Reviews

Probleme der Küstenforschung im südlichen Nordseegebiet, Bd. ix (Schriftenreihe der Niedersächsischen Landesinstitutes für Marschen- und Wurtenforschung, Wilhelmshaven). Edited by Werner Haarnagel. 12¼×9¼ in. 112 pp., many illustrations and tables. Hildesheim: August Lax, 1970. Price DM 32.

Vividly impressed on this reviewer's memory is an occasion in 1955 when he was told to investigate 'a boat in a terp' on Seasalter Level, near Whitstable, Kent (*Archaeol. Cant.*, LXX (1956), 44–67). In the reclamation works on the marshes after the great flood of 1953 bulldozing of a group of mounds, not recognized by the Ordnance Survey sheet or by the Geological Survey as artificial, had revealed wooden structures and subsequently quantities of lead. There could be no doubt that the mounds were artificial and by analogy with those in Lincolnshire where much better documentary evidence exists (*Med. Archaeol.*, V (1961), 346–8) they were identified as saltworkers' mounds of medieval date. In N. Kent the mounds are remarkable for their height (up to 15 to 18 ft.) and for the fact that in S. Sheppey they have achieved the distinction of a dialect name, 'coterells' (perhaps cottars' hills?). In later medieval times they were cut off from the sea by a bank, partly because the cheap imported Bay salt had rendered this domestic industry superfluous, partly because severe tidal flooding of the marsh pastures required remedial measures. The motive behind the construction of a 'saltcote' of this kind was the same as in the construction of a *terp*, i.e. to provide a dry platform above tidal flooding, but in the former case the mound only carried a temporary hut, in the latter a permanent community, a whole village in fact (see review in *Med. Archaeol.*, IX (1965), 227–8). True *terpen* do not occur on the W. coast of the North Sea, but have been a subject of study for 150 years in Holland, and for thirty years or so on the N. side of the R. Ems in Germany (where *terpen* are called *Wurten*). The subject is of great interest for English medieval archaeologists, not only because elucidation of rising North Sea levels throws much light on our own marshes, but also because there is little doubt that some of the 5th-century English settlers in this country had come from the *terpen* across the sea.

The Institute of Lower Saxony for Marsh and Terpen Research was founded in 1938, and the volume under review is the ninth published with the title, *Problems of coastal research in the south North Sea area*. Its director since its foundation has been Professor Werner Haarnagel to whom the volume has been dedicated by his colleagues on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday and whose photograph graces its front. It comprises a collection of seven papers. The first is the text of an address given by Professor Waterbolk at the opening of the Institute's new building at Wilhelmshaven. This traces the history of the study of *terpen* which really began *c.* 1820, stimulated partly by references in classical authors, partly by the interest of the Romantic Movement in all vestiges of the past, but perhaps mainly through fears of a rising sea level prompted by severe flooding. Discoveries in the Swiss lake-villages and Italian *terramare* gave the subject new interest but it was only in the early years of this century that the matter was taken in hand by Professor van Giffen. The history makes a fascinating commentary on European intellectual outlook over this period.

The real meat of the volume is the second paper by Dr. K.-E. Behre recording the results of a series of borings made in the marshes on the left bank of the lower Ems, pollen analyses of the peat and identifications of macroflora from certain prehistoric sites in the marshes. It will be recalled that the bed of the North Sea was dry land in early post-glacial times, when the R. Ems was a small eroding stream; as the North Sea

grew and approached the modern coastline, erosion altered to deposition either as peat in marshland or clay in open water (the borings showed depths of 10 to 25 ft. of recent deposit). Deposition began about 3000 B.C. (zone viii, a) and the sea level then rose slowly in irregular jerks. The marshland was wooded up to Roman times and did not wear its present bleak aspect. Human settlement is first recorded *c.* 700 B.C. but was brusquely interrupted by marine intrusion *c.* 300 B.C. There was dense settlement in the Roman iron age when for the first time some of the villages were placed on artificial mounds, *terpen.* Active attempts to hold back the sea by imbanking begin in this area around A.D. 1000, but medieval engineers had to contend with a severe marine intrusion of *c.* 1300–1500 that produced the bed of clay which covers all the peat deposits in the Ems marshes. It is very interesting to compare this with J. Evans's study on rising sea levels and imbanking in the N. Kent marshes (*Archaeol. Cant.*, LXVI, (1953), 103–46), bearing in mind that he lacked the massive data available to Dr. Behre.

The third article is concerned with an area much farther north, near Tating at the mouth of the R. Eider in Schleswig. Extensive traces of the Roman iron age occur there, apparently of settlements, although the photographs show remains curiously reminiscent of the Kentish saltcotes. Perhaps most interesting are the dark parallel lines left by ploughing on the land surface beneath the mounds, a fair indication of altered conditions. There follows a very detailed excavation report of a cemetery of the 8th to 9th centuries at Dunum, Kr. Wittmund, which consisted of a number of cremations, some surrounded by ditches, over which a great many unburnt bodies oriented SW.–NE. had been interred. The question prompted by this cemetery, the date of the adoption of Christianity in this area, is appropriately dealt with in the next paper by Professor van Es, his inaugural lecture at Amsterdam University, on burial practice and Christianization in the Low Countries. He discusses the three normal criteria for the recognition of Christian burial—inhumation of the unburnt corpse, orientation and absence of grave-goods—and finds difficulty in using any as a hard and fast rule; during the five centuries it took to convert the rural areas of Holland there were many variations and combinations before the 9th century when the rite was fixed. This paper is followed by an excavation report on the burials associated with, or later than, a penannular ditch at Liebenau, Kr. Nienburg. Earlier cremations at the centre were replaced by an inhumation of a warrior with rich grave-goods in the 1st half of the 7th century. The earlier sequence may be right but it is difficult to believe that the clearly 5th-century urn (pl. 4, 2 *a–b*) can be a still later cremation. The volume concludes with an account of borings and a shaft sunk through the edge of the *terp* at Emden, that created the nucleus around which the Viking town grew up, and has already been the subject of considerable study by Professor Haarnagel. The *terp* is built up of clay in which several phases (or tip lines?) with 9th- to 11th-century pottery were found. The use of stippling as a symbol for clay in figure 3, which is normally used to indicate sand, is confusing; this is a rare criticism since the other figures and tables in the volume are exemplary. An unusual feature which may be worth copying in this country is the printing of the town where an author works at the beginning of each article, and of his full address at the end, so that interested readers can correspond with him.

The work of the Institute at Wilhelmshaven recalls in some respects that of the Fenland Quaternary Research Committee, although the latter has been concerned more with the natural history and less with the human history of its area. Indeed as far as tidal flooding is concerned man was very much a plaything of nature until medieval times. It was no doubt satisfying to watch the water swirling below your feet from the top of a saltcote or a *terp* but mounding was a first and passive step; the logical and final step was to go out and stay the waters with a bank before they reached you. Many square miles of dry marshland on both sides of the North Sea stand as silent witness to this very considerable, but largely forgotten and unsung, achievement of the middle ages.

M. W. THOMPSON

The Spade in Northern and Atlantic Europe. Edited by Alan Gailey and Alexander Fenton. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. xiv+257 pp., 33 pls., 88 figs. Belfast: Ulster Folk Museum and Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, 1970. Price 33s. (£1.65, £1.80 incl. postage).

There can be few more satisfying sounds in archaeology than the soft rasping of a spade as its edge severs the turf along the string marking out a trench. The tensile strength of the turf which retains the vertical side of the cutting thus makes possible the drawing of vertical sections and the excision of those stark rectangular shapes that make such impressive photographs; the whole thinking and ethos of English archaeology have in some measure been moulded by the downland turf on which it was first practised. It is surprising therefore that we often forget how important turf was also in daily life in medieval times, constructionally in the walls and roofs of Viking or later medieval peasants' houses, as field fences and for fuel. Whether the turf was to be cut for use or for cultivation the tough, resistant material had to be cloven with a suitable instrument, often with a share and coulter in agriculture but sometimes in this case, and almost certainly always in others, the spade and mattock were the normal means. Much may be learned on this subject, or at least suggestive analogies may be prompted, by the study of current or recent folk usage in these islands, more especially in the Celtic areas, and in regions with a similar climate, such as Scandinavia and the Faroe Islands. The nineteen papers in this book, which range over just this field, were mostly read at a symposium with the same title held in Belfast in March 1968.

Our picture of the laborious construction of bronze-age barrows and iron-age camps with antler picks and scapula shovels has been rudely shaken by Professor C. Thomas's discovery of traces in the sand at Gwithian of the use of what appears to have been a heart-shaped digging implement akin to the Cornish spade. As it was of wood and unshod it can only have had a fairly limited digging capability in hard ground; effective digging tools with iron blades begin in this country in the Roman period. In medieval manuscripts spades are commonly illustrated, one-sided or two-sided. These are discussed in a short paper by Mr. Hassall.

For the student concerned with the explanation of the varying distribution of objects from periods where written records are wanting or scarce no exercise is more instructive than examining the distribution of objects in modern folk culture where the wealth of written records should (but sometimes cannot) explain the causes of such distribution. The two forms of Irish spade, one-sided and without a handle in the south, and two-sided, often with a handle, in the north, are surely a classic case. The northern and more efficient tool is evidently a later intruder into a territory where the one-sided spade was native, and its penetration southward, preceded by modifications of the older type before it was supplanted, can be plotted with remarkable accuracy. Some folk features can be strongly influenced by environmental factors (such as gradients in hilly country preventing the use of four-wheeled wagons), but in this case the distinction is purely cultural. Although Mr. Gailey does not say so surely the northern 'Protestant' spade is likely to have been introduced in the Ulster plantations of the early 17th century, and then by its sheer efficiency to have spread southwards. If so, of course, it would be an interesting example of the somewhat unfashionable transference of culture by physical movement or invasion! Much more curious is the transference of the breast plough from England to Sweden in the 18th century for paring, before burning, the turf for which the implement was designed. Just as the English constitution was admired in France so English agriculture was admired in Sweden during the period of the Enlightenment, and hence the copying there of an English method of soil improvement.

'Throughout the historical period it is clear that settlement has to a great extent been conditioned by the availability of fuel and that the wearing out of peat supplies was a constant source of difficulty . . .' (p. 168). Mr. Fenton is speaking of Scotland, but, although wood was no doubt the main fuel in lowland England, presumably this

observation could be applied to many moorland areas in the north and south-west. It may be recalled that it is now reasonably supposed that the Norfolk Broads owe their existence to early medieval peat extraction and so may be reckoned impressive monuments to the medieval spade. Perhaps one shortcoming of the book under review is that it fails to describe folk tools used in the lowland peats in the Fens, N. Somerset and many other estuarine areas.

A very interesting subject discussed is the cultivation of the soil without ploughs, solely with the spade, in Ireland and the Faroe Islands. This was done not merely in growing potatoes but also in lazy beds for cereals. The photographs of abandoned spade ridges and the photographs and descriptions of their formation must surely prompt thoughts about the origin of English strip cultivation; ridge-and-furrow can be produced where no plough was in use.

A matter that is considered by several writers and indeed forms the subject of the two longest papers in the collection is paring and burning. Paring the turf was not always done with a spade; the normal instrument in Ireland was the *grafán* (hoe) so that the article of formidable learning with 556 references on this subject, valuable as it is, has not much to do with the spade. Paring and burning was apparently a Celtic practice, known in Ireland and Scotland, but in England recorded in medieval times in the Devonian peninsula only whence it spread eastwards to other districts. The peculiar instrument known as the breast plough, although in fact thrust forward with the thighs, was specifically designed for paring. Discussion on the origin of this practice (pp. 84–6, 134–7) is of great interest: an archaic survival of slash-and-burn migrant agriculture, a method of reclamation, a manuring practice or one for cleansing the soil of weeds? Whatever its origin it certainly became widespread in the 17th and 18th centuries and was particularly used for reclamation of waste land.

After considering the use of the spade in surviving non-industrial societies the reader will be in a much better position to appreciate its importance in the vanished society of the middle ages. It was certainly well worthwhile bringing together these contributions by authors from diverse places, since in no single region does the subject merit a book in itself, but comparison and contrast over a range of areas give the matter a new dimension.

M. W. THOMPSON

Die Porta Nigra in Trier (Trierer Grabungen und Forschungen, IV). Edited by Erich Gose. 2 vols. 14 × 12½ in. 172 pp., 54 figs, 268 pls. Berlin: Gebr. Mann., 1969. Price DM 220.

The Porta Nigra, the N. gate of the Roman city of *Augusta Trevirorum*, is one of the most imposing and best preserved of the Imperial monuments north of the Alps. Primarily this scholarly and beautifully illustrated book is a careful record of the classical structure, which is shewn to date from the end of the 2nd century. Though not of one build with the city wall, the Porta Nigra, with the other gates, the walls and the bridge across the R. Mosel, form part of a single plan and the difference in date between the gate and the wall can only have been slight.

As an account of a Roman gate this book would not qualify for a review in our Journal, but the history and structure of these classical monuments illustrate so many facets of medieval urban development that their study cannot be neglected by the student of the middle ages. The Porta Nigra is an outstanding example. Later developments of the site and structure are fully recorded in this volume and it is to these sections of the work that our attention must be directed. Briefly we see recorded first a period of destruction, when the gate served, above all, as a source of metal, the clamps holding the blocks together being extracted regardless of the effect on the masonry. By the early 11th century

an altar to St. Michael had been erected within the roofless structure. The existence of this altar probably determined the location of the anchorage within which St. Symeon (*ob.* 1034) was enclosed under Archbishop Poppo. Around his tomb was founded a great house of canons with a double church on two stories. The apsidal quire, built on to the gate in the middle 12th century, is one of the finest examples of the Lotharingian-Trierland Romanesque school of architecture. The church was embellished with fine baroque stucco in the 18th century. The foundation was suppressed in the French Revolution by anticlericals who sought to restore the classical form and function of the gate, though fortunately a project to demolish the Romanesque quire was not proceeded with.

The ecclesiastical history of the Porta Nigra starts with St. Symeon, a Sicilian Greek, who had been a monk in the convent of Mount Sinai. Under the protection of Archbishop Poppo he was immured in a cell formed in the upper part of the ground stage of the projecting semicircle of the E. tower. The blocked door to the Roman wall-walk was converted into a tiny chapel with an altar which became the burial place of the saint. The medieval arrangement, which can still be traced in detail, represents a symbolic systematization of the anchorage carried out four years after the death of St. Symeon. The close dating is achieved by dendrochronology, the evidence for which is set out in an appendix. The contemporary life of the saint by Abbot Eberwin shows that the systematization of 1038 follows the lines of the original cell; together they give a vivid picture of a medieval anchorage. The only doubtful point is the location of the pre-existing chapel of St. Michael, which brought St. Symeon to the Porta Nigra. There is much to commend the suggestion that it was in the W. gate tower and accessible to the recluse along the Roman passage beside the portcullis.

The double church contrived in the two upper stages of the Roman gate is an elaborate example, which illustrates the early medieval genius for using the inheritance of the classical world. The people's church below and the conventual church above form a single complex knit together with a new claustral layout to the west. The plan, dictated as it is by the earlier classical remains, is difficult to recognize in its mutilated form, but it embodies all the essential features of this type of foundation. The account of the churches is full and well documented. It illustrates the extent to which a medieval foundation can be restored from fragmentary remains. The drawings of the middle 12th-century detail of the quire provide a valuable corpus of the ornamental forms in use at this period. Finally attention may be drawn to the extent of the survival of baroque stucco after more than a century and a half of exposure to the weather.

Beyond these valuable details concerning the Porta Nigra, this volume has a wider appeal to medievalists. In an age which looked back to Rome the visual inheritance of the classical world loomed far larger than it does today. The Porta Nigra with its ground stage largely entombed and the people's church above the actual gate approached by a monumental stair was a dominating feature of medieval (and post-medieval) Trier, even as the theatre of Marcellus and the *moles Hadriani* converted into fortresses and palaces were dominant in medieval Rome. Many other such survivals must have remained in the old Roman towns and have influenced medieval concepts and medieval town planning. We are offered tantalizing glimpses; a single example must suffice. Was the Danish *castellum* at York destroyed by Athelstan the old Roman *porta principalis sinistra* of the 4th-century legionary fortress? There is at least an arguable case. This monumental publication of an outstanding German example raises such questions and provides at least comparative material on which to base an answer. We are here given not only the architectural and archaeological facts but the entire material for a reasoned appreciation of the role in aesthetics and folk-lore of one of the most important—perhaps the most important—classical survival in transalpine Europe. It is this comprehensive cover that makes it imperative to bring this publication to the notice of medieval as well as classical students.

C. A. RALEGH RADFORD

Christianity in Britain, 300–700. Edited by M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson. 10×7 in. 221 pp., 21 figs., 6 pls. Leicester: University Press, 1968. Price 50s. (£2.50).

This volume, attractively produced by the Leicester University Press and offered at a reasonable price, contains a generous selection of papers given at the conference on early Christianity in Britain held at Nottingham University in 1967. It was the aim of this conference to draw together representatives of the various disciplines that can contribute to the subject, and the successful achievement of this aim makes the book particularly valuable to the archaeologist, in that he can see here the current trends of sister studies and can estimate their impact on his own work.

Twelve of the principal papers are printed, with three shorter ones, an introduction by Dr. J. N. L. Myres and an epilogue by Professor R. P. C. Hanson.

The historical and archaeological background on the continent are set by Professor A. M. H. Jones and Dr. C. A. Ralegh Radford respectively, one dealing with church organization in the west during the 5th and 6th centuries, and the other with the progression from the early house-churches to the more specialized eucharistic halls and their associated buildings that followed the Peace of the Church.

Professor W. H. C. Frend reviews the history of Christianity in Roman Britain and Mr. G. R. Watson provides a useful gloss in stressing the slenderness of the evidence for Christianity in the Roman army, whilst Professor J. M. C. Toynbee catalogues the pagan motifs in art that can be held to have been used to express Christian tenets.

Dr. J. R. Morris proposes a sequence for the historical events of the 5th and 6th centuries, concentrating on a critical examination of the validity of the literary sources. Professor W. H. Davies puts a case for the continuity of Christian tradition in Wales from Roman times onwards; Professor D. Greene examines the relationships between the church in Britain and Ireland, and Professor L. Bieler those between the church in Britain and St. Patrick. Professor K. Cameron writes on the place-name evidence for early centres of Christian worship, and Professor A. C. Thomas studies the archaeological evidence for early Christianity in N. Britain with a suggestion that it may indicate the territories of sub-Roman dioceses based on old tribal divisions.

Perhaps the most impressive paper is that of M. F. Kerlouégan, whose precise dissection of the latinity of Gildas produces conclusions that are as significant as they are convincing.

It is interesting to note the formation of new areas of agreement and the continued existence of old areas of conflict in these varied studies of a singularly difficult subject. On the one hand the political significance of Pelagianism finds increasing support, whilst on the other the shadowy figure of St. Ninian remains shrouded in the dust of academic battle. But the most refreshing thing about the volume is that the contributors, not content to fight over familiar battlegrounds, show a lively concern with devising sharper weapons of research for the future.

R. GILYARD-BEER

The Gododdin: The Oldest Scottish Poem. By K. H. Jackson. 8×5 in. xi+178 pp. Edinburgh: University Press, 1969. Price £2.

Professor Jackson has placed all students of early heroic poetry still further in his debt by making available this English translation of the *Gododdin*. Hitherto it has been mainly known from Sir Ifor Williams' great Welsh edition *Canu Aneirin* and Skene's much earlier *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (1868). The archaic language and the corrupt text of the original MSS. make a complete translation impossible, as Jackson admits, but here, for the non-Welsh reader, is as much of the poem as meticulous modern scholarship can recover.

The poem tells how a force of cavalry raised by Mynyddog of the Gododdin at Eidyn (Edinburgh) attacked an English army about 600 A.D. at Catterick. Only a few

survivors returned, including Aneirin the poet (in one version he is the sole survivor), to tell of their deeds and of their annihilation.

In his introduction Professor Jackson places the poem in its historical context and defines its place in the heroic literature of the north. He argues in favour of its composition in the late 6th rather than the 9th century favoured by some recent scholars. One is particularly grateful for the review of the internal evidence relating to such matters as military tactics and equipment, the Army of Three Hundred, Cavalry and Romanization, Standard of Living and the composition of the force (The Party from North Wales). A useful appendix deals with the places and kingdoms mentioned in the poems.

The translation follows the order of the two texts A and B as given in the Book of Aneirin, though the B version is given first because, as it stands, it is some centuries older and is on the whole more original. Some verses are translated in full, others in part or summarized according to their interest and intelligibility. The related *Gorchanau* or lays of Tudfwlch, Cynfelyn and Maeldderw are similarly treated in a separate section.

The book is attractively produced at a reasonable price and will provide an indispensable source to all who are interested in the troubled centuries following the collapse of Roman power in Britain and in the relationship of native British to expanding English power.

J. R. C. HAMILTON

Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Winnall, Winchester, Hampshire (Society for Medieval Archaeology, monograph series, IV). By Audrey L. Meaney and Sonia Chadwick Hawkes. $9\frac{3}{4}\times7\frac{1}{4}$ in. x+65 pp., 6 pls., 15 figs. London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1970. Price 35s. (£1.75).

This is a dark-age duet for two female voices. Mrs. Meaney provides the theme, based on her excavation of some forty-five inhumation-burials in the Winnall II cemetery, whilst Mrs. Hawkes provides her own melodic variations. She adds a note on some other dark-age burials discovered in the same parish and develops the theme. Indeed, continual reference to the comparable double cemeteries at Chamberlains Barn, Leighton Buzzard, published by Miranda Hyslop in 1964, makes it into a female trio until the mere male notes with gratitude the achknowledgement of the intuition (of course, almost feminine) of T. C. Lethbridge when he saw that these latest putative pagan cemeteries must contain the burials of the first Christian Anglo-Saxons.

The theme is that Winnall II, with its poorly but typically furnished graves, is one of these characteristic 'last phase' cemeteries which, in spite of the survival of some pagan burial rites, was used by nominal Christian converts; that burials thrown up by chance some 370 yd. away represent a pagan burial-ground serving the same settlement and further that this (Winnall I) was abandoned in favour of the new cemetery (Winnall II) with the coming of Christianity. There are two related propositions: first, that the double cemetery pattern may exist elsewhere but, for a variety of reasons, has been missed, and second, that the similarity and paucity of grave-goods in the later of these implies that culture and fashion had become almost universal in the 7th century.

By an exhaustive discussion of the grave-goods Mrs. Hawkes dates the period of use of Winnall II and is surprised that this and others should start so early—that is at around the middle of the 7th century. Having discussed the archaeological evidence the final step is to place Winnall in the local and historical context.

It is unfortunate that the assumed earlier burial-grounds, both at Winnall and at Leighton Buzzard, were chance discoveries, inadequately recorded, and the evidence for Winnall I dispersed. The nature and dating of Winnall I therefore rests precariously on the conclusions that can be reasonably drawn from three surviving 6th-century shield-bosses. The duration of use and particularly the end date of the cemetery cannot be proven. Since the main thread of the argument assumes that Winnall I and II are

sequential in use (with a clear break *c.* 650) and that the burials are of the members of one community, it seems that the theme, although plausible and argued with conviction, is based on tenuous evidence.

When considering the apparent decapitation of bodies it is perhaps misleading to refer to Loveden Hill as a cemetery of the nominally Christian 7th century. Are we right to look for involved explanations of simple features—is the presence of large stones on bodies necessarily of arcane significance? The better furnished graves occur in the middle of the cemetery. Mrs. Meaney suggests that these may be the earliest burials, whilst Mrs. Hawkes suggests that these may be the chief family surrounded by poorer retainers. Neither explanation is wholly satisfactory having regard to the regularity and uniformity of the grave layout and the age and sex distribution of these richer burials. In the prevalence of knives it is intriguing to note that more females than males are so equipped and that a community which certainly had three armed defenders and probably more in the 6th century has only one of the seventeen males armed with an offensive weapon in the 7th. Did they literally beat their swords into ploughshares? The pottery vessel in grave 19 is not closely paralleled by Loveden 60/215 which is a much larger vessel with different statistical proportions and only a subjective similarity of profile to the Winnall urn. Perhaps this is as well for the Loveden urn may in fact be that much earlier as to prove inconvenient to the Winnall theme. Since it is not possible, at the moment, to date plain Anglo-Saxon pottery and, since we do not attempt to classify it scientifically, it is misleading to adduce this as corroborative evidence.

Mrs. Hawkes admits that the text has suffered some vicissitudes but, thanks to her felicity of style, the scars do not show. It is a great pity that Worthy Down does not figure in this monograph as originally intended. Certainly the reader feels a sense of disappointment which, one suspects, was shared by the joint authors. Mrs. Meaney says that Winnall 'was a site of great potential importance'. Mrs. Hawkes deplores that cemeteries are apparently considered dull and have gone out of fashion in favour of settlement excavation. This monograph surely makes the case for the two to go hand in hand, for it is central to the main theme and to support the subsidiary but no less important proposition on the standardization and impoverishment of material culture in the 7th century, to establish the relationship of settlements and cemeteries. In the event, a cemetery with less than half a dozen rich grave-groups hardly realizes great potential whilst the extended discussion of these in the hands of anyone other than Mrs. Hawkes could be said to run the risk of adding tedium to dullness. How much better it would have been with Worthy Down and with some correlation to the new knowledge which has come from the work within the walls of Winchester! Nevertheless the last chapters on the date and character of Winnall II and the historical perspective are an admirable and lucid exposition which fully justify the extended treatment of the monograph. It is encouraging to note that male expectation of life has vastly increased and that female expectancy has not deteriorated from that exhibited by Winnall II, so that we may anticipate a more substantial offering to which the present monograph is a titillating appetizer.

K. R. FENNELL

Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England. By J. N. L. Myres. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ in. 259 pp., 8 pls., 51 figs., 10 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969. Price £5.

The study of Anglo-Saxon pottery is a very recent one and until Dr. Myres started his survey, forty years ago, very few urns had been adequately published. Although Kemble was aware of the possibilities as early as 1856 most Anglo-Saxon archaeologists were only interested in the fine art-historical objects from the graves. This sorry state of affairs Dr. Myres set out to rectify and he has collected 3,500 drawings and descriptions for a *Corpus Vasorum Anglo-Saxonicorum.* In the early years the work had to be carried out part-time and perforce remained so until his recent retirement. The material available

has doubled in quantity while the corpus has been in preparation with the excavation of six major cemeteries in eastern England. Although this has delayed publication the wealth of new material has made this worthwhile and, with the financial help of the Council for British Archaeology, the corpus is now rapidly nearing completion. *Anglo-Saxon Pottery*, based on the Rhind lectures in 1965, offers a résumé and preview with 350 drawings and 30 photographs from 60 museums, and proposes a typological classification and distribution of the most important pottery types found in those parts of Britain settled by the Anglo-Saxons before their conversion to Christianity in the 7th century. This book does not deal with the coarse wares from settlement-sites or the later Anglo-Saxon pottery of the 8th to 11th centuries.

After an introduction setting out the nature of the distribution of the material and drawing attention to some of the dating problems (only five of the 400 Caistor urns had associated brooches) and the fact that three-quarters of the pots come from ten sites in E. England, Dr. Myres classifies the forms into ten types ranging from plain biconical through shouldered globular urns to bowls and cook-pots. The various forms of decoration are then classified into nearly forty types, starting with horizontal linear ornament, passing through various incised and stamped designs to the overdecorated *Buckelurnen*, followed by rectilinear and triangular decoration, and ending up with more complex types and those from specialist workshops. These are fully and clearly illustrated at a uniform quarter scale with half-scale reproductions of the stamps. These figures are presented in the same order as described in the text and follow a logical sequence. The only snag is that if one starts with the figures, as anyone looking for parallels surely will, there is no adequate cross-referencing back to the text. Nor will the index always lead to the right place. It is hoped that in any subsequent edition and certainly in the main corpus, the figure descriptions will include a page reference to the text discussion.

In the second part Dr. Myres divides the Anglo-Saxon settlement of England into five phases: i, a phase of overlap with Roman Britain and a controlled settlement of barbarian groups between 360 and 410; ii, a phase of transition between 410 and 450, after the breaking of direct links with Rome, when the Romano-Britons were able to maintain some semblance of order with the help of federate settlers; iii, a phase of invasion and destruction between 450 and 500 when there was a massive Anglo-Saxon uncontrolled land-seizure with the collapse of Romano-British civilization; iv, a phase of reaction and British recovery from 500 to 550 when the initial force of the invasions was spent and further advance halted for at least a generation; and v, a phase of consolidation after 550 when most of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms took shape and began to expand.

Finally, there is an important discussion of the social and economic aspects of Anglo-Saxon pottery; a vital matter that is so often ignored by typologists. The disposition of cemeteries and the arrangements of burials are discussed with some pertinent remarks on mixed inhumation and cremation cemeteries. With the manufacture of urns a progress is suggested from simple domestic beginnings to the recognizable products of individual craftsmen and the appearance of workshops in the 6th century, e.g., the Illington/Lackford potter. Dr. Myres ends with a discussion of the interpretation of various forms of decoration and their possible religious symbolism. The suggestion on the last page that the Anglo-Saxon potter nearly discovered movable type a thousand years before anyone else is a fascinating 'might have been'.

Anglo-Saxon Pottery is a landmark in Saxon archaeology and we eagerly await the publication of the full corpus to amplify the many vital points made by Dr. Myres. It is to be hoped, however, that there will be an attempt to link these important new concepts with the art-historical evidence, now that such firm foundations have been laid for our understanding of the pottery. There is also need for closer comparisons with the continental material and its dating evidence. Dr. Myres has thoroughly studied the continental parallels and prototypes, where important publications have recently appeared, but this material now wants examining afresh using this new scheme as a framework. It has been suggested that this may be the last book on the subject compiled

without the aid of a computer. I certainly hope not; whatever value a computer may have for certain types of object I am not convinced that it can be used to classify hand-made pottery where each pot is an individual creation. Our subject should not become de-personalized and it is a real pleasure to read Dr. Myres's clear text rather than a series of figures and tables. In so doing the reader will achieve a far better understanding of the Anglo-Saxons than he could obtain from any number of graphs.

Dr. Myres has placed us all in his debt by his masterly survey of pagan Saxon funerary pottery but this is only half the story and it is to be hoped that a younger generation will now produce a corpus of the coarse Anglo-Saxon domestic wares, giving special attention to the large numbers of decorated fragments which are found on some settlement-sites (e.g. West Stow). Did this village specialize in funerary wares, some of which was then put to everyday use, or is the division between decorated funerary and coarse domestic wares a false one? Much coarse ware is apparently featureless and today might seem as unrewarding as the funerary pottery did to the art historians forty years ago, but analysis of shapes and fabrics could have important results, as is already suggested by the limited work so far done.

JOHN G. HURST

The Viking Achievement, the Society and Culture of Early Medieval Scandinavia (Great Civilizations Series). By Peter Foote and David M. Wilson. $8\frac{1}{2}\times9\frac{1}{4}$ in. xxv+473 pp., 29 pls., 59 figs. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1970. Price 65s. (£3.25).

'Again, the abortive Scandinavian Civilization which began to unfold itself in Iceland before its chill beauty was melted into formlessness by the warm breath of Christianity far surpassed in both achievements and promise the rudimentary Celtic culture, traces of which have been discovered by modern archaeologists.' Toynbee, for the quotation is from 'A Study of History' (Abridgement, p. 158), then tells us in a footnote that the relics belong to the La Tène culture. It is an interesting analogy to which we may return, but the first point that strikes a reviewer is the title of the series in which the book appears (Great Civilizations Series), rubbing shoulders with 'The Greatness that was Babylon', 'The Splendour that was Egypt' . . . and so on. Clearly there must have been a change in editorial policy for civilization is surely just what the Vikings lacked and sought. The authors recognize this indeed in their title which uses the same word as Toynbee—*The Viking Achievement.*

The word Viking conjures up in the mind pictures of long boats filled with helmeted figures carrying round shields; we tend to think of Vikings overseas, raiding and trading and creating states in Russia, Normandy, England and Ireland. One rarely thinks of Vikings before they left their homes in Scandinavia and in their permanent colonies like Iceland, where they were not in due course absorbed by a native population of different culture and language. Yet the Scandinavian peoples who had been left out of the main stream of events since the bronze age contrived to pull themselves up by their bootstraps in a few centuries, so that by the 13th century they formed a more or less normal part of western Christendom. One can illustrate the point by contrasting them with the peoples of the other side of the Baltic Sea, the Balts, who resisted Christianity. It is with the Viking achievement at home that our authors are concerned.

The book is something of an archaeological sandwich since the first four chapters (Societies and States, Slaves, the Free, Authority and Administration) and the last three (Poetry, Justice, Religion and Conduct) are based predominantly on written sources, while the intervening chapters (Daily Life, Trade and Towns, Transport, Warfare, Art and Ornament) make use of predominantly archaeological evidence. The senior author, Professor Foote, is the literary partner which is a good thing, not only because written sources ought to be given more weight where they exist, but also because he has given the book a certain literary style, that is often notoriously lacking in archaeological books. The avoidance of the woodenness that has been characteristic of some

recent books on this subject makes it much more pleasant to read. The collaboration of two scholars from different fields (between which animosity sometimes prevails) is remarkable enough in itself, but even more is the success with which the two have blended their knowledge into an impressive conspectus of the Viking homeland.

In England—and the same goes for Normandy, or Russia, less so in Ireland—the archaeological remains are so slight that if it were not for the written sources and place-names, we should hardly have known that the Vikings had been there. This is not so in the homeland where the material remains make a significant contribution to our knowledge of these people. The famous Danish camps (fig. 41) tend indeed to leave the historian nonplussed, for they imply a degree of military or naval discipline which could hardly have reasonably been inferred from the written sources. Secondly, come the Norwegian ships, particularly the Oseberg ship, well enough recorded in written sources but still 'seeing is believing', and ships are so central to our thinking about Norsemen. Thirdly, perhaps the art, the writhing and tormented shapes, intelligible dimly perhaps when set beside the poetry, as it is in this volume. It is surely in origin a woodcarver's art, best seen in the Oseberg ship or the portal of the first Urnes church, although of course applied to stone, unlike La Tène art which is surely a bronzeworker's art. The latter achieved a degree of geometric composure, but Viking shapes remained tormented living creatures to the end. House plans and settlements, towns and trade—in all these matters archaeology has a lot to say. The ubiquitous dirhem is an indication of the movement of oriental silver and a symbol of Viking trading activity. The material remains then not only provide information not available in the written sources but also, and more important, furnish an ocular demonstration of the intangible record in the lines of the manuscript.

There is a fund of common sense in Professor Foote's treatment of Viking society. Recalling the massive achievements of our Victorian forefathers, perhaps due in some measure to the existence of servants, it is good to read (p. 78): 'We must also think of the greater leisure and comfort the existence of slaves conferred upon individual free men. It is generally easier to be an expert craftsman, artist, poet, lawyer, merchant, warrior, if you do not need to dung your own fields and fetch your own fuel. The slaves made their indirect contribution to the achievement of the Vikings.' It is easy to sneer at Freeman and to forget that it is his exaggeration that alienates us rather than his main idea as this line recalls (p. 80): 'Freedom of speech and personal liberty were inherited from the Germanic tribal system by the greater part of the population of the Scandinavian countries.' The period under discussion is seen by the author as witnessing the slow erosion of the freedom of the Viking 'yeomen' and their subordination into a more hierarchical society.

Returning now to Toynbee: his two 'abortive civilizations' were the Celtic Christian west and the Vikings, although 'rudimentary Celtic culture' refers to the La Tène Celts of the last centuries B.C. Comparison of these two heroic societies is suggestive but there were great differences between them. One could hardly speak of Celtic 'yeomen', as theirs was an aristocratic society. For the same reason Vikings enjoyed a much higher degree of social organization, in law and justice for instance; there is the contrast of a society of sea and ships with that of land and chariots . . . and so on. No one would disagree with Toynbee that the Vikings 'far surpassed' the other in achievements, and for an absorbing but sensible account of 'the Viking achievement', the reader could hardly do better than turn to this book.

M. W. THOMPSON

Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, II, *English Coins, 1066–1279*. By D. M. Metcalf. 10×7¼ in. xx+78 pp., 36 pls. *Do.: University Collection, Reading, Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins*, with *Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm, Anglo-Norman Pennies*. By C. E. Blunt and M. Dolley, with F. Elmore Jones and C. S. S. Lyon. Same format. 88 pp., 8+12 pls. London: Oxford University Press and Spink and Son, for the

British Academy and Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1969. Price £4 5s. (£4.25) and £3, respectively.

These, essentially three volumes in two, come among the smaller components of the *Sylloge*, and their diversity is instructive. Piety names the least of them first: the Reading collection is almost a memorial to Sir Frank Stenton, under whose guidance the University formed it, and whose small private collection it incorporates. Not only was he foremost in giving numismatics a rightful place in the study of medieval history, but he was the true father of the *Sylloge*, which he brought to the doorstep of the British Academy, who have well provided for it ever since. But apart from one unique piece of Cynethryth, queen to Offa, it is no more than was intended, a simple teaching collection, and room might have been found for the civic collection in Reading Museum, which would have added one or two local proveniences.

From a sapling of one stem to the gnarled pollard farther up the Thames: the Oxford assemblage unites many general collections, some deriving from the 17th century, as well as the collection of Oxford pennies made by C. L. Stainer, who produced the first long study of a single mint. Fifty years of selective acquisition have increased its local strength, but not disturbed its general proportions as perhaps the richest collection of overwhelmingly English provenience—more of a field-distribution in itself even than that in the British Museum. It is useful to have a full display, beside the Anglo-Norman coinage, of the essentially Norman 'Tealby' type of Henry II, of the 'Short Cross', following Mr. J. D. Brand's new and more exact classification, and of the 'Long Cross' too. Dr. Metcalf's descriptions are brief, thorough and always with die-axis.

The coins of the three true Norman kings follow each other in twenty-eight types with only one disputable point in the sequence. Those of the half-Norman Stephen run better with the 'Tealby' type. The Oxford assemblage reflects the great difference in 'rarity' among these twenty-eight types, a difference hard to explain on the common assumption that every three years or so there was a complete recoinage with demonitization after a short interval. The reason usually given is lack of hoards: there are a few from the actual years of conquest, and then the enormous Beaworth hoard to make the eighth 'William' type alone still relatively common. But some types are so rare that it is hard to believe that the recoinage was always effective, or, alternatively, that the periodicity was so regular. The Swedish collection provides a control on the English chronological distribution: three-fifths of the coins have exact proveniences (given in a rather inconveniently encoded form) and almost all the rest are undoubtedly from the Baltic area, though seldom from Sweden in the strict sense, since eight-ninths of the known hoards are from Gotland, or, in two cases, Öland. The Conqueror was not the Viking to end Vikings in Danish eyes, and expeditions were planned down to the 1080s, but this does not fully explain the fact that English coin was reaching the Baltic in some quantity until the 1090s and, sporadically, even later. However, the Baltic hoards, which are not affected by recoinage and contain coins covering a much longer period than English hoards, do in fact show much the same relative frequency as between the twenty-eight types. The 'Beaworth' type is even more preponderant than in Oxford: only the two following types seem over-represented and point to this unexplained accession of English coin in the 1090s. The newest Gotland hoard (Burge, 1967) is described in detail: it must close around 1130, but contains many coins of Rufus and a number of a scarce Henrician type from about 1115. Yet the very rare issues ascribed to the intervals are as elusive as ever.

S. E. RIGOLD

London Museum Medieval Catalogue. [By J. B. Ward Perkins *et al.*] $9\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{3}{4}$ in. 319 pp., 96 pls., 90 figs. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954 (1940), reprinted 1967. Price 63s. (£3.15).

The *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* is one of the classic landmarks in the revolution in medieval archaeology which took place in the late 1930s, largely the work of a group

of young Oxford graduates. Before this time medieval archaeology had been almost entirely the preserve of antiquarians, art historians and architects whose main interests were in genealogy, heraldry, art, ecclesiology and other subjects which represented the work of the upper crust of society. The buildings and the way of life of the ordinary peasant or town dweller were largely ignored with very few exceptions. In the late 1930s there were the first stirrings of the fundamental change in medieval archaeology which, halted by the second world war, gathered momentum in the late 1940s and early 1950s culminating in the formation of our Society in 1957. Martyn Jope and Rupert Bruce-Mitford started excavating medieval peasant houses and urban sites, and established, at Oxford, the first significant sequence of datable medieval pottery which has stood the test of time over thirty years.

The London Museum, from 1926 under the dynamic direction of Mortimer Wheeler, produced its impressive array of seven catalogues including *London and the Vikings* (1927), *London in Roman Times* (1930) and *London and the Saxons* (1935), and encouraged Gerald Dunning in his study of medieval pottery; the work culminated in the completion of the *Medieval Catalogue* in 1939. In this volume the third Oxford graduate, John Ward Perkins, achieved a remarkable result in the corpus of medieval everyday objects in the London Museum, which had been collected from building sites or dredged from the river. His survey of various types of object, with carefully thought-out correlations with continental excavations, illuminated manuscripts and monumental brasses, is a model of how this type of object should be treated. It is sad that while the three other studies started in the late 1930s, i.e. peasant houses, urban archaeology and medieval pottery, have been taken up and greatly expanded in the last twenty years, small finds have not received any further treatment with certain exceptions, notably Brian Spencer's work on pilgrim signs. The decision to reissue the *Medieval Catalogue* is, therefore, very welcome, as it remains the standard textbook on the subject and is unlikely to be superseded for many years. Although it is no longer fully accurate the dating sequences proposed thirty years ago have stood the test of time very well thus demonstrating the solid foundations on which John Ward Perkins and his collaborators worked.

The *Catalogue* has been reprinted with only minor factual corrections, amendments and additions. The extensive references have not been brought up to date but this hardly affects its value in view of the small amount of recent research; except perhaps in Gerald Dunning's pottery survey on pp. 228–9, little new work has been done on London pottery so this still remains the only survey. The title page is confusing since it states '1954: reprinted 1967' while in fact the first edition was 1940, 1954 the year of the second reprinting and the third impression was not issued till October 1968. H.M.S.O. proudly state, in a loose slip, that photo-lithography has 'made it possible to increase the size of the original type-face and figures'. On the face of it this seems an admirable intention, as the type-face of the first edition was quite small, but the overall fuzzy effect of photo-lithography seems to have been heightened by the enlargement of a type which was presumably designed to be printed at a certain size, so that it is in fact more difficult to read. The greatest disaster has been the effect on the figures for it was not realized that an increase in size would make nonsense of the scales which were not altered! It is all very well to say on a loose slip (how many copies will retain this for long, or how many students will find it?) that 'fractional scales . . . are obsolete and should be ignored. Measurements of all objects illustrated will be found in the text.' This is not good enough as it is almost impossible to estimate the size of different parts of an object when the scale is an unequal fraction. If one refers to a book one does not expect to have to check whether the scales given in the captions are correct or erroneous. The effect of the enlargement on the drawings has also been unfortunate. Even on the best drawings there are blemishes or imperfections so that they are normally reduced for publication. To enlarge them again, with the fuzzy photo-lithographic effect, has worsened the line detail and much of the shading has blurred into a black mass. The plates too seem to be over-inked and obscure many important points of detail. These keep the same

scale and were not enlarged so that many are lost in a vast expanse of empty art paper.

Certain factual errors, such as the wrong county and faulty plate references, have been corrected but there are still minor spelling errors, e.g., on p. 315, Steenberg should be Steensberg. Two other changes mean that care must be taken in future, in quoting page and plate references, to give the edition used. Fig. 7 has been transferred from p. 38 to p. 37 (so that incredibly it is now divorced from its description) because another sword has since been acquired by the London Museum. Plates LXVI and LXVII have been remade and this means that three objects are renumbered and another replaced, partly because the ungainly head of St. Thomas, which always looked out of proportion, has been removed from the pilgrim sign.

In his introduction to the third impression Donald Harden hopes that, when the London and Guildhall museums combine, it will be possible to publish a joint catalogue. As this is likely to take many years to achieve, even after the amalgamation takes place, there is no doubt that he was right to go ahead with this reprint. It is only a pity that H.M.S.O. have, in trying to be clever, marred the work. The *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* is the only basic reference work of its kind in Europe. It is an essential tool for anyone working in the medieval field whether on excavations or in museums. The binding makes it a much stouter and more permanent volume for constant reference than the old paper cover or board editions; but it is a sad reflection on the inflation of the last thirty years that the price has been increased from 3s. to 63s.!

JOHN G. HURST

Les Grands portails romans (Études et documents des instituts d'histoire de la faculté de lettres de Genève, VII). By Yves Christe. 9×6¼ in. 206 pp., 24 pls. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1969. Price not indicated.

Romanesque art appeals to our century because its masters were relatively free to set their own particular terms within which to exercise an intense but idiosyncratic abstraction and stylization. By contrast, in the art of eastern Christianity, or of Buddhism, the conventions are given, and are as orthodox as the dogmas that are the main content of all three. This book is primarily concerned with the theology and eschatology of some of the grandest Romanesque monuments, with a narrow iconography stretched to its limits by a dynamic, yet frontal and easily comprehensible, artistic expression. Since neither theology nor aesthetics come within our definition of archaeology, I can only treat of these portals as 'things': yet I would betray a basic premise of social archaeology if I did not ask why, for the two or three most confidently aggressive generations in the history of western culture, and no more, one might almost think that Goliath, rather than David, were the 'type' of Christ.

Certain great portals, each centring on a vast tympanum, have become the 'classics' of Romanesque sculpture. These few are not the only survivors of their kind, and the total survival is a matter of chance. They are thickest in Burgundy, where Cluny may be their epicentre, but they stretch in a belt from the Vosges to the Pyrenees. They occur at great abbeys (Vézelay, Moissac), elder daughters of Cluny (La Charité, Charlieu), secular cathedrals (Autun, Cahors), but also in relatively minor churches; it is a regional emulation, albeit a large one; the more widely distributed form seen at Angers, Chartres or Rochester, is derivative—and tranquillized. Outside the region, portals of like status may have their sculpture confined to the voussoirs, or have enrichments without figure-work, or be quite plain. Lewes was a proud daughter of La Charité, but far less proud about her portals. Was it the example of Cluny alone, or the availability of huge slabs, or the compression of quintessentially Gaulish genius that recreated monumental sculpture in the hard nucleus of France? One thing is clear in this book: this tremendous carving was not the only manifestation of the syncretic vision of an age that saw God face-to-face, ascending, redescending at very close quarters, and took its marching orders.

The message of the painters is the same, not only on the vaults of Notre-Dame-la-Grande, but on the walls of the simplest two-celled churches, where the quality and impact may be astonishing. One can name two or three instances in the vicinity of Lewes, true monuments of Romanesque art, far removed from the humane theology of our day, or Rembrandt's, or even Fra Angelico's.

In this paperback series the production and typography are chaste, dignified and Genevan, the plates rather woolly.

S. E. RIGOLD

The Cornishman's House. By V. M. and F. J. Chesher. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. 142 pp., 21 pls., 5 figs. Truro: D. Bradford Barton, 1968. Price 32s. (£1.60).

Isolated at the extremity of the SW. peninsula Cornwall is one of the more distinct geographical and cultural regions of England and it has, understandably, developed a style of vernacular architecture largely its own. Exposure to high winds and heavy rainfall from the Atlantic has led settlement generally to avoid the exposed marine platform and moors which characterize so much of the county and to seek the shelter of the numerous valleys. This, together with the excessively dispersed nature of settlement, contrives to hide from easy view the majority of older rural buildings in the county. Many lie at the end of farm tracks well away from public roads, their very privacy an obstacle to enquiry, and it is no mean achievement on the part of the authors of this book that they have sought out so many of these houses for study.

The book is sub-titled 'An introduction to the history of traditional domestic architecture in Cornwall', which fairly describes its contents, but the authors are careful to point out that they have concerned themselves only with dispersed dwellings—manor houses, farms and cottages—and not with those in towns and villages. After a brief introduction describing the environment, the siting of settlements and local building materials, they proceed to an essentially chronological treatment of the subject, beginning with the early medieval houses discovered in recent years by excavation, and ending with those of the later 18th century, when local traditions were in decline. Understandably, over a third of the text is devoted to the houses of the so-called 'Great Rebuild', the period which in Cornwall the authors see as lasting from the later 16th century to the Restoration. While attempting to define house types and to see some development of plans and styles they have avoided undue emphasis on typology, and tend within their chronological framework to discuss buildings one by one. In a concluding chapter, however, they essay an overall view and suggest an evolutionary sequence for plans and such major features as doorways, windows, fireplaces, etc. The outstanding problem of Cornish building is to find an adequate set of dating criteria. A few cob buildings survive, but rubble construction predominates, making additions and alterations difficult to detect. The slates, granites, and other rocks have proved intractable materials, so that decorative detail is very simple, very conservative, and without documentary evidence of some kind Cornish houses are extremely difficult to date closely. Wherever possible the authors combine their architectural discussion of the houses with relevant social and economic history, with information extracted from probate inventories and parsonage terriers, and with general observations on Cornish buildings and families made by contemporary authors such as Carew and Worgan.

At 32s. the book is excellent value but perhaps excessive economy on the part of the publisher is responsible for the generally poor reproduction of the plates. More and better plates, and more plans too, would have made a good book better in itself as well as a more useful 'quarry' for students of vernacular architecture. But this is essentially a pioneer work and one, moreover, founded almost entirely on the authors' own work. It will remain the standard introduction to the subject for some time to come and should serve to stimulate further and more detailed studies both in this county and beyond.

D. J. and H. M. BONNEY

Château Gaillard III: European Castle Studies: Conference at Battle, Sussex. Edited by A. J. Taylor. 10×7½ in. vi+155 pp., 27 pls., 44 figs. Chichester: Phillimore, 1969. Price 75s. (£3·75).

From the initial reception in the candle-lit abbey gatehouse to the final supper in the *donjon* at Dover the 1966 Battle conference was a triumph of single-handed organization. Dr. A. J. Taylor has now crowned that success by going on to edit a dozen of the papers presented at the conference, and to add one of his own which arose directly from it.

Since the papers of M. Fixot and Dr. Shelby are partial summaries of their monographs which have already appeared, no comment upon them can properly be made here. Although part of Dr. Allen Brown's introductory paper also derives from his book on the Normans, he has trenchant things to say about the genesis of English castles. He makes the fundamental point that nomenclature and vocabulary are (and were) not standardized; no two people would define a 'shell-keep' or a *breteschia* in identical terms. The scribe writing of a *castellum* presumably had a mind-picture of the class of structure that the term represented, which might well vary with his background and training, but he may never have seen the place he mentioned. It would be most valuable to have an analysis of the terms used by certain of the more reliable and prolific contemporary medieval writers, and of the structures and concepts they are used to describe, in order to determine their consistency or distinctions. Dr. Allen Brown comments: 'Archaeologists . . . in inventing types, are prone to think too much of shape rather than size and too much of both rather than purpose.' Admitted; but shape and size are measurable, while purpose has to be guessed on a balance of probabilities. Even an honest chronicler may not have read the designer's mind aright. Dr. Allen Brown suggests that the type of castle may depend on the nature of the lordship and the status of the lord, but we need to disentangle the various phases of the layout of the castle as well. The first requires good documentary sources and the second selective excavation (or at least perspicacious fieldwork). Happy indeed is the historian (or archaeologist) who has both for one site!

The matter of definition comes up strikingly in Messrs. Alcock and King's important survey of ring-works in England and Wales, with their invaluable maps which mark *mottes* separately. They describe ring-works as 'a class of embanked works, generally fairly strong, but of decidedly small area, especially in relation to the disproportionately powerful bank . . . as a rough guide any enclosure whose bank is at least 6 feet above the level outside the defences'. Such a definition needs to be quantified in terms of limiting values, and the question of shape and outworks discussed. To say that 'very large ring-works are of little interest—we know what they are . . . other ring-works of relatively greater area which can only be considered as baileys without a motte' fudges the problem of definition and distinction. The section on dating evidence shows how little we have—may we hope to see a report on Llantrithyd with its Henry I coin-hoard soon?

Some of the gazetteer entries are over-compressed. Colchester *castle* was probably built for William I, but the excavator of the 'ring-work' concluded that it was later than the keep, partly on account of a Henry I penny found at the junction of the make-up and the overlying turf-line. 'Caesar's Camp' near Folkestone is *not* mentioned in 1095 and 1137—these references are to Folkestone Priory, moved *extra balliam* in the latter year. The 'Bayle' area beside the church on the cliff a mile and a half from 'Caesar's Camp' has a respectable claim to the title.

Mr. Davison's 'New Model' for early earthwork castles caused much discussion, both at and after the conference. Of some forty castles founded in Normandy in the early 11th century one half have been destroyed and Mr. Davison considers the evidence for the one third of the remainder which have *mottes* is insufficient in each case to prove its existence before 1066. Apart from Hastings, the very first castles of the conquest had no *motte*; were *mottes* later added to enclosure castles? Some plans strongly suggest

this (Lincoln, for instance), and Mr. Davison has claimed that the *motte* at Castle Neroche is secondary. His suggestion, which he puts forward for discussion and a re-appraisal of the evidence, is that the fluid Norman society of 1066 and its temporary allies catalysed diverse traditions, including the Angevin emphasis on tall towers and the Rhenish/Netherland concept of low dwelling-mounds with attached courtyards.

In 1968 Mr. Barker excavated the Hastings *motte*, revealing that a simple sand-pie has been much altered in Plantagenet and Victorian times, but it has yet to be proved that the first mound dates from 1066 rather than (say) 1069. At Hen Domen, Montgomery, his patience, in stripping each inch-thick layer and plotting every pebble, has been rewarded by the identification of at least five building phases, with a remarkable series of *motte* bridges. The *motte* here is primary, no trace of a buried rampart being found in the segment of the *motte* which covered the projected line of the bailey bank. In eight pages of text and as many of illustration, Mr. Barker reports on as many years' work; this is a minor masterpiece of clarity and economy.

Mr. Biddle's study of Henry de Blois and Wolvesey Palace is interim in character: more of the S. and W. ranges of the palace have been cleared subsequently. While there is room for debate on the exact dates, there can be nothing but praise for the unravelling of a most complex architectural sequence. He baulks at the idea of 'a stone castle of the mid-twelfth century with two great towers . . . as well as lesser towers and an entire stone curtain'—but they existed at Old Sarum and Sherborne.

The results of several small excavations (some for non-archaeological purposes) at Carisbrooke Castle are combined by Mr. Rigold with a review of the documentary evidence to strengthen the case for a late Roman fort atop the ridge, whose ruins were used as a marking-out bank for the 11th-century castle. The inept design and construction of the later curtain-wall contrast with the probably contemporary work at Portchester.

Herr Fehring describes an excavated settlement (3rd/13th century) on the Kocher, with *Grubenhäuser* and kilns producing base-stamped pottery. Dr. Herrnbrodt discusses the Rhenish *ringwälle*—large enclosures sited on ridges—using the 11th-century Rennenburg as the type-site. Herr Janssen deals with deserted settlements round castles in the same region. Professor van de Walle's notes on the use of split wood in the middle ages draw attention to the lack of evidence for the use of wedges. However, his illustration (pl. XXII, B) shows an axe being used as a wedge, rather than in its proper manner.

Dr. Taylor suggests that the castle chapels of Pevensey and Hastings may have had a pre-conquest origin. The siting and layout of Pevensey have an interesting parallel at Richborough, but I doubt whether the north 'aisle' of the former is an addition: the footings correspond in masoncraft and alignment (the only difference being a 5-inch ledge on the inner side of the 'nave') and there is a W. doorway in the 'aisle' only $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. A stronger case can be made out for Hastings, where the thin N. wall of the chapel forms part of an otherwise much stouter curtain. Dr. Taylor points to a number of detailed resemblances of the chapel to the building in the Bayeux Tapestry from which William of Normandy emerges to leave Hastings for the battle. I would offer a slight revision of Dr. Taylor's elucidation of the building (pl. 52 of the Phaidon edition):

a. The central upper 'window' of the tower is larger and lower than those flanking it, and the outline is not filled in; was it meant to be a doorway?

b. The roof of the 'apse' below is cross-hatched, unlike all the other Tapestry roofs which are ashlared, scallop-shingled or marked by vertical lines.

c. The rectangular 'windows' below the 'roof' between beaded bands are also unusual, but there are small squares beneath William's seat in the previous scene, and the cushion on which he sits here and previously is cross-hatched. Can this have been intended to indicate that William had descended from a lord's seat high in the church?

D. F. RENN

Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex, 1955–57 (Society for Medieval Archaeology, monograph series, III). By P. A. Rahtz. $9\frac{3}{4}\times7\frac{1}{4}$ in. 118 pp., 6 pls., 60 figs. London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1969. Price 50s. (£2.50).

This monograph consists for the most part of a straightforward excavation report, but it also represents an effort at the integration of evidence from written sources with that obtained from the ground. If the difficulties inherent in such an exercise emerge all too clearly in the course of the report, it remains true that a fuller and more coherent picture is given than could have been obtained either by a purely historical account or by an exclusively archaeological report.

The surviving documents relating to the moated hunting lodge and later manor house at Writtle are probably as informative as are likely to be found anywhere for a site entirely domestic in character. They are conveniently summarized by Mr. H. M. Colvin in *The King's Works*, to which the author owes a great deal for this aspect of his subject. Building accounts, records of repairs together with two surveys of the property, some century apart, suggested that here might be found not only the layout of a royal hunting lodge of the early 13th century, but also the stages of its conversion to a manor house held in the 15th and 16th centuries by important members of the baronial class.

To some extent it must be said that the archaeological remains did not fulfil the promise of the records, though a comparison of the expenditure at Writtle in the Angevin period with that at other hunting lodges, as for example at Gillingham, Silverston or Stanstead, or even at the smaller establishments at Feckenham or Tidgrove, would indicate that the buildings at Writtle of this period were likely to be slight in character. The nature of the materials used did not, in fact, allow of the recovery of a complete plan of any phase. Each of the major alterations destroyed some part of the preceding buildings while the last phase was robbed to its foundations. The evidence was seldom free from ambiguity and its interpretation in many cases was necessarily tentative. Yet we can be sure that with an excavator of the calibre of Mr. Rahtz no surviving relic was missed, no trace unexamined and unrecorded. What there was to find on the moated island was found and it is to the excavator's credit that he did not stretch the surviving evidence an inch farther than it would go.

There are a large number of these hunting lodges up and down the country in medieval forest and park land, some of royal foundation, others constructed by greater or lesser members of the seignorial class, whose chief recreation was in the chase and to whose larders the game so acquired made no small contribution. The lodges varied in size, in the complexity of earthwork or other defence with which they were surrounded and in the nature of their accommodation, but very few of them have been excavated. Not all were surrounded by moats. Some had palisades, others relied only on hedges. But Essex is a heavily moated county and it is therefore not surprising to find Writtle surrounded by a wet moat. The author saw this as a primary feature, for though it was not sectioned, no medieval remains were found under its upcast where this was spread upon the island. On the other hand its cost of construction can hardly have been included in the total of £13 6s. 8d. which was all that King John is known to have spent on the site. If it was indeed a primary feature it demonstrates the existence of other possibilities besides the midland pattern of early bank and ditch succeeded by true moat.

The island within the moat does however follow the normal pattern in that it formed one part of a larger complex. This is brought out clearly in the surveys of 1419 and 1521, where a number of lodgings beyond the moat are listed as well as premises for bailiff, warrener and for the manorial caretaker. Archaeological evidence is more expensive and more time consuming to acquire than its written counterpart, with the unfortunate consequence that in nearly every case where these complex sites have been excavated, attention has focused on the main residential buildings only. Writtle was no exception.

The buildings believed to be of early 13th-century date seemed to constitute the

minimum required for the king's use: hall, perhaps chamber, chapel, kitchen, buttery and pantry. Of none of these was the surviving plan altogether satisfactory. The S. end of the chapel and all its internal features had gone; the most archaeologically convincing interpretation of the hall gave a square building too small for its function; the kitchen was somewhat tenuous and the position of the chamber largely speculative. Together these buildings constituted a range running roughly parallel with the N. moat. Gatehouse apart, the rest of the island, over an acre in extent, seems to have been empty. Such an arrangement of the principal enclosure is not unknown (Haddlesey, Yorkshire, was somewhat similarly disposed in the 14th century), but other buildings there must have been somewhere, perhaps earlier than the hunting lodge itself, for the king did not hunt alone and throughout the middle ages the royal entourage was considerable at all times. Business was transacted at Writtle during the royal hunting trips, as it was elsewhere. Presumably the 'bace court' beyond the moat of the 15th- and 16th-century surveys had a predecessor for lodgings as well as for the barns and service-buildings of the estate. Such ancillary buildings are sometimes at one end of a large island; more frequently they are located within a second moat, either adjacent or at some little distance from the principal enclosure, or near by and surrounded only by a slight earthwork or by a hedge. The evidence of the published earthwork plan together with the field-name *Little middle court* on the map of 1783 suggest that at Writtle they lay in the unexcavated area west of the moat.

The monograph, however, has necessarily been concerned with the restricted area of the principal enclosure. Mr. Rahtz shows clearly the gradual change of emphasis in building material from timber and cob structures roofed with thatch to the use of brick and tile, and from a single string of buildings to something resembling the classic courtyard house with an inner cloister. In all the various changes, only the kitchen retained its original position. In its later phases it was square, with four internal supports for the high central roof with crowning louvre—not uncommon in the 14th and 15th centuries.

The pottery, though amply illustrated, is somewhat cursorily discussed, as a later report on this is intended. There was a good stratified series, but the proportion of the various fabrics and styles at successive phases was not shown. There seems no reason to associate polychrome ware necessarily with a royal visit, as the author has done, for Saintonge pottery is found far removed from any likely royal itinerary, as, for example, at Anlaby or Kirkstall in Yorkshire.

The excellent series of plans with which the report is illustrated call for only one criticism, and this involves a general problem, for which it is difficult to see a clear solution. Features on an excavation have to be numbered, and finds will be recorded and stored in relation to such numbers. But if these are transferred unaltered to published plans, it can be tedious and time-consuming to follow the author through a mass of discontinuous figures, however boldly printed, to trace such features as, for example, the successive S. walls of the early Writtle kitchen.

At the end of a long and detailed report such as this, we should ask, perhaps, how much further we are advanced in understanding the type of site under discussion. Writtle produced two successive dwellings, a hunting lodge and a manor house, of each of which the main complex only was excavated. It was already known, though largely from building accounts, that a hunting lodge would not differ much from a small manor of similar date, and that it could be of light construction. It is useful to know that the chapel, too, could be mainly of cob. The later house, with its outer and inner courts, is of a recognized character, though varying a little in the disposition of its elements, and above all, in its lack of the standard great hall in its last phase. Although this is fundamentally an excavation report, and as such is not concerned with generalization, two important considerations are implicit in the evidence that is presented. One is that excavation, even when total in character, may often fail to produce all that one wants to know about a medieval site, for some building materials leave no traces that can be

detected by the most sophisticated methods at present known to us, while occupation debris can be largely tidied away; the other is that historical documents do not by themselves enable us to visualize the buildings they record even when they are as full and as fully preserved as they can be. Since no evidence is complete, every scrap must be utilized; even so there will almost certainly be gaps and inadequacies. At Writtle it can be said that they have been reduced to a minimum.

H. E. J. LE PATOUREL

The Medieval Buildings of Stamford (Stamford Survey Group, Report 1). By Alan Rogers, with introduction by W. A. Pantin. 11¼×8¼ in. 57 pp., 61 figs., 1 map. Nottingham: University of Nottingham, Department of Adult Education, 1970. Price 18s.(90p.), obtainable from the Secretary, Stamford Survey Group, 4 Prince's Road, Stamford.

There must be many people who if asked to choose their favourite English town would say 'Stamford' and most people would probably put it in the top half dozen. The town enjoyed the good fortune of being on the Great North Road (with all the business this attracted) at a bridge over the R. Welland and lay at the heart of the area of finest English building stone. It is the 17th-, 18th- and 19th-century frontages of this stone that form the dominating aspect of the town today, but this was not so in medieval times when the streets, lined by timber-framed frontages, resembled those to be found in many other towns. The medieval remains, both in stone (obviously mainly stone survives) and timber, were the subject of a study for an adult education class and it is its teacher, Dr. Rogers, who is the author of this book.

By using the Ministry of Housing list, Pevsner's *Lincolnshire* and other sources, sixty-three stone, twenty-three timber-framed (jettied and so originally timber, at least at first-floor level) and twelve doubtful cases have been identified. The list is certainly incomplete and the cursory plans are not intended to emulate those of the Royal Commission; it is a useful place to start a search from but not a definitive work of reference. For the price it is generously illustrated. Dr. Pantin has contributed a valuable introduction, in which he summarizes some of his recent articles on medieval town houses; he is able to cite examples of four of his five types in Stamford. This was a piece of work well worth undertaking and is published at a very modest price.

It is perhaps invidious to pick out errors or omissions but there is one which can hardly be overlooked, since it is in the structure to which Stamford owes if not its existence, certainly its growth—I refer to the bridge. The medieval archway facing north is shown in fig. 19, but behind this tunnel, and accessible through a trap-door in the hospital, the southernmost arch of the original 12th-century stone bridge, on a N.–S. axis, still survives under the present roadway. This prompts the thought that there may have been a chapel or hospital on this part of the later Burghley's hospital. Both the documentary and architectural remains on this point deserve much fuller study—here is a fitting task for the Stamford Survey Group to tackle.

M. W. THOMPSON