. *Bagpipes, Bowlers & Cabers: History of the Maryborough Highland Society*. Maryborough Highland Society, Maryborough c. 2007, p5.

3 *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser*, 18 May 1904, (obituary).

4 *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser*, 18 May 1904, (obituary).

5 Victorian Marriage Certificate, 1859, No. 3428.

6 *Bendigo Advertiser*, 17 May 1904, p2.

7 Daily Telegraph (Launceston, Tasmania), 14 January 1916 p.7.

8 *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser,* 2 January 1863, p4.

9 *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser,* 9 January, 1863, p2.

10 *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser,* 3 January 1868, p2.

11 *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser,* 4 January 1869, p2. and 5 January 1870, p2.

Maryborough rate books record that in 1873 the Camerons were living at Park Road, Maryborough, and he was described as a publican,[12] owning and running at various times the *Golden Age* at High Street Maryborough and the *Junction Hotel* at Havelock.[13] He also owned a stable in Holyrood Street Maryborough where he later built a brick house. Not all his ventures were successful. When he became an early promoter of an unsuccessful mining company, Chalk's No. 8 Consolidated GM & Co, he apparently lost all the money he invested. In Public life he served as a councillor with the Tullaroop Shire Council, a member on the Maryborough Hospital Committee, and an official at the Highland Games.[14]

Peter died in 1904 at the age of 74,[15] and his wife Susan died in 1924, aged 89.[16] Death duties applied and the probate forms are enlightening. His estate was valued at a little under £1200 which was a considerable sum in those days. It comprised three properties: the *Junction Hotel*, a rented seven roomed brick house with outbuildings, and a vacant land of some six acres all within the district. His other assets included four ponies, a cow, four horse-drawn vehicles, furniture, clothing, tools and bank accounts. Curiously under 'watches, trinkets, jewellery &c.' the amount shown is 'Nil'.[17] His medals would certainly have come under trinkets or jewellery, so what does this mean? Were they stolen or given away before he died, or were they simply ignored to avoid paying duty on them, or seen as being of little or no commercial value? The whole of the estate went to his widow.

When Susan died there is also no mention of medals on the probate form. It appears all her assets were sold up. The proceeds were dispersed among the beneficiaries who included five of Peter's relatives living in Scotland, friends, educational and religious institutions in Victoria, and her relatives in South Africa.[18]

12 Information supplied by Margaret Walkley, researcher, Maryborough-Midlands Historical Society.

13 Maryborough Rate books from 1873 to 1906.

14 *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser*, 18 May 1904 (obituary), p2.

15 Peter Cameron died 16 May 1904 at Maryborough, Victorian Death Register number 5566 (researched by M. Walkley)

16 Susan Cameron died 18 August 1924 at Maryborough, Victorian Death Register number 10719 (researched by M. Walkley)

17 Public Records Office of Victoria digitised Wills and Probate: http://www.access.prov.vic.gov.au/public/veo-download?objectId=090fe273802fe338&format=pdf&docTitle=Image&encodingId=Revision-2-Document-1-Encoding-1-DocumentData

18 Public Records Office of Victoria digitised Wills and Probate: http://www.access.prov.vic.gov.au/public/veo-download?objectId=090fe27380490ce7&format=pdf&docTitle=07591P00020006982230pdf&encodingId=Revision-2-Document-1-Encoding-1-DocumentData

Two of Peter Cameron's medals

A little over eighty years after Susan Cameron's death two of Peter's Australian medals turned up in the United Kingdom![19] Perhaps the medals were given to Peter's relatives living in Scotland and then handed down in the family and shared by a number of beneficiaries, hence only two of the five came on the market. Or were they simply part of the international movement of cultural items?

The two medals that surfaced in the United Kingdom are illustrated below:

Figure 2. 1868 Highland Society North West Province (Victoria), medal

Figure 3. 1870 Highland Society North West Province (Victoria), medal

***Obverse*:** Dancing highlander with crossed swords on ground, surrounded by wreath of Scottish thistles. The design has been riveted to surface (the rivets can be seen on the reverse)

***Reverse*:** In eight lines, HIGHLAND SOCIETY/MARYBOROUGH/JANy 1st 1868/ NORTH WESTERN PROVINCE/BEST DRESSED HIGHLANDER/1St PRIZE/ PRESENTED TO/MR PETER CAMERON Raised plain border.

Notes: Flat ring attached **Weight: 23g.**
Shape: Round **Metal: Silver**
Size: 50mm.

Obverse: Standing male highlander with sword, raised decorative floral border with Scotch thistle.

Reverse: Centre in four lines, JAN. 1st 1870/BEST DRESSED/HIGHLANDER/ PETER CAMERON around top, HIGHLAND SOCIETY. N.W. PROVINCE below MARYBOROUGH Silver mark 'K&Co' [Kilpatrick & Co of Melbourne]

Notes: Ring attached **Weight: 29g.**
Shape: Oval **Metal: Silver**
Size: 43mm.

19 Timothy Millett of Timothy Millett Ltd, London, private correspondence 20 January 2015.

The medal maker, Kilpatrick & Co was established in 1853, as a wholesale jewellers and watchmakers conducting business at 20 Queen Street, Melbourne. One of the partners was John Thomson who later became the sole proprietor. Two years later the business moved to 39 Collins Street West and by 1888 employed twenty hands, including apprentices. It had an extensive manufacturing business, as well as giving a large amount of work to outside artisans.[20] It is not known if the medals were made in-house or outsourced in Australia or Great Britain. Unfortunately the study of nineteenth century medals with applied embellishments that were awarded in Australia has not been researched. One of the reasons is that often makers did not stamp their medals. The author is unaware of identical embellishments of the two medals appearing on Scottish or Australian medals.

Cultural importance of Cameron's medals

Australian nineteenth century cultural events were well attended and were written up in newspapers with glowing reports. 'Best dressed' and 'dancing' events like the ones Peter Cameron was awarded medals for, are tangible evidence of Australia's nineteenth century cultural and sporting connections with Scotland. The two medals discussed in this paper are approaching their sesquicentenary of being awarded. It would be appropriate for them to be on display either in a cultural or a sporting museum in Australia, as they are physical symbols of the pride of a Scotsman who arrived in Victoria during the gold rush era.

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20 http://925-1000.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=18484&start=80

A royal graffito on an Alexander drachm

Nicholas L. Wright

Abstract

This note discusses a Mylasan silver drachm produced posthumously in the name of Alexander the Great, c.310-300 BC. The reverse of the drachm has been inscribed with an otherwise unknown graffito which gives Alexander the royal title, Basileus. *Comparisons are made with a range of other published examples of numismatic graffiti and arguments are presented to date the graffito on this drachm to the third century BC.*

Key words

[Graffito] [Hellenistic] [Mylasa] [Alexander the Great]

This note discusses an early Hellenistic silver drachm produced posthumously in the name of Alexander the Great (Fig. 1). Price attributes the monogram combination used on this drachm to Mylasa(?) after the initial identification by Thompson.[1] While Price lacked Thompson's conviction regarding the exact identity of the minting city, he was confident enough to locate it "very probably in the Carian region". The series to which this drachm belongs (Thompson's first group) has been dated to the period 310-300 BC. The right leg of Zeus is pulled back behind the left which is consistent with other posthumous issues[2] and five drachms of this issue were included in the Armenak Hoard (*IGCH* 1423) which was buried soon after 280 BC.

Figure 1
Obv. Head of Herakles r. (beardless), wearing lion skin headdress; dotted border.
Rev. Zeus Aitophoros seated l. on throne holding eagle in r. hand, grounded sceptre in l.; in r. field, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ[Υ]; in l. field, ♌; below throne, ΕΥ.
⁎ AR drachm, 18mm; 4.16g; Cf Price no.2479; Private Coll., Ex Bassem Daou, Beirut, Lebanon 2005.

The drachm was purchased by the present owner from a Lebanese dealer in a group lot along with three other Alexander type drachms. One of the other drachms was from the same issue of Mylasa (Price no.2479), the second was from Kolophon, Ionia (Price

1 Price, MJ 1991, *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus*, Swiss Numismatic Society, Zurich: p.313. Thompson, M 1981, "The Alexandrine mint of Mylasa," *Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 10: pp.207–17.

2 Price 1991, p.30.

no.1844, struck *c*.215-190 BC) and the third was from an uncertain mint – there are two worn controls in the left field, mostly off the flan and a broken-bar alpha or alpha-upsilon monogram under the throne. All four coins from the lot exhibit the same level of even wear and the same reddish tint to the patination which suggests that they may all have been part of a hoard buried around the turn of the second century BC.

An unusual graffito, carefully inscribed in the outer right field, 'above' the ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ[Υ], reads ΒΑCΙΛΕΩ[C] (Figs. 2 and 3). On palaeographic grounds, the inscription can be roughly dated to the third century BC with the first half of the century being, perhaps, more likely.[3] The lunate letter form of the *sigma* (rendered C rather than Σ) only begins to appear from the third quarter of the fourth century BC and the *epsilon* with detached horizontal bar somewhat after that. The *omega* has not been flattened out (ω), perhaps indicating a date before 200 BC.[4] However, as the inscriptional form of *omega* (Ω) remained as a model to influence private scripts, it is not possible to rule out a post-200 BC date.

Figure 2

Figure 3

Graffiti on Greek coins are uncommon but not unusual. Price knew of nine different examples of graffiti on coinage produced in the name of Alexander. Four of these used Greek characters: A, K (retrograde), and ΦΙ were each identified on single specimens, while X was known from 10 coins. Five different Aramaic graffiti were also noted, each known from a single example.[5] Further Aramaic graffiti found on coins in the name of Alexander from hoards at Demanhur, Egypt, and Tel Tsippor, Israel, consist of individual letters, monograms, personal names and place names of Egyptian, Jewish, Nabataean and

3 Dr. Alan Johnston *pers. comm*.

4 Thompson, EM 1912, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, Clarendon Press, Oxford: pp.107–9, 144. On the development of the private script in the early Hellenistic period, compare the Derveni Papyrus of *c*.340 BC (Betegh, G 2004, *The Derveni Papyrus: Cosmology, Theology and Interpretation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge) with an Egyptian copy of Plato's *Phaedo* from the mid-third century BC (British Museum Papyrus no.488).

5 Price 1991, p.71.

Safaitic origin.[6] The purpose of the graffiti is debatable, but suggestions include bankers or merchants vouching personally for the value of the coins, or claims of ownership over individual coins by members of a group or caravan.[7]

A more extensive range of coin graffiti comes from a mid-third century BC hoard of Ptolemaic tetradrachms found at Gülnar in Kilikia Tracheia. Here, a mixture of Greek and Cypriote graffiti provides a catalogue of personal names such as Timagoratis, Olympiakes, Raphaelos and *zo-wa-ti-ri*.[8] These too have been hypothesised as banker's or merchant's marks or as indications of ownership.

Other fifth and fourth century BC examples of informal inscriptions are known to have served to transmute coins from political and economic devices into votives or love tokens. By marking coins out in this way, the dedicators were intentionally removing them from circulation and sacrificing them to the gods or to their loved ones. A didrachm from Kroton is marked as 'sacred to Apollo', while a stater from Sikyon is inscribed more specifically 'to Artemis, the one at Sparta' (Artemis Orthia). This process was also known in Hellenistic Phoenicia where a Ptolemaic didrachm was inscribed in Phoenician with the divine title 'Baal'. A Skotoussan didrachm carries the hand-carved inscription 'Deinis is beautiful', a graffito on a didrachm from Metaponto reads 'Love to Lala', while from Agrigento comes a tetradrachm inscribed with the message 'Good luck to Sykon, from Philon'.[9]

A small hoard of 14 AR staters which may have been found in an unnamed Boiotian shrine contained five coins bearing graffiti. One of the graffiti seemingly labelled the hoard as spoils of war (*leia*) and a second dedicated the whole hoard to Nike (*Nika*). The other three graffiti gave the initials A, N and the name Onasim[…] who are presumed to be the dedicators.[10] Here we can perhaps see the votive nature of some ancient graffiti

6 Torrey, CC 1937, *Aramaic graffiti on coins of Demanhur*, American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs 77, New York; Rahmani, LY 1966, "A hoard of Alexander coins from Tel Tsippor." *Schweizer Münzblätter* 64: pp.129–45.

7 Milne, JG 1939, *Greek and Roman Coins and the Study of History*, Methuen & Co., London, p.78; Rahmani 1966, p.133.

8 Davesne, A and Masson, O 1985, "A propos du trésor des monnaies de Gülnar en Cilicie; problems numismatiques et 'graffiti' monétaires." *Revue Archéologique* 1: pp.29–46. Coin graffiti was not limited to the eastern Mediterranean, see for example a recently published Iberian graffito on a Punic shekel, see García-Bellido, MP and de Hoz, J 2014, "Grafitos sobre un shekel del Tesoro de Mogente." In Bádenas de la Pena et al. (eds.), *Homenaje a Ricardo Olmos: Per speculum in aenigmate Miradas sobre la Antigüedad*, Anejos de Erytheia, Madrid, pp.285-92.

9 Davesne and Masson 1985, pp.36–9.

10 Liampi, K 2008, "NIKA, ΛΕΙΑ: Graffiti on Sicyonian and Theban staters in a new hoard from Boeotia / Beginning of 2000." *American Journal of Numismatics* 20: 209–26. Liampi suggests, quite convincingly, that the hoard may have been dedicated by Macedonian soldiers following their victories at Chaironiea (338 BC) or the sack of Thebes (336 BC).

linked directly with possessive informal inscriptions – a relationship only visible because of the contextual nature of the hoard.

However, the Alexander type drachm which forms the focus of this paper was not inscribed with any form of personal identifier which could be linked to a merchant or owner, nor with any deity (in the strictest sense). Rather, it takes the form of the royal title, *Basileus*. The royal title first appeared on Alexander's coinage in the last three years of his reign (325-323 BC). Price suggests that its use was initially restricted to coinages produced to pay off veteran military units returning home to the shores of the Aegean. While it does occur on coinage in the name of Alexander produced in Anatolia (at Sardes, Side and Tarsus), the mint at Mylasa did not produce coins bearing the title.[11]

Interestingly, where it is used on Alexander coins, the royal title most commonly occurs on the reverse below the exergue line. This placement is also reflected on the coins of the Alexander type produced in the name of his successors such as Philip III Arrhidaeus, Lysimachos and Seleukos I. The location of the royal title in the right field, 'above' the monarch's name, only occurred in the early third century BC, initially with the silver issues of Seleukos I in Central Asia[12] and then as standard on the non-Alexander type coinage of Lysimachos and the Seleukids. By placing the royal graffito in the far right field, it is plausible to suggest that the inscriber was betraying more familiarity with the third century BC coinage of the successor kings than he was with the coinage produced in the name of Alexander.

Why would anyone inscribe the royal title on a posthumous coin of Alexander? The worn coin was well handled and had presumably seen much use before it was removed from circulation. The inclusion of *Basileus* did not qualify the coin as being anything other than what it was, a posthumous coin of Alexander. Was the inscription an act of whimsy, or did the inscriber feel compelled to underline Alexander's kingship for some quasi-political, reverential, or even religious reason? The answer, for now, remains enigmatic.

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11 Price 1991, pp.32–3.

12 See for example Houghton, A and Lorber, C 2002, *Seleucid Coins, a Comprehensive Catalogue Part I: Seleucus I through Antiochus III* (2 volumes), American Numismatic Society, New York, nos. 232–4.

Bobsleigh in a warm climate: Pre-war Australian identity on the slide

Max Everest-Phillips

Figure 1: the 1938 Four-man Bobsleigh World Championships plaque is the only major Nazi winter sports medal won by an Australian. Reproduced, with permission from the curator of the Philip M. Treves collection, Sidmouth, Devon, UK.

Abstract

This article examines the 1938 enamelled plaque awarded at the 6th World Championships in bobsleigh, and outlines its historical importance for Australia in winter sports and as a rare sporting triumph over Nazi Germany before World War II. The recipient was Frederick McEvoy, the first Australian to win a Winter Olympics medal – albeit in the British bobsleigh team. McEvoy, who in total won three gold and two silver World Championships medals in the sport, was a renowned playboy and close friend of Errol Flynn, complicating the plaque's significance for Australia's sense of nationhood developed through sport.

Keywords

[Bobsleigh] [McEvoy] [Nazi Germany] [Winter Olympics] [World Championships]

Introduction

Sports are a national passion in Australia and, as a country noted for sunshine, her sense of nationhood has been influenced by summer events. An unsigned 70x87mm uniface octagonal-shaped silvered bronze, enamelled plaque (Fig.1), however, offers an important qualification to that generalisation. Awarded in Nazi Germany, the medal bears the swastika of the Third Reich. Since that insignia had been kept off the 1936 Olympic prizes, this is the only exonumia for a major international bobsleigh competition to carry explicit Nazi imagery. The piece is dated 1938, the highpoint for Hitler's diplomatic triumphs and the year before the outbreak of World War II.[1] It carries the legend WELTMEISTERSCHAFT IM VIERERBOB (*World Championships in Four-man Bobsleigh*) above an image of the dangerous sport (Fig. 2).[2]

Figure 2: Surrealist postcard, dating from 1913, on the dangers of tobogganing.

Presented in an unmarked red case, the legend on the award states the location of the event, GARMISCH-PARTENKIRCHEN, a town nestling in the Bavarian Alps of southern Germany. Although without any maker's stamp, it was probably made by the medallists Carl Poellath of Schrobenhausen. Poellath was the company that had produced the official enamel badges and plaques for the Winter Olympics held two years earlier at the same venue. The 1938 award partly re-used the imagery from those 1936 designs, as well as reworked the style of the award medal for the 1933 Bobsleigh World Championships, held in Germany at Schreiberhau. That item does carry, on its reverse, the Poellath company maker's mark (Figs. 3 and 15):

1 Hitler staged the *Anschluss* in March to take over Austria, and at the Munich Conference on 29 September, 1938 persuaded British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and his French counterpart to give international backing to compelling Czechoslovakia to cede the German-speaking Sudetenland to the 'Greater German Empire'.

2 Even though in its origins in the late 19th century, the sport had been (and hence one of its attractions) a leisure activity in which women fully participated. Only in 2002, seventy years after men, was women's bobsleigh finally accepted (still only on two-person sleighs) as an Olympic sport.

Figure 3: the Alpspitze on the 1938 medal, the 1936 Olympics car grille plaque, and postcard.

The 1938 award depicts a four-man bobsleigh team, dressed in red, speeding down the Olympic course under a cloudless blue sky. The scene is set against the backdrop of the iconic north face of the 2628 metres high Alpspitze mountain which dominates the town of Garmisch-Partenkirchen lying in the valley below (Fig. 3).

To the left, the award carries the *Reichsadler*, the ancient eagle symbol of German statehood but with a swastika on its chest (Fig. 4). This was the emblem of the *Deutscher Reichsbund für Leibesübungen* (until 1938; thereafter the *Nationalsozialistischer Reichsbund für Leibesübungen,* the *National Socialist Reich's League for Physical Exercise*). This organisation was the Nazi Party's mechanism for 'coordination' (*Gleichschaltung*, that is, control) of sports under the Third Reich. Its mandate was to promote the regime's ideology and image, as it did at the 1938 Bobsleigh World Championships (Figs. 5 and 6).

Figure 4: the Nazi sports association emblem on the medal.

Figure 5: the swastika emblem prominently displayed beside the course, built for the 1936 Winter Olympics, and on the flags along it at Garmisch-Partenkirchen in 1938.

Figure 6: British news film coverage, with the swastika flag along the run, Garmisch-Partenkirchen 1938.

This award is important in the history of Australia. Won by an Australian, it gave an antipodean dimension to a sport hitherto dominated by Europe. Moreover, winter sports had a particular significance in Nazi thought. The mountains of the Bavarian Alps were portrayed as the spiritual home of Hitler. Their glory underpinned his megalomaniac vision centred around the lands lying in their shadow, his nearby birthplace on the Austrian border, and his political base in Munich, the city which was, for the Nazi Party, the *Hauptstadt der Bewegung* (*the Capital of the Movement*).[3]

The World Championships, therefore, being staged nearby his country home, the *Berghof* at Berchtesgaden with its famous views across the mountain peaks, received extensive media coverage, including in newsreels of the event shown around the world (Fig. 6). For by 1938 bobsleigh had become an Olympic sport with a global following.

Nowadays nicknamed 'the Formula One race on ice', bobsleigh racing in either its two-man or four-man form involves the crew, from a standing start, sprinting down the first fifty metres of icy track on foot to get their sleigh going as fast as possible before boarding or 'loading'. Once the other members have given the explosive push at the start, the 'pilot' or driver sitting in front takes full control and the rest of the crew climb aboard and are passengers for the descent (although the two 'pushers' in the middle shift their weight for maximum effect, while the brakeman at the back plays an active role at key turns and stopping at the end). The sleigh's speed then depends on its weight, aerodynamics, runners, condition of the ice and, above all, the skill of the pilot. With the crew seated only a few centimetres from the ground, the pilot steers the sleigh by turning the front axle either with ropes or by a wheel linked to the axle by cables, on timed runs down

3 A. Mitchell. 2007. Hitler's Mountain: The Führer, Obersalzberg and the American Occupation of Berchtesgaden. London, pp.22-3.

narrow, twisting, banked, iced tracks, sharp turns and straight sections at speeds often over 100 kilometres per hour. It is the pilot's ability to read the course, extracting maximum speed on the straight sections of any run and finding the fastest 'line' on the bends that makes the narrow margin of difference for victory in most races.[4]

Figure 7: detail of the 1938 medal.

Each major competition is organised the same way: four heats are held on two consecutive days, the timings over the four runs are then added together and the winning sleigh is the one with the lowest aggregate time.[5] The rules were fluid at first. Even how many people should be on the sleigh was not fixed for the early Winter Olympic Games: in 1924 it was a four-man event, changed in 1928 to a five-man, and then for 1932 reverting to what it has remained ever since, a four-man crew. During the 1932 Games, important regulations were also introduced governing the push start. Safety equipment including the ridged, padded leather crash helmets seen on the medal (Fig. 7) became compulsory, but the design of the sleigh continued to evolve in the quest for ever faster speeds (Fig. 8).

Figure 8: the front of a bobsleigh from c.1910; another from c.1922.

Early Bobsleigh medals

The 1938 event was only the 6th World Championships for the four-man bobsleigh. The sport had originated fifty years earlier among the luxurious surroundings of the finest hotels at Davos and St. Moritz. These Swiss alpine resorts proved popular at the end of the 19th century with Europe's aristocracy who, having originally gone there for

4 M. Seth-Smith, The Cresta Run – A History of St Moritz Tobogganing Club, Slough, 1976.

5 Race timings remained somewhat haphazard until the watchmaker Omega was appointed to act as the Official Timekeeper for all the bobsleigh races at the 1936 Olympic Winter Games.

their health, discovered the dangerous thrill of tobogganing.[6]

The rivalry between the two holiday towns led St. Moritz's enterprising hotelier Caspar Badrutt (1848-1904) and his son Alphonse, owners of the Kulm Hotel, to promote hurtling down mountainsides across ice and snow on toboggans as one way to enhance the reputation of their hotel as Europe's leading winter holiday destination (Fig. 9).

Figure 9: tobogganing at the Kulm Hotel, c.1910.

The result was that, from tobogganing down from the gardens of the Kulm hotel to the village of Cresta in the valley below, no fewer than four 'sliding' sports (the two- and four-man bobsleigh; the skeleton; and the luge)[7] evolved into Olympic events. The respective governing bodies for these sports also all emerged from the Kulm by way of the St. Moritz Tobogganing Club, formed in 1887 at the hotel's bar. That venue still remains the head office of this nowadays venerable institution.[8] There too, a decade later, the world's first bobsleigh organisation, the St. Moritz Bobsleigh Club,[9] was established. It started defining the rules of the sport and in 1904 built the world's first bobsleigh run. Starting from the grounds of the hotel,[10] that 1722-metre course remains

6 Davos initially led the way: in 1883 English writer John Addington Symonds organised the first toboggan race there, and in 1900 the pioneering bobsleigh course from Schatzalp to Davos was built; but the backing of the Kulm Hotel proved decisive in rapidly establishing St. Moritz as the centre of the new sport: see S. Barton. 2008. *Healthy living in the Alps: the origins of winter tourism in Switzerland, 1860-1914.* Manchester University Press, pp.49-61.

7 All these derived from the 'toboggan' which, like sleigh or sled, is usually a generic term but technically has no runners so slides directly on the snow, whereas a sleigh runs on skis or slide-bars. The luge (one- or two-man, sitting up, feet-first) has been an Olympic sport since 1964. The skeleton (one-man, face down) first appeared in the Winter Olympics at St. Moritz in 1928. The bobsleigh officially is made of a hull, or cowling, in two separate sections, each mounted on two runners (all single solid pieces of steel) with a cowled front but open at the rear, a frame, and front and rear axles.

8 This in turn had developed from the outdoor amusements committee of the Kulm Hotel. Set up by five guests in the winter of 1884/85, it built the first Cresta Run.

9 Nickoll, K. 1925. The history of the St. Moritz Bobsleigh Club. London: Printed for Private Circulation.

10 Krause, W. 1946. Schlittensport: Rodel, Bobsleigh, Skeleton; mit den Rennbestimmungen gemäß den internationalen Verbänden. Verlag Neues Leben.

the basis for the Olympic bobsleigh run at St. Moritz, and is the only natural-ice track still used for international competitions (Fig. 10).[11]

Figure 10: the rare silvered 50mm medal made by the Swiss medallists Huguenin for the Kulm Hotels St. Moritz to award for bobsleigh triumphs on its course. The reverse of this example is inscribed: "*2er Bob–1. Sieger Wiese u. Hinrichs Bahnrekord 1.23° 29.1.1936 (2-man Bobsleigh – 1st placed Wiese and Hindrich set a course record of 1minute 23 seconds, on 29 January 1936*)".

The sport spread rapidly, and its international governing body, the *Federation Internationale de Bobsleigh et de Tobogganing* (FIBT, the International Bobsleigh and Tobogganing Federation) was founded in 1923 by delegates from Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Canada and the United States, in time for the four-man bobsleigh to be included as one of the original sports of the first Winter Olympic Games, held at Chamonix in 1924.[12] The FIBT commissioned two medals to mark that event. The 50mm signed bronze medal for the four-man bobsleigh event was designed to be inscribed on the reverse and awarded to the team members (Fig. 11):

11 The other eleven international competition runs are shorter (between 1,200 and 1,600 metres long): a one-mile standard was established in 1934 for all subsequent tracks. The average slope is around 11 percent, with some fifteen turns per course, including hairpin bends built up to 6 metres high with an overhanging lip of ice to prevent the sleighs from flying off the track.

12 The original Winter Olympic sports being cross-country skiing, figure skating, speed skating, ice hockey and four-man bobsleigh. Two-man bobsleigh was added in 1932. Bobsleigh has been a part of every Winter Olympics since, except for the 1960 Games held in California where it was dropped on grounds of the prohibitive cost of building an appropriate course.

Figure 11: Edouard Blin (1877-1946) designed the series of 50mm bronze award medals for presenting to competitors, judges and organisers in each of the sports at the 1924 Winter Olympics, including this one for bobsleigh.

And a variant was made, with the Olympic torch on the reverse, for presenting to the umpires and organisers (Fig. 12):

Figure 12.

After the next Winter Olympics, held at St Moritz in 1928, the FIBT decided to organise the first four-man bobsleigh World Championships, held at Caux-sur-Montreux in Switzerland in 1930. Its success led to the first two-man bobsleigh World Championships being staged the following year, at Oberhof in Thuringia in Germany (Figs. 13 and 14); while the four-man bobsleigh World Championships that year were again at St. Moritz).

Figure 13: postcard of Oberhof hosting the 1931 World Championships.

Figure 14: The uniface bronze 50x65mm medal for the 1st Two-man Bobsleigh World Championships. Its legend reads: *Weltmeisterschaft Zweier-Bob 1931 Oberhof – Thür[ingen]* (*World Championships Two-man Bobsleigh 1931 Oberhof, Thuringia*). Drilled for mounting as a car grille badge, it is not in the standard catalogue of Third Reich badges: R. Tieste. 2012. *Tagungs- und Veranstaltungsabzeichen 1930 – 1945.* Berlin.

Figure 15: The 80mm uniface bronze and enamelled medal (crudely holed for mounting on a car grille) for the second World Championships held for the two-man bobsleigh in 1933, stamped on the reverse with the maker's mark (Carl Poellath / Schrobenhausen) and evidently in the same style and same manufacturer as the 1938 Four-man World Championships medal won by McEvoy: Tieste, *op. cit.,* item 33-01.

The 1932 Winter Olympics at Lake Placid included the two-man bobsleigh for the first time and, being an Olympic year, no World Championships were held.[13] The next World Championships took place in 1933 for the two-man event in Germany, at Schreiberhau (now Szklarska Poręba in Poland) in the mountains of Silesia (Fig. 15), while the four-man was cancelled (Fig. 16); but in 1934 was again held in Germany at Garmisch-Partenkirchen (and the setting for the Winter Olympics two years later) for the four-man (Fig. 17), and at Engelberg in Switzerland for the two-man bobsleigh (Fig. 18).[14]

The winners' and participants' medals for all these early championships are nowadays extremely rare, not least because, in the fashion of early motoring, many were mounted by their recipients as decorative badges on car grilles or bumpers (Figs. 14 and 15).[15]

Figure 16: 1933 French magazine cover on the four-man World Championships captures the thrill.

Figure 17: The 60mm uniface bronze and enamelled medal for the 1934 Four-man Bobsleigh World Championships is unsigned but in the same style and therefore presumably the same maker (Carl Poellath of Schrobenhausen) as the 1933 two-man and 1938 four-man medals, with the legend: *Weltmeisterschaft Garmisch-Partenkirchen 1934 (World Championships Garmisch-Partenkirchen 1934),* here mounted on a 77mm bronze, silver-plated plaque, and below *Mitarbeiter (official)*. Not in Tieste, op. cit.

13 The Lake Placid 1932 (and 1980) Olympic bobsleigh run was entered on the USA's National Register of Historic Places in 2010.

14 No medal or badge for this event is recorded in Tieste.

15 M. Triet (ed.). *100 Jahre Bobsport* (*A Centenary of Bobsleighing*). Swiss Sport Museum, Basel, 1990.

Figure 18: The 50x80mm uniface bronze and enamel medal for the 1934 World Championships held for the two-man bobsleigh, with its Swiss maker's mark on reverse.

Great Britain, for the first time, won the world fourmen bobsleigh championship at St. Moritz. Above is F. J. McEvoy, an Australian, who captained the winning team.

Figure 19: Australian newspaper coverage of bobsleigh (*The Northern Star*, 10 March 1937).

The only Bobsleigh Champion from the Antipodes

The Australian recipient of the colourful and intriguing 1938 medal won from Nazi Germany (Fig. 1)[16] is nowadays little remembered in the country of his birth. Yet Frederick Joseph McEvoy[17] (12 February 1907 – 7 November 1951: Figs. 19-21) was one of the great sportsmen of his era and, in his game, of all time. A pioneer in a dangerously exhilarating sport, he won a medal at the 4th Winter Olympics in 1936, making him the first Australian to win a Winter Olympics medal – albeit not for Australia. Over the next

16 At the Summer Olympics of 1936, Jack Lovelock won gold for New Zealand in the 1500 metres, and Jack Metcalfe won bronze in the triple jump for Australia which for the first time had also sent an entrant to the Winter Olympics–Kenneth Kennedy, whose best result was 29th in 500m speed skating: see I. Jobling. 1982. Australia at the 1936 Olympics: Issues and Attitudes. *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* 13: 18-27; and for general context, D. Large. 2007. *The Nazi Games.* New York; and G. Walters. 2006. *Berlin Games*. London, pp.76-7.

17 Frederick James Aloysius McEvoy, according to the *Straits Times*, 21 June 1954, p.5.

three years, while captaining the British team and piloting the bobsleigh,[18] he went on to win the World Championships two years running, in 1937 taking gold for Britain for the first time. He led the team to triumph again in 1938, defeating the 'master race' teams in front of their home crowd in Nazi Germany, and took silver the year after that.[19] In all he won three gold and two silver World Championships medals in the two different forms of the sport, the four-man and two-man sleighs, and was the first ever competitor (along with his partner in the two-man bobsleigh) to win gold in both events in the same year. He set at least one lasting international course record, in 1939 covering the 1554 metres of the Italian World Championships run at Cortina d'Ampezzo in a new fastest time of 1 minute 20.75 seconds.

The outbreak, six months later, of World War II put an end to his short sporting career.[20] He nevertheless remains the only sportsman from the Antipodes to receive the top international awards in any of the five founding sports of the Winter Olympics.[21]

Sport was, however, but one aspect, albeit perhaps the only honourable one, of his forty-four years on earth. His reputation was variously as an unprincipled playboy, suspected spy, alleged smuggler, dubious adventurer and unhealthily close associate of one of Hollywood's most iconic but least reputable stars. He was one of the few Australians about whom that standard phrase in obituaries, "he led a full life" is an understatement.[22] When McEvoy died in typically dramatic circumstances, *Time* magazine at least avoided

18 H. Gordon. 1994. *Australia and the Olympic Games*. University of Queensland Press, pp.388-90.

19 The sport's reputation for danger, given the risks at high speed, was well founded: for example, Reto Capadrutt, who had piloted the Swiss bobsleigh that, by taking the silver medal in 1936 Winter Olympics pushed McEvoy's Great Britain team into third place (and had also won three World Championships medals in 1935 and 1937), was killed racing at the 1939 World Championships just after McEvoy had set the new record course time.

20 Not least for his failure to enrol during World War II: see in M. Stern. 1953. *No Innocence Abroad*. New York, chapter 1, passim.

21 The next Winter Olympic medal to be won by Australia was nearly sixty years later, in 1994. No other Australian has won a medal in bobsleigh World Championships, nor indeed won the Olympics or World Championships for any of the other four sports represented at the first winter Games of 1924–curling, ice-skating, Nordic skiing and ice hockey. British teams have not fared much better, although in 1964 GB took gold in 2-man bobsleigh (see footnote 35 below), and won the women's silver medal in the skeleton at the 2006 Winter Olympics and gold at the 2013 World Championships.

22 For general background, see National Library of Australia item 42656138 *Biographical cuttings on Fred McEvoy, former playboy.* McEvoy appears in the novel *Gestapo Lodge* by Carlos Mundy (2011) based on his father's unpublished memoirs as a British Secret Service agent in the 1930s; and in *Un Pedigree* (2005), a novel by the French Nobel laureate writer, Patrick Modiano. A sensational account of McEvoy's life, later serialised in the Australasian Post in 1954, emerges from Stern, op. cit. McEvoy's friendship with Errol Flynn is covered in varying detail in the many biographies of the actor, such as Charles Higham's *Errol Flynn: The Untold Story* (1980), or David Bret's *Errol Flynn: Gentleman Hellraiser.* Aurum Press, of 2014; and was a popular topic for 1950s men's magazine articles like *The Golden Playboy: Freddy McEvoy, mystery man of the sunshine coasts*, by George Frazier in *Esquire*, February 1954, Vol. XLI, 2, No. 243.

deploying that platitude. Instead it published an obituary that did, however, begin with a cliché:

… everybody who was anybody knew Freddy McEvoy. Born to obscurity, the tall, handsome, 44-year-old Australian had the gift of making friends, news, money, and marrying heiresses. His feats of derring-do on the high seas, in the game-filled jungles of Africa and on the icy ski runs of Switzerland gave the international set a vicarious sense of adventure, and earned him the nickname 'Suicide Freddy'.[23]

McEvoy had been born in Melbourne. His father, a local businessman, died in 1913 when McEvoy was only six years old. He was then sent off to be educated in England where he attended the famous Jesuit boarding school, Stonyhurst College. Quite how from there he gravitated towards high society and the bobsleigh is unclear, but before World War II, the two were intimately linked.[24]

Figure 20: Freddy McEvoy, 1950.

Figure 21a: McEvoy sitting at the front as pilot, during the 1936 Olympics.

23 Op.cit., *Morocco: Death of a Playboy.* 19 November 1951. The playboy image of bobsleigh was not entirely due to McEvoy. One of his close friends was Jack Heaton (1908-1966) who won bronze in the US crew at the 1932 Winter Olympics and married four times, to Gwendolyn Robinson de Alzaga Unzue in 1937, Denise Paule Genest in 1950, Heidi Von Lauer Mundchofen in 1959 and Beatrix Bayer in 1965.

24 This remained the case until the early 1950s, when it became less amateurish, not least with the ex-USSR and the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe (notably East Germany and Romania) taking up the sport. Furthermore in 1952, a critical rule change limiting the total weight of the crew restored the athleticism of the sport by which a strong push at the start, along with the quality of driving or 'piloting', was decisive.

The aristocratic socialite Claus von Bülow recalled his schoolboy admiration for McEvoy's suave manners in Switzerland in the late 1930s: The 'It' Man–that glamorous, dashing and wealthy gentleman, is a dying breed. *Sunday Times* (London), 20 October 1996, p.4.

The 1936 Winter Olympics

The 1936 Winter Olympics were held at Garmisch-Partenkirchen. The British Olympics Committee awarded McEvoy what is usually the highest national team honour of the event, the right to carry the flag at the opening ceremony.

The 1936 Games being held under the Nazi regime, however, this distinction was made controversial by the presence in the stadium of Adolf Hitler, who saluted each flag as it passed his podium (Fig. 21b).[25]

Figure 21b: Hitler gives the Nazi salute at the opening of the 1936 Winter Olympic Games.

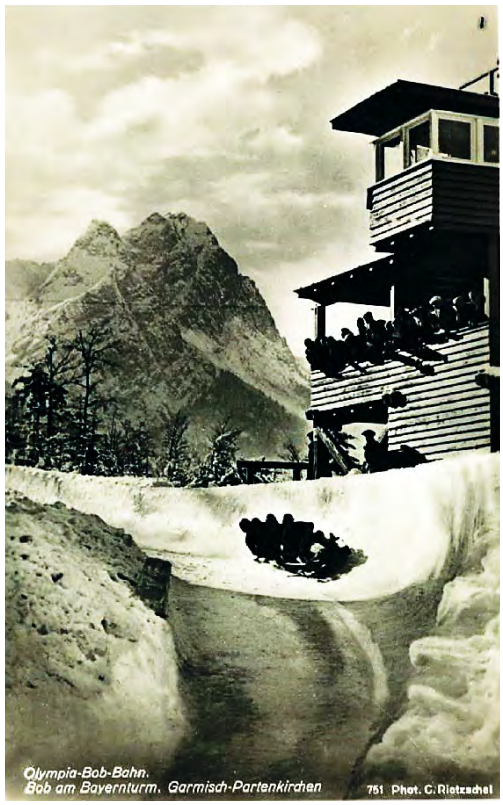


Figure 22: spectators at a sharp bend, and line the finishing section of the bob run at the 1936 Olympic Games.

25 Some in the team therefore avoided courting controversy by failing to attend the ceremony. These even included the team's manager Sir Arnold Lunn and his son, the skier and later senior British intelligence officer Peter Lunn (1914-2011). McEvoy and others who did participate were involved in the dispute over whether the team had given the (confusingly similar) Olympic or Nazi salute as they filed past the Führer.

A few days later, in front of a crowd of 32,000 spectators (Fig. 22), McEvoy captained and piloted the British four-man bobsleigh team[26] to third place (Fig. 23).

Figure 23: the British Olympics bobsleigh team, 1936.

Over four runs their overall time totalled 5 minutes 23.41 seconds, barely half a second behind the Swiss winners of the silver, and only four seconds, or on average one second per run, behind the other Swiss team that took gold.[27] McEvoy also captained and piloted the two-man bobsleigh, finishing fourth in that competition.[28]

Figure 24: McEvoy's bronze 1936 Winter Olympics medal: note the bobsleigh below the chariot, left.

26 Team mates James Cardno (1912-1975), Guy Dugdale (1905-1982), and brakeman Charles Green (1914-1999) were more conventional, all pursuing professional careers.

27 Jean Dauven, who was in the French crew that finished ninth, wrote one of the few books on the sport called *Bolides des glaces* published in 1944, subtitled *Récits de descentes à St. Moritz, Villars de lans, Garmish.* In 1968 Paul Bonneau composed *Bobsleigh Rapidity* for the piano.

28 with Cardno.

The 100mm bronze medal presented to McEvoy and to each of his three team-mates on the Great Britain four-man bobsleigh depicts a victorious charioteer above the symbols of the winter sports, including the bobsleigh, with the legend GARMISCH-PARTENKIRCHEN below, while the reverse carries the Olympic rings surrounded by the text: IV OLYMPISCHE WINTERSPIELE 1936 (cf. Fig. 24 and the accompanying certificate at Fig. 25).

The bobsleigh team's success was one of only three medals that Great Britain won at Garmisch-Partenkirchen.[29] The official report on the Games praised McEvoy, concluding: Great Britain was fortunate in having such an experienced and daring driver.[30] In 1937 at the FIBT two-man bobsleigh World Championships at Cortina d'Ampezzo in Italy, he achieved his first gold medal in the sport.[31] McEvoy received the 90x60mm Cortina d'Ampezzo World two-man Bobsleigh Championship 1937 competitors' commemorative plaque, silver plated and enamel on bronze (Fig. 26).

The design depicts a two-man bobsleigh, a map of Italy as background and a red arrow pointing to the location, inscribed '*Federaz. Italiana Sports Invernale CONI Cortina d'Ampezzo/ Campionato del Mondo di Bob a Due*' (*the Italian Winter Sports Federation Two-man Bobsleigh World Championships, Cortina d'Ampezzo: The Italian International Olympic Committee*), and dated *30-31 January 1937 – XV* (that is, year 15 of the 'fascist revolution' commencing with Mussolini's 'March on Rome' of 1922).

Figure 25: McEvoy's Bronze medal award, Winter Olympics, 1936.

Figure 26: the 1937 Two-man Bobsleigh World Championships plaque.

29 Along with gold in ice hockey, silver in women's figure skating. 1936 was the first year Australia sent an athlete to compete in the Winter Olympics – see footnote 16 above.

30 Quoted in: Gordon, *op.cit.*, p.414.

31 Partnered by Brian Black (1912-2040): an Oxford 'Blue' in rugby and member of the England team, he joined the RAF and was killed when shot down during the Battle of Britain.

Figure 27: 1937 World Championships 50mm prize medal by Edmond Becker (1871-1971). Space left on the reverse for the winner's name to be engraved.

Then in the four-man championships staged at St. Moritz, McEvoy again piloted the GB bobsleigh to winning the gold medal (Fig. 27). Thus McEvoy and his partner Brian Black for the first time in the history of the sport had won both the four- and two-man World Championships in the same year.[32] Few have achieved that feat since.[33]

At the same event in 1938, held in Garmisch-Partenkirchen as part of the 'International Winter Sports Week' (Figs. 1 and 28a and 28b), the four-man team (McEvoy, along with David Looker, Charles Green, and Chris Mackintosh) won once again.[34] McEvoy, Looker and Green are the only members of any British team ever to win the World Championships twice. Since then no British (or Australian) team has won gold in the four-man

Figure 28a: 1938 poster.

32 The team was McEvoy, Black, 1936 Olympic team-mate Charles Green (1914-1999), and David Looker (1913-1995) who served in the RAF during the Battle of Britain.

33 The greatest bobsleigh competitor, Italy's Eugenio Monti managed it twice in 1960 and 1961; and Wolfgang Zimmerer and Peter Utzschneider for West Germany in 1974.

34 Three of the four-man team returned to defend their title. Chris Mackintosh (1903-1974) replaced Brian Black. Mackintosh was an all-round sportsman who represented Oxford University at athletics, rugby football, and skiing; and played rugby for Scotland in 1924. He worked for Sir Henry Lunn's Alpine travel business and was Chairman of the company from 1931-44.

bobsleigh (and, in the two-man bobsleigh, only one British team has taken gold again, in 1965).[35] Silver and bronze in 1938 were won by teams from the host, Germany. That year the two-man bobsleigh World Championships were held at the origin of the sport, St. Moritz. McEvoy and his partner Charles Green won the silver medal.

In 1939 both men partnered again at Cortina d'Ampezzo (McEvoy as pilot, Green as brakeman) and, alongside their two new 'pusher' team-mates, Peter Howard (1908-1965) and J. Critchley, won silver in the four-man event.[36]

Figure 28b: 90mm silvered bronze participants' award for competing in the 1938 International Winter Sports Week, stamped "Poellath Schrobenhausen".

The 'Big Dame Hunting' Playboy and the National Icon

'Suicide Freddy' (or 'Freddie') was a "larger than life" character.[37] Indeed almost singlehandedly he gave bobsleigh a 'devil may care' raffish air.[38] His contemporaries either admired his bravery, romantic gallantry and recklessness, or loathed him as a shameless rascal who ruthlessly exploited his good looks.[39] He scandalised high society

35 Robin Dixon and Tony Nash won Britain's first and so far only Olympic gold in the two-man bobsleigh event, at the Innsbruck 1964 Winter Games. They also won three medals in two-man bobsleigh events at the FIBT World Championships; gold in 1965, and two bronze in 1963 and 1966. Now Lord Glentoran, Dixon has been President of the British Bobsleigh Association since 1987. See Sebastian Coe's article on the British amateurishness still then: *Bobsleigh: Secret of Britain's gold run*: Daily Telegraph, 13 January 2002. The previous year, Great Britain won a first and, so far, only gold in the four-man bobsleigh at the Olympics: B. Belton. 2010. *Olympic Gold Run: Britain's Great Bobsleigh Victory!* London.

36 Peter Howard captained the England rugby team. His autobiography *Ideas Have Legs*, including his account of the World Championships, was reviewed in *The Australian Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1947), pp. 113-117.

37 Although often spelt even by contemporaries as *Freddie* (eg. The Courier Mail, 14 February 1935), the evidence is clear that he himself used Freddy: see Fig. 34.

38 The pre-war social exclusivity of the sport, due to its origins, the costs of equipment and training locations, was reflected among the extraordinary bobsleigh competitors of the 1920s and 1930s, including the Marquese Antonio Brivio-Sforza (1905 – 1995) who won the Mille Miglia (1936) in an Alfa Romeo; as a bobsleigh pilot, he won a bronze medal at the 1935 World Championships. In the 1950s, Alfonso Antonio Vicente Eduardo Angel Blas Francisco de Borja Cabeza de Vaca y Leighton, Marquis of Portago, was a somewhat similar dashing aristocrat, competing in Formula One Grand Prix, and piloting the Spanish bobsleigh to 4th position in the 1956 Winter Olympics. He died in a car racing accident soon after.

39 He was described by the *Straits Times* of 21 June 1954 as "husky and athletic, blond, tanned and good-looking" but with "unashamed opportunism" and a "mania for money." For a representative benign portrayal of McEvoy, see Andreas Zielcke's 1994 biography of diplomat and racing driver Porfirio Rubirosa entitled *Der letzte Playboy* (*The last Playboy*), Berlin; for a typically hostile depiction, see C. Bennett. 2014. *Hitchcock's Partner in Suspense: The Life of Screenwriter Charles Bennett*. University Press of Kentucky, pp.144-151.

and fascinated the readership of gossip columns in equal measure. A debonair socialite, he courted infamy as one of Hollywood's self-styled *Hellfire Club* or 'Three Musketeers' (along with Errol Flynn, and Bruce Cabot, of 'King Kong' fame).

Usually characterised by newspapers as a 'handsome gigolo' or 'popular playboy,' the 'big dame hunter' married three times. His first wife, Beatrice Cartwright, crippled and twice his age, was the granddaughter of an oil magnate and offered the security of fabulous wealth.[40] The marriage lasted two years. After divorce in 1942, McEvoy promptly married another heiress, this time one half his age.[41] That second marriage also barely survived two years. Then in 1945, McEvoy began a long-running affair with Barbara Hutton,[42] another extremely rich woman who was divorcing her third husband, the actor Cary Grant. For several years Hutton funded McEvoy's 'super affluent' lifestyle.[43]

Besides his attraction to rich women, the source of McEvoy's social success was his lasting close friendship with a fellow Australian, the actor Errol Flynn (1909-1959).

Flynn and McEvoy had much, besides country of birth, in common, including good looks, a ruthless charm, and a passion for sailing. McEvoy was 'Best Man' at Flynn's third marriage in 1950 (Fig. 29), while the previous year Flynn had served in that capacity at McEvoy's third wedding, in Miami to French fashion model Claude-Stephanie Filatre (Fig. 30).[44]

Figure 29: Errol Flynn and McEvoy at Flynn's third wedding in 1950.

40 This derived from her grandfather Henry Huttleston Rogers, one of the original founders of Standard Oil. For their married life in Cap d'Antibes, see M. Emerson. 2015. Living and Loving on the Riviera. London.

41 The 18-year-old Irene Wrightsman, daughter of the president of Standard Oil of Kansas.

42 Grand-daughter of the creator of the Woolworth retailing fortune.

43 Their affair was front-page news: eg. The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* 13 April 1946.

44 When McEvoy and his third wife drowned, Flynn told the Australian press that he was willing to adopt McEvoy's five year old step-daughter Romaine, Mrs. McEvoy's daughter from her first marriage, who was then attending a Swiss school with Stephanie, McEvoy's daughter by his second marriage: the Adelaide News, 9 November 1951, p.8.

Although now officially labelled as one of Australia's 'national icons',[45] the Hollywood star embroiled McEvoy in many of the more insalubrious episodes that dogged his controversial career.[46] The most infamous event occurred in January 1943 when McEvoy was the key defence witness for Flynn, found not guilty of statutory rape the previous year at McEvoy's house of a seventeen year old girl.[47]

Figure 30: McEvoy and third wife, in 1949.

Apparently as a result, soon afterwards McEvoy was invited to play minor uncredited parts in two Hollywood productions, the 1943 films *Thank Your Lucky Stars* starring Humphrey Bogart, Bette Davis and Errol Flynn (Fig. 31), and The Desert Song (starring Bruce Cabot).

Figure 31: Errol Flynn in the scene from *Thank Your Lucky Stars* in which McEvoy, although unattributed in the credits, also appears (right).

A rogue, but at least an Australian rogue?

While McEvoy represented Great Britain at the fourth Winter Olympics, he was proud of his Australian origins. The *Sydney Morning Herald*, in reporting on Flynn's third wedding, erroneously declared: Sydney Man To Be Best Man for Errol Flynn.[48] Although his connection was to Melbourne not Sydney, McEvoy certainly strongly identified with the land of his birth. He called his last yacht *Kangaroa* and entered major motor-races under Australian colours. McEvoy's ambiguous nationality reflected the age of empire and Australia's colonial ties to the 'Motherland', as the *Sydney Morning Herald* noted in February 1937 when he won the World Championships in

45 Formally classified as such: see http://www.dfat.gov.au/facts/national_icons.html

46 According to Bret, *op. cit*., however, McEvoy saved Errol Flynn's career by weaning him off an opium addiction: p.138.

47 *Lewiston Daily Sun* 27 January 1943.

48 20 October 1950: Australian businessman Mr. Fred McEvoy, formerly of Sydney, …now lives aboard his schooner, Black Joke, in Cannes Harbour.

Italy: *Great Britain, represented by the Australian, P. McEvoy, and the South African, B. H. Black, won the world's two man bobsleigh championship with four runs.*[49]

Figure 32: McEvoy driving under the Australian flag, in 1936.

Figure 33: McEvoy's entry to the race as an Australian explains the country's flag alongside those of the US, France, Great Britain, and Italy on the event's programme cover.

Bobsleigh competitors of the 1930s prided themselves on three inter-related pursuits: dangerous sports, daring women, and dubious money. McEvoy's skills at the first facilitated his success with the second, who usually provided the third. Besides bobsleigh, he courted danger through a passion for the finest and fastest sports cars, and in the same year as he was attending the Olympics in the British team, he was motor racing under the Australian red ensign flag (Figs. 32-3).[50] McEvoy's first major motor race was in 1935 when he participated in the arduous 1,000 mile (*Mille Miglia*) competition in Italy. The following season, McEvoy won three thousand dollars by finishing fifth in the 1936 George Vanderbilt Cup. Driving a Maserati along the 300-mile course, in what was then "probably the most severe test for man and car in the world", he covered seventy-five laps at the new Roosevelt Raceway on Long Island at an average speed of just over sixty miles per hour, in front of a crowd of fifty thousand spectators.[51]

49 Op.cit.

50 He was an Australian too, when *The Western Argus* of Kalgoorie on 20 October 1936 reported he had come fifth in the 1936 Vanderbilt Cup – see below.

51 *The Western Argus,* 20 October 1936, p.28.

That same year he entered eight European races, with his best result being fourth place at both the XII *Picardie* and the *Coppa Acerbo*. In 1937 he set a record time between Paris and Nice of 9 hours and 45 minutes in a Talbot Lago coupé and won the $10,000 prize for being the first driver to arrive on the Riviera from the capital in less than ten hours (Fig. 34). It was from the world of motor racing that his main rival as the 'world's most successful playboy' emerged: the diplomat and motor car racing driver Porfirio Rubirosa (1909-1965) who married great wealth while also having affairs with many of Hollywood's most beautiful actresses including Marilyn Monroe, Ava Gardner, Rita Hayworth, Joan Crawford and Judy Garland, as well as with Eva Peron.[52]

Figure 34: inscribed photograph of his Talbot Lago coupé car: note his spelling of 'Freddy'.

Figure 35: the NSKK (*Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps*, or Nazi Motoring Corps) Wintersportkämpfe Innsbruck-Igls 1941 37mm zinc badge and uniface 60mm medal, both made by Poellath of Schrobenhausen, feature the bobsleigh at the bottom.

52 Stern, *op. cit.*, p.34; also see footnotes 38 and 39 above.

Nazi Spies

Meanwhile McEvoy attracted attention in other ways. Suspecting him and Flynn during the 1930s and war years of being spies, the US authorities monitored their activities.[53] The FBI investigated claims, in part due to his link with Germany through bobsleigh (Fig. 35) that McEvoy was a covert agent of the Third Reich. The 'Feds', however, eventually concluded that he was merely "an international pimp who is interested in his own well-being and probably not engaged in activities detrimental to the interests of the country."[54]

Other governments were also keeping an eye on his activities. In 1939 the French police suspected McEvoy of involvement in a 'high society' fraud. Sir Delves Broughton, who a couple of years later was the main suspect in the 'Happy Valley' murder in Kenya of Lord Erroll in 1941, could ill-afford the international lifestyle he desired. The police suspected that when Broughton reported his wife's pearl necklace, insured for the then colossal sum of £17,000, stolen in Cannes, McEvoy had in some way colluded with Broughton in arranging its disappearance, in return for a share of the insurance pay-out.[55]

Later, during the war, when his second marriage did not provide the wealth he had been hoping for, McEvoy was suspected by the US authorities of smuggling black market goods from Mexico into the United States.[56] At the time of his death in 1951, the Daily Express of London claimed that British intelligence had been tracking McEvoy as a suspected illegal arms dealer and smuggler of contraband between Tangier and France. When his yacht sank off the coast of Morocco, allegedly on board had been £15,000 worth of diamonds and forty cases of whisky, while two members of her crew had apparently been expelled from France for smuggling.[57]

'Suicide Freddy' on the slide

With such a reputation, legends grew from the spreading of rumour: the 'world famous mystery man'[58] had killed a man in a bar brawl in Marseilles; had once won $25,000 gambling in Monte Carlo and then immediately rushed out with his winnings to buy a

53 T. McNulty. 2004. *The Life and Career of Errol Flynn*: McFarland. pp.167-9.

54 Nevertheless, some biographers of Flynn still however allege the pair were Nazi spies: see, for example: C. Higham. 1981. *Errol Flynn: The Untold Story*. London, p.134.

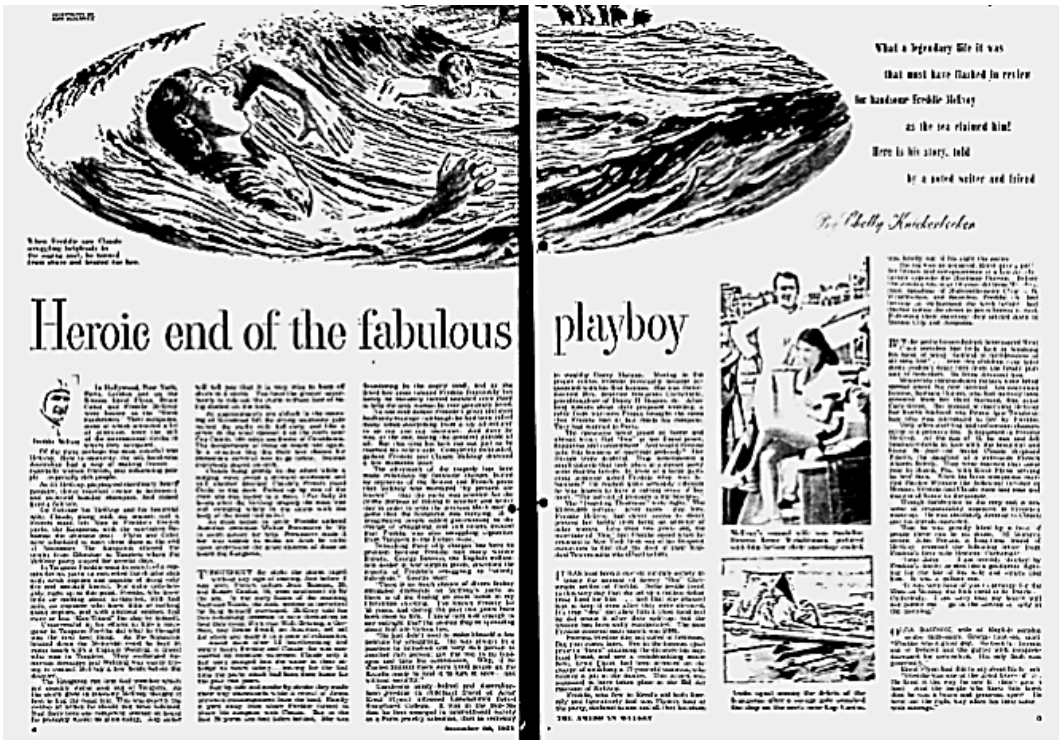
55 J. Fox. 1983. White Mischief: The Murder of Lord Erroll. London, pp. 133-5, 222-4: McEvoy's surname is wrongly given as 'McIlvray'.

56 When in Mexico City he stayed with Countess Dorothy di Frasso, another of his generous patronesses. The Countess (1900-1985), born Dorothy Taylor in New York, married Count Carlo di Frasso, thirty years her senior, and became a socialite famed for her elaborate parties.

57 *Op. cit.*, 18 November 1951, pp.10-11.

58 Straits Times, op.cit.

new Maserati; and that he was supposedly an expert at big game, as well as 'big dame' hunting, in Kenya.



What a legendary life it was
that must have flashed in review
for handsome Freddie Hellyer
as the sea claimed him!
Here is his story, told
by a noted writer and friend

By Shelly Knickerbocker

Heroic end of the fabulous playboy

Figure 36: sensationalist media coverage of McEvoy's death

If all this was not more than enough for a 'full life', his death was also suitably mysterious (Fig. 36). In November 1951, sailing from Tangier to the Bahamas, his yacht sank in a storm off the Moroccan coast. It seemed odd that experienced sailors like McEvoy and his crew had, by day, struck rocks that were both visible and well charted. Had they been engaged in gun-running, diamond smuggling or shipping contraband whiskey when the storm struck? Another puzzle was why McEvoy, a strong swimmer, had drowned apparently helping his wife (who also perished, along with four others), yet three crew members had reached the shore without difficulty.

Then it transpired that one of the surviving crew had been living under a false name, and was wanted for murder:

A sinister figure in the inquiries at this stage is Walter Praxmarer, an Austrian wanted for questioning regarding the murder of a Berlin woman. His real name is said to be Manfred Lendner. He was arrested by French authorities soon after the tragedy. He is described

as grim, sombre, and a bearded figure engaged by wealthy, jovial handsome McEvoy at Cannes as an engineer and makeshift second officer of the vessel.[59]

Errol Flynn noted in his autobiography: *I had been close to him for twenty years and his passing was a hard blow to me. I could have understood if he went out like a cheat, a gambler, a ne'er do well – but not in that gallant way.*[60] The Australian Department of External Affairs examined the case but, over sixty years after McEvoy's death, the papers still remain secret.[61] Perhaps they contain unflattering information about a 'national icon'?

Conclusion: Sport and National Identity

Artistic in design, masterly in execution, and won in Nazi Germany under the looming threat of war, the 1938 bobsleigh medal is important in the history of Australia for three reasons.[62] First, in the country's sporting history, it is a singular accolade. This is the most important winter sports medal win by an Australian in the 20th century.[63] Lacking extensive snow-capped mountain ranges, Australia did not enter a national team in bobsleigh at the Winter Olympics until 1988 and the country's best result was ranking a mere 20th in 1994; in the four-man bobsleigh World Championships in 2013, Australia finished 33rd out of thirty-four; and came 22nd out of thirty national team entries in the 2014 Winter Olympics.[64]

59 *Mirror* (Perth) 24 November 1951, p.15. The Sydney Morning Herald of 14 November 1951 reported that Austrian police only became aware of the suspect's alias and whereabouts when they saw his photograph in European newspaper coverage of the shipwreck. To the evident disappointment of the press, it was soon apparent that Lendner had no hand in McEvoy's or his wife's death.

60 *Op cit*. p.383.

61 Files A1838, 1543/1/133 Part 1; and A3211, 1963/3764 Part 1 *Ships–yacht Kangaroa–Mr F J. McEvoy and crew*.

62 The medal was acquired from Frederick McEvoy's estate in Cannes in the 1950s by the British antique dealer and collector of curios, Tom Crispin, winner of the CINOA Prize in 1991, author of several seminal studies on English antique furniture, including on 'bible boxes' and on the history of the Windsor chair for both of which, as a student nearly forty years ago, I helped undertake research.

63 The other contenders for this accolade being Malcolm Milne's skiing world cup medal in 1969 and Zali Steggall's bronze in slalom at the 1998 Winter Olympics and World Championship gold medal in 1999.

64 The sport's popularity is growing and New Zealand, Jamaica and Japan are among the other non-traditional bobsleigh countries increasingly attracted to the sport.

Figure 37: a contemporary cigarette card honouring the 1938 team.

The second reason is that McEvoy's bobsleigh triumph in Nazi Germany represents not just an Australian achievement in an unusual sport from a different era. In the run-up to World War II, the success of an Australian-British team carried political significance. It marked a triumph for the democratic ideal over the Third Reich's totalitarian ideology and the 'master race'.[65] Its win offered a psychological boost to the British Empire in the lead up to World War II (Fig. 37). Nazi propaganda sought to claim the German people trained the body in the service of the State and so international sporting success supposedly demonstrated the might of the 'new Germany', thereby apparently justifying its claim for *Lebensraum* and racial supremacy. The victory gripped the popular imagination (Fig. 38), increasingly interested in the sport.[66]

Figure 38: 1930s metal Bobsleigh toy shows the increasing general interest in the sport.

65 On the role of sport in Hitler's Germany, see: G.A. Carr. 1974. Sport and Party Ideology in the Third Reich. Canadian Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education, vol. 5, pp.1-9.

66 For example, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, on 5 March 1938, reported how the bobsleigh featured in an act at the London Coliseum.

When World War II broke out, however, all major international sporting fixtures were suspended until it ended six years later. McEvoy never competed again. Nevertheless, in that short career spanning only four years, McEvoy's total medal tally–one Olympic and five (three Gold and two Silver) World Championship medals – still puts him among the greatest bobsleigh athletes of all time. McEvoy was certainly a remarkable bobsleigh champion in the early years of that sport. He remains the only Australian ever to win an Olympic medal in bobsleigh.[67] If World War II had not broken out, given his consistent good form in the World Championships during the years after 1936, he might have surpassed his achievement at the next Winter Olympics planned for 1940.

Admittedly the sport was more amateurish then, but the low tech, high spirited achievements were in some ways all the more impressive for that. Nostalgia is perhaps warranted for the dilettante nature of bobsleigh before World War II. Nowadays the FIBT's Rulebook stretches to seventy-four pages, including pedantically specifying that:

At official FIBT Championships, the FIBT awards gold, silver and bronze medals to the athletes of the first, second and third placed teams. The athletes of the fourth, fifth and sixth placed teams receive commemorative medals.[68]

Is nostalgia justified, however, for the daring ambition and ruthless determination of McEvoy and his like during the 'golden age of the playboy'?[69] Was he the perfect gentleman, handsome and with a gift for lively conversation, a charismatic personality with limitless tact for pleasing rich women? At the time of McEvoy's death, Errol Flynn told the newspapers that his friend had been: *one of the great livers of life, a brave and generous spirit who didn't give a damn.*[70] Lacking a personal fortune of his own, McEvoy successfully lived off the wealth of others through a combination of cunning, charisma and charm: as Flynn concluded: *My friendship with Freddie was deep – a real sporting relationship. He made life appear a thing of gaiety … He made a fortune, married wealth, he raced cars, he was a leader in his set. People like me had to work. Freddie didn't in order to live high. There was a certain gift which not many have.*[71]

67 The forgotten story of ... those magnificent men and their flying bobsled. The incredible tale of how the 1932 Winter Olympics brought together four fascinating men to win gold and a place in history. The Guardian, 25 February 2010.

68 FIBT. The 2013 International Rules, p.26.

69 J. Queenan. 2011. Requiem for a Dream: The 'international man of mystery' ain't what he used to be. *The Weekly Standard*, v.16, no.44, 8 August, pp.3-8.

70 Daily Express, op. cit.

71 E. Flynn. 1960. My Wicked, Wicked Ways: The Autobiography of Errol Flynn. New York, p.383.

Figure 39. Advertisement for the sensational account of the life of the Famous Australian International Playboy.

The final reason for the medal's importance in Australia's history is that, in the 1930s, the country's emerging national identity was moulded by sport.[72] McEvoy was part of that process. By forming, defining and evolving an 'otherness' through sporting differences between 'metropole' and colony, a separate and distinct sense of Australian citizenship developed. McEvoy was not just competing in, but also helping to shape the sport and, as the pilot, he was critical to the victories won.

Yet, while the decade before World War II was a period that did much to form the dominion's sense of egalitarian distinctness from the 'mother country', the 1938 medal was also, literally and metaphorically, a badge of the social exclusivity that all winter sports represented during the first half of the twentieth century. Furthermore McEvoy gave bobsleigh a risqué image. This was posthumously reinforced in various articles in the Australian newspapers in the years following his drowning.[73] In March 1954 *the*

72 J. van Duinen. 2013. Playing to the 'imaginary grandstand': Sport, the 'British world', and an Australian colonial identity. *Journal of Global History,* vol. 8, pp 342-364; T. Ward. 2013. *Sport in Australian National Identity*. London.

73 Eg. *The Truth* (Sydney, NSW), 2 December 1951, p. 15 and 30.

Australasian Post ran a lengthy, heavily advertised sensational series on this *Famous Australian International Playboy* (Fig. 39). Based on Michael Stern's 1953 book about McEvoy and his social circle, *No Innocence Abroad*, it described his life thus: *Freddie McEvoy lived like a millionaire on his good looks, good luck and irresistible charm. A cad, who died a hero, he pursued pleasure, easy money and beautiful women.* That book briefly gave him posthumous notoriety around the world. In June 1954 the *Straits Times* of Singapore, for instance, published a 'special feature' article, offering unattributed plagiarism and embellishment of Stern's account of the 'playboy mystery man'.[74]

So, although a great sportsman, was McEvoy, in the final judgment, an immoral rogue, an unscrupulous rascal and an inveterate gambler with other people's money? How far did he collude in the shocking failings of one of Australia's 'national icons'? Was the Australian media's fascination with McEvoy a reflection of the country's vicarious pride in a national self-image of charming adventurers defeating totalitarianism (Fig. 40), or an expression of the embarrassment felt by a young society shaking off a stereotype of a land of ne'er-do-wells, however brave and dashing? In preserving the paradoxes of McEvoy's enigmatic life for posterity, the swastika-emblazoned 1938 bobsleigh medal captures the complexity of judging as 'heroes' or 'villains' many of the 'icons' that shaped the emerging identity of Australia as a new nation.

Figure 40: the German 1936 Winter Olympics bobsleigh stamp.

Author

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74 21 June 1954, p.5. It suggested that he had first met Flynn in Australia in the 1920s when they were both supposedly working as clerks at the Dalgety wool-brokers' office, in Melbourne.

Ray Jewell Award Recipients

Silver Medal (for services to the NAA)

Raymond T N Jewell (posthumously), 1998
John Hope, 2003
W James Noble, 2004
John R Melville-Jones, 2011
Leslie J Carlisle, 2011
Walter R Bloom, 2013
Peter D Lane, 2015

Bronze Medal (for best article from two journals)

John Sharples. Vol 7, *Catalogue of Victorian trade tokens*.
Paul M Holland. Vol 9, *Master die types of Australian halfpennies*.
Peter Lane and Peter Fleig. Vol 12, *London private museums and their tokens*.
Richard A J O'Hair and Antoinette Tordesillas. Vol 13, *Aristocrats of crime*.
Peter Lane and Peter Fleig. Vol. 15 *William Henshall*.
Christopher Addams. Vol 18, *Counterfeiting on the Bermuda convict hulk* Dromedary.
Mark Stocker. Vol. 19, *The Empire Strikes Back.*
Helen Walpole. Vol 22, *The role of sporting medals in a sports museum.*
Peter Lane. Vol 23, *S. Schlank & Co Ltd: medal and badge makers of Adelaide 1887-1971.*

Paul Simon Memorial Award Honour Roll

The Paul Simon Award was established in 1977 by Mrs Jessica Simon of Ballarat, Victoria, in memory of her late husband, Paul Simon. The award is given for outstanding contribution to the Australian numismatic fraternity.

Special Silver Award

1977, R T N (Ray) Jewell, Australia

Bronze Award

1.	1977, J Gartner	Vic	23.	1994, L P McCarthy	Qld
2.	1977, W J Mira	NSW	24.	1995, F S Seymour	SA
3.	1977, R M Greig	SA	25.	1996, J Chapman	Vic
4.	1977, R V McNeice	Tas	26.	1997, S McAskill	WA
5.	1977, G D Dean	Qld	27.	2001, D Junge	Vic
6.	1977, S J Wilson	WA	28.	2001, F Dobbins	NSW
7.	(Allocated as the silver award to Ray Jewell)		29.	2001, G Farringdon-Davis	Vic
8.	1978, O C Fleming	NSW	30.	2003, P Lane	SA
9.	1978, M B Keain	SA	31.	2004, F Gare	WA
10.	1979, T M Hanley	NSW	32.	2006, M C Williams	Qld
11.	1979, A Ware	NSW	33.	2006, J A Hanley	NSW
12.	1981, C J Tindall	SA	34.	2007, G Shea	Qld
13.	1983, D G Sandeson	Qld	35.	2007, W R Bloom	WA
14.	1984, R L Henderson	Vic	36.	2008, R Sell	NSW
15.	1985, L J Carlisle	NSW	37.	2008, G D Snelgrove	Qld
16.	1986, H Powell	WA	38.	2009, M P Vort-Ronald	SA
17.	1987, N Harper	Tas	39.	2010, J W Cook	Qld
18.	1989, T W Holmes	Tas	40.	2011, P Fleig	SA
19.	1990, D G Stevens	Qld	41.	2013, B V Begley	Qld
20.	1991, L T Pepperell	Vic	42.	2014, S Appleton	Qld
21.	1991, C Heath	Tas	43.	2015, T J Davidson	Qld
22.	1993, C E Pitchfork	NSW			

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