

## Reviews

*The Pace of Change: Studies in Early-Medieval Chronology.* (Cardiff Studies in Archaeology).

Edited by J. Hines, K. Høilund Nielsen and F. Siegmund. 22 × 30cm., x + 195 pp., 95 figs. and pls., 11 tables, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1999. ISBN 1-900188-78-3. Price: £40.00 hb.

The failure of archaeologists publishing early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries to establish relative chronologies based on grave seriation surprises European and Scandinavian colleagues. Our estimated dates for individual graves and overall dates for whole cemeteries are not easy to justify. An honourable exception is the Buckland, Dover cemetery, whose phasing is supported by horizontal stratigraphy or topochronology. These phases spanned from the very end of the 5th to the first half of the 8th century, but the presence of continental imports, including a few coins, made this a rather special case, though demonstrating what could be achieved elsewhere in Kent. This book is based on a symposium held in 1996 and makes available in English relatively recent work on chronology in West Germany and in Scandinavia. It should encourage British archaeologists, many of whom still seem reluctant to read other European languages, to become more aware of the issues involved in establishing sound chronological frameworks. As Hines notes, chronology seems to have gone out of fashion in British university archaeology departments. Nevertheless it remains fundamental that we understand the time-frames into which our material can be placed, for we need to be able to compare contemporary burials when attempting social analysis of communities represented by excavated cemeteries.

The papers dealing with Anglo-Saxon burials present three different approaches. Brugmann's analysis of the richer 6th-century female dress assemblages in East Kent formed part of her assessment of the Mill Hill, Deal cemetery. It presents a detailed case for three phases spanning the 6th century correlated with Continental chronologies through the presence of imported Frankish dress fittings. This represents a significant refinement on the 50-year divisions proposed for Buckland, Dover. Two papers on the Frankish Rhineland (by Nieveler and Siegmund) and SW. Germany (by Theune) present results from the seriation of thousands of graves datable to the Merovingian Period, which made Brugmann's contribution possible. Single generation phases (or sub-phases) of 30 or 40 years are achievable for Germany, though we are reminded that the absolute dating depends on just 150 or so graves. These provide either *terminus post quem* dates from coins or occasionally from dendrochronology, but the coins are not evenly spread across the seriated phases and there are some unresolved issues, e.g. coins set in pendants deposited after their normal period of circulation. Sometimes it is possible to use topochronology to test the validity of the phasing, while correspondence analysis of the male and female Rhineland assemblages produces a nearly perfect parabola in both cases.

Correspondence analysis has become the preferred technique adopted by Scandinavians to refine relative chronology schemes developed over the last two centuries. It has been used by Jørgensen to develop the phasing of weapon graves from the end of the Early Germanic Iron Age (or Migration Period) through the Late Germanic Iron Age (or Vendel Period) to the beginning of the Viking Age on the Baltic islands of Bornholm and Gotland, c. 520/30 to c. 800. Contemporary female dress assemblages from the same two islands

and much of mainland Sweden are considered here by Nielsen. The attempt by Hines (with Nielsen's assistance) to apply this methodology to cemeteries in South Cambridgeshire and subsequently to the whole of East Anglia reveals dataset problems. While a sharp transition is defined from the end of Migration-period female costume assemblages to those defined here as Final-phase graves, four chronologically overlapping costume sets worn by women in the Migration period at Barrington A and elsewhere in the region emerge from the correspondence analysis. The parabola here clearly does not represent a straightforward chronological sequence, in which a new costume set replaces its predecessor every one to two generations. Additionally, even when virtually completely excavated, early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries provide very small datasets when compared to the thousands seriated for Merovingian-period Germany or Vendel-period Bornholm and Gotland. They represent small hamlet-sized farming communities burying their dead over one or two centuries. We need to accumulate for each region multiple sites recorded to modern standards, before we can achieve an adequate sample to deal with the issue of the variety of contemporary female costume sets. Fortunately we do now hold data from a number of cemeteries outside Kent which span much of the Migration Period as well as the Final Phase. Formerly these seemed to be effectively restricted to Kent, but the publication of such sites as Barrington A, Castledyke South and Lechlade will assist the definition of future regional chronologies taking us from the 6th into the 7th century.

The third paper by Scull and Bayliss at least points a way forward, particularly for periods with virtually no well-furnished graves. Advances in the techniques of statistically modelling radiocarbon dates mean that for certain periods it is now feasible to obtain high-accuracy dates of plus/minus ten or twenty years at one sigma. They developed a programme of dating human bone samples from the much disturbed Buttermarket cemetery in Ipswich. This demonstrated the strong probability that burial here was restricted to the 7th century and did not extend through the 8th century, as had seemed to be indicated by an Offa penny in a grave fill. From this promising beginning, it is proposed to organise a national programme of radiocarbon dates of human bone from 7th-century contexts. This will provide a valuable independent check on other dating methods, such as coin-dating and dates based on gold/silver ratios in fine metalwork. Unfortunately the dendrochronology/radiocarbon curve does not permit such accuracy for the 6th century, but it seems that the problems of the late 4th and earlier 5th century could also be tackled using this technique. It is an expensive and time-consuming process, but in the absence of suitable material for dendrochronology provides very welcome news.

There are three more papers on Scandinavian chronology which complete this valuable monograph. That by Kristofferson provides a clear exposition of dress combinations in Migration-period Norway. Magnus examines the transition from the Migration to the Vendel Period in eastern Sweden and Axboe considers the chronology of gold bracteates. Most A D class bracteates in graves on the Continent and in England were deposited in the middle third of the 6th century (Ament's AM II), so production of bracteates probably ended in Scandinavia by c. 530/40, with deposition ceasing c. 550/60. To summarise, this book presents a series of ongoing debates and hopefully will encourage those involved in advancing the study of NW. Europe in the Early Middle Ages to develop and interlink their chronological schemes.

*The Cambridge Urban History of Britain. Volume I: 600–1540.* Edited by D. M. Palliser. 16 × 24cm. xxvi + 841 pp., 27 figs., 23 maps, 25 pls. and 23 tables. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. ISBN 0-521-44461-6. Price: £90.00, \$140.00 hb.

Barrie Dobson (2000) echoes F. W. Maitland (1898) in asserting that ‘a truly unified history of late medieval British towns is an unattainable ideal’ (p. 273). The same applies to the period 600–1300. However, this volume attempts the impossible with vigour under David Palliser’s light editorial touch. A thematic approach is chosen, with the period divided at 1300. This allows a range of contributors, but leads to repetitions for example of the Winchester ‘urban cottages’ of c. 1300, which make three appearances.

The General Editor, Peter Clark, prioritises disciplines involved in the three-volume series as ‘historians, geographers, archaeologists, landscape historians’ (p. xxi). Palliser labels archaeology as ‘especially (though not only) important for the period before the 12th century’ and as providing vital information ‘where documents are lacking’ in acknowledging that the ‘domination of a document-based approach’ led to a ‘considerable impoverishment’ of British medieval urban history (pp. 6, 13). Clearly archaeology has a role to play in medieval urban studies, but should surely emerge as more than mortar between historical bricks. However, this is urban history and not urban archaeology, which badly needs such a synthesis. Archaeology could reveal little about goings on at Orford’s (or Shrewsbury’s) late medieval ‘Gropecuntlane’. History still has its own tale to tell (p. 517 n. 26).

In scene-setting for urban studies in medieval Scotland since the 1970s we learn that archaeology has contributed ‘vastly’ to the knowledge of ‘buildings, possessions, pottery, diet, health and other topics’ (p. 12). The lack of a synthesis of Scottish urban archaeology – ‘as archaeologists generally prefer to build up from minutiae rather than attempt ‘the big picture’ — is ‘regrettable’ (p. 12). Medieval archaeology, then, receives a mixed response at the outset. However, our Society is praised early on with a reference to W. A. Pantin as a founder in 1956 (p. 10) but it is indicative of the overall perception of archaeology in the book that nothing from this journal appears in the idiosyncratic, wide-range of journals cited in the ‘Select Bibliography’. The sole representative of our society’s output is ‘Muhany’ [*sic*] et al.’s *Stamford Excavations* (Monograph 9, 1982).

The period 600–1300 for British towns is especially challenging. Grenville Astill’s ‘General Survey 600–1300’ states that much archaeology has been confined — like documentary work — to larger towns (p. 27). Excavation can show the ‘diversity of a town . . . through urban fabric, . . . communal structures . . . defences and churches . . . domestic and industrial buildings and about the inhabitants themselves and the environment they lived in . . . a number of excavations in the same town enables aspects of the urban economy to be discussed’.

The outstanding contribution which combines archaeological and historical data comes from our Vice-President David Hinton (‘The Large Towns 600–1300’). Hinton realises the editor’s hope for the contribution of archaeology to urban studies before 1200. John Blair in ‘The small towns 600–1270’, provides a stimulating discussion venturing into discussion of Scottish and Welsh (and Irish) towns. In both Blair’s chapter and our President Christopher Dyer’s essay on ‘The Small Towns 1270–1540’ the paucity of excavation data is palpable. Indeed, archaeological evidence almost disappears from view in the chapters on towns 1270–1540.

The authors, from different academic traditions, make diversity both a virtue and a hindrance. The ‘impoverishment’ of urban history, arising from the domination of document-based work, is not confronted by a sustained medieval archaeological input. Some techniques, such as dendrochronology, do not make an appearance. Space precludes mountains of specialist work. Nonetheless this is a very worthwhile book, which attempts to press the huge expansion of urban history into a single wine bottle. It is inevitably breathless including such generalisations as ‘urban diet was better than rural diet’ in the

period 600–1300. Contributors on occasion use archaeological evidence without discernment, for example in a section on the economy 600–1300 archaeological evidence is restricted to the statements that pottery throws light on the origins of Ipswich and that ‘old straw and spoiled fodder’ were used for fuel in the period 600–1300. By contrast, Julia Barrow’s considered contribution on ‘Churches, education and literacy in towns 600–1300’ helpfully breaks up her topic by periods and therefore makes her section particularly successful.

Overall, so far as archaeology is concerned it promises better than it performs partly due to lack of space, partly due to the limited number of scholars who can handle documentary and archaeological data successfully and partly due to lack of published data. The organisation is somewhat haphazard – if authors were given clear briefs they did not follow them. Minor errors and irritations are few, although the illustrations are not referenced to the text, and the maps are by a variety of cartographers which detracts from the visual impact. There is a rushed flavour, perhaps beating the R.A.E. deadline? This work is impressive and most welcome. Much material on individual towns can be reassembled via the index. It demonstrates developments since the work of Maitland and Tait a century and more ago, but their legacy and Maitland’s prediction about the problematic nature of the topic, remain clear.

TOM BEAUMONT JAMES

*The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c.300 – c.1200.* (Oxford Historical monographs). By John Crook. 16 × 24 cm. xxv + 308 pp., 111 figs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000. ISBN 019-820794-8. Price: £50.00 hb.

Many Ph.D. theses are very long and boring and not worth publishing. John Crook’s Oxford D.Phil. on Christian ‘holy bones’, which he completed only very recently as a mature student, is, by contrast, an excellent piece of work which he has turned into a very readable book. His subject, the cult of saints from its origins in the 2nd century A.D. to c. 1200, is huge, not least because it covers not only England, but also most of western Europe. He also looks at the subject from a literary, historical, archaeological and architectural point of view, and his sure knowledge of classics and modern languages allows him to re-assess many continental secondary sources. As a poor Latin scholar, I am also pleased that he has chosen to translate (in footnotes) the many medieval Latin texts that are quoted.

The archaeology of the cult of Saints in the early medieval period has been a neglected subject in recent decades, and this book is also particularly welcome because nearly all the sites mentioned have been visited (including the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem) and their architecture and dating has been re-assessed.

After a brief introductory summary, he gets down to business with a wide-ranging chapter on ‘aspects of relic cults’. Starting with Henry VIII’s Commissioners of the 1530s, whose vivid reports on the shrines that were meant to ‘allure and intyse the ynignorantt pepull’, he quickly moves back to the origins of the cult of relics in mid-2nd-century Smyrna (St Polycarp) and most famously with the cult of St Peter at the Vatican. The rest of the chapter then looks at the many aspects of the Christian cult of relics over the last 2,000 years, and he even has illustrations of contemporary pilgrims rubbing oil into the ‘Stone of Unction’ at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and of modern ex-votos (mostly children’s shoes) at Saint-Omer Cathedral!

The central part of the book is devoted to the physical setting of relic cults from the beginning (the graves of martyrs beneath 4th-century basilicas in Rome) to the great developments in England of the 12th century (his finishing point is the exceptional shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury). Along the way consideration is given to the origins (at St

Peter's in Rome) and development of ring-crypts, and corridor crypts, which takes us across Italy and over the Alps to the Carolingian world, and on to the remarkable surviving crypts at Hexham and Ripon in England. One of the great strengths of this book is the way in which the English sites are related to their forebears across the Channel, so Repton and Wing, for example, are related to the many contemporary sites that the author has studied in France and Germany. The fourth chapter shows how the greater Carolingian shrine-crypts developed from the mid-9th century to the early 11th century when there was 'an increasing tendency for shrines to be placed at main level' i.e. not in a crypt. The author's new plans and analyses of buildings like Auxerre Saint-Germain and Clermont-Ferrand cathedrals are of particular interest to British readers. The next chapter turns to the Norman and English shrines in the 10th and 11th centuries, and there is a full discussion of saints' cults after the great monastic reforms of Dunstan and Ethelwold (the author's knowledge of Winchester Cathedral is, of course, second to none). Once again saints' cults in Normandy are considered in detail alongside the much better-known cults in England (Oswald, Cuthbert etc.). This leads on to a particularly interesting discussion of Norman attitudes (and those of Archbishop Lanfranc in particular) to English saints. There follows a very full treatment of the great Anglo-Norman rebuilding of cathedrals and abbeys, when shrines had almost no influence on the architecture. By the end of the 11th century, however, attitudes had changed, and during the 12th century there was a huge resurgence of interest in the indigenous saints and their cults. The architecture of all the major shrines in England, at this time, is then described after much new research by the author. Apart from his study of Winchester, Dr Crook has done important work on the shrines at Bury St Edmunds and Durham. I particularly enjoyed his remarks on the feretory pavement at Durham where he brings in a knowledge of the local building stones that is rare for most archaeologists and historians.

The final chapter on 'the development of shrines' explores another neglected subject, though antiquarian interest in shrines is evident from the dawn of British Archaeology with a paper devoted to them in the very first volume of *Archaeologia* in 1770. The heart of this chapter is a discussion of 'tomb-shrines', a term invented by the author for the structures that covered the *in situ* graves of saints, most famously that over St Thomas in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral. Many of these structures have 'portholes' in their sides (they are therefore sometimes called *foramina*), and their form is likely to have been influenced by the newly restored (by the Crusaders) Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem.

This book is, therefore, thoroughly recommended. Let us hope that John Crook will now produce a sequel on shrines and their architectural setting for the later medieval period.

TIM TATTON-BROWN

*Working with Water in Medieval Europe: Technology and Resource-Use.* (Technology and Change in History 3). Edited by Paolo Squatriti. 16 × 25 cm. xx + 446 pp., 72 figs. Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2000. ISBN 90-04-10680-4, ISSN 1385-920X. Price: Hfl. 27.46, €125.00, \$154.00 hb.

In the 1950s two multi-volume collections of studies in ancient technology appeared, those written or edited by R. J. Forbes and by C. Singer, E. J. Holmstead, A. R. Hall and T. Williams. After half-a-century of archaeological work all over Europe and a corresponding intensification of documentary study a new synthesis was required. The present volume is comprehensive with the breadth of its treatment. It has chapters on water technology in Ireland, England, the Netherlands, Germany, France, Italy, Spain and one giving a European wide treatment on fishing in the Middle Ages. It also conveys breathtakingly exciting discoveries, particularly in field archaeology. The writing is uneven,

as one would expect in a series of contributions by some scholars with an imperfect understanding of English. The language of some is convoluted and a glossary of terms would have eased the reader's task. Maybe more editorial input is needed here.

As for the content, Rynne's treatment of 'Water power in Medieval Ireland' is particularly well-illustrated and this exactly complements a highly technical but admirably articulated account. Irish technical terms for mills are commented on; the corpus of Irish mill sites before the 10th century A.D. is seen to be the largest in the world; the elements of the Irish horizontal mill buildings, stones, flumes (the tapering water inlet pipes) and the paddled wheels themselves (claimed to be the finest achievement of the medieval Irish woodworking craft) are all dealt with meticulously with well-drawn examples.

Richard Holt treads more familiar ground for English readers in his chapter on 'Medieval England's Water Related Technologies'. He emphasises that very few (in fact three) watermills have been excavated dated before 1100, a contrast with the remains of more than 30 Irish mills. He also states that canal building and the improvement of existing water courses is extremely rare; I can think of two claimed for the late Anglo-Saxon period in Oxfordshire, notably at Bampton (John Blair's work) and Abingdon. Grain mills provided high revenues for aristocratic lords; in the north up to a third of their income was derived from mills. Dams and leats, multiple mills, tide mills all are treated lucidly. Holt declines to follow Carus-Wilson in imagining that the water powered fulling mill caused a basic change in the geography of the English cloth industry in the 13th century. He shows that water was a key element in fortifying cities and domestic moats, in providing fish habitats, in satisfying the thirst and solving the drainage problems of monasteries and towns alike.

William Te Brake concentrates on hydraulic engineering in his chapter on the Netherlands. Although brief, his analysis is clear and excellently illustrated with well-drawn maps. Successful drainage schemes in early medieval Netherlands brought problems of subsidence; the drained peat reduced in volume owing to a lowering of the water table. Ever more drastic methods for removing water into the (now) higher rivers were required; hence a Dutch landscape emerged dotted with sluices, canals, embankments and, ultimately, windmills. Klaus Crewe's chapter on Germany is turgid by comparison, overweighted by references, under-illustrated (no maps). Paul Benoit and Josephine Rouillard review developments in France and point out how archaeology has supplemented the previous emphasis on economic and juridical studies. Mills had interested French archaeologists less than cathedrals. Their own work on Cistercian abbeys is well illustrated with photographs; they described filtering systems, reservoirs, discharge pipes and pumps. Their maps and plans are unfortunately bare of detail and over-schematic (figs. 5.8 and 5.14). A map of France showing all sites mentioned would have been useful. Such a map of Italy is supplied by Roberta Magnusson and Paolo Squatriti (the editor). Among interesting points made are that baths underwent a process of simplification after the Romans with 'the relentless advance of ascetic ideals'. In the high Middle Ages Italians bathed at home in hand-filled wooden tubs; the classical subdivision of three spaces, for hot, lukewarm and cold bathing had largely disappeared. Poor hygienic hydraulics also characterised medieval Italian cities; pollution of water supply by industrial waste seems to have been as much a problem there as elsewhere in northern Europe. Fountains, on the other hand, graced many city squares. The chapter producing the most surprises was that on Islamic Spain by Thomas Glick of Boston and Helena Kirchner of Barcelona universities. Although some of their diagrams are incomplete (where is 'irrigated space' on figs. 7.2 and 7.3?) the discoveries they relate are staggering. Muslim peasants, the descendants of Berber North Africans had mastered sophisticated hydraulic irrigation systems in large parts of Andalusia; they used 'ganats', 'novias', storage and regulatory tanks and diversion dams with great skill (these terms are not clearly explained until well on in the chapter — surely an editorial lapse). Christian re-organisation surprisingly did not lead to the destruction of

this system although its emphasis changed from equity to profit. Richard Hoffman's overview of medieval fishing in the whole of Europe is particularly interesting on techniques; it is, however poorly illustrated. The bibliography (40 pages, over 1,200 items) is awe inspiring. Clearly a life's work to trawl through the watery side of the Middle Ages!

JOHN STEANE

*Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries A.D.* Edited by Helen Geake and Jonathan Kenny. 21 × 30 cm. xi + 140 pp., many figs., maps and tables. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000. ISBN 1-900188-90-2. Price: £28.00 pb.

The essays in this volume arise from a conference organised by the University of York Archaeological Society in June 1995. As the subtitle suggests, the majority of the eleven papers deal with archaeological evidence, ranging from numismatics to bioarchaeology. The approaches to the evidence are similarly broad with some papers almost purely theoretical while others almost purely descriptive. The odd man out is Nick Higham, whose paper considers Bede's presentation of King Edwin of Deira and the realities of 'overkingship' in the 7th century.

Philip Rahtz's essay is, by the author's admission, an idiosyncratic selection of some current research problems taking in the origins of Anglo-Saxon York and its cathedral, the archaeology of early Christian Yorkshire and the ethnic makeup of Yorkshire's early medieval cemeteries. The resulting paper is an interesting, if fast-paced and somewhat disjointed, summary of much recent work, though I was unconvinced by discussions of an Anglo-Saxon origin for Dane's Dyke on Flamborough Head. Sam Lucy's paper is a challenging and in many ways important contribution to current thinking. She argues that Anglo-Saxon scholars are still tied to 19th-century notions of ethnicity as an identity fixed by biological association. Drawing on the work of scholars of continental Europe such as Patrick Amory and Walter Pohl, Lucy argues for a more fluid definition of ethnicity and the abandonment of the traditional opposition between Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon and with it many of the debates surrounding the *adventus Saxonum*. Dominic Powlesland considers the settlement at West Heslerton arguing that its layout incorporates late-Roman elements and comes down in favour of a late-Roman rather than Middle-Saxon settlement shift. He similarly argues against the 'wandering settlement' model that had been proposed for a number of Anglo-Saxon sites. There is little in this paper that will not be known to those who have read Powlesland's other articles on West Heslerton and any assessment is hampered by the lack of a full site report, fully acknowledged by Powlesland. In isolation, however, it stands as a useful contribution to debates about the development of Anglo-Saxon settlements. Julian Richards examines the problem of the archaeological visibility of Anglo-Saxon settlements in Yorkshire. He discusses the difficulty in identifying the Anglo-Saxon settlement at Wharram Percy, where buildings had been cut into earlier Iron-age and Roman features. Richards also examines the discovery of an Anglo-Saxon settlement at Cottam, made possible by the work of metal-detectorists. Whilst noting that both settlements appear to have been reorganised in the 10th century, Richards argues against the attempt to seek a single developmental pattern.

The other papers in this volume are less unified in theme. Kevin Leahy and James Booth discuss finds from the productive site at South Newbald. Leahy examines the metalwork and discusses Newbald in the context of other productive sites in Yorkshire. Booth focuses on the coins (including those previously assigned erroneously to Sancton) and provides an informative introduction to Northumbrian coinage. Both papers are profusely illustrated. Jennie Stopford presents a cogent case for an integrated and systematic archaeological excavation at Whitby, arguing that the piecemeal approach to excavations thus far has threatened the coherence of this important monastic site. The late

Jim Lang (to whom this volume is dedicated) examines the stone sculpture of the 8th and 9th centuries and presents an evocative impression of an increasingly confident Northumbrian Church using sculpture to demonstrate its links with a wider Roman and Mediterranean-centred world. Robert van de Noort examines the wetlands of early medieval Yorkshire, contrasting the dearth of evidence for exploitation of these wetlands with sites in East Anglia, Holland and Frisia (though, strangely, no mention of the North West Wetlands Survey). This contrast, van de Noort suggests, may reflect different stockbreeding practices in Yorkshire and the exploitation of riverside meadowlands for pasture rather than saltmarshes and mires. Keith Dobney, Allan Hall and Harry Kenward examine the bioarchaeology of Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire, paying particular attention to excavations in York, and suggest that once analysis of data from West Heslerton and Flixborough is complete a more detailed discussion of the bioarchaeology of the region will be possible. They also put out a plea for a more careful and systematic approach to the recovery of bioarchaeological assemblages.

While the area under discussion is small the articles are rarely insular. Indeed a recurrent theme of many of the papers is the need to examine the broader geographical, temporal and disciplinary context. The period examined does, however, almost demand the use of traditional ethnic and cultural categories and temporal boundaries – Romano-Briton, Anglo-Saxon, Viking – and it might have proved more profitable to move away from the chronological paradigm to a more thematic approach. This criticism aside, this well-edited collection provides a useful and insightful introduction to early Deira, flagging up current research problems well and providing the stimulus for new debates and discussions.

MARTIN RYAN

*The Quoit Brooch Style and Anglo-Saxon Settlement.* By Seiichi Suzuki. 18 × 25 cm. xiv + 218 pp., 100 figs., 38 pls. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2000. ISBN 0-85115-749-1. Price: £50.00, \$90.00 hb.

This book provides us with the first published synthesis in 36 years of metalwork decorated in the Quoit Brooch Style and is developed from the author's M.A. dissertation with the same opening title (University of York, 1997). It sets out to establish ground rules for identifying the style and for distinguishing it from other more or less contemporary styles in England, north-western Europe and Scandinavia, and to place it in its socio-cultural and historical context.

Chapter 1 shows how the style, rooted mainly in late Roman Continental art, was employed chiefly on belt fittings and brooches found in Anglo-Saxon graves. It provides a descriptive analytical framework for the definition of the style, in which silver inlay is often used, demonstrating a sophisticated internal organisation that operates on three noted levels of visibility. A data set lists most – but by no means all – published Quoit Brooch Style objects. The second chapter identifies individual design motifs and elements, and establishes the rules and principles of the organisation of designs. Detailed analysis confirms the unity and autonomy of the style, underlining the mastery of its zoomorphic patterning and, importantly, establishes beyond doubt its closely interlinked, but much less appreciated, geometric aspect. The rules are not hard and fast, as a few exceptions in Appendix 3 show, but will be useful particularly for the assessment of new finds.

A formal classification of the objects is supported by a series of figures of motifs and design elements and it is argued that the belt equipment and brooches fall into two distinct phases of evolution, with the well-known belt-set from Mucking, grave 117, being stylistically early. Groupings of the objects, first on the basis of shared design features, and then on the scale of their zoomorphic patterning, illustrate development of the style. It is

convincingly argued that any close link with one of the late Roman Hoxne bracelets (no. 23) is extremely doubtful and four other possible past contenders are rightly excluded. But it is confusing to find that other signalled contentious objects, viz. the Winterbourne Gunner strap-end (Roman), Howletts oval plate (Gallo-Roman?; now in the British Museum) and Brighthampton chape (south Scandinavian type) are nevertheless included in the data set and other lists, from which they would have been best omitted. Furthermore, as the reviewer has shown in this journal (vol. 40 (1996), pp. 206–11), the Amiens/Andover-type buckles and plates (data set nos. 4–5, and 9) are not Quoit Brooch-style products at all, but late Roman. The possibility that they were made in Gaul is strengthened by the recent find of an example at Tours.<sup>1</sup>

Chapters 3 and 4 are concerned particularly with the symbolic use and prestige of the style in constructing a cultural identity in East Kent in the Migration Period and with the vexed question of the Jutish contribution to it. It is postulated that the style's creators showed allegiance to the cultural heritage of Romano-British society and that its bearers belonged to a sub-Roman ruling elite. The Mucking belt set, it is argued, derives its long, narrow shape from the specifically Romano-British buckles of Hawkes and Dunning's types IA and IB (which, tellingly, lack silver inlay), largely as the author believes that Continental, late Roman types would not have been accessible to the Anglo-Saxons when they arrived in south-east England. However, this is to overlook the clearest evidence yet, from the Mansell Street cemetery, London, that Saxon *foederati*, accompanied by their womenfolk, were indeed wearing such chip-carved belt equipment, probably of official military issue.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the Mucking buckle is proportionally closer to the possibly Gallic Amiens/Andover type. Nor is any explanation given of why the Christian iconography evident on many of the British buckles (chrismons, fish, peacocks, etc.) does not certainly occur in the Quoit Brooch Style, especially when it seems possible that the Christian religion was still being practised in eastern Kent for some while after the Roman withdrawal. The very crudeness of the Hoxne bracelet rather suggests that sub-Roman artisans were incapable of attaining the artistic standard of the style, while it is precisely because the British authorities were unable to maintain supplies to their federates that they rebelled. A degree of visual influence from native metalwork is entirely conceivable, but it is surely the Gallo-Roman material these immigrant soldiers were more familiar with from their service in northern Gaul that provided the principal models for imitation by them (hence the absence of square-headed brooches) and at a somewhat later date than the proposed beginning of the 5th century. The reviewer has always stressed the importance of influence from this region, and not just from Scandinavia as might seem to be implied (p. 90).

The view presented, that the style is southern English and Insular, is misleading and long outdated. The Mucking belt set, the Bishopstone (Buckinghamshire) belt-plate and an unmentioned example from Morningthorpe, grave 367, Norfolk, clearly demonstrate a distribution pattern broadening out north of the Thames. Furthermore, apart from the Bénouville quoit brooch, Professor Suzuki appears to be unaware of the style's wider occurrence in France, along with other products of the school: Pont-de-Buis and Réville objects in the style, and other material from Thennes and, allegedly, Herpes.<sup>3</sup> The Réville strap mount also provides a good parallel for the Croydon strap-distributor, which is not therefore unique, and further shows that the simpler D-sectioned sliders are closely connected with the school's output (p. 108). This broader spread, unreflected in Celtic or sub-Roman contexts, can only be satisfactorily explained by Anglo-Saxon, and not British,

<sup>1</sup> H. Galinić, 'Tours from an archaeological standpoint', *American Early Medieval Stud.*, 3 (1999), 87–105, fig. 11, top.

<sup>2</sup> B. Barber, D. Bowsher and K. Whitaker, 'Recent excavations of a cemetery of *Londinium*', *Britannia*, XXI (1990), 1–12, pls. I–IV, esp. pl. III.

<sup>3</sup> J.-Y. Marin, *Les Barbares et la Mer* (Caen, 1992), 95–6.

presence. Indeed, it might be wondered if the Bénouville brooch, with its various deviations from the rules, is an insular product at all. Recent English published finds from Meonstoke, Lechlade, grave 123, and Watchfield have also been overlooked, although the belt plate from Kingsworthy, grave 41, and strap-end from Pewsey are welcome new additions. The discussion of 5th-century jewellery from Kent is impaired by the omission of relevant material from Lyminge and Eastry.<sup>4</sup>

In the concluding Chapter 5, the author examines the available Anglo-Saxon documentary sources for the 5th century, grappling with the anomalies in the origin myths of Hengest and Oisc and the genealogy of the Kentish dynasty. It is ingeniously argued that there were two separate migrations, one led by Hengest followed by another led by Oisc, and that the first group would have been the prime patrons of the Quoit Brooch Style in its later phase, which allowed certain isolated Scandinavian elements and served to distinguish mercenary from Saxon. Although, as the author acknowledges, we should be wary of placing too much reliance on semi-legendary tales, the hypothesis would neatly account for the abrupt end of the style towards the end of the century, as Oisc's new settlers from Jutland introduced Salin's Style I and new forms of jewellery such as square-headed brooches (which, it should be noted, however, do not entirely replace quoit brooches) and gold bracteates.

The text is well produced, although more judicious editing could have considerably reduced the repetition of references, and the only rather minor typographical errors noted are the accented letters in 'Mérovingienne' (p. 202) and modern 'Kvarmløse' (p. 209). The abbreviation for 'Saint' in the index of objects, however, is seriously misplaced, as if the word begins 'St' (p. 212); the same index would be much more useful with page references to the text. The book is generously illustrated with both half-tone plates and figures, which is reflected in the price, but many of the plates are far too dark and the star piece, the Sarre quoit brooch, is spoilt by flare (pl. 30). Modern technology can surely do better.

Suzuki's suggested origin of the Quoit Brooch Style might fail to convince, and some significant recent evidence is missing. Overall, however, this volume will be valued for its new insights and makes an important contribution to a fuller appreciation of the style, particularly in the development of its later phase and the integration of Scandinavian elements.

BARRY M. AGER

*The Glass Beads of Anglo-Saxon England c. AD 400–700: A Preliminary Visual Classification of the More Definitive and Diagnostic Types.* Reports of the Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 58. By Margaret Guido, edited by Martin Welch, with contributions by Justine Bayley, Julian Henderson and Martin Welch. 18 × 25 cm. xiv + 361 pp., 2 figs., 8 pls., 32 maps. London: Boydell. ISBN 0-85115-718-1. Price: £50.00 hb.

While some types of object from 5th- to 8th-century burials, such as brooches, have been extensively analysed, glass beads were neglected for a long time. Margaret Guido's 'preliminary visual classification of the more definitive and diagnostic types', published five years after her death, fills a gap as it was perceived by specialists on the period about ten years ago when the original manuscript was written. Despite the progress made in this field of research since then, a study that would supersede this report has not yet appeared in print.

<sup>4</sup> B. M. Ager, 'An Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch from Lyminge', *Archaeol. Cantiana*, 99 (1983), 59–65; B. Ager, 'An Anglo-Saxon supporting-arm brooch from Eastry, Kent', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 33 (1989), 148–51.

Guido's approach to the subject was that of a widely travelled bead specialist who had mostly worked on preceding periods and concerned herself with the typology and date-range of beads from Anglo-Saxon contexts, not that of an Anglo-Saxon specialist utilising the beads to answer specific questions related to the period. The choice of Martin Welch as the editor of the volume has proven to be a fortunate one, as he does not only have a profound knowledge of Anglo-Saxon material culture but is also familiar with the grounds the author covered in her search for comparative material on the Continent and in Scandinavia. In his 'Preface' he writes: 'While it is sad that she did not live to see the present study in print, she had at least read and approved the typescript of her main text (Chapters 1 to 13) and the Introduction before her final illness. We can only hope that she would have been pleased with the final result.'

The final result includes not only Welch's 'Introduction: Glass Beads in Early Anglo-Saxon Contexts' but also his 'Conclusion: A Future for Anglo-Saxon Glass Bead Studies?' and 'Technological Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Glass Beads' by Julian Henderson, with an 'Appendix: Notes on the Composition of Coloured Glasses' by Justine Bayley. 'Part 1, Descriptive Analysis' of the glass bead types by M. Guido includes figures showing 'main diagnostic shapes' and 'main diagnostic decorative motifs', which help to visualise descriptions in the text. Thirty-two distribution maps based on 'The schedules' in Part 2 are added to the text. The schedules themselves include coloured drawings of most bead-types defined in Part 1. These are not idealised drawings of types but show beads chosen to represent the types and listed with both their schedule reference and their provenance where known. The schedules are preceded by a list of all the museums and units housing the material studied by the author, and a Topographical Index of the c. 280 sites listed.

The beads listed in the schedules and 'classified' in the 'descriptive analysis' are mainly subjected to a hierarchical typology with colour as the primary feature, subdivided into 'monochrome' and 'polychrome' types. The monochrome beads are further divided into groups according to their shapes while the polychrome beads are subdivided according to decorative patterns and to some extent to colour combinations. 'Gold and silver-in-glass beads' and a few complex polychrome bead-types are separately discussed. This kind of typology guarantees easy access to information on any of the types defined, but it also has the effect of certain types of beads with the same shape and decorative pattern, apparently produced in different colour combinations by the same workshops, being discussed in separate contexts, e.g. the white, yellow and red double round cylinder beads included in types 3ii, 4iic and 8iv. The basic colours described in the 13 chapters of the descriptive analysis correspond to the schedules listing the beads in alphabetical order according to the county and the site on which the type was found. The schedules additionally give information on dates suggested for the context in which the bead or beads were found, and bibliographical references.

Some schedule entries are vague about the number of beads concerned, and it is therefore impossible to count the total number on which the study is based. Estimation suggests a minimum of c. 6,000 beads, but the total number may exceed 10,000 beads, numbers that possibly cover 5-10% of all excavated glass beads from Anglo-Saxon graves and would as such allow for some types of statistical analysis had the figures been included.

A map giving the location of all the sites listed in the 'schedules' and indicating the numbers of beads from each site included in the sample would have been useful, but was impossible for Welch to produce on the basis of the schedules alone. Instead, counties are shaded in the distribution maps whenever they contain a site, for reasons that are not given (p. 131). In the text, the occurrence of bead-types tends to be described in terms such as 'rare' or 'common', which is somewhat unfortunate as distribution maps based on absolute numbers would have given clearer indications on the preference or availability of certain types over others, or on main distribution patterns within Anglo-Saxon regions: for

example of types 8xviii**b**–**c** and 8xix**a**–**b** beads in Anglian regions, and of type 13 in Saxon regions and in Kent.

In his introduction, Welch describes the schedules as ‘a preliminary database from which the distribution and the date-range of glass beads of any given shape, colour or decoration can be established’ and explains: ‘It is hoped that this will prove a useful tool for future researchers preparing reports on glass beads from early Anglo-Saxon sites. The date range of deposition of particular bead types can be suggested from other associated finds.’ In the ‘Conclusion’, however, he notes: ‘In one sense, this study represented a disappointment to its author, for she had hoped to be able to define fairly tightly the date range of individual glass-bead types and colours on the basis of their associated grave assemblages. In practice, at best only very broad groupings have emerged.’

It would be premature to conclude from this that beads in general have such a wide date-range they cannot add much to chronological studies. Guido’s disappointment can be mostly put down to two reasons. One of them is the fact that Anglo-Saxon graves have proven to be notoriously difficult to date on the basis of metalwork. In recent years much progress has been made on the dating of bead-types from Merovingian graves, and in most cases these dates can do more for the dating of Anglo-Saxon closed finds including such bead-types than vice versa. The second reason has to do with Guido’s bead typology, which in some cases would need to be more detailed to lead to the desired results.

An example for this is given by type vii, ‘blue biconical beads (opaque and translucent)’: ‘With such a long-lived type, it would be unwise to suggest a close date for examples found without an archaeological setting’ (p. 52). Guido notes that ‘very small, generally translucent biconical beads were very common in the late Roman period’, but does not define them as a sub-type. Closer examination of type 6vii beads shows that the production of blue biconical beads was subject to changes over time. In the 6th century and again in the 7th century, types of blue biconical beads were produced that differ from their forerunners in size, proportion, translucency and exact colour. Changing distribution patterns suggest different workshops for these later sub-types.

Since Guido produced her bead typology using a card index, and dated the beads on the basis of associated finds, a lot of progress has been made on the development of software producing electronic databases, making it easier to work with large numbers of finds and to process complex data. Statistical analyses of large numbers of beads can now produce results that were beyond Guido’s reach at the time. Such analyses, however, would be aimless without the background knowledge tapped by Guido and — including updates and major publications up to 1998 — by Welch. The ‘descriptive analysis’ is not limited to Anglo-Saxon material but includes Irish, Continental and Scandinavian workshops, distribution patterns and dating evidence, and is based on publications written in a variety of European languages. For Guido this was doubtless self-evident, but today it stands out against a tendency for Anglo-Saxon archaeology to drift into splendid isolation. The ‘bead book’ is thus an important basis for further studies.

BIRTE BRUGMANN

*The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Edix Hill (Barrington A), Cambridgeshire: Excavations 1989–1991 and a Summary Catalogue of Material from 19th Century Interventions.* By Tim Malim and John Hines. 21 × 31 cm, xx + 343 pp., 160 figs. and pls. (1 colour pl.), 64 tables, 2 microfiche. York: CBA Research Report 112, 1998. ISSN 0141–7819, ISBN 1–872414–82–6. Price: £32.00 pb.

The Edix Hill, Barrington cemetery (first recorded in 1860) was relocated by metal-detectorists in 1987 and 1988 and was excavated over three seasons by Tim Malim between 1989 and 1991. This established an archaeological sequence beginning with a

Bronze-age ring-ditch, followed by Iron-age settlement activity, a rare Iron-age inhumation (grave 49 here) and Romano-British potsherds (published separately in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, vol. 86). The present monograph presents the Anglo-Saxon grave sample, which dates from c. A.D. 500 up to around the middle of the 7th century, together with what information we have from discoveries made by coprolite diggers and farm workers in the later 19th century. Only slight evidence for cremation was recovered from a few metal-detector finds in what must have been almost entirely an inhumation cemetery. Most of the inhumations were supine, but a minority were flexed to some degree and there were also two prone corpses and one in a contorted position.

This report follows current best practice by separating an introductory section dealing with the site's setting and history together with an account of the excavations, from the section presenting the material evidence. There is a grave catalogue and detailed surveys of the human skeletal remains (by Corinne Duhig), a discussion of the grave finds (by John Hines) and an extensive series of specialist technical reports, including a textile report by Elisabeth Crowfoot and one on the reconstruction of two 7th-century funerary beds. The final section deals with analysis and interpretation, examining issues of burial chronology, social analysis and providing a final essay which sets the Edix Hill cemetery into its regional context.

In an ideal world the entire cemetery would have been excavated, as the site is still subject to plough damage, but for financial reasons this was not an option. The excavated sample of over 110 graves containing nearly 150 individuals is estimated to represent an original buried population of at least 300 spread over a period of around 150 years. Although some burials had been significantly disturbed by recent human activity, this report provides a demonstration of just how much can be deduced from such a data set. It helps, of course, if the human bone preservation is essentially good and Duhig's excellent report balances statistical information for the interpretation of the overall population with more detailed individual studies. The latter include two possible cases of leprosy and one of tuberculosis. There is also skeleton 440a from grave 84, who was a short woman with a delicate skeleton which could not cope with the workload it had to undertake and who suffered from injuries sustained in a fall. Overall, the sex ratio is balanced, with 70 per cent of the adults aged 25 years or older at death, while more than a third were 40 or over. As is common for most Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, infants were extremely rare (only 2.1%) and this must imply that they were normally buried elsewhere. Age and gender data from the human remains can be combined with burial location and position as well as with the recorded grave finds to provide an overall portrait of this community in death.

The size of the living population may have been between 50 and 65 at any given moment, representing perhaps five or six farm households. It is unfortunate, but hardly unusual, that no trace of those farmsteads has been positively identified by field survey in the vicinity of the cemetery. Overall it was a healthy population, though one that was used to hard work as farmers and herders. Its males could expect to have to fight in skirmishes or battles during their adult lives as many were accompanied by weapons and a few had survived weapon wounds. Genetic relationships can be suggested from certain skeletal features such as metopic sutures and meaningful family groupings could be traced when these graves were related to the cemetery plan. Other such patterns relating to gender, age and status were similarly explored in relation to the cemetery's plan and topography.

The cemetery can be divided into two chronological phases, the first covering burials with Migration-period female costume fittings and the second with Final-phase characteristics as defined by Hines. Correspondence analysis was used in an attempt to establish a finer relative chronology for the female assemblages, but this was only partially successful. The work on the Edix Hill graves was the starting point for a programme of correspondence analyses published by John Hines in *The Pace of Change* (1999; see review, this volume). This has demonstrated that a number of contemporary and chronologically overlapping female

dress sets were in use in Cambridgeshire and East Anglia during the 6th-century Migration Period, making it difficult to define phases within that period. Turning to status analysis, which is correlated with age and gender information, a modified version of the number of artefact types (NAT) system was used for calculating 'wealth' scores of graves. This is based on a defined 'range of identifiable artefact categories' (RIAC) and seems to produce satisfactory and believable results.

Overall this report is a very welcome addition to the literature and joins that select band of cemetery reports which have provided a significant reassessment of early Anglo-Saxon archaeology for their region and not merely a routine presentation of a basic data set. Archaeology does not stand still, however, and during the preparation of this review the relocation and further excavation took place of the nearby cemetery at Melbourn. This will require some immediate modification to the analysis in the concluding section of the Edix Hill report.

MARTIN WELCH

*Norwich Southern Bypass. Part II: Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Harford Farm, Caistor St Edmund.* (East Anglian Archaeology Report no. 92). By Kenneth Penn. 21 × 30 cm. × + 137 pp., 97 figs., 25 pls. and 6 tables. Dereham: Archaeology and Environment Division, Norfolk Museums Service, 2000. ISBN 0-905594-30-4. Price: £17.00 pb.

The 1989 Norwich bypass passes close to the Roman civitas capital of Venta Icenorum and the Arminghall henge. In its path was the prehistoric 'Arminghall Group' of monuments. The area, at the confluence of three of Norfolk's major rivers, is of long-term significance. Excavation revealed that the 'Group' was the focus for 7th- to early 8th-century graves. Predicting the location of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries has dogged East Anglian archaeology for years, especially from the 7th and early 8th century, with their few, delicately crafted grave-goods which respond poorly to remote sensing or fieldwalking, as Penn notes.

Two groups of graves some 150 m apart were excavated, although not all the space between the groups was excavated. South-east of a Bronze-age burial mound, 31 graves were neatly and closely spaced. The other 15 graves were scattered around and within another ring ditch further south. Other Bronze-age mounds in the area had not attracted Anglo-Saxon burial. Most graves in both groups of graves were unfurnished or minimally furnished with a knife and buckle, sometimes accompanied by a box, bag or chatelaine; but four graves in the northern and one in the southern group were more lavishly equipped with female-related grave goods. Soil conditions had left almost no bone; only one skeleton could be sexed or aged. Body stains varied from very clear to almost absent, but stains also survived from organic grave furnishings, clearly enough to distinguish between coffins, biers or mats, and pillows or cushions.

The site is of importance for students of landscape archaeology, as it is close to, and intervisible with, both Venta Icenorum and the earlier, largely cremation, Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall. Harford Farm is important among a growing number of inhumation cemeteries with grave goods known outside Kent from the 7th and early 8th century. Dominant Kentish culture in burials of this period is probably illusory, caused by the greater visibility of mounded Kentish graves.

The report details excavation strategy, catalogues graves, discusses grave goods, burial practices and cemetery layout, closing with specialist reports and a conclusion. The research strategy and excavation methods are fully described, the excavation catalogue detailed, and the illustrations are clear. The specialist reports detail and explain the significance of finds. Generally the discussion of the grave goods is scholarly, but with some minor irritations. The grave 20 bead is twist-decorated (as in Birte Brugmann's report),

not reticella. The 130 shears found at Spong Hill were mostly miniatures. The discussion of spatulate tools ('steels'), misquotes work on Sewerby examples. The comparanda for the composite disc brooch, and the 'curious object' in grave 18, are fully described but not illustrated.

The informative burial practice and cemetery layout chapter is very short. A single sentence reveals that the excavated burials were two clustered two groups. Were these different cemeteries as opposed to different foci within a single cemetery? How are different clusters or cemeteries related to living communities? The concept of bounded cemeteries may be anachronistic, or the gaps between graves may represent some archaeologically invisible phenomenon, questions raised by work at the Eriswell/RAF Lakenheath complex and at Sutton Hoo. All of Harford Farm's well-furnished graves appear to be those of women. Why? Were their husbands or brothers buried in poorly furnished graves, or somewhere else?

The thorough concluding chapter begins by guiding the reader through theories about aspects of 7th- and 8th-century burials. It is convincingly argued that 7th-century changes in burial practice came about from changes in society which accompanied the arrival of Christianity, rather than through Christian requirements. A section on the local context of the cemetery reconstructs contemporary land divisions and hints at the continuing significance of the Caistor area into the later 8th century.

Penn, attractively, does not restrict himself to uncontentious conclusions. He suggests, for example, two influences behind the later shift to churchyard burial. First the doctrine of Purgatory, leading to the notion of an 'intermediate place' for the soul and the importance of a holy physical location for the body. Second is the foundation of 'private' monasteries. His 8th-century date for such a shift may be arguable, or wrong, but such thoughts are refreshing.

Although excavation was finished in 1990 and the report written in 1993, publication only occurred in 2000. Since 1993, important reports on 7th- and early 8th-century cemeteries have appeared: Lechlade, Castledyke, Didcot Power Station and this reviewer's synthetic D.Phil. thesis. References to these works are either absent, or appear to have been bolted on. However, Ken Penn and East Anglian Archaeology deserve congratulations for this scholarly, readable and excellent-value report.

HELEN GEAKE

*Anglian York: A Survey of the Evidence* (The Archaeology of York 7). By D. Tweddle, J. Moulden and E. Logan. 18 × 24 cm. viii + 313 pp., 115 figs., 1 folded sheet. York: Council for British Archaeology, 1999. ISBN 1-902771-06-0. Price: £30.00 pb.

Anglian York (410–876) is arguably the least known part of York's long and complex story, and this volume gathers together the evidence from all sites other than the Redfearn National Glass site, previously published in 1996.

David Rollason revisits the historical evidence for the transition from late Roman provincial capital through Anglian York to Viking conquest in 866. He concludes that there is little evidence of continuity, much of discontinuity, much evidence first of kings, then of bishops, and examines some similar sequences on the continent. Carolingian kings established palaces inside fortified Roman sites, later to pass the palace sites on to bishops and instead establish an extra-mural palace nearby. Patrick Ottaway synthesises the evidence for Roman York succinctly. Its geographical position attracted the Romans, but despite being a key node on a number of routeways by water and land it seems to have failed to maintain its position in the settlement hierarchy during the 5th and 6th centuries. The Roman *principia*, it is argued, survived to become the focus for Edwin, king of Deira, and his bishop Paulinus, within the walls of the fortress that Edwin had rebuilt, according to Alcuin. Dominic Tweddle then sets out the evidence for the topography, 17 pages; the

cemeteries, 9 pages; the ecclesiastical sites, 10 pages; the secular sites, 11 pages; the casual finds, 6 pages; and the pottery 13 lines. The evidence for the first three categories is well presented and compelling. The secular sites are less convincing. Only two structures are presented in any detail, neither of them dated by artefacts, and surely the Clementhorpe structure does not deserve a page and a half of illustration, the half being a key to the Roman building adjacent to it. Two pits are illustrated, one at Interval Tower five, where the plan and section tells us nothing, the other the pit at Coppergate which included the Anglian helmet (see fascicule 17/9) where a good plan would have been more informative than the muddy photograph. The only other illustrated structural evidence purports to show an Anglian wattle and daub wall in a Roman well, but it was invisible to this reviewer. The discussion of the real significance of casual finds is thought provoking, most being either decorated objects or coins. The apparent correlation between entrances to the walled area and extra-mural coin hoards deserves further research in other towns. The paragraph on the pottery argues that it is the most important category of finds from York but can only refer the reader to fascicule 16/6. It is a shame that Mainman's perceptive summary on the pottery could not be included here, it would have taken up less room than the illustrations commented on above. Joan Moulden sets out the nature of the evidence, essentially the story of the redevelopment of York from the 17th to the 20th centuries, and the different collectors of antiquities whose passion resulted in the coins and other artefacts being recorded.

Perhaps the most useful part of the work, to fellow researchers, is the Catalogue of Anglian Sites. This section is illustrated with 12 clear photographs, some in colour, and 147 drawings of finds, as many of these sites are known only from stray finds. The detective work that has gone into the research is exemplary, with knowledge of the handwriting of past museum curators and the changes of addresses of gentlemen coin collectors in mid-19th century York all being brought into play. Some sites/finds are tenuously Anglian, such as the glass bowl recorded in 1891, by someone who had never seen it, as having been found 15 years earlier by a workman who had held it next to a candle 'when the heat caused it to break into a hundred pieces, with a noise like the report of a pistol'. Perhaps a Roman glass bowl would have made a different sound! Other finds probably are Anglian, but their sites are rather confidently given 6 figure grid references and placed as such on the location plan of figure 116 when the text elsewhere acknowledges that their find spot is unknown (site 9). The large fold-out figure 116 would have been far more useful if OS grid numbers had been placed around the edge.

Despite these few quibbles it is essential to have all the evidence presented together so that others can see how the authors have arrived at their view of the Anglian town. Essentially they see Anglian York as having a royal and ecclesiastical centre within the remains of the Roman fortress from the 5th to the 7th centuries with agricultural settlements around it. The 8th century saw the development of a wic at Fishergate to the South-East, with another focus at Earlsburgh to the North-West, and the addition of a further ecclesiastical focus in the colonia west of the Ouse. In the 9th century the wic at Fishergate declined steeply, perhaps replaced by a focus at Aldwark, closer to the Roman walls.

At no time, it seems, could York be described as a densely settled urban area, in contrast to what is known of London, Ipswich and Southampton. It remains a possibility however, that denser Anglian occupation could exist beneath parts of the surviving medieval townscape within the Roman fortress or around Mickelgate. Given the high value now placed upon the historic properties in these areas, and the mitigation strategies demanded by PPG 15 and PPG 16, it is considered unlikely that archaeological excavation will ever take place in these crucial areas, and the true nature of Anglian York will elude us.

*Minster Churches in the Dorset Landscape*. (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 304).

By Teresa Anne Hall. 21 × 30 cm. ix + 116 pp., 80 figs., 10 pls., 14 tables. Oxford: Archacopress, 2000. ISBN 1-84171-075-X. Price: £27.00 pb.

This is a useful addition to the growing corpus of literature on the cure of souls in Middle Saxon England, and is to be welcomed.

Dorset was conquered by the West Saxons after they had embraced Christianity. Furthermore, the Kingdom of Dumnonia, in which Dorset had lain before the Conquest, had by then been a Christian polity for two hundred years. The Middle Saxon provision for the cure of souls in Dorset and the West Country generally, therefore, on *a priori* grounds, must have had to take into account the previous sub-Roman and British ecclesiastical situation.

Teresa Hall in this monograph discusses this interesting question at some length. She rightly takes issue with me on whether the Roman villas in Dorset were of any significance to the siting of Middle Saxon minsters: after her exhaustive discussion of the issue there can be no doubt that she is quite right to state that there is no significant relationship between villa and minster sites. This does not, however, invalidate the broader thesis — that there was a relationship of some kind between the central places of the Kingdom of Dumnonia and the churches built thereon, and the central places of the new province of Wessex. Further elucidation of this important and fascinating topic will, probably, in due course be provided by archaeology.

This monograph, as well as covering at length the question of the relationship of the Middle Saxon and British ecclesiastical systems, discusses in detail those churches which can be demonstrated to have been Middle Saxon minsters. By the use of a weighted characteristics table, she identifies some 32 churches which either were definitely or may have been minsters. It is always easy to question such weighted tables. In this case, I would, for instance, take a little exception to the use of a cruciform plan before 950 as a characteristic of a minster. Leaving aside for the minute the fact that for most of the churches for which this is proposed as a characteristic, the pre-950 plan is either quite unknown or not clearly cruciform, there remains the point that there are numbers of certain minsters elsewhere in Wessex where the plan clearly was not cruciform. Some minsters had a nave-and-porcus plan which is at least as diagnostic as a cruciform plan, and others had a tower-nave-and-sanctuary plan. Nonetheless, the attempt to weight the evidence is valuable and useful, and very clearly throws up a group of some fifteen or seventeen churches which were without question minsters.

Mrs Hall then goes on to discuss and analyse what can be discovered of the *parochiae* of the minsters she thus identifies. This is done in a solid and convincing way, and uses some interesting new evidence (especially the degree to which the boundaries of the identified *parochia* are 'natural' as compared to other and later parish boundaries running up to them). This section of the volume will be used as a resource tool for a long time by other researchers. My only problem with this part of the book is that the maps are often difficult to read — certainly they are not easy to understand 'at a glance'.

The book identifies a number of minster churches where the *parochia* was substantially interfered with in the 10th century (under broadly 'Alfredian' and '10th-century Monasticisation' horizons), and this is a salutary warning to avoid reading back too much from later evidence to the Middle Saxon period. Another useful warning is the reminder (p. 41) that 'not all early monasteries were endowed with large estates', and that the early minsters of Dorset 'would have been endowed with a portion of the lands within the royal estates' on which they stood, a comment roundly to be endorsed and stressed.

Having done all this, Mrs Hall discusses the evidence from Dorset in the context of the recent dispute on the origins of the parochial cure of souls in England between Blair and Rollason and Cambridge. She emphatically, and quite correctly on the evidence she adduces, accepts that the Blair thesis is the more appropriate and realistic one.

The latter part of the book is a discussion of the topography of the minster settlements, that is, the small market towns in which the churches which are today's descendants of the Middle Saxon minsters mostly stand. She attempts to identify certain common features of these market-town topographies, and suggests that these reflect certain developments on the ground in Middle Saxon times. The similarities between the town-plans are, however, no greater than might be expected from the settlements having had similar market-town histories after the Middle Saxon period. To read back from 12th-century town layouts to assumptions as to the 8th-century situation is fraught with danger, danger which can only be offset with detailed archaeological evidence not yet available. This is an interesting attempt, but more work on this is needed, and this part of the volume cannot be considered a complete success. The maps illustrating this part are so small that they do not help much either in the understanding of Mrs Hall's thesis, or in detailed cogitation and consideration of it.

A few minor points: the volume has let slip a few serious errors. Thus (p. 20) '*Orkus . . . expulsis canonicis secularibus, introduxit monachus*' is a very strange sentence indeed: the BAR editors should have spotted this. The volume contains 10 plates, and there is a good index and bibliography.

It is to be hoped that Mrs Hall will continue to work on the Dorset minster churches, and elaborate and expand on this useful initial volume.

PATRICK H. HASE

*Excavations at the Mola di Monte Gelato: A Roman and Medieval Settlement in South Etruria.* (Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 11). By T. W. Potter and A. C. King. xx + 456 pp., 123 pls., 1 fold-out pl., 132 figs., 77 tables. London: British School at Rome, in association with the British Museum, 1997. ISBN 0 904152-31-6. Price: £55.00 pb.

This review provides an opportunity to reflect on some of the work of Tim Potter, whose untimely death has deprived Roman archaeology of one of its most energetic practitioners. Potter spent 30 years studying and working in South Etruria, continuing the efforts of Thomas Ashby, John Ward-Perkins and others to understand the evolution of settlement in this area. In the mid-1980s he saw clearly the need to excavate a site which offered potential to establish a much-needed ceramic sequence between the late Roman and medieval periods and might demonstrate style and chronology of occupation up to *incastellamento* (and possibly beyond). His choice of Monte Gelato was prompted by survey data showing the presence of a Roman villa, a deserted medieval castello and an early modern mill, with the site itself seemingly identified in a Papal Bull of 1053 as *castrum Capracorum*, founded as part of a *domusculia* by Pope Hadrian I around 776. This proved inspired. Over a 5-year period of careful excavation under Tony King's direction, the site yielded a significant sequence of buildings plus an unexpectedly rich collection of pottery, sculpture and metalwork. The resulting publication is comprehensive, attractive, affordable, and intelligible — all features which have come to characterise the Archaeological Monograph series of the British School at Rome.

The report demonstrates occupation of the site, albeit discontinuous, beside the Treia river for more than 1,000 years. The villa, dating from the 1st century, and subsequently much embellished, was systematically dismantled in the early 3rd century, and the site was abandoned for perhaps a century until a series of working structures (barn, stables, workshops and a lime kiln) were built. A small church was added at the beginning of the 5th century and persisted into the 6th century. A further period of abandonment followed. By the early 9th century a new and larger church had been erected over the ruins of its predecessor, equipped with baptistry, carved screens and posts. This was probably the

focal point for a small community working, *inter alia*, to produce coarse pottery from a kiln established close to the church. The church was rebuilt with an enlarged baptistry in the 11th century and was demolished c. 1100, probably coincident with the construction of the *castellacio* on the nearby hilltop.

All phases of the occupation are well illustrated, and in their conclusions the excavators locate the episodes of the site's long history credibly within the context of the known development of this part of Rome's hinterland, including the decline of Italian rural prosperity in the late Roman period, the spread of church influence in the sub-Roman period culminating in the creation of papal *domuscultae*, and the move towards *incastellamento*. Of particular value in pointing new directions for research are the careful discussions of the pottery (Roberts), human skeletal evidence (Gruspier) and animal bones (King). The excavations did not succeed in demonstrating continuity, nor in finding secure ceramic evidence to fill the elusive gap in dating evidence for the 7th and 8th centuries. But there is in this report quite sufficient to demonstrate the need for further work, at this site and elsewhere in the locality. Geophysical survey could well indicate other areas of occupation on the hillslope of Monte Gelato beside the villa, the course of the Treia near the mill shows signs of quarrying, and other areas of the *castellacio* would be likely to yield better dating evidence than was found in 1990. If only Tim Potter were still with us to direct this.

ALAN FRENCH

*S. Giulia di Brescia. Gli scavi dal 1980 al 1992: Reperti preromani, romani e alto medievali.* Edited by G. P. Brogiolo. 22 × 30 cm. 703 pp., many figs., pls. and tables. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1999. ISBN 88 7814 198 4. Price: not stated, hb.

This substantial volume provides the detailed catalogue for finds recovered from the excavations within the area of the early medieval and medieval monastic complex of Santa Giulia in the eastern zone of the busy central northern Italian town of Brescia. The extensive and thorough excavations, initiated two decades ago, have been well flagged in publications linked to ongoing debates on late antique and early medieval urbanism.<sup>1</sup> For Brescia whilst there is evident decay and destruction in the 5th, and, particularly, the mid-6th century, an active urbanism is perceived in the 7th, but on a diverse footing; with the later 7th century, Lombard royal churches and monasteries came to be founded, and the 8th-century witnesses substantial urban statements being formed (especially in northern Italy) — here perhaps more akin to Middle Saxon England with urban interiors royal preserves and the ordinary 'townsfolk' elusive.

This volume therefore helps chart these fluctuations in activity and wealth, whilst also identifying something of the origins of the urban centre. The volume, covering the finds of pre-Roman date to the 10th century, is the first in a series. Unusually, it precedes publication of the full archaeological and architectural sequence and interpretation, although Brogiolo does at least provide here a detailed summary of the phasing and the structural and economic evolution; in so doing he also highlights the problems of residuality (particularly for the Roman and 8th- to 10th-century periods).

The text is divided up into 'traditional' finds sections — from black burnished ware, lamps, African imports, to *pictra ollare* (soapstone-Lavez), glass, coins, etc., and ending with reports on the archaeobotanical and zoological remains (the latter is the sole non-Italian report). The main body of the volume comprises text, supplemented by tables and

<sup>1</sup> See contributions by G. P. Brogiolo in K. Randsborg (ed.), *The Birth of Europe*, 1989, by C. La Rocca in J. Rich (ed.), *The City in Late Antiquity*, 1992, and by Brogiolo again in G. P. Brogiolo and B. Ward-Perkins (eds), *The Idea and the Ideal of the Town Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, 1999, and with the debates summarised by Ward-Perkins in *The Papers of the British School at Rome*, LXV, 1997, 157–76.

charts; all photographs (some colour) and figures are otherwise unfortunately removed to the back of the volume.

The period c. A.D. 400–650 is the one most under scrutiny, seeking to determine levels of persistence of wider Roman trade networks, the growth of local markets and products, the impact of Lombard culture, and levels of acculturation between Lombard manufacturers and ‘native’. The report on Lombard ceramics is best developed, identifying a diverse package introduced by the early 7th century, but with clear local borrowings; that phase also witnesses an increase in the use of soapstone. The accompanying domestic contexts have been interpreted as relating to a servile group – workers (mainly metalworkers) attached to the nearby royal court, whose presence is hinted at by the range of vessel types (imported amphorae, some sigillata); these workers were an impoverished and anacmic group, burying their dead close by their timber and rubble homes and their rubbish pits.

Peculiar is the later Lombard phase (A.D. 650–800) when the monastic church is built, then expanded, and cloisters added, and when sculptural evidence slowly resumes; this period is one lacking much in the way of related and distinct material culture (bar three coins of between A.D. 658–688), implying revised strategies for refuse and changed functions (from domestic to ecclesiastical); what is absent is any link-in to ceramic upturns elsewhere in Italy from the later 8th century (indeed ‘finewares’ do not properly take off again here in Brescia until the 12th or 13th century).

Simultaneous publication with the primary volume of the S. Giulia series would have been ideal; to overcome this many of the specialist reports seek to tie materials fully into the site, its sequences and wider contexts; many discussions can thus be mined for their valuable insights into changing urban space, people and lifestyles. In sum, this first volume is an important resource for enhancing our understanding of late Antique and early medieval northern Italy; the detail fully reflects the quality and coherence of the Brescian excavations.

NEIL CHRISTIE

*Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 2). Edited by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards. 16 × 25 cm. viii + 331 pp., 29 figs., maps and tables. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000. ISBN 2-503-50978-9. Price: €50.00 hb.

The need for interdisciplinary research in early medieval studies has been paralleled by the development of increasingly specialised academic sub-disciplines, each generating an almost overwhelming wealth of literature. A volume like the one under review is now a necessity for academics and their students (very much the market for this collection) in order to keep pace of new research and current thinking in allied fields. Both editors of this book have done much in recent years to advance Viking Age studies in northern England and the volume is welcomed, particularly by this reviewer who works mainly on southern English material of the same period.

The volume is well edited, produced and bound, but expensive — unfortunately the norm for academic books. It is divided into five parts. The first contains an introductory essay by Hadley and Richards and a resumé of approaches to and interpretations of Scandinavian settlement in England by Trafford. The following parts deal with Language and Identity (Kershaw, Innes, Townend, Hadley); Scandinavian Settlement and the Church (Abrams, Burrow); Material Culture and Identity (Stocker, Sidebottom, Thomas); and Settlement Archaeology and the Scandinavian Settlement (Halsall, Evison, Richards, Hall). Parts 1, 4 and 5 are of particular relevance from an archaeological perspective, but Kershaw and Innes have much to offer for those interested in Viking-age territorial

arrangements, whilst Townend's chapter provides a stimulating appraisal of language use in a review of the much-trawled place-name and loan-word evidence.

The editors state that the accumulation or discovery of new material is unlikely to add much to traditional debates concerning aspects of Viking Age studies, including the scale and extent of Scandinavian settlement, the pagan religious culture of the incomers, levels of continuity and change and so on. Whilst these issues are perhaps still relevant, Hadley and Richards rightly emphasise that new approaches that make better use of the sources available have much to offer. The contributions by Thomas, on Anglo-Scandinavian metalwork, and Stocker, on stone sculpture, show just how much social approaches to material culture can expand upon traditional, but fundamental, art-historical studies. There is not the space here to examine the implications of even the archaeological contributions, but Thomas brings to light the potential of a vast quantity of material culture, arguably used to signify identity across a broader spectrum of the population than much of the material brought to the fore in traditional debate. In another thought provoking paper, Stocker mentions in passing the re-conquest of the Danelaw by the Wessex kings. Perhaps another issue to address is the degree to which southern English culture affected the north, bearing in mind that the so-called 'Re-Conquest' was as much a first for the West Saxons as it was for the Scandinavians. Richards concludes that Scandinavian settlements are impossible to identify, owing to a degree of assimilation that leaves us with an Anglo-Scandinavian residential culture. Halsall's review of the burial evidence benefits from a 'view from afar' approach, making as it does a series of thoughtful observations on the questions asked of existing data. Halsall's emphasis of variability in burial customs in the British Isles in the early medieval period has much to commend it.

Overall, an important collection of papers with much of interest in terms of approaches and interpretations. One is left with the feeling that much remains to be established in terms of the variability and character of the English background. Although much of the work presented in this volume paves the way for new perspectives, those working on earlier material must begin to produce comparable syntheses and move away from the site-specific narrative that dominates much of the debate on settlement studies.

ANDREW REYNOLDS

*Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Wood and Woodworking in Anglo-Scandinavian and Medieval York.* (The Archaeology of York: The Small Finds 17/13). By Carole Morris. 21 × 30 cm. xiii + 379 pp., 224 figs., 31 tables. York: York Archaeological Trust/Council for British Archaeology, 2000. ISBN 1-902771-10-9. Price: £34.00 pb.

*Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Finds From Anglo-Scandinavian York.* (The Archaeology of York: The Small Finds 17/14). By A. J. Mainman and N. S. H. Rogers. 21 × 30 cm. ix + 131 pp., 123 figs., 41 tables. York: York Archaeological Trust/Council for British Archaeology, 2000. ISBN 1-902771-11-7. Price: £28.00 pb.

Since James Graham-Campbell's 1996 review of the path to publication of York's Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian archaeology,<sup>1</sup> much has happened. Tweddle, Moulden and Logan's important synthesis of Anglian York (AY 7/2) has provided a much needed review of the background to the more widely known Anglo-Scandinavian archaeology, whilst Richard Kemp's report on the Fishergate excavations (AY 7/1) has provided a detailed view of the physical aspects of Anglian settlement. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the York Archaeological Trust, however, has been to bring to publication

<sup>1</sup> J. Graham-Campbell 'Review Article: The Archaeology of Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian York: Progress to Publication', *Early Medieval Europe* 5:1 (1996), 71-82.

the majority of the material derived from the Coppergate excavations so ably directed by Richard Hall between 1976 and 1981. Volumes on other materials, including pottery (AY 16/5), ironwork (17/6) and, more recently, bone, antler, ivory and horn (AY 17/12), are already established as invaluable catalogues for students of early medieval material culture. The two volumes reviewed here follow the format of the latter, as A4 monographs facilitating more extensive visual representation of the subject matter of each. The first of the volumes (*The Small Finds*), differs from previous volumes in that a range of material types is published together grouped under two themes; craft and industry, and everyday life, although the volume's principal authors note how difficult the distinction between the two is to define. The vast majority of the material is derived from the Coppergate excavations, but finds from excavations at 22 Piccadilly and the Bedern are included along with select chance finds.

The reader is confronted with a bewildering array of objects. The section on craft and industry covers metalworking (ferrous and non-ferrous), jet, shale, amber, glass and textile, with a short section on 'Evidence Relating to Fishing' sitting rather oddly at the end — here one appreciates the author's point about classification noted above. The second section is divided into household equipment, structural fittings and furnishings, horse harness, trade and exchange, gaming pieces, personal ornament and dress accessories, and miscellaneous stone objects. The evidence for manufacturing in the Coppergate tenements is of considerable interest, although the manufacture of lead-alloy dress-accessories from the late 9th century is less well supported by the archaeological evidence than the production of other items, with the various unfinished and failed castings having been found across the excavated area. No mould fragments were found of the type recovered from Ipswich and Southampton, and the poorly finished or misshapen objects amongst the assemblage could arguably represent a trade in 'damaged goods'.

Carole Morris's volume on the objects of wood and the evidence for their manufacture is a splendid production which allows the nature of occupation of an early medieval town to be viewed alongside the material culture of other European towns where waterlogged deposits have preserved an array of objects not normally preserved in the British Isles. Indeed, the range, if not quantity of wooden material culture compares well with that from Novgorod. The volume is divided up along the same (occasionally uncomfortable) lines as 'The Small Finds', with the first section detailing the evidence for woodland exploitation, woodworking tools and techniques, lathe turning (finished and waste products), fragments and offcuts and coopered vessels. The second section considers domestic equipment and utensils, boxes and containers, furniture, personal items, agricultural, textile working and other tools, games and pastimes, structural finds, pegs and miscellaneous objects. The incorporation into the book of much of Morris's Ph.D. research makes for an informed study of much more than regional import, for this is a research volume of international importance. The breadth and depth of research is impressive as befits the material with which it deals (see for example the discussion of 'Building Accessories and Structural Fragments'). The authors' own experience of working with her chosen material is evident throughout the text, and a rare combination of both practical awareness and academic approach is achieved. Despite the overall emphasis on the pre-Conquest archaeology of York, Morris's volume contains a good deal of material from later medieval contexts, including 'probably the most perfectly preserved complete medieval bucket found on any site in Britain' (from early 15th-century levels at Coppergate).

Overall, the presentation of both volumes is of the highest standard and the price of each is very reasonable. The illustrations are excellent, particularly of the wooden objects (largely by Kate Biggs), but also the small finds (largely by Paula Chew). The overall style and quality of presentation, including the eye-catching cover designs, makes these volumes a pleasure to handle and use.

*St Boniface Church, Orkney: Coastal Erosion and Archaeological Assessment.* By Christopher Lowe. 22 × 30 cm, xvi + 215 pp., 184 figs., 52 tables. Stroud: Sutton Publishing in association with Historic Scotland, 1998. ISBN 0 7509-1755-5. Price £35.00 hb.

*St Boniface* deserves a wider readership than its ostensible subject, the environs of a churchyard on Papa Westray, one of the outer North Isles of Orkney, is likely to attract. The rescue-excavation, limited to the portion of the very extensive and multi-period site which was most immediately under threat from marine erosion, largely dealt with a long sequence of structures going back into the early Iron Age; the interest of the sequence is that this evidently high-status settlement appears to continue well into the Middle Ages after transforming itself into a major ecclesiastical centre — arguably the main seat of a bishopric. As such, the place has obvious interest for students of the Church in the Pictish kingdom; and that interest should extend into that wider circle concerned with the Church in Anglo-Saxon England. Those who are accustomed to making do with elusive, or at best inaccessible, archaeological evidence (there being few opportunities to dig beneath medieval cathedrals or in their jealously-guarded Closets) would do well (as Professor Martin Carver has done at Tarbat) to turn to the far north, where we have the contrasting situation of an embarrassment of riches. Additionally, the excavated area included one of those features specially associated with the medieval archaeology of northern Norway, referred to as ‘farm mounds’ (*gårdshauger*); these have been a subject of debate in Norwegian archaeology throughout the 20th century, and it is increasingly recognized that similar-looking ‘settlement mounds’ occur throughout the North Atlantic region.

The problem presented in the eroding cliff-face was formidable: several metres’ thickness of obviously complex stratigraphy, largely comprising stone structures and the tumble from them. Coastal erosion is an accelerating threat in Orkney, where over a hundred rich archaeological sites are known to be under attack. *St Boniface* marks a significant stage in Historic Scotland’s development of a long-term strategy, for which Patrick Ashmore deserves credit. The decision was to excavate the shoreline strip most immediately threatened. The cliff being neither vertical nor straight, this meant working in a series of steps, and co-ordinating the records of a number of disjointed sections: a challenging technical feat which has been impressively achieved.

The presentation is refreshingly clear, beginning with a summary of the pre-excavation state of knowledge of the site and the research topics on which it appeared to bear, with a natural progression to the rationale for excavating followed by the excavation strategy. The account of the excavation itself inevitably raises the question, how much of the fine detail is appropriate to present. Editors use a smaller typeface to signal content which is thought likely to be studied in depth only by a few readers, although it is the material on which the excavator has based his conclusions. This reviewer would like to see a decisive move to shorter reports (preferably placed in widely circulating journals), presenting discussion and conclusions, while the supporting detail is electronically archived and made available through the Internet (perhaps by extending the scope of CANMORE, the Royal Commission’s admirable on-line presentation of the National Monuments Record of Scotland). In *St Boniface*, the small print runs from pp. 23–96 — just 30% of the content — which, in this case, justifies the decision to publish in monograph form.

The concluding section contains good suggestions relating to the development of the Iron-age settlement, the early and later medieval ecclesiastical site, and mostly, to the ‘farm mound’. It is suggested, with the support of the excavated evidence, that the St Boniface mound is an ash mound created by a fish-processing station (probably ecclesiastically related) which was producing fish liver oil. Some caution (which is needed in view of the long-running complexity of the *gårdshauger* debate in Norway), however, is appropriate in extending this interpretation to all other ‘farm-mounds’ in Papay, Sanday and North Ronaldsay. Perhaps it is significant that none of these features in Papay has a working or recently-abandoned farm on it, while those in Sanday and North Ronaldsay do. And the

fish-processing explanation is difficult to extend to every case: several big Sanday and North Ronaldsay mounds are located just about as far from and as high up above the sea, as, in those islands, it is possible to get.

The *St Boniface* we now have, should be but the beginning of a long story. The promoter hoped, by this excavation, to retrieve as much archaeological evidence as seemed to be in jeopardy in the next 30 years. In fact it has taken half a decade (and a storm of a ferocity beyond local experience) for the sea to be threatening a further tranche of land, which, as we move nearer to the churchyard, is increasingly likely to contain the vitally important Early Christian deposits. Meanwhile, Historic Scotland and Dr Lowe are to be congratulated on an exemplary exercise, both in the conception, planning and execution of the excavation, and in this model report.

RAYMOND LAMB

*Scar: A Viking Boat Burial on Sanday, Orkney.* By Olwyn Owen and Magnar Dalland et al. 20 × 26 cm. 248 pp., 117 figs. and pls. East Linton: Tuckwell Press and Historic Scotland, 1999. ISBN 1-86232 080 2. Price: £20.00 pb.

This is an excellent account of the discovery, excavation and subsequent analysis of a Viking boat burial. The vessel, a 7.15 m long clinker-built rowing boat, was partitioned internally to create a burial chamber at its western end for three individuals, accompanied by a rich assemblage of grave goods. Although almost half the vessel had already been claimed by the sea, a small team of archaeologists worked through the winter storms of 1991 to record and retrieve the information presented in this book.

The book opens with an account of the discovery of the boat burial, which conveys much of the excitement experienced by those individuals directly involved. The chapter covering the excavation directed by Magnar Dalland, reveals how the excavators were able to extract a considerable body of information despite this being a dramatic rescue excavation undertaken in winter on an exposed coastline. Photographs of work in progress give the reader a glimpse of the difficult conditions, which make this publication all the more remarkable for the quality and quantity of information retrieved.

Specialist contributions on the boat and skeletal material are followed by in-depth studies of the grave goods, which are attributed to the adult female and male respectively. Detailed research and comparative studies focus on some of the more exceptional finds, including the carved whalebone plaque, equal-armed brooch, and sword with its mineralised scabbard remains. Some of the more mundane artefacts, although ably described, are not discussed to the same degree. However, the cataloguing of finds is thorough and includes even the less readily identifiable fragments of corroded metalwork, crucial to future research and highlighting the fact that the assemblage is incomplete, not only as a result of erosion, but also with the disintegration of organic matter.

A chapter on the assemblage as a whole includes a refreshingly frank discussion of the problematic question of when the boat burial took place, with an apparent discrepancy between the date ranges provided by conventional artefact analysis and radiocarbon dating. Rather than siding with one or other discipline the authors advocate compromise, whilst allowing the question to a large extent to remain open. By adopting this approach they cautiously place the burial some time between the last quarter of the 9th century and the middle of the 10th (A.D. 875–950), at the latter end of the date range suggested by the artefactual evidence. This has fuelled speculation that the burial may be slightly anachronistic, a conscious statement of an earlier era of Viking paganism, which may in part be a response to the considerable age of the adult female, said to be in her 70s.

The penultimate chapter sets the Scar burial within the context of brief summaries of Viking graves in the British Isles and Ireland. In the light of ongoing research into the

pagan Norse graves of Scotland and Ireland this is clearly not a comprehensive survey, but is of value to the general reader without access to the existing standard surveys edited by Shetelig in 1940 and discoveries made since. The final chapter presents an unusual departure, as its title, 'Some common questions and answers' illustrates. Standard answers are provided for some of the questions, but some fundamental questions surrounding this extraordinary burial remain open to debate, such as why a man of around 30, a woman in her 70s and a child were buried together. This helps stimulate debate both for the general reader and the professional.

This publication makes for an exceptionally readable excavation report, which will appeal to both academic readers and lay audiences. The format of the book is clear and concise, with subdivided chapters allowing the reader to select specific areas of interest with ease, with the well-referenced text and bibliography allowing for further research. Scientific analysis is incorporated in an easily digestible format within the main body of the text, with detailed scientific reports and catalogues appearing in small font appendices at the back of the book, far more accessible than microfiche. Such detailed post-excavation research reveals the potential information which can be gleaned from the smallest of samples, such as an attempt at provenancing the boat's place of construction on the basis of sand trapped in its caulking. Although some of these enquiries are at a preliminary stage, the comprehensive sets of data published in the volume will be of immense value to comparative studies in the future.

The book is exceptionally well illustrated, which will benefit both specialists and lay readers alike. Special insight into the excavation is provided by informal photographs of work in progress, including the lifting and on-site conservation of finds. Stunning photographs of individual finds are just as informative as academic record shots and certainly more memorable, and these are complimented by explanatory illustrations of less accessible subjects, such as boat fastenings and textile weaves. X-rays also help to illustrate pertinent points in the text.

In conclusion, this publication is an exemplary excavation report which has been presented in such a manner as to appeal to a much wider audience, both here and abroad. Local Orcadians will no doubt relish this opportunity to indulge in their Norse ancestry, whilst Scandinavians may wish to learn the fate of three former emigrants. Scandinavian specialists will benefit from the detailed artefactual analyses, as well as gaining access to invaluable sets of scientific data for comparative studies. The book is a worthy testament to the potential that can be achieved from an excavation initiated in response to a few bones and rivets observed eroding out of a sandbank, and a small lead object, retrieved years earlier, initially thought to belong to a car battery but later identified as a bullion weight, which although retrieved from the site years previously, had not been forgotten.

CAROLINE PATERSON

*Medieval Ireland: An Archaeology.* By Tadhg O'Keefe. 18 × 26 cm. 192 pp., 77 figs., 25 colour pls. Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2000. ISBN 0-7524-1464-X. Price: £19.99, \$32.50 hb.

When Terry Barry was compiling his synthesis *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland*, published in 1987, he was working as a brave pioneer in relatively untilled ground. Since then, a great deal more work has been done — both investigative and interpretative, archaeological and documentary — yet many of the same problems remain stubbornly resistant to solution. These include the true scale of English colonisation in Ireland, the extent and timing of native adoption of colonial innovations, the precise forms of native settlement after 1169, the relation between 'ringforts' (raths) and 'ringworks', and the significance of the spread of architectural styles. From an English perspective, Ireland continues to present a distant mirror, whose subtle distortions have the potential to

enlighten us about England itself. England's Irish question, however, must await the answer to Ireland's English question.

Like its predecessor, Tadhg O'Keefe's volume is limited essentially to the period following on from that which is often called 'early historic' (5th–12th centuries). Both books are therefore complementary to Nancy Edwards's *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* (1990). O'Keefe's treatment continues down to c. 1590 — the age of Walter Ralegh, Edmund Spenser and the Elizabethan plantations. The author describes his work as *an* archaeology in order to convey the sense of a personal interpretation along fairly traditional lines and eschewing more conceptual or theoretical approaches. There are six thematic chapters dealing successively with earth-and-timber castles; stone castles and defensible houses; country life; town life; craftworking, trade and industry; and finally ecclesiastical buildings. All of these topics are informed by a comprehensive and up-to-date bibliography that includes the author's own thought-provoking contributions to specific aspects of the wider subject.

Ireland has a total of around 350 mottes, dating mainly from the late 12th century and the initial colonial endeavour. As in the case of England, some of these may have occupied the sites of earlier residences, Gaelic-Irish rather than Anglo-Saxon. By the same token, a small number of mottes may predate the arrival of the English (Anglo-Normans) in Ireland. The absence of mottes from some parts of western Ireland is explained as a cultural phenomenon, suggesting (correctly in the opinion of this reviewer) that the colony was less homogeneous than it is sometimes depicted. Perhaps inevitably, the dreaded term 'feudalism' arises in this context; to talk blithely of 'feudal lords' in Gaelic Ireland of the 10th to 12th centuries begs a lot of questions that O'Keefe, in common with other proponents of this usage, does not answer. The statement that 'Anglo-Norman Ireland was at its most prosperous in the second half of the 13th century, and Gaelic-Irish lands which lay beyond the limits of [English] royal authority were few' (p. 12) reveals only a lack of awareness of the seismic shift among some historians in the direction of downsizing the effective colony (as distinct from the lordship) even at its peak of imperfection and of emphasising the permanent presence of multi-faceted frontier conditions in most parts of the island.

As a result, Ireland's capacity to offer improved tenurial conditions for English and Welsh immigrants was probably more restricted than was once supposed. Labour services *may* have been less exacting than those on some English manors in the 13th century and the great majority of colonial villages were 'rural boroughs' (market settlements) with a significant but normally small proportion of privileged tenants holding by burgage tenure. O'Keefe is guilty of gross distortion, however, when he claims that 'the villagers of Anglo-Norman Ireland usually had burgess status' (p. 71). The pre-existing townland structure, as Annegret Simms has argued, may have militated against the formation of large nucleated villages. Partly for this reason, perhaps, deserted medieval villages of the classic English types have been hard to identify on the ground or in the generally inferior documentary record, though most of the 250 or so market settlements seem to have disappeared. A commoner type of rural settlement was the moated site (about 750 examples to date) which, in contrast to those of England, tends to be found in relatively isolated districts. Again, the colonial frontiers were an ever-present source of danger.

One of the author's areas of particular expertise is ecclesiastical architecture and there are some interesting observations here. Round towers are portrayed as vertical processional routes with parallels in some late Anglo-Saxon churches. Irish Romanesque, it is suggested, spread from Munster in the South-West to other parts of the island, using 'English' motifs such as chevron decoration. The late medieval Decorated and Perpendicular architectural styles were introduced by English craftsmen working for Anglo-Irish and Gaelic-Irish patrons. Imported styles may have become progressively gaelicised or idiosyncratic, a feature of the magnificent Observant friaries built in the 15th century.

This is an important book for professional scholars, informed antiquaries and recently baptised students alike. It is also a handsome book with crystal-clear line drawings and maps, as well as full-colour and monochrome plates. For British readers unfamiliar with the intricacies of medieval Irish history, it will make an admirable introduction to the peculiar historical resonances of John Bull's other island.

HOWARD B. CLARKE

*The Port of Medieval Dublin: Archaeological Excavations at the Civic Offices, Winetavern Street, Dublin, 1993.* By Andrew Halpin. 21 × 30 cm. 189 pp., 105 figs., 8 pls. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000. ISBN 1-85182-585-1. Price: £24.95 pb.

*Medieval Dublin I: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 1999.* Edited by Seán Duffy. 16 × 23 cm. 237 pp., 60 figs., maps and pls. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000. ISBN 1 85182 580 0. Price: £14.95 pb.

The archaeology of medieval Dublin is already famous for two main reasons: the quality of what has been preserved from the past and the Wood Quay campaign to conserve, or at least to investigate, part of that past. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the city's archaeology became at once a national and an international issue, and the subject of two specialised books about the controversy. Unpalatable truths have still not been faced up to by everyone concerned: for example, that a substantial proportion of the Wood Quay site, which amounted to around 1.6 ha, was destroyed without record; that a section of the city wall was demolished by machine in an act of utter crassness; or that the stratigraphy of the excavated areas has not yet been worked out a generation later. Accordingly the current 'feel-good factor' about the archaeology of medieval Dublin, where it exists, is only partially justified.

One of the more positive outcomes of the barrage of protest against official ignorance and vandalism was the appointment by Dublin Corporation of its first city archaeologist in 1991. That person was Andrew Halpin, the principal author of *The Port of Medieval Dublin* and now a member of the staff of the National Museum of Ireland. The need to conduct this rescue excavation in Winetavern Street was created by one of the fundamental deficiencies of earlier policies — that the Wood Quay site, even where it was not destroyed unrecorded, was not fully resolved archaeologically. Despite the very small amount of intact stratigraphy, the material remains turned out to be of major historical importance. A braced revetment running from east to west (parallel to the River Liffey) is convincingly interpreted as a continuation of Patrick Wallace's Revetment 1 further downstream. Similarly a section of post-and-wattle fence is arguably an extension of Wallace's Bank 4; this feature was probably a component of the main revetment and contemporary with it. A shorter, unbraced, north-south revetment marked the western edge of the entire enterprise which, as Wallace had earlier surmised, appears to reflect landholding divisions behind the main revetment. A number of dendrochronological determinations cluster around the very last years of the 12th century — at least a decade earlier than was previously estimated. Moreover the first Anglo-Norman waterfront at Wood Quay represents the transition from earthfast to timber-framed technique c. 1200, as has been demonstrated at London, the route of transmission to Dublin being probably via Bristol.

The sequence of wooden revetments at Wood Quay was intended, as Wallace also suggested, to provide dockside facilities. The programme of reclamation was completed with a riverside wall, which is here dated c. 1260 'at the latest' rather than the end of the century. This revised dating conforms better with the documentary evidence. The north-south revetment and the general lack of comparable structures immediately west (upstream) behind Merchants' Quay are grounds for the argument that *the* port of Dublin was located at Wood Quay in the 13th century, as well as justification for the book's main

title. The volume contains catalogues and discussions of the principal categories of finds by a number of specialists, together with an exemplary analysis of the evidence for woodland management and for trade in woodland products by Aidan O'Sullivan. The only discordant note to strike this reviewer is the admittedly tentative suggestion that the substantial stone building on the site was Dublin's guild hall: when first documented c. 1210 this building was clearly situated inside the Hiberno-Norse town wall, where one might suppose it to have been if it was contemporary with the establishment of the guild merchant in the late 12th century.

At the height of the Wood Quay controversy, successive directors of the National Museum of Ireland were unable and/or unwilling to recognise the historical significance of those remarkable discoveries. Academic leadership came largely from the Friends of Medieval Dublin, a multi-disciplinary study group whose leader was the late F. X. Martin O.S.A., a medieval historian. Accordingly it is entirely fitting that *Medieval Dublin I* is dedicated to his memory. Nowadays the archaeology of Dublin takes the form of site assessments and rescue excavations prompted by the rapid redevelopment of the city's medieval core. In recent years, dozens of sites have been investigated with varying degrees of thoroughness. None of these undertakings approaches the epic scale of Wood Quay-Fishamble Street, but their combined area (virtually incalculable) must be substantial. One of the regrettable aspects of contract archaeology is that relatively few sites have been published other than in the form of very brief summaries. The current programme of annual symposia organised by the Friends of Medieval Dublin, followed by publication within a year, is designed to meet the need to broadcast more adequately the results of the enormous backlog of excavations inside and outside the walls.

In this first volume, five crucial sites are examined in some detail. Two of these stood over and just outside the west wall (Alan Hayden). A small-scale industrial quarter may have been identified, along with part of the frame of one of the earliest pairs of spectacles found in these islands (early to mid-14th century). The north-western angle of the medieval defences (excavated by the late Leo Swan) yielded a hitherto unknown harbour of the early 13th century, functioning perhaps as a dock for lighters servicing sea-going vessels moored downstream on the other side of the bridge. In the western suburb three partially excavated sites (by Claire Walsh) explored the great Augustinian abbey dedicated to St Thomas Becket, including the east end of the church itself. The latter has been reserved by Dublin Corporation for possible excavation in the future. Finally in this group, some of the best evidence to date for medieval houses in Dublin was uncovered at Back Lane, just inside Newgate (Tim Coughlan). Here the Hiberno-Norse (Viking) vernacular tradition of post-and-wattle was found to continue down to c. 1200. Timber-framed structures built on sill-beams were then abruptly introduced contemporaneously with Revetment 1 at Wood Quay; they remained in fashion until c. 1260, whereupon stone became the basic raw material for building houses, at least at ground-floor level.

In addition, Clare McCutcheon provides a foretaste of her forthcoming monograph on pottery by setting out a new working system for classifying four Dublin wares along with Leinster Cooking Ware, while Mary Deevy, assisted by Christine Baker, updates her valuable work on ring brooches. Mary Valante discusses Viking Dublin's economic relations with its hinterland and the volume opens with an impressive and lengthy (58 pages) synthesis by Linzi Simpson of all the archaeological investigations in Dublin during the last forty years. This contribution alone makes *Medieval Dublin I* essential reading for anyone who wishes to comprehend the archaeology of the city.

Both books have been published with the active support of Dublin Corporation, which has recently appointed a heritage officer to complement the work of the new city archaeologist. Both books are very well produced to a high professional standard, reflecting the extraordinary commitment of the Four Courts Press to serious academic publishing.

*Ireland and Britain, 1170-1450*. By Robin Frame. 16 × 24 cm. xix + 332 pp., 3 maps, 3 tables. London: The Hambledon Press, 1998. ISBN 1 85285-149 X. Price: £45.00 hb.

Robin Frame has joined the growing list of historians who have been persuaded to assemble between the covers of one book some of the best of their work which previously appeared as journal articles, and contributions to conferences and *Festschriften*. It is a welcome sight, although the title seems ill-advised as it suggests that Ireland's relations with Scotland and Wales are fully explored. Instead, this is essentially a book about the English colony and colonists in medieval Ireland and their relationship with both the native Irish and the English crown. It contains sixteen essays, grouped so that the first ten, broadly speaking, have a transmarine aspect to them, the final six being concerned with activities, institutions, and relationships within Ireland. For those being introduced belatedly to Frame's *oeuvre* this works very well; for those of us who have had the privilege of reading all but the first before (and any serious, or sensible, student of medieval Ireland will have photocopies or offprints dog-eared from overuse), an interesting approach to these essays, the publication of which ranges from 1967 to 1998, is to read them in this latter order.

This allows us to view the 'changes of emphasis across the years' alluded to in the Preface (p. x). These are noticeable when one reads some of Professor Frame's earlier work — for instance, his landmark study of 'English officials and Irish chiefs in the 14th century' (1975), indispensable reading for any student of this period of Irish history, or 'Power and society in the lordship of Ireland, 1272-1377' (1977), again brimful of insights and wisdom — and compares it with later essays such as "'Les Engleis néés en Irlande": the English political identity in medieval Ireland' (1993). What emerges is the impression that the author has undergone a minor metamorphosis in the interval from someone engaging fully with the Anglo-Irish colony as if from within, to observing it, and Ireland as a whole, from without.

Of course, Robin Frame has never pretended that his work is concerned with anything other than the English colonists in Ireland; it is just that the emphasis seems to increase with the years, so that the native Irish (perhaps two-thirds or more of the population?) are rendered bit-players in their own history. Neither has he attempted to hide his sympathies: in 'English officials and Irish chiefs', for example, the colonists' ill-treatment of the native population is explained away as 'overenthusiastic self-help' (p. 254)! In 'King Henry III and Ireland', the efforts of the de Clares to conquer northern Munster from its ancestral rulers, the O'Briens, are described as 'heroics' (p. 54), while in 'Overlordship and reaction, c. 1250-c. 1450', the assassination in 1333 of the last de Burgh earl of Ulster and lord of Connacht is 'catastrophic' (p. 190). One doubts if many native Irish viewed it as such, just as the attempt by Domnall MacMurrough to revive his dynasty's kingship of Leinster in 1328, dismissed in Frame's study of 'Military service in the lordship of Ireland, 1290-1360' as 'an act of antiquarian bravado' (p. 296) may not have seemed so to his followers. This slightly condescending tone surfaced in 1989 but was outdone four years later by the bizarre statement in 'Les Engleis néés en Irlande' that the second earl of Kildare, who died in the same year that Domnall was displaying such antiquarianism, 'no doubt valued the Vincent O'Briens of the day, who looked after his horses' (p. 139).

One of Frame's objectives has been to provide a corrective to what he views as a previously exaggerated emphasis on 'Gaelicisation' among the Anglo-Irish, but he has sometimes protested a little too much. Of John de Bermingham, first earl of Louth, he says: 'He hired an Irish musician: but then King Edward III and Queen Philippa employed an Irish surgeon and an Irish midwife' (p. 215) — a comparison which one imagines even he with hindsight would recognise as a caricature. When seeking to show the extent to which the colonists clung to their sense of Englishness, despite all visible (and audible) evidence to the contrary, Frame is not beyond special pleading. He waves aside expressions of Anglo-Irish discontent as due to 'moments of stress' (p. 147) and, in what appears to be

an uncharacteristically unkind reference to others who have tried to measure the Anglo-Irish sense of identity, he states that the evidence presented is 'cooked up from selected ingredients by the historian' (p. 149). One of the first of these 'moments of stress' is dealt with brilliantly in Professor Frame's paper on 'English policies and Anglo-Irish attitudes in the crisis of 1341-42' where, however, in his concern to show that this apparent expression of Anglo-Irish restiveness was nothing of the sort, he states that the words of the contemporary Dublin annalist, which emphatically point in that direction, 'fundamentally misconstrue the situation' (p. 113): it is a brave man indeed who believes that, six and a half centuries later, he can judge events better than one who lived through them.

It would be a pity if this (increasing?) anxiety to stress the primacy of the Englishness of the Anglo-Irish of later medieval Ireland were to occlude the very convincing portrait Frame paints elsewhere of a two-way convergence of 'feudal' and Gaelic communities and social leaders. Readers of this journal, for instance, will be interested in the observation in his pivotal study of 'War and peace in the medieval lordship of Ireland' that by about 1400 'there seems to have been little to choose between Irish and Anglo-Irish lords in the matter of occupation and construction of castles' (p. 226), which came as an important 'wake-up call' to all those still harbouring the stereotypical view of strongholded Normans and hill-and-bog dwelling Irish. Archaeologists deal with the remnants of frontier warfare on the modern landscape, often, it must be said, in the absence of an understanding of how that system of defence, incursion, and reprisal was organized. There is little excuse for this since the work done by Robin Frame in such studies as 'Military service in the lordship of Ireland' peoples the barren landscape of 14th-century Ireland with troops, garrisons, structures of military organization, rules of military obligation, the leadership and manpower of both the retinues of the great lords and the levies from the towns and shires, and the often sophisticated systems in place to pay for it all. In this and other essays he has brought to bear on the subject of frontier warfare, institutions, and society a degree of knowledge about their British equivalents which few possess and which makes his work just as valuable for British as for Irish historians. Unlike others of its ilk, there are no 'duds' in this volume: all sixteen essays merit reading and will repay re-reading; some, quite simply, are masterpieces

SEÁN DUFFY

*The Medieval Castles of Ireland.* By David Sweetman. 21 × 27 cm. iv + 218 pp., 30 colour pls., 170 figs. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000. ISBN 085115-7882. Price: £25.00 hb.

Ireland is a country of castles, although this is not a widely acknowledged fact due to various reasons. At least 4,000 castles of various types, such as mottes, ringworks, large Anglo-Norman masonry castles, hall-houses, fortified houses, stronghouses and especially tower houses were built in the Irish countryside between the 12th and 17th centuries.

This book, written by David Sweetman, Chief Archaeologist in *Dúchas*, is the second authoritative volume on Irish castles that has come out in recent years. The book is divided into six informative and well-written chapters. Chapter One discusses the phenomenon of earthwork castles and one of the main arguments in it is that ringworks were far more common in medieval Ireland than certain scholars have argued for in the past. Chapter Two deals with relatively early Anglo-Norman masonry castles built in Ireland between the 1170s and the mid-13th century. There has been a tendency in castle studies recently to emphasise the non-military functions of castles. This in turn has led certain scholars to argue that many castles were not primarily erected for defence but for prestige. Alternatively, Sweetman argues that a proper detailed field examination of many of these early stone castles in Ireland shows them to have been quite seriously defended. Chapter Three looks specifically at a type of small castle known as the hall-house. These are mostly

of 13th-century date and many were built in Anglo-Norman colonised parts of western Ireland. Thirty-four of these small castles have been recognised by the Archaeological Survey of Ireland (a part of *Duchas*) in recent years. Sweetman defines hall-houses as two-storey, rectangular-shaped, defensive buildings, which have little or no outer defences — mostly standing isolated in the landscape like later tower houses. Indeed, Sweetman sees tower houses as evolving out of hall-houses. Chapter Four of the book partly examines large Anglo-Norman masonry castles built during the late 13th and very early 14th century. North-west Ireland in particular saw much castle building by Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster and lord of Connacht, between c. 1300 and c. 1310. Sweetman correctly notes that many of the architectural features seen in these de Burgh fortresses owe much to Edward I's fortresses in Wales. Polygonal towers are a feature of some of these castles and are clearly modelled on Caernarvon. Chapter Five deals exclusively with tower houses — by far the most common type of castle in Ireland. Lastly, Chapter Six examines the understudied phenomenon of fortified houses and stronghouses which were built during the late 16th and 17th century.

It is clear from the book that Sweetman's wide field of experience working for *Duchas* has led him to concur with many of Harold Leask's pioneering views from the 1940s on the development of Irish castles. He reaffirms in Chapter Four the latter's view that there was little castle-building in Ireland over much of the 14th century. Furthermore, in Chapter Five, he reiterates Leask's views that the main spur to widespread tower house building in late medieval Ireland lay in a 1429 governmental grant of £10 to any Palesman who wished to build a small castle, as a protection against the general lawlessness of the time and the depredations of the Gaelic-Irish. In all, Sweetman vociferously argues against those archaeologists who believe in tower houses being built in 14th-century Ireland. Certainly the overwhelming majority of Irish tower houses appear to be 15th century or later in date. Scholars who believe in early tower houses should perhaps produce more convincing examples of 14th-century date. This debate about the origin in Ireland of this type of castle will surely continue.

One small criticism of the book is that it does not really discuss the Gaelic-Irish usage of castles in the two centuries or so between the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland and the widespread appearance of tower houses. For example, Sweetman states that there is little evidence for classic earthwork castles in Western Ireland and suggests that research needs to be carried out to explain this lack. Actually work has been done on this very topic. Tom McNeill would argue that perhaps the reason why there are few earthwork or indeed masonry castles of pre-tower house date in Gaelic-dominated areas of medieval Ireland was due to the custom of periodic land redistribution there. In theory, an individual Gaelic lord could not be guaranteed occupation of any given stretch of land for very long and, therefore, this militated against the building of large complex buildings like castles. Alternatively, I suggest elsewhere that the Gaelic-Irish used the landscape, rather than castles, as a defence against large-scale aggression and attack.

One of the main strengths of the book is that it utilises the extensive records of the Archaeological Survey of Ireland (a section of *Duchas*) — whose officers have visited tens of thousands of archaeological sites since the early 1980s. New castles have been identified over the course of this work and more information about known ones gathered. Sweetman (who for much of the last twenty years was the driving force behind the Archaeological Survey) excellently weaves all this new fieldwork and, also, the results of recent excavations of castles, into this volume. In all, this book is a major contribution to the study of Irish castles and it should be compulsory reading for anyone interested in medieval Ireland.

KIERAN O'CONNOR

*Ludgershall Castle: Excavations by Peter Addyman 1964–1972.* (Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Monograph Series 2). Edited by Peter Ellis. 21 × 30 cm. ix + 268 pp., 235 figs. and maps, 7 microfiches, 19 tables. Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (Wiltshire Heritage). ISBN 0 947723-07-2. Price: not stated, pb.

This report presents the results of nine years' excavation on the site of the royal castle of Ludgershall, located on open chalkland near the eastern margins of Salisbury Plain. The castle's regional setting, in a distinctive zone of the medieval landscape along the Hampshire/Wiltshire border dominated by royal forest, was a key factor in its function and development, and is of undoubted interest to readers of this journal for the obvious comparison with Clarendon Palace. The programme of excavation was initiated in 1964, driven by the need to display and conserve the monument, and later developed as one of several key projects investigating the origins of English castles. Within the massive earthworks of two conjoined earthwork enclosures — often misleadingly labelled elsewhere as a 'double ringwork' — an extremely complex sequence of stone and timber buildings dating from the 12th to the 14th century was revealed. The report 'has had a long and difficult genesis' (p. 4), and multiple delays and complications in the post-excavation and publication process are catalogued. The results of these excavations are set against the background of, and at times re-interpreted in the light of, a detailed earthwork survey of the castle and its environs carried out by the RCHME in 1998 as part of their project on the Salisbury Plain Training Area. This blend of 1960s/70s excavation and 1990s landscape archaeology makes for a report that, while facing considerable challenges, provides a fascinating insight into not only the physical development of one of the better documented but more modest royal houses, but also the changing agenda of British castle studies.

The first two chapters provide an outline of the project's scope and methods, along with a comprehensive account of the site's historical and documentary background by Peter Addyman and Charles Kightly that focuses on the detailed building accounts. Chapter 3 describes the excavated structures and their phasing. In Chapter 4 David Stocker presents a description and analysis of the ruinous late 12th/early 13th-century great tower that still dominates the site, and an account of Henry III's Great Hall, including some attractive and informative cutaway reconstruction diagrams and a thorough discussion of architectural parallels. Unconventionally, analysis of the castle's earthworks and their landscape setting, comprising Chapter 5, is sandwiched in the middle of the report. Chapter 6 presents a catalogue of finds supported by some high quality and clear figures, and Chapter 7 a handy overall synthesis in which unresolved aspects of the site's chronology — of which there are many — are, it is refreshing to see, freely acknowledged.

Excavation sampled three zones of the site's interior, with only two small sections across the massive defences, and the thrust of the report is on the development of domestic facilities rather than the defences. Despite the likelihood of earlier Saxon activity on the site, no evidence of pre-Norman structures was recovered, although the possibility that the castle overlies a Saxon manor is not discounted. From the 12th century the principal structure in the northern enclosure was a centrally placed hall, flanked to the north by a progressively enlarged suite of domestic buildings, and the great tower was demonstrated to have been preceded by several earlier versions, some unfinished. Structures identified in the southern enclosure included a substantial lime kiln and associated water storage pit, a bread oven, and additional storage structures. While the sequence of building work is relatively secure and indicates well the increasing sophistication of domestic planning and growing emphasis on privacy, the dating of the defensive banks and ditches, both in relation to the interior structures and in absolute terms, is rather less clear. Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the report is the claim that the southern enclosure originated

as a late prehistoric hillfort, to which the northern enclosure has been appended, which, bearing in mind the total absence of prehistoric finds, invites comment.

The most innovative part of the report is undoubtedly Graham Brown and Paul Everson's superb account of the site's context within, and contribution to, the surrounding medieval landscape and settlement pattern. A detailed description of the two associated parks and plan analysis of the adjacent medieval borough, whose evolution is intimately linked to the castle's, puts the site firmly in its place. Most intriguing of all is the notion that the castle, at least in its later phases, lay at the heart of a landscape carefully designed for aesthetic appeal. For instance, the broad outer bank of the northern enclosure seems to have functioned as a garden walk accessed from the royal lodgings, from which a pleasure park, enveloping the site on three sides, could be viewed. Ludgershall can thus be added to the growing list of castles, including most prominently Bodiam (Sussex), known to have been embedded within contrived ornamental settings, the crucial difference being that the designed landscape around Ludgershall did not involve the creation of water features. Studies such as this underline the immense contribution that landscape survey and garden archaeology can make to modern castle studies.

However, a major deficiency is the overall lack of scientific analyses. In particular the absence of any form of bone report is to be lamented, as this would provide a further means of keying the site into the locality. It is also a pity that the report contains no plot of the resistivity survey conducted by Anthony Clark in the southern enclosure. Minor quibbles include a rather over simplistic location map of the excavations (Fig. 1.4) which is difficult to relate to the more detailed RCHME earthwork survey. In addition, some of the black and white photographs appear murky and difficult to interpret.

Overall, the report's main achievement is to 'metaphorically breach the castle walls' (p. 254) and present an holistic account of the site's structural remains in the context of their surrounding landscape. This aspect, at least, will serve as a model for future reports and a real eye opener for students of castle studies, even if other aspects of the report are, at times, difficult to digest.

OLIVER GREIGHTON

*Hen Domen Montgomery – A Timber Castle on the English-Welsh Border: A Final Report.* By Robert Higham and Philip Barker. 21 × 30 cm. xv + 189 pp., 111 figs. Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2000. ISBN 0-85989-652-8. Price: £45.00 pb.

This is a book I would like to see in the hands of anyone involved in archaeological excavation, but most especially students approaching the trenches for the first time, shiny trowel at the ready. This is what excavation should be about: digging and recording to the highest standards, intellectual rigour and transparency, an appreciation that a complex site can only begin to be understood within its landscape by constantly revisiting it, and sheer dedication. In fact, it is the antithesis of much that passes for excavation today.

The motte and bailey castle called Hen Domen, 2 km north of its successor Montgomery, was constructed in the 1070s by Roger of Montgomery, one of the Conqueror's boon companions. His son Robert of Belleme rebelled in 1102 and the castle and its lands passed to the de Boulers family who held it until 1207. In the last phase of its life the castle was maintained by the Crown, from 1233 probably as a forward defence for Henry III's new castle and borough at Montgomery. It was excavated for thirty-two summer seasons between 1960 and 1992 by Philip Barker and Bob Higham. Eventually half the bailey was completely dissected (1960–90), as well as the motte top (1988–92). The work force was a loyal rag-bag of students and volunteers who camped within the small bailey, cut off from the outside world by the scrub covered defences and permeated by

wood smoke from the camp fire used to heat water. The boulder clay was at times intractable, the standards of digging and recording always exemplary.

This is the second (and last) major report on Hen Domen, the first being published by the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1982. In addition there was a *Summary*, which appeared in 1988, and Hen Domen featured large in the same authors' *Timber Castles* of 1992. While much of the detailed data and discussion relating to buildings in the bailey appears solely in the 1982 volume, the present report has been carefully written to serve as a stand-alone monograph on the major results and conclusions resulting from the whole lifetime of the project.

Chapters 1 and 3 treat the buildings within the bailey, interpreted – revisions of earlier accounts are generally minor – as including a two-storey hall with direct access from its first floor to the bridge leading to the motte top, an apsidal chapel, and a sturdy post-built granary, all surrounded by two circuits of banked and ditched defences girt with tower-studded covered wall walks. Peter Schofield's illustrations give three-dimensional form to the excavators' conclusions about the structures wrestled from post holes, slots, a single oak shingle, contemporary illustrations, and the few surviving analogous buildings. What this produces is a post-apocalyptic, piling up of jumbled, timber-boarded, structures, quite probably finely carpentered, sturdy, and in some cases elaborately decorated, but surely internally shadowy, dismal, and smoky, and all surrounded by squelching clay. This was military life on the frontier.

The gist of all this has been seen before in the earlier reports, and so most readers will turn most eagerly for the report (Chapter 4) on the motte top excavations. Here, squeezed into 0.5 m of stratigraphy, the excavators identified perhaps four successive timber-based structures; uncertainty about what had eroded away, and the shadowy nature of the later sill beamed structures, makes precise interpretation impossible. All were built on the mound rather than, as at South Mimms, being enveloped by it. Earliest was the building with the most impressive archaology, foot-square posts (I make no apologies for mixing my units; foot-square timbers seem to have been the standard for major structures at Hen Domen) set up to 1.1 m into the motte top and linked by shallow wall trenches which defined a substantial structure c. 5.5 m square and with a central spine wall. The excavators suggest, reasonably given the scale of the timbers and taking into account all other evidence, a hall-like structure of at least two storeys with the main chamber on the first floor. Later, perhaps during the tenancy of the de Boulers, this was replaced by a building of similar dimensions with clay clad walls 0.75 m thick. This burnt down, and a final main phase saw the construction in the mid- to late 13th century of what Higham and Barker reconstruct as a timber framed, belfry-like, tower. Such structures, like the belfry at Pembridge (Herefordshire), certainly existed at this time, but the slight nature of the evidence means that this must remain only a suggestion. The difficulty of interpreting the motte top structures is demonstrated above all else by the lack of parallels for a series of substantial slots or gullies which radiated out spoke-fashion from around the edge of the main building, at least in its earlier phases. The motte top was cramped, and perhaps these supported a horizontal timber apron around the building's base; several other possibilities are offered, however.

What then are the main results of Hen Domen? Above all else, and notwithstanding the difficulties of structural extrapolation from the excavated remains, it is by far the most revealing set of structural data from a Norman castle of the later 11th to 13th centuries from the whole of Europe. The excavations showed that confined within the defences of an outwardly unprepossessing earthwork there could be an extraordinary density and sequential complexity of timber structures, comparable in some ways to those in a town. Understanding of these would be extremely difficult through anything other than area excavation. What in many ways is most striking is the contrast between what we know from the documents (and what a struggle it would be without them), that this was one of

the main residences of one of the Conqueror's closest and most powerful companions, and what has survived as artefactual evidence; in general very little (most interestingly a small collection of military ironwork, and a fine wooden pail), and nothing that would indicate the presence of such a leading magnate and his household.

Philip Barker saw an early copy of this book shortly before he died in January 2001, and pronounced himself pleased with it. Rightly so. As well as being important, it is attractively and well produced – the quality of the drawings and photographs, and their integration with each other and the text is exemplary — with a charm and personality entirely missing from so many reports. This approach is unapologetically acknowledged by the authors in a section (pp. 7–9) entitled 'Personal Philosophy', and by a poignant two-page photographic montage recording work in progress at Hen Domen over the years. When the history of medieval archaeology is written, this site and its excavators will feature prominently.

PAUL STAMPER

*The Medieval Tiles of Wales.* By J. M. Lewis. 21 × 28 cm. ix + 274 pp., 21 figs., 9 colour pls., plus many catalogue drawings, maps and tables. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1999. ISBN 0-7200-0460-8. Price: not stated, pb.

*Medieval Tiles.* By Hans van Lemmen. 15 × 21 cm. 40 pp., many figs. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 2000. ISBN 0-7478-0463-X. Price: £4.50 pb.

Anyone who has studied medieval floortiles will recognise J. M. Lewis's aim, 'to compile as complete a record as possible of . . . earthenware paving tiles in Wales' (p. vii) as ambitious. If surviving pavements are far-flung and few, individual tiles can be said to have been flung even farther. In Britain as a whole, surviving evidence consists mainly of loose tiles in museums or private collections, and one shudders to think what has been lost. Thankfully, the Census of Medieval Tiles in Britain, whose directors have included Elizabeth Eames and Christopher Norton, under the auspices of the British Academy, is collating what evidence has survived.

*The Medieval Tiles of Wales*, funded also by CADW and the Mark Fitch Fund, is part of the Census. As a catalogue it is comprehensive, well designed and above all user-friendly, its layout explained fully at the outset. There are useful cross-references with Eames's British Museum *Catalogue* (1980), and the occurrence outside Wales of each type is listed. It is arranged according to the nature of the evidence (numbered groups, individual survivals, graphic evidence) as well as by type, in a geographical and broadly chronological layout. Most helpfully, distribution maps accompany entries for each group, saving an enormous amount of page turning back to the handy alphabetical map of sites on page viii. There are indexes not only of people and places, but also of heraldic tile designs, and other useful study aids include a table of prices from 1274 to 1532 (p. 2), and a full discussion of the pitfalls of dating.

Lewis's work is clearly indispensable to future students of floortiles. Yet it is more than a catalogue, fulfilling the aim of the Census to enhance 'understanding of the industry by attempting to identify the products of individual tileries' (p. 6) with aplomb. For example Lewis concludes that the 15th-century Severn Valley tileries may have been 'large enough to see to their own distribution', since the absence of their tiles in Ireland, as against Wales, makes their trading by Bristol merchants (the usual assumption) unlikely. And although Group 11, found as far west as Whitland Abbey, was the work of 13th-century tilers previously operating from Nash Hill (Somerset), fabric analysis has demonstrated that it was actually manufactured in Monmouthshire. Thus by treating Wales as more than a footnote to the well-published 13th-century Wessex Industry of which Nash Hill was a part, Lewis has shed light on the workings of the medieval tile industry as a whole.

The full description of medieval manufacturing techniques in the catalogue's introduction (pp. 1–13) will prove useful for novices ('the principal raw material was . . . clay') as well as those more familiar with the subject — lead glazes receive more than the usual cursory mention, their manufacture described in detail. However, there is a tendency to concentrate overmuch on such practicalities. For example, quite why two-colour tiles failed to oust the North/mid-Wales counter-relief tradition (only four of 29 groups), if they were so much easier to produce, 'technologically . . . [more] advanced' (p. 15) and — as is often claimed — easier to walk on, is never fully addressed. Here was a chance to blow purely evolutionary arguments out of the water. Missing also (in both works reviewed here) is any reference to tiled pavements as signifiers of space. Aside from the obvious enhanced conditions for survival, why are so many elaborate pavements, presumably intended for display, found in muniment rooms? Alejandra Gutiérrez, whose work is reviewed elsewhere in this volume, has shown the potential of pottery for social archaeologists, and it is high time that floortiles were addressed, explicitly, in the same way. In fairness, not only is this somewhat without Lewis's brief, but, as he points out (p. 1), only 17% of Welsh sites known to have been paved retain *any* evidence of the floortiles they once housed, so that wider interpretations may be difficult.

The Shire publication is, of course, a very different type of book. Hans van Lemmen commendably fulfils Shire's brief, his text being both authoritative and affordable. Manufacturing techniques are the main focus, and are again comprehensively covered, although here, 19th-century procedures take up a full five of the 40 pages. This may seem odd in a book entitled *Medieval Tiles*, but van Lemmen is a founder member of the British Tiles and Architectural Ceramics Society. Accordingly, his 19th-century 'medieval' tilemakers are accorded rather more respect than is usual in works on medieval floortiles. We are reminded early (p. 5) that it is only 'the modern eye' that finds the diversity of pigment, caused by uneven medieval firing, attractive. This is a salient point, rarely voiced. Medieval patrons, given half the chance, may well have preferred the oft-criticised 'uniformity' of Victorian pavements. Ironically this last section, 'The Legacy of Medieval Tiles', will be of most interest to readers of this journal. Here, the contribution of archaeology is highlighted, with the debt owed by modern conservators of pavements to 1970s excavations and practical experiments clearly revealed.

A glance at Lewis's comprehensive bibliography demonstrates that books (as opposed to articles) devoted to medieval floortiles are few. This is to be regretted, since through their very attractiveness, the floortiles of the Middle Ages can fire a lifelong interest in medieval ceramics as a whole. Both works reviewed here are therefore welcome additions to the field.

AMANDA RICHARDSON

*The Rows of Chester: The Chester Rows Research Project.* (English Heritage Archaeological Report 16). Edited by Andrew Brown. 21 × 30 cm. xviii + 216 pp., 12 colour pls., 185 figs., 13 tables. London: English Heritage, 1999. ISBN 1-85047-629-X. Price: not stated, pb.

The Chester Rows have for centuries been remarked on as the unique feature of the city. They originally extended along both sides of all four of Chester's main streets outward from the centre of the city, with a total length of at least 1.6 km (1 mile). Their distinctive character comes from the continuous pedestrian walkways that run at first floor level through the complete series of buildings, between one side street and the next. These walkways are carried on 'undercrofts' (their floors actually at street level, extending under the houses and out to the street). They are flanked on the street side by boards for stalls (relatively late encroachments) and on the inner side by shops in the front part of the

houses. A further notable feature is that the courtyards at the rear of each building are at the level of the house floor, not of the street.

For as long as the Rows have attracted comment, so theories have been proposed for their origin. A particularly lively debate took place in the 1950s which was followed by a number of contentious redevelopment schemes. These prompted the establishment of the Chester Rows project to carry out a comprehensive study. This volume is the product of that survey, co-authored by seven of the researchers and edited by one of the project's founders.

By far the most extensive survival of medieval fabric is found in the stone undercrofts, of which some 180 exist, complete or as fragments. Very few have dateable features, but the vaults, piers and capitals in five indicate original construction well back in the 13th century. The floors above the unvaulted undercrofts are carried on substantial beams and sampson posts, some of which have tree-ring dates indicating felling in the same period. Many of the undercrofts still have complete or fragmentary timber-framed houses above them, but the great majority of these are 16th- or 17th-century, although three crown-post roofs were recorded. However, enough earlier fabric remains to reveal the character and layout of their predecessors. The rare examples with stone upper walls are particularly valuable because better evidence of the superstructure has survived in the stonework.

The houses have two forms. The smaller house type stood on narrow plots, roofed at right angles to the street. It had a hall at the rear of the plot, with a shop between it and the row; the upper floor over the shop oversailed the row walkway, and the front gable was carried on posts over the undercroft. On wide plots, the larger houses had transverse halls including service ends, with several shops between them and the Row walkway, and with more than one chamber on the upper floor. A notable feature of all these houses is that the floors over the undercrofts are of massive construction with earth-laid stone flags carried on the undercroft joists. Examples of each form are used as the basis of excellent coloured cutaway illustrations of typical Row houses (by Graham Holme).

With the earliest medieval fabric examined, the survey turns to the most difficult question, that of the origin of the Row system. As well as some stonework (and probably timber) from as early as the mid-13th century, documents indicate their early existence; some of these references are perhaps given undue weight. Such terms as 'Ironmongersrow' are universal in English medieval cities; although sections of the Chester Rows use these names, this does not in itself demonstrate the existence of a developed row system.

In assessing the reasons for the existence of the Rows, emphasis is placed on a quirk of Chester's topography. The massive ruins of the Roman city have been found by archaeology to be piled up beside the main streets, explaining the difference in level between the front and rear of each Row house. However, this topography did not in itself create the Rows. The greatest problem in explaining them has always been that the completed Row system can only work effectively for an entire block of property and the volume implicitly rejects a gradual process, creating the Rows house by house. The suggestion of organised rebuilding after a major fire in 1278 is appealing but seems not to fit the evidence for their earlier existence. The final conclusion of the survey is that the rows resulted from a 'general undertaking by the citizens of Chester', to improve the commercial potential of their property by providing two-level access for customers. Although this 'undertaking' is no longer tied to a specific event, the synchronisation it implies still seems unlikely. Consideration of this problem has led the present reviewer to suggest that a gradual model is indeed possible in which individuals only needed to adopt the same effective design that their neighbours had already implemented; this is presented elsewhere in the journal (p. 226).

The later medieval period in Chester saw economic decline, defined by such problems as the city's inability to pay the fee farm rent. Only limited building activity can be identified before the 16th-century revival but the Rows continued to function as earlier,

while a few smart new buildings appeared, one with a false hammer-beam roof. The following chapters, perhaps of less direct relevance to this journal, detail their later story. Chapter 7, 'The Great Rebuilding', reflects Chester's wealth in the later 16th and 17th centuries, in which many of the surviving houses reached their present form. Timber framing continued universally in use, with multiple-gabled decorative facades, and the houses saw a great increase in the numbers of rooms and in the variety of their functions, illustrated from inventories and other documentary sources. Halls were generally subdivided and storeys sometimes added to create these extra rooms. The problem of lighting these extra rooms is only briefly touched on, but must have been of considerable importance in both their planning and their use. In the 18th century (Chapter 8), although the Rows were highly praised by both citizens and visitors, houses in the sections furthest away from the central crossroads were rebuilt in elegant brickwork, eliminating the Row passages. Nearer the centre, although refronting in up-to-date style was common, the Rows remained intact. By the mid-19th century, the Rows had become an attraction to visitors and their very extensive rebuilding saw the development of a distinctive Vernacular Revival style, using mock timber framing (Chapter 9); the Row layout and often the early undercrofts were retained. The late 20th century (Chapter 10) saw some brutal redevelopment before conservation became the preferred option.

Much of this book is magnificent, but it disappoints in a number of respects both in relation to the information it provides and in its handling. The full gazetteer notes some clearly important buildings that find no mention at all in the main text, notably 90–92 Lower Bridge Street with 'a timber frame of very early date' which is not drawn or further described. Extensive dendrochronology was undertaken as part of the project (Appendix) but with limited success (27 dates from 171 samples), the failures being mainly fast grown timbers apparently of late-medieval date. Dated timbers from the undercrofts mostly have final rings in the later 13th century but lack sapwood, indicating felling in the years around 1300, even though no close date ranges were established. While the dating was well done by the standards of the 1980s, it is clear that a limited programme of re-sampling and re-evaluation could greatly enhance its value, work which English Heritage should be encouraged to undertake.

Unfortunately, the handling of this dating in the report is far from satisfactory. A reappraisal of the tree-ring evidence was undertaken, but its results were not fully incorporated and are not flagged in the text; the description of the crown-post roof of 63 Northgate Street as mid-15th-century refers to the Appendix where it is dated to 1261+. Which is correct? The citation of the dates is inconsistent and misleading. In particular, firm felling dates and ranges are given that are not supported by the evidence, e.g. 'after 1253' (Appendix) becomes '1253–84': this is misleadingly precise even though the indication of late 13th-century work must be broadly correct. The most serious misstatement concerns 12 Watergate (published prior to this report), which was dated to 'after 1237'. It is cited directly as 'c. 1226–54' (p. 46) but its crown-post roof is then firmly described as early 13th century. In conjunction with the redating of 63 Northgate Street, it seems likely that the three crown posts all date from the years on either side of 1300 rather than, as claimed, from the early 13th to the mid-15th century.

Despite these criticisms, *The Rows of Chester* is by far the best description of their nature and development that has appeared and is strongly to be recommended to readers. The 12 pages of colour plates should particularly be mentioned. They include not only the reconstruction drawings already mentioned, but a series of c. 1900 watercolours that catch the character of the Rows in their heyday.

*The College of the Vicars Choral of York Minster at Bedern: Architectural Fragments.* (The Archaeology of York: The Medieval Walled City North-East of the Ouse 10/4). By David A. Stocker. 21 × 30 cm. 184 pp., 186 figs., 10 tables. York: Council for British Archaeology and York Archaeological Trust, 1999. ISBN 1-902771-02-8. Price: £20.00 pb.

Regularised absenteeism was one of the many peculiarities inherent within the complex interrelationships between church and state in the later medieval period. Increasingly, this period witnessed the withdrawal of many secular canons from their cathedrals to serve the crown and secular state, perhaps more so in York itself, which appears to have been served by fewer resident canons than any other cathedral in England. The establishment of the institution of the Vicars Choral, often living under a regularised rule, was therefore necessary to compensate, often on an individual basis, for the increasing itinerancy of the canons. However, despite living a regularised life, and often being liturgically more competent than those they deputised for, the Vicars Choral appeared to have played a largely subordinate role to the cathedral and its Dean and Chapter. The report demonstrates one of the aspects of such a relationship where the rebuilding of parts of the college in the 14th century appears to have been directly dependant upon constructional work carried out at the minster church — thus suggesting elements of physical as well as institutional dependence. But as this report more than ably demonstrates, the re-used architectural fragments found at Bedern can, more importantly, be used to provide information about their original provenance, the minster church. Consequently, it sets out to illustrate how such evidence can be used to challenge traditional interpretations of how the choir, in particular, may have appeared in the 12th century.

Between 1973 and 1980, excavations were carried out by the York Archaeological Trust on the former site of the College of the Vicars Choral of York Minster at Bedern. Originally envisaged as a specialist report associated with the forthcoming excavation report, this publication now takes the format of a freestanding fascicule concentrating on presenting an individual study of 412 re-used architectural fragments from the site.

The publication of a separate report is particularly justified when it is seen that an estimated one-fifth of the re-used fragments found at Bedern were originally cut for the new choir and western towers of York Minster in the 1160s or 1170s. Complemented by surviving documentary sources, which provide clear dates for building work carried out at the Minster, the fragments provide valuable information regarding the appearance of the 12th-century choir, and challenge, for example, prior assumptions that the surviving Romanesque undercroft is representative of the whole choir at this period. Remains of parts of the upper choir, including fragments of bundled shafts, of the type also found at Byland Ripon and Roche indicate the originality of the choir at this period.

The report provides a catalogue of the stonework divided into three groups: the 12th-century material, including fragments from York Minster; some pieces from the 13th century, including material from the Minster north transept; and miscellaneous pieces. This latter section includes a sculpted figure, interpreted as a personification of virtue, and an enigmatic fragment, possibly the base of a Roman capital. A descriptive account is also provided of the 12th-century minster church of York to place the discussion and analysis of the re-used masonry within their context.

The catalogue is well illustrated with clear line drawings for a majority of the fragments. Black and white photographs are used liberally, and are largely confined to discussions on tool and mason marks. Because the period between the dismantling and re-use of stones was short, and because it was mainly used as foundation stone, a quantity of 12th- and 13th-century masonry was particularly well preserved and consequently allowed for the detailed analysis of various aspects of masoncraft. The report therefore provides a surprisingly in-depth section on the analysis of types of tooling, banker and masons' marks as well as evidence for setting-out lines and keying.

The book provides a very good example of a contextual study of re-used building materials, presenting an excellent catalogue of re-used architectural fragments as well as a general analysis of tool and other related markings from the 12th and 13th centuries. Furthermore, it demonstrates how the study of re-used material can tell us much about the nature of such a site, but more importantly in this case, about the original provenance of the materials. In this respect, this publication provides an excellent contribution to the study of medieval colleges as well as the early development of one of the most important buildings in English architectural history. The price, as for all publications in this series, is very reasonable.

SIMON ROFFEY

*Qal'at Ja'bar Pottery: A Study of a Syrian Fortified Site of the Late 11th–14th Centuries.* (British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 11). By Cristina Tonghini. 21 × 30 cm. 132 pp., 155 figs. and 103 pls. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Council for British Research in the Levant. ISBN 0-19-727010-7. Price: £75.00, hb.

This monograph investigates the history and archaeology of Qal'at Ja'bar, an important Islamic fortified settlement on a limestone plateau, in the south-west Jazīra, in the middle Euphrates valley of northern Syria, 42 km west of al-Raqqā. Dr Tonghini concentrates on the ceramics, providing a detailed and well documented classification and chronological framework based on the stratigraphical sequence from her soundings on the site. The volume originates from Dr Tonghini's 1995 London Ph.D. thesis. The main text of 74 pages comprises six chapters setting out the aims and methodology, geographical and historical introduction, the previous archaeology of the site, the new sondages, the pottery and conclusion.

Ancient Roman and Byzantine Dawson was renamed Qal'at Ja'bar, in the late 11th century A.D., after Ja'bar ibn Sābiq al-Qushayrī of the Banū Qushayr tribe. It was fortified, and became the principal crossing on the middle Euphrates and a key point for communication between Aleppo and Mosul. It appears usually to have been linked with the rulers of Aleppo rather than those of the Jazīra. The historical sources provide a broad chronological framework into which to fit the archaeological evidence. Between the 11th and 13th centuries the Jazīra was divided into a number of small localised principalities, each associated with an important fortified settlement such as Qal'at Ja'bar. Their link to a common central government has some echo in the glazed pottery assemblages which, in the middle Euphrates area, are quite homogenous. The Mongol invasion of 1259 marked the end of a very flourishing period in the Jazīra. Reconquest by the Mamluks left Qal'at Ja'bar on the frontier with Mongol Iraq and Iran: border insecurity caused the decline of the region and the commercial river crossing fell into disuse. It is not clear when Qal'at Ja'bar was abandoned.

The first archaeological excavations at Qal'at Ja'bar took place in 1929 under the French Mandate, but they were never published. Following the 1963 threat of the hydro-electric dam and al-Asad artificial lake, the Syrian Directorate of Antiquities at Ḥamā excavated from 1967 to 1983. Sadly, as a result of the extremist Sunni Moslem Brotherhood armed insurrection of February 1982 at Ḥamā, the excavation records were destroyed while the finds housed on the site were vandalised. The carefully labelled bags of finds lost their numbers and were reduced to a mound of unstratified pottery. In 1992 Dr Tonghini set out to sample deposits representative of the occupational history of the site, and, in particular, to establish a ceramic sequence to be related to the now unstratified pottery from the earlier excavations. Two sondages were excavated in close proximity to the previous trenches.

Syrian pottery production attained its zenith in the late 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, becoming a well organised, highly specialised industry, whose products were widely traded. So a site like Qal'at Ja'bar is of major interest because it reflects the emergence of this industry, its development, and also its decline. The pottery chronology was based on the glazed wares but it was difficult to relate this to the historical record. A pottery typology was established by focusing on general characteristics which would allow comparison between the horizons identified at Qal'at Ja'bar and those at other sites in Syria, Iraq and Palestine. The pottery assemblage was classified into wares, which are described in the text, and into types illustrated in the figures. The text is well laid out and easy to follow, with its references to the comparative literature and the distribution of the traded wares. This section is that of most interest to European readers as it records, for the first time, the distribution of the various types. It is a pity that it is biased towards the Mediterranean, which is comprehensively covered, while very few finds are listed from NW. Europe where Robert Mason and John Hurst are undertaking a programme of petrographic examination. This seems to be showing that most of the north-west European finds come from Damascus and not al-Raqqa. This makes sense as most of these sherds are from sites datable to after the Mongol sack of al-Raqqa in 1259.

The types are illustrated in the 155 figures. Drawings are indeed much better than descriptions, but these are hard to follow. The first 41 figures are published by site and phase, which is good for showing associated groups, but the rest do not follow the, anyway rather complex, alphabetical and numerical sequence of wares and types. We are told that 'the final order could not be established during the preliminary subdivision'. Appendix E does give an alphabetical and numerical index but the figures are still very hard to follow in detail and to link with the text.

Terminology is a major problem. There has been little update since 1995. After years of stagnation, medieval pottery studies in the Middle East are now escalating and it is a great pity that this monograph should appear just when Robert Mason's seminal surveys of glazed wares in the Middle East, including Syria, have been published. Dr Tonghini now calls Raqqa ware 'fritware' but the term stonepaste, used by Tite and Mason, is most likely to lead the field. She also divides fritware into five wares which are quite different from those suggested by Mason. *Graffita* is another problem: Sgraffito or Sgraffiato has been the usual term, so the use of the Italian word is only likely to confuse, the more so as researchers on Italian pottery now tend to use incised, a term also used in the Middle East.

'Fritware' is given the most attention, quite rightly, as it comprises the majority of the glazed wares, varies over time and can most easily be compared with material from other scientifically controlled excavations. The unglazed pottery was less studied because of the difficulty of building up a sequence and the lack of parallels in the literature. The presence of Chinese Longquan Celadon is important in confirming that Qal'at Ja'bar was connected with the major trading network in the Middle East.

It was a pleasure to find that the 103 plates are lightly inked so that details are clearly visible, unlike those in many other publications nowadays. The Oxford University Press are to be congratulated on such a well-produced volume, although its price will put it beyond the resources of many potential readers. Dr Tonghini provides a new means of interpreting and reconstructing aspects of Qal'at Ja'bar's history, and clarifies its connections with neighbouring regions over a period of several centuries. As other monographs in this burgeoning field are published, however, agreement needs to be reached over the pottery terminology, which is becoming very confusing.

JOHN G. HURST

*Belmont Castle: The Excavation of a Crusader Stronghold in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.* (British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 10). By Richard P. Harper and Denys Pringle. 23 × 31 cm. 261 pp., 88 figs. and 61 pls. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. ISBN 0-19-727009-3. Price: £60.00 hb.

To any casual observer, Belmont Castle appears an unprepossessing and confusing site. The main remnant of the crusader castle is an enclosure at the top of a conical hill west of Jerusalem. Lower down the slope are the remains of an outer wall, though in some places only the talus survives. Between the two are jumbles of masonry of uncertain date and purpose. The whole is encrusted with the remains of the Arab village of Suba, which apparently occupied the site soon after its destruction in 1191 and to have had a continuous existence down to 1948. It must be stressed that the Arab village developed in and through the crusader remains, re-using much of its masonry, much of which has also been removed. It is a remarkable tribute to modern archaeology in general, and to the authors of this book and their assistants in particular, that they have made sense of the place.

The campaign of excavations on the castle site extended over the four seasons, 1986-89, and in addition there was a landscape survey in 1998 to relate the history of settlement to the environment and its development. Chapter 3 by R. Will and D. Pringle provides a careful outline of the archaeological strategy and methodology used, and this transparency gives authority to the work as a whole. Moreover, great care has been taken to relate the archaeological evidence to the written sources for the area in order to provide us with a very detailed outline of its development from the late Iron Age to the period of the British Mandate. Few sites have been accorded this kind of treatment, and the results are impressively detailed and clearly set out in a series of chapters on all aspects of the site and the finds from it. However, the site was so scoured by the construction of the crusader castle that earlier material is fragmentary, although the remains of a Byzantine pavement were discovered. The history of the Arab village is carefully traced through to the modern period, using its physical remains, finds and the records for the area.

The main focus is upon the crusader castle of Belmont. This seems to have begun life as a fortified manor, a courtyard building similar to that at nearby Aqua Bella. That site, Abu-Ghosh and others in the area, seem to have fallen to the Hospital, and the documentation suggests that Belmont was developed into a castle by c. 1170. The castle would have served as a protective and an administrative centre for this concentration of estates. The economic function of the castle can be related to what appear to be storage facilities and the remains of a wine-press found in the ruins. Substantial finds of pig-bones dating from the crusader period show the impact of the settlers on agriculture. To some extent this excavation is interesting because it reveals a picture of the economic exploitation which underpinned crusader domination in the Holy Land. But the history of the site is perhaps most important for the light it casts on the general history of the crusader kingdom. There has been a strong trend in recent literature on crusading history away from the idea, exemplified by J. Prawer, that the crusader states were colonies, fragile alien entities.<sup>1</sup> We now have a picture of a European population which, although relatively small, was well rooted in the land. This new picture owes a great deal to Pringle whose enormous corpus of work on sites in the Holy Land is of the highest value. The contribution of R. Ellenblum has been to show a pattern of rural settlements in proximity to those of native Christians.<sup>2</sup> Because of this P. Edbury and others have suggested that the settlers, especially in their heartlands, enjoyed a high degree of military security.<sup>3</sup> Yet as Pringle's Chapter 15, 'Summary and Discussion', shows, as time went on Belmont and many other places across the kingdom became more and more strongly fortified. Moreover, although Belmont was

<sup>1</sup> See especially J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonisation in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972).

<sup>2</sup> R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> P. Edbury, 'Warfare in the Latin East', 89-112 in M. Keen (ed.), *Medieval Warfare: A History* (Oxford, 1999).

never a very formidable castle, it was reconstructed in the late crusader period as a concentric castle, of which a much more formidable example, also belonging to the Hospital, was Belvoir, constructed 1168–87.

The European presence in the Holy Land was much more weighty than we used to think, but, as the Belmont evidence suggests, they did not enjoy military security. William of Tyre was not the detached historian we once imagined him to be, but his picture of an insecure and threatened European community is strongly reinforced by this important study.

JOHN FRANCE

*Mediterranean Pottery in Wessex Households: 13th to 17th Centuries.* (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 306). By Alejandra Gutiérrez. 21 × 30 cm. 257 pp., 119 figs. Oxford: John and Erica Hedges, 2000. ISBN 1 84171-150-0. Price: £44.00 pb.

This volume aims to examine medieval and early post-medieval pottery produced between the 13th (not the 12th as on p. v) and the 17th centuries around the Mediterranean basin and recovered from archaeological contexts in central southern England. It combines fresh archaeological data with a re-analysis of existing published and unpublished information about Italian, Portuguese and Spanish pottery and integrates this corpus with historical evidence for trade and consumption in the medieval and early post-medieval household. This analysis unlocks aspects of lifestyle in medieval and early post-medieval Wessex, such as changing patterns of consumption, and associations between pottery and ethnic and religious identity.

The introductory chapter traces the growth of interest in Mediterranean pottery imported into an area of southern England 120 km wide, centred on Southampton. The social and historical contexts are summarised and the changing methodological approaches outlined. Chapter 2 is a corpus of production centres in Spain, Portugal, Italy and the Near East, exporting pottery to north-west Europe between 1200 and 1700. There are useful regional maps and valuable analytical tables clarifying complex topics such as the numerous Seville wares and the chronology of decorative motifs. The pottery types are well illustrated by 43 figures and photographs. The reader has to discover for him- or herself that the figure acknowledgments have to be looked at for the provenance of the vessels illustrated and then this only gives the Harvard-type references rather than the exact details. It might be expected that the illustrations were all of vessels from production sites so it is disconcerting to find on the first drawing a dish from London, a consumer site (fig. 2.6.1).

Chapter 3 is concerned with trade and contacts with the Mediterranean, describing the geographical and political framework, the *raisons d'être* of pottery importations, whether as containers, as commercial imports in their own right, or exchanged through personal contacts or imported with aliens' household goods. Chapter 4 assesses the excavated archaeological evidence for Mediterranean pottery in Wessex, summarising the history of investigations into different types of monument – illustrated by a series of maps. Appendix 1 lists these 1,215 excavations, of which only 54% have been fully published.

Chapter 5 states that 11,430 sherds of medieval pottery, representing some 3,467 different vessels, have been identified and recorded in the Wessex region. Two-thirds of the total are mainly early 17th-century Portuguese from an early 17th-century warehouse in Upper Bugle Street, Southampton. Of the rest, 914 vessels are from Spain, 450 from Portugal and 380 from Italy. Types from different production centres are described and illustrated and the distribution inland is mapped for the various wares at different dates. Appendix 2 is a gazetteer of these imports but unfortunately it is not very user-friendly: it is listed alphabetically (Italian, Mediterranean, Portuguese, and Spanish), while Chapter 2

is ordered Spanish, Portuguese and Italian. In addition it is confusing that Chapter 2 lists Muel under Aragon while the gazetteer has no entry under Aragon: it is under Muel. Much more serious is the fact that the cross-references from Appendix 2 to Chapter 5 are out of synchronisation: useful maps of different periods of imports have been added but the cross-references have not been corrected so that figures 5.8 to 12 in Appendix 2 should be 5.9 to 13 and figures 5.13–19 should be 15 to 21. As these are most of the figures a major correction is needed to Appendix 2 before the gazetteer can be used. The maps of the town sites, particularly Southampton, are very useful in making sense of the massive numbers of urban excavations, even though the excavated areas on the Southampton map are barely visible.

Chapter 6, the culmination of Gutiérrez's thesis, broadens the study of pottery to analyse patterns of consumption, prices, social identity, wining and dining, symbolism and religious and ethnic identity. There is a comprehensive 23-page bibliography: it might have been more helpful to have the abbreviations at the beginning rather than the end as otherwise it is daunting to see Atti and CICMMO in the body of the bibliography. In a volume of this complexity it is hard to avoid errors but a few, besides the numerous printing errors, are rather unfortunate. On page 113 the two Italian vases are not both from the Tower of London, one is from elsewhere in London; on page 237 it is a pity that the only Italian handleless vase from Southampton is listed as ring-handled (fig. 5.13.3); page 248, fig. 5.7.2, is Southampton 1368 not 1371 and on page 253 John Hurst p. 99 seems to be confused with the place-name Hurst.

Over the past twenty-five years there has been a series of reports listing imported pottery from urban sites or regions, but Gutiérrez breaks new ground with this volume which goes far beyond the usual discussion of sources and chronology. The evidence is presented in a logical sequence from pottery production to trade, the movement of pottery and consumption. This is one of the most important publications on imported pottery for many years, demonstrating how much more can be got out of pottery than is in the usual archaeological report. It extends origins, chronology and typology to changing patterns of consumption and associations between pottery and ethnic and religious identity. It has been disappointing how little advance there has been in the past twenty five years in pottery studies, following Stephen Moorhouse's clarion calls. David Gaimster showed the way forward with his *German Stoneware 1200–1900* (British Museum 1997), so it is most promising to see another major advance in a regional study of imports. The aims set out in the preface have been fully achieved.

JOHN G. HURST

*Spanish Pottery 1248–1898: With a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum.* By Anthony Ray. 23 × 29 cm. xiii + 418 pp., 61 figs., many illustrations, 1 map. London: V. & A. Publications, 2000. ISBN 1-85177-291-X. Price: £125.00 hb.

This book covers Spanish pottery over a 650-year period from the mid-13th to the end of the 19th century and includes one chapter on tiles and another about modern imitations. In spite of the title and the author's wish to provide 'a concise history of Spanish pottery' the book only covers in detail some of the main production sites and concentrates solely on decorated pottery, especially that covered with tin glaze. The start date of 1248 chosen by the author for his book signals the 'end of the reconquest' (p. ix), though for those not familiar with Spanish history this may induce misunderstanding, since the Kingdom of Granada (which included Granada, Malaga and Almeria) was not reconquered until 1492.

The text varies in degree of detail, concentrating on well-known centres of production and those better represented in the Victoria & Albert collection. The photographs are the

greatest asset of the catalogue, and are invaluable to display not only the richness of the collection, which is one of the most important outside Spain, but to provide complete examples of vessels. Fragments found on excavations so often consist of meagre and decayed sherds. Decorated Spanish pottery was mostly imported to Britain between the 13th and 16th centuries, with numbers of imports declining sharply in the 17th century, but this volume usefully extends its coverage into the 18th and 19th centuries and so considers pottery types which are less well known to the British archaeologist. Ray, however, avoids entirely any detailed consideration of Islamic production (pre-13th century) which served in most cases as the basis for future ceramic developments; in this period production was 'highly developed' across the country and is better documented than he implies (p. 4).

The text contains some idiosyncrasies. Ray is keen to identify with precision the exact place of manufacture of Valencian pieces, but is such precision warranted, given that production kilns were far more numerous than just the two well-known centres at Paterna and Manises? I would also quibble with a handful of the identifications. Among the illustrated pieces numbers 116–17 appear under the heading 'Pula-type' lustreware of the second half of the 14th century; but both pieces are traditionally identified as the earliest type produced in the Valencian area, that termed 'Malagan style' because of its similarities with the Malagan products, and dated to the first half of the 14th century.<sup>1</sup> This was probably the type that documents mentioned as being exported already by 1325.<sup>2</sup>

A few inconsistencies throughout the book (for example the mixture of Spanish and English spellings) in no way impede an enjoyable read, but the manner in which bibliographical references are quoted seems convoluted; they can appear as Harvard style either in the text or be cross referenced to a note, but they can also be quoted in full, either in the text or in the note, while some statements are not referenced at all. The short bibliography at the back is only a selection and the author's suggestion of complementing the entries cited here with a book published in Spain in 1991 might not be to everybody's taste.<sup>3</sup>

Museum catalogues of the type reviewed here are often less than satisfactory for the archaeological researcher. This text follows a very traditional style, heavily informed as it is by history of art. Archaeologists will be disappointed by the lack of profile drawings (only a handful of open forms are illustrated at the back) and fabric descriptions, here substituted by notes on the colour of the fabric and descriptions of the different tones of white that glaze can provide (no Munsell charts here). In the complex and prolific world of Spanish pottery production, glaze colours and patterns are probably of less relevance, especially since potters took decorative styles with them as they moved across the country or copied them as fashion favoured certain styles, making it difficult to identify the place of manufacture on stylistic grounds alone (for example, see difficulties in attributing 16th-century lustrewares).

More seriously, any museum catalogue can become overly constrained by the nature of the collection under study. Complete pieces tend to have been preserved because of their special characteristics and do not necessarily represent either the everyday pottery used in Spanish households or that regularly traded. There is rarely a good representation of either chronological periods or production centres, although the V. & A. collection is impressive by any standards. One has to remember that the objects were originally gathered together with quite different needs in mind, in this case to provide historical

<sup>1</sup> J. V. Lerma, J. Martí, J. Pascual, M. Soler, F. Escribá and M. Mesquida 'Sistematización de la loza gótico-mudéjar de Paterna/Manises', *III Congreso Internazionale La Ceramica Medievale nel Mediterraneo Occidentale (Siena-Faenza 1984)*, 1986, 183–203.

<sup>2</sup> B. Martínez Caviro, *Cerámica Hispanomusulmana* (Madrid, 1991), 137.

<sup>3</sup> For a comprehensive bibliography of medieval Spanish pottery see BAR 610, also available on line at <http://www.ads.ahds.ac.uk>

examples for manufacturers (p. ix) but, at the same time, such collections also lack any sort of contextual information such as that which might be provided by an excavation, for example. So does the focus of every catalogue have to be upon the physical characteristics of the pottery? A different approach was recently adopted by Gaimster,<sup>4</sup> in which the stoneware collection studied acted as an accessory to a full and detailed study not only of pottery production but also of consumption, including information on kilns and their products, but also on use and, more importantly, social value. Such an approach is surely more fulfilling and rewarding.

ALEJANDRA GUTIÉRREZ

*Archaeological Excavations at Jedburgh Friary 1983–1992.* (Star Monograph 5). By Piers Dixon, Jerry O’Sullivan and Ian Rogers. 21 × 30 cm. ix + 94 pp., 20 figs., 13 pls. and 19 tables. Edinburgh: Scottish Trust for Archaeological Research, 2000. ISBN 0–9519344–7–3. Price: £15.00 + £1.50 p & p., pb.

One of the lasting legacies of the Manpower Services Schemes of the 1980s is the great number of unpublished archaeological excavations. For that reason it is a great pleasure to finally see the publication of the Border Burgh Projects excavations at the Franciscan friary in Jedburgh. It is ironic that so many of the first opportunities to investigate Scotland’s mendicant houses coincided with a scheme to lower the number on the job queue and as such involved workforces whose minds were not always on the subject at hand! The Jedburgh Friary excavations were made even trickier to publish by the involvement of four separate contractors all of whom had the opportunity to investigate different parts of the friary complex on separate occasions. It is a testament to both the authors and monograph editors that they have successfully grafted all the different pieces of work into a largely seamless whole.

However, I feel the need to point out that the statement in the opening discussion of the excavations that claims that Jedburgh Friary was the only Observantinc house in Scotland to be built on a greenfield site is not correct. Virtually all Scotland’s Franciscan houses were built on greenfield sites beyond the burgh simply because that is where land was much cheaper.

This monograph contains a very good discussion of the building sequence of the friary and the various possible interpretations of the ground plan are well argued. Of great interest at Jedburgh is the information that was gained about the friary’s water management system through their use of the Skiprunning Burn. The accompanying reports on the evidence from the waterlogged environmental remains contained in the fills of this watercourse contain valuable evidence about the everyday life of the friars.

The understandable confusion about which of the excavated buildings functioned as the church is not helped by a contradiction between the supposed favoured location for such a building. At the beginning of the discussion the south side of the cloister is described as ‘the favoured position for a convent church’ and then within a page it is stated that ‘The north range would have been the normal position for a church’. Please can we try not to confuse our readers!

The final conclusions by Piers Dixon and Jerry O’Sullivan present an excellent and well-considered summary of the site. They confirm that the archaeological evidence provided nothing to contradict the documentary evidence for the friary being occupied between 1505 and 1545/60. There is a suggestion that it may have met a violent end by

<sup>4</sup> D. Gaimster, *German Stoneware 1200–1900: Archaeology and Cultural History. Containing a guide to the collections of the British Museum, Victoria & Albert Museum and Museum of London* (London, 1997).

fire although there is the chance that this might relate to English raids on Jedburgh in 1544–45, firstly by Lord Eure and then by the Earl of Hereford. Circumstantial evidence in the form of lead and stone shot typical of the 16th century may support this suggestion of some limited military destruction of the site. Both authors admit that it is difficult to be certain whether the friary survived the disruptions of the 1540s and was still occupied until the Reformation of 1560.

The environmental evidence gives us some indication of the lifestyle of the friars as it includes crushed apple or pear pips that might relate to cider making. It is suggested that the presence of Tormentil and Sweet Violet in association with intestinal parasites and faecal remains may suggest that these plants were being used medically on site. There is limited evidence for imported pottery in the form of sherds from Beauvais drinking bowls and Raeren stoneware mugs. A glass beaker, possibly from northern England, and two sherds of Cistercian-type ware may demonstrate cross-border links.

The structural evidence from the excavations indicates that although this was a small friary it was nonetheless an impressive foundation. This is best represented by the detailing of the door and window surrounds, which has parallels with similar details in the Palace Block of Stirling Castle. A sizeable collection of window glass, both plain and decorated, provides an indication that many parts of the friary complex were glazed. Interestingly there was absolutely no evidence for the use of ceramic floor tiles in any of the buildings; it would appear that well laid flagstone floors were the norm.

I would highly recommend this monograph to readers as an example of how a series of unconnected investigations can be brought together and published in a meaningful way. The Jedburgh Friary excavations form a useful addition to the small body of published work on Scotland's medieval friaries.

DEREK HALL

## Short Reviews

*L'enfant, son corps, son histoire.* Edited by Luc Buchet. 17 × 24 cm. 300 pp., many figs., maps and plans. Sophia Antipolis: Editions APDCA, 1997. ISBN 2-904110-23-2. Price: FF 140.00 pb.

This volume is published under the auspices of the Centre de Recherches Archéologiques, and all the papers are in French with the exception of Theya Molleson's contribution 'Patterns of growth' (a welcome indicator of French-British cooperation and cross fertilisation in this burgeoning field of study). However, each paper is provided with a brief — though sometimes idiosyncratic — abstract in English.

The volume focuses on the archaeological, anthropological and scientific study of children in the Roman and Medieval periods, and there is some fascinating material here about European archaeological data from mortuary contexts as well as the results of laboratory-based analyses of skeletal data. Including the Editor's introduction, the volume contains 22 papers on a wide variety of subjects. The source material mostly originates in France, with some comparative evidence introduced from Spain and England. The date range is extremely wide, from neolithic to modern, with two main concentrations, in the late- to post-Roman period and the 10th to 18th centuries. There is no index. As indicated, the papers seem to fall into two main camps: the scientific study of infant osteology, and the social treatment of the infant in the funerary realm.