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# NEWSLETTER

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*Joint Honorary Editors of Newsletter*
DR M. S. PHILLIPS, M.A. PH.D.
Miss S. TYLER-SMITH. A.L.A.

C O N T E N T S

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS - delivered to the Club by Peter A. Clayton at the A.G.M. on March 2nd 1989.

John Earle, in his "Microcosmographie" of 1628, gives a pen-portrait of an Antiquary. He comments that "His estate consists much in shekels, and Roman Coynes, and he hath more Pictures of Caesar than James or Elizabeth . Printed bookes he contemnes, as a novelty of this latter age; but a manu-script hee pores on everlastingly, especially if the cover be all Moth-eaten, and the dust make a Parenthesis betweene every Syllable." There is a lot to be learned from that. Most of us love our coins dearly, and can easily spend a sum far in excess of what we ought in order to obtain a piece we believe we really must have. The coin market has now generally been rather in the doldrums in most series for a number of years. In fact it is through the publications that many of us now pursue our hobby with renewed vigour, although books are now no longer as cheap as they used to be. I can speak here with personal feeling as an author, publisher and purchaser of books - the royalties are never commensurate with the work put into a book; the unit cost of the book is always too high to make the retail price reasonable, and the cover price is always way up (even with trade discount!). How, I wonder at times, do others fare in these situations? There is always the joy of pursuing a piece, its purchase and subsequent possession, but perhaps, in view of the higher prices in most series, it is salutary to remember that some of the best scholars in the numismatic field, such as Professor Michael Grant, only ever collected casts of coins.

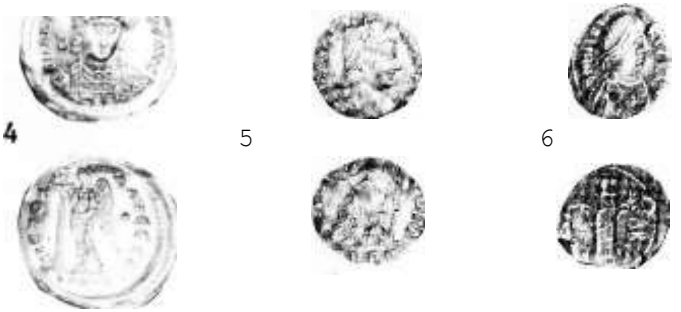
The question of Earle's Antiquary preferring his books motheaten and dusty brings us to our own Club library, which I hasten to add is neither. It is in fine fettle, albeit in somewhat cramped quarters in metal cabinets close by us as we meet here in the Institute's Common Room. As you know, *we* have a Club library to be proud of. Our Librarian, Philip Rueff, has put in many long hours of work compiling an up-to-date library list and our Treasurer, Philip Mernick, has been greatly assisting him by inputting the results into a computer so that we shall have a good and accurate list available for members' use. This will serve two purposes we hope - to let members know what we have and therefore encourage them to borrow books, and, in so doing, it will relieve the congestion in the cupboards! Whilst the books are not "moth-eaten', some are showing signs of their age and use. We are fortunate that our Joint Editors of the Newsletter, Marcus Phillips and Susan Tyler-Smith, are both active bookbinders and have begun a programme of examination and treatment of those volumes that appear in need of first aid. There can be no doubt that our library is probably the best available in any county or "local" numismatic society, as against the joint library of the Royal and British Numismatic Societies.

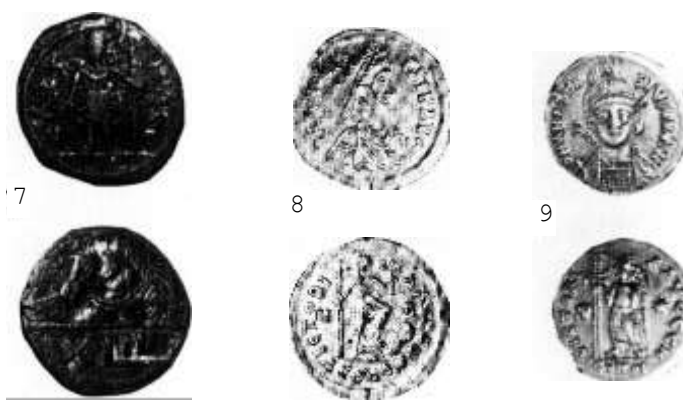
In my address last year I noted that we had achieved our 40th Anniversary and that we looked forward to hosting the 1989 BANS Congress. That latter event is now looming large upon us at the end of this month. Preparations have been in hand for a long while. It takes time to think through programmes, sort out accommodation and the many other aspects beneath the surface that will make everything go smoothly over the weekend. Arranging such an event, and let us be quite sure that being in London we do have an element of "all eyes on us", brings its own special problems. The camaraderie that is so much an element of our Club has been very evident in the way that the whole of your Committee has weighed in with suggestions and back-up. It all betokens well for a highly successful Congress in Connaught Hall, here in the University of London.

Our programme of talks during the year has been as varied as ever. We began in April with Tim Millett of Baldwin's giving us a fascinating view of tokens and electoral highjinks in south London; Mike Bonser shewed us what information could be gathered together from recent finds of Anglo-Saxon coins, in July; and we had the pleasure of welcoming once again our American friend, Dr. Richard Doty, in September to address us on America's copper coinage. Chris Denton spoke to us on Irish coins in October, Nick Rhodes on silver coins in the Himalayas in November, and January saw Colin Narbeth presenting a paper on and displaying a large selection of, Chinese coins - altogether an extraordinarily cosmopolitan span of programmes. We returned, almost, to the ancient world last month, February, with Mark Blackburn from Cambridge who demonstrated the coinage of Rome's heirs, and the extent to which much of it lent on Roman prototypes for its designs, albeit often somewhat removed from its ancestors.

With a Club having as wide interests as we have, **it is** no light task in securing speakers and our Secretary, Peter Kincaid, has been remarkably successful on our behalf. The Club's administration has now grown so much that Peter suggested to the Committee that the burden of Secretary (and we have an Assistant Secretary as well) might be lightened by introducing that of Programme Secretary. This latter task he has undertaken to do. This meant that we needed to find new, and willing, blood to take over the other duties of Secretary. This is not something to be undertaken lightly and we are very pleased that Nash Patel has agreed to become Secretary in Peter Kincaid's place. Nash has a great deal of experience behind him in such a role and is very much a leading figure in other areas of numismatics. We are delighted that he has consented to join what has now become , as it were, a Triumvirate secretarial post. I need hardly add that, as President, the constant support and willingness of your Committee is a great boon.

There is one sad loss to note from the world of numismatics during the year, and that was the death of Dr. Philip Whitting GM, on 14th December. He had been in ill health for some time


Rome's Heirs: the coinages of the Barbarian Kingdoms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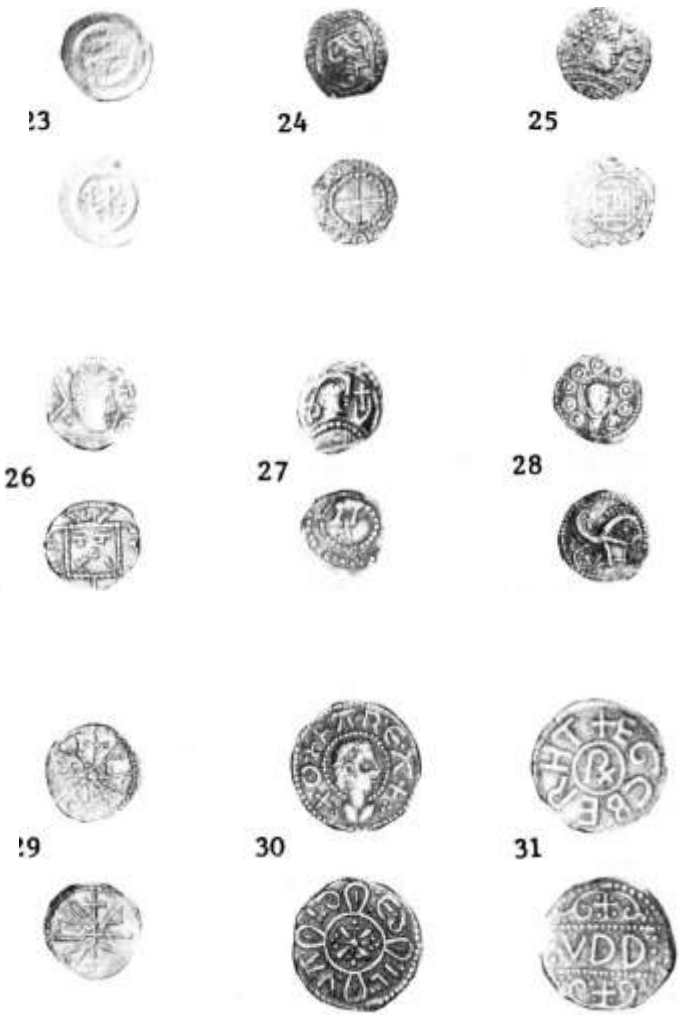


Rome's Heirs: the coinages of the Barbarian Kingdoms

and had ceased to do any numismatic work on his own special series, the Byzantine. His name and coin collection, together with his library, fortunately lives on in the University of Birmingham with whose Centre of Byzantine Studies he was closely associated for many years. His major book Byzantine Coins, published in 1973, gave an insight to the series which has not been bettered. It is pleasant to be able to record that a revised second edition of that book is now in hand under the direction of Dr. John Kent.

One last thing - and that is, the Congress. We are the largest numismatic society outside the two senior societies and we are the hosts for the 1989 Congress. I hope that we shall be able to present a very strong showing of our own members at the event. The majority will be "day boys" since we mostly live within easy reach of the venue and do not need to stay overnight in the Hall. The Congress Dinner is a good one and it is to be followed by the Howard Linecar Memorial Lecture to be given by our own former distinguished President, Alex Stone. Alex was especially asked if he would give this lecture because, of all the members of the Club, he was a very old friend of Howard and co-author with him of English Proof and Pattern Crown-size Pieces 1658-1960, in 1968. Not least, he is able to present in his own inimitable way a paper on commemorative medals, a subject dear to Howard Linecar. I look forward to seeing virtually every member of the Club present at the Congress Dinner on Saturday 1st April - there will certainly be many former members who have moved away and who are making the special effort to be present. I shall be especially pleased to welcome amongst our guests Mrs Rhoda Linecar. There is no doubt that it will be a splendid numismatic and convivial evening and one which will stand alongside our 40th Anniversary Dinner in our memories.

CLUB NEWS

| Deaths | Resignations | New Members A. |
|---|---|---|
| J. Minchin | J. ross | E.R. Cox |
| C. Brunel | R.S. Sancroft-Baker | N. Wetton J.F. Yarwood |

The current membership of the Club is 97.

QUOTES...compiled by the Editors

"Liard: the French use this term to denote foodstuffs cut into thin, flat, round slices which look like old coins. The term applies especially to potato crisps." Larousse Gastronomique

"A cross between Hi-Di-Hi and the Nuremberg Rallies." One participant's description of COINEX 1989.

ROME'S HEIRS: THE COINAGES OF THE BARBARIAN KINGDOMS, 5TH-8TH CENTURIES - a paper delivered to the Club on 7 February 1989 by Mark Blackburn

The coinage of the Roman world in the 5th century consisted of a multi-denominational system in gold, silver, and bronze. By the eighth century the coinage of western Europe was entirely of silver essentially in one denomination, the thin broad Carolingian penny. The change from a classical to a medieval coinage was radical, but the way in which it came about was not sudden or dramatic. It is a story of gradual change and evolution. Only in England and the northern fringes of Gaul did the barbarian conquests bring about a complete cessation in the use of money. Elsewhere Germanic peoples moved in and adopted in varying degrees the monetary system that they found - here they can be seen as Rome's heirs in an economic as well as a cultural sense as Pirenne pointed out more than 50 years ago.

The history of the barbarian coinages in their first three or four centuries is really much too broad a subject for one lecture. Trying to trace the monetary developments in five or more separate kingdoms is like juggling with skittles; some of the details are bound to be dropped. But what I aim to do this evening is to highlight significant developments in the coinage, seeing when and how they occurred in the different regions. First, I will start with a very brief history of the Germanic invasions for those not familiar with it.

Brief history of the invasions

The late 4th and 5th centuries saw the movement and resettlement of the peoples of central and eastern Europe on a scale that is unprecedented in historical times. As a result of an invasion in the 370s by the Huns from Central Asia, Valens looked for support from Germanic mercenaries and came to an arrangement permitting the Visigoths to cross the Danube and settle in the north Balkans. The Visigoths took advantage of the situation, defeating and killing Valens, pressing across the Balkans, and invading Italy. In 407 the Vandals, in company with the Alans and the Suevi, crossed the frozen Rhine and wrought havoc plundering in Gaul. In 409 they moved into Spain. In 410 the Visigoths sacked Rome, before crossing the Alps in 412 to settle
in southern Gaul. For almost a century the Visigothic kingdom was centered on Toulouse, until 507 when the Franks under the leadership of Clovis drove them across the Pyrenees into Spain. The Franks were a west Germanic people who in the 5th century were settled in northern Gaul and served the Empire as
mercenaries with reasonable fidelity. Towards the end of the century the various groups of Salian and Ripuarian Franks were united by Clovis (481-511), who by the end of his reign had established a vast kingdom stretching from central Germany to western France and from the Low Countries to the Pyrenees but falling short of the Mediterranean.

The Vandals had moved on from Spain to north Africa in 429 where they set up a kingdom centered on Carthage which lasted for a century, ending with the Byzantine conquest of 533. The Suevi were based in north Portugal, but for a time extended far into modern Spain before being pressed back by the Visigoths. Britain had of course been abandoned in the first decade of the 5th century when resources were needed elsewhere in the Empire, and a variety of Germanic settlers - traditionally Angles, Saxons, and Jutes - subsequently arrived to take control.

Meanwhile in Italy, Rome had again been sacked in 455, and in 476 Odovacar, a high-ranking officer of Germanic descent, deposed the last western emperor Romulus Augustus and was declared `king' by the troops in Italy. Odovacar professed to govern on behalf of the eastern emperor Zeno, but in 488 Zeno, in order to rid himself of the Ostrogoths, offered them Italy to rule in place of Odovacar. By 493 the Ostrogoths were in control of the whole of the peninsula. The Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy lasted for just over 60 years, until after two decades of warfare Justinian succeeded in recapturing it in 552. This is not quite the end of the story, for within a short time Lombards from central Europe moved south to occupy parts of Italy - initially Lombardy in the north and Spoleto and Benevento further south, extending into Tuscany in the 7th century.

Continuity and change

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Most of these peoples at some stage during the 5th century were at least notionally in the employ of the emperor, which instilled in them a degree of respect for imperial authority albeit a precarious one. They would have obtained substantial amounts of coin, mainly gold, as mercenaries, in tribute, and as plunder. This meant that they were generally quite used to dealing with money, even if they had not struck coins of their own to any significant extent before moving into the Empire. This experience was no doubt a factor in encouraging the continuity of minting that we find in most of the newly established Germanic kingdoms.

The monetary setting for these events was that of an imperial coinage in principle in three metals but with that in silver and bronze becoming so scarce during the 5th century that its use in local trade must have become severely limited. The gold, in three denominations - the solidus, its half the semissis, and its third the tremissis - was struck in reasonable quantity. The silver 'siliqua' and 'half-siliqua' grew lighter and thinner in the West, especially in Gaul, while the number of denominations in bronze had been reduced from four to just one, the nummus, by the mid 5th century.

In the early 5th century there were seven mints in western Europe, three in Gaul (Trier, Lyon, and Arles) and four in Italy (Milan, Aquileia, Ravenna, and Rome), while Spain had supported

a mint a Barcelona only briefly under the usurper Maximus (40911) .

As I have already indicated, the barbarians largely adopted the monetary systems that they found, but in time they extended and developed them according to their own needs. They introduced new weight systems, for that of the Roman/Mediterranean world was measured in carats based on the seed of the carob tree which did not grow in northern Europe. In place of this the Germans used one based on the wheat grain (the later medieval `Paris' grain) or an alternative based on the weight of a barleycorn (the `Troy' grain). They also introduced a number of new vernacular names for denominations (e.g. shilling, penny), although Roman ones continued to be applied, often misleadingly, by scribes writing in Latin.

Italy and North Africa, 5th and 6th centuries

The most sophisticated coinages developed in those areas where the Roman administration had survived best, in Italy and north Africa. Odovacar and after him the Ostrogothic kings of Italy purported to rule as representatives of the emperor. Odovacar (476-93) struck coins in gold, silver, and copper in the name of Zeno (pl. 1.1), but towards the end of his reign when relations with Constantinople had become strained he issued silver `half-siliquae° and copper nummi with his own name or monogram (pl.
1.2). The Ostrogoths also issued an array of different denominations, gold solidi and tremisses at first in the name of the current reigning emperor (pl. 1.4); silver `siliquae' and their halves and quarters often combining the emperor's name on the obverse with the king's name or monogram on the reverse; and
an array of bronze denominations with the king's name. So committed were they to recognizing imperial authority, that when during the last decade or so of the kingdom they were at war with Justinian, they placed the name of an earlier emperor, Anastasius, on their coins.

One of the more remarkable features of this period was the revival of the ancient privilege of the Roman senate to strike a coinage in bronze. The first coin with the letters SC for two hundred years was struck under Odovacar (pl. 1.3), and there followed under the Ostrogoths a large municipal bronze coinage of folles and half-folles.

In the Vandal kingdom of north Africa no gold was struck, but there was a substantial silver coinage. At first this consisted of imitations of Ravenate `siliquae' of the emperor Honorius (pl. 1.5) struck from c.440 until c.490, i.e. long after his death, King Gunthamund (484-96) then instituted a purely regal coinage in silver and copper with the denominations boldly marked: 100 denarii, 50 denarii, 25 denarii, and small bronze nummi. [At the meeting Mr N. Fairhead exhibited an apparently new Vandalic denomination, a 12 denarius piece, the name of the ruler unfortunately being illegible.] Later under

Hilderic (523-30) the 50 denarius coin carries the figure of the city goddess Carthago with the inscription FELIX KARTG (pl. 1.6). There was also a substantial municipal bronze coinage of Carthage in a range of denominations from the large 42-nummus (pl. 1.7) down to little four-nummus pieces, each with the figure of Carthago but no reference to the Vandal kings. These were presumably modelled on the Roman senatorial issues, for they are closely parallel in date.

The revival of substantial silver and copper coinages in both Italy and North Africa is one of the most remarkable features of the Ostrogothic and Vandalic periods, and they were continued there under the Byzantines after the fall of the kingdoms in the mid 6th century at a time when other mints in the Empire were striking only gold and bronze. Parts of Italy remained under Byzantine control with a coinage system aligned to that of the eastern empire, but those that fell to the Lombards, as we shall see, developed western style currencies.

Spain and Gaul, pseudo-imperial coinages of the 5th and 6th centuries

The situation was rather different in Spain where there had been no established Roman mints and in Gaul where the shortage of imperial silver and bronze had been particularly acute. Here during the 5th and 6th centuries, the Suevi, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, and the Franks produced coinages predominantly in gold and imitating imperial designs and legends. In addition there were occasional small issues in silver or bronze. This pseudo-imperial phase lasted until the 580s, when distinctive 'national' coinages developed.

The gold coins of the Suevi in Spain (pl. 1.8) copied ones that were current at the time of their settlement in 409 and subsequently, i.e. solidi of Honorius and tremisses of Valentinian III. Some exceedingly rare 'siliquae' are the earliest coins to bear the name of a Germanic ruler, that of King Rechiar (438-55). The Burgundians, whom I have not mentioned previously, settled in the Upper Rhineland and eastern France including the cities of Geneva, Lyon, and Vienne. The kingdom was short-lived, being conquered by the Franks in 534, but they left as well as an important law code, the Lex Burgundionum, a coinage of solidi and tremisses in the name of the current emperor with added in the field monograms of the names of the last three kings (pl. 1.9). The Visigoths, in their kingdom first in southern Gaul from 417 to 507 and then in Spain, struck a large pseudo-imperial coinage of solidi (pl. 2.10) and tremisses. There was no silver, but a bronze coinage has very recently been recognized among finds from southern Spain although it has yet to be securely dated. The 5th-century coinage is difficult to distinguish from that of the Franks, but the tremisses of the 6th century are distinctive for the cross shown on the emperor's breast which grows larger as the design becomes more and more stylized (p1. 2.11). The

winged victory on the reverse holding a palm leaf and wreath eventually looks more like a locust or kangaroo playing quoits!

The early coinage of the Franks was also essentially pseudo-imperial and primarily in gold (pl. 2.14), although some of the lightest 5th-century 'siliquae' that are mainly found in Frankish graves have also been attributed to them. During the first half of the 6th century there were localised royal issues of small silver and copper coins in Burgundy and Provence, struck by the Burgundians and the Ostrogoths and continued briefly by the Franks after their conquest of those regions (pl. 2.15). They seem to have supplied a need for small change in the few surviving urban communities, for the Burgundian issues have been found in quantity in Lyon and the Provencal ones in Marseilles.

By now it will have become apparent that in all the new barbarian states whenever they issued gold coins these carried the name of an emperor, and preferably the one currently ruling. The Germanic kings, when they put their names on the coins, usually did so only on the silver and bronze issues. Gold clearly had a very different status to that of other metals, and its minting was regarded as an imperial prerogative. There was, however, one very notable exception. In 539 Theodobert I, a grandson of Clovis, invaded Italy annexing much of the north, and the success apparently went to his head, for he struck a series of solidi and tremisses with the inscription DN THEODEBERTVS REX or VICTOR. But this exception neatly proves the rule, for the Byzantine historian Procopius comments upon it as an illegal and presumptuous act. Interestingly, the idea of gold's special status persisted into the 7th and 6th centuries, for although the later Merovingian kings regularly placed their names on the gold coinage of Provence, with the introduction of the silver denier the king's name was replaced by that of the Patrician, i.e. the local administrator (pl. 2.18).

Establishment of 'national' coinages

The last quarter of the 6th century brought an important development in western coinages; the abandonment of imperial legends and designs and the establishment of distinctive 'national' series. In Visigothic Spain the change was abrupt and complete. In the early 580s two rival kings, Leovigild (568-86) and his usurping son Hermenegild (579-84), placed their names on tremisses of the standard Victory type (pl. 2.12). Within five years or so Hermenegild's revolt had been suppressed, a new type had been ordered copying the Byzantine cross-on-steps design, and this in turn had been replaced by a quite novel arrangement of a facing bust on each side (pl. 2.13). What was perhaps most innovative was that both the latter types carried not only Leovigild's name and title, but also the mint name. Immediately one sees that there existed a quite extensive network of mints. At least 19 places are named on Leovigild's coinage and more are found under his successors,

the number of mints in the whole Visigothic series amounting to 80 or so. Leovigild also adjusted the weight standard, first reducing it to that of the Franks, then raising it again to the Roman standard while reducing the fineness of the coins to c.75% gold. The coinage continued in essentially this form until the Arab invasion of Spain brought down the kingdom in 714.

The comparable transition in the Merovingian coinage was neither so rapid nor so complete. It started by the insertion of mint names or moneyers' names into pseudo-imperial inscriptions (pl. 2.16). Gradually in the 570s and 580s these took on a more recognisable form, and new types were introduced to replace the standard imperial ones (pl. 2.17). The organization of the Merovingian coinage remained fundamentally different from that of the Visigothic. Most coins bear the name of the mint, of which there are some 500 recorded, and the moneyer, of which there are more than 1,500. Some coins, but only a small proportion, carry the name of a king, while others have that of a religious foundation - church or monastery - or of the Palace. The coinage was not 'national' therefore in the sense of being uniformly issued under one authority, indeed in many respects it has the nature of a large number of private issues. Still, in design and legend it was now distinct from that of Byzantium.

Debasement and the introduction of the silver penny

As I have mentioned, the fineness of the Visigothic coins was reduced to about 75% in the 580s, and this was followed during the 7th century by further progressive reductions until by the end of the series in 714 the coins contained only some 35% gold. In the Frankish series the full 90/95% standard was maintained until the beginning of the 7th century, but the progressive reduction was then more rapid and severe. By about 670 Merovingian tremisses were only a quarter fine.

The same pattern of debasement can be observed in the new Anglo-Saxon coinage which, discounting some occasional earlier strikings, started in the 620s or 630s. It was initially produced on a very small scale to supplement the currency of Continental gold tremisses, mainly Merovingian, that had begun to circulate in south-eastern England. Two main series can be distinguished, one from London (pl. 3.24), often inscribed with the mint name, and the other probably from Kent which generally carries the name of a moneyer - first Witmen and later Pada (pl. 3.25) . As in France, by the 670s the fineness of the Anglo-Saxon shillings, as they were called, had fallen to 25% or less. In both regions, more or less simultaneously, the coinages changed from being ones of pale gold or electrum, to ones of fine silver of similar module and weight. That they were seen as distinct new coinages is shown by the fact that they were given new names. In Francia, in the Latin sources, they are referred to as denarii and some of the coins even bear the letter D (pl. 2.19) or the word DINAROS. In England they were called in the vernacular pening (plural penengas), our modern 'penny',

and these words first appear in documents of the 680s and 690s just after the introduction of the new coinages.

The Merovingian silver deniers (pl. 2.18-19) are in the same mode as the gold tremisses that they replaced, having a variety of legends: mints, moneyers, ecclesiastical authorities, and the Palace, but, save for a single early coin of King Childeric II struck in 673-5, there are no royal silver coins. On the northern fringes of the Frankish kingdoms, present day Belgium and Holland, there were large issues of distinctive uninscribed types - the so-called Frisian sceattas - that passed regularly in trade across the Channel to England (pl. 2.20).

The English pennies, also known quite erroneously as 'sceattas', initially appear to follow on in the same two series as in the gold, one from London and one from Kent (pl. 3.26). But expansion and diversification was rapid in the early 8th century. Their circulation spread to most of England, thickest in the south and east and thinning out to the west and north-west. New mints opened at York, in East Anglia, in Essex, at Southampton (pl. 3.28), and perhaps elsewhere. The design and engraving also became more innovative, drawing on the rich stock of Insular motifs (pl. 3.27-8), rather than copying Roman and Merovingian coin types. They compare favourably with contemporary ornamental metalwork and stone sculpture.

In Italy the Lombards had produced pseudo-imperial tremisses for a century longer than the Visigoths or the Franks, replacing them with regal and municipal coins only in c.690. The gold standard had been maintained reasonably well, rarely falling below 75% during the 7th century. In about 680 they introduced a silver coinage in Lombardy (pl. 3.23) in addition to the gold. The idea may have been inspired by the Franks, responding to a need for money for smaller transactions, but the Lombard deniers were quite different denominations from the Merovingian ones, being much thinner and lighter. In the 8th century the gold coins, albeit now debased, continued to be struck until the Carolingian conquest in the 770s, and even beyond for several years under Charlemagne.

The Carolingian broad penny

So we come to the final stage on our journey from classical to medieval coinage. In 751 the last of the inept Merovingian kings was unseated by his powerful Mayor of the Palace, Pepin the Short, so starting the new Carolingian era. Pepin, probably in 755, ordered a reform of the coinage, placing his name or initials on it, revising the weight standard, and introducing a broader thinner flan (pl. 2.21). It is generally thought that the change of flan was intended to make the inscriptions more legible, but it is more likely to have been simply a by-product of a change in mint technique, for the new coins appear to have been struck on flans that have been cut out of sheet metal rather than on individually cast blanks as the

Merovingian coins had been. This new technique was perhaps learnt from the Muslims in Spain who had started striking large silver dirhems during the second quarter of the 8th century or from the Lombards whose coins were also thin and spread. Under Pepin mint names were often but not always placed on the coins, as they were later under his son Charlemagne. Moneyers are never named, and the control of the 100 or more Carolingian mints appears to have been firmly in the king's hands. In 781 Charlemagne introduced the broad penny into Italy (pl. 2.22), and in the 790s he increased the weight and flan size so that it then firmly resembled the coin that was to remain the standard denomination through most of the middle ages. In England the comparable reform is less well charted. There had been a monetary crisis in the south in the mid 8th century, as the early pennies grew extremely base and minting was wound down. In East Anglia a King Beonna attempted a coinage reform (pl. 3.29), but it did not survive the Mercian conquest of the region. A broad penny similar in fabric to Pepin's was being struck at Canterbury, London, and in East Anglia by the 760s or 770s, but whether it was Offa of Mercia (pl. 3.30) who was responsible for its introduction, or two minor Kentish kings, Heahberht and Ecgberht (pl. 3.31), is still uncertain. The coinage that ensued is one of the most satisfying in the entire medieval series, as the 8th-century die-cutters took advantage of the larger module to develop their artistry.

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14. Merovingians, pseudo-imperial, solidus in name of Anastasius. [MEC 1:347]
15. Merovingians, Thierry I (511-34), nummus, Provence. [MEC 1:388]
16. Merovingians, pseudo-imperial, tremissis, with inscriptions blundering LAUSONNA CIVITAS for Lausanne. [MEC 1:366]
17. Merovingians, mid 6th cent., tremissis, Rodez, moneyer Vendemius. [MEC 1:443]
18. Merovinians, denier, Marseilles, Patrician Ansedert (late 7th cent.). [MEC 1:543]
19. Merovingians, denier, with D for denarius, Metz. [MEC 1:596]
20. Frisia or Lower Rhineland, denier ('sceat'), 'porcupine' type, c.700. [MEC 1:650]
21. Carolingians, Pepin the Short (751-68), denier, uncertain mint. (Blunt coll.]
22. Carolingians, Charlemagne (768-814), denier, Milan. [MEC 1:743]
23. Lombards, denier with monogram of Perctarit, late 7th or early 8th cent., Lombardy. [MEC 1:329]
24. Anglo-Saxons, shilling, mid 7th cent., London. [Blunt col.]
25. Anglo-Saxons, shilling, 3rd quarter of 7th cent., moneyer Pada, Kent. [MEC 1:668]
26. Anglo-Saxons, penny ('sceat'), late 7th cent., Kent. [MEC 1:678]
27. Anglo-Saxons, penny ('sceat'), c.715-30, Kent or Thames Valley. [MEC 1:698]
28. Anglo-Saxons, penny ('sceat'), c.715-50, Southampton. [MEC 1:692]
29. Anglo-Saxons, Beonna of East Anglia (749-57 or later), penny, East Anglia, moneyer Wilred. [MEC 1:1121c]
30. Anglo-Saxons, Offa of Mercia (757-96), penny, Canterbury or London, moneyer Ethilvald.
31. Anglo-Saxons, Egbert of Kent (c.765-80 or later), penny, Canterbury, moneyer Udd. [MEC 1:1122]

All the coins illustrated are in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

MEC = P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, Medieval European Coinage. 1 The Early Middle Ages (5th - 10th centuries) (Cambridge, 1986).

An interview with Professor T. V. Buttrey, Keeper of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum and President of the Royal Numismatic Society. Cambridge, 23 August 1989.

EDS: You are not very well known to our readership, so could you start by giving us some personal details ?

PROF. BUTTREY: I am an American citizen, residing in Cambridge. I'm primarily a classicist and taught at Yale and Michigan Universities for a total of over 30 years and then took early retirement. As an academic I essentially taught Greek literature, Homer and so on but I've published on numismatic subjects since the early 1950's and curated the Yale numismatic collection when I was there. For 20 years I was on the ANS council and publications committee.

My *own* numismatic publications have been articles rather than books. Most have been on Greek and Roman topics but I also write about North and South American subjects. The 5th edition of my Guide to Mexican coins has just appeared. I have also been responsible for the publication of the coin finds from eight different excavations. When I first started the coins would be sent to the US for study but now you have to go to the country in question because they won't let them out. I've just finished the manuscript on the excavations at Cyrene, and Morgantina is about to be published.

EDS: You said that in 1983!

PROF. BUTTREY: It is imminent.

EDS: What brings you to Cambridge?

PROF. BUTTREY: It is difficult to do serious numismatic work in America without easy access to New York. It's different in Britain. Cambridge is a nice quiet place with a tradition of numismatic scholarship, you have the university and faculty libraries as well as the museum, and it is very convenient for London and Oxford.

EDS: It's a hack question but how did you get interested in coins?

PROF. BUTTREY: Kiddie collector US pennies, the usual thing. I grew up in Texas and in those days you could buy Mexican silver coins by weight so I then went on to those. At first I didn't relate coins to my classical studies but when studying at Princeton was fortunate to work under Louis West who was President of the ANS. He had persuaded Archer M. Huntington to underwrite the summer graduate seminars at the ANS, and I attended the first seminar in 1952. These seminars have been held every year but one since then involving 10 to 12 research students in classics, art history, Islamic studies etc. They have nine weeks of lectures on numismatic subjects and at the end they have to present a paper on a numismatic topic to the other students and staff. Usually two or three of these per year are good enough to warrant publication in the ANS Museum Notes and other journals. (In my own case the seminar resulted in a dissertation on the coinage of Mark Antony.) As a result of the seminars, numismatics means a lot more to hundreds of university lecturers, and it's a strong and lively subject in the USA.

EDS: Turning now to the Fitzwilliam Museum, when did you become Keeper of the Coins and Medals?

PROF. BUTTREY: 1 October 1988. I'm appointed for 3 years.

EDS: We know the coin rooms well but most of our readers do not and, frankly they have a reputation for inaccessibility. Can you start by describing them?

PROF. BUTTREY: The Department is on the ground floor, in a right angle between two main galleries. The oldest room is the McClean Study Room, originally reached by a door in the Lower Marley Gallery. This still houses the ancient and oriental collections. Coins and books are totally integrated side by side and that is where you would normally consult them. Next door is my office, with the medal library. Then the work room and public enquiry desk. Next to that is the Cripps Gallery where *we* hold exhibitions and which is now also the main entrance to the department from the Glaisher Gallery. Beyond the Cripps Gallery is the Grierson Room which houses Professor Grierson's collection of medieval European coins, deposited here, and the Museum's own medieval European and Byzantine coins plus the relevant books.

EDS: What other staff are there?

PROF. BUTTREY: There's an Assistant Keeper, T.R. Volk and a Technical Assistant, Geoff Thoday. That's the permanent staff. Two temporary positions were introduced last autumn for a period of 3 years: Kevin Butcher, Assistant in research, and a departmental secretary, Mrs de Castro, who was formerly with the University Library (this is the first time the department has ever had a secretary). Two other people have their work in the department - Professor Philip Grierson who has been Honorary Keeper of the Coins for years and his assistant Mark Blackburn, who is Senior Research Associate in the Faculty of History.

EDS: Is Mr Thoday attached full time to the Coin and Medal Department?

PROF. BUTTREY: Yes, except in so far as he is involved in other museum duties, eg. as Museum Fire Officer. He knows the collections very well and answers most queries coming to the Enquiry Desk.

EDS: It's not museum policy to swop technicians around?

PROF. BUTTREY: No. Photography for example is done by a central department rather than having a photographer attached to each department.

EDS: What is museum policy on supplying casts?

PROF. BUTTREY: We're happy to provide small numbers for serious scholars, against a copy of the publication.

EDS: Do you have any statistics for the number of visitors to the exhibition and the department?

PROF. BUTTREY: We registered about 300 departmental visitors in 1988, and our most recent exhibition of medals of the French Revolution had 1000 visitors.

EDS: Can you say something about the scope of the collection?

PROF. BUTTREY: It's famous for its Greek, especially the Leake and McClean Collections; there is a wide range of Greek Imperial, and of course there's Prof. Grierson's collection of

continental hammered which is deposited here permanently. We are hoping to acquire Christopher Blunt's collection of Anglo-Saxon coins which will complement Grierson's beautifully. The Roman is representative of its series and though *I'm* no authority, Mr. Volk tells me that the Indian cabinet is of good quality with particular strengths such as the Botham Bequest (1963) of coins of Assam. There are 2000+ British historical medals and the Roberto Weiss Collection of Italian Renaissance medals, on long term loan. Modern is widely spread but not very exciting though *we* are exceptionally strong on British coins and tokens. The tendency is for the collection to concentrate on areas useful for teaching.

EDS: Does the Department have an acquisitions budget? PROF.

BUTTREY: No.

EDS: What nothing ???

PROF. BUTTREY: We have a book purchase fund of £1000+ per annum, but as far as coins are concerned we hope people will donate material; otherwise we can apply to the Director and the Syndicate for funds. Failing that we can try to raise the money outside. We are very grateful for anything we receive but as far as purchases are concerned it has to be something that fills an important gap in the collection or else is of particular interest to someone working here. I should say that Prof. Grierson has been very generous as a donor, and not just of coins and books that are of particular interest to him.

EDS: What is your policy on donated collections, do you integrate them or keep them separate?

PROF. BUTTREY: The Syndicate requires that the collections be integrated, subject to the donors' requirements, and that is the only practical way to handle a variegated collection. On the other hand the Leake Collection and the McClean Collection are still housed in their original cabinets and that is convenient since they are both published and you can immediately find a given coin.

EDS: What is Museum policy on the disposal of duplicates?

PROF. BUTTREY: In principle nobody gives anything to the museum, they offer it. The Director then advises the Syndicate as to whether the gift should be accepted. The Syndicate usually follow his advice and the Department enrolls the item(s) in the accession register. In the interval between acceptance and enrolment the Syndicate allows duplicates to be set aside and sold provided the donor agrees. Otherwise we do not now dispose of duplicates.

EDS: When is the Cripps Gallery open?

PROF. BUTTREY: Tuesday through Friday 10-12am, when an exhibition is in progress. As you know the Museum is so short of resources the ground floor galleries are only open in the morning and the upper floor only in the afternoon. In practice it's often possible to extend this but since the ground floor is not officially open in the afternoon *we* cannot open the Cripps Gallery.

EDS: Who is Mr. Cripps?

PROF. BUTTREY: Sir Humphrey Cripps has been a major benefactor of several colleges of the university; he was

responsible for the Cripps building at St. Johns College for example. His own factory manufactured the exhibition cases, which were designed by Mr. Volk, as was the gallery itself. Before *we* had our own exhibition space, coins were exhibited in the adjacent Lower Marley Gallery, along with material from Applied Arts, or in the Greek and Roman Rooms.

EDS: How often do you change your exhibits?

PROF. BUTTREY: In 1988 *we* only had one exhibition, but **in** 1989 *we* will have had three -"Coins of the Bible Lands", "Records of Revolution" and "This is My Image", on Greek and Roman portraiture. I expect that we can mount three in 1990 as well.

EDS: Are coins lent to other departments for exhibition?

PROF. BUTTREY: Occasionally, as appropriate. Some Museum exhibitions draw on several departments at once, so that there was a numismatic component in "William and Mary", and "Paris: City of Revolution". Medals on the other hand are permanently exhibited alongside paintings of their period in the paintings galleries.

EDS: Isn't having the books in the same room as the coins a nuisance both for you and the public if visitors just want to consult books since you have to supervise them? It's much easier in the Ashmolean for example where the books are separate.

PROF. BUTTREY: As things are at the moment it's not possible to separate them, nor is it desirable - coins and books are used together. If a visitor gives notice of wishing to consult a particular title, it can be made available to him in the Museum Reading Room.

EDS: Do you hope to be able to improve student access to the collections?

PROF. BUTTREY: The department has always been under-manned, compared with the Ashmolean, and that's why we cannot open the department on Saturday. With only three permanent staff we are very restricted. What we are doing is improving the housekeeping. The secretary is data in-putting all the books in the department so we can find things quickly and easily, and that will probably take up all her time. In recent years Mr. Volk, as part of *a* programme to rehouse the collections, has sorted more than 25,000 post medieval coins. All this work is terribly time consuming. But you can make an appointment to visit the department, Monday to Friday.

EDS: Do you ever hold conferences ?

PROF. BUTTREY: We don't have the resources for anything like the Oxford symposia on coinage and monetary history.

EDS: Can you tell us something about your teaching role in the University?

PROF. BUTTREY: Mr. Volk lectures for the Faculty of Classics at both graduate and undergraduate level, as well as teaching for the University's Department of Archaeology. Philip Grierson teaches students of history, Peter Spufford uses material in the Grierson Room which he shews to his students, as do others. The exhibitions tie in with university teaching. The Bible Lands exhibition was opened specially for a

conference of the British Society of Jewish Studies.

EDS: Do you see much material that has turned up locally?

PROF BUTTREY: Interesting Celtic finds, especially Iceni; a fair amount of Roman: Republic to the 4th century AD, and some medieval and modern. We get about one query per week on average. There are a couple of metal detectors who always bring their finds in though there are many we don't see. We liaise with Alison Taylor, the County Archaeologist, on the recording of finds. A year or so ago one of the detectors brought in a hoard of 3rd century AD Roman, 5,000 pieces, which Geoff Thoday is now cleaning.

EDS: Are you planning to bring out any publications soon?

PROF. BUTTREY: Our main concern is Medieval European Coinage: volume 1 came out in 1986 and the next to appear will be volume 7 dealing with the Low Countries. Work is in hand on the last fascicules of SNG IV: Leake and General Collections (Dr. Price, Mr. Cribb, Dr. A. Campo, and Mr. Volk). Kevin Butcher is working on a volume of the Corpus Nummorum Palaestinensium, on Neapolis and Samaria-Sebaste, and finishing his dissertation on coinage in Roman north Syria. I'm currently engaged in editing Classical Gems in the Fitzwilliam Museum - the ancient gems are housed partly in this department - to be published by CUP next year.

EDS: Thank you. We're very grateful to you for giving up a morning to talk to us.

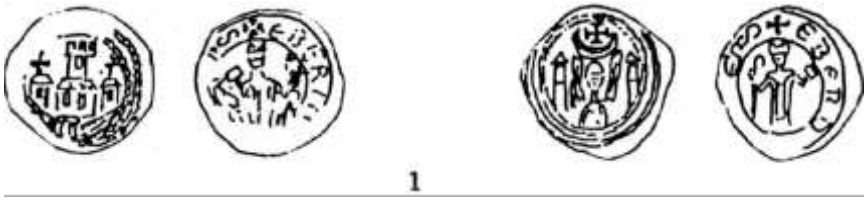
## FRIESACHER IN FLORENCE? by Marcus Phillips

On his mission to Rome in 1204 Bishop Wolfger of Passau passed through Florence on both the outward and return journeys. On the first occasion his personal expenditure account records the following: (1)

Im pascha aput Florentiam cuidam Ebberardinorum episcopo et cuidam alij mimo dim. tal. veron. Domino episcopo .xij. den. frisac. (IV-28/9)

(On Easter Sunday at Florence (paid) l0s in pennies of Verona to a certain Bishop of the Eberhardini and another mime. To the Lord bishop (paid) is in pennies of Friesac.)

Friesach was a mint attached to a silver mine of the same name owned by and coining in the names of the Archbishops of Salzburg. (fig 1) The coins were of almost pure silver and had a very characteristic appearance. Verona pennies were small cu
shaped billon coins issued in the name of the Emperor. (fig 2) At this stage they were worth about one thirteenth of the pennies of Friesach in terms of silver content. In 1204 Florence was not yet issuing coins of its own and generally used the pennies of Pisa. Wolfger's other accounts shew that he bought coins of Pisa in Florence and used them for most of his other transactions in and around Florence. Why did he use "foreign" money to pay the mimes? Who were the Eberhardini?



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This last question has baffled previous editors of Wolfger's accounts. The most recent of these comments, "the wording "quidam episcopus" must refer to a Bishop closely connected in some way to Eberhard II, Archbishop of Salzburg since 20 April 1200, perhaps to one of the auxiliary bishops for whom Eberhard received a license from his royal lord Frederick II in 1212. That the payer of the gift did not refer to him by name but only as quidam and indirectly acknowledges him as a "mime"...means that either the bishop had some acting talent or the designation refers to his appearance or personality." (2)

The following broadside from a church council held at Mainz in 1261 leaves no doubt as to who the Eberhadini were:

Clerici et vagabundi quos vulgus Eberhardinos vocat quorum vita Deo odibilis etiam laicos scandalizat...a clericis vel personis ecclesiasticis recipi prohibemus...(3)

*(We* prohibit the reception by priests and ecclesiastical persons of clerics and vagabonds commonly known as the Eberhardini whose life **is** odious to God and also scandalises the laity.)

The "Bishop" was not a real Bishop at all but a self-styled primate of the ordo vagorum the "order" of the wandering scholars (also known as 'goliards") who do indeed seem to have taken their nickname from Archbishop Eberhard of Salzburg. Or, not to put too fine a point on it, he was a renegade clerk turned itinerant busker. The term "Lord Bishop" is ironic: Wolfger had a sense of humour! Otherwise he would not have been patronising a group of entertainers whose speciality, by all accounts, was satirising and parodying the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the day. (4) Is it possible that the gift of Friesacher was also a humorous afterthought: the "Bishop" was given some coins with his name on them! It would have been particularly appropriate because until 1200 the coins of Friesach had been anonymous. (fig 3) (5)

There is, however, another explanation. The German medievalist, Nau, has suggested that Wolfger's accounts shew that Friesacher were acceptable at least along the major trade and pilgrimage routes to Rome as a high value supplement to the local currencies. (6) I do not think, however, that the accounts really bear this out. Friesacher certainly circulated in north east Italy but to judge from Wolfger's accounts their southern boundary was the River Po. South of this and west of the Apennines there are only three references to them apart from the one already mentioned:

1. Another reference from Florence but the text is too defective to make sense. (V-101)
2. A payment of 5s to one Symon of Saxen at Radicofani (IV-38)
3. Recorded at Bologna: I repaid a certain scholar £3.10s Bologna **in** return for the 10s Friesach which the said person had loaned to Master Marquard.(IV-79/80),
I gave back £3.10s Bologna to a certain scholar for the 10s Friesach which Master Marquard had spent in Rome. (VI-104/5)

The travelling account is more specific for once and tells us that Marquard had spent the Friesacher in Rome on Wolfger's behalf. It might have been on bribes or presents or he could conceivably have brought them with him and changed them for local currency. Symon had just come from Austria and is more likely to have needed the Friesacher there than in Italy. Certainly they were useful for certain kinds of payment in the way that Byzantine gold coins were used in Venice (would it too far-fetched to see a contemporary parallel in the use of U.S. dollars in Eastern Europe?) but it is going too far to say they really circulated. This makes their payment to a couple of travelling entertainers all the more extraordinary.

It also has to be borne in mind that Wolfger's accounts are not always a reliable guide to the circulating medium in the places mentioned. There are numerous payments of travelling expenses to envoys and messengers who were given money that would be useful to them on their travels. Thus the "Bishop" might have

indicated that he and his colleagues were thinking of trying their luck in Verona and been paid accordingly.

The use of Verona pennies raises a number of complex issues which can only be touched on here. Wolfger's Chamberlain, Brother Henry, purchased them in Bologna but appears to have made little use of them until reaching Verona on the return journey. Until then there does not appear to have been any pattern in their use, i.e. they were not reserved for payments to wanderers of any particular sort. From Verona onwards they were used exclusively as the party crossed the Alps via Trent and the Brenner Pass. The last reference to them is at Partenkirchen and it used to be thought that this marked the northern limit of their circulation until excavations at churches at Esslingen shewed that they formed one third of the stray losses recovered from the 12 and 13th centuries. (6) In this respect it is interesting that the Bishop distributed provisini (coins of the Roman senate which otherwise only circulated in Rome) and mezani (coins of Milan, or possibly another Lombardic mint, of half the value of a Milanese Imperiale) as alms in Withingowe (IV-133) even further north and well into the area of the pennies of Augsburg. He may well have just been getting rid of the last of his Italian money but presumably the recipients had some use for them. It seems quite plausible to suppose that low value Italian billon coins circulated in southern Germany (an area of high value silver coins) just as later on Venetian soldini did in England without leaving any trace in hoards or money of account. This, however, does not really account for their use in Florence. The local currency was of low value already.

By 1275 the Eberhardini had a distinctly down market image. Were their predecessors of 1204 artists or beggars? Wolfger's accounts make it clear that he patronised both but the better quality entertainers (some of whom were mentioned by name) got more. At Bologna a jongleur called Flordamor received £1 Bologna (IV-26) whereas at Ferrara "a certain old jongleur in a red tunic" only received 5s mezanorum. "Certain other singers (of both sexes) received the same. (IV-20/2) At Siena a mime called Gilioto received 5s of Siena while "certain other mimes" only received 2s Siena between them. (IV-68/9) Among the more disreputable entertainers was a certain "lodderphaffus" (IV-76) (another, and somewhat derogatory, term for a former cleric turned travelling player) who received 5s Bologna.

These figures are, of course, in different currencies but we can easily convert them into a single standard because *we* know what was paid for each of them. If we assume that Wolfger exchanged bars of silver to the value of the old mark of Cologne of 216 grams of silver then the sums can all be reduced to their equivalent weight of silver:£1

Bologna = 36gm, 5s mezanus = 13.2gm, 5s Siena = 10.2gm, 2s Siena = 4.08gm. 10s Verona = 10.2gm, 1s Friesac= 13.56gm.

This is only a very rough guide because the Sienese rates fluctuated so the exact equivalent is uncertain and, more to the point, the figures may reflect the Bishop's mood rather than the artists performance. It seems, however, that Flordamor was superior by far to the others while the mimes at Siena were not very good! Average entertainers seem to have received an average payout of around 5s mezanus or Siena or 10s Verona which is what the mimes in Florence received.

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1. Members who heard my talk at the BANS Congress will be familiar with Wolfger's accounts. They survive in the form of separate pieces of parchment consisting of the following types of account:

1. Account of expenditure and income kept on the journey.
2. Subsequent compilations of the above into:
   a. The Bishop's personal expenditure, mostly on luxuries of one sort or another,
   b. Communal spending mostly on subsistence.
3. An exchange account recording the exchange of marks into local currencies.

The accounts were first published in 1877 but there is an up to date edition: Herder,H., Das Lebenszeugnis Walthers von der Vogelweide, Vienna, 1975. All the editions use the following numbering for the accounts.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IV = Bishop's spending | extant | 1 April- 17 July |
| V = Communal spending | | 1 April- 28 April |
| VII= " " | " | 3 June - 13 July |
| VI = Travelling account | " | 21 May - 11 June |
| VIII = Exchange account | " | 11 April- 30 July |

Text references are to these and the line numbers in Herder.

2. Herder, pp.131-2, but even its author must have found this unconvincing! Unfortunately she missed the reference in the following note.

3. Mansi,J.P., Sacrorum Conciliorum Vol.23, (Venice,1769), co1.1086. I claim no credit for discovering this reference. It had already been spotted by Frantzen, J., "Zur Vagantendichtung", Neophilogus,5 (1920), pp.62-3. On the Ordo Vagorum in general the most accessible (and liveliest) treatment is still Helen Waddell, The Wandering Scholars (London, 1927 numerous reprints).

4. "The Gospel according to the Marks of Silver", an extract of which was read out in the BANS lecture, is an example of how effective the satire of the disaffected clerics could be.

5. Some caution is necessary because the term "den frisac" was applied to coins of similar type struck by other rulers in the area.

6. Nau, E., "Munzen der Stauferzeit", Die Zeit der Staufer, Stuttgart, 1977, I, p. 187.

7. Nau,E., "Neue Ausgrabungsfunde in Wurttemberg", Dona Numismatica Walter Havernick, Hamburg, 1975, p. 268.

8. Some commentators including Frantzen (loc. cit.) have said that Flordamor was given the money to buy saffron and pepper which would have made him a high-liver indeed! It is clear from Herder's text, however, that the spices were bought by the Bishop.

9. There is no space to discuss whether this figure is correct and it does not allow for conversion charges but this does not matter since only relative values are required.

## CHRISTOPHER BRUNEL, 1920-1989: AN OBITUARY by Gavin Scott.

Christopher Brunel died on 27th April after a short illness. Descended from those great Victorians, Sir Marc Isambard Brunel, and his son Isambard Kingdom Brunel, and with a father, Adrian, a film director and playwright with an interest in tokens and in Thomas Paine and his contemporaries, one would expect Christopher to have creative and wide interests. This proved to be the case. Christopher also worked in the film industry as an editor, and on special effects and titles. Besides being active in the British Numismatic Society and the London Numismatic Club, he was involved in the Trade Union Labour Co-operative Democratic History Society (vice chairman), the Society for the Study of Labour History, the Greater London Industrial Archaeological Society, the Royal Photographic Society, and the Thomas Paine Society, of which he became chairman when it was founded **in** 1963. Other interests included ephemera and Karl Marx.

At a time in the run-up to decimalisation when the major mass numismatic preoccupation was change checking, he opened up more attractive, enduring and rewarding vistas for many collectors in his well-illustrated, carefully researched articles on tokens in Coins and Medals and Coins, particularly from the late 1960's to the mid 1970's.

Not surprisingly, he opened up several aspects of 18th and early 19th century tokens, eg. Newgate Prison (April 1970), Edmund Burke (May 1970), the Franklin Press (June 1970), Thomas Spence (January 1972), Regal Evasions (December 1972) and the Leeds Paupers' shilling (October 1970).

Another approach was a series of geographical studies spanning the whole range of paranumismatica from tokens to tickets, passes and commemorative medals, eg. Wales (August 1969), Cumberland Mining (May 1971), Coalbrookdale (August 1971), Birmingham Unitarian Chapels (October 1971), Bristol (March

1972), Brighton (June 1972), Hertfordshire (July 1972) and Norwich (June 1974). No doubt fuelled by these and the explosion of interest in local history, many numismatists now collect "everything" from their own localities - town, city or county.

Others collect thematically and, here again, Christopher's articles must have served as an inspiration to many, eg. Bridges (October and November 1968), Show Business and Entertainment (January 1969, January 1970, February 1971, February 1973), Captain Cook (November 1969), Transport (April 1970, May 1975), S.S. "Great Britain" - the steam ship designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel (November 1970), Humour (January 1971), Trade Unions (June 1971), Lottery Tokens (September 1971), Joseph Clarke (November 1971), U.S. Sales Tax Tokens (January 1974) and Framed Coins (March 1974).

The token collector needs good books as well as articles, and Christopher wrote an admirable survey of books on British tokens (March 1973).

If this series of some 30 articles formed phase one of Christopher Brunel's contribution to numismatics, phase two was the foundation, with Jean White, of the Token Corresponding Society in 1971. Following a chance meeting **in** the spring, a leaflet was circulated in July and the first bulletin appeared in October. Issues continued until volume 3, no. 2 in December 1978. A tireless correspondent himself, Christopher set a high standard for this interactive publication, which provided a tremendous stimulus to the study of tokens. The Notes and Queries section was particularly valuable. Happily our member Tony Gilbert relaunched the Bulletin in the winter of 1984, and it still flourishes. The momentum started by the Token Corresponding Society resulted **in** a visit to, and meeting at, Birmingham Museum in January 1973 and, eventually, in the highly successful Token Congresses held each year since 1982, in which Christopher took an active part.

Christopher Brunel was a regular stall holder under the Arches at Charing Cross and later at London Bridge market on Saturdays, and a chat with him there was always enjoyable. Latterly he was joined **in** this venture by his wife, Margaret, who died in June 1989.

He always gave great encouragement to the serious student and collector, by generously providing information from his very extensive library (now being catalogued by Nick Wetton), by lending tokens and other material for study, advising on where to buy or research, or putting people **in** touch with each other. We shall all miss him, but his written work remains to encourage others, and his vast collection is now being recycled to delight a new generation of collectors.