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Carolingian Coinage by Karl F. Morrison

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on the Canticles and Pater Noster. Sound instincts have led Morey and Brooke to subordinate Foliot's secular concerns, interesting as they might be, to the ecclesiastical and religious. The highest value of these documents lies in what they reveal of the faith and morality of this mediaeval monk-bishop. Revealed by his letters as an intensely religious man, his religion was that of Cluny where he was professed a monk — a religion of observance, of prayer, of ritual, of right thinking and right living. If like St Bernard, Gilbert wrote on the Canticles, one looks in vain for the Cistercian's mysticism and high emotion. Though a thorough-going papalist, Foliot sought to educate and lead the laity in the new Christian commonwealth rather than to fight with them like Becket. His legal training may have helped to make him casuistical, but that is no reason to doubt his sincerity or integrity. His letters show his development from the ambitious young abbot with his highly artificial style, to the passionate controversialist of the Becket affair, finally to the serene old man returned to theological studies. Throughout them, however, is revealed a man of powerful personality, a man who could both love and hate fiercely, but who within his limitations would seek to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with his God.

To conclude, we owe the editors our very deep gratitude for their excellent edition of Foliot's letters, which will make a large and solid building block in the history of twelfth-century England.

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KARL F. MORRISON with the collaboration of HENRY GRUNTHAL, *Carolingian Coinage*. (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, 158.) New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1967. Paper. Pp. xii, 465; 48 black-and-white plates, 3 folded maps. \$20.

PROFESSIONAL numismatists and interested historians alike have long been hampered in their desire to better understand Carolingian coinage by the fact that the evidence concerning it is scattered and because it is difficult to find rare works like those of Gariel and Prou which are essential to any real knowledge of the subject. Now both the expert and the less advanced scholar have at their disposal this magnificent volume by Professor Morrison and Mr Grunthal which is a model of what such a study should be.

It consists of four parts. First, there is an introductory series of chapters concerning the dating and classification of Carolingian coins, dealing with coin finds or hoards and discussing both coin types and coin metrology. Then the authors introduce the main body of their work, which is an exhaustive catalogue of all known Carolingian coin types classified by ruler and mint from the time of Pippin the Short (752–768) to that of Lothair (954–986) and Conrad the Pacific of Burgundy (937–993). Thirdly, we find a descriptive and remarkably full inventory of 129 major finds of Carolingian coins and 160 minor finds as well, which can be dated from the mid-eighth to the mid-eleventh centuries. And, last of all, after a concordance and index, we have plates illustrating the 1683 different coin types described in the text.

In this volume Professor Morrison rightly remarks on the importance of the

materials he has collected, arranged, and interpreted for those concerned with early mediaeval economic and political history, though his own comments in this regard seem cautious indeed. He also stresses, quite rightly, the need to correlate numismatic evidence with that derived from texts and archaeology before coming to any firm conclusions. He does, however, in passing, make some interesting comments. He starts out by showing his willingness to make *general* estimates of the dates at which most of the coin finds he lists were interred — in most cases, in my opinion, very shrewd estimates indeed. He comments on the important and somewhat surprising fact that metrology reveals no real deterioration in the weight and fineness of Carolingian coins during the first century of their minting — that is down to the end of the ninth century. He also speaks, quite rightly, of economic recovery in Northern France after 864 at the very height of the Viking invasions.

In addition to his direct comments, however, it seems to this reviewer that the material he presents to us concerning mints, coin finds and the content of these finds can well lead one who examines it carefully to come to a number of other important conclusions. The first such conclusion is that Carolingian domains, except perhaps parts of Germany east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, saw money circulating so widely between the late eighth and early eleventh centuries that we must presume that they enjoyed an essential money economy. This, incidentally, is a fact that both texts and archaeology would tend to support.

Secondly, this material seems to show that while neither Anglo-Saxon nor Arabic coins circulated within Carolingian domains to any appreciable extent (perhaps for reasons of a political nature), Carolingian coins continued to reach England in some numbers and even more so to circulate in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden between the late eighth and early eleventh centuries. Some, at times, even reached Muslim Spain and Hungary.

Thirdly, judging from the existence of functioning mints and the contents of coin finds, we can see in both northern and southern France from the late ninth century through the mid-tenth century, a progressive localization of economic life. This was a state of affairs, however, that does not seem to apply to England, Italy, or Germany where economic patterns of development followed quite a different path.

And last of all, both the evidence of mints which were active and the money found in coin finds reveal that from the late ninth century on the most active economic life was to be found in those Carolingian domains which faced the Northern Seas rather than those bordering the Mediterranean — that is to say the Atlantic and Channel Coasts of France and areas facing the North Sea.

There are important implications to be derived from all this material to which we might add information from the recent excellent study of Hiberno-Norse coinage by P.H.M. Dolley and from John Benton's summary of the evidence for the existence of late Anglo-Saxon town mints. The most important implication would seem to this reviewer to oblige us to dismiss as out of date much of the Pirenne Thesis, both that found in his *Mohammed and Charlemagne* and that contained in his *Medieval Cities*. And, at the same time, it would seem equally

essential to modify that classic view of feudalism which sees this system as one arising in Northern France in the ninth century as a result of payments of land in return for military service. This thesis, in the light of the abundant cash resources available to Northern French society, seems increasingly improbable.

None of the above conclusions, drawn from a study of the material found in this volume, however, are likely to be accepted by a large number of mediaeval scholars who cling to older and cherished views of a different sort. But they, like the rest of us, must thank Professor Morrison and Mr Grunthal for a volume which one can only hope will stimulate other needed and similar studies of Merovingian, Visigothic, Lombard, Anglo-Saxon, and Ottonian coinage.

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FRIEDRICH PRINZ, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich: Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jahrhundert)*. Munich, Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 1965. Pp. 634 (with a separate booklet of maps). DM 120.

THIS long and interesting book is a product of the modern German school of regional and socio-political history. It is primarily concerned with the political structure of Merovingian Gaul, and in particular with the relation of the kings and nobles to individual monasteries. The author distinguishes three basic types of monasticism — the Old Gallic (divided into Southern and Western forms, associated respectively with Lérins and St Martin), Iro-Frankish, and Anglo-Saxon — which he describes in terms not only of region and period but also of their political and cultural roles. The monasticism of Lérins, for instance, which predominated in the Rhône valley in the fifth and sixth centuries, was formed by aristocrats (mostly refugees from the barbarian invasions in the North) who played an important part in the secular church and ecclesiastical culture of their time. Their monasteries were better organized, more literary, and more subject to eastern and Italian influences than those in the Loire valley and Aquitaine, which were relatively unimportant until the cult of St Martin was taken up by the Merovingian kings in the sixth and seventh centuries and spread as part of the *Reichskultur* in the north and east.

The Merovingian kings and nobles worked especially closely with the Irish missionaries in the seventh century, under whose influence Gaul became a *Bischofs- und Mönchsstatt* run by administrators trained at Luxeuil and other Iro-Frankish monasteries (p. 130). Many of these were located in the region between the Meuse and the Loire, where the Merovingian royal estates were mostly situated, while the Carolingians and their followers patronized the monasteries in the Rhine-Meuse-Moselle-Scheldt area. In the eighth century, the Carolingians allied with the Anglo-Saxon missionaries, who were responsible (among other things) for replacing the mixed Columbanian-Benedictine rule of the Iro-Frankish monks with the pure Benedictine Rule — a process completed in the early ninth century by Benedict of Aniane (p. 290). Lorsch, founded in 764, was typical of the Anglo-Saxon-Carolingian-Roman *Reichsklöster*, wealthy, privileged, and politically and culturally influential (pp. 219–220).