

Volume 29

Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia



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President's Report

Our eighth biennial international numismatic conference (NAAC2019) was held at the State Library of New South Wales. National Organiser Walter Bloom and the local Organising Committee of Ken Sheedy and Gil Davis put together an interesting program, the fruits of which can be seen in this current volume of the Journal. Highlights included keynote speakers, Ross MacDiarmid, RAM Director (*The future of collecting and the role of the Royal Australian Mint*) and Claire Rowson, Perth Mint (*Mint Condition: New directions for numismatic conservation in Australia*). We were pleased to see a strong New Zealand contingent in Sydney and for the first time in some years the conference ran at a (slight) profit.

I am delighted to advise the winning of the 2019 Paul Simon Memorial Award by Graeme Petterwood. Graeme has been very active on the Tasmania numismatic scene, even when the Tasmanian Numismatic Society had spent a significant time in hibernation. Over this crucial period he kept the Society on the numismatic map with his publishing of the bi-monthly newsletter *Tasmanian Numismatist*. Graeme's contribution to the Society has been recognised with the McDonald Encouragement Award, 1994; R V McNeice Literary Award 1995, 1996; Lockwood Medal 1998; Tasmanian Numismatic Society Bronze Medallion 1996, 2000, 2003; TNS President's Award 2000; TNS Distinguished Service Medal 2013; and TNS Life Membership 2014. Graeme also won the André Fecteau Prize (Association des Numismates Francophones du Canada; <http://anfc.info/>) literary award. Congratulations Graeme from the Australian numismatic community.

The NAA website has experienced some serious issues, well beyond my expertise as Website Manager. After many unsuccessful attempts at fixing the problems, both through the hosting company and the website developer, the Association is looking to pay an expert to get the website back on-line.

We continue to enjoy sponsorship at a sustainable level, with Noble Numismatics (Gold), Coinworks, Downies (Silver), Drake Sterling, Mowbray Collectables, Sterling & Currency and Vintage Coins & Banknotes (Bronze) all contributing to ensure the Association's continued success. However expenses are rising and receipts are falling, even with the steady level of membership. On the positive side, many continue to take out ten-year memberships which is certainly good for the short to medium term.

I am appreciative of the support of Council and other NAA members throughout the year, and particularly our Secretary, Jonathan Cohen, and Treasurer, Lyn Bloom, who are pivotal in the running of the Association, and our Managing Editor, Gil Davis, for his ongoing work with the journal. The Association is looking to hold its 2020 AGM in Perth with those members in the Eastern States invited to skype into the meeting. With 15 NAA members in WA including three Office Bearers, we should have no difficulty making a physical quorum.

Finally, I was sorry to miss this year in Sydney (due to illness), my first missed conference since their inception in 2005, and also my first missed AGM since I took up the Presidency in 2006.

Professor Walter R. Bloom

President, NAA

www.numismatics.org.au

Editor's Note

This journal is the showcase of the Numismatic Association of Australia (NAA), the peak body for numismatics in the country. It provides a venue for excellent scholarship with a requirement that all articles either offer new material or fresh interpretations. All submissions are required to undergo a rigorous, double-blind peer review. The 29th volume is the largest we have produced and comes as a result of a decision to combine 2018 and 2019 into one volume, with many of the articles generated from the biennial NAA conference held on 6-7 April 2019. Once again, there is a good balance of modern and ancient interests reflected in a remarkably diverse range of topics. It is pleasing to see the contributions made on New Zealand numismatics.

We have a strong international editorial board who contribute their wisdom, experience and help. I thank them and mourn the premature loss of one of our number, the late Professor Matthew Trundle whose obituary appears at the end of the volume. I thank Professor John Melville-Jones and Mr John O'Connor for their skill and application in proof-reading the articles and Mr Barrie Newman for his dedication in producing the volume. As always, I thank Professor Walter Bloom, President of the NAA, for his personal support and encouragement in dealing with the myriad of matters that editing a journal entails.

This volume has some changes from its predecessors. At the conference we ran a session in which a number of speakers gave a short presentation on a 'Numismatic Gem'. This was highly successful and amusing. Two of the presentations have been turned into brief articles including the winning entry by Darren Burgess on a 'humble' token from the English Civil War, and a charming story by Barrie Newman on his first coin, which led him to a lifelong interest in collecting. We have also included a review by David Rampling of the important book by Peter Lane on the South Australian 'Coin Cabinet'.

There are five articles on modern topics. The first two are about New Zealand with Andrew Clifford and Robert Tonner presenting a history of New Zealand banknotes, superbly illustrated from Robert's own collection, and David Galt following up with medals issued for the New Zealand Wars. Richard and Carmel S. O'Hair take us into the world of early Australian medals issued by a Geelong Highland society, while Darren Burgess provides a full listing and discussion of the Centenary of Sydney and Melbourne Commemorative medals. Yuri Rapoport suggests, perhaps controversially, that there is a fifth variety of the 1931 penny.

There are also five large articles on topics spanning a thousand years of ancient history. Lloyd Taylor provides an exemplary study of the Alexander tetradrachms that he attributes to the Phoenician port city of Karne. From there, we segue into the vexed question of the so-called Porus medallions of Alexander, explored in detail by Michael Habicht and his colleagues. Staying in the ancient East, Rachel Mansfield reattributes a previously incorrectly identified coin type minted in the Levantine port city of Jaffa under the Severan emperors. Bruce Marshall discusses the introduction of slogans to Roman republican denarii. Finally, Christian Cuello discusses the extent to which imperial authority was conveyed in the 'imitation' coinage of 'barbarian' rulers in late antiquity.

All the articles contain significant research providing the volume with enduring value. They are well written and informative. I hope you enjoy reading them.

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The Karne Alexanders

Lloyd W. H. Taylor

Abstract

The northern Phoenician port city of Karne was responsible for three small, short duration emissions of Alexander tetradrachms in the period 327-224 BC. The coinage is rare, represented by a corpus of 29 known examples struck from seven obverse tetradrachm dies paired to 13 reverse dies, plus a single drachm die pair. Series 1 and 2 are Macedonian imperial tetradrachm emissions, struck in the period c. 327-320 BC, separated from each other by up to six years. Series 1 is dated to 327/6 BC based on the presence of iconographic detail identical to that found on the coinage of nearby Arados. Similar reasoning indicates that Series 2 dates to the interval 324/3-321/0 BC. It was possibly struck in 321/0 BC at the direction of Antigonos Monophthalmos, the strategos of Asia, in association with the passage of the Macedonian royal army from Triparadeisos into Asia Minor. Iconographic detail and style suggest that mint workers may have been mobilised from nearby Arados for each of Series 1 and 2, while technical factors, including the identification of what is possibly the first ferrous tetradrachm die in the Alexander series, suggest the alternative possibility that dies were manufactured at nearby Arados and shipped to Karne for the striking of coinage. Series 3 consists of a small emission of tetradrachms and drachms bearing the year 35 date of the Aradian autonomous era (225/4 BC), part of a co-ordinated regional emission, struck as a contribution from the cities of the Aradian Peraia to help finance the invasion of Asia Minor by Seleukos III.

Keywords

[Karne] [Arados] [Phoenicia] [Alexander the Great] [Alexander mints] [Hellenistic coinage] [die study]

Introduction

Karne was located on the northern Phoenician coast about 10 km north of the island city Arados, for which it served as a mainland port, naval base and arsenal.¹ It was the only mainland port on the northern Phoenician coast. Together with Arados, it passed into the hands of Alexander the Great without resistance², as he advanced south along the Phoenician coast in early 333/2³ BC. Prior to this, Karne did not strike coinage. However, two Alexander tetradrachms of early iconographic style (Price 3429-3430)

1 Strabo, *Geography*, 16.2.12.

2 Arrian *Alexander*, 2.13.8.

3 Where applicable, dates are referenced to the Macedonian lunar calendar year, which commenced in the Autumn (September/October) of our Gregorian solar calendar year.

were present in the Demanhur Hoard (IGCH 1664) that closed in c. 318 BC. Both carried the **K** mint mark, deciphered as KAP (*kappa, alpha, rho*), an abbreviation of the minting city's name, and were thus attributed to Karne during or immediately after the lifetime of Alexander the Great, in the period c. 328-320 BC.⁴ A century later, a single Alexandrine emission bearing the primary mint mark **K****A** and dated in Phoenician numerals to year 35 (225/4 BC) of the Aradian autonomous era was struck at Karne.

In 2002 a die study of the Karne Alexanders based on thirteen examples in the collections of the American Numismatic Society (ANS), the British Museum (BM) and the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) was published by Duyrat.⁵ This was a small component in a broader study of the output of the northern Phoenician mints. Four obverse dies and five reverse dies were identified in this sample of the coinage and Duyrat expressed reservations with the attribution to Karne of the earliest component of the coinage (Duyrat Carné Série I). The reservations included the small size of the city, the absence of a precursor mint, the small size of the emission, and the otherwise unknown **K** mintmark in the Aradian hinterland.⁶ Unresolved questions are raised by the study and its interpretation. For example, two specimens of Price 3429 with the earliest iconographic style, and lacking the royal title, were sequenced after those of Price 3430. Yet the latter are of a distinctively later iconographic style and carry the royal title (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ). No evidence was presented to contradict the attribution to Karne, and no alternative was considered. Through an analysis of a larger corpus, the present study examines the issues raised by Duyrat's interpretation and seeks to establish a coherent framework for the interpretation of the coinage and its significance in a regional context.

Catalogue

Obverse and reverse tetradrachm dies are numbered sequentially, prefixed A and P respectively (a and p for the drachms of Series 3). Coin weights are in grams. All coins were struck with parallel adjusted dies (variance 10h-2h). With the exception of Cat. Nos. 24 and 25, all the coins are illustrated on the accompanying plates. The concordance

4 Newell 1923, 117-119 and Price 1991, 432. Note the semicircular element, rather than a straight crossbar linking the arms of the K so as to define both letters A and P in the one ligature (refer Fig. 2). This semicircular crossbar serves to distinguish this mint mark **K** from similar mint controls bearing a straight crossbar, such as the otherwise indistinguishable ligate KAA used at the mint of Kallatis (Thrace) a century later. Unfortunately, Price 1991 incorrectly depicts the Karne monogram with a straight crossbar, rather than the correct semi-circular form.

5 Duyrat 2002, 37, 38 and 47.

6 Duyrat 2002, 37 ... « Cette série [Carné Série I] est présentée dans le catalogue à titre d'information : il nous semble en effet peu probable que Carné ait émis des alexandres. » (This series [Carné Series I] is presented in the catalogue for information purposes: it seems unlikely to us that Carne issued Alexanders.) Duyrat's Carné Series I comprises Series 1 and 2 of the current study.

of specimens with the earlier die study (Duyrat, *Ateliers*)⁷ is noted against the applicable catalogue entries.

Series 1

c. 327-326 BC.

Obverse: Head of Herakles r. in lion skin headdress, dotted border.

Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r., Zeus seated l. on *diphros*,⁸ holding eagle and sceptre, dotted border.

Κ in left field. (Price 3429; Duyrat, *Ateliers* 8-9)

1. A1-P1 17.23 New York, ANS 1944.100.35115; Duyrat, *Ateliers* 8.
P1 r. hand of Zeus depicted with facing open palm.
2. A2 -P1 17.22 New York, ANS 1944.100.35116; Newell (1923) no. 3267;
Newell (1912) no. 80, pl. 18, 7. Demanhur Hoard (*IGCH* 1664); Duyrat, *Ateliers* 9.
3. A2-P2 17.25 Numismatik Naumann 75 (3 Mar. 2019), lot 116.
P2 r. hand of Zeus depicted with facing open palm.
4. A2-P2 16.95 Berlin, Münzkabinett 18252045.
5. A2-P2 16.40 CNG 103 (14 Sep. 2016), lot 120.
6. A2-P3 17.22 Numismatik Lanz München 138 (26 Nov. 2007), lot 306.
P3 r. hand of Zeus depicted with facing open palm.
7. A2-P3 16.91 Sydney, NM2004.472 Nicholson Museum, The University of
Sydney.

Series 2

c. 323-320 BC most probably 321/0 BC.

Obverse: Head of Herakles r. in lion skin headdress, dotted border.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in exergue, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r., Zeus seated l. on *diphros*,
or high-backed throne, holding eagle and sceptre, dotted border.

Κ in left field. (Price 3430; Duyrat, *Ateliers* 1-7)

8. A3-P4 17.10 London, BM 2002,0101.785; Hersh Coll. Reverse struck off-
centre, royal title, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, off-flan.
P4 r. hand of Zeus depicted in profile, oriented upward, on this
and all subsequent reverse dies. Zeus seated on *diphros*.
9. A4-P5 17.27 London, BM 2002,0101.786. P5 Zeus seated on *diphros*.

⁷ Duyrat 2002, 37, 38 and 47.

⁸ The *diphros* was an ancient Greek stool without a back. The depiction of the *diphros* on Alexander the Great's coinage preceded that of the high-backed throne, which made its first appearance on his coinage following his return to Babylonia from his eastern anabasis; Taylor 2018, 18-19.

10. A4-P6 16.46 New York, ANS 1944.100.35121. Abu Hommos Hoard (*IGCH* 1667); Duyrat 7. P6 Zeus seated on *diphros*.
11. A5-P7 17.17 CNG 66 (19 May 2004), lot 247; Künker 71 (12 Mar. 2002), lot 196. The reverse heavily double struck, accompanied by a major die shift, so that the ground line and royal title appear to step down to the right beneath the leading leg of the *diphros*. A5 die in fresh unworn state.
12. A5-P7 17.17 London, BM 1911,0408.22; Price 3430a; Newell (1923) no. 3268; Newell (1912) no. 81, pl. 18, 8. Demanhur Hoard (*IGCH* 1664); Duyrat, *Ateliers* 4. P7 Zeus seated on *diphros*.
13. A5-P8 17.15 Berlin, Münzkabinett 18252047. P8 Zeus seated on high-backed throne.
14. A5-P8 17.16 London, BM 1886,0610.5; Price 3430b; Duyrat, *Ateliers* 1.
15. A5-P8 17.22 New York, ANS 1944.100.35118; Naville 1 (4 Apr. 1921), lot 894; ex-Pozzi Coll.; Duyrat, *Ateliers* 3. A5 spots of die rust between the strands of Herakles hair.
16. A5-P8 16.80 New York, ANS 1944.100.35117; Duyrat, *Ateliers* 2.
17. A5-P9 17.11 CNG 82 (16 Sep. 2009), lot 440. P9 Zeus seated on high-backed throne.
18. A5-P9 17.21 LWHT Coll. no. 312; Leu Numismatik Auction 4 (25 May 2019), lot 215. A5 die rust in and around the principle devices.
19. A5-P10 17.21 New York, ANS 1944.100.35119; Duyrat, *Ateliers* 5. P10 Zeus seated on high-backed throne.
20. A5-P10 17.20 New York, ANS 1944.100.35120; Duyrat, *Ateliers* 6. A5 extensive die rust disrupts engraved detail.
21. A5-P10 16.85 CNG 390 (2 Feb. 2017), lot 43. Extensive horn silver deposits on both sides. A5 well worn.


Series 3

225/4 BC.

Obverse: Head of Herakles r. in lion skin headdress, dotted border.




Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r., Zeus seated l. on *diphros*, holding eagle and sceptre, no border.

Tetradrachms



ΚΑ above palm tree and cornucopia in left field, Ϡ (Phoenician *beth*) beneath throne,  (Year 35) in exergue. (Price 3431; Duyrat, *Ateliers* 35-38)

22. A6-P11 17.02 Gemini XI (12 Jan. 2014), lot 63.
23. A6-P11 15.87 Paris, BnF 41796489; *Waddington* 7201; Babelon 915a; Seyrig (1964) pl. II, b; Duyrat, *Ateliers* 36 and 37 (pl. 3, 37).⁹
24. A6-P11 15.1 Rouvier (1904) no. 741, pl. B, 16. Partially off-flan date misread as year 34 by Rouvier. Reverse die match confirms year 35.
25. A6-P11 n.r. *BMC, Phoenicia*, pl. XXXVIII, 15.
26. A6-P12 14.54 New York, ANS 1944.100.70952; Duyrat, *Ateliers* 35.
27. A7-P13 16.75 Berlin, Münzkabinett 18253469.

Seyrig (1964) p.12, footnote 2 records another example of a Series 3 tetradrachm in the museum at Sofia. No image of this coin was located. It is from the same dies as the Berlin, Münzkabinett 18253469 (Cat. No. 27) according to Seyrig's footnote.

Absent from the catalogue of Series 3 is an example of Price 3432 (Duyrat, *Ateliers* 38) bearing the Phoenician letter  (*gimel*) rather than  (*beth*) beneath the throne. The only recorded specimen of this type was described by Price¹⁰ as being "ANS photo-file (ex H. Syrig)." No example of this coin type could be found. It may be the result of a misreading of the Phoenician letter  beneath the throne of an image of the one of the coins listed as Cat. No. 23 or 24 (refer also footnotes 9, 28 and 29).

Drachms

Cornucopia in left field,  beneath throne,  (Year 35) in exergue.
(Price –; Duyrat, *Ateliers* –)

28. a1-p1 4.09 Rauch 97 (14 Apr. 2015), lot 284.
29. a1-p1 4.09 Obolos (by Nomos) 4 (21 Feb. 2016), lot 156.

Commentary

The catalogue consists of 27 tetradrachms and two drachms, emphasizing the rarity of Karne's Alexandrine coinage. Seven obverse and 13 reverse dies are represented in the catalogue of tetradrachms. A single die pair is identified in the Series 3 drachms. The only reverse die link identified in the sequence is between obverse dies A1 and A2, so that the sequence of dies otherwise relies on the interpreted progression of iconographic and epigraphic developments. The catalogue consists of three series, each characterized by distinctive iconographic elements and style, plus differing epigraphy. These parallel

⁹ Duyrat 2002, 38 identifies the same coin as two different specimens, BnF 41796489 and Seyrig 1964, pl. II, b, to which she attributes her catalogue numbers 36 and 37.

¹⁰ Price 1991, 432.

the progression of style and epigraphy found in various issues from the two mints at nearby Arados (Table 1).¹¹

Table 1. Characteristics and Affinities.

Characteristic	Affinity
Series 1	
Elongate style of the head of Herakles.	In the style of Arados II (Taylor, Arados II Series 3; Price 3424 attributed to Byblos).
Extended right hand of Zeus with open facing palm, fingers splayed.	A depiction that parallels that of the earliest output of the Phoenician mints.
Legs of Zeus disposed stiffly in parallel form.	Early iconographic style.
Feet of Zeus free-floating; no footstool or ground line.	In the style of early Arados II and later Salamis issues.
<i>Diphros</i> legs of a slender turned style.	In the style of early Arados I & II. Refer Duyrat, Arados Groups I-III and Taylor, Arados II Series 3.
Legend: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	
Series 2	
Angular, square style of the head of Herakles.	In the style of Arados I (Duyrat, Arados Group IV, Series 4-11; Price 3316-32).
Extended right hand of Zeus depicted in profile, oriented upwards.	The same as that adopted in all the eastern mints by 326/5 BC.
Legs of Zeus depicted with his left drawn back slightly from right leg.	In the style of Arados I (Duyrat, Arados Group IV, Series 4-11).
Feet of Zeus rest on well-defined ground line.	In the style of Arados I (Duyrat, Arados Group IV, Series 4-11).
<i>Diphros</i> or throne legs of a heavy, square form.	In the style of Arados I (Duyrat, Arados Group IV, Series 4-11).
Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	Royal title adopted on coinage of Arados I, (Duyrat, Arados Groupe IV) from 324/3 BC.

11 Included in the coinage of Arados is the coinage bearing a ligate AP mint control (Price 3422-8) formerly attributed to Byblos by Price. Following the analysis of Taylor (2020 in press) this coinage is now associated with a second mint at Arados; a Macedonian imperial agency mint, Arados II. This was a separate facility from Arados I, which initially was under the nominal direction of the vassal king (Gerastart, or Gerostratos in Greek) of Arados, in the tradition established when Arados was under Persian rule.

Characteristic	Affinity
Series 3	
Heavily stylised portrayal of the head of Herakles, lacking realism.	In the style of year 35 issues from Arados (Price 3380) and Gabala (Price 3433).
Busy, flamboyant reverse style.	In the style of year 35 issues from Arados and Gabala.
Secondary mint control beneath diphros.	Consistent with other contemporary issues of the Aradian Peraia.
Dated in Phoenician to Aradian year 35 (225/4 BC).	Co-ordinated issue with other cities of the Aradian Peraia.
Legend: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	Parallels that of year 35 issues from Arados and Gabala.

Series 1

Series 1 consists of seven specimens struck from two obverse and three reverse dies (Cat. Nos.1-7; Plate 1, 1-7). No other denominations are associated with this emission. The two obverse dies are almost identical, subtly differentiated by the detail of the creases in the lion skin headdress, the neck tie of the headdress and the neck of Herakles, plus the relative sizing and disposition of other design elements. Similarly, the three reverse dies of Series 1 are of identical style. Indications are that all Series 1 dies are from the hand of a single engraver. The style of the obverse dies resembles some of the earliest examples of Arados II (Price 3424 attributed to Byblos by Price),¹² an example of which is illustrated for comparison on Plate 1, A.¹³ This style is also very close to some of the later coinage from Salamis (Price 3139) an example of which is shown on Plate 1, B.¹⁴ The reverse depicts Zeus seated on a *diphros* with his legs disposed side by side in parallel, while his closely spaced feet are free-floating, resting neither on a footstool, nor on a ground line. The latter portrayal is unusual among the northern Phoenician mints, limited to the earliest issues of Arados I¹⁵ and II.¹⁶ The depiction of the free-floating feet also closely resembles that found on Alexander issues of Salamis (Price 3139) that were struck commencing c. 325 BC (Plate 1, B). This similarity was noted by Newell as of potential significance for the attribution to Karne.¹⁷ However, as discussed below, the detailed iconographic association with the earliest issues from the mints at Arados is even more apparent, and more consequential.

¹² Taylor 2020 in press, Arados II Series 3.

¹³ ANS 1944.100.34998. Arados II, Price 3424 (Byblos of Price).

¹⁴ ANS 1944.100.34020. Salamis, Price 3139.

¹⁵ Duyrat 2005, pl.1, Groups I-III.

¹⁶ Taylor 2020 in press, Arados II Series 3.

¹⁷ Newell 1923, 118 ... "Details of the reverse, however, such as the position of Zeus' feet coupled with the total absence of any footstool, resemble the issues of Salamis in Cyprus. Now the important seaport of Salamis lies directly opposite Karne and was no doubt connected to it by ties of commerce."

Based on iconographic detail, Series 1 is a contemporary of the earliest emission from Arados II, while the Salamis emission postdates Series 1. The Arados II style of portrayal of Zeus with free-floating feet influenced that of Karne Series 1 and subsequently that of Salamis. This relative chronology is determined from the differing detail of the outstretched open facing palm right hand of Zeus on Series 1, analogous to that of the earliest Arados II tetradrachms, versus the chronologically later hand in profile depiction of the otherwise stylistically similar Salamis issue.



(Cat. No. 3)



(Cat. No.18)

Figure 1. Extended right hand of Zeus: Series 1 (No. 3) and Series 2 (No. 18)

On Series 1, Zeus's hand is depicted with an open facing palm and splayed fingers (Fig. 1) that is a characteristic of the earliest issues from the eastern mints of Alexander III that operated prior to 326/5 BC. After this date, throughout the eastern mints the right hand of Zeus was consistently portrayed in profile, oriented upward.¹⁸ At Arados II, the change in the portrayal of the extended right hand of Zeus is dated to c. 327/6 BC midway through an emission that most probably commenced a year earlier in 328/7 BC.¹⁹ Based on the affinity of Series 1 with the earliest issues of this mint, located offshore 10 km to the south of Karne, it is likely that Series 1 dates to around 327/6 BC.

Table 2 presents the statistics of the catalogue and the estimated size of the Series 1 emission derived from the application of the geometrical model of Esty²⁰ combined with an average obverse die life as suggested by Callataÿ.²¹ In the catalogue, Series 1 coinage is somewhat undersampled with respect to the obverse dies, indicated by a statistical coverage (*Cest*)²² of 0.86. Within the 95% confidence interval²³ as few as two dies and as many as five dies may have been used in the striking of Series 1, with the estimate being three obverse dies. The latter may have struck around 60,000 tetradrachms, which at an indicated weight standard of 17.2 grams per tetradrachm (Metrology below), would be equivalent to approximately 40 Attic talents of silver.

18 Taylor 2018, 31-35 for an analysis of the regional timing and significance of this change in iconographic detail.

19 Taylor 2020 in press.

20 Esty 2011, 46 formula (1).

21 Callataÿ 2011 suggests an average tetradrachm die productivity of 20,000 coins.

22 Esty 2006, 359, formula (1); Esty, 2011, 49 formula (3). This defines the probability of the identification of a new die in any addition to the catalogue as being 14 percent (1-*Cest*).

23 Esty 2006, 360, formula 4.

Table 2. Statistics: tetradrachm obverse dies.

	Series 1	Series 2	Series 3
Sample size (<i>n</i>)	7	14	6
Observed A dies (<i>d</i>)	2	3	2
Singletons (<i>d</i> ₁)	1	1	1
Characteristic index (<i>n/d</i>)	3.5	4.7	3.0
Coverage (<i>Cest</i>)	0.86	0.93	0.83
Estimated original A dies (<i>Dest</i>)	2.8	3.8	3.0
95% Confidence interval	1.6-5.3	2.6-5.6	1.6-6.5
Estimated no. coins	c. 60,000	c. 80,000	c. 60,000
Attic talents of silver	c. 40	c. 53	c. 39

Series 2

Series 2 is differentiated from Series 1 by a later iconographic style and the presence of the royal title, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. It is represented in the catalogue by 14 tetradrachms (Cat. Nos. 8-21; Plate 2, 8-21). The three obverse and seven reverse dies of Series 2 are of a uniformly consistent style, apparently engraved by a single die engraver, albeit a different engraver from the one responsible for the Series 1 dies. The elongate form of head of Herakles of Series 1 is replaced on Series 2 by a more angular square form that most closely resembles some of the later emissions of Arados I (Price 3316 -3332; Duyrat Group IV, Series 4-11)²⁴ an example of which is illustrated on Plate 2, C²⁵ for comparison. The reverse of Series 2 depicts Zeus with his left leg (that closest the viewer) drawn back from the right, with both feet resting on a ground line. Series 2 coins bear the royal title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue beneath the ground line, a feature shared with the Group IV issues of Arados. The reverse of Series 2 initially depicts Zeus seated on a *diphros* (reverse dies P4-P7), followed by the depiction of a high-backed throne (reverse dies P8-P10). The throne back on the latter is defined by a simple, unadorned vertical upright to the right of Zeus's back. This back support is barely visible on the less well-preserved examples of the coinage. On both depictions the seat sits upon heavy, squared legs, rather than the more delicate, turned cylindrical elements that define the legs of the *diphros* on Series 1.

The epigraphy plus the style and detail of the iconography of Series 2 have a direct parallel at Arados I in the issue of Duyrat's Group IV, Series 4-11 (Price 3316-3332). Earlier, in Duyrat's Group IV, Series 1 (Price 3309) the royal title appeared on the coinage. During the mintage of Duyrat's Group IV, Series 4 the turned cylindrical legs of Zeus's

²⁴ Duyrat 2005, pls. 3-7.

²⁵ ANS 1944.100.34712 Arados I (Price 3316).

diphros developed into a heavier square leg, although a few examples of the preceding turned leg persisted into Duyrat Group IV, Series 5 (Price 3320). Concurrently with this development, there was a change in the depiction of the legs of Zeus from the stiff, parallel legs portrayal that is a characteristic of the earlier issues of Arados, to a more fluid portrayal in which the left leg of Zeus is drawn back from the right, with the left foot placed against the leading leg of the *diphros* (Plate 2, C). This portrayal of the legs of Zeus is intermediate between the early, stiff parallel leg depiction and the later crossed leg style that became the norm in most of the eastern mints by around 320. These changes of style, the altered depiction of the legs of Zeus, and the throne legs that are observed on Duyrat Group IV, Series 4-11, suggest that Karne Series 2 is broadly contemporaneous with this Arados emission. Such being the case, the mintage of Series 2 occurred at some time in the interval 323-320 BC.

The portrayal of the extended right hand of Zeus on the coins of Series 2 is that of a well-defined hand in profile, facing upward (Fig. 1). This contrasts with the Series 1 depiction of an open facing palm with splayed fingers. The hand in profile portrayal is also found at Arados on Duyrat's Group IV, Series 4-11. However, on the Series 2 coins of Karne no clumsiness, or ambiguity is observed in this depiction, whereas at the mints of Arados and many other eastern mints, there is an intermediate stage in the transition from the open facing palm hand to the hand in profile, reflecting a period where the die engravers struggled with the new depiction of the hand.²⁶ The absence of any intermediate form of hand on the reverse dies at Karne suggests that there was a time break between Series 1 and 2, so that the coins of Series 2 date to a period after the transition from the open facing palm depiction, by which stage the hand in profile was fully defined, a familiar form for the die engraver. This observation reinforces the dating inferred from the stylistic affinity of Series 2 with Duyrat Group IV, Series 4-11, the latter dated to 323-320 BC.

Cat. No. 8 (BM 2002,0101.785) introduces Series 2. It warrants clarification of this position in the sequence. This coin was attributed to Series 1 (Price 3429) in the collection of the British Museum and in Price's compendium.²⁷ The reverse of this coin was struck off-centre with the result that the exergue is off-flan. Yet a trace of the exergual, or ground line can be seen on the flan edge between the feet of the throne. A ground line is absent on Series 1, thus establishing the coin as an issue of Series 2. Moreover, the style of both the obverse (from die A3) and the reverse is distinctly that of Series 2, from the same engraver's hand as that responsible for the other dies of Series 2. This point

²⁶ Taylor 2018, 31-35 for details of the progression from an open facing palm hand to the hand in profile that is characteristic of coinage issued after 325 BC. The transition was not always smooth; for a brief period after its introduction die engravers appeared to grapple with the detail of the new depiction of the right hand of Zeus.

²⁷ Price 1991, 432 under Other References (Hersh) for type 3429.

is further reinforced by the depiction of Zeus's hand in profile, another characteristic of Series 2. The apparent absence of the royal title on this coin is due to the off-centre reverse strike, which placed the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ component of the legend completely off-metal. The placement of this coin at the head of Series 2 is based on the fact that the obverse style is not as fully developed as that of subsequent two obverse dies, measured against which the head of Herakles appears somewhat undersized. It has the hallmarks of the first die by an engraver newly engaged to produce the Series 2 dies.

The statistical coverage of obverse dies for the Series 2 coinage is good ($C_{est} = 0.93$). It is estimated that four obverse dies were employed to strike this series (Table 2). This estimate sits within a 95% confidence interval of 3-6 dies. The estimated four original obverse dies of Series 2 may have struck approximately 53 Attic talents of silver into about 80,000 tetradrachms; a thirty percent larger emission than that of Series 1 (Table 2).

Series 3


Series 3 (Cat. Nos. 22-29; Plate 3, 22-29) is represented in the catalogue by eight coins; six tetradrachms struck from two obverse and three reverse dies, accompanied by two drachms from a single die pair. The drachm denomination has not been documented previously. The obverse portrayal of the head of Herakles on the tetradrachm dies is heavily stylized, lacking realism, while the busy style of the reverse drops the dotted circumferential border of the two prior series. The obverse dies are the product of a single engraver.

Price distinguished between two varieties for this series, Price 3431 (ϣ beneath *diphros*) and Price 3432 (♂ beneath *diphros*). Yet only coins of the former type are identified in the catalogue. The specimen referenced by Price as his type 3432 is not present in the American Numismatic Society's (ANS) PELLA database, which includes the Karne coinage from major institutional collections. Described by Price as being determined from "ANS photo-file (ex H. Seyrig)," Price 3432 may be the result of a misreading of the Phoenician letter ϣ beneath the *diphros*. The example referred to as being in the "ANS photo-file (ex H. Seyrig)" may be that of a cast of the Paris specimen BnF 41796489 (Cat. No 23). This possibility is raised by the fact that Duyrat²⁸ identified an ANS photo-file example (her no. 36) to be a separate specimen to that of the identical coin held in the BnF (her catalogue entry 37).²⁹ Seyrig's outline of the year 35 coinage of the Aradian Peraia illustrates the specimen in question which has a clearly outlined ϣ mint control, but at no time did he reference a specimen bearing the ♂ mint control.³⁰ The existence of the type described as Price 3432 is uncertain, if not doubtful.

28 Duyrat 2002, 38 no. 36 "New York, fichier ANS, 1944 100 70952 (H. Seyrig n° 193 12 XIV)."

29 Duyrat references her catalogue entry 38 with the comment «même revers, mais lettre Phénicienne sous le trône: *gimel* (Price M. J., 1991, n° 3432) 38-ANS Photo file H. Seyrig.» No dies are identified by Duyrat for this coin. Her catalogue entry relies solely on Price's description. Thus, it is uncertain, if not doubtful.

30 Seyrig 1964, 12 and pl. II, b.

Series 3 is dated with Phoenician numerals to year 35 (225/4 BC) of an era based on the initial acquisition of autonomy by Arados in 360/59 BC, under whose influence Karne and its sister cities on the mainland (the Aradian Peraia) were subject. It is the only dated tetradrachm emission of Karne, struck one year after the start of a series of dated civic bronze issues during the period 226/5-185/4 BC (dated with the Aradian era years 34-75).³¹ It is accompanied by a previously undocumented drachm issue, with which it is associated by iconographic style, the presence of the  mint control beneath the *diphros*, plus the Phoenician date in the exergue. The Series 3 emission parallels that of the other principal cities of the Aradian Peraia, Arados (Price 3380), Gabala (Price 3433) and Marathos (Price 3453) each in a similar style, all dated in Phoenician to Aradian year 35, while bearing a Greek monogram abbreviation of the name of each member city in the left field. These year 35 dated issues are interpreted to be a co-ordinated regional emission, struck as a contribution from the cities of the Aradian Peraia to finance the invasion of Asia Minor by Seleukos III.³²

The small sample of Series 3 coinage affords a modest statistical coverage of 0.83 with respect to the tetradrachm obverse dies (Table 2). That is to say that any further addition to the corpus of Series 3 tetradrachms has a 17% probability (1-Cest) of deriving from an as yet unidentified obverse die. Unsurprisingly therefore, at least three obverse tetradrachm dies are estimated to have been employed for the emission, with an associated uncertainty range on this estimate of 2-7 dies at the 95% confidence level. The 95% confidence interval defines the range within which a new estimate of the original number of dies, based on a new sample, will fall 95% of the time. The estimated three originally commissioned obverse tetradrachm dies may have struck approximately 39 Attic talents of silver into about 60,000 tetradrachms with a weight of about 16.8 grams per coin, the prevailing weight standard of the time.

Concordance with prior study

This die study identifies an additional tetradrachm obverse die in each of Series 1-3 compared to that of Duyrat's catalogue and sequence (Table 3). Dies A1 and A2 of this study were misidentified as a single die (Carné Série I, D3) in the previous study. Most notably the analysis of the development of iconographic style in Series 1 and 2, including the progression of chronological pegs identified in the parallel developments observed at the mints of nearby Aardos, indicates the need for a reversal of the die sequence compared to that proposed by Duyrat in her Série I.

³¹ Price 1991, 416- 419, tables G & H.

³² Seyrig 1964, 12; Price 1991, 432; Houghton and Lorber 2002, 335-337.

Table 3. Concordance.

Legend	This Study		Duyrat (2002)	
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	Series 1	A1	Carné Série I	D3
	Series 1	A2	Carné Série I	D3
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	Series 2	A3	Carné Série I	-
	Series 2	A4	Carné Série I	D2
	Series 2	A5	Carné Série I	D1
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	Series 3	A6	Carné Série IV	D1
	Series 3	A7	Carné Série IV	-
	Series 3	a1	-	-

Mint Marks

Series 1 and 2 bear the **K** mint mark (Fig. 2), a ligate Greek letter abbreviation that can be deconstructed into the first three letters (*kappa, alpha, rho*) of the city's name (KARne). This served to identify the mint of origin, a practice observed in the Phoenician and Syrian mints with the exception of Tyre, where the Phoenician letter abbreviation (*ayin, kaph*) of the vassal king's name Ozmil³³ (Azemilkos in Greek) served to identify the city of origin. The **K** mint mark is unaccompanied by any form of secondary mint control. Among the Macedonian imperial mints of Phoenicia this control system, based on an invariable primary mint mark designating the city of origin, unaccompanied by any secondary mint controls, is unique to Karne and Arados II. On the autonomous Series 3 coinage of 225/4 BC the **K** monogram of Series 1 and 2 is expanded into two components **K** and **A** defining the first three initials of the city name. The **A** component is also the primary mint mark of the Macedonian imperial mint of Arados II from 327-300 BC,³⁴ subsequently to become the primary mint mark of the autonomous mint at Arados from 245 BC.³⁵ These mint control associations reinforce the interpretation, based on stylistic grounds, of a close affinity between the Karne issues and those of Arados. The singular invariant control on the coinage of Series 1 and 2 suggests that the mintage was undertaken under the same administrative construct as that of Arados II, positioning the coinage as the product of an imperial government agency, in contrast to Arados I, which was nominally under intermediary supervision of the vassal king, Gerastar (Gerostratos in Greek), during the lifetime of Alexander the Great.³⁶ Like the

³³ Le Rider 2007, 125-134.

³⁴ Taylor 2020 in press.

³⁵ Price 1991, 426-429.

³⁶ Mørkholm 1991, 47 "It is therefore hardly proper to make a distinction between 'imperial' mints and 'allied' mints, as Newell was inclined to do. The explanation is rather that, while the other mints were government agencies, the Phoenician and Cypriot city-states under their local kings retained the management of their mints, although they naturally had to operate within the general regulations laid down by the central administration."

other Phoenician mints under the intermediary direction of a vassal king, or satrap, the coinage of the Arados I bears a suite of secondary mint controls that attest to another level of control and reconciliation that is not apparent in the coinage of the government agency mint of Arados II, or Karne.



Figure 2. Monogram detail (Cat. No. 18).

Metrology

Table 4 summarises the weight distribution of the tetradrachms represented in the catalogue.

Table 4: Tetradrachm weights.

	No. of coins (n)	Mean (g)	Median (g)	Mode (g)	σ (g)
Series 1	7	17.03	17.22	17.22	0.31
Series 2	14	17.08	17.17	17.21	0.22
Series 3	5	15.86	15.86	-	1.05

Series 1 and 2 appear to have been struck to an intended weight standard of around 17.2 grams. This is consistent with the Attic weight standard that prevailed during the lifetime of Alexander the Great and shortly thereafter. Series 3 with only five recorded weights shows a significantly reduced mean and median weight of 15.86 grams with a notably wide dispersion in the recorded weights. The heaviest specimen weighs 17.02 grams, the lightest and most heavily worn example only 14.54 grams. The standard deviation of 1.05 grams in Series 3 is three times greater than that of Series 1 and 2. The sample size is insufficient for an accurate determination of the weight standard to which the emission was struck. However, the data is consistent with a poorly implemented weight adjustment to the tetradrachm weight standard of about 16.8 grams that prevailed in the mid 3rd century BC. This inference is borne out by the two lightly worn drachms in Series 3 each of which weigh 4.09 grams, yielding a scaled tetradrachm weight standard of 16.36 grams, which under usual mint practice would have been about 3% lower than the official tetradrachm weight standard.

Chronology

Price, following Newell, dated the Series 1 and 2 emissions to the period *c.* 328-320 BC.³⁷ The die study and comparative stylistic analysis with the Alexanders of Arados enable some refinement within this range (Table 5).³⁸

Table 5. Karne Series 1 and 2: Chronology based on Arados Mints

Duyrat (2005) Arados I	Taylor (in press) Arados II	Karne
<i>c.</i> 332- <i>c.</i> 324 BC		
Group I	<i>c.</i> 327/6-326/5 BC	
	Series 1 & 2 (AV staters)	
Group II	First half of Series 3	Series 1
	<i>c.</i> 326/5- 3 325/4 BC	
Group III	Second half of Series 3	
<i>c.</i> 324- <i>c.</i> 320 BC	<i>c.</i> 325/4-321/0 BC	
Group IV	First Half of Series 4	Series 2
<i>after</i> 320 BC	<i>after</i> 321/0 BC	
Mint closed*	Second half of Series 4	

*Duyrat Groups V and VI reattributed to Babylon II by Houghton and Lorber (2002)

Based on the affinity of the style of Series 1 with the earliest issues of Arados II and that of Series 2 with the later emission from Arados I, the chronology of each can be narrowed to a brief period. Series 1 dates to *c.* 327/6 BC, while Series 2 falls within the period *c.* 323-320 BC. This proposed chronology is consistent with the presence of coins (Cat. Nos. 2 and 12) from each of Series I and 2 in the Demanhur Hoard (IGCH 1664) that closed in 318 BC.³⁹ Series 3, marked year 35 of the Aradian autonomous era that commenced in 259/8 BC, carries no uncertainty as to its date of issue in 225/4 BC, part of a co-ordinated regional emission, struck as a contribution from the cities of the Aradian Peraia to help finance the invasion of Asia Minor by Seleukos III.

The reason for two small emissions, one in *c.* 327/6 BC (Series 1) and another at some time in the interval *c.* 323-320 BC (Series 2) is unknown. No military events or campaigns are attested to in the immediate region at the time, and in any event the coinage was too small to sustain a sizeable military campaign. However, Karne as the sole mainland port on the northern Phoenician coast, and the arsenal of Arados, occupied a strategic

37 Price 1991, 432; Newell 1923, 117-119.

38 Duyrat 2005, 13 for the dating of the Arados I emissions and Taylor (in press) for the dating of the Arados II (Byblos of Price) Alexanders.

39 Newell 1912 plus Newell 1923, and coinhoards.org/id/igch1664 accessed 22 October 2018. The Demanhur Hoard is the only documented find to include Series 1-2 Alexandrine tetradrachms of Karne.

location. As a result, it is likely to have been the location of a Macedonian garrison to ensure the security of the port city. It is conceivable that accumulated silver and/or coinage from port receipts and taxes was struck into Macedonian imperial coinage periodically in order to sustain the garrison. This might also explain the presence of coins from these small emissions in the Demanhur Hoard, for the port would have hosted trading and military vessels travelling to Egypt along the Phoenician coast, affording the means by which some of this small volume coinage circulated far to the south. Notably, the Demanhur hoard (*IGCH* 1664) is the only documented hoard to contain Alexanders struck at Karne.

However, an alternative possible explanation for Series 2 is to be found in the historical record. At the assembly of the Macedonian armies at Triparadeisos to acclaim a new leader in 321/0 BC the royal army threatened the life of the Macedonian viceroy, Antipater, over his inability to make good immediately the arrears in pay arising from the abortive campaign of the regent, Perdikkas, to retake Egypt.⁴⁰ Following the assembly, Antigonos in the capacity of *strategos* of Asia, took control of the royal army, leading it into Asia Minor via northern Phoenicia. Arados and Karne were on this route, the former being the only permanent minting city in northern Phoenicia. It is possible that as a matter of priority Antigonos ordered the mintage of available bullion at Arados and Karne to pay the army and secure its loyalty. At this time, we see a greatly increased die count in the final Macedonian Imperial emission at Arados I (Duyrat Group IV, Series 11; Price 3332) that was struck from 89 tetradrachm obverse dies.⁴¹ This final issue accounts for 45% of the tetradrachm obverse dies used at Arados I from its inception, marking it as the largest issue from the mint. It is possible that the Karne Series 2 emission was associated with this frenetic minting activity that was a precursor to the closure of the Arados I mint in 320 BC, as Antigonos asserted his influence and control over the scattered Macedonian mints and treasuries in the east.

The earliest ferrous Alexander tetradrachm die (A5)

A notable aspect of Series 2 to emerge from the detail of the die study is the development of die rust on an obverse die A5 (Fig. 3). This die struck all but three examples in the catalogue of Series 2, and 60 percent of the total sample of Series 1 and 2. Paired to twice as many reverse dies as the next most frequently paired obverse die, indications are that it was unusually productive and thus long-lived. Die rust developed progressively from the first use of A5 and is indicative of the use of ferrous material (iron or steel) in the manufacture of the die. In the maritime environment of Karne die rust would have developed rapidly on ferrous dies. It contrasts with the preceding dies of Series 1 and 2 on which die rust is absent, an indicator of the bronze composition of these earlier dies.

⁴⁰ Billows 1990, 68-70; Grainger 1990, 25-26.

⁴¹ Duyrat 2005, 24-30.

In the author's experience, A5 is the earliest identified example of a ferrous die used in the striking of Alexander tetradrachms.⁴²

The first documented use of ferrous dies in the Alexander series occurred with the gold staters of Arados II, commencing c. 328/7 BC, although the use of ferrous dies in the larger diameter tetradrachm coinage of the mint is not known.⁴³ Recent study suggests that the Arados II mint pioneered the use of ferrous dies for Macedonian imperial gold coinage.⁴⁴ Initially, the identification of what may be the first ferrous Alexander series tetradrachm die at Karne appears improbable, given the mint's limited history of operation and the relatively negligible size of the coinage. However, the recognition of earlier ferrous die use at nearby Arados II, albeit for smaller diameter gold stater dies, resolves the apparent incongruity. In a trial, a larger diameter ferrous tetradrachm die may have been prepared at the major mint facility at nearby Arados for use in the Karne mintage. A ferrous obverse die would have the advantage of a longer life, being stronger and less wear prone than bronze. This may have sufficiently offset the manufacturing difficulties, including more difficult cutting/engraving, to warrant ferrous die usage for a short duration emission, struck in a remote location from the primary Aradian mint facility. Certainly, the identification of A5 as a ferrous die serves to further associate the location of the Series 2 mintage with the region of the Aradian hinterland, for until that time ferrous dies in the Alexander series are only identified in the earliest gold stater series from Arados, while the transfer of this technology and its application in the more broadly spread Alexander mints had yet to occur.



Figure 3. Development of die rust on A5 (Cat. Nos. 15, 18, 19 and 20).

42 Based on the author's die studies of the Alexander mints in Phoenicia, Syria, Babylon, and Susa, plus a detailed review of die studies of Alexander's western mints.

43 Taylor 2020 in press for a detailed analysis and discussion of the use of ferrous stater dies at Arados.

44 Rare, intermittent, and very limited use of ferrous dies is attested to by the presence of the effects of die rust elsewhere on some of the classical era Greek coinages, but not on a sustained, or widespread basis. Most notable are the dekadrachms of Syracuse signed by Euainetos and Kimon, where the obverse die is almost always accompanied by die rust. At this time, the strength, wear resistance and longevity of ferrous metal for large obverse dies appears to have been considered sufficient to outweigh the greater difficulty encountered in engraving ferrous dies and the deleterious effects of the early development of die rust. In contrast, the short-lived reverse dies, which received the hammer blow, and were thus prone to early breakage, were for the most part cut in bronze.

Conclusion

The episodic, small volume nature of each of Series 1 and 2 is consistent with their issuance from Karne, notwithstanding the doubt expressed by Duyrat on the attribution of these Macedonian imperial issues. Newell and Price considered the distinctive Aradian style of Series 1 and 2 to be beyond doubt, localising the issuing location to somewhere in northern Phoenicia. Based on recent die studies, the affinity of Series 1 with the earliest issue of Arados II, and that of Series 2 with the later issue of Arados I is compelling. The noted affinities, plus the small maritime distance of 10 km that separated Arados and Karne, suggest a strong temporal and spatial relationship between the two. Moreover, the episodic nature and small volume of Series 1 and 2, together with absence of denominations other than the tetradrachm makes their attribution to another regional centre unlikely. They each have the characteristics of a short-lived coinage struck to meet a need for imperial tetradrachms to settle short-term obligations. The recognition of a ferrous tetradrachm die to strike Series 2 strengthens the association of the minting location with nearby Arados, for it was in this city that the first use of ferrous dies in Alexander's coinage occurred.

Supporting the Karne attribution is a Greek monogram **K** displayed on the left field of Series 1 and 2, deciphered by Newell as the first three letters of the city's name, superseded a century later by the **K A** rendering of city's ethnic on Series 3. The practice of identification of the issuing city with an abbreviation of the city's name is paralleled by all but one of the other contemporary Macedonian imperial mints in Phoenicia and Syria.⁴⁵ This practice continued a century later, with all the regionally co-ordinated issues from the cities of the Aradian Peraia dated to year 35 (225/4 BC).

The observed parallels in the development of style that occurred with the contemporary issues from the mints at Arados is best explained by the ephemeral mint at Karne drawing on the resources of the larger nearby mints at Arados. A die engraver may have been seconded from Arados to Karne for each of the brief periods of mintage of Series 1 and 2. Alternatively, purpose cut dies may have been engraved initially at Arados II for Series 1, followed some years later by engraving at Arados I for Series 2, with the dies then shipped the short distance to Karne for the mintage of each series.

Most definitely, the existence of an extensive contemporary coinage from nearby Arados did not preclude the episodic issuance of coinage from Karne in the period c. 327-320 BC. This is amply demonstrated by the fact that a century later Karne issued a similar coinage in support of the campaign of Seleukos III into Asia Minor,

⁴⁵ The exception being Tyre the coinage of which carried the Phoenician abbreviation (letters *ayin*, *kaph*) of the name 'Ozmilk (Azemilkos in Greek) the Tyrian vassal king, accompanied by a regnal year date applicable to his era. Le Rider 2007, 125-134.

notwithstanding the regional influence and dominance of Arados. As Newell⁴⁶ noted we are left with no alternative to Karne as a viable option for the attribution of the 'Alexanders' solely bearing the **K** monogram and no other mintmark. However, on the weight of iconographic and stylistic evidence from Series 1-3, the utilisation of Aradian mint resources in the mintage of each series is likely, thus explaining the strong affinities noted in the die study.

Acknowledgements

This study was facilitated by the American Numismatic Society's PELLA online database.⁴⁷ Images of coins from the collections of the American Numismatic Society, the British Museum, the Bibliothèque nationale de France Cabinet des Médailles and the Münzkabinett Berlin, are reproduced from the PELLA online database under the Open Data Commons (ODC) Open Database License (ODbL) v1.0.⁴⁸ Additional images are reproduced with the permission of the applicable numismatic dealers noted in the catalogue, including the general permission for reproduction of images from the Classical Numismatic Group Inc. (CNG) www.cngcoins.com. Associate Professor Kenneth Sheedy, the Director of the Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies (ACANS) brought the Nicholson Museum specimen of Series 1 to my attention and the latter kindly consented to the reproduction of its image.

Author

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⁴⁶ Newell 1923, 117-119.

⁴⁷ <http://numismatics.org/pella/> accessed 22 October 2018.

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Karne Alexanders Plate 1

Series 1



1



2



3



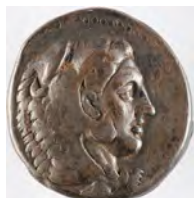
4



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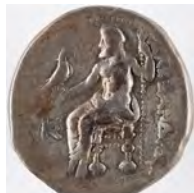
A

Arados II



B

Salamis



Karne Alexanders Plate 2

Series 2



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



C - Arados



Karne Alexanders Plate 3

Series 3



22



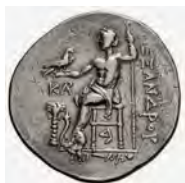
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26



27



Series 3 Drachms



28



29



The so-called Porus medallions of Alexander the Great – crucial historical numismatic objects or clever counterfeits?

Michael E. Habicht, Andrew M. Chugg,
Elena Varotto, Francesco M. Galassi

Abstract

The paper discusses the so-called Porus medallions associated with the military campaign of Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) in northern India, and specifically with the battle of the Hydaspes in the early Summer of 326 BC. At the present time, three types of silver medallion (of coin weight) and a unique gold medallion are known. We assess the propaganda message, and the doubts concerning the authenticity of some of these types.

Keywords

[Porus Medallion] [Alexander the Great] [decadrachms] [Mir Zakah] [elephant tetradrachms] [Oxus hoard] [Babylon hoard] [Hydaspes]

1. Introduction

In a recently held auction (Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 114, 6-7 May 2019) several highly important coins of Alexander the Great were put up for sale. The coins are the medallion of the Indian archer / elephant (called the archer type in this paper and variously described as of tetradrachm or 2-shekel weight – see Holt, 2003, pp. 93-94, 99-100, 102-103, 108, 134, 136, 139, 149) and the elephant / chariot type (termed the chariot type – see Holt, 2003, pp. 94, 99-100, 108, 118, 136-137, 139, 149, 154-155). This discussion has additionally been stimulated by the discovery of a golden medallion, vaunted to the public as the ‘only authentic life-time portrait of Alexander the Great’ (Bopearachchi and Flandrin 2005; Bopearachchi and Holt 2011; Sunday Times, Sri Lanka 2011); Several reviews and articles by numismatists (Hurter 2006; Fischer-Bossert 2006) and Alexander the Great experts (Chugg 2007) questioned the authenticity of the gold medallion or even rejected it as a forgery. The recent offer of some of these coins for sale in spring 2019 provides a timely opportunity to reassess the whole mysterious story of this coin series. These rare and distinctive coins are considered to be of the highest historical importance and over the years several clusters of these coins have turned up, mainly with provenances from hoards discovered in the Middle East (Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan). The assessment of the medallions is however complicated by the lack

of formal archaeological documentation of their exhumation. It is distinctly possible that unrelated coins and forgeries were interspersed among authentic originals as they entered the international numismatic art market.

1.1. The Oxus hoard (1877)

The Oxus hoard was discovered around 1877 in Afghanistan by local dwellers who sold the gleanings to travelling merchants (Holt 2003, Ch. 2; Holt and MacDonald 2005; Pieper 2013, p. 625). On their way to Pakistan, the caravan was assaulted by Ghilzai raiders but at least a part of the treasure was seized by British colonial forces only to be dispersed again among local bazaars. A few years later, uniquely important medals of Alexander the Great came to the attention of scholars and were donated to museums, notably the supposed Decadrachm known as the Franks Medallion and believed to depict Porus and Alexander. The Oxus hoard is listed in the Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards (IGCH) as number 1822 (although the notes do not appear to mention the Franks Medallion specifically and the dating is 1887, when the travelling merchants dispersed the hoard).

1.2. The Babylon hoard (1973)

A large hoard of silver coins was found in Babylon (Iraq) in 1973, which had been buried in the years 323/322 BC, directly after the demise of Alexander the Great (Holt 2003, App. C; Pieper 2013, p. 625). The treasure contained seven decadrachms of the Porus type and a few of the tetradrachm types. The dating of the hoard contradicts older interpretations that the Porus medallion was minted some years after Alexander's death by Seleucus I (Jenkins and Küthmann 1972, p. 273). Martin J. Price gives more details about the hoard (Price 1991): It seems to be the cache of one individual or a small group of men, which reflects the entire itinerary of Alexander's campaigns (from Macedon, Cos, the Levant, Babylon, India and the return to Babylon). The hoard contains a coin of Cos and one of Philip II, some coins from Phoenicia, Babylonian imitations of Athenian coinage, Lion and Baal coins of Satrap Mazaeus (Babylon), a great number of tetradrachms of Alexander (all lifetime issues), eight regular decadrachms of Alexander the Great (same design as his regular tetradrachms with Heracles in a lion scalp on the obverse and a seated Zeus on the reverse) and an impressive and comparable number of Porus medallions. It is significant for the dating, that no coin in the name of Philip III is attributed to the hoard, which is now dispersed all over the world. The hoard cannot reasonably therefore date much after 323 BC. Most coins were sold on the art market in the 1970s, but some coins that entered the market in 1989 are also attributed to the Babylon hoard (although it is uncertain whether that is their true provenance). Regarding the Porus medallions that are the focus of this article, the following examples are recorded as having been found in the 1973 Babylon hoard:

- 7 five-shekel or decadrachm weight, evidently depicting Porus on his elephant (Figure 1). One more turned up in addition in 1989 (Price 1991, Plate 15, No.12). They were mostly sold in auctions. One of Price's 7 examples, Holt's F6, which entered the market in 1990, has since been deemed a forgery, its dies having been copied from a genuine example, Holt's E/A9, that had been auctioned in 1988 (Holt 2003, p.171-3).
- 11 two-shekel/tetradrachms of the archer type (Figures 2a and 2b): three turned up on the market in 1989, both in fine to very fine condition (Price 1991, Plate 15, No. 18 and 22). Two others were included in Gemini, Auction II, Jan 10, 2006, lots 145 and 146.
- And for the first time, 3 of the new two-shekel/tetradrachms of the chariot type were seen (Figures 3a and 3b). But only one was sold in the 1970s (Bank Leu 1975, 132, BSFN 1978, p. 405, 1), the two other coins appeared in 1989 and one of them found its way to the ANS collection (Price 1991, Plate 15, No. 26 and 27).
- The chariot type from the Prospero collection recently resold at the NAC auction is not recorded as being from the Babylon hoard. Price mentions that serious doubt was expressed regarding the authenticity of this new coin type at the time of its debut. It is recorded (Holt 2003, p. 92) that the 1973 Babylon hoard was found in two separate deposits – one context giving rise to greyish patinas and the other to reddish patinas. This dichotomy of the patinas is seen in most of the types found in this hoard including the Porus coins.

1.3. The Mir Zakah hoard (1947 and 1992)

The alleged find location of the hoard is Mir Zakah in Afghanistan, which is 50 km northeast of Gardez. The hoard was dredged from an ancient well on a pilgrim trail (about 100 km south-east of Kabul). The treasure was originally found in 1947 by local dwellers, and 13,000 coins were lifted from the well. Many coins found their way onto the art market (Fischer-Bosert 2006; Holt 2006; Pieper 2013). Shortly afterwards, a French excavation in 1948 was curtailed due to an unstable political situation. The first part of Mir Zakah hoard (Mir Zakah I) consisted of 5837 Indian bent bar coins, only 5 Greek examples, 2757 Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins and numerous later coins (4390 Scythian, 29 Parthian and 37 Kushan coins). The most recent coin was struck under the Kushan ruler Vasudeva I (c. 192-220 AD) (Pieper 2013, p. 623-4) roughly dating the terminus for the deposition.

The Mir Zakah II hoard was discovered in 1993/94 by local looters who extended the excavation of the site. It is reported that over 550,000 coins were found, comprising an exotic mix of mints and eras, spanning a period from the 5th Cent. BC to the 2nd Cent. AD (Sunday Times, Sri Lanka 2011; Pieper 2013, p. 624).

The numismatist Osmund Bopearachchi was shown over 50 kilograms of coins from various cultures (Indian, Greek, Seleucid, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian

and Kushans) in the markets of Peshawar, allegedly from the hoard, which was eventually dispersed all over the world. It has been suggested that three tons of this material is to be found in the tax-free zone of Basel Airport (Switzerland) (Pieper 2013, p. 624). The airport of Basel is located on French territory and the Swiss government does not list a tax-free zone for Basel (Zollfreilager Schweiz 2019), hence it must in fact be in either Geneva, Zurich, Chiasso, Lausanne or St. Margreten near Austria or else the coins are in France. Bopearachchi and Flandrin also found out that part of the Mir Zakah II hoard is in the Miho Museum in Koka (near Kyoto, Japan, www.miho.jp; Bopearachchi and Flandrin 2005). Silvia Hurter on the other hand claimed, that at least some coins in the Miho Museum must be forgeries (Pieper 2013, p. 624).

It should be noted that everything we know concerning the Mir Zakah II hoard stems from only one person: Osmund Bopearachchi (Fischer-Bossert 2006). He reported unpublished types, previously unknown rulers and overstruck coins affording interesting insights into the chronology. From this hoard Bopearachchi also traced the famous 'gold medallion' of Alexander (Figure 4), which eventually found its way into private ownership in London. It is far from certain whether this is its true provenance or merely an invented pedigree.

Fischer-Bossert also criticised the first part of the monograph on the gold coin (Bopearachchi and Flandrin 2005) as a thrilling story in the style of Arthur Conan Doyle's *Sign of the Four* (although it should be allowed that Flandrin is a journalist writing in a popular style intended for a general audience rather than for specialist numismatists). Hurter also adds that the book was written in great haste as the authors returned in February 2005 from their trip to the location and the book was published and on sale in August 2005 (Hurter 2006).

2. Material

(Diameters and weights of key coin examples are cited in Table I)

2.1. The Regular Coinage of Alexander, and Ptolemy as Satrap

The very common regular tetradrachms of Alexander (see example in Figure 5) have an obverse that depicts Heracles wearing the scalp of the Nemean lion. This obverse had already been used on Macedonian coinage for around a century in Alexander's time. It alludes to the claim of the kings of Macedon to have been descended from the kings of Argos and therefore ultimately from Heracles. However, Alexander introduced a novel reverse for his tetradrachms. This is considered to be a seated Zeus holding an eagle, but it is now generally accepted that Alexander borrowed the design from the depiction of Baal on coins issued by Tarsus in Cilicia, probably after he had conquered Tarsus in 333 BC (Troxell, 1997, p.82). Late in his reign Alexander also minted (probably at Babylon) a small series of regular decadrachms with exactly the same designs as his

regular tetradrachms. After Alexander's death Ptolemy became the ruler of Egypt. Initially he continued to mint regular Alexander tetradrachms at Memphis, but perhaps as early as 321 BC and very probably by 320 BC he began to issue tetradrachms with a radical new obverse depicting Alexander himself wearing an elephant scalp. This is an extrapolation from the preceding Heracles-wearing-a-lion-scalp design on the one hand, whilst constituting a specific tribute to the freshly deified Alexander and his conquest of India on the other. It is tempting to suppose that this new obverse copies the head of a cult statue of Alexander commissioned to decorate his tomb, which Ptolemy had established at Memphis in 321-320 BC (Curtius 10.10.20, Parian Marble, Pausanias 1.6.3, Armenian Alexander Romance 283). For a while these new tetradrachms retained Alexander's seated Zeus reverse (with the interesting addition of a thunderbolt). However, around 315 BC Ptolemy revised the elephant scalp obverse and replaced the seated Zeus with Athena Alkidemos (Defender of the People) flinging a spear, perhaps commemorating the outcome of the battle in 317 BC for control of Alexander's empire between Queen Olympias, mother of Alexander, and Queen Adea-Eurydice, who was married to Alexander's mentally impaired stepbrother, Philip Arrhidaeus. The second type of elephant-scalp obverse has many distinct differences from the earlier type: the later aegis has scales, but the earlier none, the elephant's ear has a different design and the wrinkles on the later type elephant scalp are more concentrated into an area just above the trunk (see Figure 6 comparing the two types).

2.2. The Alexander-Porus type (*Decadrachm* or *5-Shekel*) (see Figure 1)

Obv: Rider with Phrygian helmet attacking from l. with a long lance and an elephant that is moving towards the l. On the elephant are two men with beards and oriental caps. The one standing behind the neck of the elephant is aiming to throw a spear down at the rider, grasping another spear and a goad in his other hand. The seated mahout appears to have been speared by the rider's lance. In the field above the rider and elephant the monogram Ξ (Xi). A band of beading surrounds the scene.

Rev: Warrior standing with Phrygian helmet, linethorax, chiton towards l., holding a long lance in his left and in his extended right hand a thunderbolt. He is clearly identical with the rider on the obverse. A small Nike flying from l. crowns him with the laurels of the victor. In some well-preserved examples, in the field before the legs of the warrior the monogram BA, a combined capital Alpha and Beta, where the B is reversed and conjoined with the leading oblique of the A can be seen; on the Franks medallion there is a second faint B on the trailing oblique of the A – this was long ago read as BAB, encouraging the view that these coins were emitted by Alexander's Babylonian mint, but it is now understood with reference to other examples, and also the archer type, to have been an error only partially erased by the die cutter/engraver (Chugg 2007). Clearly, this fussiness suggests that it was important to the commissioner of these coins

that the B should precede the A, which is a clue as to its correct interpretation. Beading frames the scene.

Remarks: At least 10 coins are known, seven of them from the single 1973 Babylon hoard. Nine of the examples of this type have the same obverse die, but there are six different reverse dies in line with the fact that obverse dies for Greek hammered coins were fixed in substantial blocks and therefore were less liable to suffer cracking and other damage than the hand-held reverse dies and consequently lasted for several times as many strikes. This is a strong intrinsic reason to believe in the basic authenticity of this type, since it is most unlikely that a forger would be so sophisticated as to reproduce this imbalance in obverse versus reverse die numbers. These die numbers and their mix would tend to suggest that the Porus decadrachm was produced in as many as twenty thousand strikes (modern studies suggest that a good obverse die could last for 20,000 strikes (Taylor 2018, p. 25), but reverse dies were only good for about three thousand strikes (Taylor 2018, p. 27)). We would favour a more modest reverse to obverse die ratio of around three to one.

All preserved examples have pronounced signs of circulation and range from fine to very fine. None of the coins classified as genuine is extremely fine. There exist at least a further nine examples that have been condemned as forgeries on excellent grounds – traces of acid aging and suchlike indications (Holt 2003, p. 171-2). The patina ranges from grey-black to reddish black, reflecting the origin of most samples in the two separate 1973 Babylon deposits. The production quality is relatively poor: for example, many of the specimens have poorly centred strikes. However, the die engraving can be seen to have been very fine and detailed in the best-preserved examples: for instance, the Porus decadrachm that Holt references as E/A6 from the Nelson Bunker Hunt collection has exquisite detailing in the Alexander figure on its reverse: individual hairs of the helmet crest can be discerned. This begs the question of who engraved the archetypes for Alexander's coin dies. The usual answer is that it was Alexander's court gem carver, Pyrgoteles. He is named by Pliny along with Alexander's court sculptor, Lysippus, and his court painter, Apelles:

The same ruler [Alexander] issued an edict that only Apelles should paint him, only Pyrgoteles should engrave him and only Lysippus should cast him in bronze: these artworks are famous thanks to many examples. (Pliny the Elder, Natural History 7.125 & 37.8 & also Apuleius, Florida 7).

Since the three artists are stated to have been granted exclusive rights to create official images of Alexander, we should expect that they (or at least some of their skilled assistants) travelled to India with the rest of Alexander's retinue. Otherwise it would appear as though Alexander, a man deeply concerned with projecting his image before his subjects, renounced any ability to generate official portraits of himself during the

several years of his Indian campaigns. But in fact, the very existence of the Porus decadrachms tends to contradict this.

Alexander employed Eumenes (Athenaeus 434B) and Callisthenes (Ovid, *Ibis* 517-8 & Scholium) to maintain written records of his campaigns, the latter with propagandist features: clearly it was equally the king's intention that his similarly appointed visual artists should produce complementary visual records to complete the documentation of the expedition. The *quid pro quo* for their exclusive contracts must have been that they (or at least their assistants) should accompany him everywhere. Nor, having secured such exclusive rights, would it have made economic sense for the artists to abandon Alexander's service and their guaranteed revenue stream for the entire three years of the king's campaigns in India. There is also evidence that Greek artists and performers travelled with Alexander in India, because musicians (pipers, flautists and lyre players) accompanied his *comus* (revelling in the course of a procession) through Carmania just weeks after his dramatic emergence from the Gedrosian desert in returning from India and the king held theatrical, singing and dancing contests in the Carmanian town of Salmous immediately afterwards (Plutarch, Alexander 67). This was too soon after his unexpected return for artists from the West to have reached Alexander.

2.3. The archer type (tetradrachm or 2-shekel) (see Figures 2.a and 2.b)

Obv: A bearded archer with oriental cap and short tunic is shooting to r. The enormous bow rests on the ground. In the field behind his legs the monogram BA. Beading with large beads frames the scene.

Rev: Elephant standing to r., in the field beneath its feet a Ξ monogram.

Remarks: All reported coins show signs of protracted circulation and are preserved at between a good fair and a very fine state. The execution of the elephants sometimes seems somewhat clumsy, as if the die-cutter was not familiar with the anatomy of this kind of beast. However, bows as tall as their archers with their foot rested on the ground are recorded by one of the Alexander historians as having been used by the Indians at the Battle of the Hydaspes. Curtius 8.14.19: *Neither were even their arrows of any use to the barbarians. Since they were long and ponderous, unless the foot of the bow were braced against the ground, they could not be properly fitted and nor could the bow be readily drawn. As the soil was slimy, it hampered bow-bracing, so that whilst struggling to shoot they were overrun by their impetuous opponents.* (transl. Andrew Chugg) The patina of these decadrachms ranges from grey-black to reddish black reflecting the origin of these coins from the two deposits of the 1973 Babylon hoard. The coin offered at the NAC sale in 2019 is a piece known since 1974 and has been sold several times (NFA V auction 1978, Lot 82; NFA XXV 1990, Lot 82; New York Sale XXVII 2012: the Prospero collection, Lot 305). Thus, the coin cannot originate from the Mir Zakah II hoard and

the timing of its appearance tends to link it with the Babylon 1973 hoard. According to the NAC catalogue, the obverse die is the same as the one used for the coin mentioned by Price (1991, p. 70, Fig. 18).

2.4. The chariot type (*Tetradrachm* or *2-Shekel*) (see Figures 3.a and 3.b)

Obv: An elephant striding fast to r. with two riders on its back and neck. The one on the back holds a streamer on a pole, resembling a flag and the man turns his head rearwards as though being pursued by an invisible foe. The man seated on the neck of the elephant wears a high turban and holds a goad (*ankusa*) as also seen in the hand of Porus on the decadrachm obverse. Instead of beading around the scene, a solid line encircles the design (we are not aware that this is seen in any other issues associated with Alexander). No BA monogram is visible on the known examples.

Rev: A Quadriga driving fast towards the r. A driver and an archer standing in a light chariot construction, the archer is shooting to the r. at an invisible enemy. No Ξ is visible on any of the known examples.

Remarks: Very few coins of this type are recorded. We are aware of only three. The coin in the American Numismatic Society collection has a massively off-centre reverse face with a deep test cut. The coin offered at the NAC auction is better preserved. There are slight differences between the NAC and ANS coin dies especially on the chariot side. Holt records only one obverse die, but two reverse dies and he confirms that the NAC auction example (Holt ref. E/C2) has a different reverse die from the ANS coin (Holt ref. E/C3). However, Holt was not aware that the die axis of E/C2 is the aligned 12:00, although he records that both the other examples E/C1 and E/C3 have 12:00 axes (Holt 2003, p. 168). This is highly significant new information, courtesy of the recent auction. Two examples might have 12:00 axes by chance, but if all three known examples share a 12:00 axis, that strongly suggests it is a characteristic of the type. The particular significance of this fact is that both the Porus decadrachms and the archer tetradrachms have random coin axes (Holt 2003, p. 167-8). Furthermore, regular tetradrachms and decadrachms issued by Alexander's Babylon mint have random die axes from early in the history of this mint (die alignment seems to have been abandoned at Babylon from the Group 2 tetradrachms onwards following a relatively small Group 1 series (Taylor, 2018, p.24)) and all the Alexander series studied by Troxell had random die axes (Troxell, 1997, p.xvi). *The strong inference is that the chariot type was not issued by the same people as produced the Porus archer and decadrachm types and was therefore probably not issued by Alexander the Great.*

Once again, the patina ranges from grey-black (NAC piece) to reddish black (ANS piece). The ANS coin came into the possession of the society in 1990, after having been sold at Spink & Son Auction 71, Lot 48 (9th Nov. 1989). It is a matter of mere speculation

that it derives from the Babylon hoard (1973) (Price 1991). The NAC coin was sold in the past in the New York Sale XXVII, Lot 306 (2012, the Prospero collection). It is further recorded, that it was previously purchased privately from Spink & Son.

2.5. The gold coin depicting Alexander and an elephant (see Figure 4)

Obv: A beardless head of a young male wearing an elephant's scalp to r.; around his neck is an Aegis with scales. Fine beading around the scene. In the area of 3-5 o'clock there are faint traces of a double striking of the beading.

Rev: An elephant gently walking to the r., above its back the monogram Ξ (Xi). Below the feet of the elephant the other monogram BA in the familiar conjoined form. On close inspection, the line of the B at the side of the A is unusually small and contracted towards the leading oblique of the A. Compared to the silver coins described above, the elephant is outstandingly plastic and far more realistic than most other ancient coin depictions of this animal with the exception of its having been given bat-wing ears. Fine beading around the scene.

Remarks: The coin has a weight of 16.75 grams and a diameter of 19 mm (Pieper 2013, p. 625). Obverse to reverse position (die-axis) is 12:00 (Chugg 2007; Pieper 2013). This medallion or coin has a content of 97.7% gold, 1.8% silver and 0.4% copper plus the usual group of trace elements typical for ancient gold (Pieper 2013, p. 629): a non-destructive Laser Ablation Inductively Coupled Plasma Mass Spectrometry (LA-ICP-MS) analysis of the composition revealed more details of the trace elements platinum and palladium. In comparison to other gold coins of Alexander, Persian darics and gold staters struck in Bactria by Antiochos I and II and Diodotus, the 'Alexander medallion' has a higher concentration of palladium, suggesting that it was not made from Persian or Bactrian gold. The composition closely resembles the metal used in later Kushan empire gold dinars from the time of Vasudeva I (c. 192-220 AD). These later Kushan empire gold coins were made from Indian gold, after the Kushans had lost control over Bactria to the rising Sassanid Empire. It is quite likely that the 'Alexander medallion' was similarly made of gold from India.

3. Discussion

It is claimed by some numismatists, that the four different coin types are from a single series, telling the story of the battle at the Hydaspes (Jhelum River) where the huge battle between Alexander and Porus took place in 326 BC. It is generally and reasonably assumed that the decadrachm celebrates this victory of Alexander.

It is, however, a bold claim that the unique gold medal shows the only lifetime depiction of Alexander known to exist today. It is further claimed, that Ptolemy I adopted the general elephant scalp motif for his first series of tetradrachms during his time as satrap of Egypt shortly after Alexander's death c. 321 BC, but neglected to copy the gold Porus

design precisely (for example, the scaling on the aegis) until he produced a second series of elephant scalp tetradrachms around 315 BC, at which point it is supposed that he managed finally to perfect his imitation of the gold Porus obverse after a six-year-long artistic struggle by his engravers. A more straightforward alternative explanation to this step-by-step imitation of the Gold Porus design by Ptolemy would be that modern forgers ignorantly used the later and vastly more common elephant scalp design of Ptolemy as the model for their Alexander's lifetime counterfeit, thus creating an anachronism. The first series is rare today, because Ptolemy had most of the first series coins overstruck as second series coins, since he reduced the weight standard of his tetradrachms at that time: in effect a species of official coin-clipping.

3.1. The Alexander-Porus decadrachm type

The visual message for the ancient user of such a coin is obvious, if the individual had at least a faint knowledge of the heroic deeds of Alexander the Great: Alexander on Bucephalus attacks Porus on his elephant. Indeed, the man standing behind the neck of the elephant appears from the position of his projecting foot to be exceptionally tall, which is the main physical characteristic of Porus reported by the Alexander sources. The reverse depicts the outcome: Alexander as victor, holding the thunderbolt-weapon of his purported heavenly father Zeus, a thunderstorm having helpfully masked Alexander's advance across the River Hydaspes to confront Porus.

The decadrachms of Porus have been known since the 19th century and must be considered to be a genuine type, albeit there are some counterfeits on the art market (Holt, 2003, p.171). Some coins (notably the Franks medallion in the British Museum) must come from the Oxus hoard, unearthed by a spate of the River Oxus in 1877 (Holt, 2003, pp. 29, 31, 35-37, 40-45, 53-54, 94, 96). Others are from the 1973 Babylon hoard (Holt, 2003, pp. 92, 140, 147 and Appendix C) and more are rumoured to have emerged from Mir Zakah. The other specific reasons to consider the Porus decadrachms to be authentic include:

1. The genuine examples exhibit the correct imbalance between obverse and reverse dies.
2. They exhibit immaculately correct details of dress and equipment for the Alexander figure including the Phrygian helmet (like the helmet found in the tomb of Alexander's father) with two feathers (cf. Plutarch, Alexander 16.7: *Alexander was easily recognisable by his shield and by the crest of his helmet, which had wonderfully tall white plumes fixed to either side of it*), the corselet and the cavalry sarissa or xyston.
3. They have excellent and well-documented provenance from more than one independent source.

4. In the 1973 Babylon hoard they were found associated with about the same number, 8 according to Price (1991), of regular Alexander decadrachms using the Herakles with a lion-scalp obverse and seated Zeus reverse and the weight ranges of the two Alexander-decadrachm types are very similar. This evidence, taken together with the fact that the 1973 Babylon hoard dates to about the time of Alexander's death, strongly suggests that both types were minted under his direction. It is virtually certain that the standard decadrachms are authentic, so the Porus decadrachms should be granted the same degree of authenticity by virtue of their association in this hoard and their common standard of weight and flan/planchet dimensions. It is perfectly reasonable to describe these Porus coins as decadrachms in view of the fact that Alexander used the Attic drachm standard for his regular decadrachms.
5. The Porus decadrachms tie in perfectly with details of Alexander's campaign against Porus such as the assistance in masking his fording of the river that he received from a thunderstorm (e.g. Plutarch, Alexander 60.3-4 on the battle against Porus: *Then, on a dark and stormy night, [Alexander] took a part of his infantry and the best of his horsemen, and after proceeding along the river to a distance from where the enemy lay, crossed over to a small island. Here rain fell in torrents, and many tornadoes and thunder-bolts dashed down upon his men; but nevertheless, although he saw that many of them were being burned to death by the thunder-bolts, he set out from the islet and made for the opposite banks.*) These designs also reflect the known propaganda of Alexander's family in associating the reigning Macedonian monarch with Zeus, through the thunderbolt in this instance, and this link with the real Alexander is backed up by the existence of an ancient bronze statuette of the king carrying a lance and thunderbolt and an ancient gemstone engraved with a similar depiction of Alexander (Stewart 1993, plates 8a & 70).
6. The manufacture and patina of the genuine and well-documented examples meet all the stringent numismatic tests and criteria regarding fake-detection: there is enormous skill and experience at detecting fakes in the numismatic field and at least nine forgeries of the Porus decadrachm have been noted (Holt, 2003, p.171), but at least ten examples appear physically to be genuine (Holt, 2003, p.167).

3.2. The Archer Type

The coin offered at the NAC sale in 2019 was personally inspected by one of the authors, using a watchmaker lens and natural light. The observations are that there are some areas of weak minting, the head of the archer is not fully minted out and the patina is spotty. The coin flan is quite thick (c. 3mm) and the minting flawed. The reverse with the elephant has some odd details, since its ears resemble the wings of a bat. The flan rim is very flat and regular, with clear edges (about 90°) more resembling a modern machine-made coin and quite different from the other Greek coins in the same auction.

The visual message is only evident if one knows the details of Alexander's campaign in India and the weaponry used against him. One might ask, why the Macedonians depicted their foes this way and not as defeated enemies. The answer is that it was Alexander's deliberate policy to vaunt the prowess of his Indian enemies, because he had been accused by his own uncle a couple of years earlier of only having triumphed over the Persian Empire due to the weakness of its resistance. Alexander had been stung by a public comment by his uncle, Alexander of Epiros, that his uncle had fought against men in Italy whereas Alexander had only had women to oppose him in Persia (Curtius 8.1.37). Furthermore, Curtius 8.14.14 quotes Alexander as stating of Porus's army during the Battle of the Hydaspes: *At last I behold a trial worthy of my spirit, since I am up against both monstrous beasts and warriors of prowess.* (trans. Andrew Chugg). So, the king is actually quoted glorifying his opponents in India by one of our best ancient sources.

The style and the depicted individuals are non-Greek and have no direct connection with Greek themes at that time. The connection needs to be made from a modern knowledge of the source texts on Alexander the Great. Some might also suppose that the idea of designing a set of coins telling a story from different angles is a modern approach, but actually Curtius in his *Deeds of Alexander* also has episodes where he describes parallel events at the court of Darius. The straightforward visual message for the average individual in antiquity would have been the depiction of heroic oriental Indians fighting an invisible enemy, although even a slave in Mesopotamia would have known that Alexander had defeated these warriors. But some have been concerned that the message of the coins would have been unclear to *hoi polloi*: the so-called 'Homeric groups' in sculpture, requiring literary knowledge of famous myths, is a late Hellenistic concept, not in existence in 323 BC.

Wilhelm Hollstein (1989) suggested an interesting solution for this problem: that as the coin type does not present the topic of victory by Alexander, the king would not have ordered the issue. He argues that its visual propaganda was not intended for the dwellers of Babylon, Susa or Persepolis, but for local dwellers in northern India and the soldiers in the army of Alexander. According to Curtius Rufus (8.12.15-16), the local ruler Taxiles handed over 80 talents of silver as a sign of friendship to Alexander. Curtius named it "signatum argentum", silver marked with a stamp (Curtius used the term in other places like that, e.g. ...*pecuniae signatae*... 3.13.16 and ...*L milia talentum argenti non signati forma*... 5.2.11). Hollstein speculated that the whole Porus minting was initiated by Taxiles for Alexander, as the usual inscription that appears on the Macedonian king's issues (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ) is entirely absent. While the depiction of Alexander would at least partly explain the absence of his name, it would make no sense on the "2-shekel" coins. The "2-shekel" coins would therefore depict not the foe (the army of Porus), but his ally Taxiles. In addition, he argued that the overall inferior production quality of all

the Porus coins speaks for a local issue, perhaps with the support of die cutters in the army of Alexander. Therefore, he supposes that the coins were minted before the Battle of the Hydaspes, as they depict the main units of the Indian armies: infantry with long bows, chariots, cavalry (Alexander himself) and elephants. The infantry in the end did not play a decisive role, and the elephants of Porus got out of control, inflicting collateral damage upon their own troops.

However, as we have already noted, the recorded annals of history refute Holstein's speculation that Alexander would not have wished to celebrate his enemy's prowess. Furthermore, Alexander befriended Porus immediately after the battle and made him his ally and vassal, subsequently considerably enlarging his realm. Therefore, vaunting his opponent's military skills in the archer type coin issue is precisely consistent with Alexander's stated policy. Nor is it possible to separate the origins of the archer type from the production of the Porus decadrachms, because of the shared BA monogram and the Xi and the fact that the two types were associated in the 1973 Babylon hoard and because both depict Indian troops. Since, as we have seen, it is highly probable that the Porus decadrachms were issued by Alexander himself, because of their close association with the standard Alexander decadrachms and because they clearly do depict and celebrate Alexander's victory over Porus, we are forced to conclude that the archer type was similarly issued by Alexander at the same time as the Porus decadrachms, and there was no reason from Alexander's point of view for them not to celebrate the forces of Porus, who had now become Alexander's own soldiers. Nor is it tenable that the Porus decadrachms depict events before the battle, since they show Alexander's lance transfixing the mahout on a fleeing elephant and the archer type clearly depicts war bows *in use*. The archer type has only three known obverse dies but nine reverse dies (Holt, 2003, p.167-8), so it exhibits the proper and genuine ratio of dies in common with the Porus decadrachms. It also exhibits the random die axis that is seen in the Porus decadrachms and in regular coin issues by Alexander. Furthermore, its examples exhibit the mix of reddish and greyish patinas that is characteristic of the two separate deposits in the 1973 Babylon hoard. Overall, it therefore seems necessary to conclude that the archer type is another small commemorative issue by Alexander himself that was produced simultaneously with the Porus decadrachms and is completely genuine and celebrates the king's victory in the Battle of the Hydaspes against a worthy opponent.

An objection to this conclusion has been the fact that the archer types have a weight distribution significantly below the standard Attic tetradrachm denomination of 17.2g. We have accurate weights for 9 of the 11 examples thanks to the diligence of Holt (2003, p.167-8). But is it actually true that the weight range of the archers is inconsistent with having been minted on the Attic standard? All examples show significant wear in parallel with genuine examples of the Porus decadrachms and careful analysis reveals that the distribution of the archer type weights below the tetradrachm standard closely parallels

the weight distribution of the Porus decadrachm type below the decadrachm standard, and the width of the spread of both distributions is consistent with the wear implied by assuming both types were minted on the Attic drachm standard. Furthermore, the archer type has roughly the same shape and size of flan as the regular tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, a point of some significance, since flan/planchet sizes were rather variable in the early Hellenistic period.

We are also fairly certain that the Porus decadrachms were minted on the Attic standard, since, as we have already pointed out, their weight distribution is extremely similar to that of the regular Alexander decadrachms, which must have been minted on Alexander's Attic standard (matching their tetradrachm archetypes). Therefore, the fact that the archer tetradrachms have a virtually identical wear distribution to the decadrachms on the assumption that both were minted to the Attic standard shows firstly that they too were indeed very probably minted on the Attic standard. Secondly, the fact that the wear distributions match so closely means that the circulation history of the Porus decadrachms and the archer tetradrachms must have been extremely similar. These two facts, added to the existing similarities in respect of the subject matter of the designs, the BA monogram and the Xi, enable us to conclude confidently that both the archers and the Porus decadrachms are genuine and were minted by Alexander the Great to commemorate his victory over Porus. It should be added that the extent of the circulatory wear on examples from the 1973 Babylon hoard dating to the time of Alexander's death suggests that the coins had already been in circulation for some years prior to his death. That would tend to push their minting back to the immediate aftermath of the Battle of the Hydaspes, when indeed their propaganda value to Alexander as a confirmation that he could triumph against very powerful enemy forces would have been at its highest pitch.

A corollary is that the BA monogram should be read as a contraction or abbreviation of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (of King Alexander), which was Alexander's preferred legend on his regular tetradrachms and decadrachms in the latter part of his reign (reflecting his adoption of the title King of Asia after the Battle of Gaugamela). Other explanations of the monogram, such as Andrew Stewart's suggestion (Stewart, 1993, p.205) that it might indicate the satrap Abulites, are rendered most unlikely by the close connection between the Porus decadrachms and the standard Alexander decadrachms revealed by our analysis.

It may also be added that the Macedonian shield obverse bronze coins (see Figure 7 in which the shield emblem is an eight-pointed star), which were once believed to have been from the Antigonid era, are now generally accepted as having begun to be minted under Alexander the Great (Price 419A; HGC 3.1, 965 (Alexander IV)). The letters BA

are commonly seen on the reverse of these coins on either side of a helmet and again we should infer that ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ was intended.

3.3. The Chariot Type

The second coin offered at the NAC sale in 2019 was also personally inspected by one of the authors. The observations are: the coin is notably thicker (c. 5mm), than the relatively thick regular tetradrachms of Alexander; once again, the flan rim is very flat, regular and has an angle of c. 90° resembling a modern coin (forgers, working with catalogues, without having seen a great number of ancient coins may often commit such clumsy errors at the rim, as the sides of coins are usually not depicted clearly in publications); details of the obverse are weak, especially the head of the second man on the elephant with the 'flag'; the reverse has a massive flan fault, a large piece of silver is broken out at the chariot, and a smaller breakout of material in the bodies of the horses can also be discerned; the heads of all horses are more rubbed off than the rest of the coin; the border around the scene is truly a continuous line, an uninterrupted curve and not merely a thin and worn band of beading (this is quite odd and without parallel within Alexander's coinage); due to its exceptional thickness, the flan diameter is only 22mm, significantly smaller than the regular flan size for Alexander tetradrachms of around 25mm diameter; the extended arm of the archer is not at all anatomical and just a bar rather than a true limb; the wheels of the chariot and the feet of the horses are not on the same ground level, giving the impression of a flying chariot (such a childish configuration error is hardly ever seen in authentic ancient Greek coins). The overall impression is of a totally non-Greek style coin. If the coin is indeed ancient, it should be regarded as a local minting of an Indian ruler in alliance with Alexander the Great. The reddish patina seen in the catalogue image is not discernible in natural light. The coin actually has a dark grey patina. There are significant concerns regarding the authenticity of this coin type. We summarise some of them:

- Only one coin has been attributed to the Babylon hoard, while the two others mentioned by Price in 1991 turned up only in 1989. It is quite unclear if they really were derived from the hoard. Thus, the whole attribution to the Babylon hoard depends on just one coin; and the hoard was distributed before being reliably documented. If it turns out that this single attributed coin might come from somewhere else (unrecorded provenance), the entire connection with an ancient, dated hoard would collapse.
- The usual beading around the scene is replaced in all known pieces with a continuous line. This design feature is atypical for an ancient Greek coin of this period.
- The typical monograms of the other coin types connected with Porus are invisible (or absent) as Hollstein highlights (1989, 12): the connection of this coin type is established only by motif and style, which can easily be forged to create exactly such

a connection. In a way it is like an unsigned painting in the style of a great master, intended to deceive the experts.

- The style is non-Greek and the design depicts non-Greeks.
- Whereas the elephants and their riders clearly echo the scene on the reverse of the Porus decadrachms, the two-man chariots cannot be those famously deployed by Porus during the Battle of the Hydaspes. We have an exact description of his chariots from an eyewitness (probably Onesicritus of Astypalaea) which has been preserved by Curtius 8.14.2-3: *Those contingents that [Porus] sent forward were commanded by his brother, Spitaces, with the greatest threat being posed by the chariots, each having a complement of six men. Two of these bore shields and a second pair were archers, stationed on either side of the vehicle. The others were the charioteers, though not disarmed by their duties; for in close combat they would lay aside the reins and fling showers of javelins upon their enemies.* (trans. Andrew Chugg).
- The propagandistic message for an ancient individual is not clear, except that it might be Alexander celebrating the prowess of his opponents at the Hydaspes, but that would require that the chariots were those used in the battle and they are not.
- All three known examples of these coins have a 12:00 regular die axis, which is inconsistent with an issue by Alexander, yet, if genuine, it has to be an issue by Alexander because of the alleged association with the Porus decadrachms and archer types in the Babylon hoard and because the elephant scene obviously echoes the elephant scene on the Porus decadrachms.
- The coins seem to be lacking any confirmatory metal analysis, as suggested by Bracey (2011) to test such coins with unclear provenance.

Thus, we see there are contradictions thrown up by the coins themselves and the reported facts of the coins' discovery, which would be best resolved by concluding that they are fakes. Based on such concerns, and the fact that the coin type is far from being archaeologically documented in a sound manner, their authenticity can be best classified as 'dubious'. However, some features speak for authenticity: the possible association with the Babylon hoard; the fact that the ANS example is off-centred, badly worn in key areas and has a huge test gouge, all features that undermine market value and are therefore anathema to most forgers (although the ANS example could be explained as a test piece by forgers as yet poorly practiced in coin hammering techniques). If this type is indeed ancient, we need to look for an alternative explanation for its production than that it formed a part of Alexander's Porus tetradrachm production. Perhaps Alexander's Porus coinage inspired the local allies of Alexander to mint coins of the chariot type along the lines proposed by Hollstein, who might even be right that these coins are the silver given to Alexander before Battle of the Hydaspes by Taxiles (in which case the elephant designs on the Porus decadrachms were inspired by the chariot type rather than vice

versa). Or else Stewart could even be right that they are the coins minted for Alexander by Abulites, although in that case ironically lacking the BA monogram.

3.4. The Gold Coin Depicting Alexander and an Elephant

The gold coin has had an ongoing debate on its authenticity. The review article of Robert Bracey (2011) discusses the various positions. Frank Holt argued that one should be prepared to accept a dubious coin to avoid the more severe error of wrongly dismissing a genuine coin. Other positions by experts are problematic, e.g. Andrew Stewart argued that the coin is genuine as ‘fakers are seldom intellectually adventurous, still less brilliantly intuitive’ (Bracey 2011). But Bracey rightfully criticised the position that academics are smarter than forgers, too smart to be fooled. For example, if a forgery fulfils the wildest dreams of an expert, caution might be thrown overboard in the hope of being able to present a sensation. Bracey further undermines the coin of Alexander with the observation that Bopearachchi demonstrably presented other forgeries as genuine (Bracey 2011, n.1). François de Callatay (2013) dismissed the extreme positions and argued for a categorisation of ‘possible’. The results are similar. It is possible that the coin once was part of the Mir Zakah hoard. It is also possible that a coin can be well centred, have a 12:00 die axis and no signs of circulation. 38% of the Porus decadrachms are also in a 12:00 die axis (de Callatay 2013). Only the product of the probabilities, giving the likelihood of all factors being true simultaneously, is unlikely (just as throwing a die for a single six is 1 in 6, but six successive sixes is highly improbable: $1/6^6$ or 0.0000214); de Callatay suggests that the overall chance of the coin being genuine is 1 in 500 (interestingly, his main concern is about the curiously carved BA monogram). So, although the many arguments for forgery are individually inconclusive, the cumulative likelihood of the gold Porus being a genuine coin is close to nil.

Other experts have expressed various concerns summarised as follows:

- This unique coin is without any certain pedigree, everything depending on a Pakistani informer claiming that he had seen the coin in the Mir Zakah II hoard (Fischer-Bossert 2006; Hurter 2006).
- The coin is in about mint state in stark contrast to the worn condition of all genuine examples of the related types with not the slightest sign of circulation, although this is not impossible (de Callatay 2013). But how can a coin type with no evidence for it having entered circulation be the model for the coinage of Ptolemy I in far off Egypt and how could an uncirculated coin end up in an ancient well in remote rural Afghanistan? The story of this coin would have to be quite different from that of the other Porus types, while nevertheless it would meet up with some of the silver Porus types again in the well hoard.
- The inscription is neither Alexander’s standard imperial title (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ), nor does it follow the Porus-type pattern of one monogram on

each face, although it obviously begs us to connect the coin with the Porus type issues. The coupling of the monograms on one side is suspicious (Fischer-Bossert 2006).

- The weight of 16.75g is quite ambiguous; it could be a 2-shekel coin or a tetradrachm, but it is in mint state, so it is definitely not a tetradrachm or distater on the 17.2g Attic standard used by Alexander. For de Callatay this weight does not fit a tetradrachm standard, but rather a double daric. Its falling outside the weight standard of regular Alexander coinage should excite concern. Why would Alexander have changed his weight system for such a coin?
- The iconography has unusual features (Fischer-Bossert 2006). The elephant's scalp looks as though it has been copied from the second Alexander elephant scalp tetradrachm series of Ptolemy I minted after 315BC, a common type in contrast to the rare first series minted from 321-316BC, of which a numismatically naïve forger might not have been aware (Hurter 2006; Chugg 2007). The first elephant scalp tetradrachm series of Ptolemy has a plain aegis around Alexander's neck and only acquires a scaly aegis like the 'gold medallion' in the second series. It is virtually impossible that the medallion could have served as a model for Ptolemy, because he would have had to evolve an originally different design to match the gold Porus design in 315BC, which creates a horrible anachronism for a gold Porus supposed to have been minted under Alexander.
- The Laser Ablation Inductively Coupled Plasma Mass Spectrometry (LA-ICP-MS) revealed that the medallion is made of the same gold used by later Kushan Dinars. De Callatay (2013) emphasized the importance of such technological examination.
- The head resembles the head of Heracles on the Tetradrachms of Alexander minted in Memphis.
- We can add here that the 19mm diameter of the gold Porus is very close to the standard 18mm diameter of Alexander's regular gold staters, which it is odd because it is twice their weight and the flan is therefore twice the thickness: all other Alexander issues (notably including the silver Porus coins) scale-up both the diameter and the thickness proportionately so as to maintain the overall shape of the flan (ratio of the diameter to the thickness). For example, the Porus decadrachms are 2.5x the weight of the Porus tetradrachms, so the diameters of the former (~35mm) are wider than the latter (26mm) by a factor of the cube root of 2.5 (=1.357). If this scaling had been applied to the gold Porus coin as a distater, it should be 23mm in diameter. Alexander did in fact issue regular gold distaters of ~23mm diameter on a 17.2g Attic tetradrachm standard.

In conclusion, numerous experts have assessed the 'gold medallion of Alexander' to be a fake (Fischer-Bossert 2006; Hurter 2006) or at least highly dubious (Chugg 2007; de Callatay 2013).

4. Conclusion

The Decadrachm of Porus is confirmed as being a genuine coin type commissioned by Alexander for his troops and possibly minted in India shortly after the Battle of the Hydaspes, although a minting in Babylon around 326/5 BC is also feasible. However, the low quality of production (poor centring etc.) and the high degree of wear by the time of the Babylon hoard in 323/2 BC argues for an early striking “in the field”. Nevertheless, Alexander adhered strictly to his Attic weight standard for the flans for these ten-drachm coins, as he did for all his coin issues. The weight distribution and the flan shape of the Porus decadrachms precisely match the weight distribution and flan shape of the regular Alexander decadrachms and both decadrachm types were found in matching numbers (seven or eight examples of each) in the 1973 Babylon hoard dating to 323/2 BC.

The archer-elephant type is also confirmed as a genuine type and was also minted by Alexander the Great together with the Porus decadrachms. The justification is the close parallels between this type and the Porus decadrachm type in terms of hoard provenance, weight distribution, flan shape, motifs closely associated with the Battle of the Hydaspes, the usage of BA and E monograms and the unusual combination of a high standard of engraving with poor production quality. It is also highly consistent with Alexander’s recorded propaganda aim of vaunting the prowess of the enemies whom he had defeated.

Lacking proper provenance and in view of stylistic flaws, the elephant-chariot type remains dubious until further evidence for its genuine antiquity can be presented in the future. We have shown that it is not part of the Porus series issued by Alexander, since the recent auctioning of the third known specimen has confirmed that the die axes are all 12:00 aligned and both the Porus types and the vast majority of Alexander’s other coinage have random die axes. Additionally, its flan shape is substantially thicker than other Alexander tetradrachms including the Archer type. This is further confirmed by its lack of BA and E monograms, its strange borders and the 2-man chariots contrasting with the 6-man chariots reported to have been deployed in the Battle of the Hydaspes. It might, however, represent a local issue by some other potentate, who was either inspired by Alexander’s Porus issues or had perhaps even provided part of the inspiration for them, if issued by Taxiles.

In the case of the unique gold coin, we can present two possible scenarios based on the facts in our possession:

1. The coin is genuine. Alexander ordered its minting in northern India after the battle against Porus together with the decadrachm and Archer Porus types. He may have used gold from a mine in the vicinity. Alexander’s general Ptolemy kept one or two of

these gold Porus coins as mementos and he adopted a modified version of its obverse for the design on the obverse of his new series of silver tetradrachms minted from about 321 BC shortly after he became the ruler of Egypt in 323 BC. However, in 315 BC, having perhaps regretted deviating from the deified Alexander's original obverse elephant scalp design, he minted a second series of elephant scalp tetradrachms in which he reverted to a design that more perfectly imitated his souvenir gold Porus coins for a revised obverse. Also, in this general period, the surviving gold Porus coin was injected into the wishing well at Mir Zakah, perhaps by its original owner from Alexander's retinue. In the well it met up again with some examples of the silver Porus decadrachms.

2. The gold coin is a modern forgery. A first argument against the authenticity of this alleged 'gold medallion of Alexander' is the metallurgical composition (Pieper 2013, p. 629), which reveals that the forger would have been based in India or Pakistan and used some melted-down golden dinars of the late Kushan empire (quite a common coin with a modern value only a little above its intrinsic gold value, circa one hundred dollars per specimen) to produce the counterfeit. The Kushan coins were minted around four centuries after Alexander's time, so it is unlikely that the mines from which their gold was extracted would have been open in Alexander's era. The forger might have taken the inspiration for the portrait of Alexander from the famous Pompeii mosaic and/or the Heracles head from the Alexander tetradrachms from the Memphis mint and/or the small ivory head of Alexander from Tomb II at Vergina. In particular the elephant's scalp was copied in chronological error from the *second* elephant scalp tetradrachm series of Ptolemy I. Additionally, the weight standard for the gold coin is lighter than the weight standard for the silver Porus coins minted by Alexander in India and the diameter was not scaled up from Alexander's staters according to his standard practice of maintaining the flan shape for higher denominations including his regular gold distaters. Therefore, the gold coin is unlikely to have been minted by Alexander. A spurious provenance from the Mir Zakah hoard was claimed by the forger's agents and was believed and endorsed without supporting evidence or documentation by Bopearachchi and various other coin experts and historians, but in fact the mint state of the gold Porus is at odds with the view that it was transported by horse or cart or on foot over 500 miles from India to Mir Zakah, especially considering that Porus decadrachms said to have come from the Mir Zakah hoard are all well-worn.

We leave the reader to choose between these two hypotheses. In the recent NAC Auction 114, the archer type coin realised a hammer price of 70,000 Swiss Francs against a pre-auction estimate of 50,000 Swiss Francs. The chariot type example realised a hammer price of 55,000 Swiss Francs against a pre-auction estimate of 30,000 Swiss Francs. In

both cases it would seem that purchasers invested a high degree of confidence in the fidelity of these coins.

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Table I. Diameters of the discussed coin examples

Coin	Diameter (mm)	Source & Weight
Porus Decadrachm	35	Holt E/A2 & E/A1, 39.66g & 42.20g
Archer Type Example 1	22	Holt E/B5, 15.41g
Archer Type Example 2	26	Holt E/B8, Gemini II, 15.83
Chariot Type Example 1	24.4	Holt E/C2, 15.72g
Chariot Type Example 2 (ANC)	26.6	Holt E/C3, ANC, 16.2g
Gold Porus	19	Calculation from photo, 16.75g
Amphipolis Alexander Tetradrachm 324BC	24	Measured by AMC, 17.24g
Ptolemy Elephant Scalp Alexander Type 1	26	Measured by AMC, 17.04g
Ptolemy Elephant Scalp Alexander Type 2	30	Measured by AMC, 15.43g
Star Shield Bronze Type Example 1	12	Measured by AMC, 2.33g
Star Shield Bronze Type Example 2	12	Measured by AMC, 2.10g

Figures



Fig. 1. The Decadrachm type (Holt's E/A2 left with Holt's E/A1 right) Porus type in the British Museum, BM BM1887-6-9-1 (The Franks Medallion). PHGCOM (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alexander_the_Great_India_coin.jpg), "Alexander the Great India coin", <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Template:PD-self> https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1274498&partId=1&images=true.



Fig. 2a. The archer type. With permission of Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 114, Lot 123 (2019), 15.41g (Holt's E/B5).



Fig. 2b. The archer type, Gemini II Auction, Jan 10 2006, 15.83g (Holt's E/B8 which was sold in Gemini II with Holt's E/B11). неизвестен (https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Babylon_mint_Porus_coinage_326BC.jpg), "Babylon mint Porus coinage 326BC", <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/legalcode>.



Fig. 3a. The chariot type. With permission of Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 114, Lot 124 (2019), 15.72g (Holt's E/C2).



Fig. 3b. The chariot type. ANS (American Numismatic Society) Inv. 1990.1.1. Acquired: Spink and Son Auction 71, Lot 49 (9. Nov. 1989). Weight: 16.2g. Price, Mnemata, 15,27. (Holt's E/C3).
With permission of the ANS.



Fig. 4. The gold medallion of Alexander the Great. The new discovered 'Gold medallion of Alexander' as depicted in the paper of Andrew Chugg (Chugg 2007). As it is unique and the private owner cannot be traced, picture rights cannot be sought. We use the picture found under fair use (non-commercial and for a scientific purpose).



Fig. 5. A regular tetradrachm of Alexander the Great (Amphipolis mint circa 325-324BC - collection of Andrew Chugg).



Fig. 6. The two main types of Alexander-wearing-an-elephant-scalp tetradrachms minted by Ptolemy as Satrap of Egypt: earlier type above (c. 321-316BC) and later type below (c.315-305BC) from the collection of Andrew Chugg.



Fig. 7. Alexander the Great Star Embossed Shield Type Bronze Coins with the letters B and A either side of the helmet on the reverse (examples from the collection of Andrew Chugg).

A new coin type from Severan Jaffa

Rachel Mansfield

Abstract

This paper describes a previously incorrectly identified sixth coin type minted in Jaffa under the Severans. Three examples of this type have been identified. They were first catalogued by Hill in 1914 and published separately by Kindler and Meshorer in 1985, and later discussed by Ecker in 2010, but their reverses were inappropriately categorised as showing the figure of Athena. It is suggested here that a new type of Ares is depicted rather than Athena.

Key Words

[Severan Period] [Severan coinage] [Roman Provincial Coinage] [Syria-Palestine] [Severus Alexander] [Elagabalus] [Jaffa] [Yafo] [Ares] [Athena] [Perseus]

Background

The city of Jaffa lies on the Mediterranean coast, near the border of the Plain of Sharon and just beyond the Shephelah (Judean foothills). The city was prominent for two reasons: it was an important port connecting the Southern Levant to the broader Mediterranean economy and also lay on the main highway (Via Maris or Derek Hayom) connecting Mesopotamia and Egypt.¹ The city was established on a raised strategic section of land which protrudes into the Mediterranean Sea allowing a 360-degree view of the surrounds and providing natural defences.² These factors enabled it to thrive from the Bronze Age to the present day, with a densely populated city (Tel Aviv-Yafo) currently covering most of the ancient site.³

Despite millennia of prolonged wealth, the city minted coins in only three periods; in the Ptolemaic period (under Ptolemy II and III), the Severan period (third century CE), and in the Crusader period.⁴ The Severan coins are under consideration here. They are present in various collections.⁵ The earliest identification of coinage from Jaffa was made by G.F. Hill.⁶ The coins have also been analysed by Ecker, Kindler and Meshorer.⁷

1 Tsuf 2018, p. 9.

2 Aronson 2007, p.59; Burke & Peilstöcker 2014; Tsuf 2018.

3 Arbel 2016, p.173; Burke & Peilstöcker 2014; Foran 2011.

4 Meshorer 1985, p. 24.

5 See Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013; Rosenberger 1975.

6 Hill 1914

7 Ecker 2010; Kindler 1985; Meshorer 1985.

The five previously known types of Severan coinage minted at Jaffa were identified by Arie Kindler⁸ and Ya'akov Meshorer⁹ and consisted of: 1. Perseus; 2. a Horseman; 3. Athena; 4. a Bull; and 5. Tyche in a Tetrastyle Temple. The coins were minted between the rule of Caracalla (198-217 CE) and Severus Alexander (222-235 CE). The obverse types also include imperial women such as Julia Domna, Julia Maesa and Julia Paula.

An additional coin type

The figure represented as a new and sixth type has previously been identified as Athena. There are presently three known examples.¹⁰ The following are the details from the original published descriptions:

1. Obv: Bust of Elagabalus, laureate and draped to the right.
Rev: Athena standing left, helmeted, long staff in left hand and shield in right.
- - 19mm, bronze, Semis.
Ira and Larry Goldberg Coins and Collectables auction 41 lot 2726 (27 May 2007), Fig. 1.
2. Obv: Bust of Severus Alexander, draped and laureate to the right.
Rev: Athena standing left, helmeted, long staff in left hand and shield in right.
5.45g – (12), Semis.
Meshorer et al. 2013 Jaffa 22, Fig. 2.
3. Obv: Bust of Severus Alexander, draped and laureate to the right.
Rev: Athena standing left, helmeted, long staff in left hand and shield in right.
7.09g – (2), Semis.
Meshorer et al. 2013 Jaffa 23, Fig. 3.



Figure 1: Ira and Larry Goldberg
41 (27 May 2007), lot 2726



Figure 2: Meshorer et al. 2013
Jaffa, no. 22 ©ANS New York



Figure 3: Meshorer et al. 2013
Jaffa, 23 ©ANS New York

⁸ Kindler 1985.

⁹ Meshorer 1985.

¹⁰ With the kind help of Cecilia Meir and Donald Ariel (IAA) I was able to view the coins of Jaffa in two of the largest collections in Israel and this type was not found in either. Also, I wish to acknowledge that this trip was made possible by the award of an ACANS travelling scholarship.

In each of these examples, the reverse type was compared with the dies of coins issued by this mint that unequivocally depict Athena (Figs. 4-6). This coin type is found on at least 26 surviving coins of Jaffa; my studies have shown that at least six dies were employed. These dies all depict the standing figure of Athena, facing left, with a long staff in her right hand and resting a shield against the ground with her left hand.¹¹ This is roughly similar to the Figure on coins being discussed here. The body turns away from the side on which the spear is held. However, Athena wears a long *chiton*, whereas the figure on coins Figures 1-3 has two separated legs, indicating that he is male. We should therefore reject the proposal that Athena is depicted on coins with the reverse type under discussion.



Figure 4: CNG 415 (28 Feb 2018), lot 463 ©CNG



Figure 5: CNG 347 (25 March 2015), lot 43 ©CNG



Figure 6: Rosenberg 1975 Joppa, no. 9

Identification

An alternative identification could be Perseus, who had an important cult in Jaffa based on his mythological exploit saving Andromeda from sacrifice to a sea monster there. Historical sources mention rocks just outside the ancient harbour as the place where Andromeda was intended to be sacrificed.¹² The image of Perseus is clearly depicted on other coins from Jaffa in the Severan Period (see Figs 7 and 8). Could the figure on coins in Figures 1-3 be a poorly cut illustration of Perseus?

I have identified three dies with the Perseus type in use at the mint of Jaffa.¹³ There are crucial elements which were typically used to identify Perseus in ancient iconography. At Jaffa, Perseus is depicted striding forward, wearing the cap of invisibility lent to him by Hades on his head, the winged boots of Hermes on his feet, with a *harpe* (harpoon type weapon) in his hand, a knapsack slung across his chest and hanging behind his body and the decapitated head of Medusa always shown in his outstretched hand.¹⁴ These features are all missing from the type under investigation here, and therefore it is unlikely that the male figure is Perseus.

¹¹ Ecker 2010, p. 160.

¹² Hesiod, *Theogony* 270-294; Homer, *Illiad* 14.319-20; Pseudo-Scylax (4th Cent BCE); Ecker 2010, p. 154-155; Aronson 2007, p. 60; Notley 2011, p. 95.

¹³ The results of this die study will soon be published in my forthcoming PhD dissertation.

¹⁴ Ecker 2010, p.162; Kindler 1985, pp. 27-28.



Figure 7: Ecker 2010, no. 4



Figure 8: Meshorer et al. 2013
Jaffa, 16 ©ANS New York

A Hybrid type or fake?

Is it plausible that this male figure is a hybrid type, displaying features of both Athena and Perseus, and perhaps an error on the part of the ancient die engravers or a modern counterfeit? If this were the case, some iconographical features of both types would have still been present on the coins.¹⁵ Therefore, it is untenable that this was the work of inexperienced die cutters who made a mistake. Additionally, the reverse dies are struck with obverse dies which link them to other coins from Jaffa minted under the Severans, proving the dies are not fakes.¹⁶

The sixth Jaffa coin type

For these reasons, it seems probable that this coin should be identified as a new type from the Jaffa mint. A search for similar types in use at other mints in the Syria-Palestine Province, the Decapolis, and Provincia Arabia, was undertaken in the following sources: Bijovsky and Fischer-Bossert, 2013, *Coins of the Holy Land: The Abraham and Marian Sofaer Collection*, and Spijkerman, 1978, *The coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia*.

From this survey it is apparent that the proposed new coin type more closely resembles that of Ares, the half-brother of Perseus. Spijkerman features a coin minted under Julia Maesa which has a reverse described as a “warrior, wearing helmet, cuirass and boots, standing to front, looking left. His right hand rests on a spear pointing downwards, and his left hand is holding uncertain object” (see Fig. 9).¹⁷ This is a near-exact description of the identified coin type from Jaffa, and visually, the coins appear very similar. The coin was minted under Julia Maesa and is thus contemporary with the Jaffa examples.

15 I thank Prof. C. Howgego for discussing this possibility with me and for general comments on my study of the three coins under review.

16 The die link analysis of the coins of Jaffa will also be available in my forthcoming dissertation.

17 Spijkerman 1978, pp.52–53 Abila no. 17



Figure 9: Spijkerman 1978 Abila, 17

Closer to the city of Jaffa, Caesarea Maritima minted a similar coin showing Ares (Fig. 10).¹⁸ The reverse of this coin depicts a helmeted Ares, wearing boots, standing and facing right, holding a shield and a spear (it is unclear as to whether the spear is upside down or not). The significant difference from this coin from Caesarea Maritima is that the figure wears a *paludamentum* (cape or cloak). This example was minted under Trajan Decius (249-251 CE) a decade or two after those minted at Jaffa, but it illustrates the existence of depictions of Ares in the area in a similar period.



Figure 10: Meshorer et al. 2013 Caesarea Maritima, no. 111 ©ANS New York

The city of Samaria-Sebaste, which was connected to Jaffa through trade routes, minted numerous coins of a similar Ares type, all under the Severan emperors (Figs 11-13). Examples were minted under Geta (209-212 CE), Elagabalus (218-222 CE) and Julia Maesa, and depict Ares as nude, standing right, leaning on a spear and holding a *parazonium* (long dagger), and having a small round shield at his feet.¹⁹ Interestingly, this city sided with Septimius Severus in his war against Pescennius Niger in 193-194 CE, resulting in its being awarded colonial status following this victory, indicating its importance in the area.²⁰

18 Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.30, pl. 29 Caesarea Maritima no. 111.

19 Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.65, pl. 63-64 Samaria-Sebaste nos. 25, 31, and 36.

20 Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.63.



Figure 11: Meshorer et al. 2013
Samaria-Sebaste, no. 25 ©ANS
New York



Figure 12: Meshorer et al. 2013
Samaria-Sebaste, no. 31 ©ANS
New York



Figure 13: Meshorer et al. 2013
Samaria-Sebaste, no. 36 ©ANS
New York

The city of Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem), for which Jaffa functioned as the port city, also minted types of Ares in the reign of Antonius Pius which are iconographically similar to those of Jaffa studied here, see Figs 14 and 15. The type depicts Ares, helmeted, standing facing the front, holding a spear (it is unclear as to whether it is upside down) and resting on a shield.²¹



Figure 14: Meshorer et al. 2013 *Aelia Capitolina*, no. 30 ©ANS New York



Figure 15: Meshorer et al. 2013 *Aelia Capitolina*, no. 31 ©ANS New York

Finally, the city of Alexandria in Egypt, connected to Jaffa by the sea route of the Via Maris, minted coins of Ares with beautiful surviving examples, such as that in Figure 16. Alexandria minted these coins under Severus Alexander with Ares wearing a helmet and *paludamentum*, holding a long spear which is clearly upside down (like in Figs 1-3) and with a shield behind him in the right field.



Figure 16: CNG 403 (9 August 2017) lot 450 © CNG

²¹ Meshorer, Bijovsky & Fischer-Bossert 2013, p.82, pl. 72 *Aelia Capitolina* nos. 30, and 31

Additionally, Alexandria produced a coin series under Trajan which depicts both Athena and Ares standing, facing each other (Fig. 17). The similarity of the identifying features is noteworthy, but the dress is different, and Ares' spear faces downwards in this example. Regardless, the type is a good representation of the iconographic differences between Ares and Athena and strongly indicates that the type discussed here (Figs 1-3) is a depiction of Ares.



Figure 17: Naville Numismatics 38 (11 March 2018) lot 374 © Naville Numismatics

Conclusion

Arie Kindler was the first to identify the various types of Jaffa, and his identification of five types is preserved in more recent scholarship. Upon close examination of the coins, however, it is clear that examples of a sixth type have been identified wrongly as Athena. Instead, it seems that the three coins depict the war god Ares, with similar iconographic links to coin types in other surrounding cities. This new type should formally be described as follows: Nude figure of Ares, standing with helmeted head facing to the left; in his left hand he holds a long, downward pointing spear and in his right a shield.

Author

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A slogan on a Late Roman Republican *denarius*

Bruce Marshall

Abstract

The only words appearing on late Roman republican denarii following their introduction c. 211 BC were the legend ROMA and (eventually) long or short abbreviations of moneyers' names. A hundred years later a denarius was struck containing a further term, in this case PROVOCO ('I appeal'). The argument here is that this was a political slogan, reflecting concerns at the time about recent military failures, the consequent pressure from Roman magistrates to conscript more citizens, and an emphasis on the rights of citizens to call on tribunes to 'appeal' against these magisterial pressures. This use of an additional term on a coin set a precedent for a number of other denarii issued subsequently to include a slogan or descriptor.

Keywords

[*denarius*] [*tresviri monetales*] [*provocatio*] [P. Porcius Laeca] [T. Turpilius Silanus] [Q. Caecilius Metellus] [C. Marius] [M. Iunius Silanus]

A new silver coin, the *denarius*, was introduced at Rome about 211 BC, during the Second Punic War (218-202 BC). The standard obverse of this new coin had a helmeted head of Roma, with the legend ROMA and the letter X behind indicating its value.¹ This standard obverse type continued for nearly one hundred years

1 The new *denarius* contained an average of 4.5 grams, or 1/72 of a Roman pound, of silver. The X stands for its equivalence to 10 asses. The weight of the coin gradually diminished, and it was re-tariffed to 16 asses c. 141 (RRC 224/1) (with the symbol now of XVI or X with a dash through it). The new *denarius* was introduced as part of the overhaul of the coinage, alongside a short-lived silver coin called the *victoriatus*. The last coins of this latter denomination were issued around 179-170 (RRC 159/1, 162/1a-b, 166/1, and 168/1). The reason for the introduction of the *denarius* had to do with the economic exigencies caused by the seriousness of the war with Hannibal. See Crawford 1974: *Introduction*, vol. 1, pp. 32-3.

Throughout, coins are referred to by their numbering in the definitive collection of M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1974, with the abbreviation RRC. The images of the coin in Fig. 1 are taken from the Catalogue of Roman Republican Coins in the British Museum, and copyright is gratefully acknowledged by inclusion, as requested, of its accession number.

almost without variation.² The reverse initially showed the Dioscuri on horseback,³ and similarly this remained mostly the standard for about 45 years, though frequent even after that. Prior to the creation of the *denarius*, there were issues in gold (rare), silver, and bronze (the most common); some of these denominations, primarily the bronze coins, continued to be issued. The bronze coins in particular had a wider variety of images, primarily deities on both obverse and reverse.

Management of the minting of coins in republican Rome was in the hands of three annually elected officials called *tresviri monetales*.⁴ This office, along with other positions in the *vigintisexvirate*, was often held by young men to gain administrative experience, with some having the intention of moving on to further office (such as the *quaestorship*, usually held about the age of 30). Moneyers would usually be in their late 20's, and would have come from well-to-do families.

The first variation to the standard *denarius* with Roma and the Dioscuri came in c. 194-190, when on one issue (*RRC* 133/3) the Dioscuri were replaced by Luna in a *biga* (a two-horsed chariot).⁵ Images of other figures in chariots came to be used on the reverse of coins, though the Dioscuri were still common. Other deities also began to figure on the obverse, replacing Roma: for example, in 137 a bust of Mars (*RRC* 234/1), and a laureate head of Janus in 119 (*RRC* 281/1).

There were some additions to the standard type, commonly on the reverse. One sort of addition were simple signs, such as a corn ear, a dolphin, a prawn or a fly. It is unclear what these signs intended to convey. A second sort was monograms, and occasionally groups of 1-4 letters, but it is difficult to identify the moneyer from these. Later, from

2 Around 241-235 in the middle republic, the word ROMA had replaced an earlier ROMANO, which had been used on silver and bronze coinage in the early republic. The legend ROMA was put on the obverse from the beginning of the *denarius* coinage; later, on a *denarius* of 134 (*RRC* 244/1), the legend appeared for the first time on the reverse, and from then on it could be shown on either side (or in some instances, not at all: e.g. *RRC* 300/1, issued in 110 or 109).

3 According to legend (Liv. 2.19-21, Dion. Hal. 1.66), the semi-divine twin horsemen, the Dioscuri, appeared miraculously at Lake Regillus, in a battle fought against the tribes of the Latin League gathered by the ageing Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome, who had been expelled in 509 and who was trying to recover his throne. The Dioscuri saved the day for the Romans, who were fighting to preserve their recently established Republic. Interrupting the regular use of the Dioscuri on the reverse of the *denarius* were 11 instances of Luna in a *biga* and nine of Victory in a *biga* down to 143 (see n. 5 below).

4 Their formal title was the *tresviri a.a.a.f.f.* (an acronym for *aere argento auro flando feriundo* ('the three men for casting and striking of bronze, silver and gold')). See Hamilton 1969: 181-2; Lintott 1999: 140 for information on their appointment and function. The three *monetales* were grouped with the other minor officials in a body called the *vigintisexviri*.

5 The image of Luna in a *biga* (two-horsed chariot) was used ten more times on a coin reverse down to 150. An image of Victory in a *biga* occurred first on a *denarius* of 157-6 (*RRC* 197/1), and appeared another eight times in quick succession down to 149. In between these images the regular Dioscuri were used on the reverse. In 144 a series of unusual reverse images began: for example, Jupiter in a *quadriga* (four-horsed chariot) (*RRC* 221/1), Diana in a *biga* of stags (*RRC* 222/1), Hercules in a *biga* of centaurs (*RRC* 229/1), Juno in a *biga* of goats (*RRC* 231/1), and Apollo in a *quadriga* (*RRC* 236/1a-f).

the 190's on, a third sort of addition appeared: the names of moneyers in long or short abbreviations, making it easier to tell who they were. These three sorts of additions were not a linear development: symbols, monograms, letters, and abbreviated names appeared variously and in combination in successive mintages.

Realising the propaganda value of coins, *monetales* began placing on their coins not only their names, but also images which represented the achievements of their ancestors, as a way for the moneyer to point to the worth of his family – and therefore of himself as a potential candidate for office.⁶ These deeds of ancestors were illustrated on the reverse of the coin, while the head of Roma still appeared on the obverse. As the possibilities of propaganda value developed, the conservatism of standard obverse and reverse was abandoned, and a great multiplicity of types appeared, reflecting the individual concerns of the annually changing moneyers.⁷ Moneyers were presumably advised of the amount of coinage to be produced each year, by the Roman senate on the advice of the consuls (mainly for the purpose of funding military campaigns), but they seem to have been free to work out their own designs, allowing them to take advantage of the advertising possibilities.⁸

As Rome moved into the period of the late republic, from 133 to the decade after the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44, three trends emerged: one, a wider variety of deities and personifications replaced Roma; two, more recent, or even contemporary, deeds or events were depicted; and three, items representing personal achievements were shown. And there was another trend: written slogans or descriptors, with a specific reference to a political event or circumstance. These did not begin appearing until the very end of the second century, and not often for some time after that. Previously, the only words appearing on coins were the names of the moneyers (shortened or abbreviated), occasional acronyms (for example, AED. PL. = Plebeian Aedile, or S.C. = by order of the Senate), and the legend ROMA.

The earliest instance of a coin with a slogan is a *denarius* issued by P. Porcius Laeca: the date proposed by Crawford is 110 or 109.⁹ The obverse has a head of Roma as usual, with

6 Hamilton 1969: 181-199 argues that the use of coins for propaganda purposes grew gradually from the 140's, and was more noticeable from the 90's and 80's on, as moneyers came increasingly from known aristocratic families. Tables are included to show these trends. This is the traditional interpretation of many of the designs on republican coinage. However, Cheung 1998: 53-61, and Meadows and Williams 2001: 27-49 suggest that these representations should be seen in the context of a wider Roman cultural practice of honouring one's ancestors. Republican coins may not have been issued solely for the purposes of propaganda, but as a commemoration or *monumentum* for the family to which the moneyer belonged.

7 From about the 130s, while some conservatism persisted, there developed a multiplicity of images on both obverse and reverse: Howgego 1995: 67.

8 Lintott 1999: 140.

9 Various other dates are put forward: for example, see Grueber 1910: 2.301 (124-103), and Sydenham 1952: lx.78 (119-110). Crawford has the advantage of his extensive examination of coin-hoards for the dating of *denarii* and other coins, so his date for this coin is certainly more reliable.

ROMA above the head, and the moneyer's last name on the left, while the reverse has a figure in military dress, another in a toga, and an attendant holding rods, with the slogan PROVOCO (= 'I appeal') (see Fig. 1). According to legend the various laws ensuring *provocatio* ('the right of appeal') appeared early in republican history, arising out of conflict between the aristocrats and the plebeians (called the 'Struggle of the Orders'). In all likelihood they did not occur until much later: a *lex Valeria* in 300 (perhaps) and the Porcian laws dated to the first decade of the 2nd century.¹⁰ These laws aimed to protect ordinary citizens against unjust decisions by magistrates, who came from the upper classes; the tribunes were given the right of intervening on behalf of a citizen. One of these laws is associated with P. Porcius Laeca, a tribune c. 195, and a forebear of the moneyer of this coin.



Fig. 1: *denarius* of P. Porcius Laeca, RRC 301/1, 110 or 109 BC
[British Museum R.7821]

Though the examples found in Broughton's *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* are scrappy and conjectural, the few careers of someone who was a *monetalis* and moved on to holding a tribunate suggest a gap of between six to twelve years. Broughton (*MRR* 3.171) thinks Laeca may have secured a tribunate in the 90s, though this too is a speculation. So the sort of gap observed between being a *monetalis* and holding the tribunate might give additional support for Crawford's date of 110 or 109.

The scene depicted on the reverse might itself give a clue to the dating. It shows the process of *provocatio* in action: a citizen in a toga (left), perhaps a tribune, is holding up his hand to prevent the attendant carrying rods (right) from summoning the citizen before the commander (centre) to receive a beating. A consul was primarily a military commander, and beating with rods by a consul's attendants (called lictors) was a form

¹⁰ On the various early *provocatio* laws, see Rotondi 1922: 235-6 and 268-9; Lintott 1972: 230ff.

of punishment used for breaches of military discipline.¹¹ In this case, what breach might the citizen have been summoned for?

Gruen puts forward a suggestion that the coin relates to a specific incident described in Plutarch, *Marius*, 8.1:¹² the scandalous treatment of T. Turpilius Silanus by his commander, Q. Caecilius Metellus, for the loss of the Roman garrison at Vaga in Numidia during the war against Jugurtha. Turpilius was condemned to be scourged and executed. Marius, a *legatus* ('legionary commander') under Metellus, was a member of the general's *consilium* which examined the case. He pressed for Turpilius' condemnation, though at that time he was cultivating popularity among the soldiers, had promoted popular causes earlier in his career,¹³ and should, one would think, have recognised Turpilius' right of *provocatio*. Gruen's claim is that Marius did this in order to embarrass Metellus, who was a political opponent of Marius at the time.

That is too specific an explanation. In my view there is a better, more general explanation which can be put forward. Because of a recent series of military defeats and set-backs – against the Germanic tribes at Noreia in 113, and the losses against Jugurtha since 111 – there had been difficulties in raising a sufficient number of troops, and increasing

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- 11 Punishments for breaches of military discipline, such as failure to answer the magistrate's summons to be enlisted, could be severe: for example, M' Curius Dentatus (cos. II 275) ordered the confiscation and sale of one man's property when he failed to appear for conscription, and when he appealed to the tribunes, Curius ordered that the man himself be sold into slavery (Val. Max. 6.3.4). For further examples see Brunt 1971: 391, and cf. Nicolet 1976: 136-7; Lintott 1999: 98-9.
- 12 Plut. *Mar.* 8.1: "He [*Metellus*] was particularly upset by what happened in the case of Turpilius, a man connected with him by a long-standing tradition of friendship between their families. At this time Turpilius was serving in Metellus' army as chief engineer, and had been put in command of the garrison in the large town of Varga. Here he relied for safety on doing the inhabitants no harm, but rather treating them with kindness and humanity. Before he realised it, he found himself in the hands of the enemy, since the people let Jugurtha and his troops into the city. Still, they did Turpillius no harm, but obtained his release and sent him away safe and sound. As a result he was charged with military failure, and Marius, who was one of those examining the case, spoke so harshly against Turpilius and so angered the others against him that Metellus, much against his will, was forced to condemn the man to death. Soon afterwards it became clear that the charge had been unwarranted, and everyone except Marius sympathised with Metellus in his distress, but Marius, full of joy and claiming the condemnation as his own work, was not ashamed to go about saying that he had placed on the back of Metellus an avenging demon who would punish the guilt of murdering a family client." For his interpretation see Gruen 1968: 152-4. Gruen's view is anticipated (briefly) by Carney 1961: 27, n. 141.
- 13 As tribune in 119, Marius had carried a law which narrowed the *pons* ('bridge') over which voters passed, making it harder for others to observe how their votes were being cast and thus eliminating the intimidation by nobles or their agents which they had exerted before, reducing aristocratic influence over the voting process, and ensuring the secrecy of written ballots, which had recently been introduced to ensure freedom for the Roman plebs. References in *MRR* 1.526. A *denarius* of P. Licinius Nerva, issued shortly after (c. 113, *RRC* 292/1), depicts the scene of a voter passing over the *pons* and collecting his ballot.

reluctance on the part of citizens to be conscripted.¹⁴ The Roman army was a citizen conscript army, with a minimum property qualification; they would be called up for service by each year's consuls. But as the empire expanded, more and more citizens, with lower and lower property qualifications for eligibility being introduced, were called up to undertake longer periods of service, including overseas. An indication of difficulties with the levies at the specific time of this coin can be seen in the actions of one of the consuls of 109. M. Iunius Silanus repealed a number of recent laws which had reduced the maximum number of terms of military service; that is, he went back to the earlier number of terms and thus made more citizens liable for service.¹⁵ It did not do him any good – he went on to suffer a major defeat in Gaul.

Citizens could appeal against the use of *coercitio* ('compulsion') by a magistrate with military authority (*imperium*) by invoking the *provocatio* law. If, as is likely, there were difficulties with enlisting troops at this time, popular dissatisfaction with the levies, and increased pressure from the magistrates to conscript more citizens, that might very well be the occasion for issuing a coin drawing attention to the right of *provocatio*, particularly by a moneyer who was a descendant of the Porcius Laeca who had introduced one of the appeal laws. A good example, incidentally, of the way in which a moneyer depicted the deed of an ancestor.

This slogan, it is suggested, had a specific reference to the immediate circumstances of the time, in this case problems over the levy due to military emergencies and losses. Following this, a slogan or a 'descriptor' (a legend explaining an image used on a coin) came to be placed occasionally on late republican coins to re-inforce or explain the specific message contained in the other images. As the late republic progressed, there was increasing political violence and civil conflict caused by ambitious war-lords, which led to the breakdown of the republican form of government. The incidence of slogans or descriptors on coins increased also, with terms like *concordia* ('harmony') and *libertas* ('freedom') appearing frequently, expressing more a hope than a reality, to serve the propaganda claims of one side or the other in their competition for power and influence.

Author

Bruce Marshall retired as an Associate Professor from the University of New England in 1995 after nearly 30 years there. His particular area of research was – and still is – the late Roman republic, on which he has published extensively. Since retirement his interest has

14 On two occasions, 151 and 138, tribunes had temporarily imprisoned the consuls because of popular opposition to the levies. See Taylor 1962: 19-27. On the number of years of service (*stipendia*) required of citizen conscript troops, see Brunt 1971: 398-402. Harsh punishments for breaches of military discipline increased citizens' reluctance to be called up.

15 Ascon. 68.16-18 C. For comments on Silanus' repeal of the laws, see Brunt 1971: 401 with n. 4, and 407; Marshall 1985: 241-2. Silanus was defeated in 108 somewhere in the valley of the Rhone, most likely by the Cimbri.

focused on late Roman republican coinage. For many years he was Honorary Secretary of the Australasian Society for Classical Studies, and for his work on behalf of the Society, and for his general promotion of the Humanities at the secondary and tertiary levels in Australia, he was made a Member of the Order of Australia in 2013. He is currently an Honorary Senior Research Fellow at Macquarie University.

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Goths, Franks or Romans?

New perspectives on an old problem in Late Antique numismatics

Christian Cuello

Abstract

Imperial authority is inextricably linked with Roman coinage. This association acts as a guarantee of quality and of its acceptance as currency. Imperial imagery and administrative codes function as mechanisms of accountability. After the last Western Roman Emperor was deposed around 476 AD, production of Imperial coinage continued. The production of Imperial coinage by barbarian kings is typically referred to as 'imitation'. Does this term adequately describe minting practice in the 5th and 6th centuries? This article explores the limitations of this term and resolves an unresolved problem in Late Antique numismatics: the attribution of the •T• series tremisses. The implications of this attribution, and how it impacts our understanding of the period, is also discussed.

Key words

[Late Antiquity][Visigothic coinage][Frankish coinage][Ostrogothic coinage][barbarian imitation][coin weights]

Introduction

The 'imitation' of Roman coinage by barbarians in the 5th and 6th centuries AD is well attested,¹ yet questions remain around its attribution, especially amongst the numerous issues of *tremisses* depicting a striding Victory with palm and wreath. Referred to as 'pseudo-Imperial' or 'imitation' coinage, this suggests something unoriginal, of low production quality, and at worst a forgery. Amongst the numerous barbarian issues, a small number bear a unique mark on the reverse inscription: the letter T with a pellet on either side, annotated as •T•. Several key works have been published in the last century which have attempted to explain the mark. This publication presents the arguments as they currently stand, with some critiques provided in view of archaeological evidence not previously considered. The basis of this research entails a new hypothesis on the attribution of the •T• coinage.

In part, the aim of this research is to correctly identify the attribution of the •T• series. The implications of this attribution are considered in light of what is currently understood of minting in the Western kingdoms in the 6th century. This investigation

1 All dates are AD.

reviews the key scholarship on these coins, starting with the earliest accounts from the 19th century. A corpus of •T• coins and a series of related coin weights presents a unique opportunity to consider these artefacts as part of a monetary system. This allows further investigation into their function and the nature of minting authority. This is not the first, or the only study of its kind, but the problem has yet to be resolved.



Fig. 1. ACANS 07GV02

Tremis. Narbonne? Theoderic the Great in the name of Anastasius I (491AD – 518AD)

Obv. ΘIANASTAVIS PP AVC; diademed, draped bust of Emperor with pectoral cross.

Rev. VICTORIA AVCVSTOR •T•; COHOB in exergue; Victory walking r. with palm and laurel wreath.

1.43g, 13.5mm, ↓

Ref.: Cuello 2 (this coin); Tomasini 68 Group A3; MEC1.184 (variant inscription)

This research problem presented itself while I was compiling the catalogue of Visigothic coins in the Gale Collection at the Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies (ACANS),² including a previously unpublished example of the •T• coinage (Fig. 1). Initial findings revealed that this was not an isolated example, and there was no consensus on who minted it.³ The task of cataloguing the piece has highlighted several issues in the attribution and subsequent study of barbarian coinage. The overall uncertainty of minting authority is but one factor. Advances in archaeological fieldwork,⁴ and refreshing perspectives on the study of Late Antiquity, signal that there is still much to be understood of barbarian coinage. To this end the •T• coins are an intriguing point of departure for investigation.

Is it Roman?

A key to understanding the significance of this coin is to consider the economic, political and geographical contexts in which it was minted. They need to be considered together as part of a broader economic system encompassing the Roman Empire and life on

² See Cuello 2017

³ Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 115

⁴ Priego 2016: 27-8

its fringes that continued to function despite significant changes at its centre. Starting from the most basic principles of identification, its context is a Roman one and this is a suitable place to begin the analysis.

The denomination, a *tremis*, constitutes 1/3rd of a *solidus*. The *solidus* was the standard Imperial gold coin introduced by the Emperor Constantine in c. 310 replacing the *aureus*.⁵ In the measurement of the period, one *solidus* was equal to roughly 1/72nd of a Roman pound, or 24 *siliquae*, weighing 4.5g in modern measurement although occasional variations to this are documented. Therefore, a *tremis* weighs 1.5g. The *solidus* continued to be the standard form in which taxes, fines and yearly payments were expressed well into the Late Antique period.⁶

The Imperial portrait on the obverse remained a symbol of Imperial authority. Here it demonstrates the tendency throughout the 4th Century to stylise the individual character of the figure represented. The inscription indicates the nominal authority to be Anastasius I (491-518). The pectoral cross on the Imperial bust appears on similar coins from approximately 500 onward.⁷ The inscription, sometimes described as blundered,⁸ follows a Roman formula stating:

ϠIANASTAVIS PP AVC⁹

The tendency of the die-cutters to spell the inscriptions incorrectly is, naturally, a source of criticism from modern scholars. Pursuing such value judgments is not worthwhile. While this suggests that die-cutters were not fully literate in Latin, it could reasonably have been a second or third language.

On the reverse we see other allusions to Imperial coinage: the ubiquitous Victoria striding to the right with palm and laurel wreath (commonly identified as a VPW type). The inscription on the reverse reads:

VICTORIA AVCVSTOR•T•

While AVCVSTOR, the second word, can easily be expanded to AVGVSTORVM, 'of the Augusti' as it appears on other Roman examples, the presence of the •T• cannot as easily be explained away. In addition, where we would expect to see CONOB or COMOB in the exergue, we see instead COHOB which can only be interpreted as a misunderstanding of the usual legend.

⁵ Banaji 2016: 110-2

⁶ Lafferty 2013: 207

⁷ Burnett 1977: 9; Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 48

⁸ Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 48

⁹ Compare with the correct spelling D(OMINVS) N(OSTER) ANASTASIVS P(ER)P(ETVVS) AVGVSTVS).

The influence of Imperial coinage is clear in the reverse scene appropriated from the *profectio bellica*, or ‘setting out to war’, depicted on *sestertii*.¹⁰ In these examples, Victoria leads the Emperor as he sets out to make war. The striding Victoria appears on *antoniniani* of the 3rd Century and appeared for the last time on the reverse of Imperial coins in the early 400s. The last known examples are *tremisses* from Trier and Ravenna.¹¹ Instead, on the *tremisses* of Anastasius I minted in Constantinople, Victoria faces towards the viewer, bearing a wreath and *globus cruciger* (referred to as VGC).

The *tremisses* of the VPW (‘Victoria with palm and wreath’) type have their origins in the territories of the Goths, Franks and other barbarian successor kingdoms.¹² There are two notable hoards: the Tresor de Gourdon, Chalon-sur-Saone dated to 530¹³ and the Tresor de Alise-Sainte-Reine dated to 540.¹⁴

While ACANS 07GV02 resembles a Roman coin and appears functional in the context of the Roman monetary system, it is typical to categorise it as an imitation. This may not be the right way to look at it. By the 5th Century the Roman world had greatly changed, with groups of barbarians from the Black Sea region settling into Imperial lands, mainly as auxiliaries in the Roman army.¹⁵ In the West, the Emperor Romulus Augustulus was deposed by the barbarian warlord Odovacer in 476.¹⁶ Odovacer, like the Byzantine emperor Zeno I in Constantinople, recognised the authority of the exiled emperor Julius Nepos to some degree, allowing him to rule in Dalmatia until his death in 480. Odovacer then declared some form of independence from Byzantine rule. A decade later, Zeno dispatched to Italy the Gothic warlord Theoderic to challenge Odovacer’s claim and restore a delegated Imperial authority. This had the benefit of simultaneously drawing the growing Gothic forces away from Constantinople’s borders.¹⁷ After a series of confrontations in Italy, Theoderic agreed to a co-rulership with Odovacer. In a fashion befitting his Constantinopolitan upbringing, Theoderic allegedly ambushed him at a dinner in celebration of their truce, cut Odovacer down and put his followers to death.¹⁸

Elsewhere in the West, the Visigoths had been active for several centuries in Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula on behalf of various emperors. This relationship was a complex one, but it had resulted in a settlement in Aquitaine between 417-419.¹⁹ By the time of Theoderic’s arrival later in the 5th Century the Kingdom of Toulouse was well established.

10 López Sánchez 2017: 151

11 Tomasini 1964: 4-5

12 *Ibid.*: I

13 Lafaurie 1958: 75

14 Lafaurie 1970: 31

15 Southern & Dixon 1996: 48-50

16 Halsall 2007: 280-1; Lafferty 2015: 1-3

17 Amory 1997: 7; Lafferty 2013: 4 - 5

18 Lafferty 2013: 6; Wolfram 1988: 278-80

19 Wolfram 1988: 173; Fischer & López Sánchez 2018: 157

Literary sources present a conflicting picture of the disruption their presence had on the Gallo-Roman elite, but under the new barbarian rulers the aristocracy still functioned in Rome's traditional holdings. Further north, Gaul was steadily becoming consolidated under the power of the Frankish king Clovis I. The south-east remained under the rule of the Burgundians (whom the Franks would later conquer).²⁰ In 507 the Battle of Vouillé saw a united Frankish and Burgundian campaign oust the Visigoths from Toulouse with the death of their king Alaric II.²¹

While the Visigoths retained Narbonne for centuries after the battle, it was the only remaining vestige of their claim to Gaul. Any advances south of Aquitaine were curtailed by Theoderic the Ostrogoth, who crushed the Franco-Burgundian alliance in 508-9.²² After Clovis died in 511, his kingdom was divided amongst his sons: Chlodomer, Chlothar and Childebert from his second wife Clotilde, and Theuderic (Thierry)²³ from a previous liaison.²⁴

In the context of such changes, Roman influence on the economy is complex to decipher. "Imitation" is a loaded term, as is the equally common "pseudo-Imperial": both diminish the agency of the barbarian minters. While we must sometimes rely on these terms, they should be applied with caution. Tomasini offered this perspective on the practice:

"These are not Byzantine imitations as they often have been erroneously classified. They are distinct issues whose consistent reverse implies a conscious policy to separate them from the actual Byzantine *tremis*."²⁵

Despite the shifting frontiers of these new barbarian kingdoms, Roman institutions and administration endured. While the barbarian kings ruled, they looked to Imperial models and continued to acknowledge the authority of the Eastern Emperors for some time. They sought favour by retaining Imperial titles and rituals,²⁶ and for the most part continued the tradition of depicting the image of the Roman Emperor on their gold coins. But they were also able to make improvements in legislation and the economy to reflect the needs of their constituents.²⁷

20 Wood 1994: 51-4

21 *Ibid.*: 46; Halsall 2007: 298-9

22 Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 35; Kulikowski 2010: 258-9

23 Thierry is a Gallicised version of Theodoric drawn from the work of Lenormant, which I will also use to avoid confusion between the Merovingian and Ostrogothic monarchs.

24 Wood 1994: 48-50

25 Tomasini 1964: 1

26 Consider the tension created as favour from Anastasius I shifted from Theoderic the Ostrogoth to Clovis with, allegedly, an honorary consulship; both Theoderic and Gundobad, king of the Burgundians, attained the title of *magister militum*. See Lafferty 2013: 5 and Wood 1994: 48, 51.

27 For example, the *Edictum Theoderici*, amongst other barbarian law codes.

The tradition of attribution

While the attribution of the •T• mark has not been universally accepted,²⁸ it has been generally determined that these coins are barbarian in origin. The current scholarship offers two possible authorities: the Merovingian Franks and the Visigoths. I will briefly outline both lines of argument to consolidate what is known about the coins, before presenting a third alternative authority: Theoderic, King of Ostrogothic Italy.

The case for the Merovingians

Published in the *Revue Numismatique* of 1848, M. Ch. Lenormant presented his hypotheses on the barbarian *tremisses*, which he believed to be uniquely Merovingian-minted royal coinage. He used the term *marque chlodovienne* to describe the facing C's on either side of the Imperial bust²⁹ suggesting an intentional stylistic departure from previous coinage by the Merovingian monarch Clovis I. Lenormant reasoned that, based on a passage in Gregory of Tours, this was a celebration of Clovis being made a patrician by Anastasius I between 507-509.³⁰

Specifically, Lenormant attributed the •T• coins to Thierry, son of Clovis. This presented an exception to his overall theory. He reconciled this by suggesting that they were produced outside of Clovis' influence by his increasingly ambitious son, who eventually dropped the two C's completely.³¹ Without any absolute certainty concerning the *marque chlodovienne* this theory cannot be sustained.

The •T• mark is not consistently applied within Lenormant's framework. Thierry's descendants also bear the letter T in their names – Theodebert his son, and Theudebald, his grandson – but the practice itself is not repeated, perhaps due to the Merovingians' apparent disdain for filial succession³². Much later, Theodebert minted *solidi* and *tremisses* in his own name,³³ but this had no precedent amongst the Merovingians.

Lenormant's attribution was abandoned by his contemporaries,³⁴ but in the absence of any alternatives this theory persisted: in Lafaurie's work on the subject almost a century later, and by Crinon sometime after.³⁵ Lafaurie continued the attribution to Thierry, although he acknowledged the concurrent rule with Theoderic the Ostrogoth. He stated that, as the Ostrogothic Theoderic only minted coins with the facing Victory bearing the globe with cross, or *globus cruciger*, we must nominate the Merovingian

28 Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 115

29 Lenormant 1848: 195, as in the inscription $\text{OIANASTAUIS PP AVC}$. See also Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 115.

30 *Ibid.*: 118; *HF* II.38

31 *Ibid.*: 197-9

32 Wood 1994: 58-9

33 Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 116

34 Engel & Serrure 1891: 55

35 Crinon 2006: 201-3

king instead.³⁶ Examples of VPW *tremisses* minted under Theoderic the Ostrogoth in Rome show this assumption to be incorrect.³⁷

Furthermore, Lafaurie linked a *solidus* featuring a monogram of the letters *TRE* minted under the name of Justinian to Thierry to argue a case for continuity between it and the •T• *tremisses*.³⁸ This link is a tenuous one: one could more convincingly argue it to be a mint mark of Treveri (Trier) especially in the aftermath of Justinian's conquest of Gothic Italy.

Despite the significant contributions to this study by Lenormant, Lafaurie, Crinon and others, the case for the Merovingian king Thierry is unsubstantiated, and we must look elsewhere for a solution.

The case for the Visigoths

An alternative to this theory was provided in the work of Wallace Tomasini, who attributed the •T• coins to the Visigoths based on stylistic features reminiscent of the coins of Theoderic the Ostrogoth. Where the VPW appears on Merovingian coinage, Tomasini argued that they were typically issued from mints previously operated by the Visigoths and Burgundians. An example pertinent to this investigation also contains a T (without pellets) on the reverse, taken to indicate issues from the Toulouse mint after 507. He argues the mark was influenced by Theoderic, and carried on in the coinage of the Visigoths and Burgundians. However, two VGC coins minted in Rome by Theoderic in the name of Anastasius with a T at the end of the reverse inscription have also been identified.³⁹

Theoderic's involvement in sustaining the pagan Victoria is evident in his bronze issues (amongst other pagan symbols), as well as the Senigallia medallion (Fig. 2, below).⁴⁰ The revival of the VPW is possible in a Western context "uncompromised" by the usage of pagan symbolism, and with access to older dies or designs.⁴¹ Amongst the other barbarian contenders, Theoderic is the authority most befitting the reinstatement of the VPW, but for Tomasini this was still inconclusive.⁴² He narrows down the issue of the coins to either Visigothic Narbonne or Ostrogothic Arles, simply stating that the •T• "might be meaningful".⁴³

36 Lafaurie 1970: 33

37 Kent 15

38 Lafaurie 1970: 34

39 Metlich 13a & 13b

40 Tomasini 1964: 8-10; for the medallion, see BM B.11479.

41 *Ibid.*: 11

42 *Ibid.*: 44

43 *Ibid.*: 92



Fig. 2 The Senigallia medallion. Theoderic's employment of Victoria is clear on the obverse (a.) and reverse (b.) with the motifs appearing on subsequent issues of *tremisses*.

The case for Theoderic

One of the basic assumptions in the attribution of Thierry is that Theoderic only minted *tremisses* showing a front facing Victory with *globus cruciger*. Examples from the mint at Rome under Theoderic show that this is simply not the case. Some have maintained that it was the Ostrogothic issues that influenced later emissions by the Visigoths and Burgundians,⁴⁴ supporting Tomasini's claim to the same.



Fig. 3 The bronze weight of Theoderic from the British Museum collection. © Christian Cuello

Of great significance in this context is the appearance of the •T• on a copper weight naming Theoderic (Fig. 3, above).⁴⁵ It weighs 22.45g which corresponds to approximately 5 *solidi* or 15 *tremisses*. There are four recorded weights bearing the inscription D – N THEODERICI on one face, a denominational mark on the other, and the name of Catullinus, *praefectus urbi*, 'prefect in charge of the city', around the edge.⁴⁶ Montfaucon

44 Burnett 1977: 9; Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 48; Metlich 2004: 20; Kent 1971: 70

45 British Museum 1982,0105.1; In the BM catalogue and in Buckton (1994: 86) it is described as possessing a one-ounce denominational mark, but this would read as " - I " on coin weights. One must correctly orientate the wreath to show the •T• as in Fig. 3, also demonstrated by Metlich (2004: 23)

46 BM 1870,1124.1; Louvre 3400; BnF bronze.2285

recorded a similar example from the reign of Julius Nepos naming one Audax as *praefectus urbi*.⁴⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in the 4th century, describes how a certain prefect Praetextatus “established standard weights in every quarter of the city” to counter widespread tampering.⁴⁸ By the time of Theoderic it seems this was still within the prefect’s remit.⁴⁹

Furthermore, the same mark appears on a *solidus* issued by Athalaric, Theoderic’s grandson and successor in Italy.⁵⁰ This has been interpreted as a commemorative issue honouring the king after his death,⁵¹ but the clear use of the •T• in the reverse inscription of a coin minted in Rome by his heir further strengthens the case for an attribution of the ACANS *tremis* to Theoderic also.

It is clear that attribution of the •T• coins is more closely associated with Theoderic the Ostrogoth than previously thought. Therefore, it is appropriate to relocate the mint much further South than asserted by Lenormant. Of Theoderic’s known Italian mints we may choose Rome, Ravenna or Milan, which all continued to mint gold during his reign.⁵² If one were to propose Narbonne, this would also be justified, as it was the focal point of the Visigoths remaining territory in Gaul and within Theoderic’s territories. If we incorporate what is known of Ostrogothic and Visigothic minting of the period, the ACANS example is a curious hybrid of coins in the Visigothic style minted under the authority of an Ostrogothic king.

This would be difficult to reconcile were it not for the unique situation which Theoderic created for himself after the battle for Vouillé. He assumed regency of the Visigothic throne to replace Gesalec, the product of Alaric’s affair with a concubine. The true heir of the king, Amalaric, was too young to assume kingship.⁵³ The numismatic evidence demonstrates that this particular mark was used on coins only during the reigns of Anastasius I and Justin I, which also coincides with Theoderic’s regency until the time of his death in 526 - a timespan of approximately 15 years.

To this end, Theoderic was recognised as king of both Gothic kingdoms. The Visigothic holdings do not correlate to the entirety of Spain as we know it now. The expanse of Theoderic’s territory also included Dalmatia further to the East.⁵⁴ Conflicting accounts claim he spent his rule in Spain or assigned the duties of rulership to his sword-bearer,

47 Montfaucon 1722: 170

48 *Amm. Marc.* XXVII, 8-9

49 Kulikowski 2010: 262-3

50 Metlich 31

51 Metlich 2004: 22-3

52 Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 34

53 Wolfram 1988:243-5

54 Amory 1997: 93

Theudis.⁵⁵ The latter is more widely accepted, as is the increasing dissent of Theudis from Theoderic's authority. Tribute from the Visigothic holdings to Theoderic continued, and must be considered as a source of gold for Ostrogothic minting.⁵⁶ After Theoderic's death and the demise of his grandson, Theudis assumes the throne of Visigothic Spain.⁵⁷ While the ubiquity of the VPW *tremisses* persisted, the •T• mark did not appear on their reverse again.

Conclusion

Previous attributions of the •T• *tremisses* to the Merovingian king Thierry I are inconclusive. Yet the works of Lenormant and others on the topic provide a wealth of information about the •T• coins and continue to be valuable sources. Tomasini built a case for a Visigothic attribution through a stylistic methodology and identified the mint of origin as Narbonne. He positioned Theoderic the Ostrogoth as an influence for the reappearance of the figure of Victoria, and this point is echoed in several other accounts. However, a more direct involvement is strongly indicated from the weights and the commemorative issue minted by Athalaric. We can therefore now directly link the •T• coins to the mints of Theoderic.

The warrior-kings of Late Antiquity required large quantities of gold coinage to maintain and protect their kingdoms as well as a mechanism to administer it. The •T• coins and their weights demonstrate that Theoderic produced an acceptable, reliable currency and an effective administrative code. He was well accustomed to Imperial life, having spent a considerable portion of his youth in Constantinople. The influence of this on his rulership cannot be overstated and is worth investigating further, especially as it pertains to his economic and monetary policy. Manifestations of this are clearly represented in his coinage, as well as the Senigallia medallion issued to celebrate his *tricennalia*, with Victoria figures appearing on both sides.

The Victoria figure likely indicates a military victory, as it had done for centuries, but also suggests a time of peace to follow. Theoderic's successful counterattack of the Franco-Burgundian advance in 508/9 is such a victory. This issue of coins therefore intentionally projects Theoderic's political position in the West and his military victories. It also acknowledges the authority of the Eastern Emperor, which legitimises the coinage.

The attribution of the coins to Theoderic is, it seems, undeniable but, this conclusion also raises more questions. It is a piece of a larger puzzle which helps us to further understand the nature of minting authority in the Western kingdoms still a part of the Roman Empire, *pars imperii*, and Theoderic's regency over the Visigothic kingdom.

⁵⁵ HG. 39-40 and *Get.* 302 respectively.

⁵⁶ Kulikowski, 2010: 262

⁵⁷ HG. 41; Wolfram 1988: 245

Understanding this allows for further insight into the complexities of minting the barbarian *tremisses* and enables historians to move beyond the simple concept of imitation. The coins of Late Antiquity present an exciting frontier in numismatic study. The findings above demonstrate that the attribution of barbarian *tremisses* certainly deserves further investigation.

Author biography

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Abbreviations

Get. *Getica*, Jordanes

HF. *Historia Francorum*, Gregory of Tours

HG. *Historia Gothorum*, Isidore of Seville

Amm. Marc. Ammianus Marcellinus

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New Zealand trading banknotes of the official issuers 1840–1934

Andrew Clifford and Robert Tonner

Abstract

Privately issued demand notes are a class of promissory note. These financial instruments were the principal medium of exchange in New Zealand from 1840 to 1934, when the Reserve Bank began functioning. Twelve private and one government bank, collectively known as ‘Trading Banks’, issued various series of notes in that period. Their demand notes (‘banknotes’) were payable to the bearer in gold and silver coin up to the outbreak of World War I in August 1914. Afterwards, they circulated for twenty years as legal tender. Due to the important social responsibility of banknote issue, all issuing banks required enabling Parliamentary legislation to become ‘official issuers’. This article outlines the historical context of the trading banks with a focus on numismatic aspects of their banknote issues. Due to New Zealand’s small economy and high face value of banknotes compared to goods and services of the day, there are few surviving examples of each type. Many of the finest are in the collection of Robert Tonner illustrated here.

Keywords

[New Zealand banknotes] [Trading Banks] [Official Issuer] [Pre-1934]

Introduction

The story behind New Zealand’s private trading banknotes provides a captivating journey from the first settler ships, through the heady gold rush days, to the slow-motion collapse of the gold standard, ending at the dawn of a new era when central banking was introduced in 1934. Much of the background is general history, but history books are usually silent or pass quickly over numismatic aspects of specialised interest. This article provides an overview of New Zealand’s trading banks, with focus on numismatics and provides a rarely seen set of exceptional notes in the collection of Robert Tonner.

Historical background

In 1835, the British Resident at the Bay of Islands, James Busby (1802–1871), shared the concern of some Maori chieftains that France was circling the islands of New Zealand intent on colonising. As an official British diplomat, he helped design the United Tribes flag for the Maori and formalise the Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand, establishing the islands as a new country. It was during his short regime

that the New Zealand Company (NZC), led by Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796–1862), made an exploratory mission to the Cook Strait region in the *Tory*, purchased land at Port Nicholson and launched its settler ships from England. The New South Wales government and British Colonial Office retained a keen interest in New Zealand, and concern remained about the continued attention from the French. Britain won the contest on 6 February 1840, when New Zealand's founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi, superseded the earlier Declaration. The Treaty was formally signed between the British, represented by Captain Hobson (1792–1842), destined to be Lieutenant Governor in May 1841, and more than 500 Maori chiefs.¹ Most of the chiefs signed the Treaty in a Maori-language version which later resulted in different interpretations of British sovereignty.

The first decade of New Zealand's emergence as a colony was characterised by a power struggle between the Legislative Council led by the Governor located at Auckland, and the NZC headquartered in London and staffed at Wellington with branches at Nelson and New Plymouth. Officers of the NZC felt that the Treaty of Waitangi had come unexpectedly and put at risk its authority and business model of on-selling land to settlers. This was perhaps justified, as Hobson's objective when leaving Sydney in January 1840 may have been privately aimed at the NZC as much as it was publicly aimed at heading off other foreign powers.² Both the government and company were major forces in their own early settlements. They nurtured a mistrust of each other's motives and priorities, especially about land purchases from the Maori. Governor FitzRoy's effigy was burned by the Nelson settlers in 1845 for failing to avenge the Wairau Affray where 22 settlers and four Maori had been killed two years earlier. The tension was reflected in the split allegiances of New Zealand's first banks.

The founding of a new British colony meant there was a need for banking services, especially for the whaling, commercial, trading and nascent agricultural sectors. However, smoothly functioning banking services without political interference and without government attempts to control currency issuance, only really took place after the New Zealand General Assembly (Parliament) passed The Paper Currency Act in 1856.³ This allowed the Union Bank (whose activities are described below) to resume note issue and other banks to apply for legislative approval to do the same. Authorised trading banks had to meet certain conditions and adhere to strict practices and procedures. The Banking Act of 1908 further updated regulation on the trading banks.

1 'Treaty FAQs', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/treaty-faqs>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 23-May-2017

2 'New Zealand officially becomes British colony', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/letters-patent-issued-making-new-zealand-a-colony-separate-from-new-south-wales> (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 23-Dec-2016

3 Mathews 2003: 42

There were 13 official issuers of trading banknotes in New Zealand.⁴ There were three types, proving fundamental in shaping today's retail banking structure in New Zealand:

- a. *New Zealand banks*, with a local directorate, share register and Head Office, or, trading and issuing notes only in New Zealand.
 New Zealand Banking Company (1840–1845), wound up.
 Colonial Bank of Issue (1850–1856) owned by the government and wound-up.
 Bank of Auckland (1864–1866), failed.
 Commercial Bank of New Zealand (1865–1866), failed.
 Bank of New Zealand (1861–present), acquired by the National Australia Bank.
 Colonial Bank of New Zealand (1874–1895), acquired by the Bank of New Zealand.
 Bank of Otago (1864–1873), acquired by the National Bank of New Zealand.
 National Bank of New Zealand (1873–2003), acquired by the ANZ.
- b. *Australian banks* trading and issuing banknotes in multiple colonies:
 Bank of New South Wales (NZ presence 1861–1982).
 Commercial Bank of Australia (NZ presence 1912–1982).
 They merged in 1982 to form the Westpac Banking Corporation.
- c. *Imperial banks*, based in Britain, trading and issuing banknotes in multiple colonies.
 Union Bank of Australia (NZ presence 1840–1951).
 Bank of Australasia (NZ presence 1863–1951).
 They merged in 1951 to form the ANZ Group.
 Oriental Bank Corporation (NZ presence 1857–1861).
 Local network purchased by the Bank of New South Wales.

The chronology of New Zealand's banknote issuers is presented graphically in Fig. 1. It can be seen how a small but steady influx of early banks accelerated after the discovery of gold in Otago, leading to a quick shake-out and a subsequent period of stability as the economy matured. Apart from the late entry of the Commercial Bank of Australia, there were no significant changes to the official banknote issuers in the forty years until 1934.

⁴ Clifford 2017: iv

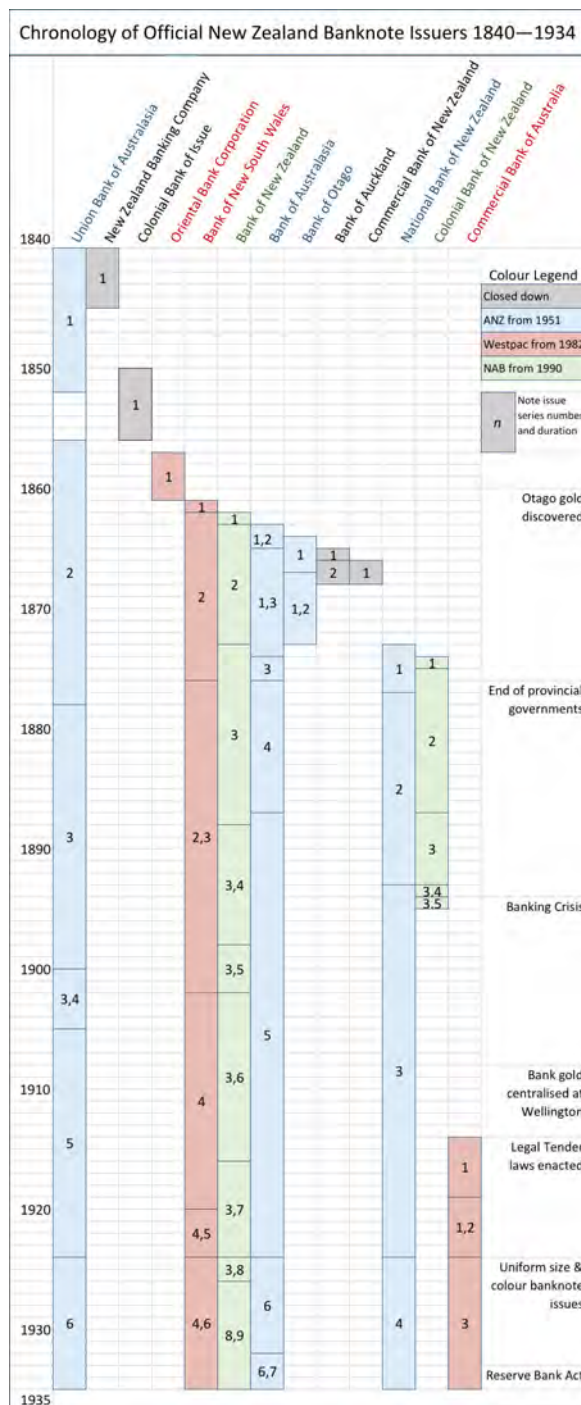


Fig. 1 Chronology of Official New Zealand Banknote Issuers in the years 1840—1934. The progressive start and end point of each distinct banknote issue is seen in the vertical bars, from top to bottom. For example, the Union Bank's first issue of notes occurred 1840–1852, followed by a four-year period of no issues. Between 1900 and 1905 both the Union Bank's third and fourth issue were in circulation. Notes from two issues were often current at the same time for the Bank of New South Wales and Bank of New Zealand. [Image A. Clifford]

The Union Bank of Australia Limited: bankers for The New Zealand Company

New Zealand has excellent primary sources documenting its history from even before European colonisation occurred. Its first newspaper, *The New Zealand Gazette*, was published by the NZC and commenced in London on 21 August 1839. It carried a front page advertisement for the Union Bank of Australia, announcing itself as bankers for the NZC and its plans to provide services for company settlers. Banking was first established in New Zealand with the arrival of the freighter sailing ship ‘*Glenbervie*’ on 7 March 1840, as one of the first six NZC immigrant ships sent from England. Three years earlier, the Union Bank had been established in London to carry on the business of colonial banking as part of the settlement of Australia. It opened promptly in New Zealand via a mutually beneficial agreement with the NZC’s directors. The Union Bank opened its first branch in New Zealand at a corrugated iron shed behind Petone Beach, Britannia, on 24 March 1840. However, six months later, on account of flood risk and inclement southerly weather, the settlers decided to move the community, including the bank, across the harbour to Thorndon Flat, and renamed the nascent town Wellington.

New Zealand Banking Company: supporter of the colonial government

In New Zealand, twelve days after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, a group of business men and notable Bay of Islands settlers met and announced the imminent formation of the New Zealand Banking Company (NZBC), with partly paid-up capital of £50,000. The new bank finally opened for business on 4 September 1840 (Fig. 2), with its capital now doubled due to investor interest. However, the NZBC was soon fatally wounded in a number of ways. First, it lacked an office in London to handle bills of exchange. Secondly, it had loans to the cash-strapped Colonial Government, which tied up funds. Thirdly, the move of the colonial capital from the Bay of Islands to Auckland led to non-performing loans in the north where fighting between the British Navy and the Maori and resulting burning of Kororarika destroyed confidence. Finally, a bank run in 1844 due to Governor FitzRoy’s circulating unbacked debentures, made it impossible to continue in business. The NZBC was wound up in early 1845. Unfortunately, no known issued or proof banknotes from it survive to the present day.

New Zealand Banking Company.
 CAPITAL—£50,000,
 IN 10,000 SHARES OF £10 EACH.

DIRECTORS:—
President,
 James Ready Clendon, Esq., J. P.
Vice President,
 Henry Thompson, Esq.

Gilbert Mair, Esq., J. P.
 Edward Marsh Williams, Esq.
 John Scott, Esq.
 William Mayhew, Jun., Esq.
 Daniel Pollen, Esq.
 Philo B. Perry, Esq.

Agents in Sydney,
 The Commercial Banking Company.

NOTICE.

THE New Zealand Banking Company
 will commence Business on the 4th
 instant, and Interest will be allowed, and
 charged at the following rates until further
 Notice.

INTEREST ALLOWED—

On current accounts on the daily balance at the rate of	} 4 per cent. per annum.
On Deposit Receipts payable at ten days notice	
	} 5 per cent. per annum.

INTEREST CHARGED—

On Bills not having more than sixty days to run, at the rate of	} 10 per cent. per annum.

Discount Days—Wednesday at 12 o'clock

BILLS at ten day's Sight are granted on
 the Commercial Bank in Sydney at 1
 per Cent Premium.

By order of the Court of Directors,
 A. KENNEDY,
 Manager.

Kororaraka, 2nd Sept., 1840.

Fig. 2 Announcement in The New Zealand Gazette and Bay of Islands Advertiser, 17 September 1840, of the New Zealand Banking Company commencing its business operations. [Image A. Clifford]

The Colonial Bank of Issue: ahead of its time

The Colonial Bank of Issue (CBI) was proposed in 1847 by the Colonial Office in London, perhaps with Governor Grey's impetus. It was to be the sole bank of issue in New Zealand, giving the government a monopoly on providing the medium of exchange, but not to be involved in any retail banking functions. A major benefit to the government would be further reducing the autonomy of the Union Bank and the NZC settlements it supported. Its notes were professionally printed in London by Perkins Bacon & Petch on quality linen paper to reduce the risk of counterfeiting (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3 Perkins, Bacon & Petch essay for the watermark design on the Colonial Bank of Issue £1 and £5 notes, ca.1849. This design was engraved into relief, then transferred to a fine wire mesh and used during manufacturing to impress a watermark onto wet paper sheets. [Image A. Clifford]

The CBI's only branches were at Auckland and Wellington, which meant inhabitants of the hinterland and the South Island had a long trip to exchange notes for gold. The Union Bank was forced to withdraw its notes for four years, during which time it put the CBI under pressure at Auckland by consistently presenting CBI notes for payment in sterling at the end of each day. Both banks were opposite each other in Princes Street at Auckland, where the Union Bank defiantly flew the United Tribes flag implying doubt concerning the authority of the colonial government. From June 1850 to late 1856 CBI notes were in circulation, at their peak reaching £35,000. A Parliamentary review into the CBI determined that it was a hindrance to the development of retail banking to service the economy, so the Colonial Bank of Issue Winding-Up Act was passed, effective 29 July 1856. If the economy had been more mature, it might have survived. However, it can still be considered an early form of central bank. Several printer's proofs

and unissued notes survive today, however, only a single issued example of each of the £1 and £5 denominations is known. Both are in the Auckland Museum.

The Oriental Bank Corporation: a brief foray

The final bank of the early colonial period was the mighty Oriental Bank Corporation, already active in Australia and many other points in Asia and the Pacific “East of the Cape of Good Hope”. It commenced business in New Zealand in 1857 and was the first bank indifferent to the domestic politics of settlement. However, its directors were impatient. Early branches at Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin were considered unprofitable so its directors decided to retract operations. Co-incidentally and unknowingly, it was a decision made in London within weeks of gold being discovered at Otago in May 1861.

The Oriental Bank Corporation’s branch operations in New Zealand were quickly purchased by the Bank of New South Wales, whereupon its notes were gradually replaced over the following six months. Only a single issued New Zealand domiciled Oriental note is known, a Wellington £1 note held in the British Museum collection. Worldwide the Oriental failed spectacularly in May 1884, to the shock and dismay of its many Australian depositors and banknote holders.

Trading banks of the gold-rush period

When significant gold deposits were discovered in New Zealand, quiet backwaters became thriving townships inundated with miners seeking to make their fortunes. Raw gold, together with British gold coins, might be expected as the main mediums of exchange for larger transactions, but this was impractical. The miners preferred to carry easily concealed banknotes, so they sold what they had retrieved to gold-buyers of the private banks in exchange for banknotes later redeemable in gold. As time went on the trading banknotes became very popular, especially in the gold industry, and contemporary evidence from registers of mutilated notes in the BNZ Archives, Wellington, shows Chinese miners also maintained their savings in paper money.⁵

While it was co-incidental that the Bank of New South Wales entered the New Zealand market at the time of the gold discovery,⁶ several other banks were attracted in by its lure, like moths to a bright light. The London-based Bank of Australasia appeared in 1863, alongside lesser banks which failed to survive long-term. Between 1861 and 1870, gold accounted for at least half of New Zealand’s exports.

In June 1861, New Zealand’s first and only home-grown international bank came into being, following an argument a customer of the Oriental Bank had with its management. The customer was Thomas Russell (1830–1904). The Manager of the Oriental Bank said

⁵ Clifford 2017: 108

⁶ Westpac 2017: 38

to him: “Go and start your own Bank” to which Russell replied “I will”. Thus, the Bank of New Zealand was formed and grew to a stage where it eventually achieved 45% of the domestic note circulation in New Zealand. The first branch opened for business in Auckland in October 1861, with further branches opening in Dunedin, Wellington and Nelson. The first overseas branch opened in London in October 1862, followed by Melbourne in 1872, Sydney in 1875 and a year later in Fiji.

The year 1866 marked the peak of New Zealand annual gold production, at 22.9 tonnes, also the largest number of simultaneous note-issuing banks in New Zealand, reaching a peak of seven, and this lasted just a single year. The end of the gold boom came when easy alluvial deposits were panned out leaving most work to be done in extracting ore at source: veins of quartz in rock. Once the Long Depression flowed from England in 1874, New Zealand was left with little to trade beyond gold and wool for some time.

Banknote issuance in a diversifying economy

Governor Grey issued a proclamation which was also passed at Westminster as the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852. It divided the country into provinces, each with its own legislative chamber. Ambitions were clearly high, as it must have been assumed that the population of each province would increase to a number that would warrant such political division. Further, Southland was divided from Otago in 1861–70, and Westland from Canterbury during 1873–76. Hence, the trading banks domiciled their notes in some or most of the new provincial capitals. A banknote could usually be redeemed for gold in a branch at one of Auckland, Blenheim, Christchurch, Dunedin, Hokitika, Invercargill, Napier, Nelson, New Plymouth and Wellington. The provincial system proved to be short-lived, not least because the country had the start of a railway network with three different gauge sizes! All provincial legislatures were abolished in 1876, with political power centralised in Wellington.

The Bank of New Zealand and the Dunedin-based Colonial Bank of New Zealand both fell victim to the effects of the Long Depression. By mid-1894, they were in desperate need of recapitalisation. This came by way of a £2 million investment from the New Zealand Government for the Bank of New Zealand, followed by the acquisition and merger of its troubled smaller rival, the Colonial Bank of New Zealand.⁷ Their gold was centralised at Wellington. Gradually, over the next 15 years, the remaining trading banks also centralised their gold holdings. A surviving National Bank £1 note dated 1 January 1910 at Auckland, represents the last non-Wellington domicile known for a note of this kind.

The First World War had a major impact on New Zealand banknotes. Prior to the war, use of gold sovereigns and half sovereigns in everyday financial transactions throughout

⁷ Moore 1935: 39,40

New Zealand was common. Notes were still honoured on demand, but the lowest denomination banknote that banks were permitted to use was one pound. When war broke out in August 1914, the New Zealand Government immediately implemented the emergency Banking Amendment Act, on 5 August 1914, to conserve the country's gold holdings. The export of gold was banned and hence the status of gold coins altered. New Zealanders knew that the purchasing power of banknotes could decrease very quickly when a country was at war and hence large-scale hoarding of sovereigns and half sovereigns became a distinct possibility. As a result, the emergency Act also made banknotes legal tender. Within a year, the amount in circulation doubled. In the Finance Act, two years later, ten shilling notes were also permitted for the first time, so a production run was printed by the local firm Whitcombe & Tombs for the Bank of New Zealand.⁸ These were very plain using red ink on thin pink paper and were not popular, becoming known disparagingly as 'pinks'. Only a low number remain today, most in fair to good condition. A year later they were replaced with the formal seventh issue ten shillings notes from Bradbury Wilkinson. The other five trading banks also followed suit.

As the New Zealand economy grew stronger in the 1920s and more notes were in circulation, the public demanded consistency in their sizes and colours. In 1923, the six remaining trading banks agreed to a standard size of 3.5 x 7 inches (89 x 179mm) and a set of colours which remained until 1 August 1934. The first series from the Reserve Bank of New Zealand, "Lefeaux", adhered to the Uniform Issue colour standard for ease of public transition.⁹ The Union Bank proved to be very resilient and issued trading banknotes for the longest period, some 90 years.

Private banknotes in the context of numismatics and collector market

Many of the early trading banknotes display superb engraving skill that would have taken thousands of hours to perfect. Typically, a note design will include the work of three experts, in each of pictorial artistry, calligraphy and scrollwork (guilloche) beyond what any single individual could achieve, as a deterrence against forgery. Most of the early notes were hand signed which adds to their attraction. Reportedly, senior bank staff were charged with signing hundreds of notes and laid them throughout the office while the ink dried, mandating the closure of windows to avoid the nuisance of a sudden breeze.

One remarkable numismatic example is a Bank of New Zealand, third issue, £100 note, which is the only one known to exist in private hands. It is dated 1 April 1928, and it is a miracle it survived given it was worth a fortune then, and even more during the subsequent depression. About the 1960s, it was found by a second-hand dealer who had purchased furniture from a deceased estate. The dealer put his hand down between

⁸ Clifford 2017: 81

⁹ Clifford 2017: 58

the cushions searching for loose coins when he found an envelope. To his surprise, it contained the spectacular note which had probably been poorly hidden for safe-keeping. This note was sold in sale 54 by Noble Numismatics in July 1997 as part of the Ross Meads collection of New Zealand banknotes.¹⁰ It was resold in Noble's auction No.69 in March 2002. Slowly a detailed provenance of many extant notes is being collated through auction sales, aided by the benefit of most banknotes carrying a serial number for easy identification.¹¹ For example, we know of only two Bank of New Zealand issued £50 notes existing in private hands.

By 1930, New Zealand's population was only about 1.48 million and £100 notes would have been extremely rare. The BNZ was responsible for the bulk of the high-value twenty, fifty and hundred pound notes seen by the public. Even today New Zealand's population is only 4.8 million (cf. Australia's 25 million) so it is little wonder that New Zealand's early notes are rarer than contemporary Australian notes; however, this is made up somewhat by the private issues continuing for an extra 24 years in New Zealand.

Collectors of New Zealand trading banknotes enjoy the fact that the notes are varied, colourful and elaborately designed compared with contemporary English provincial notes and notes from other colonies. Unfortunately for collectors, some of the early trading banknotes are amongst the rarest in the world, with often just a single example surviving of each type.

The early Trading Banks of New Zealand have left a wonderful legacy for numismatic historians. The flag-bearer for collating much of this history was the late Alistair Robb, who sadly passed away in 2014. Since the 1970s, a significant number of London printers' proofs of trading banknotes have come onto the market, making a comprehensive analysis of New Zealand's private notes issues possible.

Noble Numismatics have sold many New Zealand trading banknotes. Two of the most significant auctions are catalogue 54 (July 1997) containing the Ross Meads collection and catalogue 95B (November 2010) with the Alistair Robb family collection. Mowbray at Wellington, the London auction houses, Spink, and more recently, Dix Noonan Webb, handle collector sales which may include New Zealand trading banknotes, as well as Heritage and Stacks in the United States.

Selected banknote illustrations

Below are photographs of certain New Zealand trading banknotes in the collection of Robert Tonner, some of which are the finest known examples. Many of these notes are hand signed and some contain vignettes of New Zealand's early history including Maori scenes.

10 Preface to the Ross Meads Noble Numismatics Sale 54, 23 July 1997

11 Prior, S. *Catalogue of New Zealand Trading Banknote Pedigrees*. (unpublished draft)

Banknotes of the various early issues



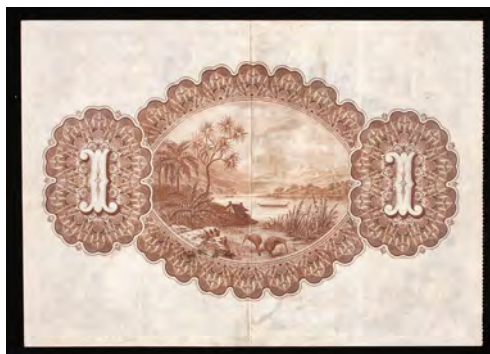
Bank of New Zealand 10 shillings 1/8/1916, Wellington



Union Bank of Australia 10 shillings, 1/3/1920, Wellington



Bank of New Zealand 1 pound 1/10/1889, Auckland





Bank of New Zealand 1 pound 31/3/1900, Wellington



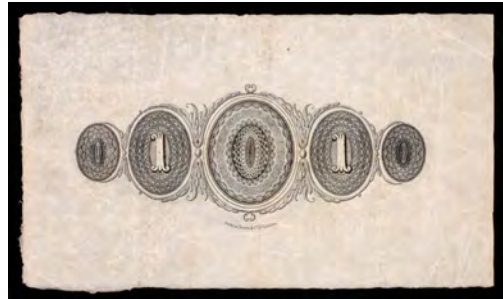
Colonial Bank of New Zealand 1 pound 1/1/1881, Dunedin



Commercial Bank of Australia 1 pound 1/1/1915, Wellington



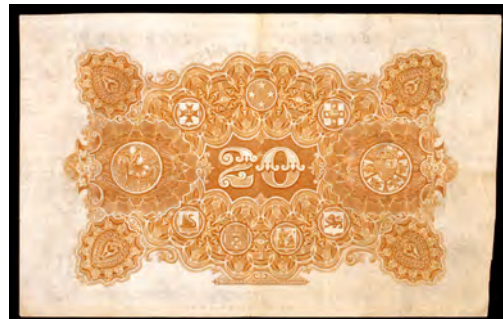
Commercial Bank of Australia 1 pound, 1/1/1919, Wellington



Union Bank of Australia 1 pound, 1/1/1903, Wellington



Bank of New Zealand 10 pounds, 1/4/1921 Wellington,



Union Bank of Australia 20 pounds 1/3/1905, Wellington



Bank of New Zealand 100 pounds, 1/4/1928, Wellington, unique in private hands,

Banknotes of the Uniform Issues



Bank of New Zealand 10 shillings 1/10/1932, Wellington



Bank of Australasia 10 shillings 2/6/1931, Wellington



Bank of Australasia 1 pound 2/1/1928, Wellington



Union Bank of Australia 1 pound, commercial specimen, 1.10.1923, Wellington



Bank of New Zealand 10 pounds, 1/10/1927, Wellington



Bank of New Zealand 20 pounds, 1/10/27, Wellington, unique in private hands,



Bank of New Zealand 20 pounds Specimen 1/10/29, Wellington



Union Bank of Australia 50 pounds, 1.10.1923, specimen, Wellington

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Author biographies

Andrew Clifford became engrossed in numismatics at a young age, and variously collected New Zealand private banknotes over twenty years while consulting for merchant banks in the City of London. In the last decade he has developed a wider interest in the numismatic history of paper money: issuing banks, their staff and note printing companies. In July 2017 he published *New Zealand Trading Banks and Early Paper currency* (370pp) which details the history of New Zealand private demand note issues, both official and unofficial, prior to those of the Reserve Bank. He is particularly interested in the historical context of paper money during the gold standard where notes were exchangeable for precious metal coinage. His current interests are the English Provincial issues ca. 1730—1921, banknotes of Fiji, and the uncatalogued area of New Zealand scripophily: stock certificates and bonds prior to 1950. In September 2019 Andrew was elected President of the Numismatic Society of Auckland.

Robert Tonner's late father was a Bank Manager for the Bank of NSW (now Westpac). In 1965, while still at High School, he was given bags of pennies and halfpennies which he went through in the hope of finding a rare 1930 penny or a 1923 halfpenny. Unfortunately, he found neither. Robert's hobby of coin collecting was ignited by the change-over to decimal currency on 14 February 1966. After graduating from Sydney University he started serious collecting which has continued to this day. At first, he collected Australian coins and banknotes and subsequently ventured into collecting English coins which included a full set (four) of Portcullis British Colonial coins of Elizabeth 1. Colin Pitchfork from Noble Numismatics introduced Robert to ancient coins nearly twenty years ago. His main area of interest over the years has been New Zealand trading banknotes which he commenced collecting in 1990. He has continued to the present day although in the past five years or so few examples have come onto the market. He has thoroughly enjoyed numismatics and hopes some of his children and grandchildren will take up this interest in the years to come.

The New Zealand medal for the New Zealand wars

David Galt

Abstract

This paper briefly outlines the history and significance of the New Zealand Wars from the 1840s to the 1870s through the prism of the New Zealand Medal which was issued by both the British and Colonial Governments for service by British and Māori troops. Three awards of the medal to British soldiers are discussed. The first two of these went to officers, Lieutenant William H. Free and Colonel Charles Stapp. They were distinguished and successful in their long military careers but had mixed fortunes in their post-military lives. The third, Private James Johnston, served only briefly before receiving serious injuries in battle, being granted a pension from consequential disabilities and dying young after an alcoholic binge. All three now live on through their medals.

Keywords

[New Zealand Medal] [New Zealand Wars] [Maori] [William Free] [Charles Stapp]

The New Zealand Wars

Skirmishes between Europeans and Māori commenced with Abel Tasman's visit in 1642. Violence between Māori also erupted in the 1820s when chief Hongi Hika of Ngāpuhi in Northland brought 300 muskets back from England in 1821. The resulting wars through the 1820s among Māori saw a death toll estimated at between 16,000 to 18,000 people from a population of 100,000.

The New Zealand Wars were fought principally from the 1840s to the 1870s with the final action in the 1880s. The Treaty of Waitangi between the British crown and Māori chiefs was signed in 1840, preserving rights of Māori chiefs and property rights while providing for British sovereignty. From an estimated 2,000 then, the settler population grew quickly. In spite of this, major skirmishes between Māori and settlers occurred from June 1843, starting with the Wairau Massacre in the South Island, usually labelled the Wairau Affray, when a party of Europeans attempted to arrest two Māori chiefs for acting against a survey party. A shot was fired accidentally by the European party following which 21 Europeans and four Māori lay dead. Battles followed in Wellington, Whanganui, Northland, Taranaki, the Waikato and Bay of Plenty. Many of the battles arose from attempts by settlers to secure prime land for settlement, with two major phases in the wars, from 1845 to 1848 and 1860 to 1869, but tensions remained into the 1880s. The British and Colonial governments slowly established control. Large-scale

land confiscations followed, some still generating current Treaty settlement negotiations between the Crown and Māori.

The wars were fought on a large scale over much of the North Island (Fig. 1). For instance, at Ohaeawai in 1845, there were casualties of 110 British soldiers, 40 of whom were killed after an ill-judged frontal assault on a Māori fortified pā at Ohaeawai in Northland. In the 1860s, as many as 7,000 British troops were stationed in the Waikato region near Te Awamutu. The wars were not simply British against Māori – many Māori warriors (known as *kūpapa*) fought on the British side in these conflicts.

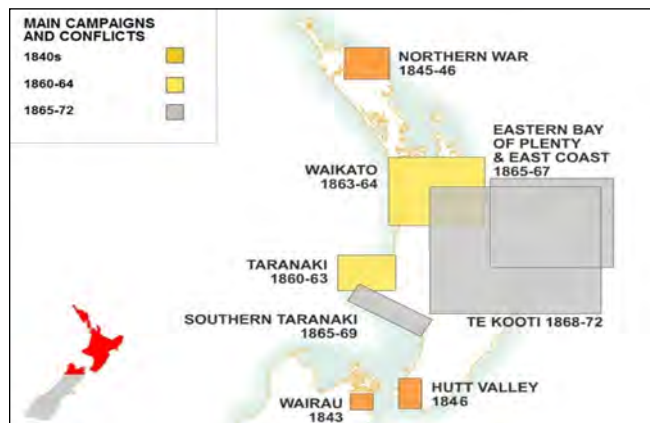


Figure 1. New Zealand Wars map. Source: www.nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/nz-wars-overview-map

The New Zealand Medal



Figure 2. The New Zealand Medal, Specimen type dated 1861-1866.

The medal was issued first by the British Government after 1869 for service from 1845 to 1848 and 1860 to 1866, and then by the Colonial Government from 1870. It was designed by brothers Joseph S. and Alfred B. Wyon. At the most basic level, the New Zealand Medal is simple – a silver disc of 36 mm, like many other British campaign medals, suspended from a ribbon of 32 mm of dark blue, with a red centre stripe. The swivel suspension is from a straight bar, each side representing half a fern leaf (Fig. 2). The obverse portrays Queen Victoria facing left with VICTORIA D:G:BRITT:REG:F:D: around the portrait. The reverse shows the recipient's dates of service in a laurel wreath with NEW ZEALAND above and VIRTUTIS HONOR around below.

Thereafter, it gets more complicated. As Hayward *et al.* say (2006, p. 295) “This medal is the most complex of the British campaign series.” The centre of the reverse may show at least 28 different date combinations. Many have no date.

The naming on the edge is even more complicated, partly because of the availability of medals in response to claims over many years. Drawing on the analysis of naming in Oldham and Delahunt (1991, p. 45) and Hayward *et al.* (2006, pp. 293 - 303):

- It is mostly impressed in serif capitals with the names of British Regimental and corps personnel and of some members of local forces employed by the Imperial Commissariat Corps.
- It is also engraved, mostly in later issues in serif or non-serif capitals, the latter often on named Colonial issues post 1870. Many different engraving styles are seen, as the medal was typically engraved locally by appointed parties. Thus, medals of people from the same unit are often similarly engraved.
- Some undated medals are dated on the edge with impressed or engraved naming.
- Some late claims for British forces after 1900 are officially impressed in small serif capitals.
- Specimens of the unissued medals were sold to registered collectors by the New Zealand Government until 1974. The name of the party awarded the medal was obliterated with an XXXXXXXX pattern and the word SPECIMEN was added on the edge. These have either an 1861-66 date or are undated. Often part or all of the original naming can still be deciphered.

The Imperial issue was awarded to British soldiers, including many who took their discharge in New Zealand, to some members of the Waikato and Auckland militias and to civilians who were employed in the Imperial Commissariat Transport Corps, fewer than half of whom applied for their medals. Many Australians signed up too. The Colonial issue was approved jointly to more than 100 units, some in very small numbers, by the New Zealand Parliament on 1 September 1869. To qualify, recipients had to prove they were under fire in an engagement during the wars up to 1872. The medal was awarded to both *kūpapa* and members of the Colonial forces. Next of kin

could claim the medal for those killed. No one could receive both an Imperial medal and a Colonial medal. A decision to allow military pensions of £36 p.a. in 1912 led to a flood of late medal applications as the military pension, though means-tested, was £10 higher p.a. than the old-age pension.

Three Awards to New Zealanders

Lieutenant William Henry Free

Free's life provides a good illustration of the conduct that led to the award of the New Zealand Medal. He was awarded a rare pair of New Zealand Medals in both the 1840s campaign and the 1860s campaign. The first is impressed "1618 WM FREE 58th REG" and the second engraved "LIEUT W. H. FREE TARANAKI RFE VRS" (Fig. 3).



Figure 3. Free's New Zealand Medals

These medals have been sold twice by Mowbray Collectables, graded as VF, the last time in September 2018 for NZ\$7,412 including a premium of 17% and GST.



Figure 4. Lieutenant William Henry Free (source: <https://www.austenfamily.org/william-henry-free/>)

Free was born on 9 November 1825 in County Wicklow, Ireland (Fig. 4). In civil life, he represented Omata on the Taranaki Provincial Council from 15 September 1865 to 8 September 1869 and was an active member of lodges, including being Past Provincial Grand Master of the New Plymouth district. After the wars he was employed by Dr Humphries at Montosa, most likely as a farm labourer and/or farm manager. He was also farm manager for Sir Harry Atkinson, later to become Premier. In 1881 Free was declared bankrupt. Later he moved into town and was a Borough Inspector of Nuisances for the New Plymouth Council until about 1904, aged 79. He died at New Plymouth, Taranaki, in 1919 aged 93 years.

Free enlisted in the 58th Rutlandshire Regiment of Foot at Carlow, County Wicklow on 15 April 1842, listed as a 17-year-old labourer. Sent with his regiment and armed with the old flintlock musket, he attended the Manchester riots of 1842. In July 1843, he went to Van Diemen's Land, part of a draft of his regiment who were acting as guards on the convict ship HMS Anson. The voyage was under Captain Cochrane, who was particularly ruthless in handing out floggings to convicts and crew alike, and Free's obituary records that "the horrors of the voyage were deeply burnt into Mr Free's memory". The troops were then stationed at Sydney and Windsor, New South Wales. The key engagements that he was involved in during his enlistments, at first with the 58th were:

1. Okaihau, Northland, 8 May 1845. In this unsuccessful attack on the Puketutu Pā, British casualties numbered 15 dead and 40 wounded.
2. Battle of Ohaeawai, Northland, July 1845. This battle showed that fortified *pā* could withstand bombardment from cannon fire and that frontal assaults by soldiers would result in serious troop losses. Free's obituary (*The Dominion*, Wellington, 11 February 1919) records that "*he was carrying off the field the body of a dead comrade, but happening on a wounded member of his company he put down the dead man and took up the living burden, and succeeded in bringing him – Smith by name – off the field and into safety.*"
3. Ruapekapeka 1846. This attack saw a *pā* quickly overthrown because the Māori retreated. Nevertheless, the English lost 13 men killed and some 30 wounded.

Free transferred to the 65th Regiment on 1 November 1849 and purchased his discharge for £4.0.0 in Wellington on 31 January 1850. He then migrated to Taranaki. He received recognition for his service in the 1840s when his first New Zealand Medal was awarded after the institution of the New Zealand Medal by the imperial Horse Guards General Order 17 of 1 March 1869.

In 1859 he joined the Taranaki Volunteer Rifles under Major Lloyd and was appointed Sergeant. By 1860 he was the Colour-Sergeant. In 1864 he became a Lieutenant. A

framed Commission to Lieutenant dated 8 June 1864, signed by Governor Grey, is known. Family legend suggests that the quality of their home-brewed spirits helped him gain his commission. **He received the second “New Zealand Medal” on 22 July 1871** (application AD32/2835) – which was awarded for ‘having been under fire or attached to her Majesty’s Imperial Forces during the war of 1860-1870’.

There were two key incidents with the Taranaki Rifle Volunteers. At the Battle of Waireka, 28 March 1860, James Cowan (1935, pp. 174-175) records this incident, and his involvement in it as follows:

... Meanwhile the Volunteers and the Militia were fighting a desperate battle on the slopes above the beach. Captain Brown, who had not had any previous experience of soldiering, had wisely requested his adjutant, Captain Stapp, to take command, and that veteran of the “Black Cuffs” conducted the afternoon’s operations with the coolness characteristic of the well-skilled regular soldier. He had an old comrade with him who put good stiffening into the civilian ranks, Colour-Sergeant (later Lieutenant) W.H. Free; both had been corporals in the 58th in Heke’s War.

... When the Waireka was reached where it runs down the iron sand beach, the advanced guard under Colour-Sergeant Free caught sight of many armed Maoris coming down at a run from their pa on the Kaipopo ridge nearly a mile away. Free fired the first shot in the engagement, and Volunteer Charles Wilson Hursthouse (the surveyor) the second, at 400 yard range. Free and his party doubled forward and took cover behind a furze hedge and rail fence to prevent the Maoris seizing it. Resting his Minie rifle on the lowest rail of the fence, Free sighted for 300 yards and drilled a conspicuous warrior through his cap-band as was afterwards discovered. “Good on you, Free,” shouted one of the veteran’s comrades.

At a skirmish at the Omata Stockade on 11 August 1860 following the deaths of several settlers at the hands of Māori, Free was said to have been wounded in the knee.

Colonel Charles Stapp

Charles Stapp was awarded one New Zealand Medal for his service in the British Army and gazetted as being awarded a second, which appears not to have been issued (Fig. 5). His military career had parallels with that of Lieutenant Free and is covered here in less detail.



Figure 5. Stapp's New Zealand and Long and Efficient Service Medals

Charles Stapp was born on 26 April 1825. Like Free, he joined the 58th Foot in Ireland in April 1842 aged 17, served in Lancashire and accompanied convicts to Tasmania. Stapp took part in all the major Northland engagements (Okaihau, Ohaeawai, Arawa's Pā at Waikare and Ruapekapeka). On 3 January 1858 he was appointed Adjutant to the permanent staff of the Taranaki militia. He took leadership roles and was mentioned in dispatches for the engagements with Māori at Waireka, Puketakauere, Kaihihi, and Kaitake. In 1865 he was appointed Brevet-Major, a reward for gallantry or meritorious conduct that was used when a medal was not available. In 1865 he was appointed as second in command of an expeditionary force that was sent to Opotiki on a mission to capture the Hauhau Māori involved with the murder of Rev Volkner and the passengers and crew of the ship Kate.

His two medals are a New Zealand undated medal impressed 1640 CORPL. CHAS. STAPP, 58TH FOOT for his time in the 58th Foot in the 1845 campaigns and the New Zealand Long and Efficient Service Medal. There might well have been three medals had Stapp's service in the 1860s been better recognised, but it was not to be. The two medals were sold by Mowbray Collectables in its 15 March 2019 auction for NZ\$7,651 with premium and tax included.

In 1870 Stapp applied for a New Zealand Medal for his service in the 1860s, but in 1872 he wrote to clarify that he had already received a medal for the 1845-6 service (Archives NZ Reference AAYS 8661 AD32/63 Item 4193 Application for the New Zealand War Medal - No medal 1, at the nzpictures web reference below):

"According to the N.Z. Govt Gazette No 42 dated 27 July 1871 no person is to receive two medals. My reason for writing this is to prevent my name being engraved on one if I am not entitled to it although I have been gazette (sic), but I must say that I think it a hard case if I have nothing to shew that I served in the

late war in New Zealand having on the same decoration as many who were only once under fire.”

It seems unlikely that he received a second medal. On the one hand, a number of men did receive both, but on the other hand there is a letter dated 31 May 1872 from Lt-Col Moule to Mr Burrett in records held about him, “No medal to be inscribed for Major Charles Stapp,” and an undated photo of an older Stapp in uniform clearly shows he is wearing only one medal (Letter of 31 May 1872 from Lt-Col Moule to Mr Burrett, Archives NZ Reference, AAYS 8661 AD 32/63 Item 4193, Application for the New Zealand Medal – No Medal 2, at <http://www.nzpictures.co.nz/pandoraresearch-opunakeroll1865.pdf>)



Figure 6. Colonel Charles Stapp. Source: Te Papa.

In 1891 Stapp retired due to ill health from the Militia with the rank of Colonel and 33 years of service. His service had won him respect from his fellow officers, including receiving in 1872 a sword as a token of esteem from them. The sword was sold at Dunbar Sloane in Wellington in 2014. On retirement, he was given about £700 as compensation but did not qualify for an ongoing pension. This led to a petition for him to receive an extra grant of £750 which was recommended by the Parliamentary Public Petitions committee but rejected by the Government due to financial constraints. Stapp experienced ill health until his death in 1900, at which time his estate was valued at £3,295.

Private James Johnston, 3rd Regiment, Waikato Militia

Private James Johnston led a very different life from the two officers discussed so far. He was born in Glasgow in about 1841. In 1861 he migrated to New Zealand with his father Robert and brother Robert. Both he and his brother joined the 3rd Regiment of the Waikato Militia in December 1863. His service in the militia ended on 5 January 1865 after he was injured during an engagement with Māori at Williamson's clearing (where the Presbyterian Church now stands in Drury, South Auckland). He was granted a pension of 2s 2d per day. Some idea of the scale of his injuries implied by this pension can be seen from the pension schedule of payments allowed to privates, which suggests that he was judged to have "second degree" injuries, described as "those that rendered him incapable of earning a livelihood but not requiring the aid of another person". After his discharge from the militia James lived as a kauri gum-digger on some land that he owned at Kaukapakapa near Helensville. He became an alcoholic.

He died suddenly in August 1889 and his inquest revealed that he was in the habit of going on "a spree" when he got paid his quarterly pension. On this occasion, having got drunk and taken lodgings at the hotel, he had tripped and fallen in a way restricting his breathing. He was found to have £3 7d on him which suggests that he had spent over two-thirds of his pension in the one-day drinking spree (*Auckland Star*, 12 and 14 August 1889).

Johnston never married. His medal was sold at a Dunbar Sloane auction in Wellington for NZ\$777 including buyer's premium in 2019 (Fig. 7).



Figure 7. Private James Johnston's New Zealand Medal

Conclusion

The New Zealand Wars from 1845 to the early 1870s represented the clash of British and Māori culture under the impetus of British settlement. The scale pitted many thousands of troops on both sides against each other. The prolonged campaigns produced the New Zealand Medal which provides a good window for examining a part of New Zealand's history poorly known to many New Zealanders.

The war produced heroes such as Stapp and Free, who became officers and well respected in their community. Stapp died comfortably with many descendants while Free enjoyed success in provincial politics but suffered bankruptcy. His story became well known after the attention he received at age 93 as the last survivor of the assault at Ohaeawai. Others were not so fortunate, becoming casualties in battle and in later life, such as James Johnston, dying early, reliant on a pension and becoming an alcoholic. All now live through their medals which draw continuing attention to their deeds.

Acknowledgements

Margaret Galt carried out research on the individuals cited in this paper and Nicola Bowden, of Mowbray Collectables, took photos of the medals illustrated.

About the Author

David Galt is President and a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand and a Director of Mowbray Collectables.

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General information on Charles Stapp is available from:

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- Retirement, Taranaki Herald, 28 April 1891
- Obituary, Taranaki Herald, 7 August 1900
- <http://www.nzpictures.co.nz/pandoraresearch-opunakeroll1865.pdf>

Early Australian Highland Society medals and awards: The Geelong Comunn Na Feinne Society.

Richard A. J. O'Hair* and Carmel S. O'Hair

Abstract

Founded in 1856 and disestablished in the 1940s, the Comunn na Feinne Society was one of the earliest Scottish Highland Societies of the Colony of Victoria. Its aims were to foster Scottish culture, which was achieved through sports and school competitions. An array of prizes were awarded including sterling silver cups and medals. One of these prizes includes a remarkable brass plate awarded to King Jerry of the Dan-Dan-Nook (Barrabool) tribe. Prizes such as these provide a tangible link with the Aboriginal people, whose involvement had an effect on the colonial history of Australia.

Keywords

[Comunn na Feinne Society Medal] [Scottish Highland Societies] [Victorian Sports and School Competitions] [Interactions between Colonists and Aboriginal People]

1. Introduction

A number of highland societies were formed in Australia throughout the 1850s and 1860s and several of these issued medals and other awards, typically as prizes for competitions in highland gatherings.¹ Here we focus on the Geelong Comunn Na Feinne Society, describing their medal and other awards including a unique award to the Geelong Aboriginal “King Jerry”, which has been recently rediscovered.

1 Chisholm's excellent book gives a short overview of the various highland societies of the Colony of Victoria and also notes some other Australian highland societies. It is not clear which of the societies in the Colony of Victoria produced the first medals. The Buninyong Highland Society had handmade medals manufactured and these were issued as early as 1860. For an example dated in that year, see the Chapman collection (Noble (2008) 88: 763). Other societies to issue medals in the 1860s include the Bendigo St Andrews Society (Noble (2010) 94: 774; Downies (2010) 304: 762) and the Maryborough Highland Society Medal: Lane, P. (2015) “Peter Cameron and his Highland Society North West Province (Maryborough, Victoria) medals”, *Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia*, 26: 91-95.

2. Overview of the Comunn Na Feinne Society of Geelong

The Comunn Na Feinne Society was founded in December of 1856, and eventually “languished and died” during the period between the two world wars.² It was the first Scottish society in the Colony of Victoria.³ Evidence of the high regard it was held in can be gleaned from the fact that the Governor of Victoria was its President during several of the early years.⁴ During its heyday, the Comunn na Feinne Society was very active in promoting a range of activities, including: school examinations, sporting activities, shooting, musical and elocutionary competitions. The first annual highland gathering was held in 1857 and attracted around 5-6,000 people.⁵ The popularity of these gatherings became well known, as evidenced by the publication of a story in the Illustrated London News in 1863, which also included the engraving shown in Figure 1.⁶ The Comunn na Feinne was large enough to field its own cricket team in a local club competition.⁷ It had sufficient funds to help subsidize the local hospital.⁸ Around 1912 the society bought its own building, the former St Andrews Presbyterian Church.⁹

2 Brownhill, pp 35-36, 260-263. Some of the last highland gatherings of the Comunn Na Feinne were held in the 1920s. For example, the 66th highland gathering was held in 1923 (ARG, January 1st, 1923). The Commun na Feinne was holding art competitions as late as 1928 (ARG, March 15th, 1928). One of the last newspaper accounts on the Commun na Feinne is entitled “Passing of Geelong Commun Na Feinne” and describes the disposal of their property by the Trustees (ARG, March 7th, 1946).

3 Chisholm notes “With the coming of 1930 the Geelong Society had been in existence for 74 years and was the oldest Scottish society in the State, leading the Maryborough Highland Society by one year. Some years previously its President for a lengthy period, Dr John Small, had died, and when the secretary of many years’ standing, James Galbraith, gave up in 1929, the Society began to lose much of its drive. Anyway, it was a great pity that such an organization was allowed to fall away and then dissolve.” pp. 88-89.

4 Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of Victoria was presented with a ticket of membership and made chief of the Comunn Na Feinne. AGE, July 1st, 1857.

5 GA, January 3rd, 1857.

6 ‘Meeting of The Highland Society (Comunn na Feinne) at Geelong, Australia,’ Illustrated London News, April 11th, 1863.

7 GA, April 28th, 1863.

8 In the first quarterly meeting, it was noted (GA, February 3rd, 1857) that “it had been arranged that a subscription of ten pounds yearly be given to the hospital in consideration of benefits which members may derive from that institution.”

9 GA, August 23rd, 1913.



Figure 1: Hand coloured illustration of 'Meeting of The Highland Society (Comunn Na Feinne) at Geelong, Australia', from the Illustrated London News, April 11th, 1863 (collection of the authors).

3. The Medals

3.1 Description of the Struck Medal.

The Comunn na Feinne medal is a large (51 mm diameter) uniface struck medal, as shown in Figure 2. On the struck (obverse) side it consists of a shield with a rampant lion at the center, with a castle and scales above and Scottish thistles below. The shield is supported by a Highlander on the left and an aboriginal with a boomerang and a spear on the right. The Motto above is "Coram Na Feinn" and the motto below reads "Seas Cuis". This would appear to be one of the first depictions of an aboriginal on a coin, token, medal or medalet, at least contemporary with the well-known Hogarth and Erichsen token of 1860.¹⁰ It definitely predates the "Ricketty Dick" medalets by around a decade.¹¹ While the exact date of manufacture, the medallist and the designer are unknown, photocopies of handwritten records in the Geelong Research Centre (1075/1 and 2) suggest that:

10 Skinner, D.H. (1989) Rennicks Coin and Banknote Guide, 25th Ed., Rennicks Books, Burnside, Token #257, p.257.

11 Carlisle, L.J. (2008) Australian Historical Medals 1788 -1988, Ligare Book Printing, Sydney, pp 16 – 20.

“The Society has also resolved to award the Society’s silver medal made in London with the Society’s Crest in front to the best scholars in each of the subjoined branches of learning.” 10th Dec 1857

All the issued Comunn na Feinne medals that have survived are mounted with an ornate loop and brooch, and have a reverse that is hand engraved, stating the purpose of the award and the date of issue. For example, Figure 2 shows this award:

Geography Prize of Comunn Na Feinne To Robert Camm Geelong Jan^y 1st 1861



Figure 2: The Comunn Na Feinne medal in the collection of the authors: (a) obverse; (b) reverse.

3.2 List of Existing Medals in Public and Private Collections.

Table 1 is a compilation of all the recorded and known Commun na Feinne medals. Although it seems that these medals were also struck in gold, only 13 silver medals appear to have survived. The earliest surviving dated medal is that awarded to the famous wine merchant, pastoralist and member of parliament, John Riddoch, as a prize for the sport of tilting for the New Year’s Highlands competition in 1860.¹² Another medal, which has been defaced to remove the name is also dated for 1860. Although the latest dated medal is for 1877, most of the surviving medals are dated from 1861-1864, with the largest cluster being awarded for the 1861 New Year’s competitions. While the exact number of medals issued is uncertain, based on newspaper accounts discussed below and the existing medals, we estimate around 50 might have been manufactured and awarded.

12 Dictionary of Australian Biography, Volume 11, pp 390-391; Peter Rymill, P. (1995) *The Founders*, Penola Branch, National Trust of South Australia.

Table 1: List of known Commun na Feinne Medals by year and type of award, based on unpublished manuscripts and auction records

Year	Award	Awarded to	Reverse Inscription	Notes
1860	Sports: Tilting	John Riddock	TILTING/1st PRIZE OF/COMMUN NA FEINNE/JOHN RIDDOCK/GEELONG JAN 2nd 1860	Private Collection
1860	Sports: Light Stone	name is erased	'Light Stone / 1st Prize of / Commun Na Feinne / to / ____ / Geelong Jany 2nd 1860'	Ex Chapman Collection, Noble Sale 88, 2008: Lot 764
1861	Sports: Tilting	David M. Barry	Tilting/1st Prize of/ Commun na Feinne to/David M. Barry/ Geelong Jany. 1st 1861	Spink Australia Sales: 16, 1985, Lot 1297; 34 15th November 1990 Lot 795
1861	Sports: Foot Race in Kilts	Joseph Bertrum	'Foot Race in Kilts/1st Prize of/Commun Na Feinne/Joseph Bertrum/ Geelong Jany. 1st 1861' wreathed border	Noble Sale 47, 1995: Lot 542
1861	Sports: Dancing, Reel of Tulloch	W A Stewart	'Reel of Tulloch/1st Prize of Commun Na Feinne/ TO/W A Stewart/ Geelong Jan 1861	Ex Noble Sale 33, 1990, Lot 2618
1861	Sports: Dancing	W A Stewart	'Dancing/seantrms/1st Prize/ of / Commun Na Feinne/to /W A Stewart/ Geelong Jan 1st 1861	Noble Sale 33, 1990, Lot 2617.
1862	Sports: Archery	John Middlemiss	'ARCHERY/1st Prize of /Commun Na Feinne/ to John Middlemiss/ Geelong Jan 1st 1862	Held in the Dixson Library (DN/M 714), listed in the Gullick Manuscript. ^(a)

Year	Award	Awarded to	Reverse Inscription	Notes
1866	Sports: Quoits	William Sharp	'Commun Na Feinne/ William Sharp/ Quoits/ Geelong January 1st 1866/ Geelong	Noble Sale 104, 2013, Lot 745.
1861	Education: Geography	Robert Camm	Geography/Prize of/ Commun Na Feinne/to/ Robert Camm/Geelong Jan 1st 1861	Downies Sale 311, 2012, Lot 1538.
1863	Education: For Proficiency in all subjects in the Middle Class	William Watts	PRESENTED TO/ WILLIAM WATTS/ FOR PROFICIENCY IN ALL SUBJECTS/ IN THE/MIDDLE CLASS/COMMUN NA FEINNE/ EDUCATIONAL EXHIBITION/JANY. 1st 1863	Noble Sale 49, 1995, Lot 4087: and Downies Sale 261, 1996, Lot 2065.
1864	Education: For General Proficiency in Middle Class	Margaret Wallace	COMMUN NA FEINNE/Educational Examination Novr 1,2 & 3, 1884. 1st Prize for General Proficiency in Middle Class - Awarded to Margaret Wallace	Ex Chapman Collection, Noble Sale 88, 2008: Lot 783. Listed as I4562 in the Hayes Manuscript (National Library of Australia). ^(b)
1867	Service	Robert De B. Johnstone	COMMUN NA FEINNE/TO/Robert De B. Johnstone Esq/ Mayor/for conducting the/EDUCATIONAL EXAMINATIONS/of the Society with Great/ Credit. Geelong./1867	Held as item GRS1286/5-20 in The Geelong Heritage Center.

Year	Award	Awarded to	Reverse Inscription	Notes
1877	Service	Mr. J.S. Mackay	COMMUN NA FEINNE to Mr. J.S. Mackay IN RECOGNITION of his Valuable Services as HON. SEC. Geelong Jany. 1877.	Museum Victoria. Listed as I5308 in the Hayes Manuscript (National Library of Australia) ^(b,c)

(a) This medal is described and illustrated in the unpublished work “Australian Medals and Badges” by William Gullick on page 13, which is also held in the Dixon Library (reference Q91/136).

(b) The National Library of Australia holds an unpublished manuscript “Australian Medals” by the Reverend E.E. Hayes (MS 3547, MS 1076, MS 738), which lists two Commun na Feinne medals

(c) Can be viewed at the website: http://www.museum.vic.gov.au/coins/1865/comunn_na_feinne_medal.html

2.3 Contemporary Evidence for the Medals.

The medals appear to have first been issued in 1858, with several reports on awards of the medal in the Geelong Advertiser during that year. Both gold and silver medals were awarded. At the second highland gathering, a total of nine silver medals appear to have been awarded as the first prize to the following competitors:¹³

Throwing heavy stone: Donald Cameron

Throwing light stone: Alexander Mackenzie

Throwing heavy hammer: Hugh Rankin

Throwing light hammer: James Cameron

Piobaireachd and marches: Donald Rowan (also awarded 2 guineas)

Strathspey and reels: Donald Rowan

Dancing highland fling: Peter Anderson

Best dressed highlander: Donald Rowan (also awarded 2 guineas)

Best dressed boy: Peter Sinclair

The first gold medal appears to have been awarded to the departing President:¹⁴

“The President having been requested to vacate the chair, the members appointed Mr Thos. Brown in his place, and passed a resolution for presenting to the president a gold medal as a token of the esteem in which his services in the promotion of the society were held by the members.”

¹³ GA, January 4th, 1858.

¹⁴ GA, February 2nd, 1858.

4. Background of the Awards

It is clear from the list of known medals shown in Table 1 that the Commun na Feine Society medal was a general purpose medal, which was awarded to: the best pupils in School competitions; winning competitors in various activities for the Annual Grand Highland Gatherings; and committee members in recognition of their service to the society. It is not the purpose of this article to provide complete details of the circumstance in which all the awards were made, but rather to give select examples of these three categories.

4.1 The Annual School Examinations.

The Commun na Feine Society held annual school examinations for children of different ages. These are described in various editions of the Geelong Advertiser. The first mention that we have found for awards for scholarship is from the description of the 2nd highland gathering:¹⁵

“The Society have also judiciously thought fit to distribute prizes as well for learning as for amusements, and the best scholar in each of the subjoined branches of learning will receive a silver medal: General, advanced, and mental arithmetic; English composition and grammar, geography, natural science, Gaelic orthography, the latter receiving 2 guineas additional.”

In addition, the State Library of Victoria holds two rare advertisements/regulation booklets sent by the secretary of examinations of the Commun na Feine to various Schools.¹⁶ These exams were held in high regard and were fiercely contested and the important role that they played in the education of the local students can be inferred from the following:

- (i) The significant numbers of students taking them: In a 1864 letter to the editor, it was noted that “at their last examination, nearly 200 students from sixteen schools, competed.”¹⁷

¹⁵ GA, January 1st, 1858.

¹⁶ 2nd March 1863, by J. Bertram, which lists the exam as being held at the Mechanics Institute on Monday, November 2, 1863. The competitions were for the following categories: 10 years old and under; 11 years old; 12 or 13 years old. This document is bound as pages 99-102 of the 1864 “Presbyterianism in Victoria” book of press cuttings. 12th April 1864, by Robert Maxwell, which lists the exam as being held at the Mechanics Institute on Tuesday, November 2, 1864. The completions were for the following categories: 10 years old and under; 11 years old; 12 or 13 years old. This document is bound as pages 103-105 of the same book of press cuttings.

¹⁷ GA, June 2nd, 1864.

- (ii) The involvement of experts: In the 1862 Annual report of the Society, it was noted that Professor Hill of Melbourne was involved in the reading part of the examination, and that:¹⁸
 “a great amount of interest is being taken in the society’s educational department, and in addition to the Riddoch Prize, two additional prizes of 5 pounds each have been placed at its disposal.”
- (iii) The outrage expressed at an incident in which the exam papers were stolen;¹⁹
- (iv) The award of substantial prizes to winning students.

In fact, it appears that gold versions of the medal of the Commun Na Feine Society were reserved for the highest educational prize in the competitions for 12 and 13year olds and for outstanding service to the Commun Na Feine Society. For example, in 1863:

“Gold Medal of Honour for the highest number of marks on all the subjects... The medal of honour was won by Henry Smith, who attends Central Wesleyan school.... It may be stated that this boy has distinguished himself at the examinations on two previous occasions, and in addition to the gold medal he now wins is the possessor of one of the society’s silver medals and other prizes.”²⁰

Table 2: Commun na Feinne Society Gold Fobs Awarded.

Year	Obverse Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Notes
1919	CNF/I.C./JAN 1919	2 FLING/OPEN/UNDER 12 I.CAMERON	9ct, Collection of the authors
1919	C.N.F/I.C./1919	Strathspeys/&REELS/ UNDER 16/IONA CAMERON	9ct, Collection of the authors
1919	C.N.F/ SHEANTRIUS/1919	UNDER 14/IONA CAMERON	9ct, Collection of the authors
1919	C.N.F/1919	1 ST FLING UNDER 14/ IONA CAMERON	9ct, Collection of the authors
1919	C.N.F/1919	2 ND FLING/UNDER 12/ IONA CAMERON	9ct, Collection of the authors

18 GA, February 4th, 1863.

19 See the series of letters in GA, November 15th, 16th and 17th, 1864.

20 GA, December 14th, 1863; GA, August 18th, 1866.

Year	Obverse Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Notes
1920	C.N.F/1920	SHEANTRIUS/1 ST UNDER 14/3 UNDER 16/ WON BY/I. CAMERON	9ct, Collection of the authors
1920	C.N.F	1920/ Strathspeys/& REELS/1 ST UNDER 12/ IONA CAMERON	9ct, Collection of the authors
1920	C.N.F/1920	H FLING/2 UNDER 12/ IONA CAMERON	9ct, Collection of the authors
1920	C.N.F/1920	H FLING/2 UNDER 16/ IONA CAMERON	9ct, Collection of the authors
1920	none	COMUNN NA FEINNE 1920/GEELONG 1920/ CORNET SOLO/WON BY/J. C. MEYERS	Downies Sale 334, 2019, Lot 1863

4.2 The Annual Grand Highland Gatherings, Held January 1st.

The Commun Na Feine Society held an Annual Grand Highland Gatherings on January 1st of every year. During these gatherings, a range of competitions were held and winning competitors received a range of different prizes, including cash prizes, presentation cups and the Society's Medal. It was typical for the Society to advertise the Annual Grand Highland Gatherings in December in the Geelong Advertiser. Figure 3 illustrates an example of such an advertisement. Noteworthy is the use of the seal, which is identical to the design of the medal. In addition, advertising pamphlets were distributed.²¹ It appears that the prize medal was slowly replaced by cash prizes. For example, by 1865 only three classes were awarded medals: quoit tournament; fencing; Member's race.²² In that year a special silver cup donated by Captain Bell was awarded for "throwing a cannon ball".²³

21 A rare example can be found in the State Library of Victoria, 1868, which advertises the 1869 program and timetable. See "Presbyterianism in Victoria" book of press cuttings, 1868, page 535. This lists Sir J.H.T. Manners-Sutton, the Governor-in-Chief of Victoria as the "Chief" of the society. Only cash prizes are listed in this advertisement. Spear throwing and foot races by aboriginals are noted.

22 GA, December 10th, 1864.

23 GA, January 3rd, 1865.



Figure 3: Advertisement for the 5th Annual Highland Gathering of the Comunn Na Feinne, Geelong Advertiser December 20th, 1860.

The competitions varied slightly from year to year, but they were always open to a wide range of contestants, including those visiting from other colonies. In fact, at the second gathering it was noted that:²⁴

“The winner of the footrace is a very smart young American, known to many as the “Yankee Pirate” and the same man that won the foot and hurdle races at Ballarat on Boxing Day.”

4.3 The First Meeting

The first annual gathering of the Society was held on Thursday January 1, 1857. The Geelong Advertiser reported on a key meeting in which the following details were reported on the plans for the first meeting:²⁵

“COMUNN NA FEINNE.- A public meeting of the members of the Comunn na Feinne (or Highland society) was held last evening at Mr Rae’s Argyle Hotel, Aberdeen Street. The following program of sports for New Year’s day was read by the Secretary and approved by the meeting: Throwing the heavy hammer, two prizes; throwing the light stone, two prizes; “putting” the heavy stone, two prizes; “putting” the light stone, two prizes; tossing caber, one prize; running leap, one prize; standing leap, one prize; long leap, one prize; foot race, three prizes; boys’ footrace, two prizes; dancing Gillie Callum, one prize; dancing

²⁴ GA, January 2nd, 1858.

²⁵ GA, December 20th, 1856.

Reel of Tulloch, one prize; dancing Reel Sathspray time, one prize. Also, prizes to be awarded to the two best dressed Highlanders, in national costume; to the two best dressed boys in Highland costume; to the two best Highland bagpipers (provided there be four competitors). Twenty-six prizes in all will be awarded. Competition to be open to the Highlanders in all the Australian colonies. The games to come off on the vacant ground south of Geelong. Many new members were admitted; and subscriptions to the amount of 60 pounds were reported by the treasurer to have been already received.”

A further advertisement for this gathering appeared, which gave the following additional details: the names of the Comunn na Feinne officials presiding over the competition; the date, location and time of the gathering; list of all prizes and prize monies, which ranged from “BOYS’ FOOT RACE 1st prize £1” to “BEST HIGHLAND BAGPIPE PLAYER– 1st prize £3 3s”; the rules of the competition and the entrance fee for competitors “Men, 5s; Boys, 2s 6d”.²⁶

An account of the meeting noted that:

“The number of constant spectators was set down as five or six thousand.”²⁵

This is a substantial number given that the entire population of Geelong at that time was 23,338.²⁷ By all accounts, this first meeting was a great success.

4.4 Other Awards.

4.4.1 Presentation Cups:

As noted in a previous publication, Louis Kitz, a Geelong jeweller made 3 presentation cups for the Commun na Feinne.²⁸ The Geelong Advertiser described these in some detail:

“We have been favoured by Mr. L Kitz, jeweler of Moorabool-street, with an inspection of the designs for the three silver cups to be presented by the Comunn Na Feinne, to the successful competitors at the Grand Rifle Match, open to all volunteers in the colony, which comes off at the Butts, East Geelong, on Saturday, the 29th and Monday, the 31st instant. The most valuable of the prizes estimated to cost 34 pounds, is a very elegant cup and cover, a volunteer rifleman, standing at ease, surmounting the lid: the body of the cup will be highly ornamented with wreaths of thistles and the impression of the Comunn

²⁶ GA, January 1st, 1857.

²⁷ We have used the 1857 census result for Geelong and Suburbs reported in: Watson, A. B (2003) *Lost and Almost Forgotten Towns of Colonial Victoria. A Comprehensive Analysis of Census Results for Victoria 1841-1901*, A. B Watson and Andrew MacMillan Art and Design, p 177.

²⁸ Houstone, J., O'Hair, R. A. J. and O'Hair, C. S. (2008) “Louis Kitz: A Newly Identified Early Australian Goldsmith and Silversmith”, *Australiana*, 30: 13-19.

Na Feinne medal. The other two cups, valued respectively at 22 pounds 10 shillings and 8 pounds 10 shillings, are to be made after very chaste designs, in the ornamentation of which the thistle and copies of the medal will predominate. No doubt these specimens of colonial work of art will be done full justice to by Mr. Kitz.²⁹

In addition, there are newspaper accounts on the presentation of two cups at a special Dinner Event held on the 30th March 1859 in honour of Mr Shirra and Mr de Bruce Johnstone, who were respectively the secretary and treasurer of the Comunn Na Feinne.³⁰

“The chairman then handed to Messrs Shirra and Johnston the cups which have been purchased for the occasion – two very handsome silver goblets, which were immediately brimmed with champagne and passed around”.

During our research at the Geelong Heritage Centre, we discovered the cup presented to Mr Robert de Bruce Johnstone.³¹ The cup is hallmarked for London, dated 1858, and is made by Daniel Houle and Charles Houle. It is 210 mm high, 110 mm wide at top and has engraved:

Presented to
Mr Robert de Bruce Johnstone
by Members of Commun na Feinne
in appreciation of his Zeal and Efficiency as Honorary Treasurer
Geelong March 30th. 1859

It appears as if a badge had been affixed below the engraving, but this is now missing.

The cup is very ornate and as such is difficult to photograph. Surrounding the inscription are flowers and a dog below. The remaining parts are taken up by a farm scene of two men resting with two horses and two sheep, with trees, a cottage and haystacks in the background. One of the horses is harnessed to a plow, upon which one of the men is sitting whilst having a drink from a cup. The other man is resting on the ground.

4.4.2 Fobs for competitions held in the early 20th Century:

A total of 9 gold fobs from the interwar period are listed in Table 2. 8 were awarded to a schoolgirl Iona Cameron for various forms of dancing.³² An examination of the

29 GA, December 20th, 1860.

30 GA, March 19th and 31st, 1859.

31 Geelong Heritage Centre, GRS 1286/5-17.

32 Iona Cameron also won a range of gold fobs for competitions held by other Scottish Societies in Victoria, including: 2 from Colac (in 1919); 1 from Bunyip (in 1920); 3 from Ballarat (1920) and 5 from the South Street Ballarat (in 1919 and 1920).

newspapers of the era and the Scottish magazine "The Scot at Hame an' Abroad" highlights that the activities of the Commun na Feine spiked just after the 1st world war.³³ The following entries from "The Scot at Hame an' Abroad" are relevant:

February 1, 1919 discusses the Gathering at Geelong and notes that:

"...the sports programme commenced, the attendance being well up to the best of past years."

In the results section:

"in the under 12 years, I. Cameron two 3rds" "Under 14 years – I. Cameron one 1st and 1 2nd." "Under 16 years I. Cameron one 3rd"

February 1, 1920 discusses the Gathering at Geelong, noting that:

"The New Year's gathering of the society was held in the presence of a large number of people."

The results section:

"The open Dancing competitions for lads and lassies under 16 years of age were well contested...I. Cameron one 1st prize"

"In the local competitions for boys and girls under 12 years, I. Cameron one 1st and one 2nd." "For dancers under 16 years, I. Cameron one 2nd"

4.4.3 Other presentation pieces:

It seems that medals were no longer given for retiring office bearers and that other presents were given instead:

"The directors of the Commun-na-Feinne have presented their vice-president (Mr. James Smith), who is leaving Geelong to take charge of the Colonial Bank at Ballarat, with a set of gold sleeve-links."³⁴

5. Interactions between the Comunn Na Feinne Society and the Local Aboriginal Tribe

One of the remarkable aspects is the interaction between the Society and the local aboriginal population, who were included as active participants in the early Annual Gatherings. In the 1858 New Year's Day event, the local aboriginals appear to have been given honorary Scots status, with the men being "dressed out in short drawers and jumpers made of plaid stuff" and the women "were each presented with a flaming

³³ The Scot at Hame an' Abroad first appeared in June 1902 and was published by James T. Picken. See Chisholm, Chapter 6.

³⁴ ARG, March 22nd, 1911.

shawl”.³⁵ In 1859 they were invited again, where the “kilted and turbaned” aboriginals competed in foot races and spear and boomerang throwing competitions.³⁶

Members of the Corio tribe were encouraged to attend and to compete in their own events. In an advertisement for the 1869 gathering, it was noted that at 5:50 pm “Spear Throwing and Footraces by Aborigines – suitable prizes will be awarded”.²¹

In the 1862/3 Annual report, it was noted that:³⁷

“This society having from its origin taken great interest in the welfare of the Aborigines, on every occasion invited their attendance at the annual gathering, and supplied them with suitable clothing; they have competed in the athletic sports and obtained silver and other medals as prizes for proficiency. Your directors regret that only six were at the sports on New Year’s Day, being all that are left of the once numerous Corio Tribe; only three years ago as many as 20 having been present.”

5.1 Brass medallion (with chain) presented to “King Jerry”

Brownhill’s book illustrates “King Jerry” (Figure 4 below) and has the following Figure caption:²

“King Jerry, of the Dan-Dan-Nook (Barrabool) tribe. A frequent visitor to the town. The large inscribed medal which he proudly wore was a gift from the Commun na Feinne society, whose athletic meetings he rarely missed. The photograph was by Wilmot and Key, of the portrait Gallery, Malop-street West. King Jerry died in October, 1870.”

We have recently rediscovered the medal, which is in the possession of the Geelong Heritage Centre.³¹ Figure 5 is a photograph of the actual medal, which is made of brass, has a diameter of 131mm and thickness of 1.5 mm, and has engraved:

KING
DAN – DAN – NOOK
Jerry
Best Runner
Geelong
1860

35 ARG, January 5th, 1858.

36 ARG, January 4th, 1859.

37 GA, February 4th, 1863.

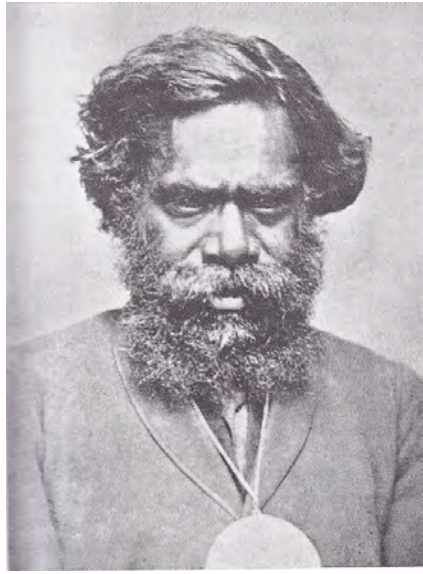


Figure 4: Photograph of King Jerry with Medal.



Figure 5: Actual Medal given to King Jerry, held in the Geelong Heritage Centre.

Brownhill notes that:²

“Jerry and Billy were known by almost every resident of Geelong. They were the final remnants of the once strong Barrabool tribe. They were frequently in town and at every open-air public gathering. For years Jerry was a familiar figure at Commun na Feinne sports. The Society presented him with a large medal, on which his name was engraved. Jerry treasured it and wore it conspicuously on all special occasions. He died in Geelong hospital on 21th October, 1870, aged about 50 years.”³⁸

38 For a further discussion of King Jerry, see: Broome, R. (2005) *Aboriginal Victorians*, Allen & Unwin, pp 102-103.

Contemporary evidence of this medal comes from King Jerry's obituary:³⁹

"King Jerry, the last monarch of his tribe, died in the Geelong Hospital on Friday evening week at eight o'clock, having been admitted on the last occasion on the 3rd August. In the books of the institution it is recorded that he was forty five years old, and of the Baptist religion. Jerry's title, as inscribed on a brass plate or badge which was suspended round his neck by a brass parrot chain, was "Jerry, King of Dan Dan Noc, the fastest runner in Geelong." His sable majesty had long been ailing, and when he died was a mere skeleton."

It appears that he was very proud of his medal and wore it on several important occasions that were reported by the press, including:

1. the opening of the Ballarat-Geelong railway;⁴⁰
2. when he was presented to the Governor during his visit to Geelong;⁴¹
3. the visit of Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh to Geelong, where King Jerry presented "a copy of Bunce's Language of the Aborigines, bound in blue morocco, with King Jerry's portrait inside" and received a sovereign from the Duke, which was later stolen;⁴²
4. when he met the visiting aboriginal cricket team prior to their trip to England. Unfortunately the cricket team members "show no fealty, or even recognition of King Jerry, whose spelter chain and brass insignia of majesty they regarded with contempt."⁴³

An obituary of King Jerry not only notes that "never was King Jerry prouder in his life than when presented by the society with a large brass plate, on which was engraved his name and title, and which he wore to the last day of his life" but also explains how the medal ended up in the Geelong Heritage Centre "This medal it is proposed to present to the Corporation of Geelong as a memento of the last native prince of the land on which stands the town they govern."⁴⁴

6. Conclusions

The Commun na Feinne society was an important early Australian Scottish society, devoted to the promotion of Scottish culture via a range of activities, including school examinations, sporting activities, shooting, musical and elocutionary competitions. Apart from cash prizes, the society awarded medals, trophies and gold fobs to competitors. Although the society appears to have made efforts to include the local

39 AGE, October 24th, 1870.

40 ARG, April 11th, 1862.

41 ARG, October 11th, 1866; BS, October 22nd, 1866.

42 ARG, December 2nd, 1867; GA, December 27th, 1867; ARG, March 9th, 1869.

43 GA, January 8th, 1867.

44 GA, October 24th, 1870.

aboriginal population in their events, the recently rediscovered unique award to the Geelong Aboriginal King Jerry is a poignant reminder of the disappearance of many local indigenous tribes.⁴⁵

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank: Les Carlisle for help in collating all known and reported examples listed in Table 1; John Sharples (Museum Victoria) and Mark Hildebrand (State Library of New South Wales) for sharing information on the Communa na Feinne medals. Finally, we wish to thank the librarians from the: Rare Book Collection of the University of Melbourne and State Library of Victoria and the Geelong Heritage Centre.

Author biographies

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Richard A. J. O'Hair is Professor of Chemistry at the University of Melbourne and has published over 300 scientific papers and several book chapters. He has been an avid coin collector since the age of 11 and has published several numismatics papers, winning the Ray Jewell Award for his article on the convict hulk token of George Barrington. Carmel O'Hair is his daughter, a BA student whose interest in Australian History was sparked by a school project on the Ballarat goldfields. This is the third manuscript they have published together.

Abbreviations

AGE = The Age newspaper

ARG = Argus newspaper

Brownhill = Brownhill, W. R. (1990) *The history of Geelong and Corio Bay, with postscript 1955-1990* by I. Wynd, Geelong Advertiser, Geelong.

BS = The Ballarat Star newspaper

Chisholm = Chisholm, A.H. (1950) *Scots wha hae : history of the Royal Caledonian Society of Melbourne*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

Downies = Downies Coin Auction Catalogues (year) Catalogue #: Lot #

GA = Geelong Advertiser newspaper

Noble = Noble Coin Auction Catalogues (year) Catalogue #: Lot #

⁴⁵ The fifth report (ARG June 4th, 1866) of the Board responsible for oversight of the interests of the Victorian Aboriginals makes for depressing reading. It lists only 5 remaining members of the Geelong tribe and notes that summonses against publicans had to be brought to prevent the sale of hard liquor to the aborigines.

1942 Centenary of Sydney and Melbourne commemorative medallions

Darren Burgess

Abstract

This paper is a detailed examination of the production of two modern Australian commemorative medallions. These pieces mark the centenaries of the cities of Melbourne and Sydney (Carlisle 1942/1 and 1942/2 respectively). It attempts to reveal some of the difficulties encountered in producing medallions at a time when general manufacturing was geared to the war in the Pacific. It also discloses the previously unknown mintages of each medallion and the persons to whom they were presented.

Keywords

[Australian Commemorative Medallions] [World War II] [Municipal Council of Sydney] [Melbourne City Council] [Angus & Coote]

Introduction

Local government, the provider of essential services in most populated environments, started in Australia with the formation of the Adelaide Corporation in 1840. Two years later, on the 20 July 1842, the City of Sydney was established when legislation was passed that created a municipal council to govern and manage the city. Prior to this, the settlement was governed by three police magistrates.¹ Coincidentally, just over three weeks later, on the 12 August, the town of Melbourne,² then in the district of Port Phillip, also formed its first local government.

One hundred years later, as World War II raged in the Pacific, the Municipal Council of Sydney and the Melbourne City Council decided to commemorate their centenaries by including, among other things, the issuing of commemorative medallions. This is the story of the making of those medallions and a look at some of the people involved.

City of Sydney

Minutes by the Town Clerk, Roy Hendy, dated 17 June 1942, under the heading *Commemoration of the incorporation of Sydney as a City*³, are the first official documents

1 Bertie, 1911.

2 A census taken on 2 March 1841 showed the population of Melbourne to be 4,479 and it was roughly 7,000 by the end of 1842.

3 NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Minutes by the Town Clerk, 17 June 1942.

that make mention of the plans for the centenary celebrations for the city. It lists the following items:

1. Special meeting of the Council to be held at 11:30am on Monday 20th July 1942 in the Vestibule of the Town Hall
2. Special Notice convening meeting to be printed on hand-made paper and to be personally signed by the Town Clerk.
3. Provision to be made in Vestibule for general public at northern end thereof.
4. Addresses at the Council Meeting from the following:
 - His Excellency the Governor
 - The Right Hon. the Prime Minister
 - The Hon. the Premier
 - His Grace (Anglican) Archbishop
 - His Grace (Catholic) Archbishop
 - The Hon. the Minister for Local Government & Housing
 - Alderman McElhone to second the motion.
 - Senator Armstrong
5. Reception in the Lord Mayor's Reception Room to include the following:
 - His Excellency the Governor
 - Aldermen and Head of Department of Council
 - Ex. Lord Mayors, other than members of the Council
 - Ex. Town Clerks (Mr. W.G. Layton, CBE)
 - Lord Mayors and Town Clerks of Capital Cities
 - Prominent citizens
6. Civic flag to be flown on pedement (sic) on this day. Also Union Jack and Australian Flags
7. **Striking of commemorative Medallion – bronze or silver**
8. Plaque on wall in corridor
9. Arrange for official photographer to photograph Council meeting

On the following day, the 18 June, a list of recipients' names that were to be inscribed on the Medallions was drawn up.⁴

4 NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Commemorative Medallion – Centenary of City, 18 June 1942.

His Excellency The Right Hon. The Lord Cowrie, V. C., P. C., G. C. M. G., C. B., D. S. O. – Governor General of Australia
His Excellency The Right Hon. The Lord Wakehurst, K. C. M. G., Governor of New South Wales
The Right Hon. John Curtin, M. P., Prime Minister of Australia
The Hon. W.J. McKell, M. L. A. – Premier of New South Wales
The Most Rev. H.W.K. Mowll, D. D. – Archbishop of Sydney
The Most Rev. Norman T. Gilroy, D. D. – Archbishop of Sydney
The Hon. James McGirr, M. L. A. – Minister for Local Government and Housing
Lord Mayor and Aldermen
Alderman Stanley S. Crick – Lord Mayor of Sydney
Alderman The Hon. W.J. Bradley, K. C., M. L. C.
Alderman Arthur McElhone ⁵
Alderman E.P. Tresidder
Alderman K.S. Williams
Alderman John J. Carroll
Alderman Donald Grant
Alderman Daniel Minogue
Alderman Thos. J. Shannon, M. L. A.
Alderman Ashley Buckingham ⁶
Alderman James McMahon
Alderman E.S. Marks, C. B. E.
Alderman R.J. Bartley
Alderman H.G. Carter
Alderman W. Neville Harding
Alderman Frank G. Pursell
Senator Alderman John Armstrong
Alderman S.G. Molloy
Alderman E.C. O'Dea
Alderman P.V. Stokes
Town Clerk and Heads of Departments
Roy Hendy, C. M. G. – Town Clerk of Sydney
E.W. Adams – Deputy Town Clerk of Sydney

⁵ Noble Numismatics Sale 47, Lot 618.

⁶ Status International Public Auction 315, Lot 6290.

A.H. Carnsey – City Engineer
A.A. Brackpool – City Treasurer
A.S. Shirley – City Auditor
Dr. Philip Gilbert – City Health Officer
F.W. Baird – City Valuer & Comptroller of Properties
M.W.D. McIntyre – City Solicitor
J. Rankin – City Building Surveyor
J.H. Healy – Acting City Treasurer
E.G. Stimson – Acting City Engineer
Ex. Lord Mayors
The Hon. Sir Arthur Cocks, K. B. E. (Lord Mayor 1913) ⁷
The Hon. Sir Joynton Smith, K. B. E. (Lord Mayor 1918)
David Gilpin (Lord Mayor 1923-1924)
J.H. Mostyn (Lord Mayor 1927)
Joseph Jackson M.L.A. (Lord Mayor 1931)
The Hon. Sir Samuel Walder, M. L. C. (Lord Mayor 1932)
R.C. Hagon (Lord Mayor 1933) ⁸
The Hon. Sir Arch'd Howie, M. L. C. (Lord Mayor 1936-1937)
Sir Norman Nock (Lord Mayor 1938-1939)
Ex. Commissioners
J. Garlick (Chief Commissioner 1928-1930)
H.E. Morton (Commissioner 1928 -1930)
Lieut. General H. Gordon Bennett, C. B., C .M. G., D. S. O., V. D. (Commissioner 1928-1930)
Ex. Town Clerk
W.G. Layton, C.B.E. (Town Clerk of Sydney 1924-1931)
Lord Mayors and Town Clerks of Capital Cities
Councillor Sir Frank Beaurepaire – Lord Mayor of Melbourne
H.S. Wootton, C.M.G. – Town Clerk of Melbourne
Alderman J.B. Chandler – Lord Mayor of Brisbane
J.C. Slaughter – Town Clerk of Brisbane
Councillor S. Hawker – Lord Mayor of Adelaide
A.J. Morison – Town Clerk of Adelaide

⁷ Noble Numismatics Sale 66, Lot 3942.

⁸ Status International Public Auction 282, Lot 6671.

Dr. T.W. Meagher – Lord Mayor of Perth
W.E. Bold – Town Clerk of Perth
Alderman J. Soundy, M. H. A. – Lord Mayor of Hobart
H.J.R. Cole – Town Clerk of Hobart
Other Recipients
C.T. Docker, M. B. E. – Hon. Administrator, Lord Mayor's Patriotic & War Fund, N.S.W.
A.M. Pickford – Chief Warden of Sydney
Andrew Donaldson – Civilian Aid Officer of Sydney
Museums (2 to each)
Australian Museum - Sydney
Sydney Technological Museum
Mitchell Library - Sydney
Queensland Museum - Brisbane
Melbourne Museum & Art Gallery - Melbourne
National Art Gallery - Adelaide
Canberra War Museum – Canberra A.C.T.
Western Australia Museum & Art Gallery - Perth
Tasmanian Museum, Hobart
Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston
The Municipal Council of Sydney

Table 1. City of Sydney Centenary Medallion Recipients

At the initial stage this provides details of 86 inscribed medallions. Also around this time Mr. Hendy approached at least two local suppliers, Angus & Coote and G.A. Miller & Sons, for quotations. It is likely that Hendy also approached other manufacturers, including Amor, however, there is no documentary evidence of this on record in the City's archives.

G.A. Miller

We know G.A. Miller were in the running from a letter sent to their manager by Mr. Hendy. This note not only thanked the manager for their quote, but also thanked them for returning the HMAS Sydney Medallion (Carlisle 1940/2). This medallion was most likely provided by Hendy to give the bidding suppliers an idea of the type of medallion they were looking to commission.



Figure 1. HMAS Sydney; Sinking of the Bartolomeo Colleoni. Amor, Sydney 1940⁹

Angus & Coote

Angus & Coote were ultimately successful in winning the Council's business and on the 23 June the list of recipients was sent to them, with instructions that the "names are to appear on the rim exactly as shown".¹⁰ The letter accompanying the list also noted a requirement for two of each medallion to be inscribed for museums, libraries, etc. This was a common practice that enabled these institutions to display both sides of the medallion should they wish.

Subsequent correspondence regarding additional inscriptions was sent to Angus & Coote throughout July.

Date	Recipient
2 July	The Hon. Sir Frederick Jordan, K.C.M.G. Chief Justice of New South Wales ¹¹
22 July	The Hon. J.M. Baddeley, M.L.A. Acting Premier of New South Wales. ¹²
23 July	An alteration to an enclosed medallion for Mr. Alderman Arthur McElhone to add "Alderman for 40 years for Fitzroy Ward 18-6-42" ¹³

⁹ Image courtesy of Downies Australian Coin Auctions.

¹⁰ NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Item No. 5 Letter to The Secretary Angus & Coote, 23 June 1942.

¹¹ NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Item No. 6 Letter to The Secretary Angus & Coote, 2 July 1942.

¹² NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Item No. 7 Letter to The Secretary Angus & Coote, 22 July 1942.

¹³ NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Item No. 10 Letter to The Secretary Angus & Coote, 23 July 1942.

27 July ¹⁴	Alderman W.E. Young – Mayor of City of Greater Newcastle G. Wells – Town Clerk of City of Greater Newcastle
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Table 2 - Additional Inscriptions for City of Sydney Medallion

This brings the total number of inscribed medallions to ninety (90), with the request for Alderman McElhone's engraving an amendment to an existing inscription.

Appropriate Permissions

Given this all occurred in the middle of World War II, the ordering of the striking of a medallion was not a straightforward affair. The letter with the list of recipients was sent on 23 June, but before that, on 19 June, letters were sent to the Director of War Organisation for Industry,¹⁵ and the Director of the Department of Supply & Development,¹⁶ advising them that orders had been placed for both the medallions and the Commemorative Tablet as follows:

1 Commemorative Tablet for Town Hall, J. Castle & Sons ... £130.0.0

100 Medallions, Angus & Coote Pty. Ltd. ... £76.10.0

These letters sought permission for manufacturing firms to produce items that were clearly not essential for the war effort¹⁷. The Department of War Organisation of Industry passed the request on to the Division of Import Procurement,¹⁸ which finally granted permission on the 24 June.¹⁹

With all of the red tape out of the way a letter confirming permission had been received from the appropriate authorities was sent from Hendy to Angus & Coote on 26 June.²⁰ Order No. 1788 for "100 Only Medallions complete with cases and 2 Only Dies" was confirmed by Angus & Coote on 6 July.²¹

14 NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Item No. 11 Letter to The Secretary Angus & Coote, 27 July 1942.

15 NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Item No. 45 Letter to Director, Department of War Organisation for Industry, 19 June 1942

16 NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Item No. 46 Letter to Director, Department of Supply & Development, 19 June 1942.

17 Prohibition of Non-Essential Production Order No. 6.

18 NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Item No. 48 Letter from Deputy Director, Department of War Organisation for Industry, 22 June 1942.

19 NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Item No. 50 Letter from Director, Division of Import Procurement, 24 June 1942.

20 NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Item No. 52 Letter to The Secretary Angus & Coote, 26 June 1942.

21 NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Item No. 8 Letter to The Secretary Angus & Coote, 22 July 1942.

It would have been around this time that any trial pieces, such as the bronze specimen offered by Noble Numismatics in November 1994,²² would have been struck.



Figure 2. Commemorative plaque at entrance to Sydney Town Hall

22 Sale 46, Lot 917.

Sydney Celebrates

20 July saw the City of Sydney host the celebrations of the centenary. The day started with a special service at St. Andrew's Cathedral at 11am, which was followed by the special Council Meeting. The meeting was recorded and televised later in the evening by the ABC. After the meeting attendees went on to a reception.

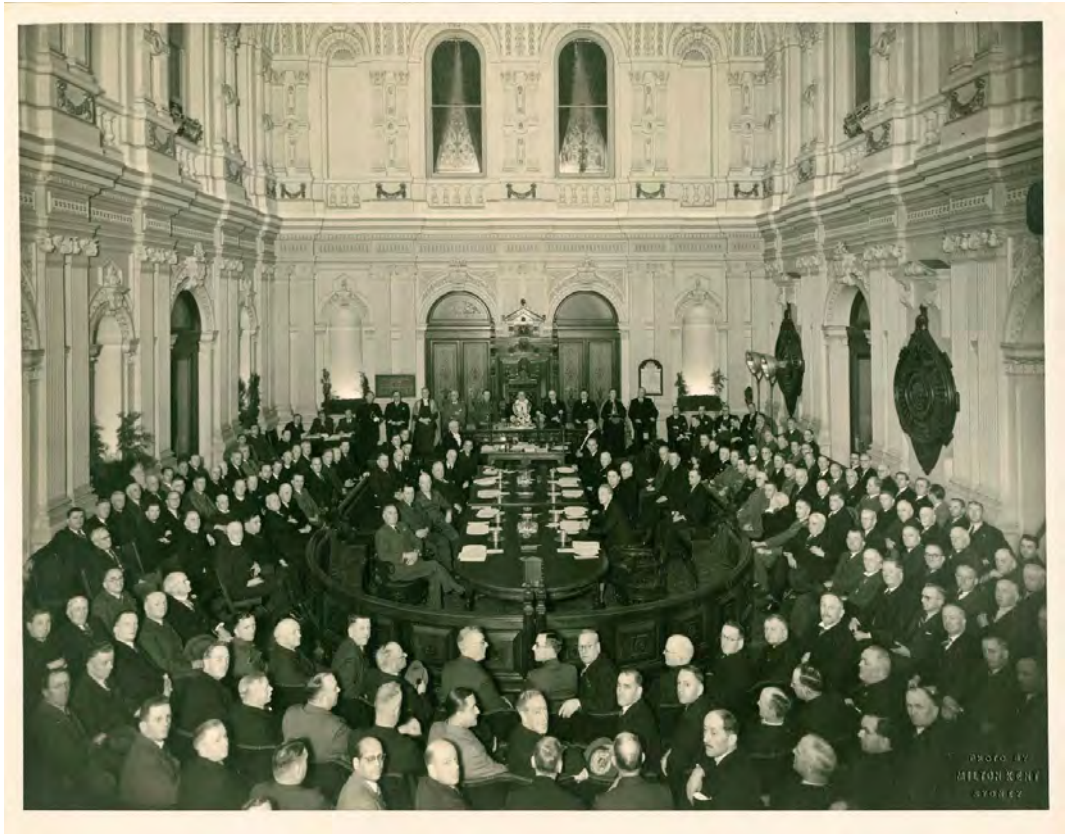


Figure 3. City of Sydney Centenary Council Meeting²³

The evening saw a surprise dinner in honour of the Lord Mayor, where about thirty guests enjoyed a menu of Oyster or Asparagus Soup, Chicken Maryland and Ice Pudding for dessert.

The medallions were received by the Council on 22 July,²⁴ and most were sent out by post the following week. On 27 July a note, signed by the Deputy Town Clerk states: *Two (2) Official medallions struck on the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the declaration of the Town of Sydney as a City, have been placed in the Town Clerk's Safe.*

²³ Photo by Milton Kent, Sydney.

²⁴ NSCA CRS 34: 2020/42 Centenary of City, Commemoration of incorporation of Sydney as a City: Item No. 9 Letter to The Secretary Angus & Coote, 22 July 1942.

Design



Figure 4. The Municipal Council of Sydney Centenary Medallion (Carlisle 1942/2), Angus & Coote 1942²⁵

The reverse design of the medallion is predominantly text surmounted with the dates 1842 and 1942 separated by the crest of the City's coat of arms, an anchor encircled by a crown with a star above and a wavy line, representative of the ocean, below. The obverse design of the medallion features the city's full coat of arms surrounded by the legend proclaiming "The Municipal Council of Sydney, 1842". The arms, based on an 1857 design by a draughtsman in the City Surveyor's Department, Monsieur de St Remy, were officially granted to the city on 30 July 1908. The upper part of the shield shows the arms of Sir Thomas Hughes, Captain James Cook, and Thomas Townshend, 1st Viscount Sydney. The presence of Cook's and Townshend's arms are self-explanatory, however Sir Thomas Hughes is perhaps less well known.

Thomas Hughes was mayor in 1902 and transitioned to being the first Lord Mayor in 1903 when letters patent were issued by Edward VII, granting the city the title. Hughes was in office until the end of 1908, and as such was Lord Mayor when the arms were granted. One of Hughes' successors, his great-granddaughter Lucy Turnbull, held the same position of Lord Mayor of Sydney from 2003 to 2004.

This was not the first time the city's coat of arms featured on a medallion issued by the council. The first such issue was in 1885 and is known as the Mayor of Sydney's Medal for Soudan (Carlisle 1885/10).²⁶ Struck by fellow Alderman and Sydney based goldsmith Evan Jones, the obverse of these 28mm medallions features a simpler design of the arms

²⁵ Image courtesy of Status International.

²⁶ Often inaccurately referred to as the Lord Mayor's medal, however, as previously noted Sydney did not have a Lord Mayor until 1903.

than those of later medallions. The supporters of the shield and the motto (I take, but I surrender) remain largely unchanged, however, the arms of the three families that appear on the formally adopted arms are not present. In their place, at the top section of the shield, is a beehive symbolising industry. These medallions were issued by the city of Sydney to returned troops in a ceremony on 4 July 1885.

In 1996, the City of Sydney adopted a more modern design for its arms. Gone are the supporters and the motto and in their place the shield is flanked by a serpent and a coiled rope. The rope represents the city's maritime heritage, while the serpent bears the markings of the Eora people, the original inhabitants of the area now known as Sydney.



Figure 5. Mayor of Sydney's Soudan Medal²⁷



Figure 6. City of Sydney Coat of Arms, 1996

People

Two people are named on the reverse of the medallion, Town Clerk, Roy Hendy, who was so instrumental in the centenary celebrations, and Stanley Crick, the Lord Mayor at the time.

²⁷ Image courtesy of Noble Numismatics.

Roy Hendy (CMB FCIS (Eng.)

THE SYDNEY MAIL, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 1931. — Page 9



The New Town Clerk of Sydney — Mr. Roy Hendy

Mr. Roy Hendy, who was last week appointed Town Clerk of Sydney, in succession to Mr. W. C. Layton, was educated at the Sydney Grammar School. He entered the Town Hall service in 1906 as a junior clerk, and afterwards obtained the position of senior clerk in the assets and stores department. He filled successively the offices of senior clerk, acting chief clerk, property officer, and deputy comptroller. Mr. Hendy served with the A.I.F. and in 1924 was appointed Deputy Town Clerk.

Roy Hendy was a member of council staff for fifty years, 25 of which as Town Clerk. Born in Paddington, at sixteen he became a Junior Clerk on the City Council's staff with a salary of a pound a week. At an early age Roy also made his mark as a swimmer. He was an active member of the Coogee Surf Club, secretary and treasurer of the Waverley Amateur Swimming Club and a member of the New South Wales Amateur Swimming Association²⁸. At work he was promoted in turn to positions of Senior Clerk, Property Officer, and Deputy Comptroller of Assets and Stores. He became Deputy Town Clerk in 1924 and Town Clerk in 1931. During his 25 years as Town Clerk he did not miss a single council meeting, retiring in March 1956.²⁹

His non-Sydney council roles included Alderman of Randwick Municipal Council from 1913 to 1922. During World War I Hendy served with the 18th Infantry Battalion of the A.I.F. in Egypt and France. During World War II he held the rank of Major as liaison officer on the Headquarters Staff of the First Australian Division. He was a trustee of the Sydney Cricket Ground, a councillor and vice-president of the NRMA and a director

28 ROY HENDY (1912, March 20). *The Sun* (Sydney, NSW: 1910 - 1954), p. 3 (FINAL EXTRA). Retrieved March 29, 2018, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article221996211>.

29 Death of Mr. Roy Hendy (1959, May 28). *Sydney Morning Herald*, Retrieved October 30, 2011 from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article>.

of the Royal North Shore Hospital, where he died on 27 May 1959, just three years after his retirement.

Stanley Sadler Crick (1888-1955)

Born on 9 October 1888 in Launceston, Crick's first job was as a clerk with a Hobart auctioneer, J. W. Abbott & Sons. He soon moved to Melbourne as an accountant for Lohmann & Co., before joining the new Melbourne branch of the film company of Pathé Frères in 1908.

In 1921, after the death of his first wife, Crick moved to Sydney and became the managing director of the American Fox Film Corporation. In the early 1930s, he contributed significantly to civic affairs including serving on the Sydney Harbour Bridge Celebrations Committee and the management of Sydney Festival Week. In 1935 Crick was awarded King George V's Jubilee Medal for his public service and in November of the same year he was elected to the Sydney Municipal Council for Gipps Ward, as a candidate of the Citizens Reform Association.

Crick was Lord Mayor of Sydney from December 1939 until December 1942, and used his skills developed from working in the entertainment industry to deliver real outcomes for patriotic functions and fund-raising, particularly the Lord Mayor's Fund.

Crick died of a heart attack on 10 August 1955 while visiting Los Angeles and his body was flown back to Sydney. He was buried in the Northern Suburbs cemetery after a service at St Philip's Anglican Church. He was survived by his second wife and their son and two daughters.³⁰

Melbourne City Council

On 29 July 1942, just one week after the shipping of the medallions to the City of Sydney, Angus and Coote enterprisingly telegraphed one of the medallion's recipients, Sir Frank Beaurepaire, the Lord Mayor of Melbourne, with the following query:

*Would you be interested in centenary medallion similar to that we made for Sydney?*³¹

A pencil mark on the telegram simply says "Yes", along with numbers indicating potential mintages. 185 is crossed out and a range from 60 to 120 written next to it. The

30 A. F. Pike, 'Crick, Stanley Sadler (1888–1955)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/crick-stanley-sadler-5820/text9881>, published first in hardcopy 1981, accessed online 29 March 2018.

31 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Telegram from Angus & Coote RE: Centenary Medallion, 29 July 1942.

Town Clerk, Harold Samuel Wootton, replied in a telegram the following day requesting a quote for 60 and 120 medallions.³²

Coincidentally there is a single page note entitled *Centenary of the Incorporation of Melbourne: Presentation of Address to Lord Mayor and of Medallions to Members of Council* that is also dated 29 July.³³ This memo indicates that the Town Clerk suggested that “consideration might be given to the question of the presentation of an illuminated address to the Lord Mayor in connection with the Centenary on 12th proximo of the incorporation of the inhabitants of the Town of Melbourne.” At this meeting it was decided that the Town Clerk should be authorised to arrange for the striking of a medallion and that “in view of the urgency of the matter the Committee authorised the Town Clerk to proceed with the preparation of the Address and the striking of the medallions, without submitting any report to the Council.”

On 30 July Angus & Coote responsively telegraphed to the Town Clerk with their quote:

60 SILVER PLATED COPPER 7/6 EACH 120 AT 6/3 60 SOLID SILVER 32/6
EACH 120 at 30/- PLUS DIE COST £65 AND SALES TAX DELIVERY FOUR
WEEKS LETTER IN MAIL³⁴

The letter from Angus and Coote that followed expounded on the details and importantly pointed out that it was doubtful that the Department of Material Supply, Ministry of Munitions would release copper for such a purpose.³⁵ This explains why Angus & Coote provided the additional option of solid silver, which was also in keeping with the medallions they had recently struck for the City of Sydney. Angus & Coote also note an additional cost for engraving at a Shilling per dozen letters.

Medallions Ordered

It is around this time that the design for the obverse and the inscription for the reverse of the medallion were established. The text for the reverse appears on a typed memo and a hand-written note accompanying it states that “the crest is Demi Kangaroo with wreath” and that “the wreath is shown with sections alternated plain and hatched to indicate the two colours”.

32 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Telegram to Angus & Coote RE: Quotation for Medallions, 30 July 1942.

33 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Centenary of the Incorporation of Melbourne, Presentation of Address to Lord Mayor and of Medallions to Members of Council, 29 July 1942.

34 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Telegram from Angus & Coote RE: Quotation for Medallions, Received 31 July 1942.

35 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter from Angus & Coote RE: Quotation for Medallions, Dated 30 July.



Figure 7. The City of Melbourne Centenary Medallion (Carlisle 1942/1), Angus & Coote 1942³⁶

On 31 July, Mr. Wootton sent a letter to Angus & Coote requesting 130 silver plated copper medallions with jewel cases at 6/3d each.³⁷ It is also worth noting that this letter firmly stated “It is distinctly understood that this acceptance of your offer is subject to the condition that the name of your firm shall not appear on the medallions.” Mr. Wootton also went on to request that “every effort to be made to effect delivery by 18th August” so that the medallions could be sent to the recipients with their copies of the minutes of the special council meeting. A subsequent telegram from Angus & Coote went on to explain that sixty pounds of standard wire gauge soft cold rolled copper would be required for the production of 130 medallions.³⁸

Permission sought

On 3 August, Mr. Wootton turned to his Sydney counterpart, Roy Hendy, seeking out the appropriate authorities required to arrange for the manufacture of the medallions.³⁹ Wootton also contacted Angus & Coote to change the order from 130 silver plated copper medallions to 73 solid silver medallions at 32/6. Mr. Wootton also asked them to contact Mr. Hendy to obtain the appropriate permissions, from the Department of Import Procurement, for the making of the dies and the medallions.⁴⁰

³⁶ Image courtesy of Noble Numismatics.

³⁷ PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter to Angus & Coote RE: Order for Medallions, 31 July 1942.

³⁸ PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Telegram from Angus & Coote RE: Order for Medallions.

³⁹ PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Telegram from Wootton to Hendy, 3 August 1942.

⁴⁰ PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter from Wootton to Angus & Coote RE: Order for Medallions, 3 August 1942.

The following day, on 4 August, a letter from Wootton to Hendy went on to explain that the change in direction was “in view of the necessary restrictions on the use of copper for other than war purposes and the consequent doubt whether permission could be obtained for its use for this purpose”, and therefore “that the medallions be made in solid silver”.⁴¹

On 7 August Mr. Wootton sent through a list of recipients to Angus & Coote for engraving⁴² and on 11 August Angus & Coote confirmed the release of 25 pounds troy of silver. They also noted that permission to strike the medallions had still not been received.⁴³

The special council meeting to commemorate the centenary was held on 12 August and the original deadline of 18 August for the medallions came and went. The day after the deadline Angus & Coote wrote to Mr. Wootton to inform him of their regret at not being able to commence the cutting of the dies for the medallion and that they were “in constant contact with the relevant officials to get this resolved as soon as possible”.⁴⁴ This letter arrived on 21 August and meanwhile on 20 August Mr. Wootton contacted Angus & Coote to modify the order further.⁴⁵

The council wanted to increase the number from 73 to 85, but were not willing at this stage to order any more silver. Two councillors were removed from the list of recipients and the council asked for the engraving of an additional six recipients, including the Governor of Victoria’s Private Secretary and the Lord Mayors of Adelaide, Perth, and Hobart. Angus & Coote estimated that they would require an additional 3.5 pounds troy for the additional twelve medallions.⁴⁶

41 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk’s Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter from Wootton to Hendy, 4 August 1942.

42 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk’s Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter from Wootton to Angus & Coote, 7 August 1942.

43 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk’s Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Telegram from Angus & Coote to Town Clerk Melbourne, 11 August 1942.

44 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk’s Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter from Angus & Coote to Wootton, 4 August 1942.

45 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk’s Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter from Wootton to Angus & Coote, 4 August 1942.

46 Ex-Councillors H.E. Foster and F.E. Shillabeer. PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk’s Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Telegram from Angus & Coote to Town Clerk Melbourne, 18 August 1942.

By 4 September, permission had been received for the additional silver and Mr. Wootton contacted Angus & Coote to verify insurance and shipping details.⁴⁷ On 8 September, Angus & Coote confirmed that the medallions would be ready by the 20th of the month.⁴⁸

Angus & Coote shipped the medallions to Melbourne on the 21st, with the exception of a rogue medallion which followed a day later.⁴⁹ On the 24th Mr. Wootton sent a Telegram to Angus & Coote to confirm that the medallions had arrived safely and on the same day Angus & Coote issued their invoice for £259 9s 7d, which covered the medallions and engraving of 84 out of the 85 struck.⁵⁰

On 6 October the Town Clerk issued a formal letter to Mr. R.R. Coote confirming receipt of the 85 medallions and the dies, and noting favourable comments from the Lord Mayor and Councillors on the “design and excellent craftsmanship”.⁵¹ Ten days later the council commenced the initial issuing of medallions.⁵²

Second Striking

On 20 October 1942, Angus & Coote wrote to Mr. Wootton noting the return of the dies to them for the possible striking of additional medallions.⁵³ On 29 October, Mr. Wootton authorised the production of no more than nine additional medallions,⁵⁴ with two to be engraved.

On 12 November, receipt of three medallions from Angus & Coote was acknowledged,⁵⁵ and on 26 November, Mr. Wootton sent a letter to Angus & Coote acknowledging receipt of the final six additional medallions along with a request for the dies to be

47 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter from Wootton to Factory Manager, Angus & Coote, 4 September 1942.

48 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Telegram from Angus & Coote to Town Clerk Melbourne, 10 September 1942.

49 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Telegram from Angus & Coote to Town Clerk Melbourne, 22 September 1942.

50 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Telegram, 24 September 1942. PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter from Factory Manager - Angus & Coote to Wootton, 24 September 1942

51 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter from Wootton to R.R. Coote, 6 October 1942.

52 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Pro forma letter on Town Hall headed paper, 16 October 1942.

53 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter from Factory manager - Angus & Coote to Wootton, 6 October 1942.

54 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter from Wootton to Factory manager - Angus & Coote, 29 October 1942.

55 PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter from Wootton to Angus & Coote, 12 November 1942.

returned⁵⁶. On 7 December, the dies were shipped from Angus & Coote in Sydney back to Melbourne, one of which, the reverse, still resides in the city's Collection today.



Figure 8. Reverse Die of City of Melbourne Centenary Medallion – Melbourne City Council Collection

All of this additional activity gives us a total mintage of 94 medallions, 86 of which were edge inscribed. The list below shows all of the inscriptions. Those struck out were clearly under consideration, but did not make the final list.

Recipient
Dais Visitors (8)
His Excellency the Governor of Victoria Major-General Sir Winston Dugan, K. C. M. G., C. B., D. S. O.
The Rt. Hon. The Prime Minister, The Rt. Hon. John Curtin, P. C., M. H. R.
The Hon. the Premier of Victoria, The Hon. A.A. Dunstan, M. L. A.
The Hon. the President of the Legislative Council, The Hon. Sir Frank Clarke, K. B. E., M. L. C.
The Hon. the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, The Hon. William Slater, M. L. A.
His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Melbourne The Most Rev. J.J. Booth, M. C., B. A., Th. Soc.
The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor of Sydney, Alderman S.S. Crick.

⁵⁶ PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk's Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter from Wootton to Angus & Coote, 26 November 1942.

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor of Brisbane, Alderman J.B. Chandler
Town Clerk Sydney (1)
Roy Hendy, C.M.G., Town Clerk of Sydney
Maurice Blackburn, M. H. R. ⁵⁷
The Hon. H.E. Holt, M. H. R.
The Hon. E.J. Holloway, M. H. R.
The Hon. P.J. Clarey, M. L. C. ⁵⁸
The Hon. Paul Jones, M. L. C.
The Hon. W.J. Beckett, M. L. C.
The Hon. D.L. McNamara, M. L. C.
J. J. Holland, M. L. A. ⁵⁹
J. McD. Ellis, M. L. A.
T. P. Corrigan, M. L. A.
The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor, Cr. the Hon. Sir Frank Beaurepaire, Kt., M. L. C., 1928
Members (33)
Councillor T. Kerr, 1932
Councillor R.T. Lane, 1941
Councillor E.L. Morton, 1923
Councillor N.D. Carlyon, 1937
Councillor A.W. Coles, M. H. R., 1934
Councillor H.E. Morton, M. Inst., C. E., 1939
Councillor the Hon. J.S. Disney, M. L. C., 1935
Councillor E.L. Jones, 1928 ⁶⁰
Councillor Barton Marks, 1924
His Honour Mr Justice C. Lowe – The Chancellor of the University of Melbourne
Councillor W.J. Brens, 1938 ⁶¹
Councillor Ed. Campbell, C. B. E., 1921
Councillor F.R. Connelly, 1934
Councillor Sir George Wales, Kt., 1925
Councillor J.W. Ferguson, 1916

57 Noble Numismatics Sale 47, Lot 616.

58 Noble Numismatics Sale 60, Lot 1177.

59 Noble Numismatics Sale 70, Lot 996.

60 Noble Numismatics Sale 88, Lot 1308.

61 Noble Numismatics Sale 107, Lot 4631 (Part). This also contains a Bronze example edge inscribed “The Rt. hon. The Lord Mayor (Cr W.J.Brens)”. This is clearly a later strike using the same dies as Brens didn’t become Lord Mayor until 1952.

Councillor Sir Harold Luxton, Kt., 1919
Councillor A.A. Calwell, M. H. R., 1939
Councillor C.T. Smith, 1939
Councillor H. Carter, 1926
Councillor P.L. Coleman, L. I. C. A., L. G. A., 1939
Councillor T. Hayes, M. L. A., 1939
Councillor Jas. Stack, 1921
Councillor Sir Harold Gengoult Smith, Kt., V. D., F. R. C. P. E., 1921
Councillor O.J. Nilsen, 1934
Councillor T.S. Nettlefold, O. B. E., 1930
Councillor Geo. H.C. Crespín, 1917
Councillor H.L. Lyall, 1937
Councillor F.P. Williams, LL.B., 1941
Councillor J.B. Naughton, 1939
Councillor W. Barry, M.L.A., 1939
Councillor R.H. Solly, 1934 ⁶²
Councillor F.G.J. Hardy, 1938 ⁶³
Councillor W. C. L. Townsend, LL. M., 1937
H.S. Wootton, C. M. G., Town Clerk
G.J. Dean, Esq., Deputy Town Clerk
Ex members (12)
Ex-Councillor J.J. Liston, 1923-31, 1936-37
Ex-Councillor A.A. Thomas, 1935-37
Ex-Alderman J. Monahan Lewis, D.D.Sc., 1931-39
Ex-Councillor Robert Lyall, 1931-34
Ex-Alderman G.F. Carden, 1930-39
Ex-Councillor, W. Cockbill, 1933-39
Ex-Alderman Frank Stapley, F.R.V.I.A., 1901-39
Ex-Alderman, E.C. Treadwell, 1911-39
Ex-Alderman, H.C. Elliott, 1903-36
Ex-Alderman Sir Stephen Morell, Kt., 1901-39
Ex-Councillor A.E. Kane, C.B.E., 1922-35 ⁶⁴

⁶² Noble Numismatics Sale 72, Lot 809.

⁶³ Leski Sporting & Historical Memorabilia Sale, 14 August 2013, Lot 246.

⁶⁴ Noble Numismatics Sale 50, Lot 913.

Ex-Councillor C.F. Harley, 1929-34
Councillor, The Hon. A. M. McDonald, M.H.R. President of the Municipal Association of Victoria
Captain Henry Private Secretary (1)
Capt. P.F. Henry Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Victoria
Lord Mayors (3)
The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor of Adelaide, Lieut. Col. S. Hawker, M. C.
The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor of Perth, Dr. T.W. Meagher.
The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor of Hobart, Alderman A.J. Soundy, M. L. A.
Col. Crouch (1)
Col. The Hon. R. A. Couch, V. D.
Department Heads (15)
N.R. Bennett, Esq., Chief Clerk.
L.V. Biggs, Esq.
P.S. Robinson, Esq., City Engineer.
B. Woodfull, Esq., City Electrical Engineer.
E.R. Hudspeth, Esq., City Treasurer.
J.R. Riddell, Esq., City Valuer.
Dr. John Dale, Medical Officer of Health.
A.Mc.K. Hislop, Esq., Government Municipal Auditor.
R.R. Birch, Esq., Superintendent of Abattoirs and Cattle Markets.
T.G. Compton, Esq., Superintendent of Markets.
E.J. Hamilton Esq., City Solicitor.
E.N. Beilby, Esq., City Architect.
H.S.J. Reed, Esq., Building Surveyor.
J.T. Smith, Esq., Curator of Parks and Gardens.
W.V. McCall Esq.

Table 3. City of Melbourne Centenary Medallion Recipients

People

As with the Sydney medallion, the names of the Town Clerk and Lord Mayor appear on the reverse. Harold Samuel Wootton CMG was born in Ballan and entered the service of the council as a junior clerk in 1909. He was Town Clerk from 1936 until his retirement in 1955. He was awarded the CMG in 1942, the same year as Frank Beaurepaire was knighted.

Frank Beaurepaire was certainly well known before his time in public service. Born in 1891 he became recognised internationally for his athletic achievements, winning three silver and three bronze Olympic medals from 1908 to 1924, and setting 15 world records.

In fact, it was swimming that led indirectly to his setting up a tyre, wheel and battery business known nationwide. In 1922 he was awarded the Royal Humane Society Gold Medal for assisting in the rescue of a shark attack victim at Coogee in New South Wales. He used the £550 reward money to start his own business.

In 1928 Beaurepaire won a by-election for Gipps Ward and became a Melbourne city councillor. In 1940 he became lord mayor, and was especially active in raising wartime patriotic and charitable funds. He was knighted in 1942, and in the same year was elected to the Legislative Council, where he sat until 1952. He was also one of the primary backers of Melbourne's bid to host the Olympic Games in 1956. Unfortunately Beaurepaire died on 29 May 1956, just six months before the games opened. The Beaurepaire Centre at the University of Melbourne was completed in time for use as a training site during the Games.⁶⁵

The curious case of the Carlisle Medallion

For anyone familiar with this medallion you may have noticed that the image of the medallion that appears in Les Carlisle's *Australian Historical Medals 1788-1988* flagrantly disobeys the directive issued by Melbourne City Council that "the name of your firm shall not appear on the medallions".⁶⁶ This is evidenced by the appearance of the words "Angus & Coote" incuse at the base of the Obverse.⁶⁷ All the other medallions witnessed have STG SIL (Sterling Silver) punched in to the medallion after striking in this location. It is also worth noting that the medallion picture in Carlisle does appear to be underweight compared with other samples and is quite possibly a trial strike.

65 J. R. Poynter, 'Beaurepaire, Sir Francis Joseph (Frank) (1891–1956)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/beaurepaire-sir-francis-joseph-frank-5175/text8695>, published first in hardcopy 1979, accessed online 31 August 2019.

66 Noble Numismatics Sale 113, Lot 3055. A hand-written note that accompanies the acceptance of the quote in late July states "make it definite that their names are not to appear on medallion". This means that this decision was made very early in the production process.

67 Note this text does not appear on the Die in Figure 8.



Figure 9. Reverse City of Melbourne Centenary Medallion ex. Leslie J Carlisle⁶⁸.

Standing on the Shoulders of Giants

As an amateur numismatist with an academic background in Astrophysics, it is only natural that an idol of mine would be Sir Isaac Newton. One of my favourite quotes of Newton, a portion of which can be readily found inscribed on the edge of British £2 coins, was: “If I have seen further it is by standing on the shoulders of Giants”. This can certainly be said of the research I embarked on for the Melbourne medallion.

As I sat in the Public Records Office and opened the folder that contained all the records relating to the medallion’s creation, I was warmly surprised to note that I was not the only numismatist that had shown an interest in this piece. For there, at the front of the folder, was a letter from the Town Clerk of the time dated 3 July 1978.⁶⁹

“Dear Madam, Enclosed herewith are

- (a) *Copy of the list of recipients of the Centenary medallion struck in 1942; and*
- (b) *Copy of the letter addressed to Angus & Coote ordering 73 (number subsequently increased) solid silver medallions.*

Cost of the dies was £65

Thank you for the photographs of the medallion, negatives of which I return herewith.”

The letter was addressed to Mrs B. Turvey of Box Hill. Betty Turvey was instrumental in a number of numismatic organisations within Victoria for over fifty years. It was my

⁶⁸ Image Courtesy of Noble Numismatics.

⁶⁹ PROV, VA 511 Melbourne City, VPRS 3183/P3 Town Clerk’s Correspondence Files II, Unit 7, 26/3227, Letter L.B. 520/915 from J.P. Reilly - Acting CEO & Town Clerk, 3 July 1978.

pleasure to have known her for a few of those years before she passed away in 2017, just shy of her 102nd birthday. It is to her that I dedicate this paper.

Author Biography

Darren Burgess is a Project manager for a Melbourne based software company that specialises in Infrastructure Asset Management. As a result of his various roles in this space he has worked extensively with Local Governments in his native UK as well as New Zealand, Australia, South East Asia and North America. He has been President of the Numismatic Association of Victoria (NAV) since 2013, twice recipient of the Max Stern Trophy and is a previous Vice-President of the NAA.

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Jill Farish, Archivist for the City of Sydney, for providing the documentation on the City of Sydney Medallion, and the Public Records Office of Victoria for providing such easy access to the City of Melbourne's documentation. One regret is that as much as I tried, over the seven years of researching this paper, I failed to achieve access to the Angus & Coote archive, which may have added a little more detail.

References

Bertie, Charles H. *The early history of the Sydney Municipal Council, with an account of the town halls*, Sydney 1911.

Carlisle, Leslie J. *Australian Historical Medals 1788-1988*. Ligare Book printing, Sydney 2008.

In researching this article, the author has made extensive use of the archives of the Sydney City Council and Melbourne City Council, which are held at the Public Records Office Victoria.

The Unicorn Penny: A fifth variety of the 1931 penny

Yuri Rapoport

Abstract

The current consensus among numismatists is that only four varieties of the 1931 penny exist. This article examines the known varieties of this penny and considers an important discrepancy observed in the 1960s. A comparative analysis of the known varieties and a recently rediscovered coin points to the existence of a fifth variety of the 1931 penny – the ‘Unicorn Penny’. This article looks at the possible origins of this coin and examines its relationship with others minted around the same time, including a likely connection with the 1930 penny. After weighing the evidence, the author concludes that the Unicorn Penny may rank among some of Australia’s rarest coins.

Keywords

[1931 penny] [1931 penny varieties] [P31D] [Unicorn Penny]

Introduction

Following many years of discussion, numismatists have so far acknowledged the existence of only four varieties of the 1931 penny.¹ Indeed, given the small number of rare varieties recorded to date, any reported peculiarities that pointed to the existence of a fifth variety have been difficult to validate. This paper examines the key physical attributes of the 1931 penny and draws upon new as well as previously overlooked evidence to suggest that a fifth variety should be considered.

The known 1931 penny varieties

Due to the onset of the Great Depression, the Commonwealth Government issued no orders for pennies in 1930.² As a result, the Melbourne Mint saw a substantial drop in coin production, leaving staff with considerable time to focus on improving coin manufacturing processes.³ Accordingly, throughout 1930 and up to the end of July 1931, the Melbourne Mint carried out practical experiments with the aim of extending the life of dies. It undertook numerous controlled tests using different dies and steels to strike a number of 1930 and 1931 pennies.⁴

1 Lever, Fred., 1931 Penny Forgeries, Part 1. Australian Coin and Banknote Magazine, March 2019

2 Crellin, A. at <https://www.sterlingcurrency.com.au/research/1931-indian-penny-dropped-1-reverse-less-1000-were-struck>

3 Ibid

4 Annual report of the Deputy Master and Comptroller - Royal Mint, 1930, Royal Mint, London, 1931

Official production of the 1931 penny commenced in August 1931, with a currently recognised total of four die pairing combinations, yielding four different penny varieties.⁵ By convention, the relevant die pairings are referred to as 1+A, 2+A, 1+B and 2+B, where 1 = English obverse, 2 = Indian obverse, A = London reverse, and B = Birmingham reverse. Chronologically, the first die pairing of the 1931 penny to be minted was 2+B, which was followed in sequential order by 1+A, 2+A and 1+B (Figures 1 to 4).



Figure 1: First variety of the 1931 penny (i.e. 2+B die pairing) with an Indian obverse, Birmingham reverse and the rightmost numeral '1' in the date correctly aligned.



Figure 2: Second variety of the 1931 penny (i.e. 1+A die pairing) with an English obverse, London reverse and the rightmost numeral '1' in the date misaligned (i.e. dropped '1').

5 Mullett, William John. *Australian Coinage: An Account of Particular Coins*, Chifley, ACT, 1991, 17- 20



Figure 3: Third variety of the 1931 penny (i.e. 2+A die pairing) with an Indian obverse, London reverse and the rightmost numeral '1' in the date misaligned (i.e. dropped '1').



Figure 4: Fourth variety of the 1931 penny (i.e. 1+B die pairing) with an English obverse, Birmingham reverse and the rightmost numeral '1' in the date correctly aligned.

According to W. J. Mullet (a senior officer at the Melbourne Mint), the first variety of the 1931 penny was struck with the same Indian obverse die as the vast majority of the 1930 pennies (die number A2B10), and some 46,000 of these 1931 pennies were produced.⁶ About a month later, the second variety of the 1931 penny was struck. It is estimated that between 279,000 and 393,000 of these coins were minted.⁷ Prior to an estimated 481,000 of the fourth variety of the 1931 penny being struck (between September 1931 and July 1932), a brief 'nil' run of less than 1000 coins of the third variety was struck on 11th September 1931.

It was not until the 1960s that the extremely rare third variety (i.e. 2+A die pairing) of the 1931 penny, otherwise known as the "1931 dropped 1 Indian obverse" (1931

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Strand Coins, Benchmark Catalogue (<http://www.benchmarkcoincatalogue.com/catalogue/coin/483>)

D1.Ind.Obv.), was properly identified. While Deacon initially assumed that the coin was related to the already famous 1930 penny,⁸ it was soon established that the two coins had neither their obverse nor reverse sides in common. Yet, despite having no link to the 1930 penny, the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* penny went on to become a benchmark variety and one of the most sought-after coins amongst serious Australian penny collectors.

The fifth 1931 penny variety

When Dean compiled his 1965 catalogue of Australian coin varieties, he too identified only four varieties of the 1931 penny.⁹ He labelled the varieties and made notations next to each of the labels (Table 1).

P31A	Melbourne Mint. English die obverse, curved-base letters reverse. Normal date.
P31B	Melbourne Mint. Indian die obverse, curved-base letters reverse. Normal date. Rare.
P31C	Melbourne Mint. English die obverse, curved-base letters reverse. Different date, with last 1 dropped.
P31D	Melbourne Mint. Indian die obverse, curved-base letters reverse. Dropped 1 date variety. Extremely rare (only 6 examples reported from three States)

Table 1: Description of the 1931 penny varieties presented by Dean in 1965.

Upon reconciling Dean's notations with conventional die pairing combinations for the 1931 penny varieties,¹⁰ one is likely to arrive at the results set out in Table 2.

P31A	Melbourne Mint. English die obverse, curved-base letters reverse. Normal date.	1+B
P31B	Melbourne Mint. Indian die obverse, curved-base letters reverse. Normal date. Rare.	2+B
P31C	Melbourne Mint. English die obverse, curved-base letters reverse. Different date, with last 1 dropped.	1+A
P31D	Melbourne Mint. Indian die obverse, curved-base letters reverse. Dropped 1 date variety. Extremely rare (only 6 examples reported from three States)	2+A

Table 2. Dean's notation of 1931 penny varieties together with conventional die classifications.

⁸ Crellin, A. op cit

⁹ Dean, John. 1965 Australian Coin Varieties Catalogue, Hawthorn Press 1964, 44

¹⁰ Strand Coins, benchmark Catalogue at <http://www.benchmarkcoincatalogue.com>

However, a comparison of the 2+A penny with Dean's description of the P31D variety reveals a significant discrepancy. Whereas the 2+A penny features a reverse with flat-base letters, Dean notes curved-base letters on the reverse of the P31D variety.¹¹ It appears that from the 1960s onwards, collectors searching for examples of the P31D variety were able to locate only a very small number of 1931 pennies containing a dropped 1 and an Indian obverse. These were mainly examples of the 2+A pennies. Ostensibly, finding these coins was so difficult (with only about fifty identified to date),¹² that refining the search further in light of Dean's curved-base letter notation may have been conveniently avoided.

Over the course of some fifty plus years following Dean's publication, the 'flat-base' letter reverse seen on the 2+A penny went on to become a benchmark feature of the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* coin, while Dean's P31D variety with curved-base letter reverse (of which only six were recorded), fell into obscurity. However, the author can now draw upon evidence sourced from a number of coin collections across Australia that points to the reliability of Dean's notations. The evidence appears to confirm the existence of the P31D variety, containing a number of distinguishable characteristics including a reverse legend with curved-base letters.

A comprehensive table of the 1931 penny varieties is now proposed (Table 3), noting that a distinct London reverse die (A*) must have been used in producing the P31D variety.

Variety	Name	Description	Die Pairing	Observations
1	P31A	English die obverse. Birmingham Reverse, Aligned date.	1+B	Curved-base letters reverse
2	P31B	Indian die obverse. Birmingham Reverse, Aligned date. Rare.	2+B	Curved-base letters reverse
3	P31C	English die obverse. London reverse. Dropped 1 in date.	1+A	Curved-base letters reverse
4	1931 D1.Ind. Obv.	Indian die obverse. London reverse. Dropped 1 in date. Extremely rare	2+A	Flat-base letters reverse

¹¹ Ibid at <http://www.benchmarkcoincatalogue.com/catalogue/coin/485>

¹² Ibid

Variety	Name	Description	Die Pairing	Observations
5	P31D	Indian die obverse. London reverse. Dropped 1 in date. Extremely rare	2+A*	Curved-base letters reverse

Table 3. 1931 penny varieties including P31D.

The Unicorn Penny

Since the P31D variety has been so rarely seen, and its origins are somewhat mysterious, collectors have dubbed it “The Unicorn Penny” (Figure 5). While the Unicorn Penny displays similar characteristic to its extremely rare cousin – the benchmark *1931 D1.Ind. Obv.* penny, other features point to it being a unique variety with a likely connection to the glamorous 1930 penny. Accordingly, with only eight confirmed Unicorn Pennies recorded by the author to date, they may hold a place among some of Australia’s rarest coins.



Figure 5. Unicorn Penny obverse and reverse.

Unicorn Penny – key characteristics

The following overview compares the Unicorn Penny’s characteristics with those of the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* penny, as well as other pennies minted around the same period.

Obverse and Reverse Dies

The Unicorn Penny, like the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* penny, features an Indian obverse with 178 denticles and a London reverse with 174 denticles. Figure 6 shows the alignment of denticles and letters on both the obverse and reverse sides that are characteristic of the Indian and London die patterns, respectively.



Figure 6: Unicorn Penny Indian obverse (left) shown with the second stroke of the 'N' aligned with a denticle. The London reverse (right) is shown with the tops of 'A' and 'L' aligned with denticles and the tops of the 'T' and 'A' aligned with spaces between the denticles.

Dropped 1

A key feature that the Unicorn Penny shares with the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny is the dropped '1' in the date (Figure 7).



Figure 7: Relative distances between the inner rim and the top of the rightmost '1' in the dates of the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny (left) and the Unicorn Penny (right) are shown to be almost identical. Cf. the distance between inner rim and the top of the leftmost '1' in the dates of both coins.

Pointy Nose Dropped 1

Another distinguishing characteristic that the Unicorn Penny shares with the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny is the distinctly pointy nose on the dropped '1', compared with the blunt nose numeral '1' on the left side of the date (Figure 8).



Figure 8: Blunt and pointy noses are shown on the leftmost numeral '1' and rightmost numeral '1' of the date, respectively, in both the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny (left) and the Unicorn Penny (right).

From the observations above, it is clear how the Unicorn Penny and the *1931 D1.Ind. Obv.* penny could have been easily confused with one another. Both pennies contain an Indian obverse, a London reverse and a dropped '1' in the date. However, there are a number of distinguishing characteristics found in the Unicorn Penny that are not present in the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* penny.

Upright Dropped 1

An examination of the dropped '1' in the date reveals that it is more upright than the counterpart numeral in the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* penny (Figures 9 and 10).



Figure 9: Relative positions of the dropped and aligned numerals '1' found in the first variety of the 1931 penny (i.e. 2+B) (left), the third variety of the 1931 penny (i.e. 2+A) (middle) and the Unicorn Penny (right).



Figure 10: Superimposed date images of the 1931 Indian obverse penny varieties, which are illustrated individually in Figure 9.

Different 9s and Other Date Characteristics

Another feature that distinguishes the Unicorn Penny reverse from the reverse of the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* penny is the different numeral '9' in the date. The latter (Figure 11) shows the '9' with a distinctly broader top, resulting in a smaller void in the centre of the numeral, whereas the void in the '9' of the Unicorn Penny is slightly larger due to the narrowing at the top of the numeral.



Figure 11: The void in the '9' of the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny (left) is shown to be smaller than the void in the Unicorn Penny (right).

Interestingly, the '9' in the Unicorn Penny is very similar to the counterpart '9' in the 1929 Indian obverse penny, which incidentally, bears a close resemblance to the '9' that appears in both varieties of the 1930 penny (i.e. the English obverse and Indian obverse pennies). However, upon closer examination (Figures 12 to 15), the Unicorn Penny date characteristics appear to be entirely unique and distinctly different from those of the 1929 Indian obverse penny, the 1930 penny varieties and the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny. Unlike the blunt nose of the leftmost numeral '1' in the date of the Unicorn Penny, the counterpart numeral '1' in the dates of the 1929 and 1930 pennies has a pointy nose. Also, the spacing between the numerals '1' and '9' is slightly larger in the 1929 and 1930 pennies than in both the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny and the Unicorn Penny.



Figure 12: The date characteristics of the Unicorn Penny showing a blunt nose on numeral '1', an ostensibly normal void in numeral '9' and normal spacing between these two numerals.



Figure 13: The date characteristics of the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny showing a blunt nose on numeral '1', a comparatively smaller void in numeral '9' and ostensibly normal spacing between these two numerals.



Figure 14: The date characteristics of the 1929 penny showing a pointy nose on numeral '1', an ostensibly normal void in numeral '9' and a comparatively wide spacing between these two numerals.



Figure 15: The date characteristics of the 1930 penny showing a pointy nose on numeral '1', an ostensibly normal void in numeral '9' and a comparatively wide spacing between these two numerals.

Furthermore, the Unicorn Penny does not contain the denticle die fault above the word 'OF' as noted by Bloom.¹³ Accordingly, the above observations suggest that the Unicorn Penny's London reverse was most likely derived from a unique master die.

Reverse with Curved-Base Letters

Figure 16 shows the London reverse of the Unicorn Penny with strong curvature at the base of each letter, and the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny London reverse with decidedly flat-base letters.



Figure 16: Flat-base and curved-base legends shown on the reverses of the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny (left) and the Unicorn Penny (right), respectively.

Interestingly, the extent of curvature in the lettering of the Unicorn Penny appears to be somewhat more pronounced compared with other George V pennies that also feature London reverses with strongly pronounced curved-base letters (Figure 17).



Figure 17: A comparative sample showing the George V pennies that feature a London die reverse with curved-base letters. Top row pennies (left to right) are 1924 (Indian obverse), 1925, 1926, 1927 (English obverse), and 1927 (Indian obverse). Bottom row pennies (left to right) are 1928, 1929 (English obverse), 1929 (Indian obverse), 1930 (English obverse) and 1930 (Indian obverse).

¹³ Bloom W. R. The Proof (Specimen) Australia 1930 Penny, *Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia*, 2011, Vol. 21, 7

A further peculiarity of the Unicorn Penny is the curvature on some of the cross bars of the letters 'A' in 'AUSTRALIA', although these appear to be curved in the opposite direction to the letter bases (i.e. vertically inverted). While this observation may suggest that curlicue lettering was an intended feature of some penny reverse designs, Holland postulates that the curved-base letters were formed due to a process of 'channelled flow' of the softened die steel when striking derivative hubs.¹⁴ The process involves the formation of a low-pressure eddy in the wake of the striking process that takes place without a constraining collar, resulting in a 'hollow' at the base of the letter known as 'fish-tailing'.

Holland explains that flat-based letters on penny reverses were mainly observed up to 1919, as the dies used in striking these pennies were derived from high quality hubs imported from England and/or India.¹⁵ Further, the 'strong' curved-base letters that appear on pennies struck from derivative/cloned hubs in the earlier days of die manufacture at the Melbourne Mint (from 1919 to 1931) reflect the inexperience of the Mint workers. A significant reduction in the extent of letter base curvature on pennies struck after 1932 indicates that the Mint's die-producing techniques were markedly improving.

While Holland's explanation is compelling, it requires further reconciliation with certain attributes such as the previously mentioned inverse curvatures on the cross bars of the letters 'A' in 'AUSTRALIA'. Similarly, the strong curved-base letters seen on some well-documented reverses of the 1930 specimen pennies (Figure 18) require further consideration. Specimen coins are normally inspected by the Mint Master to ensure that a high-integrity representation of the master die is achieved. Therefore, if curved-base lettering was a long-standing and constant characteristic of die manufacture at the Melbourne Mint, then arguably the 1930 specimen coins may provide evidence of the 'fish-tailing' defect being legitimised by the Mint as an accepted curlicue lettering style.



Figure 18: A 1930 specimen penny featuring curved-base letters in the reverse legend.

14 Holland P., Die pairings, curved-base letters and dots: why are George V pennies so complex?, *Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia*. 2017, Vol. 28, 40

15 Ibid 41

However, for the purposes of validating the Unicorn Penny as a distinct variety, it matters little whether the Mint accepted curved-base lettering as a design feature. The salient point to be gleaned from the available evidence is that the Unicorn Penny was struck with a uniquely prepared reverse die.

Common Obverse with 1930 Penny

The obverse die used in the production of the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny was recorded as die number A2B16-107.¹⁶ This die contained a distinguishing fault in the form of a dot after the 'S' in 'GEORGIVS' (Figure 19). While there is evidence showing that this die was also used to strike a small number of 1930 pennies,¹⁷ the substantial majority of 1930 pennies were struck with the Indian die number A2B10, which did not feature the 'S dot' fault. The only other known penny that was struck using the A2B10 die during the 1930-31 production period was the first variety of the 1931 penny (i.e. Indian obverse, Birmingham reverse, aligned '1').¹⁸ Given that the Unicorn Penny was also struck in the 1930-1931 production-period with an Indian obverse die that did not feature the 'S dot' fault, it is highly likely that it too was struck with die number A2B10 and shares its obverse with the 1930 penny.



Figure 19: The obverse die fault shown in the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny (left), does not appear in either the 1930 penny (middle) or the Unicorn Penny (right).

Further evidence supporting a link between the Unicorn Penny and the 1930 penny obverses is the distinctly larger fourth pearl on the leading edge of the crown (Figure 20). This feature can be contrasted against the smaller fourth pearl that regularly appeared in pennies up to 1921.¹⁹ The larger fourth pearl also appears in the 1929 Indian obverse penny, which evidences the first use of an Indian obverse master die sent directly from

¹⁶ Mullett; WJ, op. cit. 10

¹⁷ Andrews, P., A 1930 Penny Obverse Variety, *Australasian Coin and Banknote Magazine*, November 2018, 10-11

¹⁸ Ibid 17

¹⁹ Lever, F., The Crown of Pearls Virus in KGV Obverses 1917 to 1921, *Australasian Coin and Banknote Magazine*, Feb. 2018

London to Melbourne in 1922.²⁰ The same die was later used in the production of the 1930 Indian obverse penny.²¹



Figure 20: The larger fourth pearl shown in the leading edge of the crown in the obverses of the 1929 penny (left), the 1930 penny (middle) and the Unicorn Penny (right).

Likely origins

While there are clear indications as to the likely origins of the Unicorn Penny's obverse die, the origins of the reverse die are somewhat more elusive. A clue, however, may lie in some of Mullet's notes, among which there is a report of a new penny master reverse die dated '193_' that was sent from London and received at the Melbourne Mint on 18 March 1931.²² This was a different die from the punch received on 7 November 1930, which was used in the production of the second variety of the 1931 penny (English obverse + dropped 1).²³

Records show that the March 1931 master die was used to produce six reverse working dies on 17 August 1931.²⁴ While Mullet argues that this notation was made in error, Holland submits that the original entry in the Melbourne Mint records is in fact correct.²⁵ Holland makes a general inference that this new master die probably featured a Birmingham reverse and was of the 'aligned date' type. However, there appears to be no evidence to support this. If one resorts to conjecture, it is equally possible that the March 1931 master die was actually a London reverse die. Furthermore, given that the March 1931 master die was of the '193_' type, it is likely that at least one of the six derivative dies was used in sample runs to yield a small number of additional varieties of the 1931 penny. It is not inconceivable that in the experimental rush to produce this

20 Strand Coins, benchmark Catalogue op. cit. 480

21 Ibid

22 Ibid 18-19

23 Ibid 17

24 Holland P. Master dies and tools from the Royal Mint for Australian pennies and halfpennies of George V
Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia. 2010, Vol. 20, 56

25 Ibid

penny, these sample coins could have had the '1' inserted imperfectly (as seen in all of the 1931 'dropped 1' penny varieties), resulting in an almost identical looking date arrangement to the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny, albeit with a dropped '1' that is slightly more upright.

The above suggests that the March 1931 master die could well be linked with the production of the Unicorn Penny. Exactly how many sample coins were struck using the dies derived from the March 1931 master die is unknown, however, the author notes only eight confirmed Unicorn Pennies recorded to date. A possible explanation for the low sample run of the Unicorn Penny is that the curved-base letters found on the working dies prepared from the March 1931 master die were at odds with the desired look (i.e. the flat-base letters) featured in the November 1930 punch (Figure 21). In fact, it is likely that the Melbourne Mint failed in its attempts to emulate the integrity and quality of lettering contained in the November 1930 punch, resulting in the production of a working die with strongly pronounced curved-base letters. It is clear from the reverses of pennies dated 1933 to 1936 that the Melbourne Mint was improving hub production techniques to achieve coins that featured flat-based letters. Therefore, it stands to reason that the strong curved-base letters seen on the Unicorn Penny's reverse would have been inconsistent with the Mint's standards for penny production in 1931, supporting the notion that only a handful of sample Unicorn Pennies was struck.



Figure 21: An inked impression (reproduced from Vol. 20 of the JNAA) showing flat-base letters featured in the London master die that was likely used in the production of the November 1930 punch and later used in producing the 1931 *D1.Ind.Obv.* penny.

Authenticity

Some experts may raise questions over the authenticity of coins like the Unicorn Penny.²⁶ Their initial caution may well be justified given that rare and valuable coins are readily reproduced using a variety of methods and modern technologies. In considering whether the Unicorn Penny is a reproduction, one must first ask which coin did it intend to emulate. In terms of value, clearly the only relatively well-known 1931 penny worth reproducing is the extremely rare *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* variety. Given that both the Unicorn Penny and the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* pennies feature an Indian obverse, London reverse and dropped '1', there appears to be some merit to the hypothesis that the Unicorn Penny may have been created as a copy of the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* variety. However, upon examining the techniques used in coin reproduction, it becomes apparent that such a hypothesis cannot stand. Coins can be reproduced in numerous different ways, including casting, laser engraving, electrotyping, die transfers and spark erosion. All of these methods rely on the availability of either an original coin or a high-definition image (e.g. a 3D scan) as a source. Given that there are too many design inconsistencies between the Unicorn Penny and the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* (i.e. different '9s' in the date, different tilt angles of the dropped '1', curved-base instead of flat-base letters on the reverse legend, and two die faults on the obverse), the Unicorn Penny is clearly not derived from any accurate image source of the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* penny.

One must also consider the possibility that the Unicorn Penny is an altered coin intended to look like the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* penny. The simplest way to distinguish an altered coin is to identify the donor coin. However, in the case of the Unicorn Penny, no George V penny qualifies as an obvious example of this. Looking for possible candidates, there are four George V pennies which, like the Unicorn Penny, contain an Indian obverse and a London reverse with curved-base letters. These are the 1924, 1927, 1929 and 1930 pennies. We can immediately exclude the 1930 penny, as it is unlikely that someone would sacrifice it to create a 1931 penny. We can also exclude the 1929 penny given the distinctly different date characteristics compared with the Unicorn Penny. The 1924 and the 1927 pennies can also be excluded on the basis that the curved-base letters on their reverse legends are significantly less pronounced than those found in the Unicorn Penny. Furthermore, the leading edges of the crown on both the 1924 and 1927 obverses do not contain an enlarged fourth pearl.

It is possible, although highly unlikely, that someone went to the enormous trouble of altering almost every letter on the reverse side of the 1924 or 1927 penny to make the curved-base letters more pronounced, and then combined that reverse with the obverse from the 1929 penny to create a cast of the Unicorn Penny. This explanation defies logic in light of the original hypothesis that the Unicorn Penny was intended

²⁶ Lever. F., 1931 Penny Forgeries, Part 1. op cit

to emulate the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* penny – a coin with a reverse that contains flat-base letters. Accordingly, there is no evidence that convincingly points to the Unicorn Penny being a reproduction.

Provenance

While Dean noted six P31D coins, some fifty years later the author has independently recorded a total of eight of these pennies in various conditions ranging from ‘F’ to ‘aEF’. Unfortunately, with no available information about Dean’s recordings, it is impossible to tell if there is any cross-over in provenance between the two sets of coins.

The coins recorded by the author display convincing provenance in that two of them came from owners who are both over eighty years old and have kept these coins in their collections for many decades. Neither of the owners was aware that they possessed a Unicorn Penny, and both mistakenly assumed that they had the *1931 D1.Ind.Obv.* penny in their collections until informed otherwise by the author. Interestingly, one owner was born in 1931 and was gifted her coin by her father on one of her birthdays when she was a young girl.

Conclusion

On the balance of the evidence presented in this article, it appears that Dean’s identification of the P31D variety was based on reliable physical evidence and is, therefore, highly likely to be a fifth variety of the 1931 penny – the Unicorn Penny. While the origins of the Unicorn Penny are somewhat elusive, the evidence points to it being struck with a unique reverse die, and ostensibly the same obverse die used in minting the 1930 penny. Given the above, the Unicorn Penny is likely to hold an important place in Australian numismatics and rank among some of the rarest examples of Australian pre-decimal coins.

Author

Yuri Rapoport is an Australian solicitor with a doctoral degree in law. He also holds a science degree in the field of medicine. Yuri lives in London, United Kingdom, and has been collecting coins for the last 40 years with a special interest in the Australian penny. Having achieved his career aspirations, Yuri now intends to devote more of his time to research in the field of numismatics.

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Numismatic gem: A very uncivil war

Darren Burgess

When this paper was first delivered, at the Numismatic Association of Australia Conference in early April, 2019, we had just passed the first deadline for the United Kingdom to exit the European Union, an event commonly known as Brexit. As I write this in mid-December of the same year, we have now surpassed yet another deadline, October 31, and just days away from a General Election, which is just another chapter in this ongoing farrago.

Back in late October of 2018 the Chancellor of the time, Phillip Hammond, advised that a special 50 pence piece was to be issued, as a collector's only coin, to commemorate the departure of the UK from the EU (BBC, 2018). The resulting design, one of the most uninspiring to come out of the British Royal Mint (BRM) for some time, featured simply the phrase "Peace, prosperity and friendship with all nations",¹ with the planned exit date of 29 March, 2019 underneath. On 18 March, 2019, following a series of protracted and unsuccessful negotiations with the EU, Her Majesty's Treasury advised that the release of this coin was being delayed, with a then likely date of 30 June (Alexander, 2019). While a number of coins featuring the October 31 deadline were struck they have subsequently been destroyed, with any further plans for this troublesome numismatic item on hold for the time being.



Fig. 1 – Initial Reverse Design for the Brexit Commemorative 50p Coin

1 Borrowed from a quote by Thomas Jefferson, author of the USA's declaration of independence.

The topical subject of Brexit was raised to frame another point in history where Britain was divided on the subject of sovereignty, the English Civil War (1642-1651). An episode from that divisive conflict occurred between 31 March and 26 April 1646 in the small market town of Bridgnorth, in the county of Shropshire. Up until this point Bridgnorth had been a Royalist stronghold. However, after successfully taking Shrewsbury, the town was besieged by Parliamentary troops.



Fig.2 - Extract from a Postcard of Reginald Phillimore²

Knowing that only the Castle would be defensible, the Royalist garrison demolished the Town Hall and other buildings in the town. Their defence did not last long and in their retreat from the town the Royalist troops set fire to what remained, destroying the entire High Street and leaving 300 families homeless. This wanton act of destruction meant that the town remained largely in a state of ruin during the Commonwealth period (Farrow, 1926).



Fig. 3 - Late Declaration Sixpence (ex. Tom May Collection), image courtesy of Noble Numismatics³

2 The date of 1649 shown on the card is incorrect.

3 Note the "B" mint mark on the Obverse leading to the supposition of minting at Bridgnorth.

Late Declaration coins of this date have been variously attributed to a number of minting locations over the years. George Boon postulates Bridgnorth as the primary candidate for the location of the striking of these coins (Boon, 1981), and this is supported in the subsequent publication of the Brooker Collection (North & Preston-Morley, 1984). At present many catalogues continue to refer to the town as Bridgnorth-on-Severn and although the town does lie directly on the river Severn, it has never knowingly been referred to by this term locally. There is also no archaeological evidence to support this theory despite the Castle being the subject of a number of studies.⁴

However, the numismatic gem presented to the audience was not one of these desirable Late Declaration pieces, but something a little less regal. The gem in question comes from a decade or so after the war, when a shortage of state issued coinage led to the proliferation of locally issued tokens. It is a humble 17th Century Farthing, with an obverse that features the issuer's name, Symon Beauchamp, with the "p" unceremoniously crammed in on the legend. In the centre is the Drapers Arms, signifying the issuer's trade. On the heavily worn reverse is a monogram of the issuer's initials "SB" surrounded by the legend "In Bridgnorth".⁵



Fig. 4 - Beauchamp Token (ex. David Griffith Collection), image courtesy of Dix Noonan Webb.

Symon Beauchamp was not only a Draper, but also a bailiff of the town in 1850 when the building of a new Town Hall commenced (Randall, 1863). The building still stands proudly in the centre of the High Street today.

⁴ Even the subject of an episode of Time Team from March 2001.

⁵ Shropshire (Salop) No. 10 in *Seventeenth Century Tokens of the British Isles and Their Values* (Dickinson, 2004).



Fig. 5 – Bridgnorth Town Hall - July 2016, image courtesy of the author

We also know that Symon was married to Anne and evidently she was mentioned in his Will. His Will, which remains on record today (The National Archives, 1671) is dated 11 August, 1671. In it he mentions *being weak in body but of good and perfect Memory*. He lists a number of items he wishes to bequeath and the total value of the estate is £1,338. Anne's Will is also on record (The National Archives, 1678). She too lists a number of items that are important to her and shows her estate to be valued at £457 18s. This does not necessarily mean she ran Beauchamp's affairs poorly after he died, as it is likely she only inherited a third of his estate, as was customary at the time. These detailed records provide a rare insight into the lives of single women at the time and as such they have been used in published works on the subject (Hussey & Ponsonby, 2015)

Meanwhile back in the 21st century, with the October 31st deadline looming, a new Chancellor, under a new Prime Minister, has announced that not only is the 50p coin going to be released (with a revised date of course), but it was now planned to be a circulating piece (Press Association, 2019). With Symon Beauchamp commissioning the striking of a token in the 17th Century he and his wife are remembered as having

contributed positively to the fabric of British society. Can the same be said for this proposed Brexit 50p and the people behind it?



Fig. 6 – Concept for Obverse of Brexit Commemorative 50p Coin

Author Biography

Darren Burgess is a Project manager for a Melbourne based software company that specialises in Infrastructure Asset Management. As a result of his various roles in this space he has worked extensively with Local Governments in his native UK as well as New Zealand, Australia, South East Asia and North America. He has been President of the Numismatic Association of Victoria (NAV) since 2013, twice recipient of the Max Stern Trophy and is a previous Vice-President of the NAA.

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Numismatic gem: Coincidences and opportunities from a Roman coin in Egypt

Barrie M. Newman

A Roman coin was found by Capt Eric Rule, an Australian Infantry Officer, during World War 2. He picked it up when his boot kicked up what he thought was a stone, as he marched a group of Italian prisoners past the pyramids in Egypt.



(Not to scale - actual size 19mm)

Captain Rule was a close friend of my mother's cousin. I had not met him before he came to visit us on his return to Australia in 1945. He asked me whether I collected coins and, having been thrown a few one cent US coins by American soldiers marching past our house in Fremantle a year or so earlier, I said that I did. He then gave me the Roman coin saying it could have an interesting history. I was 10 years of age and he was 27. He was afterwards posted to Army Headquarters in Victoria and I never saw him again.

In 1950, as a boarder at Scotch College in Western Australia, I took the coin to the Perth Mint and asked the well-dressed young gentleman who came to the gate if he could tell me something about the coin and its possible value. He took the coin and said that he would find out some details and let me know.

Two days later I received a letter posted to Master Barrie Newman at Scotch College from Geoffrey W. Robinson returning the coin and advising the following:

"The coin is of Emperor Diocletian AD284-305, struck in Alexandria (Egypt) under Romans, dated year 4 of Diocletian's reign, AD287; Metal: billon, a mixture of silver and bronze; Denomination: Tetradrachm; Collector's value: about two shillings."

GEOFFREY W. ROBINSON
24 PARK ROAD
MOUNT LAWLEY
WESTERN AUSTRALIA

13 Dec 1956

Dear Barrie,

I have finally got a complete classification of your coin. My first impression was incorrect, which does not surprise me - that is why I was unwilling to hand the coin back to you until I had gone thoroughly into the matter. You can rely on this description:

The coin is of **EMPEROR DIOCLETIAN** ^{AD 284-305}
Struck in Alexandria (Egypt) under Roman

Obverse legend in Greek

ΑΥ ΓΟ ΒΑ ΔΙΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ

(abbreviated form of Autokrator ^{Sebastokrator} ~~Augustus~~
Valerianus Diocletianus ~~Augustus~~
= Emperor ^{Sebastokrator} Valerian Diocletian
(Augustus))

Reverse

Eagle (Symbol of both Jupiter and Egypt)
between two omphalos.

Date ΛΔ = Year 4 of Diocletian's reign = ^{AD} 287

Metal = Billon (mixture of silver and bronze)

Denomination: Tetradrachm

Collector's value: about 2/-.

Kind regards

Yours sincerely

Geoffrey W. Robinson

I was amazed that such an old coin could only be worth two shillings. This coin started my interest in coins and, when I joined The Bank of Adelaide in Perth in 1953, I started collecting Australia's currency coins. Little did I then know that this coin would also provide a number of interesting coincidences, culminating in important opportunities for me and my family. Let me quickly elaborate.

Following my National Service Military Training at Swanbourne in Western Australia, in 1954, I joined the Citizens Military Forces (CMF), now the Army Reserve. I was commissioned as an officer in the Royal Australian Artillery in 1955 and, after 10 years part-time Service, was posted by the Australian Army to Kashmir as one of Australia's six Military Observers to the United Nations Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan from 1964 to 1966. My overseas deployment was during the Indo-Pak War of 1965 and the Bank had given me special leave to undertake this deployment.

While in Kashmir I was interested to note that a Captain Eric Rule had also been deployed to Kashmir from 1958 to 1961, just three years before me. I saw a number of his reports from investigations he had conducted along the Cease Fire Line. What a coincidence, I thought, and how I would have loved to have been able to compare notes on Kashmir with this man, whom I had met briefly 20 years earlier.

Army List of Officers of the Australian Military Forces Active List 31st July 1970 Captains

RULE, Eric David. Born 18/3/18.
Lt 2/28 Aust Inf Bn 26/4/43. PSL (Aust Inf) 4/8/44. 2/28 Aust Inf Bn 15/6/45. 68 Aust Inf Bn 16/10/45. (T/Capt 27/11/44 to 14/6/45.) R of O (R Aust Inf) (S Comd) 11/10/46. Lt 59 Inf Bn 12/9/57. (T/Capt 26/5/58 to 1/10/58.) Capt 59 Inf Bn 2/10/58. R Aust Inf 22/12/58. T/Maj 16/5/69. RASR 22/12/ 58 to 5/11/64. RAS 6/11/64. Instr OCTU 22/9/44 to 14/6/45. Secd Dept of External Affairs (UN Mil Observer Kashmir) 22/12/58 to 5/2/61. Att S Comd Pers Depot 6/2/61 to 4/5/61. Adj 2 RVR 5/5/61 to 30/4/65. Adj 6 RVR 1/5/65 to 12/2/68. SC A & Q HQ OTG S Comd 13/2/68 to 13/10/68. 2 RTB 14/10/68 to 9/11/69. Maj I/C Admin OCS 10/11/69.

NEWMAN, Barrie Malcolm, ED. Born 19/9/35.
Lt RAA (Coast) (W Comd) 14/11/56. RAA (Pd Bch) (W Comd) 8/4/57. RAA (Pd Bch) (E Comd) 11/12/59. (T/Capt 1/5/63 to 15/8/63.) Capt RAA (Pd Bch) (E Comd) 16/8/63. RAA 12/11/64. RAA (Pd Bch (E Comd) 13/1/66. RAA (Pd Bch) (C Comd) 1/4/66. RAS 12/11/64 to 12/1/66. Secd Dept of External Affairs (UN Mil Observer Kashmir) 12/11/64 to 12/1/66. GSO 3 (Air) HQ 9 TF 1/10/67 to 17/11/68. GSO 3 (Air) HQ 9 TF 13/11/69.

On returning from Kashmir, and while still employed as a senior staff member of The Bank of Adelaide in Adelaide, I became involved in marketing commemorative coins for the Governments of Western Samoa, Fiji, Tokelau, Nepal and the Solomon Islands. The coins raised important royalties for these emerging countries. I attempted to do likewise for the Dalai Lama and Tibetan refugees in exile. In 1977, I approached a number of mints with whom we had agreements, including the Royal Australian Mint, to see whether they would be able to strike a special coin issue for the Dalai Lama. They all declined on political grounds and, while I was visiting my parents in Perth, I thought it might just be possible for the Perth Mint to help us out. I visited the Perth Mint and asked to see the Director.

I was introduced to the Director, Mr Geoffrey Robinson, the same person whom I had met as a boy almost 30 years previously when asking about the Diocletian coin. We were both astounded at this coincidence, which subsequently led to a warm friendship and business arrangements over many years. Unfortunately, he too was unable to get approval for the Perth Mint to produce the coins for the Dalai Lama, but we had many interesting conversations over the years about these matters and he stayed with us whenever he visited Adelaide.

This coin had these interesting coincidences for me and was instrumental in my becoming involved, not only in coin collecting, but also in forging my business and future career with The Adelaide Mint, which I formally established on 15 February 1982. The coin, for me, is a numismatic gem.

Author Biography

Barrie Newman is Executive Director of The Adelaide Mint, PO Box 2183, Kent Town, South Australia 5071. He is a Past President, Fellow and currently Secretary of The Numismatic Society of South Australia Inc. He received the 2017 Paul Simon Memorial award and medal for outstanding contribution to Australian numismatics.

Book review

The Coin Cabinet - A cultural history of the numismatic collection in the Art Gallery of South Australia by Peter Lane. Art Gallery of South Australia. 223 pages, illustrated throughout. \$50. Reviewed by D. J. Rampling

This beautifully presented book is a landmark publication in Australian numismatics. It documents the gradual assemblage and curatorial oversight of one of the largest numismatic collections held by an Australian public institution.

Peter Lane, the Honorary Numismatist at the Art Gallery of South Australia since 2007, has assiduously gleaned a wealth of information from an assemblage of primary sources to produce a chronological account of the development of the Gallery's coin and medal collection since its inception in the mid-1850s. Individual chapters focus on epochs, each period of time coming under the jurisdiction of successive notable numismatists. The strengths, weaknesses and travails of each are interestingly portrayed, along with accounts of the numismatic items they garnered for the collection. The incumbencies of Alfred Chitty, Sedley Towler and James Hunt Deacon are afforded separate chapters, but the numismatic contributions of their predecessors and those who followed are well covered.

Understandably, the curatorship of James Hunt Deacon occupies a proportionally large segment of the book as he was actively involved with the Gallery's numismatic collection for all of his adult life. The three chapters dealing with his career exemplify the creative energies employed both by himself and by former and subsequent numismatic incumbents to advance the Gallery's holdings of coins, medals and related items. Their procurement activities were but a part of other duties that included cataloguing, answering queries from collectors and the general public, overseeing visitors, and in the case of Deacon, giving occasional lectures. These tasks were all carried out against a background of negotiations with an administration that waxed and waned in its enthusiasm for its numismatic holdings, and that appropriated to itself decisions that involved expenditure. The two World Wars also impinged upon Gallery operations, imposing financial restraints, but also yielding numismatic opportunities as returning soldiers brought back medals and even coins found in the trenches, some of these items ending up in the collection.

An ongoing issue was the location and display of the collection. Lane documents its peregrinations across various buildings and administrative structures. The Board's jurisdiction also manifested in other ways, such as conferring an appropriate title of office for the numismatist, an issue that caused Deacon angst from time to time, as prestige and seniority were implicated with what one was called.

Deacon's possessiveness of the collection was remarkable, on one occasion refusing to allow the visiting Controller of the Royal Australian Mint access to the Australian coins.

This assumed ownership of the collection seems to have been a trait he inherited from Chitty who is reported as having been outraged that a distinguished numismatist wished to hold the coins he examined. Chitty, according to Lane, claimed that he was ‘the father of the collection ... that I look upon it as my child’. Unfortunately, such sentiments while possibly affording protection of collections, are a hindrance in public institutions that have been established for the enjoyment and edification of the populace.

Donations, purchases, and exchanges were all means of obtaining specimens, and were all actively pursued. Illustrations of a selection of coins, medals and banknotes procured in each epoch are interspersed throughout the text of the relevant chapters, with details of their procurement and their significance for the collection. Included are many items sourced from Australian collectors whose names will be familiar to many readers. The biographical details of these benefactors are of particular interest as there will be present day collectors who have a coin bearing a provenance from one of these sources.

The seven hundred and seventy-three end notes referencing the book’s factual content give an indication of the dedication and thoroughness with which the author has approached his task. His enthusiasm for the subject matter is infectious, especially as humour, personal anecdote and recognition of the social significance of what he refers to as ‘humble’ pieces, convey a sensitivity to the enchantment of numismatic pursuits.

A reviewer feels obliged to cast some shadows when offering an otherwise glowing review. This is particularly so when the book’s author is a friend, lest the opinions expressed seem unduly tainted by bias. I confess that I found the Preface and Introduction the least readable parts of the book. Being familiar with the contextual background of his subject, the author makes assumptions of shared knowledge. Thus, in these early pages the reader is unclear how the South Australian Institute and the South Australian Museum are related to the Coin Cabinet. A propensity to expand on textual material by including subjoined information in brackets is unnecessary and disruptive to the narrative. Much of this initial confusion becomes clear in later chapters, where only the very occasional omission of a word or a *non sequitur* interrupts an otherwise fascinating story. These are, however, minor quibbles and should not deter anyone from acquiring the book.

The book closes with a distillation of an assessment of the Gallery’s collection made in 1992 by Dr Robert Carson, a former Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. He wrote: “...if space can continue to be found to store the collection, it is always possible that future circumstances might make it possible to re-activate work on this large and quite important body of numismatic material.”

It is sad to report that the collection remains in storage, and that it receives no mention on the Art Gallery of South Australia’s web page. Let us hope that Peter Lane’s book will provide the necessary stimulus “to re-activate” interest in this wonderful assemblage of material.

Copies of the book are available to purchase from Peter Lane – pnj.lane@bigpond.com

Obituary

Matthew Freeman Trundle

Lee L. Brice¹ and Jeremy Armstrong²

Matthew Freeman Trundle (1965 - 2019) died peacefully on Friday, 12 July, 2019 in Wellington, New Zealand, after a long battle with leukemia. He was Professor and Chair of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Auckland.

Matthew received a BA with joint honours in Classics and History at the University of Nottingham in 1987 before moving to McMaster University in Ontario, Canada, where he completed an MA in Roman History in 1990 and a PhD in Greek History in 1997, supervised by Professor Daniel Geagan.

He taught at Glendon College, York University, in Toronto from 1994 to 1996 and was a researcher with the University of Chicago's excavations at Corinth and Isthmia in Greece, for which he worked for two years, in 1997 and 1998. This was central to his work on the completion and publication of the inscriptions from the Roman period after the death of Daniel Geagan in 2009. He came to New Zealand in 1999 as Lecturer in Classics at Victoria University of Wellington, becoming Senior Lecturer (2005) and Associate Professor (2011) before moving to the University of Auckland to become Chair and Professor of Classics and Ancient History in 2012.

His interests in ancient Greek history were diverse, as reflected in his publications and classes, but tended to be within the intersections of social, economic, and military history. His PhD thesis was the impetus for his first book, *Greek Mercenaries from the Late Archaic Period to Alexander* (London 2004). After that he maintained an impressive and steady publication record, even after becoming Department Chair in 2012. His work was notable for the high quality of his analysis and discussion and his ability to bring complex approaches (e.g., numismatics and military history) together in a manner that was clear, sensible, and useful to a wide range of readers. In addition to his first book, Matthew was an editor and contributor to several volumes including, *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare* (Leiden, 2010) and *Beyond the Gates of Fire: New Perspectives on the Battle of Thermopylae* (Bradford, 2013). He was also author of numerous articles, chapters, and encyclopaedia entries on a range of topics including Mercenaries, Athletes and Warfare, Sparta, Coinage and Empire, Coinage and Democracy, Warfare and Coinage, Violence in Athens, Greek Warfare, Historiography, Fourth century battles and campaigns, and Epigraphy. At the time of his death he was one of the editors, and

¹ American School of Classical Studies.

² University of Auckland.

a contributor, to two volumes in Brill's Companions to Classical Studies: Warfare in the Ancient Mediterranean and to the Cambridge Companion to Violence. This was in addition to work on the inscriptions of Isthmia and a monograph on the impact of coinage on classical Athens.

In addition to his publications, Matthew was a committed and popular teacher. He taught a wide range of courses. These included Latin and especially the full range of ancient Greek at Auckland. He also taught on Greek warfare, economics, and culture, among other topics over the course of his career in addition to supervising select theses on a wide range of ancient topics. In addition to his teaching and supervision, he was extremely active professionally, attending numerous international conferences on a wide variety of topics related to his research interests and maintaining membership in a variety of international and regional professional organizations. Despite his administrative duties, he remained an active professional historian and classicist esteemed by his peers.

Matthew was a good friend to many of us. He was a generous, tolerant spirit, who would give you the shirt off his back if you needed it. He was very social, had a good sense of humour, and enjoyed a drink – he was pleasant to be with and lit up any room he walked into. We miss him. We will drain a pint for him at our next opportunity.

Matthew is survived by his wife Catherine and his son Christian, as well as his brother and sister. A memorial service was held on 23 July, 2019.

Godspeed Matthew dear friend, you are not forgotten.



Ray Jewell Award Recipients

Silver Medal (for services to the NAA)

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

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	25. 1996, J Chapman	Vic
2. 1977, W J Mira	NSW	26. 1997, S McAskill	WA
3. 1977, R M Greig	SA	27. 2001, D Junge	Vic
4. 1977, R V McNeice	Tas	28. 2001, F Dobbins	NSW
5. 1977, G D Dean	Qld	29. 2001, G Farrington-Davis	Vic
6. 1977, S J Wilson	WA	30. 2003, P Lane	SA
7. (Allocated as the silver award to Ray Jewell)		31. 2004, F Gare	WA
8. 1978, O C Fleming	NSW	32. 2006, M C Williams	Qld
9. 1978, M B Keain	SA	33. 2006, J A Hanley	NSW
10. 1979, T M Hanley	NSW	34. 2007, G Shea	Qld
11. 1979, A Ware	NSW	35. 2007, W R Bloom	WA
12. 1981, C J Tindall	SA	36. 2008, R Sell	NSW
13. 1983, D G Sandeson	Qld	37. 2008, G D Snelgrove	Qld
14. 1984, R L Henderson	Vic	38. 2009, M P Vort-Ronald	SA
15. 1985, L J Carlisle	NSW	39. 2010, J W Cook	Qld
16. 1986, H Powell	WA	40. 2011, P Fleig	SA
17. 1987, N Harper	Tas	41. 2013, B V Begley	Qld
18. 1989, T W Holmes	Tas	42. 2014, S Appleton	Qld
19. 1990, D G Stevens	Qld	43. 2015, T J Davidson	Qld
20. 1991, L T Pepperell	Vic	44. 2016, F J Robinson	Vic
21. 1991, C Heath	Tas	45. 2017, B M Newman	SA
22. 1993, C E Pitchfork	NSW	46. 2018, M Carter	Qld
23. 1994, L P McCarthy	Qld	47. 2019, G Petterwood	Tas
24. 1995, F S Seymour	SA		



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