

NOTICES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

A HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS. By R. H. HODGKIN. 2 Vols. 1935. Oxford University Press. Pp. xxvii + 748. 85 Plates (4 coloured), 74 text figures, 42 head and tail pieces, 34 maps. 30s. net.

It is no disrespect to Mr. Hodgkin to begin an appreciation of his long-expected work with the pictures. Indeed, it is impossible, as well as inappropriate, to do anything else, for the first and dominant reaction to these splendid volumes is one of intense and satisfying aesthetic enjoyment. Even the best history books are apt to be inartistic in format, and unattractive in appearance: Mr. Hodgkin has set out to write a beautiful History of the Anglo-Saxons, and he has triumphantly succeeded. His illustrations are not only lavish in quantity, excellent in quality, and encyclopaedic in range, but the care taken in their spacing and arrangement has brought them into a continuous and intimate unity with the text which is both unusual and altogether admirable: the effect is that of the best kind of lantern lecture. If we may permit ourselves one grumble against this side of the production, it is that the serious student needs three copies open at once: one at the text, one at what ought to be the footnotes, and one at the List of Text Figures, for only so can he discover without undue discomfort both the authorities which underlie the narrative and the source of many of the minor illustrations. In every other respect the author and the Press deserve the warmest congratulations for a most convincing demonstration of the educational and artistic value of abundant illustrations in a serious historical work. Archaeologists, of course, do not need to have this lesson brought home, but even Oxford historians may well profit from Mr. Hodgkin's example.

Sooner or later, however, we must tear ourselves away from the contemplation of Kentish brooches, the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Oseberg ship, or the Alfred jewel, to see what sort of a story Mr. Hodgkin weaves around them. The first volume runs from the breakdown of Roman government in Britain to the Golden Age of Theodore and Bede; the second, skipping lightly over the Mercian domination in the eighth century, is devoted mainly to the activities of the Danes and the reign of Alfred. In this part of the story Mr. Hodgkin's material is, of course, primarily literary, and his detailed reconstruction of the campaigns of Alfred and his enemies, his careful appreciation of the many-sided character and achievements of the great King, and his analysis of Saxon society in the ninth century are matters for detailed criticism in a historical, rather than an archaeological context. Noting therefore as symbolic of Mr. Hodgkin's teleological attitude to history, the deliberate emphasis laid upon the personality of Alfred and the rise of Wessex, and the no less deliberate relegation of the earlier Mercian hegemony

to a very back seat in his narrative, we may pass at once to the first part of Vol 1, and the complex problems of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest, on which the archaeologist has more to say.

Mr. Hodgkin is not himself an archaeologist, but he is the first professional English historian to attempt an appreciation of the whole contribution which archaeology has made to the history of these very difficult centuries between the breakdown of Roman government in Britain and the coming of St. Augustine. While there will naturally be points on which specialists will think that he has done less than justice to their own contributions to the subject, it can be said without question that his appreciation of the archaeological evidence both in its strength and in its weakness as historical material is, on the whole, sound, fair and well informed. Here and there a lack of specialist knowledge may reveal itself—Anglian girdle-hangers, for example, are not normally of iron but of bronze (p. 159), and 'holed' and window-urns are not limited in their distribution to the Elbe-Weser region of the Continent, and the eastern midlands of England, for the former occur also in Northumbria and the latter both in Frisia and in Kent (p. 116)—but there need be no quarrel with his use of the archaeological material as a whole, and no doubt at all that his general picture of the course and conditions of the conquest lies in consequence very much nearer to the truth than does any earlier general survey of the age. His work has the value which belongs not to the original exposition of new or freshly-explored ground, but to the patient correlation and synthesis of the original contributions of others: it is not the plea of the brilliant barrister, but the no less necessary summing up of the judge.

We have thus no right to criticize unduly Mr. Hodgkin's repeated refusal to decide between rival archaeological views or to give his readers a lead in the interpretation of disputed points. On the dating of Kentish jewellery, for example, he is perfectly right as a historian to state the views of Kendrick and Aberg, and leave it at that, for it is quite improper 'owing to the great unsettlement in the chronology' (p. 103) to make any use of this material in a strictly historical context at present. Nor does his general conclusion on the Jutish problem that the *Jutarum natio* 'was made after the conquest. It was to all intents made in Kent' (p. 101), suffer in cogency from a refusal to take sides in a technical dispute of this kind. It is probably as near the truth as it is at present possible to get.

It may perhaps be doubted whether the same can quite be said of his treatment of the most difficult political problem in the period, that of the origin of Wessex. While Mr. Hodgkin is prepared to admit (p. 116-7) on the archaeological evidence a specifically Saxon element in the early settlement of Middle Anglia, he has reasonable grounds for querying Mr. Leeds's importation of the West Saxons of the Upper Thames valley *en bloc* from this region, and would prefer apparently to bring most of them up the Thames. On the other hand he believes that, in spite of all criticisms, the West Saxon annals in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle do contain a substantially true account

of the settlement not only of Cerdic and Cynric, the ancestors of the royal family of Wessex, but also of a substantial population of 'West Saxons' in Wiltshire in the first half of the sixth century. The later Wessex thus arose out of a fusion of the two peoples effected in the age of Ceawlin. The objection from the dearth of archaeological material in Wiltshire and Hampshire he counters in three ways; firstly by a comparison with Essex, which is again curiously devoid of pagan Saxon remains, though certainly settled in the pagan period; secondly by the view that 'Cerdic and his chiefs were clever and adaptable men who saw that the depositing of weapons and jewellery with the corpses was an unnecessary extravagance' (p. 131); and thirdly by marking on his map (p. 124) the individual Saxon barrow burials of Salisbury Plain, with such substantial black dots as to suggest to the unwary that this area is really full of pagan archaeological material: in fact, of course, the whole number of these isolated burials amount in terms of immigrant population to no more than a single small cemetery. And if Cerdic and Cynric were really the pioneers of a far-sighted and economical ban on grave goods, it is difficult to see why Mr. Hodgkin should pitch upon the Salisbury district as 'the core of Cerdic's Kingdom,' for, as he observes, this is the one area in the whole of Hants and Wilts. which has produced at Harnham Hill a reasonably well-equipped cemetery, under the very nose, so to speak, of the 'clever and adaptable' Cerdic. Throughout this section, in fact, Mr. Hodgkin seems to be wavering uneasily between a belief that the archaeological evidence can be ignored because 'heathen cemeteries are not a reliable test of heathen settlements' (p. 372), and a desire to make the most, if not more than the most, of such scraps of archaeological material as can be raked together to support his thesis. Nor can the lack of pagan cemeteries in Essex be quoted as if it in any way justified or explained the situation in Hampshire. For whatever may be the reason, and several could be put forward, for the absence of material remains of the pagan East Saxons, the conditions of settlement on the forested London clay must necessarily have been quite different from those which determined the occupation of the open chalk downlands and valleys of Wiltshire; and in any case the antiquity of Saxon penetration in Essex is amply attested, as that of Wessex is not, by the archaic character of its earliest place names. It is curious that Mr. Hodgkin, who admits elsewhere that 'an element of propaganda went to the making of the Old English Chronicle' (p. 628), does not see how many difficulties are eased by the realisation that the compilers of that Chronicle thought fit deliberately to read the family traditions of the House of Cerdic as if they were the record of a national migration. There was no easier and no surer way of strengthening the prestige of the family that was saving Wessex from the Danes in the ninth century than to identify its interests with those of its subjects as far back as the fifth; but it does not follow that we should reject the plain meaning both of the cemeteries and the place-names, and make nonsense, as Mr. Hodgkin realises, of the Wansdyke (p. 136), in order to preserve

that pious belief to-day. We may think, if we will, that Cerdic and Cynric fought their way across Hampshire and Wiltshire from Southampton Water and left a handful of their *comites* behind in the round barrows of Salisbury Plain, but the West Saxons who were the nucleus of the Empire of Ceawlin were, as their name in relation to that of the Middle and East Saxons surely shows, the people of the Upper Thames valley.

Mr. Hodgkin's discussion of the well-worn theme of Romano-British survival could also be legitimately criticised, although his conclusion that it 'demands not one but at least a dozen answers' (p. 178) is clearly true enough as far as it goes. But it can hardly be said that the problem of urban survival is adequately dealt with in the three pages devoted to it (pp. 161-4), nor that of the villages in the three or four succeeding paragraphs. Taylor's map of the distribution of place-names (p. 168) is inaccurate in detail and misleading in its general effect, while Beddoe's statistics of Nigrescence (p. 171) are based on methods of anthropological study which recent students quoted by Mr. Hodgkin himself (p. 382) rightly regard as obsolete. Except with the object of stimulating the specialists in each of these branches of knowledge to hasten the production of more satisfactory general maps there seems little purpose and some danger in reprinting these admittedly out-of-date productions of their predecessors.

A few minor inaccuracies may be finally noted. The urn illustrated in Fig. 6 is not at Hoogeteintum but at Leeuwarden: Margidunum has crossed to the wrong side of the Trent on the map of Roman Britain: Athall appears for Asthall on the map illustrating the Conquest of Mid Britain, and Stratford-on-Avon should be marked as an Anglo-Saxon cemetery: Roeder's dating of the early Kempston brooch is given as 'c. 450' on p. 113 and 'about 425' on p. 116, while the equal-armed brooch from the same site is assigned, on the same authority, to 'c. 450' on p. 115, and 'about the end of the fifth century' on p. 116; Colchester (p. 162) was never a Saxon Bishopric, nor should Caerwent, which was an administrative centre, be listed as a Roman town which 'depended . . . for existence . . . on proximity to a military camp' (p. 163); Peada was not Penda's son-in-law but his son (p. 291); Battlesbury (p. 568) appears on the map (p. 563) as Battersbury; France appears for Flanders on p. 641, line 2; Tribal for Burghal on p. 711; and Shetelig on p. 716.

But when all is said and done Mr. Hodgkin has written not only a beautiful but an extremely useful book. If he has not brought finality to many of the controversial subjects in his story, it is safe to say that no one in the present state of our knowledge could have done so. If his narrative is not often distinguished by brilliance of presentation, originality of treatment, or profundity of thought it performs the more necessary function of summarising, sifting and interpreting many scattered contributions to knowledge with care, discrimination and sound judgment. It will make what has often been regarded as a dreary part of our history, a living reality to many

who are not by nature historians : it will save those who may claim that title much unprofitable labour, and provide them with much food for thought.

J. N. L. MYRES.

KELTISCHE METALLARBEITEN AUS HEIDNISCHER UND CHRISTLICHER ZEIT. By WILHELM A. VON JENNY. Berlin : 'Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1933. 4to. Pp. 62, 64 plates. Price RM. 84, reduced for purchasers outside Germany to RM. 63.

In his Introduction to the first volume of *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, Dr. Adolf Mahr cogently stated the case for the big but accessible album, in which with a brief text the chief products of a whole art such as that of Early Christian Ireland is illustrated in an orderly sequence from fine photographs. His words need no repetition for anyone interested in Celtic Art, and they ought to apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to such an album as this. Dr. von Jenny, who has indeed already essayed one for the Germanic Art of the Dark Ages, has here aimed at uniting in a single volume of 55 pages of text and 64 collotype plates the whole story of Celtic Art from the fifth century B.C. to the twelfth century A.D. He begins his Preface by claiming to have brought together the best products of Celtic metalwork, chosen primarily on aesthetic grounds. He goes on to explain that, of course, his choice has had to be restricted ; his work is in fact not a Corpus but a documented Anthology. As such it must be judged.

For the earlier La Tène material of Central and Western Europe, there are selections from a number of the better-known major finds. Perhaps the South German *Furstengraber* could not be further represented : various single pieces come from Czechoslovakia and Switzerland : but can one pass by the exclusion from the French list (though the Auvers disc is in it) of La Gorge-Meillet (to name nothing else from the Marne), of the Amfreville helmet, or of the magnificent goldwork from the district of Toulouse ? The small Somme-Bionne bronzes are in, but there is not a single piece from the National Museum of Antiquities at Saint-Germain in the whole book. An equally serious lacuna is North Italy. Representation of the Cisalpine Gaulish material is surely of vital importance for estimating the influence of Italy and the Etruscans on the Celts, north as well as south of the Alps. Yet the British Museum's solitary helmet-cheekpiece is all we are given (for the little Bologna belt-hook, Pl. 8, 3, is not Celtic at all) : not a single Italian museum has been laid under contribution. After this, the exclusion of Belgium and of Brittany seems relatively trifling.

We record these omissions with real disappointment. The seven and a half magnificent plates of the Gundestrup cauldron, provided by the Copenhagen Museum, are, of course, a joy to contemplate, but are they worth so much sacrifice ? Gundestrup is not exactly a little-known piece. In fact, since the East Celtic or 'Celts-Iranian' style is admittedly (p. 22) a side-issue, one would like to see plates 19-28 cut out altogether (also the Hallstatt pieces on Pl. 16), and the

whole first half of the series re-shuffled to give North Italy its rightful prominence, and proper representation to the broad lands west of the Rhine. This complaint is not only a matter of principle. One of the standing worries of the student of British Celtic Art is the difficulty of relating it to its Continental roots. A book like this ought to be a real help to understanding the problem, but if it excludes France almost entirely, how can it vindicate its claim to unity as between the Continent and the British Isles?

The only possible answer is that a clear lead may be given by the author's text, and before turning to his treatment of our islands a word will be in place on his Continental chronology. Having outlined (p. 12) the general debt of La Tène art to Italy, he insists (p. 13) on making the associated imports date the whole of 'La Tène A' to the years 450-400 B.C. Dr. Jacobsthal's lower datings are in places noticed, but the issues involved are barely discussed. As for the eastern influences, he admits (p. 17) that this conservatism makes the 'Scytho-Iranian' element in 'La Tène A' inexplicable (for it cannot have got up the Danube till the fourth century when the Eastern Hallstatt culture had been cleared out of the way), but only proffers the unconvincing solution that the Scythian and La Tène animal-styles might be collaterals entering Europe respectively by the Black Sea and Venetia. After this, though he does not quite omit Waldalgesheim, his account of the fourth, third, and second centuries is simply a conventional narrative of 'relaxation' and 'popularization,' very poorly illustrated—from La Tène itself there is only one single object.

The English reader, then, will not find in these pages any clue to the links he wants across the Channel firmer than what he can find already for himself. Still, the author could perhaps reply that his purpose is not to promulgate the results of any new research, but simply to go over the most artistically interesting of the known ground. The English reader had then better turn to his own country to judge of his performance. The whole of the rest of the book is devoted to Celtic Art in the British Isles, and the first thing to be said about it is that Dr. von Jenny has not read Mr. Leeds's *Celtic Ornament*, though it was published in 1933 and was specially announced (p. 29, n. 1) in the *Proceedings* of the London International Prehistoric Congress. This must surely have reached the Prehistoric Museum at Berlin in which he works. Without it his documentation is decapitated.

It is unfortunate that he has given the names 'La Tène B' and 'La Tène C' to the phases now often called in England 'Iron Age B' and 'C,' for confusion with Reinecke's La Tène B and C periods must inevitably result. And in general he hardly handles our Iron Age and its art with the firm touch of a scholar on his own ground. He simply takes selected pieces and dates them by subjective stylistic analysis, giving next to no heed to their associations—e.g. those of the Aylesford bucket, or the Birdlip mirror. Thus he would like to date all the asymmetrical mirror-designs earlier than all the symmetrical ones. Thus, too, he suggests (p. 28) that the 'linear style'

of the mirrors stands in such contrast to the 'plastic style' of *e.g.* the Battersea shield or the Aesica brooch as to imply a difference in *Volkstum* between their authors, but in the next paragraph one is simply a plastic rendering of the other. He would like to put the whole of Mr. Leeds's 'early' group (Wandsworth bosses, Witham shield, Torrs chamfrein, etc.) late, and sees in them influence from South Gaulish sigillata. It will be time enough to argue this if Dr. von Jenny will present his case in full. We hear very little of the great south-eastern school of champlevé enamelling; in fact, only one example of it is figured, one of the Westhall terrets (Suffolk), which is stated on p. 32 to be one of the older pieces of the Lower Thames region, *i.e.* early 1 A.D., but on p. 52 to be of the *late* first century, as being found with a lamp to be paralleled at Pompeii. (Incidentally the original publication of Westhall in *Archaeologia* xxxvi, 454 ff, which he has overlooked, clearly implies that the coin of Faustina forms no true part of the find, as is confirmed by its much weathered condition.) Indeed, it is hard to feel that Dr. von Jenny has made any positive contribution about our pre-Roman Celtic Art. On the Brigantian art of the second century he has nothing new to say, and the 'boss style' and the rest of Mr. Leeds's results for the North British material escape him altogether. As this in turn leads him to neglect the 'Ultimate La Tène' latches and hand-pins, he finds himself able (pp. 36-7) to go straight on to the hanging-bowls and their trumpet-pattern spirals without facing the difficulties of the hiatus before the seventh century. He then ends his text with two pages on Irish Art down to the Cross of Cong taken (with direct acknowledgement) from Dr. Mahr, and a tailpiece of aesthetic appreciation. So with British and Irish, as with Continental Celtic Art, he leaves one with a feeling of strong disappointment and not much else.

True, the book is meant to be popular and aesthetic, rather than learned and methodical. But it is given to few to be able to produce a successful popular work without the knowledge necessary for a learned one, and the proper place for aesthetic is after methodical study and not before. The plates, though many are ambitious, are of very uneven quality. Accuracy of description, *e.g.* as between coral and enamel (Pl. 5, 2; Pl. 9, 2) is not always beyond reproach; the delightful Dürrenberg creatures devouring their long-tailed fellows head first are actually taken for elephants! The author has kindly sent his reviewers a list of *errata*; it is considerable, but not exhaustive. Perhaps it need not be printed.

C. F. C. H.

SLEDGES AND WHEELED VEHICLES: *Ethnographical studies from the view-point of Sweden.* By GÖSTA BERG. Nordiska Museets Handlingar 4. Pp. 189. Levin & Munksgaards Forlag, Ejnar Munksgaard, Copenhagen.

In this admirably-produced volume, Mr. Gösta Berg has rendered a great service to the students of rural transport. He deals with the sledge, the built-up sledge, the simple runner-sledge, the double-sledge, the cart and its origin, the slide car, the wheel-sledge

and the waggon and illustrates his subjects with fifty-one excellently-drawn text-figures (which include a large number of distribution-maps) and thirty-two plates. The whole production bears great credit not only to the author but also to the international service of the Northern Museum, Stockholm, in the cause of folk studies.

While the author deals primarily with the subject 'from the view-point of Sweden' and discusses many forms of vehicles which are unknown to the British reader, he has much to say on rural—and especially purely agricultural—transport which is of value to students in Great Britain. He is, therefore, the more to be thanked for providing an English edition of his book, the translation being by Mrs. J. S. Herrstrom. It is, however, regrettable that the text was not submitted before publication to an English scholar. I feel certain that anyone of Mr. Berg's colleagues in museum service in Great Britain would have been delighted to revise the English edition. As it stands, much of the book is deplorably written and boring to read, despite the value of the material and the obvious excellence of the original work. Mistakes in syntax and idiom abound and on many pages the style is most disconcerting; for example a sentence on page 120: 'The latter is by far too theoretical and, as is not unknown, the former adheres to a batch of teaching which in the later years of ethnographical investigation has become an exploded idea,' while forms such as 'Olaus Magnus's own' appear as 'Olai Magni own.'

But the volume is an outstanding contribution to scholarship. In his first chapters, in which he deals with much prehistoric material, the author pays tribute to the value of the pollen-analysis method of dating and especially to the work of Lennart von Post. His treatment of the various types of sledges found in Sweden is authoritative and is backed in every case by evidence from every part of the country. The fact emerges that in many cases there is an amazing similarity in primitive developments in most of the European countries and while the author rightly pleads for as wide a study of the material as possible before evolving any theories as to its development, it cannot be overlooked that autochthonous evolutions in transport as in other cultural directions can be argued with great possibility. The author criticizes Clark Wissler's theory of the autochthonous origin of the slide-car amongst the Indians and Dr. Haddon's theory of the autochthonous evolution of the single-horse cart in Britain. He also seems to question Sir Cyril Fox's theory of the internal development in Wales of the wheeled-sledge. But such internal developments, due to peculiar local conditions, are very probable. One can accept the wide-spread similarity of peasant culture though rejecting in certain cases the diffusionist theory of its origin. It seems certain, for instance, that the Welsh slide-car was evolved from the hand-barrow and developed later into the *car gwyddelig* of the Brecknock and Glamorgan uplands (of which Sweden appears to have no parallel) while in other countries, as this volume shows, the slide-car developed in very different directions.

The author's treatment of the development of the cart is exhaustive

but not at all points wholly convincing. He holds that the distribution of the pair-draught cart coincides with that of the pair-yoked plough and maintains that the one-horse cart area is 'quite distinct' from that of the pair-draught cart. But in parts of Wales, to quote only one instance, the pair-draught cart was at one period a common feature. When it was replaced by a two-shafted one-horse cart, the features of the old type remained and, in craftsmanship and construction, some of the modern horse-carts in west Wales bear a close resemblance to the eighteenth-century ox-cart.

In dealing with the evolution of the wheel, the author stresses the advantage of the solid over the spoked wheel 'when driven on soft, loose ground into which the wheels could easily sink.' This does not explain, however, the persistence of the solid wheel in a thin-soil area such as the Gower peninsula after its disappearance in most other neighbouring districts. One feels indeed throughout that the author tends to ignore the influence of local conditions, personal initiative and idiosyncrasies upon the evolution and persistence of primitive types. Finally his thesis of 'the correspondence between the simple runner-sledge and the solid wheel on the one hand and the built-up sledge and the spoke-wheel on the other' requires, as he admits, more corroboration than is available at the present stage of research.

In his 'Literature,' Mr. Berg lists about seven hundred publications and the bibliography should prove very valuable to the reader. Its value would have been still greater if the literature had been grouped under various headings instead of being arranged alphabetically since many of the books and papers quoted are only indirectly, or accidentally, concerned with the author's subject, e.g. Piton's *Le costume civil en France*, Jekyll's *Old English Household Life*, Walker's *Costume in Yorkshire* and many others.

This volume will prove of the greatest value to all workers in the field of folk-culture and should be an incentive to the production of similar regional studies for England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

IORWERTH C. PEATE.

THE TRESSÉ IRON-AGE MEGALITHIC MONUMENT (SIR ROBERT MOND'S EXCAVATION): ITS QUADRUPLE SCULPTURED BREASTS, AND THEIR RELATION TO THE MOTHER-GODDESS COSMIC CULT. By V. C. C. COLLUM. Oxford University Press: London, Humphrey Milford, 1935. Pp. xii, 123; plates xxxv, figs. 14. Price 10s. 6d.

One of the more startling events of the International Prehistoric Congress held in London in 1932 was the reading by Miss V. C. C. Collum of a paper entitled 'The Discovery and Excavation of an *allee couverte* with sculptured supports, containing a burial of the Early Iron Age, at Tressé, Ille-et-Vilaine, Brittany.' We learned that Sir Robert Mond had been invited by the owner to finance and equip the excavation, and that Miss Collum, to whom he entrusted

the work, 'welcomed the opportunity of ascertaining whether this typical megalithic monument had been erected in chalcolithic times and disturbed later—the hypothesis on which the chalcolithic date of the majority of Breton megalithic monuments rests. The digging occupied six men for the month of April, 1931, and was closely supervised by me throughout' (*Report of the Congress*, p. 117). The monument was floored by a pavement beneath which was found 'a crouched skeleton *in situ*.' Associated with the skeleton were fragments of a one-edged iron sword, half a small hollow knob of iron with bronze plating, and hand-made Breton Iron Age pottery' (*ibid.* p. 118). There was also wheel-made pottery, and Miss Collum concluded (*loc. cit.*) that 'the Tresse *allée couverte* covered a Gaulish burial of Gallo-Roman date.'

The volume now before us is the full Report of this excavation. If the author's claims are correct, they will require a complete revolution in the archaeology of Atlantic Europe. They therefore deserve careful examination. The present reviewer has no first-hand knowledge of Breton megaliths, though he is well acquainted with pottery and objects from them in the St. Germain and British Museums. He thus has no preconceived opinions about the dating of one hitherto unexplored. Miss Collum's description of her discoveries is verbally a very full one, and this happily enables him to present the evidence entirely from her own words.

The monument is a simple *allée couverte* some 12 m. 50 in length, lying NNW-SSE, in a not wholly perfect state, but not violated by any previous excavation. Two of the uprights at the N. end bear twin pairs of relief-sculptured bosses resembling female human breasts. It has no structurally distinct chamber, nor septal slabs, but is built of megalithic uprights, with some dry-stone work, and roofed with transverse capstones. It is enclosed in an oval tumulus of stones and earth, now a good deal denuded, and overgrown with trees both alive and dead.

Miss Collum began by cutting six trenches in the tumulus: of these she gives a plan but no sections. In the east trench was found the first piece of pottery, which is immediately described (p. 7) as 'obviously Iron Age in date.' Other pottery found in this trench is called (*ibid.*) 'Gaulish' and 'Gallo-Roman.' No reason is given: it is all hand-made, and there is nothing very Roman about the shapes, though no. 23 is restored in Fig. 5*b* to one shape and on Pl. xxv to another. Though the depth of each find (from the surface, not from a datum) is given, the tumulus was of loose stones and earth incapable of 'sealing' objects in or beneath it. However, at a spot within 2 m. of the *allée*, where the tumulus was at its maximum depth of no more than 60 cm., a bronze *as* of Domitian was found 'on the original soil' (p. 7). Now the lowest stones of the tumulus (*ibid.*, next sentence) here penetrated the old subsoil, of yellow clay impregnated with clay, in which the whole structure was set: 'subsoil' must come below 'soil,' and as this 'subsoil' clay was the only impermeable stratum anywhere present, the coin lying on the 'soil' above it, and under 60 cm. of big loose stones, cannot be called

stratified. And from pp. 12, 15, 16 we learn that the *allée* uprights opposite this trench (*i.e.* less than 2 m. from the find) had all suffered disturbance: no. 15 was 'tilted dangerously inwards' and 15 *bis* and 16 *bis* had collapsed altogether owing to the roots of the trees duly shown in the plan (Fig. 4) in this very place, while 14 had been destroyed by 'quarriers' in search of stone, who had broken off the end of the capstone above and generally effected 'damage.' In addition, the coin itself is so worn (Pl. xva and p. 49) that the British Museum could identify nothing save the emperor's head—implying long circulation and still longer weathering. In other words, not only must the whole tumulus (above the yellow clay) be regarded as an unsealed cairn, but the coin is a surface stray recovered from a stratigraphical chaos. Yet not only is the pot no. 23 described in Fig. 5b and on Pl. xxv as 'found with *as* of Domitian': the coin is used on p. 53 to give precision to the other 'Iron Age' evidence and limit the date of the whole monument 'to the first or second century.' And on p. 113 the 'Conclusions' definitely state: 'It was erected *in the first century*, probably in the reign of Domitian.' (What has happened to the 'or second century'? Without it, since Domitian died in A.D. 96, the 'probably' is a thoughtful touch.)

Little more need be said of the tumulus trenches. Some of them yielded more pottery, but no find in them can be called chronologically decisive, least of all the scrap of green-glazed ware (pp. 8–9). However, behind the big 'placed' stones that had covered the boulder originally blocking the *allée* entrance was a fine knife of Grand-Pressigny flint (Pl. xxiiib), doubtless an intentional deposit.

Proceeding now to the interior of the *allée* itself, we are given a clear stratigraphy: surface debris, black silt, yellow fallen-in tumulus-earth and stones, pavement slabs, yellow clay. No section is given, but Miss Collum enunciates on p. 19 the excellent maxim that 'nothing found in the tumulus layer, *unless samples of it are also found beneath the pavement*, can be used as the sole criterion of date.' The italics are hers. We are thus prepared for concentration on the sealed sub-pavement stratum of clay. But (p. 16) the pavement was a 'crazy pavement': it included long transverse slab-stones, but (*ibid.*) 'the tree-roots had almost everywhere penetrated the *debris* that had silted up the *allée*, and had worked their way between the interstices of the pavement, beneath the stones, heaving them up in places.' Further (*ibid.*) 'so much of this "crazy" pavement had been loosened by tree-roots, that the man, to whom I gave the task of cutting the roots out with a knife, lifted a great deal of it from that part of the *allée* beneath Capstones vi and vii, under the impression that the stones were flat pieces that had fallen in from the cairn above, through the gaps between the capstones. This happened while my attention was temporarily distracted . . .' This is a rather disconcerting start; the really Iron-Age-looking pot G 25 came from a 'deeply disturbed' area (p. 17), and the only sherds from beneath undisturbed pavement beneath Capstones vi–vii are called 'coarse reddish,' and can hardly be 'the same' as that 'hard, brown-red

burnished' vessel—by the standards anyhow of Miss Collum's minutely differentiated catalogue of wares.

Beneath Capstones iii-iv again only part of the area was undisturbed, but embedded in the yellow clay here (p. 18) were five steatite beads, two chert blades, and two rim-sherds of a hand-made pot (H (i) 27) with a neckband (Pl. xxvii); the latter is compared (p. 34) with one published by Mr. Kendrick from Herm in association with beaker, but it is here called a 'characteristic Iron-Age pot,' and is taken as dominant for the dating of the group, the comparative dating-evidence of steatite beads and beaker being apparently recessive. Further, there was here, *above* the pavement, a patch of 'charcoal-darkened earth' (*ibid.*), which yielded, besides pottery and flint blades, two pieces of 'an iron one-edged sword and the tip of an iron knife.' The same patch contained the vertebrae of a modern rodent, but these iron finds, together with other pieces none of which were found below undisturbed pavement, are (pp. 50-51) firmly used to help date the monument to the Iron Age—though the word 'tentatively' is indeed used on p. 53.

Next, the area beneath Capstones ii-iii was excavated, in wet weather, under a tarpaulin (p. 20) in 'bad light' and 'gloom' (p. 24); it was this area which contained the burial. A certain number of plain hand-made pots were found above the pavement, which must, as Miss Collum says (p. 21), have been placed entire in the tomb; she calls them 'Gaulish,' but does not say why. Of the total of 10 paving-stones in this area only five are shown on the plan (Fig. 4) as undisturbed; Miss Collum's lifting of a sixth led to the finding of the burial—a contracted skeleton lying on its right side, the bones rotted to the consistency of 'wet biscuit,' but allowing the parts to be distinctly traced (p. 23). Owing to the 'gloom' beneath the tarpaulin, and the 'circumscribed space,' she could take no photograph, 'though I had three cameras on the spot'; we are instead given a sketch in place on the plan Fig. 4, 'reduced . . . to a scale of approximately 1/66.' Another sherd of the 'neckband' pot H (i) 27 was associated with the skull, while fragments of a hand-made bowl (I 31) were in contact with the body. But beyond, in the N. corner of the *allée*, the paving-stones had been heaved up by roots; the soil from beneath them, when subsequently sifted (p. 26), yielded another piece of iron one-edged sword, which despite the roots and more rodent activities is used for dating purposes as already noticed. The piece of iron fibula (hollow knob with bronze plating) described on p. 28, also so used, is equally clearly unstratified.

There is little more to be said. Miss Collum's own account of her excavations has shown that no single Iron Age object was found stratified anywhere in the *allée* or the tumulus: that the objects that really were stratified comprise only worked flints, hand-made pottery, and the steatite beads: that the pottery called Iron Age or Gaulish throughout is so called on no shred of definite evidence—though it is clear that a certain amount of real Iron Age pottery, recognized as wheel-made, from unstratified positions, has been

conflated together with the hand-made wares, to the reader's serious confusion. In short, the 'Tresse Iron Age Megalithic Monument' is a creature of Miss Collum's own imagination. The reality is that one of the few *allées couvertes* hitherto standing more or less inviolate on Breton soil has had its genuine primary contents subjected to a false Iron Age dating based entirely on unstratified secondary material—and on Miss Collum's personal preconceptions as to what is 'obviously Iron Age' pottery. Archaeologists will pay a well-deserved tribute to the naïve honesty with which she exposes, in the voluminous narrative of her doings, every detail of the truth which contradicts her own conclusions. It is that honesty which has made this review possible—and irrefutable. But they will find it hard to excuse her behaviour in telling an International Congress that Iron Age objects were 'associated with the skeleton' forming the primary and only burial, when her own excavation-report declares that they were nothing of the sort.

We hope that no one will fall back on writing off the Tresse excavation as scientifically hopeless. The facts concerning what really was primary in the tomb stand out clearly in Miss Collum's narrative: a contracted skeleton, interesting hand-made pottery, good steatite beads, and some lovely flints. Her mistakes and shortcomings, as an excavator are all openly admitted, and it so happens that none of them affect the validity of those facts themselves. But the erection of such conclusions on such a basis is an example of self-delusion—it can be called nothing else—which is probably unsurpassed in the whole annals of archaeology. It is all the more unfortunate that Sir Robert Mond, one of the most liberal and enlightened of modern benefactors of research, should have been led to stand patron to the enterprise, spending loyally upon it money that could have done so much good otherwise or elsewhere, and that the volume should have been published and widely advertised by the Oxford University Press. We can only hope that our French colleagues will not take the whole thing as typical of modern British archaeology.

Pages 53–113 of the book can scarcely be reviewed in these pages. They are devoted to the sculptured breasts 'and their significance as the Symbols of a world-wide Cosmic Cult,' that of the 'Female Principle of Creation, Godhead, or Life.' They have involved 'careful study of comparative religion and theosophy,' and are headed by the motto *Natura veneranda et non erubescenda*.

C. F. C. H.

THE AQUEDUCTS OF ANCIENT ROME, by THOMAS ASHBY, edited by I. A. Richmond. Royal 8vo. Pp. i–xvi, 1–342. Pls. i–xxiv, figs. 1–34, with seven folding maps. Oxford, Clarendon Press, Price, 63s.

Even in Roman times, a comprehensive knowledge of the aqueducts supplying the city of Rome must have been rare. They belonged essentially to a specialist's department, and it is an odd

fortune that preserved in the wreck of classical literature the notes of a conscientious curator. Yet how many visitors to the Campagna must have felt the impulse to track to their source the channels which there emerge on stately arches. Years ago, when the mysterious plain, whose magic enthralled so many distinguished English artists, lapped the very walls of Rome like an enchanted sea, the urge must have been greater still. Small wonder that it captured the heart of Thomas Ashby, striding as yet a school-boy into 'the infinite loneliness' (so he called it) with his father and Lanciani: and we can understand how it became his principal source of strength when he had established his position in 'the courts of men' among the great topographers of Rome. Good fortune was also his, for unlike some who had caught the magic before him, he lived to set down what he had seen, though not to guide his manuscript through the press.

The result is a monumental work, arranged in the traditional method of Ashby and his school, in which a general description of earlier studies, and an account of classical tradition about the monument, precede an analysis of the existing remains. The form will remind not a few readers of Bruce's *Roman Wall*, or Sir George Macdonald's *Roman Wall in Scotland*: but when it is recalled that these important works describe monuments 72 to 36 miles long, while the aqueducts cover a total distance well over two hundred and fifty miles, the magnitude of Ashby's work will be realised, and it will be understood why there should be a certain disproportion between the introduction and the great topographical description which forms the main bulk of the text. The relative scale, however, should not be allowed to detract from the value and interest of the introduction. Reading it, we realise that the subject is one which has attracted only remarkable men. The general course of humanism would lead us to expect the fact that the earliest efforts, of Flavio Biondo, were Italian, followed by a more encyclopaedic treatment by the Germans, Cluver and Holste. Then the Italians, represented by Fabretti, attack the subject again: while the Spaniard Revillas, whose connexion with the Royal Society, or with Frederick and Lethieullier, illustrates the comity of learning then prevailing, would have produced the best work then possible. Finally, passing by the dull Cassio, we arrive at the lively antiquaries of the nineteenth century, Vespignani and Nibby, and the enthusiastically learned Lanciani, to whom the book is dedicated. Thomas Ashby was fully conscious of his place in a line of scholars whose work and interests transcended the narrow bounds of nationalism.

Turning then from the men to their subject of study, it is noteworthy that the aqueducts themselves do not go back to remote antiquity. The first channel, entirely underground, was built by that great blind genius, Appius Claudius, who also built Rome's first trunk road, and, unhindered by the sight of present things, saw the vision of Rome's destiny as a mistress of a great commonwealth of city-states, linked by roads and furnished with amenities. The course thus charted was followed with vigour by the flourishing

Republic. The Anio Vetus and the Marcia were only separated by the Carthaginian wars; and the Marcia was the first on vulnerable arcades. In the Tepula may be recognised the last efflorescence of the true Republican spirit. Then political energy took other forms, leading inevitably to the New Order established by Augustus. It is not always remembered how much aid Augustus received behind the scenes from his co-adjutor Agrippa; the co-operative nature of their work comes out more clearly in the provinces. But among the urban activities none were more striking than Agrippa's reorganisation and amplification of the water-supply and its staff. Again, though this staff is a home branch of the Imperial civil service about which much is known, it is too seldom cited in illustration of the gap which could yawn between theory and practice in a slave-run institution, however conscientious the heads. Even the departmental headship alone, designed at first for successful servants of justice and only later combined with the more regular senatorial *cursus*, forms a most interesting example of the growth of the civil service: while the history of the *familia Caesaris*, an Augustan experiment regularised by Claudius, is a most valuable and all too rare example of the transition from personal staff to permanent organisation. To Gaius and Claudius the Roman public owed two most important aqueducts, though the engineering of the second, the Anio Novus, was so bad as to provide a standing problem in repairs as long as the waters continued to run. After them the only new aqueducts added were for Bath supplies, with the important exception of the Aqua Traiana. Trajan, who supplied the industrial quarter with a good overflow for running the water-mills of city bakeries, was perhaps the one Emperor with the faintest conception of turning the supplies to profit for industry. Even the possibilities of raising revenue by these means were neglected, while the idea of making the schemes self-supporting seems to have been non-existent. So far was the Roman world from even the more obvious aspects of sound economic practice. The simple and limited system of distribution did not therefore demand the complicated engineering of a modern water supply. As in designing the great roads, it is the importance of the preliminaries that strikes the student, especially after considering the masterly surveying implied by the table of levels, which Ashby inspired. Once the design was prepared, the works themselves were relatively simple; and it is the inherent simplicity of a gravitational flow and the profound ignorance of hydraulics which the distribution system displays that reveal the primitive character of this ancient engineering, for all its outward magnificence. There are few better illustrations of the neglect of the experimental attitude which limited the ancient world and rendered possible an almost insensible devolution into medieval thought and practice.

Though the topographical portion of the book is much the largest, it affords least matter for comment by a reviewer. It is evident that it will long remain the guide for those who wish to visit the existing remains. Three important advances in knowledge

enabled Ashby to write an essentially sound account of the aqueducts. The first is the levelling of the important remains, carried out at Ashby's instigation and with his guidance, by the Royal School of Engineering in Rome. This enabled the four main aqueducts, which run from above Tivoli to Rome on the same lines, to be disentangled one from the other for the first time with real certainty, on maps used in the book. Secondly, the great progress in the study of Roman brick-faced concrete and its changing styles is due to Dr. Van Deman, who shared his work, and has brought out her results in detail in a parallel publication at Washington. Ashby has not hesitated to embody in his description the results at which they arrived together whenever a knotty problem was involved: and the result was greatly to simplify the classification of different repairs. Not the least important aid, however, was the third. In his early studies of the bridges, Ashby took with him a young architect from the British School at Rome, F. G. Newton, who, before an early death, also produced some interesting studies of Sardinian churches. The notable drawings which he produced were used as the principal illustrations of the book. A mere glance is insufficient to appreciate their fine draughtsmanship, and not a few of them may justly be claimed as the work of an artist. With these aids, then, Ashby has been able to write the first detailed account of the course of the aqueducts that may be regarded as firmly founded. Puzzles, indeed, still exist and are by him frankly admitted. The route taken by the Alsietina throughout its course is only to be guessed, in spite of the fact that Ashby has been able to show, on the basis of levels, that previous suggestions were unsound. The course of the Claudia in the district of Tivoli is still highly obscure, and with it the nature of the repair work by Paquedius Festus in A.D. 88. Another field in which arduous work remains to be done is the identification of shafts connected with the underground course of the aqueducts, and a new evaluation of the arrangement of *cippi*: for, in discussing these boundary stones, Ashby never quite made up his mind how far they were regularly spaced, or how frequently in tortuous courses, an indecision to which the editor draws attention. But how much, in contrast, is satisfactorily solved! The assignation of Ponte Lupo to Aqua Marcia alone marks a new departure in our knowledge of the course of four aqueducts. Equally important is the certain identification of the great arches in Valle d'Empiglione as a Hadrianic remodelling of the Anio Novus. Another triumph is the successful distinction of the different bridges across the Anio in the district of Vicovaro. Quite a different type of problem is set by the description of the course of Aqua Virgo within the city, where Ashby's unrivalled knowledge of topographical literature has stood him in good stead. These are the larger problems, and many more could be added, both great and small. It is the measure of Ashby's vast knowledge that so little of it can be contained in an already lengthy notice.

I. A. RICHMOND.

ROMAN MINES IN EUROPE. By OLIVER DAVIES. Pp. 291 + xii, with maps and illustrations. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1935. Price 30s.

Mr. Oliver Davies, who is Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology at Belfast, has written a scholarly and well-documented book which will take its place as a standard work in the literature of Roman archaeology. It is to a marked degree a detailed study. The Author's researches have extended over a period of seven years, and are based on a first-hand knowledge of most of the sites he describes, and on a remarkable familiarity with the highly specialised literature of his subject, much of which is contained in out-of-the-way periodicals.

After an introductory chapter dealing with the technique, organisation, and economic and legal position of mining, the book follows an itinerary corresponding as far as possible with the frontiers of the Roman provinces in Europe. An exemplary topographical index makes reference to the text the work of but a moment, while the provision of a series of maps with numbered sites makes the location of a particular site just as easy.

It is obviously impossible to assess in a few words the value of the mining industry to the civilisation of Roman Europe. Methods and technique varied widely in the different provinces, and although the Romans were unable to prospect scientifically for ore, they seem to have passed over very few deposits of value. Labour costs varied as much as, if not more than, technique, but, so long as ore was accessible, it was worked.

To the State, mining frequently yielded a profit, though a great many mines were worked beyond their margin of utility, and sometimes for political reasons rich workings were abandoned in their prime. It is clear, therefore, that no general formula can be applied in a study of the industry. Each province had its own problems in methods, labour, and the economic situation, and it is with all of these that Mr. Davies is concerned.

R. F. JESSUP.

ROMAN BRITAIN. By C. M. FRANZERO. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ \times 7 $\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 189, with many illustrations. Allen & Unwin, 1935. Price 5s.

THE ROMAN INVASIONS : A SAGA OF THE CALEDONIAN RACE. By LAURENCE O. PITBLADO. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ \times 8 $\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 160, 8 illustrations and 4 folding maps. Allen & Unwin, 1935. Price 10s.

There is no end to the books about Roman Britain. The present volumes, both from the same publisher, illustrate the tendency of recent books to fall into one of two groups.

Mr. Franzero's book is representative of the first group, which is composed in effect of guide books. The author, who is an Italian journalist, travels quickly among the remains of Roman Britain, from Richborough to Caerleon, from the Wall to Silchester, and on his return publishes in Italian the diary of his journey which he dedicates to Benito Mussolini : the volume under review is an English transla-

tion of that diary. In many ways the author does succeed in interpreting the spirit of Roman Britain, and we give him credit for it, but his journey was altogether too hurried and too coloured by political associations to render his diary acceptable to the seriously-minded reader. Less haste, and more acquaintance with practical archaeology, would have made this a serviceable 'Roman Britain travel-book,' and its price (five shillings) is reasonable.

Mr. Pitblado's book belongs to the second group, that which is concerned with new and usually unsubstantiated versions of Roman history, and his book is no exception to the general run. On the supposition that the land was 100 feet lower than at the present day, and on the more than doubtful authority of a manuscript at Edinburgh which is supported by our old friends Boetius and Ossian, we are asked to believe that Scotland was an island called Erin, that Camulodunum was at Camelot and not at Colchester, that Scotland provided help for the men of Kent against the first invasion, and that the Silures were Picts who came from Galloway. For all this we are asked to pay ten shillings. Why?

R. F. J.

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