

## Reviews

*Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland.* Edited by Werner Krämer. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. xii + 604 pp., 362 illustrations, 2 colour plates and 32 folding plates. Berlin, Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1958. Price 70 Dm.

This volume of reports on recent excavations in Germany was prepared by the Römische-Germanische Kommission of the German Archaeological Institute and issued to members of the Fifth International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences held at Hamburg in August, 1958. In the course of excursions organized before and after the congress members were able to visit many of the sites described both in West and East Germany.<sup>1</sup> The articles, which are contributed by leading German scholars, range from the stone age down to the full middle ages.

The great development of early medieval archaeology in modern Germany is well illustrated by the devotion of nearly one half of the volume to this period. The present review covers only the material of post-Roman date, except in so far as the Roman material is relevant to later developments, a relevance that is highly significant in view of the emphasis placed on the question of continuity. Some of these excavations have already been published; others seem to be new. In either case the appearance of this wide-ranging survey is to be welcomed as some of the published reports are in works not widely known in this country.

It is fitting that our review should turn first to early Christian remains, for in NW. Europe Christianity provided the dynamic which welded together the elements that coalesced to form the middle ages. Fremersdorf's discussion of St. Severin at Cologne carries us back to the origins. There were already Christian graves in this great pagan cemetery as early as A.D. 160, a phenomenon which is justly compared with the tomb of St. Peter on the Vatican hill at Rome. From this beginning we can trace the increasing, and finally the predominant, use of the cemetery by Christians, the erection about 320 of a small *martyrion* above the graves of the martyrs Asclinius and Pamphilius, the burial of St. Severinus, bishop of Cologne (*ob. c. 400*), in a tomb in the enlarged narthex, the Frankish cemetery and the sequence of churches down to the present day. Here, developed with patience and illustrated by an excellent series of plans, is a historical sequence that care and a certain degree of good fortune should enable us to parallel at some Romano-British city. At Xanten, again, Borger is able to demonstrate continuity of cult above the grave of the martyrs. His second Carolingian plan with the fragmentary remains of a small *monasterium*, dated before 800, is of especial relevance to English archaeology. St. Maximin at Trier, described by Eiden in an article mainly of Roman interest, provides the caution. The small *memoria* of early-fourth-century date, in a Christian cemetery, was disused in the fifth century; the site was used for lime-kilns and rubbish-pits. The building must be interpreted as the chapel of a wealthy family.

At Trier Kempf illustrates the coming of Imperial Christianity. The great Constantinian double basilica, built between 326 and 346, is worthy to challenge comparison with the cathedrals of the greatest Roman cities, even with the mother church of St. John Lateran in Rome itself. The recent excavations have unravelled the complex structural history of this building; the square core, which still stands to a height of about 100 ft., is an addition of *c. 400*. The continuity so clearly demonstrated at Trier is less apparent at Cologne, where Doppelfeld describes two successive Carolingian churches beneath the cathedral. The older, dating from the beginning of the ninth

<sup>1</sup> A fuller account of more recent work carried out in the German Democratic Republic was also prepared in connexion with the congress and will be found in the Journal of the Prehistoric and Proto-historic Section of the East German Academy of Sciences (*Ausgrabungen und Funde*, III, heft 4/5, 1958).

century, is closely related to the well-known plan of St. Gallen. The earlier history of the site is uncertain. It has produced securely dated Merovingian walls and 'it is possible that some of them belonged to a church building': the author's caution is understandable pending further research. In Bavaria on the Lorenzburg by Epfach (the Roman Abodiacum) Werner illustrates a fourth-century church, which was later destroyed. The Carolingian church on the same site is on a different orientation; in the interval the area was occupied by an Alemannic hut and graves. The author contrasts this discontinuity with Inner Rhaetia where he cites the Georgenberg by Kuchl as an example of continuity of the Christian cult.

The graves of the migration period fill in the other side of the picture. Wein describes the Alemannic cemetery at Weingarten in Württemberg, which runs from the first quarter of the sixth century to c. 700. The SW.-NE. orientation marks this out as pagan, while historically the graves are connected with the settlement that later became Altdorf, a village attested as early as the eighth century. The careful analysis of the graves provides useful information about the social grading of the inhabitants. The princely grave at Morken, west of Cologne, is discussed by Böhner, who describes the rich series of grave goods dating from c. 600. The warrior is identified as a member of the Frankish aristocracy, a landowner holding an estate that may be compared with a medium-sized modern village, with an acreage within the bracket of 500 to 1500. The grave is oriented with the later church, showing that the burial, notwithstanding the rich equipment, is that of a Christian. Morken itself produced no evidence of a wooden church, but this stage in the evolution of rural Christianity is illustrated by plans from Breberen (eighth century), Pier (also probably eighth century) and Palenberg (c. 800). The early eighth-century church of St. Peter in Lahr, described by Tschira, is of masonry, not timber. Tucked against the foundation, and therefore buried within the church, Eckerle records a richly-equipped burial. Nor is this phenomenon confined to the countryside. 'The Frankish cemetery of St. Severin at Cologne (see above) of the sixth to the eighth century must have been of considerable extent. A large series of rich burials is known to have come from it, most of them yielding fine gold work.'

The series of Germanic settlements described in this volume covers the *wurt* settlements of Feddersen Wierde, near the Weser mouth (Haarnagel), Tofting and Elizenhof on the west coast of Schleswig-Holstein (Bantelmann) and the Saxon village of Warendorf near Münster (Winkelmann). Since the house types have been discussed in a recent volume of this Journal (*Med. Archaeol.*, 1, 27-38) comment may be confined to two points. The hedge, represented by a row of closely-set post-holes, which forms the western boundary of the settlement at Warendorf, closely resembles the long lines of holes visible on so many air-photographs of the river gravels of England. Bantelmann commenting on the desertion of the site at Tofting in the early sixth century writes: 'Since this is a phenomenon noted throughout Schleswig-Holstein one can hardly fail to connect this emigration of the population with the arrival in England of the Angles and Saxons.'

The origin of the medieval towns receives due attention. Apart from the Christian sites already discussed we may note evidence from Cologne, Frankfurt and Regensburg. Doppelfeld's account of the *praetorium* at Cologne—the fourth-century *regia* mentioned by Ammianus—shows that building was still in progress in the Merovingian age, when a courtyard was roofed over and new walls built. In Carolingian days the area lay desolate and was used for rubbish-pits; its next appearance is as part of the ghetto. This is an isolated area in a great Roman city. More immediately interesting is Frankfurt-am-Main, where the whole development is summarized by Hundt and Fischer. Their survey brings out the existence of Merovingian timber buildings which bridge the gap between the Roman settlement and the imperial palace of Louis the Pious. This palace, with its great hall and private apartments connected with the church, provides a later and more sophisticated example of the type of royal dwelling

explored by Hope-Taylor at Yeavinger. At Regensburg Stroh cites documentary evidence to show that the late Roman walls were still serviceable in the eighth century and were reactivated in the civil strife of the tenth century.

In north Germany, where the problem is not complicated by the question of Roman survival, Schindler gives an admirable summary of the work carried out at Hamburg. The ninth-century foundation of the bishop lay over a burnt Slavonic settlement of *c.* 800, which had replaced a Saxon village of the seventh century. The episcopal defences were of earth and timber enclosing a wooden church. Outside the ramparts a trading settlement grew up on the banks of the creek. Later, about 1000, both were fortified with a common rampart to guard against the attacks of the Slavonic Obotrites, which are frequently recorded between 983 and 1072. At Magdeburg, the evolution seems to have been similar. Recent investigations in the Altstadt, recorded by Unverzagt and Nickel, did not produce evidence earlier than the twelfth century. The Ottonian trading settlement is now thought to lie on the Sudenburg, immediately south of the cathedral, a foundation of Otto the Great, in which he lies buried. Magdeburg is mentioned as a trading settlement on the Slavonic border a century before the Ottonian foundation. The evolution of this type of purely trading settlement is considered by Jahnkuhn in his account of the settlement of Haithabu, where systematic excavations covering a long period are now published and available for study.

The Slavonic settlements, which so strongly moulded the history of north Germany in the Ottonian age and later are illustrated by the excavations of Teterow and Behren-Lübchin, both in Mecklenburg, described by Unverzagt and Schuldt. The choice of marshy surroundings, the consequent excellent preservation of the timber of the defences and bridges, and the relation between citadel and settlement (Burg and Vorburg) provide a fascinating picture of an organization that contrasts with the urban centres of the advancing Empire. An excellent example at Alt Lübeck was also visited by the Congress, but does not appear in this volume.

Sprockhoff's account of the new excavations at Kastell Hühbeck provides new technical data about this enigmatic site, but does not succeed in settling the vexed question of date. At the Husterknupp Herrnbrod's careful investigation (see also pp. 332 ff., *infra*) allows us to carry further the story of the lords of Morken (see above).

The foregoing analysis will have shown how many points of contact exist between recent German work and the problems with which British archaeology is concerned. Our first reactions are gratitude to our German colleagues who have made available this illuminating synoptic survey and admiration for the high quality of their work. On the technical side our excavations need not fear comparison with the work here recorded. Where British work does, in our opinion, fall short of the German achievement is in the field of planning, in its failure to isolate the crucial problems, to ensure that adequate resources are available for their solution and to exploit the services of all available disciplines. There are, of course, exceptions, which it would be invidious to name, but British archaeology can show no comparable series of early medieval excavations to set beside those so lucidly described in this volume.

C. A. RALEGH RADFORD

*Arthur and His Times.* By Jack Lindsay. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. 344 pp., 14 line-drawings. London: Frederick Muller, 1958. Price 25s.

In his latest book Mr. Lindsay takes up the story of Britain and her neighbours where he left it in *The Romans Were Here* and carries it on from the fourth century of our era into the early decades of the sixth century. His main concern is to show that these 'lost centuries', the so-called dark age of British history, can be made to reveal a reasonably clear, and even vivid, picture if all sources of information—literary, archaeological, epigraphical, and numismatic—are sifted and correlated and particularly if the fortunes of the British Isles at this period are seen against the background of the fate of

Gaul, with which they were so intimately linked and for which we have so much more detailed evidence. Together, Gaul and Britain formed a closely united, firmly interlocking Celtic world. Yet by the close of this epoch their respective destinies had worked out very differently. The major question that interests Mr. Lindsay is why Gaul succeeded, where Britain failed, in the struggle to preserve, in the face of barbarian invasion, the continuity of classical Roman life and culture.

This is an unsatisfactory book for the student and scholar, for there are too many assumptions based on probabilities, as well as occasional errors of fact. And one wonders whether the story has sufficient pace to carry the non-specialist reader through the complexities of so many unfamiliar authorities.

It may, however, be said at once that the present volume is in many ways a great improvement on its predecessor. In the first place, chapter and verse are given here for almost every statement in abundant notes, collected together at the end, which bear witness to the width and up-to-dateness of the author's reading. The English style is more careful and straightforward, with relatively few lapses, such as 'respectabilise' (p. 89) and 'reminding of' instead of 'reminiscent of' (p. 235); but there are a number of phrases which jar on the reader badly, for instance when we read of Ausonius 'slanging town life' (p. 148) and of the 'defenders of Original Sin . . . taking no chances' (p. 137). There are also fewer crudities of thought, although such a phrase as 'the magical efficacy of baptism' (p. 138) betrays abysmal ignorance of orthodox Christian sacramental doctrine.

*Arthur and His Times* is designed to put together for the general reader the recently published results of scholarship. Mr. Lindsay's debts to such researchers as Mrs. Nora Chadwick, Sir Frank Stenton, Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland, Professor Kenneth Jackson, and many others are apparent on every page—debts which are fully acknowledged in Notes and References (the latter being a much more complete and orderly bibliography than that which was produced before). The text is interspersed with generous slices from the writings of these modern authorities; but of such citations there are fewer than in the earlier volume and correspondingly more quotations (this time documented) from the ancient sources.

The hitherto accepted picture of the decay of the cities of the Roman province during the fourth century does indeed (as Mr. Lindsay himself suspects) need revision in the light of recent excavations (pp. 15, 17, 37). At Verulamium in particular the last five seasons' work has shown that houses with painted walls and elaborate mosaic pavements were being, not only remodelled, but sometimes built *de novo*, in the forum area during this period. Nor is there evidence that the forum itself was in disintegration and that the dumping of rubbish in the theatre did not take place until well on into the fifth century. Not decline, but a sense of security could explain the filling up by 300 of the guardroom of the south gate at Caistor-by-Norwich (p. 15). The re-used material in the fourth-century London bastions came, principally, not from houses, but from tombs (p. 15).

A number of other inaccuracies, some minor, others more serious, must now be noted. Roman Britain had, not 'a handful of *municipia*' (p. 15), but one *municipium* and four *coloniae*. The Canterbury city-walls date, not from the late-second, but from the mid-third, century; and Colchester should be added to the list of those cities that were walled *c.* 200 (p. 15). There was no 'new awareness (consolidated by religious feeling) of being Celtic as well as Roman, or Celtic rather than Roman' in fourth-century Roman Britain. Celtic cults, sometimes uncontaminated, sometimes associated with the worship of Graeco-Roman deities, had, of course, flourished throughout the period of Roman occupation. Nor should the extent of the revival of Celtic paganism in the later fourth century, perhaps as an aftermath of Julian the Apostate's pro-pagan policy, be exaggerated (pp. 39, 43). Lydney is the only known example of the building at this period of a major new shrine. At Verulamium it was a question of merely remodelling an existing temple; at Cirencester of the restoration by a Roman governor, doubtless one who was

sympathetic to Julian, of the column and statue of the Roman state-god Jupiter; while the new country shrines at Maiden Castle in Dorset and at Brean Down in Somerset (*J. Rom. Stud.*, XLIX (1959), 129, fig. 23, pl. 15, fig. 1: Mr. Lindsay does not mention this, although it was found and reported in the press in 1957) were of extremely modest dimensions. We do not know the date of the sculptured pediment at Bath. But if it is Celtic in style and technique and in its Gorgon-mask's masculinity, it must not be forgotten that in design and in conception it is still completely classical (p. 41). It was to the Whittington, not to the Withington, villa in Gloucestershire that a fourth-century hall was added (p. 147).

Finally, it is surely misleading to state that 'Christianity had probably made no headway in Britain before the Constantinian epoch' and that there is little evidence for enthusiasm for the new faith during the fourth century (p. 43). The record (which Mr. Lindsay cites) of three British bishops attending the Council of Arles in 314 suggests that the Church in Britain was already, before Constantine's conversion in 312, organized on urban episcopal lines. Open traces of Christianity while still a *religio illicita* are, of course, not to be expected in Britain. As regards the post-Edict-of-Milan period, the predominance of Christianity in Cirencester, the second-largest city in Britain, although mentioned by Mr. Lindsay, has a significance that he seems to have missed (p. 45). From Bede we know that there were at least two Romano-British church-buildings in Canterbury alone, still surviving at the time of St. Augustine's mission; and the elaborate Christian mural paintings in the Lullingstone villa (p. 51) are indicative of a decidedly pious Christian community in one country district, at least, in Kent—a community keen enough to employ the services of competent and well-trained artists almost certainly of foreign origin. Again, when all the minor objects bearing Christian symbols from Roman Britain are gathered together and analysed, they produce a not unimpressive assemblage (*J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, 3 ser., XVI (1953), 1-24).

In the part of the book which deals with the native British evidence, later legend is not infrequently quoted to fill in the picture. Mr. Lindsay consistently gives the date of his sources, and adds the reference in a footnote, so he certainly does not intend to mislead. But how, without clear guidance, can the non-specialist recognize the different value to be attached to different kinds of evidence—how is he to differentiate between a statement by Gildas (sixth century), a genealogy, a heroic poem composed in the main about 600, a legend reported by Nennius in the ninth century, a tenth-century annal entry, an eleventh-century saint's life and a Welsh secular tale? It is much too difficult. And Mr. Lindsay himself, who is at his best with a good narrative passage or a sympathetic description, sometimes confuses his reader in arguing the pros and cons of his evidence.

It should be clearly understood that there is very little evidence indeed about the fifth-sixth-century Arthur. He is not mentioned by Gildas, and the clause in the *Annales Cambriae* describing his part in the battle of Badon is probably an interpolation (see Professor Thomas Jones, 'Early developments of the story of Arthur' (in Welsh), *Bull. Board Celtic Stud.*, xvii, pt. iv, May, 1958). The annal entry of his death at the battle of Camlan establishes him as a real person, a British war leader; the allusion to him in the Gododdin proves his reputation as a heroic figure at least as early as the ninth century and possibly as early as about 600. But, apart from this, most of what we 'know' about Arthur is inference or founded on later legend. He lived on in the imaginations of story-tellers, of the bard who had to entertain the troops before a battle or sing in his lord's hall, of the cleric describing how his saint could get the better even of Arthur, of politicians and propagandists looking for Arthur's return to lead native resistance once more.

Anyone who tried to write a full-scale work on a fifth-sixth-century Arthur would inevitably be composing a Legendary History. Mr. Lindsay, in spite of his title, has concentrated not on Arthur, but on the age of transition to which he belongs.

J. M. C. TOYNBEE; KATHLEEN HUGHES

*Der Husterknupp, eine niederrheinische Burganlage des frühen Mittelalters.* By Adolf Herrnbrodt. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  × 7 in. xi + 220 pp., 78 figs., 44 plates and 10 folding plates in pocket. Cologne: Böhlau, 1958. Price Dm. 22.50.

The Husterknupp was a motte-and-bailey castle which stood until 1951 in the valley of the Erft, a tributary of the lower Rhine, about one km. SW. of Frimmersdorf (Kreis Grevenbroich) and 30 km. WNW. of Cologne. The site, though difficult for normal habitation, was naturally strong from the defensive point of view, for it was encompassed by a great loop of the river Erft and by water-logged ground. Unfortunately, the area is one in which deposits of brown coal are being exploited by open-cast workings. In 1949, the workings began to encroach on the Husterknupp and by the end of 1951 the mound had completely disappeared. Meanwhile, emergency excavations were carried out by the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn. The task was made unexpectedly difficult by the discovery, in the final season, of timber buildings with walls standing up to 2 m. high, buried under the motte itself. The present volume is a record of the excavation results presented by A. Herrnbrodt, the principal excavator, followed by a lengthy discussion of the timber buildings by Adelhart Zippelius.

The history of the Husterknupp could be divided into four main periods, of which the first three were represented by earth-and-timber defences. In Period I, a sub-rectangular area measuring some 45 by 40 m. within a bend of the Erft was cut off by a wet ditch and further defended by a timber palisade. The interior was raised about 75 cm. by the laying of one, or in places two, brushwood layers separated by sand and clay, presumably derived from the ditch. On this crannog-like substructure five or more timber houses were erected. House 3, the principal dwelling, and fortunately the best preserved, was a tripartite structure, reconstructed by Mr. Zippelius in the form of a deep porch extending the full width of the north-east gable end, a living room with central hearth, and a bedroom. The main frame of the house was post-built, but the posts were slotted to receive sill-beams, which themselves supported a wall-filling of staves. The absence of Badorf ware, except for one very devolved example of a relief-band amphora, together with the predominance of Pingsdorf ware and blue-grey globular pots, suggest that this *Flachsiedlung* was founded c. 890 and occupied into the first half of the tenth century. The general context would be the period of unrest which followed the collapse of the Carolingian empire, and more particularly the beginning of northern attacks on the Rhineland. It is emphasized that the first settlement was simply a defended farmstead, not a fortress.

By contrast, the settlement of Period II represents a social and military revolution. Over the demolished buildings of the *Flachsiedlung* a sub-rectangular mound just over 1 m. high was piled up. Like the first settlement, this *Kernmotte* was surrounded by a wet ditch. Within this enclosure, House 3 continued in use, but in a subordinate position, for the chief building was now House 6, set on one of the two summits of the *Kernmotte*. This house was constructed by methods similar to House 3, but more refined; its square plan and elevated position suggest that it anticipated the square tower of the true (Period III) motte. It is further suggested that the compound containing Houses 3 and 6 had at the most only one other minor building, perhaps a store-house, within it. The retainers' quarters, work-shops, granaries and other buildings were now relegated to a low-lying ditch-enclosed area NE. of the *Kernmotte*—in short, to a bailey. Here then we have, perhaps in the second half of the tenth century, the social differentiation which forms one aspect of the normal motte-and-bailey. Whether the piling-up of the *Kernmotte* represents likewise the military aspect, or whether it was simply an attempt to counteract a rising water-table, is less clear.

No such doubt attaches to Period III, which saw the erection of a true motte (*Hochmotte*), ultimately some 5 m. in height, with a flat top some 200 sq. m. in area. This, like the preceding settlements, was totally enclosed by a wet ditch. To the east was a great crescent-shaped bailey, which utilized the Erft itself for much of its perimeter. Initially the bailey was defended merely by a palisade (Period III B), but in Period

III C this was replaced by an earthen bank with timber reinforcements carried up to a sentry-walk and breastwork. On the motte itself a trial excavation in 1934 had revealed a timber-lined well and also round stakes suggesting a palisade around the motte-top. In the excavations of 1949-51, however, no building plans were recovered either on the motte or in the bailey. This is the more regrettable because towards the end of Period III historical documents suggest that the Husterknupp had become involved in the politics of the archbishopric of Cologne as a principal seat of the Hochstaden family. By 1244, the timber castle had been entirely destroyed and thereafter, in Period IV, it formed a suburb of a new brick-built fortress across the Erft.

This bald historical summary will give some idea of the interest and importance of the site, especially when it is realized that the dating is based on a fully-documented discussion of pottery, metalwork and even leather. Two aspects of the excavations deserve fuller consideration here: their contribution to the general study of mottes, and Mr. Zippelius's discussion of the timber buildings. As some recompense for the failure to recover buildings on top of the motte, the plan is given here of the Hoverburg (Kreis Geilenkirchen-Heinsberg), a motte of similar size to the Husterknupp and likewise excavated by Mr. Herrnbrodt. On top stood a massive timber tower roughly 5 m. square, two lesser buildings, and a timber-lined well. The first point of interest is that the motte carried not merely a defensive tower, in the Abinger fashion, but other structures too. This should not surprise us, when we consider Iolo Goch's account of the buildings on Owain Glyndwr's motte at Sycharth or when we reflect on the variety of stone structures which might replace the timber work on a motte. More startling is the suggestion, made partly on the basis of soil stains at the Hoverburg, partly on the supposed analogy of House 6 at the Husterknupp, that the main posts of the Hoverburg tower were linked by sill-beams supporting a stave-wall; in short, that the ground floor at the Hoverburg was not open, but walled-in. Mr. Zippelius recalls the grooves in two of the corner-posts at Abinger and argues that the tower there was not stilted, as Mr. Hope-Taylor believed, but stave-walled. It is, of course, very difficult to know how to reconstruct the super-structure of a building from its ghost-features; but this reviewer believes, with Mr. Hope-Taylor, that the evidence of the Bayeux Tapestry, together with the Westminster Hall capital, is undeniably in favour of some motte towers being stilted. On the other hand, the form of the Hoverburg tower, the apparent absence of timbers running down through the mound of the Husterknupp, and the clear evidence there for the gradual heightening of the mound, do not support Mr. Hope-Taylor's view that the genesis of the motte tower lies in a stilted tower with a mound piled up around it.

The stage-by-stage casting-up of a motte over a long-continued period of occupation is, of course, another point of great interest at the Husterknupp. A parallel is cited from the Gravensteen motte in Ghent, Belgium, where a flat settlement more or less contemporary with Period I at the Husterknupp was likewise followed by the throwing-up of a mound in stages. A similar but independent course of events is known from a number of defensive mounds in Ireland, and may be suspected in Britain too. Clearly, the problem of the genesis of the castle-mound itself is greatly simplified if we can think, not in terms of high mounds, fully evolved, suddenly springing up over a wide area, but rather of low mounds gradually being heightened until suddenly the advantages of a high motte became generally apparent.

Turning now to the timber buildings, one appreciates above all the great detail in which the well-preserved timber-work of House 3 is presented. A point of some interest here is that while the post above floor level is skilfully shaped to a rectangular or pentagonal section, slotted to take sill-beam and wall staves, the part actually in the ground is left in the round; in other words, the ghost-features of a decayed timber building may give no clue to its builders' skill in carpentry.

From the standing remains of House 3, Mr. Zippelius essays a full reconstruction. His methods are essentially those of a massively-documented comparative study of rectangular timber houses. One misses, however, any consideration of the technical

problems involved especially in the roofing of such a house; the notable example of the Vallhagar report is not followed here. To this reviewer at least the method of roofing which Mr. Zippelius postulates seems most unsatisfactory.

From a tentative reconstruction of the several preserved buildings Mr. Zippelius proceeds to a stimulating examination of the size and relationships of the various parts of the settlement throughout its history. Finally he turns to a consideration of the general history of stave building. Perhaps the most valuable part of this, for English readers, is the bibliography which it incorporates; for Mr. Zippelius's scheme of development seems far too simple, and will probably require modification when the evidence from Yeavering and other recent excavations becomes available. Meanwhile it seems worth while to quote his general conclusion that the technique of stave building developed in NW. Europe (where its precursors were already evolved around the middle of the first millennium A.D.), and spread thence via the British Isles to Norway and via Jutland to Sweden.

Finally, a few words must be said about the presentation of the material. The excellent detailed drawings of the timber-work have already been noticed, and praise may likewise be given to the illustrations of pottery and small objects. It is otherwise, however, with the site plans and especially the section drawings. The sections of such important features as the bridges across the various ditches and the earth-and-timber defences of Period III C are more reconstruction than observed fact. This may be excused by the exigencies of an emergency excavation; but no such excuse can be made for the complete absence of any key to the conventions used in the plans and sections. In spite of such technical deficiencies, one's final word must be a warm welcome to a book of such importance for the study of timber building, both military and residential, in the early middle ages.

LESLIE ALCOCK

*English Art, 1216-1307.* By P. Brieger. 9½ × 6¼ in. xx + 299 pp., 96 plates. Oxford History of Art, iv. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. Price £2 10s.

Contributors to the Oxford History of Art have to labour under one major handicap, as was frankly admitted by the general editor at the launching of the series. 'The division of the volumes is related to periods of general history and of necessity does not always coincide with the beginning or close of some artistic movement.' No explanation of this decision was offered, and it can only be presumed that it was imposed by the publishers so as to ensure conformity with the Oxford History of England series. The difficulties this imposes on the authors have never been so clearly brought out as in this volume by Professor Brieger, which begins with the death of King John in 1216 and ends with the death of Edward I in 1307. Now, between 1180 and 1220 there occurred the only major artistic revolution between the fall of Rome and the Italian Renaissance, a revolution most penetratingly dealt with by T. S. R. Boase in the preceding volume under the revealing chapter headings: 'The Gothic Style' and 'The Classical Revival'. In consequence Mr. Brieger has to begin his work on English High Gothic without being able to treat his subject in its infancy and adolescence. 'The roots of the new style [of architecture] reached back into the later part of the twelfth century', he begins, rather sadly; and adds later: 'the basic changes in the illustration of books had been made in . . . the late twelfth century'. Nor is the terminal date much happier. Miss Joan Evans, confronted with instructions to begin her succeeding volume in 1307, firmly—and rightly—ignored them and plunged into her story in the 1280s and '90s.

This chronological imbalance is more than merely irritating; it also affects the whole treatment of the subject. Mr. Brieger sees the thirteenth century as starting with a period of sunny optimism, of renaissance confidence about man's present state and future prospects, followed by a phase of disillusionment and uncertainty. Up to a point this model rings true. But the second phase might equally well be regarded as a healthy reaction from the bland and blinkered authoritarianism of the first half of the century. It was the period which experimented with new dimensional possibilities in architecture,



with more sensuous and plastic sculpture and painting, and which prepared the way for the Decorated age which followed. Moreover looked at from the twelfth century the concept of a 'renaissance' in the thirteenth century appears less plausible. As Mr. Oakeshott has recently shown, interest in the antique persisted throughout the Romanesque period. And how far did the thirteenth century really shake itself free from its past? To give but one example, naturalism in the human form, either in sculpture or in illumination, was only attempted to a very limited extent. It is arguable that the habit of finding in every century a renaissance or an industrial revolution—or both—is one which historians have overdone.

This said, one may turn to the positive achievement of Mr. Brieger's book. It is scholarly, and is based on a close appreciation and knowledge of the literature and records of the age. Good use is made of contemporary poetry and of the Close Rolls to illuminate the problems and objectives of patrons and of artists. Mr. Brieger is particularly at home in the field of architecture and his analysis of the harsh angular English cathedral style is very satisfying. Less certain is whether he was wise to give the name 'the episcopal style' to an architectural development which in origin is an insular version of French Gothic; which evolved through monasteries like Glastonbury, Abbey Dore, Valle Crucis, Fountains and Rievaulx; and in which the relative role of the bishop, the chapter, and the architect in the case of the cathedrals is anyway far from clear.

In conformity with current trends in art-history, Mr. Brieger tentatively offers a framework based not on style but on patronage: the 'episcopal' phase of Wells, Salisbury and Lincoln was succeeded by a 'regal' phase at Westminster Abbey, which was in turn replaced by a 'seigneurial' phase in which patronage was diffused throughout the gentry. But this is surely a very superficial distinction, the only support for which is the undoubted emergence of Henry III as the great Maecenas of the age in the 1240s. The Court was far more influential in sculpture under Edward I than ever before, and knightly tombs and psalters were very important at least by the middle of the century. Nor is it easy to see how the diffusion of patronage, if such occurred, was in any sense the cause of that experimentalism and emotionalism in the arts in the reign of Edward I to which Mr. Brieger has drawn attention. Should not art-historians call a halt to this modern habit of using the vague and tentative generalizations of social historians to erect novel but rickety conceptual frameworks?

It is alarming to discover that all three of Mr. Brieger's labels are only remotely plausible in a strictly English context, and one of the features of this volume, in striking contrast to those before and after, is the paucity of reference to the continental background. Mr. Brieger observes that 'it seemed more important . . . to define the main features which constitute the English element in the European Gothic style than to discuss in detail the various continental influences'. One may well ask whether it is possible properly to define these insular features without a much closer study and appreciation of the extent of continental influence. If medieval art-history has to be written within the confines of modern national frontiers, it can only be done if the wider European background is kept constantly in mind.

A particular complaint which should be made is the extreme difficulty of discovering even the approximate date of some of the works, particularly sculpture and MSS., here described and illustrated. Even crucially important issues like the dating of the various phases of Lincoln cathedral or of the sculpture of Wells west front are non-committally dismissed in footnotes (pp. 26, 39). The plates have no dates beneath them, and the text is often very unhelpful (to give a concrete example, let the reader attempt *via* index and text to discover the date of plate 58A). It is to be hoped that in future volumes of the series some indication of date will always be given beneath the plates.

This catalogue of criticisms gives an unfair impression of the full merit of the volume, which provides the most comprehensive general guide to the art of the thirteenth century in England that is at present available. Embracing cathedrals, churches, castles, tombs, glass, ceramics, and manuscript illumination within its scope, it covers them all

with a solid workmanlike assurance. Mr. Brieger is rightly unafraid of showing enthusiasm over works he regards as of outstanding merit, and this warmth and the wealth of literary allusions make the book enjoyable to read.

The illustrations, particularly of architecture, are mostly well chosen and well printed. The exceptions are a few tiny and muddy pictures of illuminations (e.g. pl. 22B) and some photographs of sculpture: those of the Westminster Annunciation, taken at an acute angle from below, are really deplorable (pl. 40).

LAWRENCE STONE

*Medieval England*. A new edition in 2 vols., rewritten and revised. Edited by Austin Lane Poole. 9 × 5½ in. xxviii + 381 pp., 97 figs., 71 plates, and xiii + 279 pp. 10 figs., 67 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. Price £3 10s.

It is thirty-five years since H. W. C. Davis edited *Mediaeval England: A New Edition of Barnard's Companion to English History*. F. P. Barnard's *Companion* was published a generation before that, and although neither of these popular works has quite outlived its usefulness, both must be classed as companions *emeriti* in the presence of the latest addition to this sphere of collaborative scholarship.

The new edition bears the familiar stamp of the parent stock. It does, in fact, embody important new features, but the initial choice of a dozen different topics relating to the more colourful aspects of medieval life remains basically the same. Some of the original illustrations have also been retained, including a welcome reminder of the first editor—a drawing, now mercifully improved, of the mid-fifteenth-century brass of Sir John Barnard; and the street scene by Jean Foucquet, which made its first appearance as the frontispiece of the second edition, still provides the volumes with an alluring curtain-raiser.

Apart from its conception and frame-work, however, the present edition owes little to its forbears. Medieval studies have travelled far since 1924. The field of observation and analysis has been progressively narrowed and intensified. The sorting and publication of records and texts has steadily gathered momentum. Medieval archaeology has come to be looked upon as a proper subject for systematic study and has resulted in discoveries ranging from the Sutton Hoo ship-burial to a multitude of village-sites abandoned in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Many problems of the period have been subjected to critical revision. This flood of new evidence and of fresh interpretations of the old has meant that nearly all the chapters of *Medieval England* have had to be written anew. Only those on 'Coinage' and 'Printed Books, the Book-trade and Libraries' have been allowed to stand from the second edition, and even these have been thoroughly revised by R. H. M. Dolley and the late Strickland Gibson respectively.

A small alteration to the title itself presumably bears witness to a significant change of outlook towards the scope of history in general. The disappearance of the slightly apologetic word *Companion* implies that the book is no longer to be suspected, however wrongly, of being a kind of antiquarian rag-bag, that the subjects embraced by it—such as art, architecture, coinage or handwriting—are not now to be regarded as harmless and engaging pastimes, somewhat isolated from the mainstream of history. From this, however, it must not be supposed that the book is much wider in scope than its predecessors; it means, rather, that the contributors have in the main succeeded, to a degree that was neither attempted nor possible in the earlier editions, in weaving their technical subjects more closely into the background of contemporary history and society. This is readily demonstrated by comparing, say, the earlier chapter on 'Handwriting' with the present one by V. H. Galbraith, who asserts that 'writing is, after all, only a synonym for history'. The visual and cultural aspects of medieval England nevertheless remains the book's chief concern, although a somewhat capricious assortment of other valuable studies, which may be said to belong more properly to the field of general history, are included for good measure. The penetrating and extremely valuable chapter on 'Towns and Trade' by Miss Carus-Wilson and the masterly and remarkably compre-

hensive survey of religious life and organization by Dom David Knowles fall within the last category.

It is evident that in a work of even 650 pages each of the nineteen contributors would be required to exercise his skill in getting a quart into a pint-pot. A survey of the English castle, for instance, is boldly undertaken in twenty-seven pages. In a well-arranged chapter, A. J. Taylor has nonetheless packed nearly 150 castles and fortified houses, many of them unfamiliar ones, as tight as peas in a well-filled pod; several castles, indeed, notably the Edwardian castles of Wales, have come in for detailed comment. W. G. Hoskins, on the other hand, necessarily using a more selective approach, has also succeeded in imparting an enormous amount of information about the medieval landscape without ever making the reader feel he is being crammed with facts; the reader is never conscious here of compression or haste, although the pace is a fast one.

Severe compression has led to an occasional over-certainty of statement in regard to questions which are debatable and still awaiting final settlement. There are a few other assertions where some qualification might have been desirable. Thus, V. H. Galbraith surely overlooks the lower clergy, among others, when he writes that 'after the Norman Conquest . . . for nearly three centuries everyone except the serfs (the overwhelming majority) spoke French' (p. 548), for it is hard to believe that French was the vernacular for all parish priests or all peasants who were free. Similarly, Sir James Mann, who writes with admirable clarity on 'Arms and Armour', disregards the higher offices of the Church when he says, 'the profession of arms was the only one open to a gentleman' (p. 314).

It might be argued that *Medieval England* is physically too small for the extensive field it covers. The book is admittedly a trifle longer than its predecessors and in this edition is produced for the first time in two volumes. But the contributors have gained no effective elbow-room, since a less congested format and the introduction of entirely new topics accounts very largely for the increased bulk. Excessive condensation has in several chapters marred the grace and suppleness of the writing and has made many omissions inevitable. Some readers, for example, may regret the absence of any reference to the methods of medieval diplomatic administration, the theme of much recent research, in R. C. Smail's account of the 'Art of War', or the failure of G. F. Webb to deal adequately with the development of the spire in his chapter on 'Ecclesiastical Architecture'. Others may feel a certain disappointment in Miss K. M. E. Murray's strictly technical approach to the subject of shipping, thereby precluding any comment on the lot of the ordinary passenger, or in the exclusion from T. S. R. Boase's review of medieval art of some of its minor aspects such as misericords. Many will find the omission of a glossary a handicap when tackling a chapter like 'Civil Costume' by J. L. Nevinson.

Such omissions, however, are but a small price to pay for the clear general picture which emerges from the writers' brief and tractable disclosures of the basic facts and of judgments true to those facts. That the time was ripe for synthesis in the sphere of domestic architecture and town-planning, for instance, is clearly brought out at the end of H. M. Colvin's chapter, where two-thirds of the four-page bibliography is made up of items published during the past twenty-five years.

The illustrations, the large majority of which are new, remain a valuable and important feature of the volumes and obvious care has been taken in their selection. There are fewer than in the 1924 edition, but the proportion of half-tone illustrations to line-blocks has been increased. The wisdom of this change is questionable in the light of the excellent use of line-drawings made by H. M. Colvin and by A. R. Wagner in his chapter on 'Heraldry'. The photographs are beautifully reproduced, however, except for several scenes from the Bayeux tapestry. It is a pity that many illuminations are reproduced without an indication of their date. A scale would have been helpful sometimes, as, for example, in connexion with the Gough map of Great Britain (pl. 21), which forms the central feature of Lady Stenton's chapter on 'Communications'.

This last chapter, like the editor's own charming and erudite contribution on

'Recreations', has grown out of a small sub-section in the previous edition in which games, for example, were cursorily described in the chapter on 'Country Life'. Country life, in turn, is now approached from an entirely new angle by W. G. Hoskins, who discusses the interaction of medieval man and his environment, the shaping of the visible landscape by medieval settlement and agriculture. But perhaps the most striking and rewarding new topic, which in a sense supplements A. B. Emden's chapter on 'Learning and Education', is the chapter on 'Science'. Here A. C. Crombie traces the literary rediscovery of classical science and the development of independent scientific thought in medieval England. He first assesses the importance of Bede's general cosmology and treatises on the calendar. Then follows an account of the part played by English scholars, notably Adelard of Bath, in the twelfth-century revival of science and the great movement of translating from Greek and Arabic sources. The most illuminating central section is devoted to the great advances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially to the profound results arising from the methodological and mathematical inquiries of Robert Grosseteste and his followers at Oxford. Finally, the author briefly scans the English achievement in other sciences, ranging from botany to cartography.

*Medieval England*, in short, is a collection of different but loosely-connected topics which bring out the variety and distinction of medieval achievement and provide a synoptic and authoritative setting for the narrative histories of the period.

B. W. SPENCER

*The Incised Slabs of Leicestershire and Rutland*. Prefaced by a brief manual of incised slabs.

By F. A. Greenhill.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  in. 256 pp., 43 plates. Leicester: Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, 1958. Price £2 12s. 6d.

Probably few can have paid more attention to accuracy in compiling a book than Mr. F. A. Greenhill, and the development of his painstaking labour, which has been patiently awaited by subscribers, has resulted in the production of a volume which might be considered a pattern for anyone contemplating any parallel study. Salient features in the layout are the provision of county maps, giving the location of existing and recorded slabs (how brass-rubbers would have valued such an aid in the early days), the date of visitation, and the indices of names and places, which are both exact and easy to consult.

The dedication indicates what the author owes to the late Mr. H. A. Beetlestone in the pursuit of the recording of the incised slab. Mr. Greenhill is equally generous in his other acknowledgements (pp. xi-xiii).

Whilst, as the title indicates, the incised slabs of the counties of Leicestershire and Rutland are catalogued in detail and fully described, Mr. Greenhill includes as a preface a clear and concise general treatise which should be of the highest value to all who are interested in the study of this form of monument, and specially to the brass-rubber, who in the past has undoubtedly neglected the contemporary and equally important 'grave cover' in conservative devotion to his pet hobby. In this respect, perhaps, the ease of producing a rubbing of a monumental brass accounts for this situation, but a careful reproduction of an incised slab, following a similar technique, cannot fail to give just as much, if not greater, satisfaction to him who makes it, because it is a little more difficult to obtain. One has only to turn up the illustrations at the back of this book to appreciate the point, for example plates xxi-xxiii. Though in some respects the incised slab may be lacking in the refinement of the brass engraver, the human figures not uncommonly being on the grotesque side, a number of features are unique, not being represented on other types of memorial.

Fortunately we possess information about the production of incised slabs from two pictures in the well known early-13th-century MS. in the British Museum and these are reproduced on pls. i and ii. Mr. Greenhill explains his classification of an incised slab, a matter which has always proved a difficulty to the reviewer, for many

slabs are of a composite nature, and there is always the border-line example where certain features are in semi-relief. He then gives his qualification for inclusion in the lists i.e. figures, crosses and pre-Reformation inscriptions (medieval external grave-stones are excluded). He discusses, too, how the slab was embellished by inserting coloured filling (pitch was the common material) in the incised lines with plaster of Paris, cement or in rare cases lead. Ancillaries may be inserts of brass or marble (pl. v). We are given also the line of demarcation between an incised slab and a brass. Brass insertions do not constitute a brass, but when the figure, for instance, is in brass and a canopy or inscription is incised, the memorial qualifies as a monumental brass.

The first cross slabs are traced to early Christian times and are found in Eire and Wales. Human effigies were uncommon before the middle of the twelfth century, but they were accompanied by symbols of rank, status or trade, such as the chalice and missal for the priest, the sword for the knight, etc., as listed on pp. 4 and 5.

Material for the slab was, where possible, local and, as was to be expected, the incised slab was most popular as a form of monument in districts where quarries exist or where inland waterways provided transportation. This applies to alabaster in the Derbyshire and Nottingham area from the fourteenth century and, contemporaneously, Ancaster stone. On the other hand (p. 4) a number of extant slabs were imported in a finished state, the foreign material being chiefly grey, dark blue or black marble (touch). The continental examples occur in places near the coast like Boston (Lincs.) and Brading (I.o.W.).

In the same way as on brasses, little or no attempt at portraiture occurs on slabs, but the knight, cleric or gentlewoman are represented in their appropriate armour or habiliment, and special attention was paid to accessories such as livery collars. Heraldry, of course, as in all things medieval, was conspicuously displayed.

Little is known of the artists who designed the slabs just as we know little of the designers of the recumbent figures on brasses until the seventeenth century, when the name occasionally appears. That they were the product of localized workshops there is no dispute, and there is a great deal to be done in tracing the origin, as has been done so successfully by Axel Jensen in his work on the tomb slabs in Denmark.<sup>1</sup>

Quoting from Charles A. Stolhard, *Monumental Effigies* (1817), Mr. Greenhill reminds us of the tradition that a draught of powdered alabaster was efficacious as a remedy for cattle foot-rot, and this accounted for much petty mutilation of sculptured figures and scraping of slabs to obtain a stock of powder.

At the dissolution of the monasteries, the proverbial rapacity of the Crown or purchaser extended to the sale of incised slabs for paving household kitchens, and many fragments are to be found as building material. In this connexion, on the other hand, reference is made to the excavation of the site of Bardney Abbey (Lincs.), just before the first world war, which revealed the undisturbed pavement of the church—surely a rare occurrence—and no less than 47 slabs. It remained, however, for a number to be damaged by lack of protection from the elements, coupled with the depredations of the local youths!

Elaboration of the floor slab in this country followed the practice of brasses, the ledger stone being elevated to form the top of a table-tomb, either standing clear or, more commonly, built into the wall under a recessed canopy. Later too, in the early sixteenth century, small 'squarish' slabs, usually of 'touch', were set in the wall and in a number of instances have been erroneously described as brasses, which they so much resemble.

Passing mention is made of incised slabs on the continent of Europe, especially in Scandinavia, Holland, Poland, Italy, and in Cyprus. We may expect to hear more about Mr. Greenhill's activities in this direction, for although he is not entirely breaking new ground, for the Rev. W. F. Greeny published a folio *Incised Slabs of Europe* in 1891,

<sup>1</sup> A. Jensen, *Adelige Granstenfrå Sengotikens og Renaissancens Tid, 1470-1600* (København, 1951-3), 2 vols.

there remains a great scope for research in this sphere and in fact further afield; for instance, a fourteenth-century Christian slab was reported from China in 1951.

Since the last war, no less than three books have appeared on monumental brasses, following up the considerable former literature on the subject, but apart from certain Victorian writers and a somewhat incomplete and unsatisfactory illustrated list of the 'Incised Effigies of Staffordshire' by A. Oliver in 1913, no work has been forthcoming on the incised slabs in an authoritative form, so that we welcome the present volume and Mr. Greenhill deserves the acknowledgement and thanks of all antiquaries for publishing this up-to-date survey.

H. F. OWEN EVANS

*The Place-Names of Derbyshire.* 3 vols. By Kenneth Cameron.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. lxxxvi+830 pp. English Place-Name Society, xxvii-xxix. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959. Price £5 5s.

English archaeologists, whatever their special interests, will welcome this latest product of the English Place-Name Society and wish to congratulate Dr. Cameron on his achievement. It is the first study on an ample scale of a county of the highland zone; it embodies the accumulated results of work on the elements of English place-names (represented by Professor A. H. Smith's two volumes which preceded those of Dr. Cameron), and lastly, its three volumes contain such a large number of minor names and field-names that as a quarry for the field-worker they are incomparably more valuable than any which have appeared before.

To the prehistorian it will be somewhat tantalizing to have the many examples of the suffix *hlaw* (mound, barrow, and hill) collected together, because, as Dr. Cameron points out (p. 705), it is extremely difficult now to identify the sites excavated by the Batemans in the nineteenth century, and so to discover how many of the *lows* are known to be burial mounds. Dr. Cameron's distribution map only marks instances of *hlaw* in place-names, as distinct from minor names and field-names. They are to be found on the central limestone plateau and on the margins of the Trent in south Derbyshire, a pattern which fits the archaeological record. Now we require a map showing minor names in *hlaw* as well, and an attempt to identify their position on the ground.

As for the Roman period, no place-names evidence has been found for the location of the site to which the English name Chesterfield refers, nor for the possibility that it was *Lutudarum*. If it was in the Matlock area, there is no evidence for a Roman road linking Matlock with other known roads, though Dr. Cameron points out that an old road known as Hereward's Street, passing from Ashbourne through Matlock towards Chesterfield, is not necessarily, from its name, only of post-Roman date. The name Aldwark probably refers, from parallels elsewhere, to a fortification of Roman date about 4 miles NW. of Wirksworth, and it lies close to the Roman road from Little Chester to Buxton and to the Portway. The site awaits identification.

The bearing of place-name evidence on the Anglian and Scandinavian settlement and the complementary problem of Celtic survivals has been fully worked out by Dr. Cameron.<sup>2</sup> Celtic names for small rivers, woods and hills are widespread, but there is a distinct concentration in NW. Derbyshire, farthest from the Trent valley route by which Anglian settlers arrived. How late they came is shown by the absence of *ing* and *ingham* names, and the fact that Repton is the only name of a demonstrably archaic type.

Although Derbyshire has the rare distinction of possessing a cemetery of Scandinavian date at Heath Wood in the parish of Ingleby, south of the Trent,<sup>3</sup> there is virtually no other archaeological evidence on this phase of the county's history, so that the place-name evidence is of unusual importance. The wide distribution of Scandinavian

<sup>2</sup> *P.-N. Derbyshire*, I, xix-xxxviii; 'An early Mercian boundary in Derbyshire: the place-name evidence,' in *The Anglo-Saxons: studies presented to Bruce Dickins* (Heffer, 1960), I ff. 'The Scandinavians in Derbyshire: the place-name evidence,' in *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, II (1958), 86-118.

<sup>3</sup> See *Derbyshire Archaeol. J.*, LXVI (1946), I-23; LXIX (1949), 78-81.

elements in minor names and field-names all over the county shows that the settlement was strong enough for words of Scandinavian origin to become a significant part of the local dialect. Names ending in *by* belonging to an early phase of the settlement (and deriving from a Danish rather than a Norwegian form) are not nearly as numerous as in the adjacent counties to the south and east. They lie in distinct groups. One is south of the Trent, and the cemetery at Ingleby must have been used by these settlers. They may have come from the army centres of Derby or of Leicester, and the county boundary was ill-defined between the two. Another group in the NE. of the county, and linking up with others across the Nottinghamshire border, shows in combination with other evidence that the strongest Scandinavian element came into the county via the Humber basin and its rivers. Apart from these indications of popular settlement, and probably new ones at that, the most interesting place-names of this age are those with a Scandinavian personal name as first element, followed by English *tun*. These hybrids, which tend to lie on the marls and sandstones providing the best soils in the county, often figure in the Domesday Book as the names for large villages, clearly ancient, and are now interpreted as English settlements on whom a new Scandinavian lord was imposed. There are also place-names like Ireton and field-names ending in *stock* which show the presence of a significant movement coming into Derbyshire from the north-west, some of it early and mixed with the Danish settlers, but more of it representing the colonization of the remotest part of the Peak district by men from the Cheshire plain. The name *Copecastel* in Derby, first evidenced in 1085, throws an interesting light on the early history of the town. Cope is Old Norse *Kaup*, a market, and this strengthens Stenton's conclusion, based on Domesday, that the town consisted then of a group of merchants superimposed on an agrarian economy.<sup>4</sup> The commercial activity of Scandinavians settled in such places as Grimsby, Lincoln, Torksey, and Derby is an important aspect of Danelaw history in the centuries immediately before and after the Conquest.

So far the course of medieval settlement has been charted by Dr. Cameron. Beyond this stage he could do no more than present the historian and archaeologist with an immense body of raw material: the minor names and field-names, with the clues they provide to the chronology and character of the spread of settlement and cultivation. The scope is immense. It includes the field-names derived from *burh*, a fortified place. Some, in Derbyshire as elsewhere, are now represented by sizable villages. Others, such as Barleyfield Farm in Darley and Conkesbury in Over Haddon, are isolated houses or very small settlements where, given careful selection and good fortune, excavation might show what sort of defences such settlements had.

There is ample material in these volumes for a detailed study of the small outlying settlements with which the county abounds. The earliest are the *thorpes*. There is no explicit evidence for transhumance, for the names which now end in *set(t)* or *seat(s)* may, apparently, derive as well from O.E. *(ge)set*, 'a dwelling or fold', as from O.N. *sætr*, 'a mountain pasture or shieling'. *Leah*, 'a wood or clearing in a wood', is naturally the commonest of all elements, but *both*, 'a temporary shelter', occurs significantly in High Peak and Wirksworth Hundreds, and especially round Edale. *Cot* is widely distributed. Many of these humble dwellings and clearings eventually became manor houses or the homes of wealthy yeomen. Carnfield Hall in South Normanton appears first as Carlingthwaite, 'old woman's clearing', and becomes Carlingthwaite Hall by 1577. Rowlee Farm, 'a rough clearing' in a remote valley of the Peak, appears first in the fourteenth century; in the seventeenth it was the home of a rich yeoman. Sometimes it was industrial enterprise which cleared the woodland; for instance Smithycote (1086), in Codnor, and Woodsmithies Farm (1329), in Anstone. Whatever the purpose, the results came, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, from individual enterprise in the lower levels of Derbyshire society.

There are many minor names of specifically archaeological interest. Shard Hall and Potter Flatt occur in Hazelwood parish; no doubt they refer to the Romano-British

<sup>4</sup> K. Cameron in *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, II (1958), 102.