Reviews


In the 27 years since excavation at Yeavering began, the site has become something of a legend, known in tantalizing fragments and interim published notes, or to students at Cambridge. The long-awaited full publication is a landmark in British medieval archaeology, if not indeed in that of Europe, in four distinct ways. Firstly, it may be argued that the excavation was technically the finest ever done in this country, and this in spite of conditions of appalling soil and local climate. Secondly, the recording and allied analysis was of the highest order, making at least this reviewer feel quite incompetent. Thirdly, the drawings must find a major place in any survey of archaeological draughtsmanship, even if some may find them highly idiosyncratic. Finally, the text, including that of the lengthy captions to the illustrations is elegant, readable, and witty, rare qualities in modern reports.

The historical importance of the site lies in its identification with Bede's *Ad Gefrin*, the scene of royal visits, and one of the places where Paulinus preached and converted the Bernicians in 627, baptising in the R. Glen close by. The site was, Bede tells us, abandoned in favour of *Melmin*, a few kilometres away, now identified, like Yeavering itself, from air-photographs.

The end of Yeavering was an event that had clearly occurred in the century before Bede's writing, and possibly as late as his own early days. There was thus, if the identification was correct, not only a historical *terminus ante quem* for the complex, but also an apparent Germanic milieu in which it flourished, despite its Celtic name. A closer dating for one phase of the complex might be possible if archaeological evidence could be found of the destruction of the site by Cadwallon in 632–33. There was no reason initially to think that the site was other than secular in its functions, even if used for evangelizing missions to the court.

Several questions were posed by Hope-Taylor on the basis of this primary evidence: why did the township have a Celtic name, when was it founded and why in this place, why was it chosen for Paulinus's mission rather than Bamburgh, and why and when was the site abandoned in favour of *Melmin*? These were 'historical' questions, and it was a bold belief that archaeology was capable of answering them, in addition to providing evidence of the physical character of the township.

In the final interpretation, the site is now not simply the palace of the Anglo-Saxon kings of 7th-century Bernicia, but is predominantly a British 'folk-centre' with religious foci and a possible 'cattle corral', as well as being an administrative centre with great halls for king and court. Germanic influence is now seen as little more than a presence, in the final overlordship of a native complex whose history extended back into the second millennium B.C.

The structure of the book is straightforward, clearly separating data and interpretation. Sections on topography, place-names, and area settlement patterns are followed by detailed exposition of the methods used, the evidence as excavated, and the sparse finds. There is an interpretative chapter on the affinities of the structures and objects. Thus far the report is wholly archaeological. The final chapter is however no less than a reinterpretation of the history of Bernicia, stimulated by the archaeology of Yeavering, but
ranging further in an attempt to reconstruct the sequence of events in Bernicia from the
Roman period to the 7th century. The conclusions are startling in many ways, and the
careful reader must consider the steps by which he has been gently led towards them.

The importance of the Yeavering area, including the adjacent hillfort of Yeavering
Bell, in the Roman Iron Age and earlier, is well-documented. The site on the valley whale­
back was the ideal nucleus of the ‘central zone’ of Bernicia (as opposed to the ‘coastal zone’
centering on Bamburgh); there were important associations with folk-meetings which were
quite different from the role of the hillfort, whose twin peaks allowed the excavators only an
hour of sun each day in December and January. The only drawback (and demonstrably an
ancient one) was a wind of fierce velocity.

This ‘Celtic world of the Central Zone’ is fully delineated to show the antiquity of
the entrenched and archaic British background to the post-Roman scene, economically,
socially, and politically, even without the evidence of the excavation.

The 18 pages of Chapter 2 should be lifted and quoted _in toto_ in any future textbook on
techniques of excavation. The first stage of definition was what Hope-Taylor calls the
‘primary horizontal section’, which was studied for a long time, drawn, and photographed
from a tower. Then followed dissection, a precise method in which secondary horizontal
sections were defined, together with reconstructed cross and axial vertical sections. It is
interesting that Hope-Taylor would in retrospect have relied wholly on horizontal plans,
as Barker would now advocate.

As a result of the superb techniques, details were recovered such as the nature of the
wall timbers, their cladding and fixing materials, their demolition by block and tackle,
and the different direction of the wind in two episodes of conflagration.

Not surprisingly such an excavation could be done only under the closest possible
supervision, or in person. This was no Wheelerian epic. A very few men travelled daily
from Alnwick and ‘remained loyal and dedicated under the lash of sand-laden winds’. Volunteers were of little use, unable to stay long enough to master the techniques.

The earliest prehistoric features were the stone circle to the West, a barrow to the East,
and cremations; these were succeeded by Celtic fields, the stone circle left outside them.
Cremations were set in the field furrows up to late Roman times. The inception of the
township was just after the replacement of wood for stone in the circle, and is signified by
the beginning of the great enclosure. The first wooden buildings, presaging the halls, now
appeared. A square wooden building or enclosure replaced the circle, and attracted
inhumations (the western cemetery). Next came the major buildings — halls and temple,
and the first phase of the ‘Grandstand’. In the zenith of the township, this was enlarged,
the great enclosure was rebuilt, the great hall A4 was built, with an important grave at its
threshold. Only a body silhouette survived, but associated with this was an object identified
as a surveyor’s _groma_, or possibly a ceremonial standard.

There is no space here to set out the complex arguments for the dating of the site; they
depend heavily on historical dates, interspersed into an archaeological sequence, with a
little direct evidence such as time-lapses, some pottery which can be matched at Sancton,
and a Merovingian _tremissis_ of the 630s–40s which was firmly stratified in the latest hall,
‘a rolling disc which fitted itself snugly into the vertical crevice offered by the awful “give”
of a flimsy timber structure exposed to the full force of north-Northumbrian winds’. The
dating argument is convincing, and leads to the conclusion that the zenith of the township
defined at this point is that of the reign of Edwin in the 620s, the culmination of Germanic
overlordship which had begun in the later 6th century, accepted peacefully by the native
Bernician aristocracy.

When Paulinus arrived in 627, he encountered the temple and a cemetery, in which
W.-E. inhumations were the rule. Hope-Taylor believes that all that was needed to
Christianize the site was reconsecration. The temple was not destroyed. Paulinus seems to
have followed the advice of Gregory to Mellitus about Christianizing temples: ‘ox-sacrifice
might be allowed to continue at festivals, but where a temple had been replaced by a
church, people should build huts round it, of boughs and trees’. The archaeological
evidence does not contradict this: there are even post-holes of flimsy buildings of precisely this phase, evidence of the withdrawal of non-structural posts in the temple, and the short final phase of the associated western cemetery.

After this peak in the township’s fortunes, there was a major disaster, the first fire. The buildings were deliberately set alight, and fanned by a SW. wind. This episode is equated with the ravaging of Northumbria by Penda and Cadwallon in 632–33. It is suggested that in this crisis, the great enclosure sheltered the royal herd. Those who died defending this resource or status symbol were, it is argued, laid out in a line in a ‘string’ of graves East of Edwin’s great hall A4, extending from the *groma* grave, and across the now abandoned great enclosure.

There follows a phase which, Hope-Taylor argues, shows evidence for a speedy relapse to paganism after a ‘conversion of expediency’. Much is made here of numerous posts, which appear to have been the focii for graves, and which may have carried ‘totemic and zoomorphic emblems of the tribe’.

The next phase is equated with the return of Oswald from Irish exile. A church was now built alongside the earlier religious nucleus of the eastern barrow and over part of the great enclosure. There was some evidence of the continuing use of the barrow up to this time, in the form of a central post. This was finally enclosed in the churchyard, the temple was abandoned together with the western cemetery, orderly rows of graves now focused on the new church, and paganism died.

Oswald repaired the grandstand and built new halls, but the township steadily declined, and the grandstand was eventually demolished. The site was again destroyed by fire, this time with a NE. wind. This attack is equated with burning by Penda in 651. This was not the end, however. Four buildings were rebuilt in a new style, but the whole complex was ‘explicit of decline, and after a while was abandoned and left to rot’, with a terminal date some long time before Bede’s reference to the site in 731. No explanation is presented for the shift to *Malmin* and only excavation at that site can show its date and function, though the buildings and layout there are clearly closely related to those of Yeavering.

Interest in the archaeological evidence for this remarkable sequence centres on the halls, grandstand, temple and church, the great enclosure, and the cemeteries with their associated ritual features.

The technical details of the evidence for the great halls and its analysis are one of the strongest features of the volume. Precise survey made it possible to define the Yeavering foot of 11.05 in. (28.1 cm) used both for the setting out of individual halls (e.g. two squares of 40 units with 2 unit jambs and a 2 unit door = a rectangle of 88 x 40) but also for the site as a whole, one range of minor buildings being set out in echelon with 40 unit intervals between their corners.

We begin to see the wider implications of the halls, the postulated ‘Bernician school of master-carpenters and hall-builders’, the suggested prefabrication, a huge labour-force and communal effort needed ‘if so high-flown a plan was quickly to become a soaring reality’. Here at last we come to the analogue of *Heorot*, the archaeological evidence for a hall fit for ‘feasting and hard drinking, with platforms at the side for benches and tables, and room for revellers literally to roll in the aisles. The width of the passageways may have controlled the speed with which the convivial horn could be refilled, and perhaps affected the pace of the minstrel on his metrical beat from table to table (with his Sutton Hoo lyre) but also and most importantly the provision for ceremonial and processional formalities and protocol’. Here is Hope-Taylor in his most flowery style, elegant and entertaining; yet never venturing in essence beyond the archaeology which he has so convincingly expounded.

Typological and chronological sequences are delineated, and the cultural ancestry of the buildings discussed. Parallels are adduced from the native background, from North Germany, and from the Roman legacy of North Britain. ‘The Yeavering-style probably came of a northern British mother and a Saxo-Frisian father and retained something of both parents — but born into the new aristocracy of a world that still set some store by the
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memories and monuments of a Roman past'. But the result is unconvincing (even if one still believes in cultural antecedents) and further consideration is necessary in the light of evidence recovered since this report was written.

The only structure of indisputably Germanic origin is, of course, the sunken-featured building in the westerly range, although even this is perhaps no more than a normal hall set into the earth — the roof-rafters reaching right down to the ground. An interesting comparison is made with the temple in the Book of Kells, which appears to have similar rafters on the ground, and where the figure of Christ is so low as to imply that He may be standing on a sunken floor!

The grandstand arguably owes much to Roman prototypes. It consisted essentially of one *cuneus* of an amphitheatre or theatre. (Were models still available at *Eboracum* or *Peluaria*?) There was seating space of 300 ft. originally for 150 people. In the zenith of the township, this was enlarged to 640 ft. for 320 people. There was a platform and dais, a 'totem-post', and the structure was founded on progressively deeper foundation trenches. It focused attention on one man, 'the promulgation to the multitude of decisions made by a select council under cover'. The voice of the people may have been heard (indeed the prevailing wind favoured it), but the stage was set, with cyclorama (?) sounding-board) and wings for the monologue, with an angle of voice delivery (against the wind) only within that of the tiered structure. The monologue would be that of the 'presiding official — native aristocrat, English king, or Italian missionary'.

The temple is the first example of its kind to be found in Britain. The pagan evidence is of nine successive deposits of ox-skulls, piled against one wall. The first phase, left standing, was encased substantially by the second, in a manner reminiscent of the enclosure of early Christian churches within the space of a larger later church, as at Glastonbury. The temple had been lined with clay rendered externally. There were non-structural internal and external posts. The skulls were probably the residues of sacrificial ox-killing and eating. The dating argument would place this in the time of Edwin, and its 'Christianized' survival after Paulinus is postulated on tenuous evidence. The first real evidence of Christianity is the church in the eastern area, a two-celled wooden building, and a valuable addition to the corpus of 7th-century ecclesiastical architecture.

The great enclosure, with its bulbous ends, was originally identified as a fort, but many factors have convinced Hope-Taylor that this is not a military work, but something akin to a 'communal cattle-corral, the officially recognized scene of traditional events, the centre of a market, perhaps, or at least the local centre for the gathering-in of dues in cattle'. It dated from the 6th century, if not earlier, in a wholly British milieu, and remained the most important focus until the defeat of Edwin, after which perhaps significantly it was abandoned.

The understanding of the cemeteries is fundamental to that of the site as a whole. Although lacking all but a very few objects, and with only traces of skeletal remains, they are nevertheless the linking features in the history of all the structures. Both the western and eastern cemeteries were developed close to prehistoric religious nuclei. The former began with a stone-circle, with a central stone overlying a cremation; by the historic (i.e. late Roman) period, the stones were gone, and the central one succeeded by a wooden post set within a square enclosure. This and other posts acted as 'magnets' for succeeding radial gravels, and from these an aligned cemetery developed, perhaps still in use for a short time in a Christian context. It is argued that very few if any are of Germans; the discussion on Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Bernicia (or the lack of them) has been rather overtaken by more recent work.

Indeed Hope-Taylor believes that it was the two millennia of burial and religious observance which made the site distinguished in native eyes. But it was also a royal estate, visited in the royal progress: the cleanliness of the buildings implies only occasional use, the site being looked after at other times by a reeve. Councils met in the easterly halls — the administrative centre. It was a wholly appropriate venue for Paulinus's mission.

The final chapter is entitled 'The Historical Significance of Yeavering', in which the now-established chronology and function of the township can be set in their full historical
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perspective of the period. It is perhaps unfortunate that it is to this chapter that historians and those with little time to read the archaeology will turn; and it will undoubtedly be this chapter which will be the focus of adverse review, containing as it does nothing less than a radical rewriting of the history of late Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Bernicia. Whatever one may think of this, it must not be allowed to obscure the brilliance of the main part of the book, which is an archaeological report. A bold attempt to reinterpret history in the light of the archaeology of one site is at least imaginative. The result may raise the eyebrows of readers less innocent than this reviewer of the problems of the written sources. I would recommend intending readers not to read this chapter first, however tempting it may be, but to wait until they have mastered the archaeology, which is anything but a tedious task.

The principal thesis is that the Anglo-Saxon overlordship of Bernicia was a peaceful one. Æthelfrith is seen as the inheritor, leader, and enlarger of Bernicia, not as its conqueror. Hope-Taylor would maintain that Bede's words on Ida 'he began to reign and succeeded to the kingdom' were no empty formula used in any genealogical account, but the plain truth.

The starting-point for this argument is the archaeological evidence from Yeavering. Much is made of the ability of Germanic overlords to set up undefended halls on open ground in the midst of a supposedly densely-occupied British area. There was, the author asserts, no discord between the new elite and the natives — English overlordship was both convenient and congenial. Yeavering was the nodal point in a treaty province.

Why did Ida have such an easy access to power? To answer this question, Hope-Taylor looks back to late Roman times. The coastal area is seen as an extension of the signal-station system of defence against the maritime Picts. It was manned by 'Germanic naval agents' implanted on the coast of the native buffer state South of the Wall. The Germans were the crews of naval patrol-ships. Bamburgh (we are given here the first details of Hope-Taylor's excavations there) had been a coastal beacon site for two centuries or more by 547, when it passed into German hands. In this 'Janus-like position' the sea-captains were powerful and became welcome overlords of the Bernicia they now protected.

Later, Æthelfrith expands the new kingdom. Lindisfarne is his naval base for a sea-borne attack on the North. The siege of that island is interpreted as a counter-attack which fails — the English gain a foothold North of the Tweed and the king at Edinburgh has to retaliate, sending his feasted warriors to their death at Catraeth.

Whatever the reader may make of these startling hypotheses (and my summary has grossly simplified and distorted the argument) we now return to consider the English at Yeavering. How many were ever there? or anywhere (in Bernicia)? 'One au-pair girl would have made and broken in a week all the Anglo-Saxon pottery in Bernicia before and during the time of Edwin.' Comparisons are made with Sutton Hoo, and especially the contrast between the two kinds of evidence for royal magnificence. 'All was not gold and garnets in East Anglia, and scrubbed deal in Bernicia.' In spite of the lack of archaeological evidence at Yeavering, Hope-Taylor assumes the great halls were as magnificently decorated as Heorot. The plaster found may have been one medium for painting, especially on the wide door-jambs. The superstructure may have been carved as elaborately as Oseberg, as soaring and many-pinnacled as the later stave-churches.

Edwin, as the proprietor of a ready source of luxury goods from the northern fringe of the Celtic world, could have been the dispenser of diplomatic gifts. Did these include hanging bowls and was one recipient the king of East Anglia in the 620s? Professor Cramp may find this food for thought, but she will not take kindly to the contrast between the 'urbanely unoriginal products of Wearmouth-Jarrow' or the 'safe conference-centre' at Whitby, and the 'teeming barbarian inventions of Lindisfarne in its unique Hiberno-Northumbrian cultural context'!

After these fireworks, the chapter ends abruptly and flatly, almost as though its author had said all he had to say, and laid down his pen, unwilling or unable to produce the final resounding paragraph, which could only be an anti-climax after the riches that have gone before.
This review would be equally dull if it ended with a list of errors or misprints. The qualities of the whole work, from excavation to publication, have been the subject of my eulogy, and must dwarf any criticism. We may conclude with a final appreciation of the quality of the illustrations (not all — the finds are curiously crude — were they drawn by another hand?) and we must single out especially the diagrams illustrating site interpretation. There is over-reduction, and Hope-Taylor must have been saddened to see his millions of stippled dots run together in poor block-making. The collector’s pieces are the north points, each elegant and wholly appropriate to its subject. They perhaps convey better than anything else the flavour of the Yeavering report, expensive but worth every penny, to be long read and kept in every archaeologist’s library, hopefully with its final durable bindings lasting for many years.

PHILIP RAHTZ

Excavations at Bishopstone. By Martin Bell. 24 x 18 cm. xii + 299 pp., 111 figs., 21 pls., 22 tables. Lewes, 1977 (Sussex Archaeological Collections, 115.) Price not stated.

This volume is the report on excavations carried out between 1969 and 1975 at Bishopstone, near Newhaven, Sussex. The bulk of the work concerns prehistoric, especially Iron Age, and Roman occupation, but part of an early Anglo-Saxon settlement was also excavated; only about one-fifth of the volume deals with post-Roman material.

When, in 1967, building work revealed a pagan Saxon cemetery on the spur above Bishopstone, rescue excavation was organized by the local archaeological society, and a total of 118 graves found. The original nucleus was apparently a Bronze Age round barrow, from which the burials spread northwards. Traces of contemporary structures were also found, extending towards the crest of the hill, and in the ensuing years further areas were excavated above the cemetery, under the direction of Martin Bell, who had himself assisted in the early stages of the work. Overlying the prehistoric and Romano-British features were further structures of the Saxon settlement, though its limits were clearly never reached. It is a tragedy that the present report concerns only Bell’s work. The cemetery is totally excluded, and indeed only one object from it has ever been published; only the briefest details of the first structures are included. The association of a settlement with a cemetery or cemeteries is now beginning to appear as a regular pattern in Saxon archaeology, and it is a great loss that all the evidence could not have been presented together. We can only hope that it will not be too long before the results of the earlier phase of excavation can be set alongside those in the present volume.

We must certainly be grateful to the author for so full and comparatively speedy publication of his report. The majority of it concerns the structures, of which 22 were identified. They show a considerable variety, though conforming to the known types of Saxon architecture. There were three Grubenhäuser and seventeen post-hole structures excavated completely or in part, as well as a complex of eight post-holes which surely must, as the author suspects, be interpreted as two four-post structures of Iron Age date rather than an irregular eight-post Saxon granary, and a small trench-built structure for which a Roman date had previously been suggested on account of Roman pottery associated with it; this dating is now abandoned, and indeed the structure seems to fit quite well in the range of smaller Saxon buildings now known. Among the larger buildings there are some of particular interest; one with curving sides seems a clear indication of the bow-sided plan in pre-Viking times, and a curious trapezoidal building immediately next to the cemetery, of which only the briefest account is given, is something to be looked forward to in the publication of the early excavations. The other buildings exemplify the range of size and structural variety of Saxon architecture: even without floor levels or superstructure, the evidence for diversity is remarkable. Few of the buildings at Bishopstone overlapped, and few post-holes could not be assigned to structural contexts, so the plans are for the most part clear, and well presented with good descriptions, plans and sections.
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Without pits and ditches, the contexts for the recovery of artifacts and environmental data on most rural Saxon sites are limited; also it is particularly unfortunate that two of the three Grubenhäuser were excavated under the previous regime and so the contents were not available for detailed study. The evidence is therefore restricted to the fill of one Grubenhaus, supplemented by some small groups and topsoil finds. Nevertheless, as well as the almost inevitable pottery, weaving equipment and bone combs, there were more surprising objects, such as fragments of a bronze-bound wooden bucket. Fabric analysis of the pottery suggests that the vast majority was made from clay derived from the Weald, rather than locally. Of particular interest, too, is the evidence for the subsistence economy; arable and pastoral activity are documented and diet was also supplemented by fish and shell, especially mussel. Much of the emphasis in recent Saxon settlement studies has been on site location and structures, so it is particularly interesting to have evidence of subsistence, exploitation of raw materials and external contacts.

There are, of course, some minor criticisms that could be made. A more stringent editing, for instance, might have produced a more concise work, and the drawing of pottery at one-half scale seems extravagant and unnecessarily contrary to modern convention; the quality of drawing or reproduction has also led to blurring of some of the illustrations of stamped pottery. The publication of the volume as part of the numbered series of the county journal rather than as a supplementary monograph may annoy those members who would not want either a detailed report or a break in their sequence, and will certainly lead to bibliographical irritation and confusion. It would however be wrong to emphasise these points rather than welcome an important contribution to Saxon settlement studies. If the discussion of the settlement pattern and its development is necessarily inconclusive, that is not the fault of this excavation or this report.

T. C. CHAMPION


Anglo-Saxon archaeologists and historians must welcome this latest corpus of material which makes available a considerable amount of data in a useful format. Professor Evison’s monograph begins with an analysis of the wheel-thrown pottery from Anglo-Saxon graves and includes valuable sections on Roman pottery from Saxon cemeteries as well as four pages on hand-made copies. Chapter 2 is a detailed discussion of Merovingian pottery, and becomes a valuable contribution to the subject that has received scandalously little discursive treatment in the past. Chapter 3 is a discussion of these imports: their forms, date, function and decoration, and the continental sources of wine which might have been associated with these wares. This chapter also includes a summary account of Ipswich ware in the light of the foregoing discussion which seems slightly inappropriate, but is none the less an interesting appraisal. There is then a brief evaluation of the thin-section analyses and chemical analyses undertaken on many of these imports. Chapter 4 is a discussion of the Kentish connexions with the Frankish kingdom in the 6th and 7th centuries. Finally, there is a long list of the imports; a list of hand-made imitations; a list of illustrated continental parallels; appendices on the Sarre imports (1); the thin-section results (2); and the chemical analyses using atomic absorption spectroscopy (3). The figures are particularly well produced, and the plates round off this volume.

There is a striking amount of data usefully considered in this volume which instantly makes it a most valuable work to possess. However, the descriptions of the pottery, which we shall all refer to, are in a form that sadly pre-dates the Peacock guidelines (cf. D. P. S. Peacock in his edited volume, Pottery and Early Commerce (London: Academic Press, 1977), 21–33). Professor Evison has endeavoured to obtain a great deal of analytical work on the fabrics, but these are only cursorily treated in the end because the results are rather vague,
In effect, the thin-sections are dismissed (p. 94) because "it seems that one must be cautious in erecting classifications on textural features alone", while the wide area defined by the chemical analyses in no way aids Professor Evison's chapter on the connexions maintained by the Kentish court. (To be fair, however, this work must have been carried out a long time ago, and in the field of "scientific aids" there have been many recent and very useful technical advances.)

As a result the analysis of these imports is based primarily on typology. In particular, Professor Evison focuses on the Merovingian wares in the Pas-de-Calais and Nord. This is a useful study in its own right as each museum in this region holds substantial stocks of Merovingian wares that have not been satisfactorily studied. However, there must be reservations about such a form of analysis since many of these types had a wide currency during the Migration period, extending across the territorial confines of the emergent Frankish kingdoms. There are certainly Rhenish imports of 7th-century date from recent excavations at Ipswich and a Seine valley import (Hamwih class 25) from the excavations at Chalton, Hants., which suggest that we have to consider a wider source area than simply the Pas-de-Calais/Nord. This view is also reinforced by the extensive mints which coined the imported gold tremisses found in the same cemeteries as the imported pots.

Furthermore, Professor Evison's discussion of the historical connexions focuses very much on a well-worn theme. It would obviously be interesting to evaluate the significance of Flemish and Rhenish contacts at this time and assess these in the light of the documented alliances between the Kentish and Parisian courts. The imported pottery, coins and glassware offer this opportunity, and enable us to go beyond the sample of historical documentation which has survived.

Yet these points may be simply a case of wishful thinking on the part of the reviewer. For the moment anyone working on Saxon pottery can be very grateful that this corpus has been published because it provides the opportunity to assess the recently discovered imports from Canterbury, Dover, Ipswich and Mucking. When considered with Dr Myres's recently published corpus of Anglo-Saxon pottery it is clear that these volumes provide a valuable platform for the development of early Saxon studies in the 1980s.

Richard Hodges


Dumnonia was probably the richest of the successor kingdoms of Roman Britain. Its historical reality is attested, for instance, by Gildas's attack on Constantine of Dumnonia. We have no precise knowledge of its boundaries, but it is reasonable to equate it with Cornwall, Devon, and much of Somerset and Dorset. The independent British state succumbed, piecemeal and in datable stages, to the westward expansion of Wessex, and was firmly integrated into the late Saxon kingdom. In the century after the Norman Conquest, shadowy traditions, common to Dumnonia, SE. Wales and Brittany, burgeoned forth into the Tristan–Isult–Mark and Arthurian cycles. The professed theme of this book is the historical reality which lay behind the pseudo-history and romance.

Susan Pearce, Curator of Antiquities at Exeter since 1966, is well placed to explore this reality through archaeology and through the documents, both secular and ecclesiastical. Her two opening chapters display the character of the early evidence, at such a level that the archaeological chapter would be useful for a historian, and vice versa. The core of the book comprises three chapters on the development of the British and West Saxon churches, and on the memorials of the saints. Notable here is her discussion of church dedications, on which she has published original research. The growth of the pseudo-history is then examined under the heading 'Genealogy and Story'. A final chapter on 'Reality and Romance' begins to pull together the fragmented and disparate material of
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previous sections, but is side-tracked into a curious excursus on Irish settlement in Cornwall. Appendices include a valuable list of supposedly pre-Saxon graveyards, and a rehash of Cornish hagiography.

All this would be valuable enough, were it not overloaded with detail — excavation by excavation, church by church — presented in a drably judicious manner, in which the author denies herself any personal interpretations. Characteristic is her treatment of Tintagel, ‘one of the most difficult [sites] to interpret’. She first rehearses Radford’s hypothesis of an early monastic settlement within a bank-and-ditch vallum. She then presents Burrow’s objections, based on his claim that the vallum is a military, secular work. Her summary, far from giving her own viewpoint, begins ‘If Tintagel is the site of an early monastic city . . .’.

This indecisiveness would be tolerable if we could at least be certain that we are always given a fair summary of other people’s evidence and interpretations. We would then have a valuable corpus or calendar of information on which to build our own models. Unfortunately, the accuracy and balance of Miss Pearce’s summaries may be doubted. To cite a personal example: although her bibliography includes the 1972 Cadbury-Camelot book, her chronological summary ignores the plain statement that the post-Roman rampart is to be dated, not to some vague period after c. 400, but precisely to the late 5th or early 6th century. She consequently overlooks the probability that at Cadbury-Camelot there was a clear hiatus between a religious function in the later 4th century, and the military re-use a century later. The implication is that, contra Miss Pearce, the late Roman use of a hillfort by no means implies continuity, with or without a change of function, through subsequent centuries.

Given the military, and consequently political, importance of hillforts, it is disturbing that her treatment is so unsatisfactory. Her claim that a suggestively large number of battles in the 5th to 7th centuries took place in the immediate vicinity of a hillfort would refute itself if she read the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; no doubt my discussion in Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies for November 1977 appeared too late to guide her. Moreover, the statement that the percentage of excavated sites which produce evidence of use after A.D. 400 is rising would need careful documentation to be either credible or significant. It would be necessary for a start to discount those excavations which had been undertaken specifically with post-Roman evidence in view.

In examining British traditions, Miss Pearce remarks that such evidence ‘requires the skills of the anthropologist or the folklorist in its discussion’. This is very true, but neither her bibliography nor her exposition reveals any acquaintance with the relevant literature: in particular, the absence of Henige’s Chronology of Oral Tradition (Oxford, 1974) is noticeable. As a result she fails to make it clear that the Dumnonian King-list and genealogical tracts — to say nothing of the Irish traditions — are dubious material indeed, their early stages certainly lying below the horizon of historical knowledge.

Nor is she fully conversant with the immediately relevant insular literature. Her account of the Irish penetration of Dumnonia makes sensible use of the inscribed stones, but also leans heavily on pottery evidence: the supposed derivation of Cornish grass-marked pottery from Ultonian souterrain ware. Here she has overlooked Ryan’s sceptical treatment in Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 73 (1973), 619–43. To this one might add that current opinion in Ireland rejects the derivation even more strongly; and Mr Alan Lane informs me that the rare grass-marked sherds from Iona occur in contexts of the 9th or later centuries.

The book is illustrated with an excellent series of distribution maps, which are only occasionally overloaded with symbols. The half-tones, however, are often wishy-washy, and are not properly integrated into the text. The bibliography is well presented, and misprints appear to be rare; but this reviewer is not best pleased to appear consistently as Alcock, A. (? for Algernon).

LESLIE ALCOCK
This is a good example of how a conference can result in a useful handbook, with up-to-date summaries of larger fields within the theme treated and with presentations of new material and new research. The book is mainly based on papers delivered at the Fourth York Archaeological Weekend in November 1976, and contains contributions from several disciplines. The main stress is on the archaeology of York, which is dealt with in three papers filling more than half the volume. Added to these are five papers and an introduction giving the ‘setting’ of the city in the Viking Age. The theme of the conference was ‘Viking York and the North’, but the title of the book is ‘Viking Age York and the North’. This is a significant change, marking a cautiousness in the interpretation of the role of the Scandinavians in England. The importance of the Anglian element is stressed in several articles, and the authors also use the term ‘Anglo-Scandinavian’ for the period 876–1069, when people of Scandinavian origin dominated northern England, first as independent rulers of York (–945), then as subjects of the English king.

The history of Viking Age Northumbria is treated in three papers. P. H. Sawyer surveys the sparse written sources and briefly discusses the linguistic material so important for estimating the Scandinavian settlement. In this connexion he puts forward a new thesis: ‘The Vikings were conquerors rather than colonists’, and their conquest led to the formation of a new aristocracy and a redistribution of land, not to a large-scale Scandinavian colonization of new land. A. P. Smyth presents a table of Northumbrian chronology 865–956, and M. Dolley gives a survey of the coins struck by the Scandinavian rulers in York.

Two articles are devoted to the archaeological material from Yorkshire outside York. J. T. Lang summarizes his research on stone sculpture from the Anglo-Scandinavian period. He stresses the strong traditions from the Anglian period, and argues convincingly that the Middleton crosses and other works, often looked upon as showing the introduction of the Jellinge style in England, are provincial derivatives of sculpture in the Anglian tradition. A. King gives a first report from the excavations of a farmstead with rectangular stone-built houses in the fells of westernmost Yorkshire.

The three papers on the archaeology of Anglo-Scandinavian York expound the results of the earlier and the current excavations, and are filled with references to the many papers and preliminary reports already published, and to forthcoming final publications. R. A. Hall surveys the topography of the city. Material from the Anglian period is still very sparse and difficult to interpret. But the Anglo-Scandinavian age stands out as a period of expansion, as is now clear from large excavations not only SE. of the Roman fortress, but also W. of the R. Ouse, in the area of the Roman \textit{colonia}. From this area also comes what is pointed out as the first certain evidence of unchanged tenement boundaries from the Anglo-Scandinavian period up to modern times.

A. MacGregor gives a comprehensive presentation of the artifact finds, with the main aim to illustrate industry and commerce in the town. There are good finds testifying long-distance trade with the Continent and Scandinavia, but the evidence of manufacturing industries is richer, including crafts such as tanning and wood turning.

The last article, written by H. K. Kenward, D. Williams, P. J. Spencer, J. R. A. Greig, D. J. Rackham and D. A. Brinklow, is devoted to the current, large-scale studies of environmental archaeology in York. The results concern the regional environment as well as the activities and conditions in the town. It is a preliminary report, however, and many of the conclusions seem rather general (the town was by modern standards intolerably squalid, p. 68). But the work will no doubt be fruitful, when the authors have had time for comparative studies.

In the introduction P. V. Addyman points out the fact-finding traditions of ‘Anglo-Scandinavian’ scholarship. There is very little speculation in this volume. For this reason,
it seems to me that 'Viking Age York', the term used in the title of the book, is better than 'Anglo-Scandinavian York', which is used in the articles. The latter designation gives the idea that 876 marks a major shift in the development of the town. It is also often said that the Vikings lay behind the quick development of York and the trade boom in the Anglo-Scandinavian period. But chronology is very little touched upon in this book. MacGregor underlines that it is difficult to distinguish between artifacts that arrived in the town before and soon after the Scandinavian settlement. And as long as results from above all dendro-chronology are missing, this will also hold true for the settlement remains. So, when and why did York grow into one of the greatest North Sea trading places?

Sometimes I think that the Scandinavian element in the archaeological material is still overestimated (my thanks are here due to Mr MacGregor for showing me and discussing the new finds from York). The mould for a trefoil ornament, fig. 24,8, is said to show a Scandinavian type of brooch and a decoration in 'Anglo-Scandinavian' style (is that a style characteristic of the Anglo-Scandinavian regions of England or, maybe, a blend of English and Scandinavian style? — cf. p. 34), indicating 'that the type was not only adopted in England but that its development was further pursued here' (p. 43). To me the object cast in the mould seems purely English. We do not know whether it was a mount or a brooch. Trefoil mounts are only known to have been produced in the West of Europe, and brooches — although better known from Scandinavia — are also known to have been made there (the back of the Kirkoswald ornament shows surfaces prepared for soldering a pin attachment; D. M. Wilson, Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700-1100 in the British Museum (London, 1964), no. 28). The decoration, including the detached animal heads, has good parallels in English Winchester-style metalwork (ibid., no. 148). The detached animal heads could be compared with similar heads in Scandinavian art, but the best parallels would be in the early Viking Age (the Gripping-Beast style), which makes the comparison doubtful. The heads do not show the formalization which characterizes the Borre style, and they lack the protruding ball eyes so typical of Borre heads. I cannot see any traces of Borre style in the geometric pattern of the mount (!), fig. 24,5, either. The pin, fig. 28,5, looks un-Scandinavian to me. The Birka brooch mentioned by MacGregor cannot be quoted as a parallel, but perhaps a pin from Hedeby can be (H. Jankuhn, Die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu (1937-39), 1943, abb. 73e).

It seems to me that when the Scandinavians arrived in York, they met an urban community in rapid development, and this development was not greatly affected by their arrival. Although politically and linguistically influential, they seem to have received more than they contributed in the quick process of assimilation with the Anglian population. But this is a conclusion drawn from impressions rather than facts. Such broad conclusions are eschewed by the York archaeologists — they wait yet a little while.

INGMAR JANSSON


These volumes deserve to be welcomed as a major contribution to Viking studies. Aggersborg, Fyrkat, Nonnebakken and Trelleborg have figured prominently in most recent accounts of the late Viking period but in future, thanks to these reports, discussions about them and their significance are likely to be more fruitful. The authors have not narrowly limited themselves to Fyrkat, but have reviewed evidence, some of it unpublished,
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from the other forts, and the search for comparative evidence has led them far afield in Europe, as well as in Scandinavia. The result is the most illuminating discussion of these structures yet published, and a most important contribution to our understanding of 10th-century Denmark.

In the first volume Olaf Olsen deals with the history and topography of the site, and gives an account of its excavation, with full acknowledgement of the work of the original excavator, C. G. Schultz, and his foreman, Svend Søndergaard. He then provides a detailed and commendably lucid account of what can be deduced about the fort itself, its layout, defences and streets. Holger Schmidt's discussion of the buildings (chapters 9-14) includes comparisons with those found at Aggersborg, Trelleborg and elsewhere, and he also provides a detailed account of the structural evidence for each house (chapter 15). In chapter 7 Olsen compares Fyrkat with what can be known about the other three forts, and comments on possible sources for their methods of construction and overall design. In chapter 6 he prefaces his own discussion of their purpose and date with a review of previous suggestions. Great efforts have been made to help English readers; Eva and David Wilson have prepared a full summary of the whole book with complete translations of chapters 7-14. All photographs, plans and figures have captions in English as well as Danish. Attention should also be drawn to the separately paginated appendix by Hans Helbaek, in English, on the rye found at Fyrkat, in which the conclusion that it came from South or East of the Baltic is supported by a detailed account of other finds of rye, and of the weeds associated with it.

Else Roesdahl devotes most of the second volume (pp. 13-143) to a full and well-illustrated catalogue of the finds from the fort and the cemetery, with eight plans (pp. 176-84) showing the distribution of finds in the fort. In chapter iv the layout of the cemetery, the burial customs and the human remains are discussed, while in chapter v deductions are made about the activities of the inhabitants. In the last chapter, vi, the date and function of Fyrkat and the other forts are discussed. The Wilsons have provided full translations of chapters iv-vi, and the shorter summaries of the first three chapters may be supplemented by reference to the full English captions to the numerous illustrations. There is an appendix by Peter Wagner, with an English summary, on the identification of the wood found at Fyrkat.

All contributors emphasize the limitations of the evidence, and no-one should attempt to draw conclusions from this material without taking full account of the problems encountered in its excavation, recording and preservation. The structural evidence, for example, consists almost entirely of post-holes, most of which were excavated by emptying, a quick method that not only leads to confusion between hole and post but also makes it difficult, if not impossible, to detect inclined posts. The records of the cemetery excavation are unsatisfactory and there are problems with the finds themselves, some were found in a very poor state of preservation, not all have been successfully conserved, and a few have completely disappeared.

In the large literature on the Trelleborg forts particular attention has naturally been paid to their date, origin and purpose. Olsen introduces his discussion of these questions by carefully analysing their common features; the use of Roman feet in units of six, the perfectly circular ramparts with flat berms and concentric, V-shaped ditches, the constructional details of the ramparts, the design of the houses and their arrangement in squares set in quadrants defined by wood-paved axial streets leading to covered gates in the ramparts at the points of the compass. Schmidt demonstrates that the design and constructional details of the buildings belong to a tradition that is well evidenced in Scandinavia, although the size and regularity of the large houses suggest that they were planned and built by specialists rather than by locals; their best parallels being the halls of rulers and aristocrats rather than the houses of farmers. There are no such parallels for the overall design of the forts and the rectangular lay-out of the houses. Olsen discusses the various sources that have been proposed, but draws particular attention to the ring fort of Souburg on Walcheren which may have been first built in the late 9th century. Its internal arrangement is now
unlike Fyrkat’s, but it has a circular rampart with the same internal diameter as Trelleborg, 135 m, a concentric ditch but without a berm, and axial streets leading to four gates set at 20° from the cardinal compass points. There are several other ring forts, possibly contemporary with Souburg, along the North Sea coast from Burg on Schouwen to Bourbourg, SW. of Dunkerque, and aerial photographs of four from the Schelde estuary are reproduced as fig. 71.

The constructional details of the ramparts and the ditches of the Danish forts seem to reflect Saxon or Frisian rather than Slav influence, while the arrangement of the large houses in courtyards may, as Schmidt suggests, echo Carolingian or Ottonian models. The search for sources therefore seems to lead to the Carolingian empire and its successor kingdoms. This seems most plausible. It was from that quarter that the Danes received Christianity, and when Godfred established Hedeby he appears to have been following a Frankish example, best evidenced at Dorestad. The Danes, like the English, learned much from the Franks.

These volumes were published before Tage Christiansen and his colleagues had established the firm dendrochronological date for Trelleborg, which proves to be the winter of 980. This result was first announced in Copenhagen in September 1979. Olsen and Roesdahl are therefore to be congratulated on proposing 950–1000 as their date limits. Roesdahl’s conclusion that ‘Fyrkat and Trelleborg must have been built in the reign of Harald Bluetooth or, possibly, in the very first year of Sven Forkbeard’ shows how the careful analysis of varied dating indications can lead to remarkably reliable results.

Olsen and Roesdahl agree that the detailed similarities between these short-lived forts must mean that they were all built at much the same time, and by a Danish king with authority in the islands as well as North Jutland. In discussing the reasons for their construction they come to somewhat different conclusions. Olsen emphasizes their military functions, and is inclined to regard them as camps for warriors gathered for external campaigns. He recognizes that his earlier assumption that they were associated with the campaigns against England must be abandoned because those raids ‘took place at the extreme upper limit of our possible dates for the building of the fortresses’ and because the finds point to links with Scandinavia and the Baltic rather than with England. Instead, he now suggests that they are to be connected with Sven Forkbeard’s Baltic adventures, before the English campaigns. Nine-hundred and eighty is, however, too early for that explanation, and in any case Tage Christiansen has shown that there was no waterway from Trelleborg to the sea at that time (Kuml, 1970, pp. 43–63).

Roesdahl shows that the finds at Fyrkat do not have a particularly military character and that the cemetery resembles that of a normal tenth-century Danish community, but she accepts that the forts must have had some military function, probably as refuges, and she cites the forts of the English Burghal Hidage as a parallel. She goes on to suggest that they also had a more general function as centres of royal power, as places in which taxes or renders to the king were collected by his agents, and in which courts were held. The English burhs are indeed a good parallel for they were centres of royal authority under royal reeves who presided over courts, supervised markets and collected taxes. Many English burhs were regular and carefully planned, but none was circular nor were they laid out in the elaborate manner of the Danish forts. Here too Roesdahl seems to be on the right lines in emphasizing their importance as ‘projects of public prestige’. Just as later medieval lords built towers to display their wealth and importance as well as to secure their safety, so Harald Bluetooth may well have tried to demonstrate his power and resources by these extravagant encampments, a purpose for which Ottonian models would have been most appropriate. These were not the only elaborate and short-lived projects that he undertook. The Kanehave canal across Samso, and the kilometre-long causeway across Ravninge Enge have both been dated fairly securely to the last years of his reign, and neither lasted long. The royal necropolis at Jelling proved a more permanent memorial. It is therefore reasonable to associate Fyrkat and the other forts with the claim made on the Jelling stone that Harald ‘won the whole of Denmark for himself’.

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If, as seems likely, these forts were all built in the last years of his reign, their short life can perhaps be explained by Sven's successful revolt against his father in 987. This experiment in royal grandeur was neither continued nor repeated. The forts at Aggersborg and Nonnebakken, in the centre of Odense, fell into decay but their sites were retained in royal hands, possibly because they were well placed in relation to Limfjord and the island of Fyn. We do not know whether, or for how long, Fyrkat and Trelleborg remained royal. Later kings certainly needed estates throughout Denmark in which they could stay, with their retinues, and in which their agents could collect and store the renders in kind that were owed to them. Such estates are well documented in medieval Scandinavia, and some were given a distinctive name, Husaby. There are at least eight of these place-names widely scattered in Jutland and the Islands; Aggersborg and Jelling each having one nearby. This place-name is a combination of the plural form of hus, 'houses', and by, suggesting that they were distinguished from other estates in having several houses. Such a name would have been peculiarly appropriate for Fyrkat and the other forts in their hey-day and it is perhaps worth considering the possibility that they once formed part of a network of royal Husaby throughout Denmark.

P. H. Sawyer


The Sussex Archaeological Field Unit has provided new impetus to rescue archaeology in its two counties. This volume is based on papers delivered at one of its conferences, which provide summaries of current knowledge on period, regional and thematic aspects of Sussex from its geological structure to late medieval vernacular architecture. It is appropriately dedicated to Eric Holden, who has made outstanding contributions there as a fieldworker, excavator and publisher.

Nine of the fifteen papers deal with prehistoric or Roman topics, which are strictly beyond the scope of this review. Nevertheless it is interesting that pre-Roman settlements on the Downs occur 'on south-facing spurs, though not necessarily on the highest point' (p. 41) and thus mirror the early Saxon cemetery and settlement locations. For every period discussed here, the Weald is poorly represented and more research, fieldwork and excavation are essential. Cleere's suggestion that the eastern Sussex Weald was part of the Roman Imperial estate (pp. 62–3) may explain the separate development of that region in the early Saxon period. Subsequent annexation to the South Saxon shire presumably reflects the policies of 8th and 9th-century overlords, whether kings of Mercia or Wessex.

Turning to the medieval papers, Martin Bell's summary of Saxon settlement patterns and Caroline Dudley's of Saxon and early medieval mints inevitably appear slight compared to fuller accounts published in the same year in P. Brandon (ed.), The South Saxons (Chichester: Phillimore). Bell's account there of the settlement evidence together with his report on the Bishopstone settlement (Sussex Archaeological Collections, 115 (1977) ) provide far more detail. Similarly Ian Stewart's survey of the Sussex mints necessitates modification of some of Miss Dudley's statements, which nevertheless provide a valuable introduction to this technical subject. Fred Aldsworth's paper on church archaeology is a plea for more fieldwork and research into parishes, their churches and their settlements. He illustrates with results from a survey of West Dean, but many of his examples are drawn from recent work outside Sussex. The historical geographer's view of the colonization of the Weald is the principal subject of Peter Brandon's contribution, but this should be read ideally in conjunction with his paper in The South Saxons and his Sussex Landscape (1974) volume. David Freke draws on an S.A.F.U. survey published with Aldsworth, Historic Towns in Sussex (1976), to assess the development of towns for the Saxon and Medieval periods. Urban excavation is expensive, but every opportunity presented by redevelopment should
be followed through in conjunction with topographical and architectural studies. Finally David Martin examines timber-framed houses in the Rape of Hastings, seeking a correlation of building size to the acreage of tenements, discussing the rural trading centres such as Robertsbridge, whose economic decline from the late 16th to the 19th centuries has preserved these buildings, and commenting on elaborately finished façades in some houses offset by 'economies' in less visible parts of the construction.

In conclusion, this volume provides a useful introduction to current ideas in the archaeology of Sussex. Some of the papers suffer from over compression and the medieval contributions are far from providing a complete coverage. In particular it is unfortunate that there is no paper on medieval industry in the Weald to match Cleere's contribution on Roman ironworks. The price also seems excessive for a slender volume illustrated with line drawings.

MARTIN WELCH


Walton lies on the outskirts of Aylesbury about 500 m SE. of the town centre. Excavation of an area of some 70 m x 45 m adjacent to the main village street was arranged by the D.o.E. and the County Museum to examine the site before development. Early occupation of the vicinity was indicated by Neolithic and Romano-British pottery, but no structural evidence for these periods was found. Definite occupation of the area commenced in the 5th century A.D. and continued into the 7th. If the traditions recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle correspond, even approximately, to the facts, Aylesbury was in British hands in the year 571 when Cuthwulf is said to have captured the town with Limbury above Luton, Bensington and Eynsham after a battle with the Britons at Bedcan ford. Small finds indicate the probability of occupation in the 8th and 9th centuries. The boundary ditches set out between the 10th and 12th centuries mark the consolidation of the holdings and the development of the manor site.

The topography of Walton probably has changed little since the middle ages. Despite close proximity to Aylesbury, Walton survived as a distinct village into the 19th century whereas several other medieval settlements close to the town had failed centuries earlier. The success of Walton may be attributed to its location on a significant road junction and to its geology. The latter is of particular importance; like Aylesbury, the village is situated on well-drained Portland limestone whereas those which failed were on less attractive clay.

The well-drained soils at Walton would have attracted the early settlers who were inclined to avoid the clay-lands in favour of the more easily worked soils on the sand, gravel, chalk and limestone. The excavation of the early Saxon levels at this site exposed the remains of five sunken-featured buildings, three halls, six pits and a few gullies dating from the 5th century to c. 700, but the excavations probably revealed only a small portion of the complete settlement. Chance discoveries during the past hundred years indicate that there was also a cemetery containing both inhumations and cremations. The size of the sunken-featured buildings varied from 4.0 m x 2.85 m to 5.88 m x 4.20 m. No internal hearths were found with these remains. The sunken floors of the smallest and the largest of the group were recorded as showing considerable signs of wear indicating that they had not been boarded over like those at West Stow. A discussion on the function of these buildings would have been helpful. The absence of a hearth on the worn floor surface of the two buildings indicates that they must have served some function other than domestic occupation. There seems to be no evidence to suggest that the other sunken-featured buildings could be interpreted as houses. Sparse remains of three halls of this period were defined by lines of post-holes, hearths and the spread of occupational debris. The nearby
isolated hearths possibly mark the positions of further houses built without earthfast foundations.

The layout of boundary ditches suggests that a roadway had been established on a line of the present village street by the 10th century, but the road frontage was not available for excavation. The 13th century saw the construction of the manorial boundaries. The position of the medieval manor house is probably marked by Walton Court, a late Victorian building lying immediately adjacent to the excavated area.

The excavation finds, particularly those of the early Saxon period, provide much information on the ecology of a settlement situated on favourable land. The analysis of the sample of animal bones recovered from the site was directed towards the finding of differences between the periods represented. Although the study was somewhat hampered by their fragmented nature, the research has added much to the understanding of the agrarian economy of the district.

GUY BERESFORD


The first volume of a much-needed series must be welcome, and still more so when it sets so high a standard for scholarship and accuracy. The three authors are already well known for their work on Merovingian and Carolingian art and architecture. Together with Mme Lamy-Lassalle they collaborated on a valuable monograph on the early medieval churches of Paris (published in Paris et Ile-de-France, xi (1960)), and separately have produced important studies of individual monuments or groups of artifacts, and, most notably, Mme Vieillard-Troïekouroff’s fine integration of the literary and archaeological evidence in her book on the religious monuments in Gregory of Tours’s Gaul. The individual entries in this catalogue are initialled by the authors; most are the responsibility of Mlle Fossard, which is appropriate in view of her past work on the Parisian sarcophagi with which much of this volume is concerned.

After a preface by M. Jean Hubert on the sculpture of early medieval France, and an introduction by Mme Vieillard-Troïekouroff to the Parisian material, the sculptures are listed according to their present location, whether in church or museum. It will be the policy of the series to catalogue the early medieval sculptures of France according to present whereabouts rather than provenance, which means that in this volume, especially in the section on the Louvre, there are a number of important items from outside Paris, above all from southern France. But in most cases the sculptures were found locally, including all 286 now in the Musée Carnavalet, of which as many as 163 (over a third of the total number of 406 sculptures listed) come from the one cemetery of St-Germain-des-Prés, excavated by Théodore Vacquer in the 1870s. The catalogue closes with a listing of works known only from such sources as Vacquer’s manuscripts, the description of a few items wrongly attributed to the early medieval period, and a brief list of pieces found in excavations since 1970, when the authors ceased their work of collection. The whole volume is in a sense a tribute to the zeal of Théodore Vacquer, the municipal inspector of excavations in the late 19th century. The majority of the sculptures were unearthed and preserved by him, and those which were not preserved by him were at least usually recorded, and this volume reproduces a number of invaluable sketches and photographs made by him. It was by a careful collation of Vacquer’s notes with the marks which he painted on many of the sarcophagi that the authors were able to assign them to the relevant cemetery. It is obviously as a record of the art of early medieval Paris that this volume will above all be seen, and of Merovingian Paris indeed, for almost nothing here can be later than the 8th century. In
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It is the most complete publication yet of the moulded plaster sarcophagi of the Paris region: 276 entries relate to these sarcophagi or to their decorated panels. Even before the publication of volumes relating to neighbouring regions it will now be possible to have an overall view of these unique products, for similar examples, or identical ones from the same moulds, from outside Paris are cited at the appropriate entry.

As M. Hubert says in his preface, commentary or judgement belong to an art-historical study and not to a corpus of documents. But judgements there are, occasionally, and inevitably without the arguments to support them. In the case of the few SW. Gallic marble sarcophagi in the Louvre, for instance, we are told that they are predominantly 7th century in date, and that production continued until the Arab invasion. Although the contradictory dates given by Ward-Perkins and Briesenick are mentioned, the unqualified assertion of the late chronology will almost certainly have the effect of further entrenching the French orthodoxy. It is to be hoped that the grounds for that orthodoxy will be re-argued in print soon: it is over twenty years since Mlle Fossard’s fundamental article, and no replies to the cogent arguments of Ward-Perkins (Antiquaries Journal, 1960) and Briesenick (Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, 1962) have appeared in French. Likewise we find repeated in the valuable entry on the decorated marble columns from Notre-Dame-la-Daurade in Toulouse (nos. 336–7) the strange judgement that a 5th-century dating is not ‘compatible with the domination of Toulouse by the Arian Visigoths’: an art-historical judgement ultimately deriving from one passage in one letter by Sidonius Apollinaris, the relevance of which to the general history of the Catholic Church in Visigothic Gaul historians have doubted for a long time. On the other hand, there is perhaps unfortunately no attempt to argue a closer dating for the plaster sarcophagi of Paris, despite the oft-repeated remark that some of the motifs were inspired by Merovingian jewellery. The publication of so many of these sarcophagi allows one to accept the possibility of this theory, which Mlle Fossard has argued twice already in print. Although the recent attempt by M. Michel Fleury (in Problèmes de chronologie relative et absolue concernant les cimetières mérovingiens d’entre Loire et Rhin, Paris, 1973, pp. 111–30) to deny direct relationship between the sarcophagi and the jewellery does introduce a number of important qualifications, on the whole it fails to demolish Mlle Fossard’s theory. But on questions of dating and stylistic origins we shall be able to argue much more profitably as this series nears completion: much of the groundwork has already been done, and we may join M. Hubert in the hope that other volumes will soon follow.

EDWARD JAMES


As an archaeologist from the Continent, and at the same time from a federally organized country, one is filled with admiration at the way in which through its publications the C.B.A. addresses itself to the solution of current archaeological problems of fundamental significance from a central stand-point and to a high standard.

This applies, for example, to the paper Archaeology and Government, or to the study on the archaeology of city centres The Erosion of History, as much as to the present research report on church archaeology. The impetus for this activity was the threatened loss of numerous sources for church archaeology, through construction and planning measures in the Church of England, which — in contrast to most continental countries — does not come under the national monuments service.

Through its recently formed Churches Committee, the C.B.A. has succeeded in a short time in laying the methodological foundation for a new and expanded church archaeology. The result is the research report under discussion. The authors discuss in five parts the fundamentals of ecclesiastical architectural history as well as the basic potential of church archaeology for information on general historical problems. They also discuss questions of
practical organization and present, through examples, research objectives and techniques of working.

In part 1, ‘The Foundations of Architectural History’ are systematically defined and set out by H. M. Taylor: the three primary source types, namely the contemporary written sources, the surviving standing structure, and the archaeological record in the ground, are traditionally separate fields of study for historians, architectural historians and archaeologists. These sources have provided, certainly for the period after the Norman Conquest, though not for the Anglo-Saxon period, a reliable picture of ecclesiastical building history. For that reason, Taylor’s article proposes a plan of research for this earlier period. This of course also applies to the Continent. Apart from architectural/typological studies, Taylor proposes a basic programme of comprehensive investigations, perhaps of half-a-dozen carefully selected churches with particularly good source material. These investigations should contain:

1. Research on the contemporary written sources for the history of the foundation and construction (of the building) as well as of all later alterations up to the present.
2. Detailed stratigraphic examinations of all the standing parts of the church with regard to their relative chronology.

Taylor demonstrates stratigraphical sequences by the heightening of walls, the underpinnings, cutting away of walls as well as additions with straight joints. A little may be added here: butt joints should not in every case be interpreted in terms of relative chronology. They could also have been planned in one and the same building process from the outset — for example between tower and nave — in order to avoid one part of the building breaking away from another, in view of the different load and the anticipated different rate of settlement. Conversely, bonding should not in every case indicate contemporaneity, as it could possibly be prepared for a later attachment or also be subsequently bonded. Lastly, building joints which result from a contemporary start on construction from different ends of the building or from alterations of plan can also complicate interpretation. The stratigraphical layer sequences from the mortaring of joints, plaster, whitewashing and wall paintings on the wall deserve much more serious consideration than they have hitherto merited, as recent investigations show, for example at Frauenchiemsee, Unterregenbach and a few other places in Germany. Sequences of in part more than 20 layers of independent wall-treatment often permit, through the application of methods of stratigraphical investigation, the relative chronology of the building parts to be better recognized than through the wall construction alone. Occasionally stylistically or scientifically datable painting layers also give fixed points in an absolute chronology. The up till now small number of published results of investigations of this kind demonstrate how much ecclesiastical building research can gain in the future from increased co-operation with wall painting restorers. They should certainly be specifically trained for these kinds of stratigraphical and technological investigations.

The same thing applies to the development of dendrochronology. Church building research on the Continent is indebted to it for a great number of recent absolute datings.

3. Archaeological excavation: without this no complete building history is in fact possible. Earlier structures, the relationship of the church to contemporary and earlier settlement, dated finds as well as the complementary clues to liturgical function gained from the written sources are only to be achieved by archaeological methods.

Part 2 of the volume is devoted to the organizational questions of church archaeology. P. Wade-Martins and R. K. Morris describe the threat to the Church of England’s churchyards and ecclesiastical buildings and propose an archaeological advisory system of the C.B.A. to the Diocesan Advisory Committee and the Council for Places of Worship, as the first steps towards the protection of ecclesiastical archaeological sources. O. Olsen, G. P. Fehring and H. Halbertsma review the various favourable circumstances and legal conditions in Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands.

In part 3, L. A. S. Butler describes and D. Owen details what evidence is to be gained from the written sources for the different periods.
In part 4 various archaeological investigations of churches and their problems are set out. Under difficult external conditions Professor R. Cramp examined St Paul’s Monastery at Jarrow, which is especially important because of its traditional connexion with Bede. She was able to reconstruct the plan of the early monastery characterized by separate convent buildings, and also the rebuilding to the classic Benedictine plan type in the late Anglo-Saxon period, as well as later building phases following alterations of function and meaning.

J. G. Hurst reports on the conditions, methods and results of the excavations at the still-standing parish church of St Martin in the otherwise deserted village of Wharram Percy, which for 25 years has been a key project of the archaeological settlement research of the D.M.V.R.G. According to our experiences, the continuing and total investigation of the building and its buried levels should not and must not remain restricted to the redundant church. Twelve main periods from the Anglo-Saxon period up to the 19th century are also not uncommon on the Continent and reflect the fortunes of the entire settlement. In this sense the excavation of parts of the extensive cemetery was also of importance and essential for all questions of historical demography.

S. Knight describes a limited rescue excavation on St Andrews Old Church in Upleatham which goes back to the 9th century.

P. A. Rahtz deals in his contribution with the archaeology of churchyards, the possibilities for evidence and the threats to burials as well as gravestones. Techniques for protection, for the documentation and for rescue investigation are outlined.

K. A. and W. J. Rodwell in ‘The investigations of Churches in use: a problem of rescue archaeology’ give abundant practical advice. This covers the different kinds of threats, the necessary dealings with the ecclesiastical authorities, co-operation with the church architects over questions of building technique and safety; it also deals with problems of the archaeological and structural investigations of the church and the churchyard through an interdisciplinary team, and lastly with the work of publicity and publication.

On the basis of his own experiences excavating in York Minster D. Phillips reports on some ‘Excavation Techniques in church archaeology’: photography, preparation of grave plans and skeletal documentation.

P. A. Rahtz surveys ‘Research Directions at Deerhurst’ the interdisciplinary research project at St Mary’s church in which the objectives outlined by H. M. Taylor at the outset in part 1 are realized.

In part 5 ‘The Archaeology of the Church: a widening horizon’, M. Biddle sketches those overlapping broad historical problems which despite all detailed research should not be lost sight of: questions of the continuity from the Antique to the medieval period, of the changeover from paganism to Christianity as well as from cemeteries both apart from and alongside the church.

(1) A continuity of Christianity from the Roman into the medieval period has in Britain still nowhere been demonstrated in the context of uninterrupted use of a church building. Biddle however would like to accept it for the ‘Celtic West’. Just as infrequent so far has been the proof of functional continuity in burial grounds, At St Martins in Canterbury, St Albans, and possibly also in London it may however with reason be accepted, by analogy with the Rhenish martyria in Roman extra-mural cemeteries. Lastly, many churches situated in former Roman towns provide an indication of settlement continuity which are often linked with early dedications.

(2) On the question of the transition from pagan to Christian cults Biddle anticipates similar conditions to those worked on by O. Olsen in Denmark.

(3) The shift in burial grounds from the pagan cemeteries to the churchyards and the end of the deposition of grave-goods over a broad timespan may in England be understood as a strictly simultaneous process as infrequently as on the Continent. So apparently is the phenomenon explained whereby, despite previously existing churches (e.g. at Winchester) early Christian churchyards were still established in the vicinity of the old pagan burial
grounds, though topographically separated from them. They contain hardly any true grave-goods, only dress accessories. Following the introduction of the law of burial beside the church, the sparsity of burials inside the building indeed testifies to the prohibition of such burials. The same such things are frequently attested in the Carolingian period.

A noteworthy preface by Stuart Blanche the Archbishop of York, and a theological postscript by the Reverend Henry Stapleton frame a work which is a signpost not only for Great Britain but for church archaeology in general.

G. P. FEHRING


This report was sponsored by the D.o.E. and the C.B.A. in order to obtain comprehensive information regarding the current problems and potential of church archaeology in a limited geographical region. The results may be taken as representative of the general problems facing church archaeology, and as showing what directions should be pursued, and what should not, in surveys elsewhere.

In a preliminary section Rodwell describes church archaeology as ‘the study of the whole historic fabric and environment of ecclesiastical buildings’, a study orientated not just to understanding those buildings in themselves but to the wider ‘writing of history for periods, places, structures and people’ where no documentary evidence exists. He points out, however, that whereas we take for granted the continued existence of churches and graveyards, in reality restoration, alteration and obliteration are taking place at a rate not equalled since the Victorian period. His plea is that this primary historical evidence should not be destroyed ‘without any adequate record being made’, since much of it could in fact be retrieved by the archaeologist.

The survey itself is concerned with the 220 parochial churches or sites of churches of pre-1750 date within the Archdeaconry of Colchester. Each of these was examined with a view to its architectural form, its internal and external condition, the state of its churchyard, associated archaeological finds, ‘recent’ disturbances that may have affected the archaeological potential, and possible current threats. In addition each building was assessed and graded for its architectural importance, its archaeological importance, and the degree of disturbance to the site. This information is included in a gazetteer at the end of the report.

The survey information is of varying usefulness. The architectural descriptions and grading are not necessarily of archaeological relevance since ‘it is often the case that the most architecturally magnificent churches have the least to offer to the archaeologist’; yet it is certainly useful to have an archaeologist’s comments on the architecture of a building, since he has a particular eye for evidence of origin and development. Of greater importance, however, is the archaeological analysis (2.5): ‘what is known of the archaeology of the church, graveyard and surroundings?’; ‘what is known of the early documentary history of the church and its foundation?’; ‘to what extent was the church restored or rebuilt in the 19th century, and what now remains of the archaeology of earlier structures?’; ‘how much damage has been done to the archaeology in recent years?’. These are the fundamental questions that must be answered before we can assess what archaeological response to make to any threat (i.e. before we can apply the criteria set out in 10.42).

As to the existence of current threats which this survey attempted to cover, we can now take it as proven that nearly every church in England is likely to be subject to some threat to its archaeology — through repair, alteration or redundancy — at regular intervals (at worst, following every quinquennial inspection).

Church archaeology, of course, is only one branch of archaeology as a whole, and churches are only one category of archaeological monument or site. Rodwell perhaps, therefore, should have gone further towards forestalling criticism by those who object to
treatment of it in a category on its own. Separate treatment is, in fact, justified: not because the archaeology of churches is separate from archaeology in general; but because ecclesiastical buildings differ radically from all other archaeological sites in their administrative and legal status, and can only be dealt with by special arrangements. What those arrangements should be, however, remains a question unanswered by those in Church and State who have responsibility in these matters.

Rodwell groups his own recommendations under two headings. In the first place he believes that a considerable amount of archaeological damage could be avoided, through proper education of those with responsibility for churches. The reviewer considers that this education can best be directed towards the architects, who are the one body of professionals whom churches are already under a legal obligation to involve in the repair process — and among whom there exists already much archaeological good will. The second main recommendation is that unavoidable damage should always be accompanied by a proper level of recording of what is being destroyed (i.e. the sort of recording envisaged in 10.42). Such recording requires (as also does education) an active and qualified diocesan archaeologist with proper provision of funds. An admirable description of such a diocesan archaeologist's functions is set out in 10.28: it is a far cry from the present ad hoc consultative system which can be made to look similar on paper though not in practice. But, alas, both Church and State show every sign of ignoring this recommendation, while page by page the Sibylline Books are burnt.

R. D. H. GEM


Climatic historians are having considerable success in the reconstruction of the climate of the past, but the effect of the long-term climatic fluctuations on early societies and their economies has been the subject of controversy among many archaeologists and historians. The agricultural decline and disruption of the economy in NW. Europe in the later middle ages has been traditionally attributed to the Black Death in 1349-50 and the subsequent recurrences of the plague, but after more recent research it can be shown that these troubles can be traced back to the disastrous harvests, famines and diseases of cattle and sheep associated with particularly wet seasons towards the end of the first quarter of the 14th century. Many earlier attempts to assess the influence of the climate have been highly generalized, but Dr Parry's book aims to narrow the area of speculation and uncertainty that surrounds its role in agricultural history. He does so by drawing attention to particular types of climatic change in certain marginal areas where a change in climate is more keenly felt. There are three principal sections: firstly there is the summary of the existing information on the causes of climatic change, the manner in which they occur and the evidence from which their chronology may be traced; secondly the effect of the change upon marginal land especially that where the climatic conditions are barely suited to the range of crops grown and, thirdly, the effect of the long and short term variations on the economy.

Dr Parry's research has demonstrated how the long-term climatic change is reflected in the corn-growing upland districts in Britain where the upper limit of land capable of producing crops is dependent upon the growing seasons — the number of growing months with a mean temperature of over 10°C. The research also shows how the theoretical climatic limit of cultivation has risen and fallen over the past millennium according to the long-term variation of the climate. Dr Parry demonstrates that it is possible to estimate not only the length but also the accumulated warmth of the growing season at various altitudes and the probability of harvest failure. He shows that when the summer temperature is some 1300 day degrees centigrade the frequency of crop failure is about one year in sixty;
at 1150 day degrees centigrade the chances of failure would be one year in eight and should the temperature fall to 950 day degrees centigrade the chances of harvest failure could be as much as one year in two. Examples taken from the Lammermuir Hills show that average warmth and wetness at 1050 ft. (320 m) in the 13th century were prevailing at elevations at only 650 ft. (197 m) in the middle of the 19th century. The pattern of settlement of these upland sites and the limits of cultivation can be shown to follow closely the long-term variation of the climate. Of the clay-lands Dr Parry found difficulty in accepting that the desertion of villages could be attributed to the deterioration of the climate as deserted and non-deserted villages are to be found lying side by side. However, recent excavations on the clay-lands and examination of their soils suggest that it was not so much the quantity of rain which affected the ground, but the ability of the soil to absorb or drain off the excess water without leading to deflocculation of the clay or late spring sowing.

The book is well produced and provides much information on the effect of long-term and short-term climatic change on rural economy. The book is a notable contribution to the understanding of this subject.

GUY BERESFORD

The following books have also been received:


The Origins and Evolution of Field and Settlement Patterns in the Hertfordshire Manor of Marden (Dept of Geography, Queen Mary College, University of London, Occasional Papers no. 15). By Jane A. Sheppard. 21 x 29 cm. 44 pp., frontisp. + 9 figs. London: Queen Mary College, 1979. Price: not stated.


Family History News and Digest, vol. 1, no. 4, Autumn 1978. 21 x 29.5 cm. 32 pp. Cambridge: Federation of Family History Societies, 1978. Price: 75p per copy post-free, from 96 Beaumont Street, Milehouse, Plymouth, Devon, PL2 3AQ.