

phrase (p. 26) about the Greek attitude towards Cyprus, "a jilted lover's bitterness," is reminiscent of one used in the same connection by *The Times*, "quarrel among friends."

A *passport* ought to be free from whatever looks like personal bias. Was the author wise, therefore, in writing such tributes as these (however well-deserved)? "...the only place in Athens which knows the secret..." "The proprietor gives every diner his personal attention and advice." "She also has unusual ties." Perhaps, however, there is justification for the sentence (p. 237): "I doubt if Greece has another restaurant as good as the Olympus-Naoussa."

Two or three minor points remain to be noted. Finer himself talks of the "challenge" of the Greek alphabet (p. 85) and states that reading the words is "a compelling ambition." It is a pity, therefore, that (apart from Brigitte Bardot, Donald Duck, and the inevitable "bar") he himself prints no Greek at all. How much better if on p. 127 one could have seen  $\delta\chi\iota$  and  $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\iota\alpha$   $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$  (even if only in brackets)! On p. 97 he implies that  $\pi\acute{o}\rho\tau\alpha$  is borrowed from the Italian. The word, however, enters Greek from Latin and is at least as old as the Council of Constantinople (536). The reviewer must disagree (as a result of a very recent visit) the statement (p. 35) that during the Koimesis at Tinos "supplicants with their *mattresses and household paraphernalia*, lie on the floor of the church" and that the doors "are *locked* from nine at night till early next morning." The word "Attican" (pp. 24, 87) is obsolete.

The illustrations by Spiros Vassiliou, one of Greece's foremost painters, add much to the charm of the book. At the end there are some useful aids: a map, a table of holidays, a brief bibliography and an adequate index.

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D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans 820-1355*. Institute for Balkan Studies, No. 80. Thessaloniki, 1965. Pp. XIX + 286; Pls. XV.

This book bears witness to the greatly enlarged interest of recent years in the numismatic and monetary history of the Balkans during the Middle Ages. M. offers essentially the first synoptic view of the evidence from hoards and excavation deposits in the area of modern-day Hungary, Yugoslavia, Albania, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece. It is a credit to his talent and his industry, first, to have collected such a vast and amorphous mass of material, much of it scattered about in publications difficult of access, written in languages few of us can read, and,

second, to have organized the results into a coherent and meaningful whole. Because the book is seminal both in the larger picture it offers of the economic patterns of the region and in the individual conclusions it draws regarding the coinage of a particular area, it deserves the close attention of historians and numismatists alike. Let me remark at the outset that I am neither equipped nor inclined to test the description of the several hundred hoards mentioned in the text. I am willing to take the author at his word that hoard X was found where he says it was found, contained what he says it contained, and can be dated roughly to the years to which he assigns it. I shall thus limit my review to a summary of the contents and general comment thereon.

Chap. I. "Three Questions." M. remarks on the distinctions between numismatic and monetary history and on the different methods demanded by each. The former moves from the particular (coin, hoard, mint, and so on) to a general description of the coinage of a region, whereas the latter, starting from the larger picture of the money in use within a given economic area, often reverses the method of analysis. The great amount of hoard evidence from the Balkans can contribute to both disciplines. Three questions come into play in dealing with the coinage: when, in what quantities, and to meet what needs. The solution to the first depends in part on the careful and laborious scrutiny of such matters as stylistic differences and die similarities. Little has been done for Balkan coinage in this regard. One of the most original portions of M's book is the analysis of the Greek material on this basis (chapters II, III, IX).

The second question, in what quantities, can be met by the application of the formula  $x = \frac{y(y-1)}{2p}$ , where  $p$  is the number of pairs,  $y$  is the sample, and  $x$  is the total of dies. M. posits a figure somewhere between 7,500 and 15,000 for the number of coins struck from a die.

The question, to meet what needs, unlike the other two, is less open to quantitative analysis. It falls largely into the category of economic history and is therefore subject to the methodology of this science. The application of its formulae to the Balkans reveals: 1) a contrast between the economic life of the Mediterranean coast-lands and the rest of the peninsula, and 2) a number of "coinage-provinces" distributed around the edges of the peninsula and shaped by the routes leading inland.

Chap. II. "The Traffic of the Aegean and the Black Sea: 820-1025." On the basis primarily of style and hoard distribution M. posits the existence of a number of mints in Greece for the production of bronze coins

starting from Theophilus and extending through the period of the Anonymous bronze. The pattern in the case of Theophilus suggests folles on three different weight standards issued in three regions of the Empire, the heaviest in Constantinople, a lighter issue produced in central, and a small variety probably in northern Greece. The same line of argument applied to the folles of Basil I leads M. to suggest the following mints: Constantinople, Thebes (possible), Asia Minor (possible), Corinth, and Thessaloniki. The statistics from the two major site-finds, Athens and Corinth, reveal a steady growth of a monetary economy. Coupled with the evidence from Argos they show that the revival following the Dark Ages began on the coasts and spread inland.

The discovery of a new mint is one of the most dramatic and valuable contributions that one can make in numismatic studies. A new mint adds measurably not only to the strictly numismatic history of an area by separating off types of coinage and assigning them to a specific source, but also to our knowledge of monetary history, for it identifies patterns of circulation more closely than had hitherto been possible. The establishment of a mint, particularly in the tight and careful scheme of Roman political organization, cannot have been undertaken lightly. In the Balkans, which had for centuries suffered the disruption of invading armies and which were far enough from the center of Byzantine interests in Constantinople to experience a considerable amount of neglect, there were the added difficulties of procurement of a metal supply, as well as of cadres of workmen and craftsmen, no doubt forming, as they had always formed, a recognized and elaborate branch of the imperial bureaucracy. New mints are established in times of expansion, not recession, in order to accommodate increasing economic needs. It is thus an attractive hypothesis which M. builds, for the period under discussion is the period of the development of the provincial theme organization and, if the surviving lists of new place-names of cities and episcopal sees are any indication, of political consolidation and urban growth. What better time to create new issuing centers for the coinage? And, if we are dealing with Greece, what other major centers could possibly come to mind beside Athens, Corinth, Thessaloniki? And yet it is all somehow too easy. If the creation of a mint in antiquity was no simple matter, its re-creation today on the part of the scholar should be equally difficult. M. would, I think, agree. His own analysis is careful and replete with question marks and hypothetical statements. The coins themselves have, of course, no mint-marks, so that one has to use the more inaccurate yardstick of style on which to base one's argument.

Invaluable though the excavation finds at Athens and Corinth are, how truly representative are they of the system of circulation in Greece as a whole? There is, also, the very great unknown looming in the background of every discussion of Byzantine coinage. How little we know of Asia Minor, the true center, not Greece, of Byzantine life! Every traveller becomes soon aware of the countless mass of Byzantine coins still to be found in the villages and cities of modern day Turkey. If these were systematically studied, if Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Constantinople itself were subjected to the same careful archaeological spade as Athens and Corinth, what would they do to M.'s tentative conclusions? What would happen to such suggestions as "Asia Minor" (p. 31) and "Patrai seems to be an interesting possibility" (p. 26)? I should personally like to believe in Greek minting centers. M. has gone as far as anyone can reasonably go for the moment in proving their existence. The author is at his best when he avoids excessive speculation, into which he sometimes allows himself too readily to fall, and reports the different varieties which his careful and wide-ranging study of the hoards and individual specimens has permitted him to distinguish. The fact of these mints, when it is finally proved, will have to be built in part on the painstaking work which he has applied to a heretofore largely undifferentiated mass of uninspiring and uninspired Byzantine bronze.

Beside supposing the existence of local mint in order to explain distinctive characteristics of local currency, one can also have recourse to the principle of consignment from a distant center. A heavy concentration of coins from Nicomedia, for example, found in Athens, might be the result of such a system of operation. Consignment has been established as a not unusual *modus operandi* for Byzantine coinage of the sixth and seventh centuries (M.'s own researches elsewhere have helped determine the details of this system). The trick for our period is, of course, to know how much to refer to the local mint and how much to consignment. We have no reason to suppose that the latter practice was curtailed starting with, say, Theophilus, and it may just be possible that some of the varieties which M. has distinguished reflect not local currency but a shipment from an older established source.

When neither of these explanations will account for a particular concentration of coinage, a further possibility is to suppose that the coins in question represent the savings of a traveller. The unusual content and/or pattern of distribution would then be the result of a chance import, abandoned in hasty retreat before some unknown menace. Some of M.'s hoard finds are of this type. A hoard of Hungarian coins found

at a Corinthian cross-roads, when Greece has no other examples of Hungarian coinage, might well have been left by a traveller. Other unusual finds are not so easily explained. One often cannot know for sure whether to class them as representative or to exclude them altogether from the general scheme as exceptions, perhaps unique. M. devotes a whole chapter to travellers' hoards. They can be an important factor in tracing the trade-routes of the Balkans and in assessing the nature of that trade. In sum: consignment, local production, travellers' hoards: the historian of Balkan monetary affairs must deal with all three. He will be judged on how well he mixes them and how convincing the final product. Generally speaking, as we move down in time, Balkan coinage gives more and more play to the latter two, local production and travellers' deposits, a development to be expected as part of the pattern of economic growth and expansion which forms the major theme of the book.

Chapter III. "Movement Toward Political Autonomy: 1025-1097." The period discussed in this chapter is one of weakness for the Byzantine Empire following the death of Basil II in 1025, and the emergence of independent kingdoms in the northwest Balkans. Hungarians, Croatians, and Normans all contributed to the disruption of the region. Such an upheaval would ordinarily produce a great number of coin hoards. The fact that we have relatively few indicates that the development of a monetary economy in the northern Balkans had not yet proceeded very far.

Chapter IV. "Town and Route, The Framework." By a "coinage-province" M. understands an area of about 500 miles or more within which coinages of similar fabric and style were in circulation. A coinage-province may consist of a number of circulation-areas. M. recognizes twelve such provinces for the Balkans and proceeds to discuss each in detail in the succeeding chapters. 1. The Byzantine Empire (in the Balkans this would mean Greece as far as Macedonia); largely gold and bronze. 2. Hungarian royal coinage; silver pence. 3. The Pfennige and half-Pfennige of Friesacher. 4. Split; spalatini. 5. Slavonia; silver banovci. 6. Feudal Greece (after 1204); billon deniers. 7. Aquileia, Trieste, and Gorizia; originally copies of Friesacher. 8. Venice; grossi, denari piccoli. 9. Serbia; Venetian copies. 10. Bosnia; largely Serbian and later autonomous coins. 11. The restored Byzantine Empire; gold, silver, and bronze. 12. Bulgarian grosh. The pattern which emerges upon examination of the history of economic activity in many of the coinage-provinces involves five factors: 1) the industrial market of the powerful state; 2) the sea route; 3) the coastal town at the point of entry;

4) the land route; 5) the hinterland. A good instance of the expansion of trade along these lines is Constantinople-the Aegean-Thessaloniki-Vardar valley-Macedonia.

Chapter V. "The Byzantine Coinage-Province and Its Successors." The material in this chapter is built on a careful analysis of many specimens ranging over a number of centuries in Byzantine history. The discovery of die-links and near-duplicates can only be based on a patient and time-consuming investigation of large amounts of coin. M. has put Byzantine numismatists in his debt by his readiness to undertake such an exhausting and exhaustive study.

Because much of this work has been undertaken for the first time M.'s text shows occasionally an inclination to try to overcome the understandably indecisive results by speculating on the significance of a given body of evidence. M. himself is aware of the limitations imposed by the nature of his material and takes pains to issue many a *caveat* of the sort on page 97: "The distribution of the varieties among possible mint-places is, as usual, very much open to discussion and review." At the same time, such guess-work as appears on page 226 to the effect that an unusual concentration of thirteen-century Corinthian coins in the Athenian agora may result from "Corinthian troops, or other personnel in the service of the prince of Achaia, having been quartered on or near the Areopagus," is both misleading and dangerous. It misleads because there is not one shred of evidence in support of such a garrison and because such a supposition is not related to the evidence and cannot issue from it. It is dangerous because it is precisely the kind of neat statement which becomes lodged in textbooks and acquires the aura of historical fact. The numismatist has always to remind himself that there are, alas, certain kinds of facts — in this case, military history — which coins cannot be expected to provide. He is not a historian and his prime function is to supply, not create the historical record. Very much to M.'s credit, however, is the distinction which his text makes between analysis and speculation. It will be for future research to establish how much or how little one has conditioned the other.

Chapter VI. "Monetary Circulation in the March-Lands of the North-West." The region includes Slovenia, Syrmia, and Slavonia. The movement of monetary economy here follows the general pattern seen in the rest of the peninsula, that is to say, inward from the coast. Politically as well as economically, Hungarian, German, south Slav and Adriatic influences are in evidence. A great mass of finds from Novi Banovci and Sotin provide invaluable source material as far as Syrmia

is concerned. M., working largely from the Zagreb registers, gives a detailed account of the coinage of the region in all its variety. Slavonia had a regular and plentiful coinage only ca. 1220-1300. At other times coin came from the surrounding areas. The Slovenian mints were particularly active in the middle of the thirteenth century, thanks to a plentiful supply of silver. Town and route were very much the framework of monetary affairs in the march-lands. The chapter has many useful tables and maps by way of illustration.

It may be pointed out that M.'s definition of a hoard is wider (perhaps one should say narrower) than one normally finds. I suppose a single coin (pp. 177, 191 *et al.*) can be considered as coming from an "unrecorded hoard," since coins have to come from somewhere, but most would prefer to cite the existence of such a specimen and leave it at that. Of the same order is the attempt on page 164 to set up a separate grouping and establish a trade-route on the basis of one solitary coin. No one can hope to account for *all* the evidence, particularly in such a matter as monetary circulation, where there are so many human variables. M. sometimes aims at too much; he has done more than enough in supplying us with what he has.

Chapter VII. "The Adriatic Coast as a Meeting-Place in Monetary Affairs." The western seaboard of the Balkans is witness both to a number of petty coinages issuing from several coastal towns such as Split and Dubrovnik and the wider-ranging trade-coinages which acted as a means of uniting an otherwise politically and economically fragmented area. In addition to the hoards we have, especially from the late twelfth century on, a number of Venetian documents dealing with money. Albania is unfortunately a question mark, despite its importance. Additional hoard evidence will permit us in the future to define more exactly the extent of Hungarian, Byzantine, and Venetian influence.

Chapter VIII. "Silver Mining and the Rise of the South Slav Monetary Systems." Serbian and Bosnian *groši* provided the currency of the west Balkan hinterland from around 1275. Prior to this date Byzantine *scyphates* have the leading role. The Serbian coinage, when it appears, owes much to its Venetian prototypes. The great complexity and variety of its detail can only be deciphered by careful study of die-similarities and, generally speaking, close scrutiny of the hoard evidence.

Chapter IX. "The Petty Currency of Feudal Greece." The coinage circulating in Greece was of various kinds: Nicaean gold, Venetian and Serbian *grossi* and, from about 1240, local coinages, preeminently *deniers*

tournois, minted at such centers as Corinth, Athens, Clarentzia, Thebes, and Lepanto. M. is able upon re-examination of the hoard evidence to suggest a revision in the scheme of the petty currency of Athens and Corinth. Thus the introduction of the Achaian tournois can on the basis of the Xirokhori hoard be put at shortly before 1278 rather than 1250. Greece before the introduction of the tournois shows a bewildering variety of types and denominations, folles, stamena, deniers, pennies, grossi, nomismata. The hey-day of the Frankish tournois coinage itself in Greece is 1294-1311. Most of the problems of feudal coinage in Greece belong to the thirteenth century, when the hoard evidence is unsatisfactory. For the fourteenth century we have a rather adequate find-series.

Chapter X. "Coinage in the Restored Empire and in Bulgaria." For much of the material in this section M. makes use of the valuable work of Gerasimov and Muchmov. Although the numismatic history of the region remains obscure, the increased attention which is presently being given to Palaeologan coinage should yield important results in the near future. Bulgaria was subject to a great number of political influences deriving from Epirus, Sicily, Hungary, Rome, Anatolia, the Golden Horde, the Catalans, as well as the restored Empire. A special desideratum is a detailed study of the groshi of Ivan Aleksandŭr (1331-1371). The finds from the east Balkans show two patterns of circulation. The region north and east of Plovdiv has connections with the Black Sea coast and Constantinople while to the south and west the currency comes from Macedonia and Thessaloniki.

Chapter XI. "Travellers' Hoards." See above under chapter II.

Chapter XII. "Coda: The Empire of Stefan Dušan." The chapter gives an outline of the richly varied Serbian coinage, based largely on the researches of Dimitrijević. Stefan's first issues are as king of Serbia, 1331-1346, followed by imperial issues showing strong Byzantine influences. The study of Stefan's coinage is still in its infancy. Dimitrijević has supplied a relative chronology but the assessment of the coinage must await further research and additional evidence.

There are fifteen plates to illustrate some of the stylistic features and mint-attributions, particularly of the Greek series. It is a distinct pleasure to report that even such difficult specimens as late Byzantine scyphates have been reproduced with commendable clarity and enough magnification to allow us to trace the subtle distinctions on which M. bases his classification. There follow six pages of addenda meant to bring the survey up-to-date by including material which appeared after the



page-proof of the manuscript. One cannot fail to admire M.s' thoroughness. The wealth of coinage discussed in the book may be inferred from Index I (Coin Finds from the Balkans South of the Rivers Danube and Drava), which contains a total of 607 entries. There is also a general index.<sup>1</sup>

All in all, an important book and one which will be a necessary companion to investigators of the mediaeval coinage of the Balkans. M. has not only given a much-needed survey of the numismatic and monetary history, but through his detailed analysis especially of the Greek evidence put forth interpretations which cannot be ignored and which at the very least provide guide-lines for future research.

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Leo Gerald Byrne, *The Great Ambassador*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1964. Pp. 383.

The career of Stratford Canning, Britain's "Great Ambassador" at Constantinople, has long merited additional study. Stanley Lane-Poole's two volumes, (1888) have been the point of departure for virtually all later considerations of Canning and are basic to the book here under review. Unfortunately, Mr. Byrne has not followed the fascinating career of his subject through archival repositories in England or on the Continent, where extensive materials exist, but instead has consulted a modest number of published works.

Mr. Byrne apparently believed that more thorough and basic research was not necessary. The preface is emphatic on the point that the author is writing "primarily for the intelligent layman" and he has commendably "tried to avoid...the obscurantism and picayune concerns one sometimes finds in the professional monograph." Since for his subject "many of the intellectual nutrients are stored in warehouses not readily accessible to the layman," he has examined these "nutrients" and "tried to present a fare chosen from among the fruits of recognized scholarship." He presents his findings in 27 short chapters (with preface and epilogue),

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1. Unfortunately, the text suffers from many typographical errors. "Aquisitions" and "Genose" are repeated offenders. More serious, for being more in evidence, is the habit of word-division whereby two letters, either initial or final, are considered sufficient for hyphenation in passing from one line to the next, regardless of the laws of English syllabification. A later edition should eliminate such monstrosities by compressing the word into one or the other line of the text.