
In this substantial volume Madame Dumas records in exemplary fashion a great hoard of coins found in two earthenware pots in the course of excavating operations for a new building in the town of Fécamp in 1963. Over 8,500 coins were recovered but the original number is thought to have been substantially greater. Of those recovered over 6,000 were from the mint (or mints) of Rouen, of which 2,782 are attributed to the archbishop; over 1,300 from Le Mans, and over 500 from Quentovic. The bulk of the remainder came from various mints in France. Of foreign coins there were few: 8 from Lorraine, 3 from Italy, 4 from England, and 2 of an English type but clearly not official issues. These last are particularly discussed below. An interesting feature is that, out of this large total, there were only 35 oboles, and of these 25 were of Quentovic. The average weight of these last was 0.47 g., noticeably lower than half the lightest of the deniers of this mint, 1.12 g. A comparable feature has been noted in English halfpennies of the period. In contrast to our own coinage, however, where the round halfpenny, always rare, disappears completely after the reign of Edgar, the proportion of oboles in French hoards goes up in the eleventh century.

The four English coins, one of Edgar of the two-line type and three of Edward the Martyr (975–8), provide the firmest positive post quem dating point for the deposit. Negative evidence tends to point to a date c. 985.

Before listing the coins, the author gives a general review of the coinage in western Francia from the ninth century, provides a useful table summarizing the weights of the coins from various mints and compares them with the weights recorded in the not dissimilar hoards from Rennes and Le Puy.

The large number of duplicates in the hoard made it possible for a few to be tested by destructive methods and the results of analyses of 65 coins by chemical process and by neutron activation are set out in two informative tables.

The organization and operation of mints, a subject that has been much under review of late in England, is studied with several conclusions of mutual interest. The author considers that there were a limited number of die-cutting centres and supports the view of M. Lafaurie that the ten mints mentioned in the Edict of Pityres may in fact refer rather to ten such centres since the number of mints was substantially larger. She also discusses the significance of the die-links between mints and wonders whether they might imply either that moneyers worked at one centre or that they moved from one place to another. A detailed study of 2,317 of the ducal coins of Rouen in the hoard shows that 245 obverse dies and 90 reverse dies were used in their production. The reverse dies were used with a large number of obverses, generally 6–10 but sometimes much more. 15 reverse dies are found producing 1,555 coins, in groups varying from 40 to 358 specimens. By contrast, a study of 311 large flan coins of Quentovic shows that they were produced by 17 obverse and 20 reverse dies. Weights are recorded throughout and there are informative histograms of the weights of the coins of Rouen and Quentovic.

The role of coin in commercial transactions is discussed. As in England, although the economy was essentially based on silver, there are many references in documents to gold and a useful summary of instances of this, mostly eleventh-century, is given in a lengthy footnote on pp. 62–3.

The position of Brittany is reviewed at a number of points in the book, but the conclusions are not entirely clear. At one point the view is taken that Brittany hardly used coin at this time, that Breton coins first appeared in the eleventh century (p. 53) and that Brittany was seemingly closed to all monetary economy (p. 62). But on p. 61 there is reference to a hoard buried c. 920–3 which contained Breton coins and in the present hoard a denier is attributed to the mint of Nantes and dated to the second half of the tenth century and some comparable material is also regarded as Breton (pp. 235–6). But if in detail the conclusions appear somewhat confused, what emerges clearly is that there can have been little regular coinage from Breton mints in the tenth century. This has a relevance when one comes to look at the two pieces of English type but not of English style referred to earlier. On what in English parlance one would call the obverse there is a cross...
surrounded by a circular legend, blundered, but in which elements of Graditae Dei Rex can clearly be distinguished. On the other side the name Eadmund is written in two lines with three crosses between and an ornament like a sideways s above and below. The general type can be seen therefore to resemble the familiar two-line type of tenth-century England. But in detail there are marked differences. The cross on the obverse extends virtually to the inner circle, unlike the small cross found in the centre of the English coins; the lettering, as the author points out, is typically Carolingian in form as is the legend itself; in fact looking at the obverse in isolation there would be nothing to suggest that the piece was not Carolingian. It is the other side that must excite special interest in the minds of English numismatists. An unusual feature on the reverse is the sideways s at top and bottom in place of the usual three pellets. This is found on rare coins of King Edmund by the moneyer Eofermund (e.g. Lockett 582) and so need not, as the author suggests, be regarded as purely continental one. Another coin on which this same ornament is found was struck for King Eadred, though in this case it occurs either side of the central cross of the reverse. What is, however, significant is that the moneyer in this case is Eadmund. It is possible that these between them could be the source of inspiration for the type on the Fécamp coins.

Though very similar, the two coins are from different dies. Both are in mint condition and the author suggests a date c. mid-tenth century and considers that the dies were made by a man of continental origin and that they may have been struck in western Francia rather than England. Their weights, 1-24 g. = 19-1 gr. and 1-10 g. = 17-0 gr., would be low by the standards of English coins but within the margins shown for the Rouen coins in the hoard, and few English numismatists would be likely to dispute that these two coins are of continental and not English origin. The recent identification of a coin of English type found at Mont St. Michel and seemingly bearing the name of a Duke of Brittany (BNJ xl (1971), pp. 1-16, especially pp. 7-11), opens up interesting possibilities that there may have been in Brittany in the tenth century a limited issue of coins of English types and invites renewed attention to a number of irregular coins in the English series of this time, some of which may prove to be associated with them.

English numismatists must remain indebted to Madame Dumas for publishing so detailed an account of this great find and, in particular, for adding these two hitherto quite unknown pieces to our store of knowledge.

C. E. B.


When I published my thesis on Scandinavian personal names in 1968, I endeavoured to excerpt names from as many published sources as possible. There was one source of material, however, which I left practically untouched. The only coin inscriptions taken into account were the few in Michael Dolley’s pamphlet on Viking coins. I was not, of course, unaware of the existence of Hildebrand’s catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins in the Stockholm collection, for this had been one of the main sources used by Erik Björkman when compiling his pioneering lists of Scandinavian personal names in England. I had, however, been reluctant to make use of the material in Hildebrand, since I felt far from competent to assess the significance of the variant spellings of the personal names on the coins. My decision to ignore the names of the moneyers from the mints in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire had also been prompted by the fact that my Danish colleagues had decided to omit the names of moneyers from the period before 1076 from the dictionary of Old Danish personal names, on the grounds that these names were borne by foreign moneyers. It was Kristian Hald who had demonstrated in 1934 that the names on the early Danish coinage included not only names of Anglo-Saxon and continental Germanic origin but also names of Scandinavian origin whose linguistic

2 Gillian Fellows Jensen, Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, Navnestudier 7, Copenhagen, 1968, referred to below as Fellows Jensen.
forms reveal that they must have come to Denmark from the Danelaw and hence that these inscriptions, in spite of the fact that they could be dated so closely, were useless as evidence for the dating of Danish sound developments.¹

At the public defence of my thesis I was taken severely to task by Dr. Georg Galster of the Royal Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen. He pointed out that by ignoring the moneyers' names on the coins in the collections at Stockholm, Copenhagen, and London I had cut myself off from a wealth of material in the form of personal names that could be dated with exceptional accuracy. Dr. Galster then produced a suitcase full of books that could have been used in my work, first and foremost the Sylloge volumes that had appeared up to then. I could only regret my negligence, promise to reform, and hope that it would be possible to produce a revised and expanded second edition of my book in which the names of the moneyers would take their proper place.

Since that time I have excerpted the names from the Sylloge volumes as they have appeared and from other coin publications that have come my way. I cannot deny that I have found a number of names from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire which are not included in my thesis, although the majority of the Scandinavian names borne by the moneyers had also appeared in other sources.²

The appearance of The Lincoln Mint, however, is particularly welcome to all students of personal names in England and Scandinavia. In it we are presented with the names of all the moneyers known to have been working at Lincoln between c. 890 and 1279 and can observe the changing proportions of Scandinavian, English, and Norman names with the passage of time. A brief look at the fold-out table of types and moneyers is sufficient to reveal how the numbers of moneyers with Scandinavian and English names drops markedly after the reign of the Conqueror, while the names of continental introduction, not known even as early as the reign of Edward the Martyr, become dominant in the reign of Stephen and are the only ones to be found from the reign of John onwards. This is a graphic confirmation of the tendencies revealed by sources other than the coinage. It will be noticed, however, that the last moneyers with Scandinavian names were active in Lincoln in the reign of Stephen (1135-54), whereas it was not until after c. 1225 that the Scandinavian names drop out of use in Lincolnshire.³

The table of moneyers serves as an excellent introduction for the philologist to the book as a whole and he will not be disappointed if he pursues his studies more deeply into it. Michael Dolley's introduction gives an impression of the immensity of the task that faced H. R. Mossop and his collaborators and of the significance of the completed work for numismatists, historians, and others. The concise analysis of the material by Stewart Lyon must surely be a model of its kind and is invaluable for a reader who is unfamiliar with the terminology and techniques of numismatics. The quality of the plates is pretty good in consideration of the fact that in an all-inclusive work of this kind it was not possible for Mr. Mossop to restrict himself to coins in good condition. The unpractised eye, however, will be grateful for the explanatory material provided beside and after the plates and only regret that a transcription of the individual inscriptions is not provided. The problems connected with the choice of a head-form for the moneyers' names are discussed by Veronica Smart in the opening of her essay and she has undoubtedly made the correct decision in allowing 'the heading to emerge by taking for each moneyer the spelling of his name that appears on the greatest number of his dies, the other forms being given in descending order of frequency'. This brings me, however, to one of my criticisms. For anyone interested in the names as such, it would have been useful to have had all the forms taken by each individual name assembled at one point, perhaps in the index. Any assessment of the material as a whole would have been greatly facilitated by such a presentation, although its lack is compensated for to some degree by Mrs. Smart's own discussions of the significance of such variations in spelling as Os-/As-, Ulf-/Wulf-.

There are very few points on which I would disagree with Veronica Smart on the interpretation of the names. I would prefer to treat the name Reinauld, Reinald, Reinhold as a loan from continental Germanic, since it never appears on the

¹ Kristian Hald, 'Om Personnamnene i de danske Møntindsksrifter' (On the personal names in the Danish coin inscriptions), in Studier tilegavede Verner Delitserup, Copenhagen, 1934, pp. 182-7.
² The Lincoln Mint, for example, adds the following Scandinavian names to those in Fellows Jensen: Geisnu, *Grind, *Snolf (<Snæulfr), *Våflauss, *Viltriuss, *Vilgrip.
coins with the regular Ragn- spelling of early Scandinavian sources. The name Padlos, Pedlous, Pedlos, Pedles, Padlos, borne by a moneyer of Cnut and Harold I (Plates LVI and LX), which is considered by Mrs. Smart to be of doubtful origin, must be a Scandinavian nickname in *laus 'less', a parallel formation to *Bröklauss 'without breeches' (Fellows Jensen 65), *Toglauss 'ropeless' (Fellows Jensen 286) and *Serklauss 'shirtless' (Björkman 1912) 73. The forms of the moneyer's name would then represent Scandinavian *Vådlauss 'without clothes', the first element being våd i. 'a weed (cloth cut and sewn)', cf. cognate Old English wéd and modern English (widow's) weeds. Spellings in Ped- and -les show substitution of the cognate English elements wéd and lés. If the form Ptilos of a moneyer of Harold I (Plate LX) is not merely an error for Padlos, it could be another Scandinavian nickname, *Vitlauss 'wit-less'. Further additions to the Scandinavian names in the fold-out table are Hildulf (Plate LXIII, possibly a Scandinavian coin) and Vilgrip (Pilgrip, Plate LXVII).

I am not sure that I would agree with Veronica Smart's explanation for the absence of the element Thur- in English personal names, namely that 'it was too explicitly devilish even for a people who could countenance the generic Os, but a longer period of acceptability had established it amongst the Norsemen'. It was not until the Viking period that names in Þórir became extremely popular in Scandinavia and these names remained popular there after the conversion to Christianity. The generally accepted explanation for the appearance of names in Þórir in Scandinavia is the one put forward by E. Wessen,1 namely that most of them arose as the result of variation by substitution of Þórir for As-, since Þórir, 'a god', was used first and foremost of Thor. This explanation is reasonable enough but it does not explain why compound names in *Punra- are practically unknown outside Scandinavia. Kristian Hald has recently made a tentative suggestion that the first Þórir-compound to arise in Denmark may have been Þórirr (almost the only name to be found in the Danish place-names in lev which are assumed to derive from the Migration Period) and that this name was originally an appellative denoting 'Thor's priest' or 'priest of the thunder'.

Veronica Smart's essay concludes with some remarks on Sir Francis Hill's scrutiny of the Lincoln moneyers and his attempts to identify them, on the extremely long lives in office of a few moneyers, e.g. Osferth (997–1056), and on the problem of determining whether names which recur after an interval of time refer to one moneyer or more. It is to be hoped that she will find time to discuss some of the linguistic and genealogical problems at greater length elsewhere. There is at least one philologist who would be grateful for a specialist treatment of the problems connected with the occurrence of the same moneyer's name at more than one mint. In the case of common names such as Gamall, Asketill, and Godric, it is probably reasonable to assume the existence of more than one moneyer with the same name. What are we to make, however, of the GODWINE MOINT on the exported quatrefoil die mentioned by Stewart Lyon on p. 127? Can this Winchester Godwine really have been operating in Denmark at the time? Is it not too great a coincidence that the series of Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish coins bearing kings' names all begin in the course of the period 991–7 with copies of Anglo-Saxon coins, all of which bear the name Godwine?2 Godwine is a common enough Old English name but it is hardly likely that three moneyer Godwines should all have emigrated to Scandinavia at the same time nor does it seem reasonable to assume that one single Godwine held an administrative position in all three countries at once. Is it not more likely that the inscriptions are simply copies of part of the inscriptions on genuine English coins? It has already been noted that a number of the inscriptions on Scandinavian coins accredit the moneyer to an English mint such as Winchester, Stamford, or Lincoln3 and the student of personal names is immediately struck by the reappearance of extremely rare names of Lincoln moneyers on early Danish coins, namely Farbegr, Garfin (? an anglicized form of Geirfinn), and Übeinn. Farbegr struck Æthelræd II First Hand at Lincoln and his name is on coins struck for Cnut and Harthacnut at Lund (Fardein on Lynd). Garfin struck Æthelræd II Crux and Facing Small Cross, Harold II Pax and William I Profile at Lincoln and his name is on coins struck for Magnus at Lund (1042–7). Unbegn struck Æthelræd II First Small Cross, First Hand and Crux at Lincoln and his name is on a coin struck for Sven

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1 In Nordiska Namnstudier, Uppsala, 1927, pp. 81 ff.
Estrithson at Lund (1047–75). Had these money-

ers really emigrated to Denmark or was it only their coins that had crossed the North Sea to be copied by Danish craftsmen or is the identity of names a mere coincidence? It would be interesting to hear the views of the numismatists on this question.

In a work of the scope of *The Lincoln Mint* there will always be small points on which it is possible to disagree with the authors and a specialist from another field of study is bound to find that some of the questions of greatest interest to him are not dealt with in as much detail as he could have desired. All in all, however, Mr. Mossop’s team can be congratulated on a monumental achievement—an achievement which is all the greater because of its pioneering nature. The discovery of further coins from the Lincoln Mint since the publication of the book does not detract in the least from the achievement but is simply a salutary reminder to us all that our knowledge of the later Anglo-Saxon coinage is still very far from complete.

**GILLIAN FELLOWS JENSEN**


This book would commend itself to a numismatic readership if only by gratitude for Professor Whitelock’s valuable association with the *Sylloge* enterprise, but its content stands independently. Though a miscellany, it abides fairly by its theme, and by including two essays on numismatic studies it places the coins of the period in a respectable—and true—perspective as part of our primary material for the study of Anglo-Saxon England. The opening paragraph of Martin Biddle’s paper, stressing the dangers of self-sufficiency in any specialization, applies equally to numismatics as to archaeology, and we need the kind of cross-study awareness to which a book of this kind forces us, even though paradoxically it often serves to underline ‘the mutual difficulty in reaching a critical evaluation of each other’s results’.

Many of the papers strike a note of inquiry rather than any new certainties, and express the need for more work in given fields, but the over-all picture is one of a society far from simple, crude, or isolated. One cannot examine each of the papers in any detail here but the numismatist would do well to have at the back of his own researches the contributions on the disputed nature and extent of the Scandinavian settlement, the persistence—or otherwise—of the Scandinavian language in England, the present revision of the view of the development of towns in Anglo-Saxon society, and the political philosophy of the authority that issued the coins.

Coming to the purely numismatic papers, Michael Dolley’s essay takes for its starting-point a bronze repoussé brooch found at Sulgrave in Northamptonshire, to give a distillation of his thoughts on the Agnus Dei coinage of Æthelræd II which clearly supplied the pattern for the brooch, and which has interested him for many years. Muling and the formula of the reverse legend make the persistent and picturesque association with the millennium impossible and place the type firmly as immediately preceding Æthelræd’s last type. Mr. Dolley considers the stylistic variety of the extant Agnus Dei coins within the Last Small Cross-Quatrefoil context of regional die-cutting centres. The departure from what had become by that time at the most no more than ingenious variation on bust/cross when it came to the design of a new coin-type suggests some particular intellectual or devotional preoccupation and Mr. Dolley explores the insular iconography of the subject along with liturgical changes and very cautiously points to the figure of Wulfstan with on the one hand his influence in secular administration and on the other his conviction of the moral corruption of the nation as the source of its misfortunes. Having thus considered the message of this small find he then considers the significance of the medium, tracing the connection between its base metal (and that of all extant secular metal-work of the period) and the royal monopoly on almost all the silver in the kingdom, in the light of the highly managed coinage postulated by Bolin, Petersson, and others.

Numismatics and onomastics have been linked in a somewhat dilettante fashion for over a century and philologists are becoming aware that this enormous body of linguistic material demands critical scientific treatment. Increasingly it is becoming obvious that the different forms in which the moneymakers’ names appear reflect not, as has been believed, an illiterate and capricious

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blundering but aspects of dialect and sound-change that have in some cases only been doubtfully inferred from early place-name or documentary forms. Dr. von Feilitzen's collaboration with Mr. Blunt is a happy one and together they enter the hinterland of Edgar's reform. To the student more familiar with post-reform coins the last type of Edgar is a barrier behind which the names become wilder and odder. Unfortunately the comparative poverty of material from the next reign and the first—to some extent the first three—types of Æthelred makes it difficult to see how sharp or gradual the break really was. To some extent the strangeness of the pre-975 moneyers' names is due to the very large proportion of continental Germanic names, which Dr. von Feilitzen analyses according to origin, and by the time we come to the vast quantities of coins from the 990s it appears that there has been a quite dramatic change in the personnel of the mints, so that it almost seems that one of the provisions of the reform could have been to cease dependence on immigrant moneyers and transfer the rights and duties of minting to English (and in the Danelaw areas Anglo-Norse) moneyers. One of the more salient points of the reform is the consistent recording of the mint, so one regrets the local anonymity of so many of the pre-reform coins, especially the silence of the east and north-east of the country. It would be most interesting to discover the distribution of these continental moneyers.

The contrast between the large number of names in the genitive case in the earlier type of Edgar and the lack of them after the reform must amount to a deliberate change in formula. Oddas under Æthelstan is very much a curiosity and the Elftrics recorded as in Holm possibly requires more scrutiny. Holm is consistently if anything over-scrupulous in his recording of marks; his no. 114 Sneitred and 471 Geowine obscure more regular forms by the incorporating of a peck and a stop into the legends. In any case Holm transcribes the critical letter not as epigraphic Roman S but in almost its runic form, unparalleled so late on English coins, and it could be no more than the long-tailed comma that follows Elftric on BEH 3102.

Of particular interest is the large number of names not known apart from moneyers in this reign. Finally one may say that this paper's arrangements of forms, mints where known, and the position of the coin within the reign briefly by type-number with reference to a summary, might well be used as a model for listing moneyers' names for philological purposes.

V. J. S.
The last of the fascicules which will, apparently, be prepared by Dr. Galster of the Copenhagen collection covers the last few 'Anglo-Saxon' kings of England and the first four after the Norman conquest, together with a single specimen of Henry of Anjou. Like the others prepared by him, it suffers the defect of virtually ignoring the advances in Anglo-Saxon numismatic studies since 1881. The Anglo-Saxon portion is arranged according to Hildebrand and, great as his publication was at the time, it is now not fully adequate. Unfortunately the indexes do not compensate: there is no index of types: a massive exercise in proof-reading it would have been, but leaves an inadequacy that will have to be laboriously supplied by each student using the volume. Indeed, as it has been shown that the Jewel Cross type was struck concurrently in the names of Cnut, Harold, and Harthacnut, and that Arm and Sceptre was struck concurrently in the name of Cnut as well as Harthacnut, anyone working on these issues has not only to search through the plates of this volume but also of the three volumes devoted to coins in the name of Cnut: a formidable task. Such a search by the reviewer found only 10 Jewel Cross coins in the name of Cnut to add to the 308 in the name of Harold and 38 in the name of Harthacnut. But to the 75 coins of Arm and Sceptre type of Harthacnut have to be added no less than 137 in the name of Cnut. Of the very rare 'mules' which link types, the single specimen purporting to be Short Cross/Jewel Cross is found in the Cnut volumes (pl. 158); the one of Jewel Cross/Fleur-de-Lis is recorded under Harold (pl. 14); and the one of Arm and Sceptre/PACX, which links types of Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor, is again to be found in the Cnut volumes (pl. 120).

Nevertheless it must be acknowledged with pleasure and gratitude that the production of six fascicules by Dr. Galster (no less than one-third of all the SCBI volumes published to date) has given the student a mass of evidence that would not otherwise have been available. A complete, annotated, photographic record of the Nationalmuseet's trays of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins—one of the three greatest collections in existence—is of inestimable value. If we are not to have a further volume of Copenhagen's English holdings, it may not be out of place to remember here that the bulk of the Short Cross pennies there were meticulously catalogued by Dr. Galster and published by him in the Numismatic Chronicle as long ago as 1916. In all, a remarkable contribution to British numismatics by a man whose numismatic fame rests primarily in other fields.

It is unusual, though not unprecedented, for sale catalogues to be mentioned in these pages. Two recent such catalogues deserve to stand on the same bookshelf as the fascicules of the SCBI. Modelled on, and adapted from, the Sylloge format, they warrant equal consideration here.

The Exeter coins gathered by Brettell, though by no means a corpus, give a comprehensive view of the issues of that not unimportant mint, ranging in date from Alfred to William III. Moreover, the introductory essay by Stewart is a detailed study of the mint and its moneyers, and the connections with the minor Devon mints and their moneyers: a major paper which must not be lost sight of just because it is not in a more orthodox publication. The arrangement of the catalogue of coins is by reign, then moneyer, then type; but at the beginning of each reign is given a table of specimens by type. References are made, where appropriate, to the standard works such as Hildebrand or BMC, and the weight, die-axis, and provenance of each piece is given.

The Anglo-Saxon portion of the renowned collection of Elmore Jones is arranged by reign, mint, type, and moneyer. This is appropriate in the circumstances, as the priority he set for his personal collection was to represent each type in each mint: a factor which explains the most unusual predominance of coins of Edward the Confessor in a major Anglo-Saxon collection. Indeed, the presence of more than one moneyer in a type for a mint usually indicates some special point of numismatic interest. Some gaps in representation are due to his generosity in making particularly important pieces available to specialist collectors—the present writer gratefully acknowledges that he has benefited in this way. The range of the collection covers virtually the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period (his sceattas were, however, sold privately), but is concentrated on the last century before the Conquest, when mint signatures became the rule during the reign of Edgar. The arrangement by mint, with the earlier, non-mint-signed coins given at the beginning of the catalogue, perhaps conceals from a quick scrutiny that there are three mint-signed coins of Æthelstan (London, ‘Weardbyrg’, and York) and one Viking coin of Orsnaorda’ in the collection. The weight of each coin is given, and its reverse legend in full.
Unfortunately, few coins have their provenance given, as Mr. Elmore Jones's records were stolen. Curiously no mention is made of die-axes, and references to standard works are few.

M. D. B.

Medieval Anglo-Irish Coins. By Michael Dolley. London, B. A. Seaby Ltd., 1972 (in conjunction with the Institute for Irish Studies at the Queen's University, Belfast). Pp. x+90, 4 plates and illustrations in text. £3.00.

The publication of a history of the coinage struck in, and of the currency of, Ireland under the English (up to James I) is an event of prime importance in British numismatics. Nothing of the kind has appeared for more than a century—indeed the only volumes devoted to the subject are Simon's Essay, first published in 1749, and Lindsay's View of 1839. Medieval Irish numismatics found no worthy successors to Aquilla Smith in the mid-nineteenth century and it has been a largely neglected field until quite recently. It is therefore appropriate that the author of this new book should be the most active and prolific of those students who have in the last ten years or so re-examined the subject with such energy and thoroughness. Indeed, although other distinguished numismatists such as O'Sullivan and Seaby were already in the field, they would I am sure be glad to admit that much of the momentum which has been generated derives from the personal enthusiasm and involvement of Mr. Dolley, just as at an earlier stage of his fruitful numismatic career he gave impetus to the study of the last century of Anglo-Saxon coinage and effectively transformed the subject within the space of ten years. There are few scholars of whom such can be said in respect of one series, let alone of two.

A word should first be said about the form of this book. It is a very slim quarto volume, lavishly decorated with scrolls and ornamented initials, with the text in double columns on the page, interspersed with groups of illustrations. Although this makes for convenience to the reader, the illustrations are not even in tone and some are unfortunately too blurred to be useful. This happily does not apply to four splendid colour enlargements on art paper, and this reviewer at least would willingly have exchanged the convenience of text blocks for better quality on separate plates. None of this is the author's fault, nor I understand was the long delay between typesetting (p. 79 suggests the manuscript was completed during 1969) and publication in late 1972 (although this makes for curious reading in the bibliographical section where 'forthcoming' works and others have long since appeared).

Much more important than the book's appearance is its content. This consists of a chronological survey of Anglo-Irish coins and coinage from John to James I (the middle ages, of course, as the title requires, can be thought to have lingered a century longer in Ireland than on the British mainland), a valuable survey of the circulation of extraneous coins in Ireland during the same period, a list, with discussion and maps, of 150 Irish coin-hoards, and a critical bibliography of modern Irish numismatics. The hoard list and bibliography are important additions to the literature in themselves and give the book permanent value as a work of reference.

The survey of Anglo-Irish coinage is, however, the heart of the work. Unlike many numismatic texts it is easy and entertaining to read, the vigorous, colourful prose bearing the unmistakable stamp of its author. It is an indispensable discussion of the subject, collecting as it does all the various strands of modern research, much of it still unpublished, and presenting the author's interpretation of them in the historical setting.

For the reader who is less familiar with the complexities of the subject, most of the necessary background can be found in the sources listed in the bibliography, by reference to Dowle and Finn's Guidebook or Seaby's Catalogue, or in a suitable History.

There is, however, one more fundamental comment which must be made and this is that the confidence of the text seems sometimes to exceed the strength of the evidence. It is always difficult for an author to be entirely objective, and perhaps it is wrong that he should attempt to be; but in a scholarly work he should, I think, try to give the reader some guide as to which of his statements are, more or less, facts, which are probable and well-substantiated assumptions, and which are no more than conjectures or interpretations of his own. Though I am certainly not competent to judge such issues over the whole field covered in this book I have found that where I have adequate knowledge to hold my own opinion it often differs from Mr. Dolley's. Of course that is not to say that my judgement is right and his is wrong—only that I believe the evidence to be less conclusive than he does on a number of points and that historical interpretation of numismatic evidence is a rather dangerous exercise unless the facts themselves are beyond reasonable doubt. I will
give one or two examples of what I mean from the first few pages of the book.

The earliest extant Anglo-Irish coinage is considered by Mr. Dolley to be an extremely rare group of halfpennies, with a profile head and the name of (Prince) John, as Lord of Ireland in the lifetime of Henry II. On these, Mr. Dolley considered by Mr. Dolley to be an extremely rare first few pages of the book.

Next Mr. Dolley remarks (pp. 1–2) that 'one would have expected English-influenced coins struck at this period to have been pence . . . but the minor denomination [the halfpenny] was probably intended to signify the inferior status of the Lordship . . .'. There does seem to strain the evidence to load this one variant phrase with such special meaning. After all, in November 1207 John was insisting that throughout the realm of Ireland no one should use any money other than his own Irish coin, an oblique reference, one would think, to the coins of de Courcy in the North. No one should sell or buy, the text says, per aliam monetam quam per monetam nostram Hiberniae, quoniam earn per totum regnum currere volumus et non aliam. Mr. Dolley reads this (p. 6) as a final demonetization of the early issues of John by the triangle coinage. The whole point of the triangle pennies was that they should be interchangeable with the English: as Roger of Wendover remarks, the king ordered the new coin to be current equally in England and in Ireland and the penny of either realm should be placed in his treasuries without distinction. So while monetam nostram might mean pennies on the English standard, both Irish and English, it would be natural to read monetam nostram Hiberniae . . . et non aliam as John’s earlier coinage on the Irish standard.
In the foregoing remarks I have not set out to press the case of the alternative suggestions which I have made, only to show that in a number of cases the evidence readily admits of interpretations other than those which Mr. Dolley has placed upon it. He would, I know, expect the book to be judged by his own exacting standards and it would not be doing it justice to do otherwise. For this book will undoubtedly further promote the discussion of Irish numismatics and we may hope that its author will be able to solve many of the problems which he himself has often been the first to recognize. It is an important and stimulating as well as an attractive and entertaining book and, for all my reservations on points of detail, one which serves an immediate and neglected purpose in a most effective way. It is an essential item for even the most basic library of British numismatics.

I. S.


This book can be described as a short economic history, as well as a numismatic history, of New Zealand. Students of the economic history of the British coinage will be familiar with the various causes of the shortage of coins in Britain from the thirteenth century to the great recoinage of 1816. In New Zealand the effects were much the same, and they were compressed into a period of not much more than a century. There was the same shortage of coins, the operation of Gresham’s Law, the introduction of tokens, and the same frequent, though illegal, use of foreign coins. In England, the troubles were largely due to a bimetallic standard for our coinage. In New Zealand, they seem due to a laissez-faire attitude on the part of the British and later the New Zealand Governments; and also to the great distance of New Zealand from Britain.

The economic situation in New Zealand during the nineteenth century was most complex. All coins were in very short supply, British coins were supplemented by foreign coins, many being brought in by foreign whaling vessels. Paper money was in constant use, being issued not only by banks, but also by private individuals. Some of these latter notes were of very low denominations, even of one penny, and many were not redeemable by the issuers. Copper tokens were parallel to those issued in Britain during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, some tokens were imported from Australia, and one, the ubiquitous ‘Professor Holloway’ token, from Britain. All this is a difficult story to tell, but Dr. Hargreaves has performed his task very well, and not without a sense of humour unusual in numismatic books. He mentions a trader who issued sixpenny notes, which were redeemable, five shillings’ worth at the time, for Government Debentures, or in ‘my celebrated ANTIPODEAN GINGER BEER, well up, but like Governor Fitzroy’s head, rather weak!’

The British coins of Victoria, Edward VII, George V, and the first bronze coinage of George VI are described, and this is perfectly correct, as these coins were legal tender in New Zealand. It is most interesting to have what might be called the ‘Colonial’ attitude to our coins.

Two important influences on New Zealand currency are mentioned by the author. One is the influence of Maori culture on the design of the coins, banknotes, and tokens. Considering the broadminded and tolerant attitude shown to the Maoris, this is not surprising. Secondly, there was the influence of Australia. At first, this depended to some extent on the relative fortunes of the gold fields in the two countries. Australian coins had always circulated in New Zealand, though without legal sanction. By 1930 the proportion of Australian coins in New Zealand was about one-third. It was economic difficulties caused by the devaluation of the New Zealand and Australian pounds that caused the introduction of a New Zealand coinage in 1934. It seems strange that in a progressive country like New Zealand, ahead of Great Britain in many respects, there was no national desire for a national coinage. This well-written book can be recommended to all those who are interested in the coinage and currency of our Colonies and Commonwealth.

W. S.
**REVIEWS**

**PUBLICATIONS NOTICED, AND ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY, 1972**

**General**

*An index to 'Cunobelin', the yearbook of the British Association of Numismatic Societies, 1954-1969, compiled by JOHN WALKER. [Leeds (c/o Miss E. J. E. Pirie, City Museum): the Association, 1972]. 6 pp. It was finally decided in 1972 to terminate publication of 'Cunobelin'.

*George Petrie and a century of Irish numismatics. MICHAEL DOLLEY. In *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, section C, 72 (8), 1972, pp. 165-93, plate IV. (Aspects of George Petrie, III) 'The best of all memorials to Petrie is in fact the work of the last century... and the rest of this essay will be given up to a review of its broad outlines', p. 174.


Silver stocks and losses in ancient and medieval times. C. C. PATTERSON. In *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 25 (2), May 1972, pp. 205-35. A much-shortened version was published as *'Dwindling stocks of silver, and their relevance to studies of the metal contents of silver coinage', in Methods of chemical and metallurgical investigation...* 1972, pp. 149–52.

**Celtic**


**Roman**


Late Roman coinage in south west Britain. SUSAN M. PEARCE. In *Report and Transactions, Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art*, 102, 1970, pp. 19-33.


**Continental Europe**


*Gold standards of the Merovingian coinage, A.D. 580-700. J. P. C. KENT. In Methods of chemical and metallurgical investigation...*
1972, pp. 69–74. ‘My conclusion ... is that a good number of the Sutton Hoo coins belong to the late sixth century, but that additions continued to be made down to around 620, at latest to c. 625.’

*Analyses of the Sutton Hoo gold coins. Ibid., pp. 96–9.

*Analyses of Merovingian coins in the British Museum. Ibid., pp. 100–7, plates XII–XIV. Both give the results of specific gravity analysis by W. A. Oddy and M. J. Hughes, neutron activation analysis on the whole coin by R. F. Coleman and A. Wilson, and on streaked samples by A. A. Gordus.


La espada en la moneda medieval. JUAN EDUARDO CIRLOT. In Gladius (Jaraiz de la Vera), 8, 1969, pp. 17–22, illus. The form of the sword on the coins of Eric Bloodaxe, St. Peter of York, etc.

Le trésor monétaire de Fécamp (Seine-Maritime), et le monnayage en France occidentale pendant la seconde moitié du \(x^{\text{er }}\) siècle. FRANÇOISE DUMAS. In École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris), IV\(^e\) Section: Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, Annuaire, 1970/1, pp. 875–81, plates. (Positions des thèses de III\(^e\) cycle). Includes a (continental?) imitation of a Two Line type penny.


JARZABKI, pow. Chmielnik, woj. kieleckie, 1911 (S., Charles I, twopence); 56: \(\text{jakoc, pow. Puławy, woj. lubelskie, 1910 (S., Charles I, twopence?) ; 80: \text{rybka, pow. Wieruszów, woj. łódzkie, 1909 (S., Charles II, shilling); 94: \text{warszawa III, m.w., 1912 (S., Charles I, twopence?).}


England, Great Britain, British Isles (in general)


Coins from the Doncaster area. M. J. DOLBY. In Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 42 (167), 1969, pp. 251–2. Roman to Elizabeth I.

*The Bristol mint: an historical outline. L. V. GRINSELL. Bristol: Historical Association, Bristol Branch, 1972. [2]. 24 pp., IV plates (Local history pamphlets, 30). £0·30. 'An historically slanted version of the introduction to the Bristol section of the Bristol/Gloucester volume of the Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles.'

Anglo-Saxon


*A thousand years of the English kingdom. ROBERT SEAMAN. In London Numismatic Club News Letter, 5 (17), [September 1972], pp. 241–3. Argues that the Kingdom of England has been in continuous existence since 972 or 973.


*Personal names on the coinage of Edgar. OLOF VON FEILITZEN and CHRISTOPHER BLUNT. In England before the Conquest: Studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock, edited by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes. Cambridge: University Press, 1971, pp. 183–214. Lists the moneyers' names and the forms in which they occur, with the type and the source of each form cited.

*The nummular brooch from Sulgrave. MICHAEL DOLLEY. Ibid., pp. 333–49, plate VIII. The iconography of the Agnus Dei on a brooch found at Sulgrave, Northants., in 1968, on the coinage type of Æthelred II (with the arguments for dating it to 1009), and in other representations; the revival of emphasis on the theology of John 1:29–34 in the early eleventh century; other English nummular brooches (ones that give the impression of a mounted coin); a proposition that gold had ceased to be used for personal ornament by the tenth century, and silver a generation after Edgar's reform of the coinage.

England (1066–1707)


Great Britain (1707+)


Ireland


The medieval coin-hoards of Thomond. MICHAEL DOLLEY. In North Munster Antiquarian Journal, 12, 1969, pp. 23–34. The area comprises the modern counties of Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary.

*A critical and unpublished Hiberno-Norse penny. MICHAEL DOLLEY. In Coins & Antiquities Ltd. [Coin List], no. 5/6, 1972, pp. [2–3], plate. An imitation of Æthelred II’s Helmet type, obv. EDELRD, rev. GIO DRIC MNO DYLE, from the same obv. die as two coins in Stockholm with an ‘English’ mint-signature, FIEELNID MO LNM (Hild. 1608).

A small find of Edwardian sterlings from the County Clare, by MICHAEL DOLLEY and W. A. SEABY. In Irish Numismatics, 5 (27), May/June 1972, pp. 107–9, illus. Barnatick find 1936, deposited c. 1285, including pennies of the Waterford mint.


British Commonwealth and Empire

Coin hoards from Orissa. HARI KISHORE PRASAD. In Indian Numismatic Chronicle, 6 (2), 1968, pp. 63–71; 7, 1969, pp. 78–82. Include coins of British India.

Tokens

Viking/medieval Dublin: excavations by the National Museum of Ireland. BREANDÁN Ó RIORDÁIN. In Ireland of the Welcomes, 20 (6), March/April 1972, pp. 15–21, cover. Includes coloured illustrations of the pewter tokens from Winetavern Street (see Spink’s Numismatic Circular, 79 (12), December 1971, pp. 446–8).


*Catalogue of Ulster tokens, tickets, vouchers, checks, passes etc. (mostly dating from the mid-to late-nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century), by W. A. SEABY. In Ulster Journal of Archaeology, 34, 1971, pp. 96–106, plates XIV–XIX.


Paper Money


Medals, Badges

*Commemorative medals: a medallic history of Britain from Tudor times to the present day. J. R. S. WHITING. Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972, 236 pp., illus. £3.25.


*The works asterisked have been added to the library by donation, exchange, or purchase. Also acknowledged with gratitude are those donations which would have been out of place in this list. Other publications noticed are contributions to periodicals and other collections of essays, but exclude, in addition to this Journal, Coins, the Numismatic Chronicle, Spink’s Numismatic Circular, and Seaby’s Coin and Medal Bulletin.