

REVIEWS

The Moneyer and the Mint in the Reign of Edward the Confessor, 1042–1066. By ANTHONY FREEMAN. BAR British Series 145 (i and ii) Oxford, 1985. 2 vols. xvii + 582pp. £30.

THIS work presents the most comprehensive survey of coins of Edward the Confessor to date. But while providing, in the forms of charts, tables, and discussions of individual mint towns, a catalogue of these coins, and, where known, their provenances, pedigrees and present dispositions, it is particularly concerned with the attempt to build up mint profiles. This involves suggesting not only the possible numbers of moneyers for mints, but patterns of change in such numbers during the reign, of possible movement of moneyers between mints, of length of tenure of the moneyers: a fascinating exploration of socio-economic patterns reconstructable on a numismatic base, for the late Anglo-Saxon period in question (see, for instance, the detailed analysis of 'pointers to administrative change' during the early 1050s, aside from the well-known changes in the physical form of the coinage (pp. 78–79), giving a firmer basis for a full explication of the nature of the changes).

Freeman (ch. 1) clearly describes the nature of the material basis for his work; and delineates the boundaries of the study (viz. the chronological limits, and the focus on the reverse legends on the coins), and the reasons for imposing such boundaries. The methodology is consistently explicated and its principles followed throughout the book. 'Four criteria require satisfaction in ascribing a coin to its due place in a coin reference: 1) that it is genuine 2) that it is of a particular emission 3) that it is correctly attributed to its moneyer and 4) to its mint' (pp. 3–4). As Freeman explicitly acknowledges at this stage, and again (in relation to the number of moneyers) on p. 25, onomastic interpretation can be crucial in the identification of a form as representing a particular personal or mint name, and hence to the correct attribution of a coin. In illustration of this, I consider below some of Freeman's interpretations of moneyers' name-forms.

Just what constituted the 'mint', whether individual workshops within a town, or some local source of administration, is a well-recognised and as yet unanswerable question. Freeman's sensible working definition (implicit also in the conjunction of *Moneyer* and *Mint* of the title) is: 'minting is where the moneyers are rather than vice versa' (p. 77).

But if 'mint structure is the product of moneyer activity' (p. 25), there remains the question as to what this activity might have been. References to employment of dies (e.g. p. 42) by a moneyer can imply that he struck the coins from the die(s) bearing

his name; or perhaps he was the responsible overseer of the artisans who did so. Given that Freeman's work is bound to be of value to a non-numismatic audience (see below), some readers might want some observations about the generally accepted notion of centralised die-manufacture, to militate against any inference that the moneyer may have been responsible for cutting the dies himself.

Some discussion of what may be considered the moneyer's activity might help clarify, for instance, the suppositions behind the hypothesis of a crisis (referred to on p. 43) at the Gloucester mint during the production of the *Sovereign-Martlets* type (explained on p. 372 as caused by the reduction of moneyers from the usual six or seven to four), and of one of the putative means of dealing with it. Freeman (p. 373) cites two coins which 'may represent deliberately blundered representations of "Leofnoth" and "Ælfsig" or "Ælric" or even "Eawulf" respectively, from dies cut locally to meet an urgent need and controlled by existing moneyers. The mint signatures possess sufficient verisimilitude to pass for "Gloucester" and the moneyer signatures would appear blundered only to the literate. If the moneyer signatures are intended to resemble moneyers at the Gloucester mint, the two names chosen may be those of moneyers represented in the preceding type but known not to be currently active . . . while at the same time . . . the "blunderings" of the reverse could enable the coins to be disowned if necessary'. Particularly in the absence of definition of a moneyer's 'activity', this interpretation of the two coins raises some difficulty. If the moneyers struck the coins, would their provision of more dies help increase the four men's output? And who cut these 'deliberately blundered' dies? Did the moneyers have this skill? Whatever their role, they must have run a severe risk of redress on discovery of fraudulent production: from the central authority, if not from the moneyers whose names have been 'borrowed'. And the notion that only the 'literate' might detect the fraud does not fit with the impression of conformity to fairly strict standards generally associated with Edward's coinage, whatever impressions we may have about popular 'literacy' in the late Anglo-Saxon period. (Miss Marion Archibald, in a personal communication, has pointed out that the weight of at least one of the coins in question, comparable to that of regular coins of the type, suggests that the coin is not a contemporary forgery; and, further, that local die manufacture is attested for the reign of Stephen, when dies were not consistently available from London. Perhaps the coins cited by Freeman are not the product of 'deliberate' blunders (which would constitute fraudulence), but of the best a local die-

cutter, called upon in an emergency, could produce.)

But whatever is to be made of this, or any other, hypothesis of Freeman's, the crucial thing is that the author presents the details of the data on which his claims are based, along with citations and discussions of any interpretations in print elsewhere. No mint profile is presented without a minute appraisal of the data as evidence, and a full discussion of problematic coins and the forms recorded on them.

Assignment of various forms on the reverse legends to a particular mint or moneyer's name follows certain principles, crucially epigraphic plausibility, and phonological and onomastic plausibility. Problematic name forms, for both mints and moneyers, are accorded detailed treatment in Freeman. I will focus here on some of the latter.

Epigraphic plausibility involves not only the correct transliteration of the form on the coin, but whether or not a form can be interpreted as an error for a particular name in the light of what is known of epigraphic practice and of coin manufacture.¹ For instance, interpretation of the form IOREL at York as representing 'Iokel' lies not just, as Freeman (p. 97) suggests, 'in the correct transliteration of the third letter as "R" or "K"', but in explication of 'R' as a plausible error for 'K' caused by selection of punches by the die-cutter. On epigraphic grounds, IOREL and IOKEL may be taken as representations of the same name (if, indeed, IOREL is the correct reading).² For similar reasons, Freeman's association of BRUHMGN with 'Brunman' at London (p. 160) is most plausible, as is the suggested interpretation of CALDEPINE as 'Gyldewine' at Canterbury (p. 511). The status of STREOLL as representing a single-type moneyer at York (p. 37), and the claim that the name 'cannot be confused with other York Moneyers' (p. 105) rest uneasily with the presence of 'Styrcol' at York: we have only to posit accidental omission of the vowel epigraph in the first element, and the not uncommon confusion of 'E' and 'C', to interpret STREOLL as a form of 'Styrcol'. Moreover, certain epigraphic variation can be compared with Old English manuscript orthographic practice. We may agree with Freeman's grouping (following Pirie and Smart) of GOLA/GEOLA forms with 'Iola' (p. 101) given the usual orthographic representation of the word-initial semi-vowel by *g* and *ge* as well as by *i*. Such alternations are not to be regarded as errors, but as acceptable variations within the conventions of Anglo-Saxon epigraphy and orthography.

A form may be assigned to a particular name if it can be seen to represent attested phonological devel-

opments, whether reflecting regional variation, chronological change or developments related to the structure of compound names; particularly the behaviour of segments at the boundary between the two elements or themes, and of those in second elements, presumably with reduced stress. For instance, there need be no doubt about Freeman's grouping (p. 162) of spellings of 'Deorman' with *eo*, *io*, *i* (including DIREMA): such variation in spelling accords with regional phonological variation.³ And the form EARCIL is to be interpreted as an Anglicised spelling form (perhaps, although undemonstrably, representing Anglicised pronunciation) of the Old Norse name-element 'Arn', in 'Arncetel' at York (p. 83). The element is cognate with Old English *earn*, 'eagle', and the EA spelling represents the native diphthongal development of the Proto-Germanic vowel, which appears as a monophthong in other Germanic languages.

The notorious ambiguity of ÆL- forms derives in part from attested chronological change in the element 'Æthel', viz. loss of the medial consonant,⁴ in part from the loss of the final consonant of the element 'Ælf', in compound-formation, e.g. 'Ælwine' (Ælfwine). 'Æthel' and 'Ælf' are certainly two discrete name-elements with separate etymologies (one cognate with the OE common word for 'noble', the other with that for 'elf'), and certainly, 'the philologist would not equate the two elements' (p. 155). However, I do not know how one may ever resolve, on philological grounds, the ambiguity of ÆL- at mints for which both 'Æthel' and 'Ælf' are found: Freeman's tabular presentation of ambiguous forms, such as for Winchester (p. 135), clearly addresses the problem, and appropriately raises the possibility of interpretation according to coin types.

Phonological behaviour of words functioning as the second element of compounds may be illustrated by the '-cel', '-cil' and '-cetel' forms discussed by Freeman (p. 82-83): 'although philologically discrete, neither ... deuteriotheme can sustain a satisfactory career structure'. But philology is not here at odds with the numismatic evidence: '-cel' represents loss of medial consonant in the element '-cetel', phonologically plausible as a concomitant of reduced stress in the second element of Old English compounds, and the variation in spelling of the vowel as *e* or *i* is evidence of reduction in distinction between vowels in low stress.⁵ I suggest that e.g. 'Ulfcetel'/'Ulfcil' and 'Arncil'/'Earcil'/'Arncetel' etc. are plausible variant forms of two names only: 'Ulfcetel' and 'Arncetel'. Moreover, the whole sequence of forms discussed by Freeman on p. 95 may

¹ Fran Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon pennies and Old English phonology', *Folia Linguistica Historica* 5 (1984), 91-143, at 105-7.

² Veronica Smart, *SCBI* 28. *Cumulative Index of Volumes 1-20* (London, 1981), p. 48; Freeman, p. 97.

³ Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon pennies', pp. 118-19.

⁴ Fran Colman, 'The name-element Æðel- and related problems', *Notes and Queries* 28 no. 4 (1981), 295-301.

⁵ E.g. Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon pennies', pp. 133-36.

be regarded as representing the one name, 'Iocetel': in answer to the 'ifs' raised by Freeman, '-cil' is synonymous with '-cetel', 'Eocil' can be regarded as a variant of 'Iocil', and 'Iucetel' and 'Iugktel' forms can be regarded as variants of 'Iocetel'. And I would further argue for the inclusion of 'Iurelel' and 'Iorel' in this group: not only is 'R' explicable as an error for 'K' (see above), but I do not know of any common word in Old English or other Germanic languages cognate with 'Iorel', which might supply an etymological base (different from that of 'Ic-', viz. Old Icelandic *ior*, 'horse')⁶ for interpreting the form as representing a discrete name. On epigraphic, phonological and onomastic grounds, all these forms are to be interpreted as representing the same name: whether or not more than one moneyer bore the same name is another matter, and one addressed by Freeman (p. 95 ff.) in terms of length of moneyer tenure.

Obviously what precedes cannot discuss the whole range of forms and associated problems discussed in Freeman's work: I have aimed rather to suggest principles of methodology for interpretation of name-forms in terms of epigraphical, phonological and onomastic theory, principles which Freeman implicitly acknowledges, and to discuss in their light, selected forms from Freeman's corpus. This, I trust, is in the spirit of Freeman's concern: 'in discharging that greatest of responsibilities, the accurate representation of the past, uncritical acceptance and interpretation of evidence are the most damaging misdemeanours which can be laid before those who claim to be historians' (p. 525).

Freeman's work embodies the best sort of claims: based on a clear presentation of the data, and detailed critical argument, they are laid open to the reader's critical interpretation. By pulling together the onomastic material with the numismatic, these volumes provide a coherent picture of what it is possible to reconstruct about the moneyer and the mint in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Students of history, numismatics and onomastics will find this an invaluable book, informative, provocative, and highly readable.

FRAN COLMAN

Anglo-Saxon Coins. By SIMON KEYNES and MARK BLACKBURN, edited by T.R. Volk, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1985. A5, card cover, 48pp with *corrigenda* slip. £1.95.

THE new Cripps Gallery for numismatic displays at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, was inaugurated in the summer of 1985 with an exhibition of Anglo-Saxon coins. This booklet was designed to

accompany that event and to stand now as a handbook for expert and non-expert alike.

Keynes contributes a short essay on the evidence of the coins for the historian; graphics include tables of kings and archbishops and a map of the kingdoms. Blackburn has two appendix notes: on minting technique and on the Ashdon hoard, deposited in East Anglia, c. 890-95, and recovered in 1984. In between is the catalogue of 108 specimens (all of which are marginally illustrated) ranging from continental gold coins in England to examples of Hiberno-Norse coinage. The material is divided into six sections, each with a brief résumé of monetary developments prepared by Blackburn. The individual catalogue entries seem to be more complicated than a student of the series is used to: apart from anything else, there is a somewhat unfortunate predilection for inverted commas. One would have preferred a plainer format. As for terminology, one wonders if it is really correct to describe the legends of a late Northumbrian *styca* (no. 46) as retrograde when the letters are inverted from the previous normal position? Not all necessary corrections have been caught on the inset slip.

The booklet has been printed from camera-ready text which is not always clearly reproduced and which makes rather difficult reading. Nevertheless, one hopes that the practice of producing such exhibition records will be continued at the Fitzwilliam and copied elsewhere.

ELIZABETH J. E. PIRIE

Hikuin II (volume of essays in honour of the sixtieth birthday of Brita Malmer). Edited by JØRGEN STEEN JENSEN. Moesgård (Denmark), Forlaget Hikuin, 1985. 340pp, many photo ill. Publisher's cloth. Approximately £18.

BRITA Malmer, Gunnar Ekström professor of numismatics and monetary history and a former head of the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm, is a specialist in the Scandinavian coinages of the Viking age, and over the years has tackled both the coinage of late eighth-early tenth century date traditionally associated with the great Danish trading port of Hedeby (her book on the subject, published in 1966, is too little known to English readers), and also many aspects of the later period of coinage in Scandinavia that is so intimately linked with our own national coinage of c. 975-c. 1045.

The thirty-one contributors to the present volume write on a broad spectrum of topics, but the heart of the volume is that part of it relevant to the Viking age, and here four British contributors more than hold their own. Marion Archibald writes only briefly on a

⁶ G. Fellows-Jenson, *Scandinavian personal names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (Copenhagen, 1968), p. 345.

hitherto unnoticed 'Hedeby' coin in the Cuerdale hoard, but that coin provides a new fixed point in the chronology of the series and a particularly useful one because elsewhere in the volume Peter Ilisch publishes a hoard from Steinfeld in Schleswig belonging to the same phase in the series. Veronica Smart, discussing the moneyers' names on the St Edmund Memorial coinage, offers chapter and verse for the Continental Germanic nature of many of the names and airs a range of explanations for a phenomenon which has intrigued numismatics at least since Keary's day. Michael Metcalf grapples manfully with Malmer's own methodological speciality, the study of pecking, in the context of the pecking of Anglo-Saxon coins in Swedish coin hoards; the questions he raises are all pertinent and if they lead to clearer thinking about the evidential value of the peck-marked coins of Æthelred II and his successors which lurk in our cabinets, so much the better. Lastly, Mark Blackburn refines his own previous work on a *Cruz/Intermediate Small Cross* die-chain involving dies produced in Scandinavia alongside regular English dies; he updates and expands his corpus of the material and provides (very usefully for the student) a listing of all English dies believed to have been transported to Scandinavia between c. 994 and the early 1020s.

There is not space here to list every contribution to the volume that catches the eye, but Bendixen, Suchodolski and Talvio choose themes relevant to the Anglo-Saxon coinage, and among a clutch of papers devoted to the later mediaeval coinage of the Scandinavian countries an observant reader will discern a paper by Steen Jensen on the fourteenth-century *gute* coinage of Visby in which he places the date of deposit of the Knaresborough hoard of Edwardian pence rather later than the date of c. 1328 assigned to it in vol. 32 of *BNJ* in a paper printed under the names of Prof. Dolley and your reviewer (but which should properly have appeared under the names of Dolley and Elmore Jones).

H. E. PAGAN

Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type. By N. J. MAYHEW, with contributions by Jean Duplessy, Robert Heslip, and Zofia Stós-Gale. Royal Numismatic Society. Special Publication No. 14. Spink & Son, London, 1983. 271 pp. + 45 pl. £35.

THIS great book by Nick Mayhew is the fruit of about ten years' study of the Edwardian sterlings and their imitations in the adjacent parts of Western Europe from c. 1280 to c. 1350.

In many respects it is the successor to the standard work by Jules Chautard, *Imitations des monnaies au type esterlin* (1871), a book to which our author feels much in debt. While Chautard covered both the Edwardian imitations as well as the short- and long-cross imitations, Mayhew decided to start with the Edwardians and to reserve a second volume to the

older imitations. Mayhew has also in other ways limited his area, as he 'principally [was] concerned with the main-stream imitation sterlings' (p. 128).

The main areas of interest are, of course, the present day Benelux area and adjacent areas from Northern France, Lorraine and the Rheinland. Portugal, Denmark, and Livonia are left out, for reasons indicated above, but not Norway. Here we have a chronologically very well documented example of imitation of the Edwardian type 'within only a very few months of the adoption of the corresponding type in England'. The connection was recently established by Professor Kolbjørn Skaare, and it is included here 'to give a wider currency to [his] work'. Perhaps as an afterthought the *brabantini* with a lion are dealt with in a special chapter, and they have their own numbering at the first two plates – this is a little confusing, but the explanation is probably that they are important for the date of the introduction of the Edwardian imitations, the crockards and the pollards.

The book deals with 406 types, but as many varieties as was practically feasible are illustrated. In one case thirty-four specimens of one type are shown in the tables, which is most useful. Nevertheless, one feels that the author has been in too much of a hurry, for in certain other cases he has not illustrated the types he deals with. The difficulty may have been that cabinets sometimes are slow in delivering photographs, but, if this were so, it would have been better to reproduce illustrations from old engravings than give none at all. Classic works of reference are rare on students' book-shelves nowadays.

Mayhew has helped his readers with some sets of 'classification grids', by means of which identification of the specimens can be easily made (pp. 234–41). As far as I know this is an original device, and probably costly for the editor, so we are duly thankful.

The book has an appendix with 385 European finds and hoards with sterlings. This part is invaluable, not only because of Mayhew's own studies, but still more because of the Irish list by Heslip and the French and Benelux lists by Jean Duplessy. With seventy-six hoards this contribution by Duplessy is particularly impressive (pp. 181–201). This unselfish cooperation is a fine example of how international numismatic work can be organized.

Another appendix by Dr Z. Stós-Gale on X-ray fluorescence spectrometry ends with the results of some eight to nine hundred actual analyses. But here again Mayhew's own, extremely cautious introductory observations are invaluable. By pointing out that results may be considerably influenced by surface enrichment and ancient blanching – a final triumph, as it were, for the shrewd mint-masters and mint-lords of the years around 1300 – he elegantly removes any illusions about modern techniques which our less experienced colleagues may have had.

Perhaps one of the author's finest accomplishments is to have demonstrated that several series of continental Edwardian imitations, which purport to be struck in England, are actually from the mints of

Gaucher de Châtillon, Ferry IV of Lorraine, and eventually the lordship of Kuinre in Overijssel (pp. 95 ff., 118, and 136). To this series of lords we can add Hartrad of Schönecken (p. 131).

But are there no critical fingers to be raised? Rather few, I should say. The four sterlings from the Danish church of Slagelse (find 363, p. 230) are apparently treated as a hoard, deposited at a single time, but they are just some of the single coins from our church floors. The Ebbelnæs hoard, the coins of which, by the way, have been examined by some of the very few classical 'wet' metal analyses (find 304, p. 219) quoted by Mayhew, should perhaps rather be dated to the late 1340s (cf. *Hikuin*, vol. 11, *Festschrift* to Brita Malmer (Moesgård, 1985), pp. 267–72, English summary pp. 337–38). I, personally, must apologise for having previously given an earlier dating. On a general level, the lack of a list of abbreviations is worth mentioning because the non-English reader is quite simply at a loss when English medieval sources are quoted by their abbreviations alone (e.g. pp. 23–24 and p. 103). Less well-known journals will also be rather difficult to identify.

These minor observations should in no way, however, be allowed to diminish the great contribution which Nick Mayhew, and through him the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, has given to numismatic learning with this book.

JØRGEN STEEN JENSEN

Études d'histoire monétaire XIIe-XIXe siècles. Edited by JOHN DAY. Presse Universitaires de Lille, 1984. 450 pp.

In his foreword to this volume of essays the editor, John Day, reflects on the current revival of interest in monetary history, assessing it as due perhaps to the impact of monetary affairs on modern life in political and social as well as economic matters. Whatever the background, this collection of studies is certainly a welcome addition to the literature of this subject. It features the work of sixteen historians who have concerned themselves with the course and consequences of monetary development, so it is not surprising to encounter here a dense concentration of evidence and interpretation.

The book is not intended to be a general survey of monetary history from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries. However, the various contributions are bound together by a number of themes and concerns which they reveal and develop. In his introductory essay the editor attempts to draw out these factors so as to define the scope of the collection and establish its coherence. He describes the monetary history of the period as dominated by two fundamental factors: an inconstant and unevenly distributed supply of metallic money and the maintenance of the same monetary standards in both local and international circulation. Of course these factors were not unique

to this period, but their specific manifestations were crucial to the economic development of Europe and hence of the world.

The apparent Euro-centric bias of the collection is to be noted. It includes nothing dealing specifically with the Islamic world and Michel Cartier's brief article on prices in medieval China seems rather isolated. However, as Europe was never a monetary island the question of the flow of precious metal into and out of Europe inevitably rises into prominence in some of the articles, notably in Frederick Lane's examination of the trade in bullion conducted by Venice in 1200–1450 and in K. N. Chaudhuri's analysis of the structure of international commerce between 1500 and 1750.

The collection is divided into five sections: monetary production and circulation; money and prices; credit and exchange; monetary systems; and money and society. The core of the book, and its most substantial and valuable components, are those studies which discuss aspects of the monetary history of late medieval and early modern Europe. This concentration turns out to be an advantage since as a consequence the essays frequently illuminate one another in the arguments and detail they present.

Three of the essays draw attention to the impact made on European society by the new silver supplies which became available in the late twelfth century, but the result is complementary not repetitive. Lane reveals how those supplies were pumped into circulation in both western Europe and the Levant, making the point that the producers and dispersers of precious metal viewed its export very differently from those who were primarily its consumers. For Venice the export of precious metal was a gauge of prosperity, not a matter of concern. Nicholas Mayhew discusses the impact of the silver supplies on English prices, continuing his valuable exercise of combining the available documentary evidence with the products of numismatic techniques to estimate mint output during the period of the short cross coinage. In an essay of wide scope Peter Spufford demonstrates the overwhelming impact of increased money supplies on many aspects of thirteenth-century life. In particular he assesses the role of money in the commercial revolution of the period which produced institutions and techniques capable of survival and development throughout the challenges of the succeeding centuries.

A prominent feature which emerges from these studies is the contrast between the opportunities provided by increased supplies of precious metal and the intrinsic problems accompanying its use as money, these being compounded by the complexities of reintroduced bimetallic coinage systems. To take advantage of the former, the latter had to be overcome in some way. Spufford contends that the radical change to be associated with the increased money supply of the thirteenth century was the creation of a diversified monetary system including bank money, the bill of exchange, and the expansion of credit. The further development of one aspect of this is

shown in Giuseppe Felloni's examination of the system of account and exchange operating in the great Genoese fairs at Besançon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – the currency markets of the time.

The creation and operation of the bill of exchange did not make the physical transfer of precious metal superfluous, rather the two operated alongside each other to increase the volume of business. They employed the same network of trade and credit as Reinhold Mueller demonstrates in his discussion of the seasonal traffic in precious metal and coin conducted by the merchants of northern Italy. Yet away from the great trading routes systems of credit and exchange were much more limited and haphazard as Day notes and as emerges from Pedro Roque's account of the financial arrangements which settled the fate of Sardinia in the fifteenth century.

The shifts in the distribution of precious metal could cause significant monetary problems even when overall stocks were plentiful, but when the level of demand rose while stocks did not, these problems were greatly exacerbated. Day discusses the state of 'monetary war' engendered by this situation in the late middle ages. The possible effects are shown in detail in John Munro's examination of the monetary history of late medieval Brabant and also as part of Nicolas Morard's study of the coin and money of account current at Freiburg and the fairs of Geneva in the same period.

The impact of bullion supplies from the New World is considered in two essays. Christopher Challis contributes to the debate on whether imports of new supplies of precious metal from America via Spain fueled the English price revolution of the sixteenth century by seeking evidence of the import of considerable quantities of Spanish coin. Chaudhuri examines the overall impact of American bullion on the international circulation of money, price levels and regional economic specialisation.

Of the remaining essays, the most substantial is Michel Morineau's major study of the monetary history of France in the last decades of the *ancien régime*. As well as supplying a detailed analysis of the scale and geography of mint output, he also provides some useful methodological considerations for the study of monetary history and reiterates with determination the importance of monetary phenomena in economic history. This is certainly demonstrated by the work presented in this collection. Each essay is accompanied by detailed references, making the book a valuable guide to other research in this field as well as being a formidable contribution in its own right.

B. J. COOK

Silver Medals, Badges and Trophies from Schools in the British Isles. By M. E. GRIMSHAW, Cambridge, 64 pp.

If Oxford be the home of lost causes Cambridge is

clearly, among many other things, the home of studies on school medals. In 1974 F. J. Stopp's *Emblems of the Altdorf Academy* subjected the earliest known series of school medals to detailed scrutiny. Miss Grimshaw has now done the same for British school medals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The gap between the two is not so wide as might first appear. School medals were, from their origin in the late sixteenth century, a distinctively protestant phenomenon, appearing almost simultaneously in centres like Basel, Zurich, Strassburg and Bern where Lutheran divines exerted influence over the development of educational theory (see Dr H. J. Erlanger's *The European Prize Medal*, Haarlem, 1975), and when, a century and a half later, the practice spread outwards from the German protestant cultural sphere it was among northern protestants in the Netherlands and England that it took root first and most firmly.

Miss Grimshaw's approach to the disparate and inchoate material available is painstaking and thorough, and her book contains far more information than its relative brevity would suggest. The student of the medal will be interested by her discussion of the origin of the struck school medals, produced mainly for public and charitable schools by well-known names like John Roettiers (Christ's Hospital badges), Thomas Pingo, Yeo, Milton, Küchler and William Wyon. Those interested in the history of silversmithing will be more taken by the numerous engraved medals, produced individually by local craftsmen, for private establishments. The historian of education will note the difference in function between them, for, if the former were normally endowed with the highest motives, they too often, as in the case of Thomas Pingo's medal for St Pauls School (1757), ended up largely in the pockets of the governing body, while if the latter carried messages of the highest moral tone they often served primarily to advertise the short-lived and sometimes dubious establishments that awarded them.

Nevertheless, all provide a fascinating insight into educational practice and, despite Miss Grimshaw's disclaimers, theory in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Britain. Theory which held strongly to the belief that merit deserved a reward which would in turn inspire emulation, but was surprisingly often tempered by the spirit of 'all have won and all shall have prizes'. At Christ's Hospital in 1799, for example, it was decided that every boy who had failed to win the prize for writing should have a medal anyway and that even though their answers were 'extremely incorrect' the boys who did not win a prize for mathematics should each receive half a crown.

In all, this is an invaluable work which is unlikely to be superseded for many years to come.

MARK JONES