

Reviews

Anglo-Saxon Paganism. By David Wilson. 14 × 22 cm. xiii + 197 pp., 56 figs. London and New York: Routledge, 1992. ISBN 0-415-01897-8. Price: £35.00 hb.

The evidence for the beliefs of the Anglo-Saxons between their arrival in the country later named for them, and their conversion to Christianity, is so slight that most scholars working in the area have not thought it enough for the subject of a whole book, unless (like Brian Branston), they supplement it heavily with Norse evidence, or (like E. A. Philippon), they use folklore, or (like R. Jente) they pursue an exhaustive and rigorous linguistic study. David Wilson has done none of these, and has produced a brief book closely tied to the sources he has used. Place-names (Chapter 2, eighteen pages) and written evidence (Chapter 2, 22 pages) are given short shrift, and he then examines the archaeological evidence in four chapters, concerned with 'Temples and Shrines' (23 pages), 'Inhumation Rites' (65 pages), 'Cremation Rites' (35 pages) and 'Sutton Hoo — A Special Case' (eight pages), with a short 'Endpiece' (eight pages) which attempts to draw the material together.

In many ways, the first chapter on the pagan place-names is the most original, since Wilson includes his topographical study of *hearg* and *wig/weoh* names, which established that a *hearg* was probably usually a tribal cult centre, and a *weoh* a roadside shrine. The chapter on temples discusses (inevitably) building D2 at Yeavinger and the 'sacred site' on Blacklow (Blakelow on p. 30 and in the index) Hill (Warwickshire), but concentrates mainly on structures within cemeteries. However there does not seem to be anything to indicate that these latter were shrines, except their position; and though there were burials close to D2 at Yeavinger, there is no evidence in other sources for a necessary association of shrines and burials, and, indeed, it does not seem to have been usual. The reference to the rectangular gullies in the cemetery at Lyminge (Kent) as possible evidence for shrines is a red herring: the second season of excavations (not yet published) showed that these gullies surrounded normal, but very large, graves which had unfortunately both been robbed. None of the heathen place-names appears to relate to burials, and the cemetery structures may have served different purposes, often perhaps to mark a 'family vault'.

Wilson also appears to view the evidence on inhumation rites in a blinkered way. After a very general introduction to the chapter his sub-headings are: 'Double or Multiple Burials'; '"Live" Burials'; 'Prone Burials'; 'Correlations between Burial Mode, Gender and Age'; 'Decapitation'; 'Grave Goods Accompanying Burials' (largely concerned with animal remains and amulets); 'Charcoal and Burning in Inhumations'. Out of the eight sections, therefore, seven are concerned with unusual features of the burial ritual, not with the rite itself. Yet there are many questions he should have addressed, and not only about these peculiarities. Inhumation was not common among the Anglo-Saxon peoples before they came to England: why and how, then, did it develop its special features in this country, with the female corpses often decked out in splendid array, and the male graves less frequently supplied with weapons? Was the major reason for the inhumation ritual really a religious one, or was it primarily social — to make a display in the grave in order to establish the status of the interring family? Why are women's burials more individualistic — either in degrees of 'richness', or as 'sacrificial' victims — than men's? Wilson's statement that 'We have to assume that what took place at burials with their various rites and grave-goods actually

reflects the everyday religious responses of the people' is simply not good enough. For us, inhumation or cremation is simply a personal choice, and has very little to do with religion (agnostics and Anglicans employ indistinguishable rituals) or even family custom. Usually there is some sort of religious service, though occasionally a kind of secular celebration is substituted by or for the more determinedly atheistic. The provision of flowers for the dead, however, is universal; even though some may feel that this is a waste of money, and make a donation to charity instead, it would indeed be a brave son or daughter who allowed a parent's coffin to be driven to the cemetery without at least one expensive professional wreath on it. This has nothing to do with religion. We are simply honouring the dead: showing the world that we loved this person enough to pay for a wasteful display for them. Can we be sure that similar considerations did not hold sway among the pagan Anglo-Saxons? While some of the unusual burial practices which Wilson describes may well have had to do with religious beliefs, or folklore practices, or superstition, it is also possible that social position or local custom was much more often the cause of variation than religion was. It is not good enough to ascribe prone burials, for example, to 'ritual purposes whose real import and significance elude us' when we cannot even be sure that the more normal supine position had anything at all to do with religious beliefs.

Wilson puts a great deal of emphasis on the swastika, as it appears on jewellery and pottery, and relates it specifically to lightning, though he admits that it appears on cinerary urns in parts of the country where there are no place-names referring to Thunor, the god of thunder. He shows that the swastika was deliberately added to artefacts after manufacture, and therefore that it may well have had special significance for the perpetrator, or for the acquirer of the object. But can we be sure that it was not a general 'good luck' sign? I feel more confident that the use of the ↑ rune on pottery refers to the god Tiw, but even that is not certain: again, the pots occur in parts of the country where Tiw place-names do not. Wilson's suggested explanation that 'those people who employed cremation as the predominant funeral rite did not have a tradition of naming places after gods or worship sites' does not hold true for Lincolnshire, and may well have had more to do with the paucity of good early sources (such as Anglo-Saxon charters) for place-names in the Danelaw.

Wilson's treatment of his subject in chapters concerned with types of evidence has some odd and sometimes inconvenient effects. Swastikas, for example, are discussed in separate contexts in three chapters. The entry for the god Tiw in the index has thirteen citations; that for Thunor has fifteen, and for Woden, sixteen. These references are usually very brief, and only in the place-name chapter do they normally run to three or more successive pages. For none of these deities is there a 'core' reference which discusses him in his own right, with his own special characteristics. Wilson's refusal to use Scandinavian evidence unless it illuminates English sources is correct, but his neglect of continental references to Germanic religion, except for the observations of the 8th-century English missionaries, seems to me too restrictive. J. Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology* only appears in the bibliography in an 1844 German edition; Wilson might have found Stallybrass's English version more helpful. There is no reference to J. de Vries' magisterial *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (nor to R. Jente's *Die mythologischen Ausdrücke im altenglischen Wortschatz*) so that the reader might almost come to believe from Wilson's book that Germanic paganism had no other manifestations than the Tacitean, the early English, that encountered by the English missionaries and the Norse.

Wilson's achievement in this little book is not negligible. He has gathered together much interesting material which we shall no doubt ponder for a long time to come. His concentration on the archaeological evidence admirably redresses the usual over-reliance on written sources. Yet his failure to put the archaeology into context — whether social, in England, or contemporary Germanic heathenism on the continent — leaves this reader with a sense of opportunities lost.

Excavation at Mucking: Excavations by M. U. Jones and W. T. Jones. Volume 1: The Site Atlas. By Ann Clark. 21 × 30 cm. vii + 42 pp., 8 figs., 5 tables, atlas of 25 loose folded sheets. ISBN 1-85074-276-6. Price: £25.00 pb.

Volume 2: The Anglo-Saxon Settlement. By Helena Hamerow. 21 × 30 cm. xi + 329 pp., 195 figs., 3 pls., 23 tables. ISBN 1-85074-274-X Price: £35.00 pb. Both volumes together in hard plastic case.

Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England: Archaeological Reports Nos. 20, 21. English Heritage and British Museum Press, 1993.

These are the first in a series of volumes covering the eighteen hectares of excavations at Mucking, Essex carried out by Margaret and Tom Jones from 1965 to 1978. The excavation of this complex 'multi-period palimpsest' was a pioneer of landscape archaeology; its publication is a monument to the determination, dedication and improvisation of the excavators and their team who developed the techniques required for such an enormous operation before the use of computers in archaeological fieldwork. The main authors of these reports have faced the task of analysing and presenting the excavations with obvious fortitude, clarity and notable success. Succeeding volumes in the series will cover the Prehistoric and Roman periods and the two Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

Volume 1 is an introduction to the site and the archaeological archive with the background of the development, planning and methodology of the excavation and subsequent publication process carefully detailed. Essential period summaries, aerial photographic evidence, geology, reports on the slags and non-ferrous metalworking finds and a list of radiocarbon dates are presented by the specialists concerned. The 25 separate sheets comprising the atlas, at a scale of 1:180, are complicated but clear and include the excavated features of all periods.

Volume 2 surveys the whole range of settlement data, successfully presenting such a mass of data in manageable proportions: a model to be studied by all concerned with the problems of the degrees of publication. Within the limitations imposed by the recording systems and the sheer quantities of material, the Anglo-Saxon settlement is presented as an uninterrupted sequence from the first half of the 5th century to the beginning of the 8th with two associated cemeteries. The early Anglo-Saxon site excavated by Barton at Linford quarry is referred to, but an extension of the Mucking plan would surely have been justified to include this site, so clearly part of the same.

'No new interpretations of structural reconstructions have been attempted because of the generally poor quality of the structural evidence' (p.8). Consequently only nine of the 53 post-hole buildings ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon period have detailed plans; unfortunately it is very difficult to disinter the others from the site atlas. The numbers of post-built structures increase to the N., possibly due to adverse rescue conditions. Nine have recognisable partitions, all apparently at the E. end. In contrast to those at West Stow, opposed doorways in the long sides are apparent in some cases. There was no evidence for internal hearths, which again may be due to plough damage or erosion.

For the other form of Anglo-Saxon building, the author has opted for the term *grubenhaus* and for the implied below-ground living, as opposed to the less contentious 'sunken-featured building' (SFB) as proposed by Rahtz. Clearly, much of the post-occupation evidence from the *grubenhäuser* has been lost, as frequently stated by the author, and evidenced by the shallow sections of some of the huts. This in turn affects the discussion of the depths and overall dimensions of the buildings. The suggestion that the low roof line of a sunken hut could be responsible for the 'collars' in some of the hut floors is impractical. Such 'collars', if unprotected, would never have survived years of wear, as the experimental *grubenhaus* at West Stow has shown. Similarly, turf walls or low banks round the edges are singularly unsuccessful if made of sand or gravel. Furthermore, the headroom provided by a roof of at least 47° when reconstructed over the original ground surface levels at West Stow, enables access to all areas of the pit. The discussion of the various reconstructions of the *grubenhäuser* is not very thorough. The evidence used from West Stow is incomplete: there were, for instance, two

burnt houses with wall and floor planks; the all-important evidence for internal clay hearths is not mentioned, nor the discussion of contemporary and later hut fills. To suggest that, because the function of an under-floor space is not conclusively apparent, the structural reconstruction is therefore invalid seems illogical. Any discussion of these buildings should take into account at least the use of under-floor spaces for storage or cellaring, so well evidenced in mid Saxon urban contexts at Ipswich for example, at a time when similar structures are apparently absent in rural areas.

The clear distinction of post-hut fills at West Stow, where the old ground surface has been protected by blown sand, underscores the problem of erosion at Mucking and the subsequent loss of a whole level of evidence. In the discussion of hearths, it is a pity that GH 31 is not shown at a larger scale, or that more detail is not available for the 'number of hearths... within the huts... majority stratified above floors...' Similarly, the description of the 'bowl-shaped hearths' in GH 9 is not clear, as the sections could well be charcoal spreads rather than hearths *in situ*.

Chapter 3 contains a valuable assessment of the methods of quantifying pottery followed by a detailed analysis, surely one of the strengths of this report. It is interesting to note the contrast between Mucking (32,000 sherds from 203 SFBs) and West Stow (42,000 sherds from 70 SFBs, plus 11,300 from the general covering layer). The small finds from Mucking are almost entirely from closed contexts and must again reflect the general loss of material resulting from the necessary mechanical removal of the topsoil. The distribution of Ipswich Ware is another case in point. At West Stow, of the 381 Ipswich ware sherds, only six came from SFBs and 42 from ditches, the remaining 312 being scattered in the buried topsoil, perhaps giving the two joining sherds from a ditch at Mucking rather more significance than might be apparent initially.

The discussion chapters emphasize the shifting character of the settlement; the spatial analysis has cleared away many of the misconceptions that have accrued through the years. The site is clearly incomplete; Cemetery 1 is of unknown size and the settlement traces extend to the very edge of the excavated area in places, complicating demographic discussion and mentioned only in the conclusions.

Chapter 7, a review of the historical and topographical contexts of Mucking, is a succinct and refreshing survey of these aspects with timely considerations of the problems and implications of settlement mobility, research priorities and excavation strategies.

This is a long awaited publication, truly a remarkable contribution to Anglo-Saxon studies by the excavators and the authors.

S. E. WEST

Sutton Hoo: Fifty Years After. (American Early Medieval Studies 2). Edited by R. Farrell and C. Neuman de Vegvar. 22 × 28 cm. 198 pp., 15 figs., 51 pls. Oxford, Ohio: Miami University, 1992. ISBN 1-879836-02-7. Price: \$27.00 pb.

These are papers on Sutton Hoo given at the 24th International Conference on Medieval Studies, held at the Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo in May 1989. Together with the papers from the parallel conference on Sutton Hoo at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, published as *The Voyage to the Other World* (ed. C.B. Kendall and P. S. Wells), and *The Age of Sutton Hoo* (ed. M. Carver) this is the third book to appear at the 50th anniversary of the discovery of the Sutton Hoo ship burial.

Unlike the other two publications, the twelve papers from Kalamazoo are not structured in sections, and the introduction is limited to a brief outline of the contributions. The papers, mainly in the fields of archaeology, art history and Anglo-Saxon literature, cover a wide range of interests and approaches connected with Sutton Hoo. Among the subjects are artefacts, such as the Sutton Hoo coins and 'regalia', the relationship between archaeology

and Anglo-Saxon literature, and the wider contexts of princely graves and contacts between East Anglia and Scandinavia, the Continent and the Mediterranean world.

The book opens with a critical review by Sir David Wilson of the uses and misuses of the finds at Sutton Hoo in Anglo-Saxon studies. Central are the familiar problems in the identification of the ship-burial as that of Bede's King Redwald, and the 'Swedish connections' read into some of the artefacts that have linked Sutton Hoo with *Beowulf*.

The re-evaluation of the Sutton Hoo coins contributed by Alan Stahl and W. A. Oddy, however, now sets the date closer to A.D. 600 than the widely accepted A.D. c. 625, the approximate time of Redwald's death. The evidence is based on Oddy's analysis of gold content of datable Merovingian coins, and on Stahl's parallel paper in the Minnesota volume interpreting the coins as a hoard, i.e. a random sample of circulating coins, rather than a conscious selection.

While the literary and historical connections to Sutton Hoo are discussed more extensively elsewhere, the literary historian Allen J. Frantzen takes a theoretical look at the problems in Anglo-Saxon studies. Focussing on the history and meaning of interdisciplinary studies, he stresses the confusion of data with disciplinary vocabulary. Although the vocabularies are different, the underlying systems of organising data vary little from discipline to discipline, and what we should be looking at are the attitudes and assumptions that control the way evidence is structured. What we have, says Frantzen, is not different disciplines but '... a vast homology that does the same thing in several ways ... and all likewise fail to do other things'. Today this general focus is clearly on 'aristocracy'.

David Whitehouse looks at 7th-century Britain from a Mediterranean perspective. The paper throws light on the different economic spheres reflected in the evidence of direct contact with the Mediterranean world, and the secondary imports represented *inter alia* by the Byzantine silver in Sutton Hoo. The latter, along with other luxury objects such as glass, amethyst beads and bronze vessels, are concentrated in Kent, and particularly the bronze and silver objects are most likely to reflect a gift-exchange with the Frankish court. The '*imitatio imperii*' of Western kings, emulating imperial style and practices where silver plate was an important political medium, is well demonstrated in literary sources. In contrast, the amphorae and tableware, which are predominantly from the E. Mediterranean, are found in W. and SW. Britain. A context for this distribution is clearly the metal resources in the W., which are supported by a contemporary source referring to Alexandrian ships exchanging grain for gold and tin in Britain.

A Celtic perspective of Sutton Hoo is given by Michael Ryan in an exhaustive and critical evaluation of the whetstone sceptre and largest hanging bowl, generally regarded as Celtic products. Particularly the claim by Bruce-Mitford, that the sceptre symbolizes the *Bretwalda's* hegemony over both Celtic and Germanic peoples in Britain, is disputed. Comparative material, much of it hitherto unpublished, from Ireland, Britain and N. Europe, shows that the Sutton Hoo sceptre is an Anglo-Saxon product with a Germanic background. The hanging bowl, on the other hand, is identified as clearly Irish, and here Ryan stresses the evidence for long-term artistic influences between the Celts and Anglo-Saxons, pre-dating the Irish missions in the latter half of the 6th century. On both islands there would have been powerful kings, and in that context the hanging bowl may well have been a diplomatic gift.

Martin Carver looks at the appearance of 'princely burials' in the North Sea territories as a phenomenon of 'demonstrative aristocracies' which '... may or may not have achieved territorial control under a king'. The similarities in burial ritual in Sweden and East Anglia, rather than evidence of a causal relationship, are seen as material statements from a common vocabulary, signalling ideology and allegiance at politically opportune moments. The ideological language, rather than a reflection of reality, is in itself a heroic text, a poem like *Beowulf*. For Sutton Hoo, therefore, the 'Scandinavian connection' is the ideology and allegiance shared with the homelands across the North Sea. This became even stronger with the rise of the Merovingian Empire in the 6th century, but with the emergence of a 'real' kingdom the '... allegiance with Scandinavia was replaced by emulation of Frankia'.

I have chosen to focus on a few papers that I found particularly interesting, but there are also contributions by Robert Farrell (Anglo-Saxon literary studies and archaeology), Richard Bailey (Sutton Hoo and 7th-century art), Carol Neuman de Vegvar (the Sutton Hoo horns as regalia), Leslie Webster (Sutton Hoo in the light of other princely burials), Nancy Wicker (the Scandinavian gold bracteates as evidence for Swedish-Anglian contacts) and Kelley Wickham-Crowley (the birds on the Sutton Hoo instrument). The latter is particularly welcome as an iconographical, rather than a formal and stylistic approach to Anglo-Saxon art by an English-speaking scholar. No doubt other readers will find other preferences in this volume that fully complements the other two books on Sutton Hoo and the 7th century.

MÄRIT GAIMSTER

Tintagel. Arthur and Archaeology. By Charles Thomas. 19 × 25 cm. 144 pp., 109 figs., 9 colour pls. London: Batsford and English Heritage, 1993. ISBN 0-7134-6690-1. Price: £14.99 pb.

Tintagel is a magnificent site, both in its dramatic physical setting and in the archaeological evidence which it has already revealed. It is therefore welcome that the popular Batsford/English Heritage series of site surveys has included Tintagel, and no one better than Charles Thomas could have been chosen to write it. The resulting volume is both well illustrated and clearly written, but it stands out as a more distinguished member than many other worthy volumes in the series for two reasons. The first is that Charles Thomas has taken an approach to the site that considers it as a stage on which a series of interpretations of the remote past have been played out, a theoretically fashionable stand, but one here stripped of jargon. The second is that the site has never previously benefited from a substantial account of the archaeology, the various campaigns of fieldwork and subsequent reassessments and revisions being scattered amongst a large number of relatively small publications. Eventually Tintagel deserves a substantial monograph of its own, and perhaps at the end of the current excavation campaign by Christopher Morris it will receive one, but until then this serves as the route into the literature of Tintagel. The theory and the content will now each be considered in a little more detail.

The title of Chapter 1, 'Space, time and discourses', gives the clue to the post-modern approach taken for this book. The past is created for the use of the present; the past changes as the needs of the present alter. In this respect the acquisition of additional data (and the author does still have a confidence in data being important) may be incidental to shifts in interpretation. Of all sites, Tintagel is amenable to this form of study, since from at least the medieval period onwards it has been used to link the past to current issues of identity and legitimation.

To offer the general reader and student a book which reveals the past through a series of discourses might seem rather too ambitious, but it is carried off by avoiding pretentious language, and revealing the stages of interpretation within a series of chapters set in chronological order. The early speculations are augmented by the archaeological investigations by Raleigh Radford in the 1930s. In time his assessments were challenged in the light of wider intellectual changes as well as a greater understanding of some of the excavated material.

The first 80 pages of the book thus give the past images of the site, with the rise and fall of the monastic hypothesis being the major strictly archaeological dimension. The remaining 50 or so pages of text and figures are largely the author's own explication of the data now available. These are split within two chapters, one for the Roman and post-Roman, the other for later developments on the site. The advantage of the discourse approach is that it is easier to present speculation as part of a narrative account, and Charles Thomas seizes this opportunity with gusto. However, the use of the word 'model' in the chapter titles suggests a link back to earlier theoretical approaches, as do some of his comments about how future

work could reveal further facts, and how archaeologists could make use of them, on the last two pages of the book. The last chapter also reveals alternative views of Tintagel, given little space but at least acknowledged; a suitably democratic post-modern stance.

Overall the book has a few cracks which show that the theoretical stance taken is perhaps only a suitable vehicle to transport a historiography of the site, followed by some considered speculations about the site from the author's own unrivalled knowledge. For example, the pattern of internal organization which he suggests is intriguing, but as yet unproven. Overall, it is a most readable example of how archaeology can be written, and how both authors and audiences interact with the evidence, however perceived, to create a past. The sequence at Tintagel is specific to the site itself, but has wider resonances to British archaeology as a whole. It is particularly apposite for medieval archaeology, and should be read by many who would like to consider how the latest intellectual shifts might affect their work. The revival of narrative, but with a more sophisticated theoretical basis, may be given new impetus by this study.

The book can be considered as a statement of our knowledge of Tintagel in the early 1990s. Though a popular book, Charles Thomas has managed to fit in a surprising amount of detailed evidence and argument about specific features on the site. Many small-scale observations and interventions have contributed to the models set out here, and it is good to see how such individually problematic pieces of work such as the 1988 'Soakaway' cutting can cumulatively make a significant impact on some major interpretative problems. The wider context, whether nearby at Tintagel churchyard or further away within the SW. peninsula or the Irish Sea region, is also considered, and certainly emphasizes how any site can only be appreciated by going beyond it.

Though not footnoted or referenced in the text, in common with other volumes in this series, an excellent bibliography is provided. This has gone far beyond what would normally be given for a popular book — but if we are to see the past open to all to interpret then publishers should perhaps acknowledge that this kind of up-to-date detail should be available. Then readers can carry out their own critique and deconstruction and, thereafter, reconstruct their own pasts from the material available.

The reassessment of the ceramics, though not fully published, hints at future clarification of the existing material from Tintagel. Moreover, the current excavations by Christopher Morris will amplify the evidence already recovered and at least give it greater stratigraphic context; it may even greatly alter the database and so the perceptions of the site based on the data, even within existing perspectives. It is in a sense a pity, therefore, that this book may only be a short-lived statement of where Tintagel now sits in our interpretations of the past. The discourse may move on. But in the meantime I recommend all to read it, whether for the site itself or for the approach taken. Charles Thomas should be congratulated on giving us a popular account that can speak to us on a number of levels; the general public, students of the discipline and fellow professionals are all in his debt.

HAROLD MYTUM

The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland. By J. Romilly Allen and Joseph Anderson. 2 vols. 15 × 21 cm. Forty-seven + cxiii + 941 pp., 1690 figs., 109 pls. Reprint of 1903 publication, with an introduction by Isabel Henderson. Forfar: The Pinkfoot Press, 1993. ISBN 1-87401-205-9. Price: £49.00 hb.

The Picts and the Scots. By Lloyd and Jenny Laing. 18 × 25 cm. x + 172 pp., 136 figs. and pls. Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1993. ISBN 0-86299-885-9. Price: £16.99 hb.

These two books provide an insight into the state of early medieval archaeology in Scotland, where it is still possible for great monuments of antiquarian study to tower over contemporary scholarship. Certainly nothing produced in the 90 years separating these two works has approached the *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland (ECMS)* in ambition or lasting

value. Should this could be seen as a sign of failure by successive generations or is it simply that we should not measure contemporary work by 19th-century criteria?

The enduring value of the *ECMS* derives from the staggering effort exerted in recording the totality (c. 1890) of early medieval sculpted stone in Scotland, which was not confined to description of the monuments but also sought to recover the original settings of the stones and analyse their content. One has only to look at the number of pages and figures to appreciate the scale of the task Allen and Anderson set for themselves. In recording terms it has stood the test of time well, because despite new discoveries it probably still includes 90% of the known material. As a basic corpus of sculpture from the 5th to 10th centuries it remains the only reasonably comprehensive and readily accessible source to this material available outside Edinburgh. Isabel Henderson, in her introduction, provides references to additions to the corpus as well as a list of some interpretative articles which have appeared since the original publication in 1903.

The main analytical conclusions presented in the *ECMS* continue to shape contemporary research. Henderson's introduction to the reprinting helps to situate these conclusions through her account of the creation of the *ECMS*. Her paper is an important contribution to the study of Scottish antiquarianism, although it seems to underplay the nationalist undercurrents. Allen and Anderson made an important decision to include all the early sculpture found within modern Scotland. Despite having isolated a part of the sculptural tradition that appeared 'Scottish', they nevertheless took a broad view and included a diverse assemblage in their survey of the national heritage. In this respect it may be regarded as one of the key scholarly texts used to construct the modern notion of Scotland, because Allen and Anderson refused to fragment their material into the separate categories of Pictish, Anglo-Saxon, etc. Rather the book, and Anderson in particular, established a view that modern Scotland is an entity which encompasses a number of distinct cultural traditions.

The *ECMS* laid out the basic parameters for the study of early medieval sculpted stone in Scotland and more than anything contributed to the recognition that these monuments had a political and social value far in excess of their naïve aesthetic appeal. The *ECMS* consists of a corpus and long analytical consideration of the material by the Welshman, Allen. Anderson's contribution is a synthetic appraisal, originally presented publicly as a series of the Rhind Lectures. Besides affirming the early medieval pedigree of the material, Anderson notes the relationship between particular traditions and the geographical distribution, which helped to establish the link between Symbol Stones and the Picts, and so on. Anderson's comments about the stones, which can still be read with profit, are ultimately founded upon his colleague's statistics. Allen, an engineer by training, contributed a more mechanical analysis, which focussed on decorative detail and is characterized by hundreds of tables. Some of the analytical discussion is excessive: the chapter on the 'Analysis of Interlaced-Work, with the Localities of the Patterns' runs to over 100 pages. While Henderson suggests that it may still be of interest to art historians to know the hundred-plus variations of interlace documented by Allen, for the most part this is an historic curiosity best regarded as a true mark of scientific antiquarianism. Nevertheless this scientific analysis formed the critical pivot, which on the one hand allowed the distinct contributions of the Picts and Scots to be identified, while still seeing them as part of a wider Scottish cultural heritage.

Taken as a whole the *ECMS* remains an excellent reference work as well as being an important landmark in Scottish antiquarian studies. This reprinted edition is published in a smaller format than the original, in two thick volumes instead of the single massive tome. It is possible to hold one of these volumes in one hand and to consult it without fear of injury. The modest price of this good-quality reprinting makes it so affordable that no serious academic library can excuse being without it, and anyone with an interest in the material can purchase it without fear of disappointment.

The same cannot be said for the Laings' latest book. There is no question that there is a need for an up-to-date introductory book on the archaeology of early medieval Scotland, but the Laings' book is not sufficiently authoritative or accurate to fill that need. At the basic

stage of selecting the subject matter it is flawed; their decision to exclude southern Scotland seriously hinders their ability to explain the social and political context of the Picts and Scots. Excluding the Britons and the Anglians cannot be justified, given our understanding of the social and political interrelatedness of all of N. Britain, as established by Allen and Anderson. The inadequacy of this analytical perspective is emphasized by the Laings' own distribution maps, all of which make use of the whole of modern Scotland in the base plan. Given this geographical insensitivity, it is not surprising that little sense of regional difference between E. and W. is established.

The historical introduction is less detailed than F. T. Wainwright's in *Problem of the Picts* (1955) and less idiosyncratic than Henderson's *The Picts* (1967), but remains overly eager to impose a narrative structure upon material which at times cannot sustain it (cf. p. 15). More tellingly, only the crudest interconnections between the historic account and the archaeological materials are suggested, e.g. the disappearance of symbol stones in eastern Scotland as a direct consequence of the arrival of Kenneth mac Alpin and the Scots.

Potentially the most important part of the book is the synthesis of the archaeological evidence. Unfortunately this is not reliable and is rather old-fashioned. For example, in the case of the Picts, the Laings focus on brochs and souterrains. Not only is this at the expense of examining the problems of early medieval settlement, but it introduces a chronological muddle by drawing these Iron Age forms so firmly into the discussion. The account of everyday life is weakened, because it generalizes for society as a whole from the data pertaining to the élite. The discussion of social structure (pp. 57–58) is too simplistic for even an introductory text, and the relationship between material culture and politics (cf. p. 73) is inadequate.

Even the art-historical chapter, which is clearly an area of particular interest to the Laings, is an arid sequential description of objects. It emphasizes the poverty of the traditional approach which attempts to link exceptional objects with manuscripts in an attempt to produce some sort of progressive sequence. The book is amply illustrated, but the drawings are of the usual standard which characterize previous publications by the Laings: the figures of objects would not help one to recognize specific artefacts and the redrawn plans are invariably inferior to the originals.

Comparing the two books, one sees that not only are the intentions different, but there is also a great gulf in the appreciation of the significance of the subject matter. If Allen and Anderson now looks old-fashioned and unwieldy, it at least managed to organize a vast collection of important material into an understandable form. In so doing the authors contributed to shaping the modern Scottish national identity by recognising all these stones as part of that national history. The Laings' work on the other hand comes across as a completely commercial effort and has very little new to tell us.

STEPHEN T. DRISCOLL

Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: six essays on political, cultural and ecclesiastical revival. By David N. Dumville. 16 × 24 cm. xiv + 234 pp., 8 pls., 1 map. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992. ISBN 0-85115-308-9. Price: £35.00 hb.

As the subtitle makes clear, this is not a monograph which proceeds in the normal linear fashion from beginning to end, but rather a collection of separate, though closely related, papers dealing with an 'interlocking series of issues'. It considers a period, centring on the first half of the 10th century, 'which has suffered partly from too many assumptions and in part from neglect'. Many of these assumptions are challenged in this valuable group of studies, which by its concentration on specific issues goes a long way toward rescuing the period from its previous scholarly neglect. Understandably there is no strict chronological progression to match the thematic unity that justifies the publication of these papers under one cover. However, it comes as a slight shock, having started with 'The Treaty of Alfred and

Guthrum' and continued with Kings Athelstan and Edmund I, to find oneself back with Alfred in the final contribution. The general reader would probably have found a more continuous chronological synthesis, based on the six studies, rather easier to assimilate. Nevertheless, the unity claimed by the author is there, and the last paper ranges in date from Alfred to the monastic reforms of the later 10th century, with references along the way to evidence and arguments contained in the preceding five papers. It makes clear King Alfred's seminal contribution to the re-establishment of the cultural and ecclesiastical life of England after the Viking disruption, which culminated in the Benedictine reforms of Dunstan and his associates. Dr Dumville does much to close the gap which puzzled and frustrated many of us at the *Regularis Concordia* conference a quarter of a century ago. The introduction of the Anglo-Caroline script in the context of the revival of manuscript copying in the early 10th century, and the lively and continuing contacts with ecclesiastical centres and secular courts in the Celtic and European worlds, can be seen as precursors of the Winchester style of art and of the westwork of the Old Minster at Winchester itself, both of which are based on continental models of at least one hundred years earlier. We are grateful to the author for his 'more realistic assessment of both the continuing life of the Alfredian revival and the antecedents of the Benedictine reform-movement'.

There is not a great deal in these essays that is overtly archaeological in its significance. In the second, 'Ecclesiastical lands and the defence of Wessex', which offers more to the landscape historian than to the topographer, the vexed question of the Viking destruction of the monasteries is discussed in some detail. Dumville admits that contemporary historical sources are unlikely ever to demonstrate that any particular church was finally 'put out of business' by the Vikings; only the full archaeological excavation of the site could do that, and in the present financial climate this is also a fairly unlikely source of new information. There is, indeed, contrary evidence that the Vikings used (perhaps misused) rather than destroyed monastic sites in the period before their conversion. Repton is quoted as the key example of this (see now *Antiquity* 66 (1992) pp. 36–51), though it was not an isolated instance. The Vikings may simply have been following the example of the English kings, who also appear to have subverted monastic establishments in the interests of the defence of the realm; sites which were monastic in the early 9th century were often in the king's hands at Domesday. If this interpretation is correct, it need cause no surprise. Monastic estates and their developed economy, capable of sustaining large numbers of agriculturally unproductive monks and an ecclesiastical life-style, whose demands far exceeded the normal product of subsistence farming (e.g. altar furniture in precious metal, vestments, books and their covers), were well suited to sustaining as well as sheltering the armed forces on either side of the struggle. As an aside, one might speculate that this development could account for the fact, noted by Stenton in 1943, that some place-names compounded of a personal name plus *-burh* appear to refer to monastic houses rather than defensive sites —indeed, one or two were referred to as *monasterium* in the mid Saxon period.

To the archaeologist perhaps the first essay, on the Alfred-Guthrum boundary, offers most interest and scope for further fieldwork. In particular, the Appendix, which discusses the date of the Burghal Hidage, is potentially of great significance. Dumville rejects the late Ralph Davis's attempt to date the text to early 886, and with it the widespread assumption that the surviving versions are an Edwardian edition of a basically Alfredian document; he finds the suggestion 'that a pre-existing text was casually updated in 914' is 'credible but unsatisfying', and gives 'reluctant assent' to 914 as the date of composition. In terms of archaeological interpretation it is perhaps irrelevant to distinguish between the fourteen years either side of 900; dating techniques are not sufficiently precise to do so. Nevertheless, in the wider context the distinction is important. The excavator needs to know whether the Burghal Hidage fort he/she is digging is a monument of King Alfred's immediate response to Viking attack, and thus a predominantly military installation, or whether it is part of the post-treaty consolidation by Alfred or his successor, and thus never used for any military purpose. Should the archaeologist expect panic-buried coin hoards or the evidence of far-flung peacetime trade connections? Perhaps this is a case in which archaeological

evidence will gradually accumulate to the point where archaeologists can resolve the historians' problem for them.

Finally two matters of presentation call for brief comment. The first is the over-use — and widespread misuse — of hyphens in the text. There is 'Church-history', 'court-circle', 'key-bishoprics' and a hyphen every time 'viking' is used as an adjective, not to mention a whole rash of examples where the use of a hyphen is at least debatable. There is simply no need for it where a noun is used in apposition with adjectival force. On the other hand, 'reestablish' and 'reexamine', words in which a hyphen would help the reader's eye, have none. The second point is the bibliography. Archaeologists are now accustomed to the discipline of the Harvard system, which requires the listing of all reference material with full bibliographical details. Frequently we find ourselves at odds with historians over their traditional reliance on footnote references alone, in which the reader can be frustrated by 'op. cit.' or 'Bloggs, *Foundations*' appearing some 50 pages after the previous reference, which is then buried in a lengthy footnote. In addition to his substantial apparatus of revealing footnotes Dumville gives us a detailed bibliography in a single alphabetical sequence, which makes his book infinitely more usable and the research findings of those he has cited easily retrievable. For that, as well as for the stimulation of his six essays, he deserves our thanks.

DAVID PARSONS

Pre-Viking Lindsey. (Lincoln Archaeological Studies 1). Edited by Alan Vince. 21 × 29 cm. ii + 156 pp., figs., pls. Lincoln: City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit, 1993. ISBN 0-9514987-7-0. Price: £18.00 pb. + £2.50 p. & p., from C.L.A.U., Charlotte House, The Lawn, Union Road, Lincoln LN1 3BL.

The papers collected in this volume have their origin in a conference jointly organized by the City of Lincoln Archaeological Unit and Nottingham University, and held in Lincoln in 1990. The purpose was to place the growing volume of archaeological evidence for early medieval Lincoln in its regional setting, and in this aim the volume is more than successful. There are three papers on Lincoln itself. Simon Esmonde Cleary argues that late Roman towns had, essentially, a command economy: it was the needs of imperial administrators that underpinned towns and once they were withdrawn there was no rationale for the continuation of urban life. As neat as this model is, Michael Jones shows that the reality was more complex in Lincoln itself. Archaeological evidence demonstrates that the city, like others, was undergoing radical change, if not decline, in the second half of the 4th century, significantly earlier than the withdrawal of imperial control.

Kate Steane and Alan Vince discuss the physical remains of Roman Lincoln which influenced the early medieval settlement of the site, painting a familiar picture of the survival of walls, gates, and monumental structures, if only as masses of rubble, but with the loss of property boundaries and streets. The archaeological evidence for the City in the 6th and 7th centuries is slight, but Kevin Leahy in his discussion of the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Lindsey elegantly argues for a later settlement of the area around Lincoln from the distribution of early centralized cremation cemeteries and later dispersed inhumations. In a thoughtful paper on the hierarchies of territorial organization thereby indicated, Paul Everson examines the aristocratic burial at Caenby Corner and, through a web of later documentation, argues for a continuity of authority in the W. Riding of Lindsey from the 7th century almost into the modern period. The considerable wealth of the whole area is examined by Rupert Bruce-Mitford and Mark Blackburn in papers on Celtic hanging-bowls and early medieval coin finds from Lindsey.

In a paper on the church David Stocker maintains that we have misconstrued the nature of religious foundations in the period by looking for holy buildings rather than holy areas. For him Crowland Abbey is the paradigm. It was founded on the island of Crowland and

consisted of a group of chapels which were placed within a sacred landscape sharply differentiated from the outside world. However, the model, exemplified for him in all but two of the pre-Viking monasteries of Lincolnshire, is based almost exclusively upon the later medieval *Historia Croylandensis*, the Pseudo-Ingulf, and its evidence must be treated with more caution than is accorded it. Tenth and 11th-century documents and tradition can be teased from the text, but there is little independent evidence (notwithstanding Felix's *Life of Guthlac*) to support its account of the earlier history of the abbey. Nevertheless, although that may weaken the case, the fact does not invalidate it, and the hypothesis will stimulate further research.

No less stimulating are Stocker's views on the organization of the church in the period. He asserts that the perennial problem of the location of the bishop of Lindsey's *cathedra* is largely an irrelevance, for bishops were itinerant, officiating in both royal chapels and episcopal monasteries. Thus, he sees St Paul's in the Bail in Lincoln as a palace church which was complemented by the bishop's *familia* at Bardney twenty miles or so down the Witham. Richard Gem addresses the same problem and demonstrates that there were indeed two episcopal churches in the early 9th century and argues that they can be traced much earlier. He suggests, however, that analogy with York and elsewhere would suggest that both were located in or near Lincoln itself. Neither conclusion is as yet amenable to verification, but the balance of probabilities lies with Gem since the historical evidence indicates that Bardney was a royal church.

Sarah Foot surveys the meagre documentary evidence for Lindsey and concludes that it was indeed a 7th-century kingdom rather than an 8th-century subdivision of Mercia. Barbara Yorke concludes the volume with a fine synthesis of the evidence presented. She marshals the now considerable evidence for some sort of continuity of institutions at Lincoln and formulates, if not resolves, the various problems in the elucidation of social and territorial organization in Anglo-Saxon Lindsey, including the thorny problem of the location of its *wic*. Equally valuably, she lists approaches that may provide further evidence.

As a review of the subject *Pre-Viking Lindsey* is a valuable addition to the history of the region and period, with the added bonus of some stimulating ideas. There are, however, omissions. One presumably reflects publication deadlines. It is regrettable that Michael Parker's identification of the Hatfield of the Tribal Hidage with the Hatfield and Clay Divisions of northern Nottinghamshire in the 1992 issue of *Northern History* was unknown to the contributors. It goes a long way to resolving the problem of the extent of the kingdom (almost certainly co-extensive with the historical Lindsey) and opens up the problem of its political allegiances. Another omission might have been remedied: there is only passing reference to estate structures, but the correspondence between cremation cemeteries and Domesday soke centres, as noted by Everson, hints at the preservation of earlier relationships, and recorded patterns of tenure enable many such to be reconstructed. A complex pattern of interlocking sokelands, for example, clearly indicates that the high-status site excavated at Flixborough belonged to a pre-Viking estate with its centre in West Halton. This cannot prove that the site was the monastery founded by Æthelthryth at West Halton in the late 7th century, but helps to provide a context for it. Other analyses of this kind would have gone a long way to resolve many of the problems raised but not tackled. *Pre-Viking Lindsey* nevertheless remains a considerable achievement and will provide a touchstone for future research.

DAVID ROFFE

The Origins of Norfolk. By Tom Williamson. 14 × 22 cm. x + 208 pp., 26 figs., 16 pls. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993. ISBN 0-7190-3401-9 hb.; 0-7190-3928-2 pb. Price: £35.00 hb.; £12.99 pb.

This is an immensely important book, which is a pleasure to read. Tom Williamson has thought deeply about the origins of the Norfolk landscape, and he has been very successful in

producing a valuable synthesis of the subject. His plan of the co-axial field system around Dickleborough (fig. 2.1), indicating that the landscape was already highly organized into a regular field pattern by the late Iron Age, is as breathtaking now as when he first published this discovery in 1986.

Early in the book the author introduces the reader to his main theme: the configuration of river valleys and watersheds (p. 15). 'These are the real key: the contrast between valley and watershed is deeply etched on the landscape of Norfolk, in spite of the rather muted nature of the county's topography. The earliest settlements tended to be in the river valleys, where water was freely available and soils generally fertile, tractable, and well-drained. When population levels were low the higher interfluves tended to be used for woodland and pasture, perhaps only on a seasonal basis. Even when they were opened up for agriculture, the largest settlements — and the most important — continued to occupy the older valley sites.' He stresses (p. 18) that the 'central watershed', separating the river systems draining E. and W., is 'at once the most important and most neglected factor in the evolution of the county'. This watershed 'was a feature of immense significance, a barrier of reduced contact between east and west, a remote area of woodland and woodpasture.'

His discussion of the Iron Age is stimulating, although it is a pity that no up-to-date distribution map of Icenic coins found as a result of metal-detecting is yet available; no discussion of Iron Age Norfolk can be complete without it. An illustration of the remarkable high-status Gallows Hill enclosures at Thetford is also lacking, which is a pity, even though their purpose is not fully understood. The suggestion that the Launditch is really Iron Age needs to be viewed with caution in the light of its very obvious symmetry with the Roman road, and also its similarity with the Panworth Ditch. The arguments for such an early date for this earthwork need to be carefully assessed once the recent excavation of the dyke is fully published.

For the Roman period, the central watershed is clear as a gap in the distribution map of known finds (fig. 2.5), but its extension into NE. Norfolk may be more apparent than real, judging by the density of the sites located during intensive fieldwork at Witton.

The process of change from a Celtic to a Germanic culture is well summarized, with an excellent assessment of the archaeological and place-name evidence. The contraction of settlement is demonstrated both by Alan Davison's fieldwork in the Hales/Loddon area, where at least fifteen Roman settlements scattered across all principal soil types were replaced by only four during the pagan Saxon period, and by John Owles' study of Witton where surface pottery scatters from both settlement and manuring demonstrate an equally dramatic decline in population density and arable farming. However, pollen cores, particularly from Diss Mere, show no post-Roman upsurge in woodland regeneration, indicating that a much smaller Anglo-Saxon population was able to maintain the previously cleared areas with pasture farming, even on the clays. Tom points out that where there are place-names indicating major Anglo-Saxon woodlands, their main concentration again corresponds to the central watershed.

The author identifies the relationship between many of the Roman small towns and pagan cremation cemeteries as particularly striking. He argues that these settlement sites continued to function as central places long after the towns themselves had ceased to exist. (A map of these central places would have been useful). Many of the small tribal groupings which succeeded the *civitas* continued to have their main focus close to important Roman centres. These early tribal groupings, based on the principal river valleys, later merged to form territories with names sometimes preserved as hundred names.

For the mid Saxon period, an up-to-date map of Ipswich Ware sites is also lacking, even though the distribution of this pottery is discussed in some detail. The 'Middle Saxon Shuffle' which represents a significant break with the preceding Romano-British and early Saxon settlement patterns is rightly emphasized, but not easily explained. It is plausibly argued that concentrations of sokemen in Domesday indicate archaic estate centres, although, again, a map would have been useful. The distribution of Domesday woodland does emphasize the line of the central watershed.

The pattern of hundredal organization is examined for clues to earlier administrative patterns. Their names frequently refer to hundred meeting places. While some hundreds appear to be amalgamations of ancient estates, others represent subdivisions of larger land units of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. There is also a useful discussion of the location and distribution of early Christian communities. These were largely on the fringes of the kingdom, except for the certain case of North Elmham. Its place on the central watershed was 'determined by a desire to serve the needs of communities based on both the east and the west of the county, sundered by the watershed' (p. 148), an interesting thought.

In an attempt to identify possible sites for minsters already lost by Domesday, he uses the interesting technique of looking for parishes which adjoin an above-average number of others. This, he argues, represents the fragmentation of old areas of minsterland into the parish system as we know it today. There are fifty six parishes with 'contact scores' of eight or more. No less than nineteen of these are possible centres of archaic estates.

The parish system was established early and with great gusto. 'Late Saxon Norfolk thus experienced church-building on a ferocious scale' (p. 258). In the complex social structure of the county, ownership of a church provided social status, encouraging, as he puts it, 'competitive church building.' His count of no less than 928 separate parishes by the 13th century, with an average size of around 5.75 square kilometres, even allowing for Breckland, is the lowest acreage for any county in England.

In contrast to his always stimulating analysis of the origins of rural settlements and institutions, the origin of towns is covered in only three pages. This all-too-brief treatment of the towns is the book's only significant weakness.

This book is certainly one of the most important to be written on the landscape of the region. The author manages to study and explain the origins of the Norfolk landscape with great flair and insight. It is an absolute must for all those interested in the Norfolk landscape and its wider significance.

PETER WADE-MARTINS

Travaux du Groupe de Recherches et d'Études sur la Céramique dans le Nord - Pas-de-Calais. (Actes du Colloque d'Outreau (10-12 Avril 1992)). Edited by Daniel Piton. 22 × 28 cm. 432 pp., figs., pls. Berck-sur-Mer: Nord-Ouest Archéologie / Groupe de Recherches et Études sur la Céramique dans le Nord — Pas-de-Calais et le Centre de Recherches Archéologiques et de Diffusion Culturelle, 1993. ISSN 0990-9559. Price: 350 F pb.

Twenty years ago, in the summer of 1974, I toured the museums of France and Spain attempting to discover the origins of the Hamwih (now Hamwic) imported pottery. Gerald Dunning and John Hurst had both been characteristically helpful and encouraging as I planned my route. For months on end I encountered bemused museum curators who, on seeing my pottery samples, reacted rather as if I was a dotty sweet salesman, assuring me that Carolingian pottery did not exist. Yet at Rouen there were pots first published by Dunning; at Epernay there was a splendid kiln group from La Saulsotte, and at Orleans, newly excavated material from Saran — a remarkable Carolingian pottery production centre. The most memorable moment came at Caen. Michel De Bouard was very welcoming; he conducted me around his institute; he showed me the sites of Caen; then, he ventured the suggestion that the Hamwic imported pottery was all actually made in England, not France. Such were the circumstances twenty years ago. Today, thanks to the likes of De Bouard and Chapelot, the study of early medieval pottery in northern France meets the highest European standards. This handsome volume provides an invaluable summary of research essentially over the past decade.

The volume has essentially three sections: (i) papers by Dherent and Blicke on written sources for post-medieval faience production and faience production at Fives-Lille,

respectively, (ii) two general studies of later Roman pottery in France by Tuffreau-Libre and Bayard, and (iii) regional studies of northern France, the Low Countries and England. The historian Stéphane Lebecq provides a conclusion full of insight in which he addresses our attention to a number of issues that are most prominent in this book: 'new perspectives' especially with respect to Carolingian pottery; the question of pottery production; 'typo-chronologie'; comparisons of domestic and high-quality wares; and the role of pottery in long-distance trade. Those wishing an index to this book's qualities would do well to begin with Lebecq's chapter. For this reason, I shall focus upon more detailed issues in the following paragraphs.

The chapters on faience production appear to be a curious inclusion. Those on later Roman wares, by contrast, are most welcome. These provide the historical context for many of the subsequent chapters on pottery of the 7th–10th centuries. Above all, the section by Bayard on the Argonne wares will be much used.

The regional studies constitute most of the book. Lyn Blackmore's account of pottery in and around London between the 5th and 10th centuries is a substantive essay enlarging Vince's previous research. The re-evaluation of the early Anglo-Saxon funerary wares, following the publication of the Mucking pottery, is likely to be the first of many appraisals of J. N. L. Myres' work. There then follows an account of the pottery of *Lundenwic*, one of the great archaeological discoveries in the 'eighties. Alan Vince's chapter takes as its starting-point Gerald Dunning's seminal 1958 survey of pottery found in England between the 8th and 12th centuries. This leads Vince to some significant conclusions: (i) the potters' wheel was introduced by immigrant potters at such sites as York, Lincoln and Stamford in the mid to late 9th century; (ii) the technique spread to the East Midlands in the late 9th century; (iii) it was adopted in the Midlands in the early to mid 10th century, and (iv) to Wessex in the late 10th to early 11th centuries. Vince argues that the 'governing factor in the diffusion of pottery techniques is the existence of a sufficiently large market for the products rather than ethnic composition' (pp. 161–62). His evidence is splendidly presented, but the conclusion surely omits to examine the political economy of the Anglo-Scandinavian kingdoms? Macpherson-Grant and Mainman provide comprehensive overviews of the Kentish and York imports respectively — a counterpoint to the essay on *Lundenwic*. The high number of imports from Fishergate, York is strikingly contrasted with the number found at Coppergate (123 sherds in an assemblage of 55,000; p. 191). There then follow essays on western Flanders (by Yann Hollevoet); on the Low Countries (by A. Verhoeven) with a brief but important overview of Austrasian kiln production; on Maastricht (by W. Dijkman); on Alsace (by Madeleine Chatelet); on Champagne (by Georges-Leroy and Lenoble) including a major assessment of the La Saulsotte kiln material following a new campaign of excavations; two papers on the pottery from the recent excavations at Saint-Denis: Meyer-Rodrigues on 47 sherds of Tating Ware found in the abbey's industrial area, occurring in an abandonment layer above a moneyer's lead trial piece of c. 750–60 (p. 271), and Lefèvre who provides an overview of the rest of the Carolingian pottery (note the typology of red painting on p. 282); on the Aisne by Bayard and Thouvernot; an interim report on the La Londe kilns near Rouen by Nathalie Roy; a Breton overview which includes a reassessment of the Meudon kiln group found nearly a century ago; an interim report on the Quentovic pottery by Margaret Worthington; a long, wide-ranging paper by Pierre Demolon and Frans Verhaeghe which effectively parallels Alan Vince's, and calls for still more detailed regional studies of production and distribution patterns (p. 399).

This rich fare contains one outstanding contribution of which Lebecq surprisingly takes little account: W. A. van Es and W. J. H. Verwers' essay on the trade in Carolingian pottery in the Low Countries, based upon the Dorestad data. This develops van Es' classic essay on 'Dorestad centred' (in J. C. Besteman, J. M. Bos and H. A. Heidinga (eds.) *Medieval Archaeology in the Netherlands*, Assen/Maastricht, 1990, pp. 151–82). After an examination of the imported pottery, van Es and Verwers calculate that between 1,500 and 7,000 pots were being imported each year into Dorestad IA (the residential area) and 3,500 to 17,500 pots in Dorestad IB (the port), amounting to more or less 10,500 to 52,500 for the entire emporium

between c. 750–830. This represents, they surmise, about 4.4 to 22 cargoes in a *knorr* of the Skuldelev type or in the kind of boat described in the *Miracula Sancti Goaris* which in c. 840 sank in the Rhine with its cargo of pots (see Lebecq's vivid rendering of this passage on p. 408). Enlarging the scope of this analysis, van Es and Verwers consider the volume of Carolingian ceramic trade with the Low Countries, and conclude that between six and 30 little boats, each filled with about 250 pots, were sent up the Rhine each summer season. With such a study, in scientific terms a generation beyond the 'problèmes de typonologie' which make up the bulk of this book, we have truly entered an age in which archaeology possesses the means — modern measurements — to rewrite history.

All in all, in the last twenty years the perceptive sketches made by Dunning and Hurst in 1958 (*Medieval Archaeology* III (1959)) have been transformed into a historical science. It is quite an achievement for which all the contributors to this symposium deserve to be complimented.

RICHARD HODGES

Housing Culture. Traditional Architecture in an English Landscape. By Matthew Johnson. 16 × 24 cm. xiv + 220 pp., 68 figs., 6 pls., 4 tables. London: University College London Press, 1993. ISBN 1-85728-111-X. Price: £35.00 hb.

This sophisticated and complex book explores the transition from the medieval to the modern world by studying the traditional architecture of western Suffolk. This is only part of the story, though, and its value lies as much in its approach as in its conclusions. It achieves three things — proving the value of explicit theory in medieval archaeology, confirming that archaeology can produce history (life beyond artefacts and sites), and demonstrating again that the study of vernacular architecture can go beyond typology to become both interesting and historically informative. The book's theoretical structure grew with the research, from an initial reliance on fairly simple structuralist concepts to a more closely textured tapestry of context, process and mentality, and because this growth arose directly out of the data, it should not prove intimidating even to the most hardened sceptic of archaeological theory-making. It is a book which deserves a wide audience.

The 'Introduction' establishes the intellectual starting-point (Chapter 1), and is followed by an explanation of the study area, sample framework and main topics (Chapter 2). The third chapter reviews the range of theory available for the study of meaning in building. These opening chapters give a firm base for the central portion of the book (Chapters 4–6) which analyses the architecture, planning and symbolism of traditional houses in western Suffolk between c. 1400 and c. 1700. This study (from a sample of 127 houses, of which about fifty are illustrated by interpretive floor plans with extended captions) forms the heart of the work. It does not treat the study of buildings as an end in itself, but as a means to wider understanding in order to read social meaning into vernacular architecture. From this core, the book's thesis moves out into widening circles of context and meaning: to the symbolic meaning of the buildings' grammatical rules, the technical system, which in conjunction with social and personal mentalities determined their form (Chapter 7); to other aspects of material culture (notably through inventories), the increasing range and frequency of movable household goods and also the planning of the farmstead (Chapter 8); to the community and its notions of class and gender (Chapter 9); and then to its fields, to wider landscapes and ultimately the overall world-view of the house's inhabitants (Chapter 10). This ever-enlarging perspective is unified by consistent attention to the significance and meaning of material culture. Documentary evidence is not ignored, but the book's approach to the writing of history is explicitly archaeological, and as such it is very welcome.

What of the book's subject matter? Its central theme is the later history of the open hall in Suffolk. The hall had for centuries symbolized 'gentility' or at least high social status, but

Johnson examines its appropriation by a more middling social group in the 15th century, and its symbolic and physical fate thereafter. Beyond this, however, the chosen period and area allows examination of the deeper social and psychological world-views and assumptions which shape architectural form. Given the period and place involved, therefore, this book can also be read as a study of the early origins and nature of capitalism, of the role of individualist self-identity in society, or of shifts in gender relations — all aspects of the creation of the modern world. Johnson coins the word 'closure' for this bundle of changes, to describe a process which in physical terms ranges from the ceiling-in of open halls to provide upper rooms and visible segregation and specialization of space, to the reorganization of the landscape by the passing into individual hands of fields, the process of enclosure of common fields to which the word 'closure' itself is a reference. This is a broad and ambitious theme, but Johnson does justice to it by using household space (central to any society) as an entrée to contemporary ideas. As a result, we are given insights into the difference between medieval and modern world-views and ethics, including the relationship of the cultural to the natural world which opens up a range of semiotic meanings, and into the nature of the social and political change in the three centuries after 1400. In short, Johnson has mined from vernacular studies a rich vein of historical understanding, and the book's thesis is of wider application than either Suffolk or vernacular buildings.

Most of all, however, *Housing Culture* offers a particular reading of the past, grounded in physical evidence. This can be accepted for its historical conclusions (which can be tested by other methods or in other areas), or for its broader ideas and approaches. The Preface offers the book as a detailed post-processual case-study in building a truly archaeological approach to the study of historic periods, one which is condemned neither simply to add detail to historians' narrative, nor to be enmeshed in artefactual or structural detail. If it has a fault in this respect, it may be that it seems still reliant on earlier schools of historians such as Hill or Hilton, rather than to more recent revisionist approaches to the period which have grown, naturally, out of recent politics. This may of course be an opportunity for optimism, if archaeology can help in the creation of post-revisionist history.

There is a special challenge in all this for excavators. Part of the book concerns the importance of understanding the uses and meanings of upper floors, notably the vertical sub-division of open halls and the consequent changing relationship of ground to upper floors. Activities which take place on upper floors scarcely figure in excavated data, of course, but assumptions can be made from excavated remains, and this book has important pointers. In the particular historical and cultural specifics of the study, for example, the presence and siting of inserted stacks signify ceiling-over with its various implications, and the location and nature of new entrances highlight changing patterns of spatial planning. More generally, the value is demonstrated of studying groups of buildings, whether surviving or documented, to provide models and templates to inform excavation research designs or to illuminate excavated data.

Finally, as in all good archaeology, the book opens up new avenues. Can its theories, which work well in a period when fundamental changes throw issues of meaning and symbolism into stark relief, be read into other, supposedly more static, periods — and if they are, will we demonstrate for example that the concept of an unchanging 'medieval' mentality is an illusion? What would the approach reveal of lower social classes? Much work on medieval space and symbolism in buildings has focussed on the higher levels of society, but recent work such as Dyer's should have reminded us of the peasant household. Staying with buildings, there are urban analogues to explore where world-views might be expected to take different physical forms, especially under demographic and spatial pressures, while the presumably distinctive anthropology of industrial communities should also be legible through material and architectural culture. Johnson's work will, I hope, encourage medieval archaeologists to become even more open to the potential of explicitly theoretical approaches; we might develop greater confidence that medieval archaeology can write its own history.

The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a Corpus. Volume 1. A-K (excluding Acre and Jerusalem). By Denys Pringle. 28 × 22 cm. xxvi + 330pp., 86 figs., 206 pls. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. ISBN 0-521-39036-2. Price: £75.00 hb.

In 1979 the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem initiated a research project, the purpose of which was to compile 'a corpus of all the church buildings of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem.' The author, formerly the Assistant Director of the School and now of Historic Scotland, undertook most of the fieldwork for this project over a seven-month period in 1981 and 1982. The decision was made, sensibly, to divide the publication of this major undertaking into three volumes, of which the volume under review is the first to appear. The second volume will continue and complete the general topographical coverage, while the final volume will cover Acre, Jerusalem and Tyre.

The author calculates that over 400 churches were in use in the Crusader period, from the time of the First Crusade (1099) until the loss of Acre in 1291, and the first volume covers 134 definite sites. Of these 400 or more buildings Pringle has calculated that about half survive architecturally, although the condition of any one church may vary from a fully standing, complete building to a mere pile of stones. For those where no trace survives on the ground Pringle has had to rely on contemporary chronicles and charters, as well as the work of 19th and 20th-century archaeologists and historians.

Before the gazetteer or corpus Pringle has provided the reader with a short introduction to the history of the modern study of Crusader ecclesiastical architecture, which is seen to begin with de Vogue's *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte* (1860). As far as the organization of the corpus is concerned, it is stressed that because of the large amount of archaeological evidence that has been published, notably in journals, the 'principal aim of the present Corpus is therefore to make this archaeological information more easily accessible and to provide thereby a starting point for further work of a particular or comparative kind.' (p. 3). Readers must be aware, therefore, that Pringle's work does not include a general overview of Crusader church architecture, and in fact art-historical discussion of the architecture in each corpus entry is kept to a bare minimum, with history and description being the primary concern, as the author makes quite clear (p. 4). However, it is to be regretted that this has had to be the case due to pressure of space as well as time; the author and publisher might have rendered even greater service by conflating the corpus into two volumes, with the third giving us the art-historical discussion.

After the short introduction the reader is presented with a detailed corpus of 134 certain sites in 290 pages; other sites, which are not numbered, are included where the author presents evidence for their rejection as Crusader churches. The corpus is followed by an excellent bibliography (twenty pp.) and a sound index (thirteen pp.). The length of the entries vary from twenty pages (the church of St Mary, Bethlehem) down to half a column of a double-column page (e.g., the church at Artas), depending on just how much survives of any one building. The churches vary from small castle chapels to parish churches in towns and villages, as well as monasteries, but the majority are in the towns. Although it is likely that a large number of the Crusader castles would have included a chapel, Pringle has wisely refrained from listing every single castle, including only those where some form of evidence exists.

To take just these castle chapels, there are ten entries in the corpus, of which three are possible chapels, three are known from documentary evidence, and four still exist as standing remains, although of these four one (Site 31, Bait Jibrin/Begibelin) is more likely to have been an aisled parish church of the adjacent settlement as opposed to the Hospitaller chapel, this probably having stood in the inner ward. This leaves us with Sites 26, 57 and 130, the chapels at 'Atlit (Pilgrims' Castle), Belvoir and Karak (Crac), together with the possibility of Arsuf (Site 12) where Pringle suggests that one of the buildings excavated recently may have served as a chapel. The castle at Arsuf was virtually razed to the ground in 1265 by the Mamluks, but excavations in 1982 and 1983 along the E. curtain uncovered a D-shaped tower, the inner face of which projected well into the ward. It is quite likely, given the tower's orientation to the E. and its internal dimensions (c. 11.5 × 4.5 m.) that this building was the castle's chapel.

Of course, to find a chapel in a mural tower is not unusual; there is a 13th-century example at White Castle, to name but one in Britain.

Belvoir, one of the first truly concentric castles of the Middle Ages, was built in 1168–87, and was destroyed in 1219. Its chapel was located on the first floor of the rectangular gatehouse to the inner ward, a position which has numerous parallels in Europe. This castle has been the subject of a major excavation, but only a small pile of ashlar represents the chapel. More survives, however, at Karak, where the chapel, which was not part of the defences, is a barrel-vaulted rectangular building in the middle of the inner ward, with a sacristy or side chapel to one side. Both were originally plastered, and a considerable area of wall-paintings was still visible in 1818, but by 1864 little remained.

The finest chapel was that at 'Atlit, set within one of the strongest of the Crusader castles, built from 1217. The chapel, probably a mid 13th-century replacement of an earlier building, was unique. It was ten-sided, with a seven-sided sanctuary, flanking which were a sacristy and chapel, and the nave had a vault with a central pillar. Very little survives of this building, but Pringle includes a good plan based on the evidence, along with several photographs taken in 1932 which serve to emphasize that the chapel must have been one of the glories of Crusader architecture.

The author and publisher are to be congratulated on this well-illustrated volume (which includes several very informative 19th and early 20th-century photographs), and it is to be hoped that the other two volumes will follow quickly. The book, on the whole, is printed to the usual high standards of the Press, but how the mess which was made of the printing of the first paragraph on Bait Jubr at-Tahtani (p. 101) came to be passed over unnoticed by author and editor is mystifying.

JOHN R. KENYON

Short Reviews

Broughton Lodge. Excavations on the Romano-British Settlement and Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Broughton Lodge, Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Nottinghamshire 1964–8. (Nottingham Archaeological Monographs 4). By A.G. Kinsley. 21 × 30 cm. v + 175 pp., 105 figs., 12 pls. Nottingham: Dept. of Classical and Archaeological Studies, University of Nottingham, 1993. ISBN 0-904857-04-2. Price: £25.00 pb.

An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Norton. Cleveland. (Council for British Archaeology Research Report 82). By S.J. Sherlock and M.G. Welch. 21 × 30 cm. ix + 225 pp., 87 figs., 26 pls., 24 tables, 1 fiche. London: Council for British Archaeology, 1992. ISBN 1-872414-09-5. Price: £20.00 pb.

These two cemeteries have much in common. They contain similar numbers of excavated burials (117 inhumations and three cremations at Norton and around 121 inhumations, four horses and a sheep at Broughton Lodge) and have similar date ranges, both lacking early and late burials. Although separated by 180 km the two cemeteries follow the same Anglian tradition and share many types of object including examples of some unusual items such as buckets and silver bracelets. There are, however, differences between the two sites. At Norton the 'florid' cruciform brooches are mainly in the form of the C2 'square-headed cruciform' usually found in the north. Symbolic girdle-hangers are less common at Norton and, as seems characteristic of the northern cemeteries, Norton has a far lower proportion of weapon burials than Broughton Lodge (8.5% as against 20.6%).