

NOTICES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

SCANDINAVIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. By HAAKON SHETELIG and HJALMAR FALK. Translated by E. V. Gordon. Oxford University Press ; London, Humphrey Milford, 1937. xx+458 pages. 62 plates and 33 figures in the text. Price 21s. net.

In this book two of the authors of *Osebergfundet* present a picture of Scandinavian culture, including Finnish, from the solitary flint tool accepted by Professor Shetelig as older than the last glaciation of Northern Europe down to the style of the Urnes church.

Naturally in so limited a space, the rich and complex civilisations of the ancient North can be discussed only in the briefest outline. But for the professional archaeologist there are included carefully selected references, many of them written or summarised in English or German. The student of Northern history or literature will find here the requisite background of the remote past, while for the general reader extremely complex matters are reduced to terms readily followed.

The first chapters deal chiefly with the Stone Age folk who moved gradually into Scandinavia as the ice of the last great glaciation receded. Professor Shetelig, with the support of Professor Knud Jessen, strongly asserts the great seniority of the pottery of the kitchen-middens over that of earliest Danubian neolithic wares. After a chapter devoted to the familiar contrast between megalithic and single graves, he takes up the contemporary Arctic Stone Age and its remarkable naturalistic rock-carvings. For the Bronze Age, the inevitable discussion of typology and grave-goods is supplemented by a description of the finds of religious offerings, the various ornamental styles exhibited by the bronzes, and the highly schematised and complex rock-carvings.

Professor Shetelig has avoided whenever possible the controversies that surround the dating of prehistoric periods. This is due to the limitations of space. But one is left wondering what the chronology of the Bronze Age really is. We are given the Montelian division into six phases, and the author recommends roughly 500 B.C. as the terminal point as against older estimates of 600 and 700. He says subsequently, however (p. 150), that in a grave of the third phase was found an Etruscan bronze vessel. Since it is not easy to imagine anything strictly Etruscan buried in the North even as early as 800 B.C., one wonders whether, in order to accommodate the last three phases, the terminal date for the Bronze Age should not be moved down once more.

After the Early Iron Age, which produced the Dejbjerg wagon and the Gundestrup cauldron, the period of Roman importations is discussed. This is followed by a chapter on runes. Professor Shetelig believes that runes are based on the Latin alphabet transmitted in the first or second century A.D. through Alpine Celts who still used North Etruscan letters to the Teutonic Marcomanni of Bohemia. Runes first arose among the Marcomanni, who transmitted them about the second century A.D. not only to the Scandinavians, but also to the Goths. The Gothic runes in turn began

almost at once to influence the Northern ones. The remainder of Professor Shetelig's part of the book deals with the Migration, Merovingian and Viking Periods and their art.

The last three chapters are by the late Professor Falk and reveal how much light can be thrown by a study of language, not only upon the early historical periods, but also upon the preceding illiterate ones. There are special accounts of the means of subsistence, weaving and costume, weapons, magic and religion, and a detailed discussion of Viking Age sea-faring, including types of ships, their construction and rigging, and the life on board them. Professor Falk's chapters should be of great value to those interested in Old Norse literature, both for the side-lights thrown on the life of the saga-period, and for the innumerable explanations which he has given of Old Norse expressions and technical terms, especially those concerned with shipping.

It is a pity that so good a book admits of adverse criticism. It may not be very important that the English translation is filled with numerous odd-sounding expressions, perhaps reflections of the original, or that it employs such pseudo-technical terms as 'hewing' flint. But to say (p. 66) that beakers are commonly found in the single graves of Jutland (even though warning of this use of 'beaker' is given in a prefatory note) is dangerously misleading.

As for the illustrations, the publishers would be amply justified in the belief that, with 62 plates and 33 figures, they had illustrated the book handsomely, but archaeologists would have found their purpose better served by a reversal of these proportions. Superb photographs of two well-known megalithic pots are less useful to the student than line drawings of a wider variety of types. Again, though the photographs are excellent, little indication of scale is given. In Plate 16 a bronze tutulus and a bronze shield appear misleadingly similar in size.

But the faults of the book are minor compared with the purpose it serves of providing a clear and well-documented summary of Scandinavian archaeology.

H. O'NEILL HENCKEN.

ROMAN MALTON AND DISTRICT COMMITTEE REPORTS, obtainable from the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 10, Park Place, Leeds.

- No. 1. *The Roman Pottery at Crambeck, Castle Howard*, by PHILIP CORDER, M.A., pp. 45, 21 photographs, 3 plans, 8 sheets of pottery-sections, 1 map. 5s. 3d.
- No. 2. *The Defences of the Roman Fort at Malton*, by PHILIP CORDER, M.A., pp. 116, 26 photographs, 21 figures, 5 plans and sections. 15s. 6d.
- No. 3. *The Roman Pottery at Throlam, Holme-on-Spalding Moor, E. Yorkshire*, by PHILIP CORDER, M.A., pp. 41, 8 figures, 8 sheets of pottery sections. 3s. 3d.
- No. 4. *A Roman Villa at Langton, near Malton, E. Yorkshire*, by PHILIP CORDER, M.A., F.S.A., and JOHN L. KIRK, B.A., F.S.A., pp. 99, 31 photographs, 27 figures. 15s. 6d.
- No. 5. *A Gazetteer of Roman Remains in E. Yorkshire*, by MARY KITSON CLARK, M.A., pp. 142, 1 figure, 1 map in end-pocket. 21s.

Since the Roman Malton Committee began its work, ten years ago, on the potters' kilns at Crambeck, Castle Howard, it has steadily

widened its scope, until it can claim to have supervised or inspired the excavation of an important series of typical Roman sites in East Yorkshire. It has now issued a report, no. 5, which indicates that it is taking stock of the position reached, by listing all the Roman material in East Yorkshire. To outsiders, an opportunity has therefore come to appraise the decade's achievement.

It was wholly natural that in a district which has always been ranked hitherto as military the first heavy task should be the investigation, by Messrs. Corder, Kirk and Rowland, of a fort; at Malton on the Derwent, the Roman *Derventio*, still the centre of the northern Wolds. The Roman works had been obscured or lost to sight, below meadow-land and the gardens of a Jacobean manor-house; yet pertinacious trial-trenching not only recovered the outline of a lost $8\frac{1}{2}$ -acre fort, but also showed that the northern end of it was available for examination. The spade revealed a very complicated history. The earliest fort, of earth and timber, proved to be of Agricolan date. It had been preceded, as at York, by an extensive occupation, whose relics cover 22 acres and are associated, if vaguely, with structural remains. The position of Malton renders this heavy primary occupation not surprising. The place lies at the northern end of the land-bridge provided by the Wolds, where invaders from the south would naturally halt in front of the Derwent and Ouse marshes and the desolate Cleveland massif. Reconnaissance would indeed soon show that the moraine bridge-head at York was the better centre from which to dominate the north; but Malton would never lose its local importance, first as the key to the northern gate of the Wolds and secondly as an administrative or fiscal centre. So far as is known, there was no other large fort in the district, and all the important relations with the Parisi, inhabitants of the East Riding, must have been conducted from that centre. It may be compared with the fiscal and administrative outpost of *Flevum castellum* among the Batavians (*Tac. Ann.* iv, 72). In harmony with his view, excavation reveals that, in spite of over-heavy commitments and pre-occupations farther north, which grew worse as the century drew to a close, the Roman administration found time to reorganise Malton on a permanent basis. Two reconstructions rapidly followed the Agricolan foundation, the first unfinished and doubtless reflecting the pre-occupation mentioned above, the second dated to Trajan. Other evidence shows that the district was growing more settled. The fortress at York was consolidated in A.D. 108-9, while in the same period the deserted moors of Cawthorn were being used by the legionaries as a training ground.

Thus far, the picture presented by Mr. Corder is neither improbable nor inconsistent with external evidence. The next stage in his reconstruction is attended by difficulties, not all of his own making. A destruction befell the Trajanic fort, and it is assumed that this was a pre-Hadrianic disaster. There is also evidence for a meagre Antonine occupation of the fort, not correlated with the destruction, and for a late second-century rebuilding. It has been assumed that the destruction coincided with a general devastation in A.D. 117,

and that the later reconstruction followed the northern invasion of A.D. 181; for when the report was prepared both these events were believed to have affected York and its environments. It is now clear that in A.D. 117, however the Ninth legion disgraced itself, York and the Stanegate held firm, and there was no general destruction. Again, the invasion of 181 affected only the Antonine Wall district, while the general destruction followed sixteen years later. This reviewer is therefore the more inclined to hold to his original suggestion that the destruction at Malton occurred in 197 and involved a Trajanic fort, for long held by a skeleton force, thus accounting for both the single destruction and the second-century relics.

From this point onwards the narrative is clear. An intensive third-century occupation closed with disaster, involving the destruction of large stocks of wheat, which testify to the importance of the place as a supply-depot. This was followed by a restoration due to Constantius I and notable, as elsewhere in the North, for its solid grandeur. Then emerges a new and interesting phase. In the invasions of A.D. 367-9 the fort suffered heavily, and its ramparts were restored as an earth bank fronted by a very large ditch. In other words, no attempt was made to restore the fortifications of Roman character, and they were replaced by a work of essentially native type. This phase, too, appears to be reflected in contemporary literature: for at this time Malton, known as *Derventio*, was the hub of the coastal defences, themselves of the latest military pattern, and was held by a local militia, the *numerus supervenientium Petuerensium*, called after *Petuaria*, the little capital of the Parisi, now being excavated for another committee by Messrs. Corder and Romans. Here emerges one of the most interesting combinations of government action with native initiative in the whole province. The central government must have built and organised the coastal watch-towers: but the system, once established, was held together by a native rear-guard. The fort at Malton, which began life as a centre for police and revenue, ends its existence as the centre whence the natives controlled their own defences.

It would seem that the Parisi were neither oppressed with garrisons nor compelled to adopt the centralised Roman culture. The inference would be that they were an allied *civitas*. Their capital, *Petuaria*, is known never to have been large and sumptuous. Their relations with the Roman world would be governed by the furnishing of agreed quotas of materials and men, while absorbing Roman civilisation as they required it. This postulate is strongly supported not merely by analogies, but by the details about villages and villas collected by Miss Kitson Clark. Her researches have increased the recorded villas from seven to eleven, and the bearing of the new examples upon the distribution of the villas as a whole is particularly important. It is no longer possible to regard the villas as confined to the neighbourhood of the fort at Malton, as if relying upon it for protection. On the contrary, they spread indiscriminately round the sunny and well-watered slopes of the Wolds. They are not, however, luxurious mansions. To judge from examples at Langton,

Harpam and Rudston, they are comfortable small farm-houses, quite unsuited to a landed aristocracy. The Langton excavations, of Messrs. Kirk and Corder, define the type in detailed fashion. The clearest phase in the history of the house is that of the fourth century ; when it was a small corridor-house, set amid a number of larger barns, associated in turn with corn-drying furnaces, a threshing-floor and a mill. These remains covered earlier third-century buildings, and those in turn overlay drainage-ditches going back to the late first century. Thus, the fourth-century buildings represent only the final development of a native ancestral holding. The picture is of busy farm-life, stimulated by the adjacent market of the military area, and doubtless supplying some part of its *frumentum*.

In such a world, the villages, represented on Miss Kitson Clark's map by the chance finds, might be expected to supply recruits to the army and labourers to the fields. Their distribution indicates that the villas occupied the best lands ; for the villagers there remained the waterless hill-tops or the over-humid marshes. Accordingly, relics from the village-sites attest that while trade existed, it was restricted to simple things. It is also clear that, as among larger and richer tribes, village-life predominated ; and that, if the standards of the Parisian land-owners were low, the village life was correspondingly modest. It is, then, to be emphasised that the life of the area lasted until at least 395, when the coin-series comes to an end. This evidence accords well enough with that from the military site already mentioned. At Malton, the military system of the later fourth century was entrusted to the natives of a district which is now seen to provide evidence of long-standing relations between its civil population and the military market, together with a loyalty to Rome sufficient to sanction its independent development from the first. The proved fact that the Malton site was used until well into the fifth century naturally raises the question of survivals. Whether this modestly civilized area survived the shock of Saxon invasions better than others, and what contribution it made towards the later Northumbria, are questions of real interest for Dark-Age history. They are not yet to be answered, but before the writing of these reports they were not even to be posed.

The close connexion of the Parisian corn-growers with the military zone has its corollary in another economic sphere. This is revealed by the pottery of Crambeck, north-west of Malton, where kilns, excavated by Mr. Corder, are now known to cover a wide area. These potters were at work during much of the fourth century, apparently unscathed by the disasters of 367-9, and produced jars, bowls and *mortaria*. Since the publication of Mr. Corder's report, it has become clear that the Crambeck vessels, particularly the bowls, have a very wide distribution, spreading far and wide over northern Britain, and reaching both the Wall and Cumberland. This interesting testimony to the diverse economic connexions of the area is to be ranked with another curious fact. The Rudston villa and the Brigantian capital, *Isurium*, exhibit a local style of mosaic pavement, of vigorous and ugly art, whose makers drew their patterns

(Venus, or the Wolf and Twins) from Roman legend. Less artistic products went the same way, as is shown by the occurrence of West-Riding sandstone at Harpham, or the roofing-slates of Rudston. This is a useful reminder that there were local markets to supply. Again, the Throlam pottery, excavated by Mr. Corder, made wares by the ton, but these vessels do not seem to impinge upon the Crambeck market, either in distribution or date. By their geographical position, the kilns would seem to be related to the southern area of the Wolds rather than to the outside world: but their position may well be misleading, and the problem is to be solved by studying the contents of local Museums.

Lines of communication within the district are not well known in detail. It may be expected that the earlier Roman government was interested in little more than the arterial road, from York to the Humber. The fact that this route is mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary has been obscured by the latinising of the last element in the sequence *Delgovicia—Petuaria*, for *Petuaria* has become in the manuscripts *Pretorio*. Its original form is, however, rendered certain by Ptolemy's version of the name, and by the repetition of the sequence, as *Decuaria-Devovicia*, in the Ravenna List. The Malton-York road, newly discovered by Dr. Kirk, is a military creation: and so is Wade's Causeway, crossing the wild moors to Eskdale, though its date and purpose within the Roman age are alike obscure. The other roads, Brough-Malton, Malton-Aldbrough, Stamford Bridge-Bridlington, all look like improvements of native tracks, and doubtless more of the kind remain to be discovered. Nor must it be forgotten that the west borders of the land must have been well served by river-traffic on the Derwent and Ouse. On the whole, however, the communications (or the lack of them) fit the general picture which these valuable reports enable us to draw. The Parisi formed a compact native enclave, loyal to Rome from early days, taking its part in the military and economic development of the North, and becoming at last one of the mainstays of the system in its final form.

I. A. RICHMOND.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SUSSEX. By E. CECIL CURWEN. The County Archaeologies, General Editor, T. D. Kendrick. Methuen 1937. pp. xviii, 338. 32 plates and 89 figures in the text. 12s. 6d.

It is a matter for general congratulation that after too long an interval the production of Messrs. Methuen's indispensable County Archaeologies has now been resumed. It would be less than justice to previous authors in the series to suggest that the pause was *pour mieux sauter*, but despite its external uniformity Dr. Curwen's volume differs in several ways from its predecessors. Thinner paper has allowed a large increase of pages, while both plates and text figures are far more profuse. If this abundance of illustration has led to the omission of the customary Gazetteer, there will be few who do not agree that the exchange is a profitable one. Indeed, the fine quality of drawings and distribution maps, almost all from the pen of that

master of archaeological draughtsmanship, Mr. Robert Gurd, enormously enhances the appearance and value of the book.

But the *Archaeology of Sussex* is distinguished from earlier volumes also in the manner of its author's approach and writing. It is 'humanised.' Dr. Curwen has been helped in this partly by the nature of the antiquities themselves, but in addition he has avowedly set out to write a book for the interested general reader: more particularly he says that he has had in mind the needs of the two thousand members of the county's flourishing archaeological societies. Hence the book contains an extended general background, and even a chapter on the methods and aims of archaeological science. The emulation of this method in subsequent volumes might well lead to an undesirable redundancy and waste of space within the series as a whole, but as an individual instance it has been most successfully employed by Dr. Curwen. One never feels that the achievements of past natives of Sussex are being neglected to make room for the doings of their more sophisticated brethren in Egypt or Mesopotamia.

It has been hinted that Sussex antiquities themselves invited 'humanisation,' and this is surely true. Even for the palaeolithic period, usually presenting such a daunting expanse of stones and French terms to the uninitiated, Sussex has its Piltdown skull to encourage the imagination in picturing the personal appearance of a 'Primeval Hunter.' For later periods the perfectly preserved flint mines, the numerous and often well excavated camps and settlements, and above all, the abundant vestiges of agricultural activities preserved by the Downland chalk, are peculiarly fitted to enable writer and reader to keep in close touch with the human lives that went to make them.

The account of the mines is excellently vivid, and gives in detail the invincible evidence for their Neolithic-Bronze Age dates. Profoundly interesting though the section is, in dealing with agricultural problems Dr. Curwen is perhaps inclined towards too great simplification. Expert opinion is against his rigid classification of an early Celtic and a later Anglo-Saxon field system; there even seems to be some evidence in Sussex itself for strip-fields in the 'Celtic' period. One feels, too, that his observations on the probable way of life of the Middle Bronze Age folk is premature in view of the extreme rarity of their known settlements.

This over-simplification, an obvious danger of the humanising method, is not quite avoided elsewhere, particularly when dealing with material poorly represented in Sussex. Thus, for instance, no-one who has seen the relevant evidence in the North can doubt that the statement on our Neolithic B ware, 'this came from Scandinavia,' is too bald to fit the facts. But in general, and more especially in the admirable Late Bronze Age and Iron Age chapters, the danger has been carefully avoided. In this regard the inclusion of a separate chapter dealing with the complexities of Iron Age pottery, for the benefit of the specialist and the avoidance of the lay-man, proves most successful.

A few probable mis-statements should be mentioned: p. 30, in

usual modern terminology St. Acheul II does not indicate the later part of that period, but an early phase in it; p. 41, recent work has shown that the greater development of one or other side of the brain has no connection with right- or left-handedness; p. 64, it is now the seventh and not the sixth city of Troy that is identified with the Homeric city; p. 144, the Eastbourne flint sickle is not quite of the characteristic Scandinavian crescentic type; p. 155, it is more than unlikely that it was the beaker invaders from the Rhineland 'who brought us our knowledge of bronze'; p. 304, painted wall plaster from native Romano-British huts was also found by Pitt-Rivers at Woodcuts.

Perhaps the most stimulating effect of this book in its entirety is the impression it gives that we are at last attaining to that sociological approach to archaeology which is so badly needed. With the survey of agricultural systems and their relation to contemporary settlement, the thorough excavation of camps such as the Caburn, and smaller communal units like Site A on Plumton Plain, it begins to be possible at least to speculate on such social problems as density and distribution of population, and specialisation of employment. For the study of questions like these it is safe to say that there are few more suitable regions in the country than the prehistoric folk museum which we so fortunately possess in the South Downs.

JACQUETTA HAWKES.

THE GUN-FOUNDERS OF ENGLAND. By CHARLES FFOULKES, C.B., O.B.E., with a preface by Lord Cottesloe, C.B., V.D. Demy 4to. Cambridge University Press, xvi + 134 pages, 15 plates, 38 figures in text. Cambridge, 1937. 21s.

In Braun and Hogenberg's map of London, probably drawn in or before 1560, appears a building containing a small field-gun in its courtyard, and labelled significantly 'Yt Goounefownders h's.' As a rule, it is only the more important structures that are accorded this privilege of written names and pictorial accessories, so we may take it that the foundry was one of some standing, but it has been left to Mr. Ffoulkes to tell us who Yt Goounefownder was, and what is known about him and his colleagues. We learn that in 1514 the Bell House in Houndsditch had been in use as a gun-foundry for three years, and had come to need sundry repairs, and that a foreign founder, Peter Baude, was established there by Henry VIII, just as the 'Almains' were being installed in Southwark and Greenwich to make armour for an England that had hitherto been accustomed to import its 'war harness' from overseas. Baude's colleagues and successors, the brothers Owen, carried on the foundry at Houndsditch and also undertook work at Calais, where they fell foul of Harry Johnson, the Master Gunner, who seems, according to the evidence, to have put more than one obstacle in their way. In 1553 John Owen fell a victim to a common traffic accident of his time, being drowned through the overturning of a wherry under London Bridge, and his brother Thomas, who continued the business until 1571, must therefore have been the leading gun-founder of Elizabethan London.

But this is merely the history of one foundry among many. As always, Mr. ffoulkes regards his subject from the view-point of the practical armourer as well as from that of the antiquary, and his book gives us, accordingly, an illuminating account of the various methods of gun-making and the types of craftsmen who employed them. We begin with the smith-made cannon, built up of iron rods about a central core, and held together by rings of iron shrunk on to it. Such a gun, being necessarily open at either end, was a breech-loader, the charge being loaded into a separate 'chamber,' which was of solid metal, and was fixed in position by being screwed into the barrel, as in 'Mons Meg' at Edinburgh, or by fitting into a space in the timber gun-bed, and being forced up against the barrel by a wedge. In later years the work of gun-making passes from the smith to the bell-founder, who casts ordnance in bronze or iron. First the guns are cast round a central core, but later the superior efficiency of a bored barrel is discovered, and we find the Board of Ordnance, in the eighteenth century, specifying that guns must be cast solid, and afterwards drilled.

In addition to his brief but expressive accounts of the various arsenals, Mr. ffoulkes gives us a quantity of unusual and surprising information about tests, castings and experiments, successful and otherwise, from the wooden cannon of Boulogne, intended to impress the enemy by its size while a smaller gun attached to it did the actual firing, to a surprisingly modern-looking machine-gun which was designed by a minor poet, early in the eighteenth century, successfully underwent a public trial, in which it fired sixty-three shots in seven minutes, and relapsed into unexpected oblivion.

A chapter of 'extracts from historical documents' makes particularly good reading, supplying as it does an impartial commentary on the development of artillery in England. It opens with an order to provide 'two great and two lesser engines called Cannon to be sent to Brest' in 1378, and includes the first official mention of Mons Meg—a payment of eighteen shillings for drink, given to the gunners who 'cartit Monss by the King's command' nearly a century later. Humphrey Walker is appointed in 1509 to be gun-founder at the Tower, Hans Poppenruyter of Malines is paid for making ships' ordnance, and in 1526 is 'in great despair and danger' when unable to secure payment for further work. So, in the following centuries, we read of John Browne of Brenchley, who cast a gun, still preserved at Deptford, in the presence of Charles I, and of the terrible explosion at Bagley's foundry at Moorfields in 1716. In that same year comes the appointment of the twenty-four-year-old Andrew Schalch as Master Founder at Woolwich, an appointment he held for fifty-four years, being succeeded in 1770 by the brothers Verbruggen. With the death of the surviving brother in 1786, this brief epitome of English gun-founding comes to an end.

Gunnery in England seems again and again to have enjoyed Royal interest and patronage. In 1407 was built 'a certain great cannon newly invented by the Lord King' Henry IV, in 1518

Henry VIII 'visited the Venetian fleet at Southampton and had all the guns fired again and again, marking their ranges, as he is very curious about such matters,' and in 1638, as has been said, the Deptford gun was cast in the presence of Charles I, whose delight in boyhood had been, we are told, in shooting 'in great Pieces of Ordnance.' George III, in his turn, paid Woolwich Arsenal a visit in 1773, and watched the boring of a forty-two-pounder 'by an horizontal boring machine, extremely curious and well contrived,' passing on to a demonstration of mortars for land and sea service.

These few extracts may serve to indicate in some degree the value, interest and variety of Mr. ffoulkes's publication. More careful proof-reading would have avoided the confusion between a bell and a gun on Page 46, and a mis-statement on Page 65, about Schalch's retiring age, but these are trifles which in no way affect our gratitude to the author for a useful and fascinating book.

M. R. H.

LONDON WALL THROUGH EIGHTEEN CENTURIES. By WALTER G. BELL, F. COTTRILL and CHARLES SPON. Demy 8vo., pp. x + 124, 1 plate, 70 figures and folding map. Published by the Council for Tower Hill Improvement, London, 1937. 3s. 6d.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY THEN AND NOW. By ARTHUR E. HENDERSON. Medium 8vo, pp. 40, numerous photographs and drawings. Published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1937. 3s. 6d.

Two great London monuments have been made the subject of recent publications, and in each case the Londoner is induced to regard the subject from a new and interesting point of view. London Wall, for instance, is commonly regarded as a fortification built by the Romans and destroyed in later centuries, but Mr. Walter Bell provides a surprise for the man-in-the-street by recording site after site where portions of the Wall are still standing, sometimes crowned with medieval masonry, and in one place complete even to the top with its protecting parapet for the sentry. Mr. Cottrill in his turn shows how archaeological evidence suggests the early second century A.D. as the period of the original fortification, and how the bastions prove to be later additions. Perhaps the most interesting part of this chapter, however, is his account of the discovery, in 1935, of an inscribed stone which was found to come from the same monument as one discovered in the same bastion in 1852 and deposited in the British Museum. The inscription commemorates one Gaius Julius Alpinus Classicianus, Procurator of the province of Britain. He is mentioned by Tacitus, and the size of the fragments indicates that his monument must have been an important and impressive one, but by the time the defences of the wall were strengthened in the third or fourth century, his memory was disregarded, and the stones of his memorial converted into building-material.

The tale of the Wall in the Middle Ages is continued by Mr. Bell, who gives, *inter alia*, an interesting account of its forgotten hermitages, and Mr. Charles Spon takes on the story, through the rebuildings and alterations of Tudor and Stuart times, to the demolition of a great

extent of the masonry in the eighteenth, nineteenth and, alas, the twentieth centuries. It is disconcerting to read that not fifteen years ago, 'A very large piece, 120 feet in length, in Bevis Marks, was uncovered and destroyed,' but the book concludes with a consoling reminder of the steps taken by H.M. Office of Works, the London Passenger Transport Board and the Tower Hill Improvement Council to preserve the surviving fragments. The illustrations are many and for the most part well-chosen, but the imaginative drawings of 'typical Londoners' of various periods suffer badly by comparison with the figures reproduced from contemporary manuscripts and engravings.

Mr. Arthur Henderson has a different task. The appearance of Westminster Abbey at the present day is so well known that one is apt to forget that for many generations it bore a very different aspect. The western towers which form so familiar a landmark are not yet two hundred years old, the immediate surroundings of Parliament Square are, for the most part, even more recent, and Mr. Henderson's drawings recreate for us, first, the church as built by the Confessor, then the church of Henry III, more or less as we know it, but without the disturbing complication of commemorative statuary or modern pews, and also, and perhaps most important of all, the position of the building as a part of the great Benedictine monastery adjoining the Palace of Westminster. Particular reference is made difficult by the absence of any numbers on plates or pages, but the drawing of the possible appearance of the Norman nave and Sanctuary may be mentioned as worth comparison with the photographs of the modern nave which appear in the opposite page. The scope of the book is not to reproduce, as by some magic, the exact appearance of the Abbey in the past, but to give some indication of the type of building St. Edward and his successors aspired to raise, and this function is very adequately fulfilled.

M. R. H.

THE OXINDEN AND PEYTON LETTERS, 1642-1670: being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham, Sir Thomas Peyton of Knowlton and their circle. Edited with Notes and an Introduction by DOROTHY GARDINER. xlv + 371 pages, with 4 half-tone plates and a genealogical table. Sheldon Press. 1937. 15s.

The first volume of the Oxinden Letters, published in 1935 and reviewed in Vol. LXXXIX of the *Archaeological Journal*, (page 310) covered the years 1607 to 1642, the last of the letters having been written only two days before King Charles raised his standard at Nottingham. Like the readers of a serial story which breaks off at the most exciting point, we hoped for a further instalment, and now Mrs. Gardiner has gratified our wish by publishing a second volume of the Letters of Henry Oxinden and his circle. The earliest of this second series was written in May, 1642, the latest in January, 1680. Covering as they do the period of the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Restoration, these letters give a picture of social conditions

in the middle of the seventeenth century beside which the average history book account seems jejune and colourless.

In point of interest, the Civil War period tends to take first place. With the course of the war, the Letters are hardly concerned, for little fighting took place in East Kent where most of the correspondents lived (it is curious that there is not more about the Kentish rising of 1648), but the effect of the war on the lives of ordinary men and women, and the universal bewilderment which later gave place to social and economic disintegration, are vividly described. Henry Oxinden himself, the central figure of these Letters, was a country gentleman, a man of learning and of sober judgment, who loved the fanatics of neither faction. Although he loyally accepted the government of the day, and avoided unprofitable differences with both Parliament and the royalists, the troublous years of the War and of the Commonwealth deprived him of most of the material blessings of this life, and left him at the Restoration an impoverished man, hoping with a pathetic eagerness for a profitable place under the new regime. When his place-hunting came to nothing, he secured ordination, and spent two wretched years of importunity until he was granted the living of Radnage in Buckinghamshire. But poor Henry had to employ a curate to discharge the duties of his cure (he himself continued to live in Kent) and he profited little from his benefice. He died in 1670, a man whom the pleasant things of life had for many years passed by. Truly for him the times were out of joint. He had been forced to sell the family estate; his creditors pressed him inconveniently; his daughters married unhappily; and his son, a picturesque but morally worthless character, predeceased his father by two years, dying in the King's Bench prison, where he was awaiting his trial for robbing the Northern mail. It is significant of the age that the renegade son Thomas, soldier of fortune, privateer and highwayman by turns, was received in the highest society, and was on dining terms with the Duke of Richmond.

We, who are becoming accustomed to the spectacle of a twentieth century civil war waged with a peculiar brutality, cannot fail to wonder at, and perhaps even feel a little proud of, the way in which our forefathers managed these things in England three hundred years ago. The war gave scope for local jealousies and unneighbourly actions, but judged by modern standards it was a gentlemanly affair. Parliament was quite capable of releasing Sir Thomas Peyton, who was imprisoned because of his royalist sympathies, when his business in the country demanded his presence for a few days. We can hardly imagine that such graciousness would accompany a modern civil war. Incidentally, the rather prosaic way in which another, and more widely known cavalier—Colonel Richard Lovelace—came to be within the 'stone walls' and 'iron bars' of the Peterhouse is described in a letter from James Thompson to Henry Oxinden. His imprisonment came about in this manner: 'Search was made for Franke Lovelace in his lodging, who not being found instantly, the Colonell that was imployed imagined hee might bee concealed (I thinke) in his brother's Cabinet, and commanded the violation of

that, where a discovery was made of divers Delinquent jewells. Them they forthwith siezed on as Prisoners. Dicke, incensed at so great a loss, takes upon him stiffly to argue property, a note which it must be supposed they could not digest when it was in order to disgorging a prize and therefore instantly packed him to Peterhouse, upon pretence of answering some matters contained in papers of his ; but his Treasure was ordered to a more private prison. When the day of redemption for either will dawne, we are yet to expect.' So it was a disposition 'stiffly to argue property' rather than an altruistic devotion to the 'sweetness, mercy, majesty and glories of my king' that landed Lovelace in prison.

But the Letters deal with a host of other and more pleasant incidents than the Civil War, and pages could be filled with lively quotations from them. We read of purchases of clothes for Henry Oxinden's wife, and of books for himself; of his week's trip to France to see the siege and taking of Gravelines—evidently a popular expedition for the leisured Englishman; of innumerable estate matters, and lawsuits, in which he is much more eager than in the Royalist or Parliamentary cause; of the education of his son at Faversham and Wye Grammar Schools, and of his daughters at the School of Mr. Beven—'a conscionable, discrete man, and one that stands much upon his credit'; of discussions with Alexander Ross on Latin poetry, and of the publication of his own Latin works. It is impossible to indicate more than a few of the topics, pathetic or humorous, trivial or important, which find mention in so varied a collection of Letters.

Mrs. Gardiner has fully maintained the high standard of editorship which the first volume showed. She has provided a useful introduction, head-notes to the Letters where they are necessary, a much needed family tree, and an index, but she never intrudes unless it is essential, and has fortunately left unspoiled the correspondent's own spellings, which show far more individuality of character than twentieth-century popular education would permit. To the phonologist and the historian the Letters will prove of especial interest; indeed the student of social conditions during the seventeenth century will neglect them at his peril, for they do for that century much what the Paston Letters do for the fifteenth.

FRANK W. JESSUP.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PREHISTORIC SOCIETY FOR 1936 (July–December), Vol. II, part 2. Pp. 126. 10s.

With the conclusion of the second year since it dropped its former regional status, the Prehistoric Society may well look with satisfaction upon its achievements as a national body. In particular the completion of the second volume of the Proceedings enables us to see that the high standard set in 1935 is to be maintained and increased, and that not least of its merits will be a controlled and ordered policy.

In his Presidential Address Professor Boswell strikes what we

may safely anticipate is to be one of the keynotes of the Society's activities. In discussing the Problems of the Borderland of Archaeology and Geology in Britain, he stresses the convergence of these two methods of approach to the common problems of prehistory, which has taken place within the last quarter of a century. And he makes a special plea for the furtherance of that rapprochement by the maintenance of a proper balance between them. Such an appeal was perhaps hardly necessary. It can scarcely be a coincidence that the three articles included within the second part of volume ii are all concerned with aspects of archaeology in which physiographical changes have played a determining part.

Two of these articles are primarily concerned with the work of record. Dr. Trechmann discusses the Submerged Forest at West Hartlepool, and the valuable confirmatory evidence which it has afforded of the presence of Maglemose artefacts on the N.E. coasts of England. And the Essex Coast Sub-Committee of the Fenland Research Committee report upon the 'Archaeology of the Submerged Land-Surface of the Essex Coast.' Where so much of the material has of necessity been collected under circumstances which did not admit of exact study the record of the scanty evidence available is particularly valuable. No material later than B beaker pottery and associated flint types has been found; and the occurrence of this material at all levels, suggests that the subsidence which brought the Essex coastline approximately to its present form was brief and rapid. The absence of A beaker is probably to be interpreted in terms of the now generally accepted priority of B beaker, in which case the sequence of natural events is strikingly parallel to that which has been established for the Fenland. The possibility of a local explanation however is wisely not discounted in the present state of knowledge. A most valuable individual contribution is that of Mr. Piggott, who has once more put us in his debt by the recognition and analysis of a new class of neolithic pottery, which he calls 'Grooved Ware,' whose continental affinities seem to be in Holland and N.W. Germany.

The third paper is a striking and original essay in methodology. From a study of the distribution of three species of flatworm in N.W. Europe, Mr. Ulliot has been able to establish the climatic conditions under which the separation of England from the continent took place. Yet another word, 'Zoogeography,' has been added to the long list of sciences with which crossword-fan and archaeologist have alike now to be familiar; although if all its expositors are as lucid as Mr. Ulliot, the burden should be a light one. The three flatworms under consideration are generally distributed in N.W. Europe, but there is for each a restricted range of temperature within which alone it can live. And although capable of wide diffusion, at no stage of their life-history can they live out of fresh water. Now *Planaria gonocephala*, which has the warmest range, is not found in England, although climatic conditions are fully suitable and it is, in fact, common in N. France. From this it follows that the fresh water connections of England and the continent were severed while the

average summer temperature lay between 12° and 16° C., and those conditions were, upon the Scandinavian evidence, prevailing well before the close of the Boreal period. Such a conclusion is in striking accordance with the results obtained from the pollen-analysis of the N. Sea 'moorlog,' and Mr. Ulyot's methods are presumably capable of extension to produce further valuable results of a similar character.

There is a useful summary of Excavations during 1936 and ten pages of 'Notes.' Of 'Current Prehistory' it is only necessary to say that twelve of the thirteen articles come from the voracious pen of the editor in order to indicate the catholicity of the choice of subjects discussed. A reference on pp. 212-13 to the plan on p. 247 would have been welcome; and the reference on p. 188 to Pl. xxxvi, nos. 2-7 should read Pl. xxxix.

The reviewer will no doubt stand convicted of airing his own personal prejudices in suggesting that perhaps the Iron Age too forms a legitimate branch of prehistoric study. There is surely room for both devil and baker within the Society; and there must be many who, while welcoming the rapprochement with Geology that is urged by Professor Boswell, will feel that the relegation of the Iron Age to an occasional note and to the brief summary of the season's excavations is endangering the breadth of outlook which is so necessary for the maintenance of a healthy membership.

J. B. W. P.

OXONIENSIA, a Journal dealing with the archaeology, history and architecture of Oxford and its neighbourhood. Vol. i, 1936. Oxford: The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1936. Pp. 222 + vi, with 22 plates and 27 text figures. £1 1s. (to subscribers 15s.).

In embarking upon the publication of which this is, we hope, the first of many volumes, the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society have not plunged hot-headed into deep waters. *Oxoniensia* is to be guided by a considered policy. It is in no sense a revival of the Proceedings of the Society, which many years ago died the unlamented death which was their proper fate. The ephemeral matter of the Society's business will not be included. And a more dangerous, because more insidious, weakness will be avoided by the strict limitation of its scope to the business proper of a local society, the recording of the history and antiquities of the county. That such a limitation will in no way detract from the value to the general reader of much of the material contained should be apparent from the contents of the first volume; and we have the editors' word that these contents may be accepted as the best practical illustration of the policy which it is intended to follow in the future.

The pre-Roman period is represented by Mr. Leeds' article on the circular enclosures which air-photography has revealed in such copious numbers in Oxfordshire and Berkshire. Some of these are certainly disc- (why disk-?) barrows of middle Bronze Age date. Of others Mr. Leeds ventures the novel suggestion that they may,

in fact, be the enclosures round huts, or groups of huts, and that certain recurrent features are to be explained as due to ritual 'killing.' Further excavation can alone decide. It may be added that merely in the provision of a fresh vehicle for Major Allen's air-photographs, *Oxoniensia* goes far to justify itself.

Mr. Harden records the chance discovery of two new potters' fields, one near Dorchester and one on Rose Hill, Cowley. In each case the kiln itself was well preserved. The excavations at Rose Hill were undertaken under salvage conditions, but at Dorchester it could be shown that the site had been in continuous occupation since the late Bronze Age, and that the natives had turned their position beside the Roman road to good account and had manufactured pottery throughout the Roman period.

Of considerable importance is Mr. Radford's full report upon the excavations undertaken in 1935 on the site of the Roman Villa at Ditchley in N.W. Oxfordshire. The site was rediscovered from the air, and with the aid of Major Allen's air-photographs, which revealed every detail of plan and lay-out, it was possible to reduce digging to a minimum, yet with the assurance that nothing vital had been missed. The history of the buildings, which, with a gap in the third century covers the whole Roman period, is clearly set out and calls for no special comment. Of great interest, however, is the light that is thrown on the system of cultivation connected with the villa. The excavations clearly showed that under the prevailing soil-conditions, negative as well as positive evidence was admissible from the air-photographs. The absence therefore from these of any trace of the distinctive small Celtic field becomes highly significant. There were several other Roman villas nearby, and the large granary uncovered at Ditchley supports the belief, that some part, probably the majority, of their produce was the corn for which the soil is so well suited. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the agricultural system here prevailing was the strip-field, and that it was the heavy plough which enabled the Roman cultivators to advance into the hitherto untouched forest-lands of Wychwood.

Less than half a mile away in the parish of Kiddington, a late Roman hoard of 1176 bronze coins was unearthed. On this Mr. Sutherland gives a report. Mr. O'Neil in his account of the Nobottle hoard (*Arch. Journ.* xc, 282-305) listed the 'Theodosian' coin-hoards, and stressed the divorcement of their find-spots from known villa-sites. Mr. Sutherland, with some reason, criticises some of the conclusions there drawn; and the history of the Ditchley villa certainly suggests that the disaster of 367 is a card that can be overplayed. The villa was never sacked. There is, on the contrary, some evidence to show that under the changed conditions occasioned by the growth of the colonate it continued to exist as an economic unit after its decay as a residence. The hoard itself was buried after 395, probably considerably later. The list of hoards associated with villas is not large, but it cannot be neglected; and the Kiddington hoard constitutes a valuable additional example.

The remaining articles cover a wide range of subjects. Two are

concerned with the early development of medieval administrative forms. In his account of St. Frideswide and Her Times, Professor Stenton collects the scanty facts available for the life of that shadowy but probably historical person. He gives good reason for accepting as genuine the remarkable and often discredited charter granted to her church by Æthelred II in 1104; and he gives a brief but masterly picture of the conditions of local church administration in the eighth century, a time when the medieval parochial system was still in its infancy. Miss Cain touches upon similar problems from the point of view of civil administration, and the article on the North Gate Hundred gives a scholarly account of its history and sets its unusual circumstances against a sound background of normal contemporary practice. Mr. Lamborn puts on record the present condition of the church of Bix, desecrated in 1875, with a note on the history of the manors of Bix. Mr. Pantin prefaces the intended publication in *Oxoniensia* of extracts from college muniments, and Dr. Milne contributes a short note on the collection of coins presented to the University by Archbishop Laud. Mr. Leeds illustrates and discusses a second mural painting recently discovered in No. 3, Cornmarket Street, Oxford, and dateable to the years immediately following 1564 (for the first see *J.B.A.A.* xxxvii (1932), 75 ff.). Mr. Taylor publishes *in extenso* a letter describing the visit of Charles I to Oxford in 1636. Messrs. Lattey, Parsons and Philip give an account of the map of the Civil War defences of Oxford made in 1644 by the Dutch military engineer, Sir Bernard de Gomme; the map was acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1935, and the inadequacy of the plans previously known gives it a special value. And Mr. Gibson's entertaining account of the Oxford antiquary and librarian, Francis Wise, is a reminder of the conditions of learning in the University in the eighteenth century and of the gusto with which learned controversy was then conducted.

The volume concludes with Reviews, Notes and News (which includes a report of the Society's sub-committee on Old Houses, whose activities should be of inestimable service in the fight to preserve from indiscriminate destruction all that is best worth preserving of old Oxford), and a brief list of publications during 1935 which concern Oxfordshire. Printing, format and illustrations are alike first class, and the cover is quiet but distinctive.

The appearance of a new archaeological periodical is rightly an occasion for critical questioning. Does it fulfil a need? And does it fulfil it adequately? In answer to both these questions the first volume of *Oxoniensia* evokes an unqualified assent. To the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society we offer our warmest congratulations upon their new venture, and we hope that it will receive the widespread support which it merits and by which alone it will be enabled to maintain so high a standard.

J. B. W. P.