

REVIEWS

Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, vol. 1, *The Early Middle Ages (5th – 10th Centuries)* By P. GRIERSON and M. BLACKBURN, Cambridge, 1986. Pp. xxi + 674, including 65 plates. £85.

THE first of a planned thirteen volumes cataloguing Philip Grierson's preeminent collection of medieval European coins, together with the existing holdings of the Fitzwilliam Museum, covers the fifth to tenth centuries throughout Europe, thus, the Vandals, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Lombards, and Franks – but also the Anglo-Saxons and Vikings, to which the present review is confined. There are two lengthy introductory chapters on the 'Anglo-Saxons: sixth to mid-eighth centuries' (pp. 155–89) and on the 'Anglo-Saxons and Vikings: eighth to tenth centuries' (pp. 267–325), as well as a sylloge-style presentation, with first-class photographs of every coin, of nearly four hundred specimens in the English series, and enlargements of selected items. About 40 coins are new, the rest having appeared in the first volume of *SCBI*, but the new direct photographs are most welcome, as are the up-to-date catalogue entries, elegantly presented and printed, in a modern style with which the reviewer finds himself fully satisfied and in accord – and flattered to see his inscriptional type-face in use at 'the other place'. Among the new accessions one notes with pleasure nos 699, 701, and 710–11, sceatta finds from a site near Cambridge; 1375A, a specimen of Edward the Elder's 'church tower' type; and 1395A and B, two associated St Edmund Memorial pennies excavated on Castle Hill, Cambridge. Pecking on English Viking coins is recorded for nos 1379, 1382 and 1407.

The volume is the result of close collaboration by the two authors, who are jointly responsible, but Chapters eight and ten were primarily the work of Mark Blackburn, who has produced a substantial and important survey of the series, that should not be overlooked by Anglo-Saxonists just because it appears in a volume that does not mention England in its title. It will be advisable to consult it in any future detailed projects. It is judiciously balanced and very thoroughly informed, gathering up the fruits of the intensive research of the last thirty years into an up-to-date and detailed summary. One may feel that the corresponding chapters in Brooke's *English Coins* have at last been properly superseded, and that an adequate awareness of historians' understanding of the period has at last been integrated with the numismatic detail.

Experts on particular series will find their conclusions very fairly and fully, if critically, summarized, and everyone will find something new to

consider. One can mention only a few points as examples. *MEC* endorses the attribution of the *Audvarld reges* tremisses to King Eadbald (616–40) and notes the link with London, as evidence that the Kentish king exercised authority in a city that was really within the East Saxon kingdom. The forgeries include an eighteenth-century fabrication (no. 1481) that mules the 'York thrymsa' type with EADBALD R.CA, the most intriguing aspects being that this corresponds with a drawing published in 1774, when the 'York' thrymsas were supposedly quite unknown: see the note on p. 643. There is a lengthy exegesis of the so-called 'Venta' tremissis, with a defence of the authenticity of the lost Spalding specimen, a runic (*antwulfufu*) version (pp. 640–2).

The Cynethryth portrait coins, it is suggested, were inspired by the coins of the Byzantine empress Irene (from 780 onwards). The *munus divinum* gold solidus of Archbishop Wigmund, it is suggested, was minted at Canterbury, not York – or at any rate in south-eastern England. One small point: the famous Offa dinar is stated to be unique; but I have been told that there are two more in a private collection in the Gulf.

These snippets from a seemingly inexhaustible store-house of information will, it is hoped, serve to send the reader to this deeply satisfying book, in the awareness that he will be able to go on digesting it for years, and that almost each sentence can be read with profit. *MEC* I is clearly a monumental achievement. It combines serenity of judgement and style with intellectual acuity and, in general, an openness to competing ideas. It will be an inspiration to many, and of service to all who consult it.

D. M. METCALF

Post-Roman Coins from York Excavations 1971–81 (The Archaeology of York 18/1; London, 1986). By E. J. E. PIRIE, with contributions by M. M. ARCHIBALD and R. A. HALL. 83pp., 20 plates. £9.50.

DURING the 1970s, when urban archaeology was flourishing under the support of reasonably generous funding from central and local government, large excavation programmes such as that at York produced finds of major numismatic importance. We are now reaping the benefit of these as energy and resources are concentrated on publication. The York Archaeological Trust, through Elizabeth Pirie and her collaborators, has done full justice to its post-Roman coin finds in this substantial fascicule.

The 425 finds from the eighth to the twentieth century come from twenty-four different sites in the city. Those of the Anglo-Saxon period (sixty-eight) are particularly rich and the discussion of them

occupies most of the introductory text. Some 90 per cent of the coins of the Anglian period (pre-865) and 60 per cent of those of the Anglo-Scandinavian period (865-1066) are local Northumbrian issues, confirming the impression already gained from stray finds from the city that York was more isolated, geographically and politically, than any other English town. The penny of Æthelwulf (839-58) is an unusual coin to find at York from a period when the currency consisted solely of base 'stycas'. Three foreign coins (a Carolingian obol of Charles the Bald, a Danish half-bracteate, and an imitative dirhem) and two pennies of Burgred (852-74) reflect the mixed coin circulation of the early Viking settlers in the Danelaw.

The coins of the Norse kings of York are perhaps the most important individually. That of Sihtric I (921-7) - only the tenth known - is significant in view of the debate as to whether they were struck north or south of the Humber. The excavations have also produced a second moneyer, Æthelferth, for Anlaf Guthfrithsson's Raven issue (939-41), perhaps operating from a mint in the Five Boroughs, as well as a fourth specimen, by a new moneyer, Farman, for the shadowy Sihtric II (c. 942). In the late Anglo-Saxon series the finds supply two moneyers at York previously unrecorded for the types: Styr in First Small Cross and Outhgrim in First Hand.

The most sensational numismatic discoveries from York are not coins but two coin dies and three lead strips bearing the impressions of coin dies. All five artifacts were found associated with two adjacent tenements fronting on Coppergate, suggesting the presence of a minting or die-cutting establishment there. The two coin dies - one of the Viking Sword St Peter issue (c. 921-7) and the other of Athelstan (in York 927-39) - are circular in cross section with hardened die-caps on iron shafts. Full metallurgical analysis of them has still to be carried out, and this will provide a rare opportunity to study the technology of die manufacture, with implications for the debate about the probable life-span of dies and estimates of mint output. There is only one other comparable early medieval die, a ninth-century one from the Carolingian mint of Melle, which is conveniently republished in this fascicule by Christopher Blunt.

Pirie discusses the three lead strips in the context of other struck lead pieces of the period, which she categorizes as either trial-pieces, record-pieces, or mint weights. The two fragmentary strips impressed with York dies of Athelstan's reign she regards as trial-pieces, while the third from dies of a Chester moneyer of Eadwig (955-9) is problematic in a York context, though she is inclined to see it as a record-piece. She argues that the lead block from St Paul's Churchyard impressed with dies of Alfred's Cross-

and-Lozenge issue must be a personal mint weight of the moneyer concerned, rather than an official weight which could be expected to carry only an obverse die impression. However, we should remember that there are Carolingian precedents such as the two lead weights from Dorestad bearing the impressions of reverse dies, one of the *Christiana religio* issue and the other of the Paris mint.¹ The latter also shows that we should not assume that the dies on the Alfred piece are of the local London mint. Certain eleventh-century lead strikings, particularly some from the Billingsgate spoil heaps, appear to be simple forgeries intended to pass as silver coins.

There are various other stimulating contributions. The excavator, Richard Hall, in discussing the archaeological context raises the pertinent question for how long after the Viking conquest of York in 866 did 'stycas' continue to circulate. Ian Stewart discusses the dating of the Sword St Peter issue, giving it to the period c. 921-7, but it is curious that neither here nor elsewhere in the fascicule is Michael Dolley's substantial article on the same topic cited, although it reaches the same general conclusion.² The discovery of a new moneyer for Æthelred's First Hand type provides Dolley with an excuse to review the canon of York moneyers for that issue. For the later medieval finds, many of the catalogue entries have been prepared by Marion Archibald, and these include an important note on the chronology of Edward I's groats which she suggests should be associated with the pennies of Fox class III (i.e. late 1280-1) rather than class I (1279).

The York excavation material is of outstanding importance, and we are indeed fortunate that it has been accorded such a high standard of publication.

M. A. S. BLACKBURN

Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 34. British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins V. Athelstan to the Reform of Edgar 924 - c. 973. By MARION M. ARCHIBALD and C. E. BLUNT. London, British Museum Publications for the Trustees of the British Museum, 1986. 152pp, incl 56 photo plates. Cloth. £35.

ALMOST a century has passed since the appearance of Keary and Grueber's two-volume catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the British Museum, and the publication of this first instalment of a new catalogue is no small event. The intention is that it should be followed by nine further volumes, and although time will pass while these are being prepared, the decision to publish the British Museum's Anglo-Saxon coins in the SCBI series holds out greater hope of their publication being completed in the foreseeable future

¹ H. H. Völckers, *Karolingische Münzfunde der Frühzeit (751-800)* (Göttingen, 1965), pp. 58-9, pl. O. They are now displayed in the State Antiquities Museum in Leiden.

² M. Dolley, 'Datering af de seneste St Peters - mønter fra York', *NNUM* (1982), 82-91.

than if the decision had been to publish them in a multi-volume British Museum catalogue of the older kind.

It is pleasant in this context to be able to report, as the authors have in their preface, that the idea of publishing the coins in the SCBI series had the 'enthusiastic acceptance' of the Trustees of the British Museum, and it is very much to be hoped that now the ice is broken as regards publication of the national collection in SCBI volumes, the Trustees will give the same enthusiastic backing to SCBI publication of the great mass of wholly uncatalogued later mediaeval and early modern coins in the British Museum's possession.

The present volume lists in all 1281 coins, of which 286 are of Athelstan, 217 of Edmund, 236 of Eadred, 140 of Eadwig and 369 of Edgar, these last all of pre-reform date. The balance is made up by the unique surviving coin of the Welsh king Hywel Dda and some forty coins struck in York and in the northern Danelaw by Viking issuers between 939 and 954. These are substantial holdings, and although the collection is not in fact quite as strong as one might suppose at first sight, the coins are sufficiently representative and numerous to have enabled Archibald and Blunt to arrange them intelligibly. This indeed is their greatest service to their readers, for although the basic types struck for mid tenth-century kings were few, there are significant sub-groups that need to be distinguished within each type, and Archibald and Blunt have done yeoman service in sorting them out, with the aid of a new system of classification by letters and numbers evolved by the experienced triumvirate of Blunt, Lyon and Stewart.

Detailed comment on this classification and on the coinage in general ought to await the appearance of a separate volume on tenth-century coinage currently in preparation by Blunt, Lyon and Stewart, although it may properly be said that the section of Archibald and Blunt's introduction in which the classification is explained and the outline history of the coinage is sketched seems to this reviewer admirably lucid.

On other fronts, the standard of authorial accuracy in the description of the coins, and in regard to such matters as numbering and noting of die-identities, seems beyond reproach. Likewise, care seems to have been taken to check the coins against the British Museum's accession registers, and the provenances given for acquisitions since 1838 seem in every case reliable. For the pre-1838 period, by contrast, the authors have placed too much reliance on research done in the 1950s by the late Professor Michael Dolley and the late Mrs Joan Martin, and the pre-1838 provenances really ought to be gone over thoroughly again in the light of the information that can be extracted from Ruding's papers in the British Library, as has been indicated in the 1985 volume of our *Journal*. For the record, 'Richard' Hodsoll on p. xi is a slip for Edward Hodsoll; the composition of Sir Robert Cotton's collection of Anglo-Saxon coins can be verified from a seventeenth-century list of them in

the British Library, as well as from a list in a volume of Peiresc's papers which Drs G. Van Der Meer has long been intending to publish; and, as this reviewer should have remembered when he saw the relevant part of the introduction in typescript, Snelling's coins were sold by auction in 1773 and certainly not sold to Tyssen by private treaty.

As for hoards, the authors provide an index showing which coins in the volume are known to derive from which hoard, which is an eminently sensible step. They avoid interpretative remarks about the hoards, no doubt because of foreknowledge that the hoard evidence for the period will be discussed in the forthcoming volume by Blunt, Lyon and Stewart, and this may well be rational. Nevertheless, hoard evidence critically assessed can be a valuable element in a SCBI volume, as has been shown in past SCBI volumes by Dolley and by Dr Robert Stevenson, and the chance has been missed to approach some of the hoards underlying the British Museum collection in a spirit of enquiry. To give one example, many of the coins in the collection struck by moneyers at work in the north-eastern midlands have old provenances and, if the plates can be trusted, a common darkish patination, indicating that a common source is involved. The obvious candidate is the 1687 hoard from Hundon in Suffolk, to which Dolley and Mrs Martin provisionally attributed eight coins appearing in this volume. At a glance Archibald and Blunt seem to have made progress with this hoard, for in two cases out of the eight they drop the question marks appended by Dolley and Martin, but in reality this is simply carelessness on their part and in the context of the present volume they do not seem to have looked with new eyes at any hoard.

Nothing said here should, however, detract from the very warm welcome we should all give to a volume which future generations of scholars will find indispensable to the study of tenth-century coinage in England.

H. E. PAGAN

Anglo-Saxon Monetary History, Essays in memory of Michael Dolley. Edited by M. A. S. BLACKBURN. Leicester, 1986. 366 pp. illustrated. £35.

MICHAEL Dolley needs no lengthy introduction to the readers of the *Journal*, suffice it to say that no one has done more for the advancement of Anglo-Saxon numismatics. In this capacity he was not only the leading figure, but he also had the gift to inspire others. His many pupils and followers, some of whom have been given the opportunity to contribute to the present volume in his memory, now have a heavy burden to carry on the work that Michael Dolley lay much of the foundations for. This splendidly produced volume is a good witness to the fact that research in Anglo-Saxon numismatics will continue to advance.

R. H. Thompson has had, in view of Michael Dol-

ley's enormous productivity, the difficult task of tracking down all of his published writings. His bibliography is one that many will often need to refer to, and it amounts to the incredible figure of 875 titles. It also includes an index.

The 'Check-list of coin hoards c. 500–1000' by Mark Blackburn and Hugh Pagan will be another very useful reference for all working with Anglo-Saxon coins. It updates the list presented by Dolley in the *Sylogae of the Hiberno-Norse coins in the British Museum* and adds the period c. 500–800. It covers 307 hoards and is enhanced by an easily available list of references. Although the authors' objective was to list rather than to interpret the hoards, had a series of maps showing the locations of the hoards during different periods been included it would have visualized the material very effectively, if the periods had been chosen with care.

If Blackburn and Pagan emphasized the hoards (omitting single finds), the stray finds play an important part in Elizabeth J. E. Pirie's 'Finds of "sceattas" and "stycas" of Northumbria' and account for half of the totals. This of course adds to the information that can be drawn from the finds, and one would like to see other coinages covered in the same way in the future.

Three more papers deal specifically with finds. C. E. Blunt concerns himself with 'Anglo-Saxon coins found in Italy', where some finds have been crucial for the study of Anglo-Saxon coins. N. P. Brooks and J. A. Graham-Campbell, 'Reflections on the Viking-Age silver hoard from Croydon, Surrey,' deal with the coins as well as with the non-numismatic part and the circumstances of the deposit. Martin Biddle (in association with others) discusses excavation finds in 'Coins of the Anglo-Saxon period from Repton, Derbyshire'.

Trade, towns and connections with other countries are discussed in three papers where coins play an important part. Peter Sawyer contributes with references to documents that reflect 'Anglo-Scandinavian trade in the Viking Age and after'. David A. Hinton in 'Coins and commercial centres in Anglo-Saxon England' gives a survey of the coin finds from excavations in towns. Patrick F. Wallace dwells on 'The Viking presence in Dublin'.

Michael Dolley pioneered the important field of die-studies with its many facets. His first study concerned part of Cnut's Quatrefoil type, a task that has now been completed by Mark Blackburn and Stewart Lyon, who have had the laborious task of checking the style of some 3,000 coins of the type. The result has been the identification of nineteen die-centres that produced forty-two different styles or sub-styles. Each style is meticulously described and accompanied by two illustrated examples. They have also used metrology to verify the relative chronology of the sub-styles.

Tuukka Talvio also gives, among others, an account of the styles in his survey 'Harold I and Harthacnut's Jewel Cross type reconsidered' and the

number of obverse dies of each style for the coins in Stockholm and Copenhagen are presented in a table.

The growing interest in the period before the reform of Edgar (c. 973) is clearly reflected in several of the papers in the volume, not least those of Stewart, Pagan and Metcalf.

In 'The London mint and the coinage of Offa' Ian Stewart identifies five or possibly as many as thirteen moneymen who can be related to London, the implications of which are far reaching.

The products of the three mints of Canterbury, Rochester, and London are treated by Hugh Pagan in 'Coinage in southern England, 796–874,' where he gives an excellent survey of the coinage.

Michael Metcalf's comparisons of 'The monetary history of England in the tenth century viewed in the perspective of the eleventh century' nearly always end up in favour of the latter, but he points to the difficulties in interpreting the coinage of the former.

'Scandinavians, Celts, and Germans in Anglo-Saxon England: the evidence of moneymen's names' by Veronica Smart gives a broad survey of the use of non-English names for the entire Anglo-Saxon coinage. The pattern is not always the expected one in the light of history.

A summing-up of 'Progress in Anglo-Saxon monetary history' is made by Henry Loyn.

If, at the end, a critical word should be said of the volume, it would be that some of the photographs have not come out too well. It would also, in my view, have been appropriate to include a full account of Michael Dolley as both a scholar and a person, because who will be able to give personal reflections in the future, when those who knew him are no longer there?

KENNETH JONSSON

Welsh Hoards 1979–1981. By GEORGE C. BOON. National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, 1986. xii + 126 pp. + 53 figs.

THE principal *raison d'être* for this most welcome volume is the publication of three recent Welsh hoards of quite exceptional interest. The least significant of the three is the small Edward penny hoard from Cae Castell, Rumney, but even this find contributes importantly to our knowledge of the coinage of its time. Its English content closes with Fox class IVE (c. 1288) but the hoard also contains two crockards of Brabant. Cae Castell thus provides the earliest known context for continental sterlings, though a possible occasion for the deposit may have been the revolt of Morgan ap Maredudd in 1294–5.

Despite this reviewer's special interest in Cae Castell, the Bryn Maelgwyn hoard is probably a more important find. Dominated by Cnut coins of Quatrefoil type (chiefly of Chester) Bryn Maelgwyn closes with two of Cnut's Pointed Helmet type providing a *terminus post quem* of c. 1024. There were also a couple of imitations, one an extremely rare piece of

Sigtryggr Olafsson. This hoard provides important information on regional die-cutting at Chester, and this information is amplified by a consideration of four Quatrefoil coins, two from Chester, and one an imitation of Blackburn's Chester group found also in North Wales at Pant-yr-Eglwys. Boon asks whether the Chester group of imitations might even be of Welsh origin. As if this were not enough to excite interest, the detailed electron probe microanalyses of the hoard carried out by Peter Northover provide metrological data which shows Petersson's figures to have been 'inadequate and misleading'.

Nevertheless, it is the sensational hoard from Coed-y-Wenallt which dominates the volume. Stephen and Matilda hoards are so rare, and the coinage of the time so complex that any hoard from the time of the Anarchy will be bound to attract notice. This find, however, is remarkable by any standards. It trebles the number of Matilda's known coins, and establishes the hitherto unknown mint of Swansea, providing in the process the earliest evidence for the name. It introduces a new baronial issue – that of Henry de Neubourg, and finally disposes of the idea of a mint at Calne in Wiltshire, restoring its coins to Cardiff. These discoveries may be incontrovertible, but any numismatic report on the Anarchy is bound to promote wide-ranging discussion. If this volume sets numismatists thinking again about the duration of Stephen type 1, it will also no doubt interest Welsh historians by its suggestion that the light weight pence of this find may be associated with the 'short pennies' of the Welsh laws.

These three hoards are thus of the very greatest interest, but Boon also takes the opportunity to provide the reader with an up-to-date record of some fifteen old Welsh hoards found over the last century and ranging in date from the tenth century to the sixteenth. Though these finds are less startling it is extremely useful to have this material so conveniently gathered together and so attractively presented.

The volume as a whole is very handsome – it won the Monotypesetting Award for its printer, OUP. It is good to see the Press's inscriptional type, and to note that a high quality of illustration has been achieved. It must be admitted that the condition of the coins from Coed-y-Wenallt does not always equal their interest, so it is useful to have the detail of the coins shown clearly with a series of excellent enlarged line drawings. A series of maps and photographs sets each of the finds in its geographical context, while each report contains an admirable historical and archaeological section: few numismatists would be as much at home with runic inscription as Boon, nor any (?) archaeologist so sure of touch with coins.

The book is not without its misprints – perhaps the reader was tiring for I noticed three in as many pages near the end. I also found the system of using italicised numbers in the lists to indicate illustrated coins a mistake: to my eye at least, numbers in italics do not stand out clearly enough. It may be fair to attribute Alexander III's main issue to Berwick

('probably'), but to accord the same degree of confidence to the attribution to Roxburgh (p. 88) is perhaps unjustified. No doubt each specialist will find similar points in his own special corner over which to quibble. Nevertheless, perhaps the chief virtue of this book is that it provides us with the data which we need to make quibbling possible. Weights – frequently fineness and trace elements – photographs, line drawings, transcribed legends, are all here, providing a meticulous record of the finds which will prove of the greatest value long after any interpretation has been refuted or become so well established as to lose its power to excite.

Detailed and accurate publication of finds is essential for the advancement of numismatic science, and this volume provides a model which it is greatly to be hoped will soon be followed elsewhere. Elegant, well-informed and stimulating though Boon's discussion of the finds may be, and enthusiastic as this reviewer may seem, the most important point about this volume is that it provides quickly and accurately a comprehensive record of Treasure Trove. Medieval numismatists await similar treatment of a large number of hoards. The National Museum of Wales has set a splendid example; similar volumes from the British Museum are urgently and longingly awaited.

NICHOLAS MAYHEW

Les trésors monétaires médiévaux et modernes découverts en France I 751–1223. By J. DUPLESSY. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1985. 158 pp.

It is with much pleasure that one greets the first fascicule of Jean Duplessy's inventory of French coin hoards. He started compiling his records in 1957, and in the years since has generously allowed others (including the present reviewer) access to them when they had need of information. The printed version of his *fiches*, together with the apparatus of indexes and cross-references, will now be invaluable to all studies of coinage and currency in France. Sensibly, the present volume commences with the new coinage which was instituted by Pepin the Short, constituting an effective complete break in the monetary system. There is no such natural division at any convenient later date, and the decision was taken to end this first instalment at the death of Philip Augustus in 1223, for the sufficient reason that his reign saw the end of an era where the 'regal' coins were but local issues. The introduction of the gros, late in the reign of St Louis, would have marked a more important divide, but inevitably that would have involved a significant number of quite arbitrary decisions as to the allocation of ill-datable late thirteenth-century denier hoards. As it is, this volume omits some early thirteenth-century hoards which British numismatists would date prior to 1223, such as Gorron, Lisieux, and three from near Le Mans (see J. Yvon, 'Esterlins à la croix courte dans les trésors français de la fin du XII^e et de la première moitié du XIII^e siècle', *BNJ* 39

(1970), 24–60, nos 12, 15–18); doubtless they will appear in the next fascicule.

The plan of the inventory is to list all hoards from the period covered in one alphabetical list (those of uncertain provenance are grouped together at the end under *départements*, but the logic behind their ordering amongst themselves is not apparent). Those students who need to consult hoards of approximately the same date, or of any date from the same geographical area, can find their material from the *Classement chronologique* on pp. 145–48 and the 'Index I' (by modern *départements*), pp. 149–50 (in Index I, Neuvy-au-Haulme does not appear under Orne; and under Cher the hoard listed as Argent-sur-Sauldre does not appear in the alphabetical list). M. Duplessy has made a determined effort to give uniform presentation to the location of the find spots, and a somewhat disconcerting result is that a number appear here under names which are not familiar. The nearest town is the determining factor, and so Château du Veullin, commonly referred to as just Veullin, has been advanced through the alphabet to Apremont. In some cases the customary name also appears in the strict alphabetical list, but without a consecutive number, and the reader is referred to the new or corrected name. Yet there are many omissions, and it can occasionally be a quite laborious task to track down the new name given to an old hoard. Undoubtedly this will give rise to some confusion in the future, which will be aggravated by a subtle difference between French and British custom: to use an English hoard as an example, whereas we may sometimes add a town name to the find spot, such as Cuerdale (near Preston), the French put the town name first as Preston-Cuerdale. Within each main entry, the heading concludes with the date of discovery, and is followed by brief bibliographical details of the original publication(s). Duplessy's own (often revised) assessment of the date (or limits) of deposit, a tabulation of the coins found, and finally, where appropriate, a note of where any of the coins may have been preserved.

In many cases, of course, the original records give but little detail, and there would be small advantage in searching out the sometimes very obscure periodicals in which they appeared. Moreover, Duplessy has already corrected those of the original coin attributions which are obvious from subsequent researches: 'obvious' that is, to someone with as deep a knowledge of French coins as himself. It might have been useful, therefore, to have signalled those hoards where consultation of the original report would disclose detail additional to the summaries given here; for example, the Anglo-Saxon pennies in the Fécamp hoard were all illustrated and discussed by Mme Dumas in her model publication. Perhaps, though, it was deliberate policy not to do so, for original records should always be consulted: the prime function of this present work is to direct researchers to where material is available. On this point, it could have been helpful to give further references to important second-

dary discussions of hoard contents. Occasionally this is done, for example, Metcalf's re-evaluation of the find at Breuvery-sur-Coole, but not in other cases, such as Yvon's examination of Vallon-sur-Gée which analysed in detail the English and Scottish element ('Esterlins à la croix', no.30). Even the reports in the first volume of Gariel are included here only when they give some information not available elsewhere, although in the last hundred years it has been the only source quoted by many scholars for certain hoards. On the other hand, to include every reference, however slight, would have made this book quite unwieldy, and we must, half-regretfully, accept that Duplessy has rigorously omitted all but the essentials, and be grateful for the core from which detailed studies can progress.

The coin-lists for the latter part of the period covered are as clear as one can expect for that extremely complicated mixture of mostly immobilised types. For the eighth and ninth centuries, however, they have what seems from here a distinctly old-fashioned appearance. All the coins of each ruler are listed together by mint. While this is a great improvement on Prou, who listed by mint and then ruler, it means that there is no clear picture of the composition by issue, which is so important for currency and dating purposes. The long list of coins in, for example, Apremont-Veullin (no. 17) starts with one coin of Charlemagne followed by fifty-five entries for coins of Louis the Pious; each of the latter has to be checked to its Gariel reference before it can be established that only one of them was of a type different from all the rest (from this hoard report one can take warning that mints are not necessarily listed in straight alphabetical order, nor, by comparison with Belvézet, in a consistent order). For the late ninth century and the beginning of the tenth, the problems of the partial immobilisation of types have not been dealt with consistently. Mostly, Duplessy has included all the GDR type with a Karolus monogram as being of '*Charles le Chauve et immobilisations*', but occasionally lists some only of this type under Charles the Simple. So that in the Rennes hoard, for example, what Lafaurie considered to be the latest coins present are listed under Charles the Bald, while earlier specimens of the same GDR type are listed under Charles the Simple interspersed in one listing with the 'straight line' coins undoubtedly of that later king; in both sections of the listing one has to check every entry with Gariel to see what type of coin it was. This is of even more relevance in those few hoards where Duplessy was unable to give precise Gariel references to most of the coins: such as Compiègne? (no. 104), where reference to Gariel I (pp. 85–86) enables them at least to be sorted into issue types. No identifying coin-references at all are given for Savigné-sous-le-Lude, although a selection from the hoard is in the Cabinet des Médailles; and here it could be noted that the word *inédit* cannot be translated as 'unpublished' in the sense that British scholars use it (see also Dommartin-Létrée).

The sources quoted include some dated 1984, and a few other hoards are included which are not yet formally published. Which makes it all the more surprising that the important finds made at Ablaincourt and Féchain are omitted (the first of these is briefly mentioned in the introduction, p. 11). Presumably Duplessy left them out in deference to colleagues who have reserved to themselves full publication, but many references have already been made in print to both; and their omission is incompatible with Lafaurie's criticisms of Morrison and Grunthal that (a) they did not consult the *fichier* of the *Cabinet de France*, and (b) they did not (thereby) realise that their 'ANS hoard' was a parcel from Ablaincourt (J. Lafaurie, review of K.F. Morrison and H. Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage* (1967), in *RN* 6th ser. 9 (1967), 291–95). Moreover, it should be placed on record that in 1985 Lafaurie refused to give information to a British student on a specific question about Ablaincourt, despite his frequent (but still unsubstantiated) claims that Morrison and Grunthal included coins which were not present. This is not the place to piece together just what has already been published on the content of these two hoards, but brief details may be of use to some readers.

Ablaincourt (cant. Chaulnes, arr. Péronne, dép. Somme) Jan. 1957.

Deposited, late 9th century.

A. A parcel of 902 coins (872 deniers, 30 oboles). Lafaurie in particular has made many references to this parcel, but for the present they must be treated with reserve as applicable to the whole find.

B. Some coins sold by Florange et Cie, Paris, from their Fixed Price Lists 9 (1958) and 10 (1959): see H. Frère, *Le denier carolingien spécialement en Belgique* (1977), nos 19, 24, 25, 29, 37, 47 and 54. Probably from parcel 'A'.

C. Parcel of 368 coins acquired c. 1960 by the American Numismatic Society. Contents summarised by Morrison and Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage*, pp. 369–70 as 'ANS Find'. According to Lafaurie (in his review), this was part of the Ablaincourt hoard, and left France clandestinely: M. van Rey thus presumed – properly in the circumstances – that these coins were additional to the 902 in parcel 'A' ('Die Münzprägung Karls des Kahlen und die westfränkische Königslandschaft', in *Die Stadt in der europäischen Geschichte. Festschrift Edith Ennen*, edited by W. Besch *et al* (1972), 153–84).

Féchain (cant. Arleux, arr. Douai, dép. Nord) 14 May 1967.

Deposited late 9th century.

441 coins and some silver jewellery. The whole find acquired by the museum of Douai.

F. Tourneur, T. le Bertre, and M. Dhénin, 'Etude métallurgique d'un trésor carolingien', *BSPN* 31 (1976), 7–8. Several references to coins from this hoard have been made by Lafaurie.

The Introduction to this volume does not discuss

the hoards as such. Instead, Duplessy has given an exemplary survey of the development of French coinage over nearly five centuries. Concise, but eminently readable, it brings a clear light to bear on the many problems remaining in the Carolingian, early Capetian, and 'feudal' issues, spotlighting some pathways through the still murky thickets of detail. Perhaps one controversial point should be mentioned here, for British numismatists would generally agree with Grierson that Lafaurie's discovery of a couple of die-links between near-neighbouring mints in the GDR issues of Charles the Bald does not in itself imply that they were merely distribution towns for coins bearing their names but actually struck in regional centres. Occasional movement of dies between English mints is well attested from the tenth and eleventh centuries. Rejection of Lafaurie's thesis, supported here by Duplessy, does not mean, however, that we have to accept Grierson's theories on the reason for the great proliferation in the number of French mints soon after the Edict of Pitres seemingly limited the number to ten.

Publication of Duplessy's inventory has been awaited with eagerness for many years, and this first instalment will certainly stimulate and inspire a great deal of research by scholars who now have to hand an essential tool. Hopefully, the succeeding instalments will appear at an early date, to assuage the impatience and envy of the later medievalists and the students of modern coinages and currency. Duplessy's equally valuable *fichier* of French coins included in 'foreign' hoards could not easily be published under the present title of the series. National boundaries not only fluctuated from time to time, but circulation areas of some coin types did not necessarily take account of the normal political divisions. One hopes, therefore, that the Bibliothèque Nationale will also undertake publication of the complementary series in the very near future.

J. D. BRAND

Der Münzfund von Kose aus dem zweiten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts. By IVAR LEIMUS. Estonian Academy of Sciences, Tallinn, 1986. Estonian and Russian summaries. 94 pp. and 16 pls.

THE Kose hoard from northern Estonia discovered in 1982 belongs to a small group of late Viking/Slav hoards from the eastern Baltic. The latest coins in the hoard are German ones of Henry V (1111–25) and of Archbishop Adalbert I of Mainz (1111–37), and English ones of Henry I's type xiii, conventionally dated c. 1128–31, though Continental scholars should be aware of uncertainties in the chronology and the possibility that this issue belongs to the earlier 1120s. Among the 1,723 coins there are 135 Anglo-Saxon, 33 Anglo-Norman, and one Hiberno-Norse. The Anglo-Saxon coins run from Æthelred II's First Hand type to Edward the Confessor's Sovereign/Eagles type (i.e. from c. 979 to c. 1059), and include a specimen of the

exceedingly rare Agnus Dei issue by the Salisbury moneyer Goldus. There are no English coins from the period c. 1060–c. 1080 in the hoard, for the Norman coins commence with William I's type vii. Leimus points out that coins of the 1060s and '70s are similarly absent from the two other twelfth-century Estonian hoards (Kohtla-Kava, *tpq* 1110, and Vaida, *tpq* 1135) and from the hoard from Burge, Gotland (*tpq* 1140). Why English coin exports to the Baltic should have picked up again in the 1080s is unclear – the need to pay mercenaries connected with Cnut the Saint's abortive invasion in 1085 could not explain its continuation through to the second quarter of the twelfth century. It is the later coins in the hoard generally that add most to our knowledge, for these are as scarce in the German and central European coinages as they are in the Anglo-Norman series. They apparently include a number of mints and moneyers hitherto unknown for the issue, e.g. Nottingham in Henry I's type ii and Salisbury in type x. Particularly interesting are two imitations of William II's type ii – one certainly Continental and ornamented with annulets in the field and legends.

Ivar Leimus deserves our sincere gratitude for publishing so promptly and proficiently yet another major hoard of international importance from Estonia (he was the author of the Maidla report in 1979). All the English coins and their imitations will be included in the *Sylogae* of Estonian collections currently in preparation. And what a splendid volume that will be!

M. A. S. BLACKBURN

The Royal Mint: an illustrated history. By G. P. DYER. Royal Mint, 1986. 56 pp. £2.95

In a splendid piece of succinct writing, copiously and beautifully illustrated, the Librarian and Curator of the Royal Mint has provided an account of its history and activity that will suffice for all but the real specialist. Coining in London, as distinct from the creation of a Royal Mint, goes back to the reign of Carausius (286–93), but the bringing together of all the moneyers within the Tower of London cannot be shown to antedate Edward I. Little is said about the Middle Ages, for there is in the last resort little to say about the actual Mint beyond its organisation. The story really takes off with the Tudors under whom the Mint buildings spread to occupy, most inconveniently, most of the space between the inner and outer circuits. Dyer gives interesting notes on the careers of many of the Mint officers, though down to Isaac Newton, that 'old dogg', they do not emerge as personalities. It is good to have such lucid explanations of the various stages of mechanisation of the Mint, and the invariable bitter in-fighting that accompanied their introduction. And if the moneyers were really so nonchalant as to read the newspaper while feeding the presses, no wonder if they lost fingers! The processes by which present-day administration

has come into being, and the life and work of today's Mint are handled in considerable detail; the contrast between present spaciousness and cleanliness and the cramped and dirty shops that I remember on Tower Hill emerges strikingly from the well-selected photographs. The Mint has a long way to go before it achieves quietness, but working conditions are vastly improved.

This book needed no special occasion to justify its launch, and association with a reputed eleven-hundredth anniversary is not only strained, but almost certainly wrong; Miss Archibald has shown that everything points to the London monogram penny having been struck several years earlier than 886. It is, therefore, doubly unfortunate to have linked the present royal effigy with the grotesque parody of that of Alfred on the anniversary medal. Dyer might also have told us that Deorman of the text and Dereman of the caption (p. 8) were the same person, distinguished only by the vagaries of twelfth-century orthography.

All in all, however, this little book succeeds admirably, the plans of the mint site at various dates giving an added zest to exploration of the Tower. Mr Dyer frequently emphasises the rising output that has been a constant feature of the Mint's work; it would have been interesting to see this set out graphically.

J. P. C. KENT

Victorian Souvenir Medals. By DANIEL FEARON. Shire Album 182, Shire Publications, Aylesbury, 1986. 32pp.

THIS small book, the latest in a wide-ranging series aimed at the enthusiastic amateur, is the third *Shire Album* to cover a subject of numismatic interest. Previous volumes include Denis Cooper's *Coins and Minting* and Jim Newmark's *Trade Tokens of the Industrial Revolution*.

Mr Fearon's subject is the large body of mass-produced nineteenth-century white metal medals, to which he attracts the interest of the layman by focussing attention on the social and political events that they illustrate so amply. He divides the medals into sections: royal events, eminent personalities, buildings and feats of engineering, and important social trends such as the temperance movement. That a good number would fit well into more than one category makes this an uneasy task, but the author's success in structuring such diverse material is demonstrated by the clear overall picture that emerges. It is to be regretted that exigencies of space have necessitated that the subject be strictly limited to Victorian medals, for this has led to the exclusion of the start of the story of the white metal medal, and with it, as Mr Fearon confesses, early railway medals, and also any examples of the numerous medals celebrating the passing of the first Parliamentary Reform Bill.

However, much is squeezed in, with fascinating insights into methods of advertisement and means of

distribution, and some ninety medals are illustrated. The text contains the occasional curious assertion (for example the suggestion that the large number of military awards of the period may have been responsible for the paucity of commemorative medals of international conflicts), but Mr Fearon's suitability for the task is demonstrated by his knowledge of the subject, and his enthusiasm is infectious.

Many of the medals are already available to the scholar in numismatic publications, principally Jeremy Taylor's *The Architectural Medal* and the second volume of Laurence Brown's *British Historical Medals*, but a perusal of this book makes one regret the absence of a study of these medals and their producers along the lines of R. N. P. Hawkins' 'Dictionary of Birmingham Makers of Medallic Tickets, Checks and Counters' (*SCMB* 1960), which would provide attributions to unsigned examples, and go further into questions of commissions and distribution.

In the meantime, Mr Fearon's book should succeed in bringing this fertile area to the attention of the collector of limited means, and thus play its part in encouraging the study of medals amongst a wider public.

PHILIP ATTWOOD

The Arms of the Royal Mint. By C. E. CHALLIS and G. P. DYER. H.M.S.O., 1986. £2.95.

THIS book is the record of the Mint's search for gentility at two periods in its history; of its failure to achieve it the first time, when it was actually on the brink of its greatest years; and of its final attainment of the formal accolade when neither gentility nor perhaps the Mint itself any longer counted for as much as they once did.

When the prince of Wales went to Llantrisant in 1982 to strike the first of the new nickel-alloy one-pound coins, a new flag was unfurled above the Mint building. The men of Gwent who saw it may well have wondered, if they noticed it at all, what kind of flag this was. For the Royal Mint's standard is a classic example of Tudor heraldry, and Tudor flags are rarely seen these days except on the gates of Oxford and Cambridge colleges.

Tudor heraldry has the reputation of being overloaded. The Mint's arms comprise no less than twelve charges, seven of them different ones, arranged on a cross pattern with a chief above. To the numismatist the general impression, appropriately enough, is of a shield full of privy marks, which is just about what it is.

How this grant came to be made and when is told to us with admirable brevity and excellent illustrations in this little book. It appears that William Hervey, Clarenceux King of Arms, found among the Mint Officers of the first years of Queen Elizabeth I a rich seam of would-be gentlemen. They were professional

men who after a lean decade had just had a couple of good years. In 1561 and 1562 John Bull, the comptroller, William Humfrey, the assay master, and John Monnes, the provost of the moneys, all received and no doubt paid their due fees for grants of arms from Hervey. The two senior officers did not need them: Sir Edmund Pekham, the high treasurer, was a knight from Buckinghamshire, and Thomas Stanley, the under-treasurer, was a Stanley, which some might say, was even grander.

Was Hervey sure that he had another client ready-made with fee in hand when, having run through the eligible Mint officers individually, he devised a coat of arms for them as a corporation? For that was his next step. To concoct the arms he threw in a charge from each of the coats he had just created, added the stag's head of the Stanleys and the cross fitchée of the Pekhams, slipped in a besant (the heraldic symbol for money which was also the common factor in the arms which he had granted to the three junior officers) and topped it all with a gold leopard to signify either the sterling standard to which the coinage had recently been restored, or perhaps the granting of the Mint's original privileges by, as was then believed, King Edward II.

The evidence for this grant of arms lies in a docquet included in the MS of all Hervey's grants as Clarenceux. It was first published by Ruding and rediscovered by Mr Rodney Dennis, then Somerset Herald, in 1978.

There must in fact be some doubt as to whether the original grant was ever made. The existence of the docquet is *prima facie* evidence that it was; but there is nothing to show that it was signed or sealed and the date with which it is endorsed, 26 November 1559, is certainly incorrect. The document as it stands, with all its alterations, has all the appearance of a draft. It also contains a curious anomaly: whereas the other charges, cross fitchée, fleur de lys and so on, are as in the individual coats of arms, the stag's heads are shown erased and not caboshed as they are in the Stanley arms. This improves the symmetry of the design, but one wonders whether this was a mistake which Stanley would have asked to be rectified if the grant had gone through.

Anyway it has gone through now. The symbols devised by William Hervey for John Bull, William Humfrey and John Monnes, and which their immediate successors seem to have been reluctant to perpetuate, now flutter on the bonnet of the deputy master's Daimler as he goes about his official business. It is a strange paradox that it is by 'the boast of heraldry' that the commemoration of these 'rude forefathers' of the Mint officers' profession has been achieved. There is indeed an elegiac charm to the idea that the institution which can count Isaac Newton among its officers has chosen to immortalise Sir Edmund Pekham and his company. Yet there is another paradox too: that the grant of arms which seems to celebrate the return of the coinage to sterling standard, should at last be confirmed in the year in

which the pound sterling was first struck as a base metal coin.

JOHN PORTEOUS

Money. From Cowrie Shells to Credit Cards. Edited by JOE CRIBB. British Museum Publications, 1986. 192 pp, copiously illustrated. £9.95.

In the preface to this book Dr Kent points out that a work presenting a comprehensive and modern survey of money as a whole is lacking. This book sets out to accomplish this object in all its aspects, numismatic, historic and economic. Each section contains an introduction and there are nearly 800 illustrations, mostly of fine quality. These include coins, primitive money, banknotes, documents and minting equipment. It is difficult to contribute so much useful information in so small a space, but in the reviewers opinion, the authors have been successful.

While this is a book for the general reader, there is much that the specialist can learn from it. For instance, it is stated in standard numismatic books that the coins of Stephen and those of the Tealby coinage of Henry II are better struck in Northern than in Southern mints. Here the reason is given. The sections on the manufacture of coins from the earliest times are of particular importance. It is shown that some coins formerly regarded as hammered are really machine struck. The famous autobiography of the shilling in the 'Tatler' is reproduced in full. It would

have been helpful if the phrase 'some few that were punched through the belly' had been explained. This refers to the officially pierced coins of the great recoinage of 1695-7, and these coins are not dealt with in the standard works, such as Brooke, Craig, and Oman.

A few points are controversial. On p. 68 it is stated that, in the Short Cross coinage the title Henricus was continued through the reigns of Richard I and John because of the deservedly high reputation of the Short Cross coinage. However, other 'frozen titles' were in use in Northern Europe at the same time. Regarding the statement on p. 65 that with the exception of a late issue of Charlemagne, realistic portraiture was not used until the Renaissance, surely the portrait coins of Offa should have been mentioned. There are a few errors. Coin no. 311, described as a silver half-crown of Charles I, issued by Parliament, in the king's name is a gold double crown. Illustrations 398 and 399 have been transposed. It is stated on p. 129 that the number of the recipients of the Royal Maundy is equal to the number of the years of the monarch's life. In fact, it is double. On p. 179 two 1957 shillings are illustrated, it being stated that one is silver, and the other cupro-nickel. The last 50% silver coins were issued in 1946.

In spite of minor faults, the editor and the authors are to be congratulated on a well written, beautifully illustrated, and most useful book.

W. SLAYTER