**REVIEW**


There is a particular difficulty in studying the later Iron Age in Britain. Evidence is available from archaeology, numismatics and history, and it is obviously desirable to create a story using all three sources of information. Yet each is fragmentary and often intractable, each discipline has its own expertise, and the resulting interpretations are often difficult to reconcile. John Creighton boldly attempts a synthesis, although when we see him ranging also over linguistics, mythology and folklore, anthropology, medieval and modern history, the boldness becomes breathtaking. The book is a ferment of ideas and speculations that will excite some but cause misgiving in others.

It should first be noted that for Creighton, 'Britain' really means the south-eastern regions north and south of the lower Thames. Since the book is chiefly concerned with Roman influence, coin-using areas to the north and west scarcely figure, while the repercussions of southern developments on non-coin-using regions are not dealt with at all. With that caution, the structure of the book can be briefly summarized.

Chapter 1 builds on previous theories about late second-century changes in hillfort use and the appearance of oppida to suggest that individuals 'broke free from the Middle Iron Age social constraints on the concentration of power', aided by the 'arrival of so much gold'...which provided 'potential for the display of authority using torcs, and for the articulation of social relationships and obligations through the exchange of coin'. Chapter 2 suggests that the newly enhanced aristocracy, supported by groups of loyal horsemen, saw horses as a ritual basis for their authority. Analogies are drawn with, among others, South African San (Bushman, sic) rock art to infer that much of the imagery on Iron Age coins resulted from drug-induced trances. The horse 'symbolised a mystic union between the individual and sovereignty, representing 'sacral kingship' and that 'powers of the trance world had also been invoked to legitimate this new structure of authority'.

Chapter 3 brings us to the beginning of Creighton's big idea. Caesar's raids in 55 and 54 BC were the real conquest of Britain, and thereafter Britain was so drawn into the Roman world that many or most of its young princes must have been educated in Rome as obsides (Chapter 4), along with other noble scions from elsewhere around the fringes of the expanding Empire. In this way, future British rulers would not only absorbed Roman secular and religious culture, but would have developed personal friendships with such budding monarchs as Juba II of Mauretania. Familiar with the imagery of Roman political power, the returning leaders chose these particular images for their coins: 'The earliest of the rulers have coin types only relating to the earliest of Octavian’s imagery, whereas the later rulers have images spanning all of Octavian and Augustus’s visual repertoire'. Chapter 5 seeks to explore [the] inevitable conflict between cosmologies that would have enraged in the minds of these children', i.e. the obsides, on their arrival in Rome. Chapters 6 and 7 elaborate the theme of returned rulers, linguistically bilingual, establishing for themselves a sense of aristocratic identity separated from the rest of the British population, communicating among themselves not only by means of the imagery on coins, but also by Latin inscriptions. Far from being simple illustrations of life in Iron Age Britain, or copies of Roman denarii, '...the artefacts and imagery [depicted on the coins] strongly suggests that the paraphernalia of the Roman rites of sacrifice were being used...'. The dynasts found the pleasures of life in Rome hard to give up, and tried to recreate this lifestyle back in Britain. A lapdog buried with its mistress at Deal, for example, suggests that late Iron Age aristocratic women were 'using dogs to mark themselves out above their peers'.

Throughout the book, Creighton very properly declares that many of his notions are speculation, and maybe there is no harm in that. If speculation fuels reaction resulting in better understanding. Misgivings arise, however. Others have already noted serious shortcomings and errors of detail, not least in the numismatics, which need not be repeated here except to say that they extend to some of the illustrations. For example, the map (p. 223) of the regional coin groups limits Corieltauvian coins to a small area south of the river Witham, whereas the greatest area of coin loss was in Lindsey to the north, here shown void.

But what of the principal ideas? Creighton’s notion that symbols on the earlier coins derive from drug-induced shamanistic trances (already introduced in an earlier paper) seems a misapplication of anthropology. Shamen are found in non-centralised societies, and Creighton’s examples all come from these societies, such as the southern African hunter-gatherer San (the meaning of whose art is itself debatable, despite currently fashionable theories). They are no guide to practices in the quite different centralised societies of later prehistoric Britain. It is true that no wholly satisfactory explanation has yet been offered for the various pellets, stars, wheels and circles found on Iron Age coins, other than that they were mint- or privy marks; but then no-one has yet made a properly detailed study of these motifs in Britain, their positions on the coins and their various combinations, and compared them with similar motifs in continental Europe. First things first perhaps?

Many scholars have attempted to trace the derivation of the designs on the more classical-looking Iron Age coins, usually looking for prototypes among Roman or Greek issues. Few have been able to suggest more than a random inspiration that depended on which Mediterranean coins happened to reach Britain. Creighton’s thesis is an interesting one: that the inspiration came from a conscious desire on the part of the south-eastern British kings to enhance their authority and establish an insiders’ code by selecting images connected with Roman imperial authority and sacrificial rituals. This, at least, is a connecting theme in an otherwise incomprehensible story. There is, however, always a problem in selecting individual traits from two bodies of evidence rather than comparing the bodies of evidence in their entirety, and it can lead to the omission of evidence that does not fit in with the theory. In this case, the comparison of selected items requires an explanation like the obsides theory, for which there is no historical evidence. And that in turn requires an emphasis on the significance of Caesar’s ‘conquest’ which few are likely to endorse. British potentates certainly visited Rome and elsewhere on the continent, and no doubt returned with the latest fashions from abroad. What we do not see in Britain so far, however, are local attempts to emulate the luxury villas in which Creighton’s obsides might have spent their youth—surely, one would think, a requirement second only to the consolidation of their power. That could be chance, yet until we have a much broader range and quantity of evidence for romanisation from the late first century BC onwards, Creighton’s view that rectangular buildings mark a novel element in the late Iron Age romanisation is difficult to sustain. There are very few dated to the early first century BC, but in any case rectangular buildings are occasionally found, albeit sometimes disputed, in earlier Iron Age contexts, as at Park Brow (Sussex), Moel-y-Gaer (Clwyd), Croft Ambrey (Hereford), Danebury (Hants). Earlier still are possible rectangular structures at West Harling (Norfolk) and Crickley Hill (Glos.) and there is even a Middle Bronze Age example at Down Farm (Dorset).

The relationship between the British Iron Age coins and continental coins is more complex than Creighton allows. While his observation of similarities with the coins of Juba II of Mauretania is an interesting contribution to the subject, he is reticent on the matter of similarities with Greek coins explored a decade ago by Simone Scheers4, and he is reluctant to explore alternative ways in which foreign imagery could have been adopted in Britain.

This review is not intended to be wholly negative. It is commendable that the author, an archaeologist, sets out to bridge disciplines that have too often remained separate. It is good to have new ideas, whether or not one agrees with them. As the author’s first book, it displays enthusiasm and breadth of outlook. The book is well produced and the illustrations are well drawn. The text is generally clear and even racy, although there are spelling errors, particularly in names and other words not amenable to a computer spell-check.

Jeffrey May

The Coinage of the Atrebates and Regni, by S.C. Bean (= Studies in Celtic Coinage, number 4: Oxford University School of Archaeology, Monograph 50) (Oxford (Oxbow), 2000).

Until recently, the coinage of Iron Age Britain has been the poor relation of the numismatic world with respect to its literature. Notwithstanding an explosion of numismatic publications having appeared over the last century, students attempting to understand British Iron Age coins via their literature find themselves severely handicapped. Although Evans published The Coins of the Ancient Britons as long ago as 1864, a hundred years were to pass before The Coins of the Coritani by Derek Allen appeared and, until recently, there were still the only major scholarly works on British Iron Age coins that were available. Fortunately the situation has now begun to change, but there is still only a small corpus of well-researched literature on coins of the different regions of Iron Age Britain. Consequently, it was a great pleasure to receive a copy of Simon Bean’s The Coins of the Atrebates and Regni. As with Evans’s great work, Bean has taken an integrated approach to his research, and has placed as much emphasis on the die studies, metrology, metallurgy and provenances of these coins as on the designs they bear.

The introduction to the book gives the background to previous studies of this series and sets out the scope and the methodologies adopted. This is followed by a review of the various issues of Gallo-Belgic states and their quarters that have been found across Southern Britain, coins which were to provide the stimulus and models for early indigenous coin production. A scholarly review of the earliest British gold stater issues is then followed by a detailed study of the extensive and varied series of uninscribed gold fractional staters and silver types that circulated in central southern England, a very high percentage of which have not previously been published. Bean reviews each type and creates order out of what initially appears to be a chaotic array of different types and designs. His separation of the different types into ‘thin’ and ‘dumpy’ groups, while not entirely consistent, does appear to differentiate what seem to be the earlier and later types quite successfully, although at this stage there is still much that is unknown about these attractive issues. His catalogue details are very helpful in identifying the various silver issues, although they are less clear where the extensive Q.TM1 group of fractional staters is concerned, and with some coins it can prove very difficult to differentiate between types. Nevertheless, this is a very significant advance on anything that has previously been published on this fascinating uninscribed series. Understandably, Bean steers clear of the dangers of attempting to organise these coins into localised groups. However, it is a pity that some of the more obvious similarities between types are not pointed out (such as that seen between the horses on the Q.D2-3 fractional stater and the Q.T3-2 silver unit).

The uninscribed coinage is then followed by what are often referred to as the dynastic issues. Here Bean has

started with a clean sheet of paper and used evidence provided by the metrology and fabric of these coins and the designs they bear to present an entirely radical and fascinating view of the organisation and structure of these series. Gone is the consecutive sequence of inscriptions that appears in previous works — Commios, Tincmonius (sic), Eppillus, Verica. Instead, we have the picture of two separate tribal territories ruled over by aristocrats who each proclaim their legitimacy as descendants of Commios. Bean's real success here is in identifying the various issues as the output of two separate mints, one at Calleva and one in the vicinity of Chichester, using clear stylistic and metrological characteristics to differentiate between the two series.

It was fortunate that the Alton hoard of 1996 appeared in time to confirm the name of one of these rulers as Tincmonius, finally refuting a suggestion made as long ago as 1864 by Evans, although Bean had already reconstructed the legend on the TIN1-5 silver unit as TINCOMARVS in his PhD thesis. The even longer standing association between the states inscribed COMMIOs and the Commius of Caesar is rightly questioned and, with the possible exception of a single early die, shown to be highly unlikely. The coinage of Tincmonius, like that of Commios, is shown to have circulated in the vicinity of Chichester. Its development from early Celtic designs to fully classical forms is discussed in some detail, and it is shown to have been issued in several phases, one of which is noticeable for the crudity of the dies from which it was struck. It is also demonstrated that many of the designs on the coins were inspired by either Roman Republican denarii or Classical gemstones, illustrating the extent of contact with the Roman world in this period. Bean then shows that, by contrast, the coins of Eppillus are either clustered around Calleva, or are found in Kent, so Eppillus clearly was not the successor to Tincmonius. He also identifies coins from both regions struck from dies produced by the same die-cutter, which strongly argues that these coins were issued by the same person. The coins of Verica are then shown to combine the traditions of both the Calleva and 'Chichester' mints of Eppillus and Tincmonius, clearly demonstrating that Verica was the successor to both these rulers, unifying the territory that they ruled. The various issues of Verica's coinage are organised on the basis of these mints which, with the exception of one or two extremely rare types that do not appear to fit the scheme, is very convincing. Finally Bean discusses a fascinating group of coins that apparently combine the names of Verica, Eppillus and Tincmonius in different combinations. His proposed 'alliance' is certainly one possible reason for the production of these rare coins, although it will be extremely difficult to confirm that this was the reason for these issues.

A new numbering system has been developed to catalogue this series, which for the inscribed issues provides clear and useful information about the mint and issuing authority of each coin, although it is not quite so successful for the uninscribed issues. A concordance, cross-indexing the different catalogue numbering systems used by previous authors for this series, and appendices detailing the various hoards that have included coins from this series complete the work.

Unfortunately, the quality of the photographs in the plates does not live up to that of the text, a good example of this being the illustrations of the bronze unit EPP3-2 on Plate X. These photographs are typical of ones supplied to the Celtic Coin Index following the excavations of the Romano-British temple at Harlow, which generally do not do justice to the extraordinary state of preservation of many of the bronze units that were found there. More enlargements of the silver minims would have been welcome, since the designs on many of these tiny coins are masterpieces of the engraver's art to which life sized half tone reproductions do not do full justice. However, the provision of line drawings of the early uninscribed coins and the various 'Celtic style' COMMIOs and early TINCOMARVS and EPPIPLUS types is a welcome addition to the book, and they will doubtless prove to be of great use to collectors and scholars alike.

With a major work of this type there are bound to be some errors, although most of these are of a minor nature, and the reviewer has already had an opportunity to comment on some of these prior to the final proofs.

Nevertheless, note 138 refers to the TIN1-1a stater as a 'freak (if genuine)' on account of its high weight, yet before the discovery of the Alton hoard, this was the only known stater bearing the full name TINCOMARVS, so it must be genuine. There are also coins which, with hindsight, might more appropriately have been allocated to other regions. Examples of these are the bronze unit illustrated as type EPPUNCI-1 on Plate X, which is an early uninscribed type that is almost invariably found in Kent, and the minim SICLI-1 on Plate XIII, which probably belongs to the Sego issues that appear to have circulated in Kent.

This said, these are relatively trivial issues compared with the overall importance and quality of the work. The Coinage of the Atrebates and Regni is an extremely significant addition to the literature of the pre Roman Iron Age of Britain and the author is to be warmly congratulated on producing a book which is scholarly yet, at the same time, extremely readable. There is little doubt that this will be the standard work on this series for some considerable period of time.

G. COTTAM


In this nicely written and concise account of the pound sterling from its inception a thousand years ago to the present day, a most commendable attempt is made to tell the story of a currency which, it is argued, knew a 'golden age' between the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the outbreak of the First World War, receded thereafter into the shade of the American dollar, and now stands threatened with execution by the Euro. This account is, necessarily, packed with information and, equally necessarily, displays some speedy footwork in moving from one important point of development to the next, so it is not always an easy read. This position is compounded by a determination to examine the relationship between credit and money, money and prices, and prices and the standard of living. All this in a relatively brief 'introductory' survey which deliberately goes out of its way to eschew footnotes and thus threatens to leave the beginner in some doubt as to which parts of the text relate exactly to the items of 'further reading'.
In moving from the era which was dominated by the narrowest of 'narrow' money – gold and silver coins – to that which acknowledged a broader definition – coins, notes, cheques and various kinds of circulating paper – the critical divide is the eighteenth century (it is argued here that in the 1690s coin accounted for over eighty per cent of the English money supply, but for less than half in 1800) and so at this point the story of sterling moves from the history of minting to the history of banking, something which, rightly, is elaborated at some length. As for credit, the argument is that its role in the history of sterling was probably as fundamental in the middle ages as it is today, the difference being that whereas in the earlier times credit was closely linked to the availability of coins, in today's deregulated world credit is 'now controlled only by its price', and hence our present preoccupation with interest rates. For those, like most of the readers of this Journal, who are primarily interested in coins, it would have been most helpful if the former part of this proposition had been more fully elaborated. Given, also, that it is argued that 'the theoretical probability of a relationship between money supply and the price level' is assumed through this book, it would also have been helpful to have had further discussion on the equation of exchange (PT = MV).

There are slips to which the specialist can point – the mint moved to Llantrisant from Tower Hill, not the Tower, Latimer was not a bishop when he talked of the 'naughtiness' of the silver; Sir Edmund Peckham and Thomas Stanley were respectively high treasurer and undertreasurer of the mint, not master workers; the deprecation of 1526 was not 10 per cent on gold and 11 per cent on silver, but one eighth in each case – but, then, in a work of such breadth and chronological length this is almost an inevitability. Overall, this is a serious and well-focused book which will give all those who are interested in sterling good guidance and help.

C.E. CHALLIS


This is the first of a sub-series being published by the British Museum within the compass of their Occasional Paper series. This volume provides a vehicle for publishing in full twenty hoards of British coins found over the past thirty years and, in some cases, already briefly recorded in learned journals such as the Numismatic Chronicle and the British Numismatic Journal.

Within this first volume, as the title suggests, the period covered runs from 1158 to 1270, starting with the Cross- and Crosslet ("Tealby") coins of Henry II and ending with the large Colchester hoard of Long-Cross coins, deposited before 1278.

The British Museum, of course, keeps a full photographic record, with weights, of all hoards which pass through its hands, and students can have access to these. It is acceptable, therefore, that in this volume not all coins are illustrated, and the illustrations, which are liberal in quantity and of good quality, are selected to show clear examples, features of note, and exceptional peculiarities.

The volume lists hoards chronologically and starts with four comparatively small Cross-and-Crosslet hoards, West Meon (dep. c.1168–73; 34 items), Brackley (dep. c.1170–4; 13 coins plus a ring), Mile Ditches (dep. c.1173–80; 8 items) and Norton Subcourse (dep. c.1180; 43 items). Hoards of coins of this series are comparatively scarce, so the careful studies, descriptions and illustrations are very welcome, and even with small hoards interesting conclusion can be drawn. For example, it is significant that West Meon is the only hoard known that closes in Bost D and that although found in Wessex it has an exceptionally strong content from East Anglian mints. Similarly, it can be seen that the Norton Subcourse hoard provides evidence to support Allen's suggestion that minting was diverted from Norwich to Ipswich at the time of the riots there in 1173–4. Mile Ditches was recovered under controlled conditions, and one can see that on the balance of probabilities it was a loss rather than an intentional hoard.

The Short-Cross series is represented by 13 hoards, Moor Monckton (dep. c.1185; 14 items), Hurstbourne Tarrant (dep. c.1189(?); 11 items), Scotforth (dep. c.1194; 89 items), Wainfleet (dep. 1194–1200; 383 items and a pot), Canwell (dep. c.1200; 60 items), Bainton (dep. c.1200; 113 items), Waterlooville (dep. c.1205; 6 items), 'unknown' (dep. c.1210; 114 items), Southminster (dep. c.1205–47; about 28 items, fused), Claxby (dep. c.1217; 28 items), Tockholes (dep. c.1218; 60 items),SENSALTER (dep. c.1230; 29 items), and Sporle with Paigrove (dep. c.1250s(?); 123 items including some Long-Cross).

The first six hoards of this group are of special interest in that they were deposited before the reconage of 1205 and thus throw particular light on the early Short-Cross issues. This is particularly the case with Wainfleet, which is a hoard of a savings character and which contained 314 coins of class I, of which no less than seventeen are of the rare class Ia. Friends of the late Professor Mass will remember his excitement when this hoard came to light and his use of it in developing his studies of that class. Scotforth and Tockholes had been the subject of unfinished studies by the late Dr Brand, and it is pleasing to see that his work has been used and, of course, acknowledged by the present authors.

There has been much interest in Short-Cross coins in recent years, and while most of the Short-Cross hoards have been analysed in a manner that takes account of the many sub-divisions of the Lawrence classes that have been published, it is disappointing that this has not been done in respect of the important group of Ia in the Wainfleet hoard. Instead the authors have made a general reference to Professor Mass's paper in BNU 1993. Similarly, with the exception of the Carlisle coin in the Hurstbourne Tarrant hoard, no attempt has been made to relate Carlisle and Durham coins to the die study published by Martin Allen in BNU 1979. Not all the Ia, Carlisle and Durham coins are illustrated in this book; however, it may be said that the British Museum's photographic record exists, so this is probably no more than an inconvenience and, indeed, these criticisms are small when compared to the overall achievement of this volume.

The Long-Cross hoards are Welwyn Garden City (dep. c. late 1250s; 46 items), Greywell (dep. c.1265–79; 115 items), and Colchester (dep. c.1256 [first part] and 1268–78 [second part]), over 14,000 items and a container). As
befits its size and the involvement of professional museum staff from almost the moment of its discovery, the Colchester hoard accounts for more than half the book. The authors have presented their report in the form of separate chapters dealing with every aspect of processing and analysing the hoard and including contributions from outside experts. These include Discovery (David T. D. Clarke), Recording and Disposition. It was a peculiarity of the hoard that it was in two distinct parts, for laying on top of the 12,160 coins of the English Long-Cross series from classes I to Ve, there were 1916 coins of the (historically very rare) Long-Cross class VI, all die duplicates. For Part 1 there are chapters on the English Coin, the Anglo-Irish Coin (W.A. Seaby), Scottish Coin (Lord Stewartby), Continental Sterlings and Imitations, Forgeries, Comparison with Other Hoards, Saving or Currency Continuation, and Date of Deposition (J.D. Brand). For Part 2 Comparison with Other Hoards, Saving or Currency Continuation, and Forgeries, there are chapters on the English Coin, the Anglo-Irish Coin (W.A. Seaby), Scottish Coin (Lady Stewartby), Continental Sterlings and Imitations, Forgeries, Comparison with Other Hoards, Saving or Currency Continuation, and Date of Deposition (J.D. Brand). Part 2 has twenty hoards reported upon are acknowledged to have been found by the users of metal-detectors, and thus the volume of material required to be studied by professional numismatists has markedly increased while at the same time human resources available for this purpose have, at the best, increased little. Additionally, increasing standards of recording and reporting of hoards, due to improved technologies on the one hand and raised professional standards on the other, has made the finalisation of hoard reports an altogether more lengthy process. Last but not least the daily demands by the public on the time of staff in the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum must inevitably make writing hoard reports an affair for evenings and week-ends, or, in the case of one of the authors, retirement. It is only fair to say, too, that some of the hoards were the subject of earlier partial publication; Colchester as early as 1970, as is described in the volume here reviewed. Despite all these considerations it remains a fact that full publication should not take decades.

This is the first time that we have seen, in this country, the presentation of medieval hoard reports in separate volumes devoted to the subject, and one must applaud the British Museum for perceiving it as a project to which resources should be allocated. This has been done for some time elsewhere, for example in France in the series Trésors Monétaires published by the Bibliothèque Nationale, which covers hoards of all periods, and one can see the advantages of it. Standards of scholarship are generally high, comparison of hoards is facilitated and a uniform approach to presentation is encouraged. On the other hand, the British Museum is not the only public establishment in the country to study coin hoards, and the pages of this Journal (in which hoard reports are generally published at the expense of the Society) bear abundant witness to the work of numismatists in other museums and to the work of private individuals on this subject. One can see that the British Museum has allowed contributions by other numismatists to reports prepared by those on its staff (or retired from staff) in this volume. One wonders whether reports from other numismatists may be admitted into future volumes. Anyway, there is plenty of hoard material still to be published and one must wish this new project, well begun, may have the success it deserves.

P. WOODHEAD


It would be hard to deny that recent decades have been something of a golden age for anyone interested in the lower denominations of the English coinage. This is a long neglected area, a situation admitted owing something at least to a shortage of evidence. Numismatic study has traditionally depended on hoards for its raw material, and it is a fact that hoards from medieval and early modern England rarely if ever contained any 'small change' at all, let alone in any quantity: for example, in the last two decades, out of perhaps two hundred medieval and early modern hoards, only one, the Stanwix hoard (dep. c.1351-2) contained an appreciable component of halfpennies and farthings. A second point is the relatively small numbers of the denominations which were produced (as discussed in the book under review, see p. 7). It is a numismatic irony that the production of round halfpennies and farthings may in fact have caused a decline in the availability and use of these denominations, at least to judge from the evidence of site finds. Thus, while during the Short Cross and Long Cross periods (when small change could be easily produced to suit user demand), cut fractions, and above all halfpennies, greatly outnumbered full pennies as single finds, this situation is reversed for the Edwardian period, when the interests of mint officials and the main suppliers of silver were paramount, and halfpennies become the rarest coins, reflecting mint production rates.

In recent years the traditional shortage of low-denomination material available for study has been considerably ameliorated as a consequence of the advent and wide-spread use of the metal-detector. Although smaller coins remain less likely to be detected than larger ones, this mechanism has nonetheless provided a path to the light for the largely 'unhoarded' element of the currency system, and has begun to erode the longstanding evidential imbalance towards higher value coins. Much previously unknown material has been added to the record; for

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1 This is true for primary publications of medieval hoards although, as is said in the introduction, another British Museum series, Coin Hoards of Roman Britain, has shown the way and one can also point to Boon's Welsh Hoards. There are, of course, several summary listings of hoards available.
example, the existence of the issue of round halfpennies and farthings of c.1222 has been confirmed by actual coins only since 1989, and many previously ‘missing’ coins now fill out the sequence of types for these denominations in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The opportunity for the recording of individual coin finds from the later medieval and early modern periods made possible by the Portable Antiquities Recording Scheme provides insights into the role of money in daily life not reflected in hoards and most documentary sources.

This avalanche of new material needs of course to be collected and studied, before it can fully be made sense of. David Rogers (1946–99) was the main figure to take up the challenge in indefatigably accumulating a great collection of the English fractional silver coinage from the hammered era. His own work on the material he assembled was tragically cut short by his death in an accident in 1999, but it is being built on and expanded by Paul and Bente Withers, and the volume here under review is the first fruit of their endeavours. They begin their book with a memorial and tribute to David Rogers (pp. 3–5), followed by a discussion of the history of the halfpenny and farthing issues of the Edwardian period, and the basis of the new classification for these denominations which the volume itself embodies.

Traditionally, the halfpennies and farthings have been slotted into apparently appropriate places within the penny classification established by the Foxes and expanded by North, a sometimes forbidding construction which is nevertheless one of the crowning glories of English medieval numismatics. This was in some respects logical, and the lack of a sufficient body of material probably made any other system impractical. However, the Withers have identified legitimate problems with this approach, as an increasing quantity of material has proven harder to fit into this system (too many coins that simply do not fit easily anywhere; others where ‘mules’ seem far commoner than the notional substantive type). The erratic production and longevity of die use for these denominations resulted in a much less clear-cut sequence of types, in ‘promiscuous muling’ (to the point where it may seem that to speak of muling at all seems to be begging too many questions), and in the concurrent production of some classes (as the Withers point out, a phenomenon not unknown even among the pennies (p. 9), and their view that, for the halfpennies, class 7 coins ‘almost certainly’ come before class 6 ones may indeed also hold true for the pennies, if the apparent evidence of the Ickfield (aka Wingham) hoard that 7a stands at the head of the 6–7 complex is accepted).

Liberating coinages from classificatory straight-jackets has a proud history: ending the long and futile struggle to accommodate the Elizabethan gold and silver coinages within the same system is just one example in the British series. However, it can be a difficult question: is it best to adapt a long-standing and familiar classification schema, or to grit one’s teeth and replace it altogether? The Withers’ approach is the latter, to begin again from scratch, while of course providing a concordance with the traditional system (pp. 58–9). In fact, they provide two new systems, as the two denominations are classified distinctly, producing thirty-two types of farthing (replacing North/Fox classes 1 to 13) and thirteen types of halfpenny (North/Fox classes 3b to 10–11). Their methodology behind the classification and the logic which led them to abandon the Fox system is clearly spelled out (pp. 9–10), a decision which would have been made judiciously, though this reviewer remains uncertain whether retaining the Fox system, even in skeleton form, might have had the advantage of encouraging the easier and swifter adoption of the new system into regular usage, particularly since, for the most part, the sequence of types has not dramatically changed (or indeed at all, for the halfpennies).

The detailed sequence of types is impressive and clear, reflecting the development of these coinages, and with interesting implications for how the die engravers and minters worked, though this reviewer has not yet had the opportunity of testing it out on a significant body of new material. It may suffer from being too detailed, however, as the defining characteristic being used to establish a new type is a significant change in crown and/or face detail. Many types are thus distinguished by relatively small features which may not be clear on many actual specimens: for instance, farthing type 17 (which has no exact Fox/North correspondence, but probably would have been included within class 6–7) is defined by its ‘crown as types 12 and 16; new face with narrower cheeks, deeply hollowed eye-sockets: long nose’. Some of these distinctions appear overly relative, even subjective. From experience in tutoring regional curators and archaeologists in coin identification, this reviewer can confirm that the reaction of many people coming new to numismatic classifications of this nature is for their hearts to sink and confidence ebb at the sight of a flotilla of relative classification features bobbing menacingly on the horizon (‘bushier hair’, ‘larger crown’, ‘crude letters’, ‘narrower cheeks’ and even ‘long nose’ would, one imagines, get a similar response). Furthermore, a slightly weak or worn centre to a coin would easily put a positive identification of a potential ‘Type 17’ at risk, especially distinguishing it from a Type 16. Withers Types 9–19 (Fox/North 3c–7), however, all have the ER ANGLIE legend, and slightly adjusting the classification to fewer, broader groups reflecting this, with the types embedded within these as sub-types, might have made it more user-friendly when dealing with the need to record and report less than high quality material. Indeed, the Withers themselves in their text do subdivide the types into sections defined by the different obverse and reverse legend varieties, though without making this a substantive part of the classification system. This whole question is, of course, a familiar one when dealing with immobilised types, and there is, perhaps, no definitive answer to it, and these points are only made with the thought of encouraging the application of this new classification to the ever-growing body of new material.

The illustrations are excellent, as is to be expected from Galata productions. The enlarged photographs of the coins are mostly taken from the Rogers collection, which again illustrates the scope and strength of his material. The authors are to be congratulated on treating David Rogers’ legacy with such enthusiasm, care and intelligence, and for their promise of much more to come.

B.J. COOK

This is a splendid book, no less than we might expect from the author. It comprises issues of the Bank of England (pp. 1-6), Scotland (pp. 7-195), some 61 issuers in 27 different locations, England (pp. 197-216), Ireland (pp. 217-24), Not Located (pp. 225-31), Non-Countermarks (pp. 233-7) together with nine Appendices, Bibliography and Index (pp. 239-307). The 55 plates are of high quality and illustrate every variety; in the text are enlargements of the punches, together with maps and sketches, though in a few cases punch illustrations in better condition than the British Museum specimen might have been used.

For each location (and for the issuer if more than one) is given a comprehensive historical, geographic and economic background together with a list of all the recorded pieces (for the Bank of England only separate varieties). This listing is a mammoth piece of work, over a thousand specimens, mostly with their provenances. The author has acknowledged great credit to David McFarlan (p. xvi) for recommending that all known specimens should be listed rather than only those in museums. Several are of the only known example, e.g. Beith, Campsie and Dally, but others are common, e.g. New Lanark, 178 specimens of seven varieties. Of the 14 pieces of which only one specimen is recorded (almost without exception now in the British Museum), to the chagrin of some collectors, only two (Glasgow, John Slater, no. 42 and Paisley, Corser, no. 85) have a pre-Cokayne provenance. This would seem to be a little unusual if not a trifle worrying. The late William C. Wells, a Sanford Saltus medallist of the Society (p. 235), undoubtedly was responsible for Deanston Works (x 22, p. 58), Yellowley's Pottery (x 107, p. 215), the Castle Comer Forgery (x 108b, p. 220) and, almost certainly, the Percy Main Colliery (x 106, p. 211). A recently exposed Mole Gap at Dorking is on chalk, and on occasion not so mild.

All said and done, this is a superb book, and especially good value at the British Numismatic Society's subsidised price.

P.D. MITCHELL and K.V. ECKARDE


In his preface, Berlin modestly states that he is not offering original research, but rather, bringing together in one reference work information previously existing in scattered sources. This is a fair disclaimer, for the book is essentially a presentation of factual information on the coins and notes issued in Palestine during the British Mandate, largely drawn, according to the bibliographic references, from catalogues and short articles in a variety of journals.

The first chapter usefully provides a brief history of this volatile area, from the origins of the name 'Palestine' and
the complexities of changing boundaries and political rulers, through to the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the British Mandate established in 1923, and finally, the United Nations partition of 1947. (The full text of the Mandate is given in an Appendix.) This is followed by a chapter on the Palestine Currency Board, set up in June 1926 and responsible for the issue of currency for Palestine between 1927 and 1947. Berlin includes the names of the men who served on the Currency Board, identifying those whose signatures appeared on the notes, and he ends the chapter with a helpful chronology, setting the issue of coins and notes in the context of major political events from 1917 to 1951.

Chapters 3 and 5 provide catalogue listings of the coins and notes, with the fourth chapter giving a brief discussion of known varieties of the ambiguous 'Holy Land Token' of 1927. For the coins, Berlin gives a short general description of common design features and a table of years of issue, then goes through each denomination (illustrated front and back), systematically presenting information such as size, weight, obverse and reverse designs and the numbers minted. He includes varieties, such as the bronze alloys issued during the Second World War when nickel was scarce. The chapter on notes – not, strictly speaking, 'bank' notes, as they were issued by a currency board – follows the same format, with an introductory section including information on printing, facsimiles of signatures and an illustration of the olive-sprig watermark. This is followed by a listing of each denomination (again, illustrated front and back) with basic information on size, colour, years of issue and number of examples known and brief descriptions of the designs. For some of the scarcer issues, particularly the highest denomination of a hundred Palestine pounds, Berlin recounts the recent provenance of remaining examples, including their auction histories with sale prices.

Finding acceptable images for paper currency in a divided community is difficult: the answer in this series was to depict ancient monuments of significance to Jewish and Arab inhabitants. Images of Rachel's Tomb, the Dome of the Rock or the Tower of Ramleh feature on the front of the notes, while a vignette of the Citadel and Tower of David appears on the back of all denominations. Chapter 6 gives the history of each of these sites and their evolving religious importance, with photographs of the sites as they are today. The final chapter looks briefly at counterfeit coins and notes, including comparative photographs of details from genuine and forged notes.

Berlin has deliberately chosen not to create his own catalogue numbering system, but in Appendix B he gives a concordance of the numbering in existing catalogues of the coins and notes. Appendix C is a checklist table of all the issues for collectors, in which they may record details of items they have purchased. And this is very much a book made.

At times, something more seems to be offered, as in the chapter devoted to the monuments on the paper currency, and this reviewer often wished for more analysis and more exploration of primary sources: for example, to explain how specific designs were chosen, or more about the circumstances of both Arab and Jewish objections – for different reasons – to the Hebrew inscription 'Land of Israel' on the coins and Holy Land token. However, the book makes no claim to be a scholarly work and the author has largely succeeded in his stated intention to provide an accessible reference work. The format does raise questions: sometimes information seems to have been included simply because it is available; thus a section on Palestine notes used in Cyprus during the Second World War might have been better placed as an appendix, rather than in the main chapter on the Palestine Currency Board. There is also considerable repetition of facts and while this makes each chapter quite self-contained, it also gives a sense of the material being rather stretched. The colour plates are attractive, but perhaps superfluous given that all coins and notes discussed are illustrated in the text in black and white, and that for the examples I could compare, the colour was not very accurate. These features must add to the cost of what is a handsomely-presented hardback book and, appealing as such publications always are, in this case a slimmer soft-cover volume could well have contained the important information in a more affordable format.

VIRGINIA HEWITT

The subject matter of this book will be familiar to many and it is probably common knowledge that the Great Exhibition held at Hyde Park in 1851 was a great success. It was, in fact, visited by over six million people, the average daily attendance being nearly 43,600.

It is not surprising, therefore, that so many medals and tokens concerning the exhibition were issued and that they were sold in large quantities. It is, however, the first time that a book has been entirely devoted to the medals and tokens of the Great Exhibition and its associated exhibition at Sydenham. Also included for good measure are medals, tokens and tokens concerning the Exhibition of Art Treasures at Manchester in 1857 and the International Exhibition at South Kensington in 1852.

There are very few medals in this book which have not been previously listed elsewhere but the author is to be congratulated on bringing together all of these pieces into one volume and pursuing more fully his interest in the Great Exhibition. This, he tells us, originated in his acquisition of a medal commemorating the 1911 Coronation, given to a friend when taken to the Crystal Palace to attend the Coronation Fête. Of such chance encounters are collectors made.

The book is divided into four sections, each dealing with a particular exhibition and having an introduction giving a brief account of the event. A catalogue of the medals, both official and unofficial, then follows, ending with a listing of the trade tokens and associated pieces.
Catalogue entries include the engraver, size, metal, obverse and reverse descriptions, estimated rarity and references in other works. In many cases there are monochrome illustrations above the catalogue entry. These illustrations, it should immediately be noted, are good. Considerable time and expense has obviously been expended to make them so and the result adds immeasurably to the value of the work.

Many entries have supplementary notes. Some state where the author found the description of the medal in other works if he had not personally examined a specimen or, perhaps, note that the piece was originally sold in a cardboard box.

Throughout the book additional information is supplied, perhaps in the form of an illustration of the exhibition buildings, photographs of persons connected with the events, tables of numbers of visitors and entrance money received, advertisements for events held at the venues and illustrations culled from such sources as the Illustrated London News. At the end of the work is a consolidated table giving an estimation of the rarity and value of the pieces.

The layout of the book has been expertly done and probably constituted a not inconsiderable portion of the production cost. The result is a very useful book and the fact that it is printed on high quality paper is an added attraction.

The catalogue numbering system used is, perhaps, somewhat cumbersome. The Great Exhibition at Hyde Park medals are numbered, say, HP-A050 or HP-B275, the A and B denoting 'A' for the official medals and 'B' for the unofficial. The tokens for the same event are listed as 'C' and the associated pieces as 'D'.

Catalogue entries for the exhibition at Sydenham are prefixed by SY followed by the year, say 1904, and a consecutive number. Subsequent years each begin again at number 1. All this makes for a somewhat complex numbering system which is not conducive to compact entries for cataloguers who may wish to quote Allen as a reference. Would it not have been preferable to list them in simple numerical order? A further minor criticism is the way in which the catalogue numbers, medallist and size are delineated in white on a heavy grey ground. The rarity and cross references to other works are also noted in the same manner but in black on a light grey ground. These serve to break up the entries and are not, to the reviewer's eye at least, particularly attractive.

In the section dealing with tokens connected in some way with the Great Exhibition, there are two indexes of issuers, one alphabetical and the other geographical. These two interesting lists have, presumably by an oversight, been omitted from the list of contents. The issuers cover a wide area, not only in Britain but, perhaps surprisingly, in Matanzas, Cuba; Brussels, New Orleans; Springfield, Massachusetts; Cologne and Melbourne.

The manufacturers of these pieces were mostly situated in Birmingham and London and the issuers overseas were presumably quite happy for their tokens, which were for local circulation, to bear a representation of exhibition buildings that the users had never seen and, possibly, of which they had never heard, the manufacturing costs as a result being significantly less. The picture is made more complex by the fact that it is a distinct possibility that, although the presumed manufacturer of some of these tokens was T. Pope & Co, the dies bearing the representation of the exhibition buildings was possibly prepared by Heaton, a fact noted by Roy Hawkins on p. 409 in his Dictionary of Makers of ..., Medalets, Tallies and Counters.

The bibliography lists fifty-two works consulted by the author in the compilation of the work. Some of these are numismatic but others, such as the official catalogue of the Exhibition, doubtless yielded much valuable information. The depth of research undertaken is obvious and makes this book an indispensable work for those interested in the subject matter. At the very reasonable price of £29.50 it should be in every commemorative medal collector's library.

LAURENCE BROWN


The idea of an 'Order of Industrial Heroism' is a noble one, though it was not, as one might expect, the product of years of consultations between Government and Royalty. The medal came into being as the result of campaigning by the left-wing newspaper the Daily Herald.

The concept of a medal for bravery in the workplace seems almost Dickensian, but many a workplace after World War I had changed little since Victorian times and industrial accidents were waiting to happen. Looking back, it seems amazing that the award not only survived the Second World War, but continued to be presented right up until 1964, when the Daily Herald was taken over and re-born as the Sun. In forty-one years there were 440 awards, the majority to living recipients, with just a few posthumous awards. The medal 'broke ranks' in another way, for whilst it became recognised as the workers' Victoria Cross (an easy over-simplification), it was in fact a small, round, patinated bronze medal designed by Eric Gill. In so many ways it is quite unlike any other British medal, and this book tells a wonderful story.

The book has three authors, of whom W.H. Fevyer and J.W. Wilson are both well known and respected in the disciplines of medal research. The third author, J.E. Cribb, is a numismatist of an entirely different discipline, but his family connections with Eric Gill make him the ideal contributor to the section on the 'Design of the Awards'.

The book is in that now accepted, but library unfriendly, A4 format, with soft card covers. It is divided into sections covering all aspects of the medal. The first few pages are devoted to the background of the award, the links between the Labour Party, the Unions and T.U.C, and the Daily Herald. The book continues with an account of Eric Gill's involvement, his designs for the medal and the certificate that was issued with it, and his collaboration with George Friend, who was to engrave the dies. The obverse of the medal shows St Christopher 'bent over by the weight of the child', an inspirational design. Cribb's research gives the reader a new and fresh insight into the work of Gill's involvement. The medal is firmly placed in the context of its time, and in the context of Gill's work. The perhaps obscure use of St Christopher is discussed, and it is noted that the later Certificates had the St Christopher legend recorded on the
back. It is not known who commissioned Gill in the first place, though Cribb speculates and reasons as to his suitability. Gill was a controversial designer who, on becoming a Roman Catholic, had abandoned his socialist and Fabian views. With the combination of the sponsor and the artist, there was no way that the Order of Industrial Heroism would ever be seen as an 'establishment' award. The photographs of the medal and its designs form six plates at the end of the Cribb contribution.

The book continues with the details of the recipients giving, in alphabetical order, a note of the award, the citation, and in a few cases some further information. A separate list gives the details of the group awards, both lists recording where the presentations were made. In those days there were no trips to expensive locations (as would surely happen now), just The Cinema, South Kirby, the Salford Central Mission, the Flower Show, Llay, and the like. The citations that capture all these deeds of immense bravery in a few lines are all worth reading, and with the emotion of the event removed some of them make stark reading indeed. The reviewer writes just two weeks after the destruction of the World Trade Center in New York, where it has been made graphically clear that the tradition of bravery of people in their working environment has never been lost and is truly universal.

The book is not without its faults. It lacks a certain amount of editorial style, and the A4 page size makes for too much 'white paper' within the text. Citations are in a print size too small for the eye to follow easily along the 160mm length of the line. The bibliography sits uncomfortably on page 31, whilst pages 30 and 32 have nothing but a page number and running title. Perhaps the 2 column format of The Medal and the British Art Medal Society publications would have been more suitable. The photographs of the recipients, whilst well worth while would have been better presented if they were smaller – and then perhaps more of the 440 could have been represented. Many details of the recipients would have benefited from a little further research, for one knows nothing about where these brave people came from or what became of them in later life. Finally the book suffers from that commercial block. It is of limited appeal to medal collectors, as the medal is an unofficial award. The followers of Gill will likewise feel £28 too much to pay for twelve pages of related text and six plates. Yet both, and indeed numismatists with any interest in the 20th Century, should buy the book. There is much to read and learn and the Orders & Medals Research Society is to be congratulated for having the foresight to publish the book regardless of commercial return.

DANIEL FEARON