NUMISMATIC COMMENTS

(PLATE LXIX)

III. The Sales Policy of a Great English Collector of Antiquities.

IT WAS in 1799 that a young officer of the Royal Artillery, Captain William Martin Leake, was sent in his 22nd year to Turkey by the British Government of those days to instruct and advise the Turkish armies in their gallant fight against Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt.¹ He became one of the most important British agents in the Orient and was successful in bringing the occasionally wavering Turkish governments and pashas back to their pro-British attitude, thus defeating the India plans of Napoleon and helping to build up the strong position of the British Empire in the Mediterranean region. Leake returned after many adventurous journeys and expeditions in Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece finally to England in 1812 where he retired into private life as a Lieutenant-Colonel and ardent Philhellenes.²

His unusual career during the Napoleonic wars had kindled in this British officer the flame of true scholarship. He became an expert in the geography of Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria during the Greek and Roman periods, his discoveries of ancient sites remaining a foundation of archaeological research up to the present time.³ In addition, he formed a famous collection of vases, bronzes, gems, and especially coins, the nucleus of which he had acquired on the spot during his journeys in the Turkish Empire, and which he increased by purchase at great sales in London and Paris. He was the first British numismatist who won an international reputation by publishing two standard numismatic works, Numismata Hellenica, A Catalogue of Greek Coins (1854-1856), and Supplement to Numismata Hellenica (1859). After his death in 1860 his collections were offered to and bought by the University of Cambridge in accordance with his will at a preference price, and are preserved at present in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Up to a short time ago we did not know much of the sources from which Leake filled his collection except for a few coins, the provenance of which he has mentioned in his Numismata Hellenica and his Supplement. The name of Leake hardly ever

¹ Cf. I. H. Marsden, A Brief Memoir of the Life and Writings of the Late Lieutenant-Colonel William Martin Leake (1864), pp. 2 f.
² Cf. Leake’s Historical Outline of the Greek Revolution (1826), and the preface of his Supplement to Numismata Hellenica (1859).
³ Cf. his books Topography of Athens (1821, 2nd ed. 1841); Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, With Remarks on the Ancient and Modern Geography of That Country (1824); Notices of the Chief Egyptian Monuments in the British Museum (1827, together with the Honourable Charles Yorke); Travels in the Morea (1830); Travels in Northern Greece (1835); Peloponnesiaca (1846); Some Disputed Questions of Ancient Geography (1857).
appears in named Sales Catalogues of his period. There exists a considerable number of Sales Catalogues which originally had been in Leake’s possession. They now form part of the Library of the Fitzwilliam Museum and were acquired with his collections. In preparing a selection of Greek coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum the present author had occasion to look them up, and found that they are not only priced and named in the usual way, but in addition, Leake has very often made remarks and notes against the lots which he acquired. Most of these coins can easily be found in his Collection, and it appears that W. M. Leake used to give secret instructions to the dealers who bought for him certain coins or gems which he thought worth while with a view to as little competition as possible, a policy followed by many great collectors up to the present day. The following acquisitions of W. M. Leake can now be established as certain or at least as very probable.:

1828: *Amateur Sale* (Sotheby 16 VI 1828): 9, 10, 18, 29, 105-108, 125, 131, 179-219. (These lots are marked § or o in Leake’s copy; not ascertained: 10, 125.)

1831: *Lord Strangford Sale* (Sotheby 4 VIII 1831): 479 (not marked, ascertained from description).

1833: *Sir George Nayler Sale* (Sotheby 19 VI 1833): 427, 429 (not marked, ascertained from description).

*Sir Robert Abdy Sale* (Sotheby 14 VI 1841):

45, 48, 73, 74, 76, 78, 154, 159, 160, 162-167, 201, 203, 212, 214, 233, 238, 282, 289, 361-363, 368, 467, 497, 508, 509, 511, 599, 605, 617, 618, 644, 664, 665, 670, 671, 718, 729, 740, 741, 753, 756, 759, 767, 770, 771, 774, 777. (These lots are marked ‘✓’ in Leake’s copy; not ascertained: 238 I, 718 II, 729, 774, 777 II. Several agents received instructions to buy at this important sale.)

*Distinguished Traveller Sale* (Sotheby 21 VI 1841): 10, 14, 15, 20, 21, 31, 32, 36, 40, 52, 57, 58, 60, 64, 66, 67, 76, 120 (G), 121 (G). (Nos. 120/1 were ascertained from the description; the other lots are marked ✓ in Leake’s copy; not ascertained: 20, 21, 52. Lot 140 was presented to the British Museum by Leake.)

1841: *Sotheby 22 VI 1841*: 14, 17, 33, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42 (LG). (These lots are marked in one or both of Leake’s copies of this catalogue.)

---

4 *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, IV*, Fitzwilliam Museum: Leake and General Collections. Part I (1940), II (1947). To be continued.

5 The abbreviation (G) indicates that the lots in question were bought, but not published by Leake. These coins are preserved in the General Collection of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum and are labelled ‘Ex L.’ (GL) indicates that portions of a lot form part of the Leake, others of the General Collections.

The following catalogues of Greek coin sales from Leake’s library show neither his notes nor signs which can be interpreted as acquisition marks, nor do there seem to be other indications of purchase: Trattle Sale (Sotheby 30 V 1832); British Museum Duplicates (Sotheby 5 VI 1834); Sotheby 6 III 1841; Twisden Sale (Sotheby 21 V 1841); St. Patrick Sale (Sotheby 30 VI 1842); Vidal Sale (Sotheby 27 VII 1842); Comte de Jessaint Sale (Paris 1 XII 1846); Edmonds Sale (Sotheby 3 II 1854); Bird Sale (Sotheby 15 V 1854); Stokes Sale (Sotheby 27 XI 1854); Green Sale II (Sotheby 14 XI 1855); Moore Sale (Sotheby 24 I 1856); Auldjo Sale (Sotheby 30 VI 1856); Langdon Sale I (Sotheby 3 XI 1856); Langdon Sale II (Sotheby 2 III 1858); Curt Sale I (Sotheby 16 IV 1858); Green Sale III (Sotheby 17 V 1858); Sotheby 18 V 1858; Collectors-Conybeare (Sotheby 19 V 1858); Badham Sale (Sotheby 8 VII 1858); Nobleman Sale (Sotheby 24 XI 1858); Burgon Sale (Sotheby 22 XII 1858); Cureton Sale (Sotheby 10 I 1859); Huxtable Sale (Sotheby 16 IV 1859); Merlin Sale (Sotheby 10 XI 1859); Paris 24 XI 1859.
1845: **Revil Sale** (Paris 24 II 1845): 293-296, 297 (?), 301, 325, 334, 339, 341, 342, 344, 347, 357, 358, 361, 363, 368, 371, 375, 377, 378, 382, 407, 419, 425, 427, 428, 448-450, 454-456. (These lots were acquired from the Rollin Sales of 1849-1853 or bought from the dealer Curt. They are marked ‘WM’ or with a cross in pencil, or are mentioned in the *Numismata Hellenica*, except Nos. 341, 342, 371, 378, which are ascertained from the description.)

1846: **William Till Sale** (Sotheby 20 IV 1846): 27, 28, 69, 74, 76, 84, 85, 126, 134, 150, 152-155, 157, 158, 159 (LG), 198, 201, 215, 216, 224, 227, 228, 269, 276, 282, 285, 324, 333-337, 341, 470, 474, 475, 481, 483, 484, 488, 489, 492, 495, 498 (LG), 501 (LG), 503, 557, 560, 628, 636, 638, 642, 645, 647, 649, 655, 658, 659, 660, 764-767, 769, 770, 774-776, 777 (LG), 779, 780, 783, 791, 797, 797*., 906, 911, 914, 920, 926, 927, 932 (LG), 935 (‘Antiochus I’ in Forgeries Cabinet), 936. (These lots are marked ‘WML’ or ‘✓’ in Leake’s copy. Some marks are with pencil and so faint that a few lots may have been overlooked or included by mistake; not ascertained: 27 (‘Lamia’), 333, 336, 649 II, 765 I, 926 (‘Agathocles’).)

1847: **Captain Macdonald Sale** (Sotheby 21 VI 1847): 100, 103, 104, 105, 109, 111. (These lots are marked ‘WML’ in Leake’s copy.)
1848:  *Cattley Sale* (Sotheby 19 VI 1848): 71, 82, 88, 92, 95-98, 99 (LG), 100 (LG), 101 (LG). (These lots are marked ‘✓’ or ‘—’ in Leake’s copy; not ascertained: 71 III, 82 I, 88 III, 95 III, 99 II, III.)

*Gentleman Sale* (Sotheby 20 VI 1848): 46, 47 (G), 48 (G), 49 (G), 60 (G), 71, 72, 74, 75, 79, 91, 126, 128, 130, 131, 140, 147, 149, 157, 163. (These lots are marked ‘✓’ or ‘—’ in Leake’s copy; not ascertained: 72 I, 75 I.)

*Earl of Pembroke Sale* (Sotheby 31 VII 1848): 398, 401, 498 (E), 499 (E), 516 (E), 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623 (E), 624-627, 628 (E), 629, 633, 637, 656, 738 (E), 759 (E), 862, 877 (E), 909, 912, 919, 993, 994, 995, 1006-1009, 1015, 1016, 1021, 1119-1121, 1123, 1127, 1128, 1130 (E), 1133, 1134 (E), 1138 (E), 1144, 1153, 1160, 1161, 1164, 1246-1248, 1252, 1255, 1256, 1261 (E), 1281, 1287, 1289. (These lots are mentioned in the *Numismata Hellenica*, on labels written by Leake, or marked in his copy of the catalogue or in his copy of T. E. Monnet, *Déscription des monnaies Grecques et Romaines*. Unfortunately, the catalogue copy of Leake is only occasionally marked; but a number of lots (E) could be ascertained from comparison with the engravings in *Numismata Pembrochiana*.)

*M. I. Borrell Sale* (Sotheby 16 XI 1848): 10-15, 18, 28 (LG), 30, 34, 38, 40, 61, 62, 68, 82, 98, 101, 110, 120, 126, 129, 139, 145, 173-176, 177 (G), 178 (G), 179. (These lots are marked ‘✓’, ‘×’ or ‘q’ in Leake’s copy. There are other marks, but without reference to acquisition; not ascertained: 12 III, 13 X, 14 I, 110, 145 II, 174, 179.)

1849:  *Rollin Sale I* (Sotheby 25 VII 1849): 33, 110, 145 (LG), 319 (LG), 429, 439, 452 (LG), 454, 474, 537, 538, 553, 849, 874. (These lots are marked ‘WML’ in Leake’s copy or marked in Leake’s copy of the Revil Sale of 1845 except 874 which is mentioned in the *Numismata Hellenica*; not ascertained: 454 V.)

1850:  *John Brunell Sale* (Sotheby 19 IV 1850): 116 (= B. M. dipl. 1842 635; not marked, ascertained from description).

*Lord Holmesdale Sale* (Sotheby 8 VII 1850): 780, 781 (LG), 782. (These lots were marked by Leake with a cross. There are other signs which do not refer to acquisition.)

1851:  *Rev. E. T. Leigh Sale* (Sotheby 22 V 1851): 67, 77, 80, 94, 101, 104, 121, 122, 174, 207-209, 211, 218, 219, 223, 225, 227, 229, 230 (G), 235 (G), 276, 279 (G), 280, 284, 286 (LG). (These lots are marked ‘✓’ or ‘×’ in Leake’s copy except 121, 122, which can be ascertained from the description: not ascertained: 223, 276.)

1852:  *H. P. Borrell Sale* (Sotheby 12 VII 1852): 5, 20, 36, 57, 78, 88, 89, 92, 93, 166, 194, 196, 236. (These lots are marked ‘WML’ in Leake’s copy, except 166, 194, 196, 236, which were ascertained from the description; not ascertained: 5, and, perhaps, 92, 93.)

*Major General C. R. Fox Sale* (Sotheby 31 VII 1852): 5, 20, 36, 57, 78, 89, 91, 92 (LG), 93, 113, 149. (These lots are marked ‘WML’ in Leake’s copy except 149 which could be ascertained from the description; not ascertained: 78 IX, 113 VIII.)

1853:  *Sabatier Sale* (Sotheby 25 IV 1853): 18, 22, 29, 32, 40 (GL), 159 (GL), 160 (GL), 559, 561, 562, 565, 566, 568, 569, 570, 571 (GL), 572, 573, 575, 576, 577 (GL), 578, 579, 582, 583, 585, 587, 588 (GL), 589, 590, 591 (GL), 594, 595, 599, 603, 607 (GL), 609 (GL), 610, 615, 650, 651, 652, 742, 743, 747 (GL), 749, 778. (These lots are marked with a cross in Leake’s copy except 749 which could be ascertained from the description. Marked, but not ascertained, and mostly presented or sold to the British Museum or individual collectors: 18 II, III, V, VI; 20; 22 VIII, IX; 23; 24; 29 IV, V, Va, VI; 32 II; 40 IV; 159 II, III, IV; 160 I, III-V, VII; 558; 559 III; 561 II; 562 II; 563; 564; 566 I, II, IV; 567; 568 III; 569 II; 571 I; 572 III, IV; 573 I-III; 574; 575 II-IV; 576 I, II, IV, VI, VII; 577 I, IV, V, VII; 578 III-V; 579 I-III, VI; 580; 581; 582 I, III, IV; 583 I, IV, V; 584; 585 IV, VIII; 586; 587 I; 589 I, IV; 590 III, IV; 592; 593; 594 II-IV;...
95 I, II; 596; 597; 598; 600; 601; 602; 604; 605; 606; 607 I, IV, VI; 608; 609 I, V; 610 II-IV, VI, VIII; 615 V; 620; 625; 653-658; 668; 718; 733; 743 XX; 747 II, IV; 772.)

Rollin Sale II (Sotheby 12 VII 1853): 136, 278, 516, 525 (136 is marked ‘WML’ in one of Leake’s copies; 516 and 525 are mentioned in the Numismata Hellenica, and 278 was ascertained from the description).

1854: J. D. Cuff Sale (Sotheby 8 VI 1854): 90 (ascertained from the description, and perhaps faintly marked with pencil).

1855: C. W. Loscombe Sale (Sotheby 30 III 1855): 82, 98, 126, 152, 155, 177, 202, 210, 220, 244, 254, 312, 316, 324, 337, 365, 366, 367, 374, 375, 380, 398 (G), 401, 429, 452, 453, 463, 510, 518, 555, 557, 560, 565. (These lots are marked ‘WML’ in Leake’s copy; not ascertained: 98 III, 555 II.)

R. Rochette Sale (Paris, 15 IV 1855): 311 (not marked, ascertained from the description).

General Ramsay Sale (Christie 4 VII 1855): 199, 247, 339, 341 (LG), 343. (These lots are marked ‘√’ in Leake’s copy; not ascertained: 339.)

1856: W. H. Waddington Sale (Sotheby 2 VII 1856): 46, 48, 50, 52, 57-62, 67, 68, 70, 77 (LG), 78-86, 88, 92, 95, 96, 98, 104, 105, 107, 109, 112, 115, 117, 119-126, 127 (LG), 128, 130, 134, 135, 137, 139, 141, 170, 176, 177, 180 (LG), 184, 191, 192 (LG), 193, 203-207, 209, 210, 213, 216-220, 224, 227 (LG), 228-231, 234, 235, 236 (LG), 237, 239, 241, 242, 245, 247, 249, 250, 251 (LG), 253, 254, 257, 258. (Not marked, the description of rare or peculiar coins or of large lots all to be found in the Leake Collection make our attribution practically certain.)


1858: Captain Thomas Graves Sale (Sotheby 21 IV 1858): 63, 82 (B), 83, 84, 89 (B), 96, 102 (B), 108, 110, 112, 113, 116, 152, 154, 155, 158, 159, 182, 191. (Not marked; a few lots are marked by M. Borrell in a Museum’s copy of the Supplement to Numismata Hellenica (B); the other lots are ascertained from the description of rare and peculiar coins, and from slips in description and attribution which are repeated in the Supplement.)

Whittal Sale (Sotheby 15 XI 1858): 480 (GL). (Not marked, ascertained from description.)

Tochon d’Annecy Sale (Paris 17 XII 1858): 349, 350, 368-370, 371, 509, 568, 569, 573, 710, 715, 735 bis, 742, 745, 746, 752. (509, 742 marked WML. 350, 509 are mentioned in Leake’s Supplement. The other lots were ascertained from their description; not ascertained 371 II, IV, VI, VII, VIII; 715 IX.)

1859: Comte de Palin Sale (Paris 14 IV 1859): 126, 154, 205, 211, 226, 239, 244 (no certain acquisition marks, but signs of different meaning; the description does not allow us to establish the provenance with certainty).

T. L. E. Curt Sale II (Sotheby 11 XI 1859): 713 (= Palin 244), 715 (not marked, provenance not established with certainty from description.)

Lord Northwick Sale (Sotheby 5 XII 1859): 42 (L), 49 (LG), 91, 495, 583 (G), 697 (G), 756 (G), 928 (G), 950 (LG), 965 (G), 973 (G), 1039 (G), 1040 (LG), 1194 (G), 1220 (G), 1395. (These lots are marked ‘WML’ or have a reference note in Leake’s copy, or they have labels written by Leake which give their provenance, or M. Borrell marks them in a Museum’s copy of the Supplement and notes their provenance. Nos. 42, 91, 950, 965, 1395 are ascertained from the description.)
NUMISMATIC COMMENTS

It appears from the foregoing that the provenance of about 1500 Leake coins can now be established, and in addition that of a number of coins in the General Collection of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum which originally formed an unpublished addendum to the Leake Collection. Considerable portions, especially of the bronze coins, of three distinguished English private collections of the late 17th century have been included in the Leake Collection, those of Sir Robert Abdy, the Duke of Devonshire, and the Earl of Pembroke. Many of these coins were published more than 200 years ago with engravings.6 They have been discussed by famous numismatists of an earlier age like Ekhel, Mionnet and Millingen. Similarly, a considerable number of coins from the famous Continental cabinets of Cavaliere Campana in Italy, of J. Sabatier of St. Petersburg, and of Count Tochon d’Annecy in France,7 and from famous English Collections of the early 19th century, also discussed by Mionnet and Millingen, e.g., from the collections of Lieutenant-General C. R. Fox,8 the Rev. E. T. Leigh, C. W. Loscombe, Lord Northwick, I. R. Steuart, Thomas Thomas, William Till, and W. H. Waddington,9 are not lost for us, as hitherto was feared. The pieces form part of the Leake or the General Collections of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and the ancient engravings and descriptions, some considered up to now as representing “ghost” coins, can easily be compared with the originals.

The phrase πόλεμος πατήρ πάντων is not always right; but it was a great war of more than a century ago which developed the taste and scholarship of W. M. Leake and saved many invaluable remains of antiquity from dispersal and loss.

IV. A Sassanian Issue in Antioch on the Orontes at the Time of Trebonianus Gallus.

Coins which have been defaced intentionally are neither liked by private collectors nor accepted with eagerness by Museum officials. Nevertheless they are occasionally of historic importance. This is the case with a Syrian provincial tetradrachm issued in Antioch on the Orontes with the head of the Emperor Trebonianus Gallus, and now preserved in the General Collection of Greek Coins of the Fitzwilliam Museum,

7 A considerable part of Tochon’s Collection was acquired by the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris in 1821, of Sabatier’s Collection by the British Museum in 1853. Cf. E. Babelon, Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines, vol. I (1901), cols. 218, 300.
8 The bulk of this Collection was acquired for the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin in 1873. Cf. Babelon, op. cit., col. 288.
Cambridge. The piece is common, and of the general type of Brit. Mus. Cat. Galatia, etc., pp. 227, 637. It is of uncertain provenance, but has been at least 40 years in the Museum, as its labels show. The defacement was made by a sharp instrument, and is earlier than the beautiful dark green patina of the piece. Three strokes damaged vital parts of the Emperor’s head on the Obv.; five further marks on the Rev. almost obliterated the eagle of Antioch and replaced it by something like a regular pattern which may or may not be a sign of value. This seems to be an issue which was to have indicated the obliteration of both the Emperor’s power and Antioch’s wealth.

Professors Olmstead and Rostovtzeff  have recently proved both from literary and numismatic sources, and from a great new inscription of the Sassanian king of kings Shapur I, not only that Antioch on the Orontes was taken in A.D. 253 by this ruler, but also that Roman Syria was in fact occupied by the Persians at the time of Trebonianus Gallus and his immediate successors. In addition Professor Bellinger  has shown that the variety to which our coin belongs is the last Roman provincial issue in Antioch, before this town was lost to the enemy. Under these circumstances the Cambridge tetradrachm is not to be considered as the product of the whim of some private person, but as an official Sassanian issue during the time of the Persian occupation of Antioch. It may be worthwhile to scan other collections whether there are not similar pieces in them which actually are Sassanian overstrikes over Roman provincial and even Roman imperial coins of the third century after Christ.

University College, Nottingham

F. M. Heichelheim

10 My thanks are due to Director L. C. G. Clarke of The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, for his kind permission to publish the above coin on Plate LXIX.


12 A. R. Bellinger, “The Numismatic Evidence from Dura,” Berytus, VIII, 1943, pp. 61 f. Our coin is of the type of Professor Bellinger’s latest issue of Antioch, Berytus, loc. cit., plate VIII, 1, but was minted slightly later than his coin, as should be expected. The Obv. of the Cambridge specimen has two pellets instead of Professor Bellinger’s one, the Rev. B instead of A. The eagle on the Rev. differs slightly.
Schuman: Inscriptions from Karanis

Heichelheim: Numismatic Comments