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ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MONUMENTS IN ENGLAND: AN INVENTORY OF THE HISTORICAL MONUMENTS IN WESTMORLAND. H.M. Stationery Office. Price 30s.

The Survey of the monuments of Westmorland from the earliest time up to 1714 occupies over three hundred pages, and is illustrated by over six hundred photographs, plans and diagrams.

It records 1,820 monuments in 113 parishes, with an average of 16 monuments per parish. 85 monuments are specified as especially worthy of preservation; of these, an unusually high proportion (about 40) are prehistoric in character.

The Inventory proper is preceded by the usual 'Sectional Preface,' and by a series of articles by experts in various fields of study—on Prehistoric and Roman Westmorland (Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler), on Pre-Conquest Westmorland (Professor F. M. Stenton), and on a great lady of the house of Clifford (by the Secretary of the Commission). The Inventory is followed by the usual armorial of heraldry before 1550.

The present volume is the seventeenth, and Westmorland is the seventh county to be completed. The work follows the same lines as the preceding Inventories and is of the same excellence. The peculiar quality of this excellence merits a digression. The Commission was appointed in 1908 and in the following six years produced three volumes (Inventories of Hertfordshire (one) and Buckinghamshire (two)), admittedly tentative and by later standards inadequate. By 1916 the Commission and its able Staff had hammered out an adequate technique for their task, and the first of the four Essex volumes created a standard surpassing anything which could reasonably have been anticipated, in description, arrangement, illustration, and—particularly—comprehensiveness. This initial achievement has been maintained through the upheaval of the War, and even improved upon in detail, in spite of difficulties not yet overcome due to curtailment of Treasury Grants.

The volume under review is technically interesting as showing that the organisation created by the Commission is flexible. One notices a slight shifting of the main interest, a slight change of attitude, suited to a novel physiography: Westmorland is the first English county to be surveyed by the Commission which is wholly in the Highland Zone. Unfortunately, though a county, it is not a geographical unit, consisting of the upper waters of the Eden, and its flanking foothills and fells in the north, and in the south a greater part of the broad valley of the Kent; these two main features are separated by high country—Shap Fell, Wind Fell, and Langdale Fell. In the Middle Ages they formed the baronies respectively of Appleby and Kendal. Thus, any survey of Westmorland can do
no more than give an accurate picture of a fragment of a well-defined geographical region. It is a matter for regret that the Commission has felt itself unable to continue its work in the adjacent counties which make up that region; it is now engaged on the County of Middlesex.

Westmorland includes large areas of moorland, habitable under certain conditions, from which human life has long ebbed away; prehistoric works, such as villages and defended settlements, are thus numerous. They are adequately described, summarised and illustrated. The exact, gay and charming plans, e.g. on pages 84-88, all to the same scale, show that art is compatible with archaeology—we are grateful for this departure from formalism, which needs a clever draughtsman to carry it off. A suggestion on a minor point may be made. The uniformity of treatment which distinguished the plans might be carried further. The stone walls of the fells should be recorded in the same technique throughout: compare, for example, Howarcles, p. 88, with Crosby Ravensworth, p. 86, and both with Hugill, p. 115; three different methods of showing the same structures on the same scale: unnecessarily confusing for the reader.

The Roman monuments, like the prehistoric, are well described, and illustrated by plans. Military occupation was widespread; though Roman Westmorland is but an ‘arbitrarily chosen slice of the hinterland of the main northern frontier of Roman Britain,’ Dr. Wheeler’s summary has unity, as a masterly survey of the apparatus and technique of military control in a highland area.

Turning to the Dark Ages—the important fragments of Anglian crosses at Heversham and Lowther Castle (Pl. 6) are unexpected treasures—they are little inferior to the Acca Cross at Hexham. Of the later pre-Conquest carved stones the very Scandinavian-looking ‘Bound Devil’ at Kirkby Stephen may be singled out as a vivid presentation of a mythological theme.

The reader who is interested in the history of England as a whole, will, we think, ask, on approaching this Survey of Westmorland, ‘How does this county differ from others in England?’ ‘Does the cultural isolation of an highland area, which is manifest in prehistoric periods, persist in medieval and later times?’ ‘Does Westmorland show distinctive features in building and lay-out? Distinctive details of ornament? Has the county, in short, a character of its own?’

To these questions the rest of this review will be directed.

The four great castles in the County, Appleby, Brough, Brougham, and Kendal, are noble structures, the remains of which—no less than three twelfth-century keeps are included—appear to show no special characteristics other than those imposed by their environment. The greater houses of the dawn of the Renaissance, such as Levens Hall and Sizergh Castle, again, are magnificent, but normal, examples of their age. Of Sizergh Castle, indeed, the sectional preface records that ‘the craftsmanship is of unusually high quality and is fully abreast of the most advanced taste of the
period.' The carefully chosen series of photographs of internal detail in this building substantiates the Commission’s conclusion.

We may now turn to the minor fortified domestic structures of the medieval period; to the undefended dwellings of the yeoman-farmer or ‘statesman’—a social class characteristic of the district; and to the cottages.

The first-mentioned structures are mainly of three types. Isolated pele-towers (not ‘peel’ as recorded on the plan of Hollin How on p. 218) with the whole of the accommodation in one square building occur, but are uncommon. The manor houses of the fourteenth and later centuries are ‘mostly built on the normal medieval plan with a central hall and cross-wings at each end; but one or other of the cross-wings was carried up as a tower and was evidently intended to be defensible, the ground storey being commonly roofed with a stone vault and the parapets embattled.’ The kitchen was isolated and probably of wood. A later and simpler medieval house-type is a single block of two or three stories containing all the apartments, sometimes with towers at the angles.

Of these, the central hall type is the most important, and it could be wished that more assistance in the visualisation of its character had been given. Complete and unaltered examples do not, apparently, exist. Rigid objectivity and verbal economy in description are among the Commission’s greatest services to scholarship; they render its achievement well-nigh timeless; the record will not ‘date.’ All the more reason for concessions to the general reader in the ‘sectional prefaces.’ A sketch of the entrance front of a typical manor-house, with longitudinal section, reconstructed from the evidence available, would have been helpful; an isometric drawing still more useful. After all, this is but little more than has previously been supplied; in Essex (Vol. II) and Hereford (Vol. III).

The ‘statesmen’s’ houses are even more interesting than the manor houses: their distinctive characters are appreciated by the Commissioners; they are well described and well illustrated. The chief feature of the living-room was the open fireplace-recess; this recess was loftier than the rest of the room. ‘The smoke of the fire was generally collected above in a ‘lath and plaster hood which discharged into a stone flue only near the head of the gable. At one side of the fireplace was a small square hutch or cupboard, sometimes called the “spice-cupboard.” Built into one of the other walls of the living-room there was commonly a large panelled cupboard.’ Here again architectural sketches in the ‘preface’ would have been welcome.

The spice-cupboards with their carved panels are delightful examples of the craftsman’s art; especially charming is that of the Green Dragon Inn, Kirby Lonsdale, where lettering, date-numbers, and scroll work show an artistic unity. The large built-in cupboards are similar in style to Welsh deuddarns. As has recently been pointed out by Mr. I. C. Peate in a survey of Welsh peasant furniture, the design of these cupboards is remarkably static, showing very little change throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
Much attention was lavished on lintels of front door and living-room fireplace, as is well shown in a series of photographs: these show decoration novel to the student of Southern English detail.

The cottages are similar, as might be expected, to the ‘statesmen’s’ houses in plan and arrangement, and in such decorative features as exist. A particularly interesting small house is Thorn House, Patterdale, with its open spinning gallery, paralleled in Wales. Round chimneys are characteristic of the smaller houses of the county: these are probably of Norman origin, and their survival (as in Pembrokeshire) is likely to be due, in part, to technical reasons—the difficulty of building a slender square shaft in rubble.

So much we can gather from the Inventory about the smaller houses. But it is inadequate. The series of farmhouses represents an agricultural and pastoral civilisation, to a large extent unaffected by modern developments; but not a single farm lay-out is described or, what is more vital, planned. German and Scandinavian workers have shown the significance of early lay-outs of this character, as illustrating economic conditions and cultural connexions; but their importance has never been appreciated by the Commission. The reviewer cannot recall a single example in the whole series of seventeen published volumes, though the Commission’s staff must have inspected many farmsteads where the complex was of a date earlier than 1714. Barns have been recorded in plenty, but only in isolation, as it were. It is to be hoped that future volumes will contain such records.

To return to our main theme; we have seen then that while the larger houses and castles are characteristic of England generally, the smaller buildings have special features. As far as the defensive elements of the Manor Houses are concerned, these arise from the disturbed conditions of the border country, as compared with the Lowlands; and a reason for the special characters which mark the farmsteads and cottages is not difficult to find.

The wealthy and powerful man has cultural opportunities denied to the majority. The baron of the Middle Ages, wherever he lived, was cognizant of the latest developments in fortification; and the builder of a great Renaissance house in Westmorland would consult his London friends, and employ London craftsmen, as readily in 1590 as to-day. But as one goes down the social scale the inhibitions imposed on individual movement, and hence on the spread of fashion and of ideas current in the capital, become emphatic. If, then, we want to savour the character of Westmorland, it is the ‘statesmen’s’ house and the cottage we must study, together with their furniture and fittings, rather than the greater works of their betters.

Now that this noble, indeed magnificent, volume is published, Westmorland is more worthy of pilgrimage than ever. The reviewer at least will not be able to resist the claims of Pendragon Castle (plate 141) to be the first place visited. ‘Ruined and dangerous,’ the Commission describes it; dangerous enough, doubtless, to sustain the tattered banner of romance: ‘Pendragon of the great Pendragonship.’

Cyril Fox.
ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF THE YORK SCHOOL OF GLASS-
PAINTING. By John A. Knowles, F.S.A. Pp. xv x268. London:

In this handsome and lavishly illustrated volume Mr. John
Knowles has summed up all that he has learned and written about
the unequalled collection of English painted glass, of all periods
from the twelfth century to the eighteenth, preserved in the City
of York. Much of his account has hitherto been scattered in various
periodicals, and he has done a great service to students by collecting
and re-editing his materials under the title of Essays in the History
of the York School of Glass-Painting. It may be said that there is
no one who could have carried out this task so satisfactorily as
Mr. Knowles. It is for no conventional reason that the book is
dedicated to the memory of his father, for from his earliest days
he was brought up in an old-established family firm of glass-painters,
settled in the Stonegate, where the medieval glaziers lived; and
he watched his father's repairs of the Minster glass, particularly
of the great St. William window, and studied his invaluable notes and
facsimiles of the Minster glass as it was before restoration, now in
the Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum. In addition to
this traditional and practical familiarity with glass technique, and
with the material for study provided by the York churches, he has
made good use of the information to be found in such sources as
the York Wills, the Minster Fabric Rolls, and other local and north-
country records published by the Surtees Society. Moreover,
he is familiar with old glass in the rest of England and on the
Continent, and with the general literature of the subject. Above
all, he has tried to show how the glass reflects the social, political,
and religious conditions and movements going on at the time, and
it is this which makes his book so interesting to the general reader
as well as to the special student. His comments are never con-
ventional, but always enlivened by the freshness and originality of
his personal observation.

The book, of course, does not contain a description of all the
glass in York, for this is to be found in the well-known inventories
of the late Mr. G. Benson and Chancellor Harrison. Mr. Knowles's
purpose is to sketch the history of the art in York, and to note its
characteristics and relation to other schools, both English and
foreign. More general chapters deal with such subjects as the
traditions which controlled the treatment of sacred figures or
episodes, the Cistercian reform and its effect on church windows,
the results of the Black Death in art-production, the sources of the
glass that was used, and the circumstances and status of the medieval
glass-painters, and in particular of the York guild of glaziers. We
read about their social ambitions and prosperity as revealed by
their possessions, furniture, plate, etc., mentioned in wills and
inventories. A notable figure in York was Sir John Petty, the
head of a glass-painting firm, who became Lord Mayor of York in
the time of Henry VII. Nor was he a solitary exception, for a little
later another church-furnisher, Thomas Drawswerd, was twice
Lord Mayor, as well as M.P. for the city. The bulk of the trade was in the hands of a select few, and, Mr. Knowles tells us, 'the door was shut fast against anyone who did not happen to be a Chamber or a Petty; an English or a Preston. These families were all more or less related to each other, and many of them had inherited the business from previous generations of glass-painters.' But the founder of the fifteenth-century school of the art at York was an outsider, John Thornton, who came from Coventry about 1405 to carry out the great east window of the Minster (perhaps recommended by Archbishop Scrope, who had been Bishop of Coventry), and when it was finished set up in business for himself in the Stonegate. In the succeeding period the Chamber family were the leading representatives of the craft. After the Reformation, as Mr. Knowles says, there was little employment for glass-painters, except for heraldry; and it is suggestive that the exquisite heraldic windows of 1585, once in Gilling Castle, were the work of a German, Bernard Dininckhoff, who was, however, a freeman of the city. The craft survived in a slender stream with the Gyles family, the charming sun-dial window of 1670 from Nun Appleton Hall being Henry Gyles's earliest known work. Mr. Knowles would have liked to think that the art had been carried on continuously from the time when Walter le Verrour became free of the city in 1313 until the present day, but he reluctantly acknowledges that there is a gap between Henry Gyles, who died in 1709, and the birth in 1731 of William Peckitt, who painted his first window for the Guildhall in 1752, and became one of the foremost glass-painters of the latter half of the eighteenth century.

A valuable chapter on the places where coloured glass was made has information, some of which will be new to most of his readers. It may be taken for certain that the coloured glass used by the English medieval glaziers came from abroad, either from France through Rouen (Normandy glass), or from Germany, sent down the Rhine (Rhenish glass) and shipped from Rotterdam or other ports. Naturally it was the latter, arriving at Hull, which was mainly supplied to York. Any English glass used was uncoloured and coarse, suited only for quarry glazing, and probably came from Staffordshire (Cannock Chase), as is illustrated by the purchase of glass in 1471 for the windows of the tower-lantern in the Minster, which were all quarry-work surrounding coats of arms, from Robert Glasman of Rugeley, from whose (probable) father or grandfather, John Glasman of Rugeley, the Chapter had bought glass in 1417. Mr. Knowles notes that York windows round about 1470 contain very little ruby glass; and he connects this with an interruption of trade by sea when England and the Hanse League were at war (from 1468 onwards). A different matter was the result of the laying waste by the French in 1633 of Lorraine, which supplied practically all the coloured glass then used in Europe. This caused, or fostered, a revolution in glass-painting; for in order to obtain colour, glass-painters had to turn to enamels applied to the surface of the glass. Mr. Knowles shows that in the seventeenth century
Henry Gyles of York tried to make (or have made for him) coloured glass, but its use was very limited. William Peckitt, on the other hand, in the eighteenth century, used a considerable quantity of coloured glass in his repairs of the Minster windows and elsewhere, which, the late Mr. Harry Powell showed, was made at Stourbridge in Worcestershire. He could also make 'flashed' glass (i.e. white glass with a veneer of colour), as Henry Gyles had done before him.

Mr. Knowles has no patience with those who indiscriminately eulogise and idealise all the work of medieval glass-painters. At York, in particular, he points out that the quality of windows is very variable; and he thinks that, on the whole, there was a steady deterioration through the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the worst glass being that of 1530-37 in St. Michael-le-Belfrey. He has an amusing account of the way in which the Chapter replaced the original grisaille glass of the transepts in the Minster, which was looked upon as out of date, by odds and ends of various saints and angels, 'probably some of Robert Preston's bargain lines at four shillings apiece, all of different sizes, and no doubt from old cartoons, for they are entirely out of scale with the space they occupy, and seem quite drowned in a monotonous sea of quarries with a shield of arms above to relieve the plainness—the cheapest thing the fifteenth-century glass-painter turned out.' The grisaille, by the way, is still represented by the magnificent 'Five Sisters,' the great example of Cistercian influence on glass. A common feature (not peculiar to York) on which he is fond of insisting is the almost mechanical use of one or two cartoons, for a series of figures, sometimes reversed in order to give them different attitudes. Some subjects and saints were evidently favourites in York, and occasionally peculiar to it, though Mr. Knowles may be inclined to exaggerate this. St. Christopher and St. George frequently appear, but they are found elsewhere, and hardly justify the claim that they are 'a trade-mark of York work' (p. 171). But he makes out a good case for what he calls the Corpus Christi subject (God the Father holding in His arms His dead Son, with the Dove hovering over His head), which he connects with the important York Corpus Christi Gild. There are four clear cases, but Mr. Knowles shows, with the help of several plates, that the design came from the Low Countries. After the great east window of the Minster Biblical subjects hardly appear, while, on the other hand, the St. William window with its wealth of details about life in York illustrates the secular tendency which Mr. Knowles ascribes to the York School.

A word must be said about the sixty-three plates, mostly from photographs, supplemented by seventy-nine figures in the text. They include many examples of glass of all periods at York and elsewhere, works of art which illustrate the subject, views of the Stone-gate where the glaziers lived, and of their neighbouring church of St. Helen. The few misprints which we have noticed are obvious ones and not likely to mislead the reader. The book can be cordially recommended, not only to students of glass, but to all who are interested in medieval life and craftsmanship.

G. M. N. Rushforth.
Mr. Leeds and Mr. Harden did good service to archaeologists in coming to the rescue when building-operations threatened the destruction of a West Saxon cemetery at Abingdon. The first burials were found in 1934, and Mr. Leeds, acting with characteristic promptness and energy, lost no time in arranging for the careful excavation of those parts of the site that were still available. He received generous and gratifying assistance from the Abingdon Town Council, and in the end succeeded in exploring an area that is probably more than half of the whole cemetery. The archaeological gain is therefore considerable, and the publication by the Ashmolean Museum of an excavation-report in the summer of 1936 crowns a meritorious achievement of which that very active institution has good reason to be proud. One of the interesting features of the cemetery was the high proportion of cremation-burials, and Mr. Leeds was so successful in producing finds, such as miniature knives and tweezers, from the Abingdon cinerary urns, that he afterwards continued his excavations in the British Museum, where he surprised his colleagues by adding to the national collection a number of articles of the same kind that had remained hidden in the hitherto unexamined contents of urns from other sites. The study of these ritual grave-goods is perhaps the most valuable section of the report, for, apart from this new light on the practice of cremation in the West Saxon area, the excavation has not produced any results of immediate importance; but it has at least provided plenty of material for study and a most welcome series of associated groups of finds. This made the problem of publication by no means easy. Mr. Leeds apparently considered it a first duty (and there are many who would agree with him) that he should make the whole series of finds available in illustration; but as he has relied chiefly on photography, he has been compelled to include in his pictures of the grave-groups a large amount of material that is conspicuously unsuitable for reproduction by the half-tone process. Moreover, the inclusion of these characterless lumps and scraps has made it necessary to reduce the scale of the photographs to such an extent that the more important objects are often themselves unrecognisable. It would have been better to follow the excellent example set by Mr. Lethbridge in his publications; for, realising that a small photograph of the average Saxon antiquity is useless, he gives us serviceable drawings, supplemented by large and clear photographs of type-pieces or of decorated objects whose style-value might be important. But in this Abingdon publication we have to make the best we can of half-tone reproductions that are in some cases, for instance Pl. xvii, very nearly no good at all. The two ornate ‘applied’ brooches of grave-group 119 on this plate are illustrated by smudgy little photographs that are valueless for working-purposes, and this simply because it was thought necessary to
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occupy the ample space available by a number of other almost useless smudges. The hopeless inadequacy of this kind of photographic reproduction can be gauged by the blurred heart-shaped object in the centre of this plate, which apparently represents the cloisonné mount that is mercifully drawn for us on p. 55. The pottery likewise suffers heavily. Thus on Pl. xi we have knives and a variety of miserable scraps of metal reproduced half-size, and a series of seven pots, looking like little shrivelled peas, reduced to one-eighth their real size. In the text there are outline drawings in which the reduction is as much as one-ninth. The reviewer has been for a long time guiltily aware that in his Archaeology of the Channel Islands he held the British record for over-reduction of pottery; but Mr. Leeds and Mr. Harden with their Figure 19 have now very convincingly won this distinction for Oxford. Perhaps it would be a good thing if we were all to agree that the competition can henceforward be regarded as closed.

T. D. Kendrick.

THE HARVARD ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION TO IRELAND.


Until recent years the lack of scientifically excavated sites has hindered a full appreciation of the archaeological wealth of Ireland. This is rapidly being remedied and it is no disparagement of the excellent work done by native scholars to draw attention to the important results achieved by the Harvard Archaeological Mission. With the exception of Ballinderry, which was excavated in 1932, these reports are a record of the work carried out by Dr. Hencken and his colleagues during their third season in Ireland (1934).

At Kilgreany Cave (Co. Waterford) the main occupation belongs to the early Christian period. Many objects of this date were found, including an eighth-century bronze fitting from a shrine. But the upper layer had been much disturbed and the principal object of the excavation was to test the lower levels which had in 1928 yielded a skeleton believed to be late Palaeolithic. Dr. Movius' careful and exhaustive exploration of these strata proved that this dating was incorrect. The stalagmite in which the skeleton was embedded has now yielded a Bronze Age bead and the charcoal from the contemporary hearth includes oak and ash which point to a comparatively recent period. These facts confirm Sir Arthur Keith's original comparison of the skeleton with another from the same site and not more than 4,000 years old. The stratification in this cave has been badly disturbed by changes in the water level, but there is no reason to question the sequence proposed in this report, which shows the levels of the late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age covered by a deposit of stalagmite.
The excavation at Newferry on the river Bann (Co. Londonderry) is a valuable contribution to the study of the culture which takes its name from that river. The flint types have been long known, and their discovery associated with polished axes in a late Atlantic to early sub-Boreal horizon places the complex in its proper perspective. The date suggested, the beginning of the second millennium B.C., is confirmed by the finding in the same horizon of similar implements associated with Neolithic A2 pottery which Professor Childe compares with the Unstan group. Evidence from the Isle of Man leads to the same conclusions, though there the association of the Bann River types with leaf-shaped arrow-heads rests on less reliable records.

The burials of the period succeeding the great megalithic tombs have provided few reliable data, and the careful records of the Bronze-Age cairns at Carrowlisdoonaun (Co. Mayo) and Powlawack (Co. Clare) are most welcome. The former was a ditched mound covering cremated bones. A flat bronze axe, numerous fragments of Bronze-Age pottery and flints were found in positions suggesting that they were contemporaneous with the tumulus. At Powlawack ten graves contained the remains of sixteen persons. Of these, four individuals were represented by the bones found in the most important structure, a double cist set in the centre of the mound. Several other burials were inserted during the construction of the cairn but three of the cists were clearly secondary. The few objects discovered are of little interest, but the graves yielded valuable anthropological material.

The excavation of the first crannog at Ballinderry (Co. Westmeath) is here fully recorded. The site was entirely uncovered during the campaign of 1932. It consisted of an artificial island set in the shallow water of the lake. A large circular house was erected during the tenth century. About 1000 this was replaced by a smaller rectangular dwelling, and intermittent occupation of the site continued for several centuries. Much woodwork and many implements of this material are preserved, and the remains give a clear picture of the tenth-century culture and the methods used in constructing these crannogs. The wooden gaming board, the bronze lamp and the iron sword are all objects of considerable artistic merit, the first-named by its connection with Manx art of circa 950 affording the most precise indication of the date of the settlement.

C. A. RALEGH RADFORD.


Mr. Randall has collected seven essays, the greater part of which have appeared previously in periodicals, and produced a small volume which is readable, interesting and suggestive.
The first essay, *History in the Open Air*, is a well digested summary of one aspect of modern archaeological research. Appreciation of the influences of environment on primitive society now conditions all attempts to picture life in Britain in early times. Mr. Randall traces the development of this concept from the eighteenth century to the present day, in historian and archaeologist alike, stressing in particular recent works in which the open-air school of thought is dominant. His thesis, that the face of the country is among the most important historical documents we possess, is then illustrated by detailed studies, such as *The Early Roads of Britain*, and *The English Village*.

Early roads are classified as Ridgeways, Hollow-ways, Hillside roads and Harrow-ways; with the important proviso that 'existing roadways are made up of fragments of tracks of different ages pieced together'; to which perhaps a corollary should be added that any one road may successively conform to each of these classes according to the country it traverses. Whether the category, Harrow-way, is worth retaining is doubtful; the name is derived from the track leading from Farnham to Salisbury Plain, and as Mr. Randall admits, the type is 'merely a modified ridgeway.' The curious double-banked cattleways of the chalk country (covered ways) and the well engineered Roman Road seem more worthy of the essayists' attention. Moreover, I doubt if Mr. Belloc's dictum, 'wherever the road goes right up to the site of a church, it passes by on the southern side of that site,' is worth the fuller investigation Mr. Randall suggests—the siting of a church is surely related to an existing track, not vice-versa.

With these reservations the essay is full of helpful observations for the field worker, and the concluding plea for more field work from the local archaeologist is sound and timely.

*The English Village* is a useful summary of much work on field systems and land tenure, and is a successful instance of the blending of archaeology and history which the author advocates. Emphasis is laid on the contrast between the compact (nucleated) village of the English Lowlands and the scattered farms which represent settlement in Wales and the west. I have a vivid mental picture of such a 'Welsherie' on Corndon Hill on the Shropshire border, each white cottage set in its own small fields, without any connecting road, dotted along the hillside over a distance of more than a mile. It is to be hoped that the author will pursue his researches on these hamlet types.

In the remaining essays Mr. Randall debates the possibilities of Romano-British survival through the Pagan Saxon period, discourses pleasantly on Place Names, and as a kind of make-weight, throws in a 'Supplementary Essay,' *Splendide Mendax*, which recounts with gusto the career of Charles Bertram of Copenhagen, perpetrator of the eighteenth-century forgery, the *De situ*, a history of Roman Britain ascribed to Richard of Cirencester.

Mr. Randall writes well and has a sense of humour; his book,
which is well printed and reasonably priced, should prove attractive to the growing public interested in archaeology.

AILEEN FOX.


Village histories are liable to be unsatisfactory things for very obvious reasons, and it is refreshing to find one which escapes from the general run of mediocrity.

Wootton Waven is a typical village of the Shakespeare country, situated on the Birmingham-Stratford Road some 2½ miles south of Henley-in-Arden. In prehistoric times the district was but sparsely inhabited, and it was not until the Roman station of Alcester grew on the Ryknield Street that the countryside became really opened up for settlement. The written history of Wootton begins in the early part of the eighth century with a Mercian grant of land with its 'fields, glades, and meadows' for the foundation of a small monastery, and for the subsequent story after its post-Conquest settlement on the wealthy de Staffords there is a great deal of documentary evidence, all of which is well marshalled by Mr. Cooper.

Though much of the book is purely of local interest, the Abstracts from the Court Rolls of the Manor of the Priory, extending over three and a half centuries, deserve a wider appreciation. Here we can trace the life of a medieval English village almost uninfluenced by the outside world, from the days when the tenants held their land by villein service until the time late in the eighteenth century when the Common Fields of Wootton were enclosed. Many of the entries concern offences frequent in an agricultural community—encroachment on manorial lands and rights, failure to keep ditches scoured, and land in good order—and there are the usual offences of violence, from which even the parson is not free. An entry of particular interest occurs in 1565 when a pain is laid on all tenants that they make a 'Balke' on the right hand side of each selion which they till. Joan Knyghte, the village 'alle wyfe' is often in trouble, and though the good people of Wootton seemed a little lax in certain directions, they were almost fanatically severe on drunkenness.

Mr. Cooper gives a detailed description of the church, an attractive little building with a part pre-Conquest tower and an early Norman nave, but it is a pity that the accompanying plan is so very small. He gives an account also of the various houses of note in the village, and completes a most competent piece of work with a full index.

So far, Wootton Waven has not been spoilt: but it is a little disquieting to find that 'The Bull's Head' has become 'Ye Olde Bull's Head' with neon lights blazoning its thirteenth-century date, and with a 'Floodlit Car Park at the rear for 80 Cars.'

R. F. JESSUP.
MEDIEVAL SPANISH ENAMELS, AND THEIR RELATION TO THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF COPPER CHAMPLEVÉ ENAMELS OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES. By W. L. HILDBURGH, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

It is a melancholy fact that the true place of Spain in the history of medieval art has only come to be appreciated at a time when many of her treasures are menaced and some destroyed. The fate of the Diocesan Museum at Vich inspires the gravest anxiety; and the church treasuries of Catalonia must have suffered severely only a short time after the Barcelona Exhibition had revealed their extent and interest to the general public. Dr. Hildburgh gives excellent detailed illustrations of objects from the Camara Santa of Oviedo, which must lately have been in the gravest jeopardy. Recent work on Spanish Church art has therefore a peculiar value, and all who are interested in the history of medieval gold-work and enamelling will be grateful to Dr. Hildburgh for his unwearied researches, that now find dignified publication at a price which makes each copy a partial gift to the purchaser.

Dr. Hildburgh's book is a true thesis in that it has a contention to maintain. His view is that the opinion expressed in Rupin's *Œuvre de Limoges* (and since accepted as almost axiomatic) as to the Limousin origin of copper champlevé enamels of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, stands in need of revision. In his view insufficient notice has been taken of the provenance and history of such enamels, on the ground that as they were of Limousin fabrication their local history was accidental and not essential to their study.

Dr. Hildburgh's own examination of the provenance, history and style of such enamels has led him to the conclusion that 'champlevé enamels of the so-called "Limousin" types probably originated and found their early development in one or more of the medieval kingdoms of Spain and that their manufacture was brought thence to the Limousin region; that such enamels (or their influence) not improbably went, too, still farther northward and inspired the Mosan and the Rhenish champlevé enamels; that in later times there were reactions between the Hispanic industry or industries and the Limousin, and perhaps also some influence exercised by the Northern enamelling upon that of Spain; and, finally, that at a comparatively late period Spain was producing enamels closely resembling some which had been made in the Limousin, or in Spain itself, decades earlier.'

The first of these conclusions is obviously the most important. Dr. Hildburgh begins by an examination of the facts upon which the 'Limousin hypothesis' is based, and thence proceeds to an examination of the assumptions founded upon them. His reasoned and moderate statement of opinions about which he assures us that he is 'by no means dogmatic,' clearly deserves sympathetic consideration, but the reader will be startled to find that Dr. Hildburgh's investigations lead him to be 'strongly inclined to think' that the Geoffrey Plantagenet plaque was made somewhere
in the Peninsula rather than at Limoges, and to detect Spanish rather than Limousin influence in certain enamels attributed to Brunswick craftsmen. A Spanish origin is suggested even for Ulger’s monument, as near Limoges as Angers, and for the Bellac plaques, from the Limousin itself. Nor do the two famous objects with inscriptions indicating that their makers were of Limoges escape Dr. Hildburgh’s questioning. He considers that there is no evidence that ‘Iohannis Garnerius’ enamelled the cross that bears his name, or that ‘G. Alpais’ was the craftsman of the covered cup in the Louvre. Moreover, Dr. Hildburgh considers that the very name of Alpais may be of Arab origin. He thinks that there is considerable ground for suspecting the ‘G. Alpais’—not improbably a Christian, because the initial ‘G’ suggests that he had a Christian name—was either of Spanish birth or of Spanish ancestry, and quite possibly a descendant of one of the craftsmen who, as I believe, brought copper champlevé enamelling to Limoges, or even perhaps himself one of those craftsmen.

The archaeological turn of mind is notoriously conservative, and it is unlikely that Dr. Hildburgh’s opinions will be accepted at first sight. Some of Rupin’s arguments—such, for example, as the hypothesis that enamelling at Limoges had its focus within the cloister of Saint Martial—are out of date and no longer acceptable. But that the industry was so well established at Limoges by the end of the twelfth century that ‘Limoges work’ was accepted both inside and outside France as a clear ‘trade description,’ is proved by indisputable texts. An Italian deed of gift of 1197 speaks of ‘Duas tabulas aeneas superauratas de labore Limogiae,’ and the Rochester Register of about the same date records the gift of ‘bacinos de Limoges.’ Dr. Hildburgh rightly says that such references are not specifically to enamels; but he hardly seems to allow enough importance to the perfectly continuous use of ‘Limoges work’ as a description in documents of objects of which those at the end of the series are certainly ornamented in champlevé enamel. His more conservative readers will be apt to think that it is the existence of a Spanish school of enamelling, rather than its definite priority over Limoges, for which a prima facie case has been established.

The first chapter is devoted to a general study of early Spanish enamelling and niello work on gold and silver, which will be of great value to English students of the history of metal work. In chapter II the ‘oriental’ elements in the design of medieval champlevé enamels on copper are considered. Herein Dr. Hildburgh suggests the direct influence of Spanish craftsmen—Moslem, Jewish or Christian—whether working in Spain or settled at Limoges: but the question seems less satisfactorily worked out, from the point of view of the history of ornament, than most of those considered in the book. The next chapter—in many ways the most important—is devoted to the consideration of the Burgos altar-frontal, which he makes the centre of a ‘Silos group’ of Spanish champlevé enamels, for reasons too complex to be summarised here. His
classification is worthy of serious study, supported as it is by historical facts of provenance as well as by minutiae of style. The book concludes with a study of the later copper champlévé enamels which Dr. Hildburgh attributes to Spain. These attributions are admitted to be more tentative and hazardous, since at this time, roughly speaking after 1200, the activity of the enamellers of Limoges is an undoubted fact. Dr. Hildburgh’s caution is nowhere better exemplified than here, where he frankly admits the difficulties, and frankly declares the hypothetical nature of his attributions. His final conclusion is that it is probable ‘that most of the copper champlévé enamels, of the so-called “Limousin” types, of the thirteenth century which have been preserved outside of Spain are of Limousin make; but that, on the other hand, many—perhaps most—of those now or till lately preserved in Spain were made at some centre situated in the Peninsula. And if indeed there were two principal centres, one at Limoges, the other in Spain on or near one of the great pilgrimage-roads, working contemporaneously, it would have been no more than normal for mutual copying of forms, of designs, and of details to have taken place, resulting in similarities, confusing to the modern investigator, between the products of the two countries.’

JOAN EVANS.

VIKING SETTLERS IN GREENLAND. By PAUL NORLUND, Ph.D. Camb. University Press, 1936. Pp. 160 (9½ in. +6¼ in.). 70 illustrations. 7s. 6d.

The scientific examination of the Norwegian settlements in Greenland, begun in 1866, has been conducted by the author himself from 1921–32 and since then by A. Roussell. The present volume provides a résumé of the history, archaeology and culture of these settlements, which is as reasonably complete as it is ever likely to be. Let us say at once that this is no dry setting forth of tabulated facts and no excavation report, but a clear and enthralling account of an episode in human history, heroic and tragic enough to compete with the sagas which are its natural background. Its individual characters are drawn from the sagas themselves, but the setting and the whole of the tragic ending of the adventure are the product of the excavation of the ice-bound soil of Greenland.

Dr. Norlund’s book deals first with the recorded facts of the settlement in Greenland, and here, of course, we encounter Eric the Red, Leif the Lucky, Thorfinn Karlsefne and their fellows, who pass so starkly across the stage of early Icelandic history. He passes on to the little known records of the bishopric of Greenland and the relics left by the Greenland church. The church ruins are comparatively numerous and include the cathedral at Gardar with the adjacent bishop’s house. Here was found the burial of a bishop, probably Jon Smyrill, 1209, with a crozier precisely similar to those
of contemporary western Europe. He died of gangrene in the right foot.

We then pass on to the homesteads and mode of life in them, the raising of crops and the maintenance of stock. On p. 65 is a plan of a typical byre for the winter housing of cattle, which casts a vivid light on the unending struggle with the polar climate. The houses, too, reflect the same conditions, and at Brattahlid still survives the hall which may well have been that of Erik the Red himself. The later house-planning is also of much interest, though no doubt modified, from the normal Scandinavian methods, by the local conditions. The houses have yielded to the excavators their household utensils, even their gaming-pieces and toys (the polar-bear on p. 101 should be noted). In the fourth chapter the communications with Iceland and Norway are dealt with and the gradual severance of these in the later Middle Ages; the articles of commerce, walrus-ivory and the rest, and the oppressive operation of the later royal monopoly of the Greenland trade are passed in review.

In the chapter on the Herjolfsnes garments, we are introduced to the dramatic excavation of the cemetery of that Greenland port. The frozen ground had preserved large numbers of the garments of the dead and these garments were the ordinary clothes of the common people. Perhaps nowhere else have such garments come to light and it seems probable that they were of local manufacture. The cemetery also revealed the secrets of the downfall of the settlement. Infrequent communication with the outer world, increasing cold, dying out of stock and no doubt inbreeding, had produced a stunted race, in which the deformed and the crippled predominated and among whom the expectation of life hardly extended to thirty years. Precisely how long this doomed community dragged on its miserable existence is considered in Dr. Norlund's final chapter. Perhaps a few survived both disease and the Eskimos till the sixteenth century, and one of the last of them was found dead and unburied with a broken knife in his hand by a storm-driven Icelander about 1540.

It is hoped that enough has been said to indicate the extraordinary interest, both historical and archaeological, of this book, and we may perhaps be allowed to congratulate the author not only on his matter but also on the admirable manner in which he has presented it. The book is excellently printed and the illustrations are not confined to objects only but give an excellent idea of the natural setting of the settlement.

A. W. CLAPHAM.
cross-roads. Upon the issue of the warfare that followed the downfall of Nero depended the future of most, if not all, of those institutions which were to be Rome's lasting contribution to succeeding ages. The year 69 all but saw, two centuries before its time, the establishment of Diocletian's military despotism. Had that been so, the Augustan principate would have been, in the words of Professor Last, 'an episode in history, not an epoch.' Fortunately for Rome it was the inspired sobriety of Vespasian that triumphed. Rome returned to her destiny. And for two hundred years she was free to work out in all its implications the system which was her own peculiar inheritance.

The present volume covers the years from the accession of Vespasian to the death of Commodus in 192. It is an age at once of transition and of fulfilment. Beyond looms the spectre of the third century. But that it was present to the most acute of contemporary minds may well be doubted. The city-dweller of second century Britain, planning for an era of ever growing prosperity which was never to be realised, is symptomatic of his time. To him the aeternitas populi Romani that featured on his coinage was a truth that allowed no question. It is one of the merits of history upon this scale, and one of which the editors have taken full advantage, that we are enabled to view the underlying master-pattern without losing sight of the complex of otherwise meaningless events that were its particular manifestations and constituted the 'contemporary history' within which men lived and shaped their policies. It is just this sense of balance and of perspective which is the peculiar virtue of the present volume.

The central narrative is in competent hands. The Flavians have fallen to Mr. Charlesworth, Nerva and Trajan to Mr. Longden, who also contributes a chapter on the wars of Trajan. The two chapters devoted to Hadrian and to the Antonines are both the work of Professor Weber. There are some inequalities of treatment. Mr. Charlesworth has pardonably found Vespasian a more congenial subject than Domitian, who remains a creature of two faces that will not be reconciled; and if Professor Weber's portrait of Hadrian is beyond praise, that of Commodus remains in many respects wrapped in unreality. But these are points of interpretation, and the main outline is clearly and concisely stated. Mr. Syme completes the narrative section with a chapter which summarises his own research upon the Flavian wars and frontiers.

As is right, the provinces bulk large, and no less than five chapters are devoted to a survey of the Empire. In the second century it was becoming increasingly apparent that the destiny of Roman civilisation lay with the unity-in-diversity that constituted Rome in its wider and greater sense. These chapters are all the work of specialists and bear the stamp of authority. It is possible here and there to criticize certain points of detailed interpretation; and at times there is perhaps the almost inevitable tendency to concentrate upon the more cultured sections of the population at the expense of the backward and less articulate elements, of whom there
is often little enough to say, but whose influence, however negative, was always an important factor. But that was a danger which could hardly be avoided; and once recognized (as it is) it can be largely discounted. This is not the place for detailed commentary. One may, however, perhaps mention Professor Collingwood's brief account of Roman Britain, which for lucidity of thought and concision of statement it would hardly be possible to better.

The same qualities are apparent in the two chapters, the first on the Principate and the Administration, the second on Rome and the Empire, which are Professor Last's contribution. These constitute the focus of the volume. In them Professor Last gathers up the threads. The meaning of the principate under the Flavians and Antonines, the constitution and functions of the ruling classes, the forms of local government and the growth of paternalism with all its sinister implications, the extent to which in fact and sentiment the Empire became a unity—these and other questions he answers with a sureness of touch and a turn of phrase that make these chapters as delightful to read as they are stimulating.

The scheme of the volume is completed by the inclusion of seven chapters upon special subjects and aspects of contemporary life. The names of their authors are sufficient guarantee of their quality. Professor Rostovtzeff writes on the Sarmatae and Parthians, Professor Alfoldi on the Getae and Dacians, and Dr. Ekholm on the free peoples of northern Europe. The last-named in particular is a masterly summary of an obscure and difficult subject. Dr. Streeter traces the Rise of Christianity, Mr. Sandbach discusses contemporary Greek Literature, Philosophy and Science, Mr. Sikes the Latin Literature of the Silver Age. Social Life in Rome and Italy is the work of Professor Duff, Art from Nero to the Antonines of Professor Rodenwaldt, and Classical Roman Law of Professor Buckland.

There is the usual generous allowance of maps and a valuable bibliography. At a time when one of the major difficulties of all research is the immense accumulation of specialized literature, stock-taking is a prime necessity; and one is the more grateful for works such as the Cambridge Ancient History which manage to combine a comprehensive scope with a high level of critical scholarship. The present volume more than maintains the exacting standards of its predecessors and augurs well for the success of volume xii.

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