The appearance of these two volumes of the Winchester Survey marks a further stage in the publication of the results of the Winchester research of the 1960s and 1970s. Together with Volume I the documentary preamble is complete; the excavation reports will follow. These volumes also represent in their own right an important contribution to urban history, because for the first time we are provided with a full-length account of a major town which is firmly rooted in a detailed topographical study. Part ii of the Survey consists of a detailed Gazetteer of the medieval city, street by street, plot by plot, giving an account of the tenure, building history and inhabitants of more than 1,100 properties. Part iii contains a biographical register of 8,598 people who were associated with the plots in the Gazetteer. The first part analyses the history of the city from the 12th to the 16th century in terms of its geography, government, religion, housing, economy, demography, and social structure. Both volumes are lavishly illustrated with maps and tables, and there are appendices on names, and also some illustrative documents. They are comprehensively indexed and cross-referenced. A brief example will indicate the richness of the material contained in the Gazetteer and biographical register. In 1418 John Prat made his son throw a dead cat on to a plot of land owned by John Merlawe. Prat, who was a butcher, lived in a ‘tenement with a stall’ on the north side of the High Street, near to the Chequer Inn. The victim of the cat-throwing incident, John Merlawe, lived directly opposite in a larger plot on the corner of the High Street where a lane led off into Minster Street, near the Cross and a well, later to become a common well. Merlawe, who had married in 1391, was a vintner by trade, and held various offices in the government of the city, including sergeant of the city court and bailiff of the commons. Generalizations about almost every aspect of the city’s life — rubbish disposal, localization of trades, the development of inns, water supply, size of tenements, the composition of the ruling élite — can flow from the accumulation and analysis of such details. The thoroughness of the research and the completeness of its presentation can only be greeted with our admiration — for the foresight of those who decided to include a substantial documentary element in the Winchester research, for those who funded such a long-term project, and for the energy and skill of Dr Keene.

Dr Keene sees this work as belonging in a long tradition of English urban topography, and he recognises as his specific precursors Salter and Pantin. He tells us that he has set out to avoid ‘unjustified preconceptions’, a clear signal of his attachment to the empirical school of historians. This might forewarn the reader to expect a reference work, like a volume of the Victoria County Histories, heaping fact on fact with the intention of objectivity. Parts ii and iii indeed belong to this genre, and will provide a valuable quarry of information for future scholars, but Part i is a work of interpretation, full of conceptions and arguments, in which Dr Keene provides many answers, even if the readers often have to work out the questions for themselves. Consequently Part i can be read and enjoyed, even in its formidable length, as a piece of coherent and sometimes compelling historical writing. Some of the chapters are ‘pure’ history, and provide the necessary background of information about government and social structure. The originality of the research lies in its use of topographical information.
Detailed maps show the distribution of trades at successive periods, demonstrating that with the exception of such special groups as butchers, the different occupations were not compactly localized, but nevertheless often lay in distinct patterns. Still more striking is the physical evidence of decline in the 14th and 15th centuries, as the built-up area contracted towards the town centre, leaving open spaces for use as gardens and tenter yards. The number of churches provides a useful index of the shrinkage of population, falling in number from 54 in 1300 to 26 in 1500. The population decreased from about 10,000 c. 1300 to 5,000 or less in 1500, providing more living room, so that in a ‘declining’ city the individual inhabitants enjoyed more space and better-built and furnished houses than their 13th-century predecessors. Even as its size diminished, the city contained pockets of overcrowding, with population densities in the centre as high as 80 per acre c. 1400.

A recurrent idea in Part I continues a train of thought begun in Volume I. This is an argument about Winchester’s growth and decline, suggesting that the city’s apogee was reached in the 12th century, and that decline set in soon after 1200. Thus it is implied that in Winchester (and other towns) the urban growth of the 10th and 11th centuries was more rapid than is conventionally assumed, and that late medieval decline, by its early beginning, appears to have been structural, not a mere by-product of the post-Black Death contraction. However, though by no means implausible, the whole interpretation hinges on assumptions about the number of households at the time of the 1148 survey, and the built-up areas of the 12th century, and these need to be demonstrated more fully.

In offering explanations for this chronology of development and decay, much emphasis is placed on the role of the monarchy. Winchester, we are told, owed its size and early prosperity to its special relationship with the crown, and when the kings departed in the 13th century, the city began its long decline. Again this hypothesis is difficult to prove. The chronology of the withdrawal of royal patronage is uncertain, extending from the reign of Henry I to that of Edward I. Did the intermittent royal presence really generate enough sustained business to have such an influence on the city’s economy? Is there not an alternative, or at least additional, explanation of Winchester’s changing fortunes, in terms of its early dominance of a large and prosperous region, eventually challenged by the growth of Salisbury and lesser urban centres, and by the extension of London’s economic power? Examination of Winchester’s relationship with its hinterland lay beyond the scope of these volumes, and it is clearly the next priority for research, building on the firm foundation provided here.

The final interpretation of Winchester’s past will depend on the completion of the publication programme, after which we will be able to consider both the documentary and the archaeological evidence. Brief references to archaeology in these volumes whet our appetites. Sometimes there seems to be close agreement between the two sources of information, for example on the adoption of stone foundations for timber-framed buildings. There are also areas of disparity, when excavation reveals the existence of industries — bronze- and bone-working notably — which scarcely appear among the dozens of occupations mentioned in the documents. No doubt there will be aspects of the life of the city which archaeology alone can reveal, and the interpretative approach of the archaeologists will be different. Our appreciation of the achievements of the historians at Winchester is mingled with anticipation of the eventual combination of the evidence both of documents and of material culture.

CHRISTOPHER DYER


Italy, it is often claimed, did, in comparison with northern Europe and the Byzantine East, enjoy considerable urban continuity. This book examines the transformation in the
public elements of its townscape, which reflects ultimately the decline in the disposable wealth of patrons and the different ideals of the Christian church. Successive pictures of classical, late antique, Ostrogothic and early medieval Italy are drawn almost entirely from a careful sifting and cross-referencing of the written sources, although, as a pioneer excavator of early medieval Italian towns and as a successful analyst of upstanding fabric of the same period, Dr Ward-Perkins is well aware of the potential and limitations of the material evidence. As a result the book is of archaeological interest to those who wish to understand why things changed as well as how. Its main thrust concerns the withdrawal and transformation of patronage and is thus very much about well-evidenced social and assumed economic changes at the end of the Roman Empire and the beginning of the Middle Ages. They are, however, always seen in relation to the principal monuments; and the chapter devoted to the more humdrum urban necessities is more concerned with urban topography than patronage.

The familiar array of public monuments, which Roman cities acquired in early imperial times, was almost all provided by private patrons, competing for prestige within their communities through the provision of facilities which could be enjoyed by all citizens. Little of this munificence survived the troubled 3rd century, mainly because municipal office and works were no longer perceived as an honour. At the same time maintenance may have been endangered by the appropriation of civic funds by central government. Most public buildings thus started to decay through age and neglect before the Church or the barbarians were in a position to influence directly their fate. This trend was less marked in those cities favoured by emperors and kings, while conservative senatorial tradition softened or delayed its impact in Rome and in some of the central Italian provinces.

The proliferation of church foundations, later often associated with monasteries and hostels, between the late 4th century and A.D. 800 bears witness to a revival of private patronage spurred by the same peer group rivalry but with added religious benefits not offered by classical munificence. Temples could not continue to serve their original purpose once Christianity had become established; but some entertainment structures were maintained for a time for political display. Bathing was adapted to Christian ends but available only to limited segments of society: the clergy, the poor and the infirm. But the baths were perhaps few and small. In most towns abundant supplies of piped water ceased and cess pits dug into the now more open townscape may have replaced public drainage.

Ward-Perkins attributes the inability to preserve public buildings and the smaller size of churches built between A.D. 550 and 800 to scarcer resources and not to indifference or technical incapacity, because the huge late antique churches were maintained, public access to private wells was ensured and, after attempts to prevent spoliation, public rights were apparently guarded in classical ruins as a valuable source of building material.

The early medieval town was thus dominated by classical monuments, perhaps with a temple converted into a church or an amphitheatre into a fortress, but it is more likely that most were privatized. The ecclesiastical and secular palaces — the material manifestation of Italy’s claim to urban continuity — were presumably based on substantial earlier buildings. Most streets remained in the public domain as the often remarkable preservation of the Roman grid plan suggests. Some bridges, part of the public space over fora and above all city defences, which played such a key role in early medieval warfare, remained in service.

Although the author is careful to qualify his assertions and emphasizes how slight his early medieval evidence is, he is perhaps putting too much weight on apparent survival as proof of continued maintenance. As Bullough pointed out, the late antique encroachment on a Pavian street was later removed, thus reinstating the grid (p. 185 n. 10). Half the present main square allegedly lying over, and cited as continuity of, Pavia’s forum was cleared of building in the 14th century (p. 183). (Better evidence for locating the forum in this area can be deduced from the rightly praised study of Pavia’s drains, p. 134). Genoa’s street grid-pattern may be a post-Roman product conditioned by the local topography; and the possible continuity of its forum may be completing a circular argument (pp. 179, 183). Recent excavations at Verona cast doubt also on the likelihood of street and forum paving being either in place or visible c. 800 when they were described in a poem.
There is much more to attract the archaeologist to this book, for example Rome's early medieval mills and fountain or, as an instance of more general and commonsense observations, that the monuments were merely a civilized veneer whose removal did not threaten urban living — even ease of access to water could be sacrificed for defence. Ward-Perkins reproves archaeologists for not devoting sufficient attention to the final phases of classical buildings, facilely associating abandon or later repair with a dramatic event or a prominent person, and cautions that what we may interpret as squatter occupation may in fact be part of a government conservation programme for redundant monuments.

This information-packed yet lucid tome will be prized by a variety of Italian specialists. The British archaeologist may find it puts into perspective the end of Roman Britain and shows what models, apart from the unnaturally clean Italian clerics, were more readily available in the early Middle Ages to western Christendom. As befits an Oxford Historical Monograph, the few illustrations are treated as a luxuria and the photographs are poorly reproduced. It would be nice now if the author were to publish, as he is well-equipped to do, a lavishly illustrated overview, with less of the learned apparatus of a Ph.D., of the early medieval Italian town, concentrating on the material aspects and incorporating information on domestic housing and burial.

HUGO BLAKE


The second volume of the Ribe Excavations reports is devoted to the description of the evidence for metal casting on the site. The volume starts with a brief introduction by Mogens Bencard, to set the material in context, but the rest of the book has been written by H. Brinch Madsen, a conservator by training who has specialized in the examination of metal-working residues. Madsen has divided his account into three parts: a general description of the material found and its context, an interpretation of what it means and, finally, a detailed catalogue. In many ways, however, the reading of the interpretation section (pp. 91–98) first might be a useful introduction for non-technical readers.

Three main types of objects relating to bronze casting were found at Ribe: crucibles, tuyères and moulds. The crucibles have been divided typologically into seven groups according to their basic shape, as all seem to have essentially the same fabric. However, Madsen has drawn attention to the fact that some of the crucibles have one or more layers of slip applied to the outer surface after firing and this is interpreted as evidence for attempts to refurbish cracked or damaged crucibles.

The remains of the metal which was originally melted in the crucibles are variable, bronze, brass, silver and lead all having been found. Unfortunately, the various shapes do not appear to correlate at all with the different alloys which were melted in them, unlike at Helgó where there is tentative evidence for lidded crucibles having been used for one type of alloy only (Oddy, in press). Two types of small tuyères were found with conically shaped holes in them to protect the nozzle of the bellows from the heat of the fire. Madsen has shown that a conical hole is necessary to prevent ‘suck-back’ of coals from the fire into the bellows.

By far the most important part of this book, however, is the description of the mould fragments, most of which are for the manufacture of ‘tortoise’ brooches, although a few are for other types of brooches and keys. In his discussion of the material, Madsen has had to grapple with the fact that the ‘tortoise’ brooch moulds were basically two-piece moulds which were not reused. He also had to explain the cloth impressions which were often found on the back of the moulds. Madsen has postulated a nice theory to explain the use of textile in the wax pattern, suggesting that it was a way of reusing a master mould which had undercuts in the design. This certainly seems very possible, but it then seems rather long-winded to
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invest the wax pattern with a two-piece mould, rather than a single mould which is normal for cire-perdue casting. However, the fabric of the moulds themselves, which is non-porous, may be the explanation, as the only way that any trapped gas can escape during casting is at the joint between the two halves of the mould. Examination of the moulds shows that they were filled with the molten metal while supported in an inclined position, a factor which Madsen argues would tend to eliminate casting problems, such as the trapping of air or the solidification of metal in the top of the mould.

Madsen has dwelt at length with these moulds for ‘tortoise’ brooches on pp. 37–74, but while his technological explanations are admirable, I found his treatment of the material from the art-history point of view difficult to follow. He has discussed in detail the Berdal types of ‘tortoise’ brooches and indicated the extent of the surviving mould fragments for this class of brooch on idealized drawings of the different types in a manner which makes comparisons between different fragments difficult to make. He has then provided a corpus of the known Berdal brooches of the relevant types, but this is, unfortunately, illustrated with often indifferent photographs, when drawings to the same standard as those on which the moulds are indicated would have been far more informative.

Finally the book ends with a catalogue, which relies quite properly on line drawings, but those of the mould fragments of brooches usually only indicate the surviving elements of the design, and not the shape and thickness of the fragment. Furthermore, although photographs of this type of material are often very uninformative, one plate of the best preserved mould fragments would have been a useful addition.

This is a welcome book in a field (i.e. technology) where the finds are few and publication sometimes inadequate. Madsen has succeeded admirably with the crucibles, but less so with the moulds as objects, though his explanations of their use is thorough. Finally, others better able to judge than I must evaluate the evidence for dating and interpretation of the finds as a whole. Madsen seems to favour an occasional workshop operating at the time of trading fairs as no permanent structures were located which could be associated with the casting operations and the surviving material, for all its importance, was not excessive. He suggests the first half of the 9th century, which is the date usually attributed to the particular types of Berdal brooches which were being cast, but the coin evidence has indicated the second quarter of the 8th century. Perhaps subsequent volumes in this series devoted to other aspects of the excavation will shed light on this difficulty.

W. A. ODdy


The title and substance of this book were presented as an Oxford University doctoral thesis in 1983. Its prompt publication provides a much-needed appraisal of the connections, as evidenced in the archaeological and literary records, between Scandinavia and eastern England in the 5th and 6th centuries, with a more summary discussion of the evidence for contacts in the 7th and 8th centuries. Certainly Scandinavian connections with Jutish Kent are readily attested and have been discussed in some detail, but evidence in the Anglian areas has not been previously published or assembled in any systematic manner. An unpublished B.Litt thesis by Hayo Vierck (1966) ‘Some leading types of the Anglian province of culture, fifth to seventh centuries A.D., with their overseas connections’ undoubtedly provided Hines with a useful starting point, but Hines goes further in the scope and detailed presentation of his arguments.

Briefly stated, Hines argues that the North Sea in the 5th and 6th centuries (p. 278) ‘seems to have been a web of routes for migration, trade, and the diffusion of craftsmen’s skills’. Following Vierck, Hines identifies a ‘degree of commonality’ between Anglian England and Norway in the shared use of a bichrome style as well as certain metalwork items of female dress attire, clasps and gusset plates, square-headed, cruciform and equal-arm
The use of clasps in both areas is seen by Hines as clear evidence of migration from western Norway (p. 109), whereas the adoption of the square-headed brooch in the Anglian area is argued to be more likely the result of travelling craftsmen, from either Kent or S. Scandinavia. Although Hines argues that 'the diffusion of the clasp implies the diffusion of a costume, and that is only likely to have occurred in tandem with the movement of people who used that costume' (p. 273), he is unable to identify any grave group as belonging to a 'Norwegian' immigrant. Presumably the supposed female immigrants were accompanied, but in concentrating only on items of female wear Hines overlooks any evidence that could be deduced from male graves, or from the ceramic traditions of the two areas. Indeed Hines admits that apart from a few similarities noted by Myres between some southern English and Norwegian pots (Myres 1969, pp. 48, III) the pottery produced in the two areas is vastly different. Connections between Norway and England may well be demonstrated by distribution maps but contact across the North Sea through the agencies of trade or migration need not necessarily be by direct crossing as Hines suggests. The fact that no 6th-century Scandinavian finds exist on the E. coast of Scotland, which would be the closest landfall by direct crossing of the North Sea from Norway, may indirectly confirm that travel was confined to coastal journeys down the W. coast of Jutland to Frisia, before attempting a shorter North Sea crossing to East Anglia.

The longest chapter, Chapter 3, is devoted to a reappraisal of the chronology and grouping of the square-headed brooches. Although one must admire Hines's industry in producing a classification 'based upon a quantification of the similarity of form between individual examples with regard to the design of their compositional elements' (p. 112) the reader is nevertheless obliged to have at hand the plates from Leeds's 1949 Corpus in order to identify the items being discussed. His methodology, which attempts to establish so-called 'similarity coefficients' between all individual square-headed brooches, produces groupings based on 'shared equivalent features' but takes no heed of other diagnostic features such as size, material or elements on the underside of the brooches, such as pin fixtures. Furthermore, Hines confines himself within a chronological strait-jacket by seeing the development of the square-headed brooch, which he divides into three phases, as lasting no more than 70 years, c. 500–570. In such a scheme flaws can be found. Thus the brooch from Alveston Manor grave 5, the largest of all the known Anglo-Saxon square-headed brooches, is classed by Hines, from features of its ornament, as belonging to Phase I, c. 500–520, but on the underside, its pin-fixtures, a fish-shaped catch-plate and the cruciform pin-swivel, comparable in form to the Wilton cross pendant, clearly attest that the owner was Christian and that the brooch was being worn in the 7th century. The dangers of using ornament for dating purposes should be heeded. The probability that Style I ornament, outside Kent, persisted into the 7th century is ignored by Hines.

In so far as the 7th and 8th centuries are considered, the final short chapter, which acts as an epilogue to the main body of the study, centres on some of the Anglo-Scandinavian contacts as evidenced in the Sutton Hoo ship burial, after which the archaeological evidence for direct Anglo-Scandinavian contacts fades away.

In spite of a few criticisms, Hines should be congratulated for this worthwhile contribution to Anglo-Saxon studies. The book, which lacks an index, could have been improved with better illustrations, both plates and figures, but the text is thought-provoking and greatly enhances our understanding of North Sea contacts within the Migration Period.

GEORGE SPEAKE


In four campaigns between 1874 and 1895 Hjalmar Stolpe excavated some 1,100 graves, principally of Viking-Age date, on the island of Björkö in Lake Mälar, Sweden, in areas surrounding the Viking-Age trading settlement of Birka. The material from the graves
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formed, and still forms, perhaps the most important corpus of Viking-Age finds from Scandinavia. Stolpe died in 1905, but a report on his work appeared in 1913. The definitive publication of the vast mass of finds, however, did not begin to appear until 1938 when Agnes Geijer’s study of the textiles was published: volume III in the projected series of reports. Between 1940 and 1943 Holger Arbman produced volume I, the basic grave by grave catalogue of the material. In 1980 after another long break volume IV, Anne-Sofie Graslund’s analysis of the graves, appeared. Now, nearly fifty years after it was first promised and sixteen years after the death of Holger Arbman, we have the first part of volume II, the definitive discussion of the objects, other than the textiles, from the graves.

Volume II.1 covers the jewellery, ornaments, dress accessories, Thor’s hammers, crucifixes, bells, bags, toilet articles, mirrors, smaller tools, strike-a-lights, gaming pieces and boards, and vessels, together with the analyses of the carbonized bread, nuts and seeds. Volume II.2 will deal with the weapons, dress belts, arm- and finger-rings, pendants and beads, horse equipment, caskets, locks and keys, larger tools and whetstones. It will also cover the coins, weights and scales. The reasoning behind this division is inscrutable. It divides some categories of material such as the tools, and even some composite objects. For example, the necklace illustrated in taf. 124 has the beads discussed in volume II.2 and the pendant strung with them in volume II.1. Of course, dividing lines must be drawn somewhere, and it is to be hoped that the cross-referencing will be adequate to deal with any oddities thus created.

The chapters on the different classes of object are contributed by a number of scholars including Ingmar Jansson, James Graham-Campbell, Anne-Sofie Graslund, Kristina Ambrosiani, Jan Peder Lamm, Włodysław Duczko, Lena Thunmark-Nylén, Harry Thālin, Birgit Arrhenius, Krister Ström, Egil Bakka and Greta Arwidsson, a co-operative approach which ensures that the volume incorporates the fruit of the latest research. However, it means that the chapters vary somewhat in approach. Most contain details of the find circumstances of the objects, a description and classification of the material, a discussion of its associations, and a consideration of the comparative material. Some chapters have a summary, but many do not. All except two of the chapters are in German; there is one in English, and that by Egil Bakka, rather oddly, is half in German and half in English. This lack of consistency both in approach and language can be irritating and the volume would certainly have benefited from a stronger editorial hand.

Despite the diversity of approach the individual contributions, as might be expected from some of the leading scholars in the field, are of an almost uniformly high standard. There are indeed individual points which might be debated, and some of these are taken up by contributors, for example Graham-Campbell versus Thālin and Thunmark-Nylén on the classification of penannular brooches and ringed pins. More important is the almost total absence of analytical data, so that objects which are, for example, cheerfully described as bronze might equally be of copper, brass, or gunmetal. Perhaps these terms are carefully chosen, but if so we are nowhere presented with the evidence. Equally hampering is the lack of illustrative material, as for the most part the volume relies on the illustrations published in 1943 in volume I.2. To use this work to the full it is necessary to have volume I.2 to hand. A microfiche copy of the whole of volume I is provided with volume II.1, but despite the high quality of the fiche they are no substitute for the published plates.

Despite these criticisms this is a well-produced, attractive and important work which will be an essential tool for all scholars labouring on the problems of the Viking Age. It is to be hoped that volume II.2 will not be as long in preparation. The material from Birka is too important for another long delay to occur.

DOMINIC TWEDDLE

This, the fifth volume in the Birka series, is a catalogue and discussion of 86 items decorated with filigree and granulation found in the Viking-Age levels at Birka.

In the first part Duckzo surveys the manufacturing techniques identified, comparing them with those recently observed elsewhere. Topics include the production of wire and granulation, the substrate, soldering, gilding and chemical composition. Of particular interest are his experiments in which he reproduced three different forms of beaded wire seen on the Birka jewellery.

The catalogue which follows forms the core of the work. This is exceptionally well organized and illustrated and includes wide-ranging discussions of each object. An outstanding feature is the publication of many photographs taken under a scanning electron microscope. By juxtaposing magnified details to general views of each object described Duckzo conveys almost as much information as can be obtained by first-hand study. In dating he pays particular attention to association with oval brooches. He attributes some objects to the Pre- and Early Viking Periods, but most to the Middle Viking Period.

In the final part he identifies thirteen imports from eastern Europe and briefly discusses the relationship between the Birka finds and Viking-Age filigree from western Europe, paying particular attention to the Norwegian Hon treasure, which he has also examined.

I would question a few technical details. In his beading experiments Duckzo followed Theophilus by testing only double-edged tools which produce just one bead at a time when rolled over the wire. However, although the beading which he thus reproduced was regular and of the type found at Birka, he was using wire 1 mm thick. My own view is that regular beaded wire of fine gauge (such as that on the pendant shown in fig. 39) was more probably rolled with a multiple-edged ‘file’ which creates beads in groups. Secondly, I do not share his view that one can distinguish visually between a solder and a mineral powder (here termed ‘metallic’ and ‘chemical’ solders). Thirdly, Duckzo infers from the absence of ‘the typical features of the classic wire manufacturing methods’ on the Birka wire that a draw-plate was definitely used to make it. It might have been (one was found in the Black Earth), but certainty is difficult without observations of the parallel striations characteristic of drawn wires.

These comments do not, however, detract from the value of the work. Although presented only as an introduction to a wider study of Viking Age filigree it is the fullest and best illustrated account of any group of filigree-decorated objects published to date, and is thus of great interest to Viking students and jewellery historians alike. I look forward to its sequel.

Niamh Whitfield

Hessen im Frühmittelalter-Archäologie und Kunst (Katalog zur Ausstellung des Museums für Vor- und Frühgeschichte Frankfurt am Main und des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg an der Lahn). Edited by Helmut Roth and Egon Wamers. 18 X 25 cm. 380 pp., 60 figs., 42 colour pls., 153 b&w pls. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1984. Price 38 DM.

Hessen is the most centrally placed province in the German Federal Republic, to the west bordering the Rhine opposite Mainz and extending north-eastwards across the uplands to a tributary of the Weser at Kassel. This volume is something more than just an exhibition catalogue and provides a valuable survey of the region between the 5th and 9th centuries A.D. There are ten introductory essays to provide the settings for the descriptive catalogue, which includes many illustrations, both in colour and black and white. It is the fruit of active collaboration between museum staff and university researchers and archivists, symbolized by the major contributions of the two editors, Egon Wamers of the Frankfurt Museum and Helmut Roth of Marburg University.
This region was occupied by the Chatti in the Early Roman Iron Age, who reappear in the 8th-century sources as the Hassi, Hessi or Hassones converted from paganism to Christianity by English missionaries acting with Frankish patronage. The Alamanni play a very significant role in the Rhine-Main region of southern Hessen during the breakdown of the Roman frontiers between the 3rd and 5th centuries. But it is the Franks whose expansionism from the late 5th century eastwards across the Rhine made them the dominant political element thereafter.

The introductory essays are valuable summaries of the history of the study of archaeology in this region, including the Early Medieval period; a general survey of the contribution of archaeology to the period and of the historical evidence, including the Christian missions; the settlement archaeology and finally the evidence from cemeteries for the physical anthropology and social structure. Its main catalogue is divided into sections which reflect the organization of the exhibition, beginning with the history of research including Ament’s Merovingian chronology of 1977, an updated version of Böhner’s 1958 Trier chronological scheme based on cemetery data. The cemetery evidence is considered in detail in the sequence of first children’s, then female graves and jewellery, followed by male burials, weapons and belt sets, with finally vessel types. A description of skeletal and dental evidence for the health, life-expectancy and causes of death in these populations precedes charts to illustrate interpretation of social stratification revealed by the artefacts which accompany the dead. We next come to the evidence for craftwork, notably graves containing smithing tools and for trade, mostly based on coin evidence. Settlement archaeology concentrates especially on the occupation of hillforts, Burgen and the Carolingian palace at Frankfurt-am-Main. Also considered are the evidence for superstitions provided by amulets, and the impact of the Christian missions, which concentrates not only on churches and monasteries, but also on reliquaries and manuscripts. A final section is devoted to Carolingian art and ornament on metalwork, book binding, painted glass, stone carving and wall painting. All in all a useful volume to have and reasonably priced.

M. G. WELCH


Those of us brought up on the traditional view that the ‘normal’ nucleated village, clustered around its green and surrounded by its open fields, was introduced into England by the first generations of Anglo-Saxon settlers, received a rude awakening in the 1960s. Not only were excavations in deserted medieval villages consistently failing to produce evidence of early Anglo-Saxon occupation in the anticipated localities, but small irregular groups of post-built halls and sunken-featured structures were turning up out in the open countryside, remote from our present villages. For a decade or more medieval archaeology was dominated by discoveries revealing a hitherto unexpected pattern of impermanent and dispersed early Anglo-Saxon settlement. In all the excitement, the problems of how, when, where and why these small, scattered clusters evolved into the more familiar villages of the Middle Ages remained unsolved. To explore the question of what was happening in the critical late Anglo-Saxon period a conference was organized by Oxford University’s Department for External Studies in November 1981, and the present publication offers a more permanent record of the papers given there.

This was the first of the Department’s occasional volumes to be typeset by Monotype Lasercomp at the University’s computing service, a process which facilitates late changes, yet produces a neatly laid out, clear and legible text. Four papers are illustrated by half-tone plates, which have not reproduced especially well. On the other hand most of the line drawings and maps are well-produced and effective, though the bar-scale of fig. 10 on p. 161 appears to have been incorrectly multiplied by a factor of ten.
The volume opens with Warwick Rodwell’s succinct and wide-ranging study of church locations. The evidence for relationships between churches and Roman settlements and buildings is effectively marshalled, and the orientation and linear planning of Anglo-Saxon religious complexes is discussed. Three studies of towns or burhs follow. John Williams’s title, ‘A Review of Some Aspects of Late Saxon Urban Origins and Development’, is slightly misleading: the author does not attempt a balanced country-wide review, selecting instead the example of Northampton, which reveals no truly urban characteristics before the late 9th century, but has an important 7th- and 8th-century pre-urban nucleus, the focus of an extensive royal estate, near St Peter’s church; this is used as a hook upon which to hang a wider discussion of urban origins, late Anglo-Saxon urban morphology and the development of other towns in the Danelaw. Carolyn Heighway then describes Gloucester, where a post-Roman pause in urban occupation was followed in the 7th century by the foundation of the first minster and the laying-out of new enclosures orientated upon the Roman streets; the sites of three of the late Roman cemeteries were reused in the late Saxon period: one by a royal palace, one by the new minster of St Oswald, and one as a hundred moot. The further renewal of administrative and defensive functions and the reorganization of the town plan is attributed to Æthelflæda in the early 10th century. John Manley then identifies those earthwork defences at Rhuddlan which were previously thought to belong to the Norman borough, with Edward the Elder’s burh of Cledemutha. Three papers deal with archaeological work on rural settlement in the south of England and the E. Midlands: Mike Hughes reviews the relationship in Hampshire between upland sites such as Cowdery’s Down and Chalton Church Down, abandoned in the 7th or 8th century, and the spread of valley-bottom settlements. Graham Cadman and Glen Foard discuss the administrative and tenurial context of the Northamptonshire settlement of Raunds as a background to the village’s origins. S. Losco-Bradley and H. M. Wheeler investigate aspects of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Trent valley, including the important Catholme site, occupied from the 6th to the 10th centuries. The next two papers deal with the territorial and tenurial framework in Lincolnshire: David Roffe uses ancient ecclesiastical boundaries and Domesday Book to reconstruct pre-Conquest estates in south Lincolnshire, an area poorly-equipped with charters; and Paul Everson discusses the one authentic pre-Conquest charter including a boundary perambulation from that county, which defines an estate at Barrow and Barton-on-Humber. It is a pity that there was no contribution from an area well-endowed with charters, such as Kent, Somerset or Worcestershire. Margaret Faull describes the archaeological, documentary and place-name evidence for late Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns in Yorkshire. Finally there are four papers dealing with late Anglo-Saxon settlement and land use in the northernmost regions of England, Deirdre O’Sullivan and Rachel Newman on Cumbria, Ian Smith on the Tweed basin, and David Austin on Northumberland and Durham.

Every paper in the volume contains something of value, yet taken as a whole it somehow lacks cohesion: it resembles a pile of bricks stacked ready to be built into a wall, but the wall itself is not yet built. Many contributors stress the present paucity of evidence and the problems of interpreting what evidence there is; the difficulty of locating Anglo-Saxon settlements from field-walking, the lack of excavations, the limitations of place-name evidence and the inadequacies of the documentation are recurrent themes, and the definition of problems tends to take precedence over the offering of solutions. The geographical representation is very unbalanced. Of the fourteen papers, no less than nine are concerned with the north of England or the NE. Midlands, whereas there is nothing from SW. or SE. England, or the W. Midlands or East Anglia; if the aim is to present a representative summary of current views, a better regional coverage would surely have been desirable. The editor’s preface admits that no definitive synthesis is yet possible, but one cannot help feeling that a summary of the salient points, accommodating results from other regions not included within these covers, together with some clearer indications of future research directions and priorities, would have been helpful.

C. J. BOND

In 1967 Christopher Taylor made his impact on the specialist world of the history of settlement with his study of Whiteparish. Since then he has made his distinctive imprint upon the English landscape and its interpretation with his field-work and writings for the Royal Commission, through his books, especially those on Dorset (1970) and Cambridgeshire (1973), and by his frequent appearances at conferences. With this book, more than with any other, his is likely to become a household name of landscape history in a way matched only in the recent past by W. G. Hoskins. Television must surely be waiting in the wings.

Village and Farmstead, a popular title which may divert attention from the more academic sub-title A history of rural settlement in England, is a convenient summary both of Taylor's own work and that of many others over the last 25 years. Within the book the numerous strands of Taylor's revisionist thinking are drawn together in a new and compelling interpretation of the evolution of English rural settlement since prehistoric times. Most of the volume is devoted to the story before c. 1500; while there is much of value in the remaining two chapters (such as the very interesting observations on the morphological consequences of enclosure of village greens) the thrust is in his re-interpretation of the Roman, Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods.

As the book was published in 1983 (and I make due apology for my part in the delayed publication of this review) many readers will already be familiar with the mainstays of Taylor's views. For those outside the circle they are perhaps best conveyed by direct quotation, viz. . . . that 'early man lived almost everywhere in England' and that he 'actually controlled his environment most of the time'. . . . Neolithic people lived everywhere and were not restricted to "good" places or "light" dry soils as the old textbooks would have us believe.' Continuity is stressed for the later prehistoric and Roman periods until by the 4th century 'Every available area of suitable land was under cultivation': Saxon settlements, like their prehistoric and Roman predecessors, 'were relatively short lived' and with the arrival of Christianity 'the old estates became even more rigidly controlled, while settlement continued to move about as necessary'. Consequently, 'It was not until post-Saxon times that the rural landscape came to resemble our own.' . . . few [nucleated villages] if any existed by 1000,' and 'in many parts of England Domesday Book is covering up the existence of a dispersed pattern of settlement, consisting mainly of farmsteads and hamlets.' 'Within a century or so on either side of the Norman Conquest many English villages did come into existence in a form which, at least in morphological terms, we can still recognise today'.

It will be obvious — and even more so to those who have heard him lecture — that Christopher Taylor almost always challenges received wisdom and replaces it with a New Testament. He is unusually confident of his ground, in every sense, and is usually able to muster several case studies to back his arguments. While his style is to speak strongly for the motion and less often to debate it, most of the views presented here are persuasive at least for some parts of the country if not always for others. Without doubt this book will be seen as the major statement of the Eighties of new views which have resulted from the accumulation of evidence by field survey, excavation and aerial photography. There is a danger, however, that such conviction will become the new orthodoxy; Taylor, I am sure, would be the first to hope that it doesn't.

There are grounds for caution. While he has tried to spread his examples, many are taken from counties he knows well (Cambs., Dorset and Northamptonshire) and other areas, especially the W. Midlands and north are under-represented. His views are often ambivalent: he loves to hate place-names but is often happy to use them; sometimes this is also true of his archaeological evidence. The historical background for the medieval period is never strong; political and social organization are seldom considered and I cannot recall, for example, a mention of feudalism. His evidence is drawn from landscape, rarely from people. In order to give added weight to new interpretations he has an irritating habit of paraphrasing and thereby distorting ('perhaps unfairly' as he admits on p. 109) earlier views from what
he calls 'old text books' and 'popular books'. This is less than generous to those who laboured in the field before him and who had much less evidence to hand. At least it is nice to see partial exception made of W. G. Hoskins whose work on the Highland Zone in Domesday Book is advanced as arguably his most important work (not all would agree) and who, by a nice slip of the pen on p. 175, seems to be credited with creating the dispersed settlement of SW. England!

Some criticisms centre in inconsistencies, for example, in the discussion of, and references to, nucleated villages. They are 'not very common' (p. 125) despite the fact that by the 13th century they 'had appeared over approximately half of the English countryside' (p. 151); by the end of the same chapter they are back to being 'perhaps an unusual feature of settlement rather than the norm'. Similarly, having gone to some trouble to remind us that Domesday describes land and not villages, there are occasional references to 'villages' being recorded in Domesday Book (e.g. Isham, p. 141) and talk of villages being cleared away for the making of the New Forest. Considering that he argues strongly for the mobility of settlements in the Romano-British period he accepts uncritically, and in only one paragraph, recent estimates that the population of Roman Britain was as high as five million. On such a crucial matter the evidence ought to be more fully presented. Likewise, can the thesis that 'In the early Saxon period . . . there was a retreat of settlement, abandonment of land and presumably a marked drop in the total population of the country' be accepted on the minimal evidence, mainly of woodland regeneration, that is offered? Or again, following Charles Thomas, that 'The Saxon invasions and settlement appear more as the political take-over of a disintegrating society rather than as a mass replacement of population.' He may be right but major assertions such as this call for more evidence, fuller debate, and a greater awareness of the likelihood of considerable regional differences. It is already alarming to see that Taylor's sweeping view has already appeared, without qualification, in more recent publications by less discerning authors.

Such categoric assertions born of an imaginative and confident approach occasionally mar this challenging book with its splendid array of ground and aerial photographs and simplified plans. There is a very useful selected bibliography. The lack of a referencing system in the text is unfortunate; it may make the book more readable but it means that many passing references cannot be followed up. Notwithstanding, this book is a major statement of current thinking and it raises many hares for a new generation of landscape historians to follow.

ROBIN E. GLASSCOCK


The publication of any substantial text-book on medieval archaeology should be welcomed warmly because it is only through such works of synthesis that present generations of scholars and students can review past achievements and assess current developments. John Steane's volume is just such a textbook apparently designed to appeal to historians and historical geographers. The processes of archaeology whether by excavation or field-work are left unexplored. The organization and philosophy behind these processes is not discussed. What is presented is an often bland rehearsal of the material evidence giving 'tangible expression' to a sequence of historical events already known (or assumed to be known) by the reader. It is an old-fashioned archaeology presented with a didactic air enlivened by humorous examples drawn from historical sources.

The piecemeal nature of the volume's compilation shows most awkwardly in the chapters on Government, on Communications and on Industries and Crafts. The chapter 'Necessities of Life' is a useful and novel approach to food and drink. Steane's chapters on The Countryside and on Religion have a more comprehensive coverage; he attempts to stand back from the subject and to outline the major problems capable of solution by archaeological methods.
The strength of the book lies in the author's detailed knowledge of midland England. Many examples are drawn from this region or from the museums within it. This gives depth to the discussion of rural sites, housing and the urban network. The impact of the forest on men's lives is percipiently argued. Another writer would choose different examples and in some cases different themes but the main topics are included. What is omitted is any treatment of castles between 1320 and 1520 both as fortifications and as residences, and any treatment of monasteries before the Norman Conquest (in a book which claims to 'include in the Middle Ages everything from the 9th to the mid-16th centuries'). Other errors are relatively minor. The illustrations of museum objects ought to say more clearly of what material they are made. It would be useful to be able to locate the source of other illustrations (e.g. Zeepvats 1979 used in figs 5.3 and 5.10 is not given in any references). Apart from roof structures there are few three-dimensional or reconstruction drawings. At least five aerial photographs indicate their nature by including part of an aircraft wing.

This book inevitably invites comparison with Helen Clarke's *The Archaeology of Medieval England* (1984). Steane's is the more weighty volume and it does include Wales in its title. However, apart from a discussion of the Edwardian castles (not always accurate) and mention of the Cistercian monasteries, there is little illuminating upon unconquered Wales and its special social characteristics. Perhaps this highlights the difference between the two works: Clarke's book is fluently and selectively written; Steane's book is assiduously compiled.

LAWRENCE BUTLER


The excavations at York Minster of 1968 to 1973 must rank as one of the great archaeological undertakings of this century, given their extent, the importance of the site and the conditions under which they were conducted. Derek Phillips is to be congratulated not only on his achievement as director of this mammoth dig but also for his exposition of a major part of its discoveries in this the first volume of the report to be published.

This deals with the late 11th-century cathedral, one of the two English metropolitan churches and a Romanesque monument of major importance, the form of which has previously been extremely unclear. The book begins with an account of the documentary evidence and continues with chapters on excavations carried out at York in the 19th and 20th centuries, the preparation of the site, the substructure, the superstructure, the appearance of the building, aspects of Anglo-Norman technology, and the relationship between soils, substructures and stability. The text is well written and profusely illustrated with photographs and some beautiful (if in some details misleading) line drawings.

Numerous important points, indeed revelations, emerge from this presentation. For example, none of the Anglo-Saxon churches known from the written sources stood on the same site as the present cathedral; the minster bears a complicated but clearly intended relationship to the Roman *principia*; the Norman foundations are of an astonishingly high quality, superior to those of any subsequent work; and Thomas's church has the earliest known example of a choir screen on the eastern side of the crossing. There is a great deal more of this order of interest.

Unfortunately, however, the speculative and comparative material which the book contains does not maintain the same standard. It may be useful to be reminded that St Peter's had a nave over 80 ft. wide as a point of comparison for the figure of 45 ft. at York, but the observation that the basilican form persisted in Rome until the Renaissance is not relevant, because it also persisted in Norman England and because York is one of the exceptions to the rule. Apart from Angers Cathedral, which is mentioned only for its width, all the parallels cited have aisles, whereas one of the most striking features of York is that it is aisleless, even in its eastern arm where the flanking elements are passages within the main space rather than
aisles lying beyond it. A description of Bernay and Jumièges as respective representatives of the three-apse and ambulatory types of E. end does not contribute to an understanding of Thomas's church, nor do the crypts at Hexham, Ripon and La Trinité in Caen relate in anything other than the most distant way to the crypt at York. The local circumstance of a shortage of good stone and an abundance of timber, even if conceded as accurate, cannot successfully explain the odd choice of plan because the contemporary church of St Mary in the same city has a standard Anglo-Norman basilican form. Finally, the attempt to define a 'Norman' foot as the unit used is also unconvincing, and it should certainly not have been included in the form of a scale on the plans of the excavated material.

It would have been more pertinent to seek parallels with aisleless buildings, especially ones with an eastern arm of three vessels set into the same width as the single unit of the nave (examples of which are common among Romanesque churches in and south-west of the lower valley of the Loire), to confront the tantalising similarities between the arrangement of the eastern arm at York and that on the St Gall plan, and to consider the possibly defensive capabilities of the building suggested by the thickness of the walls and the lack of doorways in the transept.

The task of the Royal Commission is the surveying and recording of all monuments of historical value; it has often, and with justification, been criticized for the slow pace of its progress towards achieving this aim. On both these grounds it is unfortunate that a Commission volume should include a sizable amount of speculative material, whatever its quality. It is to be hoped that future volumes will return to drawing a distinction between description and interpretation, or rather between interpreting the evidence in order to present it and interpreting it as a speculative exercise (a distinction which, while philosophically unsound, is in practical terms indispensable) and restrict themselves to the sort of approach so well exemplified in the rest of Derek Phillips's book.

E. C. FERNIE


The first three Portchester reports covered the excavations of 1961–72 within the outer bailey of the castle, with volumes on the Roman (1975), Saxon (1976) and medieval (1977) periods. The fourth report is the first to be devoted to the excavations of 1973–79, and is primarily concerned with the inner bailey of the medieval castle, situated in the NW. corner of the Roman fort, from the late 11th century until the early 17th century. There is, however, a short section on the Roman and Saxon levels. A fifth report, on the Napoleonic period, is to follow.

The volume is an excellent example of the marrying of archaeological excavation and detailed architectural description with a thorough examination of the surviving documents. After a brief introduction, Cunliffe examines the archaeological evidence for the structural sequence of the defences, the keep, and the complex of buildings around the bailey. Munby and Derek Renn provide an invaluable description of the castle buildings, and it is this part of the report which will be the most consulted. The sequence and dating of the castle (section IV) brings together the documentary, architectural and archaeological evidence, with the following section consisting of an analysis by Munby of the documentary sources for the building works, with some texts printed in full, accompanied by a valuable glossary of terms. Munby also contributes a section on Portchester in its regional setting, whilst sections VI–IX are concerned with the finds from the excavations. The reader is thus provided with a wealth of evidence, and section XI is a welcome synthesis.

The development of the inner bailey reflects the changes to be expected in any major castle occupied over a period of several centuries. It is suggested that it was originally created
by William Mauduit I (d. c. 1100), although there is no hard evidence for this. However, it is to Mauduit that the building which became the keep is assigned. Renn suggests that the structure in the NW. corner of the bailey was originally a single-storey hall. The argument for the conversion of a hall into a keep rests on the positioning of the stair at the W. end of the S. wall rather than in the corner of the building, as might be expected, and the line of double-splayed windows in the ground floor, an unusual, although not unknown, type of window in a Norman keep. There is also the problem of the slit which was designed apparently to light the well; it does not appear to have penetrated the existing buttress. It is suggested that the double-splayed windows were formed by thickening the walls of the hall on the outside, forming part of the raising of the walls of the hall to form a two-storey keep c. 1120.

Renn’s theory is one of the most interesting aspects of the report, especially coming after Coad and Streeten’s report on the excavations at Castle Acre Castle in Norfolk; here there is irrefutable evidence for the development of a building from a hall or ‘country house’ into a keep. A similar theory was proposed for the White Tower (of London) by Sturdy in 1979. The evidence for the Portchester conversion is slender compared to that at Castle Acre; nevertheless, Renn has produced a good case for Portchester to be added to the select list.

Portchester reached its zenith in the 14th century when both Edward III and Richard II spent considerable sums on the domestic ranges, a period providing phases 4–7 in the archaeology of the castle. Much of Edward’s rebuilding was removed during the reign of his successor, and whilst the building accounts document the various works undertaken, the archaeology provides us with a more vivid picture of the developments than can sometimes be gleaned from the accounts. Furthermore, it is all too convenient when examining the development of a castle to forget the turmoil caused by new works, and here Cunliffe’s excavations have been most enlightening; for example, see period 7 (1390–1400).

A feature of Richard II’s reign, with England on the defensive in the Hundred Years War, was that the use of gunloops in castles and town walls became more widespread. Portchester was no exception, and it has long been realised that Assheton’s Tower (built c. 1376–85) had such loops of the inverted keyhole type in three of its walls. In the light of the detailed examination of the inner bailey buildings, Renn has suggested that the loop in the S. wall of the tower is matched by one in the W. wall so that both the N. and E. wall-walks could be covered. However, two ashlar blocks are the only clue to the western gunloop, and nothing is shown on the elevation of the tower (fig. 90). If Renn is correct, then clearly Assheton’s Tower is a remarkable building, representing the ‘earliest attempt in English military architecture at all-round [reviewer’s italics] command for gunfire’. Less well known, but still evident, are the gunloops along the curtain walls on the N. and W. sides of the bailey; clearly Portchester deserves to be better known for its early artillery defences than it has been in the past, however elementary the design.

The volume has been produced to the Society of Antiquaries’ customary high standard, and errors are few and far between, and generally minor, with a few slips in the index, and not just in the page numbering. In the bibliography, ‘Meermin’ should read ‘Merriman’ under Colvin 1982, Dufty 1970 is best cited as R.C.H.M. 1970, and readers may find it useful to know that Tout 1934 was also republished in 1968 by the Arms and Armour Press, with an introduction by Claude Blair, containing some useful illustrations of early firearms.

The report is well illustrated, but particular praise must be given to Terry Ball’s excellent reconstruction drawings (pls. XLV–XLIX). It has already been a pleasure to see his work in recent guidebooks to castles in State care in England and Wales; his reconstructions of Portchester clearly show the many developments of the castle, especially the forebuildings on the E. side of the keep. The large number of — and size of some — folded figures has meant that the majority have been published loose in a slipcase. In this form they are easier for the reader to use, and it is healthier for the life of the book; a thick wad of folded figures mars the appearance of any book.

Portchester IV is a model report, and the student of the castle owes a considerable debt to Cunliffe, Munby and Renn in particular for their work.

JOHN R. KENYON

This is an excellent historical study with a dual function: to provide a biographical view of two famous medieval magnates (‘it is difficult to think of any other twins who exerted such political influence in the history of England’, p. 96), and to explore the workings of the aristocratic society which they represented. It will be used mainly by historians, but it is a book to be read profitably by archaeologists of the central middle ages.

The story of Waleran and Robert, twin sons of Robert I, Count of Meulan and Earl of Leicester, was a rich one at a personal and political level. In Part I the author offers a detailed treatment of events spanning three reigns and of the threads which made up the fabric of contemporary life. There is much to be learned in general about the working of political society, as well as some useful topographical detail. For the archaeologist of castles we have frequent and vivid reminders of the crucial role they played (Robert I himself had rebuilt his castle at Meulan on a more defensible site), as well as some good detail on the use of belfry towers, siege engines and siege castles.

In Part II we have an analysis of the infrastructure of aristocratic society: the honorial baronage which supported the magnates, their administration, their revenues, and their relations with the church. The workings of the honorial baronage in England and Normandy are very obscure, but there is more evidence here than for many magnates. We have particular explorations of the honor of Breteuil and the families of Tourville and Harcourt. A problem familiar to the student of castles, and which strikes one here, is how frequently the garrison arrangements of even the most powerful magnates have left little contemporary evidence. But we have here, interestingly, evidence of castles and castleguard at the level of some honorial barons. Castle building by this class deserves fuller attention. It might for example help our understanding of the large numbers of undocumented earth and timber castles. It is easy to dismiss so many of them as ‘adulterine’ when they may have been more permanent residences of the lesser aristocracy (indeed, of their own tenants). We are usefully reminded, too, of the role of castles in the administration of finance and the dispensation of seigneurial justice via the magnates’ courts. Too easily the archaeologist’s view of castles is dominated by architectural and other physical considerations. Although the Beaumont twins were not founders of ‘new towns’ they held a number of towns on their estates as well as many urban properties in English royal towns and in Rouen and Paris. The evidence on these holdings is sufficiently precise to permit some topographical reconstruction. They took a full part in the wine trade along the Seine valley, had property and business interests in Southampton, exploited fisheries in the Channel and North Sea, and enjoyed the fruits of the leather and cloth industries in their towns. It is salutary to remember that the economic activities which are sometimes reflected in archaeological evidence were stimulated by real people and that the wealth so acquired was frequently the means to quite different ends. The founding and endowment of ecclesiastical houses by the twins is of interest, but the treatment of this topic suffers from its neglect of the sites themselves. We are not told what, if anything, survives of their houses, nor on what scale they built. This is especially noteworthy in England, where they founded the abbeys of Bordesley (Cistercian) and Leicester (Augustinian). It strikes the archaeological reader as odd not to find at least brief reference to the many years of survey and excavation which have taken place at the former.

Some physical evidence wherever appropriate (the almost total lack of it concerning the many castles mentioned is also striking) would have been an asset to the book especially since the author has a good feel for the political geography of his subject. The various maps of honours, castles and ecclesiastical houses help the reader to interpret visually (fig. 9 has no scale) but in some cases would have benefited from more geographical content or explanation (e.g. the extent of woodland in fig. 3). The author has been concerned to depict a society with its roots in the reality of family, war, land and trade, and not in feudal abstractions. The general success of this aim is what makes it an appropriate book for review in this journal.

R. A. HIGHAM

The authority of this guide is unquestionable — one of the authors was responsible for the section on the Tower in the History of the King’s Works (1963) and this is an extended version of that essay, updated to include the results of more recent research and excavations, some of which were carried out by the other author. It is splendidly illustrated, not only with photographs, plans and elevations, but with many early paintings and engravings, beginning with an illumination of c. 1500, and with excellent cut-away drawings of six of the principal towers.

The first section, the history of the Tower, is a lively and highly readable digest of the documentary evidence, very different from so many of the customary (one almost said, compulsory) sections on ‘The Documentary Evidence’ which precede reports on excavations of sites of the historic period.

Plans are all confined to the Tower itself, the authors assuming that the reader is familiar with the layout of the rest of the city of London, but I think this is unlikely for the majority of the hundreds of thousands of visitors, particularly those from overseas, who come to the Tower each year. An outline plan of the Roman circuit, showing the Tower in its corner, together with the site of London Bridge, would have made the setting clear. This reviewer would also have welcomed a more detailed series of plans of the early development of the site, or perhaps better, a sequence on the lines of the perspective drawings, dated between 1100 and 1866, which are included in the Young Visitor’s Guide and which illustrate clearly the dramatic growth of the castle. The visitor who buys both these guides will find that the series of plans and drawings do not agree in many of their details. For example, forebuildings are shown on the drawings of 1272 and 1285 in the Young Visitor’s Guide, but not on the Official Handbook plans for 1270 or 1300; and a cross-wall, between the SE. corner of the Tower and the Broad Arrow Tower, is shown on the Young Visitor’s Guide drawing for 1285 but not on the plan for 1300 in the Official Handbook. The Handbook is highly detailed, authoritative and well-illustrated, but it is very densely written and only relieved typographically by the use of bold print for the parts of the building being described. This makes it very heavy going, and it is difficult to imagine the visitor either reading it straight through, or using it as a guide in his walk round the monument, especially as constant referral back and forth from the text to the folding plan is needed, a near impossibility in most weathers.

What, then, is the purpose of the Official Handbook? Is it best used, as many of us find, retrospectively, a reminder of the glories we have seen, or, often, missed? The serious student, it seems to me needs to buy the guide in advance, annotate it to avoid missing significant detail, and then number the text and the folding plan in parallel and in an order that can be followed logically. By photocopying the plan to a smaller scale and mounting it separately on card it might be possible to use this excellent guide to its full potential. It should be added that these remarks apply not just to this guide but to every Official Handbook (commonly, but unofficially, called ‘Blue Guides’) that the reviewer has bought and battled with.

The problems of design and practicality of guides to the monuments in the care of the State have not yet been solved, and would benefit immeasurably from consultation with those, of varying levels of interest, who visit the sites. Paradoxically, the guides for children are often the best for the adults with little previous knowledge who form the bulk of these visitors. However, these general remarks, prompted by a visit to the Tower and its overwhelming crowds, should not detract from the welcome due to this fine and scholarly handbook, an essential work of reference which is unlikely to be superseded for a very long time.

PHILIP BARKER
This work is an absolute necessity for any student of castles, artillery defences or town walls in the British Isles. It should be used with the earlier volume (C.B.A. Research Report, 25), on which it is an advance in two respects: first, it treats of Ireland (both North and South) as well as England, Wales, Scotland and the Islands; in the second, the actual book seems to be much more robust than its predecessor, which generally disintegrated when in use. The extended survey covers the period 1977–82, and represents an impressive mass of work.

Compilers of bibliographies find themselves faced, in archaeology at least, with an explosion of material; not only is there greatly increased activity — largely concerned with excavations, which necessitate a record of some sort — but reports in print have burgeoned at some sort of exponential rate. From its outset, Medieval Archaeology has issued an annual survey, Archaeology in Britain, performing thereby a great service to medievalists; all the same, I suspected from the first that this could provide an excuse for those who were happier with the trowel than the pen or the typewriter to avoid writing up their work adequately. I cannot say how far I was right; let others, better informed, judge. But most certainly it sparked off a vast series of archaeological entries in every sort of periodical, where any excavator took ball-point in hand, and put a note of his doings into print. These interim excavation reports are now very numerous, and increasing fast; John Kenyon has struggled manfully, and continues to struggle, at collecting them. His has been an impressive achievement.

In my own Castellarium Anglicanum I have endeavoured to avoid as far as possible these partial reports; but while they are due to be subsumed and rendered redundant when the final report appears, in the interval they are not valueless, and the excavator may yet be felled by an inconvenient death, or simply writer’s block, before he brings out his final version.

The reader may be excused for supposing that this review is something of an ‘inside job’; John Kenyon is at present collaborating with your reviewer on the business of keeping Castellarium Anglicanum up to date, and he has been constituted my Continuator, against the day when I — much the older man — cannot continue the work.

D. J. CATHCART KING


A century ago the castle of Pierrefonds would have needed no introduction to any audience interested in European architecture, for its rebuilding to provide a national monument and palace for Napoleon III, and the reputation and prolific writings of his architect, the great Viollet-le-Duc, had established the castle as a late medieval structure of the highest importance. Since then, attitudes have changed: 19th-century over-restoration of this sort has long been unfashionable, and Pierrefonds has joined the Marquis of Bute’s work at Cardiff Castle and Castell Coch, as examples of Victorian taste in curating ancient monuments.

For the past quarter-century Jacques Harmand has been rescuing the castle from this comparative obscurity; the present monograph is a summary of his researches, incorporating earlier articles, notably ‘Le manoir d’Orléans à Pierrefonds’, in Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (1960), and ‘Le plus ancien Château de Pierrefonds et ses Problèmes’, in Bulletin Monumental, cxvii (1959). These earlier pieces concentrated on the first stages of the works on the site, and are still necessary for a full exposition of the details of the evidence and its interpretation. Harmand recapitulates his conclusions, presents a much fuller account of the documentary sources and devotes his monograph to an analysis of the restoration by Viollet-le-Duc, and an interpretation of the principal building period at Pierrefonds.

The early castle probably stood on the high ground called Le Rocher, some 500 metres from the present building, close to a Romanesque priory church. During the second half of the 14th century a strong house was built on the flatter site used by the later castle. Harmand
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designates this the *manoir-donjon*, and his identification of this element in the late medieval plan is a major contribution to our understanding of the site. The *manoir* formed an irregular rectangle with two diagonally-opposed corner towers, and presumably stood within a courtyard containing storehouses and ancillary buildings. Like its English contemporaries, Warkworth and Belsay, it was a tower-house, and contained sumptuous fittings. Harmand is inclined to date this phase to 1393/94. 19th-century photographs and drawings of the ruins show details which would fit this date, notably the principal fire-place and the corbelled-out turrets at wallhead level; but these may have been added during the subsequent rebuilding, and a slightly earlier period for the *manoir* remains possible: Harmand's dating requires a complete change of plan about 1397, when Louis d'Orléans decided to incorporate the new tower-house in a massive castle of eight towers and a high courtyard wall. The result was among the largest of the later medieval fortresses of France, a courtyard castle about one hundred metres square. Much of the work may have been finished by 1404/5, and some signs of financial pressure and haste are visible in the scaling-down of the design in the later building campaigns, a process which Harmand links with the political tension between Orléans and Burgundy between 1401 and 1405, and to pressure on Duke Louis' finances in the years before his assassination in 1407. The castle, perhaps still unfinished, was involved in the wars with Burgundy and with the English after Agincourt. It remained a key fortress and was captured during the civil wars of the late 16th century, was dismantled in 1594, and was finally wrecked in 1617. It stood a ruin until its acquisition by the State in 1813, and its complete restoration under Viollet-le-Duc between 1858 and 1870.

Harmand's treatment is meticulous. After an introduction to the historical and architectural evidence, he considers in turn the origin of the first castle at Pierrefonds, the nature of the topography and its effect on the new castle, and the dating and course of the works of c. 1400. He then discusses the extant building and, with considerable attention to detail, attempts to distinguish among Viollet-le-Duc's many improvements those which were justified by the remains, and those which were entirely a product of the rebuilding. Any who are unfamiliar with the *mores* of 19th-century restoration will doubtless be startled by its indifference to *les réalités* — indifference to the need for record before rebuilding, and even the demolition of ancient features to replace them by completely new designs. The parallels with English work, from the wholesale reconstruction of parish churches to the proposal to demolish St Alban's Cathedral, are sufficiently obvious.

Thanks to Harmand we can now be reasonably sure which are the medieval features at Pierrefonds, and can see something of the European context of the design. Pierrefonds is an important building for students of English and Scottish castles, but they must quarry their own material, for Harmand's knowledge of these fields is fragmentary: in his bibliography we find Derek Renn on Norman and Stuart Cruden on Scottish castles, but neither Allen Brown nor Davison nor Toy; instead only Hugh Braun and the quite inadequate pamphlet by T. H. Rowland, *Medieval Castles of Northumberland*. France herself is well served, however, and the bibliography of Pierrefonds and Louis' other major castle at La Ferté-Milon is almost complete. It is fortunate that we have this tool, for Harmand's book, substantial and significant though it is, is irritatingly difficult to use, through lack of illustrations. What we have fall into three groups: topographical sketches of the early 19th century and photographs taken in the early stages of the restoration; a very few reproductions of the many plans and elevations by Viollet-le-Duc and his associates; and only three drawings, all block diagrams, by the author. These show that Harmand is no draughtsman, but the absence of any proper elevations, still more of detailed phased drawings of the interpretations, makes it essential for the reader to pour over the 19th-century photographs even to understand the discussion, let alone to verify Harmand's arguments. This is an unsatisfactory conclusion to an important piece of research: the additional material in Harmand's *Château and Manoir*, to be sure, makes comprehension easier, but readers who have no access to these or to Viollet-le-Duc's own account of the building, or to the two dozen or so now rare works on Pierrefonds which contain illustrations, will understand the problems best if they go there themselves.

PHILIP DIXON
This is a collection of ‘working papers’ on excavations and survey, at and around San Vincenzo al Volturno, in southern Italy. The abbey of San Vincenzo stood on the bank of the R. Volturno, on a flattish plain, surrounded by mountains. Its early history is known chiefly from the 12th-century Chronicon Volturnense. This records that it was founded in 703, with a grant of land from the duke of Benevento, Gisulf I. Duke Arechis II gave additional land in 758–760 and by 866 the terra of San Vincenzo occupied more than 400 square km.

The abbey was situated near the edge of Beneventan territory and in 774 found itself virtually on the Carolingian frontier. Subsequently, it enjoyed the patronage of king and prince alike. In 787 Charlemagne confirmed its possessions and granted immunity from lay interference. The Chronicon claims that Abbot Josue (792–817) was a brother-in-law of Louis the Pious, who showered the abbey with gifts, ‘Nunc’, wrote Paul the Deacon, ‘magna congregatone refugiet’. Prosperity ended abruptly in 881, when San Vincenzo was sacked by marauding Saracens. The community retreated to Capua and did not return until 914–915. Restoration proceeded slowly and the main church was not repaired until the abbacy of John IV (998–1007). After further repairs, Abbot Gerardus embarked on total reconstruction.

In 1832, a crypt with well-preserved paintings was discovered, 300 m from the abbey, on the other side of the river. The paintings, datable to the abbacy of Epiphanius (824–842), have received the attention they deserve, but until 1980 their immediate context had never been investigated.

The current project began with three objectives: to excavate the surroundings of the crypt, to excavate in the abbey and to investigate patterns of settlement in the terra. In 1981, the project changed dramatically with the discovery that the existing abbey dates from the 11th century and that its predecessor lay across the river; indeed, the ‘crypt church’ was part of it. Moreover, the earlier abbey was constructed in the ruins of Roman buildings.

Given the ambitious objectives, it is not surprising that the twelve chapters cover a wide range of topics: the excavation of the early abbey (Richard Hodges), one of its workshops (John Moreland), the late Roman and early medieval cemeteries (Catherine Coutts and Steven Mithen), late Roman and early medieval pottery (Helen Patterson), skeletons from early medieval burials (Valerie Higgins), wall paintings (John Mitchell), a 9th-century enamel (John Mitchell), ‘A city called Samnium’ (John Patterson), the environmental history of the Rocchetta plain (Peter P. Hayes and David A. Jones), ‘The upper Volturno in Roman times’ (John Patterson) and the terra of San Vincenzo (Chris Wickham). They conclude with a discussion of the project in its wider context (Richard Hodges).

Hodges divides the structural history of San Vincenzo into nine phases (0–8); 0 and 8 concern the area of the existing church, 1–7 the excavation near the crypt church. It is a complex sequence, currently interpreted as follows. In phase 1 (5th to early 6th century), a villa, a ‘funerary basilica’ (hereafter, the S. church) and a second basilica (the crypt church) stood on the river bank, approached by a bridge and overlooked by a large building interpreted as a tower. In phase 2 (late 6th and 7th century), the villa was abandoned, but the S. church may have been enlarged and the site continued to be used as a cemetery. The first monastery was built, and modified, in phase 3 (8th century). In 3a, a decorated altar was constructed in the S. church, which was remodelled in 3b; in 3c, a crypt and triconch chancel were constructed in the apse of the crypt church. In phase 4 (early 9th century), the monastery was transformed. The size was increased tenfold. The S. church was rebuilt with a chapel and storerooms on the ground floor and an upper storey perhaps containing a hall. This and the crypt church became ‘facilities at the entrance of the abbey’, adjacent to the refectory, beyond which (it is thought) lay the principal church. Surface remains, if correctly identified, suggest that the abbey church was 30–40 m long and 26 m wide. Phase 5, in which the crypt received its paintings, began in the abbacy of Epiphanius and ended with the Saracen raid. Phase 6, when the abbey was ‘a sad ruinous place’ is bracketed between the return of the monks from Capua and the mid 11th century. In phase 7, attributed to Abbot
John V (1053–1076), the monastery was rebuilt with a different layout. Shortly afterwards, under Gerardus, the community moved to the new site, across the river.

A striking feature of the excavated buildings is the extent to which they were decorated: ‘almost every room in the 9th-century monastery was plastered and painted’. Another highlight was the discovery of a glassmaker's workshop, built in phase 4, perhaps converted for another purpose in 5 and destroyed by fire in the Saracen attack.

Outside the abbey, survey, selective excavation and archival research have revealed the changing pattern of settlement in the terra. The abandonment of the villa at San Vincenzo was symptomatic of a move from lowland sites to hillslopes and summits, such as the enigmatic Vacchereccia, published in Proc. Brit. School Rome, LII (1984) and here identified as a ‘solitary farm’. The foundation of the monastery had little impact on the pattern of settlement. However, as charters indicate, a major shift occurred in the 10th century, with the process of incastellamento, or concentration of the rural population in fortified centres. Evidently, San Vincenzo sought to increase its income, and this required the reorganization of the terra.

In the final chapter, Hodges sums up our knowledge of the site and its territory, and places it in a European perspective. As early as c. 400, the Roman settlement pattern had disappeared. In the upper Volturno, only San Vincenzo is known to have been occupied, by a large establishment, apparently with two churches. This ceased to be inhabited in the 6th century, but continued to be used for burial. Shortly after 700, the monastery was founded. A century later, it was enlarged. Abandoned after the raid of 881, San Vincenzo recovered slowly, and was not fully restored until the mid 11th century, when Gerardus moved the community to the new location.

The book is a rich, but uneven, diet. The authors deserve considerable credit for providing so much information while the project is still in progress. Inevitably, conclusions will change. What, I wonder, will be the final judgment on the rock-cut ditches near the later abbey, at present attributed to the first four centuries A.D. (p. 6)? Was the 9th-century abbey as methodically planned as Hodges suggests (p. 27), and did visitors really follow the tortuous route from the entrance to the main church, described on pp. 12–16 in terms that reminded me of Eco’s Aedificium? How will the interpretation and chronology of phases 7 and 8 stand up to further scrutiny?

Grammar and punctuation are erratic; hyperbole abounds. The typographical errors include two minor classics: a ‘numbed’ figure (p. 179) and the granting of a ‘charger’ (p. 267). Abbot Josue is Josua on p. 2 and Giosué on p. 231; the Saracen leader, Saugdan (as he is called in the Chronicon) is Saradan on p. 2. Figures 1:2 and 2:1 are identical, references in the text to figs 4:4–4:7 bear little relation to the figures themselves. These are cavils, but the editors should take them to heart. San Vincenzo is a major site, the project outstanding. They deserve a meticulous final report.

DAVID WHITEHOUSE


This is an important book in the development of British and European archaeology because it is concerned with the examination of processual problems rather than culture historical ones. Most papers take a systemic approach, seeing the different elements of a past group’s environment, technology, society, economy and ideology interrelating and being affected one by another. Changes, sometimes even small ones, in one system can have serious implications for another system, leading to adaptation. If such change is not possible within the system, there can be systems collapse. Less drastic but often very important change can take place because of interrelationships between two societies at a similar level; this is called peer polity interaction in the book and is a frequently cited process. According to this
approach, systemic change can be produced internally, something which would be denied by
many proponents of systems theory.

The emergence and maintenance of ranked societies in Europe has previously been
studied with emphasis on particular causes and effects, without seeing these as part of a wider
pattern of human adaptation and development. In contrast each contribution in this volume,
though concerned with a single example of ranking, puts the particular case study in a wider
context. Some papers are less particularist than others, and it is unfortunate that those
concerned with the historic period are not amongst the best. Renfrew's fascinating introduc-
tion to the section compares later 1st-millennium western Europe with Mycenaean and
Classical Greece and with the Classic Maya. This is phrased in terms of a systems collapse,
leading to a lower level of socio-political integration (complexity). It is unfortunate that the
English papers that follow appear very limited in their scope and do not express the breadth
of vision which the processual approach allows.

Hodges is concerned with the evolution of gateway communities, seeing these geo-
graphically static exchange centres as a way of assessing change when the peripatetic nature
of kingship makes high status settlement archaeology unsuited to this purpose. It is a pity
that he does not break out of the habit of describing sites in terms of particular historical
personages and events, for example, Yeavering is the palace of King Edwin where Paulinus
preached. There are also naive statements using historical sources, such as the claim that
kings always monitored long-distance trade because their involvement is mentioned in
documents; he does not seem to have considered that any trade they did not control is
unlikely to have been recorded historically. Nevertheless this is a brave effort to use general
models in Dark-Age archaeology; it is just a pity that more space was not devoted to detailed
discussion of the processes involved. There is a sneaking suspicion these have been lifted from
the anthropological literature and applied without the implications being considered.

Arnold's paper is supposedly concerned with the underlying forces of change, particu-
larly population pressure; this is so underlying no evidence is produced for its existence. Nor
are we told why it existed, nor even how it produced stress related to the changes in grave
goods which form the central theme of the paper. The use of nonsensical jargon phrases will
not impress the reader of this journal.

In contrast we turn to an elegantly written paper by the Dane, Randsborg. The time
span is longer, covering later prehistory as well as the early historic period. At first sight it
could be viewed as environmentally determinist, with emphasis on changes in climate and
their impact on subsistence strategies, but in fact it is far more than this. Though again a
short paper, it is most thought-provoking in its consideration of patterns of inheritance, and
wealth creation and disposal.

For those interested in the processual approach many of the prehistoric papers are well
worth reading. The section on salient ranking has some interesting implications for those
studying rich burials and early towns. The discussion section at the end of the book may be
considered hard going by some, but it clearly illustrates the different theoretical approaches
that can be brought to bear on trade, exchange and ranking. The materialist explanation
approach of Gledhill and Rowlands has not been tried for the medieval period in archaeology
but clearly has great potential; the contextual approach of Hodder would seem ideally suited
to the historic period. The ideology of at least the elite has been examined at length by
historians, and could well be used to interpret archaeology in other than straight functional-
ist terms. Whallon seems like a voice from the past restating the 'scientific' approach of the
early new archaeology; how dry it all seems compared with much written by the next
generation. Binford's epilogue emphasises how British and European archaeologists are still
too rooted in their data, too concerned with particular minutiae to see and attack the major
issues. Perhaps this is true, but from the strength of a well-prepared data base we should be
able to move forward quickly if we are prepared to avail ourselves of these exciting new
theoretical approaches. When will this journal publish its first avowedly processualist
article?

HAROLD MYTUM